

This book, *Creole Connections: Transgressing Neocolonial Boundaries in the Languages, Literatures and Cultures of the ABC Islands and the Rest of the Dutch Caribbean*, is a collection of articles that present a critical perspective on the languages, literatures, and cultures of the ABC-Islands and the rest of the Dutch Caribbean. The volume incorporates invited papers as well as presentations made to the 16th annual Eastern Caribbean Islands Cultures Conference which was held in Aruba from 6 to 10 November 2013. The contributing authors include a wide range of voices old and new from the Caribbean and beyond.

Creole Connections

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Transgressing Neocolonial Boundaries in the Languages, Literatures and Cultures of the ABC Islands and the Rest of the Dutch Caribbean



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

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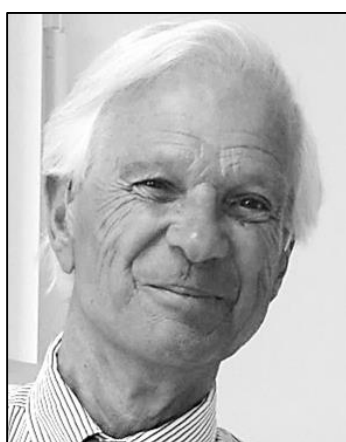


Creole Connections

Transgressing Neocolonial Boundaries in the Languages, Literatures
and Cultures of the ABC-Islands and the Rest of the Dutch Caribbean

Dedication

We humbly dedicate this volume to



Paul Dijkstra

whose expertise in publishing and enthusiasm for the promotion of the languages and cultures of the ABC-Islands made this series of publications possible.

Creole Connections

**Transgressing Neocolonial Boundaries in the Languages,
Literatures and Cultures of the ABC-Islands and the Rest of
the Dutch Caribbean**

Volume 1

Edited by

Nicholas Faraclas
Ronald Severing
Christa Weijer
Elisabeth Echteld
Wim Rutgers



Curaçao/Puerto Rico 2014

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Creole Connections: Transgressing Neocolonial Boundaries in the Languages, Literatures and Cultures of the ABC-Islands and the Rest of the Dutch Caribbean
Proceedings of the ECICC, Aruba 2013
Volume 1

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

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CONTENTS

TRANSGRESSING BOUNDARIES IN LANGUAGE, CULTURE AND SOCIETY

- 1 Color & cultural identity: a Caribbean story 13
Lasana M. Sekou
- 2 *Malungo*, praise names and places: how dead can a language really be? 23
Richenel Ansano
- 3 From bondage to national belonging in a Dutch Caribbean context: 39
addressing the Yu di Kòrsou in post emancipation Curaçao, 1863-1915
Rose Mary Allen
- 4 The Catholic church in modern (post-) colonial Curaçao: aspects of power 57
relations in comparative perspective
Margo Groenewoud
- 5 Mele-calypso: using the *petit* narratives of gossip to artfully deconstruct 71
grand narratives in Aruba
Gregory Richardson
- 6 From the Caribbean to the Pacific: two different peoples facing 75
similar challenges
Hélène Garrett
- 7 De sociale economie: een beknopt overzicht 85
Herbert I. Diaz

TRANSGRESSING BOUNDARIES IN LANGUAGE PLANNING AND POLICY

- 8 Towards a language database of Papiamentu 97
Ronald Severing, Katrien Depuydt, Manuel Maduro, Ace Suares
- 9 Language planning and political restructuring in Curaçao: what's new? 105
Marta Dijkhoff

10	Re-centering the focus in discourse on education in postcolonial small island developing states: the case of Aruba Eric Mijts	121
11	Creole languages as the medium of classroom instruction: perspectives from Haiti to Curaçao and Bonaire Robert Dupey	129
12	Caribbean language education policy and planning: a comparative analysis of three island case studies Camille A. Wagner	139
13	Applied linguistics in St. Eustatius: how can linguists contribute constructively to debates concerning the languages of instruction in Caribbean schools? Eric Mijts, Ellen-Petra Kester, Jenny Lozano-Cosme, Nicholas Faraclas	173

TRANSGRESSING BOUNDARIES IN LITERATURE

14	‘History’ en ‘memory’ in Arubaanse orale literatuur: Fontein en omgeving als belangrijke ‘lieux de mémoire’ Wim Rutgers	197
15	Luis Henrique Daal: Una contextualización más detallada de su colección personal Elisabeth Ehteld	211
16	The ecopoetics of St. Martin: Lasana Sekou’s songs of salt and nationhood Dannabang Kuwabong	221
17	From Belle van Zuylen to Gertrude Stein: building modern literature Hilde Neus	233
18	Dutch Caribbean voices B. Jos De Roo	247
19	The remnants of colonialism in contemporary Aruban literature Quito Nicolaas	255

20 Caribbean concubines + nannies = nursery rhymes: an Eastern Caribbean study Ilsa López Vallés	261

TRANSGRESSING BOUNDARIES IN EDUCATION

21 Zullen we bij alle vakken aandacht besteden aan taal? Ryma van der Linde	271
22 Primary education in Aruba: should the structure of care be our priority at the moment? Diahnne Lejuez-De Cuba	287
23 De invloed van Nederlandse speelfilms op de spreekvaardigheid en motivatie van pabo-studenten op Aruba Ingrid Captain-Fraser	299
24 De impact van actieve muziek-instructie op de prestaties van leerlingen in het Arubaanse rekenonderwijs Rose-Marie Thérèse Provence	305
25 Foreign language anxiety (FLA): El temor a la comunicación oral en una lengua extranjera Willem Bant	323
26 Aplicando brevemente taxonomía jerárquica del Papiamentu Maureen M. Molina-Luidens	329

ABOUT THE EDITORS	337

ABOUT THE AUTHORS	338

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This book forms part of a two volume set, with this volume focusing on the ABC-islands (Aruba, Bonaire and Curaçao) and other parts of the (former) Dutch Caribbean, and the second volume focusing on the rest of the Caribbean region. 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 Aruba conference was co-organized and co-sponsored by the University of Puerto Rico at Río Piedras, the Instituto Pedagógico Arubano, the University of the West Indies at Cave Hill in Barbados, and the Virgin Islands and Caribbean Cultural Center of the University of the Virgin Islands. We wish to thank the conference organizers, especially Gregory Richardson, Ava Thodé, Joyce Pereira and the local organizing committee from the Instituto Pedagógico Arubano 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.

We take this opportunity to pay special tribute to Paul Dijkstra, who was the publisher responsible for the very high quality production of the preceding 10 volumes in this series, all of whose covers are depicted on the cover of this volume. Thanks to Paul's superb expertise in publishing and his selfless dedication to this series, he never failed to have the volumes of the papers from each year's Islands in Between Conference ready for distribution at the following year's conference. Sadly Paul passed away unexpectedly on March 26 2014 in Curaçao. By way of gratitude, recognition and friendship we dedicate the two 2014 volumes to him. We wish his daughter, Wietske Dijkstra, who took over this enormous responsibility, all the best.

The Editors

**TRANSGRESSING BOUNDARIES IN LANGUAGE,
CULTURE AND SOCIETY**

COLOR & CULTURAL IDENTITY: A CARIBBEAN STORY¹

LASANA M. SEKOU

HOUSE OF NEHESI PUBLISHERS, ST. MARTIN

The distinguished Caribbean intellectual and visionary Rex Nettleford identifies the cultural life of the Caribbean firstly in its “textured diversity ... arguably the most significant clue to an understanding and grasp of the dynamism and energy that characterizes life” in the region. Crested at the Atlantic navel of the American continents, the Caribbean, its very geo-cultural landscape, “shares in the great drama of the Americas whereby new societies are shaped, new and delicately tuned sensibilities are honed, and appropriate designs for social living are crafted through the cross fertilization of disparate elements. The process has resulted in a distinguishable and distinctive entity called ‘Caribbean’ and the process is intensely cultural” (Nettleford, 2001: 40). This intensely cultural process with its inherently permeating culture of resistance and progressive resilience against the systematically and customarily punishing definitions and retarding hierarchies of race, class, and recent yet viral ethnic rivalries, is a very young story. Yet, writes Nicolás Guillén, that dean of our poetry, the Caribbean is able to run as a brilliant stone through the noisy forest of a world ancient and powerful.

The region’s colored peoples are the majority population and particularly those of African descent constitute the oldest line, or as one essential Puerto Rican author José Luis González puts it, the “first floor” (1980) of the productive forces and the driving life and creative energy of the powerfully cultural process that began in earnest in the early 1500s. The most visible and common identity marker of the post-Columbian majority, stripped violently of the original cultural, social, national, ethnic, and familial African identities over three centuries of enslavement by Europeans, became the sable skin and its multiple complexions. Though Black is arguably a “color name” designated by the material circumstances of history as much as by the denigrating intent of the meaning and its variants imposed by the slave master, Black came to signify a borderless nation of millions, a unifying cultural composite, and for many a badge of strength and courage. On the other hand, the region’s minority white ruling class, holding fast to its colonial European mother countries, strictly categorized and

¹ This paper was first delivered as the Keynote Address at the 10th Annual Eastern Caribbean Islands’ Cultures Conference - The Islands In Between. November 2007, St. Martin.

relegated all peoples and most of the physical, intellectual, and spiritual creations and expressions of the African and/or Black population to the lowest rungs of society.

