What is the Relationship between Civil Society and the State in Small Island States? An Examination of Social Origins Theory and The Bahamas

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Abstract

The Bahamas has many of the challenges that come with being a small island state. The archipelagic nature of the country brings with it the necessity to duplicate service efforts to accommodate all citizens in the development process; this factor puts a strain on the government’s resources, and the need for civil society to fill the gaps that exist and partner with government is more pronounced. This study is pursued to examine the relationship between civil society and government in small island states such as The Bahamas. To accomplish this, the study reviews six civil society organizations, from three different sectors – health, education and environment. An organization from each sector was chosen, formed either during the colonial period or post-colonial, to examine the nature of the organization’s relationship with government at two different points in time, in an effort to see whether the relationship differs based on the particular non-profit sector (health, education or environment) or time of origin (colonial or post-colonial). This relationship is reviewed through the lens of three variables: the nature of the financial relationship the policy relationship, and structure relationship.

The relationship will be viewed through the lens of social origins theory as developed by Lester Salamon (2002) et. al. The research will be based on data collected using the same instrument applied by Salamon et al in the initial study, but the variables will be applied at the level of an organization, rather than a sector. Data is also drawn from interviews with persons associated with each organization. A review of the type of relationship government has with these civil society groups (and the implications of those relationships on performance) may
provide insight in the way government should seek to foster and manage relationships with such organizations in the future for the growth and development of the country.
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GENERAL AUDIENCE ABSTRACT

The Bahamas has many of the challenges that come with being a small island state. The archipelagic nature of the country brings with it the necessity to duplicate service efforts to accommodate all citizens in the development process; this factor puts a strain on the government’s resources, and the need for civil society to fill the gaps that exist and partner with government is more pronounced. This study is pursued to examine the relationship between civil society and government in small island states such as The Bahamas. To accomplish this, the study reviews six civil society organizations, from three different sectors – health, education and environment. An organization from each sector was chosen, formed either during the colonial period or post-colonial, to examine the nature of the organization’s relationship with government at two different points in time, in an effort to see whether the relationship differs based on the particular non-profit sector (health, education or environment) or time of origin (colonial or post-colonial). This relationship is reviewed through the lens of three variables: the nature of the financial relationship the policy relationship, and structure relationship. The relationship is discussed through the lens of social origins theory that has a key thrust that the shape and size of the civil society sector can be predicted when examining the social class and power relationships seen in the society. Most of the studies done in the past have been on larger countries and this exploratory examination of civil society in a small state confronted with vulnerabilities provides insight on how government can foster relationships with civil society.
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This statement of gratitude is the result of a process that I embarked upon more than a decade ago.

The process itself has been one of learning, about Civil Society and about me and my collaboration and association with others who have been on this journey with me, whether it was for a short period or for the entire process.

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

What is the relationship between Civil Society and the State in Small Island States? An examination of Social Origins Theory and The Bahamas

The purpose of this study is to describe the relationship between civil society and the government in small island states like The Bahamas. This description will be viewed through the lens of social origins theory.

The Bahamas, as a small island developing state, is affected by its geographic placement fifty miles off the coast of Florida and approximately thirty miles from Cuba and the rest of the Caribbean, affecting the way the state relates to its neighbors and the internal process of developing. This proximity also influences the social dynamics and power relationships within the country. As an island with a small population, little is known about the civil society, its development or its relationship with government. An exploration of this relationship through the lens of social origins theory can give insight on how civil society develops from this micro perspective.

The relationship between civil society and government has long been a focus of the literature (Tocqueville and Reeve 1899; Paine and Calder-Marshall 1970; Hegel, Wood et al. 1991; Hyden 1997; Salamon and Anheier 1998). The research and theoretical development of the social origins of civil society literature has contributed significantly to our understanding of this relationship at a macro level in larger states, with a broad focus on social, political, and economic relationships (Salamon and Anheier 1998). Social origins theory also looks at origins (social and institutional forces) at a point or period of time. The key thrust of social origins theory is that the shape and size of the civil society sector can be predicted when examining the
social class and power relationships seen in the society. Most of the studies done in the past have focused on countries with populations over five million and the relationship between the state and civil society in small states has not been explored. This dissertation will attempt to address the relationship of social origins to the development of civil society and the relationship to government by examining six organizations in the small island state of The Bahamas, each established at varied points in time. The selection of the organizations represents a distinct set of social circumstances in The Bahamas, established either during colonial government or since independence, and the establishment of an organization participating in one of three sectors in civil society as a means to differentiate more finely the role of social origins and the relationship of selected organizations to the government.

As a former colony of Great Britain, The Bahamas is influenced in its social and political structure by the ties it has to the Commonwealth of Nations. What is unknown is (a) whether this aspect of the country’s history has affected the relationship that civil society organizations formed during colonial times have with the state, and (b) whether the relationship is different for those organizations that were formed since the independence of The Bahamas in 1973. Independence represents a power shift not only from the rule of Great Britain to sovereignty but also a political power shift from the elite to the masses

We know that the social origins matter in the development of civil society. We know that societies and governments are not static in their development. We recognize that we cannot make generalizations based on six organizations. This study will enhance the literature by providing insight through a micro focus on a few organizations to the social origins of civil society in small island states at varied points in its historical development by looking at the relationship through the lens of the financial, policy and structural functions of the organizations.
Definitions

Civil Society

The term “civil society” in its English translation is taken from the German *bürgerliche Gesellschaft*, a term associated with both the ‘bourgeois’ and the ‘civil’. This description itself gives insight to the varied views of the origins of civil society (Smith 1995). From the Latin origins, the term “civil society” is taken from *civitas* which refers to the relation of citizens. Civil society from these descriptions has the ambiguity of being from the elite or from the people; these differences are echoed in the writings of Hegel, Marx, de Toqueville, Locke, and Paine.

The study will use the definition employed in the seminal research done by Lester Salamon on civil society (Salamon and Sokolowski 1999) in an effort to expand on the existing body of knowledge developed in his research. This definition has also been adopted by the United Nations and employed globally in the measurement of civil society (United Nations, 2003). Civil society organizations are viewed as institutions that are organized, private, non-profit distributing, self-governing, and voluntary. Civil Society includes the many forms of community and association that are scattered through democratic cultures (Elshtain 1997). This study will use the definition developed by Salamon and will examine the relationship between the organization and government based on this definition.

Small Island Developing States (SIDS)

The conventional analysis of small-island characteristics (for example, remoteness and insularity) as ‘constraint criteria’ has been supplanted by the emergence of “vulnerability criteria” in contemporary research on SIDS (Turvey 2007). The constraints of small island states include their size, limited natural resources, and lack of economic wealth, technology and
information skills, and their dependence on off-island assistance. Small states are defined by the Commonwealth Secretariat as those states with populations of less than 1.5 million. Their size, dependence on others and lack of resources were initially seen as the main constraints to development.

Vulnerability

Vulnerability is a multidimensional term that implies a potential for loss from exposure to causal factors such as biophysical, socio-economic (including a concentration of exports on limited ranges of products and markets), political and ecological fragility, including a proneness to natural disasters (UNCTAD 2004; Cutter 1996; Turner, Subak et al. 1996; Cutter, Boruff et al. 2003).

Most persons when thinking about The Bahamas often picture beautiful beaches, vacations and relaxation, and truly it is a place for that; but within the beauty of this place where millions of people visit annually, there is the reality of living for under 500,000 residents who experience the environmental and economic vulnerability of living in ‘paradise’. They have formed over two hundred associations, dozens of community groups, over four hundred churches, more than a dozen unions and other forms of organizations to address the challenges and opportunities that these vulnerabilities bring. The aquamarine waters, temperate climate and proximity to North America are geographical strengths that provide many opportunities for development. The proximity to North America and the low-lying archipelagic nature of the limestone-based islands also pose a fair degree of challenges and threats, and the level of civil society engagement in identifying and ameliorating these challenges is unknown.

The Bahamas is rated as the most vulnerable of Small Island Developing States (SIDS) in terms of fresh-water scarcity. The combination of low elevation of the Bahama islands,
development structure and coastline population place it among the top ten countries in the world that will be affected by climate change. A sea-level rise of one metre and one-half would eliminate 80% of the country’s land mass. (State of the Nation Report, 2016)

To understand the nature of vulnerability for these islands, consider an address to the diplomatic community in October 2016, by former Prime Minister Christie. With reference to Hurricane Matthew, he stated:

This is not the first hurricane to visit our shores, and it will not be the last. Until we address with utmost seriousness and sincerity what is going on with our climate the increasing severity of these storms will have a devastating effect on island states. The fact is that we can no longer question whether climate change is valid or not. Weather events – hurricanes, droughts, floods, storms and other environmental threats – are increasing in frequency and intensity, and they have become the “new normal”. These events take a massive human toll and roll back years of development. (Christie, Oct. 2016)

Prime Minister Christie’s statement sheds light on the struggles that small states face as a result of climate change and the reality of challenges faced by governments in sustaining development in light of natural disasters. The gravity of his statement was seen a year later when the next Prime Minister, Hubert A. Minnis, gave an order to evacuate the southern islands with the threat of Hurricane Irma. This was the first known evacuation of islands in The Bahamas. Hurricane Irma left in its wake much damage, including the total devastation of Ragged Island, a southeastern island where there was no structure left untouched by the hurricane. The island remains devastated and the way forward in restoring it to a habitable state will undoubtedly rest in the partnering of government with civil society (Russell, K.2017, Sept 13).

Christie’s 2016 speech continued by illuminating the economic vulnerability faced by small countries like The Bahamas:

For small countries like The Bahamas the road to sustainable development is a challenge and we must partner with others for security and prosperity. It is in this context I refer to the unfair use of per capita GDP as a measure of economic
growth, capacity and prosperity. The per capita GDP of The Bahamas ranks amongst the highest in the world, and the use of this determinant prohibits The Bahamas and similar small countries from accessing much needed development assistance or concessional loans. It is an extremely misleading measurement that does not show the risks that we face as small nations, nor does it show our vulnerability both to economic and environmental shocks. We have advocated and will continue to press for a change in the use of this measurement and to develop one that takes into account that “small island developing States remain a special case for sustainable development in view of their small size, remoteness, narrow resource and export base, and exposure to global environmental challenges”. (Christie, 2016, Oct. Address to the Diplomatic Community)

While PM Christie’s statement addresses the economic vulnerability faced by the country due to outside forces, there is undoubtedly a level of vulnerability that comes from the high levels of youth unemployment (30%), with a high number of these youth not completing high school (estimates of the graduation rate in recent years show figures around 51%). This type of vulnerability highlights the social challenges that consequently follow the lack of productivity, that describes not only unemployment but the employability of the youth (State of the Nation, 2016: p.25). The archipelagic nature of the country also makes the country susceptible to the trafficking of illegal drugs, weapons and people, and the ensuing social ills that follow such activities. The vulnerability of the country to economic and environmental fluctuations requires innovative tools and relationships to navigate these perils and pursue sustainable development.

Toward Development

The role of civil society in small island states is important for Public Administrators who are often faced with the challenge of limited human and financial resources and the challenge of a changing political, economic, technical, and cultural environment. These challenges are amplified when the country is relatively small in terms of its size, population, and economy. Many small island states employ various policy initiatives in order to achieve development goals. Included in these initiatives is a conscientious effort to include civil society
(through consultation, collaboration and participation) in the governance of society to maximize the public value. Understanding the social origins of civil society organizations could inform us of optimal conditions for their establishment and development. Understanding the relationship that these organizations have with government could inform us of the best ways that these small island states might utilize their human resources toward developmental ends to truly become, as Salamon suggests, ‘partners in public service’.

This research seeks to address the questions:

I. Does the relationship between six different organizations, established at different points in the history of The Bahamas, and government vary depending upon the time period in which an organization was established (the social origins of the organization)?

II. Does the relationship between government and civil society organizations vary based on the sector of civil society organization involved?

An examination of the relationship between government and civil society will begin with the literature that exists on small island developing states and the challenges that they face, and the foundations of civil society and the non-profit sector and the role they both play in development. To have a better understanding of the context of the relationship, I will take a brief look at the history of The Bahamas and the significant aspects of its colonial past, as well as the current social, political and economic environment within which civil society operates. This examination will be done to see if the geographic nature of the country and the power relations and social classes that develop there affect the development of civil society. The methodology for collecting and retrieving of data will be discussed, as well as the strategies used and the rationale for variables reviewed. This will be followed by a description of the findings and an
analysis and discussion of the same. Finally, with respect to the importance of the relationship between civil society and government, and in light of the findings, recommendations will be made regarding ways in which the relationship should be fostered between civil society and the state going forward.
CHAPTER 2

Literature Review

The literature review seeks explore the literature found in academic research in an effort to provide understanding of the research previously done on civil society and its relationship with government. The review will point out areas where there is agreement and criticism of the ideology that governs civil society and its relationship with the state. The hope is to provide a context for the study that is being pursued, as well as demonstrate the ways this study could possibly fill gaps that exist in the academic discourse.

The Bahamas is a developing nation, a small island archipelagic state, and a former colony of Great Britain. Is the relationship between the government of this country and civil society different from the relationship shared between other governments and their civil society? Do any of these marked characteristics that define the geological and political aspect of the country affect the relationship between government and civil society?

In the review of the literature, we must gain a perspective of how the geographical context of islands shapes their development and the relationships within them and how the political context affects the relationship with government. A part of the discussion of the literature will focus on how we are informed theoretically about civil society at a macro level, looking at theorists such as Hegel, Locke, Paine and de Tocqueville and their views regarding civil society and its relationship with the state. We will then see how social origins theory came about after an examination of broad theories such as heterogeneity theory and welfare theory. The review of the relationship between the state and civil society will consider the vulnerability of small island states like The Bahamas and the role of civil society in the development of these small states. This discussion will also include an examination of the importance of context and
time in the formation of civil society organizations, as well as the importance of the varying sectors when one discusses a relationship with government.

**Islands – Small Island Developing States (SIDS)**

“Islands…absolute entities…territories, territorial; relational spaces – archipelagos, (inter)dependent, identifiable; relative spaces – bounded but porous; isolated, connected, colonized, postcolonial; redolent of the performative imaginary; vulnerable to linguistic, cultural, environmental change; robust and able to absorb and modify; utopian and dystopian, tourist meccas, ecological refugia” (Stratford 2003, 495). This quote sums up the paradoxical nature of islands. Illustrating the dynamic nature of their existence and the ever-changing and diverse context in which they exist. Strafford posits that islands can be considered in any or all of these descriptions and this, in and of itself, demonstrates the difficulty in categorizing islands. It also speaks to the challenge of examining relationships within this sphere. Baldacchino (2007) remarks on the unique nature of these geographical spaces that come with varied social, political and cultural contexts that, though insular, are being affected by the forces of globalization and religion. These descriptions recognize the challenges that the geography, political context and culture have on the evolution of islands and island life.

The conventional analysis of small-island characteristics (for example, remoteness and insularity) as ‘constraint criteria’ has been supplanted by the emergence of vulnerability criteria in contemporary research on SIDS (Turvey 2007). Vulnerability is a multidimensional term that implies a potential for loss from exposure to causal factors such as biophysical, socio-economic including a concentration of exports on limited ranges of products and markets, political and ecological fragility, including a proneness to natural disasters (UNCTAD 2004; Cutter 1996; Turner, Subak et al. 1996; Cutter, Boruff et al. 2003). Vulnerability refers to the volatility in the
rate of growth in the economy, as well as the susceptibility to natural disasters and environmental changes. The economic and environmental vulnerabilities are also compounded by social vulnerability. Social vulnerability refers to factors that affect the social fabric of society at the household level such as the access to potable water, access to quality education, access to quality food and, reduced incentive to engage in unproductive and antisocial behaviour (Barrientos, 2004). International organizations therefore focus efforts in small island states in areas that strengthen institutional capacity, reduce vulnerability and help the economy adjust in a globalized environment (Briguglio et al. 2006).

In an article discussing civil society priorities for sustainable development in the Caribbean, Leotaud and Cadiz (2013) discuss the need for building the capacity of civil society and government to address the environmental concerns of the region. The authors contend that civil society in the region “often lacks the capacity to effectively communicate their needs, issues, lessons learned and best practices. They also may not know how to use information effectively for policy advocacy. They do not always have effective relationships (partnerships) with government agencies and other key decision-makers” (Page 72) The challenges with capacity are not one-sided in their discussion; they also note that the state’s operations in a top-down decision-making culture does not permit the participatory process that is needed to promote a relationship with civil society that will be effective in establishing a course for sustainable development. An examination of the relationship between civil society and the state in The Bahamas will give us insight on the relationship from a micro (organization level) perspective.

Small states are defined by the Commonwealth Secretariat as those states with populations of less than 1.5 million. Their size, dependence on others and lack of resources were
initially seen as the main constraints to development. Using this definition, there are, according to Commonwealth Secretariat and World Bank, 49 small states, with 32 of these being islands. These islands are principally located in the Caribbean and Pacific regions. The United Nations, in response to the recognized challenges of small island states, has included in the structure of its Secretariat a High Representative for SIDS (Commonwealth Secretariat, Champion of Small States - Report, 2014).

The size of SIDS has limitations with regard to governance. Atchoarêna, Da Graça & Marquez (2008) in their review of education in Cape Verde discussed how the small size of SIDS negatively affects the capacity of the public sector. Cape Verde, like The Bahamas, is an archipelago and similarly considered a small island developing state. In the authors’ examination of post-primary education in Cape Verde, they concluded that the state does not have the capacity to provide post primary education, with 90% of the investment budget for education coming from external sources. These challenges exacerbate other issues in Cape Verde with regard to development sustainability. Does the incapacity of the public sector provide greater spaces for civil society to exist? In our examination of the relationship between the state and civil society in The Bahamas we can review the relationship between the state and civil society in the education sector and whether it is through these organizations that capacity to educate is built.

**Civil Society and Development**

The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), Human Development Report (2003) regarded the work of civil society as essential to the development of less developed countries and the attainment of the Millennium Development Goals. The importance of civil society organizations (CSOs), as identified by the UNDP, include the provision of basic
education, health care, access to clean water, and advocating rights. Francis Fukuyama in his article, “Social capital, civil society and development” (2001), notes that two sources promote civil society: religion and globalization. The article reviews the measurement of social capital and civil society. It acknowledges that both religion and globalization play a role in the development of social capital, which, from his deduction, can be measured by examining the size of civil society. The relationship between civil society and social capital also correlates to the interpretation of religious norms. Social capital as a by-product of religion and culture is based on the values of the civil society group. Fukuyama suggests that the growth of civil society and by extension the evolving of social capital can affect developing countries, depending on how religious ideas are adopted or the extent that there is a net change in the ideas and culture of traditional communities due to the practices of religion or the cultivation of these ideas into the developing country. Christianity, which is the main religion in The Bahamas, has affected the development of civil society and its growth in The Bahamas. An examination of civil society and the relationship that it has with the state can tell us more about the extent of the influence of religion on civil society in various sectors. The development of organizations as ministries of churches and the influence of churches in civil society organizations (Bethel, 2011) (Bethel/Newry 2008).

Challenges exist in comparing civil society in different countries due to the varied social, political and cultural contexts that exist in each state. The unique features make a common framework for reviewing civil society difficult to construct. (Malena and Heinrich, 2007). In 2016, *Voluntas*, a leading academic journal in third-sector studies, published a series of articles that focused on Latin America and the Caribbean. The countries featured in the various studies – Argentina, Colombia, Mexico, Peru and Brazil--are all Latin American, former colonies of Spain
or Portugal, with populations that were much larger than 1.5 million. While the context of these countries is different from the British colonial background of most Caribbean Islands like The Bahamas, the literature gives some insight into the issues of development to which civil society has made contributions. Three research areas discussed include vulnerability, human rights and empowerment.

In a comparison of the regions of Oceania and the Caribbean, both regions share the characteristic of being composed of former colonies (mainly Great Britain), small island developing states and some archipelagos. In a discussion of development and construction of both regions, there is an acknowledgement of the role civil society has played in pushing the cooperative process toward development (Rolfe, 2007), but there is little written about the relationship that civil society has with government, generally or specifically, toward the development of the respective countries.

Little is written about civil society in developing countries like The Bahamas and the relationship that civil society has with the state in The Bahamas has not been examined. A review of the role that civil society plays in development would provide clarity when considering the type of relationship civil society has and could have with the state.

Colonial Heritage and Relationship

The Bahamas is a former colony of Great Britain. While many studies of civil society include the United Kingdom, civil society in The Bahamas has been the focus of little academic research. How has the historical relationship with the UK impacted the way civil society has developed in small island states? Some scholars have noted that countries that were once territories of Great Britain have done well on socio-political indices (Dahl and Tufte 1973; Payne 1995; Griffith and Sedoc-Dahlberg 1997; Ott 2000; Srebrnik 2004). How does this translate to
the development of civil society? It has been observed that most of the Commonwealth small island states have sustained a “credible civil society” (Burkhart 1997). Burkhart suggests that countries that identify mainly with Protestant values are more likely to be democratic and the development of countries with a British heritage have measured high in development and democracy indices. This is considered the last legacy of the British Empire to democratization (Huntington 1991). Salamon and Anheier (1996) contend that the origins of civil society organizations determine the relationship that they have with the state. In *Explaining Civil Society*, 2017, Salamon et. al elaborate on the influence the British, Spanish and Dutch have had as colonizers on the development of civil society in various countries. We do not know how a colonial British heritage has influenced the relationship between the state and civil society in The Bahamas.

Lange, Mahoney & vom Hau (2006) in their comparison of Spanish and British colonies, also made note of the positive nature of development in British colonies possibly due to the sparse population of most areas occupied by Great Britain. However, the use of ‘divide and conquer’ with the use of ethnicity and race to secure power relations was seen in many of the institutions that existed or were established in these colonies (Mahoney, 2010). The Bahamas is a former territory of Great Britain and socio cultural institutions established during colonial times play a role in development. What effect did colonization have on civil society in The Bahamas? Were civil society institutions indicative of similar practices of separation in state institutions? Are ethnicity and race factors in the relationship that civil society institutions have/had with government?

There is, however, little empirical information regarding the scale of civil society in small states, and little is documented about the development of civil society organizations and their
relationship with government or their role in these countries. Indeed, the research regarding, and
attention paid to the unique challenges and vulnerability assessment of small island developing
states does not consider the contribution of the non-profit sector/civil society.

Within the description of the Commonwealth Secretariat, there is reference made to the
significance of civil society to the membership of that organization:

The modern Commonwealth is a family with members in every continent and their
association is as much a Commonwealth of peoples as of nations; it is a network
not only of governments but also of individuals, non-governmental organisations
and civil society groups. (Commonwealth Secretariat, 2001: 1)

Shaw (2003) explores civil society in Commonwealth states’ role in governance and global
development. He views the relationship between the state and civil society as one that triangulates
with the market towards governance. He sees the role of civil society as being greater as he
observes the state is shrinking in its governance role and that of the market is expanding. The role
of civil society in governance in The Bahamas will be reviewed with a view to seeing how this
role is shared with the state.

In a book that looks at the civil society in British history, the author José Harris compiles
several articles that examine the evolving perception of civil society historically in Great Britain.
The book’s focus on the ideas, identities and institutions associated with civil society is an
indication of the amount of information one may find on civil society, its relationship with
government and its role in Australia as a colony. This, along with the more recent works on the
civil society by Salamon and Sokolowski review non-profits and incorporate the idea of the social
economy in these larger countries providing another lens for reviewing the relationship with
government.

Osaghae (2006), in his examination of the relationship between colonialism and civil
society in Africa, sees modern civil society as a ‘product’ of colonialism. The extensive history of
the African continent prior to colonization indicates a possibility of practices of association being in place prior to colonization that would affect the formation and development of civil society. The post-colonial state-civil society relationship in Africa is described as ‘fractured’, ‘instrumentalist’ and ‘dialectical’. Little is known of the social history of Bahamas prior to colonization. The indigenous Lucayan people had left prior to the islands being colonized. By 1515, they were no longer inhabitants of the land. While Sir Robert Heath was given papers to act as Lord Proprietor in 1629, he did nothing with the islands. Colonization effectively took place with the arrival of the Eleutheran Adventurers in 1648. Therefore, the creation of the modern society is historically connected to the 1648 settlement. Civil society is a direct product of colonization in The Bahamas.

While Salamon looks at many countries and the relationship between civil society and government there, none have populations less than 5 million. The omission of small states is more often a function of the lack of resources and access to information than it is a lack of interest (Salamon and Anheier 1997). Salamon’s use of official economic statistics, data assembled by umbrella groups, population surveys that focused on giving and volunteering and a specialized survey to examine the relationship between the non-profit sector and government provides a tool for a macro-perspective of the relationship (Salamon et al, 1999). Thomson et al (2009) in their article that examines the measurement of collaboration provides a guide for variables to be used for examining relationships at a micro level. In their work they define collaboration as follows: “Collaboration is a process in which autonomous or semi-autonomous actors interact through formal and informal negotiation, jointly creating rules and structures governing their relationships and ways to act or decide on the issues that brought them together; it is a process involving shared norms and mutually beneficial interactions.” (page 25)
These variables for measuring relationship include governance and administration, mutuality and norms with reference to the issue that brings the organizations together and the organizational autonomy of the entities involved in the relationship. This literature demonstrates that measurement of relationship is multidimensional and builds on previous empirically tested studies done to measure relationships. While it is not the intention of this study to measure the relationship between civil society and the state, it is helpful to use some of the same terminology as descriptors in conceptually presenting the relationship between civil society and the state particularly as it relates to collaborative ventures that may exist.

**Foundations of Civil Society**

Within the current academic discourse, civil society has been explored by various scholars. The primary discussants of civil society have viewed it with differing emphases on the importance of sociology and economics to the foundation of civil society, as well as with differing views on its relationship to the State—the primary focus of this study will be on the relationship with the state.

The relationship between the state and civil society has been the focus of various scholars over the years. Many of the scholars had different perspectives on the different dimensions of the relationship between civil society and the state. The exploration of the relationship between the state and civil society in small states such as The Bahamas will add to the literature by bringing empirical evidence as a basis for the description of civil society and its social origins in small states. The literature will also be enhanced by the construction of a historic timeline of the development of civil society in The Bahamas throughout colonial and post-colonial times.

The focus of the early academic discourse concerning civil society was based on the importance of civil society and the extent to which it has or should have a relationship with the
state. The scholars viewed the relationship between civil society and the state around four quadrants. These quadrants were based on whether the relationship between the state and civil society should be linked or separate and whether civil society was resultant of private and economic interests or purely associational life. The key parts of the discussion are summarized in the work of Goran Hyden (1997). Modern scholars have looked at civil society and its development, and the role that civil society has in the development process. Civil society has become a buzz word in development organizations as it is seen to be important in the development of countries. The social, cultural and political contexts of civil societies around the world suggest the challenges that would be present when trying to compare findings from one country to another. Social origins theory provides a means by which the relationship between the state and civil society may be viewed through a multidimensional lens and discussed by use of these same factors.

**Paine, de Tocqueville, Locke, and Hegel**

Hyden (1997) traced the development of civil society to European scholars who developed different perspectives of it, each with a master advocate. The ‘founding fathers’ of civil society identified by Hyden are Thomas Paine, Alexis de Tocqueville, John Locke and Georg Hegel, and they all advocate different positions.

