

OVERCOMING SELF-NEGATION:

**AN EXAMINATION OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN JUNKANOO AND
THE CHURCH IN CONTEMPORARY BAHAMIAN SOCIETY**

CARLTON JOHN TURNER

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ABSTRACT

Self-Negation as understood in this research project is the tendency for the African Caribbean people to belittle their African heritage and valorise their European one while being a product of both. This has led to deeply considered critical responses from Caribbean historians, literary and cultural icons, and revolutionary figures. However, this has not been adequately addressed within Caribbean theological reflection, particularly in the way that Self-Negation manifests in the relationship between the Church and African Caribbean indigenous cultural productions. Located in the field of Caribbean Theology, this research project explores and describes the complex relationship between the Church and Junkanoo in contemporary Bahamian society for the purpose of suggesting praxes for addressing Self-Negation. It employs an interdisciplinary Practical, Contextual approach to Theology using ethnographic methods such as interviews and observations to access and reflect on the inner experiences of Bahamians as they integrate or separate the two in every day life.

The following conclusions are made as a result of the findings: firstly, the Junkanoo/Church relationship is complex and self-negating; it is marked by dichotomy, ambivalence, and dissonance in identity. Secondly, both the Church and Junkanoo contribute to Self-Negation, but can, and do, also contribute to Overcoming, the opposite process. While the former is perpetuated by a hermeneutic of dichotomy, which continually sees Church and Junkanoo as incompatible, the latter is perpetuated by a hermeneutic of embrace, which sees them as already integrated, mutually critical and

creative spaces in which African Bahamian religiocultural identity is affirmed. Thirdly, theologically reflecting on the problematic concept of sin at the heart of the Junkanoo/Church relationship, namely the conflation of African religious and cultural heritage with sinfulness, the research argues for a hermeneutic of embrace to undergird integrative practices between Junkanoo and the Church.

AUTHOR'S DECLARATION

I declare that the work in this thesis was carried out in accordance with the regulations of the University of Gloucestershire and is original except where indicated by specific reference in the text. No part of the thesis has been submitted as part of any other academic award. The thesis has not been presented to any other education institution in the United Kingdom or overseas.

Any views expressed in the thesis are those of the author and in no way represent those of the University.

Signed Date

DEDICATION

To Carla and Carlyse, for enduring and believing . . .

To Dellamae, you revealed the African soul to me . . .

To Basil, you shaped and inspired me . . .

To God, You continually call me . . .

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Table of Contents

1. Chapter 1. Introduction	1
1.1. Rationale	1
1.2. Research Aims and Objectives	8
1.3. Research Context.....	9
1.4. Key Words and Concepts	14
1.4.1. Self-Negation.....	14
1.4.2. Overcoming	14
1.4.3. African Religiocultural Retention	14
1.4.4. Junkanoo.....	15
1.4.5. The Church.....	16
1.5. Thesis Overview	16
2. Chapter 2: Junkanoo and the Church in Bahamian Society	20
2.1. Introduction:.....	20
2.2. Bahamian Junkanoo	20
2.3. Specifics of the Bahamian Junkanoo Festival	25
2.4. On the Ecclesiastical Fringe	32
2.5. The Church in the Bahamas	37
2.6. Historicising the Church in Bahamian Society	38
2.6.1. The Coming of Columbus.....	39
2.6.2. The Eleutheran Adventurers	39
2.6.3. Proprietary Government.....	40
2.6.4. Woodes Rogers and the Establishment of the Church.....	41
2.6.5. The Coming of the Loyalists	43
2.6.6. The Contemporary Bahamian Church	46

2.7. Racism as Interpretative Lens	48
2.7.1. Movement One: From African Religiocultural Retentions to White Church	51
2.7.2. Movement Two: From White Church to Black Church.....	52
2.7.3. Towards A Third Movement: Embracing African Religiocultural Retentions	
54	
2.8. Conclusion	54
3. Chapter 3: Methodology: Proposing a Practical Contextual Caribbean	
Theological Approach	56
3.1. Introduction	56
3.2. Research Methodology:.....	57
3.2.1. Caribbean Practical Contextual Theology	57
3.2.2. Ethnography.....	68
3.2.3. Convergences and Tensions.....	71
3.3. Research Methods.....	73
3.4. Interviews.....	74
3.4.1. Expert Respondents.....	75
3.4.2. Lay Participants.....	79
3.5. Observations.....	83
3.5.1. Practices.....	85
3.5.2. Parades.....	86
3.6. Ethics and Researcher Role	86
3.7. Data Analysis	88
3.8. Research Scope and Limitations	91
4. Chapter 4: Literature Review: Towards a New Paradigm: Engaging	
African Religiocultural Retentions for Addressing Self-Negation	94
4.1. Introduction	94

4.2. Self-Negation: An Anglophone Caribbean Reality	94
4.3. Caribbean Theologians and the Neglect of African Religiocultural Retentions	105
4.3.1. Idris Hamid	108
4.3.2. Ashley Smith	112
4.3.3. William Watty	113
4.3.4. Kortright Davis	114
4.3.5. Lewin Williams	116
4.3.6. Noel Erskine	117
4.4. A New Paradigm: Engaging African Religiocultural Retentions	120
4.4.1. Stephen Jennings, Annette Brown and Barry Chevannes	121
4.4.2. Charles Jason Gordon and Anna Kasafi Perkins	123
4.4.3. George Mulrain	124
4.4.4. Dianne Stewart	127
4.5. Conclusion: Junkanoo A Missing Link?	130
5. Chapter 5: Junkanoo and the Church: A Self-Negating Relationship.	133
5.1. Introduction: An Overall Analysis	133
5.2. The Legacy of Colonialism in Bahamian Society	135
5.3. Mapping the Junkanoo/Church Relationship	138
5.3.1. Dichotomy	139
Dichotomy in Junkanoo	143
Dichotomy in Church	146
5.3.2. Tensions and Ambivalences	149
Church Attitudes Towards Junkanoo	149
Junkanoo Attitudes Towards Church	158
5.3.3. Identity Dissonance	161
5.4. Positive and Negative Attributes of Junkanoo and the Church	166

5.4.1. Positive Attributes of Junkanoo.....	167
Junkanoo as Pneumatological.....	167
Junkanoo as Space for Social and Political Transformation	169
Junkanoo as Transformative Christian Praxis.....	172
5.4.2. Positive Attributes of the Church.....	174
Locus of Influence and Authority.....	174
Deep Spiritual and Theological Tradition.....	175
5.4.3. Negative Attributes of Junkanoo and Church	176
Colonial Chains.....	176
Economics and Materialism.....	177
5.5. Emerging Theological Themes	180
5.5.1. Pneumatology.....	181
5.5.2. Prophecy.....	181
5.5.3. Sin and Judgement.....	182
5.5.4. Theological Anthropology.....	182
5.5.5. Liturgy, Worship and Enculturation.....	182
5.5.6. Pastoral Care and Nurture	183
5.5.7. Power	183
5.6. Conclusion: Exploring Hermeneutics and Rethinking Sin in Bahamian Society.....	184
6. Chapter 6: The Concept of Sin at the Heart of the Junkanoo/Church Relationship	189
6.1. Introduction.....	189
6.2. The Hermeneutical Approach – Caribbean Vernacular Hermeneutics	192
6.3. The Concept of Sin in Scripture and the History of Christian Thought.....	195
6.4. The Colonial Construction of the Concept of Sin.....	203

6.5. Junkanoo and the Pneumatological Reframing of Sin: Acts 11 as a	
Hermeneutical Focus	212
6.5.1. Sin in the Pauline and Johannine Traditions.....	213
6.5.2. Acts 11: Beyond the Jew/Gentile Boundary.....	216
Setting the Scene:	216
Interpreting the Scene:	217
The Pneumatological Reframing of Sin.....	219
6.6. Conclusion	229
7. Chapter 7: Conclusion: Towards a Hermeneutic of Embrace	231
7.1. Introduction	231
7.2. Summary of Research	231
7.3. The Hermeneutic of Embrace	234
7.4. Suggestions for Praxis	240
7.4.1. Research and Education in the Pedagogical Value of Junkanoo.....	240
7.4.2. Research and Education in the Spiritual and Theological Foundations of Junkanoo	240
7.4.3. Official Ecclesiastical and Denominational Embrace of Junkanoo	241
7.4.4. Liturgical Integration of Junkanoo and Church	242
7.4.5. National Conversation on Self-Negation in Bahamian Society	243
7.5. Conclusion	244
 APPENDICES	 245
 APPENDIX A: SELECTED PHOTOS OF JUNKANOO, DECEMBER 2012 – JANUARY	
2013: LEAD COSTUME PIECE, SCRAP GROUP AND SHACK.....	245

APPENDIX B: DIAGRAM OF THE MODERN DAY JUNKANOO PARADE ROUTE (Bethel, <i>Junkanoo: Festival of the Bahamas</i> : 87)	247
APPENDIX C: RULES AND REGULATIONS OF THE NEW PROVIDENCE JUNKANOO PARADE (2012) – For entire document, please visit: http://www.jcnp.net....	248
APPENDIX D: TABULAR ANALYSIS OF THEMES AND RELIGIOUS MUSIC ENCOUNTERED IN THE RESEARCH DATA.....	249
APPENDIX E: SAMPLE LETTERS TO INTERVIEW PARTICIPANT.....	253
APPENDIX F: SAMPLE CONSENT FORM FOR INTERVIEW PARTICIPANTS.....	256
APPENDIX G: EXAMPLE OF EXPERT INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPT	257
APPENDIX H: EXAMPLE OF LAY PARTICIPANT INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPT	273
APPENDIX I: THEMES AND QUESTIONS FOR INTERVIEW PARTICIPANTS.....	283
APPENDIX J: EXAMPLE OF OBSERVATIONAL NARRATIVE	288
APPENDIX K: EXAMPLE OF ROUGH NOTES FOR INTERVIEWS AND THICK DESCRIPTION	319
APPENDIX L: EXAMPLE OF AN ANNOTATED INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPT	322
APPENDIX M: EXAMPLE OF REFLECTIONS ON OBSERVATIONS: NEW YEARS DAY.....	330
APPENDIX N: TABULAR SUMMARY OF THREE LEVELS OF CODING REFINEMENT: INITIAL CODING FRAME, ANALYTIC GROUPS, AND MAJOR ANALYTIC THEMES.....	341
APPENDIX O: EXAMPLE OF NVIVO MEMO: “Sin as Defined by Dichotomous Thinking”, 24th August 2014.....	345

APPENDIX P: TABULAR SUMMARY AND EXPANDED CODING FOR 'SELF-NEGATION' AND 'OVERCOMING'	346
APPENDIX Q: LIST OF THEOLOGICAL MOTIFS PRESENT IN THE DATA.....	351
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	352

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

FIGURE 1. MAP OF THE BAHAMAS (CRATON AND SAUNDERS, <i>ISLANDERS IN THE STREAM</i> , 1992).....	10
FIGURE 2. MAP OF THE CARIBBEAN BASIN (ADDERLEY, “ <i>NEW NEGROES FROM AFRICA</i> ”, 2006)	12
FIGURE 3. DIAGRAM OF GROUP FORMATION (FERGUSON, <i>I COME TO GET ME!</i> , 2000).....	28
FIGURE 4. CHURCH DENOMINATIONAL COMPOSITION BASED ON THE 2010 NATIONAL CENSUS.....	47
FIGURE 5. BAHAMIAN SOCIETY AFFECTING JUNKANOO/CHURCH RELATIONSHIP	186
FIGURE 6. JUNKANOO/CHURCH RELATIONSHIP AFFECTING BAHAMIAN SOCIETY.....	186

LIST OF TABLES

TABLE 1. SUMMARY OF INTERVIEWEE REFERENCES TO COLONIAL LEGACIES IN BAHAMIAN SOCIETY	138
TABLE 2. POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE ATTRIBUTES OF JUNKANOO AND THE CHURCH.....	166
TABLE 3. SUMMARY OF THEOLOGICAL THEMES ARISING FROM THE DATA	180

1. Chapter 1. Introduction

1.1. Rationale

You would find some wrestling with, of a tension between European aspects, the Western European dimension, and the West African dimension. And you see this, in particular when you speak to people about Junkanoo . . . It bespeaks among other things, not only a passion which is wholesome and healthy, but a wrestling with this aspect of schizophrenia, which will not be healed until the two sides of our cultural heritage are held in creative tension because you can not be a Bahamian and be one as opposed to the other. (Kirkley Sands, Bahamian Contextual Theologian)¹

Within the Bahamas, an archipelagic nation and formerly a British Colony within the African Anglophone Caribbean, there has always existed some degree of tension between the Church and Junkanoo. The latter is a New World street festival of West African origin, celebrated among the former English colonies particularly at Christmas or New Years, of which the Bahamas has the most vibrant expression. The former refers to the churches set up by missionary Christianity in the nation, whether manifesting as Church of England, Roman Catholic, Baptist, Methodist, or Church of God of Prophecy (or others). Largely speaking, all of the churches in the country have their origin in either Europe or North America.² The excerpt above by Bahamian contextual theology Kirkley Sands is undergirded by the fact that, for Bahamian people, both Junkanoo and the Church are central to their identity. However, it is also the case that while the Church is regarded as ‘good’, or ‘holy’, or ‘sacred’, Junkanoo, whether consciously or subconsciously, is regarded as either belonging solely to the secular realm, or even in some cases, as

¹Kirkley Sands, In-depth Interview with author, 28th December 2012.

² See Figure 4 for the denominational make-up of the Church in the Bahamas based on the 2010 National Census.

‘demonic’, being of no religious, spiritual or theological value. But more than this, Sands’ excerpt points to another reality, that this tension is not something that happens outside the ordinary Bahamian; it is also a deep inner conflict.

This experience of inner conflict has always puzzled me, and in a sense, has been the genesis of this research project. My upbringing in the Anglican Church on the remote island of Andros in the Bahamas provided the context where I would experience both the Church and indigenous culture intensely, but not in an integrated way. As for the former, my grandaunt, who raised me, was a catechist, and I grew up serving around the altar as an acolyte. Eventually I went to seminary and became an Anglican priest. As for the latter, I was raised on folklore and storytelling around the fire, the tales of Brer Booky and Brer Rabby, and of Jack and the White Man; going to ‘settin up’ (wakes), seeing plates and cups adorning graves, part of a strong African legacy of remembering and honoring the dead; of seeing plastic bottles filled with sea water and dirt hanging from mango trees, a warning to thieves that the powers of Obeah would afflict any who dared steal; and of a potent respect for the spirit world, of dreams, visions and prophecies readily available to elders in the community.³ But I was also raised to know how much Junkanoo, something I participated in as a child and perhaps the most potent African religiocultural retention in

³ Tales of Brer Booky and Brer Rabby and the cunning adventures of Jack abound in different variations in Bahamas. Growing up in Andros, Jack was always in contestation with the ‘White Man’ or Master, no doubt a reference to memories of slavery. For examples of Bahamian folktales, particularly exposing the world view of Bahamas, particularly growing up in the more remote islands, see Telcine Turner, ed. *Once Below a Time: Bahamian Stories* (London: Macmillan Caribbean, 1988). See also, Elsie Clews Parsons, *Folk-Tales of Andros Island, Bahamas* (New York: The American Folk-Lore Society, 1918). Also, Obeah is one of the African Caribbean religious traditions mostly found in the Anglophone colonies. Its prominence among the enslaved, particularly with regard to resistance, has led it to vilification and criminalization across the British colonies.

the nation, fired up the Bahamian imagination. Nonetheless, in all my education, through all my formation, I had always carried within myself a deep sense of dissonance between these two facets of my identity. Have other Bahamians had the same experiences? Is there a longing for inner harmony between religious life and cultural life?

What makes this of concern for this research project is that generally, not only in the Bahamas, but across the Caribbean, the power relations between the Church and indigenous culture are not equal, hence, largely through conventions and policies set by the Church, folk festivals such as Junkanoo are continually made to be seen as ‘irreligious’, ‘secular’, or ‘demonic’. Ultimately, in place of a mutually embracing, creative tension, one finds what Sands refers to as schizophrenia, or dissonance, which results in what this research theorises as Self-Negation: whereby indigenous, mainly African, cultural modes of expression, languages, art forms, and even African religiocultural retentions such as Junkanoo, are seen, by Caribbean Christians themselves, as improper and second class at best, and evil or demonic at worst.

But more must be said of the colonial context, which has created this Self-Negation. The tension between the Church and indigenous culture manifested itself with the first European/Caribbean encounter, wherein Columbus’s landfall on the island of Guanahani (an island of what is now the Bahamas) on 12th October 1492 would seem to set the precedent for church/culture relations within the region. In encountering the indigenous Lucayans he records in his journal:

It appears to me, that the people are ingenious, and would be good servants and I am of opinion that they would very readily become Christians, as they appear to have no religion. They very quickly learn such words as are spoken to them. If it please our Lord, I intend at my return to carry home six of them to your Highnesses, that they may learn our language. (Columbus' Journal, Saturday 13th October 1492)⁴

The following is revealed: firstly, the indigenous 'other' would be, and should be, servile. This was their lot. Secondly, it would be to their advantage that they become Christians, for they had no religion. In fact, to be Christian would mean that they would serve the true 'god', the European 'god'. And thirdly, they needed to be civilised, to learn the European language. They seemed to have some capability, for they repeated words, just as parrots do. But, what is important here is that in the colonial mind-set, these three things were not separated. For Columbus, to become Christian was to become 'civilised'. And, for the indigenous other, their 'primal' state would and should always locate them within the sphere of subservience.

The decimation of the indigenous pre-Columbian peoples led to the growth of the Slave Trade, which supplied labour from the African continent, mainly for the production of sugar, tobacco, and cotton. From then on, the entire region, through the plantation machinery, would be organised for the economic benefit of European countries. After emancipation, indentured labour, just as degrading as slavery, saw the migration of peoples from India and China to the now formalised colonial domains of Spain, England,

⁴ See Christopher Columbus, *The Journal of Christopher Columbus (During His First Voyage, 1492-93) and Documents Relating the Voyages of John Cabot and Gaspar Corte Real*, trans. and ed. by Clements R. Markham (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010; repr., Cambridge Library Collection - Hakluyt First Series).

Portugal, France, The Netherlands, and increasingly, North America. Naturally, the same conflict of cosmologies ensued.⁵ Within the European imagination the different religions and religious practices among slaves and indentured labourers could in no way be a repository for the holy; they were seen as heathen. These radically different people, principally made up of Africans, in the mind-set of the colonial, had no spirituality, no religion, and no ‘God’. They were ‘secular’, primal, and to be pitied, or worse, eradicated; just as the Carib, Taino, Lucayan, and Arawaks were! They were non-persons, beasts of burden, and if they had any God, s/he would be false. Kortright Davis makes a similar analysis of plantation society expressing that slave religiosity – ritual, drumming, songs, spirit possession, animal sacrifices, herbs and dances – from the onset were considered heathen and were hard for the Europeans to accept as ‘authentic religion’. Their goal,

⁵ Caribbean Historians have traced the history of Europe’s involvement with the New World showing how Europe’s political, religious, and economic concerns – From Spain, Portugal, France, Holland, England, and in recent times, the United States - have shaped the Caribbean existence. A common thread in these forms of colonial expansion has been the destruction and/or enslavement, and general oppression of the indigenous. And, even after emancipation in the mid-nineteenth century, other forms of economic, cultural and political oppression arose such as indentured labour. See for example, Eric Williams, *From Columbus to Castro: History of the Caribbean* (New York: Random House, 1970).; and Hilary McDonald Beckles and Verene A. Shepherd, *Liberties Lost: Caribbean Indigenous Societies and Slave Systems* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004). The latter looks particularly at the consequences of colonial and plantation societies on indigenous peoples in the Caribbean, from the pre-Columbian peoples to the Africans brought through the slave trade. For a specifically Bahamian historical account tracing how these realities shaped Bahamian society, see Michael Craton and Gail Saunders, *Islanders in the Stream: A History of the Bahamian People*, vol. 1: From Aboriginal Times to the End of Slavery (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1992).and *ibid.*, 2: From the Ending of Slavery to the Twenty-First Century. Concerning indentured labour introduced into the region post-emancipation, Ennis B. Edmonds and Michelle A. Gonzalez explain that they added a new layer of complexity within the highly stratified class based societies of the Caribbean. These persons, Jewish, Chinese, and Middle Eastern poor rural agricultural workers, drawn to the harsh colonies were at first “considered on a par with or below the masses of the black population well into the mid-1900s.” Since then they have climbed the social ladder adding to complex race and class relations in contemporary Caribbean societies. See, Ennis B. Edmonds and Michelle A. Gonzalez, *Caribbean Religious History: An Introduction* (New York: New York University Press, 2010). 7 - 8. Also, in Arthur C. Dayfoot’s assessment of the settlement of the Indentured Immigrants he explains that they not only endured a similarly long and dangerous sea journey, but they also were subjected to the traditional attitudes against slaves. They were also harshly disciplined through incarcerations and accommodations were horrendous. See Arthur C. Dayfoot, *The Shaping of West Indian Church 1492 to 1962* (Kingston, Jamaica: University of the West Indies Press, 1999).

through missionary activity was to stamp such practices out.⁶ Furthermore, society was constructed along such concepts, so much so, that as Ian Strachan explains, “The plantation has been the principal shaping force of Caribbean life, past and present, on every island where it was successfully adopted as the mode of production and the apparatus of rule.”⁷

Since Columbus’ landfall in 1492, the Slave trade ended in 1807; full emancipation was achieved in 1838; and between 1962 (Jamaica) and 1984 (St. Kitts), most of the former British colonies had achieved formal independence from their colonial master, and the ascendance of (mainly) black leadership began in all spheres of national life. But the same dynamic remains: African culture and religiocultural retentions are still othered. But this time, it is done so by African Caribbean people themselves. The colonial mind-set has been entrenched. The rules of the plantation have become normative. While African Caribbean people love their Churches, they can not help their being of African heritage. This refers to the African cosmology inherent in folklore or in everyday proverbs, or the pervasive belief in the spirit world, or in holding wakes and believing in the presence of the recently departed. Looking at major characteristic of continental African derived religions, particular as they manifest in contemporary Jamaican Culture, Dianne Stewart has proposed that the following can be traced within African Caribbean culture: communitheistic (as opposed to a monotheistic or polytheistic) understanding of the divine, as in venerated deities and invisible beings; ancestral veneration; possession trance

⁶ Kortright Davis, *Emancipation Still Comin': Explorations in Caribbean Emancipatory Theology* (New York: Orbis, 1990).

⁷ Ian G. Strachan, *Paradise and Plantation: Tourism and Culture in the Anglophone Caribbean*, New World studies (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2002).

and mediumship; food offerings and animal sacrifice; divination and herbalism; and entrenched belief in neutral mystical power, as evidenced in the practice of Obeah and Mayal.⁸ While her work is focused on Jamaica, such characteristics are, to varying degrees and in various ways, present in other Anglophone African Caribbean territories such as the Bahamas. But, these are precisely the characteristics not embraced by Churches in these Anglophone Caribbean territories. Owing to the colonial pattern where the Church has always been in the position of power, holding these two central aspects of African Caribbean identity together, missionary Christianity and African religious and cultural heritage, results naturally in the subordination of the latter. In such a construct there is little space for integration, for authentic enculturation where the creative tension between the two is seen as a positive, leading to more wholesome, healing and self-affirming church and cultural practices. Furthermore, the contemporary Caribbean Church, comprised of the descendants of slaves and indentured labourers, has been complicit in fostering this colonial mind-set. As the Verdun Proclamation has explained:

The existence of many religious beliefs and practices does not mean the acceptance of all of them. Those which are accepted are the ones the Europeans have approved. Afrocentric religious beliefs are still considered evil and even where there is religious tolerance there is still a great deal of suspicion. Except for students of anthropology, sociology, and history, little effort has been made to understand the religious beliefs and practices with an African base. The officials of the Christian churches do not recognize a need for dialogue with these religious beliefs, even when there is conflict between what the churches teach and what people believe. The fact that the Christian churches, which by and large are led by clergy who are the descendants of Africans, do not see any value in carrying on dialogue with the religious beliefs and practices found among African peoples goes to show the extent to which prejudice against Africans has been instilled within the peoples of the Caribbean. It also confirms how very Eurocentric the churches are in their thinking.⁹

⁸ Dianne M. Stewart, *Three Eyes for the Journey: African Dimensions of the Jamaican Religious Experience* (Oxford Oxford University Press, 2004).

⁹ Oscar L. Bolioli, ed. *Reclaiming identity: The Verdun Proclamation*, The Caribbean: Culture of Resistance, Spirit of Hope (New York: Friendship Press, 1993). p. 57. This was the result of a consultation between the

It is within this context, and through these lenses that this research project views the relationship between Junkanoo and the Church in contemporary Bahamian society. Exploring the relationship may help to more deeply understand and address this dissonance within Bahamian society and within Bahamian people.

1.2. Research Aims and Objectives

Situated in the field of Caribbean Theology, this research project uses ethnographic research methods, including semi-structured interviews and observations, to explore the Junkanoo Festival and its relationship with the Church in the Bahamas. Working under the hypothesis that the Church/Junkanoo relationship is a self-negating one, the ultimate aim is to see how such festivals may serve as theological resources by which churches within the African Caribbean context would be able to respond to, and if possible, help repair, the pervasive issue of Self-Negation. Hence, the key questions driving the research are: In what sense is Junkanoo a religious or spiritual event for Bahamian people; should it really be seen as outside the realm of the sacred? What is the legacy of the Church in Bahamian society? How does Self-Negation feature in the relationship between the Church and Junkanoo in Bahamian Society? In which ways could Junkanoo help the Church to affirm the ‘selfhood’ of Bahamian people and/or vice-versa, the Church helping Junkanoo to do the same? With these questions in mind then, this research does the following:

Caribbean/African American Dialogue and the CCC where representatives from throughout the Caribbean (including Suriname and Cayenne), North America and the UK met at the Marian Retreat Center, in Verdun, Barbados, 1st – 3rd May, 1992. This consultation was the first Caribbean activity in the implementation of decisions taken at the First Inter-Continental Consultation of Indigenous, African/American, and African/Caribbean peoples on Racism in the Americas convened by the WCC in Rio de Janeiro in Sept. 1990. This was the landmark year of the Quincentennial celebrations of the ‘discovery’ of the new world by Columbus.

- Proposes Self-Negation as a critical framework through which Church/Culture relationships in the Caribbean can be viewed.
- Explores and describes the complex relationship between Junkanoo and the Church in the Bahamian context, looking particularly at areas of tension or dissonance leading to the devaluation of the former, or even rejection of the latter; what I've described above as Self-Negation.
- Suggest means of better, more integrated practices through which both can help respond to the reality of Self-Negation.

1.3. Research Context

Having already situated myself within the research, there are three other ways in which I will situate it: nationally, regionally and academically. Firstly, the Bahamas, like many other Caribbean Islands, has had a colourful socio-political history directly owing to the political and economic affairs of foreign imperial powers. After the 1492 landfall of the Spanish, and the decimation of its original inhabitants, it was abandoned for a century and a half. It became refuge for English Puritans from Bermuda in 1648. In 1670 it was granted to six Lord Proprietors of the Carolinas – signalling a first connection with North America. By the end of the 17th Century and early into the 18th it was both a haven for piracy and a site for inter-European New World conflicts.¹⁰ English Royal government arrived in 1718 both to eradicate piracy and to strengthen British governance. This signalled the beginning of slave labour in the colony, which lasted until Emancipation in 1834. By this time the population was majority African. Having now gained independence from Great Britain in 1973, there is little doubt that the most powerful social and political

¹⁰ By this I mean that many of Europe's wars were fought in its colonial territories as they tried to monopolise trade and/or land within the region.

player in the life of the country is North America. It is due to the fact that, like most of the former British colonies, the main industry and means of survival for the nation is tourism, with North America being its largest market.¹¹ Figure 1 below provides us with a map of the Bahamas in its relationship to Caribbean and the North American context.



Figure 1. Map of the Bahamas (Craton and Saunders, *Islanders in the Stream*, 1992)

Secondly, the Caribbean region, to which the Bahamas belongs, needs some defining here. There are many ways to look at the Caribbean: geographically, one might only include countries within the Caribbean Sea, from which the Bahamas would be excluded; or geologically in terms of the Caribbean basin, which would include parts of South and Central America; or the Caribbean diaspora which exists all over the globe; or socio-

¹¹ Tourism along with the construction it derives accounts for approximately 60% of the GDP and employs some 50% of the country's labour force. The main source for Tourist visits is North America. For a breakdown of key statistic related to the Bahamas, see <http://statistics.bahamas.gov.bs/key.php?cmd=view&id=405>.

historically, for countries which have a shared legacy of European colonialism, slavery, and neo-colonialism. Since there is no agreed upon consensus, and any attempt would naturally be ideological, I define Caribbean in this socio-historical sense, namely that the same processes which have taken place in Barbados, Jamaica, Belize, Guyana, Trinidad, and others in the Anglophone Caribbean, and also in the Hispanic and Francophone countries of the region, are also affecting the Bahamas. There is the shared history of colonialism, slavery, and utter dependence on European and/or North American power.

I must also state here that the tensions between faith and culture that I've described above also exist throughout the region as well. For example, we find the Hallelujah controversy of 1995 in Trinidad when Peter Minshall received vitriolic responses from the Body of Concerned Pastors (largely Pentecostal) because his band, which went on to win the title of Carnival Band of the Year, was named "Hallelujah". The pastors saw it as a desecration of their religious beliefs; in their eyes Minshall was being 'blasphemous' and 'satanic'.¹² In Barbados one finds the tensions with self-identified Christian calypso tent, "The Experience Tent" and band, "Walk Holy Band".¹³ Both of these have come under criticism for bringing Christianity into the 'secular' realm. The same can be said of self-identified Christian Junkanoo Groups in the Bahamas, one of which is 'Conquerors for Christ' who have not gotten much support from the various churches, precisely because

¹² Garth L. Green, "Blasphemy, Sacrilege, and Moral Degradation in the Trinidad Carnival: The Hallelujah Controversy of 1995," in *Religion, Diaspora, and Cultural Identity: A Reader in the Anglophone Caribbean*, ed. John W. Pulis (The Netherlands: Gordon and Breach Publishers, 1999).

¹³ Having studied in Barbados for three years, and knowing other clergy persons, I am very aware of similar tensions in the calypso and Crop Over scene. Such insights concerning the Experience Tent and Walk Holy Band were related to me in conversation with two fellow clergy persons and researchers who were there during the controversy.

they were mixing what seemed to be two incompatible things.¹⁴ Examples like these abound across the region. Figure 2 below provides us with a map of the Caribbean basin.

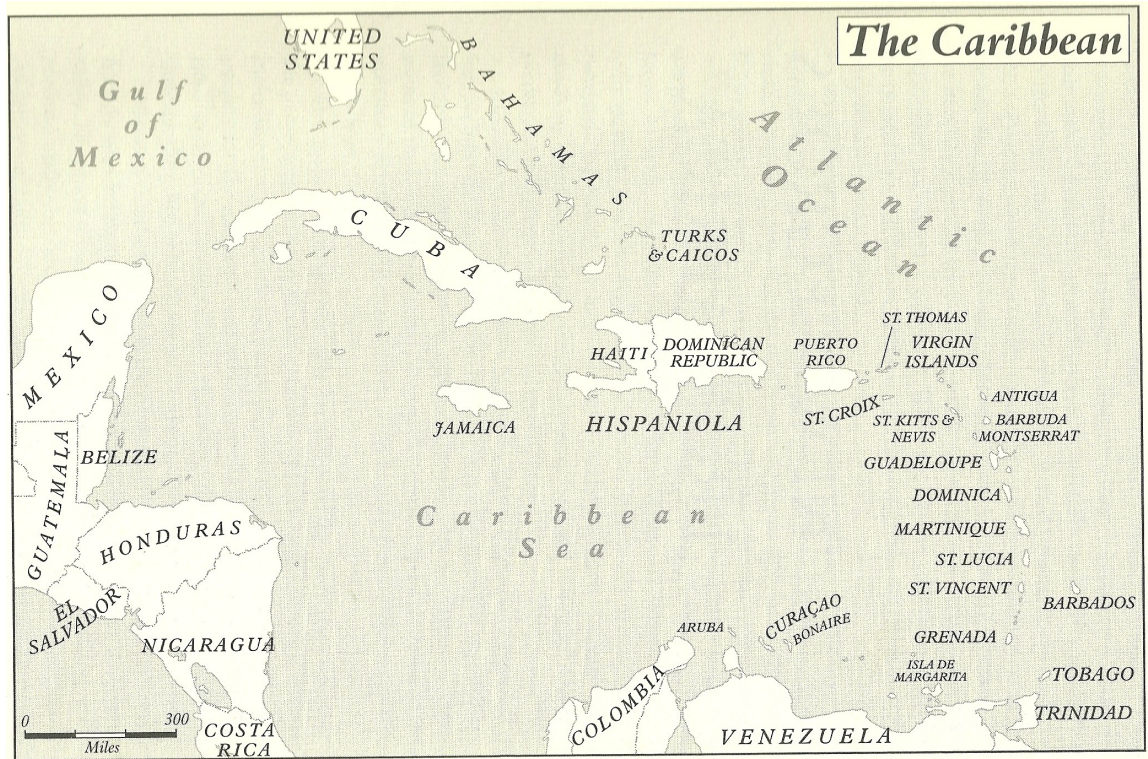


Figure 2. Map of the Caribbean Basin (Adderley, “New Negroes From Africa”, 2006)

Thirdly I situate the research project in field of Caribbean Theology, which I am describing as a ‘Caribbean Practical Contextual Theology’. By doing this I am highlighting that my work is a theology from ‘below’, prioritising the embodied lives of people over abstract concepts. In a region like the Caribbean such an approach has served to reify the chains of slavery and colonialism. Noel Erskine reminds us that the Caribbean like other theologies of the Third World must decolonise their theologies, mediating them

¹⁴ The Group ‘Conquerors for Christ’ was crucial to my data collection. In an in-depth interview with leader, Pastor Henry Higgins, he explained the obstacles and criticisms he has faced for bringing ‘Christian’ Junkanoo onto Bay Street.

through the lenses of their respective historical and cultural experiences.¹⁵ Therefore, in light of the historical context of colonial oppression and African ‘othering’, I am prioritising the culture and experience of contemporary African Caribbean Bahamian people, bringing the same into dialogue with the Bible, Christian theology in general, and the beliefs and practices of the Church in the Bahamas. In short, this contextual theological research is concerned with enculturation, or the degree to which the Christian faith has become indigenous to the nation, and by extension, the region. It is also concerned with the practices of Church and cultural productions, whether or not they bring about wholeness or dissonance to Bahamian society, or within Bahamian people. It also acknowledges the multiplicity of religions, religious expressions, religiocultural retentions, and religious experiences across the very diverse region of the Caribbean, and the need for creative dialogue and ‘authentic’ relationship.¹⁶

Also, an important note to make at this point is that this research on the Bahamas can not and does not account for the experiences of the rest of the African Caribbean. While there are historical, cultural and religious similarities, I do not claim to speak for the rest of the Caribbean. It is through this particular research into the Bahamian context that a

¹⁵ Noel L. Erskine, *Decolonizing Theology: A Caribbean Perspective* (Trenton, N. J. : Africa World Press, 1998).

¹⁶ See Michael St. A. Miller, *Reshaping the contextual vision in Caribbean Theology: theoretical foundations for Theology which is contextual, pluralistic, and dialectical* (Plymouth, UK: University Press of America, 2007). His work addresses Caribbean Theology’s neglect of the other Faiths within the region, and argues that ‘dialectical contextualism’ be the theological methodology for such a diverse and multi-faith region. Even though the Bahamas might not be as diverse as other territories such as Trinidad, Guyana and Jamaica, it is still hybrid in its religious and cultural composition. And, being part of the region, scholarship on the Bahamas must always be aware of the total diversity of the Bahamas. In fact, Trinidadians, Guyanese, Barbadians and Jamaicans have been instrumental in the building of the modern Bahamas through trans-regional movements for employment in areas such as nursing, teaching, and policing.

contribution can be made to conversations concerning practices of enculturation across the wider African Caribbean region.

1.4. Key Words and Concepts

The following terminology and concepts will be encountered and expounded upon throughout the research. However, to give an initial conceptual grounding, and for ease of reference, they will be described briefly, along with associated terminology.

1.4.1. Self-Negation

As described above, this is the tendency for the African Caribbean person to belittle their African heritage and valorise their European one while being a product of both. Moreover, as the data confirms, it is also the interpretative lens through which the relationship between the Church and cultural productions in the Bahamas can be seen.

1.4.2. Overcoming

This is the opposite process wherein dichotomous or dissonant church/culture relationships in Bahamian society are transcended and/or integrated to bring about a sense of wholeness or harmony within the Bahamian person, and Bahamian society.

1.4.3. African Religiocultural Retention

I am employing the term African religiocultural retention not to infer an essentialist search for cultural roots, but rather an awareness of the culturally and religiously dynamic nature

of Bahamian and also Caribbean existence. I am applying the term to the wide range of indigenous religiocultural productions across the region as a whole.¹⁷ These include the more formal African traditional religious forms found mostly on the larger Islands (i.e. Haitian Vodoo, Cuban Santería, Trinidadian Shango, Brazilian Candomblé); African based spiritualities (i.e. Obeah, Myal); African influenced Christianities (i.e. The Native Baptists and Revival Zionism, Jamaica; and Spiritual Baptists, Trinidad); religiocultural and political movements (i.e. Rastafari); and Religiocultural art-forms (i.e. Junkanoo, carnival, reggae, calypso, salsa, merengue, capoeira, stick fighting, etc.); and Black missionary churches and denominations (i.e. Anglican, Roman Catholic, Baptists, Methodists, Pentecostals).¹⁸

1.4.4. *Junkanoo*

While this is described above as a New World street festival of West African origin, celebrated among the former English colonies particularly at Christmas or New Years, of which the Bahamas has the most vibrant expression, it still has terminology exclusive to the Bahamian context. The term *rushin*, which will be used throughout this research

¹⁷ The use of the words 'African Retentions' are not new to Caribbean theological discussion. See Stephen Jennings, "Caribbean theology or theologies of the Caribbean," *Caribbean Journal of Religious Studies* 8, no. 2 (1987): 4. He employs the term to highlight the need for any form of Christian theology within the region to critically and constructively correlate with African Survivals of one kind or another. His examples of such African retentions are 'Voodoo, Shango, Myalism, Revivalism and Pocomania, as well as Rastafariansim, Garveyism and the Black Power Movement, all of which he sees as synthesised expressions, to one degree or another, of European cultural theology and African inculturation theology.

¹⁸ Furthermore, while the use of the term 'religiocultural' is meant to safeguard the idea of religion and culture as continually integrated within the Caribbean context, the terms 'African' and 'Retention' are intentional as well. It is of little doubt that African culture is the largest ancestral influence within the region. But, to a large extent, it is precisely this reality being denied within the denominational practice of Christianity. The theology and liturgy in the church is still informed by western contexts, and does not engage with a dynamic and creative African based, creolised Caribbean one. 'African' and 'Retention', therefore, are reminders that the separation between Black Christianity in the Caribbean, in its many forms, and African traditional religiosity, in its many forms, is often an arbitrary, colonial and theologically constructed one.

project, refers to the act of participating in Junkanoo parades through the use of musical instruments, dancing or costuming. Also, in this project I am referring to persons who participate in Junkanoo as ‘Junkanoos’ or a ‘Junkanoo’.¹⁹

1.4.5. The Church

While I am fully aware of the denominational variations of church in the Bahamian context, this research project uses the term generally to include all denominations. This is not simply for ease of reference, but also the fact that all are missionary since they originate from outside the country and region. This will be further explained in Chapter 2 as well as denominational variations highlighted in the analysis, Chapter 5.

1.5. Thesis Overview

Chapter 2 historicizes the relationship between Junkanoo and the Church in Bahamian society. It argues that while Junkanoo is the foremost cultural production in Bahamian society, it remains on the ecclesiastical fringe, and that the Church, given its colonial legacy of demonising and marginalising African religious and cultural productions of any kind, has yet to make a movement towards embracing African religiocultural retentions like Junkanoo.

Chapter 3 presents the methodology behind the research. Firstly, it highlights the epistemological and methodological tensions and convergences involved in using an interdisciplinary, contextual and practical theological research that brings Theology and

¹⁹ Some persons used the form ‘Junkanooer’, but there is no exclusively accepted terminology.

Ethnography into conversation. Secondly, it outlines the research methods, including a discussion about process, access, researcher role and ethics. Thirdly, it discusses the approach to data analysis, including considerations about validity and generalizability. Finally, it states my perception of the research's scope and limitations, as well as its unique contribution to Caribbean theological discourse.

Chapter 4 is the literature review. It begins by considering Self-Negation as a reality to which much of the academic literature within the Caribbean has pointed. It then argues that while the relationship between the Church and African religiocultural retentions is characteristic of Self-Negation, such a reality has not been the focus of Caribbean theological discourse. In fact, theological exploration into African religiocultural retentions have been few, and hardly any of these explorations have been into Junkanoo, let alone the smaller Caribbean nation of the Bahamas whose form of Junkanoo has survived to be the most potent within the Anglophone Caribbean. It must also be acknowledged that the literature review has not included many female scholars simply for the fact that not much theological research in the region has been published by female theologians and scholars. Therefore, the theological scene remains imbalanced with regard to gender.²⁰

Chapter 5 presents the analysis of research findings. In the first instance Self-Negation is established as a plausible interpretative framework through which to view the

²⁰ I have included the work of Anna Kasafi Perkins, Annette Brown, and the very important insights of Carolyn Cooper since their research interests directly bear upon the relationship between Church and popular culture in the region. Their works remain invaluable for any serious analysis of Caribbean religious and cultural life. See Chapter 4 – 4.4.1 and Chapter 6 – 6.4.

Junkanoo/Church relationship in particular, as well as Bahamian society in general. In the second instance the data is further explored to highlight the emergent theological themes most pertinent to the phenomenon of Self-Negation after looking at the positive and negative contributions both make to Junkanoo/Church relationship. Taking into account the dynamic nature of Self-Negation in light of legacies of slavery and colonialism, it is further advanced that both Junkanoo and the church can and do contribute to both Self-Negation and Overcoming through either a hermeneutic of dichotomy or hermeneutic of embrace respectively.

Chapter 6 is a theological reflection on the concept of sin employed within the Junkanoo/Church relationship, that ‘sinfulness’ is conflated with African religious and cultural heritage. Using what I describe as Caribbean Vernacular Hermeneutics, and surveying biblical and historical Christian thinking on the concept of sin, I argue that within Junkanoo there exists a pneumatological corrective to the colonial concept of sin pervasive in Bahamian society, and particularly employed by the Church. This pneumatological corrective is brought into clearer focus when examining the role of the Holy Spirit in bringing harmony to the Jew/Gentile dichotomy within the nascent Christian community in Acts 11.

Chapter 7 concludes the research report firstly by summarising the various components and results. Secondly, it draws on the data analysis and theological reflection to suggest a hermeneutic of embrace that should undergird the practices of both Junkanoo and the

Church. Finally, based on the hermeneutic of embrace, recommendations are made for specific integrative and self-affirming practices between Junkanoo and the Church.

2. Chapter 2: Junkanoo and the Church in Bahamian Society

2.1. Introduction:

The significance of African religiocultural retentions for theology and church life in the Caribbean is yet to be fully explored within Caribbean theological reflection. With this in mind this research project turns its attention to the Bahamian context looking precisely at the relationship between Junkanoo and the Church as a way of furthering such reflections. Contemporary Bahamian society boasts of two major passions. Bahamians love their churches. Bahamians also love their Junkanoo. But historically, both spaces of social life have popularly been considered as incompatible. This chapter gives historical and socio-political sketches of the development of both in Bahamian society, arguing that while Junkanoo remains at the ecclesiastical edge of Bahamian religious life, the Church has yet to make the final and logical step of embracing Junkanoo as, perhaps, the most potent African religiocultural retention within the nation.

2.2. Bahamian Junkanoo

Early accounts of Junkanoo in the Bahamas reveal that on the one hand it was passionately participated in, particularly by the black majority of the colony, mainly men, and on the other, there was great disdain and/or ridicule of the Christmas time celebrations by the colonials – visitors, missionaries, and government officials.²¹ Clement Bethel explains that from as early as 1801 there was a John Canoe ‘King’ as “fixture” in the

²¹ Though Junkanoo is now a national cultural event involving men and women, its history in colonial Bahamian society meant that, since it was thought of as a violent place for gang activity, it was no place for a woman. Women were discouraging from engaging in such activities.

Bahamas” and that loose newspaper accounts point to an annual celebration, particularly in the city of Nassau.²² Rev W. Dowson, a Methodist missionary, recorded in his journal, 25th December 1811, the earliest description of the Christmas Festival taking place on the Turks Island, then a part of the Bahamas. He wrote:

I never before witnessed such a Christmas Day; the negroes have been beating their tambourines and dancing the whole day and now between eight and nine o’clock they are pursuing their sport as hotly as ever. How my heart was pained to see the Redeemer’s birthday so commemorated.²³

Kirkley Sands highlights the early reference to Bahamian Junkanoo found in P. S.

Townsend’s journal, where in Christmas 1823 he writes:

Being Christmas, our ears were assailed with the noise of the black and white boys playing on the green before our house. We should not have noticed ten times as much sound in New York but in this still town it seemed quite grating. We were also regaled last night at Christmas Eve, until 3 or 4 in the morning, with some bad music on the hoarse cracked drums and fifes, by groups of Negroes parading the streets.²⁴

Although hardly any literature exists to show the Christmas time observances of the slaves on the plantations, plantation owner on San Salvador Charles Farquharson’s Journal attests to such celebrations, when on Boxing Day 1832 he writes:

Some of our people gon [*sic*] abroad to see some of their friends and some at home amusing themselves in their own way threw [*sic*] the day, but all of them at home in the evening and had a grand dance and keep it up until near daylight.²⁵

²²E. Clement Bethel, "Junkanoo in the Bahamas," *Caribbean Quarterly* 36, no. 3 (1990): 2. It’s important to note here that the word Junkanoo came about in the 1950s but was formerly known as John Canoe. See Keith Gordon Wisdom, "Bahamian Junkanoo: An Act in Modern Social Drama" (PhD, University of Georgia, 1985).

²³ "25th December, 1811, Christmas Day: Dowson's Journal for 1810 - 1817," (The National Archives of the Bahamas).

²⁴ See Kirkley C. Sands, "Junkanoo in Historical Perspective " in *Junkanoo and Religion: Christianity and Cultural Identity in the Bahamas* (Nassau: Media Enterprises, 2003), 14. Though the explicit word ‘Junkanoo’ isn’t used in this account, Sands believes it to be a likely precursor to contemporary Bahamian Junior Junkanoo.

²⁵ Charles Farquharson, *A relic of slavery 1831 - 1832: Farquharson's Journal for 1831 - 1832* (Nassau: Deans Peggs Research Fund, 1957). 83. San Salvador is the name of one of the Family Islands of the Bahamas. Family or Out Islands refers to those more rural islands in the archipelagic nation from whence most people migrate to the city of Nassau or more specifically, to the Island of New Providence on which

The dual attitudes towards the festival, of either passionate participation in it, or its utter condemnation by the authorities, can be traced throughout Bahamian history. Bethel places the festival into 4 time periods.²⁶ From 1800 – 1899 Junkanoo, in the form of militia bands functioned both as means of celebration, during emancipation for example, and as means of protest and advocacy for social change, an example of which was bands carrying their petitions to the governor of the colony. By the 1850s the festival was dying out, as in other territories, but was revived with the arrival of more than 6,000 Liberated Africans between 1811 and 1860. It was during this time period that the law was passed allowing slaves Christmas and the two days following as holidays, and in 1899 the Street Nuisance Prohibition Act was passed which forbade the firing of crackers or blowing of horns in public streets.²⁷ 1900 – 1919 was a time of serious economic depression and Junkanoo festivals manifested as violent gang fights and group clashes. 1920 – 1947 was a prosperous period and costumes became more colourful and flamboyant. It contrasted the previous period where costumes were made with the cheapest things available – newspaper, tissue paper, sponge, banana leaves and “crocus sack”.²⁸

sits the city of Nassau. The name San Salvador, meaning Holy Saviour, was given to the Island by Columbus, being his first landing in the new world.

²⁶ Bethel, "Junkanoo."

²⁷ See "An Act to Amend and Consolidate Laws Relating to the Slaves: Laws of the Bahamas 1830, 10 GEO IV. c. 13," (The National Archives of the Bahamas). This also appears in the Archives Exhibition "Junkanoo". A Booklet of the Exhibition held at the Art Gallery, Jumbey village, Nassau, Bahamas, 13th February – 3rd March, 1978. Sponsored by the Archives, Ministry of Education and Culture. A previous allowance of the Christmas time for slave celebration is attested to in the 1815 Royal Gazette, which published its Regulations for the Government of the Slaves at Clifton and Tusculum in New Providence. See "Laws of the Bahamas, 1899. 62 VIC C 31. An Act for the prohibition and restriction of Street Nuisances. (CO 23/67/153)," (The National Archives of the Bahamas).

²⁸ See Bethel, "Junkanoo," 9. The Crocus sack is made from course material particularly for carting farm produce.

However, the 1930s, characterised by labour problems across the Caribbean, led to the 1942 Burma Road Riot during which disgruntled Black Bahamians stormed Bay Street, the centre of commerce, smashing windows and looting shops. This led to a banning of the Junkanoo parade until 1947. Finally, Bethel characterised 1948 to the present as a time when Junkanoo was seen as profitable for tourism and was regulated by the government.

According to Nicolette Bethel:

Since independence in 1973, it has become more and more integral to conceptions of the nation. Iconized, it now appears on stamps, customs stickers and five-dollar bills; restaurants bear its name, much of contemporary popular music follows its beat, and both an art gallery/cultural centre [The Dundas Centre for the Performing Arts] and the national beer [Kalik] are onomatopoeically named after the sound of drum and cowbells.²⁹

The power of Junkanoo in its many forms across the colonies has demanded rich sociological attention. Max Gluckman's, concepts of rituals of rebellion and rituals of reversal, based on observances in continental South-eastern African tribal life, have been critiqued as insufficient when applied to the oppressive context of the New World.³⁰ Other scholars have insisted on multiple functions of Junkanoo, for example, "as Social Magic, Seasonal Rite, Legitimate Catharsis, Agonistic Performance, Riot, Celebration and Triumphant Spectacle."³¹ Keith Wisdom, drawing on Victor Turner's work, highlights

²⁹ Nicolette Bethel, "Junkanoo in the Bahamas: A Tale of Identity," in *Junkanoo and Religion: Christianity and Cultural Identity in the Bahamas* (Nassau: Media Enterprises, 2003), 120.

³⁰ Max Gluckman, *Custom and Conflict in Africa* (Oxford,: Blackwell, 1955).

³¹ See Robert Dirks, *The Black Saturnalia: Conflict and Its Ritual Expression on British West Indian Slave Plantations*, University of Florida monographs Social sciences (Gainesville: University Presses of Florida, University of Florida Press, 1987).; Orlando Patterson, *The Sociology of Slavery: An Analysis of the Origins, Development and Structure of Negro Slave Society in Jamaica*, Studies in society (London: MacGibbon & Kee, 1967).; Bethel, "Tale of Identity."; and Michael Craton, "Decoding Pitchy-Patchy: The Roots, Branches and Essence of Junkanoo," *Slavery and Abolition* 16, no. 1 (1995): 34. Though Craton lists a range of functions, he sees slave Junkanoo as more strongly linked to Seasonal Rite, Legitimate Catharsis, and Agonistic Performance. Robert Dirks further refines Gluckman's theory, applying it to the context of New World slavery, highlighting the fear of violent uprising, and the need to blunt such imminent violence. His novelty was in linking such surge in energy, and the need for such release in a society in which sugar was

the creative and integrative nature of the festival in Bahamian society, and characterises it as Social Drama, Street Theatre, and an exercise in liminality.³² More succinctly, as

Nicolette Bethel explains:

Junkanoo has the quality of an occupation, an invasion of the centres of authority; it occurs at the heart of the commercial power of the white Bahamian elite. This symbolism is still implicit in the parades. Although today they follow a circular route, Bahamians still refer metonymously to the act of attending or participating in the parades as “going to Bay Street” — the focus of anti-black discrimination, the site of legislation, and the heart of commerce — and until 1998 the subversion of the everyday state of affairs was emphasized by the fact that the Junkanoo parades ran counter to the normal one-way traffic system of the downtown area. For many black Bahamians, then, Junkanoo embodies their best response to the dehumanization of slavery and its aftermath.³³

Nonetheless, as I have argued elsewhere, despite Junkanoo simultaneously being a means of socio-political critique and resistance, amazing creativity, and religiocultural affirmation, all in the service of combating oppression and dehumanization, it has not,

cultivated and consumed, as explanatory of the Christmas agitations and the need for a ‘Black Saturnalia’. Orlando Patterson, *The Sociology of Slavery: An Analysis of the Origins, Development and Structure of Negro Slave Society in Jamaica* (Great Britain MacGibbon & Kee Ltd, 1967). He applies Gluckman’s ideas but sees Junkanoo as principally a ‘rite of reversal’ (mimicry), principally intending to protest against the established order, instead of preserving and strengthening that order. They were inherently subversive. It should also be noted here that what is explained of Junkanoo, has been theorised as an ‘esthetic of resistance’ by Mikhail Bakhtin in Mikhail Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World*, trans. Helene Iswolsky (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984). And, in the words of Keith Nurse: “It is essentially a process of masking so as to unmask. Mimicry, parody, satire, role reversals and symbolic social inversion are the methods used to confront class, race and gender oppression. In effect, carnival is a time when the world is turned upside-down.” See Keith Nurse, “Globalization and Trinidad carnival: diaspora, hybridity, and identity in global culture,” *Cultural Studies* 13, no. 4 (1999): 664.

³² Wisdom, “Bahamian Junkanoo.” Wisdom’s work uses Turner to explore the way Junkanoo brings the disparate classes, races, and sexes together in Bahamian society, in dramatic fashion. See Victor W. Turner, *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-structure*, The Lewis Henry Morgan lectures, (London: Routledge & K. Paul, 1969). He concludes that Junkanoo has the capacity to take any ‘junk’ and make it ‘new’, therefore deserving the name ‘Junkanoo’, See Craton and Saunders, *Islanders in the Stream*, 1: From Aboriginal Times to the End of Slavery: 448. Craton and Saunders apply Wisdom’s insight into their characterization of the festival as well when they describe it as “a distinctly Bahamian episode of social, political, and cultural theatre rather than mere folklore survival. Deprecated by the churchmen and authorities as primitive and potentially riotous, it was regarded by its massed performers as a proud assertion of cultural skills with a hint of latent power and by the white elite and visitors as a picturesque spectacle on the titillating edge of menace, magic, and mass hysteria.”

³³ Bethel, “Tale of Identity,” 122.

save for the work of Kirkley Sands, been theorized as theological, and appropriate for Church praxis in the Bahamian context.³⁴

2.3. Specifics of the Bahamian Junkanoo Festival

The main celebration of Junkanoo in the Bahamas takes place twice yearly, on New Year's Day and Boxing Day, beginning in the very early hours of the morning, ending approximately 11:00 am. From about 1:00 am thousands of Bahamians and tourists alike would flock to Bay Street or Shirley Street, two parallel streets creating the heart of the downtown area.³⁵ Running in clock-wise manner, thousands of colourfully costumed

³⁴ Carlton Turner, "Junkanoo in Bahamaland: Community Space and Missional Space" (Unpublished MA, University of Birmingham 2009).

³⁵ It must be noted that the Junkanoo Festival most publicised is the one that takes place on New Providence. But Junkanoo is celebrated all over the Bahamas, the largest manifestation next to New Providence being the Junkanoo Festival in Freeport, Grand Bahama, the nation's second city. However, Junkanoo has existed on Green Turtle Cay, Abaco as the Old Bunce or Old Skin festival, which, according to Michael Craton, has had affinity to Junkanoo variants in Bermuda and North Carolina. See Craton, "Decoding Pitchy-Patchy." In the South Eastern Islands (Rum Cay, Ragged Island, Inagua, and Exuma) one sees early Junkanoo manifestations in the celebration of Neptune and Anphritite, from the mid to late 1800's during the time of the Haneaga Salt Pond company opening in 1849. See Bethel, "Junkanoo," 6. Bethel writes, "Older Inaguan informants stated that in their Junkanoo parades there was always an Old Neptune figure. In addition, further support came from an informant from near-by Ragged Island. She stated that Junkanoo was not known on that island but that a masquerading figure called Neptune, usually with two or three followers appeared every Christmas and went from door to door singing and dancing." But, as Bethel points out, these features of the South Eastern islands were also appearing in the Nassau festival, up to the time that Junkanoo was bordering extinction in circa 1857. On the Island of Andros, circa 1857, a low period in Junkanoo participation, the English tradition of Guy Fawkes, became a means of not only burning an effigy, but also creating music with cowbells and goombay drums, and dancing around the fire. Daniel J. Crowley, "Guy Fawkes day at Fresh Creek, Andros Island, Bahamas," *Man* 58, no. July (1958): 114 - 15. There are also different festivals serving as offshoots from the Nassau Junkanoo Parades. There is Jr Junkanoo which is more than 25 years old; A Junkanoo Summer Festival hosted by the Ministry of Tourism, with festival sites in Nassau, Grand Bahama, Abaco and Exuma: see <http://www.bahamas.co.uk/about-the-bahamas/junkanoo/junkanoo-summer-festival>; and a proposed carnival. Concerning this carnival the Prime-minister has designated 2014 as the year of culture, and has proposed that a new cultural festival be embarked upon, a Bahamian Carnival, whose purpose is to both showcase the cultural talents of Bahamians, but also for the generation of revenue, and boosting the Tourism product. See, Lionella Gilbert, "Bahamian Carnival: Prime Minister Christie answers critics of the Government's intention to sponsor Bahamian festival," *The Eleutheran*, 19th June 2013, <http://www.eleutheranews.com/permalink/3297.html> See also, Erica Wells, "Christie responds to critics of Bahamian 'Carnival'," *The Nassau Guardian*, 22nd June 2013, http://www.thenassauguardian.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=40021:christie-responds-to-critics-of-bahamian-carnival&catid=38:arts-a-culture&Itemid=59.

Junkanoos prepare for entrance into the parade route.³⁶ The commercial heart of the city is then transformed into an amazing spectacle of massive costumes, intense coordinated dance movements, and energising music, which includes popular songs, church hymns; as well as signature group melodies produced mainly by drums, brass instruments, cowbells, and whistles. Mixed in with the music and dancing, are the shouts and cheers of people on bleachers, or lining the streets. The centre of the parade, where groups would perform most intensely, the place of judgement in a sense, is Rawson Square, situated directly in front of the House of Assembly, and interestingly also, in front of Queen Victoria's Statue.³⁷

Converging onto Bay Street would be a number of different groups. The regulations of the Festival allow for six official groups:

- A. Division Groups
- B. Division Groups
- D. Division (Individuals)
- E. Division Groups (Exhibition)
- F. Fun Division Groups (Scrap)³⁸

Bahamians are more concerned with A Division Groups, B Division Groups, and Scrap Groups. A Groups are the largest groups to compete and have usually been the most historic ones, or reformulations of them. They have allegiances across the nation and are

³⁶ 'Junkanoos' refers here to participants of Junkanoo.

³⁷ Please see Appendix B for a diagram of the modern Junkanoo parade route.

³⁸ Please see Appendix C for a detailed account of the Rules and Regulations of the New Providence Junkanoo Parade as organised by the (Junkanoo Committee New Providence (JCNP)). Contemporary Junkanoo is arranged as a competition between groups that have their origin in the Over the Hill, slave communities just outside the city of Nassau. While Carnival festivals have Bands, the modern Junkanoo has groups.

often in bitter rivalry. By far, the two major groups and main rivals are the Saxons, associated with an ‘Over the Hill’ area called Mason’s Addition, whose leader is the legendary ‘Vola’ Francis; and the Valley Boys, associated with the adjacent neighbourhood, Centreville, whose leader is the late Winston ‘Gus’ Cooper. As Nicolette Bethel points out, these two groups, though similar, even having similarly reinvented the modern Junkanoo festival, have been identified, based on their neighbourhood, class, and religious associations, as representing the divisions in Bahamian society; a division that can be easily heard as onlookers shout out their allegiance to either one group or another.³⁹ All other A Groups are, to one degree or another, break-aways from these two major groups. They include: One Family, Music Makers, Prodigal Sons, and Roots. A and B Groups are highly organized and on any given parade, the following order of banners, dancers, and musicians may be seen. Figure 3 below shows a basic organization of A or B Groups:⁴⁰

³⁹ See Bethel, "Junkanoo, Territory and Identity." Nicolette Bethel’s argument is that one can trace the territoriality of Junkanoo when one examines the relationship between the Saxons and the Valley Boys. Though they are similar in many respects, they are different. A clue to the fierce competition between the groups lie in their associated neighborhoods which were divided by the Collins Wall, formerly built in the 1930s by American Ralph G. Collins, a millionaire investor, separated the black Bahamians from the more respectable black and coloured Bahamans, and further east of this wall was designed for white Bahamians. Collins Wall therefore acted as a racial boundary, but even more so, it delineated both groups in terms of race, religion, education, and political representation. Hence, Saxons were for the less respectable, less educated, Black Baptists; and the Valley Boys were associated with the more respectable, more educated, black and coloured Anglicans.

⁴⁰ See Arlene Nash-Ferguson, *I Come to Get Me! An Inside Look at the Junkanoo Festival* (Bahamas: Doongalik Studios, 2000). 62.

Diagram of Group Formation

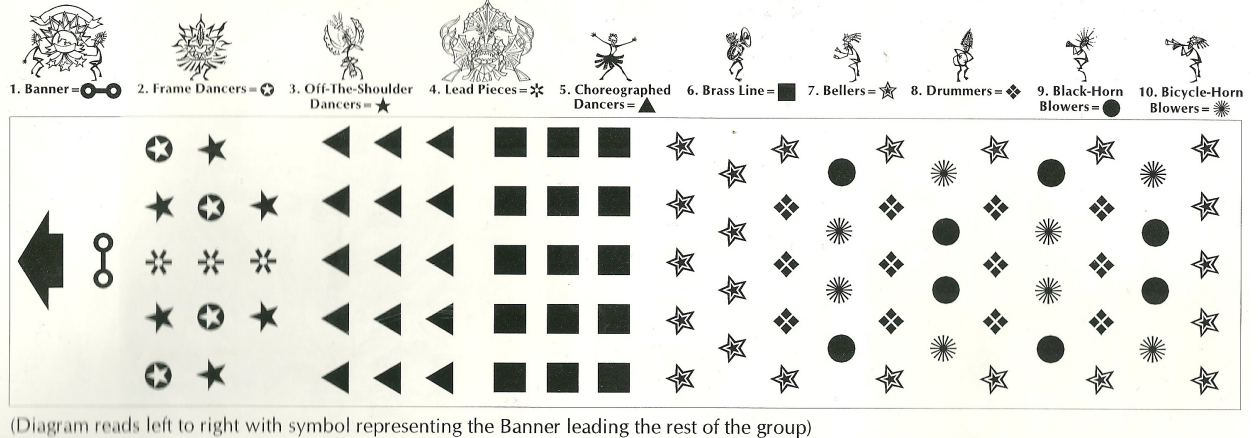


FIGURE 3. DIAGRAM OF GROUP FORMATION (FERGUSON, I COME TO GET ME!, 2000).

B Groups are smaller and in no way enjoy the prestige of the A Groups. These include: Body of Christ, Conquerors for Christ, Colours, Culture, Fancy Dancers, One Love, Out Takers, and Red Land Soldiers. What is of note here is that only in the B Group section do we find self-identified Christian Junkanoo Groups. One can even argue that themes between A and B Groups are different as well. While A Groups have the financial capability to construct larger and more elaborate costuming, they also seem to rush to more cosmopolitan themes. One would find within B Groups a conscious effort to promote nationalistic and indigenous themes.⁴¹

Scrap Groups, on the other hand, are as important to Bahamians as perhaps Valley Boys and Saxons, or any of the other major groups. Lisa Carol Dean speaks of Scrap Groups as

⁴¹ This is an insight I gleaned from watching the 2013 Boxing Day and 2014 New Years Day parades. It dawned on me that this is precisely what I had witnessed a year earlier when doing the fieldwork. More will be said about this in the analysis of the data, but it seems quite an astonishing observation, one which merits further investigation. Please see Appendix D for a list of themes encountered during the field research.

representing an underlying ideology of the original Junkanoo celebrations in that they refrain from adhering to the modernisation of the festival, particularly in the regulations for paper fringe (paper mache or crepe paper). They refuse to be judged.⁴² Scrappers participate solely for enjoyment and usually cluster in very small groups, with basic, even minimal costuming and instrumentation.⁴³

It must always be remembered that Junkanoo groups spend the entire year planning, collecting, creating, revising and storing costumes and artefacts for the upcoming parades. The hub for all such activity is the Shack. Arlene Nash-Ferguson describes this as a “crude building used for the purpose of building and storing Junkanoo costumes.”⁴⁴ But two things stand out most: firstly, it is a locus of equality and communality. Darren Bastian makes the point that in the shack there is neither king nor peasant.⁴⁵ Nash goes on to state:

Your troops come from all over the island, and from all walks of life. They are all ages, and of all religious denominations. Their reasons for being a part of your group are as varied as they are. Doctors, electricians, policemen, morticians, fishermen, nurses, teachers and carpenters, will appear and follow your direction. Your boss might appear at the door, sided by side with your newspaper boy, to follow your direction!⁴⁶

The second aspect central to the operations of the Shack is that of secrecy.⁴⁷ The Shack is an abode of secrets, and groups function very much like secret societies. Their Shacks are

⁴² Lisa Carol Dean, "Preserving Junkanoo: A Traditional Festival of Music and Culture," *Journal of the Bahamas Historical Society* 17, no. October (1995).

⁴³ Scrappers refer to those who are part of the scrap groups.

⁴⁴ Nash-Ferguson, *I Come to Get Me!* : 86. Photos of Scrap Groups can be seen in Appendix A.

⁴⁵ Darren Bastian, "Perspective on the Future of Junkanoo," in *Junkanoo and Religion: Christianity and Cultural Identity in the Bahamas* (Media Enterprises, 2003), 39.

⁴⁶ Nash-Ferguson, *I Come to Get Me!* : 20.

⁴⁷ For pictorial examples of a basic shack, please see Appendix A.

demarcations of identity and territory, set-up to keep insiders and outsiders separate.

Perhaps, this quotation from Arlene Nash-Ferguson makes things more explicit:

. . . in the dead of night, all over the island, curious processions of diverse persons begin to frequent strange structures off the beaten track, for one reason only. They will tackle rocks and potholes, confront snarling dogs, and dodge under clotheslines waiting to decapitate them, to get in the back of a yard to the structure with the light peeping out through the seams of makeshift plywood walls and roof. No matter whether the area is Bamboo Town or Carmichael, Winton or Market Street, these structures give rise to great suspense and anticipation. Your face is your admission ticket and strangers appearing at the closely guarded door will evoke bouts of frenzy in the inhabitants of the shack, a frenzy surpassed only by the appearance of the most deadly instruments: the dreaded camera.⁴⁸

Though it is generally understood that monetary prize is not the basic motivation of a Junkanoo group and their more than zealous membership, groups would spend a lot of time seeking resources to fund their extremely expensive endeavours. Janet DeCosmo explains that today it costs “somewhere between \$75,000 and \$100,000 or roughly £48,208 and £64,276 to put one of the large Junkanoo groups onto Bay Street. As a result, corporate patronage must be found, and groups’ names now reflect their sponsors.”⁴⁹ For example, Shell sponsors the Saxon therefore the group is known as the Shell Saxons Superstars. Arlene Nash-Ferguson explains that while some groups have established sponsors, others have to endure the “stressful and nerve-wracking” process of securing funding.⁵⁰ In a recent study Nicolette Bethel and her sociology students made a preliminary estimate of the cost of Junkanoo as being \$18,535,000.00 or £11,913,482.⁵¹

⁴⁸ Nash-Ferguson, *I Come to Get Me!* : 28 - 30.

⁴⁹ Janet L. DeCosmo, "Junkanoo: The African Cultural Connection in Nassau, Bahamas," *The Western Journal of Black Studies* 27, no. 4 (2003): 254.

⁵⁰ Nash-Ferguson, *I Come to Get Me!* : 20.

⁵¹ Nicolette Bethel and SOC 200 Students, "Economic Impact of Junkanoo," (Nassau, Bahamas: The College of the Bahamas, 2013). Beginning in 2009, Nicolette Bethel and her students have been gathering data on the economic impact of Junkanoo. They made this PowerPoint presentation in 2013 at the Bahamas @ 40 event. The full report was published as Nicolette Bethel, "The Economic Impact of Junkanoo in the Bahamas," *The International Journal of Bahamian Studies* 20, no. 1 (2014).

Concerning the management of the festival, Bahamian Junkanoo has become a highly organised affair. The Development Board of the Bahamas created the Masquerade in 1933 to oversee the administration and funding of the parade. By this time, the Festival was coming to be seen as a viable economic tool. Even though it was banned in 1942 because of riots, in 1947 it was back at centre stage. Rules and regulations, and also prizes in the 1960s, were put in place, thus ensuring that Junkanoo become a national and touristic spectacle. Barricades were erected which changed the nature of the festival in that, where persons could have simply entered the parade from the crowds lining the street, they could do so no longer. In 1982 the government created the National Junkanoo Committee comprised of government officials, group leaders, and artists. From its base in the Ministry of Youth, Sports and Culture it has grown to include a host of volunteers who oversee the effective running of the major parades. At present, the management of the country's major Junkanoo parades is carried out by the Junkanoo Committee New Providence (JCNP).

But, as a final word about the specifics of the Junkanoo Festival, it must be noted that its elaborate evolution, its governmental supervision and re-appropriation, its thorough regulation, and its link with the economic progress of the nation, have not been without critique. Michael Craton warns against the impact of tourism on the festival, when linking it to the demise of Junkanoo in other parts of the British Caribbean. He explains that tourism “prostituted West Indian drumming, dancing, singing and play acting, if not

Junkanoo itself.”⁵² Nicolette Bethel compares Junkanoo to the Trinidadian Carnival and how it was co-opted by the government to create a national identity.

What began in Port-of-Spain as a spontaneous expression of slaves and working-class blacks was taken over and appropriated during the post-Independence era by the Creole middle classes who now rule Trinidad, and is becoming increasingly a vehicle for the expression of middle-class tastes and values. In the same way that Carnival mirrored the fate of the black working classes of Port-of-Spain, Junkanoo is valued for its significance to the equivalent group of people in Nassau.⁵³

Clement Bethel is even more to the point in stating:

In recent years it seems that Junkanoo, while growing in beauty and cost, has been losing its distinctive character. The development of tourism and the zeal for cultural advancement have resulted in an imposition of numerous rules on the parade, and have thus led to its distancing from the ordinary Bahamian. More and more, Junkanoo is becoming a spectacle, a show in which only the few can take part; more and more, it is becoming a commodity to be mass-produced and sold to audiences.⁵⁴

2.4. On the Ecclesiastical Fringe

In many ways Junkanoo is plaited into the religious and spiritual consciousness of the people of the Bahamas, but it still exists at the periphery of church life and praxis. To begin with, an experience of Junkanoo would immediately reveal the ways in which it intersects with the church, and/or with religion in general. Much of the music played in the festival is either from the spirituals or church hymnals. It also seems as if the themes chosen by each group, usually fall into one of three categories, nationalistic/ancestral,

⁵² Craton, "Decoding Pitchy-Patchy," 37.

⁵³ Bethel, "Tale of Identity," 122 - 23.

⁵⁴ E. Clement Bethel, *Junkanoo: Festival of the Bahamas*, ed. Nicolette Bethel (London: Macmillan Caribbean 1991). ix - x. See also Ressa Mackey, "All That Glitters is not Junkanoo: The National Junkanoo Museum and the Politics of Tourism and Identity" (Florida State University, 2009), ix - x. She argues "that Junkanoo serves a commercial purpose, which the National Junkanoo Museum perpetuates by displaying the costumes for touristic consumption." Also, "that the National Junkanoo Museum's use of nostalgia as a museum epistemology is less about an effort to restore the costumes' traditional ephemerality, than it is an indication of the pervasiveness of the tourism industry in formulating a Bahamian national and cultural identity. Junkanoo's economic potential is dependent on the perception of the festival as an identifiable, authentic Bahamian product, which the government facilitates by promoting the costumes as national symbols of Bahamian culture and appropriating them into a national museum system."

cosmopolitan and biblical.⁵⁵ Then there is the fact that church affiliation is important to Junkanoo groups. Most Junkanoo groups have a chaplain, a pastor or priest local to their group's neighbourhood, or someone already a part of their group. They would visit a particular church perhaps once or twice per year as a group. Some ministers, pastors or priests would be heavily involved with Junkanoo all year round, and would 'rush' proudly every year.⁵⁶ Others, such as the late Anglican Bishop Michael H. Eldon, were instrumental in the formation groups as was the case with the Valley Boys.⁵⁷ Furthermore, most practices would begin and end with prayers, led by a pastor or priest, a church elder, or a senior group leader. It is common practice for members of the Junkanoo groups to 'rush' before and after funeral services, and there even the phenomenon of Junkanoo weddings.⁵⁸ In fact, the very name for the Junkanoo movement, 'rushin', comes out of the church context.⁵⁹ There have also been attempts at trying to recognize Junkanoo not only

⁵⁵ This rough classification of themes is something this research is proposing, but it is easily observed in any given Junkanoo Parade. Themes can be on anything, but there is always something biblical, nationalistic or indigenous, or relating to cultures and events external to the Bahamas. See Appendix D for an example of themes from the 2012/2013 Junkanoo Parades.

⁵⁶ To 'rush' or 'rushin' refers to the act of participating in Junkanoo either through dancing, playing musical instruments, or costuming, or all of the above. When the term rush-out is used, Bahamians mean that a parade is taking place, for some reason other than the yearly Boxing Day and New Years Day Parades.

⁵⁷ What is astonishing about this insight is that even the most hierarchical Church, the Anglicans, found a way to incorporate Junkanoo into its mission and ministry. While on one level there is the level of hierarchy, yet in the midst of such hierarchical legacy lies a respect for, and elevation of folk traditions. Bishop Michael H. Eldon was also heavily involved in raising up a cadre of black clergy persons, seeing it has his episcopal duty to truly raise up competent Black leadership.

⁵⁸ An example of a Junkanoo funeral service is that of the late Anthony Cooper, son of Gus Cooper, founder of the Valley Boys, see: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gTLuiN8ZUW0>. Also, in 2014 the entire Bahamas mourned the loss of Gus Cooper leader of the Valley Boys, and the PM rushed with the group and danced, his Funeral was a Junkanoo funeral in many respects. Concerning a Junkanoo wedding, on the walls of Educulture hangs a photo of Pastors Henry and Anne Higgins as they celebrated their wedding, Junkanoo style. Educulture is owned and managed by Arlene Nash-Ferguson. Both Henry Higgins and Arlene Nash-Ferguson are interview participants in this research. Moreover, Henry and Anne Higgins celebrated a renewal of vows for their 10th wedding anniversary by having a rush downtown Nassau, Junkanoo style. See "Apostle Henry and Dr. Ann Higgins Renewal Ceremony 2013: Friday the Fifteenth Day of February, Rawson Square Nassau, N.P. The Bahamas," Junkanoo Paparazzi, 2013_ApostleHenry_and_AnnHiggins_RenewalCeremony.

⁵⁹ Kenneth M. Bilby, "Surviving Secularization: Masking the Spirit of Jankanu' (John Canoe) Festivals of the Caribbean," *New West Indian Guide* 84, no. 3-4 (2010). Here Bilby points out the fact that on Cat Island, one of the more rural Islands of the Bahamas, 'rushin' processions happened in two places during the

as a national, cultural festival, but to ‘baptise’ it for the church community. Rev Dr William Thompson, president of the Bahamas Christian Council, has, along with a minority of like-minded pastors, pushed for an Easter Monday Junkanoo Rush-out.⁶⁰ This has now become an annual event for the Christian community, but this in no way compares to the government sponsored Junkanoo Parades, and such persons have received significant opposition from the wider Christian community.

But while Junkanoo continues to be a space for the celebration of identity and ancestral spirituality, for protesting injustice, for building and sustaining community, it is still characterised as secular, and of no ecclesiastical significance. This historical reality is manifested on many levels, and persists today. During the late 1890’s Michael Craton and Gail Saunders reference an Anglican priest disparaging the very ‘secular’ dancing customary to the Africans, but as they record: “despite moves by the Christian churches to suppress such dances, wherever there was a strong African element in the population, ring dances to the accompaniment of goatskin “goombay” drums and perhaps a concertina and two pieces of iron remained extremely popular.”⁶¹ Interestingly, Craton and Saunders go on to press the point that the disparaged African dances were not unlike worship within the Jumper and Shouter churches.⁶² Today, Junkanoo is viewed with suspicion by the mainstream denominations. There is a lack of engagement with the festival at a pastoral,

Christmas and New Year celebrations, outside or on the streets in Junkanoo, and inside the Africanised Churches. This was a moment of integration between what happened inside and outside the church with regard to the celebration of culture.

⁶⁰ See Staff Writer, "Because He Lives Junkanoo rushout through the streets on Easter Monday," 15 April 2010.

This idea of Baptizing Junkanoo is an expression used by Bishop Simeon Hall, one of my interview participants.

⁶¹ Craton and Saunders, *Islanders in the Stream*, 1: From Aboriginal Times to the End of Slavery: 124 - 25.

⁶² Ibid.

structural, or doctrinal level. It is often the case that members are forbidden to attend the parade, because of its 'secularity'. In fact, the government was approached by a group of concerned pastors over the time Junkanoo began because it competed with their New Years/Watch Night service. The lament has been that Junkanoo fostered disrespect for the Church since scores of people would rush to leave their services long before it ended, just to go to Junkanoo.

Kenneth Bilby critiques the scholarship on the Junkanoo festival where the connection between its religious roots and its present articulations has surprisingly not been made. Instead, the opposite has occurred and Junkanoo has been characterised as 'secular'.⁶³ He critiques Judith Bettelheim who asserts that the festival is secular because it does not have any readily identified deities; and Michael Craton for suggesting that all Junkanoo Festivals were secular. He also critiques the work of Clement Bethel, who furthers this portrayal when stating: "Nevertheless, however attractive the theory that John Canoe was the relic of some deeply religious African ritual, it must be discounted . . ." ⁶⁴ It does seem, however, that such scholars have been working on the understanding that the religious or sacred integrity of a tradition could be judged by how intact it has been kept. It would make sense then for Bettelheim to see Junkanoo as a perversion of African traditional religiosity. And, particularly for Bethel, who is a Bahamian scholar and cultural icon, his rationale for the positioning of Junkanoo as 'secular' had to do with the fact that it has not maintained that deep secrecy or safeguard of indigenous knowledge inherent in New World African religiocultural traditions such as the Haitian reverence of the 'loa' hidden

⁶³ Bilby, "Surviving Secularization."

⁶⁴ See Judith Bettelheim, "The Afro-Jamaican Jonkonnu Festival: Playing the Forces and Operating the Cloth" (PhD, Yale University, 1979). See also, Bethel, *Junkanoo: Festival of the Bahamas*: 12.

in plain sight as Catholic Saints.⁶⁵ In other words, to display African religious traditions would be to prove the falsity of the one displaying them. I would argue, and this research does bear it out, that Junkanoo does retain that very strong sense of secrecy, and also that such a view of sacred and secular is now untenable since cultural and religious traditions are neither rigid nor timeless, but dynamic and always evolving. In short, African religiocultural retentions, whether Myal of Jamaica, Voudou of Haiti, or Junkanoo of the Bahamas, evolve in history, and because they change, this does not mean that they disappear.⁶⁶

Others have pointed out how, since Junkanoo and Carnival have been used as media for protest and revolt, they have been stigmatised, and have been characterised as transgressive and vulgar, or overly sexualised or eroticised. Keith Nurse traces how violent clashes with police in the Notting Hill Carnival and the Carnivals in New York and Toronto in the 1970's led to a criminalizing of young black men, and a sexualisation and eroticization of young women – Carnival was seen through the lenses of ‘otherness’ and ‘blackness’. Before this, upon emancipation in Trinidad where the former slaves took the liberty of reordering the European carnival to their tastes, the festival itself became sharply stigmatized. He writes: “The Africanisation of the carnival provoked the construction of a racist stereotypical discourse.”⁶⁷ Likewise, Swithin Wilmot, speaking of the post-emancipation Jamaican political context writes, “In the post emancipation period, the European elite discouraged John Canoe because of the so-called ‘debauchery and

⁶⁵ In the Haitian African Traditional cosmology, ‘loa’ are the divinities, the deities or spiritual energies/personalities in actively in communication with devotees.

⁶⁶ I acknowledge here the different spellings of the Haitian Folk religion of *voudou*, use here by Clement Bethel, but also *voudou* used earlier by George Mulrain as discussed in Chapter 3.

⁶⁷ Nurse, "Globalization and Trinidad carnival," 670.

demoralisation' which it encouraged. However, many realised that the moral weapons of Christianity and education were the best means to challenge remaining elements of African culture among the freed population."⁶⁸

What I am suggesting here is that it is more likely that Junkanoo in the Bahamas has undergone the same process of stigmatization. Although Bahamians fully inhabit both spaces, Church and Junkanoo, they do so separately; they do so because historically, and even in the scholarly literature, the former has been understood as sacred, and the latter as been understood as secular, or transgressive. But, social and historical analysis reveals many intersections between the two, and a far richer interplay at work than popularly imagined. It is this popular and imagined sacred/secular dichotomy, which continues to separate both, leaving Junkanoo on the ecclesiastical fringe of Bahamian society. We will now look at the Church in the Bahamas, which, largely reflective of the church in the wider Caribbean, continues to struggle with the question of enculturation.

2.5. The Church in the Bahamas

Much of the literature on the history of the Church in the Bahamas is yet to be written, and an exhaustive account of Christianity in the nation is yet to be produced. Nonetheless, there exists sufficient literature, in archival records and historical works, as well as short histories of the different denominations, to argue that, consistent with the wider Caribbean, the Church in the Bahamas has yet to become fully indigenous; though it may be African Caribbean in membership, its polity and structure as well as theological and

⁶⁸ Swithin Wilmot, "The Politics of Protest in Free Jamaica: The Kingston John Canoe Christmas Riots, 1840 and 1841," *Caribbean Quarterly* 36, no. 3/4 (1990): 65.

liturgical reference points remain European or American. To do this we will begin by historicising the development of the Church in the Bahamas, particularly identifying the emergence of the contemporary Bahamian Church and its denominational composition. Secondly, race will be explored as the necessary lens through which Church/culture interactions are to be viewed; that because of racism and the perpetuation of anti-Africanness, the Church in its many denominational forms emerged in two movements: firstly, a move away from African religiocultural retentions, and secondly, a movement from White Church to Black Church. In the final section, the argument will be put forward that what has not happened is the third and most important movement, one where the now Black Bahamian Church reincorporates African religiocultural retentions and perpetuates a new hermeneutic of embrace and integration, instead of one undergirded by a dichotomous relationship between Bahamian Church and African religious and cultural heritage.