In the Caribbean, as in all of the Americas, the Black peoples would become oppressed and exploited by forced labor without pay, forced separation of families, sub-human living conditions, malnutrition; they would be subjugated by legislation, courts, and the brute armed force of the law, by economic manipulation, by psychological terror, rape, torture, and murder, as by mis-education, dispossession, disenfranchisement, and aspects of Christian dogma. The essentially African peoples – once at the pinnacle of their West, Central and Southwest African altars and thrones, negotiating their spaces whether in peace or war, but as masters of their own destiny – were now captives in strange lands, re-named, brutally and systematically devalued and denigrated *en masse*. Their dark skin, body types, facial features, hair, languages, cultures, and identities were scorned, vilified, in fact, hated by their captors who grew exceedingly wealthy on their labor and suffering.

In this grave historical trauma, for whites, for a significant number of Blacks who had come to internalize the image of their oppressor, and for most other races and peoples oppressed and/or under the tutelage of European imperialism, Black skin, particularly its darker hues, became identified overwhelmingly with things bad, ugly, base and primitive, ignorant, impoverished, uncultured, as well as with the literal meaning and illustrated image of the Christian devil. While the “dominant” instruments and expressions of power, knowledge, science, wealth, masculine prowess, feminine beauty, truth, kindness, love, the exclusivity of civilization, the angelic corps of heaven, the very physical image of the one and true God, and not to forget his only begotten Son, were identified by whites as white – or certainly with the people who had white skin and came primarily from the colonizing European countries, sustained, arguably, by what would come to be identified as an unprecedented imperial project. A white ruling class construct, yes, but which the poor, bourgeois and wealthy of what defined itself as the white race, universally shared in, benefited from, more often than not revealed in, and in the Caribbean wiped out entire races in part to preserve this essentially white supremacist identity, as if it was a natural and divine right and privilege. The “white mind”, as the noted scholar and novelist George Lamming calls this phenomenon, would come to see itself over the next 500 years “not as part of the human family, but as the guardian and custodian of human destiny” (Goldman, 2007).

Following the 1804 Haitian Revolution, the growing militancy of the maroons and slave rebellions, and the Emancipation periods beginning in the 1830s, the personal and collective struggles in the Caribbean involving ideas, activities and peoples in varying degrees and compositions from all of its racial and “cultural” groups, and the human and national liberation processes would all increase at a far greater pace, and in step – at times at the helm of – major world developments. As to the definitive emergence of the modern Caribbean as a cultural identity we turn to C.L.R. James, the

intellect that Edward Said calls the first “post-colonial” thinker. In 1961, James spoke specifically to his native Trinidad but it was in a voice and with words sweet to all of those, Blacks and non-Blacks, who would hear his message. It was emanating from the very heart and reasoning of the collective consciousness that had been evolving the intensely cultural process, the Caribbean’s own, for at least 300 years: “People of the West Indies,” declared James, “you do not know your own power. No one dares to tell you. You are a strange, a unique combination of the greatest driving force in the world today, the underdeveloped formerly colonial colored peoples: and more than any of them, by education, way of life and language, you are completely part of Western civilization. Alone of all people in the world you began your historical existence in a highly developed modern society – the sugar plantation” (Lamming, 2000).

Caribbean sugar, cotton, salt, minerals and ores from mines were the chief “crops” of the plantation and elemental to the rise in wealth and power of Western Europe and the United States of America and the minority oppressive elites in the Caribbean and Latin America. The plantation was the physical location for the unholy institution of slavery. Here the absolute rulers were whites, the last act of genocide was committed against the Taino, Ciboney, and other indigenous peoples, and the enslaved Blacks were legally the property of the slave owners and slave-owning kingdoms and countries. Of the plantation’s land, its exceedingly lucrative export “crops,” its tools and farm animals, it was the Black human body that was treated and financially valued, devalued as the lesser property. I reiterate this point, maybe as a sadly redundant way to show that from whatever angle one approaches this “process” of Caribbeanization, there is no escaping the in-your-face issues and subtleties defining and defined by the punishing hierarchical interrelationship of color, race and class. Lamming is unapologetic and succinct about the legacy of this intense and ongoing drama. According to him, if you do not understand Class and Race, you will understand nothing about Caribbean history, its people, their culture, and identity. In fact, Caribbean Literature, that mirror of the culture and history of the people of this region, from its very genesis, has preoccupied itself with the issues of race and color as the pioneering work of G.R. Coulthard, so eloquently reveals.

In today’s Caribbean, my still colonized island of St. Martin being no exception, there may be no more apt a spatial and ideational symbol of the varied effects of the region’s color and cultural identity complexities – the trials, tragedies, and triumphs – than the tourist industry. It is the new plantation, as Joseph Lake, Jr. argues in his paper “Slavery and Independence” (Lake, Jr., 1990: 42-45). Comparing St. Martin in 1788 to the island two centuries later (1988), Lake sees no substantial difference between the two plantations. Ownership of the plantations in 1788 belonged to absentee planters, while in 1988 (as today), the large hotels are owned usually by absentee investors/developers. Drawing parallels between the slave-trader of old and present day government that conducts immigration raids to round up undocumented

immigrants not unlike the raids conducted to recapture runaway slaves, and parallels between the overseer and “foreign general managers” between “house negroes” and the “mis-educated” teachers, lawyers, government officials, middle-income St. Martiners, and news media personnel who “identify completely with their masters in The Hague, Curaçao, Paris, Guadeloupe and New York.” Lake sums it up by stating: “In 1788 Plantation St. Maarten was a one-product economy. The one product being salt. In 1988 Plantation St. Maarten is still a one-product economy. The one product today being tourism. As we see,” he concludes, “St. Maarten in 1988 is still the same as St. Maarten in 1788 ... one big slave plantation” (Lake, Jr., 1990: 42-45).

The comparison he makes so persuasively between St. Martin during the days of slavery and today brings to mind what Edward Said highlighted about the past. In *Culture and imperialism*, he writes: “Appeals to the past are among the commonest of strategies in interpretations of the present. What animates such appeals is not only disagreement about what happened in the past and what the past was, but uncertainty about whether the past really is past, over and concluded, or whether it continues, albeit in different forms, perhaps. The problem animates all sorts of discussions – about influence, about blame and judgement, about present actualities and future priorities” (Said, 1993: 3).

The “future priority” now is whether tourism will continue to rule and be ruled by the old hierarchy, maybe with a Black façade here and there, or whether it will become the native property and instrument for genuine development and prosperity for the individual, family, community, nation, and region. But right now in the tourist industry, the peoples and cultures of the Caribbean – as decisive and determinative force and factor – are generally invisible or caricatured, cast as insignificant in any determinative way to the great drama of the hemisphere to which the region and its darker children belong. Marginalized and trivialized in its currently most important area of economic activity, the Caribbean continues to bear witness to the perpetuating of the old color and class paradigms in tourism’s billowing Caribbean fantasy. With tremendous financial resources, the vast majority of which never reaches or stays on the “island destination” or in the region, the tourism fantasy, like a powerful and eccentric feudal lunatic that can be whimsical and spiteful, presents itself as the voice and image to hear, see, visit, and know in the Caribbean.

Nowhere have the Caribbean man and woman become more invisible than in the marketing and advertising strategies to promote the “island destinations” in their target markets (which, for the most part, is the North American market). Whether it is in so-called trade publications – usually glossy magazines done with the same one-size-fits-all template (in which not much changes in content except the names of the islands) or in television commercials where the predominant faces are those of white tourists basking in the Caribbean sun, dining in the majestic Caribbean sunset, or practicing some water sports which Caribbean people very, very seldom indulge in, we, as a

people – our culture, our identity – are nowhere to be found. Only of recent have a couple of more enlightened government-owned/run tourism agencies in the region begun to feature our faces, our songs, alongside our beaches and other natural assets in their marketing/promotional strategies (Badejo, 2007).

The idea of the Caribbean as a tourist “paradise” – apparently, certainly initially, for whites only – has been fed perhaps by images of a heaven full of angels, pure as the driven snow. There is a lurking, disgusting apartheid mindset behind these concepts that as Caribbean people we must uproot by all means before it grows any deeper. In this “tourist paradise” only the whites vacation, while the vast majority of the workers, the laborers, are Black. The most “exciting” elements of our culture that are offered to margarita-sipping tourists are of course the limbo dance, fire-eaters, and the Banana Song, nowadays occasionally performed by a one-man steel-pan orchestra. Talk of a carefully packaged Caribbean Minstrel Show! And when it comes time to shop for those souvenirs, the T-shirts bought in one island are generally identical to those purchased on a different “destination” except in the name of the island, while the arts and craft are mostly “Made in Hong Kong”! In other words, “our” tourism industry is not ours by any stretch of the imagination; to the contrary, our existence seems to have been deliberately obliterated, and replaced by images of other people who do not look like us.

