

Researching the Rhizome

Studies of Transcultural Language, Literature,
Learning, and Life on the ABC Islands and Beyond

Edited by
Nicholas Faraclas
Ronald Severing
Christa Weijer
Elisabeth Echteld
Wim Rutgers



Researching the Rhizome

**Studies of Transcultural Language, Literature, Learning, and
Life on the ABC Islands and Beyond**

Edited by

Nicholas Faraclas

Ronald Severing

Christa Weijer

Elisabeth Echteld

Wim Rutgers

This book, *Researching the Rhizome: Studies of Transcultural Language, Literature, Learning, and Life on 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 15th annual Eastern Caribbean Islands Cultures Conference which was held in St. Thomas from 7 to 11 November 2012 in celebration of the 50th anniversary of the University of the Virgin Islands. The contributing authors include a wide range of voices old and new from the Caribbean and beyond.

ISBN 978-99904-2-318-1



Researching the Rhizome:
Studies of Transcultural Language, Literature,
Learning, and Life on the ABC Islands and Beyond

Researching the Rhizome

Studies of Transcultural Language, Literature, Learning, and Life on the ABC Islands and Beyond

Proceedings of the ECICC-conference
St. Thomas 2012

Volume 1

Edited by

Nicholas Faraclas
Ronald Severing
Christa Weijer
Elisabeth Echteld
Wim Rutgers



Curaçao/Puerto Rico 2013

15TH ANNUAL EASTERN CARIBBEAN ISLAND CULTURES CONFERENCE
“THE ISLANDS IN BETWEEN” LANGUAGES, LITERATURES AND CULTURES OF
THE EASTERN CARIBBEAN, 7 TO 11 NOVEMBER 2012, ST. THOMAS

Researching the Rhizome: Studies of Transcultural Language, Literature, Learning, and Life on the
ABC Islands and Beyond
Proceedings of the ECICC-conference, St. Thomas 2012
Volume 1

Edited by Nicholas Faraclas, Ronald Severing, Christa Weijer, Elisabeth Echteld, Wim Rutgers

ISBN 978-99904-2-318-1

© 2013 Fundashon pa Planifikashon di Idioma, FPI (Institute for Language Planning of Curaçao)

© 2013 Universidat di Kòrsou, (University of Curaçao)

No part of this book may be reproduced in any form, by print, photo print, microfilm, or any other
means, without written permission from the publisher.

Fundashon pa Planifikashon di Idioma, FPI (Institute for Language Planning)

Jan Noorduynweg 32b, Willemstad, Curaçao, www.fpi.cw

Universidat di Kòrsou, (University of Curaçao)

Jan Noorduynweg 111, Willemstad, Curaçao, www.una.cw

Universidad de Puerto Rico, Recinto de Río Piedras, UPR, (University of Puerto Rico at Río Piedras)

San Juan, 00925, Puerto Rico, www.uprrp.edu

Cover: Collection *Guadirikiri* (2009) of Stan Kuiperi (Aruba); authentic Indian rock-drawing linocut
on paper, 50 x 65 cm

CONTENTS

TRANSCULTURAL STUDIES ON CULTURE, HISTORY AND IDENTITY ON THE ABC-ISLANDS AND BEYOND

- 1 Twentieth century migration from the English-speaking Caribbean
discursive inclusion and exclusion 13
Rose Mary Allen
- 2 Essays about Dutch residents written by Cuaçaoan high school students 31
Ellen-Petra Kester & Tirza Hortencia
- 3 Exploring Dutch, Danish, Caribbean and Afrakan influences of Blyden,
Harrison, Sprauve-Browne, Williams, Eemanuel, Jochannan and others of
the Virgin Islands cultural heritage restoration movement 51
Chenzira Davis Kahina
- 4 On the right to cultural identity in Curaçao 73
Cees Maris
- 5 History in the educational curriculum of Curaçao: Should the teaching
of history be part of the process of political emancipation? 93
Charles do Rego
- 6 The observation problem and thinking about development: Toward
a paradoxical view 111
Dimitri Halley

TRANSCULTURAL STUDIES ON GENDER, CULTURE AND SOCIETY IN THE FORMER ABC-ISLANDS AND BEYOND

- 7 Gender and Education in Aruba: Are our schools failing to recognize
gender-specific needs? 117
Merviné Kock

8	Culture, health and Aruban women's perception of beauty Emy Maduro	135
9	The search for truth about child sexual abuse Clementia Eugene	143
10	Phonetic differences among the dialects of Papiamentu spoken by men and women on the ABC-Islands: Preliminary findings Hélène Garrett	151

TRANSCULTURAL STUDIES ON LANGUAGE AND LEARNING ON THE ABC-ISLANDS AND BEYOND

11	Language, literacy and literature: Language planning issues in Aruba and Puerto Rico Carmen Milagros Torres-Rivera	155
12	De moedertaal als instructietaal in het rekenonderwijs Berthson B. Boekhoudt	161
13	Effectieve woordenschatuitbreiding voor vreemde-taalonderwijs Jesseline Maduro	173
14	Un modelo cognitivo para la organización de las actividades de aula basado en el cerebro triuno e inteligencias múltiples para el aprendizaje de la escritura en una lengua extranjera Beatriz María Manrique	179
15	De effectiviteit van de voorspellende leesstrategie in combinatie met andere leesstrategieën in begrijpend lezen Gregory Goedgedrag	197
16	Is het aanbieden van leesstrategieën van invloed op de schrijfvaardigheid van leraren in opleiding? Cheryda Gemin	211

**TRANSCULTURAL STUDIES ON LITERATURE AND CULTURE ON THE ABC-ISLANDS
AND BEYOND**

- 17 Caribbean literature from the ABC-Islands in the European Netherlands 221
Quito Nicolaas
- 18 Caribbean Gothic: Imagology and reality in *The afternoon wind* 231
Joe Fortin
- 19 Michael Joannes Alexius Schabel S.J. Missionary on Curaçao 241
from 1704 to 1713: A rare account (1705) and a diary (1701-1708)
Wim Rutgers
- 20 Laat mij je mijn land laten zien: De toeristenblik in teksten 255
uit de voormalig-Nederlandse West
Michiel van Kempen
- 21 Nuevas dimensiones a la literatura en español en Curazao 277
Elisabeth Echteld
- 22 Recurrent themes in the work of Frank Martinus Arion 285
Ronald Severing
- 23 Calypso music and critical reflection on the self in Aruba and Trinidad 295
Gregory Richardson

**TRANSCULTURAL STUDIES ON LANGUAGE, LEARNING AND SOCIETY
ON THE ABC-ISLANDS AND BEYOND**

- 24 Higher education as a national instrument for capacity building: 303
The case of Curaçao
Sharine A. Isabella
- 25 Het imago van de leraar binnen het Funderend Onderwijs op Curaçao 315
Raily Goedgedrag
- 26 Heeft 'Character Education' een positieve invloed op een gezonde 325
ontwikkeling van jongeren op Aruba?
Roke Hoen

27	Rapportage van een vervolgonderzoek naar de effectiviteit van determinanten op de BMI en fitheid van kinderen Rudolph Simon	339
28	Taking the bull by the horns: Professional Curaçaoan Papiamentu translators and writers facing the challenges of globalization head-on Courtney G. Parkins Ferrón	347
29	Re-conceptualizing the creolization of language and culture through first person fieldwork in Suriname Vanessa D. Austin	365
	ABOUT THE EDITORS	371
	ABOUT THE AUTHORS	372

Acknowledgements

The two publications: *Transcultural Roots Uprising The Rhizomatic Languages, Literatures, and Cultures of the Caribbean*, together with, 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 15th annual Eastern Caribbean Islands Cultures Conference which was held in St. Thomas from 7 to 11 November 2012 in celebration of the 50th anniversary of the University of the Virgin Islands . The contributing authors include a wide range of voices old and new from the Caribbean and beyond.

This book forms part of a two volume set, with one volume focusing on the ABC-Islands (Aruba, Bonaire and Curaçao) and other parts of the Caribbean which were colonized by the Netherlands and this 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 St. Thomas 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, the University of the Virgin Islands and Per Ankh Institute in St. Croix. We wish to thank the conference organizers, especially Dr. Chenzira Kahina and the local organizing committee from Thye Universty of the Virgin Islands, Peter Roberts from the University of the West Indies at Cave Hill in Barbados, and Dannabang Kuwabong and Nicholas Faraclas 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

**TRANSCULTURAL STUDIES ON CULTURE, HISTORY AND IDENTITY
ON THE ABC-ISLANDS AND BEYOND**

TWENTIETH CENTURY MIGRATION FROM THE ENGLISH-SPEAKING CARIBBEAN TO CURAÇAO: DISCURSIVE INCLUSION AND EXCLUSION¹

ROSE MARY ALLEN

UNIVERSITY OF THE NETHERLANDS ANTILLES

Introduction

Curaçao's post-Emancipation migration patterns are largely similar to those of the rest of the Caribbean. Both elites and non-elites and men as well as women have participated in these migratory movements. Before the Abolition of slavery in the Dutch Caribbean in 1863, black working class Curaçaoans, who were those most affected by the poor economic conditions of the island, became migrant workers elsewhere in the region, such as Venezuela, Puerto Rico and Saint Thomas. After Abolition, free(d) Curaçaoans continued to move to countries that offered work opportunities, such as Costa Rica, Panama and the Dominican Republic. In the beginning of the 20th century there was a sizeable circular movement to and from Cuba of mostly young males who worked in the Cuban cane fields. So, together with other Caribbean migrant laborers, Curaçaoans helped constitute the necessary labor supply for post-plantation, agricultural economies in the region. In this way Curaçao followed the general Caribbean model of temporary labor migration, with people moving back and forth depending of the availability of work in a given territory.

However, this migration pattern shifted sharply in the 1920s. With the establishment and subsequent expansion of an oil refinery in Curaçao in those years, the island was faced with a severe shortage of industrial workers. Curaçao therefore began to admit immigrants, especially young males, to work in the oil industry. From an island that had been characterized by waves of short-term emigration, Curaçao became a net receiver of immigrants in the first half of the 20th century. Some of the immigrants, such as the Syrians, East-European Jews, (East-)Indians and Chinese, became active in the commercial sector that expanded along with the island's industrial sector. However, a large number of immigrants came from Venezuela, Portugal/Madeira, Suriname and the English-speaking Caribbean. Initially, Anglophone Caribbean immigrants to Curaçao originated from the English-speaking Dutch Windward

¹ This article was presented as a paper at the 45th annual Association of Caribbean Historians, San Ignacio, Belize (May, 2013).

Islands. This group did not necessarily come to work at the oil refinery. As they possessed Dutch nationality, they could also work in other sectors, such as the harbor and the public service, which also evolved as a consequence of the expanding oil industry. Later, English-speaking immigrant workers in Curaçao came mostly from what were then called the British West Indies. These British West Indians, as they were called at the time², worked at the oil refinery as well as for the Phosphate Mining Company.

The arrival of people of different ethnic backgrounds led to significant changes in Curaçao's demographics. During the most prosperous period of the oil industry, which was from 1925-1955, the island's population grew from 37,055 to 118,858, which is approximately 320 % in 30 years. Growth peaked in the period between 1940 and 1950, when the population grew from 67,317 to 102,206 – an increase of almost 35,000 people in 10 years' time. The influx of people created new social dynamics in Curaçaoan society. The state and other institutions struggled to come to terms with the high demand of the refinery for workers and the social impact of permitting such high numbers of immigrant workers into the society (Allen, 2003).

This article deals with the migration from the English-speaking, formerly British Caribbean islands to Curaçao. This migration constituted the first significant voluntary movement of lower-class black people from the wider Caribbean to Curaçao. A majority of these immigrants were people of predominantly African heritage, like the majority of the population of the host society. The immigrants included people of (East) Indian ancestry. As this migratory movement took place only a few decades after Abolition, its analysis may provide a better understanding of the ways in which Caribbean societies have dealt with the pervasive legacy of slavery through the experience of 20th-century migration.

One factor that makes the migration of these English-speaking immigrants to Curaçao of special interest is that it included a fairly large group of young single women who were recruited independently as domestic workers in and after the 1940s. They were known locally as “sleep-in maids” as they would live in a small room adjacent to the homes of the expatriate (mostly Dutch) and local elites who employed them.

This article examines the challenges that these English-speaking Caribbean migrants faced in Curaçaoan society in terms of social integration as well as the challenges associated with the presence of Afro-Caribbean immigrants on the island, with the aim of better understanding attitudes toward race, class and gender during the late-colonial period. The article documents the discourses on belonging that involved English-speaking immigrants in Curaçao and examines their experiences of exclusion from and inclusion in the receiving society. In that sense, it also contributes to an analysis

² For sake of clarity, I will use the term British West Indians in this article, even though it is now an outdated term.

of national identity issues in the region from a Dutch-Caribbean perspective and analyzes experiences of inclusion and exclusion within a wider Caribbean context.

The article presents preliminary findings that form part of a larger investigation of the 20th-century migration from the English-speaking Caribbean to Curaçao. Data to sustain this article were principally drawn from documents as well as oral history interviews with elderly people, which I conducted over several years of research among this particular group.³ The article begins with a historical overview of the migration movements from the British territories to Curaçao. This is followed by a look at how inclusion and exclusion functioned institutionally and popularly within Curaçaoan society. Finally, the article ends with a conclusion.

Historicizing the presence of English-speaking migrants in Curaçao

Crude oil was discovered in the Maracaibo Basin of Venezuela in 1914 and the Venezuelan government selected Royal Dutch Shell to refine it in Curaçao as the island was considered politically stable, possessed a naturally deep harbor, and had a strategic geographical location in relation to the Panama Canal. In the beginning Curaçao was used only as a transfer station, as oil was imported from the Venezuelan ports using small vessels and was transferred in Curaçao to larger ocean vessels. In 1918, construction began on the oil refinery; and the name of the company in charge was changed from *NV Curaçaoasche Petroleum Maatschappij* to *Curaçaoese Petroleum Industrie Maatschappij* (CPIM) in 1925 (Broek, 2011: 85). Locally, the company was popularly known simply as “Shell.”

From the beginning the CPIM faced labor shortages. Immigration from the British West Indies was a (partial) answer to these shortages. In the first half of the 20th century, the majority of immigrants from the British Caribbean colonies to Curaçao came to work at the CPIM, at its adjacent tanker company CSM (*Curaçao Stoomboot Maatschappij*), or at the Phosphate Mining Company.

The first stage of immigration

The first group of immigrants destined for the CPIM arrived in the 1920s. According to historian Jaap van Soest in his book *Olie als water*, the company recruited some 2,000 men from Jamaica, Barbados and Haiti in 1924. Five years later there were 2,797 British West Indians working for the CPIM, compared with 1,765 Curaçaoans,

³ I also used some of my findings as part of the AISSR project *Citizenship, National Canons, and the Issue of Cultural Diversity. The Netherlands in International Perspective* (2009-2012). More specifically, these findings fall under the fifth sub-project called *The Culturalization of European Nationalisms: Caribbean Perspectives*.

891 Dutch (from the Netherlands), 323 Arubans, 216 Bonairians, 564 Dutch Windward Islanders, and 596 people of other nationalities (Van Soest, 1977: 247). Interviews that I have conducted with a number of these immigrants show that some of them already had a history of migration, i.e., to places like Panama, the Dominican Republic, and Cuba.⁴ Curaçao was for them a continuation of their regional migration experience.⁵

A large number of the first wave of immigrants left during the economic recession of 1930-1934 but returned thereafter. During the economic slowdown, the total number laborers at CPIM declined from 7,887 to 2,648 and many foreign workers were dismissed and repatriated. For example, the Annual Report of 1930 of the CPIM states that in that year there were 1,561 workers from the British West Indies compared to 2,797 the year before (CPIM Archief, December 1930).

Table 1 below gives an indication of how many people from the English speaking Caribbean were working for the CPIM in 1933 during the period of economic depression, when immigration was temporarily halted and some workers were repatriated to their home islands (Van Soest: 315). The table divides the English-speaking workers between those who earned a monthly salary and the common wage laborers. Monthly salary earners were people who had a more advanced level of training and were placed in posts with greater levels of responsibility (Van Soest: 323). It is interesting to note that a number of British West Indian workers – including some originating from the smallest islands – had a higher position in the company's hierarchy, even though the number of those with a monthly salary was much smaller than the number of wage laborers.

Table 1 Monthly salary earners vs. wage laborers among CPIM workers from the English speaking Caribbean in 1933. Source: *Overzicht aantal employés, maandgelders en arbeiders per 1 augustus 1933 in dienst van de NV C.P.I.M. Curaçao volgens nationaliteit*

Nationality	Monthly Salary Earners	Wage Laborers
Anguilla	-	32
Antigua	-	14
Barbados	-	11
Demerara	4	9

⁴ This feature is even evidenced in songs, such as 'Panama Man', collected in Barbados by historian Trevor Marshall, the then Head of the Cultural Department there. In this song a woman compares the male migrants coming back from Panama to those coming back from Curaçao. The song says that the first group only brought home some "Spanish caress," which meant venereal disease.

⁵ Some of the immigrants continued this pattern of repeat migration, using Curaçao as a type of stepping stone to the USA or UK. Such people typically migrated to several countries in search of education, employment and settlement.

Dominica	1	25
Grenada	-	11
Montserrat	-	9
Nevis	2	6
Saint Lucia	-	4
Saint Vincent	1	65
Tobago	-	2
Tortola	-	2
Trinidad	2	27
Turks Island	-	1
Bahamas	-	1
Saint Thomas	-	2
Saint Croix	-	2

The second stage of immigration

The second stage of immigration took place during World War II, when the island of Curaçao supplied a large percentage of the refined oil used by the Allied forces. During this period, the Shell oil refinery hired 2,250 more workers, including 100 laboratory assistants, 200 professional workers, 400 sailors, and 1,550 laborers (Van Soest: 468). These men came from countries such as Trinidad, Barbados, Grenada, St. Vincent, St. Lucia, Dominica, Montserrat, St. Kitts, Nevis, Demerara, and Antigua.

This second wave of immigrant laborers turned out to be a disappointment for the oil refinery. Many became homesick and/or were called back by their families. The rate of absence from work was high and according to the oil refinery these workers lacked discipline. Some were sent back in 1944 to be replaced by Portuguese laborers (Van Soest: 466). More research needs to be conducted to find out the reasons for this conflict between the company and the workers. Remuneration would not seem to be an explanatory factor, as the pay that these workers received in Curaçao could be three times higher than what they received in their home countries. One possible explanation for this phenomenon is that this new generation of more sophisticated and organized workers refused to accept the exploitative rule of the company without question.

The British Caribbean colonies had experienced severe labor disturbances during the global economic crisis of the 1930s and had seen the formation of labor unions. This was well before labor unions developed on the Dutch Caribbean islands. It is known that some of the English-speaking immigrant workers who played a central role in labor activism in Curaçao (as well as in Aruba) were sent back to their country of origin because of their activism. Despite the company's disappointment, the number of British West Indian laborers in Curaçao continued to increase even after 1945, when very few foreigners were admitted into the country. This wave of immigration

continued until around 1951, when the oil refinery started the automation process. Foreigners were the first to be dismissed in order to save jobs for locally born workers.

Table 2 provides an overview of the British West Indian workforce for the CPIM in the period between 1947 and 1960, showing a peak in 1949 and a gradual decrease afterwards.

Table 2 Number of workers from the British West Indies employed at the CPIM from 1947 to 1961. Source: Shell Archives

Year	Number of British West Indian Workers
1947	1,775
1948	2,006
1949	2,089
1950	2,033
1951	2,062
1952	2,033
1953	2,012
1954	1,887
1955	1,719
1956	1,604
1957	1,533
1958	1,766
1959	1,340
1960	873
1961	589

The Phosphate Mining Company

Apart from the oil refinery, the Phosphate Mining Company situated at Newport in the eastern part of the island also hired British West Indian immigrant workers. The company's 1928 Annual Report mentions the following reasons for their employment:

“Wages remained constant during the year, but working hours were shortened during the first few months, when a nine-hour working day was established. This made the introduction of laborers from outside necessary and a number of workers were brought in from Trinidad, Saint Kitts and Saint Vincent. This labor force was on average found to be much less efficient than the local workers. It contributed considerably to increases in cost that occurred during the year, which situation was aggravated by the shortening of the working day referred to above.”⁶

⁶ Annual Report of the Mijnsmaatschappij Curaçao to the firm Godden & Co, 1928.

The 1928 Annual Report does not mention the number of employees. The Report of the following year, however, states that of the 537 people working at the company, 203 came from the British West Indies, 270 from Curaçao, and 18 from Aruba. Their number being nearly 50% of the total workforce, the British West Indian workers would be the main protagonists of a labor strike at the company in 1936. It was the one of the largest strikes to have occurred on the island in the 20th century up until that point, second only to the 1922 harbor strike led by Felix Chacutu. The main objectives of the 1936 strike at the Phosphate Mining Company were better working conditions and wages. The company reacted, however, by sending many of the foreign workers home.

Female immigrant workers

The immigration of female workers from the British West Indies followed a different pattern from that of their male counterparts. Until 1938, the government did not allow the immigration of female workers to the island, based on the idea that a significant presence of young, foreign, single women would be detrimental to public morality (Phillips, 1988: 28). It was only when the demand for domestic workers among the upper classes became acute, and because sleep-in domestic work was not popular among Curaçaoan women⁷, that permission was cautiously given to admit such workers from abroad. Initially 25 Surinamese women were brought to the island as domestic workers. They were replaced by British West Indian nationals from the 1940s onward (Phillips: 28-30).

When economic opportunities in Curaçao declined in the immediate post-war period, male immigrants in particular returned with their families to their countries of origin. In contrast, some of the British West Indian women immigrants remained on the island as domestic workers. The 1960 Census shows that the number of British Caribbean women exceeded that of their male counterparts by a ratio of 2,491 to 2,281. Ninety-four percent of the female immigrant workers from the British West Indies were domestic servants. Today, most of these women are Curaçaoan senior citizens (Allen, 1988).

Discourses on British West Indians in Curaçaoan society

The influx of large numbers of labor immigrants from South Asia, China, the Middle East, Portugal, Suriname, the Netherlands, and the English-speaking Caribbean added of course new degrees of ethnic diversity to Curaçaoan society. The society became more complex than during the (immediate) post-Emancipation era. Scholars who have applied the concept of creolization to the Curaçaoan context have tended to ignore this

⁷ This was because of atrocities that women could experience at the hands of their male employer and/or his male children (Allen, 1992).

complexity brought about by 20th-century immigration. Besides transcending geographic borders, migration also questions the patriotic basis of social collective identity (Chamberlain, 1997), not only for those emigrating, but – I would add – also for the host societies where the immigrants are settling. Discussions about “who belongs?”, “who does not belong?”, and “what does all of this mean in practice?” which currently receive much attention in studies on current transnational migration in the global economy (Rosaldo, 2003: 3) are also relevant for past migrations.

In the context of the British West Indian immigration to Curaçao during the first half of the 20th century, an important question to ask is: What has been the role of key local institutions in shaping the experience of immigration and the discourse on integration/assimilation of this particular group? Therefore, I will now examine how the most influential institutions in Curaçao in that period, namely the oil company, the state, and the Roman Catholic Church, dealt with issues related to the British West Indian immigrants who entered the society and changed its social and cultural fabric.

The Shell discourse

The Shell oil company became a very powerful player on the island and was supported by the Dutch colonial state through laws, favorable tax regulations and other facilities. It was like a state within a state as it heavily influenced the island government’s policies (Van Soest: 302-312; Broek: 88). Van Soest, who did research in the Shell archives – for which he was later reprimanded as he published information deemed confidential by the company – states that at a certain point in time, the company was not only given a seat in the Chamber of Commerce, but also a seat in government (the *Koloniale Raad* [Colonial Council]). He also notes that the letters from the CPIM to government functioned more as directives than as requests (Broek: 88).

The oil company’s presence fundamentally changed Curaçaoan society. It was an organization that offered work to a large part of the local population, and the workforce on the island earned more than ever before. However, the company also maintained a policy of segregation that became clearly visible for example in the residential patterns of its employees. This segregation manifested itself in terms of race, ethnicity, class, and gender. The top personnel, mostly of Northern European descent, lived in gated segregated residential areas with surveillance to monitor people’s movements. Ethnic segregation meant that the Portuguese, Surinamese, Venezuelan, Colombian and British West Indian workers lived in separate residential areas that had been especially set up for them as groups and kept them separate from the local population and from one another. The British West Indians were housed in

Suffisant⁸ and Valentijn – new neighborhoods established in the proximity of the refinery.⁹

Suffisant was divided into a Surinamese village, a Portuguese camp and an English (West Indian) camp. A woman whose husband had come to Curaçao from Dominica in 1946 at the age of 20 to work as an operator recalls the difficulties that he experienced: “He was young and far from home. They lived in barracks in what was called the English camp in Suffisant. It was full of cockroaches and other insects. Not at all pleasant. My husband wanted to go back to Dominica, to the beautiful nature” (Eva Breukink, 2006). There was also class segregation among the English-speaking Caribbean workers. The workers with Cambridge Senior or London Matriculation certificates or the like lived in the Upper Camp of Suffisant village, while the rest lived in barracks in the Bottom Camp which is now called Muizenberg (Allen, 1988). Segregation started with the oil company’s recruitment policies. The need for foreign workers for specific jobs in the oil industry was motivated not only by the growth of the industry but also by the company’s belief that Curaçaoan laborers were unreliable and lacked an appropriate attitude toward work. The Shell Annual Report of 1921 states that: “Curaçaoan laborers are present in sufficient numbers; it is very difficult for them to get accustomed to regular work. They hate regularity and rules and they grab every opportunity not to show up at their place of work.”¹⁰ The 1923 Report also states that there are sufficient laborers from Curaçao and Aruba, but that they tend to be absent from their work especially during the planting season.¹¹ These are not isolated examples, but instead represent the dominant discourse at Shell concerning Curaçaoan workers. Even long after the 1920s, Curaçaoan workers continued to be considered rude and lazy.¹²

Managerial positions were reserved for certain ethnic groups, and it was clear that people from the Netherlands were especially favored for these positions. In the company’s organizational structure, certain ethnic groups such as the Surinamese and the British West Indians were placed above local workers to closely supervise them. According to Van Soest, the company considered British West Indians trustworthy people and therefore used them as guards. Such ethnically motivated placement choices contributed to antagonistic relations between British West Indian and local workers. Oral history recounts the story of a Barbadian guard called Black Shadow.

⁸ The neighborhood of Suffisant was one of the former plantations that had to make way for development associated with the establishment of the oil industry.

⁹ Klapper op de objectendossier van het Centraal Historisch Archief 1800-19563, Jaarverslag Shell 1934.

¹⁰ Klapper op de objectendossier van het Centraal Historisch Archief 1800-19563, Jaarverslag Shell 1921.

¹¹ Klapper op de objectendossier van het Centraal Historisch Archief 1800-19563, Jaarverslag Shell 1923.

¹² See the article “Arbeidsbeurs i mala lenga”; La Prensa 30/1/32, in which the author contradicts this image, by stating that the Curaçaoan is considered a good worker both in North and South America.

He is remembered as very strict, reporting people to the authorities just for stealing a single screw. My interviewees judged him negatively in spite of his dark complexion, as someone who wanted to prove himself to the company's authorities. They saw this as a lack of solidarity with workers of his own race.

Another interviewee of mine mentions the impact of segregation. Born in 1902, he arrived on the island in 1927; he did not work for the oil refinery but had to go there from time to time. The first time he visited the CPIM, he took the company boat that transported workers living in the town area to work. The boat was divided in two sections: one section had seats for those with higher positions (mostly Dutch or other white employees), whereas the other section had only standing space for the wage laborers and was very crowded. My informant recalled how humiliated he felt when he was reprimanded when, unaware of the separation rules, he initially went to sit in the space reserved for the higher employees (Lionel Archer, interview 1981).

Refinery workers would mostly stick to their own group, a practice that was vigorously encouraged by the company. Social activities were organized for each group separately. In the 1940s, G. Mason, a social and cultural worker for the British West Indian laborers at the oil refinery, noted that national holidays, Christmas and New Year were celebrated with segregated dancing parties. Each nationality had its own national holiday on which they were given a free day with pay. For the British West Indians this was the first Thursday in June. According to those I have interviewed, most of the people attending these parties were English-speaking West Indians; there were very few locals. At these parties a band consisting of workers from the oil company and some others would play music. One bandleader was A. de Graaf, born in St. Eustatius in 1908, who had come to Curaçao in 1925 to work for the oil company. In an interview he stated that his repertoire consisted of jazz, Hawaiian music and calypso, and he emphasized that he made sure to omit vulgar words (Allen, 1988).

The immense power of the oil refinery in local society was also manifested in its influence over the women who worked in the homes of senior Shell employees. Historian Ann Philips interviewed a number of immigrant women from the British West Indies for her doctoral research. These interviews demonstrate the extent to which these women found themselves in a highly vulnerable situation in terms of their work and their living arrangements. Their employers, who brought them to the island and were responsible for their residence and work permits, could demand any kind of work of them in the household and often took advantage of their vulnerability. When these women were accused of wrongdoing, they would be expelled and sent home. They were virtually without any rights and fully dependent on the whims of their employers and the police. In conflicts between employers and domestic servants, the police would almost always side with the employer. Modern-day studies of female migration talk about the atrocities that result when private life and work are

intertwined. Therefore, the social position of female migrant domestic workers in the Dutch Caribbean merits more attention.

Some of these women had been schoolteachers in their homeland. This confirms what Thomas-Hope calls the flexibility in lower-class survival strategies: people are willing and able to undertake different types of employment in order to earn a living (Thomas-Hope, 2002: 4). English-speaking women immigrants in Curaçao did other types of work as well. Some were seamstresses who became well-known for their creativity. As they had access to fashion books in English, some became very popular as hairdressers. They introduced the technique of straightening African hair, a practice which previously had not been widespread on the Dutch islands.

The Roman Catholic Church discourse

Another institution which influenced social inclusion and exclusion was the Roman Catholic Church. Religion impacted the relationships between the ethnic groups on the island. The Curaçaoan lower class was predominantly Catholic and the Church exercised considerable power over their daily lives in the early 20th century (Allen, 2007). In the post-Emancipation era the Church retained its position as a major cultural institution in the life of Afro-Curaçaoans as it sought to ‘civilize’ their beliefs, values and norms in all areas of life. The Church maintained a firm line on what it considered correct and moral behavior through its preaching and its control of the formal education of the younger generations. In this endeavor, the Church rejected all religious beliefs that differed from those of Catholicism.

This Church was concerned that with the arrival of various non-Catholic ethnic groups, its local power would gradually diminish. Most of the English-speaking immigrants, except for those from St. Lucia, Dominica and Trinidad, belonged to Protestant denominations. In his book *Missiegeschiedenis van de Nederlandse Antillen onder de Nederlandse Paters Dominicanen* (1955), the Catholic priest and historian Latour underscores a concern already expressed in 1928 by another priest, Leo van Dijk O.P., in a lecture held in Nijmegen, the Netherlands. To Latour it is clear the new religions brought in by foreigners posed a dilemma. He quotes Van Dijk, saying that “the foreigners came with all types of church segregations and sects to Curaçao, noticeably the American sects, such as the Adventists, Jehovah’s Witnesses and Pentecostals, who were vitriolically anti-Catholic and anti-Christian” (Van Dijk quoted in Latour, 1955: 62).

Elderly Curaçaoan informants reveal the fact that the Roman Catholic Church warned them particularly against the English-speaking immigrants as “devils with tails.” Here the dominant discourse of the Catholic Church concerning British West Indian immigrants is one that depicts this particular group of immigrants as evil agents of Satan. An interviewee from St. Vincent, who arrived in Curaçao as a 20-year-old in the 1930s, relates the following:

“There was a girl who asked her brother, who used to work at the Isla [Shell refinery] a question when he came home. She said: ‘Do you bathe with the English people? Do you see them naked?’ He answered: ‘Yes. We all take off our clothes and we all bathe together in one place.’ She asked: ‘*Nan no tin rabu lorá lorá atras nan?*’ [Don’t they have a tail swinging behind them?] The old-time priest had told her that the English people have tails. *Nan tin e tapá ku nan paña. Inglesnan ta animal. Nan ta diablu.* [They hide it in their clothes. The English are animals. They are devils.] The old-time priest told them that.” (Interview, 1989)

Other migrants reported that they were believed to possess supernatural powers and therefore seen as a threat to Catholic belief. For example, their style of worship, which was more expressive than the more serene style of the Catholic Church, was considered evil and sometimes their churches were attacked and vandalized by the local people during services.

The mere fact that these immigrants were Protestant raised eyebrows. In Curaçao, Protestantism was traditionally associated with the local white elite of Dutch origin. Before British West Indians came to Curaçao, Protestants on the island had been predominantly white. Van Hulst (2002) interviewed a black Curaçaoan about the English-speaking immigrants. His informant was amazed that these black, English-speaking immigrants called themselves Protestant, while according to him Protestantism was a religion to which only white people belonged. “Nonsense,” the informant said. “There is no such thing as a black Protestant. We look down on them. They should be mad to call themselves Protestant” (Van Hulst: 26). This shows how race combined with religion in articulating the social relations between immigrants and locals.

Popular discourse

In the context of inter-group relations, an important question to ask is: How has the local population perceived immigrants? In reaction to the arrival so many immigrants in the early 20th century, the local population developed a *Yu di Kòrsou* (Curaçaoan) mentality. They considered themselves to be the in-group of those born on and belonging to the island versus the out-group of immigrants. This has resulted in a continuing discourse concerning who is truly *Yu di Kòrsou* in the sense of who is included and who is not, who belongs and who does not.

Social scientists such as Harry Hoetink and René A. Römer have studied the socio-cultural fabric of Curaçaoan society and characterize it as a segmented society. A segmented society consists of several groups of people of different races and cultures, each having its own social institutions and rank in the societal structure, while the society as a whole is governed or dominated by one of these groups. Römer has also

observed that the ethnic categorization of immigrants by Curaçaoans parallels the segmented nature of the society, as skin color, ethnicity and descent determine the social and political positioning of people as well as the interaction between social groups (Römer, 1967). The pre-existing segmentation determines to what extent the local population is willing to accept new immigrant groups who sometimes are also different in terms of phenotype, language, and religious beliefs and practices.

It might appear to some that race has not necessarily played a role in this discourse. Historian Gert Oostindie asserts that all immigrants have been considered outsiders, the white Portuguese as well as the black Surinamese (Premdas, 1996). However, race has played a role in the hierarchal position of groups. The above-mentioned astonishment expressed by Curaçaoans about the existence of black Protestants shows that race has been an issue. Expressions such as '*Esaki no ta pretu di Kòrsou, pero pretu ingles*' [This is not Curaçao black, but English people black] also show that the British West Indians have been judged according to racialized concepts. This may be associated with long-suppressed issues of low self-esteem resulting from a history of slavery and colonization, especially among the black popular classes of Curaçao, which has been studied by Curaçaoan philosopher and sociologist Alejandro Paula in his thesis *From objective to subjective social barriers* (Paula, 1967: 31-32).

British West Indian immigrants have been popularly categorized under the generic term *Ingles* [English] often used in a denigrating way. Some of the immigrants have called themselves Britishers or they have identified themselves according to their places of origin. Older members of the English-speaking community indeed testify to a hostile attitude towards them on the part of Curaçaoans. Non-acceptance has also been reflected in derogatory terms applied by locals to British West Indian immigrants such as *Batiyandi*, *Bedji (B.G.)*¹³ and *Ingles stinki* [stinking English]. The fact that some British West Indian immigrants did menial work which Curaçaoans considered inferior aggravated this situation. When they arrived, British West Indians found themselves on the lowest rung of the class-color stratification system of the island: "The inlanders felt superior and looked down on them. I noticed when I got an English boyfriend, at home and the rest of my family accepted him, but on the street he remained a foreigner." (Eva Breukink, interview 2006).

In interactions between people, language as the primary means of communication plays an important role. Curaçaoans speak the Iberian lexifier creole Papiamentu, whereas the British West Indian immigrants arrived speaking English lexifier Creoles. Consequently, language constituted another barrier between the locals and the immigrants. Römer points to Papiamentu as the main ingredient of Curaçaoan national identity; it is a marker that distinguishes between *Yu di Kòrsou* and non-*Yu di Kòrsou*. An English-speaking immigrant who had come to work at the oil refinery in the 1940s, explained in a conversation that integrating into Curaçaoan society goes

¹³ It is not clear whether Bedji is derived from British Guyana or Bajan (an inhabitant from Barbados)

beyond simply learning to speak Papiamentu. One has to speak it properly. For example, in English everyone is addressed as 'you' and English-speaking immigrants would often use the word 'bo' (informal 'you') when speaking Papiamentu, instead of the person's name or title, such as 'Señor(a), Shon, Mener' (formal 'you') as the local norms of politeness require. Curaçaoans can experience this practice as rude. More recently, however, with the increased local use of English in the tourism sector and because of globalization, the attitude toward the English language has changed in Curaçao.

Inclusion and cross-fertilization

Migration is not only a movement of bodies but is also entails a movement of ideas. Immigration meant that the Curaçaoan society became exposed to new ideas. New interactions led to the cross-fertilization of cultures. The involvement of British West Indian immigrants in Curaçaoan cultural expressions such as Carnival is clear. At the beginning of the 20th century, Carnival was celebrated on a small scale in a reserved, rather European way by the elites of Willemstad. The arrival of Caribbean immigrants marked the beginning of the larger and more popular form of Carnival that is common at present. For a long time Carnival was an event of the English-speaking community on the island. It was celebrated more informally than the highly organized Carnival of today. Old clothes, or whatever one could use to masquerade, were worn as costumes. That is why it was called *Karnaval di paña bieu*, meaning Carnival of old clothes. Calypso music with social commentary, the road march, and steel-pan music became standard elements of this form of Carnival. The fact that Curaçaoans have composed calypso songs in Papiamentu shows that Caribbean cultural retentions have been transferred across national boundaries as a consequence of intra-regional migration. British West Indian immigrants were also quite influential in the local labor movement (Römer, 1981). Together with the Surinamese, British West Indians occupied important positions in the labor unions in Curaçao and Aruba. Römer links this to their experience with labor activism in their native countries, as mentioned above. Peter (Dixy) Blasse, an immigrant from one of the English-speaking Caribbean countries, was for many years the President of the Board of one of the most active trade unions, the United Miners Union of Curaçao (UMUC). The impact of British West Indian immigrants on the labor movement of Curaçao merits further study, along with their role in formation of organizations such as the local Masonic lodge.

Conclusion

The 20th-century migration of English-speaking Caribbean peoples to Curaçao has had an important impact on the ethnic diversity and complexity of this already stratified society. The enterprises and households that employed these immigrants established, perpetuated, and enforced certain ethnic, class and gender distinctions and

inequalities. Together with the Roman Catholic Church, these institutions determined to a significant extent the dominant discourses regarding these immigrants and therefore the ways in which the immigrants were accepted or not and integrated or not into the host society. In the modern-day study of migration and transnationalism, gender receives much scholarly attention, particularly because migration has become feminized. The migration of British West Indian women to Curaçao in the first half of the 20th century fits the well-known phenomenon of poor black women serving as caregivers to (often white) elite families, but can also be seen as an early example of the less traditional and more modern pattern of women who participate independently in migration in search of work.

The particular historical experience of Curaçao with immigration from the English-speaking Caribbean may, upon critical reflection, provide useful insights for dealing with new waves of transnational migrants in the present and future. This study confirms that accommodation between locals and immigrants is not easy and takes time, even when these groups are similar in terms of racial and cultural background. In spite of tensions between groups, however, meaningful cultural interaction and cross-fertilization do occur, as is manifested in the case of Curaçao in celebrations such as Carnival and, to a lesser extent, in the use of calypso music with lyrics in Papiamentu. British West Indian immigrants have also contributed to greater consciousness of social injustice and the continuing need for emancipation through their involvement in the labor union movement. Lessons from the Curaçaoan case may serve as input for contemporary policy making in relation to immigration as well as in relation to economic strategy, labor relations, cultural diversity, citizenship, and education.

REFERENCES

- Allen, Rose Mary (1988). *Muzik di inglés tambe a bira di nos: an overview of the calypso on Curaçao in the period of its popularity*. Curaçao: Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology of the Netherlands Antilles (AAINA).
- Allen, Rose Mary (2001). *Ta Cuba mi ke bai: testimonio di trahadó ku a emigrá for di Kòrsou bai Cuba na kuminsamentu di siglo XX*. Curaçao: ICS.
- Allen, Rose Mary (2003). Acceptatie of uitsluiting. Enkele belangrijke invalshoeken voor de discussie over beeldvorming over immigranten uit de regio en over de Curaçaoënaars. In Rose M. Allen, Coen Heijes & Valdemar Marcha (Eds.), *Emancipatie en acceptatie. Curaçao en Curaçaoënaars. Beeldvorming en identiteit honderdveertig jaar na de slavernij* (pp.72-90). Amsterdam: SWP.
- Allen, Rose Mary (2007). *Di ki manera? A social history of Afro-Curaçaoans, 1863-1917*. Amsterdam: SWP.
- Allen, Rose Mary (2009). Migrants versus the Yu di Kòrsou: race, class and identity in Curaçaoan society. In Elizabeth M. Thomas-Hope (Ed.), *Freedom and*

constraint in Caribbean migration and diaspora (pp. 3-19). Kingston: Ian Randle Publishers.

Breukink, Eva (2006). *De 'nieuwe' bewoners van Curaçao deel 9 (slot): Caribbean*. Radio Nederland Wereldomroep, January 6, 2006.

Broek, Aart (2011). *De geschiedenis van de politie op de Nederlands-Caribische eilanden, 1839-2010 :geboeid door macht en onmacht*. Amsterdam/Leiden: Boom/KITLV.

Chamberlain, Mary (1997). *Narratives of exile and return*. London: Macmillan Caribbean.

Heiligers, Bernadette(2001). *Samen leven: Curaçao in de twintigste eeuw*. Curaçao: Amigoe.

Hoetink, Harry (1987, [1958]). *Het patroon van de oude Curaçaose samenleving*. Amsterdam: Emmering.

Latour, Mamertus Dominicus (1955). *Missiegeschiedenis van de Nederlandse Antillen onder de Nederlandse Paters Dominicanen*, deel VII, Curaçao. Moukarbel, Nayla (2009). *Sri Lankan housemaids in Lebanon: a case of 'symbolic violence' and everyday forms of resistance*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

Paula, Alejandro F. (1967). From objective to subjective social barriers: a historico-philosophical analysis of certain negative attitudes among the negroid population of Curaçao. Master's thesis, Universidad di Santo Tomas di Aquino, Rome.

Paula, Alejandro F. (1973). *Problemen rondom de emigratie van arbeiders uit de kolonie Curaçao naar Cuba, 1917-1937*. Curaçao: Centraal Historisch Archief.

Philipps, Ann E. (1988). *Labour and migration in the Caribbean; British West Indian domestic servants in Curaçao; 1940-1960*. Master thesis, University of Leiden.

Premdas, Ralph R. (1996). Ethnicity and identity in the Caribbean: decentering a myth. Working Paper #234, Helen Kellogg Institute for International Studies, University of Notre Dame.

Römer, René A. (1979). *Een volk op weg: un pueblo na kaminda. Een sociologisch historische studie van de Curaçaose samenleving*. Zutphen: De Walburg Pers. [PhD dissertation, University of Leiden, 1977].

Römer, René A. (1981). Labour unions and labour conflict in Curaçao. In Macklenan F. Hasham (Ed.), *Arbeidsmarkt en arbeidsmarktverhoudingen op de Nederlandse Antillen*. Willemstad: University of the Netherlands Antilles.

Rosaldo, Renato (2003). *Cultural citizenship in island Southeast Asia: nation and belonging in the hinterlands*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Thomas-Hope, Elisabeth (2002). *Caribbean migration*. Jamaica: University of the West Indies Press.

- Thomas-Hope, Elisabeth (Ed.) (2009). *Freedom and constraint in Caribbean migration and diaspora*. Kingston: Ian Randle Publishers.
- Van Hulst, H. (2002). Burdugu. Postkoloniale strijd om waardigheid. *Justitiële verkenningen*, 28, 1, 21-34.
- Van Soest, Jaap (1977). *Olie als water. De Curaçaose economie in de eerste helft van de twintigste eeuw*. Zutphen: De Walburg Pers.

ESSAYS ABOUT DUTCH RESIDENTS WRITTEN BY CURAÇAOAN HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS¹

ELLEN-PETRA KESTER, UTRECHT UNIVERSITY
TIRZA HORTENCIA, UTRECHT UNIVERSITY

Introduction

This article follows up on two previous studies (Kester & Hortencia 2011; 2012) about stereotypes among Curaçaoan high school students with respect to Dutch residents on the island. As explained in the previous articles, we are fully aware of the complexities and delicacies involving the use of the term ‘Dutch’, which applies to the population of the European as well as the Caribbean part of the Kingdom of the Netherlands. Also in this article we will apply traditional English terminology, using ‘Dutch’ to refer to citizens born and raised in Europe, in opposition to ‘Curaçaoan’.

The results presented in our previous work and in this article come from a survey carried out by the second author for her MA-thesis (Hortencia, 2011). The aim of the survey, which was realized in August 2010 at seven different high schools in Curaçao, was to investigate to what extent stereotypes mentioned in the literature were taken to be true or untrue by high school students in Curaçao today. In Kester & Hortencia (2011; 2012) we respectively presented the results of a questionnaire evaluating the opinions of students about Dutch residents in general and with respect to specific groups such as pensioners, marines, teachers, tourists and young people.

In this article we will analyze the contents of essays written by 36 students of Kolegio Erasmo, to compare the results from previous studies with the opinions spontaneously expressed by this group of students in their essays. In order to facilitate the comparison, we will briefly summarize the relevant literature in the following section.

Literature review

In order to discuss the most relevant literature concerning stereotypes with respect to Dutch residents among Curaçaoan high school students, we select Houwing (1997) as a major source, because this study involved the same age group (teenagers). We will

¹ In the first place we thank the students who wrote the essays and filled out the questionnaire. We gratefully mention the Board of Catholic Schools (‘Rooms-Katholiek Schoolbestuur’) who gave us permission to carry out the research at Maria Immaculata Lyceum and Radulphus College in August 2010. 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. Needless to say, none but us should be held responsible for any errors or misinterpretations of the data.

also summarize our previous articles (Kester & Hortencia, 2011; 2012). For additional information about relationships between Dutch and Curaçaoan at both the group and individual levels in general, we refer readers to Marcha & Verweel (2000) and Heijes (2004), which will not explicitly be discussed in this article.

Between September 1996 and March 1997 Houwing carried out a qualitative investigation on the island of Curaçao for her MA-thesis. The results of her study were mainly based on semi-structured interviews, informal conversations, meetings, notes, as well as essays written by 346 pupils from high schools and vocational schools. The purpose of her survey was to investigate stereotypes concerning the Dutch in Curaçao as well as the relationship between the Curaçaoan and the Dutch members of the population.

Houwing's main conclusions show that stereotypes regarding Dutch residents as well as the relationships between the two groups are complex and contradictory. Many individuals seem to have "mixed feelings" toward the Dutch, presumably due to historical and economic factors. Colonial history is associated with negative feelings of repression, discrimination and fear, but also with positive feelings related to a common historical background. A contradictory perspective is found in terms of the economic situation of the island as well, because its appreciated relative wealth and prosperity creates an undesirable dependency relation with the former metropole.

Many of the stereotypes mentioned by Houwing (1997) are negative. Dutch residents are considered to belong to a privileged group, enjoying better jobs, better housing and more opportunities in general, compared to other sectors of the population. They are criticized for being arrogant and cheap. According to Houwing's informants, Dutch residents don't care about their personal hygiene or clothing, are poor dancers and share bad habits such as smoking and the excessive consumption of alcohol and coffee. On a professional level stereotypes are more positive, in the sense that the Dutch are considered to be hard workers, characterized by a serious, responsible and punctual attitude.

Stereotypes with respect to specific groups are contradictory as well. Dutch teachers are evaluated as being outstanding professionals, who are serious at their job and helpful to students. On the other hand they are perceived as strict and arrogant. Pensioners are characterized as quiet, but also as rich and arrogant. The presence of Dutch marines is appreciated because they are assumed to protect the island, but they have a reputation for excessive drinking and, consequently, inappropriate behaviour.

Only tourists are generally evaluated in a very positive way. They are considered to be open, friendly, well-behaved, interested in the local language and culture and they make an important contribution to the local economy. Only a minority criticizes tourists for irresponsible driving (ignoring speed limits and traffic signs) and Dutch women for topless sun-bathing and wearing shorts. Houwing explains the positive

stereotypes concerning tourists by their temporary residence. As they don't compete on the job market, they are no threat to the local population.

Houwing indicates that the Dutch residents in Curaçao can be categorized into two groups, in accordance with the adaptation model of Berry et al. (1992). The members of the first group are characterized by 'integration'. They are integrated in the community, have Curaçaoan friends (sometimes a Curaçaoan partner), they speak Papiamentu and they are friendly and kind. The second group is characterized by 'separation'. The members of this group only relate to isolated circles of other Dutch residents, they don't try to learn the local language, they feel superior to the Curaçaoan community and think of the island as their personal territory.

Berry et al. (1992)'s adaptation model also applies to stereotypes concerning young Dutch residents on the island. The majority of this group doesn't integrate and only relates to other Dutch people. They are arrogant and have a very superior and careless attitude, expressed by poor personal hygiene, excessive smoking and drinking, as well as drug abuse. Only a minority integrates, socializing within the Curaçaoan community and meeting the local standards of appropriate behaviour.

Kester & Hortencia (2011) discussed the results of a questionnaire which was distributed among 422 students from seven different high schools in Curaçao. The questionnaire consisted of stereotypical statements about Dutch residents which were derived from previous studies (Houwing, 1997; Marcha & Verweel, 2000; Heijes, 2004). The aim of the questionnaire was to investigate to what extent these statements were considered to be true or untrue by the students.

The general conclusion of this survey was that the high school students did not have very strong opinions of agreement and disagreement with respect to the stereotypes included in the questionnaire. In the majority of cases the evaluations of the statements were neutral or equally distributed over a 3-point scale, as shown in appendix A. Some of the stereotypes, however, were endorsed by the students, like the privileged position of Dutch residents with respect to jobs and housing, the lack of adaptation (unless they have a Curaçaoan partner) and the tendency to socialize with compatriots only (although they do try to learn Papiamentu, according to the students). The results of the questionnaire also indicate agreement upon certain personality features, as the students consider the Dutch to be hard workers, who are straight to the point, punctual and feel superior to the Curaçaoan population. A majority of the students agree with the statement that Dutch residents who live on the island are more relaxed than those who live in the Netherlands. They show the highest percentage of agreement (64,3%) with the statement that the Dutch are poor dancers.

The students show high percentages of disagreement in the cases of other stereotypes derived from the literature, such as the Dutch being more intelligent and marriage to a Dutch partner serving as a strategy to have children with fair skin color.

These results give rise to questions as to whether the evaluations of the statements are truly neutral among students, or rather require a methodological explanation, because the questionnaire did not include the possibility of expressing a lack of opinion. On the other hand, negative stereotyping may be weakening, given that Houwing (1997) and Heijes (2004) observed that the relationships between the two groups were improving. Additionally, the increasing influx of tourists may be influencing attitudes, because they contribute to more diverse and generally very positive opinions, as pointed out in Houwing (1997) and corroborated by a different part of the questionnaire, discussed below.²

In our second article (Kester & Hortencia, 2012) we discussed a different part of the questionnaire which contained statements about certain specific groups of Dutch residents on the island: pensioners, marines, teachers, bosses, offshore people, tourists and young people. As was observed in our first article, in the cases of these specific groups the evaluations of the statements are quite neutral, as shown in appendix B.

Students only show high percentages (> 50%) of agreement with the statements about marines as excessive consumers of alcohol, about teachers being good at their jobs, and about the smoking habits of young people. The highest percentages of agreement, however, are found for the statements about tourists who are characterized as friendly, interested in the language and culture of the island and good for the economy. Students also agree regarding the Dutch habit of topless sunbathing. As a general conclusion we observed that the neutral scores are lower in the statements referring to three groups of Dutch residents, namely teachers, tourists and young people. Presumably their opinions are more outspoken in these cases because they have more personal relationships and social interaction with the members of these groups.

According to Houwer (1997) opinions are not strongly influenced by residence in the Netherlands, although more positive attitudes are frequently found among those who lived in the Netherlands or are connected by personal ties, such as family relationships. Hence, personal relationships may explain the more outspoken opinions about teachers, tourists and young people.

Methodology and general results

As observed above, the second author of the present work carried out an investigation at seven different high schools in Curaçao: Abel Tasman College, International School of Curaçao, Kolegio Erasmo, Maria Immaculata Lyceum, Marnix College, Radulphus College and Vespucci College. She visited the schools in August, 2010. The methodology of the survey involved two main activities: in an initial session all pupils wrote an essay about Dutch residents in Curaçao and in a second session they filled out a questionnaire. Most pupils carried out both activities making use of a computer.

² According to the Curaçao Tourist Board the annual number of tourists from the Netherlands has increased from 56.530 in 2001 to 140.183 in 2010.

The second author introduced herself to the students and explained the relevance of the survey to her MA-thesis. She pointed out that the pupils could feel free to express themselves, as the results would be collected anonymously and there were no correct or incorrect answers. In most cases the regular teachers were present as well, so that the pupils would take the task seriously. The students were free to choose Papiamentu, Dutch, English or Spanish for writing their essay.

Table 1 presents an overview of the number of essays from the different schools and the respective languages in which the essays were written.

Table 1 Number and languages of the essays

School	Papiamentu	Dutch	English	Total number per school
Abel Tasman College	1	48	0	49
International School of Curaçao	0	40	0	40
Kolegio Erasmo	35	1	0	36
Maria Immaculata Lyceum	60	19	2	81
Marnix College	0	71	0	71
Radulphus College	2	106	6	114
Vespucci College	0	22	0	22
Total number per language	98	307	8	413

Obviously, most students decided to write their essay in Dutch and there are different explanations for this phenomenon. The Vespucci College is a school for students from the European part of the Kingdom, which strictly follows the European system and has Dutch only as the language of instruction. Other schools offer Papiamentu at least as a subject, but as the survey was sometimes carried out during a Dutch class, students chose to write their essay in Dutch. Finally it should be observed that Dutch is the dominant language of instruction in secondary education, so students may feel more comfortable writing in Dutch because their overall academic experience has been in that language. The exception to this rule is the Kolegio Erasmo, where Papiamentu is actively promoted and used as a language of instruction. The following section presents a preliminary analysis of the essays written by students from the Kolegio Erasmo.

A preliminary analysis: the essays from Kolegio Erasmo

The Kolegio Erasmo, a humanist school with Papiamentu as the language of instruction was founded in 1987 by Dr. Frank Martinus Arion and a group of parents. In 1997, the six year primary school was extended to include a four grade high school

(SKAI: Skol Avansá Integrá).³ The 36 essays analyzed in this section were written by students in fourth year of Preparatory Secondary Vocational Education (VSBO). As the language of instruction of Kolegio Erasmo is Papiamentu, it is not surprising that 35 of the 36 essays were written in this language. It is not clear why one student decided to write his/her essay in Dutch.

A detailed analysis of the essays written by the students reveals in the first place the richness and diversity of their opinions and impressions with respect to the Dutch residents on the island, as their observations can be classified into 62 different categories. For reasons of space we will summarize the main findings in this section, including only the stereotypes mentioned in more than 5 essays, as summarized in table 2.

Table 2 The stereotypes mentioned most frequently and the corresponding number of essays

Stereotypes	Number of essays
1. Dutch people are bossy and have a dominant attitude	19
2. Dutch people discriminate against the Curaçaoan population	16
3. Dutch people smell and have poor personal hygiene	16
4. Dutch people are antisocial, selfish and self-centered	11
5. Dutch people are nice, kind and cheerful	11
6. Dutch people encourage same-sex marriage and homosexual relationships	11
7. Dutch people enjoy topless/naked swimming and sunbathing	10
8. Dutch people try to buy the island, in particular our beaches	10
9. Dutch people should learn/refuse to learn Papiamentu	9
10. Dutch people are arrogant/feel superior to the Curaçaoan population	7
11. Dutch people are not all the same	7
12. Dutch people are poor dancers	7
13. Dutch people misbehave	6
14. Dutch people are cheap/stingy	6
15. Dutch people are stubborn and always want to appear to know better	6

³ Pidgins And Creoles In Education (PACE) Newsletter 14, 2003.

The results in table 2 indicate that the stereotypes expressed in the essays are not very salient in number, corroborating the conclusions drawn from the questionnaires that the students apparently do not share very strong common opinions about the Dutch. A closer comparison between table 2 and the results of the questionnaires from Kester & Hortencia (2011; 2012), included in Appendix A en B respectively, leads to two major general conclusions.

In the first place, the stereotypes with high agreement scores on the questionnaire are not mentioned in the essays, except for the stereotypes that Dutch people are poor dancers (a statement agreed upon by 64,3% of the students who filled out the questionnaire) and that Dutch tourists sunbathe topless (67,7% of agreement). This may be due to methodological differences, as opinions about explicit statements may be strong, but they are not necessarily expressed spontaneously in an individual essay. Also, the stereotypes in table 2 come from essays written by 36 students, just a small portion of the 252 whose questionnaires were selected for the analysis presented in Kester & Hortencia (2011). Therefore it is not particularly surprising that the stereotypes from the questionnaire which show similar results to those for the essays in table 2 show quite low percentages of agreement: “Dutch people impose their will on people from Curaçao” (30,2%), “Dutch people discriminate against the people from Curaçao”(36,6%), “Dutch people feel superior to people from Curaçao”(47,2%), , “Dutch people refuse to speak Papiamentu”(28,9%)⁴ and “Dutch people are stingy” (34,3%).

Secondly, at first sight it seems remarkable that the students do not mention any stereotype with respect to specific groups, such as teachers, tourists or young people. In Kester & Hortencia (2012) we hypothesized that opinions with respect to these groups were more outspoken due to the fact that high school students presumably have more personal relationships and, hence, may be more familiar with Dutch teachers, tourists and young people. Obviously, this hypothesis is not directly falsified by the results of the essays, as the students of Kolegio Erasmo attend a school with Papiamentu as the language of instruction. Consequently, they have not been exposed on a daily basis to teachers or fellow students from the Netherlands and possibly develop less outspoken opinions about these groups.

Overall, the stereotypes listed in table 2 are negative, with the exception of stereotype 5 that Dutch people are nice, kind and cheerful. In the remaining part of this section we will take a closer look at the stereotypes mentioned in table 2, illustrating each one of them with two examples selected from the corpus.

⁴ Interestingly, the results of the questionnaires (Appendix A) show that 48,6% of the students agree with the statement that Dutch people try to speak Papiamentu. Obviously, the analysis of the essays show that the students of Kolegio Erasmo do not tend to agree with this statement.

Dutch people are bossy and have a dominant attitude toward Curaçaoans

This stereotype is the most frequent one, expressed in nineteen of the essays:⁵

- (1) “*Nan ta bini nos pais bin disidí kiko nos tin ku hasi*”. (12)⁶
[They come to our country to decide what we have to do.]
- (2) “*Tin sierto di nan gusta manda, kièr sa ku ta nan ta doño*”. (29)
[Some of them like to rule, they think that they are the boss.]

I. Dutch people discriminate against the Curaçaoan community

Discrimination against the Curaçaoan community is also mentioned quite frequently (in sixteen essays) sometimes with explicit reference to the difference in skin color:

- (3) “*Nan ta gusta diskriminá hende pretu, pero nan no ta kritiká nan mes*.” (18)
[They like to discriminate against black people, but they don’t criticize themselves.]
- (4) “*Nan gusta diskriminá pasó nan ta blanku*.” (25)
[They like to discriminate, because they are white.]

38 Notice however, that two informants observe that discrimination is mutual, because Dutch residents also suffer from discrimination by Curaçaoans:

- (5) “*Makambanan ta diskriminá yu di Kòrsou i esei ta buta ku nos akinan ta trata nan malu*.” (8)
[The Dutch discriminate against the Curaçaoan people and this makes us treat them badly here.]
- (6) “*Semper nos ta papia malu di nan, antó nos ta haña un mal impreshon di nan sin a yega di papia ku nan*.” (15)
[We always talk badly about them and we have a bad impression of them, without ever having talked to them.]

II. Dutch people smell and have poor personal hygiene

This stereotype is also mentioned in sixteen essays:

- (7) “*Hopi biaha bo ta haña nan ta hole sodó*.” (8)

⁵ We took the freedom to select and correct the language use in the examples presented in this section. Furthermore, we only provide English translations of the Papiamentu examples, without adding glosses, as the scope of this article does not include a linguistic analysis.

⁶ The numbers following the quotes refer to the essays as numbered in the corpus.

[Often you will find they smell sweaty.]

(8) “*Nan ta hole un tiki malu.*” (13)

[They smell a bit bad.]

Some students attribute the lack of personal hygiene to the fact that European citizens are used to a different climate:

(9) “*Mayoria makamba a kustumbrá ku e wer na Hulanda, esei ta hasi ku ora nan yega na un otro pais nan no ta baña tur dia. Dor di keda sin baña nan ta hole stinki.*” (30)

[The majority of Dutch people are used to the weather in Holland, therefore when they arrive in another country, they do not take a shower every day. As they do not shower, they stink.]

Some also mention that Dutch people don't brush their teeth:

(10) “*Nan boka ta hole malu, segun ami nan no ta skeiru nan djente.*” (2)

[Their mouth smells bad, I think they don't brush their teeth.]

Others mention the fact that Dutch people dress carelessly and that their clothes are outdated:

(11) “*Nan ta bistí kon ku ta.*” (4)

[They dress carelessly.]

(12) “*Nan ta bistí chapo, manera nan no tin paña nèchi.*” (6)

[They look old-fashioned, as if they do not have nice clothes.]

III. Dutch people are antisocial, selfish and self-centered.

Eleven students observe that Dutch people are antisocial, selfish and self-centered. Some explicitly say that Dutch people try to take advantage of others on the island and only care about their own benefit.

(13) “*Mi ta haña ku e makambanan en general ta hopi egoista.*” (11)

[I think that the Dutch are generally very selfish.]

(14) “*Hopi makamba ta bin biba na Kòrsou antó probechá di nos.*” (16)

[Many Dutch people come to live in Curaçao and take advantage of us.]

IV. Dutch people are nice, kind and cheerful

Interestingly, eleven students also mention Dutch residents in a positive way in the sense that they are considered nice, kind and cheerful. Some of these informants also mention the negative stereotypes analyzed in this section, corroborating the contradictory attitude and ‘mixed feelings’ mentioned in previous studies.

(15) “*Nan ta alegre.*” (9)

[They are cheerful.]

(16) “*Tin adulto hopi mas amabel, kariñoso, kla pa yuda.*” (11)

[Some adults are much friendlier, nice, ready to help.]

V. Dutch people encourage same-sex marriage and homosexual relationships

Also eleven students show their disapproval of same-sex marriage and homosexual relationships, observing that this is not part of the Curaçaoan culture and expressing their concern that the Dutch want to impose their legal system.

(17) “*Nos makambanan mester stòp di hasi koi lesbian i gay den nos isla siendo ku aki na Kòrsou nos no a kustumá di mira hòmbèr ku hòmbèr ta kana sunchi ku otro.*” (21)

[Our Dutch people should stop doing lesbian and gay things on our island, because here in Curacao we are not used to seeing men walking around and kissing each other.]

(18) “*Nan ke bin ku un lei pa kasa hòmbèr ku hòmbèr i muhé ku muhé.*” (2)

[They want to introduce a law to marry men with men and women with women.]

VI. Dutch people enjoy topless/naked swimming and sunbathing

Ten students also express strong opinions with respect to topless and naked swimming and sunbathing:

(19) “*Nan ta landa sunú sin sa ku tin hende den nan besindario.*” (12)

[They swim naked without knowing that there are other people around.]

(20) “*Ora nan bai laman nan ta kana pechu afó.*” (4)

[When they go to the beach they walk around topless.]

VII. Dutch people try to buy our island, in particular our beaches

As ten essays show, some students are also upset about the increasing power of the Dutch as private owners of Curaçaoan territory, especially the beaches that are no longer open to the public free of charge.

(21)“*Nan a bin kue nos playanan i awó nos tin ku paga pa nos drenta nos mes propiedat.*” (25)

[They have taken away our beaches and now we have to pay to enter our own property.]

(22)“*Makamba ta bin Kòrsou nos pais bin kue nos lamannan i kobra nos pa drenta un laman ku ta di nos, ku ta di yu di Kòrsou.*”(29)

[The Dutch come to Curaçao, our country, to take away our beaches and charge us for a beach that is ours, that belongs to the people of Curaçao.]

VIII. Dutch people should learn/refuse to learn Papiamentu

Strong opinions are also expressed in nine essays with respect to the fact that Dutch people do not learn Papiamentu. Some students add that it is unfair that they have to adapt and speak Dutch, not only when they go to Holland, but even on their own island, whereas Dutch people do not make the effort to learn the local language.

41

(23)“*Nan tin ku papia nos idioma, pasó ora nos bai Hulanda nos ta haña nos tin ku papia hulandes.*” (16)

[They have to speak our language, because when we go to Holland we have to speak Dutch.]

(24)“*Nan si no ta siña nos idioma pa nan komuniká ku nos ora nan ta bin nos isla.*”(22)

[They do not learn our language to communicate with us when they come to our island.]

Two students mention, however, that Dutch people do try to learn the language. Five students also observe that they find it difficult to communicate with Dutch people, because their accent is hard to understand.

(25)“*Tin bes nan ta fada mi, pasó nan ta papia e hulandes ku nan aksènt di makamba i esei ta laga ku mi no ta kompréndé niun gesodemiter ku nan ta papia.*” (23)

[Sometimes they upset me, because they speak Dutch with their Dutch accent and then I do not understand a single thing when they talk.]

IX. Dutch people are arrogant/feel superior to the Curaçaoan population

Seven students observe that Dutch people have an arrogant attitude and feel superior to the Curaçaoan community:

(26) “*Makambanan kièr sa ku nan ta mas ku tur hende.*” (12)

[The Dutch think that they are better than everybody.]

(27) “*Antó tin di nan ta kere masha kos.*” (17)

[And some of them are full of themselves.]

X. Dutch people are not all the same

In many essays students try to nuance their opinions, mentioning the diversity between Dutch groups and individuals. Seven of them explicitly observe that Dutch people are not all the same.

(28) “*Pero awó ku mi ta un tiki mas grandi mi sa ku no ta tur ta asina.*” (1)

[But now that I am a bit older, I know that they are not all like that.]

(29) “*Pero tòg no ta tur ta mes kos, pasó tin par bon hende.*” (25)

[But they are not all the same, because there are some good people too.]

XI. Dutch people are poor dancers

This stereotype showed the highest percentage of agreement on the questionnaires of the survey, but is only mentioned in seven essays. One student observes he/she likes to see Dutch people dance, because he/she finds it hilarious.

(30) “*Makamba ta baila straño, pero mi ta gusta wak nan, ami ta hari nan.*” (7)

[Dutch people dance in a strange way, but I like to watch them, I laugh at them.]

Another student says that if Dutch people learn to dance they can become good at it:

(31) “*Ami ta haña ku makamba no sa baila. Pero si nan siña kon pa baila nan por baila bon si.*” (8)

[I think that Dutch people do not know how to dance. But if they learn how to dance they will dance well.]

XIII. Dutch people misbehave

This stereotype is mentioned in seven essays. In some cases students are upset, because they think Dutch people disobey rules they would not ignore in their own country.

(32) "*Nan ta kere ku akinan, nan por bin hasi e kosnan ei.*" (12)

[They believe that they can come here to do those things.]

(33) "*Ora nan bin biba akinan nan ta hasi loke nan ta haña ta bon, siendo ku si nan ta na Hulanda nan no por hasi esenan.*" (21)

[When they come to live here they do whatever they think is good, whereas when they are in Holland they cannot do those things.]

In some essays misbehaviour is specifically related to ignoring traffic rules and getting away with it:

(34) "*Nos hendenan na nos isla manera polisnan ta laga e makambanan hasi loke nan ke riba nos isla, debi ku makamba ta manda riba nan.*" (21)

[Our people on our island like the police let the Dutch do what they want on our island, because Dutch people rule them.]

43

XIV. Dutch people are cheap/stingy.

Six students mention the stereotype that Dutch people are cheap or stingy. One is explicitly negative in this respect: "the richer, the cheaper".

(35) "*Tambe mi ta haña nan hopi pichiri.*" (33)

[Also, I find them very cheap/stingy.]

(36) "*Mas sèn nan tin, mas pichiri nan ta.*" (26)

[The more money they have, the cheaper they are.]

XV. Dutch people are stubborn and always want to seem to know better

Six students observe that Dutch people are stubborn, always want to be right and to correct others.

(37) "*Nan ta hendenan ku bo no por bai den un diskushon ku nan. [...] Pa nan semper ta nan ta esun ku tin rason.*" (14)

[They are people you cannot start a debate with. [...] According to them, they are always the ones who are right.]

(38) ”*Nan gusta keda saka fout for di tur kos.*” (15)

[They like to point out errors in everything.]

The distribution of stereotypes over the group of informants

As we have seen in the previous section, the individual opinions about Dutch residents of Curaçao expressed in the essays of the students are quite strong and outspoken, but their frequency is low. Apparently, there is no absolute consensus within the group concerning salient features of the Dutch residents. The question arises as to whether the negative stereotypes are just expressed by a certain groups of individuals and not shared by others.

A closer look at the data from the essays reveals, however, that negative stereotypes are spread over the entire corpus. As we already observed above, the students who consider the Dutch to be nice, kind and friendly also mention some of the negative stereotypes, so the ‘mixed feelings’ with respect to Dutch residents observed in previous studies are corroborated by the contents of the essays.

Secondly, the question arises to what extent personal relationships play a role here. We already observed that the students hardly expressed any opinions with respect to specific groups like teachers, tourists or young people, presumably because they don’t meet Dutch teachers or fellow-students at their school. It is impossible to draw conclusions from the essays in this respect, though, because only five students observe that they have no or very few personal relationships with Dutch people. Nine students mention the fact that they have Dutch relatives and five that they have Dutch friends or neighbours. Notably, in the essays of these latter two groups we encounter negative stereotyping. A comparison with the essays written by students from other schools should indicate whether daily contact with people from the Netherlands (teachers and fellow-students) leads to different results. We suggest this as an interesting line of investigation in the future.

Conclusion

This article presents an analysis of 36 essays written by students of Kolegio Erasmo in August, 2010. Our goal was to compare the opinions expressed by the students with the stereotypes mentioned in the literature about Dutch residents in Curaçao. The results of the analysis indicate that the students do not seem to share outspoken common opinions. The stereotypes mentioned in their essays are very diverse, their frequency is low and they only partially corroborate hypotheses from previous studies. Although many of the quotes included in this article express strong and outspoken individual opinions, many students also nuance their attitudes, observing that not all Dutch people are the same, or mentioning positive qualities of Dutch residents as well. The students of Kolegio Erasmo do not refer to specific groups of Dutch residents in their essays. This may be due to the fact that they are not in daily contact with teachers

and fellow students from the Netherlands at school. Future research comparing essays written by students from other schools should put this hypothesis to the test.

REFERENCES

- Berry, John W., Ype H. Poortinga, Marshall H. Segall & Pierre R. Dasen (1992). *Cross-cultural psychology: research and applications*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Heijes, Coen (2004). *Het stereotype voorbij: een studie naar onbegrip, beeldvorming en samenwerking tussen Curaçaoënaars en Nederlanders in Nederland en op Curaçao*. Amsterdam: SWP.
- Hortencia, Tirza (2011). *Makamba pichiri: un análisis de los estereotipos más frecuentes entre los estudiantes curazoleños con respecto a los holandeses*. Master's thesis, Utrecht University.
- Houwing, Petra (1997). *Makamba's op Curaçao. Een onderzoek naar stereotype beelden van Curaçaose jongeren tussen de 15 en 30 jaar ten aanzien van Europese-Nederlanders op Curaçao*. Master's thesis, Utrecht University.
- Kester, Ellen-Petra & Tirza Hortencia (2011) Makamba na Kòrsou: stereotypes among Curaçaoan high school students with respect to Dutch residents on the island. In Nicholas Faraclas, Ronald Severing, Christa Weijer & Elisabeth Echteld (Eds.), *Iguana's newfound voices: continuity, divergence and convergence in language, culture, and society on the ABC-Islands* (pp. 235-247). Curaçao: Fundashon pa Planifikashon di Idioma/University of Curaçao.
- Kester, Ellen-Petra & Tirza Hortencia (2012). Stereotypes with respect to specific groups of Dutch residents among Curaçaoan high school students. In Nicholas Faraclas, Ronald Severing, Christa Weijer & Elisabeth Echteld (Eds.), *Multiplex cultures and citizenships: multiple perspectives on language, literature, education and society in the ABC-Islands and beyond* (pp. 417-430). Curaçao: Fundashon pa Planifikashon di Idioma/University of Curaçao.
- Marcha, Valdemar & Paul Verweel (2000). *De waarheid van Curaçao*. Amsterdam: SWP.
- Ortografia i lista di palabra Papiamentu: buki di oro (2009). Curaçao: Fundashon pa Planifikashon di Idioma.

Internet sources

Curaçao Tourist Board, 2010.

Pidgins And Creoles in Education (PACE) Newsletter 14, 2003.

Appendix A

Results of the questionnaire about stereotypes concerning Dutch residents in general (from Kester & Hortencia 2011)

Table 3 Evaluation of statements concerning the lifestyle of Dutch residents in Curaçao.

		Agree	Neutral	Disagree
1.	More Dutch people are immigrating to Curaçao.	72,6%	25,1%	2,2%
16.	Dutch people do not adapt to Curaçao society.	41,3%	35,6%	23,1%
5.	Dutch people that are in a relationship with someone from Curaçao adapt to Curaçaoan culture.	60,6%	27,9%	11,6%
10.	Dutch people impose their will on people from Curaçao.	30,2%	40,8%	28,9%
25.	Dutch people have influence over people from Curaçao.	31,2%	37,6%	31,2%
13.	If a Dutch person orders something, it will happen faster than if this order was given by someone from Curaçao.	31,4%	29,4%	39,1%
15.	Curaçaoan people marry Dutch people so they can have children of a fair skin color.	23,3%	29,7%	47,0%
21.	Dutch people do not want to learn Papiamentu.	28,9%	40,2%	30,9%
28.	Dutch people try to speak Papiamentu.	48,6%	30,2%	21,2%
22.	The Dutch people who live on Curaçao are more relaxed than those who live in the Netherlands.	58,3%	30,8%	10,9%
24.	Dutch people on Curaçao only associate with other Dutch people.	44,8%	26,6%	28,6%

Table 4 Evaluation of statements concerning the economic position of Dutch residents in Curaçao

		Agree	Neutral	Disagree
2.	Dutch people have the best jobs in Curaçao.	54,8%	32,1%	13,1%
7.	Dutch people in Curaçao are rich.	35,2%	35,2%	29,6%
12.	Dutch people live in the best neighborhoods of Curaçao.	43,7%	28,7%	27,5%
29.	Dutch people are wealthy.	32,0%	48,2%	19,9%

Table 5 Evaluation of statements concerning the personality features of Dutch residents in Curaçao

		Agree	Neutral	Disagree
3.	Dutch people work harder than people from Curaçao.	37,3%	25,4%	37,3%
6.	Dutch people are more efficient than people from Curaçao.	33,0%	40,2%	26,7%
14.	Dutch people are more intelligent than people from Curaçao.	19,6%	27,6%	52,8%
4.	Dutch people are honest.	23,6%	45,6%	30,8%
18.	Dutch people are straight to the point.	47,8%	26,1%	26,1%
17.	Dutch people are kind.	32,4%	49,8%	17,8%
19.	Dutch people discriminate against the people from Curaçao.	36,6%	31,7%	31,7%
23.	Dutch people feel superior to people from Curaçao.	47,2%	35,6%	17,2%
11.	Dutch people are stingy.	34,3%	47,2%	18,5%
20.	Dutch people are punctual.	58,1%	31,9%	10,1%
26.	Dutch people are well organized.	42,0%	40,8%	17,2%
30.	Dutch people are elegant.	21,5%	37,5%	41,0%

Table 6 Evaluation of statements concerning the habits and traditions of Dutch residents in Curaçao

		Agree	Neutral	Disagree
8.	If you're out for dinner with a Dutch person they will surely pay for it.	15,2%	36,3%	48,6%
9.	Dutch people tend to buy second-hand cars.	42,1%	40,9%	17,0%
27.	Dutch people can't / don't know how to dance.	64,3%	21,3%	14,4%

Appendix B

Results for the questionnaire about stereotypes concerning specific groups of Dutch residents (Kester & Hortencia 2012)

Table 7 Evaluation of statements concerning Dutch pensioners in Curaçao

		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.	Dutch pensioners are interested in the culture of Curaçao.	38,0%	45,9%	16,1%

Table 8 Evaluation of statements concerning Dutch marines in Curaçao

		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%

Table 9 Evaluation of statements concerning Dutch teachers in Curaçao

		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%

Table 10 Evaluation of statements concerning Dutch bosses in Curaçao

		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%

Table 11 Evaluation of statements concerning Dutch offshore people in Curaçao

		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%

Table 12 Evaluation of statements concerning Dutch tourists in Curaçao

		Agree	Neutral	Disagree
18.	Dutch tourists are friendly.	55,1%	27,3%	17,5%
19.	Dutch tourists are very interested in Curaçaoan 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%

Table 13 Evaluation of statements concerning the Dutch young people in Curaçao

		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 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%

DUTCH, DANISH, CARIBBEAN AND AFRAKAN INFLUENCES IN THE WORK OF BLYDEN, HARRISON, SPRAUVE-BROWNE, WILLIAMS, EMANUEL, JOCHANNAN AND OTHERS OF THE VIRGIN ISLANDS CULTURAL HERITAGE RESTORATION MOVEMENT

CHENZIRA DAVIS KAHINA

PER ANKH INSTITUTE & VIRGIN ISLANDS

CARIBBEAN CULTURAL CENTER AT THE UNIVERSITY OF THE VIRGIN ISLANDS

“Culture is evolutionary as is reflected in the social, political, economic and spiritual lifestyles, habits, ways of thinking and kinesthetic actions of a people that share a common identity, ethnicity, race, language, geography, nation or other unifying principle and in crisis is revolutionary.” (Davis-Kahina, 2011: 9)

Enunciation

This research is shared in respectful memory of native scholars of the Virgin Islands and former faculty of the University of the Virgin Islands who worked for the self-determination, educational excellence, respect for Afrakan ancestral traditions and cultural heritage freedoms of the Virgin Islands (VI) and Caribbean who are now our ancestors: Dr. Marva Sprauve Browne, Dr. Marvin E. Williams and Dr. Gene Kenneth Emanuel. May each of their achievements and gifts to the VI, Caribbean and beyond be respected and beneficial for generations to come.

Evolving paradigm shifts in education, traditional community arts production and heritage tourism initiatives have fostered the continuous development of a Virgin Islands Cultural Heritage Restoration Movement and Renaissance. The influences of Dutch and Danish colonialism inclusive of the enslavement “legally” imposed on people of African ancestry, heritage and ascent influenced the nature, form, focus and foundations of research, writings and activism of early 19th to early 20th century scholars, cultural bearers, scientists and others throughout the Virgin Islands and the rest of the Caribbean. This survey of the life and work of Rev. Dr. Edward Wilmot Blyden, Dr. Hubert Harrison, Dr. Marva Sprauve-Browne, Dr. Marvin Williams, Dr. Gene K. Emanuel, and Dr. Yosef ben-Jochannan provides a panoramic perspective of the life journeys of revolutionary Virgin Islanders and their influence on the Caribbean, the Americas, Africa and the world.

“In the final analysis, it must be clearly realized that Caribbean people of African descent are part of the total African world. And they have no long-range future outside of the ultimate participation in an African world community. Their former slave masters and their former colonial masters have no formula for their salvation. The large presence of European blood in their veins will not change their predicament one iota. The white father that created a large number of them has made no room in his house for any of them. Caribbean people who are in retreat from African people because of their degree of European blood are retreating into oblivion. There is no future for the Caribbean islands until there is a collective realization that these islands are a part of the universal house of Africa. All Caribbean people, irrespective of color gradation and European parentage, either have a permanent home in this house, figuratively speaking, or no home in the world at all.” (Clarke, 1994: 48)

Preparation

This work presents a concise examination of U. S. Virgin Islands (St. Croix, St. Thomas and St. John), Caribbean, African heritage education and social revolutions sparked by the works of Drs. Edward Wilmot Blyden, Hubert Harrison, Marva Sprauve-Browne, Marvin Williams, Gene K. Emanuel, Yosef ben-Jochannan and other native VI Renaissance women and men. The VI has contributed great minds and influenced people of AfRaKan ancestry, indigenous heritage and universal ascent to positively “Know thyself” in a pre and post-enslavement context. This work intends to provide an eclectic inventory of life events and works of these virtually unacknowledged liberation scholars, revolutionary writers and social transformers. There are multidimensional contributions that each of these “Outstanding Virgin Islanders” have made in regards to heritage restoration, humanities, social literature, restorative arts, agriculture, linguistics, natural sciences and more. Many of their names and stellar achievements for the upliftment of any community they served have remained invisible to mainstream scholarship. This work is designed to provide archival documentation and preliminary educational materials for all institutions of learning in the VI, the Caribbean and globally.

Comparative analysis and research on the U. S. Virgin Islands (USVI) formerly known as the Danish West Indies, includes studies of the multiple European, African, Indigenous and other cultural heritages that colonized and contributed to the history, lifestyles and traditions of the Virgin Islands. St. Croix has experienced domination and exploitation under seven different European flags (those of Spain, the Netherlands, France, the Knights of Malta, Denmark, Britain, and the United States of America), and this has had a traumatic impact on the cultural heritage and identity of contemporary Virgin Islanders until the present day. Unlike St. Croix’s British influenced language and English-lexifier Creole that has remained linguistically linked with the British Virgin Islands such as Tortola, Anegada, Virgin Gorda, one of

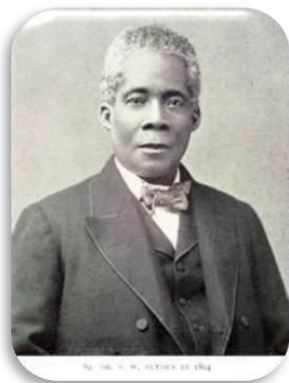
the common languages spoken in St. Thomas and St. John was Negerhollands – a Dutch-lexifier Creole considered extinct since the late 1980's (Ureland, 1985: 2). On these islands, the institutions of the African enslavement trade created the social environment that forced the development of hybrid languages for new arrivals from different parts of the African continent in which English and Dutch words were re-configured using African phonology, grammar and semantics. Until the mid-1800's, the Danish West Indian islands of St. John and St. Thomas were populated by many Europeans with strong links to the Netherlands and Dutch language, and thus Negerhollands became so commonly spoken there, that it was used by the Moravian missionaries as their preferred language in the churches and religious schools that they established for slaves and freed people of African descent on those islands during the 18th century.

By the mid-19th century, after Britain's occupation of the islands in 1801-1802 and 1807-1815, English became the choice language for trade and business in the Danish West Indies. Hence, the importance of Negerhollands declined. Contemporary scholars like Dr. Gilbert Sprauve (University of the Virgin Islands), Dr. Arnold Highfield (University of the Virgin Islands) and many others have extensively researched and authored multiple publications on Dutch and other European influences on the language, religion, politics, economics and social institutions of the Danish West Indies that became the Virgin Islands of the United States of America. Resistance to enslavement led to multiple rebellions from the 1730's through July 3rd, 1848 – the day Governor Peter Von Scholten verbally declared the emancipation of enslaved Africans throughout the Danish West Indies, two days after slavery was abolished in Sint Maarten. The official abolition of slavery for the rest of Dutch Caribbean colonies was not proclaimed until the 1st of July 1863.

Opening

The Virgin Islands and the rest of Caribbean have contributed great minds, practitioners and visionaries who have created change, made significant global achievements and influenced people of Afrakan ancestry, indigenous heritage and universal ascent to live and work by the ancestral proverb "Know thyself". In spite of

this, many do not recognize that people of the Virgin Islands like Rev. Dr. Edward Wilmot Blyden and Hubert Harrison are global icons of self-determination, intellectual scholarship and heroes of the freedoms of Afrakan people and humanity as phenomenal statesmen and Renaissance Virgin Islanders.

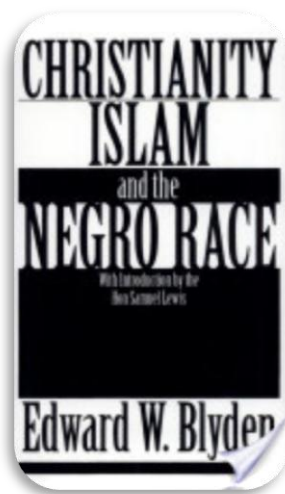


Implementation

Reverend Dr. Edward Wilmot Blyden
African Statesman, Ordained Minister & Educator

“The Virgin Islands gave the great internationalists, Edward Wilmot Blyden and Hubert Henry Harrison....Isn’t it ironic that from the Caribbean islands would come a literature of African awakening and African awareness?...The greatest and clearest of these minds of the nineteenth century was Edward Wilmot Blyden.” (Clarke: 1994: 25; 127)

Rev. Dr. Edward Wilmot Blyden was a native-born son of St. Thomas, who rose through the ministry within the Dutch Reformed Church during the horrific challenges of 19th century institutionalized racism and economic oppression. Born on August 3rd, 1832 to free African parents of Igbo ethnicity (originating in present day Nigeria), Dr. Blyden established a strong intellectual and ideological movement that led to him earning global recognition and respect as the Father of Pan-



Africanism. He mastered and became fluent in many African continental and European languages during his extensive travels and missionary work throughout Africa and the Americas. His theological services and sermons served as the foundational core and philosophical resources used for several of his publications inclusive of *Christianity, Islam and the Negro Race* (1887) and *African Life and Customs* (1908). Despite the fact that racism prevented his entry into Rutgers Theological Seminary in his early years, after extensive world travels and continental African missionary work he was ordained as a reverend of the Dutch Reformed Church. He

never allowed the institutionalized discriminatory practices of the Danish West Indies, the United States of America or Europe infringe on the personal service and talents which he was predestined to provide for his family, his ministry, his nation and humanity.

"There is a talent entrusted to you. It is your duty to call into action the highest forms of your being... Every one should do his part to advance humanity... There are so many of our people who fail to realize their responsibility, who fail to hear the inspiring call of the past and the prophetic call of the future... The African boasts not of the service which his country and his people have rendered to civilization and religion; but he knows that through all the ages and all the continents he has rendered service in the highest and in the lowest walks... Therefore, he has defied the rapacity of the all-conquering Caucasian; and his abounding vitality on this side of the Atlantic is filling with dismay the dominant and invincible race...Events are moving on for its regeneration; and the grand march of progress will go on whether you join it or not ... Therefore, let me urge you, amid all your temptations and trials, believe in the eternal Love. Keep love yourselves, never lose its impulse, and you will be more and more fitted for a final citizenship and enfranchisement.” (Blyden, 1890: 5)

The preferential use of the Dutch-creolized language – Negerhollands in St. Thomas was particularly referenced in the writings and sermons shared within the Dutch Reformed Church by Rev. Dr. Edward Wilmot Blyden. 20th to 21st century cultural heritage initiatives in the Virgin Islands were influenced and molded by 19th century institutions and ambassadorial linkages initiated and strengthened by Rev. Dr. Blyden's multifaceted social, political, educational and religio-spiritual work in Africa. He developed ties with the Ghanaian attorney Casely Hayford (pictured right) – a well-respected and exceptional Afrakan statesmen who shared many of ideals, leadership ethics and practical intentions with Rev. Dr. Blyden.



"I would lay stress upon the fact that while Ramses II was dedicating temples to 'the God of gods, and secondly to his own glory,' the God of the Hebrews had not yet appeared unto Moses in the burning bush; that Africa was the cradle of the world's systems and philosophies, and the nursing mother of its religions. In short, that Africa has nothing to be ashamed of in its place among the nations of earth. I would make it possible for this seat of learning to be the means of revising erroneous current ideas regarding the African; of raising him in self-respect; and of making him an efficient co-worker in the uplifting of man to nobler effort." (Blyden, 2000: 97). In Freetown, Sierra Leone, Rev. Dr. Blyden made his transition into the ancestral realms on February 7, 1912 on the eve of the historic March 31, 1917 transfer of the former Danish West Indies to United States sovereignty. The upcoming Centennial 2017 events currently being organized in commemoration of this historic transfer must include the contributions of Virgin Islanders such as Rev. Dr. Blyden to the Caribbean, the Americas, Africa and the world.

55

"We will have to work for many years to come. Not only without the popular support that we must have, but with inadequate resources... We strive to be those things most unlike ourselves. No matter what talent we have, we feed grist into other people's mills... and of course, nothing comes out except what has been put in. And that then is our great sorrow." (Blyden, 1881: ii)



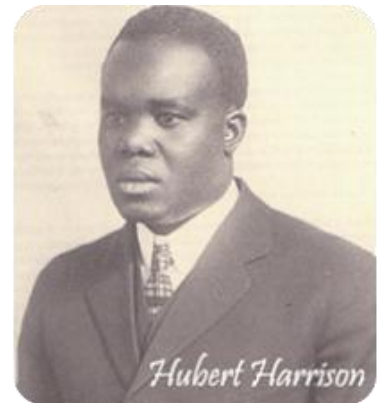
Hubert Henry Harrison

A Black Socrates and Master Philosopher

The writings and philosophical ideologies of African Fundamentalism as presented by Hubert Harrison in *When Africa Awakes*, reflect his unapologetic perspectives on the severe nature of the institutions of enslavement of the 17th to 19th centuries. These predatory institutions, which played such an important role

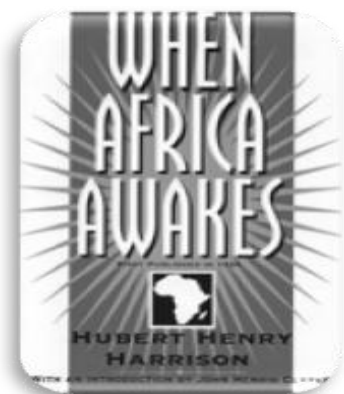
in the enrichment of the colonial nations that occupied the former Danish West Indies and now U. S. Virgin Islands, have been erased or sanitized in their official historical narratives: *“the technical skill the Dutch gained in their constant struggle at home with the sea proved to be of great value in establishing their bases along the delta regions of the South American continent. The United Provinces States General granted the United East India Company, a trading company founded in 1602, a subsidy and a monopoly for Dutch trading in the world from the Cape of Good Hope through the Pacific. The West India Company, founded in 1621, was given the trade monopoly in the Americas and West Africa and a special mission of supporting the war effort against Spain through privateering as well as trade. Both Companies freely employed non-Dutch officials, soldiers and clergy: Belgians, Germans, Britons, Frenchmen, Poles and others. The societies which evolved in Dutch colonies were characteristically multi-national, multi-racial, multi-religious, and guided primarily by the same overriding commercial imperatives which governed in the Netherlands. This commercial nexus largely determined the shape and scale of the empire and the character of Dutch life and attitudes in the colonies. It also contributed significantly to developments in the Netherlands.”* (Blakely, 1998: 475)

Hubert Henry Harrison was born on St. Croix on April 27, 1883. In his formative years, Harrison studied hard to eventually become an entrepreneur, journalist, elocutionist and renaissance leader. At the age of 17 years and as an orphan, the academically gifted young Harrison migrated to the United States of America and became a trailblazer in African-American and African-Caribbean progressive thought that prepared the groundwork for the Back to Africa Movement lead by Marcus Mosiah Garvey when he arrived in the U.S. in 1916. Harrison was a West Indian-American writer, orator, educator, critic and radical activist who founded the Liberty League and the publication *The Voice* as part of the early 20th century’s New Negro Movement. These organizational and media initiatives facilitated by Native Virgin Islander Harrison added another layer of intellectual and social activism to movements for the self-determination of people of Afrakan descent and heritage within the Virgin Islands, the Americas and beyond. His contributions, however, remained largely without recognition, acknowledgement and respect on the larger political scene in the early 20th century, despite his possession of one of the most intelligent minds in America. Harrison’s work became an inspiration and foundation for race-conscious organizations like Marcus Mosiah Garvey’s *Universal Negro Improvement Association-African Communities League* (UNIA-ACL) as well as for the efforts of Dr. W.E.B. DuBois, A. Philip Randolph, Sr. and many others.



In Dr. Jeffrey B. Perry's comprehensive publication *A Hubert Harrison Reader* (2001), the life and global achievements of Harrison are explicated with great specificity along with the analysis of why his contributions to world affairs oftentimes have remained neglected by contemporary scholars, practitioners and leaders. *"Harrison (1883 - 1927) is one of the truly important, yet neglected, figures of early twentieth-century America. Known as "the father of Harlem radicalism", and a leading Socialist party speaker who advocated that socialists champion the cause of the Negro as a revolutionary doctrine, Harrison had an important influence on a generation of race and class radicals, including Marcus Garvey and A. Philip Randolph... Harrison envisioned a socialism that had special appeal to African-Americans, and he affirmed the duty of socialists to oppose race-based oppression. Despite high praise from his contemporaries, Harrison's legacy has largely been neglected...His writings also provide critical insights and counterpoints to the thinking of W. E. B. DuBois, Booker T. Washington and Marcus Garvey."* (Perry, 2001: ii)

PanAfricanist historian, educator and activist, Dr. John G. Jackson, author of *Introduction to African Civilizations* (1974), *Man, God and Civilization* (1972), and *Hubert H. Harrison: The Black Socrates* (1987), published volumes of commentary praising Harrison. Dr. Jackson extended honor and respect to Harrison's educational debates on class, culture and race, as well as to his political efforts toward the cessation of lynching and the elimination of institutional racist practices against African-Americans in the early 20th century. Harrison's perspectives on Afrakan self-determination, unity and liberation for the benefit of all people of Afrakan heritage and ancestry were unapologetic. Harrison was a knowledgeable orator and examples of his work express the following philosophical perspectives:



"Africa is turning over in her sleep, and this agitation now going on among American Negroes for the liberation of Africa is a healthy sign of her restlessness. But it is no more than that. Africa's hands are tied, and, so tied, she will be thrown upon the peace table. Let us study how to unloose her bonds later. Instead of futile expectations from the doubtful generosity of white land-grabbers, let us American Negroes go to Africa, live among the natives and LEARN WHAT THEY HAVE TO TEACH US (for they have much to teach us). Let us go there – not in the coastlands – but in the interior, in Nigeria and Nyassaland; let us study engineering and physics, chemistry and commerce, agriculture and industry; let us learn more of nitrates of copper, rubber and electricity; so will we know why Belgium France, England and Germany want to be in Africa. Let us begin by studying the scientific works of the African

explorers and stop reading and believing the silly slush which ignorant missionaries put into our heads about the alleged degradation of our people in Africa. Let us learn to know Africa and Africans so well that every educated Negro will be able at a glance to put his hand on the map of Africa and tell where to find the Jolofs, Ekois, Mandingoes, Yorubas, Bechuanas or Basutos and can tell something of their marriage customs, their property laws, their agriculture and systems of worship. For, not until we can do this will it be seemly for us to pretend to be anxious about their political welfare. Indeed, it would be well now for us to establish friendly relations and correspondence with our brothers at home. For we don't know enough about them to be able to do them any good at THIS peace congress (even if we were graciously granted seats there); but fifty years from now- WHO KNOWS?" (Harrison, 1991: 34-35)

Harrison's multi-genre writings and critical analyses of social affairs led to him being respectfully regarded as "The Black Socrates" for his excellent oratorical skills and the philosophical perspectives which he defended in debates on class, culture, politics and race for the greater good of African-Americans and humanity. Harrison ascended to the realm of our ancestors on December 17, 1927 and has come increasingly to be respected for his contributions to Caribbean radicalism, to the Harlem Renaissance, to progressive race consciousness, to PanAfricanist militancy and for his intellectual leadership that impacted virtually every revolutionary movement for oppressed people globally.



Dr. Marva Sprauve Browne

Renaissance Intellectual, Mother and VI Freedomfighter

"The moonlight and the beach have always been an integral part of life in the West Indies. These treasures we must always keep close to our hearts. When we think about the Virgin Islands and our determined search for self-realization, we must look at our past and present population. A glance over the shoulder of the average Virgin Islander's family tree shows relatives were and are from other West Indian Islands. That coupled with the fact that in our population today, we find approximately half of the infants born in the Virgin Islands have one or both parents from other Caribbean islands, and that the present population estimates reflect almost, if not more than half of the total population is made up of West Indians from other Islands besides the Virgin Islands. This information makes me wonder, "Why do we fight with each other?" We are all West Indians together, and in so many ways we are one people – in our dance, our Annancy Stories and our aspirations for our homelands. We must strive to understand, care and respect each other. Shaping these Islands in retaining the

wonderful parts of our cultural heritage, learning to discriminate in our taste for accepting and rejecting things that come to our shores, and not allowing encroachment which does not reflect our true West Indian nature, and which would be detrimental to our way of life is as much your responsibility as it is mine, a born Virgin Islander.” (Sprauve-Browne, 1971: 4)

Dr. Marva Sprauve Browne was born in St. Thomas on April 5, 1941. Dr. Sprauve Browne was a scientist, scholar, nutritionist, mother and VI Free Beach Movement activist. She graduated with a Bachelor’s of Science degree from Morgan State University in 1962, earned a Masters of Science degree in Nutrition from Pennsylvania State University in 1963, and completed her Ph.D. at the University of West Virginia in Animal Husbandry and Nutrition in 1978. Despite Dr. Sprauve-Browne’s academic strengths and accomplishments, upon her return to the Virgin Islands, as a free thinker and activist for people, the environment and social justice, she experienced many socio-economic hardships in her native land.

At her passing, it was sadly noted that as a Native Virgin Islander: *“Marva was never afforded the opportunity to work in her specialized field of training, but because of her commitment to the Virgin Islands, stayed on rather than pursuing opportunities away from home. Let her passing remind us all for awhile of the side of us as Virgin Islanders that would snuff out local competence and initiative – especially when principled, and revere instead ostentatious and slavish service rendered by imported opportunists steeped in the tactics of aggrandizement and courtly gestures.”* (Sprauve-Browne, 1968: 3) Her efforts united an intergenerational force of Virgin Islanders to lobby and demand that the legislative and executive branches of government draft and ratify into law the Free Beach Act which is still in effect today. Additionally, she successfully lobbied the VI Legislature to create Home Economics and Nutrition programs within the curriculum of the University of the Virgin Islands.



Undaunted by life challenges and often times slanderous public commentaries, Dr. Sprauve-Browne continued to dream and to direct her energies towards projects of meaningful change for the people and future of the community she served. In 1973, she co-authored *A catta full of West Indian dishes* with Vernon McDonald Browne. Her dreams of a Gehardt Sprauve Memorial Foundation – in memory of the work in health, education and culture of her father and the VI’s first native dentist, Dr. Gehardt Sprauve, Sr. – continues *“to challenge the community to combat indifference, incompetence, sterility and stagnation and to preserve and promote the culture and*

education of our people of the VI.” (Sprauve-Browne, 1968: 3) Her activism and research formed the foundation of multiple programs at the University of the Virgin Islands in concert with community-wide environmental conservation efforts. Her animal husbandry work and dissertation research at Morgan State University along with related post-doctoral writings have been utilized internationally and translated into many languages. Although rarely receiving acknowledgment and respect for her work as an extraordinary contributor and community activist within the VI, those that had the pleasure and privilege of working, living, sharing, protesting, lobbying, learning and organizing with her know that she has left an indelible mark of principled integrity, loyalty and excellence as an outstanding Virgin Islander and revolutionary African woman.