The varying perspectives of civil society with differing degrees of emphases are divided into four schools that dominate literature and have resulted in a plethora of definitions for civil society. These schools are the Post-Marxist School, the Regime School, the Neo-Liberal School and the Associational School.

The definitions from Tocqueville’s position stress active associations that are autonomous from economic and government forces:
The more government takes the place of associations, the more individuals will lose the idea of forming associations and need the government to come to their help. That is a vicious circle of cause and effect… The morals and intelligence of a democratic people would be in as much danger as its commerce and industry if ever a government wholly usurped the place of private associations. Feelings and ideas are renewed, the heart enlarged, and the understanding developed only by the reciprocal action of men one upon another. . . . If men are to remain civilized or to become civilized, the art of association must develop and improve among them at the same speed as equality of conditions spreads (Tocqueville and Reeve 1899).

From a social origin perspective one can discuss the relationship between government and civil society in terms of the level of government social welfare spending. Where government involvement in providing social goods is high, there is likely to be a socially democratic or corporatist form of government. Tocqueville’s position is that government’s increased involvement in the social welfare of its people will lead to a dependency on government and a decreased level of civic involvement. If there is a realization that a strong civil society is desired, then, from de Tocqueville’s view there is need for men to associate. Fukuyama (2001), in a discussion of social capital, civil society and development and analysis of Tocqueville, saw civil society as protecting the people by balancing the state’s power.

In the Hegelian view, civil society is seen as caught between the family and state with civil society being representative of the bourgeois society (Neocleous 1995). Hegel portrays the capitalist nature of civil society as being an aspect that those scholars should be aware of, whether or not they subscribe to such conceptions. Neocleous (1995) argues that, within Hegel’s concept of civil society, there is no room for the working class. Hegel’s view is seen as one whereby there is presupposition of the individual being educated toward a universal ethical life that socializes him to become a being that considers the whole as opposed to individual self-interest. The economic and moral free-will of the individual gives rise to an interest that supports the views of others in society, and civil society associations getting their start.
Hegel’s view is seen in Marxist philosophy in his development of the idea of civil society. Within this view, there is an expression of civil society being a form of governance by elites. This discussion is akin to the description of the corporatist model description espoused by Esping-Anderson (1990).

For Hegel, (Hegel, Wood et al. 1991), the state and civil society are structurally linked. He sees civil society as the product of historical processes that cannot be viewed in isolation of economic forces (Hegel, Wood et al. 1991). Civil society includes every facet of life except the government; serving as a ‘repository of public freedom while the state remained the final source of moral authority.’ Civil society is not seen by him in isolation of economic forces (Hyden 1997).

The family is seen by Hegel as the first ethical root of the state, while the corporation, based in civil society is the second. Within this context, the state is seen as politically ordering and publicly regulating civil society, and actively shapes it according to its necessary ends (Neocleous 1996). Hegel’s view is also an argument for the embeddedness of civil society that is discussed by Seibel.

Thomas Paine shared the political economic perspective of Hegel (civil society as involving private economic interests) but had an anti-statist view of the role of civil society, seeing it as separate from the state a position shared by Alexis de Tocqueville. (Hyden 1997, p. 6)

Locke, like Hegel, sees a link between civil society and the state, but sees the role of civil society as protecting citizens from an overbearing state – a view shared by de Tocqueville (Hyden, 1997, p. 7). These views are similar to the social democratic and liberal classification of social origins theory.
Alexis de Tocqueville also discusses the importance of associations in civil life and shows a variation in the manner in which public interest is addressed, hinting at the importance of political context in the establishment of civil life. In chapter five of Democracy in America, de Tocqueville notes that associations are made for thousands of interests…” Wherever at the head of some new undertaking, you see the government in France, or a man of rank in England, in The United States you will be sure to find an association”. (1840, Democracy in America, p.581)

The following diagram, Figure 1, developed by Goran Hyden, illustrates the various perspectives of the ‘founding fathers’ regarding civil society’s relationship to the state and the economy as stated above.

**Figure 2.1**

**Different Perspectives on Civil Society**

![Diagram showing different perspectives on civil society](image)
We can see how the various scholars viewed the role of civil society and the concept of individuality and the state. Hegel and Locke supported a view of the state being linked to civil society, whereas Paine and Tocqueville advocate civil society separate from the confines of the state.

The scholars’ work can also be viewed in terms of the individual’s thrust in the formation of civil society. From the standpoint of Tocqueville and Locke, civil society is resultant of individual interests of citizens and their association with each other to present their interest. Whereas Hegel and Paine see civil society from the perspective of private economic interests, with Hegel viewing the involvement of the state as a means for the bourgeois to benefit from the relationship at the expense of the people.

Building on these ideas, modern scholars see civil society with the same diversity: Scholte (2002) views civil society as a “political space where voluntary associations explicitly seek to shape the rules that govern social life” (p. 283). His view of organizations that operate on behalf of the people as a voice to the state opposes Gramsci’s view of civil society being an elitist extension of the state that is used to maintain power over the people (Gramsci, 1971).

Weisbrod (1975) sees the formation of civil society in providing public goods and services that are underprovided by government. Weisbrod’s work is considered as foundational to understanding the economic relationship between nonprofit organizations and government as it sees the non-profit sector as a response to the diversity in a society, filling a space for the provision of public goods and services when government is seeking to address the needs of the majority or “median voter”. Heterogeneity theory posits that the more heterogeneous a society is the more preferences that exist, and more non-profit organizations form to meet these diverse needs. This theory that is based on civil society’s formation due to government and market
failure to produce goods and services implies that government support for such services is reduced. The Bahamas, an archipelagic country diversity, what aspects of the relationship between civil society and the state can be explained by this? This theory also leads to a discussion of whether government support inhibits philanthropy and the growth of civil society, this aspect of the relationship between the state and civil society in The Bahamas will also be viewed.

A discussion of the relationship between civil society and the state acknowledges the networking that occurs between organizations and implies a level of collaboration. Thomson et al (2009), measure collaboration using governance, administration, mutuality, norms and organizational autonomy. These variables are examined to measure collaboration, recognizing that collaboration occurs when organizations are pursuing similar purposes, the collaborating entities being autonomous, making decisions from in the best interest of each participant toward the goal. In a description of the relationship between civil society and government in The Bahamas these variables will be used.

The relationship between civil society and the state has been viewed as changing over time. Scholars such as Swyngedow (2005) and Mitchell (2002) note that the boundaries between society and the state have changed in different historical periods and with various social formations. The rise in neo-liberalism has made civil society secondary to the market economy in relation to the state. Small states like The Bahamas are also affected by neoliberalism.

Salamon et al (2017) in refinement of social origins theory posit that civil society, its size and shape, can be predicted by looking at the social classes in the society as well as the power influences. The book continues an examination and explanation of the government’s relationship with civil society, noting differences in the size, revenue source and shape of civil society in the
comparison of different countries. Salamon’s empirical data shows that there is a strong correlation between the growth of civil society and government involvement. A description of the relationship between government and civil society in The Bahamas will give a perspective on this relationship.

How are the boundaries between state and civil society affected over time in The Bahamas? What description would we give the relationship between government and civil society in The Bahamas? By looking at post-colonial civil society in The Bahamas, we can see whether the same description is shared with civil society prior to independence for the country. An examination of the type of relationship with government civil society has with government can also be viewed depending on the sector of civil society studied.

**Civil Society and Small Island States**

A review of the literature provides varying descriptions of the relationship between government and civil society and the how the relationship evolves. Though most of the literature is not focused on the state/civil society relationship, we can seek to get an understanding of what these relationships will look like as we try to inform ourselves about the relationship between civil society and the state in The Bahamas.

The description of civil society and the relationship between government and the state in literature in small states like The Bahamas is sparse and varied. In the book Globalization and Governance in the Pacific Islands, Slatter (2006) suggests that civil society has a close working relationship with government in selected sectors, with civil society “subcontracted” to provide services that government would usually provide. Conversely, in an article that looks at the culture of agreements in the Solomon Islands, it speaks of civil society as weak and unable to
capitalize on the need for governance due to an ineffective local government (Foukona & Timmer, 2016). These descriptions of a relationship between the state and civil society gives us reason to wonder what sectors the government works closely with in The Bahamas and whether it is subcontractual, as Slatter (2006) describes for the Pacific Islands, or weak as Foukona and Timmer (2016) suggest.

The literature addressing civil society in the Caribbean region is mixed on the ideology governing the origins of civil society and the extent to which the state relates to civil society in the development process. Heather Nicol (2000), in a paper assessing the Association of Caribbean States (ACS) of which The Bahamas is a member and its move toward sustainable development, notes that the formation of this body came as a direct response to the globalization threats in the Caribbean, particularly economic marginalization. One of the ACS’ mandates includes the achievement of social equity, a strong civil society and sustainable development. Nicol did not see the idea of strengthening civil society as discordant with the neo-liberal agenda that encouraged trade liberalization policies. Liberalized trade, coupled with structural adjustment policies of lending institutions such as the IMF, led to increased unemployment and reduced living standards. Nicol does not elaborate on how civil society can be strengthened in such an economic environment. Civil society is viewed in the Caribbean, from her perspective, as “a heightened role for the private sector in the state” (p. 99). The fiscal austerity measures that accompanied economic restructuring have supported a view by some of civil society being fused with privatization for eastern Caribbean States. Does the same hold true for The Bahamas? Are post-colonial civil society entities predominantly resultant of the privatization of state services? If so, what role does the state play?
Linden Lewis, in a 2006 article examining development and civil society in the Caribbean, suggests that state re-regulation due to a celebration of capitalism has resulted in a crisis for civil society in the Commonwealth Caribbean. Lewis stresses the view that civil society cannot be viewed in isolation of global economic neoliberal orientation. He posits that the governments of Caribbean countries have historically provided basic welfare services such as education, subsidized housing, and public income maintenance. The promotion of capitalist ideals by civil society, he claims, does not lead to the improvement of the plight of the poor and disenfranchised. Lewis’ assessment of the state of civil society in the Caribbean is a sweeping description and we do not know extent that neoliberalism has affected The Bahamas. Is there an expectation in the postcolonial Bahamas for the state to provide welfare services? We do not know the role civil society plays in provision of welfare services in The Bahamas nor how civil society relates to the state.

The literature on civil society and its relationship to the state is focused on large countries and from a macro perspective provides an idea of what the relationship looks like based on the social origins of civil society. In incidences where we can learn about the relationship between civil society and the state with small island developing states like The Bahamas, the literature is scant and disparate in conclusions regarding the relationship that exists. This study will look at a micro perspective of the relationship between civil society and the state in The Bahamas in order to provide a description of how the relationship has developed and is developing in three different sectors with organizations established at two distinct periods in time to provide descriptive information on the relationship between civil society and the state in The Bahamas.

The literature reviewed indicates the importance of civil society in the development of countries and the gaps that exist in describing civil society in small island states like The
Bahamas. The Bahamas as an archipelago of approximately 700 islands and 2,400 uninhabited islets and cays laying 50 miles off the east coast of Florida to the north east coast of Cuba with only 30 islands inhabited. The archipelagic nature of the country brings with it the necessity to duplicate service efforts to accommodate all citizens in the development process; this factor puts a strain on the government’s resources, and the need for civil society to fill the gaps that exist and partner with government is more pronounced. Moreover, the size of the country and its vulnerability from and environmental perspective as well as to external economic and social forces is a dimension that can be explained by reviewing the power and social class relations as outlined in social origins theory. The historical context, while available has not been placed in the context of reviewing civil society, no literature exists that links civil society in The Bahamas with the relationship it has with government. This study will utilize literature with empirical research to address this aspect of civil society in The Bahamas.

Research on The Bahamas as a small island developing state provides a micro focus on the relationship between civil society and the state; this research also reviews organizations within the boundaries of time – colonial and post-colonial – to examine how the shift in power relations affected civil society organizations and their relationship with government. Power shifts and regimes have been examined in larger countries and countries that may not have similar characteristics that leave them vulnerable to outside sources. We can see through this aspect of the literature that exists that social origins matter in larger states and to some extent in island states but the dearth of information on its relevance to The Bahamas is absent and this study is seeking to fill some of the gaps that exist.

Civil society organizations are viewed as institutions that are organized, private, non-profit distributing, self-governing, and voluntary. This definition governs the selection of
organizations that were examined to explore the relationship that these organizations have with
government and thereby give insight into the nature of the relationship. Having these
characteristics also begs us to review the level of integration that these organizations may have
with government. For example, organizations are self-governing but may have a government
official on its board with observation privileges but not voting or vetoing rights. One can
therefore examine how this aspect of the relationship between government and the civil society
organization looks in the Bahamas. With three sectors, education, the environment and health,
being explored we can see if there is a difference in the way government relates to each sector.

In order to examine civil society in The Bahamas through the lens of social origins
theory, it is necessary to review the historic timeline with particular attention to the power shifts
and social class relations that affect civil society and its growth. The next chapter provides this
historical framework.
CHAPTER 3

The Bahamas: Historical Primer

This chapter provides a historical background and the social, environmental and economic contexts in which each of the cases studies to be examined originated. This historical description shows the changes in the society, including the social classes and power relationships that resulted in the formation of various civil society organizations.

The Social, Political and Economic Environment

Current

The Bahamas is an archipelagic nation covering 13,939 sq. kilometers (5,382 sq. miles) in land surface but overall with a total territory of some 470,000 sq. kilometers (180,000 sq. miles) it has a population of approximately 350,000 (according to the 2010 census). Of the over 700 islands and 2000 cays and rocks, only 29 major groupings are inhabited. (Department of Statistics, www.bahamas.gov.bs/statistics). The country has operated as a parliamentary democracy since 1729 and received its independence from Great Britain in 1973. There are two major political parties in the country, the Progressive Liberal Party and the Free National Movement, with several smaller parties that contest general elections to a lesser degree. The 2017 election witnessed an 88% voter turnout, (https://www.elections.gov.bs/archives/26770), a 3% drop from the previous election held in 2012.

The Bahamas has numerous ethnic groups, with 85% (approx.) majority of persons being of African descent and a 15% white minority, (the largest white minority grouping in the region). The Constitution guarantees freedom of worship, but the islands are constitutionally based on Christian principles, with a significant majority of the population identifying with the Christian Religion.
English is the official language of the country, with Haitian Creole also being used owing to a large influx of Haitian migrants. Education is compulsory up to age 16 and there is a 95% literacy rate. The workforce consists of approximately 175,000 people, employed in tourism, financial services, and community, social and personal service sectors, with a per capita GDP of approximately $22,217 (World Bank Data, 2014). The Bahamian dollar is pegged to the US dollar at a ratio of 1:1.

**Colonial Period**

The Bahamas was the first landfall of Columbus in 1492, after which the islands’ residents were forcibly removed to Hispaniola and Cuba but the islands were not settled by the Spanish. The islands became a refuge for persons seeking religious freedom who suffered the hardship of the vulnerabilities of island life and most of these original colonizers left. The islands were granted to the Lord Proprietors of the Carolinas in 1670, but the records do not show any semblance of stability in the islands until the islands had Direct Colonial Rule in 1717, and pirates expelled. Following the expulsion of pirates, the House of Assembly was established in 1729 and the country has functioned under an unbroken parliamentary democracy since then (Saunders, 1999).

In 1783, The Bahamas was settled by Loyalists (American colonists who were loyal to the crown). In 1834, the abolition of slavery occurred where 10,000 enslaved were freed by the British Act, only to be apprenticed for another 4 years, gaining full emancipation in 1838. By 1870, as a colony of Great Britain, there was a population of approximately 39,000 with about 9,400 (24%) being under age 18 (Dept of Statistics, 1871 Population Statistics).

As an archipelago southeast of Florida, The Bahamas is affected by the social and economic forces in the United States; the American Civil War was no exception. In 1861, The
Bahamas was in a geographic position to benefit from President Lincoln’s blockade of the southern states and the proclamation of British neutrality, and from 1860 to 1865 the imports and exports increased exponentially, (Stark, 1891, p.196) increasing the revenue in The Bahamas and liquidating the debt (Peters, 1943, p.198). There was also much infrastructural development in Nassau, the capital; wharfs were built, streets were widened and lighting was added.

The relationship between the Confederates and the white merchant Bahamians and opportunistic blockade runners was a strong one, but hardly the case for poor black masses living “over-the-hill”. The white Bahamians, who maintained friendly ties with the South, were sympathetic with the Confederates (Wright, 1915 p.197; Stark, 1891 p.196; Peters, 1943 p.198). The Bahamas was once controlled by the six proprietors of the Carolinas and many of the ties from that relationship remained. During the Civil War, the population of The Bahamas included whites and blacks, a substantial free mulatto mixed class, and freed slaves or descendants of slaves. Some historians saw an ambiguous color line in The Bahamas, whereby light-skinned blacks who could pass for white were generally accepted by the elite whites (Powles, 1888, p.200). A colored and a black middle class had emerged prior to 1834 but in the latter part of the nineteenth century with industries such as sponging, pineapple, sisal, citrus and tomatoes failing, the blockade provided an opportunity for the Bahamian merchant class (mainly whites) to build fortunes. (Saunders, 2003, p.201). There were some blacks and mulattos who also amassed a degree a wealth and sought the societal accoutrements of their white counterparts. Segregation was based on race and class (Saunders, 1990, p.202). Churches, schools, cooperatives including asus (traditional African lending arrangements), friendly societies such as lodges and Daughters of the Imperial Empire were formed according to economic and racial standing.
The economic boom the blockade running provided was an important impetus for a growing interest in the expansion of education. In 1864, the Education Act Bye-Laws provided for the creation of a Board of Education. The Board was to be granted an annual sum of 3,734 pounds beginning in 1865 (Williams, 1982, p.58).

The economic bounty also produced negative aspects. Young and old developed a taste for alcohol and tobacco and health declined in general as Nassau became overcrowded and yellow fever flourished. Education during this period was challenged by the times of prosperity. There was a 42% absenteeism rate among school children, particularly as children and their parents sought to improve their financial lot (Stark, 1891, p.196).

The hurricane of 1866 destroyed much of the infrastructural gains made in Nassau during the blockade as well as the vessels used for the wrecking and sponging industries (Curry, 2017). This demonstrates the long-term vulnerability of the islands to natural disasters. The population of the town and suburbs of Nassau was estimated between 12,000 and 13,000. The hurricane was so severe that 612 houses were destroyed, 613 houses were damaged; 17 warehouses were destroyed, 18 warehouses were damaged; 13 shops were destroyed, 21 shops were damaged; 632 out buildings were destroyed; 130 out buildings were damaged; 5 churches and chapels were destroyed, and 2 were damaged; one theatre was destroyed; 92 boats were totally destroyed, 97 badly damaged and 43 slightly damaged; and 1034 persons rendered homeless. In spite of the severity of the damage reported,” the applications to the relief committees for food and other eleemosynary assistance have been very few” (Rawson, 1866, p. 12). The estimate for repair of public buildings was £18,900; of places of worship belonging to the Church of England and independent of the colonial government, £2,600, and of those
belonging to the Wesleyans £6,315. (Report on the Bahamas Hurricane of Oct. 1866, with a
description of the City of Nassau. By Sir Rawson W. Rawson)

In 1869, government revenue was in recession, decreasing the amount granted to the
Board of Education, which provided for the salaries, supplies and maintenance of the 38 existing
schools. The 1870 annual report of the Board stated that the “greatest care has been taken in
maintaining the unsectarian character of the schools”. The Inspector of the schools also declared:

We are now reaping the bitter harvest of slavery. The social, moral, and
intellectual condition of many people on the Out-Islands is a disgrace to any
British Colony.

Religious teaching has had a long and fair trial and…has hopelessly failed…
Education now only remains to be tried and to make people avail themselves of its
benefits it will be necessary to use some sort of compulsion. (Williams, 1982,
p.60)

It is with this backdrop that Queen’s College, the oldest private school in The Bahamas,
began in 1890 (Williams, 1982, p. 176). The social environment described indicates the disparity
between two classes. We see a description of the Out Islands where the people and their level of
education is seen as failed and substandard and simultaneously we see a private school being
formed by the Methodist for the merchant class, optically white children as there is a recognition
that public schools are incapable of providing adequate teaching.

Beyond Blockade Running, connections with the United States proved fortuitous for the
mercantile elite who were able to amass wealth once more during Prohibition in the 1920s.
During the interwar years, 1919 to 1939, The Bahamas was being marketed as a destination for
“health and enjoyment” for Europeans and Americans, and this quick form of revenue was
embraced by the colonial administrators. During World War II, The Bahamas was a way-station
for air and sea travel in the Atlantic. There was still much economic stagnation. It wasn’t until
the closing of Cuba in the 1950s that tourism took off as The Bahamas became a core destination for US tourists (Curry, 2017) (Saunders, 2000).

The introduction of tourism brought with it several changes to the society that exacerbated class issues in The Bahamas. Tourism brought with it a wage economy that provided salaries to some and expanded the middle class and working class. Persons moved from the outer Family Islands for employment in this new industry and to take advantage of the entrepreneurship opportunities that tourism brought to the capital. This wave of pioneers came with varying degrees of wealth and formed associations that would provide funding and opportunities for families left behind who later joined them (Saunders, 1990).

Even with the burgeoning tourist industry, there was still need for health care for persons with little means in the country. One aspect of the healthcare that was recognized by a member of the mercantile elite in 1954 was the need for assistance for children crippled by polio and other diseases. With generous support from the community, The Crippled Children’s Committee (now known as the Physically Challenged Children’s Committee) was formed to raise funds for the cause.

Through the mid-1950s, most of the development of hotels and recreational facilities took place in Nassau and persons in the Out Islands flocked to Nassau to avail themselves of these job opportunities. At the same time, the labor force of the islands was being decimated by men subscribing to “The Contract”, a mutually beneficial employment arrangement between South Florida and The Bahamas. The tourism industry was able to provide the mercantile elite with another means of gaining wealth, though most developers were foreign (Saunders, 2003 p.201).

Among these foreign investors was Howard Hughes, who sought to purchase 100 miles of the Exuma chain in The Bahamas. The realization that the wealthy wanted their own island
kingdom was what Hughes saw as investment potential. Bahamian whites wanted to hold this land for themselves, too (Maillis/Newry, 2008).

In the early 1950s, environmental academics from the American Audubon Society and conservationists from the University of Miami relocated to Nassau from Miami, with a desire to set up a Marine institute. The threatened extinction of the West Indian flamingo that was being monitored internationally provided a sound basis for the preservation of the land. The “government was looking for this vehicle to hold these lands, but they didn’t want to do it as a government national park for which there was no money, but they wanted to harness the scientific world and the collective energy and volunteerism of the people and the resources of the private sector, civil society you say,” Thus, by an Act of Parliament, The Bahamas National Trust was formed (Maillis/Newry, Interview 2008)

Though Nassau was changing economically, reflecting a growth in income, conditions for the majority of poor black Bahamians was dismal. At the same time, in the country, there was growing unrest among the black working class, and out of the black middle class came groups ready to champion the cause of the poorer class. In addition, the black labor class galvanized within their fraternal lodges and formed unions to become a political force, initially with the formation of Citizen’s Committee (Fawkes, 2004), (Saunders, 2000). The proximity of The Bahamas to the United States and the racial attitudes that were there also affected race relations in the country particularly in the tourist industry, bringing more tension to race relations.

Women began to call for the right to vote in 1948. The leaders in this movement were middle class black women who had travelled abroad and were aware of the right of women to vote in other English-speaking Caribbean countries, Canada and the United States. The
Progressive Liberal Party, the first political party in The Bahamas, was formed in 1953 to represent the disenfranchised majority at a political level. Workers from the hotels, and transport and craft industries formed respective unions to protest for better opportunities and wages. The social mood focused on all the inequalities that existed in the country at the time. Between 1953 and 1963, the population of the country had grown significantly, from 84,841 to 130,220, both from immigration and increased birth rate.

In 1962, The United Bahamian Party (UBP), which was constituted in 1958, won the general election. This party consisted mainly of the ruling merchant class whites and was formed after the PLP. The 1962 election was followed closely by the expressed desire of the British government to devolve its imperial power and press toward the internal self-government of The Bahamas as it had with other Caribbean nations (Saunders, 2000). In 1964, the new constitution of The Bahamas came into effect and the powers of the governor (representative of the Crown) were decreased with a Ministerial System being established with cabinet members heading ministries. The British government maintained control over internal and external security, and foreign affairs. At this time the British were able to vote in elections as there was no definitive statement on citizenship in the constitution. The elected officials were responsible to the people through the House of Assembly for social welfare needs.

In 1965, Lynden Pindling, the leader of the PLP, made a presentation to the United Nations as Opposition Leader accusing the UBP of stagnating the growth of the majority of the population of The Bahamas by not providing education and social welfare, and using government policies for their personal enrichment and not the benefit of the people. In 1966, articles appeared in the US press that implicated mafia involvement in the casino operations in The Bahamas. On December 1, the UBP leader called a general election for January 10, 1967.
In 1967, the Progressive Liberal Party, achieved majority rule by a slim margin. This victory came with the assistance of the workers unions, and all those who felt disenfranchised and realized that opportunities for the betterment of their condition were out of reach under the UBP existing government. The Bahamas had a GDP of $8,448 USD per capita, compared with $10,737 USD per capita in the United States, which doubled, tripled and quadrupled respective GDPs of Trinidad, Barbados and Jamaica. But this wealth was largely concentrated in the merchant class, and access to secondary education, water and sewerage, and electricity was not widespread. The win by the PLP came after a campaign that exposed many of the inequities and corruptive practices of the government. The Bacon Commission of Inquiry condemned some of the UBP members for receiving consultant fees and questionable payments for expedition of licenses for concessions to business persons, with some implicated as mafia cohorts in 1968. With these findings, some UBP members resigned. The new premier, Pindling, used this opportunity to call a general election as the momentum was swinging overwhelmingly in favour of the PLP. The 1968 election resulted in a landslide victory (Saunders, 2009).

The PLP’s first efforts focused on constitutional advances that allowed for more internal control. This included the enlargement of the Senate as well as the ability to negotiate trade and migration agreements. Also included was a definition of citizenship (Saunders, 2000; Tinker, 2011). Remaining members of the UBP joined with some dissenting members of the PLP to form the Free National Movement (FNM).

The PLP, in its second year, then focused on social welfare. The budget reflected education as a priority, followed by health services and public works. This thrust was tempered as the economic crisis of 1970 affected the country (Saunders & Craton, 2000). Tourism, the mainstay of the Bahamian economy, suffered, partially due to the limited spending of tourists.
Government introduced price control measures on food items to limit the burden on the masses. Some economic policies led opposition members to accuse the government of leaning toward communism. In addition, government policies regarding immigration and citizenship promoted a ‘Bahamianization’ of labour. The administration hired more Bahamians to work in the public sector. This provided new opportunities to many. Government also provided scholarships for many to seek tertiary education and become qualified for positions that they were now widely accessible to them. This increased further the level of support that the PLP had at that time (Saunders, 2000). The process of educating the masses and providing new opportunities to many marked the beginning of a political and social shift of power and influence.