The trivialization of the culture and marginalization of the history typified in the tourist industry continues cheerily in the service of making the true Caribbean peoples and cultures, as the beloved novelist Garcia Marquez would say, “unknown”, not only to the world but disastrously so to themselves. Consider that tourism at its best creates a space where peoples meet, exchange, and celebrate cultures. But in the Caribbean, that space is like the eye of a hurricane surrounded by the unresolved and old vexing color and class hierarchy, especially in the area of employment, property ownership, and sadly yet but less so than 50 or 40 years ago, in the expected master-slave interaction between white and/or rich guest and the hospitality employee, who is not infrequently poor, with limited education, underpaid, very possibly non-unionized, and almost certainly Black (Lake, Jr., 2004).

Is it any surprise then that several of our tourism authorities lament what they consider the poor level of service in the industry and seem to have been unable to elevate this level substantially through the years? This is so because, for the person who should be the most important player in the Caribbean tourism industry – the (Black) worker – the line between service and servitude is blurred by the ancestral memory of slavery.

But the issue of color and cultural identity goes beyond that. Although Caribbean society has been stratified along color lines, within the same color groups there exists what some people have termed “colorism” expressed in many of our Black women’s preference for fake hair attachments, the weave, *pelo sintético*, the jerry curl, and the straightening to damaging extremes of their natural hair. Our beauty salons have

become graveyards for natural black hair, making the Afro hair era, a historical aberration. Did I say “beauty” salons? Whose canon of beauty have we internalized? Whose images of beauty are we bombarded with everywhere we turn? Beauty, I dare say, is not in the eye of the beholder: beauty is in the mind of the beholden. If we do not see ourselves in our minds as beautiful – or handsome, for our men are also tenant to this pathological province – if we cannot redeem that aesthetic image of ourselves from the gutters of the cultural pogrom that history has condemned it to, then what else can that teenager from Middle Region or Loiza Aldea, “Cassie” Bruce or Levantille, aspire to be other than that size zero model, skin bleached to a “browning”, as the Jamaicans might say, almost in levitation as the Caribbean breeze caresses her long, blonde hair? And it is her hair, she insists, because she bought it!

We may look at this hair and skin bleaching business as metaphor or material manifestation of a chromatic scheme, embedded in our minds, that goes from white to Black, in descending order of beauty, righteousness, and, of course, privilege. We can no longer offer any excuses for its continued existence in this 21st Century. There can be no more justification for calling a brother “Black as sin” or for a mother dreaming of “improving” the color of her lineage by insisting that her daughter should marry a lighter skinned man, or better yet, a white man regardless of his economic condition.

In many countries in the Caribbean today, color is not only a determining factor in physical beauty, but also in social mobility, in economic empowerment and perhaps, until not too long ago, in political advancement, with Black occupying the very bottom of the ladder in each area. Color has been elevated to a level of even national relevance in questions of individual identity as evidenced in countries like the Dominican Republic and territories like Aruba or Puerto Rico. Yet, the Caribbean is the only region in the world where we can brag that “dey’ain no racism here,” “*no hay racismo aquí*”, “there is no racism here.” This may be true, in a rather twisted way. Race and color are not synonymous, even though we often use both terms interchangeably. Racism as an institutionalized form of oppression and dehumanization may not exist here; but what can our minds conceive, segregated along fine color lines, from white to light-skin, yellow, canella, habba, cha-cha, brown, dark, pretu, and blue-Black and all the imaginable pigmentation on that scale, if not a negative self-image?

Many myths and strategies, many vehicles and systems have been invented to perpetuate that negative self-image. As a writer and publisher, I cannot but make reference to the so-called orality of our culture. If learning to read and write carried as much as the death penalty in slavery days, how else were we to safeguard our identity but through oral traditions? The “written” word, certainly the sacred hieroglyphs of *The book of coming forth by day*, often referred to as *The Egyptian book of the dead* (Von Dassow et al., 2008; Wallis Budge, 1994), or of the vèvè that New World Africans “record” faithfully to this day, is not an anomaly to our knowledge-base traditions. The Judeo-Christian God Himself did not trust oral tradition when he made

Moses write His Commandments on two tablets. He did not trust Jeremiah's memory when He instructed him to, "Write in a book for yourself all the words that I have spoken to you" (Jeremiah 30: 2; Exodus 17: 14). It is an instruction he would repeat to Jeremiah elsewhere in the same book of the Old Testament. In other words, God did not want His words to be misrepresented, misinterpreted, misunderstood, or even misspelt. In the Caribbean tourism industry, we do not emulate God; we allow others – no we pay them – to put words in our mouth in the name of marketing and advertising. So, they come up with slogans like "Fantastically French; Delightfully Dutch" for this Sweet St. Martin Land that is, certainly, a "Charismatically Caribbean" island (Badejo, 2007).

The industry's most advanced public text, the tourist brochure, "sells" the sea, sun and sand – and with increasing sinister subtlety the sex, and sometimes child sex – of the region, and each island is billed as "paradise". But as more Caribbean people (and not only the citizens with dark skin) are taking greater pride in the once far more vilified, though still somewhat embattled Black skin and things Black and African; as they continually dote over their indeed beautiful islands; as their nations continue to assert their national and regional political sovereignty and cultural identities; as the exceptions of economic successes slowly and painstakingly spread throughout the region's countries and territories – and certainly not without the draw from down below that forces concessions from up above; as the brilliant and unrelenting social, cultural and, to a lesser extent, political liberation processes move forward against great and adverse odds (including cultural imperialism); as more Caribbean artists and scholars increasingly study and write about and engage the creativity of a Caribbean Civilization, the old tourism sales pitches will become dated. But what is frightening and saddens me severely to this day is how eerily and remorselessly reminiscent the tourist brochure is of the journal of the Admiral. And his was the first face to set the process of Caribbeanization, certainly for the darker-skinned peoples of the region, on its horrifically violent trajectory. Where are we in that process today?

Heirs of truncated psyches, sawed off mercilessly from their main African, or Asian trees, ruthlessly severed, so that in their rootlessness, they would have no semblance of their roots, the issue of identity has been a constant of Caribbean life. But the DNA of those roots has been re-planted in sands and grounds, ponds and forests, cumbite and grounations that evoke their ancestral homes or origins. And though stymied, their growth has been nothing short of phenomenal, adjusting, re-forming and re-inventing themselves in climes that bear the ancestral imprint. Caribbean identity is rebellious in character and essence surely because it bears the marks of centuries of violent resistance against impositions of alien identities. It is shaped by this unique struggle to maintain and redeem its humanity in the face of calculated attempts to strip it of all human dignity. In a sense, it is a work in progress, a transition/in transition to a resolution of all its inherent and innate contradictions. Caribbean cultural identity –

this new story – is actually a callaloo of ancestral (old) fragments of memory forging a new existential reality.

As the first global village, the Caribbean is where the whole world has converged to reenact a pantomime presided over by Shango and the Holy Trinity. What race could rush to singularly claim the totality of this history and identify wholly with the “cultures” that it has spawned as humanity’s first experiment with the global village?

The decimated millions of the host population by European conquest in less than 200 years following the 1492 encounter; from the early 1500s to the Emancipation periods of the mid-1800s, the new majority population is enslaved in the millions, coupled with the growing restlessness of maroons numbering in the hundreds of thousands, both overwhelmingly of African descent; slave uprisings wreaking havoc on the plantation economy and revolutions defying slavery and imperialism; historic pockets of poor white settlers refusing to tell their story of oppression and survival as distinct from the minority and the often absentee European ruling class; the immigrant surge of indentured East Indians and the Hakka Chinese laborers between 1845 and 1917; legions of the dispossessed and disenfranchised, mostly Blacks and East Indians, at the onset of the 20th century; brutal colonial suppression and US invasions undermining the dreams of independence, national development, and sovereignty; labor uprisings and cyclical waves of intra- and extra-regional migrations of Caribbean peoples; intra-racial hatred and interracial and ethnic discrimination; the fragmented nationalisms elemental to the second wave of political independence for much of the region’s territories from the early 1960s to the mid-1980s; old and new national elites that appear to despise the masses of their countries or of the region’s remaining colonies; the annual threats of and destruction from hurricanes; and the birth of dynamic and world-famous political and socio-cultural movements and personalities that still defy the small size of the islands where they might have originated – not the least being four Nobel prize winners, three in literature.