Dr. Sprauve-Browne contributed to the literary, educational and cultural heritage resources of the Virgin Islands and Caribbean in collaborative publications commissioned by the VI Department of Education like *Sugar Apples are Apples Too* (1973) that was co-authored with other exceptional scholars and culture heritage tradition stalwarts like Dr. Ruth Moolenaar and Ms. Helen C. Williams. That publication provided grade-appropriate information for elementary students to learn the names, appearance and dietary value of indigenous fruits of the Virgin Islands. Her Masters of Science thesis was entitled: *A Dietary Survey and Eating Practices of Adolescent Virgin Islanders*. This research served as the foundation for many other studies, and for the improvement of nutrition and dietary programs throughout the Virgin Islands and abroad. Some of this information has evolved into educational materials, curricula and programs produced by the University of the Virgin Islands and the UVI- Cooperative Extension Service that have influenced VI cultural education.

Following turbulent political and economic resistance to Dr. Sprauve-Browne’s revolutionary activism for the historic preservation, conservation and protection of the marine and environmental resources of the Virgin Islands for the people of the Virgin Islands “into perpetuity”, she all too briefly served as a professor at the University of the Virgin Islands and a writer of the *Tidbits on Nutrition* column in the VI Daily News. Examples of her concerns for the health and wellness of the general community she served include the following: “*An adequate diet is certainly needed for the fetus. An adequate food intake also aids in avoiding complications, such as toxemia or high blood pressure, prematurity of the newborn, and miscarriage. Finally, a good diet helps to maintain the mother’s own body*” (Sprauve-Browne, 1968: 10). Dr. Sprauve Browne contributed exceptional works and intellectual achievements to the history, cultural heritage and scientific resources of the Virgin Islands and the Caribbean, while literally dedicating her life to healing, wellness, agriculture, scientific field

research, environmental education, unity, love and much more for the families, children and everyone she interacted with for the greater good of humanity.

“The beaches, marine resources and entire shoreline have been accessible to the people of the Virgin Islands since time immemorial. We intend to keep them that way. As private citizens who recognize the value and beauty of the seas and who wish to preserve this incredible treasure for the lasting enjoyment of all, we are demanding that our Legislature enact laws which endure to all the right to enjoy our natural marine legacy for all times; laws which prevent private persons and establishments from excluding in any way members of the public; laws which protect our shores, our waters and our marine resources. We have no intention whatsoever of tolerating first-class beaches for tourists and second-class beaches for residents.” (Sprauve-Browne, 1971: 4)

After a challenging journey with cancer linked to the pesticides that she was exposed to in earlier years while completing field research during her doctoral studies, she made her transition to the realm of the ancestors on October 21, 1988. Dr. Sprauve-Browne left a powerful legacy of academic and practical research, cultural heritage educational resources and an impeccable character of integrity and accountability for her children, our Caribbean community and beyond.



Dr. Marvin E. Williams
Educator and Literary Artist

A native son of the Virgin Islands who remained committed to the self-determination and restoration of global respect for his community, Dr. Williams shared his passion for literature as an educator and playwright. An accomplished poet and scholar, he served as professor of English at the University of the Virgin Islands from 1992 to 2008 where he also acted as editor of *The Caribbean Writer*. He was a graduate of St. Croix Central High School and completed his doctoral studies at Cornell University in New York. Dr. Williams was deeply committed to his VI community and his literary work expressed his profound desire to contribute to the social and literary development of his homeland. His literary works and collections that were published included: *Ebony Field* (1976) published by the then College of the Virgin Islands; *Dialogue at the Hearth* (1993) published by Antilles Press; and *Overture to Kin* (2007) published by Crucian Watu. Most of his work satirically highlighted the continuing impact of Danish, Dutch and British colonialism on the mental enslavement that has survived in the Virgin Islands far beyond the physical emancipation of 1848.

Dr. Williams' literary publications – especially his poetry – drew close parallels between 18th and 19th century plantation enslavement and the 20th century industrial enslavement created by the establishment of the Hess oil refinery on St. Croix. To make his points, he drew comparisons between the situation in St. Croix and the similar socioeconomic realities in the Netherland Antilles, where: *“The establishment of oil refineries on Curaçao and Aruba marked the beginning of industrialization. The lack of local labor resulted in the migration of thousands of workers. Industrial laborers from the Caribbean, Latin America, Madeira, and Asia came to the islands, along with civil servants and teachers from the Netherlands and Surinam. Lebanese, Ashkenazim, Portuguese, and Chinese became important in local trade. Industrialization ended colonial race relations. The Protestant and Sephardim elites on Curaçao maintained their positions in commerce, civil service, and politics, but the black masses were no longer dependent on them for employment or land. The introduction of general suffrage in 1949 resulted in the formation of nonreligious political parties, and the Catholic Church lost much of its influence. Despite tensions between Afro-Curaçaoans and Afro-Caribbean migrants, the process of integration proceeded. In 1969, a trade union conflict at the Curaçao refinery angered thousands of black laborers. On 30 May a protest march to the government seat ended in the burning of parts of Willemstad. After a request for intervention by the Antillean government, Dutch marines helped to restore law and order. Newly founded Afro-Curaçaoan parties changed the political order, which still was dominated by white Creoles. Within the state bureaucracy and the educational system, Antilleans replaced Dutch expatriates. Afro-Antillean cultural traditions were revalued, racial ideology was changed, and Papiamentu became recognized as the national language on Curaçao and Bonaire.”* (Blakely, 1998: 477)

Dr. Williams' work as a literary editor expanded to his compilation of the seminal text *Yellow cedars blooming: an anthology of Virgin Islands poetry* (1998). A historical overview of writers from the Virgin Islands from as early as 1897 was included in this 1998 compilation by Dr. Williams. *“In the 1920's and 1930's [Cyril] Creque's generation viewed America 'with mingled feelings' and the islands as idyllic if poor entities. By the early 1970's many poets two generations removed were neither divided on the question of America nor did they see the islands through rose-tinted glasses. For a significant number of the younger writers America sometimes constitutes a threat to their 'authentic' culture and geopolitics and sometimes acts as a destructive force in relation to these. Frequently, therefore, the islands are viewed as being under siege by relocated Americans and the American government itself... Forty years later a critical number of poets saw the islands collectively as Eden desecrated, as paradise only for America, the fallen angel, and its sons... Throughout its long life as a central trope of Virgin Islands poetry, then, the drum image has*

grown from simple self-conscious gesture to complex symbol of islands' psycho-historical currents and crosscurrents; and in its growth we can trace the maturing of our poetry. If the poetry is to reach full maturity, however, we need to develop a body of criticism to nurture it along... Our writers need honest judgments, not the usual fare of deaf and blind encouragement that leads to mediocrity, nor the cloakroom snickers that show a lack of courage. We have to get beyond the smothering fear of offending our neighbors that small communities such as ours engender and we cannot continue to be impressed by the mere fact of publication." (Williams, 1998: 14; 24-25)

In "Seasoning for the mortar" Dr. Williams provided another groundbreaking collection of poems and stories by Virgin Islands writers that was published in *The Caribbean Writer* from Volume 1 (1987) to 15 (2001). His successful play, "Liberated" was produced at the Caribbean Community Theater in the spring of 2006, highlighted how Caribbean men and women strive for personal liberation in committed relationships, the sexist machismo issues impacting men and the navigation for personal empowerment by women. These literary publications reflected Dr. Williams' scholarship, poetic strengths and his progressive commitment to exposing to the region and the world the positive consciousness, talents and skills of VI and Caribbean writers, artists, culture bearers, and scholars.

Faced with the onset of an aggressive journey with cancer, Dr. Williams made his final transition from the earth on April 7, 2010. Annual tributes and scholarship fundraising events are held in honor of the literary achievements and VI self-determination efforts of Dr. Williams. His memory and work as a UVI professor, scholar, playwright and social historian have continued to be well-respected for their major contribution to Caribbean and World literature.



Dr. Gene Kenneth Emanuel
VI Cultural Tradition Bearer, Educator and PanAfricanist

Dr. Gene Kenneth Emanuel aka Baba Lebembe's contributions, educational achievements and life-long devotion to scholarship in concert with the PanAfrican movement, provided eldership, guidance, direction and support to many cultural heritage restoration efforts, educational initiatives, research projects and communitarian programs in the VI, the Caribbean and other African world communities. Dr. Emanuel was born on St. Croix on November 23, 1941– the same day that marked the anniversary of the African Revolt of 1733 in St. John. He remained actively involved in research, activism and teaching on cultural

heritage restoration enterprises until his untimely transition on July 28, 2011. He was a decorated veteran of the Vietnam War, who graduated from Lincoln University in Pennsylvania and completed his doctoral studies at Howard University in Washington, D.C.

“Upon graduating from Lincoln, Emanuel enrolled at the famed Howard University where he was introduced to the personal scholarship and research of many highly respected academicians. There, African-American Studies became a natural and expected focus for him. It was there also that he met librarian Dorothy Porter of the famous Moreland Spingam Room, who led him to the writings of Casper Holstein and the unique group of Virgin Islanders who were to change literary and political history...he organized both the Virgin Islands Association and the Virgin Islands People’s Party...formed the Garvey-Nkrumah Reading Society with representatives from the Northeast and South depressed neighborhoods of Washington D.C... and presented programs of reading and drama for young adults and teens. Essentially, he became fully engaged in efforts to make a fundamental difference in the life of the territory’s African majority especially in the social and cultural spheres... He has continued to be one of the most knowledgeable and articulate speakers in the territory on issues uniquely affecting African people. He has spoken, on innumerable occasions, at schools, rallies, workshops, libraries, conferences and other forums throughout the territory. He has made guest appearances on practically all radio and television talk shows in the V.I. and written articles in various territorial publications including The Voice, Kasha, UCA Speaks, and the V.I Daily News. Immediately after Hurricane Hugo in 1989 he began hosting “University on the Air,” a weekly radio program of news, information and culture...He managed to interview a long list of distinguished personalities from throughout the African world community... Ivan Van Sertima, Kwame Ture (aka Stokely Carmichael), Arona Petersen, Wole Soyinka, Molefi Asante, Rex Nettleford, Earl Lovelace, Audre Lorde and Trevor Rhone. Annually, since 1983, Emanuel has been one of the principal organizers and tour guides for the yearly commemoration of the historic 1733 African Slave Revolution on St. John. The tour has actually become an important tradition that many look forward to each year. In terms of his activism, it should be noted that Emanuel has been either a founding member or leading member of a number of community Black consciousness organizations.” (Emanuel, 2011: 2-3)

Dr. Emanuel was a tenured professor of literature at the University of the Virgin Islands for nearly 30 years. He devoted most of his time to the organizational efforts and community service programs of the Pan African Support Group, Strength to Strength, KWANZAA365, Sankofa Saturdays, the VI Cultural Heritage Institute, the 1733 St. John African Revolt Heritage Initiatives, the African Youth Development Diaspora Foundation. He also provided support and executive oversight for the

African Civil Society Network of the Caribbean and Americas, the Caribbean Pan African Network, the African Union's African Diaspora Technical Committee of Experts along with a host of other international organizations that have supported the restoration of African people, our resources, lands, artifacts and vision to our rightful places of dignity within the world. Baba Dr. Gene Kenneth Emanuel remained consistent as a freedomfighter, a rabblouser to some, and an elder of distinction in the forefront of education with purpose, self-determination, collective work and responsibility, creativity, unity, cooperative economics and faith-the Nguzo Saba of Kwanzaa to others.

Dr. Emanuel taught cultural heritage, African identity, critical thinking and personal development that strengthened African consciousness in his students, colleagues and virtually anyone he interacted with. He served as a principal research resource for the Virgin Islands Legislative Act No. 6285 executed on August 5, 1999, which was designed to recognize and commemorate: *“the St. John Slave Revolt of 1733 and to observe November 23rd as ‘Virgin Islands Freedom Fighters Day.’ WHEREAS, on November 23, 1733, twelve to fourteen African slaves on the Danish West Indian island of St. Jan took the initial step in what turned out to be the benchmark event in the struggle for freedom in the now United States Virgin Islands; and WHEREAS, this step, the conquest of Fortsberg garrison, was the first major assault on the system of chattel slavery in the Danish West Indies; and WHEREAS, it predated the American Revolution by forty-three years, the French Revolution by fifty-six years and the great Haitian Revolution by seventy-one years; and...WHEREAS, after the garrison was secured by the African freedom fighters, Kanta and Claes raised the flag and fired several cannon shots as a signal that the battle had begun. Two main columns of Africans now headed toward strategic plantations, one traveling around the North Side attacking slave masters, burning plantations, and confiscating goods. Another column took the South Shore and operated in a similar fashion. This carefully planned revolt expanded to the entire island. The Amina-led army soon controlled many parts of the cultivated lands and their Maroon brethren controlled the hills of St. John; and WHEREAS, by the month of April, 1734, although the Aminas were very short on ammunition, and their ranks depleted by their constant marches and clashes with the combined forces of Danish, English, Dutch and enslaved Creoles, their struggle for freedom was still extremely strong; and WHEREAS, on May 23, 1734, exactly six months to the day from the assault on Fortsberg, an extraordinary discovery was made by the Negro militia from St. Thomas under the command of Mingo Tamarin, a former bomba who had the complete confidence of the Danish authorities. His detachment, on a reconnoiter, discovered twenty-five bodies, nineteen African men and six women in a wooded area. The positions of the bodies and the nature of their wounds indicated that they had committed ritual death in pursuit of their freedom;*

and WHEREAS, the love of liberty that these ancestral heroes of the Virgin Islands pursued in the 1733 struggle for freedom from chattel slavery is one of the singular events in West Indian/Caribbean history and the annals of mankind; and WHEREAS, this struggle was a beacon of hope to enslaved people everywhere. It sent a clear message to the slave-holding system that the spark of freedom had been lit on these shores..." (VI Legislature, 1999: 2-3) The contributions of Dr. Gene K. Emanuel have altered VI Cultural Heritage and Education for generations to come.



Dr. Yosef ben-Jochannan

Father of Kemetology/Egyptology, Scientist and Scholar

Yosef Alfredo Antonio ben-Jochannan was born as Alfredo Antonio Johannes in Frederiksted, St. Croix on December 31st, 1918. His parents were Julia and Krasten Johannes, of Puerto Rican and Ethiopian Falasha Hebrew ancestry respectively. Dr. Yosef ben-Jochannan aka Dr. Ben remains respected and revered as the Father of African Ancestral Studies and Egyptology/Oriental Mystery Systems. Dr. ben-Jochannan has delivered thousands of lectures, published hundreds of papers and authored many books on ancient studies, linguistics, European colonial possessions throughout the Caribbean. The Africancentric analysis of religious and spiritual repression of the ancient cultures of Africa-especially ancestral indigenous unified Smai Tawian Hapi (Nile) Valley civilizations in concert with legalized enslavement within plantation agriculture institutions were research areas Dr. ben-Jochannan pioneered in delivering to 20th century readers, educators, historians, scholars, activists and leaders.

From 2002 to 2012, former students and revolutionaries within the Virgin Islands focused on lobbying efforts to honor the international works and contributions to history, culture, science, arts, education and humanitarianism made by Dr. ben-Jochannan. As a living legend and globally respected African elder, in the autumn of 2012, the 29th Legislature of the Virgin Islands introduced Bill 29-0441, sponsored by Senator Usie R. Richards and approved as *Resolution 1749 – A Resolution to Honor and Commend Dr. Yosef ben-Jochannan* “*WHEREAS, Dr. Ben has conducted extensive research all over the world into the history of African people including archaeological excavations in Egypt and uncovered many instances of evidence verifying early African accomplishments in a wide number of fields; and WHEREAS, along with his associate, George E. Simmonds, of Frederiksted, St. Croix, Dr. Ben started Alkebu-lan Foundation, Inc., and Alkebu-lan Books and Educational Material*

Associated, the latter being the publishing company of innumerable pamphlets, manuscripts, scholarly papers and books this prolific and illustrious African author has written about African people and their cultures; and WHEREAS, some of his major published works are: *Black Man of the Nile and His Family* (1970, 1972, 1989), *Africa: Mother of "Western Civilization"* (1971, 1988), *African Origins of the Major "Western Religions"* (1970, 1991), *We the Black Jews: "White Jewish Race" Myth – Volumes I & II* (1949, 1983, 1993), *The Need for a Black Bible* (1974, 2002), *The Myth of Genesis and Exodus and the exclusion of their African Origins* (1974, 2002), *A Chronology of the Bible: Challenge to the Standard Version* (1972, 1995), *Our Black Seminarians and Black Clergy Without a Black Theology* (1978, 1998), *Cultural Genocide in the Black and African Studies Curriculum* (1972, 2004), *Understanding the African Philosophical Concept Behind the "Diagram of the Law of Opposites"* (1975, 2005), *The Black Man's North and East Africa – coauthored by George E. Simmonds* (1971, 2005), *The Rape of Africa and The Crisis in Angola* (1958), *Africa: The Land, The People, The Culture* (1969), and numerous other publications;..”(VI Legislature, 2012: 2-3) Despite ageing and health challenges compromising his public speaking, teaching and international educational tour activities, Dr. ben-Jochannan has remained as a global cultural treasure, scribe, engineer, researcher, culture bearer, lecturer, humanitarian and much more.

Dr. ben-Jochannan's work provided emancipated and liberated perspectives of the enslavement narrative customarily prioritized in the accounts, studies and quests for power engaged in by Africans. *"For IT IS IN THE DOING OF THE IMPOSSIBLE which made the Blacks and Africa great for 23 hundreds of centuries and IT IS ONLY BY THE RECAPTURING AND RECREATION OF NEW VALUES BY THE BLACK MAN will he free his mind, then his body, and lastly – his power. The Black man must, therefore, return to his temples in Ethiopia and Egypt and read his age-old reminders, which emphatically states to him and the world these prophetic words: 'MAN KNOW THYSELF.'"* (Jochannan, 1970, 1989: 32) As a young scholar and researcher, Dr. ben-Jochannan developed intellectual paradigms and analytical research strategies that supported accurate, inter-independent, intra-cultural and historical civilization narratives. Simultaneously, he made primary reference to the extreme exploitative oppression imposed on people of African ancestry by fixating on the enslavement experience as the sole identifier of the acculturation and development of people, histories and cultures of Africa. *"So long as AFRICAN (Black) PEOPLE, anywhere, allow false interpretations about their history and cultural heritage by other ethnic peoples to remain unchallenged, and not set same in their TRUE and PROPER perspective, AFRICAN (Black) STUDIES will also remain the meaningless and futile exercise that it is in most of the United States of America's major INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER LEARNING – secular and religious (Jewish, Christian and Muslim). The*

TRUE HISTORY of any people can only be WRITTEN and TAUGHT by their own knowledgeable SCRIBES and TEACHERS.” (Jochannan, 1971: 717) Dr. ben-Jochannan’s research and publications identified the institutionalized racism, classism and sexism rampant in the Eurocentric paradigms, Asiatic-Arab mercantilist trade systems and Indigenous African predatory practices legally attached to enslavement, colonialism, imperialism, neo-colonialism and other socio-economic policies launched against Africans (Black people). Comparative references and the oppressive influences of the Danish, Dutch, Spanish, French, British and other initiators of domestic and global terrorism directed against Africans globally were unapologetically and boldly referenced and interwoven throughout his work.



“The Legislature of the United States Virgin Islands, on behalf of the people of the Virgin Islands, honors and commends Dr. Yosef Alfredo Antonio ben-Jochannan for his unending commitment, dedication and tireless struggle to champion the cause of African people throughout the world by conducting research and presenting information which put the history and contributions of the daughters and sons of Africa in their proper perspective according to Maat, the ancient Egyptian concept of truth, balance,

order, law, morality, and justice.” (VI Legislature, 2012: 7) The restoration of VI cultural heritage irrespective of the suppression of African heritage by European colonialism has remained consistent in the intellectual research, literary publications and traditional folklore of this region by African Renaissance men still amongst the living like Dr. ben-Jochannan and many others. Even the classic study of world civilization by 18th century European scholar Count C. F. Volney stated: “Those piles of ruins, said he, which you see in that narrow valley watered by the Nile, are the remains of opulent cities, the pride of the ancient kingdom of Ethiopia. Behold the wrecks of her metropolis, of Thebes with her hundred palaces, the parent of cities, and monument of the caprice of destiny. There a people, now forgotten, discovered, while others were yet barbarians, the elements of the arts and sciences. A race of men now rejected from society for their sable skin and frizzled hair, founded on the study of the laws of nature, those civil and religious systems which still govern the universe.” (Volney, 1791, 1890: 15-16) Many contributions by Virgin Islanders of African ancestry such as those of Dr. Yosef ben-Jochannan continue to influence thousands of scholars and educators and continue to shift global perspectives on the achievements and contributions of Africa and her people to humanity.

Closing

Virgin Islanders like Dr. Rev. Edward Wilmot Blyden, Hubert Harrison, Casper Holstein, J. Antonio Jarvis, Rothschild Francis, D. Hamilton Jackson, Queen Mary, Queen Breffu, Queen Coziah, Valdemar Hill, Sr., Dr. Marva Sprauve-Browne, Dr. Lezmore E. Emanuel, Dr. Barbara Christian, Dr. Marvin E. Williams, Delta Dorsch, Eulalie Rivera, Dr. Gene K. Emanuel and others who have ascended to the realm of the ancestors are to be honored for their foundational work and the sacrifices that they made for the preservation of a multiplicity of layers of culture, heritage and traditions of the Virgin Islands. Each of their achievements has contributed to the evolutionary and revolutionary developments of the Virgin Islands in its on-going quest for the preservation of self-determination, regional unity, national security and global heritage restoration. First and foremost, however, all of these outstanding Virgin Islanders were above all outstanding educators.

“At this juncture in history, the human race is facing almost unmanageable problems many of which are the consequence of our own greed and insensitivity to nature. The threats are environmental (from climate change to sea rise, to increased natural catastrophe), political (escalated conflict, sharpened intolerance), social (drug abuse, health pandemics, social disintegration), economic (virtual meltdown of the world economic system, deepening poverty, unemployment) and the list goes on...And in the midst of all of this, the fragile archipelago of our Caribbean sits like a fleet of fragile boats buffeted by the international storm and incapacitated by its own limitations. There are many things that need to be fixed and fixed urgently, but the preparation of the next generation is one of those responsibilities and challenges that cannot be postponed. And this ultimately is the urgency and the necessity of reinventing education.” (Jules, 2011: 3)

Many of the scholars, culture bearers, scientists and artists honored in this work have remained invisible due to their revolutionary and “nontraditional” perspectives. For example, the publications of the late Native Virgin Islander Dr. Lezmore E. Emanuel (October 8, 1927 – April 27, 1995) embody strong influences of traditional African and African diasporic experience. Dr. Emanuel’s work includes publications such as *Surviving Africanisms in Virgin Islands English Creole* (1972), *Broo Nansi: A Selection of Anansi Stories* (1973), *Puppyshung’s Last Wedding and Other Anansi Stories* (1979) and his album *Ozani Sings* (1986). In 1970, Dr. Emanuel was the first doctoral candidate to be awarded a Ph.D. in Interdisciplinary Studies in African History from Howard University.

“Culture is the way a people utilize their experiences to living in their environment which they treasure as their values that shape the social behavior and practices in arts, crafts, appropriate technology, psychology, life sciences and spirituality.” (Christopher-Herishetapaheru: 2011: 9) Cultural heritage restoration initiatives in the

Virgin Islands are supported by the pending designation of St. Croix as a National Heritage Area combined with efforts such as the preservation of St. Croix Maroon Sanctuary lands proposed by SUCCEED, Inc.; Indigenous Taino and Carib preservation and educational sites in St. Thomas managed by Opia International; and Diasporan Indigenous African reconstruction, re-enactments and cultural heritage folkloric productions of historic events by Per Ankh Institute. *"The major crisis facing African people the world over is that they have not been educated for the new reality. And the new reality is that African people must be educated to regain the main thing they lost during slavery and colonialism, the control of the state and their own destiny...The main purpose of education is to train the student to be a proper handler of power. Every form of true education trains the student in self-reliance...Education that fails to equip you to handle some form of power is irrelevant and not education at all...African people need to stop shouting 'nationtime' until they are clear about the responsibilities of running a nation"* (Clarke, 1994: 28) More work is forthcoming to have the ascendants of these rich cultural heritage experiences share our stories, our narratives and present them in our way for our future generations with respect, honor, integrity and dignity, being sustained within our houses of life. Culture heals humanity...Land is our foundation...Spirituality unifies us...You are a house of life...You are a Per Ankh.

REFERENCES

- ben-Jochannan, Yosef A. A. (1971). *Africa: mother of Western civilization*. New York: Alkebulan Publications.
- ben-Jochannan, Yosef A. A. (1991 [1970]). *African origins of major "Western religions."* Baltimore: Black Classic Press.
- ben-Jochannan, Yosef A. A. (1989 [1970]). *Black man of the Nile and his family*. Baltimore: Black Classic Press.
- Blakely, Allison (1998). Historical ties among Suriname, the Netherlands Antilles, Aruba and the Netherlands. *Callaloo*, 21, 3, 472-478.
- Blyden, Edward Wilmot, LL.D. (1881). *The aims and methods of a liberal education for Africans: a presidential inaugural address to Liberia College*. Available at http://archive.org/stream/aimsmethodsoflib00blyd/aimsmethodsoflib00blyd_djvu.txt
- Blyden, Edward Wilmot, LL.D. (1994, [1908]). *African life and customs*. Baltimore: Black Classic Press.
- Blyden, Edward Wilmot, LL.D. (1990, [1887]). *Christianity, Islam and the Negro race, Volumes 1 & 2*. London: W.B. Whittingham & Co.
- Blyden, Edward Wilmot, LL.D. (1890). *The elements of permanent influence*. Available at http://www.columbia.edu/~hcb8/EWB_Museum/Influence.html

- Clarke, John Henrik (1994). *Who betrayed the African world revolution & other speeches*. Chicago: Third World Press.
- Davis Kahina, Chenzira & Neb KaRa Herishetapaheru (2011). *Virgin Islands cultural education standards: recommendation to develop and institute Virgin Islands education standards and curriculum framework: working documents for integration into Virgin Islands culture and history standards and curriculum*. St. Croix: Per Ankh Institute Publications.
- Davis Kahina, Chenzira (2012). Revolution in cultural heritage education in the Caribbean: a Virgin Islands perspective. In Nicholas Faraclas, Ronald Severing, Christa Weijer, Elisabeth Echteld & Marsha Hinds-Layne (Eds.), *Double voicing and multiplex identities: unpacking hegemonic and subaltern discourses in the Caribbean* (pp. 477-496). Curacao/Puerto Rico: Fundashon pa Planifikashon di Idioma/ University of Curacao/University of Puerto Rico.
- Emanuel, Gene Kenneth (2010). Lecture for Virgin Islands African revolution cultural education program and commemorative November 23rd, 1733 Heritage Tour at Estate Fortsberg, St. John Virgin Islands in observance of official Virgin Islands Freedom Fighters Day. See <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Xhqxd90dDVU>
- Emanuel, Gerard (2011) Biography of Dr. Gene Kenneth Emanuel. *Funerary book in celebration of life of Gene Kenneth "Lebembe" Emanuel*. Virgin Islands: Emanuel Family Publication. <http://hostr.co/download/zkaubZf/4distrib. Gene EmanuelFuneralBooklet FINAL.pdf>
- Emanuel, Lezmore Evan. (1973) *Broo' Nansi: a selection of Anansi stories*. Virgin Islands: General Learning Corporation.
- Harrison, Hubert H. (1991 [1920])). *When Africa awakes: the "inside story" of the stirrings and strivings of the new Negro in the Western world*. Chesapeake: ECA Associates Press.
- Herishetapaheru, Neb KaRa & Chenzira Davis-Kahina (2009). *VI culture and education: a paradigm for implementation for youth of African heritage, ancestry and roots*. St. Croix: Sesheta Sa Publishers.
- Hilliard, Asa G. (1997). *SBA: the reawakening of the African mind*. Gainesville: Makare Publishing.
- Jules, Didacus (2011). Reinventing education in the Caribbean: part 2. *Jamaica Gleaner Online*. <http://jamaica-gleaner.com/gleaner/20110127/news/news1.html>
- Legislature of the Virgin Islands. *VI Legislative Act 6285 approved on August 17, 1999*. <http://www.legvi.org/vilegsearch/ShowPDF.aspx?num=6285&type=Act>
- Legislature of the Virgin Islands. *VI Legislative Resolution 1789 approved November 30, 2012*. <http://www.legvi.org/vilegsearch/ShowPDF.aspx?num=1789&type=Res>

- Sprauve-Browne, Marva (1968) Tidbits on Nutrition in Virgin Islands. In *VI Daily News* (April 6th). Available at <http://news.google.com/newspapers?id=irovAAAAIBAJ&sjid=n0QDAAAAIBAJ&pg=4758,2517336&dq=marva+sprau+ve+browne+tidbits+on+nutrition&hl=en>
- Sprauve-Browne, Marva (1971). Interisland Stressed In *VI Daily News* (August 11th). Available at <http://news.google.com/newspapers?id=TiQwAAAAIBAJ&sjid=pkQDAAAAIBAJ&pg=6598,3382766&dq=marva+sprauve+browne+on+free+beach+movement&hl=en>
- Sprauve-Browne, Marva & Vernon McDonald Browne (1973). *A catta full of West Indian dishes*. Cruz Bay: Caribbean Gifts.
- University of the Virgin Islands (2012). Funerary Booklet for Dr. Marva Sprauve-Browne. Available at http://webpac.uvi.edu/imls/fb_baa/B/Browne_Marva_Sprauve/index.shtml
- Ureland, P. Sture (1985). *Entstehung von Sprachen und Völkern (Origins of Languages and Peoples)*. Tübingen: Tübingen University Press.
- Volney, Count F. (1890, [1791]). *The ruins or meditation on the revolutions of empires: and the law of nature*. (Trans.). New York: Peter Eckler Publishers.
- Williams, Marvin E. (Ed.) (1998). *Yellow cedars blooming: an anthology of Virgin Islands poetry*. St. Thomas: Virgin Islands Humanities Council.

ON THE RIGHT TO CULTURAL IDENTITY IN CURAÇAO¹

CEES MARIS

UNIVERSITY OF AMSTERDAM

The third generation of human rights and *Yu di Kòrsou*

The first generation of human rights, or individual freedom rights, has a complementary relation to the second generation rights, or socio-economic rights. On the one hand, one cannot make use of one's freedom while living in extreme poverty. On the other hand, it is difficult to escape the poverty trap when one lacks mental independence. Now what about the third generation of human rights, more specifically, a people's collective right to cultural identity? Can one fully develop one's intellectual and socio-economic potential while belonging to a people or an ethno-cultural community that is suppressed or treated as inferior? Or, to put it metaphorically, does one not need cultural capital to acquire economic, social and intellectual capital? And if so, how does one balance third generation collective human rights with the individual ones of the first? In Curaçao, for a long time the discussion about cultural identity has concentrated on the concept of *Yu di Kòrsou* (literally 'child of Curaçao') that denotes the members of the authentic Curaçaoan community. Its political importance has increased since 10 October 2010, when Curaçao became an autonomous country within the Kingdom of the Netherlands²: What does membership in Curaçao's cultural community imply, and what political consequences should follow from it?

In this article I discuss these matters from the wider perspective of political philosophy: what is the status of the right to cultural identity within the framework of human rights in general? Section 2 explores the criticism of the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* advanced by a group of cultural anthropologists in the *Statement on Human Rights* (1947). Sections 3 and 4 give an overview of the role of collective cultural rights within liberal political philosophy. According to liberals such as Joseph Raz and Will Kymlicka, the flourishing of the individual requires membership in a

¹ This article is a slightly different version of a presentation delivered to the first Good Governance Caribbean SIDS Conference, March 2011, Curaçao.

² Which in effect means semi-autonomy, since the Kingdom is responsible for foreign policy and defence, while Curaçao is also bound by agreements with the Kingdom relating to finances and justice.

cultural community that provides its members with meaningful options to choose from. Section 5 applies this view to the specific case of former colonies that have experienced domination by the cultural values of their colonizers, with special attention to the debate on *Yu di Kòrsou*. According to section 6 the national government has a primary task in rectifying cultural asymmetries that result from the colonial past. The next question is whether it has further tasks in promoting cultural identity. Section 7 discusses the complicated process of the defining the concept of *Yu di Kòrsou*. Finally, section 8 indicates what lines civil liberties should draw around governmental interference.

Individual and collective freedom rights

In 1948 the United Nations issued the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* in reaction to the crimes against humanity that had been committed by the racist regime of Nazi-Germany between 1933 and 1945. The *Universal Declaration* intends to protect human dignity by means of a set of liberal human rights. As article 1 states: ‘All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood’. Then follows a catalogue of individual liberties, political rights and socio-economic rights. Since its drafting, however, the claim to universal validity of the *Universal Declaration* has been contested, specifically because of its underlying ideal of individual autonomy.

As early as 1947, in the *Statement on Human Rights* a number of cultural anthropologists objected that the liberal freedom rights of the *Universal Declaration* are not universal at all. In an effort to shield non-Western cultures from the global process of westernization, they rejected the liberal tenor of the Declaration as a biased expression of Western individualism. In their view, the Declaration wrongly neglects the anthropological fact ‘that the personality of the individual can develop only in terms of the culture of his society’ (American Anthropological Association, 1947: 540). In other words, the Statement replaces the liberal view of the human being as an autonomous individual for *communitarianism*: human beings are social beings who derive their identity from their community. When applied universally, the individual liberties would lead to frustration, for non-Western people ‘will thus be excluded from the freedom of full participation in the only right and proper way of life that can be known to them, the institutions, sanctions and goals that make up the culture of their particular society.’ (ibid.: 543)

According to the *Statement*, anthropological science demonstrates that there are no universal moral standards, since moralities are always relative to particular cultural traditions.

What is held to be a human right in one society may be regarded as anti-social by another people, or by the same people in a different period of their history. (...)

Even the nature of the physical world, the colors we see, the sounds we hear, are conditioned by the language we speak, which is part of the culture into which we are born. (ibid.: 541)

In the case of cultural clashes, therefore, there is no objective transcultural standard to determine which view is the right one. From the perspective of this epistemological cultural relativism the *Statement* derives the normative conclusion that all cultures deserve equal respect: ‘Respect for differences between cultures is validated by the scientific fact that no technique of qualitatively evaluating cultures has been discovered’ (ibid.: 541). Hence the *Statement* proposes an alternative Bill of Rights based on the principle ‘that man [sic] is free only when he lives as his society defines freedom, that his rights are those he recognizes as a member of his society’ (ibid.: 543). Its first proposition states:

The individual realizes his [sic] personality through his culture, hence respect for individual freedom entails a respect for cultural differences. There can be no individual freedom, that is, when the group with which the individual identifies himself is not free. There can be no full development of the individual personality as long as the individual is told, by men [sic] who have the power to enforce their commands, that the way of life of his group is inferior to that of those who wield the power. (ibid.: 541)

75

Although in its turn the *Statement* has evoked severe criticism, its objections to the ethnocentric character of the Universal Declaration were right at least in the sense that in 1948 the United Nations had a one-sided line-up. At that time Western nations were by far in the majority, for in spite of the Declaration’s appeal to liberty and equality decolonisation had yet to occur.

As a consequence of the decolonisation process the number of nations has tripled. In keeping with the *Statement on Human Rights* the new nations emphasized the third generation of human rights, the collective rights of a people to self-government, resources and cultural identity. This is hardly surprising as a reaction to the political, economic and cultural imperialism of the former colonial powers of the West. In 1966 the first generation of human rights was laid down in the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), while the second generation found expression in the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR). Article 1 of both treaties reflects the collective rights of peoples – the third generation of human rights: ‘All peoples 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 may lead to conflicts between the generations of human rights, for instance when a people’s culture ranks communal traditions above individual rights, or treats women

as inferior to men. The Preamble to the Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights solves this conflict by presenting itself as a further elaboration of the liberal Universal Declaration of Human Rights: human beings can only be free when they enjoy civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights. Each nation, then, should design its cultural life within the framework of the other human rights, that is, by respecting the individual liberties of its citizens.

This normative hierarchy is not what the authors of the *Statement on Human Rights* had in mind, for in this way individual rights preserve their overriding importance. In their view the subordination of cultural rights stems from an unjustified idea of the superiority of Western culture. Indeed, the normative cultural relativism of the Statement is aimed at the nineteenth-century doctrine of cultural evolution that pictures Western culture as the epitome of human progress. It explicitly denies that the plurality of cultures can be ranked according to their degree of rationality or otherwise. Ruth Benedict, one of the authors of the Statement, argued that each single culture is characterized by a unique style that determines the worldview, the personality and the way of life of its members. This leads to the normative conclusion that every culture is valuable in its own right, as the context within which its members live a meaningful life.

This relativistic objection, however, is not decisive, because in its turn the *Statement* has come under heavy fire from fellow cultural anthropologists. H.G. Barnett objected that cultural anthropologists cannot directly derive norms (*ought*) from their scientific findings (*is*). More particularly, the epistemological thesis ‘that we cannot qualitatively evaluate cultures in no way automatically entails the conclusion that this “validates” respect for differences between them’ (Barnett, 1948: 351). This moral conclusion presupposes the further, non-evident normative premise that ‘respect is due to all things that cannot be differentiated’. J.H. Steward (1948) argued that cultural relativism leads to unacceptable conclusions at the moral level, such as the approval of the caste system in India or the racial system in the United States.

One could add to this that the authors of the Statement overlook the fact that cultural suppression does not necessarily come from abroad: local elites often succeed in establishing and perpetuating traditions that legitimize their superior social status. The critics did not mention another crucial problem of cultural relativism: as a consequence of its rejection of transcultural standards, it cannot decide value conflicts between cultures. At the same time, the globalisation process leads to ever more intercultural contacts.

In the following sections, other flaws in the Statement are exposed. Its assumption that individual freedom dissolves into the collective freedom of a people to live in accordance with its own culture is contradicted in section 4. As Rawls’ political liberalism recognizes, individuals do in fact derive their identity from the cultural environment in which they grow up. However, at a later age they are able to critically

redefine their preferences and ideals. Section 7 adds to this, by stating that their preferences do not necessarily stem from their ethnic or national (for instance Dutch or Curaçaoan) culture; they may be derived from the much larger domain of a (for instance European or Caribbean) civilisation. Cultural diffusion may play a role as well. What is needed, then, are (1) intersubjective standards of peaceful and fair cooperation between individuals and cultural communities on the national as well as on the international level, which (2) provide a fair balance between individual liberties and the collective freedom of cultural communities. This is precisely what recent liberal philosophers such as John Rawls and Will Kymlicka set out to do.

Rawls' synthesis: political liberalism

Rawls has partly adapted liberalism to the communitarian objections. He opposes his 'political liberalism' to the classical 'metaphysical' version of liberalism, in order to meet the criticism that liberalism as such is based on an atomistic anthropology. This communitarian criticism has both an ontological and a normative aspect. Critics of classical liberalism point to the social nature of man to show that individualistic atomism is ontologically false, and cannot account for social coherence. Moreover, communitarians argue, classical liberalism is normatively biased. It cannot live up to its pretension to neutrality as to different conceptions of the good life, since it itself advocates the particular good of individual autonomy.

As a corrective to some of the assertions that he made in his earlier *A Theory of justice* (1971), in later publications Rawls emphasizes the more modest *political*, non-metaphysical character of his liberalism. In the introduction to *Political liberalism* (1993), he rejects the comprehensive moral claims of his earlier liberal theory of justice as unrealistic. Modern democratic society with its characteristic freedom of opinion will give rise to a pluralism of reasonable, but incompatible, comprehensive doctrines of the good life. Consensus on one comprehensive moral or religious ideal is not to be expected. Therefore, political philosophy should stay away from contested moral statements concerning life as a whole, and retreat to the central question of political liberalism: 'How is it possible that there may exist over time a stable and just society of free and equal citizens profoundly divided by reasonable though incompatible religious, philosophical, and moral doctrines?' (p. xviii). In other words: 'What are the fair terms of social cooperation between citizens characterized as free and equal yet divided by profound doctrinal conflict?' (p. xxv). Consequently, Rawls' political liberalism does not try to replace comprehensive views, but concentrates on the basic political structures. Its end is the construction of a political conception of a just constitutional regime that is acceptable to all these conflicting but reasonable moral doctrines, so that it can serve as a shared neutral basis for public discussion. For this reason political justice entails a 'thin theory of the good': it is restricted to a just distribution of *primary goods*, goods that are a necessary condition to every comprehensive ideal of life:

individual liberties, equal political participation rights, income and wealth, and the social basis for (self)respect.

Rawls argues that an overlapping consensus can be reached on the following principles of justice: (1) Each person has an equal right to a fully adequate scheme of equal basic rights and liberties. Rawls expects that all will agree on this principle, because it gives all people the greatest opportunity to follow whatever conception of the good life they might happen to have, as long as they do not interfere with the similar liberties of others. (2) Social and economic inequalities are to satisfy two conditions: (a) they must be attached to offices and positions open to all under conditions of fair equality of opportunity; and (b) they must be of the greatest benefit to the least privileged members of society.

Rawls' first principle guarantees negative freedom: basic liberties such as freedom of thought and expression and the freedoms specified by the integrity of the person. It also contains political liberties such as the right to participate in political life. The second principle provides all citizens with the material means (income, wealth) to use their freedom as equally as possible. The socio-economic domain of the second principle being governed by scarcity, different persons will enjoy an unequal amount of the equal liberties of principle 1: the rich and powerful have greater opportunities to achieve their ends. To guarantee equality here, the state should play a compensating role as indicated by the second principle.

78
These political principles for the public domain are 'freestanding': they are not based on the superiority of any comprehensive doctrine. Nor do they intend to exclude specific ideals of the good, although in fact they rule out repressive perfectionist views that require the state to enforce a particular model of human perfection on all citizens. But Rawls rejects perfectionist doctrines as unreasonable in the light of modern pluralism. Since in an open society a variety of views on human perfection will arise that can all be reasonably defended, it would be *unreasonable* to impose one of those by state force. Repressive political theories place themselves outside the public debate, and: 'This gives us the practical task of containing them – like war and disease – so that they do not overturn political justice' (Rawls, 1993: 64, note 19). By contrast, *reasonable* comprehensive views are compatible with the liberal principles of political justice, albeit from very different points of view. Christians may agree because they are of the opinion that true faith must rest on an autonomous decision, a traditional liberal position because it is a political application of a comprehensive ideal of individual autonomy, and pluralistic position because political freedom is a condition for a plurality of world views. At the same time, political liberalism is made acceptable to non-liberal comprehensive views because it restricts liberal individual rights to the public constitutional sphere. In their private sphere non-liberals can still devote themselves to their own ideals of life.

By restricting his theory to the domain of politics and avoiding metaphysical controversies, Rawls can counter the communitarian objection against the atomistic anthropology and the metaphysics of individual autonomy of classical liberalism. Rawls agrees with communitarians that individuals do not enter society by free choice: 'We have no prior identity before being in society: it is not as if we came from nowhere but rather find ourselves growing up in this society in this social position' (ibid.: 41). He only maintains that in a plural society persons are not identical with fixed social roles and ideals of the good life. Since they can compare different comprehensive views, they are capable of revising their conceptions of the good on reasonable grounds. Therefore, *political* rights should not be related to a specific moral attitude, nor to specific social roles. In public life all have the same rights, whatever their ideals and social position. But political liberalism does not imply the further contested comprehensive metaphysical thesis that human beings are essentially autonomous individuals, in political as well as non-political fields.

Although basic freedom rights have priority, political liberalism does not apply to life as a whole. In the private sphere one is free to endorse illiberal doctrines. This makes Rawls' theory compatible with doctrines that deny autonomy in the non-political domain. It only requires that individuals distinguish between the comprehensive views concerning their private life, and the political ideal of tolerance that rules public life. This implies that cultural communities can adhere to their way of life, as long as they do not interfere with others and respect the neutral character of public life. Their right to cultural identity in private does not require any collective rights: their members can simply refer to their individual rights of association. All in all, participation in communal life should be voluntary: dissenting members may withdraw from group pressure with an appeal to basic liberty rights.

National self-determination and liberalism

Subsequent generations of liberal philosophers, notably Joseph Raz and Will Kymlicka, have included collective rights to cultural identity within liberal political theory. According to Raz (1998), group rights fit well within liberal political philosophy because they are required for individual wellbeing. As an individual, one is incapable of inventing everything by oneself, one is dependent upon a social environment that provides one with meaningful scope to develop one's personality. One's culture, then, constitutes the context within which one develops one's identity. In other words, cultural membership is a precondition for individual freedom and self-respect. Therefore, the state should actively further the flourishing of such communities. It should provide for education in their particular culture, support their cultural institutions and arrange the public domain to the satisfaction of all social groups. Public institutions and large companies should allow for deviant customs such as national dress. With this, liberalism recognizes *group rights*. In keeping with this,

Kymlicka (1995; 2000) has supplemented Rawls' theory of justice by adding 'cultural context' to the list of primary goods: it is a prerequisite of an autonomous life that the state should sustain where necessary. This applies particularly to minority cultures that are on the brink of giving way to the dominant culture.

Unlike communitarianism in general and the Statement on Human Rights in particular, liberalism confines the collective right to cultural identity in a way that the culture concerned may not do itself. Because liberal culturalism recognizes group rights from the perspective of the liberal ideal of individual self-fulfilment, logically it demands that the equal rights of other groups or of individuals not be affected. According to Raz, a malicious culture based on exploitation or humiliation has a weaker right to national self-determination, and, in the worst case, no right at all. A cultural community, then, has to respect the liberties of outsiders. The freedom of individual group members too may not be violated by illiberal traditions.³ In Kymlicka's words, the minority group is entitled to *external protections* in relation to the dominant culture, but not to *internal restrictions* regarding dissidents within the group. The latter may invoke human rights and have a right of exit. Women do not have to accept cultural customs like circumcision, arranged marriage and unilateral repudiation. Moreover, the state should provide children with opportunities to develop themselves into autonomous citizens. For that reason, schools have to educate pupils in liberal virtues such as tolerance, respect for the rights of others, as well as in public reasonableness or the disposition to refrain from particularistic ideological arguments in public debate.

The scope of the rights of an ethno-cultural minority depends on its historical relation to dominant Western culture. Kymlicka discerns several kinds of minorities, each entitled to special treatment. The major categories are *national minorities* and *immigrants* or *ethnic minorities*. National minorities include, first, indigenous peoples, such as the American Indians and Inuit in Canada: people with premodern cultures that are overrun by invasions from surrounding modern cultures. A second sub-category consists of modern national minorities such as the Basques in Spain, whose territory has been annexed during the process of nation building. Both groups are entitled to strong minority rights, notably the right to regional self-government within a federal state. This will enable them to preserve their cultural identity by managing their institutions in their mother tongue – provided that they respect the liberal constitution. In cases where this proves impossible, territorial secession may be the best solution. This variant of liberal culturalism Kymlicka calls *liberal nationalism*.

The rights of immigrants in Western countries are weaker, for these 'ethnic minorities' have voluntarily moved to their new homelands, mostly for economic reasons. They can be expected to integrate into the dominant culture. That is, they

³ With this liberalism also meets the criticism of feminists that some minority cultures suppress women (for instance Susan Okin, 1999; Ayelet Shachar, 2001).

have to master the language, constitutional principles and national history of the host country. However, full assimilation is not required for social stability, and would moreover be unfair because of the high costs imposed on the immigrants. They are entitled to *accommodation rights*, or treatment with equal respect for their identity and practices as enjoyed by the majority. Immigrant communities may preserve their identity in such domains as religion, dress and food. Public life should be adapted in a way that shows equal respect for the newcomers. For instance, their religious holidays should be taken into account, and non-neutral public symbols should be critically reconsidered. In public education negative stereotypes should be replaced by a pluralistic, tolerant picture of national identity. Sections of the population with a history in slavery have a claim to special compensation for historical injustice. This variant of liberal culturalism Kymlicka calls *liberal multiculturalism*.

The right to cultural identity of Curaçao

It appears that Kymlycka's theory of cultural rights is not tailored to former Caribbean colonies, such as Curaçao. *Liberal nationalism* does not apply here, for the original indigenous population has vanished completely since the invasions by Western colonists starting in 1498.⁴ The African ancestors of the present population arrived later, but, unlike most immigrants in Western countries they arrived involuntarily, as merchandise of the transatlantic slave trade. *Liberal multiculturalism*, then, is not applicable either, for it presupposes voluntary immigration. Moreover, the Afro-Curaçaoan segment of the population does not constitute an ethnic-cultural minority, but rather a large majority. In this respect, however, Curaçao finds itself in an ambiguous position. It is now an independent country, yet within the larger framework of the Kingdom of the Netherlands, where the former colonizing country has an overwhelming influence. Indeed, within the Kingdom the island population still constitutes a minority. What could the collective right to self-determination and cultural development entail in this complex situation?

Curaçao fits better within the terms of article 1 of the (ICCPR) and (ICESCR), but Kymlicka's concepts of *liberal nationalism* and *liberal multiculturalism* may still be helpful in working out the details. The cultural rights of article 1 of both Covenants typically protect peoples against domination by a foreign state that imposes its alien cultural values and way of life. The third paragraph of article 1 obliges states that still rule over colonies to further the latter's right to self-determination:

The States Parties to the present Covenant, including those having responsibility for the administration of Non-Self-Governing and Trust Territories, shall promote the realization of the right of self-determination, and

⁴ Kymlicka does regard native peoples in colonies as national minorities, since their historic homelands have been incorporated into larger states (Kymlicka, 2001: 242).

shall respect that right, in conformity with the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations.

In *National self-determination* Raz (1995) sets out what this may imply. He argues that the right to self-government comes to a people that inhabits a specific territory and owes its character to a shared culture. Again, his justification is typically liberal: the wellbeing of an individual is dependent on the wellbeing of his national community, because his identity is determined by the encompassing culture within which he has been raised and socialised. Its cultural traditions provide him with meaningful options for a good life.

They all depend for their existence on the sharing of patterns of expectations, on traditions preserving implicit knowledge of how to do what, of tacit conventions regarding what is part of this or that enterprise and what is not, what is appropriate and what is not. Familiarity with a culture determines the boundaries of the imaginable. (ibid.: 86)

Furthermore, such traditions provide a sense of belonging and security. Within a nation people recognize one another as co-members. As this concerns large anonymous groups, mutual recognition is based on conventional ways of identification, such as symbols, ceremonies, particular customs and ways of speaking.

82

In Raz's view, a person's self-respect depends on the respect paid to one's people:

individual dignity and self-respect require that the groups, membership of which contributes to one's sense of identity, be generally respected and not be made a subject of ridicule, hatred, discrimination, or persecution. (ibid.: 87)

This implies that one must be able to manifest oneself in public as a member of one's cultural group, particularly in political activities. The latter may take the form of political self-organisation as a sovereign state. Yet this is not necessary nor always possible, especially when other cultural groups happen to be around.

Undeniably, then, Curaçao has a claim to transform itself into a fully sovereign state if the majority of its people wishes to do so. Indeed, as former colonies occupy a separate territory, their claim to secession is much stronger than that of a region within a larger country. If the people nevertheless vote *No (we don't want secession)*, they at least have the right to a cultural development of their own, unhindered by unwanted foreign influences.

Rawls' *political liberalism* and, less convincingly, Kymlicka's *liberal nationalism* and *liberal multiculturalism*, may give a further indication of what the role of the Curaçao government could be in furthering national identity, and what are the proper limits of cultural nationalism. Political liberalism would, to start with, allow the state to increase the people's self-respect by redressing the asymmetries of the colonial past.

Indeed, the social basis of self-respect is a prominent ‘primary good’, because without it life plans do not make much sense. Moreover, Rawls’ second principle of justice asserts that in a just state social and economic inequalities may be allowed, provided they are attached to offices and positions open to all under conditions of fair equality of opportunity. Such conditions are absent when groups within the population suffer from low self-respect due to a past of being systematically treated as inferior (section 6).

Another question is whether the government may take further-reaching measures to promote cultural identity. Here problems arise in relation to ethno-cultural minorities and dissident individuals within the nation (section 8). Moreover, it would require a precise specification of national cultural identity, which involves another problem: how to accomplish this in a dynamic, pluriform social reality without falling into the trap of essentialism (section 7).

Redressing asymmetries

The right to cultural identity of former colonies like Curaçao strengthens the self-respect and recognition of its people. A politics of recognition is all the more urgent when self-respect does not come naturally, as is the case with peoples that are, or recently have been, dominated by foreign powers. In *Culture and imperialism* Edward Said (1994) stresses the importance of redressing cultural imperialism. He concentrates on the ‘privileged role of culture in the modern imperial experience’, rather than on the economic and political aspects of Western imperialism, because it ‘still casts a considerable shadow over our times’. By 1914 European countries dominated 85% of the earth. Said points to the associated colonial vocabulary with its characteristic notions such as ‘inferior’, ‘subject races’ and ‘subordinate peoples’. Now colonialism has come to an end, but imperialism lingers on ‘in a kind of general cultural sphere’ (Said, 1994: 8). As legitimate reactions to colonialism and imperialism, Said distinguishes between two subsequent forms of resistance. ‘Primary resistance’, fighting against outside intrusion, is followed by ‘secondary’, ideological resistance to restore a sense of community and self-respect in former colonies. The second form of resistance has its basis ‘in the rediscovery and repatriation of what had been suppressed in the natives’ past by the processes of imperialism’ (ibid.: 253) It is characteristic of ‘decolonizing cultural resistance’ that it expresses the right to conceive the community’s history as a coherent whole by reconstructing the national culture with the use of the national language.

National culture organizes and sustains communal memory, (...) it reinhabits the landscape using restored ways of life, heroes, heroines, and exploits. (...) Local slave narratives, spiritual autobiographies, prison memoirs, form a counterpoint to the Western powers’ monumental histories, official discourses and panoptic quasi-scientific viewpoint. (ibid.: 260)

Resistance, then, is not just a reaction to imperialism, but an alternative way of conceiving human history. Although it has inspired exclusivist and authoritarian versions of nationalism that Said does not applaud, it may also lead to ‘a more integrative view of human community and liberation’. (ibid.: 261)

The former Caribbean colonies have an extra reason for redressing European cultural domination. As a consequence of their history of slavery and racism, many Afro-Caribbean people have internalized a sense of inferiority regarding the African part of their personality. Disrespect of one’s roots therefore not only comes from the outside, but may also assume the form of self-contempt. The Caribbean experience with slavery has been voiced excellently by Franz Fanon (1967). His *Black Skin, White Masks* is a lament about the self-contempt of Antilleans who from childhood have been indoctrinated by European culture:

The Antillean has recognised himself as a Negro, but, by virtue of an ethical transit, he also feels (the collective unconscious) that one is a Negro to the degree that one is wicked, sloppy, malicious, instinctual. Everything that is the opposite of these Negro modes of behaviour is white. This must be recognised as the source of Negrophobia in the Antillean. In the collective unconscious, black = ugliness, sin, darkness, immorality. In other words, he is Negro who is immoral. (ibid.: 192)

84 In short: ‘The black Antillean is the slave of this cultural imposition. After having been the slave of the white man, he enslaves himself’. (ibid.: 192)

That colour and race still play a negative role in Curaçao is shown by expressions like *drecha koló* (improving one’s colour – by looking for a partner with a lighter shade of skin) and *good* and *bad hair* (indicating the degree of coarseness). The less African, the better. The works of Alejandro Paula (1967) about the internalization of a deep sense of black inferiority as a consequence of slavery, of Rose Mary Allen (2007) about the position of former slaves in the decades after their emancipation in 1863, and of René Rosalia (1997) about the suppression of ‘primitive’ manifestations of African culture such as *tambú* music and dance all point in this direction. Moreover, the study of Oberon Nauta (2011) clearly shows that in Curaçao colour and class still tend to coincide: in 2000 only 5,7 % of the Afro-Curaçaoan population had completed university or higher vocational education, against 41,9 % of Dutch and 48,6% of Jewish-Curaçaoans. As for managerial positions, the percentages were 14%, 54,8 % and 68,8%, respectively. The average income of Dutch-Curaçaoans was 2,5 times higher than that of Afro-Curaçaoans, while Jewish-Curaçaoans earned three times as much.

Taking everything together, then, there are good reasons for redressing the oppression of Afro-Curaçao culture. What might this imply from the viewpoint of political liberalism? In educational and other public settings, the Curaçao government might

replace the language of the former colonizer with the local language Papiamentu. In the cultural domain, it may promote cultural practices that used to be suppressed, such as the *tambú*. In teaching history an adjusted national narrative may replace the old colonial leading characters with new historical heroes personifying the resistance to colonial suppression such as Tula, the leader of the slave revolt in 1795. Public institutions may be renamed to express the rehabilitated national identity, and new national holidays may be introduced to celebrate events like national independence and the emancipation from slavery. Of course, all this should take place in accordance with regular democratic procedures: nationalist cultural policies require the support of an adequate majority and should respect the rights of minorities.

***Yu di Kòrsou* and the limits of cultural nationalism**

In these ways the government may rectify the cultural injustices of the colonial past, as far as is necessary to provide the Curaçaoan people with an adequate basis for self-respect. The next question is whether it may take further-reaching measures to promote national identity. A robust nationalist policy runs up against at least two problems. First it requires a careful specification of the criteria of national identity in order to arrive at an uncontested definition of *Yu di Kòrsou*. Secondly, if a reasonable consensus on Curaçaoan identity can be reached, the question arises as to whether it is a legitimate task of the government to enforce it.

The first problem is how to specify the cultural identity of a people that lives in a dynamic, pluriform social reality, without falling into the trap of essentialism. Nowadays it is generally acknowledged that national identities are *imagined*, as Benedict Anderson (1991) argues. According to Anderson, a nation does not refer to a distinct set of social facts; it is a *narrative* that imagines the political community as finite, sovereign and horizontally cross-class. Likewise, in his analysis of *national identity* Anthony Smith emphasizes that this concept refers to ‘long-term constructs, not essences or fixed quantities or traits, subject to processes of change and dissolution’ (Smith, 2001: 19). He describes national identity as ‘The continuous reproduction and reinterpretation of the patterns of values, symbols, memories, myths and traditions that compose the distinctive heritage of nations, and the identifications of individuals with that pattern and heritage and with its cultural elements’ (ibid.: 18). Its basic cultural elements, memories, values, symbols, myths and traditions,

are embodied in collective memories of great exploits and personages, values of honour, justice and the like, symbols of sacred objects, food, dress and emblems, myths of origin, liberation and chosenness, and traditions and customs, rituals and genealogies.

Stuart Hall (1993; 1980) points to the typical hybrid character of Caribbean cultures. Hall rejects the traditional definition of Caribbean identity ‘in terms of one, shared

culture, a sort of collective ‘one true self’ (...) the truth, the essence, of ‘Caribbean-ness’, of the black experience (Hall, 1993: 223). In his view cultural identities ‘are subject to the continuous ‘play’ of history, culture and power’ (ibid.: 225). The hybrid Caribbean identity is the outcome of a dynamic interplay of African, European and indigenous American influences. In short:

One can only think here of what is uniquely – ‘essentially’ – Caribbean: precisely the mixes of colour, pigmentation, physiognomic type; the ‘blends’ of tastes that is Caribbean cuisine; the aesthetics of the ‘cross-overs’, of ‘cut-and-mix’, to borrow Dick Hebdige’s telling phrase, which is the heart and soul of black music. (ibid.: 235)

Little wonder that the concept of *Yu di Kòrsou* has been interpreted in diverging ways. René Römer (1969) observes that the Curaçaoan people consists of a plurality of subcultures. Yet it also has a sense of a ‘we’, based on an idea of historical solidarity and a shared cultural system. According to him, *Yu di Kòrsou* includes only those inhabitants that had settled here before the arrival of the Shell Company in 1915. Newcomers (Arabs, Polish and Surinamese) have not adequately integrated. Some Curaçaoans of colour tend to consider skin pigmentation as another marker (often under the illusion that they arrived first): to them, ‘Nos bon *Yu di Kòrsou*’, or the real Curaçaoans, would exclusively consist of Afro-Curaçaoans. By contrast, European descended sections of the population which of old formed the local elites, Protestants of Dutch origin and Jews of Portugese background, include themselves in the ‘we’ alongside Curaçaoans of colour – which is remarkable, remarks Römer, because they used to exclude them during the slavery period and thereafter. The reason for this change was that the old elites felt threatened in their traditional status after the arrival of the Shell Company with its European employees. Thus, they developed some solidarity with the lower Papiamentu-speaking classes, and united in opposition to the many newcomers who were attracted to the island by the economic boom.

What, then, characterizes the Curaçaoan cultural community in the eyes of its members? First and foremost the Papiamentu language: more than just a means of communication, it is also a symbol of Curaçaoan identity. Next, Curaçao’s insular character distinguishes it from the Papiamentu-speaking neighbouring islands Aruba and Bonaire. As additional features Römer mentions food, music and particular customs regarding marriage, birth, baptism and death.

In *Cultural identity in a Curaçaoan mirror: a critical view on René Römer’s contribution*, Rose Mary Allen criticizes Römer for overlooking the socio-political dimension of identity, by paying little attention to the role of the structural contradictions and social conflicts that result from slavery and colonialism. According to Allen, Römer took *creolisation* – in his own words the ‘westernization of the Africans and at the same time a less-desired Africanization of the white elite group’

(Römer, 1993: 20) – one-sidedly for a process that generates social unity. As Allen points out, this process has evoked resistance too, since people ‘do not always reconcile themselves in the loss of control over their lives’ (Allen, 2006: 23). Allen advocates a revision of Römer’s analysis of *Yu di Kòrsou* that takes better account of the structural conflicts of race and class. These conflicts continue to influence social life. In the sixties the colonial hierarchy evoked the resistance of movements propagating

a self-image shaped from the shared historical struggle against slavery and racism. They promoted a self-esteem of the Curaçaoans, some of which within the context of commemorating the slave revolt of Tula and their ancestors. This was on it self a revolutionary act, as for long going back in history has been a very poignant effort. In illuminating a notable episode of their forebears’ resistance, these movements actively constructed self-esteem as a positive image. This increased in the years following the disturbances of the 30 May 1969, in which large group of the Curaçaoan population protested against the existing social order. (Allen, 2006: 19)

A revisionist study should also incorporate new developments, such as the globalisation process. Moreover, by now one-third of Curaçaoans have emigrated to the Netherlands, mostly for economic reasons. On the other hand, many guest workers from the Dominican Republic, Haiti, Jamaica, and Colombia have immigrated to Curaçao.

In summary, it is hard to reach a reasonable consensus on the definition of *Yu di Kòrsou*. The most crucial choice is between the inclusive conception of Römer and the exclusive variant of his critics. On the one hand, it is understandable that the Afro-Curaçaoan majority is not disposed to include the social and racial classes that of old have excluded them. Against this reversal of roles, however, it is difficult to ignore the fact that the Afro-Curaçaoans share language and history with the traditional elites of Curaçao. In any event, both versions exclude the ethnic groups that legally have Curaçaoan nationality but arrived after 1915.

National culturalism and political liberalism

Let us assume for the sake of argument that it is reasonable to agree with either the exclusive or the inclusive interpretation of *Yu di Kòrsou*. This leads to the next question: to what extent should the national government advance the national culture thus interpreted? Radical nationalists will claim a political monopoly that leaves little room for individual liberties. As Said observes, nationalism runs the danger of turning into authoritarian politics that in its turn oppresses minorities and dissenting individuals: ‘There is in all national defined cultures (...) an aspiration to sovereignty, to sway, and to dominance’ (Said, 1994: 15). However, this would go against the

spirit of the UN Covenants that frame collective human rights within the individual rights of the earlier generations of human rights. Approvingly Said also discerns a tendency to ‘move away from separatist nationalism towards a more integrative view of human community and human liberation’ (ibid.: 261). What, then, would be the proper task of government in the view of political liberalism?

In a modern plural society, political liberalism requires that the state be neutral in ideological respects. According to Rawls, in an open society a plurality of mutually incomprehensible, yet reasonable worldviews and ideals of life will emerge, so that it would be *unreasonable* to impose one of them by state force. Therefore Rawls stresses the importance of individual negative freedom rights that trump state interference – even if the latter rests on democratic majority decisions. For instance, the state should not enforce the majority religion upon citizens of other creeds. Likewise, a national government is not allowed to enforce what it sees as the national culture on citizens with other views.

Yet a state may take a number of measures that nationalists will applaud, albeit for other reasons. The requirement of state neutrality relates only to the *intentions* behind laws and policies, not their actual *consequences* (for these will inevitably have asymmetrical advantages and disadvantages for different groups and individuals). This allows the government to appoint a particular language as the official one on the grounds that it is functional for coordinated communication. It is practical and reasonable to select the majority language for this purpose, even if in practice this measure is disadvantageous to minorities who use a different variety or a foreign language. The intention here is not to privilege the majority – although in practice such measures will inevitably exert an assimilating influence. For neutral reasons like this, then, the Curaçaoan government may prescribe Papiamentu as the primary language to be used in public schools and other public institutions.

Assuming that it is reasonable to recognize states or countries as the basic political unit, the government may also impose restrictions on the immigration of foreigners. It may introduce a ‘green card system’ to select immigrants that are useful to the country, and it may ask newcomers to pass a citizenship test proving that they have adequate knowledge of the national language, legal system, way of life and history.

So far for Rawls’ political liberalism. Would the national culturalism of liberals like Raz and Kymlicka be more generous? Indeed, Kymlicka sees culture – unlike religion – as a ‘primary good’ that every individual needs for his self-development. Therefore, the government should actively support endangered cultures. Yet, in Kymlicka’s view it is still not allowed to violate basic individual rights. In the end, his liberal theory does not put the community in the central position, but the individual: national cultures are a means to individual fulfilment, not ends in themselves. Logically, then, cultural demands must give way to individual liberties. Moreover, Kymlicka’s

culturalism has been designed to protect cultural minorities. As soon as Curacao is a sovereign country or national state, Kymlicka comes to the aid of its internal minorities – under the exclusive version of *Yu di Kòrsou* these would also include the newly excluded ruling classes of the colonial past. Immigrants would be entitled to ‘accommodation rights’. Kymlicka’s state belongs equally to all citizens.

This brings us back to the primary goods of Rawls’ political liberalism: individual liberties, equal political participation rights, income and wealth and the social basis for (self)respect. This leads to the conclusion that a neutral liberal government has as one of its legitimate tasks the redressing of the cultural injustices of the past. It may, moreover, promote functional cultural manifestations, as long as they fit in with the equal liberties of all citizens. Again, political deliberation about cultural policies should proceed in accordance with regular democratic procedures. As Miller remarks, the right to self-government should be viewed as a claim that can be overruled by other reasons. Some people may prefer a more cosmopolitan approach. Others may opt for economic security. But nobody will deny that self-respect is a basic value.

REFERENCES

- Allen, Rose Mary (2006). Cultural identity in a Curaçaoan mirror: a critical view on René Römer’s contribution. In Rose Mary Allen en René A. Römer (Eds.), *René Römer als inspirator: actualisering van zijn gedachtegoed* (pp. 17-29). Curaçao: University of the Netherlands Antilles.
- Allen, Rose Mary (2007). *Di ki manera? A social history of Afro-Curaçaoans, 1863-1917*. Amsterdam: SWP.
- Allen, Rose Mary (2010). The complexity of national identity construction in Curaçao, Dutch Caribbean. *European Review of Latin American and Caribbean Studies*, 89, 117-125.
- American Anthropological Association (1947). Statement on Human Rights. *American Anthropologist*, 49, 4, 539-543.
- Anderson, Benedict (1991). *Imagined communities: reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*. London: Verso.
- Barnett, Homer G. (1948). On science and human rights. *American Anthropologist*, 50, 2, 352-355.
- Fanon, Frantz (1967). *Black Skin, White Masks*. (Trans. Charles Lam Markmann). New York: Grove.
- Hall, Stuart (1980). Race, articulation and societies structured in dominance. In Unesco (Ed.), *Sociological theories: race and colonialism* (pp. 306-345). Paris: Unesco Publishing.

- Hall, Stuart (1993). Cultural identity and diaspora. In Patrick Williams & Laura Chrisman (Eds.), *Colonial discourse & postcolonial theory: a reader* (pp. 222-237). London: Harvester.
- Kymlicka, Will (Ed.) (1995a). *The rights of minority cultures*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Kymlicka, Will (Ed.) (1995b). *Multicultural citizenship: a liberal theory of minority rights*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Kymlicka, Will & Raphael Cohen-Almagor (2000). Ethnocultural minorities in liberal democracies. In Maria Baghramian & Attracta Ingram (Eds.), *Pluralism: the philosophy and politics of diversity* (pp. 228-250). London: Routledge.
- Kymlicka, Will (2001). *Politics in the vernacular: nationalism, multiculturalism, and citizenship*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Maris, C.W. (2006). Eerst het eten, dan de moraal. Over armoede, integrale ontwikkeling en mensenrechten. In Miguel P. Goede (Ed.), *Een aanzet tot integrale ontwikkeling, gezien vanuit het perspectief van het Caribische deel van het Koninkrijk* (pp. 27-40). Curaçao: UNA.
- Nauta, Oberon (2011). *Goed bestuur in de West; institutionele en maatschappelijke beperkingen voor goed bestuur in de Caribische rijksdelen*. PhD dissertation, Utrecht University.
- Okin, Susan (1999). *Is multiculturalism bad for women?* Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Paula, Alejandro F. (1967 [1966]). *From objective to subjective barriers: a historico-philosophical analysis of certain negative attitudes among the negroid population of Curaçao*. Curaçao: Boekhandel Salas.
- Rawls, John (1993). *Political liberalism*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Raz, Joseph & Avishai Margalit (1995). National self-determination. In Will Kymlicka (Ed.), *The rights of minority cultures* (pp. 79-92). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Raz, Joseph (1998). Multiculturalism. *Ratio Juris*, 11, 3, 193-205.
- Römer, René A. (1993). Cultuurbehoud en cultuurverandering: een Caribisch dilemma, *Kristòf*, 8, 3, 5-21.
- Römer, René A. (1974). Het “wij” van de Curaçaoënaar. *Kristòf*, 1, 2, 49-60.
- Rosalía, René V. (1997). *Tambú: de legale en kerkelijke repressie van Afro-Curaçao-se volksuitingen*. Zutphen: Walburg Press.
- Said, Edward W. (1994, [1993]). *Culture and imperialism*. London: Vintage.
- Shachar, Ayelet (2001). *Multicultural jurisdictions: preserving cultural differences and women's rights in a liberal state*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Smith, Anthony D. (2001). *Nationalism: theory, ideology, history*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

- Steward, Julian H. (1948). Comments on the statement on human rights. *American Anthropologist*, 50, 2, 351-352.
- Witteveen, Ieteke (2006). René Römer over cultureel erfgoed en de restauratie van het geheugen. In Rose Mary Allen & René A. Römer. (Eds.), *René Römer als inspirator: actualiseringen van zijn gedachtegoed* (pp. 31-41). Curaçao: University of the Netherlands Antilles.

HISTORY IN THE EDUCATIONAL CURRICULUM OF CURAÇAO: SHOULD THE TEACHING OF HISTORY BE PART OF THE PROCESS OF POLITICAL EMANCIPATION?

CHARLES DO REGO

CURAÇAO

Introduction

A study of history teaching is also a study of the educational system in a certain historical context. In this article, I will first take a look at the guiding principles for the educational curriculum in Curaçao. This will be followed by a brief historical analysis from the first centuries of Dutch colonization to date. Finally, I will present some viewpoints on how to deal with the subject of history in school in relation to political emancipation and nation building.

Besides a survey of the literature and research in the archives, this article is based on interviews of a selected group of teachers who have taught history classes either in the primary or secondary schools in Curaçao. A number of other educational professionals at the Department of Education and other government agencies working in the field of education policy formulation, curriculum development and textbook production on the island were also interviewed.

Attention will be given to the position of history in the curriculum in the private and public schools at the different levels of formal education during different historical periods. Until the start of the 20th century, history education in Curaçao was heavily influenced by the churches, in particular by the Roman Catholic Church. During the 19th century, in particular, the Dutch Catholic priests took their missionary activities very seriously and they established churches and schools all over the island. History teaching, when and if these lessons were given, was primarily related to religion and the general purpose of education was to consolidate the social structure of society and to maintain the position of those who were in power.

In the period from 1920 until the 1950s, formal education in Curaçao underwent a change in scope and content as a result of the growing importance of the Anglo-Dutch oil industry and the resulting accelerated development of trade, services and public administration. History classes in those days primarily dealt with Dutch and European history. With the attainment of limited Autonomy in 1954 and growing political consciousness in the 1960s, questions of national identity, popular culture and

independence versus autonomy gained some importance in educational programs. In this article, I will attempt to answer such questions as: Did history education play a significant role in building awareness about national identity, geared towards political emancipation and nation building? and What are the critical elements with regard to educational policy that will enable history teaching to become a valuable instrument for political emancipation and nation building in Curaçao?

Guiding principles for history curriculum development

Curricular guidelines are, generally speaking, always in accordance with the prevailing system of values and ideologies of a given society. In democratic societies with a multi-ethnic and multi-cultural structure, curriculum designers are inevitably faced with a complex situation. History, as no other subject in the school curriculum, has often been used to give the nation state its meaning through its strategic recounting of the stories of key personalities and events from the past, with the goal of providing children and adolescents with a sense of belonging to an important nation, to a meaningful group of people. History classes often elevate the nation to the status of an entity to be proud of, to which all citizens should pledge allegiance, and which they must be prepared to defend at any cost.

In the nations who gained their independence from colonial powers after WWII, history teaching has become an instrument for fostering nationalistic and anti-colonial feelings and for promoting nation building (Putnam et al., 1993). In the context of contemporary Curaçao, as well as that of the Netherlands Antilles, in the recent past, nation building has not meant the of creation of a new nation state as has been the case in other decolonizing nations (Stephenson, 2005). While several new immigrant groups have yet to fully undergo the process of integration into the nation, the people of Curaçao are generally firmly rooted in a common language and culture.

During colonial times a relatively efficient state organization was put into place, in particular after the establishment of the Shell refinery and Willemstad has remained the administrative center and the capital city. Almost all the essential state institutions have been developed, staffed, and regulated by law. What remains to be done is to make our nation work at its best, promoting democratic values, a vibrant civic culture, an open civil society, identity building, knowledge of our past, respect for all members of society, consciousness of being part of a wider region, and a spirit of cooperation with other nations while at the same time safeguarding our national integrity in the international arena.

Developments in history teaching

Contemporary historians and textbook writers in general agree on the fact that history classes should develop a kind of historical thinking (Wilschut et al.: 20-22). In the

educational environment much discussion is related to the following aspects of historical thinking:

- Consciousness of reality: the difference between facts and fiction. There is a general conviction that history should deal with scientifically established facts based on research, and not with legends, myths or romantic stories.
- Historical consciousness: what has up until the present remained unchanged and change itself
- About values: how determine real values; to be aware of what is good and what is wrong. (Wilschut: 18-24)

On the academic level of historical research, transparency and the exchange of information and viewpoints should help provide evidence of what is factual and based on reliable evidence. But in the field of education, we also have to find a match between historical facts, presentation in the classroom and the purpose of our school programs. With regard to national educational programs, these normally focus on the need for the nation or the state to have loyal citizens. This focus should center not only on the territorial state and the Curaçaoan people, but also on the constitution and on the state institutions necessary for the functioning of a democratic state.

We should reject fundamentalist thinking and consider change as a constant, and always keep in mind the impact of new elements and unforeseen developments that will influence the course of history. For instance, the slave society of the past undoubtedly has influenced our contemporary society and should have an important place in history teaching. However, we should accept that it has not unilaterally determined the structures, behavioral systems and beliefs of contemporary Curaçao.

With regard to the values of the past and the present: can we afford to limit ourselves to drawing historical parallels? Can we judge people in the past for what they did without trying to take into account the historical situation, objective and subjective, at that time? And should we evaluate our actual social relations primarily on the basis of the values of the past?

Constitutional development

Until October 2010 Curaçao was a political-administrative entity within the Netherlands Antilles, and Willemstad was the capital city of this five-island-country. During the first centuries of Dutch colonization the Dutch Caribbean Islands were ruled by the Dutch West India Company and, after a short period of English rule, from 1816 on they became part of the Kingdom of the Netherlands. In 1954 the Netherlands Antilles gained an autonomous status within the Kingdom; in 1986 Aruba separated from the other islands and in 2010 the Netherlands Antilles ceased to exist with Curaçao and Saint Maarten becoming an autonomous entities similar to Aruba. Officially these three entities – together with the Netherlands in Europe and overseas

– constitute the Dutch Kingdom¹. The other former islands of the Netherlands Antilles have obtained a municipality status within The Netherlands. The breaking up of the Netherlands Antilles and the status of the resulting territorial entities was the outcome of prolonged deliberations and was decided by democratically held referenda.

For an analysis of the contribution of history in the classroom we should take into account that the political emancipation process in Curaçao can be divided into at least three different periods:

- a) The period of social and economic emancipation from slavery and bondage to more participation through trade unions and representative bodies, resulting in general suffrage and the possibility to freely organize political parties.
- b) The period of autonomy for the Netherlands Antilles, within a federalist political structure in 1954.
- c) Curaçao as an autonomous entity within the Dutch Kingdom from October 10, 2010 onwards.

The question of full independence was not a central issue in the first period of political struggle for self rule and democratic participation in government, and only after the uprising in May 1969, did this become a focus of debate, with some small progressive groups maintaining a political orientation toward independence. The Dutch governments during the first half of the 1970s put some pressure on the Antilles to take their independence but this was rejected. Only Surinam² took this option in 1975. Recently, during the constitutional process to form a separate entity, the question of independence again became an issue among a group of political leaders. Separatism has had some influence on national politics and has influenced nation building from the mid 1970s onwards in such a way that it is increasingly dominating discussions about independence.

A survey of the teaching of history in Curaçao

Initial period: 1634-1816

During the first centuries of Dutch colonization the West India Company did not show much concern for education and relegated it to private initiatives and religious authorities. The ruling Dutch elite considered education useful only to the extent that it facilitated their administration. The processes of ‘civilization’ and religious education were considered to be identical (Prins: 24). Therefore the education of children was directed towards mastering the principles of religion and a few basic subjects, despite the fact that some knowledge of literature, the arts and history has always been welcomed by the upper classes. Structured and systematic education for

¹ See Charter of the Kingdom of the Netherlands, also called Statuut

² After independence of Indonesia, a former Dutch colony, Surinam and the Netherlands Antilles were the only territories belonging to the Dutch realm until Surinam took its independence in 1975.

the majority of the island's people was non-existent, girls usually did not attend school, and slaves were not supposed to be able to read and write.

Even when funds were available, it was not always possible for the government to employ qualified personnel. The few who came from Holland were soon demoralized, due to challenging working conditions and a hot tropical climate to which they were not accustomed (Prins-Winkel, 1982). At the beginning of the 19th century, the teaching of history had gained some importance and started to play a role in the curriculum. It was however subordinated to the main subjects, such as reading and writing in Dutch and arithmetic. The systematic teaching of any material beyond these main subjects was almost exclusively reserved for the schools of the children of the elites which charged substantial fees, thus excluding the children of families of more modest means who had to rely on less expensive subsidized schools.

History classes from 1816 until 1937.

The first ordinance regarding public education in Curaçao was promulgated in 1819³. The school system was divided into schools of different standards or degrees. The schools of the first degree, for which parents had to pay fees, were concentrated in town. At the second degree schools only the basic curriculum was offered, i.e. reading, writing, and basic arithmetic. Only at the schools of the first degree was history added to the curriculum, together with geography and foreign languages. Public schools were promoted and subsidized by the government, but due to the missionary work of the Catholic Church, church schools rapidly spread throughout the island. These schools were primarily for poor children and history was not part of the program.

In 1837 some important changes occurred in the field of education. From that year onward, the law required that in order to open a private school one had to have some qualifications, and therefore a petition to that end, followed by an exam in the basic subjects plus a positive evaluation by the school commission, was mandatory (Donk, 2011: 10). Only those teachers coming from Holland with a certificate were exempted from these requirements. This was a positive measure to guarantee the quality of the schools, but it would take quite some time to have the desired effects. From the 1840s onward, the first Catholic nuns came as teachers⁴. For the Catholic Church, which played the pivotal role in the education of the poor and the slaves, 'civilizing' people to become valued members of the Church was considered at that time to be priority number one.

At the end of the 19th century, people became more aware of the importance of education and the local government began to pay more attention to this matter (Prins-Winkel, 1973: 5). The Dutch Government in The Hague, however, showed little or no

³ Provisioneel Reglement op het Schoolwezen te Curaçao, P.B. no. 28, 1819.

⁴ The Sisters of Roosendaal from the catholic province of Brabant in the Netherlands

interest in education for the people of this poor and neglected colony. It was only after an alarming report of the 'School Commission' in 1882 (Prins-Winkel, 1973: 5) about the deplorable condition of the schools that some actions for improvement were taken, including the provision of better classrooms and playgrounds, more and improved textbooks and other educational materials, etc. Of greater importance, however, was the decision to better prepare teachers and to grant teachers a higher salary.

We can conclude that history teaching was restricted to the children of the higher social classes. Even when education became accessible to the masses of children all over the island, in this sense providing some basis for social emancipation, history teaching had no other role than to contribute to the 'civilizing' project. The citizen had to become Christianized and civilized in the eyes of the policy makers. As this colony was very much neglected by Dutch policy makers and the local merchants were in effective control over the society, Dutch language was not widely spoken and Papiamentu flourished and became widely used.

Industrialization and modernization: 1915-1954

The construction and operation of one of the biggest oil refineries of its time at Willemstad harbor not only had important economic impacts on Curaçao, but it also brought about fundamental changes in local society. Due to the new employment opportunities provided by the refinery, people could liberate themselves from the old order and enter a modern society. Curaçaoan society was confronted by a relatively high influx of immigrant workers for the oil industry and others who came to work in public administration and to meet the emerging need for social, medical and other services. As a technologically advanced company operating in a traditional environment, Shell also influenced the educational profile of the island by training its personnel in the necessary skills to run the refinery.

The oil industry needed skilled laborers as did the public administration and service sectors. The educational system came under intense pressure to meet these needs and action was taken to adapt to the new situation, using the Dutch system in Holland as the main model. This process was accelerated by the introduction by the Royal Shell Group of a Dutch based primary school and a modern secondary school (the MULO⁵) with a curriculum and examinations similar to those in Holland (Prins-Winkel, 1973: 10). Shell required employees with adequate levels of basic education and thus the company was instrumental in making higher quality education more widespread and within the reach of almost every child, although relatively big differences in quality and curricula persisted between the schools of the elites and the working classes.

The once neglected colony was rapidly transformed into a modern society on the Dutch model and became the central point of the Netherlands' West Indian

⁵ Litterally: More Extended Elementary Education (Dutch: Meer Uitgebreid Lager Onderwijs)

possessions. High school exams came from Holland and Dutch was now promoted as the exclusive language in school and public administration. To get a high paying job, one needed to be proficient in Dutch. Language is also culture, so this case Dutch culture and consequently Dutch history, became more prominent in the education program. Little attention was given to local history and when this was done, it would be presented from a Dutch perspective.

Under the ordinance of 1935 as amended in 1954, differences between schools in town versus schools in the poorer countryside, and between schools with fees and those without fees were consolidated. In this way the big gap between schools for the higher classes and those for the poorer children was prolonged for some time more. The better schools had history as part of their curriculum, but the schools in the countryside almost never history as part of their programs. The schools were faced with a difficult challenge, as their program was based on the Dutch system. Until that time, Dutch culture and language had been almost completely alien to the majority of the population. In order to comply with standards set in Holland, priority was given to Dutch language and arithmetic classes, while other subjects were neglected. History lessons were given, but with low priority and intensity, making this subject not suitable for a real nation building. Indeed more attention was given to the history of the Netherlands Antilles alongside Dutch history. Antillean history was notably concentrated upon the benefits of western colonization and on the accomplishments of important personalities.

Autonomy and national identity

Initiatives for a real Antillean history program

The influx of immigrants and their competitive position on the labor market, the growth of political awareness in the late 1930s and during WWII, paved the way for nationalist policies. Soon the country would attain an autonomous status within the Kingdom of the Netherlands. In this way, following on the process of social and economic emancipation we observe an emancipatory impetus in the political and public spheres. In several scientific studies on Antillean culture (Hoetink, 1958; Hartog, 1961; Römer, 1964), society and history appeared and this gave intellectuals a broader base and more insight into their own history. In the educational field an important innovation took place with the introduction of new, Antillean based history textbooks. In 1959 an integrated history course for grades 4, 5 and 6⁶ of primary school under the name *Nos Patria*⁷ was introduced⁸. This method was written by teachers from Holland who had been working for some time in Curaçao. Higher ranking teachers at that time were mainly from Holland and Surinam. *Nos Patria*

⁶ The primary school contained 6 grades. In the 4th, 5th and 6th grades 'history', 'geography' and 'nature' were taught with an orientation to all these subjects provided in the 3rd grade.

⁷ Our Fatherland.

⁸ Together with a similar method for Geography (*Nos Tera*) and Biology & Nature (*Naturantil*)

reflected the notion that a new nation had emerged and it was an important step towards more national awareness, even though in many ways it was more an adaptation from Dutch history books than a fundamentally new approach to the subject.

Soon thereafter, in 1961, two new textbooks for the secondary schools appeared: *Geschiedenis van Amerika (History of the Americas)*, vols I and II (Goslinga et al.). In the introduction to these texts, it was stated that “it was a logical step to develop a method in accordance with that of the primary level, with an adaptation to the Antillean ambience” (*sfeer*). History teaching in the Netherlands Antilles finally started to adapt itself to local needs and the people’s desire to have more knowledge about their own islands and the surrounding American hemisphere. The purpose of these books was “... to promote knowledge of local society and existing social relations in the past as well as in the present.” Moreover “as High School Education in the Antilles should be on the same level as in The Netherlands, the same program had to be maintained.”⁹ This implied that in this secondary school method, locally relevant chapters were included and the books were structured to meet the demand for more nationally oriented information. With these books, Antillean history took its place in the school curriculum, although without receiving very high priority and with serious underexposure of the ‘people’s story’. This did, however, represent a starting point, an opportunity.

100 The introduction of scholarships in the 1950s and thereafter, encouraged Antillean students to attend colleges and universities in Holland. There they were submerged into a society with a different social structure, social relations and new ideas which at the same time caused them to reflect critically on their own society. Their sense of belonging to another country and the unequal relations between the Antilles and Holland gave rise to certain nationalistic feelings.

To illustrate the nature of the educational environment in those years, I shall present some experiences of local teachers.

R1¹⁰: Nos Patria had recently been introduced. It was very welcome but soon we felt the need for more information about the history of our own people. The accent on the Netherlands Antilles and Curaçao was not enough.

R2: I remember that we taught about important personalities of the past, such as Columbus, Alonso de Ojeda, William of Orange, and Napoleon. Admiral Louis Brion and General Manuel Piar were considered the heroes of the Antillean history.

R3: Story telling was an important part of History class in the primary school. I liked to tell stories, but for those colleagues who did not, history class was limited to the textbook. I made good use of the available wall pictures, and these stimulated the

⁹ From the mid 1950s until 1969 there was a special syllabus for History at MULO schools of the so called Antillean Program which was also officially examined.

¹⁰ R1, R2 etc. indicates a respondent.

imagination of the children in the 1950s and 1960s. Those pictures were however all images from Dutch history such as a “Daily Life in a Medieval Town”, “Knights preparing for the siege of a town” or “for A Tournament”, “Merchant ships sailing out to the sea”, etc. It was difficult, in particular for the poorer children in the countryside, to grasp the full meaning of what was presented. This and the choice of themes in the textbook often gave me a sense of working outside of reality.

R3 also informed me that one of his first lessons of history as a child in 1955 dealt with the stone grave builders¹¹ from the Dutch Stone Age.

Radical views

Curaçao was also influenced by the radical politics and ideologies¹² prevalent worldwide at the end of the 1960s. In alignment with such international trends we observe an inclination in the educational field towards a more nationalistic and anti-colonial stand, more attention to social justice, to the civil rights movement, to the position of colored people in society, and a search for new pedagogical approaches (Freire). The industrial action of May 30, 1969, which resulted in a violent uprising and the partial burning of Willemstad, brought more focus on social problems, class contradictions and the specific position of the Curaçao population of African descent. The study of Curaçaoan slave society and in particular the great rebellion of 1795 gained popular currency¹³ and up until the present day, Tula, the great leader of that uprising remains a most revered hero. From then on, the story of Tula, of slavery itself and the life and culture of the Afro-Curaçaoan population became a central element in history classes. The (neo)Marxist orientation of some of the more progressive teachers not only led to more extensive and critical study of Curaçao’s past but also to the re-interpretation of present day society as a direct result of the past in which slavery, class struggle and colonialism were linked together. These nationalistic and anti-colonial tendencies, however, did not take firm root in local society and politics. There was no broad-based independence movement, and this was also reflected in the educational field, where a more functionalist approach (Karabel & Halsey) still prevailed.

Some remarks from respondents are illustrative:

R4: At the end of the 1960s some progressive teachers expressed more and more criticism against the method Nos Patria. This was mainly because they could not recognize themselves sufficiently in the presented text. It was just an adaptation to the history of the America’s, but most of the content was from Europe and written from the perspective of the Catholic friars for their schools. The idea that history

¹¹ Hunebedbouwers.

¹² Frans Fanon, Monthly Review group, Civil Rights Movement and Liberation struggles.

¹³ Motivated by the progressive and nationalist groups.

schoolbooks for Antillean children should be produced by Antillean writers gained more recognition.

R5: We were influenced by the radical movement in the 1960s: we should look at our history with a different (other than the Dutch) perspective. At the Teachers Training Institute we got to know almost everything about WWII, but our own history remained largely unknown. Typically, the same Dutch teacher afterwards got his doctorate on a historical study of Curaçao. So it was a question of your view on the world and its development.

Not all teachers of history limited themselves to the textbooks and one of them made it clear that the slave rebellion, for instance, was duly treated in his/her classroom:

R5: I was one of the first non Dutch born teachers of history and I did not teach from the textbooks only and my students were motivated to go deeper into some relevant themes. I organized a complete library of history books in the classroom and gave the students special assignments to have them work with these books. I myself studied a lot in the Archives to get more insight into local history. Thus it was not only what was written in the textbooks that the students got to know about their own history¹⁴.

With the steady growth of high schools with standards equaling those in Holland, the Netherlands Antilles began to benefit from a better trained and more locally oriented teacher's corps. At the primary level, almost all teachers were locals at the end of the 1960s, but at the more specialized secondary levels it took well into the 1980s to achieve this. In 1979, the University of the Netherlands Antilles was officially established.

Innovation not only requires a change of attitude at the level of educational policy making and curriculum development, but also requires adequate textbooks and well prepared socially engaged and historically conscious teachers. Although other textbooks were written, many teachers continued to use the *Nos Patria* method until well in the 1980s.

Waves of innovation

In 1968 a new Education Law (better known under the name Mammoth Law) was introduced in the Netherlands and, in order to comply with the Dutch standards, the Netherlands Antilles adopted it without much discussion. Under this reform, after three basic years of general education, secondary school students opted for a limited set of subjects¹⁵ besides Dutch, mathematics and English for the rest of high school. History was no longer mandatory, and to avoid problems of admission into Dutch Universities and Colleges, parents persuaded their children not to take history and other so called 'soft subjects'. This limited the possibilities of the teaching of history to become a broad force for increased political awareness and national consciousness.

¹⁴ This could be done in the old high school system wherein history was taken very serious.

¹⁵ A package consisted of more or less 6 subjects for the core programs.

The Mammoth Law, however, also offered new possibilities by introducing subjects as civics, alongside already existing subjects like “constitutional studies”¹⁶. History, together with geography and science were often integrated into the same so called ‘World Orientation’¹⁷ course. The focus was more on how to present the matter than on the subject content. The resulting superficiality of the different individual subjects frustrated many academically oriented teachers working in the high schools¹⁸, several of whom found alternative careers.

Before such new programs could be effectively implemented, textbooks had to be adapted to new circumstances and new viewpoints, which in turn required in depth study. In the case of the development of materials for the teaching of history, the pressure groups at that time in education preferred local writers and developers, based on the idea that they best knew what was needed for their students. For the primary level a set of textbooks for the grades 4, 5 and 6 appeared in 1978 titled: *Our islands: from the past to the present*¹⁹ (*Onze eilanden: van vroeger tot vandaag*). In these books we find a historical sequence beginning with the Amerindians until continuing up until the present. The scope was clearly Antillean and much more attention was given to Amerindian and Afro-Curaçaoan society than in the past. In the preface, it is stated that ‘the Netherlands Antilles realize more and more that they are part of the Caribbean. It is therefore evident that the way of thinking of 20 years past should be reviewed. History teaching in our schools should not be an adaptation, but instead should be a manifestation of what is ours.’²⁰

Some respondents claim, however, that this method was limited in substance..

The structure of the Mammoth Law would become standard for all the Netherlands Antilles until the far reaching restructuring of education in the 1990s. Under the influence of a new direction in international education philosophy toward a program of ‘education for one and for all,’ some new initiatives led to a breakthrough in history teaching in Curaçao. The restructuring in the 1990s came with the introduction of the Basic Education system (at junior high school level) and the Foundation Based Education (*Funderend onderwijs*) at the primary level. At junior high schools, the structure changed considerably for the more vocational oriented tracks²¹ wherein the position of history as a subject became very weak. For the more academically oriented tracks in education²² the changes for history, geography and civics were more positive and gave the history teacher more possibilities to incorporate a more in depth analysis into the classes of those students who opted for history as part of their program²³.

¹⁶ Dutch: staatsinrichting

¹⁷ An integration of social studies with science

¹⁸ From respondents

¹⁹ From R. Riedel (red.)

²⁰ Written by R. Naaldijk

²¹ VSBO in Curaçao

²² HAVO/VWO new style.

²³ Each high school offered several fixed ‘packages’ of subjects, called profiles.

Some opportunities were also made available by the introduction of civics and social studies, where more attention was paid to constitutional matters.

Constitutional change, national identity and history teaching

The 1980s witnessed a more deliberate policy of nation building. Several factors had influenced this process, namely more progressive social democratic and nationalistic governments and especially the heated discussions regarding the separatist movement in Aruba. The ground was thus made more fertile for generalized history teaching wherein national identity, the history of slavery, colonialism and nation building would be the points of departure. Independence was not a deliberate governmental policy until Curaçao was given its autonomy in 2010 as a result of a series of referenda²⁴ in which the people of Curaçao and St. Maarten opted for an autonomous status within the Kingdom of the Netherlands. Before dealing with the question of what political emancipation and nation building should be in the classroom, we will first of all take a look how history teaching evolved during the period of 1980-2010.

The political programs of almost all of the political parties in this period were deeply influenced by issues surrounding the question of integration versus separation, that is, the breaking up of the Netherlands Antilles into separate entities versus the strengthening of the Netherlands Antilles as one country. This process lasted almost 25 years and had a devastating effect on political and financial stability. In 1993, a referendum was held to try to clarify this uncertainty, and the islands opted to remain together. In Curaçao, more than 73% voted to remain in the Antilles, while 18% voted for Aruban-style autonomy, and only 0, 5% voted for independence (Do Rego, 2011). Nationalism, as a political philosophy, however, increasingly took on the character of insularism and chauvinism, and in this ambience it was virtually impossible to maintain unity. Thus, when a second referendum was held in 2005, 68% voted for a separate and autonomous status²⁵, with some 5%²⁶ opting for independence.

New textbooks

The first serious attempt to produce school material for history in the 1980s resulted in two textbooks for the first grades of the junior high titled: *Our Past*²⁷, (*Nos Pasado*). They were part of a complete method and adapted to both the local situation as well as to the learning methods of the moment. Another initiative was the production in 1986 of a progressively oriented video series (for television) titled “History of Curaçao” (*Historia di Korsou*²⁸)” with accompanying textbooks divided into 8 subjects. Despite

²⁴ In the referenda of 1993 and 2005.

²⁵ Interesting is that almost 24% voted for an integration with Holland.

²⁶ 4,82%.

²⁷ From James Schrils.

²⁸ SCEFA/SITEK initiative with authors Henri Vijber, Frank Quirindongo and Jeanne Henriquez.

the fact that this was not an integrated method, it was still very useful, because it allowed teachers to give their lessons more substance.

In the 1990s a set booklets of supplemental readings were produced by the Fundashon Material pa Skol. Several of these booklets dealt with historical events or situations and proved to be very useful. Meanwhile some new booklets in the series “Tempu pa tempu”²⁹ (Time for the past) were produced for the primary level by the National Archaeological and Antropological Memory institute (NAAM) which were also welcomed in the schools. Although they were meant for the study of our cultural heritage, they were also useful in history classes.

In 2011, two new high school texts were written³⁰, *The trans-Atlantic slave trade and Slavery and emancipation* at the initiative of the Department of Education³¹. Due to lack of funding these books were distributed as simple photocopies in black and white. For ‘constitutional studies’ modules, several productions have been written for the secondary level³². This is an important contribution because some space has been reserved for this subject in the curriculum and the information in these materials is quite similar and complementary to that which would logically be included in a history textbook. Historical research³³ has produced several important articles and books which can and are used by teachers to go more in depth and to illustrate historical settings and events.

But existing materials are still not sufficient to cover all areas. For example, the three high schools still use *Memo*, a series of Dutch textbooks for history teaching. There are several main reasons for this shortage of local textbooks. The job of writing requires almost full-time effort and the necessary training and guidance. There are relatively few local historians in the field of education and those who are able to do the job are often confronted with obstacles stemming from ongoing ideological discussions about slavery, the Afro-Curaçaoan component in our history, and the question of independence. Finally, for a market of such limited size as that of Curacao, locally adapted textbooks are very expensive.

Besides a clear policy for history teaching, curriculum development and adequate textbooks, the teacher himself remains a very crucial factor. Most academically educated historians who become involved soon leave the field of education. This is due to the limited possibilities to grow intellectually that they encounter there and to the fact that they can often take advantage of better career opportunities outside of the education sector.

²⁹ In 2007

³⁰ This book is not in the classroom yet.

³¹ Author: Ronald Donk

³² Oscar Castillo; Pia Fruytier and Roman Sillé.

³³ With particular reference to National Archives; Archiefvriend; KITL Amsterdam, and individual researchers

Some final reflections on history teaching in Curaçao

History teaching can make a valuable contribution to the process of political emancipation. To be effective, some adaptations must be made in the teaching of history in school programs. In primary education, history is part of the curriculum, but textbooks do not meet local demands and the attitudes of the teacher need to be addressed: they must be motivated to take history teaching seriously.

At the secondary level, things are more complicated. In the lower vocational schools (VSBO) restructuring is necessary in order to give more attention (in hours of lessons) to history. At present, too little history is being taught at these schools to make a difference. At the high school level, some additional activities should be promoted for those students who have opted for a program without history. Perhaps certain historical themes could be highlighted each year for all students. The availability of textbooks at the secondary level has improved, but there is still much room for improvement. Supplemental resources in the form of documents, books, internet sources and regular visits to museums and historical sites can make a difference. This again depends on the attitude of the teachers.

For all levels and tracks, training should be given to teachers in order to offer them more insight into history and to acquaint them with instructional tools to do their job in the best way. History should be taught together with other related subjects, such as social studies, constitutional affairs and literature, in order to be more effective and so that history teaching does not become marginalized. With a good planning and coordination this should be possible without putting an undue burden on the teaching corps.

School authorities and the department of education need to work with governmental and non-governmental agencies working in this field. Policy makers should be motivated to promote historical research. Making use of the findings from this research as well as of the most advanced viewpoints and approaches, the production of textbooks and other instructional material should be executed by professionals. Public administrators should take a clear stand regarding the importance of history in educational programs and formulate concrete goals to improve the teaching of history. The focus of history teaching should be based on the history of the Curaçaoan people but it should be placed in a broader international context. As the result of a decolonization process the emerging nation forms the context in which its people should acquire the conditions for sustainable development and their own place in the international arena. The history of their nation gives students and citizens a sense of belonging, a sense of identity through knowledge of their past.