2.6. Historicising the Church in Bahamian Society

The development of the Bahamas has always involved the presence of the Church, and in particular, missionary Churches with origins outside the nation. In fact there is no adequate historicising of the Church in the Bahamas without an understanding of colonialism or neocolonialism, and the country's relationship within global ecclesiastical trends. What has been seen as somewhat normative across the Caribbean can be said to be equally so within the Bahamian context. The following epochal descriptions help to identify the evolution of the Church's presence in the Bahamas from Columbus' landfall of in 1492 to contemporary Bahamian society.

2.6.1. The Coming of Columbus

Columbus was mentioned above in his second voyage as accompanied by friar Boyl. But in his first voyage in 1492, his first contact with the New World was the now Islands of the Bahamas. The island on which he landed, *Guanahani* by the indigenous Lucayans, was renamed San Salvador, meaning Holy Saviour. Columbus' naming of the island was both a political and ecclesiastical act since his mandate was to both extend Spanish sovereignty and the Christian Church. This dual expansion of Church and Crown had, by Columbus' time, been precedent with Spain's encounter with the indigenous other in foreign lands. The Islands of the Bahamas was to remain undisturbed by Europeans for the next 150 years.

2.6.2. The Eleutherian Adventurers

The religious and political upheaval in England had a direct effect on its colonies in the mid 17th century. Bermuda, being one of these, proved to be a hostile environment during the Crown's restoration under Charles II. The colony was divided between those loyal to the Crown, the established Church, and those dissidents or Puritans seeking religious freedom from the Crown's religious conservatism. Under the leadership of William Sayle a band of Puritans called the Eleutherian Adventurers sailed for the Bahamas in 1648. The execution of Charles I led to the expulsion of all dissidents from Bermuda, leading to the arrival of other Puritan refugees including two Independent ministers, Stephen Painter and Nathaniel White, along with lay preacher Robert Ridley. It must be

noted also that Sayle and his companions owned slaves and were intending to set up successful plantation colonies. Theirs was as much a religious expedition as it was a political and economic one. However, this first English settlement failed, and New Providence became a new hub for dissidents as well as freed slaves and Coloureds expelled from Bermuda.

2.6.3. Proprietary Government

Michael Craton and Gail Saunders explain that in 1670 one John Dorrell was promoting the Bahamas to the Proprietors of the Carolina as being of very good potential for growing cotton, tobacco, sugarcane and Indigo weed. He also spoke of the need for guns and ammunition, and “a godly minister and a good smith.”⁶⁹ In 1670 the English Crown granted the Bahama Islands to the Lord Proprietors for overseeing the proper governance of the colony. A request was made for a minister to be sent to the colony to instruct the people in the principles of the Christian religion. A fairly large church was built between 1693 and 1696 during the governance of Nicholas Trott, but was destroyed by the Spanish invasion in 1703.⁷⁰ In fact, the late-17th century was the highpoint of piracy and buccaneering in the region. Under the Lord Proprietors the Bahamas was neglected. There was a lack of government and order, and corruption abounded. Stable government, the importation of slaves, and the establishment of the Church (of England), would come during the next phase of Bahamian history.

⁶⁹ Craton and Saunders, *Islanders in the Stream*, 1: From Aboriginal Times to the End of Slavery: 79.

⁷⁰ National Archives, "The early history of the Church in the Bahamas up to 1910," ed. Department of Archives and Ministry of Education (Nassau, Bahamas: The National Archives of the Bahamas, 1994), 2.

2.6.4. Woodes Rogers and the Establishment of the Church

The arrival of the Royal Governor, Captain Woodes Rogers, in 1718 was threefold: to establish government, expel pirates, and expand the economy. This was all in the face of the Spanish and French policing the southern islands of the Bahamas. Rogers would face many difficulties and would serve two terms as Governor, the latter being from 1729 to his death in 1732. The governor in-between these two terms was Governor Phenny, who, in 1721, imported 295 slaves directly from Guinea, West Africa. The colony was to be erected as self-sufficient, and civil. Cotton would be the means for such sufficiency and slaves were to assist with this. Also in 1721 Rev Thomas Curphey would become the SPG missionary on the Island and in 1723 Christchurch would be erected again. In 1723 slave laws were decreed to govern the new addition to the colonial society. What is interesting here is that fines for infringement of the slave laws were payable to the Church. In this context where the Church was erected and slaves were imported, Craton and Saunders point out the already entrenched deprecation of the Africans:

What seems likely is that anyone who was unequivocally black (or Amerindian – for Amerindian slaves and their descendants were still quite numerous in the American colonies) was presumed to be a slave unless proof to the contrary was available. Even if not technically enslaved, such persons were treated as inferiors not fully free and were, indeed, normally bound to a master or mistress by ties at least as rigorous as those for white servants.⁷¹

In 1726 a second set of slave regulations were decreed to add to the civilizing of the Africans, which masters and mistresses were to bring about in conjunction with the Established Church. This decree was now to discourage “Oaths and unseemly discourses” among slaves and send Indian and Negro slaves to the Reverend Curphey for instructions

⁷¹ Craton and Saunders, *Islanders in the Stream*, 1: From Aboriginal Times to the End of Slavery: 129.

in the principles of the Christian religion.⁷² This period, one supplied by SPG missionary efforts, was one where the actual Whites of the colony were little concerned with religion. Missionaries were supposed to raise the moral tone of the colony bearing in mind the recent phase of piracy and buccaneering. But, generally, slaveholders were not at all concerned with the ‘Christianizing’ of their slaves, and actually resisted it. Craton and Saunders explain:

Where most of the Bahamian whites were so remiss in their own Christian observance, they were even less than otherwise likely to encourage their slaves to become Christians, since thereby the slaves might be able to challenge their masters’ moral, if not also political, ascendancy. The ambivalence of some Bahamians toward slavery and the common doubts about the essential compatibility of Christianity and slavery, however, are underlined by those few slave holders who made provisions for the Christian education of their slaves or even freed them in their wills.⁷³

Rogers returned in 1729 with the Church put under his jurisdiction, one shared with the Bishop of London. He would also pass the Bahamas’ Slave Act, the first of its kind.⁷⁴ Gail Saunders explains that in tracing the development of such laws one finds them becoming even harsher with the growth of the Black population. And also, where early slave laws were concerned with the religious instruction of slaves, something that slave masters cared very little for and gave little attention to, the concern for religious instructions disappeared from later slave acts until the Consolidated Slave Act of 1797.⁷⁵ It would be in the coming of the Loyalists that the Bahamas would see the influx of more slaves, the erection of plantations, and the arrival of more denominations.

⁷² Ibid., 130.

⁷³ Ibid., 131.

⁷⁴ Woodes Rogers’ Instructions, 13 May 1729, CO24/1/165 – 167, cited in Archives, "The early history of the Church in the Bahamas," 2.

⁷⁵ Gail Saunders, *Slavery in the Bahamas, 1648-1838* (Nassau, Bahamas: D.G. Saunders, 1985). 8.

2.6.5. The Coming of the Loyalists

In 1783 the Bahamas became the refuge for those plantation owners loyal to the English Crown at the end of the American War of Independence. Florida was ceded to the Spanish in the Treaty of Versailles, and colonists and plantation owners still loyal to the English crown were given 18 months in which to relocate. The destination was the Bahamas, which had been exchanged for Florida. Between 1783 and 1785 between 5,000 and 7,000 planter and merchant loyalists and their slaves moved to the Islands of the Bahamas from New York, St. Augustine, East Florida, Georgia and the Carolinas.⁷⁶ Their presence significantly changed the colony, and the presence of Africans and their descendants significantly increased. The Blacks coming to the colony included among themselves free Blacks, even wealthy family units, but the majority was substantially creolized. Among the Black Loyalists was a Methodist preacher, Joseph Paul, who moved to Nassau and established the first Methodist Church around 1793. His Methodism would be concurrent with official Methodist missionaries at work in the Bahamas since 1790. Also during this period there were other Black preachers, like Samuel ‘Sambo’ Scriven and Prince Williams, run away slaves who gained their freedom, and by 1790, were preaching in the Black communities. They were the founders of the Native Baptist Churches, the first of which were Bethel Baptist chapel, and later, St. John’s Baptist Chapel. In fact, it was the

⁷⁶ Ibid., 11. It is important to note that there were two kinds of Loyalists. These were those who were plantation owners, who set up plantations on the Out Islands and the outlying areas of New Providence, and there are the merchant types, some being officers, should to make their living through trade and other types of commerce. (Out Islands refer to the far less developed, and larger Islands in the archipelagic make up of the nation) This varied group also were regarded as distinct from the older colonist they looked down upon and regarded as ‘Conchs’. Therefore, the colony was now settled by a variety of whites as well as blacks.

Baptist denomination that attracted the slave population of the Bahamas, since it seemed much more amenable to the Black population.

But the potential of Black congregations and churches was met with vilification and official enforcement. For example, in 1799, the SPG missionary on Long Island, Rev D. W. Rose, reported that slaves there were calling themselves Baptists, “followers of St. John . . . Their preachers, black men, were artful and designing, making a merchandize of Religion. One of them was so impious as to proclaim that he had had a familiar conversation with the Almighty, and to point out the place where he had seen Him.”⁷⁷ In 1816 the “Act for preventing the profanation of Religious Rites and also worshipping of God, under the pretense of preaching and teaching, by illiterate, ignorant, and ill disposed persons; and also for the better regulation of Methodist missionaries and other dissenting preachers, within these islands” was passed.⁷⁸ Such an act sought to regularise the preaching of the Gospel, to ensure that it was in accordance with the governing of the colony. Also, the Police Act at this time forbade any worship between 6 pm and 6 am on a Sunday, limiting the organised worship of slaves.

The harsh treatment of slaves, and their constant policing particularly in matters of religion, led to revolts. Though it has been said that the Bahamas did not thrive as a plantation society, and that plantation owners were more friendly and permissive towards their slaves, Gail Saunders highlights the fact that slaves did not accept of their bondage,

⁷⁷ Craton and Saunders, *Islanders in the Stream*, 1: From Aboriginal Times to the End of Slavery: 331.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 332.

and stood up for their human dignity.⁷⁹ Along with passive means of resistance such as feigned illness, refusal to work, inefficiency, running away and even suicide, a number of key violent uprisings took place coming to the end of Loyalist slavery in 1834.⁸⁰ From 1829 to 1834 there were 7 slave revolts, 3 on Exuma, one on New Providence, one on San Salvador, one Cat Island, and the other on Eleuthera. These were due to lack of food and clothing; indignation over the hanging of a slave; opposition to the mistreatment, and flogging of slaves; and the removal of slaves from one island to another.⁸¹

During Loyalist slavery one would see not only an attraction to the Gospel and the Church, but also an insistence on justice and equality among the slaves. After the Abolition of the Slave Trade in 1807 Liberated Africans added to the Bahamian Black population, bringing a replenishment of African culture and religiosity. However, this group, while protected from plantation slavery because of the abolitionist movement, was subjected to intensive missionary efforts as well. Rosanne Adderley explains that such efforts not only came from the Anglicans, Baptists and Methodists, but Liberated Africans became the bedrock of Over-the-Hill churches in their designated communities, such as the Grants Town Methodist Chapel.⁸²

⁷⁹ Saunders highlights the fact that slave resistance was complex and differed drastically to early accounts of acts of slave resistance in the New World. There was the belief that slaves were docile and contented with their condition. She highlighted the work of Herbert Aptheker whose *American Negro Slave Revolts* argued for revolutionary tradition among slaves which included both passive and active acts of resistance. See Saunders, *Slavery in the Bahamas, 1648-1838*: 185.

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ Ibid., 187.

⁸² Rosanne M. Adderley, *"New Negroes from Africa": Slave Trade Abolition and Free African Settlement in the Nineteenth-Century Caribbean*. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2006). 166 - 73. Over-the-Hill has historical significance for Bahamians in that it was the area where slave communities were placed, outside of the city, and stands in contradistinction to the city of Nassau. It has developed to become some of

2.6.6. The Contemporary Bahamian Church

It would be fair to say that the contemporary Bahamian Church started after emancipation. Leadership changed from White to Black, though economic power remained in the hands of White merchants. The Church grew to include other denominations besides the Anglicans, Baptists, and Methodists. The Presbyterians now trace their origins to the 1783 Loyalist settlement, but St. Andrews Kirk was built in 1810 for ministry among those of Scottish origin. The Roman Catholic presence is traced to priests visiting some 60 Roman Catholics living in New Providence in 1845. In 1873 the Bahamas received its first resident Roman Catholic priest, and in 1960 Nassau became a Roman Catholic diocese. The Brethren Church trace their origins to a Mr. Holder who came in 1877 as an evangelist. The African Methodist Episcopal Church was established in the 1880's on Blue Hill Road in Grants Town, and according to L. D. Powles was known as the Shouters, and was "a favourite amusement among the winter visitors at the hotel to get up parties to go to the Shouter church on a Sunday evening."⁸³ The Seventh Day Adventists arrived through two missionaries from New York, C. H. Richards and his wife, printing and disseminating their beliefs.⁸⁴ However, they attracted no formal members until 1895.⁸⁵ The Church of God of Prophecy and Pentecostalism arrived in 1910 with the first church being established in Green Turtle Cay, Abaco.⁸⁶ Though little exists in the way of critical analysis of their growth and influence, the rise of Televangelism in the Bahamas

the poorer areas within the Nations capital. Junkanoo groups came out of these areas, seeing themselves in contradistinction to Bay Street, which is historically synonymous with the Bahamian merchant class.

⁸³ L. D. Powles, *Land of the Pink Pearl* (London: S. Low, Marson, Searle and Rivington, 1888). 159.

⁸⁴ Jeffrey K. Thompson, *The rise of the Seventh-Day Adventist Church in the Bahamas and the Cayman Islands* (Nassau, Bahamas 1992).

⁸⁵ Archives, "The early history of the Church in the Bahamas," 16.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

has given birth to a plethora of Non-denominational churches, heavily influenced by North America and significantly changing the ecclesiastical landscape. Examples of these are the successes of Rev Dr. Myles Munroe of Bahamas Faith Ministries International and Bishop Neil Ellis of the Mount Tabor Full Gospel Church, both of whom are globally advertised, revered, and are part of international ecclesiastical networks.⁸⁷ Based on the 2010 national census of the Bahamas Figure 4 below shows the denominational composition of the contemporary Bahamian Church:

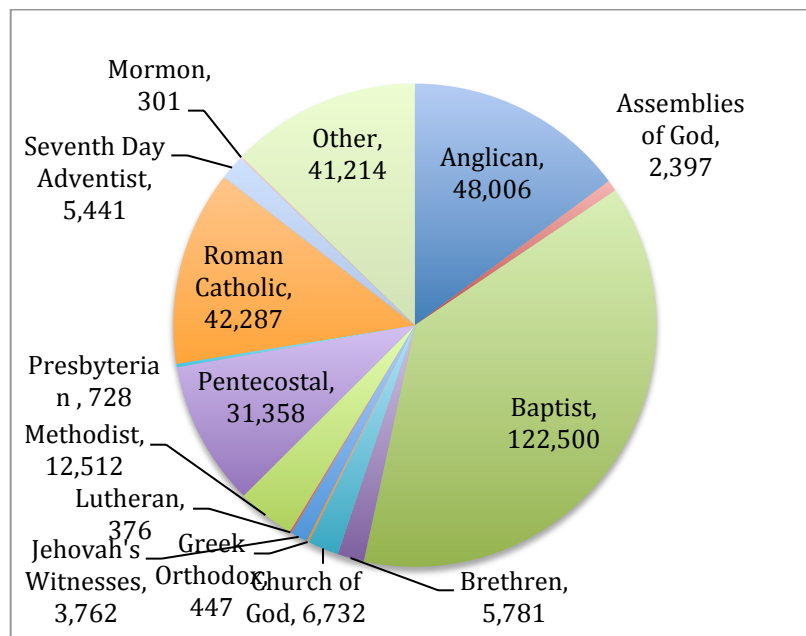


Figure 4. Church Denominational Composition based on the 2010 National Census⁸⁸

⁸⁷ Myles Munroe, who studied at Oral Roberts University in the United States, and has more of a Christian based company where he is CEO, than a church in the traditional sense. Neil Ellis is now the Presiding Bishop of the Global United Fellowship, and was in the runnings for the post of International Presiding Bishop of the Full Gospel Baptist Church Fellowship International until he resigned from that fellowship altogether. Both are based in Nassau.

⁸⁸ "Census of Population and Housing ", ed. Bahamas Department of Statistics (Nassau: The Government of the Bahamas 2010).<http://statistics.bahamas.gov.bs/key.php?cmd=view&id=294> (accessed 7 November 2013)

2.7. Racism as Interpretative Lens

But we cannot underestimate the influence of racial discrimination in the Bahamas either, that wealth, influence, as well as Church affiliation went along racial lines. In fact, the emergence of the contemporary Bahamian Church would be underpinned by the realities of racial discrimination. Nonetheless, a significant point needs to be made before proceeding. Though the plantation failed in the Bahamas, the reality of oppression was just as severe for colonies such as Bermuda and the Bahamas. Gail Saunders points out that such colonies may not have developed sugar plantations, the nature of their oppression really existed in racial discrimination, strengthened by the following factors: having mercantilist economies; ties to the United States and its Jim Crow laws; being isolated Atlantic outposts, cut off from the rest of the West Indies; having a weak middle class; and a large percentage of White population – 10% compared to 4% in Barbados, 1.2% in Trinidad and Tobago, and 1.8% in Guyana in 1970. Furthermore, Out Islands established all white colonies, and in other places had bi-racial coexistence.⁸⁹ Chattel slavery reconstituted into an equally oppressive system called the ‘Truck’ system, instituted by law, which permitted the payment in cash for payment in kind. L. D. Powles describes the oppressive nature of this operation thus: “Very different is the working of the truck system between the Nassau merchant and the unhappy negro, whom, by means of it, he grinds down and oppresses for year and years.”⁹⁰ Kirkley Sands explains that on

⁸⁹ Gail Saunders, *Bahamian Society after Emancipation*, Rev. ed. (Princeton, NJ ; Markus Wiener Publishers: Ian Randle Publishers, 2003). 173. Out Islands is another terminology for what is now called the Family Islands. While New Providence, including the city of Nassau located on it, is the commercial centre of the nation, many people working on it descend from some of the other Islands which are far more rural and are located quite long distances away from the city.

⁹⁰ Powles, *Land of the Pink Pearl*: 85. Being that the Bahamas was always a mercantile economy where livelihood depended more on the sea than on the land, the White minority, the merchant class, consolidated their power through the Credit and Truck system; a modified form of slavery that kept the Black majority of the population indebted, with limited spending potential and power since their wages from labouring for the

racism and the truck system, “the Church was silent on, and was seen to do nothing about, these latter two social evils.”⁹¹

In post-emancipation Bahamian society racial hierarchy had everything to do with the emergence of the Church, particularly in the areas of education, the movement from African religiocultural retentions to White (missionary) churches, and the subsequent movement from the White church to the Black church. Speaking of the interaction between race, education and church denomination in the late 19th and early 20th century among women in Bahamian society Gail Saunders writes:

Elite women usually belonged to the Anglican, Methodist and Presbyterian Churches which afforded them prestige and status, and also supplied their sons and daughters with a decent, segregated secondary education not offered by the Board of Government Schools. Church membership led to their involvement in the ladies’ visiting and sewing societies and charitable societies which were established to ‘lessen ignorance, want and suffering in Nassau and the out Islands’⁹²

Saunders goes on to explain that the Coloured middle class was attracted to the Anglicans and Methodist, but the Black laboring class were attracted to the African Episcopal Methodist or the ‘Shouter Chapel’ and the Native Baptist Church.⁹³ Michael Craton and Gail Saunders explain the connection between race, denomination, and economics in post-emancipation Bahamian society stating that:

merchant class were given in kind. See Howard Johnson, ““A Modified Form of Slavery”: The Credit and Truck Systems in the Bahamas in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 28, no. 04 (1986).

⁹¹ Kirkley C. Sands, *Early Bahamian Slave Spirituality: The Genesis of Bahamian Cultural Identity* (Nassau, Bahamas: The Nassau Guardian Ltd, 2008). 65.

⁹² Saunders, *Bahamian Society after Emancipation*: 22.

⁹³ Ibid.

. . . the best, or most prestigious, education was reserved for those whose parents could afford to send them abroad, thus retarding the development of an indigenous culture. Yet even the best local education (including virtually all secondary education) was not only based on foreign models but was private, charged a fee, and was almost completely segregated on racial lines. Because the Board of Education was chronically underfunded, a majority of Bahamian schooling was left in the hands of the churches, with the Anglican Church predominant throughout the nineteenth century despite its formal disestablishment in 1869.⁹⁴

It is in the post-emancipation context that Sunday Schools, beginning from the last period of slavery, made the first attempts at educating the Black majority of Bahamians. Craton and Saunders further explain that the Anglican Church entered the field only to sustain its primacy in the face of competition from the other denominations, but its educational practices was restrictive to the White, privileged upper class: “though there had been a public school attached to Christchurch for a hundred years, with free places for the children of the poor since at least 1825, monitoring by rector, vestry, and JPs had restricted it to whites and a few free coloreds.”⁹⁵ This was challenged by Governor James Carmichael Smyth who in 1832 would impress the now Kings’ school to admit one hundred children without fees, regardless of colour or sex. But this would be teaching from the Anglican Prayer Book, along with the system used in England. The Kings School reverted to its practices when Smyth was posted to British Guiana three years later. Another example of this was the formation of Queen’s College, a consortium between the Methodists and the Presbyterians, who were described by Craton and Saunders as even more racist in their educational policy than the Anglicans. When, in 1948, the missionaries tried to have an integrated school, there was a protest leading to the establishment of an all White school and limited company, St. Andrews.

⁹⁴ Craton and Saunders, *Islanders in the stream*, 2: From the Ending of Slavery to the Twenty-First Century: 26.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 31.

2.7.1. Movement One: From African Religiocultural Retentions to White Church

A deeper insight into the emergence of the contemporary Bahamian church would be two critical movements, one from African religiocultural retentions to White church, and the other from White church to Black church. Concerning the former, post-emancipation social relations in the Bahamas meant that to have significance one had to be moved away from what seemed to be the chaotic, disorganised, African practices, particularly in the Baptist Churches, toward the Anglican and Methodist Churches which insisted on order, education, and civility. Gail Saunders explains that among women in post-emancipation Bahamian society, while the elite and coloured middle class emphasized “formalized institutional structures and systems of belief, the black laboring population combined ‘traditional, evangelical and fundamentalist forms of Christianity with revivalism and spiritualism.’”⁹⁶ The rigid social structure ensured that the relationship between whites and black was one of master and slave with no possibility for anything in between. This binary was as much ecclesiastical as it was social and political.

Moreover, protests from the Established Church over the Methodist and the Baptist and their work among Bahamian Blacks, reveal the desire to keep African culture and religiosity separate from ‘orthodox’ Christianity. What was reported of the strange Black Baptists on Long Island in 1799, preaching what seemed to be strange doctrines, was repeated in 1838 with Governor Cockburn’s letter to Secretary of State Glenelg, complaining of the Baptist missionary work in the Out Islands. The Baptists were to be

⁹⁶ Saunders, *Bahamian Society after Emancipation*: 22.

regulated, and preachers were to be licensed and acknowledged by established societies in England.⁹⁷

2.7.2. Movement Two: From White Church to Black Church

The second movement can be seen as one from the White church to the Black church. This included both a change in leadership as well as geography. Speaking of the centrality of the Church for the colony due to the fact that there was nothing else for social interaction, Cleveland Eneas explains that denominations constructed their mother churches, all in the centre of commerce, all as statements of power and prestige. The Anglicans built Christ Church Cathedral and St. Matthews; The Methodists built Trinity and Ebenezer; The Baptist built Zion; and the Methodists built St. Andrews Kirk. But, as he states:

All of these bespeak of affluence, prestige and exclusiveness, and had very little interest in the salvation of the slaves. In all these churches, there were those segregated sections relegated to the master's vassals, who endured, but didn't enjoy their segregation in the worship of that Christ who, they were taught, was the savior of all men.⁹⁸

Later on he explains that the Blacks, still within their various denominations, began building their churches Over-The-Hill, in the heart of their Black communities. This was a progression across the denominations: St. Agnes was built by the Anglicans; Grants' Town Wesley, was built by the Methodists; and Bethel Baptist and St. John's Native

⁹⁷ Archives, "The early history of the Church in the Bahamas," 10. Cockburn to Glenelg 8 Sept. 1838 Governors Despatches 1839 – 41: #105.

⁹⁸ Cleveland W. Eneas, "The Quincentennial Celebration: Its Relevance to the Bahamian Church," in *Our Christian Heritage: 1492 - 1992*, ed. The Bahamas Quincentennial Commission's Religious Pageant Committee and The Bahamas Christian Council (Nassau, Bahamas: The Bahamas Christian Council, 1992), 25.

Baptist, were built by the Baptist. It is interesting here that Eneas explains that the Roman Catholics, unlike the Anglicans, did not bring “the strict adherence to the practice of racial discrimination and segregation. They complied to a degree with the practice that they met here, in order to get themselves established, but once they were on solid ground, they abandoned that practice entirely, and nurtured that hope that lay in the breast of every black Bahamian – that hope of equality.”⁹⁹ Many Black Bahamians, because of the racial segregation, and the anti-African rhetoric of the Established Church, moved to Roman Catholicism, which they found quite similar to what they were used to.

In 1973 the Bahamas gained independence and both political and religious leaders would now be Black Bahamians. By this time Anglicans would have their first Black Anglican Bishop along with an almost full cadre of indigenous clergy. The same would be true for the Methodists, and naturally the Baptist. Roman Catholic leadership would be supplied by American religious orders, priests and nuns, and would have a Black Bishop in 1981, and on its way to developing indigenous leadership.

But now that leadership and participation is Black, reflecting general trends in the population, is this enough? Is there a need for another movement, one that undoes the racist, anti-African praxes central to the emergence of the Church in the Bahamas?

⁹⁹ *ibid.*

2.7.3. Towards A Third Movement: Embracing African Religiocultural Retentions

We have explored the fact that the Church in the Bahamas emerged in the context of racial discrimination, arguing that denominational make-up reflected the racial stratification of the colony. We have highlighted two ecclesiastical movements, one being a movement from African religiocultural retentions (Obeah, folklore, ring dances, and Junkanoo), often through criminalization or socio-religious vilification, to participation in missionary churches (Anglican, Methodist, Presbyterian, Baptist), often for political attainment or ethnic familiarity; and secondly, a movement from White church to indigenous Black participation and leadership. But serious questions arise as to the movement toward an indigenous Black leadership that has re-incorporated African religiocultural retentions long stigmatized due to the strong racist heritage of the nation. At the heart of the first two movements is a discourse that insists upon a strict dichotomy between church and culture – a narrative perpetuated often by the colonial churches and their educational practices.

2.8. Conclusion

The literature we have covered testifies to a dichotomous discourse that places a divide between the Church and any form of African religiocultural retention, particularly Junkanoo. With such a discourse the phenomenon of Self-Negation becomes apparent, one in which Bahamians, for the most part, hold dual allegiance in both Junkanoo and the Church, but never attempt to consciously integrate the two. The history of African religiocultural retentions in the Bahamas is one of duplicity, of belonging to one's ancestral heritage, inhabiting it, but denying its significance, sacredness, and religiosity at the same time. Moreover, the Church in the Bahamas has been, to a large degree,

responsible for such a history, and must embark upon a new movement which promotes re-engagement with African Religiocultural Retentions.

But what does the contemporary picture look like? How are Bahamians experiencing this dual allegiance to both Junkanoo and the Church? Having now established that the literature on Junkanoo and the Church in Bahamian society portrays them as having a historically problematic relationship, the goal of this research now is to see if this still stands, or if further insights can be gleaned through the use of ethnographic research methods and theological analysis. We will now look in detail at the methodology employed within this research project.

3. Chapter 3: Methodology: Proposing a Practical Contextual Caribbean Theological Approach

3.1. Introduction

An initial assessment of the relationship between Junkanoo and the Church in Bahamian society has been made, theorizing it as problematic and characteristic of Self-Negation. Self-Negation has been defined as the act of rejecting an essential part of one's self, a reality which touches all spheres of Caribbean life, precipitating responses from academics, writers, activists, artists and musicians. It still seeks a response from the Church, since it is also a theological phenomenon. The theological nature of Self-Negation comes into focus when considering that such dissonance has been and continues to be promoted by the practices and implicit beliefs of the Church in the Caribbean, specifically in its attitude towards African religiocultural retentions, of which Junkanoo is but an example. As Caribbean practical contextual theological research contributing directly to the body of literature understood as Caribbean Theology, and considering the qualitative nature of the research, this research project involves a collaboration between two different but complimentary fields of enquiry, and therefore two different but complimentary research methodologies; each with their own epistemological, philosophical and methodological foundations. These are Theology and Ethnography. While Theology guides the aims and objectives of the research, Ethnography provides the tools for gaining access to the inner world of Bahamians; uncovering how they integrate Junkanoo and the Church, opening up such data to in-depth theological reflection. This interdisciplinary approach to theology, characteristic of contextual and practical theologies is relatively recent, and serves as a response to the

abstract, textually based, deductive nature of classical approaches. In essence, theology has for a long time been an ‘ivory tower’ discipline, and this research positions itself on the complex, ‘muddy grounds’ of life, seeking new avenues of exploring and responding to God, in concrete, accessible ways.¹⁰⁰

This chapter will discuss the following methodological aspects of the research. Firstly, it highlights the epistemological and methodological tensions and convergences involved. Secondly, it outlines the research methods, including a discussion about process, access, researcher role and ethics. Thirdly, it discusses the approach to data analysis, including considerations about validity and generalizability. And finally, it states my perception of the research’s scope and limitations.

3.2. Research Methodology:

3.2.1. Caribbean Practical Contextual Theology

Theology, or more specifically, Christian Theology, comes from two Greek words ‘theos’ meaning God and ‘logos’ meaning talk or conversation. It is critical conversation about God, how God is revealed to humanity, and how human beings are to respond in return. It is understood that the basic sources for theology are Scripture, Tradition, Reason and

¹⁰⁰ The image of Ivory Tower versus Muddy Grounds was a way of describing theological education in light of changes in missionary activity since 1910. In preparation for Edinburgh 2010, an international consultation was held at the Queens Foundation, Birmingham in March 2009 entitled “Ivory Towers, Muddy Grounds”, to recognise the fact that theological education to meet a new missionary context must not be abstract, mainly Eurocentric theological postulation (Ivory Tower), but rather, praxis oriented, culture-specific, and historically and linguistically situated (Muddy Grounds). I contributed to this consultation in a paper reflecting on my theological education in the Caribbean. See Carlton Turner, "Christopher Codrington's Will: A Personal Reflection on Anglican Theological Education in the Caribbean," *Rethinking Mission*(2009), <http://www.rethinkingmission.org.uk/pdfs/Paper%20Carlton%20Turner%20270309.pdf>.

Experience.¹⁰¹ How these different sources are employed within the theological task lead to sharp tensions and vigorous philosophical and theological debates. During the mid-20th century it was thought that theology as a discipline had come to rely too heavily on classical Western philosophical categories, and for non-western contexts, had become too abstract and out of sync with concrete human experience. A good example of this shift towards the need to contextually engage theology, acknowledging the ‘situatedness’ of any form of ‘god-talk’, was Vatican II (1962 – 65) and the subsequent Second General Conference of Latin American Bishops in Medellin (1968), where a turn to liberation as a key theological motif was affirmed.¹⁰² With the use of Marxist class analysis for a theological understanding of how society was shaped by, and maintained, structures of oppression, Liberation Theologians such as Gustavo Gutiérrez insisted that doing theology must begin with, and critically involve, the lived experiences of people, particularly the poor, the marginalized and the oppressed. Taking it a step further, Juan Luis Segundo insists that theology itself needed liberation.¹⁰³ But long before these theological movements, Black people living with racism and oppression had always contested abstract ‘god talk’, and that the God of the Bible cared only about the glories of heaven, and not

¹⁰¹ Alister E. McGrath, *Christian Theology: An Introduction*, 5th ed. (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011). While McGrath speaks of the four much broader sources of theology being Scripture, Tradition, Reason and Religious Experience, what I have listed as Scripture, Reason, Tradition and Experience are also known as the Wesleyan Quadrilateral. Coined by Albert C. Oslter and attributed to John Wesley, in Methodism it sees these four as normative for the development of doctrine. Different Christian traditions have different sources of theology, and different ways of understanding and using them. As an Anglican minister, the Anglican Three-legged stool of Scripture Reason and Tradition is more familiar.

¹⁰² See, Elaine L. Graham, Heather Walton, and Frances Ward, *Theological Reflection: Methods* (London: SCM, 2005). 212. Graham, Walton and Ward explain that a transition towards a more realised notion of ‘local theology’ took place at Vatican II where “The council recognized the autonomy of the Church in each culture to articulate the gospel without the mediation of Western thought forms.” By this there was a renewed understanding of Church, where mission churches, in Latin America for example, were seen as equal partners, as well as method in theology, where the inherent contextual and situated nature of theology was affirmed.

¹⁰³ See, Gustavo Gutiérrez, *A Theology of Liberation: History, Politics, and Salvation* (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 1981). See also, Juan Luis Segundo, *The Liberation of Theology* (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 1976).

harsh realities of earth. Commenting on the development of Black Theology in the United States, Anthony Reddie points out that the academic shift towards Liberation and praxis-oriented approaches to Theology in the 60s and 70s, including that of James Cone, were preceded by concrete rejections of Euro-American abstract theological enterprises in the work of Black religionists such as Richard Allen, Edward Blyden, Henry McNeal Turner, and even the teachings of Marcus Garvey.¹⁰⁴ Such forerunners prioritized Africa and Black consciousness in their understanding of faith and the experiences of Black people. Reddie also points out that for the Caribbean context events such as the Sam Sharpe rebellion of 1831 attest to the fact that slaves and their descendants had been reinterpreting the Bible based on their experience of abject poverty and oppression. Reddie sums it up this way: “enslaved Africans were already working with an acute, practical, experiential theological framework attuned to their existential realities – albeit not written down in the form of a systematic theology!”¹⁰⁵

Likewise, Third-World theologians have also added to this new way of doing Theology asserting that theological reflection should arise from the local context, rejecting the assumption that Theology is the domain of white, middleclass, European or American, male

¹⁰⁴ Anthony G. Reddie, *Black Theology* (London: SCM Press, 2012). 38 - 39. While Richard Allen and Edward Blyden were instrumental in forming a Christian tradition, which directly opposed racism in the African American Episcopal Church, Turner carried on the tradition arguing for an alignment with Africa as important for the African American Church. Reddie also argues that these voices from the turn of the 20th Century were important for the likes of James Cone and the development of Black Theology as an academic discipline.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., 11. Reddie draws on the fact that Sharpe was a Baptist deacon who initiated the rebellion precisely because of his conviction that “Jesus was liberator, and that human beings were created by God for freedom”, using Luke 4:16 – 19 and Matthew 25:31 – 46 as biblical justification for such claims, p. 11. Sharpe, one of Jamaica’s national heroes, initiated a peaceful general strike in the Christmas period of 1831 protesting the working conditions of slaves. But this led to a Christmas rebellion in which crops were burned, hundreds of slaves died, and 14 whites were killed. The Jamaican military suppressed the rebellion after two weeks and leaders of the rebellion were hanged in 1832, including Sam Sharpe.

academics.¹⁰⁶ In doing so, and borrowing the insights of Paul Ricoeur, they began employing a *hermeneutics of suspicion* against dominant western theological discourses, particularly in their ability to silence suppressed voices, both within theological texts, i.e., Scripture and Tradition, and also cultural texts, histories, religiosities, particularly within colonial and postcolonial contexts.¹⁰⁷ Reflecting on the Caribbean, others have also rejected the Cartesian divide endemic within the Western classical approaches to the study and exercise of theology; that theology should be more about thought than action, more about the mind than the body. Theologians such as Robert Hood, Noel Erskine, Delroy Reid-Salmon, and Michael Jagessar – all of whom have Caribbean roots – make the point that the post-enlightenment, rationalistic, and scientific approaches to theology, have not only made theology overly abstract in methodology, but have also made it condescending to other cultures that do not theologize according to Western philosophical frameworks.¹⁰⁸ Hence, Michael Jagessar states:

Having inherited Christianity with all its Western Eurocentric baggage, I suggest that we have become locked into a largely Protestant theological mindset that has relegated the act of imagination to the realm of ‘hocus-pocus’ which is viewed with suspicion. While, Black theological discourses (and contextual theologies) emphasize experience, there is still much to be done in the area of imagination.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁶ Third World Theology refers to contextual theologies since the 1970s that have begun insisting that theological content and methodology cannot and should not be locked within a Euro-American framework. They have also insisted that theology be done from the vantage point of the marginalised and the poor. The Ecumenical Association of Third World Theologians (EATWOT) the academic body most associated with the movement, comprise contextual theologies from African, Asia, Oceania, Latin America and the Caribbean, as well as ethnic groups within North America.

¹⁰⁷ Paul Ricoeur coined the phrase to describe the types of interpretations employed by Marx, Nietzsche and Freud, in that their approach was to uncover the hidden motives behind the received understandings of their day. They began from a point of suspicion, in order to uncover hidden truths. This method is employed in literary criticism as well as Liberation, Postmodern and Third World Theologians.

¹⁰⁸ See: Robert Hood, *Must God Remain Greek: Afro Cultures and God-talk* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1990). Erskine, *Decolonizing Theology*. Delroy Reid-Salmon, *Home Away from Home: The Caribbean Diasporan Church in the Black Atlantic Tradition* (London: Equinox, 2008). Michael Jagessar, "Spinning Theology: Trickster, Texts and Theology," in *Postcolonial Black British Theology: New Textures and Themes*, ed. Michael Jagessar and Anthony Reddie (Peterborough: Epworth, 2007).

¹⁰⁹ Jagessar, "Spinning Theology: Trickster, Texts and Theology," 134.

Bearing this in mind, this research on the relationship between the Church and Junkanoo in Bahamian society is modelled on what I describe as a Caribbean Practical Contextual Theological framework. While Caribbean refers to the context in which my research is carried out, already been defined in Chapter 1, Practical and Contextual, though interrelated, have technical theological usage and need further explication. Firstly, by Practical Theology I am referring to what John Swinton and Harriet Mowat provisionally describe as “critical, theological reflection on the practices of the Church as they interact with the practices of the world, with a view to ensuring and enabling faithful participation in God’s redemptive practices in, to and for the world.”¹¹⁰ In essence it is concerned with ‘orthopraxis’ as well as ‘orthodoxy’, holding both in creative and critical tension. The original usage of the term Practical Theology meant a simple application of the content of the faith, to the practices of the Church in a unidirectional way.¹¹¹ A developed concept of Practical Theology suggests it is cyclical in nature as it brings both reflection and praxis into mutual, critical conversation, solely for the sake of producing more faithful practice. As Swinton and Mowat describe, Practical Theology is “fundamentally hermeneutical, correlational, critical and theological.”¹¹² Firstly, it recognizes that human beings, including theologians must interpret the world they encounter. Secondly, the practical theologian must hold together the situation to be understood, the Christian story, and other disciplines for accessing and complexifying such situations. Thirdly, as a critical

¹¹⁰ John Swinton and Harriet Mowat, *Practical Theology and Qualitative Research* (London: SCM Press, 2006).

¹¹¹ This older notion undergirded what was referred to as ‘Applied Theology’. Swinton and Mowat describe this as a limited understanding of Practical, usually reserved for instructing the practice of clergy persons. *Ibid.*, 17. See also, Graham, Walton, and Ward, *Theological Reflection: Methods: 2*.

¹¹² Swinton and Mowat, *Practical Theology and Qualitative Research: 76*.

discipline it simultaneously employs a hermeneutic of suspicion against present interpretations of the Christian tradition, and the practices of the world. Fourthly, it is theological in that its ultimate concern is the unfolding of truth, or God's self-revelation within the Christian Tradition.¹¹³

Other theologians have concurred with the epistemological and methodological concerns highlighted above, understanding Practical Theology to be Theological Reflection. As such they have formulated ways of doing theology which involve critical conversation between theory and praxis based on the Hans Georg Gadamer's assertion that dialogue is the basic structure of human understanding – one's lived history, their pre-understandings and their present-understandings come to a fusion of horizons, leading to new understandings as well as changes in practice.¹¹⁴ Laurie Green sees the theological enterprise as a spiral or cycle "which moves around continually from action to reflection and from reflection to action . . ."¹¹⁵ This interplay between action and reflection is what he refers to as 'praxis'. Ballard and Prichard propose The Pastoral Cycle as a way of

¹¹³ Ibid.

¹¹⁴ See Don S. Browning, *A Fundamental Practical Theology: Descriptive and Strategic Proposals* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1991). 49. and David Tracy, "The Foundations of Practical Theology," in *Practical Theology: The Emerging Field in Theology, Church, and World*, ed. Don. S. Browning (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1983), 36. Don Browning and David Tracy, who understand PT to be a process, a way of doing theology in which there is no distinction between theory and practice, bringing Theology and the social sciences into critical conversation with realities of everyday life. Therefore, while for David Tracy Practical Theology is "the mutually critical correlation of the interpreted theory and praxis of the Christian fact and the interpreted theory and praxis of the contemporary situation", for Browning, influenced by both Tracy and Hans Georg Gadamer, Practical Theology is "critical reflection on the church's dialogue with Christian sources and other communities of experience and interpretation with the aim of guiding its action toward social and individual transformation." Gadamer's influence on Browning is substantial. While Browning's process of theological reflection adapted from Tracy has the four theological stages of Descriptive Theology, Historical Theology, Systematic Theology and Strategic Practical Theology, a process which brings both the discipline of theology into dialogue with other academic disciplines, and also brings theory into dialogue with practice, Gadamer provides Browning's theology with method for making a largely intangible field such as philosophy, a practical discipline – by firstly outlining the fact that practice is the foundation of and starting point for philosophical enquiry.

¹¹⁵ Laurie Green, *Let's Do Theology: Resources for Contextual Theology* (London: Mowbray, 2009). 19.

doing theology, as well as a heuristic tool that “provides a means of understanding and using a process of discovery and action.”¹¹⁶ Similarly, Emanuel Lartey proposes a Pastoral Cycle Method as a way of connecting faith and practice, one that is “relevant, meaningful, methodologically appropriate and viable form of theological activity which may be personally and socially transformative.”¹¹⁷ In general, these models of theological reflection have four basic stages: experience, situational analysis, theological analysis, and practical appraisal of the initial experience.¹¹⁸

The phase of theological analysis, and the resulting response, must be taken seriously since cyclical understandings of theological reflection have come under critique. On the one hand, Swinton and Mowat critique the discipline of Practical Theology for not engaging in the classical sources of theology deeply enough, and on the other, James Woodard and Stephen Pattison critique methods of Theological Reflection such as that of Lartey as not giving adequate space for outcomes.¹¹⁹ A related critique is given by Alison Le Cornu who questions the depth of transformation such methods bring about,

¹¹⁶ Paul Ballard and John Pritchard, *Practical Theology in Action: Christian Thinking in the Service of church and Society*, 2nd ed. (London: SPCK, 2006). 87.

¹¹⁷ Emmanuel Lartey, "Practical Theology as Theological Form," in *The Blackwell Reader in Pastoral and Practical Theology*, ed. James Woodward and Stephen Pattison (Oxford: Blackwell 2000), 128 - 29. See also, Patricia O'Connell Killen and John de Beer, *The Art of Theological Reflection* (New York: Crossroad, 1994). Clemens Sedmak, *Doing Local Theology: A Guide for Artisans of a New Humanity* (Maryknoll, New York: Orbis, 2002).

¹¹⁸ The term pastoral cycle originates from Juan Luis Segundo who describes the process as Immersion/Experience, Social Analysis, Theological Reflection/Hermeneutics, then Pastoral Planning. See Segundo, *The Liberation of Theology*. See also, Graham, Walton, and Ward, *Theological Reflection: Methods*: 188. They provide pictorial representation to Segundo's cycle.

¹¹⁹ Swinton and Mowat, *Practical Theology and Qualitative Research*: 7. See also, Lartey, "Practical Theology as Theological Form," 128 - 29. Similar works to Lartey include:

particularly to the ‘self’; and to what degree they inform Christian formation.¹²⁰ Though small in scope, this research is aware of these critiques, and whilst it may not have immediate and observable impact, it takes theological analysis seriously and brings social research into dialogue with Scripture, Reason and Tradition, resulting in informed suggestions for the dual practices of Church and Junkanoo in contemporary Bahamian society.

Contextual Theology is also concerned with the performance of faith and takes Theological Reflection seriously. It, however, emphasizes the situation in which theology is to be done, being always aware of the ‘situatedness’ of theology as a discipline. What Stephen Bevans refers to as the ‘Anthropological Model’, and Elaine Graham, Heather Walton and Frances Ward refer to as ‘Theology in the Vernacular’, fully describe this theological project.¹²¹ Graham, Walton and Ward explain that in a vernacular model “the work of theological reflection may be understood as more of a ‘treasure hunt’ seeking to bring to the surface signs of God’s grace and activity present in the midst of culture.”¹²²

¹²⁰ Alison Le Cornu, "Theological Reflection and Christian Formation," *The Journal of Adult Theological Education* 3, no. 1 (2006). What Le Cornu says about the self is instructive for this research. Her argument is that various methods of Theological Reflection, with their different emphases and nuances, struggle to account for the process of internalization, which really is, in reality, reflection, and therefore necessary for Christian Formation. Such internalisation should have particular outcomes, which she sees as inclusive of the construction of individual biographies, the growth of different forms of self, and a more subtle overall existential change. This growth of self, this internalization of a different discourse, constitutes the kinds of outcomes sought from this research process – a movement from Self-Negation to Self-Affirmation.

¹²¹ Stephen B. Bevans, *Models of Contextual Theology* Revised and Expanded ed. (Maryknoll, New York: Orbis, 2002). See also, Graham, Walton, and Ward, *Theological Reflection: Methods*. Graham et. al, make the point that others have been using models to try and explicate ways of doing Contextual Theology or Theological Reflection, i.e., but there is always that reminder that models can serve as universalising tools. This is not the intention of these works, but in the Caribbean setting, Michael St. Alban Miller has rejected Bevan’s models as inadequate as resources for interrogating Caribbean complexity. See Michael St. A. Miller, "He said i was out of pocket: on being a Caribbean Contextual Theologian in a non-Caribbean context," *Black Theology: An International Journal* 9, no. 2 (2011).

¹²² Graham, Walton, and Ward, *Theological Reflection: Methods*: 202.

Bevans understands his model to be anthropological in two ways. Firstly, it sees people as good, and culture and the human story as the place in which God is revealed.

It is within every person, and every society and social location and every culture, that God manifests the divine presence, and so theology is not just a matter of relating an eternal message – however supracultural or supracontextual – to a particular situation; rather, theology chiefly involves attending and listening to that situation so God’s hidden presence can be manifested in the ordinary structures of the message, often in surprising ways.¹²³

Secondly, he uses the term anthropological to refer to the approval and use of the social sciences. It is through interdisciplinarity that the contextual theologian “tries to understand more clearly the web of human relationships and meanings that make up human culture in which God is present, offering life, healing and wholeness.”¹²⁴

Hence, both the anthropological and vernacular models share the following basic assumptions: firstly, God’s self-revelation takes place within human culture, for it is within human culture that the hidden treasures of God are found. Because of the incarnation, God, and the knowledge of God, are dispersed throughout the created order. The assumption that ‘the’ truth about God is brought from one place to another must be critiqued. Secondly, culture or human experience is the starting point for, and sustained context of, the practice of theology. They reject the notion of theological neutrality. And thirdly, context affects content. Theology looks different depending on one’s cultural context. There is no universal Theology, only that which is culturally bound and culturally expressed. To invoke H. Richard Niebuhr, this does not suggest that the relationship

¹²³ Bevans, *Models of Contextual Theology*: 55.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*

between Christ and Culture is unproblematic. Niebuhr's classifications have merit here.¹²⁵

The perspective of this research positions Christ as within culture, asserting that neither the Church in Bahamian society, nor Junkanoo equate to Christ, but are cultural practices in which Christ is (and should be seen to be) at work, transforming both to become places of wholeness and well being.

Beyond methodology and the need to situate theology, there is the relationship between theology and culture to consider, something at the heart of the relationship between Junkanoo and the Church in Bahamian society. This raises the need for epistemological and philosophical clarity on concepts of culture and the nature of social research as well as the related concept of reflexivity employed by this research project. 'Culture' as a concept in theology has had different meanings, and how it has been defined has been influential in the type of theology carried out. However, for an anthropological understanding of Contextual Theology, the semiotic understanding put forward by Clifford Geertz has proven useful for contextual and practical theologians. The Geertzian concept of culture is:

. . . essentially a semiotic one. Believing, with Max Weber, that man is an animal suspended in webs of significance he himself has spun, I take culture to be those webs, and the analysis of it to be therefore not an experimental science in search of law but an interpretive one in search of meaning.¹²⁶

For example, Robert Schreier formulates this understanding of culture in his work advocating integrated or semiotic concepts of culture, which seek meaning and understanding, instead of functionalist, materialists and structuralist ones, which explore

¹²⁵ H. Richard Niebuhr, *Christ and Culture* (New York Harper & Row, 1951).

¹²⁶ Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays* (New York: Basic Books, 1973). 5.

how a culture functions, is externally or politically affected/shaped, or its underlying grammar.¹²⁷ A semiotic approach within Contextual Theology allows for culture, peoples and situations, to speak with their own voice, as well as in-depth means of listening to culture itself. Kathryn Tanner, in assessing different concepts of culture used in the field of Anthropology and their significance for Theology, highlights post-modern critiques of structuralist/functionalist conceptions of culture:

It seems less and less plausible to presume that cultures are self-contained and clearly bounded units, internally consistent and unified wholes of beliefs and values simply transmitted to every member of their respective groups as principles of social order. What we might call a postmodern stress on interactive process and negotiation, indeterminacy, fragmentation, conflict, and porosity replaces these aspects of the post-1920s understanding of culture . . . Anthropologists espousing a modern understanding of culture have been misled by the analogies they draw – to texts, organisms, or works of art. They have mistakenly read the presuppositions of their methods of approach into what they study. They have ignored or grossly underestimated evidence conflicting with presumptions of stasis and consensus. Their understanding of culture has been vitiated by associations with nationalism, colonialism, and the power plays of intellectual elites . . .¹²⁸

It is precisely these understandings of culture as textured, complex, hybrid, webs of meanings that undergird this research project. As such, it's the Geertzian concept of listening to the complexities of culture that this research is attempting.

Listening is never a neutral process. This research project uses ethnographic methods to listen to and complexify an aspect of Bahamian culture. Before looking at Ethnography in more detail, I must acknowledge reflexivity as crucial to this research. What I might consider to be problematic, that is, the relationship between Junkanoo and the Church,

¹²⁷ Robert J. Schreier, *Constructing Local Theologies* (Maryknoll, N.Y: Orbis Books, 1985).

¹²⁸ Kathryn Tanner, *Theories of Culture: A New Agenda for Theology*, Guides to Theological Inquiry (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1997). 38.

may be contested by others. Such a hypothesis arises from my own experiences of being a Bahamian who senses and tries to embrace his African religiocultural heritage, but also being a clergyman in the Anglican Church, who senses that unfortunate tension between my culture and my formation in the faith. It is only through paying attention to my own biases and experiences in the shaping, analysis and conclusions of this research that added depth is reached. Far from seeing this as problematic, in social research as well as this practical contextual theology, this is essential. As Hammersley and Atkinson point out:

The concept of reflexivity acknowledges that the orientations of researchers will be shaped by their socio-historical locations, including the values and interests that these locations confer upon them. What this represents is a rejection of the idea that social research is, or can be, carried out in some autonomous realism that is insulated from the wider society and from the biography of the researcher, in such a way that its findings can be unaffected by the social processes and personal characteristics.¹²⁹

3.2.2. *Ethnography*

Having mapped out my methodological and epistemological foundations for a Caribbean Practical Contextual Theology, we must now turn our attention to clarifying the ethnographic nature of the research project. According to Mary Clark Moschella, a working definition of Ethnography is that of “a way of immersing yourself in the life of a people in order to learn something about and from them.”¹³⁰ Though lacking in a standard, well-defined definition, and having its complex history and evolution within the academy, according to Martyn Hammersley and Paul Atkinson, it “plays a complex and shifting role

¹²⁹ Martyn Hammersley and Paul Atkinson, *Ethnography: Principles in Practice*, 3rd ed. (London: Routledge, 2007). 15. They speak of the development of ethnography from naturalism with its detached approach to social research, to constructionist positions, owing to the likes of Kuhn (in the philosophy of science) and Gadamer (in philosophical hermeneutics) with their insistence that scientific reality is never detached since it is mediated through the presuppositions and prejudices of the researcher. This has meant prioritising the reality of reflexivity. (pp. 11 – 12)

¹³⁰ Mary Clark Moschella, *Ethnography as Pastoral Practice: An Introduction* (Cleveland The Pilgrim Press, 2008). 4.

in the dynamic tapestry that the social sciences have become in the twenty-first century.”¹³¹ They go on to explain that ethnographic research is designed to:

- Study people’s actions and accounts in every day contexts rather than conditions created by the researcher.
- Collect data from a wide range of sources, including documentary evidence of various kinds, participant observation and/or informal conversations.
- Engage in unstructured data collection. Such unstructured data, through analysis, produces the categories for interpreting what people say.
- Focus on a few cases, a single setting, or a group of people to facilitate in-depth study.
- Analyse data using interpretation of the meanings, functions, and consequences of human actions and institutional practices. What are produced are verbal descriptions, explanations and theories.¹³²

Like Contextual and Practical Theology, Ethnography follows the interpretative epistemological paradigm through, for example, the work of Clifford Geertz in his semiotic understanding of culture, and employs qualitative research methods to uncover an interpretative universe. Data collection methods include observation, including participant observation (referred to at times as *an* ethnography), interviews, and archival research.¹³³ Michael Angrosino explains that Ethnography can be referred to as both a method and a product, the former already outlined by Hammersley and Atkins, and the

¹³¹ Hammersley and Atkinson, *Ethnography*: 1.

¹³² *Ibid.*, 3.

¹³³ Michael Angrosino, *Doing Ethnographic and Observational Research*, The Sage Qualitative Research Kit (London: Sage Publications, 2007).

latter being “a narrative, a kind of extended story whose main goal is to draw the reader into the vicarious experience of the community in which the ethnographer has lived and interacted.”¹³⁴ Ethnography is also a fundamentally reflexive exercise wherein the researcher is immersed in his or her research. Its aims are to complexify and understand phenomena using a triangulation of data-collection methods.

Drawing on these fundamentals of Ethnography, this research project can be described as ethnographic research into the relationship between Junkanoo and the Church using semi-structured interviews and direct observation. It must be clearly stated that the use of the tools of ethnography was strictly for the purpose of gaining new theological insights into the problematic relationship between Junkanoo and the Church, and not primarily for anthropological understanding. If Self-Negation stands up as a plausible explanatory framework through which to view the relationship, that somehow Bahamians are rejecting an essential part of themselves, or are making a sacred/sinful distinction between the Church and Junkanoo respectively, demonising their African cultural heritage, then naturally theological questions arise concerning sin, the nature of human beings, and the relationship between Church and culture of Church and society. In essence, Theology is the overriding discipline, which, through a contextual and practical epistemological framework, embraces social sciences generally, and ethnography in particular, for the purpose of deeper theological insight and greater practical or instrumental impact.

¹³⁴ Ibid., 16.

3.2.3. *Convergences and Tensions*

The details of this fieldwork will be outlined below, but the use of Ethnography brings both benefits and difficulties. Firstly, using Ethnography provides careful, critical attention to culture and the day-to-day lives of Bahamian people. Secondly, it keeps Theology current and relevant, authentic to context. Thirdly, it allows access to local knowledge, necessary for grass-root theological articulation. Fourthly, it allows that view from within, a chance to interrogate the thoughts and feelings of Bahamians in their understanding of Junkanoo, Church and their relationship, not presuming to speak for them. And finally, it moves Caribbean Theology more in the direction of engaging with the social sciences, instead of and beyond classical theological approaches to Theological Reflection.¹³⁵

However, there is an important epistemological tension raised by Swinton and Mowat.¹³⁶

While Ethnography as well as Practical and Contextual Theology understand truth to be interpreted, the latter two, unlike the former, subscribe to ‘ultimate’ or ‘divine’ truth. Social scientists do not see truth in this way, seeing it as always something constructed by human beings in webs of relationships. How then can my use of the Ethnography and its understanding of truth help me to make claims to divine truth, or suggest that there is some sense of ultimate truth lying outside the human realm? Firstly, practical and contextual theologians would see this this tension positively. I acknowledge that Theology and the social sciences have different starting points and emphases. Theology’s main concern is God. Its basic belief is in God the creator, and human beings as contingent

¹³⁵ This point is been made in Chapter 4, the Literature Review. My conclusion is that Caribbean Theology must now turn to an embrace of the social science’s in order to discover grassroots theologies, since much of its preoccupations have been on doing theology using Western ‘ivory tower’ approaches.

¹³⁶ Swinton and Mowat, *Practical Theology and Qualitative Research*: 83 - 85.

upon God. There is ultimate or divine truth, which is given by God, revealed historically in the incarnation of Jesus Christ, and continually dispensed through the Holy Spirit. And while the social sciences do not share these presuppositions, there is still the shared assumption that truth is emergent and knowable. Secondly, the practical, contextual theological framework outlined above welcomes this tension, seeing it as essential to the theological task. Ballard and Pritchard make the point that both Theology and the social sciences “must enter into dialogue with one another because they illuminate each other and contribute to whatever may be the ultimate truth about the Church.”¹³⁷ Therefore, while Practical Theology suggests a critical, correlational, conversational way of doing theology, one where the meeting of different horizons results in newer and deeper understandings; on the other hand, Contextual Theology embraces social scientific methods, seeing them as theological tools. In this vein, this research project embraces ethnographic research methods, seeing them as essential to its aims and objectives. And, while I am aware of tensions, Theology sets the agenda for the research; it has logical priority.¹³⁸ Or to give an effective example from Clemens Sedmak, I am using theological eyes, but looking through social glasses.¹³⁹

¹³⁷ Ballard and Pritchard, *Practical Theology in Action*: 118.

¹³⁸ Swinton and Mowat note the epistemological tension within Practical Theology and the on-going challenge to address it. In doing so they reference the work of Deborah van Deusen Hunsinger who describes the relationship between Theology and Psychology, to the relationship between the two natures (divine and human) of Christ in the Chalcedonian tradition. While the relationship is indissoluble, inseparable, and indestructible, the divine part of Christ takes logical priority. Likewise Theology must take logical priority over the social sciences in theological research. Swinton and Mowat, *Practical Theology and Qualitative Research*: 83 - 85. Deborah van Deusen Hunsinger, *Theology and Pastoral Counseling : A New Interdisciplinary Approach* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1995).

¹³⁹ Sedmak, *Doing Local Theology* 104 - 10.

3.3. Research Methods

There have been four stages to this research. The first stage is the review of relevant literature, recorded in Chapters 2 and 4 where I have problematised the relationship between Junkanoo and the Church in the Bahamas as Self-Negating, using historical and archival records, along with theological, historical, cultural, sociological and political literature pertinent to the region to justify such a claim. It is from this that the second stage, the ethnographic fieldwork, emerged. This included interviews and observational research aimed at accessing experiences of the Church/Junkanoo relationship. These took place during two separate stints of fieldwork: from July to August 2011, and the two months of December 2012 to January 2013. While the first stint was mainly for conducting interviews and accessing relevant material in the National Archives of the Bahamas, the second stint was mainly for the observation of the Junkanoo phenomenon at its peak during the Christmas/New Year period. It is more precise to say that these were not two separate pieces of fieldwork, since interviews conducted during the summer of 2011, led to the need, firstly to concentrate on a self-identified Christian Junkanoo group both for interviews and observation, and secondly, the need for more interviews, particularly of ordinary/lay Junkanoo participants very involved in their churches.

The third stage of this research is the analysis (Chapter 5), which must also be seen just as iterative a process as the data collection. As will be explained below, a qualitative content analysis with the aid of NVivo was used for presenting themes for theological reflection (Chapter 6), which I describe as employing a Caribbean vernacular reading strategy.¹⁴⁰

The final stage of the research is concerned with praxis, wherein insights gained from the

¹⁴⁰ NVivo 9, QSR International.

data analysis is used to make informed suggestions about inculcating more self-affirming practices between Junkanoo and the Church (Chapter 7). The four stages of the research best pattern the cyclical process of Practical Theology, contributing to the aims of a robust Contextual theology.

We will now look in detail at the interviews and observations, along with their implications for the data collection process, access, ethics, and researcher role. The use of these two research methods provides methodological triangulation with the data from interviews being contrasted and/or corroborated by the observations.¹⁴¹

3.4. Interviews

In order to access a variety of experiences of Bahamians as they inhabit both Church and/or Junkanoo, different types of interviews were conducted. For all interviews conducted, however, respondents were contacted by telephone or e-mail, were asked about the possibility of an interview informally, and upon acceptance, a formal letter was sent outlining the nature of the research along with interview questions. Each letter clearly outlined the option to participate or not, and contained a consent form about the use of their contributions in the research.¹⁴² Before conducting the research, these were signed and dated. Interviews were audio-recorded, and then later transcribed.¹⁴³ Transcripts were

¹⁴¹ Martyn Denscombe, *The Good Research Guide: For Small-Scale Social Research Projects*, Third ed. (Berkshire: Open University Press, 2007). 136. Denscombe explains that methodological triangulation often refers to the contrast between qualitative and quantitative methods, but the goal is to have methods that are very different to each other. My use of interviews and direct observation seeks to capture this difference, acknowledging that these are two very different tools, with very different approaches to accessing data. Their complementarity, the fact that they both result in narratives of some form, aid consistency in the analytical process.

¹⁴² See Appendix E for an example of the letter to interview participants.

¹⁴³ See Appendix F for an example of the signed consent for interview participation.

then sent back to respondents for critique or verification. Copies of transcripts and signed consent are safely in my possession.

It was decided that 2 church leaders, 2 academics, 2 Junkanoo group leaders/icons, 1 leader of a self-identified Christian Junkanoo Group, and 6 members of the larger Junkanoo groups, would be sufficient to access a variety of perspectives.¹⁴⁴ For church leaders, academics and group leaders, semi-structured expert interviews were conducted. These persons were best positioned to answer the research questions from particular, elucidatory perspectives; they possessed ‘expert knowledge’. Because validity of information is tied to the reputation, credibility, legacy and/or expertise of these respondents within Bahamian society, it was decided not to anonymize them in the research.¹⁴⁵

3.4.1. Expert Respondents

The two Church leaders interviewed were the Rt. Rev. Drexel Gomez, former Archbishop of the Anglican Church in the Province of the West Indies, and diocesan bishop of the Bahamas and the Turks and Caicos Islands; and Bishop Dr. Simeon Hall, a major and outspoken Baptist voice in the Bahamas, and former president of the Bahamas Christian Council. The former, while not only bringing a Caribbean experience of Anglicanism, being also former Bishop of Barbados, and instrumental in its development, is a theologian, having taught Systematic Theology in his earlier career and been chair of the

¹⁴⁴ This was decided as part of the RD1 process at the University of Gloucestershire, along with the supervisory team at the Queens Foundation.

¹⁴⁵ See Appendix G for an example of an Expert Interview Transcript.

Caribbean Council of Churches during his tenure as Bishop of Barbados. He also has considerable experience in Anglican regional and Communion affairs. The latter grew up in Over-the-Hill New Providence with contributions to his sense of call to ministry being made from many denominations, including the Baptists, Roman Catholics, Anglicans, Brethren and Methodists.¹⁴⁶ Bishop Hall has travelled widely and written on Bahamian social and political concerns, and sees himself as protégé of the great Baptist clergymen of the 20th century Bahamian society, notably Rev. Dr. A. S. Colebrook, Rev. R. E. Cooper, and Rev. Dr. H. W. Brown.

The two academics interviewed have specifically focussed on Junkanoo in their research and writing. The first is anthropologist and sociologist Dr. Nicolette Bethel who has done 20 years of research on Junkanoo, national identity, and Bahamian culture. She brings her perspective as a social scientist along with her dual church background, which she describes as fundamentalist Brethren, and Anglican. She rushes every year with a scrap group, ‘Sperrit’.¹⁴⁷ The second is Rev Canon Dr Kirkley Sands, a theological researcher on Bahamian spirituality, Junkanoo and Church History, and also a practitioner, with more than 40 years of service as priest in the Diocese of the Bahamas and the Turks and Caicos Islands. Both scholars have earned PhDs in their particular disciplines from UK

¹⁴⁶ Over-the-Hill has historical significance for Bahamians in that it was the area where slave communities were placed, outside of the city, and stands in contradistinction to the city of Nassau. It has developed to become some of the poorer areas within the Nations capital. Junkanoo groups came out of these areas, seeing themselves in contradistinction to Bay Street, which is historically synonymous with the Bahamian merchant class.

¹⁴⁷ See 1.4.4 where I explained what Junkanoo is. Rushin’ refers to the act of participating in Junkanoo, either in dancing, costuming, or playing musical instruments. The terminology came out of the Church and is directly related to African religious traditions in the Anglophone African Caribbean. To rush is primarily a dance movement, a way of invoking the spirits. See Bilby, "Surviving Secularization." Likewise, a Scrap Group is a kind of Junkanoo group that does not appear in Junkanoo parades for cash prizes. They resist the commercialization of the festival. ‘Sperrit’ (Spirit or Ghost in Bahamian dialect) is simply the name of that particular Scrap Group. See Chapter 2, 2.3.

universities, the former from Cambridge, and the latter from St. Andrew's, Scotland.¹⁴⁸

Both have published considerably on their research interests, continue to lecture at the Bahamas' tertiary institution, and have been instrumental in facilitating the only symposium on Junkanoo and Christianity published in 2003 as *Junkanoo and Religion: Christianity and Cultural Identity in the Bahamas*.¹⁴⁹

Our two group leaders were selected from A and B groups respectively.¹⁵⁰ From the Saxons, one of the two most historic Junkanoo Groups, Bahamian cultural icon, Percy 'Vola' Francis (Vola) was selected. Vola, the son of prominent 'Over-the-Hill' Baptist pastor, Earl Francis, grew up in the context of Junkanoo when Junkanoo groups were identified strictly by particular Over-the-Hill territories. Influenced by the music and artistry of persons like Freddie Munnings, Sweet Richard and the Wallace Brothers from Mason's Edition, he along with others from Masons Edition, formed the Mason's Edition Boys, which in the early 60s merged with the East Street Boys and the West Street Boys. In 1965 they became the Saxons. His gifts as a cultural artist continues as he currently works in the Department of Culture, and serves on national bodies and initiatives concerning culture. Most recently he has been involved in the creation of a Bahamian Carnival, a new initiative by the government. Vola explained that at the time of interview, he had joined the Church of God of Prophecy some five years prior after having a conversion experience. He is implicitly bringing Junkanoo into the Church of God of

¹⁴⁸ Kirkley C. Sands, "The Anglican Church and the Bahamian Cultural Identity: The Role of Church Sponsored Education, Prayer Book Liturgy and Anglo-Catholic Rituals in the Development of Bahamian Culture, 1784-1900" (PhD, University of Edinburgh, 1998). Nicolette Bethel, "Navigations: The Fluidity of Identity in the Post-Colonial Bahamas" (PhD, Cambridge, 2000).

¹⁴⁹ The College of the Bahamas, "Junkanoo and Religion: Christianity and Cultural Identity in the Bahamas" (paper presented at the The Junkanoo and Christianity Symposium, The College of the Bahamas, 2002).

¹⁵⁰ Like Scrap Groups, A and B Groups are also types of Groups participating in the Junkanoo Parades. See Chapter 2, 2.3.

Prophecy, which has traditionally forbidden it. Our second Junkanoo leader is Kevin Ferguson, leader of the B Group, Colours. Kevin has had an interesting journey through different Junkanoo Groups, and in chronological order: A Groups, the Valley Boys and Roots, to B Groups, Culture and now Colours. He has been in Junkanoo since childhood, and is known for being a beller, part of the music line.¹⁵¹ In this regard he brings an experience of in-group politics. He is also an Anglican and a tile layer by trade. His quest is for a Junkanoo environment conducive to family life and open to nurturing young people.

In undertaking the expert interview, I was aware of and guided by Uwe Flick's caution about power relations; that care should be taken to direct the interview ensuring that the 'knowledge' of the expert is gathered instead of information not relevant to the research questions.¹⁵² Two things helped the expert interviews. Firstly, Being a Bahamian familiar with Junkanoo, and being a clergy person with a good educational background, positioned me for directing the research questions appropriately and sensitively. Secondly, organization prior to the conducting of interviews, giving expert respondents clear background to the research and the list of questions helped to keep the interview focused and precise. Further validity of expert interviews was established because their knowledge

¹⁵¹ A 'beller' is one of the musicians in the festival. They are usually costumed and shake cowbells in concert with drummers. The cowbell has become one of the key instruments in Bahamian Junkanoo. Nicolette Bethel explains that the essential instruments for Bahamian Junkanoo music, what sets it apart from other Caribbean Festivals, are the drums, the cowbells and the whistles. These make the essential sounds of Junkanoo. See Nicolette Bethel, "On Sousaphones, Junkanoo, and Emancipation," Blogworld, <http://nicobethel.net/2007/01/on-sousaphones-junkanoo-and-emancipation/>. See also, Nicolette Bethel, *Essays on Life: Bahamian Essays Originally Published in the Nassau Guardian*, vol. 1 (Nassau, Bahamas: Lulu, 2008).

¹⁵² Uwe Flick, *An Introduction to Qualitative Research*, 2nd ed. (London: Sage Publications, 2002). 89 - 90.

was contrasted with the second type of interview respondent I referred to as ‘lay participants’. Both types of interviews provided data triangulation.¹⁵³

But before presenting the biographical details of lay participants, combining the categories of expert knowledge and in depth experience would be a semi-structured interview with the leader of Conquerors for Christ, Rev. Henry Higgins. Along with his wife, Dr Ann Higgins, Henry formed a church out of his Junkanoo shack near to the Windsor park area. Higgins and his wife are gifted dancers and choreographers who see the need to embrace the power and presentation of Junkanoo as evangelistic tools. His drive to merge the Church and Junkanoo has been met with criticism from the wider Christian community. Higgins is a part of a group of pastors headed by Bishop Neil Ellis, called “Hosts of Elijah”. He is a civil servant and has been with the Ministry of Culture since 1993. His church is called “Creative Christian Arts International” and he and his wife were recently consecrated as apostles, and have even carried their love for Christ and culture to as far as China.¹⁵⁴ He grew up in Junkanoo and used to rush with the Saxons.

3.4.2. Lay Participants

Lay participants of Junkanoo refer to interview respondents in the research who were deeply involved both in their Churches and in their Junkanoo groups. As well as their knowledge about Junkanoo and the Church, interview questions were more aimed at accessing their ‘experiences’ of traversing both the world of Junkanoo and the Church.

¹⁵³ Denscombe, *The Good Research Guide*: 136.

¹⁵⁴ See, Shavaughn Moss, "Every knee shall bow and every tongue confess: Creative Christian Arts Ministries International pastors consecrated as apostles," *The Nassau Guardian*, 11th October 2012. See also, The Staff Writer, "Taking Junkanoo to the World: Conquerors for Christ Members participate in Chengdu Culture and Tourism Festival," *The Nassau Guardian*, 8th June 2013.

Semi-structured interviews were conducted using 6 respondents, who, unlike the experts, are kept anonymous in the research.¹⁵⁵ Lay participants bring a range of perspectives, often fitting into multiple categories. Firstly, AN is in her late 50s and part of the leadership board of the A Group, One Family, but was formerly member of the Saxons. She has also served on different national Junkanoo Committees. A teacher by profession, she is passionate about the educational aspects of Junkanoo and is involved her group's reach into the community in preparing children for back to school. She is an Anglican as well, but from childhood has also been involved in Junkanoo as a dancer.

Secondly, DH, in her early 30s, is also a member of One Family. She is a dancer and an Anglican. In her church, she is part of the Altar Guild (the servers around the altar), the vestry, and a youth leader.¹⁵⁶ Professionally she is a lawyer, who studied in England, but returned to the Bahamas to be called to the bar there. In One family she has moved from group dancing to individual costume dancing.

Thirdly, FH, a Spanish/French teacher in her mid 50s, has been instrumental in Junior Junkanoo. For years she has been the key person in preparing students for the parade. She also rushes every year with different, but mostly, B groups: Colours, Conquerors for Christ, Z Bandits, Prodigal Sons, and even the Saxons. She is Roman Catholic, performing the roles of catechism teacher and choir member in her local Church. Her gifts and talents are in choreography and dancing, something she brings both to Junior Junkanoo and her Church.

¹⁵⁵ See Appendix H for example of a lay participant interview transcript.

¹⁵⁶ Vestry refers to the governing body of the local church within the Anglican structure in the Bahamas.

Fourthly, AF is a 46-year member of A Group, the Valley Boy where he has been a beller and dancer for 25 years, but has now moved to the back of the back line, going for almost 25 years. He is currently leader of the backline.¹⁵⁷ He considers himself part of the founding generation, and has travelled throughout the United States representing his group. He is Methodist and a member of his church's choir for some 16 years. He graduated from a prominent Methodist school. An engineer by profession, he is a senior officer in the Ministry of Public Works. But he also brings the added perspective of being a Prince Hall Mason, which to him, is as important as Junkanoo and Church.

Fifthly, RM is a retired Bahamas Electrical Corporation employee, and is also a member of the Valley Boys since he was 14 years old. He started off as part of the junior group, joining the senior group when he became 18. He is also a beller, who after reaching 45 years of age, became an off the shoulder dancer.¹⁵⁸ At present he is a group marshal. RM is a Baptist deacon at one of the Zion Baptist Churches in New Providence.

The final lay participant is 28-year-old KS, who currently works and lives in Canada after recently completing his studies. He returns home regularly to participate in Junkanoo. Being a musician, he has performed this role both in his church and in the Junkanoo groups he has been associated with. He is an Anglican who has been a leader of the

¹⁵⁷ In Junkanoo the 'backline' refers to the brass and drumming section of the Junkanoo parade. Dancers with cowbells and whistles are usually placed between choreographed dancers and the musicians. The particular participant has moved from being in front of the musicians, to being at the back. Leader of the Back line means that he is leader of the music section.

¹⁵⁸ Off the shoulder dancers are not choreographed dancers. They wear costumes small enough to enable them to play some form of handheld musical instrument, such cowbells or graters. They may or may not blow whistles.

acolytes, and part of the music ministry. He comes from a strong Anglican Family with two uncles, one cousin, and a brother-in-law as priests. His main group has been the A Group Roots, but he has also rushed with the Valley Boys and One Family.

Questions used in the interviews directly related to the research's objectives, and were designed to access: the extent and types of enculturation between Junkanoo and the Church; particular denominational attitudes towards Junkanoo; particular conceptions of the Church by Junkanoo participants; the perceived effects of colonialism and slavery on the Church/Junkanoo relationship; the experience of Junkanoo and its significance for the Church; the experience of Church and its significance for Junkanoo; and the impact of globalization on both Church and Junkanoo; and the future relationship between Junkanoo and the Church. Interview questions differed depending on the differences in informants. For example, church leaders and academics were asked about church/culture relationships across the Caribbean in order to discern any peculiarity within the Bahamian context. Such questions were not presented to lay participants, who, instead, were asked about their experience of Junkanoo; something, assumingly, they would be able to expound upon more.¹⁵⁹

In total, interview respondents brought a rich and wide range of experiences. These included roles and experiences such as leaders of groups, member of National Junkanoo Committees; different parade experiences – musicians, dancers, and artists; and also

¹⁵⁹ See Appendix I for a full list of questions and their emphases among interview participants.

different types of groups, A, B, and Jr Junkanoo, even Scrap to some extent.¹⁶⁰ Secondly, there was a range of denominational experiences, including Anglican and Baptist Church leadership; Roman Catholic, Methodist, Brethren, Baptist, and Pentecostal perspectives as well. Thirdly, there was also a range of academic perspectives both in terms of informed theological views, as well as social scientific ones, balanced against practical experiences of Junkanoo and Church at all levels. Fourthly, there was generational range to consider. While most of the informants were middle-aged to retired, some were young people in their late twenties and early thirties. And, finally, there was a balance of voices with regard to gender. Though Junkanoo has been characterized as a predominantly male occupation, women are heavily involved. This research included the voices of four women from various backgrounds, denominations, and experiences of Junkanoo.

3.5. Observations

It must be remembered that Junkanoo is a year-round phenomenon, with preparations for the next set of parades commencing almost as soon as the New Years' Day parade is completed. However the months of December and January are the peak of the Junkanoo season. Junkanoo commentary and debate captivate newspapers, radio talk shows, and newscasts, while local television stations begin replaying clips from the previous year's parades.¹⁶¹ As with the interviews, a variety of activities were observed. These included

¹⁶⁰ Modern Junkanoo is divided into a number of different group classifications. Appearances on Parade include: A Division Groups; B Division Groups; D Division (Individuals); Division Groups (Exhibition) and F Fun Division Groups (Scrap). Major Groups would either refer to A Groups or B Groups or both. In this instance I am making a distinction between Scrap Groups and the more organised A and B Division Groups. See Appendix C for the rules and regulations of the Junkanoo Parade.

¹⁶¹ The following media commentary, and audio-visual resources formed part of the observational narratives, and are also mentioned in the Analysis, Chapters 5 and 6: Jeff Lloyd, "Jeffrey," (Nassau, Bahamas: Star 106.5 FM, 2012). Chrissy Love, "Reality Check," (Nassau, Bahamas: Guardian Radio 96.9 FM, 2012). Anonymous, "Insensitive Noisemakers!," BahamasLocal.com,

Junkanoo practices and parades. It must be mentioned here that the two major Junkanoo parades in New Providence aren't the only anticipated events on the Junkanoo calendar, since also part of the season is the Junior Junkanoo parade that allows competition among schools throughout the country, both primary and secondary. I decided to add Junior Junkanoo to my list of observations. Supplementing the above, were insights drawn from my own experience of listening to talk shows, news clips, newspaper articles, and even e-mail exchanges while in the field.

I chose direct observation to see whether an experience of the Junkanoo parade would confirm if the relationship between Junkanoo and the Church is problematic or not. In a sense it provided methodological triangulation, an added perspective distinct from interviews. Secondly, as a method, it was the most convenient way of doing robust reflexive observation. Given the loyalties and secrecy within Junkanoo Groups, participant observation proved untenable. Direct observation provided a somewhat detached and unobtrusive, but close enough to secure meaningful data for overall analysis.¹⁶² Geertz' method of thick description was used as a guide for fieldwork note-taking, then shortly afterwards observational narratives were typed up, composed in

http://www.bahamaslocal.com/newsitem/62416/Insensitive_Noisemakers.html. ZNS rebroadcast of the 2011 Boxing Day Junkanoo Parade, 15th December 2012. Lamech Johnson, "Junior Junkanoo Highlights and Results," *The Tribune*, 15th December 2012. Travis Cartwright-Carroll, "Valley Boys Win," *The Nassau Guardian*, 27 December 2012. Krystal Rolle, "Saxons win New Year's Day Junkanoo Parade," *The Nassau Guardian* 2nd January 2013. Robbin Whachell, "14th Annual City of Freeport Junior Junkanoo Parade - Feb. 2nd, 2013," in *thebahamasweekly.com* (Nassau, Bahamas: thebahamasweekly.com, 2013).

¹⁶² Swinton and Mowat, *Practical Theology and Qualitative Research*: 240.

confessional mode.¹⁶³ I am satisfied that narratives achieved verisimilitude and are recognizable to those knowledgeable of the Junkanoo experience.¹⁶⁴

3.5.1. Practices

Having gained access to the A. F. Adderley Junior High School through the Head teacher and Jr Junkanoo organizer, a school I have worked in previously as a teacher, I was allowed to observe students and teachers preparing for the parade that very night, 13th December 2012. The day was spent at the school making observations, which included their shack, different rounds of rushing, and general children's interactions as they prepared to engage in Junkanoo.¹⁶⁵ I also had the opportunity to speak to teachers assisting in the preparations, some who I knew. At no time was I alone with any children, or had a private conversation with them. Appropriate distances were kept, and teachers were always present. The second observed practice was that of the Valley Boys' on 16th December 2012, from 10 am to approximately 1 am. This took place at their practice site, Potter's Cay Dock. The third observed practice was the One Family final practice on 20th December 2012. This took place at the Old City Market Parking lot, near to St. Agnes Church, Market Street, from 9:30 pm to 1 am. The final practice was that of Conquerors for Christ, our self-identified Christian Junkanoo group, at Windsor Park in inner city Nassau on 21st December 2012. During this time I had further conversations with Henry Higgins, which proved very helpful to the research.

¹⁶³ See, Hammersley and Atkinson, *Ethnography*: 202.; Angrosino, *Doing Ethnographic and Observational Research*: 79 - 80. See Appendix J for Observational Narratives.

¹⁶⁴ Angrosino, *Doing Ethnographic and Observational Research*: 60.

¹⁶⁵ The Shack is the place where Junkanoo preparations are done. It is a place for constructing costumes, and it usually a very messy building.

3.5.2. *Parades*

The first to be observed was the 25th Esso Junior Junkanoo parade, 13th December from 9 pm to approximately 1 am. Observing from the crowd, I moved around the parade route, also paying particular attention to the A. F. Adderley group I had been observing earlier in the day. The second parade was the Boxing Day Junkanoo Parade, 26th December 2012. Observations began earlier that day while collecting a “press” vest from the head of the Junkanoo Committee New Providence (JCNP), who also happens to have a shack in his backyard. This was the gate-keeper for access to the Junkanoo parades in an unlimited way. Arriving onto Bay Street approximately quarter to midnight, and leaving 9 am the following day, I chose to situate myself mainly as part of the crowd, using the bleachers as the vantage point for observation. By doing this I was able to get a keener sense of the crowd around me, and also to observe from a somewhat static position. I did move to different seating areas as well, trying to see the parade from different points along the parade route. The final parade was the New Years Day Junkanoo parade, 1st January 2013. Having gone to church, I arrived at the parade just after its start at 2 am. For this parade I spent the night moving along the route, moving in between groups, getting a view from the street. This allowed an experience of the intensity of action and a closer view of the costumes and performances.