There is no one race or cultural identity to claim all of the above and many other triumphs and tribulations of this intensely cultural process. The tendency to marginalize and “dis” the Black color and culture must never be tolerated any more than refusing to accept the contributions to “the process” of the descendants of East Indian indentured and poor whites who are also true Caribbean peoples.

As Dr. Selwyn Cudjoe of Trinidad and Tobago put it in his Emancipation Address in 2007, “Our Africanness or Indianness, to the degree that we speak of such identities, results from centuries of living in a particular place, intermingling in a specific way, and the vivacity with which we preserve historical memory, of which the slave trade and slavery are constitutive parts” (Cudjoe, 2007). All of the Caribbean peoples making and re-making their region have to claim and share all of its facets together as their very own. And how are we “disparate elements” to unite, love, build, coexist, prosper, excel, identify as one family? Would it be as Bismarck had decreed to his

stubbornly disparate Germans, with “steel and blood”? Or will it be that “Love and labor conquer all things,” as the St. Martin patriot Joseph H. Lake, Sr. first told his struggling people in the early 1960s?

Lamming is certain that Caribbean people are already united but that their leaders do not know it as yet. In fact, among the major pushers of the current or rehashed virus of ethnic and internecine rivalries and immigration abuses threatening the region are politicians at partisan play or in the service of the remaining colonial masters. More than race as an independent variable, and definitely more than emphasis on ethnicities or even the new imported buzzword “multiculturalism” – which “as a policy option in countries like Canada and the United States is losing/has lost ground”, points out Nettleford, (2003) the Caribbean “entity” has succeeded most in its advances when expressing its multifaceted cultural identity. A reference to the Haitian Revolution, just over the dawn of its 200th anniversary year, may make a concluding point for the pervasive power of culture in the Caribbean. The Haitian people became the first in human history to rise as a nation from the full crushing weight of slavery, trembling under the whip of their masters, then wresting it from their oppressors, to create a free republic, masters of their own destiny. They ushered in the first independent Caribbean country, defeated the military attacks of three European empires, continue to be the “punished victor” (Sekou, 2005: 100), and their on-going liberation process was and is still intensely based on their culture (though never denying their color, and fraught with “colorism” too). The power of culture is an old story. Zhuge Liang, the excellent politician, thinker, and strategist of the Three Kingdoms period advises the Chinese general for whom he is the chief military advisor, that even in war “ ... Above all else is culture” (1989).

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MALUNGO, PRAISE NAMES AND PLACES: HOW DEAD CAN A LANGUAGE REALLY BE?

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According to the First Peoples' Cultural Council and The Institute for Language Information and Technology at Eastern Michigan University "over 40 percent of the world's approximate 7,000 languages are at risk of disappearing" (Endangered Languages Project, n.d.). In their view, language disappearance would be bad for several reasons, including the loss of crucial knowledges relating to history, art, philosophy; ethno-ecology, and knowledge relating to the nature of language itself. All this, however, is of a very different order from the final reason they present: the fact that language loss most of the time occurs in a context of human rights violations: "language loss is often not voluntary; it frequently involves violations of human rights, with oppression or repression of speakers of minority languages. It is a matter of injustice when people are forced to give up their languages by repressive regimes or prejudiced dominant societies." (Endangered languages, Why so important, n.d.).

While I recognize some validity in each of the stated reasons for language preservation, I also am painfully aware that this rescue perspective is a view of language that is limited to only a few pragmatic issues. The idea that 'documenting, preserving and teaching' these endangered languages is sufficient begs the question of the human rights aspect. If language loss is usually due to human rights violations, should we not be also looking at issues of identity other than language, such as territory, access rights, social justice, education (not just 'language education'), and the economic, spiritual, cultural and political legacies that are being provided or denied future generations through current social actions? And what does it mean for a language to die? I want to explore these questions through looking at a supposedly distinctly dead Curaçaoan language: Guene. The continuing presence of Guene (just like other languages called 'dead') challenges the metaphors of life and death that we use for describing languages. One of the challenges of dead languages is that they keep on existing in our consciousness, not only as objects, but also as relationships, as memories, sensibilities, possibilities, scripts and texts, as awarenesses, texture and feeling. In questioning this metaphor, I am interested in using it as a door through which I celebrate the possibilities of dreaming

dreams of beauty. By this I mean that metaphors may play into our collective neuroses that keep us traveling inside nightmares of limitation, negation, overvaluation and so many other things we do to run away from the power and beauty of being ourselves, for ourselves and for each other in compassionate and witnessing ways. Guene makes me dream again against the grain of the stories of death.

Frank Martinus is the pioneer researcher on Guene. After decades of investigation and provocative writings on the subject, his dissertation laid out an extensive philological basis for understanding Guene as a creole language (Martinus, 1984; 1996b). More recently Bart Jacobs (2009) has made some valuable contributions to the understanding of the origins of Guene through his research on the African roots of Papiamentu. René Rosalia's documentation (e.g. Rosalia, 1989 and other oral history) and the Juliana-Brenneker materials (Brenneker, 1978; the Zíkinza collection of oral history, and other oral history) remain the primary sources on Guene. Papiamentu has existed since the 1700's on Curaçao, Aruba and Bonaire as well as in expatriate communities in the region and elsewhere. Guene has been more difficult to track down partly because no fluent speakers existed by the time of the first focused attempts at academic study of the language in the mid-twentieth century. Part of the difficulty has also been that few researchers have dedicated serious time to its documentation. Those who have done so include Paul Brenneker, Elis Juliana, René Rosalia, Eric La Croes and of course most profoundly, Frank Martinus.

24 Guene was described by at least one author as a language comprised of four regional dialects spoken on four different plantations, all located on the Western part of Curaçao: Knip, Savonet, Lagun and Portomari (Hartog, 1961: 433). The first three are within five kilometers of each other in a straight row, whereas Portomari is at least 20 kilometers from Lagun, its closest neighbor of the three. Martinus seems to corroborate this when going through the oral historical corpus of Guene and old Papiamentu. He identified four source language-clusters for the Guene corpus: Papiamentu and Cape Verdean varieties, Guiné-Bissau varieties, A Mina varieties (including A Mina, the Krioro Makuiba and Brazilian influenced varieties), and Angolan/Congolese varieties, including Makamba Kuberde and Gulf of Guinea Creole varieties (Martinus, 1996: 194).

Martinus has described aspects of Guene grammar that he deduced from comparative analyses with African Creoles and he has formulated derivational rules based on his knowledge of Portuguese, African Portuguese lexifier Creoles, and recurrent forms in Guene. Perhaps his only informant who would have mentioned knowing a Guene speaker would have been song master Martili Pieters. One of Pieters' song teachers apparently would only speak Guene to his mother, who either could not or would not speak Papiamentu (Pieters, personal communication). There really was not an identifiable community of Guene speakers around the mid-twentieth century or probably even in the early twentieth century. Today's Guene legacy consists of the oral

historical corpus of mostly songs and lone expressions besides the limited but extremely valuable linguistic work that has been done on the language. This might qualify it as a dead language: no one speaks it as a primary language. No one consciously speaks it, period. The only sketch of a possible grammar comes from Martinus. Most informants do not know the meanings of the words they reproduce even though they might know the general import of a song or saying. All of this notwithstanding, I believe that we would be surprised to see how Guene lives on in our community, once we start paying attention. This is not argument for not safeguarding languages that seem to be on the brink of not being utilized as languages of daily living. The contrary is actually true: it is a call for an even deeper level of commitment to languages, and to the thoroughly human and vibrantly living phenomena that they are.

In this article, I will explore the presence of Guene through toponyms, male peer praise names and other titles. One of the main ways in which Guene has survived is in place names. There are several of these that have African-related content, which I attribute to Guene. This in itself not only calls into question what Guene is, but it also calls into question the categories that linguists use to classify languages. Do all African content words used in Curaçao belong exclusively to Guene, or can we speak of Africanized variants of Papiamentu? Is everything African-related also Guene-related? How do we move from talking about generic African to multiple African language contributions, to “non-creole languages” (whatever that may mean), and finally to ritual languages? How do we distinguish different social registers, diachronic layers, and domains of referentiality in relation to a limited corpus that has been only described and analyzed? To what extent is Guene also non-African? Is it not also necessary to consider Amerindian languages such as Caquetío spoken by the aboriginal inhabitants of Curaçao before colonization, Taíno spoken by indigenous slaves, and Wayúu spoken for trade and travel purposes? What about the Sephardic varieties spoken by the Jews from Cape Verde, Brazil, the Netherlands, etc.? What were the European inputs into Guene? How is Guene or its social memory used today for identity formation? Toponyms are one area where we find African references that could be construed as living Guene influences on Curaçao:

Toponym	(Possible) Etymology
Afrika	Africa
Angola	Ethnic group of royal Congolese families in 17 th and 18 th centuries. Also: toponyms for different places in the Kongo Kingdom, including a harbor, river, hill, etc.
Bangalá (Brenneker, 1973: 1459)	Bangala is a Bantu language spoken in parts of Republic of the Congo, Sudan, and Uganda.