National history should not only focus on the great deeds of the past, but also involve reflection on how historical processes and structures influence what is important today. Besides generalized knowledge of the past, we should teach the new generations about what has been accomplished by the men and women during the last

centuries for freedom, for self determination, for free elections and democratic participation, for social justice, for gender equity and for the eradication of all forms of discrimination. Recognizing those who stood up against slavery and those who stand up now to protect against its manifestations today offers us an opportunity to teach about the causes and consequences of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance³⁴. Loyalty to the nation should include loyalty to the social, political and cultural achievements of the Curaçaoan people, to our democratic system and national institutions. Within these boundaries all ethnicities and social groups should have equal opportunity to participate and to integrate, respecting one another and respecting what has already been achieved by previous generations.

Culture, including artistic expression and science, should be an integral part of history teaching and special attention should be paid to how our people have created a distinct culture with a multiplicity of elements, of which our language Papiamentu is one of the best known. It should not be used to create distinction and distance from other cultures, but as an expression of unity in diversity.

We should motivate the coming generations to continue on these paths of progress, social justice and democracy, and to make our nation better for one and for all. That is what political emancipation and nation building should focus on.

Respondents

For this article a group of 16 respondents was interviewed. This group consisted of teachers with practical experience and key players in curriculum development, policy making and textbook writing. Some respondents had experience in the educational field that dates from as early as the 1950s, spanning some sixty years.

Name	School experience *	Remarks
Sygmund Montesant	A & C	Director of Teachers Training Institute and Institute for Educational Innovation
Jubi Evertsz	A & C	(co) Director Teachers Training and Government Advisor in Policy Preparation for Education
Harold Corasol	A & B	Principal and project leader Innovation programs
Leontine Kuster	A	School experience in both Curaçao as in Holland
Hans van der Straaten	B	Coordinator for the development textbooks on history
Andre Rancuret	A & B	Teacher of History and amateur archeologist
Ruben Severina	A & B	Teacher and Coordinator theme slave rebellion events.
Rudy Riedel	A	Author of a history method and Inspector of

³⁴ Honouring the Heroes, resisters and survivors of the Transatlantic Slave Trade, 23 March 2012, UN News Centre.

		Education
Siro Jansen	A	Principal primary school
Roman Sille	B	Teacher of History
Eddy Baetens	B & C	Producer history books
Charles de Windt	A	Principal primary school
Ronald Donk	A & B & C	Author of textbooks on slavery and on general history of the Netherlands Antilles
Herman Sjak Shie	A & B	Co-author of a History Method for Secondary Schools
Frank Quirindongo	B & C	Teacher of Social Studies and curriculum developer
Hein van Maarschalkerwaard		Teacher of History and former Inspector

A is for primary school; B is for secondary school and C for College or University level in Curaçao

REFERENCES

- Allen, Rose Mary (2007). *Di ki manera?: a social history of Afro-Curaçaoans, 1863-1917*. Utrecht: University of Utrecht.
- Baetens, Eddy (1995-1998). *Lessenserie wereldoriëntatie voor het basisonderwijs*. Curaçao: FMS.
- Donk, Ronald (2010). *Trans-Atlantic slave trade*. Curacao: BPO-Department of Education.
- Donk, Ronald (2011). ‘Curaçaose’ onderwijzers (1816-1863): een eerste inventarisatie. *Archiefvriend*, Vol. 17.
- Fanon, Frantz (1961). *Les damnés de la terre*. Paris: Maspero.
- Freire, Paulo (1970, [1968]). *Pedagogy of the oppressed*. New York: Herder & Herder.
- Gibbes, F.E., Nolda C. Römer-Kenepa & Max A. Scriwanek (2002). *De bewoners van Curaçao, vijf eeuwen lief en leed 1499-1999*. Curaçao: Nationaal Archief.
- Goslinga, Cornelis Ch., A.C.H.J. van Noort & H. E. Sjak Shie (1961). *Geschiedenis van Amerika*. Groningen: Wolters.
- Hartog, Johan (1961). *Curaçao van kolonie tot autonomie*. Vol. 1 and Vol. 2. Aruba: De Wit.
- Hoetink, Harry (1958). *Het patroon van de oude Curaçaose samenleving: een sociologische studie*. Assen: Van Gorcum.
- Hoetink, Harry (1962) *De gespleten samenleving in het Caraïbisch gebied: bijdrage tot de sociologie der rasrelaties in gesegmenteerde maatschappijen*. Assen: Van Gorcum.

- Karabel, Jerome & A.H. Halsey (1977). Educational research: a review and an interpretation. In Jerome Karabel & A. H. Halsey (Eds.), *Power and ideology in education* (pp. 1-87). New York: Oxford University Press.
- Paula, A.F. (1967). *From objective to subjective social barriers : a historico-philosophical analysis of certain negative attitudes among the negroid population of Curaçao*. Curaçao: De Curaçaosche Courant.
- Prins, F.W. & J. van Bergeijk (1970). *Leerplan en leidraad voor het basisonderwijs op de Benedenwindse Eilanden der Nederlandse Antillen*, Vol. 1 and Vol. 2. Zeist: Dijkstra.
- Prins-Winkel, Anna C. (1973). *Kabes Duru?: verslag van een onderzoek naar de onderwijssituatie op de Benedenwindse Eilanden van de Nederlandse Antillen, in verband met het probleem van de vreemde voertaal bij het onderwijs*. Assen: Van Gorcum.
- Prins-Winkel, Anna C. (1982).
: *un siglo di esfuerso i fayò edukashonal den skol kolonial Ulandes*. Curaçao: IPEP.
- Putnam, Robert D., Robert Leonardi & Raffaella Nanetti (1993). *Making democracy work : civic traditions in modern Italy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Riedel, R.M.R. (1978) *Onze eilanden van vroeger tot vandaag : een geschiedenisleerboek bestemd voor het vierde leerjaar van het basisonderwijs*. Curacao : Departement van Onderwijs.
- Römer, René A. (1964) *Ons samenzijn in sociologisch perspectief : een introductie in de Curacaose samenleving*. Curaçao: Van Dorp.
- Rosalía, René V. (1997). *Tambú: de legale en kerkelijke repressie van Afro-Curaçaose volksuitingen*. Zutphen: Walburg Pers.
- Schrils, James M. R. (1985). *Nos Pasado, Antilliaanse geschiedenismethode bestemd voor MAVO, HAVO en VWO*. Curaçao: Dienst Onderwijs en Cultuur.
- Stephenson, Carolyn (2005). Nation Building. In Guy Burgess & Heidi Burgess (Eds.), *Beyond intractability*. Boulder: Conflict Information Consortium, University of Colorado. Available at <http://www.beyondintractability.org/essay/nation-building>
- Van Koppen, Chris A.J., Cornelis Ch. Goslinga & A.C.H.J. van Noort (1959). *Nos Patria: methode voor het geschiedenisonderwijs in de Nederlandse Antillen*, Vol.1-3. Groningen: Wolters Noordhoff.
- Van Oers, Jan (1993). *De maatschappelijke context van het schoolwezen in de Kolonie Curaçao, 1816-1837, met inbegrip van de onderhorige eilanden Aruba en Bonaire*. Helmond: Wibro.
- Vijber, Henri, Frank Quirindongo & Jeanne Henriquez (1986) *Historia di Korsou*. Curaçao: SCEFA/SITEK.

Wilschut, Arie, Dick van Straaten & Marcel van Riessen (2011, [2004]).
Geschiedenisdidactiek: handboek voor de vakdocent. Bussum, Coutinho.

THE OBSERVATION PROBLEM AND THINKING ABOUT DEVELOPMENT: TOWARD A PARADOXICAL VIEW

DIMITRI HALLEY
UNIVERSITY OF ARUBA

The classical research paradigm's epistemological point of departure is the point of view or standpoint. Yet it largely ignores the fact that what is viewed (observed) is dependent on who is observing and the state of the observer; i.e., the point from which the observed is viewed. In this article, it is argued that researchers more often than not remain oblivious to the role of their own state in the knowledge acquisition equation, and that they often do not see the biases to which they themselves fall prey, as latent aspects of the observer are imputed on the observed. A comparative method, developed by the author, is applied to grasp the relation of the researcher and the researched in the context of the dominant left-right (political) ideologies of development. For instance, while European colonialism is vehemently criticized in Latin American socialist literature, Latin American socialist thinkers normally do not see that socialism and communism are themselves ideologies of European origin and thus are themselves also based on hegemonic discourses of colonialism or envelopment. It is argued that by becoming more aware of this interaction between researcher and researched, it is possible to adopt a paradoxical view, where both poles are considered in order to grasp the whole.

The point of view of the observer affects what is viewed and observed. Only when both sides of the coin are evaluated we can get a complete knowledge picture, which is often not as clear cut and linear as we would like. Much of the Latin American liberation literature of a leftist slant theorizes from a victim perspective (Mignolo & Tlosanova, 2006; Lander, 2002). When caught under the influence of the self-construct of victim Caribbean speakers and writers who adopt this point of view are inevitably prone to construe the western European project in our region in terms which validate this victim standpoint. Phenomena which don't fit this picture are sanitized out of the equation to the point where the capitalist 'West' is presented in ways which exaggerate its ability to determine the history of the world and the destinies of its peoples. This in turn does not do proper justice to the complexity and multidimensionality of the Caribbean narrative, which is much more than that of an agentless victim. Self-constructs based, for instance, on those of first generation slaves who were brought against their will to the Caribbean and America, to be found for example in the viewpoint of DuBois (1895) have in many cases not been updated to

reflect a rich subsequent history of often successful struggle by slaves and maroons against the institution of chattel slavery.

It is argued here that all points of view are ethnocentric and subjective. Therefore in practice, what we find is that people with certain beliefs tend to construct arguments and 'facts' designed to continuously convince themselves that those beliefs are right and correct. The approach proposed here is thus not the 'discovery' and re-engineering of facts to support one point of view and beliefs or another, i.e., either a capitalist or a socialist perspective. A so-called field view is advocated instead, where multiple opposing competing viewpoints collide toward a 'wide screen' view which foremostly overtly includes the observer as codependent on what is observed. The field view that emerges from this collision of competing viewpoints is that both the left and right contain core values of great importance, opposed in this way to each other, and either side rejects the other out of hand, both fall into extremist standpoints. The goal of the approach argued for in this article is not only knowledge about the other but also self-knowledge (awareness). The researcher must also reflect on his/her own thinking. This approach proposes a method for thinking about one's own thinking which constitutes a form of awareness. It is argued that the observer remains unaware of the epistemological fact that her/his perspective and biases select or even co-create what is observed. The victim remains unaware that this (victim) perspective will convert the West into a much greater enemy than really is the case.

112

Yet the researcher often remains unaware of the extent to which s/he is stuck in his/her perspective. The picture is simply not complete if we don't see the link between the observer and what is observed. The wide field includes the observer and so the observer also needs to be accounted for. We must also understand how the researcher's viewpoint influences what is observed. In terms of the above mentioned method of understanding the researcher and researched as a pair of variables, we can account for the interaction between researcher and researched. In the classical approach, the observer is not factored into the knowledge acquisition equation. When we explain how this variable (the observer) co-determines what is thought and observed, we have accounted for the impact of the researcher on the researched. For example, the extent to which the researcher feels victim(ized) is positively correlated to the extent to which the researched will be demonized as abusive or despotic. The way we observe the other inevitably says something about the state we (the observer) are in. If we are afraid we will experience the other as a threat. The state we are in either deflates or inflates what we observe. Observation can thus be seen as being based on a binary or oppositional dynamic.

In yet a broader sense, what is observed always contains latent aspects of the observer, which the observer prefers to sanitize from his/her self-concept. In terms of fractality or self-similarity this does not mean that what is observed in the other is not there, but

instead that the observer also incorporates these characteristics. Observers tend to deny certain aspects of themselves, which they find to be present in the object of their observation.

As formulated by Karl Marx, socialism and capitalism are dialectically opposed poles or thesis and antithesis of a single opposition. One pulls us absolutely toward the individual thus negating society, while the other pulls us absolutely toward the group, thus negating the individual. The one is the shadow of the other, hence they turn into each other's axis of evil. Consider for instance the now well known remarks of Hugo Chavez referring to George W. Bush as the devil ("*aquí huele a azufre*"/it smells like sulfur here), while holding Noam Chomsky's book in his hand in his United Nations address, while on the other hand Bush refers to Venezuela as part of the 'Axis of Evil'. This illustrates how both of these politicians have become each other's shadow. The problem of the shadow, which is inherent in systems of thought which are not sufficiently self-referential, fractal and paradoxical, leads to the problem of contradictions between what is preached and what is practiced (self-deception and the inevitable corruption that accompanies it). In such vein we find western nations preaching the free market and democracy to poor nations while keeping their own despotically run corporations afloat with subsidies, tax breaks and other indirect protectionist mechanisms. On the other hand we find socialist despots lying dangerously in bed with special interests and upholding their own contrived versions of elitism. Each can be said to be in denial of the extent to which it is the shadow of the other. Such systems of thought depend on one's ability to dissociate oneself from those of one's own activities that contradict one's endorsed and publicized policies (self-deception/corruption). Yet on the whole one extreme (left) tacitly sustains the other (right). It is argued that each pole inheres its opposite and its shadow side remains deeply concealed from the dominant side it aims to portray. A lack of self-awareness fuels this problem of self-deception and lack of integrity (corruption).

It is argued here that these two self orientations form the basis the way that we end up defining ourselves as groups. So, while Western Europe's colonial domination of Africa and parts of the world has been officially abandoned as incongruent with the values upon which Western European democracy is purportedly based, many still rightfully point out that Western European nations still haven't come fully to terms with their shadow in this respect. Despite Chavez' latest statement that the Dutch should officially apologize for their role in South Africa, one cannot reject the real accomplishments of Western European populations who have struggled for and secured the civil rights of the individual. Likewise, despite the repressive excesses of communism and socialism, no one can deny their important role in the areas of economic and social justice, and in providing a counterweight to West European

Capitalism. In all of this, the epistemological constant remains that we cannot separate the observer from the observed or the left from the right.

The new paradoxical approach proposed here is different from the classical European binary approach of both right and the left, not by virtue of rejecting them fully, but by integrating them and therefore transcending them. At their shared border (which geographically was not only Berlin but also the Caribbean) we find a new paradigm capable of simultaneously encompassing opposing standpoints (general interest versus individual freedom) and thus moving beyond exclusive points of view (Sankatsing, 1998).

Self-knowledge (awareness) depends on such an all embracing field view. This more encompassing perspective is more able than conventional approaches to do justice to the paradoxical and complex field nature of (social) reality. It is also better able to fathom a paradoxical grasp of reality and development where both the core values of socialism (social justice) and capitalism (individual freedom) are included in development paradigms. In general, we find that the problem lies in excluding one pole of the by necessity paradoxical whole in the domain of social and political studies. The paradoxical "social-free state" is here proposed as a new ideal, which cannot be fathomed by the old paradigm due to its being trapped in a partial worldview and being pulled to one pole of the field. The proposed alternative is based on a collision of multiple points of view, resulting in the synergistic added-value of a paradoxical view on development.

Two ideological self-orientations function within the old paradigm psychologically as two opposing group identities (self-constructs). They lead to ways in which groups define themselves in such a manner that they inevitably oppose each other. This seeming opposition between these two poles has caused us to remain confused between these two identities, instead of embracing both at the same time. Social equality is superimposed on private property and vice versa, while the one remains oblivious to the fact that it lacks what the other has. This keeps alienating us from embracing both poles (social justice and individual freedom) which are absolutely necessary for holistic and sustainable human development. The group is comprised of individuals and individuals are part of the group. The one cannot be reduced to the other and thus their relation is fractal. The left insists on social justice and solidarity while the right fights for individual freedom and private property. Within the new approach proposed here it is argued that they are complementary and necessary halves of one paradoxical whole. Both sides are crucial to the well being of the whole human being and the whole society.

Both capitalism and socialism are based on materialism and focus on capital (generation vs re-distribution). Yet a non-local less materialistic view of reality is now emerging in the natural sciences and quantum physics has by necessity come to be based on a paradoxical notion of reality, which is collective but not centralized and

individual but not atomistic. This is why it is argued that we can neither do social science nor grasp social reality with the classical paradigm. The pair as one whole is based on an inclusive field perspective instead of the traditional binary perspective which by design results in exclusion and conflict. Without the individual the group turns into a mob, yet without the group the individual turns into a relentless egoist bent on self-interest.

To a large extent Latin America and large parts of the Caribbean have been colonized not only by capitalist hegemonic thought, but also by communist and socialist hegemonic discourse. We remain at odds with one another via this left-right paradigm within (and between) nations not realizing that they form the required halves of the paradoxical whole: “the social-free nation”. Without self-knowledge neither half can transcend its own lopsidedness and limitations. The fundamental problem in the world is lack of self-awareness. People do harm because they can’t see what they are doing. We tend to be pulled toward the illusive sense of security and comfort provided by an exclusive alignment with one side of the paradox instead of suffering the tension of both poles. The group against the individual is as incomplete and counterproductive as the individual against the group. The paradox is the only way to approximate the whole and do justice to it. When becoming aware of one’s own role in observation, paradoxical social yet free thinking tends to emerge. In this sense the peoples of the Caribbean, with their multiply voiced and rhizomatic ways of thinking, speaking and acting in the world, are well placed to begin the process of re-integrating the left-right binary, based on the paradoxical self-construal which is already endemic to the Caribbean region.

REFERENCES

- DuBois, W.E.B. (1895). *The suppression of the African slave trade*. PhD dissertation, Harvard University.
- Lander, Edgardo (2002). Eurocentrism, modern knowledges, and the natural order of global capital. *Nepantia: Views from South*, 3, 2, 245-268.
- Mignolo, Walter & Madina Tlostonova (2006). Theorizing from the borders: shifting to geo- and body-politics of knowledge. *European Journal of Social Theory*, 9, 2, 205-221.
- Sankatsing, Glenn (1998). *The Caribbean, archipelago of trailer societies*. Seed Paper of the inaugural Allan Harris Conference, ISER, UWI, St Augustine.

GENDER AND EDUCATION IN ARUBA: ARE OUR SCHOOLS FAILING TO RECOGNIZE AND FULFILL GENDER-SPECIFIC NEEDS?

MERVINÉ KOCK

INSTITUTO PEDAGOGICO ARUBANO

“When educational quarantines on girls got lifted ... girls started to bloom in school...boys didn’t become dumb. Competition revealed, however, that the language and literacy platform on which schooling is and always has been built actually favors girls”.

(Dr. Norman Johnson, *Literacy and the male brain*)

“There are NO differences in what girls and boys CAN learn. But there are BIG differences in the best ways to teach them.”

(Sax, 2006)

117

Abstract

This study is a preliminary analysis of gender and performance in Aruban education, based on the analysis of reports from the Central Bureau of Statistics and the Department of Education from 1999 until 2009, as well as on interviews and suveys conducted with primary and secondary school officials¹. The results indicate that the female population is performing better than males at several different educational levels. The male population in special education has increased more than 100% for the last decade and will be increasing in the years to come, according the polynomial prediction trend line. At the end of the primary school the majority of the male population go on to Educacion Profesional Basico track (EPB or basic vocational education) of secondary school, which effectively excludes them from any academically oriented studies and eventual entry into any university. The majority of repeaters in every grade of primary school are male, and the percentage of repeaters is the highest in the first grade. In the final analysis, femaile students have greatly increased their levels of attainment in Aruban schools, while males are falling behind.

¹ With thanks to Drs. Gregory Richardson for editing my text.

Introduction

This paper presents preliminary data on aspects of educational attainment of males and females in the Aruban education system. We analyzed the differences in performance between the two gender² cohorts in primary and secondary schools between the period of 1999 and 2010. Statistics for the tertiary level were also reviewed, but due to many inconsistencies we could not present a complete analysis thereof. The system that monitors the progress of students from the secondary level onward is not optimal, due to lack of time, personnel and finances, according to a number of the school administrators that we interviewed. Therefore it is difficult to determine, for example, how many students opt to study abroad, to drop out of school or to enter the labor market on a yearly basis.

During the research period, we analyzed existing documents on education at the Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS) for student populations at the primary, secondary, and tertiary levels. We also analyzed yearly reports from the Department of Education. In addition, we visited all of the primary and secondary schools on the island and held open interviews with school administrators. Many schools lent their wholehearted support to the study and were very interested in its outcomes. At each school, a survey questionnaire was completed concerning the performance and progress of students by gender. Data from these different sources were analyzed comparatively. In section 1 we present the results of this inquiry via a number of statistical charts, with a short explanation following each chart. In section 2 we discuss the results and in section 3 we present our conclusions, as well as challenges and recommendations for further research.

The education system in Aruba

Education plays a key role in the development of the island. On a daily basis an average of 22.000 students in more than 80 schools are offered the opportunity to discover, develop and use their own potential. For decades education in Aruba has not received the attention that it deserves, with governments losing sight of the long term investment that it represents. The urgency of increased support for education is especially evident on a small island like Aruba, which has unacceptably high levels of reliance on professionals and highly skilled labor imported from abroad.

It could be said that the structures, policies, and practices of the educational system of Aruba almost completely replicate those of the educational system of the Netherlands. At the beginning of the 20th century, the Dutch imposed their educational system on the island without taking into account the differences between Dutch culture and our Caribbean culture. Since that time, the language of instruction has been Dutch in most

² Gender is a socially determined set of meanings and roles assigned differentially to biological males and females. Each society emphasizes particular roles that each sex should play, and there is wide latitude in acceptable behaviors for each gender across societies.

of the schools, with the exceptions of the kindergartens, some special education programs, and some faculties at the University of Aruba, such as the Faculty of Tourism and the Faculty of Social Science. The main first language of most Arubans is Papiamentu, but in the schools, our students are forced to learn all of their lessons in a language that they neither speak nor understand. Over the course of the last century, every change that has taken place in the Dutch school system has been mechanically adopted by our system, without question, adaptation, or in-depth research on their impact on students and teachers, which in an alarmingly high number of cases has been devastating.

In our two-year pre-primary schools, Papiamentu is the language of instruction. When students proceed from pre-primary to the first grade of primary school, the language of instruction changes abruptly to Dutch, a language that most students never use in their families or with friends. This means that while schools in the European Netherlands are using pedagogical best practice by effectively using the Dutch language and Dutch concepts that the children bring from their homes and preschools to the classroom, Aruban schools are violating every basic principle of teaching and learning by systematically ignoring, marginalizing and deactivating an enormous part of the knowledge and learning that our children bring from their Papiamentu speaking households and kindergartens. Most Aruban children are therefore forced to re-start their learning process from scratch in a totally foreign language in the first grade of primary school, a pedagogically harmful and emotionally traumatic experience from which many (if not most) students never recover. As if this were not bad enough, the methods that have been selected for teaching Dutch to Aruban students (for whom Dutch is a foreign language) are those developed in the European Netherlands for students whose native language is Dutch. In fact, over 90 % of the materials used in Aruban schools were developed in The Netherlands for European Dutch students. Our students cannot identify themselves with the content of their school books, meaning that education is not geared to Aruban pupils' perceptions and environment. This is one of the main reasons why so many Aruban students are alienated from the educational system.

Recent efforts to modify the system so that Papiamentu would become the language of instruction and initial literacy in the first few grades of primary school, followed by a gradual transition to Dutch have been met with opposition from parents. Parents' perceptions are that their children need to master the Dutch language in order to gain access to scholarships provided by the Dutch government to Aruban students to do their university studies in the European Netherlands. But these parents' expectations do not correspond to what is actually happening in the schools. Given the intensively stratified nature of the Dutch secondary school system, which limits the number of

students eligible for consideration for university studies even in the European Netherlands, and the special problems above and beyond these faced by Aruban students for whom the language of instruction in school is a foreign language, it should come as no surprise that only a handful of Aruban students ever have the opportunity to take advantage of these scholarships under the present system.

On several occasions over the last decade similar efforts have been made to reform the Aruban educational system, but none of these efforts has had much success thus far. Most of these reforms were neither planned nor implemented on the basis of in-depth research into the problems that our students and teachers are confronted with every day. Without such research, it will be difficult to find effective remedies for these problems, and thus change our education system for the better. There is a tremendous need for reform and innovation in the Aruban education system, but we need people who have the strength, the conviction and the courage to see this process through to the end and overcome the many obstacles that will be put in their path. Otherwise, Arubans are doomed to become passive bystanders in the political and economic life of their island, while importing more and more ‘experts’ from overseas to do the highly skilled and highly paid jobs that the Aruban education system has failed to train Arubans to do. Compulsory Education still doesn’t exist on the island. Aruba still does not comply with international agreements that children should be required to attend school until 18 years of age (UNICEF, 2008).

120 One of the social factors that is often correlated to school achievement is gender (Eurydice, 2010; Narain, 2010). Studies carried out in a number of countries show that one of the most pronounced differences in achievement is the advantage that girls have over boys in reading. This suggests that male students in Aruba, already at a disadvantage compared to female students when it comes to reading skills, are doubly handicapped, because they are forced to learn to read in a foreign language that they neither speak nor understand. If initial literacy were to be taught in Papiamentu instead of in Dutch, this could have an especially positive impact on male students’ achievement levels.

Equal opportunity, regardless country of origin, cultural background, and gender is one of the main goals of the education system in Aruba. Many reforms to our education system have been carried out with the stated purpose of guaranteeing that every child has an equal chance to achieve the highest level of education. But there are aspects of this agenda that remain unaddressed, one of the most serious of which is the “boy problem”, that is, the fact that boys’ performance generally lags behind that of girls in the education system.

Learning differences between girls and boys

One of the most often studied areas related to learning differences is the issue of gender differences, which compares female and male learning patterns and

performance. In general, there are some well attested persistent patterns, for example, female superiority in verbal skills and male superiority in mathematical skills (Eurydice, 2010). Studies conducted in the US in 2006, in Curacao and elsewhere in the Caribbean in 2009, and in Europe in 2010 show that girls generally perform better than boys in reading and writing. The rising status of Caribbean women via the education system has given rise to much public discourse regarding how these women are “leaving the men behind” (Reynolds, 2005).

Gender differences in children’s behavior become noticeable at an early age and can be seen in the different ways that girls and boys learn and play. In a kindergarten classroom, it is not unusual to find the girls working quietly at their desks or cooperatively in groups, while the boys are running around the room tossing objects through the air and making silly faces at each other. Even when seated, the boys appear to be bored, distracted and restless. These gender differences appear to be driven by both internal (biological) factors and external (socio-cultural) factors (GreatSchools, 2008). Cross-cultural research shows that boys and girls are aware of socially enforced gender differences and stereotypes by around 2-3 years of age and by 4-5 years of age they want to show mastery of these roles. Recent research in Europe suggests that gender is only one of the factors that affects the academic achievement of boys and girls (Eurydice, 2010).

With recent developments in positron emission tomography and MRI technologies we are able to look inside the brains of boys and girls, where apparent structural and functional differences can be detected that seem to have an impact on learning. New brain imaging technologies verify that genetically template brain patterning by gender may play a greater role in this respect than previously thought (Gurian & Stevens, 2004). The extent to which these differences are due to innate biological differences or instead to differences in gendered patterns of socialization, however, remains an open question. It should also be noted that overall brain differences and variation among members of the same gender are usually far greater than any average general difference between genders (Mead, 2008).

Conclusions such as those listed below have caused a great deal of controversy and are still heavily critiqued by most natural and social scientists, who warn that brain research does not tell the whole story: temperament, family background and environment play important roles as well. While researchers have detected differences between the average brains of males and females, they still do not fully understand how this relates to cognitive ability (GreatSchools, 2008). Dr. Jay Giedd, a preeminent neuroscientist who is studying brain development in children, warns that gender is much too crude a tool to differentiate educational approaches (Mead, 2008).

In girls, the corpus callosum, which connects the two hemispheres of the brain, is on average larger than that of boys. The corpus collasum handles the “cross talk”

between the hemispheres of the brain. It has been suggested that this allows girls to multitask better than boys (Gurian & Stevens, 2007; McBride, 2008). Girls seem to have fewer attention span problems and can make faster transitions between lessons. Some researchers suggest that boys' brains are apparently structured better to compartmentalize learning while girls' brains are better integrated (Sax, 2006; Gurian & Stevens, 2007; McBride, 2008; Gurian & Stevens, 2011). Some evidence points to a tendency for the male brain to require rest states in which it renews, recharges and reorients itself, while the female brain has a greater tendency to recharge and re-orient neural focus without going into rest states (McBride, 2008; Gurian & Stevens, 2011). Thus, a girl who is bored with a lesson may nonetheless keep her eyes open, take notes, and perform relatively well, while a boy who is bored may stop taking notes and fall asleep during a lecture, or try to stay awake by tapping a pencil or fidgeting. Girls may also have stronger neural connectors than boys, which may endow them with better average listening skills, more detailed memory storage, and better average discrimination among tones of voices. On average, girls have a larger hippocampus which, together with these stronger neural connectors, may lead to greater use of sensory memory details in speaking and writing (Zundel, 2001; Gurian & Stevens, 2004, McBride, 2008). An average girl's brain produces more serotonin and experiences approximately 15% more blood flow than that of an average boy. With more cortical areas on average devoted to verbal functioning, girls are generally better at sitting still, listening, mastering tonality, and dealing with the complexities of reading and writing (Gurian & Stevens, 2004; McBride, 2008). On average, boys have more cortical area devoted to spatial-mechanical functioning than do girls. According to Sax (2005): "For many tasks, brain imaging studies show that women use the most advanced areas of the brain, the cerebral cortex, whereas men doing the same task use the more primitive areas". Boys' brains on average seem to be better suited to symbols, abstractions and pictures than those of girls (Gurian & Stevens, 2004). An average girl's brain reaches its maximum thickness by the age of 11, and for the next decade or more, continues to mature, while for the average boy this process is delayed by 18 months.

Narain (2010) suggests in her latest study that some researchers have indicated that it is social-economic background and related factors such as upbringing, social expectations and local school culture rather than gender that are the most important predictors for success in school. According to analyses of census data from several Caribbean countries environment, family income, and the level of education of the mother have the most significant influence on such critical factors as school absenteeism and early abandonment of formal schooling (Burnett et al., 2008). Research conducted in the English speaking Caribbean by (Bailey, 2009) shows that slower progress among boys in the Caribbean is more a structural problem related to social class than an individual or gender driven problem. Boys tend to be identified as

competitive, hyperactive, impulsive, awkward, difficult and aggressive and therefore get into trouble with school management and are assigned to Special Education classes at much higher rates than girls (Narain, 2010; Mulrine, 2001).

One of the most reliable predictors of whether a boy will succeed or fail in school rests on a single question: does he have a man in his life to look up to? Too often, the answer is no. High divorce rates and single motherhood have created successive generations of fatherless boys (Narain, 2010; Eurydice, 2010). Another way in which families influence the development of learning and thinking in boys and girls is the amount and type of work they are expected to perform within the family unit. The work that boys and girls perform at home affects the amount of free time that they have, the behavioral characteristics they learn, and the energy that they have in school. Early in their lives, girls are often engaged in work that benefits the family: they help in preparing food for the family, take care of their younger siblings, and help with the household chores. In general, girls are expected to do more work and different work than boys. Boys get unfairly labeled as having learning disabilities, when in fact often the problem is not with the boy but with his family and the school system itself, which do not understand his specific needs as a human being (Gurian, 2006).

Teachers' perception of boys and girls as learners can be biased, and built into the curriculum. It seems that teachers may play a role in reinforcing some gender stereotypes in the classroom. This type of "classroom gendering" is done by both male and female teachers. Boys often receive more attention from the teacher and are often asked more complex questions, but they also tend to get stricter punishment than girls for the same offense. As more and more teachers are becoming aware of the pervasiveness of the "boy problem" more time and energy are being devoted to the needs of boys in class, but this does not seem to be having positive effects that can be measured thus far. Gurian & Stevens (2007; 2011) suggest that educators teach many alternative strategies for learning, in order to accommodate gendered learning differences. Educators should acknowledge such differences, and tailor their teaching methods to accommodate the strengths and the weaknesses that typify boys' and girls' learning styles. In doing so, learning could be greatly facilitated in both genders and developmental difficulties could be avoided (Zundel, 2001).

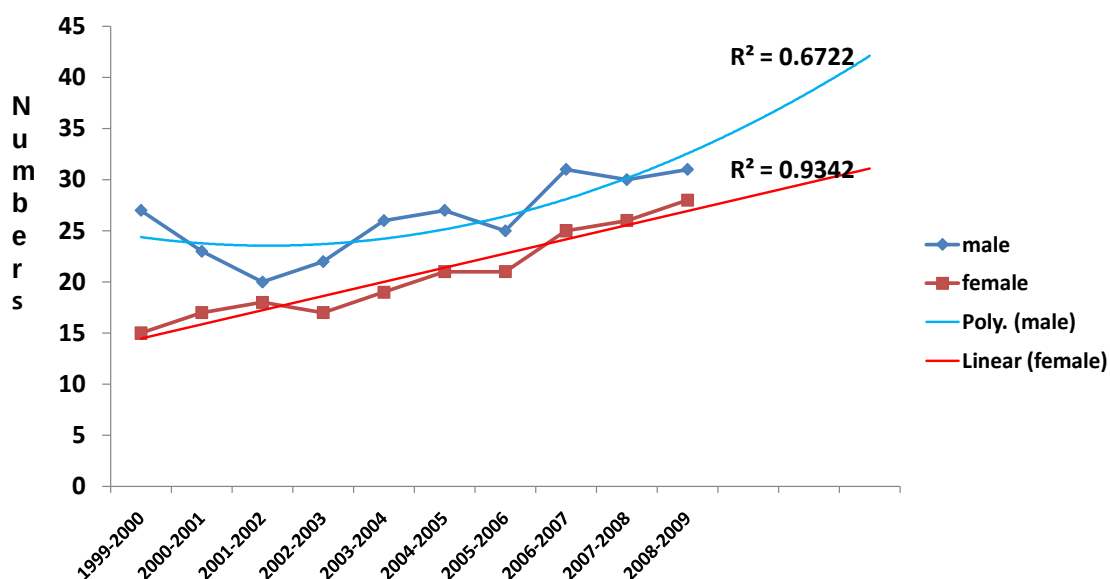
Educational psychologists have constantly found that, on average, even though they outperform boys in school, girls have higher standards in the classroom and evaluate their own performance more critically (Sax, 2006). Because girls generally do better in school, one might think that they would be more self-confident about their academic abilities and have higher academic self-esteem than boys. In fact, this is not the case, with girls being more likely to be excessively critical in evaluating their own

academic performance, and boys more likely to have unrealistically high estimates of their own academic abilities (Sax, 2006).

Gendered differences in education on Aruba

The data from Aruba indicate that boys are indeed falling behind girls at school. The higher the education level, the bigger the gendered differences in participation and performance in favor of females. In general, boys are over-represented in special education classes. On Aruba, there are four special education tracks, including that for the severely mentally challenged (ZMLK), that for the mildly mentally challenged (MLK), that for the deaf/hearing impaired and the three year long lower vocational non-academic special education track (EPB special education). In three of these four special education tracks, the males outnumber the females, especially in the EPB track. At the secondary level, male participation rates generally decline, and males are underrepresented in the majority of more academically oriented secondary tracks. At the tertiary level the gap is even bigger, again in favor of female students.

ZMLK (severely mentally retarded)



2/20/2011

Source: Department of Education, 1999 till 2010

11

Chart 1 Numbers of male and female students in the special education track for severely mentally challenged students

As shown in Chart 1, male students outnumber female students in the special education track reserved for severely mentally challenged students. The polynomial trend line predicts that this imbalance will continue to increase.

MLK (mildly retarded) & Scucha Nos (Hearing impaired) Special Education

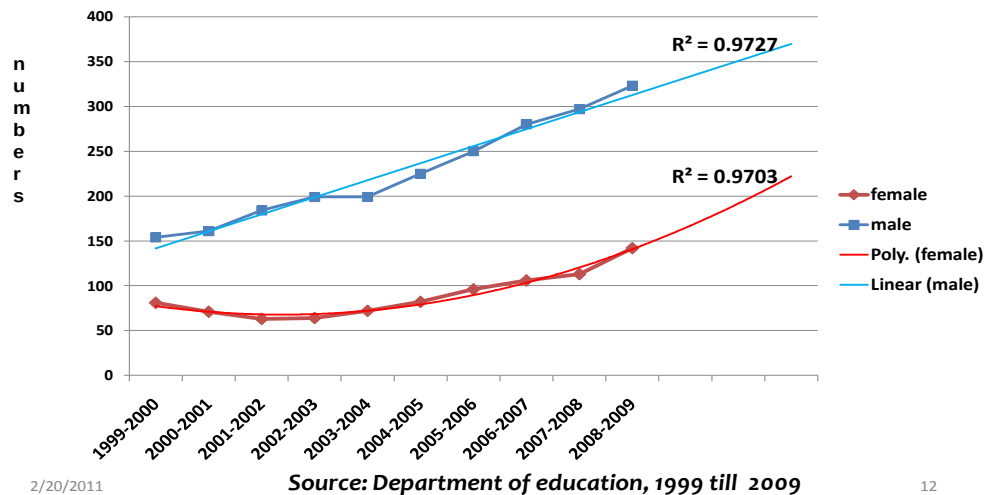
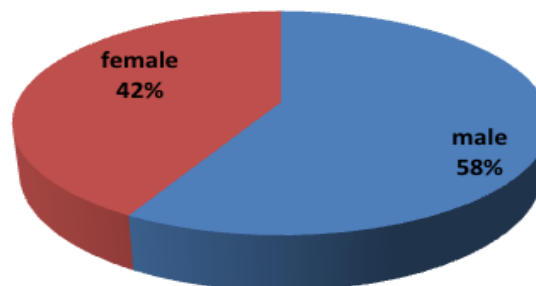


Chart 2 Combined numbers of male and female students in the special education tracks for mildly mentally challenged and hearing impaired students

As shown in Chart 2, male students outnumber female students in the special education tracks for mildly mentally challenged and hearing impaired students combined. The polynomial trend line predicts that this imbalance will continue to increase. The chart also shows that the number of male students in these tracks doubled over the last eight years of sampling.

125

Over aged students. School year 2000-2001



Source: CBS, 2004

Chart 3 Proportion of male to female over aged students.

Chart 3 shows that male students make up a higher proportion of over aged students than do female students.

Mobility from primary school to secondary school 2009-2010 (minus 1

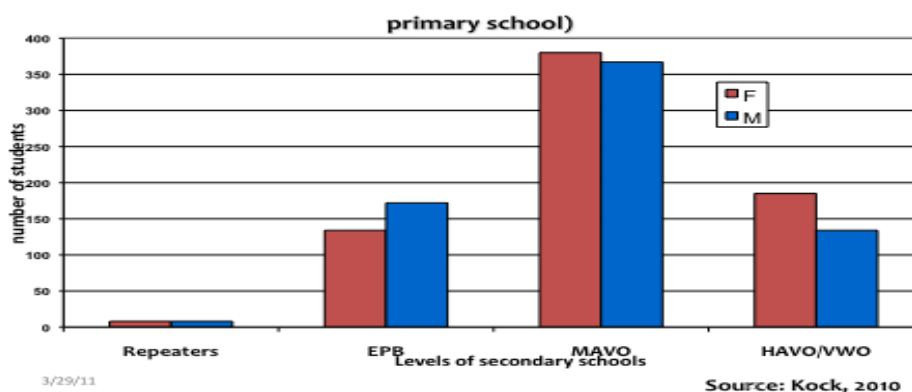


Chart 4 Male vs. female repeater rates in the final year of primary school and the tracking of male and female students in secondary education (lower vocational education track or EPB vs. academically oriented tracks or HAVO/VWO)

As shown in Chart 4, while the number of repeaters in the final grade of primary education is very low, a much higher number of males than females is tracked into lower vocational and non-academic education (EPB), while a much higher number of females than males is tracked into academically oriented education (HAVO/VWO).

Number of repeaters in 2008 by gender

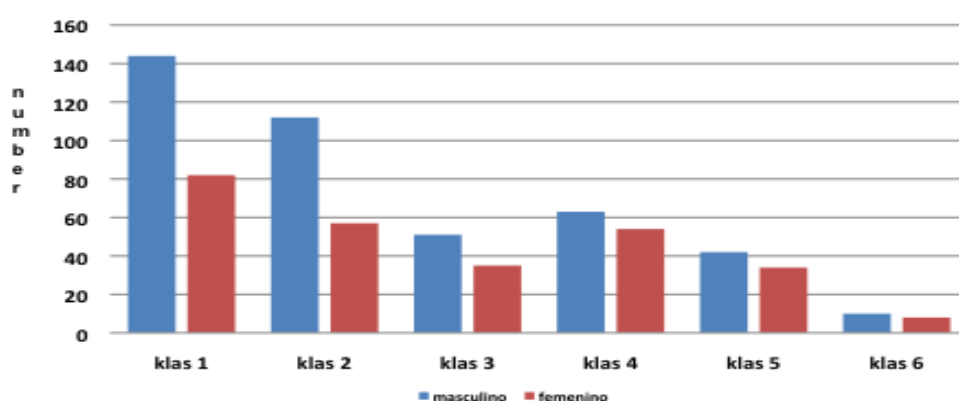


Chart 5 Male vs. female repeater rates throughout primary school

As shown in Chart 5, the number of repeaters is highest in the 1st grade and the number of male repeaters is 43% higher than that of female repeaters. In the 2nd grade

the number of male repeaters is 50% higher than that of female repeaters. Throughout primary school, males repeat in greater numbers than females. In 2008-2009, 14.1% of all students in the first grade repeated vs. only 1.2% of all students in the sixth grade. In the same year there were a total of 692 repeaters in a total primary school population of 9074 (Van der Wal, 2011). In 2007, the number of “drop outs” between 16 and 24 years of age was estimated to include some 2000 young people (Van der Wal, 2008).

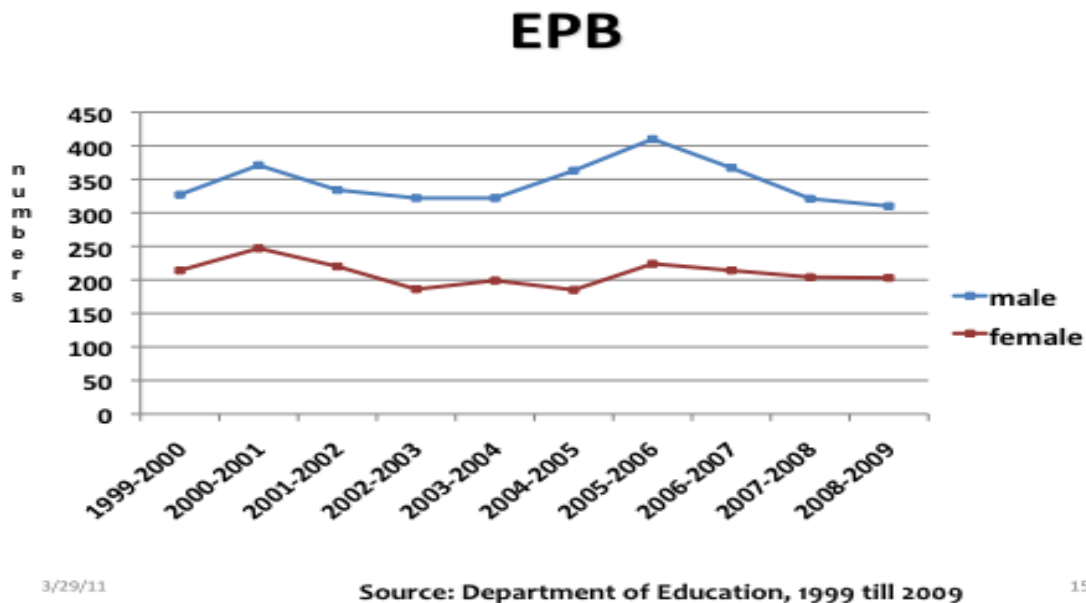
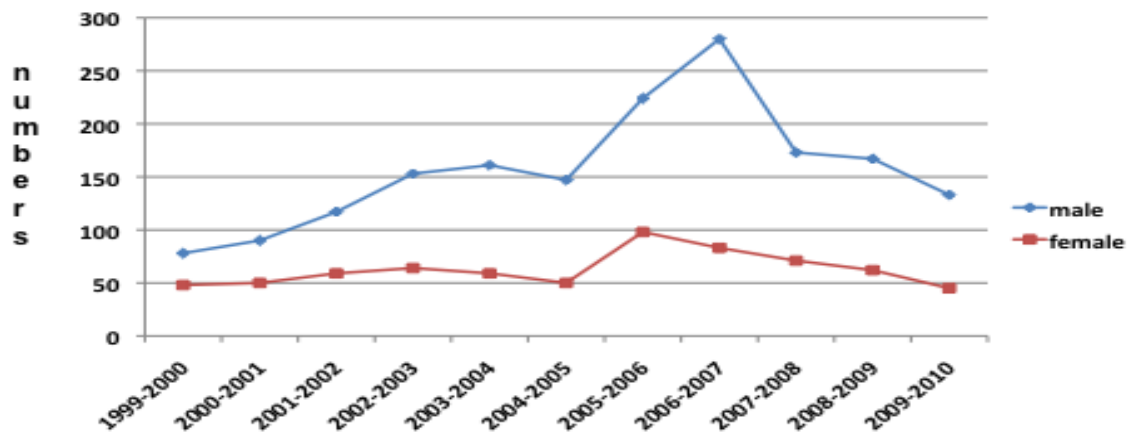


Chart 6 Male vs. female students in lower vocational non-academic secondary education (EPB)

Chart 6 demonstrates how males are consistently much more highly represented than females in lower vocational non-academic secondary education (EPB), with a remarkable increase in male students in 2005-2006.

Population EPB 3 year Special Education Track



3/29/11

Source: Department of Education, 1999 till 2010

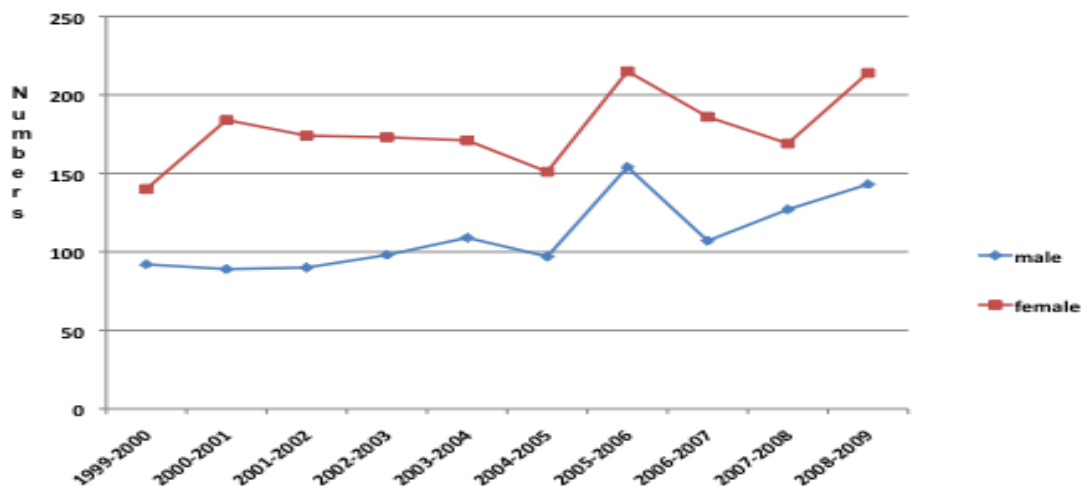
16

Chart 7 Male vs. female students in lower vocational non-academic special secondary education (EPB special education)

Chart 7 demonstrates how males are consistently much more highly represented than females in lower vocational non-academic special secondary education (EPB special education), with male students tripling the number of female students in 2006-2007.

128

HAVO 5



3/29/11

Source: Department of Education, 1999 till 2010

17

Chart 8 Female vs. male students successfully completing academically oriented secondary education (HAVO 5)

Chart 8 demonstrates how females are consistently much more highly represented than males in the successful completion of academically oriented secondary education (HAVO 5).

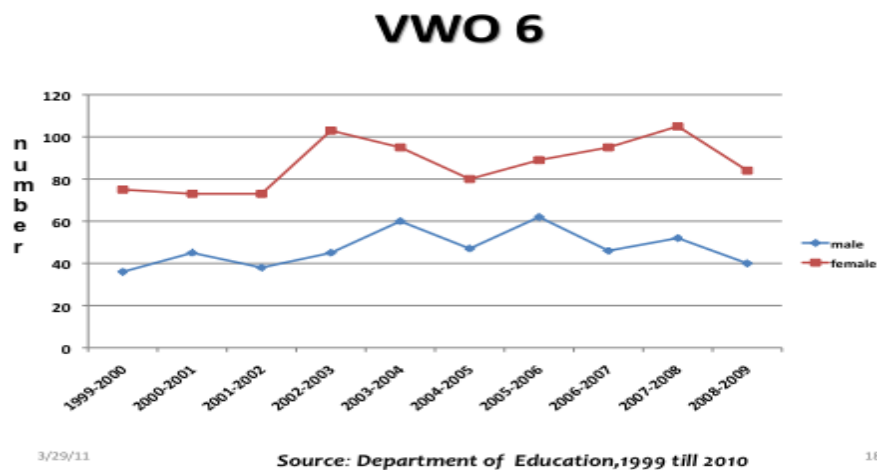


Chart 9 Female vs. male students successfully completing academically oriented secondary education (VWO 6)

Chart 9 demonstrates how females are consistently much more highly represented than males in the successful completion of academically oriented secondary education (VWO 6).

129

Sexually active at young age: resulting in Teenage pregnancy

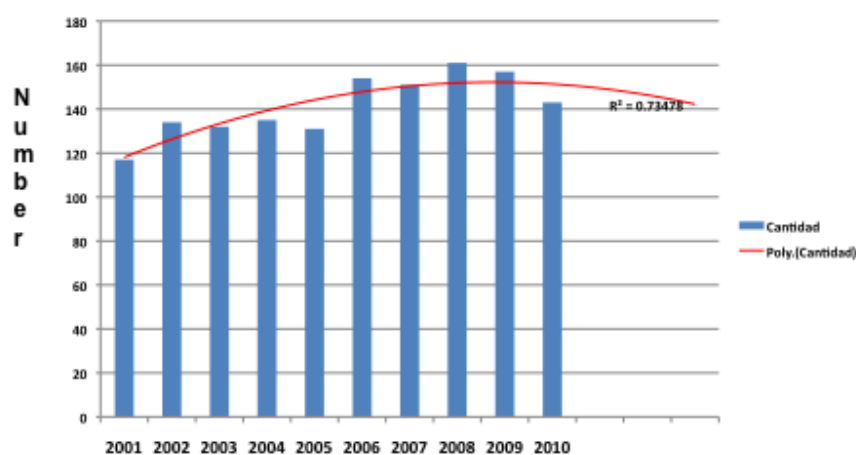


Chart 10 Number of teen age pregnancies

Chart 10 indicates that the number of teen age pregnancies has begun to decrease, with the polynomial line suggesting that trend this will continue.

Number of mothers by age (2006-2008)				Number of teenage pregnancies by age of the fathers (2006-2008)			
Age	2006	2007	2008	Age	2006	2007	2008
11 years	-	1	-	15 years	-	1	1
14 years	3	4	6	16 years	1	5	6
15 years	8	11	13	17 years	2	5	5
16 years	18	24	14	18 years	12	16	14
17 years	34	25	32	19 years	14	15	19
18 years	45	45	45	20-50 years	125	109	116
19 years	46	41	51	Young fathers	29 (18%)	42 (28%)	45 (28%)
Young mothers	154	151	161				

Source: W GK, 2009

Chart 11 Age of teen age mothers and age of fathers responsible for teen age pregnancies

As shown in Chart 11, only between 18% and 28% of fathers responsible for teen age pregnancies are teen agers themselves, meaning that between 72% and 82% of these fathers are between 20 and 50 years old.

Conclusions and recommendations

The figures presented above show that there is a gender gap at all levels of education in Aruba, with female students consistently outperforming male students, and this gap is widening. The repetition rates for boys are higher than those for girls in every grade of primary education. In secondary education, more male students drop out than female students, and those who do not drop out are more highly represented than females in non-academic special and lower vocational tracks, and less highly represented than females in academically oriented tracks. In spite of female students' higher performance rates in school, Aruban teenage pregnancy rates are among the highest in the region, with most of the fathers responsible for teen age pregnancies between the ages of 20 and 50 years of age.

More in-depth research is needed to answer such questions as the following concerning the gender gap in education in Aruba:

- Why are the repetition rates so high for male students at the primary level, especially in the first and second grades?
- Why do males make up the majority of students assigned to special education classes and the lower vocational education tracks?
- What can be done to make students in general, and male students in particular, perform at higher levels in school?
- What factors in the social environment cause underachievement in male students?
- How can we obtain a clearer picture of the real abandonment (“drop out”) rates in Aruba?

Urgent attention and intervention are necessary to address the gender gap in Aruba, otherwise it will continue to have serious consequences for relationships between men and women, their children and the labor market. It will also have a particularly negative impact on men in their role as models for our boys. Campaigns need to be organized to attract more men into the teaching profession, especially at the pre-primary and primary education levels and to attract more women into school administration. Attitudes and behavior patterns related to the upbringing of boys and girls need to be challenged, because we are still living in a culture where boys are allowed to do whatever they want, while girls are expected to work around the house and behave “properly” and where men are “protected” and women get the blame when relationships go wrong.

Education is a powerful instrument in changing attitudes and behavior. Education needs to play an important role in fostering equal chances for males and females and in combating stereotypes that are still embedded in our community. Schools have a duty to provide all children regardless their race, gender, ethnicity, and traditional gender expectations with the opportunity to discover their own identities and interests. Schools also have a duty to promote gender equality among parents and to involve them in efforts to address the gender gap and related issues.

The Aruban government must give higher priority to education and invest more in our teachers. Teachers play a crucial role in developing young people’s understanding of gender roles. During the course of their work, teachers have the opportunity to encourage critical thinking about gender stereotypes. Because of this, teachers must receive training on these issues and have access to information on gender related topics. Teachers’ understanding of how their own gender roles have been constructed can contribute to challenging gender stereotypes within schools.

REFERENCES

- Aera (2010). *Understanding Complex Ecologies in a Changing World*.
- Bailey, Barbara (2009). Caribbean boy's education: problems, prognosis and prospects. Paper presented at *The Boy Problem Conference*, organized by the Netherlands Antilles National Commission for Unesco, Curaçao, November.
- Bailey, Barbara (2009). Needed! A paradigm shift in addressing boys' underachievement in Education. Keeping boys out of risk. Paper presented at the *Regional Caribbean conference on Keeping Boys Out of Risk*, Jamaica, May.
- Burnett, Nicholas et al. (2008). *Education for all by 2015: will we make it?* (Education for all monitoring report). Oxford: UNESCO Publishing.
- CBS (1999-2009). *CBS reports*. Aruba: CBS.
- CBS (2003). *Onderwijs op Aruba. context and Output*. Aruba: CBS.
- Eurydice (2010). *Gender differences in educational outcomes: study on the measures taken and the current situation in Europe*. Brussels : Education, Audiovisual and Culture Executive Agency.
- GreatSchools (2008). *Are boys and girls wired to learned differently?* Retrieved February 26, 2011, from Greatschools: <http://greatschoolsorg/parenting/social-skills/gender-differences-learning.gs?>
- Gurian, Michael & Kathy Stevens (2004). With boys and girls in mind. *Educational Leadership*, 62,3, 21-26.
- Gurian, Michael & Kathy Stevens (2007). *The minds of boys: saving our sons from falling behind in school and life*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Gurian, Michael & Kathy Stevens (2011). *Boys and girls learn differently: a guide for teachers and parents*. Hoboken: John Wiley & Sons.
- McBride, William (2008). *Boys will be boys, girls will be girls*. Available on
- Mead, Sara (2008). The problem with gender-based education. *The early Ed Watch Blog* (March 3, 2008).
- Mulrine, Anna (2001, July 30). Are boys the weaker sex? Why girls do better in the real world. *Urban Youth Workers Institute* . Available at <http://www.urbanministry.org/wiki/are-boys-weaker-sex-why-girls-do-better-real-world>
- Narain, Goretti (Coord.) (2010). *The boy problem: genderverschillen in onderwijsloopbaan op de Nederlandse Antillen*. Curaçao: Nationale Unesco Commissie Nederlandse Antillen.
- Reynolds, Tracey (2005). *Caribbean mothers: identity and experience in the U.K*. London: Tufnell Press.
- Sax, Leonard (2005). *Why gender matters: what parents and teachers need to know about the emerging science of sex differences*. New York: Broadway Books.

- Sax, Leonard (2006). What are some differences in how boys and girls learn?
NASSPE National Association for single sex public Education. NASSPE.
- UNICEF (2008). *Annual report 2008*.
- Van der Wal, Hellen A. (2011). *Jeugdigen in Aruba: hoe worden ze (niet) delinquent?*
PhD dissertation, VU University Amsterdam.
- Van der Wal, Hellen A. (2008). *Jeugddelinquentie in Aruba*. Aruba: SMC.
- Zundel, Irene H. (2001). Gender differences in learning. *Make your kid a Genius*.

CULTURE, HEALTH AND ARUBAN WOMEN'S PERCEPTION OF BEAUTY

EMY MADURO

INSTITUTO PEDAGOGICO ARUBANO

One day, during a meeting, I was looking at my female colleagues and noted that most of them had done something to enhance or change the way they looked. Some of them had acrylic nails with elaborate designs on their fingertips, others had done something to their hair like straightening or curling it, and others were using some kind of make-up. I started to explore the idea that everyone, even the women whom I considered to be pretty or even beautiful, were doing something to enhance their beauty or attractiveness. I then asked myself the questions: 'Whom do I consider to be beautiful?', and: 'What are the criteria that I apply to determine whether someone is beautiful or not?'

To answer these questions, I found myself digging into my early childhood, and remembering that every year my mother used to watch the "Miss Venezuela", "Miss World" and "Miss Universe" beauty pageants. She never missed one, and was even willing to sacrifice some sleep in order to find out who was designated to be the most beautiful girl that year. I must mention that during that period, there was no cable television, and there were only 3 channels that could be received on Aruba: two Venezuelan channels and one Aruban channel that was only on air from 6:00 pm to 12:00 midnight. Therefore, there were plenty of people who were watching the same show, but were watching it from different perspectives ... or maybe not. What I do know for a fact, is that children at my school were talking about these pageants the next day; everyone had their own favorite contestant, and their own opinion about the outcome of the pageant. Sometimes it was even front page news in the newspapers.

I realized that my early childhood experience had provided the conceptual models for my own definition of beauty for long periods during my life. There was a time when I only considered women with blond hair, light eyes, a tiny nose and perfect measurements (90cm bust, 60cm waist and 90cm hips) beautiful. Being a chubby, short girl with dark wavy hair, dark brown eyes and a nose that was not exactly subtle, the embodiment of beauty was everything I was not. The only thing that I sort of complied with was the light skin color, but when I went to the Netherlands, I was not

considered to be “white” at all, so I gave up even thinking about beauty and focused on what I could have more influence upon: my academic performance.

My reasoning and thoughts brought me to the following question: “What about the rest of the women in Aruban society? How did these first media influences from Venezuela change our collective view of beauty? And furthermore: How does this affect our health? In many ways, Venezuela has set the standard for beauty, by being the only country to have conquered the “Miss Universe” title five times since the first pageant was held. The result: we now ship our beauty queens to Venezuela right after they win the Aruban pageant to be trained by the very best trainers. In 1996 Miss Aruba even came in second place at the Miss Universe pageant. Of course, the winner that year was once again Miss Venezuela. When our Miss Aruba came back from Las Vegas, she was received with a new car, jewelry from the most renowned jewelers on the island, gifts in cash from banks and many other things. I remember thinking: “I cannot believe that she deserves to get all of that just for being pretty, while many others just like myself, who are representing our island academically, in sports, and in many other ways, and who are doing a pretty good job of it too, never even get a “thank you” or a reception at the airport with a big balloon or flowers, but we do get to pay back our student loans *with interest* for many years to come....”

As I grew older (and I would like to think wiser), my perception of beauty has changed, and if I am not mistaken, so has the beauty perception of the world around me. Some things though, have not changed at all: there are still people, who try to dictate to others what beauty is, and there are other people who rebel against this ideal. Some questions still bother me, such as: What impact does beauty have on our daily life and our life story? Better looking people get better jobs. How does this make us feel? Is it fair?

That moment when I was looking around during the meeting that I mentioned above started me thinking about what effect the Venezuelan ideal of beauty had on my development as a human being. Is it – deep down – still my mental model, or have other models taken its place? In other words: Is beauty really in the eye of the beholder or do we view beauty through someone else’s eyes? In this article, I would like to take a look at different factors that influence our perception of beauty in Aruba and what effect this has on our health – particularly our mental health and self esteem. The method that I used to carry out this study involved having conversations with some of my female colleagues at the Instituto Pedagógico Arubano (IPA) who were raised on Aruba, looking at pictures from beauty pageants in the past, and having conversations with older people, who might remember what the definition of beauty was during their younger years. In this article I focus on women, but perhaps in the future I might shift my focus from women to men; as I am writing this article, my

male colleagues assure me that there is a male standard for beauty or attractiveness, and that this is also worth looking into.

What is beauty? To provide an answer to this question I first wanted to look at the words that are used in different languages to express this concept. In Papiamentu, you can be “*nechi*” (pretty) and “*bunita*”(beautiful); in Spanish, you can be either “*bonita*” (pretty) or “*bella*”(beautiful); in Dutch, you can be “*mooi*” (beautiful), but the words “*schoon/schoonheid*” (clean/cleanliness) can also be used to describe a beautiful woman. The German word “*schön*”, comes from the same etymon, which takes the idea of beauty in a certain direction: when you are beautiful, you are clean, spotless. How does this apply to different skin colors? Another thought that comes to mind is: if beauty is spotless, where does the “beauty mark” fit in? Or doesn’t it fit in at all? And what about people with freckles?

It seemed that this search had left me with more questions than I had before. So I turned to my friends at Wikipedia for some straight answers. According to Wikipedia:

Beauty (also called **prettiness**, **loveliness** or **comeliness**) is a characteristic of a person, animal, place, object, or idea that provides a perceptual experience of pleasure or satisfaction. Beauty is studied as part of aesthetics, sociology, social psychology, and culture. An “ideal beauty” is an entity which is admired, or possesses features widely attributed to beauty in a particular culture, for perfection.

Source: <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Beauty>

Beauty is also related to physical attractiveness:

Physical attractiveness refers to the degree to which a person’s physical traits are regarded as aesthetically pleasing or beautiful. The term often implies sexual attractiveness or desirability, but can also be distinct from the two; for example, humans may regard the young as attractive for various reasons, but without sexual attraction.

Source: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Physical_attractiveness

These two definitions still leave room for argument: “provides a perceptual experience of pleasure or satisfaction” and “regarded as aesthetically pleasing or beautiful” seem to be awfully subjective terms. According to the rest of the article, there are certain aspects that are backed up by research that are associated with beauty, and are different for men and women. For example, symmetry of features plays an important role here. Symmetry is linked not only to beauty, but also to better overall chances of survival and better fertility.

According to Kant, the judgment of beauty is different from cognitive or moral judgment because it is affected subjectively, that is, exclusively in reference to the person making the judgment. For a judgment to be truly “aesthetic”, rather than merely idiosyncratic, the person making the judgment must be adamant that their opinion be consensus. “A person who describes something as beautiful insists that everyone ought to give the object in question his approval and follow suit.” Plato, one of the earliest philosophers to concern himself with beauty, defined it as a “property intrinsic in objects” which could be measured in “purity, integrity, harmony and perfection.”

Wood (n.d.)

What is health or what is healthy, and furthermore; what is a healthy perception of beauty? According to Wikipedia, “health is the level of functional or metabolic efficiency of a living being. In humans, it is the general condition of a person’s mind, body and spirit, usually meaning to be free from illness, injury or pain (as in “*good health*” or “*healthy*”).” The World Health Organization (WHO) defined health in its broader sense in 1946 as “a state of complete physical, mental, and social well-being and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity.”

I thought that my search for a definition of beauty might be facilitated by going back in time before the onslaught of the mass media. I therefore did a survey of women who are considered to be the most beautiful in history, in order check for the characteristics that defined their beauty. I came across names such as Nefertiti, Cleopatra, Helen of Troy, Delilah, etc. What I found was that many of these women had more than just beauty; people were in awe of them, and the legend of their beauty was something that made them renowned. If we take Cleopatra as an example, we see that almost all of the descriptions that we have of her were written by the Romans, who had political reasons to depict her as a temptress who knew how to lure the most powerful men for her personal gain and that of her country. This is the legend that many Hollywood films try to capture. In short: many of the beautiful women of history were not only beautiful, but were smart and ambitious, and they knew how to use their beauty to achieve their goals.

Wood (n.d.) gives a description of the women who have been considered beautiful in the western world from the 20th century onward, specifically in Hollywood. During this time, the hallmark of beauty has shifted at times radically, for example, from a rail-thin body in one decade to a curvy and voluptuous body in another. What caught my attention is that while the beauty ideal kept changing throughout the century, it is remarkable that both Marilyn Monroe and Twiggy were considered to be beauties during the same period (the 1950s-1960s), alongside Barbie (the doll from Mattel) and Playboy magazine. While all of these icons still play a role in setting standards for

beauty and desirability, some of them originally represented those who were rebelling against the prescribed models of their time.

In my conversations on the subject of beauty with my parents and their acquaintances, they explained that even in the first beauty pageants (including Miss Venezuela) women who were more voluptuous were considered to be beautiful, and women who had skinny legs or who were generally thin, were not. Broad hips and a small waist were what every woman wanted to have, and they were willing to squeeze themselves into uncomfortable corsets to give the illusion of having an hourglass figure. They made it clear though, that as a woman, you had to have some “meat” on your body to be considered pretty.

I then interviewed some of my female colleagues at the IPA who were all born and raised on Aruba during the same period that I was, and all living in San Nicolas, a town that is mostly inhabited by African-Caribbean people. One of them had the same experiences that I described in my introduction, feeling that she was not at all beautiful, and focusing on academics to compensate for what she lacked in beauty. Another colleague said that she never felt pretty, even as a little girl, because of the “*telenovelas*” that were aired on the Venezuelan channels, in which the pretty white, blond girl always won the love of the boy, and always turned out to be successful and rich, while her dark-haired rival and nemesis always ended up in trouble. She said that she tried to focus on other things that she was good at, like sports, to compensate for everything that she was not physically.

Another colleague, one that I consider to be a true beauty, told me that growing up, she never saw herself as pretty because friends and family were always saying how cute and lovely her baby sister was. This had an effect on how she maintained her appearance; she thought there was not much to work with and the competition coming from her younger sister was too fierce to even bother. Later in life she changed the way she looked at herself, and started taking better care of her appearance, and as I already said, I think she is a true beauty. And why do I think that? Because when she walks, she walks straight, when she talks, she is not afraid of looking you in the eyes, and most importantly, it seems as if she is not aware of her own beauty.

I also did a focus group session with a group of 24 of my female students ranging from 20 to around 40 years of age. Not all of them had the same perception that I had of the beauty pageants, but all of them had a perception of beauty, and that perception had an effect on how they conduct themselves. One of my students recalled wanting to have more color, rubbing cola on her legs and basking in the sun for hours during the weekends when she was a teenager, just to be able to wear Bermuda shorts to school on Monday. Words of caution from her mother were disregarded, and now, years later, she realizes that these actions were very dangerous, now that we know more

about skin cancer. Another student said to me: “when I was very young my parents went through a nasty divorce, and I became my mother’s guardian, and my sister’s mother. My appearance was not relevant, and to this very day, I sometimes have to force myself to take good care of myself.” Other students had issues with being “too fat”, others with being “too skinny”. Some of them compared themselves with people that they had seen in magazines, which brings me to the next topic: the modern ideal of beauty and Photo shop.

The 1990s was the decade that witnessed the emergence of what are referred to as the super models. Most women know who we are talking about when we mention Cindy Crawford, Claudia Schiffer, Linda Evangelista, and Naomi Campbell. At the same time, new technologies made it possible for magazines to “adjust” the photographs that they featured, especially those that appeared on their covers. Now, not only size, but skin color, wrinkles, scars and beauty marks are being erased or altered in trend setting images, all in the name of beauty. This sends the wrong message to women in general, but it has an especially negative impact on young women. In my opinion it is disrespectful; if you don’t think someone is good enough to be in your magazine just the way they are, don’t put their photo in it.

This has given rise a new “wave” of ‘coming out stories’ by celebrities and other famous people who are admitting that “that was not my real body/face” or “I have curves and wrinkles just like everyone else” thus shaming magazines that slim down or “whitewash” pictures they use.

I have to admit that it took me a long time to write this article: more than a year. In that time my own perceptions concerning beauty have changed and shifted. When I started writing this article, I was focused on physical beauty. I struggled with mental models that were imprinted not only in my memory, but in my emotions, as I recalled wanting so badly to be beautiful like Miss Venezuela, so my mother could be proud of me. But while developing this article, I crossed paths with different people who broadened my view. On the very first day of a group discussion with my colleagues, one of them said to me: “I remember when you were just like Barbie.” And I looked up as confused as I would ever be. Another person looked and asked the others: “She was the Barbie??” then, referring to how I looked about ten years ago, she suddenly shouted: “I remember you! You have shorter hair, and you’re maybe a little curvier, but you were the Barbie!” I never knew that there were people who used to call me “the Barbie” because I always saw myself for what I was not or what I did not have. I needed every bit of help with my appearance, because as I said in the beginning, the embodiment of beauty was everything I was not. That belief shaped my thoughts, and therefore shaped some of my choices in life.

By comparing my personal experiences with the stories of other women, I have come to the conclusion that one's perception of beauty combined with one's perception of one's own beauty can have an effect on one's health through the life choices that one makes. I can also conclude that beauty has many forms; I have learned to appreciate inner beauty more: I feel a deep respect for the women who sacrifice their appearance to take care of their loved ones. I salute the women who have learned that it is not worth risking your health for physical beauty. I have also realized that it is best to trust the people who appreciate you when they tell you that you are beautiful.

At the beginning of this article I asked if beauty is in the eye of the beholder, and as I have been writing, my colleagues, my students and the people who matter to me have given me the answer; beauty *is* in the eye of the beholder and every beholder has her or his own criteria. I do not have my long wavy hair any more. I am not small or svelte. I am a mother to three precious children and I get up every day and do my best at home and at work. I am grateful for my husband who every day assures me that he thinks I am beautiful. I have learned to appreciate every pound on my body, and every wrinkle on my face, because every one of them is a testimony to a wonderful journey called life. But for the time being, I will keep coloring my hair, while I continue to struggle to find a way to appreciate the ever increasing number of grey strands that insist on gracing my head...

“Beauty is worse than wine; it intoxicates both the holder and the beholder.”
– Aldous Huxley

REFERENCES

- Alice, Lynette (2009). *How the media changes our perceptions of beauty*. Retrieved from <http://www.helium.com/items/1490944-how-the-media-changes-our-perception-of-beauty>
- Evans, Chelsea (2009). *How the media changes our perception of beauty*. Retrieved from <http://www.helium.com/knowledge/23015-how-the-media-changes-our-perception-of-beauty>
- Highfield, Roger (2008). Why beauty is an advert for good genes. Retrieved from <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/science/science-news/3341719/Why-beauty-is-an-advert-for-good-genes.html>
- Wood, Louise (n.d.). Perceptions of female beauty in the 20th century. Retrieved from <http://barneygrant.tripod.com/p-erceptions.htm>
- Beauty Redefined Blog (2012). Photoshop phoniness: hall of shame. Available at <http://www.beautyredefined.net/photoshop-phoniness-hall-of-shame>

The definition of beauty according to wikipedia. Retrieved from <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Beauty>

The definition of health according to wikipedia. Retrieved from <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Health>

The definition of physical attractiveness according to wikipedia. Retrieved from http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Physical_attractiveness

THE SEARCH FOR TRUTH ABOUT CHILD SEXUAL ABUSE

CLEMENTIA EUGENE
UNIVERSITY OF ARUBA

Child sexual abuse (CSA) is a complex social reality that cuts across the boundaries of several disciplines. Expert practitioners from any one of these disciplines have not been able to manage the complexity of CSA in terms of designing strategies that can reduce, let alone stop, this silent crime in the Caribbean and worldwide. One significant barrier to enquiry and finding solutions to this menace has been the monodisciplinary approach utilized by researchers and by specialized practitioners.

This article acknowledges the complexity of CSA and therefore asserts that finding out the facts about it in order to adequately respond at both the prevention and intervention levels necessitates transcending monodisciplinary knowledge towards a transdisciplinary epistemological research agenda. The knowledge yielded from such an agenda would contribute in a positive way to advocacy, decision making and action for the sustainable human development of Caribbean islands. This article advocates for a transdisciplinary approach to research in order to gain more epistemological clarity about CSA, so that through collaborative teamwork involving researchers in academia, policy makers, civil society and specialized practitioners, CSA can be eradicated in the Caribbean.

“The term discipline is adapted from the Latin word, *disciplina*, meaning a branch of instruction or education; a department of learning or knowledge” (Oxford English Dictionary, cited in Aram, 2004: 380). “The term disciplinary has been used since the early Middle Ages to signify a way of ordering knowledge for teaching and learning” (Aram, 2004: 380). A discipline is essentially a manner in which to differentiate one specialized area from another with clear distinct boundaries. In research, disciplines are left free on their own to frame social problems, make claims, theorize and create knowledge. But is a monodisciplinary approach the optimal one for investigating the complex social problems like CSA?

The phenomenon of CSA crosses multiple disciplines and fields of practice within the helping professions, because of its multiple layers of complexity. CSA is a sociological construct as it involves a relatively defenceless child who lives within a family unit, and an adult, both of whom are located within a community environment

with its own unique cultural norms and values. Furthermore, CSA is one form of child maltreatment that is a criminal offence and a violation of the Convention on the Rights of the Child (Articles 34 & 19). Therefore, CSA also has implications for the legal and justice systems charged with the responsibility to uphold the rule of law and justice for all. Moreover, CSA has severe mental, physical and social health consequences that can seriously affect the child across its lifespan (Eugene, 2012). Thus, it is reasonable to argue that CSA has major relevance to the disciplines of sociology, criminology, psychology, psychiatry, jurisprudence, medicine and public health.

More importantly, the psychosocial consequences of CSA can have a devastating impact on the child's capabilities and capacity to function in various domains of life, including identity formation, education, health, inter- and intrapersonal skills, family life, safety and human security. Other potentially negatively affected aspects of life include educational attainment and ability to take advantage of career and employment opportunities leading to a diminished ability to contribute to the economic growth of one's country (Eugene, 2012). This adds more dimensions to the complex set of disciplines and perspectives that impact and are impacted by CSA, including economics, human and social capital and education. Any attempt to find and access help for the child and its family to cope with the effects of CSA therefore requires the intervention of a team of different actors from the helping professions, such as counsellors, social workers, psychologists, psychiatrists, medical doctors, teachers, human resources personnel, etc. Additionally, at the level of prevention and programs of advocacy for improved services, more targetted legislation, more effective policies, and more proactive community agency and awareness for social action and change, dealing with CSA becomes a multidisciplinary and multisectoral political endeavour. The prevention and treatment of CSA in the Caribbean presents challenges in the areas of coordination and collaboration amongst the various stakeholders. Agencies are usually entangled in a web of turf and power issues making collaborative action and adherence to an agenda shared by institutions from such diverse sectors as health, education, justice, and social services a daunting challenge. Thus, dealing with CSA also traverses boundaries related to politics, management, organization and governance.

Given the complexity of CSA as described above, effective intervention necessitates the bringing together of professionals from quite a number of disciplines to collaborate and engage in collective dialogue in order to find solutions to this complex problem. Arriving at such a holistic response, however, first requires a search for truth about CSA, and secondly, arrival at an agreed upon integrative conceptualization of the problem. Within the dominant paradigm of science, the search for truth is usually

carried out through a rigorous process utilizing various forms of research methodology. The purpose of such enquiry is for the creation of knowledge.

The term epistemology is the branch of philosophy concerned with the nature and scope of knowledge. Epistemology studies how we might come to know about various phenomena, resulting in a theory of knowledge. Some philosophers have for centuries argued that there is no truth and its existence is still being debated. Skeptics who doubt everything might ask us how certain we can be about our knowledge of CSA. For others, CSA may be considered to be an illusion, for there are societies where engaging children in sexual activities is perceived as a rite of passage. In the Caribbean, however, CSA is regarded as one of the worst forms of child maltreatment, it is considered to be an immoral, a criminal offence, a violation of human rights and a complex psychosocial problem. I can personally attest to this on the basis of my years of experience as social worker, a clinician and an educator in the Caribbean. As such, I have become familiar with the long term and severe psychosocial consequences of CSA, and I argue that there is a dire need for truth to be told about it.

This social problem is an old one, and as such a great number of research studies are already available. Despite all of this research, however, CSA continues to prevail in all Caribbean societies at alarming rates (Eugene, 2012: 397-398). Given the scope of the problem in the Caribbean and the considerable amount of available research literature, could it be that we still only know a very small part of what there is to know about CSA? Could this be a call to re-examine the mainly monodisciplinary approaches that have been used up until the present for researching CSA?

In view of the complexity of CSA and the important roles of the various disciplines, a monodisciplinary approach to searching for truth in small scale societies such as those of the Caribbean would fail to yield a holistic picture of the problem. This would likely lead to a tunnel vision approach to the problem and result in inappropriate responses at all levels. Steinmetz (2007) argues that monodisciplinary approaches tend to treat knowledge as if it were a territorial colonial dependency (p. 56). Given the limited resources available in the Caribbean region, any monodisciplinary research on complex problems such as CSA is wasteful. Moreover, a monodisciplinary approach to such research perpetuates the status quo of compartmentalization of all disciplines and practitioners, thus leaving the child behind, unprotected and submerged in a quagmiere of power, turf, and professional jealousy.

In an attempt to distinguish the differences amongst the terms (mono)disciplinary, interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary, Nissani (cited in Austin, Park & Goble, 2008) provides a metaphor of mixing fruits. An individual piece of fruit served alone

resembles a (mono)disciplinary endeavour. A number of different fruits served together in a fruit salad resembles a multidisciplinary endeavour. Blended together as a smoothie, these different fruits resemble an interdisciplinary endeavour. Austin, Park & Goble (2008) extended this metaphor and observe that when the smoothie is used as the basis for a new dessert it then resembles a transdisciplinary endeavour. This analogy provides a lucid illustration of the approaches available in searching for truth and how a blending of all disciplines can result in better outcomes.

Adopting a multidisciplinary or interdisciplinary approach in the search for truth about CSA would mean all the disciples of biology, psychology, psychiatry, medicine, social work, counseling, public health, law, human rights, sociology, ecology, economics, ethics, political science, management, organization and governance coming together to conduct research, while maintaining their individuality and distinct borders. Such an undertaking might be fraught with limitations such as in the inability to use a common language and research methodology. In multidisciplinary research for example, researchers representing different fields contribute methods and ideas from their respective disciplines toward the analysis of a particular research question (Mitrany & Stokols, 2005: 438). Under such circumstances, the findings of the research may still appear to be singular or linear in perspective as they may not embrace the whole. Transdisciplinary goes a step further to not only work collaboratively on a complex common problem, but also to create a shared conceptual model of the problem that integrates and transcends each of their separate disciplinary perspectives (Mitrany & Stokols: 438).

It is my view, that the various disciplines engaged in responding to CSA need to acknowledge its complex reality and adopt a transdisciplinary research agenda and epistemic trajectory. Transdisciplinarity is defined as “as a new form of learning and problem solving involving cooperation among different parts of society and academia in order to meet complex challenges of society” (Haberli et al. as cited in Aram, 2004). The literature is replete with assertions that transdisciplinarity is useful for supporting multiple groups in society in dealing with real life complex problems such as CSA. “Transdisciplinarity provides an essential context for understanding some of the most important, complex, and difficult issues we face, whether in environmental protection, maintaining our health care systems, drafting new laws, formulating public policy, accommodating religious and cultural pluralism, or dealing humanely and respectfully with an ageing population. It responds to the need to cross boundaries in order to embrace the ideas of all disciplines that may be relevant to these questions” (Somerville & Rapport, 2002).

“A transdisciplinary approach transcends concepts, terminology and methods and evolves to create a higher level framework and a fundamental epistemological shift” (Giri; Max-Neef as cited in Austin, Park & Goble, 2008: 557). This shift requires bridge building among disciplinary approaches to create a platform for all the disciplines to contribute their particular knowledge and methods from their respective fields. In our attempts to deal with CSA, such a cooperative process could give rise to broader and more multidimensional perspectives and a thus a better understanding of the phenomenon. We must recognize however, that while such cooperative approaches provide opportunities for a necessary and positive epistemological shift, they are not devoid of challenges.

A transdisciplinary approach has the advantage of facilitating a collective dialogue process across knowledge resulting in holistic and contextualized frameworks (Clark & Dickson; Kates et al. as cited in Apgar, 2009: 4). These frameworks then make it possible to overcome traditional conceptual models that do not embrace complexity and interrelatedness as well as to overcome the limitations of one discipline working towards a comprehensive whole (Clark & Dickson as cited in Apgar: 4). More importantly, for those whose goal it is to deal effectively with CSA, transdisciplinarity makes it easier to link research, management, decision making and problem solving. Furthermore, in this globalized world, dealing with complex societal problems requires knowledge across all aspects of society and disciplines, communities, civil society and governments (Clark & Dickson as cited in Apgar: 5).

147

Notwithstanding the advantages of transdisciplinary research, one drawback is the difficulty team members may encounter in relinquishing ownership of specialized knowledge and professional jargon for a holistic conceptual framework (Austin, Park & Goble, 2008). Collaboration within a transdisciplinary research paradigm can generate conflicts, because the type of teamwork required necessitates high levels of trust, mutual respect, patience, and facilitation and communication skills in order to nurture collective dialogical processes aimed at a fundamental epistemological shift in knowledge production (Austin, Park & Goble, 2008). Furthermore, this process of collaboration or ‘epistemology for learning through’ (Nicolaidis & Yorks, 2008) may result in competing ethical perspectives and dilemmas and the need to design transdisciplinary ethical guidelines for research.

In the call for transdisciplinarity in the search for truth about CSA, we must be aware that “the fact that the social sciences were not the product of Caribbean realities, or those of any other subjugated region, but part of the cultural and intellectual heritage of Europe has profound epistemological and conceptual implications” (Sankatsing, 2001). These words of caution appear to be of significance in the study of CSA, because it is highly contextualized and driven by the cultural norms and values of

society. Sankatsing further argues that the solution to this dilemma is an extra disciplinary approach, which stands outside of the traditional system of disciplines, but without discarding in advance any of its achievements or its methodological tools which have been accumulated over the course of time. In this regard, in my search for truth about CSA and its prevalence and impact on human development in the Caribbean, even a transdisciplinary approach may appear to be inadequate.

One principal point made in this article is that CSA crosses the boundaries of multiple disciplines and that none of them on its own can facilitate the process of knowledge production required to eradicate this silent social problem. I have come to the conclusion like Moser et al. (1998), that “knowledge is a valuable commodity, we should aim to acquire it and acquire reasonable means to acquire it” (p. 24). On the one hand, one is tempted to adopt a transdisciplinary approach as it embraces the complexity of the phenomenon to be studied. On the other hand, one is inclined to heed the call of Sankatsing (2001) about the epistemological and conceptual implications of such approaches to the Caribbean. However, one may also appreciate the radical position of Feyerabend (1975) that “all methods have their limitations and the only rule that survives is anything goes” (p. 296).

REFERENCES

- Apgar, J. Marina, Alejandro Argumendo & Will Allen (2009). Building transdisciplinarity for managing complexity: lessons from indigenous practice. *International Journal of Interdisciplinary Social Sciences*, 4, 5, 255-270. Available on learningforsustainability.net/pubs/BuildingTransdisciplinarityforManagingComplexity.pdf
- Aram. John D. (2004). Concepts of interdisciplinarity: configurations of knowledge and action. *Human relations*, 57, 4, 379-412.
- Austin, Wendy, Caroline Park & Erika Goble (2008). From interdisciplinary to transdisciplinary research : a case study. *Qualitative Health Research*, 18, 4, 557-564.
- Eugene, Clementina (2012). Child sexual abuse: women and human development in the Caribbean. In Nicholas Faraclas, Ronald Severing, Christa Weijer and Elisabeth Echteld (Eds.), *Multiplex cultures and citizenships: multiple perspectives on language, literature, education and society in the ABC-islands and beyond* (pp. 395-409). Curaçao/Puerto Rico: FPI/UNA/UPR.
- Feyerabend, Paul (1975). *Against method: outline of an anarchistic theory of knowledge*. London: NLB.

- Mitrany Michal & Daniel Stokols (2005). Gauging the transdisciplinary qualities and outcomes of doctoral training programs. *Journal of Planning Education and Research*, 24, 4, 437-449.
- Moser, Paul K., Dwayne H. Mulder & J.D. Trout (1998). The theory of knowledge: a thematic introduction. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Nicolaides, Aliko & Lyle Yorks (2008). An epistemology of learning through. *Emergence: Complexity and Organization*, 10, 1, 50-61.
- Sankatsing, Glenn (2001). Social science as a victim of its own disciplines: the English- and Dutch-speaking Caribbean. In Christine Barrow & Rhoda Reddock (Eds), *Caribbean sociology: introductory readings* (pp. 56-83). Kingston : Ian Randle Publishers.
- Somerville, Margaret A. & David Rapport (2002, [2000]). Transdisciplinarity : recreating integrated knowledge. : McGill-Queen's University Press.
- Steinmetz, George (2007). Transdisciplinarity as a nonimperial encounter: for an open sociology. *Thesis Eleven*, 91, 1, 48-65.
- UNICEF (1989). Convention on the Rights of the Child.

PHONETIC DIFFERENCES AMONG THE DIALECTS OF PAPIAMENTU SPOKEN BY MEN AND WOMEN ON THE ABC-ISLANDS: PRELIMINARY FINDINGS¹

HÉLÈNE GARRETT

KING'S UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, EDMONTON, CANADA

My interest in this topic was kindled while I was researching May Henriquez's play "*Laiza porko sushi*". May Henriquez recognized the fact that there were different accents in the Papiamentu spoken on Curaçao, not to mention the Papiamentu/u spoken on Aruba and Bonaire. In her play, she has Raúl 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 Otrabanda, papiamentu di kunuku, papiamentu di Shon Pastoornan, di hende di barku, di jiu di Korsow ku a studia foi tera; sin konta otro islanan... (Henriquez: 17).

[I have studied languages, but I have always been interested in Papiamentu. I have always enjoyed the fact that however small Curaçao may be, there are so many different ways of speaking Papiamentu. There is the Papiamentu spoken by the people living in Punda, the Papiamentu of the people from Otrabanda, the Papiamentu used in the *kunuku*, the Papiamentu used by the clergy, by the boat people, by those who were born in Curaçao but later went on to study abroad; and that is not even including the other islands...] (all translations are by the present author)

Everyone speaks a language with a particular accent and intonation that reflects not only their linguistic background but also the environment in which they move. When asking Papiamentu speakers if there is a difference between the dialects they speak versus the dialects that are spoken on the other two islands, invariably the answer is that the Papiamentu on the other islands is 'sung' while theirs is not. Ingunn Amdal

¹ This research was made possible by a financial grant from the Prins Bernhard Cultuurfonds Caribisch Gebied. Thankful acknowledgment to my drivers, Herb and Gerry. Special thanks to Mr. Eugene Igras, President of IRIS Systems and Mr. Alexander Kulach who were instrumental in all steps of the development of the data.

begins his dissertation with a quote from John Steinbeck, in *The grapes of wrath* (1939):

Ever'body says words different...Arkansas folks says 'em different, and Oklahomy folks says 'em different. And we seen a lady from Massachusetts, an' she said 'em differentest of all. Couldn' hardly make out what she was sayin'... (Amdal: [3]).

My research began as a way of finding out scientifically, and not just intuitively, if I could detect differences among the dialects of Papiamentu, hence my two-month sojourn to the ABC-islands (Aruba, Bonaire, and Curaçao) to collect recordings. I knew there were orthographic differences and also lexical differences among the varieties of the language spoken on the different islands, but these were not the focus of this research. This research was designed to make a preliminary comparison of phonetic differences between the Papiamentu of men and women living on the ABC-islands through the quantitative analysis of the recorded speech.

Interviews with 108 individuals who live on Aruba, Bonaire, and Curaçao were conducted and recorded. From the interviews, 108 audio files were created to be analyzed using PRAAT speech analysis software created by Paul Boersma and David Weenink. During these interviews, subjects were asked to read the following text:

Esaki ta un forma di arte popular masha praktiká pa hende muhé na e isla. Algun di nan ta praktiká e forma di arte akí simplemente pa tene e tradishon bibu, pero pa vários di nan, Saba Lace ta alabes un fuente di entrada. (Severing et al., 2000: 160).

[This is an art form that is much practiced by women on the island. Some of them practice this art form just to keep the tradition alive, but for some of them, Saba Lace is perhaps a source of income.]

A 2-stage analysis is planned of 30 selected audio files – those of 5 women and 5 men per island. First, a general spectrographic analysis will be performed to capture the general characteristics of speech, including waveform, formant frequencies, glottal pulses, pitch, duration and intensity. Next, similarities and differences in the phonetic properties of the speech samples will be identified based on gender and island of residence.

While we have not as yet begun the analysis of the differences among the dialects spoken on the three islands, we have conducted a preliminary comparison of the speech of male and female informants, and some of the preliminary results from the analysis include the following:

- 1) As occurs universally, men's speech has lower pitch and a narrower pitch range in general than does women's speech.

- 2) Men take longer breaks between words and sentences than women.
- 3) Men's speech has higher intensity variance than does women's speech.
- 4) The formants in men's speech are more distinct than those of women's speech.
- 5) In Bonaire, there seems to be a slight tendency for speech to be more syllable-timed and less stress-timed than on the other islands, especially in the speech of men.

The next stage of this research project will examine in more detail the phonetic differences between the Papiamentu spoken by men and women in the ABC-islands as well as the phonetic differences among the varieties spoken on the three islands.

REFERENCES

- Amdal, Ingunn (2002). *Learning pronunciation variation: a data driven approach to rule-based lexicon adaptation for automatic speech recognition*. PhD dissertation, Trondheim University.
- Boersma, Paul (2001). PRAAT, a system for doing phonetics by computer. *Glott International*, 5, 9/10, 341-345.
- Boersma, Paul & David Weenink (2012). *PRAAT: doing phonetics by computer. Version 5.3.13*. Retrieved April 11, 2012 from <http://www.praat.org>
- Henriquez, May [1964]. *Laiza porko sushi: un fantasia di May Henriquez basá riba e komedia Pygmalion di G.B. Shaw*. Curaçao: s.n.
- Severing, Ronnie, Ange Jessurun & Wernher Suares (2000). *Mosaiko 1: Papiamentu pa Enseñansa Sekundario*. Curaçao: Fundashon pa Planifikashon di Idioma.
- Styler, Will. *Using PRAAT for linguistic research: a tutorial on using Praat*. Retrieved from internet April 15, 2012.

LANGUAGE, LITERACY AND LITERATURE: LANGUAGE PLANNING ISSUES IN ARUBA AND PUERTO RICO

CARMEN MILAGROS TORRES-RIVERA
UNIVERSITY OF PUERTO RICO, HUMACAO

This article focusses on how language is a symbol of identity for Arubans and Puerto Ricans and the challenges that they face with the use of a language considered alien to their cultural realities as the language of instruction and initial literacy in their schools. It will also discuss how both islands look for ways to preserve their linguistic and cultural identity alongside their colonizers' languages.

Language is more than the form humans have of communicating concepts. In the utterances produced in a specific language, the culture and identity of its people are interwoven. As Frantz Fanon stated: "I ascribe a basic importance of the phenomenon of language. To speak means to be in a position to use a certain syntax, to grasp the morphology of this or that language, but it means above all to assume a culture, to support the weight of a civilization." This can be seen clearly in how the inhabitants of both Aruba and Puerto Rico have struggled for their languages to be acknowledged, and in their resistance towards the imposition of a language which the majority of the people do not identify as their own.

Puerto Rico was colonized by Spain for nearly four centuries. From 1503 to 1898, languages, cultures and identities emerged that reflected close contact between Indigenous, African, and European peoples on the island. Spanish became a means of communication, absorbing the indigenous language of the Tainos and incorporating elements from African and other European languages. As Alicia Pousada writes in her article *The singularly strange story of the English language in Puerto Rico*: "Over the centuries, in the hands of the criollo population and with the added influence of the African slaves and their different languages, this southern-flavored Spanish evolved into the well known Puerto Rican Spanish of today." (p. 34)

In 1898, Puerto Ricans faced a second colonization that brought about the language struggle that still rages on today. With the entrance of the United States into Puerto Rican society, the English language became part of the Puerto Rican reality. The goal of the Americans was to "Americanize" the population and erase the Spanish language of the inhabitants that was seen by the new colonizers as inferior to their own language English. After 50 years of stiff and continuous resistance from Puerto

Ricans against the use of English in the schools as the medium of instruction and initial literacy, in 1949, the American authorities relented and restored Spanish as the language of instruction in public school system. But that half century of linguistic violence has resulted in strong resistance by Puerto Ricans to the acquisition of English that has persisted up until the present day.

Arubans have faced the imposition of Dutch as the language of instruction and initial literacy in their educational system, despite the fact that Papiamentu is the main first language and Dutch is a foreign language for the overwhelming majority of the population on the island. In 1819, legislation was passed making Dutch the official language of instruction in schools. This had little impact due to several factors including the fact that the majority of the population including the slaves did not have the benefit of participating in the educational system established by the colonial government.

By the end of the century, discussions on the use of Papiamentu as a means of instruction became more common. As Kevin Sean Carroll writes in his dissertation titled *Language maintenance in Aruba and Puerto Rico: understanding perceptions of language threat*: “Toward the end of the 19th century, teachers and other educators argued that Papiamentu should be learned and mastered first and then students should study Dutch” (p. 114). The government of the Netherlands responded, however, by designating Dutch as the sole language of instruction in 1882. In 1906, the government had to modify their legislation to state that Dutch should be used as much as possible. This opened the way for the informal use of Papiamentu in the classroom which remains a widespread practice today.

It was in the early 20th century that the efforts of the government increased in terms of the use of Dutch in Aruban society. There was even a time when children were punished if heard speaking Papiamentu. Violating every basic principle of good pedagogy, in Aruban schools children are forced to learn their subjects and to learn to read and write in a language which is in many cases completely foreign to them. The educational system strips away the children’s identity imposing a sense of inferiority associated with their own language and culture. As Keisha Wiel writes on her master’s thesis titled *Perceptions on the social status of Papiamentu in contrast to its official significance in Aruba and Curaçao*:

“Creole languages, such as Papiamentu, are identity markers that help distance Caribbean islands from their colonial past giving them something that is their own. Even though the lexifier’s language will forever be embedded within their Creoles, by creating their own language, they are able to gain a new identity without being associated directly with their former colonizers.” (p. 69)

It is this pride in their language and identity that have made Arubans question the educational system of their island which embraces the use of Dutch, a language that does not reflect the reality of the majority of the Arubans.

When Jennifer Ellen Herrera was conducting her research in Aruba at the end of the 20th century and the beginning of the present century, she noted that the language policy of Aruba had an exoglossic perspective favoring Dutch, an alien language for most Arubans instead of an endoglossic policy that “supports and promotes indigenous languages and sense of national identity” (p. 72). For most of the children that are educated in Aruba, Dutch is basically their fourth language after Papiamentu, Spanish, and English; a language that has no practical use because it is not utilized in everyday situations. In her dissertation titled *Language planning and education in Aruba: contexts and contradiction* Herrera observes that “[i]n Aruba, parliament uses Papiamentu as the language of discussion” (p. 76). This demonstrates that it is a fully developed language that completely expresses the needs of its speakers in different scenarios.

Studies by those who advocate the use of Papiamentu demonstrate the importance of using the mother tongue in the academic success of students. As Herrera states: “Since Papiamentu is the home language of the majority of students in Aruba, Papiamentu should be the language of content instruction at school, especially reading” (p. 78). Aruban students face a similar situation as that faced by Puerto Rican students in that their educational materials do not reflect their cultural reality. As Herrera points out, these textbooks promote “Dutch heroes and Dutch history” (p. 83). The author further asserts that:

“... Dutch culture-oriented textbooks do not represent the Aruban world and prevent students from understanding the underlying cultural meanings of the reading texts. These research-based findings about language acquisition are numerous and applicable to the context of Aruba and educational issues.” (p. 79)

Puerto Rico has faced similar challenges with the establishment of the American educational system. The beginning of the 20th century was a period of linguistic oppression for those who attended schools because English was imposed as the language of instruction and initial literacy. Students as well as educators were forced to use a language that was completely foreign to them using books whose linguistic and cultural context was unrelated to the lives of the readers. This situation is dramatized in the literary work of Abelardo Díaz Alfaro, a well-known Puerto Rican writer. In his short story “Peyo Mercé Enseña Inglés” he depicts a typical classroom with the frustrated attempts of Puerto Rican teacher to give lessons in English without mastering the language and the confused responses of the children who are being exposed to an alien language and culture at school.

English is linked to the politics of colonial violence in the minds of a large number of Puerto Ricans. Many cannot free themselves from the ingrained belief that learning English means a betrayal of their cultural identity and their island. English brings to mind the United States and the efforts of a political faction to transform the island into

the 51st state of the United States. The lack of proficiency in English by the great majority of the population is often identified by politicians as the main stumbling block that lies in the way of the integration of the island within the American nation state. This sentiment was recently expressed by Rick Santorum, a candidate in the Republican Party presidential primaries in the 2012 US elections.

Efforts are being made by Arubans to rescue their national pride by rescuing their mother tongue. The Grupo Pa Promove Papiamentu (GP3) has as one of its goals to build “empathy for Papiamentu, ...the people should feel positive about their language” (Herrera: 117). This empathy is created via the publication of books of poetry in Papiamentu, handing out trinkets to primary students highlighting pride in the Papiamentu language, and school based competitions promoting love for and proficiency in the language. The Aruba Linguistic Institute (ALI) has worked on the creation of a Papiamentu dictionary. All these efforts are aimed at promoting Papiamentu and creating awareness of the importance of the mother tongue of the island of Aruba. As Carroll states: “On the island of Aruba, policy makers, especially those who work in education, must understand the benefits of mother tongue instruction. Not only is mother tongue instruction a linguistic human right, but research overwhelmingly proves the benefit for a child who learns to read in his mother tongue.” (p. 238)

In Puerto Rico, the resistance to learning English is so great that it has resulted in a situation where the vast majority of the island's residents lack proficiency in the language, even after twelve years of systematic English instruction in the schools. Many factors have contributed to this situation, including attitudes of general apprehension toward English and resistance to the erasure of Puerto Rican identity. These factors and others, such as inappropriate teaching resources have been highlighted in different studies as factors preventing Puerto Rico from becoming a bilingual society.

The Puerto Rican Department of Education has made a number of efforts to achieve the goal of bilingualism. In the 1990s it created bilingual schools, and in 2003, a Curriculum Framework was presented to teachers, whose objective was to “move away from the concept of the subtractive approach. The pedagogy must vigorously move forward towards the additive approach where the learning of English as a second language is genuinely perceived as desirable knowledge” (Departamento de Educación, 2003: 9). At present, other initiatives aimed at creating bilingual students are being considered by the public educational system on the island.