3.6. Ethics and Researcher Role

As a final note about ethics and researcher role, I am confident that proper procedures were followed. There were no interactions with children, and observations were done in an open space with appropriate safeguards around. There was no contact with any

vulnerable persons, or the gathering of information that would endanger the lives or well being of any of the research participants. All gatekeepers were contacted and gave consent for the research to proceed before research began. Consent was gained for the exposure of expert respondents and the leader of Conquerors for Christ Junkanoo Group in the final write-up. I was also aware of the power relations within the interview and observation process. Being a mid 30s male Anglican priest created unease among different research participants. In some circumstances I was aware of a deep suspicion because of this status, and in others, a reverence both of which could have impact on the data collected, since *signifying* in such a context is to be expected.¹⁶⁶ Being aware of this, my questions were repeated where necessary throughout interviews in order to clarify and crosscheck given data. Initial reflections and analyses were undertaken to account for the likelihood of signifying. Also, my multiple locations as Bahamian, having indigenous knowledge of Junkanoo; as a clergy person, and as an academic helped to navigate the various power relationships, allowing my stance as a researcher to change depending on context or interview respondent. For example, for Henry Higgins who is a Pentecostal pastor, I felt it necessary to emphasise my origins from the Family Islands, and de-emphasise that I was an Anglican Priest.¹⁶⁷ For Archbishop Gomez, my stance as an Anglican Priest was key to accessing rich data.

¹⁶⁶ See, Robert Beckford, *God of the Rahtid: Redeeming Rage* (London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 2001). 12. He defines signifying as “a form of ‘trickery’ that enables oppressed people to negotiate or manipulate the dominant power.” Acknowledging this, and being aware of this phenomenon within his research, Anthony Reddie uses drama to get to the core of the experiences of Black young people, since it is common, in the context of racial discrimination, to present ready made, expected answers as a way of hiding inner experiences. See, Anthony G. Reddie, "An Interactive Methodology for Doing Black Theology," in *Postcolonial Black British Theology : New Textures and Themes*, ed. Michael N. Jagessar and Anthony Reddie (Peterborough, England: Epworth, 2007).

¹⁶⁷ Being an archipelago, with the city being located on one of the smallest Islands, the term Family Islands, or Out Islands, refer to Islands from which many different surnames and families originate, where younger

3.7. Data Analysis

For this kind of iterative qualitative research it is understood that analysis begins with the actual formatting and structuring of the research, continuing into the writing of the final draft. A general description of this project's analysis is that, guided by the research questions, data collected from interviews and observations underwent qualitative content analysis with the use of the NVivo data analysis software.¹⁶⁸ Bearing in mind Alan Bryman's four stages of analysis: reading the text as a whole; re-reading the text making notes and observations; Coding the text systematically; and relating coded data to general theoretical ideas; this project used the following five stages adapting Bryman's suggestions for a practical contextual theological framework.¹⁶⁹

In the first stage, shortly after them taking place, interviews were transcribed and observational narratives were written up using word processing. For interviews, at this point the concern was simply to transcribe data as clearly and faithfully as possible, even though I had handwritten notes and reflections on my own impressions or gut feelings, written during the interview process.¹⁷⁰ Observations were written in the confessional mode, with initial reflections incorporated into them.¹⁷¹

generations would have gone to the city to find employment. Naturally, the Family Islands are less populated and far more rural.

¹⁶⁸ NVivo 9.

¹⁶⁹ Alan Bryman, *Social Research Methods*, 3rd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).

¹⁷⁰ See Appendix K for example of interview rough notes.

¹⁷¹ See Appendix J for example of observational narratives.

The second stage involved a period of intensive reading, reflecting again on the reflective notes and thick descriptions. At this point what I refer to as annotated transcripts were created; by this I mean that notes, ideas, themes, and highlights from handwritten field notes or interview notes were then incorporated into the original transcripts.¹⁷²

Observations were also expanded based on this second round of reading. In both cases, general themes and categories were listed.¹⁷³

The third stage was the use of NVivo for intensive coding, or rather, recoding of interviews and observations. This also involved a series steps or levels aimed at moving from mere descriptive codes to analytical ones. Level one began with an initial coding frame taken directly from the interview questions with categories based on the key research questions. Strategically, observations were coded after interviews, and while not following pre-determined codes or a framework, as with the interviews, they were used to ratify and expand codes encountered in the interviews. Necessarily, interviews and observations were considered distinct data sets. It was expected that the initial coding frame would expand and change as coding progressed.¹⁷⁴ Appendix N gives examples of the different levels of coding and shows that while level one began with broader themes/codes such as ‘The experience of Junknaoo’, ‘Church/Junkanoo Relationship’,

¹⁷² See Appendix L for examples of annotated interview transcripts.

¹⁷³ See Appendix M for reflective notes composed after re-reading through observational narratives and field-notes. These thoughts and themes were taken into the NVivo analysis.

¹⁷⁴ Graham Gibbs, *Analyzing Qualitative Data*, The Sage Qualitative Research Kit (London: Sage Publications, 2007). 44 - 45. He speaks of King N. (1998) ‘Template analysis’, in G. Syman and C. Casswell (eds), *Qualitative Methods and Analysis in Organizational Research*. London: Sage; and Ritchie, JI, Spencer, L. and O’Connor, W. (2003) ‘Carrying out qualitative analysis’, in Ritchie, J. and Lewis, J. (eds) *Qualitative Research Practice: A Guide for Social Science Students and Researchers*. London: Sage. pp. 219 – 262. Gibbs explains that coding always has to move from descriptive codes to analytic codes, but acknowledging that the “researcher will need to amend the list of codes during analysis as new ideas and new ways of categorizing are detected in the text.” The three levels of the NVivo coding in this project account for this amendment of the list of coding as new ideas, categories and themes emerged, as new ways of seeing the data gained prominence.

‘Theological Motifs in Junkanoo’; it naturally grew to include basic descriptive codes such as ‘music’, ‘drum’, ‘marijuana’, ‘community’, ‘Junkanoo’, ‘Church’, etc. Of course, each of these codes became parent codes for a number of sub-codes.¹⁷⁵

While level one sought to remain merely descriptive, level two was a reorganization of the coding as new ways of seeing the data emerged. This included the introduction of major codes such as ‘Dissonance/Tension’, ‘Ambivalence’, ‘Colonialism’, etc. Some of the codes in level one were either abstracted to the status of major codes in this new level, or were simply carried over as explanatory.¹⁷⁶

Level three became the final stage of the filtering process. Analytical ideas from level two were reorganised to specifically address the key research questions, and provide major analytical themes around which the Junkanoo/Church relationship should be viewed, one of these being Self-Negation, with sub-codes showing its complexities and nuances in the Church/Junkanoo relationship. At each level of the refinement process either particular themes were abstracted to the top level as more explanatory, or similar themes were combined into a new code as more representative. ‘Self-Negation’ and ‘Overcoming’, though not appearing as in-vivo codes (words arising in the data), would become major interpretative ideas with significant representation across data sources and in the research literature. It is also important to note that memos were recorded throughout the process of the NVivo analysis. These directly contributed to the on going interpretation of the data and the final account of the analysis (Chapter 5). Through the NVivo software I was also

¹⁷⁵ Examples of expanded lists of coding can be seen in Appendix P.

¹⁷⁶ See Appendix N for level two coding.

able to code memos as well, a particularly useful way of linking particular codes and themes.¹⁷⁷

The final two stages of the research process included the analysis and formal write up of the research report. While Chapter 5 details the results of the qualitative content analysis, Chapter 6 uses the results of the analysis for theological reflection. The theological reflection takes up the themes of sin at the heart of the Junkanoo/Church relationship, seeing that mainly within Junkanoo there is a pneumatological critique and corrective to a colonially informed concept of sin. Chapter 7 then uses the theological reflection to suggest integrative, self-affirming practices for both Junkanoo and the Church within Bahamian society.

3.8. Research Scope and Limitations

Perhaps the major limitation in this research project is that I was not able to engage in participant observation for a longer period of time. This proved impossible due to distance from the field, the brevity of the Junkanoo parade season, and strict boundaries between Junkanoo groups. Though the direct observational approach, along with the selection of different types of interview informants produced the rich data needed for the research questions, the project could be expanded with perhaps a year of total immersion in a particular group, and a carefully selected Church with links to that particular group.

¹⁷⁷ See Appendix O for example of an NVivo memo.

Also, though this research was set up to observe Junkanoo and its significance for the Church and its praxis, there was no attempt, due to time, to engage in observational research of a particular church and its views and connections with Junkanoo. Whereas knowledge and understanding of the Church and its significance for and treatment of Junkanoo was gathered from interviews, particularly those of church leaders, and the literature background literature in particular; the added dimension of church based observation could perhaps be taken up through the use of a research team, looking at multiple church practices over a longer period of time.

Finally, there is the acknowledgement of an Anglican bias. It is true that I am more familiar with the Anglican world, and easier access was gained through those channels. Nonetheless, the research project has tried to provide data with diversity in churchmanship, and also expertise and experience as seen in the different categories of interview participants. It is also fair to say the data challenged my own views and prior knowledge as an Anglican clergy. I was able to see the complexities within my own particularly denominational tradition. I was also challenged more clearly to see Junkanoo as both a resource for indigenous Christian praxis, but also as space that could perhaps benefit from what the Church has to offer as well. More will be said about this in the conclusion to the research, Chapter 7.

In the end, this research project adds to the necessary and on going debate about enculturation and how it should be done within the Caribbean. It has transferability to similar contexts, particularly those in which African religiocultural retentions such as

Junkanoo struggle in their relationship with the Church. Self-Negation as a theological analytical framework emerges as a fruitful tool for theological conversation and application. In the next chapter (Chapter 4) we review literature pointing to Self-Negation in the African Caribbean Context, in Caribbean theology and Church praxis, and the inadequate attention to African religiocultural retentions.

4. Chapter 4: Literature Review: Towards a New Paradigm: Engaging African Religiocultural Retentions for Addressing Self-Negation

4.1. Introduction

In this review of literature I argue that Self-Negation become a more central theme for theological research and discourse within the Caribbean context, particularly as it manifests in church/culture relationships in the region. Bearing this in mind, this chapter is organised into four parts. Firstly, I trace the literature and debates concerning Self-Negation, asserting that despite objections, it remains a plausible explanatory hypothesis for assessing the lived realities of Caribbean people. Secondly, after proposing that Self-Negation is a theological reality, I critically review seminal works and theologians within the Anglophone Caribbean arguing that with development and decolonization as foci, little attention is given to the relationship between the Church and African religiocultural retentions, with Self-Negation being given a passing mention. Thirdly, I highlight the work of Caribbean theologians who have made African religiocultural retentions the starting point of their theological reflection. I see this as a movement towards interdisciplinary ethnographic theological approaches that prioritise grassroots theological engagements. Fourthly, I present my research into the relationship between Junkanoo and the Church in the Bahamas as aligned with this new trajectory, widening its reach into one of the smaller islands of the Caribbean.

4.2. Self-Negation: An Anglophone Caribbean Reality

Chapter 1 briefly defined Self-Negation as a phenomenon in which indigenous, mainly African cultural modes of expression, languages, art forms, and even African

religiocultural retentions such as Junkanoo, are seen, by Caribbean Christians themselves, as improper and second class at best, and evil or demonic at worst. This concept has had much traction within the literature on the legacy of slavery and colonialism in the Caribbean. Our theorization must begin with an understanding of the psychology of oppression expounded upon by Frantz Fanon and W. E. B. DuBois.¹⁷⁸ Fanon conceptualizes the colonial context as marked by violence; that the situation of the colonized is one of masked, internal/subconscious violence. He prefaces the last section of his *Wretched of the Earth*, which details the mental disorders resulting from the Algerian War, with an explication of the psychological condition of the colonized in the context of colonial oppression:

Because it is a systematic negation of the other person and a furious determination to deny the other person all attributes of humanity, colonialism forces the people it dominates to ask themselves the question constantly: 'In reality, who am I?'¹⁷⁹

He also sets a very important distinction for this psychiatric focus, that for the colonized people, their very humanity is negated. This is different to war occupations in Europe – the captives still remain human. In the colonial context – the colonized are not human at all. But, perhaps the best description of the internal and conflictual duality within the colonized persons is best explained in his *Black Skin White Masks*:

For the black no longer has to be black, but must be it in front of the white. Some critics will take it on themselves to remind us that this situation is reciprocal. We respond that this is false. The black has no ontological resistance to the eyes of the white. Overnight the Negroes have had two systems of reference with regard to which they felt the need to situate themselves. Their metaphysics, or, less pretentiously, their customs and the earnestness with which they are discharged,

¹⁷⁸ Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks* (New York: Grove Press, 1967). Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1967). W. E. B. Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk*, A Signet Classics (New York: New American Library, 1969).

¹⁷⁹ Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*: 200.

were abolished because they found themselves in contradiction with a civilization of which they were ignorant and which imposed itself on them.¹⁸⁰

This concept of ‘double consciousness’ gives conceptual clarity to what is intended by Self-Negation.¹⁸¹ Central to the psychology of oppression is the oppressed seeing themselves through the lens of the oppressor. DuBois’ explains:

It is a peculiar sensation, this double consciousness, this sense of always looking at one’s self through the eyes of others, of measuring one’s soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity. One ever feels this twoness, - an American, a Negro; two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder.¹⁸²

This dualism is also central to Orlando Patterson’s *The Sociology of Slavery* where he points out that the slave society was devoid of social structure in every way.¹⁸³ In analysing post-emancipation Jamaican society he asserts that a dual cultural pattern emerges. On the one hand, there is the Afro-Jamaican cultural system, “which was largely a consolidation and revitalization of patterns developed during slavery; the other was the European oriented cultural system, which was the revival of British civilization in the island after its disintegration during slavery.”¹⁸⁴ But these two had always been in opposition to each other, consistently conflicting. And, it is precisely this embodied,

¹⁸⁰ Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks*: 109-10.

¹⁸¹ Paul Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1993). Gilroy, among others, uses DuBois’ concept in his analysis of racism within the Black British context. As a terminology, ‘Double Consciousness’ has gained wide usage, and remains a critical conceptual tool for analyzing and exposing the Black Experience of oppression.

¹⁸² Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk*: 3.

¹⁸³ Patterson, *The Sociology of Slavery*.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 287. See also, Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (New York: Herder and Herder, 1970). Freire insisted on the need for ‘critical consciousness’, central to which is the need for appropriating self-worth among the oppressed, allowing them to discover their human dignity, in contrast to a ‘banking pedagogy’ which viewed the oppressed as receptors and imitators in their education instead of actors and transformers of their condition.

conflicting duality, which would best describe the nature of contemporary Caribbean society, with Jamaica being but one example.

With regard to the Bahamian context, this understanding of Self-Negation can also be seen as fundamental to the work of Bahamian psychologist Timothy McCartney. In his *Bahamian Sexuality*, McCartney looks at the patterns of sexuality in the Bahamas based on the history and ancestral antecedents of the nation, acknowledging that there were grave problems with regard to the newly freed slaves creating a social structure. One of the only options available to the newly freed was “To emulate the white Judeo-Christian culture and become “whiter than snow!” In the context of British Colonialism, the Europeanised Christian morality had great appeal to the emancipated Afro-Bahamian. The rigid social class and racial system enhanced his/her desire to be “white”, act white and think white.”¹⁸⁵ McCartney is more explicit in *Ten, Ten, the Bible Ten: Obeah in the Bahamas*, where in Chapter 4 he discusses the psychosocial context of religion in post-emancipation Bahamian society. He writes:

After emancipation, however, the established Church (Anglican) and the British colonial power discouraged "native" practises, and social restrictions were such that the Black Bahamian came to despise what he really had and, especially, if he wanted to reach economic and social prominence he had to be "cultured" or at least "act white." In spite of this racial-social-economic distance, only very mild legislation on the practise of Obeah was passed . . . and there were no African religious or folklore practices that the ruling masters thought "dangerous" or "threatening" to them as, for example, Cumfa that was banned in Surinam. Until recently, the majority of Bahamians tried to forget or deny any roots with Africa, as part of the upward racial-social mobility.¹⁸⁶

¹⁸⁵ Timothy McCartney, *Bahamian sexuality* (Nassau, Bahamas: TimPaul Publishing Company, 1976). 15 - 16.

¹⁸⁶ Timothy McCartney, *Ten, Ten, the Bible Ten: Obeah in the Bahamas* (Nassau, Bahamas: Tinpaul Publishing Company, 1976). 100.

But across the Caribbean one can see a wealth of responses to Self-Negation. In political activism, such a notion was foundational to Marcus Garvey and the UNIA in the 1920s with his insistence on raising black consciousness. Besides Garvey and Fanon, there is Walter Rodney in the 1970's who particularly articulated the need for self-emancipation in the context of capitalistic governance.¹⁸⁷ Likewise, when considering Aimé Césaire, Fanon's mentor, it is important to stress his concept of 'decolonising the mind', of unshackling the nurtured hatred of African indigenous cultures. His poetry and writing were to reassert pride in African cultural values within the diaspora. To press the point, one need only look at his coinage of the word 'negritude', which he associates with the Haitian Revolution, signifying it as a means of asserting the humanity inherent in black peoples and cultures.¹⁸⁸

This concept of Self-Negation has been key to understanding the literary output of the Caribbean as well. C. L. R. James' *The Black Jacobins: Toussaint L'Ouverture and the San Domingo Revolution* recounts the Haitian Revolution from the standpoint of the formerly colonized Haitian people under Toussaint L'Ouverture, who embodied the fight

¹⁸⁷ See Walter Rodney, *A History of the Guyanese Working People: 1881 - 1905* (Baltimore, Md.: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1981). Rodney advocated 'self-emancipation', 'self-organization', and 'self-mobilization' as alternative ways of living against capitalistic governance. In chapter 1 of the *History of Guyanese Working Peoples*, Rodney makes it very clear that the environment, life, and politics cannot be separated therefore paramount within the Caribbean context would be the following: the organisation of working people to end division; the belief in self-emancipation; and transition beyond capitalism.

¹⁸⁸ Aimé Césaire, *Cahier d'un retour au pays natal* [Notebook of a return to my native land], trans. Mireille Rosello and Annie Pritchard, Bloodaxe contemporary French poets (Newcastle upon Tyne, England: Bloodaxe Books, 1995). This edition highlights critiques of Césaire's use of the term negritude, but in general it has always served as a means of inverting imperial representations of the black person. Negritude is associated with the Haitian revolution and signifies the process of rising up and asserting the humanity inherent in blackness, something that is denied within systems of black oppression. See pages 46 – 47.

for liberty and equal humanity among the oppressed Blacks.¹⁸⁹ In his “The Muse of History” in *What the Twilight Says*, Derek Walcott critiques revolutionary responses to the reality of colonization. Instead of seeing history as past, in need of revenge, and filled with despair and pathos, he advocates a response which sees history as present and on-going; the need for creativity and renewal; a need to absorb the realities of the past; a search for wholeness arising from the bitter-sweet history of colonization.¹⁹⁰ This only comes to be through a deep sense of self-acceptance, a journey that must accept the pain and complexity of Caribbean history, using both for renewal and transformation. And George Lamming’s *In the Castle of my Skin* and *The Pleasures of Exile*, for example, can both be seen as exploring, questioning, and addressing the identity question within Caribbean society, an experience which Lamming describes as ‘exilic’.¹⁹¹ Coming to know, to discover, to reclaim our true selves is an urgent task for the Caribbean. In presenting the winner of the 2012 BOCAS Literary Festival, he stated that the Caribbean

¹⁸⁹ C. L. R. James, *Beyond a boundary* (Kingston, Jamaica: Sangster's Book Stores in association with Hutchinson, 1963). C. L. R. James, *The Black Jacobins: Toussaint L'Ouverture and the San Domingo revolution*, 2d ed. (New York: Vintage Books, 1963). One can read James’ works as ways of doing history from the standpoint of the oppressed. James’ belief was that history ought to be told, and truth ought to be understood from the vantage point of the underclass within the colonial construct. In *The Black Jacobins* he recounts the story of the Haitian Revolution from the perspective of the victors – the formerly colonised Haitian peoples under the leadership of Toussaint L’Ouverture. In *Beyond a Boundary*, he argues that the Caribbean person has a way of taking something, such as cricket, and recreating it into something distinctive, something new and lively, which transcends old conceptions of that thing. He speaks of Caribbean uniqueness and giftedness and the need to celebrate these facts. At the heart of his work is a drive for a unification, which transcends boundaries of all kinds – social, historical, cultural and political. With this in mind then, and mindful of the clearly defined boundaries so central to a colonised society, his work is a way of addressing what I’m referring to as pervasive Self-Negation.

¹⁹⁰ Derek Walcott, "The Muse of History," in *What the Twilight Says: Essays* (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 1998). Derek Walcott is, in fact, being autobiographical in this essay when he recounts his own conflicts over being a poet within the empire. What would he lose if he were to go to England? What would he gain? What he needed most was at home. I would describe this autobiography as a wrestling with a persistent, colonially constructed society that valorised western standards of creativity, of art, of literature. Walcott’s decision to stay at home and write was a statement to self and cultural acceptance and self and cultural valorisation.

¹⁹¹ George Lamming, *In the Castle of My Skin* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1953). George Lamming, *The Pleasures of Exile*, Ann Arbor paperbacks (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1992).

suffers from a 'collective Caribbean amnesia'.¹⁹² Admittedly, these observations do not begin to grasp the depth and complexity of the literary output of these Caribbean writers and theorists. It simply observes, however, that all of them, in various ways, can be seen as responding to the realities of Self-Negation as we have defined so far. Altogether, the Caribbean has produced an intellectual tradition that declares, as its basic premise, that real liberty within the Caribbean comes through self-determination, self-reliance, and self-affirmation. The 'self' must be empowered and mobilised towards fullness of life.

However, contemporary research contests this long held and popular concept of Self-Negation, or even Self-Hatred, asserting that there is no discernible link between the legacies of slavery and colonialism and presence of low self-esteem and/or self-hatred within Caribbean peoples. An example of this is Christopher Charles and Othdane Thompson's social scientific research into the relationship between skin bleaching in Kingston, Jamaica, and Self-Hatred.¹⁹³ The results of their research confirmed that there is

¹⁹² George Lamming, "Collective Caribbean amnesia: Statement of George Lamming, Chairman of the Judges, in announcing the winner of the Bocas Literary Festival 2012," *Trinidad & Tobago Review* July 2012. He speaks of a collective Caribbean amnesia wherein newer generations of Caribbean persons do not remember or know their own very recent histories: Haitian youth will not remember, or do not know, the massacre at River Massacre where 30, 000 Haitians were killed by the order of Rafael Trujillo in 1937, an attempt to cleanse the Dominican Republic of its Haitian immigrants; Guyanese youth will not remember, or not know, the intellect and efforts of Walter Rodney who was assassinated in 1980; and Caribbean school curricula seem to institutionalise this amnesia. He stated: "These lines are a sharp reminder that we are a people who do not know the house they live in. We are familiar with the room we inhabit: the Room Trinidad/Tobago, the Room Jamaica, the Room Barbados or the Large Room Guyana. But we do not know how these rooms relate to each other; nor do we understand how this collectivity of rooms defines the house we call the Caribbean: a region which is now in its deepest crisis of fragmentation." Lamming reminds the Caribbean of the need for unity, which only comes through self-knowledge, and self-acceptance, which, in turn, is most evident in how we see and treat the other, who is just like one's self.

¹⁹³ Christopher A. D. Charles and Othdane D. Thompson, "Skin Bleaching: Internalized Oppression (Self-Hate), Colorism or Miseducation?," (University of the West Indies, Mona, Jamaica).

a negative relationship between skin-bleaching and the common explanation of Self-Hatred or internalize oppression. In their view,

The self-hate thesis is a one-size fit all explanation which ignores the variegated history and culture of Blacks and their resilience in the face of oppression. Some skin bleachers do suffer from self-hate but the large majority do not hate themselves so it is important to interrogate the culture that influences them to alter their black physicality.¹⁹⁴

They go on to argue that while internalized oppression is untenable as an explanation, particularly since one of the indicators, self-esteem, is still high within Black culture and performance. Instead the data points to ‘colourism’ and ‘mis-education’ as reasons behind skin bleaching, not that skin bleachers hate themselves. In the former, lighter shades of skin appear to be more attractive and socially acceptable, precisely because of the colonial past, and in the latter, educational systems within Jamaica have done very little to undo this trend. Whilst we can agree with the complexity of the issue, and that all concepts must be reappraised as to their adequacy, the question still remains, where does colourism come from? Why is the educational system not promoting wholesome views of the self, of the Black skin? Could these not result from internalized oppression, not just individually but within the very structure and fabric of Caribbean society? Charles and Thompson’s research, confined to the urban Jamaican context, seems limiting, and unfortunately discounting the long history and complexity of colonial legacy.

This research into the Junkanoo/Church relationship and Self-Negation is very aware of similar objections, but starts from the position that one cannot divorce the individual from

¹⁹⁴ Ibid., 2.

the societal.¹⁹⁵ So while Charles and Thompson reject Joy L. Degruy's proposal of a 'post-traumatic slave syndrome': that destructive behaviours within Black communities today can be traced back to the psychological, physical, and spiritual damages caused by slavery and racism, others have begun conceptualising the relationship between slavery and colonialism and contemporary post-colonial societies.¹⁹⁶ For example, the *International Handbook of Multigenerational Legacies of Trauma*, which explores the effects of trauma across various world populations from multidimensional and multidisciplinary perspectives, begins its examination from the basis that legacies of trauma affect the multidimensional, complex nature of the individual; is intergenerationally transmitted, often through a 'conspiracy of silence'; and can characterise entire populations, nations and cultures.¹⁹⁷ Unsurprisingly, the chapters

¹⁹⁵ Firstly, is it valid to assert that Caribbean people are self-negating, which seems to suggest some subconscious psychological malady, simply because they choose not to integrate their Christian and cultural practices? Surely, keeping two spaces in their lives separate does not infer this subconscious identity crisis. How could this be when people seem to carry out normal lives? Secondly, Caribbean societies are not oppressed any longer. Emancipation was fully realised in 1838. Independence came about largely in the 1960's and 1970's. Are Caribbean people not living in 'freedom', or worshipping 'feely'? Regarding the first objection, this research project admits that such a definition lends itself easily to clinical psychology or psychotherapy with the heavy insistence on dissonance in identity, but the overall concern is theological in its attempts to analyse two fundamental and interrelated realms of Caribbean life – church and culture. Consequently, the concept of Self-Negation is being explored at societal and institutional levels. But, with this said, it does not divorce the individual from the societal. Caribbean Christians may seem 'free' in their religious and cultural lives, but the social structures in which they live may be fostering such non-integration. This may be so because the societies in which they live out their Christian lives may still exist within an oppressive framework, and if this is so, Christian praxis continues to be undergirded, to some degree or another, by the dehumanising effects of that oppression. Furthermore, the assumption of 'normality', that Bahamian Christians do not, at some deep level, suffer from identity crisis or faith/culture dissonance, and operate in two spheres happily, remains but an assumption; it requires research and analysis as well.

¹⁹⁶ See Joy L. Degruy, *Post Traumatic Slave Syndrome: America's Legacy of Enduring Injury and Healing* (Milwaukie, Oregon: Uptone Press, 2005).

¹⁹⁷ Yael Danieli, ed. *International Handbook of Multigenerational Legacies of Trauma*, The Plenum Series on Stress and Coping (New York: Plenum Press, 2010). Trauma often goes unaddressed and impacts the lives of generations, not only throughout the lives of survivors and perpetrators, but also it becomes manifested in the lives of their children, precisely because they remain unaddressed. In speaking of a 'conspiracy of silence', see Yael Danieli, "Introduction: History and Conceptual Foundations," in *International Handbook of Multigenerational Legacies of Trauma*, ed. Yael Danieli (New York: Plenum Press, 2010), 4. He explains that the silent reaction to trauma is often a societal one, which for survivors

dedicated to indigenous peoples and slaves in the context of colonialism and empire, all conclude that such trauma are extensive, pervasive and on-going through the experiences of dispossession, deprivation, and discrimination; and also, that what is often needed are indigenous means of addressing such cumulative and unresolved ‘historical trauma’.¹⁹⁸ William E. Cross, Jr., writing specifically on slavery as a traumatic event, highlights the reality that one must delineate between sudden and often unpredictable events, and an institution lasting nearly 400 years. What may be faced in African American contexts are institutional, white racism, but with slavery, black people learned to cope most effectively through their ancestral religiosity and reconstituted communities.¹⁹⁹ Interestingly, clinical psychology research into ‘posttraumatic growth’ also testifies to the ways in which individuals come to make sense out of life changing trauma, often through rebuilding their lives in more resistant ways.²⁰⁰ In the end the combined concepts of *posttraumatic slave syndrome* and *posttraumatic growth* become helpful explanatory frameworks for what obviously is a very complex, historical reality: firstly, that slavery and colonialism were significant events whose reach into the present are strong and pervasive; and secondly, that as a response, Black people have developed ways of coping with and transcending such trauma. In this research, whilst Self-Negation is conceptually positioned as a reality

“have a significant negative effect on their posttrauma adaptation and their ability to integrate their traumatic experiences.”

¹⁹⁸ Eduardo Duran et al., "Healing the American Indian Soul Wound," in *International Handbook of Multigenerational Legacies of Trauma*, ed. Yael Danieli (New York: Plenum Press, 2010).

¹⁹⁹ William E. Cross, Jr., “Black Psychological Functioning and the Legacy of Slavery: Myths and Realities”, in *International Handbook of Multigenerational Legacies of Trauma*, chapter 24, pgs. 387 – 400.

²⁰⁰ See Richard G. Tedeschi and Lawrence G. Calhoun, "Posttraumatic Growth: Conceptual Foundations and Empirical Evidence," *Psychological Inquiry* 15, no. 1 (2004). Tedeschi and Calhoun uses the metaphor of an earthquake to explain the phenomenon of posttraumatic growth. After the unexpected eruption, homes and communities are remaid, over time, often being far more resistant to another occurrence of such an event. In the process of rebuilding, individuals make a radical shift in their thinking, their lifestyles, effectively, as a result of the trauma they become much stronger persons. Joanna McGrath uses the work of Tedeschi and Calhoun to interpret the origins of Early Church after the unexpected death of its charismatic leader, Jesus. See Joanna Collicutt McGrath, "Post-traumatic Growth and the Origins of Early Christianity," *Mental Health, Religion & Culture* 9, no. 3 (2006).

of the legacies of slavery and colonialism, African religiocultural retentions are understood as having always been means of ensuring posttraumatic growth.

If we accept that Self-Negation is part of a colonial system, total in its reach within colonial society, then we must see it as endemic within Caribbean society existing across arenas and affecting, among others – judicial and legal systems; politics and intra-Caribbean networks; educational systems; economics and industry; and particularly, church and society. The various Caribbean responses to Self-Negation noted above, all emanate from different fields and perspectives: political activism, economics, historiography, psychology and psychotherapy, education, literature and the creative arts. But we must also admit the strong theological dimension as well. There is no separation between political views on Self-Negation and theological ones, or any other sphere of knowledge within Caribbean society. The very creation of the region was predicated upon notions of ‘divine right’, ‘African/indigenous heathenism’ or ‘barbarianism, or ‘salvation’ as ‘civilization’. In other words, to be African was something in need of purgation, it was sinful and evil, and not how ‘God’ wished for someone to be. In her research into the influence of Liberated Africans on Bahamian culture, Rosanne Adderley explores the phenomenon of African ethnic labelling where British hostility was levelled at any kind of Africanism, particularly those reintroduced into the colonies with the arrival of the Liberated Africans. Speaking of colonial attempts at diluting the African influence she writes, “One authority even suggested that British officials scatter the African immigrants in groups as small as possible throughout the sixteen West Indian territories and thereby

“weaken and dilute . . . the apprehended evil.”²⁰¹ Speaking about the imperial/religious imagination that created Caribbean societies, from Columbus onward, Ian Strachan invokes the use of the term ‘barbarian’ to explain how indigenous cultures were always to be viewed. He writes:

The definitions of the word connote foreignness or demonstrate a belief in the negative nature of the alien. A “Barbarian” is defined as “a foreigner, one whose language and customs differ from the speaker’s.” A “barbarian” is “one not a Greek. One living outside the pale of the Roman Empire.” A “barbarian” is “outside the pale of Christian civilization.”²⁰²

But what do Caribbean theologians say? How have they explored Self-Negation? And, bearing in mind the notion that slavery and colonialism produced both damage and means of repair, how have African religiocultural retentions featured in their reflections concerning Self-Negation? How are insights from the social sciences appropriated into their respective works? In our next sections we seek to answer these questions.

4.3. Caribbean Theologians and the Neglect of African Religiocultural Retentions

In 1973 the Caribbean Council of Churches (CCC) was established in Jamaica as an ecumenical theological movement whose sole concern was the ongoing development of Caribbean societies. As a movement Caribbean Theology would flourish in the 1970s, go silent in the 1980s and have somewhat of a rebirth in the 1990s. It was in the 1990s that African religiocultural retentions came to the forefront of Caribbean theological reflection through a number of important consultations and conferences. In 1992 the Caribbean/African American Dialogue (CAAD) met in Barbados and produced the Verdun Document which clearly highlighted, among other things, indigenous clergy

²⁰¹ Patterson, *The Sociology of Slavery*: 287.

²⁰² Strachan, *Paradise and Plantation*: 6.

disparaging their ancestral heritages.²⁰³ In 1993 the Consultation on Theological Education in the Caribbean was held in Jamaica and published under the title *Caribbean Theology: Preparing for the Challenges Ahead*. Issues such as identity, integration and new ways of doing and teaching theology within the Caribbean were explored.²⁰⁴ In 1994 the CCC held the Ecumenical Consultation on Popular Religiosity in Suriname, which was published as *At the Crossroads: African Caribbean Religion and Christianity*.²⁰⁵ This consultation sought to increase awareness of the religious and cultural diversity of the region and the need for the Church to dialogue with this reality.²⁰⁶

²⁰³ This document, also quoted in the Introduction, brought Self-Negation and African religiocultural retentions to the forefront of Caribbean and African American diasporan concerns.

²⁰⁴ See Howard Gregory, *Caribbean Theology: Preparing for the Challenges Ahead* (Barbados: Canoe Press, 1995). In this work Adolfo Ham expresses that for the navigating Caribbean Theology in the 21st century, “This process entails assuming our own identities, dialectically and simultaneously in each one of our countries, and as a region. It means growth in maturity, self-reliance and self-confidence. It means a clear historical vocation and conception.” See Adolfo Ham, “Caribbean Theology: The Challenge of the Twenty-First Century,” in *Caribbean Theology: Preparing for the Challenges Ahead*, ed. Howard Gregory (Barbados: Canoe Press, 1995), 3. Again we see the articulation of Self-Negation as a primary concern

²⁰⁵ Burton Sankeralli, ed. *At the Crossroads: African Caribbean Religion and Christianity* (St. James, Trinidad and Tobago: Caribbean Conference of Churches, 1995). This consultation produced the following statement about the need to: “*Recognise* the equal dignity and rights of all cultures, religions and traditions; *Believe* that the perception of traditional religions and cultures as *a priori* defined as “superstitious and pagan” is erroneous and must be rejected; *Affirm* and celebrate the ongoing contributions being made by people of traditional religions and cultures to instill a sense of worth and dignity in those among whom they minister; *Celebrate* also the emergence of a liberating Christianity which has abandoned triumphalism in relation to traditional religions; *Realise* that many Christians affirm and live the rituals, beliefs and tenets of other religions, cultures and traditions, seeing this as essential for the wholeness of self and development; *Recognise* the Caribbean as having the potential to become an example of interreligious dialogue and action; *Call* for active engagement in further dialogue to develop mutual respect and understanding among people of different religions, cultures and traditions; *Commit* ourselves to establishing a creative partnership among the peoples of religions, cultures and traditions of the region; *Commit* ourselves to continue the process of reflection with a view to articulating a righteous and spiritual vision for the region; *Recognise*, in view of our finding that terminology has been a hindrance to dialogue, that language and concepts be revised and fashioned to reflect the interfaith realities; and *Urge* governments of the region to give equality of opportunity and official representation to religions, cultures and traditions, and to repeal any legislation which inhibits the practice of religion.”²⁰⁵

²⁰⁶ Other theological initiatives and theological consultations have taken place in Caribbean theological institutions. I want to highlight the United Theological College of the West Indies Consultation on Caribbean Theology, 6 – 9th January 1998. In this consultation Rev Dr. Hyacinth I. Boothe presented a lecture “Caribbean Theology in Context” in which she advocated for a Theology of the ‘Balm-yard’ as more appropriate for the Caribbean context. In Jamaican culture balm-yard refers to the place where Jamaicans from all walks of life gather to find wholeness and community. In UTCWI’s 2014 Founder’s Day celebrations, Rev Dr Boothe was honoured, and an evening of encounter with Revivalism was part of the

But the earlier phase of Caribbean scholars theological output (early 1970s to early 1980s), though aware Self-Negation and the challenges to enculturation, does not pay much attention to these and treated them as adjunct themes. A survey of the work of these earlier Caribbean theologians reveals their chief concerns as being Caribbean development and/or decolonization, using classical approaches to theology to do so. Therefore, one cannot see intense engagement with the very concrete traditions of the region, particularly their means of bringing about religious and cultural wholeness. This observation was made by Uxmal Livio Diaz, who described Caribbean Theology in the late 1970s as reactionary instead of progressive, imaginative, and creative.²⁰⁷ It would ultimately appear that the more iconic Caribbean Theologians have been more generic, analytically deductive, and systematic. Their works acknowledge Self-Negation as a reality, but do not give sufficient analytical attention to it, nor do they foreground the importance and role of African religiocultural retentions as providing adequate responses. Nonetheless, it must be understood that the following theologians are important theological thinkers of the Caribbean, and have been vital in moving the discipline towards grassroots Church/Culture engagement. In other words, they open the way for inductive, ethnographic exploration into the African religiocultural retentions of the region, particularly for the development of robust, authentic contextual theologies.

celebrations. See Hyacinth I. Boothe, "Caribbean Theology in Context" (paper presented at the Consultation on Caribbean Theology, United Theological College of the West Indies, Jamaica, 6 - 9th January 1998).

²⁰⁷ Uxmal Livio Diaz, "The Role of the Third World Christians and Churches in the Struggle Against Colonialism and Neo-Colonialism," in *Out of the Depths*, ed. Idris Hamid (San Fernando, Trinidad: Rahaman Printery Ltd, 1977).

4.3.1. Idris Hamid

Hamid is key to the actual formation of any sense of Caribbean Theology. A keen ecumenist and proponent of an indigenous theological agenda, he brought together formative theological voices of the 1970's in two significant works, *Troubling of the Waters* and *Out of the Depths*.²⁰⁸ In 1971 Hamid was one of the contributors to the *Caribbean Ecumenical Consultation for Development*. His paper, "In Search of New Perspectives", critiqued the theological methodology current in the region, asserting that the Eurocentric perspective needed to be broken.²⁰⁹ Furthermore, he engaged with the writings of Earl Lovelace as an interlocutor for critiquing dualist, essentialist, hierarchical, and colonial theological methodology. His contribution to *With Eyes Wide Open* would emphasize this key theme of Caribbean Theology.²¹⁰

His two major edited works would become, perhaps, the foundation for Caribbean theological thought in the critical period of the 1970s. Firstly, *Troubling of the Waters* brought together prominent Caribbean intellectuals at the time to look at the issues pertaining to authentic theological reflection in the region. Many of the issues surrounding colonialism were examined, and the need for grassroots means of theological engagement was pointed out. In the work, some, like William Watty, Ashley Smith and Earl Augustus look at the theme of decolonization and the efficacy and significance of the Black Power

²⁰⁸ Idris Hamid, ed. *Troubling of the Waters* (San Fernando, Trinidad: W.I. Rahman Printery Limited, 1973). Idris Hamid, ed. *Out of the Depths* (San Fernando, Trinidad: Rahaman Printery Ltd, 1977).

²⁰⁹ Idris Hamid, "In Search of New Perspectives," in *Caribbean Ecumenical Consultation for Development* (1971).

²¹⁰ Idris Hamid, "Theology and Caribbean Development," in *With Eyes Wide Open*, ed. David Mitchell (Barbados: CADEC, 1973).

Movement.²¹¹ Watty paints the very stark picture of colonialism and neo-colonialism in the region, tracing the history of its theological presuppositions. He makes an indictment on this legacy in the Caribbean.²¹² However, he sees Rastafarianism as “but one oasis in the wilderness, one shadow of a rock in a weary land . . . The presence of the Rastafarians is one loud and long cry in the face of four centuries of relentless colonization and colonial propoganda [sic] and colonial theology.”²¹³ Ashley Smith looks at the issue of racism within the history of Christianity in the Caribbean and shows how the Black Power Movement has served to remind the Caribbean of this reality.²¹⁴ Against popular conceptions of the movement, and aware of some violent manifestations of it, Smith sees it positively, particularly in how it seeks to address this self-hatred. He states, “One of the significant differences between the efforts of the past and the contemporary manifestations of the Black struggle is the shift from the obsession with individual self advancement and the emphasis on achieving a presentable or Europeanised self, to the emphasis on authentic self-affirmation and corporate salvation.”²¹⁵

Others, such as Horace Russell and Robert Moore look particularly at the nature of theological reflection itself.²¹⁶ The former asks whether it is not the case that the often

²¹¹ Wiliam Watty, "The De-Colonization of Theology " in *Troubling of the Waters*, ed. Idris Hamid (San Fernando, Trinidad: W.I. Rahman Printery Limited, 1973); Ashley Smith, "The Religious Significance of Black Power in the Caribbean," in *Troubling of the Waters*, ed. Idris Hamid (San Fernando, Trinidad: W.I. Rahman Printery Limited, 1973); Earl Augustus, "The Spiritual Significance of Black Power in the Christian Churches," in *Troubling of the Waters*, ed. Idris Hamid (San Fernando, Trinidad: W.I. Rahman Printery Limited, 1973).

²¹² Watty, "The De-Colonization of Theology ".

²¹³ *Ibid.*, 68.

²¹⁴ Smith, "The Religious Significance of Black Power in the Caribbean."

²¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 92.

²¹⁶ Horace Russell, "The Challenge of Theological Reflection in the Caribbean Today," in *Troubling of the Waters*, ed. Idris Hamid (San Fernando, Trinidad: W.I. Rahman Printery Limited, 1973); Robert Moore, "The Historical Basis of Theological Reflection," in *Troubling of the Waters*, ed. Idris Hamid (San Fernando, Trinidad: Rahaman Printery Ltd, 1973).

frowned upon traditions and mentalities of Caribbean people, in the case of Calypso, are not, in effect, the ultimate means of conveying theological truth in the region. The latter points to the kind of perceptual range that Caribbean folk culture provides that may not be accessible to western academic disciplines. He writes: “West Indians have, for a long time, been celebrating the “spirit” by making the body its medium. One can almost say that the West Indian response to reality is rhythm, and their response to unreality is rhetoric. Or, with apologies to McLuhan, in the Caribbean the body is the belief. We are sacramentalists without the benefit of the term.”²¹⁷

But only three of the contributors suggest concrete means of indigenous theological reflection that would include African religiocultural retentions. Knolly Clarke expresses the need for an indigenous liturgy that actually connects to the inner life, native language, and daily experiences of Caribbean people. Being Trinidadian, he proposes the use of a Calypso mass for that setting and the use of steel bands to replace inherited mass settings and pipe organs.²¹⁸ Joseph Owens highlights the persecution of Rastafarians in the Jamaican context and their similitude to the persecutions of the Early Christians in ancient Rome. Along with their powerful counter-cultural presence and their critique of religion and the church, Owens also highlights their success at rehabilitating the self-image of the black person, while preaching an “all-embracing universalism.”²¹⁹ Gordon Rohlehr uses the literary giants of the Caribbean, Derek Walcott, V. S. Naipaul, Edward Brathwaite,

²¹⁷ Moore, "Troubling of the Water," 45.

²¹⁸ Knolly Clarke, "Liturgy and Culture in the Caribbean " in *Troubling of the Waters*, ed. Idris Hamid (San Fernando, Trinidad: W.I. Rahman Printery Limited, 1973).

²¹⁹ Joseph Owens, "The Rastafarians of Jamaica " in *Troubling of the Waters*, ed. Idris Hamid (San Fernando, Trinidad: W.I. Rahman Printery Limited, 1973), 166.

and George Lamming, for example, as mediators of a robust theological tradition. He sees their depictions of folk musical traditions as attempts at healing the psyche.²²⁰

The main concern of *Out of the Depths* is missiology within the Caribbean context.

Astonishingly, no significant attempts are made to investigate fully how African religiocultural retentions would be able to assist the missiological concerns of the Church in the Caribbean. Contributors mainly address the pervasive issue of colonialism within the region and the need to decolonize. Terry Julien argues for a new approach to missiology that doesn't simply adapt the old model to the new context, but one that takes the religious and cultural legacies of the indigenous peoples of the Caribbean seriously.²²¹

However, he fails to explore any of these. Geoffrey B. Williams, argues for a new methodology to address the issue of alien control, current in theological thinking at the time. He calls for self-appropriation as a need, claiming, "The quest for self-transcendence, for total self-transcendence, objectified [sic] in Christ-present-today, - - that is, the Church - - is not possible until we realize truly who we are."²²² Patrick A. B. Anthony speaks of the Folk Research Centre Project on the island of St. Lucia and the attempts at marrying concrete means of indigenization with mission. However, he laments that the Churches were not supporting the project. One of the concrete experiments at that time was the composition of hymns in French creole dialect.²²³ Even Kortright Davis does not speak of concrete means of centring theological education within the region. His

²²⁰ Gordon Rohlehr, "Man's Spiritual Search in the Caribbean Through Literature," in *Troubling of the Waters*, ed. Idris Hamid (San Fernando, Trinidad: W.I. Rahman Printery Limited, 1973).

²²¹ Terry Julien, "Christian Mission, Cultural Traditions and Environment," in *Out of the Depths*, ed. Idris Hamid (San Fernando, Trinidad: Rahaman Printery Ltd, 1977).

²²² Geoffrey B. Williams, "Classicism and the Caribbean Church," in *Out of the Depths*, ed. Idris Hamid (San Fernando, Trinidad: Rahaman Printery Ltd, 1977), 77.

²²³ Patrick A. B. Anthony, "A Case Study in Indigenization," in *Out of the Depths*, ed. Idris Hamid (San Fernando, Trinidad: Rahaman Printery Ltd, 1977).

contribution, though invaluable, doesn't go far enough to answer how African religiocultural retentions were to become integral to the task of theological education.²²⁴

However, what one does not find in Hamid's work, and the many contributors to his edited works, is a movement towards concrete engagements with African religiocultural retentions. The groundwork is laid for such work to be done, but that moment was not to be set in motion in the 1970s.

4.3.2. Ashley Smith

Smith is considered one of those theological voices important in the development of Caribbean Theology. Though Self-Negation, and the need to engage African religiocultural retentions are implicit assumptions in his work, they do not become the starting point of his theological reflection. Besides his contributions to *Troubling of the Waters* and *Out of the Depths*, his book, *Real Roots and Potted Plants: Reflections on the Caribbean Church*, remains important for any serious engagement in Caribbean Theology.²²⁵ In the preface he explains that:

The majority of those who inhabit the region need to be freed from those aspects of Caribbean reality which inhibit their development as a fully self-affirmed and responsible people. I have tried to look at regional characteristics like self-doubt, self-pity, self-disparagement, excessive individualism, susceptibility to propaganda, and escapism.²²⁶

He follows on in the introduction to diagnose Self-Negation as a product of the plantation in which the Church was very much complicit. He writes:

²²⁴ Kortright Davis, "Theological Education for Mission," in *Out of the Depths*, ed. Idris Hamid (San Fernando, Trinidad: Rahaman Printery Ltd, 1977).

²²⁵ Ashley Smith, *Real Roots and Potted Plants: Reflections on the Caribbean Church* (Mandeville, Jamaica: Eureka Press, 1984).

²²⁶ *Ibid.*, 5.

For very few Afro-and Indo-Caribbean Christians has life in Christ accommodated the affirmation of either their own humanity, the land of their birth, their ethnic forefathers the elder and heroes of their island or sub-continental home. Every act of worship, every ecclesiastical event, is for the typical Caribbean Christian, a reminder that this world (the Caribbean homeland and its affairs) is not the home of those who have responded in the affirmative to the claims of the gospel as presented by missionary and evangelist.²²⁷

However, his work stays at the stage of in-depth diagnosis. His focus is on the church and the fact that it is very much still foreign to the region. The themes he most engages in his theological analyses are the dual concepts of decolonization and development. He does not, however, use enculturation as an underlying conceptual framework, nor does he provide in-depth treatment of African religiocultural retentions. Nonetheless, Smith's work remains a first step towards the kind of in-depth exploration that this research is concerned with. And, furthermore, his work is set in the Jamaican context, which has relevance for other Caribbean territories, but is not the only experience; something he is well aware of.

4.3.3. William Watty

Watty, like Smith, is also key to the development of Caribbean Theology. He, too, is concerned primarily with decolonization and development and Caribbean theological motifs. This can be seen in his contribution to both *Troubling the Water* where he is concerning specifically with the task of decolonizing theology in the Caribbean, and *Out of the Depths* here he explores the Biblical narrative for a new kind of anti-empire missiology which could be of relevance to the Caribbean.²²⁸ The decolonization of theology is also the driving theme in his *From Shore to Shore: Soundings in a Caribbean*

²²⁷ Ibid., 12.

²²⁸ Watty, "The De-Colonization of Theology ". William Watty, "A New Missiology: A Biblical Perspective," in *Out of the Depths*, ed. Idris Hamid (San Fernando, Trinidad: Rahaman Printery Ltd, 1977).

Theology.²²⁹ In this work he problematizes the term Caribbean Theology, but looks particularly at how theology is done in the region, whether from above or from below. In “Evangelization as Dialogue: A Caribbean Perspective”, one of his later contributions, Watty highlights the acculturative and forced nature of evangelistic practices in the history of Caribbean colonialism. He proposes that:

Evangelization today requires an inclusive rather than an exclusive application of the gospel. Humility and openness must replace superiority and disdain. Going and discipling must take precedence over going and making disciples. The inclusive Holy Spirit must precede the exclusive Christ, the church founder.²³⁰

He also cites the reality of Self-Negation and its precursors in Caribbean societies:

It is somewhat of a tragedy that the wealth of Africa was lost to the churches that evolved in the Caribbean because the concept of dialogue as the method of evangelization either was never considered or was deemed unacceptable; that, on the contrary, all things African were castigated as evil, backward and superstitious; that in the interest of the gospel self-hatred was systematically inculcated; that a people were encouraged either to forget or to despise their own ancestral origins, and that the end result of that programme was a caricature — the black European, the mimic man.²³¹

However, he does not go on to suggest ways of undoing this self-hatred in any concrete way, nor does he suggest how, and in which ways any particular African religiocultural retentions would aid in the process of a new evangelization.

4.3.4. Kortright Davis

Davis’ *Emancipation Still Comin’* remains, perhaps, the most thorough and well-known book on Caribbean Theology. Self-Negation is a significant theme in his book, but he is

²²⁹ William Watty, *From Shore to Shore: Soundings in Caribbean Theology* (Kingston, Jamaica: Cedar Press, 1981).

²³⁰ William W. Watty, "Evangelization as Dialogue: A Caribbean Perspective," *The International Review of Mission* 83, no. 330 (1994): 435.

²³¹ *Ibid.*, 432.

still more concerned with theological methodology, particularly in presenting an appropriate theme, or metaphor through which Caribbean theological reflection can be most effectively summarized. He writes:

What is it in the Caribbean experience that still hinders the process of full emancipation? Is there not a need to dig deep into our own historical consciousness and to reapply ourselves to the task that was or deferred somewhere along the line? Is it not true that the most crucial human need in the Caribbean at this time is neither trade, nor aid, nor arms, nor even the liberation of the mind, but rather the emancipation of the disvalued self? Is it not true that this disvalued self is the product of our own misconception of truth, beauty, goodness, and human dignity, and that others have willingly joined using our self-deprecating miscegenation of values? The culture of our mind has been assaulted by the culture of our environment, and our historical values have been radically disfigured by misguided modes of belief. We are trapped most of the time within the confines of our disvalued selves, and we seldom realize that we are.²³²

Like his contemporaries in the 1970s, Davis is also concerned with the dual themes of decolonization and development. He attempts more of a systematization of Caribbean Theology under the conceptual framework of 'emancipation', than he does any particular engagement with African religiocultural retentions. Nonetheless, in chapter 4 he does speak about the centrality of African Religion in the Caribbean and its significance for any kind of theological construction. Davis sees the African religion as emancipatory in nature, and has been means of resistance against persistent poverty, alienation, and imitation. He explains this African Soul as "an intangible yet energizing force, an invisible yet effective reality, a formless yet formative source, out of which actual feelings, fears, faith structures, and cultural preferences are born and bread."²³³ But while his description of African religiocultural retentions is very much consistent with the understanding employed in this research, he does not, however, engage with any of them in particular, or

²³² Davis, *Emancipation Still Comin'*: 103.

²³³ *Ibid.*, 51.

looks closely at the relationship between any particular African religiocultural retention and the Church in the Caribbean. He merely sets the foundation for further exploration of African religiocultural retentions and their potential for addressing Self-Negation.

4.3.5. *Lewin Williams*

Williams, like Davis, comes from this earlier generation of scholars, and has produced a major text on Caribbean Theology. Overall, he is concerned with the indigenization of Caribbean theology, and the colonial geo-political context in which Caribbean societies find themselves. He explains that his book, *Caribbean Theology*, seeks to, firstly consider what issues a valid Caribbean Theology should respond to, and secondly, provide a means of evaluating the effectiveness of such a theology.²³⁴ In this regard his work is an attempt at systematizing means of doing Caribbean Theology as well as highlighting issues pertinent to Caribbean Theology. It does not do any in-depth theological analysis, and he certainly does not explore any African religiocultural retentions. He does pay attention to Self-Negation, though. In speaking about the relationship between Caribbean Theology and Pan-Africanism, he cites Donald Chinula's assessment that Jamaica's most serious problem was "an exocentrism which translates into self-hatred on the one hand and love of the master's goods and lifestyle on the others", and that "Pan-Africanism is the only road to a theology that will liberate the island from this particular disease."²³⁵ However, what his work does not do, is to explore this massive task of Caribbean theology by exploring any of the African religiocultural retentions. He leans on history, sociology, and philosophy as interpretative sources for a viable Caribbean theology, and looks to the

²³⁴ Lewin L. Williams, *Caribbean Theology* (New York: Peter Lang, 1994).

²³⁵ Ibid., 73. See also, Donald M. Chinula, "Jamaican Exocentrism: Its Implications for a Pan-African Theology of National Redemption," *Caribbean Journal of Religious Studies* 6, no. 1 (1985): 46.

methodology of the Liberation Theologians as a helpful example of authentic indigenization in the Caribbean.

However, in his *The Caribbean: Enculturation, Acculturation and the Role of the Churches*, while he does not explore the indigenous cultures of the Caribbean themselves, he states:

Caribbean theology has called for the erasure of language that evokes negative memories of domination and servitude. More than anything else, indigenization means decolonization to the core of the spiritual, social, economic and political significance of the gospel, and also the Caribbeanization of the church's witness to the same gospel. It means further that the re-mythologization of some pre-colonial traditions should be activated for the benefit they can produce for the self-actualization of the Caribbean community. So stories are part of the methodology of indigenization in the Caribbean. For people who had distinct claims to oral traditions, recalling the stories which lie latent in the cultural psyche is the intentional revival of culture.²³⁶

4.3.6. Noel Erskine

With Noel Erskine, one sees a shift in the kind of Caribbean theology undertaken, and the beginnings of more specific attentions to African religiocultural retentions. He uses cultural anthropology and history as interlocutors for his theology. He recognizes the central issue of Black negation within the Caribbean experience, and the role the Church continues to play in the ongoing plight. He also pays attention to African religiocultural retentions as they have historically manifested in Jamaica. In particular, his *Decolonising Theology* explains the significance of music and dance for Black people in the history of Jamaica.²³⁷ He even mentions Junkanoo in Jamaica:

²³⁶ Lewin L. Williams, *The Caribbean: Enculturation, Acculturation, and the Role of the Churches*, Gospel and Cultures (Geneva: WCC Publications, 1996). 15.

²³⁷ Erskine, *Decolonizing Theology*.

Another area in which one may clearly see the impact of the Black world is in music and dance. Black people in Jamaica did not differentiate between the religious and the secular in music and dance. All of life had religious significance for Black people. Hence there was a merging of the sacred and the secular in Black religion. Black people's ability to bring together the sacred and the secular in Black religion is nowhere more clear than in their celebration of Christmas, which featured the John Canoe dance.²³⁸

He then moves to consider Obeah and Myal as important for that context. Of the latter, he explains that, in reality, Myalism and Christianity, were not that separated, and that often, "The persecuted myal men often became Methodist preachers . . . During slavery the myalist Methodist posed a grave problem for the planters."²³⁹ He ends his work by exploring Revivalism and Rastafarianism in Jamaica as contextual, historical components for mediating a liberative theology.

Erskine sees the task of the Church as fully embracing Black Religion. Recalling the work of Robert Gordon (the first Black to be ordained in the Church of England in Jamaica), he explains:

. . . had the church become Black, it would have removed the contempt for Blackness that was a source of division in Caribbean society. . . . Gordon has touched a vital nerve in the church's relationship with Black people in the Caribbean. With rare exceptions, the church did not take the history of Blackness seriously. It continued to interpret Black people mainly in the light of European Christian ideals."²⁴⁰

Erskine's strength is in painting the racist, anti-African historical context in which the Church and African religiocultural retentions interplay. He details the racism and plantation assault on Black religion, and refers to the reality of Black self-hatred, or what

²³⁸ Ibid., 40.

²³⁹ Ibid., 47.

²⁴⁰ Ibid., 117.

he calls “slavocracy”, an internalised psychological reality.²⁴¹ His use of history and anthropology as means of analysis is unique as well. In his most recent work, *From Garvey to Marley: Rastafari Theology*, which grows out of *Decolonizing Theology*, he uses Rastafarianism as a way of excavating themes of Christology, ecclesiology and salvation.²⁴² This work, as he confesses, also grows out of the acknowledgement that middle-class Jamaica has turned its back on the significance of Revivalism and Rastafarianism and their importance for the formation of Jamaican popular culture in everyday life. Nonetheless, as with his former work, *From Garvey to Marley* uses history and theology as analytical frameworks, not particularly delving into the arena of ethnography to access contemporary grassroots experiences of the phenomenon. And like those from the 1970’s, Erskine has paid attention to one of the larger islands and their experiences. Junkanoo is experienced in Jamaica, but its most potent survival is in the Bahamas, a much smaller Anglophone Caribbean nation. Such a context and its experience are yet to be fully explored and acknowledged.

The Caribbean theologians above have laid the foundation for moving toward a theology that has African religiocultural retentions as its starting point, as hallmarks of its content and its methodology. However, they have not taken the next step in significantly engaging these highly accessible resources for indigenous theological reflection and church praxis. Also, from *Troubling of the Waters* to *Decolonising Theology*, the concentration has been on the much larger islands and better-known African religiocultural retentions.

²⁴¹ Ibid., xx.

²⁴² Noel L. Erskine, *From Garvey to Marley: Rastafari Theology* (Gainesville, Florida: University of Florida Press, 2005).

4.4. A New Paradigm: Engaging African Religiocultural Retentions

Noel Erskine brings us to a new trajectory where African religiocultural retentions begin to be seen as central to theological exploration using methodologies which access grassroots experiences, instead of the more common Eurocentric, top-down, methods, which move from concepts to contexts. The following scholars dare to defy hitherto conceptions of African religiocultural retentions as transgressive and secular. They also engage such African religiocultural retentions specifically to ensure that Theology remains current, relevant, and transformative for the local context. They seek to address where people are, bringing context into dialogue with Scripture, Tradition and Reason. In a sense, their work constitute a shift from attempts at systematizing or laying foundations for theological reflection in the Caribbean to interrogating the interior worlds of Caribbean people. It is an inward movement. Nonetheless, like so many aspects of Caribbean life, the experiences of the larger islands often overshadow the important contributions of the smaller ones. In the following theologians one finds explorations of Jamaican Rastafarianism, Reggae, Dancehall, Myal and Kumina, or Trinidadian Carnival or Calypso. It is my contention that these do not represent the total Caribbean experience. Junkanoo and its utility for partnership in recreating wholesome, self-affirming, Caribbean Churches and societies, is just as important.

4.4.1. Stephen Jennings, Annette Brown and Barry Chevannes

I would add Stephen Jennings, Annette Brown, and particularly, Barry Chevannes as embodying this trajectory towards theological engagement with African religiocultural retentions. Stephen Jennings has been an important personality within Caribbean Theology since the late 1980s.²⁴³ His main concern has been the important role African cultural traditions play in bringing about wholeness and affirmation among Caribbean peoples. In one of his articles, he posits African religiocultural retentions as representing another way of doing theology, in contradistinction to Western theology. He juxtaposes these two, showing how they differ in various theological aspects, for example, Christology, Anthropology, Soteriology, Cosmology, and Missiology. After presenting both, he suggests that Caribbean Theology integrates the two “to keep the twin foci of the wholeness of the individual and the shalom (total economic, social, political and religious integration and well-being) of the Community, as its specific aim, in view.”²⁴⁴

Annette Brown looks at the Church in the Jamaica’s rejection of Dancehall and argues for engagement with Dancehall, using a ‘Dancehall Hermeneutics of Mission’. Whilst the anti-dancehall rhetoric is rife within the churches, a rhetoric undergirded by conceptions of dancehall as “low culture, unfit to be embraced and incorporated into Christian life”, it connects with the lived realities of Jamaicans generally, but particularly young people,

²⁴³ See the following: Jennings, "Caribbean theology ". Stephen Jennings, "The Word in Context: The Essential Criterion for Doing and Reflecting Authentic Caribbean Theology " *Caribbean Journal of Religious Studies* 9, no. 2 (1988). Stephen Jennings, "Sorting Out Spirituality in Jamaica: Pluralism and Particularities in Caribbean Theological Reality," *Caribbean Journal of Religious Studies* 15, no. 1 (1994). Stephen Jennings, ""Ordinary" Reading in "Exstrodinary" Times: a Jamaican Love Story," in *Reading Other-Wise: Socially Engaged Biblical Scholars Reading with Their Local Communities*, ed. Gerald O. West (Atlanta: SBL, 2007).

²⁴⁴ Jennings, "Caribbean theology " 6.

who seem more and more absent from established churches.²⁴⁵ She challenges the Church to overlook its bias against Dancehall and embrace it as a potent resource for mission in the Jamaican context.

Barry Chevannes, a noted Jamaican sociologist and anthropologist has contributed to Caribbean theological thought by integrating Theology and the Social Sciences. He argues for a theology embedded within African-Caribbean culture since Caribbean reality is principally “shaped by Africa.”²⁴⁶ He further suggests that the two things required for the Church to become indigenous are, “a liturgy which is culturally meaningful; and a theology which begins to reflect at least some of the spiritual values which are deeply embedded [sic] in our culture.”²⁴⁷ He looks at Joseph Owens’ *Dread: The Rastafarians of Jamaica* and George Mulrain’s *Theology in Folk Culture: The Theological Significance of Haitian Folk Religion* as highly commendable examples representing grassroots ways of doing theology in the Caribbean.

But his greatest contribution to this discussion concerning the relationship between African religiocultural retentions and the Church is his work on the Rastafari of Jamaica.²⁴⁸ In “Rastafari and the Exorcism of the Ideology of Racism and Classism in

²⁴⁵ Annette Brown, "Church and Dancehall: Challenges to Mission Among Young People in the Churches in Jamaica," *Rethinking Mission*(2011), http://www.rethinkingmission.org.uk/pdfs/brown_april_2011.pdf.

²⁴⁶ Barry Chevannes, "Our Caribbean Reality," in *Caribbean Theology: Preparing for the Challenges Ahead*, ed. Howard Gregory (Barbados: Canoe Press, 1995), 65.

²⁴⁷ Barry Chevannes, "Towards an Afro-Caribbean Theology: The Principles for the Indigenisation of Christianity in the Caribbean," *Caribbean Quarterly* 37, no. 1 (1991): 46.

²⁴⁸ Barry Chevannes, *Rastafari: Roots and Ideology* (Syracuse, N. Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1995). Barry Chevannes, ed. *Rastafari and Other African-Caribbean Worldviews* (London: Macmillan Press LTD, 1995). Barry Chevannes, "Rastafari and the Exorcism of the Ideology of Racism and Classism in Jamaica," in *Chanting Down Babylon: The Rastafari Reader*, ed. Nathaniel Samuel Murrell, William David Spencer,

Jamaica”, he explores how Rastafarianism in Jamaica has functioned to keep the issues of identity and racism salient within Jamaican national consciousness, precisely for the purpose of revealing racism, then overthrowing it. It has functioned to bring about self-affirmation in the face of pervasive Self-Negation.

4.4.2. Charles Jason Gordon and Anna Kasafi Perkins

Roman Catholic theologians in the Caribbean have been engaged in vibrant theological thinking, precisely around the issues of enculturation. Since 1994 they have been meeting in conference to address themes such as: *Spirit World in the Caribbean* (1995); *Rituals of the Caribbean* (1996); *Faces of Jesus in the Caribbean Today* (1997 and 1998); *God in Caribbean History* (1999); and *Caribbean Personhood* (2000). The most recent conference, *History and Memory* (2014), continues the task of bringing professional theologians, laity, and clergy, to contemplate a theology rooted in daily Caribbean reality. Amongst others, I wish to highlight the work of Trinidadian, Charles Jason Gordon, and Jamaican, Anna Kasafi Perkins. Gordon’s PhD thesis looks critically at theological methodology in the Caribbean context, asserting that in order for Caribbean Theology to be faithful to the Caribbean context, it must use ‘civilization’, which is geographically outlined and unchanging, as an epistemological framework, rather than ‘culture’ which is problematic and fluid. Of the latter, he critiques the tendency for Caribbean theology to prioritize the African legacy within the region at the expense of the other ethnicities.²⁴⁹

and Adrian Anthony McFarlane (Philadelphia: 1998). Barry Chevannes, "Rastafari and the Coming of Age: The Routinization of the Rasafari Movement in Jamaica " in *Rastafari in the New Millennium: A Rastafari Reader*, ed. Michael Barnett (Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press, 2012).

²⁴⁹ Charles Jason Gordon, "Theology, Hermeneutics and Liberation: Grounding Theology in a Caribbean Context " (PhD, University of London, 2003).

Nonetheless, he has been an advocate for a contextualized theology that takes African religiocultural retentions such as Calypso and Reggae seriously.²⁵⁰

Anna Kasafi Perkins uses African religiocultural retentions in her context as means of doing theology with and by her people. She has contributed work on Rastafarianism where she engages in dialogue with Ras Dermot Fagan to clarify Church and Rastafari conceptions of sin.²⁵¹ But her work on Dancehall deserves attention, in particular, her engagement with the work of Tanya Stephens. She critically engages with Stephens' music and lyrics, seeing them as grassroots theological discourses. Perkins explains that Tanya, through her matured dancehall lyrics, challenges both the dehumanising, misogynistic, male practices endemic in dancehall and the Caribbean patriarchal system, and the self-important contradictory religion of the Church, which lacks a deeper spirituality.²⁵²

4.4.3. George Mulrain

The work of Trinidadian theologian George Mulrain sets the pattern for theological research engaging African religiocultural retentions within a Caribbean context. He makes them his starting point, critically assessing their relationship with the Church and theological discourse within the Caribbean setting. His most known work arises from his

²⁵⁰ Charles Jason Gordon, "Bob Marley as (Post)-Colonial Critic: In Search of a Liberative Potential for the Caribbean," in *Ethno-Musicology Conference* (University of Leeds 1997).

²⁵¹ Anna Kasafi Perkins, "The Wages of (Sin) Is Babylon: Rastafari Versus Christian Religious Perspectives of Sin," in *Rastafari in the New Millennium: A Rastafari Reader*, ed. Michael Barnett (Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press, 2012).

²⁵² Anna Kasafi Perkins, "'Tasting Tears and [Not] Admitting Defeat': Promoting Values and Attitudes through the Music of Tanya Stephens?," in *Inaugural Lecture of the Centre for Social Ethics* (St. Michael's Theological College 2008). Anna Kasafi Perkins, "Throwing Words Across the Fence: Church and Dancehall in the Future of Jamaica," in *Salises 50-50 Conference* (Jamaica Pegasus Hotel, Kingston, Jamaica: Academia.edu 2012).

experiences while carrying out Christian ministry in Haiti, where he encountered the Haitian folk religion of Vaudou. Instead of discounting the validity of these religiocultural practices and their uneasy relationship with Christianity and the Church, he uses Vaudou to explore the relationship between the two. He begins his work advocating a positive approach to the treatment of folk religion, something uncommon at the time. In doing so he opens up theological discourse in the Caribbean to new trajectories, methodologies, and starting points. For example, in *Theology in Folk Culture*, the published version of his PhD Thesis, he provides a challenge both to the content and methodology of Western approaches to theology.²⁵³ Regarding the realities of Spirits within a Vaudou cosmology he asserts:

It [is] therefore of paramount importance that western theologians in particular take Haitian Folk Religion and Culture more seriously than they are inclined to do. They must seek to explore beyond the surface. It is only when they penetrate the superficial barrier that they may obtain fresh insights, which would facilitate the truly intercultural approach to theology.²⁵⁴

He also acknowledges the pervasive issue of Self-Negation in his overall theological enterprise making the point that Caribbean people themselves should see the good within their cultural context. He writes:

Behind the question "Is there such a thing as Caribbean theology?" is the snide assumption that nothing good can come out of the Caribbean. Interestingly enough, it is not necessarily persons from outside the region who are negative about our thinking. It is also Caribbean people themselves who are not prepared to place a high value on their own productions. If it comes from Europe or North America, it is good.²⁵⁵

²⁵³ George Mulrain, *Theology in Folk Culture: The Theological Significance of Haitian Folk Religion* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1984).

²⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 370.

²⁵⁵ George Mulrain, "Theology in the Caribbean " *Journal of the Interdenominational Theological Center* 15, no. 1 - 2 (1987 - 1988): 223.

Besides his work on Vaudou in Haiti and its challenge to Western conceptions of theology, Mulrain has also charted new territory in considering music as a necessity for theological reflection in the region, using Calypso, part of the lifeblood of Trinidad. In his contribution to *Voices from the Margin* he proposes Calypso as a medium for engaging the Bible for his people, since it has the capacity to truly bring the heart of the Biblical text, and the true experiences of Trinidadian people into conversation.²⁵⁶ Not only does this medium access the grassroots, but it highlights and allows greater understanding of certain occurrences in the Bible that Western, rationalistic interpretations do not allow for, Jesus's exorcism of demons being but one example. Furthermore, it allows for multiple points of view in interpreting passages, similar to how calypso songs and Caribbean folktales highlight multiple voices within the narrative. In "The Music of the African Caribbean", he suggests that African Caribbean music become a way of doing theology within Caribbean Church liturgy, citing reggae and calypso as examples.²⁵⁷

Mulrain's explorations are important for this study in that they advocate an embrace between African religiocultural retentions and the Church, despite the relationship historically being an uneasy one. Like me, he sits inside the Church's camp and argues for a closer relationship between Church and African religiocultural retentions. My work would add Junkanoo to his canon of folk cultural productions, and even more so, foreground Self-Negation as the rationale for such an exploration.

²⁵⁶ George Mulrain, "Is There a Calypso Exegesis?," in *Voices From the Margin: Interpreting the Bible in the Third World*, ed. R. S. Sugirtharajah (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1995).

²⁵⁷ George Mulrain, "The Music of the African Caribbean," *Black Theology: An International Journal* 1, no. 1 (1998).

4.4.4. *Dianne Stewart*

While Mulrain represents a positive approach to the Church/Culture relationship, Stewart represents the opposite. Considering herself a ‘theographer’, she explains that there are two antithetical theological grammars at work within African Jamaican religious life, Missionary Christianity and Myalism.²⁵⁸ This becomes clear in her *Three Eyes for the Journey*.²⁵⁹ In this work Stewart posits the rationale for her research, looking to Myal and Kumina as means of bringing about anthropological wholeness, combating the pervasive anthropological poverty, anti-Africanness, and Afrophobia perpetuated by Missionary Christianity. She also critiques the work of Noel Erskine and Lewin Williams of not dealing extensively with African religiocultural retentions, and bringing a Christian bias to their work, one which overlooks the direct culpability of the Church in the Caribbean in its anti-African practices. In fact, Stewart accuses Williams of being too superficial in his treatment of folk religion, failing to deal extensively with the “protracted, pernicious censoring and vilification of African culture and religion across the Caribbean.”²⁶⁰

Stewart locates her work within the discipline of comparative religions, and works towards providing space for African religiocultural retentions amongst theological and religious disciplines, which insist on orthodoxy, denying the contributions of African religiocultural retentions. Whilst she does not work from the methodological framework of Theology, per se, her work is concerned precisely with the relationship between the Church and African religiocultural retentions. My critique of her work has to do with her

²⁵⁸ Don Saliers et al., "Ethnography and Theology: A Critical Roundtable Discussion," *Practical Matters* Spring no. 3 (2010).

²⁵⁹ Stewart, *Three Eyes for the Journey*.

²⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 214.

assessment of the relationship between the Church and African religiocultural retentions in the Jamaican context, and her methodological stance. She explains that Myal religiosity in its varied forms has been simply wearing Christianity as a mask for the preservation of African religions traditions and beliefs. In doing so she maintains:

. . .with little exception, Black Christianity in Jamaica is Eurocentric Christianity – the acceptance and preservation of Euro-missionary Christianity by Black converts who joined the Anglican, Methodist, Presbyterian, Catholic, and in some cases Baptist denominations as well as others established by European and White American missionaries. This extends to Blacks who joined African-American (Eurocentric in missiology, piety, structure and doctrine) Christian denominations established in Jamaica by missionaries from the African Methodist Episcopal Church and other similar, independent Black church traditions in the United States.²⁶¹

And, concerning methodology, a “hermeneutics of suspicion” is employed against all cultural manifestations of orthodox Christianity in Jamaica: Christianities are the oppressors and African-derived religious are the oppressed and anthropologically impoverished.”²⁶² Ultimately she argues that Caribbean Theology, if it is to be of benefit for the Caribbean, has to change from being Christian!

While Stewart seeks to highlight the necessity for prioritizing African religiocultural retentions and challenging the afrophobic legacies of Missionary Christianity, I find her antithetical dualism most problematic. To a great extent I agree with her theory of masking as a dynamic of African religiosity, but her dualism, itself, is too simplistic. I acknowledge the need to critique simplistic notions of syncretism within the Caribbean context. I also acknowledge that simplistic notions of syncretism lead to the subjugation

²⁶¹ Ibid., xvii.

²⁶² Ibid., 5.

of African derived religious epistemologies, cosmologies, social structures and religious traditions as supplementary to Eurocentric ones. Furthermore, I acknowledge the myriad ways African religiocultural retentions have functioned to resist colonial efforts at ‘christianizing’ slaves and their descendants. But we are talking about two very strong identity influences that are both dynamic. Was the European Christianity all bad? Was it all a mask? Could slaves not see past the Church, or read the Bible for themselves, or embrace and reform missionary Christianity in subtle ways? In my mind the two have coexisted, and still coexist in complex and mutually transformative ways. The processes of power, the dynamic of negotiation, are not static, and they go both ways. Masking may be a very plausible theory thus far, but it has yet to be the most precise. Stewart’s theory remains too rigid. Junkanoo in particular, and Church/culture interactions in general in the Bahamian context make it difficult to draw sharp distinctions between the two. As Rosanne Adderley reminds us, a rigid separation between the Church and African religiocultural retentions is untenable. Comparing the presence and contributions of liberated Africans in Trinidad and the Bahamas, given that although the Anglophone Bahamas received rigorous missionary practices, unlike Trinidad where Yoruba culture was largely undisturbed resulting in an intact pantheon of gods, the same culture became central to the Christian church in Bahamas. She writes:

The strongest religious legacy of the Yoruba in the Bahamas lies not in any African-derived religion but rather in the well-known claim that a group of free Yorubas founded and dominated the largest and most prominent Methodist chapel to serve the African-descended community in and around the city of Nassau.²⁶³

²⁶³ Adderley, *New Negroes from Africa*: 159.

We now conclude this literature review, suggesting that this research into the relationship between Junkanoo and the Church starts with an awareness of this complexity, seeking to gain further insights for addressing the problematic aspects of the relationship.

4.5. Conclusion: Junkanoo A Missing Link?

Junkanoo can be added to these lists of African religiocultural retentions, particularly its significance for the people of the Bahamas. Whilst the inherent religiosity and spirituality of the festival is present in the literature, through the work of Kenneth Bilby for example, it has received little attention theologically.²⁶⁴ Moreover, very little has been done on Junkanoo's relationship with the Church, save for the Junkanoo and Christianity Symposium in 2002 at the College of the Bahamas, published as *Junkanoo and Religion: Christianity and Cultural Identity in the Bahamas*.²⁶⁵ This conference brought together sociologists, artists, historians, and government officials. It was an interdisciplinary consultation on the relationship between Junkanoo and 'Religion' in the country, and did not attempt to identify 'religion' with the Church. In the work, Jessica Minnis explains that it provides a foundation for advancing more "in-depth indigenous interpretation and investigation into the relationship between Junkanoo and Religion in Bahamian

²⁶⁴ Bilby, "Surviving Secularization." As will be discussed in the following chapter, Bilby critiques scholarly research into Junkanoo as paying little attention to its religiosity and spirituality. Scholars such as Judith Bettelheim, Michael Craton, and even E. Clement Bethel, have characterised the festival as secular, having no religious significance. See Bettelheim, "The Afro-Jamaican Jonkonnu Festival." See also, Bethel, *Junkanoo: Festival of the Bahamas*: 12. And Craton, "Decoding Pitchy-Patchy," 14.

²⁶⁵ Bahamas, "Junkanoo and Religion: Christianity and Cultural Identity in the Bahamas."

society.”²⁶⁶ Gail Saunders, offers similar comments, that such a consultation opens up more debate and dialogue.²⁶⁷

Two of the contributors to this work were theologians. While Etienne Bowleg argues for the need to include the lively music and rhythm of Junkanoo into the Church’s liturgical practices in light of the dis-ease between the two, Kirkley Sands frames the festival as “deeply rooted in Bahamian slave spirituality, traditional West African religiosity, and impacted by English Christianity.”²⁶⁸ Sands also highlights its innate relationship with the Church in Bahamian society. He sees the theological implications of Junkanoo as being its incarnational means of mediating the Biblical revelation of Jesus Christ. He writes:

As a Bahamian cultural form rooted in traditional West African religiosity, therefore, Junkanoo should be neither ignored nor readily dismissed by those who espouse Christianity and endeavor to be faithful to the Great Commission.²⁶⁹

Bowleg and Sands present us with the need to further interrogate the Church/Junkanoo relationship in the Bahamian context. My work, takes their suggestions seriously, using ethnographic methods and analyses for deeper theological reflection.

²⁶⁶ Jessica Minnis, "Introduction," in *Junkanoo and Religion: Christianity and Cultural Identity in the Bahamas* (Nassau: Media Enterprises, 2003), 4.

²⁶⁷ Gail Saunders, "Foreword," in *Junkanoo and Religion: Christianity and Cultural Identity in the Bahamas* (Nassau: Media Enterprises, 2003).

²⁶⁸ Etienne E. Bowleg, "Liturgical Implications of Junkanoo," in *Junkanoo and Religion: Christianity and Cultural identity in the Bahamas* (Nassau: Media Enterprises, 2003). Sands, "Junkanoo in Historical Perspective," 17.

²⁶⁹ Sands, "Theological Implications of Junkanoo," 73 - 74.

In relations to Caribbean Theology, this study makes Self-Negation its starting point, seeing it as a first step, and themes of decolonization and development being secondary and contingent on this fundamental and pressing issue, which has yet to be significantly explored. Secondly, it explores Self-Negation directly, looking carefully at the relationship between the Church and Junkanoo, both of which are equally powerful aspects of Bahamian national and cultural identity. The Bahamian context represents a unique site of access to this imposed binary so common in Caribbean life. Also, this research moves Caribbean theological research to embrace interdisciplinary, ethnographic methodologies to provide depth of exploration and analysis. This has been missing from major works in Caribbean Theology, but there is now a trajectory that employs this methodological approach. And finally, since places like the Bahamas are underexplored in Caribbean theological discourse, often overshadowed by the larger Islands and their folk traditions, this work posits Junkanoo as an invaluable addition to the discipline of Caribbean Theology.

In the following chapter I present the analysis of the data produced from the ethnographic exploration into the relationship between Junkanoo and the Church in contemporary Bahamian society.

5. Chapter 5: Junkanoo and the Church: A Self-Negating Relationship

5.1. Introduction: An Overall Analysis

Chapter 1 outlined the aims and objectives of this research, stating that the exploration of the relationship between the Church and Junkanoo in Bahamian society is crucial for addressing what has been hypothesized as Self-Negation. Self-Negation was briefly described as phenomenon whereby indigenous, mainly African cultural modes of expression, languages, art forms, and even African religiocultural retentions such as Junkanoo, are seen, by Caribbean Christians themselves, as improper and second class at best, and evil or demonic at worst. In the literature review, Chapter 4, it was suggested that not only is Self-Negation a Caribbean wide phenomenon, but also that the Church's positive relationship with African religiocultural retentions such as Junkanoo is crucial to addressing such a phenomenon. Furthermore, the project supports what has been argued in the literature, that Self-Negation is a plausible framework for understanding the Junkanoo/Church relationship. Despite a few objections, the realities of *internalized oppression* (Fanon) and *double consciousness* (DuBois) remain adequate explanatory hypotheses for understanding life within post-slavery, postcolonial Caribbean societies.²⁷⁰ Recent research in clinical psychology elucidating the concepts of *posttraumatic slave syndrome* and *posttraumatic growth* along with literature on the multigenerational legacies of trauma within postcolonial societies, confirm that the events of slavery and colonialism still have powerful reaches within contemporary Caribbean society, but have

²⁷⁰ See, Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks*; Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*. Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk*. I also explained that recent social scientific research on Skin-Bleaching in Jamaica seeking to debunk the connection between internalised oppression and Skin-Bleaching, citing colourism and mis-education as factors, fail to address the societal aspects of internalised oppression, or self-hatred. See, Charles and Thompson, "Skin Bleaching."

also produced powerful means of dealing with trauma, African religiocultural retentions being examples of these.²⁷¹ It was also argued that not much attention has been given to the theological dimensions of Self-Negation within Caribbean theological discourse, particularly where the relationship between the Church and African religiocultural retentions are concerned.