The Progressive Liberal Party government campaigned for the 1972 general election on the platform that independence would be sought after the election. This was supported by the party faithful, (the masses) but some in the opposition (elite) and their supporters preferred to remain a colony until a more appropriate time. One island, Abaco, threatened secession. In 1972, the PLP won another landslide victory and published a White Paper that outlined the principles and format of independence (Saunders, 2000).

**Post-Colonial**

In July 1973, The Bahamas achieved its independence from Great Britain. Independence came peacefully. The new PLP government saw self-rule and sovereignty as the way forward for the growth and development of the country. This idea was met with opposition by some and a few (particularly those in the white community), fearing economic and social collapse, left the country. The island of Abaco, where many in the white community lived and/or maintained homes sought to be an independent state unto themselves. The new government focused on improving education and health for the masses, but its limited resources could not provide all the
assistance necessary. This was due in part to the excessive amount being spent on public sector hiring. The government of The Bahamas, though investing much of the budget on education, health and social welfare, was spending more on the provision of personal emoluments, making it the largest employer and increasing the deficit (Saunders, 2000). Independence came as a result of majority rule but polarized the country along racial lines.

By the mid-1980s, the country was benefitting from investment in the tourism sector, and the World Bank reports described the country as performing moderately well, based on the increases in the tourism sector and the buoyancy of the US dollar. More Bahamians had access to tertiary education through government scholarships, grants and bonded loans. The literacy rate and political stability of the country provided a climate for economic growth. The financial sector was also at its peak, with taxation and non-disclosure policies providing a good environment for offshore banks. (Central Bank Report, 1986)

In the late seventies and early eighties, the country’s waters were being used once again for trafficking. Unlike in earlier years with the transportation of slaves or rum, -this time the products were narcotics. Marijuana and cocaine were the main illicit drug products being moved at the time. Bahamians were involved at all levels in the illicit drug movement from Jamaica and South and Central America suppliers to the destination of chief consumers in North America.

The tourism industry and the illegal drug industry poured much money into the country. Along with the money came an increase of social ills. The editorials started to question the moral authority of the Church and the government (Tribune, 1984). Public and private schools had increases in class size and the education system was overwhelmed by the increase in numbers coupled with the behavioral issues that came with the ‘drug culture’. With this growth in the economy, there was also a growth in the population and a need for more schools and the need for
moral guidance. A number of churches added education to their mission. In 1988 the Baptists added another school to their association, in the form of the CW Saunders High School.

Tourism has remained the main industry of The Bahamas, and the benefits and challenges that come with its bounty have also beset the country. The environmental and social impact of development have taken their toll in the form of the land use issues, environmental concessions for developers, immigration issues and increases in communicable diseases. While pictures of sun, sand and sea are often used as the marketing ploys to lure tourists, what is often unsaid is that the sale of sex and drugs are also products for some to indulge in. Some of the drugs that move through The Bahamas inevitably have stayed to supply this transient population and a few Bahamians. Though the country’s population was only 250,000 by the late eighties, the effect of millions of visitors had its toll on the social and physical environment (Curry, 2017). With a fluid movement of people, the country could not stem the tide of the HIV/ AIDS pandemic. The resources to meet the needs of the community was the impetus for government to reach out to civil society, resulting in the formation of The Bahamas AIDS Foundation.

By the 1990s, there was a move toward ‘modern tourism’, with dredging of the harbor to host more cruise ships as one of its components. The increased investment in tourism by sea meant that there was more economic activity but also more environmental challenges. The trafficking of drugs through the archipelago was seconded by the illegal trafficking of persons (mainly Haitians). Illegal fishing also became a burden.

The US began to provide structured assistance in surveillance as the security concerns between the two countries were linked. By 1990, the trafficking of drugs was decreasing due to the cooperation between the two countries, but this also meant that the drug money that was helping to float the economy was also on the decline.
In 1990, the globalization of interests, issues and ideas was prevalent as access to information also increased. People who were initially isolated in their interests in causes were now able to see via satellite the problems they were facing from a global perspective. An increased number of educated, urbanized professionals who were able to use the global perspective of many issues and address them at a micro local level brought awareness to many issues. The realization that there were others addressing the same environmental concerns and recognizing the scope of issues not being addressed led concerned citizens to form organizations such as ReEarth Bahamas.

From an historical perspective the we see six organizations from three sectors being formed during colonial and post-colonial times and the political, social and economic changes that occurred over the time period. We can use this historical perspective in consideration of the examining the relationship that each organization has with government and reviewing the power shifts between the social classes.
CHAPTER 4

Methodology

The focus of this study is the relationship between the state and civil society in The Bahamas, a small island developing archipelagic nation. This study seeks to identify and describe the relationship between civil society and government in The Bahamas over time utilizing the lens of social origins theory by examining six organizations—established at different points in time, representing three different sectors. The methodology chosen for use in this study is qualitative.

Qualitative research methods are appropriate for this study because they explore an area where little is known or documented, in this case the relationship between the government of The Bahamas and civil society organizations (Marshall and Rossman 2006; Creswell and Creswell 2007), and seek to understand complex issues or processes within their contextual environment, in this case the time of origin and the sector in which it operates (Maxwell 2005; Marshall and Rossman 2006). Qualitative study permits the inclusion of distinctive, usually unique, characteristic information of each case to be examined, considered in a manner that could produce themes and concepts in their analysis (O'Sullivan and Rassel 2007). Ragin (2003) identifies case studies as a means of putting together all pieces of a research puzzle together particularly when dealing with historical and cultural phenomena. The selection of case study method permits the researcher to look in depth at factors that relate the case to theory and other cases.

The strategy for exploring this relationship needs to employ methods that capture the texture and complexity of the changing environment/context in which the civil society organization is found, as well as specific information unique to the time period (Neuman, 2011). The strategy also requires a means to gather information related to the variables that characterize
the relationship between government and the civil society organizations. This requires utilizing various approaches/perspectives that provide a more detailed picture of what the relationship looks like. This process is known as triangulation (bringing at least three sources of data to bear as evidence of a phenomenon), which is employed by social researchers to build confidence in the accuracy of the picture that is presented of examined phenomena – in this case, the relationship between 6 civil society organizations and the state (this strategy is developed further, below).

The tools used for the research include several sources of data and several methods (4) of data collection:

i. Archival Data – This gives a view of the entity at a specific point in time. For this study, snapshots will be taken at the origin of the various civil society organizations. Note will be taken of whether the organization started during the colonial or post-colonial period. By taking several snapshots of the same entity, it is hoped that rich detail at one point in time can be viewed, as in a longitudinal study, to provide information that would further enrich the knowledge within sectors and between sectors of civil society. The snapshot will comprise information regarding the origins of the organization looking at the historical context under which it was founded. There will also be information on the current context of the organization. This information will be gathered from interviews, journals and historical books that reference the organization and its work, with the intent to give insight to the existence of a relationship with the state from a financial, policy or structural perspective;

ii. Survey Data – The survey instrument that was used is an adapted version of the instrument used previously by Salamon et al (2005) to collect data on non-profit
organizations at a macro level from many large countries. The survey collects information on individual non-profit organizations regarding their operations and aspects of their relationship with government. Surveys provide a means to gather information from numerous participants on the same subject. The survey used by Salamon et. al was adapted and used to gather data on six organizations in order to provide detailed information that includes information about the organization’s finances, its policy function and structural function - three variables identified at the core of the relationship between civil society and state; and

iii. Interview data – This tool provides rich nuanced data specific to the organization and the context of a period and time with which the interviewee is familiar. This information can give focused facts and opinions on various aspects of the organization. Most of the questions were asked using face to face interviews with at least two members of a civil society organization. In addition to this, government officers were interviewed in relevant ministries to explore their perspective of the relationship between the ministry and civil society.

iv. Observation of the organization - This tool allows the researcher to obtain information that may not be gathered in the interviews or archival data. It permits the researcher to gain nuanced perspectives that are not readily given by other methods of gathering research.

In the process of the study, opportunities were taken to meet with persons who are familiar with the organizations and or sectors being examined but who were not initially scheduled for interview. The use of a nonscheduled standardized interviews provides structure by narrowing the topic-specific questions that are asked of all the respondents. The use of this
type of procedure allows the interview to remain conversational, giving the respondent freedom of expression (Marshall and Rossman 2006). This format requires the interviewer to be skilled enough to remain on topic. Interviews have the advantage of motivating respondents to provide more complete and accurate information than they might provide in a questionnaire; allows questions to be explained where there are considerable degrees of complexity in these questions (Creswell and Creswell 2007); provide flexibility in the way a question is asked and responded to; and the interviewer is able to capture the nuances from observational information to each response (Maxwell 2005; Marshall and Rossman 2006).

The overall method is a comparative case analysis which will be enriched by the use of the aforementioned tools.

The description of the relationship between civil society and the state will be viewed based on the time of origin of the establishment of the organization. In the exploration of this relationship, we are looking at organizations that were formed during both the colonial and post-colonial periods of the history of The Bahamas. This type of study is, in one instance, considered cross-sectional in nature as it permits one to gain a snapshot of the organization in one point in time and gives a view to the type of social life that existed then. By the same token, these same organizations formed during the colonial period will also be examined at other points in time, this is indicative of longitudinal, time-series research.

**Case Study Method**

To address the questions regarding the way civil society organizations interact with government given specific social origins, a multiple-case study method will be employed. Robert K. Yin defines the case study research method as an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context; when the boundaries between
phenomenon and context are not clearly evident; and in which multiple sources of evidence are used (Yin 1984). Case studies are able to examine, in some depth, people, decisions, organizations and various characteristics of interest that they may have. They are the preferred strategy if one wants to understand how and why something happened (O'Sullivan 2007). Multiple case studies will be used to provide more compelling and rich evidence and allow for the differences in activity and context of the various organizations (Yin 2003, 150).

Yin suggests using the following method to carry out case studies:

1. State the problem, formulate research question(s), objective or hypothesis;
2. Identify the case to be studied;
3. Plan data collection;
4. Collect the data;
5. Analyze the data; and
6. Write a report.

The method used to carry out these multiple case studies will follow the outline prescribed by Yin:

First, the research questions are defined: The case studies would seek to address the following question given the colonial heritage of The Bahamas: What is the relationship between government and civil society in The Bahamas?

- Does the relationship between six different organizations, established at different points in the history of The Bahamas, and government vary depending upon the time period in which an organization was established (the social origins of the organization)?
- Does the relationship between government and civil society organizations vary based on the sector of civil society organization involved?
Relationship

Relationship for the purpose of this study refers to the characteristics of association between civil society and government with reference to the variables:

a. The revenue sources of the civil society organization, that is, the composition of organization’s finances and the extent it relies on government funding, market production such as fees, and private donations;

b. The policy function of the organization – What role does civil society play in the delivery of public goods and services? What is the nature of the lines of communication between the government and the organization? Which government policies, if any, influence the organization’s operations? Does the state change the way the organization is run or does the organization influence state policy? Is the state informed regarding the policy initiatives of the organization? If so, how?

c. The structure of the organization: Is the relationship between civil society and the government formal or informal? If the relationship is formal, how is it codified? Is this connection manifested in the reporting of the organization to government, legislation that governs the activities of the organization, or personnel within the organization that are paid by government? Can the organization operate effectively without the legislative involvement of the state?

These variables, finance, policy and structure, are used to determine relationship as they address these three critical factors examined in research on the relationship of civil society and government done by scholars in the field (Brinkerhoff, 1999, p.157; Carroll, 1999 #28; Ling, 2002, p.35; Salamon, 1998, p.190).
Salamon’s survey tool is structured to provide information on the organization that can be used in seeing levels of integration between the civil society organization and the state. Thomson et al. and their study reviewing the measurement and definition of collaboration is useful in providing a framework for the measurement of relationships. Relationship in the context being explored refers to the interconnected nature of government and civil society and the extent to which there is a degree of networking between them.

To reduce the level of complexity of the relationship that the civil society organization has with government, organizations were chosen that had their nascent in The Bahamas and were not directly involved with international bodies that may somehow influence the governance of the organization. Huxham (1996) points out that layers of accountability can frustrate collaborative efforts in a relationship causing tension as the various relationships within an organization and between its stakeholders ‘compete’ with the collaborative relationship that is developing. Thomson et al, in their article, Conceptualizing and Measuring Collaboration (2009), suggest the use of five variables that can be used to measure collaboration, namely, governance, administration, mutuality, norms and organizational autonomy. Governance and administration speak to the structural nature of the relationship. Mutuality and norms are concerned with social capital aspects of the relationship, whereby there is interdependence, reciprocity and trust between the organizations. Organizational autonomy refers to the extent to which each party has its own distinct identity outside of the collaborative identity.

In the examination of the relationship between government and civil society in The Bahamas, using finance as a variable explores the extent to which there is reliance by civil society on funding from government or whether the organization is financially autonomous. This autonomy can also be seen by reviewing whether there is administrative participation or
governance by the civil society organization in the presence of government’s participation on the board of the organization. The structure variable reviews the extent of this relationship between the civil society organization and the state.

Second, organizations were selected. Ragin explores the concept of the case study and begs the researcher to consider “what is the research subject a case of”. In this instance relationship between civil society and the state is being examined in The Bahamas. To explore how civil society organizations developed and their relationship with the state in The Bahamas multiple organizations will be studied. The Bahamas was chosen as it is a small island state from which the researcher could readily obtain information. As a Bahamian who is intermittently employed by the government of The Bahamas, and is resident in the country, the ability to identify and access persons and information that others may not be able to attain is an advantage for the research. Questions to gain background information on organizations would be based on a survey tool used in a study by Salamon et al. in the conduct of social origins research of non-profit organizations. The utilization of this questionnaire would increase the confidence in the study pursued as it, in a small way, would build on the information collected, showing the relationship between the state and civil society in larger states, and providing a picture of what the relationship looks like in much smaller states not covered in the initial study.

The organizations were also chosen based on the type of activity they predominantly conduct. The study conducted by Salamon et al reviewed all sectoral activities of non-profit organizations; however, due to the focus of this endeavor on six organizations over colonial and post-colonial times there had to be a limit on the activities chosen for review and three sectors were chosen. Since the oldest organization still in existence in the civil society in The Bahamas, for which information could be found (barring religious organizations), was an educational
organization, the other organizations sought for pre-independence comparisons represented other sectors: environment and health. Post-colonial organizations were chosen based on the same three sectors: Education, Environment and Health. These sectors were chosen as the study pursued by Salamon et al indicated a predominance of non-profit organizations in the educational field, followed by the health field. With the possibility of comparison in mind, it was decided that focus should be given to these two areas. Environment/advocacy is the smallest of the defined areas of concentration in the categorization of non-profits. Environment was chosen as an activity for comparison because it is cited by the Alliance of Small Island States (AOSIS), a UN coalition, as one of the main areas of focus for small island states like The Bahamas. Environmental concerns are also a major factor when considering the vulnerability characteristic of most small island states and is considered a pillar for the development of the country.

The challenge was then set to locate institutions that would fall under each category: education, health and the environment, at various points in the stated timeline. This was done so that a comparison could be made between those organizations created prior to independence and post-colonial rule. (See Table 1)

**Table 4.1 Case study organizations displayed by sector and time period of origin**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category Type</th>
<th>Colonial</th>
<th>Post-Colonial</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>Queen’s College</td>
<td>C.W. Saunders School</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Environment</td>
<td>Bahamas National Trust</td>
<td>ReEarth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health</td>
<td>Physically Challenged</td>
<td>AIDS Foundation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Children’s Committee</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Case studies typically combine data collection methods such as archival searches, interviews, questionnaires, and observation (Eisenhardt 1989). The case studies chosen will be examined by including all of the methods listed to collect and analyze the data. A survey tool was administered to the leadership and staff of the selected organizations, an elite interviewing strategy, along with archival research to address the relationship that the case subject has with government, other civil society organizations, and the public. The use of various sources is a great strength in case studies. This aspect of the study is also utilizing triangulation: the use of many sources examining a phenomenon provides a more complete picture of what is actually occurring. It is possible to determine through corroboration of independent sources, information that provides credible support for explanations. While using multiple sources may be particularly burdensome to one’s resources, particularly time and expertise, the rich data that may be harvested is often worth the effort. In addition, multiple case studies examined with the same methodology can give a comparative view of the phenomena being investigated.

In this research, the case study analyses will be assembled into a table that will provide a means to make an overall statement about civil society and its relationship with government (Yin 2003), particularly since the majority of the questions used will be coming from a tested survey instrument (Appendix A), and can be compared not only to the other five organizations pursued, but also to the international cases that have previously been compiled by Salamon et al. In so doing, a cross-case analysis will show similarities in the types of relationships that different civil society organizations have, based on their typology, describing each organization and not explaining them (Yin 2003). The organizations examined will be compared to review similarities of the relationship between civil society and government within and between the sectors across colonial and post-colonial time.
The tested survey instrument, questionnaire (Appendix A), was given to each organization before seeking interviews with leadership and staff in the organization. This survey provides the basis of the qualification of the organization as a non-profit organization, as established in the definition used by Salamon et al. It also provides the basis for the sector placement of the organization in question. The survey also gives insight into the finance and structure of the organization and its relationship with government. The historical information was researched in archives, journals, and historical texts.

**Case Study Selection**

In order to provide insight on how the colonial heritage of a state may affect the social origins of civil society within that state or the relationship that government has with civil society and the extent to which the relationship between civil society and the state is influenced by the social origins of the organization, it is necessary to look at organizations that were formed during the colonial period, as well as those that were formed post-colonial rule. By reviewing the relationship between civil society and the state, through the examination of organizations formed at a particular point in time (colonial or post-colonial), over time one can gain a perspective of the operations of the organization and the way it interacted with the state at various points in history. This longitudinal study of some of the organizations will give us insight as to whether the relationship with the state and civil society is affected by the formation of a sovereign state and how the relationship looks. Therefore, organizations were chosen that were in existence prior to independence and post-independence in order to compare the relationship that each of these organizations has with the state. Independence, while a macro structural factor, also marks a clear point where one can see the transfer of social power relations in Bahamian society. Political majority rule in 1967 gave way to a request for independence from Great Britain which was
opposed by the mercantile elite demonstrating a shift in the social and political decision-making in the country (Saunders, 2009) (Curry, 2017). Some of the mercantile elite left the islands, some left public life, closing civil society organizations that they were once a part of and others gradually adapted their organizations to the new realities of an independent Bahamas. Choosing organizations formed during these distinct periods in Bahamian history will permit the collection and analysis of data of particular sectors formed at specific points in time and compare the relationship between the state and the civil society organizations.

Six organizations were selected. The total number of civil society groups is not known at all points of the 135-year time-frame. These organizations were selected based on the time frame established as well as the availability of and accessibility to information on the subject. In addition, organizations chosen had to be currently in existence to permit each one to be examined over time and through the course of the other organization’s origination. These criteria for selection ensured that information was available over time for each organization. This was specifically crucial for the older organizations where documentation describing the relationship between the organization and government had to be available and accessible.

Due to financial and time constraints, three of the eleven possible types of industrial classifications of organizations as outlined in Appendix B, used by the Johns Hopkins Center for Civil Society, were selected – Education, Health, and Environment. An organization from each of those three types formed before 1973 (the year of independence) was selected. The other three organizations of the same types were chosen post 1973 for the time comparison aspect of the study. The matching of the organization was done to ensure that the organization was not controlled or strongly influenced by an international governing body. Section A of the questionnaire addresses the classification of the organization as a non-profit organization.
An historical overview of each organization was done to determine the context within which the organization originated, as well as the membership and support of the organization at that time and throughout the history of the organization. This historical overview was conducted by looking over public documents (both historical and current) and, where possible, interviewing persons who were instrumental in the foundation of such organizations. Structured interviews were conducted within the organization to determine the role of the organization and its ability to maintain and sustain its function. These structured interviews will provide insight on the relationship between the organization and the state with particular focus on the financial, policy and structure variables. The interviews given to executives and members of the subject organization included the questions in Appendix A. Also, at least one government official of the main ministry with which the organization has a relationship was interviewed to try to determine the relationship between these organizations and government and other civil society organizations. The interview data and documentary research on each organization allowed a drilling down within the organization to examine its activities and relationship with government, and the practices (ways by which it gets things done, that is, the means it uses to accomplish its purpose) and the relationship that the organization has with the state (financial, advisory, personnel support etc). This information on relationship was compared with an organization in the same sector, engaged in similar activities formed in a different period, that is, pre- and post-colonial. In addition, each organization was observed to note the operations of each case. The findings should indicate any differences in the operations of the organization that may be attributed to the colonial heritage of the country or to any other pertinent national historical factors.
Social welfare spending by government will also be reviewed in comparison to the overall government expenditure at the time of origin. The data for social welfare spending will come from archival data examined. Social origins theory looks at government social welfare spending as a percentage of gross domestic product (GDP); however, review of these organizations over the time scope of the study does not permit a comparison with the GDP of the country as figures for GDP are not available for the period prior to independence. The archival data on government total expenditure as a measure for comparing social welfare spending allows for the analysis of government policy priorities at a particular time and this will be used, where possible, to make inferences on the state’s obligations and its relationship to the organization in light of financial and policy variables in the relationship.

Variables for Review

Organizations will be researched to give a description of the nature of the relationship between civil society and the state at different historical points in time. Through the micro focus of individual organizations, reviewing the social origin and organizational activities of such organizations in small island states will give some insight into the nature of the relationship. Particular attention will be given to identifying distinct aspects of the social/economic/political environment at the time the organization was created, and exploring and assessing the relationship in terms of three variables of revenue source, policy and structure as previously defined and measured according to the following parameters (Integration in this instance is used to suggest cooperation and collaboration between the civil society organization and government and not an embeddedness of government within the organization) :-

1. Revenue Sources– How organizations are financed? Organizations that are highly integrated with government have a substantial portion of their budget provided by the
government (more than 25%); organizations that are somewhat integrated with government receiving more than 10% but less than 25% of their budget from government, and organizations that receive less than 10% of their budget from government, minimally integrated financially (cut off points adapted from collaboration measurement done by Thomson et al);

2. Policy function – How the organization is affected by or affects state policy- highly integrated organizations’ communication with government results in government changing its policy or creating due to the influence of the civil society organization; organizations that are somewhat integrated with government set the agenda for policy implementation; and organizations that are minimally integrated with government act within the parameters of policy established by the state without any effort to change them;

3. Structure – The degree of formality in the structure of the relationship: Is the state involved in any of the day-to-day operations of the organization? Is it a contracted relationship, does the organization report to the state? Organizations that are highly integrated with government have a member of the government on the executive board with voting rights; organizations that are somewhat integrated report directly to the government; and organizations that are minimally integrated are registered organizations without any contact with the government annually regarding their operations.

The questionnaire in Appendix A is a useful tool for gathering preliminary information on these three variables. Sections A & B of the questionnaire provide a general description of the organization, addressing the organization’s classification as a non-profit and its date of
origin. Section C of the questionnaire seeks information on the membership of the organization and how it accomplishes its tasks (that is its staffing). Section D focuses on the classification of the organization based on activities performed. Section E seeks information on the financial resources that the organization uses to fund its activities. Based on responses to these questions, interviews were conducted to explore the relationship the civil society organization has with the state.

Social origins theory has at its core that the shape of civil society can be predicted looking at the interaction of social economic classes and power relations in the society, this study will focus primarily on the context/relationship of the development of civil society. The scale will be addressed by a current ‘snap-shot’ of civil society which is given by an overview of the list of non-profit organizations compiled by the Registrar General’s Department. Empirical historical data on civil society groups is not available for the time frame due to lack of records on such groups as defined, but, based on references made to churches, fraternal groups, labor organizations and the like, we can make inferences regarding the scale of civil society.

**Strategy for Data Collection**

**Determining Relationship/Association**

Determining relationship and association is an important aspect of identifying the impact of social origins of an organization. Examining the relationship between the civil society sector in The Bahamas and the government will be done with a micro level focus on the six organizations selected to describe the case of civil society in The Bahamas. The relationship will be investigated through interviews, archival documents, survey data, and observation of the organization and the various interactions that occur between the organization and the public and the organization and government.
The selected organizations are those that will provide insight regarding the nature of civil society within the historical timeline of the country and can be seen as representative of civil society during that particular time: The leader/members and staff of each civil society organization will be interviewed in person or by telephone depending on their accessibility. These organizations will give a representation of what different sectors of civil society look like in The Bahamas at various points and time in their development. If organizations do not change when social class and power structures do this is indicative of the level of representation that the organization has for its social origin. If and when the organization changes it may tell us about the relationship that the organization has with government.

One method of data collection for the case studies was through on-site observation and the conduct of interviews with leadership and staff of the selected organizations six organizations. Questions were asked in a conversational manner, in an attempt to get the participant to discuss further something he/she has mentioned related to the research questions (Kvale 1996). The initial request was for a tape recording of the interviews and give the interviewee control of the device. The use of a recording is to prevent the bias that may come from the researcher selectively choosing what to take note of when a person is speaking. It also gives the interviewee control to be as free in conversation as he/she chooses. If the interviewee does not agree with the recording of the interview, then notes will be taken.

In addition to interviews with members of the cases chosen, elite interviews will be done with the leadership of an umbrella group of civil society organizations in The Bahamas. These interview will provide a more global perspective of the relationship between government and civil society across many sectors in order to to get an overview of how they view the relationship.
Application for expedited review was filed with the Institutional Review Board at Virginia Tech permitting tape recording during interviews.

Before the start of each interview, a statement was made about the purpose of the study and that all comments would remain anonymous. The informed consent of all participants was obtained verbally on tape. After the interview, notes will be reviewed, and a complete report of the interview was made. The interview, archival data, as well as on site observation and field observation form the basis of the case study.

**Determining the Scale of Civil Society**

The study does not measure the size and scope of civil society however to get an idea of what civil society looks like, archival information will be used through a snap-shot approach that will give a general view of what civil society looks like in The Bahamas:

1. Review a list of registered non-profit organizations. This will give an idea of the size of the non-profit sector. (This information has been obtained)

2. Request a list of civil society organizations that each ministry/agency of government works with and categorize these organizations based on their principal function with the ministry. (For example, if the Ministry of Health lists the Cancer Society as a civil society organization that it works with, then the Cancer Society will be classified under Health (Group 3, Appendix B)

This provides a snap-shot and is by no means inclusive of all civil society organizations, but it will, for the purpose of this study, give a general idea of the scale of civil society at a particular point in time.

The consideration of the scale of civil society at various points of the timeline was not be done as there is a lack of empirical information on the registration of such groups within all time
periods covered using the definition of civil society previously stated. However, we will be able to look at government welfare spending at each point in the timeline and review this aspect of social origins theory.

In summary, the study examines six organizations, to review their relationship with government. The organizations chosen from three sectors - health, education and the environment. From one of two distinct time periods - colonial and post-colonial. Data was collected initially by using a survey previously used by Lester Salamon in his research of the non-profit sector, along with archival information that focuses on each case providing data that speaks to the social origins of the organization. Interviews will be conducted and observations made, allowing the data to guide us in the posing of theoretical questions in an approach that is a variant of grounded theory. Use of specific observations in this micro approach to review the organizations and their relationship with government will enable us to make links and compare the similarities and differences in the relationship across time and sectors. Drawing on these findings the dissertation will make recommendations to the Government of The Bahamas regarding the establishment and management of nonprofit partnership relationships to foster building national capacity for sustainable development.
CHAPTER 5

Findings

Does the relationship of six different organizations, established at different points in the history of The Bahamas, and Government vary depending upon the time an organization was established? Does the relationship between Government and civil society vary based on the type of civil society organization involved? In this chapter the findings on the relationship between each organization and government will be reviewed by looking at the relationship within the context of three variables: revenue source, policy function and structure. These variables are indicators to explain the level of the integration, the dependent variable is, in the relationship between each organization and government.

