

This book, *Multiplex Cultures and Citizenships: Multiple Perspectives on Language, Literature, Education, and Society in the ABC-Islands and Beyond*, is a collection of articles that present a critical perspective on the languages, literatures, and cultures of the ABC-Islands and the Caribbean diaspora. The volume incorporates invited papers as well as presentations made to the 14th annual Eastern Caribbean Islands Cultures Conference (aka the 'Islands in Between' Conference) which was held in St. George's, Grenada from 3 to 5 November 2011. The contributing authors include a wide range of voices old and new from the ABC-Islands, the rest of the Caribbean, and beyond.

Multiplex Cultures and Citizenships

Faraclas | Severing
Weijer | Ehteld

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Multiple Perspectives on
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Edited by
Nicholas Faraclas
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Proceedings of the ECICC-conference
Guyana 2011

Volume 1

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Nicholas Faraclas
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CULTURES OF THE EASTERN CARIBBEAN, 3 TO 5 NOVEMBER 2011,
GRENADA

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The two publications: *Multiplex Cultures and Citizenships: Multiple Perspectives on Language, Literature, Education, and Society in the ABC-Islands and Beyond*, together with *Double Voicing and Multiplex Identities: Unpacking Hegemonic and Subaltern Discourses in the Caribbean* contain a collection of articles that present a critical perspective on the languages, literatures, and cultures of the Greater Caribbean and the Caribbean diaspora. The volumes incorporate invited papers as well as presentations made to the 14th annual Eastern Caribbean Islands Cultures Conference (aka the 'Islands in Between' Conference) which was held in St. George's, Grenada from 3 to 5 November 2011. The contributing authors include a wide range of voices old and new from the Caribbean and beyond.

These books form part of a two volume set, with this volume focusing on the ABC-islands (Aruba, Bonaire and Curaçao) and the other volume focusing on the other parts of the Caribbean. Together, these volumes provide a platform for researchers and other cultural workers whose work treats the islands, topics, and/or perspectives that traditionally receive less scholarly attention than others at professional conferences and in academic publications. Special emphasis is placed on ensuring that new voices with fresh points of view find a place in these volumes, alongside contributions by more well established scholars.

The Grenada conference was co-organized and co-sponsored by the University of Puerto Rico at Río Piedras, the University of the West Indies at Cave Hill in Barbados, and St. George's University in Grenada. We wish to thank the conference organizers, especially Antonia MacDonald and the local organizing committee from St. George's University in Grenada, Peter Roberts from the University of the West Indies at Cave Hill in Barbados, and Mervyn Alleyne, Reinhard Sander, and Marisol Joseph Haynes from the University of Puerto Rico. This publication received generous support from the Prins Bernhard Cultuurfonds Caribisch Gebied and the Fundashon Bon Intenshon in Curaçao.

The Editors

**UNPACKING HEGEMONIC AND SUBALTERN DISCOURSES ON
CULTURE AND CITIZENSHIP IN THE ABC-ISLANDS AND BEYOND**

AN INTRODUCTION: MULTIPLE CULTURES AND MULTIPLEX CITIZENSHIPS IN THE ABC-ISLANDS AND BEYOND

ROSE MARY ALLEN, UNIVERSITY OF CURAÇAO

PETER GESCHIERE, UNIVERSITY OF AMSTERDAM

The texts in this section were originally presented at a seminar which was held at the University of Curaçao, General Faculty, on the 2nd and 3rd of May 2012. The seminar theme was *What do we mean by culture? Different perspectives*. It was organized in collaboration with a research program of the University of Amsterdam called ‘Culturalization of Citizenship - The Netherlands in International Perspective.’¹

We chose this theme because we felt that further attention to the notion of culture was urgent in the present-day context, both globally, and in Curaçao and the Netherlands in particular. Cultures are increasingly exposed to globalizing forces (including transnational mobility) that interweave the local and the international, and affect societies in an ever more accelerated and intensified manner. These developments contribute to various levels of complexity of cultures in the Caribbean and elsewhere, and affect the way in which societies are developing. Culture is now recognized as the so-called ‘fourth pillar’ of sustainable development and was acknowledged and explored as such during the recent Small Island Development States (SIDS) Conference hosted in March of 2012 by the University of Curaçao.

With this resurfacing concern for culture, discussions have inevitably refocused on what precisely constitutes culture. The conversations and debates thus far on this theme seem to validate literary critic Raymond Williams’ (1983: 87-92) emphasis on the ‘complicatedness’ of the concept of culture, considering its multiple definitions and interpretations. Culture has proved quite difficult to capture within the narrow confines of scholarly definitions. Its multidimensional complexity is reflected in the multiplex ways in which the concept is used. Williams (p. 90) extrapolates four common definitions of culture:

¹ This programme is jointly sponsored by NWO (the Dutch organization for scientific research), by FORUM (the Institute for Intercultural Affairs in the Netherlands) and by Oxfam-Novib. As organizers, we were particularly happy that a representative of FORUM, Dr. Chris Huinder could attend the conference and contribute very significantly to the deliberations as a discussant.

1. a developed state of mind, in the sense of a 'cultured' person;
2. a worldview and a set of lifeways, in the sense of the 'culture' of a people;
3. the means by which such a worldview and such lifeways are creatively expressed, with particular reference to the arts and human intellectual work; and/or
4. a signifying system through which a social order is communicated, reproduced, experienced and explored.

A fifth, more recent dimension may be added, based on the concept of 'culturalization' which is being used to capture and describe a process which is unfolding universally in reaction to what is sometimes experienced as the cultural 'suffocation' of globalization (Geschiere, 2009).

As elsewhere, in Curaçao there is a re-emerging interest in culture as it relates to matters of social and economic development and discussions about values and norms. It is therefore most welcome that the University of Curaçao has decided to develop an academic program in Cultural Studies in order to address these issues. This seminar on *What do we mean by culture? Different perspectives* constituted the launching of this innovative academic program as well as of a series of lectures exploring the cultural issues that are relevant to the concerns of the people of Curaçao. The seminar was therefore designed to provide an opportunity for reflection among colleagues who are involved on a daily basis with issues related to culture: not only social scientists but also social workers, activists and artists. Through this seminar, scholars from Curaçao were able to enter into ongoing dialogue with researchers from the Amsterdam-based program on 'Culturalization of Citizenship' that incorporates researchers from the Netherlands, West Africa and the Middle East. By interactively engaging the analysis and ideas of local and foreign scholars, the organizers sought to transcend the locality of the discourse on culture and to encourage fertilization across the boundaries of geographic space, language, cultures and paradigms. We also succeeded in involving both senior and junior scholars in order to ensure continuity in the thinking processes regarding culture in Curaçao. We opted for a multidisciplinary approach by inviting anthropologists, sociologists, gender specialists and philosophers to join the panels which brought together enthusiastic and passionate presenters and discussants. The seminar not only succeeded in encouraging interaction between presenters and discussants, but also between panelists and the audience, which participated very actively in the proceedings. We hope that the seminar and the following collection of the presentations made there in this section of the present volume will help to constitute a productive platform for new voices and initiatives in the study of culture.

The organization of both the seminar and of this collection of articles reflects ongoing initiatives for the further development of the new academic program on Cultural

Studies at the University of Curaçao. Besides training people – young people in particular – to examine society in a more critical way, the program will encourage research on culture and its relationship to society. Much has already been done in these areas and we would like to specifically recognize the valuable contributions of Elis Juliana, Pader Brenneker, Alejandro Paula, René Römer and Valdemar Marcha. However, there remains much more to be done in areas such as youth culture, religion and the arts.

We hope that the seminar and the articles that follow in this section will contribute to a better understanding of the vast range of issues around culture and will help to create not only a *center* for advanced Cultural Studies, but also a *culture* of advanced and critical thinking in Curaçao. We want to thank the editors of this volume for offering us this opportunity to publish the presentations made at the seminar and for their diligent and creative editing work.

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THE RETURN OF CULTURE – ANTHROPOLOGY’S TEMPTATIONS¹

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An important turning point in African studies in the 1980’s was the emergence of culture as a central concern in fields where it had been quite marginal until then. Development experts began to emphasize culture as crucial to any intervention or project. Economists got into the habit of invoking “culture” as a final explanation, turning it into some sort of black box that had to explain why African societies continued to falsify their neat models of how development should be realized.

For anthropologists this new attention to culture was somewhat confusing. It had always been a central notion in our discipline, especially in US anthropology. So the sudden popularity of the notion in the development industry and elsewhere opened up promising perspectives. However, this came at the very time when leading anthropologists – again, especially in the US – began to warn us of the dangers of then current notions of culture, insisting that anthropology had to liberate itself from its heritage, notably from this central concept. James Clifford (1988), for instance, attacked the essentialist tenor of classical anthropology’s take on culture. In his view this notion inspired a search for an authentic core that not only risked to isolate the discipline from modern changes, but also turned culture into some sort of timeless mould in which people seemed to be imprisoned. Similarly Arjun Appadurai (1996) pleaded for a complete ban on the term culture – in any case as a noun – since it could so easily inspire a “culturalist” approach in which cultural difference seemed to be a given. Appadurai warned, moreover, how dangerous such a view on culture could be in the present-day world where globalization processes seemed to be closely intertwined with ever fiercer eruptions of communal violence.²

In associated disciplines of the social sciences and beyond, the notion of “culture” had not attained such rigid connotations as it had in some branches of classical anthropology. One of the great merits of, for instance, Mineke Schipper’s work on

¹ This text is a revised version of a contribution to a special issue of *Thamrys* (11, 2003), ‘Africa and Its Significant Others,’ in honour of Mineke Schipper, Amsterdam: Rodopi, p.85-95.

² See also Appadurai’s 1999 article on ethnic killing as the ultimate form of “identification” (in the sense of fixing somebody’s identity).

oral literature and proverbs is that she consistently highlighted the dynamic nature of culture and its inherent tensions (see Schipper, 1977 and in press). Recently, anthropologists have tried as well to develop more fluid, open models of culture under the influence of insights from literature studies and the upsurge of “cultural studies” in general. However, such a search for more open interpretations of this central notion can easily disappoint our colleagues from development studies who, with their new interest in culture, expect us to deliver a neatly packaged concept in a clear-cut format, that should be above all easily applicable across a wide range of societies. The question is how anthropologists can be as successful in propagating their new, more fluid concept of culture as their ancestors were in propagating their much more monolithic and static version?

Anthropologists and the myth of African authenticity

It was especially in the 1980's that the anthropological notion of culture came under attack within the discipline itself. A leading figure in this debate – that started in the US, but soon spread to Europe as well³ – was James Clifford, a specialist in literature studies who during his career became ever more involved in the field of anthropology. His target was the anthropological view of culture as a system, neatly bounded in space: each society with its own culture and each culture with its own essence. A very influential exponent of this view was Ruth Benedict, who in her classic *Patterns of Culture* (1953) so neatly opposed the Pueblo Indians with their “Appolinian culture” to the Plains Indians with their “Dyonisian culture”. Benedict opened her second chapter with a tragic quote from an old chief of the “Digger” Indians (“...as the Californians call them...”):

“In the beginning God gave to every people a cup, a cup of clay, and from this cup drank their life.....They all dipped it in the water.... but their cups were different. Our cup is broken now. It has passed away”
(Benedict: 19).

Such an evocative statement would do very well in one of Mineke Schipper's rich collections of proverbs or oral literature texts. Yet, in her work it would always be related to inherent tensions – between genders or on other contested ground – and, thus to the dynamic aspects of a culture. This suggests also that if “cup” stands for culture in the quotation above, it is not that easily broken. In many contexts so-called “traditional” patterns show a surprising resilience and creativity in interaction with modern changes.

Clifford's critique of the classical notion of culture follows similar lines. He sees its main danger as being that it encourages anthropologists to look for an authentic core

³ See, for instance, Baumann, 1996 and Van Binsbergen, 1992; see also Geschiere, 1989.

that would constitute the essence of an “other” culture.⁴ Modern transformations of such cultural patterns have therefore often been disregarded by anthropologists in their search for authenticity. Clifford emphasizes that such an outlook risks making the discipline blind or even averse to the study of cultural dynamics and innovations. His main target is the famous French proponent of “structural anthropology”, Claude Lévi-Strauss with his nostalgic view on the dying authenticity of “other cultures”. To Lévi-Strauss, the *tropiques* are so *tristes* because all the rich cultural variation of, for instance indigenous societies in Brasil, will unavoidably be bulldozed out of existence by one uniform world culture with Coca-Cola and McDonald’s as its main exponents.⁵ To Clifford, such a pessimistic view means that anthropologists allow themselves to be blinkered: they risk ignoring the often surprising cultural variation and creativity that continues to mark modern developments. Or, as Appadurai (1996) puts it: “a cultural perspective on recent processes of globalization shows that these are only not only marked by increasing homogenization (it is true that coca cola and blue jeans have conquered the world), but at the same time by continuing or even renewed cultural heterogeneity.” To give an example from close by: Dutch society around the turn of the century has certainly not become more culturally homogeneous than, say, fifty years ago. On the contrary, people are much more preoccupied by cultural difference. Or, as Clifford puts it: the “exotic” is around the corner; one does not have to travel to the Pacific or to Africa to find it anymore.

Clifford, therefore, opposes to Lévi-Strauss’ “essentialist” notion of culture, a “Caribbean” culture concept inspired by Aimé Césaire. In the Caribbean world no culture can claim historical authenticity. On the contrary, each cultural history is marked by constant mixing, hybridization and emergence of new forms. For anthropology, the great challenge is therefore to study culture as constantly “emergent”, as a continuous process of hybridization from which new forms are born. Against the pessimistic view of the inevitable modern *telos* of one, homogeneous world culture, Clifford emphasizes that there are different pathways through the modern world. However, anthropologists can only hope to grasp these often surprising – or even shocking – cultural dynamics, if they relinquish their closed concept of culture and opt for a more open notion of “culture,” not as a fixed and closed system (a “cup of clay” that “breaks” when it has to change); but rather as a more or less loose set of parameters and principles, subject to constant hybridization and renewal. One of the obvious criticisms of Clifford’s challenging hypothesis is, of course, that it was not that new. And it is true that the anthropological interest in contact and change goes back to Bronislaw Malinowski, one of the founders of the discipline at the beginning of the 20th century. In the study of culture in Africa as well, one can mention a long list of venerable anthropological ancestors whose work fit into this

⁴ Cf. the title of John Beattie’s introductory book with initiated generations of students to anthropology: *Other cultures* (1966).

⁵ Cf. the title of Lévy-Strauss’ influential travel book *Tristes tropiques* (1955).

tradition. Yet, it is clear also that in this line of thought change was supposed to come from outside the society under study. Until far into the 1960's, internal social order and social control re-affirming the status quo remained central themes of structural-functionalist anthropology, as the dominant paradigm in the discipline. This was one of the reasons why anthropologists had difficulty in distancing themselves from "the modern traditional oppositions which still remain so powerful in social sciences in general, despite decades of fierce criticism of this and other simplistic dichotomies that have defined the field. In principle, the evolutionist and unilinear implications of this binarism do not mesh well with the keen interest that many if not most anthropologists have always maintained in cultural variety and relativism. Yet the emphasis in functionalist anthropology on the social and cultural coherence of rural society fit very well with the image of "the" African village as "traditional", more or less outside of history, and most of all "resistant" to change, especially to "modern" change.⁶

The success of this older, anthropological vision is apparent from the fact that it continues to emerge in the work of authors in very different fields, notably in development studies and economics. A good example in the 1980's and 1990's was the success of Göran Hyden's vision of the resilience in Africa of the "economy of affection" that would still provide a basic level of social security for the peasantry, and even for the urban elite in the face of the uncertainties of the modern sector. Hyden's views – launched with gusto in his 1980 book – attracted a lot of attention in the circles of development experts, including those in the Dutch Ministry of Development Co-operation.

One of the reasons was that Hyden's work seemed to provide an explanation for the failure of so many development initiatives on the African continent. In his view, African peasants are still "uncaptured" by the global market economy because in the face of very unfavourable market conditions or strong pressure from the state, they still have an "exit option" into the "economy of affection" – that is, into the subsistence economy of the village that is still supposed to provide basic social security. Even urbanites set great store in maintaining their contacts with the village because they feel that it provides, in contrast to the modern sector, at least some social security. Of course, this bold statement raised severe criticism – the main one being that in many parts of the continent Hyden's vision of the continuing viability of subsistence agriculture would be far too optimistic. However, he did realize that "the economy of affection" was often under increasing strain. Yet, his basic idea is sound. At the time, in many parts of Africa the rural population was still not completely dependent on the market; they could still reproduce at least part of their subsistence economy with their own means; and this gave them – in contrast to populations in

⁶ See for a more detailed overview Geschiere, 1989 and 1997.

other parts of the world – at least some scope for pursuing their own interests in face of interventions from outside (whether by development experts or by civil servants). Moreover, the vision – even among urban elites – of the village as the ultimate provider of social security made (and still makes) it possible, as Hyden put it, that “the norms of the economy of affection” [such as solidarity between kinsfolk] penetrate into the functioning of modern institutions [the State] – or to put it in more concrete terms: a senior civil servant can hardly refuse to give a job to his cousin from the village, if he (the civil servant) sees the village as the community whose resources and good will he may ultimately have to fall back upon.

Sound as the basic idea may be, there are serious problems with Hyden’s vision of the sphere that should in the last resort provide some sense of social security: the so-called “economy of affection”. And here we return to the problems that arise from the classical anthropological notion of “culture.” Hyden’s vision of the “economy of affection” seems to be heavily influenced by the classical anthropological image of the African village as being generally well ordered and resistant to change. In this view, although the African village may experience temporary crises, after such crises are resolved the socio-cultural order is re-instated.⁷ Hyden’s “economy of affection” seems to know no internal contradictions and, therefore, no dynamics. It is a timeless safety net, that can only be affected by changes from outside.

It is clear that such a monolithic image is attractive to our colleagues from more policy-oriented disciplines – development studies, development economics – when they venture to integrate “culture” into their interpretations and models. No wonder that Hyden was so popular, at least for some time, in the fashion-conscious circuits of development co-operation. Precisely because of its supposed predictability, Hyden’s “economy of affection” could be included in generalizing – often statistical and model-minded – approaches. It is clear also that this image had its dangers: precisely because it is so undifferentiated, the model of the “economy of affection” as an informal safety net could easily serve as some sort of excuse for the notorious “Structural Adjustment” dictates by the IMF and the World Bank that imposed so much hardship on African populations.

If we take a less simplistic approach, it becomes clear that a more differentiated view of the “economy of affection” as a dynamic and hybrid configuration, constantly reshaped by creative initiatives “from below” is no doubt more enlightening, if one wants to understand the kaleidoscopic array of possibilities and opportunities that it contains. But how will an anthropologist, who wants to study culture not as a system but rather as something “emergent” and in constant “hybridization”, deal with economists and development experts when the latter ask for his/her advice in matters of “culture”?

⁷ Max Gluckman (1954) called this “repetitive change” over against the “cumulative” change that would characterize, for instance, Western societies.

An example: “witchcraft” and change.⁸

The popular obsession, in many parts of the African continent, with a supposed proliferation of old and new forms of occult aggression – the idea that “witchcraft is running wild” – can offer ambiguous, but therefore all the more interesting examples of the dilemma described above, which sets the advantages of using more open notions of culture against the problems that these more open notions bring with them. “Witchcraft” is of particular interest here, since it is often viewed as one of the most “traditional” aspects of local societies expressing a fierce resistance to change. For the classical anthropologists it was a most effective form of social control that mainly served to re-affirm the social order: the fear of being accused (or attacked) served to bring people to heel. Two brief examples may show that such a static view is difficult to maintain in view of the impressive resilience and creativity of witchcraft representations and practices, in interaction with “modern” changes.

My first example concerns the spectacular story of the banana-boom and a successful invention by Obasi-Njom, a particularly powerful *juju* among the Bakweri in Southwest Cameroon – so vividly retold by the British anthropologist Edwin Ardener (1970).

“In the 1950’s the introduction of Obasi Njom’s “medicine” among the Bakweri achieved a major breakthrough: it abruptly destroyed the witchcraft ban on individual enrichment. Until then, the Bakweri were often depicted as possessed by a strange apathy, and even as a group that soon might be extinct. This was all the more tragic as they live in a very fertile area, on the slopes of a huge volcano, Mt. Cameroon that rises up steeply from the coast. However, the fertility of these volcanic soils proved to be a mixed blessing. In the 1890’s, the Germans, the first colonizers of Cameroon, quickly expropriated these rich lands. Within a few years, German firms created a huge plantation complex here. Most of the Bakweri refused to work on the new plantations. They withdrew to poorer areas, higher up on the mountain. In their place, immigrants from other parts of the colony (and also from neighbouring Nigeria) profited from the new opportunities to earn money in the unfolding colonial economy.

The Bakweri themselves invariably blamed their lack of initiative on their fear for *nyongo* witchcraft. *Nyongo* witches were believed to transform their victims into some sort of zombies (*vekongi*) who had to work for them. Such an imaginary made anybody who came into wealth suspect: his new – and therefore quite enigmatic – riches could only

⁸ I realize that the use of the term “witchcraft” has unfortunate implications: it offers a problematic translation of local notions that have often a much broader array of meanings. However, this Western term – like parallel terms such as sorcery or magic – has now been appropriated on such a scale by people throughout the continent that it is even more problematic to refuse to use them (see further Geschiere, 1997).

come from the zombie labour and, therefore, he had to be a *nyongo* witch. Such fears were condensed in the Bakweri abhorrence of the new type of houses with tinned roofs, which in many parts of West Africa were for long the main new status symbol. Among the Bakweri, however, such a house was considered to be the mark of a *nyongo* witch. People hardly dared to sleep in such a house for then one could stumble upon the zombies.

At first sight, these Bakweri representations seem to fit in very well with the current image of “witchcraft” as a “traditional” barrier to development. What is confusing, though, is that the Bakweri themselves insist that this *nyongo* witchcraft is a novel thing to them. Their ancestors did not know it. In olden days witches were supposed to “eat” their victims (especially their own kin). This *nyongo* trick to turn victims into labouring zombies was only introduced more recently, and it came from the neighbouring Douala. This group lives around the present-day city of the same name, now Cameroon’s economic capital and since the 16th century the main gateway for the European trade along this part of the coast. For the Bakweri themselves *nyongo* was anything but “traditional”; on the contrary, it was a by-product of the introduction of new forms of enrichment due to the impact of the new Atlantic trade.⁹

However, more abrupt changes were to follow. In the 1950’s, a new opportunity opened up for the Bakweri to participate in the Atlantic trade. Due to better transport techniques, it became possible to cultivate sweet bananas for the European market. Many Bakweri farmers reacted favorably to this new opportunity. A true “banana-boom” followed so that suddenly ever larger sums of money circulated in Bakweri land. However, this sudden enrichment made also that villages threatened to explode because of all the *nyongo* accusations. In the face of such increasing tensions, the elders – under direct pressure of the young men – decided to send a delegation to the Banyangi, 150 miles into the interior, to go and fetch Obasi Njom, because this *juju* should be able to handle the whole thing. At first the Banyangi refused. They wanted more money. But finally when more money was raised, they accepted to come. In the 1980’s, my own informants still remembered their spectacular entry: a fierce procession of wild dancers in long, black robes; in their midst a dancer in trance with a big crocodile mask: he was possessed by Obasi Njom.”

⁹ Indeed, the Douala themselves often relate *nyongo* (in their language more often called *ekong*) to the Whites and the slave trade (see De Rosny, 1981 and Geschiere, 1997).

Ardener describes the subsequent events in almost lyrical terms. Obasi Njom “flushed” out *nyongo* witches all over the place; he forced them to confess and to hand in their medicine; thus their witchcraft was neutralized. At the same time a true building rage took off. Everywhere in the villages “modern” houses – of course, with tinned roofs – were built. Ardener often had trouble hearing what his informants were saying because of all the hammering and sawing. Within a few weeks, Obasi Njom had broken through the fear of *nyongo* and the distrust of individual accumulation of wealth. But it was only because of this “powerful *juju*” that the Bakweri were able to profit individually from the banana-boom and access new opportunities for participating in the globalized dream of “development.” This state of affairs prevailed until the World Trade Organization forced factory farmed bananas grown under near slave conditions on the US United Fruit company’s Latin American plantations onto the European market, which effectively destroyed small-holder banana production for the global market in Africa, the Caribbean, and the Pacific. The “*juju*” of neo-liberal orthodoxy eventually triumphs over the *juju* of Obasi Njom!

Of interest in this story is the striking ambivalence of the witchcraft discourse in interaction with modern changes: it produces, on the one hand, the new image of *nyongo* that still seems to confirm the old idea of witchcraft as some sort of “traditional” break on development and change. However, due to the initiative to go and fetch Obasi Njom – whose *juju* powers are so powerful because he can tap the same kind of occult forces – the same discourse was quite abruptly turned around and produced some sort of support to those who wanted to take advantage of the new opportunities for enrichment. Clearly, it is very difficult to try and cast such an ambivalent discourse into a model of culture as a more or less closed and static system. To understand how ideas related to witchcraft among the Bakweri can so easily be harmonized with globalized economic and cultural phenomena – and the same seems to apply in many other parts of Africa – Clifford’s view of culture as something “emerging” due to constant hybridization is much more promising.

It is clear that a wide variety of similar hybrid appropriations are also possible. For instance, to me the Bakweri *nyongo* stories were particularly striking since a few years earlier I had heard similar stories among the Maka, 500 miles to the East, in a very different part of Cameroon. In 1971, when I started my field-work in the area, my local consultants told me that only a few years ago in that area as well hardly anybody dared to sleep in a “modern” house (again, “modern” means here, with a tinned roof), because they were certain that such houses were optimal venues for attack by witches. The first year I spent in a Maka village, people, indeed, often made bantering remarks about richer villagers who had slept for years and years in a miserable kitchen, near their wife’s fire because they were so afraid of staying in the new house they had

built. However, in 1971, my informants began brushing aside such “silly” ideas. Asked how they had overcome their fears, they would reply that they had simply realized that all this was nonsense. Yet, on closer inspection things proved to be more complicated, as always in witchcraft affairs. One of the most striking developments was that the richer villagers who had built such houses had become associated in all sorts of ways with the dark forces of the *djambe* (a notion that is now always translated as *sorcellerie*). If they were not so sure of their new found powerful defences in the hidden *djambe* world, would they ever have dared to defy the jealousy of their fellow-villagers?

The relation between witchcraft and enrichment is as ambiguous in the case of the Maka as among the Bakweri. But there are clear differences: the Maka did not need an Obasi Njom to break the witchcraft ban on enrichment – possibly because their conceptions of the *djambe* (witchcraft) always emphasized more strongly its double impact: as a levelling force (the *djambe* as related to jealousy, and thus a weapon of the poor against the rich); but also as, at least potentially, a force of accumulation that can protect and even reinforce the dominance of the rich and the powerful. In the Maka case as well, the dynamics of culture in interaction with modern changes seems to be highly unpredictable and full of surprises. Moreover, both examples highlight how directly such cultural dynamics, and their “emergent” qualities, to borrow Clifford’s terms, can affect the scope for development interventions – in this case, efforts to make local farmers produce more for the market. Clearly this creative potential of local imaginaries makes it all the more important for development studies to include “culture” into their analysis. However, the problem remains that culture is a highly volatile concept, precisely if one opts for a more open (that is, less systemic) view in order to do justice to the kind of cultural dynamics that continue to mark developments in post-colonial Africa.

Up to the last decades of the past century, anthropology’s obsession with being “scientific” – to emulate the natural sciences, which seems to mean working with fixed and well-defined notions, and trying to arrive at regularities – stimulated all sorts of efforts to reduce “culture” to some sort of predictable model. Fortunately enough, over the last two decades the discipline has been more and more influenced by literature studies. Again, Mineke Schipper’s way of considering culture to be a creation – rather than a fixed form – can serve as a good example for anthropologists who try to attain a more dynamic and fluid vision of what culture might be. Indeed, in general the facts that emerge from Africa oblige us to opt for a more open view. Post-colonial Africa may have been in crisis for decades now, but it remains a continent marked by a staggering (and sometimes shocking) riches of cultural variation and creativity. It is clear that an “essentialist” concept of culture – as a system with its

authentic core; as a “cup of clay” than can be “broken” – will hardly do in such circumstances.

The question remains as to how we deal then with the increasing pressure from more policy-oriented colleagues (from development studies or even from economics) to offer them reliable and applicable data on how a given “culture” might react to development-oriented interventions or other forms of social engineering. Our nuanced and non-totalizing answer may be clear from the above discussion – even though it may make us less popular with these colleagues. Their renewed interest in culture is, in principle, highly laudable, and should be stimulated as much as possible. Yet it is all the more important that they learn to see it as highly dynamic and full of creativity – that is, difficult to reduce to fixed models or static quantification.

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NATIONAL IDENTITIES, BELONGING AND CITIZENSHIP IN CURAÇAO: THE COMPLEXITY OF CHANGING NATIONHOOD NARRATIVES AND PERFORMANCES IN A CARIBBEAN SMALL ISLAND CONTEXT

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Introduction

Curaçao is an island situated in the southern Caribbean. It is not an independent country; since October 10, 2010 its status is that of an internally self-governing entity that forms part of the Kingdom of the Netherlands. The Curaçaoan experience with identity, nationalism and citizenship is interesting. The question of who is and who is not a Curaçaoan, or *Yu di Kòrsou* [literally: Child of Curaçao] as one says locally, has captured the attention of both local and international social scientists since the second half of the 20th century. These scholars have recognized the sensitivity that overloads the concept of *Yu di Kòrsou* in Curaçao (Allen, 2010; Benjamin, 2002; Eikrem, 1999; Haviser, 1995; Hoetink, 1987; Marcha & Verweel, 2001; Römer, 1974; Van der Dijs, 2011). Essentially, they all studied the social formation of the Curaçaoan society that emerged from the arrival and confluence of various ethnic groups throughout the ages. They used a variety of theories, employing concepts such as social cohesion, creolization, social processes and ethnicity.

The discussion about who is and who is not *Yu di Kòrsou* exists at the popular level as well. Basically the discussion revolves around crucial questions such as: Who is a *Yu di Kòrsou* and who is not?¹ What characterizes the *Yu di Kòrsou* and hence a ‘good’ *Yu di Kòrsou*? and by extension: What is the authentic Curaçaoan culture that a good *Yu di Kòrsou* must express?

An evaluation suggests that this discussion intensifies at certain points in history. When that happens, the discussions are centered on particular events or developments

¹ During a recent radio program, in which I was asked to talk about the social situation of Curaçao, the program manager asked me point-blank: “Now can you tell me in a few words, who is a real *Yu di Kòrsou*?” When I answered that I could not give a direct answer to such a complex question, she seemed really puzzled. She expected a scholar to have a ready answer to such a controversial issue as who is a *Yu di Kòrsou* and who is not, who belongs to Curaçao and who does not. Ergo, who could be included in the society and who had to be excluded.

that augment the complexity of the discourse. For example, the discourse about who is and who is not *Yu di Kòrsou* recently became intensified during the long process of constitutional reform of Curaçao and the other islands of the Netherlands Antilles, i.e., during 2007-2010. The Appendix to this paper provides the historical background to this reform process. Especially after the signing of the *Slotverklaringen* [Final Declarations] in late 2006 (the two framework documents that outlined the future constitutional relationship of the Dutch Caribbean islands with the Netherlands and with each other) and during the so-called *Si ku Nò* [Yes or No] referendum held in May 2009 to approve or disapprove of Curaçao's impending constitutional change, the Curaçaoan people became engaged in heated debates regarding political autonomy, nation-building, citizenship, identity, and national belonging and allegiance.

The debate has continued even after the constitutional change took effect on October 10, 2010 (popularly referred to as '10-10-10'). Who is and who is not *Yu di Kòrsou* has begun to be discussed more openly by the state. It continues to be discussed today in public domains such as snack bars where the popular classes gather to drink and discuss daily matters, on radio and television talk shows where people call in to express their opinion, in letters to the editor in the local Papiamentu and Dutch newspapers, as well as in the new social media (especially Facebook) where people get into discussion with each other online. Clearly people are not content to leave the issues at hand solely to the state and social scientists, but engage in self-reflection and active discussion at the popular level.

It is obvious that many issues are at stake in these discussions about the *Yu di Kòrsou*. One recurring theme is, for example, the question whether the true *Yu di Kòrsou* is only the Afro-Curaçaoan. This notion deepens the already existing fragmentation in the society. Complexities appear and contradictions arise again when, for example, the government presents Curaçao as a new, autonomous, 'independent' 'country' and claims 'indigeneity' by distinguishing Curaçao's culture from that of the Netherlands, while at the same time stressing Curaçao's strategic position as a member of the Kingdom of the Netherlands. Politicians seem to have no problem shifting their focus back and forth between enjoying political autonomy, desiring (future) independence, belonging to Europe, having a global outlook, and claiming Caribbean and Latin American solidarity. It is also paradoxical when at the same time immigrants coming from the region are 'ranked' and are discriminated against.

The concept of *Yu di Kòrsou* has to do with citizenship as well. It is here too that contradictions emerge, as citizenship is a state-related phenomenon. Legally there is no such thing as a *Yu di Kòrsou*: Curaçaoans have the nationality of the Kingdom of the Netherlands which is the Dutch nationality. So being a *Yu di Kòrsou* is not a legal matter and no one can make legal claims to rights or benefits arising from a certain 'status' as *Yu di Kòrsou*. Rather, being a Curaçaoan 'citizen' is a less tangible matter

and has a strong emotional resonance; it implies being a member of, being included in, being 'rooted' in, belonging to, sharing, and being loyal to the country where, as Curaçaoans like to say, "their umbilical cord is buried". Still, there is this importance placed in policy on attempting to define and manage a certain kind of citizenship with implied rights or benefits.

The above brief sketch serves to pinpoint the complexity of ideas regarding national identity, belonging and citizenship in Curaçao. Although it is rather challenging to anchor this complexity of ideas, in this paper I will attempt to do so by illustrating and discussing the ways in which Curaçaoan people address issues of identity and national allegiance through the concept of *Yu di Kòrsou*.

This paper is the first part of findings from research that forms part of the AISSR project *Citizenship, National Canons, and the Issue of Cultural Diversity: The Netherlands in International Perspective*. More specifically, my paper falls under the fifth sub-project called *The Culturalization of European Nationalisms: Caribbean Perspectives*, which examines primarily the research question: Do shifts in the culturalization of citizenship in the Netherlands, Britain and France influence the behavior of (potential) migrants in and from the Caribbean and from other countries of provenance? My research aims to provide cultural background data to better understand the identity issues of Dutch Caribbean groups who have migrated to Europe. I seek to answer the questions: How is the concept of *Yu di Kòrsou* being employed in the Curaçaoan society? and: What are the identities available or 'allowed' within the notion of *Yu di Kòrsou*? This is a work in progress; therefore the conclusions advanced in this article are preliminary.

In this paper I will first discuss the research methodology that I have applied and will then provide an overview of my findings concerning the discourse on national identity, belonging and citizenship in relation to Curaçao. I also try to place the discussions on who is and who is not *Yu di Kòrsou* in a theoretical framework.

Methodology

This research aims to develop an understanding of the notion of *Yu di Kòrsou* and the way in which it interplays with national identity, belonging and citizenship. One of the challenges in this research project is how one, as a native researcher (an insider), should go about studying events and ideas that are quite emotionally laden and while one's fellow citizens expect one to participate in the ongoing discussions. And how does one's position as a local researcher influence the findings?

The ethnographic present of this research is 2010-2012 – a moment in time when the discussions about who is and who is not *Yu di Kòrsou* have become rather heated. This time period covers the political and constitutional changes that have taken place on the island that add an extra dimension to the material being addressed. Although

national identity, belonging and citizenship are recurrent themes of debate, at the moment they have become emotionally more intense and are being expressed in multiple forms. If in the past these discussions happened predominantly behind the scenes, at present they are openly expressed in the various media and discussed on talk shows. The sizable Curaçaoan diaspora in the Netherlands is also involved in these discussions.

Given the emotionality of the issues and the large amount of data, crucial methodological questions become, first, how to approach the research and second, how to select the available data. I have chosen the so-called narrative research approach. I approach the data as narratives as well as performances. I look at national identities from the perspective of something that is both narrated and performed. They are first of all linguistic constructs constituted by the multiple identity-relevant narratives that their participants author, and which feature in, for example, documents, conversations and electronic media (Brown, 2006). Understanding the debates concerning the notion of *Yu di Kòrsou* through a narrative framework is a tool for critically analyzing the meanings of the varied and often conflicting ways in which this notion is addressed. By defining national identities as the totality of such narratives, attention is drawn to their complex and often fragmented and heterogeneous nature. This approach stands in contrast to the common tendency to homogenize national identities. I argue that by emphasizing what is similar or shared, one fails to capture the full interplay between the different groups in a society, and this results in undifferentiated and oversimplified empirical research. Instead I place emphasis on reflexivity, plurality of voices, temporality and functionality to understand national identity, belonging and citizenship. As narratives, these concepts are products of particular contexts and must be studied *in situ*. Fragments of narrative intertextually dialogue with, quote from and anticipate other narratives (Brown, 2006: 3).

For my research I have followed opinion items in local newspapers in which the term *Yu di Kòrsou* is explicitly mentioned or in which it is implied in discussions on such issues as identity, ethnicity, race and citizenship. As mentioned, the potential data sources nowadays are abundant. Besides newspapers and radio and television talk shows, there are the modern social media where people act and interact through text (narrative exchange). Meanwhile, the state has its own narratives on identity and citizenship expressed in policy documents. All these data provide some indication of the sentiments involved in the complex and culturally laden construction of concepts of national identity, belonging and citizenship.

In addition I have done fieldwork, holding individual interviews. I focus on Curaçaoans who are considering migration to the Netherlands, those who are living in the Netherlands, those who have recently return-migrated to Curaçao, as well as

Curaçaoans who are not interested in migration to the Netherlands. The idea behind selecting these groups for in-depth interviews is that when people are involved in migration, they are more likely to become forced or inclined to reflect upon issues of identity and national belonging and their narratives can help us to understand the emotionality present in these concepts.

Methodological challenges associated with formal interviews include the fact that the concepts that interviewees are asked about often have multiple interpretations and the fact that people often provide what social scientists call ‘socially desirable answers’. To compensate somewhat for these shortcomings, I have made investigating the embodied performances of national identities through participation observation – following people in daily activities where matters of national identity, belonging and citizenship surface – an essential component of the research as well. My participation observation activities included me becoming involved in organizations dealing with gender issues and by following cultural manifestations such as the annual commemoration on August 17 of Curaçao’s largest slave revolt (1795). The celebrations of *Aña di Lareina* on April 30 (Queen’s Day, a national holiday) also helped me to understand the ways in which people interact with certain ideas related to *Yu di Kòrsou* (for example through the way people dress on that day), the viability of those ideas, and how those ideas can change in the course of time.

I use the various events related to the constitutional change of 10-10-10 as story-telling events for understanding the matters of national identity, belonging and citizenship. By doing this, I do not view these events as fiction but instead I underscore their seriousness for the society. Story-telling is a communal, participatory event during which people act on and react to themes in the stories that they feel committed to. I view these events as opportunities through which people in a society engage in dialogues – sometimes frightening, as story-telling can be – in which protesting social groups in the society in particular are engaged, talking or writing about national identity, belonging and citizenship.

The last phase of my research for the AISSR project will be to finish the individual interviews. In this paper initial findings from the interviews held so far are considered. However, because this part of the research is not finished, not many findings from the interviews are presented. The paper is based more on the data gathered from newspapers, social media and participation observation.

Citizenship and national identity

In general, discussions on citizenship have dealt with identity as well as with rights embedded in the nation-state. Citizenship is seen as something that generates exclusion, creating social division as well as providing the means to overcome these limitations (Hussain & Bagguley, 2005: 409). Hussain and Bagguley state that citizenship has become counterposed to identity, as the former has been used to

express individual rights and duties, whereas identity tends to be seen as a matter of group membership and particularism. Throughout history, citizenship has implied a discussion of, and struggle over, the meaning and scope of membership in the community in which one lives. The questions are: Who belongs? and: What does that mean in practice? (Rosaldo, 2003: 3)

In recent decades there has been a heightened interest in studies of citizenship and identity in Europe and the USA, especially with regard to first and second generation migrants. Hussain and Bagguley (2005) have looked at how first and second generation British Pakistanis in Bradford (UK) contextualized citizenship in relation to national identity, religion (Islam) and ethnicity after the Asian “riots” there in July 2001 and the events of September 11, 2001 in the USA. They concluded that the two generations have different ‘citizenship identities’. First generation immigrants from Pakistan do not feel that they belong in what to them is a foreign country. The second generation has a strong identity as ‘British citizens’, with the firm sense of belonging to British society and of having ‘natural rights’ that all citizens of the UK are supposed to enjoy, but at the same time feels connected to their parental heritage. Hussain and Bagguley conclude that citizenship is not purely about the institutions that define and deliver citizenship rights, but also has to do with aspects of people’s collective identities based on what they inherit from their parents and what they acquire in the new society (2005: 409). Especially for the second generation immigrants, citizenship in Britain entailed membership, inclusion (versus exclusion), shared heritage and values, loyalty, rights of participation in social/public life, and the assumption of a body of common knowledge about the UK as well as the background of their parents.

In Caribbean societies, citizenship and identity take on a different dimension and direction. Caribbean societies are multiethnic societies in which many ethnic groups with different cultures have been present in significant numbers and in constant contact for several centuries. Aaron Kamugisha, a lecturer in Cultural Studies at the University of the West Indies at Cave Hill, Barbados, has looked critically at how citizenship has developed in the Anglophone Caribbean. He states that citizenship goes beyond the legal definition with its fixed boundaries and involves a variety of practices of belonging and identity concerns, besides relationships with institutions (2007: 21). Issues of identity and belonging (inclusion/exclusion) have been a persistent national concern in Caribbean countries. Still, Kamugisha claims that independence in the Caribbean has carved out new ways of conceiving of selfhood and identity for Caribbean people and has resulted in a substantial shift in the ‘rules of the game’. But even these Caribbean societies have maintained the elitist vision of social belonging and identity that was so common during colonial times. Under this

vision people have been excluded from belonging to society mainly based on the color of their skin and their ethnicity. This elitist vision can also be observed in the Caribbean state's patriarchal and heteronormative policing of gender and sexuality, carried out without any apparent awareness of the colonial provenances of such practices. One can conclude that even in post-colonial Caribbean societies, national identity, belonging and citizenship involve practices of excluding and including people, adopted from the colonial past.

In a certain sense Curaçao's involvement with issues of national identity and citizenship is similar to that of the rest of the Caribbean. However, Curaçaoan society has developed from a Dutch colonial past and presents a different political culture than most of the rest of the Caribbean. Also, Curaçao's political and constitutional developments show a different chronology which appears to make the Curaçaoan experience distinct. There is no significant independence movement. Some see the presence of the Dutch in internal matters as necessary insurance against corrupt and failing local politicians. The ability to deal with one's own affairs in the form of autonomy is questioned by those who favor greater Dutch influence in Curaçao. Countering the once popular slogan '*nos mes por*' [we can do it ourselves] with '*nos mes so no por*' [we cannot do it alone] and even '*nos mes no por*' [we cannot do it ourselves] is evidence of a process of self-judgment and a questioning of one's ability to adequately handle one's own affairs without the supervision or aid of another (higher/stronger/larger) entity.

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Setting the grounding narratives

The concept of *Yu di Kòrsou* has been a cultural(ized) concept ever since it appeared, as is generally assumed, at the turn of the 19th century. I discovered the oldest use of the concept in one of the newspapers published by the Roman Catholic Church; where the term was used to assure members of the social group whose history was one of enslavement that they also belonged to Curaçaoan society: "They were also children of Curacao."² As such, the concept embodies and engages notions of identity, ethnicity/race, shared heritage, and belonging.

More recently, in the context of the transition to the new constitutional status of Curaçao, it seems that the concept of *Yu di Kòrsou* is also becoming more formal and juridical. It is turning into a term more strongly denoting formal-legal citizenship in addition to identity. As such, it now also contains notions of membership, loyalty, relationship to institutions, and claims to economic, social and political obligations, rights and benefits.

² One should remember that members of this group only became free citizens in 1863 and in the nineteenth century were not allowed to vote.

One may say that the Curaçaoan state began to take part more actively in the discourse on who is and who is not *Yu di Kòrsou* by way of the cultural policy that was formulated in 2001: *Rumbo pa independensia mental. 'Konosé bo historia i kultura pa bo konosé bo mes': plan di maneho i akshon di kultura pa Kòrsou* [Toward mental independence. 'Know your history and culture so that you can know yourself': cultural policy and action plan for Curaçao]. This policy paper was written by Dr. René Rosalia, a legal expert and anthropologist. It defines a *Yu di Kòrsou* as follows:

A *Yu di Kòrsou* is defined as someone who “speaks and understands Papiamentu, is willing to contribute to the development of Curaçao, is willing to declare to the world that he/she is a *Yu di Kòrsou* and accepts his/her culture and history without shame, and accepts the multicultural condition of Curaçao and the cultural diversity of the island. Also, he/she does not consider the elements of his/her ethnic group as the only culture of Curaçao but rather as part of the culture of Curaçao. He/she accepts that Afro-Curaçaoan elements generally predominate in the culture of Curaçao.”³

This codification of who is *Yu di Kòrsou* emits messages about boundaries of inclusion and exclusion. In 2001 this definition did not lead to significant public discussion. Neither did the definitions of a *Yu di Kòrsou* used in the *Kadernota Pais Kòrsou* [Framework paper for the Country of Curaçao] of 2005 or the *Kadernota Algemeen Welzijnsbeleid* [Framework paper for a General Welfare Policy] of 2010. The definitions of a *Yu di Kòrsou* used by the state all draw on feelings of pride in culture and history, patriotism and loyalty. They are also dualistic, because they mention multiculturalism yet at the same time prioritize Afrocentrism. The present government adopted Rosalia's definition of a *Yu di Kòrsou* in its Coalition Agreement of November 2010. Further formalization and institutionalization of the concept of *Yu di Kòrsou* appears to manifest itself also in the current bill of law proposing that at least 80% of the employees in any enterprise on the island should be *Yu di Kòrsou*.

The following narratives show that the common understanding of the concept *Yu di Kòrsou* is not as clear-cut as the government might like it to be. The first citation is from an important cultural actor in Curaçao, aged 51, who lives in the countryside and who has never lived off of the island and is also not interested in leaving the island. She is believed to be very knowledgeable about traditional Curaçaoan culture and teaches this subject in schools. When asked who in her opinion is a *Yu di Kòrsou*, she answered:

³ The original text is: “Yu di Kòrsou ta esun ku ta biba na Kòrsou of pafó di Kòrsou i ku ta kumpli ku e siguiente kriterianan: E ta papia i komprondé Papiamentu, ta dispuesto na traha na adelanto di Kòrsou, ta deklará na mundu ku e ta Yu di Kòrsou i ta aseptá su kultura i historia sin ningun klase di bèrgwensa, ta aseptá i biba ku e situashon multikultural di Kòrsou i aseptá e diversidat kultural riba e isla. Tambe e no ta konsiderá elementonan kultural di su grupo ètniko komo e úniko kultura di Kòrsou, pero komo parti di e kultura di Kòrsou. E ta aseptá ku elementonan afro-kurasoleño generalmente ta dominá e kultura di Kòrsou.”

“A *Yu di Kòrsou* is not only someone who is born here. Many times it happens that the person who is born in another country, lives in Curaçao, works in Curaçao, helps to form the labor force, the educational and medical corps, and who lives here, ... I consider them a *Yu di Kòrsou* too. Such a person loves Curaçao and would not let the island down. He/she works for Curaçao and supports the development of Curaçao. It is someone who is interested in our culture and who speaks and understands our language. Those who leave the island and live in the Netherlands do so because the island does not offer them anything. That is why they do not feel like a *Yu di Kòrsou*.”

A.F. Paula, a 75-year-old philosopher and sociologist who is also the author of the seminal book *From objective to subjective social barriers* (1967), says the following:

“I have not lived my whole life on the island, but I still believe in Curaçao and that I am a *Yu di Kòrsou*. *Yu di Kòrsou* is a feeling, not something that is real, because everyone will experience it in his or her own way. *Yu di Kòrsou* can be a matter of color as well, because even though someone might speak Papiamentu perfectly, if he is white, we still do not consider him a *Yu di Kòrsou* as we believe that only the descendants of Africa are the *Yu di Kòrsou*. What Römer called “het ‘wij’ van de Curaçaoënaar” [the ‘we’ of the *Yu di Kòrsou*] is very much extended. For me, a *Yu di Kòrsou* is someone who speaks the Papiamentu language. There is no nationality called *Yu di Kòrsou*, because we have the Dutch nationality. That complicates matters, because we would like to say that we have the nationality *Yu di Kòrsou*. We have names for those who have returned and behave in a certain way; we call them *makamba pretu* [black Dutchmen/women]. These are people who stress the fact that they have lived abroad and who do not feel comfortable among their own people. They prefer to speak Dutch and if they speak Papiamentu, they will do so in a different way. It is not a nice name to have, because you are considered someone who is ‘in between’.”

The Curaçaoan debate on national identity, belonging and citizenship as a story-telling event appeared to be moving toward a climax in September 2010 when, at the opening ceremony of the annual cultural program called *Kulturismo*, the aforementioned René Rosalia – then Commissioner of Culture and soon afterwards to become Minister of Culture for a short while – stressed that Curaçao’s national identity is essentially rooted in Afro-Curaçaoan culture. Commissioner Rosalia introduced the African-derived cultural presence in the Curaçaoan society explicitly and formally into the government’s official discourse as well as into the wider discourse on cultural identity. His statement incited a plurality of responses in the society – an enormous number of sharply dissenting (and often quite emotional) narratives as well as

statements supporting his position. This illustrates that people in Curaçao – like people elsewhere in the Caribbean, as Mimi Sheller (2003) has argued – still struggle with the competing and conflicting demands of cultural difference and national unity in the (re)construction of what was aspired, and which is since the constitutional change of 10-10-10 generally believed to be, a ‘new’ society.

The abovementioned climax in the debate provided an opportunity to reflect on and discuss a key issue that has been present in the society, yet hidden and not always openly expressed. In this way this juncture proved to be meaningful and revealing. It was like bringing to the forefront, or making public, what was until then a ‘hidden transcript’, using the terminology of James Scott, author of *Domination and the arts of resistance: hidden transcripts*. In Curaçaoan story-telling folklore, there are stories told behind closed doors, within the private sphere of the home or as part of ceremonies such as the *ocho dia*⁴ in which members of the elite traditionally would not participate. The discourse started by Commissioner Rosalia in September 2010 was like one of those stories or like an Anansi trickster story, but brought starkly into the open without any camouflage.

So it appears that, as was the case in the progressive 1970s, the state in Curaçao has again begun to ‘talk back’ more directly to colonialism and its vestiges. However, the state’s narrative is still hindered by the fact that ethnicity and race continue – often covertly – to inform the definition of a *Yu di Kòrsou*, to shape how Curaçaoans think about who they are, and to influence how they position themselves as citizens in Curaçao.

The Papiamentu language is also one of the key ingredients of Curaçaoan story-telling in respect of national identity, belonging and citizenship. Papiamentu is well-known as a marker of Curaçaoan identity and has been discussed as such at length by the Curaçaoan sociologist René A. Römer (1974; 1979), one of the island’s main thinkers on culture, identity and identity formation. As early as in the 19th century Papiamentu was used as a medium of communication equally by all social and ethnic groups on the island and it assisted in distinguishing between who was local and who was foreign, i.e., between the *Yu di Kòrsou* and the non-*Yu di Kòrsou*. Today language choice still functions as an indicator of whether one is considered a true *Yu di Kòrsou* or not (Benjamin, 2002: 85).

It should be mentioned, however, that the recognition extended to Papiamentu as a cultural signifier does not always match the actual preference often given to Dutch as the language of choice for career and social advancement. It is interesting that Dutch is still seen as important cultural capital for social advancement in the business and

⁴ The *ocho dia* was the highlight of a series of prayers conducted by the working class during eight consecutive nights following a burial.

academic world, next to English as the global language of communication. Meanwhile, the already decades-long discussion on whether and how to use Papiamentu as a language of instruction in the educational system continues today and reflects some of the persistent paradoxes and challenges of national identity in Curaçao.

Globalization, identity and citizenship

The process of globalization has further revived interest in national identities and citizenship as well as a reconsideration of culture. Layered on top of the historical diversity and traditional divisions in Curaçaoan society are the more recent challenges of globalization, such as increased international flows of people, capital, goods, ideas, information and symbols. Traditional culture tends to become celebrated as a way of expressing national belonging in the context of a globalized world in which identity seems to have become less bounded and fixed and more fluid and flexible. Curaçaoans, as other peoples all over the world, are redefining their identities in order to cope with the rapid changes induced by transnational migration, the global economy and world politics. Consequently, nation-building policies in Curaçao attempt to deal with the challenges that the society faces in preserving what is believed to be authentic, traditional, local or national culture.⁵

The discourse on national identity and citizenship increasingly includes (perceived) problems associated with the mobility of people and migration. People tend to feel threatened by the influx of significant numbers of immigrants into their society. In Curaçao this involves especially the immigrants arriving from surrounding countries. Race issues, which very often are not openly addressed in Curaçao, also play an important role in whether these new immigrants are accepted. The ethnic categorizing of immigrants by Curaçaoans, which parallels the existing ethnic character of the society, explains the degree to which the local population is willing to accept new immigrants who sometimes also differ in language and religious beliefs and practices. Especially affected seem to be those coming from Haiti, who are predominantly black working-class people who in Curaçao do the types of work long considered ‘inferior’ by Curaçaoans.

Race and ethnicity also determine attitude towards women, who increasingly participate in intra-Caribbean migration movements. The relationships between male islanders and female immigrants from Latin America, who tend to be seen as more attractive because of their lighter skin color and physical features, have always been a

⁵ The state has in the past decade invested increased resources to promote Curaçao’s traditional culture. The *siman di kultura* [cultural week] is a good example; it has received broad popular acceptance and has grown in significance. During this week, public and private organizations, including banks and other multinational corporations, decorate their offices according to certain local customs from the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century. In this re-affirmation of the Self, the *siman di kultura* has become a contemporary expression through which culture is defined and identity is built based principally on shared historical heritage.

subject of discussion. Locally born Curaçaoan women often blame these foreign women for breaking up relationships between male and female islanders. In this way, recent intra-Caribbean migration can be seen as continuing the discourse among Afro-Curaçaoans about who they are and what challenges they face in society. At the same time, there are historically recurring attempts by the Curaçaoan people and state to establish and benefit from contact with the rest of the Caribbean.

Then there are the large numbers of Curaçaoans who left the island at the end of the 20th century, escaping a deteriorating economy and joining the Curaçaoan diaspora in the Netherlands and elsewhere. For Curaçao, the relationship with the European metropolis seems less clear-cut and more ambiguous than in the case of the French Antilles. One of the reasons given for the lack of a large independence movement on the island is that many Curaçaoans live in the Netherlands and independence would hamper the free movement of family members and friends. However, this statement is not based on any research. One seems to overlook the fact that Dutch politicians are constantly placing the free and equal movement of people within the Kingdom of the Netherlands on the political agenda. As elsewhere in Europe, anti-immigrant sentiment has been on the rise in the Netherlands. Some speak of a ‘culturalization of citizenship’ in the Netherlands, meaning that cultural/ethnic expectations, preconditions and restrictions are increasingly being placed upon Dutch citizenship.

So globalization, through the increasing transnational dispersal of information and mobility of people, adds significant layers of complexity to national identity, belonging and citizenship as issues that are topical, fervently debated, highly contested, challenging to understand, and (therefore) worthy of scholarly investigation.

Some preliminary conclusions

In this paper I have tried to theorize about national identity, belonging and citizenship as expressed through the term *Yu di Kòrsou*. This term has been a cultural(ized) concept ever since it appeared, presumably at the turn of the 19th century. By using the narrative approach, I have suggested that *Yu di Kòrsou* is a construct that harbors a multiplicity of identity-relevant narratives authored through manifestations of behavior, such as latent expressions of ethnic solidarity, and hostile beliefs and texts. By considering the concept of *Yu di Kòrsou* a story-telling manifestation, it becomes clear that in Curaçao both state and citizens try to create their own narratives, which they transmit in various forms. Sometimes this discourse runs parallel to political changes and sometimes contrary. It is important to determine the factors that lead to the overt expression of the concept *Yu di Kòrsou*.

I have used the many narratives present during the transition to a new constitutional status for Curaçao at the start of the 21st century as a window from which to view the complex and fragmented variety of meanings embodied by the concept *Yu di Kòrsou*.

In this time period, the concept of *Yu di Kòrsou* is also becoming more formal and juridical. The term is emerging as one that more strongly than ever denotes citizenship in addition to identity. As such, it increasingly contains notions of membership, loyalty, relationship to institutions, and claims to economic, social and political obligations, rights and benefits. It may be argued that the concept of *Yu di Kòrsou* embodies a constant and highly contested search for meaning and therefore also symbolizes a struggle for power.

As my research progresses, I will look at the genesis of the term *Yu di Kòrsou* and analyze how power relations manifest themselves in and through its use over the course of time. The qualitative research will be continued in order to anchor the complexity and fluidity in which this term is used at present as compared to the past. It is also important to look at why the term is used in any particular way, what other terms people have used to categorize others in the society, and how this is done. It would be especially interesting to examine how some relatively new members of Curaçaoan society, such as the immigrants who arrived during the first half of the 20th century, are positioned in this fascinating and ongoing story.

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APPENDIX

Brief overview of Curaçao's constitutional history

On December 15, 1954, in the post-World War II decolonization era, the Netherlands and its Caribbean colonies left behind their joint colonial past by signing the *Statuut* or Charter of the Kingdom of the Netherlands. The Kingdom was defined as consisting of three autonomous entities, i.e., the Netherlands, Suriname, and the Netherlands Antilles. Curaçao was the largest island of the six-island federation called the Netherlands Antilles and became the seat of its central government. Autonomy in this context meant that the federation was responsible for its own internal affairs, while the Kingdom as a whole was responsible for nationality, foreign relations, defense, and the court of highest appeal. Over the years, the constellation of the Kingdom of the Netherlands has undergone several modifications. In 1975 Suriname left the Kingdom and became an independent republic. In 1986 the island of Aruba separated from the Netherlands Antilles and obtained the status of a separate autonomous entity within the Kingdom.

At the end and the turn of the twentieth century, the cry for constitutional transformation in the Netherlands Antilles became intense. In a referendum held in 1993, the people of Curaçao (74% of those casting a vote) opted to remain within a restructured Netherlands Antilles federation. However, in a new referendum on April 8, 2005, after 50 years of experience with the federation, 68% of the Curaçaoan electorate voted to sever ties with the other islands and to become a separate autonomous entity within the Kingdom (aspiring to a status such as the one obtained by Aruba in 1986). In a referendum held on the island of St Maarten in June 2000, that island (70% of the electorate) had already voted to abandon the federation of the Netherlands Antilles.

The notion of Antilleanness (in this case Netherlands-Antilleanness) has a been paradoxical one in Curaçao. The Curaçaoan sociologist René A. Römer made explicitly clear that he did not believe that a Netherlands-Antillean identity existed. For example, when requested in 1967 to set the tone for a debate on Antillean identity in a series of lectures organized by the Netherlands Antillean Society for Academics (NAGA in Dutch), he explained: “When I talk about culture and identity, don’t all of us unconsciously think about the *Yu di Kòrsou* or not? Do we perhaps think about the Antilles? Or only about Aruba, Bonaire and Curaçao?” (Amigoe 1967). Seven years later, he raised the issue again in an article, stating that the Netherlands Antilles were only a “juridical construction and not a community” (Römer, 1974: 49).

Between the two Curaçaoan referendums of 1993 and 2005, the federal government attempted to promote and construct what it believed to be a Netherlands-Antillean national identity. After referendums had been held on all the five Antillean islands between 2000 and 2005, negotiations on constitutional reform started with the Netherlands. In late 2006, agreements were reached and laid down in two so-called Final Declarations: framework documents outlining the future constitutional relationships of the islands with the Netherlands and each other. The Final Declarations of 2006 institutionalized Kingdom supervision over the public finances of Curaçao and St Maarten in exchange for debt relief, as well as measures to improve law enforcement on the islands. In practice, the Final Declarations mean rigorous Dutch supervision of state spending and closer Dutch involvement in local law enforcement.

In the most recent referendum held in Curaçao, on May 15, 2009, the electorate was asked to accept or reject the ongoing process of constitutional reform and in particular the negotiated agreements and proposed legislative measures. The referendum led to heated discussions on the advantages and disadvantages of the negotiated agreements. The result of 52% “yes” votes (approving the agreements) and 48% “no” votes (disapproving) reflects sharp discord and division on the island, in particular concerning the desirability of increased Dutch influence in local affairs. Through this referendum the different fields of power present in the articulation of identities have come to the fore. The referendum was a clear reflection of how ethnic differences defined in the past still shape current social life, and it gave expression to contradictory ideological currents, such as colonization, decolonization, resistance, and the search for national culture and identity.

The Netherlands Antilles federation was dismantled and ceased to exist on October 10, 2010. The two largest islands, Curaçao and St. Maarten, each became an internally self-governing entity with direct ties to the Netherlands, while the three smallest islands, Bonaire, St. Eustatius and Saba, each became an overseas municipality (the official term is: ‘special public entity’) and integral part of the Netherlands. All five islands remained part of the Kingdom of the Netherlands in one form or another, but separately. There is still inter-island cooperation in a limited number of administrative fields. So in the new constitutional situation since 10-10-10, the Kingdom of the Netherlands consists of four parts: the Netherlands (including three overseas municipalities), Aruba, Curaçao, and St. Maarten.

IT IS NOT WHERE YOU ARE FROM, BUT WHERE YOU ARE AT: RASTAFARI AS A POLITICS OF HUMAN DIGNITY

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This paper explores the potential of Rastafari, a specific Caribbean cultural expression, in founding a concrete liberalism. This liberalism, driven by an inclusive aesthetics, promotes human commonality and dignity above the very real differences between individuals and groups that also need to be acknowledged. It is from this primacy that politics and ethics can remain true to the human condition that we share.

What if art were never anything but the necessarily plural,
singular art of consenting to death, of consenting to existence.
Jean Luc Nancy

45

His dance was like a carefully placed explosive that destroyed the prison houses of *race*, gender, class, and ethnicity with which we imprison others and ourselves. His torso, his smile, his arms, his legs, moving with a syncopation that was majestic in its humbleness and humble in its majesty, told a story that these prison houses often make us forget: human kind is essentially a *no* to all categories of identity. He was still a Bahia man, a black man, a poor man, an oppressed man, a favela man, and more than likely a patriarchal man. But he was all this in a different way. These were identifications, not his essential identity (as if he had any). He was a verb not a noun. Pure movement, embodied *differance* – differing and deferring, not to be pigeon holed in any way. His dancing touched me in a way that forced me to move out of the common senses that blinded me from seeing without truly seeing. And though we did not speak, he remained a stranger that I gazed at and he gazed back with his body, I thank him for giving me the sight that allows me to feel (and therefore to affectively see) the human beyond exclusionary identity labels.

I was in Brazil, in Salvador da Bahia, Bahia dos Santos, the bay of the saints, witnessing and being part of a sanctimonious event. It was the night known as *bença*, which to me always sounded like the English word benediction, blessing. On *bença* the poor took over the touristy streets of Pelourinho and rubbed shoulders with the overfed: with anthropologists coming to study them, police officers coming to police

them, and tourists coming to eroticize them. The “exotica” rebelled in their dance and sheer exuberance, and by rebelling they reconfigured the whole field. Like shamans they put a spell on all of us. Through their shamanic dance, they temporarily broke the magic of “race”, class, gender, and ethnicity. Suddenly my analytical eye that automatically registered the tourists as wealthy white *Paulistas* (inhabitants of the Southern city of Sao Paulo), seemed far too reductive. They too became more than labels. I was touched by them; touched by the manner in which they became enraptured; touched by the manner in which they danced; touched by the manner in which for a moment they recognised the *favelados* as their equals. Tomorrow they might go back to their usual selves but tonight, tonight was different. I had to stay in that moment. Not disrupt this moment of recognising our commonness. I was part of this moment and if I allowed my analytical eye (which is always the distancing “I”) to take over I would be bringing to life the very labels that in my writing, politics, and ethics I seek to deconstruct. I understood in a soul transforming way what is meant by the saying “it ain’t where you are from, but where you are at”; that the art of living is consenting to exist, and letting others exist, by constantly critiquing exclusionary labels (and consenting to let the exclusivist notions within oneself die a natural death). What allowed this transformation to occur was a voice; a rhythm; a guttural cry. It was the voice of Bob Marley, the rhythm of reggae, and the guttural cry of the man who wants dignity. Conscious Reggae, the missionary force of Rastafari, had a way of binding people from all walks of life. This essay should be read as a series of notes on the manner in which Rastafari through Conscious Reggae has the potential and often times realises the potential of awakening us to our common humanity and the sacrality of all life.

Now I recognise that those well-versed in the writings of cultural studies experts, the pamphlets of gay movements, and the thick descriptions of ethnographers, may have their reservations with regard to this talk of Rastafari and Conscious Reggae as an example of planetary humanism (an all inclusive humanism also respectful of nature). They can point at the homophobic, patriarchal, and racist tendencies displayed by Rastafari communities in Jamaica. They can confront me with the anti-gay songs of Buju Banton and Capelton.

I welcome these critiques for I have them too. My intention is not to deny the inhuman aspects of Rastafari, as such would be dishonest on my part, but to broaden our understanding of Rastafari. For me there is no such thing as a clear-cut definition of Rastafari. Fundamentally it is an individualising philosophy, and even when institutionalised in religious orders with their specific rituals and theological tenets, it is acephalous (in other words it lacks a head or a centre that determines once and for all what Rastafari is or will be at any given moment). With Rastafari we witness both the potential of planetary humanism that is realised when men and women are touched by humanist messages contained Conscious Reggae and therewith touch others, as

well as the anti-gay, gender oppressive, and racist discourse that is an undeniable part of many Rasta communities.

I have come to this conclusion by listening to a debate between Morris Barnes and Howard Critchlow, two prominent Rastafari scholars. The verbal duel took place at the annual Caribbean Studies Association meeting that was held on the Colombian island of San Andrés. Barnes spoke about Rastafari as a progressive politico-religious movement created by black people who had had enough of being the footstools of whites and the upper classes the world over. According to him Rastafari claiming of Africa as the true homeland of New World blacks is a powerful gesture. Nobody wants to embrace war-torn and famine ridden Africa. Even its most gifted minds have been fleeing to American universities. Yet here were Rastas saying yes we are African and we want to go home.

According to Barnes, reggae superstar Peter Tosh best exemplified this. Tosh, who wrote such classics as *Equal Rights* and co-wrote *Get Up Stand Up* with Bob Marley, was the embodiment of Political Rastafari (here he excluded the lover boy Tosh and the spiritual Tosh for argument sake). Whereas Bob Marley was compromising, seeking Universal Peace and One Love, for Tosh love and peace without bread and dignity was a sham. Tosh's famous words being that "peace was the diploma you get in the cemetery", meaning that existential peace only comes at death. Those who understood Tosh best, and realised what Rasta radicalism is about, seek to create their African homeland in Jamaica. They enter into electoral politics and embrace black identity. Their goal is to first Rastafy Jamaica (destroy its Eurocentric bias) and thereafter Rastafy Africa. This was the only way towards the Blackman redemption.

Barnes was eloquent. He knows the Rastafari communities in Jamaica inside out and therefore functioned as a human encyclopaedia that answered all the questions related to the do's and don'ts of Rasta. Those in the audience, who wanted ideological inspiration, were pleased by Barnes' militancy. After his talk the black man struggle against white supremacy that we know from Hollywood versions of Alex Haley's *Roots* seemed synonymous with life.

But not everyone came to be reinforced in their ideology of "the superior virtue of the oppressed". Many came to critically interrogate their own thoughts and their understanding of life. These were the people who posed genuine questions concerning the unequal treatment of women, the issue of gay discrimination, and the racialism of Rasta. Barnes acknowledged these, but went on to argue that sociologically speaking, one needed to recognise that as a religion Rastafari based its core beliefs on the bible. Patriarchy and the taboo on homosexuality are biblical tenets. The Christian God is a heterosexual *Pater*. *Ergo*, Rastafari has these conservative tendencies. As far as the racialism was concerned, he saw it as part of the resistance. He quoted the pan Africanist Marcus Garvey, considered prophetic by many Rastafari, who had argued that though God has no colour, it is only natural for black people to imagine God as

being black. Whites and other peoples do the same (a case of anthropocentrism). In the end God was one, and the oppressed men of the world were one; one minus those who practice homosexuality and those who lack a phallus. Barnes forgot to add this caveat.

The other authority on Rasta, Howard Critchlow, reminded him of it. He began by making it clear that his understanding of Rastafari was not that of Barnes. For him Rastafari was about achieving universal love. By that he meant the integration of human beings, human societies, and nature (the non-human) into a complex whole. This for him has been the struggle of Man in the generic sense of the term. He was a critical heir of Hegel's project, or more accurately put, Hegel (cleansed from his racism) and he were nodes in the movement of the universal Spirit seeking to recognise itself. When one is part of that movement, taken out of oneself by recognising that one is part of the moving Relation we call the universe, one is in a different frame of mind. He recalled that growing up in Jamaica in the 60s and 70s one was hard pressed to find Rastafari that were overtly hostile to homosexuals, or even thought much about homosexuality. Such preoccupations were petty in relation to the struggle for social and economic dignity.

Howard went on to argue that whenever there is institutionalisation, an example of which are the Rastafari communities that many anthropologists study, one is cut off from universal love. The essence of institutions is that they institute dogmas, specific rituals, and that they always create a delineated community. When one couples this to the way in which political leaders have co-opted certain symbols of Rasta (Michael Manley's claiming that Haile Selassie had given him a rod of correction to correct the wrongs of the evil doers), and offered societal prestige to Rastafari communities, one can begin to explain why strong anti-gay rhetoric has become prevalent among Rastafari. Patriarchy and the exclusive endorsement of heterosexuality were in fact respectable bourgeois norms. The twist was that the downtrodden blacks feeling emasculated reacted with a hyper-masculinity and deemphasised the important role women have played in their upbringing and intellectual growth. Similarly faced with white on black racism, within Rastafari communities some Rastas promote a black on white racism.

The only way to get out of this bind was to recognise Marley's ethic of One Love which according to Howard was actually shorthand for universal love (for the purpose of sustaining his argument he forgot to deal with the militant Marley and the lover boy Marley). True recognition was recognising all others – humans, plants, animals, and minerals. To do so everyone had to wage battle against *agnopolitics*, the politics of ignorance. Agnopolitics created a myopic vision of the world. Rastas were as much victims of this as were academics who felt they had to study phenomena instead of engaging phenomena to create a better world.

Barnes in his turn recognised much of what Howard said, but felt that his intervention made Rastafari seem nothing more but the handmaidens of power. He disagreed. He ended by stating that the son of Haile Selassie had recently visited Jamaica and made Rastas aware of what is going on in Ethiopia and the rest of Africa (so Rastas were not romantic fools co-opted by those in power). As it now stands, Rastas believe that things in Africa and the world would get better once the seed of Selassie returned to the throne (achievable through political action), to which Howard replied that Rastafari cannot be reduced to the belief in the divinity of Haile Selassie.

I would have loved for the debate to continue. Unfortunately this was not the case. We had run out of time. I was left with Tosh's political radicalism and Marley's ethical universalism. To me this seemed like one of the many translations of the stalemate between whether politics or ethics should take the lead in the struggle for human dignity (education, food, health, shelter and mutual regard). Politics as I see it is always about dividing and simplifying the flux of life. To do politics one has to see oneself as part of a specific group versus another specific group that represents a specific system. All forms of gray, ambiguity, the porosity of boundaries, have to be strategically ignored. With Ethics on the other hand we are thrust into the recognition that all adversaries are actually friends (different and yet in some ways similar to oneself); or more correctly put, part of the human tree. We have a responsibility towards even the worst culprits.

If one chooses to put politics first then one is willing to accept trade offs. There will be casualties. Innocent persons will be accused, get hurt, or die. One will seek to act ethically when possible, but ethics will never be the determining force. This is the type of politics (with ethics) that we know from popularised versions of Che Guevara and Malcolm X. We can place Barnes' Tosh and the spirit of Rastafari radicalism in this illustrious company. In our contemporary times we can hear this spirit (and here we see and hear that it can go both ways) in the pronouncements of those such as former US president George Bush Jr. who aver that to help discriminated populations in "rogue states" war is a necessary evil. The "rogues" will then be depicted in the most heinous of ways.

On the other hand if one chooses ethics (with politics) then one will conduct politics that seek to bring the friend-enemy into the fold. At every juncture one will be careful not to dehumanise the other. In our recent history men like Martin Luther King and Mahatma Ghandi exemplify this. Critchlow's Marley and the spirit of One Love is part of this legacy. Today we can discern this ethical mode of doing politics in those who argue that economic sanctions, not war, ought to be the way one engages rogue states. And even when one implements sanctions, one must be sure that the poorest do not suffer.

I do not think it wise to categorically advocate either of the two. Neither the Bob Marley style of doing ethical politics nor the Peter Tosh style of political struggle has

yielded fruitful results. Moreover in their extreme forms both political-ethics and ethical politics can be quite cruel. In the name of ousting a dictator, the casualties of war are rendered acceptable. At other times the Chamberlain technique of appeasing dictatorial regimes, prolongs the suffering of those who would like the dictatorship to end as soon as possible.

For a long time this stalemate paralysed me. I read many philosophical treatises – from Judith Butler, to Cornel West, to Emanuel Levinas, to Slavoj Žižek, to Julia Kristeva, to Jacques Derrida – and none offered a way out (in other words one that touched me both mentally and physically). I thought we were dealing here with an *aporia* that was simply irresolvable: politics compromised by ethics, or ethics compromised by politics. My solution then was to simply state that depending on the situation, equipped with the right amount of information, one could choose to put politics or ethics first. You could say that I ended up endorsing the pragmatic philosophy of the likes of Richard Rorty.

I no longer think this way. I have found a way out. Not by reading the works of some renowned scholar, but by being a keen observer of life and by taking my cues from the latest forms of Conscious Reggae. Tosh and Marley utopianism were alright, but they belong to the roaring seventies. They sang and wrote in a time in which the world was still in a Cold War (with huge bonfires in Africa, Asia, and South America) and world cultures were less mixed up than they are today. The Cold War is over, and persons who by phenotype one would place in the Southern hemisphere reside or were born in the North Atlantic and vice-versa. Caribbean carnival, Notting Hill and Rotterdam style, is as much European as the Gregorian chant and Catholicism is West Indian. The world has become thoroughly creolised to use the term of Édouard Glissant.

In such a world thinking ethically and politically means first and foremost thinking aesthetically. Aesthetics as a term is quite a complicated matter, and I do not plan to offer a discussion on its genealogy or engage in presenting a better theory than the ones forwarded by Aristotle, Kant, Hegel, Dubois, or their contemporary updaters (see on this matter the works of Jojada Verrips, Jean-Luc Nancy, Paul Gilroy, Jean Lyotard). What we encounter in all these theories on what the aesthetic is and what it does are partial perspectives that complement, critique, and enrich each other. Based upon my readings and my own experiences I have come to conceive aesthetics as the plural affective impulses that we have sought to capture in words such as the beautiful, the ugly, and the sublime. We in the West have learnt to become aware of these affective impulses as we engage and are engaged by the natural world and the world of the arts (both being exemplary of the aesthetical dimension of Life and living). Let me concretise this. We can all marvel at the beauty of a sunset (the beautiful), be gripped by terror in the face of tsunami (the ugly) or feel terror mixed with admiration after we have reached the summit of Mount Kilimanjaro (the sublime). The same three feelings are discernible when one is admiring a painting of

Aubrey Williams (the beautiful), or watching the Hollywood blockbuster *Hotel Rwanda* (the ugly) or listening or dancing to a Conscious Reggae tune on global oppression (the sublime). Thus aesthetics, or better put aesthetical impulses, is the term used to denote affective impulses that arise as we marvel at nature and engage in art (in other words in creating forms that in turn form us).

The difference between encounters of the aesthetical impulse(s) in art and in nature is that the former is undeniably manmade (perhaps the way we conceive the latter in many ways as well). It therefore can awaken us to the realisation that the rules and laws we concoct in ethics and politics are arbitrary. We appreciate that the way we choose to create allies, adversaries, and the non-affiliated, is but one of the options. Likewise we begin to understand that though we may hold the human as sacred, and human rights as self-evident, this is not a natural fact. We come to recognise why it has taken thousands of years and much bloodshed for men and women to acknowledge each other as fellow human beings (and even today the carnage continues).

Aesthetical impulse(s) makes us aware that we always choose, and that in choosing we are always already inserted in the world and sensuously shaken up by the unforeseen movements of the world. When we experience the beautiful, the ugly, or sublime – when we are shaken up – we are lifted out of the world in which we are socialised while remaining in some ways rooted to that very world. To render aesthetical impulse(s) intelligible to others and ourselves we must use the political and ethical languages of our tribe (even if we use them differently). Here I must enter the caveat that in the hands of totalitarianisms of every stripe, when skilfully and wilfully collectivised, aesthetical impulse(s) can be deployed and translated to promote the most inhuman of ideologies (Hitlerites in Nazi Germany and fascist Islamists and Christians come to mind here). Yet, this need not prevent us from *also* recognising the inclusive humanist potential contained in aesthetical impulse(s).

When my Bahian shaman danced and induced me to dance (a beautiful moment), both of us caught up and deeply touched by the musical bliss of Conscious Reggae, he lifted me out of my position of the participant observer (the anthropologist) and opened up my mind to other connections. Suddenly I was in India in the company of a wealthy Sikh who offered me his Grand Sahib in exchange for a pendant of his musical hero, Bob Marley. From there I was transported to Hawaii talking to natives who locked their hairs and interpreted their colonial experiences of subordination in terms of the Conscious Reggae they listened to. This recollection sent me back to the Netherlands where in the company of blond, brown, and black haired Rastafari fans (of all skin tones) I enjoyed a concert of the reggae formation Morgan Heritage. Recalling that feeling I understood why sitting with a group of Rastas on the bi-national Caribbean island of Saint Martin & Sint Maarten (French and Dutch West

Indies) felt so familiar at the time (it was the same feeling of camaraderie in recognition of our common humanity).

All these feelings culminated in my conversations with my grandmother. I recalled her admonishing me that though as a wannabe Rasta I embraced Africa, I should never see this identification as more important than the identification of belonging to the daughter who came out of her womb. This fact alone, being born of a unique person at a unique time, made me part of the human family regardless of what those in power said or did to legitimise the oppression of the world majority. And as a human I chose what kind of person I wished to be.

I am aware that it is somewhat unorthodox to quote one's grandmother instead of an academic star, but I proceed without hesitation (the insincerity of acting as though prior to academia one was socialised by duns is a practice I do not endorse). My grandmother taught me to regard equality, based upon the realisation that no two individuals are the same, as an existential given. Through her I came to see that Afrocentricity and exclusivist notions of black identity bear much similarity to Eurocentricity and exclusivist notions of white identity in that it can be a sophisticated form of asserting belonging to a race of *ubermenschen* versus those deemed *infrahumans* (often Europeans are placed in the latter category) and mere mortals (the rest of humanity). Instead she taught me to realise that no one is like me or better than me and that I am not like anyone else or better than anyone else. The world of men and women is the sum of unique individuals. For my grandmother this was the only transcultural truth. It has become mine. I recognised this truth in the Universal Love interpretation of Rastafari that Howard Critchlow promoted.

The question is if this is a transcultural truth, if this is what Rastafari has the potential of being, how can it be translated into a concrete liberalism? How can we work towards a world where every individual's individuality is recognised together with securing dignity for all (education, health, food, shelter and mutual regard)? To me this starts with being open to aesthetical impulse(s) (the beautiful, the ugly, and the sublime), the gut legislators of our political and ethical actions. My experiences in Salvador da Bahia were beautiful and allowed me to recognise the sacredness of our common humanity (had my experience been an ugly one, I would have interpreted our common humanity in the vilest terms and perhaps become a cynic). To strive for a concrete liberalism we need to be shaken by a sublime experience; to feel the bittersweet (the joy and pain of social living) that we all undergo and cause each other to feel. A politics and ethics based upon the sublime, thus the translation of this aesthetical impulse into an inclusive humanist tongue, is one in which we realise that all are to blame (even if there are degrees of blame) for impeding a concrete liberalism.

As I pondered how to make this more concrete, I recalled that the music video "Revolution" of 3 Canal, a Trinidadian formation that mixed Conscious Reggae with

Soca, Hip Hop, and Latin influences, offered itself as the most concrete example. In this video 3 Canal reinterpret the term revolution (with its bloody political connotations of Us versus Them) into the term revelation. Revolution is constantly revealing unto oneself and others what we have done and are doing to each other. In the video the historical experiences of the black Diaspora are connected to the socialist struggle of Che Guevara and the discriminated Amer-Indians and Asian-Caribbean, and these are articulated to the current wars in the Middle East, the plight of Global poor, and Bush's regime in the US. All this politics meets the fact that the singers do not hide the fact that they and their fans belong to the conquering classes and enjoy donning the *flyest* (the hippest) wear. There are thus no outsiders, no innocents, and therefore revolution/revelation is an all-inclusive consciousness raising project (addressed to all by way of a critical interrogation of self).

This global project is clothed in biblical language as 3 Canal begin the song by stating that the Ark of the Covenant is coming down. We remember that the Ark was where God gave Moses his ten commandments on how to live right. While Judaism and Christianity view this as a historical occurrence in the past, 3 Canal seems to imply that the coming of God's laws is a recurring revelation that happens throughout human history. Neither is it limited to a chosen people. The laws apply to all, but therein there is always choice. Ethical laws are not an absolute given that we all obey, simply because we are God's creatures or because we fear God's wrath or because it is in our nature to do so or because we can think logically. As 3 Canal state "Down in the valley of decision, every man have to state his position" and contribute towards the breaking of "the chains from this mental prison".

3 Canal connect this coming of the Ark and our assent to it, to another biblical motif, namely, Joshua and bringing down the walls of Jericho through a symphony of horns. The revolution/revelation awakening us to our responsibility in choosing how we wish to live is an aesthetic one (we who are touched are shaken as the walls of common sense begin to crumble). But since this aesthetical impulse is sublime (bitter sweet in its rhythms and lyrics) we long to remain there as long as possible. Clothed in an inclusive humanist tongue, it brings about a realisation of the need for a different mode of doing politics and acting ethically (of extracting the sweet from the bitter) in which 3 Canal state that the objective is a world where "no more might is right" and "no more wrong is strong". In other words the goal of this aesthetically based revolution/revelation is freedom and equal rights for all.

However 3 Canal also claim that everyone is existentially free, so no one can grant another freedom. No matter how much we are oppressed or shaken aesthetically, we still choose. Instead of resisting the sublime, to be truly free, to recognise our existential condition, 3 Canal hearken us to free up ourselves. Freeing up ourselves, a Caribbean short hand for wild and sensuous dancing, is about having ones body move in undisciplined ways. In Freeing up our bodies, we simultaneously free our minds

and begin the process of “whining¹ down corruption /whining down frustration/ whining down oppression/whining down the system”. Thus we become consciously part of this humanist translation of the sublime, part of the horns of Jericho breaking down the walls of oppression that we (un)willingly help institute. But these horns also build up another world. One in which we begin the process of “whining for unity, whining for equal opportunity, whining with integrity”. We do so for we understand that we are existentially free and equal and therefore create and can transform the world if we choose to live differently.

To me 3 Canal’s video offers a way to a concrete liberalism based upon the soul transforming recognition that our politics of securing equal rights and dignity for all must go beyond essentialist notions of identity; beyond the prison houses of *race*, gender, class and ethnicity with which we imprison others and ourselves. The human must subsume all these categories (that at times we consider useful nodes to occupy). Similarly we come to realise that our ethics, the way we choose to define the Good, is based on nothing more than our collective choice. In choosing we are moved and motivated by nothing more than aesthetical impulse(s) and how we interpret these in the political and ethical dialects of our tribes...And perhaps in our most lucid moments, we come to recognise that we are part of the aesthetical impulse(s) with the potential of opening up our many dialectics to the language of common humanity. Who ever first coined the phrase, “it ain’t where you are from but where you are at”, must have had such an aesthetic revelation.

¹ Whining is a Caribbean term for gyrating in a way that deconstructs patriarchal modes of controlling sexuality and thus the ultimate mode of limiting ourselves.

TO QUESTION IDENTITY: PUBLIC DISCOURSE AND TRANSPERSONAL ETHICS IN CURAÇAO

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Globalism, history, creolization and diversity as identity markers

The Caribbean archipelago and mainland have long been portrayed as a mosaic of diverse societies of historical significance, embedded in global networks of migration, trade, communication, travel, etc. Physical resonances of this narrative can be seen in pre-Columbian regional trade and migration patterns. Travel literature and other early post-Columbian writings placed special stress on the global connections and historical agency of actors in these communities. Conquest narratives such as the *Elegías de varones ilustres de Indias* (De Castellanos, 1944) lauded as the longest poem written in Spanish would obviously narrate historic encounters between the conquistadors and the people of the islands and mainland Caribbean. However, diversity was always there also, like the warriors, cannibals and convertible naked people Christopher Columbus saw with his own narrative eyes or had his informers tell the European world through his writings.

Important contributions to the continued use of this approach to Caribbean identity have come from the 20th century disciplines of anthropology and history. In a recent review article Michiel Baud (2011) touches upon how Sidney Mintz' early work contributed to the use of historical change and the connection between the local and the global as point of departure for anthropology and other disciplines (Baud: 260). At the same time Mintz' work with colleague Richard Price and interactions with others such as Eric Wolf gave creolization and other global cultural processes occurring in the Caribbean much traction in the humanities. Mintz & Price particularly paid attention to how, through creolization, migrant populations give meaning to new circumstances and build new or adapted institutions (Baud: 263). It is important, nevertheless, to realize that earlier foundations of anthropology as a discipline were already steeped in this matrix, not only in the works of Haitian anthropologists Anténor Firmin and Jean Price-Mars, but also in those of Melville Herskovits and Fernando Ortiz.

However, both historical consciousness and the awareness of global impacts on local processes are narratives that are also part of popular discourses, as is evident today. As processes of social change accelerate, including economic transitions and new streams of migration, this historical consciousness also shifts and adapts to the new circumstances, together with the persistent narrative of diversity/creolization as these have been fueling each other and cannot be seen as separate. Curaçao shows how these narratives are expressed in popular debates and in the use of the cultural sphere as a space in which to express political identity and views on history. These narratives also address another crucial issue: how to manage collective memory; what aspects of social memory should be dealt with, which should be forgotten, and how all of this should happen.

Ethnification and folklorization: different faces of culture, different questions of identity

From the vantage point of culture the notions of globalism, a sense of historical transformation, creolization and diversity can be seen to have been synthesized in the Caribbean in specific temporalized discourses of folklore, cultural content and ethnicity. While these three categories represent a certain approach to social identity they are not always seen by their interlocutors as movements of sustained transformative action. They can and have been used in nationalist discourses as well as in sub- and supranational identity formation. Still, their use in the situation of Curaçao has only recently become explicitly nationalistic. This is quite overtly related to the changing legal status of the island within the Dutch Kingdom. The colonial status is partly constituted and articulated in the folklore and ethnicity narratives, as is the new identity of “country within the Kingdom”. This plays out differently on neighboring Bonaire that has chosen to move from the ambiguity of “part of a Caribbean nation within the Dutch Kingdom” to being a special municipality, an overseas part of the country of the Netherlands.

In Curaçao folklore and ethnicity have been used quite fluidly, at different points in time, to both mark the island’s moments of change of political status and to define what is allowable as content for the new identity. While these narratives have a clear resonance with European and North American concepts of culturalization (Duyvendak et al., 2008) and superdiversity (Vertovec, 2007) (each signifying very different, though related angles on regional change) their aim is quite different. As a society that is not sovereign, Curaçao’s identity question is different from European or North American countries and also from independent Caribbean countries in several ways. Curaçaoan discourse engages legal status, coloniality and colonial status differently from the discourse in The Netherlands. They do coincide in certain areas, however. Specifically: the constant negotiation of exclusion and inclusion of newcomers who are seen in certain sectors as a threat. Culture tends to be used as a defense against the

invasion of impure souls in the same manner as it has been used in many other countries in the past few centuries.

The recent change in constitutional status of the former Dutch Antilles and the political platform and public discourse of the Curaçaoan government and the parties that formed the governing coalition in 2010 have highlighted discussions about race, sovereignty, self-reliance and dependence on The Netherlands, including a quite well received three-part symposium on the historical contributions of different ethnic groups on the island, public pronouncements by political leaders on the undervalued position of Afro-Curaçaoan culture, and new appropriations of history such as the recent unveiling on Queen's Day of a commemorative stone dedicated to the 29 executed participants in the 1795 uprising of the enslaved.

These discussions and activities constitute a new space for already existing narratives, some silenced, others domesticated, still others quite present in daily discourse although not in common public forums. The three-part symposium can be taken as a point of departure for looking at both the complexities of identity politics on the island and the continued silencing of the history of identificatory power relations, especially as related to the Dutch, Sephardic and African ethnicities, nationalities and racialized identities. The symposium was conceived as a forum for celebrating the diverse contributions of various ethnic groups on the island. The choice of concentrating on 20th century contributions and the use of census data as a basis for group selection dethrones the white-black race narratives and foregrounds ethnicities that had been intensely racialized in the 20th century and remain racialized to this day, but to a lesser extent than during the last century. The highlighted groups include the Portuguese, Surinamese, Haitians, (East) Indians, Dominicans, Chinese, Lebanese, Ashkenazim and British West Indians. The title of the series: *Kòrsou, Mozaik di Kultura* (Curaçao, Cultural Mosaic) thus creates a discourse that sidesteps the histories of the original Caquetio inhabitants, the Dutch colonizers and current Dutch population, Africans imported during the slave trade, and Sephardic Jews who found a haven on the island as they fled from the Iberian Inquisition. It also sidesteps the various relationships among these groups in local history. This might have been a conscious choice to move toward a narrative of diversity and away from narratives of race.

In the process, the organizers have chosen to sidestep a history of colonialism, slavery, pre-20th century migrations and racialized relations that have been part of public discourse, including academia as evidenced by the works of, among others Hoetink (1958), Römer (1981), Rosalia (1997), Allen (2007), Juliana (in Clemencia, 2004) and others. This move is parallel to discussions on Facebook and some media, although discussions in most of the public arena seem to reassert race discourse. This choice highlights the fact that historically these showcased groups of immigrants have been marginalized both in society and in the literature and academia. They have been the object of prejudice (racialization) and were seen as newcomers who have taken away

jobs and limited the livelihood of “locals”, however menial those jobs might have been. The concentration on these groups then brings a balance in how they are seen and shows their historic contribution to the community (see e.g. Do Rego, 2012). Nevertheless, one effect of the series has been a redefinition of race-ethnicity towards an invisibilization of racialized identities.

The construction of race as well as the denial or de-emphasizing of this construct has a long history on the island, just like anywhere else. Seventeenth through nineteenth century race constructions are evident in slave laws equating slave status, cultural forms practiced by African descendants, social undesirability, lack of freedom and secondary political status (analogous to the *code noir* elsewhere in the Americas). Other racializing practices included somatic hierarchization, equation of rural African-Curaçaoan populations with backwardness, legally constructing African-descendant agency as “lies” in the past. Ostensibly “un-othering” practices which shortened the social distance between ethnic and racialized groups such as sexual intercourse between Europeans and Africans, close contacts between European children and African nannies, and childhood friendships between Africans and Europeans in the slavery period probably created more fluid relationships at the personal level while at the same time society kept marking clear boundaries of social identity through law, administrative practices, religious segregation and spatial distribution of the various groups of people. Descendants of European-African or African-Indigenous unions were recognized by being named in the hierarchy of somatic nomenclature which also meant that they were denied access to the same general public sphere and resources reserved for those at the top of the hierarchy. Affective bonds created in day to day interactions did not necessarily translate into equal access to social goods, although there is more than enough evidence that personal relationships provided for a fluidity in ethnic relations that is not readily evident from documents that present the larger public view.

In the 20th century and now, at the beginning of the 21st, constructions of race are being countered by a discourse of international multi-ethnicity. Curaçao is seen in this perspective as consisting of multiple ethnonationalities on the island. Groups are identified by their national origin¹ outside of Curaçao but then treated as ethnic groups without further reference to their pre-Curaçaoan national identities. Ethnicity is celebrated while denying an ethnic identity to Afro-Curaçaoans, thus racializing the ethnic discourse with the opposition ethnonationalities/Afro-Curaçaoans, where the Afro-Curaçaoan remains invisible in the discourse. In the latest developments the racialized images of Dutch and Jewish populations are also silenced.

¹ In some cases the groups are identified by ethnicity instead, as in the case of “Jews” both Sephardim and Ashkenazim and “Arabs”, who are mainly Lebanese.

The discomforts about the shared past seem to prevent a radical diversity that celebrates all existing groups while condemning both past and current issues of asymmetries of power and dehumanization in whatever context and by whomever they occur, regardless of ethnicity. While some of the overt turns in the discourse emphasize discomfort with current relations of power and the search for balance and harmony, this invisibility of the African, Dutch, Jewish and long gone indigenous populations relegates the majority of the population in Curaçaoan history to ethnic oblivion.

I contend that the ethnification of identity politics is parallel to the folklorization that occurred in the 20th century, even though folklorization had an Euro/Afro-Curaçaoan valence. Both ethnification and folklorization tend to celebrate multi-ethnic contributions of cultural items to national identities while they displace a discussion of current social relationships, create spaces of naturalized exclusion of certain groups and sidestep intense public discussions of race, existing relations to The Netherlands, and the effects of colonial history. Both of these also occurred in periods of structural transformations that can be described both as a discursive sphere of new sense of autonomy with a re-assertion of the colonial or non-independent status. One difference which is key in understanding current identity politics is the exclusion of recent migrants in 1950s folklorizing strategies as opposed to the current naming of these ethnic groups.

Although the current use of ethnicity to counter race rhetoric is not new on the island, its current intensity is remarkable. It comes in the wake of the decision that Curaçao would become a separate country within the Kingdom of The Netherlands, severing constitutional ties with the rest of what was left of the Netherlands Antilles. Aruba achieved a similar status in 1985. This status change for Curaçao has also brought on a new discussion about race, as evidenced on Facebook in response to Education and Culture Minister Rosalia's remark that Curaçao is not a multicultural society. His assertion that the majority cultural legacy of the 80% Afro-Curaçaoan population is the focal point of local culture was countered in several discussions with the charge of racism regardless of his very hospitable view of Dutch, European and other ethno-national constructions on the island, his position towards the Dutch as tourists and visitors (Schalkwijk & Koek, 2010) and his creation of a project for documenting and celebrating ethnic groups in Curaçao. Rosalia's ideas about popular participation in the development of the country, Dutch recolonization of the island and the attack on Afro-Curaçaoan culture have not been engaged in most of the discussions I have had a chance to witness. In the process, the polemical use of ethnicity and race prevents the use of other ways of understanding current social reality.

The parallels with folklorization in the 1950s are striking in that the first folkloric groups started in the mid-fifties, as the Netherlands Antilles acquired the status of "equal partner in the Kingdom", next to The Netherlands and Surinam through the

charter of 1954 called the *Statuut*². While folklore as a field of studies in the Netherlands Antilles dates from late 19th century (Allen, 1996) the public use of folklore (severed from organic ties with agriculture, work, social dances, etc, i.e. folklore that is consciously performed as a show for an audience that experiences it as a discrete stage performance) in identity formation started with the so-called folkloric groups³: dance groups, which at first mainly performed dances such as waltzes, mazurka's, polka's, danza's, etc, which though all creolised where closer to the European end of the continuum. Tambú, tumba and seú, more toward the African pole, were added later (Allen, 1996; Ansano, 1996). This late addition is not simply a belated acceptance of these rhythms, traditionally associated more with the Afro-Curaçaoan population. Tambú was mostly included as the last piece in a performance, mimicking the usage by the elite who also had included tambú at the end of their parties (Allen, 2007: 236), when people had finished with the respectable dances and were experiencing the effects of the nights drinks and emotions. Folklorization also came as the annual parades and *aubades*, major public displays celebrating the Queen's birthday were on their last legs, a further performative affirmation of changing relationships. Major folklorization came a couple of decades later with the establishment of seú (harvest march) as a public event separate from actual harvesting, celebrating another view of national identity and pride based on the difficult and uncertain agricultural life of the past, which was replaced by the refinery.

² The *Statuut voor het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden* was finalized in 1954 and announced on December 15th of that year, which has since been commemorated as Kingdom Day, although this was never a popular celebration or a particularly memorial public day in any part of the Kingdom. In 1975 The *Statuut* was adapted to indicate that now the Netherlands Antilles was a "separate country within the Kingdom" and that Surinam got its full independence. The charter was changed again in 1985 to indicate that Aruba left the Netherlands Antilles and acquired the status of "separate country within the Kingdom" in preparation for its independence. 1994 and 1998 put an end to these aspirations of independence when all reference to it were taken out of the *Statuut*, ostensibly because of the economic downturn on the island.

³ Afro-Curaçaoan identity had certainly been constructed around many markers in the past. Work songs, harvest songs, 18th and 19th century laws, historical documents and other cultural archives register the discursive use in the creation of Afro-Curaçaoan identity of stick fights, religious celebrations, African ethnic rivalries, reflections on the conditions of slavery, rebellions and the 1795 revolution, locally grown food, *tambú* and *seú* music and many other markers. However, these were always ethnic, regional, familial, economic (e.g. agricultural) or racial markers. *Folklorization* was the first marker used as a celebration of a generic identity that was not constructed as Afro-Curaçaoan or working class, even if there are strong references to both identities, especially through clothing : countryside/agricultural worker straw hats, *pañá di saku* (clothes made from flour sacs); the use of the simple *pargata* sandals and women's use of *madras* headkerchiefs, or the *pèchi di yaya* worn by nannies and godmothers. The use of clothing is an especially interesting feature of folklore groups as they portray a *contributory* creole version of identity, sometimes even switching between the "folk" attire in dances such as the *tumba*, *tambú*, *seú* and the "elite" attire of the *mazurka*, *wals*, *polka*. The relationship between attire in this context and the wider representational space of carnival and *seú* marches should provide deeper insights into the public performative construction of identity.

Emplaced and embodied understandings of Self

The 20th century also saw a move from embodied and emplaced understandings of history to new ones which include virtual histories, as well as new forms of embodiment. Embodiment and emplacement were still powerfully represented by ghost encounter narratives in the early to mid 20th century but also by popular religions such as Montamentu where trance-possession, and place spirits articulate a very material, embodied and emplaced kind of spirituality. Haitian zombi and Curaçaoan zumbi narratives enacted race, ethnicity, power, history, place and body in two similar but distinct ways in the twentieth century. While zombi deals with issues of enslavement within a society of extreme wealth imbalance and domination through land ownership, zumbi attends to unjust action as well as other issues of power. Zumbi are roaming souls of those who died without getting absolution for unjust treatment they have given to others or redress for unjust treatment they received from others. Another type of zumbi deals with slave identity and Dutch power, as in narratives of chain-dragging slaves in the bushes and Dutch ghost armies near the coasts.

Narratives of diversity, creolization and historical consciousness have persisted beside the embodiment/emplacement discourse. My sense is that the former are now also replacing the latter on the road to a public discourse on nation in Curaçao. They are however also repeating some old uncertainties and ambivalences. This can be exemplified by the ambiguous and strenuous incorporation of new groups in the society. Cultural forms as the bachata (popular rhythm from the Dominican Republic), are both embraced and seen as problematic. Bachata signifies both freedom, enjoyment and the attraction of the outsider and the danger this outsider comes to represent in the mind of the local. Chinese ownership of general and grocery stores is seen as a takeover by new migrants, celebrated for the availability of items, deplored for supposed lack of quality of new products and either condemned or celebrated for their being open on holidays. The new elements are incorporated into social discourse, without a clear univocal rejection or acceptance, following the long-standing narrative of diversity. At the same time memories of slavery and racial strife are seen by many as deplorable facts that need to be put away quickly, because they are a threat to diversity.

These ambiguities show a different kind of sensibility from the more visible Self-Other rhetoric of the social sciences and the humanities. Caribbean thinkers like Sylvia Wynter and Édouard Glissant have argued that more organic metaphors may be applied to these forms of thinking, opening a way to both new perspectives and to understandings of continuities in the Caribbean as food for cultural studies. These new perspectives and persistent continuities have also been taken up in social action groups that engage in creating spaces for global ethics from the perspectives of ecology, cultural rights, and social justice. They have been or are being articulated by the

religious, feminist, ecological, anti-racism, human rights and other movements in the region.

I have argued that one of the guiding metaphors for anything cultural in Curaçao is the open-close dyad. This can be seen in common expressions such as open and closed belly indicating various conditions from constipation to diarrhea and the relief of each one. It is seen in more complex form in reference to musical structure, someone's character, skin complexion, facial expression, etc. It is a well-known and common type of basic metaphor used in many cultures but has become an important part of the local style. Although an us-them discourse also persists, there are several areas in which the close-open metaphor exists side by side with it in flexible ways. This is especially so, and easily seen, in regard to character or personality. A person can be open (which has a positive valence) even if she or he is a foreigner and closed even if local. Attention to narrative practices will show much more complex ways in which the open-close dyad becomes important for understanding current narratives of nationhood, ethnicity, race and other forms of identity.

On a different level, skepticism can also be seen as a cultural style or deep structure (Ansano, 2001). One may see Köbben's description of indifference quite clearly in the Caribbean as a cultural style of skepticism, a skepticism which ends up being a kind of stagnating pragmatism. This is evident in the kind of banter used in day to day interactions, in the critical attitude regarding politicians' competence while at the same time accepting patronage, the ambivalent irreverence toward expertise, and the dependence on these same experts, etc.

These metaphors and styles exist in a context of social discourse that influences their use in specific ways. I would like to believe that there are cultural strategies that transcend the dichotomy of race and ethnicity. These are strategies that create a space for negotiating on-the-ground-identity-markers. These can be seen as spaces of individual and group self-identification within the broader system, statements of liberty within local culture. These can be seen as the modes of resilience in the face of historical trauma, ways of dealing with disempowerment which, in turn become statements of liberty within local culture. The ones I have identified are (Ansano, 2011):

- remarkable wisdom
- radical narrative
- denormalization
- the breaking of insidious silences
- place, relations and the body

I consider these to be wisdom practices because they show wisdom in the face of the follies of disempowerment and creation of trauma. Although I have identified them in Curaçaoan relationships I do think they have broader links with practices of resilience

elsewhere in the region as well as in the world. I will give only a brief explanation of each here.

Remarkable wisdom that exists within the community, is based on a legacy of collective knowledge, but is also fed by acts of active listening to the self, to primary groups and to the community in general: democracy in motion. This kind of wisdom is scattered, acephalic, network-based and available in different disparate discourses⁴. It is accessed all the time, shaped and reshaped at will. What makes it remarkable is its versatility and shapeshifting quality. It gets re-marked with new valences as circumstances change. Remarkable wisdom can be seen in music, popular healing, agricultural techniques, understandings of place, and many other areas.

Radical narrative starts from the self and the power of autocognition, and relationship with creation rather than from other narrated selves and relationships. In radical narratives the locus of power is always the self, the immediate group or local reality. While it can easily become a self-other type of discourse it does not aim to reject the other, but to know and start from the needs of the self. Other forms of radical narrative are consciously collective and dialogical. Their radicality is their conscious rejection of hegemonic discourse. Examples are consumer rights and patient rights groups, groups against domestic violence, abuse of young people, etc.

Denormalization means accepting realities that are not defined as normal by the mainstream. Breaking with the habitual, hegemonic reality that perpetuates structures of violence, non-recognition, disrespect, trauma, un-spirit. The difference between radical and denormalizing discourses is that radical ones still engage the world primarily from a socio-political perspective. Denormalizing discourses also question the primacy of the political. Non-ordinary consciousness, diverse realities, ambiguity, open-ended action are part of their strategies. This can be found, e.g. in some healing groups.

Breaking insidious silences: those silences that are structured by and sustain domination and coloniality. Silences here are in the senses of Trouillot, Mudimbe, and Juliana: the social memory and otherwise constructed subterranean memories of the region, but also the silences that are created by current cultures of violence such as domestic violence, violence against children, etc. The notion of breaking the silence has been used, of course against domestic violence and violence against women, but is also being used in relation to the atrocities of slavery and can be applied as well to historical traumatic events experienced by other groups.

Place, relations and body: we are emplaced and entangled in webs of relationships as much as we are embodied and narrated. From a radically present perspective it is

⁴ These concepts are taken from Gerlach & Hine's classic study *People, power, change* (1970).

important to note that while the power of narrative is great, there are also ways of interacting with reality through minimal discursive strategies. There are ways in which narrative/discursive reality is minimally present. Some of these include:

- Ritual, including the older practice of burying the placenta, thus connecting the child and mother to the land and often a specific tree
- Self-identification with one's childhood neighborhood in the expression *mucha di* (child of) a specific neighborhood or area
- Radical embodiment in both popular religions with an older genealogy and more recent New Religions through incorporation of divinity, healing by imposition of hands, and other practices

To dishabituate consciousness: emergent ethics and transcultural dialogue

One area of invisibility both in regular public discourse and in local social science and humanities is attention to transpersonal realities. This is very much like the situation in the USA and in Europe, two of our major areas of orientation (see Young & Goulet, 1994). Transpersonal realities are incredibly varied senses of identity which dissolve the individual sense of self, the accepted limits of perception and the sense of stability of referents to reality. The most accepted accounts of transpersonal realities interpret them as experiential moments, approaching them as individual inner experiences. In these accounts, non-ordinary consciousness is located within the innermost parts of the individual, a subjective experience that might be empirically verifiable through correlates in the objective world.

A few years back, Jorge Ferrer (2002) and others provided a critique of this marriage of experientialism and empiricism. Ferrer sees spiritual understanding as arising from transpersonal events rather than from individual inner transpersonal experiences. These transpersonal events are "multilocal participatory events" understood as "emergences of transpersonal being that can occur not only in the locus of the individual, but also in a relationship, a community, a collective identity or a place" (Ferrer: 116). One place where this is evident on the island is in the practice of the healing and spirituality circle called Ròndu or Den Kren. In Ròndu we see group transpersonal events (e.g. when one person gets an emotional release another feels energy flowing from that person, whereas another sees forms of light around the same person and still another has a kinetic reaction and recites a diagnosis), events connected to the place (a participant who had never been to the place of the ròndu session sees a vision of a strange stone that needs to be placed in the circle and where to get the stone, goes outside and finds it in the place he saw it in his mind), as well as individually enacted events (dreams that prefigure acts that occur in the session, vivid memories of events from other places and times, etc).