But just as the Arubans have discovered that instruction that is adapted to the linguistic and cultural realities of Aruba is vital to academic success, so have many researchers in Puerto Rico highlighted the need to incorporate culturally relevant literature when teaching English. Writers and educators that have produced culturally relevant English literature for students in our islands include Ilsa Lopez-Vallés of the

University of Puerto Rico Carolina with her two collections of short stories titled *Seasoned stories with sabor* and *Stories from here and there*, Manuel Hernández who edited *Latino/a: literature in the English classroom* and Aníbal Muñoz with his novels *The sweet Puerto Rican money*, *The cleansing of unwanted Puerto Ricans* and his short story collection *Borincuan times*. Dr. Muñoz also promotes the production of locally written literary work through the Puerto Rican English Writers' Association (PREWA), which he founded in 2010. The stated goals of this association include:

- To open doors to embrace diversity in the reading component of Puerto Rican curricula in both public and private schools.
- To recommend public policy regarding the teaching of English literature for both public and private schools in Puerto Rico.
- To boost Puerto Rican students' motivation/ appreciation for reading English literature.

One of the ways in which Arubans are collaborating to create not only literacy but pride in being a speaker of Papiamentu has been through the *Bon Nochi, Drumi Dushi* project, founded in 2007 by Olga Buckley, an educator and author of several children's books. Even though it is focused on children, this project also helps parents to see the importance of their mother tongue, while creating a culture of reading in Papiamentu in their homes. At the invitation of parents, project volunteers visit the homes of children who are not yet old enough to attend school and read to them in Papiamentu before bedtime. This creates an intimate environment and love for reading.

Arubans and Puerto Ricans have recognized the importance of maintaining their mother tongue and culture within the educational experience of children. The different projects that have emerged on these islands demonstrate that diverse languages can co-exist in a harmonious way if language policy makers acknowledge the mother tongue. An additive approach and endoglossic view of utilizing students' competence in their mother tongue to gain other competences must be part of their educational experience. Once this approach is extended in such a way that students' competence in their mother tongue is effectively utilized to gain competence in the language of the colonizer, we will have truly progressed to a post colonial situation where those once colonized embrace the language of their former colonizers and transform it into a part of their own unique linguistic repertoire.

REFERENCES

- Carroll, Kevin Sean (2009). Language maintenance in Aruba and Puerto Rico: understanding perceptions of language threat. Unpublished dissertation, University of Arizona.

- Departamento de Educación Gobierno de Puerto Rico (2003). *Curricular Framework: English Program*. San Juan: Instituto Nacional para el Desarrollo Curricular.
- Fanon, Frantz (1967). *Black Skin, White Masks*. (Trans. Charles Lam Markmann). New York: Grove.
- Herrera, Jennifer Ellen (2003). Language planning and education in Aruba: contexts and contradictions. Unpublished dissertation, University of Arizona.
- Muñoz Claudio, Anibal (2011). Puerto Rican acculturation of English literature: a Vygotskian mediation for the UPRH English pre-basic course. Unpublished dissertation, University of Puerto Rico, Río Piedras Campus.
- Pousada, Alicia (1999). The singularly strange story of the English language in Puerto Rico. *Milenio*, 3, 33-61.
- Weil, Keisha Irma (2007). Perceptions on the social status of Papiamentu in contrast to its official significance in Aruba and Curaçao. Unpublished master's thesis, University of Central Florida.

DE MOEDERTAAL ALS INSTRUCTIETAAL IN HET REKENONDERWIJS

BERTHSON B. BOEKHOUDT
INSTITUTO PEDAGOGICO ARUBANO

Inleiding

De instructietaal in het onderwijs op Aruba is al jaren een discussiepunt. De officiële instructietaal is het Nederlands, terwijl voor de meesten de moedertaal Papiamentu is. Papiamentu is tevens de meest gesproken thuistaal (69,4% van de bevolking), Nederlands is dit voor slechts 6,1% van de bevolking (CBS, 2010). Op diverse onderwijsniveaus wordt vaak Papiamentu gebruikt ter ondersteuning of ter verduidelijking van de instructie in een bepaald vak, omdat men ervan uitgaat dat ondersteuning of instructie in de moedertaal voordelig kan zijn voor de leerprestaties (Cuevas, 1984; UNESCO, 2003).

Op de lerarenopleiding voor primair onderwijs op Aruba (IPA) is dit ook het geval. Vooral bij de rekenmodules wordt er vaak Papiamentu gebruikt om bepaalde zaken te verduidelijken. De belangrijkste reden hiervoor is dat rekenen, net als in Nederland, als een lastig vak wordt ervaren op de pabo (Trouw, 2006; Het Parool, 2007).

De vraag is of het invoeren van de moedertaal, Papiamentu, als instructietaal de rekenprestaties zal verbeteren. De invoering van de moedertaal als instructietaal heeft volgens sommigen een positief effect op reken- en taalprestaties (Jones, 1982). Omdat bijvoorbeeld de eerstejaarsstudenten van het Instituto Pedagógico Arubano (IPA) een laag rekenniveau hebben, is het verstandig om de instructie in de moedertaal te geven. Studenten met een laag rekenniveau profiteren meer van de instructie in hun moedertaal dan studenten met een hoog rekenniveau (Abedi & Lord, 2001). Uit het experiment van cohort 2010 is nog niet volledig duidelijk wat het effect en de gevolgen zijn van het gebruik van de moedertaal als instructietaal (Boekhoudt, 2012). Het experiment van cohort 2010 had een kleine populatie en in de interventiegroep zaten studenten die het Nederlands als moedertaal hebben. Dat betekent dat deze studenten geen instructie in hun moedertaal kregen. Om deze redenen is ervoor gekozen om het experiment opnieuw te doen met cohort 2011.

Het doel van deze paper is om door middel van een experiment van twee cohorten te onderzoeken of het invoeren van de moedertaal (Papiamentu) als instructietaal tot verbetering van de rekenprestaties kan leiden. Het experiment wordt met cohort 2011,

de eerstejaars IPA-studenten, uitgevoerd. De populatie bestaat uit de samengevoegde cohorten 2010 en 2011, 74 studenten in totaal.

Er is met de t-toets en drie regressiemodellen geen effect gevonden tussen de controle- en interventiegroep bij de nameting. Dit resultaat wijkt af van sommige studies (Beal et al., 2010; Robinson, 2010; Abedi & Lord, 2001). Een mogelijke verklaring hiervoor is dat de desbetreffende studenten gewend zijn Nederlandse rekenbegrippen te gebruiken, waardoor het moeilijker en onnatuurlijker voor hen is te werken met rekenbegrippen in het Papiamentu .

Literatuurbeschrijving

De oorspronkelijke onderzoeksvraag was of het invoeren van de moedertaal (Papiamentu) als instructietaal de rekenprestaties van de IPA-studenten zal verbeteren. In deze literatuurstudie is vervolgens bovendien ingegaan op de effectiviteit van de moedertaal, tweede taal en/of vreemde taal als instructietaal bij rekenen.

Taalleerders van het Engels scoren lager bij rekenen dan de leerlingen die Engels spreken als hun eerste taal (Beal et al., 2010). De leerlingen die hoge scores behalen voor rekenen zijn leerlingen die beter zijn in Engelse taalvaardigheid (Howie, 2003). De rekenprestaties van de taalleerders worden beter naarmate hun leesvaardigheid in het Engels verbetert (Beal et al., 2010). Leerlingen die in hun moedertaal getoetst worden, presteren bij rekenen significant beter dan wanneer ze niet in hun moedertaal getoetst worden (Robinson, 2010). Terwijl de denk- en leerprocessen van rekenen, die in een vreemde taal gedoceerd worden, bij jongeren significant beter worden uitgevoerd dan bij ouderen (Jäppinen, 2005). Hierdoor is het interessant om een onderzoek te doen naar de effectiviteit van de moedertaal als instructietaal bij de rekenprestaties van volwassen studenten. Waar het experiment uitgevoerd wordt, wordt ook in de moedertaal getoetst. Sommigen stellen dat het toetsen moet plaatsvinden in de taal die overeenkomt met de instructietaal (Robinson, 2010; Abedi et al., 1998). In het onderzoek wordt de moedertaal als instructietaal genomen.

De eerstejaarsstudenten van het IPA hebben naast een laag rekenniveau vaak een negatief zelfconcept wat betreft hun rekenvaardigheid, waardoor de motivatie om zich voor rekenen in te zetten laag is. Deze studenten zien niet in wat het belang van rekenen is (Howie, 2003). Studenten die volgens hun docent gemotiveerd zijn, scoren hoger voor rekenen dan degenen die niet gemotiveerd zijn (Beal et al., 2010).

Interventie

Op het IPA worden de rekenmodules in het 1^e jaar voor 75% gegeven in het Nederlands. De studenten hebben moeite met rekenen en met de Nederlandse taal. De eerste rekenmodule wordt door ongeveer 60% van de studenten in één keer gehaald. Voor de Nederlandse taalmodule is dat ongeveer 50% van de studenten. In het eerste leerjaar zijn de resultaten voor de reken- en taalmodules vaak onvoldoende. De

rekenmodule “Schattend rekenen” is een module die aansluit op de belevingswereld van de studenten, omdat de Arubaanse context centraal staat.

Als interventie wordt bij deze module de moedertaal (Papiamentu) in plaats van Nederlands gebruikt als instructietaal, een nieuwe situatie voor cohort 2010. In deze situatie wordt gebruik gemaakt van de moedertaal als instructietaal en van een rekenmodule die aansluit op de belevingswereld van de studenten. De moedertaalstudenten profiteren meer van de instructie en de leerstof dan de tweede taalleerders (Levin & Shohamy, 2008; Jones, 1982).

De module wordt drie maanden na aanvang van de opleiding gegeven aan de eerstejaarsstudenten met een frequentie van 1,5 uur per week over een periode van zeven weken. Na de zeven bijeenkomsten wordt de module afgesloten met een schriftelijk tentamen.

Onderzoeksmethode en data

Onderzoeksopzet

Alle eerstejaarsstudenten worden verdeeld in twee groepen, een interventiegroep en een controlegroep. De interventiegroep krijgt instructie, de reader en het schriftelijk tentamen in de moedertaal (Papiamentu), de controlegroep krijgt deze allemaal in het Nederlands.

Deze interventie is in twee cohorten uitgevoerd, namelijk cohort 2010 en 2011. De cohorten 2010 en 2011 vormen samen 74 studenten die deelnemen aan het experiment, 37 studenten van elk cohort. Van cohort 2010 maken 19 studenten deel uit van de interventiegroep en 18 studenten van de controlegroep. En van cohort 2011 maken 18 studenten deel uit van de interventiegroep en 19 studenten van de controlegroep. De bijeenkomsten van beide groepen in beide cohorten worden verzorgd door de rekendocent die tevens ook de onderzoeker is. De reader en het schriftelijk tentamen zijn door een Papiamentodeskundige aangepast in het Papiamentu voor de interventiegroep. Voor cohort 2011 zijn de reader, het schriftelijk tentamen en de docent hetzelfde gebleven als die van cohort 2010. Deze keuze is gemaakt om de betrouwbaarheid van het onderzoek te kunnen garanderen bij de verschillende cohorten. Er is bij cohort 2011 aandacht besteed aan de moedertaal van de studenten, omdat er in cohort 2010 vanuit was gegaan dat alle studenten Papiamentu als moedertaal hadden, terwijl dat niet het geval was. Alle studenten die deelnemen aan het experiment krijgen na de voormeting dezelfde leerstof op het gebied van rekenen. De nameting wordt bij de verschillende groepen niet verstoord door andere rekenactiviteiten. Dus kan er gesproken worden van interne validiteit omdat er een causale relatie bestaat tussen de interventie en de nameting. De moedertaal als instructietaal als interventie kan veralgemeniseerd worden, waardoor er sprake is van externe validiteit.

Bij het experiment van cohort 2010 van Boekhoudt (2012) is gekeken naar het verschil tussen de voor- en nameting bij de interventie en controlegroep. Deze levert geen significant effect op, maar de interventiegroep heeft gemiddeld genomen lager gescoord dan de controlegroep. Om deze reden is gekozen om naar de vooruitgang te kijken, ook deze levert geen significant effect op. Er is wel sprake van een achteruitgang omdat de interventie en controlegroep lager hebben gescoord bij de nameting vergeleken met de voormeting. Daarom is er gekozen om de samenhang tussen de voor- en nameting nader te bekijken. Deze levert een significant positief effect (p -waarde = 0,07), met een positieve coëfficiënt. Dit betekent: hoe hoger de voormeting, hoe hoger de nameting. Maar doordat de desbetreffende studenten meer onderwijs hebben gekregen is het plausibel dat de studenten hoe dan ook een vooruitgang hebben geboekt. Door rekening te houden met de interventiegroep levert de samenhang tussen de voor- en nameting geen significant effect op.

De studenten worden aan het begin van leerjaar 2010 en 2011 willekeurig aan twee groepen toegewezen, de interventie- en controlegroep. Het is een kleine populatie en daarom is er gekozen om de verdeling over de groepen te doen per koppel van twee studenten die gelijke scores hebben behaald voor de entreetoetsen rekenen en taal. Hierdoor wordt de kans klein dat groepen door toeval toch wat van elkaar verschillen. De entreetoets rekenen is de voormeting bij dit experiment. Het resultaat van de entreetoets rekenen en taal wordt uitgedrukt in een cijfer tussen 0 en 10, dat afgerond wordt op één decimaal. Bij de entreetoets taal vormen schrijfvaardigheid en mondelinge vaardigheid onderdelen van de toets. Het eindresultaat is het gemiddelde van deze twee onderdelen. Dezelfde procedure is gehanteerd bij de twee verschillende cohorten. De resultaten van cohort 2010 zijn al bekend en de interventie- en controlegroep van cohort 2011 worden op dezelfde manier met elkaar vergeleken. In het geval cohort 2010 en 2011 samengevoegd worden, wordt met behulp van de t -toets aangetoond dat de interventie- en controlegroep voor wat betreft de voormeting niet van elkaar verschillen. Bij de nameting wordt per cohort nagegaan of we te maken hebben met een normale verdeling. Als dat wel het geval is, wordt de t -toets verder gebruikt, anders wordt de niet-parametrische toets gebruikt. De nameting wordt ook met behulp van de t -toets of niet-parametrische toets bij de interventie en controlegroep met elkaar vergeleken. Deze vergelijking wordt op klasniveau gedaan. Net als bij cohort 2010 worden bij cohort 2010 en 2011 de resultaten samengevoegd en wordt er gekeken naar de vooruitgang of achteruitgang. Dit wordt gedaan door de samenhang tussen de voor- en de nameting van cohort 2010 en 2011 samen te voegen. Dit wordt met behulp van een enkelvoudige en een meervoudige regressieanalyse gedaan.

Populatie

De populatie bestaat uit eerstejaars IPA-studenten van cohort 2010 en 2011. De populatie bestaat voornamelijk uit vrouwen met verschillende vooropleidingen. Om deze reden wordt er gekeken naar de volgende variabelen: entreetoets rekenen, entreetoets taal, geslacht en vooropleiding.

Bij cohort 2010 is geconstateerd dat de controle- en interventiegroep niet van elkaar verschillen voor wat betreft rekenen, taal, geslacht en vooropleiding (Boekhoudt, 2012). Bij cohort 2011 worden op dezelfde manier als bij cohort 2010 de observeerbare variabelen (entreetoets rekenen, entreetoets taal, geslacht en vooropleiding) met elkaar vergeleken. Deze vergelijking wordt met de t-toets gedaan. De resultaten van de voormeting van cohort 2010 en 2011 samengevoegd zijn te zien in tabel 1.

Tabel 1 voormeting cohort 2010 en 2011 samengevoegd

	Controlegroep		Interventiegroep		verschil	p-waarde
	gemiddelde	s.d.	gemiddelde	s.d.		
Achtergrond						
Vrouw	0,92	0,28	0,92	0,28	0,00	1,00
Vooropleiding	2,08	1,06	2,05	0,97	-0,03	0,91
CD	0,35	0,48	0,38	0,49	0,03	0,81
mbo	0,32	0,48	0,24	0,44	-0,08	0,45
havo	0,27	0,45	0,32	0,48	0,05	0,62
vwo	0,00	0,00	0,05	0,30	0,05	0,16
hbo	0,05	0,30	0,00	0,00	-0,05	0,16
Voormetingen						
Entreetoets						
rekenen-						
wiskunde	7,52	0,74	7,68	0,87	0,16	0,42
Entreetoets taal	6,68	0,61	6,67	0,52	0,01	0,94
Cohort 2011	0,51	0,51	0,49	0,51	-0,02	0,82
N	37		37			

* 10%-, ** 5%-, *** 1%-niveau

Bij de variabelen (entreetoets rekenen, entreetoets taal, geslacht en vooropleiding) is in tabel 1 te zien dat het verschil tussen de controle- en interventiegroep niet groot en niet significant is. Hierdoor kan geconcludeerd worden dat de twee groepen van cohort 2010 en 2011 samengevoegd niet van elkaar verschillen voor wat betreft rekenen, taal, geslacht en vooropleiding.

Doordat er geen verschillen zijn gevonden in de observeerbare kenmerken is het plausibel dat studentenpopulaties op elkaar lijken in termen van niet-observeerbare kenmerken zoals motivatie en capaciteiten. In tabel 1 is te zien dat de groepen ook niet van elkaar verschillen in termen van de vooropleiding van de student.

De variabele cohort 2011 in tabel 1 geeft aan dat er geen significant verschil is tussen het aantal studenten in de controle- en de interventiegroep van cohort 2011. Alle studenten die deel uitmaken van cohort 2011 hebben als moedertaal Papiamentu. Dit is een verschil met cohort 2010, omdat er bij cohort 2010 studenten waren die Nederlands als moedertaal hebben. Dit betekent dat alle studenten die in de interventiegroep zitten, instructie krijgen in hun moedertaal. En alle studenten die in de controlegroep zitten, krijgen geen instructie in hun moedertaal.

Dataverzameling

Er wordt nagegaan met de Kolmogorov-Smirnov-toets of de nameting bij de verschillende cohorten zowel apart als samen normaal verdeeld is. Dit is belangrijk omdat het bepalend is voor de wijze van toetsen van de nameting. In tabel 2 is de p-waarde van de nametingen te zien.

Tabel 2: Kolmogorov-Smirnov-toets van de nameting

	p-waarde
Nameting 2010	0,89
Nameting 2011	0,41
Nameting 2010 en 2011 samen gevoegd	0,72

Uit deze resultaten kan geconcludeerd worden dat de nameting bij de verschillende cohorten zowel apart als samen normaal verdeeld zijn, omdat de p-waarde groter is dan 0,05. Dit betekent dat we de t-toets kunnen gebruiken om de nametingen tussen de controle- en interventiegroep te vergelijken.

De nameting wordt na de 7 bijeenkomsten in beide groepen per cohort tegelijkertijd afgenomen. Het resultaat van de nameting wordt uitgedrukt in een cijfer tussen 0 en 10, dat afgerond wordt op één decimaal.

Bij cohort 2010 is er geen significant effect van de moedertaal als instructietaal op de rekenprestaties gevonden. Er is wel een positief significant effect gevonden bij de samenhang tussen de voor- en de nameting (Boekhoudt, 2012). In het volgende deel van dit artikel wordt nagegaan of de taal van het onderwijs effect heeft gehad op de resultaten van de studenten. Dit doen we door bij de cohorten apart en samengevoegd

de gemiddelde resultaten van de controle- en interventiegroepen met elkaar te vergelijken. Hiervoor gebruiken we de t-toets.

Resultaten

De controle- en interventiegroep van de verschillende cohorten worden in de nameting met elkaar vergeleken. Deze gegevens staan in tabel 3.

Tabel 3 nameting van de verschillende cohorten

	Controle groep		Interventie groep		verschil	p-waarde
	gemiddelde	s.d.	gemiddelde	s.d.		
Voormeting 2010	7,41	0,69	7,48	0,80	0,07	0,78
Nameting 2010	5,44	1,41	5,11	1,78	-0,33	0,53
Voormeting 2011	7,63	0,79	7,89	0,92	0,26	0,37
Nameting 2011	6,08	1,40	6,65	1,37	0,57	0,22
Voormeting 2010 en 2011 samengevoegd	7,52	0,74	7,68	0,87	0,16	0,42
Nameting 2010 en 2011 samengevoegd	5,77	1,42	5,86	1,75	0,09	0,82

* 10%-, ** 5%-, *** 1%-niveau

Bij de nameting rekenen van cohort 2010 is het verschil van het gemiddelde -0,33 en de p-waarde = 0,53. Het verschil is groot t.o.v. de standaarddeviatie en niet significant bij de nameting rekenen van cohort 2010. Bij de nameting rekenen van cohort 2011 is het verschil van het gemiddelde 0,57 en de p-waarde = 0,22. Het verschil is groot t.o.v. de standaarddeviatie en niet significant bij de nameting rekenen van cohort 2011. Bij de nameting rekenen van cohort 2010 en 2011 samengevoegd is het verschil van het gemiddelde 0,09 en de p-waarde = 0,82. Het is niet significant bij de nameting rekenen van cohort 2010 en 2011 samengevoegd.

Het is wel opmerkelijk dat de verschillende cohorten lager scoren bij de nameting dan bij de voormeting wat op een achteruitgang zou kunnen wijzen. Deze conclusie mag niet te snel getrokken worden omdat de voor- en de nameting qua stof niet hetzelfde zijn. Er wordt gekeken naar de samenhang tussen de variabelen en de nameting. Deze wordt m.b.v. drie modellen met een regressieanalyse gedaan. De gegevens staan in tabel 4.

Tabel 4 regressiemodellen van cohort 2010 en 2011 samengevoegd

Variabelen	Model		
	1	2	3
	0,09	-0,04	-0,01
Interventiegroep	(0,37)	(0,34)	(0,35)
		0,81	0,87
Voormeting		(0,21)***	(0,22)***
Geslacht			-0,69
(vrouw)			(0,64)
			-0,61
Dummy CD			(1,08)
			-0,91
Dummy MBO			(1,08)
			-0,05
Dummy HAVO			(1,09)
			-1,73
Dummy VWO			(1,51)
	5,77	-0,33	0,41
Constant	(0,26)***	(1,62)	(2,02)
<i>N</i>	74	74	74
<i>R</i> ²	0,001	0,169	0,251

* 10%-, ** 5%-, *** 1%-niveau

Bij model 1 wordt de samenhang tussen de interventiegroep en de nameting bekeken. De interventiegroep heeft een coëfficiënt van 0,09. Deze is klein t.o.v. de SE (0,37). Met een SE van 0,37 t.o.v. de coëfficiënt van 0,09 kan er zowel een negatief als een positief effect worden gevonden. Maar het effect is niet significant. De R^2 is bij dit model erg laag, dat betekent dat we hier een lage statistische precisie hebben. Er wordt gestreefd naar een sterker model.

Bij model 2 wordt de samenhang tussen de interventie groep en de voormeting, en de nameting bekeken. De interventiegroep heeft een coëfficiënt van -0,04. Deze is klein t.o.v. de SE (0,34). Met een SE van 0,34 t.o.v. de coëfficiënt van -0,04 kan er zowel een negatief als een positief effect worden gevonden. Maar het effect is niet significant. De voormeting heeft een coëfficiënt van 0,81 en een SE (0,21). Deze is significant op 1%-niveau, wat betekent dat als de voormeting met één cijfer omhoog gaat, gaat de nameting met 0,81 cijfer omhoog. De R^2 is bij dit model hoger dan bij model 1. We praten hier over een sterker model, maar het streven is om een nog sterker model te krijgen.

Bij model 3 wordt de samenhang tussen de variabelen: interventiegroep, voormeting, geslacht, dummy CD, dummy mbo, dummy havo en dummy vwo, en de nameting

bekeken. De interventiegroep heeft een coëfficiënt van -0,01. Deze is klein t.o.v. de SE (0,35). Met een SE van 0,35 t.o.v. de coëfficiënt van -0,01 kan er zowel een negatief als een positief effect worden gevonden. Maar het effect is niet significant. De voormeting heeft een coëfficiënt van 0,87 en een SE (0,22). Deze is significant op 1%-niveau, wat betekent dat als de voormeting met één cijfer omhoog gaat, de nameting met 0,87 omhoog gaat. De R^2 is bij dit model hoger dan bij model 2. We praten hier over het sterkste model.

Conclusies

In deze studie is een onderzoek naar de effectiviteit van de moedertaal (Papiamentu) als instructietaal op de rekenprestaties uitgevoerd. Het experiment is onder twee opeenvolgende cohorten uitgevoerd. Deze cohorten zijn samengevoegd om een betere uitspraak te kunnen geven over de resultaten, omdat de populatie door de samenvoeging groter is.

Het verschil tussen de controle- en interventiegroep van cohort 2010 en 2011 samengevoegd levert geen significant effect op bij de nameting. Door een regressieanalyse wordt door het 1^e model de samenhang tussen de interventiegroep en nameting bepaald en dit is niet significant. Bij het 2^e model is gekeken naar de samenhang tussen de interventiegroep en voormeting, en de nameting. De samenhang tussen de voor- en de nameting is wel significant op 1%-niveau. Maar als men rekening houdt met de interventiegroep, levert het hier weer geen significant effect op. Bij het 3^e model is gekeken naar de samenhang tussen de variabelen: interventiegroep, voormeting, geslacht, dummy CD, dummy mbo, dummy havo en dummy vwo, en de nameting. Hier is de samenhang tussen de voor- en nameting ook significant op 1%-niveau. Maar wanneer we hierbij rekening houden met de interventiegroep levert het weer geen significant effect op. Er kan dus geconcludeerd worden dat er geen verschil tussen de interventie- en controlegroep is gevonden. Een mogelijke verklaring hiervoor is de manier waarop we op Aruba omgaan met de taal bij rekenen. We maken veel gebruik van Nederlandse rekenbegrippen, waardoor het gebruik van rekenbegrippen in het Papiamentu juist moeilijker en onnatuurlijker wordt voor de studenten.

Bij de samenhang tussen de voor- en nameting kan geconcludeerd worden, hoe hoger de voormeting hoe hoger de nameting. De samenhang tussen de voor- en nameting kan verklaard worden door het feit dat de studenten in de periode tussen de voor- en nameting onderwijs hebben gekregen. Als een student al goed is in rekenen vóór deze periode, zal deze student ook goed in rekenen blijven na deze periode.

Volgens deze resultaten kan verder niet geconcludeerd worden dat het invoeren van de moedertaal (Papiamentu) als instructietaal een significant effect heeft op de rekenprestaties. Het resultaat van deze studie blijft consistent met de studie van Boekhoudt (2012). Dit resultaat wijkt af van wat er in de studie van Beal et al. (2010)

is geconcludeerd, namelijk dat tweedetaalleerlingen lager scoren bij rekenen dan eerstetaalleerlingen. Dit resultaat wijkt ook af met wat de studie van Robinson (2010) heeft geconcludeerd, namelijk dat leerlingen die in de moedertaal getoetst worden, bij rekenen significant beter presteren dan als ze niet in hun moedertaal getoetst worden. Ook Abedi & Lord (2001) wijken af van dit resultaat. Zij beweren dat studenten met een laag rekenniveau meer profiteren van de moedertaal als instructietaal dan studenten met een hoog rekenniveau.

Minder sterke punten bij deze studie zijn dat er geen rekening gehouden werd met de motivatie van de studenten voor het vak rekenen. Bovendien heeft de voormeting niet dezelfde inhoud als de nameting, waardoor het lastiger wordt om deze met elkaar te vergelijken.

Een voorstel voor een vervollexperiment zou kunnen zijn om de studenten zelf te laten kiezen of ze instructie willen krijgen in de moedertaal Papiamento of in de tweede taal Nederlands bij rekenmodules. Moschkovich (2005) geeft aan dat bilinguale studenten moeten kunnen kiezen in welke taal zij de rekenkundige berekeningen mondeling of schriftelijk willen uitvoeren. De rekenbegrippen moeten gebruikt worden zoals de studenten gewend zijn. Als het Nederlandse rekenbegrippen zijn, zouden deze ook in het Papiamento geaccepteerd moeten worden. Tevens wordt dan de motivatie voor zowel rekenen als voor de instructietaal positief beïnvloed. Zo kan gestreefd worden naar wat Beal et al. (2010) laten zien, namelijk dat studenten die volgens hun docent gemotiveerd zijn, hoger scoren voor rekenen dan degenen die niet gemotiveerd zijn. Bij het vervollexperiment dient rekening gehouden te worden met de voor- en nameting, deze moeten qua inhoud vergelijkbaar zijn.

LITERATUUR

- Abedi Jamal & Carol Lord (2001). The language factor in mathematics tests. *Applied Measurement in Education*, 14, 3, 219-234.
- Beal, Carole R., Niall M. Adams & Paul R. Cohen (2010). Reading proficiency and mathematics problem solving by high school English Language Learners. *Urban Education*, 45, 1, 58-74.
- Boekhoudt, Berthson B. (2012). *Effect van de moedertaal op het rekenonderwijs*. Paper Master Evidence Based Innovation in Teaching, Maastricht University.
- CBS Aruba (2010). Fifth population and housing census Aruba. *Central Bureau of Statistics*.
- Cuevas, Gilberto J. (1984). Mathematics learning in English as a second language. *Journal for Research in Mathematics Education*, 15, 2, 134-144.
- Het Parool (2007). Een kwart pabo-studenten moet weg om rekentoets. *Het Parool*, 20 juni 2007.

- Howie Sarah J. (2003). Language and other background factors affecting secondary pupils' performance in mathematics in South Africa. *African Journal of Research in SMT Education*, 7, 1-20.
- Jäppinen, Aini-Kristiina (2005). Thinking and content learning of mathematics and science as cognitional development in content and language integrated learning (CLIL): teaching through a foreign language in Finland. *Language and Education*, 19, 2, 147-169.
- Jones, Peter L. (1982). Learning mathematics in a second language: a problem with more and less. *Educational Studies in Mathematics*, 13, 3, 269-287.
- Levin, Tamar & Elena Shohamy (2008). Achievement of immigrant students in mathematics and academic Hebrew in Israeli school: a large-scale evaluation study. *Studies in Educational Evaluation*, 34, 1, 1-14.
- Moschkovich, Judit (2005). Using two languages when learning mathematics. *Educational Studies in Mathematics*, 64, 2, 121-144.
- Robinson Joseph P. (2010). The effects of test translation on young English learners' mathematics performance. *Educational Researcher*, 39, 8, 582-590.
- Trouw (2006). Leerkrachten in spe kunnen niet rekenen. *Trouw*, 2 januari 2006.
- UNESCO (2003). Education in a multilingual world. *UNESCO Education Position Paper*. Paris: UNESCO.

EFFECTIEVE WOORDENSCHATUITBREIDING VOOR VREEMDE TAAL ONDERWIJS

JESSELINE MADURO

INSTITUTO PEDAGOGICO ARUBANO

In een poging om te achterhalen wat een succesvol programma woordenschatuitbreiding voor het basisonderwijs zou moeten bevatten, is er in deze reviewstudie onderzoek gedaan naar didactische kenmerken die positieve invloed hebben op de uitbreiding van de woordenschat van leerlingen. Er is met name gekeken naar onderzoeken met een verschillende aanpak van intentioneel directe of indirecte woordenschatuitbreiding, omdat deze het beste passen in het Arubaanse onderwijs waar Nederlands een vreemde taal is en woordkennis niet vanzelf wordt verworven. Hoewel niet alle onderzoeken in deze studie een positief significant effect hebben gemeten, hebben ze met elkaar gemeen dat er in de resultaten altijd een groei van de woordenschat is geconstateerd. Dit zou belangrijke implicaties kunnen hebben voor woordenschatonderwijs.

173

Woordenschat is een van de vijf basiscomponenten voor het ontwikkelen van leesvaardigheid (National Reading Panel, 2000). Uit onderzoek naar de factoren die van invloed zijn op begrijpend lezen, blijkt dat woordenschat daarbij een belangrijke rol speelt (Haest & Vermeer, 2005). Woordkennis is belangrijk, want zonder woordkennis kan een leerling een tekst wel lezen, maar weet en begrijpt hij niet waar de tekst over gaat. Om een tekst te begrijpen, is het dus noodzakelijk dat de lezer de betekenis van de woorden in die tekst kent. Leerlingen moeten tevens in staat zijn om de woorden die in schoolboeken voorkomen te herkennen en ze in nieuwe situaties te gebruiken. Zij dienen de woorden te kennen die leerkrachten gebruiken.

Het belang van woordenschatonderwijs wordt door veel leerkrachten onderkend. Desalniettemin is er op Aruba geen sprake van woordenschatonderwijs. Dit is niet direct te wijten aan onwil van leerkrachten maar aan gebrek aan kennis en inzicht hoe dit in praktijk moet worden gebracht. Van Arubaanse leerlingen wordt verwacht dat ze na twee jaar kleuteronderwijs in het Papiamentu kunnen overgaan tot onderwijs in het Nederlands, zonder dat er in deze twee jaren systematisch aandacht aan woordenschatuitbreiding en taalontwikkeling in het Nederlands is besteed. Als gevolg hiervan is de vereiste woordenschat en taalkennis van het Nederlands niet toereikend.

Woordenschatonderwijs voor Nederlands vraagt in de onderbouw en middenbouw specifiek didactische aandacht. Zowel woord- en taalkennis als de integratie hiervan in de andere taaldomeinen (luisteren, spreken, lezen en schrijven) en in andere vakken (vakoverstijgende integratie) staan hierbij centraal.

Het gaat bij woordenschat niet alleen om het begrijpen van woorden, maar ook om de hoeveelheid woorden die de leerling kent (Vernooy, 2007). Dit geldt voor moedertaal- en tweede taalleerders, maar uiteraard ook voor vreemde taalleerders die in een omgeving wonen, waar de vreemde taal buiten schooltijd niet of nauwelijks aanwezig is. Het is in diverse internationale onderzoeken al bewezen dat anderstalige kinderen die de voertaal als tweede taal moeten leren een achterstand hebben in vergelijking met kinderen die deze voertaal als moedertaal hebben (Collins, 2010; Hulstijn, 2005; Appel & Vermeer, 1998; Verhallen & Schoonen, 1998). De noodzaak voor woordenschatonderwijs is dus groot. Woordenschatonderwijs is onderwijs waar ruimte is voor woordenschatuitbreiding, hetzij als expliciet onderdeel van de taallessen of als zelfstandige lessen woordenschatuitbreiding. In beide gevallen moet er sprake zijn van intentioneel-directe of intentioneel-indirecte woordleersituaties (Verhallen & Verhallen, 1994).

Door rijk taalaanbod, zowel schriftelijk als mondeling, kan de woordenschat van de leerlingen ook incidenteel verrijkt worden (Beck, McKeown & Kucan, 2002). Bij woordenschatuitbreiding in zowel moedertaal- als vreemde taalonderwijs, zijn de volgende aspecten van belang:

- het geven van expliciete instructie, gericht op het uitleggen van de betekenis van woorden. De leerlingen zowel binnen als buiten de school gelegenheid geven om te lezen over allerlei onderwerpen, en zodoende woordenschat te koppelen aan lezen.
- de leerlingen de gelegenheid geven om nieuw geleerde woorden tijdens dagelijkse interacties toe te passen, zowel mondeling als schriftelijk.
- Leerlingen voor wie het Nederlands hun tweede of vreemde taal is veel gelegenheid bieden om hun Nederlandse woordenschat uit te breiden.
- En tot slot, de leerlingen verbindingen te leren leggen tussen hun voorkennis en nieuwe woorden (Vernooy, 2007; Wesche & Paribakht, 2000).

Het literatuuronderzoek heeft in acht verschillende studies onderzocht welke didactische werkvormen leiden tot een groter leerrendement van woorden, in het bijzonder bij tweede taal- of vreemde taalleerders. Omdat er tevens andere factoren een rol spelen bij woordenschatonderwijs, zijn de volgende aspecten ook meegenomen in het onderzoek: leeractiviteiten, duur en kwantiteit van interventie, hoeveelheid woorden, koppeling aan andere taaldomeinen zoals spreken, luisteren,

lezen, schrijven. Dit is noodzakelijk, want op Aruba kan gesproken worden van een geringe taalvaardigheid Nederlands vergeleken met van huis uit Nederlandstalige kinderen in Nederland of op Aruba zelf. Dit is uiteraard niet vreemd als 96% van de bevolking (CBS, 2010) een andere taal dan het Nederlands spreekt, thuis of als dagelijkse voertaal. De aspecten die in de studies nader bekeken zijn, kunnen van invloed zijn op het verkrijgen van betere leerresultaten bij het toepassen van intentionele woordenschatuitbreiding. Indien de studies consistent aangeven welke aspecten een positieve invloed hebben op de woordenschat van leerlingen, kunnen ze meegenomen worden in de ontwikkeling van een effectief woordenschatonderwijs in een vreemde taal op Aruba.

De meerderheid van de studies in het onderzoek, maar ook in eerdere onderzoeken van Maduro (2010, 2012), tonen aan dat intentioneel woordenschatonderwijs effect heeft op de uitbreiding van de woordenschat, zowel op korte als op lange termijn (Loftus et al., 2010; Maynard et al., 2010; Sonbul & Schmitt, 2010; Townsend & Collins, 2009; Yoshii & Flaitz, 2002; Brabham & Lynch, 2002; Appel en Vermeer, 1998; Kang, 1995). De overeenkomsten in deze onderzoeken zijn als volgt te categoriseren:

- 1) gericht op woordkennis, woordbetekenis en uitbreiding;
- 2) woordaanbod gaat gepaard met context en visualisatie;
- 3) woordaanbod niet als een los element, maar als een geheel, al dan niet gepaard met andere taaldomeinen zoals lezen, spreken en luisteren;
- 4) woordenschat als supplement, naast de reguliere taallessen;
- 5) herhaald lezen en herhaaldelijk de doelwoorden aanbieden;
- 6) het inoefenen van doelwoorden (in context) door middel van taalspellen geeft aan dat het spelelement kan bijdragen aan een beter begrip en aan de beklijving van woorden;
- 7) ook bij expliciete aandacht voor de uitbreiding van woordkennis is het spelelement van grote waarde.

Significant effect is met name gemeten bij interventies met een korte duur, korter dan vier weken (Maynard et al., 2010; Kang, 1995). Maar in het enige longitudinaal onderzoek (Appel & Vermeer, 1998) is er ook positief significant gemeten. De leerlingen die aan die interventie deelnamen, hadden meer woorden verworven dan de kinderen in de controlegroepen. In het onderzoek van Loftus et al. (2010) is ook significant effect gemeten bij een interventie met een duur van zeven weken. In deze studie echter waren de groepen aan het begin van het onderzoek niet gelijk, doordat de leerlingen met de laagste scores op de pretest waren toegewezen aan de interventiegroep.

De reden waarom de andere onderzoeken geen positief effect hebben gemeten, kan te wijten zijn aan diverse factoren. Een daarvan is de grootte van de groep. Hoe meer leerlingen in een groep, hoe minder interactie en spreekruimte voor ieder individu. Ook de gekozen doelwoorden kunnen een factor zijn. De complexiteit van de vorm van het woord, het abstractieniveau en de frequentie van het woord in de taal kunnen van invloed zijn op het begrip en beklijving ervan (Verhallen & Verhallen, 1994).

In meerdere onderzoeken (Loftus et al., 2010; Townsend & Collins, 2009; Brabham & Lynch, 2002; Appel & Vermeer, 1998) vindt de interventie vier keer per week plaats met een gemiddelde tijdsinvestering van 35 minuten per les. Wat overeenkomt met Van den Nulft & Verhallen (2009) die 30 à 45 minuten voorschrijven voor de viertakt. Uit het onderzoek van Kang (1995) blijkt tevens dat computerprogramma's voor lezen of woordenschatuitbreiding als ondersteuning kunnen dienen en zodoende kunnen helpen bij de uitbreiding van woordenschat.

Als er gekeken wordt naar belangrijke aspecten van woordenschatonderwijs (Vernooy, 2007; Wesche & Paribakht, 2000), dan voldoen zeven van de acht studies (Loftus et al., 2010; Maynard et al., 2010; Sonbul & Schmitt, 2010; Townsend & Collins, 2009; Yoshii & Flaitz, 2002; Brabham en Lynch, 2002; Appel en Vermeer, 1998), qua interventie, aan de bovengenoemde aspecten. Ondanks dat er steeds sprake was van een ander design en een andere opzet.

176

Alhoewel deze studie zijn beperkingen heeft, met name in kwantiteit – er zijn ten slotte maar een aantal onderzoeken bestudeerd en besproken – is het gevonden resultaat positief. In alle onderzoeken heeft de interventie tot verbeteringen in woordenschat geleid. In sommige gevallen is er zelfs een positief significant effect gemeten. Het ondersteunt eerdere onderzoeken die hebben aangetoond dat woordenschatuitbreiding, intentioneel maar ook incidenteel, in een context moet worden ingebed. Daarnaast dienen woorden gevisualiseerd te worden om het concept en de betekenis ervan te verduidelijken. Tevens dient woordenschatuitbreiding ook gekoppeld te worden aan lezen, spreken en luisteren om optimaal resultaat (kwantitatief) en langdurigheid (kwalitatief) te behalen. Er is echter geen eenduidigheid in de duur en de grootte van de groep van de interventie, wat zeker nog verder onderzocht dient te worden.

LITERATUUR

- Appel, René & Anne Vermeer (1998). Speeding up second language vocabulary acquisition of minority children. *Language and Education*, 12, 3, 159-173.
- Beck, Isabel, Margaret G. McKeown & Linda Kucan (2002). *Bringing words to life*. New York: Guilford Press.

- Brabham, Edna & Carol Lynch-Brown (2002). Effect of teachers' reading aloud styles on vocabulary acquisition and comprehension of students in the early elementary grades. *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 94, 3, 465-473.
- CBS (2010). *Complete report: fifth population and housing census Aruba*. Oranjestad: Censo Aruba.
- Collins, Molly F. (2010). ELL preschoolers' English vocabulary acquisition from storybook reading. *Early Childhood Research Quarterly*, 25, 1, 84-97.
- Field, Andy P. (2009). *Discovering statistics using SPSS*. (3rd ed.). London: Sage.
- Haest, Iles & Anne Vermeer (2005). Brede en diepe woordkennis, vaktaal en tekstbegrip. *Toegepaste Taalwetenschap in Artikelen*, 74, 45-58.
- Hulstijn, Jan H. (2005). *Theoretical and empirical issues in the study of implicit and explicit second-language learning*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kang, Sook-Hi (1995). The effects of a context-embedded approach to second-language vocabulary learning. *System*, 23, 1, 43-55.
- Loftus, Susan, Michael D. Coyne, D. Betsy McCoach, Richard Zipoli & Paige C. Pullen (2010). Effects of a supplemental vocabulary intervention on the word knowledge of kindergarten students at risk for language and literacy difficulties. *Learning Disabilities Research and Practice*, 25, 3, 124-136.
- Maduro, Jesseline (2010). *Het vernieuwde vak Nederlandse taal in het basisonderwijs, een geïntegreerde aanpak eerste-, tweede-, en vreemde taal didactiek*. Literatuurreview in het kader van de opleiding MEBIT. Teachers Academy, Maastricht University.
- Maduro, Jesseline (2012). *Het effect van intentionele woordenschatuitbreiding op taallessen in vreemde taal onderwijs*. Praktijkonderzoek in het kader van de opleiding MEBIT. Teachers Academy, Maastricht University.
- Maynard, Katrina L., Paige C. Pullen & Michael Coyne (2010). Teaching vocabulary to first-grade students through repeated shared storybook reading: a comparison of rich and basic instruction to incidental exposure. *Literacy Research and Instruction*, 49, 3, 209-242.
- National Reading Panel (2000). *Teaching children to read: an evidence-based assessment of the scientific research literature on reading and its implications for reading instruction*. Washington: U.S. Department of Health and Human Services.
- Schmitt, Norbert (1997). Vocabulary learning strategies. In Norbert Schmitt & Michael McCarthy (Eds.), *Vocabulary: description, acquisition and pedagogy* (pp. 199-227). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Sonbul, Suhad & Norbert Schmitt (2010). Direct teaching of vocabulary after reading: is it worth the effort? *ELT Journal*, 64, 3, 253-260.
- Townsend, Dianna & Penny Collins (2009). Academic vocabulary and middle school English learners: an intervention study. *Reading and Writing*, 22, 9, 993-1019.

- Van den Nulft, Dirkje & Marian Verhallen (2009). *Met woorden in de weer*. (2nd ed.). Bussum: Coutinho.
- Verhallen, Marianne & S. Verhallen (1994). *Woorden leren, woorden onderwijzen: handreiking voor lerearen in het basis- en voortgezet onderwijs*. Hoevelaken: CPS.
- Verhallen, Marian & Rob Schoonen (1998). Lexical Knowledge in L1 and L2 of third and fifth graders. *Applied Linguistics*, 19, 4, 452-470.
- Vermeer, Anne (2006). Impliciet of expliciet woordenschatonderwijs bij eerste- en tweedetaalleerders: hoe NT2 de weg moet blijven wijzen in taalonderwijsland. In J. Coenen & M. Hoefnagel (Eds.), *NT2 revisited. 25 jaar Nederlands als tweede taal: de stand van zaken*. Amsterdam: Werkverband Amsterdamse Psycholinguïsten (CD-ROM).
- Vernooy, Kees (2007). *Effectief leeslonderwijs nader bekeken* (Paper gepubliceerd voor de implementatiekoffer van site www.schoolaanzet.nl en www.taalpilots.nl). Utrecht: Projectbureau Kwaliteit.
- Wesche, Marjorie Bingham & T. Sima Paribakht (2000). Reading-based exercises in second language vocabulary learning: an introspective study. *The Modern Language Journal*, 84, 2, 196-213.
- Yoshii, Makoto & Jeffra Flaitz (2002). Second language incidental vocabulary retention: the effect of text and picture annotation types. *Calico Journal*, 20, 1, 33-58.

UN MODELO COGNITIVO PARA LA ORGANIZACIÓN DE LAS ACTIVIDADES DE AULA BASADO EN EL CEREBRO TRIUNO E INTELIGENCIAS MÚLTIPLES PARA EL APRENDIZAJE DE LA ESCRITURA EN UNA LENGUA EXTRANJERA¹

BEATRIZ MARÍA MANRIQUE
UNIVERSIDAD DEL ZULIA

Introducción

Uno de los puntos importantes en la formación de docentes de lenguas extranjeras es aprender sobre el manejo de la información dentro del aula, para lograr un máximo de aprendizaje. Sin importar el enfoque lingüístico de enseñanza que se utilice – gramatical, comunicativo, integral – en toda aula de lenguas no sólo ocurren acciones para ayudar al aprendizaje de la lengua en específico, sino también se manifiestan con mayor fuerza las características personales de cada uno de los participantes en el evento de aprendizaje, características que incluyen sus diferentes inteligencias y sus modos de aprendizaje, lo cual hace de cada participante un universo único e irrepetible. Por esta razón, la organización de las actividades de aula es un punto de suma importancia para lograr que una gran parte de los estudiantes alcance el objetivo educativo trazado. Asimismo, en la sala de lenguas, ya sea lengua materna o lengua extranjera, se manifiestan los cambios y los avances en sociología, filosofía o psicología; y, en el caso en particular que nos atañe, de la información sobre neurociencias, de manera que estos ayuden a los individuos de cualquier sociedad a ser cada día mejores personas, pues es innegable la influencia que el lenguaje posee en el desarrollo cognoscitivo del individuo. Es por ello que el objetivo de este artículo es presentar una síntesis de un modelo cognitivo para la enseñanza de la escritura como lengua extranjera basado en un enfoque de cerebro triuno e inteligencias múltiples.

179

¹ Este artículo es parte de la tesis doctoral de la autora: “Evaluación de un modelo cognitivo para la organización de las actividades de aula basado en el cerebro triuno e inteligencias múltiples para el aprendizaje de la escritura en una lengua extranjera”. Universidad de Córdoba, España (2012). Disponible en <http://hdl.handle.net/10396/7669>

Base neurolingüística del modelo propuesto

En relación con los hemisferios cerebrales, Bogen (1985) establece funciones específicas para cada hemisferio: el hemisferio izquierdo es analítico, lógico, racional, lineal, mientras que el derecho es sintético, analógico, intuitivo y holístico. Expandiendo la información anterior, el hemisferio izquierdo ordena la información en partes para luego analizarla de una manera lógica, racional, mientras que el hemisferio derecho realiza una apreciación de forma conjunta o global, considerando el todo de manera simultánea. A esta manera de mirar se le denomina pensamiento holístico.

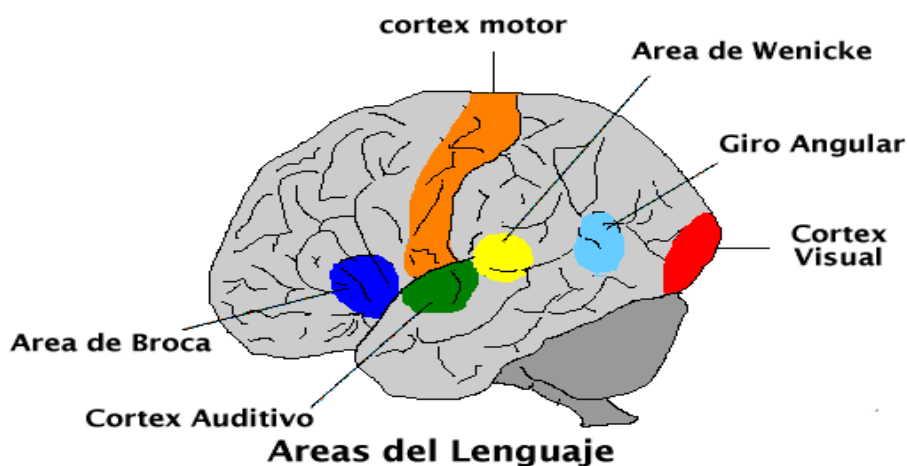
Sperry (1985) afirma que, aunque las funciones que realiza cada hemisferio cerebral están muy bien definidas, no es posible pensar que éstos trabajan de forma aislada pues, en la labor cerebral, los dos hemisferios están integrados en un todo. En este marco de referencia, Verlee (1986) estudia los usos de esta bilateralidad cerebral para la educación y afirma que el proceso que realiza el hemisferio izquierdo constituye la habilidad para discriminar las características relevantes, para reducir un todo a partes significativas, en suma, para analizar. Aunque este concepto de bilateralidad durante los ochenta fue realmente importante por sus implicaciones educacionales, las investigaciones sobre cerebro, que habían comenzado con mucha antelación, ya habían producido la propuesta de MacLean (1990; en De Beauport, 1994; 2008), en los años cincuenta, sobre la existencia de tres cerebros claramente definidos.

La intención de MacLean (1990; en De Beauport, 1994; 2008) era reconciliar el aspecto más humano con el aspecto de violencia que aún persiste en el hombre. Este autor propuso tres sistemas: el neocortical, el límbico y el sistema R. Estos tres sistemas definen lo que su proponente denominó cerebro triuno (MacLean, 1990; en De Beauport, 1994). Este investigador afirma que cada uno de estos sistemas posee "una inteligencia especial, su propia subjetividad, su propio sentido de tiempo y espacio, su propia memoria, su propia función motora y otras funciones" (MacLean, 1990; citado en De Beauport, 1994: 9).

Los tres sistemas están relacionados con el desarrollo y la adquisición del lenguaje a través de las áreas donde se concentra la información lingüística (neocorteza), se originan y recuerdan las emociones (cerebro límbico) y se controla el aspecto muscular (sistema o complejo R). En el hemisferio izquierdo de la neocorteza, en una gran parte de los individuos, se encuentra la base del lenguaje verbal. Como se observa en el gráfico 1, el área de Broca se localiza en la parte inferior del lóbulo frontal izquierdo; el área de Wernicke, cercana al área de Broca, en el lóbulo temporal, es la zona donde el ser humano entiende el significado del lenguaje; el giro angular, justo por encima y debajo del área de Wernicke, conecta los centros del lenguaje y el cortex visual. El hemisferio derecho se considera el receptor e identificador de la orientación espacial y se supone que la comprensión de los

aspectos no verbales del lenguaje, los aspectos paralingüísticos - la prosodia, el ritmo, la entonación - se encuentran localizadas en este hemisferio (Boeree, 2008).

Gráfico 1 (Boeree, 2008)



En la zona límbica propuesta por MacLean (1990; en De Beauport, 1994; 2010), se encuentra el hipocampo, área relacionada con la memoria a largo plazo y con la memoria espacial, y el sistema R, encargado de controlar el aspecto muscular del ser humano, entre otras tareas; esto hace que regule el trabajo realizado por los órganos del habla.

El aspecto relacionado con el acceso a la información dependerá de la modalidad básica del pensamiento que el individuo haya desarrollado en mayor grado. Los estudios sobre bilateralidad cerebral indican que existen tres modalidades básicas de pensamiento (visual, auditivo y cinestésico), y la mayoría de las personas posee la habilidad de combinar estas modalidades según sea necesario; cualquiera de las modalidades que se utilice en la resolución de problemas, en caso de utilizar una sola, es válida aunque no sea la más adecuada (Verlee, 1986). Esto implica que para algunas personas ciertas tareas serán más fáciles o más difíciles de completar según la modalidad de pensamiento que estas tareas exijan.

En relación con el aprendizaje de lenguas, se han identificado alrededor de veinte dimensiones de estas modalidades. Entre éstas, se pueden mencionar: campo dependiente *versus* campo independiente; procesamiento analítico *versus* procesamiento global; cooperación *versus* competencia; sensibilidad *versus* intuición (Shipman & Shipman, 1985, citados en Oxford, 1990; Stern, 1987). Oxford (1990) señala que existe una estrecha relación entre las dimensiones de los estilos de aprendizaje y las estrategias de aprendizaje. Ahora bien, sobre el lenguaje y los modos de pensamiento, Reid (1998) señala la interacción entre los estilos de aprendizaje y el éxito en la adquisición de una segunda lengua. Entre sus conclusiones señala que es conveniente motivar a los estudiantes para que utilicen todos los estilos disponibles

sin juzgar o hacerles sentir que su estilo es inadecuado. Desde la perspectiva del autor de la presente investigación, es conveniente hacer notar que el conocimiento de las modalidades de aprendizaje (visual, auditivo, cinestésico) es de gran utilidad tanto para el profesor como para los estudiantes.

Por una parte, la interacción le permite al educador descubrir dos cosas: primero, qué formas de pensar son más adecuadas para el estudio de un tema en particular y, así, enseñarlo mejor; y, segundo, cuáles modalidades son las más utilizadas por los integrantes del grupo para desarrollar materiales y escoger tipos de ejercicios que estimulen el desarrollo de las modalidades menos utilizadas en el grupo, sin olvidar las ya existentes. Por otra parte, la interacción beneficia igualmente a los estudiantes, ya que éstos podrán identificar de qué manera enfrentan un problema y, además, podrán desarrollar otras modalidades de aprendizaje, lo cual ampliará las oportunidades de éxito al estimular en ellos la habilidad de pasar de un sistema representativo a otro, según sea necesario. Estos dos aspectos, la competencia comunicativa y el modo de pensamiento utilizado para el aprendizaje, han sido trabajados de manera aislada en el aula de clases, lo cual se observa al analizar el enfoque comunicativo, la organización de las actividades que se llevan a cabo en el aula y las asignaciones de trabajo externo.

Es de hacer notar que los individuos que aprenden otra lengua poseen sus características lingüísticas propias, sus estrategias de aprendizaje desarrolladas durante su proceso de crecimiento, su bagaje de experiencias de vida y su forma de utilizar la memoria como un mecanismo compensatorio de aprendizaje. Todo lo anterior implica que el proceso de adquisición es diferente al proceso de aprendizaje y, en consecuencia, no deben mezclarse. Esta idea fue desarrollada por Krashen (1981) quien planteó que no debe partirse del proceso de adquisición para lograr el aprendizaje, ya que, si bien es cierto que cada niño adquiere su primera lengua (L1) en un contexto similar, cada individuo tendrá su propio camino hacia el aprendizaje de una segunda lengua (L2). Además, solo después del aprendizaje, podrá darse la adquisición.

Por ello, puede decirse que para lograr que el individuo aprenda una segunda lengua, es necesario partir de una definición específica del lenguaje y considerar de manera adecuada y clara las variables que inciden en el proceso de aprendizaje y el conocimiento que posee el individuo. En resumen, en el caso de una segunda lengua, el adulto que aprende ya posee los conceptos de la primera y una experiencia de vida, mientras que cuando el niño aprende una primera lengua, la adquisición de los conceptos y de esa primera lengua se realizan de manera simultánea. Como ejemplo de las ideas anteriores, se presentan a continuación dos de los caminos que se han utilizado en diferentes momentos en la enseñanza de lenguas.

Según los conductistas (Skinner, 1985), el lenguaje se aprende por generalizaciones, repeticiones, ensayo/error, por lo cual es obvio encontrar un momento en el desarrollo

del campo de enseñanza de lenguas donde se intentó enseñar de la misma manera. Como ejemplo, se podría mencionar que, durante ese tiempo, surge la supremacía de la repetición de estructuras hasta lograr su aprendizaje como una respuesta a un estímulo lingüístico externo; se diseñan materiales de aula y de laboratorio de lenguas donde se practican de forma aislada, sin un contexto de referencia, las diferentes estructuras verbales; se presentan listas de palabras para insertar en las estructuras ejercitadas; no se considera el aspecto fonético/fonológico como central para la diferenciación significativa semántica entre algunas oraciones. En conclusión, el estudiante debe aprender la segunda lengua a partir de su práctica aislada, sin considerar su aporte cognitivo para lograr el objetivo. Estas ideas fueron puestas en práctica a través de diferentes métodos y enfoques, como por ejemplo *Grammar Translation*, el método directo y el situacional (audio-lingual), entre otros.

Según los seguidores del concepto de lenguaje como comunicación aplicado a la enseñanza de una lengua extranjera (Brumfit, Munby, Nunnan, Widdowson, Wilkins), para cualquier actividad de enseñanza de lenguas, es necesario determinar un objetivo de comunicación. Vale decir, que es necesario presentar una función comunicativa como el centro alrededor del cual giran las estrategias de enseñanza aprendizaje en aula; se presentan diferentes formas estructurales (*nociones*) para referirse a una misma función; el aspecto fonético/fonológico se inserta dentro de los materiales que se utilizan para la presentación de la función; los aspectos semánticos y sintácticos se relacionan directamente con la función; y, aunque algunas propuestas pedagógicas de aula presentan las formas sintácticas en un aparte específico, no se utiliza la primera lengua ni tampoco se explicita la gramática de esa segunda lengua.

Estos dos caminos han sido los más comunes, por asignarle un adjetivo, en el proceso de enseñanza/aprendizaje de una segunda lengua. De su lectura se desprende que la individualidad en el uso y el desarrollo de estrategias de aprendizaje de los participantes no está incluida como variable de aula, a pesar de poseer este enfoque la característica de centrarse en el alumno. Sin embargo, los buenos profesores, aquellos que consideran a los participantes de manera individual y como centros de su hacer, saben que los progresos en el aprendizaje de una lengua giran alrededor del diseño de actividades de enseñanza y aprendizaje centradas en los intereses, talentos y necesidades de los participantes; este saber se manifiesta cuando durante el aprendizaje de la nueva lengua los participantes son capaces de explicitar el conocimiento lingüístico oculto y, además, contrastarlo, cada vez que sea posible, con el conocimiento lingüístico que cada uno de ellos posee.

Desde el punto de vista constructivista (Bruner, 1972; Ausbel, Novak & Hanesian, 1983), el aprendizaje ocurre luego de una exploración de las diferentes alternativas que posee el individuo que permiten relacionar de manera sustancial y no arbitraria la información presentada, por lo que la organización del material debe permitirle al aprehendiente comprender, transformar y transferir lo aprendido. Es vinculante, en

este momento, traer a colación dos citas de Chomsky (2007) sobre el conocimiento del lenguaje, que aunque no se refieren a la enseñanza de una segunda lengua, específicamente, son realmente pertinentes. En la primera, Chomsky afirma que el conocimiento del lenguaje resulta de la acción combinada “de las estructuras iniciales de la mente, de los procesos de maduración y de la interacción con el entorno” (Chomsky, 2007: 59), y, en la segunda, parafrasea las observaciones de Russell y manifiesta que:

“podríamos decir que nuestra constitución mental nos permite alcanzar el conocimiento del mundo en la medida en que nuestra capacidad innata para crear teorías viene a corresponder con algún aspecto de la estructura del mundo.” (Chomsky, 2007: 56)

Estas dos ideas permiten confirmar que el individuo, como ente social/pensante, busca relacionar el mundo interno con el externo para lograr el conocimiento, en general. Huerta (2006) define el conocimiento a partir de la implicación de relación mutua entre el sujeto y el objeto, y afirma que el conocimiento es:

“el producto de la acción intencionada del sujeto por saber más de los objetos que le rodean y de los hechos y las situaciones de su entorno... la acción de conocer es una intención del sujeto para dirigir su interés hacia un objeto o hecho determinado” (Huerta, 2006: 9).

184 Este conocimiento lo realiza el individuo a través del lenguaje, es decir, luego de su adquisición, el lenguaje continúa dándole forma al mundo interno y externo del individuo.

En contraste, la situación en el aula de clases se complica cuando aparecen otras dos variables: por un lado, dos enfoques de inteligencias múltiples – De Beauport (1994; 2008) y Gardner (1985) – que parten de puntos de vista totalmente diferentes; y, por el otro, el intento de integrarlos en el enfoque de enseñanza de lenguas que se desea utilizar, en nuestro caso, el enfoque comunicativo. De igual manera, en el aula de lenguas ocurren intercambios de comunicación entre todos los participantes para alcanzar objetivos de aprendizaje, entrelazados con intercambios de comunicación real que traen información social y afectiva. Estas situaciones de comunicación, ya sean orales o escritas, implican, además, un intercambio de conocimientos de tipo personal, social, científico, cultural y religioso, entre otros.

Este intercambio requiere de los participantes, específicamente de los estudiantes, no sólo una competencia lingüística, sino una competencia comunicativa (CC) desarrollada que los capacite para satisfacer los objetivos de comunicación. Por estas razones, para los estudiantes de lengua extranjera, el desarrollo de su nueva competencia comunicativa está matizado por dos aspectos. El primer aspecto es la CC de su primera lengua, y el segundo la manera como ha aprendido a acceder a la información durante su proceso de formación, en general. Como respuesta al aspecto

de la CC en la primera lengua, en la literatura especializada hay ejemplos de cómo los profesores de idiomas han buscado vías para llevar respuestas al aula de clases. Los ejemplos van desde la traducción directa hasta el uso del cuerpo como medio de acción semántica. Un ejemplo específico es la siguiente cita explicativa dada por un profesor de China:

“For example, when I taught ‘stuffy nose’ I put two fingers on my nose and held tightly while I was saying, ‘When you catch a cold, you may have a stuffy nose.’ I also made it seem as if I could not breathe through my nose.”
(Aili, 1998: 28)²

La interrogación que surge es si todos los profesores de lengua, inglés en este caso, están dispuestos a colocar sus dedos dentro de su nariz para explicar este nuevo término – comportamiento que quizás en algunas culturas puede no ser aceptable. Aunque la respuesta propuesta por Aili (1998) es viable y soluciona un problema de vocabulario determinado, es necesario que los profesores de lengua manejen información neurolingüística que les haga sentirse libres y seguros para hacer las explicaciones posibles en la nueva lengua. De igual manera, les ayudará a sentirse libres para utilizar la lengua materna en caso de no poseer una forma lingüística en la lengua meta. Una respuesta podría ser el uso de los resultados obtenidos de las investigaciones realizadas por la neurociencia, en específico, los avances sobre el cerebro.

El gráfico 2 permite observar la interacción que ocurre en toda aula de clases, la cual debe recrear la vida real desde el concepto de un paradigma postpositivista: la vida se manifiesta como una interrelación muy personal de los seres humanos con el entorno. En el aula, cada individuo tiene la posibilidad de recrear la vida desde todas las perspectivas, puesto que éstas coexisten en todos los individuos el aula debe recrear una vida ideal, una vida real, una vida escéptica, una vida útil, una vida concreta, una vida en constante interrelación, que solo es factible cuando cada individuo que hace vida en el aula llega a entender que es parte esencial del todo y que sin él, como individuo cohesivo, el todo no puede existir, puesto que lo que él aporta nadie más puede aportarlo.

² Traducción libre de la autora de este artículo: [Por ejemplo, cuando enseño el término ‘stuffy nose’, coloco mis dos dedos dentro de mi nariz y los sostengo fuertemente mientras digo: ‘cuando te resfrías, puedes tener una stuffy nose.’ También hago como se no pudiese respirar por mi nariz].

Gráfico 2 Un aula en vivo



Toda la información anterior permite, entonces, determinar la siguiente operacionalización para el modelo cognitivo de una organización de actividades de aula basado en cerebro triuno e inteligencias múltiples:

1. Ejercicios de movimiento físico para el cerebro básico; es posible incluir ejercicios de gimnasia cerebral, según el área que se intente trabajar. También se incluyen como ejercicios en este punto movimientos para el equilibrio de los hemisferios cerebrales, ya que muchos de ellos involucran el cuerpo en su totalidad.
2. Actividades para el cerebro límbico y, luego, actividades para regresar al cerebro básico para centrar a los estudiantes en el salón de clases, es decir, hacer el enfoque afectivo y físico.
3. Actividades neocorticales, primero para el hemisferio derecho (globales) y luego, para el hemisferio izquierdo (lógicas) con el material del tema que se desarrollará. En caso de que la clase sea muy larga, se aconseja un paréntesis para realizar nuevamente ejercicios para relajar y volver a centrar al cerebro básico (el cuerpo).
4. Ejercicios o preguntas de cierre de la actividad para los tres cerebros: para el hemisferio izquierdo preguntas directas sobre qué aprendí; para el hemisferio derecho, preguntas sobre qué me recuerda, con qué lo asocio, dónde y cómo puedo utilizarlo, es decir, lograr la metacognición; para el cerebro límbico, una

retroalimentación positiva; y, finalmente, para el cerebro reptil, preguntar como se sintió su cuerpo, por ejemplo, si estaban cómodos.

A partir de la explicación anterior se plantea el siguiente esquema organizativo para estructurar las actividades de aula:

- Preparación para el aprendizaje
(Concienciar el cuerpo y el contexto de aula)
- Contacto afectivo
(Potenciar la autoestima de los participantes)
- Conexión con el hemisferio derecho
(Despertar el conocimiento anterior y la comprensión del todo; presentar el nuevo conocimiento a partir de actividades globalizadoras)
- Conexión con el hemisferio izquierdo
(Introducir el nuevo conocimiento, crear los modelos pertinentes, utilizar los procesos adecuados, ser consciente de las partes y del todo)
- Inserción del nuevo conocimiento
(Utilizar el nuevo conocimiento en actividades más personalizadas para fijarlo en la memoria a largo plazo)
- Uso en aula del conocimiento estudiado
(Permitir que los participantes determinen cómo el nuevo conocimiento ha sido utilizado o podrá ser utilizado para asegurar la metacognición)
- Uso libre del nuevo conocimiento en diferentes actividades, bien sea libres, escogidas por los alumnos a partir de una lista propuesta o de realización diaria, para evaluar lo aprendido en aula.

187

En esta estructura propuesta destacan los siguientes aspectos de su base teórica:

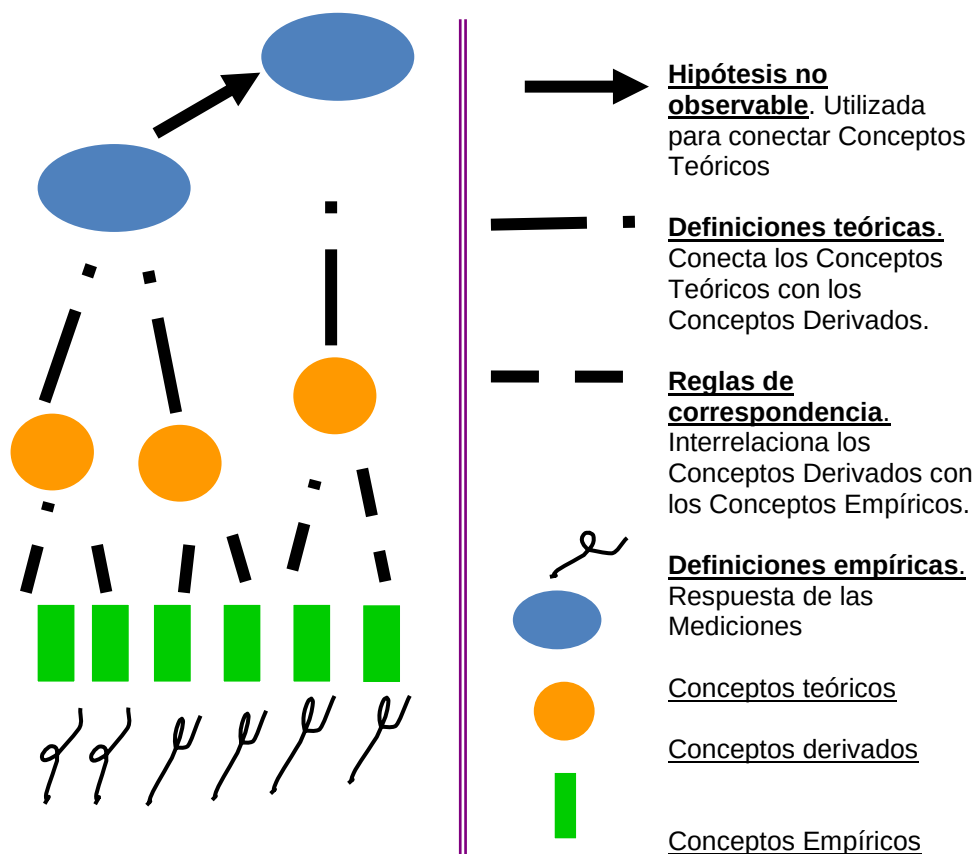
- a. El cerebro es el órgano del cuerpo que consume más oxígeno durante su funcionamiento, por lo que la realización de respiraciones y movimientos físicos al comenzar cada clase, previo a cualquier otra actividad cognitiva, es imperativo. Los movimientos de gimnasia cerebral ayudan a potenciar la interconexión cerebral, incrementar la atención y ayudar a la relajación corporal y afectiva (Dennison & Dennison, 1997).
- b. El cerebro límbico es el centro receptor de toda la información que el ser humano percibe (Goleman, 1996), en consecuencia, es muy importante realizar una actividad afectiva para bajar el filtro afectivo de los participantes y aumentar la posibilidad de aprendizaje. Estas actividades permiten, además, aumentar la autoestima de los participantes, así como lograr una mayor

interacción entre ellos, lo que influye para obtener una atmósfera de mayor seguridad y compañerismo en el salón de clases.

- c. El cuerpo es la expresión del cerebro básico: una actividad motora con música (caminar, estiramiento, movimientos corporales específicos de cuello y hombros) que permita relajar el cuerpo, concienciar su presencia en el salón de clases y conectarse con sus compañeros, son algunos de los beneficios de la aplicación de este saber.
- d. La presentación de la información debe partir del hemisferio derecho por ejemplo: realizar visualizaciones relacionadas con el tema para conectar o traer al salón de clases el conocimiento que poseen los participantes, antes de presentar el tema con las estructuras que se van estudiar (hemisferio derecho). Estas visualizaciones o asociaciones permiten tomar notas y discutir para compartir el conocimiento que los participantes ya poseen, así como también llegar, algunas veces, a contactar conocimiento inconsciente.
- e. Si las actividades neocorticales se alargan durante la presentación de la nueva información, es conveniente realizar nuevas respiraciones antes de entrar a las de aplicación lingüística. Se sugiere que tales actividades sean, primero: globales, intuitivas, dibujos, gráficos para trabajar con el (hemisferio derecho; y luego, específicas, analíticas, por ejemplo, una lectura, una finalización de párrafos, una inserción de información en diagramas, entre otras, para trabajar el hemisferio izquierdo.
- f. Las siguientes dos sugerencias son realmente centrales para el cierre de las actividades de aula: el profesor debe guiar el análisis del trabajo de clases sobre qué se trabajó, qué aprendió el participante, dónde puede aplicar ese nuevo conocimiento, para qué le es útil, qué puede hacer para mejorar lo que (se) hizo (análisis del trabajo realizado); si un participante ya manejaba la información, pedirle que se enfoque en cómo lo sabía, qué hizo para saberlo, cómo lo hizo. En resumen, la idea es determinar con el participante cuáles objetivos alcanzó en el aula.
- g. De igual manera, es necesario llevar a cabo, nuevamente, una actividad relacionada con el cerebro límbico: darles reconocimiento por la calidad, la cantidad, el compromiso de lo logrado, cualquier aspecto que el docente sienta y esté convencido sea verdad sobre los participantes. Es muy importante que la afectividad sea genuina: el profesor no debe “adular” al participante; la deshonestidad en estas actividades límbicas puede generar desconfianza e impedir el aprendizaje.

El **Gráfico 3** es una representación de las relaciones que la aplicación del modelo de Bagozzi y Phillips (1984) le permite al modelo cognitivo propuesto en este artículo (Manrique, 2012b).

Gráfico 3
Tipos de relaciones presentes en el modelo



Hasta este punto, se ha señalado la importancia de la investigación para el desarrollo de nueva información en relación con la organización de las actividades lingüísticas en aula. Ahora bien, se espera que los resultados de la investigación sean relevantes para la formación de docentes en general, pues toda información que influya o refleje la necesidad de cambios o mejoras en los métodos, enfoques o actividades de aula para aumentar el aprendizaje, en general, deben ser conocidos por los docentes de lenguas y consideradas en los programas de enseñanza.

Un ejemplo de la aplicación del modelo³

Antes de cerrar el desmontaje del modelo propuesto, se presentará un ejemplo obtenido de una visualización dirigida en una clase *Gramática inglesa*, donde se aplicó el modelo para revisar una de las primeras organizaciones logradas a partir de

³ En el Apéndice al final del artículo se encuentra el modelo propuesto.

la teoría neurolingüística. Al inicio del semestre, se les pidió a los alumnos visualizar su relación con la materia objeto de estudio; durante la visualización se les pidió crear una imagen de su opinión sobre la dificultad de la cátedra y sus sentimientos en relación con la unidad didáctica en sí. Al final de la actividad, una de las alumnas repitientes, y que según sus palabras de presentación, *“estoy dispuesta a aprender mucho, ya que gramática es fácil”*; al final de la actividad, compartió su experiencia, la cual se transcribe a continuación:

Me encontraba como en una feria; estaba muy alegre y llevaba un globo de mi color favorito, con la palabra GRAMÁTICA, en letras grandes, escrita en él. Era fácil y divertido sostener el globo. De pronto, me di cuenta que el globo comenzaba a inflarse mucho y debía sostenerlo con las dos manos. El globo siguió expandiéndose, peligrosamente, y se hizo tan pesado que no podía caminar. No me elevaba con el globo. Por el contrario, comenzó a aplastarme y no podía moverme. Quería gritar y no podía. Quería soltarlo y era como si estuviese pegado a mis manos...Ahora me doy cuenta que aunque digo que este curso es fácil, tengo mucho miedo de reprobarlo de nuevo, porque tiene mucho contenido y no se si pueda dedicarle todo el tiempo que necesito para aprenderlo bien y aprobar.

190

Este ejercicio de visualización permitió que la estudiante concientizara que era necesario: primero, aceptar o comprender que sus palabras acerca del curso no eran del todo honestas y que necesitaba cambiar su percepción sobre el curso; segundo, reestructurar la organización de su tiempo para estudiar; y tercero, comprender que ya manejaba gran parte de la información, pero que debía relacionarla con los aspectos que no manejaba, quizá con los términos nuevos. De igual manera, la actividad y su discusión le permitió al grupo en su totalidad, entender que es necesario considerar cada curso de estudio en el cual se inscriba con una visión de aceptación de sus limitaciones y fortalezas, y de un convencimiento de su capacidad de logros, pues la forma como el estudiante maneje esta información será decisiva para su éxito o su fracaso.

En este ejemplo en específico, fue crucial bajar el filtro afectivo para el éxito de esta alumna en el curso, pues el estado de ánimo es la base del aprendizaje: a menor amenaza, mayor aprendizaje (Krashen, 1981). Mientras más seguro se sienta el participante, mientras menos violencia sienta en el aula, más aceptación sentirá y mayor será el aprendizaje. Todo lo anterior refuerza las ideas de gran parte de los autores mencionados en la base teórica sobre el cerebro y su relación con el aspecto afectivo (Caine & Caine, De Beauport, Gardner, por mencionar algunos).

Asimismo, es de hacer notar que los educadores, sin importar el área de conocimiento que se dediquen a investigar, son miembros de la única profesión cuyo objetivo principal es cambiar el cerebro humano día a día. Por último, cabe destacar que en Venezuela, esta investigación abre el camino a otros estudios relacionados con el uso de las inteligencias múltiples y sus implicaciones en la práctica docente de la enseñanza de lenguas, en general.

Conclusiones

La inclusión de los avances de la neurociencia dentro de un modelo cognitivo para la organización de las actividades de aula permitirá tener maestros, profesores en ejercicio, administradores educativos y teóricos en educación, entre otros participantes del hecho educativo, abiertos a continuar con su formación académica; a estar al día con los avances en la información para lograr desarrollar tanto sus capacidades intelectuales, afectivas y físicas como las de sus alumnos; y, en general, permitirá a todos los integrantes del evento educativo tener éxito en la sociedad global que está desarrollándose de manera vertiginosa.

Aunque para la tesis doctoral se utilizó el modelo propuesto en un aula de escritura, debe mencionarse que no importa el área del conocimiento que se desee desarrollar, como el ejemplo presentado permite concluir, lo importante es encontrar las relaciones entre el modelo cognitivo propuesto, la teoría del área del saber y las estrategias de enseñanza relacionadas. Es fácil concluir que para utilizar la información sobre la bilateralidad cerebral, las modalidades de aprendizaje y las inteligencias múltiples, se necesita desarrollar una nueva visión de la educación; los sistemas de inteligencias de los cerebros neocortical, y reptil se desarrollan a partir del momento de la concepción de un ser humano y son directamente influidos por el medio psicosocial donde se desenvuelve el individuo. El proceso de enseñanza-aprendizaje, por lo tanto, debe tener como objetivo final desarrollar en el aprendiz la capacidad de autoanálisis para que pueda detectar los bloqueos presentes en las diferentes estructuras cerebrales (neocortical, límbico, reptil) que le impiden aprender a aprender.

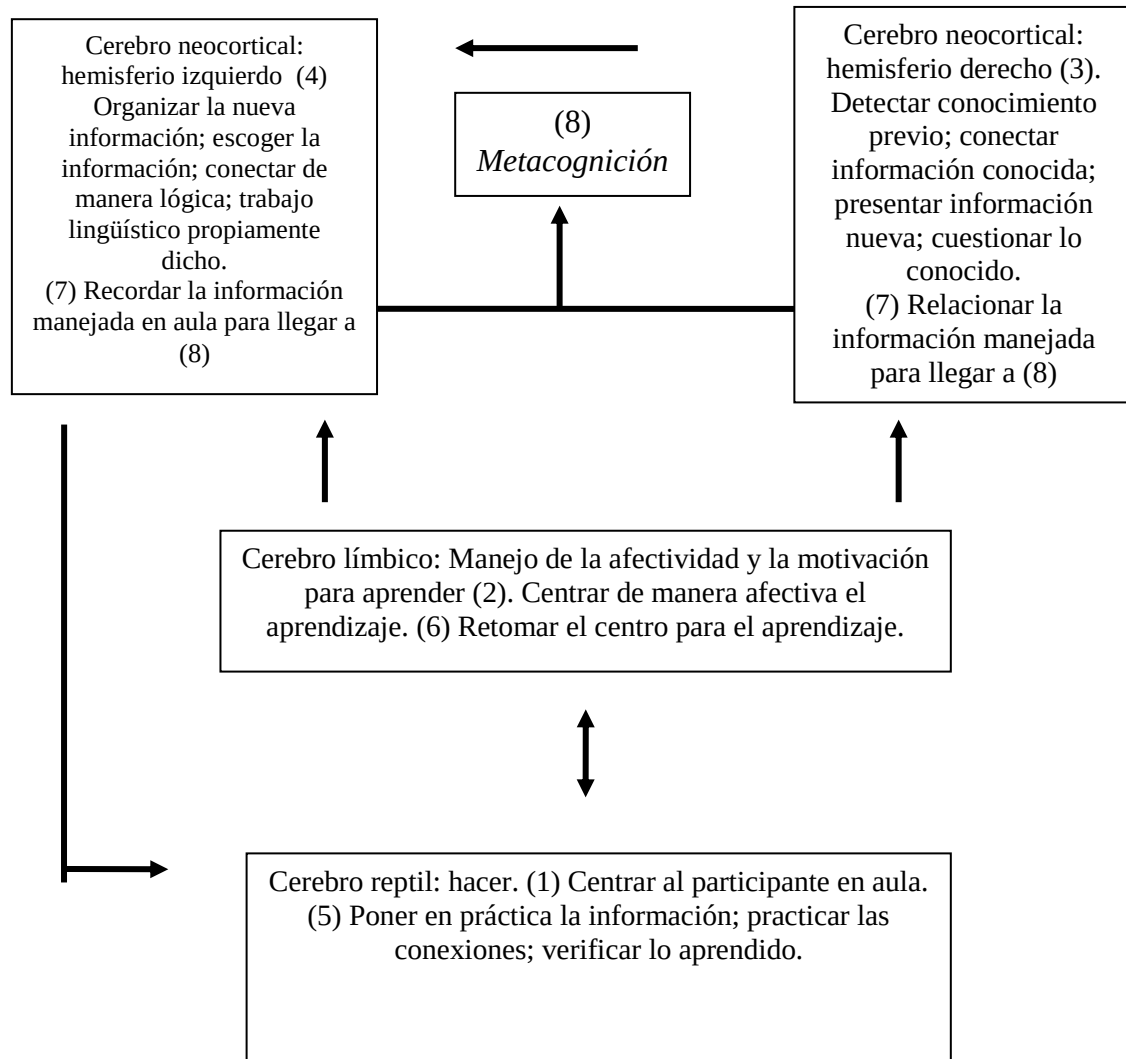
La información sobre neurociencias y educación se hace patente en la organización de actividades de aula al considerar los procesos involucrados en la planificación, implementación y evaluación de cada lección o contacto de aula. Como parte de la planificación, y después de decidir sobre los objetivos que se desean alcanzar, el profesor debe diseñar las actividades, determinar los procedimientos, seleccionar los materiales y los medios que le asegurarán el éxito o alcance de los objetivos trazados. Los resultados de este trabajo indican que para un manejo del aula más efectivo, cuyo objetivo es maximizar el aprendizaje de las diferentes áreas del conocimiento que se presentan, se debería incluir la información emergente sobre cognición y cerebro, en especial la información relacionada con el camino o el patrón que utiliza el estudiante para fijar el conocimiento a largo plazo.

Por último, en la perspectiva epistemológica, el modelo propuesto en este artículo, como todo modelo, puede considerarse como una especie de descripción o representación de la realidad que, por lo general, está en función de unos supuestos teóricos o de una teoría. En consecuencia, se trata, por una parte, de una idealización, en cuanto que muestra las condiciones perfectas en las que se produce el fenómeno o el sistema; y, por la otra, de una aproximación esquematizada de este campo de estudio, es decir, no intenta representar la realidad como tal, sino solo aquellos aspectos o variables más importantes y significativos, pues la realidad es difícil aprehenderla de forma cabal. Además, no puede olvidarse que la realidad es un proceso de cambio constante. En las ciencias sociales lo acotado es mucho más patente, pues lo que el sujeto afirma del objeto de estudio puede modificar su contexto.

Apéndice

A continuación, se inserta el gráfico 4 que representa el modelo de actividades de aula que se propone en este trabajo.

Gráfico 4 Modelo cognitivo para la organización de las actividades de aula
(Gráfico diseñado por la autora de la tesis)



REFERENCIAS

- Aili, Xiao (1998). An academic or a more practical approach. *Forum*, 36, 2, 28.
- Ausbel, David P., Joseph Novak & Helen Hanesian (1983, [1976]). *Psicología educativa: un punto de vista cognoscitivo*. Ciudad de México: Editorial Trillas.
- Bagozzi, Richard P. & Lynn W. Phillips (1982). Representing and testing organizational theories: a holistic construal. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 27, 3, 459-89.
- Boeree, C. George (2008). *El cerebro y la corteza cerebral*. (Trans. Nacho Madrid). Tomado el 10 de octubre del 2010 de http://www.psicologia-online.com/ebooks/general/corteza_cerebral.htm
- Bogen, Joseph E. (1985). The dual brain: some historical and methodological aspects. En D. Frank Benson & Eran Zaidel (Eds.), *The dual brain* (pp. 27-45). New York: Guilford Press.
- Bruner, Jerome (1972). *Hacia una teoría de la instrucción*. La Habana: Ediciones Revolucionarias.
- Caine, Renate Nummela & Geoffrey Caine (1994, [1991]). *Making connections: teaching and the human brain*. Menlo Park: Addison-Wesley Publishing.
- Chomsky, Noam (2007, [1971]). *Conocimiento y libertad*. (Trans. Carlos P. Otero). Madrid: Editorial Océano.
- De Beauport, Elaine (1994). *Las tres caras de la mente: orquesta tu energía con las múltiples inteligencias de tu cerebro triuno*. Caracas:Alac.
- De Beauport, Elaine (2008, [2004]). *Las tres caras de la mente: orquesta tu energía con las múltiples inteligencias de tu cerebro triuno* Segunda edición. Caracas: Editorial Alfa.
- Dennison, Paul E. & Gail E. Dennison (1997, [1986]). *Brain gym: aprendizaje de todo el cerebro. kinesiología educativa*. Barcelona: Robin Book.
- Gardner, Howard (1987, [1983]). *Estructuras de la mente: la teoría de las inteligencias múltiples*. (Trans. Sergio Fernández Everest). México: Fondo de Cultura Económica.
- Goleman, Daniel. (1996). *Inteligencia emocional*. Barcelona: Kairós.
- Huerta, Antonio A. (2006). ¿Qué es el conocimiento? Conocer saber y hacer. *Cuadernos Monográficos Candidus*, 3, 9, 9-12.
- Krashen, Stephen D. (1981). *Second language acquisition and second language learning*. Oxford: Pergamon Press.
- Manrique Urdaneta, Beatriz (1995). El enfoque de inteligencias múltiples y su relación con el proceso de enseñanza aprendizaje de lenguas extranjeras. *Revista Encuentro Educacional*, 2, 26-45.
- Manrique Urdaneta, Beatriz (2008). Relación entre cerebro, lenguaje y enseñanza de lenguas: una visión cognitiva. *Synergies Venezuela*, 4, 103-124.

- Manrique Urdaneta, Beatriz (2012a). *Evaluación de un modelo cognitivo para la organización de las actividades de aula basado en el cerebro triuno e inteligencias múltiples para el aprendizaje de la escritura en una lengua extranjera*. Tesis Doctoral, Universidad de Córdoba. Disponible en: <http://hdl.handle.net/10396/7669>
- Manrique, Beatriz (2012b). Desmontaje de un modelo cognitivo basado para la organización de las actividades de aula. *Revista de Artes y Humanidades UNICA*, 13, 33.
- Oxford, Rebecca L. (1990, [1989]). *Language learning strategies: what every teacher should know*. Boston: Heinly & Heinly Publishers.
- Reid, Joy M. (1998). *Understanding learning styles in the second language classroom*. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall Regents.
- Skinner, B.F. (1985). *Aprendizaje y comportamiento*. Barcelona: Martínez Roca.
- Sperry, Roger W. (1985). Consciousness, personal identity and the divided brain. En D. Frank Benson & Eran Zaidel (Eds.), *The dual brain* (pp. 11-25). New York: Guilford Press.
- Stern, H.H. (1987). *Fundamental concepts of language teaching*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Verlee Williams, Linda (1986). *Aprender con todo el cerebro. Estrategias y modos de pensamiento: visual, metafórico y multisensorial*. Barcelona: Ediciones Martínez-Roca.

DE EFFECTIVITEIT VAN DE VOORSPELLENDE LEESSTRATEGIE IN COMBINATIE MET ANDERE LEESSTRATEGIEËN IN BEGRIJPEND LEZEN

GREGORY GOEDGEDRAG

INSTITUTO PEDAGOGICO ARUBANO, ARUBA

Inleiding

Niemand kan ontkennen dat lezen in onze samenleving een belangrijke rol speelt. Elke dag wordt een groot beroep gedaan op zowel volwassenen als kinderen om overal en op elk ogenblik gebruik te maken van schriftelijke informatie. Daarom is één van de belangrijkste leerprocessen in de basisschool het creëren van een goede begrijpende lezer, zodat deze zich alle nodige informatie eigen kan maken. Dit proces van begrijpend lezen verloopt niet altijd even soepel, vooral als men dit in een vreemde taal moet leren. In het Arubaanse onderwijs is de instructietaal Nederlands, en beschikken de (anderstalige) leerlingen noch over een Dagelijkse Algemene Taalvaardigheid (DAT) noch over een Cognitieve Algemene Taalvaardigheid (CAT) van deze taal.

Leerlingen interpreteren teksten slecht, ze hebben moeite met het selecteren van de juiste informatie en kunnen moeilijk samenvatten. Vakken als Wiskunde, Economie en Persoonlijk Maatschappelijke Vorming (PMV) vereisen steeds meer taalkennis. Men verwacht dat leerlingen uit de derde of vierde klas in staat zijn om de belangrijkste ideeën uit de tekst te halen; om onderscheid te maken tussen relevante informatie en perifere details; en om verbanden te zien tussen verschillende delen van de tekst. Toch komen veel kinderen niet verder dan het decoderen van woorden en effectieve begripsvaardigheden (Ryan, 1981). Veel kinderen blijken vooral problemen te ondervinden met het ultieme doel van lezen, namelijk begrijpen wat er geschreven staat, en scoren laag op dit aspect van het leesproces. Begrijpend lezen kan worden omschreven als het achterhalen van de betekenis of de bedoeling uit schriftelijke informatie.

Volgens de gangbare theorieën van leren ontwerpen mensen een model dat de geselecteerde informatie uit de tekst op een zinvolle en voor hen begrijpelijke manier organiseert, die past in hun algemene wereldkennis. Die handelwijze omvat een dubbel cognitief proces waarin de lezer verband legt (a) tussen de gedeelten van de tekst en (b) tussen de tekst en zijn voorafgaande kennis en ervaring (King, 1994;

Wittrock, 1989, 1998). Dat dubbele cognitieve proces behoort tot de leesstrategieën. Om betekenis te kunnen ontleen aan tekst, maken lezers gebruik van zowel tekstgedreven als kennisgedreven processen (Goldman & Rakestraw, 2000). In mijn artikel voor de MEBIT aan de Maastricht University, heb ik aangetoond dat het aanbieden van de voorspellende leesstrategie in een vijfde klas op Aruba een positieve invloed heeft op het begrijpend lezen van informatieve teksten (Goedgedrag, 2012).

Met deze strategie leren kinderen voorspellen hoe het verhaal verder zal gaan; zij controleren achteraf of de voorspelling klopt. Het is niet zozeer belangrijk of de voorspelling juist is; de lezer leert om zijn gedachten over het verhaal te laten gaan en ook om met een vooruitziende blik te lezen. Literatuuronderzoek heeft aangetoond dat leesstrategieën het best in een integraal geheel toegepast kunnen worden, omdat het afzonderlijk gebruik van één leesstrategie niet leidt tot de optimale effectiviteit (Van der Schoot, Vasbinder, Horsley & van Lieshout, 2008).

In dit onderzoek wordt ervan uitgegaan dat kinderen teksten beter begrijpen als zij meer technieken aanleren, mits die technieken doelgericht aangeboden worden. Verder treft men in dit onderzoek een grondige literatuurstudie over de effectiviteit van het aanbieden van leesstrategieën en de discussie of de leesstrategieën afzonderlijk of in een samenhangend geheel aangeboden en toegepast dienen te worden.

Methoden

a. Definities

Wij beperken ons in dit onderzoek tot empirisch onderzoek, gericht op het gebruik van de voorspellende leesstrategie in combinatie met andere leesstrategieën in het leesonderwijs. Een strategie, in het onderwijs, is een systematisch plan, bewust aangepast en gecontroleerd, om prestaties in het leren te verbeteren (Harris & Hodges, 1995). Tot voor kort werden, om leesaspecten te beschrijven, strategieën gebruikt die opzettelijke controle en weloverwogen gedrag inhouden, met andere woorden, een bewust geplande metacognitieve activiteit (Afflerbach, Pearson & Paris, 2008). Men kan hieraan toevoegen dat een metacognitieve activiteit vóór, tijdens en na het lezen van een tekst moet worden uitgevoerd om een tekst goed te begrijpen en om problemen bij het lezen van een tekst te voorkomen, aan te pakken en op te lossen. Leesstrategieën zijn procedures, waar de lezer meer of minder bewust gebruik van maakt, om de informatie in een tekst goed te verwerken en te begrijpen en zodoende zijn leesdoel effectief en efficiënt te bereiken.

Een leesstrategie kan bijvoorbeeld bestaan uit een uitgebreide oriëntatie op de te lezen tekst voorafgaand aan het lezen van de tekst. Leesstrategieën worden gekenmerkt door hun doel of leesdoel (Koda, 2005). Strategieën zijn cognitieve, metacognitieve en gedragsprocessen die opzettelijk en bewust gebruikt worden als een middel om een doel te bereiken (Almasi, 2003; Graesser, 2007; Hacker, 2004; Paris, Lipson &

Wixson, 1983; Pressley, Borkowski & Schneider, 1989). Elke leesactiviteit heeft haar eigen doelen, of het nu academische doeleinden zijn of doeleinden zijn die plezier betreffen. Lezers lezen teksten van academische aard om specifieke kennis of informatie te vergaren, terwijl ze in andere gevallen romans, tijdschriften of teksten op het internet lezen voor hun plezier. Met behulp van leesstrategieën kunnen lezers hun leesproces controleren. Lezers die beschikken over een variatie aan strategieën, kunnen bewust die strategieën kiezen die hen helpen om hun doel te bereiken. Zo worden complexe processen en problemen overwonnen en opgelost (Kim, 2012).

Leesstrategieën worden onderverdeeld in verschillende categorieën, waaronder cognitieve strategieën en metacognitieve strategieën (Yang, 2011). Cognitieve strategieën zijn onder andere: aanknopingspunten en verbanden zoeken, voorspellingen maken, vragen stellen, visualiseren, verklaren, samenvatten en combineren, belangrijke elementen kiezen en schrijfstijl analyseren. De voorspellende leesstrategie wordt ook beschouwd als een probleemoplossende strategie, net zoals het maken van een samenvatting (Harris, Alexander & Graham, 2008). Metacognitieve strategieën omvatten planning, monitoren en regulatie-activiteiten, die plaatsvinden voor, tijdens en na een denkactiviteit zoals lezen (Yang, 2011).

b. Zoekstrategieën

Vanaf september 2012 tot eind december 2012 werd, voor dit onderzoek, gezocht naar relevante empirische studies die in het verleden werden gepubliceerd in *peer reviewed* tijdschriften. Naar aanleiding van het centrale thema leesstrategieën is, zoals te zien in de referentielijst, een aantal artikelen opgezocht die allemaal het gebruik van één of meerdere leesstrategieën in het leerplichtonderwijs betreffen. Om een breder inzicht te krijgen in de ontwikkelingen van de studies over leesstrategieën gedurende de laatste tien jaar van de twintigste eeuw tot heden, zijn gepubliceerde artikelen en uitgaven gekozen vanaf 1990. Onze aandacht is daarbij gericht op het effect van de voorspellende leesstrategie in combinatie met meerdere leesstrategieën als geheel. Alle artikelen die hiervan afweken werden uitgesloten. De artikelen die onderzoek naar leesstrategieën voor tweede-taalleerders en kinderen met leer- en/of leesproblemen betroffen, werden gedeeltelijk of helemaal afgewezen. De fragmenten die wel relevant leken, werden met studiegenoten besproken en bediscussieerd, en na overleg en reflectie eventueel in het onderzoek opgenomen.

De volgende elektronische databases en zoekprogramma's werden in het kader van dit literatuuronderzoek gebruikt: Eric, Google Scholar, en The Library of Texas University. Er werd een groot aantal kernwoorden ingevoerd die allemaal een link hebben met de voorspellende leesstrategie, zoals 'voorspelling', 'begrijpend lezen', 'lees-instructie', 'cognitieve processen', 'leesstrategieën', 'voorkennis', 'beginsituatie', 'primair onderwijs', 'basisonderwijs', 'leestekst', 'bevestiging', 'voorstelling', 'denkvaardigheden'.

c. *Inclusiecriteria*

De inclusiecriteria waren:

- Peer reviewed journals
- Tijdsperiode 1990 tot heden
- Artikelen met als hoofdthema leesstrategieën, met inbegrip van de voorspellende leesstrategie
- Empirische studies

Beschrijving van de onderzoeken

a. *Kenmerken van de onderzoeken*

Tabel A1 (zie bijlage) beschrijft het land, de onderzoekspopulatie, het gebruik van de voorspellende leesstrategie in combinatie met meerdere leesstrategieën, en de resultaten van elke studie op de effectiviteit van de leesstrategieën in het onderwijs.

Er is slechts één artikel dat een literatuuronderzoek is. Daarnaast zijn er negen empirische studies die op de eerste plaats de leerlingenresultaten hebben onderzocht. Vijf studies werden uitgevoerd op basisscholen, waarvan vier in de Verenigde Staten (Bauman, Hooten & White, 1999; Schisler, Joseph, Konrad & Alber-Morgan, 2010; Manset-Williamson & Nelson, 2005, Pilonieta & Medina, 2009) en één in Nederland (Van der Schoot, Vasbinder, Horsley & Van Lieshout, 2008). Vier studies werden verricht in het voortgezet onderwijs waarvan twee in de Verenigde Staten en twee in Taiwan (He, 2007; Cantrell, Almasi, Carter, Rintamaa & Madden, 2010; Alfassi, 2004; Yang 2011).

De studie van Manset (2005) betrof 20 leerlingen met leesachterstanden op verschillende reguliere basisscholen met een gemiddelde leeftijd van 11 jaar en 6 maanden. De studie van Bauman, Hooten en White (1999) betrof 64 deelnemers uit de 5^e klas van een reguliere basisschool in een beneden-middenklasse buurt in de Verenigde Staten. In de studie verricht door Van der Schoot, Vasbinder, Horsley en van Lieshout (2008) deden 36 leerlingen uit de vijfde en zesde klas mee. Ze waren allemaal afkomstig uit het reguliere onderwijs en spraken allemaal goed Nederlands. De studie van Schisler, Joseph, Konrad en Alber-Morgan (2010) vond ook plaats in de Verenigde Staten (Ohio) met 14 deelnemers uit een derde klas op een basisschool. De gemiddelde leeftijd van de deelnemers was 9 jaar. De vier andere studies vonden allemaal plaats in het Voortgezet Onderwijs.