As outlined in the Methodology chapter, the revenue source relationship is viewed in terms of the percentage of the organization’s budget that comes from government; the policy relationship is viewed using indicators of communication and mutuality; and structure is viewed using indicators of governance and administration.

Survey Response

The survey instrument distributed to organization leaders provided the base of the organization’s classification as a civil society group and provided information on the general description of the organization, its personnel, financial information and activities. The responses to the questions in this survey gives a foundation for the interview to describe the relationship between the organization and the state. The responses provide insight into the expanse of the level of influence of the group, based on membership, volunteers and persons assisted. It also provided empirical information regarding the relationship with government with regard to the variables of revenue source, policy and structure.
Organization Categorization and General Description

All of the groups are classified as non-profit. Each organization has voluntary membership and any surplus from activities is not transferred to the members of the organization. None of the organizations are government agencies or a division of an agency and while government representatives may sit on some boards in as an observer they do not control the decision-making or operation of the organization. Of the pre-independence organizations, the BNT, is a statutory body, legislated by Government for the protection of land and sea holding, but not to point that government determines the direction of the groups initiatives.

Table 2, below, shows the profile of each organization chosen, outlining their size in terms of paid employees, volunteers, revenue source and membership. The same information is detailed in the following:

One of the post-independence organizations, ReEarth is not legally registered but functions as a part of civil society. When questioned regarding the not being registered, the group’s leader explained that it is her desire to do so at some point. At one-point government sought to delve into the accounts of some non-profit organizations to see the source of their funding and fearing some form of retribution toward donors at the time, she declined registering the organization.

Personnel

The six organizations altogether employ 239 persons; the amount of paid employees varies from 0-145, with the education sector holding the largest amount of paid employees, at 206.

Some organizations were able to number the volunteers that contributed skills and labor to their operations; others did not have a number for this, as the volunteers varied depending on
the project or issue being addressed. The difficulty in providing numbers was experienced by environmental groups that use thousands of school children for various projects, such as cleaning beaches, and hundreds of persons who volunteer within the park systems, or groups that plant trees and sign petitions.

The educational system gave numbers for regular volunteers that came in on a weekly basis. The numbers did not represent the work done by the Parent Teacher Association (PTA).

**Financial Information**

The operating expenses of the organizations also vary. Overall, organizations formed prior to independence seem to have greater operating expenses than groups formed post-independence.

In addition, in comparing the organizations, it is noted that, in the education sector, the organization formed prior to independence receives more per pupil than the organization formed post-independence. The organization formed pre-independence also receives more in donations from businesses, individuals and the sale of products and services not directly related to education (such as the rental of space). The school formed post-colonial receives more in donation from its parent organization. Annual fees and tuition at the pre-independence school is on average $4,125 pupil, with Government contributing an additional $618 per pupil. The post-colonial school’s annual tuition and fees average $2,400 per pupil with government contributing an additional $414.

In the health sector, neither of the organizations receives funding from Government. They both raise funds by using various methods involving private donors. The Government through the Ministry of Health gives grant funding to some civil society groups totaling $1.6 million.
The environmental group formed pre-independence has a total income of $1.9 million, with $595,000 received from Government. In addition, the BNT receives the remainder of its funds from donations from individuals, businesses, membership dues, fees and charges, as well as the sale of other products. The environmental organization formed post-independence receives funds from individuals depending on their commitment to the issue and the funds needed to promote their view effectively. The following table summarizes the profile of each organization including the date of establishment, category of organizational function, sources of revenue and volunteers and paid work force.
### Table 5.1 - Profiles of Case Study Organizations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Organization</th>
<th>Queen’s College</th>
<th>Physically Challenged Children’s Committee</th>
<th>The Bahamas National Trust</th>
<th>Charles W. Saunders School</th>
<th>ReEarth</th>
<th>The Bahamas AIDS Foundation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Activities</td>
<td>Education</td>
<td>Health</td>
<td>Environment</td>
<td>Education</td>
<td>Environment</td>
<td>Health</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Legally Registered</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tax Exempt</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paid Personnel</td>
<td>145</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Volunteers</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Members</td>
<td>1400 (# students)</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1300</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>30</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Operating Expenditure FY 2008</td>
<td>$ 6,067,253</td>
<td>$ 212,000</td>
<td>$ 1,579,806</td>
<td>$ 1,201,108</td>
<td>$ 1,500</td>
<td>$ 90,508</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Funds received from Government</td>
<td>$ 797,326</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>$ 595,000</td>
<td>$ 282,000</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Relationship between Queen’s College and Government

The relationship between government and Queen’s College (QC) is viewed based on budget, policy-making and structure as outlined in the Methodology chapter. These variables provide a view of different dimensions of the relationship and the indicators give evidence to identify descriptive aspects of each variable.
Revenue Source

With a look at the budget of Queen’s College, the relationship with government could be described as somewhat integrated, with integration referring to the level of cooperation between government and civil society. This description is based on the institution’s receipt of 14% of its budget from the state (Survey, 2009). This contribution of the government demonstrates a commitment from the government to assist in the provision of education of the populace using this institution as a tool.

The government policy on grant-in-aid has been in effect for more than a hundred and fifty years. Initially, the purpose of the grant-in-aid was to encourage the establishment of schools in the various settlements on the condition that the schools be non-sectarian. Assistance is granted to the schools in accordance with Section 53 of the Education Act. The requirements for receiving the grant are as follows:

1. The school must not be established or maintained for the private profit of any person or persons; hence all schools receiving grants are church affiliated and partly subsidized by their religious denominations;

2. The school premises and accommodations provided must be adequate with appropriate facilities to offer the level of programs. The facilities must be in satisfactory condition;

3. The teaching staff must be adequate for the number of students enrolled, possess requisite qualifications and experience in order to deliver the national curriculum;

4. The schools must not discriminate in the admission of students on the basis of religion, color or race; and

5. Proof must be provided that all income of the school will be used for educational purposes.
While the current budget relationship is significant, earlier in history of Queen’s College the relationship was even more impressive: When QC was founded in 1890, government did not give subsistence funds to sectarian institutions. In 1926, a direct request from the principal of the school led to the granting of subvention to QC by the government. The amount given at the time amounted to a third of the budget of the school. Rev. Richard Dyer, the Headmaster, convinced the governing Legislative Council to reverse the 1847 decision not to provide grant-in-aid to Church Schools. Therefore, in 1926, the Secondary Education Act specifically provided for subventions to non-state institutions based on average attendance, qualification of teachers, and examination successes. QC was the only beneficiary of this fund until 1945. This demonstrates the level of influence that the elite had in directing government policy. This high percentage of budget demonstrates a highly integrated relationship at that time. (Williams, 1982: p.68)

The significance of the funding granted by government is seen in the extent to which QC is able to provide services. Prior to independence, former principal Charles Sweeting noted in an interview, there was a reliance on government funding that permitted the school to operate a boarding facility for students from the family islands. The building of more secondary schools in New Providence, as well as provision of secondary education on family islands, precluded a need for government to fund such a facility and the school discontinued that service (Williams, 1982, p.225). The relationship with government from a budget perspective changes as the social and economic environment changes.

Government provides subventions according to the Education Act. Section 53 (g) of the Education Act also limits the ability of the receiving institution to increase tuition fees without written approval from the Minister of Education. This aspect of the relationship means that quite often the implementation of some initiatives is hampered due to the inability to increase readily
fees to raise funds (Interviews with former Principal Rev. Charles Sweeting and current Principal Andrea Gibson). Most interviewees indicated that, while the government provided QC with funding, they were also aware of the service that they provide and the need for that service. Dr. Colin Higgs, Chairman of the Methodist Education Board, remarked that the cost of building a school was prohibitive for government and the quality of service that the school provides is a benefit to society at large. Dr. Higgs, and former board members:

“I see government being involved in an authoritarian way in the relationship with the grant-in-aid and fees; determining whether fees can be increased or not… (the Methodist Church) doesn’t have the power or the authority to say we are going to raise the fees without consultation and the agreement of the Ministry of Education.” (Higgs/Newry 2009)

“There were times when things got a little tense like when we are negotiating school fees, it had to be approved by the Ministry of Education in consultation with the government of the Bahamas and the Cabinet of the Bahamas.” (Pratt/Newry 2008)

The survey questionnaire, along with an interview with Ms. Andrea Gibson, Principal of the school, noted that Queen’s College’s total operating expenses for FY 2008 were $6,067,253. The school receives $5,521,548 from tuition and fees and $797,326 (13%) from government in grant-in-aid funds. Grant-in-aid works out to $618 per student. Students pay fees at a rate of $1,405 per student at the primary level and $1,580 per student at the secondary level. This includes facility fees\(^1\) of $245 and $295, respectively. The government has permitted an annual 5% increase of fees from 2005. Government used grant-in-aid as a means to control what was being taught at various institutions (Gibson/Newry, 2008).

The subvention of private schools has been brought to the fore in terms of equity. This amount compares to the maximum of $126,729 that government currently gives to a public-

\(^1\) Facility fees include technology fees for grades 1-12 and the Locker Fee for Grades 7-12, as well as the use of all campus educational facilities.
school board in the same district as QC. The school has a population of 1,058 and this amount averages to approximately $120 per student. With more persons educated and as the economic climate changes, the government is in the process of reviewing the policy of grant-in-aid. Some middle-class persons who were educated in the public system in post-colonial years see levels of injustice in the provision of benefits to private schools. In a discussion of the budget for FY 2010/201, it was noted that the government had contravened the law with respect to the amount of funds that were being disbursed in the form of grant-in-aid to private schools by giving private schools more funds than were given to public schools. The Minister of Education in his address to the House of Assembly, 7 June 2010, informed the House of Assembly:

The Education (Grant-In Aid) Regulations commenced in 1980 with less than $4 million. The statutory purpose is to assist schools to educate young Bahamians in communities where there are not enough public schools.

The Regulations say:

“Grant in-aid shall only be paid in respect of schools situated in areas in the Bahamas where, in the opinion of the Minister, there are not enough maintained schools to fulfill the provisions of Section 13 of the Act.”

"Nobody bothered to amend the schedule to the regulations, which still has a limit of less than $5 million, and we have continued to pay these amounts despite what the law says about the [conditions under which these] grants are to be given. We have public schools located in many of these very same communities where independent schools who receive grants are located."

Policy

From a policy perspective using indicators of Communication and Mutuality to examine the relationship between Queen’s College and government, it could be said that Queen’s College is highly integrated with government. Queen’s College is a policy vanguard in education.

Evidence of the nature of the policy relationship is in the introduction of grant-in-aid for church schools considered a watershed moment for education in The Bahamas. Consequent to QC receiving funding, other churches decided to expand provision of education in the country.
This provision of education by church schools led to increased access to education for the populace and the further development of the nation.

Also, through its communication with government, Queen’s College’s use of the Cambridge examinations as a measurement of performance for secondary students was adopted by the government for all state-maintained secondary schools; in this way, QC assisted with the introduction of new policy. Dyer was also responsible for another policy change that had serious implications for national education. Dyer phased out the College of Preceptors examinations at Queen’s College and brought in the Cambridge Senior and Junior Certificate examinations which he persuaded government to accept and establish as the standard for public examinations.

The ability of this institution to influence the national curriculum is testament to its high level of integration. Government did in fact follow the practice employed by QC and used Cambridge exams as a means of assessment for elite students. (Williams, 1982,p.249)

With this change in policy, Cambridge served as the pre-requisite for the Teachers’ Training College. Dyer also permitted the use of facilities at Queen’s College for the practical training of teachers, a service that was required at the time (Williams 1982). These teachers were trained to teach in all schools in the country. The Cambridge standard was maintained well into the 1980s and was replaced by a national exam intended to incorporate national content in a move similar to the rest of the English-speaking Caribbean countries. The change initially brought criticism by some who wanted to maintain the ties to the British system touted for its excellence, however, the reliance of the school on government’s subsistence as well as organizational division within The Bahamas Methodist Conference supported the acceptance of simply benefited the new curriculum. Queen’s College faculty work closely with the government
in the development of the curriculum, but the role was not as pronounced as it had been previously.

The development of national examinations in the 1980s was seen as a way to include and require information pertinent to The Bahamas to be taught from a Bahamian perspective and create/strengthen a national identity. For example, students would spend more time focusing on the life cycle of seawater species than on freshwater species. Persons who saw Cambridge as the international standard were concerned about the ability to provide a comprehensive means of testing for certain benchmarks. The Ministry of Education sought to have a means of assessing what all students in the school system of The Bahamas were learning, as Cambridge exams were only offered to those students who were thought to be capable to take them and there was no means of evaluating what they may have learned at various institutions without a national examination requirement (Brown/Newry, 2007). All public and private schools were required to offer the national BGCSE exams to all students. Some private schools opted to follow a different curriculum, such as a UK based program or an International Baccalaureate program. In doing so, these schools forfeited any government funding.

The policy relationship was not a one-way street: The abolition of slavery in 1834 did not end discrimination in The Bahamas nor bring equality. Prior to Dyer becoming principal and throughout his reign, Queen’s College remained segregated. Dyer revealed in an Inquiry (Williams, 1982, p.9), ‘…it is nevertheless true to say that we have in Queen’s College no full blooded Negro Children of Methodist parentage..’, or no school at all.

The Burma Road riots of 1942 and the end of World War II were catalysts for the Methodist church to reflect on the teachings of John Wesley and consider the admission of

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2 The Burma Road riots represented beginning of a unified working class with little ethnic or racial diversity.
blacks to Queen’s College. (The organization of the working classes preceded a possible change in the social origins classification at that particular time.) Dyer invited Eugene Dupuch, a prominent Bahamian journalist and barrister of mixed race, to visit the school assembly in 1948. At that assembly Dupuch told students that they will have to get accustomed to seeing persons of color who looked like him and possibly darker (Dupuch had siblings who attended the school who were of a lighter complexion). This visit and subsequent rumors regarding the admittance of blacks to the school led to the founding of another private school in 1948. Dyer chose to maintain a school without blacks. However, as time passed, blacks were gaining economic and political voice. The Methodist synod formally voted to accept blacks in 1950. Dyer retired after 34 years at Queen’s College, leaving the desegregation of the school to the next principal who followed with the admittance of Nigel Bowe in 1952 (Sweeting/Newy 2009). There was never a written School Committee policy prohibiting blacks from admission and none to admit them, but after Dyer’s departure the bar was removed (Williams 1982: p. 182).

The influence of the changing social environment, as more blacks had been afforded the opportunity of higher education and sought a greater voice in society, was perhaps a major factor in the change in policy - an indication of QC being embedded in the social and political fabric of the colony. The institution changed its internal policy based on what was transpiring in society at the time. There was a sociological impact that the environment has on the organization and the changes in society and politically affecting the way QC does business.

An examination of the mission statements of both QC and the Ministry of Education of The Bahamas shows a level of mutuality of purpose in the provision of education to the populace. This commitment of both entities to the same cause is the base of their relationship.
Mutuality is an important indicator in measuring the level of cooperation between organizations. The commitment to the same population and goals is a factor to keep the relationship together and according to Thomson (1999) mutuality can overcome funding issues in the pursuance of goals. The mission statement is an indication of the goals that both parties have and the demonstration of similar goals and intentions as well as a commitment to the relationship gives an idea of the type of relationship between QC and government. A comparison of the mission statement in Table 5.2 indicates similar values, goals and the willingness to work with the other party to achieve it.

**Table 5.2 - Mission Statements Comparison Education**

This table shows the mission statement of QC and Education to compare mutuality of purpose.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mission Statement Comparison</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Queen’s College</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Our mission, as a premier educational institution, is to work collaboratively with parents, families, the Church and Government to inculcate in our students enduring moral and ethical values, spiritual discipline grounded in the teachings of Jesus Christ and sense of personal social responsibility.”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Queen’s College has within its mission statement a goal to work with government in the education of students. The Ministry also has within its mission a dedication to the education of all persons in The Bahamas which it fulfills in part through its relationship with QC. This demonstrates a high level of integration in terms of mutuality between the QC and the state.

**Structure**

In an examination of structure as a variable of the relationship between QC and government, the relationship can be described as somewhat integrated. This level of integration
is seen from both a governance perspective and an administrative perspective. Section 53 paragraph 3m of the Education Act states that the Minister has the right to nominate two persons to the management body of any school receiving grant-in-aid. Government has permitted QC to operate somewhat independently in most ways except for the increase of fees and the adherence to a curriculum evaluated by national exams the extent of its interaction with QC in this regard is the same as with other organizations receiving subventions from the government.

Early in its history, Queen’s College’s administration had the ear of the members of the House of Assembly, being able to persuade the government to change the policy on granting subsistence to the school and influencing the change in curriculum. There were no formal guidelines for the relationship. The grant-in-aid regulations of 1980 established the type of relationship that should exist between government and the grant aid institution permitting a government representative on the board of the school. By 1980, we can see a shift to the provision of education for all in a post-colonial Bahamas.

Queen’s College operates as a school under The Bahamas Conference of the Methodist Church (BMC). Therefore, the president of the conference is automatically the Chairperson of the Board of Governors. The Executive Committee of The Bahamas Conference of the Methodist Church is the body that appoints the Board of Governors for Queen’s College, and, any time there is a new member or replacement, that appointment has to be approved by the executive committee. The principal and the two vice-principals of the primary school and high school are appointed by the BMC. These selections and appointments are the responsibility of the BMC. Therefore, the President of the Conference always chairs the Board of Governors. In the composition of the BMC, there is a person who serves as the director of the division of service to the community, and that person is linked to Queen’s College because Queen’s College
falls directly under that division in terms of the structure of the Conference. (Higgs/Newry, 2008)

The BMC does not provide any direct financial resources to QC at this time. This is as a result of the current financial struggles of the BMC. The Bahamas Conference was originally a part of the Methodist church of the Caribbean and the Americas, from 1968 to 1993. Prior to that, the Methodist Church in The Bahamas was a part of the British Conference of the Methodist Church. In 1993, it became an autonomous body known as The Bahamas Conference of the Methodist Church or The Methodist Church of the Bahamas by an act of parliament. Since then, there has been a bit of struggle to maintain BMC financially and otherwise (Higgs/Newry, 2008) (Gibson/Newry, 2009).

The Board of the school consists of persons in the community who can provide contributions from varied perspectives of society. On occasion, a Board member may be from the public sector, but it is not a stated requirement of the Board’s structure. The Board liaises with the principal regarding the overall plans of the school. The principal liaises with Government regarding the fee structure, the calendar year and the school day. The government provides guidelines for schools benefiting from grant-in-aid regarding the rate at which fees may be increased and the minimum days for keeping schools in, as well as the number of hours that school should be kept. No change may be made to the school fee, or school calendar without government approval. (Education Act, Section 53)

In an interview with a past Board member of Queen’s College, it was stated:

Queen’s College and the Government of The Bahamas, including the financial support such as grant-in-aid, have always had a mutually supportive and cooperative relationship…in terms of using the resources of Queen’s College, human as well as physical. Also the exchange of expertise from government particularly the Ministry of Education… Also the relationship has also been cooperative, as Queen’s College supports the children out of government schools by giving scholarships to attend Queen’s College. (Pratt/Newry, 2008)
From an administrative perspective, government assists with the provision of work permits for expatriate teachers employed by the school but does not interfere with the hiring of persons, in accordance with the Education act. QC provides a training ground for local trainee-teachers who are entering the field of education. From an administrative perspective QC can be described as somewhat integrated with government.
**Table 5.3 Queen’s College - Relationship with Government**
This table is a summary of the findings of each variable and the indicators and its level of integration/cooperation with government in the relationship between government and QC.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Indicator</th>
<th>Integration with Government</th>
<th>Evidence of Integration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Revenue Source</td>
<td>% of Organization’s budget derived from government funding</td>
<td>Somewhat Integrated</td>
<td>• Government gives 14% toward cost per pupil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Grant-in-aid funding, Section 53 Education Act</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Policy</td>
<td>Communication</td>
<td>Highly Integrated</td>
<td>• Policy to use Cambridge exams as assessment tool adopted by government upon consultation with QC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• First faith-based school to receive government funding</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mutuality</td>
<td></td>
<td>Highly Integrated</td>
<td>• Mission statements are similar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Sharing of best-practices</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Scholarships provided to public school children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Structure</td>
<td>Governance</td>
<td>Somewhat Integrated</td>
<td>• Government nominates two people to sit on the school’s Board of Governors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• School permitted to act somewhat independently</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• School must request permission for any increase in tuition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Administration</td>
<td></td>
<td>Somewhat Integrated</td>
<td>• QC trains teachers who work in public school</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Government assists with the provision of work permits for expatriate teachers but does not interfere with the school’s hiring process</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Relationship between CW Saunders School and Government

CW Saunders School, a post-colonial educational organization was examined in the same way as Queen’s College. The protocols established in the Methodology chapter were followed.

Revenue Source

CW Saunders can be described as somewhat integrated with government when looking at the budget. The school receives approximately 24% of its budget from subventions at a rate of $441 per student. The school is a part of The Bahamas National Baptist Missionary and Education Convention and receives its funding through this convention. CW Saunders school receives grant-in-aid from the government in accordance with the Education Act, Section 53, and any increase in tuition fees requires government approval.

The school was formed to meet the needs in the community at the time. In an interview with Charles Saunders (the educator/minister for whom the school was named), who was President of the Baptist Convention at the time the school was founded in 1988, remarked that the government subvention was important in defraying the cost of education to persons seeking an institution that would develop sound character and good academic discipline for their children. The secretary to The Bahamas Baptist Convention, in an interview also stated, “the subvention is important in allowing us to meet the needs of the community”.

The school receives the remainder of its financing through the Baptist Convention and tuition and fees of students.

Policy

Examination of the Policy variable with CW Saunders from a view of the communication indicator reveals minimum integration of the school with government. The administration of the school interacts with the state only in the regular site visits made by the District Superintendent
who assesses the environment of the school and the curriculum that is being used. The principal of the school, Dr. Shelton Higgs, stated:

“We work within the policy guidelines of the government to provide the kind of education that will result in young people who are academically prepared for graduation but more importantly who possess the character traits that would take them further even beyond the time they leave us…The focus of the school is to prepare the young people for the national exams and life.” (Higgs/Newry 2009)

In the early eighties, public schools were overcrowded and underfunded. The Teacher’s Union had threatened strikes and called for an increase in pay and changes to the working conditions. The public schools had a failure rate of 51.4% on Ordinary ‘O’ Level examinations (Interview MOE Officer, Ralph Bowe). It was this environment that prompted the founding CW Saunders School with the church seeking to provide a ministry to the community.

The school carries out its mandate by using the guidelines set out by the Ministry of Education. The school does not show any evidence of innovating to deliver education, and what is done within its walls is for the benefit of the students there. The Ministry sends an officer, the District Superintendent, to inspect the school and insure that the curriculum is being followed and the school is an environment that is conducive to learning. The school works within the policy parameters of the government in this respect.

In review of the purpose of the Baptist convention from an educational perspective, we see a focus on the promotion of Christian as well secular education which coincides with the mission of the Ministry of Education. A comparison of the mission statements, as seen in Table 4.1 shows the extent of the cooperation in terms of mutuality between CWSS and the government. The level of mutuality can be described as minimally integrated, from a policy standpoint, with government in that there is a focus on the same value for education, but the
organization’s promotion of this cause is mainly for the use of its members. The Baptist Board of Education’s mission statement reads:

“To promote the cause of Christian as well as secular Education by fostering Christian schools; by supporting Bible and Religious Institutes for the training of our Ministers, Christian teachers and workers for leadership among our people”.

This mission statement in Table 4.1 shows the extent to which the Convention believes in the value of education as stated by the Ministry of Education, but its focus is solely on the training of its people. The school follows the guidelines of the grant-in-aid policy (Appendix C). CWSS also benefits from reduced customs duties and assistance in securing work permits for foreign teachers.

In an interview with the principal of CW Saunders the principal expressed the school’s aim to “produce citizens who have knowledge that is based on Christian principles.” This is in line with the preamble of the Constitution of The Bahamas and demonstrates the mutuality between the organization and the state.

**Table 5.4 - Mission Statements Comparison CW Saunders School and Government**

The following table shows a comparison between the mission statements of CWSS and the Ministry of Education of the government of The Bahamas.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mission Statement</th>
<th>Mission Statement</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CW Saunders School</td>
<td>Ministry of Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“To promote the cause of Christian as well as secular Education by fostering</td>
<td>The mission of the Ministry/Department of Education is to provide opportunities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christian schools; by supporting Bible and Religious Institutes for the training</td>
<td>for all persons in The Bahamas to receive the education and training that will</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of our Ministers, Christian teachers and workers for leadership among our people”</td>
<td>equip them with the necessary beliefs, attitudes, knowledge work and life in an</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>interdependent, ever changing world.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Structure

An examination of the structure of the relationship between the government and CW Saunders School reveals a relationship that is minimally integrated in terms of governance. There is no presence of government on the school board, though the Education Act, as it pertains to the granting of subventions permits the government to assign officers to the Board. The school is permitted to run without government interference in its decision-making. The governance of the school is primarily through the Baptist Convention.

From an administrative perspective, the school is regularly visited by government personnel to ensure compliance with curriculum guidelines and maintenance of the proper environment of schools in accordance with the Education Act (Higgs/Newry 2009). There is no constant interaction between the school and the Ministry regarding best practices for teaching, but the school maintains a commitment to teaching the curriculum that is set out by the Ministry of Education in order to receive the grant-in aid subvention disbursed to schools.

CWSS carries out a function traditionally performed by the government with the education of children, just as QC, with limited state interaction.
Table 5.5 - Relationship between CW Saunders and the Government

This table is a summary of the findings of each variable and the indicators and its level of integration/cooperation with government in the relationship between government and CWSS.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Indicator</th>
<th>Integration with Government</th>
<th>Evidence of Integration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Budget    | % of Organization's budget derived from government funding | Somewhat Integrated         | • Government gives 24% toward cost per pupil  
            |                                                |                              | • Grant-in-aid funding, Section 53 Education Act                                         |
| Policy    | Communication                                  | Minimal Integration         | • Interacts with government only when visited by District Superintendent re: learning environment and curriculum  
            |                                                |                              | • No advocacy for policy change on record                                              |
| Mutuality |                                                | Minimal Integration         | • Mission statements are similar  
            |                                                |                              | • CWS works within the policy parameters without any efforts for change  
            |                                                |                              | • CWS only works toward its membership goals                                          |
| Structure | Governance                                     | Minimal Integration         | • Government can nominate two people to sit on the school’s Board of Governors but it does not  
            |                                                |                              | • School permitted to act somewhat independently  
            |                                                |                              | • School must request permission for any increase in tuition                          |
|           | Administration                                 | Somewhat Integrated         | • District Superintendent visits the school to assess curriculum adherence and educational environment  
            |                                                |                              | • CWS performs service traditionally offered by the state with minimal government involvement |
**Relationship between The Bahamas National Trust and Government**

The Bahamas National Trust was created in 1959 by an Act of Parliament. The Trust was “established for the purposes of promoting the permanent preservation for the benefit and enjoyment of The Bahamas of lands and tenements (including buildings) and submarine areas of beauty or natural or historic interest and as regards lands and submarine areas…” At the time it was necessary to use an Act to create the Trust to ensure that the land and sea park could be protected from private sale but government does not have any control over the operations of the organization. It is categorized as an environmental group formed in colonial times. It was examined by utilizing the methodology described in the previous chapter. Archival data was reviewed, survey data collected and elite interviews conducted to provide insight into the relationship between organization and the state at the time of its origin and throughout its history.