As interesting as these transpersonal events might be most spiritual and religious traditions caution against seeking these as an ultimate goal. Transpersonal and even

some ordinary events are seen by some traditions as potential distractions even when they may be considered to be signposts of progress in spiritual development in these same traditions. They are especially difficult when people start seeing them as measures of truth/reality. The true value of these events is only found in

- how they help us dishabituate ourselves from limitations of normal consciousness
- what kind of consciousness they help bring about and
- how we integrate them properly in our lives.

Schlitz, Vieten and Amorok (2007) call this integrative practice “living deeply” and have looked at different paths that incorporate transpersonal as well as ordinary events into sustained transformative practices that provide ever deeper understandings and ways of living in right relationships in the world.

Material from *ròndu* and many other similar types of groups suggest, however, the importance of a non-dogmatic incorporation strategy: emergent ethics. An ethic that is not primarily based on existing, clearly codified dogma but rather on emergent parameters. While participants would obviously bring their own views on spiritual development, environmental ethics, concerns for social justice, sustainable living, global violence, gender, race and related issues, there is a radically transpersonal ethics that comes out of the sessions: one intimated or enacted in the transpersonal events themselves, creating a radically new space for their incorporation in the participants’ lives.

Transpersonally mediated or initiated emergent ethics are part of every culture. Spirit possession, intuition, art, dance, meditative and contemplative practices, psychotropic drugs and many more practices can lead to these emergent ethics. However, not always do these practices lead to actual ethics, that is, to sustained practices of relating to creation. *Ròndu* as a space for emergent ethics is more of an idea than a fact. It will have to mature into a sustained group that has the ability to make space for its members to continuously deepen their relationship to their fellow beings based on this practice.

In Curaçao this gets a very particular and clear direction. Slavery and colonialism (and I should add recent issues in global development) have created a society in which wisdom traditions (from all social groups) might be quite alive, but nevertheless fragmented, their carriers being dissociated from their full vitality. In this situation the specific contexts of emergent transpersonal ethics becomes important in different ways: 1) by drawing on cultural resources such as prescriptive dreams or divination, 2) when based on spontaneous transpersonal events with ethical directives such as encounters with ghosts and other entities and 3) in the context of group sessions such as *ròndu* and others where transpersonal events are intertwined with emergent ethics such as when someone gets visions of ancestors giving specific guidance or dreams that prefigure the interpretive framework for a session’s relevance, etc. These practices are starting to become part of the discourse of both spiritual groups and some

groups aiming at social transformation, at least as an initial questioning of the effectiveness of older ethics and ways of proposing social transformations. Communities of practice in certain areas such as work with women and a couple of specific neighborhoods are incorporating a work ethic that is based on participatory action and emergent ethics.

Social transformation is no less a category of self-understanding than the above mentioned senses of history and global-local understandings of identity. A dynamic view of the Caribbean and of Curaçao would be well-served to include this in its scope. But this challenges our very discourse on culture. Emergent ethics is always informed by narrative and material aspects of existing culture. At the same time it creates spaces of radical departures from normal consciousness. Traditional accounts of encounters with zumbi do not necessarily offer a sufficient interpretive or directive framework for transpersonal experiences in a healing session. New experiences cannot always be woven neatly into the existing discourses we have. As such they are transcultural, not in Ortiz' sense of new forms that occur through cultural contact but in the sense of transcending the cultural frameworks we currently use, with or without reference to culture contact. The public discourses acquire new valences as *ròndu* members meditate on *tambú* drum music and attend to and look at how we embody the emergent stories that call for a new discourse, one that asks for listening to and communicating with nature, creating new relationships to the past. In the end emergent ethics is all about letting life burst through and create new stories that make for new relationships and new ways of being, ones that may be more sustainable than those we choose to pit against each other.

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THE PRAGMATIC CONCEPT OF CULTURE OR...WHAT MIGHT HAPPEN NEXT?

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Abstract

Despite major criticism leveled against its use in anthropology and the other social sciences, the concept of culture remains an indispensable one in sociology. Three major pitfalls of cultural explanation are discussed in this article: idealism, groupism, and the focus on order. This short essay also considers contemporary approaches adopted by sociologists to the concept of culture which seek to overcome the very real problems associated with its uncritical use in the past. First, those who adopt these new approaches no longer use the concept idealistically to explain and predict human behavior; instead, culture is seen as part of ongoing social practice. Second, under these new approaches culture is no longer identified with or through groups, instead, group making and unmaking are analyzed as part of cultural practice. Third, these new approaches do not see culture as being concerned with ordered consensus, instead, culture expresses concerns, troubles, contradictions, tensions and anxieties. When we take these shifts into account, cultural explanation becomes focused on the ways in which people themselves try to make sense of the world. What comes to matter most are the variety of ways in which people use language and other meaningful forms of expression. The contemporary concept of culture in sociology invites us to look closely at *how* people live life and *how* they struggle, often with each other, to live it differently.

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The pitfalls of culture

The concept of culture has always had an odd role to play in sociology. Its use is both ubiquitous and highly problematic. Throughout the “modern” period of sociology – roughly between the moment at which enlightened moral philosophy began questioning the principles of social order and progress in the 18th century and the time in which the founding fathers of sociology (Marx, Weber, Durkheim) were accredited canonic status after World War II, culture was negatively defined in two key ways: 1) culture is different from nature; and 2) culture is different from society. When burgeoning sociologists employed the concept of culture they were expressing the

notion that there is a domain of reality which is neither part of natural history nor part of the web of social dependencies which make up society. As such, the modern culture-concept helped to address two major concerns in sociology: 1) Where does morality come from? and 2) Where does consensus come from? The first question deals with the distinction between the moral life of humans as opposed to the amoral life of animals. The second question deals with the distinction between civil order and violent chaos. As has been demonstrated over and over, sociologists' concerns with these questions were intellectual reactions to rapid and often horrifying changes in the West: revolution, urbanization, industrialization, colonization, democratization, etc. Man's "elevated" position in relation to nature was no longer guaranteed and human "progress" turned out to be chaotic and violent. The modern culture-concept expressed the hope that mankind might overcome these frightening developments.

Even though the culture-concept has performed this enormously important task – providing hope for a more human, less violent future –, it was severely and increasingly criticized throughout the twentieth century. Three major pitfalls of the culture-concept stand out: idealism, groupism and the focus on ordered consensus. Each of these pitfalls had major consequences for sociological research and for the kind of conclusions sociologists drew from it. There seems to be, since about the 1990's, a broadening acknowledgement of these pitfalls in sociology, and, anyone making a cultural argument or employing the culture-concept must make sure, and often explicate how, they are avoiding them. In this essay I'll discuss what these pitfalls are, why they are to be avoided and how what animates new approaches.

Idealism

The first and original pitfall of the modernist concept of culture is idealism, that is, culture enables an idealistic explanation of social action and development, whereby *ideas* determine *action*. These kinds of explanations are still widely used in such commonly encountered passages as: "They bring sacrifices, because they believe in a malevolent god", or: "As science progresses, society has become more developed." In one way or another, culture is presented as a set of ideas developed in the human mind. Consequently, it is assumed that these ideas motivate, prompt or make possible certain courses of social action. This use of the culture-concept thereby suggests that minds operate apart from and are conducive to actual, practical action. Cultural explanations of this kind not only suggest that ideas determine actions, but often also that ideas are the final or ultimate explanation of actions. In the end, social actions are constrained and guided by the ideas that people develop in their minds through understanding and communication. With this explanatory program, cultural sociology set out to document and interpret the ideas that people, presumably, contained in their minds. Often, sociologists did this on the basis of what people said and wrote. Language provided these sociologists entry into the world of ideas. Once cultural world views

were sufficiently studied, differences in social action and development could be explained. What's more, sociologists hoped to keep mankind on the right path by finding out which culture was most evolved and, thus, merited emulation.

Not only did such modernist sociology provide scientific justification for cultural imperialism by the West, whose culture it unsurprisingly found to be the most evolved, it also maintained an often unquestioned, rather religious idea of man's agency. If man were to modify his convictions, his actions would become better. Undesirable or deviant behavior is explained by the cultural and intellectual deficiency of uncivilized and, apparently, backward people. This schema of cultural judgment could and can be projected onto almost any differences in social life as is evidenced by such often repeated explanations as: "They react so violently because they see themselves as victims." or "They are unemployed because they lack a well-developed work ethic."

The problem with these kinds of explanations is two-fold. It is entirely unclear whether each individual person has a mind of her own filled with a coherent set of ideas – a culture – that systematically determines her actions. People's minds are not closed, nor are their ideas coherent. It has been shown over and over again that the kinds of interpretative frames which people use to make sense of their lives are constantly shifting and do not form coherent wholes. So even if ideas lead to certain actions, those ideas hardly add up to a coherent culture which can be used to explain and predict actions. Instead, what needs explaining is which ideas become relevant in which situations for which people. This pitfall was most forcefully argued by what are often referred to as symbolic interactionists. According to them, the kinds of reasoning that interferes with social action are never entirely coherent and can never attend to the particularities of every situation. People do not slavishly imitate what culture tells them to do in every social situation. Rather, they try to figure out how to play their part in social life with the help of a variety of interpretative repertoires. These repertoires need to be constantly reconsidered, revamped and redeployed. It is only in the course of social action that ideas about what's going on emerge and can begin to interfere with and influence it.

Groupism

The second major pitfall of cultural explanation is groupism. When cultural sociologists make cultural arguments they often associate *a* culture with *a* group. This is only logical as cultural explanation has mainly served to explain why certain people – in the West – where more developed than others – in the South. To a certain extent, the pitfall of groupism isn't really a pitfall, because it was entirely intentional that cultural explanation would lead to the categorization of social groups distinguished on the basis of cultural development. All kinds of differences – gendered, racial, religious, ethnic, national, ideological – can help cultural sociologists to identify groups in society whose distinct culture can then be studied and used to explain the actions of

those groups. Because cultures are mapped onto groups, membership in a group is used to explain social action, as illustrated in such comments as: “They reject vaccination because they are orthodox evangelicals.” or “The fact that Moroccans are more likely than autochthonous Europeans to be prosecuted for criminal offences means that there must be some cultural explanation for their criminality.”

The unquestioned assumption is that groups are groups because they form coherent cultural communities in which all members share a common world view that determines their actions. Not only are groups assumed to have distinct cultures, but groups are thereby treated as cohesive sets of social actors. In groupist explanations cultural sociologists suggest that groups act much like persons act: “The Turks do not identify with the Netherlands, because they are pre-occupied with their fatherland.” or “Dutch people seek consensus rather than conflict.”

Groupism is problematic. It is unclear why certain categorizations of people into groups would be more suitable than others. Why, for instance, does it make sense to cluster people from rural parts of Turkey living in the Netherlands, their children and their children’s children into the ethnic group “Turks”, as is done by central research bureaucracies in the Netherlands, and to assign to those demographically constructed groups all kinds of evaluative scores in terms of economic, political and cultural integration. The main problem here is not that groups are irrelevant, but how the sociologist chooses to identify and define them.

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Through the equation of groups and cultures sociologists have not sufficiently appreciated that group making is a cultural practice in and of itself. If groups can be said to have culture at all, the culture of a group is made up of the ways in which that group is made and unmade by people in and outside that group. Why would the sociologist be the one to identify groups when groups exist and change through the boundary making and unmaking that people themselves partake in? If one wants to understand what groups are doing, how groups are changing and why groups matter, one had better pay attention to the group making practices that people engage in. The equation of groups and cultures circumvents any attention to those practices, because it seeks to “objectively” identify the groups that make up society.

When we acknowledge that group making and unmaking is a cultural practice in and of itself, that it is part of the kinds of interpretative repertoires that people assemble, employ and reconsider to make sense of the world, we must also acknowledge that it is never up to the sociologist to determine which groups “really” exist. By suggesting that sociology might be able to objectively identify groups, sociologists are engaging in politics under the guise of value-free research. The act of group making and unmaking is entirely political, as it has a significant impact on the very real possibilities available to people to better their lives. The Dutch research practice of

identifying so-called ethnic groups and producing all kinds of so-called social scientific knowledge about those groups has demonstrated this very clearly.

For quite some time already, people have begun to employ the categorization used in research and policy – allochthones, autochthones, ethnic groups, integration – to make sense of their lives and the people around them. As such, Dutch social scientists have become severely complicit in the often exaggerated boundary making taking place in Dutch society, as the very idea that groups map onto cultures is widespread and, again and again, affirmed by so-called objective research.

From the previous discussion one could draw the conclusion that the main pitfall of cultural explanation is its determinism. People's actions aren't determined by their ideas, nor is the existence of groups determined by culture. Instead, people interactively figure out how to understand their world and groups are made and unmade by people themselves. People seem to be in charge of culture, not the other way around. But this would be the wrong conclusion to draw. Actually, the root problem of cultural explanation lies elsewhere: its undue bias towards social order.

Ordered consensus

More often than not, cultural explanation seems to suggest that the normal state of social affairs is one of ordered consensus. When there is conflict, contention and violence, it is said that cultures are clashing, or mixing, or interfering, or falling apart, or regressing. In any event, culture is identified with order and consensus. Precisely because culture is thought to involve ordered, consensual and predictable patterns of action, sociologists have hoped to be able to predict social action on the basis of culture, as revealed by such statements as: "French political culture is republican: they seek to uphold the universal values of the enlightenment." or "Since the influx of migrants with their own cultures Germany has become less cohesive and tension between ethnic groups has increased." But this order-and-consensus-bias rests on the assumptions that: 1) conflict, contention and violence are somehow not normal; and 2) conflict, contention and violence are chaotic as opposed to patterned. It is not clear at all that these assumptions hold. Why would conflict, contention and violence be abnormal, sociologically speaking? And why wouldn't we be interested in the patterning of conflicts, contention and violence, precisely with the hope of understanding better how durable consensus – or better yet, durable non-violence – may be realized?

Anticipating and enacting what *might* happen next

In fact, culture need not be identified with social order at all. One could even suggest that people deploy culture – that is, varying repertoires to make sense of the world – *because* their world is always changing and always contentious. *Because* people find

themselves in situations which are never entirely resolved and predetermined, they have – through the development of cultural practice – found ways to make sense of and anticipate what *might happen*. The interpretative repertoires of culture suggest more or less probable outcomes of unresolved and often contentious predicaments. Under this perspective, culture helps people to act *as if* a situation might well be taking a particular course towards a particular kind of resolution. By doing so, they may actually succeed, for the time being, in shaping their world in a particular way. For instance, a person may say “I hereby open this ceremony”, which actually gives the audience the opportunity to play along and begin enacting a ceremony. In no way does the use of culture ensure a consensual outcome however. In fact, there are a myriad of ways to throw the ceremony into disarray – one might for instance begin talking a bit too loudly about yesterday’s football match. People will then have to figure out how to respond to that. The point is that the ceremony fails because “talking about football” is not part of the anticipated course of action. If one would start talking about football at a celebration of carnival in Brazilian– arguably one of the most intricate and sophisticated rituals known to man – one would probably be unsuccessful at derailing the proceedings.

The same can be said for conflicts. In order to successfully play out conflicts and disputes people constantly need to figure out what others *might be* doing and try to play their part accordingly. Here too, success is not guaranteed. Successfully engaging in a conflict depends all the time on what one’s adversary is doing, and vice versa. Even in cases of huge power imbalances, the dominant need the dominated to play along.

The notion of culture presented here is in the final analysis a pragmatic one. That is, culture becomes a concept used to capture the expressive, symbolic and performative aspects of ongoing social practices: it’s about what people express and enact while trying to anticipate what *might be* happening. The pragmatist program of cultural sociology is most extensively advocated and practiced by researchers such as Jeffrey Alexander, Ronald Eyerman and Philip Smith associated with the Yale School of cultural sociology. But pragmatist approaches to culture can also be found in an extensive body of work done by sociologists like Foucault, De Certeau, Bourdieu, Latour, Boltanski, Tévenot, Somers, Hochschild, Laclau, Mouffe, Mol, and Brubaker. What all of these thinkers have in common is that they are all concerned with studying interpretative repertoires and performances in the course of ongoing social practice. Neither the intentions of the actors, nor the presumed objectives or functions of practices are used as an overriding point of perspective. A pragmatic cultural sociology assumes that the sense making of people *along the way* as they try to figure out what will happen next, actually matters a great deal for our understanding of social action.

Sociologists should be interested in culture, in the pragmatist sense, not because it determines actions and thereby provides causal explanations, but because social practices are not predetermined and social action is deeply shaped by that fact. It is never entirely clear what might be happening and thus people are compelled to use interpretative repertoires to figure out what the course of social events *might be* and what performative possibilities are available to them. The problem of the older, modernistic concept of culture is not that it is too deterministic, but that it still underestimates the extent to which people are, at each juncture of their lives, forced to assemble a set of performative anticipations which will only later with practice prove to be relatively adequate or deficient. If people vehemently hold onto particular ways of doing things, it is because those ways of doing things have, temporarily and imperfectly, enabled them to live somewhat predictable lives. People tend to hold on to their ways even when the circumstances for doing so have altered. The tragedy is, of course, that cultural change is inevitable and inescapable. If sociologists want to study how people deal with change and make change happen, they should study culture. That is, they should study the stories, discourses, images, symbols, gestures, interpretative repertoires, imaginaries and performances that people employ to figure out and enact what *might be* happening in their world.

The study of culture allows sociologists to relate people's concerns and anxieties to the ways they find to change their lives, for better or for worse. Pragmatist cultural sociology thereby hopes to explain social change by looking closely at *how* people are able to interpret their problems and find ways to enact their anticipations. The cultural explanation of social practice is not achieved so much by studying people's beliefs, as it is by studying people's active and performative engagements with what concerns and worries them.

PASADO, PRESENTE I FUTURO: CURACAO'S CULTURAL EXPRESSION REVISED IN A NEW NATION

SU GIRIGORI

NATIONAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL MEMORY MANAGEMENT

CURAÇAO

Introduction

Ania Loomba, author of *Colonialism/postcolonialism*, argues in her book that colonialism was more than the expansion of various European powers into Asia, Africa or the Americas and thus cannot be defined as the conquest and control of other people's land and goods. Rather, according to Loomba, colonialism

“restructured the economies of the latter [the countries it conquered] drawing them into a complex relationship with their own, so that there was a flow of human and natural resources between colonized and colonial countries...In whichever direction human beings and materials traveled, the profits always flowed back into the so-called ‘mother country’.” (Loomba, 2008: 9)

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Emerging from Loomba's point of view rises the idea of and/or plausibility of a colonial structure based not only on the conquest of other people's land and goods, but also based upon the conquest of other peoples' minds; for it is the mind that determines one's destiny. Like Marcus Garvey once said: “liberate the minds of men and ultimately you will liberate the bodies of men.” As long as colonialism persists in the minds of the people the colonial system will continue to prevail.

With the passing of the July 1st 1863 law abolishing slavery in the Dutch Kingdom, the bodies of the enslaved people of Curaçao were liberated from the atrocities of slavery. However, the law paid little attention to the minds of these formerly enslaved people. Of course, it is not advisable to assume that all formerly enslaved peoples remained stuck in slavery mode. But I believe that important remnants of the slave mentality continue to impact our lives.

These remnants are visible today in what I see as tendencies toward dependency and lack of self esteem in Curaçaoan society. In this article, I attempt to demonstrate aspects of these tendencies and suggest ways of beginning to deal with them in a constructive way.

Fifty years after the official end of the colonial era in Curaçao, the island still functions with an infrastructure which depends upon the ‘mother country’, the Netherlands. This dependency is particularly acute in the area of economics, which would make the island, according to Ania Loomba, a neo-colonial country rather than a postcolonial one territory (2008: 12). This becomes evident when we realize the degree to which this economic dependency impacts the island’s cultural, social, and political fabric.

Homi Bhabha states that “postcolonial perspectives emerge from the colonial or anticolonialist testimonies of third world countries and from the testimony of minorities within the geopolitical division of East/West, North/South” (1992: 46). Though Curaçao is not considered to be a third world country in terms of its development indicators, it still holds the position of a minority within the Dutch Kingdom. As such, the island’s culture is still reinterpreted and rewritten by the metropolitan society responsible of the cultural displacement that took place in Curaçao during slavery (p. 48), because so many Curaçaoans continue to rely on the Netherlands and the rest of the Euro-American hegemony as their cultural model and point of reference.

The island’s ruling elite mimics the colonial structures that were in turn copied from the ‘mother country’, bringing about a process that “alienates its own language of liberty and produces another knowledge of its norms” (Bhabha, 1984: 126). How can Curaçao move beyond the slavery and colonial ethos of its past when it continues to reproduce the structures of that same past?

Stuart Hall sees such mimicry as a dichotomized form of representation through sharply opposed, polarized binary extremes; requiring from the individual in particular to simultaneously represent both poles (2003: 229). In this way, members of the Afro-Curaçaoan community find themselves compelled to be both black and white at the same time in expressing themselves culturally, with the dominant pole within this binary form of representation being the European one, positioned above the African one. The elements of African culture that the colonial masters saw as culturally inappropriate or qualified as savage or uncivilized were not only suppressed from the outside but also from inside the African descended community itself, leading to a tendency to betray one’s own community in order to receive recognition and token favors from the European descended rulers.

Any meaningful understanding of culture in Curaçao at present and any constructive proposals for the future of culture on the island can only emerge from a thorough analysis of culture in our colonial past. Much of the ongoing loss and/or deterioration of African derived cultural structures in Curaçao has occurred due to the neglect or lack of understanding of the history of slavery on the island.

According to Stuart Hall “meaning is what gives us a sense of our own identity of who we are and with whom we ‘belong’ – so it is tied up with questions of how culture is used to mark out and maintain identity within and difference between groups” (Hall, 2003: 3). Cultural representation in a given community is dependent on the way the people of that community identify or fail to identify with its cultural expression. Cultural forms that originally were associated in a positive way with identity can later take on a negative meaning with which people no longer identify.

During colonial times, it was the colonizer who determined the definition of what or who was good or bad, thus everything that was associated with Africans in general became synonymous with negativity and was to be rejected (Loomba, 2008: 108). Even after slavery was abolished these negative associations with all things African persisted, not just among people of European descent, but also among Afro-Curaçaoans themselves.

An example of this phenomenon can be found in the rise and fall of one of the traditional forms of Curaçaoan music called *Muzik di Zumbi*, ‘music of zombies’ [literal translation]. This genre got its name because of the sound that the instruments make together when performing this music. This is one of the African inheritances of Curacao that can be traced directly to the times of slavery. The slaves used to make music in the dark of the night in the forest, far from the plantation houses, after a day of hard labor.

The slaves made the instruments out of their working tools and what nature provided. The drum, called *tambú*, was made of empty storage barrels made of wood with cow, sheep or goat skin on top. The *benta* or flute, which looked much like a bow, was made a branch with a hole in it, with its sound being produced by a rope with a wooden stick attached. Together with the *benta* and the *tambú* the *kachu* (cow horn) and the *agán* (a piece of a metal pipe with a metal stick) were the instruments used to perform the *muzik di zumbi*.

Through oral history¹, we learn that the plantation owners, when hearing this music coming from the forest, thought that it was the sound of the suffering souls of deceased slaves and out of fear maintained a distance from the forest at night. And thus this genre got its name *muzik di zumbi*. The improvised instruments used to perform this music represented an attempt on the part of the enslaved Africans to hold on to their culture despite the prohibition of their African cultural and religious practice by the colonial authorities and their laws (Rosalia, 1997: 97-109). But there is a tendency to negate the connections between the instruments used in *muzik di zumbi* and similar instruments used in Africa, with emphasis often being put on the elements

¹ Zíkinzá collection; a series of interviews narrating the oral history since slavery conducted by Pater Brenneker† and Elis Juliana in the 1970’s (National Archives of Curacao, 2012)

of improvisation in their emergence, to the exclusion of significant and numerous elements that represent continuity with African musical traditions.

While such African connections are often denied, they still play a role in the attribution of negative meanings to the cultural forms where they manifest themselves. The persistent reluctance to see and understand the provenance and importance of such Afro-Curaçaoan cultural expressions as *muzik di zumbi* can be found in the negative associations linked to them by virtue of their African roots. On the island there is still a tendency to believe that everything coming from or related to Africa is mediocre or inferior; thus the inclination to deprecate and disassociate ourselves from our African heritage.

Today, *muzik di zumbi* is practically unknown to the younger generations, despite the fact that from the early 20th century until approximately the 1950s, this music used to be popular on the island, particularly in the Afro-Curaçaoan community. People were acquainted with *muzik di zumbi* and used to even sing it, using words from the African language Guene, which is nowadays extinct together with the *muzik di zumbi*. In the late 1980s a cultural group called *Issoco* emerged and made *muzik di zumbi* making their core repertoire and they succeeded in making this genre popular for some 10 years, before it vanished again, until today, from the cultural scene of Curaçao.

An explanation for the disappearance of *muzik di zumbi* might be the lack of interest on the part of the local community to listen to it, learn (from) it and thus preserve it. While *muzik di zumbi* has been used here as an example, unfortunately, there are many other cultural forms with African roots that have been lost through the generations because of the negative identification attached to Africanisms and the island's African heritage.

In the Curaçaoan community there has been a strong inclination towards European influences because of the positive identification related to cultural influences that are non- African. Thus, an identity is formed based upon an illusion, creating a false sense of belonging to a culture that rejects African descended peoples.

Ania Loomba says regarding this desperate search by the subaltern for another identity regardless of ethnic (meaning race) differences, that 'race' as a concept receives its meanings contextually and in relation to other social groupings and hierarchies (Loomba 2008: 105). The idea of an Afro-Curaçaoan identity is formed within a context of internal and external negativity, inferiority and exclusion, whereby it becomes easier to let go of our own culture and, at least try to embrace new ones in order to feel accepted and a sense of belonging to something, in this case a community that in the end has no place for us.

Therefore, as Frantz Fanon puts it, the Afro-Curaçaoan stops being an actional person, for only the white man can represent his self-esteem (quoted by Bhabha, 1984: 129).

Such an identity is rooted in a concept of fear; fear of not being white enough, fear of not being black enough, fear of not having enough invested or to gain within the black as well as the white community.

Here we reap the negative consequences of an educational process, both formal and informal, that does not support its own historical and cultural development. The members of the Afro-Curaçaoan community lack a sense of belonging because such a sense has not been passed on from generation to generation. What has been passed over from generation to generation, though, is a lack of trust in our individual and collective abilities in general, and particularly in our lack of ability to construct our own culture. We are thus still searching for our own identity and that makes our culture very vulnerable to control from the outside.

René Rosalia², retired director of the cultural department of *Kas di Kultura* ('House of Culture', a center for culture on the island), says that the images members of the Afro-Curaçaoan community have constructed of themselves are based on the image imposed on them by the colonizer. Afro-Curaçaoans did not learn to see themselves as they were, but rather as the oppressor wanted them to be. This explains why people are willing to give up their culture for a culture alien to them

According to Rosalia this is the reason why fear and shame are so deeply rooted into the Afro-Curaçaoan community. People are ashamed, and scared of being subjected to negative external evaluation for expressing themselves through their culture. People hesitate when it comes to taking cultural decisions and leave these to outsiders. Meanwhile, external hegemonic cultural influences become stronger by the day, and our identity crisis intensifies.

Homi Bhabha observes that "the ambivalence [that typifies the cultural identity crisis in Curaçao]...repeatedly turns from *mimicry* – a difference that is almost nothing but not quite – to *menace* – a difference that is almost total but not quite" (Bhabha, 1984: 132). This destructive process leads us ever further away from any rootedness in individual or collective identities created by ourselves and in our own interests, rather than those identities that have been created by colonial and neo-colonial forces in their hegemonic interests.

In this context, it would be easy to portray the Afro-Curaçaoan community as the victim of history. But the role of victim is just another means to deprive us of our agency and to prevent us from taking responsibility for the situation and building the strong character and convictions necessary to make sustainable changes for present and future generations. It is only through regaining a sense of responsibility and purpose similar to that which enabled our enslaved ancestors, despite all of the forces rallied against them, to revive and celebrate their *muzik di zumbi* and other expressions

² Taped interview; Curaçao 17 July 2008.

of African culture, that we can set ourselves free from dependency and inferiority to achieve new, more sustainable cultural expressions which will allow Afro-Curaçaoan people to acknowledge and celebrate their history and cultural heritage.

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THE NATION IS OCCUPIED, THE CITY CAN BE CLAIMED

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Summary

Citizens attach different emotions to the local than to the national scale. The nation is an electrical fence that tends to divide native-born citizens from immigrants. Natives easily claim the nation on the basis of a closed and abstract conception of culture, rather than on actual experiences. Immigrants can touch the nation only at their own risk. But the city is a rather practical, not too emotionally charged unit. While the city and the nation are mutually exclusive, the city provides immigrants with the infrastructure of daily life and the joys and sorrows that come with it: actually meeting representatives of (local) government and experiencing success or failure in this meeting, running into people from other cultural backgrounds not as natives but as neighbors, negotiating with teachers or GP's. As personal experiences are crucial to feeling at home in a city, citizens can tinker with local identity, whereas with national identity they hardly can. We have to rethink liberal criticism, with more understanding of the inter-group contact and engagement that are actually more prevalent on the ground than we generally assume them to be and with greater striving for inter-group dialogue that is actually less extensive than we might suppose.

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Introduction

Western European countries are heatedly debating how much and what kind of cultural differentiation is to be allowed in the public domain. Many have witnessed the rise of right-wing populist parties that see immigrants as a threat to social cohesion and national identity (Van Kersbergen & Krouwel, 2003). The culture debate rages on a grand scale (Brubaker, 2001; Favell, 2001; Benhabib, 2002; Gutmann, 2003; Parekh, 2000; Joppke, 2004; Ireland, 2004; Koopmans et al., 2005; Sniderman & Hagendoorn, 2007). Much of this debate has a nostalgic character. A national culture is portrayed as a closed, timeless, and conflict-free whole, carried by citizens who all basically share the same beliefs, norms, and traditions. On the basis of this closed conception of culture, the debate focuses on actual or potential harming influences on society of Muslim minorities, who form the majority of the migrant population in the region. Many native Europeans, who increasingly tend to fear Islam, embrace this rather 'restorative' conception of culture (Entzinger & Dourleijn, 2008; Allen & Nielsen,

2002). Hence, in the Netherlands, the Islamophobic PVV party took third place in the 2010 elections. The building of mosques, the call to prayer, the use of religious symbols such as the headscarf, gender inequality, anti-integration pronouncements by ultra-orthodox imams, and Islam-inspired political extremism continue to be successfully framed as threatening to Dutch culture (Verhaar & Saharso, 2004; Uitermark, Rossi & Van Houtum, 2005; Duyvendak, Pels & Rijkschroeff, 2009; Scholten, 2007). “These events did not fit the Netherlands’s global image ... as a wealthy, tolerant, and perhaps excessively liberal society” (Van der Veer, 2006).

In this tense situation we witness a culturalization of citizenship. By the term ‘culturalization of citizenship’ we point to a process by which culture (emotions, feelings, cultural norms and values, and cultural symbols and traditions, including religion) has come to play a central role in the debate on social integration. Meaning is attached to cultural participation (in terms of norms, values, practices, and traditions), either as an alternative or in addition to citizenship. These “feeling rules” (Hochschild, 1989) have to do with the perceived lack of feelings of belonging and loyalty on the part of both immigrants and elements of the native population in spite of all of the supposedly sincere and vigorous efforts made by European governments toward integration. As feelings as such cannot be easily witnessed in strangers, some actions can be taken as symbols of such feelings; in the Netherlands, holding more than one passport is such a symbol (of lack of loyalty to the Dutch culture). It is not about social citizenship (working, participating in society) or political citizenship (participating in public debate) but about membership of the community defined via quite subtle mechanisms, from dress codes to behavior between men and women.

This way of thinking is evident in the utterances of both politicians and academics, of both conservative and liberal persuasion. Conservatives see culturalization as a more or less logical development. Attention must be paid to the necessary task of making sure that citizens adapt to dominant values and norms. This adaptation can very well be presented as liberating, i.e. in the case of Muslim women being freed of the veil, but its defining motivation rests in the idea that citizens are part of a community (Bolkestein, 1991; Hirshi Ali, 2002; Scheffer, 2007; Putnam, 2007; Bos, 2008). Progressives glibly reject culturalization. Inspired by liberalism they claim that citizenship should be about respecting individual rights and ensuring personal and public safety, about ‘negative freedom’ to use the famous words of Isaiah Berlin. Citizens are first and foremost individuals. Prescribing behavior easily turns into discipline and punishment. Instead, people should learn better how to ‘negotiate differences’ as society becomes more complex (Van Gunsteren). In both instances the bar is raised considerably. Conservatives run the risk of conflating citizenship and belonging, molding all citizens into a rather static conception of the nation. When progressives argue that citizenship is more than a status, they run the risk of conflating

citizenship and personal growth, expecting everybody to appreciate confrontations with strangers, attend meetings and take lessons in politics.

We set out to make the debate between ‘culturalization as non-negotiable’ and ‘culturalization as a threat’ more productive. It is indisputable that culture plays a substantial role in determining individual life chances. The idea of citizenship as a mere socioeconomic mechanism to organize fair and equal membership in society has proved to be seriously inadequate. Knowing norms such as when to shake hands, how to apply rules of honesty and secrecy, when to look people in the face, are helpful to finding and keeping a job, to say the least (Veenman, 2007). In that sense, liberal reactions towards culturalization are plain lazy: it is extremely difficult to lead a good life when you are not aware of society’s expectations. But at the same time the debate on inclusion and exclusion has flared up to levels not seen since early twentieth century anti-Semitism or post world war II post colonialism. The conservative reasoning that every citizen should adapt to his or her community has not brought more unity. It is repeatedly argued that although citizens are comfortable with their own lives, trust in collective undertakings and in society has been plummeting (SCP, 2009).

By recognizing specific patterns in culturalization itself we carve out a more humble yet more useful idea of citizenship, not with a high bar in terms of cultural homogeneity nor in terms of political efficacy, but as a craft with a range of qualities. By comparing local and national identification processes among citizens of different stripes we discern *restorative* and *constructivist* notions of culturalization. These names more or less speak for themselves. The restorative idea of culture is that culture is a given. It is either familiar or should be (re)discovered, for example, by writing a ‘national canon’ of decisive moments in history or dedicating a museum to the nation. When one feels comfortable handling this particular material, one is a citizen in the cultural sense. The constructivist idea of culture is that culture is a process in the making, which is shaped by all of those who opt to involve themselves in that process. On the one hand, it is a process that builds on traditions; on the other hand, it incorporates changes triggered by cultural mixing. When one is willing to add to this process one is a citizen in a cultural sense.

Instead of arguing in favor of or turning down culturalization, we distinguish between more and less democratic varieties of culturalization. We contend that this brings us to a more up to date understanding of modern citizenship.

Focus groups

We examine the culturalization of citizenship by analyzing debates on belonging via a methodology that is not commonly utilized in the social sciences: the focus group. This method has clear advantages for our particular set of research questions, as the discussions are among equals, and focus groups allow participants to use their own

language, rather than react to an interviewer (Kitzinger, 1994). "Focus groups have a unique niche for obtaining information as tension between groups begins to rise. In such circumstances, surveys and other ways of obtaining information may be ineffective because neither party trusts the other's intentions" (Morgan, 1997: 18). Focus group discussions allow participants to feel relatively safe debating identity matters, which might be considered dangerous when talked about in the public sphere. Rather than produce clear and supposedly unambiguous answers, however, focus groups help us to understand the schemata which citizens use or develop to make sense of interactions that may or may not require a reaction. Focus group discussions may not tell us much about the degree of the problem of polarization, but their strength lies in revealing the character of the problem of polarization.

Directing focus groups in diverse urban contexts offers us the possibility of differentiating between nationally and locally oriented feelings of belonging. The city has for quite some time served as an alternative site for successful integration of migrants of all kinds (Baeten, 2001; Isin & Turner, 2002; Bauböck, 2003; Staeheli, 2003). To a certain degree this is self-evident. Cities generally are less under the crushing sway of 'grand narratives' than are nations. A newcomer in Amsterdam can lead a decent life without ever internalizing the Dutch colonial history that plays such a big part in national public debate. Contemporary ideas of urban citizenship are refreshingly and pragmatically optimistic, as much of what the flamboyant yet stalemated 'top down' politics of the nation prevent it from doing, the city actually accomplishes in its own quiet yet determined way with 'bottom up' processes, enabling policies, and all kinds of intercultural encounter.

In our study, we compared Amsterdam, a capital city with a clear cosmopolitan ambiance which has had a progressive governing council for decades, with Arnhem, a provincial city with a more conservative feel and over the years a more mixed council. Apart from distinguishing between cities, we also needed to distinguish between citizens. Whether or not so-called 'active' citizens have more democratic ambitions than others is an open question, but they do have more interaction with others in the public domain. Hence the distinction between active and passive is meaningful for our purposes, 'active' being the citizens who participate in one or more formal or informal neighborhood organizations and passive being the citizens who refrain from any activity outside of work or family. Given the nature of cultural matters, distinguishing between citizens with a migrant background and citizens with a native background was a logical next step. In order to get a better grip on the presence or absence of democratic discourse in cultural debates we also selected local professionals who are actually involved with the formulation and/ or implementation of policies around integration.

The focus groups for this study consisted of five groups of between five and ten participants each, in each of the two selected cities (total ten groups). In each city,

three of the five groups consisted of active citizens taking part in civil organizations who were randomly chosen from a larger pool of citizen initiatives used for previous research (Hurenkamp, Tonkens & Duyvendak, 2006). In each city, one group consisted of migrant participants whose religious (mainly Muslim) background was central in their civic engagement; a second group consisted of migrant participants who had an explicitly nonreligious background; and a third group consisted of native Dutch participants whose backgrounds were mixed. In each city a fourth group consisted of individuals who were randomly selected on the streets, with the stipulation that they were not a member of any organization at all, and a fifth group consisted of policy makers, that is, of people who were professionally involved in promoting active citizenship at the local level. Focus group transcripts of up to thirty-five pages each were analyzed in three complementary ways: we looked at the debates by group, by question, and according to selected themes.

Table 1 Number of participants in focus groups by cities.

	Active citizens with a native background	Religious active citizens with a migrant background	Non religious active citizens with a migrant background	Passive citizens	Policy makers	Total
Amsterdam	6	8	7	8	5	34
Arnhem	7	8	9	10	7	41
Totals	13	16	16	18	12	75

Groups were presented with a set of questions on cultural practices and on loyalty and belonging. We also presented them with a broader set of daily life conflicts and dilemmas.

Table 2 Questions put to the focus groups

1. It is often said that citizens have duties. What do you think these are?
2. It is often said that citizens have rights. What do you think these are?
3. Do you know people you consider to be good citizens, from the neighborhood or from TV?
4. Do you feel yourself to be an Amsterdammer/ Arnhemmer? [If yes: When? On what occasions? Did you ever feel that you are not an Amsterdammer/ Arnhemmer? If so: Why?]
5. Do you feel Dutch? [If yes: Why? On what occasions? If no: why not?]
6. Suppose that your neighbour, whom you do not know, appears to be neglecting himself. He smells unwashed, is never visited and rarely goes out. He is not bothering anybody. Would you offer to help him? [If 'YES': How would you handle it? Would you ring his doorbell or talk to him when you see him? What would you say? If 'NO': Why not? Because you are unsure about how to approach him? Would you contact an aid agency? What would you do if the agency replied that it was too busy?]
7. Suppose that a group of boys hanging around in your neighborhood are constantly harassing the girls passing by. In the bus you see an invitation from the municipality to a meeting to discuss the problem. Will you attend? [If YES: Why? It doesn't concern you, right? Do you think that everyone who receives such an invitation must attend? If NO: Why? Who do you think should go to the meeting? What would you do if it happens in front of your door?]
8. Suppose that alcohol is always served on Friday afternoon at work. As a result, some of your Muslim colleagues are never present. Would you do anything about it? [If 'YES': What would you do? Would you act on your own, or together with your colleagues? Would you approach your Muslim colleagues, the always-present colleagues, or the organizers of the drinking sessions? Would you try to find a solution? If 'NO': Why not? Is it because these drinks have a social function? Do you find it difficult to raise the issue, or is it merely not important enough?]
9. The government proposes to establish the Islamic Eid as a national holiday. This will come at the expense of another national holiday. Could you support such a proposal? If 'YES': Why? Which existing public holiday would you be willing to give up? What advantages do you see for yourself, for those around you, for society? Is it the government's duty to ensure a holiday for Muslims? If 'NO': Why not? There are now approximately one million Muslims living in the Netherlands, don't they have a right to a national holiday alongside all the other predominantly Christian holidays? Shouldn't holidays consider all inhabitants of the nation?
10. Suppose that reorganisation requires that your office be downsized. Either the smoking room or the prayer room has to go. You can vote on this matter. Would you vote? (If yes: how would you vote? why? Is this an easy choice? If no: Is it not important enough? Should other people vote?]

The results were reported on elsewhere in a study of civic engagement in a more general sense.

Belonging to the nation

Asked with what geographical area discussants identify as citizens, native-born Dutch replied in a 'restorative' manner, making reference to the nation and less frequently to a region. They affirmed without hesitation that they feel Dutch, or sometimes Twents or Achterhoeks (referring to Dutch regions), or a combination of these:

“Well, I feel more Dutch than Arnheims. I come from the countryside and I’m happy to go back there, but to feel comfortable I also have to be at least twenty-four hours a month in Amsterdam. I’ve got a beautiful house, a very sociable neighborhood. . . .But I don’t feel any bond with Arnhem.”

“I moved thirty times in my life. I lived in the west, in the east, over seas, but I am just Dutch, I don’t feel any, I mean, I am happy as well to be in Maastricht, and Amsterdam is of course lovely, but I do not feel anything special for the city.”

Even though they express a strong attachment to the nation, it turns out to be difficult for the native Dutch to articulate in a concrete fashion what this attachment means. They treat Dutchness in a self-evident manner and scarcely relate it to individual experiences. They argue along vague, general lines, reflecting abstractions taken from popular history rather than personal experience. Once you’re outside of The Netherlands, you instantly feel Dutch, was a recurring answer. If prompted to define the content of national identity, respondents do so mostly in terms of what has been lost, what the Netherlands or what the Dutch used to be like. If prompted to define what the nation exactly is, a recurring tendency was to answer in nostalgic terms: what defines the Netherlands are things that have gone missing. Both citizens who throughout the discussion saw immigration as problematic and citizens who consistently tried to argue in favor of what they see as “the multicultural society” react in the same fashion. Tolerance, respect, liberty – classical Dutch values – were once the core of the national identity, but nowadays they are seen as very hard to connect to. They are perceived as having disappeared or having been diminished, either due to loss of homogeneity or due to fear for this loss. Recent research in the United Kingdom also showed that the theme of national identity inspires sentiments of nostalgia rather than motivation or hope in native citizens (Ethnos Research, 2006).

The imagined national community appears to be based more on history lessons or on public claims of politicians about the character of the Netherlands, than on events or feelings respondents could claim as their own. The native Dutch express intense feelings of warmth or sometimes anger concerning the nation, but these were void of individual experiences other than maybe listening to the national anthem preceding soccer matches, other national sports events, meeting fellow countrymen at a foreign camp site, or while doing business in far away countries.

This notion of national identity does not necessarily exclude immigrants. Participants, especially among the policy makers, might invoke the famous Dutch tradition of tolerance. But it was presented as something newcomers should use for their benefit or should be grateful for, rather than as a tradition that might be in need of rejuvenation

or revitalization. In that sense, even the terms of welcome were rather stale. We have a functioning system, the argument runs, feel free to join.

To be sure, the debate on identification has a very public character. Respondents were all to a certain degree aware of the ongoing discussions in the media at the time, on the “suspicious loyalty” of cabinet ministers carrying double passports and “cosmopolitan royalty”. Even though these discussions were not nostalgic in themselves, this debate only fed the nostalgic character of national identification: invoking an idea of the Netherlands – any idea whatsoever – invariably means invoking the past, not the future. Loyalty among the native Dutch is simultaneously self-evident and nostalgic.

In short, national identification among native Dutch is strong and of a ‘restorative’ character. It is something that is theirs, no doubt, but it is hard to grasp, and hardly or not at all related to tangible, everyday experiences. It is something to dig up and polish, not something to tinker with.

It is therefore not surprising that immigrants do not claim to feel Dutch: they are not allowed to define it themselves, and the way it has been defined by the native Dutch does not invite them to join in. So identification at the national level in general met with a shrug of the shoulders among immigrants. Respondents would not come up spontaneously with strong emotions attached to the Netherlands. The interviewees would shy away from the subject:

“Why feel Dutch? You can connect to many nations.”

“You are automatically attached to the country where you are born, where you live and where your spouse comes from.”

Of course, all participants mentioned in one way or another that they had some connection to the Netherlands, but during the discussions there we very reserved and hesitant to stress this connection. The younger, second or third generation immigrants, were more militant in their explanations about why they had trouble feeling Dutch, they seldom wavered to distance themselves from the topic. The first generation immigrants approached such questions in a more hesitant way. In general, respondents with a migrant background found it hard to connect events in their daily lives to the Netherlands. It was, in other words, hard for them to develop emotional bonds at the national level. The nation is an entity that has little meaning for them since they do not travel much in the country, their social and economic needs are fulfilled at more local levels, and they experience little connection to national public debates. Immigrants from former Dutch colonies (Surinam) did mention the royal family as part of their connection to the nation, but this found little echo among younger immigrants with a Mediterranean background. In any case, the superficiality of this royal connection can be quite remarkable, as illustrated in the following example.

We heard a lot about the Netherlands, also at home from our grandfather and grandmother, about Queen Wilhelmina and the princess. At our school, money was raised for the marriage of Princess Beatrix. So we have always been connected with the Netherlands, but when people ask me what do you feel, I feel Hindustani, a Surinamese of Hindustani descent. It depends on who asks and where.

The nation has a strong though vague meaning for the native Dutch, much stronger than their hometown. It invokes nostalgia. Native Dutch miss either the tolerance they were used to or tolerance as such. Either way, stressing the nation excludes immigrants more than it includes them. In this sense, the nation becomes a “political claim” more than an imagined community. Native Dutch have the power to identify where and how they want, and even to claim something as theirs, without a real say about it and with very little experience with it. It is both attractive and possible for them to argue in a ‘restorative’ manner, thereby excluding immigrants from national identification.

Immigrants appear aware of this nostalgia. This already cautions them not to claim the nation as theirs. Moreover, they also lack the concrete experience necessary to claim the nation for themselves. This puts them in a double bind: they have to prove feelings of loyalty and belonging while at the same time being mistrusted and running the risk of rejection if they do. Immigrants do not always dare to claim the nation as theirs. They do, however, identify with the city in a more or less ‘constructive’ manner, simply because neither the nation nor the restorative approach to it is accessible to them. The only ‘restorative’ culturalization that is accessible to them is to relate to their own culture and country of origin.

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Local identification

Concerning local identification, the picture was almost the reverse. Native Dutch expressed less intense feelings concerning the local level, while people with a migrant background, expressed stronger and more positive feeling towards the city. Moreover, immigrants were much more self-assertive about these feelings.

To city identities like “Amsterdammer” or “Arnhemmer”, the native Dutch attached less meaning, or if they did, it would repeatedly be a more or less negative one. There is of course a clear distinction between ‘Amsterdam’ as signifier for a broad set of globally recognized cosmopolitan notions and the not too distinct urban identity of Arnhem. But what matters here is just as much the degree to which people actually claimed the identity as what they actually understood by it. In that sense, the Dutch did not feel very attached to their town of living. As a middle-aged native Dutch man said:

I feel that I'm an Arnhemmer, I was born there and lived there for the greater part of my life and I live there with pleasure, but this has nothing to do with the Arnhemmers, ... because Arnhem is a troublesome, difficult city. I agree with the [previous participants who mentioned] the surliness, the resigned character of the Arnhemmers. They have little curiosity for new things ... which goes for me as well, by the way, but it is easier talking about others. However, it [Arnhem] is not something I'm proud of in that sense of the word.

Even when they still live in the city they were born, native Dutch see the local level as far less emotionally meaningful than the national level. Association with the city is obvious, or coincidental, compared to the country one lives in. Many native Dutch like the place where they live, but they assign a more functional than emotional value to it. Amsterdam or Arnhem is merely associated with living a comfortable life. The city is seen as important for work, shopping, friends or neighbors. It has much less meaning in relation to other citizens.

Moreover, when debating the reasons why their identification with the city was less strong than with the nation, experiences of loss would invariably be recounted among the respondents of the native Dutch groups. Consider the argumentation of this elderly woman:

In Amsterdam I no longer feel at home. Take the developments in the center and all the attention paid by the city politically, to the big economic interests and to the yuppies in the city center and just to the big companies. And socially everything is retarded. And when I'm in Bos and Lommer, that's where I live, just like my neighbor here [points at respondent next to her] well, I think, in the Kolenkitbuurt, yeah, it's just 90 percent immigrants. A few percent white, and the rest are immigrants. Completely different than in Zuid.

Yes, maybe that has to do with the fact that I don't feel as if I am an Amsterdammer ... When you live in an area with lots of immigrants, in my street there are still a lot of Dutch because you're in privately owned houses and that is a difference, rent or ownership, but as I pass the corner I see more immigrants than Dutch ... It is not to say that I don't feel at home, because I do, but I don't feel that I'm an Amsterdammer.

The city, these last respondents implicitly argue, is not theirs because it has been "taken over" by immigrants. The country may still be theirs, but the city is not anymore. This feeling was more prominent among the active citizens whose average age was higher than that of the entire group. However, the fact that natives do not

claim the city so much as theirs may create room for immigrants to develop and express feelings of identification there.

Migrants indeed predominantly express local forms of attachment. They hardly have trouble feeling as if they are an “Amsterdammer” or an “Arnhemmer”, regardless of the degree to which they are active in the public sphere. On the contrary, they tend to feel comfortable with it. They are sometimes outright proud of being inhabitants of the city. This contrast between national and local identification among migrant was also found in a quantitative study based on a survey among young citizens (aged 18-25) of Moroccan, Turkish, Surinamese and Antillean descent in Amsterdam (Van der Welle, 2010). While 55 percent of Turkish and Moroccan Dutch say they are proud of the Netherlands, 83 percent of the Turkish and 88 percent of the Moroccan Dutch express pride in the city. And while 80 percent feel at home in the Netherlands, 93 and 92 respectively feel at home in the city.

The debates in the focus groups shed some more light on the reasons for these discrepancies between local and national belonging. At first sight, the functional character of this loyalty appeared to be stronger than the emotional character. Local institutions appeared to be of substantial importance as the degree to which the city was important was constantly being mentioned. Encounters at work or at school, at welfare institutions, but also discrimination at the work place or at the doctor’s office, would be mentioned as instances of belonging or not belonging to the city.

However, there is also a more emotional side to this local citizenship that has most often to do with the family. One belongs to the city because one’s family lives there, because one’s children are born there and sometimes also because it was the first place where one was welcomed after having fled a country of origin. The new welcoming ceremonies were also perceived as real entries into the city. A letter or even a handshake from the mayor, alderman or alderwoman, or a public servant is repeatedly seen as the starting point of an unambiguous emotional connection. “The moments when you feel that you are an Arnhemmer are during events and activities that only Arnhem celebrates, and other cities don’t, like the remembrance of the Battle for Arnhem, because the city is known worldwide for it. But during Queensday, for instance, which is celebrated nationwide, you feel more like a Dutchman.”

Moreover, the nostalgia toward the nation that is felt by the native Dutch does not go unremarked by immigrants, and makes them cautious in developing, let alone expressing, identification at the national level. This version of the Netherlands as something that primarily has to do with everything “nonmigrant” creates wariness on their part. Aspiring to adhere to a national ethos is, according to that perspective, not the most logical of reactions, as this may entail eventual rejection (“Who are you to claim you are Dutch?”).

This is not to say that national citizenship is a void construction for immigrants: apart from such institutions as the royal family and national holidays as Queensday – on which the entire country is converted into a flea market – popular television shows such as *Idols* and sports events all generate a certain bond. Also, mastering the Dutch language is considered a logical step forward among all respondents (tautologically, to a degree, as the meetings were held in Dutch).

The issue of ethnic diversity contributes to a straightforward distinction from the point of view of native Dutch people between the two levels on which immigrants can create citizenship. On the local level, immigrants enter public life relatively easily. This elevates the national level as an identifier of last resort, not necessarily because of the jingoistic character of the native Dutch, but because of the interplay of chauvinism and resentment of that chauvinism caused by immigration. Decisive in the observed difference in loyalties on the part of immigrants appears to be the (lack of) positive experiences and direct contacts that confirm or legitimate membership in the national community. Hence, recently introduced local ceremonies confirming the legal attainment of citizenship in city halls are highly appreciated by those who participate in them, because they were considered to be “welcoming”. In the end, calling for a higher degree of national identification as such by immigrants might not be only meaningless but also counterproductive.

In short, native Dutch exhibit predominantly ‘restorative’ culturalization concerning the state – for them, is it the most important level with which they can identify and adhere to emotionally – which leaves immigrants very little room to join in. Yet native Dutch do not claim the local level to the same degree. Probably not coincidentally, the local level is where immigrants, necessarily in a more constructivist manner, develop feelings of attachment and loyalty.

Conclusion: Crafting citizenship

Citizens create citizenship around practical activities rather than around conscious deliberation. These activities have a functional and an emotional side to them: making your life easier and feeling more at home go hand in hand. In the context of our research, this constructive citizenship is a product of small scale local activities rather than of large-scale activities at the national level. Both immigrants and non-immigrants from all backgrounds have trouble thinking of any meaningful involvement on their part in national activities beyond sporadic events, such as sports gatherings. Even citizens with a native background define their imagined community in relatively vague terms, not based on particular experiences but on historical facts or supposedly self-evident insights. This reconstructive culturalization, the filling with meaning of citizenship with notions from the past rather than from direct interaction, tends to exclude citizens with an immigrant background. While this is not always and

everywhere the case, what matters here is the nature of this process, which is preponderantly reconstructive rather than constructive.

Enabling oneself to come to terms with one's cultural surroundings is a task that every citizen has to perform. But whether this task entails adhering to fixed norms or helping to fix and re-create those norms makes all the difference. The strong side of a constructivist approach to culture and citizenship is that virtually everybody can take part in giving meaning to these constructs. The weak side is that citizens with an active and constructivist approach often develop a social rather than a political type of citizenship. Urban citizenship does not spontaneously translate into national citizenship. The strong side of a reconstructivist approach to culture and citizenship is that it makes non-immigrant Dutch people feel secure and content. The weak side is that they can never really be sure as to why it makes them secure and content. Is it because they love their country's history or flag or because they want to exclude others? Both motives are not necessarily illegitimate but from a democratic point of view, exclusion has to be well defined and kept to a minimum. The liberal fear is that through culturalization all 'strangers' will be excluded, but this is not what we find. What is visible in both processes is a lack of meaningful 'political' interaction, dialogue oriented towards differences that helps to overcome the distance between relatively easy going local citizenship and heavy handed national citizenship.

In part this is the result of policy: helping neighbors, sweeping the street and greeting strangers were supposed to be more important elements of local citizenship than negotiating differences, managing incompatible ideals and talking politics. Cities like Amsterdam and Rotterdam have invested much effort in local campaigns that stress the former more social types of 'urban citizenship', in programs such as 'IAmsterdam' and 'People make the city' ('Mensen Maken de Stad') in Rotterdam. But this social rather than political bias is also the result of the resources available to citizens. The Netherlands emerged from our focus groups as a deeply culturalized but not too dialogically oriented community. The great majority of our respondents tend to be well equipped to passively tolerate each other. They have a relatively well-developed liberal mindset. But they will not spontaneously enter into dialogue about their differences. They understand respect to be about leaving other people to mind their own business. This is not only a matter of education. The liberalism they seem to be infused with contains a rather narrow conception of respect, conflict and politics. Respect is restricted to tolerating others as long as they do not do harm, and as long as they permit everyone to mind their own business. Only when harm is done or people's private lives are somehow disturbed, that reaction, and sometimes a harsh reaction ensues.

A more political and constructivist culturalization calls for more pressure on citizens to learn to talk. We find that citizens need to be willing and able to manoeuvre between the local and the national, to translate their small-scale motives and

engagements with society to larger scales and come to terms politically with other citizen's motives and engagements. If we use Richard Sennett's vocabulary on craftsmanship we can free citizenship from the naive liberal idea that rewarding people with a passport will make them full fledged members of the public domain, or that small talk will allow them to truly get along with one another; and thus we can free citizenship from the disciplining idea that adhering to fixed norms is the sole gateway to belonging. Citizens should be able and willing to work with the stubborn stuff that constitutes society, and where such ability or willingness comes up short, policy makers or professionals should become involved to facilitate the process of equipping and inspiring both immigrant and non-immigrant members of society to make the active construction and reconstruction of their culture and their citizenship part of their lifelong struggle for human fulfilment.

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EMBRACING NATIONAL CULTURE THROUGH A POLICY OF DIFFERENCE

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The point of departure in this article is that on one hand, we experience on a global level a capitalistic neoliberal world order in crisis. This structure makes us believe that we are all free, however, it is all a big lie. On the other hand, we experience also on a global level a reclaiming, retention, and renewal of identity of social groups, ethnic groups, occupational groups, gay and lesbian groups. There is an interdependence developing between different social groups and countries that defend their natural resources, national culture and history. These movements call for a new world order. The question is how does this dialectical process affect Curaçao, a semi autonomous nation in becoming? In order to answer this question we need to take a quick scan of the political, economic, social and cultural situation of the society. Based on this examination we will analyze and interpret the opposite trends of cultural imperialism or cultural colonialism versus a culture of resistance within daily lives. As a feminist I will argue that our society, in particular the Afro-Curaçaoan society needs to embark upon an emancipation plan of action that is at the same time a cultural revolution. This cultural revolution encompasses not only the acceptance of ethnic differences but also differences in other areas, as the respect for the gay and lesbian rights, and care for the poor and migrants in our society. This politics of difference emphasizes also the right of the African descended to celebrate their roots anchored in history and tradition, to document the experience of people of African descent, to do research and create historical knowledge. This emancipation process is at the same time an empowerment process aimed at including the ones excluded by society. Ultimately, it means becoming agents in creating our own destiny by becoming free citizens of the world. Let me introduce this discussion through a recent experience that I had in a meeting with some young entrepreneurs, who happen to be also organizers of hip hop activities. The goal of the meeting was to get their opinions about a rap festival that I wanted to organize as part of the commemoration of 150 years of the abolition of slavery in the Dutch colonies. The idea was to have a festival on consciousness raising about slavery in our history, mental slavery today and the road to Marcus Garvey's emancipation of the mind, whose urgency Bob Marley's songs continue to remind us

of. A curious thing happened in the sense that one of the young entrepreneurs tried to convince me that in a few years there will be no discussion concerning slavery, or of Tula, our national hero. There will be no national culture, because as the globalization process continues, we all will eventually be global citizens. I was flabbergasted. The other young entrepreneur saw the confusion in my eyes and argued that contrary to his friend, his engagement with the rap music had helped him along the road of discovery of his self and his roots. In this article I will refer several times to the first entrepreneur, whom we will call Jerry to protect his identity.

Jerry is an intelligent guy, but because he is interested neither in world politics nor as a matter of fact in regional politics, he is focused on the technological revolution. What is more, the process of consumerism has lured Jerry into believing in the illusion of inclusion. Jerry has no clue whatsoever of his own culture on the conscious level. He experiences his own culture in his not-so-conscious everyday practices and uses it also in his entrepreneurial work to earn his living. Still, Jerry lives under the impression that his identity is global. There are many Jerry's in our society who think the same way, in constant contradiction with themselves.

What Jerry does not know is that we are living a new structural crisis of capitalism which has also become a crisis of civilization. It affects every individual as well as whole societies. The technological advancements that we are experiencing have been made possible at the cost of the destruction of nature and natural recourses. We can surely speak of an ecological crisis. We are also experiencing a social crisis, because of enormous and ever greater inequalities in the distribution of wealth. We are in ideological crisis as well because the elite groups who control the wealth also control public debate. A spiritual crisis reflects itself in a high rate of mental illnesses, different kinds of addictions, and violence. The crisis is also a financial crisis, that manifests itself in the accelerated insolvency of banks, the surplus production of goods and services, and skyrocketing national debt, even in the metropolises. It is development without any justice.

At the same time, this crisis nurtures fascist organizations both in the US as Europe. Take for instance the Tea Party of Sarah Palin, the ex governor of Alaska and candidate for vice president for the US Republican party in 2008, the neofacist party of Geert Wilders in the Netherlands and in France the National Front of Marine Le Pen. Noam Chomsky warns that this crisis could even result in a third world war, as alerted by with the aim of utilizing the military industrial complex to revive the economic and political economies of Europe and the US. The elites generate all kinds of chaos, stimulate narco-trafficking, and create an ambience of anarchy and crisis to justify war. Their wars are conducted against poorest people on the planet, such as immigrants and all who do not buy into their hegemonic version of "democracy"

(Dorado, 2010). Their neoliberal worldview nurtures and propagates individualism as the highest value on earth. It is an individualism that is not bothered by the shocking inequality between rich and poor countries. The beneficiaries of this unjust system are the USA and the rich Western European countries, who utilize their big banks and international organizations such as the IMF and the WTO to recolonize the planet. In this system there is no voice for Jerry, he can participate only as a consumer, but he does not know it yet.

We experience on the other hand a counter attack that is growing around the world. Its nature is anti-colonial, anti-imperialist and anti-neoliberal. It manifests itself in many movements all over the globe that work in alliances with one another, like the Occupy Movement. The slogan “ We are the 99%” has spread all over the globe amongst all who have taken up the battle against neoliberalism and the poverty, unemployment, homelessness and hunger that it imposes on the world. With this slogan the protestors want to convey the message that there is an ever widening disparity of wealth in the United States and Western Europe between the 1% who are financially and economically dominant over the rest of us, who are the 99% (<http://www.occupy-google.org/>; Taylor, 2003).

Another global movement worth mentioning is the World Social Forum (WSF), also referred to as the “Movement of Movements”. The WSF is an important gathering of anti-neoliberal globalization forces, organized since 2001 under the banner “Another World is Possible.” The WSF and its regional, national and sub-national counterparts have provided hundreds of thousands of participants with a space for networking, discussion, learning, and sharing strategies to resist the cultural, economic, social, and political threats of neoliberalism. When we add to these movements others such as the Pan African movement, we can claim that an alternative international mobilizing force is very much alive and here to stay. It is a pity that Jerry is not aware of this.

These anti neoliberal movements have also made clear what kind of changes are necessary at the international, regional and the national levels. They voice their demand for the defense of natural resources and ecology. They insist that it is necessary to create alternative perspectives on the economy, in particular with regard to the production of food. They question the absence of participatory decision making and propose alternative forms to give voice to the people. Most of these struggles emphasize decolonization and the sovereignty of countries within the framework of regional integration. For Latin America it is important to mention the Alianza Bolivariana para los Pueblos de Nuestra América – ALBA –, established in 2004, with a vision of solidarity in order to promote the integration of the region.

Other initiatives in Latin America and the Caribbean on the economic level include PetroCaribe, Banco del Sur and Mercosur. These regional initiatives come from

presidents who have won the confidence of the people of their countries, such as Hugo Chavez in Venezuela, the feminist Dilma Rousseff the successor to Brazilian president Lula da Silva, Evo Morales in Bolivia, Ecuador's Rafael Correa, the Sandinista Daniel Ortega in Nicaragua, Jose 'Pepe' Mujica in Uruguay, the former bishop Fernando Lugo Mendez in Paraguay, and Christina Fernandez de Kirchner in Argentina. These new initiatives have become possible because organized workers have played a vital role alongside peasants and indigenous peoples in struggles in which they had many times to confront the state power head-on. Decolonization, anti-neoliberalism, and self determination are the binding forces between these presidents.

Fundamental change is taking place everywhere. However, our friend Jerry does not know that. Young people are active members of this movement. Young people are designing empowered songs and lyrics using hip hop to advocate for full democracy, for peace and for the defense of their countries. This is globalization from below, taking as point of departure their national cultures, the ideology of liberation, panafricanism, socialism and what we call today third world nationalism as their framework. These progressive people from all over the world, ground their work in their knowledge of their history and their culture.

We can conclude that as a response against the concentration of power and wealth in the hands of a small oligarchy in the world, a globalization from below is growing in strength. It is a resistance movement of workers, farmers, youth, women's organizations, NGOs, professionals from different fields, active citizens, and parties of the left, seeking alternatives to combat the capitalist crisis on all levels and the creation of a new world. However, there is no social emancipation possible without political autonomy and without cultural sovereignty. Any alternative form of development must rest on a foundation of autonomy. No real integration is possible without respect for the sovereignty of the countries in alliance with one another. The acceptance of difference is a prerequisite for a truly democratic society, for the respect of human rights and a culture of active citizenship.

We need to question ourselves about how these values of political participation, political and cultural knowledge, respect for sovereignty, and social justice might manifest themselves in a society like that of Curaçao. Do the citizens of Curaçao, a small island of almost 150.000 people, have any knowledge of what is happening beyond their shores? We have seen already that Jerry, in any case, lives in his own sphere of illusion. A quick scan of the society of Curaçao indicates the following: Curaçao is a semi autonomous country that is part of the kingdom of the Netherlands, based on a Charter of 1954. One of the main stipulations of the Charter is that it is the Netherlands which has the power and the responsibility to guarantee good governance on the islands. Since the dismantling of the Netherlands Antilles on 10-10-10 (10 October 2010) both Curaçao and St. Martin have maintained a semi-autonomous

status, whereas the islands of Saba, St Eustatius and Bonaire have become part of the state of Holland and consequently part of Europe. This has created for Europe three extra frontiers in the Caribbean with consequences in terms of fisheries and other natural resources, security and regional integration. In the new political structure the semi-autonomous status of Curaçao and St Marten has been in some respects eroded. For example, Holland has gained powers of supervision over the budget that supersedes the control of the parliaments of Curaçao and St Martin. This is contrary to international law. The government of the Netherlands argues on the contrary that the population is satisfied with this semi-colonial status. However, between 2006 and 2010 there has been constant protest on the part of civil society against the hollowing out of the meaning of our autonomy.

On the military level, the presence of US bases in Curaçao makes our country a major beachhead for military intervention in the region by the USA and EU. In the area of education the dropout rate is as high as 30 to 34% for youth between the ages of 15 and 24 years. Economically, in Curacao 39% of the population earns less than fl 1000,- per month, with a concentration amongst the elder people (45%) and the group between 15 and 39 years old (37%)(CBS, 2010). Twice more women than men depend on welfare benefits. In other words, poverty has a feminine face in our country. Marginalization means that a group is excluded from meaningful participation in the society and is thus potentially subjected to severe material deprivation. Marginalization also involves the lack of cultural, practical and institutionalized conditions for exercising capacities in a context of recognition and interaction (Young, 1990: 55). According to these definitions, there is a large group that is marginalized in Curaçao, and most of these people are ethnically labeled as 'black'.

At the cultural level, there is resurgent a national culture, which emerged from a forced and violent encounter between European and African cultures. The various and different peoples from, for instance, places like present-day Cape Verde, Guinea, Ghana, Nigeria, etc. who belonged to several ethnic nations, such as Igbo, Yoruba, Fon, Ashanti, etc. shared many cultural features to bind them together as one collectivity. These elements are evident in the field of, for instance, social intercourse, personal lifestyles, contact languages, stories, music and musical instruments, concepts regarding a Supreme Being, values and psychological attitudes. These concepts and characteristics were shared among those who were enslaved, thus creating a new culture. This new culture adjusted itself to prevailing social conditions and the socio-economic order of Dutch colonial power. That is why the Curaçaoan national culture is mainly characterized by elements of African origin. These cultural elements are present in the folklore (oral traditions, stories, legends, sayings, expressions, proverbs, etc). African elements are manifested as well by or in our music and musical instruments, beliefs, religious syncretism (the fusion of

Catholicism and African spiritualities), and Afro-Curaçaoan mythology. African ancestry is also expressed through the physiognomy of most Curaçaoan people.

However, amongst a majority of the people of African descent in Curaçao, we find a disconnection with history, feelings of self hatred, victimization, fatalism, absence of creativity, and an inferiority complex which expresses itself in feelings of inadequacy vis-a-vis the technological and administrative 'superiority' of the colonizer. The cause of these limitations that we impose on ourselves and the chains that we desperately cling to are all part of the legacy of colonialism that left us with psychological wounds that can be said to have become a form of mental slavery. This mental slavery can be found everywhere among Curaçaoans of African descent and it has been passed on from generation to generation. Some of these attitudes emerged in the times of slavery as survival mechanisms, but they can no longer serve us in our present day lives. Jerry's discourse that we have to go global and forget our roots is part of this mental slavery. It means denial of who we are. It breaths shame of who we are. The most important cause of this is our educational system that limits our thinking about who we are and infects our behavior patterns. Worse, the very people who have committed this crime either trivialize it or deny it through the use of cultural colonialism and cultural imperialism. To experience cultural imperialism means to experience how the dominant meanings of a society render the particular perspective of one's own group invisible at the same time as they stereotype one's group and mark it out as the other. The injustice of cultural imperialism is that the oppressed group's own experience and interpretation of social life finds little expression in dominant discourses of culture, while those who formulate these same dominant discourses impose on the oppressed group their hegemonic experience and interpretation of social life (Young: 60). Cultural imperialism in the generic sense becomes cultural colonialism in territories which have not yet achieved their political independence.

This cultural colonialism manifests itself in a new buzz word called multiculturalism, blown over the Atlantic from the Netherlands. It is important here to state that the government of the Netherlands officially announced a year ago, that it does not adhere to any politics of multiculturalism. In fact, the current integration policy of the Netherlands runs counter to a policy of multiculturalism. Given the immense confusion surrounding this term, it is often used for the wrong reasons. Most people in Curaçao, including the Jerrys, not knowing what the term exactly means, will argue that Curaçao is a multicultural society. The way it is being used by common people is that we are a society of many ethnic groups, and many people are interracial. The conclusion therefore is that by emphasizing an African ancestry and heritage you are resorting to racism. So for those who adopt this hegemonic version of the term, the goal of multiculturalism in Curaçao is assimilation into the dominant Euro-American culture. What is required is that Afro-Curaçaoans suppress the expressiveness of their bodies and minds, to allow themselves to become the passive channels for

metropolitan ways of acting and thinking. The concept of multiculturalism, even though it might have originally emerged from anti-racist impulses and a respect for diversity, has been rejected in Holland, while at the same time being co-opted by the Dutch 'development establishment' and turned into a weapon against the acknowledgement, valorization, and celebration of Afro-Curaçaoan culture and history (Guibernau & Rex; 1997: 218) Our pride and esteem for our own culture is thus denigrated by categorizing it as negative nationalism. The right to name ourselves as being of African descent is denied (Henriquez, 2010), because that may jeopardize the discourses that underpin the dominant power structures.

In Curaçao there is legal equality and opportunity for all. In daily interaction, on the other hand, the prejudices that encourage institutional, personal, and internalized discrimination are evident. Unconscious racism, sexism, homophobia, ageism and ableism exclude certain groups from opportunities to participate in the society. The most serious crime, however, is to deny people the right to be themselves and to know themselves. In our society, there are many different social and ethnic groups. A social group is a collective of persons differentiated from at least one other group by cultural forms, practices and ways of life. A social group is defined by a sense of identity. Despite the modern myth of a decline of nationalism, as propagated by our Jerry, and a negative perception of nationalism, group difference is both an inevitable and a desirable aspect of modern social processes. Social justice requires not a melting away of differences, but institutions that promote the reproduction of and respect for group differences without oppression (Young: 47).

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The dismantling of cultural colonialism requires a cultural revolution which also entails a revolution in subjectivity. The liberation of oneself from pervasive dominant cultural practices has to transform our practical unconscious habits into conscious cultural habits. Only the conscious changing of cultural habits themselves will change the oppression that they reproduce and reinforce. A call to bring these phenomena of practical consciousness and unconsciousness under discussion, is to make them political. In feminist language, making the personal political. This is a cultural revolution, which manifests itself in providing institutional means for fostering politicized cultural discussions and making forums and media available for alternative cultural experiment (Young: 152). Politicizing culture is the affirmation of a positive identity by those experiencing cultural colonialism. Such a positive self identity can emerge through organization and public cultural expression. Those oppressed by cultural colonialism can confront the dominant culture with demands for recognition of their specificity. Jerry has to step forward and defend his way of thinking in a dialogue, in a battle of ideas, with other young people of Curaçao who have accepted their culture as part of an ideology of empowerment.

In conclusion, any policy for emancipation of the people of Curaçao has to start 'bottom up'. There can be no social emancipation without political autonomy, economic autonomy and cultural sovereignty that emphasizes an alternative form of social justice. This can be understood only if we broaden the concept of active citizenship to include a national affirmation of being a Curaçaoan citizen as part of a nation building process that acknowledges the Afro-Curaçaoan nature of the island's history and society, while affirming the pluralistic and diverse character of Curaçao today.

An emancipation politics in Curaçao must encompass not only the acceptance of ethnic differences but also differences in other areas like the respect for the rights of gays and lesbians, the poor, the disabled, and immigrants. An emancipation politics must also emphasize the rights of African descended people in Curaçao to celebrate their roots anchored in their history and traditions, to document the experience of people of African descent, to research and create historical knowledge and to decolonize educational materials to reflect the contribution that Africa has made to world civilizations. Finally, such and emancipatory politics must give rise to a new cultural politics of difference in place-based movements that draw upon indigenous and human rights traditions to establish our claims to livelihoods, resources, territories, and culture. In Curaçao we need to study and learn from these movements in our search for cultural affirmation and political sovereignty.

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POPULAR MUSIC AND WOMEN'S CITIZENSHIP: A LOOK AT GHANAIAN SONG LYRICS¹

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Introduction

Popular art is a potent form of cultural identity; it is also a powerful vehicle for cultural and political expression. People have drawn inspirational, educational and emotional messages from music, drama and film and all play significant roles in the everyday lives of people across age, class, religion, ethnicity and social occasion. Traditional story tellers, for example, were expected not only to entertain their listeners but also to impart valuable life sustaining lessons, especially to younger members of the society. This dual role as entertainers cum educators is taken very seriously, not only by the artists themselves but also by the consumers of their products (Barber, 1997). Thus, artists, the creators of cultural products, have tremendous influence on their societies.

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Today, daily, across the continent, music can be heard, booming from shops, restaurants, taxis, buses, lorries, and so forth. Social gatherings such as marriage ceremonies, naming ceremonies, funerals, commissioning of projects, and so forth are deemed incomplete without music. Thus, the whole society, both young and old, is exposed to the messages popular artistes convey. Song lyrics are repeated in daily conversations, and even children are heard repeating them during their playtime in the streets, at school, or at home. Film has taken on a similar momentum, and musicians and actors are thus in a powerful position to convey ideas that serve to comprise popular culture. As more urban and even rural Africans have access to the internet, electronic social media have also become important sites where identities are performed. Popular culture thus reflects society and its values and at the same time influences societal values. This double reflexivity implies that the images or messages presented in/by these products cannot be taken for granted as they potentially have the power to shape the (gender) consciousness of society. Thus, popular culture is also an arena where notions of masculinity and femininity are (re)invented, (re)inscribed and

¹ Title of a song by a popular Ghanaian artiste; an earlier version of this paper was published as: Adomako Ampofo, Akosua and Awo Asiedu (2012). Changing representations of women in Ghanaian popular music: marrying research and advocacy. *Current Sociology*, 60, 2, 258-279.

become important sites for the dissemination of so-called (in)appropriate identities and behaviours. Women and men who don't fit the dominant models that become widely disseminated often find themselves under extreme pressure to conform.

In this paper we examine the relationship between images of men and women, and hence constructions of masculinities and femininities in selected music videos, and the sense of gender identity among young people in urban Ghana (Accra). From a sociological perspective, we suggest implications for a citizenship/identity among contemporary youth. We borrow from Theatre for Development, and the lessons gained from a research-activist project we carried out with colleagues from CEGENSA, on popular music, to suggest how popular culture could be exploited for the promotion of positive non-traditional gender identities and the democratisation of gender identities.

The study setting and methodology: the pathways of Women's Empowerment Research Project consortium and the changing representations of women in Popular Music Project

The Centre for Gender Studies and Advocacy (CEGENSA)² at the University of Ghana has, from 2007 to 2011 been part of an international research consortium titled "Pathways of Women's Empowerment" (WE-RPC). The project was funded by the UK Department for International Development (DFID), and partners in the consortium include the Nucleus for Interdisciplinary Women's Studies (NEIM) at the Federal University of Bahia, Brazil; BRAC University, Dhaka, Bangladesh; the Social Research Centre (SRC) at the American University in Cairo, Egypt; and the Institute of Development Studies (IDS) in Brighton, United Kingdom, which has coordinated the project. The partners are located in hubs, where we have worked with colleagues in the region – thus CEGENSA has worked with partners in Nigeria and Sierra Leone and formed the "West Africa hub" of the project.³ The WE-RPC worked in three thematic areas:

1. *Conceptions of empowerment and change*, encompassing substantive empirical as well as conceptual work on measuring empowerment and change in women's lives and contextualising meanings and practices of empowerment in our different regions.
2. *Building constituencies for justice and equality*, taking the 'voice' entry point into exploring the politics of changing policies, and development and political

² CEGENSA was set up in 2004 with a mandate to conduct research, develop curricula, provide documentation, design policies, and carry out advocacy and outreach on gender issues. The Centre was also mandated to establish services for sexual assault crisis counseling and the mentoring of junior faculty.

³ The countries eventually included in the hubs were Bangladesh, Brazil, Egypt, Ghana, Nigeria, Palestine, Pakistan, Sierra Leone, and the UK.

institutions, to lend greater support to women's empowerment that can promote greater justice, equality and wellbeing for all.

3. *Empowering work*, taking the 'work' entry point into investigating the relationships between paid work and empowerment and exploring the implications of changing markets in the wake of globalization for women's rights, security and wellbeing as workers as a pathway of empowerment.

4. *Changing narratives of sexuality*, taking the 'body' as an entry point into understanding the factors that can enhance women's ability to exercise control over their own bodies in relation to their sexuality, focusing in particular on religion, media and the intersection of global forces with the institutions that mediate women's options and choices. (Source: WE-RPC 2006).

The WE-RPC's starting point is that while women have achieved gains in some aspects of their social positioning and wellbeing, there has been a lot more rhetoric on "women's empowerment" than real changes in power relations, particularly for women living in poverty. We also believe that the pathways to women's empowerment are more complex than can be easily fixed by simple or single magic bullets such as, for example, access to micro-credit, as laudable as such efforts might be. The core research objective has been to understand these diverse pathways to "empowerment", and what enables women to "empower" themselves and sustain changes in gendered power relations as equal citizens with men. The consortium also tried to make these pathways more visible through advocacy and, hopefully, thereby, influence shifts in policy and practice that can build on past achievements.

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In our project on changing representation of women in popular music we take the body – in accordance with the WE-RPC's "Changing Narratives of Sexuality" theme – as a point of departure from which to explore the ways in which women's bodies have been, and can be (re)presented in popular music.⁴ In our work, the term changing has two meanings, (1) Changing, the adjective, whereby we examine the *changes* over time in the representations of African women in popular music – this is the research component of our work; and (2) Changing, the verb, continuous sense, that is, to contribute to positively *changing* the ways in which women are represented in Ghanaian Popular music – this is the advocacy component of our work. Our work has relied on multiple and diverse methods, including the collection of 250 songs specifically about women and or gender relations; a thematic and genre-based sorting and periodisation of the song texts; two sharing and reflection workshops with WE-RPC researchers, musicians and media personnel; discussions with selected consumers of music; a song competition; and many lectures and guest appearances on radio and TV by members of the research team.

⁴ The other projects in Ghana include one on women's everyday lives, and another on policy discourses.

Among the major musical genres that enjoy tremendous popularity in Ghana today are *highlife*, *hip-life*, *hip-hop*, and *gospel*.⁵ It is however, to the first two genres that we turn much of our attention, as gospel music has hardly any themes that directly speak to issues of gender. As a musical genre, Collins (1994) describes *highlife* as a “fusion of indigenous dance rhythms and melodies and western influences, including regimental music, sea shanties and church hymns.” Originating as “palm wine” music, the roots of *highlife* date back to the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and today it still dominates the Ghanaian music scene as the most popular musical form (ibid.). *Highlife*, together with its more recent off-shoot, *hip-life*, lends its voice to the issues of the day, as well as values and belief systems in Ghanaian society, be they gender conventions or more general notions about human nature (ibid.). Entering the Ghanaian music scene in the early 1990s, *hip-life* – a hybrid musical genre with its roots in *highlife* and heavily influenced by *hip-hop* and *reggae* rhythms – has since become the dominant musical form in youth pop culture. Rapped in local Ghanaian languages, pidgin, and English, *hip-life* has been dubbed “the voice of a generation” (Asante, 2004).

Selection of songs

The project begun in 2008 with a discussion among the entire Ghana RPC team about what we thought were the typical themes represented in songs about women; these included:

- Women’s bodies and dress;
- Romance, love and marriage;
- Witchcraft;
- Motherhood and fertility;
- Violence;
- ‘Inherent’ negative traits of women such as fickleness, unfaithfulness, greed;
- ‘Inherent’ positive traits of women such as being sweet, kind, sacrificial;
- Critiques through the eyes of women, i.e. songs which present women’s critical views about their circumstances.

The research team carried out the targeted collection of songs spanning the period from the 1930s to date. The main criteria for song inclusion were that 1) the lyrics had to be specifically about women, including, but not limited to the themes listed above; 2) the songs had to be in English or Akan⁶, and 3) the songs had to broadly reflect the following periods and genres: the 1930s to 1950s, reflecting the guitar and dance band

⁵ *Gospel* in Ghana, like its variants around the world, involves Christian themes that invoke scripture to convey messages of hope, comfort, and redemption, as well as moral instruction (Adinkrah, 2008: 300).

⁶ Akan is one of the most widely spoken Ghanaian languages and is used extensively in social interaction and popular music.

music era, the 1960s and 1970s to capture the years of Pop, Afro Beat, Afro Rock, and Reggae, the 1980s which saw the burgeoning Burger Highlife, and the 1990s to the present where we have the neo traditional groups, contemporary high and hiplife and the birth of the Music Video Industry. We relied on a colleague and renowned musicologist, John Collins, to assist in selecting songs for the period from the 1930s to the 1970s.⁷ For songs from the 1980s to the present we relied on our research assistant, Nana Dansowaa Kena-Amoah, who holds an M.Phil in music to assemble the collection with input from a variety of radio disc jockeys.⁸ To facilitate the analytical work, a content analysis workshop facilitated by linguist Akosua Anyidoho was held for the researchers in June 2008.

First reflection workshop

The next stage of our work involved the planning and execution of a workshop with popular artistes and media persons. We sought to bring together popular musicians, including members of the Musicians Union of Ghana (MUSIGA); members of the media, especially journalists for newspaper entertainment pages; hosts of TV and radio music programmes; and WE-RPC researchers. The workshop was planned for July 2008 and both print, phone, email and in-person invitations were extended to 27 individuals from the music industry out of which 10 attended.⁹ This included three musicians of whom one is a popular icon from the 1970s who has made a recent come back; one is a “conscious rapper” from the current generation of artistes; and one, a woman gospel music artist and until 2011, the president of MUSIGA. The workshop format, facilitated by Akosua Anyidoho, included a general discussion on representations of women in music, reflections on the place of popular music and popular musicians in transformation projects, reflections on specific song texts from our repertoire of songs, and conversations around possible alternative, more affirming, representations of women in songs.

Focus group discussion with consumers of music

In early 2009 we held two focus group discussions with taxi drivers and students respectively to capture their impressions on representations of women in popular music. These groups were selected because both are avid consumers of music. Taxi drivers spend many hours a day in their cars, with their dials constantly trained on one FM station or another where they are exposed to diverse music. Some also consciously tune into stations that they believe are popular with their passengers. Thus they influence the kind of music that passengers listen to, and are also influenced by

⁷ The 1930s were chosen as the starting period to capture the genesis of recorded popular music.

⁸ John Collins submitted some songs from his substantial archive (Bapmaf Foundation) and the research assistant, Nana Dansowaa, collected the rest of the selected songs from CD vendors, the Ghana Broadcasting Corporation (GBC) library, and also from the Audio Visual Archive of the International Centre for African Music and Dance (ICAMD) at the University of Ghana.

⁹ WE-RPC researchers, including 2 from Nigeria and 2 from Egypt also joined us for the workshop.

passengers' choices. Students of the University of Ghana, like young people all over the world, listen to music constantly – on radio, TV, the Internet and their Music Players. The taxi drivers group was composed of ten men ranging in age, as far as we could guess, from early thirties to late forties. The students group included 6 young women and 5 young men from first to final year. We, the researchers, moderated the discussions with input from our research assistant, Nana Dansowaa. Both discussions were audio and video recorded, and transcribed.

Song competition

In 2009, as part of a major advocacy effort we launched a song competition. The competition was designed around empowering songs about women. In April 2009 we placed advertisements in the national dailies and the entertainment press seeking songs with socially conscious and empowering representations of women. Of the entries which were received, only two were from women, reflecting the reality that music composition and production is a field dominated by men. A panel of nine judges, made up of musicians, music producers, gender researchers, music scholars and young music consumers, independently reviewed the entries based on a mutually agreed set of criteria: relevance of the lyrics to women's empowerment, quality of the music and innovation.

The winning song and two runners-up were professionally recorded on CD, and a music video of the Number One song was produced as well. The songs were launched at a powerful, colourful event on November 21, 2009, at a major hotel in Accra, Ghana's capital. The MC for the night was Ms Jessica Opare-Saforo, an eloquent radio broadcaster from CiTi FM and the evening's programme included entertainment and education to highlight the goals of the project. Before and after the launch of the winning songs researchers were on several prime time morning shows on three national TV stations, and two national and three local radio stations to discuss the project and the song launch, and engage the public in discussions about representation of women in popular music.¹⁰ Some radio stations also partnered with CEGENSA to play the songs on air and provide brief commentary on the purpose of the project. The three national TV stations, and at least two of the national daily newspapers carried news and brief commentaries of the launch, and an interview with a BBC reporter, David Amanor, was telecast on *Network Africa* thus ensuring continental (and possibly global) coverage.

Reflection workshop II

We held a second workshop in June 2010. The aim of this workshop was to share preliminary analyses of the song texts with selected musicians, producers and literary scholars, and generate interest among colleague researchers to use the song texts in

¹⁰ Citi FM, Unique FM, TV 3 (*Sunrise*), GTV (*The Breakfast show*), Radio Univers, Joy FM (*The Front Page*).

their work. Participants were each given a bound volume of songs and their translations.

Popular music and sexuality: women as objects or subjects

Human sexuality is undoubtedly an important part of life and so it is not surprising that it should form such an important pivot for popular cultural products. The question of *how* this is represented is, however, paramount. Clearly sexuality can be presented as both creative and destructive. When does the representation of sexuality in popular music cease to be creative and become destructive and demeaning of women? Are women presented merely as objects of sex with a focus on their bodies, or are both men and women presented as respectful mutual partners? Frequently we see national identities played out on women's bodies while they themselves enjoy fewer citizenship rights than men. Cole challenges African gender scholarship to interrogate "the rift between theories of how gender is constructed and the actual on-the-ground practices of how gender is performed and enacted" (2007: 272). Popular culture provides vivid on-the-ground enactments of gender that must be confronted. A cursory examination of the representations of women in contemporary popular media suggests a conflicted, ambivalent at best, relationship to women's bodies and sexuality. Music videos herald a dress culture where less and tighter is better. At the same time public rhetoric is consumed with the notion of women's "indecent dressing".¹¹ The danger that a male dominated production of popular culture will continue to replicate gender stereotypes and misrepresentations are very real; Collins (2000) argues that the majority of Ghanaian rap singers tend to objectify women in their songs and videos.

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Representations of women's bodies and sexualities in the media have a bearing on women's actual and potential pathways of empowerment for, in addition to configuring representations of sexuality, popular media such as music also organise and express *norms* around women's sexualities. In view of this we theorise our work within the larger body of work on sexual politics – representations, identities and power (Collins, 2004). Pereira notes that sexuality is "articulated with the ways in which gendered human beings become defined within particular, singular *identities* and the *cultural* frameworks that give meaning to such constructions at given historical moments" (2004: 1). The literature on women's empowerment has thrown up several areas where this "empowerment" should occur, and is or is not occurring – domestic decision making; access to resources; control over resources; equal rights and freedom from discrimination; the sexual division of labour; and participation in public office, to name some. Sexuality usually enters the discourse via the concept of "bodily integrity". Here one is talking about women's "control" over their fertility and

¹¹ Any debate on the University of Ghana campus about sexual harassment and abuse will invariably boil down to commentary on women's "indecent dressing".

reproductive behaviour; access to reproductive health care information and services; care and nurture of the body; restrictions on physical mobility; policing of appearance; and exposure to violence. Thus, the process of empowerment is expected to increase women's capacities to make choices that will enhance "bodily integrity" – increase the ability to take care of one's body and enhance the level of personal (bodily) security.

Although the literature examines the misrepresentation of African female sexuality and the complex intersecting dimensions of gender, race, religion, and culture, as well as same-sex relationships, some African feminist scholars and activists have suggested that a strong silence remains regarding the question of female sexuality within African women's and gender studies, particularly in relation to pleasure (Adomako Ampofo et al., 2004; Mama, 1996; McFadden, 2003). An interesting debate ensues between McFadden and Peirera in a 2003 issue of *Feminist Africa*. McFadden argues that sexual pleasure is intrinsic to feminist empowerment and that the silences around them reflect a lack of feminist agency and determination:

For the majority of black women, the connection between power and pleasure is often not recognised, and remains a largely unembraced and undefined heritage... In often obscure or hidden ways, it lies at the heart of female freedom and power; and when it is harnessed and 'deployed', it has the capacity to infuse every woman's personal experience of living and being with a liberating political force. (McFadden, 2003: 50)

Peirera's response is not simply to consign women's bodily integrity to constructions of practical (versus strategic) needs, such as protection from HIV infection, but to legitimise these so-called silences from a historical perspective, "given the historical conditions of imperial expansion and racist fascination with the hypersexuality projected onto Africans by Europeans..." She asks if it wouldn't be more productive to map sexualities "with a view to their future exploration and understanding?" (2003: 62). Collins articulates the ways in which the representation of (black) bodies reinforces gender and racial stereotypes, "Because of its authority to shape perceptions of the world, global mass media circulates images of Black femininity and Black masculinity and, in doing so, ideologies of race, gender, sexuality, and class (2004: 122). As with its America precursor, Ghanaian hip life music provides no immediately easy distinction between representations of sexually-liberated women and those who are sexual objects, "their bodies on sale for male enjoyment" (Collins, 2004: 126). However, as Anyidoho argued in our textual analysis workshop, more important than what and how musicians self-identify, is how these messages are read by the music's consumers. Thus, the creators and consumers of music may share (and not always unequally) in the power to provide meaning to the lyrics.

Identity and power are associated with the language and practice of development. When it comes to the question of development practice, Armas (2007) claims that sexuality has actually been sidelined by development. Associated more with disease, risk and danger than with pleasure or love, sex has been treated by development agencies as something to be controlled and contained, thus African people are often represented by others as over-sexed, and policies are geared to controlling their sexuality (Arnfred & Adomako Ampofo, 2010). In contrast to the “development discourse” of the 1970s and 1980s, issues affecting women today are frequently discussed within the framework of “rights”. Since the 1990s the rights-based approach has become a critical element in development discourse, policy and practice. The AIDS epidemic has broken old taboos and silences, and begun to open up space for the recognition of how central sexual rights are to wellbeing. However, efforts need to be made beyond the confines of narrow, problem-focussed thinking. Feminist scholars argue that sexuality is a vital aspect of development, and that sexual rights are a precondition for reproductive rights and for gender equality (Armas, 2007; McFadden, 2003). Armas further advocates the use of rights as an entry point to talk about sexuality in relation to development. We agree that there is value in promoting sexuality beyond the narrow confines of disease, and recognising the importance of pleasure; however, as we have articulated, we feel that it is extremely important to examine how “pleasure” is represented. This is particularly important given the connections between sexual representations and society’s differing moral prescriptions for women and men. Rights-based approaches that take on questions of sexual rights could be a part of the process of creating positive representations of women as gendered bodies and this could be articulated through song.

In a lot of ways, therefore, popular music can be politicised. Emphasizing the accessibility of the popular music medium, with particular reference to (Ghanaian) highlife, Asante Darko and Van der Geest promote the potential for political – overt or subtle – messages to be expressed within Ghana (1983). Beyond Ghana, studies have explored the use of popular songs for a variety of ends: to reinforce an ideology and legitimize a ruling elite; to act as a rallying call to others so as to establish and reinforce group identity; and to voice dissatisfaction with society, including social norms and political conditions (Kong, 1995). Kong further notes how political dissatisfaction is captured for example in American “protest songs”, while opposition to social norms has been expressed in rock n’ roll. She notes that Slave songs, for example, provided African-Americans with a way of expressing and communicating under conditions of great oppression, and Freedom songs associated with the civil rights movement provide an illustration of how songs help mobilize protest and create group solidarity in specific situations. In Zimbabwe the tradition of song as social commentary has been well established (Vambe, 2000).

In the US, educators have harnessed the power of popular music through the rewriting of rap lyrics to help in the fostering of children's self-esteem and the countering of negative images of women in the media. According to Carla E. Stokes, the founder of HOTGIRLS (Helping Our Teen Girls In Real Life Situations) rewriting song lyrics helps girls "critically analyze the messages they encounter in the media and in their daily lives," moreover "girls are *using* hip hop as a vehicle to reach their peers and raise awareness about issues that affect their lives" (Kieya, 2007). Teens have taken to the recording studio to create their own versions of popular songs, such as "Let Me Tell You How You Talk to Me" a reworked version of Justin Timberlake's song "Sexy Back". Thus popular music can become a powerful vehicle for cultural and political expression and prompt the politicization of personal spaces (the home, street, music shop, or club for instance) as it provides "portable politics" over which individuals may exert some control (Allen, 2004: 4).

The combination of entertainment and education is seen in contemporary practice as an innovative approach to achieving social change (Singhal & Rogers, 1999). The process of deliberately designing media messages to both entertain and educate in order to increase knowledge about an issue, create favourable attitudes and change overt behaviour has been coined 'enter-education' (Singhal & Rogers, 1999). Our study sought to harness this potential of popular music. In the next section we report on what we learned about the potency of popular music, and our efforts to challenge popular musicians to be more reflexive and critical in their representations of women.

Changing the representations of women in popular music: (re)negotiating citizenship

The reflection workshops and conversations with music consumers threw up several popular themes about women in songs; on the positive side they are seen as the keepers of tradition, they are dependable, a source of joy, virtuous angels (usually as wives and mothers), they are (appropriately) submissive, never angry, caring, welcoming of a man's relatives, and kind. Songs evoked praise for women's intelligence and spirituality as well as their reproductive/mothering roles, and for being faithful lovers (even when their men go astray). Participants in the first workshop also noted that the theme of beauty was common in songs and not always in an objectifying sense. However, in both reflection workshops and the conversations with students and taxi drivers, participants felt that on balance the images were more negative, or at least not empowering. On the negative side participants agreed that women are objectified sexually, with a focus on the (big) breasts/buttocks and other motifs that go beyond appreciating the body and desire, to mere lust. Other portrayals included women as exploitative, unfaithful, unreliable, malevolent, jealous, competitive (typically with other women over men), unstable, weak minded, fickle,

greedy/materialistic, exploitative, ungrateful, and lazy. Some notions could be described as neutral or merely factual descriptions, such as women being described as subordinate to men or ready to defer to men; women being “weaker” than men: (i.e. her role does not include the use of a gun; or men’s role is to defend women/children). Not surprisingly, in both workshops the older musicians felt that it was principally the younger ones who provided women’s bodies as fodder for the male imagination. In the 2010 workshop, Nana Ampadu, a veteran from the 1970s and 80s insisted that love songs of his generation were not imbued with “pornography”.

Participants of the two reflection workshops suggested several reasons for the negative representations of women including tradition, religion, capitalism and generational tensions. One argued:

“I see people refer to religion as a reason for women to submit... religion makes it taboo to say certain things.. it is wrong for a woman to say [the same things as men] because of religion even though she feels so inside...and on the capitalism side.. sex sells, it's commercially viable, musicians doing good work are not respected...they want to see women shaking their buttocks...” [Kubolor the WunLuv, musician]

Thus, while tradition controls women, the capitalist market provides opportunities to sell them. Collins (1994) argues that when traditional expectations of women's roles come into conflict with some aspects of urban life styles and westernization, they combine to threaten “traditional” male authority, which helps to explain why popular texts so often dwell on the subject of sexual tension, marriage treachery, prostitution, witchcraft accusations and the duplicity of city women.

Participants in both workshops and both group discussions stressed that music is influential. In the second reflection workshop, Carlos Sakyi, music producer, noted simply that “music can influence the way people think and act”. A taxi driver who had ceased listening to a particular musician because of his negative portrayal of sex, which he felt would influence him, now listens to only gospel music and says, “the words in the songs (gospel) touch my heart that is why I listen to them.” Another driver noted, “I strongly believe that songs have a great influence on people.” In the conversation snippet below, a tax driver identifies not only the power of songs, but calls for advocacy around music.

Taxi driver: When we were young, during the olden days our grandparents used to tell us stories through songs and the words would make you have change of mind about a lot of things. The words made you respectful... and they made you responsible.

Discussion leader: Do you really believe that songs can change a man’s way of thinking or have great impact on people?

Taxi driver: I strongly believe that songs have a great influence on people. There are certain songs when being played; you feel the words cannot help you positively. There are others too when played, everybody joins in singing because the words are encouraging. For this reason, there is the need to have leaders who would frankly come out to say the words in a particular song are bad and would influence the youth negatively.

Something like *adepa hye adepa mu*¹², If you are a mature person you realize the song can harm children. If I hear such songs I switch my radio off. If there is a passenger in the car and the song is being played, you the driver feel guilty [Taxi driver].

When you listen to Fiifi Banson's¹³ programme... when you have passengers in the car you would be forced to switch off the radio. Because I wouldn't like the passenger to listen to such songs... either I switch it off or tune it to a different station. And most passengers do not complain. [Taxi driver].

The students were even more convinced of the power of the lyrics. Said one female student, "I weigh the contents of the music before I listen to it". And another explained further, "Some make you depressed, some make you emotional. Some of these songs create some perceptions like, I don't want to be in a relationship". A male student noted, "When I look at the lyrics of this particular song, I think it is full of sexual elements and it will really trigger relationships. As young people if you should be alone with your girlfriend and you play such songs no matter who you are something will happen." Particularly influential is the fact that today the music is heard over and over again; explained one female student, "When something is said over and over again it affects your thinking. It's the lyrics that affect you when listened to over and over again".

The conversations with students and taxi drivers also provided support that songs negatively stereotype and or sexualise women. Not surprisingly, women students were more critical of the representations of women in song than the men were, and they complained strongly about the sexual objectification of women in songs and how this made them feel. They also hinted at what this might mean for their own relations with men, as images of sexually available women were projected onto them. Said one woman student:

I don't like the way they portray women in their clips. I think it's so shameful and degrading. You see them wearing all sorts of clothes. They are exposing

¹² Literally, a good thing is found inside a good thing.

¹³ Name of a radio DJ.

their body parts. It's bad, very bad and I feel so shameful (sic) because I feel like it makes me so transparent around guys and I don't like it.

Another noted,

There is this song recently and it talks about girls. It goes like, "you be yawa girl". I don't know what the girl did and it's like the guys are really on the girl telling the girl she is "yawa".¹⁴ May be they asked for something from her and she didn't give it out, I don't know what it is, may be sex or anything. It's like most guys if they should ask you and you don't give it to them, they tell you, you are yawa. I think that song is very bad. [Female student].

What I feel is some of these songs portray women as sex objects. It's like they see us as something they can play with. [Female student]

However, the men, especially the taxi drivers, acknowledged that popular urban music, especially the videos, objectify women sexually: "Well we can say that most of our songs do not say anything good about women. They most often talk about ladies' style of dressing and their body parts. It not nice I have not heard them using men in their songs." [Taxi driver].

Because of the acknowledged power of music, messages about women can then become part of people's realities in subtle ways. As suggested by the comments below, some participants insisted that song lyrics could influence one's behaviour for good or ill, and men acknowledged that they would themselves use songs to manipulate or control women. "I have also personally used the words in [a] song to insult a woman who proved stubborn when I wanted to propose to her. I used those words until she agreed. ... If this song had not come out, I don't think it would even have occurred to me to use those words." [Taxi driver].

Whether the situation described in the last quote above actually happened or not, the driver was certainly convinced that he had successfully employed the lyrics of a popular song to overcome the "stubbornness" of a woman he was interested in who had been playing hard-to-get.

The songs also reinscribe gendered power relations and underscore the importance of women being "good" girls in order to "win" (their) husbands. While men can play with sexualised women in the songs, and can have multiple partners, in order to make it to wife category, or to sustain this position, a woman must be humble, submissive and not sexually available. This mixed bag of messages must surely continue to be

¹⁴ 'Posturing'

confusing for young people seeking to make sense of gender politics. Some women students felt that music helped them figure men out and how to please them. The mixed messages, and their impact on constraining women, is described below.

Female student 1: And there is this song ... He was describing two ladies, his wife and his girlfriend. I like the way he described his wife. She was humble, soft, she was the mother type and his girlfriend was the happy go-lucky type, she loved clubbing and always worrying him with money issues ... It created some difference. It made us aware of what men want.

Interviewer: So what do men want?

Female student 1: They like good girls, humble, those who don't ask for money.

Female student 2: The song was like he was confused as to who to choose but in the end he chose his wife.

Female student 3: Because his wife is not money conscious

Female student 4: The thing is that our society doesn't blame the men when they go wrong. The blame is put on the women even when the men go wrong. They will tell you that you didn't take care of him that is why he went behind you.

Male student: They [men in songs] like good girls, humble, those who don't ask for money.

A female student complained further about this stereotyping, "Nobody sings that for a man to get a good wife he has to be this, he has to be that. It's always the women – we have to be this, we have to be humble. I think it's not good. It makes us like we are their subordinates, which is not good. We are supposed to be equal."

The litany of negative images notwithstanding, the first reflection workshop gave us reason to believe that taking our research to town, so to speak, was a project with potential for the transformation of representations of women that we sought to help bring about. The musicians referred to themselves as activists, and claimed the power to reflect, condone, or challenge contemporary practices. One said, "When (the musician is) given the gift of music you have to reflect society". Another described himself as an "activist" and Diana Hopeson, the president of MUSIGA, conferred on musicians the role of "lyrical prophets". Although the media representatives were less sanguine about the prospects of musicians as social prophets (given the commercial nature of the industry), they agreed that musicians are powerful and have a social responsibility to not only entertain, but also educate. Musicians, media persons and researchers agreed that musicians can, and should be, part of a larger cultural project

of social transformation that would include changing the representations of women in song texts.

The three winners of the song competition were: first place: Kwabena Quaicoo, for “As long as you are a woman”; second place Osei Korankye, for “Mmma Moo” (women kudos) and third place Born African for “Equal Rights”. The judges subsequently worked with the winners to enhance the “empowerment” appeal and diversity of representations of women. Ultimately the popular appeal and lyrics of the winning song identified many prominent historic and contemporary female figures such as Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, the current President of Liberia, Miriam Makeba, an influential anti-apartheid musician, and Efua Sutherland, a playwright. The chorus calls,

As long as you are a women/If I were a woman
you/I would control the universe
If I were a girl/ As long as you are a girl
I/you would rule the world
For the strength of the world lies in a woman
Women have the power to change the world

suggesting to both women and men that they take a second look at preconceived notions. Lyrics and imagery in the video address women’s sexualization and gender-based violence, as well as highlighting women’s decision making power – many of the issues addressed in development circles. Since the launch, the winning song and video have been played on radio and TV on occasions such as Valentine’s and Mothers’ Day, at Activist events, and in 2011 the song was nominated for a national music award. The launch and ensuing media campaign provide some direction for the larger question of linking research and advocacy.

During each radio or TV appearance, sometimes with other guests, on occasion with our first and second place winners, we would make reference to actual song lyrics, and suggest the negative effects of stereotyping and sexualising women (and men, for that matter). Because we incorporated the views and voices of consumers of music, and used the media to reach a wide audience, the musical impact and the collective conversations have had an impact beyond the analysis of song texts, which was where we had begun. While we recognize that the music industry is a formidable one to enter or impact, we found radio DJs, TV presenters and even some musicians really interested in working further with us. In “taking our research to town”, a discussion of popular forms of expression (even beyond music to include other forms of popular culture such as proverbs) has been generated. Soon after the launch of the winning songs, a TV presenter remarked, “I have never thought of music in such terms. This launch will make me more aware when I listen to music”.

To cite one example of our engagement with the public: *The Front Page* one of the most popular radio stations in Ghana provided a 2-hour opportunity for Akosua Adomako Ampofo, Diana Hopeson, (the president of MUSIGA) and Gyedu Blay Amboley, a renowned musician, to engage with the conscious and versatile host, Kwaku Sakyi-Addo, on women's representations in song. We the researchers continue to receive requests to speak on the subject of women's representations in popular arts and the media.

Conclusions

Much development literature defines African women as the most vulnerable and disenfranchised segment of contemporary African society. In many ways, today's Ghanaian woman enjoys greater opportunities and freedoms than her sister of the 1930s, the era where the songs in our musical collection start. At the same time feminist scholars and activists struggle to contend with and address the many new ways in which women have become tradable goods in the new markets created in the most private of spaces thanks to music videos and porn (both soft and hard) that is merely a mouse click away. Some argue that while the language of gender has become almost mainstream, the political project of gender and development has been reduced to a technical fix:

[b]y powerful institutions that understand the importance of controlling discourse well ... There has been a separation of political and economic empowerment and a return of instrumentalism that privileges a meaning of empowerment associated with formal institutions and individual autonomy. Emphasis is more on the economic actor contributing to growth and less on issues of body autonomy and the power within" (IDA working paper, 2007: 14).

The IDA paper goes on to argue that in DFID "women's empowerment is not understood as changing patriarchal structures but rather as meeting women's practical gender needs. If this is indeed so, then "empowerment" can easily be interpreted as something that takes place at the individual level without any real changes to the existing oppressive social structures. According to Dogbe (2002), women's empowerment is an oft-stated mission in Ghana's development and cultural policy documents, however, she questions what it means to harness culture for development – which culture, and whose culture? How, she asks, can cultural-development become "empowering" for women when aspects of these same cultures – including representations of women in music – are used to oppress them? Ghana's cultural policy over the past decade has focused on culture's reclaimatory, therapeutic, protective and creative potential to transform national development processes. However, Dogbe suggests that even if these intended roles for culture are interpreted

progressively, current development policy-making and implementation processes have been formed on the basis of implicit assumptions that empowering women and other marginal groups can be achieved without fundamental changes to the status quo.