De studie in Taipei, Taiwan behelst een totaal van 57 deelnemers verdeeld in drie groepen van 19 studenten. De studie verricht door Cantrell, Almasi, Carter, Rintamaa en Madden (2010) vond ook plaats op een middelbare school, een high school in de Verenigde Staten. In de zesde klas hebben in totaal 171 studenten in de controlegroep en 131 in de interventiegroep geparticipeerd en in de negende klas 194 in de interventiegroep en 159 in de controlegroep. De derde studie werd verricht door Alfassi (2004) in de Verenigde Staten waarbij 49 studenten van een middelbare school

in de voorstad betrokken waren, waarvan 29 studenten in de controlegroep en 20 studenten in de interventiegroep. De laatste studie op een middelbare school werd uitgevoerd door Yang (2011) waarbij 533 studenten in de negende klas deelnamen. In totaal waren dit 17 klassen uit dezelfde high school in Taipei. De resterende studie van Neufeld (2005) is een literatuurstudie die als hoofddoel heeft om aan te tonen waarom begrijpend-lezen-instructie een integraal gedeelte moet zijn van de *Content Area Instruction*. In deze studie worden verschillende empirische studies samengevoegd, en wordt geconcludeerd dat het gebruik van leesstrategieën in een samenhangend geheel zeer efficiënt kan zijn bij het aanleren van goed begrijpend lezen.

b. Methodologische kwaliteit van de studies

Er werden in totaal tien studies gekozen om dit onderzoek te realiseren. Negen van de gekozen studies zijn experimentele studies en één studie is een literatuuronderzoek. In twee van de gekozen experimentele studies (Bauman, Hooten & White, 1999; Pilonieta & Medina, 2009) werd geconstateerd dat, na een pretest, dezelfde groep gebruikt werd om het experiment of de interventie op uit te voeren. In beide studies werd de voorspellende leesstrategie uitgebreid geïncorporeerd in de interventie. In de resterende zeven studies werd, na grondig onderzoek, geconstateerd dat de controlegroep en experimentgroep vergelijkbaar waren en dat de controlegroep een valide rol speelde als materiaal ter vergelijking bij de eindresultaten om tot de onderzochte resultaten te komen. De studies met een controlegroep werden beschouwd als studies met de minste risico op bias. De methodologische kwaliteit van de gekozen studies werd gebaseerd op twee algemene criteria: (1) de studie was experimenteel of quasi-experimenteel en (2) er was een geldige controlegroep. In de twee studies waar eerst een pretest werd gedaan en daarna een interventie in dezelfde geteste groep, werd gekeken naar de validiteit van de uitkomsten en werden deze vergeleken met de resultaten van de andere studies. Om dit onderzoek uit te kunnen voeren werden alle studies omgezet in een systematische tekstaanpassing, aangezien de studies varieerden in design en statistische weergave.

Resultaten (synthese)

De leerling in de basisschool heeft het potentieel om een actieve, enthousiaste en goede lezer te worden, bijvoorbeeld door zijn ogen te sluiten en gebruik te maken van zijn zintuigen om zich beelden, personen, scènes, gebeurtenissen of objecten voor te stellen. “Ik wil me voorstellen wat in het verhaal gaat gebeuren.” “Ik houd van voorspellen, omdat ik graag de inhoud van het boek wil raden.” Dat zijn enkele opmerkingen van lezers die graag gebruik maken van leesstrategieën. Deze opmerkingen weerspiegelen ongeveer de reacties van studenten die de Imagine, Elaborate, Predict, and Confirm (IEPC) strategie toepassen in het artikel van Wood en Endres (2004). In het onderzoek van Baumann, Hooten en White (1999) maken

deelnemers aan het einde van de studie veel gebruik, in combinatie met meerdere leesstrategieën, van de voorspellende leesstrategie, die net als de IEPC (Wood & Endres, 2004) een beroep doet op de voorgaande kennis van de lezer. Frappant is dat studenten, die in hun wiskundelessen gebruik maken van hun voorgaande kennis om naar de inhoud van een opdracht te gissen, ook een positief resultaat boeken vanwege het feit dat zij gebruik maken van de cognitieve en metacognitieve leesstrategieën en hun Reading Comprehension of Geometry Proof (RCGP) (He, 2007; Yang, 2011). In dit geval maken ze gebruik van strategieën om de inhoud en berekeningen van hun wiskundeopdrachten te voorspellen. Effectief en doelgericht lezen doet een beroep op het vermogen om betekenselementen en essentiële begripselementen uit teksten te kunnen halen. Het psychologische begrip van betekenis houdt vertrouwdsheid en cognitieve emotionele associaties van woorden of woord groeperingen in, evenals semantische kenmerken (Aaronson & Ferres, 1986). Maar belangrijk is op te merken dat naast, en zelfs voorafgaand aan begrip, onderzoekers ook twee belangrijke onderliggende leesvaardigheden in hun waardering moeten meenemen: decoderen en taalbeheersing. Studenten moeten kunnen decoderen en de betekenis van woorden kennen om te begrijpen wat ze lezen. Echter, studenten die woorden kunnen identificeren maar geen letterlijke en impliciete betekenis van zinnen en passages hieraan kunnen toevoegen, zijn nog steeds niet aan het lezen (Manset-Williamson & Nelson, 2005). Wanneer de lezer eenmaal echt leest, kan hij overschakelen naar het gebruik van de leesstrategieën. De voorspellende leesstrategie vormt een belangrijk onderdeel van de cognitieve leesstrategieën, waarbij de lezer zich voorstelt wat er gaat gebeuren gebaseerd op wat hij al weet of heeft gelezen. Met behulp van de antwoorden op vragen bij het proces vóór het lezen, en voorkennis van het onderwerp, kunnen leerlingen leren voorspellingen te doen over de inhoud van de tekst (Pressley, 2002; He, 2007). Men moet hier opmerken dat het stellen en beantwoorden van vragen en een beroep doen op de voorkennis individuele strategieën zijn. In de onderzoekswereld wordt onderscheid gemaakt tussen cognitieve en metacognitieve strategieën. Metacognitie is uitgegroeid tot een populaire term in leestheorieën, omdat het kenmerkend is voor de soorten kennis en vaardigheden die beginnende lezers moeten verwerven (Brown, Armbruster & Baker, 1986). De term verwijst naar een breed spectrum van cognitieve vaardigheden, zoals planning, budgettering en controle (Brown, 1978) en kennis over persoon, taak en strategievariabelen (Flavell, 1978). Deze cognitieve en metacognitieve strategieën vormen een samenhangend geheel van strategieën die de lezer als middel gebruikt om de nodige competenties te bereiken om teksten te begrijpen en te interpreteren. Goede lezers maken niet één voor één gebruik van begripsstrategieën tijdens het lezen; in plaats hiervan gebruiken en coördineren ze deze strategieën als een hele set om een tekst te begrijpen (Reutzel et al., 2005). Recente onderzoeken moedigen meervoudige strategie-instructie aan, waarbij de studenten leren meerdere strategieën te gebruiken en te coördineren (Gersten, Fuchs,

Williams & Baker, 2001; Neufeld, 2005; Pearson & Duke, 2002; Pressley, 2002; Reutzel et al., 2005). Reciprocal Teaching (Palincsar & Brown, 1984) is een op onderzoek gebaseerde instructieprocedure die meervoudige strategie-instructie aanbeveelt. Reciprocal Teaching kan worden toegepast om studenten te leren hoe ze het gebruik van vier begripsstrategieën kunnen coördineren: voorspellen, verduidelijken, het genereren van vragen, en samenvatten (Pilonieta & Media, 2009; Alfassi, 2004).

De belangrijkste aanbevelingen in de gekozen studies betreffende het leesbegrip en de leesstrategieën omvatten onder andere: (1) help de studenten aanknopingspunten te vinden tussen hun voorgaande kennis en de inhoud van de tekst, (2) herinner de studenten eraan gebruik te maken van hun vijf zintuigen om zich beelden en gebeurtenissen voor te stellen, (3) geef voorbeelden hoe men meer details kan toevoegen aan een voorspelling op basis van voorkennis en ervaringen en ten slotte (4) vergelijk hun voorspellingen en de werkelijke gebeurtenissen.

Kennis van tekststructuur is ook van essentieel belang. Wanneer studenten eenmaal weten hoe zij de organisatorische structuur van teksten kunnen identificeren, kunnen zij strategieën toepassen en teksten overzien vóór het werkelijke lezen begint (Neufeld, 2005). In het geval van bekwame tweede-taallezers worden meerdere leesstrategieën toegepast, zoals monitoren, het activeren van schema's, het maken van doordachte gissingen met betrekking tot de betekenis van onbekende woorden en verbanden leggen tussen zinnen en zinsdelen om teksten te begrijpen. Als zij leesmoeilijkheden tegenkomen, compenseren de goede lezers hun linguïstische achterstand door intelligente voorspellingen te maken gebaseerd op contextuele en linguïstische aanwijzingen (He, 2007).

Conclusie en discussie

Het incorporeren van cognitieve en metacognitieve leesstrategieën als een samenhangend geheel in het onderwijs biedt de moedertaalgebruikers een grote stap vooruit bij het goed kunnen lezen en begrijpen van tekst. Er bestaan verschillende programma's die deze leesstrategieën omvatten en die door verschillende onderzoekers onder de loep zijn genomen. Door middel van experimentele onderzoeken is bewezen dat de samenhang van strategieën in deze programma's ten voordele is van de leerlingen op school. Deze strategieën monden later uit in vaardigheden die zelfs aan tweede-taalgebruikers en leerlingen met een leesachterstand een alternatief bieden om in de tweede taal onderwezen te kunnen worden. Zo leren ze ook effectief en doelgericht lezen, bijvoorbeeld in het Arubaanse onderwijs waar een vreemde taal, Nederlands, de instructietaal is. Maar het onderwijzen en aanleren van leesstrategieën op Aruba ligt niet voor de hand, omdat het traditionele onderwijs nog sterk gebonden is aan een vast curriculum dat heel weinig ruimte biedt voor het aanleren van leesstrategieën. De gedachte 'hoe meer men

leest hoe beter men leert lezen' heerst nog sterk in het onderwijs. Het nut van innovatie in het leesonderwijs in de Arubaanse school moet niet onderschat worden. Ook vakken als Aardrijkskunde, Geschiedenis en Natuurkunde doen een beroep op leesvaardigheid, leesbegrip en cognitie van leerlingen. Daarom is het van groot belang dat de school zich al in het begin van het leertraject van de leerling richt op het aanbieden van leesstrategieën. En dan vooral de basisstrategieën die de leerlingen het inzicht geven om de inhoud van teksten te kunnen voorspellen en analyseren, en om hun voorspellingen te beoordelen.

LITERATUUR

- Aaronson, Doris & Steven Ferres (1986). Reading strategies for children and adults: a quantitative model. *Psychological Review*, 93, 1, 89-112.
- Afflerbach, Peter, P. David Pearson & Scott G. Paris (2008). Clarifying differences between reading skills and reading strategies. *The Reading Teacher*, 61, 5, 364-373.
- Alfassi, Miriam (2004). Reading to learn: effects of combined strategy instruction on high school students. *Journal of Educational Research*, 97, 4, 171-184.
- Almasi, Janice F. (2003). *Teaching strategic processes in reading*. New York: Guilford Press.
- Baumann, James F., Helene Hooten & Patricia White (1999). Teaching comprehension through literature: a teacher research project to develop fifth graders' reading strategies and motivation. *The Reading Teacher*, 53, 1, 38-51.
- Brown, Ann L. (1987). Metacognition, executive control, self-regulation, and other more mysterious mechanisms. In Franz E. Weinert & Rainer H. Kluwe (Eds), *Metacognition, motivation and understanding* (pp. 65-116). Hillsdale: Erlbaum.
- Brown, Ann L., Bonnie B. Armbruster & Linda Baker (1987). The role of metacognition in reading and studying. In Judith Orasanu (Ed), *Reading comprehension: from research to practice* (pp. 49-73). Hillsdale: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Brown, Ann L. & Joseph C. Campione (1990). Communities of learning and thinking; or a context by any other name. In Deanna Kuhn (Ed.), *Developmental perspectives on teaching and learning thinking skills* (pp. 108-126). Basel: Karger.
- Cantrell, Susan Chambers, Janice F. Almasi, Janis C. Carter, Margaret Rintamaa & Angela Madden (2010). The impact of a strategy-based intervention on the comprehension and strategy use of struggling adolescent readers. *Journal of Educational Psychology* 102, 2, 257-280.
- Flavell, John J. (1988). The development of children's knowledge about the mind: from cognitive connections to mental representations. In Janet W. Astington,

- Paul L. Harris & David R. Olson (Eds.), *Developing theories of mind* (pp. 244-268). New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Gersten, Russell, Lynn S. Fuchs, Joanna P. Williams & Scott Baker (2001). Teaching reading comprehension strategies to students with learning disabilities: a review of research. *Review of Educational Research*, 71, 2, 279-320.
- Goedgedrag, Gregory G. R. F. (2012). *Leidt het introduceren van de voorspellende leesstrategie tot betere resultaten in begrijpend lezen*. Paper, Maastricht University.
- Goldman, Susan R, Rakestraw Jr. John A. (2000). Structural aspects of constructing meaning from text. In Michael L. Kamil, Peter B. Mosenthal, P. David Pearson & Rebecca Barr (Eds.), *Handbook of reading research*, vol. 3 (pp. 311-335). Mahwah: Erlbaum.
- Graesser, Arthur C. (2007). An introduction to strategic reading comprehension. In Danielle S. McNamara (Ed.), *Reading comprehension strategies: theories, interventions, and technologies* (pp. 3-26). New York: Erlbaum.
- Hacker, Douglas J. (2004, [1998]). Self-regulated comprehension during normal reading. In Robert B. Ruddell & Norman J. Unrau (Eds.), *Theoretical models and processes of reading* (5th ed.) (pp. 755-779). Newark: International Reading Association.
- Harris, Karen R., Patricia Alexander & Steve Graham (2008). Michael Pressley's contributions to the history and future of strategies research. *Educational Psychologist*, 43, 2, 86-96.
- Harris, Theodore L. & Richard E. Hodges (1995). *The literacy dictionary: the vocabulary of reading and writing*. Newark: International Reading Association.
- He, Tung-hsien (2007). Reading for different goals: the interplay of EFL college students' multiple goals, reading strategy use and reading comprehension. *Journal of Research in Reading*, 31, 2, 224-242.
- Kim, Aekyung (2012). *L2 reading strategies and instruction: orchestrating L2 learners' reading processes*. Master's thesis, University of Texas, Austin.
- King, Alison (1994). Guiding knowledge construction in the classroom: effects of teaching children how to question and how to explain. *American Educational Research Journal*, 31, 2, 338-368.
- Koda, Keiko (2005). *Insights into second language reading: a cross-linguistic approach*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Manset-Williamson, Genevieve & Jason M. Nelson (2005). Balanced, strategic reading instruction for upper-elementary and middle school students with reading disabilities: a comparative study of two approaches. *Learning Disability Quarterly*, 28, 1, 59-74.
- Neufeld, Paul (2005). Comprehension instruction in content area classes. *Reading Teacher*, 59, 4, 302-312.

- Palincsar, Annemarie Sullivan & Ann L. Brown (1984). Reciprocal teaching of comprehension-fostering and comprehension monitoring activities. *Cognition and instruction*, 1, 2, 117-175.
- Paris, Scott G., Marjorie Y. Lipson & Karen K. Wixson (1983). Becoming a strategic reader. *Contemporary Educational Psychology*, 8, 3, 293-316.
- Pearson, P. David & Nell K. Duke (2002). Comprehension instruction in the primary grades. In Cathy Collins Block & Michael Pressley (Eds.), *Comprehension instruction: research-based best practices* (pp. 247-258). New York: Guilford.
- Pilonieta, Paola & Adriana L. Medina (2009). Reciprocal teaching for the primary grades: “we can do it, too!” *The Reading Teacher*, 63, 2, 120–129.
- Pressley, Michael, John G. Borkowski & Wolfgang Schneider (1989). Good information processing: what it is and how education can promote it. *International Journal of Educational Research*, 13, 8, 857-867.
- Pressley, Michael (2002). Comprehension strategies instruction: a turn-of-the-century status report. In Cathy Collins Block & Michael Pressley (Eds.), *Comprehension instruction: research-based best practices* (pp. 11-27). New York: Guilford.
- Reutzel, D. Ray, John A. Smith & Parker C. Fawson (2005). An evaluation of two approaches for teaching reading comprehension strategies in the primary years using science information texts. *Early Childhood Research Quarterly*, 20, 3, 276-305.
- Ryan, Ellen B. (1981). Identifying and remediating failures in reading comprehension: toward an instructional approach for poor comprehenders. In T. Garry Waller & G. Ernest MacKinnon (Eds), *Advances in reading research*, vol. 3 (pp.223-261). New York: Academic Press.
- Schisler, Rebecca, Laurice M. Joseph, Moira Konrad & Sheila Alber-Morgan (2010). Comparison of the effectiveness and efficiency of oral and written retellings and passage review as strategies for comprehending text. *Psychology in the Schools*, 47, 2, 135-152.
- Van der Schoot, Menno, Alain L. Vasbinder, Tako M. Horsley & Ernest C. D. M. van Lieshout (2008). The role of two reading strategies in text comprehension: an eye fixation study in primary school children. *Journal of Research in Reading*, 31, 2, 203-223.
- White, Marilyn Domas (1999). A cognitive model of document use during a research project. Study II. Decisions at the reading and citing stages. *Journal of the American Society for Information Science*, 50, 2, 98-114.
- Wittrock, Merlin C. (1989). Generative processes of comprehension. *Educational Psychologist*, 24, 4, 345-376.
- Wittrock, Merlin C. (1998). Cognition and subject matter learning. In Nadine Lambert & Barbara L. McCombs (Eds.), *How students learn: reforming schools through*

learner-centered education (pp. 143-152). Washington: American Psychological Association.

Wood, Karen D. & Clare Endres (2004). Motivating student interest with the Imagine, Elaborate, Predict, and Confirm (IEPC) strategy. *The Reading Teacher*, 58, 4, 346-357.

Yang, Kai-Lin (2011). Structures of cognitive and metacognitive reading strategy use for reading comprehension of geometry proof. *Educational Studies in Mathematics*, 80, 3, 307-326.

Bijlage

Tabel 1 Empirische studies over de Voorspellende Leesstrategie met meerdere leesstrategieën.

Studie	Land en studiepopulatie	Design van studie en tijdsduur	Gebruik van VLS	Andere leesstrategieën	Bevindingen
1. He (2007)	Taiwan. Voortgezet Onderwijs. 3 experimentgroepen van 19 deelnemers (57 pers). Groep 1 SMSP Groep 2 SMWP Groep 3 WMSP	Panel Kwantitatieve analyse Voormeting Nameting Enkelvoudige en meervoudige regressie analyse. 1 jaar (2007)	Uitgebreid gebruik geïncorporeerd in categorie 1	3 categorieën Comprehension within Individual Sentences (CIS) Comprehension within Individual Paragraphs (CIP) Comprehension across Paragraphs (CAP) Using Background Knowledge (UBK)	Lezers hebben een stimulerende leesomgeving nodig. Lezers gebruiken meerdere leesstrategieën tegelijk.
2. Bauman, Hooten, White (1999)	Verenigde Staten. Beneden midden klasse buurt (USA) Ceder Elementary School. Twee 5 ^{de} klassen elk van 23 pupillen. Controle groep = Interventie groep.	Panel Kwalitatieve analyse 1 jaar: 1999 - 2000	Uitgebreid gebruik	6 additionele strategieën <i>Self-questioning</i> om begrip te bevorderen en te monitoren Hervertellen om betekenis te verklaren. Schrijven om begrip te construeren. Samenvatten en herkennen van hoofdgedachte in een tekst. Voorspellen en informatie in een tekst verifiëren. Een verhaalmap gebruiken om narratief begrip te organiseren.	Lezers waarderen en lezen meer. Lezers toonden correctere waardering voor boeken en literatuur. Hadden voorkeur voor bepaalde auteurs, boeken en genres.
3. Van der Schoot, Vasbinder, Horsley, van Lieshout	Nederland. 5 ^e en 6 ^e klas, reguliere basis school 36 deelnemers (19 meisjes, 17	2 meetmomenten en Kwalitatieve analyse		Onderscheid maken tussen belangrijke en onbelangrijke woorden. Resolving anaphoric references	

(2008)	jongens). Leeftijd gemiddelde 11.5 jaar)				
4. Schisler, Josphe, Konrad, Alber- Morgan ()	Verenigde Staten (Ohio). 3 ^e leerlingen, basisschool 14 deelnemers. Leeftijd gemiddeld 9 jaar.	Voormeting met selectie. 30 één op één trainingsessie s. Nameting	Voorafgaan d de andere leesstrategie ën	Hervertellen Passage Review Mondelinge herhaling Schriftelijke herhaling	Lezers toonden een voortgang in begrijpend lezen
5. Chambers Cantrell, Almasi, Carter, Rintamaa, Madden (2010)	Verenigde Staten. 12 middelbare scholen. Zesdeklassers: 171 studenten in de controle groep en 131 in de interventie groep. Deelnemers in de negende klas: 194 in de interventie - groep 159 in de controle - groep.	Pretest met registratie van score. 1 schooljaar, dagelijkse taalcursus m met een additionele 60 min. per dag.	Geïntegreer d gebruik	Woord herkenning, beeldtaal, zelf vragen stellen, herschrijven en zin schrijven	Aanzienlijk e voortgang in begrijpend lezen
6. Manset- Williamson, G., Nelson J. M. (2005)	Verenigde Staten. 20 leerlingen tussen de 4 ^e en 8 ^e klas van verschillende basisscholen met leesachterstand n.	Pretest, selectie en posttest. 6 weken, 20 uur per week	Geïntegreer d gebruik. Uitgebreide aanbieding voorafgaand de aanbieding van de andere strategieën.	Herlezen, vragen stellen, vragen maken en controle van voorspellingen. Goal setting, monitoren en gebruik van eigen kennis.	Aanzienlijk e voortgang bij alle deelnemers
7. Alfassi, (2004)	Verenigde Staten. 49 studenten van een middelbare school in de voorstad. 29 studenten in de controlegroep	Pretest, interventie, posttest. 20 schooldagen met een 90 min. leesles elke dag. Interventie = 20 min	Uitgebreid gebruik met 3 andere strategieën.	Vragen stellen en maken, samenvatten, uitleggen.	Grote voortgang van experiment groep.

	en 20 studenten in de interventiegroep	binnen de 90 min.			
8. Neufeld (2005)	Literatuurstudie betreffende het gebruik van leesstrategieën in het onderwijs.	Literatuurstudie	Primair gebruik van voorspelling als strategie	Integraal gebruik van meerdere strategieën verdeeld in twee groepen: (1) Getting - Ready-to-Read Strategies en (2) During- and After-Reading Strategies	
9. Pilonieta, Medina (2009)	1e klas groepjes van 6 leerlingen. Controle groep = interventiegroep	Pretest, interventie, posttest. 24 weken twee keer per week	Primair gebruik van voorspelling als strategie	Integraal gebruik met meerdere strategieën.	Studenten leerden de strategieën te gebruiken met betere resultaten en waren erg gemotiveerd om te lezen met strategie
10. Yang (2011)	Taiwan 533 studenten uit zeventien 9 ^e klassen van dezelfde publieke junior high school in Taipei	Twee testen: 1. Reading Comprehension of Geometric Proofs 2. Cognitive and Meta-cognitive Reading Strategy test			

IS HET AANBIEDEN VAN LEESSTRATEGIEËN VAN INVLOED OP DE SCHRIJFVAARDIGHEID VAN LERAREN IN OPLEIDING?

CHERYDA GEMIN

INSTITUTO PEDAGOGICO ARUBANO

Inleiding

In 2006 vond er in Nederland een uitgebreide discussie plaats over het niet toereikende taalniveau bij praktisch alle opleidingen. Op Aruba doet zich dezelfde situatie voor. Ook bij lerarenopleidingen is het van belang dat de beginnende leraar een bepaald niveau beheerst dat gebaseerd is op de kerndoelen van het basisonderwijs. Het herkennen, verwoorden, gebruiken en beoordelen van strategieën vereist het kunnen opereren op metacognitief niveau en daar moet de uiteindelijke leraar vervolgens nog een niveau boven staan.

In dit artikel zal worden onderzocht of studenten in het hoger onderwijs op Aruba baat hebben bij een vorm van actief leren, de zogenaamde 'reciprocal teaching'. Nagegaan zal worden of er door deze benadering positieve effecten te bespeuren zijn op de schrijfvaardigheid van de studenten.

211

Deelnemers

Dit experiment werd uitgevoerd op het Instituto Pedagogico Arubano, de enige Pabo op Aruba. Dit instituut kent, na een voorselectie, een jaarlijkse aanname van ongeveer 50 studenten. Aan de hand van de resultaten van een taal-, reken- en psychologische test, wordt door de aannamecommissie bepaald wie wel en wie niet wordt toegelaten tot de opleiding. De kandidaat moet tenminste een 6,0 voor de taaltoets behalen, een 6,5 voor de rekentoets en een voldoende voor de psychologische toets. Van de 38 studenten die in het schooljaar 2012-2013 toegelaten werden, zijn er nog 34 over. Twee studenten begonnen uiteindelijk helemaal niet met de opleiding en twee anderen vielen tijdens de eerste lesweek uit.

Toewijzing

Op basis van willekeurige toewijzing werd een controlegroep en een interventiegroep geformeerd. Bij de toewijzing werd gebruik gemaakt van kenmerken die de leerprestaties beïnvloeden. Met de resultaten van een voormeting werd besloten

koppels te maken. De voormeting werd gedaan op basis van de resultaten van de taal- en rekeninstroomtoets. Voor twee studenten met ongeveer gelijke resultaten werd vervolgens een keer met de dobbelsteen gegooid, waarbij de regel gold: bij 1,2,3 wordt de rechterleerling toegewezen aan de interventiegroep en de linkerleerling aan de controlegroep.

Standaardprocedure en interventie

Aan het begin van elk studiejaar worden aan eerstejaarsstudenten die bij het IPA binnenstromen modules aangeboden die erop gericht zijn hun vaardigheden te vergroten. Twee daarvan zijn de modules “Taalvaardigheid Schrijven 1 en 2” die elk uit zeven lesweken bestaan. Per week wordt er 1 keer anderhalf uur les gegeven. Dit geldt voor zowel de controle- als de experimentele groep. Deze modules bereiden de student zo goed mogelijk voor op het schrijven, verbeteren en vormgeven van een tekst op het niveau van Cognitief Academisch Taalgebruik (CAT). Bij het schrijfproces zijn zowel inhoudelijke aspecten als het gebruik van de grammatica en het lexicon van het Nederlands belangrijk. Klas 1b werd de interventiegroep en klas 1a de controlegroep. Het experiment werd slechts tijdens module 2 uitgevoerd, “Taalvaardigheid Schrijven 2”.

Tijdens de 7 weken van module 1 werden de lessen aan beide groepen door dezelfde docent verzorgd, zodat de beginsituatie van beide groepen vergelijkbaar was. Bij het uitvoeren van het experiment werd er echter voor gekozen om deze docent les te laten geven aan de controlegroep (klas 1a); de interventiegroep (klas 1b) had een andere docent. De waarnemingen, observaties en intenties van de docent van de interventiegroep waren op die manier zuiver te noemen voor het onderzoek (Wald, 2000).

De standaardprocedure

In blok 1 wordt tijdens de eerste drie weken behandeld welke de specifieke kenmerken van tekstsoorten zijn. De student moet hier rekening mee houden bij het schrijven van een betogende tekst of verslag en in staat zijn een plan te maken. In lesweek 4 tot 6 moet de student betogen en teksten schrijven. Zo wordt nagegaan of de leerstof begrepen is en of er knelpunten zijn waar rekening mee moet worden gehouden. In lesweek 7 volgt er een college met een vragenronde waarbij alle vragen van studenten worden beantwoord.

In blok 2 komt tijdens de eerste drie weken de structuur van een tekst aan de orde: inleiding, kernstuk en slot, en het gebruik van alinea's en tussenkoppen. In week 4 tot 6 leert de student wat structuurmarkeerders zijn, hoe de kernzinnen in alinea's kunnen worden gerangschikt en met welke grammaticale regels hij rekening moet houden. In lesweek 7 is er een vragenronde en moet de student met de opgedane kennis van de twee blokken zijn eigen tekst nakijken en beoordelen, suggesties doen voor

verbeteringen en eventueel een tekst herschrijven. De evaluatie bestaat uit een schriftelijk tentamen van twee klokuren, waarbij de student zijn kennis en vaardigheden toont.

Interventiegroep

Om de strategieën van ‘reciprocal teaching’ (Palinscar & Brown, 1984; Collins et al., 1989; Wood et al., 1976) toe te passen, zijn de aanpak en de werkvormen voor de interventiegroep veranderd.

In blok 2 werden gedurende zeven weken de vier strategieën aangeboden. In lesweek 1 kwam ‘Voorspellen’, in lesweek 2 en 3 de strategie ‘Verklaren’, in lesweek 4 en 5 de strategie ‘Het opstellen van specifieke vragen’ en in de 6^e en 7^e week de strategie ‘Samenvatten’ (Palinscar & Brown, 1984). Tijdens de klassikale instructie werd voornamelijk uitgelegd wat een schrijfplan is, en welke soort bouwplannen en tekststructuren hieraan gekoppeld kunnen worden.

Bij het aanbieden van de strategie werd het leerproces ondersteund (Wood, Bruner en Ross, 1976; Bruer, 1993) door het geven van hints, clues, vragen en schrijfkaders door de docent.

Voor de strategie ‘Voorspellen’ hield dat het volgende in: de kennis van de studenten over het onderwerp van de te lezen tekst in een brainstormsessie activeren. Er werd gekeken naar de titel van de tekst, de illustraties, de onderkopjes en de bronvermelding.

Bij de strategie ‘Verklaren’ werd de student aangeleerd welke signaalwoorden er in een tekst kunnen voorkomen en welk verklarend verband die woorden kunnen aangeven. Zo zijn er specifieke woorden die een oordeel of conclusie weergeven, of een voorwaarde, een reden, een oorzaak enz.

Bij de strategie ‘Vragen stellen’ hadden de studenten een tabel ter beschikking die hun voorbeelden gaf met vragen om hun hogere denkvaardigheden te stimuleren.

Bij het niveau ‘Kennis’ zijn er vragen als: ‘beschrijf, wie, wat’. Bij het niveau ‘Toepassing’: ‘wat is de relatie tussen?’, ‘waarom is...belangrijk?’ enz. Dit soort vragen werd gesteld bij elke alinea van de twee teksten die aangeboden werden tijdens de twee lesweken waarin de strategie ‘Vragen stellen’ werd aangeboden.

Bij de strategie ‘Samenvatten’ werd aan de studenten geleerd alle eerder aangeleerde strategieën met elkaar te verbinden en die te gebruiken bij het samenvatten van een tekst.

Steeds wanneer een nieuwe strategie werd aangeboden, kwamen de drie fases van de cognitieve leertijd terug (Collins, 1989): 1. Modelleren, waarbij de lesgevende docent de strategie uitlegt en demonstreert. 2. Coachen, waarbij de docent de studenten die vertrouwd beginnen te raken met de strategie de nodige begeleiding geeft. 3. Zelf uitvoeren, waarbij de studenten de strategie moeten kunnen toepassen bij een aangeboden stuk tekst.

Controlegroep

In de controlegroep werd dezelfde leerstof aangeboden, maar zonder actieve werkvormen. De studenten krijgen klassikale instructie over het opzetten van een schrijfplan, de bouwplannen en tekststructuren die daarbij horen. De docent deelt voorbeeldteksten uit aan de klas, en bespreekt deze vervolgens klassikaal. De docent van de controlegroep geeft veel instructie; de studenten moeten dan individueel hun eigen schrijfplan opstellen en hun eigen tekst schrijven. De docent begeleidt hen daarbij, voor zover dat mogelijk is.

Data

Het experiment werd uitgesmeerd over 1 blok. Om na te gaan of de beginsituatie van de controlegroep en de experimentele groep gelijk was, werden de volgende variabelen in kaart gebracht: de instroomtoets voor rekenen en taal, de vooropleiding en het geslacht van de student.

De instroomtoets voor taal bestaat uit een mondeling en schriftelijk gedeelte. Het mondelinge gedeelte toetst de mondelinge vaardigheid van de aankomende student op zinsstructuren, het gebruik van synoniemen, herhalingen, logica enz. Bij het schriftelijke gedeelte werden de grammaticale kennis, de spelling, en de schriftelijke vaardigheid van de student getoetst. Van de resultaten van het mondelinge en het schriftelijke gedeelte werd het gemiddelde genomen.

De rekentoets bestaat uit de volgende onderdelen: hoofdrekenen, procenten en verhoudingen, breuken en kommagetallen, meten, meetkunde en cijferen. Het cijfer van deze toets werd geregistreerd en opgenomen als data voor de willekeurige toewijzing. Er werd gebruik gemaakt van het toeval om de studenten aan interventie- of controlegroep toe te wijzen. Ieder individu dat in een van de groepen was opgenomen, had dus een gelijke kans om aan de interventie mee te doen. Bij de toewijzing werd gebruik gemaakt van kenmerken die de leerprestaties beïnvloeden. Met de resultaten van de reken- en taaltoets werd besloten koppels te maken. Voor 2 studenten met ongeveer gelijke resultaten werd met de dobbelsteen gegooid, waarbij de regel gold: bij 1,2,3 wordt de rechterleerling toegewezen aan de interventiegroep en de linkerleerling aan de controlegroep.

Bij het inschrijven wordt ook genoteerd wat de vooropleiding van de student is. Een groep van 12 studenten kwam van het Mavo en werd via het Colloquium Doctum toegelaten tot het IPA. Het Colloquium Doctum wordt door die studenten gedaan, die ouder zijn dan 21 jaar en die niet het vereiste diploma hebben om regulier te kunnen instromen. De variabele 'geslacht van de student' werd bij de instroomtoetsen meteen genoteerd. Van de 34 studenten was er 1 van het mannelijke geslacht, de rest van het vrouwelijke geslacht. De uitkomsten van de instroomtoets voor rekenen en taal werden berekend. De gegevens over de student qua geslacht en vooropleiding werden

genoteerd. Op basis hiervan werden koppels via willekeurige toewijzing verwezen naar de experimentele - en controlegroep.

De vraag doet zich voor of deze twee groepen wel ongeveer dezelfde achtergrond hebben. Hiermee staat of valt het experiment, want als de ene groep te veel zou verschillen van de andere, dan zouden causale conclusies van de resultaten na interventie niet zonder vertekening getrokken kunnen worden, en zou de validiteit van het experiment in twijfel getrokken kunnen worden. In onderstaande tabel is te zien dat de verschillen tussen de twee groepen niet significant zijn; de groepen lijken dus erg op elkaar.

Tabel 1 Een vergelijking van controlegroep en experimentele groep

	<u>Controlegroep</u>		<u>Experimentele groep</u>		Diff	P-waarde
	gemidd	s.d.	gemidd	s.d.		
Pretest rekenen	7.86	0.23	7.72	0.18	-0.13	0.65
Pretest taal	6.80	0.13	6.79	0.12	-0.01	0.97
Geslacht (vrouw=1)	0.94	0.58	1.00	0.00	0.05	0.32
Vooropleiding (CD=1)	0.31	0.12	0.29	0.11	-0.02	0.48
N	17		17			

Balancerings

In tabel 1 is te zien dat er 4 testen zijn uitgevoerd op de controlegroep en de experimentele groep, en dat van elke test de gemiddelden zijn weergegeven.

De controlegroep heeft voor rekenen het gemiddelde 7,86 en de experimentele groep 7,72. Voor taal is dat respectievelijk 6,80 en 6,79. Voor de andere twee onafhankelijke variabelen, het geslacht en de vooropleiding is ook bij deze gemiddelden weinig verschil te zien. De controlegroep heeft 0,94 voor het variabele geslacht en de experimentele groep heeft 1,00. Voor het variabele geslacht heeft de controlegroep 0,31 en de interventiegroep 0,29. De p-waarden, 0.65, 0.97, 0.32 en 0.48 zijn bij alle 4 variabelen > dan 0.05 en dus niet significant. Deze gegevens laten zien dat beide groepen op elkaar lijken en voor het uitvoeren van het experiment willekeurig goed zijn samengesteld.

Aangezien er geen verschillen in deze onafhankelijke variabelen worden waargenomen in de voormeting, kan het verschil in de afhankelijke variabelen dus causaal geïnterpreteerd worden.

De voor- en nameting hebben hetzelfde karakter. De toets bestaat uit het schrijven van een samenvatting van tussen de 800 en 1000 woorden. Via een beoordelingsschema wordt gelet op verschillende punten. In tabel 2 is dit schema weergegeven. Bij de beoordeling worden er in het totaal 40 punten toegekend. De helft van het aantal punten wordt gebruikt om de inhoud van de samenvatting te beoordelen. Hierbij wordt

gekeken naar de tekst als geheel: of er een duidelijke tekststructuur te zien is en of er door middel van structuurmarkeerders en signaalwoorden relaties binnen de tekst zijn aangegeven. De overige 20 punten worden gebruikt om de tekst te beoordelen op zinsbouw, formuleren, woordgebruik en spelling. De studenten van zowel de controle- als de interventiegroep hebben tijdens de colleges geoefend met deze schrijfvaardigheden. Om de toetsen objectief te beoordelen, wordt de naam van de student vervangen door een nummer. Hierdoor wordt vertekening van de resultaten zoveel mogelijk voorkomen.

Tabel 2 Beoordelingsschema

Deel 1	Tekst als geheel	Tekststructuur	Relaties binnen de tekst
Deel 2	Zinsbouw	Formulering	Woordgebruik
			Spelling

De gemiddelden van zowel de voormeting als de eindtoets zijn in tabel 3 opgenomen. De experimentele groep en de controlegroep bestaan beide uit 17 studenten.

Tabel 3 Gemiddelde scores voormeting en eindtoets van experimentele groep en de controlegroep

	<u>Controlegroep</u>		<u>Experimentele groep</u>			
	gemidd	s.d.	gemidd	s.d.	Diff	P-waarde
Voormeting	6.30	1.32	5.41	1.23	-,88	0.055
Eindtoets	5.68	1.24	5.96	1.38	-,27	0.586
Hertentamen voormeting	6.30	1.72	5.41	1.23	,31	0.55
Hertentamen	5.68	1.24	5.96	1.38	,26	0.58
Eindtoets						
N	17		17			

De resultaten in tabel 3 zijn de gemiddelden van de voormeting en van de eindtoets, voor zowel de experimentele groep als de controlegroep. De gemiddelde score voor de voormeting is voor de experimentele groep 5.41 met een standaardfout van 1.23 en voor de controlegroep 6.30 met een standaardfout van 1.32. Bij de eindtoets is die respectievelijk 5.96 met een standaardfout van 1.38 en 5.68 met een standaardfout van 1.24.

Voor het bepalen van het gemiddelde verschil tussen de experimentele groep en de controlegroep voor de voormeting en de eindtoets is een onafhankelijke verschiltoets uitgevoerd. Het verschil tussen de controlegroep en experimentele groep t.a.v. de voormeting is -,88 met een p-waarde van $0.055 > 0.05$ (95%). Voor de eindtoets is het verschil -,27 met een p-waarde van $0.58 > 0.05$. De p-waarde van -,88 is een vrij groot, maar geen significant verschil.

In tabel 4 wordt met deze waarde een regressie uitgevoerd en wordt bekeken of er dan effect zal zijn op de resultaten van de interventie. De p-waarden laten zien dat er geen significantie is als het gaat om het gemiddelde scoreverschil tussen de experimentele- en de controlegroep. De interventie heeft dus geen significant verschil tussen de controle- en experimentele groep veroorzaakt.

Het resterende deel van mijn onderzoeksvraag luidt of er een significant verschil is als studenten van de controlegroep en van de experimentele groep na een periode van drie maanden nog een kans krijgen om hun onvoldoende cijfer op te halen. Dit wordt in tabel 4 belicht. Hier zijn twee samengestelde variabelen geformeerd. Bij de eerste samengestelde variabele zijn de volgende scores samengevoegd: het originele cijfer van de studenten die het tentamen van de voormeting hebben gehaald en het herkansingscijfer van degenen die opnieuw het tentamen moesten doen. Bij de tweede samengestelde variabele is precies hetzelfde als bij de voormeting gedaan met de scores van de eindtoets. Met die data is opnieuw een onafhankelijke verschiltoets uitgevoerd.

De gemiddelde score voor de samengestelde variabele voormeting en voor het hertentamen is voor de experimentele groep 5,41 met een standaardfout van 1,23 en voor de controlegroep 6,30 met een standaardfout van 1,32. Bij de variabele eindtoets en hertentamen is die respectievelijk 5,96 met een standaardfout van 1,38 en 5,68 met een standaardfout van 1,24.

Voor het bepalen van het gemiddelde verschil tussen de experimentele en controlegroep voor de samengestelde variabele voormeting (en voor het hertentamen) en de eindtoets (en hertentamen) is een onafhankelijke verschiltoets uitgevoerd. Het verschil tussen de controlegroep en experimentele groep t.a.v. de voormeting is ,31 met een p-waarde van $0.55 > 0.05$ (95%). Voor de eindtoets is het verschil ,26 met een p-waarde van $0.58 > 0.05$. Ook hier geldt dus duidelijk geen significantie als het gaat om het gemiddelde scoreverschil tussen de experimentele groep en de controlegroep. De interventie heeft dus geen significant verschil tussen de controle- en experimentele groep veroorzaakt. De factor tijd maakte bij deze interventie geen verschil uit.

Om na te gaan of er inderdaad geen significant verschil veroorzaakt wordt door de interventie, is bij de eindtoets, gecorrigeerd voor eventuele verschillen in de voormeting, een regressie uitgevoerd met de variabelen experiment, voormeting, geslacht en vooropleiding. De volgende formule is gebruikt:

Uitkomst eindtoets = $a + b_1 \cdot \text{experiment} + b_2 \cdot \text{geslacht (0/1)} + b_3 \cdot \text{vooropleiding (0/1)}$.
De resultaten hiervan zijn in tabel 4 opgenomen.

Tabel 4 Controle van de interventie door regressie met de variabelen experiment, voormeting, geslacht en vooropleiding

Regressie	exp	Exp m voormeting	Exp m voorm, geslacht en vooropleiding
	coëfficiënt	coëfficiënt	coëfficiënt
	0.01	0.59	0.86
	(0.25)	(0.29)	(0.80)

Na het uitvoeren van de regressietesten zijn de resultaten als volgt: de coëfficiënt na de interventie is 0.01, maar als er variabelen zoals de voormeting, het geslacht en de vooropleiding bij worden geplaatst, worden de coëfficiënten groter. De coëfficiënten 0.59 en 0.86 zijn allemaal groter dan 0.05 en dus niet significant voor het effect van de interventie. Deze variabelen hadden derhalve geen invloed op het effect van de interventie. Ook de standaardfouten vertonen een stijging, vanwege het weinige aantal waarnemingen, slechts 34 in totaal. Ze verhogen van 0.25 naar 0.29 en 0.80. Deze stijging laat ook weer zien dat er geen sprake is van significantie en dat deze studie dus informatief is geweest.

Conclusie

Na de analyse van de data kan worden vastgesteld dat het door mij uitgevoerde experiment geen significant effect heeft veroorzaakt voor de interventiegroep. Net als bij NG & Bereiter (1995) is er in dit onderzoek geen effect van een leesvaardigheidsinterventie te bespeuren (zie ook Resnick & Resnick, 1992; McLoughlin, 2002; Lenski & Nierstheimer, 2002).

Tijdens dit experiment bestond de mogelijkheid niet om de strategieën goed uit te leggen aan de studenten van de experimentele groep voordat ze er mee aan de slag konden. Evenmin was er de mogelijkheid om ze de strategieën tijdens andere vakken te laten gebruiken (Palinscar & Klenk, 1992; Tharp & Gallimore, 1991). In een vervolgonderzoek moet dit als belangrijk aandachtspunt meegenomen worden. Als de strategieën telkens weer terugkomen, zullen studenten deze automatisch toepassen bij het lezen van teksten. Het toepassen van leesstrategieën gebeurt niet alleen tijdens de lessen begrijpend lezen, maar ook bij andere modules en op andere momenten gedurende de studie, steeds wanneer teksten gelezen worden.

Het was oorspronkelijk de bedoeling om de studenten in de interventiegroep ook te laten participeren in groepsdiscussies en hen essays te laten schrijven. Goed argumenteren is hiervoor een noodzakelijke vaardigheid. Om het kritisch denken en de argumentatievaardigheden te bevorderen zou hierin vooraf aan de interventie met de studenten geoefend moeten worden. Roostertechisch was dat onmogelijk bij het in

dit artikel beschreven experiment. Waarschijnlijk is dit gegeven een van de redenen waarom de interventie tijdens deze studie geen significant effect heeft veroorzaakt.

Het ondersteunen van het leerproces is een dynamisch proces is, waarbij van de docent wordt verwacht dat het leerproces begeleid wordt en waarbij gebruik gemaakt wordt van werkvormen als klassendiscussies, groepsdiscussies, individueel werk en presentaties. Data kunnen verzameld worden door opnames op video, aantekeningen van de leerkracht, het nakijken door studenten uitgevoerde opdrachten, interviews tussen leerkracht en leerling(en), en aan het eind van het experiment een enquête over de bevindingen van de leerlingen. De leerkracht kan vragen stellen of hints geven die meteen de aandacht vestigen op een hypothese of vraagstuk. Aanwezige kennis kan gecombineerd worden met strategieën die de leerling helpen het vraagstuk te analyseren en te interpreteren. Die strategieën omvatten al datgene wat een leerkracht doet om de student te helpen een probleem op te lossen, een taak uit te voeren, een doel te bereiken (Wood et al., 1976). Het is aan de leerkracht om de student zo goed te kennen dat de juiste taken uitgekozen en gestructureerd worden. Daarbij moet de leerkracht flexibel zijn en de lesopdrachten eventueel aanpassen aan het vermogen van de leerling.

Er is echter in dit experiment gekozen om data te verzamelen via het nagekeken werk van de studenten. Scores van tentamens zijn namelijk objectieve en niet manipuleerbare maten. In een vervolgonderzoek kunnen opnames op video en interviews gebruikt worden voor dataverzameling, waarbij de bovengenoemde punten van belang zullen zijn, vooral het reageren in discussies en het aanpassen van lesopdrachten. Gezien de resultaten van de dataverwerking kan als laatste geconcludeerd worden dat deze interventie geen significant effect veroorzaakt heeft bij de experimentele groep.

LITERATUUR

- Brown, Ann L., Joseph C. Campione, Robert A. Reeve, Roberta A. Ferrara. & Annemarie Sullivan Palincsar (1991). Interactive learning and individual understanding: the case of reading and mathematics. In Liliana T. Landsmann (Ed.), *Culture, schooling, and psychological development* (pp. 136-170). Norwood: Ablex Publishing Corporation.
- Brown, Ann L. & Annemarie Sullivan Palincsar (1989). Guided, cooperative learning and individual knowledge acquisition. In Lauren B. Resnick (Ed.), *Knowing, learning, and instruction: essays in honor of Robert Glaser* (pp. 393-451). Hillsdale: Erlbaum.
- Bruer, John T. (1993). The mind's journey from novice to expert: if we know the route we can help students negotiate their way. *American Educator*, 17, 2, 6-46.

- Collins, Allan, John Seely Brown & Susan E. Newman (1989, [1987]). Cognitive apprenticeship: teaching the crafts of reading, writing, and mathematics. In Lauren B. Resnick (Ed.), *Knowing, learning, and instruction: essays in honor of Robert Glaser* (pp. 453-494). Hillsdale: Erlbaum.
- Lenski, Susan Davis & Susan L. Nierstheimer (2002). Strategy instruction from a sociocognitive perspective. *Reading Psychology*, 23, 2, 127-143.
- McLoughlin, Catherine (2002). Learner support in distance and networked learning environments: ten dimensions for successful design. *Distance Education*, 23, 2, 149-162.
- NG, Evelyn & Carl Bereiter (1995, [1991]). Three levels of goal orientation in learning. In Ashwin Ram & David B. Leake (Eds), *Goal- driven learning* (pp.355-380). Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Palincsar Annemarie Sullivan & Ann L. Brown (1984). Reciprocal teaching of comprehension-fostering and comprehension-monitoring activities. *Cognition and instruction* 1, 2, 117-175.
- Palincsar, Annemarie Sullivan (1991). Scaffolded instruction of listening comprehension with first graders at risk for academic difficulty. In Anne McKeough & Judy Lee Lupart (Eds.), *Toward the practice of theory-based instruction: current cognitive theories and their educational promise* (pp. 50-65). Hillsdale: Erlbaum.
- Palincsar, Annemarie Sullivan & Laura Klenk (1992). Fostering literacy learning in supportive contexts. *Journal of Learning Disabilities*, 25, 4, 211-225.
- Palincsar, Annemarie Sullivan (1998). Social constructivist perspectives on teaching and learning. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 49, 1, 345-375.
- Resnick, Lauren B. & Daniel P. Resnick (1992) Assessing the thinking curriculum: new tools for educational reform. In Bernard R. Gifford & Mary .C. O'Connor, (Eds.), *Changing assessments: alternative views of aptitude, achievement, and instruction* (pp. 37-75). Boston, Kluwer.
- Tharp, Roland G., & Ronald Gallimore (1991). *The instructional conversation: teaching and learning in social activity*. Santa Cruz: Center for Research on Education, Diversity and Excellence.
- Wald, Alfred (2000). *Kennis en kwaliteit: opleiding en nascholing van leraren*. Leuven/Apeldoorn: Garant.
- Wood, David, Jerome S. Bruner & Gail Ross (1976). The role of tutoring in problem solving. *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry*, 17, 2, 89-100.

CARIBBEAN LITERATURE FROM THE ABC-ISLANDS IN THE EUROPEAN NETHERLANDS

QUITO NICOLAAS

NOVELIST, POET AND COLUMNIST, ARUBA

Introduction

Caribbean literature from the islands of Aruba, Bonaire, Curaçao can be divided into two main components: literature written in Dutch and literature written in Papiamentu. Papiamentu is an Iberian-lexifier creole language spoken on the ABC-islands (the former Dutch Leeward Islands) and in the Netherlands. In this article, I will deal with Caribbean literature from the ABC-islands in both Dutch and Papiamentu during the last twenty-five years. My main aim is to situate this literature in its social, historical and political context and to provide an analysis of some of the constraints which are currently working against the growth of Caribbean literature from the ABC-islands in the European Netherlands.

221

Changing climate

One of our most respected Caribbean writers is Nicolaas Cola Debrot¹, who actually laid the foundation for Antillean prose in Dutch. His essays, articles and visionary statements set Caribbean literature from the ABC-islands on solid ground. With his novel *My black sister* (1935) he wanted his readers to reflect on a new reality. By the 1970s, with the advent of writers such as Frank Martinus Arion, Boeli van Leeuwen (1922-2007) and Tip Marugg (1923 -2006) it seemed that Caribbean literature from the ABC-islands had acquired a permanent place in Dutch literature. Van Leeuwen won the *De Vijverbergprijs* in 1961, Marugg was nominated in 1986 for the most prestigious AKO literature prize, and Arion won the prestigious *C.W. van der Hoogtprijs* in 1973². Throughout the 1970s and 1980s the work of these Caribbean authors was widely discussed in the media. In the early 1970s Caribbean literature was still quite popular in the Netherlands, where readers were quite familiar with novels such as Arion's *Dubbelspel* [Double Play] (1972).

¹ The Bonairian writer Cola Debrot published *Mijn zuster de negerin* [My black sister] in 1935. The topics covered in this book were the taboo issues of black vs. white and rich vs. poor. It was translated into Papiamentu [Mi Negrita, mi ruman] in 2008, after it already have been translated in English and Spanish.

² Nowadays De Vijverberg Literature prize is called the Ferdinand Borderwijk prize. F.M. Arion also won the Cola Debrot-prize for his novel *De laatste vrijheid* [The Last Freedom] (1995).

But the popularity of Caribbean literature in the Netherlands did not last for long. In the 1980s a drastic change was underway. As the European unification process gained momentum, the media began to focus more on all things Dutch, including Dutch television programs, Dutch stand up comedians, etc.³ The music scene in the Netherlands was no longer dominated by British and American singers, but by Dutch pop music and the charts were constantly topped by Dutch hits. From that moment on, a process of revival of European Dutch culture and identity began. As for non-European writing in Dutch, from the 1990s onward we witness a shift in focus away from Caribbean writers and toward young immigrant writers in the Netherlands of Turkish and Moroccan descent. In the aftermath of the events of 9/11 interest in Moroccan and Turkish literature also declined, and now Scandinavian literature is widely read in the Netherlands.

Although there have been some attempts at diversification, the Dutch media remain largely segregated and dominated by Netherlanders of European descent. Only 12% of television presenters on public television networks are of African and Caribbean descent as opposed to 14% on commercial networks.⁴ These statistics illustrate that Dutch society is still a closed society, which is not open to non-European descended people participating in its media, art and cultural industries, which play a major role in the socialization of the Dutch population. Over time, television documentaries about third world countries have disappeared from the screen, to be replaced by Dutch soap operas and talkshows with mainly European Dutch presenters and guests. This process has unfolded while the Netherlands has been becoming more and more demographically diverse. During this period, issues relating to social and cultural clashes between European and non-European descended Netherlanders, school segregation, discrimination in hiring and at the workplace, exclusively European descended boards of directors in the private-sector, etc, have come more and more to the fore. Debates in the 1980s that focused on issues such as discrimination have shifted from the 1990s onward towards debates about all-sided racism in the Netherlands. Moreover, these debates have largely taken place between European descended Dutch intellectuals, with Caribbean intellectuals and organizations for the most part excluded. It seems that every four years the newly elected government dutifully introduces a new integration policy that is doomed to fail.

Historical context

After the wave of decolonization that changed the political landscape of Africa and the Caribbean in the 1960s, the Dutch Caribbean remained one of the few remnant

³ For example, soap-operas like *Medical Center-West*, *Goede tijden*, *Slechte tijden* and *Onderweg naar morgen*.

⁴ Monitor Diversity 2002.

outposts of colonialism. After Suriname gained its independence in 1975, the Dutch government at the time believed that the six islands of the Netherlands Antilles would follow, but this did not come to pass, and since 1954, the islands have generally been internally self-governing while the government of the Netherlands handles their foreign policy and defense portfolios.⁵ In practice, however, intellectually and financially the islands remain dependent on the European Netherlands. This unequal relationship is one of the reasons why the Dutch still consider the islands to be semi-colonies, whose peoples are without culture, history or ambition, and approach their writers from that reference point.

Although the ties between the islands and the European Netherlands have in some cases become looser over time, all of the islands are still part of the Kingdom of the Netherlands to this day. Within the Kingdom of the Netherlands, education and culture have remained for the most part Eurocentric. Most schools in the ABC-islands still use Dutch as language of instruction and initial literacy. European Dutch materials, methods, tests etc. predominate. Caribbean literature and art are largely marginalized, or occupy narrow niche markets. In the final analysis, the Caribbean islands are considered to be a relatively insignificant part of the Kingdom. For example, F.M. Arion's *Dubbelspel* is placed at number 122 on the list of 125 titles selected for the Dutch literature canon.⁶

On the other side of the Atlantic, however, the last 25 years have witnessed two important shifts: (1) Caribbean writers have begun to outnumber European expatriate writers as authors of prose and poetry about the ABC-islands; and (2) these authors from the ABC-islands are opting more and more to write and publish in Papiamentu instead of in Dutch. In particular after 1986 – with the acquisition of Aruba's new status as an autonomous country within the Kingdom – we observe a great increase in Caribbean authors and publications in Papiamentu. Over the last three decades, an average of about 75% of new titles in Aruba is written in Papiamentu (some 85% in the 1980s, some 66% in the 1990s, and some 75% in the new millennium).

While there has been an explosion of writing by Caribbean authors in Great Britain, the USA, France, Spain and Canada, over the past few decades, things have remained remarkably silent on the Dutch front. In recent years our literary history has been enriched with a variety of publications that provide important insight into literary development in the ABC-islands, including but not limited to: *Three Curaçao writers* (1991), *Pa saka kara* (1998), *Tropics language, 200 years of Antillian story telling* (2001), *Northeast transient, 400 years Dutch story-telling art about Suriname, the Netherlands Antilles and Aruba* (2005) and *The bridge from Paramaribo to*

⁵ In 1986 Aruba obtained the status of an autonomous country within the Dutch Kingdom, followed by Curaçao and St. Maarten in 2010. In 2010, Bonaire, Saba and St. Eustatius became special municipalities of The Netherlands.

⁶ The canon was instituted by the Dutch Literary Society.

Willemstad (2007). All these publications give us a sense of the state of Caribbean literature, its considerable achievements and the considerable challenges that it has yet to overcome.

Political Context

The political system in the Netherlands has been influenced for the past few decades by parties with right-wing sympathies and extremist ideas. From 1984 to 1998 the Centre Democrats focused on a nationalist ideology; from 2002 to 2006, the LPF (List Pim Fortuijn) fulminated against European regulation; and from 2006 to the present the anti-Muslim PVV (Freedom Party) has also adopted anti-EU positions.⁷ All of these populist parties are focused on single issues and have charismatic leaders who position themselves against the political establishment. They all invoke patriotism, and turn their back on everything that they do not consider to be Dutch, especially people of non-European descent within the Kingdom.

These tragic developments stem from intermittent periods of economic crisis, which have been exploited by xenophobic and anti-immigrant right wing demagogues, who have gained considerable support and political power across Europe: i.e. The Flemish Bloc in Belgium, Le Pen of the Front National in France, Nazi sympathiser Jörg Haider of the FPÖ in Austria and Nick Griffin of the British National party (BNP). Before this period, one of the cornerstones of Dutch politics was a process of integration, whereby all Dutch citizens of all backgrounds could find a place in a society with a cultural climate that was hospitable to non-European descended immigrant groups. The goal was the establishment of a tolerant society that would include non-European derived cultures and lifeways, which would have as one of its manifestations a lively arts scene, where artists of diverse backgrounds could participate in one another's activities. Before the 1990s, each immigrant group had its own community centers, publications and sponsored activities, but under the rule of the right, these have all been gradually phased out. Now, different groups such as the Turks, Moroccans, Surinamese, Antilleans, and Arubans are all living in physical proximity in the poorer areas of the Netherlands, but they no longer have any notion of each other's cultural and literary accomplishments. Over the past twenty-five years, the interests of immigrant groups with more electoral clout in the Netherlands have been pitted against immigrant groups with less clout, such as the Antilleans and Arubans.

In Dutch literary studies, distinctions are made between a number of ethnically defined subgenres, such as Antillean-, Surinamese-, Indian- and Arabic-Dutch literatures. The role of Antillean and Aruban authors in Caribbean-Dutch literature is somewhat peculiar, given that it is mainly writers who live on the Islands that publish in Dutch, such as Boeli van Leeuwen, Tip Marugg, Frank Martinus Arion, Erich Zielinski, Jacques Thönnissen. Meanwhile the much smaller group of authors who

live in the Netherlands such as Denis Henriquez, Myrna Römer, Quito Nicolaas, Joan Leslie and Giselle Ecury includes poets who prefer to express themselves in a bilingual way. This can be seen in part to be a consequence of recent Dutch policies of ethnic separation, which have prevented writers and artists from different ethnic communities from experiencing one another's cultural expressions as much they did before the rise of the right.

Currently, there are some initiatives afoot to help begin to remedy this situation. Annually the Caribbean Literature Working Group organizes events to kick off a new season. Then there are the biennial Cola Debrot-lectures with a literary theme and the Van Lier-lectures on a social scientific topic. A recent lecture by F. Guadeloupe with the title *Adieu to Coolies, Nikkers and Makambas: the deconstruction of racial thinking within Caribbean anthropology* made quite a critical impact. From 2009 onward the Bijlmerpark theater has been promoting more and more Afro-Caribbean theatre. In 2007 a Chair for Dutch Caribbean Literature was instituted at the University of Amsterdam. A Caribbean Arts Working Group is up and running. But Dutch Caribbean literature will never be accepted by large segments of the population of the European Netherlands as part of their literature until Caribbean and other immigrants are visible at all levels of society i.e. in public administration, foundations, directorships, businesses, schools, the media, Parliament, etc.

Narration/Themes

In the Netherlands the majority of immigrants are obliged to accept a low socio-economic position in the new society, and with migration often comes a loss of the traditions of storytelling and oral history that could be so worthwhile and inspiring for future generations of writers. In 2010 research was carried out amongst the Javanese-Surinamese population in the Netherlands to re-construct part of their history. Now a similar study is to be conducted amongst elderly Arubans and Antilleans in Dutch society. Both studies should stimulate our literary production.

Wim Rutgers (2007) identifies three defining periods in the development of Dutch Caribbean and Caribbean Dutch literature: 1) 1492 -1863: from discovery to emancipation; 2) 1863 -1954: from emancipation to autonomy; and 3) 1954 - present: from autonomy to self-determination. Rutgers also observes that since 1954 Caribbean born authors have been more creative than expatriate authors in terms of themes, content and style. While this may be true for the literature in Papiamentu, the novels in Dutch by Debrot, Marugg, Van Leeuwen and Arion were partially innovative in content and décor, but their style and characters were similar to those found in Dutch novels. The same can be said concerning Erich Zielinski's latest novel *Scott Zuyderling*. The explosion in literary creativity and innovation that followed the riots in Brixton, Brussels and Paris has no counterpart in Amsterdam, Oranjestad,

Philipsburg or Willemstad. In Great Britain we saw *White teeth* (2000) appear and in France *L'esclave vieil homme et le molosse* (1997) by Patrick Chamoiseau, both of which can be considered ground-breaking works for their time. For the moment, however, Caribbean migrant literature in the Netherlands is still largely focused on the homeland.

Authors, cultures and their stories

Denis Henriquez

After the success of writers such as Arion, Marugg and Van Leeuwen, things remained somewhat quiet on the publishing front in the 1980s. But then, in the 1990s the novel *Zuidstraat* [Southstreet] appeared by the Aruban descended writer Denis Henriquez. As a migrant writer, he made us very aware of the then existing taboos in Aruba. What he did not do in his novels was to describe the experiences of immigrants, for example, during and after World War II.

Jacques Thönissen

Thönissen is a writer who uses different ritual and cultural patterns in Aruba as symbols to construct his stories. His characters are mostly second-generation immigrants who get themselves into trouble, but find their way out. Focusing on the experiences of immigrants from Santo Domingo, his second novel *De roep van de Troepiaal* (2004) [The call of the Oriole] features a Dominican woman who tries doing things her own way. An earnest, but not always convincing, political voice can be heard in the background of his stories. In his last novel *Devah* (2010) he decides to abandon the Caribbean and opts for a European setting instead.⁷

Clark Accord

In the novel *Bingo*, Clark Accord describes how a woman drags her daughter, a single mother, slowly into a life of gambling. By using the ideas of 'culture of poverty' and 'poverty of culture' he constructs a reality story. For those migrant families who lead a hopeless existence, gambling can be seen as a desperate attempt to bounce back. He also explores *hosselen* [hustling] or illegal strategies used by immigrants and other marginalized people to get by, but which do not necessarily provide viable solutions to their problems. Hence poverty reproduces itself from generation to generation.

Karin Amatmoekrim

While Amatmoekrim describes in her book *Wanneer wij samen zijn* [When we are together] the reunion of a Javanese family, in her latest novel *De gym* [The Gym] she deals with the two worlds of a migrant child: the economically depressed one to which

¹³ The other two novels Thönissen published was *Tranen om de ara* (1998) and *Eilandzigeuner* (2000).

she in fact belongs and the prosperous world that she wants to belong to. In the process, she invokes all of the contradictions that people encounter in daily life. For example, in the novel she includes an Afro-Caribbean descended child who has been adopted by rich parents and who acts like a European descended child. The novel gives an accurate depiction of what immigrant children experience at school.

Constraints: funds, publishing, and media

Of the large group of published Caribbean authors, there are only a few who belong to the mainstream. But whether their books are actually read by the mainstream public is another question. Books by Caribbean authors do not even appear on any of lists of the top 100 most read books over the past years, which means that they have sold less than 1.000 copies. Dutch author Annejet van der Zijl sold 221,158 copies of her novel *Sonny Boy* in 2011 and landed at No. 2 on the top 100, and Dutch writer Joost Zwagerman has sold 300,000 copies of *De Buitenvrouw* [The Outside Woman] (1994) over the years. Meanwhile, non-Dutch author Lawrence Hill's novel *The Negro* had sold fewer than 20,000 copies by 2012. In other words it is not so much the theme of the book that determines its success. It seems that the Dutch reading public prefers novels by European descended Dutch people with whom they can identify to novels by immigrant writers of Caribbean origin, although Dutch readers actually prefer to read novels in a foreign language i.e. English.

227

As does Great Britain's Arts Council of England, the Literary Fund in The Netherlands provides financial support to authors, but the criteria for obtaining these funds are designed in such a way that junior Caribbean writers are automatically excluded from consideration. A few already established senior Caribbean authors, however, have been awarded funds from this source to carry out particular writing projects.⁸

There are quite a number of publishing houses that are willing to publish Caribbean authors.⁹ These publishers are implementing a policy to create the impression that they are trying to prevent a process of ghetto-formation from taking place, thereby limiting the number of immigrant writers whose work they publish. Of course, publishing houses produce what the market demands and all kinds of criteria are taken into consideration before a decision is made as to whether to publish a book or not. It seems that publishing houses still prefer to publish novels that ridicule and stigmatize Caribbean people in general and Caribbean immigrants in particular, instead of novels relating to the experiences of Caribbean people in Dutch society. For example, the novel *Alleen maar nette mensen* [Only the neat people] by Robert Vuijsje caused much controversy in the Caribbean community a few years ago and won two

⁸ For his novel *De Deserteurs* [The Deserters] in 2006, author F.M. Arion received a scholarship, while Myrna Römer got an incentive scholarship to write her novel *Het geheim van Garcia* [The Secret of Garcia] (2007).

⁹ In the Knipscheer, Prometheus, Contact, Atlas and De Bezige Bij.

Literature prizes: the Belgian Gouden Uil (Golden Owl) in 2009, and De Inktaap in 2010.

There is also a growing number of independent writers who are self-publishing. One such group of writers – Simia Literario [Literary seed] – publishes predominantly in the Papiamentu language. Although their second anthology *Ta ken mi ta* (2011)[*Who I am*] bears a Papiamentu title, it contains prose and poetry in Papiamentu which is translated into Dutch. The dilemma that Antillean and Aruban writers constantly face when deciding whether or not to write in Papiamentu is that (1) one should publish in Papiamentu in order to contribute to literary development on the ABC-, (2) one should publish in Dutch in order to position oneself in the Netherlands and (3) one should publish in English, so one's voice might be heard across the Caribbean and beyond. Our Aruban, Curaçaoan and Surinamese writers desire to belong to the rich tradition of Papiamentu or Dutch literature, just as other Caribbean authors desire to belong to the British, American, French, or Spanish literary traditions. The questions that arise are: How European-Dutch are Aruban, Curaçaoan and Surinamese writers? How Dutch is their literature? and When are Caribbean writers going to develop their own prose, their own voices, regardless of the existing conventions that apply in Dutch literature?

228 After the journal *Watapana* in the 1960s and the *Sticusa-Journal* in the 1970s there was little in the way of literary magazines that focused on ABC-island literature. In the 1980s a few volumes of *Caribbean Forum* appeared before that publication folded as well. *Caribbean Forum* was directed towards the intellectual community. The journal was well intentioned, in the sense that it gave attention to the social-cultural and political-economic development of the Dutch Caribbean islands. A number of magazines published by immigrant welfare institutions also gave very sporadic attention to literature. The journals that were published on the islands, i.e. *Antilliaanse Cahiers*, *Ruku* and *Kristòf* and those published in The Netherlands i.e. *Watapana*, *Kontakto Antiyano*, *Plataforma* and *Caribbean Forum* never actually reinforced one other. It was as if they were being published in two different worlds, and only a small subgroup amongst their readers was really interested in literature. Today, the ILIS newsletter seems to have filled the void left by the demise of these publications to some extent, while the International Institute for Scientific Research gives courses about subjects such as colonialism and diaspora.

With the advent of the internet, five sites have emerged which provide information on a continuous basis about Caribbean literature: *Gedachten in Gedichten* (2007-2012), *Waves of Words* (2013), *Caribe Magazine* (2007), *Caribisch Uitzicht* (2009) and *Caribbean Literary Salon* (2010). *Gedachten in Gedichten* provides information in

Papiamentu, Dutch and English. *Caribbean Literary Salon* is oriented toward the Caribbean islands, while *Caraibisch Uitzicht*, which contains essays and articles, and *Caribe Magazine*, which contains news, activities and book reviews, are aimed at a Dutch audience. Besides these sites, Blaac Shop (2009) and BookIsh Plaza (2010) are the only webshops that sell Caribbean literature in various languages.

It was not until the 1970s that any radio programs in The Netherlands dedicated any attention to Antillean literature, and this consisted of nothing more than a few sporadic broadcasts. With the advent of the radio program *Tambu* in the early 1980s, much more attention was dedicated to current events on the Islands and Antillean organizations in The Netherlands. In 2011 the Radio Netherlands began paying some belated attention to immigrant literature. In their daily programs, *Linea recta* and *Aki na Hulanda [Here in the Netherlands]*, several authors have been interviewed in Papiamentu and Dutch about their work.

Conclusion

On 1 August 2012, the National Institute for the Study of Dutch Slavery and its Legacy was closed. Right wing governments have slashed support for immigrant arts and culture. Publishing houses and bookshops are closing down. Despite all of this Antillean and Aruban authors must continue to write our own stories, express our own views, and develop our own ideological perspectives. We also need to read each other's work. Within a few years – in 2020 – we will celebrate the 100th anniversary of Caribbean literature in the Netherlands, and I hope that by that time we will have made some progress in surmounting the considerable obstacles that lay before us.

REFERENCES

- Ashcroft, Bill, Gareth Griffiths & Helen Tiffin (Eds.) (2010, [1995]). *The post-colonial studies reader*. London: Routledge.
- Dijkgraaf, Margot (2003). *Franstalige literatuur van nu: een vreemd soort geluk*. Breda: De Geus.
- Gupta, Suman (2012). *Contemporary literature: the basics*. New York: Routledge.
- Irele, F. Abiola & Simon Gikandi (2004). *The Cambridge history of African and Caribbean literature*. Vol. 2. Cambridge: University Press.
- Nicolaas, Quito (1986). *Micro-estadonan y nan independencia*. In R. Hernandez (Ed.), *Sembra awe pa cosecha mañan* (pp. 85-104). Groningen: Grupo Aruba.
- Nicolaas, Quito (2012). *The unheard voices*. Lecture Dec. 8, 2012, Amsterdam.
- Rutgers, Wim (2007). *De brug van Paramaribo naar Willemstad: Nederlands-Caribische en Caribisch-Nederlandse literatuur 1945 -2005*. Curaçao: Fundashon pa Planifikashon di Idioma/University of the Netherlands Antilles.

CARIBBEAN GOTHIC: IMAGIOLOGY AND REALITY IN *THE AFTERNOON WIND*

JOE FORTIN

UNIVERSITEIT VAN AMSTERDAM

Introduction

The story *The afternoon wind* was published in the second volume of short stories of the Aruban author Jossy Tromp. This author is quite unique in the Aruban tradition of writers as he constructs a neo-baroque universe in which to situate his characters and creatures. The characters are usually strange and eccentric personages and are being confronted with evil, dead and aberrant figures. Besides the neo-baroque characters and the environment, I think that we can find postmodern Gothicism in the work of Tromp as well, because of the “[...] excess, anxiety, fear and death. According to Baudrillard, ‘ours is a [postmodern] culture of death’” (Beville: 11). Under this interpretation, Tromp reminds us that we are constantly moving through different realities and different worlds on a hostile tropical Caribbean island.

231

What is going on?

In this short story, the narrator Alejandro Simon Silvester, who is living with his grandparents because his mother has died, relates his experiences with surreal events. Alejandro’s relationship with his family and surroundings is saturated with doubts and mysteries. He tells us about a creature from the dark side of life who appears to him while he is resting:

“Apparently it was not from this world, or at least not from the world I know. And neither from the world which I usually take part in from the time I started thinking. He resembles the species you can encounter in the dark hours of the night. For a moment my thoughts meandered between prehistoric monsters and mythological creatures like fire spitting griffins.” (Tromp: 5)

Here we see the mixture of possible with impossible worlds. According to the narrator there exists another dimension where it is possible to meet different and deviate entities. At times, we may have access to other dimensions of the reality of the world, for example that of mythology. There is also a possibility of other dimensions in time, because Alejandro’s thoughts go back to prehistory.

The more the reader gets involved in the story, the more other possible worlds are presented to us by Alejandro. Gradually, the reader sketches out the details of the

presence of monsters and rare creatures through the narrative. The narrator explains further that the thing that just entered his room was

“[...] much more horrible than the appalling bulge that I saw one day in the afternoon in the thorn shrubs close to home. That day I became very frightened when it spewed a fireball in my direction.” (p. 5)

Such horrible creatures do not only exist in the dark, but also in the afternoon when the chances to meet them increase. So we can say that evil is always around us and there is no escape. The reader gets a detailed description of the ‘thing’: it has more than two eyes, which glow like fireworms, it has a dirty greyish skin colour, it has ears like a male donkey ready to attack and its wings shine as if they were made from sweaty wet plastic. The lightning reflects on the obscure figure so that Alejandro can have a good look at its anatomy and he declares: “My assumptions about this thing have been reinforced now that I can perceive it completely in the brightness and noise of the thunderstorm” (p. 6).

At this moment Alejandro tries to extract some meaning from this event. He thinks that perhaps his time to die has arrived and that the thing is coming to bring him to the kingdom of the dead. But at the same time he convinces himself that he is not dying, because he is not feeling sick. Maybe he is experiencing all of this because he has committed some unjust or regretful act. The narrator tries to confront this appearance of the unknown with a certain form of rationality, but doubts keep circulating in his mind. He even doubts if he is still alive as he notices that he is immobilized on the sofa chair. Later on, he realizes that he is still alive, because his heart is beating fast and he says: “I am more than alive because short and fast fragmented parts of my life are crossing in front of me. The episodes are following each other chronologically” (p. 7). At this moment, the narrator invokes a hyperreality that is even more real than existing reality. At the same instant, he resigns himself to the idea that he is going back to his dead mother.

The narrator and the reader are constantly switching between different worlds and realities. Alejandro doubts that everything that he is experiencing is happening in the real world and thinks that he is hallucinating, dreaming, fantasizing, or going crazy. Considering all these possibilities, he admits that “it is not the first time that his brain has created its own monsters” (p. 7). Alejandro makes intertextual reference to another uncanny and turbulent world, that of Francisco Goya’s etching *The sleep of reason produces monsters*. In this etching, the artist is being attacked by owls (symbols simultaneously of wisdom and of folly) and bats (symbols of ignorance). Adding to this nauseating atmosphere of threat and uncertainty, the narrator emphasizes his lack of trust in his own faculties, saying that this all could all be the product of his (sick) mind.

It is very peculiar, however, that someone who is being attacked has the time to think about concepts and ideas. This could suggest that Alejandro is aware of the presence of the fiction in which he is inscribed and is creating his own exaggerated baroque construction around the dangerous situation in which he finds himself. Amid this chaos, the narrator suddenly remembers that he had seen this thing years ago while living with his mother. At this point, the narrator takes the reader into an analeptic past which is saturated with a filthy smell coming out of a granary. This brings back other memories of similar fowls smells, including those associated with his “lovely grandpa” (p. 8). Alejandro goes back even further in time to recall moments of parties and the consumption of food and alcohol when there was abundance in the granary and other moments of scarcity due to extreme draught. All of these memories are enveloped in the smell of the granary, which consists of a mixture of the odors of alcohol, mustiness and acidity.

His grandmother would become angry if he did not collect enough eggs for her to make cakes with. He says that she was not a person to argue with. On some days she was all right, but on other days it was better to stay away from her. She had some rare and unpredictable quirk of personality that made it seem as if the moon was influencing her, causing her to become temporarily insane. In her crazier moments, when she screamed and made a lot of noise, his grandfather would just sit and look into the emptiness in front of him. Alejandro tried to understand what was happening, but in the end just continued playing his childhood games (pp. 9-10). The eccentricity of Alejandro and his grandparents is in part explained by the hellishly bright place in which they live out their desolate lives. Decadence and decay, happiness and grief, lightness and obscurity go hand in hand.

Caribbean Gothic

This story has some characteristics of both gothic and postmodern literature, with its grotesquely haunting atmosphere, its confused storyline, and its unreliable narrator. As Maria Belville argues, the postmodernist paradigm includes “[...] experimental, radical and often metafictional literature which problematizes the relationship between reality and fiction, reader and text” (p. 7). The narrator informs the reader that the granary was usually dark, because just a few rays of sun were able to penetrate inside. In this horrible and sinister place, his grandfather was “waiting for his death to come” (Tromp: 10). The faint light was not even enough to form a shadow and Alejandro’s grandfather looked like a lifeless bulge. By that time, the man no longer uttered a single word, and the only contact with real life that he seemed to have was through the beast that was constantly visiting him. The narrator explains that there were rumours that his grandfather was dead, but he could not confirm them because, as he spied through a crack in the window of the granary on the visits that the beast paid to the old man he sensed a kind of agreement between the two spectral figures. These visits

occurred especially “at night when all that forms part of the world of luminosity takes on surrealistic dimensions” and “in the afternoon when my mood changes because of the changes of colours in the sky” (p. 10). Alejandro concludes in typically inconclusive fashion that even if the old man was really dead, he was acting like a living person.

Here the narrator presents us with an interesting viewpoint on life and death. His grandfather is acting like a living person by communicating with an unknown beastly creature that comes and visits him, but he does not communicate with the people living around him. While he does not leave the surroundings inhabited by the living, his fascinated gaze is fixed on the dead. This is an inversion of the idea that death is omnipresent and omniscient. In this case, the dead are still among the living, but ignore them, while the living are preoccupied, even obsessed with, the dead. The dead are unable to move about, but dependent for their ‘existence’ the visits of beasts and the hidden gaze of the living.

The narrator remarks that what he would see in the granary was like a bad dream and that he shivered when he saw the thing caressing his grandfather until he fell asleep. Then the beast would leave in the darkness of the night. Before the old man became “sick”, he told Alejandro that there were things disturbing him. A bulge was flying in front of him moving in a cloud and eventually he could not sleep anymore and moved into the granary. He could hear and see things other people could not hear or see, and “F[f]rom then on he became insane, really mad” (p. 11).

Alejandro explains that his grandfather was worried because of his apparently approaching death and because the afternoon wind was tormenting him. According to the old man, the wind brings all kind of illness and if the wind blows on you, you will get as sick as a dog. You will get fever and vomit blood until you die. There is almost no cure, but praying and holy water can help to cure this afternoon wind illness. The afternoon wind brings bad souls with it that try to take you away. When he said these things, his wife thought that he was just going crazy and seeing things that were not there, while the young narrator teased him and laughed at him. The grandmother ended up saying that Alejandro was the cause of all the horrors that befell them (pp. 12-13), but in the text the narrator gives no evidence to confirm this statement. The reader gets the sense that the narrator is hiding facts and is not telling the story in an ‘objective’ way.

At this point the reader can easily become confused about who is insane and who is communicating the ‘truth’ in the story. Alejandro behaves as strangely, wickedly and unaccountably as the other characters in the story. The narrator is supposed to be objective according to traditional theories of fiction, but in *The afternoon wind*, the

narrator is a child and may even be insane. Thus, the reader can easily judge him to be an unreliable source of ‘truth’.

Belville argues that:

“ [t]he conventions accepted here as characterising the emergence of Gothic-postmodernism as a new and distinct literary genre include: the blurring of borders that exist between the real and the fictional, which results in narrative self-consciousness and an interplay between the supernatural and the metafictional; a concern with the sublime effects of terror and the unrepresentable aspects of reality and subjectivity; specific Gothic thematic devices of haunting, *the doppelgänger*, and a dualistic philosophy of good and evil; an atmosphere of mystery and suspense and a counter-narrative function.” (p. 15, italics in original)

The monster in the wind

According to the narrator and his grandfather, the wind disturbs normal life, because it is the cause of sickness, madness, and all other problems. Alejandro says that he could hear voices in the background, but he ‘could not capture any word of the conversation because the wind deformed it. The wind was moving between the cacti that were crying for some rain. This wind had no mercy and compassion for the poor vegetation.’ According to the French priest, explorer, and writer André Thévet (1516-1590), Haiti was a monstrous beast living inside the wind (*La cosmographie universelle*, 1575).

The wind, the heat and the howling dogs create an atmosphere that Alejandro is convinced must be worse than in hell (p. 15). But the night does not bring rest, because “as soon as it gets dark, all the bright colours die.” The large cacti transform themselves into “horrible ghosts and gigantic squids”, “[b]ats are sucking blood and bad spirits are coming out to touch you” (p. 18). While the sun, the wind and the aridity are associated with evil, the rain has different meanings in the story. In some situations the rain is considered as a “blessing of God” (p. 40) while in others it is as a carrier of illness (pp. 16-19), or worse: “dark clouds are carrying rain from the south. They look like a ‘mass of bats’” and “on the land the scarecrow was crying like a bad soul” (p. 16). So even the rain brings no real relief from the hopelessly arid and unrelentingly wind ridden climate.

The death of the old man is accompanied by rain and a thunderstorm. Suddenly there was a huge star shining in the sky. The whole earth was illuminated because of its radiance: “[t]hey called the star Princess of the sky and she had long golden hair” (p. 40). On that day many small stars were falling from the sky. And on the next morning there was a fine coating of dew. On the day that the old man was going to be buried, the clouds were numerous and dark and the narrator says: “I hope it will rain hard, I hope it will pour. The rain is a blessing of God. You could hear the thunderstorm in

the south and it was starting to drizzle. The day we buried grandpa it rained a lot” (p. 40). Here we see that with the death of his grandfather, things apparently start to change for the narrator, or at least that is what he is making the reader believe. The rain is no longer considered as an enemy, but more as a blessing that brings good times. At this very moment, however, his own mother appears in the shape of a monster.

Love and hate

The relationship between the narrator/child and his grandparents is filled with love and hate at the same time. At one point, his grandmother says: “Who in heaven’s name brought you to this earth?” and she accuses Alejandro of causing the death of his grandfather. Concerning his grandmother, Alejandro says that: “[o]ld mummy is sick. I cannot believe that she is doing well. She was always acting strange” (p. 14). When commenting about his grandfather, Alejandro asserts that: “the old man should die very soon; he is a good for nothing” (p. 14). When the narrator tells his grandmother that the old man is being visited by a strange creature, she tells him that he should not go to the granary. She informs the narrator that the old man has been dead for a long time already and that he must get some rest in the granary, where one can only hear the sound of the wind (p. 17).

At first, the narrator hoped that the beast was an angel coming from heaven to take the old man to God (p. 19), just as his mother had one day long ago promised to take Alejandro back. On the day his mother died, it was raining very fine drops: “finer and more slowly than I had ever seen before. This type of rain makes one sick with fever” (p. 19). He explains that he has been missing his mother constantly and this is why he has become accustomed to wait for the beast. We thus find out that the narrator has been waiting all of his life, not only for his mother, but also for the beast. Maybe his mother and the beast are the same creature?

The beast fills his emptiness and the longing for his mother, while on the other hand he detests the strange animal. Thus, the relations between the narrator and the other characters, including his own mother, are ambiguous and ambivalent. He remembers her “lying dead on the bed [...] The room was full of white doves and on her right side stood a guardian angel” (p. 41). This guardian angel belongs to the same world of fiction as the beast. He hears his mother’s voice coming from the strange beast, calling him to come with her. Her sweet voice is then transformed and his mother is transfigured into a giant bat before flying out of the house (p. 42). The animal tells him that he is her son: “[d]on’t be afraid my child, I am your mother” and he thinks: “My mother? Impossible? How is it possible that such a horrendous creature has the gall to tell me to my face that it is my beloved mother?” (p. 41). There seems to be no escape from all of this, as the life of the narrator is turned into a simulacrum of hell on earth.

There is a constant shift in emotions among the members of the family. It seems that they cannot live with one other, nor without one other. They are mean, aberrant and distrustful because of the constant threats that traumatize them. Julia Kristeva states that:

“ [t]here looms, within abjection, one of those violent, dark revolts of being, directed against a threat that seems to emanate from an exorbitant outside or inside, ejected beyond the scope of the possible, the tolerable, the thinkable. It lies there, quite close, but it cannot be assimilated. It beseeches, worries, and fascinates desire, which, nevertheless, does not let itself be seduced.” (p. 1)

The boy tells his grandmother about the bad smell of a dead animal coming out of the granary and she replies that he should not get involved with the old man (Tromp: 18). There are incessant doubts regarding the condition of the old man in the text. One is not sure if he is already dead or still alive, or somewhere in between. At one point, we receive confirmation that the grandfather is dead. “The dead man was lying in his coffin at home. It was a windless hot day. Inside it was hot and ‘only some tiny threads were left of the air’” (p. 35). Outside it felt desolate and even the skinny dogs that were accustomed to howl when someone dies were silent now. Inside the house people were crying for the dead. There were rumours about his death: “they were scandalous things, shameful things, things that hurt” (p. 36).

The life of the grandmother is described as a ‘dark one’, because

“she could see the devil dancing in evil alleys. She could hear ghosts dragging chains in the aloe plantations. She could see headless people walking around with hatchets. And disfigured faces stuck into the cacti. She also saw fireballs at her back and she could hear bad souls crying like babies on the roof of the house” (p. 40).

In the end, the reader is left to piece together the fragmented shards of this family’s existence. Was the grandfather a patient man who had been reduced to living in a stupor by the brutality of the people and the environment around him, or was he a scandalous man who had done shameful things? Was the grandmother a pitiful demented soul, or did she use sorcery to evil ends? Was his mother an angel who would take him to heaven, or a beast who had already delivered him to hell on earth? The narrator finds himself helpless in the face of the task of disentangling these possible worlds and the task of determining where one ends and the other begins.

Inversion of reality

Throughout the text, doubt is created about the reality of the events recounted: “[i]t seems like there is no way out of this vicious circle. I was forced to create my own universe” (p. 21). The narrator sees a group of people coming to the house. It is a strange day, because the sky seems like it is moving and changing colours all the time

from grey to black. The group consisted of some whores, a clown and ‘the prince of the nightmares’ on a horse. For the narrator it looked like a group celebrating Carnival, but instead of dancing they were marching upside down, just as standards and values are turned upside down during Carnival (Bakhtin, 1968). Because it is the time during which normal patterns are inverted, Carnival ironically marks one of the few moments in the story where Alejandro is actually able to hear distinct voices and conduct normal dialogue.

During the condolence gathering for Alejandro’s grandfather, we witness yet another inversion of regular conventions, since it looks like there is a party going on instead of mourning:

“The bulges were coming and going. In the living room there was a puddle of water coming from the melting ice block under the coffin. The room was very crowded. There were young girls with the skin colour like chocolate and the smell of cinnamon dancing. Their mouths were on fire and they were shaking every part of their bodies. Their skin was shining and their meat was squeezed into their skin The young girls with chocolate colours and cinnamon smells were acting as if there was a party going on and they were dancing all the time. They had no sense of morality and were moving like snakes. Those who were dressed with lot of feathers were dancing as during eCarnival and they had kaleidoscopic eyes. Some were wearing cow hoofs and others were barking like dogs.” (pp. 38-39)

238

At this time the narrator confess to us that he is scared: “I can’t take this anymore. I am afraid. I am afraid to be left alone” (p. 39). But afterward he becomes more positive about his life and considers the death of his grandfather and the falling of rain to be a good sign, a celestial blessing that brings freshness and sustenance to his life. At the end of the story, we do not know how the future of the narrator will unfold and we are left with serious doubts about his interpretation of the past and present. Has this all happened or was it just something out of the imagination an insane child? Was this all a simulacrum constructed by his mind?

The encounter between the narrator and his shape-shifting mother brings to mind Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra’s *Works of Persiles and Sigismunda* where the Mauricio questions Rutilio’s story about a shape-shifter. David R. Castillo asserts about this that when:

“Mauricio claims that shape-shifters are the product of overactive imaginations and superstitions that have no grounding in reality. He ads that those men and women who appear to take on the shape and demeanor of fierce animals are simply suffering from a medical condition known as ‘*mania lupine*’.” (p. 28)

Alejandro’s monster-mother could, in the final anlysis, be a projection of himself. Jean Baudrillard says the following about the self as the other:

“Of all the prostheses that mark the history of the body, the double is doubtless the oldest. But the double is precisely not a prosthesis: it is an imaginary figure, which just like the soul, the shadow, the mirror image, haunts the subject like the other, which makes it so that the subject is simultaneously itself and never resembles itself again, which haunts the subject like a subtle and always averted death.” (p. 95)

In the end, it is impossible for the reader to determine if this story has any relation to actual events, or if it is pure fantasy. Belville declares that “[...] the Gothic functions to blur the distinctions that exist when oppositions such as these [reality vs. fantasy] are presented. Thus, the Gothic can be interpreted as an exploration of subjectivity; an epistemological investigation of the self and what the self can know” (p. 41).

There are many layers to the story and this, together with the unreliability of the narrator, makes the narrative multi-dimensional and multiply-interpretable: fiction worlds within a fiction world. This story of horror and confusion can be considered to be a construction that emerges from the head of the narrator as well as a deconstruction of his lived ‘reality’. Alejandro creates another world with its own demons, but those demons could be his and therefore firmly rooted in his particular place and time. Concerning place, the Aruba-like dry and windy island where the narrator, his family, and the demons reside, becomes an important character in this short story, with the sky, flora, fauna, and the land itself all seeming to collaborate with Alejandro’s demons.

239

REFERENCES

- Bakhtin, Mikhail (1968). *Rabelais and his world*. (Trans. Helene Iswolsky). Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press.
- Baudrillard, Jean (1994). *Simulacra and Simulation*. (Trans. Sheila Faria Glaser). Michigan: The University of Michigan Press.
- Beville, Maria (2009). *Gothic-postmodernism: voicing the terrors of postmodernity*. Amsterdam/New York: Rodopi.
- Brook-Rose, Christine (1981). *A rhetoric of the unreal: studies in narrative and structure, especially of the fantastic*. Cambridge etc.: Cambridge University Press.
- Calleja, Seve (2005). *Desdichados monstruos: la imagen deformante y grotesca de «el otro»*. Madrid: Ediciones de la Torre.
- Castillo, David R. (2012). *Baroque horrors: roots of the fantastic in the age of curiosities*. Michigan: The University of Michigan Press.

- Cervantes Saavedra, Miguel de (1617). *Los trabajos de Persiles y Segismunda*. Online at: <http://www.cervantesvirtual.com>
- Kristeva, Julia (1982, [1980]). *Powers of horror: an essay on abjection*. (Trans. Leon S. Roudiez). New York: Columbia University Press.
- McCarthy, John A. (2006). *Remapping reality: chaos and creativity in science and literature (Goethe, Nietzsche, Grass)*. Amsterdam/New York: Rodopi.
- Sheller, Mimi (2003). *Consuming the Caribbean: from Arawaks to zombies*. London/New York: Routledge.
- Todorov, Tzvetan (1975, [1970]). *The fantastic: a structural approach to the literary genre*. (Trans. Richard Howard). Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Tromp, Jossy (1998). *E biento di atardi y otro cuentanan Arubiano*. POD.

MICHAEL JOANNES ALEXIUS SCHABEL S.J. MISSIONARY ON CURAÇAO FROM 1704 TO 1713: A RARE ACCOUNT (1705) AND A DIARY (1701-1708)

WIM RUTGERS

UNIVERSITY OF CURAÇAO

In the local history of Curaçaoan language and literature, Father Michael Joannes Alexius Schabel S.J. has become known particularly for his remark on what most likely must be the Papiamentu language, which he characterized as broken Spanish. In the Dutch translation of an account written by Schabel in Latin in 1705 dealing with his experiences on Curaçao he writes: “most people speak Spanish or rather Creole, which is broken Spanish. One in every hundred speaks a different language but they speak Christian, which is Spanish according to the expression ‘*habla cristiano*’ (= speak Christian) and that is Spanish” (p. 94 of the manuscript).

Schabel probably did not have much appreciation for the people’s language, because he does not make any further reference to it. He preached in Spanish and at the request of residents of the island every now and then in “*Hollands*” (=Dutch) as he called the language of the Low Countries. In addition there was also a French speaking missionary on the island in his days. This gives us a good impression of the diversity in languages that existed on the island at the beginning of the 18th century.

241

In the recorded history of the Catholic Church, Schabel is known as the first priest of the Order of the Jesuits (*Societas Iesu* – S.J.) on Curaçao, the founder of what was to become a more or less regular mission to the island. In any case, he is an interesting and important person, whose fascinating story is punctuated by his unconventional behavior and ideas. Interest in Schabel has been stimulated in particular by the two written documents that he penned, which give a clear and detailed insight into life in the colony at the beginning of the 18th century. From Schabel’s hand, we have a ‘*notitia*’ [report] and a ‘*diurnum*’ [diary] both well preserved and written in Latin. Both are of interest for the information that they provide concerning the social-economic historiography of the island at the beginning of the 18th century. The importance of these documents becomes all the more apparent when we consider that personally written records related to the history of the mission are very rare, since such material was normally destroyed with the objective of not burdening the Order

with negative publicity (Castro Roldán, 2008: 335). For all of these reasons, both in Curaçao and abroad, a long tradition of articles exists about this captivating and at the same time controversial figure, dating back from the beginning of the 20th century.

Schabel was a missionary in South America as well as in Curaçao. The parts of his writings that concern South America (report 1-51; 59-68; 109-112) were published in 1943, 1944, and 1965 and in Spanish in 1970 (Schunck, 1997: 159-160). J. del Rey Fajardo (1974) wrote about the Jesuits in Venezuela (Schunck, 1997: 90), and in Schabel's native Bohemia many studies have been conducted that concern the priest and his Order. His writings with respect to the Dutch Leeward Islands are treated in van Nieuwenhoff who deserves to be called the initiator of Schabel studies (1907), by Father Euwens (1912, 1931, 1938), by Father Brada through his elaborate narrative and romanticizing work centered around Schabel (1965), by Christine W.M. Schunck who studied the sources in the archives (1997), by Armando Lampe (2001) and by Castro Roldán (2008).

Translation from Latin into Dutch

The contribution to Schabel studies made by Christine W.M. Schunck of 1997 is not only the most elaborate, but also the most dependable. She explains in her preface in English that she based her facts on conscientious archival research and in addition published the complete original Latin text – as far as it concerned the ABC islands – and did so in Rome. Father J. Visker translated this text into Dutch in cooperation with Father Antoon Stikvoort and offered the translation for publication to Maritza Coomans-Eustatia and Dr. Henny Coomans. Due to the passing away of both Maritza Coomans-Eustatia in 2002 and Henny Coomans in 2010, this did not materialize. However the text is of such importance that it deserves to be published in its entirety, in spite of the fact that part of the contents has been included in work by Father M.L. (Latour) and in Father Brada's publication *Father Schabel S.J.*, in which that author relates much about the missionary in his own words in Dutch.

Turbulent Times

Schabel was on Curaçao during the War of Spanish Succession (1702-1713/1714) which was also a war about colonial influence and possessions. His report, but especially his diary, depicts images of the involvement of the colony in a war that was devastating Europe. Schabel thus found himself on this island at such a crucial moment in the history of Curaçao, of the Seven Provinces and of Europe. The colonies often became the willy-nilly victims of internal European wars and feuds. This was also the case in the War of Spanish Succession in which the Republic of the Seven Provinces and England found themselves allied with Habsburg Austria against Bourbon France and Spain. This was also a period in which the islands of the Caribbean were increasingly suffering from privateering and piracy, as was the case

when the French Admiral Jacques du Cassard raided the Dutch Caribbean islands of St. Eustatius and Curaçao. European hostilities came to an end with the Peace of Utrecht on April 11, 1713 and once more in 1714. The War of Spanish Succession had serious repercussions for the islands, not only because of economic losses through pillaging and looting, but also in the form of the Dutch-Spanish Peace Treaty of 1714, in which Spain declared the Dutch Caribbean islands (as had been done once before at the end of the Eighty Years' War) to be the undisputed territory of the Republic. The Peace of Utrecht also meant the end of Dutch dominance of the gruesome slave trade from West Africa to the Americas in which Curaçao in its function as a slave trading post was an important and pivotal hub.

Life: the well-known unknown

Historic research has revealed much, but unfortunately not everything about Schabel's life and work. He could be called the known unknown. The short survey that follows is mainly based on Schunck's findings (1997: 91). Michael Joannes Alexius Schabel was born on July the 17th – the name day of St. Alexius – in 1663 or in 1664 in Chomutov at the foot of the Ore Mountains of what today is the Czech Republic, but which in those times was the politically unstable region of Bohemia, where the aftermath of the Thirty Years War (1618-1648) was still being strongly felt.

In 1680 he was ordained into the Jesuit Society after which he was sent out in 1695 at his own repeated request as a missionary to the South American Indians in New-Granada, which is now Venezuela, Ecuador and Colombia. Schunck (1997: 92-93) writes extensively about his repeated applications, about the missionaries and about the mission in South America. Schunck describes Schabel as a big brown-haired man. In 1695 he made his first ocean crossing, but not his last. In his report (p. 93) he observes that he undertook the return passage more than six times which means that he must have made the dangerous crossing about twelve times. Of three of these voyages there are no details known at all. Schabel worked after arrival in what is now Ecuador and the Venezuelan Llanos, where he had to learn the language of the Indians. When he left his native country he could speak German, Latin and a moderate amount of Czech. In South America he acquired Spanish and obviously also some of the local languages. What exactly he learned of these languages – and to what level – is not known. Being a missionary he had (must have had) a good ear for languages in order to reach the people, but he does not speak about that. On Curaçao he would have used Liturgical Latin when reading mass and he may have preached in Spanish or Dutch; in any case not in Papiamentu. Apparently it was not that necessary since all of his parishoners understood Spanish in those days. It does not seem probable that Schabel himself mastered Papiamentu in any substantial way.

In 1698 he suddenly left his mission post in Venezuelan Llanos for Europe accompanied by an Amerindian Cacique and a young Amerindian man bought as a

slave named Leopoldo. He did so without permission of his superiors, which, according to Castro Roldán (2008: 329-330; 347-348) was a serious offense – but less serious since it concerned a Jesuit and because he used a smuggling route. After a few days' stay on Curaçao he traveled on to Europe where he stayed until 1704. While in Europe, he visited many countries, including the Low Countries where he learned Dutch. He also availed himself of the opportunity to see his relatives in Bohemia.

Schabel continuously tried to return to his mission post. Finally Schabel – without any authorization from his superiors – left Amsterdam to go to Curaçao, via a long sojourn in Venezuela, in order to become the first Jesuit missionary on the island (Marcha, 2009: 22-31). He sent a diary to Rome about his voyage, but it never reached its destination, because the ship it was sent on was shipwrecked. In a letter to the Vicar-General Tamburini in Rome he reports that: “of two [letters] that I sent to you from this island I know that they got lost, because the ships fell into the hands of their enemies, and as I heard all the letters were jettisoned before they could be taken as booty” (Visker, 1994: 201). This was the reason why he sent a new report on April 11, 1705 from Curaçao accompanied by a letter (Schunck, 1997: 99) that was published in its entirety by Visker (1994: 201-202) in a Dutch translation.

Schabel landed on a very complicated island in 1704, with a rapidly developing free port and a diverse population. This is why Catholicism was tolerated among the ten thousand or so inhabitants of the island (Castro Roldán, 2008: 332) and was treated with feigned ignorance, provided it did not manifest itself too openly. Jacob Beck, the Governor from 1704 until 1709, was not hostile towards Catholicism from the perspective of tolerance in religious matters (Marcha, 2009: 25). This religious diversity was also promoted by the fact that missionaries preached obedience to the slaves towards the masters: “He then also recommended to me [the vice-governor] to advise the slaves to be obedient and faithful to their masters” (Diary: January 3rd).

In this context we encounter the remarkable intolerance of our Jesuit himself towards the Protestants whom he constantly referred to as heretics and towards the Jews whom he also despised. When the Chief Parnas died, his pen makes it clear: “Without any doubt they invoked all their holy martyrs put on the stake by the Inquisition to preserve the life of their synagogue leader. But they prayed in vain; he died and was buried with his (fellow) swine” (Diary: November 4). Schabel became infuriated when the protestant minister referred to the Roman Catholic veneration of relics in a condescending way during a dinner at the Governor's: “The preacher, who also sat at the dinner table, laughed about it, but as usual the stupid ox did not say a word. My heart and soul jumped inside my body and my blood was boiling in my veins to defend the honor of God, His Holy Mother and the Saints against this servant of the devil” (Report: 72).