**Revenue Source**

The Bahamas National Trust (BNT) can be described as highly integrated with government with an average of 35% of its budget coming from the Public Treasury.

Government is currently the largest donor to BNT’s revenue. BNT received 39% of its income in 2012 from government grants. The organization’s membership has several fundraising events as well as generous gifts and donations that contribute to its revenue. Fundraising events also serve as an outreach to increase membership. The Wine and Arts Festival, held in October each year, and the Jollification Festival, held in November, have increased in size and popularity. While these events are popular, it is interesting to note that 17% of BNT’s income comes from park fees and shop sales. Parks are both land and sea considered public though there a partnership between BNT and the state in the administration and maintenance of parks. It is expected that revenue from these items will increase further as the parks are utilized more by the
general public and more activities are planned for school children to be educated about the environment in them. This evolving relationship is indicative of the high level of integration between BNT and government (Survey questionnaire, Appendix A).

Policy

From a policy perspective, there is high integration in the relationship between government and BNT. On examination of the communication indicator, we see BNT working in partnership with government. The organization was formed by an act of parliament to help maintain and manage land and sea parks. Legislation was updated in 2010 to establish BNT officially as an advisor for the government on “development, conservation and biodiversity issues and policies”. The legislation itself and the government’s use of the expertise of BNT indicate a highly integrated level of mutuality in the relationship between BNT and government.

The government of The Bahamas has committed itself to working toward the conservation efforts of Bahamas National Trust. It has committed to the development of policies that would permit regular monitoring, law enforcement and quality control of marine and land resources, along with the overall environmental quality. While the Trust was formed for the stated purpose, and primarily for the management of the park system, it has addressed issues such as environmental education and curriculum, tourism and other development, and environmental impact assessments. The founding of BNT was as a partnership between government and the organization.

“Government was looking for this vehicle to hold these lands, but they didn’t want to do it as a government national park for which there was no money, but they wanted to harness the scientific world and the collective energy and volunteerism of the people, and the resources of the private sector, civil society…” (Maillis/Newry, 2008)
The environmental issues coincided with the social and economic development of the country. The issues of land use and the effects of construction on the environment were an area that BNT gave advice on to the government. This is one of the indicators of the high level of communication and partnership, and is illustrated in an incident reported in an interview with P. Maillis, past-president of the BNT in his recollection of a member of BNT approaching the then prime minister regarding the development of building of hotels and the clearing of trees. This incident was also recalled in other interviews with government officials and the current Director of BNT:

But also, we were a poor country and we needed to develop and so forth. So there was naturally a tendency not to want to come into the conservation movement nowadays, called the environmental movement, to become too powerful and too radical. People wanted things to go on. The classic case of this is with Dorothy Rand, the American widow of Sperry Rand, the big American mega millionaire. She went to see Pindling (the Prime Minister at the time) about all these bulldozers tearing up everything. He told her, “Mrs. Rand, I love the sound of the bulldozer, it means my people are working.” So anyway, government gave more land to the Trust. (Maillis/Newry 2008)

This involvement in issues that are not directly a part of their mission focus demonstrated to government the capacity of civil society organizations to participate effectively in various environmental concerns, not only national parks and preservation. In an interview with an official at the Bahamas Environment, Science and Technology Commission, it was expressed that the government also sees the BNT as a useful tool and expert reference in dealing with some environmental issues. The BNT provides expertise when viewing international conventions with regard to national parks and conservation. Individuals and groups seeking to do research in the national parks are referred to the Trust because of the legislated role that the organization has in terms of parks management (Weech/Newry 2009). Final policies are drafted by public servants who can weigh the social and economic impacts of proposed environmental policies. This
working relationship was highlighted in interviews with a public officials at the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries and with a BNT leadership representative:

Within the Public Service we do not have the expertise to pursue the kinds of environmental impact assessments necessary to make decisions on environmental issues, and it is necessary to rely on the expertise that the membership of the Trust has to weigh policy decisions. We also consult with other environmental concerns in the decision-making process (Weech/Newry 2009).

We at BNT have a track record of protecting the environment of The Bahamas. We have established Marine Protected Areas, parks and promoted legislation, such as closed seasons, to protect the environment of The Bahamas for generations to come (Carey/Newry, 2009).

BNT was established by legislation, its purpose is outlined in Paragraph 4 of the Act:

“The Bahamas National Trust shall be established for the purposes of promoting the permanent preservation for the benefit and enjoyment of The Bahamas of lands and tenements (including buildings) and submarine areas of beauty or natural or historic interest and as regards lands and submarine areas for the preservation (so far as practicable) of their natural aspect, features, and animal, plant and marine life.”

The scope of the Trust continues to expand, with an amendment to the Trust Act in 2010 that gives the Trust purview over more reserved lands and seas, with the ability to police the same. In addition, the amendment to the Act clarifies BNT’s role as an advisor to the Government, as well as private concerns regarding conservation and biodiversity policy, particularly as these policies relate to development. Section 4 of the Bahamas National Trust Act was amended to state:

“(4) The Bahamas National Trust shall — (a) from time to time advise the Government of The Bahamas in matters concerned with the areas to be or become Trust property and the policy to be pursued for the preservation thereof and the means of enforcing the same; and (b) be at liberty from time to time to advise both the Government of The Bahamas and the private sector generally on development issues and policies relating to conservation, the environment, biodiversity, natural and cultural heritage and resource management.”.
As mentioned earlier, while the Trust was formed for the stated purpose, and primarily for the management of the park system, it has addressed issues such as environmental education and curriculum, tourism and other development, and environmental impact assessments. This further demonstrates the extent of mutuality and communication between the state and the BNT.

Structure

Examination of the relationship between the BNT and Government from a structural perspective indicates that the organization is highly integrated with Government when viewing both governance and administrative indicators.

The BNT’s structure includes designated Bahamian and international organizations in its twenty-one-member Council. The diversity of the organization in covering international and local environmental and academic organizations, as well as government agencies and its legislated mandate provides a broad base for structure.

The president and deputy president of the BNT Council are two of the elected members who are appointed to the Executive Committee that represents the Council between annual meetings. The practice had been to rotate the leadership of the BNT amongst the members who were interested in holding positions, and over the course of its fifty-year history, fifteen persons have held the position of President of The Bahamas National Trust. Past presidents are allowed to sit on Council though they do not have a vote. The minutes of some of the annual general meetings prior to 2008 reflect a practise of elected Council members by acclamation; that is, only nine persons are nominated to fill the nine council spots and therefore are elected unopposed. The amendment to the Act governing the BNT made changes to elections of officers within the Trust, the establishment of the Council and the appointment of special advisors.
Legislation regarding the establishment of the Council according to Chapter 391, Paragraph 10, is as follows:

10. (1) The affairs of the Bahamas National Trust shall be administered by a council to be called “the Council of the Bahamas National Trust” consisting of a President of the council and twenty members of whom nine shall be elected annually from among the members at the annual general meeting of the Bahamas National Trust.

(2) Any of the bodies or persons hereinafter named may appoint a member or members to the Council of the Bahamas National Trust as follows (that is to say):

His Excellency, the Governor General of The Bahamas — Two members
The New York Zoological Society — One member
The Rosenthal School of Marine and Atmospheric Science — One member
The Audubon Society — One member
The Smithsonian Institute — One member
The American Museum of Natural History — One member
The United States National Park Service — One member
The Minister for Agriculture and Fisheries — Two members
The Minister for Tourism — Two members

and may remove and replace the same (or may remove without replacing the same) at any time and of such removal or replacement shall notify the Secretary in writing forthwith.

With six government appointed members on the council policy could be influenced either way. It is hoped that with a greater number of elected members the will of the BNT membership will prevail. The greater number of elected members would provide a voting bloc that would ensure that the matters of import to the membership would pass through on the agenda and limit the influence that Government has on the various aspects of the organization. The change to the structure of the Trust was done partially to satisfy the standards of several international bodies that wanted to partner with the Trust but was uneasy with the structure of more appointed than elected council members (Newry/Carey 2011). This new structure was an effort to become more democratically appealing. The change did not come without its critics. During the presentation of the bill to amend the Trust Act Opposition Senator Jerome Fitzgerald stated:

The question for us today is whether or not the Trust and the members of the board are worthy of us bestowing more trust in them with this legislation. “From the evidence it appears to me that based on that, extending their powers without addressing this conflict, Madame President, between the interests of members and their duty, makes it very difficult for me to support this Bill today,” … "This Bill is
essentially almost creating a state within a state for the National Trust. They will have autonomy to do as they want (Tribune article, 12/06/2010).

From an administrative perspective, the high integration between the BNT and the state is illustrated in the use of expertise for Environmental Impact Assessments, as well as the advice given by BNT membership as consultants on environmental policy. The BNT has also been instrumental in training tour guides for bird watching, an initiative of the Ministry of Tourism that seeks to equip locals with skills to maximize the potential of The Bahamas as an ecotourism destination (Carey/Newry, 2009). Similarly, there is a programme partnered with the Ministry of Education to introduce environmental stewardship to young students and to introduce them to the importance of conservation and protection of the environment (BNT/Newry, 2009).
Table 5.6 - Relationship between BNT and Government

This table is a summary of the findings of each variable and the indicators and its level of integration/cooperation with government in the relationship between government and BNT.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Indicator</th>
<th>Integration with Government</th>
<th>Evidence of Integration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Budget</td>
<td>% of Organization's budget derived from government funding</td>
<td>Highly Integrated</td>
<td>● 35% of BNT’s budget comes from the Public Treasury</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Policy   | Communication | Highly Integrated | ● BNT works in partnership with the state  
● Formed by an Act of Parliament for the maintenance & management of land and sea parks  
● Legislated advisor to Government on environmental issues including policy development  
● Advocacy/expressive organization |
| Mutuality | Highly Integrated | | ● Sharing of best practices  
● Legislation indicates the extent of policy relationship  
● Contributions to the education curriculum |
| Structure | Governance | Highly Integrated | ● 6 of the 21 Board members are from the government  
● Government representatives do not have veto power |
| Administration | Somewhat Integrated | | ● Government uses the expertise provided by BNT scientists for analysis of Environmental Impact Assessments  
● Provision of personnel for the maintenance of parks |
**Relationship between ReEarth and Government**

ReEarth is a postcolonial environmental advocacy group. It was established by middle-class professionals who seek to bring awareness to environmental concerns that were not being addressed by the government and advocate for policy change to benefit the future environment for Bahamians. The organization and its relationship with Government was examined using the same methodology outlined in the previous chapter.

**Revenue Source**

From a budget perspective the relationship between ReEarth and Government is not integrated. The organization does not receive funding from government. The group relies solely on voluntary actions and donations. The members do not make a living from ReEarth but voice their concerns as a group on various issues.

The group does not have a financial relationship with Government. It does not receive membership dues and most of the advocacy activities are done voluntarily. With particular issues, persons who have interest in the issue may provide funding to have advertisements published and any other cost covered, but for the most part the work is done voluntarily (Duncombe/Newry, 2008).

**Policy**

From a policy perspective, ReEarth can be described as somewhat integrated as it communicates its concerns to Government to seek policy change. It acts as a watchdog for the environment. The organization is not involved in the execution of policy but is concerned with advocacy in environmental issues and is a vanguard for policy accountability.

ReEarth campaigns on causes through the use of media, including television, print and blogs. Its earliest campaigns included the ban on the importation of non-certified “dolphin safe”
tuna, and the Brazilian Rainforests. The group was criticized for its focus on international issues, but it used these issues because they were the ones on which information was readily available. Their focus was individual responsibility in considering the environmental plight. A member of the ReEarth leadership described the perspective of the organization in holding government accountable:

> We were asking questions about various issues and wondering, “What are they going to do about it? What are they going to do about it? Then it hit me like a brick: ‘They’ is us!” (Duncombe/Newry 2008)

The first local issue brought to the fore by the group was the issue of long line fishing, which posed a great threat to the natural fisheries resources. Many of the local fishermen were active in the campaign against long-line fishing (Farmer, 2012); however, when ReEarth proposed establishing a season for the fishing of grouper and a ban on deep water trapping, the fishermen did not support the group’s efforts (Missick, 2003). Similarly, some persons involved in a particular issue will not necessarily support another one of the group’s initiatives. For some issues such as the Clifton Cay development issue that ReEarth introduced in 1999, the group was able to capture the attention of a diverse and vocal sector of the public, banding with other civil society groups, to sway public opinion and government policy. (BahamasPress, 2014)

Following the Clifton Cay issue and the constant persistence of ReEarth and advocacy groups, in 2008, the government created a Ministry of The Environment. More directly, through the advocacy of ReEarth, Environmental Impact Assessment documents were posted online and made available for public consultation and scrutiny. The leader of ReEarth seeks to have greater transparency in government practice in policy development for environmental issues.

ReEarth works closely with the ministry responsible for the environment, the Department of Fisheries and, occasionally, the Ministry of Tourism. The relationship is different depending on
the issue focused on and the Minister who is in charge of the Ministry at the time (Weech/Newry, 2009).

From the group leader’s perspective, the relationship with government is not seen as great by any stretch of the imagination, though she admits that there are some people who she works with well. She also realizes that, at times, the Opposition has used whatever the organization was fighting against to their benefit. She stated that a part of the contention between the group and Government probably lies in the fact that she goes to the people first and then to government with regard to issues.

The reality is environmental groups would not have to exist if the government did its job. Clearly, we cannot trust the government to protect the environment for the Bahamian people, and we cannot allow it to continue to scandalize the country by dragging it through the mud of cronyism and self-dealing (Duncombe, WeBlogbahamas/fight-for-our-future).

While some public servants view the relationship that ReEarth has with Government as adversarial, others on an informal level applaud the work that is being done by the group. Some of the advocacy positions initiated by the group have prompted Government to take a stand on some issues and form policies (though not always in line with the proposals of ReEarth). Some public servants also request that ReEarth bring to the attention of the public issues that Government (for political reasons) may not raise. For example, the closing of a swim with the dolphins facility as a tourist attraction has been advocated by the group and supported by a court order due to the conditions that exist for the dolphins, but the closing of the facility would also lead to a loss of jobs and revenue for the investor. Similarly, the organization led protests against the construction of a liquefied natural gas facility in The Bahamas (Interviews with officers in the Department of the Environment).
The group works well with some of the smaller environmental civil society groups on some issues and assists with educating the public and advocating for change where necessary. ReEarth also receives support from international conservation groups to provide expertise in areas with which they are not familiar (BahamasPress, 2014). The leader and most members of the group are not experts on many of the matters of environmental concern that may present themselves, but if something comes to the fore that may impact the country’s environment negatively, they call on local and international ‘partners’ who can educate and inform them regarding the issue and, if necessary, the general public.

There was strong discontent, by those interviewed, for the manner in which legislation was written with regard to environment. Most of the policies begin with the phrase, “If it pleases the Minister…” The difficulty with this is that whether the Minister is educated or convinced to do something is the deciding factor.

The organization, along with animal welfare community, has initiated the Marine Mammal Protection Act. Even though the act is not all that the group advocated for, it does provide some protection for. The advocacy of ReEarth also initiated public access online for environmental impact assessments so that the public could make a determination on what is actually going on with regard to the environmental issues.

The organization’s work has included consultation with the Ministry or Department responsible for the environment to provide educational material for young people to be more aware of issues regarding environmental conservation. This is an indication to demonstrate some integration in the level of mutuality and communication between ReEarth and Government. (Duncombe/Newry, 2009) (Weech/Newry, 2009)
Structure

From a structural perspective using governance as an indicator, ReEarth is not integrated with Government. It is registered but it does not report annually to Government regarding its operations and it operates from both a governance and administrative perspective solely to satisfy the needs of its stakeholders.

ReEarth was founded in 1990 to increase public awareness and understanding of environmental issues. It was formed when its urban professional founders perceived a lack of information regarding environmental issues being brought to the public by existing local environmental groups, namely the BNT. The founders saw the BNT as not providing the type of education to raise the awareness of the general public with regard to environmental issues. A leader of ReEarth described the motivation:

…After coming to the realization that the conservation group that existed was doing absolutely nothing to tell people about the little things they could do about the little problems, about the big problems, about the middle problems – nothing was going on. That’s why we formed the group, to become a public awareness center where people could get information from, because we were willing to investigate issues and bring them to the public…That’s why we started ReEarth – lack of information.Duncombe/Newry

ReEarth operates as a very loose group in that there are three core members who research and present various issues of environmental concern to the public. However, numerous other persons sign on and are active in the group depending on the issue of focus. Issues of environmental concern are varied and there when some may capture the attention of one group of people, such as the closing of Blackbeard Cay, this group of professionals is able to garner the support of animal rights activists and persons who have a concern for dolphins. When the group is protesting the dredging of a harbour or the a beach rights or land rights issue they are likely to get a different support base. In some instances it is speculated that group also gains support from
some of the elite to advocate their position in its Save the Bays initiative. The flexibility of the group in raising issues increases their visibility and awareness of the public of its work. There is no integration with government from either a governance or administrative perspective.

**Table 5.7 - Relationship between ReEarth and Government**

This table is a summary of the findings of each variable and the indicators and its level of integration/cooperation with government in the relationship between government and ReEarth.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Indicator</th>
<th>Integration with Government</th>
<th>Evidence of Integration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Budget</td>
<td>% of Organization's budget derived from government funding</td>
<td>No integration</td>
<td>● No funding for the organization comes from Government</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Policy   | Communication | Somewhat Integrated | ● Advocacy/expressive organization  
|          |             |                             | ● Challenged LNG terminal  
|          |             |                             | ● Challenged proposed developments that negatively affect the environment, sometimes with success  
|          |             |                             | ● Advocated for discontinuation of long-line fishing |
| Mutuality| Somewhat Integrated |                             | ● Invited to advise Government regarding some environmental policies. |
| Structure| Governance  | No Integration              | ● Government is not included in the decision-making process |
|          | Administration | No Integration              | ● Government is not involved in the administrative process of the organization |
Relationship between the Physically Challenged Children’s Committee and Government

The Physically Challenged Children’s Committee (PCCC) was established in 1954 as the Crippled Children’s Committee by a journalist, Sir Etienne Dupuch. The name was changed to reflect more appropriately the expanse of the work done by the committee to assist children who are physically challenged.

Revenue Source

From a budget perspective, there is no integration in the relationship between Government and the PCCC. The organization does not receive funding from the Government for its activities. Its status as a non-profit organization has given it eligibility for tax exemption, particularly as it relates to the importation of prostheses for clients, valued between $70,000 and $80,000 per year (Coakely/Newry 2007; Burrows/Newry 2008). In an interview with Bismark Coakely, past-Chairman of the PCCC, he noted that the organization did not spend more than it took in during any given year. He added that much of its income came from an endowment put in place for its continuity and other donations from members of the public.

Mrs. Velma Burrows, a physical therapist who serves as the Secretary to the Committee and Administrative Officer, spoke of the donations that the organization made to other non-profit groups, namely The Bahamas Association for the Physically Disabled, and the special care baby unit in the Children’s ward of the public hospital for the purchase of vehicles and equipment (Munnings, 2005).

Though its work continues, the organization does not receive the support from the public that it once did (Burrows, 2008). In its initial years, the media exposure from the daily paper of its founder and its ability to draw donations from all sectors of the society gave it a broad base. As the years progressed, fundraising became increasingly difficult and the sector of the
population that benefited most from the services that the PCCC provided had been slower to support the chief public fundraiser – the raffle. The chairman for the PCCC indicated that it would seem prudent to cancel/postpone the raffle in years when the sale of raffle tickets was not equivalent to the value of the donated vehicle (Coakely/Newry 2007).

**Policy**

The PCCC is a service organization that can be described as having minimal integration with the state when viewing policy through the communication indicator but is somewhat integrated when examining the relationship in the context of mutuality.

At the time of its founding, the Government of The Bahamas did not have the means to fund such persons in need. Most of the help provided to the physically and mentally disabled was done either privately at home or through church-affiliated groups. There was no organization to which persons challenged with disability could turn. The PCCC was founded on a plea made to assist one Bahamian child who needed assistance due to a post-polio disability. The letter was written by the welfare officer assigned to the boy, who was in Miami and whose parents did not have the funds necessary for him to receive treatment. The welfare system in Florida did not permit non-citizens to receive benefits, so the welfare officer wrote to Dupuch on behalf of the boy. Dupuch advertised the need for assistance in his daily journal and received generous support. The support amounted to more than four times what was needed to help the child and the need for others to receive assistance was great. Therefore, in an effort to meet the needs of the community, Dupuch started the Crippled Children’s Foundation (http://pcccbahams.org).

Prior to independence, 1972, Dupuch, the founder of PCCC, and members of the committee considered closing the organization. The prime minister, realizing the important role that the organization played in providing care for children asked another private citizen to lead
the PCCC (Coakley 2007; Bahamas Handbook 1973). This acknowledgement of the work and the funds that the organization put into the public hospital’s children’s ward was indicative of the mutuality of purpose shared by the PCCC and the state at the time.

The PCCC works in partnership with the Government to accomplish its mission to provide relief to children who are physically disabled. This can be described as somewhat integrated with government when examining the provision of medical operations for children at home or abroad or the importation of prostheses by the organization one can observe a level of interdependence between the state and PCCC to permit the necessary specialists to practice, to provide operating theater space for the operations, the level of reciprocity is geared toward providing a service to children that they may not otherwise be able to afford. These areas of interdependence and reciprocity are examples of mutuality as an indicator yet show some level of integration, but from a communication perspective, PCCC is only minimally integrated. It acts within the parameters of Government’s provision of healthcare to the populace without any effort to change the state policy.

**Structure**

From a structural perspective, the PCCC could be described as minimally integrated with Government through the lens of the governance indicator, being a registered organization, yet acting solely to satisfy the needs of its stakeholders. From an administrative perspective, the organization receives in-kind assistance from the Government as opposed to financial assistance, and, as such, could be described as somewhat integrated with government.

The organization’s structure has two committees: an executive committee that deals primarily with fundraising and disbursement of funds, and a professional committee that consists of persons in the medical profession who are able to make judgments regarding the needs of
prospective beneficiaries and progress of beneficiaries. The two committees together comprise seven to ten persons who either offer their services or are invited to serve. The two committees work together in organizing the implementation of services by visiting physicians. In The Bahamas many medical practitioners who work in private practice also work in the public hospital and have a relationship with the staff and the Ministry of Health (government agency) that oversee the facility. The provision of services is facilitated administratively by personnel in the Ministry of Health (Burrows/Newry, 2008).
### Table 5.8 - Relationship between Physically Challenged Children’s Committee and Government

This table is a summary of the findings of each variable and the indicators and its level of integration/cooperation with government in the relationship between government and PCCC.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Indicator</th>
<th>Integration with Government</th>
<th>Evidence of Integration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| **Budget** | % of Organization's budget derived from government funding | No Integration | ● PCCC does not receive any funding from government  
● PCCC is tax-exempt |
| **Policy** | Communication | Minimal Integration | ● Service Organization  
● Acts within the parameters of the law to give service |
| **Mutuality** | | Somewhat Integrated | ● Provides service to the public to the satisfaction of its members  
● Government provides facilities if necessary for surgery and examination |
| **Structure** | Governance | Not Integrated | ● Government personnel are not on the board |
| **Administration** | | Somewhat Integrated | ● Government uses the expertise provided by PCCC volunteers to provide services to children who would not be able to afford them otherwise  
● Government provides facilities for operations and assists with the clearance of medical personnel who volunteer their services  
● Government directs clients to PCCC through the Department of Social Welfare |
Relationship between the AIDS Foundation and Government

The AIDS foundation is a postcolonial organization that is classified in the health sector of civil society in The Bahamas. The organization was founded from another civil society group, Zonta International, which is a global service organization of female professionals. It was examined in the same manner as the previous cases. A summary of the findings showing the level of integration for all indicators are found in Table 5.8 below.

Revenue Source

When reviewing the relationship with Government as it relates to the budget of the AIDS foundation, it can be said that there is no integration between the state and the organization. The AIDS Foundation does not receive any funding from Government.

The founder and President of the organization, Lady Camille Barnett, in an interview, provided the background of the circumstances surrounding the genesis of the AIDS Foundation. The organization was founded in 1992 when Dr. Perry Gomez, an infectious disease specialist and Director of the National HIV/AIDS program, a government program under the Ministry of Health, approached the Zonta Club of Nassau (a civil society group of female professionals seeking to advance the status of women in their communities through advocacy and service) requesting that they form a non-profit organization to help provide funding for some of the activities of the National AIDS program. This was done because the National HIV/AIDS Program required more funding and government was unable/unwilling, at the time, to provide more funds to the same. There were funds available to non-profit groups that the National HIV/AIDS Program could not directly access due to its governmental nature and therefore sought to tap into them using the Foundation as a vehicle. Lady Barnett stated that the AIDS
Foundation was initially formed to be the umbrella fundraiser for organizations that sought to provide a service in HIV/AIDS prevention and education (Barnett/Newry 2008).

The foundation was able to receive funds from various sources. The AIDS Foundation’s initial focus of attention was the education of people, primarily youth and Barnett women, regarding prevention and treatment of HIV/AIDS. They worked closely with the Ministry of Education to infuse information regarding HIV/AIDS into the curriculum of all public schools and a few private ones. They also started doing a series of lock-ins where they would bombard youth with information on the subject overnight through literature, movies and other entertaining media. After two years, Dr. Gomez approached the group again about the purchase of AZT at a time when the drug was expensive and still in its experimental stages. The Foundation purchased and imported the medication from 1995 to 2000, giving it to the National HIV/AIDS Program. They received good results with regard to transmission of the virus from mother to child. Many of the members consider this to be one of the group’s greatest accomplishments (Barnett/Newry 2008). Government took over the AZT program in 1998 and, though the Foundation continued to purchase the medication, they did so in lesser quantities. The Foundation then returned its attention to education. (Pratt/Newry 2010)

One of the Foundation’s main outreach programs is to teenagers with HIV/AIDS. This program provides an education and social welfare services to young people affected by the disease. It is estimated that the cost of providing the young people with this service is approximately $2,000 per year. (S. Moss,”Red Hot Cause”, 2014)

The AIDS Foundation receives its funding through three main ways:

1. Donations from individuals and the corporate sector;

2. Membership fees paid to the foundation; and
3. Annual fund raisers.

The foundation does not receive funds from Government, but Government pays for the janitorial service that cleans the premises; this in-kind service is estimated at approximately fifteen thousand dollars ($15,000) per year (CNP Survey data). At one time, the Government also paid for a security guard for the premises. The organization gives funds to Government.