Batumá/Playa di Batumá [Batumá Beach] (Brenneker, 1971: 752)	In Kikongo <i>batumba</i> means “initiation” (Van Wing, 1920) or “dwarf” (Battell & Ravenstein, 1901: 202). Dwarf is one of the manifestations of Kongo water spirits called <i>kianda</i> (see Slenes, 2001: 190). The Batumá beach in Curaçao was one of the sites on the routes of the 1795 uprising.
Bulabanda	A Congolese rite used by slaves to replace an unwanted master or for the non-enslaved to replace an unwanted chief (MacGaffey, 2008: 55-76; note on pp. 69-70).
Buraku di Mandinga [Mandinga Hole]	The <i>Mandinka</i> are a West African people, also. sometimes referred to as <i>Mandingo</i> .
Burundanga	This word is very widespread in Afrodescendant communities in Hispanic areas. Fernando Ortiz derives it from Spanish <i>baraúnda</i> (brouhaha) + <i>-nga</i> suffix (Selva, 1949: 13)
Chango	An Orisha (deity) in West African religions, especially in Yoruba religion.
Cicilia Luangu	<i>Loango</i> , a Kongo ethnic group became Luangu in Curaçao.
Gandjiu	Kikongo for ‘pain, anger’.
Dingu	<i>Madingu</i> means “silence” while <i>n'dingu-a-nsi</i> means “24 hours”, both in Kikongo.
Kanga (Brenneker, 1971:737)	Kanga is an ethnic group and region in Sierra Leone, and also a dress in the African Great Lakes region, mostly used by women and occasionally also by men.
Kongo (Brenneker, 1971:740)	A Kingdom in Central West Africa; a region in this area.
Kueba di Nanzi [Nanzi's Cave] (Brenneker, 1971: 712)	Nanzi is the local name for Ananse, the Ghanaian Spider-Trickster figure.
Langalanga	<i>Lungalunga</i> means to “take good care of” in Kikongo.
Maroko (Brenneker, 1973: 1467)	Morocco.

Makaya (Brenneker, 1972: 1180)	“Leaves” in Kikongo.
Mandinga (Brenneker, 1971: 744; 1972: 1181)	See <i>Buraku di Mandinga</i> , above.
Seru Makamba [Makamba Hill]	<i>Makamba</i> is a Kikongo ethnic term.
Porta di Waú [Wau Gate] (Brenneker, 1972: 1191)	Wau is a city in the northwestern part of South Sudan.
Pos di Waú [Wau Well] (Brenneker, 1972:1195)	See <i>Porta di Wau</i> , above.
Serká di Luango [Luango Enclosure] (Brenneker, 1971: 765)	See <i>Luango</i> above.
Seru di Lekesí [Lekesí Hill] (Brenneker, 1971: 770)	Lekesí was the name of an African who escaped from slavery and hid in a cave in the Western part of the island.
Seru di Gomasí [Gomasí Hill] (Brenneker, 1973: 1472)	<i>Gomasi</i> is a women's dress in Uganda. It is also a family name in Ghana. Kumasi is a major urban center in Ghana.
Seru di Mandinga [Mandinga Hill] (Brenneker, 1971:771)	See <i>Buraku di Mandinga</i> above.
Seru Makamba [Makamba Hill] (Brenneker, 1971: 771)	See <i>Makamba</i> above.
Seru Malé, a Hill in Westpunt	<i>Malé</i> means Muslim in several African languages.
Tranké Mandinga, a stone wall separating Hato and San Pedro (Brenneker, 1973: 1458, 1474)	See <i>Mandinga</i> , above.
Tera di Yòbò (Brenneker, 1971: 701)	<i>Yobo</i> is a Nigerian people (of Igbo origin).
Waú (Brenneker, 1972: 1225,1226)	See <i>Porta di Wau</i> , above

However exciting it might be that these toponyms exist, it is important to realize that these are experience-distant realities for most Curaçaoans. The concepts of experience-near and experience-distant were invented by Heinz Kohut to describe processes of

empathy and effective action in therapeutic situations. Anthropologist Clifford Geertz used these concepts to characterize insider-outsider perspectives in anthropology. He states that:

an experience-near concept is, roughly, one that someone -a patient, a subject, in our case an informant- might himself naturally and effortlessly use to define what he or his fellows see, feel, think, imagine, and so on, and which he would readily understand when similarly applied by others. An experience-distant concept is one that specialists of one sort or another-an analyst, an experimenter, an ethnographer, even a priest or an ideologist-employ to forward their scientific, philosophical or practical aims (Geertz, 1983: 57).

Human beings as subjects, however, are much richer than that. They themselves also have experience-near and experience-distant awarenesses, senses and understandings and all of these in different degrees of nearness or farness. This is especially clear from what I call a radically present perspective. “Radical presence is when subjectivity is defined based on the experience and agency of the individual or group, while taking into account all the contexts and realities, including the existence and workings of extraneous powers” (Ansano, 2006: 6). From this perspective it becomes important to know that these toponyms may be variously known today by some elders, some who reside near the specific location a toponym refers to, others who have special relations to the place or to people related to the place, a few researchers and nature walk enthusiasts, but otherwise they are not part of most local people's experience. This helps to refine the notion of the living experiences of language because, while these toponyms might be obscure entities to many, at the same time they are still in circulation at a certain level among certain networks of people. Specific toponyms or their etymological referents might expand over time in their influence. For example, Mandingo is now used in some new contexts, such as in the name of a neighborhood store called ‘White Mandingo’. Congo has been re-deployed on graffiti referring to Curaçao as the “Congo of the Caribbean”, etc. As such, certain lexemes have acquired new layers of meaning and contexts of use and thus they have acquired a different life.

There are more experience-near domains in which African linguistic influence/Guene lives on. One of these is the names of items we ingest and make part of ourselves regularly, such as *yambo/guiambo* (‘okra’; from Kikongo *kimbombo* or Kimbundu *kingombo*), *kala* (‘fritter’ from Yoruba *àkarà*), *tutu* (‘cornmeal mush’; possibly Yoruba), *kalalú* (‘greens’ widespread in Africa, possibly from Hausa, Kanuri, Malinke, Mandingo, Yoruba or one of various Gulf of Guinea languages; possible convergence with Amerindian Guaraní and Carib languages). Here use is more regular, experience-near and part of “normal”, domestic and public registers. Again, we must consider the question of where African-related language materials can be conflated with Guene, but I will take the until now unarticulated viewpoint of the few scholars who touch upon

Guene that most African-content linguistic material in Curaçao is called Guene unless specifically used to describe Papiamentu features.

This material interrogates the symbology of dead languages in interesting ways: what does it mean that a language is dead if several words in a specific domain have “survived”? To be sure these are just a few words, but they are laden with deep cultural meaning. There have been long discussions, for example, on the merits of *yambo* as cultural marker. *Tutu* has been used to describe several culturally meaningful concepts, including creoleness, being mentally mixed-up, being in trouble, being unsolvable, etc. What does it mean that a language is dead, but that some words survive and either acquire or retain the status of powerful words?

A more complex form of Guene survival is to be found in male peer naming practices. This is a rich field that remains to be studied. Naming practices have been approached from the perspective of nicknames (with names listed in Ayubi, forthcoming), master-given names of the enslaved, and the novelty or outlandishness of late twentieth century names. One area that has not received attention is the peer to peer informal titles shared among men. While these titles may be categorized in various ways (e.g. fictive kin, as in *ruman*-sibling, *tio*-uncle, *primu*-cousin; and *ermano*-brother; as well as: *yave*, *parna*, *mati*, and *kompai*). I have a special interest in dyadic praise names: African-related hierarchical titles in which the speaker seems to be conferring a title of honor to someone present. There are non-African equivalents of these in words like *meester*, *gubernadó*, *maestro*, *hefe*, *mi kapitan*, *general* but the African-related ones provide an insight into some of the dynamics of relations between and among African diasporic men. The interesting situation with this specific form of naming practice is that its content is also experience-far for most Curaçaoans but its style (conferring an honorific status to another male present) has survived in the aforementioned use of non-African hierarchical titles, especially *maestro*, *meester*, and *hefe*.