To express it mildly Schabel had non-conformist personality. He travelled and went about as he saw fit. Among his superiors in charge – who kept a close check on him

via the Vicar-General Tamburini in Rome and Schabel's house-mate – a growing mistrust started to develop against Schabel's behavior and independent mind. For that reason he was called back in 1712 and finally left in 1713 for the Netherlands after the raid and pillaging of Curaçao by Jacques du Cassard on February 16 in 1713 (Schunck, 1997: 106).

Upon his return to Europe he was expelled from the Order on December 22nd in 1714. His expulsion was due, among other things, to his relationship with a female companion (Schunck, 1997:106; Castro Roldán, 2008: 340). In 1727 the names of the persons Catharina Isabella Schabel and Isabella Schabel appeared in the parish archives of the island. Were these the children of our Jesuit? (Castro Roldán, 2008: 340). Schabel had probably returned to the island in 1715, because his name is associated with the registration of a rented house in the Breedestraat in that same year and in 1716 with the purchase of a house. After that he disappeared in the deep darkness of history in such a way that no details of the rest of the life of the failed missionary are known to us, not even his date of death or the place where he was buried.

Report and Diary

The report and diary are still of interest today for a number of reasons. To historians they offer a view of life on the island, which even in those days was already multinational, multiracial and multilingual, with many details about the lifeways of its inhabitants. Because of their style Schabel's writings are also of literary-historical interest, and at times offer entertaining material for reading. Schabel alternates political and social- economic commentary about the colonial administration and the various groups resident on the island with very personal matters such as his ongoing quarrel with a fellow missionary, a sensational robbery and murder that kept the colony spellbound for a time, as well as geopolitic news such as the impact of the War of Spanish Succession. Remarkable throughout is his fierce rejection of slavery.

Priests as competitors

Father Schabel's pen had a fierce bite whenever he felt the need to defend himself. From his writing, the sharp competition between the priests working on the island becomes apparent. Schabel writes that the Fathers of the Capuchin Order missionaries had incurred hatred for themselves in the colony and he does not refrain from adding fuel to this fire, referring to them as: "Priests who are good-for-nothings, who are not worth a straw, a penny, a dime, a cent, half a cent, and to name it; they are downright worthless..." [Report: 54]. A little further on he scolds one of them, Victor de Dôle, who is his special target, because this French missionary had reached the island before him (which made him a competitor in his view) calling him an idiot, a blind man and a leader of blind people. Augustin Caisedo y Velasco, who would later be named

Apostolic Prefect of the Order of St. Augustine, caused trouble for the Jesuit. A fierce controversy existed between the various Spiritual Orders on the borderlands between their respective the mission areas. (Castro Roldán, 2008: 345-346). Victor de Dôle spoke French and did his mission work on the island without permission, which resulted in exile for him (Visker, 1994: 200-203). In spite of this, he kept trying to settle back on the island which resulted in an ever fiercer antagonism between the Jesuit and the Capuchin, which was finally settled to the advantage of the former (Castro Roldán, 2008: 342-345). Both the report and the diary contain an abundance of invective on the part of Schabel towards De Dôle (Schunck, 1997: 102-103).

Jews, and in particular Protestants (constantly referred to as heretics) also suffer under Schabel's pen. The latter will go 'ungreased and unoiled' as Schabel expresses it: "Linea recta, skipping purgatory, in which they don't believe, to their Calvinistic heaven situated in the cave of the moon, and where up to now no Calvinist has either been seen or found." As for the Protestant minister whom he calls a stupid ox and a servant of the devil: "What that preacher has as his best and worse asset is his tongue, with which he often blasts curses and maledictions against our Holy and only true Faith" [Report: 72].

While the Catholic mission was tolerated in the Protestant colony, it was not allowed to have church buildings: "Today, on the last day of the old year, I have today moved from my dwelling and to the amazement of the whole town I have occupied the rooms and the church of my generally well-known opponent; the Capuchin Father. What will he say when he learns that I have occupied his nest?" (December 31, 1707). "On New Year's Day 1708 I have read the first mass and preached for the first time in my new dwelling and church" (January 1, 1708). In the Protestant colony a Catholic priest could not walk in the streets wearing a cassock: "Should he ever appear in that way he would without any doubt have been pelted with stones as a monster by the Jews, heretics and their off-spring" [Report: 57]. A little later he writes that he would take his chances in such a case and run the risk of receiving a volley of stones in the tradition of the martyr Saint Stephanus [Report: 68]. In that perilous period the Father proved to be an outstanding networker, cementing relationships with the influential Catholic merchants whom he had befriended and who proved themselves to be faithful churchgoers, as well as with high officials such as the Governor at whose residence he was a regular visitor. This is where he was treated to various novelties that were in fashion such as 'Turkish Coffee' [Report: 70; 79) and a 'Chinese Weed' (they call it Thé =tea) [Report: 84]. He was allowed without impediment to baptize as Catholics those who requested such, both free persons and slaves, as he relates in his dairy almost weekly or not daily: "I will add that I particularly liked the setting of the baptism ceremony because of the diversity of the persons. Because the father and mother present at the baptism were light yellow and light brown, the child almost white; the godmother Antonia black, being Ethiopian and the godfather an

Amerindian, called Salvador, being the servant of my guest, a Dominican Father. If there is one thing in the world that I like, it is diversity and that is what I often encounter at baptisms” (Diary: November 7, 1707).

The language situation

The language situation on the island was complicated at the beginning of the 18th century. Implicitly, the Diary and the Report offer a snapshot of this diversity. The missionary makes mention of the local vernacular [Papiamentu], but he himself preached almost invariably in Spanish, except for a few times upon request in Dutch. Among the European descended population, Catholicism and Protestantism were practiced by persons from all walks of life and neither were associated with certain classes. The black population however was Catholic. In addition there was Victor de Dôle who preached in French! The Jews had their own language, Portuguese and the Protestants had Dutch. Schabel had learned Dutch when he stayed in the Low Countries from 1699 to 1704, which enabled him to also preach in Dutch and according to his Diary at the request of many: “On New Year’s Day, 1708 I have read the first mass and preached for the first time in my new dwelling and church. I preached for those who master Dutch” (Diary: January 1, 1708). About the knowledge of languages of his opponent, Father Victor de Dôle, Schabel, notes mockingly: “He also does not know any other language but French. Spanish is moderate, but barbarian and very bad. He preaches in the ‘boom-bam style’; everybody takes out of it and understands what one is able to, as many Catholics have told me who understand Spanish or who don’t” [Report: 58].

In Schabel’s days, in the beginning of the 18th century there were still a number of Amerindians living on the island: “About them I have been told that there are two locations on the island that have an Indian settling or a village. It is said that they claim to be Catholics. But as I heard they are only Catholics in name, nothing further. Little wonder! They are sheep without a shepherd. This vineyard of the Lord has been devoid of an Amerindian priest-vineyardkeeper” (Report: 113). A remarkable and isolated announcement is the one in his diary of January 20, 1708: “A brigantine has set sail with eight chests of books in order to deliver these finally from here to there to the Archbishop of the island of Santo Domingo that is Hispaniola.” These will probably have been books in Spanish or Latin.

It was not until a few decades later, around 1739, that Father Dominicus Dujardin applied himself “seriously and diligently to the study of the idioms of negroes and mulattoes” (Smeulders, 1987: 29). Through his oratorical talents he was able to attract many believers to his mass: “He learned the language quickly and because of his eloquence he attracted so many listeners that many of them, both Catholics and non-Catholics, were won for the Catholic church” (Marcha, 2009: 30).

Slavery

Schabel wrote in disapproving terms about slavery. This makes him probably the first priest on Curaçao who acted against this inhuman system. In his diary he writes on October 31, 1707 about a slave ship with 430 slaves on board. “Approximately one hundred and fifty have died during the voyage at sea. Undoubtedly without being baptized. How to mourn those precious souls now? These and similar matters ask for the wrath of the just Lord. Because, as the experience teaches us, no blessings rest, no fixed profit rests on those ships of human merchandise and human kidnapping. (.....) They have begun to sell off the newly arrived slaves as cattle. How unfortunate a human race, only because they are dark-skinned.” (Diary: October 31, 1707). In addition, he offers a view from the inside that reflects the complexity that had already come to characterize the slave system: “there are Ethiopian slaves who have earned money by their labor and efforts and who have bought slaves themselves. The same goes *a fortiori* for the free Ethiopians who have received their freedom from their masters or bought it with their money” (Diary: January 15, 1708).

The attitude of Schabel with regard to slavery on the island becomes abundantly clear during the course of a dispute which is extensively outlined in the Report between the proponents of the practice of slavery and the juxtaposed counter-plea of the missionary. It is furthermore striking that in the various commentaries on the life and work of Schabel, where quite a number of different topics related to his life and times have been so extensively elaborated upon, relatively little has been said concerning the slavery of his day and what Schabel wrote about that issue.

Murder and robbery

In his account Schabel reports in detail on a sensational robbery. “Two Portuguese and two Jews (husband and wife) have poisoned a Spaniard who was a guest in their home, and robbed him of 224,000 ‘patacones’ in Spanish money, gold, jewels and precious stones”, thus a comprehensive report by Schabel on a robbery begins, which he describes in such a graphic way that there is sufficient material for a detective novel or cinematic thriller in it. Years later, an account of this sequence of events was printed in the Amigoe newspaper on the 15th, 18th and 23rd of September of 1937 by Father M. L (Latour) in serialized installments from the original source under the title ‘The mysterious murder’. Schabel’s original, however, is much more interesting due to the stylistic gifts of the author and to his creative narrative twists, in which he does not fail to allot an important role to himself in solving the crime. In the small insular community of Curaçao, the facts were quickly known, and through the “descendants of the Patriarchs and Prophets” – the Jews – the incident was quickly spreading ‘as the talk of the town’ [Report: 78]. After the testimony of a slave and the torture of the suspects full confessions were obtained.

Espionage?

Schabel's stay on the island was not without problems. He spoke his mind, but he also raised suspicion by traveling to Venezuela in times of war and for this reason his name is mentioned in connection with possible espionage activities, which have never been proven. The studies of Schunck (1997) and especially Castro Roldán (2008) have brought forward arguments to evaluate Schabel's position. In his diary Schabel pays much attention to maritime traffic. In 1708 he moved to a dwelling at the portside from which he had a splendid lookout point to keep track of ship movements. Was that because of his interest in trade or was it politically motivated? The Father wanted to bring Bohemian glassware to the colony to sell through J. van der Meulen, a Rotterdam friend and partner. Might that perhaps be the alibi for the suspicious activities of the Father, as Castro Roldán (2008: 335-337) assumes?

What notes did Schabel send to Caracas or to Amsterdam? Why did influential friends protect the priest, even though he had evidently displayed insubordination by arbitrary and headstrong actions such as travelling without leave? Schabel left his mission post twice in a covert way. The annotator assumes (note 4) in the Report that it is so because of espionage, when it is noted that: "In Caracas Schabel was considered to be a British spy and he fled from Caracas along the coast to the port of Porto Cabello. There he found three ships to Curaçao, including that of Joannes Palmito. After three days of rest, he boarded the ship on August 3, 1698." However, this note is incorrect in this detail, because Schabel undertook this escape route in 1704, when he secretly left his South American mission area for the second time (Schunck, 1997: 100). He himself wrote about this in his report on page 68: "Along that route I have, after a break of three days, following a very difficult journey, arrived on the island of Coracao (Curaçao) through a highly favorable sea voyage of twenty-three hours, with the wind (called 'Brissa' by the Spaniards) always from behind. The captain of the ship was called Joannes Palmito. I knew him well and we were good friends. With this Joannes, with this palm, I have crossed the sea just like the Jordan, without hurting my feet, in the glory of God, real fast and in a particularly favorable manner."

Troubled times

Schabel stayed on Curaçao during troubled times. An old rhyme: "Those that cannot pray / Let them be seafarers, so they may / That will teach them how to pray" [Report: 93] expresses his dangerous ocean voyage during wartime. Father Schabel regularly heard the confessions of sailors who were about to set sail, for "seafarers are counted among the dying" [Report: 93]. These were the years of the War of Spanish Succession (1702-1713) which did not only cause much unrest and malaise in Europe, but also in the Caribbean. Out of seven ships that sailed in October 1705 for example, only four arrived safely in Amsterdam, because "three large and richly laden ships were intercepted by French privateers and taken in tow as prizes" [Report: 120].

On the island itself, a militia was formed: “There is no distinction between Greek and Jew, Christian and non-Christian. The citizen soldiers are a mix of almost all religions, nations and languages. There were 350 of them” (Diary: December 13, 1707). As a precaution, the port was closed off for three weeks. The militia sponsored: “Military exercise for our young citizens. Those who do not join have to pay a fine of three reals. Every week on Monday and Thursday this exercise must be held and each person pays one real to the instructor” (January 19, 1708). A few years later, Jacques du Cassard pillaged the island in 1713, for which each citizen was levied, including Schabel, who paid no more than sixty pesos. This was, however, a considerable sum for someone who always had more debts than possessions.

In the War of Spanish Succession, provoked by the death of Charles II in 1700 and the subsequent threat of the consolidation of the Spanish and French monarchies under the Bourbons (Castro Roldán, 2008: 332), France and Spain were aligned against Austria, England and the United Provinces. Being a citizen of Austrian Habsburg ruled Bohemia, Schabel was suspect in Spanish eyes (Schunck, 1997: 97-98, 100; Castro Roldán, 2008: 332). This made Schabel an unwanted person in Hispanic areas, including his old mission area in Venezuela. He had to leave Venezuela secretly, after which he was sheltered on Curaçao by the leading Catholic merchant Joannes Moyart. Hailing from Bohemia, Schabel was of course on the right side of the political alliance in Curaçao. In his diary he identifies himself strongly with the island, among other things by speaking in the first person plural form ‘we’.

Schabel found himself not only in a precarious political situation but also had constant personal financial problems because he had run – partially owing to dubious commercial activities – up quite a few debts in his various places of residence, such as Venezuela, Spain, the Netherlands and Curaçao (Schunck, 1997: 105). The fact that he got off relatively easily with his unauthorized travels and his considerable debts, also makes Schabel suspect. Schunck (1997: 108) concludes that it is certain that Schabel was not only suspected but actually officially accused of spying, but this was never proven (Castro Roldán (2008: 331).

Adventurer or pastor?

In the report, Schabel the pastor has the final word over Schabel the adventurer. He relates that he was once asked to calm an insane person and people believe that he – just like Christ – drove the devil out of him: “In the Holy Scripture and the Gospels we read that He has done such things and from the possessed He has exorcised the devil.” The report then continues on a note of humorous self-deprecation, with regard to the minority position of Catholics on the Protestant island. “But should I, unworthy sinner, have contributed to this happening, it would it not be surprising, (...) for four horns can always achieve more than two. Since you, ministers, pastors and preachers, always paint us Jesuits, with four horns because of the square bonnets that we have in

our heads, while the poor devil is always pictured with only one or two horns.” Following this, Schabel switches back to a more somber tone, uttering the following words at the conclusion of his report: “That answer was received with laughter and applause. But I mixed laughter with tears. Because I regretted from the bottom of my heart, from the depths of my soul, that I could not drive the Calvinist, Lutheran and Jewish devil from their spirits and souls. If that were to happen then I would just laugh in my sleeve, applaud myself and say God be thanked.”

NOTES:

1. Father Euwens and Schabel’s Diary

In the early 20th century Schabel’s manuscript was in Exaten in the Dutch province of Limburg, where J. B. van Meurs was keeper of the archives. Van Nieuwenhoff (1907) based his study on the Jesuits in Curaçao, among other things, on Schabel’s report and diary. He sent a copy of the diary to Father P.A. Euwens in Curaçao (Central Historical Archive, collection Eustatia). Father P. A. Euwens wrote a preface for the copy of the *Diary of Father Schabel S.J.*, accompanied by no less than 208 notes that mostly refer to the Dutch translation (Schunck, 1997: 159).

2. The Diary of Father Schabel S.J.

This diary rests in manuscript *in originale* in the monastery of the Jesuit Fathers in Exaten near Baaksem (Limburg). Through the intervention of the late Father Nieuwenhoff S.J. at The Hague and the late Father J. B. van Meurs S.J. in Exaten, I received an attached facsimile print (photograms) of this manuscript. This technique of photographing manuscripts is frequently used in the Vatican library. The manuscript is placed in strong light on a flat surface that makes a square angle with the lens of the camera. The image is caught in a prism on its slanted side, thus coming into the camera objective-positive, i.e. not in a mirrored image. There it is caught on light-sensitive paper which, when developed and fixed, displays the handwriting in white against a black background. The manuscript, as it exists now, is incomplete. The first four pages are missing and it ends with page 36 where it has not yet reached its conclusion. It is likely that at least the final 4 pages are also missing. There could be even more missing pages, if by chance this part originally formed a set of pages in a larger book. The manuscript as it is now runs from October 21, 1707 to February 4, 1708.

For more information about this first missionary of the Jesuits to Curaçao – who is so to speak the founder of the Catholic Mission on our island during the administration of the West India Company – the reader is referred to the article of Father W. Van Nieuwenhoff S.J.: *Privileged priests in Curaçao from 1701 to 1741* in the *Studiën*, Volume 39, Part 68, pg. 56 onward, (1906), to the more detailed work in the archives

of the Apostolic Vicariate of Curaçao, to *The History of the Catholic Mission of Curaçao*. (P. A. Euwens O. P. 1912) and to *The State of Religion on Curaçao from 1634 to 1743. The Historical Journal* .Volume 1930-1931, p. 317-337, p. 103-125]

3. The translation of the ‘*Notitia*’ and the ‘*Diurnum*’ into Dutch

The Dutch translation of the ‘*Notitia*’ and ‘*Diurnum*’ was made by Father Jaime Koos Visker [deceased 2001]. Father Antoon Stikvoort continued the work that Visker transferred to him (Letter to Severing, November 11, 2010). The typescript was handed in 2002 to Dr. H. E. Coomans, and after another rechecking, some additional comments and improvements were made by Antoon Stikvoort in 2005.

4. Acknowledgements, a word of thanks

This introduction is based on data predominantly from P.A. Euwens, Father Menno Brada, Christine Schunck and André Castro Roldán, which I have gratefully used to my advantage.

REFERENCES

- Brada, Willebrordus M. J., O.P. [1965]. *Pater Schabel S.J. 1704-1713*. Curaçao: [s.n.].
- Castro Roldán, Andrés (2008). Un jesuita en los límites de la religión: Joannes Alexius Schabel y la misión de Curazao (1698-1715). *Fronteras de la Historia*, 13, 2, 327-352.
- Euwens, P.A., O.P. (1912). *Dagboek van Pater Schabel*. [s.l.]: [s.n.]
- Euwens, P.A., O.P. (1931). Godsdienstige toestand van Curaçao in de eerste eeuw (1634-1742) van het Hollandsch Bestuur. *Historisch Tijdschrift*, X, 103-126.
- Euwens, P.A., O.P. (1938). Godsdienstige toestand op Curaçao. De katholieke missie van Curaçao onder de Paters Jezuïeten (1) 1704-1713. Pater M.A. Schabel S.J. *Amigoe*, July 9.
- Lampe, Armando (2001). *Mission or submission?: Moravian and Catholic missionaries in the Dutch Caribbean during the 19th century*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- L[atour], M. (1937). De geheimzinnige moord. Historische gebeurtenis op Curaçao in de eerste jaren van de 18^e eeuw. *Amigoe*, September 15, 18, 23.
- Marcha, Valdemar (Ed.) (2009). Gods wijngaard in de West: de grondvesting, ontwikkeling en groei van het missiewerk van de Nederlandse missionarissen op de eilanden van de Nederlandse Antillen en Aruba. Amsterdam: Carib Publishing.
- Onrust, Ger Jan (1998). Alexius Schabel, een avontuurlijke missionaris. *Amigoe* February 25.
- Schunck, Christine W.M. (1990). In In Henny E. Coomans, Michael A. Newton & Maritza Coomans-Eustatia (Eds.), *Building up the future from the past: Studies*

- on the architecture and historic monuments in the Dutch Caribbean* (p. 134). Zutphen: Walburg Pers.
- Schunck, Christine W.M (1997). Michael Joannes Alexius Schabel S.J. ‘Notitia de Coraçon, Bonayre, Oruba, 1705’ and ‘Diurnum (1707-1708)’. *Archivum Historicum Societas Iesu*, LXVI, 89-162.
- Smeulders, Toos F. (1987). *Papiamentu en onderwijs: veranderingen in beeld en betekenis van de volkstaal op Curaçao*. PhD dissertation, Utrecht University.
- Van Nieuwenhoff, W. (1907). Geprivilegieerde priesters op Curaçao van 1701-41. *Studiën*, 39, 68, 56-76.
- Visker, J, O.P. (1994). Een op Curaçao geschreven brief van Michaël Alexius Schabel S.J. uit 1705. In Maritza Coomans-Eustatia (Ed.), *De horen en zijn echo* (pp. 200-203). Amsterdam: Zoölogisch Museum Amsterdam.

LAAT MIJ JE MIJN LAND LATEN ZIEN: DE TOERISTENBLIK IN TEKSTEN UIT DE VOORMALIG- NEDERLANDSE WEST

MICHIEL VAN KEMPEN

UNIVERSITEIT VAN AMSTERDAM

Een terugkerend debat onder schrijvers uit de (voormalige) Nederlandse West (Suriname en de voormalige Nederlandse Antillen) betreft de vraag of je een tekst wel of niet zou mogen toelichten voor buitenstaanders. Deze problematiek lijkt op het eerste gezicht nationalistisch, puur lokaal, en misschien zelfs enigszins benepen van aard. Hoe dan ook, ze is wel karakteristiek voor het literaire debat in dekoloniserende naties. Immers: of men tekstplaatsen die voor buitenstaanders duister zijn wil verhelderen middels parafrases, voetnoten of toevoegingen tussen haakjes is een problematiek die zich in de zogenaamde ‘culturele metropolen’ zelden of nooit stelt. Het probleem weerspiegelt een historisch-culturele en economische realiteit. Lezers in voormalige koloniën zijn school gegaan binnen een onderwijsstelsel dat gegroeid is vanuit een koloniaal systeem en waarin de taal van de voormalige koloniale metropool domineert. Tot voor heel kort was het gehele culturele leven georiënteerd op het zogenaamde ‘moederland’, en nog altijd kijken velen met een scheef oog naar dat moederland. Daarenboven is het voor schrijvers die een serieuze literaire carrière willen opbouwen vaak levensnoodzakelijk om zich te conformeren aan wat de uitgeverijen in het moederland acceptabel achten voor hun kooppubliek. Het debat over de literaire vorm is in voormalige koloniën dus veelal een debat dat gehypothekeerd is door deze omstandigheden. Maar dit is nog maar het begin.

255

Toerisme is een verschijnsel dat altijd gelieerd wordt aan de moderne tijd. ‘Moderniteit’ refereert dan aan de nieuwe organisatie van het sociale leven in Europa, die omstreeks de zeventiende eeuw in zwang kwam en geleidelijk wereldwijd aan invloed won.¹ In de eeuw van Ratio en Verlichting begint de mens de natuur niet langer te zien als angstaanjagend en bedreigend, maar als beheersbaar. In de late Verlichting is de mens die in de wildernis leeft niet langer primitief, maar nobel,

¹ Over het uiterste complexe begrip moderniteit en ook post-moderniteit zie men bijvoorbeeld Giddens, 1990 en 1991. Voor deze passage zie men vooral Van Egmond, 2006: 25-50. De tekst van deze bijdrage is een verkorte, omgewerkte en op sommige punten aangevulde versie van mijn in het Nederlands verschenen inaugurele rede: Van Kempen, 2007.

benaderbaar en authentiek. De individuele consument die tijdens de Romantiek op zoek gaat naar emotionele prikkels, vindt in het exotische een bron van esthetiek en spiritualiteit. De mens trekt eropuit, het reisverslag wordt een populair genre. De wereld van de ander wordt in kaart gebracht in beschrijvingen van landen en volkeren en daarmee herdefinieert de mens ook de eigen identiteit.² Het begrip toerisme krijgt zijn vroegste invulling in de zeventiende, de achttiende en de eerste helft van de negentiende eeuw, bizar genoeg dus in dezelfde tijd dat honderdduizenden Afrikanen gedwongen ‘op reis worden gestuurd’ naar de Nieuwe Wereld.

Maar als de westerling zichzelf herdefinieert in het contact met andere culturen, dan is het logische complement van deze beweging dat ook de ander daarmee verandert: de aanwezigheid van de westerling brengt wat teweeg in het hoofd van de ander. Cultuurcontact werkt altijd twee kanten op. Mij intrigeert die andere kant; niet de westerse toerist, zijn motieven om eropuit te trekken en zichzelf te herdefiniëren, maar wat er aan die andere zijde gebeurde.³

In zijn dichtbundel *Bar poeroe* (1970; Schreeuw) nam R. Dobru, de onder Surinamers nog altijd bekendste dichter, dit vers op als openingsgedicht:

loop met mij mee
laat mij je mijn land laten zien
wide-screen technicolor
het is een land van prachtige kleuren
heerlijke geuren
een land van de zon
goed dan
het is een land van ergerlijke wantoestanden
afgeleefde banden
met een vergeeld verleden
een vuilnishoop
ik houd ervan⁴

² Zelf-identiteit is overigens geen statisch begrip dat opgebouwd kan worden uit een reeks karakteristieken, maar een reflexief, voortdurend project, of in de woorden van Giddens: ‘A person’s identity is not to be found in behaviour, nor – important though this is – in the reactions of others, but in the capacity to keep a particular narrative going. The individual’s biography, if she is to maintain regular interaction with others in the day-to-day world, can not be wholly fictive. It must continually integrate events which occur in the external world, and sort them into the ongoing “story” about the self.’ (Gibbens, 1991: 54) Identiteit en zelf-identiteit hebben een gefragmenteerd karakter, dat slechts voor een deel wordt bepaald door de ‘plaats’ (verg. ook Fokkema, 2003). Voor een reflectie op de begrippen ‘thuis’ en ‘thuisloosheid’ zie Buikema, 2005.

³ Ook langs deze weg probeer ik dus, zoals eerder in mijn Surinaamse literatuurgeschiedenis (Van Kempen, 2003), invulling te geven aan wat Jack Corzani *recentrage* heeft genoemd: ‘Recentrer, c’est donc avant tout puiser dans l’antillanité les principes de l’analyse, c’est reconstituer le processus de la création *de l’intérieur*, ce n’est plus seulement observer (même si ce l’est encore), c’est revivre et faire revivre.’ (Corzani, 1985: 62) Het zal duidelijk zijn dat mijn aandacht hier niet uitgaat naar toerisme als sociaal-economisch verschijnsel en de dilemma’s die daaruit voortvloeien, zoals door bijvoorbeeld door Oostindie, 1994: 29-31 aan de orde gesteld.

⁴ Dobru, 1970: 6. In de verzamelbundel *Boodschappen uit de zon* verscheen een licht herziene versie, die hier geciteerd is (Dobru, 1982: 21). Over Dobru: Abrahams, 2011.

Het is een merkwaardige tekst met die abrupte overgang van een technicolor toeristenbestemming naar een beeld van een corrupt en armoedig land en tenslotte de al even abrupte liefdesbetuiging in de slotregel. Door het elementaire contrast tussen twee manieren om naar het land te kijken zal het gedicht weinig interpretatieproblemen geven. Waar het mij om gaat is dat dit gedicht iets laat zien dat karakteristiek mag heten voor tal van teksten uit de Nederlandse West. De ik-figuur – laten we gemakshalve maar zeggen: Dobru – stelt zich al direct vanaf het begin op als een gids. Dat betekent in dit geval dat er expliciet sprake is van een rondleiding. Wie is de aangesproken jij-figuur? Een toerist, een nieuwsgierige reiziger van het soort dat ook de andere kant van de blinkende medaille wil zien. Dobru laat de toeschouwer ook geen keuze; hij toont die andere kant. Het ligt in de vooronderstelling dat het een westerling is die wordt rondgeleid, mogelijk een Hollander die een spiegel wordt voorgehouden: wanneer Dobru spreekt over ‘afgeleefde banden’ geeft hij in het Nederlands een ambigu woord: hij lijkt eerst en vooral te duiden op de uitgewoonde koninkrijksrelatie, maar verwijst tevens naar autobanden zonder profiel, die nodig *gerecapt* moeten worden. Ook met het ‘vergeeld verleden’ houdt Dobru de Hollander een spiegel voor. Toch kan niet helemaal worden uitgesloten dat hij zich tegelijkertijd richt tot zijn landgenoten die weinig waardering voor het eigene kunnen opbrengen en die zich nog niet bewust zijn van het doodlopende historische traject van het eigen land.

Dat de verhouding van kolonie tot moederland zwaar doorweegt in de rondleiding die Dobru geeft, moge duidelijk zijn. Kern is dat een buitenstaander iets uitgelegd moet worden. Dat is precies wat er in veel teksten uit en over de Nederlandse West gebeurt. Impliciet of expliciet zijn teksten gedurende eeuwen gemarkeerd geweest door de dualiteit van gids en gegidste, *insideren outsider*, kijker en bekeken, hier en daar – vaak een polariteit tegen wil en dank. Anders dan in literaturen uit niet-gekoloniseerde landen is in het bewustzijn van schrijvers en dichters uit voormalige koloniën die afstand bijna altijd aanwezig, als thema of in de wijze van vertellen en focaliseren.

De positie van veel Caraïbische schrijvers is dan ook lange tijd die van reisleader geweest. En wie goed wil rondleiden moet weet hebben van de manier waarop de toerist de werkelijkheid bekijkt en moet wel anticiperen op de perceptie van de ander. De toeristengids verklaart, legt zaken uit die voor de niet-toerist geen uitleg behoeven, toont dingen waar de autochtoon niet eens bij stilstaat. De gids stelt zich in dienst van de toerist. De volwassenwording van de Caraïbische literatuur is dan ook vooral geweest een geschiedenis van de verdrijving van de toerist uit het bewustzijn.⁵ Loop

⁵Geïmpliceerd in deze problematiek is natuurlijk ook het vraagstuk in hoeverre het mogelijk is om twee werelden bij elkaar te brengen. Literatuur is communicatie, maar welke valkuilen zitten er verborgen in de literatuur van de Caraïben voor de niet-Caraïbische lezer? Waarom gaapt er zo vaak een kloof tussen de Surinaamse, Antilliaanse of Arubaanse schrijver en de Nederlandse lezer? Hoe komen we die kloof over, en is dat überhaupt wel mogelijk? Over deze problematiek van het cultuurcontact binnen de Caraïbische context

met mij mee, ik wil u laten zien hoe dat heeft gewerkt door de eeuwen heen. Ik neem enkele teksten waarin de toeristenblik zichtbaar wordt, plaatsen waar de spanning tussen eigen en andermans blik aan de oppervlakte komt.

Aan het einde van de 18^{de} eeuw was er van een autochtone geschreven literatuur in de Nederlandse West nog geen sprake. Het was de tijd dat Edward Luther Low op Sint-Eustatius een drukkerij en boekhandel dreef en met een Engelstalige krant uitkwam, *The Sint-Eustatius Gazette*, waarin hij ‘riddles’ publiceerde: de oudst gepubliceerde Antilliaanse poëzie. Het was de tijd dat in Paramaribo enkele van de oudste kranten van de Nieuwe Wereld werden gedrukt en dat er een heus dichtgenootschap floreerde, de Surinaamsche Lettervrienden.⁶ In deze tijd, om precies te zijn in 1787, verscheen er in Parijs bij de librairie Buisson een opmerkelijk boek, dat nu compleet in de vergetelheid is geraakt, en dat ik in grote lijnen zal samenvatten, omdat maar zeer weinigen het ooit onder ogen hebben gehad.⁷

Is het een geluk om mooi te zijn? Met deze vraag opent de ik-vertelster, Cécile, het relaas *Histoire d'une franco-indienne; écrite par elle-même*. In twee delen, tezamen 338 pagina's, doet zij het verhaal van haar leven – overigens een fictionele ‘zij’: de roman verscheen weliswaar anoniem, maar is van de hand van Pierre Jean Baptiste Nougaret. Na allerlei amoureuze ontwikkelingen, die wel interessant zijn maar niet voor dit betoog, komt Cécile terecht in de barbarij van schurken en bordelen in Amsterdam. Samen met haar geliefde weet zij te ontkomen op een schip naar de kolonie Suriname.

Suriname wordt op dat moment bestuurd door een Franse gouverneur; vermoedelijk speelt het verhaal zich dus af in de jaren 1772-1783, ten tijde van gouverneur Bernard Texier. Het land is zowat het paradijs op aarde, beschaafd en gastvrij, behalve... voor de slaven: ‘L’air qu’on y respire, la fécondité, la richesse de la nature, une sorte d’aisance & de liberté dont on ne peut se faire d’idée, & qui semble replacer l’homme dans ces premiers siècles de loyauté, où la candeur & la bonne foi servoient de règle & entretenoient l’union & l’harmonie, [...] Je n’y connois de malheureux que la condition de ces infortunés dont l’intérêt trafique & négocie chaque jour l’existence, & qui paient de leur sueur, de leur liberté, & souvent de leur vie, l’opulence & le faste dont je viens de parler.’ (I, 97-98)

Cécile brengt mooie weken door op de plantage Alkmaar, tot zij wordt ontvoerd door twee ontvluchte slaven die bang zijn dat zij hen zal verraden. De twee mannen strijden

schreef ik enkele opstellen: Van Kempen, 1990, 2004 en 2007. Specifieker met betrekking tot de morele actualiteit van het koloniale verleden is de inspirerende oratie van Paasman (2002).

⁶ Zie over de vroegste literaire voortbrengselen van de Antillen: Rutgers, 1988: 13-18, Rutgers, 1994: 63-87 en Rutgers, 1996: 41-70; over de vroegste literaire activiteiten in Suriname: Van Kempen, 2002a, III: 9-122 en Van Kempen, 2003, I: 217-295.

⁷ Exemplaren van de uitgave bevinden zich in de bibliotheek van het Château d’Oron nabij het Zwitserse Lausanne en in de Bibliothèque Nationale in Parijs. Ik dank Carl Haarnack dat hij mij op deze tekst wees.

op leven en dood wie haar tot vrouw mag nemen. De sterkste, Sipparipabo, wint. Na de overtocht uit Afrika is hij van zijn geliefde gescheiden in het slavendepot op Sint-Eustatius. Cécile heeft geen keuze, ze schikt zich in de situatie en gaandeweg hecht zij zich aan hem, hij verkrijgt alle rechten van een echtgenoot en een zoon wordt geboren. Op een kwade dag verdwijnt Sipparipabo. Hij wordt in ketenen teruggebracht door een Europese patrouille. Cécile weet echter met man en zoontje te ontkomen, maar aan de avances van de patrouilleleider houdt ze wel een dochtertje over.

Diep in het binnenland stuiten zij op een indianenvolk dat rechtstreeks van de Inca's afstamt en dat ver weg van de Atlantische kusten zijn toevlucht heeft gezocht. Ze horen dat van een tolk die nog gewerkt heeft voor de Franse ontdekkingsreiziger La Condamine. Het volk is zo bedrogen door de conquistadores, dat het heeft gezworen iedereen om te brengen die niet van het eigen bloed is. Het stamhoofd, de Cacique, meent echter in Cécile zijn verloren dochter te herkennen en ziet haar als zijn opvolgster. Zij ondergaat een reeks beproevingen en krijgt een Inca-echtgenoot toegewezen. Zij valt in ongenade als ze weigert een van haar twee kinderen aan de goden te offeren. Na de dood van de Cacique weet zij met Sipparipabo en haar zoon te vluchten, maar zij wordt met afgrijzen vervuld als zij merkt dat zij het afgehakte hoofd van de Cacique hebben meegenomen. Daarop doodt Sipparipabo zijn zoon en berooft zichzelf van het leven, 'Sipparipabo tourna sur moi ses yeux étincelants de désespoir & de fureur.' (II, 171)

259

Dit einde bezit elementen van twee van de beruchtste horrorverhalen uit de wereldliteratuur: de Judith & Holofernes-mythe en Joseph Conrads *Heart of darkness* (1899). Het verhaal bezit zoveel waarheidsgetrouwe elementen dat het niet onwaarschijnlijk is dat minstens delen ervan werkelijk gebeurd kunnen zijn, en zo niet, dan heeft de auteur zich wel zeer degelijk gedocumenteerd. In ieder geval stukken beter dan een andere, veel beroemdere fransoos die over Suriname schreef, Voltaire: hij beweerde dat Suriname de naam van een stad was. Toch is de kwestie van het al dan niet waarheidsgetrouw-zijn van het verhaal ondergeschikt aan het feit dat het verhaal drijft op het optimaal aanwenden van alle middelen die het tot een overtuigend relaas maken. De stijl is krachtig en meeslepend en zakt nergens weg in geweeklaag, zinneloze uitweidingen of het soort gepreek dat zoveel contemporaine teksten onleesbaar maakt. De spanningsopbouw is gewiekt, de dosering van dramatische hoogtepunten evenwichtig, geografisch noch cultureel-sociologisch begaat de auteur grote blunders, maar bovenal: de karaktertekening van het voornaamste personage, de vertelster Cécile, overtuigt op alle punten.⁸ Dat is een *tour de force* op zich, want het karakter van deze vrouw is complex: zij is koppig en krachtdadig, maar kan ook wispelturig, meedogenloos en berekenend zijn, zij is

⁸ Een anonieme, contemporaine bespreking in de *Algemeine Literatur-Zeitung* vond juist niet dat de karaktertekening geslaagd was (Anoniem, 1787: 702).

seksueel een onafhankelijke persoon die er niet voor terugdeinst haar aantrekkingskracht aan te wenden om te bereiken wat zij wil, maar zij is ook een toegewijde minnares, echtgenote en moeder, en wijkt zelfs niet voor het allerergste wanneer zij als een leeuw haar kinderen verdedigt. Veel psychologisch inzicht spreidt de auteur tentoon in de tekening van andere personages, opmerkelijk genoeg ook in de tekening van de niet-Europese karakters – en dat nota bene in een tijd dat negerslaven en marrons nog slechts mondjesmaat de eigenschappen kregen toegekend die de Europeanen bijna altijd tot representanten van goedheid en beschaving maakten, terwijl Indianen meestal werden neergezet als ideaaltypen van een paradijselijke natuurstaat die uiteraard slechts kon bestaan in de projectie van exotiserende Europese beschrijvers.

Het schijnt dat de beroemde Franse schrijver Stendhal deze tekst – of een andere editie ervan⁹ – gekend heeft, en dat die hem inspireerde tot zijn *Chartreuse de Parme*. Hoe dan ook, na de *liaisons dangereuses* van de eerste 90 pagina's, waarin anders dan in Stendhals roman het toch vooral het jonge meisje zelf is dat de teugels in de hand houdt, begint het eigenlijke reisverhaal: de oversteek naar *les Indes occidentales*. Maar het echte avontuur begint natuurlijk met Cécile's ontvoering. Haar overlevingswil zorgt ervoor dat ze al spoedig een contacttaal ontwikkelt met de man die zij eerst nog als monster ziet (I, 111) – Robinson Crusoe en zijn Vrijdag zijn niet ver weg –, maar die toch zoveel zelfbeheersing kan opbrengen dat hij geen misbruik van haar maakt: alweer is een nobele wilde geboren, des te nobeler omdat hij zoon van een Senegalese hoofdman blijkt te zijn. Hun naaktheid deert hen niet, de slaaf wordt echtgenoot en de toetreding van man en kind tot de wereld van beschaving-in-isolement wordt bevestigd met hun doop.

Het verhaal dat Sipparipabo aan Cécile vertelt over zijn afkomst lijkt een herneming van het beroemdste specimen van het nobele-wilde-verhaal: *Oroonoko* (1688) van Aphra Behn, het relaas van een zoon van een Afrikaanse vorst die in slavenketenen naar de Nieuwe Wereld is gesleept en zich opoffert voor zijn zwarte prinses Imoinda. Het aardsparadijselijke leven met de nobele wilde Sipparipabo in een idyllisch getekende minisamenleving diep in de afzondering van het bos, lijkt aanvankelijk – weliswaar zonder hem – een bredere uitwerking te krijgen in de schets van het Indianenrijk, waarin de natuurlijke saamhorigheid en het ideaal van gelijkheid heeft geleid tot een bijna ideale welvarende samenleving. Maar het verhaal eindigt niet idyllisch, integendeel: helemaal aan het einde van de reeks avonturen wacht *the horror, the horror*. Nu kunnen we wel vaststellen dat dat einde een traditioneel koloniale rolverdeling te zien geeft: de zwarte valt terug in zijn staat van primitiviteit terwijl de blanke terugkeert naar de beschaving, maar dat is een wel erg gemakzuchtige vaststelling. Op geen enkele plaats in het boek wordt Sipparipabo

⁹ *Vie, faiblesse et repentir d'une femme* (1786).

voorgesteld als een van die holhoofdige, woest huilende, zwarte half-mensen die figureren in de vele 19^e-eeuwse Nederlandse verhalen over slavernij en marronage.¹⁰ Hij is juist een psychologisch genuanceerd getekend karakter. De marron Sipparipabo is een fier en moedig man en een toegewijd vader en echtgenoot, maar blijkt zo gekwetst en vernederd door de manier waarop eerst de Europese slavenhalers en later de volgelingen van de Cacique met hem omgaan, dat hij uiteindelijk zijn rancune in sluw en vervolgens barbaars handelen omzet. Het is niet zijn natuur, maar de druk van extreme omstandigheden die hem tot barbaars handelen aanzet.

Histoire d'une franco-indienne blijft verre van zoveel andere boeken uit die tijd, waarin de wereld van slaven, marrons en inheemsen toch altijd van buiten wordt bekeken: idealiserend, exotiserend. De beschrijving van de kolonie in de *Histoire* opent idyllisch, bijna als een van de muskieten-vrije pamfletten uit de 17^{de} eeuw waarin de kolonie warm werd aangeprezen aan aspirant-kolonisten. Maar dan draait de auteur het sandwichbord en laat de andere kant van de idylle zien.

Histoire d'une franco-indienne is bij uitstek een relaas over de ontmoeting van divergente culturen en het boek uit 1787 geeft verrassend genoeg over die ontmoeting niet een op voorhand pessimistisch beeld: Cécile en Sipparipabo leven tenslotte jarenlang in uitstekende verstandhouding samen. Zelfs al zouden we liever een politiek correct, optimistisch einde van het verhaal gewenst hebben – en de vraag is of dat goed zou zijn geweest voor de overtuigingskracht van de tekst –, dan blijft de *Histoire d'une franco-indienne* toch een opmerkelijk *menselijk* verhaal, buiten de traditie van zoveel *onmenselijke* verhalen die nog tot ver in de 20^e eeuw zou worden voortgezet. Dat de auteur zichzelf een *franco-indienne* noemt, is van de inlevende wijze van observeren nog wel de prachtigste aanduiding.

261

Nu maken we een sprong naar het interbellum van de 20^e eeuw, de tijd dat de eerste twee Nederlands-Caraïbische schrijvers van zich deden horen: Albert Helman en Cola Debrot. Als we kijken naar hun vroegst gepubliceerde prozaboeken, Helmans roman *Zuid-Zuid-West* (1926) en Debrots novelle *Mijn zuster de negerin* (1935)¹¹, dan zien we een opmerkelijke overeenkomst in structuur. Beide auteurs openen met een beschrijving die van buitenaf naar binnen gaat – een ook in de literatuur over het Caraïbisch gebied frequent voorkomende opening. *Zuid-Zuid-West* is het van melancholie doordeesemde relaas van de man die naar Europa trok en nu de lezer

¹⁰ Verschillende van die teksten heb ik geanalyseerd in Van Kempen, 1999 en Van Kempen, 2002b.

¹¹ Helman was gedebuteerd onder zijn burgernaam met de dichtbundel *De glorende dag* in 1923. *Zuid-Zuid-West* werd nooit vertaald. In het Frans verschenen van Helmans vertalingen van zijn novelle *Mijn aap schreit* (Mon singe pleure, 1965) en van zijn roman *De rancho der X mysteries* (*Don Salustiano*, 1952; een fragment ook in: *Mercure de France*, no. 1037, 1er Janvier 1950, 45-65). Debrot debuteerde met de korte novelle *De Mapen* in drie afleveringen van *Forum* in augustus-oktober 1933, en publiceerde in hetzelfde tijdschrift ook *Mijn zuster de negerin* in twee afleveringen (december 1934-januari 1935), voordat de novelle als afzonderlijke boekuitgave verscheen. Er bestaat geen Franse, maar wel een Engelse vertaling van: Debrot, 1958.

meetroont naar zijn geboorteland dat getekend wordt door eenzaamheid.¹² In *Mijn zuster de negerin* keert Frits Ruprecht na veertien jaar in Europa te zijn geweest, per boot terug op een eiland waarvoor onmiskenbaar Curaçao model stond.¹³

Zuid-Zuid-West neemt de lezer mee op een tocht door stad, district en binnenland van Suriname. Het is bijna een antropologische reis langs de verschillende bevolkingsgroepen: de Chinezen, de Hindostanen ('Hindoes' genoemd), de Negers en de Bosnegers ('Djoeka's' in Helmans terminologie). De Indianen krijgen later afzonderlijk veel aandacht, Joden, Blanken en Libanezen ontbreken. Het boek is een buitencategorie genre, een tekst met afwisselend puur narratieve en essayistische episodes, soms onversneden autobiografisch van karakter, dan weer met elementen van het geschiedverhaal, de meditatie, de volksbeschrijving of de landschapsschildering. Maar het venijn zit in de staart: het boek eindigt met de beroemd geworden Multatuliaanse epiloog.¹⁴ De lezer, die in zijn riksja zo gemoedelijk schommelend door *tempo doeloe* hobbelde, wordt ruw wakker geschud. Het lijkt geen twijfel dat de expliciete lezer die wordt toegesproken ('En nu, mijne heeren, luistert tot het einde!') allereerst de Hollandse lezer is. *Zuid-Zuid-West* is opgebouwd als aanklacht tegen een liefdeloos kolonialisme en die liefdeloosheid moest de Hollanders worden ingepeperd.

Bij Cola Debrot is er geen sprake van een expliciet toegesproken lezer. Met *Mijn zuster de negerin* gaf hij een vertelling van de complexe psychologische en etnische verhoudingen op een eiland dat getekend wordt door een geschiedenis van slavernij en ongelijke machtsrelaties.¹⁵ Met zijn novelle gaf hij vorm aan het thema van de interracial seksualiteit, dat in zoveel Caraïbische romans terugkeert. Terecht is deze vorm van 'grensoverschrijding' door Pamela Pattynama onlangs 'een koloniale topos' genoemd.¹⁶ Bij beiden, Helman en Debrot, is de ondertoon van het proza er een van droefheid, maar die is wel essentieel anders van aard. Bij Helman is het de melancholie om het verlaten land dat met enige goede wil een aards paradijs had kunnen zijn, en hij zet die melancholie uiteindelijk om in woede over al teveel koloniale verwaarlozing. Bij Debrot is de droefheid deel van de condition humaine, maar die impliceert bij hem geen zinloosheid van het bestaan en leidt tot een uiteindelijke berustende aanvaarding. Zichzelf karakteriseerde hij scherp genoeg:

¹² Het begrip 'eenzaamheid' is extreem meerlagig in het boek en kan zowel verwijzen naar de eenzaamheid van de migrant, de verdeeldheid van de bevolking, de verlatenheid van de kolonie, naar de koloniale macht die het gebiedsdeel overzee verwaarloost, naar de teloorgang van de inheemse bevolking, als naar de condition humaine in algemene zin (de gang van het eenzame leven die de mens te gaan heeft tot aan de dood).

¹³ Zij het dan ook met een aantal subtiële modificaties, waarbij Debrot Curaçao en Bonaire in elkaar schoof (Oversteegen, 1994: 203).

¹⁴ Uitvoerig over deze epiloog Van Kempen, 1998a en Van Kempen, 1998b: 41-50.

¹⁵ Oversteegen, 1994 : 202-217 besprak de novelle uitvoerig en gaf ook (p. 208) vijf verschillende leeswijzen aan (een psychologische, filosofische, politieke, sociologische en esthetische), maar hij vergat merkwaardig genoeg een zesde belangrijke: de religieuze. De Roo, 1980: 9-14, Rutgers, 1986 en De Roo, 1998 beproefden 'Antilliaanse' lezingen van het werk.

¹⁶ Pattynama, 2007: 11 en noot 36.

‘Van vaderszijde ben ik Frans-Zwitsers, van moederszijde overheerst het Spaanse temperament [...] ik weifel tussen Zwitserse gelijkheid en Iberische anarchie.’¹⁷

Albert Helman en Cola Debrot hebben nog meer belangrijke trekken gemeen. Beiden puurden uit hun Caraïbische jeugd de stof voor een werk dat hen in één klap op de literaire kaart zette, en die werken werden de vroegste specimina van gecanoniseerde Nederlands-Caraïbische teksten. Beiden bewogen zich onder de literaire avant-garde van hun tijd, geconcentreerd rond de tijdschriften *De Gemeenschap*, *Forum* en *Criterium* en beiden wisten zich daar een respectabele positie te veroveren. Geen van beide zag kans – nog een overeenkomst – om die positie na de oorlog te consolideren. Dat had bij beiden zeker te maken met hun brede, buiten-literaire belangstelling die hen naar andere horizonten voerde, in beide gevallen ook naar het landsbestuur in hun streek van herkomst. Maar misschien heeft toch ook een rol gespeeld dat zij, publicerend in een tijd toen de uitgeverstrouw nog niet werd pootje-gehaakt door de tirannie van de blinde commercialiteit, teksten gepubliceerd kregen die geen uitgever vandaag de dag nog zou accepteren.

Beiden ook schreven een modern-existentiële parabel waarin de mens in het Avondland centraal staat, Helman in *'s Mensen heen- en terugweg* (1937) binnen de mal van het freudiaanse gedachtegoed, Debrot in *Bid voor Camille Willocq* (1946) binnen zijn particuliere denkwereld over het Siamees-noodzakelijke samengaan van mystiek en weemoed, dat met het etiket ‘romantisch-realisme’ al te simplistisch is aangeduid. Met die prozateksten veroverden zij een westerse romanruimte en lieten zij de ruimte van hun vroegste prozawerken voor wat het was: de wereld die zij gekend hadden in hun Caraïbische jeugd. Het intentionele publiek van hun vroegste boeken was in wezen gelijk: zij schreven voor een Nederlandstalig publiek dat literair onderlegd was in westerse zin. Zij wisten dat het leespubliek voor zover dat uit het eigen land van herkomst kwam, zich door het Nederland-gerichte onderwijs niet onderscheidde van het publiek aan de Noordzee en zij ontwikkelden dan ook geen leesstrategie richting het eigen publiek.

Met de naoorlogse dichters die zich inzetten voor de volkstalen liggen de kaarten direct compleet anders. Omdat zij in de volkstalen schrijven, kan het intentionele publiek geen Nederlands publiek zijn. De twee giganten van de volkstalen uit de Nederlandse West, Pierre Lauffer met zijn poëzie in het Papiamentu en Trefossa (pseudoniem van Henny de Ziel) met zijn gedichten in het Sranantongo, zijn zo volstrekt één met hun uitdrukkingsmiddel, dat taal, thematiek en persoonlijkheid een eenheid vormen die even onlosmakelijk is als die van Shakespeare met het Engels of Heinrich Heine met het Duits. Dat zij beiden metalinguale poëzie schreven mag cruciaal heten voor de periode van Papiamentisashon, respectievelijk Surinamisering

¹⁷ In zijn *Dagboekbladen uit Genève* (Debrot, 1977: 62).

waarvan zij zelf het literaire boegbeeld vormden. Pierre Lauffers 'Mi lenga'/'Mijn taal' vat geschiedenis en toekomst in een superieur ritme samen:

Mi lenga,
Den nesesidat salí
Fo'i alma di aventurero
Kultivá na boka di katibu
A baj drecha su pará
Den kwentanan di jaja.

Su kurashi sin keber
– E marka brutu di su nasementu –
A butele rementá busá
I fórsa di su gan'i biba
A lant'e di swela
Den un warwarú di pusta-boka.

Su kantika tin kandela
Su simplesa tin koló.
Ku su wega di palabra
Mi por 'nabo bo sojá
Ku su ritmo i su stansha
Mi por sinta namorá.

Na mi lenga di kriojo,
Ku su zjèitu di zonidu
No tin dwele ni legría pa herami,
Ni tin sort'i sintimentu
Ku mi n'tribimachiká.

Nederlandse vertaling:

Mijn taal,
Uit pure nood ontsprongen
Aan de harten van avonturiers,
Verder ontwikkeld in de mond van slaven,
Heeft haar vorm gevonden
In de verhalen van de baboe.

Haar grenzeloze moed
– Het brute teken van haar oorsprong –
Heeft haar de muilkorf doen verbreken
En haar kracht van levensdrift
Heeft haar zich doen verheffen
In een wervelwind van woordenwisselingen.

Haar muziek heeft vuur,
Haar eenvoud is vol kleur.
En met haar woordenspel
Kan ik je levend villen,
Met haar rijkdom en haar ritme
Kan ik zitten minnekozen.
In mijn creoolse taal,
Met heel haar klankenweelde,
Is geen vreugde of verdriet voor mij onzegbaar,
Noch is er ook maar één gevoel
Dat ik daarin niet heb gedurfd te uiten.¹⁸

Het gedicht ‘Kopenhagen’ is misschien wel het meest verstilde van Trefossa’s gedichten, met zijn orale uitroepen bijna een puur klankgedicht. Het is een gedicht dat focust op een icoon van het Europese toerisme: het beeld van de kleine zeemeermin, ‘Den lille havfrue’ van Edvard Eriksen in de haven van Kopenhagen.

sandjanamofo se?
eh-eh!
Watramama na joe sidon
na ston?

Watramama mi sabijoe,
troe-troe.
Watramama,
tjeba-a-a...

joe gowtoe kan-kan, pe
a de?
mi goedoe-goedoetaig mi dan,

¹⁸ Uit de bundel *Raspá* (Lauffer 1962: 31); vertaling: Walter Palm, Sidney Joubert en August Willemsen (Broek e.a. 2006: 309). Ook in het gedicht ‘Rib’e dia ku mi logra/Op de dag dat het mij lukt’ legt Lauffer een verband tussen taal, ontworsteling en slavernij, zij het dat ‘mi poema di sublime perfekshon/het volmaakte gedicht’ daar wordt voorgesteld als iets dat in de toekomst ligt (verg. Lauffer, 2006: 20-21). Over Lauffer: Heiligers, 2012.

mi w'wan.

Watramama j'e waki mi
so pi-i-i...
ènhè, mi sab p'aj tan:
Sranan!

Nederlandse vertaling:

wat is hier bij de zee?
kijk-kijk!
Watermoeder zit jij daar op
die kei?

Watermoeder ik ken je, ze-
ker wel.
Watermoeder,
wel-wel...

je gouden kam, waar is
die heen?
mijn lieve lief zeg 't me dan, mij
alleen.

Watermoeder jij kijkt naar mij
zo stil...
aha, ik ken zijn thuis:
Sranan!¹⁹

Trefossa associeert het beeld van Andersen met de Watermoeder, bekend in de Surinaamse folklore: half vrouw, half vis. Hij bezielt het beeld en constateert dat een bekend attribuut van de Watermoeder – de gelukbrengende gouden kam – ontbreekt. Zo verbeeldt hij een bekend motief uit de Surinaamse literatuur: het getrokken worden tussen Westerse en Surinaamse wereld, Europa en Sranan. Hij doet dat bovendien in een vorm die een direct eerbetoon is aan de orale tradities. Datgene wat voor de Europese

¹⁹ In Trefossa, 1977: 58; met Nederlandse vertaling van Michel Berchem en mijzelf in Van Kempen, 1995: 172-173. Zie ook de analyse van Jan Voorhoeve in Trefossa, 1977: 127-142 & 142-148. Ik heb het gedicht uitvoerig geanalyseerd in Van Kempen, 1986.

reiziger tot de *highlights* van het Europese toerisme behoort, eigent Trefossa zich toe. *Terugschrijven* valt hier samen met *terugkijken*.

Dit voorbeeld onthult misschien iets van de vraag waarom de dichters uit de West in 't algemeen gemakkelijker een authentieke toon hebben weten te vinden dan de prozaschrijvers. Het lijkt mij wat al te speculatief om te veronderstellen dat daarin zou meespelen dat de geschreven poëzie een 'gemakkelijk' verlengstuk vormde van de traditionele orale liedkunst – al is die invloed bij velen onmiskenbaar aan te wijzen; misschien drukt de ziel zich in lyriek gemakkelijker uit dan in de epische vertelvormen die vragen om een grotere greep op de structurering van de tekst. De volkstalen liggen ook zeker dicht bij het hart, of zoals Erich Zielinski het kernachtig uitdrukte voor het Papiamentu: "Het was de taal met geschiedenis maar zonder affiniteit met het land" (Zielinski 2003: 41). Nog wel het meest dramatische moment in het leven van Monchín, de hoofdpersoon van Zielinski's onlangs met de Cola Debrot-prijs bekroonde roman *De Engelenbron*, is het moment waarop hij zijn naar Nederland geëmigreerde kinderen niet hun moedertaal hoort spreken door de telefoon: "Het waren andere mensen. Vreemden die het Nederlands spraken met elkaar, die hun bloed verloochenden" (p. 83).

Hoe dan ook, bij de Nederlandstalige Antilliaanse romanschrijvers keert de topos van het showen van het eigen (ei)land nadrukkelijk terug. Een boek dat wel heel fraai de topos van de rondgang door het eigen land illustreert is *Lieve koningin, hierbij stuur ik u mijn dochter* (1976) van Sonia Garmers. Het boek is geschreven in bedrieglijke eenvoudige taal, met het gevolg dat sommigen het voor een jeugdboek houden, in lijn met de andere succesvolle jeugdboeken van deze op Bonaire geboren maar op Curaçao getogen schrijfster. Maar de eenvoudige taal van dit autobiografische relaas herbergt een complexe werkelijkheid. Het boek is een lang relaas over de zorgen van een moeder, gericht tot koningin Juliana, want zoals de slotregels van het boek luiden: "En dat ik dit aan u, koningin, heb geschreven, is omdat u ook moeder van vier dochters bent – en vastzit aan het protocol. En ik ben moeder van vier dochters, en zit vast aan Curaçao" (Garmers 1988: 129). Op een geestige wijze leidt Garmers de aangesprokene rond door de Antilliaanse mores, die in beslissende details zo veraf liggen van de Nederlandse. Als iemand 10 gulden wil lenen voor een hoestdrankje, dan wil men ook die 10 gulden zien, en niet voor 20 gulden aan hoestdrankjes. Dochters worden met duizend voorzorgen omringd terwijl zonen worden verwend en vrij gelaten. Zie Antillianen vooral niet aan voor Surinamers aan, waarschuwt ze, en ze worden altijd boos als je de waarheid schrijft. Het boek snijdt als een mes door gewoontes en hebbelikheden van Antillianen en Nederlanders, omdat Garmers een vrouw is met een onafhankelijke geest. Je zou zeggen: iemand met de geest van ná de *trinta di mei*, die 30^e mei 1969 toen een deel van Willemstad, de hoofdstad van Curaçao, in vlammen opging. Maar Garmers maakt direct een einde aan alle

luchtfietserij over die 30^e mei, in een scène waarin een blanke vrouw voordringt bij de kassa van een supermarkt en een meneer in het Papiaments becommentarieert: “*Señora, ta mira ta koi pendew! Trinta di mei no a sinja e konjonan aki nada. Ta un kwarenta di mei mesté pa sinja nan respeta nos!*” (Mevrouw, moet je ‘s kijken wat eentruttenwrijf! De dertigste mei heeft die mensen geen moer geleerd. Ik denk, señora, dat er een veertigste mei moet komen om deze klootzakken te leren over onze eigen identiteit en wat we eigenlijk waard zijn!)”²⁰ Garmers trapt niet in gemakkelijk te verkopen mythes. Onnadrukkelijk neemt ze afstand van elke vorm van vooroordeel en domhouderij.

Lieve koningin, hierbij stuur ik u mijn dochter ontplooit dan ook een allesbehalve ongenueanceerd perspectief op de verhouding Nederland-Antillen. De verhouding tussen de Nederlandse West en het huis van Oranje is altijd van een bijzondere hartelijkheid is geweest, en de verwondering daarover wordt alleen maar groter wanneer we in een recente studie van Gert Oostindie lezen hoe de Oranjes garen sponnen bij het stijgende dividend van de VOC en hoe stadhouder Willem V zich direct bemoeide met de vraag hoe de marrons weer onder het koloniale juk te brengen (Oostindie, 2006: 19). Maar bij Sonia Garmers wordt Juliana niet allereerst aangesproken als koningin, maar als moeder, en de schrijfster permitteert zich dan ook een weldadig gebrek aan plechtstatigheid, zoals in het vermakelijke relaas van de Portugees Francisco die meende dat hij wel met de dochter van een weduwe mocht slapen, omdat hij een forse openstaande rekening voor de weduwe had betaald, en die week na week werd weggestuurd met de smoes dat de dochter ongesteld was: ““Señora Sonia, toen was ook mijn laatste hoop verdwenen. Want een vrouw, die een hele maand menstrueert, is ook maar niks. Mijn vierhonderdvijftig gulden ben ik kwijt, mijn patia’s [watermeloenen] en meloenen. Die vrouw denkt zeker dat ze een gouwe kut heeft! Ik wil die mensen nooit meer zien!”” (p. 36)

Bij de Arubaans-Nederlandse schrijver Denis Henriquez vinden we een geheel andere gedaante van de toerisme-topos. Van zijn drie romans, *Zuidstraat* (1992), *Delft blues* (1995) en *De zomer van Alejandro Bulos* (1999), die beschouwd kunnen worden als een drieluik over groei en volwassenwording, is in de literaire kritiek de kwaliteit van de eilandbeschrijving niet onopgemerkt gebleven. Het meest opmerkelijke aan het drieluik is nog wel dat Henriquez thema’s aansnijdt die men elders in de Caraïbische literatuur zelden of nooit aantreft – ik noem maar: de holocaust in *Delft blues* – en voor zijn verhalen een setting creëert die men ook al tevergeefs bij andere Antilliaanse auteurs zal zoeken. Zo is *De zomer van Alejandro Bulos* het verhaal van een reis naar Europa en speelt een groot deel van de handelingen zich af in Italië. De hoofdpersoon ontmoet een vrouw die toeristengids is in Rome en aan de hand van de scènes kan de lezer een toeristische trektocht maken langs de Engelenburcht en de Spaanse Trappen,

²⁰ Citaat uit Garmers, 1988: 59-60. Het boek wordt overigens niet vermeld in het overzicht dat Wim Rutgers (1999) heeft gegeven van de doorwerking die de 30ste mei heeft gehad in de letterkunde. Een recent overzicht van de gebeurtenissen op de 30^e mei gaf Oostindie, 2005.

het Forum Romanum, de Trevi-fontein en de belangrijkste kerken van de Eeuwige Stad. In Rome en de verhoudingen binnen de familie van zijn geliefde vindt Alejandro Bulos een spiegel van zijn eigen levensgang. Wat begon als een omgekeerde Vatersuche – de vader is op zoek naar zijn zoon – resulteert uiteindelijk in de ontdekking van een halfbroer, de hereniging met de zoon en het vinden van een nieuwe vrouw. Maar absolute zekerheid wordt de lezer niet geboden: de inlossing van alle beloften moet nog ergens na de laatste pagina gebeuren. Het is daarom goed te letten op de structuur van het verhaal, dat opent met een DC-10 van American Airlines die wordt geobserveerd door Alejandro en zijn werkmaat Jeremiah. Ze zien het vliegtuig wel zakken, maar kunnen niet zien waar het zal landen. Aan het einde van het boek een vergelijkbare scène: Alejandro ziet een zakkend vliegtuig, vermoedelijk een Boeing 747, “maar hoe hij ook keek, de afstand was te groot om zijn vermoeden te bevestigen” (p. 278). *De zomer van Alejandro Bulos* is een roman over de onkenbaarheid van de werkelijkheid. Alejandro denkt na in Platoonse zin en stelt voortdurend vragen over de werkelijke aard van wat hij ziet.²¹ Henriquez’ laatste roman is dan ook uiteindelijk een boek over het observeren, over de buitenstaander die toekijkt en zich verbaast over wat er om hem heen gebeurt, en is in die zin ook een echte migrantenroman. Dat is ook wat het omslag laat zien. Nergens in het boek staat vermeld welk schilderij ten grondslag ligt aan de afbeelding van een moeder met kind op het voorplat. Het gaat echter om een fragment van het schilderij *La Tempesta* (1507-8) van Giorgione dat zich bevindt in de Galleria dell’Accademia in Venetië. Als we het fragment uitbreiden tot het gehele schilderij zien we dat een tweede figuur is weggelaten: een figuur die de zogende moeder bekijkt. Een weggelaten observator – wie weet een alter ego van de observerende schrijver – in een schilderij dat het observeren thematiseert: Plato in het kwadraat.

De topos van het vliegtuig wordt hervat in het navolgende gedicht van de Surinaamse Chitra Gajadin:

royal dutch

ik wens dit kleine land een groot hart
zodat het ons ergens herbergen zal

regen immer onophoudelijk ons verdriet
wassen blijft tot niemand ons nog ziet

dit voorhoofd als stof uw voeten prikt

²¹Bijvoorbeeld p. 185: “Was het leven van zijn vader werkelijk zo eentonig geweest? Vroeg hij zich af. Was dat niet alleen de buitenkant waarop hij zich vanaf zijn jeugd had blindgestaard? Kon het zijn dat achter het gezicht dat hem altijd zo rustig en vertrouwenwekkend toelachte, een andere vader schuilging?” (Henriquez, 1999: 185).

ons herdenkt als eens verloren trofee

zal dag en nacht ieder uur getuigen
hoe vreemd altijd voortvluchtig jij

mij weer aan het vergeten bent
die mij heeft bemind en gekend

messenleggers van kristal
fonkelde felgroen elke dag

diep ontloken hemelsblauw
zuchtte onze enige droom

in koninklijke uitvaart
zijn wij ooit hier beland

in betwiste monopolie
aan wie verpand?

Dit gedicht vat op een prachtige manier alle noties samen die te maken hebben met de migratie van zovelen die de oversteek maakten van het Caraïbisch gebied naar Nederland, en in wezen natuurlijk zoals bij bijna alle goede poëzie, alles wat elementair is bij een landverhuizing. De titel verwijst natuurlijk naar de KLM, de Royal Dutch Airlines, die met zijn hemelsblauwe vliegtuigen in dit gedicht metonymisch wordt opgevoerd als de drager van de droom van zovelen die meenden dat hen ver over de oceaan een stralende toekomst wachtte. Ik moet me al sterk vergissen om in de grafische vorm van het gedicht met zijn steeds korter wordende versregels niet een evocatie te zien van de vleugel van een vliegtuig, één vleugel slechts want er is iets definitief uit balans. Dat de verwerkelijking van de migrantendroom er wat anders uitzag, laten al direct de eerste regels zien waarin de ik de hoop uitspreekt dat het kleine land een hart zal hebben dat groot genoeg is om 'ons' te herbergen. De ik wenst dat het land, dat zo bekend staat om zijn regens, het migrantenverdriet zal wegwassen 'tot niemand ons nog ziet', een bijna wanhopige en zelfs cynische vaststelling van het onzichtbaar opgaan van de migranten in de nieuwe samenleving. Dat cynisme wordt in de complexe regel 5 nog doorgezet, wanneer het opgaan in de samenleving anders wordt vertaald: de regen zal het voorhoofd, het meest eigene van de mens: zijn gelaat, als stof wegspoelen tot het een sieraad wordt voor 'uw voeten' - een verwijzing naar het Oosterse gebruik om iemand respect en onderdanigheid te betuigen door de voeten van een persoon aan te raken.

Tegelijkertijd bevat de vijfde regel met het woord ‘stof’ een verwijzing naar de dood, en teruglezend wordt dan duidelijk dat het verdriet waarvan in de tweede strofe sprake is, nooit zal weggaan, tot de dood aanwezig zal blijven. Regel 6 geeft daar het vervolg op, en sluit grammaticaal aan op het voegwoord ‘zodat’ uit de tweede regel: [zodat dit kleine land] ons herdenkt als eens verloren trofee. Na hun dood zullen de immigranten herdacht worden als een trofee die ooit verloren is, dus als de representanten van de ooit veroverde en later weer verloren koloniën.

Dan wordt er in de vierde strofe een jij-figuur geïntroduceerd. Wie is deze jij ‘die mij heeft bemind en gekend’? Gezien het beeld dat in de zesde strofe kort wordt opgeroepen van felgroen fonkelende messenleggers, blijkbaar iemand uit het verleden. Naar alle waarschijnlijkheid wordt met de jij-figuur een beeld opgeroepen van de achterblijver – een familielid, een moeder, een minnaar –, die zelf blijkbaar ook vreemd en voortvluchtig is in het land van herkomst, dus zelf ook een immigrant in dat land van herkomst, en die bezig is de ik opnieuw (eerst na de migratie naar Holland en ten tweede male na de dood) te vergeten. In de voorlaatste strofe duikt de KLM weer op, bepaald niet flatterend: vlucht KL-zus-en-zoveel naar Holland is een ‘koninklijke uitvaart’ geweest. Met de migratie is de vlucht naar het einde ingezet – natuurlijk ook op te vatten als het einde van de eigenheid, het opgeven van de eigenste identiteit. De laatste strofe roept het jarenlange KLM-monopolie op vluchten naar Paramaribo, Willemstad en Oranjestad in herinnering, doorn in het oog van hen die peperdure tickets moesten betalen voor een plaatsje aan boord met het oppervlak van een minuscuul hondenhek. Hier hervat Chitra Gajadin anno 2007 in een geheel andere vorm het verwijt dat Albert Helman in de epiloog van zijn debuutroman *Zuid-Zuid-West* de zondagsbrave Hollandse kooplieden al voor de voeten slingerde: als je dan toch op het dividend uit bent, wees dan liefdevolle dieven en geen schurken. Maar de slotregels zijn ook bewust ambigu: het betwiste monopolie roept ook de binding van de migrant met meer dan één land op. Aan wie is de migrant nu het meest verschuldigd: aan het kleine regenland van vestiging aan de Noordzee, aan het land van vertrek, of nog verder terug: aan het land van herkomst van de voorouders die ooit naar het Caraïbisch gebied werden verscheept?

De geschiedenis van de Caraïbische cultuur is een geschiedenis van ontvoogding en toeëigening, een continue zoektocht naar vormen en gedachten die herkend en erkend kunnen worden als authentiek en eigen. In de 20^e eeuw hebben zich beslissende verschuivingen voorgedaan in de balans tussen centrum en periferie van de culturele macht. Korter dan een eeuw geleden waren op de planken van het Theater Brion en het theater Thalia in Paramaribo nog opera's te zien van Donizetti en Verdi en gaven De Dietse Spelers de norm aan van wat Cultuur mocht heten.

Maar de ontwikkelingen die zijn ingezet hebben het culturele en literaire landschap definitief veranderd, al zijn die ontwikkelingen nog allerminst tot een nieuw

evenwicht gekomen. Niettegenstaande enkele interessante recente Nederlandstalige prozapublicaties (overigens van auteurs die zonder uitzondering al een eind boven de 50 zijn²²), lijkt op de Antillen en Aruba het pleit beslecht: het Papiaments (en voor de Bovenwinden: het Engels) is voor de jongere generatie het literaire vervoermiddel bij uitstek, *Het Achterhuis* en *Suske en Wiske* zijn vertaald in het Papiamentu. Toch is het nog maar kort geleden – 6 maart 2007 – dat het Papiamentu de status kreeg van een van de officiële talen van de Nederlandse Antillen. In Suriname is de positie van het Nederlands als literaire taal door de toetreding van het land tot de Nederlandse Taalunie alleen maar versterkt. Poëzie lijkt met het bereiken van de onafhankelijkheid geen rol van betekenis meer te spelen. De grootste van de levende Sranan dichters, Michaël Slory, schrijft enkel nog in het Nederlands en Spaans. Omdat het Sranan wel een officiële spelling kreeg maar nooit enige officiële status lijkt het terug bij waar het was vóór 1957: voertuig voor orale literatuur – en dat is doodzonde. De Sarnami dichters, die na 1977 met zoveel verve hun moedertaal op de literaire kaart zetten en in Jit Narain een van de groten van de regio voortbrachten, hebben de handdoek in de ring gegooid. Zoals hun enige prozaschrijver, Rabin Baldewsingh, onlangs publiekelijk verklaarde, erkennen zij dat het een groepstaal is die hen cultureel noch maatschappelijk vooruit kan brengen. Het Nederlandstalige proza van Surinaamse bodem heeft daarentegen een ongelooflijke vlucht genomen: sinds het jaar 2000 verschenen er meer Nederlandstalige Caraïbische prozaboeken dan in alle jaren daarvóór.

De toeristenblik in de Caraïbische literatuur verraadt zich in verschillende topoi: als thematisering van de ontmoeting der culturen, als beschrijving van migratie en grensoverschrijding, als interracial vermenging, als plaatsen waar uitdrukking wordt gegeven aan begrip, misverstand en onbegrip, meervoudige lokaliteit, nationale identificatie, individuele zelfidentificatie.

De toeristenblik is een aanduiding voor een leesstrategie, een benadering van Caraïbische teksten die alle formele en inhoudelijke aspecten decodeert in het spanningsveld autochtoon-allochtoon, binnen-buiten, eigen-vreemd, en die op zich de termen waarin dat spanningsveld wordt uitgedrukt problematiseert. De resultaten van deze kritische leesstrategie zullen leiden tot het scherper zien van het wordingsproces van de Caraïbische cultuur vanuit het enorme scala aan bronnen naar een steeds sterker eigen en authentiek-Caraïbische cultuur.

²² Ik heb het over Erich Zielinski, Myra Römer, Giselle Ecury en Joan Leslie.

LITERATUUR

- Abrahams, Cynthia (2011, [2010]). *Robin 'Dobru' Raveles: Surinamer, dichter, politicus 1935-1983. Wan Bon – Wan Sranan – Wan Pipel*. Amsterdam: Rozenberg Publishers.
- [Anoniem] (1787). [Bespreking van Nougaret, *Histored'une franco-indienne*.] *Algemeine Literatur-Zeitung*, 4, 300a, 700-702.
- Broek, Aart G., Sidney M. Joubert & Lucille Berry-Haseth (Eds.) (2006). *De kleur van mijn eiland. Deel II: anthologie*. Leiden: KITLV.
- Buikema, Rosemarie (2005). A poetics of home: on narrative voice and the deconstruction of home in migrant literature. In Sandra Ponzanesi & Daniela Merolla (Eds.), *Migrant cartographies: new cultural and literary spaces in post-colonial Europe* (pp. 177-189). London: Lexington Books.
- Corzani, Jacques (1985). Problèmes méthodologiques d'une "histoire littéraire" des Caraïbes. *Komparatistische Hefte*, 11, 49-67.
- Debrot, Cola (1958). *Pages from a diary in Geneva; My sister the negro*. Vertaald door Estelle Debrot-Reed. *Antilliaanse cahiers*, 3, 2, 1-126.
- Debrot, Cola. (1977 [1963]). *Dagboekbladen uit Genève*. Amsterdam: De Bezige Bij.
- Debrot, Cola; Pierre H. Dubois (Ed.) (1986). *Verzameld werk 3. Verhalen*. Amsterdam: Meulenhoff.
- Dobru, R. (1970). "*Bar poeroe*". Paramaribo: the author.
- Dobru, R. (1982). *Boodschappen uit de zon: gedichten 1965-1980*. Amsterdam: Meulenhoff.
- Egmond, Antonius Nicolaas Francesco (Ton) (2006). *Understanding the tourist phenomenon: an analysis of 'west'-'south' tourism: towards sustainable tourism development strategies for Third World tourism destinations*. PhD dissertation, University of Wageningen.
- Fokkema, Aleid (2003). Inleiding. In Aleid Fokkema & Maarten Steenmeijer (Eds.), *Identiteit en locatie in de hedendaagse literatuur* (pp. 7-20). Nijmegen: Vantilt.
- Garmers, Sonia (1988, [1976]). *Lieve koningin, hierbij stuur ik u mijn dochter*. Amsterdam: Leopold.
- Giddens, Anthony (1990). *The consequences of modernity*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Giddens, Anthony (1991). *Modernity and self-identity: self and society in the late modern age*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Heiligers, Bernadette (2012). *Pierre Lauffer: het bewogen leven van een bevlogen dichter*. Haarlem: In de Knipscheer.
- Helman, Albert (1926). *Zuid-Zuid-West*. Utrecht: De Gemeenschap.
- Lauffer, Pierre (1962). *Raspá*. Willemstad: the author.
- Lauffer, Pierre (2006). *Kantika pa bientu/Liederen voor de wind*. Vertaling Igna van Putte-de Windt & Henry Habibe. Curaçao: Fundashon Pierre Lauffer.

- [Nougaret, Pierre Jean Baptiste] (1787). *Histoire d'une franco-indienne, écrite par elle-même*. Paris: Buisson Libraire.
- Oostindie, Gert (1994). *Caraïbische dilemma's in een 'stagnerend' dekolonisatie proces*. (Inaugurele rede). Leiden: KITLV.
- Oostindie, Gert (2005). Curaçao, Willemstad: de revolte van 30 mei 1969. In Wim van den Doel (Ed.), *Plaatsen van herinnering: Nederland in de twintigste eeuw* (pp. 346-357). Amsterdam: Bert Bakker.
- Oostindie, Gert (2006). *De parels en de kroon; het koningshuis en de koloniën*. Amsterdam: De Bezige Bij.
- Oversteegen, J.J. (1994). *In het schuim van grauwe wolken:het leven van Cola Debrot tot 1948*. Amsterdam: Meulenhoff.
- Paasman, Bert (2002). *Wandelen onder de palmen: de morele actualiteit van het koloniale verleden*. (Inaugurele rede.). Amsterdam: Vossiuspers UvA.
- Pattynama, Pamela (2007). '...de baai...de binnenbaai...' *Indië herinnerd*. (Inaugurele rede.) Amsterdam: Vossiuspers UvA.
- Roo, Jos de (1980). *Antilliaans literair logboek*. Zutphen: De Walburg Pers.
- Roo, Jos de (1998). De verdwenen melk van café au lait: Cola Debrot en Tip Marugg als gecreoliseerde auteurs. In Elisabeth Leijnse & Michiel van Kempen (Eds.), *Tussenfiguren: schrijvers tussen de culturen* (pp. 163-175). Amsterdam: Het Spinhuis.
- Rutgers, Wim (1986). Dit wankel huis; De symboolfunctie van het huis in enkele Nederlands-Antilliaanse en Surinaamse literaire werken. In Wim Rutgers, *Dubbeltje lezen, stuivertje schrijven: over Nederlandstalige Caraïbische literatuur* (pp. 20-33). Oranjestad/Den Haag: Charuba/Leopold.
- Rutgers, Wim (1998). *Het nulde hoofdstuk van de Antilliaanse literatuur: koloniale poëzie in de Curacaosche Courant*. Oranjestad: Charuba.
- Rutgers, Wim (1994). *Schrijven is zilver, spreken is goud: oratuur, auratuur en literatuur van de Nederlandse Antillen en Aruba*. PhD dissertation, University of Utrecht.
- Rutgers, Wim (1996). *Beneden en boven de wind: literatuur van de Nederlandse Antillen en Aruba*. Amsterdam: De Bezige Bij.
- Rutgers, Wim (1999). 'Trinta di mei a bini, trinti di mei a bai'; De dertigste mei in de letterkunde. In Gert Oostindie (Ed.), *Dromen en littekens; Dertig jaar na de Curaçaose revolte, 30 mei 1969* (pp. 211-233). Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.
- Trefossa (1977). *Alapoewemafoe Trefossa*. Paramaribo: Bureau Volkslectuur.
- Van Kempen, Michiel (1986). Traditie en compositie: Trefossa's 'Kopenhagen' & 'Maanavonden'. *Bhásá*, 3, 1, 34-41; *Bhásá*, 3, 2, 17-22; *Bhásá*, 3, 3, 9-12.
- Van Kempen, Michiel (1990). Op zoek te gaan naar een nieuwe bron: schrijven en literatuurkritiek als ontmoeting der culturen. *De Gids*, 153, 10/11, 921-932.

- Van Kempen, Michiel (Ed.) (1995). *Spiegel van de Surinaamse poëzie: van de oude liedkunst tot de jongste dichters*. Amsterdam: Meulenhoff.
- Van Kempen, Michiel (1998a). Wat verwaait er op de passaat? of Hoe de geest van Multatuli de krabben in de Surinaamse ton weerstond. In Theo D'haen & Gerard Termorshuizen (Eds.), *De geest van Multatuli. Proteststemmen in vroegere Europese koloniën* (pp. 184-213). Leiden: Vakgroep Talen en Culturen van Zuidoost-Azië en Oceanië.
- Van Kempen, Michiel (1998b). *Kijk vreesloos in de spiegel: Albert Helman 1903-1996. Zes essays*. Haarlem: In de Knipscheer.
- Van Kempen, Michiel (1999). De West tussen Romantiek en realisme. In K.D. Beekman, M.T.C. Mathijssen-Verkooijen & G.F.H. Raat (Eds.), *De as van de Romantiek: opstellen aangeboden aan prof. dr. W. van den Berg bij zijn afscheid als hoogleraar Moderne Nederlandse Letterkunde aan de Universiteit van Amsterdam* (pp. 114-128). Amsterdam: Vossiuspers AUP.
- Van Kempen, Michiel (2002a). *Een geschiedenis van de Surinaamse literatuur*. (PhD dissertation). Paramaribo: Okopipi.
- Van Kempen, Michiel (2002b). De fondantlaag van de romantiek: vier teksten over slavernij in Suriname. *Spiegel der Letteren*, 44, 1, 63-83.
- Van Kempen, Michiel (2003). *Een geschiedenis van de Surinaamse literatuur*. Breda: De Geus.
- Van Kempen, Michiel (2007). *Welcome to the Caribbean, darling! De toeristenblik in teksten uit de (voormalige) Nederlandse West*. (Inaugurele rede). Amsterdam: Vossiuspers AUP.
- Zielinski, Erich (2003). *De Engelenbron*. Haarlem: In de Knipscheer.

NUEVAS DIMENSIONES A LA LITERATURA EN ESPAÑOL EN CURAZAO

ELISABETH ECHTELD
UNIVERSIDAD DE CURAZAO

Introducción

Los dos estudios, *Once Jews: stories of Caribbean sephardim*, de Josette Capriles Goldish (2009) y *Colorido, luz, aromas de malagueta; sabor a níspero, a aventura y a libertad: el Curazao de Mariano Picón Salas* de Natividad Barroso García (2011), a primera vista, no parecen tener mucho en común. El primer estudio da detallada información histórica sobre los lazos con Curazao de algunas familias de descendencia sefardí durante pasados siglos, dedicando unos fragmentos muy informativos a A.Z. López Penha (1865-1927), un autor curazoleño importante y muy dotado, cuya herencia literaria de alta calidad justifica amplia atención científica. El segundo estudio mencionado trata la isla de Curazao como imagen en la obra literaria del conocido autor venezolano Mariano Picón Salas (1901-1965). Lo que las dos obras mencionadas de distinta índole comparten, es que, aunque de una manera diferente, se relacionan con mi estudio, *Literatura en español en Curazao al cambio del siglo. En busca de textos desconocidos de la segunda mitad del siglo XIX y de las primeras décadas del siglo XX* (Echteld, 1999), sobre el período de florecimiento de la literatura en español en Curazao al cambio del siglo XIX y de la primera parte del siglo XX.

En este estudio, enfoco los textos literarios en español. La meta principal es “hacer un inventario de esta literatura, limitándome principalmente a la producción de esta literatura de la segunda mitad del siglo XIX y de las primeras décadas del siglo XX.” (p. 1). Luego intento descubrir una clara relación temática entre los textos literarios encontrados, manteniendo una idea del mundo cultural en el que la literatura en español podía llegar a un período de florecimiento. ¿Los escritores que publicaron en español, formaron un grupo homogéneo en la sociedad curazoleña multilingüe de antaño?

Tomando como punto de salida la perspectiva curazoleña, según la idea del concepto de “recentraje”, que implica que uno mira y considera el mundo literario saliendo de una perspectiva local al exterior (y no saliendo de una perspectiva exterior al interior, también en Severing et al., 2006; y en Faraclas et al., 2012), trato el hecho que durante

la segunda mitad del siglo XIX y a comienzos del siglo XX, por motivos históricos y por razones políticas y sociales, comienza a distinguirse en Curazao, un grupo de escritores locales y un grupo de escritores *passanten* (del mundo hispano vecino). Ambos grupos escriben y, en algunos casos, hasta publican obras literarias en español. Las expresiones literarias en español en periódicos y revistas de estos tiempos, tanto de los escritores locales, como de los escritores no locales, también sirven en este contexto como fuente para el estudio mencionado. Pues, había periódicos y revistas literarias en español o multilingües, en los que aparecieron contribuciones en español, (aparte de contribuciones en papiamento, holandés, y menos frecuentes en inglés). Estos periódicos y revistas no sólo nos ofrecieron información en cuanto a las contribuciones literarias sino también en cuanto a la vida social y cultural en la que aparecieron.

Haciendo este estudio introductorio no me era posible estudiar todo el material que todavía se encuentre en los archivos y bibliotecas locales e internacionales. Por eso era muy interesante tener la oportunidad de estudiar las dos obras mencionadas al comienzo de este artículo recientemente, ya que con los datos ofrecidos, resulta ser posible poner aspectos de mi propio estudio en otra o nueva perspectiva, en este caso en cuanto a los escritores locales que publicaron en español, mediante el estudio de Capriles Goldish (2009) y en cuanto al grupo de los *passantes*, mediante el estudio de Barroso García (2011).

A.Z. López Penha (1865-1927)

En mi estudio (1999: 89-95), intento hacer un esfuerzo modesto de tener una idea más clara de la personalidad de A.Z. López Penha y de sus méritos literarios. Pues, ¿quién era esta persona, que se expresó literariamente en español con poemas de alta calidad? Basándome en una referencia del poeta curazoleño Pierre Lauffer, quien observa que A.Z. López Penha frecuentó las reuniones culturales en la casa de Lelia Capriles (Lauffer: 109-114), concluyo que A.Z. López Penha, durante su estancia en Curazao, aparentemente participó públicamente en la vida cultural. Otra prueba que A.Z. López Penha pertenecía al círculo artístico y cultural local es que el escritor curazoleño David Darío Salas (1872-1937) dedicó una de sus novelas, *Raúl* (1910), a este escritor tan dotado. Después de un análisis de algunos poemas (y prosa) encontrados en revistas y periódicos locales, concluyo que el autor escribió poemas locales con rasgos románticos y modernistas.

En *Once Jews: stories of Caribbean sephardim*, se enfoca la presencia de los judíos sefardíes en Barranquilla (Capriles Goldish, 2009: 163-212), con algunas páginas informativas sobre A.Z. López Penha, llenando muchos huecos en mi investigación. Según Capriles Goldish, A.Z. López Penha se estableció en Barranquilla en 1886 a los 21 años, en el momento que su hermano David ya era muy conocido y exitoso en la ciudad. Es sorprendente que netamente en el año que A.Z. López Penha se alejó de

Curazao, él comenzó a contribuir a una revista cultural curazoleña de gran importancia, *Notas y Letras* (1886-1888), lo que continuó haciendo durante los dos años de la existencia de esta revista.

El estudio de Capriles Goldish comienza la parte dedicada a “The Lopez Penhas of Barranquilla” (y no “López” según una firma personal debajo de una foto suya reproducida por la investigadora) (p.185)) con la reproducción del poema “Abismos” escrito en 1893 por A.Z. López Penha que es muy característico por la combinación de rasgos del romanticismo y modernismo:

De la luna al fulgor de suave armiño
Las ondas descogían
Sus encajes de perlas y espumas;
En nuestra sed de amor, jamás pensamos
Que ocultaban la muerte en sus abismos.
Hoy que al fin he sondeado en tu conciencia,

Tú, mi santa dorada de otros tiempos!...
Hoy sé que puede el alma
Tras el poema de luz de una sonrisa
Ocultar los abismos de la muerte. (pp. 183-184).

279

El hecho de que se puede observar rasgos muy claros de estas dos corrientes literarias, es para mí, otra confirmación de mi clasificación de las contribuciones literarias locales (Echteld, 1999: 90-92) de A.Z. López Penha.

Capriles Goldish, antes de enfocar la persona de A.Z. López Penha, nos da información de sus hermanos, Sarah López Penha y David López Penha. La información que nos presenta Capriles Goldish en cuanto a la vida de David López, es muy relevante. David López Penha nació en Santo Domingo en 1846, se estableció durante algunos años en Curazao (pues pertenece a la categoría de *passanten*) para después establecerse en Barranquilla, donde también mostró su talento literario. David López Penha fundó un imperio comercial impresionante hasta su muerte inesperada y relativamente temprana en 1893 (pp. 184-196). Capriles Goldish no sólo se refiere a todo lo que logró David como negociante y a su influencia en la vida cultural y política de Colombia, sino también nos informa de su gran capacidad intelectual. Sus presentaciones y charlas en los periódicos de Barranquilla son prueba de ello. Por los fragmentos encontrados, según Capriles Goldish, es imposible negar las capacidades literarias del hermano mayor de A.Z. López Penha. Esto justifica en el futuro una búsqueda a posibles textos literarios que haya dejado para la posteridad.

Goldish Capriles dedica bastante atención a A.Z. López Penha, el hermano menor de la familia, por sus méritos literarios. En su estudio, la investigadora revela datos

nuevos de diversa índole, los que antes, a mí no me había sido posible discernir. A.Z. López Penha no resulta tener talento para dedicarse con éxito al comercio como su hermano David. Sin embargo, era muy letrado. Hasta tenía una librería en Barranquilla, cuyos clientes intentaba educar culturalmente (Capriles Goldish, 2009: 205). Capriles Goldish indica que los críticos literarios no siempre eran tan positivos de las contribuciones literarias de A.Z. López Penha (pp. 205-207). No comparto la opinión de estos críticos.

Creo que, tomando en consideración las aportaciones de escritores contemporáneos, las aportaciones literarias de A.Z. López Penha son de un nivel muy aceptable y en algunos casos hasta de nivel superior. Capriles Goldish intenta aclarar que esta crítica negativa se debía al antisemitismo (p. 206). Esta observación justifica una investigación más profunda en el futuro. Otro motivo para hacer más estudio a la figura de A. Z. López Penha, es la observación de la investigadora que el escritor, como era de costumbre en estos tiempos, también insertó expresiones literarias en periódicos y revistas colombianas. Para mí, esta observación es un estímulo de localizar y luego estudiar estos periódicos y revistas desde una perspectiva literaria. En su estudio, Capriles Goldish dedica algunas palabras a la novela *La Desposada de una sombra* (también Echteld, 1999: 90), y menciona una referencia de un crítico literario a otra novela del escritor, sin mencionar el título de esta novela. Según mi parecer, casi seguramente, debe ser *Camila Sánchez, novela de costumbres* (1898), que A.Z. López Penha dedica a su querido maestro, Gaspar Núñez de Arce, como “homenaje de admiración y respetuoso cariño” (Echteld, 1999: 92-93).

Del estudio de Capriles Goldish, podemos deducir que A.Z. López Penha durante su vida, como era una costumbre en estos tiempos, sigue con la tradición de dedicar su producto literario a una persona literaria o políticamente conocida. Ella menciona referencias a un senador español Angel Pulido y una dedicación al poeta Walt Whitman. También menciona la colección de poemas *Cromos*, dedicada a su hermano David, que incluye poemas dedicados a otras figuras literarias y de la vida musical. El hecho de que Ruben Darío es uno de ellos, supone una gran admiración de López Penha por él y (tal vez) una influencia directa de este autor modernista en la obra poética de A.Z. López Penha (Capriles Goldish: 207-208). Según Capriles Goldish en algunas obras que publica, A.Z. López Penha, subraya su origen judaico (p. 209). No he encontrado tal referencias en la poesía que he podido localizar y estudiar en Curazao. Queda claro que el estudio de Capriles Goldish es un estímulo para seguir investigando más facetas de A.Z. López Penha, quien, por sus expresiones poéticas literarias en español de alto nivel, pertenece al *canon* literario de Curazao.

Mariano Picón Salas (1901-1965) y Curazao: un *passante* a temprana edad

Con el estudio *Colorido, luz; aromas de malagueta; sabor a níspero, a aventura y a libertad: el Curazao de Mariano Picón Salas*, Barroso García intenta indicar que

Mariano Picón Salas era uno de los prosistas más conocidos e importantes de Venezuela. La investigadora hace elogio a las habilidades literarias de Mariano Picón Salas, y observa que por diferentes motivos que “(...) Curazao quedó grabada” en él (p. 9). Por este motivo “releyó *Odisea de Tierra Firme*” de este autor. Pues justamente en esta obra “(...) Curazao y las Antillas en general constituyen un mundo de plenitud de los sentidos y de nostalgia de libertad” (p. 9). Barroso García indica en su obra, que Aruba, Bonaire y Curazao “(...) han estado asociados a un espacio de paz y amistad, donde se podría ir a vivir y a recobrase física y espiritualmente, alejados de los escenarios de guerras físicamente (...)” (p. 10). Según la investigadora, para Mariano Picón Salas, Curazao era un lugar “asociado al deslumbramiento del mar, de la luminosidad, del color; a la percepción concreta de aromas y sabores que lo impregnarían para siempre y a la nostalgia de libertad en las ideas y costumbres que ha representado para los de Tierra Firme” (p. 10).

Por la obra *Odisea de Tierra Firme* se puede deducir que Mariano Picón Salas tiene mucho conocimiento de la relación histórica entre Curazao y Venezuela. Barroso García hace referencia a diferentes contribuciones literarias de Mariano Picón Salas en que aparece de una forma u otra, la isla de Curazao. Las referencias a estos fragmentos relevantes despiertan una curiosidad e invitan al lector a leer toda la obra respectiva, integralmente.

Barroso García nos informa que Mariano Picón Salas era de Mérida, donde nació en 1901. Todos los viajes y estancias en el extranjero le influenciaron, pero “(...) una de las personas más importantes e influyentes en su vida, y que será uno de los personajes de su obra narrativa, es su abuelo médico que había hecho un viaje a París en los años cincuenta del siglo XIX, y será quien le empuje a despertar la curiosidad y el deseo de conocer el mundo que quedaba más allá de sus montañas y quien lo ponga en contacto con las Antillas a través de su bisabuela martiniqueña” (p. 21).

En el contexto de este artículo, es sorprendente y remarcable que Mariano Picón Salas era un escritor que pertenece (desde la perspectiva curazoleña) a la categoría de los *passanten*, ya que tenemos pruebas de que Mariano Picón Salas, ya a muy temprana edad, visitó Curazao con un pariente, Gonzalo Picón Febres.

Al estudiar los periódicos y revistas en Curazao, he localizado una huella de este viaje en el periódico *El Boletín Comercial* del 7 de septiembre de 1912, en que comunican que Gonzalo Picón Febres, un hombre estudiado, (pariente de Mariano Picón Salas), se despide de Curazao por medio de “las presentes líneas” de sus amigos y relacionados sintiendo no despedirse personalmente por premura de su viaje y aguarda sus gratas órdenes en la ciudad de Mérida” (Echteld, 1999: 58).

La referencia a Gonzalo Picón Febres tiene una dimensión extra, por la recién publicación de la biografía de Pierre Lauffer, *Pierre Lauffer: het bewogen leven van een bevlogen dichter* (2012) por Bernadette Heiligers y Fred de Haas. En la primera página del primer capítulo, Heiligers hace mención del hecho que la madre de Pierre

Lauffer le declamó poesía del “passant” Gonzalo Picón Febres, cuando Pierre todavía era muy joven. Heiligers lo presenta a Gonzalo Picón Febres como perteneciente al cuerpo diplomático y como escritor venezolano, que se estableció diferentes veces como exilado en la isla de Curazao (p. 15).

Barroso García se refiere a un estudio de Rafael Pineda sobre Mariano Picón Salas, en que Pineda menciona el periódico *De Maasbode* de Willemstad, que contiene una foto del Mariano Picón Salas en Curazao, a muy temprana edad. Resulta que Picón Salas confirma esta estancia en la isla que resulta ser por motivos médicos. Pues, Curazao era el lugar más alcanzable desde Mérida para acceder a tratamiento médico. Había entonces otro motivo, aparte de motivos comerciales o lazos familiares, para pasar por Curazao, convirtiéndose Mariano Picón Salas en *passante* por sus referencias a Curazao en su obra literaria.

Cabe añadir, que la impresión de esta estancia a temprana edad, era de larga duración y de un gran impacto para Mariano Picón Salas, lo que él también subraya en un artículo que él escribió en 1952, según Barroso García. La autora se refiere a un artículo en “el diario *El Nacional de Caracas*: “Curazao: Primera Imagen” (primera parte) y el 30 del mismo mes su segunda parte titulada “Heterodoxia en Curazao” (p. 24). Ambos artículos aparecerían más tarde en “el libro *Comprensión de Venezuela* con el título de ‘Límites de Venezuela: La isla de Curazao’: y en 1988, en el volumen II, *Suma de Venezuela*” (p. 24).

282

Para el lector de hoy, es muy interesante analizar cómo Mariano Picón Salas describe a Curazao para sus lectores. Sus observaciones se dejan dividir en dos categorías: en observaciones de los alrededores y en observaciones en cuanto a la vida social. Es interesante mirar cómo una estancia de relativamente corto tiempo a muy temprana edad quedó grabada en la mente del autor Mariano Picón Salas y cómo influyó su manera de pintar a Curazao muchos años después. Pensando en Curazao, se refiere entre otras cosas al “gusto de las galletas de jengibre”, a “los calientes cacahuets” en el “viejíssimo mercado”, y a mercancías “de una negra”. Son remarcables sus referencias a la lengua vernacular de la isla expresadas por “las negras” que le suena como una “lengua niña, prieta y sabrosa a níspero, que se llama papiamento” (p. 24). Es llamativo su amor y afición a este idioma criollo.

El estudio de Barroso García nos estimula a saber más de este *passante*. Así es importante que en el futuro cercano, una persona que está al tanto de la cultura curazoleña investigue y analice la obra de Mariano Picón Salas detenidamente como lo hizo Barroso García. Saliendo de una perspectiva local, puede ser que los comentarios hechos de estos fragmentos serán distintos de los anteriores. Esto no sólo puede dar más comprensión de los fragmentos en cuestión, sino también puede ser interesante en el contexto de la imagología. Pues, cuál es la imagen de Curazao que nos ofrecen los *passanten*, y no limitándonos en tal estudio a Picón Salas, sino

también a los demás que se dejan clasificar en esta categoría de escritores (Van Kempen & Rutgers, 2005)?

Por nuevas técnicas modernas, por ejemplo de conectar y relacionar colecciones de bibliotecas e institutos científicos por vía digital, se mejora la accesibilidad de material y de fuentes. Así que una investigación histórica literaria, aunque todavía siendo un reto o desafío, se facilite y puede tener más profundidad, dando nuevas perspectivas para seguir con otras investigaciones. Mundialmente, todavía hay un sinfín de documentos relevantes para estudiar detenidamente en cuanto a los escritores locales que escribieron en español y en cuanto a los *passanten* que se expresaron en este idioma. Los datos obtenidos, seguramente darán nuevas dimensiones a la literatura en español en Curazao.