The foundation has thirty-five active volunteers who donate their services to the organization at no cost. Some of them are trained professionals, such as psychologists and social workers, who work in the organization during their spare time.

The AIDS Foundation receives financial assistance from other NGOs as well. The Zonta Club continues to support the group and the Rotarians have also given large donations toward major projects. In turn, the organization also offers services and funding to NGOs that seek the same goals with respect to education and reducing the incidence and impact of HIV/AIDS.

Policy

The relationship between the Government and the AIDS Foundation can be described as somewhat integrated using mutuality as an indicator. This description is chosen as the organization was formed as a result of a directive from government. Government recognized that a non-profit organization was able to access funding that Government couldn’t to meet healthcare needs and, consequently, recommended the formation of the group.

In an interview with Dr. Perry Gomez (former director of the National AIDS Program and Former Minister of Health), he noted that the appeal to a civil society group to take on and advance the cause of HIV/AIDS further from its previous involvement was the impetus for the organization’s founding. The acceptance of the Zonta organization to take the challenge demonstrates the same interest of both parties in the delivery of healthcare to the populous,
particularly education and outreach to persons who are affected by HIV/AIDS. However, from a communication perspective, the AIDS Foundation is only minimally integrated with Government, as it acts within the parameters of Government’s provision of healthcare to the populace without any effort to change the state policy, and there is little communication between the foundation and the government as most of the advocacy that the group does is in direct communication with the public.

**Structure**

There is minimal integration between the AIDS Foundation and the Government from a governance perspective. The organization is registered and there is limited communication with Government regarding its operations. From an administrative perspective, the organization is somewhat integrated with Government as there are times when Government provides in-kind services for the clients of the organization.

The Foundation’s structure is one whereby, initially, the board consisted of Zonta members. After two years, members of the public were invited to participate, but there have always been two or three Zonta members on the board. The board consists of 11 members. There is no mandate to include government officers.
Table 5.9 - Relationship between The AIDS Foundation and Government

This table is a summary of the findings of each variable and the indicators and its level of integration/cooperation with government in the relationship between government and The AIDS Foundation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Indicator</th>
<th>Integration with Government</th>
<th>Evidence of Integration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Finance</td>
<td>% of Organization's budget derived from government funding</td>
<td>No Integration</td>
<td>● The foundation does not receive any funding from Government</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Policy   | Communication | Somewhat Integrated | ● Expressive/Advocacy/Service Organization  
● Acts within the parameters of the law to give service  
● Advisor to Government re: best practices dealing with HIV/AIDS  
● Advisor re: policy and practices dealing with youth and HIV/AIDS |
| Mutuality | Somewhat Integrated | | ● Provides service to the public to the satisfaction of its members  
● Works closely with Government providing services to persons with HIV/AIDS |
| Structure | Governance | Not Integrated | ● Government personnel are not on the board |
| Administration | Somewhat Integrated | | ● Government refers persons to the AIDS Foundation who have tested positive for HIV/AIDS  
Government provides some administrative support for the foundation |
A view of all the organizations in all the sectors examined indicates that the relationship between organizations and government are in the colonial era demonstrate higher levels of integration/cooperation in the education and environment sector. This is indicative of the power shift in social classes. In the health sector the relationship between the organizations and government is the same postcolonial as colonial. This is represented in Table 5.10 where the color coding shows the organization with more blue being more integrated with government, those fields with more yellow being less integrated with government.

**Table 5.10 - Summary of the Relationship between Government and various sectors of colonial and post-colonial civil society**

The table shows the levels of integration in the different sectors in the colonial and postcolonial time frames.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Education</th>
<th>Environment</th>
<th>Health</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Colonial</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Budget</td>
<td>Blue</td>
<td>Yellow</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Policy</td>
<td>Blue</td>
<td>Yellow</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Structure</td>
<td>Blue</td>
<td>Green</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Post-Colonial</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>Blue</td>
<td>Yellow</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Budget</td>
<td>Blue</td>
<td>Yellow</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Policy</td>
<td>Yellow</td>
<td>Yellow</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Structure</td>
<td>Green</td>
<td>Green</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Color Key**

- **Blue**: Highly Integrated
- **Yellow**: Less Integrated
Social Welfare Spending, Social Class & Power

In considering the relationship that Government has with civil society organizations, it is important to see what Government priorities are with respect to social welfare at points in history, particularly at the point of origin of the organization. Additionally, it is important to connect this spending with the social class interaction and power relations at the time.

In 1890, when QC was founded, government expenditure on social welfare represented 45% of its total expenditure, with 19% of total expenditure on education.

While the amount of government expenditure does not necessarily provide insight into social outcomes, it does give an indication of government intention. Government provided grant-in-aid aimed at improving primary education throughout the islands. QC was founded initially to provide a superior education to Methodist boys and girls, both at the primary and secondary levels. Methodists at this time were primarily the mercantile elite and within the church there existed racial segregation that did not permit blacks to enter QC.

By 1954, Government social welfare spending had fallen to 27% of total expenditure. 9.6% of this amount had been allocated to health services (down from 11% of the budget in 1890). The percentage of government social welfare spending decreased further in 1959 to 21% of total expenditure (Department of Archives, Public Records Office, EDU, FIN). The fall in social welfare spending could be explained based on the increased government expenditure on the physical infrastructure of The Bahamas to accommodate the burgeoning tourism industry.
catering to the needs of the mercantile elite. In 1988-1992, we see a steady contribution to social welfare spending of 37% marking a post-colonial stage where government focused on human capital development and demonstrating a shift of power to the masses. In 2008, government social welfare spending is at 35% of total expenditure. Between 1988 and 2008, social welfare spending as a percentage of GDP reflects a movement between 5 and 8 per cent.

The information in the table below represents the social welfare spending of the government at the time of inception of each organization. The archival information was put together from the Blue Books, and Central Bank publications, Budget of the Commonwealth of The Bahamas for the respective years. While social welfare spending is a key factor in social origins theory for determining the size and scope of civil society, and we cannot determine the size of the nonprofit sector by looking at six organizations, we are able to look at this information on government welfare spending to extrapolate the level of financial commitment that the state places on various social welfare sectors.
Table 5.11 - Social Welfare Spending in The Bahamas

This table shows the amount of social welfare spending at the time of establishment of each organization. Social welfare spending is detailed for the health, education and environment sectors.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>£</td>
<td>£</td>
<td>£</td>
<td>$</td>
<td>$</td>
<td>$</td>
<td>$</td>
<td>$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gross Domestic Product</td>
<td>3,211,700,000</td>
<td>3,439,660,000</td>
<td>3,359,810,000</td>
<td>7,564,000,000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Government Expenditure</td>
<td>18,351</td>
<td>3,102,002</td>
<td>7,548,528</td>
<td>515,000,000</td>
<td>583,000,000</td>
<td>595,774,621</td>
<td>1,819,371,011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health</td>
<td>2,119</td>
<td>298,515</td>
<td>535,556</td>
<td>79,800,000</td>
<td>89,400,000</td>
<td>61,071,132</td>
<td>199,242,849</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>3,500</td>
<td>198,240</td>
<td>488,834</td>
<td>102,200,000</td>
<td>116,200,000</td>
<td>109,780,703</td>
<td>317,839,441</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Social Welfare</td>
<td>2,592</td>
<td>346,322</td>
<td>587,991</td>
<td>9,600,000</td>
<td>11,200,000</td>
<td>6,300,336</td>
<td>115,156,263</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Social Welfare</td>
<td>8,211</td>
<td>843,077</td>
<td>1,612,381</td>
<td>191,600,000</td>
<td>216,800,000</td>
<td>177,152,171</td>
<td>632,238,553</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Welfare as % of Total Expenditure</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Welfare as % of GDP</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
When reviewing the historical timeline of the Bahamas and the social, political and cultural influences that affected power and hence the development of civil society, we have to look at class, race and institutions and values. Note that the Bahamas, like other colonies, had in place civil society organizations (post emancipation) that catered to the needs of their members. In the late 19th century and early 20th century friendly societies, lodges and churches were established along economic and racial lines. In 1890, the government invested in social welfare to the tune of 45% of expenditure. The onset of tourism as a main industry brought with it the wage economy, and a renewal of ties and values of white elites with whites from the southern US this exacerbated class issues and the racial divide widened.

We see a policy shift in government focusing on developing infrastructure for tourism development and social welfare spending falling to less than 30%. More telling, the introduction of practices that sought to exclude coloured and middle-class blacks from benefiting from economic gains that tourism brought. As middle-class blacks and coloureds returned from receiving an education abroad they started to agitate for change. This begins a gradual shift from the traditional model of social origins civil society where colonial masters kept institutions and policies in place to ensure the status quo remained from which they benefitted.

Initially these middle-classed blacks and coloureds formed a Citizen’s Committee that addressed some of the injustices that they faced, they were not so successful because many of their concerns as black professionals did not resonate with the black masses. In 1936, a white Bahamian lead a Labour Union to address some of the injustices that were seen in the workplace. In 1942 a wage dispute occurred when it was revealed that the government had agreed to payment of Bahamians at a wage much less than what imported American labor was paid while this was riot was pivotal in some respects, social momentum was fleeting.
In the early 50s, professional Bahamians were returning from university, working class young men who worked on the “Contract” to build south Florida no longer accepted the status quo. The formation of the Progressive Liberal Party marked the beginning of party politics and these professional black Bahamians used gained the support of the masses by focusing on issues concerning race. The formation of the United Bahamian Party was a response by the elite and merchant class whites to the PLP. By the late 1950s the white elite’s wealth and status were being confronted both inside and outside the country. Wealthy foreigners sought to purchase land in the Bahamas. Fearing they would lose their ‘playground’ they established the BNT to preserve the land and sea for their posterity. Labour unrest grew during this time as well with establishment of unions. During this time there was less support coming from Great Britain (weakened after WWII).

The 1958 General Strike marked the first planned event supported by the black middle (professional) class and the masses and demonstrated the power of the labour movement and the fledgling party to galvanize the masses toward sustained policy change. This event led to majority rule and Independence. Independence was used as a point of separation between the first Colonial groups of organizations and the second group of organizations because the achievement of independence is perhaps one of the first decisions that was supported by the masses in the Bahamas demonstrating the kind of shift in political power that social origins theory expounds.

After independence we see unions, the churches wielding much power and government funding social welfare to the tune of 35% of its budget. Post-independence we see a civil society where some organizations receive as much as 35% of their budgets from government.
CHAPTER 6
Analysis and Discussion

The preceding historical and descriptive information of the case studies leads to a more direct and detailed look at the research questions: What is the relationship between Government and civil society in The Bahamas?

● Does the relationship of six different organizations, established at different points in the history of The Bahamas, and Government vary depending upon the time an organization was established?

● Does the relationship between Government and civil society vary based on the type of civil society organization involved?

When viewing the cases focused on the relationship between Government and the civil society, these questions are important because they address some key aspects of the way in which a relationship may have formed and how the relationship may be fostered by Government over time. The questions review issues of equity in relationships that may exist, and the responses give some insight on how these relationships and those like them may become more favorable in addressing the social capital, as seen in the mutuality indicators, produced by civil society groups in The Bahamas in the future.

In this chapter, the findings will be discussed in light of the questions posed, broken down by sectors and the variables reviewed. The relationship between government and civil society will then be discussed through the lens of Social Origins Theory. Finally, the discussion will look at undercurrent themes that surfaced in researching the relationship between civil society and Government.

An overview of the summary Table 5.10 presented in the previous chapter shows that, while incidences of high integration are visible in organizations formed during the colonial
period in the health sector, there appears to be no difference in the relationship based on the time
the organization is formed: civil society organizations in the health sector display the same type
of relationship with Government when looking at the variables of finance, policy and structure.
An examination of the environment sector shows levels of high integration in the relationship
between government and the colonial organization displayed in all indicators, while there is no
integration using the budget and structure variables of the postcolonial organization, and the
indicators for policy show a relationship that is somewhat integrated. The education sector shows
high integration from a policy perspective in the colonial organization, but the relationship
between the post-colonial organization does not differ from the colonial from the perspective of
budget or structure.

In this chapter we will take a closer look at the findings, reviewing the findings by sector,
through a comparison of the time the organization was founded. The concept of social origins
theory will be explored in light of findings regarding government welfare spending at the origin
of each organization. Then the relationships will be compared and discussed in terms of three
variables: -

1. Revenue Source – How organizations are financed;
2. Policy Function – Whether the organization is affected by or affects state policy what
   are the levels of communication and mutuality;
3. Structure – The degree of formality in the structure of the relationship: Is the state
   involved in any of the day to day operations of the organization? Is it a contracted
   relationship, does the organization report to the state?

The discussion of the differences between sectors - health, education and environment -
and over time, colonial and postcolonial, will then be reviewed.
The time series nature of the case studies presented challenges with regard to the exploration of social origins theory. Social origins theory as addressed by Salamon and Anheier (1998) considered social welfare spending as a percentage of GDP; this will only be viewed in terms of the origins of groups formed post-independence. The main point of comparison will be government social welfare spending in comparison with government total expenditure. In discussing the relationship between each individual organization and government, we can also discuss Government’s policy priorities at the time. We are unable to generalize based on one organization regarding the entire sector or even the relationship that government has with civil society as a whole as government priorities may not necessarily be reflected based on the relationship of the cases chosen. We are able to see, from an historical timeline, based on the refinement of social origins theory in Salamon et al (2017), the changes in the influences of the socio economic classes and civil society on government policy. This can help to explain the relationship that civil society has with government in The Bahamas.

Response to Research Question #1

Does the relationship of six different organizations, established at different points in the history of The Bahamas, and Government vary depending upon the time an organization was established?

The relationship is analyzed based on three variables: revenue sources, policy and structure. Each sector will be viewed separately, comparing each variable. The cases were chosen from three sectors; education, health and the environment; in two time periods.

Education

In 1869, government revenue was in recession decreasing the amount granted to the Board of Education, providing for the salaries, supplies and maintenance of the 38 existing
government revenue was in recession, decreasing the amount granted to the Board of Education, providing for the salaries, supplies and maintenance of the periods – colonial and post-colonial to examine the relationship with Government and review the nature of that relationship to determine whether there are similarities or differences based on the time that each organization originated or the sector in which the organization exists (Williams, 1982, p 62).

The 1870 annual report of the Board stated that the ‘greatest care has been taken in maintaining the unsectarian character of the schools’, The Inspector of the schools also declared:

We are now reaping the bitter harvest of slavery. The social, moral, and intellectual condition of many people on the Out-Islands is a disgrace to any British Colony. Religious teaching has had a long and fair trial and…has hopelessly failed… Education now only remains to be tried, and to make people avail themselves of its benefits, it will be necessary to use some sort of compulsion (Craton & Saunders, 1999).

It was under this colonial backdrop that Queen's College, the oldest high school in The Bahamas, was formed.

In the eighties, the country was beset with the challenges resulting from the trafficking of narcotics and increased illegal immigration. As in the past with rum running and the blockade, The Bahamas was in a position, geographically to ‘benefit’ from the transfer of drugs to the United States. The economic gains that resulted from drug trafficking made the country a desirable stop for persons seeking a better way of life. These gains also came with high social costs, including an increase in crime and the degradation of the family unit. There was also an increase in gang violence (Saunders, Craton, 1999).

In the early eighties public schools were overcrowded and underfunded. The Teachers’ Union had threatened strikes and called for an increase in pay and changes to the conditions in
which they worked. The public schools had a failure rate of 51.4% on Ordinary ‘O’ Level examinations.

In 1988, Government was spending $190.6 million on social welfare; of this amount approximately $89 million was spent on education, representing nineteen percent of the total budget. The growing population of youth, outside the north central district of New Providence, had prompted Government to consider the construction of schools in the remaining areas. The resources of Government did not permit immediate construction due to a downturn in the economy (Finance 1987).

The Baptist Convention realized the need for a secondary school in the north central district. It felt that it was in a position to offer a good education and build the character of young people. In 1988, the Minister of Education, Hon. Paul Adderley, opened the high school with seven classrooms and teachers who were transferred from the Jordan Prince William School (a school established by the Baptist Convention). Students received instruction from seasoned teachers of good character who had the confidence of some of the parents in the area (C.W.Saunders, personal communication, April 25, 2008)

At the time, the Rev. Dr. Charles W. Saunders was president of the Baptist Convention. In 1990, the Convention decided to open a primary school to act as a feeder for the high school and to address the needs of the growing population of the community. Additional classrooms were added, and the school continued to grow in population.

**Education – Revenue Sources**

The budget of both institutions is bolstered by subventions given by Government. Government’s policy implementation in this regard is not equitable by their own reports, and the amount of funding per student at the school formed pre-independence is substantially more than
that of the school founded post-independence. Time of formation may be seen as a factor in the distribution of grant-in-aid funds. When viewing other institutions receiving grant-in-aid, the schools attached to the Methodist, Catholic, Anglican and Baptist denominations receive more funding than those of other Christian denominations. These groups have had a longer relationship with government and disbursement of subventions is granted accordingly (FAS Ministry of Education Bowe/Newry, 2008).

In 2004, a government research paper to address the inequities in the policy was drafted but has yet to be acted on (MOE Bowe/Newry, 2008). The granting of subventions is seen as necessary in order to ensure the universal provision of education. Whereas Government seeks to ensure that all children are educated, they are unable to build physical structures and provide all the necessary support for the required institutions. Therefore, it is more feasible to provide assistance to private entities (namely church-based organizations) that are willing and able to provide such an environment for education. At the same time, Government is able to regulate and monitor standards of education being provided and control the rate at which tuition and fees are increased. This control mechanism is in place to fend off a surge in applications for entry into public schools that Government cannot accommodate.

We see in this aspect of the relationship between Government and civil society that Government is using the grant as a tool to support the provision of education yet leaving the actual tasking of the service to the private entity. The government simultaneously monitors the service and maintains a level of accountability in fulfillment of its legislated responsibility to provide universal education.

The main way that Government assists civil society in the education sector is through grant-in-aid funding, but there are other forms of subvention as well. Government grants
exemptions from property tax, business license fees, and customs duties on certain items and, at times, government guaranteed loans. These courtesies are extended to encourage the provision of services by non-profit organizations (Ministry of Education, First Assistant Secretary Bowe/Newry, 2007).

Queen’s College’s total operating expenses for FY 2008 were $6,067,253. The school received $5,521,548 from tuition and fees and $797,326 (13%) from Government in grant-in-aid funds. Grant-in-aid worked out to $618 per student. Students paid fees at a rate of $1,405 per student at the primary level and $1,580 per student at the secondary level. This included facility fees\(^3\) of $245 and $295, respectively. The government has permitted an annual 5% increase of fees from 2005. This amount compares to the maximum of $126,729 that government currently gave to a public-school board in the same district as QC. The school had a population of 1,058 and this amount averaged to approximately $120 per student (Survey, QC, Appendix)

The Bahamas as a small island state is vulnerable to economic forces, particularly forces in North America. The immediate post-colonial increase education and a growing middle class in the new millennium has shifted to a widening gap between rich and poor with more educated persons seeking an elite education for their children and being able to afford schools without government subvention As the economic climate changes, the Government undertakes a commensurate reviewing the policy of grant-in-aid as the masses can no longer afford the fees of the private institutions. In a discussion of the budget for FY 2010/2011, it was noted that the Government had contravened the law with respect to the amount of funds that were being disbursed in the form of grant-in-aid to private schools by giving private schools more funds than

\(^{\text{3}}\) Facility fees include technology fees for grades 1-12 and the Locker Fee for Grades 7-12, as well as the use of all campus educational facilities.
were given to public schools. The Minister of Education, in his address to the House of Assembly on 7 June 2010 informed the House of Assembly:

The Education (Grant In Aid) Regulations commenced in 1980 with less than $4 million. The statutory purpose is to assist schools to educate young Bahamians in communities where there are not enough public schools. The Regulations say:

“Grant in-aid shall only be paid in respect of schools situated in areas in the Bahamas where, in the opinion of the Minister, there are not enough maintained schools to fulfill the provisions of Section 13 of the Act.”

The Minister in his address to the House of Assembly continued:

"Nobody bothered to amend the schedule to the regulations, which still has a limit of less than $5 million, and we have continued to pay these amounts despite what the law says about the [conditions under which these] grants are to be given. We have public schools located in many of these very same communities where independent schools who receive grants are located."

In previous years, Government had budgeted over 11 million dollars for grants to 39 Independent Schools. This amount was being reduced by 20% for FY 2010/2011.

The Minister of Education explained:

“The law requires every school that receives a grant in aid to provide a return of income and expenditure to the Minister, and those returns must by law be certified by an independent public accountant,” Minister Bannister said.

"The purpose of this provision is to ensure that every school that receives a grant from the Government reports to the government how that money is spent so that their needs can continually be analyzed, and determinations made about their future needs."

The Minister further expounded:

"One independent school receives as much as $884.51 per student, while other independent schools receive as little as $50 per student…Some independent schools receive nothing at all. The system has been unfair and inequitable."

How do we justify this disparity in giving between our own public schools and the independent schools, particularly when we know what the law says on this issue, sir (BIS News Updates June 8, 2010)?”

Discussions with some administrators at QC, in response to the Minister’s remarks, indicate that the grant-in-aid given is legal in that the formula used for disbursement of funds requires teachers to be trained and the proper student/teacher ratio to be maintained. (Principal Gibson/Newry, 2010)
We see in the relationship between Government and civil society in the education sector, a concern regarding the levels of equity between various civil society organizations, as well as the seemingly preferential treatment given to some civil society organizations over public institutions in the same sector. This also shows a power shift - government is seeking to represent the masses rather than the mercantile elite.

**Education – Policy**

A review of policy includes an examination of indicators of mutuality and communication. The indicators of mutuality and communication look at the extent to which there is communication between the organization and the state, and the value that both the state and the organization share with regard to education.

All schools receiving grant-in-aid are subject to the legislation governing education in schools. The Ministry of Education monitors and regulates the provision of education in schools receiving subventions. In addition to the environmental controls as legislated, there are requirements for the schools to offer national exams, have curricula that permit students to have an appreciation of their national culture and heritage, and provide financial records open to inspection and full disclosure to the Ministry.

The relationship between QC and Government on a policy level has historically been mixed. At various times in the history of the school and in the history of education in The Bahamas, QC has had an impact on the way education policy is administered. This is illustrated in the introduction of teacher training at the school which Government took advantage of in the training of its teachers. The cessation of the College of Preceptors as an academic measure and the introduction of Cambridge exams that Government consequently adopted was initiated by QC.
QC’s influence on Government policy demonstrates one direction of the relationship between QC’s and Government. The influence is a two-way street. QC’s policy with regard to segregation was changed based on the societal changes at the time. The abolition of slavery did not end discrimination nor bring equality.

Prior to Dyer, a former principal of the school who instituted many of the changes that created a legacy for the school, and throughout his reign, Queen’s College remained segregated. Dyer revealed in an Inquiry (Williams, p.9):

‘…it is nevertheless true to say that we have in Queen’s College no full blooded Negro Children of Methodist parentage,’; or no school at all.

The Burma Road riots of 1942 and the end of World War II were catalysts for the Methodist church to reflect on the teachings of John Wesley and consider the admission of blacks to Queen’s College. Rev. Charles Sweeting, a former student and former principal of Q.C. recalled the admission of blacks to the school and noted that Principal Dyer chose to maintain a school without blacks. However, as time passed, blacks were gaining economic and political voice. The Methodist synod formally voted to accept blacks in 1950. There was never a written School Committee policy prohibiting blacks from admission and none to admit them, but after Dyer’s departure the bar was removed. (Williams,1982 p. 182)

The influence of the changing social environment, as more blacks had been afforded the opportunity of higher education and sought a greater voice in society, was perhaps a major factor in the change in policy. This was an indication of how QC is embedded in the social and political fabric of the colony. The institution changed its internal policy based on what was transpiring in

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4 The Burma Road riots represented beginning of a unified working class with little ethnic or racial diversity.
society at the time. There was a sociological impact that the environment had on the organization and the changes in society and politically were affecting the way QC did business.

CWSS has followed the policies prescribed to schools receiving grant-in-aid. It has not in its short history affected policy changes. The policy on grant-in-aid comes with specific obligations for the institutions that accept it. CWSS, as a recipient of grant-in-aid, provides all necessary information to the Government that will permit it to continue to provide financial support. The students follow the guidelines of the Ministry of Education curriculum and the school provides education to students using student/teacher ratios specified by the Act. The school, in its provision of education, has not provided any innovation that has been adopted by the Ministry for the administration of other schools that fall under its purview.

The two organizations differ in the level of their communication with Government in terms of setting the agenda for policy-making. The provision of education using the public curriculum is an indication of mutuality of interest in the implementation of government policy. Some other private institutions have declined government subvention in favor of pursuing curricula that are suited to their clientele and without the regulation of tuition and fees that come with the acceptance of grant-in aid. For example, St. Andrews School, which was founded when desegregation of QC was imminent, elects to decline subventions so that it is does not have to adhere to government policies. The school offers an International Baccalaureate curriculum, as well as the option of the national curriculum, but religion and other courses in the national curriculum are not offered and prescribed dates of operation for the school are not adhered to.

**Education – Structure**

The structure of the relationship between the Government and the civil society organization refers to the extent that the civil society organization (the schools, in this context)
and the state interact at an organizational level. That is, the extent that Government participates on the board of the organization or the administration of the organizational duties or goals. The relationship between Government and the schools is legislated. As grant-in-aid institutions, the Government is able to assign a person to the board of the school to monitor the school’s function. For the most part, this is not done and is only pursued when there is a crisis, such as a financial challenge or there is a question regarding the admittance practices of the school. Government does not have assigned officers on QC’s or CWSS’s school board at this time. (FAS Ministry of Education Bowe/Newry, 2008)

Government officers visit the schools on a regular basis to check on the facilities and the teacher-student ratios. Suggestions are made in instances where there is some failing on the part of the school to meet certain standards. These suggestions are adhered to.

Environment

The Bahamas National Trust was started in 1959, when Chapter 391 of the Statute Law of the Commonwealth of The Bahamas, an Act to incorporate and confer powers on The Bahamas National Trust for Places of Historic Interest and Natural Beauty, was passed.

In 1959, The Bahamas was a very, very poor little country, with very little public revenue, and it faced a major internationally monitored crisis with the impending extinction of the West Indian flamingo, and it had the assessment of the leading people at the time that the only way to save it was to set aside 100 square miles in Inagua, and we didn’t want to kill the wild hogs… (Maillis, 2008:#12)

The Bahamas National Trust was started in an effort to save the West Indian flamingo which was nearing extinction at the time. The legislation was fashioned after the National Trust Act of Great Britain for the formation of the Bahamas National Trust (BNT) with a national land and sea park in the Exuma Cays. This was done in an effort to conserve the natural environment of the islands, “Government was looking for this vehicle to hold these lands, but they didn’t want
to do it as a government national park, for which there was no money, but they wanted to harness
the scientific world and the collective energy and volunteerism of the people and the resources of
the private sector, civil society” (Maillis, 2008 #39) That is how BNT was formed. Mr. Godfrey
Higgs, a parliamentarian and the attorney for Howard Hughes was the first President of BNT.
The establishment of BNT was done by the mercantile elite. The membership of the organization
stayed within that social class until the mid-1990s. Awareness and activism regarding
environmental issues was primarily the purview of the elite in The Bahamas.