This chapter now presents the findings and analyses of this project's primary data sources: interviews and observations conducted during two stints of fieldwork in the Bahamas between 2011 and 2013. This critical account of the data will do the following:

- Highlight the legacies of colonialism as foundational to understanding Bahamian society in general;
- Map the complexity of the Junkanoo/Church relationship, revealing the existence of dichotomies, tensions and ambivalences, and dissonance in identity;
- Summarise the positive and negative attributes of Junkanoo and the Church present in the data, highlighting the theological issues arising;
- Reconceptualise Self-Negation as a dynamic process counter-balanced by what I describe as 'Overcoming', both with accompanying hermeneutics;
- Introduce the theological issue I consider to be at the heart of addressing Self-Negation: that any outright, uncritical view of Junkanoo as sinful is a distortion of the concept of sin when considering the biblical and Christian traditions.

²⁷¹ See Degruy, *Post Traumatic Slave Syndrome*. See also: Tedeschi and Calhoun, "Posttraumatic Growth." McGrath, "Post-traumatic Growth and the Origins of Early Christianity." Danieli, *Multigenerational Legacies of Trauma*.

5.2. The Legacy of Colonialism in Bahamian Society

The data presents a complex picture with many subtleties and nuances. In general, the data establishes Self-Negation as an appropriate conceptual framework through which the Junkanoo/Church relationship can be explored for clarity and depth of understanding. But the picture presented in the data is more complex than this. Self-Negation also appears characteristic of the relationships and processes within Junkanoo itself, and Church itself. In fact, Self-Negation is an adequate description of the Bahamian society in which Junkanoo and Church interact. In essence, Junkanoo, Church, and Bahamians who participate in both, all exist in a context of Self-Negation. Therefore, this concept of Self-Negation established in the introduction and the literature review has now been deepened and strengthened based on the data analysis.

The totalising effects of the colonial experience in understanding how Bahamian society currently operates become apparent in the full spectrum of interview participants, but most clearly among academics and Church leaders. Simeon Hall explains that for the Bahamas, the colonial past, both cultural and religious, as well as the neo-colonial present, shapes every part of Bahamian life. While the English influence is significant, its proximity to the United States is also very powerful. And, along with our African cultural heritage, even our understanding of God is shaped by all these influences. Likewise, Kirkley Sands, one of the academics, explains that coloniality wasn't only an event that happened, it was a system of education by which generations of Bahamians were nurtured.

The first thing we need to realize is that here in the Bahamas our cultural heritage comes from two specific geographical continental areas: one is western Europe, with particular reference to Great Britain; and the other is West Africa. We in the Bahamas have been nurtured with a Eurocentric bias. As a result of which, the way

our European colonizers looked at our African heritage with a view shared by many of us for a very very long time. This has meant, in practical terms, it was and still is, to a lesser extent, that anything coming out of Africa . . . and the interesting thing was that those who share this negative European bias, tend to speak of Africa as if it were a country somewhere, not realizing that it is a continent with over 50 sovereign states on it . . . So, we have, my generation, this has been the case at least up to 1957, have been educated with a Eurocentric bias.

Drexel Gomez, speaking from the purview of having been both a diocesan (local) bishop, and a Provincial (regional) Archbishop, is explicit about the colonial legacies, not just that they are a reality, but also the fact that the political and religious machinery in the country have been unable to address, let alone break such chains. He further explains that Self-Negation is a created reality. Bahamian society was created to be passive and dependent, to be content with not raising the identity question, not seeking a radical break from such mental and psychological fetters.

But, besides looking at Bahamian society in relations to colonial powers, it is also suggested that one must look at Bahamian society in relations to the rest of the Caribbean. Nicolette Bethel brings to light the enigma of Bahamian Self-Negation considering that the Bahamas did not have the same experience of slavery as the rest of the Anglophone Caribbean. She reasons that while other Caribbean nations have brought the issues of Self-Negation into an open arena for discussion, the Bahamas is still yet to notice the need. She asserts:

I think that there is definitely self-negation within the average Bahamian. We are far more conscious of religion than we are of how our African heritage or our African identity. We definitely have a tendency to demonize the African, whether it be in manifestations . . . in any manifestation really. We really have a tendency to demonize the African. And I think that that's on every level and certainly within the Church.

Kirkley Sands explains that Self-Negation appears in Bahamians in the unwillingness to do their own research, simply accepting the realities of another colonial society as normative for itself. There is a mentality of copying the stories of others, not affirming themselves. In this vein he takes up the theme of his colleague, Bethel, and her suggestion that compared to the rest of the Caribbean the Bahamas is very different in its approach to dealing with its colonial past. While, for example, the Jamaicans have intensely researched their colonial legacy, scholarship in the Bahamas has been content to borrow from other territories.

Similarly, Lay Participant DH, a dancer and young lawyer, explains that the Bahamas seems to be more self-negating, caring not to educate and conscientise their young about their cultural heritage. She surmises that the reason for her perception that Junkanoo is in decline directly relates to the lack of awareness and appreciation for Bahamian religious and cultural heritage. She states:

I believe the main reason why persons do not like it is because they do not know what it is and the origin of it. They don't understand, they don't care to know. It's just like so many other things in life, what we used to do when we were younger, the things we used to appreciate and understand, because we're not teaching it to the younger generations, it's dying out, because they can't appreciate it, because we're not informing them about it. It's dying out. So, just like our history, our culture too is dying out. It is sad.

Table 1 below gives a summary of the general perceptions of Bahamian society and its connectedness to the colonial past and the ways in which it is Self-Negating.

Table 1. Summary of Interviewee References to Colonial Legacies in Bahamian Society

Interviewee	Reference
Church Leader, DG	Colonialism psychologically ingrained in politics and religion
	Identity has been severely impacted
Church Leader, SH	Colonial past colours everything
Academic, KS	Eurocentric Bias has against All things African has shaped the Bahamas
	Bahamian society lags behind other Caribbean Islands in affirming their identity
Academic, NB	Self-Negation is endemic, Low self-awareness when even compared to rest of the Caribbean.
	Demonization of the African on every level of society
Lay Participant, DH	Pervasive ignorance of history and culture

Ultimately, it is through the prism of a self-negating society that we can adequately view the relationship between Junkanoo and the Church. In the following section we will attempt to unpack the complexity of this relationship.

5.3. Mapping the Junkanoo/Church Relationship

The data reveals three different ways of viewing the relationship between Junkanoo and the Church. Firstly, it can be described as dichotomous: not only does Bahamian society see Junkanoo and the Church as dichotomous entities, but both Junkanoo and the Church, in varying degrees and ways, are dichotomous in themselves. Secondly, it can be described as involving tension and ambivalence: the perception of dichotomy belies the reality of convergence on the ground. This is particularly seen in the attitudes that Junkanoo and the Church have towards each other. Thirdly, it can be described as producing identity dissonance: instances arise in the data where the struggle for identity

became explicit precisely because of notions of sacred and secular with regard to Church and Junkanoo respectively.

5.3.1. Dichotomy

Consistent across the data is an awareness of entrenched dichotomies not only within Bahamian society generally and its manifestation in the relationship between the Church and Junkanoo particularly, but also within Junkanoo and within Church separately. I use the term ‘dichotomy’ to denote the concept of division or chasm between two things that are, or perceived as, oppositional to each other.²⁷² Insights into the pervasive colonial legacies within Bahamian society lead us to consider how dichotomy reveals itself in the Church/Junkanoo relationship. But before we look at dichotomy in Junkanoo and Church separately, the data reveals the perception that Bahamian society in general is deeply marked by dichotomy and that Junkanoo and the Church are seen as dichotomous entities.

Perhaps the most significant moment for seeing how Bahamians perceived their religious and cultural identity was the 1994 Smithsonian cultural exhibition in Washing D.C., where cultural icons displayed the best of the Bahamas for the world to see.²⁷³ Nicolette Bethel, then part of that contingent, recalls the many distinctions. Rake N’ Scrape, a musical genre originating from the Family Islands, the more rural but ancestral origins of many Bahamians, was introduced to Junkanoo, the musical genre originating from the

²⁷² *The New Oxford Dictionary of English*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998). 511.

²⁷³ In 1994 the Smithsonian Institute, in partnership with the Bahamian government, staged five day cultural exhibition highlighting various aspects of Bahamian life and culture, as part of their programme to promote the differing cultures of the Americas. Aspects of this exhibition were published on the occasion of the Bahamas Heritage Festival which took place in March, 2003. See Gail Saunders, ed. *Cultural Perspectives: On the Occasion of hte Bahamas Heritage Festival* Cultural Perspectives: On the Occasion of hte Bahamas Heritage Festival (Nassau, Bahamas: Media Enterprises Ltd, 2003).

urbanized city of Nassau. Before then, Rake N' Scrape was not as popular.²⁷⁴ But, besides this rural/urban, Junkanoo/Rake N' Scrape dichotomy, there was also a clear sense in which the Bahamas would be represented under distinct umbrellas. As Bethel recounts:

. . . that's when Junkanoo and Rake N' Scrape started their conversation, because we had, on the mall we had a tent that was the, I forget what they call it, a secular tent. There was the church tent, the secular tent, and the Junkanoo tent.

This dichotomy is quite multifaceted. Firstly, the data highlights a socio-political divide between the Church and the shack. The Shack is the hub for Junkanoo group activities. They are usually located in communities from which groups originate. They are the work and storage spaces, as well as the places where planning meetings take place. Group members spend much of their time together in the shack. From Junkanoo leaders as well as lay participants, there is the acknowledgement that while the church is seen as one of the institutions of power, along with the government and commercial sector, the shack functions as an alternative space, of embrace and communitarian living. Kevin Ferguson, the B Group leader, explains that the church has failed young people in struggling communities. As someone who is passionate about the fate of young people, while churches have failed to listen to their plight, Junkanoo has been a place of welcome. Even within churches he feels that older persons have labelled and dismissed young people in a way that is foreign to in the Junkanoo world. Moreover, while institutions such as the government and the church have put little resources into changing the lives of young people, it is in the Junkanoo shacks that young people find role-models and father figures. Ferguson states:

²⁷⁴ Being an archipelago, with the city being located on one of the smallest Islands, the term Family Islands, or Out Islands, refer to Islands from which many different surnames and families originate, where younger generations would have gone to the city to find employment. Naturally, the Family Islands are less populated and far more rural.

Some of them, there ain't no father figure in some of these homes. And if there is, they don't have time for them. He's in and out and he gone. And that's one of the reasons why those Junkanoo shacks are very important, because guess what, he might not get it home, but if he come to the shack, he could talk to Kevy, or he could talk to Mr. Ferguson: "Mr. Ferguson I going through this, how you think I should deal with this?" I could then sit him down and direct him, just in an old Junkanoo shack. And people look at those shacks you know, "Well I don't want my child there." But you know something, those shacks changing a lot of lives.

This difference between shack and church also features prominently among lay participants of Junkanoo. Lay Participant, RM, the Baptist deacon, echoes similar remarks describing how older members of churches get upset when young people take either sit in seats they're not supposed to or fail to adhere to the appropriate dress code: "they complain about the dress code, not really the men, but the women. Too short! Sweat suit in church! No hat on! That stuff." Lay Participant, KS, seems positive about the future of the Church, but sees its complicity with the state as problematic. It must now look back to its communitarian roots, its emphasis on people rather than politics, instead of following the agenda of the state. In contradistinction to the church KS explains the following about the Junkanoo:

You know, sometimes you come to church and it almost seems like it's a select group of people that's intimately involved in the Church's life. But when it comes to Junkanoo no man is left behind. You know, no one is left . . . when it's two weeks to parade, there's a group check to see who's in the hole, who needs assistance, and that 'I gat your back', don't worry about it, we ga make it to Bay Street mentality, sometimes you won't find that in the Church.

Secondly, there is a geographical element to consider. Vola Francis, the A Group leader, gives keen insights into the division between Over-the-Hill and Bay Street, the commercial centre of Nassau, which affects both Church and Junkanoo.²⁷⁵ On the one

²⁷⁵ Over-the-Hill has historical significance for Bahamians in that it was the area where slave communities were placed, outside of the city, and stands in contradistinction to the city of Nassau. It has developed to

hand, he recounts his rootedness within the historically poor and marginalized Over-the-Hill community as opposed to the elitist connotations of Bay Street. For him, Over the Hill was always in opposition to Bay Street and the attraction of Junkanoo for him growing up was that invasion of the centres of power. On the other hand, he recounts his initial introduction to Junkanoo growing up in the strict Christian home of his grandfather who found it unacceptable for his grandson to be involved in Junkanoo. He states: “You see, because it was a Christian based home. And here it is now; here comes this thing Junkanoo, creeping into a Christian based home. “And now, you trying to tell me now, hey, now, hold it now, you going into this . . . this thing.”

Thirdly, besides the socio-political and the geographical, there is also gender and sexuality to consider. Lay participant AN recalls the early days where women weren't particularly allowed to participate except the few who were beating drums or shaking cowbells. In fact, she was forbidden to rush; the rationale behind this being that Junkanoo was seen as inappropriate for women. It was too rough, too wild, going against the mores of society at that time.²⁷⁶ So, the marginalization of Junkanoo led to the further marginalization of women within Junkanoo. Of course, this is no longer the case since Junkanoo has evolved into more of a highly regulated competition as opposed one of its historical manifestations as gang clashes.²⁷⁷ What exists is the perception, mostly promoted by religious

become some of the poorer areas within the Nations capital. Junkanoo groups came out of these areas, seeing themselves in contradistinction to Bay Street, which is historically synonymous with the Bahamian merchant class.

²⁷⁶ See Bethel, "Junkanoo." Bethel speaks of the era between 1900 – 1919 was a time of serious economic depression and Junkanoo festivals manifested as violent gang fights and group clashes. This made the festival a very masculine affair for much of its sociopolitical manifestation.

²⁷⁷ The terminology Rushin' Bay Street' has a specific historical meaning, since the 1930s, characterised by labour problems across the Caribbean, led to the in 1942 Burma Road Riot in which disgruntled Black

communities, that the participation by women in Junkanoo leads to overt sexuality, something intolerable within a church setting. Church Leader, Drexel Gomez explains that the Junkanoo has evolved in a manner where “movements of participants in Junkanoo have taken a lot of sexual overtones.” These kinds of conducts, he further explains, are hard for the Church to accept. Concerns over the appropriateness or morality of sexual expression lead to, arguably, the most significant factor fuelling the dichotomous relationship between the Church and Junkanoo. It is the theological idea that the former is sacred and the latter secular. Simeon Hall, the Baptist Church leader who was once president of the Christian Council explains that this dichotomy is so pervasive that he tried to have Junkanoo ‘baptized’ nationally. He recalls, “I remember trying to get the Christian council to baptize it, well that might be one of the reasons I’m not the president now. But it was not accepted.”

Dichotomy in Junkanoo

But interviews and observations brought to the surface the insight that dichotomy is an internal reality for both Junkanoo and Church separately. In the case of Junkanoo, there is a vast difference between A Groups and B Groups, and also Major Groups and Scrap Groups.²⁷⁸ Kevin Ferguson explains that A Groups, in his opinion, have unfair governmental and commercial support, seem only concerned about winning, and have

Bahamians stormed Bay Street, the centre of commerce, smashing windows and looting shops. Junkanoo was said to be the inspiration for this riotous behaviour. This led to a banning of Junkanoo until 1947.
²⁷⁸ Modern Junkanoo is divided into a number of different group classifications. Appearances on Parade include: A Division Groups; B Division Groups; D Division (Individuals); Division Groups (Exhibition) and F Fun Division Groups (Scrap). Major Groups would either refer to A Groups or B Groups or both. In this instance I am making a distinction between Scrap Groups and the more organised A and B Division Groups. See Appendix C for the rules and regulations of the Junkanoo Parade.

become too materialistic. On the other hand, the latter is unfairly underfunded; and is more concerned with building lives and keeping the moral fabric of the nation. Scrap Groups even go beyond B Groups. Observations from the two major parades reveal that they continue to present a counter-narrative to the major groups in that they refuse to be co-opted by sponsorship or governmental control. In observing a Scrap Group during the Boxing Day Parade, a group dedicated to advocating capital punishment in the country through placards such as “Hang All Murders”, I noted the ability of such groups to shock with their piercing and critical commentary on contemporary social and political issues.²⁷⁹

During the Jr Junkanoo parade it was clear that the same kinds of distinctions between A and B Groups manifest in the difference between schools from the Family Islands and those from the city, Nassau.²⁸⁰ While schools from the Family Islands were less ostentatious, they seemed to impress and connect with the crowd more. Their themes centred on African cultural heritage or critiques of colonialism, while city schools seemed more convergent with American pop culture. An example of this is the observations of the differences between the Government High School with their theme “Jr Junkanoo in Magic City” and the Spanish Wells All Aged School, one of the Family Island schools and the overall winners, rushed to the theme, “Out of Africa”. The former seemed more like a major group, using the same rallying calls of the A Group, the Valley Boys, with the same

²⁷⁹ The following is a fuller description: “The Bush Warriors who were distinctive in that they were carrying placards. The only pasting was on their clothes, which were all black. All six persons in this scrap group had their faces covered, two having a black hood in the shape of what members of the Klu Klux Klan wore. Their placards read: “Merry Christmas from the Bush Warriors: Hang All Murderers!” “No Bail for Murder!” and two other identical placards with “Hang All Murders!” This group was representing the voice of those advocating Capital Punishment in a time when the country’s murder rate is at an all time high.” (Boxing Day Junkanoo Parade Observations, 26 December 2012)

²⁸⁰ Family Islands refer to the more rural islands of the archipelago of the Bahamas. Nassau is the capital city of the Bahamas.

kind of ostentation and sophistication, but also presenting costuming and bodily movement more akin to African American popular culture, such as the Tutsi Roll, or movements one would find on MTV. The latter was much less ostentatious, simple or modest in dress and costuming, but their music and insistence on ancestral themes got great applause from the crowds. Interestingly, they seemed a refreshing novelty. In noting the contrast, I described the former as individualistic, more concentrating on school pride than nationalistic or themes related to African cultural heritage. I described the latter as strongly promoting a back to African cultural heritage rhetoric, doing so in ways that greatly appealed to the crowds.

But, perhaps the most striking dichotomy within Junkanoo was the difference between observing Junkanoo on Bay Street and observing it on Shirley Street. In fact, it seemed as if there were two kinds of Junkanoo being portrayed, and two kinds of Bahamians watching. On the one hand persons seated on Bay Street would have had to purchase tickets for their seats. Moreover, this crowd included many more tourists. On the other hand, persons on Shirley Street probably walked from just 'Over the Hill', were from more rural communities, or simply were Bahamians refusing to pay to watch Junkanoo.²⁸¹

I made the following note concerning my observations:

Bay Street reveals a commercialized, controlled Parade. It is closely inspected by the police, the judges, the cameras, the barricades, it is a product to be managed. In fact, in Rawson Square music is played to fill in the gaps after groups pass by, just to drown out the wait. There is no such luxury on Shirley Street. Shirley Street is for those who can't or refuse to pay. It is for those who will not be controlled, who

²⁸¹ As a reminder Over-the-Hill has historical significance for Bahamians in that it was the area where slave communities were placed, outside of the city, and stands in contradistinction to the city of Nassau. It has developed to become some of the poorer areas within the Nations capital. Junkanoo groups came out of these areas, seeing themselves in contradistinction to Bay Street, which is historically synonymous with the Bahamian merchant class.

want to move about, who want to heckle the performers. There is disorder on Shirley Street. Groups pass few and far in-between. There is unpredictability to it all. Not everything is neat. As for the two kinds of Bahamians, the former seek and can obtain a level of comfort, the latter, Shirley Street, is willing to tough it out, and get whatever they can. Both are moved by Junkanoo, and I'm sure there are many types in between my two poles, but on one end there is regard for comfort and the spotlight, at the other end there is that willingness to sacrifice all comfort just to see the parade freely; a thirst for the freedom of Junkanoo. The dividing line between the two types is the commercialization of the festival and its economic arrangement and management. While neither one is 'bad', and there are advantages to both approaches, they reveal something about the Bahamian psyche and the internal tensions within sociopolitical and economic life. On the one hand there is that commercialized, rule accepting Bahamian, and on the other, there is that resistant, rule rejecting Bahamian. (New Years Day Junkanoo Parade, 1st January, 2013)

Dichotomy in Church

In the case of the church, the data reveals similar dichotomies. Firstly, with regard to denominational differences, there is the sense in which the Baptist are seen as the authentic Bahamian Church, more embracing of African cultural heritage, and, in some cases, even incorporating Junkanoo music. Lay Participant RM, explains that his church, and the Baptists in general, unlike the Methodists and the Anglicans, embrace African cultural expressivism through dancing, upbeat music and drumming that one would expect to find in Junkanoo, but "without the vulgarity". By vulgarity he makes a distinction here between the expressivism found in Church where worshippers are conservatively dressed with more controlled, non-sensual bodily movements, and that which is found during Junkanoo activities, where the body is much less covered and movements, appear more sensual. Concerning the Anglicans, he points to one prominent inner city Anglican rector who forbids the use of drums in his church. Church Leader Simeon Hall makes similar references to the Anglican/Baptist distinction, explaining that when one thinks of the authentic Bahamian Church, particularly as it is portrayed in the

theatre, one would find a portrayal of a Baptist Church and not an Anglican one.

Moreover, he explains that in places where the Anglican Church seems to be growing, usually it has to do with a particular priest who preaches like a Baptist.

In the data a distinction between Established Churches or Orthodox Churches, for example Anglicans, Roman Catholics, Methodists and Presbyterians, and the Baptist, Pentecostal and Non-denominational Churches becomes apparent as well. On the one hand, there is the liturgical notion that the former group is overly structured and non-expressive in their worship while the latter is much more open to the 'spirit'. By this it is meant that the latter group is more expressive and able to more deeply/spiritually connect with the lives of worship participants. On the other hand, it is thought that the latter group is far more materialistic, with problematic influences from North American fundamentalist theological outlooks. Lay Participant RM expresses outrage at huge salaries taken home by Baptist and Pentecostal pastors. He sees this as different to the stipend that the Anglicans and Roman Catholic clergy survive on.

Nicolette Bethel comes up with a helpful framework which to view denominational relationships in the country, both internally and ecumenically. She speaks of a core-periphery dynamic that begins with the Over-the-Hill/Bay Street dichotomy. For the Anglicans, the further they progressed Over-the-Hill, the more high church they became, examples being St. Agnes, St. Barnabas, and St. Georges.²⁸² At its centre, the Cathedral

²⁸² In the Bahamian context 'High Church' generally refers to churches that use incense, liturgical vestments and a structured liturgy as their preferred means of worship; undoubtedly referring to the Anglicans and the Roman Catholics. But, within Anglican circles, the High Church/Low Church distinctions signify different liturgical and theological leanings within the Anglican Church; whether one is more Roman Catholic, or

remained very 'low', owing to the influence of Bishop Sheddon, as Bethel recalls.²⁸³ But curiously, St. Mary's which grew out of the Cathedral, and sits on the Bay Street side of the divide, is very High Church, but would not want to be considered Over-the-Hill. The influence of the Over-the-Hill/Bay Street dichotomy isn't only central to the Anglicans, but all the early missionary churches in the nation. Attention must be paid to Cleveland Eneas' assertion that because of the racist tendencies of mother churches in the city (the Anglican Cathedral, Christ Church; Trinity and Ebenezer Methodist Churches, St. Andrew's Kirk, and Zion Baptist Church for example), denominations soon expanded Over-the-Hill with daughter churches seeking to escape such ecclesiastical practices (St. Agnes Anglican, Grants Town Wesley, and Bethel Baptist and St. John's Native Baptist, for example).²⁸⁴ On the other hand, the core-periphery dynamic reveals a dichotomy between Family Island and city, particularly with regard to which denomination seems 'native'. Bethel observes that while the Baptist Church seems to be the 'native' church in the eyes of Nassuvians, it is the Anglican Church which is the 'home' church on the Family Islands, with, perhaps, the exception of Methodism in some of the Northern Islands.²⁸⁵ If Bethel is correct, and my experience confirms her observations, it is interesting that at the centre of commerce for the nation, the Anglican Church is seen as

more Protestant. The former group would involve Romanish practices, for example, the use of incense, devotions to Mary, and the observance of Benediction. The Latter would be a strict observance of morning and evening prayer, more emphasis on Word than on sacrament. The Church in the Bahamas has evolved to embrace the High Anglo Catholic form of Anglicanism instead of the Low Protestant form.

²⁸³ Bishop Roscow George Shedden, an English noble at East Cowes, served as Bishop of Nassau from 1919 to 1931. He returned to England, becoming vicar of St. Peter and St. Paul's Wantage. He retired in 1952 and died in 1956.

²⁸⁴ Eneas, "The Quincentennial Celebration," 25.

²⁸⁵ Nassuvians, people belonging to Nassau, or more generally, people living on New Providence which is generally seen as the city. In fact, though Nassau is technically an area on the Island of New Providence which functions as the capital city in the Bahamas, it popularly used to refer to the entire Island. Therefore, when people say that they're going to Nassau, often they mean that they're going to New Providence, since the entire Island is seen as the city.

classist and foreign, while on the Family Islands, the margins of economic and political life in the nation, the Anglican Church is seen as native and authentic.²⁸⁶

5.3.2. Tensions and Ambivalences

Besides dichotomies, one also finds evidence of tensions and ambivalences across data sources. By this I am asserting the idea central to the concept of Self-Negation that such dichotomy produces conflict and strain, where reality and the denial of that reality are held onto concurrently. In the case of Junkanoo and the Church, there is a promoted separation and denial of relationship, but this belies the reality that, on the ground, one cannot make easy separations between the two. We gain further clarity when we look at Church and Junkanoo attitudes to each other.

Church Attitudes Towards Junkanoo

Across the data what seems to be most problematic for the Church, the reason for not embracing Junkanoo, is the tripartite of sex, drugs (alcohol and marijuana particularly) and lawlessness (including profanity). Henry Higgins, whose Conquerors for Christ tries to meld Junkanoo and the Church in that his group is also a Church, Creative Arts Ministry, has strict rules about sexuality, drug use and profanity. When they began the group in 2004 the vision was simply to bring Christ to Bay Street, evangelistically. It was for the purpose of “winning souls” and giving support to the young people. They had

²⁸⁶ This difference in the manifestation of Anglicanism can be owed to the fact that the Family Islands had little influence from other denominations to begin with, and the coming of the Anglican Church to those Islands wasn't for subjugation, or the setting up of plantations but for building up society, for education and 'civilization'. Having grown up on a Family Island I know that the culture, liturgical seasons and observances of the Anglican Church have been the default religious heritage for most people, and that the Anglican priest was seen as perhaps the most important clergy person on any particular island. Other denominations would have had to come from the city in order to 'convert' members from the Anglican Church.

simple rules: There was to be “no alcohol, dope or sexual contact”, unlike, as Higgins explains, what happens within major groups. For him, there may not be sexual contact at the major groups’ shack but it begins at the shack; ‘sweethearting’ and young girls getting pregnant. This wasn’t to be apart of Conquerors for Christ.²⁸⁷

The data reveals a tension between Church leaders and lay participants with regard to the inappropriateness of Junkanoo for the Church. While Church Leader Drexel Gomez, along with Conquerors for Christ Leader Henry Higgins see the tripartite of sex, alcohol and lawlessness as evidence of the inappropriateness of Junkanoo for the Church, others acknowledge these realities but argue that Junkanoo cannot be reduced to sex, drugs and violence. Lay Participant AN explains that there are a range of attitudes to Junkanoo including those who see it as evil, always citing “the naked girls, the winding up, the liquor”. But there are also persons like herself fully committed both to Junkanoo and the Church, yet not engaging in such behaviour.²⁸⁸ Lay Participant DH recalls sermons being preached condemning Junkanoo, linking it to alcohol use and excessive partying. Lay Participant KS says that instead of branding Junkanoo as negative, one ought to highlight its tolerance for people from all walks of life. He further explains that it inspires dedication and community loyalty, particularly among young people and those on the margins of society. His critique of those who see Junkanoo as over sexualised or lewd is that they do not look at it holistically.

²⁸⁷ ‘Sweethearting’ is a colloquial term for having extra-marital affairs.

²⁸⁸ ‘Winding up’ refers to the gyration of the hips.

There is also the recalling of experiences where Junkanoo was classed as a spiritual evil, independent of its association with excessive sexual expression, violence and drug use. For example, Lay Participant DH states that because of the ignorance concerning cultural heritage, “persons believe it’s something evil, that they are worshipping the devil; which is kind of odd if you’re playing spiritual music. I think it’s a growing number that feel basically . . . that dislike Junkanoo and think it’s evil.” Lay Participant AN recalls a Bahamian musician whose daughter went to a prominent private school that explicitly taught that “Junkanoo was evil, it was heathen, it was Satanic.” The musician was so upset he took his daughter out of that school and placed her into an Anglican one. Kevin Ferguson, our B Group leader, expresses outrage at the comment he sometimes hears, that Junkanoo is demonic:

Junkanoo . . . listen to me, this is our culture! How in the world it could be demonic. How? Please, tell me. Carnival, from 0 to 101, Trinidadians take part in Carnival. That is their culture and they’re serious about it. How could it be demonic? What is demonic about it? People . . . you know something, I always hear pastors preach on that but you know I have never ever had an opportunity to talk to them, in fact, if they could explain to me what is so demonic about Junkanoo, then I don’t know . . . ain’t none of them could convince me because, see, you can’t . . . when you come talking to me about Junkanoo, you gatta know what you talking, first of all.

Moreover, an analysis of the observations reveals that the attributions of sexual and verbal obscenity, violence and drug use being intrinsic to Junkanoo is indefensible. I did not see within Junkanoo parades and practices instances of overt, excessive sexuality, violence or drug use. In places where these appear in the data, context reveals far more complex dynamics. With regard to the perceived sexuality or sexual expression, one cannot divorce this from the spirituality or pneumatology inherent in the act of rushin’.²⁸⁹ By

²⁸⁹ To ‘rush’ or ‘rushin’ refers to the act of participating in Junkanoo either through dancing, playing musical instruments, or costuming, or all of the above. When the term rush-out is used, Bahamians mean

pneumatological I refer to the scholarship which links Junkanoo and rushin' to the trance/possession one finds in Anglophone African Caribbean religious traditions such as Myal and Obeah. Myal is also a form of dance in which the 'Spirit/spirits' are invoked. While Diane Stewart argues that Myal is at the heart of African Jamaican cultural productions, she also insists, along with Barry Chevannes, that pneumatology is central to understanding African religiocultural heritage within the African Caribbean context.²⁹⁰ This helped to explain an observation of the lead dancer for the Music Makers during the Boxing Day Parade. As an effeminate adult male, who, for the conservative Bahamian public would be considered homosexual, something largely seen as taboo in Bahamian society, it was clear that the spectators were more concerned with the intensity of his rushin' than his 'perceived' taboo sexual expression. In this instance his rushin', which I maintain is a pneumatological act, trumped his sexual orientation and/or expression. His perceived sexuality, however against the norm it was, was not reviled, but accepted within the Junkanoo space, as part of the overall pneumatological act.

While the intensity of rushin' and its pneumatological nature was noted at all parades and practices, one other specific example really highlights the complex relationship between sexuality and spirituality within the Junkanoo parade. During the New Years Day Parade, Colours Junkanoo Group had two dancers who were not only dressed provocatively, as in

that a parade is taking place, for some reason other than the yearly Boxing Day and New Years Day Parades. A closer look at the term 'rushin' reveals that it is not play and excitement, but in anthropological terms, it is a contemporary manifestation of West African rites of trance/possession. The underlying spirituality within Junkanoo is Myalism, also found among the diffusion of Anglophone Junkanoo festivals. See, Bilby, "Surviving Secularization." The Link between Junkanoo and pneumatology will be discussed further below.

²⁹⁰See, Stewart, *Three Eyes for the Journey*. Stewart also explains that African Caribbean culturally is so pneumatologically wired that ecstatic expressions in Africanised Churches are only evidence that Myal religiosity simply uses Christianity as a mask. See Chevannes, *Rastafari: roots and ideology*. Chevannes explains that the Myal religious trajectory in Jamaica works to pneumatologically reinterpret Christianity

showing a bare skin, but were dancing in such a way that it was hard to decide whether they were being sexually suggestive or were enacting trance possession. I noted the following during the New Years Day Parade:

The first thing about Colours to get my attention were the dancers. There were two individual dancers, a male and a female, who were dancing quite provocatively. In fact, they seemed as if they were carrying out some form of possession ritual. At one point the lady crawled between the legs of the gentleman who proceeded to wine in a sexual way. Having now crawled through his legs, the lady continued to crawl for another 10 paces, in a slow and deliberate manner, as if she had become a seducing tiger. She was then helped to her feet by the male dancer.

Moreover, soon after encountering the Colours Junkanoo Group, I met One Family performing at Rawson Square. It was there I had a view of the crowd's reaction to a particular dancer who wore a two-piece bikini and introduced the groups theme "Fire". While I sensed in her a freedom and comfort with her own body, I sensed mixed reactions from the crowds as to the appropriateness of her lack of clothing. People were staring at her and making comments. Some were shaking their heads. Her minimal clothing brought discomfort to the crowd. But these were the only references to sexuality in the observations that attracted suspicions or mumblings from the crowds. What I perceived most of all was a freedom with the body, and an intensity of rushin', and embodied pneumatology, described by one member of the crowd on Shirley Street during the New Years Day Parade as "dancing from the soul."

What is also very interesting is that the places where overt sexual expression or alcohol use became explicit were those where Junkanoo and commercial advertisement intersected. For example, during the Boxing Day Parade, The Bahamas Telecommunications Corporation (BTC), the official sponsors of the parade, was using

young girls with tight fitted clothing and exposed bellies to hand out free T-shirt and other tokens advertising their products. Some of the commercial Scrap groups, particularly those advertising some product on the parade, Kalik as an example, were explicitly drinking. Other groups were more concerned with their performance. It is more accurate to say that the explicit and pervasive use of alcohol or drugs is not something essential to Junkanoo itself, but contingent, owing to the commercialism involved in the entire affair, and also the socialising tendencies of Bahamians generally.

Ambivalent attitudes towards Junkanoo become more apparent as one looks at data pertaining to specific denominations. Though there is a wide range of perceptions about Junkanoo within the different denominations, as institutions the outlook on Junkanoo is negative. For the Baptist, while Church Leader Simeon Hall points to the Baptist as being more accepting of Junkanoo and culturally identifying with it, the Baptist churches seem most non-supportive of Jr Junkanoo. The Baptist and Pentecostal Churches and schools do not participate. This was also evidenced in my observations where, before reaching Bay Street for the Jr Junkanoo parade, St. John's Native Baptist church, one of the most historic Baptist congregations had what seemed to be a liturgical dancing event for their young people. While the Junkanoo music was heard streaming through Meeting Street where the Church is located, the persons I encountered seemed unmoved by it, and the event seemed deliberately alternative to it. And even though Junkanoo aficionados such as Rev Dr William Thompson advocated for an Easter Rushout that has grown over the years, this notion of the Church's involvement with Junkanoo is still very resisted in the

Baptist world.²⁹¹ Thompson, like Church Leader Simeon Hall, both past presidents of the Bahamas Christian Council, has received opposition from within their own denominations. And, while, as Lay Participants DH and RM point out, Mt. Tabor Full Gospel Baptist Church, the internationally renowned ministry led by Bishop Neil C. Ellis, incorporates Junkanoo music in its worship, one cannot overlook the church's close association with North American televangelicalism.²⁹²

For the Anglicans, while Church Leader Drexel Gomez acknowledges the importance of Junkanoo for Bahamians, particularly its sociological benefits, he sees it as having no theological value for the church. He further explains that the Anglican Church does not have any official view or stance on Junkanoo; the two are separate things, and foundations for a conversation between the two have yet to be laid. Despite this, however, there are many Anglican clergy persons who are deeply involved in various Junkanoo groups, some even as chaplains or spiritual leaders. There is also the historic connection between St. George's Anglican Church and the Valley Boys, beginning with the late Rt. Rev. Michael H. Eldon, former diocesan bishop of the Anglican Church in the Bahamas. The Valley Boys grew out of that Anglican Church. Also, One Family is considered very much an Anglican influenced group, a point made by various interview participants.

²⁹¹ See Writer, "Because He lives."

²⁹² The North American mega-church model has become a reality in the nation, a model wherein Churches built around the personality and charisma of one person, or a couple. Such is the case of both Bishop Neil Ellis Neil Ellis is now the Presiding Bishop of the Global United Fellowship, and was in the running for the post of International Presiding Bishop of the Full Gospel Baptist Church Fellowship International until he resigned from that fellowship altogether.

While Pentecostal churches are seen as more open to cultural heritage, they are seen as perhaps the most dogmatic denomination with regard to their approach to Junkanoo. Junkanoo Group Leader Vola Francis, being a Pentecostal, confirms that while members are forbidden to partake in Junkanoo, this is unrealistic since the same musicians defy their pastors. What is also interesting is that instead of incorporating Junkanoo music, Pentecostals insist upon marching band music coming out of the United States, a genre of music rooted in ‘rag-time’, a musical genre belonging to the African American cultural experience.

Henry Higgins, leader of Conquerors for Christ, recalls that the two groups most dismissive of his work to integrate Junkanoo and the Church are the Pentecostals and the Seventh Day Adventists. In fact, most of the Churches do not see his vision. Some say that he still isn’t ‘saved’, or hasn’t given his life to Christ as yet. These are the ones who preach about him negatively from their pulpits. In fact, he says that every year coming up to the parade he would be contacted about how he is being preached about. Those who preach about him most, he explains, are the traditional Seventh Day Adventists. The Non-traditional ones are ok with him and the Pentecostals have slowed down. He further explains that some pastors have told him that he’ll only lead the young people astray.

The Methodists also present a complex picture. While Nicolette Bethel holds the Methodists in high esteem seeing them as holding the African and the European in tension, Lay Participant, RM, sees them as equal to the Anglicans in how they keep Junkanoo out of their liturgy. But even more interesting is the outlook of the Methodist

lay participant, AF, whose experience of being a passionate member of his Church and of his Junkanoo group, the Valley Boys, is one of dichotomy. Perhaps the most ambivalent interview participant, he is equally involved in both spheres, but works to keep them separate. In his separating, it is clear that Junkanoo is seen as an add-on to Church. For example, in his church they would have Junkanoo groups visit, but they would have to play their music in the church hall, and not in the main service. It is not to be considered as central to Church life, or vice-versa. Yet he inhabits both worlds, happily, but totally unaware or even concerned with what a deeper relationship might mean.

The Roman Catholics seem to be the exception to this trend of ambivalent attitudes. Not only are their schools involved in Jr Junkanoo, but they are also the only denomination to have developed a Junkanoo folk mass. A number of interview participants have pointed out this incorporation of Junkanoo. Nicolette Bethel explains that the Romans Catholics have been most accommodating to indigenous ways, perhaps owing to its particular traditions in the world and to Liberation Theology. Lay Participant AN recalls the following:

The first time I ever heard a goat skin drum in a church was in the same house from the 1970's, St. Francis was using a goat skin drum at mass, and we would be in here getting ready to go to St. Mary's for 10:30 and you could hear the drum pounding up there. That's 40 years ago. And so, I believe the Roman Catholics might have spear headed the introduction of Junkanoo musical instruments within the structured church service.

Moreover, upon reflection the Roman Catholic Lay Participant, FH, seems least ambivalent or dichotomous in her approach to Junkanoo. Being positive about the Junkanoo/Church relationship, she does not see or subscribe to any kind of dichotomy

between the Church and Junkanoo. In her experience there has been fruitful integration, and it has produced growth and excitement within their congregations, particularly among the young. She does not speak of a past where Church and Junkanoo conflict. Her total experience has been one of embrace, and in her Sunday liturgy, particularly on special occasions, she can enjoy a mass which incorporates Junkanoo specifically. This further attests to the literature that of all the denominations, the Roman Catholics emerges as much more aware and intentional about cultural dynamics in the country.²⁹³

Junkanoo Attitudes Towards Church

The differences between Junkanoo and the Church immediately come to light when one assesses the experiences of Junkanoo leaders and lay participants. There is an accepted notion that the Church is exclusive and judgemental while Junkanoo is inclusive and non-judgemental. This is perhaps the biggest deterrent to any close relationship, and the incorporation of Junkanoo into the life of the Church suffers because of the strict boundaries and conventions set up by Churches, boundaries often built upon assumptions.

Lay Participant KS, who is Anglican, sees his denomination as very accepting, particularly his local church, but acknowledges that many priests and Anglicans in general would reject the idea of Junkanoo in their churches. But while he has a positive view of both Junkanoo and Church, he sees Junkanoo as being more a place of acceptance of people from all walks of life than the Church. The Church has too many class and boundary divisions. Lay Participant DH, also Anglican, echoes the same thoughts:

²⁹³See for example, Eneas, "The Quincentennial Celebration," 25.

I think a lot of persons dislike being judged. They dislike the fact that Ok, all of us are sinners, but because my sin is different than your sin, you may believe that your sin is lesser than my sin, that you have the right to come down on me and judge me. In Junkanoo you're not judged. By that I mean no one looks down on you because they feel you're inferior to them. The only thing they may crack on and say is inferior is either your music or your costume but other than that, you are the person, you are accepted.

Lay Participant RM, also a Baptist deacon, holds both Junkanoo and Church in high esteem, but it becomes apparent through analysing his interview that although he sees the Church as the locus of morality authority in the Junkanoo/Church relationship with Junkanoo towing the line, he also acknowledges the Church's tendency to be too judgemental and institutional; something that has marginalized many young as well.

Group Leader Vola Francis, speaking both as a Junkanoo and a committed Pentecostal, suggests that part of the reason why some people within Junkanoo may not get involved with the Church is out of fear of its rules. They would be challenged to give up their lifestyles. In his interview Francis makes a definite separation between the Church and Junkanoo, respectively and dichotomously designating them as 'the world' and 'the kingdom', the former being secular and the latter sacred. Frances states:

And, see, a lot of fellas scared because they ain't want to be a part of the kingdom and they drinking. They ain't want to be a part of the kingdom and they womanizing. They ain't want to be a part of the kingdom and they smoking. And so, and they doing all sorts of stuff. And so, you find that it's easier for the world, for people to be a part of the world than for them to actually be a part of the kingdom.

The other question raised during the observations of the Boxing Day Parade was whether spectators cared to have a Christian Junkanoo Group on the Junkanoo parade. Both of the self-identified Christian Junkanoo Groups, One Love Crusaders and Conquerors for

Christ, though overtly Christian in their music, costuming, and themes, got very little participation from spectators. It seemed as if everyone was waiting for the major groups to arrive, paying scant attention to these groups that were trying to bring the Church to Bay Street.²⁹⁴ While observing this phenomenon, I wondered:

Could this be some latent belief amongst the crowd that Junkanoo and Church are not to be integrated, that on Bay Street, the Church is to be something tolerated, but not embraced?

Nonetheless, despite these examples of ways in which persons within Junkanoo see the Church, as having strict rules and conventions, or the observation that Junkanoo might not be accommodating the Church, particularly during the main parades there is the idea that the two need each other, and that their connection is very important. So, while Lay Participant RM acknowledges judgementalism in the Church, he still sees the coming together of the Church and Junkanoo as necessary, since they need each other and cannot grow or survive without each other. Similarly, Lay Participant KS maintains that both Junkanoo and the Church need to get back to their roots, that both need each other for survival. Lay Participant AN explains that the average Bahamian is not aware of the depth of Junkanoo, and when they come to discover it, they'll realize that it is a natural ally of the Church. And while there is a definite sense that the Church is a judgemental space, one seeking to disassociate itself from Junkanoo, participants of Junkanoo still remain deeply involved in their churches, seeing the need to hold both together, no matter how much they're touted as separate. The ultimate ambivalence is that they see the need for integration and acceptance, yet simultaneously are content to live with the dissonance.

²⁹⁴ Bay Street is the site of the Junkanoo Parade. Henry Higgins explained that his mission was to bring the Church to Bay Street, and that what he does through participation in the parade is to present the gospel on the largest Bahamian stage.

5.3.3. *Identity Dissonance*

Besides dichotomies and ambivalences within the Junkanoo/Church relationship, interview participants and observations highlight the struggle with identity that such tensions between Junkanoo and Church produce within the Bahamian person. I refer to this as dissonance in identity. To begin within, a number of participants recall their experiences of wrestling with this discord between Junkanoo and their Church or between their culture and their faith. We recall again Group Leader Vola Francis' upbringing in a strict religious home under the influence of his grandfather who saw Junkanoo as a violent, dangerous thing and would not let him participate. He described the pain of being pulled in different directions. His grandmother encouraged his participation in Junkanoo because of the creative outlet it held for him. His grandfather discouraged his participation out of fear of losing him to violence and waywardness. It was only through the intercessions of his grandmother that he was allowed to participate as a young man. In the following excerpt Francis recounts the events of the experience:

. . . my grandfather you know, he was bitter against me being in Junkanoo. Bitter! He was Bitter! He say, "No Sir! You ain't ga [going to] be no Junkanoo in here!" Caus [because] you know, the revelry and the frolic, the carrying on, and the carousing, and the . . . you know. But my grandmother, she ain't had no problem with it. She mussy saw [must have seen] something else . . . my grandfather saw the bad part but my grandmother saw the creative aspect of it. So she said, you know, "Why you don't let Percy go?" so the guys would come by the house and say, "Well, Mr. Francis, we really need him you know, because he artistic." And then, she was right there at the door. (laughs). I knock on my own door one day, I say, "Man, let's go ask him." So I gone and knock on my own door. And he came out and then my grandmother came behind him. And he say, "What you'll want?" They say, "Well, we wan know if Percy could rush." "No, No, No, No!" He start carrying on. That's when my grandmother say, "Elisha." His name was Elisha. "Elisha man, let the boy rush." You know. So he say, "Well who going to be responsible for him?" So one of the older fellas said, "I'll be responsible for him. I'll make sure that nothing happen to him." So he said, "Once you'll could assure me that he secure, then he could be a part of the Junkanoo." You see, because it

was a Christian based home. And here it is now, here comes this thing Junkanoo, creeping into a Christian based home. “And you trying to tell me now, hey, hold it now, you going into this, this thing?” So even then there was this imaginary line between Christianity and the practice of Junkanoo. But my grandmother saw the artistic side of it, the creative side of it. She know I was an artist . . .

Academic Nicolette Bethel explains how her dual upbringing in the Anglican and Brethren denominations was quite a struggle. In many ways the two denominations were polar opposites. The Anglicans were liberal while the Brethren were dogmatic, leading her to question the authenticity of Anglicanism as a teenager. But both of these denominations were also highly stratified. The Anglicans were classist and the Brethren did not entertain any kind of expressivism in their worship. Both left little space for something like Junkanoo. Recalling her father’s reaction after attending one of the Brethren churches that had eventually modernised itself with the use of an entire band, including saxophones, guitars and drums, Bethel recalls: “And I remember my father, who is a musician, going to the service and going, ‘I can’t . . . That made me really uncomfortable, because I felt like I was in a night club.’”

Secondly, scholars and church leaders have described this identity dissonance in a number of ways. When it comes to the relationship between the Church and African cultural heritage Academic Kirkley Sands refers to Bahamians as having religious schizophrenia or a bipolar cultural heritage. On one level, “you would like to be Bahamian, but you must be British first. And so you’re trying to talk like them, you want to treat your fellow human beings like them, you want to embrace their hierarchically tiered social structure that they have”. Yet at another level, “You would find some wrestling with, of a tension between European aspects, the Western European dimension, and the West African

dimension. And you see this, in particular when you speak to people about Junkanoo.” Nicolette Bethel agrees strongly with the Self-Negation hypothesis explaining that in the Bahamas “Africanness is being more negated than in other places”, and this has been something churches have responsibility for: “negating the African side, even when doing great things.” Church Leader Drexel Gomez offers the following in agreement with the academics: “I think the main theme, and it’s become an enduring theme, is the issue of Caribbean identity. Because we are still really a people in search of who we are.”

Thirdly, data collected during observations also confirm dissonance of identity, or outright rejection of Bahamian cultural heritage as being a reality. I paid careful attention to media conversations, and three examples struck me as evidence of an underlying public debate concerning Bahamian identity. On a prominent mid-day radio talk-show, the Jeff Lloyd Show, a caller, after speaking of her miraculous healing, and the need for Bahamians to remember their God, she exclaimed, “People, God isn’t Junkanoo! They want Junkanoo more than God!”²⁹⁵ I was taken aback at the fact that in the public sphere it is so easy to create such opposition between religion and Junkanoo. Her outburst is typical of this latent demonization of the festival. Later, on the Chrissy Luv Show, another mid-day radio talk show, the conversation was about the devaluing of Bahamian music as there were preparations for a concert to honour one of the Bahamas’ musical legends.²⁹⁶ Guests on the show were lamenting the fact that ‘culture’ itself in the Bahamas was not being supported. They were emphatic about it. Culture was undervalued and lacked support from the government. They said, “Culture is the soul of the people. There is no progress

²⁹⁵ Lloyd, "Jeffrey."

²⁹⁶ Love, "Reality Check." This conversation centred around the concert to honour Ronnie Butler an iconic Bahamian musician.

without culture, if culture isn't involved. There is a need to embrace culture in order to speak to the Bahamian spirit." But, what most captured this idea of identity dissonance, or this discomfort about one's culture, was an anonymous article appearing in both the printed media and online the day after the concert mentioned on the Chrissy Luv Show, entitled, "Insensitive Noisemakers". A line in it read, "Early this morning, the sounds of a beating bass penetrated my house, to the annoyance of myself and all its occupants. It sounded like the rumblings of a demonic séance somewhere in the jungles of Africa!"²⁹⁷

I also came across examples of these kinds of self-disparaging behaviour in the Junkanoo parade observations. Two stand out in particular. During the performance by the Music Makers, there was a dancer moving through the crowd portraying an African warrior. For some reason he was laughed at, something I found puzzling. The more he shouted and enacted the movements of the warrior, the more crowd laughed, as if he were some jester, some wild, exotic thing for entertainment purposes. It was clear to me that he drew reactions from the crowd in a different way to other costumed Junkanoos, someone with a wheelbarrow, another with a fishing rod, and another dressed as a tourist. My reactions to this is recorded in the following:

Yet, why did people laugh at the warrior? They found him most entertaining, and they began joining in, not as participation, but as mockery. I see this as a slight evidence of the kind of Self-negation in that he represented that one deeply engrained motif within Junkanoo, that of the insuperable warrior. But instead of an acceptance of the need to truly get into the rushin' of the Music Makers, the warrior was mocked, laughed at, and seen as entertaining. (Boxing Day Observations, 26th December 2012)

²⁹⁷ Anonymous, "Insensitive Noisemakers!".

The other instance took place during the Jr Junkanoo Parade in an interaction between two female high school students from Nassau (the city) who were close to me in the crowd, and two male Family Island (rural communities) students participating. The former two were jeering at the latter. The girls overheard one boy telling the other that the roads weren't as wide as what was back on their rural island, so that they could walk carefully. One girl told her friend concerning the two boys, "go back to where ya'll come from, because Andros ain't gat no road." They were promoting the idea that somehow those boys came from somewhere wild and uncivilised. But all of these were Junkanoo participants, all of these were Bahamians.

Finally, there is the aspect that rejection of identity is present in both the Church and Junkanoo, independently of each other. Academic Nicolette Bethel theorizes that both Junkanoo and the Church tend to disparage an essential part of their heritage. For Junkanoo, it must recover its spiritual foundations, and for the Church, it must re-encounter its African ancestry. She explains:

. . . what would be really interesting would be if Junkanoo rediscovers its, and becomes conscious of its, spiritual significance. Because that is something that is not made conscious, it isn't even discussed. Because Junkanoos, guys who rush, will maintain a very rigid separation . . . Certainly I think that where all the Churches may share responsibility for what you call the self-negation is that they have proceeded by negating the African side.

Lay Participant DH echoes similar sentiments, seeing a decline in Junkanoo as directly indebted to the lack of awareness and appreciation for Bahamian history. In short, she surmises that Bahamians generally, whether in Church or in Junkanoo, do not know who they are, and will naturally disparage themselves.

5.4. Positive and Negative Attributes of Junkanoo and the Church

From the data it is clear that both Junkanoo and the Church are immensely important to Bahamians and are central to Bahamian society. At the same time, both of them are faced with significant challenges, most of which converge to affect both Junkanoo and the Church alike. An important question for the analysis concerns the ways in which Junkanoo and the Church can, or do, contribute to a more harmonious self-affirming relationship, or the ways in which they detract from such. Reflecting upon this helps to bring theological issues more clearly into focus. Table 2 gives a summary of the most frequent themes emerging from the data with regard to the positive contributions, and the challenges, that both Junkanoo and Church pose to the Church/Junkanoo Relationship in the Bahamas.

Table 2. Positive and Negative Attributes of Junkanoo and the Church

Junkanoo		Church	
Positive	Negative	Positive	Negative
Means of Social Transformation <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Strategy for Resistance • Pedagogical Tool • Sociopolitical Critique 	Colonial Chains <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Dichotomy and Ambivalence • Culture of Secrecy • Disconnectedness 	Locus of Influence and Authority	Colonial Chains <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Colonial Status • Unfair power imbalance • Disconnectedness
Pneumatological Activity	Economics and Materialism	Deep Theological Tradition	Economics and Materialism <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • North American Neocolonial Influence
Transformative Christian Praxis <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Indigenous Praise and Worship 			

5.4.1. Positive Attributes of Junkanoo

The main positive attributes of Junkanoo cited in the data were its pneumatological nature, its relevance for social transformation, and its pastoral nature, something commonly linked to the Church.

Junkanoo as Pneumatological

Firstly, the pneumatological nature of Junkanoo was most pronounced. Pneumatology within Christian theology refers to the role and person of the Holy Spirit, and is associated with activities such as possession, prophetic ecstasy, and the leading and guiding of the faithful within the Church. To begin with, Kenneth Bilby's observation that rushin' in Junkanoo is the same activity evident in early Africanized churches on the Family Islands, was supported the data.²⁹⁸ Bilby argues that Junkanoo has been classified as secular, and its African traditional religious and spiritual foundations are de-emphasized. Rushin' therefore, at its core, has everything to do with trance/possession and accessing the divine. In some instances, informants recorded their experience of being 'caught-up', of entering an experience of other worldliness. Lay Participant DH recalls people being "taken to another level", and becoming unaware of their surroundings while they "worship" using Junkanoo. Group Leader Kevin Ferguson recalls the following:

I watch people just go off and they, they fall on the ground, and some of them kick their feet, and they do all sorts of stuff. And after that experience, you ask them what they do, they couldn't tell you. When you get into Junkanoo, into the music of Junkanoo, do you believe that what you do, you honestly don't know. So when you look at both of them, on both sides, there's an experience, there's a cultural experience and there's a spiritual experience.

²⁹⁸ Bilby, "Surviving Secularization."

Group Leader Vola Francis points out that the rushin' music and movement came out of the Church, and was adopted into the street parade. But recognizing the powerful pneumatology within Junkanoo, he warns that such power is something to be cautious about. It can become addictive and consuming – “a god”. Lay Participant DH comments on this need for caution because Junkanoo can be an addictive thing that you can get a craving for. She goes on to explain that the reason for this addiction is that Junkanoo allows you to “show who you are and release whatever you may be experiencing at that time.” Academic Nicolette Bethel, a sociologist, speaks of Junkanoo being a somatic experience. She explains that for Bahamian people, Junkanoo has the ability to achieve transcendence in a way that the Church in the Bahamas cannot.

Furthermore, interviews and observations reveal the movement of Junkanoo, along with the drumming as being very powerful, as evoking something deep, something ancestral.

As Lay Participant KS explains:

It definitely touches something deeper. If I could put a word to it, or put my finger on it, I would, but it definitely touches something deep. It's . . . some people would say it's an indescribable feeling. That I could agree with. But it just touches the core, and I guess we can say it's something beyond the physical so it must be a spiritual feeling that's being evoked.

This same sense of evoking something deep, of touching a deep part of Bahamians, is an important point of reflection when observing musicians rushin' during Junkanoo practices. For example, while watching the Valley Boys' practice I was intrigued by the drummers as they prepared for rushing. With precision of beats and bodily movements drummers

slowly increased their intensity as if they were taking care to work something deep up to the surface. I entered this description into my journal:

In my mind this isn't just drumming and having a good time, this is an exercise in achieving depth, or more particularly, uncovering the deep. Bringing something to the surface. This is achieved dialectically, using rhythm and control to lose one's self. It reminds me of the use of mantra's, or lectio divina, or religious ritual/activity that attempt to transport a person to another plane of existence, another reality. I am witnessing, whether they're conscious of it or not, the invoking of the Spirit.²⁹⁹

While on Shirley Street during the New Years Day Parade I got some insight into what spectators were seeking in participants. What they wanted to see was a tapping into the deep reservoirs of the soul, or "rushin' from the soul" as I have described in the data.

While one of the dancers had lost the intensity of their rushing, because they were far away from the music section, one woman from the crowd shouted: "Music in the Soul! You don't need no Music!"

Junkanoo as Space for Social and Political Transformation

Secondly, in many ways Junkanoo is the space where power is confronted and lives are transformed. For starters, in Junkanoo young people and families find a healthy, positive and fulfilling activity where they can explore their creativity, form friendships, and feel welcomed. When we look at B Groups in particular, many of them are filled with young people and families. Group Leader Kevin Ferguson explains that his group formed because there was a need to concentrate on young lives and families. Also, in the community where his group is based, his shack offers perhaps the only transformative space for young people who are simply looking for care and belonging. But experiencing

²⁹⁹ 'lectio divina' or divine reading comes from the traditional Benedictine spiritual practices. It is a means of reading Scripture, prayer and meditation geared towards attaining communion with God while achieving greater knowledge of God's Word.

Junkanoo has a particular effect on young people that I noticed during the New Year's Day parade. The crowds surrounding the streets were filled with young people. I witnessed that when young people were listening to a particular group, they were all animated, dancing and soaking up the beats of the drums. But, it was when the young people were simply socialising on the side streets that everything seemed more unpredictable, more open to violence. It was clear to me that Junkanoo had an immediate calming effect on the young. It drew them in.

The data also pointed to Junkanoo as a unifier. Most participants spoke about how Junkanoo breaks down all barriers and allows communal participation for all. It transcends racism, differences in socioeconomic backgrounds, ethnicity and hierarchies of power and status. Lay Participant DS explains that in the shack you can find a banker, a lawyer, a doctor, socializing with someone who, would either be considered a criminal or basically lower class. Academic Kirkley Sands states, "Junkanoo has a dynamic of its own which transcends ethnic, racial, even cultural boundaries."

Furthermore, Junkanoo also has pedagogical potential. Group Leader Vola Francis engages in summer workshops for children, using the raw material for Junkanoo to teach critical and creative skills. The group One Family runs a 'Warriors of Excellence' programme where they mentor, inspire and motivate students within their community, and a 'Rush to Read' scheme where they support the Ministry of Education's "Let's Read Bahamas!" programme. They are also involved in preparing children for back to school, making sure that they have the necessary resources. And while Group Leader Kevin

Ferguson explains that he developed his professional skills as a tile-layer and contractor through his involvement in Junkanoo, someone like Arlene Nash-Ferguson runs a company called Educulture that, among other things, provides support services for schools, getting children to engage in Junkanoo as an alternative pedagogical approach. But the most pedagogical aspect is the amount of research, by groups and individuals, that goes into developing a particular theme for the Junkanoo parades. Henry Higgins explains that he has speakers come to his shack to speak to his young people about the history of the themes they choose. His young people would have to do research on the themes as well.

Another way that Junkanoo provides social transformation is in its ability for providing sharp social commentary. Social and political views and angsts can be dramatically portrayed on a national stage. In one sense this is cathartic in that persons get to off-load pent up aggression. This aspect, significantly explored in the literature, was evident during the observations.³⁰⁰ In another sense, it is the space for political activism and mobilization. An example of this is the constant presence of the Bush Warriors, a Scrap Group, whose sole purpose is to get the Bahamian government to address the growing challenge of crime through implementing capital punishment. Other groups carry out their social and political commentary less explicitly in that they advocate for things Bahamian. In fact, my observation of the themes during the fieldwork has led me to the conclusion that the larger groups become, the less indigenous or ancestral their themes are.³⁰¹ In many respects

³⁰⁰ See Craton, "Decoding Pitchy-Patchy." Bethel, "Tale of Identity." Dirks, *The Black Saturnalia: Conflict and Its Ritual Expression on British West Indian Slave Plantations*. Wisdom, "Bahamian Junkanoo." Gluckman, *Custom and Conflict in Africa*.

³⁰¹ See Appendix D for an analysis and listing of themes encountered during the fieldwork.

Junkanoo acts like a mirror, a way of allowing Bahamian society to see itself. Moreover, Junkanoo is resistance strategy. While informants recall how, historically, rushin' Bay Street, the commercial centre of the nation, was a means of protest against racism and socioeconomic inequality for Black Bahamians, the warrior motif remains active in the observations. The biggest example of this is perhaps the contributions of Scrap Groups, who provide an internal protest against the over commercialization and re-signification of Junkanoo. They do this by rushin' with limited costuming and organization, minimal musicians. They only rush for the fun of rushin', not for any sort of prize.³⁰²

Junkanoo as Transformative Christian Praxis

Finally, Junkanoo can be considered as a space in which lives are changed through methods and processes usually associated with the Church. One sees this clearly in the kind of social interaction within the shack. A number of informants pointed out the sense of community living and pastoral care within the shack. Referring specifically to a strong sense of pastoral care, even Church Leader Drexel Gomez recalls seeing the Saxons, one of the major Groups, at work and comments: "the fantastic amount of support and mentoring that the elder give to the young people is really a great source of encouragement, which we lack in the church." Group Leader Vola Francis, leader of the Saxons, points to the huge impact Junkanoo has on young men in particular. From its inception his group has been using Junkanoo to tap into the hidden potential of young men from poor and disadvantaged communities, bringing them hope, and renewing their minds. He likens the transformative power of Junkanoo to Paul's teaching, "Be ye

³⁰² See Dean, "Preserving Junkanoo." Dean argues that Scrap Groups represent an underlying ideology of the original Junkanoo celebrations in that they refrain from adhering to the modernisation of the festival. They refuse to be judged!

transformed by the renewal of your mind.”³⁰³ Group Leader Kevin Ferguson explains that in the community where his shack is located many young men are kept off the streets and out of mischief. In the shack they get positive influences into their lives.

But, besides being the place for changing lives, of deep listening and caring for people, there is also the truth that Junkanoo transforms the experience of worship. Henry Higgins explains that the purpose of Conquerors for Christ is to bring Christ to Bay Street. By doing so, the gospel would be powerfully proclaimed to the Bahamian public since that is the largest stage within Bahamian society. In essence Bay Street is his Church, and Junkanoo is a way of worshipping. The power of Junkanoo’s influence on Christian worship is also echoed in Lay Participant RM who recounts how his group energizes worship when they visit his Church, and also in Lay Participant FH who describes her Roman Catholic Junkanoo mass in the following way: “We beat the Congo drums and the cowbells, and the attendance is much more than the 6:30 Mass and I think a lot of it is owed to the music. People can actually express themselves a little more freely when they hear this music.”

Whatever one’s attitude to Junkanoo may be, it is a powerful resource for Bahamians and has the ability to transform all aspects of Bahamian life with its attractive power. It is also immensely significant for the Church in that it impacts the inner lives and theological and spiritual imaginations of church people as little else does in the nation. But the Church is also hugely significant for Bahamians.

³⁰³ See Romans 12:2.

5.4.2. Positive Attributes of the Church

Looking at the Church, ones sees two main clusters of thought. Firstly, the Church is seen as a locus of influence and authority. It carries overwhelming spiritual and moral authority in the nation. Secondly, the Church has a deep theological tradition from which to draw energy and inspiration.

Locus of Influence and Authority

Implicit within the moral authority of the Church is its ability to effect change within the nation. It has the power to challenge and denounce attitudes, trends and conventions, and also the power to mobilize people and bring about concrete change. Two instances in the data reveal concrete expressions of this. Firstly, Church Leader Drexel Gomez as well as Lay Participant RM recall when the Christian Council approached the Junkanoo Committee about the vulgarity it perceived as characteristic of the dancing during the parades. Junkanoo changed as a result of this action with dancing and dance costuming, particularly by young women, becoming more liturgical and less sexualized. Gomez further explains that in Bahamian society, the Church clearly sets the morals by which the society lives, and wields considerable power, enough not to simply influence the festival, but to re-orient it, to steer it in the right direction. The other instance of this power was in the actual changing of the time for Junkanoo on New Years Day. It moved from midnight to 2 am simply to allow people time to be in Church, and then go to Junkanoo. The fear was that Junkanoo was seen as being in competition with the Church, influencing Church members away from the importance of Church. Again, as another RM recalls, this was solely down the power and influence of the Church as they approached the government and the Junkanoo committee.

Deep Spiritual and Theological Tradition

Deeply connected with the moral authority of the church are its deep theological foundations. Bahamian people are deeply religious, and, reverence for the Bible, clergy persons, sacred times of worship are carried over even into the observance of Junkanoo. Junkanoo participants vividly recall the significance of the Church for their group. In one aspect, to have clergy persons in their group is a sign of pride. These persons are considered chaplains, pastors, and the voice of conscience for their group. They are seen as the men (primarily) and women of God.³⁰⁴ In speaking about how Junkanoo groups need the Church, Lay Participant RM explains that the presence of the pastor in the group is precisely to provide pastoral care and discipline, to keep group members on “the straight and narrow.”

Other aspects of the church’s mission are also highlighted as important for interview informants. For example, Conquerors for Christ sees itself as evangelistic, and its use of Junkanoo is to fulfill the bible’s evangelistic mandate. Junkanoo for them is their Church and their rushin’ is seen as a way of communicating the Gospel. Another example of this is Church Leader Simeon Hall’s suggestion that Junkanoo be baptized; that the Church simply needs to incorporate it once and for all. And, drawing on the powerful Easter parades in the country, Rev. Dr. William Thompson has instituted an Easter Day Rush-out, using this motif as a way of re-appropriating the important religious and theological resources of the Church.

³⁰⁴ Clergy women involved in Junkanoo were not specifically mentioned in the study. All of the pastors mentioned as either integral to their groups or the pastor of their associated church were men. The only exception to this was Ann Higgins who is co-pastor and co-leader within Conquerors for Christ, along with her husband Henry Higgins.

The Church remains a resource and an inspiration for all Bahamians, particularly people in the Junkanoo world. Its symbols, themes, and activities such as prayer and worship are deeply entrenched in Junkanoo.³⁰⁵ But challenges to both Junkanoo and the Church will be our next consideration.

5.4.3. Negative Attributes of Junkanoo and Church

Table 2 above reveals that from the data both Junkanoo and the Church face the same challenges, and are beset, to different degrees and in different ways, by the same negative attributes. These two attributes are the colonial legacies that have produced dichotomy, ambivalence and identity dissonance in both Junkanoo and the Church; and also the neocolonialism, globalization and the associated issues regarding economics and materialism.

Colonial Chains

Firstly, colonial legacies, which I have described as colonial chains in the data, plays out in Junkanoo through the reality of group splits and territoriality. A number of Lay Participants have been members of multiple groups, leaving sometimes to form new ones, only to break away again because of differences in personalities and ethos. Some of these are painful experiences involving the loss of friendships. Moreover, Academic Nicolette Bethel explains that what is evident in modern Junkanoo is a tendency towards interiority and a culture of secrecy. There is a lack of handing down traditions, something that has

³⁰⁵ Please see Appendix D for a list of themes encountered in the Junkanoo parades during the research. It is clear that Biblical and theological themes, along with hymns and spirituals, are central to Junkanoo parades.

become quite problematic in Junkanoo. She states: “Modern Junkanoo is in danger, the revolution in Junkanoo is in danger of losing its ground because of a lack of passing on.” Lay Participant AN asserts that the result of this disconnection from the cultural and religious roots of Junkanoo, 90% of those involved in Junkanoo do not know its potential. On the other hand, the Church is also challenged by colonial chains, but in a slightly different way. The fact that the Church has moral authority and a deep spiritual and theological tradition is both good and bad depending upon how such power is exercised. Instead of nurturing and educating Junkanoo participants concerning morals and ethics, its often first and final action is to dispense judgement. A relationship of equality and an acknowledgement of common frailty are needed.

Economics and Materialism

One cannot underestimate the importance of Junkanoo for the economic life of Bahamian society. The recent long-term study entitled “The Economic Impact of Junkanoo in the Bahamas” makes the point that its true potential has yet to be realised.³⁰⁶ Vola Francis believes strongly in the economic potential of Junkanoo and views it as a product to be continually refined for profit. But the data also presents this as problematic, firstly in how the festival becomes solely focused on economics, prizes or material gain at the expense of the other functions such as community building and bonding. Concerning persons who enter Junkanoo simply for making a profit, Lay Participant DH says in disgust: “Those persons are killing Junkanoo!” Similarly Lay Participant KS expresses:

Junkanoo itself now is in the threshold as to whether it continues to be a cultural dominant event or do we try and make it a mega million dollar kind of thing. I see it not losing its cultural significance, but I, I’m afraid that I can see it being led

³⁰⁶ See Bethel, "The Economic Impact of Junkanoo in the Bahamas."

down the road where it is more concerned about generating money than it is in terms of impacting the lives or explaining to folks the history behind it.

Secondly, observations also point to what seems to be an over-commercialization of the festival. While on the one hand, ordinary Bahamians have the chance to make money by selling food, liquor or paraphernalia as a means of economic survival, sponsorship and the commodification of the festival are salient features of parades and Junkanoo practices. I witnessed the major sponsor for the 2012 Boxing Day Parade, BTC, using young teenage girls provocatively dressed to dispense free T-shirts advertising its new 4G telephone network to a crowd that went into a frenzy with the free gifts.³⁰⁷ Academic Nicolette Bethel laments the fact that too much investment has made Junkanoo stagnant to some degree.

The Church, like Junkanoo, struggles with the effects of money and materialism as well, but the data presents us with an added dimension. Much of the materialism is bound up with neo-colonialism and the increasing influence of a North American brand of Church within Bahamian society. Lay Participant RM explains that the modern form of Church is set up where pastors are allowed, even encouraged to have the biggest houses and most expensive cars, despite their members living in poverty. He links this to Mega-church tendencies in the North America which seem to be getting out of hand in Bahamian society. Nicolette Bethel similarly suggests:

If you have to figure out what the major impact on Bahamian society of the Church would be, it would be neo-colonization for sure. It would be a very Americanized, a very American, materialistic . . . and this is a new kind a thing, I never knew the Bahamian church to be particularly materialistic.

³⁰⁷ BTC stands for the Bahamas Telecommunications Corporation.

While both Junkanoo and the Church are vital to the wholeness of Bahamians and also the wholeness of Bahamian society the picture presented by the data is one in which the same challenges affect both Junkanoo and the Church. It must be acknowledged that economics are important for the survival of both. To earn money, to cultivate the economic potential of both the Church and Junkanoo is not bad in itself. Interview participants do not deny this. What they have expressed, however, are grave concerns about the over-commercialisation of both the Church and Junkanoo to the detriment of both. There is a fear of both the Church and Junkanoo being re-signified to satisfy the ethos and goals of North American neoliberalism. In doing so they prioritise the individual over the community and the accumulation of wealth over the care of the less fortunate and marginalised. In a sense, there is the fear of both Junkanoo and the Church losing their souls, their foundations, or their moral and ethical bearings.

This necessarily leads to further reflection on the role that North America, specifically the United States, plays in in this process of re-signification. If Self-Negation is the result of legacies of colonial oppression, then contemporary Bahamian society finds those legacies perpetuated through its financial, cultural, political and even theological ties to the USA. It would be more adequate to say that the colonial shift has been made from Great Britain to the United States, and that in both cases the African religious and cultural heritage of the Bahamas remains marginalised, even among Bahamians themselves. The United States remains a significant power at all levels of contemporary Bahamian life.³⁰⁸

³⁰⁸ I must hasten to add that though it has been the most significant power broker in the region, let alone the Bahamas, China has been making significant strides across the region. It seems as if there is another shift taking place with China now potentially reshaping the social, political, cultural and religious landscape of the Caribbean, including the Bahamas.

5.5. Emerging Theological Themes

When considering the attributes of Junkanoo and the Church and how they may or may not contribute to a more harmonious relationship a number of theological themes arise which need further clarity since they ask fundamental questions about the relationship between Junkanoo and the Church. It must be pointed out that all of these themes are interconnected and inseparable. Table 3 below gives a brief summary of each theme and a description of how they feature in the data.³⁰⁹

Table 3. Summary of Theological Themes Arising from the Data

Theological Themes	Evidence in the Data
Pneumatology	Ecstatic Experiences in both Junkanoo and the Church; Experience of Transcendence and Wholeness particularly in Junkanoo;
Prophecy	The socio-political critique of scrap groups; The warrior motif and resistance theme in Junkanoo; The advocacy of indigenous themes while on parade;
Sin and Judgement	The tripartite of sex, alcohol, and lawlessness associated with Junkanoo; The power of the Church to decide morals and ethics; Structural sin: The influence of materialism and economic greed over Junkanoo and Church; Structural Sin: The inordinate power of North America;
Theological Anthropology	Central issue of identity dissonance; Confusion as to what it means to be truly human, truly whole as Bahamian and culturally African Caribbean;
Liturgy, Worship, Enculturation	The reluctance to integrate Junkanoo and the Church; Limited integration: The use of Junkanoo solely for the purpose of fundraising;

³⁰⁹ These are not the only theological notions mentioned in the text. They are simply the most relevant ones for this research, the ones at the heart of the Junkanoo/Church relationship. See Appendix Q for a list of theological motifs encountered in the data.

	Lack of denominational acknowledgement of the potent spirituality of Junkanoo;
Pastoral Care and Nurture	The shack as communitarian living as opposed to church; Mentorship in the shack; The place of the young in the Church and in Junkanoo; The Pedagogical power of Junkanoo;
Power	Imbalance of power between Junkanoo and the Church; Inordinate power wielded by North American neo-colonialism;

5.5.1. Pneumatology

Perhaps, pneumatology features most strongly in the data, particularly in the ecstatic experiences described in both Junkanoo and the Church. In Junkanoo the ecstatic experiences seem to bring Junkanoos to a place of peace, particularly in being Bahamian. While ecstasy in the context of the Church is described as being touched by the hand of God, ecstasy in Junkanoo is described as something to be cautious about, something in need of control. But, is it fair to disassociate the ecstasy experienced in Junkanoo with the one associated in the Church?

5.5.2. Prophecy

Junkanoo has long been a place for socio-political critique. When looking at Scrap Groups, it is clear that they function to critique and inspire resistance to problematic tendencies, in both Junkanoo in particular and Bahamian society in general. Also, in Junkanoo there is the ability to reveal the soul of the nation and to recover memory. One key evidence of this is how the less ostentatious groups seem to be more pro-Bahamian, or

pro-indigenous in their themes.³¹⁰ This seems to be similar to the dynamics one finds in the prophetic tradition in Scripture, and that such a framework can be used to view the relationship between Junkanoo and the Church.

5.5.3. Sin and Judgement

The tripartite of overt sexuality, alcohol use and excessive partying are often the promoted as sinful essentials to Junkanoo, often at the expense of considering materialism and neo-colonialism as structural sins in which both Junkanoo and the Church participate. To what extent is this conception of sin fair? Is there something problematic about how sin is conceived in Bahamian society that directly influences the phenomenon of Self-Negation?

5.5.4. Theological Anthropology

Naturally Self-Negation involves the issue of identity, and the disparaging of one's self means that there is a need to address how the Bahamian person is and should be viewed within Bahamian society. Is the image of God somehow diminished by one's involvement in Junkanoo? Is there some deep cultural acceptance of this assertion that should be addressed within the Bahamas?

5.5.5. Liturgy, Worship and Enculturation

There is reluctance to integrate Junkanoo into the life and worship of the Church, and in places where this happens, such integration is limited. There is also the tendency to use

³¹⁰ See Appendix D.

Junkanoo solely for fundraising but to not use its potent spirituality, or its powerful influence on worship. Is there some need to critically address how worship should be carried out in Bahamian society? Is there some disconnect between the Bahamian worship experience and their cultural reality?

5.5.6. Pastoral Care and Nurture

It was clear that the Junkanoo Shack provides mentorship, pastoral care and counselling in ways that the Church does not. It has a way of providing practical support for the marginalised and the downtrodden that Churches can do well to learn from. Is there something in Junkanoo that will enhance how Churches carry out their ministry? Perhaps, the communitarian nature of the shack can help reform the ecclesiastical structures of churches in Bahamian society? There seems to be some disconnect between how Churches are structured and how Bahamian people operate culturally.

5.5.7. Power

Overall, much of the data points to an imbalance of power between Junkanoo and the Church. While Junkanoo seems to capture the heart, the Church seems to capture the head, and in many ways directs and dictates the place and function of Junkanoo. But is this fair? Where does this authority come from? Furthermore, the powerful globalising or neo-colonial influences affecting life in the Bahamas, radically reshaping lifestyles including ways of worship, ecclesiology, cultural practices, seems in urgent need of address as well.

5.6. Conclusion: Exploring Hermeneutics and Rethinking Sin in Bahamian Society

Thus far I have looked at Self-Negation as a state of being. Based on the data, what I now propose is that it also be seen as a dynamic activity, one linked to the afrophobic nature of colonialism in the past, active across Bahamian society today, and influencing the lives of Bahamians into the future. Implicit in the legacy of colonialism and slavery is a particular hermeneutic, a way of pre-consciously seeing the relationship between the Church and African religiocultural retentions such as Junkanoo as dualistic, the former sacred and the latter secular. In other words, Self-Negation is promoted through words and actions, and enacted through policies and conventions throughout Bahamian society, particularly the Church. I refer to this as a *hermeneutic of dichotomy*, to which the data provides ample examples. Perhaps the most striking examples of this are the reluctance of the Bahamas Christian Council to ‘baptise’ Junkanoo as Church Leader Simeon Hall has explained, and the Pentecostal Church’s insistence that their members not participate in Junkanoo.

On the other hand, the data uncovers what I see as an equally dynamic but contrasting process that I describe as ‘Overcoming’.³¹¹ This terminology refers to the Black experience of suffering that we find in the slave spirituals. Spirituals such as “We Shall Overcome” draw upon narratives of freedom in the Bible to inspire hope and freedom in enslaved and oppressed Blacks. For this reason James Cone looks to the folklore, spirituals and sermons of Black people as sources of Black Theology because they are “an investigation of the mind into the raw materials of our pilgrimage, telling the story of

³¹¹ This terminology seemed quite descriptive of Junkanoo and how it functions for the well being of Bahamians. In the research it seemed that the deepest sigh for the Junkanoo is the need to triumph, to resist oppression, to overcome hard times.

‘how we got over’.³¹² To overcome in the context of the Junkanoo/Church relationship is primarily to transcend the imposed dichotomy between Church and cultural heritage pervasive in what I describe as a post-slavery, postcolonial, self-negating society.

Therefore, Overcoming involves a counter hermeneutic to Self-Negation, one I describe as a *hermeneutic of embrace*. The data reveals that Junkanoo is an inclusive space, which so often transcends binary distinctions and imposed dichotomies. It transcends class, race, and gender, and provides a place of belonging for the marginalized. In short, it embraces. But by the same token, while the Church can be described as institutional, occupying an exalted and exclusive space within Bahamian society, there is still the reality that many people, clergy and lay, embrace both Junkanoo and the Church in their personal lives, even if they do so under the impression that they are, or should be, separated spaces.

Figures 5 and 6 below seek to elucidate the hermeneutical dynamics of Self-Negation and Overcoming. They show the dynamic hermeneutical practices involved and their effects on both the relationship between Junkanoo and the Church, and also the effects that both these religiocultural spaces have, or can have, on Bahamian society in general.

³¹² James H. Cone, *God of the Oppressed*, Revised ed. (Maryknoll, N. Y.: Orbis Books, 1975). 16.

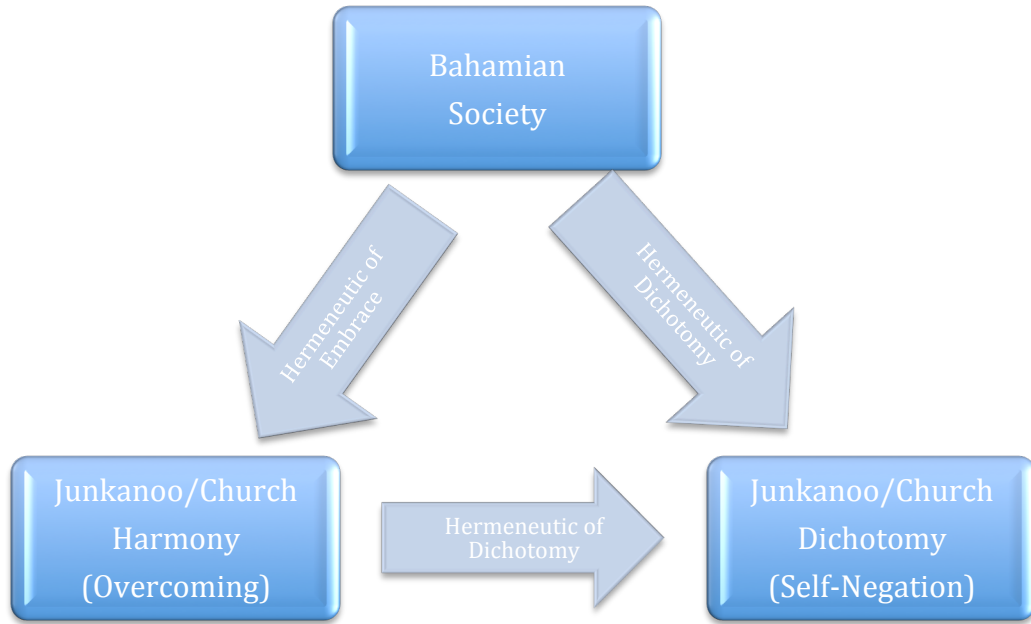


Figure 5. Bahamian Society Affecting Junkanoo/Church Relationship

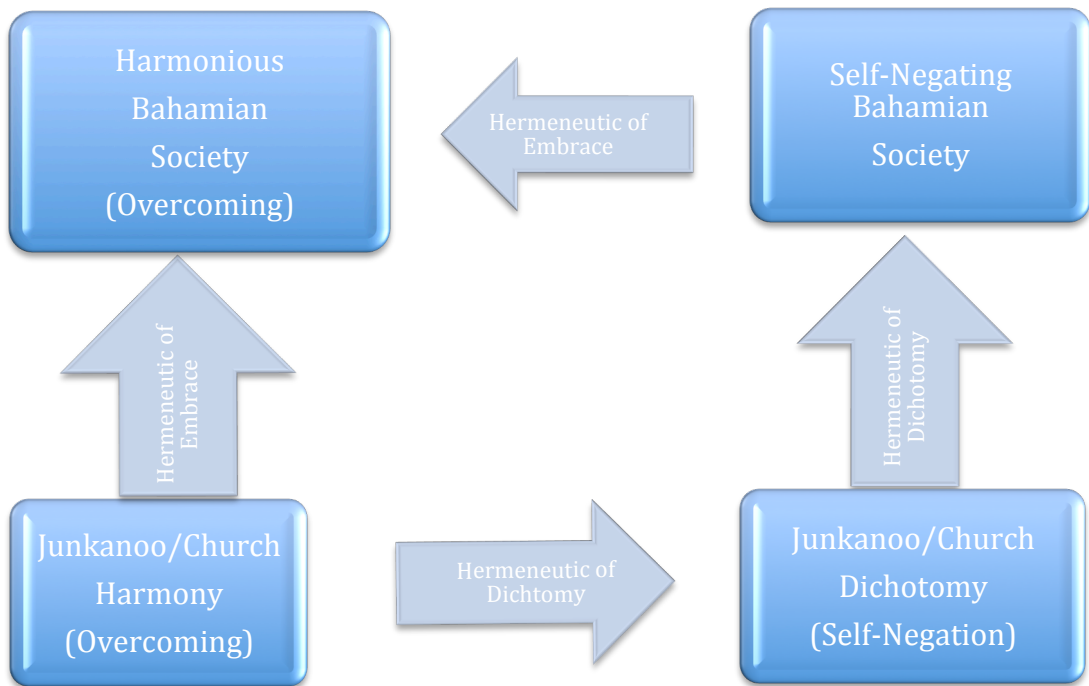


Figure 6. Junkanoo/Church Relationship Affecting Bahamian Society

Figure 5 suggests that when Bahamian society promotes a hermeneutic of dichotomy, this directly affects the Church/Junkanoo Relationship, making it also dichotomous or self-

negating. On the other hand, when a hermeneutic of embrace is promoted within Bahamian society, this directly fosters a more harmonious Church/Junkanoo relationship. While Figure 5 looks at the impact Bahamian society has on the Junkanoo/Church relationship, Figure 6 reverses the picture, looking at the impact a Church/Junkanoo relationship would have on Bahamian society. It suggests that through a hermeneutic of embrace a harmonious Junkanoo/Church relationship fosters a more whole, and less self-negating, Bahamian society. On the other hand, a dichotomous, self-negating Junkanoo/Church relationship fosters a more self-negating and dichotomous Bahamian society. Ultimately the research points towards this reciprocal process in which Bahamian society impacts the Junkanoo/Church relationship and the Junkanoo/Church relationship affects Bahamian society in return. Wholeness or self-negation, whether in Bahamian society in general, or in the Junkanoo/Church relationship in particular, depends largely on the kinds of hermeneutics involved.