In light of the outcomes of our work, and the continuing objectification, infantilisation and pervasiveness of highly sexualized representations of women within widely available popular music songs and videos, questions of women's "sexual empowerment" become all the more pressing. Can things be done differently? Can music serve as a pathway for women's empowerment? Can lyrics that challenge negative stereotypes of women through their empowering subject matter be written, sung and, perhaps more pertinently, popularized? Our project has shown that there is a place for popular music beyond its role as a mere entertaining accessory to contemporary urban life. Music can claim other more historically significant roles in such projects as the empowerment of women through linking research to action that resonates with people's daily lives. Our work has also shown that not only feminist scholars, but also popular musicians, members of the media, as well as consumers of music, have great capacity to imagine, propose, and forge a variety of effective pathways to alternative, more diverse and empowering representations of women – and that working together with them is a powerful tool for transformation.

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WILL THE REAL *YU DI KÒRSOU* PLEASE STAND UP? THE DOUBLE-BIND CULTURAL IDENTITY OF THE CITIZENS OF CURAÇAO

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Introduction

Culture has been, and still is, one of the main factors used in Curaçao to determine who really belongs in Curaçao and who has the “national” right to call himself *Yu di Kòrsou* (‘child of Curaçao’). The renewal of the Charter of 1954 with the goal of putting an end to the political constellation of Netherlands Antilles and creating *País Kòrsou*, may well have contributed to a more complex sense of belonging of the *Yu di Kòrsou* within the realm of the Dutch Kingdom. The post-colonial (as in still a colony) situation, which is maintained by a “double bind” (Bateson, 1972) mode of relating with the Dutch, feeds the schizophrenic sense of belonging of the *Yu di Kòrsou*. The consequence being that the *Yu di Kòrsou* persists in maintaining his/her hybrid cultural identity to survive in both worlds; on the island Curaçao and in metropolitan Holland. But where can the *Yu di Kòrsou* truly claim citizenship?

This article argues that it is not possible for the *Yu di Kòrsou* to stand up as a self-determined citizen, as long as he is living in this double bind situation of (post)colonialism that the Charter of 1954 has formalised. It will also be argued that the hybrid identity of the *Yu di Kòrsou* cannot develop into a balanced formation of a cultural identity or a concept of citizenship unless the double-bind relationship with Holland is dismantled,, and to accomplish this it is imperative to cut the strings attached to the “mother country” thus creating space for the cultural narrative of the citizens of Curaçao as a community aware of its roots in the African Diaspora.

An integrated approach will be explored as a method for deconstructing the ambivalent communication structures among the “partners” in the Dutch kingdom, using a post-colonial interpretation of the theoretical frameworks of Interactional Communication developed by the Palo Alto Group (Watzlawick et al., 1974; Watzlawick, 1977) and Critical Discourse Analysis developed by Teun van Dijk (1995) and Ruth Wodak (2001 a & b). The main objective of this article is to lay the foundations for a method that will allow us to uncover and formalize the structure of the so-called double bind underlying the typical way in which the Dutch deal with the

“Other” with the goal of envisioning and empowering culturalization processes which can lead to the emergence of a real *Yu di Kòrsou*, with equal rights to citizenship, no matter where he or she lives.

In his brilliant interpretation of the King of Darkness in the movie “The Devil’s Advocate” Al Pacino says: “The greatest trick the devil ever played is to convince the world that he does not exist”. The granting of autonomy to the Dutch Caribbean colonies and the creation of the Netherlands Antilles in 1954 by the Charter of the Dutch Kingdom, can be regarded as a similarly clever and cynical trick, designed not only to render continued Dutch colonialism “invisible”, but also to convince the world that the Netherlands does not discriminate and can be regarded as a stellar example of the promotion of equal rights and citizenship.¹

In the eighteenth century it was acceptable for European colonizing nations not to recognize the humanity and the rights of their mostly African descended enslaved subjects. This fact was evident during the negotiations which led to the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713.² Africans and people of African descent were almost invisible in this document and only appear as objects to be traded in the negotiations for peace. The high ideals of peace and respect for cultural, ethnic and religious diversity within Europe were clearly not intended for people who were imprisoned, colonized, enslaved and sold outside of Europe (Allen, 2011).

It can be argued that the attitudes that made this state of affairs possible have not changed all that much since the Treaty of 1713, because during that time people of European descent have continued to trivialize, ignore and silence the traumatic experiences to which they have subjected Africans and African descended peoples. Even Holland, which pretends to be a world leader in advocating for equality and human rights, still to this day finds it difficult to acknowledge its active role in the history of slavery and to acknowledge and accept the presence of Dutch citizens of African descent in the Dutch kingdom as a consequence of this history. So even today, when preparations are underway to celebrate the 300th anniversary of the Treaty of Utrecht and the 150th anniversary of the abolition of the slavery in the Dutch colonies, the dominant discourses in the Netherlands continue to completely ignore African descended “Others” or to categorize them as strangers by calling them “allochtoon” or to identify them as “problematic citizens” and creating discriminatory political strategies such as the VIA (*Verwijs Index Antillianen*) to solve this “problem”.

The Dutch mode of relating to us, the “Other” Dutch citizens is typified by the same ambivalent patterns of behaviour that characterize most Dutch relations with non-

¹ It should be noted here that although we use the term “Dutch” throughout this article, this term refers to the social imaginary “*politiek Den Haag*” (politicians in The Hague). We realize that not all Dutch people are hypocritical or racist.

² Signed between the representatives of France and Spain on the one hand, Great Britain, Savoy, Portugal and the United Provinces on the other at the end the war of the Spanish Succession (Wikipedia).

Dutch. These patterns also structure the hybrid and highly schizophrenic identity of the *Yu di Kòrsou* as people living in the Caribbean, rejecting their African diasporic heritage while holding tight to their European passports.

The unpacking of this double bind way of relating of the Dutch, may help serve to deconstruct the racist and discriminatory behaviour that tends to make Dutch citizens of African descent invisible and may serve to demonstrate how and where Curaçao is still colonized by Dutch values of cultural identity. Deconstructing this Dutch way of relating to us can help provide a roadmap for fundamental and radical changes in the patterns and structure of communication between “homeland” Holland and “homeland” Kòrsou”. Such changes are essential to creating a free space in which the *Yu di Kòrsou* can truly exercise their human right to develop their cultural identity free from feelings of cultural suppression and from being treated as inferior, as stated in Article 1 of the UN International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights of 1966.³ A basic question to be answered therefore is “Are we truly free to develop our cultural identity and determine who is a *Yu di Kòrsou*?”

The Charter of 1954

The Charter of the Kingdom of the Netherlands of 1954⁴ is more than just a historical example which typifies the ambivalence inherent in the Dutch way of relating to the “Other”, whereby high ideals such as human rights, respect for religious and cultural diversity, etc. are valid only for Dutch citizens (with blue eyes and blond hair) and not anyone else.⁵ A retired Curaçaoan politician eloquently stated that “The Charter of 1954 was a clever way to solve the problem of Holland who still has colonies, in a world where the United States as a key player in the United Nations was imposing decolonization.”⁶

The document ⁷ was designed to keep up appearances at the international level with the goal of appeasing the strong spirit of independence of the most important Dutch

³ Article 1 states: All people have the right of self-determination. By virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development. This article emerged in reaction to colonial oppression and emphasizes the importance of collective rights of a people such as self-determination, the right to its natural resources and the right to self-determine its culture.

⁴ The Charter for the Kingdom of the Netherlands has been renewed in 1975 (Independence of Surinam), 1985 (Status Aparte Aruba) and finally in 2010 whereby the political constellation of Netherlands Antilles was transformed into Aruba, Curaçao and St. Maarten with their Status Aparte and Bonaire, Saba and St. Eustatius as special municipalities of the Netherlands.

⁵ Since the publication of the book *Orientalism* by Edward Said (1978), both continental and global thinkers have been studying European attitudes biased against the “Other” as a part of their colonial heritage. This “Othering” can be applied arbitrarily itself to any, racially, ethnically, religiously or geographically defined group (as happens now with Islam) and is used to ensure a positive self identity, while stigmatizing, demeaning and humiliating the “Other”.

⁶ Rufus Mc William, personal communication, January 2010.

⁷ The Charter of 1954 was presented during a 1955 meeting of the United Nations in New York, as evidence that the Netherlands Antilles and Surinam were no longer Dutch colonies. The Charter granted them “equal” rights in the Dutch Kingdom and so there would be no need for the Dutch government to transmit information to the

colony Indonesia, while retaining the Dutch West Indies as a colonial domain. In the case of Indonesia, Dutch promises for more autonomy were not sufficient and the Dutch were forced to acknowledge Indonesia's independence in 1949. But the Dutch colonies in the West Indies did not forget the promise made by Queen Wilhelmina of the Netherlands to safeguard their autonomy and to guarantee equal partnership throughout the Dutch Kingdom. Autonomy for the remaining Dutch colonies was officialised in 1954 with the Charter for the Kingdom of the Netherlands, thereby formalizing an idiosyncratic and ambivalent relationship between Holland and the Dutch colonies in the Caribbean.

A paradox: "The same, but not equal"

The "autonomy" of the colonies was regulated and limited as the Charter granted only "freedom" to handle "internal affairs". The Dutch colonies were represented by only one vote in the Dutch Parliament and all the international affairs of the islands were managed by and / or under the supervision and subject to the authorisation of the Dutch Parliament. The islands of the former Netherlands Antilles are mentioned as equal partners in the Charter of the Dutch Kingdom but the Caribbean partners are consistently treated as inferior by the Dutch, who use arbitrary interpretations of this document, which in itself is ambiguous. A clear example of this Dutch ambiguity, is the stigmatization of young Afro-Curaçaoans on Dutch soil by the famous "integration policies". Dutch ambiguity is also reflected in everyday social exchanges with Afro-Curaçaoan Dutch citizens in Holland as this group is obviously more visible because of the colour of their skin.

The "continental" Dutch have invented some concepts to formalize this ambivalence in a legal manner: the concepts of *autochtoon* and *allochtoon* incorporating the attitude of the "Other". Where *autochtoon* refers to "native" Dutch people and *allochtoon* refers to "non-native" people. According to some Dutch critics, these concepts are used in practice as synonymous for the old racialized concepts of "white" and "black". A non-Dutch European is not referred to as *allochtoon*, for example. This politically motivated division is without any philosophical or historical foundation. So the hybrid *Yu di Kòrsou* from the Dutch West Indies are stripped of their hybrid identity and become strangers when setting foot in Holland. In Holland they are not referred to as Dutch or countrymen, but as *allochtoon*. The Dutch Office of Central Statistics⁸ registers them as "non-Western *allochtonen*" which to many signifies "uneducated" "not-belonging to Western civilization". A white American is a "Western *allochtoon*", but not an African-American.

United Nations regarding the status of these colonies. Members of the United Nations, such as Guatemala, India, Burma, Iraq, France and Peru did not vote in favour of Holland being absolved from such obligations, because they were not convinced that every aspect of self-government and the principles of equality were safeguarded by the Charter.

⁸ Central Bureau of Statistics : www.cbs.nl/nl-NL/menu/themas/dossiers/allochtonen/methoden/begrippen/

The terms used to refer to Churandy Martina, a world-famous Afro-Curaçaoan athlete, exemplify this Dutch ambivalence. While the official statistical offices refer to him as an *allochtoon*, in newspaper articles he is a “Dutch citizen of Curaçaoan origin” since he has brought victory to the Dutch Olympic team. Baseball player Andrew Jones from Curaçao, who is now a “Dutch multi-millionaire”, was formerly referred to as a “West Indian” or *allochtoon*. A logical question that could be posed here is whether this ambivalent mode of relating to the colonial “Other” is just the same as that of any of the other European colonial powers. One could argue that any diplomatic relationship is inherently ambiguous in nature and hence the ambiguous attitude of the Dutch to their “past” colonies is a general post-colonial attitude that typifies all of the metropolises. In this connection, it is curious to note how already in 1894, an editorial in *The Spectator* in London (September 8), openly acknowledges some “unique” and very ambivalent aspects of Dutch colonial culture overseas:

The Dutch, who are at home an efficient people, make a horrid mess of their foreign possessions...Something in the Dutch irritates the dark races profoundly, and one wonders what it is. It is said to be their cruelty but they are no more cruel than the native leaders themselves, and it is certainly no want of efficiency. We suspect that is the feeling that induces them to treat dark-skinned men exactly as if they were animals, sometimes gently and sometimes cruelly, but always with a deep immovable contempt; but then what does that feeling arise from? It is wholly apart from the insolence of the French, and the passionless aloofness of the English, and the rigidity of the Germans, and suggests the dominance of some idea. (Cited by Gouda, 2008: 3)

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One finds that the French, British, Portuguese, Spanish and even the United States of America in the case of Puerto Rico, have been much more straightforward and consistent in their policies towards their domains and the national cultural identity of their citizens. The British, for example, eventually had to effect a complete transfer of the principles of sovereignty to their former colonies. It is only because the decolonization process was stopped in the 1980's, often against the will of the British, that today there are still British Overseas Territories. But the British clearly put their conditions on the table, that is, these British dependencies do not receive any substantial financial aid from the UK and the right of British citizens in the Caribbean to settle in the UK as British citizens was closed in the 1960s. France explicitly opted for a policy of continuous presence in the Caribbean for geopolitical reasons and was willing to pay the economic and political costs of that presence, in the form of complete integration of its former Caribbean territories as *départements* of France, with all of the financial support and political rights and representation which that entails. (Oostindie & Klinkers, 2003: 11-12).

In contrast, Dutch policy regarding its overseas dominions is constantly changing in an eternal ambiguous dance between decolonization and re-colonization. Relations between colonizers and the colonized is by nature one of ambivalence and ambiguity. But the difference in the case of the Netherlands is that while Holland clearly wants to maintain its reputation as defender of equal rights internationally, it does not display the same fervor for equality when it comes to citizens of African descent within its own borders. Awareness of such political borders is a first step in understanding the hybrid cultural identity of the *Yu di Kòrsou* and their “doubly bound” sense of belonging in the Dutch kingdom, with the goal of deconstructing this double bindedness in order to create spaces for cultural narratives free of Dutch hegemonic discourse.

The Dutch Catch-22

In 1839, Sir Edward Cust made this observation in a report to the Colonial Office in London entitled “Reflection on West African affairs”:

“A fundamental principle appears to have been forgotten or overlooked in our system of colonial policy - that of colonial dependence. To give to a colony the forms of independence is a mockery; she would not be a colony for a single hour if she could maintain an independent station.”

(Cited in Bhabha, 1999: 474)

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Sir Edward Cust points out a double bind situation analogous to the current situation between Curaçao and the Netherlands. To pretend to have autonomy or sovereignty in Curaçao within the framework of the Charter of 1954 is an illusion. It is for this reason that the postcolonial theorist Homi K. Bhabha adapted the term ambivalence to describe the absurd paradoxical situations arising from domination under European imperialism. The ambiguous relationships between the Netherlands and Curaçao resulting from the Charter of 1954, in which “equal partnership” is promised, can be categorized as a “Catch 22”, in the sense that it sends contradictory and paradoxical messages which lead to absurd situations, where no matter what one does, one cannot win. In this case, no matter what we do as Curaçaoans, we can never win and be considered by the Dutch to be “equal partners” and qualify in Dutch eyes to make our own political decisions and mistakes.

Curaçao and the other five Dutch islands in the Caribbean never “asked” to be colonized or to be inserted into the constellation of the Netherlands Antilles. Our situation is the result of domination by one people over another, and as such, is one of ambiguity. No country or people can ever really “belong” to or be the possessions of another. As Watzlawick says, “... any situation of domination of one country by another, either by force or through social media, cultural, political and /or economic means, is itself one of irrationality and ambiguity” (1974: 24). The relationship

colonizer /colonized has the formal structure of an “untenable paradox”, a double bind and is therefore inherently conflictual and illogical. It is one that is characterized by mixed messages, confusion and therefore is unreadable.

The receivers of the mixed messages of the Charter of 1954 in Curaçao are left in a permanent state of uncertainty. We do not know what to do at any given moment, and the most frustrating thing is the feeling that everything we do “can be wrong” or “is categorized as wrong”. This leads to a continued state of anxiety, with symptoms similar to schizophrenia. All you have to do as Curaçaoans is ask for independence, but how can you ask for something, which you should not be asking for in the first place, but which should already be acknowledged by all parties if there is truly an “equal partnership”?

No matter how much social development aid (*Ontwikkelingssamenwerking*) is invested, or how many documents for autonomy are invented, there can be no dialogue on equal footing as long as one of the countries is in a dependent position on the other. The only thing the *Yu di Kòrsou* have to do is to “ask” for our independence, but the fact that we have to ask for our independence, means that we are not independent and therefore not “equal partners” with an independent Netherlands. At this juncture, we might ask: “Who are we, the *Yu di Kòrsou* and have we established a cultural identity different from and independent of the Dutch? Or are we trapped in the Dutch Catch 22 in such a way that we are unable to construct our own cultural identity? How can we deconstruct this Catch 22 in order to find the *Yu di Kòrsou*?”

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The question that might need to be answered here is: “What is the origin of this ambivalent and idiosyncratic Dutch mode of relating to the colonial Other?” The social thinkers who have addressed this issue mainly account for it using two types of explanation: 1) contextual explanations, that make reference to socio-history and 2) internal logic explanations, that make reference to socio-psychological issues.

The contextual arguments contend that just as individual human beings go through their life cycle, so do countries go through certain stages that leave their mark on what the thinker Cornelius Castoriadis (1989) has called the social imaginary, that is, social representations embodied in institutions. This imaginary can be seen to explain guiding principles of social institutions, the constitution of motives and needs and the existence of traditions and myths. We can find the roots of this social imaginary at the beginning or imaginary childhood of a people. In psychohistorical studies, we find that in the case of the Netherlands, the social imaginary appears to be linked to the behaviour of a relatively small nation trying to survive and defend itself from the great European powers which had already coalesced by the seventeenth century. We also find that trade was adopted as the young nation’s main mode of survival. All of this was framed and justified by a Calvinist ideology of a predestined and exclusive group

or nation chosen by God to dominate over others, which had already taken hold in the Netherlands in the century preceding its independence from Spain.

The internal logic explanations stress that every living thing or group depends on adequate information about their environment to survive (Watzlawick, 1977: 3) When one of these messages is incomprehensible, leaving the receiver in a state of insecurity, the result is confusion, which produces emotions ranging from mild numbness to acute anxiety, depending on the circumstances (ibid.). So when it comes to relationships and human interactions, it is particularly important to maximize understanding and minimize confusion. Translating from one language to another can be misleading because language not only conveys information, but also expresses a worldview. Fanon (1967) for example elaborates on the many ways language is considered as a means to measure the level of “civilization” of colonized people. Mastery of the Dutch language is still considered as proof of a high level of education and civilization in Curaçao.

According to the Interactional Communication model of the Palo Alto Group, translation itself is not at any time the main source of confusion. One of the biggest sources of confusion in relationships and human interaction is the “double bind”. Double bind refers to a communicative situation in which a person receives different or contradictory messages because of different or contradictory social and cultural contexts. The double bind is structured like paradoxes or antinomies in formal logic. The anthropologist Gregory Bateson adopted the term to give an explanation for phenomena associated with schizophrenia (1972: 201). The concept of “Catch-22” has come to describe a less formal double bind or any paradoxically unsustainable situation. The idea of such a double bind provides a framework within which paradoxical situation between the Dutch and “Others” whom they perceive as non-Dutch understandable. Double bind describes the paradoxical combination of reverence for a loving God, who at the same time is the exclusive guardian of the Dutch social imaginary. The exclusivity of the Dutch as God’s chosen people, seems to have given rise to a mode of interaction and relating which is by its very nature extremely ambiguous, which often leads to absurd situations. The relationship of the Caribbean “partners” with Holland in the Dutch kingdom is a clear example of such a double bind or untenable paradox.

Unpacking the Dutch Double Bind using the CDA Approach

Our efforts to unpack the Dutch double bind have led us to adopt a Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) approach, as developed by authors such as Ruth Wodak and Teun van Dijk⁹ Critical Discourse Analysis has become the general term for a specific

⁹ Here we use the term “approach” because we agree with Wodak (2001a) that CDA does not promote one specific theory or methodology, but instead is a “research program” (in the words of Imre Lakatos) which is heterogeneous and continually changing and developing.

approach to the study of text and speech. It arises from critical linguistics, semiotics and criticism in general as a socio-politically conscious way to investigate language, speech and communication. CDA considers language to be a “social practice” and considers the internal and external contexts in which language is used as crucial. Most importantly for its founders and practitioners, CDA is focused on the relationship between language and power (Wodak, 2001a). Work within the CDA framework is characterized by the following criteria:

- CDA is oriented toward the resolution of practical problems. Any theoretical or methodological approach is appropriate as long as it is able to effectively explore relevant social issues such as racism, colonialism, sexism and other forms of social inequality (Van Dijk, 1995, 17).
- CDA does not refer to a school, a field or sub-discipline of discourse analysis, but rather it refers to an explicitly critical approach, position or stance of studying text and talk. To study problems or social issues properly, the work of CDA is typically inter- or multidisciplinary and focuses especially on the relationship between discourse and society (including social cognition, politics and culture).
- CDA is part of a broad spectrum of critical studies (usually of the marginal or marginalized) in the humanities and social sciences, e. g., sociology, psychology, mass communication, law and political science (ibid).
- CDA studies can focus on any level or dimensions of speech (grammar, rhetoric, style, schematic organization, speech acts, pragmatic strategies, etc.).
- CDA studies are therefore not limited to purely “verbal” approaches to discourse, but also look at other semiotic dimensions (photos, movies, sound, music, gestures, etc.) of =communicative events (ibid.: 18).
- CDA focuses especially on relations of *power*, *dominance* and *inequality* in society and the ways these are *reproduced* or *resisted* by social groups and their members through text and talk. Therefore much of the work in CDA deals with the underlying ideologies that play a role in the reproduction of or resistance against domination and inequality in social relations in areas such as class, gender, ethnicity, race, sexual orientation, and nationality.
- CDA has among its descriptive, explanatory and practical aims the attempt to *uncover* and *reveal* the underlying ideologies and everything else that is implicit, hidden or otherwise not immediately obvious in relations of discursively enacted dominance. Therefore CDA specifically focuses on strategies for the *manipulation*, *legitimation*, and *manufacture of consent* and other forms of discourse utilized to influence the minds (and indirectly the actions) of people in the interest of those in power.

- CDA attempts to discover discursive means of mind control and social influence because it takes an explicitly critical stance in opposition against those in power and the ways in which they abuse their power.
- CDA also attempts to establish and maintain a global perspective of solidarity with those groups that are dominated, and to formulate strategy proposals for the introduction and development of counter-discourses and counter-ideologies of defiance and resistance (ibid.).

In these and other respects, CDA follows in the footsteps of the Frankfurt School and Jürgen Habermas who were responsible for pointing out the interdependence between research interests and political commitments (Van Dijk, 1986: 4). The CDA-derived approach that we use to deconstruct Dutch double bind was developed by Wodak and her colleagues as a method of researching historical discourse (Wodak, 2001a; 2001b). This approach is a complex framework for social criticism that embraces at least three interconnected aspects:

- Critique discourse aimed at exposing inconsistencies, (self-)contradictions, paradoxes and dilemmas in the internal structures of texts or speeches. For example critique of the speech used in the negotiations that resulted in the Charter of 1954 or any other political discussions regarding independence for the Dutch colonies.
- Unmasking and demystifying the nature – manifest or latent – of manipulative discursive practices. The analyst uses his or her personal experience and contextual knowledge to insert the interactional and communicative structures of discursive events into a broader framework of social and political relations, processes and circumstances. For example, applying social theories to interpret and decipher the political discourse of Dutch and Curaçaoan politicians to reveal the ways that they perceive relations between colonizer and colonized.
- Using the outcome of CDA to transform and improve communication within public institutions, etc. (ibid.). It is important to note here that, contrary to Wodak who thinks that the CDA does not address what is ‘right’ or ‘wrong’, we align ourselves with Habermas (1982) who argues that what we need is a communicative rationality capable of correcting discursive distortions. We see this as a way to advance the role of CDA as a method to reach a comprehensive critical theory of society which can account for emancipation strategies, especially in cases where colonization and domination are limiting human rights to equal access in society.

As explained above, often the confusion in a communicative act is inherent in the very structure of the message. Such is the case with the situation created by the Charter of

1954. We are constantly referred to by the government in The Hague as “equal partners” in the kingdom. But every time we assume that role, conflicts arise that have reached the point in the past where the Dutch government uses the threat of military intervention to reassume its dominance (article 43 of the Charter of 1954)¹⁰. If we are an autonomous nation, Pais Kòrsou as Curaçaoan politicians nowadays refer to Curaçao, why is there still an ongoing conflict regarding our autonomous right to manage our own affairs, as seen fit by the government of Pais Kòrsou? The promise of equal partnership by Queen Wilhelmina, as expressed in her radio speech of 1942¹¹ did not come true. Which is not surprising as the speech was not designed to relinquish Dutch colonial rule, but instead to enlist America’s aid in the war.

By definition, equality cannot exist in semi-autonomous or “semi-independent” situations. As noted above, such a situation is an “untenable paradox” or double bind. The Theory of Logical Types of Whitehead and Russell (1910) underlines this impossibility. The Dutch kingdom is a dominant, colonizing superset controlled by the Dutch parliament while Curaçao and the other islands and their parliaments are all a dominated subset of that superset. Therefore, Curaçao (or any of the other islands) can never be an “equal partner” in the Dutch kingdom. When we ignore these facts, we encounter situations of absurd, irrational and even schizophrenic behaviour. The social conflict theorist Roger V. Gould, who has studied and analyzed the formal structure of relations of domination, reached a similar conclusion, namely that “... serious conflicts, i.e. conflicts that can lead to irrational behaviour and violence , war, revolution, etc., arise in situations where the hierarchy between the levels of these relationships is not clearly established.” Following Gould it can be concluded that, double bind type conflict where there is contempt and denigration of “the Other” can lead to explosive and violent situations. Such a result was attested in the violent riots that took place on May 30, 1969 in Curaçao, where Afro- Curaçaoan demonstrators, as a consequence of discrimination and social-economic inequality, burned and looted half of the capital city of Willemstad, stopping and attacking any Dutch person encountered in their path. Curaçao’s relationship with the Netherlands is one of constant conflict regarding the legitimacy of Dutch political meddling in the island’s internal affairs. These intrusions are often legitimized by the Charter of 1954, at the same time the same document is used as “proof” of relationships of equality in the kingdom. For space reasons, we will not do a detailed analysis of the entire Charter,

¹⁰ Article 43 of the Charter of 1954 in its two paragraphs states:

1. Each of the countries (Netherlands Antilles and the Netherlands) is responsible for the realization of human rights and fundamental freedoms, legal security and the strength of good governance.
2. Ensuring these rights, freedoms, legal security and robustness of the good governance is a matter of the kingdom.

¹¹ In a radio address on 7 December 1942, Queen Wilhelmina promised that after the WWII war it would be possible to reconstruct the Kingdom (and its overseas territories) on the solid foundation of complete partnership. For the complete speech visit: <http://indonesiadutch.blogspot.com/2010/06/radio-address-by-queen-wilhelmina-on-7.html>

but instead limit ourselves to three main points which manifest its ambivalent structure

- The formation of the government of the Dutch kingdom (*Rijksregering*), consists of a council of ministers of the kingdom, where the islands of former the Netherlands Antilles together have joint representation of only 1 minister meaning that in practical terms the metropole still rules over the colonies who have remained in the Kingdom.
- By introducing the concept of “affairs of the kingdom” (*Koninkrijks-aangelegenheden*) that are to be handled exclusively by the metropole, means that areas such as international relations and defence are totally beyond any form of control by Curaçao or the other islands. As a consequence, Curaçao can not be a full member of any international organization such as United Nations, CARICOM or the Olympic Committee.
- Article 43, which states that the Kingdom (read the Dutch government, see above) is charged with guaranteeing good governance, is considered by many to be *carte blanche* for Holland to intervene in local politics. In contrast, Curaçao (or other islands) can *not* use this instrument to intervene in the Netherlands, where there is abundant evidence of poor governance and ever more openly racist and fascist tendencies. The decision to use this instrument, of course is decided by the Council of Ministers of the Kingdom, where the islands together have only ONE representative.

Critical Discourse Analysis can also deconstruct the language used by the Dutch in and around the Charter of 1954. The Charter uses the word *gelijkwaardig*, not *gelijk* when referring to the relationship among the “equal” partners in the Kingdom. For years since the signing of the Charter, critical Curaçaoan groups have discussed this strategic and ambivalent choice of words by the Dutch which implies that the partnership is one of respect, but not of equality.

Another recent example of the ambivalence that typifies Dutch official policy toward young African-Curaçaoans in the Netherlands. Under the guise of “integration policies” the Dutch government first tried to restrict the migration of Curaçaoan youth who are becoming a “problem” because of the rising rates of delinquency among them in Holland. The Dutch way of solving the problem is by ignoring the causes and creating an “ethnic register” of African descended young people. The controversial *Verwijsindex Antillianen* (VIA) is an electronic database designed to specifically register young Antilleans who are supposedly “at risk” for involvement in criminal activities. On December 11, 2006 the governmental body in charge of privacy of personal data gave permission to a Dutch minister to violate the right to privacy for the first time in history, in order to set up the VIA.

The organization of Antilleans and Arubans in Holland, OCaN (*Stichting Overlegorgaan Caribische Nederlanders*) and MAAPP (*Movimentu Antiano i Arubano pa Promové Partisipashon*), brought a case against this discriminatory behaviour to the Court in the Hague, which decided in their favour on July 26, 2007. The Dutch government appealed this decision, and, despite the clear evidence of violation of human rights and ethnic profiling¹² involved in the establishment of the VIA, the Council of State of Law (*Raad van State*), overruled the decision of the Court in the Hague, effectively aligning itself with the racist policies. On December 21, 2008, three months after this decision of the Council of State, Holland received an official visit by human rights commissioner of the European Council. A large number of community representatives and human rights experts put their complaint regarding the VIA to the commissioner, who reminded the Dutch government of its international obligations. On December 19, 2008, the minister announced that he had found an alternative to the VIA and the program was officially ended.

Conclusion

A Japanese Zen parable tells the story of a student who goes to study with a Master in the mountains. After 5 years of study, the student asks the Master if he is ready to go out into the world again and the Master replies “Not yet.” After ten years, the student receives the same answer to his question from the Master. After 15 years the student receives the same answer. After seventeen years, the student decides for himself to leave, puts on his backpack, and goes to the Master to tell him “Goodbye, teacher”. It was only then that the Master replied “Farewell and blessings.”

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In this article, we have used an integrative approach to demonstrate the double bind dilemma of the *Yu di Kòrsou*. The doubly bound relationship between Curaçao and Holland as “partners” in the kingdom as formalised in the Charter of 1954 has given rise to a hegemonic dynamic of (mis-)communication. There can be no “free” development of a cultural identity by citizens of Curaçao while they are holding tight to their claim to Dutch citizenship and are looking for constant approval while rejecting any intervention. The *Yu di Kòrsou* will finally stand up when he can determine for himself what his identity must be and not depend on what or who is determining his right to belong. To do so it is necessary to deconstruct all ambiguous and double binding hegemonic discourses which only lead to absurd and irrational behaviours of dependency. Critical Discourse Analysis, the Interactional Communication model of the Palo Alto Group, and postcolonial theory taken together offer us a framework within which we can deconstruct this double bind situation that

¹² “Ethnic profiling” is the use of prejudice by police, security officers, customs officials, and immigration agents, with respect to the race, ethnicity, religion or nationality to determine whether or not to take action against an individual, instead of basing their decision on their observation of that individual’s actual behaviour.

the *Yu di Kòrsou* finds himself in as a (post)colonial Dutch citizen. To those who argue that such an approach lacks scientific rigor and that it is too eclectic, we contend that in an era of post-positivist science, it is precisely the simplistic, non-eclectic approach of the scientific “establishment” that has time and time again failed all tests of accountability to the facts (i.e., “rigor” in its truest sense) and led us to the threshold of a social and ecological collapse. Science can no longer be viewed as an activity that blindly follows old recipes that yield explanations which are “acceptable” to the forces of domination that are destroying our society and our planet.

In this new era, scientific activity can be thought of as the creative pursuit of a deeper, more complete understanding of problems in order to formulate more effective solutions in the interests of the communities who we as scientists are supposed to serve, rather than in the interests of those who seek to exploit those communities (Polkinghorne, 1983: 3). In my case, being a native of Curaçao, instead of hiding my subjectivity and emotional involvement and commitment, I openly admit to taking a strong position as a scientist in the interest of my community, rather than playing the academic charade of pretending to be “objective” while consciously or unconsciously reproducing the dominant discourses of science and culture that are destroying my community. In this connection, I would also like to argue for more serious study of Caribbean philosophers who may contribute to a deeper understanding of our Caribbean identity, as heirs of the African Diaspora.

140 The *Yu di Kòrsou* is real when he has his own space to create the cultural narrative that fits the environment he lives in, without limitations and restrictions on his human right to self determination and emancipation as an independent citizen. The citizens of Curaçao must search for such a space from which to deconstruct the Dutch hegemonic narrative by re-searching, re-discovering, re-constructing, re-inventing and reproducing our own cultural sense of belonging as citizens aware of our roots in the African Diaspora, living in the Caribbean with our string still attached to mother Europe. It is only then that the *Yu di Kòrsou* can really stand up as a self-determined citizen who is proud of all his roots.

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**UNPACKING HEGEMONIC AND SUBALTERN DISCOURSES ON
LITERATURE AND CULTURE IN THE ABC-ISLANDS AND BEYOND**

LITERARY TEXTS ON SLAVERY IN THE PAST AND FUTURE. TULA: FROM REBEL TO NATIONAL HERO

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Introduction

Slavery and race play a major role in Curaçaoan history and literature. For example, race is a recurrent theme in the work of Frank Martinus and shapes much of his literary treatment of Europe and the United States on the one hand and the African Continent on the other. In his most recent novel *De deserteurs* (2006), he describes the beginning and the course of the North American Revolutionary War from 1776 to 1783 by thirteen small colonies against England. His narrative theme is the principle of complete and universal human equality, including the slaves in North America and the Caribbean. How can a country fight for political independence and freedom, if it does not grant individual freedom to all of its own inhabitants? After all, the declaration of independence of July 4th 1776 does not mention a word about the abolition of slavery.

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Imagology and literary processing

This article does not offer a historic analysis of slavery, abolition or emancipation, but instead examines how slavery, abolition and emancipation have been expressed in Curaçaoan literature, utilizing the imagologic method of textual, inter-textual and contextual research¹. This article therefore focuses on the cultural collective memory instead of history, through freedom of the imagination and through the esthetic structure of the text in its emotional, cognitive and moral functions (Schram, 1990).

The history of Curaçao has three important pivotal points: the great slave revolt of 1795, abolition in 1863, and the workers' strikes and ensuing revolt of May 30th

¹ Imagology investigates the image as evaluation, not as a search for an objective truth. The imagological investigation can be (and has to be) textual, intertextual as well as contextual. Textual imagology investigates texts on the level of words, focusing on what is written, on what has been formulated, on which data is mentioned and which data is not mentioned, on what is considered positive and what has a negative connotation. The intertextual approach compares different texts with one another. Is there a difference between auto-imagology and hetero-imagology and what is the quality of that difference? Is it possible to explain these differences? The contextual approach relates what is similar to what is different and what is constant to what is changing in the image due to historical and cultural developments (Leersen, 2007: 17-32; Rutgers, 2009: 145-149).

1969². All three have had an impact on the history of the country – and on its literature. While historians have studied and described the slave revolt(s) in considerable detail, relatively little scholarly work has as yet been done on how these events have impacted Curaçaoan literature. Because of its pioneering nature, this article will need to take stock of all of these events, rather than focus on just one. We can, however divide our work into the three periods defined by these key historical events: 1) 1795-1863; 2) 1863-1969; and 3) 1969 to the present. In each of these three literary periods, the role of Tula, the leader of the slave revolt of 1795 resurfaces as the benchmark time after time. Therefore, by focusing on Tula, we can begin our exploration of all three periods. By limiting ourselves to written sources from a slave-based society, we inevitably portray the visions and images of the slave holding elite. The written and published texts discussed here may be *about* slaves, but were never written by the slaves themselves. The enslaved, therefore, remain voiceless in this process³.

Reactions on the revolt of 1795 and Tula

Towards the end of the 18th century, Curaçao had a population of almost 20,000 of whom approximately 4,000 were people of European descent, nearly 3,000 were free people of African and Afro-European descent and almost 13,000 were African descended slaves. After the second English period (1807-1816), the island's inhabitants had decreased to 14,000 plus, and the number slaves had almost halved to 6,765. (Do Rego, 1995: 14; 2009: 26, 32)

Which image does the contemporary literature provide of the events of 1795? Bartholomeus Senior's diary gives an actual account of the revolt at first hand: "Today, Monday August 17th 1795, the black slaves of all farmers in Banda Abau revolted to claim freedom." However, the author's apparently ambiguous stand on the situation in the first sentence is replaced by one that supports the authorities in the rest of the text, as he speaks of 'brazen Negroes' and 'our army' of citizens, soldiers and free mulattos. The punishments meted out to the rebellious slaves are recounted impassively and calmly: hanged, broken on the wheel, flogged, hands chopped off, strangled, beheaded, dragged and the brains bashed in with a sledgehammer – all without further comment. His report on the verdict pronounced for the slave leader

² Curaçao had three major slave revolts: in 1718, 1750 and 1795, but during the entire slavery period there was constant unrest and silent resistance: indirect passive resistance, the refusal to work, slow down actions, minor and major *marronage*, suicide, etc. However, there was also constant creative resistance in the form of oration, such as songs, and Nanzi stories. Slaves were not agent-less victims; they acknowledged, expressed and celebrated their identity in music, dance, songs and stories.

³ Alongside the written literature, the oral tradition and other forms of oration tell us about the protest against slavery in song and story. No locally written literary sources on slavery have been preserved from before 1795. It is only with the great slave revolt of 1795 that texts surfaced in the form of accounts in narrative style on the incidents, and in these cases the image evoked was that which reflected the plantation holders' and slave owners' point of view and not that of the rebellious slaves themselves (Schram, 1990).

Tula reads laconically: “On October 30th, captain Tula and Bastian Carpat were broken on the wheel and beheaded”.

Also from first hand experience, is the extremely interesting account of father Jacobus Schinck, who visits the rebellious slaves on August 19th at plantation Port S. Mari and tries to persuade them to give themselves up to their masters again in exchange for promises of ‘forgiveness for what had happened’. He speaks with captain Tula (which he spells as *Toela*) as ‘their father’ and points out the impossibility of escaping the small bare island and of the ‘accidents and calamities’ that awaited the slaves if they persisted⁴. Subsequently, Tula is given the floor at length in this account, where he is reported as having said: “We have already been mistreated very badly, we do not wish to harm anyone but seek our freedom ...”

Schinck emphasizes the good treatment received from the rebellious slaves. He is given tobacco, food and a room to stay in for the night where a bible was laid ready for him. However, when he hears French liberation songs being sung in the night, he becomes very frightened and longs for the morning. The next day he is given a horse and is sent off with the message: “We long for nothing but our freedom”. In his account, Schink admits to being so upset by what had happened that he wanted to return to Europe ‘to regain his peace of mind’ but his request to do so was eventually rejected by the authorities.

Through Schink’s narrative, many of the words that he ascribes to Tula have become famous, such as: “Mister Father, do not all people descend from a father Adam and a mother Eve? (...) O Divine Majesty! O Purest Spirit! Is it Thy will that we are so mistreated?” In Schink’s account, Tula closes an argument about political situation with the following words: “the French Negroes received their freedom, France has conquered Holland, so we should become free here as well.” (Paula, 1974: 267-271)

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Colonial voices before and after abolition

Curaçao’s first weekly newspaper, *The Curaçao Gazette* began publication in 1812 and has been published from 1816 until the present day under the name *Curaçaosche Courant*. The newspaper was the mouthpiece of the establishment and slavery was not a major subject of discussion, and there was no journalistic interest in Tula at all. Although the entire society was organized around and imbued with slavery, – as evidenced by announcements in the newspaper of slaves or sale and of bounties for runaways – little was published in the way of literature about slavery itself. Some poems by readers were published in the newspaper, but these were rarely devoted to that topic. In the few instances where readers broached the topic of slavery, they never expressed opinions against the institution itself – and instead complained about issues

⁴ The spelling of Tula varies, depending on the author.

of abuse, such as owners who granted freedom to their slaves late in life so as to be rid of the obligation to feed and house them, in the following poem⁵:

Prudentio: Good works in appearance only

One does read of mercies,
That are cruel and pitiless:
My singing nymph will analyze this clearly,
Separating the truth from the appearance,
She is constantly mindful of the sincerity,
Most of all she holds dear the virtue.
A certain misses living here,
Whom I will call SEVERA,
Had a slave of early days,
Usually called DOCILIA;
She wanted to free that bondmaid
“I have,” she said, “devised a good work”,
I will accomplish this before I die,
So that after my death I may
Acquire a place in the Kingdom of heaven,
Not devoid of acts of charity.
In her life, Docilia has
Served me well, but having become old;
I will now give her, her freedom;
And have entrusted my housework,
To another two young slaves;
Come here Docilia,
I will confirm you this charter;
You are freed of all slave labor.
You may, this is my pleasure,
Seek lodging at your desire,
My brave girl, and from now on,
You may pass your days in freedom and in peace.”
One saw Docilia leave,
But oh, she was already old and stiff,
Her state should arouse passion in all,
She only had the clothes she wore;
No roof above her head,

⁵ From time to time, we see critical writing on the relation between European descended and African descended inhabitants of the island, but this appears to be exceptional (Rutgers, 1988).

So she had to beg in the streets,
Saw her loyal duty rewarded,
With freedom, without help or profit;
She lived in poverty for a few years,
Wandered the streets for a piece of bread,
And found after all was considered,
No other way out than death.

(*De Curaçaosche Courant*, August 16th 1817)

We come across various views on Curacao in 19th century narratives by Dutch teachers, preachers and soldiers who lived on the island for varying lengths of time. In their accounts, they often pay some attention to race relations and the problem of the slavery. For instance, teacher Gerrit Gijsbert van Paddenburgh (1819: 75-78) thought that the fate of the ‘bloated, lazy, thievish and difficult to control’ slaves was much better than that of ‘the small manual worker and day laborer’ in the old country: “The Negroes and colored as well as the slaves (...) have considerably less needs than do we sophisticated Europeans.” Soldier H.J. Abbring (1834: 81, 99) on the other hand, wrote fifteen years later in favor of the slaves and against the whites: “The Negro slave is a good human being, who lacks nothing but the freedom and the upbringing to become all that which the European imagines he/she is.” He criticized ‘white pride’ in this way: “The haughtiness of being of pure blood, that is, those of whose ancestors having no Negroes or Mulattos, is ridiculous among the Creoles”.

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Dutch teacher Philip Phoel lived on Curaçao from 1816–1847. In 1825 his *Mengelingen* (‘Miscellaneous Notes’) on the great revolt appeared in *De Curaçaosche Courant*, thirty years after the event. Although he was not an eye witness, he apparently still received his information first hand. Phoel was very thorough in his actual account of the incident, in which he used a vehement and biased style. For instance, he spoke of “examples of contempt for, or brutality towards the superior” on the part of mutineers, rogues and rebels, who were motivated in their behavior by excessive alcohol abuse and the drinking of *awa di juramentu* a mixture of rum, gun powder and water, with the intention of ousting all whites and establishing a Negro government with Toela as chief because he “was the biggest of all and spoke to their liking.” Phoel only referred indirectly to the celebrated conversation between Tula and priest Schinck: “Toela then spoke up, complaining loudly about the poor treatment the slaves were subjected to...” Phoel also described how Tula removed other rebels from the room during this exchange, because he “feared the others would be persuaded to surrender by the priest”.

The development of hostilities was described in detail, without mentioning the specific role of Tula. In general, the blacks are described as “drunk, furious, mad,

raving, and hysterical”, and the white plantation holders (the *shon*) as dignified masters. Phoel elaborates on the punishments, describes the gallows, the cutting off of hands and feet, breaking bodies on the wheel and throwing corpses into the sea. “These severe punishments caused such a shock to the rough minds of the slaves that the others reported to the commander with the highest hope to beg for mercy.” One of their ears was cut off for future recognition. Betrayed by his own people, Tula was taken prisoner, brought to the city and tried. “As chief of the Negro republic, “he was “adorned by the soldiers in a comical way” and after interrogation “was broken on the wheel from the bottom up, blackened in the face and beheaded.” During the interrogations, the slaves are given a limited voice, complaining of issues such as Sunday work assignments. . The “chief offenders” received the severe punishments mentioned above, while ‘minor’ offenders were flogged or sold abroad. In his account, Phoel expresses some degree of horror at the cruel punishments but ultimately glosses over them as being normal for the times.

After the priest and the teacher, the preacher put pen to paper. In his *Reizen in West-Indië* (1829-1836), preacher G.B. Bosch wrote in detail about the ‘popular revolt’ of 1795. The entire island including the slaves soon learned of the developments in France and in Haiti. This led to “contempt for the masters” and “traces of reluctance” which “gradually” converted them into “arsonists, poisoners and murderers, partly due to and mainly under influence of hard liquor.” From the order and details of his narrative, it appears that he had read the account of Phoel and follows it when describing the incident. The preacher speaks repeatedly of Toela as ‘chief’ – apparently a typographical error – and narrates from the government’s and plantation holders’ perspective. The preacher does not give a full inventory of the particulars of the sentences to which the slaves were condemned and ends by expressing ‘emotion, sadness and horror’ regarding the “frightful punishments,” which he attributes to the dire circumstances in which the slave owners and the government found themselves as well as to the general brutality of punishments that prevailed in the preceding century. In his account of the island’s history, agriculturalist M.D. Teenstra (1837) is relatively brief and reserved on the revolt of 1795. On Tula, he says: “among themselves they appointed a certain Toela as chief (...) a big, fat Negro” (pp. 80-81). Also on the conversation of Tula with priest Schinck “held in high esteem by the Negroes”, he is very terse and does not describe the well-known dialogue at all. On the punishments, he states that the rebels were sentenced “to die a martyr’s death.” (p. 83)

Priest J.J. Putman, who was the first priest Santa Rosa parish from 1837 to 1853, considered the system of slavery as extremely awkward for his missionary work, for which reason he argued repeatedly as far back as the forties for direct and complete emancipation of all slaves in the colony, who after all, were entirely prepared for this

through the mission's work. In reply to a question put to him by the Dutch state commission for the preparation for emancipation on September 4th 1853, he referred to priest Schinck and his conversation with Tula. "In former days, the matter was entirely different from now, because the slaves did not yet have an understanding of religion, which currently exercises such a benevolent influence among them. (...) Even from those times there is evidence that attests to the soundness of my assertions. The noble old priest Schenk, whom they only knew by name, came to them to persuade them to willingly accept the yoke of slavery again, a yoke they thought they had already thrown off, yet he was received and treated with the highest esteem and most possible reverence. If they had shot him immediately because he wanted to deprive them once again of their freedom, it would have come as no surprise [but they didn't]." (p. 82)

Reverend G.J. Simons (1868) is biased in his account of the incident and takes – even after emancipation – for the side of the slave owning establishment. According to Simmons, Schinck has a 'noble and gentle character'(p. 51) but he hardly has a positive word to say about the rebels: "after having broken open the distilling building there and having drunk liberally from the stored rum, the complaining people changed – perhaps justifiably – first into animals and later on into devils."(p. 50) Tula and Bastiaan Carpata are transported initially to Punda and "ridiculed as chiefs of the utopian Negro republic' (p. 53). He does mention the punishments for their "unreasonable" grievances and the "barbaric drama" that unfolded as a result.

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Schoolmaster A.T. Brusse (1882) is not very reliable in his general review of the incidents and battles of 1795. After all, he was writing nearly a century later and was not a historian. Nevertheless, he gives his own interpretation to the behavior of the colonial rulers: "Although one should bear in mind the period in which those horrors were committed, one is still left with the impression on reading the accounts that the civilized whites wanted to show the barbaric Negroes they could be even more bestial than they" (p. 96). In a sarcastic tone he states that: "The brave and honest judges of 1795 probably found those [the slaves'] complaints so unreasonable and so unfounded that in line with their duty and conscience they felt they had to pass the following judgments ..." (p. 97), whereupon the imposed sentences are enumerated. Brusse concludes his brief account as follows: "With regard to the just complaints from the slaves, the government laid down several stipulations that were to prevent them from suffering such wrongs in the future" (p. 98).

At the end of the 19th century, historian J.H.J. Hamelberg (1896) recounts the events of 1795 in a way that is totally biased toward the slave owners and the colonial authorities. He mentions that Tula was the cause of the revolt and that he boasted

about his contact with Rigaud. Hamelberg includes a version of the meeting between Schink and Tula where he makes sure to emphasize that ‘many slaves [were] curious to hear what the priest had to say’ (p. 128) and that ‘the priest’s friendly words [appeared] to make a great impression on their emotions’ (p. 129). With the quotation that “gentleness among the wolves / is harshness towards the sheep”, he writes that “they, who had acted as heads or leaders, were punished in proportion to their crimes; the guiltiest were sentenced to death” (p. 138). Hamelberg mentions Tula’s confession to which he does not attach much value because it was possibly or even likely, “wrested under torture”. Tula confessed “to having instigated everything as the chief of the rebellious Negroes and that nothing had happened except at his command; that it had been the slaves’ intention to murder the whites and to establish a government of Negroes and that he had expected to become governor” (p. 141). Because these words are quoted so obliquely, it appears unlikely that this is a quotation from the mouth of Tula himself. Tula’s punishment is then described in detail and Hamelberg’s concludes: “In this way, the slave revolt that had appeared to be so threatening, was fortunately suppressed and that with the loss of only two human lives” (p. 145) – that is to say white lives – the large number of dead slaves apparently did not count as human lives. In a personal – and in our 21st century eyes an annoyingly paternalistic – comment, Hamelberg wrote that “such inhuman punishments were deemed necessary to maintain the order in our society, in which fellow men were mistreated in such an outrageous manner” and he expressed the hope that “these fellow men would progress more and more in development and civilization, thanks to their emancipation...”

Finally, from the first half of the 20th century there is an account of the events of 1795 by Amelunxen (1929) who describes Tula “as the generally recognized head” of the revolt who had (p. 111) “boasted that he had been connected with the French general Rigaud” (p. 107). He speaks of rebels and rebellious Negroes who, “incited by alcohol and distracted with freedom” (p. 108) had “done considerable evil” (p. 110) and calls Schinck a “brave priest” (p. 111) with so much obvious persuasiveness that Tula was afraid that the rebels would yield to his arguments in favor of surrender. He writes in detail about the “cruel” punishments: 29 slaves were put to death, three were flogged, seven were sold abroad and ten freed slaves were exiled. He gives a detailed account on the punishment reserved for Tula: “that he would be transported to the location where the executions take place; be tied to a cross, be broken on the wheel alive from the bottom up, then blackened in the face, beheaded and the head would be placed on the gallows” (p. 118). This description concludes with a complaint: “What cruelty against defenseless slaves, who had done nothing but seek their freedom. Their own actions since the beginning of the revolt show a great gentleness. How easily it would have been for them to seize the slave traders who frequently were their executioners? Yet they did not do so” (p. 118).

Comparison of these texts reveals inter-textual differences in what is mentioned or not and how it is described. One may assume that many authors copied each other or at least used the work of predecessors as a source. For instance, certain circumstances and incidents are repeated time and again, such as the looks of Tula, the conversation between captain Tula and priest Schinck, the alcohol, the fact that Tula was betrayed by his own people, the manner in which Tula was transported to the city, the punishments and the consequences of the revolt for the colony, etc. These are all used by the authors express their personal views. The imposed punishments are glossed over by some authors as being normal for those days while others are horrified by them. The rebels are depicted by some as brutes and by others as noble savages. The revolt is roundly and relentlessly condemned by some, but considered by others to be an understandable expression of the instinct for freedom that is present in every human being. For example, priest Putman said in 1853 that he would have found it only natural if the slaves had shot priest Schinck on the spot.

While the whites are referred to as ‘masters’ by some authors, other authors highlight their arrogance and ridicule their ideology of superiority. Some emphasize the persuasiveness of Tula in his discussion with Schinck, while others stress that Tula had sent other slaves out of the negotiations because he feared that the priest would convince them to end the revolt. It seems impossible, however, to construct a chronological line as such, based on the authors’ position and temporal distance from the incident, perhaps because of the paucity of sources. In general, one would expect that as time goes on, the views would become more critical of the slave holding establishment, but by 1834, Abbring already shows much more sympathy with the slaves than the writers that follow, most of whom take the side of the plantation holders and the government, even during the years after emancipation. As time goes on, however, abhorrence at the cruelty of the punishments meted out to the slaves becomes stronger. We can reach no other conclusion from all of this than that the views expressed say much more about the authors themselves than about Tula and the events of 1795.

Local reactions to abolition in 1863 and afterwards

On July 1st 1863, slavery in Curaçao was officially abolished, which meant the official emancipation of 6,751 enslaved people. Nevertheless, the emancipation legislation also stipulated that these former slaves were to serve their former masters another ten years, in order to repay the price for which they had been purchased. In view of this, abolition was not considered to be true emancipation, but instead to be a measure by which only the masters were better off, because they received financial compensation.

Just before the end of the *paga tera* system, an anonymous writer who published using the pseudonym ‘P’ in the Papiamentu newspaper and weekly *Civilisadó* which was

published from 1871 to 1875, penned his *Historia di Korsouw* ('History of Curaçao', *Civilisadó* August 3rd 1872 – October 19th 1872) in which he translated and slightly adapted Phoel's account of the slave revolt of 1795 into Papiamentu. After that, he wrote a translated version of the French documentary novel *John Brown* written by Henri E. Marquand – which also appeared in the *Civilisadó* (May 10th 1873 – May 30th 1874). This was a hagiography of the unsuccessful North American abolitionist by the same name, who became famous for his role in the Battle of Harpers Ferry in 1859, which took place just before the American Civil War. Ten years after Dutch abolition, the mysterious 'P' uncompromisingly took up the cudgels for the black population of the island. (Rutgers, 2009: 145-149)

With the twenty-fifth commemoration of emancipation in 1888, a committee of local dignitaries published a 32 page collection of works denouncing slavery in honor of Wilhelm III, the Dutch king who had granted the slaves emancipation, titled *Fiesta Willem III*. However, other critical noises were also to be heard. For example, R.M. Ribbins insisted that "one is not made by one's birth. One's mind, talents, character and personality determine the place where one may stand, where one is to stand. It is only the wise, who are truly free. The narrow-minded, petty fool is a slave." In *Gedachten* Reverend J.A. Tydeman wrote: "Only then, will the human be 'free' in truth, when the light of the spiritual freedom will have come over mankind, and freed from the slave chains of religious coercion, every believer in full understanding of his independence will endeavor in unison to reach the highest, human ideal, which is: 'Pious freedom through free devotion.'" Poet A.A. Wolfschoon wrote a *Canto del Pueblo*, in which we find the strophe: "*Ya no hay esclavos, ya no hay señores, / Por todas partes se repitió: / 'No hay oprimidos, no hay opresores;' / 'El hombre es libre, libre nació.'*" During the celebrations, several detainees were pardoned or had their sentences commuted. There is absolutely no mention of the great slave revolt of 1795 and the role of Tula in those events. Of course, it was more in the interests of the elite line to emphasize the benevolence of King Willem III than the revolt that had threatened their rule and during which they had displayed such merciless brutality.

In 1913, an official program was organized to celebrate the 50th anniversary of emancipation, but this program did not include literature. (CC June 27th 1913) J.H.B. Gravenhorst did, however, publish a story titled '*Iets over den slaventijd*' in *De Vrijmoedige* July 10th – 24th 1913 (Dissr p. 384) [also published in *Tropentaal*, Rutgers, 2002: 170-174]. Afterwards, there appears to be a silence both regarding the commemoration of slavery in general and in the literary field in particular. It was only incidentally that the occasional author harked back to the theme⁶.

⁶ For example, in the missionary paper *La Cruz*, a serial '*Catiboe Samboe i su famia*' appeared in the issue of September 6th – September 15th 1911 to moralistically demonstrate that Catholics had been good slave masters in the past, and had only wished the best for the enslaved. Protagonist Samboe is sold as nineteen-year old from Africa to Curaçao but fortunately for him, to the good Roman Catholic owner Julio Webster. Samboe marries (!)

Although the literature on Tula was scarce during the first half of the 20th century, we still find in M.A. Fraai's *Un huerfano* an elegy to freedom, which reminds us of the slave revolt of 1795 and the leading role of Tula as one of the four leaders: “*e tera cu a chupa nan sanger inocente tabata exclama venganza na cielu.*” Fraai describes in detail the words of Tula to priest Schinck and the cruel punishment he suffered: “*un desendiente di bos raza africana, den cuyo benanan, e sanger africana, ta circula ta manda boso un saludo cordial, un saludo di respeto, un saludo di admiracion pa boso animo, balor i heroismo*”⁷. Except for the narratives mentioned above which were very few and very far between, Tula was practically erased from historical memory, and we must wait until more than a century after abolition before he is effectively wrested from oblivion.

The revolt of May 30th 1969

On May 30th 1969, - after a long latent period of muffled unrest – a strike broke out on Curaçao that ended in arson and plundering, turning a large part of the capital Willemstad into a smoldering ruin⁸. Socially and economically, the laborers would no longer put up with having to stand at the back of the line. After this ‘revolution’, a barrage of historic texts on slavery was unleashed, whereby the slave revolt of 1795 and the leadership of slaves such as Tula once again took center stage. The authors of these works were not as concerned about the cognitive processing of the revolt of 1795 as they were with the emotional and moral processing of a heroic historic event that was coming to be associated with the ongoing battle for social recognition of the descendants of the enslaved in Curaçao. Freed from the negative qualifiers of the past, Tula was declared a national hero. For the first time, the Eurocentric perspective was

and has children. When the owner dies, his wife is unable to repay several debts and is forced to sell Samboe, his son Ben and grandson John to a cruel slave trader. Emilio and Maria flee with their young son to Ohio with the help of the sympathetic but indebted owner. En route, a few faithful whites, who oppose slavery, help them. Samboe and Ben are eventually transported to the US South, but after having rescued a nine-year old girl from death by drowning, a good owner bought them. A family member of Mrs. Webster, Mr. Rojer, eventually helps her with her financial problems. The Samboe family is finally reunited and given their freedom (Rutgers, 1996).

⁷ We do find historic accounts and novels on slavery in the Caribbean-Dutch literature though (namely the literature of Dutch writers on the Caribbean area). For example, authors such as C. van Wessem, Theun de Vries, Simon Vestdijk, Johan van de Walle, Nelleke Noordervliet and many others. The authors, who had truly seen the Caribbean area with their own eyes during the course of four-hundred years, have been collected in *Noordoostpassanten* (2005) by Michiel van Kempen and Wim Rutgers.

⁸ Even before May 30th 1969, Bacilio (1999: 67-75) gives a chronological summary of the manner in which the revolt of 1795 and Tula's role in it were coming back into focus for the people of the island. For instance, in the early sixties, on the initiative of the Curaçaoan author Guillermo Rosario, the idea was launched to create a Freedom Park with statutes of the slave leaders; the Carpatulista movement was founded on July 26th 1967; the August 17th movement was founded on May 16th 1968; in 1968 the Fundashon pa Promové i Divulgá Identidat Antiano was established; the abolition of slavery was officially commemorated for the first time on July 1st 1968; groups such as Tribunaal and Hubentut '70 were active in the 1970s; the August 17th Platform Coordination Committee was set up in 1981; August 17th 1985 was the first time that the slave revolt of 1795 was officially commemorated; on March 12th 1986 the Association for Advancement of Historic Awareness was founded; the Island Council decided on February 10th 1987 to establish a National Park, where the monument ‘¿Desenkadená?’ designed by Nel Simon in commemoration of the revolt of 1795 was unveiled on October 17th 1998.

challenged in print by an Afrocentric worldview that positioned the enslaved and their leaders who dared to take a stand against the *shon* as central agents in Curaçaoan history. To bring about this literary and social watershed, all three genres: drama, prose and poetry, were deployed⁹.

Pierre A. Lauffer had already led the way in 1951 with his '*Keho di katibu*' (*Simadán* no. 2, 1951: 28). This publication marked a complete innovation in perspective because the slave is no longer just spoken about, but instead the slave is given a voice with which he vehemently denounces the *bomba*, the black foreman and representative of the slave owner. The social conflict is represented for the first time from the slaves' point of view. In his narrative 'Tula' published later on, Lauffer embeds the Tula story in a matrix narrative. Papa Monchi, a proud, old, black plantation foreman acts as a *griot*, who passes on the old stories to the younger generation. In this instance, he tells some children about the life and ideals of Tula. "*Ami ta neger puru (...) Neger puru di Elmina. No tin ningun blanku ku a dañ a mi rasa.*". He describes Tula very positively as someone with a good heart and a beautiful elegant appearance. His father was a leader of in Mali, and as 'crown prince' Tula received much respect because he defended his people and helped them when they had been punished by the masters by bringing them food and drink and by putting ointment on their wounds, at the risk of his own life. Naturally, he was chosen as leader for the great revolt although he had not even reached the age of forty. He does not wish to repay evil with evil. He argues that the slaves should be freed because The Netherlands has become part of France where slavery has already been abolished. Tula encourages the slaves during the battle, but is against setting fire to the storehouses. The narrator uses Tula's words from the official documents. Although Tula remains steadfastly against arguments to give up the struggle, when he realizes that the battle is lost, in tears he calls out to the men to surrender until the next opportunity to revolt: *Mi ta kere pastor*. [I believe the priest] Tula is betrayed, taken prisoner and put to death at the Riff – with the details on the punishment duly described. He died as a man: *Tula a muri manera machu*, without a tear in his eyes. Tula is also described as a faithful person: "*Dios Spiritu Santu, no laga e lantamentu akí ta pòrnada.*"¹⁰

An even more intense focus on Afro-Curaçaoan people and culture can be found in the great Papiamentu historic novel by Guillermo e. Rosario, *E rais ku no ke muri* (1969).

⁹ Among these we can mention: Guillermo E. Rosario's *Tula* and *E rais ku no ke muri*, Pacheco Domacassé's *Tula*, Pierre Lauffer's *Tula* (in: *Kwenta na kaminda*), *E leyenda di Buchi Fil*, *Kecho di katibu*, and *Nati a bula bai*, Elis Juliana's *Minimono 2* (1975), Enrique Muller's *Resina*.

¹⁰ The beautifully structured narrative 'Petra su kas' [The house of Petra], which also appeared in the collection entitled *Kwenta pa kaminda*, reinterprets the relationship between a destitute plantation owner and his beloved concubine. The old *shon* leaves his entire inheritance – the stately home and the land to his black beloved and her grandchild – and not to his legal family. In a short story in English by Camille Baly, *Tete and Massa Yaya* (1995: 148-151; Rutgers, 2001: 41-46), the *bomba* cares for the master, who comes under the spell of black culture but, as white master, simultaneously feels he should reject that culture, trapping himself entirely in the ensuing confusion.

In this work about slavery, Tula and the great revolt of 1795, the principal character Kato is still a child of thirteen years in Africa when the story begins, and his sister is even younger when slave traders violate her. Kato grows up and becomes the leader of his community. He marries and is given a son by his wife Kalina. Together with his wife and baby boy, he is taken prisoner and is taken as a slave to the Caribbean.

The childless *Shon* Henki van de Das on Curaçao grants his concubine Kalina and her two children freedom when he realizes that she is pregnant, but when he notices that his former bondmaid had not given birth to a child from him but from her husband Kato, he kills her and the newborn girl, and subsequently takes his own life. Kato sends his children to France but they get no further than Hispaniola, where they are taken under the care of his mistress Lala, the widow of slaveholder Brunning, who raises the children by keeping the memory of their father alive. Kato visits her there and falls under the spell of the emancipator Toussaint.

In this way, Guillermo E. Rosario portrays a romanticized picture of the life of Tula in *E rais ku no ke muri* (1969). He uses the historic facts but also permits himself a few of the liberties of the novelist. In a conversation with priest Schinck three years before the great revolt, Kato says he will assume the proud fighter's name Tula – Toussaint. While Tula prepares a revolt with his people in 1792, Lala calls him back to Hispaniola, presenting him with the dilemma of either marrying her or freeing his island from slavery. The revolt planned for early 1792 fails due to betrayal by two drunken talkative mulattos and a Negro.

Rosario describes the revolt of August 17th 1795 from Tula's perspective and strongly emphasizes the connection with the Haitian revolution. Furthermore, he gives a considerable role to a certain white Miss Roda, who is on the side of the rebels, and a certain Maladi from Haiti who becomes Tula's third partner (p. 148). In contrast to other works, in this narrative females play a very important part in the revolt. Other elements that set Rosario's story apart are romanticized conversations and descriptions of Tula's feelings, reflections, and doubts about the success of the revolt. Tula even receives a manumission letter from Lala, which is unfortunately stolen from him on the eve of the great revolt, when Tula had been drinking a bit too much. Rosario shifts the perspective from white to black so that the drunkenness so strongly emphasized by other authors is now attributed to a small group operating separately from Tula, who are also responsible for the arson attacks.

Priest Schinck is described favorably and in detail (pp. 165-169) but leaves the negotiations empty-handed and disappointed. Time after time, Tula's fairness and kindness is placed in stark contrast to the cruelty of the colonial government. Tula loses the battle because the slaves from Band'Ariba did not join him and because the expected assistance from French ships never materialized. Rosario also provides details on how Stribé betrayed Tula – just as Judas betrayed Jesus Christ (p. 182). The

conviction and trial of Tula is described in full detail as are the cruel punishments inflicted on human beings who sought nothing more than their freedom. The narrator concludes by stressing the humanity displayed by the slaves, who could have easily laid waste to the entire island and killed all the masters, and compares it to the inhumanity of the slave owners, the colonial authorities and their brutal punishments. The novel concludes by foreshadowing eventual emancipation in 1863, with a letter from Tula to Toussaint, who was imprisoned in France, which vows that some day we will realize the freedom of our race “*E raisnan lo bolbe sali atrobe...!*” [The roots will sprout once again].

Pacheco Domacassé’s *Tula, un drama historiko, e rebelion di 1795* (1975) is a drama that represents the great slave revolt of August 17th 1795 through the eyes of those who witnessed and participated in the events of 1969, when a large part of Willemstad went up in flames after a workers’ rebellion. The politically engaged theater group *Nos Causa* (‘Our Cause’) presented it for the first time on June 1st 1971. The play breathes the spirit of May 30th 1969 in its fierce tone, raw emotion and racial contradictions. In this piece, Tula is an aggressive, rough revolutionary who has a more unconciliatory attitude towards the plantation holders and the colonial government than the Tula in the works mentioned above, where he is described as the morally superior advocate of freedom and equality for all. Opposite the warlike hero stands the frightened plantation owner and his family as metaphor for the absolute separation between slave and master. “*Ta imposibel pa un hende blanku i liber komprende nos lucha.*”(57)

Rum is given a considerably less prominent presence in Domacassé’s version of the story and there is a detailed account of a ‘*montamentu*’ whereby an African war spirit gives a prophecy in a spiritualistic séance. The text follows the incidents insofar these are known from the old documents but adapts them for a theatrical performance by representing dialogues among the rebels, which are not based on any document, and by punctuating these dialogues with song and dance. The rebels assign themselves names and functions, so Tula becomes captain Tula Rigo. Commander Gachi Toussaint is the fierce and most militant of the rebels.

The text follows the events through the rebels’ experience. The soldiers do not come on stage nor do the whites, with the exception of priest Schinck, who is described favorably. In the conversation between Tula and the priest, Tula is considerably fiercer than in the narrative written by Schinck himself. At the end of the scene, the priest gives the rebels a blessing before he leaves! The role of free blacks and women in this version is minimal. The battle is lost rather quickly, while no mention is made of a victory at the beginning of the revolt, and the punishments are quoted from the official documents.

The traitor is given a name Johans and an excuse: he turned against Tula after he was tortured. At the end, the text includes a detailed and heated discussion between Tula’s

judge and Tula himself, which is nowhere to be found in the historical records. Tula predicts that in the future children will hear of the battles waged by their ancestors, saying that the seed we have sown today will never die. Tomorrow our children will be smarter than we are, they will talk about us, they will write about us and they will use us as an example in their battle for recognition, freedom and respect: “*e simiya ku awe nos a planta, lo no muri nunca. Mañan nos yunan lo ta mas sabi ku nos, nan lo papia di nos, nan lo skirbi di nos i nan lo tuma nos komo ehempel den nan lucha pa REKONOSIMIENTO, LIBERTAT I RÉSPÉT!!!*”(82)

In 1988, Carel de Haseth published *Katibu di shon*, which portrays the corrosive effects of racism and slavery on both European and African descended people alike. In this novel, Tula is not mentioned as a character. The two leading figures are Wilmoë, the son of a plantation owner and the rebellious slave Louis, not Tula. Central to this work is the triangular relationship between Louis, Wilmoë and Anita, a young girl who overcomes differences through love. Louis and Wilmoë were born on the same day and had the same foster mother. Louis, who participates with the slave revolt in 1795 and awaits his conviction and trial in prison, expresses his opinion on his youth:

“If I were to complain that my youth was miserable, then I would be lying. Although I was born a slave, I nonetheless enjoyed the fascinating world of a child In our children’s fantasies, *Shon* Wilmoë was sometimes even my slave and I his master. Everything changed though once we became older, but as children, we were like brothers We both were in love with Anita, until *Shon* Wilmoë ... betrayed me and claimed her by taking advantage of his power as master. When I realized what he had done, I became furious and almost crazy with grief.” (151)

The awakening love for the young but attractive girl simultaneously symbolizes the loss of childhood innocence and the awakening of racial rivalry.(158) Wilmoë points out that:

“She [Anita] says that she loved us both from early childhood and that she had already understood this love would not make her life easy. If she were to choose for Louis, then I would not allow that. If she were to choose for me, then Louis would object, thinking I must have abused my power. Instead of allowing us to make her life bitter, she decided to love both Louis and me, hoping to show us that true love does not recognize the boundaries that slavery draws between people. We evidently had not understood her message and had fallen under the spell of our vindictiveness.” (pp. 162-163)

An opera, the first in Papiamentu, based on this novel is in preparation, in which Anita stands at the center, and justly so: only a woman could give unselfish love to two men consumed by selfishness.

On being imprisoned after the failed revolt, Louis relates a dream in which he tried to fell a tree which sprang back to life every time he cut it down. Initially Louis interprets this dream as a sign of the impossibility of the revolt, but afterwards he realizes that the tree symbolizes the vitality and resilience of the slaves, who after every setback, would proudly rise again. Louis dreamed of the tree of freedom! He feels free and he is free, even though he knows he has only one night to live and that he will have to die the next day on the scaffold: No matter how easy it is to murder a slave, the more difficult it is to force him to ask for forgiveness. The juxtaposition of Louis' spiritual freedom with his physical lack of freedom, contrasts sharply with the circumstances of *Shon* Wilmoë and the other slave masters and their descendents, who will have to live with a moral dilemma that will never be resolved. Wilmoë invokes the biblical fratricide story of Cain and Abel when he declares that: "I cannot shirk of my guilt and responsibility. I shall have to bear the consequences of my deeds for the rest of my life. Fate has branded its mark on the face of my conscience." (p. 180)

In the decades after the enthusiasm around 1969 had begun to fade, the image of Tula in literature began to take on more nuanced interpretations. For instance, Quito Nicolaas wrote in his collection of poems entitled *Gerede twijfels* (2002: 18) "a place where Boni and Tula / saw their imagination evaporate" (p. 18). Similar ideas are expressed in poems by Nicolas Piña Lampe, Elis Juliana, Doble RR, Carel de Haseth, Mickey Hart, Walter Palm and Frida Domacassé all of whom say that a new Tula is needed, a Tula who can help to break down the numerous remains of racialized walls of exclusion inherited from slavery. The painful memories of the past still appear to be very much alive. In the excerpts below from poems by some of these writers, Tula is a metaphor, symbol, personification and role model for Curaçaoan self-awareness, identity and desire for justice and freedom.

Elis Juliana: *Tula*
Lanta Tula, lanta 'riba!
Solo a sali basta ratu.
Ya b'a drumi muchu kaba
den bo hamaka riba Rif.

Ablif Tula? Kiko bo disi?
Papia duru pa mi tende.
Papia! Grita libramente.
N' tin nad'i skonde mas.

[Elis Juliana: Tula
Tula, come on, wake up!
You've been slumbering far too
long already there on the Riff

What did you say? Speak louder!
Don't be afraid to cry out!
There is nothing more to hide now!]

Minimono 2, 1975

Yerba Seku: *Mi ta na kaminda*

Tula
bo nomber ta
simbolo
bo luchi realidad
bo kurashi mester
vibra
den
nos
mente
den tur lucha
pa
hustitia
bo pensamentu
di union
bo Idealismo
bo grandesa mester
tabata
dilanti
den bo lucha
di liberashon
pa e guera
di konsenshi
e guera
kontra abuso
oportunismo
hipokresia
kontra
inhustisia
bo lucha
a soru
p'e
fundeshi
e fundeshi
di union
e fundeshi
di hustisia
e fundeshi
di
liberashon
di
mente

[Tula

Tula, your
Name is a symbol,
You fight
reality
your pride must
quiver
in our
spirit
in every battle
for justice,
your thoughts
of unity
your idealism,
your nobility
were
certainly
in the forefront
in our battle
for freedom.
in the
war
against abuse,
opportunism,
hypocrisy,
against
injustice
has
led to
your battle
for the foundation
the foundation of unity,
the foundation
of justice,
the foundation
for
spiritual
freedom.]

Miseiland, 1971: 15

Enrique Muller

muraya di sklabilitut
bo ta eksisti skondí tapá.
bou di rama i sumpiña
símbolo di doló
ku to nos miedu
miedu di labor
miedu di sodó

ki ora ku mi deskubri bo
den mi pechu ta inflama
un kandela di deseo
di garna kada parti di bo
na puiro ku bientu por hisa
bai dera den laman

pero si mi mira mi ta bati
bo sélulanan di granit den otro
un kalafriu di reflekshon
ta munstra mi ku ta inkompatibel
kaba ku restonan di nos sklabilitut
uzando mi forsa di katibu

Resina, 1976: 16

Nicolas Piña Lampe

Ruman:
no papiami
di catibunan di ayera
no papiami
ni di bomba
ni carbachi
ni di Tula o di Karpata
cu a pesar di ansh'i morto
nan dilanti
a lamanta
halza nan voz
pa protesta
contra colmonan
di crimen i crueldad

No papiami
ni un momento
di nan jaga
nan dolo
nan sufrimento
si den bo
bo n'dicidi
di por lo menos

igual
nan balor
i nan amor
pa libertad

Ruman:
no bringa bo mes ruman
si e ta patriota i sincero
uni cune
i lanta man
contr'e nan
mei mei di nos
sea criojo of estranhero
cu ta abusa di bo virtud
i ta mira
den mi
den bo
ruman
otro Tula otro Bastian
cu e kier mira zota i explota
den un moderno sclavitud

N.A.P.L., August 4th, 1963

Mickey Hart

Katibu'i shon
Na kadena mará
bark'i karga a tresébo
bin labra nos plantashon.

Katibu'i Shon
ni bo bida n'ta di bo
kòrda bo desishon.
Si bo tribi stíma,
asta por kambiábo di shon.

Katibu'i Shon,
mi tesoro añorá,
kuantu tempu mas
bo pía lo keda mará
na mi kurason.

Mi zjar 1980; PSK III: 518

Carel de Haseth

Katibu
Mi no ke ta
katibu di historia
loke a pasa
a pasa
ki mi ta gana
si mi keda gruña
zundra, kunsumí
loke tabata
mi no por kambia mas
loke mester bin ainda
kisas mi por influenshá

m'a komprondé
ki m'a hasi malu
i ki abuso
nan a hasi ku mi
: awor
mi n'ke ta
katibu di historia
loke a pasa
a pasa

Poesia venená, 1985: 28

di kon abo si ta keda perdè tempu
changando fantasma antikuá
en bes di laga
bientu di historia?

Conclusion

Although quite a few studies have been published the past years on the great slave revolt of August 17th 1795, it is perhaps primarily literary work that is keeping the memory of those events alive, by reinterpreting the past creatively time and again. The emancipation of the slaves that was proclaimed on July 1st 1863 has been officially described as a goodwill gesture from Dutch king Willem III. This is actually not true, because it was the slave owners who were compensated, not the slaves. And this

compensation came in the form of ten years of additional forced labor on the plantations by the former slaves. For these reasons, July 1st is not a holiday on Curaçao. Contrary to emancipation in 1863, 1795 has been portrayed in the literature as a heroic historic moment with which the people can and will identify themselves because at that moment, the people actually collectively organized and articulated resistance against the colonial plantation regime. For the key role that he played at that defining moment in Curaçaoan history, Tula is recognized as national hero.

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THE SAME BUT DIFFERENT: SHAW'S *PYGMALION* AND HENRIQUEZ' *LAIZA PORKO SUSHI*¹

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This article aims at drawing you into the cultures of Aruba, Bonaire and Curaçao². And though these three islands no longer belong to the Netherlands Antilles, they still have many things in common.

Human character is shaped by various factors, by example and by perceptions, by life, literature, family, friends, forefathers, by the world we live in and by the legacy of those who have gone before us. Yet, these alone do not determine who we are. We need to be active agents and find ways to express ourselves. May Henriquez was one such active and creative agent who expressed herself, her culture and her language in the varied art forms she employed.

In a letter to a friend, Merle Hodge (1990) writes:

“I am very confident that it is people who change the world and that people must continually engage in actions aimed at changing the world for the better. For me, there is no fundamental contradiction between art and activism. In particular, the power of the creative word to change the world is not to be underestimated.” (p. 202)

Though it is true that writers of colonial times in creole languages tried to imitate the most popular styles of writing of the most prestigious social groups and their standard languages, today the literatures produced in the Caribbean more often reflect a post-colonial mindset, to help remedy a situation identified by Merle Hodge (ibid.), when she observes that:

“The culture of the Caribbean, the culture produced here on Caribbean soil by the ordinary working people of the region, has never gained full recognition in our society. It has never gained official recognition, and has never been fully recognized and valued by the very people who created it and who continue to create it every day of their lives.” (p. 203)

¹ With deepest appreciation to the Prins Bernhard Cultuurfonds Nederlandse Antillen en Aruba for their generous grant that made my participation at the 14th Annual Eastern Caribbean Islands in Between Conference in Grenada (Nov. 2-6, 2011) possible.

² With thanks to Mrs. Lilian Johnson for her cheerful editing.

Hodge argues that Creole is the main medium of communication in the Caribbean and that “...we speak Creole, we need Creole, we cannot function without Creole, for our deepest thought processes are bound up in the structure of Creole” (p. 204). Hubert Devonish (1986) seems to echo this sentiment when he writes: “The language variety spoken as the language of everyday communication by the ordinary members of a community is the most effective language medium for releasing creativity, initiative and productivity among members of such a community” (p. 35). The main means of exchange between literary and cultural systems is translation. Following that is the borrowing or imitation of genres. Exchange and borrowing are fundamental features of Creole literature.

De Caluwé (1980) writes:

“A new period of dramatic writing dawned around 1970. Signs of the on-coming change could be seen a few years earlier in the theatrical companies. The actors offered resistance to the ‘hilarity’ cult on the stage; they wanted more significant dramatic art. Similarly, the riots in Curaçao on May 30, 1969 – riots with a social-political background – were also indicative of this concern. Dramatic art in Papiamentu today mainly serves the role of providing a critical view of the present state of affairs and abuses in society while analyzing the past...The more recent productions, however; essentially represent a search for identity. Now that the Antillean society has become a source of inspiration for conscious, involved dramatic art, Papiamentu novelists...have turned to writing for the stage as well...It can be observed that these plays not only attempt to depict and interpret the past, but these compositions also appeal to folklore, in the search for a style of writing that is based on the strongly developed sense of the Caribbean personality.” (pp. 40-42)

In a foreword to the translation of Gérard Genette’s *Palimpsests* (1982), Gerald Prince writes:

“The object of poetics is not the literary text but its textual transcendence, its textual links with the other texts... Any text is a hypertext grafting itself onto a hypotext, an earlier text that it imitates or transforms.” (p. ix).

Hubert Devonish notes that the choice of a hypotext in itself is likened to an adversarial step in wanting to illustrate and defend a Creole text (p. 35). The term palimpsest comes through Latin from Greek; *palin* = again and *psao* = I scrape. The Romans wrote on wax-coated tablets that could be smoothed out and thus erased and be ready to be used again.

In *Palimpsests*, Gérard Genette draws on a vast corpus of famous works written by the likes of Joyce, Barth and Heine. In his study, Genette focuses not just on the text itself but on relationships between texts and the way they are read, reread and rewritten by

various authors in manifold parts of the world. Gerald Prince argues that he can understand Joyce's *Ulysses* without Homer's help, and that as a result of *bricolage* – of making something new out of something old – the massively hypertextual work shows how literary discourse plays with other discourses using them in surprising and unforeseen fashion with great success (p. xx).

This immediately made me think of Joseph Sickman Corsen, who created *Atardi* (the first poem published in Papiamentu, the language of Aruba, Curaçao and Bonaire), based on Heine's *Die Lorelei*. While Heine's poem laments the memory of a golden siren singing her alluring song near some rapids, *Atardi* laments the sun sinking below the horizon at day's end. Both poems describe some longing for a time past but do so in different ways. This was also May Henriquez' technique in evoking in the reader an association between one of her works and an earlier one by another author. Such is the case in *Laiza Porko Sushi* by Curaçaoan author May Henriquez, a play that is similar to, yet different from George Bernard Shaw's *Pygmalion*. Henriquez consciously employed her craft to write a play that had elements of Shaw's plot in it, but which was totally transformed by its Antillean ambience and worldview. One may equate this with a form of literary borrowing which involves the creation of a new text that is based on but not a mirror image of an older text. George Lang (1999) notes that: "When a creole writer deliberately writes over a culturally significant hypotext, thereby creating a creole version of it, this metaphorical transmutation is highly charged and inherently polemic." (p. 174)

In *Laiza Porko Sushi*, May Henriquez transformed a well-known literary work to fit the locality of where she lived. The estate house *Landhuis Bloemhof* became the home and studio of May Henriquez where she and her husband Max welcomed writers, artists and performers into their home to discuss creative talents and ideas. Her atelier, where she painted, sculpted and wrote, has been virtually frozen in time over the past 3 decades. When the family proceeded to restore the plantation house and its adjacent buildings in 2000-2001, they chose to preserve their (grand) mother's workspace. There it was that May's creativity came to life and where she endeavored to promote to other like-minded artists, and a feeling of belonging to a special Caribbean community.

May Henriquez-Alvarez Correa, better known as *Shon* May, was born on the island of Curaçao on May 6, 1915, and she passed away there at the age of 84 on October 5, 1999. It was after WWII that she went to study at the *Academia de Bellas Artes* in Caracas. In 1949 she went to study in Paris under the tutelage of Ossip Zadkine. From 1952 until 1953 she took a course on directing theatre with Paul Storm. In 1960, May received the equivalent of a Curaçaoan 'Oscar' for her play, *Laiza Porko Sushi*. In 1986 she was once again honored with an award for her continued contribution in the development of Papiamentu.

A bit of background on George Bernard Shaw's plays in general.

Much of the genius of George Bernard Shaw's plays lies in his ability to tell the often brutal truth in such a witty way that it can't be denied. *Pygmalion* is a comedy that shows to what extent people's manner of speaking determines their success or failure in life, at least in a material sense, and in breaking down barriers between the social classes. In the play, he also calls attention to phonetics and how it can provide a key to social advancement. Shaw's *Pygmalion* itself is based on a former literary work, the story of a King of Cyprus in Greek legend, who, though he hated women, fell in love with his own ivory statue of Aphrodite. The Goddess gave life to the statue and the king married his new love.

In Shaw's Act 1, we see the Portico of St. Paul's Cathedral in Covent Garden. There Dr. Higgins, teacher of phonetics, meets Eliza Doolittle, a cockney-speaking flower girl as she stands on the street corner selling flowers. There he also meets a fellow enthusiast, Colonel Pickering, who has come from afar to meet with him. Higgins boasts to Pickering that in 3 months' time he will be able to train the cockney-speaking flower girl to speak like a duchess. Eliza hears the conversation and, after some cajoling, she accepts the offer.

May Henriquez uses Shaw's characters, but they undergo changes in name, locality and, of course, language. Eliza becomes Laiza. She is no longer a flower seller, but becomes a peanut seller. Higgins becomes Raoul Alvarez, a professor of linguistics. The scene from Shaw's Act I becomes now in May's play, the island of Kòrsou (Curaçao), in front of the popular movie theater, Cinelandia. There it is that Raoul Alvarez, the linguist, boasts to his fellow linguist, Guillermo Fonseca, that he can re-educate Laiza:

"Bo ta weta e kriatura aki su papiamentu ònbeskòp i ku su boka jen di palabra malu; e'n tin chens, e tin ku keda bendedó di pinda of skopdó di kaja su bida largu, en' por bai dilanti asina ki. Pero mi ta pustá bo ku mi por kohe e porkeria aki, treen e siñé manera, siñé, papia, eduké, i introdusié komo un dama, den sala di kualkier di mihorsitu famia di sociedad djaki!...e ta rekerí no solamente papia bunita, sino ku un stem kulto, agradabel, y ku masha personalidad". (Heuvel, p. 3)

[Do you see this creature here with her rude Papiamentu and her mouth full of nasty words? She doesn't even have a chance in the world. She will have to remain a peanut seller or a street cleaner for her whole life. She will never get ahead in this manner of living. But I bet you that I can take this crude thing and train her, teach her manners, teach her to speak, educate her and introduce her as a lady into any of the best families of high society. She will not only speak

beautifully, but will do so also with a cultured voice, pleasantly and with lots of personality.]

Since the 1990s, various regional events in the Antilles have focused attention on the Visual Arts, assuming responsibility for organizing exhibitions that reveal original works that fuse regional and international elements. The Maduro & Curiel's Bank sponsored the first of these exhibitions. May Henriquez, one of the bank's owners/directors, was instrumental in getting sponsorship for these events, which focused on the artists of the former Netherlands Antilles. Other agencies as well have played a key role in promoting Antillean artists, such as the Prins Bernhard Cultuurfonds, which offers grants and awards in the fields of Theatre, Music and the other Arts.

Jeroen Heuvel (2009) writes this about Henriquez' *Laiza Porko Sushi*:

“May Henriquez ta hunga masha bon ku e diferente idioma di lenga papiamentu ...Su estilo ta lihé, yen di humor i e ta ekonómiko de su uzo di palabra: den algun palabra e por pinta e situashon. Mi no ta bai kompará *Laiza Porko Sushi* ku e original di George Bernhard Shaw, pero mi ta nota si ku e título di e original ta referí na e protagonista maskulino pero e título di *Laiza Porko Sushi* ta referí na e protagonista femenino.” (p. 4)

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[May Henriquez shows off the different dialects of Papiamentu very well...Her style of writing is fluid, full of humor and she is economic in her word usage: with just a few words, she paints a situation. I will not try to compare *Laiza Porko Sushi* with the George Bernard's original, but I would like to note that the original title refers to a male protagonist while the title *Laiza Porko Sushi* refers to a female protagonist.]

Heuvel draws our attention to Act I, p. 17, where May Henriquez adds her own touches to the play. This then is one of the many instances where the play is the ‘same yet different’. She has Raoul, the linguist, saying:

“Ma studia idiomas, pero semper mi tabata interesá den papiamentu, semper ma hanja prèt, kón maske kon chikí Korsow tá, toch tin tantu manera difèrent di papia papiamentu. Tin papiamentu di hende di Punda, papiamentu di hende di Otrobanda, papiamentu di kunuku, papiamentu di Shon Pastooran, di hende di barku, di jiu di Korsow ku a studia foi tera; sin konta e otro islanan...” (Heuvel, p. 5).

[I have studied languages but have always been interested in Papiamentu. I have always enjoyed the fact that however small Curaçao may be, there exist so many different ways of speaking Papiamentu. There is the Papiamentu spoken by the people living in Punda, the Papiamentu of the people from Otrobanda, the Papiamentu used in the *kunuku*, the Papiamentu used by the clergy, by the boats' people, by those who were born in Curaçao but later went on to study abroad; and that is not even counting the other islands...]

During a recent visit to the Kelowna Art Gallery in British Columbia, Canada, I was drawn to an exhibition of paintings by the Aboriginal painter, Dr. Daphne Odjig. Her artwork started in the late 1920s in the more traditionally European Art traditions. As time progressed, Odjig's paintings took on a more personal form as she tried out several styles of expression. Now, as a 90 year old, Odjig focuses more on her inner voice, her roots and Ojibway heritage and awareness and images that spring from her innermost self. Odjig (2011) writes:

“As an artist and as a person, I've been impressed with the process that takes us from the inner image to the external reality of an image. For me, it has been an endless source of delight and wonderment that awareness, thoughts, and recognitions can come seemingly unbidden from an inner source, called the unconscious.”

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Was not this that same inner focus and voice that Henriquez sought to instill in her work? In a paper delivered to the 12th Annual Eastern Caribbean Islands Cultures Conference, which held in Curaçao, the granddaughter of May Henriquez wrote:

“Sometimes the most unlikely creative spirit arises to breathe life into a culture that is unknowingly waiting for that breath of inspiration. This, I believe, was the case when, in her early thirties, May Henriquez threw off her inherited mantle of *grande dame* of Curaçao's high society and decided to focus her efforts on the arts and the written word. In doing so, she became an active participant in and enabler of the development of an artistic body of work – both her own and that of other artists – as well as a pioneer in the use of our language, Papiamentu, where it had not been used before.” (Capriles Goldish, 2009: 121).

Capriles Goldish discusses first the formative years and then the later artistic endeavors of May Henriquez. It was, she writes, in 1947, that

“May branched out beyond sculpture and branched out later into the theatre arts and became active in STICUSA, a foundation for cultural cooperation. It was determined that in order to have success on the islands in the theatre arts, such works must be written in Papiamentu. May Henriquez took up the task of translating classical plays into Papiamentu for a Papiamentu audience. Though

she remained faithfully close in her translations to the original, May did modernize plays to make them fit the Caribbean locale.”

May Henriquez created another work that carried her own stamp. No longer is this play known as George Bernard Shaw's *Pygmalion*. It has undergone quite a substantial transformation, and though a scientist might find a strand of DNA running through it that can be traced to *Pygmalion*, the work now is known as May Henriquez' *Laiza Porko Sushi*. The play incorporates many of the elements of Shaw's piece, but portrays the reality of the Caribbean linguistically, geographically and aesthetically. Though the play started out the same as *Pygmalion*, it became different when Henriquez articulated it through an Antillean worldview and the Papiamentu language. Instead of slavishly following the dialogue of Shaw's original work, she playfully inserted words, ideas and Papiamentu expressions that are expressive, impish, a little irreverent, and even a bit naughty. It is no doubt that in writing *Laiza Porko Sushi*, May Henriquez' inner ear was in tune with her creole language Papiamentu and it is with this inner voice of Henriquez and the people of Curaçao, Bonaire and Aruba that *Laiza Porko Sushi* uniquely and beautifully resonates.

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A CRITICAL VIEW ON THE STATE OF DUTCH CARIBBEAN STUDIES

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A critical analysis of Dutch Caribbean representation in Caribbean studies suggests that Dutch Caribbean thought has been isolated and marginalized within the region. Even in the magnificent field of post World War II Caribbean literature, there is little evidence of the prolific and high quality literary output from the Dutch Caribbean outside of Dutch language publications. The islands of Aruba, Bonaire, Curacao, St. Maarten, Saba and St. Eustatius are seldom mentioned in the major debates within Caribbean studies. In this paper several perspectives will be presented on the state, representation and perspectives of Dutch Caribbean studies. Also, views will be put forward on the reasons why these particular islands have not been represented in all their complexities within Caribbean studies.

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Dutch anthropologist Harry Hoetink (1985: 56) recognized some time ago that Caribbean scholars were often specialists uniquely in the English, or the Spanish, or the French, or the US or the Dutch Caribbean, but knew very little about developments outside of their particular (neo-)colonial enclave. In reference to many specialists in the ‘Anglophone’ Caribbean, he makes an observation that applies to many specialists in the ‘Francophone’, ‘Hispanophone’ and ‘Dutch’ Caribbean as well:

“Generally dealing with the British or commonwealth Caribbean, they have taught the English speaking public everywhere to associate the Caribbean primarily with its English speaking areas. This bias is found among scholars as well, for many “Caribbeanists” suffer from a single-language focus and some are apt to make Caribbean-wide generalizations based on comparative research in, for example, Jamaica and St. Kitts, leaving the study of the Hispanic islands to another academic tribe, the Latin Americanists.”

As Hoetink points out, Caribbean scholars often generalize across the board without taking into consideration the ethnic, linguistic, cultural, political, historical, economic

and religious particularities of each nation in the region. Among many Caribbean scholars, it is still for example thought that Dutch is the main language spoken in the Dutch Caribbean or that all of the islands belong to the now defunct Netherlands Antilles. This surely casts a shadow over the quality and accuracy of the knowledge that has been generated over the decades about the Caribbean. This suggests that much of the scholarly work available to us at present is as best highly limited to a particular colonial or neo-colonial enclave. Three reasons have been identified as to why this may be the case. One is a linguistic argument, the second an academic argument and the third a political argument.

Firstly, the linguistic situation in the Caribbean must be considered. The Caribbean is not at all homogenous linguistically. One of the main obstacles that made the sharing of information in the Caribbean difficult is the fact that there are multiple languages spoken in the region. This has led to difficulties in the transfer of information from the former colonies of one colonial to the former colonies of another. The British, Spanish, French and Dutch Caribbean have never fully enjoyed the benefits of a free flow of empirical knowledge from one sub-region to the other. Knowledge of the old man under the tree in San Pedro de Macoris, or the spiritual teachings of the Baptist *Sistah* in the countryside of Tobago, or the story of Juancho in the traditional Aruban *cunucu* house in the heart of Casibari, have never been enjoyed by the entire Caribbean. Limitations on language and communication technologies have been a big impediment here. Even with all the information technology available these days, the above stories still never reach the mainstream (Devonish, 2009; Meeks, 2010; Rutgers, 2000).

Secondly the Caribbean still suffers from an insular and neo-colonial approach to education. Regional universities, like the University of the West Indies, University of the Netherlands Antilles, University of Aruba, and the Universities of Cuba, the Dominican Republic and Puerto Rico have up until the present almost exclusively catered to students from their own language constituencies. These universities are still in many ways extensions of European institutions and European style curricula are the norm. Very few grants or subsidies are awarded to students from outside the colonial enclaves in which they are situated. Programs of study have mostly focused on national issues rather than regional issues. This approach has created an antagonistic culture amongst academics in the Caribbean, which makes any attempt to establish and maintain pan-Caribbean academic initiatives very difficult (Meeks, 2010).

Thirdly, although no serious attempt has ever been made to politically cross inherited colonial enclave boundaries, the many efforts made to unify islands with the same former metropole under a central leadership have always met with resistance, mainly from the smaller islands. While there is some evidence of a spirit of cooperation, it is usually extinguished by a stronger spirit of fear of being oppressed by sister islands

that are bigger in size. The “smaller islands” in the Caribbean have always defied what they have seen as domination by the “bigger islands”. Tobago has always been critical of Trinidad, St Martin of Guadeloupe, Saba and Statia of Curaçao, and Nevis and Anguilla of St. Kitts, etc (Oostindie, 1998). Most Caribbean policy has emerged from a “big island” perspective. For example, Jamaican, Trinidadian and Curaçaoan issues tend to be at the center of the debate, often leaving the concerns of the smaller islands out of the equation.

Over the past 20 years, Latin American and Caribbean studies have become increasingly popular in Dutch Universities. Various Caribbeanists and Latin Americanists such as Gert Oostindie, Michiel van Kempen, Alex van Stripriaan, Ton Robben, and Michiel Baud have attained professorships within this field. The KITLV (Royal Netherlands Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies) and the University of Leiden have played a leading role in these developments, as have the Universities of Amsterdam, Utrecht, Rotterdam and Nijmegen.

Within the larger group of Dutch Caribbeanists, two groups of academics can be identified. The first group may be called Continental Dutch Caribbean Scholars (CDCS). The second group may be referred to as Native Dutch Caribbean Scholars (NDCS). CDCS’s are best characterized as scholars who reside in continental Europe and are mostly employed by Dutch research institutions of higher learning. This group includes academics of both European and Caribbean extraction. These scholars have a keen interest in the Caribbean region and many were either born in the Dutch Caribbean or have resided on the islands in the past, especially during the data collection phases of their investigative fieldwork. They are perceived in Dutch academic circles as Caribbeanists and act and speak on behalf of the Dutch Caribbean community in forums, debates and in the media. Their academic titles and numerous publications also reinforce their position as experts in this area of study.

Across the Atlantic resides the ‘other’ group of Caribbeanists, who can be referred to as Native Dutch Caribbean Scholars (NDCS). These scholars are often critical theorists in the post colonial traditions of Paulo Freire and Frantz Fanon and have at one time resided in the Netherlands but have eventually settled in the Dutch Caribbean. They often claim that their continental counterparts are mere outsiders and do not have a profound knowledge of the societies that they are studying. Some have said: “The fact that they do some fieldwork on the islands or have resided there some time ago does not make them true experts in this field. They often go to international conferences and present half truths or do not recognize their sources.”

The NDCS can also be divided into subgroups, those of Caribbean extraction and those of European extraction. Their academic posture is often quite critical of what is often called the “West” and they are quite distrustful of continentals who come and do fieldwork on the islands and then go back to Europe or to the US for that matter, where they get their PhDs, promotions and chairs without really contributing to the

actual betterment of Caribbean societies. NDCS feel that the relative lack of local academic infrastructure and the limited possibilities for publication made available to them have deprived the natives from achieving similar academic positions as their colleagues on the continent. It must be mentioned, however, that the philosophical, scientific, and political stances adopted by these scholars are not all identical and they position themselves in many different ways as Caribbean scholars.

Most studies that have been done in Aruba have been in relation to the former Netherlands Antilles, especially in the fields of law, language, literature, history and political science. For example, many reports have been produced by different committees of academic “experts” about perceived social problems, mismanagement and corruption on the islands. Studies that really try to describe the realities of the common people are more the exception than the rule, as the true fabric of these societies does not attract much scholarly interest. The most cited authors in the field of general Aruban studies are mainly Dutch born Caribbean scholars like historian Gert Oostindie (1992; 1994; 1996; 2005) who has published many works on Dutch Caribbean politics and the challenges of Dutch-Caribbean relations on both sides of the Atlantic, historian Johan Hartog (1980; 1993), who has published extensively on the history of the Dutch Caribbean and has pioneered much scholarly work in the region and cultural anthropologist Luc Alofs (2001; 2003) who has written copiously on slavery, race and identity in Aruba. The latter has broken somewhat with the trend of purely historical and/or political approaches.

Overall, there hasn't been much interest in Aruba as a research destination, especially in the field of cultural studies. Curaçao, in contrast, has been historically, economically and academically more popular. Scholars like Peter Verton (1977), René Römer (1979), A.F. Paula (1967) and Harry Hoetink (1958) amongst others (local and European alike) have mostly focused on Curaçaoan society. However, the topics covered show a similar lack of attention to the lives of the common people, and instead focus on issues such as political relations with the Netherlands, the history of slavery, etc. Most of the works of these authors, with the exception of Hoetink and Oostindie, have principally drawn upon documents to be found in Dutch colonial and church archives, as well as upon previous work by Dutch scholars, all mostly written in the Dutch language. There is very little reference to major works from the British, Spanish and French Caribbean or elsewhere.

Aruba has also produced some important scholars, but they have not published as much as their European counterparts. The most cited local authors in Aruban studies are, amongst others, Catholic scholar and priest Armando Lampe (1992), who has published several works on religion and ethnicity in Aruba and the role of Dutch colonialism and Papiamentu linguist Joyce Pereira (2008), who has been the nation's foremost scholar on language. Both the rigid constraints of the academic system and

the lack of opportunities for publication have left many good works by Aruban authors unavailable even to local audiences. There are many local intellectuals that have held lectures, written newspaper articles and debated on an array of subjects that matter most to the peoples of these societies, but these organic scholars are unacknowledged by the traditional academic system.

This article represents an initial attempt to shed light on unsettling trends in the development of Dutch Caribbean studies. Because of linguistic, political and academic isolationism and asymmetries in academic infrastructure and publishing opportunities between Caribbean neo-colonies and their metropolises, precious little of the very significant body of high quality academic and creative writing that has been done in the Dutch Caribbean has been made available outside of the islands where its authors reside. Caribbean studies as a whole would benefit immensely if scholars across the region and beyond could tap into such major unexplored funds of knowledge.

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CARNIVAL AS A RESOURCE OF CULTURAL INTERDEPENDENCY

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Hey! - Lets have a party
a Caribbean party
The entire region together
in one big splash down fiesta

a Caribbean connection
a regional vibration
ah say we jammin' to the sounds of the Caribbean
we groovin' to Calypso and Steelband

Getting together so should every leader
for we are one people one destination
so let us move on without hesitations ...
a true Caribbean callaloo mix up
when we start to jam up we going non stop¹

Merchant

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Calypso, Salsa, Merengue, Cumbia, Vallenato, Soca, Zouk, Tumba, Dansa, Cadance, Aguinaldo, Gaita, Bachata, Reggae, Guajira, Dancehall, Waltz, Jonkonoo, Guaracha, Compa, Parang, Timba, Rhapsody, Son, Mento, Ska, Jamback and Chutney are some of the musical genres and identities that were developed and have evolved amongst the Caribbean diaspora. It only takes the merest acquaintance with the Caribbean to note that it is a region where cultural contact, interaction and hybridity are the rule rather than the exception. Cultural transactions are immanent in the socio-musical character of the Caribbean diaspora. In this article, I concentrate on Carnival performance practices. My purposes are, first, to analyze the post-colonial aspect of identity formulation and contemporary status of these socio-musical manifestations, second, to explain the symbolic potency of the expressions of Carnival; and, finally, to show how both the music and the scholarship associated with these cultural expressions have been used in the service of furthering the acknowledgment and validation of Caribbean identities. Martin Stokes paraphrases Anthony Seeger and suggests that “music is not just a thing which happens in society. A society, might be usefully

¹Dennis Williams Franklyn also known by his calypso sobriquet Merchant, *Caribbean Connection*, 1985.

conceived as something which happens ‘in music’” (Stokes, 1997: 2). Though society is influenced by – and is constructed through – many other modalities such as language and religion, the interaction between society and music remains an intricate and multi-textual matter. I believe that this intricate interaction is partially due to the transient nature of music and its posture as a form of cultural expression, communal identification, social concord and entertainment within our lives. This means that music will remain a driving force behind human social behavior.

Though the above mentioned statement by Seeger ignores the many other factors² that are involved in social development, it does in my opinion exemplify the manner in which music propels, cultivates and propagates the formation and transformation of a specific society. In other words, communal identity and social cohesion happen ‘in music’. Considering the nature of music and the value it holds in human activity, we must realize that the history and contextual analysis of calypso and steelband together with the formation of social identity is an example of a unique cultural and social interplay. The people of the Caribbean diaspora have long asserted their unique cultural identity. This identity is expressed in food, language, music and cultural exhibitions such as Carnival and crop over. Among these expressive forms, perhaps the most important is the yearly Carnival and the musical formulations that go along with it. I will look at what I consider to be emblematic acts of cultural averment, which may be invoked to explain how this region manifests and maintains a distinctive identity despite its colonial past. In this article I wish to explore inter-island cultural flows especially those of calypso, soca, steelband and other forms of Carnival musics.

The Caribbean diaspora was built on intraregional migrations. Put differently, various musical and cultural dynamics as well as traditions were constantly in contact. Homi Bhabha describes the consequences of this contact, observing that

“no culture is full unto itself, no culture is plainly plenitudinous, not only because there are other cultures which contradict its authority, but also because its own symbol-forming activity, its own interpellation in the process of representation, language, signification and meaning-making, always underscores the claim to an originary, holistic, organic identity” (Rutherford, 1990: 210).

This cultural construct of contact has constituted one of the most important ways in which Carnival musics have established their characteristics and exerted their influence over the whole of the Caribbean. The human intercourse that occurs in the process of music-making makes it possible for music to function as a subtend between cultures. I will not concentrate here on the historical development of Carnival, rather I

²Other social factors may include religion, and language.

seek to pay homage to Carnival and its music in relation to cultural cohesion and burgeoning regional identity. I conceptualize this regional culture not so much as innate principles that shape behavior – a stationary way to think of the relationship between culture and action; rather I understand cultures as an assemblage of emblematic structures that help to define the contours of such action. In formulating the fundamentals of this cultural flow, I am inclined to refer to Homi Bhabha, who explains that “the act of cultural translation (both as represented and as reproduction) denies the essentialism of a prior given original or originary culture, then we see that all forms of culture are continually in a process of hybridity... Hybridity to me is the ‘third space’ which enables other positions to emerge” (Rutherford: 211). In keeping with this assertion by Bhabha, I will address how inter-island communication aided in the sustainability of a diasporic identity. With this, the question remains; how may we conceptualize musical (re)productions and creative processes which, originating from various geographies, have been modified and adapted either by the hands of time, or by travel, and cultural flows? In reference to black music in *The Black Atlantic* Paul Gilroy makes clear that “the very least that this music and its history can offer us today is an analogy for comprehending the lines of affiliation and association that take the idea of the diaspora beyond its symbolic status as the fragmentary opposite of some imputed racial essence” (Gilroy, 1993: 95). The composition of Carnival music is constituted out of change, transformations in rhythms, instrumental innovation and sound manipulation. This has changed the meaning of musical form. In this way there is a new inflection on tradition while the new musical identity stands as a persistent link to traditional sounds.

Musical identity within the Caribbean diaspora materialized as an opportunity for substitutive identity formation and a signature for social status in a society whose former local and pivotal support institutions had all been annihilated along with its environment. Most often Caribbean musical expressions develop in direct responses to cultural, political and social visions and perspectives. I will explore the musical paths and cultural displays, that attest to cultural interdependency within this region. Through this I will concentrate on identity development in a post-colonial state. It is through the cultural festivities and development of Carnival that I will explain the nuances of these expressions. Many tunes and musical genres from neighboring West Indian islands have continuously come into contact with one another through migration and trade. This has endlessly contributed to the wealth, depth and variety of Caribbean musics.