What would prompt this kind of “survival” – if this is what it actually is? Especially in a community where one can still hear expression such as: *Bo sa ku ken bo ta papia?* “Do you know who you are talking to?” *Mi no ta bo pareu*. “I am not your equal.” *Nos no ta otro su pareu*. “We are not each other’s equal.” Some people still feel like respect entails maintaining a certain sense of hierarchy based on knowledge of an individual’s social standing and historical background. Not only that: in conversation they then feel quite comfortable calling attention to this. Although this is not a widespread practice it is enough of a cultural form to make me ask why a male in this community would confer a title of higher hierarchical value on someone else, other than as a strategic and subversive use of this social code. I found a clue to a possible answer in past peer titles. These included: *alimá* (with variants *alimaña*, *limaña*, *limani*, *aleman*, *aliman*), *nabiu*, *karabela*, *tapazelo*, *habokin*. Besides these specific title-nomenclatures, it will be interesting to also look at the words for “slave” and “master” respectively: *katibu* and *shon*. Of all these *habokin* might be the most straightforward, probably derived from

Hausa *aboki*, meaning friend, companion, client (Awde, 1996). It is only heard in *seu* songs and is not defined by informants. I derived its etymology through phonetic resemblance. Of the other words I will, for now, take the accepted description of *karabela* as “friend” and as having been derived from having been together in the same slave ship, in this case supposedly a caravel.

Nabiu, *tapazelo* and *alimá* with its variants, offer interesting insights into Guene besides the above mentioned Hausa connection. Both *nabiu* and *alimá* seem like possible Hausa or Arabic derived forms. *Nabi*, *nabii* means prophet in Arabic (Hughes, 1995) while *alimá* is possibly derived from *al-imam*, “leader”. *Almami*, “leader of the faithful” (a contraction of Amir al-Mu'minin (أمير المؤمنين) in Arabic, meaning Commander of the Faithful; see Hughes, 1995) is another candidate. While *al-imam* may have been the original form of *alimá*, *aliman* and *aleman*, the lexeme *almami* might have produced *limani* and *alimani*¹. *Liman* was and is still used in Hausa and Kanuri as a title for Muslim clerics (Dunbar, 1977: 175). *Almami*, as a title for certain leaders, could have easily been assimilated in the male peer naming culture in Curaçao. It has spread in the Diaspora for a long time. A famous *almami* was Mubakar, leader of the Muslim community in Bahia, Brazil, known for his protagonistic role in the 1835 Bahia Muslim rebellion (Reis, 1993).

These Arabic derivations are also relevant for understanding *nabiu*. Traditionally it was assumed that it was derived from *navio*, “ship”. This relates back to the Central African concept of *malungo* which is a Bantu concept. According to Jerome Branche this concept is especially present in Kimbundu, Umbundu and Kikongo speaking communities and combines three ideas: kinship or brotherhood, large canoe and misfortune (Branche, 2009: 29). The various re-appropriations of this concept in the Diaspora has been documented by several scholars and for various places, for shipmate dyads from the Middle Passage where the bond would be expressed in titles that referred to being together on the same ship. Patterson mentions *sipi*, derived from either ship or shipmate (Patterson, 1969: 150), analogous to *máti* in Surinamese Sranan English lexifier Creole (Branche, 2009: 41)², Haitian *batiment*, Jamaican *shipmate* and the more obvious *malungo* in Brazil (Slenes, 1995) and *malongue* in Trinidad (see Branche, 2009 for all these references).³ Both *nabiu* and *karabela* then would be possible shipmate dyad naming forms. *Karabela* is also found in Cuba expressing the *malungo* notion.

¹ Compare also the Yoruba words *lemomi* (Nigeria University Press (Ed.), 2001: *A dictionary of the Yoruba language*) and *lemomo* (Reis, 1986: 606) that mean the same as *imam*.

² *Mati*, being based on Dutch *maatje* for “friend”, however has a whole range of other meanings, including sexual partner, help mate and others. (See Tinsley, 2010)

³ Maureen Warner-Lewis also shows how several titles have survived in Trinidad in their original Congolese forms. While most are not maritime or related to ships these also are part of this larger set. She indicates that this retention is common in Afro-Caribbean communities (Warner-Lewis, 2003: 33-40).

Curaçao's maritime history, especially the fact that enslaved Africans were mariners on several ships also gives credence to the fact that *nabiu* and/or *karabela* are retentions from crossing the Atlantic that might have survived in the new maritime context or this usage might have originated in the new maritime culture.

Despite all this, the Arabic glosses (sometimes through Hausa, Yoruba or Kanuri) for *alimá* and *habokin* (as well as the probably Hausa-derived non-peer title, *labariano* for the African *jeli/griot* type *tambú* drum singer in Curaçao) make exploring Arabic titling relevant. As such, a peer title of “prophet” makes sense for *nabiu*. Both *alimá* and *nabiu* would have then originated as peer titles referring to positions of great honor: “Leader of the faithful” and “Prophet”. In terms of experience-nearness most of these words would only be known by some elders and researchers and the networks these people are part of, to the extent the words are circulated. *Alimá* is a little more well-known among culturists due to its sporadic use by folkloric groups. *Labariano* is much more well-known although it is not really used very much nowadays to refer to *tambú* singers. When considering any of these titles, we also need to think of possible convergences between languages, concepts and use. There is no reason e.g. for an exclusivist derivation of *nabiu*, either from Iberian *navio* for asserting a *malungo* relationship or from Arabic *nabi/nabii* used as a praise name. If we truly accept creolization as a process we need to allow for it to occur in ways unimagined or unexplored before.

One word from a pair of titles used very regularly as part of current language, and thus very near in local experience, might show another facet of this kind of convergence. *Katibu* and *shon* are the standard references for “slave” and “slave master”. Other titles seem to have existed in the past, such as “kanundé”⁴ for slave master (Pieters, pers. comm.) and *bawan* for slave⁵, but *shon* and *katibu* have become the standard. These are not used as peer naming titles but they speak to the existence of decidedly experience-near retentions from Guene.

Shon seems to come from both Subsaharan and North African Muslim influences. An ancient mention of a similar word is found in Ibn Battuta's travels. In his stay with the Massufa people at the Iwalatan or Walata Oasis in what is currently Mauretania he is in contact with an overseer of the place, whose name is transliterated as “Mansha Ju”, which the editor mentions was probably “mansa dyon” which means servant (*dyon*) of the king (*mansa*) (Ibn Batuta, 1994, n. 29). *Dyon* meant servant, slave, captive in

⁴ Possibly a convergence of Mandingo *kanuntee* “friend” and Brazilian *Kanindé*, a people from the Ceará region occupied by the Dutch until they were expelled by the Portuguese in 1654. The connection with the Brazilian *Kanindé* might be through Matthias Beck, who fled from Ceará in 1654 to become Curaçao governor a year later. The connection of Curaçaoan Jews to the expulsion of the Dutch in Brazil is well known.

⁵ My own derivation from the song line *bawan simadan* which I interpret as “running slave contraband” from Hausa *bawa*, “slave” + *simoga*, “contraband”.

northern Africa, among the Arabs and Berbers.⁶ Other similar words include Fulbe *dyon* (captive, serf, slave) (Ogot, 1999: 335), and Mande *jôn* (slave, indentured servant). Although Mansha Ju was an overseer he was a servant (possibly a slave?) of the King. In similar fashion, Africans in Curaçao could have seen the slave owner as a servant of the King they knew existed in the Netherlands. Guene song master Martili Pieters always insisted that the slave owners themselves were slaves. He said that this is what the elders would say. This mixing, subverting or re-inscribing of hierarchical power relationships is indicative of another aspect of titles from the slavery era. The *shon-katibu* dyad also points to another Semitic or more specifically Arabic influence. The apparent mix-up comes through *addad*, wording that simultaneously contains two, ostensibly opposite meanings, such as in this case of slave an slave owner (Barr, 1987: 173-177). This is evident in yet another Guene word that ends up being a title: *moula*. Its Arabic equivalent may mean protector, enslaved person, a mentee, slave owner, someone in a position of authority, friend, and/or companion (see Wehr, 1994 and Mashriq, 2000).⁷ In Muslim Spain it was used (as *maula*) to specifically refer to the ex-enslaved and ex-slave owners (see González Palencia, 1945: 123). In a sense ex-enslaved and ex-slave owners were each other's *maula*. So, it was a relationship between two subjects. Following a similar reasoning Curaçaoan ex-enslaved and ex-slave owners could very possibly have been each other's *moula* when this word might have had enough experience-nearness to be understood as such.

An added linguistic register makes *moula* even more interesting. This has to do with the practice of *maula* or *mawla* in Muslim Spain, certainly in the 11th and 12th centuries (Lévi-Provençal, 1950: 210-213). This consisted of entrusting oneself to someone in a position of power for protection and assuring one's livelihood. This was basically a feudal arrangement, somewhat comparable to the sharecropping or *paga tera* system in Curaçao after abolition of slavery in the Dutch Kingdom. In Portuguese this was called *maladí*, although both *maula* and *maladi* had multiple connotations of ex-enslaved, enslaved, foreigner, and convert to Islam (see Forbes, 1993 for a detailed and thorough discussion) and could be a possible origin for Papiamentu *malatí* “whip”. Maybe the *malatí* was an instrument of power in the *moula* relationship just like the *karbachí* whip was an instrument of power in the *shon-katibu* relationship? *Karbachí* most probably derives from Arabic *kurbāj* or *kirbāj*, a horse riding whip (Wehr, 1994). But what I call an added linguistic register is the expression *bai na moula* “go to (the) moula”, which nowadays one would tell someone who is being a smart aleck or pest. Its form is reminiscent of “*bai na baka*”, to buy something together, especially a lottery ticket. As

⁶ See e.g. M. Izard I J. Ki-Zerbo, *From the Niger to the Volta*, in Ogot, 1999: 362.