While the preceding theological themes are all connected with Self-Negation, and are implicit in the hermeneutical dynamics involved in understanding the Junkanoo/Church relationship in Bahamian society, I consider the concept of sin to be the most central. Since dichotomy is a characteristic feature that materialises dissonantly in the way Bahamians negotiate between these two central aspects of their lives – Junkanoo and Church, a corrective is needed for the assertion that Junkanoo is the domain of the sinful or lewd, despite the fact that it is deeply religious and appropriates Christian faith and praxis, and also the reality that people who are a part of Junkanoo are also a part of the Church. In the next Chapter I am going to theologially reflect on this problematic

conceptualization of sin deeply imbedded in the relationship between these two religious and cultural practices fundamental to Bahamian society. Ultimately, Church practices in particular and Bahamians in general must not conflate cultural heritage with sinfulness. In other words, moving from Church to Junkanoo does not mean that one moves from sacred space to sinful space. Moreover, participating in Church does not make a person anymore righteous than participating in Junkanoo makes them sinful.

6. Chapter 6: The Concept of Sin at the Heart of the Junkanoo/Church Relationship

6.1. Introduction

The preceding chapter has revealed that a number of theological themes emerge when examining the relationship between Junkanoo and the Church in Bahamian society. To begin with, Junkanoo establishes itself as sacred space as well, where ecstatic experiences common to African Caribbean religiocultural expressions force the Church to rethink its conception of the work of the Holy Spirit. Furthermore, the socio-political nature of Junkanoo through its readiness as the site for resistance to oppression, and its openness to the marginalised, make it a point of reflection for Christian praxis. It challenges the Church in how it ought to live out its gospel mandate in the same measure that the Church challenges it to become more morally and ethically wholesome. But undergirding these fascinating aspects of Junkanoo is the unequal distribution of power between Junkanoo and the Church. The Church is seen as the locus of moral authority, the dispenser of judgement, and to a large degree, it constantly describes Junkanoo as sinful, citing the tripartite charge of overt sexuality and lewdness, alcoholism and criminality. This becomes problematic since, as a number of participants expressed, this is a restrictive and false view. Such a restrictive view of the Bahamian Junkanoo participant is symbolic of the central problem of Self-Negation, that an important part of Bahamian identity is out rightly regarded as sinful. It is this sinfulness that must be examined if there is to be any liberative theological anthropology for Bahamians living with this unfortunate tension between their faith and their culture. This chapter now serves as a theological reflection on

the concept of sin at the heart of the Junkanoo/Church relationship in contemporary Bahamian society.

The decision to concentrate on sin is also appropriate since another result from the data analysis is the on-going processes of Self-Negation and Overcoming. Notions of sacredness and sinfulness are continually being informed by the contrasting hermeneutics – dichotomy and embrace. The former is mostly, but not exclusively, employed by the Church in its relationship with Junkanoo. The latter is often, but not exclusively, seen in Junkanoo's ability to integrate peoples, to affirm their identity through self-affirming somatic experiences. These processes have been occurring for centuries and are central to what it means to be a post-colonial, post-slavery society. Policies, practices and conventions that censor, demonise, or even criminalise Junkanoo have long been the tradition in the Church, just as Junkanoo has had a long tradition of being at margins of ecclesiastical life. Any attempt at a constructive integration of Junkanoo and the Church in public and private life can not ignore the concept of sin at the heart of their relationship, whether it is adequately biblically informed, or if it finds vindication when examined in light of the history of Christian theological thought.

To critically reflect on the concept of sin in light of the research findings, this chapter will do the following:

- Firstly, I outline my hermeneutical approach to the theological reflection describing it as Caribbean vernacular hermeneutics.

- Secondly, I survey the evolution of the concept of sin within biblical and Christian theological thought.
- Thirdly, with particular reference to the work of Caribbean theologians, I interrogate the colonial construction of the concept of sin, particularly as it has materialised in the African Caribbean context.
- Finally, I examine Acts 11 as an example of a pneumatological reframing of the concept of sin at the genesis of the Jewish/Gentile conflict in the Early Church, seeing it as illustrative of, and instructive for, the problematic nature of sin in the Junkanoo/Church context.

Ultimately, the theological reflection makes the conclusion that within Junkanoo there exists a pneumatological corrective to the colonial concept of sin pervasive in Bahamian society, and particularly employed by the Church. This pneumatological corrective insists that being of African religious and cultural heritage, i.e. being involved in Junkanoo, does not equate to being 'sinful'. The worth and value of Bahamians as human beings, as children of God, are not somehow defaulted because they participate in Junkanoo. In fact, perhaps precisely because they're involved in Junkanoo where they feel a sense of self-affirmation, self-transcendence or inner wholeness, that the Gospel is lived out; that the Spirit of God brings critique to colonially informed notions of what is sinful. To clarify, my concern isn't about what lists of things are to be considered sinful, or the various views on how sin is dealt with in the Biblical story (atonement), but more fundamentally, in light of the Christian tradition, what should or should not inform the concept of sin within this particular Caribbean context?

6.2. The Hermeneutical Approach – Caribbean Vernacular Hermeneutics

Before engaging with Bible and Christian theological thought, at this juncture it is important for me to outline my hermeneutical approach. Consistent with the aims and objectives of a Caribbean Practical Contextual Theology outlined in the methodology (Chapter 3), I am guided by what R. S. Sugirtharajah and others have termed ‘Vernacular Hermeneutics’.³¹³ In describing Vernacular Hermeneutics Sugirtharajah explains:

Vernacular is integral to what anthropologists call nativism. It favours the indigenous over the exotic. It focuses on cultural nationalism and self-affirmation in which the colonized, and others who have been marginalized, seek to vindicate the primacy of the local over the national and international through the language, idiom and culture of common people. It implies a fierce self-esteem, an assertion of selfhood and self-respect instead of slavish conformity to received ideas or abject helplessness regarding one’s colonized state. It is undertaken by those who believe in the values of indigenous resources and those who have a deep distrust of the centralizing tendencies of Euro-American critical theories which have failed them. It is a struggle for the historical and political presence of groups suppressed or marginalized by colonization and modernization.³¹⁴

Two Caribbean voices have sought to articulate their own Caribbean vernacular hermeneutics. George Mulrain contributes to the book *Vernacular Hermeneutics* using the framework of *Black theological hermeneutics*.³¹⁵ Caribbean hermeneutical techniques involve use of the historico-critical method to understand the original context of the Bible; the interpretive lens of the reader and his/her community context; the interaction between

³¹³ R. S. Sugirtharajah, ed. *Vernacular Hermeneutics*, The Bible and Postcolonialism (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999). This edited work formed part of the Bible and Postcolonial Criticism series. Sugirtharajah explains that within Third World Biblical hermeneutical discourse two interconnected trajectories occur, one being Liberationist readings of the text and the other Vernacular. In many instances the former often uses Western tools through language, concepts and methodology. The latter, on the other hand, privileges local voices, concepts and methods; it sets its own questions. Ibid., 11 - 12. Contributors to the work included voices and experiences through the Third World including George Mulrain commenting on the Caribbean context. See George Mulrain, "Hermeneutics within a Caribbean Context," in *Vernacular Hermeneutics*, ed. R. S. Sugirtharajah (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999).

³¹⁴ Sugirtharajah, *Vernacular Hermeneutics*, 94.

³¹⁵ Mulrain, "Hermeneutics within a Caribbean Context."

the text of scripture and the lived experiences of Caribbean peoples – “slavery, oppression, colonialism, suffering, victimization, marginalization, anonymity”; the awareness of the multi-faith reality of Caribbean life; a commitment to liberation; and an insistence on hope.³¹⁶ Oral Thomas, on the other hand, argues for a *biblical resistance hermeneutic* which is present within Caribbean history and culture, examples of which are Sam Sharpe, Paul Bogle and Marcus Garvey in their use of resistance as a reading and interpretative strategy for the “concrete socio-economic transformation of oppressive social systems and practices.”³¹⁷ Interestingly, Thomas also looks at Caribbean cultural productions such as cricket and carnival as hermeneutical practices of resistance.³¹⁸

With this in mind the Caribbean vernacular hermeneutics I’m employing does the following: firstly, it privileges the experience of Bahamian people, in this instance the counter processes of Self-Negation and Overcoming as evident within Bahamian life, particularly in the relationship between Junkanoo and the Church. Secondly, I foreground myself as reader of the text, rejecting the notion that biblical texts can and should be read and interpreted through any one particular lens. I am setting the agenda and asking the questions, bringing my own experiences and research to the text, seeking clarity and insight. Thirdly, I interrogate the biblical text and the history of Christian biblical and theological interpretation with a ‘hermeneutic of suspicion’, with the understanding that much interpretation and reflection to date have been impositions onto the biblical

³¹⁶ Ibid., 121 - 24.

³¹⁷ Oral Thomas, *Biblical Resistance Hermeneutics within a Caribbean Context* (London: Equinox 2010). 59. Interestingly, Thomas also speaks of a *Hermeneutic of Authentic Self-Affirmation* being appropriated within the Caribbean context as part of resistance. He traces it in the religiosity and philosophy of Rastafarianism. Ibid., 44 - 46.

³¹⁸ Ibid. For Thomas, carnival and cricket provide insight into the Caribbean use of place for resistance and subversion. They bring social struggle into public display, providing accessible ways of critiquing, questioning and contesting often unvoiced realities.

narrative that have privileged certain voices and experiences and silenced or ignored others. Finally, the meeting of the world of the text and my own context allow for the mutually critical, creative and constructive encounter necessary for suggesting deeper insights for transformative practices within my contemporary Bahamian (and Caribbean) Church/cultural contexts.

But there is a caution that Sugirtharajah suggests be always borne in mind.³¹⁹ I am not attempting to essentialise the indigenous in this reflection. I am a Bahamian. But I am not the archetypal Bahamian. I read from my multiple experiences of being a Bahamian male theologian and Anglican clergy person, who grew up in one of the more remote Islands of the Bahamas. It is in my upbringing as an Anglican that I saw the Church's tension with folklore or Junkanoo, both of which captivated my imagination, giving me a deep sense of joy. But Church life fulfilled me as well. It was in my very structured Anglican formation that I came to know and love the Bible and the Christian faith, ultimately sensing a call to the ordained ministry. This does not make me the average Bahamian, but one with multiple informed lenses with which to seek theological answers to the realities of Self-Negation and Overcoming. It is out of this reading that I can offer informed suggestions for Bahamians and Caribbean peoples to engage with. With this established, I now turn my attention to conceptions of sin within Biblical and Christian theological traditions.

³¹⁹ Sugirtharajah, *Vernacular Hermeneutics*, 105. Sugirtharajah explains that though valuable, essentialising and even exoticising the indigenous can lead to silence on the complex indigenous histories with dehumanising practices, and the realities of contemporary ones as well. He cautions the same in his work R. S. Sugirtharajah, *Postcolonial Reconfigurations: An Alternative Way of reading the Bible and Doing Theology* (London: SCM Press, 2003). 31 - 35.

6.3. The Concept of Sin in Scripture and the History of Christian Thought

Scholarly work on sin is far from final. New situations flag up new challenges, nuances, and considerations. But in general, sin within the biblical tradition is a complex and multidimensional reality. According to James McClendon, sin is not a Christian invention and cannot be separated from the common human experience of frailty and destruction.³²⁰ In the Hebrew scriptures, the common transliterations for the word ‘sin’ are “*awon*, crookedness or self-abuse; *chethah*, the anti-social breaking of boundaries of conduct; *peshah*, rebellion against the Most High”, all of which are translated as *hamartia*, missing the mark or veering off the road, in the Greek New Testament.³²¹ *Parabainó* is another Greek translation to mean transgression or stepping over a known line.³²² But all of these are fundamentally about the relationship between God and his created order, with particular reference to human beings as moral agents. What we find as we trace conceptions of sin in Christian thought is the need to place sin within the wider story of God’s relationship with all human beings regardless of cultural or ethnic make-up. In other words, sinful action or orientation, does not remove human dignity and worth before God.

Any concept of sin within the Christian tradition is derived from the story of Israel and the story of Jesus as the saviour born out of the house of David. However, Mark Biddle has pointed out that any attempt at deriving doctrinal propositions from narrative is always a risky business and that for this reason there are two particular problematic conceptions of

³²⁰ James W. M. McClendon, "Sin," in *A New Handbook of Christian Theology* ed. Donald W. Musser and Joseph L. Price (Cambridge: The Lutterworth Press, 1992), 443.

³²¹ *Ibid.*

³²² See Frederick William Danker, ed. *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*, Revised ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 758.

sin that have left legacies still in need of critique.³²³ Firstly there is the doctrine of Original or Inherited Sin, more associated with St. Augustine in the 4th century.³²⁴ While Origen linked the Adam and Eve story to the human story of sinfulness and Tertullian linked sin to the act of procreation, it was Augustine who developed a thorough view of Original Sin distinguishing three senses: firstly, the originating sin (*peccatum originale originans*), Adam and Eve's rebellion in the Genesis 3 narrative as the first historical act of sin; secondly, the originated sin (*peccatum originale originatum*), or a sinful nature and orientation within the children of the first human beings; and finally concupiscence, or the disordered will and sinful orientation after baptism. It is this fuller understanding of the doctrine that has taken root in medieval Protestantism, such as the works of Martin Luther and John Calvin.³²⁵ While Augustine insisted on sexual procreation being the cause for the pervasiveness of sin in Adam's heirs, both Luther and Calvin appropriated the concept of Original Sin to simply insist upon the pervasiveness of human corruption. Concerning Calvin's appropriation of Original Sin enshrined in the Westminster Confession is the understanding that Adam is not just the natural head of the human race, but also represents it federally. Human beings are corrupt because they are representatively incorporated into Adam's sin and guilt.³²⁶ Mark E. Biddle also explains that the biggest critique of the doctrine, particularly in its Augustinian version, is that it is not biblical. It relies on a

³²³ Mark E. Biddle, *Missing the Mark: Sin and Its Consequences in Biblical Theology* (Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press, 2005). 4.

³²⁴ Original Sin as Inherited Sin partly came as a result of Augustine's reading of Psalm 51:5, "Indeed I was born guilty, a sinner from my mother's womb." (NRSV)

³²⁵ See McClendon, "Sin," 445.

³²⁶ See "Sin," in *New Dictionary of Theology*, ed. Sinclair B. Ferguson, David F. Wright, and J. I. Packer (Leicester, England: Inter-Varsity Press, 1988), 642. See John Macpherson, *The Westminster Confession of Faith: With Introduction and Notes*, Handbooks for Bible Classes (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1881).

misreading of two key biblical texts, Genesis 3 and Romans 5:12.³²⁷ In the former, the text does not support an original state of perfection, but rather naiveté; and, rather than the idea of fallenness becoming human nature, the text supports the continuation of God-likeness within Adams heirs.³²⁸ In the latter, as Biddle states, “Romans 5:12 does not assert that Adam’s sin automatically constitute all his descendants as sinners: ‘In Adam’s fall we sinned all.’ Instead, it attributes the universality of death to the universality of sin.”³²⁹

Secondly, there is the juridical/forensic or law court imagery of Justification by Faith that has dominated much of the theological thinking of the middle ages, the reformation, and contemporary protestant thinking. Martin Luther’s debate with the Roman Church had to do with his insistence that “Justification by Faith”, A term used by Paul in the New Testament, was the central doctrine of salvation, that the act of making human beings righteous before God was entirely the work of God through Jesus Christ, therefore a work of grace, independent of human action (imputation). The other view, of course was the Roman view that the act of making righteous was a matter of infusion, or impartation, that somehow the human person cooperates with Christ in becoming righteous. But Pauline scholarship since the 1960’s and 70’s has begun critiquing Luther for his eisegetical reading of law and Gospel as used in 1st Century Palestine, and particularly in the writings of Paul. For example, Krister Stendahl’s 1963 essay "The Apostle Paul and the Introspective Conscience of the West" explains that scholarship had gotten Paul wrong and had been reading him through the lens of Martin Luther. While Luther’s concern was

³²⁷ Romans 5:12 – “Therefore, just as sin came into the world through one man, and death came through sin, and so death spread to all because all have sinned” (NRSV)

³²⁸ Biddle, *Missing the Mark*: 4.

³²⁹ Ibid.

the individual finding favour with God, Paul's concern was how Jews and Gentiles could both be part of the covenant family, the messianic community.³³⁰ E. P. Sanders' 1977 work, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism: A Comparison of Patterns of Religion*, explains that 16th century controversies over Justification by Faith have missed essential readings of the 1st century biblical context, and are in need of reform. 1st century Palestinian Judaism wasn't merely to be understood as a religion of works, but rather a religion of covenant in which works were seen as evidence of one's place in that covenant.³³¹ He describes this interplay between the Jewish covenant with Yahweh (community) and their personal responsibility or holiness (individual) as 'covenantal nomism'. For Sanders, Jews in 1st century Palestine did not follow the law to get into the covenant but rather to stay in it, a marked difference to the concerns of Martin Luther in the 16th century. And while it may seem on the surface that images of law and penalty are central to biblical Judaism, Biddle explains that the crime/juridical models of sin have been too overemphasised within Western theological discourse. He explains that the Bible presents sin as a complex picture, and that the sin as crime metaphor is not exhaustive:

This "sin as crime" metaphor, with its emphases on the juridical, the individual, and wilful rebellion, and its interests in assignment of guilt and exaction of punishment, addresses certain aspects of the problem of human existence. Yet, although dominant in the Western popular mind, it does not fully reflect the biblical witness, nor provide a sufficient basis for the church's ministry in addressing human wrongdoing and its consequences, nor take account of the insights of contemporary theological movements, philosophies, and social sciences that do not confirm its validity as a thorough description of the problem of being human.³³²

³³⁰ Krister Stendahl, "The Apostle Paul and the Introspective Conscience of the West," *The Harvard Theological Review* 56, no. 3 (1963).

³³¹ E. P. Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism: A Comparison of Patterns of Religion* (Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress 1977).

³³² Biddle, *Missing the Mark*: viii.

New Perspectives on Paul scholars James Dunn and N. T. Wright, furthering the insights of Stendahl and Sanders, also warn about reading Paul wrongly.³³³ Dunn sees Paul as not arguing against works righteousness among the Jews of 1st century Palestine, but against the exclusivist practices meted out to the Gentiles within Christian communities. It is precisely on the people of the New Covenant, which includes both Jews and Gentiles, that the Pauline understanding of justification rests.³³⁴ N. T. Wright argues that the term justification, or the act of making righteous in Paul, refers to God's covenant faithfulness in Jesus Christ, and his vindication of the Church, which includes both Jews and Gentiles. He also explains that this justification is fundamentally corporate and that instead of a one time act of conversion, it has to do with the on going process of being a part of the covenant people of God.³³⁵ When summarising N. T. Wright's views on justification, Brenda Colijn states the following: "It is still forensic, but the context is covenant law, grounded in relationship, rather than an abstract legal code. Justification is still declarative, but rather than God's declaration that an individual is not guilty of sin, it is God's declaration that the church is his people."³³⁶

Leaning very much on Luther's concern for the salvation of the soul, modern theologians have more concentrated on an individualistic view of sin, at the expense of the wider

³³³ N. T. Wright and James Dunn are most associated with what has now come to be known as the New Perspectives on Paul. Following Sander's work on dispelling the view that Palestinian Judaism was fundamentally a religion of works-righteousness, both scholars have begun rereading Paul, particularly his understanding of righteousness. Moreover, both scholars, though they do not agree on all points, see a unity to Pauline thought, and critique Sanders' individualizing of Paul's understanding of righteousness, which do not highlight the importance of the sociopolitical issue of boundary markers between Jews and Gentiles so important to Pauline writing.

³³⁴ James D. G. Dunn, "The New Perspective on Paul," in *Jesus, Paul and the Law: Studies in Mark and Galatians* (London: SPCK, 1990).

³³⁵ N. T. Wright, "New Perspectives on Paul," in *Justification in Perspective: Historical Developments and Contemporary Challenges*, ed. Bruce L. McCormack (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2006).

³³⁶ Brenda B. Colijn, *Images of Salvation in the New Testament* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2010). 200.

structural or institutional definitions.³³⁷ Derek Nelson explains that theologians such as Karl Barth in his *Church Dogmatics* Volumes III and IV, and his *The Epistle to the Romans*; Reinhold Niebuhr in his *The Nature and Destiny of Man*; and Rudolf Bultmann and Paul Tillich in their reliance on existentialism, have rendered their concepts of sin as basically individualistic.³³⁸ Nelson traces the tension between two concepts of sin within 19th and 20th century theological works, the former more emphasizing the individual and the soul, and the latter emphasizing the social, structural and relational aspects of sin.³³⁹ It is in the latter that liberationists, feminists, and postmodern theologies have made much more of a contribution. He ultimately argues that both approaches be integrated and that the interplay between the two form the foundation for any future doctrines of sin.³⁴⁰ In trying to relate the biblical concept of sin to the Asian context, Andrew Sung Park has pointed out flaws within Western concepts.³⁴¹ Park suggests that such models have too much concentrated on the sinner, and hardly anything on the sinned against – the victims of oppression. Katie Canon, like Park and Nelson, takes issue with the individualistic, forensic framing of sin within modern theological works and has linked her definition of sin to theological anthropology, particularly the experience of Black people. She states:

Sin signifies not only any word or deed or thought that is a transgression of religious law, but also the self-conscious disregard of God's will for each person to become a responsible social-self. The first understanding gives attention to serious offenses in the personal sphere that cause individual estrangement from God, and

³³⁷ By modern theologians I am referring to the influential theologians of the early 20th century who have particularly influenced contemporary protestant thinking.

³³⁸ Derek R. Nelson, *What's Wrong with Sin? Sin in Individual and Social Perspective from Schleiermacher to Theologies of Liberation* (London: T & T Clark International 2009). 8 - 9.

³³⁹ Ibid.

³⁴⁰ Ibid., 187.

³⁴¹ Andrew Sung Park, *The Wounded Heart of God: The Asian Concept of Han and the Christian Concept of Sin* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1993).

the second focuses on socio-cultural factors of oppression that tamper with the communal *imago Dei*.³⁴²

Other postmodern critiques have developed to challenge this very western, restrictive view, highlighting the experience of oppressed people who have always insisted that sin is never an abstract concept, but is rooted in daily life, particularly in how systems have functioned to oppress and diminish the worth of entire groups of people. Black, Womanist, Third World, and Caribbean theological discourses have rejected this singular image of sin, and have highlighted the social and systemic aspects, recovering other imagery from the biblical text. They highlight the concrete, structural, and existential nature of sin, seeing it as also socially constructed. For example, for James Cone sin is seen as an always concretely situated social construction, and that for the Black person, racism is that social construction that denies them personhood and freedom.³⁴³ Reflecting on the African context, Agbonkhianmeghe E. Orobator rejects the abstract concept of sin as inappropriate both for the African and biblical contexts:

. . . sin is not a reality to be dealt with solely on the level of abstraction; it manifests itself as concrete and experiential and has palpable effects on the destiny of the individual in community. There is always an agent (human or spiritual) behind or at the origin of the evil or sinful act, and this act exists as such only in the actions of people toward one another. In other words, *sin is relational*.³⁴⁴

³⁴²Katie G. Cannon, "Sin," in *Dictionary of Third World Theologies*, ed. Virginia Fabella and R. S. Sugirtharajah (Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 2000), 184.

³⁴³ See James H. Cone, *A Black Theology of Liberation*, Fortieth Anniversary ed. (Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 2010). 110. Here Cone gives a definition of sin in the Hebrew context as non-being, oppression, and affirming the actions of the oppressor. His argument is also that Blacks and Whites are two communities when it comes to sin, the former being the oppressed and the latter being the oppressor. According to Cone the latter cannot speak about the sinfulness of the former in an attempt to ease their own guilt for the sins their community perpetuates against Black people. See *ibid.*, 53.

³⁴⁴ Agbonkhianmeghe E. Orobator, *Theology Brewed in an African Pot* (Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 2008). 62.

While Womanist theologian Diana L. Hayes refers to Orobator's concept of sin as essential to doing theology from a Womanist perspective, Lynette Mullings highlights the Womanist rejection of the criminal/judicial model of the atonement as insufficient as a soteriological image for Black people, women in particular.³⁴⁵ She suggests that such an image glorifies suffering, and that from a womanist perspective, theories of atonement that pay adequate attention to sin, but also affirm the dignity of human beings, should place most emphasis on the fact that Jesus overcame death, and not the fact that he died.³⁴⁶

Perhaps the biggest critique of concepts of sin within the Christian tradition is that they have not taken account of the multiple and wide ranging imagery present within Scripture that describe the dynamic, personal and familial relationship between God and human beings at the heart of the biblical story. The bible never divorces the individual and the societal but rather presents the complex interplay between the two. Trevor Hart explains that there are multiple imagery describing sin and redemption in the bible and they are not static, distinct ones, but complimentary ones. Different writers employed various images and metaphors based on their historical context, their culture, and the cultures to whom they were writing, etc. And while Christian history has employed notions of sin arising from particular cultural settings, his warning is that to reject one image in favor of

³⁴⁵ See Diana L. Hayes, *Forged in the Fiery Furnace: African American Spirituality* (Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 2012). See also, Lynette Mullings, ed. *The Message of the Cross is Foolishness: Atonement in Womanist Theology; Towards a Black British Perspective*, The Atonement Debate: Papers from the London Symposium on the Theology of Atonement (Grand Rapids, Michigan Zondervan 2008).

³⁴⁶ For example, Mullings highlights Delores Williams' critique of cross-centred theories of atonement insufficient for the experience of Black people, that rather than glorifying the suffering meted out on the cross, there is need for emphasis on resurrection, "which renders the ministerial vision victorious." Mullings, *The Message of the Cross is Foolishness*, 319. See also, Delores S. Williams, "Straight Talk, Plain Talk: Womanist Words about Salvation in the Social Context," in *Embracing the Spirit: Womanist Perspectives on Hope, Salvation and Transformation*, ed. Emilie M. Townes (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis, 1997).

another, or to use an image ahistorically would always lead to distortion.³⁴⁷ Making the same argument, Brenda Colijn suggests other images within the Biblical tradition beside the crime/juridical motif through which to conceptualize sin. These include regeneration and new creation; deliverance, rescue and healing; redemption, ransom, freedom and forgiveness; reconciliation, adoption and peace; election in Christ for the sake of the world; being in Christ, glorification and theosis; sanctification and perfection; and endurance – pilgrimage, contest and worship.³⁴⁸ Furthermore, as Paul Moser explains:

We should avoid any simplistic view that characterizes sin as just morally wayward actions that violate rules or regulations. This simplistic view depersonalizes the objects of sin as rules or regulations. In contrast, according to some important strands of Jewish and Christian theism, sin is inherently personal in its subject and object.³⁴⁹

6.4. The Colonial Construction of the Concept of Sin

Unfortunately, the concept of sin as manifested in the colonial context, particularly the Bahamian one in which Junkanoo and the Church interact, has not yet been informed by these postmodern critiques that seek firstly to restore the balance between human worth and human sinfulness in their theological conceptualization of the human person; and secondly to restore the biblical vision of this interplay between the individualistic (soul

³⁴⁷ Trevor Hart, "Redemption and Fall," in *The Cambridge Companion to Christian Doctrine*, ed. Colin E. Gunton (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

³⁴⁸ Colijn, *Images of Salvation in the New Testament*. In fact, her ultimate point is that Peace, or Shalom should become a more appropriate term for what has come to be called 'salvation'. Such imagery brings together the interplay between the individual and the communal.

³⁴⁹ Paul Moser, "Sin and Salvation," in *The Cambridge Companion to Christian Philosophical Theology*, ed. Charles Taliaferro and Chad Meister (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 138. The point he makes clear is that sin is placed in the context of God's relationship with human beings and vice-versa – the highly complex relational aspect must be the central focus. "Human sin against God involves more than human actions as external behavior against God. It includes human psychological attitudes against God as well as human habits against God. In particular, human sin is evidently anchored not in external behavior against rules but, rather, in a morally responsible human will against God – specifically, a human *will* against god's perfectly loving will. As a result, any genuine solution to human sin (as offered by a program of divine-human salvation) must be corrective somehow of not just external human behavior but human wills as well." (p. 138)

and God) and the relational or structural (society and God) definitions of sin. In fact, what we consistently find is a problematic reconceptualization of sin framed to serve the colonial agenda of demonising indigenous or African religious and cultural heritage while at the same time valorising or sacralising European ones. It is this culturally dichotomous conceptualising of sin that finds no place in Scripture and Christian praxis.

There hasn't been thorough scholarly exploration into the concept of sin in the Caribbean Context. The easiest way to excavate some sense of how sin has been conceptualised within African Caribbean history would be in examining the context of Euro-American missionary movements into the region, and also a survey of Caribbean theologians as they have attempted to make sense of sin within the context of the region. The first encounter with the New World, Columbus' landfall in 1492, was not simply the search for a new route to India and China, but also the advancement of the Christian religion. The new lands would become areas of mission where the newly encountered peoples would assent to Christian doctrine and thereby be saved, or become members of the kingdom of God, also synonymous at that time with the Christendom: a social, political as well as religious institution in which European imperial power played a pivotal role. Of course, this led to the decimation of the indigenous. In the mind-set of the 15th century Europeans the material realities, cultural systems, and general well being of the indigenous were of little importance. In short, only their souls needed saving, not their bodies.

Postcolonial thinkers such as Ian Strachan, after having studied the legacies of Christendom thinking within contemporary Bahamian society, explain that the

conceptualisation of the indigenous as a ‘barbarian’ cannot be understated. The ‘barbarian’, usually referring to the subaltern, means that one is “outside the pale of Christian civilization” both religiously and politically.³⁵⁰ In expressing how the bible was used to justify the conquest of the new world, Michael Prior explains that the theology undergirding the subjugation of the indigenous in the New World was ideological; therefore its concept of sin would have followed the ideological trend. Christendom in the Middle Ages seemed more in line with the Old Testament Hebraic tradition, particularly in its tendency for sinfulness to be accorded to those outside the Israelite religion, whose land needed possession. Prior states:

Mediaeval Christian theologians shared a common conception with Israelite theologians, involving a radical sacralization of the state and all its institutions, including its land. . . . As in the Old Testament period, religion invaded every facet of life in the Middle Ages. The majority of theologians and jurists considered the Pope, as the vicar of Christ, to be sovereign of all the earth.³⁵¹

The conclusion would naturally be that God was on the side of Christendom, and not the indigenous. The framing of the social order in the 15th and 16th century New World precluded the indigenous from being understood as worthy of the descriptor ‘righteous’, or of meriting justice. Such a social order conflated sinfulness with religious and cultural heritage. Arthur C. Dayfoot explains that in the context of the early to mid-16th century New World:

. . . two viewpoints, which may be described as “Indianist” and “Colonialist”, contended for control. The justice of wars and enslavement, reports of physical cruelty, the authority conferred by the bulls of 1493, the rights of Amerindian property and native government, the methods to be used for Christianization –

³⁵⁰ Strachan, *Paradise and Plantation*: 17.

³⁵¹ Michael Prior, *The Bible and Colonialism: A Moral Critique* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997). 52.

these and related questions were debated by theologians and government official.³⁵²

These two positions can best be seen in the debate between Bartolomé de Las Casas and Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda in 1550-1551. While Las Casas argued against the injustice meted out to indigenous peoples through the encomienda system, Dale Bisnauth explains that, “according to Sepúlveda, the gravity of the sins of the Indians, particularly their idolatries and their sins against nature, merited war.”³⁵³

When we consider the British expansion into the New World in the 16th and 17th centuries, with the subaltern now being African slaves, the same colonial, social and political conceptions of sin were employed. In examining the colonial mindset undergirding Crusoe’s contact with the Carib, and his ordering of life in Daniel Defoe’s (1718) novel, Ian Strachan highlights that it is as much about theology as it is about imperial power.

Strachan writes:

Few masters have ever cared for their slaves to become Christians. Indeed, the Christianizing of the Other has endangered the foundations of the colonial relation in the Caribbean since Las Casas first protested the treatment of the indigenous. One does not admit that the slave-animal has a soul, that the non-Christian will enter the same heaven as the Christian. One certainly does not let the slave-animal think of itself as the Christian’s equal. Whereas Crusoe’s replacement of the language and the history of the indigenous with his own is consistent with the process of devaluing the culture and past of the indigenous, the Christianizing of

³⁵² Dayfoot, *The Shaping of West Indian Church*: 22. Dayfoot further acknowledges that these two positions were debated in both Church and State, which were coterminous. It was the clergy, particularly the missionary friars who took the Indianist position, while the Colonialist position was taken by state officials. However, there were many exceptions on both sides. Furthermore, In the Spanish colonization of the new world, the encomienda was the grant whereby settlers were given authority over a set of natives, for their protection from warring tribes, their education, and their instruction in the Roman Catholic faith. Naturally this rather arrogant system was abused, and became an active means of slave ownership.

³⁵³ Dale Bisnauth, *A History of Religions in the Caribbean* (Kingston: Kingston Publishers Limited, 1989). 18.

the slave was more an accident than a part of the plan of the planter class in the Caribbean.³⁵⁴

According to Trevor Hart protestant orthodoxy of the 16th and 17th century, in framing its soteriology, precisely because of the particular sociopolitical and religious context of emerging Europe, skewed the relational and moral metaphors in the biblical text, concentrating on the specific theme of ‘the justification of the sinner’, but in totally forensic concepts.³⁵⁵

There was a tendency to conceive of the law in terms of which *iustitia* was to be defined as an abstract code akin to those of the emergent judicial administrations of Europe, and a perception of God as the absolute dispenser of such justice. Sin was chiefly a criminal offence deserving a particular fixed penalty, rather than the rebellious act of a prodigal, provoking the burning anger of a father’s heart which is, nonetheless, never other than a form of his holy love. Whatever the virtue of such forensic imagery, it was all too easy for the death of Jesus to be torn away from the Trinitarian dynamic of Calvary, where the Son offers himself in obedient love to the Father in the empowerment of the Spirit.

It is in such a framework that African religiocultural retentions such as Obeah and Junkanoo have not only been branded as heathenish practices, but also as criminal offenses. Largely based on the Obeah Law in Jamaica, 1760 and 1898, till now, the only countries to have removed Obeah from their legal codes are Anguilla, 1980; Barbados, 1998; Trinidad and Tobago, 2000; St Lucia, 2004. It is important to note that the Bahamas is not among these nations. Diana Paton explains that Post-Emancipation Anti-Obeah Laws were culture forming. They fostered certain social and cultural conventions about the place and significance of African religiocultural activities, usually casting them as

³⁵⁴ Strachan, *Paradise and Plantation*: 48.

³⁵⁵ Hart, "Redemption and Fall," 201 - 02.

barbaric, harmful, or even evil or demonic.³⁵⁶ No doubt, the Street Nuisance Prohibition Act of 1899, limiting involvement in Junkanoo, and the festivals' actual ban from 1942 to 1947 due to labour related riots which affected the White commercial elite, helped to foster long held views of Junkanoo as an exercise in violence, as destructive, and ultimately as dangerous, just like Obeah. Bahamian historian Rosanne Adderley points out that the anti-obeah laws across the Anglophone Caribbean were based on the idea that African derived religious activities and cultures were pagan, and therefore were antithetical to Christianity.³⁵⁷ This dichotomous and colonially constructed notion of sin must be seen as fundamental to the Caribbean religious and cultural experience where Church and colonial power have largely been synonymous. And, of course, when something is deemed sinful, the idea of punishment or remediation ensues, often through violence. Frantz Fanon's analysis still proves helpful here. He introduces the reciprocity between the colonial and native ways of thinking. The Manichaeistic absolutist thinking of the settler (colonial), that all natives are absolutely evil, produces in the native the same kind of absolutist thinking, that the settler is absolutely evil, and must be absolutely eradicated.³⁵⁸

In our examination of European colonial expansion into the New World, from Spain to Great Britain, we see that concepts of sin were colonially constructed to demonise or desacralise the cultural and religious heritages of the indigenous, or in the context of

³⁵⁶ Diana Paton, "A Legacy of Emancipation in the Diaspora," *StabroekNews.com*(2013), <http://www.stabroeknews.com/2013/features/in-the-diaspora/03/18/a-legacy-of-emancipation/>. See Also Diana Paton and Maarit Forde, *Obeah and Other Powers: The Politics of Caribbean Religion and Healing* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2012). Also, Jerome S. Handler and Kenneth M. Bilby, *Enacting Power: The Criminalization of Obeah in the Anglophone Caribbean 1760 - 2011* (Jamaica: University of the West Indies Press, 2012).

³⁵⁷ Adderley, *New Negroes from Africa*: 189.

³⁵⁸ Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*: 65 - 66.

contemporary Bahamian society, the African religiocultural heritage of Bahamians. A brief survey of Caribbean theologians reveals an insistence that the experience of slavery, colonialism, and missionary Christianity, and their lasting effects upon Caribbean societies in general, become the foundation for reflection. In particular they critique the restrictive, law-court imagery of sin, and redefine concepts of sin in ways appropriate to the lived realities of Caribbean people, particularly the restoration of African Caribbean identity.

Noel Erskine comments on the colonial concept of sin and its effects on personhood. Drawing on Black theological thought and its relevance for theological discourse in the Caribbean, he sees in it a reinterpretation of Justification by Faith that takes into account the liberation of black people. Black people have always believed in the God of freedom, not so much from the personalised sin as conceived in missionary Christianity, but rather freedom from injustice and oppression prevalent in Caribbean society. He states, “while Luther’s search for a gracious God led him in the discovery of his identity, Black people’s search for their identity led them to the discovery of a gracious God.”³⁵⁹ In his most recent work, *Plantation Church: How African American religion Was Born in Caribbean Slavery*, Erskine further explores the tensions between the concepts of sin in Missionary Christianity and in African religiocultural retentions. He states:

There is ample evidence that in African religions, as they took root in the Caribbean and were ignited by a hermeneutic of freedom, Christian doctrines of sin, guilt, and the afterlife took foot much later and were inspired by the missionary’s Church. A majority of Caribbean people who were born in Africa during slavery were steeped in African notions of wholeness that did not make room for sin and guilt. Later, when these doctrines found currency among enslaved people in the Caribbean, they were cast in an African framework . . . In an African

³⁵⁹ Erskine, *Decolonizing Theology*: 132 - 33.

worldview, human beings were to be seen as sinful, but not “Self-Define as sinners”. The plantation kept slaves thinking of themselves as unworthy – compared to Jesus the worthy one. It is this unhealthy degrading of person hood that was key to a missionary theology.³⁶⁰

The same ideas appear in Kortright Davis and Lewin Williams. Davis sees the notion of sin in the Caribbean as socially constructed, and for Caribbean people, it is ‘nonresponsibility’, or the neglect of the community. He makes the point that while the missionary taught obedience to the slave master, when slaves resisted such oppression, that wasn’t sinful, but a righteous act.³⁶¹ Williams explains, “sin is the failure to struggle for an affirmation of the image of God within the oppressed self”. He draws attention to a theology of domination that constantly militates against the grassroots indigenous theology steeped in African oral tradition, in folklore, and in the cultural productions of the region – Junkanoo, Calypso, Dancehall, etc.

Scholars such as Anna Kasafi Perkins and Carolyn Cooper help us to gain insight into pronouncement of sinfulness and transgression with regard to female body, dancing and sexual expression that we find in Junkanoo. The warning is that African religiocultural retentions be understood as complex, self-affirming tools for African Caribbean people. Perkins highlights the way in which cultural productions challenge colonial and patriarchal notions of transgression with respect to the female body in the Caribbean. She explains that in the Trinidad and Tobago carnival where women are deemed transgressive/lewd/sinful because of their overt sexuality, it is precisely their overt

³⁶⁰ Noel L. Erskine, *Plantation Church: How African American religion Was Born in Caribbean Slavery* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014). 168.

³⁶¹ Davis, *Emancipation Still Comin'*: 78.

sexuality; their ‘playin mas’; their parody; and their mimicry and subversion, that seek to expose oppressive social and cultural structures.³⁶² She states:

It is possible therefore to interpret Carnival as a site where women of various socio- economic locations, political positions, and conceptions of masquerading challenge misogynist stereotyping and celebrate the female body in public through their bodily transgressions. It is therefore naïve to argue that women in Carnival are simply carrying out the roles ascribed to them by their male counterparts. In much the same way that groups like the Quakers, Methodists, and Blacks have empowered themselves by claiming and reinterpreting the epithets given them by more powerful groups, Trinbagonian women can be said to be “playing mas” with the male-generated ascriptions of them as loose, teasing, available.

Carolyn Cooper and her cultural analysis of Jamaican popular cultural productions such as Dancehall makes a similar argument. She sees them as subversively challenging colonial discourses on sin, transgression and vulgarity.³⁶³

It seems appropriate to suggest here that the legacies of colonial and plantation society along with missionary Christianity have produced concepts of sin that have become problematic for African Caribbean people, particularly for Bahamians as they struggle with the tensions between Junkanoo and the Church. At the heart of this tension is a historical dichotomy between the two, where sinfulness in contemporary Bahamian society has subconsciously come to designate Junkanoo, and sacredness has subconsciously come to designate church. In fact, it is precisely the fact that there is dichotomy informing the concept of sin in the Junkanoo/Church relationship that is problematic and in need of revision. The biggest challenge, certainly among the Caribbean

³⁶² See Anna Kasafi Perkins, "Carne Vale Again: A Catholic Muses on Trinidad Carnival: Female Flesh and Incarnation," in *15th Conference on Catholic Theology in the Caribbean: Perspectives in Caribbean Theology - 17 Years Later* (St. Michael's Theological College, Kingston, Jamaica 2011).

³⁶³ See, Carolyn Cooper, "Sweet & Sour Sauce: Sexual Politics in Jamaican Dancehall Culture," in *The Sixth Jagan Lecture, 2005* (York University, ON Canada: CERLAC, 2005). See also, Carolyn Cooper, *Noises in the Blood: Orality, Gender, and the "Vulgar" Body of Jamaican Popular Culture*, 1st U.S. ed. (Durham: Duke University Press, 1995).

theologians mentioned above, is that the human worth and dignity of African Caribbean people, their being created in the image of God and beloved of the same God, is denied. Certainly, colonialism and its legacies are sinful, but a deeper analysis reveals that dichotomy is at the heart of colonial societies and the colonial process. Kortright Davis explains that the Caribbean life exists in a state of dichotomy that leaves it less than reaching its full potential.³⁶⁴ And, reflecting on what a liberative Pan African theology would look like, Ronald Nathan expounds about two key features, harmony and holism: For him, the latter rejects the sinful dichotomy characteristic of colonial society and colonial Christianity.

The dichotomy between, for example, Good and Evil, Secular and Spiritual, Heaven and Earth and Male and female and so on does not exist within the world view of African societies and certainly not within an Afrocentric philosophy. These Hellenistic mythological imports were incorporated within the European Enlightenment and later Reformation Christian thought.³⁶⁵

Having now examined the concept of sin in the theological movements over the centuries, and also in light of the African Caribbean experience of slavery and colonialism, I will now consider what Scripture says about this problematic, dichotomous, colonially informed concept of sin at the heart of the Junkanoo/Church relationship.

6.5. Junkanoo and the Pneumatological Reframing of Sin: Acts 11 as a

Hermeneutical Focus

This perceived divide between Junkanoo and the Church, or African religiocultural heritage and Euro-American Missionary Christianity, in Bahamian society leads us to

³⁶⁴ Davis, *Emancipation Still Comin'*.

³⁶⁵ Ronald Nathan, "Caribbean Youth Identity in the United Kingdom: A Call for a Pan-African Theology," *Black Theology: A Journal of Contextual Praxis* 1, no. October (1998): 10.

consider the divide between Jews and Gentiles informing much, if not most, of the Biblical story, particularly the New Testament. Due to the persistence of pneumatology as a theme in the research project, I find it helpful to focus on Acts 11 as a point in the Biblical narrative that adequately addresses this problematic conceptualising of sin in the Junkanoo/Church relationship. However, before applying Caribbean vernacular hermeneutics to the Acts 11 story, it is helpful to give a brief survey of other New Testament traditions on sin somewhat alternative to the Luke-Acts narrative.

6.5.1. Sin in the Pauline and Johannine Traditions

The two most extensive bodies of writing in the New Testament are the Johannine and Pauline corpuses.³⁶⁶ Firstly, of the more than thirty New Testament words regarding sin, Paul employs some twenty-four of them. His largest treatment of sin comes in his letter to the Romans, but while he does not define sin, according to Leon Morris, he primarily sees sin as an offense against God and a disruption in the God-human relationship.³⁶⁷ Sin for Paul creates alienation from God and is not only pervasive throughout the human race, but also pervasive in the human person.³⁶⁸ What isn't found in Paul, however, is the conflation of sinfulness or righteousness with ethnicity or nationality. As D. R. de Lacey explains:

³⁶⁶ By Pauline corpus I refer to the epistles in the New Testament that bear Paul's names. Of these thirteen, most scholars see seven as authentic Pauline letter: I Thessalonians, Galatians, I Corinthians, Philippians, Philemon, II Corinthians, and Romans; four pseudepigraphic letters: I Timothy, II Timothy, Titus, and Ephesians; and two evenly contested letters: Colossians and II Thessalonians. By Johannine corpus I am referring to the Gospel of John, the three Letters of John, and the Revelation of John, all of which attribute authorship to the Apostle John in some way. I have not included the Synoptics here because Luke-Acts, includes Luke which is one of the Synoptic Gospels. It is reasonable to suggest that the narrational context in which one excavate some concept of sin, would be similar to what is presented in Matthew and Mark. Moreover, none of the Gospel writers apart from Luke have what seems to be a literary tradition or corpus in the manner that Paul and John has.

³⁶⁷ Leon Morris, "Sin, Guilt," in *Dictionary of Paul and His Letters*, ed. Gerald F. Hawthorne, Ralph P. Martin, and Daniel G. Reid (Downers Grove, Ill.: InterVarsity Press, 1993).

³⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 879.

Paul's own understanding of the grace of God, however, led him to affirm that there could be no distinction before God between the Christian Jew and the righteous Gentile (cf. Rom 3:29-30). Galatians is a sustained argument that his converts already enjoy all the blessings of the covenant – they are already children of Abraham (Gal 3:7,28-29). Hence for Gentiles to accept the yoke of Torah observance is not simply a matter of indifference, but a denial of God's acceptance of them in the gospel, and therefore a denial of Christ (Gal 5:4). In Galatians then – almost certainly one of the earliest extant letters of Paul – we already see not only a fully developed rationale of the Gentile mission but also a deep conviction about the nature of the church as the true Israel of God, with Jew and Gentile on equal standing before God and to each other.³⁶⁹

Writing on the theology of the Johannine writings, R. Alan Culpepper points out the stark dualism involved in the Johannine community, particularly with regard to its concept of humanity in relations to God, but with an important proviso. He writes:

One of the most distinctive characteristics of Johannine thought is its sharply defined dualism. Every category is accentuated by its opposite: good-evil, Christ-the devil, light-darkness, love-hate, and above-below. This is not an absolute dualism such as one finds in some ancient Near Eastern and oriental religious thought. God is supreme and has no rival. The world, however, is under the power of the "ruler of this world" (12:31; 14:30; 16:11), who must be identified with the devil (8:44; 13:2; cf. 6:70) and Satan (13:27).³⁷⁰

But despite this dualism, Culpepper further explains that sin for John is primarily unbelief, and that while the Pauline corpus and Synoptics employ a list of vices, John does not do this but more often refers to 'sin' as opposed to 'sins'. It is *the* 'sin' or unbelief that leads to 'sins' and that for John, the concept of sin is inextricably bound to the idea of rejecting the revelation of God in Jesus Christ.³⁷¹ Speaking on sin, forgiveness, judgement and

³⁶⁹ Douglas R. de Lacey, "Gentiles," in *Dictionary of Paul and His Letters*, ed. Gerald F. Hawthorne, Ralph P. Martin, and Daniel G. Reid (Downers Grove, Ill.: InterVarsity Press, 1993), 338.

³⁷⁰ R. Alan Culpepper, *The Gospel and Letters of John*, Interpreting Biblical Texts (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1998), 89.

³⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 90. He references John 8:21,24 - "Again he said to them, "I am going away, and you will search for me, but you will die in your sin. Where I am going, you cannot come." I told you that you would die in your sins, for you will die in your sins unless you believe that I am he"; and 15:22, 24 - "If I had not come and spoken to them, they would not have sin; but now they have no excuse for their sin." "If I had not done among them the works that no one else did, they would not have sin. But now they have seen and hated both me and my Father."

eschatology in the Johannine Epistles, Ruth B. Edwards explains that while the epistles have a seemingly straightforward teaching on sin, the implications of these teachings are not worked out. What is gathered is that God is perfect goodness, those who are God's children must 'walk in the light'. If they fail they must confess their sins, and can be confident that they will receive forgiveness because of Jesus' death on the Cross. This Jesus is the champion (parakletos) with the Father who atones for the sin of the whole world.³⁷² Stanley E. Porter, who sees in the Johannine letters a conceptual interplay between the call to be sinless, and sinful acts, takes a similar view. He explains that some passages in 1 John suggest that sinlessness is achievable, but others emphasise the reality of human sinful acts. He writes:

. . . a balance is being struck in the letter between the ideal of one not sinning and thus being consistent with one's confession of Christ and the reality of persistent human sinfulness. The ethical ideal is tempered by moral reality, although without neglecting the provision for forgiveness.³⁷³

But again, what is not suggested in the Johannine corpus is that sinfulness is conflated with one's particular ethnic or cultural heritage. It is more appropriate to see the Johannine corpus as advocating Christ as solution to the sinfulness of all, whether Jew or Gentile.

We now turn our attention to Luke-Acts where we find the Acts 11 narrative exposing a problematic concept of sin at the genesis of the early Christian movement. In it, unlike the Pauline or Johannine corpus, we find what I describe as a pneumatological corrective to the problematic, dichotomising concept of sin.

³⁷² Barnabas Lindars, Ruth Edwards, and John M. Court, *The Johannine Literature* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000). 184.

³⁷³ Stanley E. Porter, "Sin, Wickedness," in *Dictionary of the Later New Testament and Its Developments: [a compendium of contemporary Biblical scholarship]*, ed. Ralph P. Martin and Peter H. Davids (Downers Grove, IL: Inter-Varsity Press, 1998), 1097.

6.5.2. *Acts 11: Beyond the Jew/Gentile Boundary*

Setting the Scene:

Acts 11 presents us with two narratives.³⁷⁴ The first is Peter's testimony before the Jerusalem council (1–18), and the second is the Gentile mission at Antioch (19–30). While these are usually separated within commentaries and lectionaries, I have chosen to look at the entire chapter since it is in the movement from one story to the other that we find a hermeneutical shift within the earliest Christian community. At the backdrop of bitter social relations within the context of brutal Roman occupation, the Church emerges, and the writer of Luke-Acts carefully plots this narrative for the sake of testimony and posterity (Acts 1:1–5). The message about the risen Jesus moves from its Jewish confines to an increasingly Gentile domain. But it is in Acts 11 that we find this transition between two antithetical conceptions of the earliest Christian communities. Peter's testimony/defence before Jewish believers in Jerusalem in Acts 11:1–18, beginning in Acts 10 with the first Gentile convert, Cornelius, signals the end of a narrow, exclusively Jewish view of the new movement. On the other hand, in Acts 11:19–30 efforts are put towards verifying then strengthening the growing inclusive Gentile/Jewish Christian communities within other parts of the diaspora. The transition between these two parts of the narrative would involve, firstly, a change in hermeneutic. The strict dichotomy between Jew and Gentile is challenged by the recognition of experiences in the Spirit in both communities, leading to changes in attitudes and outlooks. Secondly, it involves a

³⁷⁴ I take the position that Luke-Acts is a two volume series put together by the same author 'Luke'. It is not uncommon for scholars to refer to the author as 'Luke'. See I. Howard Marshall and David Peterson, eds., *Witness to the Gospel: The Theology of Acts* (Cambridge Eerdmans, 1998), 4. See also: Jerome H. Neyrey, ed. *The Social World of Luke-Acts: Models for Interpretation* (Peabody, Massachusetts: Hendrickson Publishers, 1991), x. James D. G. Dunn, *The Acts of the Apostles* (Peterborough Epworth Press, 1996). x.

change in theology. The original proclamation of Peter's first sermon has to be reencountered, that God would pour out his spirit upon all flesh (Acts 2:16–21), inclusive of all people regardless of ethnic or cultural background. Finally, it involves a change in praxis. The first believers are now open to the growth of the faith among Gentile converts. Common witness, common Eucharist, common living ('holding all things in common', Acts 2:44–45), and the care of the poor would be the hallmarks of the newly inclusive Christian community (Acts 11:29–30).³⁷⁵ Later in Acts 15 the issue of cultural and ethnic boundary markers such as circumcision would be resolved as unnecessary for Gentile believers. And, as is the Luke-Acts tradition, the initiator of these transitions is none other than the Person of the Holy Spirit.

Interpreting the Scene:

Any interpretation of Acts 11 would have to take into account the centrality of religious and cultural dichotomy between Jews and Gentiles and the role of the Holy Spirit in transcending it. This narrative movement within the Book of Acts, from the exclusively Jewish to the inclusively Jewish/Gentile early Christian community involves an 'overcoming' of a socio-culturally constructed view of sin which presupposes that Gentiles, by the mere fact that they are not Jews, are sinners, or profane. Peter's dream in Acts 10, which he recounts before the Jerusalem in Acts 11, presents the command from the Lord: "What God has made clean, you must not call profane" (Acts 10:15; 11:9).³⁷⁶

The translation of the word profane, *koinou*, translates as 'common', 'unholy' or

³⁷⁵ It is interesting that both Acts 2 and Acts 11, the former being a Jewish Christian community, and the latter being Gentile, conclude with attention to common living and sharing resources. The hallmarks of being a Christian wasn't whether one was Jew or Gentile, but was more praxis oriented, whether one cares for the poor and the needy, and follows 'The Way', as they were originally called.

³⁷⁶ New Revised Standard Version

‘defiled’.³⁷⁷ James Dunn explains that “Peter is in a process of breaching a fundamental guiding principle of Jewish communal living: that Jews should keep themselves separate from Gentiles.”³⁷⁸ But he does so under the direct leading of the Holy Spirit who tells him to go with the men sent from Cornelius, a Gentile, and “not to make a distinction between them and us” (Acts 11:12).³⁷⁹ Furthermore, it is when he is speaking at Cornelius’ house that the Holy Spirit “fell upon them just as it had upon us at the beginning” (Acts 11:15).³⁸⁰ It is the coming of the Holy Spirit on the Gentiles that leads to an acceptance of Gentile people within the first Christian community. But the narrative does not stop there. The same process of overcoming the Jew/Gentile boundary becomes replicated in other parts of the diaspora. At first the message about Jesus is preached to Jews only, but then Gentiles (Hellenists) in Antioch become believers (Acts 11:20–21) and the council in Jerusalem responds this time with openness to the possibility of Gentile inclusion. Whereas this first response to association with Gentiles was suspicion and indignation (Acts 11:2 – 3), now their response is openness and embrace.

³⁷⁷*koinou* draws upon the religiocultural imagination of 1st Century Palestinian Judaism which made a strict distinction between that which was set aside for worship and that which was not.

³⁷⁸ Dunn, *The Acts of the Apostles*: 139. It is also very important to understand here that dichotomy and social, religious and cultural stratification were very much a part of the Graeco-Roman colonial world. There were Romans, and then there were the others: slaves, servants, subjects, or conquered ones within the diaspora. Richard Bauckham explains that the biblical narrative and the mission of the church within the 1st Century Graeco-Roman operated to transcend the culturally, religiously, politically and geographically structured world, which made stark distinctions between, for example, Romans and Barbarians, or Greeks and Jews. See Richard Bauckham, *Bible and Mission: Christian Witness in a Postmodern World* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2003). 69. Therefore, for Paul in Colossians 3:11 the Gospel transcends such geographical, political and social binary constructions. It includes the diversity and openness to the ‘other’, in bold and direct opposition to the stratification of the Graeco-Roman Empire. David Goldenberg suggests that Colossians 3:11 is replete with antitheses: Greek and Jew, circumcised and uncircumcised, slave and free, but that the two words, Barbarian and Scythian. Present a problem. This is so because the Scythian was seen as the most barbarian of the barbarians, and barbarians were peoples who were non-Greek. Goldenberg suggests that the former refers to the most extreme north, and the latter to the most extreme south. It was a geographical construction - particularly being that the Barbarian would have referred to East Africa - Sudan, Eritrea, Somalia. It was a racial division. See David Goldenberg, "Geographia Rabbinica: The Toponym Barbaria," *Journal of Jewish Studies* 50, no. 1 (1999).

³⁷⁹ New Revised Standard Version

³⁸⁰ New Revised Standard Version

The genius of the narrative is that through the direct agency of the Holy Spirit the first Christians come to learn that distinctions between holy and profane based on culture and ethnicity are fictitious constructions. Long held prejudices are wrestled with and forsaken. The theology of the first Christians is reworked, not propositionally, but experientially. But more importantly, reformed praxes of the first Jewish Christian communities open the way for the growth of the Church throughout the Roman Empire and the Hellenist world. In like manner, Acts 11 challenges the dichotomous foundation for the Church/Junkanoo relationship in the Bahamian context. Perhaps what is sinful isn't particularly Junkanoo or the Church as distinct identities or entities, but rather the colonial and theological hermeneutic that keeps them separate within Bahamian popular imagination.

The Pneumatological Reframing of Sin

But more attention must be paid to the pneumatological element in this story. The ecstatic workings of the Holy Spirit to bring about a hermeneutical shift cannot be understated in this narrative. Part of the consideration for judging the Junkanoo/Church relationship against the Acts 11 narrative is owed to the constant references to the prophetic tradition that usually involves ecstasy. Ecstasy, coming from the Greek roots meaning, 'standing outside oneself', materialises most impressively in expressive African religiocultural productions.³⁸¹ In the colonial mind-set, activities that included ecstatic behaviour among slaves and their descendants, the worship of ancestors or expressive worship within Africanised Caribbean Churches for example, were regarded either as entertainment or

³⁸¹ *The New Oxford Dictionary of English*: 587.

acts of paganism.³⁸² Also, the freedom of the body, the gyration of the hips, the heaving of the bosom, these only reified the already established belief that the African was sexually lascivious as well.³⁸³ Moreover, the slavery/colonial context was defined by control, and in situations where Black populations were exceeding Whites, every effort was made to contain any sort of disorder or ‘ecstasy’.³⁸⁴ But for the African oppressed, such activities were prophetic in that they were simultaneously means of survival, deep forms of prayer and praise, and ultimately, preparations for rebellion and war in an unjust, Afrophobic, and life denying context. Concerning the extraordinary legacy of spirituality and resistance within the Caribbean context, Barry Chevannes reminds us that:

Throughout the history of African-Caribbean religions many leaders have either claimed or been accorded the status of Godhead: Bedward, Howell, Prince Emmanuel, Henry; and many more, religious and secular, have been attributed with divine power: Nanny, Taki, Garvey, Bustamante, Hibbert, Hinds, Planno, Gad and countless spiritual healers and leaders who provide counsel, insight and leadership, and are alleged to have performed or be capable of performing feats such as disappearing from the midst of enemies, healing, reading and prophesying (all feats performed by Jesus).”³⁸⁵

³⁸² African cultural heritage was seen as either dangerous or entertaining in the development of Bahamian religious and cultural life. This is attested to by the history of legislation against African religiocultural productions such as Obeah, Myal, Junkanoo, Calypso, and even Black consciousness movements such as Rastafari. Historical accounts of the Junkanoo phenomenon reveal that they elicited ridicule, particularly from clergy persons within the Bahamian context, see for example Rev. Dowson’s *Journal from Christmas Day, 1811*: “25th December, 1811, Christmas Day: Dowson’s Journal for 1810 - 1817.” Also, Rosanne Adderley reminds of the importance of the Grants Town Methodist Chapel for visitor accounts in post-emancipation Bahamian society. The chapel with its expressive worship provided entertainment for visitors. In fact, the North American author, William Drysdale wrote of experiences in the church in Grants Town he called the “The Shouters”, where members took payment for visitors to witness a shouting performance. See Adderley, *New Negroes from Africa*: 170 - 71. See William Drysdale, *In Sunny Islands: Out-Door Life in Nassau and Cuba* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1885).

³⁸³ Ian Strachan makes this point in his analysis of the deeply related concepts of ‘paradise’ and ‘plantation’ within contemporary Bahamian society. He explains that the dominant Euro-American outlook on the Caribbean culture has been that it is a place of primitives, servility, and intense sexual experience. See Strachan, *Paradise and Plantation*: 13 - 16.

³⁸⁴ Gail Saunders links the development of Slave Acts in the Bahamas to the change in population. Laws became harsher with the growth of the Black population. See Saunders, *Slavery in the Bahamas, 1648-1838*: 8. Also, Strachan likens the plantation society to a calculated and carefully monitored one. The Plantation is constructed to produce paradise. It is put in place to subdue, to order, to make nature produce for the owners of the plantation. This is what is in the mind of the coloniser. See Strachan, *Paradise and Plantation*: 37.

³⁸⁵ Chevannes, "Towards an Afro-Caribbean Theology," 49.

This research project reveals that the tensions between order and disorder, between colonial chains and ecstasy, embody the antithetical concepts of Self-Negation and Overcoming. While Self-Negation is built upon imposed order and dichotomy, and to a great degree the Bahamas is a self-negating society, experiences of Overcoming involve the achievement of ecstasy. In Junkanoo there is the achievement of a sense of transcendence, of being possessed, of being transported to another place, or having an ineffable experience. In this state there is the feeling of deep freedom, of wholeness of identity, and of catharsis. I describe the experience as an ‘uncovering of the deep’ or an unleashing of something long suppressed, something that comes to the forefront particularly in the act of rushin’. But this experience doesn’t solely belong to Junkanoo, since rushin’ originates from the Africanised churches on the Family Islands, and the same spirit in Junkanoo is equally available in the liturgical context of the Church. The other aspect of this deep feeling of ecstasy is the energy to fight for justice. The war/warrior motif deep within Junkanoo; of proclaiming identity in the face of the denial of that identity, and the invasion of the centres of commerce; is inseparable from this experience of ecstasy. In fact, the research also uncovers the belief among some interview respondents that such an experience is too dangerous, too powerful, and must be controlled.³⁸⁶ Perhaps the real danger though, according to the data, is the powerful re-appropriation of both Junkanoo and the Church to fit the framework of capitalistic, neocolonial values and goals. In a sense, Overcoming within the Junkanoo/Church relationship would be a calling back to first principles in a way reminiscent of prophecy

³⁸⁶ For a tabular view of coding for Self-Negation and Overcoming please see Appendix P.

within the biblical tradition.³⁸⁷

We cannot ignore the importance of ecstasy and prophecy within the biblical tradition or particularly in contemporary Christianity for dismantling oppressive social, political and religious structures, as well as consistently embracing the margins of society. A first example of this would be the rise of Pentecostalism post Azusa Street which has demanded renewed reflection on the work and Person of the Holy Spirit.³⁸⁸ Kirsteen Kim argues that the growth of Pentecostalism in the non-Western world challenges institutionally bound conceptions of the Holy Spirit. Concerning the Roman Catholic Church she asserts:

The Roman Catholic church has always been fearful of pneumatocentricism and unbridled enthusiasm – this being the reason for adopting the filioque in the first place – and it has succeeded so far in keeping its charismatic movement and many emerging new movements across the world largely within its fold.³⁸⁹

Dorothy Soelle argues that any appropriate, transformative and liberative theology must hold mysticism and resistance together. The experience of mysticism is an ecstatic one, “an expression of the uttermost freedom from what determines our lives. However, it is a

³⁸⁷ See Chapter 5 for a more comprehensive discussion on these aspects of the research: positive and negative attributes of both Junkanoo and the Church, and the various aspects of Self-Negation and Overcoming. For a tabular view of the positive and negative attributes of Junkanoo and the Church please see Table 2.

³⁸⁸ The 20th century saw the birth of Pentecostalism. The revival that began in 1906 at 312 Azusa Street, Los Angeles, California, has become a worldwide phenomenon. As the name suggests, the coming of the Spirit, spirit possession resulting in speaking in tongues, healings, charismatic worship, and intense experiences of the presence of God would characterise the movement. Within a nine-year span, there was an intermingling of races, with people of different socioeconomic backgrounds all falling under the power of the Spirit. Various established denominations found renewal through the charismatic nature of Pentecostalism. Missionaries were commissioned and Pentecostalism can now be found across the globe. It is the fastest growing movement in the Church today.

³⁸⁹ Kirsteen Kim, *Holy Spirit in the World: A Global Conversation* (Maryknoll, New York: Orbis, 2007). 145.

freedom that many look upon as rage or mania, or as being outside or beside oneself.”³⁹⁰

Within the prophetic tradition in scripture, whether we’re referring to the literary prophets or those within Deuteronomistic History, the experience of ecstasy through spirit possession or participation in the divine council, and the act of socio-political and religious critique of human, national and international power, go together.³⁹¹ As Samuel A. Meier points out, it is only the prophet within the Hebrew Bible who ever makes the claim of being in the divine council.³⁹² Moreover, they are key religious and political figures empowered by the Spirit of the Lord, who anoint kings, after which the Spirit of the Lords falls upon the king (i.e., Saul – 1 Sam. 10:10; David – 1 Sam. 16:13). This same motif is carried over into Jesus’ ministry after being anointed by John the Baptist (Mat. 3:16; Mark 1:10; Luke 3:22; John 1:32–33).³⁹³ Likewise, Walter Brueggemann provides us with two essential concepts in understanding prophecy within the biblical tradition.

Firstly there is prophetic criticism in which royal consciousness, meaning oppressive,

³⁹⁰ Dorothee Soelle, *The Silent Cry: Mysticism and Resistance* trans. Barbara Rumscheidt and Martin Rumscheidt (Minneapolis Fortress Press, 2001). 27.

³⁹¹ See Dunn, *The Acts of the Apostles*: 13 - 16. Dunn makes a division between the literary prophets, Major and Minor, as those having distinct books ascribed to them (i.e., Jeremiah, Isaiah, Ezekiel, or Hosea and Zechariah) and the prophetic figures central to the stories of Ancient Israel’s history (i.e., Elijah, Elisha, and Micaiah). Dunn does leave Daniel out of the classification of the prophets since Daniel differs significantly both in content and style from the prophetic tradition within the Hebrew Bible. See *ibid.*, 16 - 18.

³⁹² Samuel A. Meier, *Themes and Transformations in Old Testament Prophecy* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2009). 19. See also Christopher J. H. Wright, *Knowing the Holy Spirit Through the Old Testament* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2006). He traces the role and function of the Holy Spirit in the Old Testament. He argues that creation, empowerment, prophecy, political and religious anointing, and renewal are the chief functions of the Holy Spirit.

³⁹³ Ecstasy is particularly evident in the *prophetic frenzy* phenomenon or acts of possession by the Spirit of the Lord that we see in Israel’s leaders in the Old Testament: For example, the Spirit of the Lord possesses and empowers Warriors, Judges, or Rulers. The Spirit of the Lord falls upon (possesses) Gideon and empowers him to gather his people to defeat the Midianites (Judges 6:34); The Spirit ‘comes upon’ Jephthah in his battle against the Ammonites (Judges 11:29); and the Spirit of the Lord ‘rushes upon Samson’ when he goes down to Ashkelon and kills thirty men (Judges 14:19). Furthermore, we see this same dynamic in the life of Israel’s kings. The spirit of the Lord comes upon Saul, ‘his anger is kindled’, and he is empowered to lead his people to defeat the Ammonites (1 Samuel 11:6). However, we see another dynamic in the life of Saul where after he is anointed king, his heart is changed. He then goes on to be ‘possessed by the Spirit of God’ and falls into ‘prophetic frenzy’ when he meets with a band of prophets (1 Samuel 10:9 – 13). Unfortunately, after David is anointed king and the Spirit of the Lord ‘comes mightily upon him from that day forward’ (1 Samuel 16:13), the ‘Spirit of the Lord’ departs Saul, and in its place, Saul receives an ‘evil spirit from the Lord’ which torments him (1 Samuel 16:14).

human centred, idolatrous regimes, is contested. Secondly, there is prophetic energizing in which the practice of hope and liberation is perpetuated. Both of these appear in the life of Jesus of Nazareth.³⁹⁴ But the nature of God can also be said to involve the idea of ecstasy and of resistance. Edith Humphrey reminds us that ecstasy and intimacy are fundamental to any understanding of the Trinity; firstly in God going outside him/herself through the incarnation of the Son (ecstasy); and secondly, God remaining with us in the Holy Spirit (intimacy).³⁹⁵ It is precisely the acts of ecstasy and intimacy that point to God's new creation, and according to Humphrey, Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel all "move back and forth between suffering and glimpses of hope, until each of them makes the grand crescendo – as readers, we are propelled forward from the plight of God's people to anticipate the new creation."³⁹⁶ It is in the life of pain and suffering that ecstasy becomes liberative, it makes space for resistance and alternative living, which in turn make space for new creation.

Caribbean theologians also make the link between ecstasy, prophecy and pneumatology, particularly within the liberative and resistant orientation of African religiocultural retentions. To begin with, both Barry Chevannes and Dianne Stewart insist that pneumatology is central to understanding African religiocultural heritage within the Caribbean context. Chevannes explains that the Myal religious trajectory in Jamaica works to pneumatologically reinterpret Christianity:

Where Christianity is transfixes on Jesus as mediator Myal was transfixes on the Spirit as possessor and sought [the Spirit] in dreams and secluded retreat. Whereas

³⁹⁴ Walter Brueggemann, *The Prophetic Imagination*, Second ed. (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2001).

³⁹⁵ Edith M. Humphrey, *Ecstasy and Intimacy: When the Holy Spirit Meets the Human Spirit* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2006). 4 - 5.

³⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 260.

Christianity placed its emphasis on transmitted *knowledge* (doctrine, Bible, catechism) for conversion, Myal placed its emphasis on the *experience* of the Spirit. When followers found [the Spirit] it was to be filled by [the Spirit], to be possessed. Possession by the Spirit thus became the quintessential experience of myalized Christianity.³⁹⁷

Stewart asserts that the pneumatocentric Myalist religiosity of Sam Sharpe and others led to the 1831-2 rebellion which had direct influence upon the abolition of slavery in 1834.³⁹⁸

Kortright Davis asserts that the spirit of prophecy is deeply imbedded within African religiocultural retentions. Looking at the multiple roles of Calypso, he likens it to the dual roles of the Hebrew prophets of critiquing injustice and oppression and also calling God's people back to their religious roots. He writes:

Music is the Caribbean voice of God. Much of Caribbean heritage has been sustained in its music and dance, and religion. Calypso – functions as creative challenge to oppression, it reduces political power, speaks for the people. The calypsonian is a national hero who, like Anansi, majors in double talk, in ambivalence, in creative criticism.³⁹⁹

Ecstasy and prophecy are key motifs for interpreting Acts 11 as well. According to Luke

Timothy Johnson Luke-Acts portrays Jesus and the apostles in terms of prophecy:

Luke characterizes Jesus and the movement that bears his name in ways that anyone familiar with the biblical tradition should recognize as having the marks of the prophet: being inspired by the Holy Spirit, speaking God's word, embodying

³⁹⁷ Chevannes, *Rastafari: roots and ideology*: 18 - 19.

³⁹⁸ Stewart, *Three Eyes for the Journey*. It is important to note here that Stewart isn't arguing for a Christian theological framework with which to view African religious traditions such as Myal, but uses a comparative religion methodology to show how African pneumatology, which is not Christian, has been excluded from theological discourse. The point I'm making is that she, along with Chevannes, insists that pneumatology within the Caribbean challenges Western abstract theological discourses, which sufficiently underexplores the Holy Spirit. Stewart also explains that African Caribbean culturally is so pneumatologically wired that ecstatic expressions in Africanised Churches are only evidence that Myal religiosity simply uses Christianity as a mask.

³⁹⁹ Davis, *Emancipation Still Comin'*: 44. See also, Novelle Josiah, "The development of Calypso in Antigua and its continuity with Old Testament traditions." (Unpublished MPhil Thesis, University of the West Indies, 2003). Josiah, like Davis, links Calypso to the role of Old Testament prophetic figures. Kirkley Sands also describes Junkanoo as fulfilling a prophetic role in contesting injustice against the Black majority within post-emancipation Bahamian society. See Sands, *Early Bahamian Slave Spirituality*: 65.

God's vision for humans, enacting that vision through signs and wonders, and bearing witness to God in the world.⁴⁰⁰

Likewise, Max Turner argues that Luke-Acts presents the Holy Spirit as a continuation of the Spirit of the Lord in the Old Testament. He writes:

Far from attempting to persuade the reader that the church finds its true self when it leaves Israel and Judaism behind, Luke wishes to maintain that she is the fulfilment of the promises of Israel. His exclusion of those who fail to give heed to the Mosaic Prophet from the nation of Israel and his apparent belief that the promises of Luke 1 – 2 are largely fulfilled by Acts 15 in the Church supports this, and in addition suggests he writes at a time when Christianity is still actively competing with (Hellenistic) Judaism for the claim to be God's Israel . . . That he believed the 'Spirit of prophecy' was still available to all believers is barely in doubt (cf., Acts 2:39!), and he may have anticipated his account would encourage greater dependence on the Spirit.⁴⁰¹

Following Johnson's assertion that the leading characters of Acts are portrayed as "prophetic men of the Spirit", we find Peter fulfilling this role.⁴⁰² Peter enters a trance where he participates in a divinely inspired vision (Acts 11:5). In this trance-like state he hears the 'voice from heaven' with which he converses (Acts 11:7 – 10). At the conclusion of the vision, 'The Spirit' tells him to join the three men sent from Cornelius, and not to make any distinction between himself and them (Acts 11:12). As soon as Peter begins speaking the Holy Spirit falls upon the Gentiles (Acts 11:15) in a way characteristic of the first Pentecost in Acts 2. Peter comes to understand the Spirit as a gift to Gentiles as well as Jews (Acts 11:17). But the next half of Acts 11 is also filled with Old Testament prophetic behaviour. 'The hand of the Lord' is with men from Cyprus and Cyrene in their preaching in Antioch and many Gentiles become believers. Barnabas is

⁴⁰⁰ Luke Timothy Johnson, *Prophetic Jesus, Prophetic Church: The Challenge of Luke-Acts to Contemporary Christians* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2011). 4.

⁴⁰¹ Max Turner, *The 'Spirit of Prophecy' as the Power of Israel's Restoration and Witness*, *Witness to the Gospel: The Theology of Acts* (Cambridge: Eerdmans 1998). 348. James Dunn also explains that Luke-Acts portrays Jesus as an inspired prophet in the Old Testament tradition. See Dunn, *The Acts of the Apostles*: 143.

⁴⁰² Johnson, *Prophetic Jesus, Prophetic Church*: 63.

sent to Antioch to verify the occurrence and he is described as “full of the Holy Spirit and of faith” (Acts 11:24). Finally, ‘prophets’ come down from Jerusalem to Antioch predicting an oncoming famine, spurring the community into preparatory action (Acts 11:27 – 28). However, we must also remember that the Holy Spirit in Luke-Acts isn’t only operational through men, but is responsible for the prophetic experiences and utterances in women. For example, Anna and her exultation of the Christ-child in Luke 2 or Phillip’s four daughters with the gift of prophecy in Acts 21.

But ecstatic prophetic behaviour in Acts 11 is inseparable from socio-political realities implicit in the text. Specifically, as Johnson argues, the Gentile mission is an embrace of the marginal.⁴⁰³ While Luke recounts Jesus’ embrace of the tax collectors, sinners, prostitutes, for example, it also hints at the embrace of those outside the bounds of Judaism such as Samaritans (Luke 9:51-52; 10:30-37; 17:11-19) and Ethiopians (Acts 8:26-40). Gentiles were the ultimate ‘other’ for the nascent Jewish Christian community. What Luke-Acts presents is a Holy Spirit directed movement from exclusion of the marginalised to the inclusion of all, even the Gentiles. Moreover, the geographical movement of the Spirit into Gentile territory is significant as well. The ‘hand of the Lord’ is with the believers from Cyrene and Cyprus driven to Antioch after the stoning of Stephen in Acts 7. It is in the very places they are driven to that good news is proclaimed directly to the Gentiles. It is in Antioch that the Church is directed by the Holy Spirit to set Paul and Barnabas aside for further missionary work among the Gentiles (Acts 13:1–3). It

⁴⁰³ Ibid., 152 - 57. Fully aware of Paul’s account of struggle toward Gentile inclusion in the Church recorded in Galatians 1:13 – 2:14 and how it differs from Luke’s account in Acts 11 and Acts 15 in particular, Johnson explains that Luke is at pains to show that the inclusion of the Gentiles is an act of the Holy Spirit. For Luke the first believers are slow to accept the long held vision that Jesus would be the messiah for all people. The Holy Spirit makes this vision clearer through the development of Luke’s narrative.

is in Antioch that the believers are first called Christians; a renewed identity is found. But the other dynamic about Antioch is that after the prophecy concerning a famine, the spirit of giving and communal living becomes characteristic of the now inclusive Jewish/Gentile Christian community as it was during the emergence of the solely Jewish Christian community after Pentecost where they held all things in common and sold their goods to provide for the poor and the needy (Acts 2:44-45).

Ultimately, Acts 11 provides insight into the role of the Holy Spirit in bringing about newness within Christian communities. Ethnic and cultural heritage do not prevent inclusion into the messianic community. In the nascent Church, concepts of sin must be careful not to conflate cultural heritage with sinfulness; i.e. one isn't sinful because they are Jew or Gentile. The coming of the Holy Spirit provides a corrective to this kind of theological conception of sin at the genesis of the Church, and in a manner more reflective of ecstatic activities in prophetic tradition in Hebrew scriptures, Peter is empowered to critique and denounce hitherto culturally dichotomous conceptions of sin undergirding the Jewish/Gentile divide. In the new community, both Jew and Gentile are called the Children of God, despite their ethnic and cultural backgrounds. Furthermore, the movement of the Holy Spirit through ecstatic behaviour such as trance and possession, as well as prophetic critique of ungodly, inhumane, and unjust social, political, religious and cultural practices, provides agency and inspiration in dismantling the dichotomous and dissonant living one finds in Self-Negation. Overcoming is about removing or transcending imposed cultural, religious and theological dividing lines. The relationship between Junkanoo and the Church in contemporary Bahamian society would benefit from

this example from the earliest stages of the development of the Church in its multi-ethnic Hellenistic cultural context.

6.6. Conclusion

Concepts of sin in framing the Junkanoo/Church relationship must be clear in having an individual and a structural foundation. It seems that what is in operation is a legalistic conceptualisation of sin/sinfulness, but legalistic according to a colonially organised Bahamian society where African religiocultural retentions such as Junkanoo or Obeah have historically been criminalised. Of course, undergirding this is the assumption that such were and are heathenish or demonic practices, clearly in violation of God's law. But again, the conflation of God's law with European civilization and values, judging by the research project, seems to still lie at the heart of contemporary Bahamian society.

Bahamians must take into account the wider biblical definition that sin is more about relationship than rules and regulations. The biblical story reveals God as the righteous one, who grants his pardon, peace and restoration to all human beings regardless of ethnic or cultural origin. He does so, because despite their sinfulness, He sees worth, value and dignity in them all.

Bahamians participating in Junkanoo are Christians too. Being in Junkanoo does not make them sinners. Junkanoo is not sinful in itself. People in Junkanoo, as in Church, transgress social boundaries and conventions, but this does not make them any less the children of God, or heirs in Christ. Bahamians are beloved, whether in Church or Junkanoo. Attention must be given to how Junkanoo is framed in the eyes of the Church, since there is always

the danger of undermining, even denying, the worth and dignity of Bahamians because they are involved in this cultural space. Furthermore, to move from one to the other, as if it were a movement from sacred to sinful space, creates a distortion in how Bahamians see themselves. It reinforces the message that their existence as African Bahamians is inherently indecent or sinful, since the larger message undergirding how Bahamians balance the Church/Junkanoo relationship is that one is seen as a corrective to the other. While the Church is the space to be cleaned up, to be proper, Junkanoo is the space where sin takes place. These kinds of praxes only help to reify Self-Negation.

In the next chapter, which concludes the research project, we will propose elements of a hermeneutic of embrace through which the Church and Junkanoo can build integrative, harmonious, and Self-Affirming practices.