With this work, I would like to focus on how the colonial and post-colonial history of the islands of the Caribbean influenced Carnival expression and movement, as well as created a space for social cohesion and identification. This body of music has

categorically contributed to the spatial and cultural identity formation of the islands, not to mention the rest of the Afro-Caribbean diaspora. It is imperative to be conscious of the fact that colonialism had and continues to have an immense influence on Caribbean music. Calypso, soca, jam rock, roadmarch and steelband have all been influenced, shaped and formed by and within the constraints of hegemony, slavery and colonial presence. I would like to examine the meaning and value that is held in these expressive forms of music and their relation to post-colonialism. I would also like to consider the meaning of these musical genres to Afro-Caribbean culture and the value of the musical activity on Afro-Caribbean society. To methodically examine these instances, I will emphasize the approaches of Gayatri Spivak, Stuart Hall as well as those of Simon Frith and Franz Fanon.

Carnival has long been symbolic of collective identity for the Caribbean community. Carnival is a period of expression, serving the purpose of pushing boundaries and challenging dominant social structures. Carnival is that time of year where contention and self assertion are strongly emoted. It goes back to a period when enslaved Africans were “emancipated” and they took hold of the streets for Carnival and created a procession and cultural mark. It may be inferred then, that music has been a significant factor in articulating personal self and geographic pride. Singing, drumming, dancing and celebration were the center of island life from the inception of slavery. These entities have been most crucially integral to the cultural and historical constitution of the Caribbean region. The celebration of Carnival is a key factor in representation of freedom and serves as an expressive medium for personal and communal identity. These colorful performances display the pride, nationalism, solidarity, and unity that were born out of oppression and collective enslavement.

There is no doubt that music has a meaning, and so there is a natural inference that each genre of music has a different meaning when it comes to the history and identity of the people involved. The development of Carnival music and its colorful assertions into a diasporic art form, gives a specific meaning to the Caribbean community. This socio-musical relationship underscores the radical refinement of fortune that music brought to the African underclass. This elaboration in music also contributed to the construction of a specific social and political sphere. Joseph Kerman suggests that the conquerors and colonizers brought their own art and popular music with them, bringing both into confrontation with the folk music of native Indians and imported African slaves (Kerman, 1985: 160). In comprehending this, we grasp the character of this musical melange. In the same sphere, Hollis Liverpool suggests that “as far back as the journey across the Atlantic Ocean to the New World, enslaved Africans being carried to the Caribbean protested their capture not only violently but passively, too. To this end they sang songs of derision, satire, and protest on board ship (...) Keeping with the griot tradition of West Africa whereby court singers either lambasted or

praised their chiefs and reminded them of society's ideals at official ceremonies and state functions.” (Liverpool, 1994: 180)

Here we understand that colonization as well as decolonization has had an apparent influence on the musical character that currently exists of most islands and other areas within the Caribbean diaspora. An example of this is the French Caribbean where Zouk is the creation of black, Creole-speaking Antillean musicians (Guilbault, 1993: 7), and where this genre is seen by some Antilleans as a hegemonic force counteracting racial and political tensions in the French départements (p. 10). Carnival performance practices have been especially affected impacted on the grounds of social relations, aesthetics and their material conditions. These influences have greatly informed the steelpan as an instrument as well as steelband music. Before going into how colonialism informed musical- and communal identity, we must examine and deconstruct the meaning behind the concept of identity itself.

Homi Bhabha suggests that in the postcolonial text the problem of identity returns as a persistent questioning of the frame, the space of representation, where the image – missing person, visible eye, Oriental stereotype – is confronted with its difference, its Other (Bhabha, 2000: 95). If the concept of identity is a reoccurring ‘problem’, we must be attentive to its formulation. In observing the concept of identity we are often times vague regarding its core value. As I employ the concept of identity, I will offer a more practical approach as opposed to a strict and theoretical one. I will use this concept as a tool in understanding how carnival music socially affected the concept of inter-island cultural and musical flow. As I understand identity, it is the intermittent and multi-layered synthesis of oneself. Identification then, is also the way in which we associate and conduct ourselves in both our personal and communal space. It is the way in which we relate to a certain set of circumstances as well as how we distinguish ourselves in comparison to another. I also conceive that a person's identity can be shaped and altered by cultural-, social-, and situational pressures. To summarize these insights, Stuart Hall proposes that identification is constructed on the back of the recognition of some common origin or shared characteristics with another person or group, or with an ideal, and with the natural closure of solidarity and allegiance established on this foundation (Hall, 1996: 2).

What must remain constant in our understanding of identity is that it is not monolithic or cemented in form. Hall describes it as “identities are never unified and, in late modern times, increasingly fragmented and fractured; never singular but multiply constructed across different, often intersecting and antagonistic, discourses, practices and positions” (p. 4). Most importantly, Hall emphasizes that identities are “subject to a radical historicization, and are constantly in the process of change and transformation” As we continue to appraise the concept of identity, we will accede that

this constant transformation immensely influences the way in which we are creative. The impact goes beyond just our personal self herein - our music, technique, tradition, and cultural awareness are also transformed. Hall proposes that “identities are about questions of using the resources of history, language and culture in the process of becoming rather than being: not 'who we are' or 'where we came from', so much as what we might become, how we have been represented and how that bears on how we might represent ourselves” (Hall: 4).

A given individual may have many identities that span across different and vast areas. As a result of this, we must realize that cultural identity is fluid and dependent on its social context. Bhabha suggests that “identities function in a kind of narcissistic reflection of the One in the Other that is confronted in the language of desire by the psychoanalytic process of identification. For identification, identity is never *a priori*, nor a finished product; it is only ever the problematic process of access to an image of totality (Bhabha, 2000: 99-100). So, as we witness the post-colonial musical identity of carnival music, we may take note that it is not a finished product, but that it has served, and continues to serve as a common object for the communal identity within the Afro-Caribbean community. Simon Frith ascertains that identity is not a thing but a process – an experiential process which is most vividly grasped as music (Frith, 1996: 110). The discourse surrounding the Caribbean is often times drenched in concepts of colonialism, political emancipation, slavery and hegemonic rule. Indeed most islands can exhibit European influences and values, that are visible to this day. But, here the discourse of a cohesive identity and cultural connectivity within the Caribbean diaspora is at its core.

The question remains, does culture create and influence behavior or does behavior create and influence culture? My emphasis here lies on the relation between the development of a communal regional identity in relation to carnival representations. In examining these themes, my main concern and the argument that I would like to make is that the innovations and musical occurrences expressed the expelled voices of the subaltern. Because they were uprooted from their comfort space and place, enslaved Africans were forced to construct and go through the process of identity formation in their new space. Franz Fanon describes this ‘new’ identity construction in saying that the proof of successful transformation lies in a whole social structure being changed from the bottom up. This change is willed, called for, demanded. It is impetuous and compelling, in the consciousness and in the lives of the men and women who are colonized (Fanon, 2001: 27).

We must take note that through decolonization a new relationship dynamic is formed between colonizer and colonized. As identity formation takes place these dynamics become important. Fanon goes on to describe this process in saying that

decolonization never takes place unnoticed, for it influences individuals and modifies them fundamentally ... It brings a natural rhythm into existence, introduced by new men, and with it a new language and a new humanity. Decolonization is the veritable creation of new men (p. 28). Though Fanon's discourse is not centered around the concept of identity, it does expound on 'the creation of a new man'. A new man with new perspectives, outlooks, creative incentives and socio-political views. The perception of identity in relation to music and society is key here. As we examine the multifarious dynamics that surround the music, we will be cognizant of the fact that music was and remains the crux, the point of connection in the constant evolution of the communal and regional identity of Afro-Caribbean diaspora. It is my opinion that there has always been a point of connection between musical expression and identity formation. Simon Frith imparts that the issue is not how a particular piece of music or a performance reflects the people, but how it produces them, how it creates and constructs an experience – a musical experience, an aesthetic experience – that we can only make sense of by taking on both a subjective and collective identity (Frith, 1996: 109). This may answer the question posed before, that culture does in fact influence and create behavior. Individuals are produced by their culture and thus their experience and behavior are formed by said culture. Carnival festivities produce the 'people' because of the cultural context that they create. Furthermore, we may claim that this communal identity is produced by music and that music constructs the experience of the subaltern. Here, we may also say that music and culture are drawn together, and that we may not speak of music and music-making without the specific culture and community that goes together with it.

Post-colonial refers to a period coming after the end of colonialism (...) The dismantling of structures of colonial control, beginning in earnest in the late 1950s and reaching its high point in the 1960s, constituted a remarkable historical moment, as country after country gained independence from the colonizing powers. That so many millions now live in the world formed by decolonization is one justification for the use of the term post-colonial (Childs & Williams, 1997: 1). In the formulation of identity carnival became a driving force behind the process of anti-colonial cultural practices. This further underscores the importance of a post-colonial perspective of carnival music. I would like to turn to Gayatri Spivak's theory on the articulations of the subaltern. The term subaltern designates those of an inferior position or rank, or to denote a group without class consciousness (in Childs & Williams: 161). The subaltern, in this case, Afro-Trinidadians, are compelling characters mostly because of their ingenuity. In this musical context the subaltern wrote their own history. As described in *An Introduction to Post-Colonial Theory* the problem encountered by the Subaltern Studies Group is a key one for post-colonial theory and historiographical practice. When almost all available accounts and documents are written by the

colonizers, or an indigenous elite, how does the historiographer give a voice or an agency to those sections of the colonized who participated in anti-colonial resistance? (Childs & Williams: 162). From this we may deduce that the subaltern never expressed or articulated their history. Their 'voice' was always 'heard' or has always materialized through the voice of the colonizer. Fanon described this colonial articulation of subaltern voices when he stated that

“the settler makes history and is conscious of making it. And because he constantly refers to the history of his mother country, he clearly indicates that he himself is the extension of that mother country. Thus the history which he writes is not the history of the country which he plunders but the history of his own nation in regard to all that she skims off, all that she violates and starves.” (Fanon: 40)

Through Fanon's words, we gain a deeper understanding of how the subaltern is represented and spoken for in colonial discourse and beyond. When it comes to the historical narration of the Other, Bhabha also makes it clear that in this scheme the signifier is always predetermined by the signified – the conceptual or real space that is placed prior to, and outside of, the act of signification (Bhabha, 2000: 97). Here, I am implying that because music was the primary form of expression in the daily existence of the subaltern, this musical character was responsible for the way in which they wrote and expressed their own accounts and sentiments. Paul Gilroy reaffirms the importance of music and its relation to society in his discussion of “the topos of unsayability produced from the slaves’ experiences of racial terror ... which figured repeatedly in nineteenth-century evaluations of slave music...[and] can be used to challenge the privileged conceptions of both language and writing as preeminent expressions of human consciousness” (1993: 74). Here we may say that the literal voice, or natural language of the *subaltern*, was suppressed. In this manner, Gilroy shows that the “power and significance of music within the Black Atlantic have grown in inverse proportion to the limited expressive power of language... Music becomes vital at the point at which linguistic and semantic indeterminacy/polyphony arise amidst the protracted battle between masters, mistresses, and slaves” (Gilroy: 74). In fact, in the case of calypso music, I assert that the available historical accounts were dispersed through music-making. No one gave the *Subaltern* a voice, they created their own voice through music and through carnivalesque festivities. Through this, I maintain that music is the most lavish and abounding human practice and expression, and, because of this, it is a suitable medium for the discourse of such complex cultural encounters.

With this we must acknowledge that music provides a voice through which the subaltern can speak. When I make reference to a voice, I am essentially referring to musical expressions, i.e. to both a figurative and a literal voice. These expressions

include those of the development of musical instruments, musical composition and arrangement, lyrics and the physical voice. All of these together have become a way for the subaltern to construct ever more finely and intricately articulated voices. The technical transformation of the steelpan from a dull metallic instrument to the multiplex resource for musical synthesis that it is today not only exemplifies the subaltern musical expression in the Caribbean, but also the constant burgeoning complexity of communal coherence in the region. When discussing the development of a social identity through music, I contend that as the number of notes on the steel pan has expanded and the scope of its instrumental voices has been extended, so have the voices of the subaltern been propagated through carnival musics. In this way, these musics, which have been crucially shaped by subaltern identities, have themselves become a key force in the shaping of cultures and identities in the Caribbean. Here I return to Stuart Hall who states that “it is precisely because identities are constructed within, not outside, discourse, that we need to understand them as produced in specific historical and institutional sites within specific discursive formations and practices, by specific enunciated strategies. Moreover, discourses merge within the play of specific modalities of power, and thus are more the product of the marking of difference and exclusion, than they are the sign of an identical, naturally-constituted unit – an ‘identity’ in its traditional meaning (that is, an all-inclusive sameness, seamless, without internal differentiation)” (Hall, 1996: 4). The intrinsic construction of identities has taken place in song, dance, and costume building through the specific historical narration and musical innovation that we have come to know as Carnival. The dominant discourses of the post-colonial period provide the backdrop for contemporary carnivalesque expression and the continued emergence of Caribbean musics, identities, and societies. This is one of the most important reasons why post-colonial and neocolonial studies are so important in the understanding of Caribbean music. Anyone acquainted with the West Indies can attest to the fact that carnival is no quaint folk survival. Even today, carnival is celebrated at different times of the year throughout various islands and other areas of the Caribbean, as well as wherever West Indians congregate (including, in my experience, Europe, Asia, North-America and Canada). Whether it is soca bands Square One or Krosfyah from Barbados, WCK from Dominica, Burning Flames from Antigua, Kes and the band, Machel Montano and Xtatic from Trinidad and Tobago, Jam Band from the U.S. Virgin Islands, Le Groove from Aruba or Byron Lee's Dragonaires from Jamaica, there is a cohesive movement of carnival music. Calypso, Soca, Samba, Jamback, Bouyon, Asambejo, Tumba, and other carnival musical practices vary extensively throughout the Caribbean, but they all serve as emblems of identity.

The Caribbean serves as a prime example of diasporic dialogue, and Caribbean music is an inexhaustible and vibrant source of ingenuity and identity cohesion. The value of music as a principle of cultural interdependence continues to be confirmed its unifying

function within the Caribbean. In this region, with its histories of migration of peoples whose cultural spores are everywhere intermingled, there is always a stamp of the Caribbean. Clifford Geertz observes that “culture is not a power, something to which social events, behaviors, institutions or processes can be causally attributed; it is a context, something within which ...[all of these phenomena] can be intelligibly – that is, thickly – described” (Geertz, 1973: 14).

In this article I have attempted to examine how certain musical characteristics in a Caribbean society can be understood as expressions of self and the formation of other structures such as identity. I aspired to produce a systematic cultural analysis of the music to explain the interrelation between music and culture. John Blacking explains the interrelationship between culture and music in saying a person may create music for financial gain, for private pleasure, for entertainment, or to accompany a variety of social events, and he need not express overt concern for the human condition. But his music cannot escape the stamp of the society that made its creator human, and the kind of music he composes will be related to his consciousness of, and concern for, his fellow human beings. His cognitive organization will be a function of his personality (Blacking, 1973: 108).

When we play, rehearse and perform, we must realize that we are charting the interval or rather said space between a historical past and an innovative future. As has been the case since they first emerged, when calypsos, steelband compositions and carnival performances are presented, they are expressing new identities and interpretations. In writing this article, my appreciation for Caribbean cultural expression has greatly increased. Carnival musics have developed as armors of the destitute and uprooted, as an allegoric conversation and subversion, all the while masquerading in the streets. This attests to the resolutely creative space of the Afro-Caribbean diaspora. Frith points out that identity is mobile, a process not a thing, a becoming not a being. Our experience of music – of music making and music listening – is best understood as an experience of the self-in-process. Music, like identity, is both performance and story, and describes the social in the individual and the individual in the social (Frith, 1996: 109). He also Firth further explains that music seems to be a key to identity because it offers, so intensely, a sense of both self and others, of the subjective and the collective (p. 110). This The musical practices described in this article have enabled expressions of social protest among the marginalized and dispossessed which have resulted in multiple modalities of collective identity constitution.

I would like to conclude with asking, what does it mean today to listen to a calypso or a steel-orchestral arrangement and composition? Do we recognize the multi-textual references of what is expressed and what is performed? Do we understand the intricate identity of this music and its instruments? We must keep in mind the sentiments of Black Stalin ‘if you don’t know where you come from, you won’t know where you’re going’. Hall expresses this as being a matter of ‘becoming’ as well as of ‘being’. It

belongs to the future as much as to the past (Hall, 1990: 225). The history of this music teaches us about ourselves, where we come from, and where we are going. In this, we are reminded that “cultural identities come from somewhere, have histories. But, like everything which is historical, they undergo constant transformation. Far from being eternally fixed in some essentialised past, they are subject to the continuous ‘play’ of history, culture and power” (Hall, 1990: 225). In this same way, all said facets are adhered to in the expression of Carnival.

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SOME NAMES OF ANIMALS AND PLANTS IN PAPIAMENTU

GERARD VAN BUURT
CURAÇAO

For many years I have been intrigued by the names of various animals and plants in Papiamentu and wondered how or why they would have acquired such names. Some of these names I have known since childhood. My grandmother warned me about the *Kenepa spiritu* and told me not to eat its fruit. My mother explained to me that the difference between a watapana and a dividivi tree was that the dividivi was bent by the wind, but that they were otherwise the same (much later I found out, somewhat to my chagrin that this explanation was only correct in the sense that in Curaçao both refer to the same tree; see below). Some of the names in use in Bonaire I learned while vacationing with an uncle living there. Many of these names however I encountered much later at the Curaçao Island Department of Agriculture, Animal Husbandry and Fisheries (Dienst Landbouw, Veeteelt en Visserij, Eilandgebied Curaçao, D.L.V.V.) where I worked from June 1977 to February 2006. I was in charge of Fisheries and had many contacts with local fishermen. For many years I was also in charge of the small local zoo. Many of the local workers in this zoo came from the Western part of the island, the Banda Abou area. This is a more rural part of Curaçao. In this area several names not commonly heard elsewhere are still in use and a few (mostly Caquetío) words are only known and used by people from this region. As a biologist at the Department I was also involved in all things having to do with nature, such as identifying unusual plants and animals and also plant diseases. In the course of my work I visited the nearby islands on many occasions and thus acquired many contacts and became familiar with names used on Aruba and Bonaire as well.

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Previously in an earlier article in this series (Van Buurt, 2009) a list of many original Caquetío words, many of them names for animals and plants was published (most but not all of these words are still being used in Papiamentu). For this reason these names are not included in the listing below. Nevertheless I have since concluded that the words *Gutu*, a general term for parrotfish, about which I was unsure at the time and the name of the tiger grouper (*Mycteroperca tigris*) which is *Kasha Kutu*, should have been included in the previous listing of words of Caquetío origin. *Gutu* is probably

derived from *Kutu*, *Cutu* which contains the root *-utu* meaning fish. Sound changes from [g] to [k] and vice versa are fairly common. In Bonaire we also find the toponym *Manparia Cutu*. The word *Wimpiri*, which is included in this listing is probably the result of a Carib influence in Caquetío and was probably introduced into Papiamentu through Caquetío. Among the words in this article some can also be found which should be added to the listing of “words with less certain links to Caquetío” in the previous article, for example: *Chokwèkè*, *Gengu* and *Kahela*. Thus it can be seen that there always remain loose ends and sometimes suddenly some small eureka moment or a new piece of information makes you see something you did not realize before.

The listing below discusses the etymological origins of many curious names of plants and animals in Papiamentu excluding those of Caquetío origin which were already mentioned in the previous article. Some are fairly common words, while others are only very rarely used.

Unlike the previous list of words of Caquetío origin, this is by no means intended as a complete inventory. Nevertheless I trust that this listing will provide some insight into the Papiamentu lexicon and will be of some interest both to those studying Papiamentu as well as to the general reader. *Lectori Salutem!*

Aldu This is a name for mullet, the name is derived from Dutch *aarder*, which refers to *aarde* (earth), since the fish derives part of its food by upturning bottom sediments. Nowadays in Dutch it is named *harder*.

Ala seku - Oceanic White tip shark (*Carcharrhinus longimanus*). This shark has very large pectoral fins and also a large broad dorsal fin. These fins have white tips. The word *ala* refers to these fins and the word *seku* (dry) may indicate that the tips of these fins are “dry” or “wilted”.

Bachi pretu (Aruba) - This is the Papiamentu name for the Bananaquit (*Coereba flaveola*) in Aruba. The name means Black jacket. In Curaçao it is called *Barika hel* (yellow belly) and in Bonaire *Chibichibi*.

Bai no bolbe, Bai no bolberá (Curaçao, Bonaire) - A bush (*Strumpfia maritima*) which grows on calcareous rocks along the coast. In English it is called Pride-of-Big-Pine. Strangely enough this plant is not poisonous. Thus the meaning of the Papiamentu name “go and do not return” or “go and you will not return” is a bit of a mystery. In Bonaire this name is sometimes used for *Suriana maritima* (Bay Cedar), another bush growing near the sea, this plant is not poisonous either. The more common name for this plant in Bonaire is *Tabaku di piskadó muhé*.

Bandera Spañó - This is the Spanish hogfish (*Bodianus rufus*). This fish normally has a purple upper fore-body with a yellow-gold lower body and tail and again some purple on the belly. The purple often turns to reddish in larger individuals

from deeper water, which then display exactly the red-yellow-red colors of the Spanish flag. This is also the origin of the English name Spanish hogfish.

Bèskop - Short fin Pilot whale (*Globicephala macrorhynchus*), from Dutch *butskop*.

Bichi di dos kabes - This is the name of the whitenose blind snake or blind worm snake (*Liotyphlops albirostris*). This is a very small snake, a reptile, which looks like a worm. It is a burrowing snake which eats ants, termites and their eggs. It is not blind but has very small eyes which are hidden below a scute; the head looks quite similar to the rounded tail. The Papiamentu word *Bichi* normally refers to worms, thus the Papiamentu name can be translated as “two-headed worm”.

Bichi di kachu - The tobacco hornworm (*Manduca sexta*) and other similar species. This is a large light green caterpillar which often attacks cassava, tomatoes and papaya.

Bichi di kandela - This is a Firefly. It is curious that in this case the noun *bichi* applies to a flying insect and does not have its normal Papiamentu meaning of “worm, caterpillar or grub”. This is in accordance with the use of the word *bicho* in Portuguese, which refers to animals in general, especially small ones: “*designação generalizada aos animais, especialmente aos pequenos*” (Almeida Costa & Sampaio e Melo, 1992). *Bicho* is derived from “bestia”. In Spanish the word *Bicha* exists, which is derived from Portuguese *Bicho*, but which has different meanings (Vox Diccionario, 1977). In some Latin American countries *bicho* is also used with the same meaning in Spanish, and in this case the Spanish word is derived from Portuguese. The noun *bichi* as in *Bichi di Kandela* is probably an older word in the Papiamentu lexicon, probably derived from Portuguese and still used in its original meaning. Later on *bichi* acquired its present more restricted meaning of worm or worm-like animal.

Blousana, [Blausana], Bloublou, [Blaublau], Blòblò - the males of the large Curaçao lizard (*Cnemidophorus murinus*), which are light grey with blue on the feet and tail and some blue on the head. The large males are locally called *Blousana*, *Bloublou* or *Blòbò*, derived from the Dutch word *blauw*, meaning ‘blue’, referring to their blue color. The large males of the related species *C. ruthveni* in Bonaire are also called by the same names, although in Bonaire the name *Kododo* is used more frequently. In Aruba *C. arubensis* is called *Kododo*. *Blòbò* is also used as a derogatory name for the police, especially the riot police, who have blue uniforms. *Blousa* means “to apply blue indigo paint; usually to a baby, to protect it against the evil eye” The form *Blousana* can be interpreted as meaning “the one that has been painted blue (although not against the evil eye)”.

Blenchi - general name for a hummingbird. A translation of *Blenchi* would be “the one that blinds”, which refers to its reflective, iridescent colors. *Blèndu* means

“to blind (with light)” and is derived from Dutch *verblinden* (*verblinden*→*ferblèndu*→*blèndu*). The ruby-topaz hummingbird (*Chrysolampus mosquitos*) is called *blenchi dònrasol*. A somewhat interpretative translation could be “the one that blinds, adorned with the sun’s colors” (the male has red and yellow plumage). In Aruba it is called *blenchi di color*. Nowadays the name *blenchi dònrasol* is also coming into use in Aruba. This is probably a result of the fact that the name *dònrasol* is the only Papiamentu name mentioned for this species in the main bird identification guides for the Islands of Aruba, Curaçao and Bonaire.

Brandkonofes, Brandkonefeshi, Brandfes, Brand - This is the name for scorpionfishes (Scorpaenidae). These fishes have poisonous spines and an extremely painful sting which requires medical treatment. Unlike the sting of Indo-Pacific scorpionfishes, however, the sting of the Caribbean scorpionfishes is seldom deadly. These fish are not aggressive but one can accidentally step on one or get injured while pulling in one on a fishing line. The name probably derives from Dutch *brandkoningsvis* (meaning: burning or fire king fish). Often the name *brandkonofes* is shortened simply to *brand*. According to Van Venlo (1954) the name for this fish is *brandhoriveesj*, derived from Dutch *brandhoornvis* (“burning or fire horn fish”). I have never heard this version of the name being used. Often where synonyms exist over time only one form prevails.

Bringamosa - A prickly plant (*Jatropha urens*) with very fine sharp venomous spines. The name means “fighting woman” It is however very likely that the name derives from Spanish *pringamosa*, “prickly woman”, sound changes from [p] to [b] and vice versa are very common.

Buni flùitdó - any very large tuna, such as a large yellow fin tuna or the usually even larger big-eye tuna, which makes the fishing line “whistle” (Dutch: *fluit*) when it is caught. *Buni* is derived from Bonito, in Papiamentu it is used to refer to all tunas.

Buni halfash, Buni halfashi - Yellow fin tuna (*Thunnus albacares*). The name is derived from the Dutch word *halfwas*, meaning an animal that is not yet fully grown. The Papiamentu name was initially used to distinguish the yellowfin tuna from the larger, presumably “fully grown” big eye tuna.

Buni karèt - The Skipjack tuna (*Katsuwonis pelamis*). The word *karèt* refers to a marbled pattern on the dorsal side of the fish; it is of Amerindian (Carib) origin. In Bonaire this fish is called *Buni porko*, which may refer to its very rounded appearance.

Buni wowo di baka - Litt. Translation: Cow-eyed tuna. This is the big-eye tuna (*Thunnus obesus*).

Chapin - Name used in Bonaire for trunkfish, in Curaçao they are called *Kaha di morto* (coffin). During the years when a local airline was flying with box-like short commuter airplanes people in Bonaire started to call this aircraft *Chapin*. In Spanish, *chapín* is a type of shoe and is also used as a name for trunkfishes.

Chokwèkwè, Chokwèkè, Chokèkè - As is often the case with little used words, different forms exist. Voous (1983) uses *Chokwèkwè*, Brenneker (1969) uses *Chokwèkè* and some of the (older) people who still remember this word use *Chokèkè*. This form was used in a song and most people seem to remember the song, but not the story behind it. The *Chokwèkwè* is both a mythical bird and a real bird. *Chokwèkwè* is an onomatopoeic form. Breeding calls of the *Chokwèkwè* can be downloaded at the internet site:

<http://www.xeno-canto.org/browse.php?query=puffinus+lherminieri>

The actual sounds of this bird could fit all three descriptions. The easier to pronounce *Chokèkè* would then presumably become the present day preferred form. The mythical *Chokwèkwè* is a bird that was greatly feared, when its cries are heard during the night someone nearby will die (Brenneker, 1969). It can also announce some other impending disaster. *Ai! Chokèkè, Chokèkè, ki ta bai pasa?* (“Ai! Chokèkè, Chokèkè, what will happen?”).

The real *Chokwèkwè* is the Audubon’s shearwater (*Puffinus lherminieri*). This bird is quite rare in this area and is sometimes seen far at sea. Very few people on these islands have ever seen one, or would recognize one if they saw one. It is however likely that they could have been more numerous in the past. The bird is nocturnal at its breeding place and nests underground, thus its presence is not easily detected. These birds are disoriented by lights and only nest in very dark areas. It has nested and may still be nesting in Bonaire (Voous, 1983) and very likely has nested or could still be nesting in Curaçao also. It makes loud calls in the night. Since the *Chokwèkwè* plays a prominent role in local mythology, which is mostly of African origin, one would expect this word to be of African origin. It also sounds like an African word. The name is primarily associated with Curaçao, it is not used in Aruba and does not seem to originate in Bonaire. This would also argue in favor of an African origin. These birds are found in Cabo Verde. On the other hand, since *Chokwèkwè* is simply an onomatopoeic form, it cannot be fully excluded from consideration that this name could be of Caquetío origin. With the advent of electrical lighting and further urbanization of the countryside, both the mythological and the real *Chokwèkwè* are now fading away into the mists of the past. The last report of one seen near Aruba, Curaçao and Bonaire is from 2003, when a group of four was seen flying at sea near Sorobon, Bonaire (Prins et al., 2009). Audubon’s shearwater is found on Saba, where it is called *wedrego* and also on St. Eustatius. These shearwaters are experiencing severe declines on Saba and are

probably declining on Statia as well. Shearwaters and the related tropicbirds were both feared on many Caribbean islands, where they were known as ‘devil-birds’. The generic name, *Puffinus* is derived from puffin which is an Anglo-Norman word (Middle English *pophyn*) for the cured carcasses of nestling shearwaters. These puffins are good eating, and it is possible that local folklore on them is so prominent both because of their calls and also because they were prized food. They were certainly eaten on St. Eustatius where Voous (1983), says that they were... “Esteemed by local inhabitants as good eating...”. In Curaçao there are no historical records mentioning them having been used as food, nor does Curaçao folklore refer to this. Similar legends exist elsewhere in relation to other species of shearwater. The Vikings were terrified by the very similar manx shearwater around Britain and Norse legend has it that the Vikings thought the shearwater calls were those of local trolls. The island of Pico in the Azores is a major nesting site of Cory’s shearwater. Their homecoming call at night is a strangulated screech; disconcerted sailors believed they were the calls of drowned souls in torment. Papiamentu also has the expression “Nan ta kwèk manera Chokèkè” [They are cackling like Chokèkè]. This is said when several people in a group are talking loudly at the same time.

Dalakochi (Curaçao, Bonaire), **Tirakochi** (Aruba) - A cricket. These are very curious names of unknown origin.

Deklá - This is the neotropical cormorant (*Phalacrocorax brasiliensis*). This is a very curious name of unknown origin.

Djakarao, Rakiou, Rakeliou - The name applies to marine snails of the species *Nerita*, mostly *Nerita peloronta*. These snails are edible and up to the early 20th century they were being sold in the local market in Curaçao (Maduro; Coomans). The name could be indigenous, possibly a Caquetío word, but in my opinion it is more likely that it is derived from Dutch *rakelen* (to harvest with a rake).

Djampou - The black grouper (*Mycteroperca bonaci*). One would suspect that this name is derived from the name of a person, such as Jan Paul or Jean-Paul.

Djuku - A sea bean or nickar nut. Sometimes we also find the English name as nicker nuts. The more rounded sea beans are called nickar nuts. Such nuts are regularly found on beaches along the North coasts of Aruba and Curaçao and the North and East coast of Bonaire. They are nuts from tropical vines of the Fabaceae family, which grow in many tropical regions; including the Central and South American and West-African forests. Such nuts are often carried by rivers to the sea. Many similar species exist. On these islands *Mucuna sloanei*, is most commonly found; a round grayish brown nut with a broad black band around the edge. *Dioclea reflexa* is a somewhat more flattened nut, sometimes

D shaped, usually tan with dark brown mottling, with a much narrower band. But some *Mucuna* which are quite similar to *Dioclea* also exist. These seeds can germinate after a long time in the sea, but do not grow on these islands since the climate is too arid. The English name nickar nut is derived from Dutch *nikker*, meaning “person of African descent” (Nelson, 2000). The, often grayish black or grayish brown, rounded nuts with thick lips were compared to the features of black people in the eyes of some of the beholders. The Papiamentu name *Djuku* could possibly be related to the name of the *Djuka*, an African descended ethnic group in Surinam, based on similar comparisons. Many of these nuts reach the Caribbean from the Amazon and Orinoco deltas and also across the Atlantic from the river deltas of tropical West Africa. Slaves arriving from West Africa must already have been familiar with them. One would expect the name *Djuku* to originate in a West-African Language. Papiamentu also has the expressions *pretu manera djuku* meaning “black like a *djuku*” or “jetblack”, *wowo manera djuku* meaning “with very dark eyes” and also *sabí manera djuku* meaning “smart like a *djuku*” (Henriquez, 1988). It is strange that *Djuku* is associated with “jet-black” in Papiamentu, while in fact the ones usually found in Curaçao are not jet-black, but dark brown or grayish brown. This suggests that the word *Djuku* originally may have referred to different jet-black species of otherwise similar beans and such species are found in Africa.

Flerchi, [Fleerchi] - small species of flying fish with wings having translucent membranes, usually those of the genus *Cypselures*, are called *Fleerchi*. Larger species of flying fish with dark wings, such as the fourwing flying fish *Hyrundichtys affinis* are called *buladó*. *Flerchi* very likely derives from Dutch *Vleertje*. *Vleder*, *Vleer* is a wing with a membrane as in *vleermuis* (bat), *-tje* is a Dutch diminutive suffix. Compare with German *Fledermaus*. *Buladó* derives from Spanish *volador*. Van Venlo (1954) thinks *flerchi* is derived from Old Dutch *fleertje* meaning “arrow”.

Ganshi, Rogans (Aruba) - *Ganshi* is the name for a goose or geese but is also used for a pelican. At present, the name *pelikan* is usually preferred since geese and pelicans are clearly different animals. *Ganshi* is derived from Dutch *gans* “goose”. In Aruba the name *Rogans* is used for the brown pelican (*Pelecanus occidentalis*).

This name has variously been written as *Rógans* and *Rògans* in some bird identification guides, both are incorrect. *Rogans* is probably derived from Dutch *roodgans* “red goose”. The name probably refers to the redbrown breeding plumage on the hindneck of the brown pelican which is similar to the redbrown plumage of the *roodhalsgans* (*Branta ruficollis*) which in English is called red-breasted goose. The red color on this goose is found on the neck and

extends to the breast. The name *Rogans* could also be related to Dutch *Rotgans* (*Branta bernicla*) which is called Brent goose in English. In some areas of the Netherlands Cormorants were also called *rotgans* (Van Dale, 1999). However the *rotgans* and the brown pelican do not share any special notable resemblance to each other, so it seems more likely that the Aruba name *rogans* derives from *roodgans*. Neither the Brent goose nor the red-breasted goose occur on these islands. The neotropical cormorant is called *deklá*.

Guengu - a small crab that lives on rocks at the edge of the sea. In English it is called Sally lightfoot (*Grapsus grapsus*). This is probably a name of African origin; these crabs are found in the tropics and subtropics of America and Africa. Slaves coming from African coastal areas would already have been familiar with them. It could also be a Caquetío word or be derived from a Caquetío word. However it sounds more like an African word.

Grastèlchi di piedra, Grastèlchi di laman (afó) - The *Grastechi di piedra* is the yellowtail snapper (*Ocyurus chrysurus*), which is a reef fish. The *Grastelchi di Laman*, sometimes also called *Grastèlchi di Laman afó* is the rainbow runner (*Elagatis bipinnulata*) which is a pelagic fish. *Grastèlchi* is derived from Dutch *grassteeltje* or “small grass stalk” and it probably refers to the yellow stripe on each side of the fish. Both species of fish have a similar form and coloration although they are not related. The terminology *di piedra* “of the stones” refers to the fact that it is found, where the stones are, on the reef. *Di laman* means “of the sea” and *di laman afó* “of the open sea”, thus correctly describing the habits of this fish. Van Venlo (1954) states that the name *grastèlchi* is derived from the fin rays of the dorsal fin of the *grastèlchi di piedra*, which have a greenish color. In Bonaire the form *Gristèlchi* is often used.

Guepi barahans - This is a large round garfish or needlefish. Large round specimens of both the Ajugón needlefish (*Tylosurus acus*) which is also called *Guepi rondó* in Papiamentu and the hound needlefish (*Tylosurus crocodilus*) which can be similar in appearance, are called *Guepi barahans*. The word *Guepi* is from the Dutch *geep* while *barahans* seems to be derived from Dutch and could possibly be derived from *Bolle Hans*.

Infrou - name of *Opuntia* leaf cactus. Derived from Dutch *juffrouw*. In Dutch such cactus are called *Spaanse juffer* meaning “Spanish señorita”, *juffer* is a shortened version of *juffrouw*. In Aruba such cactus are called *Tuna*, a Taíno word also used in Spanish. In Bonaire both names *Infrou* and *Tuna* are used.

Yakupeper, [Jakupeper] - The Nassau grouper (*Epinephelis striatus*), the name is derived from Jacob Evertszen. In South Africa the names *Jacopewer* and *Jacopever* are used. Cloete, Van Wyk et al. (2003) say:

jakopewer s.nw. Rooi of oranje-kleurige seevis. Deur volksetimologie ontstaan uit Ndl. jacob-evertszen (1648), so genoem omdat die vis se

huid aan die rooi, gevlekte puisiegesig van 'n Ndl. admiraal uit die 17de eeu, Jacob Evertsen, herinner. Eerste optekening in Afr. in Patriotwoordenboek (1902) in die vorm jakopiwer. Vanuit Afr. in S.A.Eng. in die vorm jacopever (1927).

[Jakopewer a red or orange colored marine fish, derived from Dutch jacob-evertsen (1648), so called because its reddish skin color recalled the reddish blotched face with pustules of Jacob Evertsen, a Dutch admiral in the 17th century. First noted in Afrikaans in *Patriotwoordenboek* (1902) as *jakopiwer*. From Afrikaans it was introduced into South African English as *jacopever* (1927).]

The *Woordenboek Nederlandse taal* (WNT), or “Dictionary of the Dutch language”, which is available online, gives (among others) the following variants for the entry, Jacob-Evertsen:

Naam aan zekeren visch der Oostindische zeeën (bij de Inlanders ikan krapoe) door Hollandsche matrozen gegeven, omdat zij diens kleur en vlekken vergeleken met de huidkleur en de vlekken enz. in het gelaat van "Schipper" JACOB EVERTSEN. Zie BONTIUS (gestorven a°. 1639).
 [Name of a certain fish in the seas of the East-Indies (called *ikan krapoe* by the natives) which was so named by Dutch sailors, because they compared its color and spots with the skin color and spots etc. of the face of "Captain" JACOB EVERTSEN. See BONTIUS (who died in the year 1639).]

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Sommigen (der Everts-baarzen, Evertsen, Serrani) zijn dwars of in de lengte gestreept, de meesten op allerlei wijzen gevlekt, en laatstgenoemden worden in Nederlandsch-Indië algemeen Jacob Evertsen geheeten, zijnde deze benaming, door de zeelieden gegeven, eene toespeling op het gevlekte en puistige gezigt van den Admiraal van dien naam, die eene der eerste Hollandsche vloten naar Oost-Indië voerde, SCHLEGEL, Dierk. 2, 144 (1858).

[Some (of the Everts-basses (groupers), Evertsen, Serrani) are either cross-striped or striped along their length, most have all sorts of spots and the latter ones are generally called Jacob Evertsen, in the Netherlands East Indies, this name being the name given by the sailors, which is an allusion to the spotted and pustulous face of the Admiral of that name, who commanded one of the first Dutch fleets to the Dutch East-Indies. SCHLEGEL, Dierk. 2, 144 (1858).]

And also somewhat differently:

In Zuid-Afrika als naam voor zekeren rooden visch (roode steenbrasem), die genoemd zou zijn naar het schip Jacob Evertsen, welks bemanning dien visch het eerst op Mauritius zou hebben aangetroffen (zie Bekn. Nederl. Woordenb. voor Z.-Afrika van ELFFERS-VILJOEN s.v. JAKOB-EVERT). [In South Africa as the name for a certain red fish (red sea-bass), which is supposed to have been named after the ship Jacob Evertsen, whose crew would have encountered this fish for the first time on the island of Mauritius (see Bekn. Nederl. Woordenb. voor Z.-Afrika van ELFFERS-VILJOEN s.v. JAKOB-EVERT).]

The Papiamentu *Jakupeper*, the Nassau grouper, has diagonal bars on the snout, across the eye and 5 olive-brown bars on the body; it has only a few blotches.

Kabaito di diabel - A dragonfly. The name means little horse of the devil. Curiously enough in Caribbean Spanish it is sometimes called *caballito de Dios* “God’s little horse.” Many people nowadays call dragonflies *Yeye*. Originally this name applied to cicadas and not to dragonflies, as older people in Banda Abou, the more rural western part of Curaçao, will assert. However nowadays so many people use the name *Yeye* for dragonflies, that this usage cannot be considered incorrect anymore. Many people in town do not even know what a cicada is and what it looks like. In Papiamentu there have been more examples of names being transferred from one animal to another through incorrect usage of the original name. With time the incorrect usage has become accepted as the new norm. Another example of incorrect usage which became the accepted norm is found in the words *Dividivi* and *Watapana*. *Dividivi* originally applied to the fruits while *Watapana* applied to the tree. Nowadays in Curaçao these are considered to be synonyms while in Bonaire this distinction is still being maintained (at least for the time being).

Kahela - the name of the laughing gull (*Larus atricilla*) in Bonaire. This name is of unknown origin, but it could be derived from Caquetío.

Kakalaka di awa - A water bug, a voracious insect living in fresh water, often found in open water tanks used for irrigation. *Kakalaka* means “cockroach” and is derived from Portuguese *Cacalacca*.

Kakalaka di laman - A chiton (Polyplacophora). This name also applies to a crustacean that quickly buries itself in the sand on some beaches; in English these are called mole crabs or sand fleas. *Laman* means the sea and is derived from Spanish *la mar*. *La mar* was used in Old Spanish; it is for example encountered in the writings of Bartolomé de Las Casas. Nowadays it is *el mar*. However seafaring people still use *la mar* Dicc Vox says: *entre marinos se usa*

habitualmente como femenina. Papiamentu *laman* must be derived from Spanish since Portuguese uses and always used *o mar*.

Kakalaka matros - a large cockroach with a white edge along its head shield, similar in appearance to a sailor's (Dutch: *matroos*) shirt.

Kaka sin sinti - The oil fish (*Ruvettus pretiosus*). This is a deep-sea fish which is very rarely caught at the surface with handlines, it is very oily and its oil has strong laxative properties. The name means "shit without feeling (anything)". It is said that if this fish is properly slow roasted on a spit and cuts are made in the skin, the oil will then leak out completely. The flesh can then be eaten without suffering from the laxative effects and it is said to be delicious.

Karou, Karou na bela - This is the stinging siphonophore jellyfish which in English is called Portuguese man of war (*Physalia physalia*). In Papiamentu nowadays the name *Pèchi Portugues* is more commonly used, *Karou* being an older name (Maduro, 1960). *Karou* is derived from the Portuguese name for these jellyfish. *caravela* or *caravela não*. (a *não* is a small type of *caravela*). Since it is derived from Portuguese it is very likely an old word in Papiamentu.

Kapoti-as - A stinkbug (Fam: Pentatomidae, *Nezara* spp. *Loxa* spp. and many others). The name is derived from Dutch *kapotjas*, a type of coat, with a large cape. Such coats can often be worn inside out, usually each side is of a different color. The stinkbugs have a head shield resembling the cape of such a coat and are present on the island in two colors; the Southern green stinkbug (*Nezara viridula*) and the brown stinkbug (*Euschistus servus*). According to the Dutch Van Dale Dictionary, such coats date from 1817 onward (Van Dale, 1999). Thus the name *Kapoti-as* must have arisen after this date. *Loxa* stinkbugs are somewhat larger and are always green, they are also called *Kapoti-as*.

Kenepa spiritu - This plant is also more commonly called *Guayaba baster* (*Casearia tremula*). It is also called *Palu di venenu* (poison tree). In English it is called jumbie guava (in Grenada, the only English speaking country where it is found). Its stem is light grayish like the *Kenepa* (*Mellicocca bijuca*), although usually slightly darker. The leaves look similar and the fruit when small and still green also have a superficial resemblance to *Kenepa*. Thus this tree is a "spirit" of the *Kenepa*. Alternatively since the fruits of the *Kenepa spiritu* are poisonous, unlike the edible common *Kenepa*, the name may also have been intended to indicate that one could become a *spiritu* by eating them.

Kinkon - This is an old Papiamentu name for the *karkó* (*Strombus gigas*) or Queen conch, it is derived from Dutch *kinkhoorn*. Nowadays this word is not in use anymore.

Kipopo, Djipopo - The mushroom (*Coprinus comatus*). In English it is called shaggy mane. This mushroom is cosmopolitan in dry tropical and subtropical areas. The early stages are edible. *Kipopo* is very likely a Bantu word, many Bantu

languages use the prefix *ki-*. This prefix can have the meaning of “the original”, or “the real one” as in Kiswahili. Slaves arriving from drier areas of Africa would have been familiar with this mushroom. Maduro notes that the name of this mushroom is also found as *Dikpopo* in Saramaccan, the language of a maroon nation in Surinam. He refers to *Saramakaanse woordenschat* by A. Donicie and J.Voorhoeve.

Klásmulatu, Klásmulato - a shrub (*Tournefortia volubilis*). Is it named after a mulatto named Klaas?

Kòfi ku lechi, [Koffie ku lechi] (Aruba) - This is the Ameiva lizard (*Ameiva bifrontata*) in Aruba. The name means “coffee with milk” and is an excellent description of the usual color of the animal, although sometimes they can also be a bit grayish.

Koko djamina - This is a grass (*Cyperus rotundus*). In English it is called coco-grass, purple nut sedge or red nut sedge, it is a species of sedge (Cyperaceae) native to Africa, southern and central Europe. The name *koko* refers to round tubers in the roots, which look like miniature coconuts; when these are opened the flesh inside also looks and tastes somewhat similar to coconut. The name *Djamina* refers to São Jorge da Mina in West-Africa (da Mina became *djamina*) and implies that this grass came from that region, which is indeed very likely.

Kokolishi di kalakuna - The land snail *Cerion uva*. It was used to feed turkeys (Dutch: *kalkoen*) and was even exported to Germany for this purpose in the past.

Kolebra di mispel, Lagadishi di mispel - In Curaçao and Bonaire the striped spectacled tegu (*Gymnophthalmus lineatus*) is called *Kolebra di mispel*. It is a small lizard with limbs that are reduced in size, which gives it the appearance of a small snake. It is often found in the leaf litter of the sapodilla tree (*Achras zapote*), which in Papiamentu is called *mispel*. In Aruba the very similar and closely related *Gymnophthalmus speciosus* is called *Lagadishi di mispel*, which is a more accurate name since it is a lizard (*lagadishi*) and not a snake (*kolebra*).

Kolebra di plata, Kolebra di suerte - this is the White-faced worm snake or Wagler’s blind snake (*Leptotyphlops albifrons*) which is found in Bonaire. It is similar to the *Bichi di dos kabes* in Curaçao, but is larger and has a much lighter silvery color; which gives it its name *Kolebra di plata*. It has a cryptic lifestyle, living under stones and in leaf litter and soil. It eats ants and termites and their eggs and larvae. To find it is like finding silver and is considered to bring luck and this is the origin of the name *Kolebra di suerte*.

Krabèt, Krabèchi, Krabète, Grabèt, Garabèt - General name for several species of small herons, The name is derived from Dutch *krabbevreter*. (Teenstra).

Lisinbein - 1. a centipede, 2. a fern; the fern is often called *mata di lisinbein* “lisinbein plant” to distinguish it from the centipede. This is probably a rather curious transformation of the Dutch word *duizendpoot*, *duizendbeen*. The change from *been* to *bein* we also find for example in *Kakumbein* from Dutch *kaakbeen* “jawbone”.

Lolo di awa - name used for sea cucumbers (Holothuroidea), usually *Holothuria mexicana*. It means “penis of the water”. *Lolo di awa* can also be used as an insult to indicate a very stupid person.

Lopi - general name for several species of plover (fam: Charadriidae). It is derived from Dutch *loper* “walker”, since these birds walk continuously along the water’s edge. In Dutch similar birds are for example called *kleine steltloper*. In the fam: Scolopacidae with somewhat larger *steltlopers* we find the names *strandloper*, *steenloper*, *oeverloper*.

Makamba - This is a wading bird, the Black-winged stilt (*Himantopus mexicanus*). In Dutch it is called *steltkluut*. In Papiamentu it is also called *Kaweta di awa* “busy-body of the water” or *Redadó* “tell-all”. In Bonaire it is called *Kaweta di patu* “busy-body of the ducks”. These names refer to its habit of loudly warning all other water birds of the presence of an intruder and flying in his direction and are more commonly used than the name *Makamba*. I suspect *Makamba* for this bird must be a very old Papiamentu name and that it probably refers to the stark contrast in plumage; dark on top and on the back, with a very white breast. The early Dutch colonists wore black laken suits and hats, with white shirts. The purple/pink feet may have contributed to such a comparison, looking a bit like a sun-burnt European. *Makamba* is also the name for some butterflyfish. The Banded butterflyfish (*Chaetodon striatus*) is called *Makamba marinier*, the body of the *Makamba marinier* is silver gray and has black bars. The name *Makamba marinier* probably harks back to a time when Dutch sailors wore shirts with bars or stripes. It seems likely that once the name *Makamba* was established for one type of butterflyfish, other butterflyfish would also be named *Makamba*. The foureye butterflyfish (*Chaetodon capistratus*), is called *Makamba* or *Makamba hulandes*. The name *Makamba hulandes* goes back to times when the word *Makamba* did not yet apply exclusively to the Dutch and was often used for sailors (Latour, 1936). There were for example also *Makamba amerikano*. The name *Makamba hulandes* would then refer specifically to a Dutch sailor. Thus these names must be quite old. In the late 19th and early 20th century sailors of the Royal Dutch navy wore finely striped shirts, similar to the stripes on the body of this fish. These shirts were normally covered by a white jacket and would show in the breast area only. The jacket however was not always worn.

The *Makamba hulandes* is also called *Makamba kulu bèrdè*. Unlike the word *Makamba* itself, *Makamba kulu bèrdè* is an insulting term for a Dutchman “Dutchman with a green asshole“. This terminology was used to insult the Dutch *veldwachters* “field police”, who among other tasks, were employed to catch goat thieves. Stealing of goats has always been a problem in Curaçao. These *veldwachters* had green uniforms. A somewhat different, more specific and ultimately more convincing explanation is given in an interview with the late Gerrit Jansen (Heiligers, 2001). His father was a *veldwachter*, who was issued a government owned mule. Jansen says:

“Het kwam wel eens voor dat hij, zoals meer van die jongens, zijn leren rijbroek opborg zonder die te laten luchten. Daarom was die broek van achteren wat groenig als hij die de volgende dag weer aantrok. Het zou me niet verbazen als de Nederlanders op Curaçao aan die nalatigheid de weinig flatteuze benaming ‘makamba kulo bèrdè’ (makamba groen achterwerk) hebben overgehouden.”

[Sometimes, like many of these boys, he would store his leather driving trousers without first airing (and drying) them. Thus these trousers were somewhat greenish in the back when he would put them on again the next day. I would not be surprised if the not so flattering name *Makamba kulu bèrdè* for the Dutch in Curaçao is a result of such negligence.]

The question then arises as to why a fish which is not green would be called *Makamba kulu bèrdè*; it could have to do with the yellow-greenish area around the anus. The Spotfin butterflyfish (*Chaetodon ocellatus*) is called *Makamba blanku* or *Chamba blanku*. The name *Chamba* is used for some butterflyfish and the similar looking angelfish. The large queen angelfish is called *Rey di chamba*. The body of the *Makamba blanku* is completely white, with yellow fins. The reef butterflyfish (*Chaetodon sedentarius*) is called *Makamba hel*, it is yellowish white. Nowadays the name *Chamba hel* is more commonly used for this fish. The sharptail eel (*Myrichthys acuminatus*) is called *Kolebra makamba*. It is a yellowish brown eel with round light spots that lives in sandy bottoms between corals or in beds of sea grass. I have no idea why it would have been named *Makamba*.

Makapreim, Makaprùim - a fruit, *Spondias venulosa*. Teenstra (1977) says “Makak of Macaque-pruimen, ook apepruimen genaamd”, which can be translated as “Monkey prune” Thus Papiamentu *Makaprùim* is derived from Dutch *makak pruim* or *macaque pruim*, which in turn is derived from Portuguese *macaco*, which is derived from a Congolese language (Almeida Costa & Sampaio e Melo, 1992). The Spanish name of this fruit is *jocotillo*.

Mamòndènguè, Mamundènguè - This name is probably of African origin and could be a Bantu word. It applies to some parasitic wasps. **a.** a small wasp with a narrow waist that constantly moves its lower body up and down (*Ichneumon* sp.) **b.** a much larger wasp with a long narrow waist that makes mud nests (*Sceliphron assimile*). In English such wasps are called mud-daubers. A woman with a very narrow waist is sometimes called *Mamòndènguè*.

Mangel tan (Curaçao), **Mangel tam** (Aruba, Bonaire) - the red mangrove (*Rhizophora mangle*). *Mangel* is derived from Taíno: *mangle*, meaning “mangrove”. *Tan* is derived from Dutch *taan*, meaning “tan”. The aerial roots of this mangrove were used to tan fishing lines and nets.

Maribomba - *Maribomba* is a general name for wasp. In Brazilian Portuguese the word *maribondo* is used, which is derived from *marimbondo* a word from Kimbondo a Bantu language in Angola. *Ma-* indicates the plural, *rimbondo* means “wasp” therefore *marimbondo* = wasps (Almeida & Sampaio e Melo, 1992). In Surinam wasps are called *marabons*, *marbons*, *marbonsoe* (Van Donselaar, 1989).

Maripampun, Maripòmpun, [Mariepampun] - This is a vine with an edible fruit which is also called *Marie Pompoen* (*Matelea rubra*). Another name for this plant or more specifically its fruit in Papiamentu is the nowadays politically totally incorrect name *Kabes di patin di mariku*, in the Zakflora this has been euphemized to *kabes di mariku*.

Marsiano - a type of small cockroach, which in English is called German cockroach (*Blatta germanica*). *Marsiano* means “Martian”. Probably this is a fairly modern word in Papiamentu. The German cockroach is an invasive species that originated in Asia. Nowadays it is cosmopolitan having been spread all around the world by man. It is possible that this cockroach arrived in Curaçao quite late, just at a time when the concept of Martians was gaining vogue, Martians became popular in the early 20th century.

Masbangu - *Masbangu* is the Papiamentu name for the Big-eye scad or goggle-eye scad (*Selar crumenophthalmus*). The name *Masbangu* is derived from *marsbanker*. The Marsbank is a sand bank near Den Helder in the Netherlands. The *marsbanker* is the horse-mackerel (*Trachurus trachurus*). This fish is normally found in more southern parts of the North Sea, but for some reason it is sometimes found near the Marsbank near Den Helder. Today the Dutch use the name *horsmakreel* for this fish, which is related to the big-eye scad; both belonging to the family of the jacks or Carangidae, which family in Dutch is called *horsmakrelen*. In South Africa the name *marsbanker* became *maasbanker*, although it has nothing to do with the river Maas. From South African Dutch the word *maasbanker* also entered the English language and is commonly used as a synonym for horse mackerel.

Mata piská, Mata di piska - this is the Barbasco tree (*Jaquinia armillaris*). The twigs and leaves contain rotenone, and it was used for fishing in sheltered waters. The name *Mata piská* can probably be best translated as “(it) kills fish” and *Mata di piska* as “plant to fish with”. It is also named *Stengau*.

Mulá - This is the Papiamentu name for the Wahoo (*Acanthocybium solandri*). The name Wahoo is of Polynesian origin and originates from the Hawaiian Islands. The name *Mulá* is derived from the word mulatto and reflects the belief that this fish is a cross between a tuna and a barracuda. In the French West-Indies it is called *thazard-bâtard*, which conveys the same idea. In Venezuela this fish is called *peto*.

Nanzi di koko - *Nanzi* normally refers to a spider. The *Nanzi di koko* is not a spider but an ant lion, which catches ants by making a small crater in dry sandy soil. Ants tumble down into this crater to be eaten by the ant lion which is buried at the center of the crater. The ant lion is the larval stage of a lacewing, an insect which is related to the dragonflies. I do not know why the *Nanzi di koko* is called *di koko*.

Palabrua - The barn owl (*Tyto alba bargei*), also general name for owls. *Palabrua* derives from *para brua* meaning “black magic bird”. Spanish *bruja* means witch.

Palu di lele - A *Lele* or *Palu di lele* is a stick with three spokes, which is used as a hand mixer; for example to beat eggs. *Palu* can mean stick, pole, wood or tree. The *Palu di lele* (*Randia aculeata*) which is also called *Wakurá* is the tree from which these handmixers are made. *Lele* could be derived from the Fon language (Fongbè), which is spoken in Benin (formerly the kingdom of Dahomey), in Africa, where *lile* means “to turn”.

In Martinique we find the *bois lélé* which in English is called the Caribbean swizzlestick. It is used by barkeepers to mix drinks; it is markedly smaller than a *Palu di lele* in Curaçao and usually has five spokes instead of three, but otherwise they are identical. The scientific name of the *bois lélé* tree is *Quararibea turbinata*. In the English speaking islands of the Eastern Caribbean, where the tree from which the *bois lélé* is made is also found it is called the “swizzlestick tree”.

Pampuna dol di webu (Curaçao) - a local Curaçao landrace of pumpkin. The name, which means “egg yolk pumpkin”, refers to the deep orange color of the interior of the pumpkin. This pumpkin is quite popular, people like its color and the fact that it does not disintegrate when it is cooked. *Dol* derives from Dutch *dooier* and *webu* from Spanish *huevo*.

Panikrak - The blue crab (*Callinectes*). *Pan* probably refers to bread while *krak* is derived from Dutch *krab* “crab”. This crab is edible.

Para di Yonchi, [Para di Joonchi] - The sparrow (*Passer domesticus*). It is called “Yonchi’s bird” after Mr. Johan Jonkhout (nicknamed Yonchi) who introduced this bird to Curaçao from the Netherlands in 1953. From Curaçao the sparrows spread to Bonaire many years later. In Aruba it is also an introduced bird, however there nothing is known about its origin (Voous, 1983).

Patia di zumbi, Patia shimaron - a small creeping vine (*Solanum agrarium*), with fruits which resemble a small round *patia* (watermelon). The fruit is very likely poisonous since it belongs to the genus *Solanum*, most of whose members are poisonous. In the case of *the Patia di zumbi* “zombie watermelon” it could be that the name *zumbi* also subtly implies that the fruit is poisonous, may be in a similar way to the use of *spiritu* in *kenepa spiritu*. The term *shimaron* derives from *cimarron*; Spanish for a runaway slave. In Papiamentu many plants which can be considered a “wild” form or simply a less desirable plant in comparison to a better known or more common or cultured plant are called *shimaron*. Often the resemblance is quite superficial. Several examples are given here: *Batata shimaron*, *Bembe shimaron*, *Indigo shimaron*, *Kònkòmber shimaron*, *Kokólode shimaron*, *Lamunchi shimaron*, *Maishi di totolika shimaron*, *Maishi grandi shimaron*, *Mangel shimaron*, *Pegasaya shimaron*, *Pinda shimaron*, *Pitiseli shimaron*, *Tamarein shimaron*, *Trommelstok shimaron*, *Watapana* or *Dividivi shimaron*, and *Wayaká shimaron*. *Yerba shimaron* is a general term for weeds (Maduro, 1966). In Curaçao there is also a plant called *Batata di zumbi* “zombi potato”. It is a low vine with a large tuber (*Ceratosanthes palmata*).

Patu morèkè - This is the blue-winged teal *Anas discors*. *Morèkè* is derived from Portuguese *marreca*, which refers to smaller species of duck, such as a teals and whistling ducks (amongst others). Larger species of duck are called *Pato*. Since *morèkè* is of Portuguese origin it is probably an older word in Papiamentu.

Pishi porko Bambi, Bamba - This is the pelagic triggerfish, rough triggerfish or spotted oceanic triggerfish (*Canthidermis maculata*). *Pishi porco* probably derives from Portuguese *peixe porco* or from Spanish *peje puerco* “pork fish”. It is tempting to think that the name *bambi* relates to the little deer of Walt Disney fame. The *Pishi porko bambi* has a similar color pattern, brownish with white blotches. As the English name pelagic triggerfish indicates, this fish is usually only encountered far out in the open sea. It is sometimes caught near Klein Curaçao at certain times of the year. Thus this fish would not have been very well known before fishermen had motor engines and started to fish much further out at sea. While the name *Pishi porco* is probably quite old, the name *bambi* is an example of a fairly modern word in Papiamentu. Old names disappear but some new ones also arise!

Pishi porko flùitdó - This is the Ocean triggerfish (*Canthidermis sufflamen*). As is the case with *Buni flùitdó* this name indicates that this is a larger species in comparison to a more common one, in this case the queen triggerfish (*Balistes vetula*). This species fights on the line and makes the fishing line “whistle” *flùit*. Usually the Ocean triggerfish is grayish or grayish blue, sometimes however it is brownish with some grayish blotches. The *Pishi porko bambi* is usually brownish but can sometimes also be grayish, thus these two species can be easily confused.

Platlùis, plateis - lice in the pubic area (*Phthirus* or *Pediculus pubis*). *Platluis* (“flat lice”) is an archaic Dutch word still used in Papiamentu. Nowadays Dutch uses *schaamluis* “pubic lice” or *platjes* “the flat ones”.

Praga - small biting insect, usually active at dusk and dawn, especially in the rainy season (order Diptera, fam: Ceratopogonidae, often of the genus *Colocoides*). The name is derived from Portuguese: *a praga* “the curse” which is of course precisely what it is. In English they are usually called gnats, biting midges, no-seeum’s or punkies. In Spanish they are usually called *jejénes*. In Aruba they are called *Ashibi*.

Raton djanochi - Bat. *Raton djanochi* = *raton di anochi* = “mouse of the night”.

Compare this to Portuguese *morcego* which is derived from Latin: *mure caecu*, meaning “blind mouse” and Spanish *murciélagu*. *Murciélagu* derived from *murciegalo* by metathesis; and it goes back to Latin *mus caecus alatus* and /or *mure caecu alatu*, “blind mouse with wings”. Dutch uses *vleermuis*, English “bat” and French *pipistrelle* or *chauve souris*. Thus *Raton djanochi* is very likely an original Papiamentu invention, not directly derived from one of the languages mentioned above, although of course the words *raton* and *noche* derive from Spanish.

Ròbèki - a reef fish, the French grunt (*Haemulon flavolineatum*). The name is derived from Dutch *roodbekje*.

Shon Piet - a shore bird, the American oystercatcher (*Haematopus palliatus*). The name can be translated as “Master/ Mister Peter”. This name is used in Curaçao only, in Aruba and Bonaire it is called *Kibra cocolishi* “shell breaker” (De Boer, Newton & Restall, 2011).

Snepi - general name for birds of the family: Scolopacidae, such as sandpipers, yellowlegs, the dowitcher and the willet. Derived from Dutch *snip* “snipe”.

Sobrá di Dios - “what God hath left”, a flounder, also a general name for flounders.

Soldachi - “little soldier”, a hermit crab, from Dutch *soldaat* “soldier”.

Souchi (Curaçao), **Swalchi** (Aruba) - the Barn swallow (*Hirundo rustica*). It seems farfetched to assume that *Souchi* could be derived from Dutch *zwaluw*. Aruba Papiamentu uses the name *Schwalchi*, which is clearly related to *zwaluw* and with some imagination one can imagine that the form *Swalchi* could be

transformed into *Souchi*, Thus *Souchi* could be derived from Dutch and is probably not a Caquetío word.

Stul di Zumbi, Parasol di Zumbi (Curaçao and Bonaire) - a large fungus which grows on trees (*Ganoderma resinaceum* and other *Ganoderma* spp.). In Dutch such mushrooms are called *houtzwammen* and very similar mushrooms in Holland (*Trametes* spp.) are called *elfenbankje*. Dutch *stoel* is a chair. It is curious that while in Europe such mushrooms are associated with fairies, here they belong to the *zumbi*. Both apparently need to sit and rest once in a while. In Aruba such fungi are called *Pan di diabel* “devils bread”. In Curaçao *Pan di diabel* is the fruit of the plant *Morinda royoc*. This plant grows in the wild and is related to the noni (*Morinda citrifolia*) it has a similar, but much smaller fruit.

Tomati kròbe kròbe or kròbò kròbò - a nowadays possibly extinct local tomato variety or landrace in Curaçao. It is not being planted anymore since seeds of newer imported commercial tomato varieties are available. A small but very sweet tomato with a bumpy surface texture. The name *kròbe kròbe* or *kròbò kròbò* refers to the bumpy surface. It is possibly derived from Old Dutch *krodde* = *klein gerimpeld voorwerp* (Van Dale); which can be translated as “small object with a textured surface”. *Krodde* is related to Hoch Deutsch *Kröte*, “toad”. *Kròbe kròbe* or *kròbò kròbò* can also refer to kinky hair.

Tonto di La Reina (Aruba) - name used in Aruba for the marine snail *Strombus costatus*. In English it is usually called milk conch. The Papiamentu name refers to Her Royal Majesty the Queen’s private parts. A flower *Clitoria ternatea* has the same name in Aruba and in Bonaire this name is sometimes also used for this flower, but not for the snail.

Tortuga, Tortuka blanku - This is the green turtle (*Chelonia mydas*). In English, Spanish, French and Portuguese it is known as: Green turtle, *tortuga verde*, *tortue verte*, *tartaruga verde* respectively, after the color of its fat. In Dutch it is called *soepschildpad*; “the one used to make soup”. In Papiamentu, however, it is called *Tortuga blanku* (white turtle) after the white color of its meat.

Totèki - Name for an anolis lizard on Curaçao and Bonaire, in Aruba such a lizard is called *waltaka*. The Papiamentu word *Totèki* originates in Curaçao, it is at present also used in Bonaire, but the original Bonaire name for this lizard is *Lagadishi di palu*. *Totèki* is derived from *tuqueque* or *tuteque*, names which in Venezuela are used for gecko’s not for anoles (Alvarado, 1921). These are Amerindian names, but it is not known from which language or language group they originate. In Curaçao geckos were in the past also called *Totèki pega pega* or *Turtèki pega pega*, to differentiate them from the other *Totèki*. Today only older people sometimes use these names and a gecko is now simply a *Pega pega*. In Curaçao and Bonaire the name *Kaku*, of unknown, possibly African

origin, is also used for an anolis lizard. It thus seems likely that the word *totèki* is derived from *tuqueque* or *tuteque*, that it was introduced into Papiamentu via Spanish and that it originally applied to geckos. The name was then later transferred to the anolis lizard when geckos acquired the name *Pega pega*. There are many examples of names which originally applied to one species of animal or plant having later been transferred to another species, so this would not be unusual. It is also possible that *Totèki* is an original Caquetío word that only applied to geckos and that the name was later transferred to anoles, which were presumably called *Waltaka* as is the case in Aruba.

Tribon di wesu - Small deep-water sharks such as the Cuban dogfish (*Squalus cubensis*) and some cat-eyed sharks (*Triakis* spp.), which are sometimes caught when handlining for snappers at night. *Wesu* (bone) refers to the sharp dorsal spines of these sharks.

Trupial kachó - The Yellow oriole (*Icterus nigrogularis*). Here *kachó* “dog” from Portuguese *cachorro* is used to indicate a less desirable species in the eye of the beholder (compared to the orange troupiál, the *Trupial sabí*). In Aruba it is called *Gonzalito*. The word *trupial* derives from the Cariban languages of Venezuela, where the forms *turpiára* and *turupiára* are found (Alvarado, 1921). In Spanish this became *turpial*. *Trupial* probably entered Papiamentu via Spanish. It can however not be completely excluded that *trupial* was used in the Caquetío language, it could have been the result of Carib influences in Caquetío, other such examples exist.

Trupial sabí - the Troupial (*Icterus icterus*). *Sabí* means “the smart one, the wise one, the wise guy”. Supposedly the more intelligent one? These birds are indeed very smart and quite fearless; they will sometimes fly into houses and grab food. They may even pry open the door of an unlocked cupboard. This sets them apart from the *trupial kachó*, which does not exhibit such behavior.

Vrumoe, Frumoe - A small bass (*Serranus phoebe*). This bass is not commonly caught since it lives in deep waters, but even so it has a local name. The name means “midwife”. It is derived from Dutch *vroedvrouw*, *vroedmoeder*. This bass has a yellow-brown appearance with a white stripe on each side. These stripes join on the white belly and thus form a white cross over a yellowish background when seen from below. This looks a bit like the White and Yellow cross of the *Wit-Gele Kruis*, an organization involved in medical care, which also provides midwives. The *Wit-Gele Kruis* was established on Curaçao in 1941, and it would have been impossible to catch these fish before the advent of modern synthetic fishing lines. *Vrumoe* as a name of this fish is thus a fairly modern word in Papiamentu. However the name *Vrumoe* was earlier used for another fish, the Jack-knife fish (*Equetus lanceolatus*), which is also called *rei di laman* “king of the sea”. Van Venlo (1954) gives the name *Vroemoe di bon*

ora “the midwife who arrives on time” or *Vroemoe*. At present, this name is not used for this fish anymore. This is yet another example of a name having been transferred to another species.

Wimpiri - a small insect, which does not bite like the *Praga* but is an annoyance anyway since it tends to enter the nose, eyes and ears. These are *Drosophila* flies. The word is likely of Carib origin and derives from the Karina form *mapili* or from *mapiri*, which is used in Cariban languages in Venezuela. In Surinam the word *mam'pier* is used for the similar looking *Colocoides* (biting midges, gnats) species (Van Donselaar 1989), which in Curaçao are called *Praga*. In Bonaire however the *Praga* is called *Wimpiri*. It thus seems likely that the name *Wimpiri* originally applied to the biting midges which in Curaçao Papiamentu are nowadays called *Praga*, while the name *Wimpiri* was then transferred to the non-biting *Drosophila* flies. This is yet another example of a name being transferred to another, usually somewhat similar, species. *Wimpiri* is clearly related to similar words in Cariban languages. It thus seems less likely that the form *Wimpiri* is of Caquetío origin, however this possibility cannot be excluded; it could be the result of Carib influence on the Caquetío language. The word *Wimpiri* is not found in Spanish, Portuguese or Dutch and cannot have been introduced into Papiamentu through any of these languages. In Aruba the word *Ashibi* is in use, which is related to *shipe* in Guajiro (Wayu, Wayúu, Wahiro), an Arawak language. Taíno, another Arawak language, used *jejenes*, *xexenes*.

Zekat, Zekat di piedra, Zekat buladó, [Zeekat] - *Zekat* is a general name for cephalopods. The *Zekat di piedra* is an octopus. The expression *di piedra* “of the stones” refers to the fact that it is found where there are stones on the reef. The *Zekat buladó* is a squid. These animals can sometimes jump or “fly” out of the water. *Zeekat* is an old Dutch word for squid, which is however not used anymore in the Netherlands, where the word *pijlinktvis* is now used for squid.

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**UNPACKING HEGEMONIC AND SUBALTERN DISCOURSES ON
LINGUISTICS AND LANGUAGE IN THE ABC-ISLANDS AND BEYOND**

LANGUAGE AND CONTEXT IN ARUBA

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Introduction

In this article I present a contextualized perspective on the language situation in Aruba. The article first elaborates the historical-political, economic, and demographic dimensions of the context surrounding language in Aruba. Hypotheses concerning possible implications of context on language relations and the role of the four important languages in Aruba: Papiamentu, Spanish, English and Dutch, are advanced. I also highlight some questions and ideas for further discussion and research on Aruba's language situation. These questions and ideas are based on perspective that Aruba's multi-lingual situation is different than most Caribbean societies, due to differences in historical backgrounds, as well as in current political, economic, demographic and social-cultural settings. Although Aruba exhibits important similarities with the rest of the Caribbean, the differences are significant as well. The goal of the article is to *contextualize* language issues in Aruba in order to achieve a more profound understanding of possible future scenarios and in order to design relevant language planning strategies.

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Historical context

The present day reality of Aruba has been constructed on a history of a *specific* kind of colonization of the island by several colonizers, including the Spanish, English and Dutch. A few historical facts regarding Aruba's colonization, possibly relevant for the current language situation, include the following.

For most of its colonial history, Aruba was not particularly interesting to its colonizers, because it offered few opportunities for large-scale financial gain. Therefore, at least in the early colonial period, the colonizer in Aruba may have been less visible as a power figure than on other Caribbean Islands. This may have constructed the status of the colonizer and his language differently in Aruba, compared with how these were constructed in Curaçao and other Islands in the Caribbean. In fact, due to the minor political-economic importance of Aruba, the island was exempted from *de facto* colonization for a long time after its *de jure* colonization, and was opened for colonial activity almost 100 years later than

Curaçao. This makes post-colonial Aruba a relatively young society, with less 'historical baggage', compared with Curaçao and many other islands in the Caribbean. Aruba was never totally included in the network of economic activities that fed the slave trade, which distinguishes it from most of the rest of the Caribbean. Aruba was relatively lightly impacted by dehumanizing treatment of slaves, and the island never gave rise to anti-slavery movements and struggles. Although Aruba did experience slavery and the trade in both African- and Indigenous-descended slaves, slavery never became the defining factor in social relations that it became elsewhere in the Caribbean. This fact may have shaped the construction of post-slavery society in Aruba differently than in Curaçao and beyond. Internal power relations between ethnic groups and social classes, as well as the meanings associated with languages, ethnicity, skin colour, and social class in Aruba have been constructed in historical contexts which differed from those that prevailed in the rest of the islands. Because transport to and trade with Paraguaná (Venezuela) was easier and more frequent than with Curaçao and the rest of the islands, Aruba in many ways was oriented more toward South America than to the other islands of the region. This allowed Aruba to experience from early on non-colonial, non-threatening, and more equal relations with other nations. In addition, this fact may have made the cultural influence of Latin American in Aruba far greater than in Curaçao, due to family connections and trade.

220 Aruba, as was the case with the other Islands of Dutch Caribbean, never knew an organized anti-colonial movement, although the Islands experienced from close by the independence movements of Haiti and the Latin American continent. This fact may have resulted in atypical relations between the colonizer and the colonized peoples in this part of the Caribbean. Due to this historical fact, it may be that the societies of the 'Dutch' Caribbean have suffered fewer 'societal scars' from the anti-colonial struggles and the harsh colonial reaction which characterize many other Caribbean societies.

Looking back at the specific features of colonization of Aruba a few questions arise. Have the aforementioned historical facts made Aruba a more harmonious society than many other Caribbean societies? Have these particular socio-historical conditions made Aruba an optimal environment for both the establishment of a strong national language and the general acceptance of linguistic diversity?

In 1954, the Islands of the Netherlands Antilles, including Aruba, gained internal self-government, or 'autonomy', from the Kingdom of the Netherlands. After many conflicts and much dispute, it was decided that Curaçao would have majority representation in the new Federal Government with 10 seats. Aruba was granted 2 seats less. Between 1954 and 1986, the political tensions and conflicts between Aruba and Curaçao, which had existed since colonial times, continued to grow. Aruba was

before and after the start of the ‘autonomy’ period economically stronger than Curaçao, and resented the perceived dominance of Curaçao in Aruban internal affairs (Van Soest, 1978). The wish of the Aruban governing and economic elite for a stronger position in the Island Federation was not satisfied by the levels of representation of Aruba in the Federal Government (Kasteel, 1956). In the first years of ‘autonomy’, the Aruban Government experienced the political dominance of Curaçao, manifested in several decisions which were not experienced as ‘Aruba-friendly’. This fuelled the struggle for more autonomy of Aruba within the Dutch Kingdom, first directed against dominance from Curaçao, and then gradually transformed into a struggle against Dutch unwillingness to comply with Aruban wishes.

This struggle for ‘self-determination’, which in the years before 1986 became a desire for *independence*, further shaped the relations between Aruba and the Netherlands. Aruba was one of the first islands in Dutch Caribbean to ‘speak up’ against the Dutch Government. In the 1970s and early 1980s, representatives of the local government headed by the political party MEP (Movimiento Electoral di Pueblo) met with International Organizations and formally presented claims against the Netherlands for colonial repression of Aruban wishes for self-determination, lifting the struggle against the Netherlands to an international platform. Although the struggle of Aruba for Status Aparte was not anti-colonial – Aruba still wished to belong to the Dutch Kingdom – it did trigger more self-confidence with respect to local capacity for self-governance. Such was the power-play between Aruba and the Netherlands, that when in 1986 Aruba gained its Status Aparte, which entailed its separation from the Netherlands Antilles; the Netherlands imposed the condition that Aruba would become independent 10 years later, in 1996. This condition was later dropped in deliberations between Aruba and the Netherlands (Lampe, 2001).

The distinctive nature of the socio-historical conditions in Aruba has impacted the relations between ethnic and cultural groups in a particular manner. For example, it has defined the role and status of people of African descent and people of European descent differently than in Curaçao and on other islands of the Caribbean. Aruban society was constructed through processes of biological and cultural blending of several ethnic groups. In early colonial times, Aruba became a stratified society with social class divisions between those living in the town of Oranjestad, in particular the merchants and administrators, from the small farmers in the districts. Social relations were based on patron-client relationships and extended family networks. After a period of general poverty, leading to emigration of unemployed workers to other Caribbean islands, particularly Cuba, the establishment of the LAGO (Exxon) oil refinery opened a new stage in the evolution of Aruba’s society. The need for labour at the oil refinery resulted in a strong influx of immigrant workers, especially from the

English speaking Caribbean region. Aruba thus became an industrial, multi-ethnic, multi-lingual and complex society. The establishment of the oil refinery brought about fundamental changes in the ethnic configuration of Aruban society. Before the establishment of the refinery, African descended people did not constitute a large segment of Aruban society. African descended people came to the island as workers in industrial settings, gaining equal wages to their lighter skinned co-workers, and were represented by integrated labour unions.

Gradually, however, a division was created between the African descended segments of Aruban society and the other earlier established segments, due to cultural-ethnic differences and particular patterns of establishment and geographical localization in the Island. The group of African descended Caribbean immigrants from the British Caribbean Islands spoke mostly English and were concentrated in San Nicolas, the second city of Aruba. The division between the east part of the Island, populated mostly by African descended people, and the west side of the Island, populated mainly by people of mixed Indian-European descent triggered the “they-us” controversy and gave rise to the fundamental question *Ken ta Arubiano?* [Who is an Aruban] (Alofs & Merkies, 1990). Ethnicity became an important element in defining the borders between ‘they’ and ‘us’, and being black was not associated with being Aruban. This issue eventually became a central topic on the political agenda of the political leaders struggling for Status Aparte, using ethnicity and race as crucial points of difference between ‘white’ Aruba and ‘black’ Curaçao. The specific circumstances have made this struggle not only a political struggle, but also a cultural one, allowing for cultural elements to be brought forward in political disputes, including a new emphasis on Papiamentu, the creation of an anthem and the launching of the national flag.

Unfortunately, this struggle also brought to light discriminatory elements in Aruban society, which persist until the present day and are very much resented in segments of ‘black Aruba’. Recently, popular Aruban Calypsonian Antony Garrio has been among those who have explicitly criticized the discriminatory tendencies in Aruban culture and the exclusion of ‘black-Aruban cultural expressions’ in the definition of Aruban culture. His (English-only) calypso songs are among the most critical during the yearly Calypso festivals. On the other hand, many Calypso singers in time have started to use Papiamentu in their songs, and often criticized Spanish-speaking people for not speaking Papiamentu and not accepting ‘Aruban culture’. Again many questions emerge: Are these indications of ambivalence in identification of the former English speaking segments of Aruban society with respect to Papiamentu? Are these also signs of shifts in the ‘they-us’ controversy, with former ‘outsiders’ being included in the ‘inner circle’ as new outsiders arrive? What role is Papiamentu playing in this ‘identity-clarification’ process?

Gradually, the social divisions in Aruba between those living in the city of Oranjestad and those living in the countryside became of lesser importance than the new divisions between the Arubans already established on the Island on the one hand, and the new, mostly darker skinned immigrant workers on the other hand. The new divisions in early industrial Aruban society were however, not only along skin colour lines, they also involved divisions along language lines: one part of the island was not only African descended, it was also non-Papiamentu speaking. This brought about some very different associations between language and skin colour in Aruba than those that prevail on Curaçao. Historically, in Curaçao, Papiamentu has been considered the language of the lower social class of people who were descended from African slaves (even though Papiamentu was also spoken by the Jews, who were once the economic elite in Curaçao). Dutch has been mainly considered the language of the European political elite. In Aruba, on the other hand, the language of (most of) ‘the blacks’ was in the beginning mainly Caribbean English, which was also the language of the largest employer at that time, the oil refinery. This gave them a slight advantage in the labour market compared to Papiamentu speaking workers (a similar niche was occupied by Dutch speaking Surinamese workers in Curaçao at the Dutch Shell Oil Refinery). The language of the ‘local whites’ (elite and non-elite) in Aruba was primarily Papiamentu, not Dutch. Thus Papiamentu became a symbol of belonging in the ‘they-us’ controversies: speaking Papiamentu means being a *yiù di tera* and *rubiano autentico*.

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These specific associations between language, ethnicity, skin colour, and social class have affected the social valorization of languages in Aruba differently than in Curaçao. Maybe, speaking the language of the colonizer (in this case Dutch) has been less a way of showing social prestige and to create distance between social classes in Aruba than it was at the same historical stage on other Caribbean Islands. In my teenage years, I spoke Dutch with my San Nicolas friends. This choice of language was a compromise, as I didn’t ‘properly’ speak ‘their English’ (they made jokes about my school English) and they could not (and often didn’t want to) speak Papiamentu. In such cases, Dutch gained a more ‘neutral’ and instrumental function in Aruban society, and was perceived, at least by some, as not exclusively the ‘language-of-the-oppressor’. Is it also plausible that in Aruba, Dutch could become a lingua franca between English speaking San Nicolas 2nd generation youngsters, and Papiamentu speaking youngsters from other parts of the island?

In the 1990s, the power relations between Aruba and the Netherlands underwent important changes. This was due to serious problems in the Aruban government and administration and the growing negative role that Aruba seemed to be playing in drug trafficking in the region in that time. Many civic and political initiatives revealed bad governance practices and corruption, and demanded fundamental improvement of

government behaviour. One such initiative resulted in the much disputed report of the 'Comision di Berdad' (2002) about governmental integrity issues. The growing criticism of governmental misbehaviour resulted in stricter political control from Holland with respect to Aruba. In 1993, only 7 years after the start of Status Aparte, under great political and societal pressure, the then Aruban Prime Minister and the leader of the opposition party signed a protocol with the Dutch Government, the so-called *Protocol Aruba-Nederland* (WODC, 2011). This protocol committed the Aruban Government to implement 'good governance' practices and gave Holland the right to supervise and monitor this process.

The growing power of Holland met with mixed reactions in Aruban society: some saw it as a positive and necessary course, while others resented and rejected it as a new form of neo-colonial political domination. Dutch professionals were appointed in many top positions in the Aruban Government; in some cases with an Aruban counterpart, in some cases without. In the years 2003-2009, the relations between the Aruban Government and the Dutch Government were characterized by a discourse of conflict and increasingly harsh (mutual) criticism. This was reinforced by several reports which delivered criticism on the governance quality of the Aruban Government (for example, the 'Calidad' report (Croes, 1997).

Recently, relations between Aruba and the Netherlands have been changing fundamentally, in a way that is perceived by some as a new openness on the part of Aruba to Dutch influence: both political and cultural. This process started when in 2009 the MEP-Government was replaced by the AVP (Arubaanse Volkspartij) Government. The new Government started deliberations immediately with the Netherlands with the specific goal of improving mutual relations and seeking new forms of collaboration. In 2009, the Dutch professional organization WODC implemented an assessment of the trustworthiness and quality of governance in Aruba. The WODC report (2011) contained severe criticism of Aruban government practices, before and after 2009. As has been the case before in the history of Aruba, this assessment report has been used to lay the foundation for greater Dutch influence over Aruba's internal affairs.

Economic and demographic contexts

According to the Central Bureau for Statistics (CBS), economic policy over the years has made migration a vital factor and a 'demographic regulator' in the construction of Aruban society (CBS, 2000). Immigration has led to an influx of people from different cultural and linguistic backgrounds. Although international migration has always been a part of Aruba's demographic dynamics, significant changes in the size and composition of the population have taken place during the last ten years. In particular, the dramatic economic shifts in the beginning of the 1990s played a decisive role in the new social-cultural configuration of Aruban society.

After a severe crisis in the 1980s, due to the shutdown of the oil refinery in 1985, Aruba underwent an economic boom, leading to an overheated economy with shortages in the labor market. For example, due to shortages of construction workers, wages in this sector soared by 47% between 1988 and 1990. Large groups of foreign laborers were attracted to Aruba. From 1989 until 1993, Aruba was one of the fastest growing countries in the world, with an average growth rate exceeding five percent annually. Growth rates have decreased since then to about one percent annually (CBS, 2002). The aforementioned demographic trends triggered by economic policy, resulted in a dynamic social-cultural panorama, and a 34% foreign born population in 2010 (CBS, 2011).

In the age group of between 30 and 50 years, more than 50% of Aruban population is foreign-born. More specifically, in the age group of between 40 and 45, 54.5% was not born in Aruba. The foreign-born population represents more than 79 different nationalities and more than 120 different countries of birth. According to the 2010 census data, the most important countries of birth of the foreign born population are: Colombia (32%), the Netherlands (15%), the Dominican Republic (14%), and Venezuela (11%). Latin-Americans together constitute a minimum of 61% of foreign-born citizens (CBS, 2011). In all stages of its history, and particularly in the last decades, Aruba has been confronted with the question of how to create a coherent and harmonious community, with so many different people, with many different strong and living languages, with many different ethnicities. How to make unity out of diversity?

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Most of the migrants who have come to Aruba in the last ten years are female: they form 65% of all foreign born citizens in Aruba. Most immigrants are in the age group of between 35 and 50 years (CBS, 2011). In 2010, there were more foreign-born women than Aruban-born women in the age-group 30-44. Between the ages of 20 and 50, there are in general more women than men, both in the Aruban born and the foreign-born population, with the exception of the age group 20-24. Therefore, it might come to no surprise that there is an increase in multi-ethnic marriages. Since 1991, the number of native-born men and women marrying a foreign-born person is much higher than the number of persons in marriages where both partners are native born (CBS, 2002). Increasingly, the mother in Aruban households will be a non-Papiamentu speaker, and more children are being born into bilingual households.

Although most immigrants come to Aruba to work in the tourism, trade and construction industries, all economic sectors attract international immigrant workers, at all employment levels. There seem, however, to be some patterns in terms of which immigrants end up in which jobs. Spanish speaking immigrants from the Latin-American region most typically work in lower paid positions in tourism, trade and construction. Dutch speaking immigrants from the Netherlands work as teachers,

lawyers, judges, advisors and coordinators in Government Departments, or as businessmen in the growing Dutch sector of Aruban economy. English speaking immigrants from the USA work predominantly in management positions in the tourism and hospitality industry and in trade and commerce. Asian immigrants, especially from China, tend to work in the retail field, as most supermarkets in Aruba are owned by Chinese. Immigrants from India typically own business in the jewelry and clothing sector.

The aforementioned panorama indicates that immigrant employment patterns are related to language prevalence in specific sectors of Aruban society. The specific social-economic position and social status of the language groups involved most probably impact the status of the respective languages. It is to be expected that when 2nd and 3rd generations of immigrants assimilate into Aruban society, taking up different positions than their parents, the relative status of the languages in Aruban society will also change.

The language situation

Linguistic diversity in Aruba includes the active and daily presence of four main languages in public communication, alongside several other languages of less frequent use. According to the 2010 census, Aruba's main language is Papiamentu, spoken in 68% of all households as first language. The three other important languages in Aruban society are Spanish (14%); English (7%); and Dutch (6%) (CBS, 2011). More than 60 percent of people born on Aruba speak at least four languages (CBS, 2002). Each language has its own specific role and use in civic life in Aruba (Boekhoudt-Croes, 1996). The specific role and use has been determined by historical and current societal context.

Currently the national language in Aruba and still the mother tongue of most students in the educational system of Aruba, Papiamentu is also a means of communication between members of different language communities. Many foreigners learn Papiamentu when they come to live in Aruba. In the 2010 census, 77.4 percent of all foreign-born people reported to be able to speak Papiamentu (CBS, 2011). Most Aruban newspapers publish in Papiamentu and most radio stations broadcast in this language. It is spoken during Parliament and Government meetings and in most social communication settings. Papiamentu has shown remarkable resilience, surviving and growing despite explicit colonial policies designed to oppress and downgrade it. Although in relative terms Papiamentu has lost some ground (probably to Spanish) as the main language spoken at home, going down from 80% in the 1981 census to 68% in 2010, in absolute terms, the number of people who speak Papiamentu at home has steadily increased, from 60,000 in 2000 to 69,354 in 2010 (CBS, 2002). These data seem to be counter-evidence to the idea that Papiamentu is an endangered language.

More in-depth research into the indicators of the vitality of Papiamentu in contemporary Aruban society is urgently needed.

Aruba's location off the coast of South America has also made Spanish, the second most frequently spoken language in Aruba, extremely important. Spanish as language spoken at home has expanded from 3.1% in the 1981 census to 14% in 2010 (CBS, 2011). Students begin learning this language as a mandatory subject as early as the 5th grade of basic education. In secondary education it is not a mandatory subject, but still a frequently chosen foreign language option. Spanish is present in Aruban society in different modalities and settings. There is the formal Spanish taught in school, but there is also the Spanish of the *novela*, the *ranchera*, the *salsa*, *reggaeton*, and *bachata*, the Spanish of the Venezuelan tourists, and the Spanish of world literature. All these different modalities make Spanish highly accessible as there are many settings in which Spanish can be learned and used.

The role of Spanish in Aruba is expected to expand, as immigration to Aruba is mainly from Spanish speaking countries, and, as stated before, most mixed-marriages are between non-immigrant Arubans and Spanish speaking immigrants. As long as the tourism industry is Aruba's main economic pillar, it will continue to fuel a steady flow of Latin American immigrants. As Latin American countries are strengthening their economies, they are becoming more important as trading partners for Aruba, making Spanish ever more important in the business world. The Spanish speaking community in Aruba is increasingly better organized and present in public life. There are radio programs which broadcast in Spanish, catering specifically to Spanish speaking listeners. The Spanish speaking segments of the society have become an important internal market for many kinds of business and descendants of Spanish speaking immigrants are also becoming important as voters. The aforementioned societal trends indicate that the Spanish language will probably be vibrant for many years to come in Aruba.

English, the third most frequently spoken language in Aruba, is also manifested in different settings and modalities. English in Aruba might be American English, brought to the island by tourists from the USA and spoken by the American employees in Aruba such as those who came to take top positions in the oil refinery. It might also be encoded in the Caribbean English lexifier Creoles spoken by the immigrants who came as laborers in the oil refinery. It could equally be the Oxford English taught in schools as a subject. Television programs in English appear without subtitles and children learn from early on to understand this language by watching English cartoons. English lives in Aruban society in a wide variety of forms and through a wide variety of media and channels: through modern communication technology and social media; through television and radio; and in the hospitality and

recreation industry. Most people have basic communication skills in English and are in daily contact with this language. English also functions increasingly as a language of communication between persons of different linguistic backgrounds, in daily interaction among local youngsters and in the academic world. It is indispensable in the tourism industry, the vast majority of tourists being American. Even though the role of English can be considered to have expanded, its role as language spoken at home has decreased from 10.6% in the 1981 census to 7% in 2010 (CBS, 2011).

Van der Dij's (2011) statement that "the entrance of the Dutch on the island was one of 'conqueror and ruler' which from the onset determined the course of history of the people of the island" (p. 45) was written referring to Curaçao, but counts as well for Aruba. Differences in the patterns of colonization, whereby the Dutch were earlier and more explicitly present in Curacao, have shaped the role of the Dutch language in Aruba slightly differently than in Curaçao. The fact that the oil refinery in Aruba was an American company, while the oil refinery in Curaçao was a Dutch company, also may have made the Dutch language in Aruba's evolving economy of less importance than it was in Curaçao. Despite these differences, however, on neither island did Dutch become the language of nationhood. This remarkable historical fact differentiates the ABC islands from the rest of the Caribbean, where in most cases the language of the colonizer became the official and national language.

228 Historically several inhibiting factors did not allow for Dutch to play the same role as English, Spanish and French in the rest of the Caribbean. On the other hand, there were many enabling factors which allowed for Papiamentu to become the national language in the three Leeward Islands. These inhibiting and enabling factors were the result of specific attitudes of ethnic and cultural groups at several historical stages of the construction of society on the ABC Islands. In early colonial times, the Dutch colonizers did not want their slaves to know the Dutch language (Smeulders, 1987). On the other hand, the economically powerful Sephardic Jews did not master Dutch: their arrival in Aruba and Curaçao was mostly through Portugal, Spain or Brazil. They preferred to speak Papiamentu in their interaction with the rest of society, including in their communication with the Dutch who had the political power. In addition, the Dutch, mostly protestant, did not share their religion with the colonized. It was the Roman Catholic missionaries, in particular the Fathers of the Dominican Order, who took the first step in the education of the colonized people, from 1870 onward (Smeulders, 1987). Their narrowly religious focus was primarily 'civilizing' the colonized people of the islands. Despite their far from emancipatory ideals, their recognition of the local vernacular played a strong historical role in strengthening Papiamentu. They translated the catechism and religious stories, creating the first written texts in Papiamentu. Their dictionaries and grammars of Papiamentu have been of great value for the later consolidation and evolution of the language

(Smeulders, 1987). In addition we must mention the strong influence of literary agents: the poets, novelists, playwrights, and short-story writers who produced a considerable number of significant texts in Papiamentu. The position of Dutch as the sole language in schools was further strengthened when the catholic Papiamentu speaking schools were forced to adopt Dutch as the language of instruction in exchange for financial support from the colonial government. Despite the imposition of Dutch in education, Dutch remains a language spoken mainly outside the home. Even with increases in immigration to Aruba from the Netherlands over the past decades, there has been only a slight increase in Dutch speaking households, from 5% in 1981 to 6% in 2010 (CBS, 2011).

Conclusion

In this article, I have argued that without an in-depth understanding of its socio-historical context, it is difficult to understand the past and current language panorama in Aruba. A contextualized perspective is also necessary to understand possible scenarios for the future language situation and in particular the position of the four main languages in Aruba. Based on my analysis, I expect *Papiamentu* to maintain its majority and strong position in Aruban society. Papiamentu has always played a role in expressing and symbolizing local identity, as the ultimate defining feature in determining who is Aruban and who is not, and I expect it will continue to do so. However, I also expect that in the coming years Papiamentu will still run the risk of endangerment, mainly due to the increasingly stronger position of Spanish in Aruban households; the strong position of English in the Aruban economy and in culture and communication; and increasing influence from Holland in political and economic settings. I expect Spanish to continue to grow in importance in Aruba, as the second and third Spanish speaking generation climbs the social ladder and Spanish speakers become more influential in Aruba. I expect English to gain a more important role in education, as part of a world-wide trend. English may become more important than Dutch in secondary and higher education as Language of Wider Communication (LWC) needed in Aruban society for international relations. Even so, I believe that Dutch will grow in importance in the years to come, depending on the scope, depth and focus of the new Dutch presence and influence on the island. However, for the years to come, it does not seem probable that the societal conditions for learning and acquiring Dutch in Aruban society will significantly improve. There are no clear indications that the limited social functions of Dutch will significantly expand.

These predictions concerning the future language situation in Aruba are purely personal, based on my analysis of trends and interpretation of the facts. Further research is urgently needed to help us in our language planning efforts, with the aim of equipping future generations of Arubans with the language resources that they will need to become critical agents on the world stage in a globalized economy.

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LANGUAGE USE, LANGUAGE ATTITUDES AND IDENTITY AMONG ARUBAN STUDENTS IN THE NETHERLANDS*

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Introduction

In the past decade several seminal studies have been published about the use of Papiamentu¹ and the identity and language attitudes of its speakers (Garrett, 2008; Kester & Hortencia, 2010; Kester, 2011). So far, however, these studies have only been concerned with the language variety of Curaçao, spoken on the island as well as in the Netherlands.

In this paper, we investigate language use and attitudes among students from Aruba who are living in the Netherlands, as well as their dual identity as Arubans and Dutch citizens. The results presented in this paper come from an on-line questionnaire based on Garrett (2008), in order to facilitate a comparison with the students from Curaçao that were investigated by means of the same questionnaire in Kester & Hortencia (2010).

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The language situation in Aruba

As shown by the data in table 1, Papiamentu is the most spoken language by far in Aruban households and the number of Spanish-speaking households has increased over the last three decades.

* We are very grateful to our informants, who anonymously filled out the questionnaire. We also express our gratitude to the employees of the 'Kas di Aruba' in the Hague and the tutors of the Aruban students in the Netherlands, for distributing the questionnaire among the informants. Finally, we thank Dr. J. Nortier of the Dutch Department at Utrecht University who introduced us to each other. Needless to say, any errors or misinterpretations of the data are ours.

¹ As this paper mainly deals with the variety spoken in Aruba, we will refer to the language as Papiamentu, while noting that the varieties spoken in Bonaire and Curaçao are known as Papiamentu.

Table 1 Languages most spoken in the household in percentages (Central Bureau of Statistics, Aruba).

	1981	1991	2000	2010
Papiamentu	80.1	76.6	69.4	68.3
Spanish	3.1	7.4	13.2	13.5
Dutch	5.0	5.4	6.1	6.0
English	10.6	8.9	8.1	7.0

Literature about language use, language attitudes and identity in Aruba is very scarce. Pereira (2011) provides a concise description of language attitudes with respect to Papiamentu, basically from the perspective of the educational system. Language attitudes seem to be heavily influenced by the status of Dutch as a foreign colonial language that was imposed on the community and recognized as the only official language until 2003. According to Pereira (p. 289) Arubans were taught to despise their own culture and Papiamentu used to be treated as a problematic ‘minority’ language. As these misconceptions were developed over centuries, mentalities and attitudes towards the language are very persistent and hard to change (p. 289).

Nevertheless, over the past decade several important changes to promote the status and use of the language have been made. In the first place, Papiamentu was recognized as one of Aruba’s official languages (alongside Dutch) in 2003 and is used in the Parliament and in official documents (Croes, 2011: 294). Additionally, Papiamentu’s importance has increased in the educational system through the approval of the *Proyecto Scol Multilingual* in 2007. Under this project, Papiamentu is the language of initial literacy and the main language of instruction throughout primary education, and is used as a basis for teaching Dutch, Spanish and English (see Croes et al., 2010: 36-37). Papiamentu is taught at many secondary schools, teachers have Bachelors’s degrees in Papiamentu and it is hoped that a Master’s degree program in Papiamentu will soon be established at the University of Aruba (Pereira: 290). The language also plays an important role in the media, as Aruba has 4 newspapers, 3 TV-stations and 18 radio stations in Papiamentu (Lasten & Tromp-Wouters, 2011: 57).

To the best of our knowledge, the investigation presented in this paper is the first quantitative survey concerning identity, language attitudes and language use among Arubans and, hence, our central questions are exploratory:

1. How do Aruban students in the Netherlands feel with respect to their dual identity as Arubans and as Dutch citizens?
2. What are their attitudes with respect to Papiamentu and its importance in different domains?
3. How often do Aruban students in the Netherlands use Papiamentu and/or Dutch in certain situations?

4. Are the attitudes of Aruban students in the Netherlands towards their language and identity different from those among students from Curaçao studied in Kester & Hortencia (2010)?

Methodology

The survey was carried out by the second author in order to collect data for her BA-thesis (Fun, 2012). The original questionnaire from Garrett (2008) was slightly adapted in order to be filled out by informants from Aruba instead of Curaçao and several questions were added for the sake of completeness. The questionnaire was posted on 'Thesistools', a format available on the Internet to carry out online surveys. As a next step, 140 Aruban students were contacted by means of 'Facebook', an online social network, with a request to fill out the questionnaire that was made accessible by means of a link to Thesistools. The second author initially contacted students from her own personal network, who forwarded the survey to friends and fellow students from Aruba. With help from the 'Cas di Aruba' in the Hague, the link to the questionnaire was also sent to 8 tutors of Aruban students in the Netherlands, with the request to forward it to their students.

The first page of the questionnaire included a short introductory text (see appendix) requesting the students to fill out the questionnaire in accordance with their present situation, as a person from Aruba living in the Netherlands. In order to make sure that the informants as well as at least one of their parents were born in Aruba, we added three questions to the section concerning personal information.

In the end, 114 questionnaires were filled out. 99 questionnaires were complete, but 5 of them were excluded due to the fact that neither the informant nor his/her two parents were born in Aruba. Hence, 94 questionnaires were selected for the analysis. The age range of the informants varied from 18 to 30, with an average of 22,8. There were 56 female and 38 male participants. The survey was carried out during May of 2012.

Results of the questionnaires

In this section we will present and discuss the results of the survey, following the order of the original questionnaire. The first part deals with the questions concerning identity and citizenship. The second part covers language attitudes, in particular the importance of Papiamentu in carrying out certain activities. And finally we will take a look at the data concerning the actual use of Papiamentu and Dutch.

Identity and citizenship

Garrett's questionnaire contains 10 statements related to identity and citizenship, to be evaluated by the informants in terms of agreement versus disagreement. For the sake of completeness two additional statements were added: "I am a person who is proud to

be an Aruban” (statement 11) and “I am a person who feels at home in the Netherlands” (statement 12). In this section we present the results separately. The statements concerning Dutch identity and citizenship (statements 1, 2, 6, 7, 10, 12) are followed by the statements about Aruban identity (statements 3, 4, 5, 8, 9, 11). For ease of exposition, the categories *agree* and *strongly agree* are grouped together, as well as *disagree* and *strongly disagree* and all results are presented in percentages.

Dutch identity and citizenship

The following statements concerning Dutch identity and citizenship were included in the questionnaire:

1. I am a person who is bothered to say that I am a Dutch citizen.
2. I am a person who feels strong ties with the Netherlands.
6. I am a person who considers it important to be a Dutch citizen.
7. I am a person who makes excuses for being a Dutch citizen.
10. I am a person who is critical about the Netherlands.
12. I am a person who feels at home in the Netherlands.

Table 2 Results in percentages: Statements concerning Dutch identity and citizenship among Aruban students in the Netherlands.

	AGREE	NEUTRAL	DISAGREE
STATEMENT 1	10.6	21.3	68.1
STATEMENT 2	38.3	34.0	27.6
STATEMENT 6	67.0	21.3	11.7
STATEMENT 7	4.3	17.0	78.7
STATEMENT 10	20.2	22.3	57.5
STATEMENT 12	86.2	9.6	4.2

From these results we conclude that the students share a positive attitude towards their Dutch citizenship: only 10.6% are bothered to say that they are Dutch citizens (statement 1), only 4.3% make excuses for being Dutch citizens (statement 7), 67.0% consider it important to be Dutch citizens (statement 6), only 20.2% are critical about the Netherlands (statement 10) and an impressive 86.2% feel at home in the Netherlands (statement 12). Notice, however, that this positive attitude is not straightforwardly based on strong ties with the Netherlands, which are only found among 38.3% of the informants (statement 2), with a substantial minority of 27.6% feeling no strong ties. Therefore we conclude that Aruban students share a positive attitude towards their Dutch citizenship and their residence in the Netherlands.

Aruban identity

The questionnaire contained the following statements concerning Aruban identity:

3. I am a person who tends to hide the fact that I am an Aruban.
4. I am a person who is happy to be an Aruban.
5. I am a person who identifies with other Arubans.
8. I am a person who considers himself to be an Aruban.
9. I am a person who feels held back because I am an Aruban.
11. I am a person who is proud to be an Aruban.

Table 3 Results in percentages : Statements concerning Aruban identity.

	AGREE	NEUTRAL	DISAGREE
STATEMENT 3	3.2	10.6	86.1
STATEMENT 4	90.4	8.5	1.1
STATEMENT 5	73.4	18.1	8.5
STATEMENT 8	46.8	29.8	23.4
STATEMENT 9	89.3	7.4	3.2
STATEMENT 11	42.6	36.2	21.3

It is clear from these results that Aruban students in the Netherlands are very positive about their Aruban identity: 90.4% are happy to be Arubans (statement 4) and only 3.2% tend to hide their Aruban identity (statement 3). Interestingly a rather low percentage of 46.8% consider themselves to be Arubans (statement 8). This might be explained by the fact that Arubans have a mixed identity and may consider themselves to be world citizens, as noted by one of the informants.² This mixed identity may also explain the relatively low percentage with respect to statement 11: 42.6% are proud to be Arubans. On the other hand, their residence in the Netherlands may evoke a sense of group identity, explaining the high percentage of agreement with statement 5, where 73.4% identify with other Arubans.

Surprisingly, an overwhelming majority of 89.3% of the students feel held back due to their Aruban identity (statement 9). This high percentage is particularly striking in view of the positive attitude towards their Dutch citizenship and their sense of well-being in the Netherlands, as expressed by the 86.2% who feel at home in Holland (statement 12). Future research is required to investigate whether the students experience a lack of equal opportunities in the Netherlands, and if they suffer discrimination due to the political changes that have raised xenophobic and discriminatory sentiments in the Netherlands during the past decade.

² "I don't care about being a Dutch citizen nor an Aruba none, I consider myself to be a citizen of the world".

The importance of Papiamento

Table 3 presents the results in relation to the importance of Papiamento in carrying out certain activities, according to our informants. The list of activities is based on the questionnaire of Garrett (2008), but several activities were added: including “making jokes”, “formulating ideas”, “talking to family”, “finding a (romantic) partner”, and “expressing feelings”.

The ranking of the activities is based on the quantitative order of the percentages. Some activities are equally ranked, as indicated in the list. For the ease of exposition, the results *a little important* is grouped with *important* and *a little unimportant* is grouped with *unimportant*.

Table 4 Results in percentages: Importance of Papiamento in carrying out certain activities.