ReEarth was founded in 1990 to increase public awareness and understanding of
environmental issues by educated urban professionals. It was formed when its founders
perceived a lack of information regarding environmental issues being brought to the public by
existing local environmental groups, namely the BNT.

Environment - Revenue Sources

The two organizations chosen have distinctly different financial relationships with
Government. BNT as a legislated organization, receives a level of subsistence from Government.
The amount of funds granted to the BNT changes based on the projects that are being funded and
Government’s priorities at the time. The Government provides approximately 31% of the
organization’s operating income, another sizeable portion comes from partnership projects with
organizations that are represented on the Council and, on occasion, other organizations that may
be stakeholders for other projects.

On the other hand, ReEarth is not funded by Government and receives no form of in kind
support either. Financially, there is no relationship between ReEarth and Government. As noted
earlier, ReEarth declined registration of the organization when government considered having
non-profit organizations divulge their donors. This was at a time when ReEarth challenged a
proposition to have a Liquefied Natural Gas terminal in The Bahamas. Persons supporting LNG in parliament wanted to know who was paying for the opposition to it. Therefore ReEarth did not register (Duncombe/Newry).

This is an example of how the knowledge of funding and the revelation of stakeholders permits the public to discern the bias of the group regarding particular policies. The same holds true for both organizations. Government’s average funding of BNT at 31% represents a highly integrated relationship but what is not clear is who benefits most from the relationship – the state or the organization.

**Environment – Policy**

The relationship between the Government and environmental groups differs and, while the time of inception may be a factor, the function of the group may be a more significant factor:

The BNT was legislated to promote conservation in national parks in The Bahamas and has had a formal relationship with Government since its formation. The BNT was “established for the purpose of promoting permanent preservation for the benefit and enjoyment of The Bahamas of lands and tenements (including buildings) and submarine areas of beauty or natural or historic interest and as regards lands and submarine areas for the preservation (so far as practicable) of their natural aspect, features, and animal, plant and marine life.”(Bahamas 1959)

In addition to its legislated mission and invaluable contributions to policy decisions that are directly related to it, the BNT has also made contributions to the education curriculum at the primary and secondary level. The organization also acts as a consultative body in areas such as tourism development and the drafting of international environmental conventions.

The BNT like ReEarth also functions as an advocacy/expressive organization in matters related to the environment. To this end, both groups try to sway public opinion and set agendas
for the drafting of new policies. Some public officers see these groups as having too much clout in terms of their ability to affect the direction of Government, noting that the concerns brought to the table are often self-serving. While others recognize the expertise that they provide and welcome their input. The BNT, in its expressive capacity, does not initiate many issues that are contrary to government environmental policy that affects development, and the advocacy aspect of its function seems reserved. ReEarth has challenged Government on proposals for the introduction of an LNG terminal in The Bahamas, and marina and golf developments, all of which threaten the freshwater resources. Both groups advocate the greening of the country and policies that promote the use of alternative energy sources.

Government respects the expertise that environmental groups provide, particularly with regard to the science and practice of conservation methods. For example, Government consults with the BNT regarding international environmental conventions to which The Bahamas is considering signing. However, consultations given by these groups are often weighed with the social and economic realities of the country. Government also uses private consultants to analyze environmental impact assessment (EIA) reports as there is awareness that persons in environmental groups may have biases for or against particular projects.

Environment – Structure

The BNT and Government have a formal structural relationship, with six of the organization’s twenty-one-member council being appointed from three government agencies: The Governor General’s Office; the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries and the Ministry of Tourism. These persons on the council administer the affairs of the BNT. The representation of Government on the council does not give it a majority with regard to block voting, neither does
Government have veto power. This highly integrated relationship allows the state to be aware of the administration of policies in the BNT.

The structural relationship between Government and ReEarth is a strong contrast, as this organization is somewhat informal itself and it does not include Government in its decision-making or administrative process. ReEarth raises its environmental concerns with the Government only after they have gained some public feedback on a given environmental issue.

Prior to the founding of the BNT there was no local group that had been established solely for addressing environmental concerns. There were, at the time, numerous persons and a few foreign entities concerned with various aspects of the natural flora, fauna and marine life of the country. These groups included the National Audubon Society, the Conservation Foundation (New York), the New York Zoological Society, the U.S. National Park Service, The University of Miami and the American Museum of Natural History. This aspect of its establishment is indicative of the power that mercantile elite wielded in a traditional/statist system. Individuals from these organizations were among those who frequented the islands for leisurely trips and on extended trips used to study the environment. The formation of a multi-purpose environmental group in The Bahamas was enabled on the private side and able to receive both external and internal support. In addition, the Government of the country had proven to be sympathetic to environmental causes and conservation, having established a Wildbirds (Protection) Act at the beginning of the twentieth century.

The legislation established the BNT as “‘The Bahamas National Trust for Places of Historic Interest or Natural Beauty’ for the preservation (so far as practicable) of their natural aspect, features, and animal, plant and marine life.” The legislation outlined the means by which the trust raised funds and generally conducted its business. In reality, the purpose and
membership of the BNT has evolved along with environmental issues and the societal
development of the country. The membership of the BNT initially consisted of designated
Bahamian and international organizations in its twenty-one-member Council. The designated
Bahamian organizations are the office of the Governor General, Ministries of Agriculture and
Fisheries, Education, Youth and Sports, Health & Environment, and, Tourism. International
organizations that are designated members of the Council are The American Museum of Natural
Miami Rosentiel School of Marine Science, the Smithsonian Institution, and the United States
National Park Service. The diversity of the organization in covering international and local,
environmental and academic organizations, as well as government agencies and its legislated
mandate provides a broad base of such organizations. The members of the council have remained
as legislated at its founding while the bulk of the membership was essentially persons of the
upper middle class, primarily Caucasian. With the onset of majority rule in 1967 and
independence in 1973, the membership viewed the BNT as a means by which they (white
middle class and merchant class) could still participate in the development of the
country. (Maillis, 2008 #39)

The funding of the Trust initially came from the membership, volunteers within the
organization contributing their time and expertise to pursue the organization’s mission.

This type of organizational commitment demonstrates a traditional model from a social
origins perspective in that there is very little government involvement in the organization and
there is a record of a growing civil society. The Government’s role at the time of the BNT’s
origin shows one of establishing the legislative means by which the land may be reserved.
Government did not initially provide the Trust with funds. Wardens that worked on the
established parks were paid by the Audubon Society. As years progressed, Government provided the Trust with funding to assist with the upkeep of the parks. This indicates a mutuality in the implementation of the organization’s policy and demonstrates integration in the relationship between the government and the BNT with regard to the structure of the organization.

Health

In 1954, an organization called the Crippled Children’s Committee (CCC) was established by Sir Etienne Dupuch, a journalist, to assist persons with physical challenges caused by polio and other diseases. Like-minded persons in the community were then invited to serve on the Committee and raise funds to assist the disabled. The first clinic sponsored by the committee in 1954 consisted of seven children, including the first child, by 1969 the clinic had seen over two thousand children. The persons who volunteered their time to the organization reviewed requests for assistance, trying to help those who needed it most. While there are currently about ten permanent members of the organization, there are substantially more persons who voluntarily offer their services for fundraising efforts (Munnings, 2005).

The AIDS Foundation of The Bahamas was founded in 1992 when Dr. Perry Gomez, an infectious disease specialist, and Director of the National HIV/AIDS program a government program under the Ministry of Health approached the Zonta Club of Nassau (a civil society group of professionals seeking to advance the status of women in their communities through advocacy and service) requesting that they form a non-profit organization to help provide funding for some of the activities of the National AIDS program. This was done because the National HIV/AIDS program required more funding and government was unable/unwilling, at the time, to provide more funds to it. There were funds available to non-profit groups that the Program sought to tap into using the Foundation as a vehicle. The AIDS foundation was initially formed to be the
umbrella fundraiser for organizations that sought to provide a service in HIV/AIDS prevention and education. The public perception of the HIV/AIDS epidemic being a disease of homosexuals, drug users and Haitians did not lend any sympathy to the crisis in the Bahamian society with vocal homophobic, xenophobic, fundamentalist Christian sectors. Therefore, government spending on HIV/AIDS was minimal. (Gomez/Newry, 2008); (Barnett/Newry, 2009)

The foundation was able to receive funds from various sources. The AIDS Foundation’s initial focal point was the education of people, primarily youth and women regarding prevention and treatment of the HIV/AIDS. They worked closely with the Ministry of Education to infuse information regarding HIV/AIDS into the curriculum of all public schools and a few private ones. They also started doing a series of lock-ins where they would bombard youth with information on the subject overnight through literature, movies and other entertaining modes. After two years, Dr. Gomez approached the group again about the purchase of AZT at a time when the drug was expensive and in its experimental stages. The Foundation purchased and imported the drugs from 1995 to 2000, giving it to the National HIV/AIDS program. They received good results with regard to transmission of the virus from mother to child. Many of the members consider this to be one of the group’s greatest accomplishments. Government took over the AZT program in 1998 and though the Foundation continued to purchase the drugs, they did so in lesser quantities. The Foundation then returned its attention to education. (Barnett/Newry, 2009)

**Health - Revenue Sources**

Neither of the two organizations reviewed receives funds from the Government. This does not mean that Government does not provide funding to civil society groups that perform
functions that are health related; several groups providing health services receive grants from government to operate. PCCC and the AIDS Foundation provide goods and services to government. The AIDS Foundation and PCCC have received in-kind services from government. For example, the government has provided security and janitorial services to the AIDS Foundation and has exempted PCCC of customs duties charges on imported items such as prostheses purchased. At one point the AIDS foundation purchased medication for persons with AIDS. The PCCC purchases prostheses, wheelchairs and braces for persons who cannot afford them. PCCC currently provides about $206,000 in goods and services to the public. This does not include the volunteer hours that visiting physicians performing specialist procedures give nor the volunteer services received from partner civil society groups that PCCC arranges.

**Health – Policy**

The mandate of both organizations to provide a health care service is in direct correlation with Government’s policy to provide universal healthcare to its citizens and displays the extent of mutuality of purpose in the relationships between both civil society organizations and the state. One interesting aspect of the relationship between both organizations and Government is the level of support that they receive and the amount of respect that government has for the services provided. This respect, demonstrated with government’s cooperation with regard to any assistance requested shows that government has mutual value for the services provided by these organizations is described as somewhat integrated, as the goal is in sync with Government’s mandate. However, there is only minimal integration with respect to the organization's communication with Government.

Recall that in the early 1970s, when the founder of PCCC was ready to discontinue the organization, it was Government that stepped in and requested private citizens to take on the
leadership of the organization, recognizing the essential service that it provided with resources that Government might not be able to readily access. Also, it was a government officer who contacted the Zontas (a civil society group) to form a foundation to access funds for the education and treatment of HIV/AIDS.

These groups perform tasks that Government does not have the financial and/or human resources to implement and are in a sense used as tools of implementation. There does not seem, in this instance, to be a difference in the relationship based on the time the organization was formed. An examination of the communication indicator shows that the AIDS Foundation, as an advocacy/expressive organization, communicates with Government to discuss best practices in dealing with persons with HIV/AIDS, particularly youth who are infected.

**Health – Structure**

Both organizations work closely with the government’s Ministry of Health and Department of Social Services. The organizations relate to these Ministries to establish need and to gain assistance in the implementation of services. For example, both organizations have referrals made to them by the Department of Social Services and they trust the Department to determine need of clients who receive the services. A person from the Department works closely with the board of each organization.

Both organizations also work closely with the Ministry of Health. PCCC requires cooperation from health officials when organizing specialist operations within the public hospital. The AIDS Foundation works closely with the Ministry when counseling persons who have tested positive for HIV/AIDS.
The relationship does not seem to change based on the time that the organization was founded. The relationship between both organizations and Government is essentially similar, with both organizations partnering with government to provide health services for the public.

Response to the Research Question #2

Does the relationship between Government and civil society vary based on the type of civil society organization involved? Does the relationship of six different organizations, established at different points in the history of The Bahamas, and Government vary depending upon the time an organization was established?

From the organizations reviewed, differences were seen in the manner in which government relates to various organizations based on the sector of civil society represented.

It was shown that, in the 2008/2009 FY, Government grants to Independent schools were approximately $11.5 million while School Boards of public schools received a total of approximately $1.9 million. Government is likely to provide financial assistance to groups in the education sector (In fact, in 2009, only four private schools were known not to receive some form of subvention from government. These schools are therefore able to increase tuition at their leisure and offer a curriculum that they choose). Within the educational sector, for schools receiving grant-in-aid, Government performs a regulatory role while partnering with the school to provide universal education.

While Government may not have a financial relationship with the health groups reviewed, the service they provide in helping Government meet its mandated goal is invaluable. There seems to be a mutual respect between the civil society healthcare sector and the government which manifests in the assistance of the state in expediting necessary documentation.
for surgical procedures, providing operating rooms and facilitating, where it can, the delivery of healthcare services. In FY 2008/2009, Government granted about $2.7 million to civil society groups in the healthcare sector.

Environmental groups seem to have a policy-oriented relationship with government, either in providing consultation and conservation services or raising the awareness of and setting the agenda for new policies to be introduced. Environmental groups also seem to have the ability to harness greater numbers of volunteers to accomplish tasks, thereby pushing an agenda with very little cost to Government.

In addition to the aforementioned financial relationship that Government has with these organizations and taking into account the social welfare spending done by Government, a closer look at the budget shows direct government grants to civil society organizations totaling $71.3 million, including grants for membership in international civil society organizations, professional associations, youth associations, educational institutions and cultural groups. This represents 5% of the national budget. These funds are generally used for the upkeep of the administrative offices for some of these entities. Looking at the six organizations closely we see that the financial relationship for the organizations is the same for health organizations both colonial and post-colonial, and similar in the education sector colonial and post-colonial but in the environmental sector there is substantially more financial cooperation given to the colonial organization over the post-colonial organization. It would therefore seem that the power shift in the affected the relationship between government and the environment sector financially.

The examination of the civil society organizations in the three sectors shows that there is a difference in the relationship between the state and civil society in looking at the finance variable across sectors - In the education sector there is some integration, the environment sector
there is highly integrated relationship with government and no integration (depending on the
time the organization was formed), and in the health sector there is no integration. When viewing
the policy variable the relationship between the state and civil society there is very little
difference between the education, environment and health sectors in post-colonial civil society
organizations, while we see a difference between the health sector and the other two sectors in
terms of integration in the colonial organizations. Similarly, a difference is noted from the
structure variable in the examination of the relationship across sectors. While there is some
integration in the presence of government in the organizational structure across sectors, in the
colonial environmental sector there is a highly integrated relationship whereas in the post-
colonial sector there is no integration.

Social Origins Theory

Civil Society/State Relationship

Several scholars have explored the relationship between civil society and the state
(Haggard, Webb et al. 1994; Brinkerhoff 1996; Salamon and Anheier 1997). Within the theory
of social origins of civil society, Salamon et al propose several hypotheses for testing and
classifying the origins and consequent relationship between civil society/the non-profit sector
and the state (Salamon and Anheier 1998). Salamon and Sokolowski (2017) add to this
classification by focusing on the social class and power relations seen in the society. The models
that they have developed predict relationships between civil society and the state based on the
social origin of the state and the relationship that it shares with social classes. While we have not
measured civil society in The Bahamas and have only reviewed the relationship between the
state and civil society from a micro-level, we can view the degree of spending on social welfare
through the use of the various descriptors to explain further the relationship between civil society
and the state in a small state such as The Bahamas. We can also in context of the historical examination of the historical timeline see the social class and and power relations in the society at the time and generalise regarding the size and shape of civil society. The hypotheses of Salamon et. al predict the formation of a particular type civil society regime based on the type of socio-political elements in place: -

Hypothesis 1: Where middle-class elements are strong and neither landed elements nor the working class is in a position to mount an effective challenge, a liberal regime is likely to emerge characterized by limited state-provided welfare services and a relatively large non-profit sector. (This bears a similarity with the associational nature of civil society as described by Hyden (1997) in his review of civil society, social capital and development.)

Hypothesis 2: Where working-class elements mount an effective challenge to middle-class power, a social democratic regime is likely to emerge characterized by extensive governmental social welfare services and a relatively small non-profit sector.

This hypothesis mirrors an associational relationship where there is a strong relationship between civil society and the state in a view similar to Hyden’s description of Locke.

Hypothesis 3: Where landed elements remain strong and confront pressures from both middle-class and working-class elements, the prospects are good for a corporatist outcome featuring sizable government social welfare activity along with a relatively large private nonprofit sector.

This hypothesis seems to indicate a strong civil society that remains separate from the state, which provides much of the social welfare needs of the society similar to Hyden’s description of Thomas Paine.
Hypothesis 4: Where conservative elements remain in the ascendance and in control of the apparatus of the state, a statist solution is most likely, with both government social welfare spending and the nonprofit sector being limited (Salamon & Anheier, 1998). This hypothesis mirrors the Hegelian view of civil society with power being in the hands of the state or the business elite.

Hypothesis 5: Where the social conditions conducive to either a liberal or social democratic regime prevail, private giving is likely to play a disproportionately large role in the funding base of the nonprofit sector. Where the social conditions conducive to the corporatist regime prevail, government support is likely to play a disproportionately large role. And in circumstances conducive to statist regimes, fees and service charges are likely to be more prominent.

The types of regimes also inform us of the levels of citizen participation. In liberal or social democratic regimes, there is congruence with citizen engagement in deliberation, which, in itself, is a building block of community and democracy. This relationship is facilitated by officers of the state (King, Stivers et al. 1998).

Salamon and Sokolowski (2017) refine social origins theory to emphasise that the predictability of the shape and size of civil society is based on the interactions of social class and the power relationships within the society.

In our review of six organizations formed at various points and time in the development of a small state, we can see changes in the various descriptions given to the relationship between the state and civil society based on the social welfare spending at the time. The relatively short history of the country combined with its small size in terms of population and the lack of data on the size of civil society at any time do not permit us to make conclusive statements on the
relationship between civil society and Government at various points and time nor the scope of civil society, but it does allow us to see how the context of government welfare spending may contribute to the formation of civil society groups in different sectors as well as the power relations and social class interactions.

The presentation of these hypotheses and the subsequent findings of Salamon et al are parallel to the foundational literature on civil society as presented by Hyden (Hyden 1997) and are combined in the following table to provide a visual representation of similarities connecting theoretical descriptions of the relationship between civil society and government. Statist and social democratic descriptors indicate a relationship between the state and civil society while corporatist and liberal descriptors indicate a separation between state and civil society.
Table 6.1 - Links between Civil Society and the State and Social Origins Classifications

This table shows the links between civil society and the state and associated classifications used in social origins theory.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Private Economic Interests</th>
<th>State/Civil Society Linked</th>
<th>Social Democratic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hegel</td>
<td>Statist</td>
<td>Locke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State politically orders and publicly regulates civil society</td>
<td>State holds the upper hand exercising power on its own behalf or on behalf of the business elites</td>
<td>State protects civil society from destructive conflict. Balance of interest among different groups</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paine</td>
<td>Corporatist</td>
<td>Tocqueville</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The market rather than the state provides the best opportunity for civil society to flourish.</td>
<td>Civil society functions as one of several 'premodern&quot; mechanisms that are deliberately preserved by the state in its efforts to retain the support of key social elites while preempting more radical demands for social welfare protections.</td>
<td>Voluntarist view of civil society – it protects and promotes the interest of individuals regardless of socio-economic background.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| State/Civil Society Separate | | |

State/Civil Society Linked
Education and Social Origins Theory

In considering the relationship that Government has with civil society organizations, it is important to see what government priorities are with respect to social welfare at points in history, particularly at the point of origin of the organization and how this spending interplayed with the social and economic power relations at that time.

In 1890, when QC was founded, government expenditure on social welfare represented 45% of its total expenditure, with 19% of total expenditure on education. While the amount of government expenditure does not necessarily provide insight into social outcomes, it does give an indication of government intention. Government provided grants-in-aid aimed at improving primary education throughout the islands, QC was founded initially to provide a superior education to Methodist boys and girls both at the primary and secondary levels. By 1988, when CWSS social welfare spending as a percentage of GDP reflects a downward movement to 6 per cent. This change in focus is indicative of the challenges currently faced in the education sector.

The relationship between the government and the CWSS can be described as one whereby there is a reliance on government social welfare spending. Indeed, the Government spent 37% of its expenditure on social welfare. Education consumed 53% of social welfare spending. Government contribution and the formation of the school was resultant of the need to expand welfare services to accommodate the demand for a better environment for working and middle-class persons in education. The public education system was inadequate in its provision of the quality of education and the environment that the Baptist Church in The Bahamas wanted for students at the time. Government’s support was a response to the working class.

In some respects, one can say there is a representation of the social democratic model of social origins theory in that there is a reliance on government welfare spending. At this point,
there is also a reduction in the membership of some of the civil society organizations and programs that cater to youth. During this period, people relied on the state to provide education. One of the criticisms of the Government at the time was its perpetuation of a socialist agenda. What is demonstrated is a power shift from the colonial period where the mercantile elite were able to influence the state to partially fund an exclusive education for their children to a postcolonial time where the needs of the masses are being addressed by the state.

Environment and Social Origins Theory

In 1959, the expenditure budget of the Government of The Bahamas was £7,548,528 with £1,612,381 spent on social welfare 21% of the budget. The tourism industry was beginning to flourish, with much construction and investment being considered.

The purchase of lands in the various islands and their development were threats to the pristine nature of the islands and the ‘playground’ of the landed social elites. The legislative formation of The Bahamas National Trust represented the inducement of the state to maintain what could not be maintained by the private ownership of these persons. This origin of the BNT seems corporatist in description, as outlined by social origins theory.

This relationship that the BNT has with the Government can, through this example, be seen as liberal in that the formation of the the BNT shows the extraordinary power of the aristocracy and the state. The moderate to low level of government spending on social welfare at the time also suggests a statist model in that the state held the upper hand in the formation of the BNT and acted on behalf of the business elites.

The formation of ReEarth by urban professionals occurred during a time when social welfare spending was higher, at 37% indicating a dependence on the state’s social welfare.
ReEarth’s relationship with the state would lead one to consider it liberal and not integrated with Government in most aspects of its administration.

**Health and Social Origins Theory**

Social origins theory of civil society examines the social welfare spending of Government and views the social and political factors that influence the growth of civil society. The formation of the Physically Challenged Children’s Committee (PCCC), formerly the Crippled Children’s Committee, in 1954 occurred during a time when government spending on social welfare was a moderate to low 27%. Government welfare spending on health accounted for 35% of this amount. Also, during this time, we see the importance of the will of the merchant class and social elites to the formation of this particular organization. The need for treatment precipitated the request for funds which were raised by an outreach effort to the public at large. The organization operated at this initial stage outside the purview of government as the first persons to benefit were treated outside the country. As the years progressed and the work of the organization expanded, the organization benefited from the use of government facilities for operations and treatments – becoming more of a partnership. When the founding Chair sought to cease the operation of the organization, the Government, recognizing the service that was being provided was important and vital, appointed a chairperson to administer the assistance.

In a post-independence period, we see Government approaching a civil society organization to meet needs that it is unable or unwilling to provide. This is seen particularly in the health sector with both cases. Recall that the organization formed prior to independence was going to discontinue its service just prior to independence and the Government approached members of society to continue its work. Also, with the onslaught of the AIDS crisis, Government approached a pre-existing civil society group to address the challenge of providing
treatment to persons with AIDS. This shows the level of confidence that Government had in the existing organization and the ability of civil society to meet the need. It is an indication of a belief in the associational strength of society and the capacity of civil society to deliver a service to the public though it cannot be, using this particular study, generalized to indicate conclusively what the relationship between the state and civil society looks like at a macro-level.

The organizations in the health sector could be seen as being corporatist in nature: Civil society functions as a mechanism that is deliberately preserved by the state in its efforts to retain the support of key social elites while preempting more demands for social welfare protections. The relationship between the state and civil society in the health sector can be described as mostly separate.

**Race & Elitism**

In exploring the relationship between Government and civil society, an undercurrent theme arose in discussions that was not anticipated. Often, in response to an open-ended question regarding the relationship between Government and civil society, the subject of race would come up. It was a topic that surfaced with every person interviewed, in spite of their racial/ethnic origin. It came up with regard to education and policies surrounding it. It also reared its head in the discussion of giving as it pertains to philanthropic health organizations. It was also evident in the discussion of citizen participation with regard to environmental concerns.

In some instances when the issue of race was brought to the fore, persons would ask to speak off the record and their requests were obliged. It is, however, necessary to note that, in some instances, while we tend to focus on the inclusive nature of civil society groups and the sense of community that may be fostered, we must be reminded that these groups are specific to the interests of their individual members and serve their particular needs. The goals and
objectives of the civil society organization may not be within the realm of public inclusion as membership itself has barriers set by the organization. These barriers may be based on race or on socio-economic status, but it interesting to note that there were no indications that the services provided by these groups were considered discriminatory in nature.

The discussion of civil society has been tied to discussions of association and trust from the time of the Greek philosophers and more recently Tocqueville and Putnam, among others. Trust determines to an extent the level of association and the kind of association that persons endeavor to make. Often, association is made with persons who are of like mind. Barriers to association include culturally based norms that people in society use to differentiate themselves from others. Race is one aspect of a cultural differentiation, and one means of discrimination in terms of how and with whom one decides to associate. Persons tend to choose the path of least resistance in their preference of association choices. Race in one form or other has been a divisive issue throughout history for most countries, including The Bahamas. Strides in inclusiveness and anti-discrimination practices do not erase years of divisive behaviors or the misperceptions and hurt. Civil society organizations have been on both sides of the spectrum – those that bring people together and those that separate them. Civil society organizations generally reflect different aspects of society at large. One of the interviewees remarked that functioning in civil society has been a way for Bahamians of European descent to participate in the social life of the country. In 1967, the United Bahamian Party (UBP), a party of white Bahamians, was voted out of political power, many of the segregation policies came to an end. This was followed by the departure of a number of whites from the country or retiring from public life. Those who stayed put much of their efforts into various civil society organizations that eventually diversified in an independent Bahamas. Civil society was a means by which
whites were able to participate, initially in some instances in a segregated manner and increasingly with membership integrating blacks and whites.

The discussion of race occurred more frequently with persons who were in organizations established prior to independence. These organizations had their origins in a society that had much separation between the races. In addition, these organizations evolved in their acceptance of racial equality over time. In some instances, race was also compounded by economic or social status. Persons with a level of economic independence were not necessarily interested in the same types of association as people without that independence. From the cases viewed, there was an increased discussion of race when viewing the education and environmental sectors than the health sector. In the health sector, in discussion of organizations that were formed in the colonial period, a few persons stated that these organizations were widely supported by elites in society and that it would seem that black Bahamians were not inclined to give readily, yet they were generally the beneficiaries of the services of many of these organizations. An interviewee who served as Chair for two health sector civil society groups said that the black middle-class had to learn to give more in the present and moving forward.