7. Chapter 7: Conclusion: Towards a Hermeneutic of Embrace

7.1. Introduction

In this final chapter I am proposing a *hermeneutic of embrace* to counteract the pervasive reality of Self-Negation that affects the relationship between Junkanoo and the Church in contemporary Bahamian society. In doing so, the following will be done: firstly, I recall the research thus far, the initial goals and objectives and the new insights gained after research and analysis. Secondly, I highlight the basic principles undergirding the hermeneutic of embrace, which directly counteract Self-Negation and its hermeneutic of dichotomy. Thirdly, since hermeneutics and praxis are inseparable, as a result of the research I suggest revisions or additions to praxis that confirm and affirm a complementarity and embrace between the Church and Junkanoo within Bahamian society.

7.2. Summary of Research

I began the research seeking to complexify what seems to be a problematic relationship between the Church and Junkanoo in my particular cultural context, the Bahamas. All my life I've been aware that Junkanoo, along with other African religiocultural retentions such as Obeah, folklore, and even the Bahamian dialect were seen as essentially indecent. From childhood I have sensed this unease between my Christian upbringing in the Anglican Church and my love for folklore, Junkanoo and indigenous cultural productions on my rural Bahamian Island, Andros. My quest has been to see if my experience is normative. Because of this the research posed the following questions: Is Junkanoo really so secular, or inappropriate, or demonic? What really is the state of the Junkanoo/Church

relationship in the Bahamas? Do others find the relationship problematic? In which ways can both the Church and Junkanoo help solve this tension?

In reviewing the literature, I came to see that Self-Negation would be an adequate terminology for my experience. Self-Negation, the phenomenon in which indigenous, mainly African cultural modes of expression, languages, art forms, and even African religiocultural retentions such as Junkanoo, are seen, by Caribbean Christians themselves, as improper and second class at best, and evil or demonic at worst, has been the central motif of, or inspiration for, much of Caribbean academic discourse. What DuBois refers to as *double consciousness*, and Fanon refers to as *internalised violence*, are indebted to the long history of slavery and colonialism, which ensured that African Caribbean people see essential parts of themselves and their culture, particularly the African part in all its manifestations, as problematic, or worse, evil or sinful.⁴⁰⁴ And while this has incurred responses from the Black Power movement in the Caribbean in the likes of Walter Rodney, or the Black Consciousness movement in the likes of Marcus Garvey, or in the rich anticolonial literature through, for example, C. L. R. James, Derek Walcott, or George Lamming, not much of a response has come from theological discourse in the Caribbean.⁴⁰⁵ This psychology of oppression or self-hatred has not been a key theological focus. And where it matters to me most, the relationship between Church and indigenous

⁴⁰⁴ See Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk*. Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*. Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks*.

⁴⁰⁵ See Walter Rodney, *The Groundings with My Brothers* (London: Bogle-L'Ouverture Publications, 1969). Marcus Garvey and Amy Jacques Garvey, *The Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey* (Dover, Massachusetts: Majority Press, 1986); James, *The Black Jacobins*. Walcott, "The Muse of History". Lamming, *In the Castle of My Skin*. George Lamming, *The pleasures of exile* (London: M. Joseph, 1960).

culture, not much theological research has been done in a way that takes the latter seriously.

Bringing interdisciplinary, ethnographic Practical and Contextual theological approaches to this research in Caribbean Theology, the following objectives were laid out: to explore the spiritual foundations of the festival looking for themes and motifs pertinent to Christian belief and praxis; to explore and describe the complex relationship between Junkanoo and the Church in the Bahamian context, looking particularly for areas of tension or dissonance leading to the devaluation of the former, or even rejection of the latter; and finally, to suggest means of better, more integrated practices through which both can help respond to reality of Self-Negation, both internally and societally.

As suspected the data confirms that the Junkanoo/Church relationship is an example of Self-Negation. While the Literature Review (Chapter 4) states that Self-Negation is as much a social, cultural and political reality as it is a theological one, largely as a result of the experience of colonialism and slavery, an analysis of the data (Chapter 5) echoes the same suggestion that the relationship between the two is indeed colonially influenced. However it further complexifies the relationship showing it as: firstly, dichotomous, where, consistent with the hierarchically structured and dichotomous nature of Bahamian life in general, the two are seen and promoted as incompatible; secondly, ambivalent, in that such a popular perception of dichotomy belies the ‘on the ground’ reality of shared praxis and integration; and finally involving dissonance of identity, where both in interviews and observations, examples of Bahamians disparaging their African

religiocultural identity are encountered. Chapter 5 further suggests that Self-Negation is not only the framework through which the complex relationship between Junkanoo and the Church can be seen, but that it is also a process, a dynamic reality to which both Junkanoo and the Church contribute in varying ways and to varying degrees. At the same time, both Junkanoo and the Church also contribute towards what I have come to refer to as ‘Overcoming’, the counter process wherein colonially imposed dichotomies are transcended for the purpose of creating a mutually transformative, mutually nourishing, and self-affirming relationship. While the former is perpetuated by a *hermeneutic of dichotomy*, the latter is, and can be, perpetuated by a *hermeneutic of embrace*.

7.3. The Hermeneutic of Embrace

The idea of, and the need for, a new hermeneutic consistently emerged in the process of research and analysis. I concluded Chapter 5 suggesting that out of the many theological themes emerging from the data, most fundamental to the concept of Self-Negation is the problematic concept of sin at the heart of the Junkanoo/Church relationship. The research revealed that sinfulness and African religiocultural heritage are conflated, that Church and Junkanoo are sacred and sinful spaces respectively, and that the former is the corrective to the latter. In Chapter 6 I theologically expounded on the concept of sin using what I have described as Caribbean Vernacular Hermeneutics. It came to light that the concept of sin in the Bible and in the history of Christian thinking fundamentally refers to a breach in the relationship with God. But while early Christian thinkers such as Augustine eisegetically interpreted Paul’s writings, particularly Romans 5:12, and the story of the Fall in Genesis 3 to derive the problematic doctrine of Original sin, Modern theologians along with

Reformers such as Luther and Calvin have framed their concepts of sin in individualistic terms at the expense of more structural concepts. Postmodern theologians, such as Third World, Black, Womanist and Caribbean theologians, have critiqued this position and highlighted the need for concepts of sin that not only take into account the structural or social nature of sin, but also the worth and dignity of all people, particularly the oppressed and marginalised. Bearing the need for disentangling African religiocultural heritage and sinfulness, or conversely Euro-American Missionary Christianity and righteousness, at the heart of the Junkanoo Church relationship, I focused on Acts 11, a narrative at the genesis of Early Church expansion revealing a pneumatological corrective to this conflation of sinfulness with ethnic or cultural heritage. The earliest Christian community had to overcome religious and cultural dichotomy between Jews and Gentiles and the Holy Spirit was active in bringing about this renewed and inclusive Jewish/Gentile Christian community.

Essentially, what is found is a hermeneutical shift for that early Christian community.⁴⁰⁶

The term hermeneutic here connotes the way in which life comes to be interpreted. I acknowledge that the history and religious, social and cultural location of Bahamians determine their outlook on life, particularly the place of Church and the place of culture in

⁴⁰⁶ Others have also seen the need to distinguish between two contrasting hermeneutics. Brenda B. Colijn, refers to a hermeneutic of consent employed by Peter Stulmacher in *Historical Criticism and Theological Interpretation: Toward a Hermeneutics of Consent*, 1995. Stulmacher, according to Colijn contrasts this with the hermeneutics of suspicion, exerting that both must be used, one for challenge, the other for fostering faithful formation. See Colijn, *Images of Salvation in the New Testament*: 41; Peter Stulmacher, *Historical Criticism and Theological Interpretation: Toward a Hermeneutics of Consent* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1977). She also cites Richard Hays who advocates both a Hermeneutic of trust as well as a hermeneutic of suspicion when it comes to Biblical Interpretation and Theology. In the first instance to trust the God behind the text, and in the second instance to be suspicious of ourselves and our institutions as we approach the text. See Richard B. Hays, "Salvation by Trust? Reading the Bible Faithfully," *The Christian Century* (1997).

everyday affairs. Hence, there is a direct link between the legacy of colonialism and the rejection or secularizing of African religiocultural retentions. Moreover, as John McCarthy reminds us, there is a direct link between hermeneutics and praxis.⁴⁰⁷ How one interprets the world leads directly to one's actions within it. Therefore through a hermeneutic of dichotomy Self-Negation is advanced resulting in dissonance between faith and culture within Bahamian society; through a hermeneutic of embrace Overcoming is advanced through integrated practices between church and culture or Church and Junkanoo within Bahamian society. I am not suggesting that Junkanoo and the Church ought to be, or are, the same; they are not! They are different. What I am suggesting is that though different, they can complement each other and are both important and cherished resources for bringing about lives of wholeness within Bahamian society. Also, through a mutually critical, creative, and embracing relationship, both can become places of wholeness and wellbeing, as well as sites of resistance, particularly with regard to extra-regional and neo-colonial forces.⁴⁰⁸

Before listing what I see as distinct elements of a hermeneutic of embrace it is helpful to recall aspects of the hermeneutic of dichotomy so prevalent within Bahamian social, religious and cultural life. The data describes the on-going legacy of slavery and colonialism as 'colonial chains' that always function to dichotomise. It actively promotes dissonance within popular imagination between, for example, the European and African aspects of identity, or between the Church and African religiocultural retentions. Also, this

⁴⁰⁷ John McCarthy, "Hermeneutics," in *A New Handbook of Christian Theology* ed. Donald W. Musser and Joseph L. Price (Cambridge: The Lutterworth Press, 1992), 223.

⁴⁰⁸ See Table 1 which highlights the positive and negative attributes of both the Church and Junkanoo as encountered in the data. Both of them are challenged by the influences of materialism and economics posed by globalization and the country's economic and cultural ties to North America.

hermeneutic does not necessarily account for on-the-ground complexity, but shapes popular imagination about how the relationship should be, and the kinds of practices both Church and Junkanoo should engage in.

In contradistinction, a hermeneutic of embrace works to bring about harmony and integration within Bahamian society. By harmony and integration I am not suggesting that the Church and Junkanoo become the same thing, or that they find an in-between space, a happy medium where Bahamians can feel safe in both worlds. What I am suggesting, however, is that Bahamians be allowed to move between both spheres of religious and cultural life as they have always done, but without the stigmatisation attached to such multiple belonging. In short, the Church has integrity in its own right, so does Junkanoo; and it is perfectly permissible for Bahamians to move between both spaces. What is ultimately important is that the dignity of Bahamians is affirmed as they navigate either Church or Junkanoo or the spaces in between the two.

The review of literature makes us aware of the dual legacy of slavery and colonialism, not only that it has promoted dichotomy, but that it also brought about means of confronting, resisting and transcending the dichotomous and afrophobic society.⁴⁰⁹ African religiocultural retentions such as Junkanoo are examples of these. Confirming this reality, the research highlights that Overcoming is as much an outgrowth of the colonial situation

⁴⁰⁹ In chapter 3 I highlighted the dual legacies of posttraumatic slave syndrome and the related phenomenon of posttraumatic growth. In the former Joy L. Degruy traces the legacies of slavery evident in contemporary post-slavery societies through psychological, physical and spiritual pathologies within the Black community. See Degruy, *Post Traumatic Slave Syndrome*. In the latter, William E. Cross, Jr. argues that while the context of slavery birthed pain and trauma, it also birthed powerful means of coping with and addressing them. See William E. Cross Jr, "Black Psychological Functioning and the Legacy of Slavery: Myths and Realities " in *International Handbook of Multigenerational Legacies of Trauma*, ed. Yael Danieli (New York: Plenum Press, 2010).

evidenced in how Junkanoo functions to affirm identity and the image of God within the African Bahamians. It also affirms that both have powerful and integrated spiritual and religious foundations, and share the same prophetic, ecstatic pneumatology which is both resistant, in critiquing injustice, oppression and Self-Negation, and affirmative, in upholding the dignity and value of African religious and cultural identity.

Bearing this in mind then, I now propose that the following tenets of a hermeneutic of embrace undergird the practices of the Church and Junkanoo in particular, and Bahamian society in general. I also suggest that the hermeneutic be the foundation to specific practices, or the creation of new ones. This hermeneutic of embrace, therefore:

- Affirms the dignity and potent spirituality within African religiocultural retentions in general, and Junkanoo in particular.
- Affirms the deep and consonant relationship between Junkanoo and the Church in Bahamian society, that though they are different spaces, there is no reason why they can not be integrated, or mutually and equally affirmed. In fact, the data suggests that practices on the ground, quite the reverse of what is popularly conceived, support strong and consistent points of intersection.
- Advocates ecclesiastical, liturgical, governmental and cultural insistence on promoting mutuality and harmony between these two significant strands of Bahamian religious and cultural identity; dispensing with the sacred-secular divide

so prevalent across Bahamian society. Part of the problem is the fact that institutions of power such as the Church and the government support limited integration. For example, Junkanoo is either incorporated or promoted for its ability to draw crowds, which results a greater collection of wealth. But, the deeply spiritual or pedagogical aspects of the festival are of little concern.

- Proposes joint efforts between Junkanoo and the Church in critiquing and contesting neo-colonial influences within Bahamian society, and also valorising the rich heritage of African Bahamian religious and cultural life in the face of sweeping social, cultural and religious changes due to globalisation and neo-colonialism.
- Theologically deconstruct and reconstruct problematic versions of Christian doctrines inherited from the region's colonial past. In this research I have looked carefully at the doctrine of sin and how legacies of slavery and colonialism have produced a doctrine that equates sinfulness with African religious and cultural identity. I have made mention of other doctrines and Christian themes in 5.5 such as pneumatology, prophecy, theological anthropology, power, pastoral care and nurture, liturgy, and enculturation. No doubt, all of these are connected, but they all need critical attention in light of the strong legacy of Self-Negation within the theological imagination of contemporary Bahamian and Caribbean society.

7.4. Suggestions for Praxis

Bearing these tenets of the hermeneutic of embrace in mind and taking into account concrete examples of potential or existing integrated practices suggested by the data, I advance the following as instructive for a more integrative and self-affirming relationship between the Church and Junkanoo in contemporary Bahamian society:

7.4.1. Research and Education in the Pedagogical Value of Junkanoo

It has become clear in the research that Junkanoo holds great pastoral value for Bahamians, but that it also has a strong pedagogical element. Interview respondents recall experiences where Bahamian children come alive when Junkanoo is the medium of education. An existing example of this has been 'Educulture' and their work of providing indigenous pedagogical services through the medium of Junkanoo.⁴¹⁰ One way in which Churches can capitalise on this is to introduce Junkanoo into the teaching of Sunday School material, or using the model of the shack to generate small formational groups. Interview respondents highlight the view that the Junkanoo shack provides the kind of communitarian living and non-judgemental Christian formation often lacking in Churches.

7.4.2. Research and Education in the Spiritual and Theological Foundations of Junkanoo

A part from Kenneth Bilby, Kirkley Sands, Etienne Bowleg, and this research, there has been very little insistence that Junkanoo be seen as a resource for greater spiritual or

⁴¹⁰ On their website, Educulture describes itself as "an educational and cultural consultancy group, comprised of a number of professionals from various disciplines, including culture, academia, finance, destination management, tourism, and product development." See Educulture Bahamas Ltd, "Educulture: Explore, Discover, Celebrate the Spirit of the Bahamas," IslandCharm, <http://www.educulturebahamas.com>.

theological insights.⁴¹¹ My work in this project only scratches the surface of the potential for theological reflection through the medium of Junkanoo. This research insists that Junkanoo has been misunderstood or maligned by Bahamians for such a long time that intentional research into its forgotten or unknown religious and theological foundations is urgent. To ensure fuller knowledge of the festival, and other aspects of Bahamian religiocultural heritage, Junkanoo itself, through its groups and shacks, as well as the Church through the training of its clergy, should spend time educating and researching the history and religious and cultural foundation of Bahamian African religiocultural retentions, including Junkanoo.

7.4.3. Official Ecclesiastical and Denominational Embrace of Junkanoo

The data suggests that most denominations do not have official stances with regard to Junkanoo. What is found is a mixture of responses by individual clergypersons or churches. Some denominations make it a policy not to support Jr Junkanoo, even though they are considered the more Bahamianised Churches.⁴¹² Moreover, some denominations blatantly insist that their members not participate in Junkanoo. Perhaps the Roman Catholic Church is the only one that has created and implemented a Junkanoo folk mass. And, while the institutions have neglected to express official stances on Junkanoo, individual clergy persons and church members are heavily involved in their local Junkanoo groups. Moreover, where the Christian Council has been active, often it has been in publicly censoring and criticising Junkanoo, not publicly embracing it.

⁴¹¹ See, Bilby, "Surviving Secularization." Sands, "Theological Implications of Junkanoo." Sands, *Early Bahamian Slave Spirituality*. Bowleg, "Liturgical Implications of Junkanoo."

⁴¹² In Chapter 5 I made the argument that there is ambivalence concerning the archetypical Bahamian denomination, Baptists, for example, who according to interview respondents are the most open to Bahamian culture, yet they do not support Jr Junkanoo.

Suggestions by a former Christian Council president that Junkanoo be baptised has been rejected.⁴¹³ At this juncture what is most needed are denominational statements affirming the integrity and value of Junkanoo for Bahamians and for the Church. Perhaps part of the agenda of the Bahamas Christian Council could be to ‘baptise’ Junkanoo, so that the nation may begin to see it differently, not simply as Bahamian, but as wholesome, religious, and theological.

7.4.4. Liturgical Integration of Junkanoo and Church

The data reveals that where entertained, Junkanoo is usually seen as marginal to the life of the Church. Chapter 5 suggests that churches seem to use Junkanoo when they want to gather a crowd for a ‘cook-out’.⁴¹⁴ In instances when groups would attend Church services they would have to replace their indigenous instruments, the goat-skin drum and cowbells, with marching band instruments. They would also have no involvement in the liturgy or be a part of the leading of worship. And, in instances where Junkanoo music is appropriated in churches, perhaps through the use of goat skin drums, cowbells and whistles, usually these are churches fashioned after the North American tele-evangelical model of church, which in itself is also problematic.⁴¹⁵ For such a powerful form of worship having the capacity to truly ‘move’ Bahamians, to help them identify with the Christian hymns and songs; Junkanoo should have a central place in the liturgical life of

⁴¹³ In his interview Rev. Dr. Simeon Hall recalled his insistence that the Christian Council baptise Junkanoo once and for all but he was met with sharp criticism.

⁴¹⁴ A ‘cook-out’ in the Bahamian context is a fete or a fayre, an event mainly to make money.

⁴¹⁵ In Chapter 5 I highlighted how one interview respondent in particular pointed to the use of Junkanoo instruments in Mt. Tabor Full Gospel Baptist Church. This is one of the mega Churches in the Bahamas that has large international networks, headed by a nationally and internationally renowned senior pastor, Bishop Neil C. Ellis. However, the data also highlights the problematic nature of such denominations in that they promote a very Americanised, material oriented gospel that also uses, but does not truly integrate culture.

any church. It must be remembered that much of the music in Junkanoo is Church music, and many of the themes are biblical ones. Henry Higgins sees Bay Street, the many thoroughfare of the Junkanoo parade, as his Church, the place in which he preaches the gospel. I suggest that the different denominations truly look at ways of bringing Junkanoo into the heart of the liturgical and worship life of the Church.

7.4.5. National Conversation on Self-Negation in Bahamian Society

This research has suggested that Bahamian society is a self-negating one, and that religious and cultural dichotomy is but one aspect. In 2002 the College of the Bahamas, the premier tertiary institution hosted a symposium entitled “Junkanoo and Religion: Christianity and Cultural Identity in the Bahamas”.⁴¹⁶ This was the first of its kind for a specific attention to the Christianity/culture relationship in the nation. More than ten years have passed and what is now needed is to revisit such an idea in collaboration with the Bahamas Christian Council, distinct denominational bodies, and various Junkanoo groups, looking specifically at this theme of Self-Negation as I have outlined in this research. It seems that such a conversational space must raise awareness of the on going legacies of slavery and colonialism still operational in Bahamian national, religious and cultural life. It must highlight the complex history between Junkanoo and the Church, including current ‘on the ground’ praxes which seem to always militate against popular conceptions of incompatibility. It must also address the added complexity of the nations problematic

⁴¹⁶ Bahamas, "Junkanoo and Religion: Christianity and Cultural Identity in the Bahamas."

relationship with North America and its neo-colonial, economic and materialistic value systems, which affects all facets of Bahamian life, including Junkanoo and the Church.⁴¹⁷

7.5. Conclusion

It seems then that the path toward some sense of harmony between Junkanoo and the Church would be through a hermeneutic of embrace; one insisting on seeing them as mutual, appropriate and equal partners in the ministry of bringing wholeness to Bahamian identity and society. Both are fallible, as the research has shown. Both have particular gifts as well. Together they can critique the unbiblical, colonially informed concept of sin at the heart of Self-Negation, that one's religious and cultural heritage does not make them sinful. Also, together, they can mediate the Gospel imperative of wholeness and reconciliation, with God, others and the self.

Self-Negation is a complex phenomenon either promoted or dismantled by particular ways of living, either through a hermeneutic of dichotomy or of embrace. It must be also borne in mind that legacies of slavery are not all bad; in some cases Self-Affirmation is the result. It is the belief of this research that Junkanoo is a potent example of this dynamic of strengthening the self in a way not necessarily oppositional to the Church, but embracing it. Nonetheless, the processes of colonialism and neo-colonialism continue, and Junkanoo and the Church must work together to foster wholeness and integration of identity within Bahamian society.

⁴¹⁷ In Chapter 6 I have argued that both Junkanoo and the Church are being influenced or re-appropriated by the nations close relationship with North American neocolonial and materialistic values. See Table 1 for the negative and positive attributes of Junkanoo and the Church as highlighted in the data.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: SELECTED PHOTOS OF JUNKANOO, DECEMBER 2012 – JANUARY 2013: LEAD COSTUME PIECE, SCRAP GROUP AND SHACK.



Photo of Lead Junkanoo Costume, One Family, Boxing Day, 2013. Photo by Author



Photo of the Sting Scrap Group, Boxing Day, 2013. Photo by Author

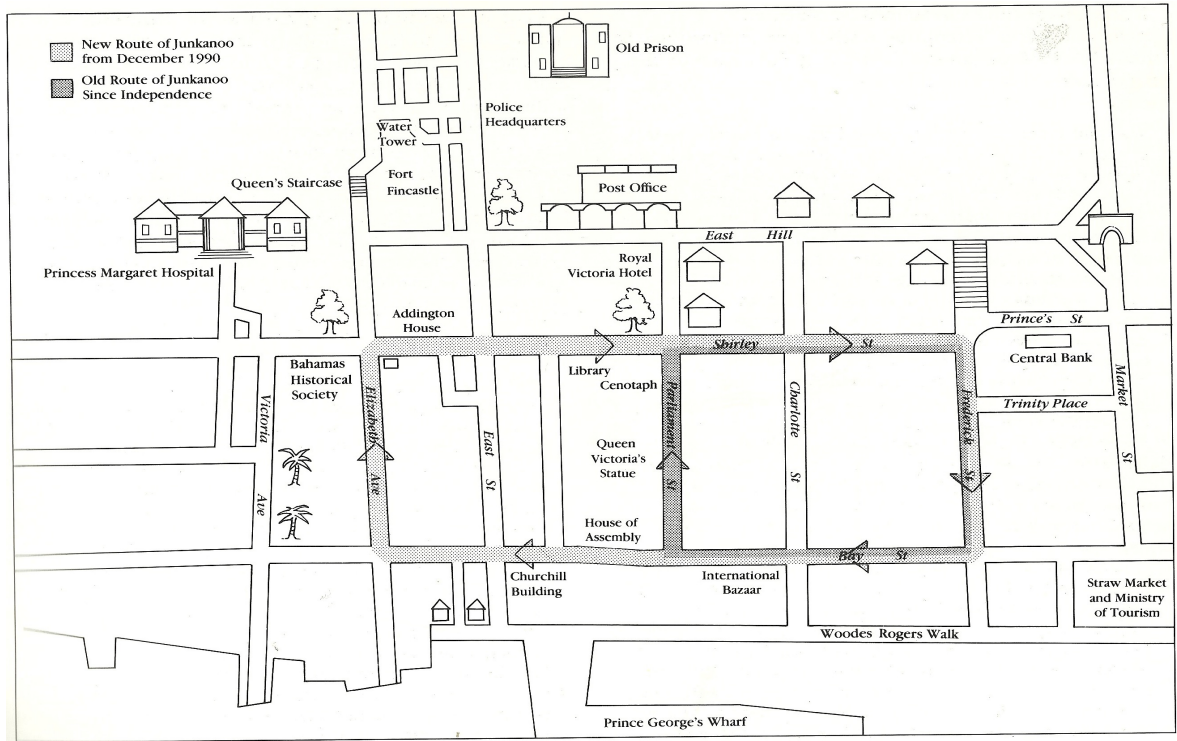


Photo of 'Sperrit' Scrap Group, Boxing Day, 2013. Photo by Author



Photos of Conquerors for Christ Shack, Christmas 2012. Photos by Author.

APPENDIX B: DIAGRAM OF THE MODERN DAY JUNKANOO PARADE ROUTE (Bethel, *Junkanoo: Festival of the Bahamas: 87*)



**APPENDIX C: RULES AND REGULATIONS OF THE NEW PROVIDENCE
JUNKANOO PARADE (2012) – For entire document, please visit:
<http://www.jcnp.net>**

**JUNKANOO CORPORATION NEW
PROVIDENCE LIMITED**

DEFINITIONS

1. The **JUNKANOO CORPORATION NEW PROVIDENCE LIMITED** is responsible for the administration and operation of the annual Boxing Day and New Year's Day Junkanoo Parades in New Providence.
 - (a) Henceforth in these rules **JUNKANOO CORPORATION NEW PROVIDENCE LIMITED**, shall be referred to as the **J.C.N.P.**
 - (b) Henceforth in these rules **Parades Management Team** shall be referred to as **P.M.T.**
 - (c) Henceforth in these rules the Independent Review Committee will be Referred to as the **I.R.C.**
2. These rules shall be referred to as the **J.C.N.P.** Official Rules.
3. For the purpose of the **J.C.N.P.**, Official Rules, Junkanoo Parades means the annual New Providence Boxing Day and New Year's Day junkanoo parades.
 - (a) Any other junkanoo parades held in New Providence, under the administration control and operation of the **J.C.N.P.**, where prior to the holding of such parade it is determine by the **J.C.N.P.** membership that such parade would be held subject to the official rules of the **J.C.N.P.**
4. For the purpose of The **J.C.N.P.** a Junkanoo Group or Individual Division, **participation** in an annual New Providence, Boxing Day, New Year's Day parades or any other parade held under the official rules of the **J.C.N.P.** are defined as follows: A Junkanoo Group or Individual that is duly registered and meeting all requirements to parade or take part in a specific, Boxing Day, New Year's Day parades, or other parade held under the **J.C.N.P.** official rules.
5. For the purpose of The **J.C.N.P.**, a persons participating in an annual New Providence, Boxing Day, New Year's Day parades or any other parade held under the official rules of the **J.C.N.P.**, is defined as: A male or female who is parading as part of a duly registered group or

APPENDIX D: TABULAR ANALYSIS OF THEMES AND RELIGIOUS MUSIC ENCOUNTERED IN THE RESEARCH DATA

Classification of Groups:

- (A) – A Group
- (B) – B Group
- (Scrap) – Scrap Group
- (JJ) – Jr Junkanoo Group

Classification of Themes:

- B=Biblical – Things pertaining to the Bible or the Church
- N=Nationalistic/Indigenous – themes or topical issues pertaining to the Bahamas and African Bahamian culture
- C=Cosmopolitan – Themes expressing cultures and concerns external to the Bahamas
- NB: *Some may be considered as belonging to dual classifications. Priority goes to the order in which such classifications are made.*

Themes in Junkanoo			
Group	Theme/Title	Parade and Year	Classification
Original Congos (B)	40 th Independence Bahamian Style	New Years Day Parade 2013	N
Fancy Dancers	African Glory-History and Culture	Boxing Day Parade 2012	N
One Love Crusaders (B)	All Things Bright and Beautiful	Boxing Day Parade 2012	B
Culture Junkanoo Group (B)	Breast Cancer	Boxing Day 2011 or New Years 2012???	N
The Pigs (Scrap)	Can't Win for Losing: Roll Em!!		N
C. C. Sweeting High School (JJ)	Celebrating the Bahamas	Jr Junkanoo 2012	N
Conquerors for Christ (B)	Celebrating the Women's Suffrage Movement	New Years Day Parade 2013	N
The Valley Boys (A)	Coronation of Elizabeth: Diamond Jubilee	Boxing Day Parade 2012	C/N
Phi Beta Sigma (Scrap)	Culture of Service, Service for Humanity	Boxing Day Parade 2012	N
Colours (B)	Da Carnival	Boxing Day Parade 2012	C
Saxons (A)	Dynasty of the Pharaohs	New Years Day Parade 2013	B/C
Saxons (A)	Encounter the Magical Kingdom of Atlantis	Boxing Day Parade 2011	C/N

Harbour Island School (JJ)	Forward, Upward, Onward, Together	Jr Junkanoo 2012	N
Anathol Rodgers High School (JJ)	From Cradle to the Grave	Jr Junkanoo 2014	N
Roots (A)	Games People Play	New Years Day Parade 2013	N
Bush Warriors (Scrap)	Hang All Murderers	Boxing Day Parade 2012/New Years Day 2013	N
Saxons (A)	HM The Queen: A Celebration of Life	Boxing Day Parade 2012	
One Family (A)	Hurricane A' Comin	Boxing Day 2012	N
Sting (Scrap)	I Comin' Right Back	Boxing Day Parade 2012	N
Government High School (JJ)	Jr Junkanoo in Magic City	Jr Junkanoo 2013	N
C. R. Walker High School (JJ)	Our Highlights	Jr Junkanoo 2013	N
Spanish Wells All Aged School (JJ)	Out of Africa	Jr Junkanoo 2013	N
Saxons (A)	Pharaoh Out of Egypt	Boxing Day Parade 2012	B
One Love Crusaders (B)	Psalm 150 Bahamian Style	New Years Day 2013	B
BEC Shockers (Scrap)	Safety First	New Years Day 2013	N
Roots (A)	Salvation: The Prophecies of Isaiah	Boxing Day Parade 2011	N
The Prodigal Sons (B)	Seminole Migration to Red Bay's Andros	Boxing Day Parade 2012	N
The Valley Boys (A)	The Bahamas Tourism Experience	New Years Day Parade 2013	N
Red Land Soldiers (B)	The Exciting Island of Eleuthera		N
One Love (B)	The Great Laua-Spirits of Hawaii	Boxing Day Parade 2011	C
???	The Life and Times of Jesus Christ	This is name of a Group	B
Roots (A)	The Queen's Masquerade Ball: Celebrating 60 Year	Boxing Day Parade 2012	C/N
???	Tribute to Baal	Boxing Day Parade 2004	B
Culture Junkanoo Group (B)	Breast Cancer	Boxing Day 2012	N/C

The Valley Boys (A)	Watuza, Watuza	???	N
Original Congos (B)	We love Bahamian Music	Boxing Day Parade 2012	N
Conquerors for Christ (B)	“Let Everything That has Breath Praise the Lord.”	Boxing Day Parade 2004	B
Conquerors for Christ (B)	The Women’s Suffrage Movement	New Years Parade 2013	N
Conquerors for Christ (B)	Tribute to Our Fathers	Boxing Day Parade 2012	N
RELIGIOUS MUSIC IN JUNKANOO			
Saxons	Crown Him with Many Crowns	Boxing Day 2012	
Saxons	Rule Britannia	Boxing Day 2012	
Music Makers	Somewhere in that Glory Land	Boxing Day 2012	
Music Makers	Tomorrow	Boxing Day 2012	
One Family	How Great Thou Art	Boxing Day 2012	
One Love Crusaders	All People that on Earth do Dwell	Boxing Day 2012	
One Love Crusaders	Pass it On	Boxing Day 2012	
One Love Crusaders	I’ll Fly Away	Boxing Day 2012	
C. C. Sweeting	Our God Reigns	Jr Junkanoo 2012	
The Valley Boys	City of Gold	Junkanoo Practice 2012	
The Valley Boys	I’ll Fly Away	New Years Day Parade 2013	
Conquerors for Christ	Amen	New Years Day Parade 2013	
Roots	Give Me Oil in my Lamp	Boxing Day 2011	
One Family	How Great Thou Art	Boxing Day 2012	
One Family	I can See Clearly Now	Junkanoo Practice 2012	
The Valley Boys	Till the Storm Passes Over	Junkanoo Practice 2012	
One Family	How Great Thou Art	Junkanoo Practice 2012	
One Family	The Lord will Make a Way Somehow	Junkanoo Practice 2012	
One Family	Till the Storm Passes Over	Junkanoo Practice 2012	
The Valley Boys	City of Gold	New Years Day 2013	
One Family	Give Me Oil in my lamp	New Years Day	

		2013	
Roots	Some Glad Morning We Shall See	Boxing Day 2011	

APPENDIX E: SAMPLE LETTERS TO INTERVIEW PARTICIPANT

Rev. Carlton John Turner, PhD Researcher
The Queens Foundation for Ecumenical Theological Education
Edgbaston, Birmingham, B15 2QH

12th July 2011

Re: PhD Research in Junkanoo and Caribbean Theology

Dear Canon Dr. Kirkley Sands:

I am a part-time PhD research student at the Queens Foundation for Ecumenical Theological Education in Birmingham, UK, a degree validated by the University of Gloucestershire, UK, and supervised by Rev. Dr. Rachele Vernon. I am kindly requesting an interview with you due to your expertise and experience related to Junkanoo, Bahamian Culture, Caribbean Christianity and Caribbean Theology. The information from this interview will be analysed for a better understanding of Junkanoo and its significance for the practice of Christianity within the Bahamas.

The aim of this research is to describe, interpret and understand how Junkanoo, as experienced by Bahamians, could be an authentic way of doing theology within the Bahamas, and by extension, the Caribbean context.

Participation in this study is voluntary. It will involve an interview of approximately *1 ½ hours* in length to take place in a mutually agreed upon location. You may decline to answer any of the interview questions if you so wish. Further, you may decide to withdraw from this study at any time by advising the researcher. With your permission, the interview will be audio recorded to facilitate collection of information, and later transcribed for analysis. Shortly after the interview has been completed, I will send you a copy of the transcript to give you an opportunity to confirm the accuracy of our conversation and to add or clarify any points that you wish. There are no known or anticipated risks to you as a participant in this study.

If you have any questions regarding this study, or would like additional information to assist you in reaching a decision about participation, please contact me at +44 **01922712927** or by email at **carltonturner07@hotmail.com**. You can also contact my supervisor, Rev. Dr. Evie Vernon at +44 121 452 2620 or email **e.vernon@queens.ac.uk**.

Below, I've included a list of questions I wish to ask you. I very much look forward to speaking with you and thank you in advance for your assistance in this research.

Yours Sincerely,

Rev. Carlton John Tuner

Interview Questions:

Introductory questions: Can you please tell me a bit about yourself, your profession, or training, and your field/s of academic interest?

Given your research background and your discipline, how would you describe the church's attitude to Junkanoo within the Bahamas?

Would you say that there is self-negation within the average Bahamian whereby their African-ness is being subjected to their Church Traditions? If this is so, is the average Bahamian aware of this?

One of the observations from Caribbean Conference of Churches documents and consultations is that there is a habit of us importing theological outlooks, Church trends and styles from the developed countries, at the expense of indigenous outlooks, trends and styles, would you agree with this?

- Why do you think this is so?
- Is there anything we can do to reverse this trend if it holds some inherent dangers?

Sociologists speak of Carnivals and Festivals such as Junkanoo as forms of resistance against domination; means of socio-political critique; or even spaces for community catharsis or healing in tough times. Given the pressures of an economic downturn, a rise in violent crime, and political and social instability, the Church is significantly challenged. Is there something that Junkanoo provides the nation, or a way in which it speaks to the people, that Churches can learn from or should incorporate?

One of the complexities of Caribbean Church history is that, in general, the Church has both been a church of the colonizer and a church of the colonized. It has been in many respects, the bearer of culture and affirmer of the poor and the oppressed as well as having a history of being very much complicit with colonial hegemony.

- Is the church still a bearer of culture in the Bahamas?
- Given the fact of globalization and the power of the media over cultural and religious practices within less powerful countries such as the Bahamas, is the church acting as agents of new forms of colonization, or is it being a place of refuge for indigenous cultural and religious practices?

We now live in a globalised world where the media plays a big part in shaping culture, particularly the culture and religiosity of small countries like the Bahamas. How do you envision Junkanoo changing, or the Church changing, and what would this mean for the relationship between Junkanoo and Christianity?

- What would this mean for the faith practices of Bahamian people?
- How might Junkanoo be giving spiritual formation to Bahamians in ways that are instructive to Christian praxis?

- Will there be reparation between faith and culture, Christianity and Junkanoo in the foreseeable future?

APPENDIX F: SAMPLE CONSENT FORM FOR INTERVIEW PARTICIPANTS

CONSENT FORM

By signing this consent form, you are not waiving your legal rights or releasing the investigator or involved institution from their legal and professional responsibilities.

I have read the information presented in the information letter about a study being conducted by Rev. Carlton John Turner of the Research Department of the Queens Foundation for Ecumenical Theological Education at the University of Gloucestershire. I have had the opportunity to ask any questions related to this study, to receive satisfactory answers to my questions, and any additional details I wanted.

I am aware that I have the option of allowing my interview to be audio recorded to ensure an accurate recording of my responses.

I am also aware that excerpts from the interview may be included in the thesis and/or publications to come from this research.

I was informed that I may withdraw my consent at any time by advising the researcher.

With full knowledge of all foregoing, I agree, of my own free will, to participate in this research.

YES NO

I agree to have my interview audio recorded.

YES NO

I agree to the use of quotations in any thesis or publication that comes of this research.

YES NO

Participant Name: _____ (Please print)

Participant Signature: _____

Witness Name: _____ (Please print)

Witness Signature: _____

Date: 21st / July / 2011

APPENDIX G: EXAMPLE OF EXPERT INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPT

Percy 'Vola' Francis Interview Transcript

CT: Good morning Mr. Francis, thank you for doing this interview and I'll start with, what's your history concerning Junkanoo and tell me about your introduction into Junkanoo. How did you come to be a leader of a Junkanoo Group and tell me about your group, or just tell me more about that.

PF: You know, off course, Junkanoo is believed to be of a West African origin and brought to the Bahamas by a slave trader by the name of John Canoe. And generally, that's where it's believed the name 'Junkanoo' came from. By the time as I tell you something and ten other people get it, John Canoe now sounds like Junkanoo. And so the name Junkanoo was, I guess, a creative term that was not just used here in the Bahamas, but as you know from history, the spelling is similar, I mean if we're talking about Bermuda, or even if you're talking about areas of the West Indies, like for example, Sav La Mar in Jamaica, and the word Junkanoo basically is all spelled the same way. I'm trying to figure, John Canoe, and Junkanoo, how does it relate, you know, in terms of the spelling being the same. And the word 'Junkanoo', 'jannes cannes', that's a French term that's used for unknown, which means that, whoever the person was, was in disguise. And so, they were masked in a certain way so at least you didn't know who they were. So even on parade, masks became a very very integral part of Junkanoo, because now, it may be a horse head, it may be a . . . anything, I mean, the face was covered. So you didn't know whether it was a man, or you didn't even know whether it was a woman. Because then you had men who actually dressed like women, in high heel shoes, dresses, look like drag queen, purse, head cloth, hat, you know, rouge, false breasts, and so on . . . and so you really couldn't tell whether it was a man or whether it was a woman.

And how it got to the Bahamas? I don't know how it go to the Bahamas but it must have had something to do with the . . . slaves, in a sense where practices were brought, I guess throughout . . . you know, whatever you do you ga carry with you; If I go to England, If I is a Bahamian and I go to England, I ga carry whatever in me . . . you could take the man out the bush but you can't take the bush out the man, its just the same way. You can't take a man's culture away from him, that's who he is. And so, obviously it was brought here and then it became a practice. And so, it is believed that the holiday, Boxing Day, the day which being the day after Christmas, it meant that well, perhaps, people received lil gifts in boxes, because at that time if you were a rich colonialist and you know you have some stuff you want give away, even you know with us sometimes if we gat a bunch a old shoes in the closet, we put it in a bag send it to the Salvation Army, Red Cross, give to the Haitians . . . it's the same kind a thing, I don't know. They say Boxing Day really is a Bank Holiday, but when they say 'Box' I look at it as if gifts, because Christmas is giving time, so Boxing day also is giving time with the boxes and boxing, and so you know, I have my own philosophy, and so of course New Years Day . . . you know, Junkanoo parades are Boxing day and there's New Years Day, so now, New Years Day is a different day all together. I know there's a song, 'Spare Me Another Year O Lord, you know, Spare me another year O Lord, O Lord'. And so, I think it was a time when we celebrated the

New Year as a result of giving thanks to God for all the things that he had actually done for us and given to us, because you know we was in poverty. I mean we were held in bondage, I'll say, there was really no freedom, the only freedom of expression we only had was when it was either New Years Day or Boxing Day and we could come to the Town, to the City, to Nassau, and then express ourselves by beating our drums, and shaking our cowbells, and blow our whistles, and blowing our horns, and having revelry, and fun, an frolic, and of course drinking and . . . because you gat to go to work after that, you know, when you finish all a that.

But I look at, I look at New Years Day in particular as a day when . . . was set aside where, alright, this the time to thank God, to Praise God, and say, "Lord, I thank you for sparing us to see another year. Thank you." And so on. And also, It reminded me of in India, I think it is, they have this river or somewhere where they go to bathe, I don't know if you've heard of it . . . millions of people go to the river to was, and this is traditional. And so, when they wash, they wash away all of their sins, they wash away anything that is ugly, anything that is bad, and you get a renewal, you get a rejuvenation, a whole new life. Like you get rid of everything. Junkanoo, in another sense, to me, is a celebration when you get rid of all the problems you've had for that year, your stresses. You're worrying about how much you owe the bank; you get your children in school, you can't find enough money to educate, right; you gat bills pile up high as the sky; you having problems with your woman, or your wife, or your husband; it's always something, some kind of stress. We use this word very very loosely when we talk about stress you know, we never used to talk about stress before. They used to probably use another word back in the day with the old folk, but now it end up being the same thing in a different way. You see?

And so, Junkanoo was a time when you get rid of all of that stuff. You forget about that. Don't let the Saxons win, caus the Saxons have the majority of fans throughout the Commonwealth of the Bahamas. And so at the end of the day, if the Saxons win, the town happy. So, everybody forget all the problems what they had, so actually, it's a kind of relief. It's a kind of a revival kind of thing, like I say, it's rejuvenation. It's like new life again. And so, when I think about Junkanoo, they the things that I think about.

And then, when you talk from a religiosity aspect, you know, when we look at who we were run by, the British mainly, and of course, you know we had other influences as well, the Spanish, the Dutch, and all a them, and so, predominantly more English . . . and so, when they see these, from a Church aspect, when they see these practices being done out in the, probably the cornfield, or the cotton field, or whatever, they hear these drums going, they hear these cowbells licking, and they hear this thing going on, and these people jumping around the fire, yea you know, caus fire is an integral part of Junkanoo, cause the fire actually heats the drum, and gives the drum the tune, and so fire, when you think about fire, I think about the prophet, who's the prophet, Isaiah ey, when one of the prophets (Interruption) . . . And so, the fire, all right, the animal is killed. The Animal is killed. The goat, the sheep, or the cow. And in Inagua, donkey . . . so, when the animal is killed, it's a sacrifice, the blood is shed, so that means a life is taken, ok, and so when you think about the sacrifice and you think about Abraham and Isaac, when God say, "I need to offer him as a sacrifice" right?

It's also a sacrifice when you talking about the drums, because blood has to be shed. Nobody ever thinks about the animal throat being cut, or blood being shed, and so on, and then the skin is used for the making of the drum, off course the drum is pulled over, maybe a hollow tree or maybe some kind of keg or barrel and whatever the size is you get different sounds; whatever the skin is, you get different sounds; so you may have a tenor, or a base, all these different tunes. And so, the sun also is a big part of this as well, because the sun actually cures the skin. If the skin is fresh, then it's soaked in lime and then all the hair comes off, automatically come off. Some people would just heat the drum with the hair on it, and then they'll just take a razor and shave it, but in most cases they cut it, and so the lime thing was kind of a popular thing as we were growing up and we were making our drums. I just trying to give you a lil history of the drums, because how important the drums are in terms of the communication. The drums now, is a means of communication because all throughout Africa, drums, when you hear them going, you could interpret what they actually trying to say to you. Now the drums in Junkanoo now, we don't actually use them to communicate, but they also send a message because once you hear it you say, "Boy, somebody practicing up the road. I hear the drums going." So it kinda draws you to it. You say, "boy I want to know where this coming from." But, technically, the drummers in Africa, they had certain rhythms they would send different messages to and you could interpret, and that was done because they didn't want nobody else, probably their masters, to be able to understand what kind of message that they were sending.

And so, coming back to the British, because of these practices that we had, and as relates to the Church, they say, "Look here now, we gatta stamp this out, because this here, this pagan. This thing what these people bring here, from wherever they come from, boy this ain't it, it's Jesus Christ and it ain't nothing else." And they tried to do everything they could to stamp Junkanoo out. You see? But it was Boxing Day and New Years Day, the two days that were set aside that was traditional for us, and so, we couldn't go to the restaurants as black people, right down town. We couldn't go to the theatres down town. In fact, we were not even inclusive of what the white persons were doing, you see? And so, going to Bay Street was a privilege. To take Bay Street by storm, Boxing Day and New Years Day, was a privilege for us as Black people traditionally. You see?

So, in other words, the hardest thing to kill is a cockroach. And next to that is Junkanoo. You can't . . . it is nothing that they could have done. The nuclear effect that they had from the bombs in Japan, the hydrogen and all that, right, couldn't stamp out the cockroach. The first thing come crawling out a that was the roach. You understand what I'm saying? And so, when I think about the roach, I think about Junkanoo. It ain't nothing you could do. It's buried into the earth, right. It's something that exist and it ain't nothing what no one could do, because that's what God put that there for us, you see, that's us. God gives, God gives everybody something to celebrate. Whether you like it or not, I don't care who you are, I don't care where you come from, everybody celebrate something. You Jewish? You a Hindu? You Muslim? Right? You Buddhist? Pentecostal, Baptist, Anglican, Catholic? Whatever you come from, Protestant? Where you come from, God give everyone something to celebrate. So it's nonsense when you come and tell me

that what I doing is pagan. Now how it get pagan, how you know that? God give me this, that's what we do.

And so, when I was a boy growing up, in the area of . . . I was boy in the area of Purity Bakery Corner, which we called Glinton's Sqaure, or Bethel's Addition, it had a couple a names, McPherson Street, it was the Penny Saving Bank, it was the Cabaret Theatre, and right behind that was our house. We lived on a dead-end street, and, the main street was Market Street and McPherson was just at the foot of the hill coming down from Gregory's arch.

So, for me, I'm a city Boy. Now, the foot of the hills, in the whole entire New Providence, had Junkanoo Groups. At the foot of the hill in Nassau Street was the Vikings, alright. At the foot of the hills in Blue Hills was John Chippie and the Boys. At the foot of the hill of East Street, was the East Street Gang. At the foot of Sears Hill in Hawkins Hill, was the Valley Boys. At the foot of Kemp Road Hill, was Coca-Cola and the boys. You understand what I'm saying? And so significantly, the Over-the-Hill, or what they call 'Just Over the Hill', was wehre you would find, predominantly, the existence of Junkanoo Groups, and Junkanooers. Now why was that? Because, simple, because just over the hill is the city. You know, you go up over, and you go into Nassau. You come from Nassau and you come down into the belly. And the minute you come down to the base of that hill, that was us. So, when you think about a heavy rain, and a heavy rain would come, to the top of the hill, what would automatically happen? **(CT: The rain come down. Flood.)** It would wash down. It will wash down. All the settlements, everything will flow into the Valley, you see. And I look at that, I look at that, that ain't no . . . I don't take that lightly. Because, all the soil from the hill ga wash down from that rock and ga wash down into the Valley where we live, and so we have growth.

And so, on the corner of Mason's Edition and East Street was a club called 'The Silver Slipper'. And the corner of Mason's Edition and East Street was a cultural, I call it the 'mecca' of culture; because you had the Silver Slipper, right where all a James Brown and Otis Redding, all them boys, and Freddie Munnings, all them grew up in the Silver Slipper. That was the entertainment Mecca of the Bahamas and people came over the hill. When tourists came to Nassau, the first place they would go was to the Silver Slipper. That was the place. Right? I was born during that time. And there was the Cinema Theatre, and there was all these bars, and when the ships come in with the sailors, when the Man-o-war they call it, when they dock, thousands of sailors would come over the hill down into the belly of the people, over the hill.

You see, and so, in that Silver Slipper, there was a man who . . . just behind the Silver Slipper there was a group of men called the Wallace Brothers. It was a gang of them. They had brothers and sisters, must be about a dozen of them or so. They were relatively bad boys and people described them as bad boys. I didn't think they were as bad as people say they were. But they was biggity and you know, biggity in B'Bouki and B'Rabbi story, B'Bouki was the biggity and B'Rabbi was the humble. You see, and so when a fella didn't go to school, he used his strength to overpower you because he know, mentally, he couldn't do nothing with you, but he could beat you. So psychologically, right, if I know a

fella who could beat me, but I smarter than him, I ain't ga let him outsmart me for me to get a blow. You see? And so, those fellows didn't really go to school, but their thing was Junkanoo, caus they beat drum all year. You could hear drums going all year, and that affect me. That affect greatly, because, you hear drums going in August. Drums going in February. Drums going in July and March, and . . . "These niggas don't get tired a Junkanoo ey?" You know, you always hear these drums. And so the drums affected me.

Every Christmas and New Years all of the groups will rush to Bay Street from the belly of Over the Hill. All the hills, you could hear the drums going from all the hills as we progressed, going into Bay Street. We don't do that now but traditionally that's what it was. And so you would know that Junkanoo starts 4 o' clock in the morning, all right, and then by 9 o' clock it was over. But you would hear it, as a boy I would hear it, but I know I couldn't go because I was too young. So my dad, who is a priest, reverend, pastor, right, would take me to Junkanoo every single Boxing Day, New Years Day, and I was right there. It was only like a five minutes walk for me. Caus once I come out of the Bakery Corner, once I could out of the Bakery Corner and I go over the hill, into the arch, I in town. So, everybody coming home and I jut goin out. So I say, "Well daddy, why you just taking me now? I look like it over." He say, "It ain't over. This the crew what been out early, they gern home but then it still 9 so then we gat three hours, we ga still see everything."

And I was able to see everything. And being a small boy sitting on his neck, there was a man named Sweet Richard who would swing a cutlass roud me, round my head, and he was good at that. I had a picture of him, but I had to take it down because they were painting. And Sweet Richard always dressed as a pirate. So his costumes every year would be relatively based on piracy, which was a integral part of our history as well. And so, I got to, from his movements and all that, that's where I got the 'Vola Dance' from. I get that from him. Ok. I mean, I don't know why I sayin all this but I guess it's necessary for the question you a ask concerning the history.

And so, the East gang, right, which was on the corner of Mason's Edition. I grew up in Mason's edition as well. Caus with my grandparents living in Mason's edition, which was just a block away from where I was born. So all you had to do was just go east, cross over Market Street, cross over East Street, and now you in Mason's Edition. See what I'm saying? And so, in Mason's Edition was where all of this Junkanoo thing really started with me. You know, as a boy, trying to do my homework in the night and this big gang passing, and I gotta (begins beating) drop my work, caus I gern to go get some a this sweetness! You understand what I'm saying? I sneak out, and gern to get one lil shake or whatever the case may be.

And I became a integral of that making, and then one year a guy name Phil Cooper came and say, "Man let's do one lil group man, you know; let's use these Wallace Brothers you know, because they have the experience and everything like that and we could influence it." And so, me being and artist, right, born artist, caus my dad know I was a artist from birth. He knew I was an artist so he send me to lil schools to do lil sketching and things

like that, so . . . I was very good with my hands. So I joined the group and I became and integral part of it.

And then as a result of that we had a group which was called the Mason's Edition Boys. We dropped the gang thing because we didn't want to be associated with the barbaric term, or not even get . . . and it's also believed, right, why Junkanoo so derogatory when you think of the term of it, it's because the persons that actually made up Junkanoo back in the day, you had some really high standard people, but you didn't really know who they were because they were masked anyway, but you had some white people, white people were really really big thing in Junkanoo as well, ok? And so you had what you call 'vagabonds'. You had the 'derelict'. You had the 'bums'. You had the 'ex-convicts'. And any derogatory term, that you could use to describe somebody, right, that was a Junkanoo. So when you hear somebody back in the day call you, say, "Bey, you'll bunch a Junkanoo's!" That wasn't nothing good to say about you. You see what I'm saying? When the fella call you a Junkanoo he say, well you know . . .

Caus my grandfather you know, he was bitter against me being in Junkanoo. Bitter! He was Bitter! He say, "No Sir! You ain't ga be no Junkanoo in here!" Caus you know, the revelry and the frolic, the carryin on, and the carousing, and the . . . you know. But my grandmother, she ain't had no problem with it. She mussy saw something else, because . . . I think what my grandmother saw . . . my grandfather saw the bad part but my grandmother saw the creative aspect of it. So she said, you know, "Why you don't let Percy go?" so the guys would come by the house and say, "Well, Mr. Francis, we really need him you know, because he artistic." You know? And then, she was right there at the door. (laughs). I knock on my own door one day, I say, "Man, let's go ask him." So I gone and knock on my own door. And he came out and then my grandmother came behind him. And he say, "What you'll want?" They say, "Well, we wan know if Percy could rush." "No, No, No, No!" He start carryin on. That's when my grandmother say, "Elisha." His name was Elisha. "Elisha man, let the boy rush." You know. So he say, "Well who ga be responsible for him?" So one of the older fellas said, "I'll be responsible for him. I'll make sure that nothing happen to him." So he said, "Once you'll could assure me that he secure, then he could be a part of the Junkanoo." You see, because it was a Christian based home. And here it is now, here comes this thing Junkanoo, creeping into a Christian based home. "And now, you trying to tell me now, hey, now, hold it now, you gern into this, this thing?" So even then, there was this imaginary line between Christianity and the practice of Junkanoo. But my grandmother saw the artistic side of it, the creative side of it. She know I was an artist and everything like that.

And so, that's how I became a part of it and I started drawing and I started . . . I didn't do the first set of costumes, I didn't design the first set of costumes, another guy did that, then I learned quite a bit from him. And then he left Nassau to go to Freeport, so that left me on my own. And so I said, I already gat the basics so I could go from there. And then I did my own study, I did my own self everything, I didn't had to go to no school to learn nothing. I taught myself Junkanoo. I'm self-taught. And I hope that can answer . . . the group . . . then eventually, couple a years later, that was round about 61, 62 when we started, in 65 we got the name Saxons, and Saxons came from a costume of the same

name, because the theme was Saxons, you see what I'm saying? And then it was a coalition of groups. It was the West Street Group and the East Street Group, right, cause we all was small groups, we all was small groups. And it was the East Street and the West Street Groups what were actually formed a coalition. Now, you know West Street up here. East Street over here. So here it is now, you get this coming together, from almost like the Top of the Hill to the Bottom of the Hill, East Street and West Street coming together. You imagine the influence. On the West Side of that was the Vikings, which, they were big then. And then on the East Side of that was the Valley, they were big, cause they were started out before we did. You see what I'm saying? And so, that's how we got the name Saxons and then eventually Superstars came a few years later after we had won a couple parades and we figured, now we arrive, so, we superstars.

CT: Is there a particular philosophy behind your group? A way of . . . you know . . . what does it exist for? What does it do for Bahamian people? Is there a way of the Saxons understanding it's role within Bahamian society or for the members of the group? Is there a common understanding or a mission statement if you will, or . . .

PF: Our whole mission and our purpose is 'hope'. Actually, what was happening back then when I first started, here we are, a bunch of really poor people in the community of Mason's Edition, looking for something, looking towards something. Here was the Valley Boys east of us who were the guy with the . . . we were considered the guys with the hole in the shoe. Across the wall in the Valley they were considered the elite, and the guys with the opportunity to go to college and all that kind a thing and so on, right? We had one or two fellas in Mason's Edition as well who had an opportunity to go to college but not so much as . . . And so, the Valley Boys, when they heard of our lil small group, they didn't think anything of us. They didn't think that we could achieve anything; we'll never beat them; we'll never be like them; we didn't have the brain, you know; we didn't have the capability; we didn't have the ability or anything. And so, we said to ourselves that we gonna do something that's gonna be significant in our community. And everybody look forward to that Saxon thing because that was a means of hope. It was something that they could . . . it remind me of a boxing match they had one time called the 'Great White Hope'. All the black boxers were the big boys and they had a white boxer who say well, he is the great white home, that he ga bring boxing back into the white world. It's the same kind of thing. We were the great hope for our people in terms of giving them an opportunity to express themselves artistically; being able to come together socially, you know, comradery; positive, you know; something to look forward to annually, you know.

And it, it was just exciting to be able to pull together a society that needed that kind of bringing together. It also increased, I mean who we are, as a people you know, you get to know more families, we started moving from block to block, from Mason's Addition to McCullough Corner, to Burial Ground Corner, Danes Jumper Corner, to Odel Corner?, to Gibbs Corner, to Strachan Corner, to Thompson Lane, to Fritz Lane, you know . . . and then we started to stretch out into the grove, into Wilson Track, and even into Kemp Road, even as far as Kemp Road. And then we influence the whole of Bain Town, from Blue Hill in the Holding, Saxons became that . . . right, all of that territory, it was territorial! You see?

And we knew that we needed numbers to beat the Valley. And we knew that we needed talent. And so as a result, we didn't actually realize that the beauty that actually exist in these areas when it come to talent. We tend to look at the book cover, you know how we look at the book cover, and we judge the book by the cover? And what I was able to experience was by opening the book, and reading the book, I talking about people's lives, we actually touch lives. We was able to dispel the fact that somebody was dumb. Which was, offcourse, if somebody call you dumb, that's a bad word. But you had some fellas who was really dumb for true, but it gave them an opportunity to be smart. You see? And also, fellas weren't interested in the Boys' Brigade no more. They wasn't interested in the Scouts, and things like that, because they looked at these as organizations where they couldn't do the things they wan do and express themselves in the way they wanted to express themselves. You see what I'm saying? So they figured that Junkanoo was the bet way for them to come and express themselves, caus you know, they could either beat, or dance, or shake bell, or be able to paste, or something! Somebody had a certain talent that we needed, whether you liked him or not, whether he was a bad boy or not, it kinda transformed him in a way.

And Junkanoo is a means of transformation. You know, you say, "Be ye transformed." When Paul said, "Be Ye transformed by the renewal of your mind." That is what Junkanoo does. Junkanoo allows for the transformation of your minds by the renewal of your mind, right, in the way how persons are given the opportunities to express themselves, whatever talent that they have. God gave all of us a gift. Every single person on earth have something that God gave them. You see? And so Junkanoo allows for the means by which you could express yourself. Either which way one of them get you, you could use it in Junkanoo. That's how broad this things has become. You see? And so, eventhough the English tried to stamp this thing out, there was just nothing they could do with it, and it just kept growing and growing and kept, growing, and growing, and growing, and soon Junkanoo is gonna be one of the world's greatest festivals. I mean I look forward to it being compatible with Carnival in Trinidad, and . . . well Brazil is all by themselves, way out there. I guess eventually, maybe in another 50 years we could probably be like Brazil.

But we have . . . Gus Cooper, myself and others, we have spent a lot of . . . considerable time in the world of Junkanoo in trying to keep it alive and trying to influence it and trying to get people to understand that it's not the dirty word that we used to think of, the derogatory term. In fact, I see Junkanoo as written in gold, stamped in gold, but it's just tarnished, it's just that because it was outside, you know, it get lil grimy and, you know, it get dirty, and so, if you were to perhaps put some polish on it, get a rag and polish it you'll see that it's actually made of gold. It's a goldmine. And I see Junkanoo as being a means by which it'll be our bread and butter. It'll get so big that we wouldn't have to work for nobody. That we could do this all year. There are just so many components in Junkanoo, when you really look at it it's like crude oil. All it needs to be done now is, to be taken to the refinery, and then you'll get all the various products from it.

I find now that I teach Junkanoo craft in schools. I'm doing that over the summer period now as we speak. And it's amazing the words that are used in terms to describe some things. Some words are big, like corrugation. That's the way the cardboard is designed. The cardboard has a corrugated piece in the middle. It has a top layer and a bottom layer and in the middle of it there's a corrugated piece that has holes in it, that you could use for your advantage when you building costumes. And these are the kinds of things I been trying to show the kids, that the cardboard actually is your raw material, is your fabric, that the tailor . . . like if you go and get a suit make, the cardboard is your fabric you need for your suit. You see what I'm saying?

And so, all of these things are so significant, as significant as a piece of cardboard is, it's something that people throw out, out in the yard. And you go and you pick it up and you make 'junk anew'. So you could get all kinda different products from Junkanoo now, I mean, Jesus, it's just phenomenal to think about all the products that can be used. I'm looking forward to a Junkanoo market place where . . . caus we have hundreds and hundreds of artists who are just naturally born artists, right . . . its just that there's no marketing tool whereby we could get the word out for people to come and buy . . . you know what I'm saying . . . like guys making dolls and doing all sorts of different things, paintings and the colours of Junkanoo have become very integral in our society. Because you know, Junkanoo is the most colourful festival there is in the world, and you talking about the use of the crepe paper and all that, which is traditional, and which is original to the Bahamas. And so, if you were to go to Compass Point and you go to their restaurant, you will see that they had used all the colours of Junkanoo, because that's how much Junkanoo influence them.

Junkanoo now is integral part of our music. The beat of our music now, we want it to be like Reggae, we want it to be popular like Calypso, it's gonna get there, but it's just some things that we just got to do. But the sound of Junkanoo is the sound of the Bahamas. And until we could refine that music and get that beat right and get in the studio and do that good . . . I know Tony Mackay, Obeah Man, was close, Dr. Off was very close, gat some artists now, they just right outside there, very close, still not yet . . . but the sound of Junkanoo have to go to the world. When the steel pan, when they heard the steel pan coming from Trinidad and Tobago, right, the first thing they heard was the pan, and they wanted to know what this pan coming from, where this pan sound coming from. Say, "That's coming from South." Say, "Wow."

The music of Carnival of Trinidad was out there long before the visual, the street parade and all that, right. And it wasn't until, well they were curious, people were curious as to where this sound was from, they say they gotta go hear this, so they use to go down to the pan yard and stuff like that. So, the same thing with Junkanoo, right, eventually you could hear . . . the Ministry of Tourism doesn't take advantage of the promotion of Junkanoo, you understand what I'm saying, they don't! And for the life of me I don't know where these smart boys from Harvard, they just don't have the vision as to where our country needs to go from a Tourism point of view, and maybe one of these days when I become Minister of Tourism or perhaps Minister of Culture I'd be able to activate some stuff and take some stuff to the next level.

But talking about the church, and talking about rushing, we call it 'rushin'. Why we call it 'rushin'? I guess . . . I don't know. I don't know where we was rushing to go. When we rushin, we don't rush to get nowhere. Like in New York, when they talk bout they rushin, they moving dead fast, right, but for us, rushin is actually moving slow. You see what I'm saying? And so, rushin came from the church. The term 'rushin' came from the Church. You see? Now, as a result of the term 'rushin' coming from the Church, it was traditionally in the Islands, maybe like, I would think Andros, being very close to Nassau, I'm thinking of a traditional place like Cat Island, those two mainly, maybe Exuma . . . those three mainly, I can't think of any other island where you might have had that kind of influence. Right? And so, they used to 'rush' around the church. They call it 'rushin'. And so, the beat of the of the Junkanoo was the Church music. And they had that same kind of Junkanoo rhythm. And so you'll find that they used to just, when they praising God, they used to have this . . . call this 'slide' . . . well Trinidad, the Carnival is a slide, see here . . . (demonstrates) you hear that? It's a slide. The Junkanoo, the 'rushin' is a step. So you get the (demonstrates), you see what I'm saying? So you get the step so eventhough the dances are similar, they all are different. Because here it is I'm stepping to my music, my rhythm, and then they sliding or shuffling to their rhythm in the south. You see? And it is believed that rushin, the term 'rushin', came out of the church. And so, when you, when you go to Bay Street and they see that motion, they say, "ohh that's that 'rushin' they does do in the Church." You see. And that's howcome you have this link between the Church and Junkanoo in its movement. Alright.

Now, in the philosophy it's a lil different. Because in the philosophy now, you have certain groups who think that hey, this pagan, this practice . . . no, no, no, we ain't foolin with this. This ain't Christ-like, ya know, which is nonsense! Because everything is Christ-like, God made everything, everything is his. You know. I reading something on him right now, on that, that he gave us these . . . He owns, God gave us everything. So you can't tell me the gift what God give me is pagan. I ga show you different and that's what's beginning to happen, that people now beginning to appreciate this art form. It's now an art form now (laughs), it was always an art form you know, but now all of a sudden they see it as an art form, it's longer that thing they say it was.

But offcourse you still have some people who believe differently, like for example, I joined the Church of God of Prophecy recently. The Church of God of Prophecy have their own philosophy, you know, the Pentecostal. And so, with them, you know they're popular with their bands, right. That's all they do, they teach children music in their church and they go from band to band, from the seniour to the juniour, that's something that's traditional with them, alright. Now if you notice their beat and their rhythm, right, it's similar to New Orleans' rag . . . it's called 'rag time', alright, that (beings to hum a beat and a tune – "As I travel through this pilgrim land"). That come, that influence came out of New Orleans, out of New Orleans' carnival, that music came out of New Orleans' Mardi Gra. You see what I'm saying? So here it is now, they don't realize, Prophecy don't realize, that they have a rhythm that actually came out of New Orleans, Bourbon Street; cause you know those bands, you know, they up and down, you know, Dixie, right, Dixie Rag Time . . . And so, their people who were . . . the people in their bands, are not allowed

to be a part of Junkanoo. You see? And that was traditional with them. But offcourse you know that changing everyday. That changing everyday.

Now with a Junkanoo man like me in prophecy, right, and with my influence, I decorate the tabernacle for every convention, every convention year and all I get in there is Junkanoo colours. And so they, when they heard, when I first came out, when the Bishop come to me and said, “well Brother Francis, I need you, I want do a different thing now to what we used to do traditionally. You know, we want make our place look . . . I give you carte blanche. I want you to go in there and whatever you see, you do, you in charge, don’t let nobody tell you nothing.” And he don’t care what no one think or how they feel. “Whatever you do is well done.” And I was able to accomplish that.

So now, I’ve broken the back of prophecy just through my decorations, because they look at me as a Junkanoo man. They thinking now that I was coming in there with some crepe paper, with some drum and some cowbell, but I come from a different way to influence them. And now they are beginning to appreciate the meaning of all this, and how significant this whole thing is in our make-up as a people.

And, let me tell you something. Believe this. The Bahamas has one of the riches cultures in the world. I write that in and I put that up there, because when people come in here and they see that, that is the truth. (He is pointing to picture on his office wall). If you look at the United States of America, America don’t have not culture. They don’t have nothing. We are so steeped in culture . . . I mean if you take Cat Island for example, they keep talking about the ‘Rake N Scrape’, the Quadrille, and offcourse you know, you have the European influence as well as African. Now the European want go against Africa, you see what I’m saying? But they don’t know that they both together have now come together to form one thing, you see? And that’s how we Bahamianise it, we Bahamianise it because we took all the influences: The Spanish, the Dutch, the French, but you know you have plenty Haitian in Junkanoo . . . you have three quarters of them in Junkanoo. I mean they just love Junkanoo for some reason and they want to identify with something. You see? And it’s just simple as that. We just want to identify with something.

Now, what I have done, what I was able to do, was, I gave my life to the Lord five years ago . . . I mean I come from a Christian home, I have a Christian base, so I knew when I fell from grace, right, at one point when I fell from grace, I had to springboard. So I didn’t just go and landed in the ocean and go to the deepest part of the ocean and never came back, or hit a rock and smash up, right? The rock that I landed on was the rock of Jesus Christ, which was my springboard because I was already . . . I already knew who I was as far as God was concerned. Now you have some people who don’t know who God is; in their homes today in particular. Children don’t go to Sunday School and thing no more. They don’t go to, what you call, Bible Study. They don’t’ go to the training union. They don’t go to evening Sunday School and all of the things, the activities that the church have . . . these are the things that we grew up with. Now Sunday is ball or wash, go to the laundry, clean ya car and we don’t have that base like we used to have back then.

But when I fell I had a springboard so I knew who I was. So, a guy could easily be influenced into becoming a Rastaman if someone give him something to smoke and then his head go . . . you know he start seeing things and then all of a sudden he growing locks. You see? That ain't, that never coulda happen to me because I know who I was. So ain't nobody coulda influence me with nothing outside a where I live. And so, when you see people doing these practices like the Rasta's and all these different kinda things, people are doing these things because they want to be different. They . . . the reason why they want to be different with it is because, the certain practices . . . just say for example, we have a case with a man right now, a preacher in court for messing with a young woman . . . people ain't ga believe in you if you preaching one thing and then you practicing something else. You see what I'm saying? So people get tired a that. And then off course, we as a people, as we grow then we get rebellious. There are certain things that we wan do on our own. Like you said it earlier, "Hey man, there are things I . . . these are things I wan do! I know who I am now so why you wan tell me this ain't good for me and this what I born with. This in my belly, you see. And this ain't just come here, this been here long time."

And so, people try to stamp out all of these things that they thought . . . see they take your power away from you when they do that, when you can't identify who you are. That's when people take your power from you. So now, we realizing the power what God give us, God give us power you know. What he say to his disciples? "I give you power! To raise the dead, to heal the sick." You know what I mean? "To cast out demons and all these kind a things." He give us power. So all we have to do is understand the power that we have in what God has given us as a gift of Junkanoo in our culture, and we could use it to live by. We could still go to Church every Sunday time, that ain't gat nothing to do with it ya know. I go to . . . I still rush. I still do my lil Junkanoo, but I know who God is. You see what I sayin? And I give him the honour, and I give him glory and I give him praise. I understand the gifts what he give me. And the gifts he give me, I use them to influence others to be a part of him, you see? And so, when we talk about our practices, yes, as a group, when we go, we pray. We have our, what we call our pep rally, and we have like a pre-service before we do anything Boxing Day or New Years Day, and we get together and we talk . . . we strategize, but the one thing that we do is we pray and we ask God to . . . you know . . . to grant us the win . . . to . . . "thank you for saving us" . . . you know, "thank you for protecting us", you know . . . caus you know, anything could happen during the season, you know. So, we put God first, I put God first! I don't know bout the rest of them. But I know I put God first in everything I do. Because without him I am nothing. You see? And If I win, lose, or draw, I still . . . I give him thanks. I say, "Father I thank you. I thank you for all that you have done and all that you continue to do in our lives. And try to make us a better people." You know.

And so, we have now beginning to understand the importance of Junkanoo from a spiritual aspect. We go to church as a group, right. We march, every year. Traditionally, we march. We take time out as an organization and we have a special, special Church service in March, and we march through the streets. We get permission from the police and, usually I'll go to my father's church in the Grove, 1st Baptist Church, Coconut Grove Avenue and Market Street. So we coming from Mason's Addition in East Street, so we

marching coming from East Street now, so now we affecting, we getting, we affecting our communities as we go through now. You see? So, they ahead . . . now we don't rush to go to Church, which my dad always say we should bring our drum and cowbell caus they traditional with us. But we put the drums and the cowbells aside for that day, but then we have, in our group, we have a marching band as well. Right. So we bring out the marching band with the horns and the, you know, and the drums and all that kind a thing. So, it's a different kind of parade. So when people hear it, and they see us marching, they say, "Oh that's the Saxons, they going to Church." Right. Because we want to show our communities the importance of us taking some time out, or taking a day out, to give God thanks for all the things . . . a special day just to celebrate God. You see what I'm saying? So now you see that, yes, we understand that yes we have the Church . . . I gern to Church every Sunday, I can't stay home from Church, I can't stay home from Church. What I ga stay home for? I gern to prayers. I gern to worship. I gern to give him thanks. I gern to glory in his name. You understand what I'm saying? And so I'm beginning now to get the . . . trying to get the guys to understand the importance of God in their lives and the importance of praising God, of at least taking some time out to give God thanks for all the things that he continually do for us. You understand what I'm saying?

And so, now we beginning to separate . . . caus I ga tell you this. I was obsessed with Junkanoo. I was obsessed. Obsessed. When I say obsessed, that come first. That come before eating. That come before prayer. That come before work. Come before family. Come before Church. You understand what I'm saying? Come before everything. Just focus strictly on that. And boy let me tell you something, that Junkanoo so influential, if you get caught in that, it is a form of idolatry. And that's what you have to be careful of. So what I was able to do was when I realize I was obsessed by this thing, then I begin to reflect and I begin to look at myself and I say, "You know something, here's what I need to do: I gat to feed my family. This how I gatta work. That's a priority. I gatta go to Church, because I gatta praise my God. That's a priority. Right. I gatta be responsible, right, that's a priority. And then I could do my hoby, my Junkanoo." What I do is I put that in the back, you understand what I'm saying? I ain't put that in the front. I move that from the front and put that in the back. Because I realize the power and the influence that Junkanoo has on individuals because it could become a form of Idolatry. And that's what we have to be very careful of. And I think this is what a lot of people get concerned about. The separation between the church and Junkanoo is because of the power it has, you see? It's almost like a God. I mean it is a god. Junkanoo is a god you know. But now we have to understand that, hey, this is not the King of Kings and the Lord or Lords. This just another form of something that he gave us to use but he wants us to use it wisely. He wants us to understand, hey, "This is for you to enjoy yourself by, not to worship." You see?

CT: In a sense, what would you say that Junkanoo . . . you said a lot! But if I could pin this down, what would you say that Junkanoo gives the Church, sorry, Bahamian people, that may be lacking in the Church?

PF: What . . . that's in a way a very interesting question because you would find that you would have more people in Junkanoo . . . you find more people who want be a part of

Junkanoo than they actually want be a part of the Church. You see what I'm saying? Now, I, for the life of me, I don't understand that, right, but I do in a sense. It's just that we who are artists have found a way to influence them to become a part of what it is we do in Junkanoo. Now what the Church needs to do, is the Church needs to find a methodology by which they could influence people to be a part of the kingdom. And, see, a lot of fellas scared because they ain't wan be a part of the kingdom and then they drinking. They ain't wan be a part of the kingdom and then they womanizing. They ain't wan be a part of the kingdom and they smoking. And so, and they doing all sorts of stuff. And so, you find that it's easier for the world, for people to be a part of the world than for them to actually be a part of the kingdom.

And so, being a part of the kingdom is something that has to be influenced. We have to find a way. Now, you an Anglican, I'm Pentecostal, and the difference between you and I from a religious standpoint is that you have 'traditions', you have 'practices'. There are certain things you do every Sunday, right, which has become a part of what it is, your everyday church life. You know, you have a order of service. Pentecostal, with me, I go with the Spirit. We don't even have to preach Sunday coming, the Spirit would just overtake us, and we could just pray all day. Or you know, we sing all day. Or you know, we just . . . spontaneous. With you, you can't be spontaneous because you have an order. You see? And so, you'll have to almost be steeped in your thing, your Anglicanism, I call it, your Catholicism, you have to be kinda steeped into that. And you find now that even the Anglicans and the Catholics and all them trying to find a different means by which they could celebrate God. You know the Catholics did it recently with St. Francis, with their choirs and all . . . you know, they took a whole different twist.

And so, I think a young man like you, you need to now try to find a way to kinda twist what it is you do every Sunday and to try to inject some other things that would influence young people to want to be a part of what you do. You see? And I think that's the difference between when you look at Junkanoo and the Church because the Church actually is not doing enough, the church is not doing sufficient, right . . . even in our, in the state we're in with the crime presently in the country, nobody . . . the church ain't speak out yet. As powerful as the church is! Yea, they'll talk on Independence on some things once a year. But ain't nobody even does be listening to them. You see what I'm saying?

A man preach last night, cause you know we celebrating our 11th anniversary of our little church down there on Wulf Road and Cummerbatch Alley, just across the street from Stephen Dillet. **(CT: OK, yea.)** Yea, we on tonight and then Sunday, we finalize on Sunday. We're not doing anything Saturday. But the guy preach last night and you know what he say? And he was dead right. He say, "You know what we need to do with the Church? We don't have to wait til New Year's Day to have a Watch Night Service. Caus we could watch any night, you know. We could jump right up in the middle of July and say we having a Watch Night Service at midnight tonight. And we gern from midnight til morning. And we ga raise hell, we ga make plenty noise. While people sleepin we ga disturb em, we get permission from the police, and this what we ga do." ___?_ We need to get out, the word gatta get out, the word gatta get out.

And see, the difference, that's why Junkanoo is so powerful as relates to the Church and it's influence because now people see now that, hey, I wan be a part of this thing because I could express myself, I'm a dancer. I could sing. I could pace. I could beat. I could design. I'm an engineer, an accountant, a lawyer, I'm a doctor, I could be a part of this. Caus Junkanoo influences all of the society. There's no racial discrimination, right. There's no separation, black or white, and so on. I mean it's just so much things that you could describe Junkanoo as being. It influence the whole.

Now we gatta be able to take the Church now, we have to find a way now, caus that's what I concentrating on now; how we're going to now attract these young men and women and say, hey, there is a God and ya soul gatta be saved. Caus otherwise, you ga be, ya gern to a Christless hell. You understand what I'm saying? And I ain't wan go there. I realize that, trust me! I don't wan go there. No sir. You know? And so, I hope that kinda answers your question.

CT: Yea Yea, that's fine. The final part really, looking to the future, life is changing quickly and life has changed, how do you see Junkanoo changing and how do you see the Church changing? You think that relationship, that separation, in a sense, between the two, is that gonna be . . . are they gonna come together?

PF: Yes. Yes. In the future Junkanoo and the Church are going to . . . in fact, they have already begun to come together. Because you know, I told you about us, every year we take the group in, the Church now has become more susceptible to the fact that Junkanoo is an integral part of our culture, right, and it's a very influential part of our culture; in fact, it's a phenomenon, it has become a phenomenon. And, if you know I. Ranfurly Brown, you know I. Rafurly Brown ga be in that pulpit, and he ga be talking about Saxons straight through. I ain't know if you ever hear him, but he is Saxon my friend and that's all he does be talking bout. And you know he get . . . One Family really is an Anglican make-up, you see? And so he does let them know, "I is Anglican, but I is a Saxon!" You see? And so, there is now this crossover, so now you have the priests being . . . could identify themselves with certain groups. I'm sure you have your, you know, your favourite group. I wouldn't go into that. (laughs). I'm sure you have your favourit group, we all do. It's like a sport. I mean, for example, you may be a Laker, or you may be a whatever, Dodger, or whatever, however. But it's the same thing. You see?

And so, the relationship between the Church and Junkanoo, they're really coming together. Because now like I was telling you earlier, we understand who God is now. And God ain't Junkanoo. You see? And we know we gat to put it into a category. But, yes, culturally, it influences everybody who is a part of it because everybody is also a part of a Church. So now everybody is beginning to understand, hey, "This ours. This our thing. God give us this." You know. And there is gonna be a difference, because I think that what Junkanoo ga be able to do, if we could steer it in the right direction, is to tie it into the Church so it'll also become and integral part of our celebration. Because you could take Junkanoo if you want celebrate a Patronal. I mean, who say you can't grab one

couple a fellas and . . . you understand what I'm saying? Your Patronal Festival, you could have, you could have some Junkanoo music for the first time. You see?

And, it's only our lack of broadening our minds you know. It's a lack. There are some things we just don't want to accept, but we could accept some things, can't we? Yea, we could accept some things. You know. I think L. Garnet Rahming now, the National Overseer for Prophecy, realize with a fella like me . . . Fella was talking about me the last two nights in Church, they talking bout me, they preaching bout me. You know? A guy was saying last night, I always sit behind the pastor, right. I sit directly behind him, that's where he want me. And so, I sitting there, he say, "ahh, Pastor, you see the man you gat in the back a you? He's an icon in this country." So here it is now, the fact that I made a name for myself through Junkanoo, but now I'm involved with Church, I'm involved with the Church. So, what I'm trying to indicate is that, yea, I could be a Junkanooer, but I could also be serving God. (Laughs) You see what I'm saying? But I can't be stupid and throw away the gift he give me to say I'm going into the Church, and because I'm going into the Church that means I have to get rid of the gifts and talents God give me. Nonsense. Because I think what he wants me to do, he wants me to be a part of the Church, but he wants me to use the influence that I have from the gifts he has given me, to draw people to it. And I think that's when we're talking future. You see?

So in another 10 years or so, maybe even less, I think you're gonna find a good crossover, or a good relationship (interruption) . . . yea, man, I enjoying this. It's just great fun talking about this, and we can't be stupid, we can no longer be stupid, you agree? **(CT: I agree.)** We can't be stupid no more. But we could also be stupid ya know. We can't be stupid in knowing who God is, but we could be stupid to get out in the street at midnight with one Junkanoo rush from the Church and try to get people to come. Caus when they hear that sound 12 O' Clock in the night, we have permission from the police to do something, and try to affect our communities. Caus they ga come ya know! They ga get curious, they coming. So we could use it as a drawing card to get people to come to hear the message.

CT: Well with that said, I think you've answered, more than answered, y questions. I just want to thank you. And thank you for doing this because this is important, not just for some research I'm doing, but for research in the future, and where our country going, so thank you. And thank you for your work and your witness and what God has been doing in your life, caus it ain't . . . I'm sitting here, thinking to myself, your life is, is the reflection of where the country ought to go in terms of our theology.

PF: Exactly.

CT: I'll cut this off now, and thank you.

PF: Yea man, you're welcome.

APPENDIX H: EXAMPLE OF LAY PARTICIPANT INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPT

DH Interview Transcript

CT: Thank you DH for doing this interview. I'll just begin by asking you, can you just tell me about yourself and your involvement in your Junkanoo Group and your involvement also in your local church? Tell me more about those two things, those two parts of your life.

DH: Well, I've been involved in Junkanoo since 1999. I first started out as a choreographed dancer, which is basically being a member of a team, a group of girls that dance together. Then I branched off into individual costuming. My involvement consist, back then, of basically going to practice and dancing. It has evolved into assisting into the building of costumes and we also have community events like Back to School, functions, we have a Back to School Giveaway; we have summer camps for children in the local area, the local area being Bain and Grants Town; and we have a programme called Warriors for Excellence that we do in the schools. What normally happens is that we'd go into the schools and give an award, basically give like a little pin and a certificate to children that excelled during the school year. Then it branched into . . . well now, I'm the secretary in the group, which is a very very very large responsibility, because now I'm viewed as one of the leaders in the group, that help make decisions with regard to what the group needs to get to Bay Street for a typical parade, and to survive throughout the year.