		Important	Unimportant
1.	Living in Aruba	90.4	9.6
2.	Talking to family	73.4	26.6
3.	Expressing feelings	70.3	29.8
4.	Being accepted in the community	70.2	29.8
5.	Raising children	69.2	30.9
6.	Talking to people outside of school	68.1	31.9
7.	Making friends	66.0	34.0
8.	Making jokes	64.9	35.1
9.	Finding a (romantic) partner	59.6	40.4
10.	Formulating ideas	57.4	42.6
11.	Talking to friends in school	56.4	43.6
12.	Making phone calls	55.3	44.7
13.	Being liked	51.5	48.9
14.	Getting a job	47.9	52.2
15.	Becoming smarter	46.8	53.2
16.	Writing	45.8	54.2
17.	Talking to teachers in school	44.7	55.3
18.	Reading	42.6	57.5
19.	Watching TV/video	30.8	69.1
20./21	Playing sports/ Going to church/chapel	29.8	70.2
22.	Singing	28.8	71.3
23./24.	Earning plenty of money/Going shopping	26.6	73.4
25.	Passing exams	24.5	75.5

The results indicate that Papiamento is considered most important for living in Aruba (90.4%) and for social networks, as indicated by the percentages for talking to family (73.4%), expressing feelings (70.3%), being accepted in the community (70.2%),

raising children (69.2%), talking to people out of school (68.1%) and making friends (66.0%).

These percentages are surprisingly high, as the students were explicitly requested to fill out the questionnaire in accordance with their present situation as residents of the Netherlands.³ However, as we will see below, the students in more than 50% of the cases use Papiamentu to communicate at home and with friends. Hence, their life in the Netherlands also seems to involve a Papiamentu-speaking social network.

As table 3 indicates, the students do not consider Papiamentu (very) important for writing (45.8%) and reading (42.6%). These results can be explained by the fact that they will not use their native language for educational purposes in the Netherlands. On the other hand we would expect them to read and write in Papiamentu during daily communication such as e-mail, online social networks and for reading digital newspapers. Maybe their multilingual background from Aruba allows them to make use of other languages for these purposes, as indicated by one of the informants.⁴

Their residence in the Netherlands and the multilingualism of Aruba may also explain the lower percentages for the importance of Papiamentu for getting a job (47.9%), talking to teachers at school (44.7%), earning plenty of money (26.6%) or passing exams (24.5%).

Low percentages regarding the importance of Papiamentu for activities like singing (28.8%) and watching TV/videos (30.8%) can be explained straightforwardly by the dominant role of English as the international language of the media and youth culture.

Language use

The third part of the questionnaire investigates the actual use of Papiamentu and Dutch by means of the question: “What language do you use in the following situations?” We added two situations to the original questionnaire that are relevant with respect to the language selected by the students: “at school with your fellow students” and “at school with your teachers”.

³ In spite of this explicit request, several informants pointed out that they had difficulty in filling out the questionnaire, because they were not sure whether they had to evaluate the statements with respect to their situation in the Netherlands or in Aruba.

⁴ “We also use a lot of English among each other, and we don’t like to speak Dutch that often. I find it a dull language in which you cannot fully express yourself.”

Table 5 Results in percentages: Use of Papiamentu and Dutch by Aruban students in certain situations.

	Only/mostly Dutch	Both	Mostly/only Papiamentu
1. At home with your family	25.6	14.9	59.6
2. At school with your fellow students	73.4	9.6	17.0
3. At school with your teachers	91.5	5.3	2.1
4. At work with your colleagues	78.7	9.6	11.7
5. At work with your boss	80.8	8.5	10.7
6. With your friends	16.0	30.9	53.2
7. With strangers	64.9	31.9	3.2

As shown in table 5, the percentages for the use of Papiamentu are only high in two situations, namely at home and with friends: 59.6% and 53.2%, respectively and these are also the cases where we find low percentages of Dutch, especially in the case of friends (16.0%). Both languages are used in 31.9% of the cases of relationships with strangers, suggesting that Aruban students to a certain extent meet new people through networks of compatriots, such as their Papiamentu speaking friends.⁵

A comparison between students from Aruba and Curaçao

Before we make a comparison between students from Aruba and Curaçao with respect to identity, language attitudes and language, it is relevant to point out that the language situation on the two islands is slightly different, because both Papiamentu and Dutch are spoken in more households in Curaçao, whereas Spanish and English are more widely used in Aruba.

Table 6 Languages most spoken in the household in percentages (Central Bureau of Statistics, Aruba and Curaçao).

	Aruba, 2000	Curaçao, 2001
Papiamentu	69.4	80.3
Spanish	13.2	4.6
Dutch	6.1	9.3
English	8.1	3.5

The data concerning Curaçaoan students are from the survey by Kester & Hortencia (2010) that was based on the questionnaire from Garrett (2008). As the original questionnaire was adapted and extended to investigate Aruban students, we will only discuss the parts of the questionnaire that were included in both surveys.

⁵ Several students made comments about the absence of English and Spanish in the questionnaire, observing that English is relevant for their studies in the Netherlands or that both languages are used at home and with friends.

Dutch identity and citizenship

1. I am a person who is bothered to say that I am a Dutch citizen.
2. I am a person who feels strong ties with the Netherlands.
6. I am a person who considers it important to be a Dutch citizen.
7. I am a person who makes excuses for being a Dutch citizen.

Table 7 Results in percentages: Statements concerning Dutch identity and citizenship among Aruban and Curaçaoan students in the Netherlands.

	AGREE		NEUTRAL		DISAGREE	
	ARUBA	CURAÇAO	ARUBA	CURAÇAO	ARUBA	CURAÇAO
STATEMENT 1	10.6	16.9	21.3	26.9	68.1	56.2
STATEMENT 2	38.3	16.2	34.0	43.1	27.6	40.7
STATEMENT 6	67.0	39.2	21.3	46.9	11.7	13.8
STATEMENT 7	4.3	4.6	17.0	15.4	78.7	80.0

In general, Aruban students have a more positive attitude towards their Dutch identity than the students from Curaçao, as more of them consider it important to be a Dutch citizen (statement 6: 67.0% compared to 39.2%), more of them feel strong ties with the Netherlands (statement 2: 38.3% compared to 16.2%) and more disagree with the statement that they are bothered by their Dutch citizenship (statement 1: 68.1% compared to 56.2%).

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Antillean/Aruban identity⁶

3. I am a person who tends to hide the fact that I am an Aruban/Antillean.
4. I am a person who is happy to be an Aruban/Antillean.
5. I am a person who identifies with other Arubans/Antilleans.
8. I am a person who considers himself to be an Aruban/Antillean.
9. I am a person who feels held back because I am an Aruban/Antillean.

Table 8 Results in percentages: Statements concerning Aruban/Antillean identity and citizenship among Aruban and Curaçaoan students in the Netherlands.

	AGREE		NEUTRAL		DISAGREE	
	ARUBA	CURAÇAO	ARUBA	CURAÇAO	ARUBA	CURAÇAO
STATEMENT 3	3.2	4.6	10.6	10.0	86.1	85.4
STATEMENT 4	90.4	86.2	8.5	12.3	1.1	1.5
STATEMENT 5	73.4	59.2	18.1	29.2	8.5	11.5
STATEMENT 8	46.8	85.4	29.8	9.2	23.4	5.4
STATEMENT 9	89.3	18.5	7.4	20.0	3.2	61.5

⁶ The survey presented in Kester & Hortencia (2010) was carried out in October 2009, when Curaçao was still part of the Netherlands Antilles and, hence, its inhabitants were referred to as Antilleans at that time.

As the data in table 8 clearly show, the two groups of students have a very positive attitude towards their Aruban/Antillean identity, as indicated by the low percentages of informants who agree with statement 3 that they tend to hide their identity (3.2% for Aruban and 4.6% for Curaçaoan students) and the very high percentages of students who are happy to be Aruban/Antillean (statement 4: 90.4% and 86.2%, respectively).

The results with respect to statements 5 and 8 are more divergent. The majority of the students from Curaçao consider themselves to be Antilleans (statement 8: 85.4%), but they do not necessarily identify with other Antilleans (statement 5: 59.2%). Kester & Hortencia (2010) suggested that this might be attributed to socio-economic differences and negative stereotyping of Antilleans in the Netherlands (Heijes, 2004: 130-131).

The percentages for Aruban students are more or less the other way around: they strongly identify with other Arubans (statement 5: 73.4%), but do not categorize themselves necessarily as Arubans (statement 8: 46.8%). As pointed out above, this may be explained by the fact that the multicultural society of Aruba is formed by people who consider themselves world citizens, but have a sense of group identity when leaving the island and being confronted with other group identities. Of course, these explanations are tentative and call for extensive future research, not only in Holland, but also on the island.

The most surprising contrast is found in the results with respect to the final statement 9: as 89.3% of the Aruban students and only 18.5% of those from Curaçao feel held back because of being Aruban and Antillean. At present no plausible explanation can be provided for this fact, as the political changes in the Netherlands mentioned above would have affected both groups, unless the climate in the Netherlands has changed so drastically over the few years that have elapsed since the Curaçao study.

The importance of Papiamentu

For logistical reasons, table 9 presents a list of the 10 activities for which Papiamentu is considered most important according to the students from Curaçao (Kester & Hortencia, 2010) and then according to the students from Aruba.

Table 9 Results in percentages: The importance of Papiamentu in carrying out certain activities according to the students from Curaçao and Aruba.

		CURAÇAO	ARUBA
1.	Living in Curaçao/Aruba	96.9	90.4
2.	Raising children	62.3	69.2
3.	Being accepted in the community	58.5	70.2
4.	Writing	57.7	45.8
5.	Making friends	56.2	66.0
6.	Reading	55.4	42.6
7.	Talking to people out of school	55.0	68.1
8.	Talking to friends in school	52.7	56.4
9.	Going to church/chapel	46.2	29.8
10.	Making phone calls	44.2	55.3

Most percentages are higher among the students from Aruba than from Curaçao, except for four cases: Papiamentu is considered more important for living in Curaçao, for writing and reading and going to church/chapel. Although writing and reading in Papiamentu may be less important for Arubans due to the influence of other languages such as English and Spanish, the higher scores for Arubans in other domains are difficult to explain, although they are in line with their more positive evaluations with respect to their Aruban identity.

Use of Papiamentu

As shown in table 10, the majority of the students use Papiamentu at home and with friends and Dutch is used more frequently by students from Aruba compared to those from Curaçao. A striking difference is found in the domain of communication with strangers, where very few Arubans use (mostly/only) Papiamentu (3.2%) contrary to the students from Curaçao (15.6%).

Table 10 Results in percentages: Use of Papiamentu and Dutch in certain situations by students from Aruba and Curaçao in the Netherlands.

	Only/mostly Dutch		Both		Mostly/only Papiamentu	
	ARUBA	CURAÇAO	ARUBA	CURAÇAO	ARUBA	CURAÇAO
At home with your family	25.6	16.3	14.9	19.4	59.6	64.3
With your friends	16.0	7.9	30.9	33.9	53.2	58.3
With strangers	64.9	57.0	31.9	27.3	3.2	15.6

Although we have seen that Arubans consider Papiamentu very important for their social networks, it does not seem to be the unmarked language for meeting new people. Possibly, the different numbers of Aruban versus Curaçaoan residents in the Netherlands also plays a role here. The use of Papiamentu may be more extended among Curaçaoans, because their community is larger and there may be less opportunity for Arubans to meet Papiamentu-speaking strangers.

Conclusion

In this paper we have discussed the results of an online survey concerning identity, language attitudes and language use that was filled out by 94 Aruban students in the Netherlands during May of 2012. We formulated the following central questions:

1. How do Aruban students in the Netherlands feel with respect to their dual identity as Arubans and as Dutch citizens?
2. What are their attitudes with respect to Papiamentu and its importance in different domains?
3. How often do Aruban students in the Netherlands use Papiamentu and/or Dutch in certain situations?
4. Are the attitudes of Aruban students in the Netherlands towards their language and identity different from those among students from Curaçao studied in Kester & Hortencia (2010)?

With respect to the first question we conclude from our study that Aruban students in the Netherlands have a very positive attitude towards their dual identity and feel very much at home in the country. Interestingly, this positive attitude is not straightforwardly based on strong ties with the Netherlands and they also feel strongly held back because of their Aruban identity. As far as the second question is concerned, they consider Papiamentu important, but especially so for living in Aruba and for social networks, such as family and friends. They do not consider the language very important for reading and writing, nor for their studies or the job market. Obviously this may be related to their present situation as students in the Netherlands, but another explanation may be found in the importance of other languages such as English and Spanish in Aruba. With respect to the third question we observe that students mainly use Papiamentu at home and with friends, whereas Dutch clearly is the dominant language in other domains, such as school, work and when meeting strangers.

Finally, in reference to the fourth question, several interesting differences are found when we compare the results of students from Aruba and Curaçao. Both groups are very happy with their Aruban/Antillean identity, but the students from Aruba identify more strongly with other Arubans. They also have a more positive attitude towards their Dutch citizenship, but surprisingly they feel much more held back in the

Netherlands because of their Aruban identity. Future research should point out whether this contrast is confirmed by other groups of informants, and should attempt to provide an explanation for this striking difference. With respect to the importance of Papiamentu, Curaçaoan students find their language more important for reading and writing, for their studies and the job market. This point of view can be explained by the language situation in Curaçao, where the use of Papiamentu (instead of Dutch) has increased in all formal domains, including the school system. In Aruba, the language situation is slightly different in the sense that Spanish and English play a more important role. The importance of multilingualism is reflected by the fact that the Aruban government is experimenting with an educational model that includes four languages. The results with respect to language use suggest that Aruban students in the Netherlands use their native language mainly at home and with friends. Curaçaoan students use Papiamentu more often, including when meeting strangers, a fact that may be explained by the larger Curaçaoan community in the Netherlands.

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APPENDIX

QUESTIONNAIRE



Universiteit Utrecht

Arubans & Papiamentu

As a student at Utrecht University I am investigating the language attitudes and use of Papiamentu by Arubans. To carry out my research it is necessary to collect data from as many Arubans as possible. For this reason I would like to ask you to fill out this Survey, which will take about 15 minutes of your time. Please, answer the questions in accordance with your present situation, as a person from Aruba living in the Netherlands. Thank you in advance for your help!

I. Here are some statements about your feelings. Please say whether you agree or disagree with these statements. There are no right or wrong answers. Please be as honest as possible. Answer with one of the following:

- SA = Strongly Agree (circle SA)
A = Agree (circle A)
N = Neither agree or disagree (circle N)
D = Disagree (circle D)
SD = Strongly Disagree (circle SD)

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1. I am a person who is bothered to say that I am a Dutch citizen.	SA	A	N	D	SD
2. I am a person who feels strong ties with the Netherlands.	SA	A	N	D	SD
3. I am a person who tends to hide the fact that I am an Aruban.	SA	A	N	D	SD
4. I am a person who is happy to be an Aruban.	SA	A	N	D	SD
5. I am a person who identifies with other Arubans.	SA	A	N	D	SD
6. I am a person who considers it important to be a Dutch citizen.	SA	A	N	D	SD
7. I am a person who makes excuses for being a Dutch citizen.	SA	A	N	D	SD
8. I am a person who considers him-/herself to be an Aruban.	SA	A	N	D	SD
9. I am a person who feels held back because I am an Aruban.	SA	A	N	D	SD
10. I am a person who is critical about the Netherlands.	SA	A	N	D	SD
11. I am a person who is proud to be an Aruban.	SA	A	N	D	SD
12. I am a person who feels at home in the Netherlands.	SA	A	N	D	SD

II. How important or unimportant do you think Papiamentu is for Arubans to do the following? There are no right or wrong answers. Check the appropriate box.

	FOR PEOPLE TO:	Important	A little important	A little unimportant	Unimportant
1	To make friends				
2	To earn plenty of money				
3	Read				
4	Write				
5	Watch TV/videos				
6	Get a job				
7	Become smarter				
8	Be liked				
9	Live in Aruba				
10	Go to church/chapel				
11	Sing				
12	Play sports				
13	Raise children				
14	Go shopping				
15	Make phone calls				
16	Pass exams				
17	Be accepted in the community				
18	Talk to friends in school				
19	Talk to teachers in school				
20	Talk to people outside of school				
21	Make jokes/ be funny				
22	Formulate ideas				
23	Talk to family				
24	Find a (romantic) partner				
25	Express feelings				

III. What language do YOU use in the following situations? Answer with one of the following:

OD = Only Dutch

MD = Mostly Dutch

B = Both equally

MP = Mostly Papiamentu

OP = Only Papiamentu

1. At home with your family.	OD	MD	B	MP	OP
2. At school with your fellow students	OD	MD	B	MP	OP
3. At school with your teachers	OD	MD	B	MP	OP
4. At work with your colleagues	OD	MD	B	MP	OP
5. At work with your boss	OD	MD	B	MP	OP
6. With your friends	OD	MD	B	MP	OP
7. With strangers	OD	MD	B	MP	OP

IV. Please answer the following:

Age: _____

Gender: _____ Male _____ Female

Education : _____ MBO
 _____ HBO
 _____ University
 _____ Other

Were you born in Aruba? Yes No

Was your father born in Aruba? Yes No

Was your mother born in Aruba? Yes No

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V. Please comment freely on this questionnaire:

THANK YOU FOR YOUR COOPERATION

USO DI LENGUA NA ARUBA

SWINDA DE CUBA-AREND SZ

COLEGIO ARUBANO

Introduccion

Lenga den un comunidad ta un di e instrumentonan mas utiliza pa ser humano, y e ta refleho di su identidad y di su pueblo. Den e ultimo decada, globalisacion a produci mas reflexion y interes intelectual di ser humano pa descubri mas di loke e sa y por caba. Den e contexto aki, siñamento di un idioma stranhero ta contribui no solamente na desaroyo di e competencianan di expresion y comunicacion individual, pero e ta contribui tambe na aceptacion di otro cultura y diversificacion den un pais. Contacto lingual a crea hablante bilingual pa motibo di diversificacion cultural. Tur iniciativa pa promove difusion di lenga materno lo sirbi no solamente pa mantene e diversidad linguistico y educacion multilingual, sino tambe pa crea un conocimiento mas amplio tocante e tradicionnan linguistico y cultura na mundo.

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Pa finalisa mi studio di di dos grado di Papiamento na juni 2006, mi a traha un tesina den cua mi a describi e investigacion cu mi a haci riba e idioma di comunicacion entre e hobennan na scol y tambe durante nan comunicacion cu otro riba tereno social pafo di scol. E tereno cu mi a investiga pa haya contesta riba mi preguntanan ta e tereno lexical di idioma verbal. Mediante encuesta y dor di observa combersacion di e studentenan den klas, mi por a yega na resultado y conclusion di mi investigacion. Edad, sexo, idioma materno i momento di comunicacion ta e variabelnan mas importante den mi investigacion. E tesina aki por sirbi como punto di salida pa investigacion den futuro riba tereno sociolinguistico riba isla di Aruba.

Investigacion

E investigacion (longitudinal) a tuma luga na Colegio Arubano, Oranjestad, durante e temporada di februari te april 2006. E meta di mi investigacion ta pa investiga cua ta e idioma cu e hobennan ta uza den nan comunicacion social na scol y pafo di scol. E actornan den mi investigacion riba tereno di comunicacion verbal ta hoben di 12 pa 16 aña di Ciclo Basico 1 y 2 di cuater diferente klas. E tereno cu mi a investiga ta lexico y gramatica di Papiamento, pero banda di dje, mi a studia tambe e mes tereno ei di e otro idiomanan cu ta Hulandes, Ingles y Spaño pa compara.

Tambe a bini acerca cu mi a investiga interferencia di e otro idioma presente na Aruba riba idioma Papiamentu. E metodonan cu mi a uza pa acumula dato tabata encuesta, observacion, grabación y literatura.

Ehecucion di investigacion

A. Investigacion pa medio di observacion: Studente papiando di un topico durante les den klas.

B. pa medio di un formulario cu pregunta; e participantenan ta estudiante di cuater klas di Ciclo Basico 1 y 2.

E investigacion den parti A, cu estudiante den combersacion cu otro, a bay di e siguiente manera.

Situacion den klas

Mi a traha grupo di cuater estudiante cu cada biaha e siguiente combinacion linguistico segun nan idioma di cas (mira tabel 1).

Tabel 1 Abreviacion linguistico uza den tabel

	Patronchi segun idioma di comunicacion na cas	
A	PAP - PAP	PAP = Papiamentu
B	HUL - SPA	HUL = Hulandes
C	HUL - ING	ING = Ingles
D	ING - SPA	SPA = Spaño
E	ING - ING	OTRO = Chines, Hindu, Tagalog, Arabier
F	ING - PAP	COMB = combinacion di entre otro:
G	SPA - SPA	Papiamentu y Hulandes
H	SPA - PAP	Papiamentu y Ingles
I	HUL - HUL	Papiamentu y Spaño
J	OTRO - PAP	Hulandes y Ingles
K	OTRO - ING	
L	OTRO - SPA	
M	OTRO - HUL	
N	OTRO - OTRO	
O	COMB - HUL	
P	COMB - SPA	
Q	COMB - ING	

E abreviacionnan uza den e tabel ta indica e situacion linguistico di cada mucha. Por ehempel, e combinacion PAP-PAP ta nifica cu den e grupo ey tur mucha tin Papiamentu como nan idioma materno. Mi a uza e abreviacion COMB ora e mucha tin dos idioma di cas. Mi a purba traha diferente grupo linguistico, pero no ta den tur klas esaki tabata posibel.

Durante les den klas, e studentenan ta haya un topico pa discuti, y nan ta liber pa uza e idioma di nan scogencia, pues, nan ta scoge e idioma cu nan kier comunica den dje.

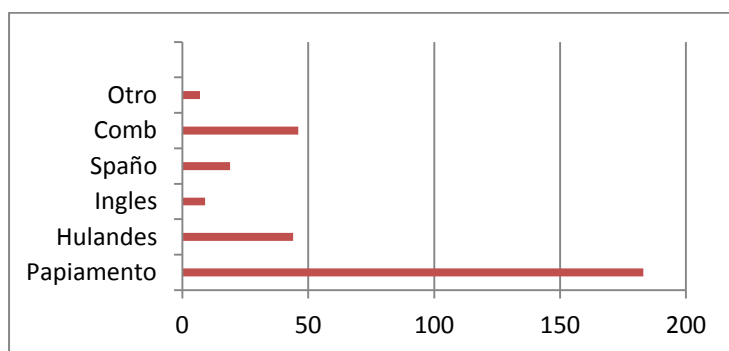
Esaki a sosode durante cuater les y cada biaha cu e mes cuater klasnan. Durante e combersacionnan, mi a observa tambe con frecuente cambio di codigo y mescla di codigo den idioma Papiamento ta, y ki sorto di interferencia ta tuma luga.

Analisis di dato

Pregunta principal 1: Cua idioma e hobennan ta uza pa comunica socialmente na scol y pafo di scol?

Mi a haci uzo di encuesta, y mi a haci observacion den klas pa haya contesta pa e pregunta aki. Tambe mi a contesta algun pregunta secundario pa haya contesta riba e pregunta principal. Mi ta duna resultado segun mi ta analisa.

Pregunta secundario 1: Con e promedio di estudiante ta den Ciclo basico 1 di Colegio Arubano (Oranjestad) segun nan idioma di cas?



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Figura 1 Promedio di estudiante den Ciclo basico 1 di Colegio Arubano segun idioma di cas

Tin 308 alumno den Ciclo basico 1 di cua:

- 183 alumno tin Papiamento como idioma materno, cu ta 59% di e totalidad di alumno
- 44 alumno tin Hulandes como idioma materno, cu ta 14% di e totalidad di alumno
- 9 alumno tin Ingles como idioma materno, cu ta 3% di e totalidad di alumno
- 19 alumno tin Spaño como idioma materno, cu ta 6% di e totalidad di alumno
- 46 alumno tin otro idioma banda di Papiamento, Ingles, Spaño of Hulandes, cu ta un promedio di 16% di e totalidad di alumno (mira tabel 2. Mi a yama e grupo aki Comb¹)
- 7 alumno tin otro idioma materno: Chines y Tagalog, cu ta 2% di e total di estudiante den Ciclo basico 1.

Di 308 alumno den Ciclo basico 1, solamente 79 estudiante no tin Papiamento como idioma materno of como nan di dos idioma. Tin 46 estudiante cu tin dos idioma materno di cua Papiamento ta e prome of e di dos idioma di cas.

¹ Comb = dos idioma materno

Den e siguiente tabel, por mira e combinacionnan di idioma presente, y e cantidad di estudiante cu tin e diferente combinacionnan (Comb²).

Tabel 2 Combinacionnan di idioma presente, y cantidad di estudiante cu diferente combinacionnan

Combinacion linguistico den CB1 di Colegio Arubano	Cantidad di alumno
Papiamento - Hulandes	12
Papiamento - Spaño	13
Papiamento - Ingles	10
Hulandes - Spaño	4
Hulandes - Ingles	5
Ingles - Spaño	2

Pregunta secundario 2: Con e promedio di estudiante ta den Ciclo basico 2 di Colegio Arubano segun nan idioma di cas?

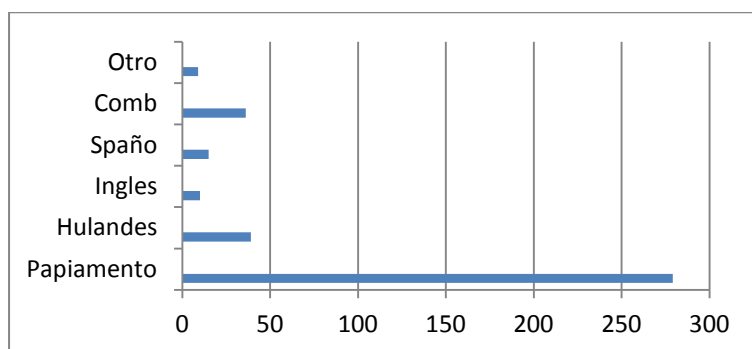


Figura 2 Promedio di estudiante den Ciclo basico 2 di Colegio Arubano segun nan idioma di cas

Tin 388 alumno den Ciclo Basico 2 di cua:

- 279 tin Papiamento como idioma materno, cu ta 72% di e total
- 36 tin un otro idioma banda di Papiamento, Hulandes, Spaño, Chines y Ingles (Mira tabel 2. Mi a yama e grupo aki Comb), cu ta 9% di e total
- 39 tin Hulandes como idioma materno, cu ta 10% di e total
- 15 tin Spaño como idioma materno, cu ta 4% di e total
- 10 tin Ingles como idioma materno, cu ta 3% di e total
- 9 tin otro idioma como idioma materno: Chines, Arabier, Portugues, cu ta 2% di e total di alumno den Ciclo Basico 2.

² Comb = dos idioma materno

Di e total di 388 alumno den Ciclo Basico 2, tin un promedio di 36 estudiante cu tin dos idioma materno. Den e siguiente tabel, por mira e combinacionnan di idioma presente y e cantidad di estudiante cu tin e diferente combinacionnan.

Tabel 3 Combinacion di idioma presente y cantidad di estudiante cu diferente combinacion

Combinacion linguistico den CB2 di Colegio Arubano	Cantidad di alumno
Papiamento - Hulandes	13
Papiamento - Spaño	9
Papiamento - Ingles	7
Papiamento - Chines	2
Hulandes - Spaño	2
Hulandes - Ingles	2
Ingles - Spaño	1

E porcentahe mas halto di estudiante cu tin dos idioma materno ta e combinacion Papiamento-Hulandes, cu ta 13 estudiante. Di e cantidad di klas di Ciclo Basico 1 y 2, mi a saca e siguiente conclusion referente idioma di cas di e studentenan. Tin un total di 696 alumno den Ciclo Basico 1 y 2 caminda 66% di e totalidad tin Papiamento como idioma materno, 12% tin Hulandes como idioma materno, 5% tin Spaño como idioma materno, 35 tin Ingles como idioma materno y 2% tin Chines, Arabier, Portugues y Tagalog como idioma materno, mientras cu e grupo cu dos idioma di cas ta 12% di e totalidad di alumno den Ciclo Basico 1 y 2.

Tabel 4 Idioma y e cantidad di estudiante

Papiamento	462 alumno
Hulandes	83 alumno
Spaño	34 alumno
Ingles	26 alumno
Otro	18 alumno
Comb	73 alumno

Di e totalidad di 696 estudiante den Ciclo Basico 1 y 2, mi por conclui cu 462 estudiante, cu ta un promedio di 66% di e studentenan di CB1 y 2, ta papia Papiamento na cas. E cantidad aki ta mas cu mita di e poblacion di CB1 y 2, mientras cu ta 12% di e studentenan ta papia Hulandes, 5% ta papia Spaño y 8% ta papia Ingles.

Pregunta secundario 3: Con e promedio di e studentenan cu mi a scoge pa investiga ta reparti segun nan idioma materno?

Tin 106 alumno den cuater klas di Ciclo basico 1 y 2 cu ta un grupo di mas of menos 15% di e totalidad di alumno den Ciclo Basico 1 y 2 (696) na Colegio Arubano Oranjestad. Nan ta reparti den 54 alumno di Ciclo Basico 1 y 52 alumno di Ciclo Basico 2. E particion segun nan idioma materno por haña den tabel 5.

Tabel 5 Particion segun idioma di alumno

Papiamento	54 alumno
Hulandes	17 alumno
Spaño	12 alumno
Ingles	8 alumno
Otro	7 alumno Chines, Tagalog
Comb	8 alumno

Pregunta secundario 4: Con e promedio di e totalidad di 106 alumno di 4 klas di Ciclo Basico 1 y 2 ta reparti segun sexo, edad y scogencia di idioma pa comunica den klas, segun e patronchi di idioma di cas?

Den dos klas di Ciclo Basico 1, tin 34 mucha muhe y 20 mucha homber. Tin 8 mucha muhe di 12 aña, 13 mucha muhe di 13 aña, 10 di 14 aña y 3 mucha muhe di 15 aña. Tin 7 mucha homber di 12 aña y 7 mucha homber di 13 aña, 4 di 14 aña y 2 di 15 aña.

Den dos klas di Ciclo Basico 2, tin 31 mucha muhe y 21 mucha homber. Tin 6 mucha muhe di 13 aña, 11 mucha muhe di 14 aña, 8 mucha muhe di 15 aña y 6 cu tin 16 aña. Tin 3 mucha homber di 13 aña, 4 mucha homber cu tin 14 aña, 10 mucha homber cu tin 15 aña y 4 cu tin 16 aña.

Den tabel 6, por mira resultado di observacion haci den klas durante 5 siman, cu ta duna e siguiente resultado pa loke ta trata e idioma cu e hobennan ta uza pa comunica cu otro.

Tabel 6 Resultado di observacion den klas di e idioma cu e hobennan ta uza pa comunica cu otro

1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
	Patronchi segun idioma di comunicacion na cas	Resultado di idioma di escogencia	Cantidad di biaha		Patronchi segun idioma di comunicacion na cas	Resultado di idioma di escogencia	Cantidad di biaha
A	PAP - PAP	PAP	5	A	PAP - PAP	PAP	5
B	PAP - HUL	ING y HUL	4 – 1	B	PAP - HUL	ING	5
C	HUL - SPA	PAP y HUL	3 – 2	C	HUL - SPA	PAP	5
D	HUL - ING	ING	5	D	HUL - ING	ING	5
E	ING - PAP	PAP	5	E	ING - PAP	PAP	5
F	ING - SPA	ING	5	F	ING - SPA	ING	5
G	ING - PAP	ING y PAP	3 – 2	G	ING - PAP	ING	5
H	SPA - HUL	SPA	5	H	SPA - HUL	SPA – PAP	3-2
I	SPA - PAP	PAP	5	I	SPA - PAP	PAP	5
J	HUL - HUL	HUL	5	J	HUL - HUL	HUL – ING	3-2
K	OTRO - PAP	PAP y ING	2 – 3	K	OTRO - PAP	PAP	5
L	OTRO - ING	ING	5	L	OTRO - ING	ING	5
M	OTRO - SPA	PAP	5	M	OTRO - SPA		
N	OTRO - OTRO	---		N	OTRO - OTRO	PAP y ING	2-3
O	COMB - PAP	PAP y HUL	4 – 1	O	COMB - PAP	PAP y ING	3-2
P	COMB - HUL	---		P	COMB - HUL		
Q	COMB - SPA	---		Q	COMB - SPA	---	
R	COMB- ING	ING	5	R	COMB- ING	PAP	5

CB1:Edad: 12 pa 15 año; CB2: Edad: 13 pa 16 año.
Mira abreviacion di tabel 1.

Den e di dos kolom, e abreviacionnan ta representa cada biaha e idioma di cas di e studiantenan den combersacion cu otro riba un topico durante cada les. Den e di tres kolom, e abreviacionnan ta e scogencia di idioma cu e studiantenan den combersacion cu otro a haci pa comunica. Den e di cuater kolom, tin un of dos cifra cada bes. E prome cifra ta indica e cantidad di biaha cu e studiantenan den grupo a uza e prome idioma den kolom 3, y e di dos cifra ta indica e di dos idioma den kolom 3 cu e studiantenan a scoge pa comunica.

Durante 5 diferente les, den grupo chikito di cuater estudiante, caminda nan por a scoge e idioma den cua nan kier comunica cu otro, mi por a observa den CB1 cu:

1. E grupo cu tin Papiamento como idioma di cas ta scoge pa comunica na Papiamento.
2. E gruponan cu tin Ingles y Spaño como idioma di cas tambe ta scoge Papiamento pa comunica cu otro.
3. E gruponan cu tin Hulandes como idioma materno y e grupo cu tin Spaño como idioma di cas tambe ta scoge Papiamento of Hulandes.
4. E grupo cu tin Spaño como idioma di cas y e grupo cu ta papia Chines na cas tambe ta scoge Papiamento pa comunica.
5. E grupo cu tin Ingles como idioma materno ta papia Ingles ora di comunica cu otro, excluyendo ora nan ta den combersacion cu e grupo cu tin Spaño como idioma di cas (mira punto 2).
6. E grupo cu tin Hulandes como idioma materno ta papia Hulandes ora nan ta comunica cu otro y ta papia Ingles ora nan ta papia cu e studentenan cu tin Ingles como idioma di cas.
7. E grupo cu tin Spaño como idioma di cas ta mantene Spaño pa comunica cu nan grupo etnico.

Den e patronchi di CB 2, por observa cu e studentenan cu tin:

1. Papiamento como idioma materno ta uza Papiamento pa comunica, mientras cu ora e gruponan PAP y ING of PAP y HUL topa otro, nan ta scoge Ingles pa comunica. Aki ta remarcabel cu e hobennan cu ta papia Papiamento y Hulandes, cu conoce e idioma Ingles, ta haci un scogencia y ta dicidi di comunica den e idioma cu ta straño pa mayoria di nan y ta uza e lenga ey como lingua franca.
2. Ingles como idioma materno ta scoge Ingles pa comunica.
3. Hulandes ta scoge Hulandes of Ingles pa comunica.
4. Spaño ta scoge Spaño pa comunica cu e studentenan di habla Spaño of Papiamento ora nan ta comunica cu esnan cu tin Papiamento como idioma materno.
5. Mi no a ripara cu e grupo etnico Spaño ta comunica na Ingles of Hulandes.
6. E grupo di habla Ingles y e grupo di habla Hulandes no ta uza Spaño pa comunica.

Remarcabel ta cu durante combersacion den klas, tin hopi grupo cu ta scoge Papiamento of Ingles pa comunica y ta uza cambio di codigo den nan combersacion. Na cierto momento durante e combersacion, un alumno asta por scoge pa sigui na Papiamento pa despues, durante e combersacion atrobe, e bolbe haci cambio pa idioma Ingles. Esaki ta e caso tambe pa e grupo cu ta papia Hulandes cu otro.

E siguiente informacion ta resultado di un encuesta bou di e hobennan, unda nan mester a skirbi nan scogencia linguistico pafo di scol, durante combersacion na telefon y na un actividad social cu ta un fiesta. Un total di 106 estudiante di Ciclo Basico 1 y 2 a yena e encuesta, y asina mi por a saca e siguiente informacion.

Un total di 51 alumno, cu ta 53% di 106 alumno, a contesta cu nan ta comunica na Papiamentu durante un combersacion telefonico,
 32 alumno, cu ta 34%, ta scoge pa comunica na Ingles cu nan amigonan na telefon,
 16 alumno, cu ta 17%, ta comunica na Hulandes cu nan amigonan na telefon,
 6 alumno, cu ta 6%, ta comunica na Spaño, mientras
 1 alumno, cu ta 1%, ta comunica na otro idioma na telefon.

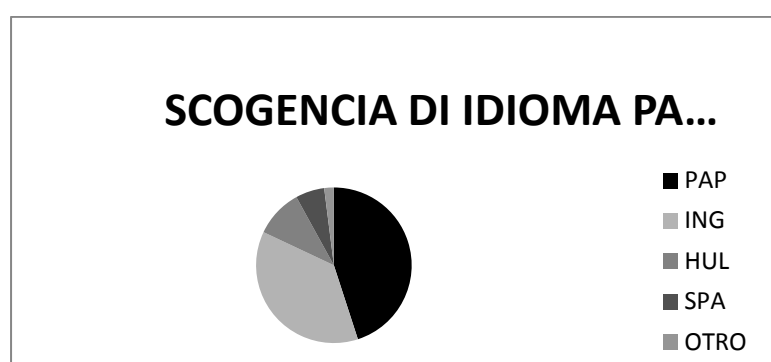


Figura 3 Scogencia linguistico pafo di scol, durante combersacion na telefon

Mayoria di alumno ta uza Papiamentu ora nan ta papia na telefon. Un grupo grandi di alumno, mas of menos un tercer parti di e totalidad di 106 alumno cu a yena e encuesta, ta comunica den idioma Ingles. Binticuater porciento di alumno ta uza Hulandes, Spaño y un otro idioma ora di papia na telefon. Mi por conclui, comparando e resultado di grafica 4 cu nan idioma materno, cu casi tur mucha ta uza Papiamentu ora nan ta papia na telefon. Solamente 4 mucha di un cantidad di 54 mucha no ta uza Papiamentu pa comunica na telefon.

Un grupo grandi ta comunica na Ingles, mientras cu 8 estudiante so tin Ingles como idioma materno (tabel 5). E cantidad di alumno cu ta papia Hulandes na cas ta comunica tambe na Hulandes durante combersacion na telefon. Net mita di e cantidad di 12 alumno cu tin Spaño como idioma materno ta comunica den Spaño na telefon. Esaki ta pone mi yega na un posibel conclusion cu e muchanan cu tin un otro idioma di cas (7 mucha) y cu tin dos idioma di cas (grupo Comb, 8 mucha) ta esnan cu tambe ta comunica na Ingles ora di papia na telefon.

Na un ocasion social manera, por ehempel, un fiesta, e resultado ta manera ta sigui:

45%, cu ta 48 estudiante, ta uza Papiamento ora nan ta comunica cu nan amigo na un fiesta,
 37%, cu ta 39 estudiante, ta uza Ingles,
 10%, cu ta 11 estudiante, ta uza Hulandes,
 6%, cu ta 6 estudiante, ta uza Spaño,
 2%, cu ta 2 estudiante, ta uza nan idioma (otro) pa comunica cu nan amigonan na un fiesta.

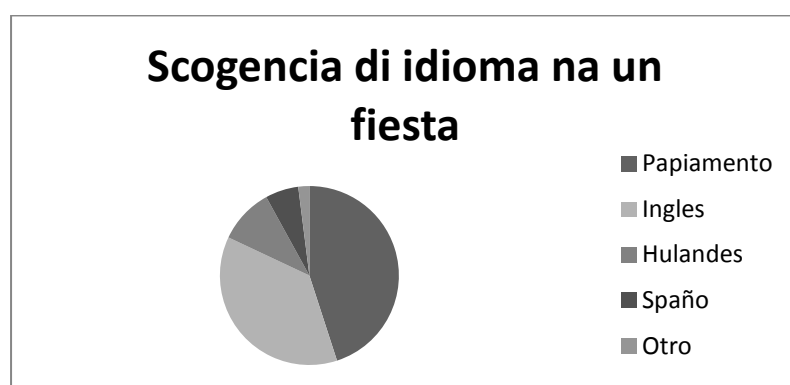


Figura 4 Scogencia linguistico pafo di scol na un actividad social cu ta un fiesta

Mita di e cantidad di estudiante cu a yena e encuesta ta uza Papiamento pa comunica ora nan ta na un fiesta. Un tercer parti ta uza Ingles pa comunica na un evento social, manera fiesta. Un grupo chikito di 6% di e cantidad di alumno ta scoge Spaño pa comunica na fiesta, mientras cu 10% di e cantidad di alumno ta scoge Hulandes pa comunica na un fiesta.

Conclusion general

E hoben cu di cas ta papia Papiamento ta uza Papiamento pa comunica na scol of pafo di scol, pero e ta scoge Ingles tambe pa comunica cu amigo. Mi por conclui cu e hobennan ta uza un idioma di nan scogencia pa comunica sin problema, dependiendo di nan respondente den e situacion cu nan ta encontra aden. E investigacion a demostra cu un estudiante cu tin Hulandes como idioma materno ta comunica mas tanto na Ingles y Hulandes. E grupo cu ta papia Ingles na cas of Chines of Tagalog no tin problema pa comunica na Papiamento of Ingles. E grupo di habla Spaño ta comunica na Spaño cu e grupo etnico Spaño. Mayoria di estudiante cu na cas ta papia Papiamento, Hulandes of Ingles no ta comunica na Spaño cu otro estudiante. E grupo mayoritario ta papia Papiamento na scol y na fiesta. Ingles ta e di dos idioma mas papia pa e hobennan na scol y na fiesta.

Ta necesario pa tur individuo sa con importante ta pa comunica den mas cu un idioma. Mas idioma bo sa, mas bo ta compronde y acepta cultura diferente na esun di bo mes.

Scogencia di un idioma pa comunica ta mara na varios factor diferente. Mester amplia e investigacion pa por bisa cu certesa e motibo pakico e hoben bilingual ta scoge pa uza un idioma particular den un combersacion. Loke ta hala mi atención, y siguramente ta un punto di salida pa investigacion sociolinguistico, ta cu gran parti di hoben ta scoge pa inicia nan combersacion na Papiamento, poniendo asina presion riba e grupo di respondente pa sigui nan combersacion den e idioma aki.

Mescos cu tur otro idioma, Papiamento tambe ta haya continuamente influencia di otro lenga. Aruba su posicion geografico y tambe politico ta demostra actualmente interferencia di idioma manera Spaño, Ingles y Hulandes na nivel lexical y gramatical di Papiamento. Un comunidad multilingual, manera ta e caso na Aruba, ta conoci pa enfrenta e fenomeno di cambio di codigo y mescla di codigo den idioma. Ta bon pa e papiado realisa cu e fenomenonan aki por trece cierto peligro pa un idioma, pues, mester uz'e conciente.

Mirando e posicion cu Papiamento tin awendia cerca hopi hende, mirando e posicion di un otro lenga cu un status reconoci riba nos isla, banda di nos lenga, y mirando tambe e echo cu nos kier mas tanto individuo critico posibel, cu dor di conoce nos idioma bon, por desaroya propio pensamiento y manera di defende nan pensamiento, mi ta pensa cu nos mester ta hopi exigente cu nos hobennan pa loke ta trata uzo di un idioma. Nos no mester cera porta pa otro cultura, pero si nos mester desaroya un miho vision pa cu uzo di nos idioma, specialmente, teniendo na cuenta cu Papiamento ta e di dos idioma di tur habitante cu ta biba na Aruba.

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THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE MARKER *a* IN (EARLY) PAPIAMENTU: A CASE OF GAP FILLING

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Introduction¹

The overt perfective past marker *a* is one of the features that most obviously set Papiamentu (in examples shortened to PA) apart from other Atlantic Creoles (e.g. Bickerton, 1981; Faraclas, Rivera-Castillo & Walicek, 2007), most of which instead have a zero marker for perfective aspect. In this article, I will provide some typological evidence suggesting that the marker *a* was added to a pre-existing TMA system with a zero perfective aspect marker. Thus, the paper supplements the claim made by Bickerton (1981: 87) that the marker *a* constitutes a postformative, contact-induced acquisition and did not exist in the earliest stages of Papiamentu. Thus, the article re-affirms the observation that, historically, Papiamentu's TMA system forms “no exception to the rule” (Faraclas et al., 2007: 274).

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Bickerton (1981) was compelled to account for the fact that Papiamentu diverges from his acclaimed creole prototype: where other (Atlantic) Creoles typically have a zero for perfective aspect, Papiamentu has an overt perfective past marker. A discussion of the overt marker *a* gains further relevance in light of the debate on the origins of Papiamentu: Cape Verdean Creole, a Portuguese-based Creole from which I believe Papiamentu descends (Jacobs, 2008; 2009a; 2009b; 2010; 2011a; 2011b; 2012a; cf. Quint, 2000; Martinus, 1996; 1999; 2007), has a zero marker for perfective aspect, like most other Atlantic Creoles. Thus, if Bickerton's creole prototype and the claim that Papiamentu descends from Cape Verdean Creole are both correct, it must be assumed that Papiamentu emerged on Curaçao without the marker *a*. The typological data presented below support this assumption.

Bickerton's prototype creole TMA system

Bickerton (1975; 1981) was arguably the first to stress that the TMA system of most Creoles is characterized by, and dependent on, the semantic distinction between stative verbs (i.e. verbs expressing a mental or physical state with an undetermined duration, such as ‘to be’, ‘to want’, or ‘to believe’) and nonstative verbs (alternatively

¹ The present article is a rewriting and elaboration of a subsection in Jacobs (2012a: 193-197).

referred to as ‘dynamic’ verbs, i.e. verbs denoting an action or event of delimited duration, such as ‘to sing’, or ‘to go’). Typically, he claimed, the zero (viz. unmarked) form of stative verbs will be interpreted as present tense (or, more precisely, as simultaneous with a contextually determined time reference point). The zero form of nonstative verbs will, on the other hand, yield a perfective (past) reading. Moreover, to yield a present tense reading for nonstatives, a preverbal imperfective aspect marker is obligatory. In other words, according to Bickerton (1981: 88; 1980: 5, 6) the prototypical creole TMA system is characterized by the following three correlated morphological features pertaining to, or resulting from, the semantic stative-nonstative distinction:

1. zero-marked (or unmarked) stative verbs receive a present tense reading²;
2. nonstative verbs must be marked by an imperfective marker in order to yield a present tense reading;
3. zero-marked (/unmarked) nonstative verbs yield a perfective past reading.

Papiamentu constituted a challenge to this prototype since the Creole complies with the first two features, but not with the third. To illustrate this, I will provide comparative data from Cape Verdean Creole (the Santiago variety, hereafter: SCV), the Creole from which I believe Papiamentu descends and which does exhibit all of the three above-mentioned features.

The stative-nonstative distinction in Papiamentu and Cape Verdean Creole

Papiamentu’s compliance with the features (a) and (b) is conveniently exemplified by the verb Papiamentu *yama* / Santiago Cape Verdean Creole *txoma*, which can mean either stative ‘to be called’ or nonstative ‘to call’. As a stative verb, the unmarked form will yield a present reading (1); as a nonstative verb, the imperfective marker is required to yield a present reading (2) (for Papiamentu, cf. the discussions of this verb in Birmingham, 1970: 123; Maurer, 1988: 62 & 2003: 237f.n.; Holm et al., 2000: 137)

1a. PA	<i>E</i>	<i>Ø</i>	<i>jama</i>	<i>Maria</i>
	3s		be called	Mary
	‘She is called (named) Mary’ (Birmingham, 1970: 123)			
1b. SCV	<i>N</i>	<i>Ø</i>	<i>tchoma</i>	<i>Leonor</i>
	1s		be called	Leonor
	‘I am called Leonor’ (Mendes et al., 2002: 121)			
2a. PA	<i>E</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>jama</i>	<i>Maria</i>
	3s	IMP	call	Mary
	‘He calls Mary’ (Birmingham, 1970: 123)			

² Note that ‘present reading’ here means a temporal reading simultaneous with a contextually determined reference point, which can, but needs not be, the moment of speech (cf. e.g. Singler, 1990: xi, xii).

- 2b. SCV *tem algem ki ta tchomâ-l di fitiseru*
 have people who IMP call-him [of] sorcerer
 ‘there are people who call him a sorcerer’ (Mendes et al., 2002: 121)

How Papiamentu diverges from the prototype creole TMA system

Thus, Papiamentu coincides with the creole prototype and with Cape Verdean Creole in that all display features number one and two. The comparison becomes problematical, however, when we include feature number three. As noted, all creoles that display features number one and two typically also display feature number three. In other words, in Creoles in which unmarked statives yield a present reading (feature 1) and nonstatives require an imperfective marker for present (feature 2), perfective aspect on nonstatives is typically encoded with zero (feature 3). Cape Verdean Creole provides a case in point (3). Here, Papiamentu clearly deviates from the creole prototype and from Cape Verdean Creole: in Papiamentu, the perfective past on nonstatives can only be conveyed with the overt marker *a*, as in (4) and unmarked nonstatives are simply ungrammatical (4)³:

3. SCV *e Ø papia di futibol*
 3s PFV speak of football
 ‘s/he spoke about football’ (Lang 2002:9)
4. PA *El a (*Ø)papia ku mi manera un amigu*
 3s PFV speak with me way a friend
 ‘He spoke to me like a friend’ (De Haseth, 2007: 86)

Reconstructing the Early Papiamentu TMA system

On the surface, then, the marker *a*⁴ is doubtlessly one of the features that most clearly separates Papiamentu from Cape Verdean Creole and other Atlantic Creoles, at least synchronically. However, if we want to determine whether Papiamentu is really as anomalous a Creole as some have claimed, we should try and reconstruct what the language looked like in its earliest stages. To do so, we can apply straightforward typological reasoning: since, as pointed out above, synchronic TMA marking in Papiamentu displays the features (1) and (2) pertaining to the typical (Atlantic) creole pattern of stative vs. nonstative verbal marking, it is rather plausible to assume that, at

³ Of course, predicates in irrealis (/subjunctive) mood constitute an exception: in irrealis, all Papiamentu verbs can in principle have a present reference when marked by zero (for Papiamentu, cf. especially Maurer, 1993). In this section, I will be concerned only with what Bickerton (1975: 27) calls the ‘realis’ subsystem of the Creole.

⁴ In the literature, the Papiamentu marker *a* is alternately described as a perfective aspect marker (e.g. Kouwenberg & Ramos-Michel, 2007: 312), as a perfect/perfecto (Maurer 1998: 161), or as a simple past (Bickerton 1981: 87). Judging from Maurer’s (1988: 107–111) description and analyses, the morpheme *a* seems to cover both the Spanish *pretérito (in)definido* (e.g. *comí* ‘I ate’) and the *presente perfecto* (*he comido* ‘I’ve eaten’) and may thus be translated with either an English simple past or a present perfect, depending on the context. To reflect this, I will refer to *a* as a perfective past, in keeping with e.g. Faraclas, Rivera-Castillo & Walicek (2007: 274).

an earlier stage of development, Papiamentu also displayed feature number three. This reasoning is found already in Bickerton (1981: 88), who, as noted, was compelled to account for the fact that Papiamentu has an overt perfective past marker where other Creoles have zero: “The distribution of zeros and nonpunctuals in Papiamentu is identical to that of synchronic Sranan or basilectal Guyanese Creole, except for one thing: in the latter, past punctuals, as well as present statives, are zero-marked (...). In Papiamentu, *a* has moved in to fill the ‘vacuum’”. This typological reasoning is summarized in Table 35:

Table 1. Perfective past marking in the creole prototype and Modern and Early Papiamentu

	Typical creole TMA system	Modern Papiamentu	Early Papiamentu
present-reference on [+stative]	zero	zero	zero
present-reference on [-stative]	IMP	IMP	IMP
perfective (past) on [-stative]	zero marker	<i>a</i>	zero marker

If the typological reasoning behind Table 1 is correct, it is implied that Papiamentu started life with a zero marker for perfective on nonstatives (feature 3) and that, in keeping with Bickerton’s claim, the marker *a* was added at a later stage, *after creolization*.

Typological evidence from non-Creoles

To be sure, this typological argumentation can be extended to include non-Creoles which have a stative-nonstative distinction similar to Creoles: if a language (be it a Creole or not) complies with features 1 and 2, it will most likely also have a zero marker to encode perfective on nonstatives (feature 3): “A zero form, in languages in which the imperfective is overtly marked but does not occur on stative predicates [i.e. feature one, BJ], will indicate perfective for dynamic verbs [feature three, BJ], but present for stative ones [feature two, BJ]” (Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca, 1994: 77; cf. Bybee, 1994: 251)⁵. Again, it is only the overt perfective marker *a* that separates

⁵ One example of a non-creole conforming to this pattern is Mandjaco (West-Atlantic): zero marking yields a perfective past with nonstative verbs (*bu Ø tsěp* they-go ‘they went’) and a present with statives (*a Ø me* he-know ‘he knows’) (Doneux & Rougé, 1993: 52). Both Bybee (1994: 251) and Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca (1994: 90) list several other non-creoles of this type. For data on Mande and West-Atlantic languages following this pattern, cf. Quint (2000a: 248; 2008: 82-86), Doneux & Rougé (1993: 52), and Rougé (2006: 71). For creole languages, besides Bickerton (1980, 1975, 1981), discussions and data on the typical creole TMA marking are found, for instance, in Singler (1990), Holm et al. (2000), Faraclas, Rivera-Castillo & Walicek (2007) and Holm & Patrick (2007).

Papiamentu from a typological fit with these languages, at least, in the domain of TMA marking.

One may object to the above argumentation by pointing out that among the languages based on an aspectual perfective-imperfective opposition, several do in fact take recourse to an overt (rather than zero) morpheme to mark perfective on nonstatives, just as modern-day Papiamentu does. Crucially, however, in these languages – but not in PA – the same overt marker is also used to mark present-reference on stative verbs (Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca, 1994: 90). A case in point is Bambara (Mande), where the overt marker *y(é)* encodes perfectivity on nonstative verbs as well as present-reference on stative verbs (Quint, 2008: 84). This, in turn, means that, if *a* were an original part of PA's grammar, one would expect it to encode present-reference on stative verbs, which however it does not. As Faraclas, Rivera-Castillo & Walicek (2007: 269) put it: "If *a* has always been in opposition to *ta*, it would presumably have a wide distribution before [+stative] verbs (...), but this is not the case". Along the same lines, Bickerton (1981: 87, 88) commented that, if the marker *a* were an original Papiamentu feature, "the synchronic distribution of zero forms becomes merely a mysterious anomaly".

From zero to *a*: a case of contact-induced 'gap filling'

There are unambiguous clues suggesting that the postformative development of the overt perfective past marker *a* in Papiamentu where there used to be a zero is a result of the close contact with Spanish. A first clue is etymological: the etymon of *a* is generally (and correctly, I believe) thought to be Spanish *ha*, i.e. the 3rd person singular of the Spanish perfect auxiliary *haber* 'to have' (e.g. Labov, 1990: 42, 43; Maurer, 1988: 348; but see Rona, 1971: 20⁶ and Bickerton, 1981: 86⁷). A second clue is of a semantic nature: owing to the introduction of the perfective past marker *a* and the simultaneous development of the imperfective past *tabata* (which must have resulted from the merger of the early anterior marker **taba* and the imperfective marker *ta*; Birmingham, 1970: 87; Maurer, 2003: 247; Kramer, 2004: 197; Kouwenberg & Ramos-Michel, 2007: 309; Faraclas, Rivera-Castillo & Walicek, 2007: 261fn; Bickerton, 1981: 86, 87), the Papiamentu TMA system has acquired an aspectual past

⁶ Rona (1971: 20) argued in favor of an African etymology noting that Akan and other Volta languages have a prefix *a-* that marks perfective aspect. Indeed, Akan has a perfective aspect prefix *a-* (Osam, 2008: 79) and speakers of Akan are indeed likely to have been brought to Curaçao, given that the Dutch drew significant numbers of slaves from Ghana. Thus, it seems not at all impossible that the Akan prefix *a-*, perhaps in convergence with Spanish *ha*, contributed to the development of the morpheme *a*.

⁷ Bickerton (1981: 86) believed that the marker *a* is a grammaticalization of the Portuguese adverb *já* 'already', as it is found also in several Asian Portuguese creoles (cf. Maurer 2009:44). Though this is not impossible, I assume that if the marker *a* were really derived from Port. *já*, we should still see signs of this, for instance in terms of word order. For instance, the Cape Verdean cognate of Port. *já*, CV *dja* (used to indicate the present relevance of a past action) consistently *precedes* the subject: SCV *dja-m perdi nha kamisa* 'I've lost my shirt' (Quint 2000: 238); and so also the Papiamentu future marker *lo*, which is derived from the Portuguese adverb *logo*, optionally appears *before* the subject (PA *lo mi bai* 'I will go'). The Papiamentu marker *a*, however, is rigidly positioned *after* the subject and before the verb, which thus speaks against an adverbial origin.

opposition that largely resembles the Spanish *pretérito (in)definido* - *pretérito imperfecto* opposition (e.g. Sp. *canté* = PA *m'a kanta* vs. Sp. *cantaba* = PA *mi tabata kanta*). This opposition has no counterpart in Dutch or English, or in other Creoles that I know of. This synchronic similarity between Papiamentu and Spanish is thus unlikely to be a coincidence and clearly suggests that contact with Spanish has had a major influence on the diachronic development of the Papiamentu TMA system, facilitating, amongst other things, the introduction of the overt preverbal marker *a*.

The introduction of the marker *a* in the place of the original zero seems to be a classical case of what is often referred to as 'gap filling' in the literature on contact-induced change and grammaticalization: "gaps in the morphological inventory of a language facilitate the importation of new categories from another language" (Heine & Kuteva, 2005: 124, drawing on Winford, 2003: 96, 97). Of course, the notion of 'gap' must *not* be taken to suggest that the original TMA system was somehow defective. It merely indicates that a given language (Papiamentu in this case) does or did not contain a feature or category (in this case an overt perfective past marker and a corresponding semantic perfective:imperfective past opposition) characteristic of one of its contact languages (Spanish in this case).⁸

Final remarks

The typological evidence discussed in this paper suggests that the zero perfective aspect marker which characterizes Atlantic Creoles must once have been central to the Papiamentu TMA system as well. While corroborating Bickerton's Bioprogram was not an aim of this paper, the analyses provided above do support his diachronic account of the Papiamentu marker *a* and indeed suggest that the marker constitutes a merely *synchronic* deviation from the alleged prototype creole TMA system. Citing Faraclas, Rivera-Castillo & Walicek (2007: 274), we may conclude that the presence in Papiamentu of *a* instead of zero "is a relatively superficial feature that masks fundamental congruity between TMA in Papiamentu, West African languages, and other (...) Creoles".

The view defended in this paper furthermore connects well with the hypothesis that Papiamentu descends from Cape Verdean Creole (Martinus, 1996; 1999; 2007; Quint, 2000; Jacobs, 2008; 2009a; 2009b; 2010; 2011a; 2011b; 2012a). Clearly, the overt perfective past marker *a* in Papiamentu vs. the zero marker in Cape Verdean Creole is nothing more than a synchronic difference and thus cannot be adduced as evidence against their genetic relationship. Ever since the arrival of speakers of Cape Verdean Creole on Curaçao (in the period between 1650 and 1700; see Jacobs, 2009a; 2012a;

⁸ It is furthermore debatable whether the change from zero to *a* should be analyzed as the introduction of a new category or merely of a new morpheme. The answer, I suppose, depends on the extent to which the marker *a* differs semantically from the original zero. I will not address this issue here, but see Bickerton (1981: 86-88) and Faraclas, Rivera-Castillo & Walicek (2007) for ideas about the functions and semantics of the marker *a* in comparison to the more widespread zero in creoles.

2012b), the Creole has been under severe pressure from Spanish (and, to a lesser extent, Dutch). This pressure has resulted in the development of Papiamentu out of Cape Verdean Creole through heavy lexical replacement accompanied by morphosyntactic borrowing and gap filling (cf. Holm, 1988: 315), an example of which was discussed in this paper. The contact with Spanish is arguably the most important reason why, at present, Papiamentu shows considerable synchronic differences with respect to Cape Verdean Creole both in the (basic) lexicon and in the domain of TMA marking.

It should still be noted that the marker *a* was already well-integrated in the earliest written attestation of Papiamentu from 1775.⁹ If the cut-off point between Papiamentu and Cape Verdean Creole indeed lies around 1700, it is implied that the acquisition of *a* must be dated between 1700 and 1775.

I close with Bickerton's (1981: 88) description of the particular case of contact-induced gap filling discussed in the present paper: "In Papiamentu, *a* has moved in to fill the 'vacuum' created by zero-marked past-reference nonstatives, thereby bringing the P[apiamentu] TMA system closer to European models", but nonetheless "leaving clear traces of the more creole system that must have existed at an earlier stage."

Abbreviations

TMA = Tense, Mood and Aspect

PA = Papiamentu

SCV = Santiago variety of Cape Verdean Creole

IMP = imperfective aspect marker

3s = third person singular pronoun

1s = first person singular pronoun

PFV = perfective aspect / perfective past

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L1 ATTRITION IN AN L2 ENVIRONMENT: A CASE OF JAMAICAN CREOLE-PAPIAMENTU CONTACT

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Introduction

The study of first language attrition has, throughout the years, unveiled the shocking reality of individuals, whose mental faculties are in no way impaired, manifesting the inability to effectively function in the core of their culture – their native language. Many have found this phenomenon to be quite unsettling, to say the least, and quite a number of speakers, who have intently attempted to retain their mother tongue, have fallen prey to this seemingly inevitable occurrence. This has made the field of attrition studies quite an intriguing one that is worthy of investigation in all language contact situations.

Based on a study of the changes that have occurred in the grammar of Jamaican immigrants to Curaçao, this paper highlights the evolution of Jamaican Creole under the influence of Papiamentu, a Spanish-Portuguese Creole spoken in the ABC islands. It focuses on syntactic aspects of Jamaican Creole that have proven to be susceptible to first language attrition under Papiamentu intrusion. Focus is also placed on those areas of the Jamaican Creole grammar that have shown change which cannot be attributed to the acquisition of a dominant second language by the native Jamaican Creole speaker. These two areas of focus account for externally and internally induced changes that may occur in an attriting grammar. This paper further investigates what the characteristic features of the attrition of Jamaican Creole at the early stages of L2 exposure are, the knowledge of which may enable one to predict the possible changes that occur in a creole grammar that undergoes L1 attrition.

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Language attrition: issues and perspectives

Language attrition has been defined both as a process and a phenomenon, whereby the attriters' loss of proficiency in their native language is the result of non-pathological circumstances in which there is 'a severance of the contact with the community in which the language is spoken' (Schmid, 2008: 10). Here L1 language attrition, according to Schmid, exists where there is total lack of linguistic input from the L1 community resulting in loss, forgetting and deterioration of the L1. Such a situation

has been termed 'absolute attrition'. Schmid (2008: 10) and Sharwood Smith & Van Bueren (1991: 22) describe absolute attrition as being reminiscent of one stranded on a desert island. In such a situation there is no contact with the L1, no opportunity to communicate with native speakers of the L1 and little or no effort is made to write or speak aloud in that language (Sharwood Smith & Van Bueren, 1991: 22).

The concept of language loss or deterioration is not confined to situations of absolute attrition, however. Research has revealed that even if contact is maintained with the L1 community, thus facilitating continued L1 input, loss of proficiency in one's L1 remains a possibility, especially where there is continued exposure to an L2 (Sharwood Smith & Van Buren, 1991: 22-23). This input from a second language has been referred to as cross-linguistic influence. What is implicit here is the fact that attrition is induced by (1) reduced contact with the L1 and (2) influence from an L2. It is on this basis that language attrition has been found to be correlated with the length of residence in a foreign country, where the L2 of the L1 native speakers is the dominant language in such an environment (Olshtain & Barzilay, 1991; Porte, 2003: 104). The concept is that the amount of exposure one has to an L2 determines how substantive the impact of the L2 will be on that speaker's L1. At what point however do L2 effects on the L1 become pronounced, and at what point does the ensuing language attrition situation become stabilized? Waas (1993) cited in Hamers & Blanc (2000: 7) hypothesized that attrition develops within the first decade and remains relatively stable thereafter.

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The form in which language attrition presents itself is another area of intrigue to persons with an interest in this field. The notion of markedness has been proposed as a means of predicting the areas of grammars that would be most susceptible to loss (cf. Seliger, 1991). Here, the accepted theory is that in a situation where two languages coincide and exist in a state of competition for dominance in the L2 user's mind, the language that contains the unmarked or less marked rule will take precedence over the language with the more marked rule. According to Seliger and Vago (1991: 13), there are certain predictable relationships that exist in any situation in which language attrition presents itself: where an L1 and L2 share the same marked or unmarked form of a rule or where the L2 is marked and the L1 is unmarked, language attrition will not occur, given that language attrition is geared toward simplification; however, where the L1's rule is marked and the L2's rule is unmarked, the setting for language attrition is ideal. Implicitly, then, it is in areas where the L2 and L1 rule differ, and more precisely, it is where the L1 rule is more complex than that of the L2 that L1 attrition will occur.

Not all researchers have gone as far as narrowing down the precise areas in which attrition is likely to occur through the theory of markedness. Others have broadened the approach to determining the features of a language that are most susceptible to language attrition. The theories of such researchers may at first glance be seen from

two contrasting perspectives, whereby on the one hand, effects are said to be most likely found in areas where both grammars share similarities (cf. Weinreich, 1953: 2; Altenberg, 1991: 191 and Kellerman, 1983 cited in Altenberg, 1991: 191), and on the other hand, it is asserted by researchers, including Andersen (1982) and Ellis (1994: 47), that where the features of the languages in contact are dissimilar interference is most likely.

Regardless of the conditions necessary for language attrition, an observed fact is that it is a naturally occurring phenomenon. One may lose faculty or experience reduced proficiency in a first language due to isolation from the L1 community and exposure to an L2. Are all the changes that occur in an L1 consequently due to L2 influence, however? In an attempt to address this, Seliger and Vago (1991: 7-11) refer to changes occurring in the L1 grammar that are either externally or internally induced. The authors classify externally induced changes as a consequence of L2 influence, manifestations of which may be transfer, interference and convergence, whilst internally induced changes are either motivated by universal principles or emerge from the L1 itself. According to the authors, these changes may be manifested as simplification and regularization, for example. It has also been theorized that any attrition situation is geared toward simplification (with some notion of greater 'simplicity' corresponding to 'less marked'), thus an agglutinating or synthetic language undergoing attrition will exhibit analytical features (Huls & Van de Mond, 1992: 100). The authors, who cite Andersen (1982: 84), suggest that evidence of attrition in a language of the agglutinating type may become obvious when linguistic meaning is expressed through the use of free morphemes rather than complex synthetic forms and that language attrition in an analytical language, will go unnoticed.

Creole languages are typically analytic and therefore express linguistic meaning through free morphemes. If under the process of attrition, agglutinating languages become shockingly analytic, how does the effect of attrition manifest itself in an analytic language, such as Jamaican Creole? This is one such question that remains unanswered, considering that little or no research on language attrition in Creole situations has so far been pursued in the field of attrition studies, a gap, which the study this article is based on seeks to fill.

Methodology

The data used for analysis in this study were collected over an approximate three month period in 128 data collection sessions during which over 60 hours of recorded data were gathered. A total of 21 subjects were included in the data collection process and 5 data collection methods were employed: natural language use, clinical elicitation, experimental elicitation, metalinguistic judgments and self-reporting.

The article specifically examines and reports on the data set of Jamaican immigrants who had been residing in the L2 country between a 1 to 5 years period. The selection of the participants in this study was based on four variables: age of onset of L2 (Papiamentu) learning, years of residence in the L2 country (Curaçao), level of motivation to acquire the L2 and degree of contact with the L1 (Jamaican Creole). These factors become relevant to language attrition whereby they may determine the level of competence that an individual will obtain in the L2 (cf. Pulvermüller & Schumann, 1994: 681-725; Patowski, 1980; Singleton & Ryan, 2004; Seliger, 1996 in Hamers & Blanc, 2000: 78-79). It is taken that the younger an individual is at the age of onset of L2 learning, the more exposure an individual has had to the L2, the more motivated he or she is to acquire that L2 and the less L1 input that individual has received will result that individual becoming a more competent and functional L2 user. It is further assumed that the more competent and functional one is in the L2, the more influence that L2 will possibly have on the L1.

On these bases, the participants included in the study were grouped into two categories: those who were within the critical period for L2 learning (2-15 yrs) at the age of onset of learning Papiamentu and those who had already passed that critical period when L2 learning began (16yrs and over). For the years of residence variable, following Patowski (1980), it was expected that L2 learning would have taken place during the first 5 years of residence; hence, the 1-5 yrs category was established and the speech of the informants included in this category was investigated for signs of influence, during this early stage of L2 exposure. Though motivation is a challenging factor to measure and control, an attempt was made to keep this variable constant. Individuals included in the study were persons for whom acquiring the L2 and being functional in it would have been in their best interest. The participants selected were, therefore, either currently enrolled in an educational institution where the L2 was the dominant language of instruction and interaction, married to a native L2 speaker, employed in the L2 country where interaction with co-workers and clients was in the L2 or had children who were L2 speakers or who were currently attending school in the L2 country. Regarding the degree of contact with the L1, all participants still maintained contact with L1 native speakers who were currently in the L1 environment. An ideal attrition situation would however have been a total cut-off of L1 input, but this was not the case for the Jamaican immigrants to Curaçao included in this study.

Each data type (natural language use, clinical elicitation, experimental elicitation, metalinguistic judgments and self-reporting) was used to inform or guide the other. Natural language use targeted the spontaneous speech of the informants. It was expected that uninterrupted language use would reveal true evidence of attrition. The bulk of natural use data was, therefore, collected in the initial sessions. Participants engaged in a discussion of topics that made them relax and speak freely. These topics

ranged from childhood experiences, life back home with family and friends to religion.

Clinical elicitation data were collected through two tasks – picture description and storytelling through picture sequencing. The pictures selected for these tasks allowed for controlled, yet unguided language use. This technique was used to determine if the deviant forms that were identified in the natural use data would be repeated by the informants.

Experimental elicitation followed clinical elicitation and directly targeted the deviant structures identified in the two previous tasks. Two experimental tasks were included in this study: a translation task and a scenario consideration task. In the translation task, informants were asked to provide L1 translations for orally given L2 sentences. The scenario consideration task was comprised of sentence completion, story retelling and question answering exercises. The participants were asked to consider varying scenarios and respond appropriately in the L1.

The third data collection type, metalingualistic judgments, targeted deviant structures identified in the previous sessions. The primary aim of this task was to ascertain whether informants were able to recognize their own deviant forms. It would also indicate whether these deviant forms had replaced the native Jamaican Creole equivalents or if they had instead become alternative rules in the attriters' grammar.

The self-report data involved introspection and retrospection. In this task, informants were given the opportunity to reflect on how their language had evolved since migration. They were asked to consider questionable structures and state whether they thought these structures were acceptable to Jamaicans currently residing in the homeland and if they found the structures acceptable regardless of what other Jamaicans thought. The self report data fundamentally highlighted how aware the subjects were of changes that had occurred in their speech and revealed if an effort had been made on their part to control the production of their L1 throughout the data collection process.

Findings and observations

The findings discussed in this section are based on patterns of linguistic deviation that were identified in the speech of three (3) or more of a total of seven (7) informants included in the 1-5 years category. Given the consistency of use, the structures are claimed to be suggestive of the first stages of L1 attrition of Jamaican Creole in contact with Papiamentu.

Externally induced changes

Changes in the Jamaican Creole grammar that may be attributed to Papiamentu influence were evident in the noun phrase, the verb phrase and in passive constructions. In the noun phrase, attrition was found to be most explicit in marking

genericity and the comparative function, whilst in the verb phrase, Papiamentu influence was evident in the formation of pro-drop and copular constructions, though only pro-drop constructions are discussed here. Deviances in syntax were limited only to passive constructions. These deviances all indicate the incorporation of an L2 rule in the L1 grammar.

Generic constructions

Generic constructions are optionally marked in Papiamentu through plural *nan* accompanying the noun as depicted in (1):

- (1) *Mucha mester skucha nan mayor-nan.*
 child must listen poss parent-PLU
 ‘Children should listen to their parents’

Jamaican Creole nouns are however unmarked for genericity. Five (5) informants adopted the Papiamentu rule by marking genericity with the Jamaican Creole equivalent to *nan*, *dem*. Evidence of this is revealed in (2), a construction identified in the speech of an informant with 3 years exposure to Papiamentu:

- (2) *Chiljren dem afi ier dem pierents*
 children PLU MOD.INF hear 3PL parents
 ‘Children have to listen to their parents’

276 *The comparative and superlative constructions*

The use of *muor* ‘more’ as a comparative marker is optional in Jamaican Creole. Suffixal *-a* is more commonly used for this purpose as recorded by Patrick (2007: 139). Four (4) informants showed an inclination towards the use of *muor* rather than solely *-a*. Further analysis of the data sets revealed that the informants who extensively marked the comparative with *muor* had resided in the L2 country for the longest periods. Interestingly, the informant with the most years of exposure went further by extending the use of *muor* to mark the superlative, an option which is non-existent in Jamaican Creole. An instance of this is depicted in (3).

- (3) *Da chrii ier a i muor big+a wan ina i gyaadn*
 This tree here COP the more big+(g)er one in the garden
 ‘This tree is the largest of all the trees in the yard.’

This construction is typical of Papiamentu for which the equivalent construction would have been as in (4):

- (4) *E palu aki ta esun di mas largu den e kurá*
 DET tree here COP one DET more large in DET yard
 ‘This tree is the largest of all the trees in the yard.’

Implicit here is the notion that the preferential use comparative *muor* has not only resulted from the variation that exists in the Jamaican Creole grammar, but also, and especially from the effects of language attrition through cross-linguistic influence from Papiamentu, a language which obligatorily marks both the comparative and

superlative functions with *mas* ‘more’. This may therefore be a case of a weak and recessive pattern in L1 which is strengthened with exposure to a similar and dominant pattern in L2.

Passive constructions

Papiamentu has a canonical passive construction, where the corresponding agent of the verb in the active sentence may be optionally expressed in a by-phrase and there is some special morphological marking on the verb. Jamaican Creole does not have these features. All informants, however, produced a canonical or canonical-like passive construction with an agent of the verb at all times expressed within a structured by-phrase. Expression of the passive at times entailed a passive auxiliary and morphological marking on the verb as well. The following construction in (5) was produced by an informant with 5 years exposure:

- (5) *Da pikcho ier woz tieken bai di pikni*
 This picture here AUX take+PASS by the child
 ‘This picture was taken by the child’

Components of the Papiamentu passive transferred here are a passive auxiliary, *woz*, morphological marking *-en* on the verb and an expressed agent (*di pikni* ‘the child’) within a by- phrase.

Construction (5) is a replica of the Papiamentu equivalent in example (6) below, where the expressed agent *e mucha hamber* ‘the boy’ corresponds to ‘*di pikni*’, ‘the child’. Also, both verbs contain morphological marking and are accompanied by a passive auxiliary. These features are indicative of a canonical passive.

- (6) *E pòtrèt aki a wordo saká dor di e mucha hòmber*
 DET picture this Asp PassAux taken by of the child male
 ‘This picture was taken by the boy.....’

(Kouwenberg & Murray, 1994: 37)

Pro drop constructions

In the attriting Jamaican Creole grammar of four (4) informants, the verb phrase appeared subjectless in expressing temporal or weather conditions, as is typical of Papiamentu. This stands contrary to the Jamaican Creole requirement that a pleonastic or ‘dummy’ subject be inserted in subject position. One such construction, found in the speech of an informant with 1 year and 3 months exposure to the L2 is demonstrated in (7) below:

- (7) *Kuol outaduor*
 cold out+at+door
 ‘It is cold outside’

In Jamaican Creole, a pleonastic NP, here, expletive *i* ‘it’, is required in subject position as shown in (8):

- (8) *I kuol outaduor*
 it cold out+at+door
 'It is cold outside'

Example (7) is similar to the Papiamentu example in (9), where the verb phrase appears subjectless.

- (9) *Tabata hasi kalor*
 PAST make heat
 'It was hot'

(Kouwenberg & Lefebvre, 2007: 8)

The effects of +pro drop transfer was also evident in existential constructions in the data sets. In Jamaican Creole existential constructions, a pronominal subject *yu* 'you' or *dem* 'they' appears as the subject of the verb *av* 'have'. On the contrary, Papiamentu existential constructions are subjectless, leaving existential *tin* 'have' to appear on its own. This Papiamentu strategy of depicting the existential function was employed by four (4) of the seven (7) informants. This is conveyed in (10) below, an extract from the speech of an informant with 3 yrs exposure:

- (10) *Av nof pikni a kom out a go skuul*
 Have many children PROG come out PROG go school
 'There are many children going to school'

This construction is comparable to the Papiamentu example in (11):

- (11) *Tin hopi hende*
 have many people
 'There are many people'

(Kouwenberg, 1990: 46)

Internally induced changes

Changes occurring in attriting Jamaican Creole grammar that may not be attributed to the influence of an L2 were realized in the prepositional phrase, the use of conjunctions and pronominal subjects. Informants exhibited a tendency of omission throughout.

Prepositions

Prepositions were often excluded from prepositional phrases. This was exemplified where three (3) of the seven (7) informants omitted prepositional *a* meaning 'of' and two (2) again omitted prepositional *a* where it represented 'at' or 'in'. Example (12) below was produced by an informant with 4 years exposure to the L2. PREP is inserted to demonstrate where a preposition would be required in Jamaican Creole:

- (12) *Yu av wan Ø Uol Aaba*
 3sg have one PREP Old Harbour
 'There is one in Old Harbour'

Conjunctions

The omission of conjunctions often resulting in deviant serial verb constructions was identified in the speech of five (5) informants. Conjunctions affected in this way included *an* ‘and’ and *so* ‘so’ as is reflected in (13), an utterance also produced by the informant with 4 years exposure to the L2:

- (13) *Shi fiil se yu op ya Ø shi gaan bak uom Ø laif a go pik op*
3sg feel say 2sg up here [*and*] 3sg gone back home [*so*] life FUT pick up
‘She believes that because you are still here and she has returned home life will pick up’

Empty pronominal subjects

In the data, it was also found that elided subject pronouns in the second of two conjoined clauses need not refer to the subject pronoun in the first conjunct. This is in contrast to the Jamaican Creole grammar, where the syntax requires that the subject of the second conjunct be overt if it is different from that of the first. Although Jamaican Creole is a –pro drop language, six (6) informants produced +pro drop structures. An example of this, shown in (14), is illustrated in the speech of an informant with 1 year and 5 months L2 exposure.

- (14) *...mi_i yuus tu taak di Patwa an dem a laik ahn? An den yuuda...*
1 sg used to talk DET Patwa and 3pl COP like huh And then 2sg+ MOD
‘I used to speak the Patwa and would normally react with “huh?” And then you would...’

ier pro_i put iin i English
hear put in DET English
‘...hear **me** use some English in it’

Discussion and conclusions

The findings are interesting because they permit us to question the accepted notion in the field of language attrition that attrition is geared toward simplification, and on this basis, an attriter will adopt an L2 rule that is less complex (marked) than the corresponding L1 rule (cf. Seliger & Vago, 1991). For the Jamaican Creole-Papiamentu contact situation, the data presented here suggest otherwise. In the majority of deviations found in the data which are based on cross-linguistic influence, the adopted L2 rule required marking for a structure which was unmarked in the L1. Though marked, these L2 rules were incorporated into the L1 attriting grammar. This was evident in the generic, the comparative and the passive constructions, where Papiamentu has a non-compulsory overt marker for genericity, an obligatory marker for the comparative and overt realizations that explicitly mark the passive. Jamaican Creole, on the other hand, has no marking for genericity, the optional use of the comparative marker meaning ‘more’ and for the passive, no morphological marking on the verb, no

passive auxiliary and no expressed agent. Rather than adopting changes geared towards simplification, marked features of the L2 were incorporated within the L1 grammar. All these features intruded from Papiamentu into the attrited Jamaican Creole grammar.

Upon examining the expletive and existential constructions, one realizes that the trend of adopting overt marking typical of the L2 into the L1 is broken. The verb phrase in the attriting grammar appears subjectless as is typical of the L2. This contrasts with the insertion of a pleonastic NP or 'dummy' subject in expletive constructions, or a pronominal subject in existential constructions as dictated by the L1. The conclusion can be made here that though externally induced changes will indeed occur in areas where both grammars in contact differ, attrition may not always be geared towards simplifying the L1; marked features of the L2 may be transferred into the L1, at least in the preliminary stages of first language attrition. Further research may determine if the incorporation of marked features from the L2 into the L1 grammar is temporary or if it, even at this stage, represents the final state of attrition in this context. Further investigation of the attrited speech of informants who have had more years exposure to the L2 might reveal that the adoption of marked features at the early stages may have simply resulted from imperfect acquisition, a possibility which has been proposed by Campbell and Muntzell (1989: 188-189).

In this Creole context, changes that were internally induced present a different scenario. These internal language changes that occurred are all geared toward the simplification of the grammar. As discussed earlier, it has been proposed that in attrition, the grammars of agglutinating and fusional languages become analytic and changes within analytical languages may go unnoticed (Huls & Van de Mond, 1992: 99-115). From the evidence presented here, it may be argued that under the influence of attrition through reduced use of the L1 and reduced input from the L1 environment, simplification for analytic languages such as Creoles may be conveyed through total loss of individual features, that is loss without replacement. All the cases of non cross-linguistic influenced change in the Jamaican Creole grammar included deletion of features – prepositions, conjunctions and pronouns were omitted without a substitute feature.

In sum, I argue then that the simplification of a grammar might not be a determining factor in predicting language attrition in the preliminary stages, where the attrition of that grammar has resulted from cross-linguistic influence. Effects will occur in areas where both languages differ, and these effects may be realized as an incorporation of an L2's marked rule into the grammar of an L1. Where attrition involves simplification not brought about by the influence of an L2, the features of an analytical language that are proven susceptible to language attrition may suffer total loss.

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**UNPACKING HEGEMONIC AND SUBALTERN DISCOURSES ON
EDUCATION IN THE ABC-ISLANDS AND BEYOND**

COMPETENCE-BASED LEARNING AND THE TEACHER TRAINING PROGRAMS AT THE GENERAL FACULTY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CURAÇAO

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Introduction

In 2000, a restructuring process was initiated at the University of the Netherlands Antilles (UNA), the future University of Curaçao, to modernize the institution with respect to content and organization. The primary aim of this process was to improve the quality of education and obtain higher academic output within the various faculties. This new course of action was supported by the ever-increasing acceptance of the European Bachelor/Master structure as elaborated and anchored in the Declaration of Bologna in 1999. The restructuring was accompanied by a new mission and vision for the UNA, with the main goal of making UNA an important stakeholder in developing the local Caribbean society. This objective also formed the background for the foundation of the General Faculty of the university in 2001. Some years later, in 2005, the focus of the General Faculty was further formalized in a policy document, or *Contourenplan*, with a strong focus on Language Education and Culture as the main fields of study.

In order to comply with the great demand for qualified teachers of Papiamentu in the secondary educational system, the General Faculty began its first teacher training program for lower secondary school teachers of Papiamentu. When this teacher training program was in its final stage, the faculty also started with Bachelor level teacher training programs in English, Dutch, and later Spanish.

Learning by competences

By choosing to coordinate the curricula of these Bachelor training programs with teacher training programs of higher education as offered in the Netherlands, the faculty also adopted the model of competence-based learning as developed and conceptualized in 2004 by the Dutch foundation SBL, *Stichting Beroepskwaliteit Leraren en ander onderwijzend personeel*. This resulted in a document that was published in 2008 by a consortium of Dutch institutes of higher education, known as ADEF (*Algemeen Directeurenoverleg Educatieve Faculteiten*).

This document formalised 7 competences, with their specific behavioral indicators, which categorize the professional contexts and the professional roles for teachers in teacher training programs in the Dutch higher education system. These 7 competences are: 1) Interpersonal competence; 2) Pedagogical competence; 3) Subject knowledge and methodological competence; 4) Organizational competence; 5) Competence in collaborating with colleagues; 6) Competence in collaborating with the working environment; and 7) Competence in reflection and development.

Within the system of learning by competences, the idea is to integrate knowledge, skills and behavior (attitudes) in complex professional situations. The purpose of competence focused education is to train students to use their own skills and professional attitudes in an integral manner in relevant complex professional situations. Competences are demonstrated in perceptible ways while students are acting in the real professional world.

Students are increasingly made aware of the fact that they themselves are responsible for their own results, that they are the ones in the driver's seat. The students are encouraged to develop their study skills. To reach this goal, students' reflection on their own performance in the professional situation is an important instrument. Through these and other reflections, it is possible to define to what extent competences are achieved or how competences will be demonstrated, and to determine if the student has really acquired the necessary competences to become a good teacher.

Throughout their studies, the students create a portfolio, a working document where, with the guidance of a mentor, students record their achievements in attaining the 7 competences. Initially, the portfolio is considered a development portfolio (*ontwikkelingsportfolio*) but it eventually becomes, in the final stage of study, an 'end portfolio' or 'judgement portfolio' (*eind-, of beoordelingsportfolio*). As part of the final exam, the personal growth of the student, who is in a never ending process of permanent learning, is measured and examined by trained and certified assessors, who use the personal portfolio of the student as an instrument during this final assessment.

A detailed inventory of the teacher training programs of the General Faculty

The results of the introduction of the learning by competences approach can be assessed in part by making an inventory and a comparison of the teaching programs that emerged from the process. Adopting the European curricula without any significant adaptations was not feasible. Therefore, the content of the programs were adapted to meet the requirements of education in the local context. Since 2007, this has resulted in new competency-based curricula for the Bachelor teaching training programs in secondary education in Papiamentu, English, Dutch, and Spanish; a similar for the Bachelor teacher training program in primary education (*Lerarenopleiding Funderend Onderwijs, LOFO*), which started in 2006 in Curaçao and in 2007

in Bonaire; and for the four Master teaching training programs in Papiamentu, English, Dutch and Spanish, which started in 2009.

The Bachelor programs were structured following 4 educational components or 'lines': the knowledge and skills component (*de conceptuele en vaardighedenleerlijn*), the traineeship component (*de werkervarings- en reflectieleerlijn*, *WER-lijn*), the projects component (*de Integrale leerlijn*, *I-lijn*) and the mentoring and professional coaching component (*de studieloopbaanbegeleidingsleerlijn*, *SLB-lijn*). Through this last component, the aspect of learning by competences was elaborated upon and interwoven with the other three above mentioned components (2010, 2011).

The curricula of the local Masters teacher training programs in Papiamentu, English, Dutch and Spanish, for teachers at the highest levels of secondary education, were developed, after an in depth study of the different curricula offered by higher professional education programs (HBO-master language programs) in the Netherlands, and after some fine-tuning with professionals from Puerto Rico. These Masters programs were almost completely locally developed. In the cases where existing European materials are utilized, these materials are revised to reflect local realities. As far as these Masters programs are concerned, the 7 competences are given priority alongside training related to professional roles and professional context.

In the Bachelor teacher training program for teachers at the elementary level (Foundation Based Education) the primary objective of the learning by competences approach is that students make a connection between their learning experiences in the above mentioned 4 components and their development of competences. In addition, students must be able to synthesize different learning experiences into one complete complex experience, while they develop new objectives and future plans for their careers as students.

In the primary teacher training program a special instrument or tool for reflection called the *Bardo Competentiekit* is used to elaborate on the 7 SBL competences in connection with concrete skills and abilities or indicators of behavior. This instrument was developed by SBL and Bardo Competent bv (2004), following the requirements set by Dutch Legislation and Law. Using this tool as starting point, each of the 7 competences has been divided into 3 sub-competences. This gives 21 sub-competences, with 20 indicators each, yielding a total of 420 indicators or skills requirements.

The team of UNA instructors who prepare students to become primary school teachers studies these 420 indicators very closely, while relating these indicators to the daily realities of primary education in Curaçao and Bonaire. The team of teachers then decide which indicators are to be focused on in each phase of the students' program of study, including a propedeutical assessment (*opleidingsbekwaam*), an assessment of performance in the classroom (*werkplekbekwaam*), a final assessment (*startbekwaam*),

followed by a period of self-assessment after actually being placed in a primary classroom (*doorgroeifase/beginnend leraarschap*) (ZER, 2011; LOFO, Aftekenboek, 2011).

In the Bachelor level teacher training programs for languages, the main competency based objective is similar to that for the primary school teachers outlined above, in that students must be able to integrate their learning experiences and development of competences with the four above mentioned components and to formulate new objectives and future plans as part of a Personal Action Plan (PAP) and a Personal Development Plan (PDP). These Personal Action Plans and Personal Development Plans are used as tools : 1) to assume responsibility for one's own learning process; 2) to reflect on that process in an ongoing way; 3) to gain self knowledge in terms of purposes, capacities, qualities, values, ambitions and inspiration; 4) to gain knowledge in one's subject matter and professional area; 5) to gain knowledge concerning the development of competences; 6) to accomplish one's plan of study, with the assistance of a mentor; 7) to assess and document results of the PAP and PDP; 8) to discover the meaning of one's PDP in relation to one's career; and 9) to formulate future plans and commitments.

Those in charge of mentoring these students use the Dublin Descriptors as agreed in Bologna in 1999 as important guidelines in their efforts: 1) to bridge the gap between the secondary level and the tertiary level education; 2) to give feedback to students at an early stage regarding their choice to become teachers; 3) to support students while improving their study skills; 4) to guide students while developing their professional skills and professional attitudes; 5) to guide students to gain sufficient knowledge to start their careers, using the 7 aforementioned competences; and 6) to guide student in creating and maintaining their portfolios

Emphasis is placed on motivating students to continue and to finish their program of study successfully. Modules are offered on skills, planning, time management, studying actively and effectively, receiving and giving feedback, managing conflicts, learning styles, cooperating, personal qualities, and solving problems. In these training programs, the '*Bardo Competentiekit*' plays a less prominent role than in primary school teacher training. In the Bachelor training programs, an effort is made to shift from a strongly teacher focused approach at the beginning to a strongly student focused approach at the end of the program of study.

Competence based learning also plays an important role in the professional Masters teacher training programs in Papiamentu, Dutch, English, and Spanish. After deliberating with their guide or mentor Masters students determine in which of the 7 competences they have the most need of improvement. This process is related to the 5

roles of the teacher: 1) as an expert in a subject area; 2) as an expert in didactics; 3) as a professional in the workplace; 4) as an innovator and educational designer; and 5) as an educational researcher. In the four teacher training programs for the professional Masters apart from the 7 competences, these 5 professional roles are key. In their more student directed program, Masters students work more independently on their competences, while focusing on their own progress as Masters students. Compared to Bachelors students, Masters students spend fewer hours with a mentor.

Recommendations for further research

Three recommended areas for further research are: 1) studying how competence based learning at the tertiary level is or is not matched by a competence based approach at the secondary and primary levels; 2) comparing the competency based programs of the General Faculty at UNA with teacher training programs in other Caribbean small islands states; and 3) determining whether competency based approaches are meeting the goals they were designed to achieve at UNA. The approach of learning by competences has come under heavy criticism lately for putting too much emphasis on general competences and ignoring mastery of subject matter content (*Kennisbasis*) (Onderwijsraad, 2002). To get a balanced picture of the benefits of the competence based approach in comparison with more traditional approaches it will be necessary to do research in many areas, including levels of satisfaction (*tevredenheidsonderzoek*) on the part of stakeholders. It is therefore clear that a lot more research has to be done. This research will help the General Faculty to determine what will be the best next step in developing new teacher training programs, and will help to determine if the teacher training programs which are already implemented need some adjustments or adaptations.

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THE LINK BETWEEN INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL QUALITY ASSURANCE IN HIGHER EDUCATION INSTITUTIONS: COMPLIANCE OR TRANSFORMATION?

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Introduction

In the literature, approaches to quality in education are predominantly about establishing quality monitoring rules and procedures. These rules and procedures are set at different levels and directed to assure the attainment of the desired quality outcomes. Systems of 'quality assurance' are established in order to guarantee the required quality level. Harvey (1999) contends that quality assurance is about checking the quality of a process or outcomes and that there are internal and external systems containing rules and procedures for quality assurance in order to do this. At the international level, in order to compete for students, most higher education institutions have been obliged to comply with internationally set quality standards. To gain this international recognition they introduce various internal quality monitoring tools and implement a system of internal quality assurance. This article focuses on the distinction and link between internal and external quality assurance.

First, the concept of quality assurance is introduced. Then, the two main aspects of quality assurance, internal and external, are discussed to demonstrate their differences and commonalities. Consequently, the link between these two concepts is highlighted. This is followed by an elaboration on accreditation as a widely used instrument for external quality assurance and its effect on the system of internal quality assurance. Finally, the process followed to reach accreditation and therefore to comply with external quality mandates in two universities located in the Dutch-speaking Caribbean is briefly presented to illustrate the practical effect of guidelines and directives from external quality review agencies on their internal quality assurance policies and systems. This will indicate whether these universities are acting just to comply with external quality demands or if they are transforming the quality of their programs to the higher levels.

The concept of ‘quality assurance’

Harvey and Green (1993) introduced the concept of ‘quality assurance’ in order to monitor the quality of services delivered. “Quality assurance is ensuring that there are mechanisms, procedures and processes in place to ensure that the desired quality, however defined and measured, is delivered” (p. 22). These scholars further indicated that quality assurance is a systematic approach to doing the right things right in the right way. It is about providing the guarantee that there are systems in place so that at any time the organization can deliver the desired product or service to meet customer’s requirements. They also pointed out that the purposes of quality assurance are: compliance, control, accountability and improvement. Quality is the conceptual tool through which these purposes are addressed via the mechanisms captured in a quality assurance methodology. Parri (2006) stated that quality assurance in higher education aims to guarantee the improvement of standards and to meet the demands of students, government, employers and other funding agencies. Harvey and Newton (2004) asserted that quality assurance involves a variety of monitoring procedures mostly aiming to reach various objectives: accountability, improvement and information. They affirmed that there is growing pressure on higher education institutions to be more responsive to a range of stakeholders¹ (accountability) and to continually improve to meet changing needs (improvement).

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Generating viable information is necessary for meeting both of these objectives. Information gathered can be used for external funders, mainly governments, to prove that public money is spent appropriately. Higher education institutions are increasingly made more responsible for decisions taken and investments made. Information also aids funding allocation decisions. This all links information to accountability. Accountability is also directed to students as customers to ensure that an appropriate education experience is provided.

Harvey and Newton (2004) further stated that the improvement function of quality monitoring mechanisms and procedures is to encourage institutions to reflect upon their practices and to further develop what they do. These institutions are expected to go through the cycle of continuous quality improvement to guarantee the desired quality level of their offered programs with a view to enhancing the quality of provision. A considerable amount of information and data about stakeholder views needs to be generated to provide feedback for quality improvement purposes. To be effective in quality improvement, data collected from surveys and peer reviews must be transformed into information that can be used within an institution to effect change. Furthermore, this information must be linked into a process of feedback and action. In short, there must be a means to close the loop between data collection and effective

¹ There are a variety of stakeholders in higher education, including governments, external funding agencies, teaching and non-teaching staff, students, alumni and the employment sector related to the specific programs. However, stakeholder’s views on the purposes of higher education may vary.

action, followed by adjusted planning. This approach to quality assurance is known as the Plan, Do, Check and Act (PDCA-) cycle, advocated by Dr. W. Edward Deming in the industrial sector and later adopted in all other sectors.

Internal quality assurance

Internal quality assurance involves the evaluation, assessment and improvement of quality conducted by the institution itself. According to Meade (2000) development and improvement are the main goals of the systems of internal quality assurance. In these systems all institutional and program activities are incorporated in order to ensure the development of academic activities and to ensure quality. The main activity is the collection of data and information about mission fulfillment, efficiency of resources, and evaluation of the provision of quality. The PDCA-cycle is used as the main guided vehicle during this internal process of quality assurance, as observed by Dahlgaard et al. (2000), Dill (2000), Dew & Nearing (2004), Douma (2009), Harvey & Newton (2004) and Redmond et al. (2008). These scholars indicated that as a means for internal quality assurance, the continuous quality improvement cycle starts with good planning (P), followed by implementation of these plans (D). After the doing phase, the results must be checked against the original plans while trying to understand the causes of the results and thus learn from the results (C). After analyzing and understanding, actions need to be taken in order to improve the process (A). Suggestions from the A-phase provide the input for a new P-phase, enabling the whole cycle to be repeated again and again. Hence, through a process of continuous planning, implementing, evaluating, analyzing, and eventually revising plans and restarting the cycle, quality improvement becomes an integral part of the operational process within an organization. Continuous quality improvement therefore requires a dynamic, open, self-examining, interactive system. The Plan, Do and Check-phases follow a top-down leadership model, but actual involvement of employees and students is critical if a higher education institution aims to adapt its quality plans or launch new quality objectives.

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A wide variety of instruments are employed as part of an internal quality assurance system, including surveys of students² and recent graduates, internal peer review of teaching, internal audits and analysis of experiences of employers of graduates. According to several scholars, such as Dew & Nearing (2004), Harvey (1999) and Kristensen (2010) this requires that the institution has in place systems for:

- identifying responsibility for action;
- encouraging ownership of plans of action;
- accountability for action taken or not taken;
- feedback to generators of the data;

² These surveys are mostly directed to the content of the programs, teaching staff, testing and examination.

- good analysis and interpretation of collected data;
- committing appropriate resources;
- creating feedback loops of the results to all concerned; and
- modification of the quality policy based on the acquired results and feedback.

These researchers acknowledged that establishing these systems is not an easy task, which is why so much institutional data generated by surveys or peer reviews is not used to effect change, irrespective of the good intentions of those who initiate the enquiries. This involves encouraging a bottom-up quality improvement process alongside a top-down accountability requirement.

External quality assurance

As Bogue (1998), Douma (2009), Harvey & Green (1993) and Parri (2006) have articulated, external quality assurance is an all-encompassing term that covers a variety of quality-related evaluations undertaken by agencies or individuals external to higher education institutions. 'External' in this regard refers to the fact that those involved are not part of the internal organization of the higher education institution under review. External quality assurance means that external experts furnish a judgment about the quality delivered in teaching and/or research. This is usually done using pre-set quality standards and following standardized procedures. In general, it includes external assessment of the quality at the level of institution, program or subject area directed to ensure that the institution has clearly defined internal quality monitoring processes and systems that guarantee effective and efficient learning results. This highlights the close relationship between internal and external quality assurance.

The development of external quality monitoring systems is considered as a result of changes in the environment of higher education. In the literature reviewed a variety of reasons are mentioned to explain the onset of external quality assurance, ranging from the emerging focus on accountability to continuous attention to improvement. Harvey (1999) indicates that the introduction of external quality monitoring, despite the added workload of self-evaluations and peer reviews, has been a useful exercise in focusing attention on quality issues, including what institutions are for, how they operate and how they could do things better and in a more responsive way. At the national level, changed market forces and increased government directives to ensure that invested funds are well used in quality programs can be identified as factors that have given rise to external quality assurance. Legal modifications, increased demands to provide accountability to stakeholders and demands on quality improvements are other national developments that have led to enhanced use of external quality systems.

Local governments have also introduced and mandated external quality review to send signals to the community and the rest of the world that the quality of the higher

education system is assured through external audit of the quality assurance processes of the institutions providing teaching and learning at tertiary level (Carmichael et al., 2001). It can be said that national authorities in charge of external quality monitoring aim to promote conformity (education, legal and/or financial standards) yet stimulating diversity (improvement, institutional development) as well. In addition, changes in the international environment as a result of globalization, internationalization, policy diffusion, emerging competition and accreditation have led to systematic implementation of external quality assurance systems.

Higher education institutions deal with internal and external driven motives for external quality assurance (Billing, 2004). Improving teaching and learning is one of the internal drivers for implementing an internal system of quality assurance and allowing external quality review. Informing all stakeholders on quality, compliance with performance indicators and legal demands at national level, securing funding resources, achieving a more competitive position on international ranking lists and attainment of the accreditation status are internally driven purposes for external quality assurance. However, external quality assurance systems are usually directed to achieve accountability and to prove to the public that the quality level provided is on an internationally competitive level. In general, it is the national government that determines the system of external quality assurance for local higher education institutions. These institutions are responsible for demonstrating to their wide range of stakeholders (i.e. government, students and employers) that they are committed to the fulfillment of their mission (effectiveness), that they use granted resources efficiently (efficiency), that they meet the legal expectations (legitimizing) and that they comply with pre-defined externally set quality standards (compliance).

Scholars such as Billing (2004), Harvey (2004), Lomas (2004) and Van Damme (2000) have noted that there are (inter)national commonalities and variations in external quality assurance models. The system and focus of external quality assurance can be quite diverse. For instance, depending on national policies, higher education institutions external quality review can take place based on voluntary or compulsory participation; the national Act on Higher Education determines the status and form of external quality assurance. The focus of the results can be encouraging development (formative: emphasizing recommendations for improvement) or passing judgment (summative: pass or fail). Over the years there has been an evolution of external quality assurance, moving towards a system that is legally embedded by the national government, externally driven, and making use of internationally recognized external quality agencies³ with a focus on institutional and/or program quality, resulting in public reports based on summative judgments. But in many cases both the internal and external functions of quality assurance (improvement and accountability) are served.

³ Even if these external organizations operate at national level, they mostly form part of international networks in order to guarantee worldwide recognition and acceptance.

These differences aside, many researchers have pointed out that there is an emerging uniformity in the methodology of external quality assurance in the higher education sector (Billing, 2004; Douma, 2009; Harvey, 1999; Jeliaskova & Westerheijden, 2002; Van Vught & Westerheijden, 1994; Watson & Madison, 2005). The key steps to this methodology are explained in Table 1.

Table 1 External review process

External review steps	
Self-evaluation⁴	The process of self-evaluation is one of the most prominent tools used by higher education institutions to ensure that the institution focuses its attention on quality issues on a regular basis. Classically, an institution first needs to produce a <i>self-evaluation (self-study) report</i> . This is mostly done based on a framework provided by the external monitoring organization. This report includes qualitative as well as quantitative (statistical) data. This self-evaluation report is usually focused on the provision of institutional and/or program information as a basis for external evaluation through site visits. During the self-evaluation process the institution needs to be critically self-reflective on the achieved goals in relation to the original objectives.
External peer review	The external peer review takes place after submission of the self-study report. This report is scrutinized by the external organization, followed by a <u>site-visit</u> to the institution, done by respected peers. During this visit, lasting usually between one to four days, the reviewers attempt to relate the self-assessment document to what they actually see or hear. Usually the peer-review panel has reviewed other appropriate documents in advance of the visit and/or has access to other material during the visit. The reviewers may observe facilities or even, in some cases, the teaching and learning process. Site visits are usually used to validate the self-evaluation and ensure that the prescribed norms and standards are met.
External Evaluation Report	The peers produce an <i>external evaluation report</i> focussing on improvement and/or accreditation. Depending on the focus of the external review and the legal environment the report can be made confidential or accessible to the wider public. In cases where the peer review is a requirement for accreditation the focus of the self-evaluation report is primarily directed to respond to the self-evaluation framework of the accreditation body instead of being directed at self-critical reflection with the goal of quality improvement. In other words, a discrepancy emerges between compliance and serious reflection.

⁴ Generally, in literature the terms self-evaluation, self-review, self-study and self-assessment are used as synonyms.

Carmicheal et al. (2001), Martin & Stella (2007) and Parri (2006) and others have specified that the external peer review concentrates on:

- The alignment between institutional contexts, strategic goals and missions and quality assurance systems and improvement plans;
- The mechanisms employed to review courses and academic organizational units
- The systems used to monitor performance against institutional plans;
- The effectiveness of the implementation of improvement plans; and
- The extent and mode of communication with stakeholders (internal and external).

Previously, the self-evaluation process was mainly considered as purely part of the external review process and was not really internally embedded (Watson & Madison, 2005). More recently, the process of self-evaluation, followed by the peer-review visit is designed to enable a process of self-reflection by the institution. The involved parties are mostly obliged to reflect on what, why and how they are doing things the way they are doing them. Harvey (1999) asserts and Lomas (2004) affirms that the establishment of internal rules and procedures and the development of a culture of continuous improvement contribute to the implementation of quality systems which help long-term effectiveness as requested by external quality agencies. Self-evaluation concludes the internal quality process while opening the external one.

Accreditation as a widely used instrument for external quality assurance

On a worldwide basis countries have introduced legal provisions emphasizing ‘accreditation’. As a consequence, most institutions for higher education are going through quality improvement processes in order to meet pre-defined accreditation standards. These external quality standards and principles are in many cases part of national policy on higher education, which in its turn is highly influenced by international developments, such as the evolution of the global knowledge economy and its impact on schooling and employment. In general, accreditation is the establishment or restatement of the status, legitimacy or appropriateness of an institution, program or subject area. Accreditation has been described as a public statement that a certain minimum level of quality has been achieved or surpassed. Accreditation in the United States is distinguished by the fact that it is a nongovernmental form of quality assurance whereas in Europe it is a governmental instrument, mostly related to funding and accountability.

The purpose of accreditation may vary, and includes evaluation, improvement, funding, state control, and the legal right to award degrees and diplomas. Billing (2004: 118) defines accreditation as “legitimation of institutions and programmes to award degrees and diplomas”. Westerheijden (2001: 68) states that “Accreditation has as distinguishing characteristic in comparison with other quality assurance methods, the public statement that a certain threshold of quality is passed”. He further

characterizes accreditation as "... an evaluation based on agreed standards, resulting in a formal, public recognition of an institution or a programme". In other literature reviewed (Bogue, 1998; Parri, 2006; Harvey, 2004; Kristensen, 2010; Marin & Stella, 2007; Watson & Madison, 2005) accreditation is considered as strongly connected with compliance to pre-defined standards as it is seen to be an objective, external instrument to measure quality. In many countries, i.e. Europe, minimum standards are applied to ensure that no institution of higher education should go below a certain level of quality. On the one hand, introducing set standards does not really fit a rapidly changing world, yet on the other hand standards can be considered as a trigger for quality improvement within an institution. Minimum standards also allow comparability of results in higher education.

Accreditation can be at institutional or program level. Harvey (2004: 208) defines accreditation of an institution as "... an evaluation of whether the institution meets specified minimum (input) standards such as staff qualifications, research activities, student intake and learning resources. It might also be based on an estimation of the potential for the institution to produce graduates that meet explicit or implicit academic standards or professional competence". Westerheijden (2001: 68) states that "Institutional accreditation is intended to guarantee that the establishment is a 'serious' higher education provider that has effective quality assurance mechanisms for its programmes". Institutional accreditation is also designed to ensure that institutions of dubious merit do not become established as bona fide higher education institutions. With the attainment of accreditation an institution for higher education gains the license to operate.

Programs may be accredited for their academic standing or they may go through a 'professional accreditation' (Bogue, 1998; Harvey, 2004; Westerheijden, 2001). In this case a professional organization evaluates if the preparation of the graduates is suitable for entering a specific profession on the labor market. Attaining accreditation status implies that the preparation the students receive meets or exceeds the pre-defined set of standards appropriate for professional employability.