REFERENCIAS

- Barroso García, Natividad (2011). *Colorido, luz, aromas de malagueta; sabor a níspero, a aventura y a libertad: el Curazao de Mariano Picón Salas*. Barquisimeto: Concultura.
- Capriles Goldish, Josette (2009). *Once Jews: stories of Caribbean sephardim*. Princeton: Markus Wiener Publishers.
- Echteld, Elisabeth (1999). *Literatura en español en Curazao al cambio del siglo. En busca de textos desconocidos de la segunda mitad del siglo XIX y de las primeras décadas del siglo XX*. PhD dissertation, University of Utrecht.
- Echteld, Elisabeth (2011). The creative art of Geerdine Kuijpers in Curaçao: bonding, bridging or belonging? En Nicholas Faraclas, Ronald Severing, Christa Weijer & Elisabeth Echteld (Eds.), *Iguana's newfound voices: continuity, divergence and convergence in language, culture, and society on the ABC-Islands*. Willemstad: University of Curaçao/Fundashon pa Planifikashon di Idioma.
- Echteld, Elisabeth (2013). Imágenes de Curazao en la literatura hispana. *Kristóf*, 14, 1, 33-39.
- Heiligers, Bernadette & Fred de Haas (2012). *Pierre Lauffer. het bewogen leven van een bevlogen dichter*. Haarlem: In de Knipscheer.
- Lauffer, Pierre (1974). Vredewijk i su époka. *Kristòf*, 1, 3: 109-114.
- Severing, Ronnie, Wim Rutgers & Liesbeth Echteld (2006). *Kadans: literatuur-geschiedenis*. Curaçao: Fundashon pa Planifikashon di Idioma.
- Van Kempen, Michiel & Wim Rutgers (2005). *Noordoostpassanten: 400 jaar Nederlandse verhaalkunst over Suriname, de Nederlandse Antillen en Aruba*. Amsterdam/Antwerpen: Uitgeverij Contact.

RECURRENT THEMES IN THE WORK OF FRANK MARTINUS ARION

RONALD SEVERING

UNIVERSITY OF CURAÇAO; INSTITUTE FOR LANGUAGE PLANNING, FPI

Introduction

Frank Martinus Arion (1936) is a Dutch-Caribbean writer who has almost exclusively published in Dutch with only a few of his works being published in his native language, Papiamentu. His first Collection of Poems *Stemmen uit Afrika* (*Voices from Africa*), appeared in 1958, after which more poetry was published, spread out over quite a few years. Apart from his three collections of poetry titled *Oorlog aan Edelstenen* (*War to the Precious Stones*, 1974); *In de Wolken* (*In the Clouds*, 1970) and *Ta amor so por* (*Only love can do it*, 1968), he also penned a number of individual poems.

Martinus's prose is far better known than his poetry. He is perhaps most well known for his novel *Dubbelspel* (*Double Play*, 1973). Over the years, *Dubbelspel* has maintained its popularity to a greater extent than his next novels *Afscheid van een Koningin* (*Farewell from a Queen*, 1975) and *Nobele Wilden* (*Noble Savages*, 1979). In this article, I will demonstrate how the key literary concepts in Martinus's oeuvre have been apparent since his earliest work and how his latest novel *De Laatste Vrijheid* (*The last freedom*, 1995) can be compared with his most widely acclaimed masterpiece *Dubbelspel* on the basis of these recurring literary themes and tropes.

The poems of Martinus's *Stemmen uit Afrika* first appeared in the late 1950s in *Antilliaanse Cahier*, a magazine written for Antilleans in the Netherlands. When this collection of poetry was republished 20 years later, the by then well known author used his introduction to the volume to respond to the criticism of the Dutch newspaper reviewers, who two decades previously did not know how to rate this obscure young black poet. Just as he does in much of the rest of his written work, in this introduction Martinus presents us with a seemingly unrelated collection of names, including Christ, and a seemingly motley crew of authors, ranging from Homer and Virgil, to the Dutch Renaissance poet Vondel, to more recent authors such as the Antillean author Debrot, the Dutch authors Nordholt, Rodenko and Wolkers, and the Surinamese author

Trefossa. This list seems to become even less homogeneous when he adds such names as Phil MacGee, a victim of the race riots in the south of the United States, Keita Fodeba, of African dance troupe, and the famous African-American heavy-weight champion Muhammed Ali. What do these key figures of classical European epic and poetry have to do with the spokespeople for black liberation and anti-colonial struggles and the artists associated with them?



In an interview (1991) at the Scheveningen Kurhaus, Frank Martinus explains that he was fascinated by the whirlwind dances of the African dance troupe of Keita Fodeba. Ronald Severing (left) and Frank Martinus Arion (right) in front of the Kurhaus.

What emerges from Martinus's commentary and his written work is that these are the names of some of the people who inspired the unique mixture of classical literary structure, focus on Africa and the African diaspora, and concern for the marginalized that has typified his work over the last half century. The young poet-student was so impressed by the spectacularly authentic West African performance of Keita Fodeba and the troupe at the Kurhaus in The Hague that he waited at the artists' entrance of the theatre to meet them personally after the show. This performance can be considered to be one of the moments that helped to unleash his literary voice, which deftly interweaves classical and West African poetics, thematics, politics and worldviews.

It is often very difficult for readers to discern as story line behind a collection of poems, but this is not at all the case with *Stemmen uit Afrika*. In the first stanza, we are introduced to an African guide who accompanies white tourists on a trip through Africa. The story is frequently interspersed with reflection on the leading text in the form of African-American spirituals, in a way that is reminiscent of the chorus in classical epic and drama. Just as is the case in classical writing, individual poems are not necessarily assigned individual titles, a number is sufficient to differentiate each from the rest. Poem No. III reads as follows:

III

Eens zijn alle negers
tamtammend uitgevaren
uit hun zwart-ompaalde
negorijen

hun prauwen schoten
over de rivieren,
dwalend door 't woud.

eens, maar eens is ver
en eens is lang geleden.

nu gaan zij als karbauwen.
mak-geslagen, lam.
berooft van hun tam-tam

en slepen stenen aan
waar anderen bouwen.

III

Once upon a time all
Negroes sailed away from their
by black fenced settlements,
While beating their tom-toms.

Their canoes shot
Across the rivers which meandered
Through the jungle.

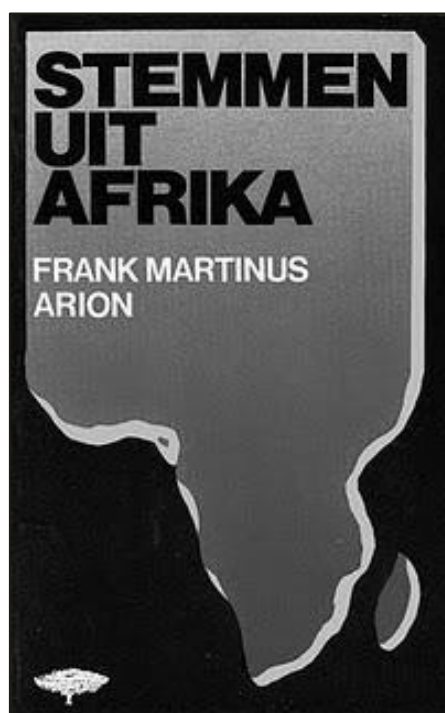
Once, but once means far away
And once is long ago.

Now they go as cattle
Beaten senseless
And robbed of their tom-toms.

And they carry the stones
For others to build.

Both the content and the form of this poem are typical of the entire collection. The writer uses few and simple words woven together according to strict classical literary formulae to convey meanings that are clear in their depiction of people who are historically marginalized and forced to construct realities in someone else's image and someone else's interest, with a particular focus on the African diaspora.

Martinus's work is not only inspired by the people whose lives and work he was exposed to through the media. The cultural and social context of the author and his own personal environment contribute to a richer and more accurate interpretation of his work. Martinus' father was *bario* leader or district leader for the National People's Party. As a young boy in Curaçao, the author not only personally witnessed the whole grueling process of political campaigning, but also participated in it by appearing on stage during election meetings and



presenting a cultural interlude, for example, by doing a dramatic interpretation of Tula, the leader of one of the major slave rebellions that took place on Curaçao.

Through his family's networks, Martinus had met famous political leaders such as "Doctoer" da Costa Gomez and prominent authors such as Cola Debrot, who paid visits to his home. He spent his younger days in an ambiance of passionate discussion about social reform, ideology, democracy, freedom, and struggles against marginalization and domination. The writer and politician Amador Nita became an associate of Martinus, who sold Nita's home-written and home-stenciled novels to the public for a pittance. According to Martinus, nothing could make him prouder of his early writing than the positive comments made about it by Nita, who never failed to impress him with his tall figure and his big cigar.

Later, while doing his Greek and Latin translations at a classical Grammar School in the Netherlands, the young Martinus began to write his 'things'. This is how he refers to his early literary work in his introduction to *Stemmen uit Afrika*. For him, these are not really poems, but 'things', perhaps a label for a specific form he was searching for, but had not yet found. Meanwhile, through his contacts with the Dutch poet and historian Schulte Nord Holt¹ Martinus's awareness of the race problem in North America had grown enormously.

Martinus's political commitment to the cause of the marginalized and oppressed has not been limited to his writing. During the course of his lifetime, he has made significant practical efforts to address the abuse of power by transforming his ideas into social action. Besides founding a political party (KARA)² and becoming a prominent voice in Caribbean politics, he established the Kolegio Erasmo, the first modern comprehensive K-12 public school on the ABC-Islands where Papiamentu has been used as the language of instruction and initial literacy. This school has served as a successful model for first language education in the Caribbean and beyond, breaking with centuries of schooling in European colonial languages which have effectively excluded the majority of the population of many nations in the Afro-Caribbean region from meaningful access to formal education.

All of these artistic and political influences together created Martinus's unique literary poetics and poetics of life which have always been intertwined in a way that run consistently through his work from *Stemmen uit Afrika* to the present. While classical literary structure and concern for the marginalized have remained constant throughout, a gradual shift in focus from the African diaspora in particular to the human predicament in general can be detected over the course of his literary career. Nowhere

¹ During the time that Martinus wrote his poems, he was allowed to read the proofs of *Het Volk dat in duisternis wandelt* (*The people that walks in darkness*) by Schulte Nord Holt, a Protestant poet who later became professor of history at the University of Leiden. Through this book, Martinus became aware of the history of the North American oppression of people of African descent. (Severing 1995).

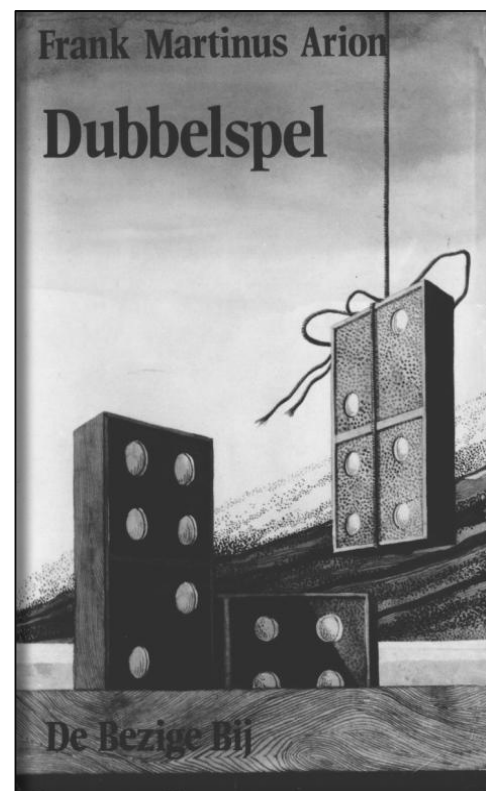
² KARA (KAmbio RApid 'Fast Change') aimed to achieve economic autonomy in 1994 and political independence in 1998.

is this continuity and gradual expansion of scope more evident than in the novels *Dubbelspel* and *De Laatste Vrijheid* (Severing, 1995).

Dubbelspel focuses on four people living in the same neighborhood of the little village of Wakota who face the challenges that marginalized members of Curaçaoan society confront in their everyday lives. In the story we gradually become aware of the way these four individuals have to lead their lives, and of how they deal with the realities of grinding poverty and social hardship. Martinus has us looking over their shoulders and into their minds and hearts as they make their moves in the domino game and in the game of life.

The subtle differences between the domino players Boeboe Fiel, Manchi Sanantonio, Janchi Pau and Chamon Nicolas, none of whom have had access to higher education, and the strategies and tactics that they use to make ends meet are decisive for their esteem in the eyes of the other players at the table. In the novel the domino players are prisoners of their economic and social disadvantage, but they themselves are not the cause of this situation. As time goes on, however, they become more and more trapped in it and the only thing that they can do in the end is to live from day to day. In *Dubbelspel* the reader is irresistibly pulled into the story and cannot help but be profoundly moved by it.

Dubbelspel received critical acclaim and has become one of the modern classics in secondary education in the Antilles and, to a lesser extent, in the Netherlands. Reviews of the works of Martinus after the publication and success of *Dubbelspel* have not been so positive. A sudden change of his fading popularity came in 2006 when in the Netherlands book promoters started with the project “Nederland leest”³. (Holland reads) The first book they selected was *Dubbelspel*. For some day the whole country read and discussed Martinus’s novel.



Critical judgments about *Afscheid van de koningin* and *Nobele Wilden* were varied and generally lukewarm. After a silence of sixteen years, however, a new novel by Martinus appeared with the title *De Laatste Vrijheid*. With this novel, Martinus made something of a literary comeback.

³ “Nederland leest” followed Seattle’s example called “One City one book”. As a result of this project one million copies of the novel *Dubbelspel* were sold.

In *De Laatste Vrijheid* a volcano on the imaginary Caribbean island of Amber is seemingly at the point of eruption. The fifty-thousand inhabitants of the village of Constance at the foot of the volcano have been evacuated. The only person who refuses to leave is Curaçao-born Daryll Guenepou. Daryll has fled the island several times in the past, but for him Amber is the paradise where he now wants to live with his two children. Despite the danger to his own life and to that of his twins Sigui and Mau, Daryll will under no circumstance leave this island.

Aideline Griffith, Joan Mikolai and Arnold Brouce are the other major characters in the novel. Aideline is Daryl's wife who leaves him and their two children behind to go to Europe to *hasi su kos* ('do her own thing'). She is firmly convinced that she can realize her artistic goals only if she frees herself from her suffocating relationship with Daryll. He is caring and dedicated, but in her eyes he is unbearably dominant. In faraway Europe, she can grow and excel in her musical endeavors. Art Brouce is a geologist who succeeds after much effort to be appointed as volcano monitor on Amber. Although he pretends to be a volcano expert, he is really an expert in petroleum engineering. Joan Mikolai is a star reporter for international TV Station CIN (similar to CNN), who has traveled to the evacuated area. During her journalistic mission, she comes under the spell of Daryll and will, just like Daryll, Aideline and Brouce, have to face a critical and personal life choice *keda òf no keda*, to stay or not to stay.

From a structural point of view, it is interesting to compare these two masterful novels with each other. It is important to base this comparison in Martinus's earliest work *Stemmen uit Afrika*, where he establishes a clear link with literary classics, by mentioning the literary art of the Greeks and Romans, of the Bible, and of masters such as Dante and Petrarch. In all of his work, Martinus uses classical structures. Following Dante's lead, *Stemmen uit Afrika* includes the elements of a guide in the story and the chorus of the Greek drama. *Dubbelspel* with its division into five sections, each with unity of time (same day), of place (the domino table) and of action (the domino game) meets the requirements of classical Greek drama. *De Laatste Vrijheid* is built on a biblical pattern. Daryll is a kind of Jesus figure who is in paradise (Amber) and is surrounded by his disciples Sigui and Mau. From the slope of the volcano he delivers his *Speech on the Mount* through CIN to the world and he is able to mobilize the masses. Eventually he survives the volcanic eruption and comes out of the cave alive, just as at

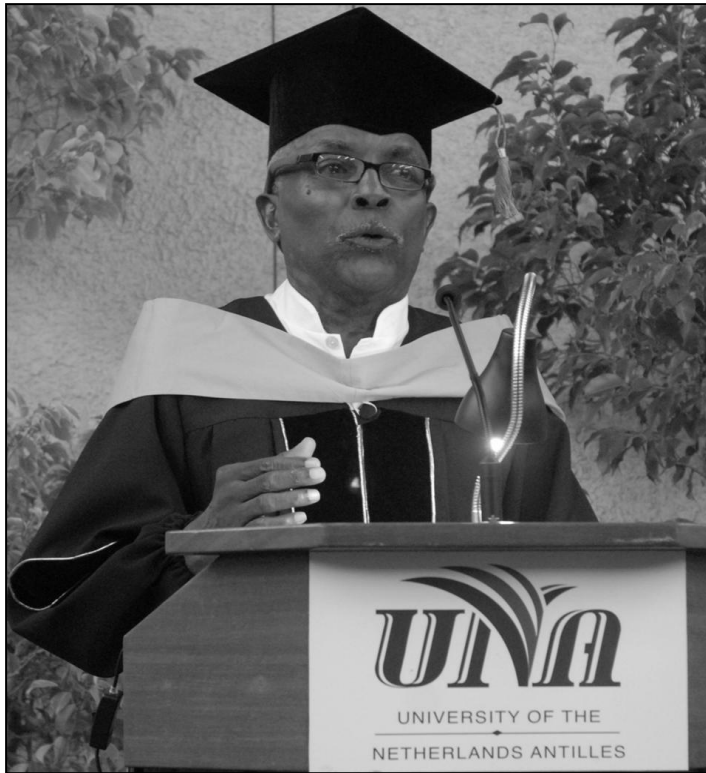


the resurrection of Christ. Developing stories on underlying patterns based in well-known classical literature is a characteristic of Martinus's work. He assumes prior knowledge of this classical literature by the reader. Without that knowledge, the story can still be read without too much trouble, but on another level. These classical references add another dimension to the story.

At first sight the two novels seem to show little in the way of similarity in a thematical sense. But upon closer examination, interesting parallels emerge. Both novels have a generally Caribbean, and specifically Curaçaoan flavor and backdrop. The story in *Dubbelspel* plays out in the imaginary village of Wakota on Curaçao whereas in *De Laatste Vrijheid* everything takes place on the fictitious but unmistakably Caribbean island of Amber, and the main characters, Daryll and his wife Aideline, hail from Curaçao. Thus, Martinus is able to integrate details from the Antilles and Aruba into both novels. The characteristically Antillean tropes, the typically Antillean comments of the characters, and the resulting "Arionistic" perspective are similar in both novels. That perspective is manifested by a general critique of influences from Europe and other hegemonic powers, by a strong dislike for everything associated with neo-colonialism, by a focus and emphasis on ethnic and racial differences, by challenging the established order, by attention to the local language, and a great many other issues. Without any doubt, all of these elements play a prominent role in both novels.

The use of the author's personal experiences in fictional story is not uncommon. In *Dubbelspel*, Martinus uses names and events from local history mentioning teachers such as Stanley Brown and Freddy Antersijn and the Aruban Betico Croes. While in *Dubbelspel* we can to some extent discern what might be snapshots of real people from Martinus's childhood, *De Laatste Vrijheid* is overflowing with recognizable autobiographical elements. Martinus' intense personal interest in a number of matters becomes repeatedly apparent to us as we reread these texts. It is well known that Martinus has played a pioneering role in the introduction of Papiamentu in education, and Kolegio Erasmo is actually mentioned by name in *De Laatste Vrijheid*, where methods of education and didactic strategies are also commented upon. The fact that reference is made to Cape Verde in West Africa has to do with visits by Martinus as director of the Instituto Lingwístiko Antiano to those islands, where the local Portuguese lexifier Creole is in many ways strikingly similar to Papiamentu. This linguistic connection has played a pivotal role in Martinus's intellectual life, since his doctoral thesis in linguistics – to which he gave the literary title *The kiss of a slave* (1996) – focuses on the African roots of the Papiamentu language.





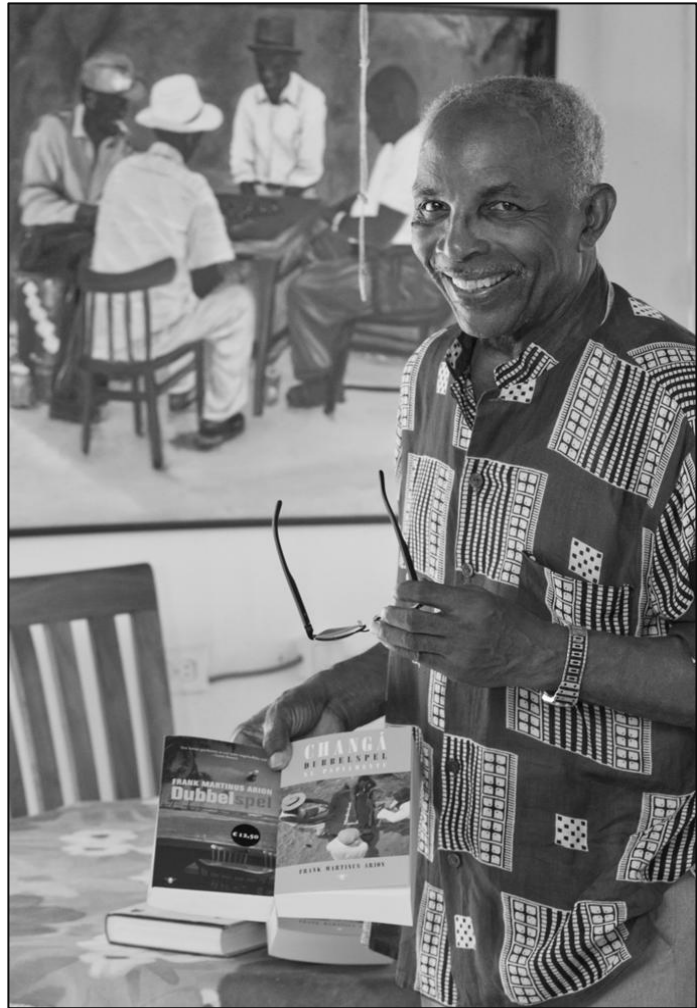
In 2008 Frank Martinus was appointed as professor of Linguistics at the University of Curaçao.

Although both novels can be said to be politically defined, *Dubbelspel* could be said to be more of a socially defined novel whereas *De Laatste Vrijheid* could be said to be more a culturally defined novel. But this perhaps reflects the evolution of political movements against marginalization over the past 60 years, which have moved from a narrow focus on socio-economic issues to include more cultural and personal issues as well. So,

while in *Dubbelspel* the limited economic, educational and employment opportunities of the characters is in the spotlight, in *De Laatste Vrijheid*, the emphasis is much more on cultural and personal opportunities. For example, Daryll was not allowed to teach in the native language of the children, Papiamentu, and leaves the school system in protest. He teaches his children himself according to his own educational views. Pedantic imported 'experts' such as Brouce, and their neo-colonial attitudes are roundly criticized. These are all cultural issues that play a role in Caribbean, and the Dutch Caribbean politics.

The shift towards social politics and challenges to patriarchy is also evident from *Dubbelspel* to *De Laatste Vrijheid*. While the former foregrounds the disadvantaged social classes rather than patriarchy, in the latter, all of the characters are not particularly disadvantaged in terms of class, and patriarchy is foregrounded instead, focusing on men who show traditionally 'feminine' traits and on women who show traditionally 'masculine' traits. Daryll is an excellent mother to his children, while Aideline has a career to pursue. The choice is between staying on Amber or leaving becomes not only an intensely personal choice but also an intensely political choice. Aideline decides to leave without the children, while Brouce decides to stay, because he does not want to go back to the East, a negative choice. Joan Mikolai considers staying because of her devotion to Daryll and his cause. In Daryll's case, he decides to stay, making use in this way of his ultimate freedom: the choice to live as one wishes, even if death is the consequence.

In summary, *Dubbelspel* and *De Laatste Vrijheid* lend themselves well to comparison, as they are both novels of equal caliber and significance. From an imagological point of view, one can say that throughout Martinus' oeuvre a textual representation of his image of Africa and things African - mainly seen from the point of an outsider - is constantly apparent. This is evident from *Stemmen uit Afrika* through to *De Laatste Vrijheid*. In both *Dubbelspel* and *De Laatste Vrijheid* the author writes from his inner self. He does so through his personal knowledge of the Afro-Caribbean population of Curaçao and through his political grasp of the persistent and shifting challenges that they have faced in their daily lives from the middle of the 20th century to the beginning of the 21st.



Dubbelspel was translated from Dutch to Papiamentu for the first time in 2011 by Lucille Haseth. The title was *Changá*.

REFERENCES

- Martinus Arion, Frank (1957). *Stemmen uit Afrika*. *Antilliaanse Cahiers*, jrg. 3, nr 1. Amsterdam.
- Martinus Arion, Frank (1968). *Ta amor so por*. Willemstad.
- Martinus Arion, Frank (1968 [1985]). *Ser Betris*. Curaçao.
- Martinus Arion, Frank (1970). *In de Wolken*. Curaçao.
- Martinus Arion, Frank (1973). *Dubbelspel*. Amsterdam: De Bezige Bij.
- Martinus Arion, Frank (1974). Oorlog aan edelstenen. *Gedicht*, jrg. 1, nr 2, 3-7.
- Martinus Arion, Frank (1975). Afscheid van de koningin. Amsterdam: De Bezige Bij.
- Martinus Arion, Frank (1978). *Stemmen uit Afrika*. Rotterdam: Flamboyant.
- Martinus Arion, Frank (1989). De korte e van Cola Debrot en de harmonie van mentaliteit en taal. *Op eigen gronden; opstellen aangeboden aan Prof. Dr. J. J. Oversteegen ter gelegenheid van zijn afscheid als Hoogleraar Theoretische*

- Literatuurwetenschap aan de Rijksuniversiteit Utrecht*. Utrecht: 145-154.
- Martinus Arion, Frank (1979). *Nobele wilden*. Amsterdam: De Bezige Bij.
- Martinus Arion, Frank (1995). *De laatste vrijheid*. Amsterdam: De Bezige Bij.
- Martinus, Efraim Frank (1996). *The kiss of a slave, Papiamentu's West-African Connections*. Amsterdam.
- Martinus Arion, Frank (2001). *De eeuwige hond*. Amsterdam: De Bezige Bij.
- Martinus Arion, Frank (2006). *De deserteurs*. Amsterdam: De Bezige Bij.
- Schulte Nordholt, Jan Willem (1960). *Het volk dat in duisternis wandelt. De geschiedenis van de negers in Amerika*. Arnhem: Van Loghum Slaterus.
- Severing, Ronald (1991). Nioka versus Njoka, Over Stemmen uit Afrika. *Drie Curaçaose schrijvers in veelvoud, Boeli van Leeuwen, Tip Marugg, Frank Martinus Arion*. Zutphen: 452-475.
- Severing, Ronald (1994). *Een poetica in de kiem, Een bespreking van de dichtbundel 'Stemmen uit Afrika' van Frank Martinus Arion*. Willemstad: UNA-cahier nr. 38,
- Severing, Ronald (1994). *Stemmen uit Afrika*. ABC-adviesrapporten in mei (nr. 69).
- Severing, Ronald (1995). 'De laatste vrijheid', nieuwe roman van Frank Martinus Arion. Bergrede Antilliaan op dreigende vulkaan via CIN. *Diálogo*. Utrecht: nr. 2.

CALYPSO MUSIC AND CRITICAL REFLECTION ON THE SELF IN ARUBA AND TRINIDAD

GREGORY RICHARDSON
INSTITUTO PEDAGOGICO ARUBANO

San Nicolas Doomed,
cause we don't unite,
we only fuss and fight.
Black Diamond (2000)

Calypso scholars such as Rohlehr, Hill, Manning, Warner and Sylvester, as well as many calypsonians across the Caribbean region such as Mighty Chalk Dust, Mighty Duke, Lord Blakie and Mighty Talent have often described calypso music as the mouthpiece of the people, the poor man's newspaper, the people's champ and the voice of the oppressed. Within this role, the calypsonian's main aim is, in the deconstructionist tradition of Foucault, to question the established power structures and dissect its implicit practices in defense of those on the periphery of society. However, every so often the calypsonian turns the symbolic "mirror" on himself and the community he lives to critically analyze its own functioning.

In this article, an analysis will be made of two calypsos out of the islands of Trinidad and Tobago and Aruba with a relatively high auto-critical posture. The first is entitled "Babylon" sung by Trinidadian calypsonian Karene Ashe, where she questions the usage of the concept Babylon as a negative epithet for those in power by her peers while they themselves are the main orchestrators of the crimes in her community. The second is entitled "San Nicolas Doomed" sung by the Aruban calypsonian Black Diamond, where he targets his hometown as the main reason for his community's economic and social woes. Black Diamond's calypso will be discussed in more detail. Studies on calypso music tend to focus intensely on oral literature, nationalism, and race / ethnicity in the English speaking Caribbean, very much in the realm of the critical and post colonial scholarly traditions. While many post colonial theorists in the Caribbean have received much praise for giving the region a critical voice on the world academic scene, many have also been criticized for their so called one sided attacks that primarily blame external factors (other than themselves) for their societies' failings. Critics accuse them of using terms such as, "European, White Man, The System, Neocolonial Powers, Globalization, Gringo, Macamba, Yankee,

Babylon” in such a way as to identify an outside group whose aim is to “downpress we people”.

In an attempt to bring some balance to this situation, I consider some of the ideas of Psychoanalyst Jung and those in his tradition, like Aruban born Jungian psychologist Dimitri Halley, who find it extremely important to also look at the Self in a spiritual sense if one is to heal from one’s past traumas. Jung found Self awareness to be essential in this whole journey. In *Psychological reflections* he states that: “Every advance, every achievement of mankind, has been connected with an advance in self awareness” (Hull & Jacobi, 1970). Jungian theorists argue that it is only when one voices these ills, also often referred to as The Shadow, and confronts them head on, one begins to heal and to reach to a deeper level of understanding. This is very much comparable to many religious practices where for example Roman Catholics go to confession, or Pentecostal and Evangelical church members publicly confess their sins in the process of being born again.

We will now consider two calypsos where the philosophy of Self-Awareness is promoted in the text and transferred to the audience. Karene Ashe is a former Trinidad and Tobago calypso monarch that sings very much in the tradition of the older Singer Sandra who is famous for her songs like ‘Colors, Dignity and Voices from the Ghetto.’ Just like Singing Sandra she incorporates many aspects of the Baptist and Orisha religious traditions like attire, dance and drums in her music. Most of her lyrics focus on giving the marginalized a voice in her hometown of Laventille (a suburb of Port of Spain). In her 2009 calypso entitled “Babylon” she goes against the grain, when compared to other calypsonians like Sugar Aloes and the Mighty Cro Cro, because she turns the mirror on her own community. She uses the ancient Middle Eastern city of Babylon, much described in religious writings, as a negative epithet often used by those in her community to depict the perceived oppressive authorities, such as the police. The concept of Babylon has been popularized by the Rastafarian movement in Jamaica with songs like “Chant Down Babylon” and “Babylon System” by Bob Marley. In her song, she claims that Babylon is not, as perceived by some in the society, a system of corrupted politicians and police officers but rather a mindset that lives within us all. In her third verse she sings:

It’s not police, who snatch the chain from around me sister neck
It’s not police, who at every turn, show the elders disrespect
It’s not police, who cross the line, and afraid to show he face
It’s not police, who at every wake

Still they keep on insisting, that Babylon is a system
that will keep you, naked and oppressed, yes
So if a brother is so obsessed

With stifling your progress
 Why these things we failing to address
 We have the whole idea of oppression misconstrued
 Babylon is You
 All them oppressive things you do
 Babylon is You
 All them tireless things you do
 Babylon is You

So what you see here is a shift from “Babylon” as something tangible and external to something psychological and internal. In her ethnography she provides evidence from her community, including herself, in the things that they do on a daily basis that are contrary to what they profess. In line with Jungian thought she becomes the Mirror through which the process of Self-Realization of her community can begin through effectively dealing with their challenges.

The second calypso is a song called “San Nicolas Doomed” written and performed by Aruban calypsonian Black Diamond. Black Diamond can be compared in many respects to Trinidad Calypsonian The Mighty Cro Cro. He is known as one the most critical and controversial calypsonians in Aruba, often accusing politicians and the carnival committee of corruption, as well as of racial and regional discrimination against his home town of San Nicolas. San Nicolas, considered to be the birthplace of Aruban calypso, is a vibrant pluri-cultural, pluri-lingual and pluri-ethnic town which attracted many migrants from all across the Caribbean region in the early part of the 20th century because of its oil industry, very much like St. Croix. Ever since the automation period, the instability in the oil market and the rise of tourism on other locations on the island, the local economy has faltered and many in the community have felt neglected and used by politicians.

In his 2000 calypso entitled ‘San Nicolas Doomed’ he nihilistically argues that Chocolate City is headed for destruction because of the people of San Nicolas’ cynical philosophy on life. He says that “they’d rather pong mele about their neighbors and not look at themselves.” He challenges them in his chorus to be reflective of their own actions and to come to the realization that ‘none is without sin; no one is higher than thou.’ He uses Christian imagery to point out that no one is perfect; that everyone ought to look at themselves first and not point the finger. In his first verse he sings:

God in heaven knows that I would like to see
 San Nicolas people live in harmony.
 It’s like a obeah a curse a spell on we’
 It’s like we lose we pride we shame and we dignity.
 It’s only gossip we know,

bad talk your neighbor for so,
find fault at people like hell,
see man with woman and tell.
If anyone of you in here dare to point a finger.
NO, I thought so. A jiggy jiggy, a jiggy jiggy.

In his second verse, he critically analyzes the “*we is we*” philosophy as it translates into practice. He concludes that there is a discrepancy between this constructed philosophy of unification and the actual implementation thereof. He comes to the realization that many of these slogans are just empty utterances that do not reflect reality. He says:

Another slogan we use, is we is we.
Damn thing wrong, is we kill we.
All other districts could laugh at the way we act.
They come and decide for us and that’s a fact.
When time we stand up we sit.
When time to defend we run.
When time to open we mouth,
like we fraid that they throw we out.
If anyone of you in here dare to point a finger.
NO, I thought so. A jiggy jiggy, a jiggy jiggy

In his third verse he is even more determined as he appeals to ‘his’ people to start accepting Aruba as One Happy Island. Flashes of him wanting be part of the One Happy Island Narrative and not on the fringe are beginning to manifest. He renounces the ‘we vs. they’ philosophy and proposes a new construct for looking at ‘Arubanness.’ He says:

The flag that we share, belongs to us too,
but the way we carry on, its as if its not true.
I know the expression we use, is ‘those Arubans’
excluding weself as if we’s aliens.
We always running we mouth
make up all types a stories about
who man sleeping who
and who divorce aint come true.
If anyone of you in here dare to point a finger.
NO a thought so. A Jiggy, Jiggy, a Jiggy, jiggy

To conclude I argue that many calypsonians are well aware of the complexity of balancing external criticism and internal self reflection and could provide an example to the academic community and politicians alike in ways to deal with many of the complex issues we face as a region. I think the self reflective approach holds many solutions in a culture where often times one doesn't like to admit where one has failed. I also argue that more scholars in the field of calypso music ought to consider less studied linkages, such as those between psychoanalysis and calypso music in their research for this could open up whole new worlds of possibilities in our field of study.

REFERENCE

Jung, C.G.; Hull, R.F.C. & Jolande Jacobi (Eds.) (1970). *C. J Jung. Psychological reflections: a new anthology of his writings 1905-1961*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

**TRANSCULTURAL STUDIES ON LANGUAGE, LEARNING AND SOCIETY
ON THE ABC-ISLANDS AND BEYOND**

HIGHER EDUCATION AS A NATIONAL INSTRUMENT FOR CAPACITY BUILDING: THE CASE OF CURAÇAO

SHARINE A. ISABELLA
UNIVERSITY OF CURAÇAO

Introduction

The interrelationship between globalization and innovation in the higher education sector has been explored by several scholars, including Marginson & Van der Wende (2007) and Goddard & Puukka (2008). Rapidly developing trends are having a major impact on higher education institutions worldwide, and while those institutions located in the industrialized and post-industrial part of the world are playing a role in shaping those trends, those located in less industrialized regions can be said to be fully occupied just in doing their utmost to keep up with them. Goddard and Puukka (2008) contend, however, that it is these less industrialized countries that have the most at stake in higher education, in terms of achieving their long term socio-economic goals. Higher education institutions in less industrialized countries are often highly constrained by a vulnerable political context, an unstable economic situation and, in some cases, small scale. Nevertheless, in less industrialized countries higher education is considered to be an important tool for local capacity building, regardless of the limitations encountered at the national level and the impact of international trends.

As part of the my PhD-research, I have been studying the national context in which higher education institutions located on the Caribbean island of Curaçao are operating, with the aim of gathering information regarding the influence of this context on the quality improvement goals pursued by the University of the Netherlands Antilles (UNA). In this article I present a summary of that part of my research. The article begins with a brief description of the importance of higher education for national development in general. Then, the article zooms in on the development of higher education in the Caribbean. Next, I address issues related to educational context and higher education policy in Curaçao. At the end of the article, the focus is on the role of UNA in the further achievement of socio-economic goals on the island, while trying to improve the quality of education delivered in order to meet international accreditation standards.

The importance of higher education for the achievement of national goals

According to several scholars, such as Ali (2008), Goddard & Puukka (2008), Miller (2002), Parkins (2007) and Wright et al. (2004) the role of higher education institutions in less industrialized countries are considered by local governments to be of great importance with regard to the achievement of national goals related to human capital and the building of capacity for participation in an increasingly competitive global economy. Goddard & Puukka (2008) contend that governments in less industrialized countries have realized that it is no longer acceptable to have a large proportion of the population educated at the lower and intermediate levels. Gradually they have started to acknowledge the importance of investment in higher education to facilitate the teaching, learning and research necessary to register real progress toward national socio-economic, socio-cultural and environmental goals. So, despite their limited financial resources, investment in the higher education sector is considered to be of great value in the training of highly skilled professionals who are capable of making their nation's vision for the future a reality.

As do many others, Billing (2004) and Marginson & Van der Wende (2007) argue that industrialized and post industrialized countries have more resources to invest in their higher education institutions than do less industrialized countries and can usually recruit from a wider pool of highly skilled personnel. This explains why they are generally more competitive in the contemporary globalized world. For less industrialized countries participation in the emerging worldwide knowledge economy is a major challenge. Due to their limited financial resources, governments in less industrialized countries are less able to sustain substantial levels of investment in higher education. Consequently, in these countries fewer students have the opportunity to continue their educational careers beyond the secondary level. As a consequence, low concentrations of students in higher education are mostly found in nations and regions that are relatively detached from the globally networked economy (Isabella, 2011). Enrollment growth in less industrialized regions, however, is accelerating as more governments see the rapid expansion of higher education as a key element in the achievement of their national goals.

National policies on higher education are normally intended to provide the necessary basis for higher education institutions to perform at a high quality level, especially those institutions which are publicly funded. Less industrialized countries are facing major challenges with regards to the best way to allocate their limited available resources. Should money be invested in higher education to attain longer term socio-economic goals, or in the lower-skilled work force to enhance competences over the shorter term? Should more money be spent on education or on health care? If more resources need to be invested in higher education, what is then required to provide this type of education at an international quality standard? These are only a few of the

many questions such countries are asking themselves in their aim to achieve national socio-economic goals, while at the same time taking international demands into account.

The ever more rapidly increasing significance of higher education has led to an enormous increase in the numbers of higher education providers. Growing demand for new and higher skills on local labor markets has put pressure on national governments to foster a proliferation of higher education institutions and/or to make more distance learning opportunities available to their citizens. Therefore, the higher education map of most countries, regardless of their level of industrialization, has come to be characterized by a diverse mix of public and private institutions. At the same time, national universities located in less industrialized countries are aiming to attract larger numbers of international students and academic staff in order to become players in the global arena of higher education. Internationalization is now considered to be fundamental goal of tertiary institutions worldwide. In this regard Goddard & Puukka (2008) state that it is therefore essential for all nations to think seriously about how to blend the global tendencies in higher education, including increased attention to external quality assurance, to local, national and regional responsibilities and possibilities. Nations are now expected to equip themselves with the tools for 'tying down the global to the local'.

Wright et al. (2004) contend that while the attainment of internationally accepted quality standards is of paramount importance for higher education institutions located in less industrialized countries, there are too few resources available to assist staff members to improve the quality of their teaching. In general, the higher education institutions in less industrialized nations still need to build up a research culture and mostly do not have the infrastructure to sustain the realization of their goals. They have to function based on limited resources, yet despite these limitations they need to cultivate and project both the national and the international profiles associated with university status.

Higher education institutions themselves recognize that becoming part of international networks will depend crucially on recruitment of larger numbers of international students and faculty, as well as on worldwide recognition of the quality of the degrees that they award. Beckles et al. (2002) and Miller (2002) observe that in order to attain such recognition, higher education institutions in less industrialized nations must undergo an accreditation process that has been designed for the most part to fit the realities of the industrialized nations. UNESCO has held a number conferences and workshops in less industrialized regions in order to build capacity to deal with the emerging challenges in quality assurance, accreditation and the recognition of qualifications in higher education (UNESCO, 2007). Higher education institutions

have therefore found it necessary to implement internal quality assurance systems to meet external quality assurance demands at the international level.

Recent developments in higher education in the Caribbean

The impact of globalization is felt at all levels. Its effects are not limited to education, politics and the economy but extend as well to the ways in which people think and react. As Badrawi (2011) points out, the current globalization of the mass media and the proliferation of globalized information sources threaten to transform and displace local cultures. Through global media and communications technologies, virtually everyone on earth is exposed to foreign ideas and practices, especially those of a handful of industrialized and post industrialized countries (Daniel, Kanwar & Uvalić-Trumbić, 2006). The scale of globalization has begun to break down national identities. As the global system develops and penetrates localities, individuals become consciously attached to the global system. This is as true for the Caribbean as a region as it is for any other less industrialized area of the world.

As elsewhere, the Caribbean region faces numerous challenges in a world that is becoming more and more interconnected. Ebong-Harstrup (2004) notes that globalization has had a great impact on the local context in which the Caribbean countries operate. Gift & Leo-Rhynie (2005) affirm that these nations are facing difficult challenges in their efforts to keep up with global trends in the areas of politics, economics and culture. To meet these challenges, the role of higher education is considered as critical by various Caribbean scholars, such as Gift & Leo-Rhynie (2005), Miller (2002) and Parkins (2007). Parkins (2007: 1) asserts that: “higher education is an indispensable component in the society that governments wish to create in the twenty first century”.

All national governments in the Caribbean region recognize the critical importance of higher education in the process of meeting their stated goals and objectives. Therefore, increased investment in higher education is being considered as an important instrument in keeping up with global developments and creating a society that meets the demands of the 21st century. Beckles et al. (2002), Gift & Leo-Rhynie (2005), Miller (2002) and Parkins (2007) demonstrate the contribution that higher education has already made not only to social mobility, but also to meeting national and regional goals in the Caribbean. For instance, the University of the West-Indies (UWI) is the dominant provider of higher education in the English-speaking Caribbean and its faculties offer a wide range of undergraduate, masters and doctoral programs. According to Gift & Leo-Rhynie (2005), during its 50 years of existence, alumni of UWI have held high positions in the private and public sectors, and so have made substantial contributions to efforts to achieve national and regional goals. The same could be said for the alumni of UNA. Since its establishment in 1979, it has provided

the Curaçao community with a large number of highly skilled graduates who have held important positions in the public and private sectors, and as such have contributed to realizing national and regional objectives. While addressing local needs higher education institution need to meet global demands. Meeting international quality standards has been identified as an important instrument in these efforts.

The rapid growth in demand for highly skilled graduates has provided incentives for the development of private institutions in the Caribbean, including cross border franchise and virtual universities, which have posed novel challenges to national systems of internal and external quality assurance. Gift & Leo-Rhynie (2005) confirm that in the Caribbean region cross-border higher education is fast developing with the establishment of many transnational and offshore universities, such as medical schools and/or non-accredited private higher education institutions that are having an increasing impact in the national and regional higher education arenas. To illustrate this trend, we can consider the situation on all of the former Netherlands Antilles in general, where American offshore medical schools have been established, as well as the situation on Curaçao in particular, where many other private institutions have emerged, such as the University of the Dutch-Caribbean (UDC), founded in 2007 and the Intercontinental University of Curaçao (ICUC), founded in 2011. By the end of 2012, besides UNA (the only governmentally funded university) there were at least 6 private higher education institutions in Curaçao.

The educational context in Curaçao

For many centuries, the educational system in the former Netherlands Antilles and Aruba was a replication of the one in the Netherlands, their former metropole. Over time, the many shortcomings of this non-contextualized educational system were identified, content-wise as well as with regards to didactic approach. It has been demonstrated that this Eurocentric system has become an impediment to the attainment of national social, economic, and educational objectives on the Dutch-Caribbean islands (Arubaanse Overheid, 2011; Departement van Onderwijs, 1988; 1995; 1998; 1999; Ministerie van Onderwijs, Cultuur, Jeugd- en Sportzaken, 2000; Stuurgroep Herstructureren AVO, 1998). Among the many problems identified were lack of linkages between educational content and local needs and failure to incorporate Antillean and Aruban language, culture, and society into the educational process. As a result, educational output in the Dutch Caribbean has been low, with a high percentage of repeaters and dropouts. For example, according to the Department of Education on Curaçao, about 70% of all pupils repeat at least one class during their years at primary school (Ministerie van Onderwijs, Cultuur en Sport, 2000). Furthermore, only 13% of the graduates of primary school go on to the higher tracks of secondary education (Havo/VWO).

Although the quality of education at all levels has been highly criticized by those involved in educational policy and practice, it was not until the late 1990s that educational changes were implemented at primary and secondary level in the former islands of the Netherlands Antilles and Aruba (Department van Onderwijs, 1995; 1999, Stuurgroep Herstructureren AVO Aruba, 1998). The newly implemented education system is considered to be more adapted to local needs and conditions, thus fostering higher success rates. The main goal of the new education system is to ensure that all children have equal access to and benefit from quality education. Eventually more students will enter the higher education, and in the long run become graduates. No research has been conducted yet to compare the educational output prior and after the educational reforms were implemented. It is worthwhile noting, however, that as educational reform progresses and the system becomes more relevant to local needs, language, culture, and society, progress is being made. For instance, the student drop-out rate in Curaçao has decreased from 50.3% in 1992 to 41.8% in 2001 (Central Bureau of Statistics Curaçao, 2012). The educational system in Curaçao has achieved a high compulsory participation rate for the students of from 4 to 18 years of age (96.1% in 2011) and there is a high proportion of government spending on education (around 20% of the government budget) (Central Bureau of Statistics Curaçao, 2012).

Higher education policy in Curaçao

In total, 14% of the population in Curaçao has had tertiary level education and 13% of households are headed by a person who has had tertiary level education. According to the census results in 2011, 5% of the population in school was attending an institution of higher education (CBS, 2012). In September 2007, the governor of the island formally set an objective stating that in every household at least one person should attend a tertiary educational institution. However, up until the present no ministry level office exists to directly address higher education issues or to monitor developments in this field at the local, regional or international levels. The higher education sector in Curaçao can therefore be said to be neglected and seriously lagging behind other sectors.

Now that innovative reforms have been launched at the primary and secondary levels, it is high time to invest more energy, money and creativity at the tertiary level as well. These educational reforms, together with worldwide developments in higher education resulted in the formulation in 2002 of the first national policy on higher education in the former Netherlands Antilles, including Curaçao (Commissie Hoger Onderwijs, 2002). However, this national policy was never translated into meaningful nation-wide legislation. In Curaçao UNA, as the national university, is regulated by its own specific Act, the Landsverordening Universiteit van de Nederlandse Antillen (LUNA). The other providers of higher education are not regulated under any legal framework and there are no governmental directives or standards by which to monitor and control

the quality of their programs. Since 2005 a committee has been installed to draft a general Higher Education Act, but this is still a work in progress and no deadline has been set to complete the project.

An important objective of the national policy on higher education was to ensure that highly skilled professionals would be trained locally as much as possible to counteract the brain drain phenomenon. Another objective of this policy plan was to promote the education of highly qualified human resources in order to meet the stated social and economic goals of the islands of the former Netherlands Antilles. The policy was also aimed at increasing the flow of students from secondary education to local higher education institutions and to make opportunities for continuing education available to citizens already in the workforce to meet the changing demands in the local labour market. Policy initiatives in Europe also played a crucial role in developing a new vision for higher education in the former Netherlands Antilles. Among these initiatives, the Bologna Process deserves special mention here, since it includes guidelines for quality assurance and accreditation in higher education as well as for the implementation of a harmonized bachelor-master structure for 21 European countries (Commissie Hoger Onderwijs, 2002). With the official endorsement of this higher education policy, the basis was set for the government to mandate the implementation of a new bachelor-master structure in nationally funded universities and to improve mechanisms for quality assurance in tertiary education. Unfortunately, however, this policy has yet to be legally enacted.

UNA as an instrument for national capacity building

Since its founding in 1979, the University of the Netherlands Antilles has worked implicitly to achieve many of the goals made explicit later on in the yet to be implemented higher education policy of the former government of the Netherlands Antilles, and as such this university is considered to be an important tool for local capacity building. The government hoped that with the establishment of a local institution for higher education the problem of 'brain drain' could be addressed and resolved, as this was and still is one of its most serious concerns (Commissie Hoger Onderwijs, 2002). Too many Curaçaoan students leave the country to participate in higher education programs in the industrialized and post industrialized world, never to return to help achieve the socio-economic goals of their home country. Some 300 students leave the island annually to study in the Netherlands and around 70 percent of them do not return to the island after their graduation (Amigoe, 2007).

Another reason that led to the establishment of a national university was the expectation that it would contribute in a major way to successfully meeting the many rapidly evolving economic, social and cultural challenges emerging from the local community and by doing so contribute as well to making the nation's vision for the

future a reality. The UNA has always been considered to be a national strategic resource for knowledge creation and development. At the celebration of the 25th anniversary of the UNA, the Rector Magnificus at that time, Dr. Goretti Narain (2004: 4) affirmed the importance of UNA to the community:

“The added value of UNA must not only be seen in the number of its students and activities, but primarily in the fact that, in the course of their study, these students are faced with specific national and local challenges that require specific solutions. In other words, what must be considered is the contribution that this national university has made in reflecting on our own political, economic, social, cultural and educational issues”¹.

Narain further specified that the role of UNA as a national university is to continue delivering highly skilled graduates that can contribute to the sustainable development of our country. The keynote speaker at that ceremony, prof. dr. Ashley Duits, confirmed the importance of a national university for finding solutions for challenges confronted by the community. Duits (2004) further pointed out that UNA as a national university is important for the training of high level professionals who can contribute to academic activities, research and knowledge development at the national (at the time, that of the Netherlands Antilles) and the local (at the time, that of Curaçao) levels. Narain (2005) states that as a national university, UNA is expected to direct, support, guide, assess and monitor developments in its local society, be the trend setter in crucial societal debates and play a leading ethical role as well.

As a small university with about 2200 students, UNA provides a wide range of educational programs, mostly to meet specific national demands in certain working fields. Being small and having limited resources at its disposal, there has been considerable pressure exerted on UNA to improve its quality in order to meet local expectations as well as international demands. It thus became imperative for the UNA to obtain proof of the level of quality of its programs, therefore the institution initiated its first accreditation process in 2003 (University of the Netherlands Antilles, 2005; 2011a). Responding to both international and local demands, UNA wishes to remain abreast of European and Dutch developments in the higher education field, while ensuring that a maximal number of local secondary school students proceed to tertiary studies and eventually become graduates equipped with the tools necessary to attain national goals. Accredited status not only helps UNA to achieve both of these objectives, but it also puts UNA in a more competitive position on the international higher education market. Additionally, accreditation is a key element in assuring that UNA complies with the agreements made during the 3rd tripartite meeting of ministers of education in the Dutch Kingdom in 2001, during which it was agreed that nationally funded higher education institutions located in the Netherlands Antilles and Aruba would have to meet the same standards set for their counterparts in the

¹ Translated from Dutch to English by the researcher.

European Netherlands by the Dutch-Flemish Accreditation Organization (NVAO). Finally, accreditation has also emerged as an important instrument, on the one hand to guarantee the quality of the graduates delivered to the local community, and on the other hand to provide accountability to funding agencies, including the national government.

The accreditation process at UNA has made significant progress over the past few years. Of the 23 programs that have undergone external evaluation by the NVAO, 96% have achieved accreditation status. Thus UNA has demonstrated that it has met its own internal goal of improving the quality of its programs, that it has met the local demand for highly qualified graduates, and that it has secured its competitive position at the local, regional and international levels.

REFERENCES

- Ali, Eduardo R. (2008). *Higher/Tertiary education in the Caribbean: evaluation, accreditation, qualifications and certifications systems*. CRES.
- Amigoe (2007). Veel Curaçaos talent blijft weg; 'Braindrain' inmiddels 70 procent. *Amigoe*, September 1.
- Antilliaanse Overheid (2007). *Publicatieblad Nederlandse Antillen (P.B. 2004, no. 34), Landsverordening van de 27ste februari 2004 houdende wijziging van de Landsverordening Universiteit van de Nederlandse Antillen (P.B. 1985, no. 43)*. Curaçao: Staten van de Nederlandse Antillen.
- Arubaanse overheid (2011). *Landsverordening tot wijziging van de Landsverordening Universiteit van Aruba (AB 1988 no. 100)*. Aruba: Staten van Aruba.
- Badrawi, Nadia (2011). Globalizing forces and regional, national goals. *Paper presented at INQAAHE Conference 2011*.
- Beckles, Hilary, Anthony Morais Perry, Peter Whitely & Rex M. Nettleford (2002). *The brain train: quality higher education and Caribbean development*. Jamaica: University of the West-Indies.
- Billing, David (2004). International comparisons and trends in external quality assurance of higher education: commonality or diversity? *Higher Education*, 47, 1, 113-137.
- Central Bureau of Statistics Curaçao (2012). *First results Census 2011 Curaçao*. Curaçao: CBS.
- Commissie Hoger Onderwijs (2002). *Beleidsplan op hoofdlijnen inzake het Antilliaanse Hoger Onderwijs*. Curaçao: Departement van Onderwijs.
- Daniel, John, Asha Kanwar & Stamenka Uvalić-Trumbić (2006). A Tectonic shift in global higher education. *Change: The magazine of higher learning*, 38, 4, 16-23.

- Departement van Onderwijs (1988). *Enseñansa pa un i tur=Education for one and all*. Curaçao.
- Departement van Onderwijs (1995). *Stappen naar een betere toekomst*. Curaçao.
- Departement van Onderwijs (1998). *Onderwijskwaliteit op de Nederlandse Antillen. Voortijdig schoolverlaten*. Curaçao.
- Departement van Onderwijs (1999). *Enseñansa Avansa den siglo 21. Beleidsvoorstellen voor de herstructurering van het Antilliaans voortgezet onderwijs*. Curaçao.
- Departement van Onderwijs Nederlandse Antillen (2001). *Notulen Tripartiet Overleg Onderwijsministers in het Koninkrijk, Mei 2001*. St.Maarten: Antilliaanse Overheid.
- Directie Onderwijs Aruba (2002). *Notitie inzake het hoger onderwijsbeleid op Aruba*. Aruba.
- Duits, Ashley (2004). Vorming is een voorwaarde voor sociale mobiliteit. In Bernadette Heiligers, (Ed.), *Vanuit de UNA gezien: waarnemingen bij 25 jaar Universiteit van de Nederlandse Antillen* (pp. 113-121). Curaçao: UNA.
- Ebong-Harstrup, Inyang. (2004). *Key factors in the socio-economic development of small island states*. Curaçao: UNA.
- Gift, Sandra & Elsa Leo-Rhynie (2005). Quality assurance of transnational education in the English speaking Caribbean. *The UWI Quality education forum*, 12, 69-79.
- Goddard, John & Jaana Puukka (2008). The engagement of higher education institution in regional development: an overview of the opportunities and challenges. *Higher Education Management and Policy*, 20, 2, 11-42.
- Isabella, Sharine A. (2011). One decade of accreditation experiences at the University of the Netherlands Antilles: results of a case study. In Nicholas Faraclas, Ronald Severing, Christa Weijer & Elisabeth Echteld (Eds.), *Iguana's newfound voices: continuity, divergence and convergence in language, culture and society on the ABC-islands* (pp. 103-112). Curaçao/Puerto Rico: FPI/UNA/UPR.
- Marginson, Simon & Marijk van der Wende (2007). *Globalization and higher education*. Paris: OECD, Directorate of Education.
- Miller, Errol (2002). *Quality assurance in higher education in the Commonwealth Caribbean*. Paper presented at the seminar *Higher education and science and technology in Latin America and the Caribbean: Responding to expansion and diversification*. Fortaleza, Brazil, March 8.
- Ministerie van Onderwijs, Cultuur, Jeugd- en Sportzaken Nederlandse Antillen (2000). *Onderwijs voorwaarde voor nationaal herstel en nationale ontwikkeling*. Curaçao.

- Narain, Goretti (2006). Zo ooit een volk op weg: de rol van de UNA en mentale onafhankelijkheid. In Rose Mary Allen & René Römer (Eds.), *René Romer als inspirator: actualisering van zijn gedachtegoed* (pp. 100-115). Curaçao: UNA.
- Narain, Goretti. (2005). *Toespraak ter gelegenheid van het 25-jarig jubileum van de UNA*. Curaçao: UNA.
- Parkins, Lorna (2007). *The English speaking Caribbean: regional and global context*. Kingston: University of the West-Indies.
- Stuurgroep Herstructurerend AVO Aruba (SHA) (1998). *Beleidsnota "Na caminda pa restructuracion di nos enseñansa secundario general"*. Aruba.
- UNESCO & APQN (2007). *UNESCO-APQN toolkit: regulating the quality of cross-border education*. Bangkok: UNESCO.
- UNESCO (2007). Regional and multi-state solutions for small states for quality assurance of higher education: a synthesis report. *Third Global Forum on International Quality Assurance, Accreditation and the recognition of Qualifications in Higher Education*. Dar es Salaam: UNESCO.
- University of the Netherlands Antilles (2005). *Delivering future leaders of the Caribbean. Strategic Plan 2005-2010*. Curaçao: UNA.
- University of the Netherlands Antilles (2011a). *Consolideren en verbeteren: beleidsplan kwaliteitszorg, 2011-2015*. Curaçao: UNA.
- University of the Netherlands Antilles (2011b). *Visiedocument 2012-2017*. Curaçao: UNA.
- Wright, Mary C., Nandini Assar, Edward L. Kain et al. (2004). Greedy institutions: the importance of institutional context for teaching in higher education. *Teaching Sociology*, 32, 2, 144-159.

HET IMAGO VAN DE LERAAR BINNEN HET FUNDEREND ONDERWIJS OP CURAÇAO

RAILY GOEDGEDRAG
UNIVERSITY OF CURAÇAO

Inleiding

Het imago van het beroep van leraar in het Funderend Onderwijs wordt beïnvloed door verschillende factoren, die in de hand werken dat hiervan een divers beeld ontstaat binnen de Curaçaose samenleving. Dit heeft zowel gevolgen voor de status van het beroep van leraar Funderend Onderwijs als voor de benadering van deze beroepsgroep, hetgeen weer van invloed is op de instroom bij de lerarenopleiding Funderend Onderwijs en, in het verlengde daarvan, op de kwaliteit van het onderwijs op het eiland.

In dit artikel zal vanuit sociologisch perspectief belicht worden welke factoren bepalend zijn voor de diversiteit aan beroepsbeelden van de leraar in het Funderend Onderwijs.

Ten eerste wordt stilgestaan bij het beroepsbeeld in de Curaçaose context, waarbij de rol van de leraar en zijn specifieke deskundigheid, en het spanningsveld tussen de leraar en digitale bronnen de revue passeren.

Er zal worden ingegaan op interne factoren, dat wil zeggen factoren die nauw met het onderwijs verbonden zijn, en die het beroepsbeeld beïnvloeden. Het gaat hier om de samenstelling van het lerarenkorps van het Funderend Onderwijs, de opzet van de lerarenopleiding Funderend Onderwijs, de kritiek op het beroep en nieuwe denkwijzen binnen het onderwijs.

Vervolgens wordt ingezoomd op externe factoren, dat wil zeggen, factoren die niet direct met het lokale onderwijs verbonden zijn en die van invloed zijn op het imago en de status van het beroep. Het gaat hier om sociaal-culturele ontwikkelingen en de invloed van de massamedia op het onderwijs.

Het beroepsbeeld van de leraar Funderend Onderwijs op Curaçao

De leraar als deskundige beroepsbeoefenaar

Het onderwijs vraagt om specifieke en deskundige beroepsbeoefenaren. Het is niet voor iedereen weggelegd om deze deskundigheid te vergaren. Het beroep van leraar

Funderend Onderwijs is tegenwoordig verankerd in specifieke competenties met daaraan gekoppelde bekwaamheidseisen. Als deze eisen nageleefd en geïnternaliseerd worden, is degene die de lerarenopleiding afrondt startbekwaam en bevoegd om leraar te zijn. De lerarenopleidingen onderscheiden zich van andere opleidingen door de specialisatie die het onderwijswezen vereist op het gebied van persoonlijke kwaliteiten en kennisbases.

De individuele capaciteiten, talenten en kwaliteiten van leraren in het Funderend Onderwijs zijn zeer divers. De persoonlijke kwaliteiten van de leraar en de beheersing van de leerstof zijn direct waarneembaar door de leerling. Aan de hand hiervan krijgt de leerling een beeld van zijn of haar “meester” of “juffrouw” en, indirect, van het beroep van leraar in het Funderend Onderwijs.

Als men eenmaal als leraar werkzaam is, blijken de mogelijkheden voor persoonlijke groei en het maken van carrière binnen het onderwijs of op de school waar men werkt, beperkt te zijn. Dit laatste heeft gevolgen voor de motivatie waarmee het individu kiest voor het beroep. Deze motivatie is anders dan vroeger.

Leraren werken soms onder zware omstandigheden, zonder deugdelijk lesmateriaal, met grote groepen leerlingen, met een verscheidenheid aan beginsituaties, en met in sommige gevallen persoonlijke of sociale problemen. Deze situatie op scholen beïnvloedt het imago van het beroep en de studie- en beroepskeuze bij jongeren.

316 *De leraar als overdrager van het sociaal-cultureel erfgoed*

Een van de rollen die de leraar binnen het Funderend Onderwijs moet vervullen is het overdragen van kennis van het sociaal-culturele erfgoed van Curaçao. Dit impliceert dat de leraar deze kennis van de geschiedenis en cultuur van het eiland doorgeeft aan groepen leerlingen. Tegenwoordig is het echter niet alleen de leraar die zich bezighoudt met kunst- en cultuureducatie. Er zijn ook culturele organisaties die door hun activiteiten een relatie leggen met het educatiegebied Cultureel Artistieke Vorming (CAV), waarin de disciplines muziek, dans, drama en beeldende vorming verenigd zijn. Er is een toename van het aanbod aan jeugdprogramma's die deze domeinen afdekken. Ook zijn er bewustwordingsprogramma's van onze cultuur en geschiedenis. Enkele culturele instellingen die het initiatief hiertoe nemen zijn Kas di Kultura, Teatro Luna Blou, La Tentashon, Sentro Kultural Kòrsou, en Fundashon Buena Vista.

De leraar en digitale bronnen

Door de ontwikkelingen van de wetenschap en de techniek kan de leraar tegenwoordig niet als enige bron van informatie of instructie gezien worden. Dit heeft gevolgen voor het imago van de leraar.

De leraar concurreert tegenwoordig met het internet en met de “social media”. Websites als Wikipedia en Google fungeren ook als informatiebron. Leerlingen

kunnen de leerstof terugvinden in digitale vorm op internetpagina's en kunnen hierdoor soms meer of wat anders weten dan de leraar. Hiernaast beïnvloeden sociale netwerken als Facebook en Twitter, Whatsapp, BlackBerry, Tablets en iPhone het onderwijsleerproces op school.

Dat maakt de verwachtingen naar elkaar toe soms verschillend en conflicterend van aard, waardoor niet alleen de leraren, maar ook de leerlingen en hun ouders verschillende opvattingen over de rol van leraar hebben.

Interne factoren die het beroepsbeeld beïnvloeden

Een gemengde samenstelling van het lerarenkorps

Het huidige lerarenkorps binnen het Funderend Onderwijs bestaat uit leraren van wie de vooropleiding divers is. Sommigen hebben de pedagogisch-literaire afdeling van de HBS (= Hogere Burger School) afgerond voordat zij leraar in het primair onderwijs werden, anderen doorliepen de pedagogische academie op Curaçao of in Nederland. Weer anderen ronden een lerarenopleiding af in het buitenland of aan de Universiteit van de Nederlandse Antillen.

Al deze opleidingen waren niet uniform en verschilden in programma, doelstellingen, studieduur en eindniveau. Dit heeft als gevolg dat onderwijzers en leraren verschillen in beroepshouding, die weer een uiting is van de eigen beroepsidentiteit, (culturele) normen en waarden en opvattingen over het beroep.

Deze verschillen zorgen ervoor dat binnen de beroepsgroep statusgroepen ontstaan, die samenhangen met verschillende generaties en met de gevolgde opleiding. Leraren ervaren hun beroep en hun beroepsidentiteit niet op dezelfde wijze. De diversiteit aan beroepsidentiteiten heeft weer invloed op het imago van het beroep bij buitenstaanders. De status van de leraar binnen de beroepsgroep wordt dus mede bepaald door de opleiding die gevolgd werd.

De huidige lerarenopleidingen op Curaçao

De huidige opleidingen voor het beroep van leraar op Curaçao ressorteren onder de Algemene Faculteit van de Universiteit van de Nederlandse Antillen. In het jaar 2002 werd gestart met de tweedegraads lerarenopleiding Papiamentu. De faculteit breidde vervolgens uit met de tweedegraads Bacheloropleidingen Engels, Nederlands en Spaans en, in 2009, met de Masteropleidingen Papiamentu, Engels, Nederlands en Spaans. In 2012 werd ook gestart met de hbo-masteropleiding Special Educational Needs (SEN).

In 2006 werd begonnen met de Lerarenopleiding Funderend Onderwijs (LOFO) op Curaçao en Bonaire, die in 2008 de lerarenopleiding Funderend Onderwijs van de Akademia Pedagógiko Kòrsou (APK) opnam. Binnen de lerarenopleiding Funderend Onderwijs wordt, net als bij de andere lerarenopleidingen van de Algemene Faculteit, gewerkt met een beroepsprofiel. Dit beroepsprofiel, dat door het werkveld gevalideerd

is, is inherent aan het beeld van het beroep, de opvattingen over het beroep en de visie binnen de opleiding van de lerarenopleiding Funderend Onderwijs. Enkele belangrijke aspecten behorende bij dit beroepsprofiel betreffen het functioneren als individuele beroepsoefenaar, als opvoeder, als didacticus, als groepsleraar, als teamlid en gesprekspartner voor externe betrokkenen.

De belangstelling voor de opleiding en het beroep van leraar Funderend Onderwijs is aan het veranderen; dit is te merken aan het aantal studenten dat jaarlijks binnenstroomt. Het is ook af te leiden uit de vooropleiding van de studenten die zich aanmelden. In dit verband wordt de situatie binnen de Lerarenopleiding Funderend Onderwijs aan de Algemene Faculteit (UNA) besproken. Deze opleiding kent een dag- en avondvariant, waarvan de kengetallen hieronder in tabel 1 (LOFO dagvariant) en tabel 2 (LOFO avondvariant) worden weergegeven.

Tabel 1 Kengetallen Lerarenopleiding Funderend Onderwijs (dagopleiding)

Collegejaar	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
totaal aantal studenten per 31 december	15	45	129	157	153	153	116
totaal instroom per cohort	15	30	78	63	48	46	24
man:	0	5	2	0	2	3	2
vrouw:	15	25	76	63	46	43	22
Geboorteland Curaçao:	13	29	72	50	39	42	20
Geboorteland Buitenland:	2	1	6	13	9	4	4
Gemiddelde leeftijd bij aanvang studie	23	22	22	22	22	23	21
Vooropleiding: HAVO Curaçao:	4	11	11	11	11	6	13
HAVO elders:		1					1
Vooropleiding SBO:	8	14	62	48	32	36	9
Vooropleiding VWO Curaçao:		1		1			
Vooropleiding VWO elders:	1				1		
Vooropleiding HBO:	1		2		1	4	
Vooropleiding overig: colloquium doctum	1	3	3	3	2		1

Tabel 2 Kengetallen Lerarenopleiding Funderend Onderwijs (avondopleiding)

Collegejaar	2006	2007	2012
totaal aantal studenten per 31 december	19	31	30
totaal instroom per cohort	19	14	30
Man	2	0	2
Vrouw	17	14	28
Geboorteland Curaçao:	15	12	28
Geboorteland Buitenland:	4	2	2
Gemiddelde leeftijd bij aanvang studie	27	25	29
Vooropleiding: HAVO Curaçao:	3		1
Vooropleiding SBO:	13	10	28
Vooropleiding overig: colloquium doctum	3	4	1

De instroom bij de LOFO groeit in de periode 2006 tot en met 2008. In de jaren na 2008 neemt de instroom af. Binnen de dagopleiding volgt een klein aantal mannelijke studenten de opleiding. De meerderheid van de studenten is van eigen bodem.

De gemiddelde leeftijd bij aanvang van de dagopleiding is lager dan bij de avondopleiding.

Het is opmerkelijk dat de meerderheid van de studenten als vooropleiding SBO (= Secundair Beroepsonderwijs) heeft. Het betreft studenten die ervaring hebben met praktijkstages. Dit laatste is ook het geval binnen de avondopleiding. De avondopleiding startte in 2006 en 2007. Van 2008 tot 2011 werd deze opleiding om organisatorische redenen niet aangeboden. In het academisch jaar 2012-2013 werd de avondopleiding, wegens grote belangstelling, wederom gestart. Opvallend is dat ook bij deze variant van de LOFO de meerderheid van de studenten uit vrouwen bestaat en dat de instroom bij deze opleiding in 2012 is toegenomen in vergelijking met de eerdere cohorten van de LOFO-avondvariant.

De meerderheid van de studenten is ook bij deze avondvariant van eigen bodem. Ook in de avondopleiding zijn er weinig tot geen studenten met een Havo- of Vwo-diploma. Over het algemeen kan worden gezegd dat studenten met dergelijke diploma's niet kiezen voor de LOFO aan de Algemene Faculteit. Verder is te zien dat mannen niet kiezen voor het beroep van Leraar in het Funderend Onderwijs.

De studenten met een SBO-diploma die kiezen voor de opleiding zijn in de meerderheid studenten die in de sector Zorg en Welzijn hun diploma hebben behaald.

De studenten die voor de LOFO kiezen zijn over het algemeen studenten die op latere leeftijd kiezen voor het volgen van deze opleiding of het zijn studenten die wat langer over hun vooropleiding hebben gedaan.

De keuze voor de opleiding wordt mede bepaald door het beeld dat jongeren hebben van het beroep. De beeldvorming hiervan wordt mede beïnvloed door de leraren die zij zien, kennen en hebben ervaren in hun schoolloopbaan en de situaties op scholen.

Kritiek op het beroep van leraar

Het imago van leraar wordt ook beïnvloed door opvattingen van eigentijdse critici. Zo pleit Cameron (2010) voor een vaste plek voor sociaal-emotionele vaardigheidstraining binnen het onderwijs. Hij is ervan overtuigd dat wij in de complexe wereld van tegenwoordig het beste kunnen halen uit het onderwijs door aandacht te geven aan de sociaal-emotionele vorming van de leerling en ook aan die van de leraar. Hij geeft aan dat binnen de lerarenopleiding studenten op dit gebied gevormd moeten worden, zodat ze een rolmodel en goede coach kunnen zijn voor de leerling.

Anderzijds is Furedi (2009) van mening dat de terugkeer van het gezag binnen het onderwijs van belang is. In de strijd tussen sociale problemen en onderwijsdoelen gaat het gezag van de leraar verloren. Sociale problemen als verslaving, tienerzwanger-

schap, armoede, werkloosheid moeten als leerstof behandeld worden en tegelijkertijd genegeerd worden binnen het onderwijs om doelen te bereiken. Deze sociale problemen zouden door middel van het onderwijs opgelost moeten worden. Aan de andere kant staan deze sociale problemen het bereiken van de onderwijsdoelen in de weg.

Het gezag van de leraar is weg omdat leraren leerlingen niet genoeg inspireren en motiveren. Furedi geeft nog andere redenen: het is niet vanzelfsprekend meer dat leraren de leerstof goed beheersen en ze zijn niet opgeleid zijn om hulp te verlenen bij sociale problemen. Scholen zijn hierop niet toegerust. Ten slotte zijn er leraren die zelf sociale problemen hebben.

De leraar die wel kan inspireren, motiveren en die de leerstof goed beheerst, komt er soms niet aan toe om leraar te zijn. Dit vanwege de sociale problemen die vele leerlingen en ouders hebben.

Het moge duidelijk zijn dat leraren, ouders en leerlingen verschillende opvattingen en verwachtingen ten opzichte van elkaar hebben.

Volgens Furedi (2011) gaat het er in deze paradox om wie welke verantwoordelijkheid moet nemen binnen het onderwijs. Hij pleit voor de terugkeer van het gezag. Tegelijkertijd geeft hij aan dat de ambigue status van gezag binnen het onderwijs op vijf manieren een negatieve invloed heeft op het onderwijsleerproces. Het gaat hier om:

1. De autoriteit van volwassenen die onlosmakelijk is verbonden met hun vermogen kennis en culturele prestaties door te geven aan jongeren.
2. Het reguliere leren onder het gezag van een leraar dat door beleidsmakers en curriculumontwikkelaars dikwijls in ongunstige zin wordt vergeleken met informele vormen van leren buiten de school.
3. De afbrokkeling van het gezag van de leraar, doordat minder waarde gehecht wordt aan theoretische kennis, wat directe gevolgen heeft voor de status van de leraar.
4. De verwarring over de rol en status van het gezag van de leraar, zodat deze dikwijls wordt ervaren als niet capabel om duidelijk en overtuigend een gemeenschappelijk stelsel van normen en waarden over te brengen.
5. De onzekerheid rond de gezagsuitoefening door de leraar, veroorzaakt door agressief gedrag van jonge kinderen en vooral van tieners. Wanneer het gezag van volwassenen betwist wordt, komt de kerntaak van het onderwijs, cultuuroverdracht, in het gedrang (Furedi, 2011).

Nieuwe denkwijzen binnen het onderwijs.

Er zijn nieuwe theorieën binnen sociale wetenschappen als pedagogiek en onderwijskunde, die andere opvattingen over het beroep van de leraar in de hand

werken. Er zijn daardoor andere verwachtingen van de leraar, de leerling en de ouders. Deze nieuwe zienswijzen wekken discussies op het niveau van de relatie leraar-leerling (microniveau) tussen leraren op een school en ouders (mesoniveau) en op beleidsniveau (macroniveau). Men kan hier bijvoorbeeld denken aan de invloed van de Traditionele pedagogiek en de Reformpedagogiek die hun intrede doen binnen het onderwijs. Het verschil tussen deze stromingen wordt volgens Alkema e.a. (2009) in tabel 3 kort samengevat weergegeven.

Tabel 3 Reformpedagogiek en Traditionele pedagogiek naast elkaar naar Alkema e.a. (2009)

	Reformpedagogiek	Traditionele pedagogiek
Systeem	Ontwikkelingsgericht: belangstelling voor het volgen van de natuurlijke ontwikkeling van het kind binnen het onderwijs met als oorsprong verschillende stromingen binnen ontwikkelingspsychologie.	Het onderwijs wordt ingericht volgens het Leerstofjaar-klassensysteem. Leerlingen krijgen dezelfde stof, binnen dezelfde tijd. Het onderwijs is gericht op het verwerven van kennis en vaardigheden en het bereiken van resultaten op dit gebied.
Sturing	Binnen het onderwijs wordt de leerling centraal gesteld, waarbij het leerproces mede door de leerling wordt aangestuurd.	De leerkracht staat centraal binnen het onderwijs en stuurt het leerproces van de leerling aan. De leerling participeert passief aan eigen leerproces.
Methoden	Het gebruik van bestaande of traditionele methoden wordt gecombineerd met door de leerkracht zelf ontwikkelde methoden.	Het onderwijs is methodegebonden en de leerkracht wijkt hiervan niet af.
Interactie	Inbreng van de leerling is belangrijk waarbij de leerkracht vooral luistert naar de leerling en de dialoog aangaat.	Het onderwijs is voor een groot deel verbaal waarbij leerlingen vooral veel luisteren naar de leerkracht. Er is minder interactie.
Verantwoordelijkheid	Binnen het onderwijs wordt van het kind verwacht dat het zelfstandig werkt en verantwoordelijkheid draagt voor zijn eigen leerproces.	Binnen het onderwijs gaat het om reproduceren van kennis en vaardigheden; de verantwoordelijkheid voor het leerproces ligt bij de leerkracht.

Nieuwe pedagogische visies binnen het onderwijs hebben als gevolg dat de rol van de leerkracht binnen het onderwijs anders wordt benaderd. Leraren hebben een andere

houding ten opzichte van het beroep dan vroeger. Er ontstaat een kloof tussen leraren van de oude en de nieuwe generatie. Ook dit heeft invloed op het beroepsbeeld.

Externe, algemene factoren die het beroepsbeeld beïnvloeden

Sociaal-culturele ontwikkelingen

Er zijn verschillende ontwikkelingen gaande die invloed hebben op de sociale context waarin het onderwijs zich bevindt. In deze veranderende sociale context worden leraren geacht het beroep uit te oefenen, dienen jongeren enthousiast gemaakt te worden voor het beroep van leraar en dienen de lerarenopleidingen studenten op te leiden tot (start)bekwame leraren.

Kenmerkend voor de complexe Curaçaose samenleving, die naast een groep van oorspronkelijke Curaçaoënaars bestaat uit een mix van bevolkingsgroepen uit verschillende werelddelen zoals Europa, Azië, Zuid-Amerika, Noord-Amerika en het Caribische gebied, is een meerderheid aan vrouwen; een steeds groter wordende groep van tienermoeders en eenoudergezinnen, en een toenemende vergrijzing.

Andere voor deze samenleving kenmerkende ontwikkelingen zijn, in willekeurige volgorde, de toenemende werkloosheid onder jongeren; de afname van werkgelegenheid in sommige sectoren; de toename van drop-outs; de toename aan criminaliteit; een teruggang in het aantal ondernemingen; grote verschillen tussen arm en rijk en de instabiele politieke situatie, waarbij onderwijs, cultuur, wetenschap en sport traditiegetrouw niet de hoogste prioriteit hebben bij de zich snel afwisselende regeringen.

Dit alles heeft tot gevolg dat er in de Curaçaose gemeenschap een mengelmoes van verschillende culturen en talen is. Bovendien is er een toename van sociaal-maatschappelijke problemen en een toename van het aantal mensen met een kosmopolitische instelling.

Al deze factoren beïnvloeden de situatie binnen het onderwijs en op scholen. Op veel scholen is sprake van een multiculturele leerling-populatie met een andere moedertaal dan de instructietaal, en met ouders die vanuit hun sociaal-culturele achtergrond andere opvattingen hebben over opvoeding en onderwijs.

De beroepsgroep van leraar bestaat in meerderheid uit vrouwen en de vergrijzing binnen het onderwijs is duidelijk waarneembaar.

Ook binnen de groep leraren komen eenoudergezinnen voor, is er een verschil in sociaal-culturele achtergrond, is de moedertaal onderling verschillend en zijn er verschillende opvattingen over opvoeding en onderwijs. De beroepsgroep van onderwijzers en leraren verandert regelmatig van samenstelling en er worden nog steeds onderwijzers uit Suriname en Nederland aangetrokken.

Media en het imago van de leraar

De grote invloed van de steeds moderner wordende massamedia op de opinievorming en beeldvorming over onderwijs binnen de gemeenschap is voelbaar. Hoe elders wordt gekeken naar het beroep van leraar komt de Curaçaose samenleving binnen via internet, internationale nieuwsuitzendingen, praatprogramma's, cartoons, documentaires, films, sitcom, enz. Ook hierdoor ontstaan verschillen in opvattingen over dit beroep.

Door de uitbreiding van de 'sociale media' is de afstand tussen ouders, leerlingen en leraren verkort. Steeds meer kinderen, jongeren en volwassenen maken gebruik van nieuwe media. Tegenwoordig zijn leraren, leerlingen en ouders 'vrienden' op Skype, Facebook of BlackBerry Messenger. Leraren maken deel uit van het openbare leven. Hun identiteit wordt buiten het onderwijs via de media tentoongesteld en het contact met ouders en leerlingen is van een ander soort. Het beeld van wie de leraar is of zou moeten zijn verandert door het gebruik van de 'sociale media'.

De pers is ook een cruciale factor bij de beeldvorming. Nieuws over problemen binnen het Funderend Onderwijs treedt meer op de voorgrond dan succesverhalen. Het klimaat binnen de samenleving en het Funderend Onderwijs kan op een negatieve manier beïnvloed worden door de pers. Zo wordt er heden ten dage veel nadruk gelegd op de veiligheid op scholen. De pers volgt een internationale tendens en brengt nieuws over inbraken op scholen, uit de hand gelopen vechtpartijen tussen leerlingen of tussen leraar en leerling, agressieve ouders, stakingen. Ook onenigheid tussen schoolbesturen, overheid en vakbond wordt breed uitgemeten.

Er ontstaat een scheef beeld van het klimaat waarin het beroep wordt uitgeoefend en hierdoor ontstaat een scheef beeld van het beroep. De media spelen een belangrijke rol in de communicatie over de ontwikkelingen binnen de lerarenopleidingen, het onderwijs en het beroep van leraar op Curaçao.

Conclusie

Het imago van het beroep van leraar binnen het Funderend Onderwijs verandert met de sociale ontwikkelingen, en met de ontwikkelingen binnen de sociale wetenschappen, het onderwijs en de lerarenopleidingen. De media en communicatie spelen een cruciale rol bij het bepalen van dit imago. De aard, volledigheid, betrouwbaarheid, validiteit van de informatie en de objectiviteit waarmee deze informatie wordt gegeven, hebben gevolgen voor de sociale achting en de status van het beroep van de leraar Funderend Onderwijs binnen de Curaçaose samenleving. Deze lijken gedaald vergeleken met een aantal decennia geleden. In een vervolgonderzoek hoop ik hier concrete gegevens over te verzamelen.

LITERATUUR

- Alkema, Eddy & Willem Tjerckstra; m.m.v. Joanneke Kuipers & Chris Lindhout (2009, [1984]). *Meer dan onderwijs: theorie en praktijk van het onderwijs in de basisschool*. Assen: Van Gorcum.
- Cameron, Rudsel (2010). *Het vergeten vak: waarom sociaal-emotionele vaardigheidstraining een vaste plek verdient in het onderwijs*. Soesterberg: Aspekt.
- Furedi, Frank (2011). *De terugkeer van het gezag. Waarom kinderen niets meer leren*. (Vert. Willem Paassen). Amsterdam: Meulenhoff.

HEEFT ‘CHARACTER EDUCATION’ EEN POSITIEVE INVLOED OP EEN GEZONDE ONTWIKKELING VAN JONGEREN OP ARUBA?

ROKE HOEN

INSTITUTO PEDAGOGICO ARUBANO

Inleiding

Volgens deskundigen raken jongeren op Aruba steeds vaker al op jonge leeftijd betrokken bij antisociale, risicovolle en gezondheidsbedreigende activiteiten. Dit kan een gezonde en positieve persoonlijke ontwikkeling van deze jongeren belemmeren.

Het is daarom belangrijk dat vanuit het onderwijs een bijdrage wordt geleverd aan het stimuleren van positieve, gezonde en duurzame attitudes en gedrag bij jongeren, zodat zij competenties ontwikkelen om als verantwoordelijke burgers bij te dragen aan hun eigen toekomst, aan een gezonde en duurzame lokale gemeenschap en de gemeenschap wereldwijd.

Een belangrijk doel van onderwijs is dan ook het bevorderen van een holistische ontwikkeling van leerlingen. Niet alleen om schoolprestaties te bevorderen, maar ook om jongeren te helpen om hun mogelijkheden te ontdekken, te ontwikkelen en te leren gebruiken. Dit zodat zij op een gezonde en positieve manier kunnen omgaan met zichzelf en met anderen, maar ook met de uitdagingen en veranderingen die zij zullen tegenkomen in hun leven (López Ospina, 2000; Nicklin & Cornwell, 2010; Greenberg, et al., 2003).

Om kinderen en jongeren beter te begeleiden bij hun persoonlijke ontwikkeling is er internationaal, in de afgelopen decennia, een enorm aantal programma's ontwikkeld gericht op preventie van ongezond en risicogedrag, en voor de bevordering van een gezond en positief gedrag (Riggs et al., 2006). Men richtte zich hierbij met name op de ontwikkeling van sociale en emotionele competenties. Slechts een beperkt aantal van deze programma's heeft echter wetenschappelijk bewezen effectief te zijn ten aanzien van meerdere domeinen van een positieve en gezonde jeugdontwikkeling.

Het doel van een positieve en gezonde jeugdontwikkeling is het ontwikkelen en versterken van de kennis, potenties/mogelijkheden en competenties van jongeren, om effectief om te gaan met uitdagingen die zij tegenkomen op weg naar volwassenheid, en om zich goed te ontwikkelen en te bloeien gedurende hun jeugd en verdere leven (Park, 2004; Roth et al., 1998).

Naar aanleiding van het bovenstaande heeft de auteur van dit artikel de volgende vraag als uitgangspunt genomen voor haar opleiding Master of Evidence-Based Innovation in Teaching (MEBIT), aan de Universiteit van Maastricht (Maastricht University):

Hoe kunnen jongeren, via het onderwijs op Aruba, positieve attitudes, waarden en gedrag ontwikkelen, zodat zij een gezonde en duurzame bijdrage kunnen leveren aan hun eigen toekomst, de toekomst van anderen en van de sociale en natuurlijke omgeving?

Om een eerste aanzet te geven tot het beantwoorden van deze vraag, is evidentie verzameld uit systematisch literatuuronderzoek en uit data van kleinschalige experimenten op Arubaanse scholen.

De gegenereerde kennis is niet alleen bruikbaar voor het IPA als opleidingsinstituut, maar ook voor diegenen die belast zijn met onderwijsinnovatie, ontwikkeling van curricula, jongerenprojecten en vormingsprogramma's, of met de aanschaf van methoden en leermiddelen.

Probleemstelling

Oorspronkelijk was de pedagogische taak van de school gericht op zowel de cognitieve ontwikkeling, de algemene vorming en de persoonlijke ontwikkeling van jongeren (Greenberg et al., 2003). Maar de afgelopen decennia is het curriculum gevuld met rekenen en taal, en ligt de nadruk steeds meer op cognitieve ontwikkeling en het testen van kennis. Scholen staan voor de grote uitdaging om, naast de cognitieve ontwikkeling en algemene vorming van hun leerlingen, ook te zorgen voor een positieve en gezonde ontwikkeling van de jongeren.

Dit met als doel:

- een verscheidenheid aan probleem-, risico- en gezondheidsbedreigend gedrag bij jongeren te verminderen of te voorkomen;
- jongeren zich te laten ontwikkelen tot gezonde en duurzame burgers die verantwoordelijkheid nemen voor hun leven, hun toekomst en toekomstige rol in de samenleving
- jongeren voor te bereiden om positief om te gaan met de vele uitdagingen, verleidingen, problemen, en eisen waar ze in de 21^{ste} eeuw mee te maken hebben of kunnen krijgen.

Het belang van een gezonde en positieve ontwikkeling van leerlingen wordt op Aruba steeds meer onderkend, maar krijgt in de praktijk nog weinig vorm, gezien de beperkte rol die scholen spelen op dit gebied. Het niet slagen in de bevordering van een gezonde en positieve ontwikkeling van de jeugd kan nadelig zijn voor de jongeren, de samenleving en toekomst van Aruba (Van der Wal, 2008; Hoen, 2011).

Probleemanalyse

Uit vragenformulieren, individuele gesprekken en bijeenkomsten met schoolbesturen, schoolhoofden, leerkrachten, counselors en mentoren ontstaat de indruk dat een groeiend aantal leerlingen zich op een ongezonde, negatieve manier ontwikkelt. Volgens leerkrachten vertonen steeds meer leerlingen een negatieve attitude en gedrag, en een gebrek aan waarden en normen.

Als knelpunten op school (basis- en voortgezet onderwijs) worden o.a. genoemd:

- ordeverstoring, antisociaal en probleemgedrag, (bijv. leerlingen gedragen zich brutaal, onbeschoft, hebben een grote mond, gebruiken vieze woorden, zijn luidruchtig, en agressief);
- gebrek aan karakter, aan waarden en aan normen, vooral aan respect;
- zich niet houden aan regels (bijv. geen vinger opsteken, te laat komen, gebruik van mobiele telefoons en andere apparatuur in de klas);
- geen verantwoordelijkheid en discipline (bijv. leerlingen hebben geen boeken, schriften en pennen bij zich, maken geen huiswerk, leren niet voor proefwerken);
- geen interesse in de les, geringe binding met school, geen motivatie, toekomstvisie of doelen;
- gebrek aan weerbaarheid, (bijv. bezwijken voor groepsdruk, waardoor ze verkeerde beslissingen nemen).

Bovengenoemde ontwikkelingen komen overeen met bevindingen in diverse rapporten. In het Nationaal Veiligheidsplan Aruba 2008-2012 signaleert men bijvoorbeeld enkele vergelijkbare tendensen in de samenleving. Van de 5 grootste bedreigingen van de nationale veiligheid noemt men Veiligheidsbedreiging nr.3: Verzwakking van een collectief gevoel van normen, waarden en verantwoordelijkheden in de samenleving (Directie Economische Zaken, 2008).

Uit resultaten van het Youth Life Style Survey (YLS) kan ook worden afgeleid dat Arubaanse scholen niet onbekend zijn met risicofactoren zoals: een zwakke binding tussen school en leerling, zwakke leerkracht-leerling relaties, lage opleidingsaspiraties, zwakke motivatie, spijbelen, onduidelijke gedragsnormen en regels in de school, inadequate handhaving van regels tegen antisociaal gedrag (Van der Wal, 2008).

Volgens de YLS geeft van de steekproefpopulatie (n=1080) respectievelijk 15.7% (80) van de 10-13 jarigen en 41.9% (239) van de 13-17 jarigen aan, dat zij in de afgelopen 12 maanden wel eens uit de klas zijn gestuurd (Van der Wal, 2008). Slechts 46% van de geënquêteerde leerlingen geeft aan zich op school thuis te voelen (helemaal mee eens) en 23% (een beetje eens). Van de leerlingen gaat 55% met plezier naar school, en 27.8% een beetje. Volgens Van der Wal ervaren Arubaanse leerlingen gemiddeld een veel slechtere relatie met school in vergelijking met Nederlandse leerlingen (Van der Wal, 2008). Uit onderzoek blijkt dat een sterke band

met school een belangrijke beschermende factor is tegen antisociaal gedrag (Hawkins et al., 1999).

Volgens Van der Wal hebben kinderen op Aruba, in vergelijking met kinderen in Nederland, meer emotionele problemen en vertonen zij minder pro-sociaal gedrag; vooral basisschoolkinderen op Aruba hebben meer psychosociale problemen dan in Nederland (Van der Wal, 2008).

Het pedagogisch schoolklimaat en de emotionele veiligheid op school is volgens velen ook aan het afnemen. Vooral op scholen met meer dan 250 leerlingen ervaart men onveilig en gezondheidsbedreigend leerling-gedrag. Vooral de leerkrachten van middelbare scholen klagen over de nadelige gevolgen die leerlingen en scholen ervaren door o.a.: 'gangfights', drug- en alcoholmisbruik, ongewenst en onverantwoord sexueel-gedrag, en tienerzwangerschap, vandalisme, gewelddadig gedrag, en seksuele intimidatie. De reclassering geeft aan dat de reden waarom jonge adolescenten in problemen komen te maken heeft met de volgende factoren: slechte vriendenkring 59%, groepsdruk 48%, gebrek aan vrijetijdsbesteding 48%, spijbelen/schooluitval 45%, laag opleidingsniveau 39%, slechte financiële situatie thuis 39%, drugs- en alcoholgebruik 36%, negatieve denkwijzen 29% (Diario, 23 februari 2011).

Velen zijn van mening dat de toename van sociaal-emotionele problemen, ongezond anti-sociaal gedrag en het verval van waarden en normen, een gevolg is van de afgenomen invloed van ouders, familie, school en religieuze instituties op de ontwikkeling van jongeren. Uit Youth Life Style onderzoek blijkt dat kinderen (56%) op Aruba veel alleen, of met jongere broertjes of zusjes thuis blijven. Ze brengen dus veel tijd door zonder begeleiding of supervisie van volwassenen. Er schijnt voor hen weinig opvang te zijn na school, en begeleiding bij problemen (Van der Wal, 2008). Gezien de frequente afwezigheid en afnemende rol van ouders en verzorgers in de dagelijkse opvang, opvoeding en begeleiding van jongeren, neemt de maatschappelijke taak van de school als opvoeder toe (Diario, maart 2011). Steeds meer wordt er van leerkrachten verwacht, dat zij meer doen, dan alleen hun vak onderwijzen. De eerder geschetste ontwikkelingen vragen om interventies die erop gericht zijn om de leerlingen te helpen om zich op een gezonde, holistische wijze te ontwikkelen (sociaal, emotioneel, fysieke gezondheid) (Diario, 2011).

Literatuurstudie

Persoonsgebonden of individuele voorspellers van een problematische en ongezonde ontwikkeling zijn onder anderen: normatieve en irreële overtuigingen, een laag zelfconcept, negatieve karaktereigenschappen, impulsiviteit, ongezond gedrag en risicogedrag, agressie, sociaal-emotionele en mentale gezondheidsproblemen, een lage mate van prosociaal gedrag, gebrekkige sociale competenties, en negatieve attitudes ten opzichte van school (Bernard, 2008, Flay et al., 2001; Orobio de Castro et al., 2003).

Dit zijn volgens de genoemde deskundigen beïnvloedbare en wijzigbare risicofactoren met behulp van een geïntegreerd holistische aanpak gericht op ‘Positive Youth Development’.

Het concept ‘Positive Youth Development’ heeft in America, maar ook in andere westerse landen, de afgelopen jaren terrein gewonnen in het veld van preventie en promotie (Battistich, 2005; Roth & Brooks-Gunn, 2003).

Ontwikkelaars en aanhangers van de theorie van ‘Positive Youth Development’ stellen dat een positieve jeugdontwikkeling leidt tot probleem- en risicomijdende, competente oplossingsgerichte, positieve en gezonde jongeren, op weg naar een productieve en bevredigende volwassenheid (Lerner et al., 2006; Roth & Brooks-Gunn, 1998; Park, 2004; Kia-Keating et al., 2010).

De onderstaande tabel geeft een overzicht van de belangrijkste uitkomsten en bijbehorende indicatoren van ‘Positive Youth Development’, aangeduid met de 5 C’s (Roth & Brooks-Gunn, 2003; Lerner et al., 2006).

Tabel 1 Operationele definitie van de 5 C’s van ‘Positive Youth Development’
Operationele definitie van de 5 C’s van ‘Positive Youth Development’

Positieve uitkomsten	Indicatoren
Competence (competenties)	Sociale competenties w.o. inter-persoonlijke vaardigheden, communicatie, assertiviteit, conflicthantering, weerbaarheid. Cognitieve competenties w.o. logisch, kritisch en analytisch denken, probleemoplossend vermogen, besluitvorming, planning en doelen stellen. Schoolgerelateerde competenties w.o. toewijding, schoolprestaties, presentie, testresultaten. Beroepscompetenties w.o. werkgewoonten, beroepskeuze.
Confidence (zelfvertrouwen)	Zelfconcept, zelfwaardering, zelfwerkzaamheid, doelgerichtheid positieve identiteit, geloof in de toekomst.
Connections (binding)	Relaties met andere mensen (omgaan met vrienden, ouders, familie, leerkrachten), instituties (w.o. school)
Character (karakter)	Gevoel voor goed en kwaad (moraliteit), positieve waarden, zelfcontrole (vermijden van gezondheidbedreigend gedrag), respect voor culturele en maatschappelijke normen en regels, spiritualiteit
Caring & Compassion (zorgzaamheid & compassie)	Emphatie, sympathie, inlevingsvermogen, mededoogzaamheid

Bron: (Roth & Brooks-Gunn, 2003; Lerner et al., 2006).

Een 6^e C van ‘Contribution’, is toegevoegd aan het 5 C-model. De 6^e C gaat om het willen en kunnen leveren van een positieve bijdrage aan zichzelf, de familie, de sociale omgeving, de samenleving en de natuurlijke omgeving.

Het doel van een positieve en gezonde jeugdontwikkeling (‘Positive Youth Development’) is het ontwikkelen van de potenties en competenties van jongeren, om effectief om te gaan met uitdagingen die zij tegen komen op weg naar volwassenheid, en om zich positief te ontwikkelen en te bloeien gedurende hun jeugd en verdere leven (Lerner et al., 2006; Park, 2004; Roth et al., 1998).

Karakterontwikkeling is een belangrijke component van een positieve en gezonde persoonlijke ontwikkeling van kinderen en jongeren (Lerner et al., 2006; Battistich, 2005; Licona, 1999). Karakter wordt door deskundigen omschreven als de wens om een goed mens te zijn, het vermogen om te kunnen beoordelen wat goed is, het belangrijk te vinden om te doen wat goed is, en ook te doen en handelen naar wat men gelooft dat goed is (Licona, 1999; Battistich, 2005).

De Character Education Partnership (=de Amerikaanse Nationale coalitie van organisaties op het gebied van ‘Character Education’), hanteert als definitie van karakter; ‘het begrijpen, belangrijk vinden en handelen naar fundamentele ethische waarden, zoals respect, verantwoordelijkheid, eerlijkheid, rechtvaardigheid en zorgzaamheid’.

Karaktergeassocieerde attitudes, gedrag, en vaardigheden, kunnen ontwikkeld worden, met behulp van ‘evidence-based’ schoolbrede, integrale en holistische Character Education programma’s (Battistich, 2005; Licona, 1999; Berkowitz & Bier, 2006).

Character Education is een doelbewuste aanpak van scholen, gericht op het ontwikkelen en stimuleren van positieve eigenschappen, en gezonde en ethisch goede manieren van handelen.

‘Character Education’ wordt door vele deskundigen, op het gebied van een positieve en gezonde persoonlijke ontwikkeling, gezien als een effectieve aanpak. Er zijn vele programma’s ontwikkeld, die zich richten op preventie van ongezond en risicogedrag, en op bevordering van een gezond en positief gedrag, op karakter- en sociaal-emotionele ontwikkeling. Weinig van deze programma’s zijn, op korte en op langere termijn, ‘evidence-based’ effectief op meerdere domeinen van een positieve en gezonde ontwikkeling van kinderen en jonge adolescenten.

Uit diverse onderzoeken blijkt dat interventies gericht op karakterontwikkeling, sociaal-emotionele ontwikkeling, en gezondheidsbevordering, meer effect hebben wanneer zij schoolbreed, holistisch en geïntegreerd zijn. (Berkowitz & Bier, 2006; Greenberg et al., 2003; Kia-Keating et al., 2010; Hawkins et al., 2005).

Uit diverse effectstudies blijkt het Positive Action programma op korte en op langere termijn, positieve effecten te hebben op vele domeinen en indicatoren van een

positieve jeugdontwikkeling (Beets et al., 2009; Snyder et al., 2010; Washburn et al., 2011).