With regards to church, currently I am a member of the altar guild and I'm also on the, a committee called the stewardship committee, and I help out . . . now, with regards to church, I help out where they need me to help out. So if there's a youth event, because I'm well past the 25 age mark and can not participate, a leader, when they need assistance, they'll call me and I'll come to assist with whatever events they may have; be it, CYM, AYA, CYM meaning Christian Youth Movement, which is 13 to 17; AYA which is 17 – 25/26; Brownies; I also help wit . . . being a senior member in the altar guild, I also help with the altar guild; **(CT: You mean the servers right?)** yea. And, that's my extent with regards to church to today, until they ask me to be a member of something else. I was a member of the Vestry but no longer.

CT: So, is it fair to say that you've been involved in youth activities, both in your church and in the Junkanoo group?

DH: Yes.

CT: Tell me about how you feel when you're on parade. Can you describe that for me, if you can? How do you feel when you are rushing?

DH: Hmmm, it's difficult to describe the feeling. I can't say it's a feeling I've experienced with anything else I've been involved in. To be honest, this is how I tend to describe Junkanoo and my involvement in Junkanoo itself, not necessarily the parade. I realize that Junkanoo is a very addictive thing, and its something that you 'jones' for, that

you have a craving that you need to be met, with regards to Junkanoo. Its an expression of one's self. It allows you to really, I guess, show who you are and release whatever you may be experiencing at that time. If you're frustrated, it can help you, I guess, by how you dance or exhibit or portray your costume, to get whatever you're experiencing out. It's very addictive, very very addictive. I can find myself at work listening to Junkanoo working if I'm having a bad day, to change my spirit.

CT: So Junkanoo helps with your mood?

DH: Yes, because it's an expression. Some persons write music. Some persons write poetry. Some persons do other things to express themselves. I believe my way of expressing myself is Junkanoo; to get those things out, its Junkanoo.

CT: Is there anything spiritual you feel in Junkanoo; and generally spiritual, yea, spiritual.

DH: Yea. Because I just mentioned . . . it's a means of release. It's a means of release. It's a way where you could express yourself without having to be confined, or having to say, "Well look! This person here, I don't want this person to see me . . ." You could be free. You could do whatever you want and no one will judge you because it's in the confines of Junkanoo.

CT: OK. Do you get a feeling that you may not get in church?

DH: Yes.

CT: Tell me more about that.

DH: Like I said, with Junkanoo you can express yourself freely and not be judged, as opposed to . . . being in the Anglican Communion, you know, certain things are taboo. Those things aren't taboo in Junkanoo. You see, in Junkanoo you have the means of . . . If I feel like being evil today, I can be evil, based on the costume. If I need to release anger via that, I could do that. If I feel . . . if I want to feel giddy and playful I could do that in Junkanoo. You can't really do that in church. If you sing off tune they ga look at you like, "What's your problem? Why are you singing the 'regina coeli' that way?" You see, it's different. For example, let's look at Baptist Churches. They have . . . more free in their worship. Some of them have also incorporated Junkanoo, for example, Mt. Tabor, in their services, as a means of getting persons to release themselves and get totally involved in their service and their worship.

CT: Junkanoo is in Mt. Tabor?

DH: They have cowbells and whistles, and drums. So, I guess you could also look at it as a form of worship too, in some aspects of it. Because they, for example, the last parade we had was Independence. They played some . . . they played 'Dis We Bahamian Praise' . . . that . . . persons connected with that were able to express themselves more, because not

only we're dancing and having a good time and what not, we would also praise God at the same time.

CT: Do you find that you use Junkanoo to praise?

DH: Yes. (CT: Tell me more) because to be honest . . . in certain songs you would conduct yourself a certain way. And then plus, sometimes, like I said Junkanoo is a outlet, so you may be having a rough day and you go to a Junkanoo practice and they play a gospel songs, and you can use that time to reflect. I know, I've done it before. I've watched others persons that rushed with me, that are also members of my church, do it also. And it actually . . . you are actually taken to another level. Because you're not really thinking about your surroundings at that point in time. Like I said, you're using that as an opportunity to worship.

CT: OK. Tell me more about your group. Is there anything religious about your Junkanoo group, i.e., are there times of worship or pray that everyone joins in, or Church services that happen together, things that intentionally involve church or Christian practices?

DH: OK. Well our group tries to be different from the other Junkanoo groups. Although some of them may do it, but we tend to focus on certain things, for example, we have a corporate communion with each other. We try to go to Church. We try to start the year off going to church as a group. We'll pick a church in the community, maybe St. Agnes, or Transfiguration. We try to pick a Church in the community to attend; the whole group attends. Also, before any 'rush' we have a senior member in the backline who is also a pastor who leads the entire group into prayer. And at the end of the prayer the entire group would say, "The family that prays together, stays together."

CT: This is before every rush?

DH: Before every rush, including practice. Once the drums come off the fire and they line up, a prayer is said.

CT: OK.

DH: And like I said, there are community aspects of it. It's similar almost . . . well we try operate in our group like a family. So, when one person is hurting we try to assist, be it financially if we can, or emotionally, or by any means we can. It can be talking and counseling, if you have the ability to do it, you do it. But other than praying, I can't think of anything else, praying and the Church services. And then each individual section, because when I was a member of the choreograph section, we also had, we also had, attend a church service for that section. And usually in the beginning of the year also, we have what we call a retreat. We try to basically . . . regroup ourselves, figure out what we did wrong, and try to plan the course forward. For example, this year we had . . . I believe we had Fr. Palacios at the retreat. (CT: You usually have a priest or pastor?). Yes. Who would give us the charge for the year.

CT: In these retreats or church services, or times of prayer, how do you feel personally? Do you sense a tension within you? Is it natural? How do you . . .

DH: It feels natural. It feels like a moment . . . It actually feels like the moment of unity for the members in the group. It feels, Ok, we are all becoming one, bonding, we're all coming on one common accord asking God for assistance and guidance in whatever it is we are about to undertake; whether it be rushing, whether it be a meeting, it just . . . it makes you feel . . . it makes you bond with the other members of the group for that short space of time. The reason why I say that is because I realize that not many persons, at least, I haven't . . . can't say for a fact, but I haven't seen any other groups do it; by any other groups I mean the big groups like 'Valley' and 'Saxons' do it. But, it just makes you feel closer to the persons that are there.

And another thing with Junkanoo! You see persons to don't also realize the history of Junkanoo and the nature of it; because persons, because they don't understand the history and what it came from, what it signifies, they tend to speak negatively about it. From my understanding of Junkanoo, Junkanoo was . . . Junkanoo happened when the slaves got time off to worship their master. Its supposed to be a means of worship really. And, it is something that was started, like I say, back in slavery days, and it meant a lot because back then you didn't have the opportunity to worship freely.

But, I don't know, sometime . . . as the years roll on it got lost in translation and it, now persons believe it's something evil, that they are worshipping the devil; which is kind of odd if you're playing spiritual music. Well, I guess you could call that . . . it's not secular but, current music, the same music you're playing in your church, the same thing that your members are singing in Church, they're doing, and the same members that make up your church participated in Junkanoo. In fact, some leaders of the church, of prominent churches in the Bahamas participate in Junkanoo; so I can't see how some persons would say it's evil other than they don't know.

And then another thing too is the use of instruments . . . see, like I said, it's a form of praise because in the Bible they speak about cymbals that are used, musical instruments that are used to praise God or for the purposes of praising God. It's the same thing. And I guess . . . maybe . . . I don't understand. I can't see, or I have yet to be convinced as to how Junkanoo can be evil. I have yet to see it. Which is sad. It's also sad that you have Bahamians that . . . I guess because they don't understand and don't know, they just despise Junkanoo. How can you despise something that is you?

CT: Do you think the average Bahamian feels that way, or you would find that coming from people in the Church?

DH: I think it's a cross section. I don't necessarily think it's only the Church. Because, in coming up in this organization and getting exposed to persons throughout the Junkanoo community I'm realizing now that Junkanoo is actually dying. Because you have a lot of persons who just don't like Junkanoo. The crowd that . . . you can see it also in the crowd

of persons on a regular Boxing Day morning. The crowd that you once had, you don't have anymore. The young persons that were once interested in Junkanoo, they're not as . . . they're not interested anymore. You used to have a lot of young persons, well that probably because their parents are telling them, "well no, you can't participate." I don't know why. Maybe it's because they see some of the dancers that they they're doing is vulgar, but what they should . . . I think there should be more education with regards to the origin of Junkanoo. Because how can you, if it made you who you are . . . its part of your history which means its part of you, so why hate it? It's probably based on the western point of view on it because it's something slaves did and they probably want to disassociate themselves from it, I don't know; but I can't understand why people would hate something that's a part of them, who they are today.

CT: Do you feel that a lot of people feel that way, or . . .

DH: I think it's a growing number that feel basically . . . that dislike Junkanoo and think it's evil. Some people think it's evil, some people just dislike it; I guess, maybe because it's loud, I don't know. They just dislike it. And, I mean, I believe the main reason why persons do not like it is because they do not know what it is and the origin of it. They don't understand, they don't care to know. It's just like so many other things in life, what we used to do when we were younger, the things we used to appreciate and understand, because we're not teaching it to the younger generations, it's dying out, because they can't appreciate it, because we're not informing them about it. It's dying out. So, just like our history, our culture too is dying out. It is sad.

Even the type of music too, that's being played now, they would rather play a secular song, something from Lady Gaga or some popular pop or R&B or Reggae artist, as opposed to Bahamian music; something from KB or Ronnie Butler.

CT: What about the Church hymns being played in Junkanoo is that still very strong?

DH: We play those as well. You may get one or two (**CT: but it isn't as much?**), it depends . . . it's not a favourite per se. However, I know in our group, we tend to play at least one church song every rush, at least one. I don't know if it's by choice, or it's probably . . . I believe it's probably the reception they get when they play it. A lot of persons enjoy it and so they make it their . . . they put it on the playlist basically, one of the top five.

CT: How would you describe the relationship between Junkanoo and the Church, and that's generally. Do you find your church, your particular church accepting of Junkanoo? Your local Church and the diocese per se?

DH: I believe our diocese is very accepting of Junkanoo. I say that because . . . well, I don't know ya know! Because they tend to use Junkanoo in events, for example if they have a church fair, or if there's some celebration going on in the Church. By celebration it always tend to be the fair actually. So, when there is something and you're trying to attract

people, they tend to call or request a Junkanoo group. Now, I don't, I can't necessarily say that translates into people being accepting of it. I know a lot of Anglicans are participating in Junkanoo. There's a very large community of Anglicans in Junkanoo. That's also how some of us from other groups tend to connect, because we realize we see each other at different Church events and say, "Well ok, I didn't realize you were Anglican also!" But, generally, I don't . . . I can't really say if they accept it, like to say to be accepted as a part of the service. **(CT: not in any way?)**

Some of them accept it. Mind you, I've heard a sermon or two saying, you know, "prioritize your life! Don't let Junkanoo get in the way, or alcohol, or other things, clubbing." And I'm like, why did you class Junkanoo with those things, because it takes a large percentage of our time, but . . . some churches . . . I believe in the Anglican Communion, they accept Junkanoo. I can't speak for any other denomination per se, but I believe it's accepted, and the reason why I say it's accepted is because the amount of participants that are involved in Junkanoo from the Anglican Communion, and the fact that we use it in some way shape or form, whether it be for entertainment purposes at Fairs, or other social events; it's accepted to some point.

CT: Would you say that would be more the people, the laity, than the clergy?

DH: Yes. It's the laity.

CT: How do you feel generally about how your clergy within the Anglican Church view or see Junkanoo? Is there an acceptance?

DH: I think it's a personal preference of the priest. I honestly believe the majority of them accept it. Because I could recall hearing certain priest making certain comments letting you know their affiliation with certain groups, for example, Fr. Brown. He'll let you know he is a, I think he's a Saxon. Then there's certain . . . yea, for true, because in certain . . . for example, let's take St. . . . What . . . the church on Mt. Royal. I get them confused, St. Gregory's or St. George's? St. Gregory's? In the Valley? **(CT: St. George's)** And the group that came out the area, the name is 'The Valley', the Valley Boys. So, I believe that there is . . . that the clergy accept it. In fact, they had . . . when bishop Eldon . . . when they had Bishop Eldon's funeral, because he was such a large supported of the Valley Boys, they made it a point to designate a day to have a rush out for him. So I believe the majority of the clergy in the Anglican Church accept Junkanoo.

CT: What do you think Junkanoo gives Bahamian people that may be lacking in the Churches? Your church in particular, the Anglican Church, and generally?

DH: I think a lot of persons dislike being judged. They dislike the fact that Ok, all of us are sinners, but because my sin is different than your sin, you may believe that your sin is lesser than my sin, that you have the right to come down on me and judge me. In Junkanoo you're not judged. By that I mean no one looks down on you because they feel you're inferior to them. The only thing they may crack on and say is inferior is either your music or your costume but other than that, you are the person, you are accepted. Because

in Junkanoo . . . where else can you find a banker, a lawyer, a doctor, socializing with someone who, would either be considered a criminal or basically lower class, basically lower class, someone who is unemployed, someone who is not really in their social category or sphere. That only really happens in Junkanoo. Even in Church, you would see some persons of a certain class. They would only really socialize with you because, well it looks good, and we go to the same church. But they wouldn't really, say, sit down and spend four or five hours together with you, go and buy you something to eat, take you in their home, things like that. With Junkanoo you have things like that. With Junkanoo you have people spending large quantities of time together, feeding each other. For example, ok, I'll take last season: Lawyer, psychologist, accountant, one of the top managers in one of the large hotels, spending time, by time I mean like 5 hours easy, in any given day, for persons who they would not regularly spend time with; persons who, if it was not for Junkanoo, they would have looked down upon, or pass on the street persons who are unemployed . . . to be fair, may have to commit certain crimes to just get by day to day, or persons who . . . I don't know, persons who just won't be, you wouldn't normally have interactions with them on a day to day basis.

In the Junkanoo world you're with these persons on a . . . like I say, almost a whole day. These persons, you almost end up living with them. In our shack sometimes we cook together. Someone would bring the grill and you chip in, you buy food, you sit down, you eat together, you commune together. I can't really say that happens in church much, at least spending that amount of time with somebody; and in spending that amount of time with people, you tend to talk. People tend to say whatever their problem is. They may say, "Well you know, things tough with me, or whatever. I really struggling, my family," this that and the next. And there may be, somebody else may be in a position to assist that person and say, "OK, well I know this company hiring, I'll put in a word for you."

But, it all is a family atmosphere. You bond, you get closer. I can't say that I spend that much time with persons in Church like I do with persons in Junkanoo. And the persons who I would otherwise have a certain opinion of, after spending that amount of time with them your opinion will change.

CT: The final set of questions has to do with the future. Our world is changing quickly, and a lot because of media and globalization. Where do you see Junkanoo in the future? Will it be just as powerful?

DH: It depends. To be honest with you, I'm very concerned about Junkanoo at this present state because it has become a means to make money as opposed to the real intention, and the real purpose behind Junkanoo. **(CT: Which is?)** Which is a community, a bonding, exercise. Because, you're spending somewhere up to three months in close personal contact with persons who you end up seeing more than your family, and because persons are busy and they're occupied, they have less time to be idle, less time to get into foolishness. So now, persons are taking advantage of that, to see how they could make money off it. Those persons are killing Junkanoo. At this current juncture I . . . it's not too many of those persons who are exploiting Junkanoo for money.

I see the government trying to keep it going by having Junior Junkanoo and Junkanoo in the Out-Islands for the Out Island community and young persons, but just like anything, you have bad apples in it that trying to exploit it, and trying to kill it. I just think more needs to be done with regards to the education, the purpose behind it, and the reason why we do certain things; the reason why there's Junkanoo; the fact that it's your culture, it's a part of your history, it's a part of you. I think if we just develop and educate more then it wouldn't be . . . well if you look, for example, at Brazilian Carnival in Trinidad, their Junior Carnival is very large, almost at the same scale of the adult Carnival. And the reason why it's flourishing is because they're educating their younger generation about it, the purpose, why we have it, because it's your culture, it's a part of you. I just think we need to do more in that area up here in the Bahamas, rather than looking at it as something to bring in money. Bahamians like . . . the large percentage of Bahamians like Junkanoo; and they go just come because you have Junkanoo.

But also, you have certain . . . I think Junkanoo, yea, Junkanoo . . . You have some persons, with good intentions, that are, they are helping the movement of Junkanoo. There are a lot of young persons that are, for example, Kevin Cooper . . . he's the creator of something called Junkanoo Paparazzi, which really is a photo website. But he does more than that. He has events, he tries to have events, I think every quarter, which is a bonding for persons from other groups to come together and bond outside of the Junkanoo parades. There's also now something called JNN, Junkanoo News Network, and what they tend to do is the internet, FaceBook stream, newscast about whatever related to Junkanoo that happened during the week. Before Mr. Burnside died, he had 'Junkanoo Talks' which dealt not only with the Junkanoo aspect of thing, but cultural things that happened in the Bahamas. From my understanding, there is something coming on stream to replace that. So, you do have persons that are trying educate, cite, and get it out there what's purpose of Junkanoo, the origins of it. So, hopefully, those persons will increase in number to continue the movement.

CT: Do you find that they're doing this from the ground up instead of it . . .

DH: From the ground up. These are persons who have an interest and a love for Junkanoo. They have a desire for Junkanoo. They're not doing it for personal gain or for financial gain, because these are persons who started out of . . . for example, the JNN network, the same Junkanoo news network, these are persons that took their own money to start this; they shoot in the back of their own yard and broadcast it on the internet. Persons who do it for the love of it, you could tell, as opposed to those persons who are just doing it for financial gain. (interruption). They're doing it for the love of Junkanoo, because they love it, they have an interest for it. There are persons, the same Kevin Cooper, I believe he started making photos of it because you have persons who take your picture on the parade and charge you some exorbitant price to take it. He has a website, as he takes the photos, he posts the photos. You can just go on, look at everything, see what you miss, and it's for free.

But there really has to be some education about Junkanoo because persons just look at it as, "OK, this is something you do for entertainment. This is a waste of time." A lot of

corporate sponsors look at it that way too: “Why should I sponsor you? What are you doing?” I don’t think they know the whole, I don’t think they know what all is involved.

CT: Where do you see the Church in the Bahamas in the future? How do you envision that? Where do you see your church in the future?

DH: Everything is kinda on a cycle, in a cycle. Right now, unfortunately, the church is dying too. You don’t have as much, as many members as you once had. Everything in Church has to be entertaining to get persons in a certain age group to attend. Almost every Sunday I hear my priest say, “It’s surprising to see the amount of young people that are not in the Church on a Sunday morning. Persons just, they don’t take the Church seriously anymore. They only know church when they need Church. What they say, hatch, match, and dispatch?

So, a lot of social outreach needs to be done in the church too. Because right now there’s a disconnect. There is a disconnect. Some persons, I’ve heard, say they stop coming to Church because they dislike certain people in the Church, mainly because they think the people are phony or fake, they’re not being real. They see people living a certain way in Church that is a complete contradiction to their everyday life. They just pick up Christianity and how you supposed to live when they walk into church, when they leave, they leave it at the door. And for persons that are hurting and are trying to find something to connect to, they can not connect to that; you can’t connect to something that is fake. Persons are not genuine.

CT: Do you find, do you think there is anything that Junkanoo can do, or the Junkanoo approach to things can do to assist that?

DH: Maybe you know. In thinking about that I’m thinking about something our priest is trying to implement. It’s kinda like a Family dinner, forcing persons to come together, spend time together, get to know each other. In Junkanoo, because you’re working for a common purpose, you’re forced to spend time together, you’re forced to bond, to build relationships, because you’re confined in a small space with someone for days, hours. So, I don’t know how successful that will be because there is a lot of resistance from the parishioners with regards to those dinners. But I believe that’s something that can be corrected with planning. So maybe it can assist, the bonding, the time spent together, can assist in developing or helping the church grow. Because one of the most precious thing you can give somebody is your time. Sometimes people don’t need your money, they just need your time. And so, maybe in offering time, it can assist . . . What I mean by offering time, how we spend time in Junkanoo, to bond, if you do that in church it could possibly foster better relationships, and with better relationships, tend to grow.

CT: Do you think there will be a good relationship between the two, Junkanoo and the Church, in the future; good healthy, vibrant relationship?

DH: If done properly. If it’s not done for financial gain, or, if it’s done for the sole purpose of community, then sure! Because, one of the major ills right now in the

Bahamas, and in fact the world, is a breakdown in family units. Family units help create society. If you have a strong family unit, and you have many strong family units, you have a strong society. If you use the concept in Junkanoo of spending time in bonding, for example, when I bring a costume here, that's an opportunity for me and my mummy to bond; because she'll help me on my costume. And then I have cousins that will come and they'll help with the costume. Because you're working on something, you're bringing people together to work on the same thing, spending time, quality time together.

If you translate that into the church, you bring people together, spend quality time together, they get to know each other, because they have to talk, they're forced to talk, so if you do that, maybe it'll help foster, like I say, stronger relationships; bring people together and help deal with some of the social ills. Because, if you're forced to spend time with, say, some young persons in the Church because you're working on something, you do not know what kind of conversations are going to pop up during that time, which may cause you to avert crisis in that person's life. You never know!

So, I think there are ways that the Junkanoo concept can assist with development in the Church.

CT: Community is central.

DH: Community, yea.

CT: Well Dania, I've come to the end of my interview, thank you so very much for helping me. Thank you very much.

DH: You're welcome.

APPENDIX I: THEMES AND QUESTIONS FOR INTERVIEW PARTICIPANTS

Questions for Interviews:

Self Notes:

My aim is get a view from within, to be the critical friend, and to interpret what is really being said. The fact that my research is about gaining a view from the inside is crucial given the perennial tendency of the Churches habit of importing theology.

- *Where are the people at?*
- *How are they imagining God or Scripture and participating in the Divine Drama in ways that make sense to them and bring transformation to their lives?*
- *Does or Can Junkanoo assist with this?*

General Questions to consider:

- What is the nature of the Relationship between the Church and Junkanoo in Bahamian society?
- How does this relationship affect their lives generally, if at all?
- How are, if at all, the cultural and religious foundations of Junkanoo being appropriated in a new, globalised context?
- How is Junkanoo giving spiritual formation to Bahamians in ways that are instructive to Christian praxis?
- What theological themes and flows emerge when researching Junkanoo as experienced by Bahamians facing the contemporary challenges across the region – e.g. economic hardship, crime, American cultural hegemony?
- In what ways does Junkanoo both challenge and reflect society, and what can this mean for Christian praxis within the Bahamian context?

Questions for Church Leaders: Archbishop D. Gomez (Anglican) and Rev. Dr. Simeon Hall (Baptist).

Introductory questions: What has been your involvement within the discussion of theological issues in the Caribbean? What would you say are the key concerns for theology within the Caribbean context? Is the question of culture being discussed or addressed?

Would you say that Christianity in the Bahamas has become indigenous and embraces Bahamian culture in a healthy way?

What is the Anglican/Baptist (or general confessional Christianity) attitude and approach to Junkanoo, and is this an official position?

Given the Churches historical links with colonialism, or the fact that Christianity in the Bahamas has come about largely due to missionary efforts from Western countries, has this in any way given birth to negative attitudes towards Junkanoo?

What do you think people involved in Junkanoo are doing when they are ‘rushing’ (on parade)?

Is there anything Christian in Junkanoo besides allusion to Scripture through costuming and banners, or the playing of hymns?

In his book *Early Bahamian Slave Spirituality: The Genesis of Bahamian Cultural Identity*, Dr. Kirkley Sands made the comment that Junkanoo is fundamentally slave spirituality forged through the meeting of the slave plantation, missionary Christianity, and African Religious Heritage, do you agree with this statement?

- Why or Why not?
- Also, if this is the case is there any way in which Junkanoo can positively influence Anglican/Baptist churches in the fulfilling of their mission?
- How is Junkanoo giving spiritual formation to Bahamians in ways that are instructive to Christian praxis?

Sociologists speak of Carnivals and Festivals such as Junkanoo as forms of resistance against domination; means of socio-political critique; or even spaces for community catharsis or healing in tough times. Given the pressures of an economic downturn, a rise in violent crime, and political and social instability, the Church is significantly challenged.

- Is there something that Junkanoo provides the nation, or a way in which it speaks to the people, that Churches can learn from or should incorporate?

One of the complexities of Caribbean Church history is that the in general Church has both been a church of the colonizer and a church of the colonized. It has been in many respects, the bearer of culture and affirmer of the poor and the oppressed as well as having a history of being very much complicit with colonial hegemony.

- Is the church still a bearer of culture in the Bahamas?
- Given the fact of globalization and the power of the media over cultural and religious practices within less powerful countries such as the Bahamas, is the church acting as agents of new forms of colonization, or is it being a place of refuge for indigenous cultural and religious practices?

We now live in a globalised world where the media plays a big part in shaping culture, particularly the culture and religiosity of small countries like the Bahamas. How do you envision Junkanoo changing, or the Church changing, and what would this mean for the relationship between Junkanoo and Christianity?

- What would this mean for the faith practices of Bahamian people?
- Will there be reparation between faith and culture, Christianity and Junkanoo in the foreseeable future?

Questions for Academics: Dr. Nicolette Bethel (Sociologist) and Rev. Dr. Kirkley Sands (Contextual Theologian).

Introductory questions: Can you please tell me a bit about yourself, your profession, or training, and your field/s of academic interest?

Given your research background and your discipline, how would you describe the church's attitude to Junkanoo within the Bahamas?

Would you say that there is self-negation within the average Bahamian whereby their African-ness is being subjected to their Church Traditions? If this is so, is the average Bahamian aware of this?

One of the observations from Caribbean Conference of Churches documents and consultations is that there is a habit of us importing theological outlooks, Church trends and styles from the developed countries, at the expense of indigenous outlooks, trends and styles, would you agree with this?

- Why do you think this is so?
- Is there anything we can do to reverse this trend if it holds some inherent dangers?

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- What would this mean for the faith practices of Bahamian people?
- How might Junkanoo be giving spiritual formation to Bahamians in ways that are instructive to Christian praxis?
- Will there be reparation between faith and culture, Christianity and Junkanoo in the foreseeable future?

Questions for Junkanoo Group Leaders: Vola Francis (Junkanoo Icon and leader of the Saxons) and Mr. Kevin Ferguson (Leader of 'Culture' Junkanoo Group)

Introductory Questions: What is your history concerning Junkanoo, and how did you come to be leader of your Junkanoo Group. What is the history of your Group?

Is there a particular ethos or philosophy behind your group?

- What is it?
- What does your group try to do for Bahamian people?

Is there anything religious about your Junkanoo group?

- Are there times of worship or prayer that everyone joins in on?
- Why are these times important for the Junkanoo Groups?
- As a group leader how do you feel during these times?

How would you describe the relationship between Junkanoo and the Church?

- Is Junkanoo accepted by the church, and if not, then why not?
- Should it be accepted by the Churches?
- What does Junkanoo give to Bahamian people that may be lacking in the Churches?

Questions for Junkanoo Lay Participants who are both Church Goers and avid Junkanoo participants

Introductory Questions: Can you please tell me about yourself, your involvement within your Junkanoo Group, and your involvement in your local church?

- Would you say that you are passionate about Junkanoo and also a committed Christian active in your church?

How do you feel when you're on parade?

- Is there anything spiritual you feel?
- Is there a sense of worship, or a feeling of freedom, maybe a feeling that you don't feel when you're in church?

Is there anything religious about your Junkanoo group?

- Are there times of worship or prayer that everyone joins in on?
- How do you feel during these times?

How would you describe the relationship between Junkanoo and the Church?

- Do you find your church accepting of Junkanoo?
- How does it see Junkanoo and how do you feel about that?
- Should it be accepted by the Churches?
- What does Junkanoo give to Bahamian people that may be lacking in the Churches?

Our world is changing quickly because of the media and globalisation.

- Where do you see Junkanoo in the future? Will it be just as powerful?
- Where do you see the Church in the Bahamas in the future?
- Do you think there will be a good relationship between the two in the future?

APPENDIX J: EXAMPLE OF OBSERVATIONAL NARRATIVE

Field Work Notes – Boxing Day Junkanoo Parade – 26th Dec 2012

Earlier at Arlene Nash's Home

Much of Christmas day was taken up with getting my pass for the Junkanoo parade and catching up with family. Around 12 noon I found myself having to go to Arlene Nash-Ferguson's house to pick up a Junkanoo vest from her husband Silbert. When I arrived at their home in Winton Heights I realize that they were at the bottom of a dead end corner. The back of their property was a shack, a shack that was busy with people.

I entered the open door to find Silbert sitting there busy with his phone. As they were preparing for Christmas dinner their shack was extremely busy. Silbert, a dark skinned man in his 60's was sitting relaxed and in work clothes. He motioned me down into the lounge where His wife was with her guests, guests I happen to have known. As we chatted about Junkanoo and what I was doing I noticed how much Junkanoo was a part of the Ferguson's lives. They had Junkanoo pictures on the wall and pasted head pieces as ornaments.

I took the opportunity to ask about the Shack at the back of the house. What is the main shack? I learned that it was one of One Family's 24 shacks. They operate a satellite system and organize to get costumes onto Bay street in particular ways. Once they used to have the lead piece at their home but in recent years have realized that they were too far outside the city to host the big costume. People were coming in and out of their yard, as the shack was more busy than their home.

Before leaving, Silbert told me that Junkanoo would begin at 12 midnight sharp. It was the only thing in the country that began promptly. I headed home now ready for the Boxing Day Parade.

Getting to Bay Street

We arrived onto May Street around 11:45. The music hadn't started as yet since the parade would be a few minutes from starting. As we walked towards the heart of Bay Street, past the Hilton Hotel, there was much activity. Police officers, senior and junior officers, were busy directing pedestrian traffic onto baystreet, and vehicular traffic from Blue Hill Road onto Bay Street heading west. These were huge trucks carrying extremely large costumes. Many of these costumes were being loaded off at the road which carries one into the McDonald's parking lot. Off course McDonald was extremely busy as it was at the Junior Junkanoo Parade. Bahamians were getting their fill before they entered Bay Street.

But what was obvious was the level of peace and cooperation as people were busy hurriedly preparing themselves to get to where they needed to be. Out of corners people were emerging fully regaled in their pasted costumes, rushing towards Bay Street. One

man passed us by with pasted pants and shirt and carrying a pasted spear. His headpiece indicated that he was to be some sort of knight, and that his group were allowing for such a theme. The thing about Junkanoo is that before the actual parade, the theme and costuming of the group are not public knowledge. Even having gone to Conqueror's for Christ shack, I only got to know the theme because Higgins told me what it was to be. I had gone to Arlene Nash's home where the shack was and here costume was covered up. In her own house, that was kept secret.

Getting to Bay Street was on everyone's minds, whether it was to fuel up on food, or whether it was rushing to one's group. Before heading into the excitement we stopped for a coffee at Dunkin Doughnuts, which itself was being participated in as if these were regular working hours. We left the shop with our coffees and just as we rounded the corner onto Bay Street we found out that the first group, which had already been lined up, was the Saxons. And also as we rounded the corner we heard the tubas start. It was 12 mid-night and as was indicated earlier, Junkanoo had started on time.

Saxons

While we were heading to our seats, the Saxons were the first out the gate. At this parade I decided that I would try to get as much observation from the vantage point of being in the stands, amongst the crowd. I bought tickets that would provide me a seat on the top bleaches so that I would be able to take good photos. Perhaps during the next parade I would do more walking along the street and through the crowds, between Bay Street and Shirley Street.

When we got seated, north of Fredrick Street, on the north side of the road, close to Parliament Street, the Saxons were to our set of bleaches. This was a massive group. As they continued into their performance they stretched from the gate at George Street to Charlotte Street, perhaps a distance of 800 metres?

The Saxons' theme, one of three groups and an individual costume, with the same concentration, was the Queen's diamond Jubilee; their official title being "HM The Queen: A Celebration of Life". As with any Junkanoo, and a major one at that, this was a spectacular array of dancers, off the shoulder dancers, and major costumes. Everything from the banner, the lead costume, to the arrangement of dancers, and concluding costumes, portray the many years and influence of the Queen. For example, off the shoulder dancers danced costumes entitled "60 years of Royalt" which portrayed 1952 to 2012 with symbols of the monarchy such as the lion, attached. Another such costume is entitled "Diamond Jubilee" which portrayed the patterns and colour scheme to the events planned for the jubilee, emphasizing a huge crown and the British flag.

With an arrangement of what seemed to be imperial guards, knights, dancers portrayed as ladies and Gentlemen of High society, ladies with heavy looking victoria dresses and men with dovetailed coats and top hats, all were dancing to the music of "Rule Britannia" and the hymn "Crown Him with Many Crowns". Vola Francis, the leader of the Saxons was dressed as a king, in purple and gold. He was surrounded by imperial guard as he danced

to the rhythm of the Junkanoo beat. Alongside Vola was Eddie Dames who was dressed as the Archbishop of Canterbury. Then, two major costumes were rolled behind the musicians; the first being a royal carriage, drawn by two dragons, upon which were mounted the Queen along with Prince Phillip on her left, and Prince Charles on her right, also mounted on a race horse. Erected from this carriage were flags of the commonwealth. Behind this massive carriage was another of similar size upon which were mounted Lady Kate Middleton, Prince William and Prince Harry. It characterized the Royal Family.

A number of things were visible in this portrayal of the Queens life. Firstly, there was a reflection the wide influence of the royalty throughout the commonwealth. Thirdly, there is that acknowledgement of the relationship between the church and the monarchy as they exist within England. Thirdly, there is that awareness of the world from which the monarchy emerged, a world of high society vs. low society. This kind of portrayal took not only research but deep reflection. The amazing thing is the extent to which Junkanoo requires keen research and reflective skills. This isn't simply skill of one, but the skill of the entire group. The dancers, the musicians, the choreographers, the artists, all have to researchers in some way.

Nonetheless, and in true Junkanoo fashion, this theme of the Queens' life was all set to that warrior motif so central to Junkanoo. For example, the imperial guards were performing warrior like motions with their spears. They were stabbing and lunging forward in choreographed manner. What is clear here is that within Junkanoo one finds that kind of creativity where a major cultural influence is reimagined towards African conceptions. Here imperial guards, in all their regalia, are lunging and stabbing like African warriors; the British Coat of Arms are 'rushing'; the Queens' carriage is dancing to the rhythm of the drum. The other type of creativity that one found was in the use of local items as musical instruments. Within the Saxons one saw a line of horn blows, blowing a particular kind of conch shell. Added to the use of scrapers/graters that one finds in Rake N' Scrape, there is an instrumental aspect to the creativity within Junkanoo. Not only is it a means of creative mimicry, but it is also a means of concrete creativity; an ornament such as the conch shell becomes a musical instrument.

Also noticeable was the interaction between the Saxon performers and the Crowd. At intervals they would chant their famous lines: "Who are we?" with their famous response, "The Saxons!" While the performers were doing this, many on the bleaches were counteracting by exchanging "The Saxons!" for "The Valley!" Each was as loud as the other. One thing that one finds within the world of Junkanoo is that absolute loyalty is demanded by each group. When one is Saxon, they are so for life. When one is Valley, they are so for life. Usually the major tension is between the Saxons and the Valley and that rivalry was being played out in my midst.

Being a big group, it took Saxons a very long time to pass by completely, perhaps half and hour. But immediately behind them were the Bush Warriors, who from the distance first looked as if they were part of the Saxons but somehow oddly standing out.

(Insert pictures)

Scrap Group – Bush Warriors

The pattern of large groups followed by scrap groups was the pattern for this Boxing Day parade. Immediately following the Saxons were the Bush Warriors who were distinctive in that they were carrying placards. The only pasting was on their clothes, which were all black. All six persons in this scrap group had their faces covered, two having a black hood in the shape of what members of the Klu Klux Klan wore. Their placards read: “Merry Christmas from the Bush Warriors: Hang All Murderers!” “No Bail for Murder!” and two other identical placards with “Hang All Murders!” This group was representing the voice of those advocating Capital Punishment in a time when the country’s murder rate is at an all time high.

The Scrap Group, which is always just a number of persons, perhaps no more than 10 persons, still has that ability to shock. This small band of persons wasn’t dancing, they were marching. This was social protest. The amazing thing about Junkanoo was that in a parade where the rhetoric of competition, and ‘rushin’ for affirmation is overall, there is that small band of persons parading a different rhetoric. In this instance its deep critique and is meant to prick the conscience of Bahamian people. In my mind, the very loneliness of the Scrap Group, with their ability to shock and also their ease at being ignored, one can see the parallels with the prophetic figures within Scripture. Take for instance John the Baptist, the forerunner to Christ, who lives alone in the wilderness, exists as an animal, but bursts onto the socio-religious context of his day, demanding a fierce message of repentance. In a way the Scrap Group is providing this critical prophetic theological function.

(Insert Pictures)

The Original Congos

The Next group up were the Original Congos, a B Group(?) Their theme was “We love Bahamian Music.” Again their theme wasn’t simply about performance but about social critique. Just recently on the Chrissy Love show there had been much talk about the neglect of Bahamian music and Bahamian artist within the country. Here the Congos were bringing this to the forefront.

Their costumes were themed around different Bahamian Songs: “8 piece of 6 and 4”, “Everybody Wan Tip”, and “Dog only Bark at Park Car”. Following their musicians was a large costume showing the famous King Eric and The Knights. Their lead piece was a congo drum on a wooden platform. This group wasn’t that elaborate but it was making its point very clear. It was celebrating Bahamian music and Bahamian artists.

But no matter the size of the group there is still that intensity. This group was perhaps half as large as the Saxons but they performed with intensity. They were rushing, their movements the same as in any Junkanoo parade. There is the freedom to express one’s self. There was one dancer shaking hips, but again, not in any provocative or ‘sexual’

way, but rather as an intense rush. I think that one can confuse some of the movements with something sexual, but I don't quite see it that way. 'Rushin' is dancing, and it involves the total self . . . the religious, cultural, the sexual, and the psychological. But, the intention or the goal isn't sexual, it's ontological. It is that deep affirmation of being, of one's total being. 'Rushing' doesn't make distinctions between the different parts of one's life. This seems to be more a practice for churches.

Scrap Group – The Paper Boys

Following the Congos were the Paper Boys. In the distance one could see them, all pasted in strips of newspaper. The thing about Junkanoo is that anything can be used for pasting and for decoration. Here the Paper Boys were going back to the time when Junkanoo was so much less ostentatious and Bahamians were in poverty. (Add more information!). They had no costumes and their centre piece was a set of speakers which played Bahamian music. I heard a girl beside me commenting on this group, "You see them there, they does be so drunk!"

As they passed by I realized that what she said was quite true. Everyone had a drink in their hands. Along with their set of speakers they were carrying along a cooler filled with what seemed to be alcoholic beverages. Some of them were blowing horns, but most of them simply were dancing to the music playing and almost all of them looked drunk indeed.

What is it with alcohol. It seems central to the Junkanoo Parade. This group was making no overt political statement. They were simply partying. The possibility exists that they were making a point that the Junkanoo parade is about having a good time and not just about competition. This theory has been suggested by scholars such as (Nicolette Bethel?). But one thing is certain, this group came to Bay Street, not to perform for anyone, but to have a good time in front of everyone.

The Music Makers

After the Paper Boys there was a lull in the crowd. The next group to emerge would be the Music Makers. This is an A group, but not with the size that was seen with the Saxons. Their theme was "Bahamas Experience" and their sponsors were quite visible. The thing about Junkanoo and what has been visibly attached onto costumes, is that local businesses have done their bit to sponsor the different groups. Costumes would have a sign indicating who sponsored a particular costume, or the company that is a major sponsor for that particular group. In this case it is Sunshine, which owns a number of different businesses in the Bahamas.

The Music Makers has been just as traditional as the Valley and the Saxons but has never been quite as successful. However, the power of the African Traditional Religiosity came out. While there was the general theme of all things Bahamian, including off the shoulder costumes with the Coat of Arms, national flowers, depictions of sunshine and the sea. In the midst of these there was a young warrior going through the crowd doing his best to

incite the crowd with a loud shout . . . “Aaaa uu, Aaaaa, uu, Aaaa, uu!” . He raised his arms every time he said this, inviting the crowd to join in. He moved along the expanse of the group, doing this particular motion. With his spear he would furiously stab into the air in front of him. His passion was astounding. He was ‘rushin’.

But the crowd found him entertaining. But why? He was a part of a number of such jesters. Another ‘rushed’ with a wheelbarrow. Another had a fishing rod. Another looked like a local peddler for tourists. These were moving in and out of different sections counteracting the organized nature of the group. They were a visible sign of the interplay between order and disorder that exists within the Festival. Yet, why did people laugh at the warrior. They found him most entertaining, and they began joining in, not as participation, but as mockery. I see this as a slight evidence of the kind of Self-negation in that he represented that one deeply engrained motif within Junkanoo, that of the insuperable warrior. But instead of an acceptance of the need to truly get into the ‘rushin’ of the Music Makers, the warrior was mocked, laughed at, and seen as entertaining and providing entertainment.

The lead dancer for the Music Makers was a man. I think I’ve seen him before at previous parades and it appears he has become somewhat of a celebrity. Beside me another girl exclaimed, “Oh, it’s the boy.” What she really meant was that he was the boy who not only dances with, but also leads the girl dancers. By all accounts he was gay, or simply very effeminate. His place within the festival is always unexpected and over time people long to see him, to have something to point to, to be impressed by. Oh, but he danced. Despite questions in the crowd concerning his sexuality, he danced for the crowd and led his dancers with the same kind of ‘freedom to be; that characterizes the Junkanoo ‘rush’ . There is something about sexuality within Bahamian society that is very much socially constructed as well. The male dancer going against the norm and leading the female dancers is something outside the boundaries. It becomes a point of curiosity. However, I didn’t get the feeling that people were dismissing him, negating him somehow, but longing for more. In a society that in many respects is conservative, where sexuality is a big issue . . . whether someone is gay, or ‘sweethearting’ , within the Junkanoo festival this curiosity about one’s sexuality becomes secondary to the intensity in one’s performance. I just did not get a feeling as if this young man was being rejected by the crowd, his ‘rushin’ was being celebrated. Also, I could tell that he was free and happy to be himself.

While the lone warrior continue his “Aaaa uu!” the musicians were playing a mixture of Bahamian and Religious music. They played the likes of “Somewhere in that Glory Land”, and “Tomorrow”. But most surprising was the appearance of the ‘Singing Prophet’, Bishop Lawrence Rolle, a local Pentecostal pastor who has become quite a celebrity in his own right. Wearing what looked like modern African robes, black and deep orange, he carried a pom pom in his hands with feathers the colours of the Bahamian flag. He danced, not as intensely, but he did dance. In fact he is known for not only singing but quite expressive dancing. It has always struck me that Rolle has been very close to the kind of African Traditional Religious Churches that I’ve seen in the Caribbean. It was good to see a member of the clergy here, but this wasn’t an ordinary member, his kind of church and kind of spirituality seems a lot more integrated into the

kind of African Traditional Religiosity so entrenched within the Junkanoo parade. From my limited knowledge of him I know that there doesn't exist all the stringent rules that one finds within the other denominations; there is an emphasis on the work of the Holy Spirit and divination as to what the Spirit says. In fact his singing, dancing ministry could have parallels to Myalism, which is also constitutive of Junkanoo.

What was also visible in this group were that the dancers didn't seem as young. A number of them were very big women. Here again was this idea that when one is rushing, all their outward characteristics are seen as secondary, both to themselves and to the crowd. The costumes are there to bring out the inner person. This is another aspect of uncovering the deep. The Junkanoo 'rush', the costuming, the music are all there to bring out of the soul, that which a person is in themselves. These ladies, though large in size, were dancing, and showing of themselves with pride. They didn't seem conscious of their size, they were only concerned about their 'rushin'. In like manner, the male dancer referenced earlier wasn't concerned about the crowd's reception of his sexuality, but only about 'rushin'. The outward things are minimalized, the inner person is revealed.

The last within the Music Makers were three large costumes, one a Sail boat entitled 'Loose Me', and another of a large crab with the reference "Oh My Andros" on it; and the final one being a lighthouse with the words "Historical Sights." The first had a man dressed as a captain dancing on the deck of the sail boat, and the second had what could have been the singer of the song "Oh My Andros", Elon Moxey.

In the end the Music Makers were neither as large nor as ostentations as the Saxons it seems. At one point I saw someone's costume being repaired in the middle of the parade.

(Insert Photos)

BTC Throwing and Promoting

While the Music Makers were making their way BTC girls came along the side railings throwing free shirts and bags into the crowd. These were the same promos I had seen at both the Valley and One Family practices. This was the advertisement for 4G, their new internet package. But the girls stood out. They were all young, perhaps late teenagers, dressed in tight black clothing, with a Santa's hat on their heads. They were getting cheers from the crowd as they threw their goods over the railings. As they passed by I realized that the one banner within my view, which was hung across a railing, was that of BTC and their promotion of 4G. When looking at my ticket I realize as well that BTC was printed on the back of them. They perhaps were the major sponsor for the Boxing Day Parade. I eventually found out that they indeed are the major sponsors for the 2012 parade which is technically called "The BTC Boxing Day Parade 2012".

It is interesting that this advertisement ploy got so much reaction from the crowd. For a moment people were little concerned with the parade, and only with getting something free. Again, commercialization remains a significant aspect of Junkanoo. BTC was clearly using sexuality to do their promotions as well. But this was of little concern to the crowd.

Scrap Group – Phi Beta Sigma

Following the Music Makers was the Scrap Group Phi Beta Sigma. About 7 to 8 men and one woman were rolling a banner which read “Culture for Service. Service for Humanity.” Barely pasted with their blue shirts and their half pasted pants, they carried two a drum, and a cowbell and made very little music. But, they were there to have a good time. All of them who were able, had some sort of drink in their hands. They were promoting their Fraternity.

The good thing about Junkanoo is that all can appear and do their promotions. Many Bahamas have studied in the United States and are still a part of fraternities and sororities. Proximity to the US has made and is making a huge impact upon Bahamian society. This is nowhere as stark as the presence of a fraternity as a Scrap Group in the Junkanoo Parade. These were Bahamian young men though. This Bahamian/American mix is evidenced.

Fancy Dancers

After a lull, I could hear the announcers in the distance announcing that the Fancy Dancers were now on the clock. Junkanoo is timed and there are penalties or disqualifications for being late. In fact, there are strict rules. I have now acquired a document with the ratified rules for 2012, which is a 31 page PDF document produced by the JCNP – Junkanoo Corporation New Providence Limited. The document is thorough and laid out in true parliamentary manner. More will be said on this later, but for now, the Fancy Dancers were on the clock.

Their theme was “African Glory: History, Culture and Nature”. And as the title suggests this group brought together a theme of African liberation, depicting all the wonders of Africa, flora and fauna, and those who have fought for the liberation of African people, eg. Nelson Mandela. To make the point, there were off the shoulder costumes entitled “Unleash the Masks”, “African Splendour”, and “Mandela: Freedom Fighter”. The lead piece was centred with a large imprint of the African Continent, from which emerged the face of an African warrior along with spears and a shield, and a giraffe, an elephant. Two major pieces concluded the procession, one being the depiction of an African Warrior, with a title by that name, and the other being vehicle on safari entitled, “African Wildlife Safari”.

In the midst of music such as “The Lion Sleeps Tonight”, a large costume depicting the release of Mandela, and the headpieces of drummers and trumpet players reading “Freedom”, it was clear that a Liberation was the theme being presented by this group. This notion of Freedom or needing liberation is so much at the subconscious of the Junkanoo artist and musician. But these aren’t simply popular conceptions of Africa, but more a nostalgic reflection of a lost Africa. This, to my mind, was that longing for liberation materializing as a longing for an African past; a holding on to a glory, a history and a land – things which seem to have been lost.

Individual Costumes

Following the fancy dancer were a number of individual pieces, which were mostly doing promotions for a particular business, or tributes to local heroes or events. In this line up you had a costume to “Casino Gambling” advertising “WhatFall.com” and “Island Luck”. Another promoted “Carpet World” and portrayed a witch on a broom. Yet another was a tribute to the Golden Boys, the four Bahamian Athletes who won gold in the 4X400 metre relay at London 2012. Another was a tribute to the Police Force Band and another to Junour Junkanoo. Surprisingly, there was one by what seems to be a local community “Kenwood Street” with a theme “Get Involved.” This suggests that this particular street community perhaps worked together to clean up their street. The final individual costume in this section portrayed illegal fishing, perhaps sponsored by the Department of Fisheries.

These individual costumes, and all others deserve reflection. The rules of Junkanoo may be stringent but they do allow for individual expression. The aforementioned list of costumes serve a variety of purposes: Advertisement, Advocacy, Education, Group Solidarity, and the attribution of honour. There is a lot of space for the involvement of the Church as Junkanoo has the fluidity to include all.

Scrap Group – Kalik: Beer of the Bahamas

I would describe the Kalik group a cross between a scrap group and a promotional group. With two costume pieces, perhaps about 30 people made up this contingent. With their theme “Kalik: Beer of the Bahamas” and slogans such as “If you ain’t Kaliking you ain’t saying nothing”, persons from this group were cowbelling to Bahamian music being played through speakers. Mostly in simple pasted costumes, bottoms pieces and head peaces with a white group shirt, this group was having a very very good time. They were cowbelling and blowing their whistles. They were there to do one thing only and that was to promote Kalik beer. This was seen in that they three whistles into the crowd as they passed by. The whistles, two which I acquired, were advertising Kalik Beer.

The Junkanoo Parade is such a powerful stage to promote one’s self or product. This seems to be a place where all sorts of promotions are encouraged. Why can’t the church promote itself, or it’s message on this most powerful stage? It seems as if entering Scrap Groups not only forces creativity from churches but brings Churches powerfully into the visibility of the public.

One Family

It’s now 2:43 am and I am tired and sleepy. Junkanoo requires a lot of sacrifice. Now into the early hours of the morning, and with all the energy that observation takes from me, I’m struggling to focus. Nonetheless, with each group there is revived energy. This has been the rhythm of the parade. People are beginning to fall asleep, but when the music hits, or when a major group is about to pass by, people perk up and get ready to participate.

One Family was now up. In the distance we saw smoke coming rising into the air creating an atmosphere of mystique. The first thing to be seen was a very large television screen. This was the pre-lead costume. When it drew near I realized that the scene it depicted was one that of a news anchor making some kind of announcement. Workmen were in pasted yellow clothing and projecting onto the large screen. The announcer was Darrol Miller, a local talk show host and journalist who has become something of a local celebrity. Dressed in a pasted red suite with top hat to match, Darrol reported for the “Warrior Network News”. As Darrol passed the crowd riled up. He was really creating excitement in this crowd. Darrol’s broadcasting, with his unique method of doing it, was to say that a Hurricane, a very dangerous Hurricane, was coming. Essentially, he was the fore-runner to the lead piece and theme of One Family: “Hurricane A’ Comin”.

The entire presentation of One Family was stunning. They seemed to be by far the largest group. All of their pieces made reference to Bahamian attitudes to the advent of hurricanes. Their lead piece a fierce depiction of the blowing of fierce winds, not only had smoke coming out of the jaws of the personified hurricane, but it had lights blinking in its eyes as well, and in other parts of the piece. What I witnessed was awesome creativity, not just artistic but in engineering as well.

Off the Shoulder Dancers carried costumes with titles such as “Secure Your Valuables”, “Water Depot”, “Current Off and Ice-cream Melting”, “Dancing in the Rain”, and “A Prayer for Protection”, “Hurricane Andrew”, “Not the Hail”, and “Tears of Joy”. There was even a costume which had free spinning propellers like that of a wind vane. In a sea of silvers and blues, One Family brought their theme to life.

The initial dancers, the first of three sets of dancers, were somewhat revealing with stomachs revealed and bare legs, but they were still appropriately dressed in their silver and grey costumes, headpieces like the beaks of a bird. What was apparent though, was that the group was so big, it was hard to hear their music. They used music from Darrol Miller’s piece to carry them along.

After the off the shoulder dancers, came the 2nd and 3rd wave of dancers. The first, dressed with peach and silver costumes, depicted lightning and carried a pasted lightning bolt of the same colour, and the second, green and blue, depicted water and carried umbrellas. Their choreography was stunning as they danced as a group, nothing particularly free, or sexually suggestive in any way.

Behind these dancers were another set of dancers, free dancers, whose costuming were just as stunning. There were two in particular, two women dressed in black, whose costumes aimed to strike fear. They carried bows and arrows and were simulating the shooting of arrows into the crowd. In fact their black spikey costumes were accompanied with very dark makeup. They danced the danger inherent in hurricanes.

Another free dancer was dressed as a cornbeef can and was moving in and through these dancers. When hurricanes come around canned foods are collected and stored. The

cornbeef is a Bahamian delicacy and is perhaps, along with tuna, the cans of choice during a hurricane.

In this section was a set of free dancers depicting Foot/Ball and Basketball. One woman was dressed as a cheerleader and the man was dressed football player but bouncing a basketball. This is something else quite true about Bahamians during a hurricane. One indoors, there is that need to watch sports, to not only watch them, but have a good time doing so, with beers and food. For many Bahmians hurricanes are not times for worry, but for partying.

As the free dancers pass by the musicians strike up the hymn “How Great Thou Art.” The crowd joins in. The musicians just as powerful as a major group would be, rocked the crowd. I began dancing despite my efforts at concentration. Everyone is dancing. In the midst of the drummers were young drummers, who were quite a point of excitement for the crowd as well. A crowd that was once waning off was now fully alive.

After the musicians came a number of costumes, some more abstract one depicting hurricanes within Bahamian history such as Sandy and Andrew. This was followed by larger pieces “Non Perishable Items”, “Peace Be Still” which had Jesus at the centre, “Terenchal DownPour”, “BEC: The Aftermath”, and the final one “The Fury of Mother Nature”.

Besides the awesome presentation by the group, One Family managed to take a theme and localize it. They were presenting the arrival of a hurricane and the many ways in which Bahamians adapt to it. This was a 1st Class presentation in social drama.

As the Pigs were coming, a band of 5 persons, I decided to exit the bleaches and follow One Family to Rawson Square. I found out that the exit to Rawson Square was completely blocked off. However, from where I stood I realized that they were rocking Rawson Square. Rawson Square directly in front of the House of Parliament, is perhaps the most crucial point on the Parade. It is the place where groups are judged most carefully, and must perform most passionately. Later on the Valley Boys would have an entire presentation of the Queen and the Royal Family as they exit their carriage. From my vantage point I could see that the bleaches in Rawson Square sat perhaps 4 thousand people. It was packed on both sides, and everyone was rocking and dancing at the passage of One Family. This link with Rawson Square is quite important as it has always symbolized the centre of power to which the disempowered African Bahamians spoke. It was the place of protest. The question now is if it’s simply the place of performance and not the place of protest. Can it and will it always be the place where protest can happen?

Scrap Group – The Pigs

The pigs, as the Bush Warriors, had a very topical concern. Their banner was simple but made the point. Their theme “Can’t Win for Losing: Roll Em!!” was the pasted front of what seemed like a number house. Gambling and the legalizing of gambling for

Bahamians has become quite a big issue and within January 2013 there is to be a referendum on the issue.

Conquerors for Christ

Upon coming back to the bleaches I realised that the next group to pass was Conquerors for Christ. Their theme, "Tribute to our Fathers" highlighted the many famous men in the nation's history, for example, "Father of Labour" Sir Randol Fawkes; "Father of Junkanoo"; "Father of Sport" Thomas A. Robinson who has recently passed away; and ultimately "Father of the Nation" Sir Lynden O. Pindling. All of these were preceded by a costume entitled "Honour thy Father".

Being a B Group there was obviously less ostentation with this group. Their technique was to bring all the many male highlights into a Christian framework where the need to honour men in the society is mandated. Also, since Conquerors for Christ is a ministry within the inner city, among children who come from radically broken homes, the them is consonant with their overall aim.

But, apart from references to the bible and an individual dancer wearing a costume resembling that of a bishop with a mitre, this group was just as any other. Their music was religious, but their presentation, their style, their dancing, their 'rushing' was all the same. The only thing one could say was that they didn't have the kind of artistry or sponsorship that one sees in One Family or Saxons or Valley Boys. Nonetheless, they rushed with intensity as all groups did.

Higgins and Ann were there as well. Higgins, as in the practice, lead his dancers. He was dressed in a suite, black pants, white jacket, and gold vest, and a gold and black striped cane. Ann was dressed as the 'colonial secretary' just as Higgins mentioned. She was in all white, like a colonial officer, with a white staff in her hand, and a hat reminiscent of such a colonial title, except with black and yellow feathers springing from it.

Their group wasn't that big, nor did they seem that organized, neither did they particularly excite the crowd. However, they enjoyed themselves and rushed with intensity. In fact, while filming them, because I had one a vest an officer came up to me and asked if I knew who the next A Group was. People were all awaiting the major groups.

Roots

Roots was the next major group to pass by and the second with a theme relating to the Queen's Diamond Jubilee. Their theme "The Queen's Masquerade Ball: Celebrating 60 years of Elizabeth II Reign", was portrayed on a lead piece depicting the queen on her royal throne, dressed for a ball with court jesters on either side of her. Roots sponsor is Kerzner International, the company which runs the famous Atlantis Hotel and Resorts on Paradise Island, perhaps the biggest private employer in the country. Roots is one of the Major groups but hasn't been half as successful as the Valley Boys or the Saxons. A cursory look on their webside shows that one must apply to become a member of their

group. Junkanoo groups are exclusive entities, close knit families, but especially for the larger groups, their financial backing is very important.

With a few off the shoulder costumes including “Granny’s Night Out” and “Ballroom Décor”, it didn’t appear as if they had too many large pieces, nor were these pieces telling a story in any great detail. What they did have though, glittery paper being shot into the air, falling into the crowd to create that atmosphere of the festive ballroom. To the tune of “London Bridge is Falling Down”, costumes and dancers ‘rushed’ with intensity.

Also in the midst of the group was the leader, Paul Knowles, who suffers from ALS, also know as Lou Gehrig’s disease. He moved through the different sections on his scooter, participating as best he could along with his group. Though his body is becoming more and more debilitated, he continues his commitment to Junkanoo with vigour and enthusiasm. Junkanoo drives him forward.

With a host of dancers, perhaps 30, in no way dancing sexually suggestively, but dancing for the cameras, musicians dressed as kings, and what seems to be 40 to 50 drummers, Roots didn’t exact that much energy from the crowd. I think the crowd and myself included were tired at this point. However, when the music section approached people were animated again.

What was a point of excitement though was when it began to spry. There is something about rain and Junkanoo that has become something of a cultural excitement. Every year Junkanooer’s are wary of inclement weather. With costumes made of cardboard and paper, rain and strong winds can absolutely ruin a parade. When rain begins to fall the crowd is left in suspense wondering what the organizer would do. But also, there are those who dance even more somewhat beginning the rain to fall. This was the case tonight where a woman a few feet away from me began stamping the bleachers with her hands in the air begging for rain to fall. This was a point of excitement for her section. Rain and Junkanoo has become a cultural conversation whereas people pray against rain, others pray for the excitement that rain brings, and others just want to get out the way. But one thing is certain; rain and Junkanoo do not go together.

Closing out the group was a large costume entitled “The Royal procession”, a golden carriage pulled by six royal guards on horses. Inside this carriage actually sat an impersonation of the queen. On top of the carriage was an angel with a crown on it’s head. Moving closely toward the group was a man on skates, with pasted pants and shirt. He didn’t seem part of the Roots’ contingent and was immediately asked by one of the marshalls to move away from the group. I presume that this is important since his presence could detract from the amount of points that Roots would be able to earn. It is now 4:46 am.

Individual Costume

With now only a few minutes until 5 am, in-between Roots and Colours came a costume entitled “our Celebrity Dreams”. I don’t know if this was a part of Colours since it had

“lead costume” attached to it. Or, maybe it was part of roots. But it seemed abstract somehow and now representative neither Roots nor Colours. It was again a carriage pulled by large swans, in which sat three Japanese/Oriental women.

Colours

Colours, whose sponsor is Sigma Management, portrayed the theme “Da Carnival”. By the time they came by many people were sleeping. It was now a struggle for me to stay awake. This group was not as flashy as others, but they did have quite a few members. With pieces such as “The Merry Go Round”, and free dancers portraying clowns, they did much to interact with the crowd. Some were dressed as ice-cream vendors, others as candy vendors, throwing sweets into the crowd. What was also noticeable about colours was the amount of children it had. Most of the B groups had more children per capita in their numbers. Many of their two sets of dancers were children, teenage girls.

But it’s after 5 am. The bleachers are still filled. Though people are sleeping, they remain. In fact, it seems that many others are coming into the bleachers. Junkanoo involves two laps and sometimes people come around 5 in the morning to catch the ending of the first lap and the beginning of the second. They decide to have some rest, and then come early in the morning, than to stay awake all night. In fact, when I went for food I met a fellow priest who was just bringing his children out to the Parade.

Scrap Group – Sting

Sting, or the Sting Band, isn’t just a scrap group but a local Bahamian band. It seems as if every year they appear on parade to promote their new song. This year they were promoting their song “I Coming Right Back”, which explains how one is not to trust a Bahamian when they utter those words.

With a simple banner presenting their names, they were surrounded by half pasted individuals with cowbells and drums. In fact, behind their banner was a contingent of maybe 20 persons either beating a drum or licking a cowbell. However, most of their music was being played live. I picked out three members of the band, two singers, and a guitarist. They were using a backing track to play their new song. The Sting was having a very good time.

The thing about Junkanoo music is that it has evolved into popular Bahamian music as well as remained a feature of the Parade. Scholar Timothy Rommen makes a distinction between Festival Junkanoo and Popular Junkanoo music when he states: “Junkanoo music, which functions as particularly powerful mechanism of cultural intimacy in the Bahamas, focuses this discussion, enabling the complexities of the Bahamian national identity to be viewed from multiple perspectives. Junkanoo exists both as a festival music and as a popular music, the latter drawing its legitimacy from the former. Although these two types of junkanoo are intimately connected to each

other, they also facilitate separate and quite different discursive spaces within which the nation is imagined and narrated.” (“Home Sweet Home”, p. 3)

Sting’s Scrap group with its pop band in front of it’s banner and it’s somewhat large contingent of drummers and bellers at the back of the banner is a good example of this kind of interconnectedness between popular and festival Junkanoo music.

The Prodigal Sons

The next up were the Prodigal Sons whose theme “Seminole Migration to Red Bay’s Andros” was another historical and cultural look at a much forgotten part of Bahamian history. There is a connection between the Bahamian culture and that of the Black Indians of Florida. There is an article about this that looks at the connection between Junkanoo and the Black Indians of Mardi Gras which Rosita Sands alludes to. Now the Prodigal Sons were bringing this history to the forefront.

Here again, with costumes such as “Mystical Rebellion” which portrays a warrior upon a stallion, and others that have the eagle as their central symbol, this group has that same underlying theme of liberation. This is the same trend with the Fancy Dancers. It seems now that no matter when some kind of ancestry is brought to the forefront on the Junkanoo Parade, there is always that underlying rhetoric of liberation. I feel now more convinced that reflections on an Indian or and African past isn’t about mere nostalgia but more about reviving such imagery for liberation now. It is an exercise in ‘anamnesis’ that perhaps the church can learn from. I think than more than anything else, this speaks to the subconscious of Bahamian people. Unfortunately, on this Boxing Day, the groups to portray Africa or Ancestry have been the B Groups. The ones to portray the Queen and British history have been the Major Groups. And, off course, such a power reflection on our ancestral past isn’t as grand in presentation since B groups have less financial backing and less networking.

While Prodigal Sons were passing I decided to get some food.

Going for food:

Bay Street side walks were well fenced off so that people were not able to liner behind bleachers getting into mischief. To get to St. George’s Wharf, one had to go through a fenced gate manned by two persons in vests, like myself. This part of Charlotte Street, north between Bay Street and the sea, didn’t have many people loitering around. Police officers were stationed at the end of the Street by the wharf and a number of them were controlling the area. People were moving peacefully from one street to the other in search of food.

What I witnessed was very good organization. There was no sense of fear of danger from overbearing, noisy crowds. As an officer later told me, “The Police had the parade on lock down.” There were road blocks as far as Collins Avenue, with cars getting onto Shirley Street, Nassau Street and Blue Hill Road for persons travelling from the south and on

West Bay Street for persons travelling from the west. They monitored the area carefully for trouble makers. All in all this was an absolutely safe Boxing Day Parade. It has not always been so.

I was able to purchase my food quickly and without fuss. I then returned to my seating.

One Love Crusaders

While the prodigal Sons were on there was the chant and the raising of excitement for the Valley Boys. In the distance we could see the Valley Boys' banner, but before them were the One Love Crusaders. In fact, I almost missed the fact that another group was coming since the crowd began chanting "Ohh, they scared, they scared, the Valley Boys' coming." The other side of the street began shouting the same but for the Saxons, "Ohh, They scared, they scared, the Saxons coming." The allegiance to these groups is huge.

But in fact, it was the Crusaders coming with their theme "All Things Bright and Beautiful. This was a B group, playing music like the hymn "All People that on Earth do Dwell", "Pass it On", and "I'll Fly Away". This was obviously a Christian group. Looking them up on the internet, these are officially the Body of Christ Crusaders whose motto and mission is to 'Glorify the Kingdom of God through Bahamian Culture'. There were many parallels here with Conquerors for Christ. There was a large number of young persons participating, the use of Hymns and popular Christian songs, the obvious lack of strong economic backing, and being eclipsed by a major group. Nonetheless, there was that spirit of celebration of things Bahamian, just like the other groups. The 'rushin' and the music was a matter of intensity, of uncovering the deep, of leaving it all on Bay Street.

The Valley Boys

Then came the Valley Boys the last of the major groups for this first lap. It is 6:30 am and the sun has started to rise above the buildings. It is daylight. The first costume visible was an off the shoulder piece entitled "A Knight's Tale", followed by an arrangement of knights, acolytes and a bishop, all ushering in the lead banner. One of the acolytes actually was swinging a thurable, perhaps borrowed from St. Georges, and the bishop, perhaps a server from one of the Anglican Churches, wore a cope, an authentic cope along with full regalia of an Anglican senior clergyman, and a pated mitre, along with a Bishop's staff. This connection with the Anglican Church, particularly St. Georges' has remained it seems. This arrangement of knights and acolytes, danced with passion at the roar of the crowds.

The lead banner was the last of the Diamond Jubilee themes with the entitlement "Coronation of Elizabeth: Diamond Jubilee". It was again a piece depicting the queen on her throne in her coronation dress, with a large depiction of Big Ben behind her, with flags of the British Empire beside it. And this was a huge piece. It took many persons to lift and roll it through the streets.

Following the lead banner were free dancers impersonating the likes of Elton John and other dressed as people of high society and princes. Following these was an arrangement of armed befeater guards leading a carriage entitled “The Queens Diamond Jubilee 2012”, a large golden carriage carried by 4 white horses. In this carriage sat three persons, one characterizing the Queen, another Prince William and Kate. From inside the carriage the queen waved at the crowd. This was an impressive sight. When this carriage got to Rawson Square the Queen, along with William and Kate, descended and made some presentations.

Behind this massive carriage were costumes such as “The Royal Wedding”, “Inside the Monarchy”, “British Airways”, “The Beatles”, “London”, “Poetry for a Queen: Shakespeare”, “Wimbledon”, “English Rose”, “Lodnon 2012”, and “1st Knight”.

This second was followed by two arrangements of choreographed dancers all with precision as they were dressed in costumes depicting high society. The first arrangement with a colour scheme of red and white had a shoulder piece with a heart, and the second with a colour scheme of blue and white had a shoulder piece with a presentation of the British flag. They danced to the music of “Rule Britannia’ with their signature proclamation: “Ok . . . Who are we? The Valley!”. This naming of the group is so central to all the groups. At this time my bleachers is going wild. People are all on their feet. In fact, the entire Bay Street seems to be on their feet.

Following the dancers wee the musicians in in the group I saw musicans from my church, the Pratts from St. Barnabas. This was a family of musical police officers who were responsible for the creation and sustaining of a marching band at the church, and are also part of the police marching band. Their musical skills is put to use in their Junkanoo, their church, and their work. Much has been said in the interviews the reality of people’s lives in that even when a church doesn’t want its musicians participating in Junkanoo, such as the Pentecostal Church, the same musicians defy church conventions. Though the Pratts do not find such prohibitions at St. Barnabas, their leadership in music flows into all three areas of their lives and helps to groom a younger generation of musicians. I’ve seen the same Pratt sons helping out with the Andros groups at Junieur Junkanoo.

After the musicians came another set of costumes including “Royal Crowns”, “Princess of Wales”; “God Save the Queen” noticeable with a large bust of Jesus overlooking the Queen and Prince Phillip in a car; “Crown Jewels”; “Austin Powers”; and “No Woman No Cry: A Tribute to Her Majesty from Bob Marley.” The costume with Bob Marley was the last of the Valley contingent.

The Valley’s Presentation was absolutely detailed and powerful. The size of the group and their tightly choreographed performance was moving. Yes they rushed and their music was solid as well, but their presentation of their theme was obviously superior to the two other major groups with the same theme – namely the Saxons and Roots.

The excitement of the Crowd was phenomenal as well. People are either Valley or Saxon it seems, some other having allegiance to One Family, and then the level of allegiance for

the others decreases. But in the early hours of the morning, after staying up all night, people were on their feet in a frenzy with the excitement that the Valley Boys brought. There was communal power here that I hadn't seen all night. I think almost everyone sensed that the Valley would have won.

Individual Costumes: (Insert Pictures)

- To Sir With Love – Tribute to Sir Sidney Poitier
- Tribute to the Queen on her Diamond Jubilee
- Tribute to Thomas A. Robinson
- One Man Gang presents: “Crab Crawling”
- WhatFall.com

Redland Soldiers

After the passage of the Valley I was too tired to continue. After taking pictures of the individual costumes I took a picture of the Redland Soldiers' banner. This was a B Group and their theme was “The Exciting Island of Eleuthera”. Here again was group having a pro-Bahamian theme. It is now even more confirmed that the smaller groups chose to promote culture, ancestry and heritage, while the major groups mostly chose something relating to the Queen.

And, as with a B Group not many people were moved by them since people needed time to recover from the Valley Boys and rest if they were expecting to stay the second round. Redland Soldiers were last on the line-up, after whom, the Saxons would appear to begin the second round.

Leaving Bay Street

We then left the stands and went in search of some coffee and breakfast. About 20 minutes later we left Bay Street, first passing by the Saxons who had lined up to do their second lap. In the daylight they seemed now very scrappy and lacking. Maybe some members didn't or could complete the second lap, or maybe I was too tired. Nonetheless, it was time to go and I could concentrate no longer. It's minutes to 8 am now. It took almost 8 hours for one lap to be completed, and some people were staying for another.

Results – Tribune Article

A Groups

The Valley Boys pulled off a major win yesterday, sweeping every category in the 2012 Boxing Day Junkanoo Parade with its theme, “The Celebration of Elizabeth II - Diamond Jubilee”.

It was one of three groups depicting the 60th anniversary of Queen Elizabeth II's accession to the throne.

The Valley Boys won best off the shoulder piece, best free dancer, best music, best banner, best overall group performance and the Shirley Street Performance Prize with 3,325 points.

One Family came second in the A category under the theme “Hurricane A-Comin’”, with 3,055 points.

Roots placed third, under the theme “The Queen’s Masquerade Ball”, with 2,794 points.

The Shell Saxon Superstars placed fourth under the theme “A Royal Celebration, Long Live The Queen” with 2,749 points.

Music Makers placed fifth under the theme “Bahamian Experience” with a total of 2,561 points.

The Prodigal Sons group was disqualified because it did not meet the numbers for eligibility in the A group for the parade.

B Groups

Colours Entertainment won the B category, defeating the Fancy Dancers by 296 points. Performing under the theme “Da Carnival”, Colours won best theme and best music in the B category with a total of 3,014 points.

Fancy Dancers placed second under the theme “African Glory, History, Culture and Nature” with a total of 2,718 points.

Conquerors for Christ came third with 2,674 points; The Redland Soldiers placed fourth with 2,489 points; Original Congos placed fifth with 2,468 points; Body of Christ placed sixth with 2,141 points and Culture Junkanoo Group placed eighth with 1,973 points.

- **Junkanoo and Organization/One Family and Shack System/What Influences such Organisation?**– As Silbert suggests, Junkanoo truly is the only institution that starts on time in the country. Out of all the major institution – Government, Church – Junkanoo is the one, which not only begins sharply, but is highly organized. This is somewhat contrary to the rather lax Bahamian culture. Junkanoo not only begins on time, but is very competitive and the parades are arranged along stringent rules. Major groups have a shack system, up to 24 shacks in the case of One Family, and are organized in that way in order to get their costumes to Bay Street on time. The entire event requires a precision uncharacteristic of Bahamian people. Is this institution like this because of the influence of tourism, or is this more about a deep love for Junkanoo, not matter how it has become?
- **Junkanoo Themes and Secrecy/Not knowing before the time/Junkanoo as Theological Method with Affirmation as the Goal** - One man passed us by with pasted pants and shirt and carrying a pasted spear. His headpiece indicated that he was to be some sort of knight, and that his group were allowing for such a theme. The thing about Junkanoo is that before the actually parade, the theme and costuming of the group are not public knowledge. Even having gone to Conqueror’s for Christ shack, I only got to know the theme because Higgins told me what it was to be. I had gone to Arlene Nash’s home where the shack was and here costume was covered up. In her own house, that was kept secret. This idea of secrecy is built into the very fabric of the parade. Since the emphasis is on

outdoing the competition, on taking Bay Street, or some other military conception of the goal of the parade, then it is understandable that one would not want the enemy to know one's true resources, and one's true weapons. Therefore the truth is hidden until it is to be revealed. But where does this come from? I believe that this is very much a part of the resistance foundation in African Caribbean thinking and religiosity. Secrecy and Deception, not revealing one's true self until the time of 'rushing', become theological motifs in that only until the time of Junkanoo, one is truly seen, and truly affirmed. Junkanoo therefore becomes a religiocultural fight for the affirmation of identity. For this reason the basic shout within groups is the question . . . "Who are we?" Theologically there is that deep fight to affirm the Bahamian self – which is fundamentally steeped in African Traditional Religiosity. Junkanoo becomes a viable tool in which to express this theological fact. Junkanoo is the area of religiocultural constestation; 'rushin' is the method of fighting; and victory means revealing who one is, truly is, without fear, intimidation and any kind of psychological and corporeal chains.

- **Strategy for the Two Major Parades** - At this parade I decided that I would try to get as much observation from the vantage point of being in the stands, amongst the crowd. I bought tickets that would provide me a seat on the top bleaches so that I would be able to take good photos. Perhaps during the next parade I would do more walking along the street and through the crowds, between Bay Street and Shirley Street.
- **Junkanoo and Research/Communal Thematic Reflection – Towards an Incarnational and Integrated Gospel within Bahamian society** - A number of things were visible in this portrayal of the Queens' life. Firstly, there was a reflection the wide influence of the royalty throughout the commonwealth. Thirdly, there is that acknowledgement of the relationship between the church and the monarchy as they exist within England. Thirdly, there is that awareness of the world from which the monarchy emerged, a world of high society vs. low society. This kind of portrayal took not only research but deep reflection. The amazing thing is the extent to which Junkanoo requires keen research and reflective skills. This isn't simply skill of one, but the skill of the entire group. The dancers, the musicians, the choreographers, the artists, all have to researchers in some way. **(The amazing thing about Junkanoo is that it is a comprehensive educational tool. It is integrative in that it brings together a host of core skills and modes of learning. But, it is all directed and can be directed towards to a communal end. For the Church this can be a powerful tool. If we accept the fact that there needs to be further translation of the Christian faith within Bahamian African Caribbean society, then there is nothing more powerful than Junkanoo. It has the power help the Gospel be lived through Bahamian thought forms. This is the building block of a truly incarnational faith. Jesus was born as a Jew and had to know the torah. His conversation with the religious leaders at age 12 where his wisdom was discovered, is an illustration that the Word of God had to be mediated through a particular 1st Century Jewish thought form. For Bahamians Jukanoo is a ready tool.)**
- **Creative African Pneumatological and Prophetic Spirituality: Recreating, Reorienting and Reimagining standard conceptions/The Appropriation of two**

kinds of creativity – one through mimicry and the other being concrete and instrumental - In true Junkanoo fashion, this theme of the Queens' life was all set to that warrior motif so central to Junkanoo. For example, the imperial guards were performing warrior like motions with their spears. They were stabbing and lunging forward in choreographed manner. What is clear here is that within Junkanoo one finds that kind of creativity where a major cultural influence is reimagined towards African conceptions. Here imperial guards, in all their regalia, are lunging and stabbing like African warriors; the British Coat of Arms are 'rushing'; the Queens' carriage is dancing to the rhythm of the drum. The other type of creativity that one found was in the use of local items as musical instruments. Within the Saxons one saw a line of horn blows, blowing a particular kind of conch shell. Added to the use of scrapers/graters that one finds in Rake N' Scrape, there is an instrumental aspect to the creativity within Junkanoo. Not only is it a means of creative mimicry, but it is also a means of concrete creativity; an ornament such as the conch shell becomes a musical instrument. **(This is another power of the Junkanoo festival, it's creativity. Inherent in this reimagining of the Queen, this mimicry, is that pneumatological and prophetic motif so deep within Scripture. A new world is imagined. What couldn't dance, now dances. What was once rigid now flows with power and passion. What never was now is.)**

- **Crowd/Participant Interaction – Junkanoo Groups and Absolute Loyalty/Of What Theological Value is the idea of 'Competition' within the Junkanoo Parade?** - Also noticeable was the interaction between the Saxon performers and the Crowd. At intervals they would chant their famous lines: "Who are we?" with their famous response, "The Saxons!". While the performers were doing this, many on the bleaches were counteracting by exchanging "The Saxons!" for "The Valley!" Each was as loud as the other. One thing that one finds within the world of Junkanoo is that absolute loyalty is demanded by each group. When one is Saxon, they are so for life. When one is Valley, they are so for life. Usually the major tension is between the Saxons and the Valley and that rivalry was being played out in my midst. **(But this affirmation of Identity needs further theological reflection. These are two like groups. Is the fact that they're competing against each other and not simply against social injustice or some other topical issue, not an exercise in communal division? In other words is the affirmation of identity a good thing if it is against the affirmation of a like group of people? This questions the whole idea of competition. At one stage Junkanoo was one group of people, though from different neighbourhoods, rushing the centres of power, Bay Street, and making sociopolitical critique. With the emergence of tourism and the Tourist economy the Parade was set up as a competition. Was this move in some way, also a method of self-negation? Could Junkanoo have still evolved without the maintaining of group boundaries through the avenue of competition? This is a significant question . . . what theological function does the competition in Junkanoo serve? It may be that the fact that groups asserting who they are is theological enough, the inter group rivalry as simply a natural outcome. Or, is**

competition serving to maintain the critical prophetic motif within the festival?)

- **The Scrap Group as Prophetic Theological Function** - The Scrap Group, which is always just a number of persons, perhaps no more than 10 persons, still has that ability to shock. This small band of persons wasn't dancing, they were marching. This was social protest. *The amazing thing about Junkanoo was that in a parade where the rhetoric of competition, and 'rushin' for affirmation is overall, there is that small band of persons parading a different rhetoric. In this instance its deep critique and is meant to prick the conscience of Bahamian people. In my mind, the very loneliness of the Scrap Group, with their ability to shock and also their ease at being ignored, one can see the parallels with the prophetic figures within Scripture. Take for instance John the Baptist, the forerunner to Christ, who lives alone in the wilderness, exists as an animal, but bursts onto the socio-religious context of his day, demanding a fierce message of repentance. In a way the Scrap Group is providing this critical prophetic theological function.*
- **Hierarchy of Social Critique – Major Groups, B Groups and Scrap Groups- The Impact of Competition** – It seems to me that besides the very obvious social critique within Scrap Groups, B Groups tend to do the same. One sees it in the Original Congos and their advocating a return to and celebration of Bahamian Music. **(Could it be that the bigger groups, which are more involved in the competitive aspect of the Junkanoo Festival, are less likely to be engaged in Social Protest? Somehow the pressure to win seems to dull the power and impact of those who have nothing to lose, like the Scrap Groups. The impact of competition is definitely a major theme when it comes to the Junkanoo festival.)**
- **'Rushing' and Vulgarity – Rushing as involving the total self, Vulgarity as something attributed to the movement.** This group was perhaps half as large as the Saxons but they performed with intensity. They were rushing, their movements the same as in any Junkanoo parade. There is the freedom to express one's self. There was one dancer shaking hips, but again, not in any provocative or 'sexual' way, but rather as an intense rush. I think that one can confuse some of the movements with something sexual, but I don't quite see it that way. 'Rushin' is dancing, and it involves the total self . . . the religious, cultural, the sexual, and the psychological. *But, the intention or the goal isn't sexual, it's ontological. It is that deep affirmation of being, of one's total being. 'Rushing' doesn't make distinctions between the different parts of one's life. This seems to be more a practice for churches.*
- **The Paper Boys – Junkanoo, Alcohol, and Having a Good Time** - As they passed by I realized that what she said was quite true. Everyone had a drink in their hands. Along with their set of speakers they were carrying along a cooler filled with what seemed to be alcoholic beverages. Some of them were blowing horns, but most of them simply were dancing to the music playing and almost all of them looked drunk indeed. What is it with alcohol. It seems central to the Junkanoo Parade. This group was making no overt political statement. They were simply partying. The possibility exists that they were making a point that the Junkanoo parade is about having a good time and not just about competition. This

theory has been suggested by scholars such as (Nicolette Bethel?). But one thing is certain, this group came to Bay Street, not to perform for anyone, but to have a good time in front of everyone.