After going through the process of external peer review, oftentimes the report leads to granting or refusing an internationally recognized mark signifying the achieved quality. Harvey (2004) argues that the primary value of accreditation is to be found in the process itself, not in the formal results of the process, i.e. the decision as to whether a program is accredited or not. In most cases, getting accredited is a binary condition: either a program or an institution is accredited, or it is not. "However, the absolute of this binary state is blurred or softened by a "holding" decision that permits, in effect, progression to accreditation. Harvey (2004: 209) comments that "This ranges from accreditation subject to further action, through probationary accreditation to permission to reapply for accreditation." Holding the accreditation

mark of an internationally recognized organization is a proof of quality assurance and improvement at institutional and/or program level. Billing (2004), Douma (2009), Harvey (2004) and Redmond et al. (2008) state that the practice of continuous improvement implemented according to the PDCA-cycle as part of the internal quality assurance system usually contributes to enhancing the chances of attaining and maintaining an accredited status.

Governments usually base policy on accreditation outcomes. Completion of the accreditation process with a positive result is linked to different benefits, depending on the legal framework of the country where the institution under review is located. In most cases government funding is attached to holding an accredited status. Another common positive consequence is the legal empowerment of the institution to grant titles and diplomas (Van Bruggen, Scheele, & Westerheijden, 1998). There are also sanctions due to negative external evaluation reports, including among others loss of governmental funding. In an increasingly tight financial environment, government agencies are looking for justification to close programs or institutions, so that a unsatisfactory accreditation result often results in losing state funding, and in some instances closure of the institution or program (Billing, 2004).

Link between internal and external quality assurance

Internal and external quality assurance systems are integrated, interconnected and complementary to one another. An essential feature of evaluation for continuous quality improvement in the perspective of internal quality assurance systems is the incorporation of peer review with input from external stakeholders and visiting international experts, mostly connected to an (inter)national quality review organization. This approach is oftentimes accompanied by performance indicators reflecting the views of external stakeholders to monitor outcomes and informed policies and strategies geared towards improvement and/or accountability obligations (Meade, 2000). During the internal quality process standards and procedures laid out by the external quality agency are the guiding thread. Incorporating these external sets of standards and procedures during the internal activities directed to quality assurance and improvement facilitate the external review process. Hence, there is an overlap between internal and external quality assurance systems. This overlap consists of different features shared by both systems, including the focus, the actors involved, the standards and procedures used and the self-evaluation report. As indicated above, several researchers have reflected on the two most prominent functions of both quality assurance systems: improvement and accountability. Improvement, mostly the focus of the internal quality process, is directed to enhancing the quality of the teaching and learning content and process. Higher education institutions are usually more interested in this quality assurance function. However, external stakeholders, such as the government, are interested in the accountability of the system in order to receive

evidence for the granting of funding. In general, the expectations are that higher education institutions comply with both the improvement and the accountability functions of the systems of quality assurance.

Implementing internal quality assurance systems in order to comply with external quality assurance standards

Dill (2000) asserts that structures and processes for quality assurance within universities are often implemented as a means of bringing academic behavior into conformity with stated academic standards and goals. Universities oftentimes adopt an internal quality review process which mirrors the external process (to be) conducted by the accreditation organization and which is clearly designed to assure that each quality standard scores well on the assessment. While such a process may lead in fact to organizational learning and improvement in outcomes, there is a danger that a focus on conforming to external assessments may encourage a ‘culture of compliance’ in which the production of high quality documents, policies and procedures substitutes for the development and dissemination of new knowledge designed to improve the core processes of teaching and learning. Transformation as an important form of quality improvement is not the prime focus, but is dependent on the space granted to it by the external quality agency besides compliance with the pre-defined quality standards. In this regard, Kristensen (2010) and Parri (2006) emphasize that management of the accreditation process is essential for guiding the quality processes from compliance to transformation.

After the evaluation report is available and published, internal and external consequences are attached to the results of the external quality review. Internal regulations leading to the development of improvement plans are not uncommon, emphasizing the interrelatedness between internal and external quality assurance. Improvement is a spin-off from accreditation processes, which some agencies emphasize more than others. Nonetheless, improvement plans resulting from the external review reports are generally confidential, if disclosure is not mandated by the government or the accreditation agency. Also monitoring of the realization of improvements based on external review is uncommon. Only in cases where the accreditation agency links the attainment of an accreditation mark to the implementation of certain improvements does such monitoring take place. More often, institutions or programs that have gone through the accreditation process and attained a positive result including some improvement suggestions will lie back for a while instead of moving on with developing and implementing plans for improvement (Martin & Stella, 2007). In other words, they relax with compliance, instead of moving on to continuous transformation.

Universities in the Dutch-speaking Caribbean dealing with quality assurance

The University of the Netherlands Antilles (UNA) and the University of Aruba (UA) started their process of implementing a system of internal quality assurance primarily to reach accreditation goals. Their motives to embark in a process to improve the provision of quality educational programs were embedded in external quality mandates and by and large not internally driven. As such, at the beginning of their accreditation process the framework of the external quality agency was the leading thread (NVAO, 2003; Ibid, 2010). Initiatives to improve the quality of teaching and learning were all closely related to the standards and directives of the Dutch-Flemish Accreditation Organization (NVAO) as their accreditation agency. During the past decade different steps were taken to address potential constraints on their efforts to reach accreditation status. UNA has gone through many accreditation processes and most of its programs are now accredited. Obviously, this has led to feelings of satisfaction at institutional, departmental and program level. Nonetheless, the university realized that the focus of its internal quality assurance process was mainly on compliance with the external mandates of NVAO. This has undoubtedly led to some transformation in the education process, yet UNA recognizes that the process of moving from compliance to fundamental transformation to higher quality levels is required. As a consequence a Department for Quality and Control is in the process of being established in order to ensure and secure the continuous implementation of the PDCA-cycle at all levels (UNA, 2011). It is hoped that this will result in further embedding of the internal quality assurance policy and systems in its daily working operations.

At UA the programs are now preparing for the external peer review. Currently, at all levels within the university activities are being carried out in order to prepare for the self-evaluation process and the writing of the self-study report. Some policy and improvement plans still need to be laid out and implemented in order to meet the accreditation demands. Also at this university it is quite clear that the focus is on compliance, rather than on transformation. Most likely this impulse to comply with the NVAO standards will lead to improvement and even some transformation of the quality provided, yet the main aim is still to gain accreditation status.

Concluding remarks

This article demonstrates that a well-functioning system of internal quality assurance is a prerequisite for most systems of external quality assurance. Without having the internal system in place it is often not possible for a higher education institution to be in compliance with the demands attached to the external quality system. These institutions as providers of quality education at tertiary level are expected to have an internal quality assurance system in place and be subject to external quality assurance by independent quality agencies which themselves should be subject to independent

assessment. Providing evidence of performance and responding to accountability demands by the external stakeholders, together with plans and decisions on continuous quality improvement are important governing and design ideals of quality assurance. Designing well-crafted quality assurance systems that embrace these basic objectives, ensuring that the internal and external systems are integrated and complementary in function, and taking steps to develop faculty and staff ownership of and commitment to these systems are leadership challenges of the first order. Consequently, many higher education institutions consider their continuous endeavor to provide education at an internationally acceptable and recognizable quality level as a daunting and complex challenge.

Accreditation can be considered as an important instrument for external quality assurance that in general has had a mainly positive impact on the improvement of higher education. Despite frequent and critical assault on the use of accreditation as a legitimate tool of external quality assurance, it still remains an important and constructive form of external quality assurance in many higher education institutions. But some of these institutions perceive the accreditation process as an infringement on their autonomy. Opponents of accreditation argue that the process of accreditation is counterproductive and actually promotes standardization at the expense of creativity, experimentation and innovation. Higher education institutions on the one hand need to provide accountability of their performance to stakeholders while on the other hand they need to satisfy the requirements of an external quality review. These two goals in themselves do not have to be at odds, yet where these two goals diverge, institutions face major challenges in complying with both. Compliance with external quality standards while implementing innovation strategies for transformation from the current status quo to a higher level is a battle still to be won by most higher education institutions, including those located in the Dutch-speaking Caribbean.

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GECERTIFICEERD LERARENOPLEIDER, EEN ONVERMIJDELIJKE NOODZAAK

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Inleiding

We leven in een tijdperk van 'kwaliteit'. Op alle denkbare terreinen van de samenleving wordt heden ten dage 'kwaliteit' gevraagd en geboden. Deze 'kwaliteit' wordt getoetst door daarvoor in het leven geroepen visitatie- en accreditatie-instellingen. Bij gebleken 'kwaliteit' wordt een keurmerk verstrekt; een keurmerk met een beperkte geldigheidsduur. Dat maakt dat er na enige tijd weer getoetst zal worden en dat het keurmerk opnieuw (of niet) verstrekt kan worden. Zo draait de 'cirkel van kwaliteit'. Voor het hoger onderwijs is, in vele landen ter wereld, het bovengeschetste tijdperk al langer of nog maar kort geleden aangebroken.

Het hoger onderwijs op Curaçao, aangeboden aan de Universiteit van de Nederlandse Antillen (UNA), de toekomstige University of Curaçao, is omstreeks 2002 tot dit tijdperk toegetreden. In de daaropvolgende jaren is het overgrote deel van de opleidingen van de UNA erin geslaagd om positieve beoordelingen van de accreditatieorganisatie Nederlands Vlaamse Accreditatie Organisatie (NVAO) te verwerven (www.nvao.net).

Dat is een prestatie om trots op te zijn, maar ... *noblesse oblige*. De UNA is het aan haar stand verplicht om de 'cirkel van kwaliteit' in beweging te houden, om de certificering van de opleidingen te behouden en de kwaliteit van het instituut te brengen naar *'the next level'*, zoals de ambitie luidt in het nieuwe kwaliteitsbeleid over de periode 2011-2015 (UNA, Consolideren en Verbeteren, 2011).

In deze bijdrage is de focus gericht op de kwaliteit van de lerarenopleider als essentieel onderdeel van de kwaliteit van een lerarenopleiding. Aangevoerd zal worden dat de kwaliteit van een lerarenopleiding, die niet beschikt over gecertificeerde lerarenopleiders die zijn opgenomen in een beroepsregister, niet langer betrouwbaar is. En dat daardoor het verwerven van een accreditatie niet haalbaar zal zijn.

Intermezzo

Een lerarenopleider kan bij zichzelf nagaan, hoe hij lerarenopleider is geworden. Of hij daar via een daartoe bestemde opleiding voor opgeleid is. Of hij een studie in het hoger onderwijs gedaan heeft, die aangevuld werd met een cursus voor pedagogisch-didactische bekwaamheid en of hij vervolgens is gaan werken op een lerarenopleiding. Of hij een aantal jaren ervaring opgedaan heeft als leraar, eer hij als lerarenopleider aan de slag ging. Allemaal varianten om lerarenopleider te worden (Swennen, 2012).

Lerarenopleider in Nederland en op Curaçao

In Nederland wordt men lerarenopleider door zich bij een lerarenopleiding aan te melden met een eerstegraads bevoegdheid tot het geven van onderwijs in een bepaald vak. Als men succesvol door de sollicitatieprocedure heenkomt, wordt men aangesteld als leraar aan de lerarenopleiding en is dan lerarenopleider. Er is in Nederland geen specifieke opleiding voor lerarenopleider. Voor Curaçao geldt hetzelfde, hetgeen niet verwonderlijk is, gelet op de historische banden tussen Curaçao en Nederland die, onder andere, in het onderwijs tot op de dag van vandaag duidelijk zichtbaar zijn. De onderwijsstructuren in de beide landen van het Koninkrijk zijn identiek; veel aanpassingen binnen het Curaçaose onderwijs komen overwaaien vanuit Nederland. Op Curaçao is de Algemene Faculteit van de UNA, vooralsnog de enige faculteit met opleidingen tot tweede- en eerstegraads leraar Papiamentu, Engels, Nederlands of Spaans; leraar Funderend Onderwijs. Het is ook mogelijk om, onder voorwaarden, bij deze faculteit een leertraject in te gaan voor het behalen van een Pedagogisch Getuigschrift. Op Curaçao zijn er ook andere (particuliere) instituten die deze mogelijkheid bieden.

Aandacht voor de kwaliteit van de lerarenopleider

Onder andere als gevolg van aanzwellende kritiek uit de samenleving op het onderwijs in al haar geledingen, van basisschool tot universiteit, ontstond in Nederland, in de laatste decennia van de vorige eeuw, de noodzaak en de behoefte om het Nederlandse onderwijs onder de loep te nemen en aan kritische toetsingen te onderwerpen. Vanuit het Ministerie van Onderwijs in Nederland kwamen opdrachten naar de universiteiten om onderwijskundig onderzoek uit te voeren teneinde vast te stellen wat de staat van het onderwijs is en tevens aan te geven waar precies de schoen wringt. Het doel daarvan was om te komen met aanbevelingen voor verbeteringen. Inspecties van onderwijs kregen opdracht de scholen nauwkeurig aan inspectie te onderwerpen om na te gaan welke scholen goed, minder goed of onvoldoende presteren. Grootschalige projecten werden opgezet om ervoor te zorgen dat er onderwijsverbetering tot stand kwam. Veel geld werd geïnvesteerd in schoolverbetering. Vergelijkbare processen deden en doen zich voor op Curaçao.

Niettegenstaande al deze inspanningen is de kritiek op (de kwaliteit van) het onderwijs niet verminderd, integendeel. Als oorzaak voor deze teleurstellende constatering wordt wel gewezen op het ontbreken van een wederzijds juist begrip voor en een adequate communicatie tussen de van elkaar geïsoleerde werelden van het onderzoek en de werkvloer. Over en weer klinken verwijten dat de een niet wil openstaan voor wat de ander denkt en doet. De werkvloer (lees de leraar) verwijt de onderzoeker dat hij niet de juiste kwesties onderzoekt en onbegrijpelijke rapporten produceert (de ivoren toren). De onderzoeker verwijt de leraar dat deze niet wil openstaan voor onderzoek en zijn praktijk voor zichzelf houdt (Lagerweij & Haak, 1994).

Naast de wederzijdse verwijten van onderzoekers en leraren als oorzaak van de teleurstellende effecten van onderwijsverbetering, klinkt er zeker de laatste tien jaar stevige kritiek aan het adres van de lerarenopleidingen als zouden deze onvoldoende goed opgeleide leraren afleveren aan het onderwijsveld. Deze kritiek resulteerde in een vanuit het Ministerie van Onderwijs komende instructie en wetgeving gericht op het vaststellen van kwaliteitsstandaarden voor lerarenopleidingen om door kwaliteitstoetsing grip te krijgen op de kwaliteit van het opleidingsonderwijs en dus op de kwaliteit van de leraar. Deze tendens werd nog versterkt door het feit dat uit het vele onderwijskundige onderzoek voortdurend één factor als zeer bepalend voor de kwaliteit van het onderwijs naar voren komt: de kwaliteit van de leraar. Het is de leraar die er toe doet! (Stevens, 1997; Marzano, 2003)

Echter, we kunnen nog een stap verder gaan en ons afvragen hoe het zit met de kwaliteit van de opleiders binnen de lerarenopleidingen, de lerarenopleiders. Hierboven is al aangegeven hoe lerarenopleiders op hun plaats in het opleidingsonderwijs, de lerarenopleiding, terecht komen en dat voor deze categorie van leraren geen specifieke opleiding bestaat. Door alle aandacht voor de kwaliteit van het onderwijs en de kwaliteit in het onderwijs kon en kan het niet uitblijven dat er meer en meer aandacht komt voor de vraag hoe het nu eigenlijk zit met de kwaliteit van de lerarenopleiders. Deze vraag leidt al snel tot de vraag of het niet de hoogste tijd is dat er een opleiding voor lerarenopleider komt.

Al sinds de vroege jaren '80 van de vorige eeuw is de Vereniging Lerarenopleiders Nederland (VELON) als een vakvereniging van de beroepsgroep lerarenopleider actief. De VELON (www.velon.nl) verwoordt haar missie en doelstelling als volgt: 'Het ondersteunen van mensen die werken aan de opleiding en professionalisering van leraren, gericht op het bevorderen van hun beroepskwaliteit.' Deze missie vertaalt zich in drie hoofdtaken, te weten, het ondersteunen, organiseren en faciliteren van een platform voor ontmoeting van lerarenopleiders; het stimuleren van de professionalisering van individuele professionals en de beroepsgroep als geheel; belangenbehartiging voor de kwaliteit van de professie.

De leden zijn afkomstig uit het brede domein van lerarenopleidingen van zowel opleiders voor het basisonderwijs, het voortgezet onderwijs, het beroepsonderwijs en de

volwasseneneducatie, als opleiders uit hogescholen, universiteiten en uit opleidingsscholen.

Door middel van het Tijdschrift voor Lerarenopleiders, het jaarlijkse congres en een aantal werkgroepen voor specifieke aandachtsgebieden (o.a. Beginnende lerarenopleiders, Multiculturaliteit in lerarenopleidingen, Opleiders van opleiders, Passend opleiden) werkt de VELON aan het verwezenlijken van haar missie. Zo'n 1500 lerarenopleiders zijn in de VELON verenigd. In Vlaanderen (België) heeft de VELON een zusterorganisatie in de Vereniging Lerarenopleiders Vlaanderen (VELOV). Beide organisaties werken nauw samen en organiseren bijvoorbeeld samen de jaarlijkse congressen, beurtelings in Nederland en Vlaanderen.

De inspanningen van de VELON hebben onder andere geleid tot het tot stand komen van de beroepsstandaard voor lerarenopleiders, van de kennisbasis voor lerarenopleiders en van het Beroepsregister Lerarenopleiders, waarin lerarenopleiders worden opgenomen die middels een assessment hun kwaliteit hebben aangetoond. Dit Beroepsregister, ter wille van de objectiviteit ondergebracht in een aparte stichting, de Stichting Register Lerarenopleiders (SRLo), heeft inmiddels enige status verworven; dit blijkt uit het feit dat visitatiecommissies bij hun visitatie van lerarenopleidingen expliciet vragen naar de mate van registratie van de lerarenopleiders in het te visiteren instituut. Veelvuldig wordt in de eindrapportage van de visitatie als verbeterpunt meegegeven om werk te maken van toetreding tot het Beroepsregister. De VELON heeft in samenwerking met een universitaire lerarenopleiding meegewerkt aan het tot stand komen van een aantal masterclasses voor ervaren lerarenopleiders. En in kringen van de VELON is de uitdrukking 'opleiding voor lerarenopleiders' reeds gevallen. Het lijkt een kwestie van tijd dat deze opleiding er komt.

Lerarenopleider aan de Algemene Faculteit van de UNA

Wat tot nu toe aan de orde is gesteld, geldt zowel voor de Nederlandse als de Curaçaose situatie. Tijdens de visitaties van de lerarenopleidingen van de Algemene Faculteit (2010 en 2011) hebben de commissies met tevredenheid geconstateerd dat alle lerarenopleidingen in ruime mate voldoen aan de gestelde kwaliteitscriteria van de NVAO. Daarmee hebben alle opleidingen hun keurmerk van 'voldoende beoordeeld' verworven. Een van de aanbevelingen in de verschillende visitatierapporten betrof het werk maken van de registratie van de lerarenopleiders in het Beroepsregister Lerarenopleiders van de VELON. Dat enkele opleiders van de Algemene Faculteit lid zijn van de VELON, het Tijdschrift voor Lerarenopleiders beschikbaar is voor alle medewerkers en de leden deelnemen aan de jaarlijkse congressen is mooi, maar niet meer voldoende. Tijdens de volgende visitaties (in 2016 en 2017) willen de visitatiecommissies constateren dat de stafmedewerkers van de Algemene Faculteit zijn opgenomen in het Beroepsregister Lerarenopleiders.

In antwoord op de aanbevelingen in de visitatierapporten heeft de Algemene Faculteit een aantal stappen gezet in het kader van de professionalisering van haar medewerkers. Voor het academisch jaar 2012-2013 staat deelname van de stafmedewerkers, allen lerarenopleiders, aan het traject van de VELON voor geregistreerd lerarenopleider op de professionaliseringskalender. Het traject zal in oktober 2012 van start gaan. Voor het deelnemen aan het traject gelden een aantal voorwaarden, zoals ook staat weergegeven in de korte beschrijving van het registratietraject van de VELON (2012). Een van de voorwaarden is dat de deelnemer een diploma op het niveau van hoger onderwijs of een gelijkwaardig diploma heeft en een aanstelling van minimaal 0.2 fte (fulltime equivalent) heeft als lerarenopleider. Bovendien dient de deelnemer op het moment van registratie 3 jaar werkzaam te zijn als opleider in de brede zin van het woord. Dat betekent dat hij taken verricht als opleider en begeleider van (aanstaande) leraren.

In het kort ziet het traject er als volgt uit. Aan de hand van de beroepsstandaard van lerarenopleiders, een zelfbeoordeling en authentieke situaties uit de eigen beroepspraktijk vormt de deelnemer zich een beter beeld van de eigen bekwaamheden. Daartoe verzamelt hij 360 graden feedback (feedback van studenten, collega's, leidinggevenden, stagebegeleiders), reflecteert hij op de uitkomsten daarvan, schrijft hij een persoonlijk ontwikkelingsplan en stelt hij een portfolio op. Hij voert vervolgens een wederzijds begeleidingsgesprek met een collega-deelnemer (waarbij afwisselend de een de begeleider en de begeleidde is). In een terugkombijeenkomst worden de ervaringen gedeeld. De deelnemer legt zijn portfolio aan twee beoordelaars voor en bij een positieve beoordeling kan hij opgenomen worden in het beroepsregister.

Met het aldus upgraden van de kwaliteit van de lerarenopleiders – een goed voorbeeld van het implementeren van de PDCA – cyclus (Plan, Do, Check, Act) in het kader van kwaliteitszorg – werkt de Algemene Faculteit aan de kwaliteitsverbetering van haar lerarenopleidingen, wat bij de volgende visitaties in 2017 mede zal leiden tot het behoud van het keurmerk 'positief beoordeeld'.

Tot besluit

Hierboven wordt aangegeven dat het een kwestie van tijd lijkt, dat de opleiding voor lerarenopleiders er komt. De vraag is of dit werkelijk zo is. Nog wezenlijker is de vraag of het wel nodig is.

Stellen we ons voor wat dan de situatie zal zijn, dan zien we in de nabije toekomst op de lerarenopleidingen opleiders, die na hun middelbare schooltijd een academische opleiding tot lerarenopleider hebben gevolgd. Een academische lerarenopleiding in wat? Want lerarenopleiders leiden studenten op tot leraar voor een bepaalde sector, wat uiteraard gepaard gaat met het verwerven van kennis en vaardigheden in een bepaald vakgebied. Denk bijvoorbeeld aan de leraar in het funderend onderwijs, die van de diverse educatiegebieden goed op de hoogte moet zijn, of de tweedegraads

leraar Engels, die de Engelse taal- en letterkunde goed in de vingers moet hebben. Dus, wat zal op de academische lerarenopleiding precies aangeboden worden?

Of wordt de specifieke opleiding tot lerarenopleider een specialisatiemogelijkheid voor leraren om zich, na hun academische (vak)vorming en een aantal jaren ervaring als leraar voor de klas, verder te bekwamen als opleider van leraren? Deze laatste variant staat niet zo heel ver af van de huidige situatie. Voor een lerarenopleider is kennis en ervaring van de praktijk van het onderwijs van essentieel belang. Hoe zou iemand voor een beroep kunnen worden opgeleid als deze persoon dat beroep niet heeft uitgeoefend en alle hoogte- en dieptepunten heeft meegemaakt?

Is een opleiding voor lerarenopleiders gewenst? Ja. Nodig? Ja. Met het certificeringstraject van de VELON en het aanleggen van een beroepsregister voor lerarenopleiders zijn we op de goede weg. Door dit traject aan te vullen met verplichte scholing, waarmee een voorgeschreven aantal credits moet worden behaald – vergelijkbaar met de verplichte scholing in andere beroepen als dat van piloot, notaris en advocaat – wordt gericht gewerkt aan het op peil brengen en houden van het kwaliteitsniveau van de lerarenopleider. Dan houdt het beroep van lerarenopleider zijn wortels in de goede aarde: de praktijk van de klas! Een geïnstitutionaliseerde specifieke opleiding voor lerarenopleiders, bijvoorbeeld als afstudeervariant van een academische studie, is niet gewenst omdat een dergelijke opleiding te ver af staat van de praktijk.

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STUDENTENUITVAL IN HET ARUBAANSE HOGER ONDERWIJS EN REMEDIËRINGSMOGELIJKHEDEN

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Inleiding

Vroegtijdig schoolverlaten komt in ieder land voor. Het aantal drop-outs op Aruba is aanzienlijk, ondanks het feit dat er verschillende bijspijkerprogramma's zijn om dit tegen te gaan. In deze literatuurstudie wordt ernaar gestreefd te onderzoeken welke de juiste voorwaarden zijn waaraan deze bijspijkerprogramma's moeten voldoen om een acceptabel resultaat te verkrijgen. Om die reden passeren verschillende remediëringsprogramma's uit de Verenigde Staten de revue, waarna wordt onderzocht welke van deze programma's voor de Arubaanse situatie geschikt zouden kunnen zijn. Alvorens daar op in te gaan, wordt een algemeen beeld geschetst van de studenten van het Arubaanse opleidingsinstituut voor leraren, het Instituto Pedagogico Arubano.

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Sinds mijn aantreden als studentdecaan op het Instituto Pedagogico Arubano (IPA), in het academisch jaar 2008/2009, ben ik mij ervan bewust dat het IPA een hoog uitvalpercentage heeft. Dit is betreurenswaardig gezien het feit dat het IPA de enige opleiding is voor docenten en er op Aruba een chronisch lerarentekort is, met name in het primair onderwijs. Uit cijfers van de Directie Onderwijs blijkt dat in het academisch jaar 2010/2011 ongeveer 22 docenten uit het buitenland (met name Nederland) geworven moesten worden om dit tekort op te vullen.

Dat studenten na korte of lange tijd hun studie afbreken aan het IPA, is een probleem voor zowel de student als het IPA en de Arubaanse samenleving. Ten eerste kunnen studenten het staken van hun studie beschouwen als een persoonlijk falen. Ten tweede wordt hen, zonder het noodzakelijke diploma, een beter toekomstperspectief ontnomen. Door de kleinschaligheid van Aruba en het beperkte aanbod aan studiemogelijkheden zijn deze 'drop-outs' genoodzaakt om te gaan werken, waarbij door hen genoeg moet worden genomen met een baan onder hun niveau met een laag salaris, zonder toekomstperspectief. Een derde mogelijkheid is naar het buitenland gaan om een andere, nieuwe studie op te pakken. Studeren in de Verenigde Staten staat hoog op het verlanglijstje van de Arubaanse student, vanwege de taal en vanwege het feit dat de VS relatief dichtbij is en een grote aantrekkingskracht heeft. Echter, de studiekosten zijn schrikbarend hoog, waardoor deze mogelijkheid slechts voor een enkeling

weggelegd is. Naar Nederland vertrekken voor studie is een andere optie, maar ook deze kosten zijn hoog en de integratie in de Nederlandse samenleving kan soms moeizaam verlopen, ondanks een voorbereidingsprogramma, een tegemoetkoming in de studiekosten van het land Aruba en de goede intenties van de student (Hofstede et al., 2005).

Als een student voortijdig zijn studie afbreekt dan dient de student het volledige geleende bedrag terug te betalen aan de Arubaanse overheid. Voor afgestudeerden van het IPA geldt dat de gehele studieschuld wordt kwijtgescholden als zij vijf jaren werken in het onderwijs op Aruba. In het buitenland afgestudeerden krijgen korting op hun studielening omdat zij anders in het buitenland als docent gaan werken, omdat daar de salarissen hoger zijn, om hun studieschuld af te lossen. Deze kortingsregeling is in 2010 ingevoerd via een landsbesluit om te stimuleren dat de Arubaanse eilandkinderen terugkeren. De verhoging van het studierendement is van groot maatschappelijk belang. Er is behoefte aan goed opgeleide leerkrachten van eigen bodem die de Arubaanse context kennen en zo een meerwaarde zijn ten opzichte van leerkrachten die meestal uit Nederland geworven worden.

Hoe kan het IPA de studenten “on track” houden zodat er in de toekomst een hoger percentage afgestudeerden is? Uit onderzoek van het onderzoekscentrum, Centro di Investigacion y Desaroyo di Enseñansa (CIDE), blijkt dat de meeste studenten moeite hebben met de Nederlandse taal, rekenen en wiskunde (Temmnick et al., 2005). Verder is er onderzoek gedaan naar allerlei interventieprogramma's: bijspijkerkursussen, remedial teaching, huiswerkcoaching, huiswerkbegeleidingprogramma's en zomercursussen. Daarbij kan men zich afvragen wat de ingrediënten en de voorwaarden van een succesvol bijspijkerprogramma zijn. Daarnaast kan men zich afvragen wanneer huiswerk effectief is en welke studenten het meest profiteren van deze interventieprogramma's.

De kenmerken van de IPA student

De achtergrondkenmerken van de instromende IPA-studenten zijn heel divers, zowel qua leeftijd en vooropleiding als qua sociaal-economische omstandigheden. Per studiejaar kunnen deze kenmerken sterk variëren, afhankelijk van verschillende factoren. Deze factoren hebben onder andere te maken met de sociale economische situatie van de gemeenschap, het beleid van de overheid en van de individuele student. Het grootste deel van de instromende IPA-studenten komt van het hoger algemeen voortgezet onderwijs (HAVO) en /of het middelbaar beroepsonderwijs (MBO). Een relatief stabiel kenmerk is de instroom van het aandeel vrouwelijke studenten. De afgelopen vijf studiejaar was gemiddeld 85 tot 90% van de instromende studenten vrouw, waarvan een aanzienlijk aantal kinderen heeft (IPA, 2006). De leeftijd van de instromende studenten loopt sterk uiteen. De afgelopen vijf jaar was de gemiddelde

leeftijd van de instromende studenten tussen de 20 en de 30 jaar. In het studiejaar 2009-2010 was de jongste instromende student 19 jaar en de oudste 39 jaar (IPA, 2010). Het grote verschil in leeftijd heeft te maken met het feit dat veel van de instromende studenten van het IPA na het voortgezet onderwijs eerst deel nemen aan het arbeidsproces. In het studiejaar 2009-2010 had 68% van de instromende studenten een baan direct voorafgaand aan de start van de IPA-opleiding en kwam 26% rechtstreeks van het voortgezet onderwijs of combineerde een opleiding en werk (IPA, 2010).

De situatie van de herintreders of zij-instromers kan de aansluiting soms bemoeilijken. Deze studenten zijn het studeren niet meer gewend en hebben bepaalde vaardigheden sinds de schooltijd niet meer geoefend. De deficiëntie in bepaalde vaardigheden geldt overigens ook voor jonge studenten die rechtstreeks van school komen. Het betreft vooral de vaardigheden in de Nederlandse taal en (hoofd)rekenen die door het gebruik van moderne hulpmiddelen zijn afgeleerd.

Een andere factor die van invloed is op de aansluiting tussen achtergrond en opleiding is de situatie van de (her)intredende student. Herintreders en zij-instromers hebben vaak kinderen en/of een eigen huishouding. In 2009-2010 had 53% van de zij-instromers één of meer kinderen bij aanvang van de opleiding. Het IPA heeft geconstateerd dat het hebben van kinderen en een eigen gezin consequenties kan hebben voor de aansluiting. Bovendien wordt de studielast door de studenten als zwaar ervaren. Naast het feit dat veel studenten zorgtaken hebben voor hun kinderen blijkt dat zij dit ook hebben voor hun ouders of voor andere oudere familieleden die hulpbehoevend zijn.

Remediëringsprogramma

Uit verschillende onderzoeken blijkt dat de hiervoor beschreven kloof deels opgevangen kan worden door een “remediëringsprogramma” mits deze cursus aansluit bij de behoefte en goed georganiseerd is. Het IPA probeert problemen met de aansluiting voor het rekenen/ wiskunde en de Nederlandse taal op te vangen door de invoering van remediëringscursussen. Hieronder volgt een overzicht van verschillende bestudeerde programma’s die voor de Arubaanse context geschikt zouden kunnen zijn.

Een overzicht van verschillende programma’s

Het programma van Joseph Durlak en Roger Weissberg, The impact of afterschool programs that promote personal and social skills (2007)

De context

Ongeveer tien miljoen Amerikaanse kinderen zijn na schooltijd alleen thuis zonder ouderlijk toezicht. De belangrijke reden daarvoor is dat ouders fulltime werken. Er is dan ook een groeiende vraag naar Naschoolse Programma’s (NSP’s). In de periode

van 2002 tot 2007 is ongeveer \$ 3.6 biljoen uitgegeven aan NSP's. Er zijn verschillende onderzoeken gedaan naar de kwaliteit en het curriculum van deze programma's. Het merendeel van deze onderzoeken zijn gericht op de schoolvoortgang, waarbij de cognitieve prestaties met name gericht op taal, rekenen en lezen in ogenschouw zijn genomen, als ook de presentieaantallen. Er is minder gefocust op persoonlijke en sociale vaardigheden terwijl de onderzoekers Durlak en Weissberg aantonen dat juist deze vaardigheden essentieel zijn voor de schoolprestaties van de leerlingen en voor alle vervolgstappen om succesvol te zijn in hun persoonlijke leven en carrière.

De resultaten

Er is bewijs dat leerlingen die deelgenomen hebben aan NSP's significant in drie gebieden vooruitgang geboekt hebben namelijk wat betreft de schoolresultaten, het gevoel en de houding, en wat betreft sociaal gedrag.

Conclusie

De naschoolse programma's zijn effectief op verschillende gebieden en de inhoud en de vorm van het naschoolse programma zijn belangrijk om het succesvol te laten verlopen. Durlak en Weissberg adviseren de **SAFE formule**. Dit houdt in dat niet alleen belangrijk is "wat je doet" maar vooral "hoe je het doet" wat de kwaliteit van een programma waarborgt. Persoonlijke vaardigheden en sociale vaardigheden zijn een vereiste om succesvol te zijn op school, maar ook bij andere facetten van het dagelijks leven. Er bestaat geen volledig succes zonder deze persoonlijke en sociale vaardigheden.

Het programma van Duncan Chaplin & Jeffrey Capizzano, Impacts of a summer learning program: a random assignment study of Building Educated Leaders for Life (BELL), (1996)

Hier volgt een evaluatie van het BELL zomerprogramma door Duncan Chaplin en Jeffrey Capizzano (onderzoekers van 'the Urban Institute', een bureau voor onderzoek en ontwikkeling naar onderwijsstrategieën). Het BELL-programma is in 1992 ontworpen door Harvard studenten van Afro-Amerikaanse en Latijnse afkomst. De voornaamste trekkers zijn Earl M. Phalen en Andrew. L. Carter. Zij begonnen dagelijks op een lokale school tutorbegeleiding te geven, met name gericht op lezen, schrijven en rekenen. Er was vanaf het begin een vooruitgang te bespeuren bij deze leerlingen. BELL is momenteel uitgegroeid tot een belangrijk instituut voor naschoolse programma's en zomerprogramma's.

De context

Bij aanvang gaan de onderzoekers Chaplin en Capizzano uit van de stelregel dat leerlingen van lagere sociaal economische komaf meer last hebben van de “zomerdip” dan leerlingen van een hogere sociaal economische achtergrond. De zomerdip wordt gedefinieerd als de “summerlearning loss”. Kinderen verliezen in de zomervakantie deels hun aangeleerde (studie)vaardigheden, in het bijzonder leerlingen van een lagere sociale klasse. In dit artikel wordt alleen de evaluatie van het zomerprogramma van BELL beschreven.

De resultaten

De gemeten resultaten na het volgen van het BELL-zomerprogramma geven aan dat BELL-deelnemers: significant betere resultaten in begrijpend lezen en algemene leesvaardigheden hebben; 50 % meer boeken gelezen hebben dan niet- deelnemers; minder tijd hebben gespendeerd aan het kijken van televisie of aan het spelen van videogames. Bovendien geven de resultaten aan dat uit de intentie van een ouder om zijn kind in te schrijven voor het BELL-zomerprogramma er al een positieve motivatie bestaat en interesse is voor de schoolontwikkeling van het kind. De kinderen die door de willekeurige loting in de controlegroep zijn terecht gekomen, hebben in de zomervakantie vaak deelgenomen aan andere zomerprogramma's. Dit betekent dat de BELL-resultaten in het algemeen nog aanzienlijker zouden kunnen zijn omdat het niveau van de controle groep redelijk was.

Er is duidelijk bewijs dat de mate waarin ouders hun kinderen aanmoedigen een aanzienlijk effect heeft op de (leer)prestaties van hun kinderen. In de lagere sociale klassen zijn de gemeten effecten hoger dan in de hogere klassen.

Er is geen bewijs gevonden dat deelnemers van BELL meer zelfvertrouwen hebben en andere sociale omgangsvormen hebben geleerd dan niet deelnemers. Wel is significant bewezen dat BELL-deelnemers geïnspireerd zijn om harder te werken om hun studievaardigheden te verbeteren.

Het programma van Merith Cosden, Gale Morrison, Ann Leslie Albanese, Sandra Macias, When homework is not homework: after school programs for homework assistance, 2001

In hun studie vragen de onderzoekers zich af, wanneer huiswerk effect heeft, en wat de voorwaarden zijn van een goedwerkende naschoolse opvang die huiswerkbegeleiding aanbiedt.

De context

Huiswerk wordt niet altijd “thuis” gemaakt. Gezien de veranderde hoeveelheid en de complexiteit van het huiswerk is er een behoefte aan een plaats waar leerlingen hierbij

geholpen kunnen worden. Er zijn steeds meer ouders die beiden fulltime werken dus minder tijd hebben om hun kinderen te ondersteunen bij het maken van huiswerk. Er is een groeiende behoefte aan naschoolse opvang die gestructureerde huiswerkbegeleiding biedt. Ten eerste omdat ouders minder tijd hebben en ten tweede omdat bij inschrijving voor vormen van hoger onderwijs geselecteerd wordt op studieresultaten. Ook kunnen huiswerkklassen voortijdig schoolverlaten voorkomen. Dit geldt zowel voor leerlingen die thuis geen andere gestructureerde activiteiten hebben als voor leerlingen die thuis de instructietaal niet spreken.

De resultaten

Er zijn geen significante verschillen aangetoond tussen de interventie en de controle groep. Het heeft echter een positieve invloed gehad op de “English language learners” dat zij extra taallessen kregen. Aan het einde van de zesde klas (dus na drie jaar interventie) is aangetoond dat de interventiegroep betere resultaten en studievoordigheden heeft dan de “English language learners” die deel uitmaakten van de controle groep. Dit was niet het geval bij diegenen die Engels als moedertaal hebben. Na de tussen- en eindevaluatie hadden zij dezelfde resultaten. Deze resultaten zijn geïnterpreteerd in termen dat hulpbronnen aanwezig waren voor deze studenten om hen te helpen met hun huiswerk.

316 *Het programma van Dr. Sakiestewa Gilbert, Bridging the gap between high school and college; a successful program that promotes academic success for Hopi and Navajo students, (1996)*

De context

In de jaren 1989-1991 is het SCUP (School College and University Partnership Program) opgericht. Dit is een samenwerkingsverband tussen de Northern Arizona University (NAU), the Northern Arizona Public School Board en de Navajo en Hopi Indianenstammen. Doel is het ontwikkelen van betere studievoordigheden voor de studenten en de overgang van de middelbare school naar het Hoger Onderwijs versoepelen. Reden hiervoor is de enorme achtergestelde positie van de “Native American Student” (of the American Indian) die in grote aantallen afkomstig is uit de reservaten van Arizona en New Mexico.

De belangrijkste oorzaken van de grote uitval bij deze groep zijn: de lage sociaal economische status; het wonen in geïsoleerde gebieden en het hebben van een taalachterstand. De meerderheid van de schoolgaande studenten spreekt thuis een andere taal dan het Engels. Het is een grote misvatting dat alle Native Americans één taal spreken; alleen in Arizona zijn tenminste 21 verschillende erkende Indianentalen. De grootste en snelgroeiende minderheidsgroepen in Arizona zijn de Native

Americans en de Hispanics (Census, 1992). Zij vertegenwoordigen het laagste percentage van de minderheidsgroepen die een middelbare school diploma halen en het hoogste percentage van drop-out. Een vijf weken durend zomerprogramma met als doel een brug te slaan tussen High School en college of een ander soort vervolgonderwijs, wordt verzorgd door de Nizhoni Academy.

De resultaten

Van dit programma zijn geen concrete resultaten bekend. Wel is bekend dat in de drie jaren (1989-1991) dat er onderzoek is gedaan naar de Nizhoni Academy, 1608 studenten zich ingeschreven hebben. Na de toelatingsprocedure werden 498 studenten definitief toegelaten tot de Nizhoni Academy. Er is een nulmeting uitgevoerd om het niveau te bepalen voor deelname, een scoretest met een schaal van 0-4. Helaas zijn de eindresultaten niet gepubliceerd in het door mij bestudeerde onderzoek. Ook ontbreekt hier een controlegroep.

Conclusies en aanbevelingen voor de onderwijssituatie op Aruba

Meer opgeleide jongeren met een goede startkwalificatie zijn een aanwinst voor de maatschappij. Dit levert beter personeel voor de banenmarkt op en zorgt voor minder probleemjongeren en minder werklozen. Op een relatief klein eiland zoals Aruba moeten de gevolgen hiervan snel merkbaar zijn. De schoolprestaties en het schoolniveau zijn vaak bepalend voor de maatschappelijke positie in de toekomst. Feit is dat te weinig scholieren een diploma van de middelbare school halen en te weinig jongeren besluiten door te studeren aan het hoger onderwijs. Vanaf de lagere school dienen de scholieren op Aruba al voorzichtig na te denken over de vraag wat zij later willen worden. Deze vraag dient vervolgens in het middelbaar onderwijs een specifiek karakter te krijgen met behulp van pakketkeuze en de capaciteiten van het schoolgaande kind. De docenten, mentoren en de schooldecaan hebben hierin een belangrijke rol te vervullen en natuurlijk de ouders en de omgeving.

Er is op het eiland een groeiende behoefte aan bijspijkerprogramma's en naschoolse opvang. Daarbij moet rekening worden gehouden met twee factoren. Het Nederlands is de instructietaal, terwijl het voor de meerderheid van de studenten en scholieren een vreemde taal is, en de meeste scholieren zijn na 13.30 uur dagelijks vrij.

Het is belangrijk voor de Arubaanse situatie dat de desbetreffende programma's goed gestructureerd worden en voldoen aan zo veel mogelijk van de volgende voorwaarden: een goed curriculum waarin veel differentiatie verwerkt is; veelvuldig gebruik van interactieve leermiddelen; begeleiding door inspirerende volwassenen die "rolmodellen" zijn.

Het is belangrijk dat docenten, stafleden en mentoren gediplomeerd of gecoacht zijn. De docenten en onderwijsassistenten dienen meerdere talen te verstaan en te spreken. Bij voorkeur dient er instructie gegeven te worden in kleine groepen. Het aanleren van

studievaardigheden en sociale emotionele vaardigheden is essentieel. Gastsprekers kunnen worden ingezet en er dienen buitendagen en projecten georganiseerd te worden ten behoeve van de gemeenschap.

Het is belangrijk dat ouders bij het leerproces van hun kinderen betrokken worden en dat de gemeenschap op de hoogte wordt gebracht van het curriculum.

Het naschoolse programma dient gestart te worden op een ontspannen (niet schoolse) manier. De kosten van de programma's dienen zo laag mogelijk gehouden te worden. Subsidiegelden dienen aangewend te worden zodat ook kinderen van lagere economische komaf kunnen participeren.

Cruciaal is een kritische zelfevaluatie; aan de hand van de behaalde resultaten dient de bereidheid te bestaan om het eigen programma verder te ontwikkelen en te verbeteren.

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ANÁLISIS DI SKIBIMENTU TÉKNIKO DEN ENSEÑANSA DI FUNDESHI

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1 Introdukshon

Generalmente, ni maestro ni mayor no ta satisfecho ku e manera ku nos muchanan ta skibi último tempu. E muchanan mes hopi biaha no por lesa loke nan a skibi, kòrda nan maestro. Loke e maestronan no por lesa ta ser konsiderá inkorekto. Bou di trabou di e muchanan hopi biaha ta paresé palabra manera: “fui, ba, slòns” etc. Pues, hopi frustrashon serka e muchanan.

Sigun e maestronan, hopi mucha tin problema ku skibimentu. Kua ta e problemanan kardinal ku a pone ku e situashon riba tereno di skibimentu a bira asina, i kiko nos mester hasi pa nos drecha e situashon akí? Nos muchanan mester por poseé un eskritura satisfaktorio, ku nan por uza efisientemente pa restu di nan bida.

Ya pa mas ku 20 aña komo maestro di skol i dosente di skibi, mi ta analisando henter e proseso di skibimentu ku ta tumando lugá na skol. A base di hopi kontakto ku mi tin na e diferente skolnan, kombiná ku mi eksperensia komo alumno di skol básiko e tempu ei, i prinsipalmente a base di e informashonnan ku mi a bini ta haña durante aña komo dosente di skibi, mi a bin ripará ku skibimentu tékniko poulatinamente a bin ta deteriorá.

Pa por ta un poko mas eksakto, a base di mi eksperensia ku e materia i mi konosementu atkerí den práktika i teoria, mi ta bai trese algun rekomendashon pa nos titularnan den enseñansa di manera ku e instansianan konserní tambe por hasi algu pa e materia akí.

2 Historia di skibimentu

Banda di lesamentu, hulandes i aritmétika, skibimentu semper tabata un materia importante na skol básiko. Mi ta kòrda klaramente kon e maestronan tabata pone masha énfasis riba e materia di skibimentu. Esaki mi a komprondé tambe di mi mayornan, ku por sierto, tabata skibi mashá bunita. Esei por pone bo pensa ku tur dos lo a haña un bon enseñansa di skibi pa por tin un bunita eskritura asina.

Tòg mi ke enfatisá i bini ku ehèmpel konkreto di mi temporada na skol básiko, kaminda, manera mi a bisa kaba, tabata dediká asina tantu atenshon na skibimentu.

For di klas 1, tur dia nos mester a praktiká sierto lèter i palabra. Meskos tabata e kaso den klas 2, 3 i 4. Den klas 5 i 6, un poko ménos, pero... ta sigui vigilá e skibimentu sí. Tabata duna sifra tambe pa e aspekto di skibimentu: un ocho pa “taal” i un shete pa “schrijven”.

Ainda mi ta kòrda e método: *Eerst duidelijk ... dan snel* (Tazelaar et al., 1966), e “overtrekblaadjes” i tambe e “letterkaarten” ku tabata kologá na muraya. Un bon eksperensia riba e tereno di skibimentu en todo kaso. E lèsnan di skibimentu tabata bai ku mashá dedikashon i disiplina. Si e maestronan no tabata gusta e manera ku un alumno skibi, e ora ei e alumno mester a skibi te ora e maestro tabata satisfecho ku su produkto.

E memoria di mas bunita ku mi tin relashoná ku e aspekto di skibimentu ta di e temporada ku mi tabata den klas 4. Den e klas ei, e maestro a bini ku un strategia di paga e muchanan un suma di plaka imaginario ora nan haña un bon sifra. Por ehèmpel, si un alumno haña un 10, e ta risibí un pago imaginario serka e maestro, den e kaso akí, 100 florin. Un 9 ta representá 75 florin etc. Den e klas ei, meskos ku den e otro klasnan mas abou di skol básiko, e aspekto di skibimentu a keda importante: pues, e mes mucha ku haña un 7 pa skibi ta risibí sierto suma tambe di e maestro.

E maestro tabatin henter un atministrashon di ken a haña kiko i ken tabata risibí pago. E muchanan tabata para den rei pa asina nan risibí nan pago, klaro, ku biyete fiktisio. Esun ku yega e suma di 10.000 florin promé ta gana e premio. Komokiera ku mi persona tabata skor relativamente haltu pa tantu e materia (di 3 di klas) komo pa skibimentu (promé di klas), mi a yega e kantidat di 10.000 florin promé ku mi otro kompañeronan di klas, i asina mi por a gana e premio ku tabata un bala di futbòl blanku.

Algu bunita tambe tabata ku kada mucha ku risibí un 7 òf mas pa skibimentu por a skibi den nan “netschrift” e dia ei ku un otro koló di enk (bèrdè, hel, oraño, lila). Nos tabata asina motivá pa skibi bunita pa asina nos por a skibi ku enk di koló. Mi por imaginá mi tambe ku no ta solamente e skol ku mi tabatin e honor di bishitá den mi infansia tabata asina dediká na e aspekto di skibimentu. Un kos sí ku ta sigur ta ku tur mucha por a haña un sifra pa e materia di skibimentu riba nan rapòrt, i tambe e materia tabata konta sigur pa pasa pa e siguiente klas.

3 Skibimentu di awendia

Den mi introdukshon, mi a trese dilanti ku ta a base di mi eksperensia riba tereno di skibimentu, entre otro, komo dosente na Lerarenopleiding Funderend Onderwijs (LOFO) na Fakultat General di Universidat di Kòrsou (UNA) i tambe komo guiadó di maestro pa Fundashon pa Inovashon di Enseñansa (FIDE), ta pone ku koutelosamente mi por saka konklushon ku skibimentu a bai atras awendia.

Kada aña mi ta haña informashon di skibimentu via estudiante i durante e sekshonnan ku maestro; nan mes ta trese dilanti kon atras skibimentu a bai.

Mi ta mira ehèmpel di e deterioro di e skibimentu tambe den e diferente klasnan ora mi bai bishitá e studiantenan den práktika.

Kon bini e skibimentu a bai atras asina tantu?

- Nos muchanan ta haña sufisiente oportunidat pa nan praktiká e skibimentu?
- E maestronan ta duna un guia efisiente i un bon ehèmpel den praktiká?
- E muchanan ta haña lès di skibi adekuá regularmente?
- Skibimentu tin su balor ainda den skol?
- Ta keda pone atenshon riba e materia akí meskos ku ta pone atenshon riba aritmétika/matemátika i hulandes?
- Kon ta motivá i duna “feedback” relashoná ku skibimentu na skol?
- Ta trese e puntonan ku ta REGARDÁ skibimentu bèk den reunion di maestro?
- Ki influensia kòmputer i “interactive whiteboard” tin riba deterioro di skibimentu motóriko?

E maestronan di grupo 1-2 ta prepará e muchanan komo debe ser pa loke ta trata e kondishonnan di skibimentu? Den pasado resien, tabatin -un bruashon enorme bou di nos ekspertonan pa loke ta trata un enseñansa efisiente di skibimentu. E aspekto di e kondishonnan ku e mucha mester tene kuenta kuné promé ku e siña skibi tiki tiki a pèrdè atenshon. Hopi tabata pensa ku un mucha por skibi sin ta hechu ainda pa kuminsá skibi. Nos no mester ta muchu purá pa laga e muchanan skibi promé ku nan ora... Pa nos lanta un kas stabil, nos no mester sòru pa un bon fundeshi? Ta lógiko tambe ku si nos komo maestro no pone sufisiente atenshon riba e aspekto di skibimentu, hamas nos lo por spera mashá kos di e muchanan. E muchanan ku no haña bon guiá den, prinsipalmente, e klasnan 1 te 4 di e promé siklo di enseñansa di fundeshi, sigur lo haña problema ku skibimentu.

Punto di salida ta ku un i tur mester ta konsiente ku nos muchanan mester siña skibi bon. Esaki ta di sumo importansia.

Tambe ta mas ku lógiko ku ora e muchanan bai e di dos siklo, nan mester keda haña e atenshon nesesario! Dikon? Sino tur loke ku nos a sembra i kosechá ta bai pèrdí. Asina simpel.

4 Traha komo un tim responsabel

Nos mester traha komo un tim pa por logra nos metanan na skol. Mester papia formal i informalmente ku otro tokante e aspektonan didáktiko i di kontenido di skibimentu. Kiko ta nos metanan relashoná ku skibimentu? Kuantu balor esaki tin pa e mucha? Dikon mester skohe pa sierto método? Kon fuerte nos maestronan mes ta den e materia aki? E muchanan ta haña e bon ehèmpelnan pa mira? Kiko nos ke logra ku e muchanan for di ora nan drenta den grupo 1? Henter tim ta konsiente ku den e fase akí ta bon pa dediká atenshon na e kondishonnan di skibi, manera e parti motóriko, diskriminashon visual, koordinashon di wowo i man, i e parti di orientashon di

espasio? E mucha ta haña oportunidat pa praktiká ku e patronchinan di skibi? Nos maestronan ta pone sufisiente atenshon riba e puntonan menshoná? E maestronan tin un bista general i individual di e proseso i desaroyo di kada mucha? E muchanan ta haña guia den nan problema? E koordinadó di siklo 1 òf e kabes di skol ta vigilá i kontrolá e proseso regularmente? Ta trese un ke otro tambe den reunion di tim? Kiko ta hasi ku e informashon ku bini dilanti den reunion?

Skibimentu sigur no ta solamente praktiká di skibi, skibi i skibi, òf trèk over sin pia i sin kabes, sino mas bien, e mucha mester ta konsiente di loke e ta hasiendo entorno e skibimentu. E mester ta konsiente di e lugá kaminda e lèter ta kuminsá, kon e sekuensia di movishon ta? Unda trayekto di e lèter ta kambia? Unda e lèter ta kaba? Klaro ku e mucha ta asina leu sí ku e mester kuminsá ku e proseso di skibi, pues, awor e ta “hechu” pa skibi. E ta dominá tambe e patronchinan di skibi, tantu e forma komo e movishon i sekuensia korekto di e grafema (lèter, sifra i signo). E mucha por sinta tambe kómodamente den un posishon di skibi, i e por manehá tambe den e posishon ei un material di skibi; den e kaso akí un pòtlot ku e por gara bon den su dedenan i luego un vùlpèn, no un bòlpòint.

5 Grupo 1 i 2 i grupo 3 i 4 di skol di fundeshi

Den grupo 1 i 2 di skol di fundeshi, e muchanan, manera a bisa anteriormente, ta desaroyá nan kapasidat motóriko fini, pa ora ta asina leu, nan por siña skibi. Skibimentu ta un aktividat motóriko fini. Nos por desaroyá esaki dor di laga e mucha kòrta, dobla, prek, hunga ku klei, traha figura, hasi aktividat ku kralchi, pinta etc. Hasiendo e aktividatnan akí den un espasio tridimenshonal i tambe bidimenshonal, e ta siña traha na un manera agradabel den e espasio ku el a haña, i e ta kontrolá e trabou i aktividat ku e ta hasiendo ku su wowonan. Asina e mucha, bou di guia, ta desaroyá su mes riba e aspekto motóriko i tambe riba e otro kondishonnan pa por siña skibi sin problema.

Den grupo 3 i 4 di skol di fundeshi, e muchanan ta kuminsá ku e fase di “skibimentu inisial”. Pa kuminsá ku e fase akí, e mucha ta kumpli ku e kondishonnan di skibi. Si esaki no ta e kaso, no tin sentido pa e mucha kuminsá ku e proseso aki. Naturalmente, kada mucha tin nan propio desaroyo. Kada mucha ta den un proseso pa hasi tur kos mas mihó. E maestro mester keda vigilá e muchanan. I sigui trese e puntonan kardinal di skibimentu den e reunionnan di tim.

Miéntas e alumno ta haña lès di skibi, i den tur otro lès kaminda e alumno ta skibi, e maestro ta pone atenshon riba e totalidat. “Kon nos tur mester sinta ora nos ta skibi?” “Laga yùfrou mira kon nèchi nos tur ta sinta”. “Laga nos tur tene nos pèn/pòtlot den nos dede awor?” “O.k. nèchi!” Kon nos ta pone e skref awor nos dilanti?... Bunita...”. E muchanan e ora ei sa ku tin un esfera di disiplina i motivashon. Miéntas e muchanan ta skibi, maestro ta guia, kontrolá i motivá!! Maestro ta duna e feedback nesesario. Esaki ta sosodé tantu den grupo komo individualmente.

6 Feedback

Ta di sumo importansia pa regularmente duna feedback adekuá na nos muchanan ku ta skibi. No un feedback ku ta parse un premiashon, sino un feedback basá riba kontenido. Asina aki e muchanan por siña di nan erornan i drecha loke nan ta hasi robes. Ta masha efektivo pa maestro kana rònt i duna atenshon na e proseso di skibi, di sinta i di tene pèn. Tambe e parti di kontenido di e materia mes, manera, entre otro, e forma di lèter, e sekuensia di movishon mester haña atenshon konstantemente.

7 Aspekto visual, ouditivo i motórisko

Durante e lèsnan di skibi, ta bon pa hasi uso di e aspektonan visual, ouditivo i motórisko. E maestronan mester tin kompetensia i abilidad pa por skibi lèter ku un bon formashon i ku e sekuensia di movishon nesesario. Loke e maestro skibi ta importante, pasobra esaki ta ehèmpel pa e muchanan. Semper ta bon tambe pa e maestro kompañá e moveshon ku zonido di e moveshon, pues, e parti ouditivo. Por último, e mucha mester haña oportunitat pa praktiká e skibimentu, teniendo kuenta ku e téknikanan di skibi. (Un punto ta indiká unda e alumno mester kuminsá skibi; un hak ta indiká ku akinan e liña ta kambia di direkshon; un flecha ta indiká e direkshon ku e moveshon tin di kue etc.).

8 Aspekto didáktiko importante pa kada maestro

Kada maestro mester sòru pa nan prepará e lès ku nan ta bai duna. E lèter, palabra, sifra etc. ku ta bai duna mester ta prepará, i sigur NO na e momentu ei den klas ta bai wak unda a keda. Maestro mester planifiká loke e ta bai duna i praktiká esaki tambe tantu riba papel komo riba bòrchi. Kiko mi ke logra ku e lès akí? Kiko e muchanan sa kaba di loke mi ta bai duna? Kon mi ta introdusí mi lès? Kon mi por sòru pa e lès bira mas agradabel posibel? Kon mi por motivá e muchanan mas tantu posibel pa e lès akí? Mi ta tene kuenta ku e introdukshon mester ta kòrtiku, motivante, i ku un introdukshon mester tin relevansia pa núkleo di e lès?

Mi ta sòru pa planifiká un lès kòrtiku i efisiente? Mi ta sòru pa mi aspektonan didáktiko ta efisiente? Mi ta duna un bon ehèmpel riba bòrchi? Di loke mi skibi, e muchanan por wak e moveshon kompletu? Mi sa tambe kon importante esaki ta pa e muchanan, i tambe kon importante ta pa e muchanan hasi e moveshon nesesario pa e lèter akí? Mi ta tene kuenta ku e manera di skibi, di tene pèn i skref di e mucha? Mi ta tene kuenta ku e difikultat ku kada mucha por tin den e situashon akí? Mi sa kon mi mester diferensia si un mucha no por sigui e tèmpo normal? Mi sa ku mi mester kana rònt i guia/yuda/motivá e muchanan? Mi sa kiko mi mester hasi ora gran mayoria di e muchanan ta hasiendo mesun eror? Mi sa ku ta importante pa tin material nesesario pa por duna un lès mas efektivo posibel? Mi ta tene kuenta ku e kriterionan di skibi ora di evaluashon di kada mucha? Mi ta sòru pa trabou di e muchanan ta koregí promé ku

nan haña nan trabou bèk? Ora e muchanan haña nan trabounan bèk, nan ta haña oportunitat pa drecha loke nan no tabatin bon? Tin un “follow-up” riba esaki tambe?

Skema di algun punto no-didáktiko ku maestro ta praktikando

No-didáktiko	Manera mester ta
Duna lès sin planifiká i praktiká e lèter òf palabra.	Mester praktiká tur biaha, tantu riba papel komo riba bòrchi, pa asina duna un mihó ehèmpel.
Laga e muchanan skibi di mas ora praktiká.	No laga mucha skibi mas ku 30 lèter òf 10 palabra. Parti e lès semper den mas lès. Esaki ta muchu mas efisiente.
Keda sinta durante henter e lès di skibi.	Por sinta un ratu pa trese un trankilidat den e lès. Mester kana rònt pa detektá loke ta bai malu òf pa guia e skibi bon, sinta bon i tene e material di skibi bon.
Keda sin kontrolá e skrefnan di skibi regularmente.	E mucha mester tin un bista di kiko e ta skibi bon i kiko ménos bon. Maestro mester koregí e trabou regularmente pa asina e mucha por tin un mihó bista di kiko e ta hasiendo bon i kiko ménos bon.
Uza palabra manera ba-fui-slòns etc.	Nos mester puntra nos mes si e puntonan ei tin un balor agregá pa e mucha?
No duna feedback	Tur mucha tin derechi di sa kiko nan ta hasiendo i si e proseso, den e kaso akí, di skibi ta kana bon. Pa e maestro ta di sumo importansia pa tin un bista riba desaroyo di skibimentu di kada mucha.

Despues di analisá nos skibimentu tékniko di ántes i awendia i para ketu na tur e fasetanan pa por papia di un bon skibimentu, ata aki (reseta di) e remedi pa un skibimentu eksitoso serka nos muchanan: e remedi ta ku e maestronan ta:

- kapasitá i ku konosementu amplio riba tereno di skibimentu tékniko,
- bon prepará pa duna e guia nesesario,
- responsabel pa ku planifikashon di e materia akí,
- hopi motivá pa traspasá e motivashon akí pa nan alumnonan,
- disipliná den koregí trabou di e alumnonan korektamente i regularmente,
- ta mira balor di skibi nèchi i sa di balorá esaki,
- sa di premia e alumnonan ku sobresalí riba e tereno akí.

Si nos enseñansa ta disponé di e remedi aki riba menshoná riba tereno di skibimentu tékniko, e ora ei nos por papia den nos enseñansa di un skibimentu tékniko saludabel ku lo ta favorabel den tur área di nos edukashon.

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**UNPACKING HEGEMONIC AND SUBALTERN DISCOURSES ON THE
USE OF PAPIAMENTU IN EDUCATION IN THE ABC-ISLANDS**

LANGUAGE ATTITUDES AND LANGUAGE USE OF *SCOL* MULTILINGUAL TEACHERS IN ARUBA: SOME PRELIMINARY RESULTS

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Good education is based on the needs and the possibilities of the student, and has as its main objective the optimal development of the student. Good and accessible education is a prerequisite for the social and economic development of Aruba or any other country. Educational reform aimed at achieving good and accessible education is a complicated process of analysis of problems, decision making and especially of social action involving information programs, awareness campaigns, development of curriculum and materials, training of teachers and implementation of the reforms with continuous monitoring and guidance.

In Aruba we are dealing with a comprehensive education reform which is characterized by a new vision on education based on post-colonial, emancipative perspectives. This somewhat exceptional situation demands the involvement of a critical mass of people with high levels of perseverance, conviction, and powers to persuade and convince. A paradigmatic example both of the great potential of educational reform in Aruba and the great challenges that confront efforts at reform is the Proyecto Scol Multilingual (the Multilingual School Project or PSML), an innovative pilot project currently being implemented at the level of primary education in Aruba.

Despite the fact that most people are convinced that changes have to be made, that the Proyecto Scol Multilingual is well thought out and that the preparatory activities for the project are being successfully executed, there is an atmosphere of fear and anxiety related to the planned changes, especially among the teachers who are the ones who will be in charge of implementing those changes. Traditional ideas and feelings of insecurity and incapacity are best dealt with by clear explanations of the differences between the new Scol Multilingual and the traditional Dutch school in Aruba.

The traditional educational system in Aruba is based on principles that make both teaching and learning difficult, as it uses Dutch as the only language of instruction and as the language of initial literacy. This choice of language would be logical in Holland, where Dutch is the first language of the vast majority of the students, but it

makes little sense in Aruba, where Papiamentu is the first language of the majority of students and where Spanish and English are better spoken and understood by students than is Dutch. In other words, Dutch is taught in Aruban schools as if it were the mother tongue of the students, when in fact for most Aruban students it is a foreign language. Worse, for most Aruban students, Dutch is not even a second language, but instead a third or fourth language. Because language skills are the best predictor of success in school, the insistence on Dutch as the sole language of instruction and initial literacy makes it extremely difficult for all Aruban students to succeed to their full potential in their studies, except for the very few who come from Dutch speaking homes. The mastery of Dutch is important for Aruban students in the longer term however, because Aruba is part of the Dutch Kingdom and significant opportunities for university study in Holland are available to students who are proficient in Dutch. For this reason, even under the proposed reforms, secondary education in Aruba is Dutch oriented.

In essence, the main goal of the new multilingual schools in Aruba is to provide every child a fair chance to be a successful student. In education language is crucial as the most important medium of communication and thinking. We no longer have to argue theoretically that the mother tongue of the child must be the most important medium of instruction/education¹ and thus the most important medium of learning, especially in the case of initial literacy. The use of the child's mother tongue in education is not only a right, but it is also the most important resource for learning.

As shown in Table 1 below, in Aruba Papiamentu is the mother tongue of the majority of the students, and thus it is logical that Papiamentu should be the language of instruction/education and of initial literacy in the new multilingual schools.²

Table 1 Language profile of the Aruban student

Language profile of the Aruban student Department of Education of Aruba Relato Estadístico 2009-2010		
Mother Tongue (L1)		%
Papiamentu	15.418	72,3
Spanish	2.648	12,4
Dutch	1.399	6,6
English	1.269	6,0
Other	585	2,7
	21.319	100%

The languages Dutch, English and Spanish will also have their place in the new multilingual schools, for different reasons:

¹ For the new primary school I prefer to use the concept 'medium of education' instead of 'medium of instruction'.

² The data for the students in school year 2010-2011 are not yet available.

- Dutch, as the language of the Dutch Kingdom and in Aruba the second official language, next to Papiamentu
- English, as a regional and global language
- Spanish, as the second most spoken language in Aruba and as a regional and global language.

Because secondary education in Aruba is to retain Dutch as language of instruction, policy makers have decided that in grade five and six of elementary school the Dutch language instead of Papiamentu will remain the medium of instruction. A program of transition from Papiamentu to Dutch to make this possible is therefore being developed.

Perhaps the most crucial group of stakeholders to the implementation of the PSML reform is the teachers of the Proyecto Scol Multilingual pilot schools. The success of the project depends to a large extent on the teachers, who are the ones to put innovation into practice. These actors have to be convinced of the principles and objectives of the project. Good preparation of the teachers for the transition to Scol Multilingual is mandatory, and to organize their training and coaching it is important to investigate the position of the members of this group in relation to the following:

- education reform
- the introduction of Papiamentu as medium of education and as subject matter
- the introduction of the new position of Dutch, not offered as the only language and the only medium of education, but as a foreign language
- their own mastery of the different languages in the curriculum.

To obtain this information a survey on language attitudes (the way people think and act in relation to language) and language use of PSML teachers and other Aruban teachers was conducted during the school year 2011-2012.

In this survey teachers from eight (8) schools participated: two (2) SML-pilot kindergartens and two (2) future SML-pilot primary schools and, as control groups, two (2) kindergartens and two (2) primary schools which are not in the project. All 24 teachers (100%) from the 2 pilot PSML and 2 non PSML kindergartens completed the questionnaire, as did 43 (of 48=89%) of the teachers from the 2 future pilot PSML primary schools and from the 2 non-PSML primary schools. Table 2 below lists the survey schools and the number of teachers per school who participated in the survey.

Table 2 The schools involved in the survey and the number of teachers who filled out the questionnaire

Type of school	school	Number of teachers
Pilot PSML Kindergarten	School A	7
	School B	5
Non Pilot Kindergarten	School C	7
	School D	5
Pilot PSML Primary school	School E	13
	School F	15
Non Pilot Primary school	School G	6
	School H	9
Total		67

The survey questionnaire consisted of 130 questions for the kindergarten teachers and 126 for the primary school teachers. This difference in quantity was due to the different number of questions that were specific to the different school levels.

The questions were divided in the following areas:

- Personal data (11 questions)
- General about language use (45 questions)
- Specific about Papiamentu (33 questions)
- Specific about the language situation, vision on language and language pedagogy at the kindergarten and the primary school levels (kindergarten 41 questions and primary school 37 questions)

For this article, teachers' responses to 46 of the questions are considered. The teachers were asked their level of agreement or disagreement (columns 2 through 6 of Table 3 through 6 below) with a list of statements (column 1). The results for the kindergarten teachers are listed after 'K' in columns 2 through 6, while results for the primary school teachers are listed after 'P' in columns 2 through 6. In these preliminary listings of results, no difference has been made between responses from the schools in the PSML project and those which are not in the project.

Preliminary results from the teachers' attitudes and use survey

The preliminary results from the survey include the figures listed in Tables 3 through 6 below:

Table 3 Statements about language proficiency

	Strongly Agree %	Agree %	Neutral %	Disagree %	Strongly Disagree %
1. My command of Papiamentu is excellent	K: 33 P: 26	K: 58 P: 54	K: 8 P: 11	K: 0 P: 7	K: 0 P: 2
2. My command of Dutch is excellent	K: 8 P: 24	K: 33 P: 48	K: 42 P: 19	K: 17 P: 9	K: 0 P: 0
3. My command of English is excellent	K: 8 P: 4	K: 25 P: 37	K: 25 P: 26	K: 25 P: 24	K: 17 P: 10
4. My command of Spanish is excellent	K: 0 P: 7	K: 25 P: 28	K: 17 P: 28	K: 33 P: 15	K: 25 P: 22

K=kindergarten teachers

P=primary school teachers

91% of the kindergarten teachers and 80% of the primary school teachers say that Papiamentu is the language that they master the best. Papiamentu is the mother tongue of 78,9% of all the teachers and kindergarten teachers use this language as medium of education.

Table 4 Statements about Papiamentu's role in the community

	Strongly Agree %	Agree %	Neutral %	Disagree %	Strongly Disagree %
5. Papiamentu should not be allowed to die out	K: 100 P: 96	K: 0 P: 2	K: 0 P: 0	K: 0 P: 2	K: 0 P: 0
6. Papiamentu must be promoted in the community (media, etc.)	K: 100 P: 80	K: 0 P: 7	K: 0 P: 9	K: 0 P: 2	K: 0 P: 2
7. Papiamentu is an official language in Aruba	K: 82 P: 74	K: 18 P: 13	K: 0 P: 2	K: 0 P: 2	K: 0 P: 9
8. We have to be proud of Papiamentu as the official and national language of Aruba	K: 100 P: 91	K: 0 P: 9	K: 0 P: 0	K: 0 P: 0	K: 0 P: 0
9. Papiamentu must be part of the Aruban National Anthem and Flag Day ceremonies	K: 100 P: 87	K: 0 P: 7	K: 0 P: 7	K: 0 P: 0	K: 0 P: 0
10. Papiamentu is important for the Aruban economy	K: 58 P: 30	K: 25 P: 9	K: 17 P: 28	K: 0 P: 16	K: 0 P: 7
11. Papiamentu must be used more in commerce and tourism	K: 17 P: 35	K: 75 P: 28	K: 0 P: 12	K: 8 P: 7	K: 0 P: 19

K=kindergarten teachers

P=primary school teachers

These statements refer to the appreciation of Papiamentu and of the recognition of its role in the community. Statement 5 to 9 score very high with both the kindergarten teachers (100) and the primary school teachers (an average of 93).

It is not surprising, for that reason, that the percentage of primary school teachers who state, that their mastering of Dutch is excellent (72) is lower than the percentage for Papiamentu. English and Spanish show relatively low scores. These languages are still absent in the kindergarten and are only in the curriculum of the fifth and sixth grade of the primary school as subjects, taught by special language teachers.

Table 5 Statements about Papiamentu's role in education

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
12. Using Papiamentu as the language of instruction feels good and works well	K: 60 P: 37	K: 40 P: 37	K: 0 P: 20	K: 0 P: 5	K: 0 P: 2
13. Papiamentu must be the language of instruction in primary schools	K: 42 P: 58	K: 50 P: 22	K: 0 P: 0	K: 8 P: 9	K: 0 P: 11
14. Papiamentu must be the language of instruction in secondary schools	K: 9 P: 7	K: 55 P: 29	K: 9 P: 44	K: 15 P: 0	K: 9 P: 20
15. Papiamentu must be the language of instruction in tertiary education	K: 20 P: 20	K: 60 P: 27	K: 0 P: 9	K: 20 P: 29	K: 0 P: 16
16. Teaching Papiamentu as a language subject feels good and works well	K: 56 P: NA	K: 44 P: NA	K: 0 P: NA	K: 0 P: NA	K: 0 P: NA
17. Papiamentu must be a primary school subject	K: 75 P: 89	K: 25 P: 5	K: 0 P: 0	K: 0 P: 5	K: 0 P: 2
18. Papiamentu must be a secondary school subject	K: 67 P: 87	K: 33 P: 4	K: 0 P: 2	K: 0 P: 4	K: 0 P: 2
19. Papiamentu must be a subject in tertiary education	K: 75 P: 77	K: 25 P: 14	K: 0 P: 2	K: 0 P: 5	K: 0 P: 2
20. Papiamentu is an obstacle to learning Dutch	K: 0 P: 14	K: 25 P: 9	K: 8 P: 19	K: 0 P: 14	K: 67 P: 44
21. There is a strong relationship between home language and school success	K: 67 P: 55	K: 33 P: 30	K: 0 P: 9	K: 0 P: 0	K: 0 P: 7
22. Compared to Dutch, English, and Spanish one can't say everything in Papiamentu	K: 27 P: 28	K: 46 P: 35	K: 0 P: 9	K: 0 P: 5	K: 27 P: 23
23. If Papiamentu is used to explain things, the students will understand better	K: 83 P: 77	K: 17 P: 18	K: 0 P: 2	K: 0 P: 2	K: 0 P: 0

K=kindergarten teachers

P=primary school teachers

Statements 10 and 11 show much lower scores in the group of primary school teachers (49 and 63), compared to the kindergarten teachers (83 and 92). This difference is probably due to the fact that the kindergarten teachers are working with Papiamento and are thus more positive related to its role beyond the local cultural and political sectors.

The scores for statements 12, 13, 17, 18, 19 and 21 are very much in favor of Papiamento, both in the case of kindergarten teachers as well as with primary school teachers. Concerning the statements about Papiamento as language of instruction in secondary education (14), and tertiary education (15), the scores show hesitation, especially by the primary school teachers. There are no scores for statement 16 for the primary school teachers, because they do not yet have experience with Papiamento in education. Concerning statement 20 we can conclude that there is a positive tendency to accept the importance of the role of Papiamento in education, with responses of 67 and 58 in the two groups. The scores for statement 23, 100 and 95, which are very positive for Papiamento, contradict the scores for statement 22.

Table 6 Statements about PSML

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
24. Sufficient information about PSML has been made available to me	K: 42 P: 19	K: 50 P: 19		K: 0 P: 50	K: 8 P: 12
25. I agree with the ideas concerning the role of Dutch, English and Spanish in PSML	K: 25 P: NA	K: 75 P: NA	K: 0 P: NA	K: 0 P: NA	K: 0 P: NA
26. I want to stay in PSML	K: 92 P: NA	K: 0 P: NA	K: 0 P: NA	K: 0 P: NA	K: 8 P: NA
27. I think that PSML will be successful	K: 75 P: 43	K: 17 P: 41		K: 8 P: 8	K: 0 P: 8
28. It is a good idea to include secondary school in PSML	K: 40 P: 33		K: 60 P: 49		K: 0 P: 18
29. I agree with the ideas behind PSML	P: 29	P: 54	P: 10		P: 8
30. I want my school to be part of PSML	P: 76				P: 24

K=kindergarten teachers

P=primary school teachers

The scores for statements 24 and 25 show clearly that the kindergarten teachers have more information about the PSML than the primary school teachers, however, according to statements 29 and 30, these teachers agree with the ideas

Table 7 Statements about Dutch in Scol Basico

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
31. Using Dutch as the language of instruction feels good and works well	K: NA P: 10	K: NA P: 12	K: NA P: 56	K: NA P: 10	K: NA P: 12
32. Explanation of subject matter is an extremely difficult part of teaching in Dutch	K: NA P: 41				K: NA P: 59
33. Communication is an extremely difficult part of teaching in Dutch	K: NA P: 24				K: NA P: 76
34. Evaluation is an extremely difficult part of teaching in Dutch	K: NA P: 12				K: NA P: 88
35. Differentiation is an extremely difficult part of teaching in Dutch	K: NA P: 10				K: NA P: 90
36. Adaptation of materials is an extremely difficult part of teaching in Dutch	K: NA P: 5				K: NA P: 95
37. Students find oral tasks to be an extremely difficult part of Dutch lessons	K: NA P: 93				K: NA P: 8
38. Students find comprehension to be an extremely difficult part of Dutch lessons	K: NA P: 63				K: NA P: 37
39. Students find technical reading to be an extremely difficult part of Dutch lessons	K: NA P: 8				K: NA P: 92
40. Students find comprehensive reading to be an extremely difficult part of Dutch lessons	K: NA P: 68				K: NA P: 32
41. Students find creative writing to be an extremely difficult part of Dutch lessons	K: NA P: 60				K: NA P: 40
42. I would like to go on teaching in Dutch	P: 26		P: 42		P: 32
43. I prefer teaching in Papiamentu instead of in Dutch	K: NA P: 56		K: NA P: 22		K: NA P: 22
44. I use Papiamentu to explain things to the students	K: NA P: 28	K: NA P: 44	K: NA	K: NA P: 26	K: NA P: 3
45. I teach whole lessons in Papiamentu	P: 5	P: 71			P: 24
46. My communication in Dutch with the students is excellent	K: NA P: 8	K: NA P: 11		K: NA P: 46	K: NA P: 36

K=kindergarten teachers

P=primary school teachers

behind PSML. The kindergarten teachers, who traditionally work with Papiamentu as medium of education, do not have problems accepting the ideas of the PSML. Two of the kindergartens are already PSML-schools. The primary schools are not yet in the project; two of these schools are in the preparatory phase and will be integrated into the project in August 2012.

The majority of these statements are not applicable to the kindergarten teachers, because they do not have experience with Dutch as language of education.

We can see some remarkable contradictions in this section. While the teachers are mostly neutral concerning the statements 31 and 42 about teaching in Dutch, their point of view about their own teaching contradicts their point of view about the performance of the students in Dutch.

Although the Proyecto Scol Multilingual is a complicated process, we cannot say that the teachers are reluctant to participate in it. The kindergarten teachers especially are very positive about PSML. However, the primary school teachers seem to be a bit more hesitant, perhaps because they cannot visualize the new situation. Another factor may be that some primary school teachers do not dare to admit that by teaching in Dutch they are contributing to the failure of the students, as indicated by the contradictions in their responses to the questions in Table 7.

Both an educational tradition of monolingual instruction in Dutch that has lasted almost two centuries, as well as negative attitudes towards creole languages in education that have persisted for an even longer time, will be very difficult to change without a continuous dialogue between all the stakeholders involved, including not just the Department of Education and the Aruban Pedagogical Institute (IPA, the teachers training college), but also the schoolboards, the parent's councils and the teachers unions.

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EARLY SIGNS OF MULTILINGUAL ABILITIES IN ARUBAN KINDERGARDEN STUDENTS

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This article discusses early signs of multilingual abilities exhibited by kindergarden aged Aruban students, as demonstrated by a real time study of a 5 year old kindergarden student in Aruba who attends a Proyecto Scol Multilingual (PSML) pilot school. The PSML is a pilot project of the Department of Education of Aruba, in which a multilingual model (featuring Papiamentu as language of instruction and initial literacy and Dutch, English and Spanish as foreign languages) is being integrated into the school curriculum of two kindergartens and two primary schools. The aim of the project is to collect data and experiences for the future implementation of a multilingual model in other schools on the island.

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The research material collected thus far in the real time study already constitutes a virtually inexhaustible archive for studies on language learning in Aruba, which will be of immense use to researchers for decades to come. Through the use of audio-visual documentation, this target student real time study provides approximately 35 hours of extremely detailed and optimally contextualized data collected over the course of the target student's attendance at a non-PSML kindergarden school from October 2009 to July 2010, her attendance at a PSML kindergarden school from August 2010 to July 2011, and then the year that she has spent thereafter in grade one of primary school.

The target student was born on 21 October (20 days after 1 October, the official cut-off date by which a child must reach the age of four in order to be allowed to enter kindergarden on the first day of classes in August of the same year). For this reason, the target student was not allowed to enter kindergarden until some three months after the beginning of the term, when she finally turned four. The target student has a non-exceptional Intelligence Quotient (IQ) score well within normal range, and she normally would have been expected to complete kindergarden in July of 2012.

Because of her outstanding performance in class, however, she was advised to take a series of very difficult tests which allow students to enter grade one of primary school before the normally prescribed time, by proving that it would not be in their benefit to

remain another year in kindergarten. Because she did well on these tests, she was granted permission to enter primary school in August of 2011, where she is currently doing very well and is reading at a high level, despite the fact that she is the youngest in her class and that her IQ is not above average.

The target student is the daughter of one of the PSML Research Team members. The level of parental involvement required for this type of real time study is far beyond the means of most research projects to organize and mobilize, even though the kind of evidence obtained is considered to be extremely valuable because it gives a holistic picture of the outcomes of educational and linguistic interventions.

Results

According to the parent/researcher, among the behaviors exhibited by the target student, several demonstrate positive impacts of the PSML program, including:

- 1) Superior ability to acquire and creatively use language skills
- 2) Superior ability to devise and deploy language learning strategies
- 3) Highly developed problem solving skills, whereby knowledge in one language is freely and effectively utilized to decode and encode another language
- 4) High levels of consciousness about language and language learning
- 5) A solid foundation for learning reading and writing
- 6) Very positive attitudes toward learning Dutch, English, and Spanish
- 7) A very positive attitude toward learning in general
- 8) Enthusiasm for engaging in learning activities (particularly those related to language learning) in her leisure time
- 9) An appreciation for other languages and cultures

The following transcriptions and discussion substantiate these findings. In the first exchange below the parent/researcher asks the target student how she learned English. The target student says that she learned it from watching cartoons. The parent/researcher asks again how she managed to learn English from cartoons and the target student answers that when she watches cartoons and she hears a word like “ball” she thinks of the word *bala* (in Papiamentu) and she thinks that the two words sound alike and that they may have the same meaning. Then she continues watching to see if what she thinks is true. She explains explicitly once again that she uses the words she already knows in Papiamentu to learn new words in English.

Mother: *Pakico bo ta kere bo por papia asina bon?*

Child: *Pasobra mi ta siña fo'i ehm... mi ta siña fo'i cartoons.... wak... ora .. ora manera ora m'a wak, m'a compronde .. ora bo tin cu bisa*

“bala” ... ”ball”... anto e ta manera parce otro, manera tur dos ta bala, anto m’a kere cu tur dos ta bala, anto ta berdad... e ora m’a siña cu tur cos ta asina... antobra ... abo tin cu bisa... eigenlijk abo tin cu bisa ehm... bo, bo, bo kieren... ehm b’a siña hopi di ehm... di Papiamento anto despues abo .. b’a siña hopi di Ingles, b’a compronde... bala cu “ball” ta parce otro... tur dos ta bon, nan ta match un tiki antobra b’a haya sa tur, antobra... bo por bisa e muchanan esey tambe, okay?

The second exchange below gives evidence of several language skills of the target student. Her overall English proficiency level is boosted by the ability to analyze words systematically and cross-linguistically, by following phonological, morphological and semantic rules. It should be emphasized here that these skills are cross-linguistic. The extent to which the target student is able to reflect on the psycholinguistic mechanisms applied shows that there is a high level of consciousness on how to jump from one linguistic repertoire to the other, and that the multilingual mind operates by dynamically resourcing multiple linguistic repertoires.

In the exchange below, the parent/researcher asks the target student (in English) if she knows what the word “courage” (in English) means. The target student thinks and then answers that courage means a “wagon” (in English). The parent/researcher asks why she thinks that courage is a wagon. The target student explains that when you hear courage, you hear “car” and “idge”. A “car” she knows and “idge” means that “it can run when you pull it”. The parent/researcher goes on to ask if she knows the word for “courage” (or “carriage” as the target student has interpreted the word) in Papiamento. The target student then goes on to think very hard, saying that she doesn’t know, she’s thinking and then after some seconds she suddenly comes up with the word *garoshi* (Papiamento for “carriage”), expressing with her face how surprised and glad she is that she found the word that she was looking for. Finally, the parent/researcher asks the target student if she can explain how she found the word *garoshi*. The target student explains that she was thinking in her head and looking for words in several places in her head (she points to several places on her forehead to illustrate this). She says that she found *bus* and *auto* and that she kept searching and then suddenly found *garoshi*.

Mother: *What does the word “courage” mean?*

Child: *“Courage”... it means... a wagon?*

Mother: *It means “a wagon”?... so, so... okay... why do you think it means “a wagon”?... just explain in whatever language you want why you think that “courage” means “a wagon”.*

Child: *'Cause it's car... car means ride... ride... and "ch"... courage... "ch" means that ehm... it ... it can run when you pull it... "car-age" ... so it must be a wagon.*

Mother: *Wauw... and what's the word... what word would you use in Papiamento... or some other language?*

Child: *Ehm... Papiamento... (thinks deeply)... ami no sa... na Papiamento.*

Mother: *Okay... ehm... otro idioma?*

Child: *Ehm... no... otro idioma no, pasobra ... ehm... wagon... mi no ta com... mi no sa... mi no sa si ehm... mi no sa e palabra... bo sa... mi kiermen... "a wagon" ...*

Mother: *Uhum...*

Child: *Mi no ta ten... ami no ta... mi kiermen... si mi bisa un cos, e no ta bay parce e "wagon", paso mi no ta bin.. (gesture: puts her hand to her right forehead) mi no ta... mi ta pensando bon, pero mi no ta... ehm... garoshi?*

Mother: *Ata bo sa, mi amor!*

Child: *(laughs) ... garoshi chikito...*

Mother: *un garoshi chikito... ah... anto con bo a yega na e palabra ey? Bo sa kico tur b'a pensa pa bo yega na dje?*

Child: *Aha, paso m'a pon'e den un rij asina (gesture: puts hand on forehead and illustrates three rows)... m'a pone auto, bus, cu e cosn'ey... despues m'a bira... m'a cambia, m'a bira tur cos, manera... bruha asina, te cu m'a pensa "garoshi".*

Mother: *Wauw, mi amor... esey mi ta haya hopi great... t'un strategia masha interesante...*

The third exchange shows evidence of the metalinguistic awareness of the target student. She is not only able to produce correct sentences in both Papiamento and English, but she is also able to label the grammatical concept *frase* ("sentence") in Papiamento. In kindergarten such concepts are taught and she is able to apply them also outside the school setting. The parent/researcher asks if the target student knows the meaning of the word "trust" (in English). The target student answers that "trust" is *kere* ("believe" in Papiamento). Now the parent/researcher asks the target student in English if she can make a sentence with the word "trust". The target student answers that she doesn't understand what the parent/researcher means. The parent/researcher goes on to explain that she wants the target student to combine the word "trust" with other words to make a sentence. The target student responds in Papiamento that she now recognizes the task, and she asks if the parent/researcher wants her to make a

frase (“sentence” in Papiamentu). It is clear that she already knows the concept of what a sentence is in Papiamentu, but didn’t know the word for *frase* in English yet. The target student now proceeds to make a sentence with “trust” in English: “I trust my mom, my family and Dayenne”. The parent/researcher asks her if she can translate the meaning of the sentence, and the target student answers *Mi ta kere den mi mama, mi famia y Dayenne* (“I believe in my mom, my family and Dayenne”).

Mother: *Kico kiermen e palabra “trust”?*

Child: *“Trust” means “kere”.*

Mother: *Okay... can you make a sentence or phrase with the word “trust”?*

Child: *I don’t understand.*

Mother: *Can you say something (child/interrupts)*

Child: *Un frase, no?*

Mother: *Un frase! Hopi bon... cu e palabra “trust”.*

Child: *“trust”. I trust my mom, my family... and Dayenne.*

Mother: *Very good... anto kico esey kiermen na Papiamentu?*

Child: *Ami ta kere mama, tambe mi famia y Dayenne.*

The fourth exchange below sheds light on the multiple linguistic associations made through one single target word. The target student is able to derive meaning from low frequency words, but at the same time she seems to be triggered to link the target words to aspects of sound, morphology, and very complicated notions studied by historical linguists. The parent/researcher asks the target student if she knows the meaning of the word *edificio* (“building” in Papiamentu), and the target student says that she knows and gives an example of a building “Aruba Bank”. Then she says “...y *ehercicio ta “exercise”* (and *ehercicio* means “exercise”). The parent/researcher asks her how she knows this and the target student answers that she has already explained to the parent/researcher that she learned this from watching TV.

Mother: *Kico ta un edificio?*

Child: *Edificio... edificio ta manera “Aruba Bank” cu e cosn’ey...ehercicio!... manera ehm... exercise!...*

Mother: *Ehercicio ta exercise! Hopi bon! B’a yeg’i siña esey na scol?*

Child: *Ehm, no... na... bo sa caba... na television.*

Mother: *Wauw... anto b’a yega di tende exercise anto b’a pensa cu e palabra ta parce ehercicio?*

Child: *Aha.*

Mother: *Waw...*

Child: *Ex-er-cise...e-her-ci-cio...*

In the data, there are many instances where the target student's translation strategies are made explicit. The fifth and sixth exchanges below illustrate some of these strategies. In the fifth exchange, the parent/researcher asks if the target student knows what a *voetbal* ("soccer ball" in Dutch) is. The target student answers *bala di pia* ("foot" "ball" in Papiamentu – translating *voet* into "foot" and *bal* into "ball"). The parent/researcher gives her a compliment and then tells her that a *voetbal* in Dutch is a *bala di futbol* ("soccer ball") in Papiamentu. It is very clear from the data that the phonological awareness is very high, and that the target student is able to explicitly distinguish between similar sounds in different languages.

Mother: *Kico ta un voetbal?*

Child: *Un bala di [voe]... un bala di... un bala di pia.*

Mother: *(laughs)... hopi bon... bala di ... nos ta yam'e bala di futbol.*

Now the parent/researcher goes on to play the translation game with the target student and asks her to translate Papiamentu words into both Dutch and English. The parent/researcher says "*cabey*" and the target student answers "hair, *haar*". The parent/researcher says "*horea*" and the target student answers "ear, *oor*". The parent/researcher says "*nanishi*" and the target student answers "nose, *neus*". The parent/researcher says "*lip*" and the target student answers "lip, *lip*". The target student then says "*lippen*" (the Dutch plural form of *lip*) and the parent/researcher asks if she knows what *lippen* is in English. The target student answers "lips". The game continues. The parent/researcher says "*porta*" and the target student answers "*deur*, door". The parent/researcher says "*webo*" and the target student answers "*ei*, egg".

Mother: *Mi ta bisa bo e na Papiamentu... bo ta pens'e con bo sabie na Ingles... anto di biaha bo ta wak si bo por rey e na Hulandes.*

Child: *Okay, bisa mi.*

Mother: *Cabey.*

Child: *hmmm... hair..*

Mother: *... aha...*

Child: *y... haar...*

Mother: *hopi bon (laughs)... horea...*

Child: *ear...*

Mother: *aha..*

Child: *oor.*

Mother: *hopi bon! (laughs)... nanishi.*

Child: *neus...*

Mother: *uhum...*

Child: *nose...*

Mother: *Ehm... lip.*

Child: *lip... y... lip?*

Mother: *hopi bon... mescos, wak?... nan ta keda mescos...*

Child: *(laughs)*

Mother: *Papiamento ta “lip”... Ingles ta “lip”... y (child/interrupts).*

Child: *lippen!... bo por bisa “lippen”...*

Mother: *hopi bon! Hulandes ta “lippen” ora bo ta bisa tur dos... bo tin dos lip, no?... lip dj’abou y lip dj’ariba... anto na Hulandes, ora cu tin mas cu un, bo ta bisa “lippen”. Anto na Ingles? Ora bo tin mas cu un e ta bira...?*

Child: *neus.*

Mother: *no, na Ingles, ora cu tin mas cu un lip, e ta bira... two...?*

Child: *Two lips.*

Mother: *Very good. Hmmm... wauw, baby... wak cuanto cos bo sa! Okay, un otro palabra... ehm... porta.*

Child: *deur...*

Mother: *“Deur”... hopi bon, esey ta Hulandes...*

Child: *door.*

Mother: *hopi bon... mi wak un otro palabra, por ta... hmmm... webo.*

Child: *egg...*

Mother: *aha...*

Child: *een egg...*

Mother: *een... aha... na Hulandes e ta “een ei”...*

Child: *ei, ei, ei...*

Mother: *hopi bon... cama.*

Child: *Bed.*

Mother: *aha... ingles ta “bed”...*

Child: *Slaapkamer (laughs).*

Mother: *Slaapkamer ta un camber pa drumi... aha... anto con bo ta yama e cama cu bo ta drumi (child/interrupts).*

Child: *Bed!*

Mother: *Het bed!... hopi bon... e ta casi mescos cu Ingles, no? cama, bed, “en het bed”.*

Child: *E ta “bet” y “bed”... e “t” y e “d”...*

Mother: *Hopi bon! Bo ta pronuncia e “d” cu e “t”.*

The reader can access these and other samples of video recordings of the target student at: <http://youtu.be/mU5cB5qKOnQ>

Conclusion

While the native language of the target student is Papiamentu, she is able to understand and even interact in more than one language. These preliminary findings challenge the notion that children will be ‘confused’ if they are taught more than one or two languages in the earliest years of school. For many Aruban children English and Spanish are not foreign languages in the strict sense, for they are familiarised with these languages from home through Cable TV and other media.

For students attending PSML pilot schools, preliminary findings also show that they have more positive attitudes towards the Dutch language than most other Aruban students. Most Aruban students attend primary schools where Dutch, a language with which they are far less familiar than they are with Papiamentu, English, or Spanish, is the only language of instruction and the language of initial literacy. The result is that their experiences with Dutch in school are often negative and painful. In contrast, PSML students attend schools where their mother tongue, Papiamentu, is the main language of instruction and initial literacy, while Dutch, English, and Spanish are taught from kindergarten as second languages in playful contexts. As a result, besides gaining a positive attitude toward school and themselves through their mother tongue, PSML students also gain a more positive attitude toward Dutch.

If we are to comply with the most basic principle of education, which is to go from the known to the unknown, we will have to include all of the languages with which our children are familiar in our curriculum from the very beginning. Papiamentu remains the language that is most spoken by our children, and as such it is the most obvious foundation for the further holistic development of the Aruban child. But that holistic development should eventually include full conversational and academic competence in all four of the languages commonly used in Aruba. That is the goal of *Proyecto Scol Multilingual*.

INCONSISTENT EDUCATIONAL LANGUAGE AND TERMINOLOGY AND ITS IMPACT ON EARLY CHILDHOOD EDUCATION IN ARUBA

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Authors who never give you something to disagree with
never give you anything to think about.

Michael LaRocca

Introduction

Education is much more than what goes on in the classroom. If we take a close look behind the scenes, we soon find out that teaching in the classroom is the end result of the the hard work of teachers, teachers of teachers, and so on behind the scenes. This background work is essential to the quality of education and should be facilitated wherever possible by close collaboration with parents, the community, school-boards and other educational institutions like the Teacher Training Institute, Instituto Pedagogico Arubano (IPA), or the Department of Education in Aruba. It is essential for these educational stakeholders to work together on a structural and regular basis to be able to enhance the quality of teaching that ultimately takes place in the classroom. To have an effective conversation about education one must first have knowledge about the actual educational system and the educational terminology in current use. When educators come together to discuss potential issues, they do not necessarily speak the same language (literally or figuratively). Literally, because Aruba is known to be a multilingual island where almost everyone speaks four languages: Papiamentu, Dutch, English and Spanish. In this article I will be solely focusing on Dutch, simply because Dutch is still the leading language in the educational field on the island and most educational documents are still written in Dutch. Figuratively on the other hand, because even in Dutch certain groups are formulating their own jargons in such a manner that we can almost speak of two dialect groups within the educational field on the island: one group at the ‘top’ (non-teaching employees of the Department of Education) and the other group at the ‘bottom’ (the teachers).

Being a small island, sometimes we have to survive with the resources that are available at the moment. One of the unfortunate results is that there is a widening

discrepancy between the educational terminology utilized by teachers on the one hand and the educational terminology utilized by those in the education system whose job it is to back teachers up. The result of this trend is that teachers in the classroom are no longer getting the proper backup that they need and at times it even seems that they are being undermined by those who are supposed to be supporting them.

Even though the above described trend impacts the whole educational field in Aruba, this article will focus on Early Childhood Education (kindergarten). Kindergarten is where it all starts and sadly it is an area where teachers are not getting the attention they deserve. Inconsistencies in educational terminology and educational language are possibly one of the reasons that teachers are not getting the facilitation they need to be able to do their job efficiently and effectively in the classroom.

It is an undeniable reality that one of the greatest obstacles to global communication still remains the language barrier (Croes, Richardson & Williams, 2010). Discrepancies in terminology between distinct languages is a well-established topic. Discrepancies in terminology within the same language is, on the other hand, a relatively new trend, but it is now receiving more and more attention by researchers all over the world. Last year there was a conference held in Paris against the backdrop of this growing area of investigation. Discrepancies in terminology were the central topic at the 9th International Conference on Terminology and Artificial Intelligence.

During this conference it was pointed out that certain trends related to inconsistencies in terminology have intensified to such an extent that they have become issues of serious concern all over the world. Aruba is not excluded from these developments, which include the following:

The fragmentation, not only of scientific subjects, but also of non-scientific activities, and the accompanying subdivision of communications, even within a single language. For example, mathematicians working on different topics use different terminology sets, and among gamers, different jargons are used depending on the type and genre of the game.

The massively reduced life expectancy of certain terms especially in cutting-edge spheres. It is not uncommon to find that a set of terms one learned several years ago is no longer in use.

Jargons are here to stay, and they are not going anywhere (Ives, 1997). Contemporary occupations almost demand their own jargon. Jargon is an aspect of everyone's life in some way be as part of a job, a hobby, or a sport. Jargon is a way for groups within a single language community to have their own specific variety of language. There are advantages and disadvantages to using jargon. For instance, while jargon can give a person a sense of belonging to a specific group, jargon can leave someone feeling

excluded from a conversation and it can also (intentionally or unintentionally) lead to misunderstandings. Some who study jargons claim that jargons were invented simply as a professional shorthand, and developed out of convenience rather than any intention to exclude or deceive. Those familiar with the jargons associated with lawyers and the law, however, would have a hard time defending such claims of innocence. In this article, I will attempt to find some preliminary answers to such question as: To what extent are the educational workers on Aruba at the moment aware of this trend toward the use of jargon in their field? Do they recognize the extent to which jargon is used in their daily work? Are they aware of the impact that the use of jargon is having on the quality of education on Aruba? And if they are aware of this situation, are they willing to start doing something positive about changing it?

In order to answer these questions, I examine two recent innovation projects, which I personally have been part of as an educational scientist. Both projects are using their own jargons. One project that has emerged from the Department of Education is the 'Proyecto Scol Multilingual' (Multilingual School) and there are at the moment two kindergartens participating in it. The other project was initiated by the kindergartens themselves 'Proyecto Structura di Cuido den Enseñansa Preparatorio' (Structure of Care in the Early Education) and has 13 kindergartens participating in it. There are 26 kindergartens at the moment on the island.

In the end I hope that it will become clear that we are dealing with progressively different sets of educational terminologies within the educational system on the island, and that this unfortunate situation is causing frustration on a national level. I really hope that in the end, the educational workers who read this article will be inspired and motivated to undergo some changes in their verbal repertoire for the sake of our teachers, our children and ultimately, the quality of the Early Childhood Education in Aruba.

Proyecto Structura di Cuido den Enseñansa Preparatorio

In 2007 three kindergartens came together to discuss their concerns about the quality of the Early Childhood Education in Aruba. The three kindergarten principals weren't at all happy with the way things were going, and they weren't receiving the proper facilitation from departmental workers from outside of the schools, so they decided to start solving the problems from inside. With each school year over the preceeding decade they had been enrolling more and more children who needed extra attention and they felt that they needed to work more efficiently and effectively to be able to meet these new challenges. In 2008 they approached us at the Instituto Pedagogico Arubano with the proposal to become a facilitating body in this process of innovation and we started working on a plan. After months of discussing the issues and formulating possible solutions we started with the implementation of the project, *Maneho den cuadro di Structura di Cuido na Arco Iris Kleuterschool*, in 2009.

Today in 2012, the project has become such a success that half of the kindergartens on the island have joined in. Because of the scope of the project it has become impossible for me to coach all of the schools all the time, that is why this year the schools and teachers started coaching themselves under a program of peer coaching. The results have been very positive, as evidenced by recordings of interviews with teachers, parents, and other stakeholders. This year, students at the Instituto Pedagógico Arubano have started to do research gathering the performance results of children currently in the elementary schools who had previously attended the kindergartens participating in the project. The kindergartens have also started to work more regularly and structurally with the elementary schools to bridge the gaps between their ways of talking and acting. Even though the workers at the different levels speak differing jargons, they have made the attempt to understand each other, accept each other and work together towards solutions for the benefit of the children who they know personally in their capacity as teachers.

For example, both types of schools work with goals, but the jargonistic meanings associated with the term *goals* are significantly different. The elementary schools work with goals that are derived from *areas of the curriculum* (for example ‘writing’ and ‘reading’) and the kindergartens work with goals derived from *areas of development* (for example ‘fine motor skills’ and ‘auditive discrimination’). The goals in the kindergartens are the necessary conditions that the child needs to achieve before starting with the goals at the elementary school level. The challenges become more apparent as we come to realize that not all the *areas of the curriculum* at the elementary school level can be translated as such to *areas of development*, for instance ‘geography’. This *area of curriculum* at the elementary level is not to be found at the kindergarten level as an *area of development* but instead as a *theme*! Most kindergartens work each month with a certain theme to facilitate children’s learning. If the content is brought into a context young children will learn faster and better (Janssen-Vos, 1997). In other words, the goals that kindergartens attempt to reach in the classroom are partly derived from *themes*.

Another huge difference between the elementary school and the kindergarten is the *roster*. The *roster* at the elementary school level consists of a timetable that is derived from the *areas of curriculum* (a certain amount of minutes per week per area). The roster at the kindergarten is derived from *activities*. These *activities* are carefully thought through ways for young children to be learning while playing, for instance ‘the puppet show’ (Janssen-Vos, 1997). At the kindergarten a certain amount of minutes per week are programmed on the roster for these *activities*. The teacher’s *specific goals* (derived from the *areas of development*) and *general goals* (derived from the *theme*) come together within the *activities* in the classroom.

For an outsider this all may be difficult to comprehend, but for a teacher (kindergarten or elementary school) the use of these different terminologies is part of their day to day experience. The problem is that they depend on the educational workers from outside of the schools, who may not be familiar with the particular jargons used at each level, to help facilitate education inside the classroom.

The kindergartens participating in the ‘Structura di Cuido den Enseñansa Preparatorio’ project work as a team in monthly planning sessions, where the use of *activities*, *themes* and *areas of development* are carefully determined and planned at the school level: everybody is doing the same thing at the same time. This way the teachers are learning more from each other, within the kindergartens, between the kindergartens and between the kindergartens and the elementary schools. The schools that are participating are working in a more evidence-based way and discussions about educational issues (including educational jargons) with parents, other schools, school-boards, educational inspectors have become more transparent, efficient and effective over the past few years.

Finally there is one more innovation that needs to be mentioned: the emerging *internal coach* system at the kindergarten level. Elementary schools have had *internal coaches* since the early 1990s, but for the kindergartens this is a brand new phenomenon. As previously mentioned, it is impossible for one external coach to guide the whole project at thirteen different kindergartens, so the position of the *internal coach* within each school is essential. At the moment there are different workshops being given at Instituto Pedagógico Arubano for the emerging *internal coach* system in the kindergartens.

However, since these internal coaches at the elementary level are an initiative of the schools themselves, they are thus far not recognized officially by the Department of Education. Will these internal coaches be recognized as such, or will they be expected to do their coaching tasks without compensation in their free time?

Proyecto Scol Multilingual

In 2007 the project ‘Scol Multilingual’ was approved by the Aruban parliament. The two multilingual pilot schools proposed under this project will feature the four main languages spoken on the island (Papiamentu, Dutch, English, and Spanish), and will primarily focus on Papiamentu as the language of initial instruction and initial literacy in Aruban kindergartens and elementary schools (Grupo Modelo di Idioma, 2002). There is an elaborate framework developed by educational workers outside of the schools for the implementation of this project starting in the kindergarten and ending in the fourth grade of the elementary school when the primary language for instruction becomes Dutch (Grupo Modelo di Idioma, 2002). The proposed goals of the multilin-

gual school are firstly, to achieve higher student performance rates at all educational levels and secondly, to achieve an overall improvement in students' language aptitude (Croes, Richardson & Williams, 2010).

The role of jargons becomes interesting when we take a look at a particular set of *goals*. The *goals* of the multilingual schools are formulated by the Department of Education and they are articulated through an entirely different language (figuratively) than the *goals* used in the schools. The *goals* of the Scol Multilingual are derived from *areas of formation* (individual and community, nature and technology, and so on) which have been developed in other innovative programs such as the 'Scol di Mañan' project. These areas are to a certain extent based on the curricular areas used at the elementary schools and so there is a certain degree of mutual intelligibility between the jargons used by Scol Multilingual and those used by elementary school teachers, but for the kindergarten teachers, it's a completely different story. When making instruments for the pilot schools to work with, a lot of 'translation' needs to occur beforehand, to be able to carry out the vision and mission of the project. This can only happen through close collaboration with the schools who will ultimately be the ones implementing these goals in their classrooms. In this instance, the collaborative practice of the 'Structura di Cuido den Enseñansa Preparatorio' project could serve as a useful model for *Scol Multilingual*.

352 When we focus on the *roster* of the Scol Multilingual pilot kindergarten classes, we see that elements of different jargons from different levels are used without adequate attention to making sure that teachers have been trained to translate the words into their daily classroom practice. For example, on the kindergarten timetable a certain amount of time is given each week to *areas of curriculum*, *areas of development* and *areas of formation*. Have kindergarten teachers, who are only used to working with *areas of development*, been given the training they need to fully understand what the terms *areas of curriculum* and *areas of formation* mean at the level of educational discourse as well as at the level of what they do in their day to day activities with their students?

When it comes to the application of the formulated *goals* of the project, one of the pilot schools is using the set of *goals* derived from the other project: 'Proyecto Structura di Cuido den Enseñansa Preparatorio' and seems to be making progress. The principal of this school has stated on many occasions that 'Scol Multilingual' is working for their teachers and students because they have made 'Scol Multilingual' fit into the structures that they have already established under 'Structura di Cuido den Enseñansa Preparatorio', the *internal coach* included.

While kindergartens all over the island have started looking for solutions for their actual problems at school, concerning real children, parents and community, the

Department of Education has been trying to implement strategic plans that date back to 1999 (Grupo Nucleo Priepeb, 1999). A fairly recent national study contends that they have somehow lost track of what is really going on in the schools (Chiew, 2007).