This discussion of race indicates that there is perhaps more to be explored with regard to the society itself and the way people participate in it. It also begs for more research on the extent to which Government is representative of all in the society in this environment.

Religion

Francis Fukuyama (2001) discusses the importance of religion in the development of civil society. The importance of religion in the growth of civil society in The Bahamas is seen in the educational sector and to a lesser extent the health sector.
In the educational sector, in the post-colonial and colonial organizations, the influence of the church is recognized in the establishment of Queen’s College (QC) and Charles W. Saunders School (CWSS). The mission of the church to provide education is indicative of the shared value for education that the organizations have with Government. Further, as in Cape Verde, the incapacity of government to build physical structures to provide environments conducive for learning has resulted in civil society stepping in to fill the void that would otherwise exist.

In the health sector, we see how religious attitudes toward issues such as HIV/AIDS could influence government and its ability to provide service in areas that, at the time, may be discriminated against based on “Christian” values. Government’s inaction opened a space for the civil society organizations to provide services.

In summary, while there are organizations that receive resources from government, many do not, and we see characteristics of a liberal model where civil society is large and receiving much of its funding from philanthropy and fees. We also see elements of a liberal model of Social Origins Theory whereas more middle-class persons are being educated they are forming more civil society organizations in expressive and cultural areas and volunteering their time and efforts in. They are more critical of government policies. This is seen in education – initially government involvement marked what seemed like a welfare partnership pattern, but in the last 10 years there has been a boom of home-school associations that at this represent an estimated 2500 students throughout the islands. These associations are free from government support and government is only beginning to regulate their existence. The church is losing some of the ground that it had demonstrated by the low voter turnout for the gambling referendum and the administration taking the position against the church despite the outcome. The unions are losing ground with its leadership being offered positions within the government, leaving those
organizations without institutional memory and leadership required to make those organizations strong.

Social origins theory posits that looking at social class interactions and power relations can predict how civil society looks in the observed environment. The level of vulnerability to the neoliberal agenda and the economic and social forces from the north are affecting the country and its values. The seemingly fickle nature of the people, and their exercise of their franchise in recent years, changing governing parties, demonstrates a level of volatility and a diminishing trust in government. We are witnessing a change in the power structure and the influence of media and civil society organizations is muddying the lens of how civil society and its relationship with government is seen. Therefore, reviewing specific points in the timeline of a country can give an indication of how civil society looks but the relative volatility of changes in a small environment like The Bahamas may mean that the classifications may change as swiftly as power shifts in a short space of time.
CHAPTER 7

Recommendations

An examination of the six organizations has provided theoretical and practical information on the relationship between Government and civil society in The Bahamas at a micro level. The review of the organizations shows that changes occur in the social origins of civil society organizations over time in The Bahamas. The social origins of the organizations are linked to the social and political changes that occur in society. The levels of association that occur are a reflection of the interests that exist for some at a particular point in time. These interests may have some effect on society at large and, in the instance of the three sectors reviewed, education, health and the environment, there is often need for government interaction in the protection of citizen rights, as well as for the formulation of policy.

While there are strengths that each civil society group brings to the table when it relates with Government, there should be an awareness and discerning of the public good from the agenda of a small vocal portion of the public. Interest groups, particularly those with financial capacity, can influence policy more to benefit a social and political agenda, that may not be of particular benefit to the general public. In order for Government to benefit from the relationship that it has with these organizations, it is important to understand the relationship and the possibilities for development that exist in each sector.

The discussion of civil society and its relationship with Government is a discussion of context. The environment of civil society - the people, organizations and history that influence it - provides this context. An important aspect of context is distinguishing where the institution stops and the context begins. This line is not always clear, and it is not always stable. Furthermore, the boundary can be permeable. If institutions within civil society can be considered the embodiment of values, then the distinction between civil society and the context it exists in becomes a matter
of values. Maintaining the distinction between institution and context allows the field of public administration to critique itself from the “outside”. The volatility of change in the context of a small archipelagic developing state may not allow for the predictability of definitive classification seen in larger more stable states.

It is through institutions that a society is both reproduced and changed from generation to generation. They provide both stability and transformation (Wamsley and Wolf, 1996). We have seen this in the instance of the case reviewed. In education and the environment, we see a directing of society by the organization as well as changes within the organization itself because of its relationship with Government. This is congruent with Gill’s idea that the relationship between civil society and the state is mutually reinforcing (Gill 2000).

**Education**

The research for the National Development Plan of The Bahamas indicates human capital as one of the pillars for development. This pillar has as a strength a well-funded educational sector (13% of the total budget), high levels of primary enrollment and well-trained teachers. However, employers are challenged with a population that leaves school ill-equipped for the job market (hard and soft skills). It is noted that, while the percentage of the budget spent in education seems substantial, most of the funds are for salaries of administrative personnel and not invested in improving the quality of education. A strategic development goal outlined to ameliorate this problem is to provide equal access to “quality education and lifelong learning” (NDP Report 2016: p. 47) through public/private partnerships (NDP Report 2016: p. 185). Understanding the relationship between Government and civil society organizations in this sector can provide the platform to further develop relationships and communicate to create policies where there is degree of mutuality to satisfy developmental needs.
The concerns raised regarding equity in the relationship between the state and education institutions, both civil society and public-based, is an indication of some of the tensions that exist between social classes, from these two organizations we are not able to say definitively what the relationship with government is for the entire sector. A review of the historical timeline gives some indication of the development of the relationship with the government. The relationship between civil society and the state in this area is important for development and there is a balance that must be reached in that relationship.

**Environment**

The National Development Plan also has the environment as a pillar, with a vision to provide “a natural environment and infrastructure which promote a healthy, resilient, beautiful and modern society” (NDP Report 2016: p. 26). The strategy for achieving these goals includes a collaboration with civil society organizations. An approach that the state may use to maximize the potential of such relationships could be to include multiple civil society organizations when pursuing environmental impact assessments in order to receive as many views to be able to discern the best interest of the public at large. The relationship that any environmental civil society group has with the Government cannot be viewed without consideration of each group’s bias. The state/civil society relationship in this sector should always have a space for as many seats at the table of policy making as possible to ensure final decisions are made for the benefit of the public at large. The inclusion of as many groups could help to build trust over time and nurture a relationship to produce the maximum outcomes for the benefit of the public.

**Health**

Health also falls under the human capital pillar of the National Development Plan. While there is increased investment in the provision of healthcare, there are myriad challenges in healthcare
that have resulted in “high levels of unwellness” (NDP Report 2016: p.13). While the plan includes civil society as a part of the strategy for addressing mental health education and awareness (p. 149), inclusion of the civil society groups should also be a part of the education, prevention and rehabilitation strategies for other illnesses. The focus and commitment of such organizations have proven invaluable in addressing many of the health issues that plague Bahamians, and such efforts should be applauded and encouraged. The relationship that the state has with civil society in this sector, as seen in both cases, is a means by which civil society provides the financial and skill resources required to meet the needs of the public with little state intervention. This relationship between the state and civil society should be encouraged as it provides the public with necessary services while not taxing the public purse. It may be strengthened by the promotion of the works of such organization for increased participation by citizens and national development.

**Civil Society in General**

The relationship between civil society, in general, represented by the Civil Society Consultative Group (CSCG -also known as Civil Society Bahamas) and Government was reviewed. The relationship that this group has with Government and the reality and the perception of civil society’s role in the past ten years speaks to the current popular view of civil society and Government in The Bahamas.

In general, Government has given and continues to grant funds to many civil society groups in The Bahamas. The Ministry of Youth, Sports and Culture gives various youth groups, such as the Girl Guides, Boy Scouts, national sports groups and groups that are based in cultural activities, money toward the general running of the organizations. These funds are given as
Government recognizes the importance of the work that the groups are doing. Nevertheless, funds given must be accounted for annually.

Most social groups did not have a formal relationship with the Government prior to 1973. Many of these groups did not receive funds consistently from Government prior to 1973 and, ironically, in the late 1980s, some of the youth groups, in particular, began to see a decline in membership even as state funds were provided, alluding to factors other than funding being key in the growth of civil society.

In interviews with various organization leaders, many of these social groups expressed the same concerns and challenges when asked about the relationship between Government and their organization. Many thought that, while they could always use more funding, the greater challenge was in having the type of leaders that would volunteer to organize and run the organizations. “The sustainable growth in membership is inextricably tied to the ability to convince members of the community to come into the organization to give back the time and effort needed to keep the young people engaged,” said a leader of an organization for girls.

Civil Society Bahamas was founded in the late twentieth century to address proposed economic changes in the country – specifically with regard to trade issues.

The group comprised professionals from various areas of society – culture, law, the Chamber of Commerce, social NGOs, environmental advocacy groups, etc. to discuss their varied concerns regarding such changes. The group was assisted by the Government in that a space was provided for meetings. The Government realized at the time the need to partner with this sector of society in the development of policies with regard to the economy.
With reference to the pending talks in the mid-1990s regarding the Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA) and North American Free Trade Association (NAFTA) talks Reginald Lobosky, the founder and chair of CSCG, stated:

That full benefits from any of the multinational ventures that are presently being engaged, "shall not be reaped unless they are followed through in an atmosphere of full democracy. "Full democracy," he continued, "is the bedrock of civil society, which therefore is the bedrock of our Government. Hence, they are dependent on each other. "We must also not forget that The Bahamas and most of the Caribbean states are certainly 'small economies' and indeed, with a few exceptions, we are all Small Island Developing States. "As such, expressions of concern for us and for the effect of economic integration into regional and global free trade structures have been expressed from time to time by the more advanced industrialised nations."

He said that very little has been done in the way of concrete assistance or special treatment because of the size of The Bahamas and its vulnerabilities. (Albury 2002)

Lobosky further stated his opinion of civil society’s role in the process which is:

“to provide relevant information and a mechanism for all of the interested voices in this country to be heard and to help them to be effectively heard. "In the course of doing this, civil society is able to provide a platform by which and through which the performance of governments can be measured and press home the point relentlessly that governments are of the people, by the people and for the people and in that regard," he said. "Governments have an obligation to govern with commitment to a high degree of transparency in its actions and activities which is satisfactory to the point that civil society can engage in a useful and fruitful dialogue in the governing of our lands."

This view of what civil society should do was supported by several international organizations, namely the Organization of American States and the Inter-American Development Bank, which provided forums for civil society to present its concerns and ideas for the national development of member countries. This support was also financial, with the grant of funds for building strategic programs to address various social concerns.

The relationship between civil society and Government has become a more pronounced partnership. In 2002, Lobosky stated:
Civil society is not a club, which one has to seek membership, nor is it an organisation with formal structures. Civil society, if it is anything at all, is a movement which exists to address problems, and opportunities, which arise in our daily lives and that require successful redress or assistance by the chosen government of the nation concerned.

In 2011, Mr. Terry Miller, the current chair of the group, with a focus on social issues stated that the relationship between Government and civil society must be that of a partnership if we are going to tackle the social ills that we are currently confronted with. Civil society, he went on to say, has many ideas but little resources.

Some members of the public who are involved with fraternal organizations argue that it is a dependency of these organizations on the Government that has created the vacuum of leadership in the groups that have historically assisted in providing solutions to social problems.

They discuss the pioneering spirit and Christian values that did not rely on funding from elsewhere but relied on the “collective best interest” of the group to get things done as a motivating force in accomplishing social goals. These persons are also of the opinion that government should be separate from much of the work of civil society, as it leads to a dependency on Government to do the things that they believe individuals and groups are capable of doing.

Echoing some of these sentiments is the newly formed civic group, “We the People”. This group was formed by thirty non-partisan members in a country that can be politically polarized when considering social/economic issues. The group was launched with the view to finding solutions to problems rather than waiting for others, including government, to find them. This group feels that change can be effected by individuals who are willing to cross political boundary lines to improve the quality of life for all Bahamians. One of the initial founders of the group, Mr. Ed Fields, stated that the problems the country faces are viewed by most as the same
social issues of crime, the judicial and educational systems, unemployment, etc. He goes on to say that the public is the cause of these problems and that the public can be the catalyst for the needed change:

Quite simply, while there are those among us who make the effort to effect change, it is a woeful few. Generally, as a people, we are not engaged. We hold to the belief that we are empowered once every five years to make a difference. The reality is we can be empowered every single day if we are willing to commit ourselves to the 'process of change'." Ed Fields, We the People

A similar discussion has been in the literature on civil society. Kelly LeRoux (2009), in an examination of the level of participation of stakeholders in non-profit and the effect of government funding in reducing paternalism, concludes that government funding substantially increases the level of civic participation. From LeRoux’s perspective, there is greater likelihood of civic involvement and expanding democracy. The discussions on race and giving by interviewees and other members of civil society also lead to a need to consider this financial aspect of the relationship between government and civil society more closely.

In considering the context of civil society in terms of its relationship with Government, we are able to see, through the lens of social origins theory, the integration of civil society with various aspects of society. This view is permitted as we explore the environment in which these organizations are formed. We are able to understand some of the complexity of the relationship with Government and the social origins of some of the civil society organizations in this environment. It is not merely a matter of meeting a need, and not always a single approach that causes an organization to come into existence or be sustained; it is the combination of various factors that are social, political and/or economic in nature that determines the growth and sustainability of individual civil society organizations. While the six organizations do not permit
us to make globalized general statements, as not all aspects of power and social relations were examined, we can see that the relationship between civil society and the state is complex.

In his writings of Social Relations under Democracy, Tocqueville, in discussing civil life in America, writes that, “in democratic countries, the science of association is the key science; the progress of all the rest depends on the progress that it has made”. By reviewing the levels of association between Government and civil society in The Bahamas, we have made a small progressive step in understanding the relationship and aspects of the same that operate for the benefit of the people in different sectors.

The National Development Plan recognizes the importance of civil society in the enhancement of participatory governance and community engagement, and indicates that civil society, in its current state, is weak and requires strengthening through the implementation of legislation and policies to promote participatory governance (National Development Plan, p. 203). This strengthening requires participation and engagement of the public in areas of interest to them in an environment that encourages independent voices without fear of marginalization.

Based on what we have learned, what should Government do? What environment is best for the growth of civil society in this democracy? What type of civil society works best? In an economic environment without direct taxation to provide the funds for welfare services, Government’s challenge is to increase the level of participation and volunteerism in order to relieve itself of some of the financial and administrative burdens associated with the delivery of services. The issuance of grants is one way to assist the organizations, but if more persons could be encouraged to give of their time and expertise, as well as finances in the execution of the delivery of service, this would contribute to the further growth and development of civil society and the country as a whole.
Future research should focus on determining the following:

What is the size and capacity of civil society in The Bahamas? How do we determine the capacity of the society to confront issues that need to be addressed? With a lack of value placed on the environment, a lack of preparedness for climate change, an educational system that is failing to prepare young people for employment, an increasing number of persons living below the poverty line, high levels of criminal behavior, high levels of noncommunicable diseases, irregular migration issues resulting in more persons living on the margins and disenfranchised, and changing cultural values toward work and ethics (State of the Nation Report, 2016), can we, with the challenge of the archipelagic nature of this country muster the resources to address the issues that we face? We need to know what mechanisms are in place now to address issues and having each move toward mitigating each challenge.

What is the ideal level of participation for Government in dealing with civil society? With a country as small in population, and with a highly vulnerable, dispersed land mass, and with complex social issues, do we have the luxury to consider a civil society that separates itself from the state and operates outside the boundaries of national growth and development? From the organizations viewed, we have seen the levels of integration between various sectors of civil society and the state. Moving forward, this information will be key in considering when relationships should be fostered.

Is a social democratic or statist model best for this country? What values will influence the development of civil society going forward? Further examination of this is required.

1. How can participation be encouraged to promote democracy? The National Development Plan has identified the current state of civil society as weak, what can be done to strengthen it? How can we recreate the strong heritage of a civil society
addressing societal needs? How do we change the social value system to encourage
citizens to be the stewards of their environment and brother and sister to each other? How
can we direct policies to encourage behaviors that we want to see?

This work has taken a snapshot of civil society in The Bahamas and looked at its relationship
with Government. Future work can use the survey created by Salamon et al to perform a census
of civil society population in The Bahamas. The survey results could offer a more
comprehensive look at the role that civil society plays in the governance of society. The use of
this information can then be analyzed and provide insights on what exists in the civil society
environment, areas for possible collaboration, and an introduction of best practices to the
administration of their objectives, to increase participation of citizens in civil society and expand
democracy in The Bahamas.

The Bahamas is a small state that is an archipelago with a small population and high
complexities and limited resources. The attention that is paid to the development of such states in
academia is limited and there is much that needs to be addressed due to the challenges of
development. The examination of the role that civil society plays in development and the nature
of the relationship that civil society has with the state can provide the information to improve the
development trajectory of the country. It is through a relationship between the state and civil
society these people can invest in the building of their communities and the country as a whole.
Bibliography


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Appendix A

PHASE III/ UN HANDBOOK

ORGANIZATIONAL SURVEY
(April, 2005)

[Research organization, in conjunction with the Johns Hopkins Center for Civil Society Studies] is conducting a study of civil society organizations in [your country]. The study is supported by [name prominent local sponsors]. This study will provide basic information about the size and scope of the civil society in many different countries around the world, the role of civil society organizations in delivering important programs, services, and representation of collective interests. The results of this study will provide valuable information for assessing the strengths and the needs of civil society in [your country] and internationally, will serve as a resource for public policy civic dialogue, and may ultimately help organizations like yours in obtaining resources and fulfilling their missions.

THIS SURVEY IS BEING SENT TO ONLY A SMALL SAMPLE OF ORGANIZATIONS IN [your country]. “ORGANIZATION” MEANS AN ENTITY (GROUP OR INSTITUTION) WITH SOME DEGREE OF INTERNAL STRUCTURE, PERSISTENCE OF GOALS, STRUCTURE AND ACTIVITIES, AND MEANINGFUL BOUNDARIES; OR A LEGAL CHARTER OF INCORPORATION. IF YOUR GROUP DOES NOT MEET ANY OF THESE CRITERIA, PLEASE CHECK THE BOX BELOW AND RETURN THE QUESTIONNAIRE WITHOUT FILLING IT.

☐ This entity does not meet the above criteria defining “organization.”

TO MAKE THE RESULTS REPRESENTATIVE, IT IS VITALLY IMPORTANT THAT ALL ORGANIZATIONS INVITED TO THIS STUDY COMPLETE THE SURVEY. THE SUCCESS OF THIS PROJECT DEPENDS UPON YOUR COOPERATION. ALL RESPONSES TO THE SURVEY WILL BE KEPT STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL AND NO INFORMATION ON INDIVIDUAL ORGANIZATIONS WILL BE REVEALED FOR ANY REASON.

This questionnaire has five sections A through E pertaining to various aspects of organizational activity. Sections A and B ask for information about organization’s mission, structure, and legal status; Section C elicits information about workforce (both paid and volunteers) and its workload; Section D asks about the organization’s programs and activities; and Section E contains questions about the organization’s resources (assets, expenses and revenues).

Please answer all questions as candidly and thoroughly as possible. To facilitate responding to the survey, you may wish to copy and distribute sections of the survey to key members of your
organization with instructions that they complete the sections and return them to you. Specifically, the information may then be compiled on a single copy and returned to [research organization]. If you have any questions about the meaning, intent, or purpose of any item in this survey, please do not hesitate to [ask the interviewer] or contact the [research organization]. Thank you for helping us advance the state of knowledge and understanding about civil society organizations in [your country].
SECTION A: ORGANIZATION CATEGORIZATION

Organization’s name: ____________________________________________________________
Organization’s address: __________________________________________________________
Organization’s contact information: ________________________________________________

A1. Are people required to participate in or belong to your organization by law, birth, or custom?

(NOTE: Do NOT count membership requirement to voluntarily enter a particular profession or occupation, voluntarily engage in a specific activity, such as hunting or fishing, or voluntarily live in a particular area or dwelling type)

☐ 1. Yes ☐ 2. No ☐ 3. Not sure (explain:__________________________________)

A2. If your organization earns a surplus from its activities, is that surplus transferred to the owners, officers, or members of the organization?

☐ 1. Yes ☐ 2. No ☐ 3. Not sure (explain:__________________________________)
☐ 4. No surplus is earned

A3. Is your organization a government agency or a division of such an agency?

☐ 1. Yes ☐ 2. No ☐ 3. Not sure (explain:__________________________________)

A4. Do government officials have veto power over the selection of the board or operations of your organization?

☐ 1. Yes ☐ 2. No ☐ 3. Not sure (explain:__________________________________)

A5. Does the leadership of your organization have the power to dissolve your organization or merge it with another organization in the due process specified by law?

☐ 1. Yes ☐ 2. No ☐ 3. Not sure (explain:__________________________________)

END OF SECTION A
SECTION B: GENERAL DESCRIPTION

B1. When was your organization formed?
   ______ Year

B2. What is the legal form of your organization?
   □ 1. [fill in major legal forms in your country]
   □ 2. ____________
   □ 3. ____________
   □ 4. ____________

B3. Does your organization have multiple places of operations (establishments)?
   □ 1. Yes  □ 2. No
   If you answered “Yes” specify how many:_______

B4. If you answered “Yes” in question B3, please indicate whether your answers to this questionnaire apply to:
   □ 1. Your establishment (office) alone
   □ 2. All establishments (offices) in your region, but not the entire organization.
   □ 3. All establishments (offices) in all regions.
   □ 4. All member organizations in the network.

B5. Is your organization legally registered?
   □ 1. Yes  □ 2. No  □ 3. Not sure (explain:__________________________________)

B6. Is your organization officially recognized as “tax- or duty exempt,” “nonprofit,” “charitable,” “public purpose/benefit” or the like under the laws of your country?
   □ 1. Yes  □ 2. No  □ 3. Not sure (explain:__________________________________)

END OF SECTION B
SECTION C: PERSONNEL

PAID EMPLOYEES

C1. Does your organization have any paid employees?

NOTE: Do not count people who receive only reimbursement of their expenses or token rewards that are considerably below what constitutes customary compensation for work by local standards. Do NOT count seconded personnel, i.e. employees working for your organization but remaining on the payroll of another organization or agency, and whose wages your organization does not pay.

☐ 1. Yes ☐ 2. No ☒ C5

C2. How many people does your organization employ now?

_________________

C3. Of the number of employees reported in item C2, how many work less than full time (i.e. less than 30 hours per week or fewer than 40 weeks per year)?

_________________

C4. What is the typical number of hours that part-time employees identified in item C3 work PER YEAR?

_______________ OR _________ hours/week * _______________ weeks

UNPAID WORKERS / VOLUNTEERS

C5. Does your organization have any volunteer staff or workers i.e. people who do NOT receive any compensation for their work?

NOTE: Count people who receive only reimbursement of their expenses or token rewards that are considerably below what constitutes customary compensation for work by local standards. Do NOT count people who participate in some of the organization’s activities for their own benefit, but do not render any services of economic value to your organization (i.e. you could hire and pay somebody to perform them.) These people should be counted as members.

☐ 1. Yes ☐ 2. No ☒ C9
C6. How many unpaid workers / volunteers does your organization employ now?
_________________

C7. Of the number of unpaid workers/volunteers reported in item C5, how many work less than full time (i.e. less than 30 hours per week or fewer than 40 weeks per year)?
_________________

C8. What is the typical number of hours that part-time employees identified in item C3 work PER YEAR?
_________________ OR _________ hours/week * _______________ weeks

MEMBERS
C9. Does your organization have any members?

NOTE: Members are people who belong to the organization, pledge their support to the organization (e.g. by paying dues, attending meetings or other events) or are otherwise recognized as participants in the organization's activities.

☐ 1. Yes ☐ 2. No

Section D

C10. What is the total number of members in your organization now?

_________

C9. Does your organization have any specific conditions or requirements a person must meet to be considered a member?

☐ 1. Yes ☐ 2. No

Please specify those conditions or requirements:

____________________________________________________________________
____________________________________________________________________

END OF SECTION C
SECTION D: ACTIVITIES

D1. Which of the following activities absorbs the largest part of your organization’s resources (both human and financial). DO NOT SELECT MORE THAN ONE ACTIVITY FIELD. If your organization equally splits resources among more than one type of activities, select the one that is the most important.

1. ☐ Arts and culture          2. ☐ Sports and recreation
3. ☐ Primary or secondary education  4. ☐ Higher education  5. ☐ Other education
15. ☐ Philanthropic intermediaries  16. ☐ International programs and assistance
17. ☐ Business and professional associations, labor unions  18. ☐ Religious activities
19. ☐ Not elsewhere classified

D2. If your organization has a classification code under [name of the industrial classification system in your country, such as NACE in Europe, or NAICS in North America], please enter it here.

☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐

D1. Using the enclosed List of Activities please select ALL activities in which your organization has been engaged during past 12 months. Mark your selection by CHECKING BOXES next to relevant activities.
# Appendix B

## LIST OF ACTIVITIES

### CULTURE, RECREATION

- Media & communication services
- Visual arts, architecture, ceramic arts
- Performing arts
- Historical, literary, humanistic activities
- Museums
- Zoos & aquariums
- Other cultural & artistic activities
- Sports
- Recreation/pleasure or social clubs

Other:___________________

### SOCIAL SERVICES

- Child services/welfare, day care
- Youth services & youth welfare
- Family services
- Services for the handicapped
- Services for the elderly
- Self-help & other personal social services
- Disaster/emergency prevention, relief & control
- Temporary shelters
- Refugee assistance
- Income support & maintenance
- Material assistance to the needy

Other:___________________

### EDUCATION, RESEARCH

- Primary/secondary education
- Higher education
- Vocational/technical education
- Adult/continuing education
- Medical research
- Science & technology
- Social science or policy research

Other:___________________

### HEALTH

- Hospital care
- Rehabilitation services
- Inpatient nursing home services
- Psychiatric treatment, inpatient
- Mental health treatment
- Mental crisis intervention
- Public health & wellness education
- Outpatient health treatment
- Rehabilitative medical services

Other:___________________

### ENVIRONMENT

- Pollution abatement & control
- Natural resources conservation & protection
- Beautification & open spaces
- Animal protection & welfare
- Wildlife preservation & protection
- Veterinary services

Other:___________________

### DEVELOPMENT, HOUSING

- Community & neighborhood improvement
- Economic development
- Social development

Other:___________________

### ADVOCA CY, CIVIL RIGHTS

- Campaigning/lobbying
- Civil and human rights promotion
- Ethnic solidarity/heritage promotion
- Issue advocacy (e.g. environment, health, child welfare, etc.)
- Legal services
- Crime prevention & public safety
- Rehabilitation of offenders
- Victim support
- Consumer protection

Other:___________________

### PHILANTHROPY, VOLUNTARISM

- Grant making activities
- Voluntarism promotion & support
- Fund-raising activities

Other:___________________

### INT’L ACTIVITIES

- Exchange/friendship/cultural programs
- Development assistance
- International disaster & relief
- International human rights & peace

Other:___________________
BUSINESS, PROFESSIONAL
ASSOCIATIONS, UNIONS

- Business associations
- Professional associations
- Labor unions
- Other:___________________

RELIGION

- Religious activities, preaching, ceremonies, sacraments
- NOT ELSEWHERE CLASSIFIED
- _______________________