- **Junkanoo and Sponsorship, Can the Church Enter the Economic Aspect of Junkanoo?** – It seems as if every Group and every costume, particularly the major groups, has been sponsored by a local company, or even an international corporation. References to these sponsors are seen either on the lead piece or on the individual costumes themselves. I've not just realized that the reason BTC is so well promoted is because it has sponsored the Boxing Day parade which technically is the "BTC Boxing Day Parade 2012." This is the reality of Junkanoo becoming as spectacular as it is. *It takes a lot of money. Is this a reason why the Church isn't as involved in the festival? Could this be a way of entering the festival, giving backing to it? And, more critically, is this sponsorship taking away from the prophetic tradition within the Festival, fostering competition for competition sake?*
- **Self-Negation, the Warrior Motif and Public Mockery –Reconditioning the Nature of Junkanoo, Junkanoo in Danger of being all about Entertainment -** In the midst of these there was a young warrior going through the crowd doing his best to incite the crowd with a loud shout . . . "Aaaa uu, Aaaaa, uu, Aaaa, uu!" He raised his arms every time he said this, inviting the crowd to join in. He moved along the expanse of the group, doing this particular motion. With his spear he would furiously stab into the air in front of him. His passion was astounding. He was 'rushin'. But the crowd found him entertaining. But why? He was a part of a number of such jesters. Another 'rushed' with a wheelbarrow. Another had a fishing rod. Another looked like a local peddler for tourists. These were moving in and out of different sections counteracting the organized nature of the group. They were a visible sign of the interplay between order and disorder that exists within the Festival. Yet, why did people laugh at the warrior. They found him most entertaining, and they began joining in, not as participation, but as mockery. I see this as a slight evidence of the kind of Self-negation in that he represented that one deeply engrained motif within Junkanoo, that of the insuperable warrior. But instead of an acceptance of the need to truly get into the 'rushin' of the Music Makers, the warrior was mocked, laughed at, and seen as entertaining and providing entertainment. **(I get the feeling that Junkanoo can be at risk of losing that prophetic edge if the public, those who are now paying to see the festival, are now simply expecting 'entertainment' and not something deeper, something more. The commercializing of Junkanoo can easily smother out the power for social critique, and recondition culture, Bahamian culture towards entertainment, paid entertainment. Culture, particular one with roots in resistance and community, can be reconditioned as tools of commerce and nothing more. If Junkanoo becomes only about entertainment, then it loses its roots. If it loses its roots, then further estrangement results, Self-negation becomes worse. In a hybrid society there is always that possibility to move further and further away from one's roots. This crowd's laughter at the lone warrior is cause for concern. Culture can be reconditioned. Junkanoo can be**

radically reconditioned. It probably has. This is cause for concern that the Church should address.)

- **Order and Disorder - Interplay as Central to African Caribbean Spirituality** – In the Music Makers the African Warrior was a part of a number of jesters. Another ‘rushed’ with a wheelbarrow. Another had a fishing rod. Another looked like a local peddler for tourists. These were moving in and out of different sections counteracting the organized nature of the group. They were a visible sign of the interplay between order and disorder that exists within the Festival. **(This idea of interplay is becoming central to this research. This idea of boundaries and order always seems to be turned upside own within the kind Junkanoo expression. Whereas churches emphasise order and rules, Junkanoo emphasizes disorder and looseness within the very rules themselves. It emphasizes interplay and dialecticism. This dialecticism is central to the spirituality of hybrid people’s who have come through periods of oppression.)**
- **Junkanoo and Sexuality Stigma as Secondary to the ‘Rushin’ Performance -** The lead dancer for the Music Makers was a man. I think I’ve seen him before at previous parades and it appears he has become somewhat of a celebrity. Beside me another girls exclaimed, “Oh, it’s the boy.” What she really meant was that he was the boy who not only dance with but lead the girl dancers. By all accounts he was gay, or simply very effeminate. His place within the festival is always unexpected and over time people long to see him, to have something to point to, to be impressed by. Oh, but he danced. Despite questions in the crowd concerning his sexuality, he danced for the crowd and lead his dances with the same kind of freedom to be that characterizes the Junkanoo ‘rush’. There is something about sexuality within Bahamian society that is very much socially constructed as well. The male dancer going against the norm and leading the female dancers is out of the norms, outside the boundaries. It becomes a point of curiosity. However, I didn’t get the feeling that people were dismissing him, negating him somehow, but longing for more. In a society, which in many respects is conservative, where sexuality is a big issue . . . whether someone is gay, or ‘sweethearting’, within the Junkanoo festival this curiosity about one’s sexuality becomes secondary to the intensity in one’s performance. **(I just did not get a feeling as if this young man was being rejected by the crowd, his ‘rushin’ was being celebrated. Also, I could tell that he was free and happy to be himself. Somehow, within the church setting, his sexuality or attraction would have been placed before his ‘freedom to be’, his dignity within himself. As suggested by interviews one finds that lack of Judgement within the festival and that openness to people, as fundamentally people, and nothing more. This was being displayed before my eyes.)**
- **The Singing Prophet, Myalism, and Junkanoo -** But most surprising was the appearance of the ‘Singing Prophet’, Bishop Lawrence Rolle, in the Music Makers’ line-up, a local Pentecostal pastor who has become quite a celebrity in his own right. Wearing what looked like modern African robes, black and deep orange, he carried a pom pom in his hands with feathers the colours of the Bahamian flag. He danced, not as intensely, but he did dance. In fact he is known for not only singing but quite expressive dancing. It has always struck me that

Rolle has been very close to the kind of African Traditional Religious Churches that I've seen in the Caribbean. It was good to see a member of the clergy here, but this wasn't an ordinary member, his kind of church and kind of spirituality seems a lot more integrated into the kind of African Traditional Religiosity so entrenched within the Junkanoo parade. From my limited knowledge of him I know that there doesn't exist all the stringent rules that one finds within the other denominations; there is an emphasis on the work of the Holy Spirit and divination as to what the Spirit says. In fact his singing, dancing ministry could have parallels to Myalism, which is also constitutive of Junkanoo.

- **Uncovering the Deep, Minimalizing the Outward and the Superficial, Exposing and thus Affirming One's Self** - What was also visible in this group were that the dancers didn't seem as young. A number of them were very big women. Here again was this idea that when one is rushing, all their outward characteristics are seen as secondary, both to themselves and to the crowd. The costumes are there to bring out the inner person. This is another aspect of uncovering the deep. The Junkanoo 'rush', the costuming, the music are all there to bring out of the soul, that which a person is in themselves. These ladies, though large in size, were dancing, and showing of themselves with pride. They didn't seem conscious of their size, they were only concerned about their 'rushin'. In like manner, the male dancer referenced earlier wasn't concerned about the crowd's reception of his sexuality, but only about 'rushin'. The outward things are minimalized, the inner person is revealed. **(In find this idea interesting, that the costuming is there to reveal one's true nature and affirm it. Is there a theory for this? Somehow this is sacramental in that something is brought to the forefront that isn't easily seen, and therefore not affirmed.)**
- **Advertisement and the Commercialisation of Junkanoo – BTC and 4G** - While the Music Makers were making their way BTC girls came along the side railings throwing free shirts and bags into the crowd. These were the same promos I had seen at both the Valley and One Family practices. This was the advertisement for 4G, their new internet package. But the girls stood out. They were all young, perhaps late teenagers, dressed in tight black clothing, with a Santa's hat on their heads. They were getting cheers from the crowd as they threw their goods over the railings. As they passed by I realized that the one banner within my view, which was hung across a railing, was that of BTC and their promotion of 4G. When looking at my ticket I realize as well that BTC was printed on the back of them. They perhaps were the major sponsor for the Boxing Day Parade. It is interesting that this advertisement ploy got so much reaction from the crowd. For a moment people were little concerned with the parade, and only with getting something free. Again, commercialization remains a significant aspect of Junkanoo. BTC was clearly using sexuality to do their promotions as well. But this was of little concern to the crowd.
- **Phi Beta Sigma, The Fraternity, and the American Influence** - Following the Music Makers was the Scrap Group Phi Beta Sigma. About 7 to 8 men and one woman were rolling a banner which read "Culture for Service. Service for Humanity." Barely pasted with their blue shirts and their half pasted pants, they carried two a drum, and a cowbell and made very little music. But, they were there

to have a good time. All of them who were able, had some sort of drink in their hands. They were promoting their Fraternity. The good thing about Junkanoo is that all can appear and do their promotions. Many Bahamas have studied in the United States and are still a part of fraternities and sororities. Proximity to the US has made and is making a huge impact upon Bahamian society. This is nowhere as stark as the presence of a fraternity as a Scrap Group in the Junkanoo Parade. These were Bahamian young men though. This Bahamian/American mix is evidenced.

- **The Rules of Junkanoo/Parliamentary Style/Stringency and Precision -** Junkanoo is timed and there are penalties or disqualifications for being late. In fact, there are strict rules. I have now acquired a document with the ratified rules for 2012, which is a 31 page PDF document produced by the JCNP – Junkanoo Corporation New Providence Limited. The document is thorough and laid out in true parliamentary manner. I need to look into the beginnings of this approach to Junkanoo. While it seems that the rules seek to ensure the flow of the parade, it does not seem to take away from the passion with which it is participated in. Nonetheless, there seems to be that constant theme of impose order standing in tension with the uncategorized within African Caribbean Spirituality.
- **Longing for an African Past as Longing for Present Freedom/Junkanoo as Remembering Africa –** With the Fancy Dancers, in the midst of music such as “The Lion Sleeps Tonight”, a large costume depicting the release of Mandela, and the headpieces of drummers and trumpet players reading “Freedom”, it was clear that a Liberation was the theme being presented by this group. This notion of Freedom or needing liberation is so much at the subconscious of the Junkanoo artist and musician. But these aren’t simply popular conceptions of Africa, but more a nostalgic reflection of a lost Africa. This, to my mind, was that longing for liberation materializing as a longing for an African past; a holding on to a glory, a history and a land – things which seem to have been lost. Somehow, at the level of the subconscious, I feel that Junkanoo groups who decide upon an African theme end up not just reflection on the past but very clearly commenting on the present, the present perhaps being a context of being severed from one’s roots. Could it be that implicitly there is that ongoing longing for the affirmation of the African self being paraded every Junkanoo parade?
- **Varieties of Individual Costumes: Junkanoo as having space for Individual Expression – A lot of Space for the Church -** These individual costumes, and all others deserve reflection. The rules of Junkanoo may be stringent but they do allow for individual expression. The aforementioned list of costumes serve a variety of purposes: Advertisement, Advocacy, Education, Group Solidarity, and the attribution of honour. There is a lot of space for the involvement of the Church as Junkanoo has the fluidity to include all.
- **Churches as Scrap Group-Promoting the Gospel on the Junkanoo Stage -** The Junkanoo Parade is such a powerful stage to promote one’s self or product. This seems to be a place where all sorts of promotions are encouraged. Why can’t the church promote itself, or it’s message on this most powerful stage? It seems as if entering Scrap Groups not only forces creativity from churches but brings Churches powerfully into the visibility of the public.

- **Junkanoo as Sacrifice – Taking from and Reviving the Tired Body** - Junkanoo requires a lot of sacrifice. Now into the early hours of the morning, and with all the energy that observation takes from me, I'm struggling to focus. Nonetheless, with each group there is revived energy. This has been the rhythm of the parade. People are beginning to fall asleep, but when the music hits, or when a major group is about to pass by, people perk up and get ready to participate.
- **Awesome Creativity Artistic and Engineering** - The entire presentation of One Family was stunning. They seemed to be by far the largest group. All of their pieces made reference to Bahamian attitudes to the advent of hurricanes. Their lead piece was a fierce depiction of the blowing of fierce winds, not only had smoke coming out of the jars of the personified hurricane, but it had lights blinking in its eyes as well, and in other parts of the piece. What I witnessed was awesome creativity, not just artistic but in engineering as well.
- **Junkanoo As Social Drama – Revealing the Complexities of Bahamian Culture** - Besides the awesome presentation by the group, One Family managed to take a theme and localize it. They were presenting the arrival of a hurricane and the many ways in which Bahamians adapt to it. This was a 1st Class presentation in social drama. One powerful tool that Junkanoo possesses is that it reveals and presents the complexities of Bahamian culture and Bahamian attitudes. *If the Church wanted to get a view as to where culture is in the Bahamas, it would be displayed on Bay Street come Junaknoo.*
- **Rawson Square – the place of Performance or Protest? Is it still the place of contestation, of speaking to power?** - Rawson Square directly in front of the House of Parliament, is perhaps the most crucial point on the Parade. It is the place where groups are judged most carefully, and must perform most passionately. Later on the Valley Boys would have an entire presentation of the Queen and the Royal Family as they exit their carriage. From my vantage point I could see that the bleaches in Rawson Square sat perhaps 4 thousand people. It was packed on both sides, and everyone was rocking and dancing at the passage of One Family. This link with Rawson Square is quite important, as it has always symbolized the centre of power to which the disempowered African Bahamians spoke. It was the place of protest. The question now is if it's simply the place of performance and not the place of protest. Can it and will it always be the place where protest can happen?
- **Scrap Group Commentary/Topical and Up to Date Commentary** – The Pigs' theme "Can't Win for Losing: Roll Em!!" was the pasted front of what seemed like a number house. Gambling and the legalizing of gambling for Bahamians has become quite a big issue and within January 2013 there is to be a referendum on the issue.
- **Conquerors for Christ/All within a Christian Framework/Less Excitement from the Crowd But still 'Rushin' as other groups** - Being a B Group there was obviously less ostentation with this group. Their technique was to bring all the many male highlights into a Christian framework where the need to honour men in the society is mandated. Also, since Conquerors for Christ is a ministry within the inner city, among children who come from radically broken homes, the theme is consonant with their overall aim. *But, apart from references to the bible and an*

individual dancer wearing a costume resembling that of a bishop with a mitre, this group was just as any other. Their music was religious, but their presentation, their style, their dancing, their ‘rushing’ was all the same and everyone else’s. The only thing one could say was that they didn’t have the kind of artistry or sponsorship that one sees in One Family or Saxons or Valley Boys. Nonetheless, they rushed with intensity as all groups did.

- **Junkanoo, Health and Paul Knowles - Motivation and Animation in the face of Lou Gehrig’s Disease** – Also in the midst of Roots was the leader, Paul Knowles, who suffers from ALS, also know as Lou Gehrig’s disease. He moved through the different sections on his scooter, participating as best he could along with his group. Though his body is becoming more and more debilitated, he continues his commitment to Junkanoo with vigour and enthusiasm. Junkanoo drives him forward.
- **Junkanoo, Sponsorship, and Exclusivity** - Roots sponsor is Kerzner International, the company that runs the famous Atlantis Hotel and Resorts on Paradise Island, perhaps the biggest private employer in the country. Roots is one of the Major groups but hasn’t been half as successful as the Valley Boys or the Saxons. A cursory look on their website shows that one must apply to become a member of their group. Junkanoo groups are exclusive entities, close knit families, but especially for the larger groups, their financial backing is very important.
- **Rain and Junkanoo – A cultural Conversation** - There is something about rain and Junkanoo that has become something of a cultural excitement. Every year Junkanooer’s are wary of inclement weather. With costumes made of cardboard and paper, rain and strong winds can absolutely ruin a parade. When rain begins to fall the crowd is left in suspense wondering what the organizer would do. But also, there are those who dance even more somewhat beginning the rain to fall. This was the case tonight where a woman a few feet away from me began stamping the bleachers with her hands in the air begging for rain to fall. This was a point of excitement for her section. Rain and Junkanoo has become a cultural conversation whereas people pray against rain, others pray for the excitement that rain brings, and others just want to get out the way. But one thing is certain; rain and Junkanoo do not go together.
- **B Groups and Teenagers PerCapita** - What was also noticeable about colours was the amount of children it had. Most of the B groups had more children per capita in their numbers. Many of their two sets of dancers were children, teenage girls.
- **People’s Commitment to Junkanoo - Awake All Night or Up Early in the Morning** - But it’s after 5 am. The bleachers are still filled. Though people are sleeping, they remain. In fact, it seems that many others are coming into the bleachers. Junkanoo involves two laps and sometimes people come around 5 in the morning to catch the ending of the first lap and the beginning of the second. They decide to have some rest, and then come early in the morning, than to stay awake all night. In fact, when I went for food I met a fellow priest who was just bringing his children out to the Parade.
- **The Sting – Junkanoo – Festival and Popular Music** - The thing about Junkanoo music is that it has evolved into popular Bahamian music as well as

remained a feature of the Parade. Scholar Timothy Rommen makes a distinction between Festival Junkanoo and Popular Junkanoo music when he states: *“Junkanoo music, which functions as particularly powerful mechanism of cultural intimacy in the Bahamas, focuses this discussion, enabling the complexities of the Bahamian national identity to be viewed from multiple perspectives. Junkanoo exists both as a festival music and as a popular music, the latter drawing its legitimacy from the former. Although these two types of junkanoo are intimately connected to each other, they also facilitate separate and quite different discursive spaces within which the nation is imagined and narrated.”* (“Home Sweet Home”, p. 3) Sting’s Scrap group with its pop band in front of its banner and its somewhat large contingent of drummers and bellers at the back of the banner is a good example of this kind of interconnectedness between popular and festival Junkanoo music.

- **A and B Group Differential, Ancestral Memory and Anamnesis** - Prodigal Sons whose theme “Seminole Migration to Red Bay’s Andros” was another historical and cultural look at a much forgotten part of Bahamian history. There is a connection between the Bahamian culture and that of the Black Indians of Florida. There is an article, which looks at the connection between Junkanoo and the Black Indians of Mardi Gras, which Rosita Sands alludes to. Now the Prodigal Sons were bringing this history to the forefront. Here again, with costumes such as “Mystical Rebellion” which portrays a warrior upon a stallion, and others that have the eagle as their central symbol, this group has that same underlying theme of liberation. This is the same trend with the Fancy Dancers. It seems now that no matter when some kind of ancestry is brought to the forefront on the Junkanoo Parade, there is always that underlying rhetoric of liberation. I feel now more convinced that reflections on an Indian or and African past isn’t about mere nostalgia but more about reviving such imagery for liberation now. It is an exercise in ‘anamnesis’ that perhaps the church can learn from. I think than more than anything else, this speaks to the subconscious of Bahamian people. Unfortunately, on this Boxing Day, the groups to portray Africa or Ancestry have been the B Groups. The ones to portray the Queen and British history have been the Major Groups. And, off course, such a power reflection on our ancestral past isn’t as grand in presentation since B groups have less financial backing and less networking.
- **Junkanoo, Organization and Safety** - Bay Street side walks were well fenced off so that people were not able to liner behind bleachers getting into mischief. To get to St. George’s Wharf, one had to go through a fenced gate manned by two persons in vests, like myself. This part of Charlotte Street, north between Bay Street and the sea, didn’t have many people loitering around. Police officers were stationed at the end of the Street by the wharf and a number of them were controlling the area. People were moving peacefully from one street to the other in search of food. What I witnessed was very good organization. There was no sense of fear of danger from overbearing, noisy crowds. As an officer later told me, “The Police had the parade on lock down.” There were road blocks as far as Collins Avenue, with cars getting onto Shirley Street, Nassau Street and Blue Hill Road

for persons travelling from the south and on West Bay Street for persons travelling from the west. They monitored the area carefully for trouble makers. All in all this was an absolutely safe Boxing Day Parade. It has not always been so.

- **Christian Junkanoo Groups – One Love Crusaders and Conquerors for Christ – Being Sidelined but Still Celebrating Culture and Rushin Hard -** While the prodigal Sons were on there was the chant and the raising of excitement for the Valley Boys. In the distance we could see the Valley Boys’ banner, but before them were the One Love Crusaders. In fact, I almost missed the fact that another group was coming since the crowd began chanting “Ohh, they scared, they scared, the Valley Boys’ coming.” The other side of the street began shouting the same but for the Saxons, “Ohh, They scared, they scared, the Saxons coming.” The allegiance to these groups is huge. But in fact, it was the Crusaders coming with their theme “All Things Bright and Beautiful. This was a B group, playing music like the hymn “All People that on Earth do Dwell”, “Pass it On”, and “I’ll Fly Away”. This was obviously a Christian group. Looking them up on the internet, these are officially the Body of Christ Crusaders whose motto and mission is to ‘Glorify the Kingdom of God through Bahamian Culture’. There were many parallels here with Conquerors for Christ. There was a large number of young persons participating, the use of Hymns and popular Christian songs, the obvious lack of strong economic backing, and being eclipsed by a major group. Nonetheless, there was that spirit of celebration of things Bahamian, just like the other groups. The ‘rushin’ and the music was a matter of intensity, of uncovering the deep, of leaving it all on Bay Street.
- **The Valley Boys and the Anglican Church – Revealing the deep links between the Church and the Monarchy -** The first costume visible was an off the shoulder piece entitled “A Knight’s Tale”, followed by an arrangement of knights, acolytes and a bishop, all ushering in the lead banner. One of the acolytes actually was swinging a thurable, perhaps borrowed from St. Georges, and the bishop, perhaps a server from one of the Anglican Churches, wore a cope, an authentic cope along with full regalia of an Anglican senior clergyman, and a pasted mitre, along with a Bishop’s staff. This connection with the Anglican Church, particularly St. Georges’ has remained it seems. This arrangement of knights and acolytes, danced with passion at the roar of the crowds.
- **The Pratt Family - Musicians in Different Spheres/Bringing Musical Gifts in Junkanoo, Church and Work -** Following the dancers were the musicians in in the group I saw musicians from my church, the Pratts from St. Barnabas. This was a family of musical police officers who were responsible for the creation and sustaining of a marching band at the church, and are also part of the police marching band. Their musical skills is put to use in their Junkanoo, their church, and their work. Much has been said in the interviews the reality of people’s lives in that even when a church doesn’t want its musicians participating in Junkanoo, such as the Pentecostal Church, the same musicians defy church conventions. Though the Pratts do not find such prohibitions at St. Barnabas, their leadership in music flows into all three areas of their lives and helps to groom a younger generation of musicians. I’ve seen the same Pratt sons helping out with the Andros groups at Junieur Junkanoo.

- **Redland Soldiers – Another Ancestral Theme** - After taking pictures of the individual costumes I took a picture of the Redland Soldiers' banner. This was a B Group and their theme was "The Exciting Island of Eleuthera". Here again was group having a pro-Bahamian theme. It is now even more confirmed that the smaller groups chose to promote culture, ancestry and heritage, while the major groups mostly chose something relating to the Queen.
- **Personal Tiredness – 8 Hours of Junkanoo Calls for Sacrifice** - We then left the stands and went in search of some coffee and breakfast. About 20 minutes later we left Bay Street, first passing by the Saxons who had lined up to do their second lap. In the daylight they seemed now very scrappy and lacking. Maybe some members didn't or could complete the second lap, or maybe I was too tired. Nonetheless, it was time to go and I could concentrate no longer. It's minutes to 8 am now. It took almost 8 hours for one lap to be completed, and some people were staying for another.

Concluding Thoughts and Reflections

- The Precision and Organization of Junkanoo
 - Timing
 - Safety
 - Colocations
- Major Group Vs. Scrap Group
- Crowd Vs. Group Interaction
- The Sacrifice of Time – Junkanoo takes a very long time – 7 and a half hours
- The Showtime of Rawson Square
- The Rain Factor
- My Strategy for the Next Parade – stationary this time, roving the next.
Ethnographic plan – I decided to remain seated to get a better vantage point, will rove next time.

APPENDIX K: EXAMPLE OF ROUGH NOTES FOR INTERVIEWS AND THICK DESCRIPTION

Canon Sands

- look at what's happening in West African.
- there is still a need for translation.
- were in religious schisms
- Early Baptist esp. native Baptist

Have wrestled with their ancestral religiosity
the role of the subconscious.

we've benefited from her frontiers - were wrestling with identity.

- need to hold in creative tensions.
- Xianity was always incarnational - esp before 1492
- every church ought to be a culture church.
- Tunkano was a movement from quarantine to celebration.
- because church was muted
- Tunkano was a challenge to the church - to be the church.
- Church had dichotomous view of life.
- Passionate & specific.
- Read book - The Sociology of Slavery - Patterson
- slavery in the Bahamas - freedom in slavery

Difficult to put experience of Tunkano in narrative

* Xianity has had effect on Tunkano. we look to native Baptist for clearer insight.

Tunkano & African ancestry at home in our Catholic churches.

Speaks to subconscious & cultural circumcision
in part cultural heritage

- on indigenization = change of face.
- need to deal with level of leadership.

Tunkano gives show of wholeness - speaks to identity
speaks to Xian theme of wholeness - connects with Gaudin
& drama of salvation.

look up - Native Baptist!!!

Tunkano is inherent prophetic calling church to be the Church.
 Look at Native Baptist & also Pentecost

- ②
- feels worship when in Tunkanoos - same as in Church. Just different space. This comes with maturing.
 - Relationship between Tunkanoos & Church.
 - Tunkanoos is Tunkanoos & Church is different setting. She attend Church as a group at various intervals. William Thompson is spiritual leader of group. They've been to St. Georges. Most people born in the valley. They play Tunkanoos music for the cook-out & fair of St. Georges.
 - Methodists accepting - well he has brought the valley to his church. They don't do Tunkanoos in his church but in his yard.
 - Tunkanoos becomes a rebel. even for Government it seals everything.
 - Tunkanoos gives an identity. But he would not compare Church identity with Tunkanoos. (He is keeping the two separate!) He won't substitute Church for Tunkanoos.
 - For the future - Tunkanoos is most powerful it can't be pitted against. More powerful than politics.
 - Church will grow, but at the acceptance there will be a good relationship between Tunkanoos & the Church into the future. They, the older Tunkanoos-ers inspire younger ones to hold on to both Church & Tunkanoos.

Notes - Ashward Ferguson - 59 yrs.

- Member of Valley Boys for past 46/47 years
It began at end of corner Kenwood St off Mt Royal
his family home was there. He is one leader of
Backline. after 25 years of front line -
He is a Bellie. has been on front line of backline
now on backline of music section
- Member of Ebenezer Methodist. for ~~15~~ 15/16 years
Architect in Ministry of Works. Senior Activ. Hr.
Sings in Senior Chorus
He is Prince Hall Mason. Member of Valley Boys
Senior Officer in Min. of Public Works of Church.
Priorities all 5 loves all.
Passionate about Tunkanos of the Church.

- New Tunkanos is exercise or aerobics. Very
physical. Problem with Valley Boys. They have
rehearsal too late. Used to be on Queen
Elizabeth sports centre at 3 pm in afternoons
Now begins 9/10 pm.

- Don't know about spiritual feeling. He has been
able to separate the two & combine the two.
- Moves from one to the other seamlessly.
- In Valley if someone dies they have a memorial
They go to their cultural ground. singing, testimony
about the individual. They give a family.
They always pray before rehearsal. Different
people every week. They pray for completion of
prayer for safety. They dedicated Boxing Day Parade
to Eric Thompson who got knocked down after practice.
They are a family. Shack is doing for others.

APPENDIX L: EXAMPLE OF AN ANNOTATED INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPT

FH Interview Transcript:

CT: Good afternoon Ms. Hamilton and thank you for doing this interview with me. We'll just get started.

FH: Yes, of course.

CT: Can you please tell me about yourself and your involvement within Junkanoo, not just your involvement within Junkanoo, but your involvement also your church life and your involvement in your church?

FH: OK, I am very much involved in the Church. I am in charge of a liturgical dance group. I am also in charge of the women's fellowship. I am a choir member as well. And I do have to serve soup to the poor people. I am a CCD teacher, which is . . . I have to pass on information about the Catholic faith to young people.

I have been involved with Junkanoo for years. Every year I rush. Christmas, Junior Junkanoo, with my school and with my community group as well.

CT: Would you say you are very passionate about Junkanoo?

FH: Yes, very much.

CT: And also very passionate about your church?

FH: Yes.

CT: Ok. Alright, thank you. I want to ask now about your own personal experience while you are on parade. How do you feel? What does Junkanoo do for you or to you?

FH: Junkanoo helps to make me feel free. It's a free expression of culture. Just lately, I've heard a lot of the Christian music being used in Junkanoo; the same rhythm, the same beat of Junkanoo, but with the same type of music that is sung in church. Junkanoo helps to give me a feeling of excitement, a feeling of just, feeling, dance, rhythm, colour, life. To me it's a free expression of culture, and like I said before, it includes a lot of music, the Christian spiritual music during Junanoo. Even the dance, as well, the same type of liturgical dance that I use in the Church, I use as well when I teach the girls for Junkanoo. So we have the same type of free expression of music and dance both Junkanoo and in the church. I can say this because I teach both dance for church and I teach dance for Junkanoo as well. And the same type of movement can be used for both.

CT: Alright. My emphasis is on the spirituality of Junkanoo. Can you in any way go deeper into the spiritual nature of Junkanoo? You may have said so already but can

you add anything more about, I guess, a sense of spirituality, a sense of worship? You spoke about that sense of freedom. But is there something you get in Junkanoo itself that you may not get in your church?

FH: No, I don't agree with that. Basically, it's the same thing. The same kind of free expression of worship, being free to express yourself when you're worshipping God. It's the same type of free expression during Junkanoo as well as in the Church. Of course, in the Church you feel a little more spiritual, definitely. But when you hear the type of spiritual music used in Junkanoo, you tend to feel that free expression.

CT: OK. Alright. Now, in terms of . . . you're involved in Jr. Junkanoo. Do you rush with a particular Group . . . for the main ones, for the main

FH: Major Junkanoo groups at Christmas time? Yes. I've been with several groups. I've rushed with Colours before. I've rushed with Conquerors. I've rushed with ZBandits. I've rushed with Prodigal Sons. Sometime ago I rushed with Saxons as well. I've rushed with a variety of Groups. And all of them have the same type of expression. The only thing differing is the type of organization. Some are just a little more rigid in their organization, and some are just a little more free. But basically the same type of dance, music, costuming, just different people.

CT: OK. And in your experience in all these groups, there were times of worship and prayer?

FH: All the time. We begin our practices with prayer. We end our practices with prayer.

CT: And how do you feel during these times?

FH: The times of what? Practice?

CT: with these groups over the years, every time they've come to pray or go to a church, something of that sort.

FH: Well, we know all the time that we pray for God's guidance, cause nothing really really pulls you through successfully without the help of God, so I think the beginning of practice, we begin with a prayer which helps to keep the dancers a little more disciplined, so they know we're asking for God's presence as we go through this practice. So definitely, the presence of prayer, and God's presence, we always ask that at the beginning, throughout and at the end. (phone rings)

CT: OK. We're gonna move now to talk about the relationship between Junkanoo and the Church; and not just your particular church, but if you can comment more broadly. But, do you find the Church generally accepting of Junkanoo?

FH: I think so. Especially in my church, and I have visited other churches before. They have use of the congo drums which they normally use in Junkanoo. They have that for

music, in the music ministry in several churches I have visited. And we use even the cowbells in my church, for the music ministry. So, I guess I would say the church is accepting in terms of the music. And even with some decorations in our church are of Junkanoo material.

CT: OK. OK. Do you think the Church can involve Junkanoo, or should involve Junkanoo more?

FH: Yep. I think it should involve Junkanoo more because most Bahamians or most people like Junkanoo, and knowing that the Church . . . I don't know . . . using some Junkanoo music, some Junkanoo costume, it may get them more interested in coming and enjoying the feeling of . . . you know . . . Junkanoo music! The Junkanoo culture being used during the Church services. I know in my church, when they know that we are having folk mass . . . We have two masses at my church. We have the 6:30 which is, they call that the 'Low Mass'. And then 10:30 Mass is the 'High Mass' which is more like an upbeat, a Folk Mass. And we have the Junkanoo. We beat the Congo drums and the cowbells, and the attendance is much more than the 6:30 Mass and I think a lot of it is owed to the music. People can actually express themselves a little more freely when they hear this music. So it draws a lot of people out for the 10:30 Mass because a lot of them have said that they like the upbeat in the music. That's why they come out to the later Mass. The earlier mass, they don't have all that Junkanoo, the congo drums and the cowbells. A lot of them say they just like the upbeat music. It gives them a feeling of . . . you know . . . comfort, expression. Relief! Being able to sit back and being able to receive the Word of God. It kinda soothes them. Soothes the mind they say.

CT: Ok. Our world is changing, and changing quickly because of media and globalization. Where do you see Junkanoo in the future? Is it growing? Will it be just as powerful? Do you find the young people really entrenched within that culture, that Junkanoo?

FH: Yes. I think so. Especially with Jr. Junkanoo you find a lot of the students, a lot of them even more interested in the Junkanoo than sitting in the classroom. When we mention, "Let's go to Junkanoo", they're more interested in the practice than sitting in the classroom, if we're going to Junkanoo. Even the whole idea, the ideas that they put forth in creating the costumes and all, it's to a different level. I think Junkanoo has grown a lot in terms of costuming. Even dance too. The dance has gotten more organised. Like the last time I did Jr. Junkanoo, I went online and I was able to use technology to help me to create better movements with the groups. So technology has helped a lot. Even I went online to get some ideas about different topics that I could use for Jr. Junkanoo; different designs and costumes. So technology has helped a lot. Just google in the idea that you want for your theme and you see all these things popping up from there.

CT: Ok. Ok. Where do you see the church in the Bahamas in the future? What do you think . . . it'll be just as vibrant? Do you think its being changed in any way, is being seriously challenged?

FH: You mean the Church in Junkanoo?

CT: The Church in general.

FH: Oh. Yea man. I think . . . I can speak more for my Catholic Church. Yes. I think we are growing. Just the other day we had two young men coming in from Minnesota coming in to speak to our youth group, and they were able to bring a different type of culture and just a different way of life to the people. It's just so good to have that experience of what other people are doing and ___ it to the Bahamian people. I do see, especially with young people, going off to workshops and stuff, bringing the information back, sharing it with others. Our organist just went off to a workshop and he was saying that a different type of beat he can introduce as he play the . . . same type of songs, but a different type of beat he adds to it. I really think that yes, the Church is moving forward in terms of globalisation; sending him abroad; bringing back new information that's being used; mixing with other organists from different parts of the world; bringing back what they do and sharing it with us. I see the church just growing and advancing. Definitely!

CT: OK.

FH: We've even changed . . . the way we do the mass . . . we've changed our whole rhythm just last year. The whole mass rhythm has been changed and again we've had somebody coming from the US to do choir workshops with us; taught us how to sing the psalms differently; teaching us how to . . . just the whole discipline of being a choir member or member in Church. We had someone come in and do a workshop with us. So yes, the church is growing . . . not only just dealing with Bahamian culture, but different cultures around the world; the African culture; the American culture. We had somebody even from South America come and share with us what they do in their churches.

CT: OK. Would this . . . this would be, I guess, an inclusion of more indigenous styles?

FH: There you go! Yes. That's right.

CT: And the final question, believe it or not, do you think there will be a good relationship, or a close relationship between Junkanoo and the Church in the future?

FH: If I think there would be? Yes. The way things are going now, yes. If there would be a closer relationship? Yea, I think so. Just this past, amazingly, just this past Sunday we celebrated the Three Kings, brought gifts to Jesus, and we had . . . I had three young men dramatize the Three Kings. And would you believe, they wore Junkanoo costumes with the Junkanoo crown, feathers on it. And they were walking through the church with these gifts of gold, frankincense and myrrh. So that brought a closer, deeper meaning of what the message was in church; about the Magi bringing gifts. I forgot the theme. I forgot the . . . but anyway, the message was how the Magi brought gifts to the king. And three men wore Junkanoo costumes with glittering crowns, so, Yes. The whole idea about Junkanoo being used in the church, the costuming part . . . and drums and cowbells were played

while we sang “We Three Kings of Orient Are”. So that was a mixture of Junkanoo and spiritual Christmas message of how the Magi brought gifts to the baby Jesus.

CT: OK. Is there anything you want to say or share concerning this idea that, about Bahamians and their identity? Because my research really is looking at the relationship between Faith and Culture and a tendency sometimes to reject our African heritage (FH: Exactly!) which is not healthy in my mind. Can you . . . is there anything else you want to say in that regard?

FH: Well, yes. If you think back to our historical background, African, you know that we . . . if I’m correct in saying, the way we express ourselves when we’re happy, we dance, we sing, drums are played. If you go back to the African culture, I always think of Congo drums, people dancing around the fire, happy times. Yes, of course, you can relate our identity of being Africans to Junkanoo and the Church. Same thing! Culture, Junkanoo, culture being mixed with Junkanoo; culture being mixed with the way we worship; the way we worship, dancing, it’s the same thing we Junkanoo. We can have that free expression of culture in the church as well as Junkanoo.

CT: Thank you very much Ms Hamilton and God bless you in sharing in this interview.

FH: Yes. It has been my pleasure.

CT: Alright.

FH: Yes.

- **Profile – Roman Catholic, Spanish Teacher (Educator), CCD Teacher for her Church, Jr Junkanoo Organiser at her school; Member of the Choir; Avid Junkanooer** – Variety of Major Groups – Ms Hamilton is our only Roman Catholic interviewee, and she is an educator. She brings to the data not only her experience as a Roman Catholic, but her deep commitment to Jr. Junkanoo. By skill she is a dancer and choreographer. This is also a very educated woman who teaches not only in the government system but teaches the faith to children in her local church. She is a member of the choir as well. She also leads a woman’s fellowship and is in charge of it’s liturgical dancing. Concerning the major groups and her involvement, she has rushed with a variety of them, most of them B Groups. They include: Colours, Conquerors for Christ, ZBandits, Prodigal Sons, and even the Saxons. **(Hamilton touches so many critical areas of my research. I am getting the experience of a woman who is Roman Catholic, who is involved in Junkanoo both in her role as educator and in her personal life.)**
- **Junkanoo, Church, and the Feeling of Freedom – Superficial Separation of Spaces/An Integrated Spirituality which Runs through Both** – Hamilton explains that Junkanoo gives this sense of freedom. She feels this freedom in church as well as on the parade. She feels alive – the music, the rhythm, the

colour, the dancing, the life. She does not make a distinction between the sense of freedom found in Junkanoo and that which is found in Church. In fact, because Junkanoo uses Christian music, she finds them indistinguishable, particularly in what happens within her. She does acknowledge, however, that the spaces are different in that one feels more spiritual in church, but it is basically the same thing. **(Here again we have this idea of freedom being presented. Junkanoo allows the self to emerge. Hamilton is graphic in her description of what happens within her – the rhythm, the freedom to express one’s self, the life . . . She does make a separation of the spaces but I get the feeling that it is a technical separation and not an ontological one. The same spirituality, the same sense of worship appears in both places, and in equal measure within her.)**

- **Religious aspects of the Festival – Music, Prayer, Guidance, The Presence of God, Junkanoo Practices as Sacred Space** – Hamilton, as with the others speaks of the centrality of prayer to Junkanoo groups. They begin their practices with prayer and end with prayer. They specifically pray for God’s guidance and invoke God’s presence. They acknowledge that they can not do anything, or come to any success without God. Besides this, the music is filled with Christian music and the same sense of worship is there. Another aspect which Hamilton brings up is that they begin in prayer to keep discipline, to let the girls (dancers) know that they’re in a sacred space, in which God is in control and something serious is taking place. **(This is the sense that I get from all who speak of their shack activity, whether it’s a rehearsal or a memorial. There is a sacredness to Junkanoo practices, and a firm acknowledgment of God, of God’s presence, of the need to call for God’s protection, of Gratitude to God. There is a ritual of prayer, where some elder, a chaplain, would invoke the divine. In its own right, the Junkanoo practice is treated as sacred space.)**
- **Roman Catholicism and Inculturation – Being released or ‘At Home’ in a Service, Drawing people to Church** - When speaking about the relationship between the church and Junkanoo she thinks that the Church is very accepting. Even more so, she feels that her church has come a long way in inculturating the festival into the life of the Church. A part of the decoration in her local church is of Junkanoo design. They have a folk mass as their second service in which they use the congo drums, and the cowbells. A lot of people come out to this service and say that they like it because it is more upbeat. Furthermore, there is the feeling that Junkanoo in church soothes someone, puts them at ease. In fact, when asked if the church should involve Junkanoo more, she said definitely. The reason why it should is that Bahamians love Junkanoo and are at home with Junkanoo. From her personal experience she has seen how Junkanoo within the life of the Church liberates Bahamians to hear the Word of God, to be released, to be themselves. This should be the experience outside of her church as well, and more can be done about this. But to an extent there is a good relationship. **(I find this assertion very interesting. It has been suggested that Nicolette Bethel that the Roman Catholics have done a lot to indigenize. Here is an example of Junkanoo being**

an agent of this indigenization. This confirms that the Roman Catholics have much further allowed Junkanoo and folk culture to become part the lifeblood of the church. This has led, in Hamilton's view, to growth in membership and a feeling of comfort, ease, at-home-ness, among Bahamians.)

- **Junkanoo Into the Future – Junkanoo and the Young, Junkanoo, Borrowing and Technology** – When looking towards the future Hamilton sees Junkanoo as growing and prospering. He sees it within the young people she works with. They would much rather go to Junkanoo, talk about Junkanoo, than sit in the class room. Also, when it comes to preparing for Jr. Junkanoo, the ideas, artistry, and work produced by the students are at a higher level. Children are captivated by the festival. But there is another sign of this growth and it has to do with modern technology. She has been able to better choreograph her dancers by going on the Internet. It has helped the art. She sees this as something that will ensure the growth of the festival. **(The themes of youth participation, and modern technology come up again in the research. Arlene Nash has similarly spoken of the effect that Junkanoo has on Bahamian children when it comes to education. Also, many have spoken of the way the festival has grown and become more modern. It has borrowed from the carnivals and have take ideas from many different places. With modern technology it can become, and continue to become bigger and better.)**
- **Global/Local dynamic and Sharing Culture within the Catholic Church – Indigenization and Affirmation – growth among the young people** – Ms Hamilton speaks from her Catholic experiences and sees that the Church is indeed growing and it is doing so principally because of indigenization. They have recently recreated their mass to reflect culture. Not only this, they have a pattern of sending people abroad to gain other influences, and also to have other cultures come to the Bahamas to share with the local catholics – in liturgy, in churchmanship. It seems that the Roman Catholics have a great sense of that global/local dynamic and as a result there is much more flexibility. Though it is a missionary church, planted in the Bahamas, it has taken culture seriously. What I hear them do is not heard of in the other denominations. What is even more impressive is that there is a suggestion that the youth group in her church is growing because of this intercultural, global/local dynamic, and also because of the indigenization of the church.
- **Indigenization and the Roman Catholic Mass, A Junkanoo Christmas Mass – Church and Junkanoo NOT treated as separated spaces** - Hamilton recounts an instance where the Sunday before the interview they had a mass which was carried through the vehicle of Junaknoo. It was the celebration of the gifts brought to Jesus by the Three Wise Men. It was dramatized by three young men who wore Junkanoo costumes to represent the Magi. The dramatization was to introduce the theme of the preaching, and was in tune with the sermon. Drums and Cowbells were played while the congregation say “We Three Kings of Orient Are.” This is an extremely powerful example of the liturgical way in which culture can be

affirmed, can be brought into the life of the Church. **(It is clear now from Ms Hamilton's experiences that the Roman Catholic churches seem not to treat culture as a separate space. Junkanoo isn't outsider who is acknowledged in the hall, but is brought into the very liturgy of sacred space. This is so different to the other church where at best, Junkanoo is kept separate and a part, and if it is even acknowledged for what it is, it is either relegated to the church hall, or on special occasions where the group attends the church, but must conform to the protocol of that Church. It must lose it's essence. This does not seem so within the Roman Catholic church.)**

- **African Culture Central to both Church and Junkanoo - Both as Secondary, Contingent Spaces** – Hamilton reasserts her thesis that the same freedom you find in the church is the same one you find in Junkanoo. He now clarifies that both have African culture as their core. When analysing her views it seems that both spaces, church and Junkanoo, are secondary and contingent spaces – they all hinge upon African cultural identity. They both involve that expression African religiosity of singing, dancing, beating drums . . . being happy. **(This is the view that I share, that the research shares. And, it seems that I find evidence of this only among the Roman Catholics who practice, or aim for an indigenous kind of Christianity. What happens usually, though, is that this African religious centrality is denied within the Church, but affirmed within Junkanoo. This is the essence of self-negation as I define it.)**

APPENDIX M: EXAMPLE OF REFLECTIONS ON OBSERVATIONS: NEW YEARS DAY

Church Junkanoo Accomodation/Interconnectedness - with New Year's Day Start time/People leaving after Sermon – The Experience at St. Barnabas - As most Bahamians, I went to Church to bring in the New Year and then tried to make my way to Bay Street to catch the parade which would have begun at 2 am. In the Bahamas there is that alliance with the Church in this regard. The Junkanoo Committee has tried to accommodate the Church and the very important cultural event of the Mid-Night Mass, even though beginning at 2 am means that the Parade would last even longer into the following day. I don't know whether this is out of respect for or out of a sense that Churches, through their preaching, Constantly make reference to the fact that people can't wait to leave Church in order to get to Junkanoo. This is a yearly institutional tension. Tonight, while at St. Barnabas, this point has been made, not in a vilifying way, but in a matter of fact way, in that the New Year's Eve Service is perhaps the largest gathering of the Congregation, but after midnight, or after the sermon, people make a mass exodus. Nonetheless, at St. Barnabas tonight, there was liturgical dancing by 6 girls, and the latter half of their presentation was to Junkanoo music. This is a church that has tried to accommodate the Junkanoo culture. But the relationship and tension between Junkanoo is so intertwined that at the largest gathering of Church folk across the country, Junkanoo is a topic of conversation, and at times, not in a positive light.

The Costing of Junkanoo – The Necessity for Sponsorship, A lot of Financial Sacrifice - But before leaving home Junkanoo had already started. The first to exit the gates, the Valley Boys, were at Rawson Square with their theme "The Bahamas Tourism Experience". Large costumes were being paraded entitled "Goombay", "Speed Week", and "Sir Sidney Bridge". Even from the television you could tell the amazing detail in the costumes. Such detail is costly. Later on I would get an idea of how much the costume of a beller would cost. A friend whom I visited on New Years day explained that his skirt, headpiece, and shoulder piece probably costed some\$400.00 to make. I'm thinking that a piece such as "Goombay" and "Speedweek" would run into the thousands.

Junkanoo and Religious Music "City of Gold" – Platonic Theological foundation of the theme of Bahamas Tourism Experience - Besides the costumes they were playing the religious song "City of Gold" perhaps buttressing the idea of the Bahamas a 'heavenly' destination. This implicit religiosity is but another example of the deep religiosity of Bahamian people. Close attention to this song would reveal a neo-platonic worldview which has helped to sustain the horrors of slavery and colonialism. It is a world view that Bahamian people have imbibed – a believe that what happens on earth is permissible because heaven is where we must put our concentration. What happens concretely will pass away and shouldn't worry anyone. We press forward to heaven. And this song has been a favourite within the Bahamian church setting. Other such Gospel songs have also been used to perpetuate this kind of thinking as well.

Junkanoo as Yearly Day of Catharsis/But Is it Still for the Common Person? The Socio-economics of Junkanoo - We arrived at Bay Street, same spot as last time, being dropped off on Virginia Street. It's really impractical to try to find parking, since spaces are limited, and if you find one, it would be quite far away. As we left Virginia Street and headed towards Down Town, past the Hilton on our left, and McDonalds, Imperials, Dunk N Doughnuts on our right, we passed barricades stopping traffic from getting to the Downtown area, a group of tourists, and the disparate costumes here and there. Immediately to our right, the Kalik contingent was stationed. With two large banners parked at the side of West Bay Street, perhaps about 40 persons from that contingent were just having drinks and chatting. They seemed little concerned with anything else. Around the Hilton area was filled with people going in all directions it seemed. Some perhaps were awaiting their time to hit Bay Street, other's were concerned with food, other's were just sitting about. This truly is the time when Bahamians relax. They party. They find the extra energy to stay up and dance all night. They seem as if they save it all for now, this first day of the year. However, I would observe throughout the night a distinction between entire group of people. Young people, particularly young men, would congregate behind barricades, and not the bleachers, the best view in Junkanoo would be for those who could afford it, and many other Bahamians choose not to pay, this is seen in the amount of empty bleachers and the appeal to by tickets event up to the start of the Parade. In short, if Junkanoo is a public one day cathartic event, then this catharsis is carried out in different ways, by different groups of Bahamians. And the demarcation for these groups is who can pay and who can't. Economics still remain a significant factor in Junkanoo.

Junkanoo Costumes – Size and Religiosity - Rounding the corner onto the main Down Town Area to the starting line for the parade near George Street, there were large costumes stationed on the side of the road, perhaps awaiting their time. One in particular, entitled "The Fiery Furnace" was a depiction of Hell with three persons being engulfed by flames. I don't know which group this belonged to, but this was perhaps one storey high. It is always amazing to see how massive these costumes are. But this one clearly was religious in orientation. It seems as if no matter the theme, religion, particularly the Christian religion, is featured somehow.

Junkanoo, Youth Culture and Violence, and Communal Tuning in to the Power of the Junkanoo Spirit/Music – Pneumatology, Youth Culture and Junkanoo - The follow excerpt highlight the experience of walking through an extremely dense crowd of young people, mostly young men, and the absence of violence, but that sense of tuning into, being possessed by, the Spirit of Junkanoo music. As we entered the crowd, the Roots were about to begin. They struck their music and the more they got into their beat, the more this thick crowd danced. Not only were they dancing, but they were smoking as well. This was not a bleacher crowd. But they were totally engrossed with the music. And the more the music went on the more animated this crowd became. It was so thick and it too so long to move a few inches. At one point a young man looked at me carrying my daughter in my arms, and gave me 'daps' and exclaimed loudly that I was a true father. This was a sign of respect, a sign that I was carrying my little one to taste, feel, hear, see Junkanoo. I was esteeming the next generation. It seemed like it took forever to get out of this thick crowd, one that at surface level was quite dangerous. If there were to be a

stampede, people would be killed. Yet, no one presented any threats beyond the density of the crowd. There were to sexual advances towards women, something I know to have happened in parades past. There were the odd expletive here and there but that was not the tenor of the crowd. People were solely into the music. The more music, the more animated the crowd. There was a thick sense of 'communal tuning' into the music. Mostly young, possible trouble makers, but all were consumed with, possessed with, one thing, and that was that Junkanoo rhythm, and sound.

Plan for New Years Day Parade - In this festival, I would observe from the street. I would go south on Charlotte, onto Shirley Street, head east towards Elizabeth Avenue where Groups would be resting, then north on Elizabeth Avenue back onto Bay Street, then West on Bay Street to Rawson Square, where the major action happens. I would then make my way back to where my family was and watch from the stands for a bit.

Junkanoo and the Loose Behaviour of Young People/Junkanoo a tool for Meditation and Attunement/Reorienting Loose Behaviour - In comparing the two congregations of young people it is very clear that somehow Junkanoo has a possessing, calming, reorienting effect on the young. The young men lining up Bay Street's sidewalk, were totally involved in the music. These young people loose on the street were more open to violence and loss of control. Both groups had smoking and drinking. Both had male and female. The only difference was the powerful presence of Junkanoo. In the former group Junkanoo inspired a different kind of looseness, one which inspired dancing, and deep meditation/attunement to the Junkanoo music. The latter was loose and without a deeper force to guard and control such looseness. This relationship between Junkanoo and young people's behavior is the same that is found in the shacks, where violent young men would find themselves too involved in shack life to be loose.

Shirley Street and Bay Street: Two Kinds of Parades, Two Kinds of Bahamians: Commercialised (Convergent) and Resistant Approaches - The reality of the difference between Shirley Street and Bay Street was instantly obvious. On Shirley Street, Junkanoo is largely free. There are some bleachers but nothing compared to what exists on Bay Street. This was a different crowd. These were those who could not or would not pay for Junkanoo. These were those who would rather roam free between streets, who refuse to be detained. These were those who probably walked just from over the hill and actually cared very little for Bay Street. They just wanted some Junkanoo, they cared very little for the marketing of Junkanoo or the hype of Rawson Square. Some in the crowds brought their own folding chairs. Children were asleep. There were no tourists in this crowd, at least none that were obvious. This crowd was much, much more expressive. On Bay Street Junkanoo is more touristic. In Rawson Square it is alleged that companies would be allotted tickets, or would buy out sections of the bleachers for guests and employees. For the most part, only those who can pay \$45, \$35, \$25, or \$15 per seat would be able to see the parade comfortably. The Newscasters, cameras and highlights are on Bay Street. Police control and patrol is immediate, particularly in manning access to bleachers. This difference between the Bay Street and Shirley Street scenes is telling for a number of reasons. It reveals two kinds of parades and two kinds of Bahamians. Bay Street reveals a commercialized, controlled Parade. It is closely inspected by the police, the judges, the

cameras, the barricades, it is a product to be managed. In fact, in Rawson Square music is played to fill in the gaps after groups pass by, just to drown out the wait. There is no such luxury on Shirley Street. Shirley Street is for those who can't or refuse to pay. It is for those who will not be controlled, who want to move about, who want to heckle the performers. There is disorder on Shirley Street. Groups pass few and far in-between. There is unpredictability to it all. Not everything is neat. As for the two kinds of Bahamians, the former seek and can obtain a level of comfort, the latter, Shirley Street, is willing to tough it out, and get whatever they can. Both are moved by Junkanoo, and I'm sure there are many types in between my two poles, but on one end there is regard for comfort and the spotlight, at the other end there is that willingness to sacrifice all that just to see the parade freely; a thirst for the freedom of Junkanoo. The dividing line between the two types is the commercialization of the festival and its economic arrangement and management. While neither one is 'bad', and there are advantages to both approaches, they reveal something about the Bahamian psyche and the internal tensions within sociopolitical and economic life. On the one hand there is that commercialized, rule accepting Bahamian, and on the other, there is that resistant, rule rejecting Bahamian. This is definitely a tension that exists.

Colours – Just as Kevin Said – Youth, Family, and Values Oriented – Culture seemed to be everything Kevin had said. It was filled with young people. It promoted culture, Bahamian culture. It played religious music, and there were many adults there to assist with the young people. The family also seemed central to this group as he, his wife, and his daughter were all there. *(Culture could be a good example of the B Group's approach to the Junkanoo parade.)*

Shirley Street and Direct Crowd/Performer Interaction – The Physical Demand of Rushin - It seems as if there is more direct interaction with performers on Shirley Street. People in the crowd were encouraging, sometimes heckling a performer to 'rush', meaning to dance their costume. Colours was there performing and exciting the crowd. Also, Being this close to everyone I could see how much it took to dance in those pieces. A girl was carrying a piece and she was so obviously tired. The musicians were all young men. Kevin was carrying licking his cowbells and blowing his whistle as he also carried what seemed to be a heavy costume off the shoulder piece. Prophetic Methods, Long Available Memory, Anamnesis, the Bust of Sir Clifford Darling - This huge bust of Sir Clifford, not as ostentatious as other costumes, was dragged silently along Shirley Street. What is amazing is that Junkanoo allows for this kind of remembrance. Sir Clifford, the four Bahamian Born Governor General of the Bahamas, and former Taxi driver and former general secretary of the Taxi Cab Union, and former speaker of the House of Assembly, was instrumental in the General Strike in 1958, preceded by a blockading and closing down of the airport by the Taxi Cab union. His name is synonymous of the militant spirit of Bahamian people, and that fight for equality and better treatment for Bahamians. Junkanoo, is way of providing that long and available memory, of making the past present.

Junkanoo and Individual Costumes – Disney Costume and Individual Expression – Opportunities for Junkanoo - Following Sir Clifford was an individual costume

celebrating Disney. I didn't get who sponsored the costume, but, like that of Sir Clifford, it was not as ostentatious. It portrayed the famous characters, Mickey Mouse, Goofey, and Daffy Duck. Usually these individual pieces are local organizations and groups' way of entering the parade without organizing an entire group. The thing about Junkanoo as organized now, it is open to a lot of individual expression. ***(One thing that the Church can do, if it doesn't care to form a group, would be to enter banners and costumes reflecting their message or emphasis.)***

'Sperrit' – The Alternative Narrative of the Scrap Group/Another Prophetic Technique - After 'Disney' passed, I saw a scrap group in the distance. What I saw firstly was a group of about 5 or six persons and a sole dancer in front, somehow sensuously, almost as if they were belly dancing. It seemed like a female, but was quite tall. I later learned that this was Sperrit. 'Sperrit' is a Bahamian word for 'Ghost' or 'Spirit'. Sperrit rushed with gold paint, newspaper fringe, carnival masks and hats. They were: 3 drums, 2 bells, a conch shell, a scraper, and a bicycle horn. They had one lead dancer and two free dancers, and according to Nicolette Bethel on her blog, one person had never rushed before. This was the essence of a Scrap group. Their drums and bells were to a simple Junkanoo beat. They huddled in a group and at times created a circle, listening to, and play off each other's music. But one thing was obvious, they were there just to enjoy the parade. Like most other scrap groups, they provided an alternative to the ostentation of the larger groups. And, like every other group on the parade, there was that interaction from the crowd. The street may have been bare, but the crowds were tune in to everything that passed by. ***(This phenomenon of Scrap groups seem to work prophetically in that they provide that alternative narrative to the commercialization of the larger groups. The very name of the group suggests a call back to culture, or nativeness, or a version of Bahamianess which existed in decades past. For example, the 'Bush Warriors' advocate capital punishment as a solution to all the murder. Now 'Sperrit' brings to the forefront African Religiocultural heritage and the idea of the Bahamian Sperrit – a totally different worldview to the cosmopolitan outlooks of the larger groups.)***

The Rules of Junkanoo - Waiting for the Valley at Parliament Street, I encountered a number of judges whom I knew. Both of them were women I know from the different Anglican Churches. After explaining a bit about what I was doing, one of the women decided to tell me more about the rules of the Parades. She explained that A Groups and some B groups start at George Street, and they have to perform on both Bay And Shirley. Where we were stationed was the edge of Rawson Square and corresponded the same space on Bay Street. Each group would have an hour to rest on Elizabeth Avenue, and 80 minutes to get out of the gate. To be an A group one has to have at least 301 members. They can have many many more, but they much have at least that. By the end of our conversation the Valley were nearing the starting line, or the line where they would be on the clock and would officially be in active judgement.

Valley Boys', Researching their Theme, Revealing the Symbols of Tourism – even the Police and Coloniality – Creativity and Research in conjunction/Informed Creativity – The Valley Boys' theme was "Bahamas Tourism Experience". Before the lead banner would get to the line however, individual dancers were introducing the theme.

A number of dancers were dressed as police officers, with the colonial outfits which have also become symbols of tourism in the country; Dancers dressed as tourists – two women and one man, carrying beach balls and towels, wearing very little clothing. This group caricatured tourism and all the many symbols of tourism, even the arms of government like the police. What amazes me is the creativity and detail, which arises out of deep research.

Design Junkanoo Off the Shoulder Costumes, Hard Work and Creativity – A Grounded Pneumatology – Following the Valley Boys’ lead banner were about 20 off the shoulder dancers. These were costumes showing aspects of Tourism such as ‘flamingos’, ‘The Sir Sidney Poitier Bridge’, ‘sail boats’, etc. These were large and extremely heavy costumes. In fact, being this close up to the action, I saw just how heavy they were and how energy was spent just dancing them. Often, groups would have replacement dancers who would be close at hand. The costumes are built to be set down firmly and easily allow one person to exit by ducking underneath and the other to enter in the same manner. Another marshals would be close at hand to dispense water or some kind of refreshing liquid. At one point tow of these costumes hooked. This is another aspect of the parade that should be monitored. Because the costumes are so large with protruding pieces, dancing close to each other could be a disaster. In this case, a marshal came, took off the hooked pieces from either costume, untangled them in his hands, and then reattached them, each piece to it’s rightful costume. Costumes are built to be re-adjustable. This is one of the amazing things about the creativity in Junkanoo – it involves the fine-tuned mind of an engineer. *(The truth is that for as much as creativity exists in the parading of Junkanoo, so does hard work. Costumes are built to be adjustable, sturdy, and balanced. They require a sharp mind to design them and represent the best of engineering work. To parade a costume is also very hard work. It requires the greatest physical efforts. Junkanoo exacts the best of Bahamians physically, mentally, psychologically, and even emotionally. There is no creativity without the aforementioned. Any understanding of the creativity of Junkanoo which is to be linked to any kind of understanding of the Spirit or spiritual gifts, must also include the hard work, dedication, and the mental, psychological, physical aspects of the work of the same spirit. Junkanoo reveals a creative spontaneity, but also it reveals a grounded, studied, creativity. The spirit works with all the hard work that has already been put in.)*

Revealing the Body - After the larger pieces passed, smaller pieces came; waitresses, people on jetski, cabaret dancers. The waitresses and dancers were very revealing in their dress, but then again, this is the thing about Junkanoo, it’s all about the theme. These dancers were carrying out their theme, and were not afraid to reveal the body. Is this about vulgarity? Is there an issue of appropriate vs. inappropriate? Why would/should there be?

Order and Disorder in Junkano - Dancing/Rushin from the Soul, Shirley Street and Crowd/Performer Interaction Vs Marshals and Adherence to the Rules, the Need to Win - One woman sitting high on a bleacher in front of the Rodney Bain building kept exclaiming, “Music in the Soul! You don’t need no Music.” Here comment was directed at the fact that some of the off the shoulder dancers, during the lull of the music, seemed to dull in their ‘rushin’. The same woman in the crowd pointed others to a lone cabaret

dancer, a rather large woman who was rushing with intensity and exclaimed with approval: “That in the Soul!” In another instance, a boy wearing a jetski, was being urged by the crowd to perform. He got a roaring cheer when he made a megaphone announcement. What was more evident here in Shirley Street was that people in the crowd directed their comments to the dancers themselves. The crowd were concerned with who unleashed more, who rushed more. Rushing is about unleashing. Whenever this wasn’t happening, people on Shirley Street felt comfortable, or even that it was their right, to tell the dancers to rush and rush hard, rush from the soul. Yet, on the other hand, when a girl seemed tired and drained and wasn’t rushin’ hard, a marshal pointed to the girl and said, “Hey, entertain them. Make them laugh.” Another marshal pointed to a young man and motioned that he smiled while he was performing. Right before me there was this conflict between what the crowd were looking for, or hoping for, and what the marshals were directing. The crowd wasn’t particularly looking for entertainment as the marshal suggested. This Shirley Street crowd was looking to participate in this ‘rushing’ from the soul. The marshal’s job is to ensure that the Valley Boys’ win. They needed to make sure their dancers and musicians, always remember that they were being watched, judged, and points could be deducted. They were agents of the ‘ordering of Junkanoo’. Shirley Street, on the other hand, is the place of the ‘disordering’ of Junkanoo, the unleashing of the dancer or the musician; the place where the crowd themselves could burse the barricades and unleash as well. This reveals again, that difference between Bahamians who see or require the spiritual depth of Junkanoo and those who think solely about competition, rules and winning, the commercial aspects.

The Power of Junkanoo Music, Unleashing and Possessing Bahamians – Spirit Possession and the Colonial Socially Constructed Version of it in Operation in Bahamian religious life - But what amazed me about this music section was the power of the music. The Valley Boys is an extremely large group, and it probably took them about 40 minutes to pass me by. But squeezing myself close to the wall I leaned against, just to make way for the immensity of this group, the power of the music bounced through me to the wall, and back again. Being in their midst of all that power is quite an experience. The music begins to think for you. It dictates your movement. It possesses you. I think what makes Junkanoo powerful is that it unleashes Bahamians in a way that little else does. It reminds them of a deep power within; one that can be scary, one that possesses. Something theological must be said about this. *“This idea of possession is and has been vilified by Hollywood. But there is something about Junkanoo that does possess, it transfigures the Bahamian, and it’s good; it feels good. What may be scary is that idea of losing control. This again points to the socially constructed underpinning of a colonial pneumatology. Being unleashed in the spirit begs the question, “who will I be, or become?” and “Will I be able to control that person?” This may be the crux of the issue and it’s quite understandable since what we are dealing with is self-negation, which is held in place by an entrenched colonial mental and psychological framework. Caribbean Theology definitely can address this issue of Possession.*

Shirley Street and Danger, Violence and Unleashing in Junkanoo - As I headed towards Elizabeth just west of East Street, I met a judge who I knew from Church. She began telling me that she was there from 10 pm, and had gone to a church downtown

instead of going to her Church, St. Barnabas. She did mention however, that further up the road, by East Street, police had just locked up four young men. They were fighting on the street. She moved from that direction simply because she didn't want to be harmed. The thing about Shirley Street is that there is also that danger of eruption. There is always that possible unleashing that may find it's medium being fights and quarrels. I saw the deep concern on this woman's face. Shirley Street is darker, more crammed, and less controlled; the unleashing is easier here. The sense of danger is greater. *(This sense of danger must be reflected on since it seems to take place more on Shirley Street. If I were to theologially categorise the two, Shirley Street is the place of disorder. It is the place of danger, of unleashing, of letting go. Sometimes this may be through violence. In times of poverty Junkanoo became the place of gang fights, violence, and contestation. The presence today of the police, and all efforts to ensure safety points to the volatility of the festival. There is something about it not safe. What is inside, can, and probably will, come to the surface. Canon Sands spoke of the use of masks with in the Festival. This was for the purpose that the inner self is revealed.)*

Junkanoo and the Church – Judges and their keeping of dual commitments - As I headed towards Elizabeth just west of East Street, I met a judge who I knew from Church. She began telling me that she was there from 10 pm, and had gone to a church downtown instead of going to her Church, St. Barnabas. She just did not want to miss church. Her commitments were to Junkanoo, but to the Church as well. I met another judge from Holy Cross who on this night went to a church down town as well. She *(People have serious commitments to both events come New Years Morning; they must go to church, and it doesn't have to be their home church, or even their own denomination.)*

Omega Psi Phi, Ring Play and Neo-platonic Psychological and Theological Undercurrents (Self-Negation) – Omega Psi Phi were bringing their 'Ring Play' beat. No words were spoken by the group; but everyone knew what their beat was. Ring plays are deep within Bahamian cultural memory, and one doesn't need to know the words to be reminded of how participatory they are. They function to involve the crowd and to create bonding and shared identity between the scrap group and the crowd. This Fraternity certainly achieved this. "Sausage n' eh", and a loaf a bread right there, take that penny sausage, and stick it right in there, you know where, right in there, the devil roun the corner, say stick it right in there." The invocation of this children's ring play reveals the kind of sexuality within Bahamian culture. Sex is about temptation and must be hidden. It's something to be done in secret; something that one is dared to do. The thing about Ring Plays is that they reveal the psychological and theological undercurrents within a culture; sex is good, sweet, pleasurable, but because this is so, it must be done 'roun the corner', and is prompted by the 'devil'. This is evidence of neo-platonic inheritance of colonialism. Though cultural bonding and intimacy is produced, the dualistic building blocks of self-negation - of hating the body, and seeing sex, pleasure, and sensation as base – are revealed in the process.

Caribbean Globalisation – The Influence of Other Territories on Bahamian Nationalism and Bahamian Culture - Now passed East Street and moving towards Elizabeth, I come to Original Congos. Their theme was "40th Independence Bahamian

Style”. With a lead banner depicting Bahmian prints, Bahamian money, and flags, this B group is doing what seems to be the patter with B groups, and that is to point to something nationalistic. However, the theme song for the Congos was Bob Marley’s “Redemption Song”. Though in many respects this song has become a song of freedom for the Caribbean, it is Jamaican. What is hardly mentioned when it comes to Globalisation is the influence of the other Caribbean Islands, and genres of music on Bahamian cultural identity. Reggae, Dance Hall, Soca, Calypso, and Carnival have all added to Bahamian Popular culture, just as genres coming out of the US.

The Resting Area, Cursing, Drinking, Rowing – Sinful Space or Energising Space? – Heading north on Elizabeth I passed the Paper Boys. They, as would be expected, were drinking. Infact, now having a good look at their banner, it was essentially a cooler on wheels. They probably would follow Roots because they were right behind them. But many other were drinking as well. In fact, many lining the streets had some cup or the other in their hand. Other than that, what could be heard most, over the distant Junkanoo sounds, was the loud conversations from junkanooers congregating on the sides. These conversations involved a lot of curse words, and a lot of arguing. Junkanooers are passionate about their groups and would defend them to the hilt. *(Is this the sinful part of Junkanoo? There is no violence. People seem to be preparing themselves for another rush, preparing themselves psychologically, mentally, emotionally, and perhaps even physically. This isn’t a threatening or violent atmosphere, It’s one which seeks to create both rest and synergy.)*

Drums around the Fire – Transforming Resting Space - The large fire, with loading crates as the fuel, created a mystical atmosphere. In the darkened spot, I could make out that hundreds of people were moving around the parking lot, some resting on the sides, some participants, some fans, some tourists, but there was something about this large fire in the corner that made the space an inviting one. The heating of the drums is very attractive; I moved towards to take photos. *(Auto-ethnographically, this scene always touches something deep within me. It did so while I was at all the practices. It’s an African religiocultural retention, which points to the spiritual nature of such a festival.)*

Junkanoo and Remembering the Departed – Shockers and Tony Forbes – Junkanoo Re-emerging as a norm for Christian Rites such as Funerals - After the row of Saxon’s Costumes I encountered the new kid on the block, the BEC shockers. Their group’s theme was “Safety First” and their lead banner which carried this theme, was also a tribute to the late Tony Forbes, a beloved manager at BEC who passed away suddenly during the year. Apparently this was their first appearance at the Parade. I had seen the same thing at Jr. Junkanoo where an off the shoulder piece had the picture of a departed student on it. Coupled with the increased use of Junkanoo for funeral marches, church parades etc, Junkanoo is becoming more and more an affirmed cultural norm for Christian rites such as Funerals, and maybe even Weddings.

Colours, Possession, Sexual/Provocative Dance Movement – The Interplay of Sexuality and Spirituality within African Caribbean Pneumatology - The first thing about Colours to get my attention were the dancers. There were two individual dancers, a

male and a female, who were dancing quite provocatively. In fact, they seemed as if they were carrying out some form of possession ritual. At one point the lady crawled between the legs of the gentleman who proceeded to wine in a sexual way. Having now crawled through his legs, the lady continued to crawl for another 10 paces, in a slow and deliberate manner, as if she had become a seducing tiger. She was then helped to her feet by the male dancer. (See video clip)*(I didn't quite get what the theme was but this could definitely have been seen as vulgar in the Bahamian sense of the word. It is interesting that sexuality and spirituality, gyration and possession seem to go hand in hand in African Caribbean implicit spirituality within festivals such as Junkanoo. Creativity is always enshrined in sexuality. One can see this in Calypso, in Junkanoo, in Dancehall, the creativity of the art is a kind of creativity borne out of a holistic spirituality which very much involves one's sexuality. Sexual suggestiveness, double meanings, 'fresh talk', isn't vulgar; there is always another dimension, which is pneumatological. If one were to think carefully about the Spirit, one is talking about the wild and the uncategorized, often the dangerous. It is the same description that one can give to the attempts to regulate sexuality within African Caribbean societies. Sexuality shows up in everything, it will not, can not be contained . . . it remains wild, creative, elusive.)*

Junkanoo and Economics – Empty Bleachers and the Ailing Bahamian Economy - It is now break as I head towards Rawson Square. Many people still line the street, but looking at the bleachers this far up on Bay Street I could see that they, for the most part, are empty. It was up to the beginning of the parade that persons were being urged to purchase tickets. At this side of Bay Street and for much of Bay Street, bleachers were empty. This seemed to be a different scene to Boxing Day. From where I was there seemed to be more filled bleachers, therefore more sold tickets. The other possibility could be that these were the more expensive tickets. These were probably the \$25, \$35, \$45 seats. When I got to Rawson Square, I was surprised to see that many bleachers on the Northern Side were empty. There clearly seems to be an issue of economics. Bahamians probably were unwilling or unable to pay such costs for bleachers and decided to tough it out and line the streets – for free.

Order and Disorder in the Realm of Sexuality – One Family and Revealing of the Body – Criticisms from the Bahamian Public - Back to the Stands on Fredrick Street gyrating her buttocks, with a look of confidence and enjoyment. She enjoyed the way she looked, and was within her own world, playing her part as the hot fire girl. The fire truck continued to get people's attention with the tooting of a horn, sounding just like that of a fire truck. In the midst of blazing sirens, local artist 'Ancient Man' was mounted on top of the truck singing his famous song "Call the Fire Engine". Beside him were two girls almost as provocatively dressed as the lead dancer, gyrating and enjoying themselves as well. It seemed that all eyes were on these there girls, particularly the first one. The theme had to do with 'fire' but the average Bahamian has an issue with sexual expression. I think some persons were actually shocked at the first dancer, and her being in her own world may have been an attempt to block out the ready criticisms. But, there is a discomfort with nakedness, or revealing too much flesh. I think this stems from a colonial Christian heritage which has always been uncomfortable with the naked body, as well as being uncomfortable with excessive passion and display of emotions. While Bahamians speak,

argue, and even play passionately, sometimes even heatedly, this is not the kind of thing that should happen in the area of sexuality, or sexual expression, or the revealing of the body. Somehow, sexuality is something that should be moderated, managed, kept in check.

Rawson Square – the Place of Performance and Judgement vs. Shirley Street – the Place of Participation and Affirmation - In Rawson, people were performing for the judges. Perhaps the majority of Judges were here. As the dancers and musicians, who were singing the popular Church Chorus “Give me Oil in my Lamp”, passed by, those on the bleachers became animated. It is no doubt that this was the place for rushing with everything, this was the place to prove one’s self. *(There seems to be the notion that Rawson Square is the place of inspection, the place of rushing intensity, but place of final judgement, and this is true for the most part, but it is not particularly the place of affirmation. Rawson Square, to my mind, is the place for entertainment, for performance, but Shirley Street is the place of affirmation. Everyone likes Junkanoo. Everyone will dance to Junkanoo. The Junkanoo participant will rush from the soul on either street. But, the context is different. The rules and expectations are different. The approach from the crowd is different. On Bay Street there is a perform to win attitude, it is the place of judgement; on Shirley Street there is the ‘rush’ to be free attitude, this is the place of affirmation. Here again we have two different kinds of Junkanoo taking place simultaneously: Economically Motivated Competition Junkanoo (Bay Street) vs. Freedom Motivated Soul Junkanoo (Shirley Street.))* Furthermore, there is something about the kinds of people along both streets. Looking at the people on the bleachers on Rawson Square, they seemed different, more elite Bahamians. It is still true, but now to a much lesser extent, that one’s shade of colour could somehow tell something of their socioeconomic standing. Many in the stand were tourists, or more light skinned Bahamians. This crowd looked radically different to those on Shirley Street. The clothing was different. People were older, more settled looking, and definitely more stylish. Compared to the young people, and families sitting on sidewalks along Shirley Street.

Junkanoo, Seating, and the Economic Barrier of Seating Costs: Is Junkanoo for the Local any longer? - Walking towards my family seated on Charlotte Street, I realized that many of the bleachers between Rawson Square and Charlotte Street were practically empty. The question still remains as to why. Is Junkanoo too costly? Should seats be sold as so high a price? Is the price of the ticket acting as a barring mechanism for different types of Bahamians? Ultimately the question remains, is Junkanoo for Bahamians? Is it for the poor? There is definitely an issue about the cost of a comfortable Junkanoo seat. One of the issues with Rawson Square is that large companies pre-buy the best seats, and also the price is too much for the average Bahamian. This ought to be carefully considered.

**APPENDIX N: TABULAR SUMMARY OF THREE LEVELS OF CODING
REFINEMENT: INITIAL CODING FRAME, ANALYTIC GROUPS, AND
MAJOR ANALYTIC THEMES**

Table: List of Coding – Three levels of Refinement.

Level 1 – Initial Coding Frame	Level 2 - Analytic Codes	Level 3 - Major Analytic Themes	
7 th Day Adventist	Affirmation-Validation	‘Overcomming’	
Alcohol	Colonial Chains		
Anglican	Conquerors for Christ	Relationship Between Church and Junkanoo	Positive Attributes
Baptist	Denominational Approaches to Junkanoo		Negative Attributes
Biography	Identity		Denominational Approaches
Boundary Dynamics	Negation-Validation		Taboo Topics
Brethren	Secrecy and Suspicion		Tensions and Ambivalences
Caribbean Theology	Taboo Topics		Dichotomies
Celebration	Junkanoo		
Church/Culture Relationship in Bahamas	The Church		
Colonial Heritage	The Future of the Junkanoo-Church Relationship	Self-Negation	
Community	Tension, Distinctions, Continuities		
Conquerors for Christ	Theological Motifs		
Creativity			
Dancing			
Denominational Approach to Junkanoo			
Dichotomous Religious Thinking			
Ecumenism			
Elijah- The Prophets			
Empowerment			
Enculturation			
Eucharist-Liturgy			
Evangelism			
Experiencing Junkanoo			
Identity			
Idolatry			
Incarnational Faith			
Junkanoo			
Junkanoo Themes			
Junkanoo’s Attitude to Church			
Libert-Liberation			

Marijuana			
Neocolonialism and North America			
Obeah			
Pentecostal			
Policing-Criminalising			
Power Struggles			
Praise-Worship			
Praxis Oriented Theology			
Prevenient Grace and God's Guiding			
Racism			
Rejection			
Relationship Between Church and Junkanoo			
Religious Imagery in Junkanoo			
Revealing the True Self			
Revival-Renewal			
Roman Catholic			
Scrap Groups			
Secrecy and Suspicion			
Sex			
Significance of Junkanoo for Church			
Sin			
Subconscious-Symbolic Relationship			
The Church			
The Church's Attitude to Junkanoo			
The Clergy			
The Family Islands			
The Future of the Junkanoo/Church Relationship			
The Shack			
The Significance of the Church for Junkanoo			
Transformation and Wholeness			
Youth-Young People			
Rushin'			

APPENDIX O: EXAMPLE OF NVIVO MEMO: “Sin as Defined by Dichotomous Thinking”, 24th August 2014

I'm in the midst of coding Canon Sand's interview. He highlighted the need to be clear about why Junkanoo in the bahamas came into the public sphere. Slaves in essence were protesting plantation life in the colony precisely because of their Christian faith, which was to be distinguished from that of their masters. The kind of COLONIAL Faith they protested came in the form of an economic system which kept them poor. It was predicated upon a rigid, dichotomous system, something that slaves did not know ancestrally.

What they did know was a holistic way of life, one without sacred/secular divide. while the colonial way kept them in Bondage, a definition of sin, their ancestral religiosity fought to undo such bondage precisely because of its non-dichotomous approach to life and biblical/theological hermeneutics.

Sin, which for the slave was a concrete, sociopolitical reality (see James Cone!), was to be combatted with a different kind of hermeneutics, one which equally came to concrete sociopolitical manifestation.

Junkanoo then, has the capacity to inspire a hermeneutic of embrace, one which sees a different way of thinking, grounded in the absence of a sacred/secular religious imagination.

APPENDIX P: TABULAR SUMMARY AND EXPANDED CODING FOR ‘SELF-NEGATION’ AND ‘OVERCOMING’

Expanded Coding for Self-Negation

Self-Negation	Dichotomy	A and B Group Distinctions
		Bahamas vs North America
		Nassau-Family Island Distinction
		Church-Junkanoo Distinctions – Holy vs. Vulgar
		Sacred-Secular Dichotomy
		Over-the-Hill vs. City
		Shack-Church Distinction
		Scrap-Group vs. Major Groups
		Church using but not incorporating Junkanoo
	Ambivalence, Tension and Dissonance	Discomfort from Church-African Culture Integration
		Amnesia over Achievements
		Bipolar cultural heritage
		Pervasive Identity Tension
		False Self-Consciousness
		Religious Schizophrenia
		Religious Identity Confusion
		Low Awareness, Analysis
	Cultural Circumcision	
	Colonial Chains	Colonial Bias across Bahamian society/Colonial leadership
		Rejection of Junkanoo
		Hierarchical Structuring of Identity
		Ambivalent Attitude to Culture
		Passivity and Dependence
		Class-Ridden Society and Bureaucracy
		Indigenization as Failure
		Churches in Seat of Power
		Churches as Agents of Colonization
	Boundary Dynamic	Crowd-Group Interplay
		Order-Disorder Interplay
		Experiencing Junkanoo as too powerful – Its Dangerous
		Fear of Church Rules barring Junkanoo involvement
		The Smithsonian 1994 – Sacred Secular Dichotomy

		Racism
		Secrecy and Suspicion
		Colonialism, Church and Expressivism
	Money-Materialism	Church as Materialistic
		Junkanoo as Goldmine
		Junkanoo as product to be marketed and refined
		Materialism in Junkanoo
		Government and Tourism
		The Truck System
		Economic Corruption of Church and Junkanoo
		Modern Junkanoo in Danger
		Evil as Excess/Need for Moderation
	Neocolonialism and North America	North America as Dangerous
		North American Influence on Church
		North American Culture eclipsing Bahamian indigenous ways
		Pastor Worship
		Quick Cultural Changes
		Modern Junkanoo in Danger
		Fundamentalism
	Policing and Criminalising	Rules and Conventions
		Restricted or Forbidden Participation
		Fear of Church Rules
		Fear of Church Rules
		Censorship of Sexual Expression
		Criminalising of Obeah
	Rejection	No Room for African Elements
		Church using but not Incorporating Junkanoo
Denominational Rejection of Junkanoo – Pentecostals, 7 th Day Adventists, and Brethren		
Rejection of Bahamian Music		
Junkanoo Negating the Spiritual		

Expanded Coding for ‘Overcoming’

Overcoming	Creativity	Growth out of Oppression	Pneumatology As Major Motif
		Creativity with limited resources	
		Transforming Hard times	

		Resourcefulness
		Junkanoo as Creative - Order-Disorder Interplay
	Revival-Renewal	Building community and cooperation
		Evoking and Anamnesis
		Conversion
		St. Paul and Renewal of the Mind
		Junkanoo brings Energy and Vibrancy in Worship
		Transcending and Inclusive Space
	Liberation-Liberty	Junkanoo as Catharsis
		Junkanoo as Resilient
		Junkanoo transcends schizophrenia
		African ways of transcending colonialism
		Bondage-Freedom Motif in Junkanoo
		Junkanoo Parade as transformative
		Rushin' as 'Taking' Bay Street
	Rushin'	Rushin' as Martial
		Rushin' in Church and Rushin' in Junkanoo as synonymous
		Rushin' as Prophetic Resistance
		Rushin', Spirituality and Sexuality – transcending conventions on sexuality
		Rushin' as Pneumatological
Experiencing a		Junkanoo as Ineffable

	High level of Being/Possession	Experience
		Being Caught Up
		Junkanoo as Tapping into the Subconscious/Uncovering the Deep
		Junkanoo as TOO powerful
		Junkanoo achieves transcendence - everytime
		Junkanoo as Obsession
		Junkanoo as Addictive
		Seeing in the Spirit
	Spectator-Participant: Experiencing different degrees of transcendence	
	Celebration	Merriment and Expression as Liberation
		Junkanoo, Eucharist and wholeness
		Junkanoo as Celebration after Overcoming
	Pneumatology	Junkanoo as pneumatological
		Junkanoo and Church sharing the same spirit
		The Holy Spirit
	War-Warrior Motif	Prophetic Resistance
		Resistance to Racism
		Social and Political Commentary
		Junkanoo Challenges Church to be Church
		The drum as coded resistance
Pockets of Resistance in		

		Churches
		Emergence of an Analytical community in Junkanoo
		Atmosphere of Revolution in the Bahamas
	Freedom in Identity/Self-Affirmation	Taking Bay Street as Self-Affirmation
		Experiencing Release of Self
		Freedom to be ones' self
		Salvation as Integration and wholeness
		Need for Integration between Church and Junkanoo
		Junkanoo Wrestles with Identity Tension

APPENDIX Q: LIST OF THEOLOGICAL MOTIFS PRESENT IN THE DATA

Theological Motifs
Celebration
Creativity
Ecumenism
The Prophets
Enculturation
Eucharist-Liturgy
Evangelism
Idolatry
Incarnational Faith
Liberty-Liberation
Pneumatology
Praise-Worship
Prevenient-Grace and God's Guiding
Sin

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