It is also a known fact that educational workers from outside the schools are constantly trying to implement strategies used in The Netherlands, often by imposing the Dutch educational system on the Aruban context (Pereira, 2010). Unfortunately it doesn't work this way: the Aruban schools have a mind and body of their own. In my opinion though, I would have to disagree with Pereira at some level, because I think that it's not (only) a question of policymakers not having the courage to bring about the necessary changes. I strongly believe that it is also a question of not knowing what to do or where to start.

Some think that this unfortunate state of affairs will never come to an end as long as the educational workers from outside of the schools keep making decisions for the educational workers inside the schools, with each group using their own jargon. One thing is for sure, if no one starts taking action to translate the jargon used by one group into the jargon used by the other, we will soon no longer be speaking of two groups anymore but of two entirely different planets, and no vision regarding the quality of Early Childhood Education in Aruba, as good as it may be, will ever be effectively and efficiently carried out.

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A democratic solution or plain common sense?

Being a democratic island one must conclude that in this case the majority must prevail. Among the stakeholders in the educational process in Aruba the majority consists of the teachers, the parents, and the young children attending the kindergartens. As stated earlier in this article, the work of the teachers should be where possible facilitated by close collaboration with parents, the community, school-boards and other educational institutions like the Instituto Pedagógico Arubano and the Department of Education. It is essential for these educational stakeholders to work efficiently and effectively together on a structural and regular basis, to be able to enhance the quality of teaching that ultimately takes place in the classroom.

To recapitulate, educational workers must firstly become aware of the multiple jargons used within the educational system (i.e. the various definitions attributed to such terms as *goal*, *area*, *roster*, and so on) to be able to discuss educational issues in a meaningful way for all stakeholders, and secondly, they must be willing to transcend the boundaries between them, which are in many ways constructed by these differing jargons, to help enhance the quality of education in the classroom in a way that will ultimately be in the best interest of the children of Aruba.

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COMING TO TERMS WITH LANGUAGE IN MATHEMATICS EDUCATION IN CURACAO

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In effective mathematics education, students are expected to justify their solution strategies, listen to others, try to understand alternative solution strategies and, if necessary, demand explanations and enter into discussion. The students must therefore set to work actively with mathematics, not as passive consumers, but as actors, who develop mathematical tools and insights throughout the educational process.

Language is assuming an ever more important position in mathematics education. For instance, assignments are often presented in the context of a narrative and there is much discussion on the tackling of assignments. Mathematics also has its own technical language which is frequently used in the classroom, with students being expected to convert this technical language into symbols. The language situation associated with mathematics is therefore rather complex.

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For example a teacher dictates sums and differences for his/her pupils to write down and solve in their exercise books. He/she recites “ $23 + 46 =$; $48 - 23 =$.” Later on, in some exercise books, the teacher sees what appear to be entirely different numbers than the ones she dictated. Instead of $23 + 46 =$, she sees $32 + 64 =$. When you write down dictated numbers such as twenty-three in Dutch, you first hear the units and then the tens, while in Papiamentu language, which is the mother tongue of most students, you first hear the tens and then the units. The pupils on Curaçao often find it very difficult to write down the numbers correctly due to interference from their home language Papiamentu to Dutch. Due to such problems in the conversion of numbers from Papiamentu to Dutch, many pupils on Curaçao are hindered in their development of a fluent “mathematics attitude,” that allows them to do such mental problems and consequently they develop little sensitivity for numbers.

Language has two levels: conversational competence one the hand and academic competence on the other hand. In general, the pupils on Curaçao have a degree of conversational competence in Dutch, but have much less competence in the academic

Dutch that is used in school and this impedes their progress in mathematics. For example, a teacher asks his/her pupils to solve the following problem: “Calculate the difference between 245 and 125 and the product of 245 and 125. Add up the two numbers. What answer do you come up with?” Before pupils can begin the assignment, they must understand the two technical language concepts, *difference*, *product* and that *difference* is for the result of *subtraction*, and *product* is for the result of *multiplication*. Many pupils in the class may find the way that this problem is worded difficult because they first must decode the words *difference* and *product* in order to choose which of the basic operations, addition, subtraction, division or multiplication to use.

The symbolic and technical academic language which is used in all mathematics classrooms worldwide differs from the conversational language used by students outside of class. This is a major challenge for all teachers and students. But in Curaçao, an additional problem related to language arises, namely the language used in school is Dutch, while the language that most children normally speak as their mother tongue everywhere else is Papiamentu. This difference is not merely one of academic vs. conversational competence in the same language, but one that involves competence in two completely different languages. Therefore the challenges normally faced by teachers and students in mathematics classes are much greater in Curaçao than in countries where the language used in school is the same one as the language used at home. Furthermore, the wording of mathematics problems often assumes a western worldview, which is not always the worldview of students in Curaçao.

Effective mathematics education is based on Freudenthal’s (1991) principle that students learn best through context-rich, significant problems and interactive educational activities. Learning is considered to be a social process whereby the teacher stimulates pupils to seek solutions, to express their mode of thought and to justify their answers. This stimulates pupils to reflect on their own learning processes. Because so much depends on students being able to express themselves effectively, language plays an important role in this particular approach to mathematics education. Freudenthal (1984) therefore makes an explicit and vital link between mathematics and the students’ mother tongue. But for many pupils on Curaçao this link has been broken by the use of Dutch in the classroom, which means that they are being systematically deprived of the basic tools that they need to succeed in mathematics and other areas of primary education. After all, the main goal of schooling is not to force children to learn a completely new language, but instead to use the conversational competence in their mother tongue that children bring with them to school in order to teach them academic competence in their mother tongue.

Vygotsky (1986) points out the importance of spoken language for the learning process. He views thinking as an interpolated dialogue, whereby thinking and language show a comparable syntax. Vygotsky distinguishes two functions of language: a communicative function and an individual psychological function, thus language as an instrument to think. He also highlights the centrality of the most fundamental principle of education, which is going from the known to the unknown, or using what the students already know to teach them something new, via ‘zones of proximal development’. Thus the teacher must make sure that the pupils understand the written and spoken language in any given mathematics lesson. Secondly, the teacher must give all students the opportunity to join in the class-conversation, to engage in understandable language production. And finally, the teacher gives feedback regarding the contents and the form of the pupil’s utterances (Lantolf, 2000; Gibbons, 2003).

Mathematics instruction only becomes effective when all pupils participate sufficiently in it to gain maximally from it. Effective mathematics instruction depends on more than just a rich learning environment; it must be also be a goal-oriented learning environment. When given an explanation, most pupils on Curaçao need a teacher who asks good questions about their perceptions and uses visual means to create a bridge from concrete to abstract so that pupils can develop insight. When pupils solve problems, the teacher must encourage thinking out loud, so the pupils gain insight into the language usage associated with mathematics.

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Alons (1995) wrote a textbook on the mental lexicon in which special attention is given to the development of a pupil’s lexicon. Within that framework, it’s important that lexicon education, such as the learning of the symbolic and technical vocabulary of mathematics, fits in with how the words are filed in the student’s memory. It is therefore important to reckon with the existing meaning relations when learning new words so that these can find their place in the network. New words are filed and remembered better when many connections are made with other words. If we want the pupils on Curaçao to increase their mathematical lexicon, we must make sure they acquire personal experience with the new words. Once the pupils experience something with the new words, they’ll remember them and subsequently be able to use those words. That’s the core of good, powerful education, in which pupils actively learn from their own experiences.

Van den Hurk (1995) explicitly elaborates on language aspects that are related to mathematics education. There are specific mathematics words that require explicit attention. When introducing a new mathematics model, it is important to pay attention to the language appropriate to the model and the study skills that the model requires. With mathematical problems in which drawings and text complement each other, an

explicit connection must be made between drawing and text. The disadvantage here in the primary education on Curaçao is that Papiamentu doesn't have certain technical language words, for example "counting frame", "proportion table", or the technical language words that exist in the language are not standardized. Dutch and English have one main word for addition, while the Papiamentu has various competing words (pone aserka, suma, agregá), which haven't yet been standardized.

Verbeeck (1996) advises teachers to look closely at the illustrations used and their connection with language and mathematics. She focuses on the following areas for special attention: Does the drawing support the problem? Are the drawings complete, or do they only show part of the object? Can the drawings be interpreted in a univocal way? Do the drawings only depart from the western context? At the moment, almost all primary schools on Curaçao have switched to a method for teaching mathematics entitled *Alles telt* [Everything counts] from the Netherlands. A large number of the drawings and contexts in this method are appropriate to the Western context, but pupils on Curaçao often find it difficult to identify with these drawings and contexts. For pupils, a context is a meaningful and recognizable situation, namely that which pupils can easily visualize. Within mathematics education, a context is a situation that stimulates pupils to mathematical action. The pupils on Curaçao are Caribbean-oriented and often unable to recognize the situations presented to them in *Alles telt* and therefore often fail to proceed to mathematical action. Freudenthal (1973; 1991) emphasized that mathematics must be linked with reality stay close to the pupil's perceptions, and be relevant to the student's society. Only then will mathematics have value.

For example, when a teacher asked her Curaçaoan students to calculate the surface area of a vegetable garden from its circumference and length, almost all of the pupils had difficulty because they didn't know what a vegetable garden was. On Curaçao, we grow vegetables and fruit in our gardens. Furthermore, the pupils had to understand the definition of *circumference* and be able to apply the definition to figure out the width. Subsequently, they had to apply the definition of surface area to solve the problem. One pupil, who didn't know what a vegetable garden was, made a drawing and then filled in the data. He applied the definition of the circumference to figure out the width and used the definition of surface area to solve the mathematical puzzle. This pupil was able to circumvent the language problem by applying a strategy. As a result, he understood the assignment and by focusing on a solution, he was able to solve the problem. In this case, the drawing functioned as a model to concretize the abstract assignment so he could form a correct image of the problem and choose the right strategy to solve the problem.

The pupil succeeded in circumventing the language problem because he was able to apply the definitions of “circumference” and “surface area” by means of the drawing. The other pupils couldn’t solve the problem because they didn’t know what a “vegetable garden” was and they weren’t able to apply the definitions of circumference and surface area. Pupils who are capable of applying definitions or who are good at applying strategies to circumvent language problems in mathematics, are often not considered pupils who have a language problem, because they frequently score good marks in comparison with other pupils on Curaçao. This is a serious oversight, which causes many teachers and other educators not to acknowledge and address the underlying language problem. Once we recognize the problems posed by the use of Dutch to teach the concepts of mathematics to Papiamentu speaking children, we can begin to help both groups with the language problem and both groups can then raise their level in mathematics.

Teachers must broaden their approach to mathematics lessons to realize that their classes need better treatment of language to widen and deepen the students’ mathematical insight. Language is the vehicle of thought. Mathematics classes should be dynamic, not a grind, so that pupils gain active experiences and transfer what they learn to their daily lives. When we discuss the vegetable garden problem in the classroom, we let the pupils read the assignment first and talk about the context of the problem afterwards. Prior to interpreting the problem, the class discusses the meaning of a vegetable garden.

The first question the pupils may ask is “What’s a vegetable garden?” The teacher can follow this with, “Do we have any vegetable gardens on Curaçao?” One pupil may say: “I don’t know what a vegetable garden is exactly, but I know what a garden is. At home, we play in the garden”. Students may therefore be able to make a connection between the words *vegetable garden* and *garden* via links with their daily lives to form an idea of what a vegetable garden might be. It is of vital importance that pupils learn to make a link or seek coherence by relating mathematics to their everyday experience.

Students’ performance marks indicate that the use of Dutch as language of instruction has a huge negative impact on learning mathematics (Suhre, De Wit & Mulder, 1996; Van den Berg et al., 1993). De Wit (1996) suggested that the cause of this lagging performance of pupils with Dutch as second language is due to the fact that mathematics involves more language since the introduction of new teaching methods. Van den Boer (2003) also draws this conclusion. The problems of pupils with Dutch as second language are caused not only by their lack of understanding of mathematics texts written in Dutch, but also and especially by their insufficient knowledge of Dutch which is used as the schoolroom language. In my future attempts to address

these challenges, I intend to work with my colleagues to describe, analyze and find workable solutions that meet the need of both students and teachers of mathematics in Curaçao.

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DOMINIO DI PAPIAMENTU I HULANDES DEN ENSEÑANSA SEKUNDARIO

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1 Introdukshon

Den e investigashon splikativo akí ta trata un tópiko den e área di atkisishon di idioma, kaminda énfasis ta riba e aspekto di kresementu di vokabulario pasivo i kompreshon di teksto na papiamentu i hulandes den Formashon Básiko, esta e promé dos klasnan di enseñansa sekundario.¹ Promé ta duna un bista di e posishon di papiamentu den enseñansa. Kaba ta sigui un deskripshon di abilidadat idiomátiko. Antisipando riba e diseño di investigashon ta trata midimentu di abilidadat idiomátiko.

1.1 Papiamentu den enseñansa sekundario

Na 1986 a introdusí papiamentu komo materia den enseñansa na Kòrsou. Na 2001 gobièrnu a start ku implementashon di Enseñansa di Fundeshi, loke a impliká un rekonsptualisashon i reorganisashon kompleto di enseñansa básiko. Un di e aspektonan mas importante den e maneho nobo akí tabata introdukshon di papiamentu komo lenga di instrukshon na lugá di hulandes. Den 2003 e promé kohorte di mucha di seis aña a start ku alfabetisashon na papiamentu. (Severing & Weijer, 2008). Na aña 2007 ta ofisialisá papiamentu huntu ku e otro idiomanan ingles i hulandes pa medio di un Ordenansa sentral na 2007. Na 2008 Minister a saka siklo 3 for di Enseñansa Fundeshi i a laga selekshon di lenga di instrukshon na kada direktiva di skol. Papiamentu a keda komo lenga di instrukshon den siklo 1 i siklo 2 serka skolnan di DOS i serka 9 skol di Direktiva Katóliko. Na final di aña eskolar 2009-2010 alumnonan di grupo 8 ta pasa un prueba final tantu na papiamentu komo na hulandes. E prueba final pa papiamentu a konsistí di e áreanan lesa i ortografia: kompreshon di teksto, vokabulario i diktado. Aña eskolar 2010-2011 a tipifiká su mes komo e aña ku e promé grupo di Enseñansa di Fundeshi a drenta enseñansa avansá, spesífikamente den Formashon Básiko. Tantu den Formashon Básiko komo klas 3 te ku klas 5 di

¹ Ku danki na drs. Ria Severing-Halman pa ayudo ku e programa di estadístika SPSS, Carina Magloire-Juliana i drs. Marianela Helm pa importashon di dato den Excel i korekshon. Tambe na e dosentenan di e skolnan Havo/Vwo ku a funshoná komo instruktor di tèst i e alumnonan ku a fungi komo informante.

Havo/vwo papiamentu ta un materia obligatorio den e kuríkulo. Den klas 5 di Havo i klas 6 di Vwo (for di 2014) e alumnonan ta pasa un eksamen sentral ku ta konsistí di dos prueba: *komprehshon di teksto* i *resúmen*. E promé grupo di Enseñansa di Fundeshi ku a drenta enseñansa avansá na aña 2009 a sigui un trayektoria kaminda papiamentu a hunga un ròl importante. Aunke no ta bon registrá kon kada skol a usa papiamentu i òf hulandes komo idioma di instrukshon den situashon di tur dia, ta interesante pa investigá kon e grupo akí a desaroyá su abilidad di idioma na papiamentu kompará ku nan abilidad di idioma na hulandes na e momentu akí den historia di enseñansa di Kòrsou.

1.2 Relevansia di vokabulario i lesamentu

Resultado di investigashon universal ta mostra ku dominio di vokabulario ta un elemento importante, ora ta midi dominio di idioma. Vokabulario, lesamentu komprehensivo i logronan akadémiko ta mostra un korelashon fuerte (Nation, 1990: 2; Severing, 1997). E dos komponentenan akí di dominio di idioma vokabulario i komprehshon di teksto tin balor predektivo fuerte, esta skor abou pa vokabulario ta pronostiká skor abou pa komprehshon di teksto. Pa medio di e tèstnan ku ta usa den e investigashon akí por haña un mihó bista riba prestashon i problema di alumno tokante dominio di vokabulario relashoná ku komprehshon di teksto den e dos idiomanan papiamentu i hulandes.

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Modelo komunikativo

Didáktika di idioma ta distinguí algun aspekto di idioma: idioma oral i idioma skibí na un banda i na otro banda idioma reseptivo i idioma produktivo. Saliendo for di e kuater aspektonan akí ta yega na e kuater áreanan prinsipal di atenshon ora ta siña idioma, esta: skucha, papia, lesa i skibi. Tantu e metanan nùkleo, términonan final pa idioma, komo e métodonan lokal, prinsipalmente esunnan pa e idioma papiamentu² ta Sali for di e partishon di kuater parti akí. Figura 1 ta visualisá e relashon entre e kuater distinto komponentenan prinsipal di dominio di idioma.

Abilidad idiomátiko	Reseptivo	Produktivo
Idioma oral	skucha	papia
Idioma skibí	lesa	skibi

Figura 1 E kuater aspektonan prinsipal di abilidad idiomátiko

² Ta trata di métodonan total òf sintétiko ku ta kontené siñamentu di tur aspekto di idioma papiamentu. E métodonan ku ta referí na dje aki, ku a keda desaroyá entre 1998 i 2012 (tin ku nan desaroyo ta kontinuando), ta: Trampolin pa alumno di 4-6 aña; Salto 7 aña; Fiesta di idioma 8-10 aña i Mosaiko 11-16 aña.

For di e konstrukshon teóriko *dominio di idioma* ta selektá algun komponente relevante ku por konsiderá representativo (Verhoeven & De Jong, 1992; Verhoeven & Vermeer, 1989). E investigashon akí lo keda limitá na dominio di lenga skibí i idioma reseptivo, esta na e área di solamente lesamentu. Pa motibu di e korelashon fuerte ku ta eksistí entre e aspekto prinsipal: *lesamentu* i e aspekto adishonal, konosementu di vokabulario, lo enbolbí esaki tambe den e investigashon. Aunke vokabulario ta un supkomponente e tin un balor sumamente indikativo.

2 Diseño di investigashon

Promé ta presentá meta di e investigashon, sigui pa e preguntanan di investigashon. Kaba ta duna un bista kon a operashonalisá e variabelfnan den e instrumentonan pa haña dato nesesario. Despues ta deskribí e prosedimentu pa kolekshoná dato. Komo ta trata di prueba eksistente i standarisá, nan konfiabilidad i valides ya ta determiná. (Severing, 1993; 1997; Verhoeven & Vermeer, 1989; 2006)

Midi abilidadat idiomátiko

Tin dos tipo di prosedimentu pa midi abilidadat idiomátiko. E promé prosedimentu tin di haber ku e dimenshon integrativo versus esun diskreto. E proseso integrativo ta un aserkamentu holístiko. Den un prosedimentu diskreto ta midi kada un di e abilidadatnan parsial un pa un. Aki ta analisá pronunsiashon, konosementu morfológiko, dominio léksiko, noshon sintáktiko, komprension di teksto i kriterio semántiko. E prosedimentu akí ta bon pa diagnostiká i e ta duna indikashon pa intervenshon didáktiko den un di e áreanan menshoná ku un alumno no ta dominá. E di dos dimenshon tin di haber ku e forma ku ta kolekshoná dato: indirekto versus direkto. Durante e prosedimentu indirekto ta usa prueba i tèst. Aki ta trata di un prosedimentu standarisá, hopi biaha ta traha ku plachi i tarea. Kontrario na esaki, e prosedimentu direkto ta kolekshoná dato di idioma den un ambiente natural, por ehèmpel por graba kòmbersashon òf por opservá den klas. (Verhoeven & Vermeer, 1989)

2.1 Meta di investigashon

Tin mas aspekto ku ta esensial pa atkisishon di idioma. Sinembargo ophetivo di e investigashon akí ta pa haña un bista riba dominio di vokabulario pasivo i e relashon entre vokabulario pasivo i komprension di teksto papiamentu di alumnonan di Formashon Básiko. Ademas e meta ta pa kompará dominio di vokabulario pasivo i komprension di teksto di papiamentu i di hulandes ku otro. Finalmente ta trata na haña bista riba un variedat di faktor ku por influensia dominio di idioma.

Pa haña kontesta riba e preguntanan general akí ku tabatin, a parti nan den tres suppregunta di investigashon ku ta e siguiyentenan:

1. Kon i den ki grado alumnonan di Formashon Básiko na havo/vwo ta dominá vokabulario pasivo i komprension di teksto di papiamentu i hulandes?

2. Den ki grado dominio di vokabulario pasivo di papiamentu i hulandes ta krese den e promé dos añanan di skol sekundario?
3. Den ki grado variabelnan ekstralingwístiko ta relashoná ku prestashon di abilidad idiomátiko, esta vokabulario pasivo i kompreshon di teksto papiamentu i teksto hulandes?

Pa por midi dominio i kresementu di idioma den e investigashon akí ta hasi uso di un aserkamentu diskreto i ta hasi uso di un prosedimentu indirekto. A skohe pa un prueba di (1) vokabulario pasivo i pa un prueba pa (2) kompreshon di teksto di hulandes i papiamentu. Pa haña un bista di e (3) abilidadnan sosiolingwístiko di e alumno a usa lista ku pregunta pa alumno. A base di resultado di e enkuesta den un forma post hoc por forma grupo di alumnonan ku resultado semehante pa kompará resultado di e tèstnan.

2.3 Kolekshonamentu dato

Populashon di e investigashon ta alumno ku a finalisá skol básiko i ta kuminsá ku skol sekundario. Pa esei a traha ku e promé dos klasnan di skol sekundario, esta klas 1 i 2 di Formashon Básiko di dos skol havo/vwo na Kòrsou. A saka un muestreo representativo i a hasi uso di un instrumentario ku ta un operalisashon di e konsepto abilidad di idioma.

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Muestreo

Pa por yega na un muestreo representativo di e populashon a skohe kuater klas 1 i tres klas 2 di dos (Radulphus College i Peter Stuyvesant College) di e kuater skolnan sekundario regular na Kòrsou. En total ta trata di un grupo di 163 alumno di kua 99 ta mucha muhé i 65 ta mucha hòMBER. E edatnan ta varia entre 12 pa 17 aña.

Di e kantidat di 163 alumno ku a partisipá na e pruebanan 91 ta alumno di klas 1 i 72 alumno ta di klas 2 di skol sekundario. Tur alumno a traha e kuater pruebanan di papiamentu i hulandes i e a yena e lista ku pregunta na papiamentu ku informashon ekstralingwístiko. Tabèl 1 ta duna un bista di e muestreo ku ta representá e populashon, ku ta e alumnonan di e promé dos klasnan di skol sekundario havo/vwo na Kòrsou.

Tabèl 1 Kantidat di alumno pa kada nivel

Klas	Alumno	Mucha hòMBER	Mucha muhé
1	91	33	58
2	72	32	40

Instrumentario

E instrumentario a konsistí di sinku tèst. Pa hasi komparashon a usa dos prueba na papiamentu i dos prueba na hulandes. E pruebanan di e dos idiomanan ta ekivalente.

Es desir, ku nan tin un grado di difikultat komparabel. Tambe e alumnonan mester a yena un lista ku pregunta. E instrumentario na papiamentu ta konsistí di un prueba di vokabulario pasivo di 42 item i un prueba di kompreshon di teksto di 30 item. E instrumentario na hulandes ta konsistí di un leeswoordenschattaak di 50 item i un tekstleestaak di 20 item. Nan ta forma parti di e TAK-toets, Taaltoets Allochtone Kinderen (wak figura 2). Por konsiderá tur e pruebanan instrumentonan konfiabel i válido (Severing, 1993; 1997). E instrumentario na papiamentu ta konsistí di un prueba vokabulario pasivo i kompreshon di teksto.

Aspekto	Idioma	
	Papiamentu	Hulandes
Leksikal	Vokabulario pasivo 2	Passieve woordenschat 2
Tekstual	Tarea pa lesa 3: Pushi	Leestaak 3: Katten
Ekstra-lingwístiko	Lista ku pregunta pa alumno	

Figura 2 Instrumentario pa investigá dominio di papiamentu i hulandes i pa abilidadat sosiolingwístiko

Kompreshon di teksto

Pa evaluá kompreshon di teksto alumnonan a traha e teksto ku buraku Pushi di 30 item i su ekivalente na hulandes di 20 item. E alumnonan mester a skohe i yena palabra. Ta trata aki di palabranan di funshon manera konhunshon (aunke, promé ku etc.) i palabranan demostrativo (esei, esei ke men etc.). Ehèmpel:

Pan ta bon pa bo ____1____ e tin yen vitamina. 1. basta – pasobra – aunke

Vokabulario pasivo

E prueba ta midi vokabulario reseptivo di e alumnonan mediante kompreshon di palabrá skibí. E prueba hulandes ta konsistí di 50 item i e prueba papiamentu ta konsistí di 42 item den un frase di konteksto i un sekshon di múltiple eskoho. E palabranan ta suprayá den e frase i pa kada frase tin kuater alternativa di kua solamente un ta korekto. E alumno mester a skibi lèter di e kontesta korekto riba su blachi di kontesta. Ehèmpel:

Semper e ke dikta.

A manda

B gaña

C ta promé

D traha diktado

Variabelnan èkstralingwístiko

Alumnonan a haña un lista pa yena. Resultado di e enkuesta ta duna un bista di e abilitatnan sosiolingwístiko di e alumnonan. Nan mester a duna algun dato personal i kontestá pregunta yenando un sifra riba un eskala di 1 te 5. 1 ke men tiki, 3 ke men mas o ménos i 5 ke men hopi. Ehèmpel:

Mi ta sabí den hopi kos.	1..2..3..4..5
Ora mener òf yùfrou yama mi nòmber mi ta bira nèrvioso.	1..2..3..4..5

2.4 Prosedura di tèst

Durante e momentunan di prueba dosentenan ku ta duna lès na e diferente klasnan a funshoná komo guia. E alumno mester a traha en total kuater prueba i yena un enkuesta. E promé siman nan a traha dos prueba hulandes i e siguiente siman nan a traha dos prueba papiamentu i yena e lista ku pregunta pa alumno. E sekuensia ku a sigui ta pa evitá ku e pruebanan na papiamentu ta influensιά resultado di e pruebanan hulandes ku ta ekivalente na esnan di papiamentu. E dosentenan ku a guia e tèstnan a risibí un guia riba papel pa indiká sekuensia ku mester duna e tèstnan i instrukshonnan ku mester presentá na e alumnonan pa e proseso por bai mas sinkronisá posibel.

2.5 Análisis di dato

Pa analisá e datonan kolekshoná a hasi uso di e programa elektróniko SPSS (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences). Promé a saka frekuensia i porsentahe di e resultadonan riba e kuater pruebanan tantu na hulandes komo na papiamentu. Usando kriterio for di Vermeer (1997), ta parti e skor di e alumnonan den altu, promedio, bou di promedio, abou i hopi abou. Despues a kalkulá skor, promedio i porsentahe separá di klas 1 i 2. A kalkulá korelashon (Pearson Correlation) pa averiguá kon fuerte e relashon ta entre e dos abilitatnan, esta vokabulario pasivo i komprension di teksto pa idioma papiamentu i hulandes. Pa kontestá e di dos pregunta a usa e porsentahe di e skor di e alumnonan di klas 1 i 2 pa wak ku tin oumento pa komprension di teksto pa tur dos idioma i ta kompará nan. Pa haña kontesta riba pregunta tres a kalkulá korelashon (Pearson) entre tur e variabelnan sosiolingwístiko i resultado di vokabulario pasivo i di komprension di teksto pa papiamentu i hulandes.

3 Resultado

Resultado di e diferente pruebanan ku e alumnonan a traha ta determiná nivel di nan abilitat idiomátiko. E kantidat di kontesta korekto ta determiná skor di e alumnonan pa e pruebanan. Pa kada kontesta korekto e alumno-informante ta atkerí un punto. Den e siguiente párafonan ta presentá resultado di e diferente pruebanan ku e alumnonan a traha. E promé párafo (3.1) ta duna un bista di e resultadonan di vokabulario pasivo papiamentu i hulandes i komprension di teksto papiamentu i hulandes. Despues den párafo 3.2 ta duna un bista kon dominio di vokabulario pasivo i komprension di

teksto papiamentu i hulandes a oumentá den e promé dos añanan di skol sekundario. Por último den párafo 3.3 ta duna un bista den ki grado variabelnan ekstralingwístiko ta determiná prestashon di abilidadnan idiomátiko di e alumnonan.

3.1 Vokabulario pasivo

E alumnonan a traha e prueba vokabulario pasivo 2 na papiamentu i su ekivalente hulandes (Leeswoordenschattaak). E prueba ta midi vokabulario reseptivo di e alumnonan, e ta midi kompreshon di palabra den teksto skibí. E prueba ta konsistí di tareanan múltiple eskoho. Promé ta duna resultadonan di e tèst Vokabulario pasivo 2, despues ta duna un bista di e resultadonan separá di klas 2 i 1, kaba ta sigui e resultadonan di e prueba hulandes (Leeswoordenschattaak).

Vokabulario pasivo papiamentu

Den tabèl 2 ta presentá e resultadonan di kalkulashon di frekuensia i porsentahe pa vokabulario pasivo papiamentu (VPP). E prueba pa vokabulario pasivo papiamentu tabatin 42 item. Pa e prueba akí a mantené e siguiente nivel di skor: 0-27=hopi abou, 28-30 = abou, 31-34 = bou di promedio, 35-37= promedio i 38-42 = altu.

Tabèl 2 Frekuensia i porsentahe di skor pa vokabulario pasivo papiamentu (VPP)

	Frekuensia	Porsentahe	Porsentahe válido	Porsentahe akumulativo
Altu	4	2.5	2.5	2.5
Promedio	31	19.0	19.0	21.5
Bou di promedio	62	38.0	38.0	59.5
Abou	34	20.9	20.9	80.4
Hopi abou	32	19.6	19.6	100.0
Total	163	100.0	100.0	

(k=42; N=163)

Pa loke ta trata e prueba di vokabulario papiamentu 2.5% di e alumnonan a skor altu, 19% a skor promedio, 38% a skor bou di promedio, 20.9% a skor abou i 19.6% a skor hopi abou. Solamente 21.5% di e alumnonan a skor sufisiente pa e prueba vokabulario i 78.5% a skor bou di promedio te hopi abou.

Vokabulario pasivo hulandes

Tabèl 2 ta duna un bista di e resultadonan pa vokabulario pasivo hulandes (VPH) den di frekuensia i porsentahe. E prueba vokabulario pasivo hulandes tabatin 50 item. E resultadonan ta reflehá e siguiente skornan: 0-35=abou, 36-43=promedio i 44-50=altu.

Tabèl 3 Frekuensia i porsentahe di skor pa vokabulario pasivo hulandes (VPH)

	Frekuensia	Porsentahe	Porsentahe válido	Porsentahe akumulativo
Altu	24	14.7	14.7	14.7
Promedio	63	38.7	38.7	53.4
Abou	76	46.6	46.6	100.0
Total	163	100.0	100.0	

(k=50; N=163)

14.7% di alumnonan ku a pasa e prueba a skor altu. 38.7% a skor promedio i 46.6% a skor abou. 53.4% a skor sufisiente i 46.6% a skor insufisiente.

Kompreshon di teksto

Pa evaluá kompreshon di teksto a laga hasi e tèst Tarea pa lesa 3 *Pushi* i su ekivalente na hulandes *Katten*. E tèstnan ta trata di koherensia den teksto. Elementonan ku ta kai bou di koherensia den un teksto ta palabranan di funshon manera konhunshon (aunke, promé ku etc.) i palabranan demostrativo (esei, esei ke men etc.).

Kompreshon di teksto papiamentu

Tabèl 4 ta duna resultado di kalkulashon di frekuensia i porsentahe di e skornan riba kompreshon di teksto papiamentu. Pa e prueba di teksto papiamentu por a haña un máksimo di 30 punto. A base di e skor atkerí a distinguí sinku nivel di prestashon: 0-22=hopi abou, 23-24=abou, 25-26=bou di promedio, 27-29=promedio i 30=altu.

Tabèl 4 Frekuensia i porsentahe di skor pa kompreshon di teksto papiamentu (KTP)

	Frekuensia	Porsentahe	Porsentahe válido	Porsentahe akumulativo
Altu	9	5.5	5.5	5.5
Promedio	96	58.9	58.9	64.4
Bou di promedio	32	19.6	19.6	84.0
Abou	17	10.4	10.4	94.5
Hopi abou	9	5.5	5.5	100.0
Total	163	100.0	100.0	

(k=30; N=163)

5.5% di e partisipantenan a skor un nivel altu i 58.9% a skor promedio. 19.6% a skor bou di e promedio, 10.4% abou i 5.5% hopi abou. E resultado akí ke men ku 64.4% partisipante a skor sufisiente pa e prueba i 35.5% bou di promedio te hopi abou. Mayoria alumno a skor promedio. Esei ke men ku mayoria por rekonosé uso korekto i no korekto e palabranan di funshon manera konhunshon i palabra demostrativo.

Komprension di teksto hulandes

Tabèl 5 ta duna un bista di resultado di prueba komprension di teksto hulandes. Pa prueba teksto hulandes por a skor un máksimo di 20 punto. Interpretashon di e nivelnan ta lo siguiente: 0-14=abou, 15-18=promedio i 19-20=altu.

Tabèl 5 Frekuensia i porsentahe di skor pa komprension di teksto hulandes (KTH)

	Frekuensia	Porsentahe	Porsentahe válido	Porsentahe akumulativo
Altu	67	41.1	41.1	41.1
Promedio	85	52.1	52.1	93.3
Abou	11	6.7	6.7	100.0
Total	163	100.0	100.0	

(k=20; N=163)

Tabèl 3.5 ta ilustrá ku pa e prueba di teksto hulandes 41.1% partisipante a skor altu, 52.1% a skor promedio i 6.7% a skor abou. Un total di 93.2% alumno a skor sufisiente i solamente 6.7% a skor insufisiente.

3.2 Progreso

Pa haña un mihó bista, a separá resultadonan di alumnonan klas 1 i klas 2. Tabèlnan 6 i 7 ta ilustrá esaki.

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Tabèl 6 Resultado di skor pa vokabulario pasivo i komprension di teksto papiamentu i hulandes klas 1

Klas 1	N	Min.	Maks.	Promedio	D. Std.	K _{item}	Pors.
Teksto papiamentu	91	14	30	26.76	2.85	30	89.2%
Vokabulario papiamentu	91	18	38	30.86	4.49	42	73.5%
Teksto hulandes	91	8	20	17.20	2.37	20	86.0%
Vokabulario hulandes	91	12	47	34.46	7.18	50	68.9%
N Válido	91						

Resultado di e mes kalkulashonnan pa skornan di vokabulario pasivo i komprension di teksto papiamentu i hulandes pa klas 2 por haña den tabèl 7. Importante ta e diferente skornan promedio, e porsentahe (Pors.) i e desviashon standarisá (D.Std) pa e diferente tareanan.

Tabèl 7 Resultado di skor pa vokabulario pasivo i kompreshon di teksto papiamentu i hulandes klas 2

Klas 2	N	Min.	Maks.	Promedio	D. Std.	K _{item}	Pors.
Teksto papiamentu	72	17	30	26.61	2.35	30	88.7%
Vokabulario papiamentu	72	12	39	30.46	5.21	42	72.5%
Teksto hulandes	72	13	20	18.03	1.91	20	90.2%
Voakabulario hulandes	72	23	48	37.31	6.29	50	74.6%
N Válido	72						

Tabèl 8 Skor mas abou, skor mas altu, skor promedio i desviashon stándart pa Tarea Vokabulario pasivo 2 klas 1 i klas 2

	N	Min.	Maks.	Promedio	K _{item}	Pors.
Klas 1	91	18	38	30.86	42	73.5%
Klas 2	72	12	39	30.46	42	72.5%
Total	163					

Tabèl 8 ta mostra ku tin un diferensia den dominio di vokabulario pasivo entre klas 1 ku 73.5% i klas 2 ku 72.5%. E skor di mas abou ta 12 punto registrá den klas 2, kompará ku e skor mínimo di 18 punto den klas 1. E promedio ta mostra un diferensia di 0.40 punto. Remarkabel ta ku e resultado akí ta indiká ku dominio di vokabulario pasivo ta mas altu den klas 1 ku den klas 2.

Tabèl 9 Skor mas abou, skor mas altu, skor promedio i desviashon stándart pa Leeswoordenschattaak klas 1 i klas 2

	N	Min.	Maks.	Promedio	K _{item}	Pors.
Klas 1	91	12	47	34.46	50	68.9%
Klas 2	72	23	48	37.31	50	74.6%
Total	163					

Tabèl 9 ta mostra ku Mayoria mucha di klas 1 a skor abou pa vokabulario pasivo hulandes. Den tabèl 9 ta mira ku tin desaroyo leve den dominio di vokabulario pasivo hulandes. Alumnonan di klas 2 su skor 37.31, ekivalente na 74.6% ta mas altu ku e skor 34.46, ekivalente na 68.9% di klas 1. Esaki ta un desaroyo positivo. Dominio di vokabulario serka alumnonan di klas 1 ta abou. Den klas 2 e skor ta nifiká ku dominio di vokabulario ta na nivel promedio.

Tabèl 10 Skor mas abou, skor mas altu, skor promedio i desviashon stándart pa Tarea pa lesa 3 klas 1 i klas 2

	N	Min.	Maks.	Promedio	K _{item}	Pers.
Klas 1	91	14	30	26.76	30	89.2%
Klas 2	72	17	30	26.61	30	88.7%
Total	163					

Den tabèl 10 ta mira ku e promedio pa kompreshon di teksto 89.2% di klas 1 ta mas altu ku e porsentahe 88.7% di klas 2, pero klas 1 tin e skor di mas abou ku ta 14. Un alumno ku skor abou asina tin problema ku kompreshon di un teksto. Hopi biaha un resultado asin'akí probablemente ta ligá tambe na un vokabulario nivel abou.

Tabèl 11 Skor mas abou, skor mas altu, skor promedio i desviashon stándart pa Testleestaak 1 klas 1 i klas 2

	N	Min.	Maks.	Promedio	D. Std.	K _{item}	Pors.
Klas 1	91	8	20	17.20	2.85	20	86.0%
Klas 2	72	13	20	18.03	2.35	20	90.2%
Total	163						

Tabèl 11 ta mostra ku kompreshon di teksto ta mas altu den klas 2 ku den klas 1, respektivamente 90.2% i 86.0%.

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Progreso

Resultado di e investigashon akí ta mostra ku e alumnonan ta skor mas altu pa e abilitat kompreshon di teksto ku vokabulario pasivo. Esaki ta presentá serka tantu idioma papiamentu komo hulandes.

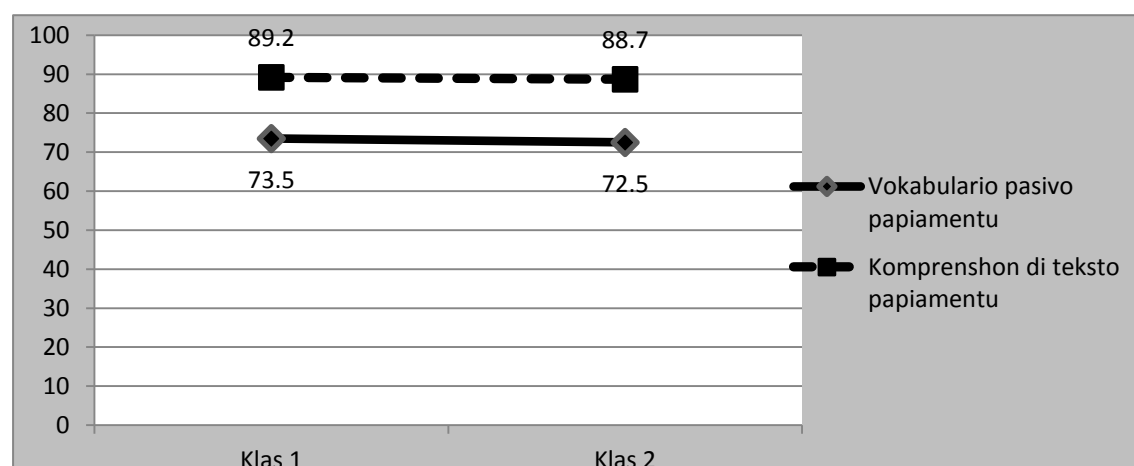


Figura 3 Progreso di vokabulario pasivo i kompreshon di teksto papiamentu (den porsentahe)

Figura 3 ta mostra ku den klas 1 kompreshon di teksto ta 89.2% kompará ku 73.5% di vokabulario pasivo i den klas 2 kompreshon di teksto ta 88.7% i vokabulario pasivo 72.5%. Figura 3 ta ilustrá tambe ku hulandes a bai dilanti, pero papiamentu no a bai muchu dilanti, asta tin un tendensia di bai un tiki atras. Vokabulario pasivo den klas 1 ta 73.5% i den klas 2 e ta 72.5%. Pa loke ta trata kompreshon di teksto e patronchi ta ripití, den klas 1 e skor ta 89.2% i den klas 2 e skor ta 88.7%.

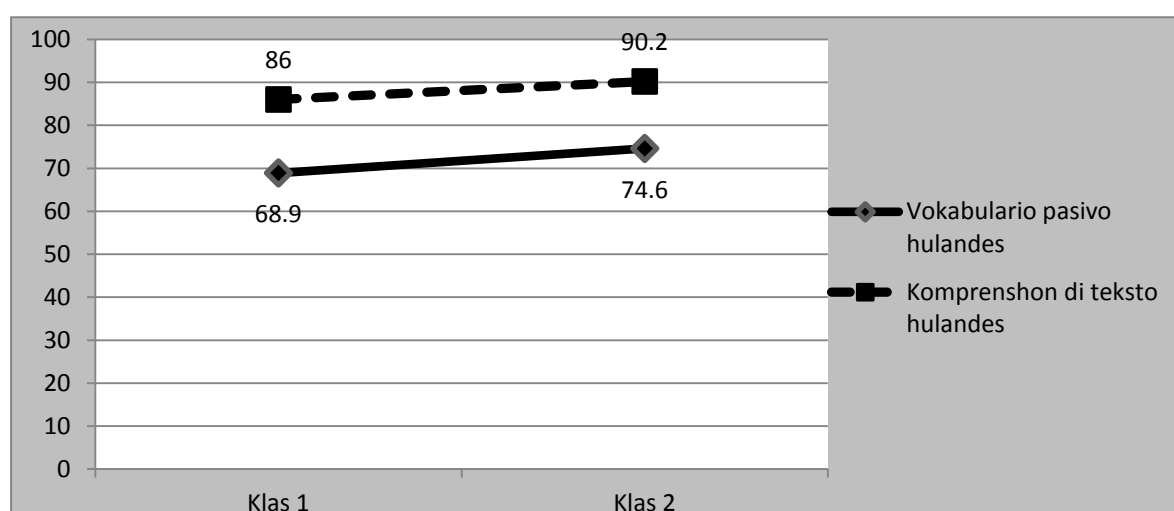


Figura 4 Progreso di vokabulario pasivo i kompreshon di teksto hulandes (den porsentahe)

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Figura 4 ta mostra ku alumnonan tantu di klas 1 komo klas 2 ta presta mas mihó pa kompreshon di teksto ku pa vokabulario pasivo hulandes. Den klas 1 kompreshon di teksto ta 86% kompará ku 68.9% pa vokabulario pasivo i den klas 2 kompreshon di teksto ta 90.2% i vokabulario pasivo 74.6%. Aki si tin un oumento positivo di klas 1 pa klas 2 di tur dos abilitat.

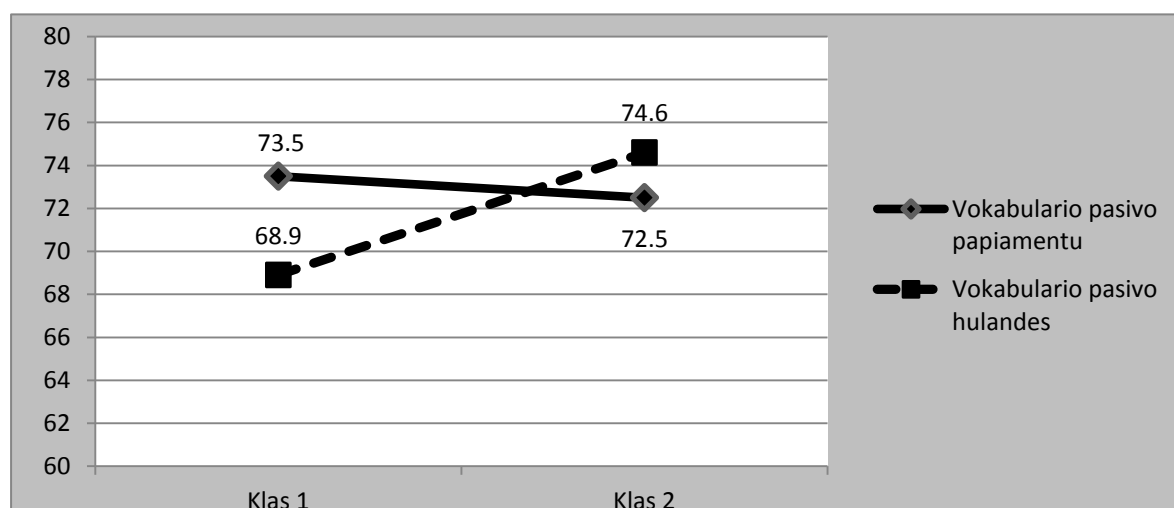


Figura 5 Progreso di vokabulario pasivo na papiamentu i hulandes (den porsentahe)

Figura 5 ta duna un bista kon e skor pa vokabulario pasivo ta kompará entre papiamentu i hulandes. Dominio di vokabulario pasivo papiamentu den klas 1 ta 73.5% kompará ku 68.9% di hulandes. Den klas 2 ta mira ku dominio di vokabulario hulandes 74.6% ta mas altu ku dominio di vokabulario papiamentu ku 72.5%.

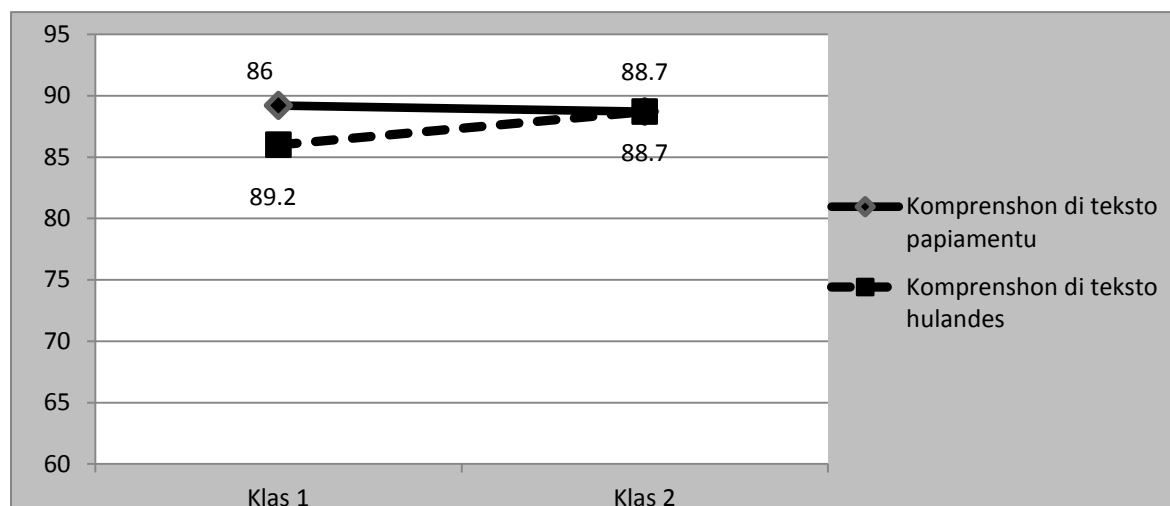


Figura 6 Progreso di komprenshon di teksto na papiamentu i hulandes

Figura 6 ta mustra ku progreso di komprenshon di teksto papiamentu 89.2% ta mas altu ku hulandes ku ta 86%. Den klas 2 e dominio di komprenshon di teksto hulandes 90.2% ta mas altu ku e dominio den klas 1 ku ta 88.7%.

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Den tabèl 12 ta presentá resultado di kalkulashon di korelashon entre e áreanan vokabulario i komprenshon di teksto na papiamentu i hulandes.

Tabèl 12 Korelashon entre e abilitatnan lingwístiko papiamentu i hulandes

	VPP	KTP	VPH	KTH
Vokabulario pasivo papiamentu VPP	1.00			
Komprenshon di teksto papiamentu KTP	.470**	1.00		
Vokabulario pasivo hulandes VPH	.069	.033	1.00	
Komprenshon di teksto hulandesKTH	.097	.177*	.641**	1.00

**=Korelashon ta signifkante riba nivel 0.01

Korelashon Pearson

* =Korelashon ta signifkante riba nivel 0.05

Den tabèl 12 ta mira ku tin un korelashon altu entre vokabulario pasivo papiamentu i komprenshon di teksto papiamentu. Mucha ku skor altu òf abou pa vokabulario pasivo, tambe ta skor altu òf abou pa komprenshon di teksto. Entre komprenshon di teksto papiamentu i hulandes tambe tin korelashon. Muchanan ku skor altu òf abou pa komprenshon di teksto papiamentu ta skor altu òf abou pa komprenshon di teksto hulandes tambe. Pa loke ta trata e abilitatnan na hulandes: komprenshon di teksto i

vokabulario tambe tin un korelashon altu. E resultado akí ta mostra ku un alumno ku skor abou pa vokabulario ta skor abou pa teksto tambe. E resultadonan akí ta mostra ku alumnonan ku ta bon den idioma papiamentu ta skor bon pa hulandes tambe. Esaki ta resultá sigur pa vokabulario pasivo i tambe pa kompreshon di teksto.

3.3 Aspekto sosiolingwístiko

Pa haña un bista mas detayá di posibel influensia di faktornan no-lingwístiko, aki aspektonan sosiolingwístiko riba e abilidad leksikal i kompreshon di teksto na papiamentu i na hulandes, a kalkulá korelashon entre e abilidadnan akí i e abilidadnan sosiolingwístiko. Ta distinguí faktornan (1) personal, (2) di aktitut di e alumnonan i (3) di ambiente di kas. Promé ta presentá den tabèl 3 e porsentahe di idioma di kas di e informantenan.

Tabèl 13 Idioma ku mas ta papia na kas

Idioma	N	Porsentahe
Papiamentu	106	65.0%
Hulandes	67	41.1%
Ingles	34	21.7%
Español	29	18.7%
Otro	8	05.3%

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E idioma mas usá na kas ta papiamentu sigui pa hulandes. Den e sekshon akí e muchanan por a skohe mas ku un idioma. Tin mucha ta papia tantu hulandes komo papiamentu, òf papiamentu ku otro idioma òf hulandes ku otro idioma. Por tin mucha ku ta papia tres idioma tambe.

Tabèl 14 Korelashon entre ambiente di kas ku prestashon idiomátiko

	VPP	KTP	VPH	KTH
Na kas mi hendenan ta yudami ku lèsnan.	.085	.148	-.035	.013
Semper na kas e hende grandinan ta bisa mi kiko no tin mag.	.053	.142	-.004	-.056
Na kas mi hendenan ta lesa hopi.	-.027	.059	.102	.082
Si mi tin algu di puntra, semper mi por puntra mi hendenan di kas.	.165*	.111	.223*	.085
Na kas semper nan ke sa kon ta bai na skol.	.207**	.208**	.143	.137
Na kas tur dia nan ta lesa korant na papiamentu	.057	.058	-.131	-.132
Na kas tur dia nan ta lesa korant na hulandes.	-.117	-.133	.372**	.171*
Mi rumannan gusta siña.	.217**	.189*	.012	-.087
Mi tin hopi amigu ku ta papia otro idioma.	.086	.112	-.030	-.034
Tur ora mi sa tende mi hendenan papia diferente idioma.	.157*	.046	-.121	-.004

**=Korelashon ta signifkante riba nivel 0.01

Korelashon Pearson

* =Korelashon ta signifkante riba nivel 0.05

Tabèl 14 ta mostra e korelashon entre e ambiente di kas i prestashon idiomátiko. Tin un korelashon positivo entre tantu vokabulario pasivo papiamentu i hulandes i

alumnonan ku *Semper por puntra nan hendenan di kas algu*. Tambe por mira un korelashon entre *Na kas semper ke sa kon a bai na skol* ku vokabulario pasivo i kompreshon di teksto papiamentu. Un otro korelashon positivo interesante ta esun di *Lesamentu di korant hulandes tur dia na kas* i vokabulario pasivo i kompreshon di teksto hulandes. Tambe por mira ku entre *Mi ruman gusta siña* i vokabulario pasivo i kompreshon di teksto papiamentu un korelashon. Por último tin un korelashon entre *Mi hendenan gusta papia diferente idioma* i vokabulario pasivo papiamentu.

Tabèl 15 Korelashon entre aktitut pa ku idioma i prestashon idiomátiko

	VPP	KTP	VPH	HKT
Mi ta bon den papiamentu	.375**	.287**	-.220**	-.081
Mi ta bon den hulandes	-.028	-.057	.345**	.300**
Mi ta bon den ingles	-.114	.066	.170*	.177*
Mi ta bon den spañó	.446**	.193*	-.236**	-.177*
Mi ta bon den otro idioma	.148	.160	-.058	.008
E lèsnan ku mi gusta mas tantu ta esnan di papiamentu	.235**	.175*	-.278**	-.171*
E lèsnan ku mi gusta mas tantu ta esnan di hulandes	.014	-.015	.197*	.168*
E lèsnan ku mi gusta mas tantu ta esnan di ingles	-.072	..157	.041	.051
E lèsnan ku mi gusta mas tantu ta esnan di spañó	.0364**	.217**	-.204*	-.177*
E lèsnan ku mi gusta mas tantu ta esnan di otro idioma	.184	.101	-.231	-.110
E idioma ku mi tin mas gana di siña ta papiamentu	-.092	-.022	-.137	-.043
E idioma ku mi tin mas gana di siña ta hulandes	.099	.095	-.064	-.029
E idioma ku mi tin mas gana di siña ta ingles	-.035	.166	-.111	-.059
E idioma ku mi tin mas gana di siña ta spañó	-.036	.014	-.086	-.013
E idioma ku mi tin mas gana di siña ta otro idioma	.374**	.119	-.120	-.116
Kaminda mi no gusta haña bùrt ta den lès di papiamentu	-.065	-.073	-.052	-.024
Kaminda mi no gusta haña bùrt ta den lès di hulandes	.010	.050	-.342**	-.254**
Kaminda mi no gusta haña bùrt ta den lès di ingles	.033	.130	-.038	-.066
Kaminda mi no gusta haña bùrt ta den lès di spañó	-.057	-.059	-.039	-.008
Kaminda mi no gusta haña bùrt ta den lès di otro idioma	-.090	-.104	-.197	-.236
Mi gusta wak sine kaminda nan ta papia papiamentu	.092	.028	-.091	-.015
Mi gusta wak sine kaminda nan ta papia hulandes	-.164	-.268**	.080	.080
Mi gusta wak sine kaminda nan ta papia ingles	-.110	-.030	.110	.110
Mi gusta wak sine kaminda nan ta papia spañó	.347**	.156	-.236**	-.153
Mi gusta wak sine kaminda nan ta papia otro idioma	.053	.014	-.108	-.216
Mi gusta lesa kuenta i buki na papiamentu	.158	.173*	-.381**	-.241**
Mi gusta lesa kuenta i buki na hulandes	-.128	.060	.138	.166*
Mi gusta lesa kuenta i buki na ingles	.078	.178*	.131	.041
Mi gusta lesa kuenta i buki na spañó	.393**	.164	-.297**	-.190*
Mi gusta lesa kuenta i buki na otro idioma	.168	.119	-.244	-.255
Mi gusta kansion na papiamentu	.168	.003	-.112	-.116
Mi gusta kansion na hulandes	-.179*	-.118	-.039	-.029
Mi gusta kansion na ingles	-.053	-.060	.046	-.018
Mi gusta kansion na spañó	.335**	.095	-.139	-.133
Mi gusta kansion na otro idioma	-.042	-.078	-.062	-.207

Lo mi tin gana di skibi karta i otro kos na papiamentu	.163	.130	-.193*	-.012
Lo mi tin gana di skibi karta i otro kos na hulandes	-.142	.036	.079	.152
Lo mi tin gana di skibi karta i otro kos na ingles	-.011	.243**	.107	.133
Lo mi tin gana di skibi karta i otro kos na spañó	.211*	.117	-.142	-.189*
Lo mi tin gana di skibi karta i otro kos na otro idioma	.172	.003	-.127	-.211
E idioma ku mi ta haña ta zona mas bunita ta papiamentu	.197*	.217*	-.159	.077
E idioma ku mi ta haña ta zona mas bunita ta hulandes	-.053	-.004	-.074	.133
E idioma ku mi ta haña ta zona mas bunita ta ingles	.006	.179*	-.162	.046
E idioma ku mi ta haña ta zona mas bunita ta spañó	.165	-.012	-.083	-.112
E idioma ku mi ta haña ta zona mas bunita ta otro idioma	.224	.056	.181	.075
Mi tin gana di por papia mas fásil den papiamentu	.045	.025	-.136	-.027
Mi tin gana di por papia mas fásil den hulandes	.082	.160	-.260**	-.191*
Mi tin gana di por papia mas fásil den ingles	.060	.065	-.241**	-.196*
Mi tin gana di por papia mas fásil den spañó	-.045	.007	.022	.132
Mi tin gana di por papia mas fásil den otro idioma	.143	.094	-.036	-.101

**=Korelashon ta signifkante riba nivel 0.01

Korelashon Pearson

* =Korelashon ta signifkante riba nivel 0.05

Tabèl 15 ta presentá korelashon ku a kalkulá entre resultado di e pruebanan i e datonan di trasfondo di e informantenan. Di tal forma por averiguá kua ta e faktornan ku tin un relashon mas fuerte ku prestashon pa idioma papiamentu i pa idioma hulandes. Pa vokabulario papiamentu esei ke men ku mucha muhé ta skor mas altu ku mucha hòmber. Pa loke ta trata e aktitut pa ku e idiomanan tambe tin un korelashon fuerte ku e pruebanan. E kontesta di e alumnonan riba e pregunta *Mi ta bon den papiamentu* ta korelá fuerte ku vokabulario pasivo i komprension di teksto na papiamentu i vokabulario pasivo hulandes. Tambe kontesta riba *Mi ta bon den hulandes* i *Mi ta bon den ingles* ta korelá fuerte ku vokabulario pasivo i komprension den teksto hulandes, pero akí si no tin korelashon ku e pruebanan ekivalente na papiamentu. E resultado aki ta nifiká ku un aktitut positivo direkshon di hulandes i ingles ta pronostiká skor altu pa idioma hulandes i no pa papiamentu.

Entre e pregunta *Mi ta bon den spañó* i vokabulario pasivo tin un korelashon fuerte positivo, pero un korelashon negativo ku vokabulario pasivo i komprension di teksto hulandes. Un posibilidat ta ku e alumnonan akí gusta e idioma, pero tòg nan ta skor malu pa e pruebanan.

E kontesta *E lèsnan ku mi gusta mas tantu ta esnan di papiamentu* tin un korelashon positivo ku papiamentu. Meskos ta e kaso ku e kontesta *E lèsnan ku mi gusta mas tantu ta esnan di hulandes* ku ta korelá ku vokabulario pasivo i komprension di teksto hulandes. *E lèsnan ku mi gusta mas tantu ta esnan na spañó* ta korelá positivo ku e pruebanan na papiamentu, pero negativo ku esunnan na hulandes.

E tabèl ta ilustrá ku apesar ku e alumnonan a skor bon pa vokabulario pasivo i komprension di teksto hulandes, nan *no gusta haña bùrt den lès di hulandes*.

Mi gusta wak sine kaminda nan ta papia spañó ta indiká un korelashon entre vokabulario pasivo papiamentu i un korelashon negativo ku vokabulario pasivo hulandes.

Mi tin gana di lesa kuenta i buki na papiamentu tin un korelashon positivo ku kompreshon di teksto papiamentu, pero un korelashon negativo ku vokabulario hulandes. *Mi tin gana di lesa buki i kuenta na spañó* tin un korelashon positivo ku vokabulario pasivo papiamentu i un korelashon negativo ku kompreshon di teksto hulandes. *Gana di lesa buki i kuenta na hulandes* ta korelá positivo ku kompreshon di teksto.

Lo mi tin gana di skibi karta i otro kos na spañó atrobe ta mostra un korelashon positivo ku vokabulario pasivo i un korelashon negativo ku kompreshon di teksto hulandes.

E eskoho *E idioma ku mi ta haña ta zona mas bunita ta papiamentu* ta korelá positivamente ku vokabulario pasivo i kompreshon di teksto papiamentu.

E alumnonan *tin gana di por papia mas fásil den hulandes*, pero nan a skor abou pa nan pruebanan hulandes, tin un korelashon negativo. Tambe esnan ku *tin gana di por papia mas fásil den ingles* a skor malu pa e pruebanan hulandes, pues aki ta mira un korelashon negativo atrobe.

Remarkabel ta ku tur kaminda ku tin e eskoho pa lenga spañó, tin un korelashon negativo ku sea vokabulario pasivo òf kompreshon di teksto hulandes, pero si tin un korelashon positivo ku prinsipalmente vokabulario pasivo papiamentu. Esaki por nifiká ku alumnonan ku di abla spañó, ku ta gusta e idioma spañó tin problema ku e idioma hulandes. Por ta nan gust'é, pero nan ta no ta domin'é.

E resultadonan ta mostra ku e ambiente na kas tin influensia prinsipalmente pa papiamentu. Alumnonan ku semper por puntra algu na kas i mayornan ku ke sa kon a bai na skol tin un influensia positivo. Un korelashon importante tambe ta e influensia di lesa korant hulandes tur dia riba idioma hulandes.

Resultadonan a mostra ku e muchanan a presta mihó pa hulandes ku pa papiamentu. Tambe tin un progreso pa hulandes riba tur dos abilidad, pero serka papiamentu esei ta ménos. Pa loke ta trata e aktitut pa ku idioma nos ta mira kada bes ku loke ta konta pa papiamentu i spañó ta bai huntu i tambe pa loke ta trata ingles i hulandes. Pues e muchanan ku ta skor altu den spañó ta skor bon pa papiamentu i ta skor ménos pa hulandes. E muchanan ku ta skor altu pa ingles ta bon den hulandes i ta skor ménos pa papiamentu.

4 Konklushon

Den e investigashon akí a trata di haña un mihó bista riba dominio di papiamentu den enseñansa havo/vwo. Pa logra esei a hasi esfuerso pa haña kontesta riba tres pregunta prinsipal pa medio di e estudio empírico akí. Rasonando ku vokabulario pasivo i kompreshon di teksto ta dos abilidad parsial ku ta korelá fuertemente ku dominio di

idioma en general, a enfoká riba e dos partinan akí di idioma pa papiamentu i pa hulandes. E tres preguntanan tabata: (1) Kon i den ki grado alumnonan di Formashon Básiko ta dominá vokabulario pasivo i kompreshon di teksto di papiamentu i hulandes na havo/vwo? (2) Den ki grado dominio di vokabulario pasivo di papiamentu i hulandes ta krese den e promé dos añanan di skol sekundario? i (3) Den ki grado variabel èkstra lingwístiko ta relashoná ku prestashon di abilidadat idiomátiko, esta vokabulario pasivo i kompreshon di teksto di papiamentu i hulandes?

Resultado di investigashon riba vokabulario pasivo papiamentu ta mostra ku 21.5% di e alumnonan a skor un sufisiente pa e prueba vokabulario i 78.5% a skor bou di promedio te hopi abou. Pa vokabulario pasivo hulandes ta mostra ku 53.4% di e partisipantenan a skor altu. E porsentahe akí ta mas ku dòbel di e porsentahe di vokabulario pasivo papiamentu.

Mirando e resultado akí bo por kere ku resultadonan di kompreshon di teksto lo ta mas abou, basá riba e teoria ku vokabulario pasivo i kompreshon di teksto tin un korelashon fuerte ku otro, ku un alumno ku no tin bon dominio di vokabulario pasivo su prestashon ta abou pa kompreshon di teksto i vise vèrsá. Den e kaso akí esaki no ta asina. Pa kompreshon di teksto papiamentu 64.4% di partisipante a skor sufisiente pa e prueba i 35.5% bou di promedio te hopi abou. 52.1% a skor promedio i 41.1% a skor altu. Un total di 93.2% alumno a skor sufisiente. Mayoria alumno a skor promedio.

380 Basá riba loke tin pará ariba por konkluí ku e grado di dominio di vokabulario pasivo serka e alumnonan pa tur dos idioma ta abou. E resultado akí por ta debí na e echo ku mayoria alumno di Enseñansa di Fundeshi ta risibí gran parti di instrukshon na hulandes. Na mayoria skol prinsipalmente ta konsentrá riba un bon dominio di hulandes i esei ta pone e vokabulario di hulandes krese i esun di papiamentu ta keda atras kompará ku hulandes. Un otro posibilidat por ta ku prinsipalmente e prueba hulandes a resultá muchu fásil pa e muchanan.

Pa loke ta trata kompreshon di teksto, e alumnonan ku vokabulario suak lo por a usa tambe otro strategianan di lesa ku ta yuda nan ku kompreshon di teksto p.e. rei palabra. E resultado ta nifiká tambe ku mayoria alumno por usa e palabranan di funshon manera konhunshon i palabra demostrativo (TAK-toets).

Kon e abilidadatnan dominio di vokabulario pasivo i kompreshon di teksto di papiamentu i hulandes ta krese den e promé dos añanan di skol sekundario? Esaki no ta manera lo pronostiká, ku klas 2 su resultado ta mas altu ku klas 1. Ta resultá ku tin un diferensia. Resultado hulandes ta mas altu ku esun di papiamentu. E prestashon serka kompreshon di teksto papiamentu ta mas altu ku e porsentahe di e skor di vokabulario pasivo. E mesun patronchi tin pa kompreshon di teksto i vokabulario pasivo hulandes. Loke ta remarkabel ta ku solamente ta mira ku hulandes ta bai dilanti i papiamentu no ta bai muchu dilanti, asta tin un tendensia di bai un tiki atras. Pa por

aklará esaki por referí na e ‘backwash effect’. E momentu ku pone un materia pa eksamen, ta kuminsá traha riba dje. Den e kaso akí no ta dominio di e abilidadnan a bai atras den klas 2, pero ta e dominio a bai dilanti diripiente den klas 1. Esaki saliendo for di e echo ku na 2009 papiamentu a forma parti di e pruebanan final na Skol di Fundeshi (pruebanan kordiná).

E posibilidat ta eksistí ku e siguiente aña por mira un subida. Alumnonan di klas 1 lo ta den klas 2 e siguiente aña eskolar i alabes e siguiente grupo di enseñansa di fundeshi ta drenta enseñansa sekundario. Alumnonan mas grandi ta haña mas lès i nan ta bai dilanti. Si a duna e pruebanan akí dos aña pasá, sí lo bo a mira un kurva ku ta subi. Esaki ta un suposishon i un posibel splikashon. Interesante pa menshoná ta, ku tin un korelashon altu entre prestashon pa papiamentu i hulandes. Mucha ku ta skor altu pa papiamentu ta skor altu pa hulandes tambe.

Pa haña un bista mas detayá di e grado di e relashon entre vokabulario pasivo i kompreshon di teksto na papiamentu i hulandes a kalkulá korelashon entre abilidadnan i aspektonan sociolingwístiko. Remarkabel ta ku tur kaminda ku tin e opshon lenga spañó, tin un korelashon negativo ku sea vokabulario pasivo òf kompreshon di teksto hulandes. Lenga spañó tin un korelashon positivo ku prinsipalmente vokabulario pasivo papiamentu. Informantenan ku ta *bon den spañó, ku gusta lèsnan mas tantu den spañó, ku gusta wak sine kaminda nan ta papia spañó, ku gusta lesa kuenta i buki na spañó i ku tin gana di skibi karta i otro kos na spañó* tin problema ku e idioma hulandes. Esaki por nifiká ku alumnonan ku lenga materno spañó, ku gusta e idioma spañó, por ta nan gust’é, sinembargo nan no ta dominá e abilidadnan.

Por konkluí ku resultado di e análisis akí a duna un bista di dominio di papiamentu i tambe hulandes di alumnonan den havo/vwo, pa partikularmente progreso di e abilidadnan vokabulario pasivo i kompreshon di teksto i tambe di e diferente faktornan ku ta influensia e dominio di e dos idiomanan.

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**UNPACKING HEGEMONIC AND SUBALTERN DISCOURSES ON
CULTURE AND SOCIETY IN THE ABC-ISLANDS AND BEYOND**

DOMINIO DI PAPIAMENTU I HULANDES DEN ENSEÑANSA SEKUNDARIO

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1 Introdukshon

Den e investigashon splikativo akí ta trata un tópiko den e área di atkisishon di idioma, kaminda énfasis ta riba e aspekto di kresementu di vokabulario pasivo i kompreshon di teksto na papiamentu i hulandes den Formashon Básiko, esta e promé dos klasnan di enseñansa sekundario.¹ Promé ta duna un bista di e posishon di papiamentu den enseñansa. Kaba ta sigui un deskripshon di abilidadat idiomátiko. Antisipando riba e diseño di investigashon ta trata midimentu di abilidadat idiomátiko.

1.1 Papiamentu den enseñansa sekundario

Na 1986 a introdusí papiamentu komo materia den enseñansa na Kòrsou. Na 2001 gobièrnu a start ku implementashon di Enseñansa di Fundeshi, loke a impliká un rekonsptualisashon i reorganisashon kompleto di enseñansa básiko. Un di e aspektonan mas importante den e maneho nobo akí tabata introdukshon di papiamentu komo lenga di instrukshon na lugá di hulandes. Den 2003 e promé kohorte di mucha di seis aña a start ku alfabetisashon na papiamentu. (Severing & Weijer, 2008). Na aña 2007 ta ofisialisá papiamentu huntu ku e otro idiomanan ingles i hulandes pa medio di un Ordenansa sentral na 2007. Na 2008 Minister a saka siklo 3 for di Enseñansa Fundeshi i a laga selekshon di lenga di instrukshon na kada direktiva di skol. Papiamentu a keda komo lenga di instrukshon den siklo 1 i siklo 2 serka skolnan di DOS i serka 9 skol di Direktiva Katóliko. Na final di aña eskolar 2009-2010 alumnonan di grupo 8 ta pasa un prueba final tantu na papiamentu komo na hulandes. E prueba final pa papiamentu a konsistí di e áreanan lesa i ortografia: kompreshon di teksto, vokabulario i diktado. Aña eskolar 2010-2011 a tipifiká su mes komo e aña ku e promé grupo di Enseñansa di Fundeshi a drenta enseñansa avansá, spesífikamente den Formashon Básiko. Tantu den Formashon Básiko komo klas 3 te ku klas 5 di

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¹ Ku danki na drs. M. Severing-Halman pa ayudo ku e programa di estadístika SPSS, Carina Magloire-Juliana i drs. Marianela Helm pa importashon di dato den Excel i korekshon. Tambe na e dosentenan di e skolnan Havo/Vwo ku a funshoná komo instruktor di tèst i e alumnonan ku a fungi komo informante.

Havo/vwo papiamentu ta un materia obligatorio den e kuríkulo. Den klas 5 di Havo i klas 6 di Vwo (for di 2014) e alumnonan ta pasa un eksamen sentral ku ta konsistí di dos prueba: *komprehshon di teksto* i *resúmen*. E promé grupo di Enseñansa di Fundeshi ku a drenta enseñansa avansá na aña 2009 a sigui un trayektoria kaminda papiamentu a hunga un ròl importante. Aunke no ta bon registrá kon kada skol a usa papiamentu i òf hulandes komo idioma di instrukshon den situashon di tur dia, ta interesante pa investigá kon e grupo akí a desaroyá su abilidadat di idioma na papiamentu kompará ku nan abilidadat di idioma na hulandes na e momentu akí den historia di enseñansa di Kòrsou.

1.2 Relevansia di vokabulario i lesamentu

Resultado di investigashon universal ta mostra ku dominio di vokabulario ta un elemento importante, ora ta midi dominio di idioma. Vokabulario, lesamentu komprehensivo i logronan akadémiko ta mostra un korelashon fuerte (Nation, 1990: 2; Severing, 1997). E dos komponentenan akí di dominio di idioma vokabulario i komprehshon di teksto tin balor predektivo fuerte, esta skor abou pa vokabulario ta pronostiká skor abou pa komprehshon di teksto. Pa medio di e tèstnan ku ta usa den e investigashon akí por haña un mihó bista riba prestashon i problema di alumno tokante dominio di vokabulario relashoná ku komprehshon di teksto den e dos idiomanan papiamentu i hulandes.

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Modelo komunikativo

Didáktika di idioma ta distinguí algun aspekto di idioma: idioma oral i idioma skibí na un banda i na otro banda idioma reseptivo i idioma produktivo. Saliendo for di e kuater aspektonan akí ta yega na e kuater áreanan prinsipal di atenshon ora ta siña idioma, esta: skucha, papia, lesa i skibi. Tantu e metanan nùkleo, términonan final pa idioma, komo e métodonan lokal, prinsipalmente esunnan pa e idioma papiamentu² ta Sali for di e partishon di kuater parti akí. Figura 1 ta visualisá e relashon entre e kuater distinto komponentenan prinsipal di dominio di idioma.

Abilidadat idiomátiko	Reseptivo	Produktivo
Idioma oral	skucha	papia
Idioma skibí	lesa	skibi

Figura 1 E kuater aspektonan prinsipal di abilidadat idiomátiko

² Ta trata di métodonan total òf sintétiko ku ta kontené siñamentu di tur aspekto di idioma papiamentu. E métodonan ku ta referí na dje aki, ku a keda desaroyá entre 1998 i 2012 (tin ku nan desaroyo ta kontinuando), ta: Trampolin pa alumno di 4-6 aña; Salto 7 aña; Fiesta di idioma 8-10 aña i Mosaiko 11-16 aña.

For di e konstrukshon teóriko *dominio di idioma* ta selektá algun komponente relevante ku por konsiderá representativo (Verhoeven & De Jong, 1992; Verhoeven & Vermeer, 1989). E investigashon akí lo keda limitá na dominio di lenga skibí i idioma reseptivo, esta na e área di solamente lesamentu. Pa motibu di e korelashon fuerte ku ta eksistí entre e aspekto prinsipal: *lesamentu* i e aspekto adishonal, konosementu di vokabulario, lo enbolbí esaki tambe den e investigashon. Aunke vokabulario ta un supkomponente e tin un balor sumamente indikativo.

2 Diseño di investigashon

Promé ta presentá meta di e investigashon, sigui pa e preguntanan di investigashon. Kaba ta duna un bista kon a operashonalisá e variabelnan den e instrumentonan pa haña dato nesesario. Despues ta deskribí e prosedimentu pa kolekshoná dato. Komo ta trata di prueba eksistente i standarisá, nan konfiabilidat i valides ya ta determiná. (Severing, 1993; 1997; Verhoeven & Vermeer, 1989; 2006)

Midi abilidadat idiomátiko

Tin dos tipo di prosedimentu pa midi abilidadat idiomátiko. E promé prosedimentu tin di haber ku e dimenshon integrativo versus esun diskreto. E proseso integrativo ta un aserkamentu holístiko. Den un prosedimentu diskreto ta midi kada un di e abilidadatnan parsial un pa un. Aki ta analisá pronunsiashon, konosementu morfológiko, dominio léksiko, noshon sintáktiko, komprension di teksto i kriterio semántiko. E prosedimentu akí ta bon pa diagnostiká i e ta duna indikashon pa intervenshon didáktiko den un di e áreanan menshoná ku un alumno no ta dominá. E di dos dimenshon tin di haber ku e forma ku ta kolekshoná dato: indirekto versus direkto. Durante e prosedimentu indirekto ta usa prueba i tèst. Aki ta trata di un prosedimentu standarisá, hopi biaha ta traha ku plachi i tarea. Kontrario na esaki, e prosedimentu direkto ta kolekshoná dato di idioma den un ambiente natural, por ehèmpel por graba kòmbersashon òf por opservá den klas. (Verhoeven & Vermeer, 1989)

2.1 Meta di investigashon

Tin mas aspekto ku ta esensial pa atkisishon di idioma. Sinembargo ophetivo di e investigashon akí ta pa haña un bista riba dominio di vokabulario pasivo i e relashon entre vokabulario pasivo i komprension di teksto papiamentu di alumnonan di Formashon Básiko. Ademas e meta ta pa kompará dominio di vokabulario pasivo i komprension di teksto di papiamentu i di hulandes ku otro. Finalmente ta trata na haña bista riba un variedat di faktor ku por influensia dominio di idioma.

Pa haña kontesta riba e preguntanan general akí ku tabatin, a parti nan den tres suppregunta di investigashon ku ta e siguiyentenan:

1. Kon i den ki grado alumnonan di Formashon Básiko na havo/vwo ta dominá vokabulario pasivo i komprension di teksto di papiamentu i hulandes?

2. Den ki grado dominio di vokabulario pasivo di papiamentu i hulandes ta krese den e promé dos añanan di skol sekundario?
3. Den ki grado variabelnan ekstralingwístiko ta relashoná ku prestashon di abilidad idiomátiko, esta vokabulario pasivo i kompreshon di teksto papiamentu i teksto hulandes?

Pa por midi dominio i kresementu di idioma den e investigashon akí ta hasi uso di un aserkamentu diskreto i ta hasi uso di un prosedimentu indirekto. A skohe pa un prueba di (1) vokabulario pasivo i pa un prueba pa (2) kompreshon di teksto di hulandes i papiamentu. Pa haña un bista di e (3) abilidadnan sosiolingwístiko di e alumno a usa lista ku pregunta pa alumno. A base di resultado di e enkuesta den un forma post hoc por forma grupo di alumnonan ku resultado semehante pa kompará resultado di e tèstnan.

2.3 Kolekshonamentu dato

Populashon di e investigashon ta alumno ku a finalisá skol básiko i ta kuminsá ku skol sekundario. Pa esei a traha ku e promé dos klasnan di skol sekundario, esta klas 1 i 2 di Formashon Básiko di dos skol havo/vwo na Kòrsou. A saka un muestreo representativo i a hasi uso di un instrumentario ku ta un operalisashon di e konsepto abilidad di idioma.

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Muestreo

Pa por yega na un muestreo representativo di e populashon a skohe kuater klas 1 i tres klas 2 di dos (Radulphus College i Peter Stuyvesant College) di e kuater skolnan sekundario regular na Kòrsou. En total ta trata di un grupo di 163 alumno di kua 99 ta mucha muhé i 65 ta mucha hòMBER. E edatnan ta varia entre 12 pa 17 aña.

Di e kantidat di 163 alumno ku a partisipá na e pruebanan 91 ta alumno di klas 1 i 72 alumno ta di klas 2 di skol sekundario. Tur alumno a traha e kuater pruebanan di papiamentu i hulandes i e a yena e lista ku pregunta na papiamentu ku informashon ekstralingwístiko. Tabèl 1 ta duna un bista di e muestreo ku ta representá e populashon, ku ta e alumnonan di e promé dos klasnan di skol sekundario havo/vwo na Kòrsou.

Tabèl 1 Kantidat di alumno pa kada nivel

Klas	Alumno	Mucha hòMBER	Mucha muhé
1	91	33	58
2	72	32	40

Instrumentario

E instrumentario a konsistí di sinku tèst. Pa hasi komparashon a usa dos prueba na papiamentu i dos prueba na hulandes. E pruebanan di e dos idiomanan ta ekivalente.

Es desir, ku nan tin un grado di difikultat komparabel. Tambe e alumnonan mester a yena un lista ku pregunta. E instrumentario na papiamentu ta konsistí di un prueba di vokabulario pasivo di 42 item i un prueba di kompreshon di teksto di 30 item. E instrumentario na hulandes ta konsistí di un leeswoordenschattaak di 50 item i un tekstleestaak di 20 item. Nan ta forma parti di e TAK-toets, Taaltoets Allochtone Kinderen (wak figura 2). Por konsiderá tur e pruebanan instrumentonan konfiabel i válido (Severing, 1993; 1997). E instrumentario na papiamentu ta konsistí di un prueba vokabulario pasivo i kompreshon di teksto.

Aspekto	Idioma	
	Papiamentu	Hulandes
Leksikal	Vokabulario pasivo 2	Passieve woordenschat 2
Tekstual	Tarea pa lesa 3: Pushi	Leestaak 3: Katten
Ekstra-lingwístiko	Lista ku pregunta pa alumno	

Figura 2 Instrumentario pa investigá dominio di papiamentu i hulandes i pa abilidadat sosiolingwístiko

Kompreshon di teksto

Pa evaluá kompreshon di teksto alumnonan a traha e teksto ku buraku Pushi di 30 item i su ekivalente na hulandes di 20 item. E alumnonan mester a skohe i yena palabra. Ta trata aki di palabranan di funshon manera konhunshon (aunke, promé ku etc.) i palabranan demostrativo (esei, esei ke men etc.). Ehèmpel:

Pan ta bon pa bo ____1____ e tin yen vitamina. 1. basta – pasobra – aunke

Vokabulario pasivo

E prueba ta midi vokabulario reseptivo di e alumnonan mediante kompreshon di palabrá skibí. E prueba hulandes ta konsistí di 50 item i e prueba papiamentu ta konsistí di 42 item den un frase di konteksto i un sekshon di múltiple eskoho. E palabranan ta suprayá den e frase i pa kada frase tin kuater alternativa di kua solamente un ta korekto. E alumno mester a skibi lèter di e kontesta korekto riba su blachi di kontesta. Ehèmpel:

Semper e ke dikta.

A manda

B gaña

C ta promé

D traha diktado

Variabelnan èkstralingwístiko

Alumnonan a haña un lista pa yena. Resultado di e enkuesta ta duna un bista di e abilidadan sosiolingwístiko di e alumnonan. Nan mester a duna algun dato personal i kontestá pregunta yenando un sifra riba un eskala di 1 te 5. 1 ke men tiki, 3 ke men mas o ménos i 5 ke men hopi. Ehèmpel:

Mi ta sabí den hopi kos.	1..2..3..4..5
Ora mener òf yùfrou yama mi nòmber mi ta bira nèrvioso.	1..2..3..4..5

2.4 Prosedura di tèst

Durante e momentunan di prueba dosentenan ku ta duna lès na e diferente klasnan a funshoná komo guia. E alumno mester a traha en total kuater prueba i yena un enkuesta. E promé siman nan a traha dos prueba hulandes i e siguiente siman nan a traha dos prueba papiamentu i yena e lista ku pregunta pa alumno. E sekuensia ku a sigui ta pa evitá ku e pruebanan na papiamentu ta influensιά resultado di e pruebanan hulandes ku ta ekivalente na esnan di papiamentu. E dosentenan ku a guia e tèstnan a risibí un guia riba papel pa indiká sekuensia ku mester duna e tèstnan i instrukshonnan ku mester presentá na e alumnonan pa e proseso por bai mas sinkronisá posibel.

2.5 Análisis di dato

Pa analisá e datonan kolekshoná a hasi uso di e programa elektróniko SPSS (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences). Promé a saka frekuensia i porsentahe di e resultadonan riba e kuater pruebanan tantu na hulandes komo na papiamentu. Usando kriterio for di Verhoeven en Vermeer (1993), ta parti e skor di e alumnonan den altu, promedio, bou di promedio, abou i hopi abou³. Despues a kalkulá skor, promedio i porsentahe separá di klas 1 i 2. A kalkulá korelashon (Pearson Correlation) pa averiguá kon fuerte e relashon ta entre e dos abilidadan, esta vokabulario pasivo i kompreshon di teksto pa idioma papiamentu i hulandes. Pa kontestá e di dos pregunta a usa e porsentahe di e skor di e alumnonan di klas 1 i 2 pa wak ku tin oumento pa kompreshon di teksto pa tur dos idioma i ta kompará nan. Pa haña kontesta riba pregunta tres a kalkulá korelashon (Pearson) entre tur e variabelnan sosiolingwístiko i resultado di vokabulario pasivo i di kompreshon di teksto pa papiamentu i hulandes.

3 Resultado

Resultado di e diferente pruebanan ku e alumnonan a traha ta determiná nivel di nan abilidad idiomátiko. E kantidat di kontesta korekto ta determiná skor di e alumnonan pa e pruebanan. Pa kada kontesta korekto e alumno-informante ta atkerí un punto. Den

³ M. Severing-Halman a rekalkulá i adaptá e kriterionan pa e pruebanan ekivalente ku ta usa pa Papiamentu.

e siguiente párafonan ta presentá resultado di e diferente pruebanan ku e alumnonan a traha. E promé párafo (3.1) ta duna un bista di e resultadonan di vokabulario pasivo papiamentu i hulandes i kompreshon di teksto papiamentu i hulandes. Despues den párafo 3.2 ta duna un bista kon dominio di vokabulario pasivo i kompreshon di teksto papiamentu i hulandes a oumentá den e promé dos añanan di skol sekundario. Por último den párafo 3.3 ta duna un bista den ki grado variabelnan ekstralingwístiko ta determiná prestashon di abilidatnan idiomátiko di e alumnonan.

3.1 Vokabulario pasivo

E alumnonan a traha e prueba vokabulario pasivo 2 na papiamentu i su ekivalente hulandes (Leeswoordenschattaak). E prueba ta midi vokabulario reseptivo di e alumnonan, e ta midi kompreshon di palabra den teksto skibí. E prueba ta konsistí di tareanan múltiple eskoho. Promé ta duna resultadonan di e tèst Vokabulario pasivo 2, despues ta duna un bista di e resultadonan separá di klas 2 i 1, kaba ta sigui e resultadonan di e prueba hulandes (Leeswoordenschattaak).

Vokabulario pasivo papiamentu

Den tabèl 2 ta presentá e resultadonan di kalkulashon di frekuensia i porsentahe pa vokabulario pasivo papiamentu (VPP). E prueba pa vokabulario pasivo papiamentu tabatin 42 item. Pa e prueba akí a mantené e siguiente nivel di skor: 0-27=hopi abou, 28-30 = abou, 31-34 = bou di promedio, 35-37= promedio i 38-42 = altu.

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Tabèl 2 Frekuensia i porsentahe di skor pa vokabulario pasivo papiamentu (VPP)

	Frekuensia	Porsentahe	Porsentahe válido	Porsentahe akumulativo
Altu	4	2.5	2.5	2.5
Promedio	31	19.0	19.0	21.5
Bou di promedio	62	38.0	38.0	59.5
Abou	34	20.9	20.9	80.4
Hopi abou	32	19.6	19.6	100.0
Total	163	100.0	100.0	

(k=42; N=163)

Pa loke ta trata e prueba di vokabulario papiamentu 2.5% di e alumnonan a skor altu, 19% a skor promedio, 38% a skor bou di promedio, 20.9% a skor abou i 19.6% a skor hopi abou. Solamente 21.5% di e alumnonan a skor sufisiente pa e prueba vokabulario i 78.5% a skor bou di promedio te hopi abou.

Vokabulario pasivo hulandes

Tabèl 2 ta duna un bista di e resultadonan pa vokabulario pasivo hulandes (VPH) den di frekuensia i porsentahe. E prueba vokabulario pasivo hulandes tabatin 50 item. E resultadonan ta reflehá e siguiente skornan: 0-35=abou, 36-43=promedio i 44-50=altu.

Tabèl 3 Frekuensia i porsentahe di skor pa vokabulario pasivo hulandes (VPH)

	Frekuensia	Porsentahe	Porsentahe válido	Porsentahe akumulativo
Altu	24	14.7	14.7	14.7
Promedio	63	38.7	38.7	53.4
Abou	76	46.6	46.6	100.0
Total	163	100.0	100.0	

(k=50; N=163)

14.7% di alumnonan ku a pasa e prueba a skor altu. 38.7% a skor promedio i 46.6% a skor abou. 53.4% a skor sufisiente i 46.6% a skor insufisiente.

Kompreshon di teksto

Pa evaluá kompreshon di teksto a laga hasi e tèst Tarea pa lesa 3 *Pushi* i su ekivalente na hulandes *Katten*. E tèstnan ta trata di koherensia den teksto. Elementonan ku ta kai bou di koherensia den un teksto ta palabranan di funshon manera konhunshon (aunke, promé ku etc.) i palabranan demostrativo (esei, esei ke men etc.).

Kompreshon di teksto papiamentu

Tabèl 4 ta duna resultado di kalkulashon di frekuensia i porsentahe di e skornan riba kompreshon di teksto papiamentu. Pa e prueba di teksto papiamentu por a haña un máksimo di 30 punto. A base di e skor atkerí a distinguí sinku nivel di prestashon: 0-22=hopi abou, 23-24=abou, 25-26=bou di promedio, 27-29=promedio i 30=altu.

Tabèl 4 Frekuensia i porsentahe di skor pa kompreshon di teksto papiamentu (KTP)

	Frekuensia	Porsentahe	Porsentahe válido	Porsentahe akumulativo
Altu	9	5.5	5.5	5.5
Promedio	96	58.9	58.9	64.4
Bou di promedio	32	19.6	19.6	84.0
Abou	17	10.4	10.4	94.5
Hopi abou	9	5.5	5.5	100.0
Total	163	100.0	100.0	

(k=30; N=163)

5.5% di e partisipantenan a skor un nivel altu i 58.9% a skor promedio. 19.6% a skor bou di e promedio, 10.4% abou i 5.5% hopi abou. E resultado akí ke men ku 64.4% partisipante a skor sufisiente pa e prueba i 35.5% bou di promedio te hopi abou. Mayoria alumno a skor promedio. Esei ke men ku mayoria por rekonosé uso korekto i no korekto e palabranan di funshon manera konhunshon i palabra demostrativo.

Komprenshon di teksto hulandes

Tabèl 5 ta duna un bista di resultado di prueba komprenshon di teksto hulandes. Pa prueba teksto hulandes por a skor un máksimo di 20 punto. Interpretashon di e nivelnan ta lo siguiente: 0-14=abou, 15-18=promedio i 19-20=altu.

Tabèl 5 Frekuensia i porsentahe di skor pa komprenshon di teksto hulandes (KTH)

	Frekuensia	Porsentahe	Porsentahe válido	Porsentahe akumulativo
Altu	67	41.1	41.1	41.1
Promedio	85	52.1	52.1	93.3
Abou	11	6.7	6.7	100.0
Total	163	100.0	100.0	

(k=20; N=163)

Tabèl 3.5 ta ilustrá ku pa e prueba di teksto hulandes 41.1% partisipante a skor altu, 52.1% a skor promedio i 6.7% a skor abou. Un total di 93.2% alumno a skor sufisiente i solamente 6.7% a skor insufisiente.

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3.2 Progreso

Pa haña un mihó bista, a separá resultadonan di alumnonan klas 1 i klas 2. Tabèlnan 6 i 7 ta ilustrá esaki.

Tabèl 6 Resultado di skor pa vokabulario pasivo i komprenshon di teksto papiamentu i hulandes klas 1

Klas 1	N	Min.	Maks.	Promedio	D. Std.	K _{item}	Pors.
Teksto papiamentu	91	14	30	26.76	2.85	30	89.2%
Vokabulario papiamentu	91	18	38	30.86	4.49	42	73.5%
Teksto hulandes	91	8	20	17.20	2.37	20	86.0%
Vokabulario hulandes	91	12	47	34.46	7.18	50	68.9%
N Válido	91						

Resultado di e mes kalkulashonnan pa skornan di vokabulario pasivo i komprenshon di teksto papiamentu i hulandes pa klas 2 por haña den tabèl 7. Importante ta e

diferente skornan promedio, e porsentahe (Pors.) i e desviashon standarísá (D.Std) pa e diferente tareanan.

Tabèl 7 Resultado di skor pa vokabulario pasivo i kompreshon di teksto papiamentu i hulandes klas 2

Klas 2	N	Min.	Maks.	Promedio	D. Std.	K _{item}	Pors.
Teksto papiamentu	72	17	30	26.61	2.35	30	88.7%
Vokabulario papiamentu	72	12	39	30.46	5.21	42	72.5%
Teksto hulandes	72	13	20	18.03	1.91	20	90.2%
Voakabulario hulandes	72	23	48	37.31	6.29	50	74.6%
N Válido	72						

Tabèl 8 ta mostra ku tin un diferensia den dominio di vokabulario pasivo entre klas 1 ku 73.5% i klas 2 ku 72.5%. E skor di mas abou ta 12 punto registrá den klas 2,

Tabèl 8 Skor mas abou, skor mas altu, skor promedio i desviashon stándart pa Tarea Vokabulario pasivo 2 klas 1 i klas 2

	N	Min.	Maks.	Promedio	K _{item}	Pors.
Klas 1	91	18	38	30.86	42	73.5%
Klas 2	72	12	39	30.46	42	72.5%
Total	163					

kompará ku e skor mínimo di 18 punto den klas 1. E promedio ta mostra un diferensia di 0.40 punto. Remarkabel ta ku e resultado akí ta indiká ku dominio di vokabulario pasivo ta mas altu den klas 1 ku den klas 2.

Tabèl 9 Skor mas abou, skor mas altu, skor promedio i desviashon stándart pa Leeswoordenschattaak klas 1 i klas 2

	N	Min.	Maks.	Promedio	K _{item}	Pors.
Klas 1	91	12	47	34.46	50	68.9%
Klas 2	72	23	48	37.31	50	74.6%
Total	163					

Tabèl 9 ta mostra ku Mayoria mucha di klas 1 a skor abou pa vokabulario pasivo hulandes. Den tabèl 9 ta mira ku tin desaroyo leve den dominio di vokabulario pasivo hulandes. Alumnonan di klas 2 su skor 37.31, ekivalente na 74.6% ta mas altu ku e skor 34.46, ekivalente na 68.9% di klas 1. Esaki ta un desaroyo positivo. Dominio di vokabulario serka alumnonan di klas 1 ta abou. Den klas 2 e skor ta nifiká ku dominio di vokabulario ta na nivel promedio.

Tabèl 10 Skor mas abou, skor mas altu, skor promedio i desviashon stándart pa Tarea pa lesa 3 klas 1 i klas 2

	N	Min.	Maks.	Promedio	K _{item}	Pers.
Klas 1	91	14	30	26.76	30	89.2%
Klas 2	72	17	30	26.61	30	88.7%
Total	163					

Den tabèl 10 ta mira ku e promedio pa kompreshon di teksto 89.2% di klas 1 ta mas altu ku e porsentahe 88.7% di klas 2, pero klas 1 tin e skor di mas abou ku ta 14. Un alumno ku skor abou asina tin problema ku kompreshon di un teksto. Hopi biaha un resultado asin'akí probablemente ta ligá tambe na un vokabulario nivel abou.

Tabèl 11 Skor mas abou, skor mas altu, skor promedio i desviashon stándart pa Testleestaak 1 klas 1 i klas 2

	N	Min.	Maks.	Promedio	D. Std.	K _{item}	Pors.
Klas 1	91	8	20	17.20	2.85	20	86.0%
Klas 2	72	13	20	18.03	2.35	20	90.2%
Total	163						

Tabèl 11 ta mostra ku kompreshon di teksto ta mas altu den klas 2 ku den klas 1, respektivamente 90.2% i 86.0%.

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Progreso

Resultado di e investigashon akí ta mostra ku e alumnonan ta skor mas altu pa e abilitat kompreshon di teksto ku vokabulario pasivo. Esaki ta presentá serka tantu idioma papiamentu komo hulandes.

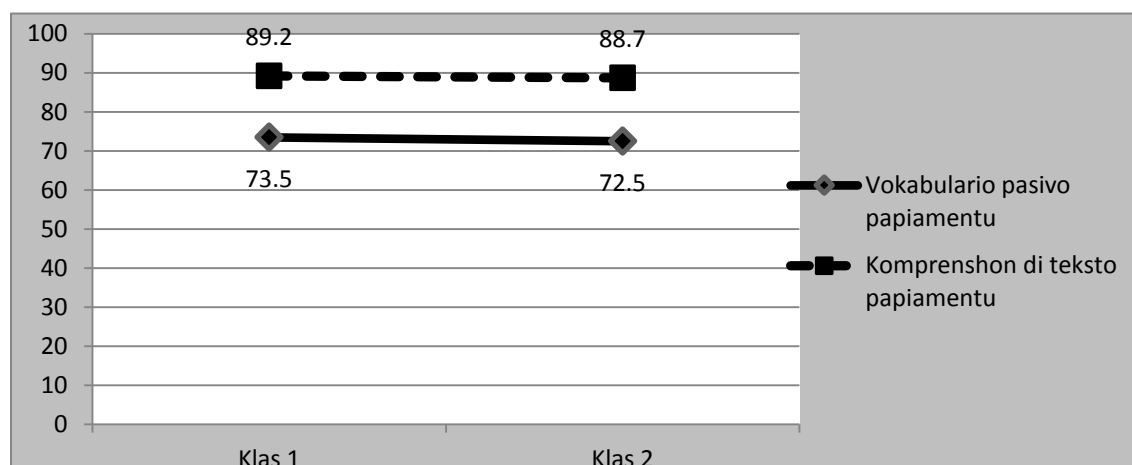


Figura 3 Progreso di vokabulario pasivo i kompreshon di teksto papiamentu (den porsentahe)

Figura 3 ta mostra ku den klas 1 kompreshon di teksto ta 89.2% kompará ku 73.5% di vokabulario pasivo i den klas 2 kompreshon di teksto ta 88.7% i vokabulario pasivo 72.5%. Figura 3 ta ilustrá tambe ku hulandes a bai dilanti, pero papiamentu no a bai muchu dilanti, asta tin un tendensia di bai un tiki atras. Vokabulario pasivo den klas 1 ta 73.5% i den klas 2 e ta 72.5%. Pa loke ta trata kompreshon di teksto e patronchi ta ripití, den klas 1 e skor ta 89.2% i den klas 2 e skor ta 88.7%.

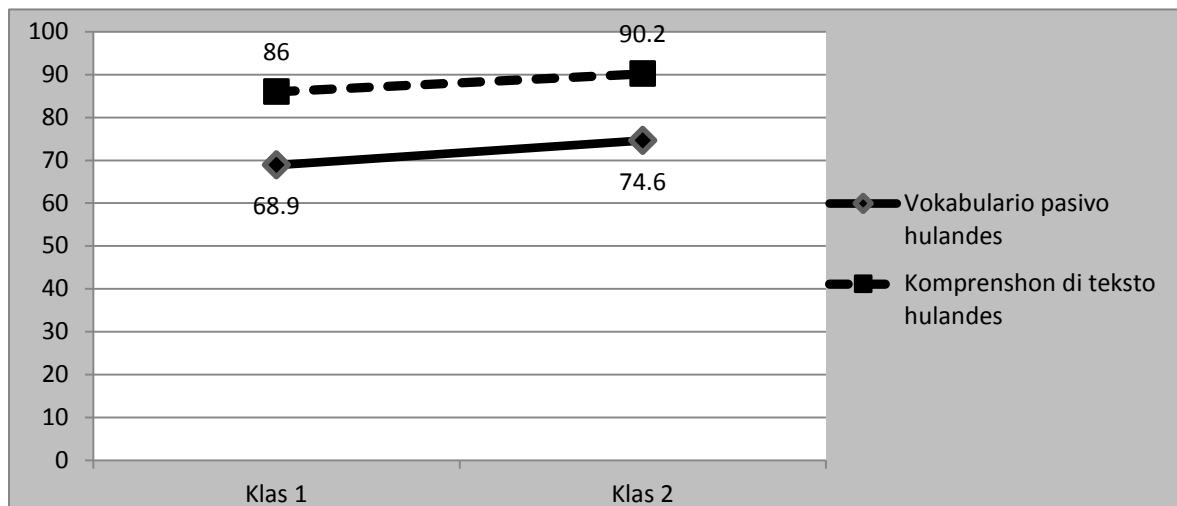


Figura 4 Progreso di vokabulario pasivo i kompreshon di teksto hulandes (den porsentahe)

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Figura 4 ta mostra ku alumnonan tantu di klas 1 komo klas 2 ta presta mas mihó pa kompreshon di teksto ku pa vokabulario pasivo hulandes. Den klas 1 kompreshon di teksto ta 86% kompará ku 68.9% pa vokabulario pasivo i den klas 2 kompreshon di teksto ta 90.2% i vokabulario pasivo 74.6%. Aki si tin un oumento positivo di klas 1 pa klas 2 di tur dos abilitat.

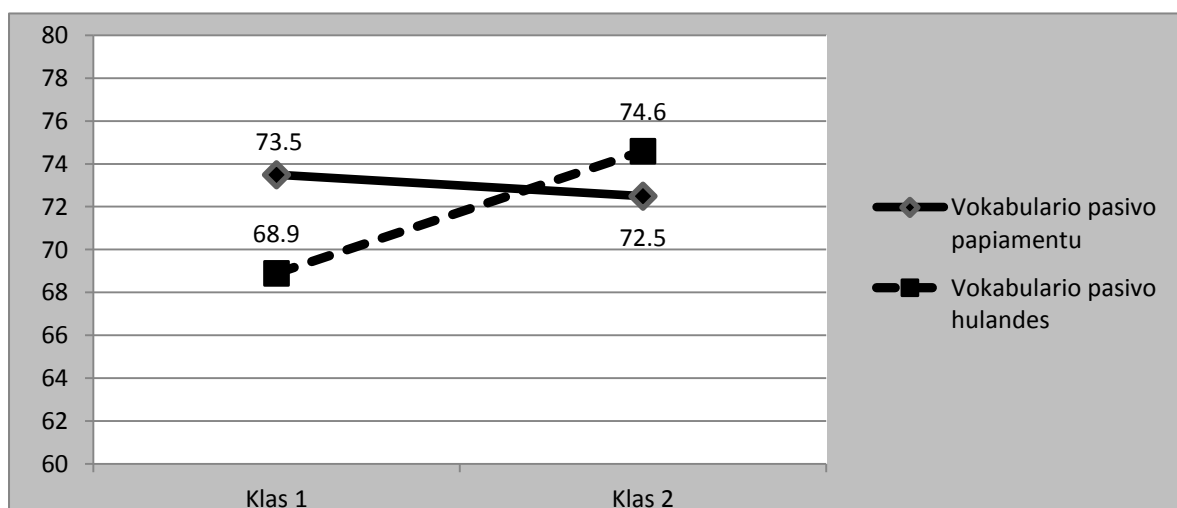


Figura 5 Progreso di vokabulario pasivo na papiamentu i hulandes (den porsentahe)

Figura 5 ta duna un bista kon e skor pa vokabulario pasivo ta kompará entre papiamentu i hulandes. Dominio di vokabulario pasivo papiamentu den klas 1 ta 73.5% kompará ku 68.9% di hulandes. Den klas 2 ta mira ku dominio di vokabulario hulandes 74.6% ta mas altu ku dominio di vokabulario papiamentu ku 72.5%.

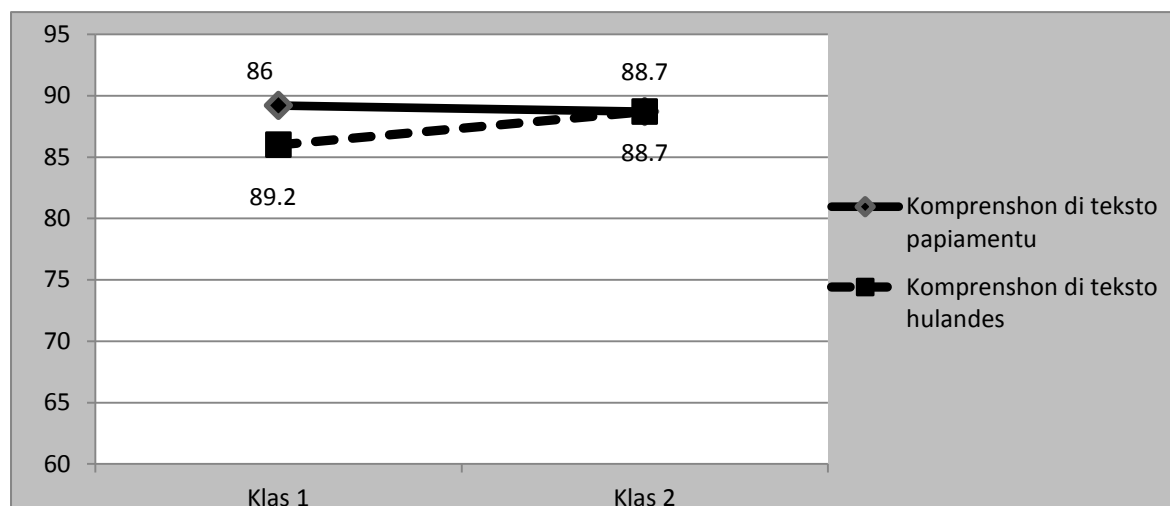


Figura 6 Progreso di komprenshon di teksto na papiamentu i hulandes

Figura 6 ta mustra ku progreso di komprenshon di teksto papiamentu 89.2% ta mas altu ku hulandes ku ta 86%. Den klas 2 e dominio di komprenshon di teksto hulandes 90.2% ta mas altu ku e dominio den klas 1 ku ta 88.7%.

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Den tabèl 12 ta presentá resultado di kalkulashon di korelashon entre e áreanan vokabulario i komprenshon di teksto na papiamentu i hulandes.

Tabèl 12 Korelashon entre e abilitatnan lingwístiko papiamentu i hulandes

	VPP	KTP	VPH	KTH
Vokabulario pasivo papiamentu VPP	1.00			
Komprenshon di teksto papiamentu KTP	.470**	1.00		
Vokabulario pasivo hulandes VPH	.069	.033	1.00	
Komprenshon di teksto hulandesKTH	.097	.177*	.641**	1.00

**=Korelashon ta signifikante riba nivel 0.01

Korelashon Pearson

* =Korelashon ta signifikante riba nivel 0.05

Den tabèl 12 ta mira ku tin un korelashon altu entre vokabulario pasivo papiamentu i komprenshon di teksto papiamentu. Mucha ku skor altu òf abou pa vokabulario pasivo, tambe ta skor altu òf abou pa komprenshon di teksto. Entre komprenshon di teksto papiamentu i hulandes tambe tin korelashon. Muchanan ku skor altu òf abou pa komprenshon di teksto papiamentu ta skor altu òf abou pa komprenshon di teksto hulandes tambe. Pa loke ta trata e abilitatnan na hulandes: komprenshon di teksto i

vokabulario tambe tin un korelashon altu. E resultado akí ta mostra ku un alumno ku skor abou pa vokabulario ta skor abou pa teksto tambe. E resultadonan akí ta mostra ku alumnonan ku ta bon den idioma papiamentu ta skor bon pa hulandes tambe. Esaki ta resultá sigur pa vokabulario pasivo i tambe pa kompreshon di teksto.