⁷ I am aware of the fatwā of Sheikh Masyhur Hasan Salman about usage of the *Al Munjid* dictionary. As the fatwā does not mention this specific entry I hope it does not require further commentary.

a symbol of this one would share out or break the shared product (e.g. a lottery ticket). This takes us to Kikongo *baka*, to break. Might *bai na moola* originally have meant “to enter a relationship of mutual benefit” just like *bai na baka* means (although in an assymetric setting)? Was it a way for a free person to joke about someone else placing him/herself in servitude?

If *shons* were themselves *servants*, *moola* was probably an assymetric relationship of mutual benefit. What about *katibu* then? This is another Guene word that is less innocent than is normally assumed in Curaçao. It has been derived by some from Spanish *cautivo*, meaning “captive”. Brazilian Portuguese *cativo* is actually much closer in meaning. It is pronounced just like *katibu* and also means “slave” rather than just captive. It was used in Spain as well with this meaning as we can glean from one of the so-called *códices arábigos*, the poem legend (translated from the Arabic into Aragonese Aljamía – i.e. Aragonese written in Arabic script – in the 16th and 17th centuries) titled *El Recontamiento de Almicded y Almayesa*, (reproduced in Saavedra, 1904; see also Montaner Frutos, 2004). However, if we again follow the Arabic connection we find that *katib*, *katibi* and *katibu*, mean “scribe”. This would put this word in the same category as *nabiu* and *alimá* in terms of their derivation from important Muslim titles. Such a derivation would give a very different meaning to a song line that has been ascribed to the community of the enslaved, *katibu ta galiña*, rendered as straightforward Papiamentu meaning “the slave is like a chicken” or “slaves are like chickens”. This is a song whose meaning has been interpreted as a lament about how slaves were sold like chickens, with just as little value, and thus not acknowledging the inherent value of their humanity. If the Arabic connection holds true, an older rendering could very well have been *katibu ta ghaliya*, the “scribe is valuable”. The rest of the song, *ata nan ta bende nos mama*, “they are selling us, mama”, does not eliminate the plausibility of this alternative reading. It is even possible that the song means that the scribe is pre-islamic Arabic, from *Ġāhiliyya* referring to the pre-islamic Arabic era in the Arabian peninsula, considered to be a time of ignorance. *Galgaliye* refers to Arabic as a language (Kaye, 1982: ix), whereas *galgalíya* is an Arabic-based pidgin spoken by the Kalamáfi people of North Eastern Nigeria (Versteegh, 1984: 119). So the scribe might have been Arabic. Finally, the word *tapazelo* found in songs about Africans flying back to Africa points to South African, Zulu origins. In one song, an African who remains stranded asks: “Where are my *tapazelo*”. A plain call for the relatives who share an *izithakazelo* or *thakazelo*, a praise name related to shared kinship. In a way it is interesting to find this retention because *alimá*, *nabiu*, and even *katibu* seem to have been praise names themselves, although they do not carry kinship connotations. Praise names have a long tradition in many African societies. As such it might be seen that the survival of these words in Curaçao is not a linguistic curiosity. It indicates that a practice of showering others with praise persisted despite the existence aforementioned stances of *Bo sa ku ken bo ta papia?* “Do you know who you are talking to?”; *mi no ta bo pareu* “I am not

your equal” and *nos no ta otro su pareu* “We are not each other’s equal”. I assume similar expressions existed in Africa alongside praise names, but their historical use in the diasporic communities that suffered slavery gives cause to think that people in situations of colonialism and enslavement have found good use for them.

Extinction as historiographic discourse requires attention in the Caribbean. It negates the continuing legacies of those who did not write the histories of the forts, palaces, mansions and the big battles between empires involved in the conquest of the West. It extends e.g. to the studies of indigenous populations despite information to the contrary (Forte, 2005). It also has an impact on African languages even when linguistic studies point to transformations and retentions. One casualty of this discourse then becomes the living richness of creole cultures. The depth of current identities is not quite appreciated as we tend to either foreground or forego the processes of creolization in their comprehension. We live languaged existences, multi-languaged, at that. This requires us to tell stories that make it possible for tired subjects to dream again and for dreamers to keep on creating new realities. Because creolization is simply the space where one can see that dreams are recognized: where new things are confirmed when they happen. And a discourse of extinction is a cruel joke when we can cross time, space and language registers to use an inadequate praise name (for all words are inadequate) to refer to a new relationship forged under duress.

If we consciously set our sights to it and study the existing body of oral and written history I am convinced that we will be able to understand historical relationships that have up until the present proved to be elusive or even unsuspected because we have been too caught up in distracting discourses. Little attention has been given to contracts of supposed protection in exchange for labor, forced servitude that seemed entered into by choice, and contracts drawn up on more equal terms. It would be interesting to see a timeline that explores the relationship between the *shon-katibu* system alongside those of *bulabanda*, *bai na moulà*, *paga tera/paga ple*, *troka yu* versus more egalitarian systems such as *kombitu*, *bai na baka*, *bon kuné*, *hunga sam*, *seter*, *hunga shèr* and cooperativism. It would also be useful to see how these relate to non-contractual or short-term contract forms of livelihood or entrepreneurship such as *lora man*, *kue djòp*, *kue djap*, consultancies, independent professions, and entrepreneurial ownership. We tend to assume e.g. that forms like entrepreneurial ownership were only available recently to those who are descendants of Guene speakers, but this is decidedly not the case. What we find instead is a rich network of cooperative-entrepreneurial initiatives which have long existed in the countryside that have involved, for example, combinations of sharecropping, shop keeping, *hunga sam* and *hunga shèr* with *bai na baka* for specific investments and *kombitu* for communal projects.

I think it is worthwhile to honor the languages we live by. There are aspects of this that require a much more sophisticated understanding of language than the language of death and extinction and its resulting rescue missions allow for. The recording, collection and

teaching of words and their formal relations is only one way to start that beautiful journey of many paths. We need to pay a new and different kind of attention to the spiritual, ecological, and body-centered relations that languages carry way past and far beyond their perceived deaths.

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FROM BONDAGE TO NATIONAL BELONGING IN A DUTCH CARIBBEAN CONTEXT: ADDRESSING THE YU DI KÒRSOU IN POST EMANCIPATION CURAÇAO, 1863-1915¹

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Introduction

The commemoration in 2013 of 150 years of abolition of slavery in the Dutch Caribbean, has reminded people that more research needs to be done about the post-slavery period. The construction of citizenship, the articulation of a collective identity and a sense of belonging among populations which before July 1, 1863 were subjugated and enslaved need further scholarly exploration. The abolition of slavery in the nineteenth century involved legal changes which affected the different ethnic groups in these societies in a number of different ways. Legally, no longer was there a large group of people objectified as property and considered as non-human objects of the authority of a master. Members of this group became ‘free’ citizens, falling under the legal regulations of the state and they had – in principle – equal access to the law. Abolition thus granted the formerly enslaved legal and civil rights as well as responsibilities of which they had previously been deprived.

In her work on the post-abolition situation in Cuba, Rebecca Scott (1988) underscores that abolition from slavery was neither a transcendent liberation nor a complete swindle, but rather an occasion for reshaping, within limits, of social, economic and political relationships. Abolition therefore should not be seen solely from a legal perspective; it was also the beginning of a process involving a series of varied manifestations of social interaction between former enslaved, former masters and various social institutions, in the context of existing and persistent assumptions. However, it remains a question how within the existing social arrangements of inequality, a large group of freed people were able to integrate themselves as citizens into the social, economic and the political systems of post- abolition societies while creating or recreating a sense of belonging.

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In this article, I use Curaçao, one of the Dutch Caribbean islands, as a case study to look at the contested meanings of citizenship, collective identity and sense of belonging set within the context of defining and redefining the concept of freedom. I am particularly interested in finding out when and in which way the term *Yu di Kòrsou* [literally translated: the Child of Curaçao] came to denominate belonging as well as the promotion of inclusion and exclusion of people. The concept of the *Yu di Kòrsou* is a time-bound, evolving, flexible, dynamic, complex and contested concept and its historical contextualization is essential in order to understand its diverse meanings and undertones.

The emotional appeal and the mobilizing force of the concept of the *Yu di Kòrsou* has been studied by many scholars (Benjamin, 2002; Eikrem, 1999; Havisser, 1997; Hoetink, 1958; Marcha & Verweel, 2001; Maris, 2012; Reindersma, 2007; Römer, 1974; Van der Dijs, 2011). These successive waves of scholarship on this concept seem to have concluded that the term *Yu di Kòrsou* is not merely a term or collection of words but it is a concept embodying values, ideals and ideas regarding membership, inclusion/exclusion, a feeling of togetherness, loyalty, rootedness, having an authentic traditional Curaçaoan culture and a sense of belonging (access).