Het Positive Action (PA) programma is ontworpen om sociaal-emotionele ontwikkeling en karakterontwikkeling te bevorderen. Doel van het programma is om leerlingen te stimuleren om positief gedrag en handelingen positief te waarderen, ervoor te kiezen om een goed persoon te zijn, en succesvol te zijn op school. Ook dat ze zich goed voelen over wie ze zijn, wat ze doen, en hoe ze omgaan met anderen. Het uitgangspunt van het Positive Action programma is dat, wanneer kinderen zich goed voelen over zichzelf en over het eigen handelen, dat zij vervolgens meer positieve gedachten hebben en meer gemotiveerd zijn om positieve handelingen uit te voeren (Positiveaction.net).

De kernmethodiek van het Positive Action programma is een drie-componenten gedragsontwikkelings- en veranderingsmodel *'Thought-Action-Feeling circle'*, ondersteund door de filosofie van het Positive Action programma. De filosofie is *'You feel good about yourself when you do positive actions, and you feel bad when you do bad'. There are always positive ways to do everything'*.

Opzet onderzoek

De onderzoeksvraag is of een integraal en schoolbreed gebruik van het 3 componenten gedragsontwikkelings- en veranderingsmodel *'Thought-Action-Feeling'*, ondersteund door de *'Positive Action'* filosofie, tot positief *'met karakter geassocieerd'* gedrag en/of gevoel (attitudes) van kinderen/jongeren leidt.

Dit onderzoek is een vervolg van een *'Matched-pair Cluster Randomized Controle Trial'*, dat een jaar geleden onder leerlingen van de 6^{de} klas (N=92) van 4 scholen, is uitgevoerd. De scholen uit het onderzoek zijn *'gematched'* op Cito-resultaten, en data m.b.t. sociaal emotionele ontwikkeling van leerlingen en de thuistaal. Na *'matching'* is van ieder paar, willekeurig, 1 school als *'PA school'* aangemerkt, en de andere als controleschool. Bij dat onderzoek is er gekeken naar de effecten van het Positive Action programma op zelfbeeldontwikkeling.

Dit vervolgonderzoek is verricht onder de 4^{de} klas leerlingen, van 1 paar, van de desbetreffende scholen uit het eerder gestarte onderzoek.

Om de interventiegroep en de controlegroep uit de steekproefpopulatie (N= 53) equivalent te maken, is ervoor gekozen om leerlingen te matchen op: de totaalscore van de uitkomstmaat *'Omgaan met anderen-gedrag'* uit de voormeting, geslacht, en leeftijd.

Met een Mann Withney U test, is de equivalentie tussen de groepen ten aanzien van de uitkomstmaat *'omgaan met anderen'-gedrag*, na de matching getoetst. Er bleek geen significant verschil ($p = .900$) tussen de interventiegroep ($m = 30.24$) en de controlegroep ($m = 30.67$) (zie tabel 2).

Tabel 2 Beschrijvende statistieken van Leerlingkenmerken voor en na de matching

	Steekproef na de voormeting		Steekproef na de matching	
	<i>Controle N=32</i>	<i>Pos. Act. N= 21</i>	<i>Controle N=21</i>	<i>Pos. Act. N= 21</i>
Jongens %	56.2	38.1	38.1	38.1
Meisjes %	43.8	61.9	61.9	61.9
Leeftijd (m)	9.69	9.45	9.71	9.43

In het onderzoek zijn 20 variabelen horende bij de uitkomstmaten: ‘Omgaan met anderen’, ‘Impulsiviteit’, ‘Karakter’, en ‘Een beter mens willen zijn’ onderzocht.

De dataverzameling vond op twee momenten plaats. Er werdenvoormetingen gedaan in september 2012, en nametingen aan het eind van november en begin december 2012. Hierbij is gebruik gemaakt van leerling-zelfrapportages en leerkrachtrapportages

Interventie

De interventie werd, van begin september 2012 tot half november, uitgevoerd in de vorm van een schoolbrede, geïntegreerde en holistische aanpak, bestaande uit:

- a) Een workshop voor het hele schoolteam.
- b) Dagelijkse uitvoering van een Positive Action lessenserie in alle klassen.
- c) Afspraken op schoolniveau over de integratie van Positive Action in een pedagogische aanpak, en schoolklimaatbevordering.
- d) Actief modelleren van positieve acties en het 3 componentenmodel.
- e) Gebruik van de Positive Action Filosofie en 3 componenten model, o.a. bij leerlingbegeleiding of disciplinaire gesprekken.

Er werd een lessenserie van 20 lessen van 20 tot 30 minuten uitgevoerd, gedurende ca 10 weken. Hierin werden de filosofie van het Positive Action programma, en het 3 componentenmodel Thought-Action-feeling, intensief verwerkt in verhalen, liedjes, werkvormen, rollenspelen, posters en oefenopdrachten voor op school en thuis.

Het thema van deze lessenserie was; ‘Positief omgaan met anderen’. Via een gedragscode, die leerlingen ontwikkelden, leerden de leerlingen respect, empathie, zorgzaamheid, aardig zijn, vriendschap, samenwerken, en verantwoordelijkheid, als positieve acties kennen, waarderen, uitproberen, oefenen, ontwikkelen en toepassen. In individuele of groepsgesprekken met de leerkracht konden leerlingen reflecteren op hun gedrag, gedachten en gevoelens. Zodoende konden de leerlingen zichzelf verbeteren.

Deze werkwijze was belangrijk om de transfer van de nieuwe kennis naar attitudes en gedrag te realiseren. De lessen werden aangepast aan de Arubaanse context en

actualiteiten, en de lessenserie was vakoverstijgend en kon geïntegreerd in andere vakken gegeven worden.

De belangrijkste resultaten

Voor de analyse van de data, is een normaliteitstoets verricht, de gemiddelde waarden van de twee groepen zijn met elkaar vergeleken, en het verschil van de gemiddelde waarden van de nameting en voormeting zijn berekend. Verder werd er MannWithney U tests uitgevoerd, om de verschillen tussen de waarden van de beide groepen te toetsen, en om te analyseren of de interventie een significant effect ($p < 0.05$) heeft gehad. Er zijn ook Wilcoxon Rank tests uitgevoerd om te zien of er significante verschillen waren tussen de voormeting en de nameting, binnen de groepen. Tot slot is er een Lineaire Regressieanalyse uitgevoerd.

De resultaten en analyses uit de leerling-zelfrapportages over hun gedrag en gevoel worden per uitkomstmaat besproken.

Omgaan met anderen

Bij de 8 variabelen van de uitkomstmaat 'Omgaan met anderen-gedrag' blijken in de nameting geen significante verschillen tussen de twee groepen. Positief is de verschuiving die plaats heeft gevonden bij de Positieve Actie groep, t.a.v. de variabele 'Aardig zijn tegen anderen-gedrag'. In de voormeting scoorden de PA-leerlingen significant negatiever t.a.v. deze variabele $p=.032$. In de nameting was dit negatief verschil verdwenen $p=.990$. De PA-leerlingen hebben hun negatieve achterstand t.o.v. de controle groep ingelopen. Het verschil tussen het gemiddelde van de nameting en de voormeting was voor de PA-groep 0.43, en voor de Controle groep - 0.29. De PA-leerlingen, blijken ten opzichte van hun eigen scores van de voormeting, na de interventie ook significant vooruit te zijn gegaan, t.a.v. de variabele 'Anderen respecteren-gedrag', $p= .042$. Dit terwijl bij de controleschool een achteruitgang te zien was t.a.v. deze variabele. De PA-groep is in de nameting, ten opzichte van hun scores in de voormeting, ook significant vooruit gegaan voor de variabele 'Anderen helpen wanneer ze hulp nodig hebben-gevoel', $p=.041$.

Impulsiviteit

De variabelen 'Nadenken alvorens te handelen' en 'Handelen zonder na te denken over de gevolgen' werden gemeten. Er waren geen noemenswaardige verschillen te zien.

Proberen een beter mens te zijn

Er werden geen significante verschillen in de scores van de leerling-zelfrapportages van de twee groepen waargenomen t.a.v. de variabelen 'Jezelf een beter persoon maken' en 'Proberen op je best te zijn'. De PA-groep boekte, voor de variabele 'Jezelf

een beter persoon maken-gedrag', wel een significante vooruitgang ten opzichte van de eigen score in de voormeting, $p = 0.46$. Opvallend is ook dat het gemiddelde van de controlegroep bij deze variabele achteruit is gegaan, van $m = 4.24$ naar $m = 3.90$.

Voor de variabele 'Jezelf een beter persoon maken-gevoel' en 'Proberen op je best te zijn-gevoel' rapporteerden de leerlingen van de PA-groep, na de nameting, aanzienlijk positiever ten opzichte van hun scores in de voormeting. De controle groep scoorde juist negatiever in de nameting.

Dit verschil is niet significant, maar wel inhoudelijk relevant, want een belangrijk doel van het Positive Action programma is om leerlingen te stimuleren om een beter persoon te willen zijn.

Karakter

Voor deze uitkomstmaat werden de variabelen; 'Je goed voelen, wanneer je goed doet', 'Je slecht voelen, wanneer je slecht doet', 'Goede dingen doen', en 'Slechte dingen doen' gemeten. Uit de resultaten van de leerling-zelfrapportages t.a.v. hun gedrag, bleken bij geen van deze variabelen significante verschillen tussen de groepen en ook niet binnen de groepen.

Maar uit de leerling-rapportages m.b.t. gevoel, blijkt er voor de variabele 'Je goed voelen wanneer je goede dingen doet-gevoel', een significant verschil tussen de Controle- en de PA-leerlingen t.a.v. de voormeting $p = .045$.

Dit resultaat sluit aan bij een belangrijk doel van het Positive Action programma nl. de leerlingen te stimuleren om de filosofie, ***You feel good, when you do good***, zich eigen te maken.

Leerkrachtrapportages

Uit de nameting, bleek dat er voor de PA-groep t.a.v. de variabele 'Voelt goed over zich zelf wanneer hij/zij slechte dingen doet', een significant verschil is ten opzichte van de controle groep $p = .004$. De PA-leerlingen voelen zich, volgens hun leerkracht, na de interventie significant minder vaak goed, wanneer ze slechte dingen doen. Dit sluit aan bij de filosofie van het Positive Action programma, nl. 'You feel good when you do good', you feel bad when you do bad. Uit de Wilcoxon Rank test blijkt de PA-groep ten aanzien van deze variabele, 'Voelt goed over zich zelf wanneer hij/zij slechte dingen doet', dan ook significant verbeterd, $p = .000$.

Lineaire Regressie Analyse

Er werd een lineaire regressie analyse uitgevoerd, maar deze heeft geen significante verschillen opgeleverd.

Conclusie

Uit de resultaten van de leerling-zelfrapportages, blijkt dat de PA-leerlingen empathischer, respectvoller en aardiger zijn, en zich vaker goed voelen wanneer ze goede dingen doen. Ze proberen om een beter persoon te worden en voelen zich goed over zich zelf wanneer ze proberen om een beter persoon te zijn.

Deze ontwikkelingen sluiten goed aan bij de definities van ‘karakter’ en het 3 componenten model Thought-Action-Feeling. Hierbij wordt ervan uitgegaan dat positieve gedachten, leiden tot positief gedrag en dat positief gedrag een goed gevoel oplevert t.o.v. zich zelf, en dat een positief gevoel, weer leidt tot positieve gedachten.

Verder kan uit de leerkrachtrapportages geconcludeerd worden dat de PA-leerlingen zich, na de interventie significant minder vaak, goed voelen, wanneer ze slechte dingen doen. Dit sluit aan bij de filosofie van het Positive Action programma, nl.’ You feel good when you do good’, you feel bad when you do bad.

Opgemerkt moet worden dat het hier slechts om een kortdurende interventie ging, en dat het onduidelijk is hoe duurzaam deze effecten zullen zijn.

Het is daarom aan te bevelen om een groter opgezet, uitgebreider en langduriger onderzoek te doen, want uit de sociale-, gedrags- en gezondheidspsychologie, is het bekend dat gedragsverandering vaak veel tijd en langdurige interventies vergen.

Afsluitend kan worden gesteld dat de resultaten veelbelovend zijn, en uitnodigen tot verder onderzoek op meerdere Arubaanse scholen.

LITERATUUR

Battistich, Victor (2005). *Character education, prevention and positive youth development*. Washington: Character Education Partnership.

Battistich, Victor, Eric Schaps & Nance Wilson (2004). Effects of an elementary school intervention on students’ “connectedness” to school and social adjustment during Middle School. *Journal of Primary Prevention*, 24, 3, 243-262.

Beets, Michael W., Brian R. Flay, Samuel Vuchinich, Frank J. Snyder, Alan Acock et al. (2009). Use of a social and character development program to prevent substance use, violent behaviors, and sexual activity among elementary-school students in Hawaii. *American Journal of Public Health*, 99, 8, 1438-1445.

Berkowitz, Marvin W. & Melinda C. Bier (2006). *What works in character education: a research driven guide for educators*. Washington: Character Education Partnership.

Bernard, Michael E. (2008). *Albert Ellis and the World of Children*. Paper presented at the 43th Annual Conference of Australian Psychological Society, September 2008, Tasmania.

Directie Economische Zaken (2008). *Nationaal Veiligheidsplan Aruba 2008-2012*. Diario (Arubaanse krant).

- Flay, Brian R., Carol G. Allred & Nocole Ordway (2001). Effects of the positive action program on achievement and discipline: two matched control comparisons. *Prevention Science*, 2, 2, 71-89.
- Flay, Brian R. & Carol G. Allred (2003). Long-term effects of the Positive Action program. *American Journal of Health Behavior*, 27, .Supplement 1, S6-S21.
- Greenberg, Mark T., Roger P. Weissberg, Mary Utne O'Brien, Joseph E. Zins, Linda Fredericks, Hank Resnik & Maurice J. Elias (2003). Enhancing school-based prevention and youth development through coordinated social, emotional, and academic learning. *American Psychologist*, 58, 6-7, 466-474.
- Hawkins, J. David, Richard F. Catalano, Rick Kosterman, Robert Abbott & Karl G. Hill (1999). Preventing adolescent health-risk behaviors by strengthening protection during childhood. *Archives of Pediatrics & Adolescent Medicine*, 153, 3, 226-234.
- Hoen, R. A. (2010). Jong geleerd, oude gedaan; Wanneer bereiken 'Character Education' programma's hun doelen?
- Hoen, R. A. (2011). *De effecten van holistische en geïntegreerde 'Character Education' programma's op een positieve en gezonde ontwikkeling van jongeren*. Aruba.
- Hoen, R. (2012). *Ontwikkeling van een positief zelfconcept met behulp van het Positive Action Programma*. Aruba.
- Kia-Keating, Maryam, Erin Dowdy, Melissa L. Morgan & Gil G. Noam (2011). Protecting and promoting: an integrative conceptual model for healthy development of adolescents. *Journal of Adolescent Health*, 48, 3, 220-228.
- Lerner, Richard M., Jacqueline V. Lerner, Jason Almerigi, Christina Theokas, Erin Phelps et al. (2006). Towards a new vision and vocabulary about adolescence: theoretical, empirical, and applied bases of a "positive youth development" perspective. In Lawrence Balter & Catherine S. Tamis-LeMonda (Eds.), *Child psychology: a handbook of contemporary issues* (pp.445-469). New York: Psychology Press/Taylor & Francis.
- Licona, Tomas (1999). Character education: seven crucial issues. *Action in Teacher Education*, 20, 4, 77-84.
- López Ospina, Gustavo (2000). Educating for sustainable development: a local and international challenge. *Prospects*, 30, 1, 31-40.
- Nicklin, Sean & Ben Cornwell (comp.) (2010). *Tomorrow Today*. Leicester: Tudor Rose/UNESCO.
- Orobio de Castro, Bram, Joop D. Bosch, Jan W. Veerman & Willem Koops (2003). The effects of emotion regulation, attribution, and delay prompts on aggressive boys' social problem solving. *Cognitive Therapy and Research*, 27, 2, 153-166.
- Park, Nansook (2004). Character strengths and positive youth development. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 591, 40-54.

- Riggs, Nathaniel, Mark T. Greenberg, Carol A. Kushé & Mary Ann Pentz (2006). The mediational role of neurocognition in the behavioral outcomes of a social-emotional prevention program in elementary school students: effects of the PATHS curriculum. *Prevention Science*, 7, 1, 91-102.
- Roth, Jodie, Jeanne Brooks-Gunn, Lawrence Murray & William Foster (1998). Promoting healthy adolescents: Synthesis of youth development program evaluations. *Journal of Research on Adolescence*, 8, 4, 423-459.
- Roth, Jodie L. & Jeanne Brooks-Gunn (2003). Youth development programs: risk, prevention and policy. *Journal of Adolescent Health*, 32, 170-182.
- Snyder, Frank, Brian Flay, Samuel Vuchinich, Alan Acock, Isaac Washburn et al. (2009). Impact of a social-emotional and character development program on school-level indicators of academic achievement, absenteeism, and disciplinary outcomes: a matched-pair, cluster-randomized, controlled trial. *Journal of Research on Educational Effectiveness*, 3, 1, 26-55.
- Van der Wal, Hellen A. (2008). *Jeugddelinquentie in Aruba*. Aruba: SMC.
- Van der Wal & B. Wielinga (2012). *Werken aan een veilige School*. Aruba: Stichting Maatschappij & Criminaliteit.
- Washburn, Isaac J., Alan Acock, Sam Vuchinich, Frank Snyder, Kin-Kit Li et al. (2011). Effects of a social-emotional and character development program on the trajectory of behaviors associated with social-emotional and character development: findings from three randomized trials. *Prevention Science*, 12, 3, 314-323.
- What is the SDQ?* (2012). Retrieved from www.SDQinfo.org
- What Works Clearing House*. Retrieved from <http://ies.ed.gov/ncee/wwc/>

RAPPORTAGE VAN EEN VERVOLGONDERZOEK NAAR DE EFFECTIVITEIT VAN DETERMINANTEN OP DE BMI EN FITHEID VAN KINDEREN

RUDOLPH SIMON

INSTITUTO PEDAGOGICO ARUBANO

Inleiding

Obesitas wordt in de literatuur beschreven als een alarmerend probleem dat de laatste jaren wereldwijd sterk toeneemt. Dit heeft een negatief effect op het fysieke domein¹, hetgeen een weerslag heeft op andere levensdomeinen. Hierdoor kan er een disbalans in het functioneren van het individu ontstaan. Een effectieve interventie om het probleem van obesitas bij kinderen op school aan te pakken is daarom meer dan gewenst. Uit eerdere onderzoeken (Caballero et al., 2003; Davis et al., 2007) is gebleken dat het bij interventieprogramma's belangrijk is om de omgevingsgebieden: ouders, school en gemeenschap, mee te nemen. Daarom wordt in dit experiment de klassikale instructie aan de interventiegroep, bestaande uit klas 5 van twee basisscholen, gecombineerd met lezingen voor de ouders. Volgens Davis et al. (2007) worden de ouders als de belangrijkste schakel gezien om het gedrag en de houding van de kinderen te beïnvloeden.

Doel van het experiment is om na te gaan of het introduceren van een omgevingsgericht gezondheidsprogramma effect heeft op de lichamelijke gesteldheid van kinderen onder wie ook enkelen met overgewicht of op andere determinanten die volgens de literatuur gerelateerd zijn aan obesitas en fitheid.

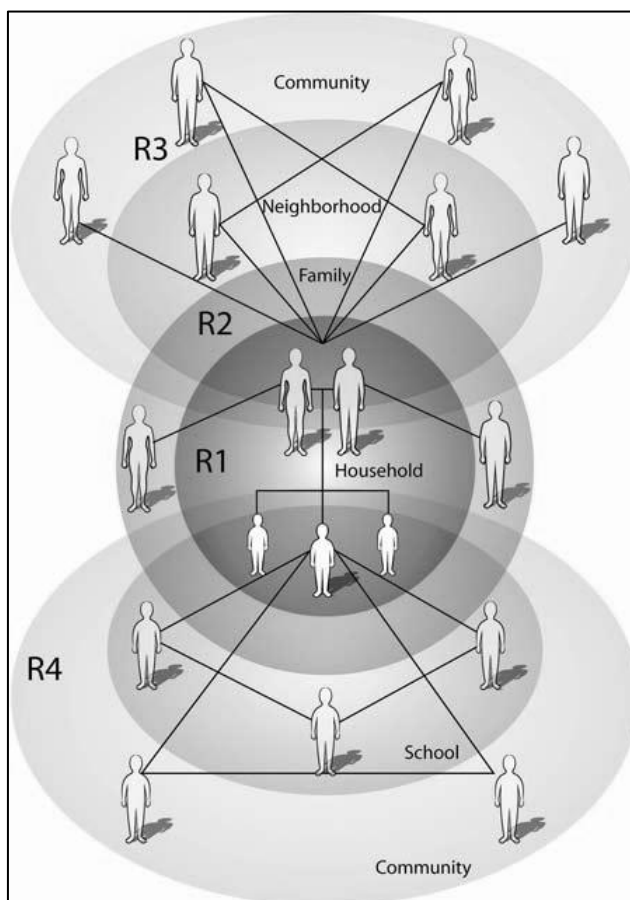
Aanleiding

De prevalentie van obesitas bij kinderen is in de laatste 30 jaren wereldwijd enorm toegenomen. Aruba, een klein eiland in het Caribische gebied, is hierop geen uitzondering (Boekhoudt et al., 1998; Visser, 2006; Jeugdgezondheidszorg, 2010). Deze toename van de prevalentie van obesitas in de wereld en op Aruba is te wijten aan de invloeden van de omgevingsfactoren die een negatief effect hebben op het resultaat van gemeten variabelen zoals BMI, bloeddruk, tailleomvang, fittest en

¹ Het fysieke domein is één van de 4 levensdomeinen volgens de indeling van de World Health Organization (WHO, 1996).

vetpercentage bij kinderen die obees zijn (Elder et al., 2010). De toename van obesitas gaat gepaard met een scala aan gezondheidsproblemen, met een negatief effect op de levenskwaliteit van kinderen als gevolg.

Één van de mogelijke oorzaken van obesitas op Aruba is dat in het Arubaanse onderwijscurriculum geen plaats is ingeruimd voor gezondheidseducatie. De leerlingen hebben geen kennis over een aantal belangrijke zaken die te maken hebben met hun gezondheid, gevoelens en zelfbeeld. Uit literatuuronderzoek (Caballero et al., 2003; Davis et al., 2007) blijkt dat het probleem volgens het model van de sociale ecologische systeemtheorie dient te worden aangepakt. Dit model beschrijft het belang van de relaties tussen de omgevingsgebieden op de ontwikkeling van het kind. In figuur 1 is het model van de ecologische systeemtheorie te zien.



Om de problematiek van obesitas op Aruba nader te onderzoeken is een experiment uitgevoerd (Simon, 2012) naar de effectiviteit van een interventieprogramma op de uitkomstvariabelen Fittest, Bloeddruk en BMI Hoog² bij leerlingen uit klas 5 van de basisschool. Op basis van de verkregen resultaten vonden er twee nadere observaties plaats. Van observatie 1 kunnen we zeggen, dat de interventie een effect heeft gehad op de uitkomstvariabele Fittest maar niet op de uitkomstvariabelen Bloeddruk en BMI Hoog.

Figuur 1 Het ecologische model (Bronfenbrenner, 1979)

In verband met observatie 2 is het volgende te zeggen: op grond van de gemaakte *t-test* lijkt het erop dat de interventie een effect heeft gehad op de variabele deelname aan sport. Op basis van deze twee observaties, is ervoor gekozen om een vervolgonderzoek uit te voeren om te verklaren welke mechanismevariabelen een mogelijke rol hebben gespeeld op de uitkomstvariabelen Fittest en BMI Hoog.

² BMI Hoog is een uitkomstvariabele gecorrigeerd naar leeftijd en geslacht (CDC, 2000). $X \geq 85$ percentiel, geeft aan dat een leerling tenminste overgewicht heeft.

Opzet onderzoek

Aan dit experiment deden 4 basisscholen mee waarvan twee voor de interventiegroep en twee voor de controlegroep. De interventiegroepen werden geselecteerd op basis van de plaatsing van de docenten van Movecion y Salud (Specialisten in Beweging en gezondheid) door het schoolbestuur Stichting Katholiek Onderwijs Aruba (SKOA), terwijl de controlegroepen geselecteerd werden op basis van een viertal criteria: accommodatie; het aantal pauzes; nooit eerder lessen gezondheid in het curriculum; de bereidheid om aan het onderzoek mee te doen. Het aantal leerlingen dat aan dit onderzoek meedeed was 89 (N).

Aangezien bij de gemaakte *t*-test verschillen werden geconstateerd tussen de controlegroep en de interventiegroep in de voormeting (Simon, 2012), werd een nieuwe variabele gemaakt: de variabele ‘verschil’. Op basis van deze variabele ‘verschil’ zou via de *t*-test te determineren zijn of de interventie daadwerkelijk effect had op de interventiegroep.

Dataverzameling

Voor de dataverzameling werden twee instrumenten gebruikt, een vragenlijst en een antropometrisch meetinstrument. Het antropometrische meetinstrument bepaalt de lichamelijke en fysieke gesteldheid van de leerlingen op ratio meetniveau, terwijl de vragenlijst meer bedoeld is om informatie te verkrijgen over de betrokken determinanten, zoals achtergrondkenmerken (nominaal en ordinaal meetniveau). Die vragenlijst bestond uit een vijftal gedragscategorieën: eetgewoonten, slaapgewoonten, televisiekijken, met de computer werken en beweeggedrag van de leerlingen. Met het antropometrische meetinstrument worden in dit onderzoek aspecten gemeten als: BMI, Bloeddruk en, via een Fittest, de fitheid. Het meten van de lichamelijke en fysieke gesteldheid werd volgens gestandaardiseerde meetprotocollen gedaan (Cooper Institute, zie Meredith, 2006), zodat er sprake was van een valide en betrouwbare meting.

Interventieonderzoek

Op basis van het hiervoor weergegeven ecologische model (zie figuur 1) werden een aantal artikelen bestudeerd waarbij een selectie werd gemaakt van de meest betrouwbare onderzoeksmethode.

Voor dit experiment werd een interventieprogramma gekozen dat uit twee deelprogramma's bestond. Deel 1 van het programma was bestemd voor de leerlingen van klas 5, terwijl deel 2 bestemd was voor de ouders. Gedurende een periode van 6 maanden kregen de leerlingen van klas 5 elke week gezondheidseducatie- en bewegingsonderwijslessen, waarbij verschillende thema's aan bod kwamen. Voor de ouders werd een programma met een duur van 3 maanden samengesteld, waar verschillende thema's die te maken hadden met beweging en gezondheid werden

behandeld. De bijeenkomsten vonden om de twee weken plaats en hadden elk een duur van maximaal 60 minuten.

Deze twee deelprogramma's liepen simultaan met als doel om de ouders te informeren over datgene wat er op school werd aangeboden, zodat zij het schoolprogramma ook in de buitenschoolse omgeving konden ondersteunen door gezond gedrag bij de leerlingen te stimuleren.

Het programma voor de ouders bestond uit een vijftal thema's die door specialisten van de afdeling Jeugdgezondheidszorg van Directie Volksgezondheid (een kinderarts, een voedingsspecialist, een orthopedagoog en een bewegingspecialist) werden verzorgd. De eerste nul(voor)meting vond in november 2011 plaats terwijl de tweede meting 6 maanden later werd gedaan (nameting).

Resultaten

De resultaten van dit onderzoek zijn gebaseerd op de gemaakte regressieanalyses. Op basis van tabel 3 werd het resultaat vanuit de literatuur over het causaal verband van de controlevariabelen met de uitkomstvariabelen Fittest en BMI Hoog($x \geq 85$ percentiel) beschreven.

Resultaten op basis van de gemaakte analyses

Uit de beschrijvende statistiek van tabel 1 is af te lezen dat de interventie een effect had op de uitkomstvariabele Fittest van de nameting (tweezijdige *p waarde* van $0.114/2 = 0.05$), maar niet op de uitkomstvariabelen BMI Hoog ($x \geq 85$ percentiel) en Bloeddruk van de nameting. Op grond van de gemaakte *t-test* in Paper 3, tabel 3 (Simon, 2012) lijkt de interventie een effect te hebben gehad op deelname aan sport (tweezijdige *p waarde* van $0.12/2 = 0.06$) maar niet op het gebruik van frisdrank en het spelen van computerspelletjes. Op basis van deze twee observaties zijn er twee regressieanalyses gemaakt, met enerzijds als doel om te determineren of de interventie ook een effect heeft op de mechanismevariabele deelname aan sport en om anderzijds tot een verklaring te kunnen komen over welke mechanismevariabelen mede een rol speelden op het verkregen effect van de uitkomstvariabelen Fittest en BMI Hoog.

Als resultaat van deze analyse (zie tabel 2) kan geconcludeerd worden dat de interventie een effect had op de mechanismevariabelen deelname aan sport en TV kijken: de leerlingen gingen meer aan sport doen en keken minder TV. Van de gemaakte analyse uit tabel 3 kan geconcludeerd worden, dat geen van de controlevariabelen van de voormeting een relatie heeft met de uitkomstvariabelen van de voormeting.

Tabel 1 Resultaten van de meervoudige regressieanalyse

Variabelen (voormeting)	BP Systolisch	BP Diastolisch	BMI(kg/m ²)	BMI (> 85 Percentiel)	Fittest
Model 3	1.622 (0.524)	1.437 (0.483)	0.399 (0.140)	0.003 (0.960)	0.738
Exp	s.e. 2.531	s.e. 2.034	s.e. 0.267	s.e. 0.056	(0.114)* s.e. 0.459
N	41	41	43	43	45
R²	0.432 (43.2%)	0.408 (40.8%)	0.949 (94.9%)	0.803 (80%)	0.653 (65.3%)

Noot: *p* waarden tussen haakjes; */**/**** significant op 10/5/1% niveau. De standaardfouten zijn gecursiveerd.

Model 3: $Y = Y_0 + \text{Exp} + \beta_1 \cdot X_1 + \beta_2 \cdot X_2 + \beta_3 \cdot X_3 + \dots + \varepsilon$

De *X* variabelen zijn: SES, Deelname aan sport, Trainingsuren, Computerspelletjes, Ontbijt, Frisdrank, Groenten en Slaap

Tabel 2 Resultaten van de meervoudige regressieanalyse van de mechanisme-variabelen

Variabelen (voormeting)	Deelname aan sport	S.E	TV kijken	S.E	Computer-spelletjes	S.E	Slaap	S.E
Model 3	0.160 (0.090)*	0.093	-0.522(0.059)**	0.271	0.233 (0.499)	0.328	0.143 (0.632)	0.298
Exp								
Voormeting(Y₀)	0.699 (0.000)	0.078	0.432 (0.000)	0.100	0.546 (0.000)	0.106	0.489 (0.001)	0.136
Leeftijd	-0.007 (0.144)	0.078	0.011 (0.450)	0.014	0.004 (0.830)	0.016	-0.018 (0.238)	0.015
Geslacht	-0.005 (0.311)	0.005	0.016 (0.267)	0.014	-0.005 (0.766)	0.018	0.009 (0.542)	0.015
SES	0.028 (0.135)	0.018	-0.063 (0.312)	0.062	0.023 (0.748)	0.071	- 0.105 (0.102)	0.063
N	41		41		43		45	
R²	0.432 (43.2%)		0.408 (40.8%)		0.949 (94.9%)		0.254 (25.4%)	

Noot: *p* waarden tussen haakjes; */**/**** significant op 10/5/1% niveau. De standaardfouten zijn gecursiveerd.

Model 3: $Y = Y_0 + \text{Exp} + \beta_1 \cdot X_1 + \beta_2 \cdot X_2 + \beta_3 \cdot X_3 + \dots + \varepsilon$

De causaliteit van de relaties op basis van ondersteunende literatuur

Hoewel uit de gemaakte analyse van de controlevariabelen en de uitkomstvariabelen van de voormeting geen verbanden zijn geconstateerd (tabel 3), kan er wel gezegd worden dat vanuit de literatuur is getoond dat de mechanismevariabelen slaap en SES wel een relatie met BMI Hoog hebben.

In onderzoeken (Massey-Stokes & Meaney, 2006; Yetter, 2009) wordt aangetoond dat ouders met een lage SES niet voldoende financiële middelen hebben om de juiste voeding te kunnen kopen, met als gevolg dat hun kinderen meer aan overgewicht en obesitas zullen lijden. Een ander probleem is de onveilige omgeving/buurt waar de ouders met een lage SES wonen. Die ouders kiezen ervoor om hun kinderen niet buiten te laten spelen, met als gevolg dat de kinderen minder bewegen en meer uren voor de TV doorbrengen. Volgens Chen et al. (2008) speelt het aspect van slapen een belangrijke rol bij de groei naar de volwassenheid en bij de gezondheid. Zij beschrijven in hun artikel dat een aantal biologische mechanismen gerelateerd is aan obesitas, waaronder slaaptekort met als gevolg: slaperig zijn overdag, moeheid, somatische en cognitieve problemen en een laag activiteitsniveau. Eerdere studies hebben aangetoond, dat slaaptekort een effect heeft op het hormoonstelsel zoals Leptin, Ghrelin, Insuline, Cortisol en het groeihormoon. Deze hormonale veranderingen zouden een disbalans in het energiesysteem creëren met als gevolg overgewicht en obesitas.

344

Naar aanleiding van het onderzoek van Paper 3 (Simon, 2012) kan worden opgemerkt, dat de gemiddelde slaapduur voor de controlegroep op 7.58 uitkwam terwijl de gemiddelde slaapduur voor de interventiegroep op 8.05 uitkwam. Volgens de tabel van Chen et al. (2008) moet deze leeftijdsgroep leerlingen ≥ 9 uur slapen om aan de eisen van een gezonde ontwikkeling te voldoen. Hieruit kan geconcludeerd worden dat beide groepen niet voldoen aan de gestelde norm.

Tabel 3 Resultaten van de meervoudige regressieanalyse Y0 ; BMI hoog en Fitheid op alle controlevariabelen

Variabelen (voormeting)	BMI ($X \geq 85$ Percentiel)	S.E	Fittest	S.E
SES	-0.153 (0.218)	0.123	-0.198 (0.693)	0.498
Deelname aan sport	-0.087 (0.603)	0.166	0.535 (0.432)	0.498
Trainingsuren per week	0.027 (0.197)	0.021	0.076 (0.376)	0.085
Tv kijken	0.007 (0.899)	0.057	-0.296 (0.218)	0.238
Computerspelletjes	-0.030 (0.560)	0.051	-0.016 (0.939)	0.207
Ontbijt	-0.088 (0.438)	0.113	0.192 (0.682)	0.467
Frisdranken per week	0.01 (0.927)	0.008	0.024 (0.492)	0.034
Het eten van Groenten	0.127 (0.149)	0.087	-0.447 (0.226)	0.365
Slaapuren	-0.021 (0.734)	0.062	0.346 (0.193)	0.263
N	43		45	
R ²	0.432 (43.2%)		0.408 (40.8%)	

Noot: p waarden tussen haakjes; */**/***/ significant op 10/5/1% niveau. De standaard fouten zijn gecursiveerd

LITERATUUR

- Boekhoudt, Chanin, Louise M. Fun-ten Dam & Sonja D. Kappel (1998). *Hoe eten en bewegen basisschoolleerlingen. Aruba: een onderzoek naar voedings- en bewegingspatroon bij basisschoolkinderen.* Aruba.
- Caballero, Benjamin, Theresa Clay, Sally M. Davis et al. (2003). Pathways: a school-based, randomized controlled trial for the prevention of obesity in American Indian schoolchildren. *American Journal of Clinical Nutrition*, 78, 5, 1030-1038.
- Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, CDC. (2000). Available on <http://www.cdc.gov/growthcharts>

- Chen, Xiaoli, May A. Beydoun & Youfa Wang (2008). Is sleep duration associated with childhood obesity? A systematic review and meta-analysis. *Obesity*, 16, 2, 265-274.
- Davis, Matthew M., Bonnie Gance-Cleveland, Sandra Hassink et al. (2007). Recommendations for prevention of childhood obesity. *Pediatrics*, 120, suppl. 4, S229-S253.
- Elder, John P., Elva M. Arredondo, Nadia Campbell et al. (2010). Individual, family, and community environmental correlates of obesity in Latino elementary school children. *Journal of School Health*, 80, 1, 20-30.
- Jeugdgezondheidszorg Aruba (2010). *Jaarverslag*.
- Kain, J., R. Uauy, F. Vio Albala et al. (2004). School-based obesity prevention in Chilean primary school children: methodology and evaluation of a controlled study. *International Journal of Obesity*, 28, 4, 483-493.
- Massey-Stokes, Marilyn, & Karen S. Meaney (2006). Understanding our service-learning community: an exploratory study of parent, teacher, and student perceptions about childhood obesity. *The Health Educator*, 38, 2, 53-60.
- Meredith, Marilu D. & Greg Welk ; Cooper Institute (2006, [2004]). *Fitnessgram /activitygram: test administration manual*. Champaign: Human Kinetics.
- Simon, Rudolph P. (2012). *Effect van bewegingsonderwijs en gezondheidseducatie op kinderen met obesitas*. Paper 3, Aruba.
- Visser, Richard (2006). *Malnutrition caused by overeating: prevalence, associated factors, and control program for elementary school children in Aruba*. Aruba.
- World Health Organization (1996). WHOQOL-BREF *Introduction, administration, scoring and generic version of the assessment*. Available on www.who.int/mental_health/media/en/76.pdf
- Yetter, Georgette (2009). Exercise-based school obesity prevention programs: an overview. *Psychology in the Schools*, 46, 8, 739-747.

TAKING THE BULL BY THE HORNS: PROFESSIONAL CURAÇAOAN PAPIAMENTU TRANSLATORS AND WRITERS FACING THE CHALLENGES OF GLOBALIZATION HEAD-ON¹

COURTNEY G. PARKINS FERRÓN
UNIVERSITAT ROVIRA I VIRGILI

Introduction

Papiamentu translators and writers often find that they have to steer the delicate craft of their assigned task, as it were, through a narrow strait. On one side lies the rock of the monster Scylla. On the other is the menacing whirlpool of Charybdis. If they steer too far from the rock (or stock) of Papiamentu lexical items, they run the risk of being swept up into the swift currents of the whirlpool of lexical transfer. If they steer too far from the whirlpool, they run the risk of smashing their fragile boat against the rock, thus displeasing their clients at the end of the day. This mythological reference highlights the challenges that professional Curaçaoan Papiamentu translators and writers face when translating and writing in Papiamentu in this era of globalization. They are often forced to transfer an expression from English to Papiamentu despite the fact that native speakers of this Creole know that they can express any idea in it without resorting to some other language. Thus, it is time that the strategies of Papiamentu translators and writers were investigated to find out how these professionals deal with this predicament.

Why focus on English-to-Papiamentu lexical transfer?

Historically and linguistically, Papiamentu has derived most of its lexicon from two Romance languages – Spanish and Portuguese. Therefore, I refer to these two as the inherent, or related lexifiers of Papiamentu. They are however not the focus of this study. As related as English and Dutch are to each other (in that they are both Germanic languages), they are neither historically nor linguistically related to Papiamentu. Yet, they happen to exist synchronically with it in Curaçao where efforts to maintain Papiamentu as the country's first language have been successful even as

¹ I am grateful to all my colleagues for their valuable comments and help, especially to Prof. Ronald Severing and the staff of the Fundashon pa Planifikashon di Idioma, Willemstad, Curaçao. The responsibility for the many remaining flaws is mine.

further measures are taken to limit in it the use of Dutch and English. Despite such measures, English more so than Dutch remains one of the regular lexifiers of Papiamentu.

The aim of the study

An interesting fact about the formal standardization process of a creole language is that it selects, codifies, elaborates and facilitates the acceptance of one variety of the language as the standard (see Haugen, 1966; Ferguson, 1996; Deumert, 2004; Mooneeram, 2009). What the process does not have the power to do is prevent its speakers from using nonstandard forms or lexical items from other languages. This is particularly so when the standardized language remains in contact with some other language(s). One example is Papiamentu on the island of Curaçao where it also co-exists with Spanish but is co-official only with English and Dutch. As a result, many speakers on the island are multilingual, often codemixing or codeswitching from one language to another. Thus, by analysing the responses of the 205 professional Papiamentu translators and writers surveyed in the present study, this article looks at the strategies that professional Curaçaoan Papiamentu translators and writers adopt in order to rise above the strait of English-to-Papiamentu lexical transfer. It also seeks to determine reasons and propose some workable solutions for this dilemma.

Professional Papiamentu translators and writers

For the purpose of this study, a professional Papiamentu translator is strictly any individual who for payment expresses the ideas of an English source text in the target language (Papiamentu), thus producing a corresponding written text (the Papiamentu target text) also called a Papiamentu translation. The translator also allows for constraints that include culture, context, the grammar rules of the source and target languages, their writing conventions, and their turns of phrases. By this definition, this research is restricted to written translation. Similarly, I have defined a professional Papiamentu writer as an individual who writes for payment, and like the translators, allows for constraints that include culture, context, grammar rules, writing conventions, and turns of phrases concerning Papiamentu. Thus, the professional Papiamentu writer produces written work originally in Papiamentu, not by way of translation. I refer to this Papiamentu work as a Papiamentu non-translation, or simply Papiamentu writing.

Having provided these two definitions, I must point out that on the island of Curaçao I discovered that the set of all Papiamentu translators does not only engage in translation. Nor does the set of all writers necessarily engage only in writing. There are translators who only translate: exclusive translators (T), translators who also write: writing translators (wT), writers who also translate: translating writers (tW),

individuals who write and translate on just about an equal level: writers/translators (WT), and writers who only engage in writing: exclusive writers (W). Thus, four groups (T, wT, WT, tW) make up the set of all Papiamentu translators on the island. Then the set of all individuals who do both, that is, translate and write, is (wT, WT and tW). I refer to these as “translators-and-writers” to avoid confusion with the overarching group of “translators and writers” which comprises all five types (T, wT, WT, tW, W). The common denominator among all five groups of translators and writers is that they work ‘into’ Papiamentu (see Table 1).

Table 1 Types of Papiamentu translators and writers

Symbols	Types			
T	Non-writer	Exclusive translator	Translators	Writers
wT	Translators-and-writers	Writing translator		
WT		Writer/Translator		
tW		Translating writer		
W	Non-translator	Exclusive writer		

Research questions and hypothesis

Research questions

The first question concerning this research problem of English-to-Papiamentu lexical transfer is that of agency: Who does it, translators or writers?

The second concerns reasons: Why? In other words, could the reason they do it be tied to such factors as their training, years of professional experience, payment for their work, the status of the source text or even sociolinguistic influence?

These questions take into consideration the possibility that Papiamentu translators-and-writers (wT, WT and tW) may function in their translating capacity differently from how they function in their writing capacity.

Research hypothesis

The main research hypothesis is accordingly formulated as follows:

The self-reported English-to-Papiamentu lexical transfer activity of Papiamentu translators and writers varies significantly with respect to their formal training, professional experience, economic reward, the text status, and sociolinguistic influence.

In this study, I posit that formal training in translation and/or writing, professional experience, economic reward, the status of a source text, and sociolinguistic influence are all significant factors in Papiamentu translators' and writers' practice of transferring lexical items from English into Papiamentu. I believe that this is important because a positive correlation between the self-reported lexical transfer activity could be due to any of these variables and any other variable that researchers may find testable in future research.

Methodology

Having formulated and discussed the research questions, hypothesis and the variables, I decided that the methodology would involve both quantitative and qualitative data gathering and analysis. The data collection procedure began with a sample of 205 respondents (100 translators and 105 non-translators, or exclusive writers) surveyed on Curaçao. Many of them were contacted from November 2011 to February 2012 through the kind and efficient help of the Fundashon pa Planifikashon di Idioma (FPI – Language Planning Institute) on the island. The research instrument was a semi-structured questionnaire consisting of 50 questions, 49 of which were closed for quantitative analysis and one open-ended for qualitative analysis.

Partitioned hypotheses

According to the theory which underpins inferential statistics, driven by the postpositivist paradigm, it is impossible to prove that a hypothesis is true by making confirmatory observations. It is only possible to disprove a null hypothesis (H_0) at a prescribed level of probability (Nickerson, 2000). The H_0 is a default statement proposing that no relationships exist among the observed data. It is the opposite of the research hypothesis, which assumes that systematic relationships (for example, differences or associations) exist among the data. Accordingly, the research hypothesis was partitioned into 20 null hypotheses based on the variables collected by the questionnaire.

Choice of statistical tests

Non-parametric null hypothesis significance tests (NHSTs) were performed using SPSS version 18.0 to calculate test statistics that would determine whether or not each null hypothesis could be rejected, that is, disproved, or assumed to be false. The

methods used in this study followed the SPSS protocols described by Field (2009). All NHSTs work by using computational formulae to extract the values of test statistics from an observed data set, for example, values symbolized by χ^2 for a Chi-Squared test. The magnitudes of the test statistics were interpreted in order to infer whether or not the probability (known as the p-value) of the relationships among the data were due to random variation.

Parametric statistics could not be used to analyze the quantitative data collected in this study because such statistics assume that the variables are measured at the interval level and they are normally distributed. The responses to questions using a five-point scale were not measured at the interval level because it could not be assumed that the participants perceived that the intervals between, say, “Never” and “Rarely” or between “Frequently” and “Always”, on the prescribed response scale were equal (Long et al. 2003). Only non-parametric NHSTs could be justified to analyze the ordinal and nominal variables collected in this study, including Chi-Square (χ^2) tests, Z tests for the comparison of proportions, and Kruskal-Wallis tests for the comparison of grouped medians (Agresti, 2007).

The major limitation of applying multiple null hypothesis significance tests using one set of data collected in one study is that the chance of making Type I errors is elevated exponentially with respect to the number of NHSTs that are conducted. The probability of making a Type I error when performing k tests is $1 - (1-.05)^k$ (Hair et al., 2010). The use of 20 NHSTs in this study meant that the probability of making a Type I error at $\alpha = .05$ would be .6415, that is, nearly two-thirds of the test statistics might result in erroneous inferences. The simplest way to reduce the risk of Type I errors in this case is to lower the α level (Cribbie, 2003; Abdi, 2007). Accordingly, the significance level for this study was reduced from $\alpha = .05$ to $\alpha = .005$. A null hypothesis was rejected only if $p < .005$ for the test statistic.

Sample size

According to Faul et al. (2007) the minimum total sample size necessary to compute χ^2 statistics at $\alpha = .005$ with three groups of participants (for example, exclusive translators (T), exclusive writers (W), or translators-and-writers (wT, WT, tW)) assuming a moderately large effect size is 174. In this study, the total sample size of 205 was sufficiently large to reduce the risk of Type II errors, such as falsely not rejecting the null hypothesis when, in fact, it should be rejected.

Lexical strategies

Lexical strategies were elaborated so that each occurrence or non-occurrence of lexical transfer could be analysed. The questionnaire responses were then counted to determine the strategies that the respondents adopted and their frequency.

The open-ended question

In the open-ended question, I asked the respondents what factors motivated them to engage in English-to-Papiamentu lexical transfer. This question was placed near the end of the questionnaire to capture their views in their own words. After categorising the responses, I reported on the most relevant ones.

Quantitative analysis and results

All 205 participants in this study have at one point or another transferred lexical items from English into Papiamentu. There were 100 Papiamentu translators – 51 exclusive translators (T), and 49 translators-and-writers (wT, WT, tW). There were 105 Papiamentu non-translator writers (W). The results of the inferential statistical tests computed by SPSS to compare the lexical transfer activity of Papiamentu translators and writers are presented systematically in the order of testing 20 null hypotheses. Thus, the results of these tests at the .005 level of significance provided evidence to conclude the following:

Lexical transfer by formal training

H₀₁: The null hypothesis was tested that *the English-to-Papiamentu lexical transfer (by writing and/or translation) is not associated with formal training*. H₀₁ was rejected. A significant association at $\alpha = .005$ between the lexical transfer activity and formal training was found when the respondents were divided into exclusive writers (W) and translators (T, tW, wT, WT) (Total $\chi^2 = 68.314$, $p < .001$) or into exclusive writers (W), exclusive translators (T), and translators-and-writers (tW, wT, WT) (Total $\chi^2 = 130.796$, $p < .001$). Thus, Papiamentu translators (T, tW, wT, WT) with formal training as translators had a greater tendency than those without formal training to engage in English-to-Papiamentu lexical transfer. Exclusive translators (T) with formal training as translators had a greater tendency than did exclusive writers (W) with formal training as writers to engage in English-to-Papiamentu lexical transfer. Papiamentu translators-and-writers with formal training in translation and writing did not, however, display a greater tendency to engage in English-to-Papiamentu lexical transfer in their Papiamentu translations than in their writings.

Lexical transfer by professional experience

H₀₂: The null hypothesis was tested that *a higher level of professional experience of Papiamentu translators (T, tW, wT, WT) is not associated with a greater frequency of English-to-Papiamentu lexical transfer*. H₀₂ was not rejected ($\chi^2 = 7.28$, $p = .063$). The results are not consistent with the research hypothesis that the more professional experience Papiamentu translators (T, tW, wT, WT) have, the greater the extent to which they engaged in English-to-Papiamentu lexical transfer.

H₀₃: The null hypothesis was tested that *Papiamentu* translators (T, tW, wT, WT) with equivalent levels of professional experience as exclusive writers (W) do not have a greater tendency to engage in English-to-Papiamentu lexical transfer. The test results show, however, that Papiamentu translators (T, tW, wT, WT) with equivalent levels of professional experience as exclusive writers (W) had a significantly greater tendency to engage in English-to-Papiamentu lexical transfer when their experience was > 15 years ($Z = 2.81$, $p = .003$), but not when their experience was ≤ 15 years ($Z = 2.03$, $p = .979$). Translators-and-writers (tW, wT, WT) with professional experience both in translation and writing did not, however, exhibit a greater tendency to engage in English-to-Papiamentu lexical transfer in their translations than in their writing

H₀₄: The null hypothesis was tested that *Papiamentu* exclusive translators (T) do not have a greater tendency than do exclusive writers (W) with the same amount of professional experience to engage in English-to-Papiamentu lexical transfer. Exclusive translators (T) with equivalent levels of professional experience as exclusive writers (W) had a significantly greater tendency to engage in English-to-Papiamentu lexical transfer when their experience was > 15 years ($Z = 3.44$, $p < .001$), but not when their experience was ≤ 15 years ($Z = 2.77$, $p = .997$).

Lexical transfer by economic reward

H₀₅: The null hypothesis was tested that *the responses to the question: “Whenever you are dealing with a written text, do you borrow English expressions into your Papiamentu texts because your task is not for pay?” do not vary between the translators (T, tW, wT, WT), writers (tW, wT, WT, W), or translators-and-writers (tW, wT, WT).* However, the null hypothesis was not rejected using the Kruskal Wallis test ($\chi^2 = 4.732$, $p = .094$), and the results show that exclusive translators (T) exhibited a greater tendency than all the other respondents to engage in English-to-Papiamentu lexical transfer because the task was not for pay.

H₀₆: The null hypothesis was tested that *the responses to the question: “Whenever you are dealing with a written text, do you borrow English expressions into your Papiamentu texts because payment for your task is guaranteed?” do not vary between the translators, writers, or translators-and-writers.* The null hypothesis was rejected at $\alpha = .005$ using the Kruskal Wallis test ($\chi^2 = 12.820$, $p = .002$). The results show that exclusive translators (T) exhibited a greater tendency than all the other respondents to engage in English-to-Papiamentu lexical transfer because payment for their task was guaranteed.

H₀₇: The null hypothesis was tested that *the responses to the question: “Whenever you are dealing with a written text, do you borrow English expressions into your*

Papiamentu texts because the assignments for future tasks is guaranteed?” do not vary between the translators, writers, or translators-and-writers. The null hypothesis was not rejected using the Kruskal Wallis test ($\chi^2 = 3.188$, $p = .203$) as the responses did not vary significantly between the respondents.

H₀8: The null hypothesis was tested that *the responses to the question: “Whenever you are dealing with a written text, do you borrow English expressions into your Papiamentu texts because the end-user's demand for the information is not affected by the use of the English expressions?” do not vary between the translators, writers, or translators-and-writers. The null hypothesis was not rejected using the Kruskal Wallis test ($\chi^2 = 3.898$, $p = .136$) as the responses did not vary significantly between the respondents.*

Lexical transfer by text status

H₀9: The null hypothesis was tested that *the responses to the question: “Do you borrow English expressions into your Papiamentu texts because the text is not safety-related?” do not vary between the translators, writers, or translators-and-writers. The null hypothesis was not rejected using the Kruskal Wallis test ($\chi^2 = 1.344$, $p = .511$) as the responses did not vary significantly between the respondents.*

H₀10: The null hypothesis was tested that *the responses to the question: “Do you borrow English expressions into your Papiamentu texts because the text does not have to meet regulatory requirements?” do not vary between the translators, writers, or translators-and-writers. The null hypothesis was rejected at $\alpha = .005$ using the Kruskal Wallis test ($\chi^2 = 133.838$, $p < .001$). Exclusive writers exhibited a significantly greater tendency than translators in this regard.*

H₀11: The null hypothesis was tested that *the responses to the question: “Do you borrow English expressions into your Papiamentu texts because the text is highly academic?” do not vary between the translators, writers, or translators-and-writers. The null hypothesis was rejected at $\alpha = .005$ using the Kruskal Wallis test ($\chi^2 = 108.020$, $p < .001$) as translators exhibited a significantly greater tendency than exclusive writers in this regard.*

H₀12: The null hypothesis was tested that *the responses to the question: “Do you borrow English expressions into your Papiamentu texts because you own the rights to the text?” do not vary between the translators, writers, or translators-and-writers. The null hypothesis was rejected at $\alpha = .005$ using the Kruskal Wallis test ($\chi^2 = 12.828$, $p = .003$) since exclusive writers exhibited a significantly greater tendency than translators in this regard.*

Lexical transfer by sociolinguistic influence

H₀13: The null hypothesis was tested that *the responses to the question: “Do you borrow expressions from English into Papiamentu because English is seen as more influential than Papiamentu with respect to the nature of the text?” do not vary between the translators, writers, or translators-and-writers*. The null hypothesis was rejected at $\alpha = .005$ using the Kruskal Wallis test ($\chi^2 = 12.508$, $p = .002$) as exclusive writers exhibited a significantly greater tendency than translators in this regard.

H₀14: The null hypothesis was tested that *the responses to the question: “Do you borrow expressions from English when you are translating from it because you find no corresponding expressions in Papiamentu?” do not vary between the translators, writers, or translators-and-writers*. The null hypothesis was rejected at $\alpha = .005$ using the Kruskal Wallis test ($\chi^2 = 17.732$, $p < .001$) as exclusive translators exhibited a significantly greater tendency than the other respondents in this regard.

H₀15: The null hypothesis was tested that *the responses to the question: “Whenever you are dealing with a text, do you borrow any English expression into your Papiamentu text because you think that Papiamentu speakers use the English expression at least as frequently as they use the Papiamentu one?” do not vary between the translators, writers, or translators-and-writers*. The null hypothesis was rejected at $\alpha = .005$ using the Kruskal Wallis test ($\chi^2 = 14.057$, $p = .001$) as exclusive translators exhibited a significantly greater tendency than the other participants in this regard.

H₀16: The null hypothesis was tested that *the responses to the question: “Whenever you are dealing with a text, do you borrow any English expression into your Papiamentu text because you think the English expression sounds better than the Papiamentu one?” do not vary between the translators, writers, or translators-and-writers*. The null hypothesis was rejected at $\alpha = .005$ using the Kruskal Wallis test ($\chi^2 = 57.737$, $p < .001$) as exclusive writers exhibited a significantly greater tendency than translators in this regard.

H₀17: The null hypothesis was tested that *the responses to the question: “Whenever you are dealing with a text, do you borrow any English expression into your Papiamentu text because you think that the English expression does not make the meaning of your Papiamentu text in any way unclear?” do not vary between the translators, writers, or translators-and-writers*. The null hypothesis was rejected at $\alpha = .005$ using the Kruskal Wallis test ($\chi^2 = 28.192$, $p < .001$) as exclusive writers exhibited a significantly greater tendency than translators in this regard.

H₀18: The null hypothesis was tested that *the responses to the question: “Whenever you are dealing with a text, do you borrow any English expression into your Papiamentu text because you think that the English expression makes the meaning of your Papiamentu text clearer?” do not vary between the translators, writers, or translators-and-writers.* The null hypothesis was rejected at $\alpha = .005$ using the Kruskal Wallis test ($\chi^2 = 30.915$, $p < .001$) as exclusive writers exhibited a significantly greater tendency than translators in this regard.

H₀19: The null hypothesis was tested that *the responses to the question: “Whenever you are dealing with a text, do you borrow any English expression into your Papiamentu text because you think that the English expression helps to build up the Papiamentu vocabulary and keep the language standardized?” do not vary between the translators, writers, or translators-and-writers.* The null hypothesis was rejected at $\alpha = .005$ using the Kruskal Wallis test ($\chi^2 = 13.096$, $p = .001$) as exclusive writers exhibited a significantly greater tendency than all other respondents in this regard.

H₀20: The null hypothesis was tested that *the responses to the question: “Whenever you are dealing with a text, do you borrow any English expression into your Papiamentu text because you think that Papiamentu speakers will not object to the use of the expression?” do not vary between the translators, writers, or translators-and-writers.* In this case, the null hypothesis was not rejected ($\chi^2 = 1.947$, $p = .378$) as the responses did not vary significantly between the respondents.

Lexical Strategies

In this study, at least four strategies used by translators and writers have been identified in the activity of English-to-Papiamentu lexical transfer. These are 1) the use of lexical items without any morphological change whatsoever in Papiamentu texts (for example, the use of the English words “upgrading”, “newsletter”, “mouthwash”); 2) the use or transcription of a lexical item in the form of a morphological translation (for example, “*printernan*” for “printers” or “*power locknan*” for “powerlocks”, where the suffix *-nan* is a plural marker in Papiamentu); 3) morphophonetic translation (for example, “*peperclep*” for “paperclip”, “*dèshbòrt*” for “dashboard”, “*wikpòint*” for “weak point”); and 4) syntactic imitation (for example, the rendering of “*no wòri*” for “don’t worry”). Some of the lexical items given here as examples have in fact been in the language for decades. Nonetheless, they serve to make the point (see Lewis 1997, FPI 2009, Pym 2011: 84).

Now, of all 205 respondents 64% of all translators reported that they had a tendency to use English expressions just as they are in their Papiamentu texts, that is, without changing the morphology. Among the non-translators (that is, exclusive writers), the

result was 70%. This indicates that at least among these surveyed translators and non-translators, a larger number of non-translators engage in lexical transfer without changing the morphology of the expression. However, 81% of all translators reported a tendency to use an English expression as is but claim they add an explanation in Papiamentu alongside the expression. This rate is more than twice that of non-translators (35%) who reported the same tendency. This seems to indicate that the surveyed translators are more likely to make sure that the presence of English in their translation does not overshadow the capacity of Papiamentu to express ideas adequately.

Only 32% of all translators, that is, less than half of them, reported they tended to creolise an English expression without any explanation. But among all the non-translators, only 19% (less than a quarter of them) reported this tendency. With respect to creolising an English expression and still including an explanation in Papiamentu, 48% of all translators reported this tendency against 89% of all non-translators who reported this tendency. The overall results on lexical strategies showed that the strategy that most of the surveyed translators adopted was to use an English expression as is but with a Papiamentu explanation alongside. For the non-translators, the lexical strategy most preferred is to creolise the English expression through morphological translation, morphophonetic translation or syntactic imitation while they still add a Papiamentu explanation alongside.

357

Although translators and non-translators alike engage in English-to-Papiamentu lexical transfer to resolve their lexical issues, other strategies applied involve no lexical transfer at all. Most of the translators (75%) surveyed reported a tendency to replace the English expression by a restatement of the idea in Papiamentu. Only 27% of non-translators reported such a tendency. However, most of the non-translators (81%) surveyed reported a tendency to leave the English expression out of their Papiamentu text. Only 33% of translators reported such a tendency. Two other strategies followed, albeit moderately, by respondents are: 1) to replace the English by some self-explanatory expression which the translator or non-translator creates in Papiamentu, and 2) to replace the English expression by some non-self-explanatory expression which the translator or non-translator creates in Papiamentu but without explanation (see Table 2).

Table 2 Lexical strategies and their frequencies

	Unchanged Morphology	Morphological Translation	Morpho- phonetic Translation	Syntactic Imitation	Translators (100)	Non- Translators (105)
LEXICAL TRANSFER						
Use English as is	x	–	–	–	64%	70%
Use English as is with explanation	x	–	–	–	81%	35%
Creolise English without explanation	–	x	x	x	32%	19%
Creolise English with explanation	–	x	x	x	48%	89%
NO LEXICAL TRANSFER						
Replace English by a restatement of the idea	–	–	–	–	75%	27%
Replace English by self-explanatory expression they create in Papiamentu	–	–	–	–	53%	40%
Replace English by non-self-explanatory expression they create in Papiamentu but without explanation	–	–	–	–	48%	29%
Leave English completely out of Papiamentu texts	–	–	–	–	33%	81%

Qualitative analysis and results

The open-ended question: common themes and concerns

Respondents were asked to discuss what factors motivate them to use English expressions in their Papiamentu (translation or non-translation) texts. The common themes and concerns found were 1) client satisfaction / job security; 2) wider readership; 3) variety of expression; 4) consumer appeal / marketing; and 5) lack of specialised terms. The responses revolve mostly around the relationship between the dependent variable of lexical transfer and the independent variables of economic reward, text status and sociolinguistic influence, rather than the independent variables of training or professional experience. Of the 205 respondents, all 100 translators gave a response to this question. However, only 93 of the 105 non-translators responded to it.

Economic reward (Translators)

Among the translators, the responses suggest that the main concern is the expectation of the target audience and/or satisfying their clients. For example, Respondent 24

mentioned, “the desire to make my translation as clear as possible and also to give the client what they say they want. So basically, it’s about serving the client.” Respondent 32 is concerned mainly with “satisfying the customers”, and Respondent 97 also shares the same concern about “honouring the client's request for me to use or keep a certain English expression in my text.”

Economic reward (Non-translators)

Among the non-translators, I found the general concerns to be about the same as those of the translators. Respondent 117 said his reason for using English is, “only when I have to quote someone or creolize a word for which we do not yet have a Papiamentu equivalent and that English term is the only one that is used for the idea to be expressed”. In this regard, a respondent reported as follows,

“The lack of availability of Papiamentu vocabulary for some specialized terms and also the fact that when there are, most people might not know them or even use them. I don't want my text not to be read because I use an unusual term. My texts mean money to me and the company I work for!” (Respondent 159)

Here it is interesting that the non-translator makes a connection not only with the economic reward they can receive because of how they incorporate English expressions into their texts, but also with what it could cost them for adhering only to writing inflexibly in standard language unfamiliar to their readers, thus causing the writer’s text not to sell. This situation signals the dilemma that can confront writers and translators when trying to decide whether it is wiser to satisfy the reader/client or to do what language planners expect for the promotion of Papiamentu. Respondent 148 commented, “the Internet, the Internet, the Internet! Everything is about globalization. We are flooded with expressions from the manufacturers of the things we buy because we feel we need them. So, we also buy into using their terminologies”.

359

Text status (Translators)

Under the category of text status, Respondent 34 commented that “technical texts” motivate them to use English expressions in their Papiamentu translations. Respondent 48 commented that “a technical text, computer/technical jargon” is the motivator for them. Respondent 43 commented that “freedom of expression – to use any expression that I feel does the job” is what motivates them to engage in English-to-Papiamentu lexical transfer. This last comment speaks of this Papiamentu translator’s decision to transfer lexical items from English without limit or hindrance. Respondent 63 claims that “the nature of the text” is what motivates them to use English terms. “If it is highly academic, then I will be motivated to use some English expressions.”

Text status (Non-translators)

Papiamentu exclusive writers were highly expressive under this category. Respondent 101 attributed their use of English in their texts to “the academic level of the text”. But the responses of other non-translators revealed a less elastic tendency. For example, one respondent said:

There are no factors that I can think of that motivate me to use English in my Papiamentu texts except when I want to quote someone or use the terminology of a specific discipline. I just try not to use any English, and if I have to, it should be a term that is already in the Papiamentu language (Respondent 105).

This respondent’s attitude seems to suggest that some writers are determined to demonstrate the efficiency and self-sufficiency of Papiamentu.

Sociolinguistic influence (Translators)

The following comment is interesting, as what motivates this respondent is also what draws attention to the matter of language perception. They said,

the matter of doing whatever it takes to make whomever is going to read my translations understand. However, I strive to avoid putting my language in a lower position as if to demonstrate that it is not able to express what the other languages on the island can (Respondent 26)

From this comment one can sense the delicate balance between lexical transfer for the sake of clarity and the desire not to compromise the status of Papiamentu which, after all, is the official first language of the entire nation of Curaçao.

Sociolinguistic influence (Non-translators)

Among the non-translators, Respondent 106 said that except for quoting someone, “I see no need to use English in my texts. I am all for promoting good Papiamentu. We did it for Dutch, so we can do it for our own.” And while Respondent 116 is not against lexical transfer into their Papiamentu, they feel that “to borrow because we feel inadequate in expressing what we want to say in our own language is not the route we want to go.”

Discussion and concluding remarks

At the beginning of this paper, I set out to determine how professional Curaçaoan Papiamentu translators and writers overcome the dilemma of using English lexical items in their Papiamentu translations and writings. The results from the 20 null hypotheses tested as well as from the responses to the open-ended question have shown that both translators and writers at one point or another use English lexical

items in their Papiamentu texts but not necessarily to the same extent, in all the same cases, or for all the same reasons. While this study does not claim that the findings are exhaustive, it does suggest that formal training, professional experience beyond 15 years, remuneration, the status of the text and also certain sociolinguistic influences do play a role in the translators' and writers' decision to engage in English-to-Papiamentu lexical transfer. Also, adopting a given set of logical combinations of lexical strategies (see Table 2) does play a part in this decision to use English in Papiamentu texts.

On the qualitative side of this study, the recurrent themes are those of client satisfaction / job security, wider readership, variety of expression, consumer appeal / marketing, and lack of specialised terms. In some cases, translators and writers do get their way with delivering authentic Papiamentu, but there are also those translators and writers who are governed by the “invisible eyes” of the wider readership they seek, particularly on the Internet. Thus, Papiamentu translators and writers alike have the added task of carefully “feeling out” the expectations of their readers to make sure that they can reach and keep them. This often involves freely using the expected language of their readers. Thus, in a wholesale fashion, the translator or writer may end up giving in to the use of English in their Papiamentu texts, under the pretext that their use of it allows for variety of expression. Still, in some cases, this is normal and expected as in the case of writing or translating advertisements or humour. Thus marketing, which by its very nature must appeal to its consumers, tends to be unapologetically steeped in the use of English in Papiamentu translations and non-translations. Other translators and writers who are adamant about using what they refer to as “good” Papiamentu may decide to “play” tactfully with the English-laced Papiamentu of their readers while serving them carefully written Papiamentu.

Of all the arguments for or against the use of English lexical items in Papiamentu texts, however, the one which seems to be most commonly voiced by Curaçaoans surveyed in this study is that a large quantity of the nation's imports bear labels or other inscriptions in English, many of whose corresponding terms do not exist in Papiamentu, or if they do, they are not used. These include terms in some tertiary-level academic texts, for automobile spare parts, pharmaceutical products, and electronic equipment, such as laptop computers, flatscreen televisions, mobile phones, iPads, and digital cameras. Unfortunately, this is the stark state of affairs, and verily a bull to be taken by the horns. Additionally, it is interesting that many respondents surveyed in this study mentioned the Internet as though it were a “physical place” where they cater to their devoted target readers and clients. Yet, it is also a “place” where many translators and writers inevitably meet and deal with the dilemma of unwanted lexical transfer.

As English has become the lingua franca for Information Technology (IT), for example, the need for new terminology continues to rise. Accordingly, the need for Papiamentu terminologists also increases daily. In pointing out the importance of terminology for building the lexicon of a language, Cabré Castellví (2012) clarifies that terminology and translation are not synonymous and that specialised translation has a deep need for terminology. In the relation between terminology and translation as well as between their theory and practice, one of the functions of terminology is to provide translators and writers with cognitive knowledge. In turn, it is this knowledge that determines the degree to which it becomes easier for a language, such as Papiamentu, to develop the technical terminology needed and for translators and writers to find them when they need them.

In conclusion, I would like to make a few recommendations:

1. Support and expand existing initiatives designed to create new terminology in Papiamentu, such as the *Banko di Palabra* project at the Fundashon pa Planifikashon di Idioma.
2. Make the compilation of glossaries a part of university courses in terminology training, disseminate them on the Internet and enable them to be constantly updated through various forums. In these forums, users can post comments about particular issues or topics and reply to other users' postings in order to service the need for new terminologies in as many fields as possible, for example, computer technology, automotive technology, software development, and law.
3. Develop more training courses in technical translation – law, medicine, etc.
4. Organize professionals (biologists, biology teachers, lab technologists, chemists, chemistry teachers, computer scientists, IT specialists, etc.) into groups to work out and standardize specialized terminologies.
5. Set up a terminologists' association.

REFERENCES

- Abdi, Hervé (2007). Bonferroni and Šidák corrections for multiple comparisons. In Neil J. Salkind (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of measurement and statistics*. (pp. 103-107). Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- Agresti, Alan (2007, [1990]). *Categorical data analysis*. New York: Wiley-Interscience.
- Cabré Castellví, Teresa. (2012). *Terminology and translation: a disloyal relation*. Paper presented at the Institute of Applied Linguistics, Riga Technical University. 12-14 September 2012.

- Cribbie, Robert A. (2003). Pairwise multiple comparisons: new yardstick, new results. *The Journal of Experimental Education*, 71, 3, 251-265.
- Deumert, Ana (2004). *Language standardization and language change: the dynamics of Cape Dutch*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Faul, Franz, Edgar Erdfelder, Albert-Georg Lang & Axel Buchner (2007). G*Power 3: a flexible statistical power analysis program for the social, behavioral, and biomedical sciences. *Behavior Research Methods*, 39, 2, 175-191.
- Ferguson, Charles A. (1996, [1968]). Language development. In Charles A. Ferguson; Thom Huebner (Ed.), *Sociolinguistic perspectives: papers on language in society, 1959-1994* (pp. 40-47). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Field, Andy P. (2009). *Discovering statistics using SPSS* (3rd ed.). London: Sage.
- Fundashon pa Planifikashon di Idioma (2009). *Ortografia i lista di palabra papiamentu: buki di oro*. Kòrsou: Fundashon pa Planifikashon di Idioma.
- Hair, Joseph F. Jr., Rolph E. Anderson, Barry J. Babin, Ronald L. Tatham & William C. Black (2010). *Multivariate data analysis*. Upper Saddle River: Prentice Hall.
- Haugen, Einar (1966). *Language conflict and language planning: the case of modern Norwegian*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Lewis, Michael. (1997). *Implementing the lexical approach: putting theory into practice*. Hove: Language Teaching Publications.
- Long Jeffrey D., Du Feng & Norman Cliff (2003). Ordinal analysis of behavioral data. In John A. Shinka & Wayne F. Velicer (Eds.), *Handbook of psychology: research methods in psychology*, Vol 2 (pp. 635-661). Hoboken: Wiley.
- Mooneeram, Roshni (2009). *From Creole to standard: Shakespeare, language, and literature in a postcolonial context*. Amsterdam/New York: Rodopi.
- Nickerson, Raymond S. (2000). Null hypothesis significance testing: a review of an old and continuing controversy. *Psychological Methods*, 5, 2, 241-301.
- Oppenheim, Abraham Naftali (1992). *Questionnaire design, interviewing, and attitude measurement*. London/New York: Pinter Publishers.
- Pym, Anthony. (2011). Translation research terms: a tentative glossary for moments of perplexity and dispute. In Anthony Pym (Ed.), *Translation research projects 3* (pp.75-110). Tarragona: Intercultural Studies Group.

RE-CONCEPTUALIZING THE CREOLIZATION OF LANGUAGE AND CULTURE THROUGH FIRST PERSON FIELDWORK IN SURINAME

VANESSA D. AUSTIN

UNIVERSIDAD DE PUERTO RICO, RIO PIEDRAS

Arriving in Suriname for data collection after having read hundreds of articles and dozens of books about the country was still an astonishing surprise. The shadow of what I believed to have been understanding hung over my head and around my shoulders like a cloak. For two days on a subconscious level, I wrestled with the collision that was occurring between my academic knowledge and the knowledge that was being created by the reality around me. Consideration of alternative histories sent me first to Eric Jagdew, historian at the Institute for Social Science Research at the Anton de Kom University of Suriname. Jagdew's work on the various Maroons treaties read like a compass pointing to a future time when a long sought harmony among people of many backgrounds would finally come to fruition in Suriname. Reflecting on Dew's writings and how they chronicle the politics of this "mini united nations" of Suriname supports the notion that a unitary perspective will not serve the needs of a country with such a wide range of languages, cultures and histories. Examining the culture first-hand offers me a myriad of explanations to consider. The academy having declared or established that Sa'amacca was a radical Creole, an English Creole, a Portuguese Creole or a mixed language made each of my footfalls precarious as I walked upon the slippery tiles of my personal perceptions during the rainy season. Everyone sought to help me in my developing understanding. The ten year olds constantly reminded me that there is no "r" in Sa'amacca. Older informants laughed when I told them of the academic debate as to the origin of their language. Finally, exasperated, one woman told me, Sa'amacca is neither an English nor a Portuguese Creole, but rather a language created out of necessity for secrecy based on an African language, but no one remembers which language at this point in time. She added that it had "borrowed" many words since the abolition of slavery once secrecy was no longer an issue. In light of the diversity of languages and the facility with which these polyglots easily maneuver among half a dozen languages, I consider the value of my MA in teaching English to speakers of other languages and laugh silently. Small children as young as two years old respond immediately to instructions given in

Sa'amacca, Dutch, English, Ndyuka and Sranan Tongo as if they have a universal translator along with their universal grammar. A five year old approached me at the door of my room to ask if I were staying at the house. She asked first in Dutch, and when I shook my head and shrugged my shoulders to indicate a lack of understanding, she immediately switched to Sranan Tongo. When my cluelessness continued to be apparent, it seemed by the look in her eyes that she was considering which of the other languages that she knew might work better. Meanwhile, I went for a translator to understand and answer her question. I went to sleep thinking in English, dreaming in a smattering of languages, awakening to a mixture of Sa'amacca, Dutch, Ndyuka Tongo, and Sranan Tongo. The power of Babel humbled me beyond description. Pausing to examine and to reorganize my cognitive matrix, I hoped to re-gain my footing. The typologies of different societies is another article of clothing, in addition to my cloak of academic understanding, that I had to remove. As I observed people of African, indigenous, Asian, and European descent in the streets of the various neighborhood districts outside of Paramaribo my views were being challenged. Separating the Sa'amacca Maroons from the Foto Nenge or city/plantation descendants of slaves posed a further challenge. Oddly, I could understand a good deal of the Sa'amacca language, but only a few words of Sranan Tongo. The Foto Nenge, a remarkably diverse group visually, ranged in "phenotype" from resembling their African ancestors to betraying a mixture of African, Indonesian, Asian and European genetic material. The common thread of Sranan Tongo held strong among them as now does Dutch. When asked if she were Sa'amacca or Foto Nenge, one informant told me "One ocean, one ship, one destiny". A kaleidoscope of impressions had been thrust upon me, shifting and changing like a balmy Suriname breeze. In my classes on critical discourse analysis, I had begun to question unitary and binary ways of conceptualizing the world, but it was my experience in Suriname that brought all of this home to me. Frantz Fanon and Linda Tuhiwai Smith's words on decolonizing the mental universe were an ever present voice reminding me that post-colonialism was an oxymoron. Colonial dichotomies of thinking and being persist, but the "nested identities" necessary to survival in a pluricultural setting posed the greatest challenge to me. As one informant pointed out, until there is representation everywhere of each one of the cultures of Suriname, full participation will not have been achieved. Pluriculturalism too posed a challenge for me in that as a concept, it too often places groups within a hierarchy. The Western media cites the "tribalism" of peoples in faraway lands, but lacks the will to acknowledge its own "tribalism of race". I wondered aloud why the inter-connectedness and inter-dependency of all things can not be embraced. The "seeds" of the flowering of Suriname have taken root over the centuries, *laloo* ('okra') next to *tayawíí* ('green leafy vegetable'). The *weinke* ('mom and pop store' in Sa'amacca) a few blocks from the Asian store which reads '*Winkel* (in Dutch) Tang Li Wu' illustrate the beauty of true diversity, one which is only

acknowledged in politically correct discourse in most of North America and Europe, while it is lived every day in Suriname. Interestingly access, opportunity, and acceptance, what I would like to refer to as the three necessary conditions for successful multiculturalism, seem to be the goal in Suriname, rather than the integration that is sought by so many countries in Europe and the rest of the Americas. While there is still something which resembles racialized discourse and perception, in actuality it is more like pride in one's heritage as it appears to avoid the intense prejudice so apparent in other countries or societies. Martin Schalkwijk, a social scientist at Anton de Kom University of Suriname, declares the Sa'amacca to be a forward looking people who dwell not on past injustice nor hardships, but who keep an eye towards the future while referencing the Marxist concept of *verelendung*. He goes on to say that "integration" involves different processes in a modern economy. All of the talk of neo-liberal economics makes me wonder if modern economy is not also an oxymoron, as money continues to flow from the many to the few in every corner of the world. One informant tells me that "Europe is quality. China is cheap". Another informant questions the practicality of dwelling on the past when goals are set in the present. These images compliment the news as I see the Chinese president and the president of Suriname shake hands on a relationship that each side promises will offer the other greater access, opportunity, and acceptance.

The sentence "Post-colonialism is an oxymoron" reverberates through the corridors of my mind as I reflect on my intention as a linguist to document the beauty of a language along with the richness of its culture. My personal dilemma having been trained in many fine academies is how to erase or release the conceptualizations of the West. I realize that I am both insider and outsider of every world I encounter, including the one I call my own. Someone asked me once about my "roots" since I am a mixture of cultures by virtue of my lineage. In reply, I reflected on my "routes". For a lifetime, I have been constructing and deconstructing ideas, concepts, and images, adding to myself through the various cultures that I have allowed to re-shape my understanding via experience and reading. As a consequence, my worldview is neither round like Magellan's, nor flat like the perceptions of long ago, but fluid like water, and as boundless as space, but from the viewpoint of decolonizing methodologies I question if that is enough. Language is communication and culture. Communication and culture occur within the context of history and society. Documenting a language without addressing, understanding, and including the culture and its history paints a dangerously incomplete picture. In my developing understanding of the Sa'amacca, who have been written about for centuries, I examine the validity of taking them at their word. Giving myself permission to extend the boundaries of my knowledge set forth in the literature seems prudent. Accepting that the Sa'amacca language is neither an English nor a Portuguese Creole,

nor even a language that has undergone relexification seems a simple matter in light of what I have observed first hand. The simultaneous influence of a *Sprachbund* of African languages on the Atlantic Creoles seems the most plausible explanation from the perspective I gained from being among the Sa'amacca. The question of universal principles is relevant, but perhaps in a way not normally discussed by creolists, since the "universal" characteristics of Atlantic Creoles arguably must include consideration of the peculiar institution of slavery (and later indenture) that collided with people and cultures. The choice by polyglots to speak a language that was different from that of the colonizer seems an obvious one to me. Features of African languages in contact with European languages in a plurilingual setting need to be considered. The Sa'amacca initially created a language to not be understood by the slavers, but to provide a common language among the Maroons. That the slaves might not have as their (one and only) desired 'target language' the language spoken by those who were responsible for tearing their families, their lives and their limbs asunder, does not seem to cross the mind of most creolists. Perhaps most of them only learned enough to *prevent* confrontation and to *avoid* being completely understood. The 'target' in this case might have been freedom from, rather than incorporation into the masters' discursive universe.

The level of interaction, acculturation and second language acquisition among the Sa'amacca on their own terms with the indigenous peoples of Suriname and the colonizers has to this point been viewed only from the outside and too often in keeping with the hierarchical *zeitgeist* of past times. Even in Suriname, I am told that there is a disconnect between the African descended people of the interior and the city, and a further disconnect within each group when some opt for higher education. When four generations of Sa'amacca gathered for a funeral, initially the conversation was only in Sa'amacca. The elders from *tapsi* (the village in the interior) spoke Sa'amacca as a tone language, but even the great grandmother's tonality diminished to some extent as the days passed, seemingly in direct proportion to her increased interaction with her grandchildren. The grandmother, who was born and raised in the interior but fled to the coast during the fighting in the 1980s, still integrates tone into her suprasegmental framework when she speaks Sa'amacca. Her daughter who grew up near the coast and attended Dutch schools, speaks Sa'amacca with a Dutch accent. Her four year old son, who has a fluent passive competence in Sa'amacca, usually speaks Dutch, but with something like an English accent. When reading Sa'amacca from the Bible, another level of fluency emerged, even among those who are literate in a number of other languages. The boundary of the Coppename River now exists within every individual, as daily choices in addition to the ones made by the society made operational. Individually there is interaction with neighbors and shopkeepers, but many boundaries still persist on a societal level. My trip to the university library in

search of 18th century poetry by Sa'amacca writers was remarkable for many reasons. Sitting in front of the computer my first thought was that the problem of my not being able to find any listings was attributable to my neither speaking nor reading the national language. After consulting with the librarian who was fluent in seven languages, I discovered that all of the many Sa'amacca references in the database with the exception of one, had to do with economics and the river, rather than with the people. Efforts at documenting the Sa'amacca language and its people collide with who and what is worthy of being recorded and remembered. Plurilingualism grants access but not integration. The barriers or partitions that are evident are both internal to this large cohesive group, and external, created by the society in which they live. Societal structure to a large extent dictates mobility, and all attempts to circumnavigate the structure require a dogged persistence and force of will, which brings me to Bakanisi. I was told by one of my informants that Bakanisi was a village nearby where the Sa'amacca lived just as they do in the interior. Having been unable to go to the interior on this trip, I was anxious to see this site. Again having read all that had been published about the interior, I had an image in my mind that was quite idyllic. So as the car approached the village of Bakanisi, my eyes revealed my understanding to be incorrect. Bakanisi is a site of transition and hope for those who come to it from the interior, but seeing it with my own eyes rattled my consciousness. With no running water these cinderblock rooms provide a place while working extra jobs to save money and send children to Dutch speaking schools. Bakanisi is temporary, yet it never goes away. The translation of the word *bakanis* is "that which is behind". My primary contact for my research speaks of Bakanisi with fond memories as she arrived there as a refugee from violence in Pokigron. The fighting began in 1987, and continued until 1989 when the entire village of Pokigron was burned to the ground. Many moved to Bakanisi and a few others moved to other villages, but eventually all had to go to Bakanisi. In 1991 some people began to return to Pokigron, and at the present time there is no accurate count as to just how many Sa'amacca are currently living there. As a place of refuge and of transition Bakanisi continues to exist, with a number of residents still there over two decades after they fled Pokigron. Data collection for my experimental study of phonological change in Sa'amacca was a challenging. I had suspected that carrier sentences would not be an efficient way to document language change, and I was correct. My initial preference was to ask that people tell me the same folktale, but in the interest of measurability, I used carrier sentences. The low level of literacy in general made reading the sentences impossible. Having a translator convey the meaning of each sentence seriously influenced how the respondent spoke as he or she invariably chose to mimic the translator exactly. I witnessed the hair-cutting ceremony for babies that takes place at around nine months after birth. While the Sa'amacca state that they are Christian, and attend church regularly, I would eavesdrop on conversations about Changóó in

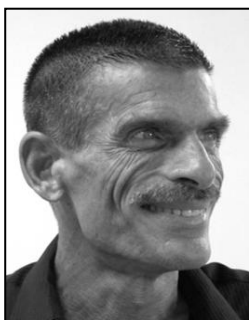
relation to me the first few days after my arrival. Unfortunately, I did not understand enough of the language at that time to capture the meaning of the discussions though they were many, and usually involved the same words. I spent one Sunday morning at a Sa'amacca church where the pastor explained to me that he no longer listened to his ancestors, as Christianity had taught him that those voices were demonic. I was invited to introduce myself to the congregation which I did in Sa'amacca much to the surprise of the congregation, as well as the pastor. I eventually participated in a *kojo* ceremony which marks the first stage of a girl's coming of age, and, at the end of my stay in Suriname, I experienced a *kosu* ceremony which marks a woman's attainment of adulthood. I also was treated to my own personal *despojo*.

I remain in awe of the Sa'amacca, who, despite all that they have faced as successive waves of globalization have battered them over the past centuries, still manage to celebrate their multiple languages and cultures and welcome those who are sincerely interested in those languages and cultures as members of their resilient community.

REFERENCES

- Dew, Edward M. (1978). *The difficult flowering of Suriname: ethnicity and politics in a plural society*. The Hague [etc.]: Nijhoff.
- Fanon, Frantz (1990, [1963]). *The wretched of the earth*. (Trans. Constance Farrington) London: Penguin. Fanon, Frantz (1990, [1963]). *The wretched of the earth*. (Trans. Constance Farrington) London: Penguin.
- Smith, Linda Tuhiwai (2012). *Decolonizing methodologies: research and indigenous peoples*. London: Zed Books.

ABOUT THE EDITORS



Prof. Dr. Nicholas Faraclas (Puerto Rico) is a Professor in Linguistics at the University of Puerto Rico, Río Piedras. Having received his PhD from the University of California at Berkeley, he has taught courses and published numerous books and articles in the areas of theoretical, descriptive, socio-, and applied linguistics. Over the past three decades, he has been conducting research on Creole languages as well as promoting community based literacy activities in Africa, the South Pacific, and the Caribbean. nickfaraclas@yahoo.com



Prof. Dr. Ronald Severing (Curaçao) is a Professor of Language Education in the General Faculty at the University of Curaçao and the managing director of the national institute for language planning (FPI). He obtained Masters degrees in Dutch Language and Literature at Nijmegen and Socio- and Applied Linguistics at Tilburg, and his PhD at the University of Nijmegen. Together with local authors he has published textbooks and manuals for all educational levels in Papiamentu and Dutch. r.severing@fpi.cw; www.fpi.cw



Drs. Christa Weijer (Curaçao) works as a linguist at the national institute for language planning, Fundashon pa Planifikashon di Idioma (FPI). She received a Bachelor's degree in French and Dutch, and a Masters in Romance Languages (main subject French) at the University of Leiden. She taught French and Dutch language and literature at the Peter Stuyvesant College from 1978 to 1999. She has been co-editor of the proceedings of the Curaçao Creole Conference and the ECICC-Conferences over the last five years. c.weijer@fpi.cw; www.fpi.cw



Dr. Elisabeth Echteld (Curaçao) is the former Dean of the General Faculty at the University of the Netherlands Antilles (UNA) in Curaçao (2006-2012), where she is now Associate Professor in charge of research. She received her PhD from the University of Utrecht in the Netherlands. Her dissertation focuses on literature written in Spanish in Curaçao during the second half of the 19th century. She has taught courses and published a number of articles on literature. She is co-author of *Kadans*, a literature textbook series used in schools and colleges in the Dutch Caribbean. e.echteld@una.cw; www.una.cw



Prof. Dr. Wim Rutgers (Aruba) is a Professor in Literary History and Literary Science with a focus on Papiamentu at the University of the Netherlands Antilles. He received a Masters degree in General Literary Science in Utrecht and his PhD from the University of Utrecht. He has taught courses and published in the areas of Caribbean, Antillean and Aruban literature. For years he is a literary reviewer for different local papers. He has written and published textbooks and manuals on literature for different educational levels. wim_rutgers@hotmail.com

ABOUT THE AUTHORS



Dr. Rose Mary Allen (Curaçao) received her Master's degree in Cultural and Social Anthropology from the Catholic University of Nijmegen, the Netherlands in 1977. She received a PhD from Utrecht University in 2007. She is now working as a consultant, teaching at the University of Curaçao, and participating as a research fellow in a project on identity issues at the Amsterdam School for Social Science Research, University of Amsterdam. She has published and edited several books and articles on the cultural and social history of the Netherlands Antilles. allen_rm@onenet.an



Vanessa Austin MA, (USA) freelance editor and contributing writer, has served as instructor and coordinator of English and Continuing Education at the university level. Her experiences range from providing bilingual instruction in many content areas, as well as being a SDAEI (Specially Designed Academic English Instruction) teacher and trainer. Her objectives include teaching across the curriculum, designing courses to meet the needs of SLLs, and focusing on the theory and practice of academic English instruction. vanessa.austin@upr.edu



Berthson B. Boekhoudt MSc (Aruba) is a lecturer in Mathematics and the didactics of Mathematics at the Instituto Pedagógico Arubano (IPA). In 2003, he received a BEd in Mathematics and in 2005 a MEd in Mathematics from Fontys Hogescholen in the Netherlands. He also received a degree in special needs education from the same institution in 2007. In 2013, he received a MSc degree in Evidence Based Innovation in Teaching from Maastricht University in the Netherlands. berthson.boekhoudt@ipa.aw



Clementia Eugene MA (Aruba) has a Master's degree in Social Work from Howard University, Washington, D.C. She is a PhD student at the University of Aruba where she is employed as lecturer and Head of the Department of Social Work and Development. She has over twenty years experience as a social worker in areas such as youth, community, child protection, older persons, domestic violence, court social work, clinical social work and management. She has a passion for human rights, social justice, human development and change. clementia.eugene@ua.aw



Drs. Charles do Rego MBA (Curaçao) is a consultant and conducts research and publishes in the fields of social history, migration, slavery, and constitutional development. With an MA in Human Geography from the University of Nijmegen and an MBA from Erasmus University, Rotterdam, he has taught at the Teacher Training Institute and at the local Universities in Curaçao. He is a member of the Advisory Council for Curaçao, Chairman of the Council for Monuments and Board Member of the National Archaeological & Anthropological Memory Management Group. chalsdorego@yahoo.com.



Drs. Joe (José Luis) Fortin (Aruba) has an MA in the Languages and Culture of Latin America from the University of Leiden, the Netherlands. He wrote his MA-thesis about the neo baroque literature and narratology of the Hispanic Caribbean. Currently, he is investigating imagology, tropicalization, detropicalization, intertextuality and neo baroque tendencies in the contemporary literature of Aruba for his PhD dissertation. He gives lectures about Caribbean literature and literary theories in the Netherlands and in Aruba. jlfortin@gmail.com



Dr. Hélène Garrett (Canada) received her Ph.D. in Modern Languages and Cultural Studies from the University of Alberta, Edmonton. After an active and productive working life, she is now happily retired in Canada, and enjoying spending time with her granddaughter, Kineena. hag2enator@gmail.com



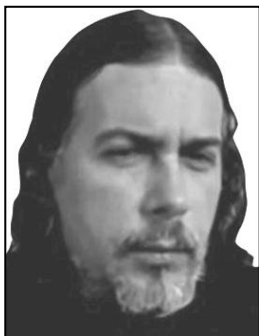
Cheryda Gemin Msc. (Aruba) obtained her Master's degree in Evidence Based Innovation in Teaching at the University of Maastricht in the Netherlands. She currently lectures at the Instituto Pedagógico Arubano (IPA) in the fields of language and pedagogy and is an educational mentor for students and teachers. Her areas of study include differentiation, learning styles, independent learning, and education in the Aruban community. cherydag@yahoo.com



Gregory Goedgedrag (Aruba) has been a lecturer at the Academia Pedagógico Arubano (APA) since 2007. He obtained his Bachelor in Papiamentu (2007) at the APA and his Master of Science at Maastricht University in 2013. gregory.goedgedrag@gmail.com



Raily Goedgedrag MSc. (Curaçao) obtained his degree in 2002 in Educational Science at the University of Groningen, Netherlands. He taught courses at the University of Rotterdam until 2006. Over the years he has been coordinating and teaching pedagogy, instructional design and research courses among other activities for the teachers training program at the University of Curaçao. r.goedgedrag@una.cw



Drs. Dimitri Halley (Aruba) is a Psychologist. He is a full time lecturer at the University of Aruba. He received his Doctorandus degree in psychology at the Vrije Universiteit of Amsterdam. He developed and teaches courses on the Problem of Observation, Self and self awareness based on Jungian theory and its links with Quantum theory. For the past 20 years Dimitri has worked with dreams and dream analysis with people from all over the world. He has now moved more fully into the development of his center: halleynews@gmail.com <http://dimitri-halleycenter.com>



Rosemarie A. Hoen MSc (Aruba) received her bachelor's degree in both Home Economics and Health Promotion & Education at the Hogeschool Holland in 1983. In 2013 she received her Master's degree in Evidence Based Innovation in Teaching, at the Maastricht University in the Netherlands. Since 2005 she has been a lecturer at the Instituto Pedagógico Arubano (IPA). As a trainer and certified coach, she is also the coordinator of IPA's office of Professional Development for teachers of secondary and vocational education. sha_hoen@yahoo.com



Tirza Hortencia MA (Curaçao) received a BA degree in Spanish Language and Culture and an MA degree (cum laude) in Intercultural Communication in the Department of Spanish Language and Culture at Utrecht University in the Netherlands. During her Bachelor degree program, she did both a summer course and a six-month exchange at the Universidad Complutense in Madrid, Spain. She was born and raised on the island of Curaçao, and is very passionate about her roots and her native language Papiamentu. t.e.hortencia@gmail.com



Drs. Sharine A. Isabella (Curaçao) is the staff member in charge of educational quality issues and the accreditation process at the University of the Netherlands Antilles in Curaçao. She holds a Masters degree in Educational Science from Radboud University Nijmegen, majoring in educational policy and school improvement. Her work experience is in the field of social welfare and educational improvement. She is currently pursuing her PhD studies in Management of Quality processes in small universities. sharine.isabella@una.an



Dr. ChenziRa Davis Kahina aka Dr. Chen (St. Croix) is an educator, published author, editor, performing artist, naturopathic psychotherapist, ordained minister and community developer. Her Indigenous Afrakan Caribbean ancestry balance and compliment her research and credentials from Rutgers, Pepperdine, UC San Diego, and Natural Health Institute. She is the director of the Virgin Islands Caribbean Cultural Center at the University of the Virgin Islands, managing director of Per Ankh Institute and project director of NUWOMANRising LIVE UP. drchenzira@gmail.com



Prof. Dr. Michiel van Kempen (The Netherlands) is a professor in West-Indian literature at the University of Amsterdam in the Netherlands. He has written and published an extensive history of Surinamese literature, two novels, three collections of short stories and a book on India. He has also edited numerous anthologies on Surinamese and Dutch-Antillean literature, and co-edited two collections of essays. He was awarded the Dutch-Belgian ANV-Visser Neerlandiaprijs in 2004. M.H.G.vanKempen@uva.nl



Dr. Ellen-Petra Kester (The Netherlands) is an Associate Professor in Spanish Linguistics at Utrecht University. After receiving her PhD from Utrecht University, she was employed at the Department of Romance Languages of the University of Amsterdam, where she continued her comparative work on the syntax and morphology of Germanic and Romance languages. More recently, she has been conducting research on the syntax of noun phrases in Papiamentu. P.M.Kester@uu.nl



Drs. Merviné E. Kock (Aruba) obtained her Master's degree in Remedial Education/Diagnostics at the University of Leiden in the Netherlands. She currently lectures at the Instituto Pedagógico Arubano (IPA) in the fields of mathematics and pedagogy and is an educational researcher at the Centre for Educational Research and Development. She is also a PhD candidate at the University of Utrecht. Her areas of study include gender, work, family and education in the Aruban community. merstu@setarnet.aw



Prof. Dr. Cees Maris (The Netherlands) is professor of legal philosophy at the University of Amsterdam. He is a visiting professor at the Universities of Surinam and Curaçao, a senior research fellow at New York University and since 2010 he has been extraordinary professor at the University of the Western Cape (South-Africa). He is editor of several journals in the fields of jurisprudence and philosophy. His main fields of research concern the concept of liberty, multiculturalism, love, art, law and literature, and epistemology. c.w.maris@uva.nl



Drs. Emy Maduro (Aruba) has a Master's degree in Education and studied at the University of Leiden. After working in the Netherlands, she has been working on Aruba at the Instituto Pedagógico Arubano. Her work includes writing the curriculum for a course titled *Movecion y Salud* and is currently coaching senior students at the IPA in writing their final theses. Her research interests include teachers as role models, training the brain for optimal learning, effective implementation of curriculum changes, Physical Education and health education to achieve an aware society. maduroemy@yahoo.com



Jesseline J. Maduro MSc (Aruba) obtained her Master's degree in Evidence based innovation in teaching at the University of Maastricht and also received a Bachelor and Master's degree in Dutch at the Hogeschool van Arnhem en Nijmegen in the Netherlands. She currently teaches Dutch and Language arts at the Instituto Pedagogico Arubano. Her research interests include the introduction of Dutch as a foreign language, foreign language didactics and vocabulary teaching and instruction. jessica.maduro@ipa.aw



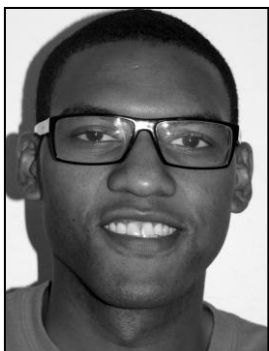
Dra. Beatriz Ma. Manrique U. (Venezuela) es docente e investigadora de la Universidad del Zulia desde 1976. Realizó estudios de cuarto y quinto nivel en universidades nacionales y extranjeras (Lancaster, Inglaterra; Zulia, Venezuela; "Monterey Institute of International Studies" (MIIS) EE.UU.; Córdoba, España). Invitada por universidades nacionales e internacionales como ponente y conferencista central (UNICA, UNER, ULA, UCV en Venezuela; Ríos Piedras, Puerto Rico, México, Chile, entre otras); posee diferentes publicaciones en el área de la enseñanza de las lenguas. manrique.beatriz@gmail.com



Quito Nicolaas (Aruba), studied Political Sciences and International Law and currently is a law consultant. He has dedicated himself to writing and has published ten books; six volumes of poetry, three novels and a volume of short stories. His poetry, articles, essays, book reviews and interviews have appeared in various journals, magazines and anthologies. He has delivered many lectures concerning Aruban and Caribbean literature. quito.nicolaas@gmail.com



Courtney Parkins Ferrón MA (Spain) was born and raised in Jamaica. He is currently a doctoral candidate in Translation and Intercultural Studies at Universitat Rovira i Virgili in Tarragona, Spain. He has a keen interest in the promotion of the Caribbean creoles. His dissertation concerns Caribbean creole standardization and translation with a focus on Curaçaoan Papiamentu. courtneyparkins@hotmail.com



Drs. Gregory Richardson (Aruba) holds a Masters degree in Latin American and Caribbean studies from the University of Utrecht and is now pursuing a PhD at the University of Aruba. He has written a number of articles on Caribbean culture and is currently working as a lecturer and educational researcher at the Centre for Educational Research and Development at the Instituto Pedagogico Arubano (IPA) in Aruba. gregory.richardson@ipa.aw



Rudolph P.A. Simon (Aruba) graduated from the Sports Academy (Christelijke Academie voor Lichamelijke Opvoeding) at Windesheim College in Zwolle, the Netherlands, and is a fully qualified P.E. teacher. In the Netherlands he worked in primary education. Since 1994 he has been employed by the Instituto Pedagógico Arubano (IPA) in Aruba. As a teacher he was involved in a training program for teachers called *Movecion y Salud*. He also works as an athletics trainer for youngsters. rudolphsimon@hotmail.com



Carmen Milagros Torres-Rivera (Puerto Rico) is a professor at the University of Puerto Rico, Humacao. She is currently completing PhD studies in Caribbean Languages and Literature at the University of Puerto Rico, Río Piedras. Her interests include bilingualism, Afro-Puerto Rican literature, the slave experience in Puerto Rico, and Caribbean children's literature. She has published several children's stories and is a member of PRTESOL, SCWBI (Society of Children's Book Writers and Illustrators), ISLS (International Society of Language Studies) and PREWA (Puerto Rican English Writers Association). carmen.torres1@upr.edu