3.3 Aspekto sosiolingwístiko

Pa haña un bista mas detayá di posibel influensia di faktornan no-lingwístiko, aki aspektonan sosiolingwístiko riba e abilidad leksikal i kompreshon di teksto na papiamentu i na hulandes, a kalkulá korelashon entre e abilidadnan akí i e abilidadnan sosiolingwístiko. Ta distinguí faktornan (1) personal, (2) di aktitut di e alumnonan i (3) di ambiente di kas. Promé ta presentá den tabèl 3 e porsentahe di idioma di kas di e informantenan.

Tabèl 13 Idioma ku mas ta papia na kas

Idioma	N	Porsentahe
Papiamentu	106	65.0%
Hulandes	67	41.1%
Ingles	34	21.7%
Español	29	18.7%
Otro	8	05.3%

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E idioma mas usá na kas ta papiamentu sigui pa hulandes. Den e sekshon akí e muchanan por a skohe mas ku un idioma. Tin mucha ta papia tantu hulandes komo papiamentu, òf papiamentu ku otro idioma òf hulandes ku otro idioma. Por tin mucha ku ta papia tres idioma tambe.

Tabèl 14 Korelashon entre ambiente di kas ku prestashon idiomátiko

	VPP	KTP	VPH	KTH
Na kas mi hendenan ta yudami ku lèsnan.	.085	.148	-.035	.013
Semper na kas e hende grandinan ta bisa mi kiko no tin mag.	.053	.142	-.004	-.056
Na kas mi hendenan ta lesa hopi.	-.027	.059	.102	.082
Si mi tin algu di puntra, semper mi por puntra mi hendenan di kas.	.165*	.111	.223*	.085
Na kas semper nan ke sa kon ta bai na skol.	.207**	.208**	.143	.137
Na kas tur dia nan ta lesa korant na papiamentu	.057	.058	-.131	-.132
Na kas tur dia nan ta lesa korant na hulandes.	-.117	-.133	.372**	.171*
Mi rumannan gusta siña.	.217**	.189*	.012	-.087
Mi tin hopi amigu ku ta papia otro idioma.	.086	.112	-.030	-.034
Tur ora mi sa tende mi hendenan papia diferente idioma.	.157*	.046	-.121	-.004

**=Korelashon ta signifkante riba nivel 0.01

Korelashon Pearson

* =Korelashon ta signifkante riba nivel 0.05

Tabèl 14 ta mostra e korelashon entre e ambiente di kas i prestashon idiomátiko. Tin un korelashon positivo entre tantu vokabulario pasivo papiamentu i hulandes i

alumnonan ku *Semper por puntra nan hendenan di kas algu*. Tambe por mira un korelashon entre *Na kas semper ke sa kon a bai na skol* ku vokabulario pasivo i kompreshon di teksto papiamentu. Un otro korelashon positivo interesante ta esun di *Lesamentu di korant hulandes tur dia na kas* i vokabulario pasivo i kompreshon di teksto hulandes. Tambe por mira ku entre *Mi ruman gusta siña* i vokabulario pasivo i kompreshon di teksto papiamentu un korelashon. Por último tin un korelashon entre *Mi hendenan gusta papia diferente idioma* i vokabulario pasivo papiamentu.

Tabèl 15 Korelashon entre aktitut pa ku idioma i prestashon idiomátiko

	VPP	KTP	VPH	HKT
Mi ta bon den papiamentu	.375**	.287**	-.220**	-.081
Mi ta bon den hulandes	-.028	-.057	.345**	.300**
Mi ta bon den ingles	-.114	.066	.170*	.177*
Mi ta bon den spañó	.446**	.193*	-.236**	-.177*
Mi ta bon den otro idioma	.148	.160	-.058	.008
E lèsnan ku mi gusta mas tantu ta esnan di papiamentu	.235**	.175*	-.278**	-.171*
E lèsnan ku mi gusta mas tantu ta esnan di hulandes	.014	-.015	.197*	.168*
E lèsnan ku mi gusta mas tantu ta esnan di ingles	-.072	..157	.041	.051
E lèsnan ku mi gusta mas tantu ta esnan di spañó	.0364**	.217**	-.204*	-.177*
E lèsnan ku mi gusta mas tantu ta esnan di otro idioma	.184	.101	-.231	-.110
E idioma ku mi tin mas gana di siña ta papiamentu	-.092	-.022	-.137	-.043
E idioma ku mi tin mas gana di siña ta hulandes	.099	.095	-.064	-.029
E idioma ku mi tin mas gana di siña ta ingles	-.035	.166	-.111	-.059
E idioma ku mi tin mas gana di siña ta spañó	-.036	.014	-.086	-.013
E idioma ku mi tin mas gana di siña ta otro idioma	.374**	.119	-.120	-.116
Kaminda mi no gusta haña bùrt ta den lès di papiamentu	-.065	-.073	-.052	-.024
Kaminda mi no gusta haña bùrt ta den lès di hulandes	.010	.050	-.342**	-.254**
Kaminda mi no gusta haña bùrt ta den lès di ingles	.033	.130	-.038	-.066
Kaminda mi no gusta haña bùrt ta den lès di spañó	-.057	-.059	-.039	-.008
Kaminda mi no gusta haña bùrt ta den lès di otro idioma	-.090	-.104	-.197	-.236
Mi gusta wak sine kaminda nan ta papia papiamentu	.092	.028	-.091	-.015
Mi gusta wak sine kaminda nan ta papia hulandes	-.164	-.268**	.080	.080
Mi gusta wak sine kaminda nan ta papia ingles	-.110	-.030	.110	.110
Mi gusta wak sine kaminda nan ta papia spañó	.347**	.156	-.236**	-.153
Mi gusta wak sine kaminda nan ta papia otro idioma	.053	.014	-.108	-.216
Mi gusta lesa kuenta i buki na papiamentu	.158	.173*	-.381**	-.241**
Mi gusta lesa kuenta i buki na hulandes	-.128	.060	.138	.166*
Mi gusta lesa kuenta i buki na ingles	.078	.178*	.131	.041
Mi gusta lesa kuenta i buki na spañó	.393**	.164	-.297**	-.190*
Mi gusta lesa kuenta i buki na otro idioma	.168	.119	-.244	-.255
Mi gusta kansion na papiamentu	.168	.003	-.112	-.116
Mi gusta kansion na hulandes	-.179*	-.118	-.039	-.029
Mi gusta kansion na ingles	-.053	-.060	.046	-.018
Mi gusta kansion na spañó	.335**	.095	-.139	-.133
Mi gusta kansion na otro idioma	-.042	-.078	-.062	-.207

Lo mi tin gana di skibi karta i otro kos na papiamentu	.163	.130	-.193*	-.012
Lo mi tin gana di skibi karta i otro kos na hulandes	-.142	.036	.079	.152
Lo mi tin gana di skibi karta i otro kos na ingles	-.011	.243**	.107	.133
Lo mi tin gana di skibi karta i otro kos na spañó	.211*	.117	-.142	-.189*
Lo mi tin gana di skibi karta i otro kos na otro idioma	.172	.003	-.127	-.211
E idioma ku mi ta haña ta zona mas bunita ta papiamentu	.197*	.217*	-.159	.077
E idioma ku mi ta haña ta zona mas bunita ta hulandes	-.053	-.004	-.074	.133
E idioma ku mi ta haña ta zona mas bunita ta ingles	.006	.179*	-.162	.046
E idioma ku mi ta haña ta zona mas bunita ta spañó	.165	-.012	-.083	-.112
E idioma ku mi ta haña ta zona mas bunita ta otro idioma	.224	.056	.181	.075
Mi tin gana di por papia mas fásil den papiamentu	.045	.025	-.136	-.027
Mi tin gana di por papia mas fásil den hulandes	.082	.160	-.260**	-.191*
Mi tin gana di por papia mas fásil den ingles	.060	.065	-.241**	-.196*
Mi tin gana di por papia mas fásil den spañó	-.045	.007	.022	.132
Mi tin gana di por papia mas fásil den otro idioma	.143	.094	-.036	-.101

**=Korelashon ta signifkante riba nivel 0.01

Korelashon Pearson

* =Korelashon ta signifkante riba nivel 0.05

Tabèl 15 ta presentá korelashon ku a kalkulá entre resultado di e pruebanan i e datonan di trasfondo di e informantenan. Di tal forma por averiguá kua ta e faktornan ku tin un relashon mas fuerte ku prestashon pa idioma papiamentu i pa idioma hulandes. Pa vokabulario papiamentu esei ke men ku mucha muhé ta skor mas altu ku mucha hòmber. Pa loke ta trata e aktitut pa ku e idiomanan tambe tin un korelashon fuerte ku e pruebanan. E kontesta di e alumnonan riba e pregunta *Mi ta bon den papiamentu* ta korelá fuerte ku vokabulario pasivo i kompreshon di teksto na papiamentu i vokabulario pasivo hulandes. Tambe kontesta riba *Mi ta bon den hulandes* i *Mi ta bon den ingles* ta korelá fuerte ku vokabulario pasivo i kompreshon den teksto hulandes, pero akí si no tin korelashon ku e pruebanan ekivalente na papiamentu. E resultado aki ta nifiká ku un aktitut positivo direkshon di hulandes i ingles ta pronostiká skor altu pa idioma hulandes i no pa papiamentu.

Entre e pregunta *Mi ta bon den spañó* i vokabulario pasivo tin un korelashon fuerte positivo, pero un korelashon negativo ku vokabulario pasivo i kompreshon di teksto hulandes. Un posibilidat ta ku e alumnonan akí gusta e idioma, pero tòg nan ta skor malu pa e pruebanan.

E kontesta *E lèsnan ku mi gusta mas tantu ta esnan di papiamentu* tin un korelashon positivo ku papiamentu. Meskos ta e kaso ku e kontesta *E lèsnan ku mi gusta mas tantu ta esnan di hulandes* ku ta korelá ku vokabulario pasivo i kompreshon di teksto hulandes. *E lèsnan ku mi gusta mas tantu ta esnan na spañó* ta korelá positivo ku e pruebanan na papiamentu, pero negativo ku esunnan na hulandes.

E tabèl ta ilustrá ku apesar ku e alumnonan a skor bon pa vokabulario pasivo i kompreshon di teksto hulandes, nan *no gusta haña bùrt den lès di hulandes*.

Mi gusta wak sine kaminda nan ta papia spañó ta indiká un korelashon entre vokabulario pasivo papiamentu i un korelashon negativo ku vokabulario pasivo hulandes.

Mi tin gana di lesa kuenta i buki na papiamentu tin un korelashon positivo ku kompreshon di teksto papiamentu, pero un korelashon negativo ku vokabulario hulandes. *Mi tin gana di lesa buki i kuenta na spañó* tin un korelashon positivo ku vokabulario pasivo papiamentu i un korelashon negativo ku kompreshon di teksto hulandes. *Gana di lesa buki i kuenta na hulandes* ta korelá positivo ku kompreshon di teksto.

Lo mi tin gana di skibi karta i otro kos na spañó atrobe ta mostra un korelashon positivo ku vokabulario pasivo i un korelashon negativo ku kompreshon di teksto hulandes.

E eskoho *E idioma ku mi ta haña ta zona mas bunita ta papiamentu* ta korelá positivamente ku vokabulario pasivo i kompreshon di teksto papiamentu.

E alumnonan *tin gana di por papia mas fásil den hulandes*, pero nan a skor abou pa nan pruebanan hulandes, tin un korelashon negativo. Tambe esnan ku *tin gana di por papia mas fásil den ingles* a skor malu pa e pruebanan hulandes, pues aki ta mira un korelashon negativo atrobe.

Remarkabel ta ku tur kaminda ku tin e eskoho pa lenga spañó, tin un korelashon negativo ku sea vokabulario pasivo òf kompreshon di teksto hulandes, pero si tin un korelashon positivo ku prinsipalmente vokabulario pasivo papiamentu. Esaki por nifiká ku alumnonan ku di abla spañó, ku ta gusta e idioma spañó tin problema ku e idioma hulandes. Por ta nan gust'é, pero nan ta no ta domin'é.

E resultadonan ta mostra ku e ambiente na kas tin influensia prinsipalmente pa papiamentu. Alumnonan ku semper por puntra algu na kas i mayornan ku ke sa kon a bai na skol tin un influensia positivo. Un korelashon importante tambe ta e influensia di lesa korant hulandes tur dia riba idioma hulandes.

Resultadonan a mostra ku e muchanan a presta mihó pa hulandes ku pa papiamentu. Tambe tin un progreso pa hulandes riba tur dos abilidad, pero serka papiamentu esei ta ménos. Pa loke ta trata e aktitut pa ku idioma nos ta mira kada bes ku loke ta konta pa papiamentu i spañó ta bai huntu i tambe pa loke ta trata ingles i hulandes. Pues e muchanan ku ta skor altu den spañó ta skor bon pa papiamentu i ta skor ménos pa hulandes. E muchanan ku ta skor altu pa ingles ta bon den hulandes i ta skor ménos pa papiamentu.

4 Konklushon

Den e investigashon akí a trata di haña un mihó bista riba dominio di papiamentu den enseñansa havo/vwo. Pa logra esei a hasi esfuerso pa haña kontesta riba tres pregunta prinsipal pa medio di e estudio empíriko akí. Rasonando ku vokabulario pasivo i kompreshon di teksto ta dos abilidad parsial ku ta korelá fuertemente ku dominio di

idioma en general, a enfoká riba e dos partinan akí di idioma pa papiamentu i pa hulandes. E tres preguntanan tabata: (1) Kon i den ki grado alumnonan di Formashon Básiko ta dominá vokabulario pasivo i kompreshon di teksto di papiamentu i hulandes na havo/vwo? (2) Den ki grado dominio di vokabulario pasivo di papiamentu i hulandes ta krese den e promé dos añanan di skol sekundario? i (3) Den ki grado variabel èkstra lingwístiko ta relashoná ku prestashon di abilidadat idiomátiko, esta vokabulario pasivo i kompreshon di teksto di papiamentu i hulandes?

Resultado di investigashon riba vokabulario pasivo papiamentu ta mostra ku 21.5% di e alumnonan a skor un sufisiente pa e prueba vokabulario i 78.5% a skor bou di promedio te hopi abou. Pa vokabulario pasivo hulandes ta mostra ku 53.4% di e partisipantenan a skor altu. E porsentahe akí ta mas ku dòbel di e porsentahe di vokabulario pasivo papiamentu.

Mirando e resultado akí bo por kere ku resultadonan di kompreshon di teksto lo ta mas abou, basá riba e teoria ku vokabulario pasivo i kompreshon di teksto tin un korelashon fuerte ku otro, ku un alumno ku no tin bon dominio di vokabulario pasivo su prestashon ta abou pa kompreshon di teksto i vise vèrsá. Den e kaso akí esaki no ta asina. Pa kompreshon di teksto papiamentu 64.4% di partisipante a skor sufisiente pa e prueba i 35.5% bou di promedio te hopi abou. 52.1% a skor promedio i 41.1% a skor altu. Un total di 93.2% alumno a skor sufisiente. Mayoria alumno a skor promedio.

380 Basá riba loke tin pará ariba por konkluí ku e grado di dominio di vokabulario pasivo serka e alumnonan pa tur dos idioma ta abou. E resultado akí por ta debí na e echo ku mayoria alumno di Enseñansa di Fundeshi ta risibí gran parti di instrukshon na hulandes. Na mayoria skol prinsipalmente ta konsentrá riba un bon dominio di hulandes i esei ta pone e vokabulario di hulandes krese i esun di papiamentu ta keda atras kompará ku hulandes. Un otro posibilidat por ta ku prinsipalmente e prueba hulandes a resultá muchu fásil pa e muchanan.

Pa loke ta trata kompreshon di teksto, e alumnonan ku vokabulario suak lo por a usa tambe otro strategianan di lesa ku ta yuda nan ku kompreshon di teksto p.e. rei palabra. E resultado ta nifiká tambe ku mayoria alumno por usa e palabranan di funshon manera konhunshon i palabra demostrativo (TAK-toets).

Kon e abilidadatnan dominio di vokabulario pasivo i kompreshon di teksto di papiamentu i hulandes ta krese den e promé dos añanan di skol sekundario? Esaki no ta manera lo pronostiká, ku klas 2 su resultado ta mas altu ku klas 1. Ta resultá ku tin un diferensia. Resultado hulandes ta mas altu ku esun di papiamentu. E prestashon serka kompreshon di teksto papiamentu ta mas altu ku e porsentahe di e skor di vokabulario pasivo. E mesun patronchi tin pa kompreshon di teksto i vokabulario pasivo hulandes. Loke ta remarkabel ta ku solamente ta mira ku hulandes ta bai dilanti i papiamentu no ta bai muchu dilanti, asta tin un tendensia di bai un tiki atras. Pa por

aklará esaki por referí na e ‘backwash effect’. E momentu ku pone un materia pa eksamen, ta kuminsá traha riba dje. Den e kaso akí no ta dominio di e abilidadnan a bai atras den klas 2, pero ta e dominio a bai dilanti diripiente den klas 1. Esaki saliendo for di e echo ku na 2009 papiamentu a forma parti di e pruebanan final na Skol di Fundeshi (pruebanan kordiná).

E posibilidat ta eksistí ku e siguiente aña por mira un subida. Alumnonan di klas 1 lo ta den klas 2 e siguiente aña eskolar i alabes e siguiente grupo di enseñansa di fundeshi ta drenta enseñansa sekundario. Alumnonan mas grandi ta haña mas lès i nan ta bai dilanti. Si a duna e pruebanan akí dos aña pasá, sí lo bo a mira un kurva ku ta subi. Esaki ta un suposishon i un posibel splikashon. Interesante pa menshoná ta, ku tin un korelashon altu entre prestashon pa papiamentu i hulandes. Mucha ku ta skor altu pa papiamentu ta skor altu pa hulandes tambe.

Pa haña un bista mas detayá di e grado di e relashon entre vokabulario pasivo i kompreshon di teksto na papiamentu i hulandes a kalkulá korelashon entre abilidadnan i aspektonan sociolingwístiko. Remarkabel ta ku tur kaminda ku tin e opshon lenga spañó, tin un korelashon negativo ku sea vokabulario pasivo òf kompreshon di teksto hulandes. Lenga spañó tin un korelashon positivo ku prinsipalmente vokabulario pasivo papiamentu. Informantenan ku ta *bon den spañó, ku gusta lèsnan mas tantu den spañó, ku gusta wak sine kaminda nan ta papia spañó, ku gusta lesa kuenta i buki na spañó i ku tin gana di skibi karta i otro kos na spañó* tin problema ku e idioma hulandes. Esaki por nifiká ku alumnonan ku lenga materno spañó, ku gusta e idioma spañó, por ta nan gust’é, sinembargo nan no ta dominá e abilidadnan.

Por konkluí ku resultado di e análisis akí a duna un bista di dominio di papiamentu i tambe hulandes di alumnonan den havo/vwo, pa partikularmente progreso di e abilidadnan vokabulario pasivo i kompreshon di teksto i tambe di e diferente faktornan ku ta influensia e dominio di e dos idiomanan.

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**UNPACKING HEGEMONIC AND SUBALTERN DISCOURSES ON
CULTURE AND SOCIETY IN THE ABC-ISLANDS AND BEYOND**

DOES *MY FAIR LADY* EXIST IN ARUBA?

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Every woman and girl is entitled to the realization of all human rights – civil, political, economic, social and cultural – on equal terms with men, free from discrimination. Women and girls also enjoy certain human rights specially linked to their status as women.

(PDHRE, 1998; adapted by Veronica Salcero and Alicia Rojas)

Aruba is a democratic country, but democratic for whom? Democracy has several faces when it comes to women. The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) was drawn up in 1979 and ratified in 2001, but little has been done as yet to eliminate forms of discrimination against women. Furthermore gender gap in certain domains has increased over the past decade. Referring to the Millennium Development Goals set in 2000, the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) argues that “Since gender equality is the essential underpinning for the achievement of all other goals, the failure to achieve gender equality targets will have a domino effect, compromising progress on the other goals and targets”(2005). With a deadline set for 2015, we have only three years to comply with millennium goals.

The National Integrated Strategic Plan 2010-2025 (NosAruba2025, 2010) is designed to achieve sustainable development in several domains of Aruban society. This plan, however, lacks a human vision for women at a time when women’s participation in the labor market is 49.9% and women outnumber men at several levels of the educational system. Moreover, the plan does not even mention the ratification of CEDAW nor the Millennium Goals, two recognized international protocols that strive not only to narrow gender gaps, but also to give women the quality of life that they deserve. On a daily basis, women face difficulties when trying to exercise their rights due to ignorance or lack of information, but women on the island need to organize, support one another and fight together for their rights instead of fighting against one another.

What does a democratic society mean for women? According to Stromquist (2007a: 23) “A democratic society must see to it that women be provided free time, not only

through releasing them from childcare and other forms of care-giving, but also by creating new norms for the division of domestic work”. Democracy on the island of Aruba has a different meaning for women. Women on the island have multiple roles and a wide range of responsibilities. Women are not fully released from childcare. The law neither regulates the provision of childcare and nor stipulates new norms for the division of domestic work. In short, we have a long way to go in these matters. Most women work outside of the home, take care of their families (including their in-laws) and are responsible for domestic chores. Women’s participation in the labor market accounts for 60.5% of the female population and constitutes 49.9% of the total labor market (Central Bureau of Statistics [CBS], 2012).

Aruban mothers now work 24 hours a day and 7 days a week, in a society where employers demand ever greater levels of productivity and commitment and customers demand ever greater levels of service and convenience. Considerable numbers of mothers must juggle responsibilities at home and at the workplace simultaneously (Grant-Vallone & Donaldson, 2001). Van Leeuwaarde (2011) notes that more Aruban mothers have full time jobs or several part-time jobs than do mothers in the Netherlands. She also indicates that more women from the Dutch Caribbean in the Netherlands hold regular jobs than do women from Holland. Van Leeuwaarde ascribes this in part to the history of enslavement in the Caribbean. Referring to Afro-Caribbean women at the time of slavery, she states that: “They could not have a durable relationship due to slave trafficking. Because of the trafficking, for generations women were obliged to be and become economically independent.”

Another factor is that the Caribbean countries are not welfare states. Those who do not work do not receive social security benefits. Work is the only option to support oneself and the family. Work outside the home is the only way to survive for almost all women in the Caribbean. Because of the matriarchal family structure found in most of the Caribbean, it is expected that grandmothers, aunts, sisters or neighbors will take partial responsibility for the upbringing of children, so as to give mothers the opportunities to enter and stay in the labor market after giving birth (Keuzenkamp & Merens, 2006; Van Leeuwaarde, 2011).

In Aruba women are also obliged to work to provide for their families. Yet the pay that most women receive is not enough to make ends meet each month. Aruba has one of the highest GDPs in the Caribbean, but that doesn’t mean that poverty among the female population is non-existent. Poverty for women is particularly high for single mothers acting as heads of households¹, 24.2% of whom live under subsistence level (CBS, 2005). According to the findings of the Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS 2010), a single mother with one child needs 1985.00 florins per month (1.8 florins = 1 USD) to survive; a single mother with 2 children needs 3176.00, and a single mother

¹ We have 5523 female-headed families on the island (CBS, 2005)

with 3 children needs 3772.00 while the minimum wage is 1542,90² florins per month. This means that all single mothers who are working for the minimum wage in Aruba are living under the poverty line.

The salary gap between men and women has also increased over the past decade. In 2000 the gap between men and women was 550.00 florins per month (CBS, 2000) and in 2011 it increased to 700.00 florins per month (CBS, 2011). 66% of the people who request social assistance are women and divorce is one of the main reasons why women request aid (DSZ, 2011). The question remaining is what have Aruban governments done to narrow this gap during the last 25 years of “Status Aparte³” Our present government includes 7 female ministers and 27 female members of parliament (CBS, 2003; Pronk, 2003; CBS, 2011).

Aruba has the second highest development index in the region; however, there are serious differences between population subgroups on the island in terms of income, education, employment, and health. For instance, there is a disparity between the wages of public sector and private sector employees in the same career field. The Aruban community is becoming increasingly aware of the need for a balance between education, public health care, economic development, environment, and general well-being. This awareness has been integrated to some extent into the National Integrated Strategic Plan 2010-2025, (NosAruba2025, 2010) which is based on the following twelve development priorities that define the concept of “Sustainable Development”:

1. Stimulation and promotion of healthy living
2. Protection of the environment
3. Lifelong learning and personal development
4. Culture
5. Good governance
6. Building the community from inside to outside
7. Energy management
8. Sustainable food supply
9. International financial sector
10. Sustainable tourism industry
11. Nation of innovation
12. Sustainable economic growth and diversification

Given these twelve priorities, the Aruban National Strategic Plan can be said to be lacking a human development vision for women. A vision regarding their quality of life, their right to equal treatment, their freedom to achieve in any field, and also their right to be considered as contributors to the national economy; a vision that considers

² Landsverordening AB 2009 no. GT 60 (AB 2009 Ordinance No. 1960 GT) (AB: Afkondigings Blad (Publication journal))

³ Status Aparte: Aruba received its “Status Aparte” in 1986 (Status Aparte: The status of an autonomous entity within the Kingdom of The Netherlands).

them as human beings able to make their own choices in order to improve their personal and productive lives and their families' well-being.

Since 1919, the International Labor Organization (ILO) has promoted women's rights at the workplace and equality between women and men in society; nevertheless, a great number of women who work for private companies that do not have a signed collective contract with their employees do not enjoy equal payment rights to this date (CBS, 2003; ILO, 2009). The Aruban Strategic Plan is mostly based on the development of the national economy, meaning that it is focused on the achievement and sustainability of high rates in the economic growth, while issues regarding quality of life and human capacity building is not given the importance that it deserves.

One of the central goals of human development is to enable people to become agents in their lives and in their communities (Nussbaum, 2006; Deneulin & Shahani, 2009). It is very difficult for mothers in Aruba to become agents due to their "double day's work" of wage employment plus full responsibility for housework, family, and child-care. This situation prevents most mothers from enlarging their range of choices, and expanding the scope of their freedom to bear children or not, to stay single or not, to be a stay-home mother or a working one, to earn a salary; to follow the profession of their choosing, to spend their money as they see fit, to make their own decisions, to keep their individuality within their marriage, and finally, to improve their quality of life by educating themselves (Sen, 1999; Robeyns, 2005; Nussbaum, 2006). Limiting these aspects of the agency of women has a devastating effect on the rest of the community (Kothari & Minogue, 2006).

Many women in Aruba might not be aware of their capabilities and possibilities to expand their freedom to make their own decisions and to expand their own range of choices. Choices and opportunities available to women in Aruba are limited by various factors, which depend on personal, financial, and social circumstances (Nussbaum, 2006; MBZK⁴, 2010). Some women on the island have a strong developed self-image (agency); they enjoy and create opportunities and possibilities for self-fulfillment (functioning) and independence (capacity building) (MBZK, 2010). They are active, self-reliant, and independent women who manage their lives according to their personal needs and circumstances. They are actively involved in initiatives aimed not only at improving their own lives, but also at improving their communities. They are dynamic promoters of social transformation, which can impact the entire community, including the lives of women, men, and children (Kothari & Minogue, 2006). Largely through the efforts of such women, and because the governmental office of *Vrouwenzaken* (Women's Affairs) was closed in 2007, the

⁴ Ministerie van Binnenlandse Zaken en Koninkrijksrelaties (Ministry of the Interior and Relations of State within the Kingdom).

Ministry of Social Affairs in Aruba has recently developed and implemented a new policy to empower women on the island (CEDEHM⁵).

Education is essential to development. It empowers people and strengthens nations (MDGs, 2010). It is an important impetus for personal development. Education for women has a proven positive impact on the entire society in which they live (TWBG⁶, 2011). Many women in Aruba have made good use of education as a means to improve their quality of life and their families' well-being (MDG Report, 2010). They consciously choose for schooling, in order to access better employment, greater professional opportunities, wider ranges of choice within the labor market, and higher salaries. In 2010, the Ministry of the Interior (MDGs)⁷ acknowledged that education improves women's lives; that it helps them to fight poverty, and that gives them opportunities for social and economic advancement, especially for women most likely to be living in poverty.

During the past decades, female students have begun to out-perform male students at all levels of education: primary, secondary and tertiary. Currently, the female population outnumbers the male population in almost every school cohort on the island of Aruba, with the exception of the School for Special Education (EPB)⁸ and the Technological Stream of (EPI)⁹ (DO¹⁰, 2000 to 2009). In 2009, of a total number of 558 local students who went to study abroad, 338 of them were female, and in 2010, of a total number of 601, were 374 female students (Croeze, 2010). Of all Aruban professionals, only 1.5% hold a University Education diploma, and just 5.5% holds a Higher Education¹¹ diploma (CBS, 2003).

In the mid 1960s, the government awarded scholarships to the first group of Aruban students who travelled to the Netherlands in order to complete their tertiary level studies. Teaching was one of the most common choices (CGM¹², 2010). During the 1970s, any Aruban student who qualified could apply for such a scholarship, even though at that time in Aruba, attending a university or any other tertiary institution was unusual, difficult and rare. Since the 1980s, however, the process of studying abroad has been streamlined. Today, Aruban students can apply for what has been called, since 1986, a "Study Loan" (*Studielening*), in order to attend the university or college of their choice in the Netherlands or elsewhere in Europe, the United States, or

⁵ CEDEMH: Centro pa Desaroyo de Hende Muher (Centre for Women Development)

⁶ TWBG: The World Bank Group

⁷ Millennium Developmental report 2010: The purpose of Millennium Development Goal Reports (MDGRs) is to raise public awareness; promote study, scholarship, and debate around the development challenges; forge stronger alliances; renew political commitment; and help poor countries and donors create the deep, better financed and trusted partnerships that will be needed for success (MDGs, 2010).

⁸ EPB: Educashon Profeshonal Basico (Lower Vocational Education)

⁹ EPI: Educashon Profeshonal Intermedio (Middle Professional Education)

¹⁰ DO: Directie Onderwijs (Department of Education)

¹¹ Higher Education: Hoge Opleidingen (Undergraduate)

¹² CGM: Centrum voor de Geschiedenis van Migranten (Centre of Migrant History)

in other countries in the Caribbean region. The total number of Aruban female students who have studied abroad from the 1960s until the present is unknown.

A study conducted by Colegio Arubano¹³ at the beginning of the 1990s¹⁴, showed that 63% of the Aruban students in the Netherlands fell behind other students during the first two years of tertiary studies there, increasing to 70% during the third year of study (IOA,¹⁵ 1993). Even today, most Aruban students encounter difficulties succeeding in their studies due to homesickness, language barriers, lack of self-discipline, and in many cases, lack of proper guidance and information regarding their career choices (IOA, 1993).

Despite the fact that the Aruban female population outnumbers the male population at almost every educational level, only a small number of women have broken through the glass ceiling (CBS, 2003; Leijedekkers, 2011). The national census of 2000¹⁶ indicates that the number of women in key positions is increasing but in a very slow pace (CBS, 2000)

For the last two decades there has been little change in laws and institutional rules that discriminate against women. For example, some schools still routinely expel teenage girls if they become pregnant (WGK, 2010). Expelling teenagers from school because they are pregnant is a violation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, article 26 (Koenig & Freidman, 2000). Most of these girls and their families aren't aware of the fact that this article gives them the right to stay in school, pregnant or not. Government officials, however, have always been aware of this violation of young women's rights, but have never intervened on their behalf, not even during the tenure of two female ministers of education. Denying pregnant girls their right to education makes their situation even worse. They end up living in poverty since they cannot get a diploma, and therefore are unable to find a job. This has a direct impact on their well-being and that of their children, with hugely negative effects on society in general.

Despite the higher education levels of women on the island, women are still treated as second-class citizens and most women don't stand up for their rights, because of the so-called "culture of fear". In some cases, women don't know their rights and don't even know that there are laws to protect. The reasons for these failures are many, but government is one of the main culprits, because it is responsible for educating citizens about their rights under the law.

Marriage on the island of Aruba entails many disadvantages for women. In several domains women are being discriminated against, regardless of Governmental commitments to ensure the human rights of women under the unanimously approved

¹³ Colegio Arubano: High School

¹⁴ A number of 245 respondents who were in their third year of studies in the Netherlands

¹⁵ IOA: Inspectie Onderwijs Aruba (Department of School Inspection)

¹⁶ The results from census 2010 will be launched on mid 2011

Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (PDHRE, 1998). The *Handelings-bekwaamheid* law was enacted in 1974, but married women are still being required to obtain their husband's signature when applying for a loan, a mortgage, or to open their own bank account, even after divorce.

During elections, poll cards always list a married woman as the wife of Mr. X; this is not the case for the husband's card, where such details do not appear.¹⁷ Aruba's voting law ignores a woman's right to opt for her family name on her poll card, in violation of Article 5 of the convention on Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, Articles 10 and 14 of the convention on Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (PDHRE, The Human Right to Education, 1996) and Dutch marriage law Article 9, section 1, which gives married women the option to use their own family name (Loeb, 1990).

Across the contemporary Caribbean, a very low percentage of women are represented in parliaments and in the executive branches of government. Women's low participation in politics can mainly be attributed to their negative perceptions of politics and also their will to have families (Ellis, 2003). In Aruba, women make up only 25% of the total number of parliament members and ministers. In 2010, two female members of parliament were expelled from their own parties after they voted in favor of a motion proposed by an opposing party, with male colleagues from their own party treating them unprofessionally and with disrespect (*Amigoe*, 2010). One wonders if the reaction would have been different if the "offenders" had been male party members. This is an example of how men at the political level treat women when women stand up for what they believe in. It was also very disappointing to observe that other female members of parliament as well as the only female minister didn't protest against this injustice. How can women fight for their rights if they can't even support each other?

If Aruba pretends to be one of the most developed islands in the Caribbean, it needs to broaden its focus. The governments of the last decades have only focused on the tourism industry and the economy, forgetting that a healthy economy depends crucially on empowered, well-educated and healthy people, especially women. The well-being of women in any society is crucial, because they are the primary educators, healthcare providers, and socializers of the next generation. If women are provided with the political, financial, educational, and health resources to do this job properly, the entire society benefits enormously. If women are deprived of these resources, the results are catastrophic. To begin to address these issues, Aruba will be obliged to take CEDAW and the Millennium Development Goals seriously in the years to come, and there is more work to do besides ratifying and implementing these conventions.

¹⁷ Married women and widows will be registered under the family name of their husbands or their deceased husband

Additionally, women themselves need to be pro-active regarding their rights. They need to stand up and fight instead of waiting and see who will take the lead. Women in Aruba are afraid or don't know how to speak for themselves. It is time for women to stand up and make their voices heard and to stubbornly and relentlessly insist that they have access to everything that they need to improve their lives, otherwise they will continue to be second-class citizens in our community for generations to come. Women need to organize and fight together, contrary to what is currently the case. Women are wasting their time fighting each other on a daily basis, often driven by peer pressure, jealousy, and envy. Our female members of parliament are not providing positive role models for our women because of this kind of behavior. If we want changes for the generations to come, we women must not only demand change in the way that we are dealt with by society, but we must also demand change in our ways of dealing with one another.

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CHILD SEXUAL ABUSE: WOMEN AND HUMAN DEVELOPMENT IN THE CARIBBEAN

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Introduction

Child sexual abuse (CSA) is a silent social problem that is escalating in the Caribbean with the potential to threaten the human capabilities of women and the prospects of sustainable human development. In view of close family ties and the physical proximity of family households, as well as issues of complicity, silence, denial and family loyalty in Caribbean islands, incidents of CSA are allowed to perpetuate, oftentimes without intervention. This contributes to unresolved childhood trauma that threatens women's capability to function effectively in all spheres of life. This article explores the effects of CSA on women and seeks to illustrate how the determinants of human development such as education, health, human rights, human security and justice are threatened for women who experience CSA as it forecloses their life choices, agency and freedom to live a happier and more valuable life. The article also examines economic growth because of its related ideas to human development as a tool for well being. The article concludes that some children are not safe under adult protection in the home. Recommendations are made for the family to be a locus of human development and public scrutiny where the capabilities of girls are nurtured in order to secure their full potential as one of the major resources in Caribbean islands necessary for sustainable human development amidst the current global economic crisis and future uncertainties.

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The case of Nikita

"I was 9 years old when my mother's boyfriend began to interfere with me. At 14 years, I must have slept with more than a dozen guys all of them old enough to be my grandfather. The nurses at the health centre knew me very well as I go there with all sorts of diseases, some of them I do not know their names, HIV and AIDS must be one of them. If I met a nice looking guy, before he knew it, I would go down on him.

I was having a hard time living with myself. I felt so dirty, so useless, having sex with strangers somehow made me feel I was good for at least one thing.

As an adult, one day I suddenly decided this was it. This guy tore off my shirt and my bra but couldn't get my pants off. I escaped with several bad bruises, but I felt wonderful. It was the first time since I was 9 that I found the strength to say no to someone who wanted to interfere with me. Sometimes, when I'm sitting down all by myself, the whole nightmare comes back to haunt me. Sometimes I lock myself in a room or sit under the house all day and cry. No one really cares, you can't trust anyone. Sometimes I'm even afraid for myself, the thoughts that come to my head. I didn't deserve to be treated like that. I did not finish school, I do not know who has my baby. They told me she is in foster care with some lady. I want to make someone, anyone pay for all that has happened to me. I get so moody at times. The slight thing can trigger me. Most people tell me that I am always vex and angry, they are right as I do not know what it is to smile and to laugh."

'People are the real wealth of a nation' was the opening statement of the first Human Development Report in 1990 which became the guiding principle for subsequent reports. Implicit in this statement is that women are the wealth of nations. It would therefore be safe to argue that if the evolving human capabilities of girls are negatively impacted, then, there are obvious implications for human development in the Caribbean. The long term effect of childhood trauma is one such negative event that has affected many girls in all spheres of life, especially when the trauma remains unresolved.

The narrative of Nikita is a vivid illustration of the long term consequences of CSA across a life span. Nikita represents the voice of numerous children victims in the Caribbean and worldwide. A brief analysis of the case of Nikita demonstrates that her life has been turned upside down as a result of this single act of CSA at the age of 9 years followed by multiple acts of sexual coercion and sexual violence. Women who are victims of CSA often suffer a range of psychosocial problems and personal challenges. This article attempts to examine this silent social problem within the framework of a human development perspective, utilizing among others Amartya Sen's (1999, 2002) and Martha Nussbaum's (2008, 2011) conceptualizations of human development. In discussing the impact of CSA on women, I will also draw on my own experiences as a social worker having worked with women and children who have been victims of CSA. For the purpose of confidentiality and anonymity pseudonyms are used.

Characteristics of CSA

CSA is one form of child maltreatment which refers to the involvement of a child in contact and non contact sexual activities for the pleasure of an adult. It occurs in a variety of contact forms and moves along a continuum of touching, kissing, fondling

and sexual penetration. Non contact forms may include verbal sexual abuse, voyeurism and exhibitionism. CSA, which is a criminal offence in the Caribbean is represented by other terminologies in the law such as incest, carnal knowledge, child prostitution, child pornography, child trafficking, unnatural offences, sexual connections, indecent sexual assault and indecent sexual exposure.

A 2009 study of CSA in the Eastern Caribbean carried out on six islands Anguilla, Barbados, Dominica, Grenada, Montserrat and St Kitts and Nevis revealed three main forms of CSA. The first type is intra-familial abuse which is the most common form. It is secretive, silent, invisible and fathers and step-fathers are the main perpetrators (Jones & Jemmott, 2009: 11). What is extremely disturbing about this form of sexual abuse is that it occurs in the home, and mothers know about it but fail to act. The second type of abuse is non family abuse characterized by two extremes, strangers on one hand and trusted adults on the other. Notable examples of perpetrators of the latter type of abuse are teachers, coaches, pastors and priests. The third form of abuse is transactional sexual abuse. This form is sometimes referred to as opportunistic where children have sex with adults in exchange for money and/or material goods (Jones & Jemmott: 11). This form of abuse is an open secret; parents and community have full knowledge of it, but take no action. An emerging trend in the Caribbean is the sexual abuse of boys, transaction sex between children, internet abuse, cell phone pornography, child sex tourism, sexual aggression by girls and opportunistic abuse linked to natural disasters (Jones & Jemmott: 13).

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Research shows that more girls than boys are sexually abused. According to the *State of the World's Children Report* (Unicef, 2010), 20% of women have suffered sexual abuse as children as compared to 10-14% for men. The studies of Finkelhor (1994) for example found females to be abused at 1.5 to 3 times the rate of males. According to Jones & Jemmott, studying the Caribbean, girls of all ages were found to be at risk of inter-familial sexual abuse and it happens at any age and continues until the child leaves home. In my social work practice, infants of six and nine months were allegedly reported to have been sexually abused. Additionally, the findings that most acts of CSA are committed by adult men in the USA (NCANDS, 2002) were replicated in the Caribbean by Jones & Jemmott, who state that:

“all the survivors had been abused by men and none by women. Fathers and step-fathers were the people most likely to commit abuse, although other men were mentioned: cousins, a grandfather, a school principal, mothers’ boyfriends and young men in the community (p. 100).

According to the World Bank’s *Caribbean Youth Development Report* (2003), the Caribbean has the earliest age of sexual ‘debut’ in the world with many young people being initiated into sexual behavior as a consequence of child abuse as early as 10

years and in some cases even younger. The *Caribbean Youth Health Survey* (PAHO, 2000) reported that one in every ten children in St. Lucia is at risk of sexual abuse. In terms of reported cases in St Lucia, CSA was consistently the highest type of child maltreatment for the period 2007-2011, with reported cases ranging from 76-106 per year. While this data remains disturbing, what is even more alarming are the findings from the *Child Vulnerability Study* (Unicef, 2006) conducted in St. Lucia, Barbados and St. Vincent where children reported that one of the worst things that could happen during the life experience of a child is being sexually abused by the ‘mister’.

The situation of CSA in Aruba is also distressing, given that reported cases ranked the highest in 2009 (70 N= 291), the second highest in 2010 (52 N=258) and the third highest in 2011 (46 N=248). On the island of Curaçao, reported cases of CSA recorded by just one social service agency (Overzicht Casuïstiek Stichting Kinderbescherming) reached a total of 175 cases between 2004-2011. Meanwhile, a prevalence survey conducted in Trinidad and Tobago by Chadee as cited by Matroo (2011) reveals that 87% of the respondents reported that CSA was “very prevalent”. But the available statistical data on CSA does not represent the real magnitude of the problem in view of gross underreporting. Underreporting is probably the result of multiple factors, such as fear, disbelief and shame on the part of the child, poor interagency collaboration, absence of protocols, and limitations on centralized data base registries. In St. Lucia the underreporting situation is compounded by a system of *arrangement* referring to a domestic settlement of a case where the child’s parent or guardian accepts cash or goods in kind in exchange for non-reporting (Eugene, 2006.). Some mothers are known to have done home repairs, purchased vehicles, and go on a spending spree overseas with finances received for the sexual misuse and abuse of their daughter’s sexuality.

Human development and CSA

One of a number of theories, models and definitions of development, the theory of human development evolved in the 1990s with the pioneering work of Pakistani economist Mahbub ul Haq, founder of the *Human Development Report*. Haq in the first Human Development Report defines human development “as enlarging people’s choices and to create an enabling environment for people to enjoy long, healthy and creative lives” (1990:10). While the perspectives of human development may be many, it is the human capability approach as inspired by Amartya Sen with contributions from Martha Nussbaurn that areas are used as the foundation of the analysis presented in this article. According to Sen (1999), “human development is the process of enlarging a person’s choices to lead long and healthy lives, to be knowledgeable, to have access to the resources needed for a decent standard of living and to be able to participate in the life of the community.” Sen’s work on human

capabilities and functionings influenced the work of Mahbud ul Haq, as collectively, and in collaboration with other colleagues, they developed the Human Development Index (HDI).

The purpose of the HDI was to shift the focus of development economics from national income accounting to people centered policies (Haq, 1990). The HDI has served as a flagship for the human development approach (Deneulin & Shahani, 2009). It is a comparative measure of three equally weighted components: (1) a long and healthy life, measured by health and life expectancy; (2) literacy and knowledge, measured by education, literacy levels and school enrollment; and (3) a decent standard of living measured by wealth i.e., per capita income. The HDI is used to determine whether a country is classified as developed, developing or under developed.

Two of the HDI indicators, health and education, are directly affected by what happens in childhood. Sexual abuse in childhood is one of the worst forms of child maltreatment (Unicef, 2006). According to research, CSA has been shown to adversely impact the health, education and well being of children into adulthood. In this regard, it would be reasonable to assume that CSA has the potential to adversely affect human development.

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Another distinguishing feature of human development is Nussbaum's (2008) proposed list of ten central human capabilities that she argues should be the basis of constitutional guarantees. These include life, bodily health, bodily integrity, senses, imagination and thought, emotions, practical reasoning, affiliation with other species, play and control over one's environment. In the case of Nikita, most of the ten capabilities on Nussbaum's list were directly and negatively impacted by her experience of CSA. Nikita's narrative mentions an inability to laugh and play as well as a downward spiral of depression, fear, anger, self-hate, without hope of healing and happiness. Nikita's experience parallels the experiences of other women with whom I have worked who share similar narratives and pathologies. Nikita's story clearly illustrates that CSA affects women's health, cognitive development, educational attainment, employment opportunities, income earning potential, dignity, pride, health, safety and security.

Sen (2002) asserts "health is among the most important conditions of human life and a critically significant constituent of human capabilities which we have reason to value" (p. 660). Epidemiological studies on sexual violence against children consistently show that it continues to be a global public health concern. Studies show that women victims of CSA suffer negative mental health outcomes such as depression, anxiety, suicidal attempts, Post Traumatic Stress Disorder and substance abuse. Besides some

of these disorders, Nikita's experience of CSA also led her to contracting sexually transmitted illnesses.

In my practice as a social worker, I have encountered women who experienced CSA and still battle with feelings of hurt, pain, guilt, isolation from family and friends and inability to participate in community activities and enjoy a good life, health and productive participation in the labour force. The study of Siegel & Williams (2003) shows that women survivors of CSA made greater use of primary medical care and were at higher risk of premature mortality because their victimization put them at risk for behaviours such as drug abuse or prostitution that could have serious adverse health consequences. In some cases the lives of girls in the Caribbean have been cut short when sexual assault is combined with murder.

The negative impact of CSA on health remains a troubling concern that underscores the need to prevent and find ways to mitigate its adverse consequences. Health is central to "economic growth, educational achievements, cognitive development, employment opportunities, income earning potential as well as the more amorphous aspects of dignity, safety, security and empowerment" (Ariana & Naveed in Deneulin & Shahani, 2009: 229).

400 Education is another key dimension to human development, Currie & Widom (2010) studied the long term consequences of child abuse on adult economic well being. Their the results show that women with documented histories of sexual abuse have lower levels of education, employment, earnings and fewer assets (owning a home, bank account, vehicle), as adults compared to a matched control sample (p.116). This study also found that women victims of CSA often times suffer the consequences of reduced economic productivity due to dropping out of school, teenage pregnancy and an inability to learn due to the negative mental health impacts of CSA incidents (p. 111).

A girl from a rural Caribbean community who was allegedly raped by a minibus driver complained of having panic attacks every time she saw a minibus and heard the sound of horns and engines. The girl was therefore unable to attend school for a long period of time. As was the case with Nikita who became pregnant and dropped out of high school, her lack of success at school made it difficult for her to find reasonable employment to support her child and herself. Dropping out of school means that girls are not able to reach their full academic potential, so that as adults run they risk becoming economically dependent on others, in most cases abusive men and/ or on state welfare systems.

Women without education are unemployed or trapped in low paid or unskilled jobs characterized by absence of upward mobility and other opportunities, under the phenomenon that Lopez-Claros & Zahidi (2005) refer to as the ‘ghettorization of female labour’. In some areas of the Caribbean, skills training is provided for such women as part of basic needs and human resource programs. My critique of such initiatives is that they usually prepare women for exploitative, short term low wage jobs. This does little to promote the well being of women or to improve their living standards.

Sen (1999) says that societies need to see women less as passive recipients of help and more as dynamic promoters of social transformation. She has written extensively about the role of basic education in economic development, stating categorically that without compulsory education no economic development is possible. Educational attainment is undoubtedly the most fundamental prerequisite for empowering women in all spheres of life.

Therefore, from a human development perspective, CSA negatively affects women’s workforce participation as well as their potential contribution to the national economy. As the World Economic Forum (2010) asserts “economic participation for women and their presence in the workforce in quantitative terms is important not only for lowering the disproportionate levels of poverty among women, but also as an important step toward raising household income and encouraging economic development in countries as a whole.”

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By virtue of their role as caregivers, mothers, wives, and partners, women are major consumers of goods and services. Studies on the growing ‘power of the purse’ (Hausmann, Tyson and Zahidi, 2010: 31) or ‘the rise of the sheconomy’ (Luscombe, 2010) demonstrate how women will be among the main drivers of growth in post crisis economies. As Pine & Gnessen (2009) claim “women make 85% of the buying decisions, or are the chief purchasing officers of their households.” Silverstein & Sayre observes that “globally, women control about \$20 trillion in annual consumer spending, and that figure could climb as high as \$28 trillion in the next five years. In aggregate, women represent a growth market bigger than China and India. Given these numbers, it would be foolish to ignore or underestimate the female consumer.” (Harvard Business Review, Sept. 2009).

Thus, women’s increased capacity to save as well as to spend on food, healthcare, education, childcare, household appliances, clothing and even vacations contribute to a country’s economic growth. The World Economic Forum Report, (2011) notes “we know that women spend on an average 90% of their earnings on the education, health and nutrition of their families and communities while men invest only 50% of their

earnings in these areas.” Therefore, one can argue that where Caribbean women have limited prospects to complete school, find a job and enjoy good health due to their exposure to sexual violence in childhood, economic growth is likely to be significantly constrained.

Peterson’s (2011) finds that “despite impressive growth, Aruba’s average female economic participation still lags behind the best in the world and that 1% increase in female economic participation has a significant impact on GDP growth of +10%” (p.5). Given that in Aruba, Curaçao and many other areas of the Caribbean, women make up half of the population and the labour force, and given the fact that the majority of the victims of CSA are girls, what then is the impact of CSA on national economic growth? Studies have shown that women with histories of abuse reported earning an average of almost US\$8,000 less per year than other women (Currie & Widom, 2010: 117). CSA therefore appears to have detrimental effects on sustainable human development and economic growth.

CSA: Human rights, human security and justice

The ideas of human rights, human security and justice are relevant to human development thinking as they promote freedom, well being and the dignity of all people. CSA is a human rights violation as it is in direct violation of the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) and the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), two international instruments that have been signed and ratified by most Caribbean nations. The CRC for example was written with the hope that children will be protected from all forms of maltreatment, including CSA. While the CRC explicitly states in article 34 that countries shall take all appropriate legislative, administrative, social, and educational measures, either nationally, bilaterally or multilaterally in order to protect children from sexual abuse, the number of incidents continues to rise in the Caribbean.

As clearly demonstrated in the case of Nikita, exposure to CSA prevents women from achieving self-respect, taking part in the life of the community or appearing in public without shame. As shown in the studies of Wondie et al. (2011): “child abuse survivors demonstrated a lower degree of social support, a lower degree of empowerment... as well as a higher degree of guilt and increased likelihood of viewing the world as dangerous ...and a lower degree of self-worth and a higher degree of objective personal vulnerability compared to their non sexually abused normal control counterparts.” Under such conditions, one can reasonably assume that women’s agency, self-determination, authentic self-direction, autonomy, self-reliance, empowerment, voice and freedom to pursue and realize their goals and aspirations are seriously hampered by experiences of CSA.

Justice for children who have experienced CSA is a human rights obligation. The understanding of justice in cases of CSA can be defined as “achieving a just outcome...that wrongdoing is acknowledged, that the wrongdoers are identified and made to face the consequences of their actions and that reparation is made to society and the person who has suffered harm” (Smith and Woodhed, 1998 as cited in Green 2006).

CSA is a violent act that threatens human security since it presents a risk to human survival and safety. In instances where the perpetrator denies the allegations of CSA the child's security is negatively affected and her ability to recover is lessened, as she lives a life of guilt or self-blame. In my past experiences with children exposed to CSA, they constantly reiterate their feeling that: “if only he would admit that he interfered with me, I would feel so much better”. Where the alleged perpetrator is actually brought to justice, the victim feels vindicated and this experience aids in the healing process and builds resiliency, thereby giving children who have experienced CSA greater chances to enhance life opportunities. In a more practical sense, where the perpetrator is incarcerated, many affected children feel their world is much safer and a real sense of safety and security. In other cases, however, these same children may become vulnerable to more abuse, as demonstrated by the following narrative by Maya, one of my clients:

“I was abused by uncle who is now in prison, I felt safer when once he was no longer in my sight. But then my brother began having sex with me...so I said, I prefer to have sex with any other man but not my brother, so I ask an old man to be my friend and this is how he raped me one day... I did not want the matter to go to court, because I was the one who asked him to be friends.”

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The notion of justice in connection with CSA is undoubtedly fraught with challenges. For example, interfacing with the medical, police and legal justice systems as well as with social service agencies and residential homes may at times result in revictimization. Moreover, children can be stereotyped, stigmatized as liars and reconstructed as spoiled goods and as no longer being children within their community. Some adolescent victims of CSA engage in a pattern of running away from home. In fact, running away is a strong indication that there is something terribly wrong in the home. Others whom I have encountered in my social work experience turn to a life of juvenile delinquency marked by stealing, housebreaking, damage to property, assault, involvement with gangs and the possession of weapons and abuse of drugs . Parents have informed me of their daughters who sleep with knives under their pillow with the intention of injuring their abuser. In other cases children have contemplated poisoning the food of their abuser. Such is the relationship between CSA, crime and violence which has the potential to ruin the safety, security and human dignity of girls.

CSA in the Caribbean: The family as a locus of human development

Sometimes, girls who experience CSA are resilient and find ways to live their lives to their full potential. Studies of CSA have found that from 21% - 49% of children exposed to CSA suffer no long term symptoms (Kendall-Tackett et al., 1993). Studies show that such resilient survivors of CSA are more likely than other victims to have grown up in more stable homes, characterized by fewer moves, and less parental drug abuse. Resiliency is also correlated with graduating from high school, receiving attention from a mentor, and being treated sensitively by siblings, teachers and social workers (Hyman & Williams, 2001; Thomas & Hall, 2008). While it is true that some women may find ways to cope with the trauma associated with CSA in order to live a better life, it is believed that many vacillate between resiliency and victimhood as memories may come back to haunt them at any time during adulthood and cause psychosocial impairment.

It has been said that the family is the ‘bed rock’ of society. But is this really true when it is in the home that most cases of CSA occur? CSA takes place within the “family which is intended to be a safe place to live with others, ...a social base of self-respect and non humiliation, where one desires ... to enjoy relationships, to feel accepted, understood and to love” (Nussbaum, 2008). When CSA occurs, it often disrupts the socialization of children, with family relationships becoming confused and resulting in family dysfunction, often transforming the family into a place of tyranny.

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During my experience as a social work practitioner, I came across many cases where mothers and other family members knew about sexual abuse taking place, but did nothing to stop it. This secrecy or ‘child sexual abuse accommodation syndrome’ as described by Roland (1983, cited in London et al., 2005) or complicit silence, denial and failure to take appropriate action is one major factor that contributes to the perpetuation of CSA within the family. In another clinical experience, 28 year old Cafina writes about her childhood sexual ordeal:

“As early as 3 years old I remember coming home from preschool in my red and white uniform...I met my cousin in the house...he put me to sit on the bed, lifted my skirt, pulled down my underwear and fondled me ... he had long nails...the next time was about 5 or 6 years...my parents were not at home... I was asleep in the room that many of us shared... I was awakened as I felt someone touching my private parts. This happened many times. I felt confused ... I told my mother and she did not believe me. I can remember my mother holding me in the bedroom from about 4:00 pm until 9:00 pm until my father came home to tell him how I made false allegations about his cousin...He beat me...I am a Christian now...I forgive my parents...”

In cases where parents, particularly mothers, do not believe their children, do not provide children with relevant information, or fail to adequately supervise their children, there is a likelihood of capability deficiency. The family ought to be a locus of human development, i.e., the social institution that nourishes human capabilities for the highest good of all. The family must be at the forefront of any sustainable human development paradigm, program, services and policies. It is imperative that the family must not be seen as sacrosanct or a private institution. The state must play an integral role in valuing the family as an institution to be studied and monitored, with the aim of developing policies for it, in the same manner as it does for economic and financial institutions.

Caribbean societies face special challenges in responding to CSA. Close family ties and the physical proximity of households create interesting family dynamics that negatively affect reporting of CSA. The notion of ‘what happens in the family stays in the family’ gives rise to a distorted sense of family loyalty compounded with issues of complicity, silence and denial of the occurrence of CSA in the home. This further translates into an ethical dilemma within the family of deciding who is most deserving of protection: should it be the adult abuser or the child? Due to poverty and the economic and social reliance of many Caribbean women on men, action which may affect the main breadwinner such as reporting abuse is often undermined by women themselves (Jones & Jemmott, 2009). More often than not, the abuser is protected through non-reporting, leaving the child to cope with the unresolved traumatic experiences that threaten her physical and mental health.

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In most Caribbean countries, there are cases of CSA where the perpetrator may be in a position of power or is likely to know someone who is and may be able to influence the outcome of any reported case in favour of the perpetrator (Jones & Jemmott, 2009: 2). By so doing, daughters are made to be the sacrificial lambs taking responsibility for the false honour of the men in the family. Furthermore, in many Caribbean societies anonymity and confidentiality in reporting cannot be assured, and the procedures for dealing with reports, systems for monitoring abuse and services to deal with the impact of disclosure are underdeveloped (Jones & Jemmott, 2009: 2). The latter is further exacerbated with ‘turf’ issues amongst the agencies responsible for child protection. Better governance in the region is necessary to deal with these and other issues connected with CSA.

Conclusion

While increased GDP does not always make a difference in measuring the quality of people’s lives, a human development approach provides a framework for evaluating the impact of CSA on the well being and well becoming of children into adulthood.

Since the most important determinant to a country's competitiveness is its human talent, i.e. the skills, education and productivity of its workforce (World Economic Forum Report, 2010), we must consider the plight of victims of CSA in the Caribbean and how their childhood traumatic experiences can hinder their human development and their participation in the development process. In an effort to strengthen women's human development, CSA must be eradicated, treatment must be given, families must be supported and justice must be served. Caribbean countries must honour their obligations to the CRC and introduce child friendly and family centered laws, policies, and services and programs to respond to this silent crime.

We should never assume that children are safe under the idealized mantle of adult protection in the home. The family should not be off limits for public scrutiny because of its profound role in the nurturing of the capabilities of its members. Therefore, public policy must be enacted and implemented to protect the human capability within the family that is required for sustainable human development and the wealth of Caribbean societies. There is a pressing need to foster the agency of communities, families and civil society to be vigilant, to blow the whistle, to break the silence and to play a more direct role in intervening and providing the supportive and therapeutic resources that are necessary to eliminate CSA. Failing to do this will result in Caribbean nations not being able to take advantage of the full potential of their society's human talent and resources for meaningful development.

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A PROPOSAL TO STUDY THE PHENOMENON OF LATCHKEY CHILDREN IN ARUBA

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Many parents struggle to maintain supervision of their children after school hours because of work, adult-education or other commitments. This has led to the development of the phenomenon of latchkey children. A latchkey child is a school-aged child who is left at home with little or no adult or parental supervision for part of the day (especially after school until a parent returns home from work). The latchkey child phenomenon has been correlated to greater than average levels of fear, loneliness and depression and lower than average levels of academic achievement. One aim of the proposed research is to provide up-to-date baseline information on the number of Aruban children who are in self-care and the amount of time they spend alone. Another aim is to illustrate the effect self-care has on the social development and well-being of latchkey children in Aruba, in order to guide practitioners and policymakers in their responses to this social problem.

Although everyone acknowledges its existence, at the moment there is little reliable information available on the nature and extent of the problem of latchkey children in Aruba. In Aruba the four most common types of families are headed by single parents, married couples, extended family, and divorced parents. Most heads of families must work outside the home to earn enough money to make ends meet. Because the minimum wage in Aruba is not sufficient even to support a single parent family with only one child, many parents work two jobs in order to provide for their families.

Many working parents use institutionalized as well as non-institutionalized childcare. Those who can afford it leave their children in day care or after school care or keep them busy with sports or other types of activities. Others make informal arrangements with extended family members, neighbors, and friends to supervise their children. The children whose parents have fewer financial and/or social resources do not have such options and some are therefore forced to leave their children in self-care during part of the day.

There are parents who work in the tourist industry who leave their children at home as early as five o'clock in the morning to go to work. Often these children are asleep

when their parent or parents leave the house. Such parents often keep track of their children by telephone. They will call their children at different times on their way to work. They will give them a wakeup call and track their children until they leave for school. Usually these children come home to an empty house.

Some parents with limited resources are able to access some form of relatively inexpensive after school care. The government provides the Traimerdia program for a great number of schoolchildren. Parents with one child make good use of this program, but accessing the program becomes problematic for parents with two or more children. Those who can't afford it simply leave their children home alone. The children arrive at home from school; they remain alone until their parent or parents reach home. The period of time during which they remain unsupervised varies enormously. Some children have access to food during self-care, while others have nothing to eat until a parent comes home from work.

There are three main types of child neglect: physical, emotional, and educational.

In the proposed research the focus will be on emotional neglect. Emotional neglect is passive or aggressive failure to provide consistent love and nurturing, encouragement, comfort and protection from an abusive person. The question is: Are parents who choose self-care aware that this type of child care could be considered to be a lack of parental concern for the safety and supervision of the child? If we consider the consequences of leaving children unsupervised home alone we find that: 1) there is no one to give the child attention and care; 2) there is no one to protect the child when in danger; 3) there is no one to supervise children's homework; 4) there is no one to supervise who enters the home; 5) there is no one to supervise the use of cable TV and the internet; 6) If the child loses the key, or becomes bored, he/she may start living on the streets.

Over the years there has been a significant amount of research done on self-care, with varied results. For many years researches reported that mothers who go back to work before their baby reaches 9 months consign the child to poorer than normal mental and verbal development by age three. Boys were found to be more affected in this instance than girls (*Child Development*). However researchers such as Jeanne Brooks Gunn of Columbia University Teachers College found that 'sensitive' working mothers who showed greater interest in their babies can mitigate these effects. A recent study from the University of Texas at Austin also found that whether or not mother worked during their child's first 3 years had no effect on their child's social and intellectual development during those years (*Child Development*, 6, 2, March/April 2005).

Casper and Smith (2004) used a preferences-and-constraints model to develop four hypotheses to explain why parents may choose self-care as the primary child care arrangement for their children over supervised alternatives. They found that the choice

of self-care over supervised care alternatives is linked to the availability of parents' time to care for children, the child's level of responsibility and maturity, and the neighborhood context. Cain & Hofferth (1989) found that in the US, self-care is more likely to be used by middle- and upper-income white mothers living in suburban or rural areas than by other mothers. This was especially true when there are no other adults in the household, when the children in question are older children, and when the time period for self-care is relatively short.

Complementary research by Tanney & Turner (2003) and Berry, Charlson & Dawson (2003) found that childhood neglect leads to a higher risk of school failure, socio-emotional difficulties, behavioral disorders and development of anxiety and mental disorders. Batchelder & Winnykamen (1995) found that latchkey children's capacity to be alone may help protect their psychological well-being, and that parental absence made children more pro-active in their own development in self-care contexts (*Journal of Social Distress and Homeless*, 4, 1, 1995).

The questions that will guide the proposed research are: What effects does lack of parental supervision have on the social well-being of latchkey children in Aruba? Which families use self-care for their elementary and middle school age children? How often do parents use self-care? What are the specific factors that lead parents to use self-care? Are self-care children more at risk than others for academic, behavioral and social emotional problems? Can self-care be considered a form of negligence? Is there enough institutional and service provider capacity on Aruba to care for these children? What are the best practices for dealing with the phenomenon of latchkey children in Holland and the United States?

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A qualitative practice-based diagnostic approach will be utilized in the proposed study. Interviews, participant observation, surveys, archival research, statistical data collection will be used to answer the research questions. Parents, children, relevant social agencies, employers, and other stakeholders will be involved at every stage to ensure that the project becomes part of strategies to effectively address the problem.

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STEREOTYPES WITH RESPECT TO SPECIFIC GROUPS OF DUTCH RESIDENTS AMONG CURAÇAOAN HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS¹

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Introduction

This paper follows up on a previous study (Kester & Hortencia, 2011) concerning stereotypes with respect to Dutch residents on the island of Curaçao. As explained in that study, although we are fully aware of the fact that ‘Dutch’ also refers to the population of six islands in the Caribbean including Curaçao, we use the term here to refer to citizens born and raised in the European part of the Kingdom.

In this article we investigate stereotypes concerning specific subsets of Dutch residents on the island, such as pensioners, teachers and tourists. The data come from a survey that was carried out by the second author for her MA-thesis (Hortencia, 2011). As the first part of the survey about stereotypes with respect to Dutch residents in general showed high percentages of neutral opinions (Kester & Hortencia, 2011), the question arises as to whether opinions are more polarized in the cases of certain specific groups. In the next section we first present a review of the literature concerning the stereotypes that served as a starting point for the questionnaire.

Literature review

The questionnaire utilized in this study is based on three previous studies concerning stereotypes and the relationship between the populations of Curaçao and the Netherlands: Houwing (1997), Marcha & Verweel (2000) and Heijes (2004). Houwing (1997) is discussed most extensively in this section, as her work was based on data from informants belonging to the same age group (teenagers) as the present one and contains more information with respect to specific subsets of Dutch residents than do the others.

¹ We express our sincere gratitude to the pupils who filled out the questionnaire and wrote the essays. We also thank all the schools and teachers for their hospitality and collaboration: Abel Tasman College, International School of Curaçao, Kolegio Erasmo, Maria Immaculata Lyceum, Marnix College, Radulphus College, and Vespucci College. We gratefully mention the Board of Catholic Schools (‘Rooms-Katholieke Schoolbestuur’) who gave us permission to carry out the research at Maria Immaculata Lyceum and Radulphus College in August 2010. Needless to say, we take full responsibility for any errors or misinterpretations of the data.

Houwing's (1997) MA-thesis contains a qualitative investigation of stereotypes with respect to Dutch residents and the mutual relationship between the Curaçaoan and Dutch populations on the island. As a general conclusion, Houwing observes that the stereotypes concerning the Dutch and relationships between the two groups are very complex and sometimes contradictory, particularly at the individual level. These contradictions seem to be rooted in the historical and economic relationships between the island and its metropole.

The colonial legacy has not only created negative feelings towards the Dutch, because of the repression, fear and discrimination experienced by the Curaçaoan population, but it has also forged positive ties due to shared history and personal relationships. Additionally, the relative wealth of Curaçao contributes to a positive attitude towards the Netherlands, but at the same time to an undesirable dependency relation. These 'mixed feelings' are reflected in common stereotypes with respect to Dutch residents. Dutch people are considered privileged in the sense that they have better jobs, better housing and more opportunities. They are appreciated for being hard workers and for having a serious, responsible and punctual attitude. On the other hand, Dutch people are considered to be arrogant and cheap and to have bad habits such as smoking and drinking excessively. Furthermore, they are poor dancers and they don't care about their personal hygiene or clothing.

Many informants make a distinction between a minority that adapts to Curaçaoan society, has Curaçaoan friends and speaks Papiamentu and a majority that does not integrate, only relates to other Dutch residents, feels superior and does not learn the language. Houwing adopts the adaptation model of Berry et al. (1992), characterizing the first group by 'integration' and the second group by 'separation'. Most of the negative stereotypes apply to the second group and, due to the fact that this group constitutes a majority, negative stereotyping is easily generalized to all people of Dutch origin. Houwing's thesis (pp. 53-54) contains an explicit description of the attitudes towards certain groups of Dutch residents defined by age or profession, namely pensioners, marines, teachers, bosses, offshore workers, tourists and young people.

According to Houwing opinions with respect to Dutch pensioners are generally negative. Her informants say that pensioners feel superior to the people of Curaçao, against whom they discriminate, and they come to take advantage of the hospitality of the island. They are rich and live in large houses. The only positive characteristic mentioned is that they are quiet. The opinions concerning the Dutch marines on the island are contradictory. On the one hand, their image is positive in the sense that they protect the island and behave properly. On the other hand, they are isolated as a group and do not bother to relate to local people. They feel superior to the people of Curaçao, have a discriminatory attitude, poor personal hygiene and bad taste with respect to clothing. They are characterized as rude. The informants also observe that

the Dutch marines drink a lot of alcohol and then behave inappropriately, like being loud, touching each other and getting into fights. Interestingly, female informants have a slightly more positive attitude, in particular with respect to the physical attractiveness of the Dutch marines.

The image of Dutch teachers is also contradictory. According to one group of informants, they are assumed to be good teachers, they are friendly, helpful and adjust to their Curaçaoan pupils, they are never on sick leave and they are open to different opinions. Another group of informants have a negative opinion about Dutch teachers, because they are considered to be strict and arrogant, they smell badly, don't speak Papiamentu, favor Dutch above Curaçaoan pupils and do not adapt to the local culture. Few informants make comments about Dutch bosses, but when they do they are generally negative. Dutch bosses are judged to be dominant and to hire only employees who are Dutch. The image of offshore workers is generally negative, but few informants made specific comments with respect to this group, such as that they only relate to each other, live separately in neighborhoods that are fenced off by high walls and only come to Curaçao to make money.

In general, opinions with respect to Dutch tourists are positive. They are judged to be nice, friendly and well-behaved. Dutch tourists are very open and talkative and they show interest in the local language and culture. They enjoy the local food, the beaches and the weather. Also, they contribute in a positive way to the local economy. Only a minority has a negative opinion about Dutch tourists. The negative comments concern Dutch women who enjoy topless sun-bathing and wearing shorts, as well as general irresponsible behaviour like ignoring speed limits and traffic signs.

Young Dutch people are also classified according to the two categories distinguished in the adaptation model of Berry et al. (1992). The majority is characterized by 'separation', that is, most of them are residents who do not integrate. All Dutch young people are assumed to have more rights at school, to have a more liberal upbringing and to be more autonomous and independent. The ones who do not integrate discriminate against local people and feel superior to them. They only hang out with other Dutch teenagers in the schoolyard and listen to their own music. They are loud and have poor personal hygiene. They smoke, drink excessively and use drugs. However, there is also a minority of Dutch young people who are characterized by 'integration'. They do not discriminate against the local population, have relationships with people of various origins and behave appropriately.

In general, Houwing concludes that the image of the specific groups is negative and that the adaptation model of Berry et al. (1992) cannot straightforwardly be applied to the different groups. That is, the phenomena of integration and separation are not directly related to age or profession. Most members of the subgroups do not integrate, with the exception of some of the teachers and the ones who are married to a local partner.

Houwing explains the positive evaluations of the Dutch tourists by the fact that their residence is only temporary and, thus, they are not a threat to the local population, as they do not compete on the job market. Moreover, their presence makes an important contribution to the economy of the island. Houwing speculates that the Dutch residents who come to the island for professional reasons are evaluated more negatively, because they are considered to be competitors for jobs. This aspect apparently outweighs their economic importance and, hence, it adds to negative stereotyping.

The study by Marcha and Verweel, based on interviews with nine informants, also shows that Dutch residents in Curaçao do not constitute a homogeneous community. The distinction between those who adapt, learn the language and try to understand the culture and others, who isolate themselves and conserve their European lifestyle, is also mentioned in the interviews. As Marcha and Verweel (pp. 15-17) observe, there is also a certain tension within the group of Dutch residents, as the lack of integration that is often accompanied by a superior or arrogant attitude, produces incomprehension and irritation among the minority of those who try to integrate.

An interesting phenomenon connected to Dutch bosses mentioned by one of Marcha & Verweel's informants is that their authority and authoritarian attitude is accepted with relative ease within the Curaçaoan community, because it is not taken as a personal offense. Curaçaoan bosses, on the other hand, are in a very difficult position, because any criticism, instruction or order is interpreted as a personal attack, causing loss of face. The offended employee is under pressure as a result because his or her co-workers expect a personal reaction from him or her against the authoritarian attitude of their boss. These problems arise less commonly with a Dutch boss who – as an outsider – is in a more distant relationship (pp. 51-52).

One of Marcha & Verweel's informants provides a short description of the lifestyle adopted by Dutch marines and their wives. Apparently, their marriages are under pressure because they share little time together. The wives mainly spend most of their time in their own personal network of other marine wives. It is considered important for marines on the island to be married and have a family, in order to avoid certain temptations, such as excessive drinking and a promiscuous lifestyle. The informant observes that the marines are popular among local women, because "all want to improve their color". (p. 57).

According to one of Marcha & Verweel's informants, Dutch teachers in general try to adapt. They are overloaded with responsibilities by their local colleagues and work extremely hard in order to prove themselves. Finally, they break down and leave the island. One of the informants is a retired Dutch teacher who observes that the pupils considered her to be very strict and demanding, but also found her to be a good professional. With respect to children, the retired teacher observes that Antillean

children lack a certain assertiveness and are raised to be quiet, but she considers them more civilized apparently in comparison to Dutch children (pp. 69-70).

Heijes (2004) presents two case studies about the collaboration of Curaçaoan and Dutch employees in the police force and tax departments in the Netherlands and in Curaçao, but the study contains no specific descriptions with respect to the subgroups included in our questionnaire. As a general background for the investigation of stereotypes, Heijes' approach is innovative, as it compares cultural differences in a single workplace and also contains a self-evaluation of individual group members.

As Heijes (pp. 187-188) observes, the Dutch are considered to be rich and pedantic and this negative image does not seem to have changed over the course of two centuries. The relationship between the two groups is characterized by ambivalence and asymmetry, leading to an unbridgeable gap. Interestingly, this negative image is not only persistent over the course of time, but also very uniform and insensitive to different contexts. Negative stereotypes with respect to the Dutch are shared by groups as diverse as employees in large government institutions, in small workplaces and by high school students.

Heijes' study contains several observations regarding the different upbringing of young people in Curaçao and the Netherlands. Dutch children have more responsibilities and are entitled to express their opinions, whereas Curaçaoan children are mainly trained to remain silent as a sign of respect for their parents (p. 201).

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Research questions and methodology

On the basis of the literature review we can formulate the following questions:

1. Are the stereotypes recorded in previous studies with respect to specific groups of Dutch residents in Curaçao corroborated by our quantitative data from high school students?
2. Are opinions with respect to specific groups more outspoken in comparison to opinions about general stereotypes concerning the Dutch, in the sense that there are less neutral scores for certain subgroups?
3. If opinions with respect to specific groups are more outspoken, are these results also reflected by higher scores in the categories "strongly agree" and "strongly disagree" on a 5-point scale?

In August 2010, the second author carried out a survey for her MA-thesis (Hortencia, 2011) on the island of Curaçao. She collected data from 422 pupils at seven different high-schools: Abel Tasman College, International School of Curaçao, Kolegio Erasmo, Maria Immaculata Lyceum, Marnix College, Radulphus College and Vespucci College. First, the students wrote an essay about Dutch residents in Curaçao and in a second session they filled out a questionnaire. The questionnaire consisted of

four parts: (1) questions concerning personal data, (2) statements with respect to Dutch residents, (3) statements concerning specific groups of Dutch residents (teachers, marines, teenagers, etc.) and (4) solicited unstructured comments.

In this paper we discuss the results from the third part of the questionnaire concerning specific subsets of Dutch residents (see the appendix). For part 2, about stereotypes with respect to Dutch residents in general and a more detailed description of the methodology, we refer readers to Kester & Hortencia (2011).

253 questionnaires were selected for the analysis according to the following criteria:

- (i) the respondents categorized themselves as Antilleans by ancestry
- (ii) their native language was not Dutch (but Papiamentu, English or Spanish)
- (iii) not more than three answers were missing from the whole questionnaire

The students whose questionnaires were selected for analysis were from 14 to 21 years of age (with an average age of 16,6); 60,5% of them were females and 39,5% were males. Their education level was more or less equally distributed among the three tracks of secondary education²: 31,2% from VSBO, 34,4% from HAVO and 33,6% from VWO. Notice that the results are not representative of the total number of secondary education students on the island, as VSBO track pupils in Curaçao clearly outnumber those in HAVO and VWO³.

Results with respect to the different subcategories

In this section we analyse the students' opinions about stereotypes concerning 7 subcategories of Dutch residents on the island: pensioners, marines, teachers, bosses, offshore workers, tourists and young people.

Pensioners

As we see in table 1, neutral scores predominate in the statements concerning Dutch pensioners. Hence, the negative attitudes toward Dutch pensioners described in Houwing (1997) are not corroborated by the results of our survey. Moreover, a substantial percentage of the informants agree with the statements that Dutch

² The different tracks of secondary education are patterned after those of the Dutch school system: VSBO is Secondary Vocational Education, whereas HAVO and VWO can be regarded as different levels of High Schooling. Only the VWO track allows students access to university education.

³ According to data from the 2007-2008 school year, 7935 pupils were registered on the VSBO track and 3360 pupils were registered on both the HAVO/VWO tracks (source: Central Bureau for Statistics Netherlands Antilles, 2011).

Table 1 Evaluation of the statements concerning Dutch pensioners in Curaçao in percentages.

		Agree	Neutral	Disagree
1.	Dutch pensioners are quiet.	40,0	47,6	12,4
2.	Dutch pensioners discriminate against people from Curaçao.	33,7	44,8	21,4
3.	Dutch pensioners feel superior to people from Curaçao.	33,3	47,8	18,8
26.	The Dutch pensioners are interested in the culture of Curaçao.	38,0	45,9	16,1

pensioners are quiet (40%), confirming one of the observations by Houwing, and interested in the culture of Curaçao (38,0%).

Marines

Also in the case of Dutch marines, neutral evaluations of the statements are prevalent, with the exception of the stereotype that Dutch marines are heavy drinkers. As most of

Table 2 Evaluation of the statements concerning Dutch marines in Curaçao in percentages.

		Agree	Neutral	Disagree
4.	Dutch marines are protective.	37,6	43,2	19,2
5.	Dutch marines don't integrate.	38,2	46,7	15,0
6.	Dutch marines stink.	33,7	42,9	23,5
7.	Dutch marines consume much alcohol.	52,0	34,8	13,1
27.	Dutch marines go to local parties.	30,3	35,2	34,4

the informants agree with this statement (52,0%), they corroborate one of the stereotypes observed in Houwing (1997) and Marcha & Verweel (2000).

Teachers

In the case of Dutch teachers, the students clearly assign less neutral evaluations to the statements and, hence, seem to have stronger opinions. They evaluate the Dutch teachers as good professionals (52,7%), strict (48,0%) and unable to speak Papiamentu (48,0%), partially corroborating the stereotypes discussed in Houwing (1997) and Marcha & Verweel (2000). Notice that only 31.1% disagree with the

Table 3 Evaluation of the statements concerning Dutch teachers in Curaçao in percentages.

		Agree	Neutral	Disagree
8.	Dutch teachers are strict.	48,0	34,1	17,9
9.	Dutch teachers are kind.	36,6	45,5	17,9
10.	Dutch teachers teach their students well.	52,7	36,3	11,1
11.	Dutch teachers can't speak Papiamentu.	48,0	26,4	25,6
12.	Dutch teachers don't adapt.	31,4	37,5	31,1

statement that Dutch teachers don't adapt, whereas Houwing (1997) and Marcha & Verweel (2000) view this subcategory as rather adaptable.

Bosses

Contrary to the observations in Houwing (1997) the informants do not have strongly negative opinions about Dutch bosses, although a small minority seem to disagree with the statement that they are dominant. Notice, however, that only a minority also disagrees with the statement that Dutch bosses are democratic. These results are

Table 4 Evaluation of the statements concerning Dutch bosses in Curaçao in percentages.

		Agree	Neutral	Disagree
13.	Dutch bosses are dominant.	43,8	43,0	13,2
14.	Dutch bosses only employ Dutch people.	33,8	30,2	35,9
28.	Dutch bosses are democratic	36,5	51,2	12,3

surprising, as it is unclear how Dutch bosses can be viewed as both dominant and democratic at the same time. Notice that the higher percentage of the dominant attitude of Dutch bosses (43,8%) cannot be attributed to a stereotype concerning Dutch people in general, as Kester & Hortencia (2011) show that only 30,2% of the informants agree with the statement that Dutch people try to impose their will on people from Curaçao.

Offshore workers

In the case of Dutch offshore workers, the evaluations are also quite neutral, contrary to what we might expect on the basis of Houwing (1997). Only in the case of statement 16, about offshore workers coming to the island to make money, we find a rather high percentage (41,8%) of informants who agree. Possibly, this is related with general stereotypes about Dutch people being rich and privileged. Kester & Hortencia

Table 5 Evaluation of the statements concerning Dutch offshore workers in Curaçao in percentages.

		Agree	Neutral	Disagree
15.	Offshore people only live in certain neighborhoods.	36,9	48,2	14,9
16.	Offshore people come to Curaçao just to make money.	41,8	37,3	20,9
17.	Offshore people don't adapt.	33,7	48,0	18,3
29.	Offshore people are interested in the people of Curaçao.	33,4	49,8	16,9

(2011) point out that 54,8% of the informants agree with the statement that Dutch people have the best working positions in Curaçao and 43,7% share the opinion that Dutch people live in the best neighbourhoods.

Tourists

With respect to tourists, opinions are much more polarized with a majority of the students agreeing with the statements included in the questionnaire. The results clearly corroborate Houwing's conclusion that stereotypes regarding Dutch tourists on the island are exceptionally positive, although the local population is not in favor of

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Table 6 Evaluation of the statements concerning Dutch tourists in Curaçao in percentages.

		Agree	Neutral	Disagree
18.	Dutch tourists are friendly.	55,1	27,3	17,5
19.	Dutch tourists are very interested in the Curaçao culture and language.	66,5	22,4	11,0
20.	Dutch tourists sunbathe topless.	67,7	27,3	4,9
21.	Dutch tourists are good for the economy.	68,6	23,3	8,1

topless sunbathing. In Kester & Hortencia (2011) we pointed out that the increasing number of tourists from the Netherlands may have contributed to the "weakening" of negative stereotyping related to them over the last decade, as mentioned in the literature (Houwing, 1997: 70; Heijes, 2004: 197, 206).

Young people

In the case of stereotypes regarding young people, opinions are more polarized. Dutch young people are assumed to be smokers by an overwhelming majority of the high school students questioned in the study (77,7%). Many informants also agree with the

statements that the upbringing in Dutch families is more liberal (48,4%) and that Dutch young people discriminate against the people from Curaçao (48,8%). A high

Table 7 Evaluation of the statements concerning the Dutch young people in Curaçao in percentages.

		Agree	Neutral	Disagree
22.	Dutch young people have a more liberal education.	48,4	41,7	10,0
23.	Dutch young people have more rights at school than Curaçaoan young people.	32,4	30,3	37,3
24.	Dutch young people smoke.	77,7	18,7	3,6
25.	Dutch young people discriminate against the Curaçaoan population.	48,8	35,1	16,1
30.	There are no differences between the Dutch and the Curaçaoan young people.	20,9	29,9	49,2
31.	Dutch young people mix with the people from Curaçao.	43,2	32,5	24,3

percentage (49,2%) disagree with the statement that there are no differences between the young people from the Netherlands and those of the island. These results are compatible with the observation made in Houwing (1997: 54) that the majority of young people conform to Berry et al.'s (1992) 'separation' pattern, but surprisingly many informants (43,2%) agree with the statement that Dutch people mix with the Curaçaoan population. Hence, the adaptation model of Berry et al. appears to be as difficult to apply in the case of young people as it is for other subgroups considered above.

Comparing stereotypes about subcategories and Dutch residents in general

Table 8 contains an overview of the different subgroups considered in the previous

Table 8 Average percentages of evaluations of the statements concerning the different groups of Dutch residents in Curaçao.

		Agree	Neutral	Disagree
1.	Pensioners	36,3	46,5	17,2
2.	Marines	38,4	40,1	21,0
3.	Teachers	43,3	36,0	20,7
4.	Bosses	38,0	41,5	20,5
5.	Offshore people	36,5	45,8	17,8
6.	Tourists	64,5	25,1	10,4
7.	Young people	45,2	31,4	23,4

section and the average percentages of agreement, disagreement and neutral evaluations of the statements presented in the questionnaire.

As table 8 indicates, neutral scores are lower in three subcategories of Dutch residents, namely teachers, tourists and young people. On the basis of these facts we tentatively conclude that the high school students have more outspoken opinions about these subcategories. A first explanation that comes to mind is that the students are involved in more personal relationships and social interaction with these specific groups. Houwing (1997) observes, however, that opinions about the Dutch are not always influenced by personal relationships, since some of her informants who had no contact at all with Dutch residents also have strong opinions about the Dutch (p. 43). Instead, upbringing seems to play a crucial role here (p. 77). Opinions about the Dutch do not seem to be strongly influenced by residence in the Netherlands (p. 58), although positive opinions and attitudes are mainly found among those who have lived in the Netherlands and are in contact with Dutch people, sometimes through their families (p. 71). Consequently, we think that personal relationships may play a role in the more outspoken opinions about teachers, tourists and young people in table 8.

Our third research question is relevant here as well: are stronger opinions about teachers, tourists and young people also reflected by higher percentages on the 5-point scale, in particular categories (1) “strongly agree” and (5) “strongly disagree”? A selection of the data from the appendix, based on a score higher than 20% in category 1 or category 5, leads to the results presented in table 9.

Table 9 Evaluations of more than 20% in categories (1) “strongly agree” or (5) “strongly disagree” with statements concerning specific groups of Dutch residents.

		1	2	3	4	5
7.	Dutch marines consume much alcohol.	22,5	29,5	34,8	9,0	4,1
18.	Dutch tourists are friendly.	21,6	33,5	27,3	15,5	2,0
19.	Dutch tourists are very interested in the Curaçao culture and language.	30,6	35,9	22,4	8,6	2,4
20.	Dutch tourists sunbathe topless.	40,4	27,3	27,3	3,3	1,6
21.	Dutch tourists are good for the economy.	38,0	30,6	23,3	5,7	2,4
24.	Dutch young people smoke.	41,9	35,8	18,7	2,0	1,6
30.	There are no differences between Dutch young people and Curaçaoan young people.	6,1	14,8	29,9	19,3	29,9

As we see in table 9, the highest scores are indeed mainly found in the evaluations of tourists and young people, but not in those of teachers. Maybe after all, the strength of

opinions is determined more by the familiarity and persistence of certain stereotypes and prejudices, than by real life experiences, in accordance with the conclusions of Houwing (1997).

Conclusion

In this paper we have analysed the opinions of Curaçaoan high school students with respect to stereotypes about certain subcategories of Dutch residents on the island. In Kester & Hortencia (2011) we observed that many of the stereotypes concerning the Dutch were evaluated rather neutrally by high school students. Their opinions were not very polarized and many negative stereotypes from the literature were not apparently shared by them. As we wondered whether the high percentages in neutral scores occurred due to a methodological shortcoming (the questionnaire did not include the possibility of expressing a lack of opinion) we wanted to investigate whether opinions about specific subcategories were more polarized.

According to Houwing (1997) most subgroups are subject to negative stereotyping, with the exception of Dutch tourists. Heijes (2004) observes that the image of Dutch people on the island has been very homogeneous over the course of time and not sensitive to different contexts.

On the basis of the results of our questionnaire we conclude that the opinions regarding subcategories were also rather neutral, although the students had more outspoken opinions about Dutch teachers, tourists and young people. We hypothesized that their more outspoken opinions were due to personal relationships and social interaction with these groups, although Houwing (1997) observes that these factors do not affect stereotypes in a very direct way. Indeed, the percentages of (dis)agreement on a 5-point scale do not reflect radical opinions with respect to these three groups either, but rather seem to indicate certain tendencies. Obviously, the results urgently call for a statistical analysis, to investigate whether these tendencies are statistically significant.

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APPENDIX

Questionnaire: stereotypes concerning specific groups of Dutch residents.

The following are a couple of statements that could apply to Dutch people. Rate how much you think they apply using the following scale:

- 1= totally agree
- 2= agree
- 3= neutral
- 4= disagree
- 5= totally disagree

Table10 Evaluation of the statements concerning specific groups of Dutch residents in percentages and the number of informants.

		1	2	3	4	5	Number
1.	Dutch pensioners are quiet.	18,4	21,6	47,6	6,4	6,0	250
2.	Dutch pensioners discriminate against people from Curaçao.	9,1	24,6	44,8	14,3	7,1	252
3.	Dutch pensioners feel superior to people from Curaçao.	9,6	23,7	47,8	11,6	7,2	249
4.	Dutch marines are protective.	8,4	29,2	43,2	11,2	8,0	250
5.	Dutch marines don't integrate.	12,6	25,6	46,7	8,9	6,1	246
6.	Dutch marines stink.	12,6	21,1	42,9	17,0	6,5	247
7.	Dutch marines consume much alcohol.	22,5	29,5	34,8	9,0	4,1	244
8.	Dutch teachers are strict.	17,1	30,9	34,1	14,2	3,7	246

9.	Dutch teachers are kind.	12,2	24,4	45,5	10,6	7,3	246
10.	Dutch teachers teach their students well.	17,6	35,1	36,3	8,2	2,9	245
11.	Dutch teachers can't speak Papiamentu.	18,3	29,7	26,4	17,1	8,5	246
12.	Dutch teachers don't adapt.	13,7	17,7	37,5	21,0	10,1	248
13.	Dutch bosses are dominant.	18,4	25,4	43,0	10,7	2,5	244
14.	Dutch bosses only employ Dutch people.	11,4	22,4	30,2	24,5	11,4	245
15.	Offshore people only live in certain neighborhoods.	13,4	23,5	48,2	10,9	4,0	247
16.	Offshore people come to Curaçao just to make money.	18,0	23,8	37,3	15,6	5,3	244
17.	Offshore people don't adapt.	12,2	21,5	48,0	12,6	5,7	246
18.	Dutch tourists are friendly.	21,6	33,5	27,3	15,5	2,0	245
19.	Dutch tourists are very interested in the Curaçao culture and language.	30,6	35,9	22,4	8,6	2,4	245
20.	Dutch tourists sunbathe topless.	40,4	27,3	27,3	3,3	1,6	245
21.	Dutch tourists are good for the economy.	38,0	30,6	23,3	5,7	2,4	245
22.	Dutch young people have a more liberal education.	19,6	28,8	41,7	7,1	2,9	240
23.	Dutch young people have more rights at school than Curaçaoan young people.	13,5	18,9	30,3	18,0	19,3	244
24.	Dutch young people smoke.	41,9	35,8	18,7	2,0	1,6	246
25.	Dutch young people discriminate against the Curaçaoan population.	21,5	27,3	35,1	10,3	5,8	242
26.	The Dutch pensioners are interested in the culture of Curaçao.	13,2	24,8	45,9	10,7	5,4	242
27.	Dutch marines go to local parties.	11,9	18,4	35,2	16,0	18,4	244
28.	Dutch bosses are democratic.	15,2	21,3	51,2	7,0	5,3	244
29.	Offshore people are interested in the people of Curaçao.	9,9	23,5	49,8	10,7	6,2	243
30.	There are no differences between Dutch young people and Curaçaoan young people.	6,1	14,8	29,9	19,3	29,9	244
31.	Dutch young people mix with people from Curaçao.	14,8	28,4	32,5	14,4	9,9	243

BISTA DI PAISNAN EUROPEO RIBA ENSEÑANSA DI IDIOMA DI ARUBA

MAUREEN MOLINA-LUIDENS

DEPARTAMENTO DI ENSEÑANSA, PROYECTO IDIOMA DEN ENSEÑANSA

Despues di a participa na un Study Visit na e ciudad di Erfurt na Alemania, mi ta desea di comparti tur loke mi a siña y a experiencia den e articulo aki. Mi ta inicia cu un descripcion cortico tocante kico Study Visit y Thillm ta encera. Despues mi ta trata brevemente tocante e situacion actual di enseñansa respecto di e curiculo di idioma di e paisnan participante, con e paisnan participante ta wak Aruba su enseñansa basa riba e curiculo di idioma di Aruba, nan recomendacion y e ultimo desaroyonan den enseñansa di Aruba riba tereno di idioma. Pa ultimo, mi ta finalisa mi articulo cu un conclusion.

Study Visit of, traduci na Papiamento, Bishita di Estudio ta un parti di e programa Life Long Learning di Union Europeo organisa pa Cedefop. Bishita di Estudio ta permiti e participantenan invita di e paisnan den Union Europeo adkiri conocimiento nobo encunto algun tema di educacion di e pais anfitrión. Alabes ta elabora riba e sistema di educacion di e pais y con esaki ta den practica. E bishita di estudio tin como meta studia y investiga e desaroyonan nobo den educacion y pa establece contactonan nobo. E participantenan ta representa diferente nivel y sistema di educacion y tin diferente experiencia y perfil profesional. Durante e Bishita di Estudio ta bishita diferente institucion di educacion den e pais anfitrión. E tin un duracion di entre 3 pa 5 dia. E Bishita di Estudio ta organisa pa un institucion di educacion y den e caso aki Thillm a organisa esun di Erfurt.

Thillm ta abreviacion pa Thüringer Institut für Lehrerfortbildung, Lehrplanentwicklung und Medien (Instituto di Thuringia pa formacion di docente, desaroyo di curiculo y medio di comunicacion). E instituto Aleman aki ta enfoca riba enseñansa bilingual, den e caso aki, Aleman-Ingles. E ta percursa pa desaroya examen bilingual, proyecto piloto bilingual, material pa e materianan manera historia, geografia y ciencia social, programa di curso y tayer di Ingles y ta facilita nan tambe. Banda di esakinan Thillm tin su propio biblioteca caminda ta percursa pa documentacion di e materialnan aki y material pa sosten individual. Thillm ta encarga pa manda

docenten pa Inglatera pa 2 siman pa sigui cursonan intensivo den nan specialisacion. A base di su trabou y meta Thillm a bin cu e tema "Successive bilingual modules in general and vocational schools" y a uza idioma Ingles den e bishita aki.

Erfurt ta e ciudad capital di e estado di Thüringen. Un estado situa den centro di Alemania cu toch ta haci cu e estado aki ta pertenece na Alemania Oriental cu antes tabata comunista. A participa un total di 11 persona procedente di Belgica, Hungria, Irlanda, Italia, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spaña, Polonia y Aruba.

Pa mayoria pais participante, Ingles ta e "Target Language" den enseñansa bilingual. Actualmente Alemania ta den un transicion di su sistema di educacion. Thüringen ta un di e prome estadonan den e parti oost cu a cuminsa implementa enseñansa bilingual uzando e forma CLIL (Content Language Integrated Learning). Nan a cuminsa cu e sistema aki den nivel secundario tanto riba nivel di enseñansa general como vocacional. No a introduci esaki ainda na nivel preparatorio ni basico. E motibo cu docenten den pasado a siña e idioma Ruso ta trece stagnacion pa siña awo un idioma nobo. Sinembargo e docenten mas hoben, cu a haya preparacion univers-itarario, si ta acepta pa siña Ingles. Un barera cu tin ta cu e universidadnan facultad di educacion no ta prepara e futuro profesional den su practica lo suficiente. Nan ta haya solamente 6 luna di practica na final di e estudio. P'esey Schiller University hunto cu Thillm a introduci e sistema di "In-Service Teacher". Esaki ta un sistema caminda e docente cu ta dilanti klas caba ta haya un guia continuo pa 2 aña largo pa mehora su practica y alabes ta duna su materia den idioma Ingles.

Otro situacion ta cu den e ultimo añanan e docenten, recién gradua, specialisa den dos materia no ta haya scol innova pa ehersce nan profesion. Pa esaki Gobierno a habri mas scol vocacional avansa innova y a amplia e enseñansa aki cu mas area pa asina crea mas cupo di trabou pa e docenten aki. P'esey a bin cu e ley cu ta duna tur profesional y no profesional tanto den sector publico como den sector priva e derecho di sigui specialisa of studia algo otro pa supera nan mes sin impedimento di parti di e doño di trabou. Aunke cu e doño di trabou ta keda responsabel pa e empleado durante su estudio. E economia Aleman ta beneficia di e ley aki.

Pa loke ta trata estudiante cu no ta motiva pa bay scol, e Gymnasiumnan y e scolnan vocacional ta purba di haci e lesnan mas atractivo door di combina e materia cu idioma Ingles. Ademas a amplia e scolnan vocacional cu mas area unda e studiantenan por tin mas escogencia pa specialisa nan mes. Otro aspecto cu ta yudando hopi pa motivacion den enseñansa vocacional ta cu e studiantenan ta haya les durante diestres siman y despues ta bay diestres siman pafo di scol pa practica.

Pa esnan cu a "dropout" tin 2 sistema pa sigui un "vocational college". Bay scol cuater biaha pa siman pa un periodo di un blok y despues ta traha pa un otro periodo di un blok cu tin duracion di 10 siman. Of bay scol dos biaha pa siman combina cu e otro

dianan pa traha. Pues e manera mas factibel pa facilita e estudiante pa sigui studia y traha.

Actualmente Belgica ta dividi den 2 parti: un parti ta Hulandes y e otro parti ta Frances. Tur dos parti di pais tin su mesun structura di enseñansa. E problema cu nan ta enfrenta ta pa uni e dos structuranan aki y crea 1 structura pa por implementa un enseñansa bilingual segun e forma di CLIL. Tin un proyecto di enseñansa bilingual, pero e ta hopi curu ainda. Pa dropouts: tin oportunidad pa traha tres biaha pa siman y pa bay scol dos biaha pa siman pa maneha e problema aki.

Den cuadro legal di enseñansa, Hungria, Slovakia y Slovenia no conoce enseñansa bilingual den nan sistema di educacion. E gobiernonan di e paisnan aki no ta permiti pa integra mas idioma den nan enseñansa cu ta solamente nan lenga materno. Logicamente esey ta trece cu ne cu e docentenan no ta prepara pa duna les den Ingles. Pa introduci un enseñansa bilingual segun CLIL den e paisnan aki, ta casi imposibel pa motibo di e ley aki. Solamente enseñansa priva ta gosa di e oportunidad pa duna materianan bilingual.

Na Irlanda e lesnan ta den idioma Ingles, mientras “Irish Language” ta den nan curriculum como materia. Como cu e pais no ta interesa den otro idioma stranhero ta dificil pa integra esaki den nan sistema di enseñansa. Esaki tambe ta e caso na Gran Britania. E studentenan Irlandes den “vocational” tin oportunidad di bay traha dos siman pafo di e pais pa cual e mayornan ta paga tur gasto. Te cu awor enseñansa ta pornada, pero universidadnan ta bay cuminsa cobra pa motibo di e situacion economico. Tin curso priva di Frances, Aleman y Spaño.

Recientemente Italia a reforma e sistema di introduccion bilingual den scol secundario. Den e caso aki mayornan ta dicidi cua materia nan kier pa nan yiunan siña den otro idioma (mayoria ta pa Ingles). Ta depende tambe den cua region nan ta implementa e sistema bilingual. Tin duda riba e calidad di e maneho didactico aki. No tin control. Como consecuencia e ta genera un situacion di incertidumbre di calidad di dominio di e materia cerca e estudiante. Polonia ta haciendo su esfuerso pa integra Ingles den nan sistema di educacion secundario, pero tin 2 problema di preocupacion pa nan. Nan ta combina material di Ingles Mericano cu esun di Inglatera, pasobra no tin suficiente metodo den un solo variante di Ingles. Otro problema ta cu e “Language Teacher” no ta specialisa den e otro materianan. Pa organisa modulo na Ingles di e materianan ta purba di hacie a base di e forma “Content Based Teaching”. Actualmente gobierno di Spaña a dicidi pa tur scol di tur nivel di enseñansa bira bilingual; den e caso aki Ingles-Spaño. Pues awor e sistema y structura di enseñansa di Spaña ta bay conoce cambio den cual lo integra Ingles den e lesnan.

Riba nivel di enseñansa secundario, avansa y superior, Aruba tin 4 idioma integra den su sistema di enseñansa: Hulandes como idioma di instruccion, Papiamento, como lenga materno di e poblacion, ta un vak hunto cu Ingles y Spaño. Den enseñansa special basico y den enseñansa profesional basico sector aspirant, Papiamento ta lenga di instruccion. Idioma di instruccion na Instituto Pedagogico Arubano ta Hulandes y Papiamento. Universidad di Aruba ta Hulandes den facultad di Ley y Finanzas, y Ingles den e facultad di Arte y Ciencia. For di 2009 Proyecto Scol Multilingual a introduci, den forma piloto, e enseñansa multilingual den enseñansa preparatorio. E proyecto ta encera, den liña grandi, entre otro: cu e lesnan ta multilingual cu Papiamento como idioma di instruccion banda di Hulandes y e otro idiomanan cu ta Ingles y Spaño.

Den bista di e paisnan Europeo, cu a participa den e Bishita di Estudio, pais Aruba ta den bon rumbo respecto di idiomanan den enseñansa y hasta un ehempel pa hopi otro pais cu kier integra otro idioma den nan sistema di enseñansa. A pesar di esaki toch ta recomenda pa banda di Hulandes, integra Papiamento tambe den su enseñansa como idioma di instruccion. Aruba tin cu djis sigui monitorea y na mes tempo structura/forma/moldea e structura di enseñansa segun e monitoreo. Esaki ta trece cu ne cu Aruba mester inverti mas den su enseñansa como e prome cartera y esun mas principal. Lo ta bon pa Aruba introduci un sistema pa yuda y pa maneha e problema di dropout na un manera mas eficiente cu ta haci e oportunidad mas accesibel pa e persona por supera y progresa personalmente. Positivo por ta, pa Aruba participa den e intercambionan internacional di estudiante y profesionalnan. Kisas un laso cu paisnan den Union Europeo, cu si ta haci, por tin hopi bon resultado. Tambe ta recomendabel pa Aruba bin cu un tipo di acuerdo of derecho cu ta duna un empleado e oportunidad di sigui studia sin perhudic'e den su trabou. Finalmente, pa keda guia e docente- y maestronan recién gradua, cu ta dilanti klas caba, pa 2 aña mas den nan practica tanto didactico como den uzo di idioma.

Aruba su enseñansa ta trahando duro pa bienestar di enseñansa en general di su comunidad. Un di e ehempelnan ta Oficina di Recapitacion (BUNA = Bureau Nascholing, In-service teacher training) di Instituto Pedagogico Arubano (IPA). IPA a cuminsa desde 2007 cu e modulonan di Papiamento pa e maestronan (1-2-3 a wordo ofreci na tur maestro cu ta den veld) y lo sigui cu modulo 4. Meta di e modulonan aki ta pa keda guia e maestronan riba tereno di idioma y didactica di idioma.

Seccion Scholing ta trahando riba diferente proyecto di innovacion pa asina stimula un miho oferta di educacion pa adultonan. E proyectonan ta encera entre otro: acreditacion di competencia adkiri pa medio di trabou. A base di esaki scolnan por duna trayecto na midi. Tambe ta yuda scolnan pa renoba nan programa di estudio y tambe bin

cu estudio nobo. Otro proyecto cu lo start ta, pa stimula e scolnan pa traha mas estrechamente cu empresanan, pa asina por percura cu e programa di estudio ta cuadra cu e exigencianan di mercado laboral. Adicional, ta trahando pa bin cu un sistema di educacion basico cu lo enfoca riba alfabetisacion. Tur proyecto ta basa riba *Meerjarenprogramma 2006-2009* y e nota di conseho *Volwasseneneducatie op Aruba, Ontwikkelingslijnen voor de toekomst* pa asina eleva e nivel di estudio di e habitantenan di Aruba.

Un otro ta Proyecto Scol Multilingual. Na luna di augustus 2012 idioma Papiamento a drenta enseñansa basico klas 1 como lenga di instruccion na dos scol piloto. Banda di Papiamento cu ta idioma di instruccion desde scol preparatorio, e alumno ta siña tambe e idiomanan Hulandes, Ingles y Spaño cu un programa ludico desde scol preparatorio caba. Aki, Aruba a marca un hito mas den su historia di enseñansa. Proyecto Scol Multilingual hunto cu mas specialista ta monitorea e desaroyo y resultado di e proyecto aki hopi di cerca. Ademá tin un grupo grandi ta desaroya, traha metodo y sostiene e maestronan pa realisacion di e proyecto aki. E plan ta pa Papiamento bay te cu klas 4 como lenga di instruccion. Den klas 5 y 6 lo uza Hulandes como idioma di instruccion. Pero durante henter scol basico tur cuater idioma, esta Papiamento, Hulandes, Ingles y Spaño, lo tin un lugar como materia den e programa di e scol multilingual. E proyecto ta basa riba *Plan Strategico Proyecto Scol Multilingual. Concretisacion di e Masterplan* (Departamento di Enseñansa Aruba, 2010). Meta ta pa hisa calidad di dominio di idioma cerca e alumnonan como cu ta haci uzo optimal di e contexto multilingual cu e alumno ta biba den dje.

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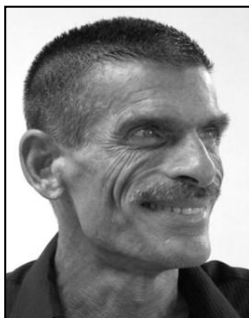
Tur pais, un mas cu otro, tin problema cu e parti di idioma den nan sistema di educacion. E gobierno di Slovenia, Slovakia y Hungria tin un ley cu ta prohibi uzo di otro idioma den enseñansa cu no ta nan lenga materno. Generalmente mayoria pais na Europa no ta pro pa mas lenga den nan scol cu ta nan mesun idioma. Den caso di Aruba, su lenga di instruccion ta idioma Hulandes cu logicamente den bista di e paisnan Europeo participante e ta un derecho di mucha cu no ta wordo cumpli pa ley di Unesco, Unicef y Derechonan Humano.

Sinembargo Aruba tin un facilidad hopi grandi y positivo pa loke ta e cuater idiomanan integra den enseñansa siguiendo e modelo di scol Multilingual. Aruba ta un ehempel di maneho di varios idioma den enseñansa pa hopi pais grandi y desaroya. Aruba ta controla y monitorea su calidad y sistema di educacion di idioma continuamente y e ta un pais hopi adelanta pa loke ta trata conocimiento global. Siendo cu te awor mayoria pais di Europa, cu excepcion di Belgica y Holanda, a introduci e materianan di historia y geografia internacionalisa. Pues e alumnonan ta haya les tocante otro pais y continente.

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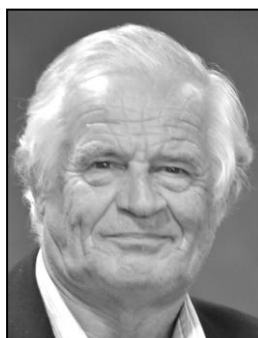
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