Academic scholarship on citizenship and national belonging has focused primarily on present day Curaçao society. In that respect, in most of the above mentioned studies on the *Yu di Kòrsou*, the historical dimension has been lacking, while the historical contextualization of the term is essential to understanding its diverse meanings and undertones. By looking at the notion of *Yu di Kòrsou* in historical perspective, I would like to explore the ways in which people in Curaçaoan society after the abolition of slavery in 1863 understood citizenship and belonging within the existing social structures of unequal power relationships.

Politics of citizenship and national belonging

On 1 July 1863, 67 government enslaved persons and 6,958 privately enslaved persons on Curaçao gained their freedom (Römer-Kenepa, 2003: 17). The group of African descended Curaçaoans constituted the overwhelming majority of the population, approximately 85 percent of the total. Thirty-five percent of this group became freed people (Oostindie, 1995: 56). These demographic facts are important to bear in mind, as they indicate the number of people who became citizens thus could legally enjoy more rights and freedoms.

Around the time of the abolition of slavery, the concept citizen was frequently heard and used. The Roman Catholic Church and (to a lesser extent) the state were powerful players in determining the dominant discourses around citizenship at that time. From the mid- eighteenth century onward, this church, through its active role in all aspects of social life, became an important institution that molded the moral and social

conduct of the African descended population and in that way influenced their identities.

The concept citizen was central in the letter written by the apostolic vicar J.F.A. Kistemaker which was read out on Emancipation day in 1863. It began by declaring that the day of freedom had arrived and that everyone would now be free citizens in the society. As free people, former slaves became subject to State regulations with the protection this afforded – they were now ‘equal’ citizens within society. In his speech on that day, Gerardus Vos, spokesperson for the recently freed, emphasized that at the abolition of slavery, “they were saved by King William III from the disastrous state of slavery and replaced as honorable citizen.” Both Kistemaker’s and Gerardus Vos’ remarks refer to citizenship in the classic way, in the sense of a legal status granted by the state. In general, this is how citizenship has been approached. The sociologist Charles Tilly sees citizenship as a type of contract between the state and the individual, but it is not just about a mere aggregate of persons who happen to belong legally to a state (in Helbling, 2009). Bryan Turner sees citizenship as a collection of rights and obligations which give individuals a formal legal identity within a state or society (1990). In a recent publication, Tomas Faist defined citizenship as a continuing series of reciprocal transactions between a citizen and the state (in Croucher, 2003).

Looking at citizenship in that sense requires a good understanding on the role of the state as an important institution that controls the everyday affairs of the individual. Citizenship, however, entails much more than the type of rights granted by the government and to which people are entitled. More specifically, it also implies the question of who is entitled to those rights, or who can be or become a citizen, why and how.

After the abolition of slavery, the colonial government recognized the former enslaved as citizens and introduced laws and regulations in which it stipulated their rights and obligations. Despite some competing views, the state also questioned the nature of freedom and equality at the end of slavery. This is also clear in a report that the Governor produced soon after Emancipation and in which he points to a particular behavioral characteristic among the recently freed that in his opinion also existed among the already freed black population, namely “a lack of realizing their duty to comply with their obligation” (Van Dissel, 1868: 513). The new laws were based on perceptions that the formerly enslaved could not cope with their new status and freedoms and the governing institutions became more involved in restricting the social behavior of this group than the plantation owners and the commercial elites who maintained their power in society after abolition (Allen, 2007). Through their control over Church and government, the plantation owners and commercial elites dictated and defined the rights and obligations of the former enslaved and in that way determined the content of citizenship in Curaçao society.

The formerly enslaved started off socially and economically from a position of disadvantage, in relation to other groups in society. Basically, they did not receive any compensation for having experienced dehumanization, ill-treatment, and exploitation of their labor, whereas the former slave owners were financially favored over the freed group as they received financial ‘compensation’ for the loss of their ‘property.’

In addition, a large group of those who were manumitted before 1863, did not enjoy a smooth transition from enslavement to freedom either. Most were left to fend for themselves and therefore gained their freedom under the worst conditions. For these reasons, the social conditions among the freed population remained challenging. Their low socio-economic status gave them insufficient basis to achieve substantive freedom and to be independent, and they struggled to find their place in post-slavery society. Their socio- economic outlook would remain poor as labor opportunities on the island were very limited, and there was a scarcity of land, as most of the fertile land was allocated to the plantation owners before 1863. For most of them, there was nothing more to do than to remain living on the plantations in a subordinated situation under the *paga tera* system [*paga tera* literally means paying for the land on which one lived] with very few rights and many obligations.

This *paga tera* system dominated the social life of the formerly enslaved in similar ways to the systems known as apprenticeship and sharecropping in the English-speaking Caribbean and the South of the United States. The *paga tera* system enabled the plantation owners to control a disciplined labor force whenever work was to be done on the plantations and the workers had a piece of land to cultivate and to live on as well as water to drink. Many considered *paga tera* as a brutal continuation of the planters’ domination of their lives. Adults and their children and even their grandchildren, were trapped in a spiral of domination, as is attested in oral and written sources. Their dependency was exposed in accusatory oral histories. Many overcame dependence on their former master and their insecurity by looking for work outside the plantations, either as urban workers or as independent peasants in the countryside. Apart from these above mentioned economic and social challenges to citizenship, the formerly enslaved – both those freed in 1863 and before that date – were also excluded for many years from political participation. The British sociologist T.H. Marshall (1950) in his seminal work on citizenship considers political participation in society one of the key dimensions of citizenship. At the time of abolition of slavery, the group of formerly enslaved and their descendants did not have any say in the political decision-making process in Curaçao. Governance of the island was in the hands of an appointed Governor who exercised executive, legislative, and judiciary powers. He was assisted by the members of the Colonial Council, consisting of plantation owners and merchants, whose private power was converted into political power by the state.

Before the abolition of slavery already, freed coloureds attempted to attain certain public offices, but were not successful. James Agnes Jones, a highly articulate manumitted coloured merchant who spoke many languages was presented in 1854 as a candidate for an official function by the acting governor who had recently arrived from the Netherlands. However, Jones was pressured to decline the offer due to his colour (Sjiem Fat, 1986: 81).² Some opposed these discriminatory practices and fought for their civil rights, as was the case of the former enslaved person Joseph Kogen, manumitted in 1833 at the age of 33, who was denied the possibility of being elected a member of the juridical tribunal.

At emancipation in 1863, the formerly enslaved were still not enfranchised. In this respect Curaçao does not differ from the rest of the Caribbean, where the formerly enslaved did not receive the right to vote either. This right was restricted based on racist ideas as is apparent in the work of the civil servant J.H.J. Hamelberg, who lived on the island at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century and published several studies. According to Hamelberg, blacks were not equal to whites and should not have the right to vote (1895). Elaborating upon these views, he cited the high number of babies born out of wedlock among blacks and their use of the Papiamentu language as hindrances in their development (1895). This was his reply to the question posed in an article by A.M. Chumaceiro called ‘Zal het kiesrecht Curaçao tot kannibalisme voeren?’ [Will Suffrage Drive Curaçao toward Cannibalism?].

For a long time, entrenched political power groups restricted the participation of Afro-Curaçaoans in elections. It was not until 1948 that the political aspirations of this particular group were met, and general suffrage was introduced in Curaçao. Before that time, voting remained restricted on the basis of literacy, income level and property ownership and a large group of people, including most of the African descended population as well as women, were deprived of one of their fundamental rights as citizens.

Despite the fact that the abolition of slavery had the potential for people to claim citizenship, the abolition of slavery did not in itself mean that one was automatically considered a citizen of the society. In his book *From Slavery to Citizenship* (2005) Richard Ennals sustains this thesis in the case of the USA, but his analysis is applicable to the Caribbean as well. The economic historian Stanley L. Engerman (1992: 53) underscores that in the Caribbean the abolition of slavery entailed dramatic legal effects, but nevertheless, aspects such as policy and the locus of political, social and economic power in society continued largely as before abolition. The ruling propertied classes remained predominantly white and continued to dominate the

² Généreux J.R. De Lima, son of a Jewish plantation-owner and a freed African descended woman, was the first colored person to be appointed member of the Colonial Council in 1868; see mhw.org/famia/genereuxdelima-cornelisgorsira.pdf

economic, political and cultural spheres in society while most blacks remained subjected – even though no longer enslaved.

In addition to racism, when former slaves joined the lower classes, the perception that the upper and middle classes held of this group influenced the way emancipation evolved socially (Engerman, 1992:53). Formal abolition of slavery in Curaçao as well did not mean immediate equality for the newly freed population in terms of social and power relations. The post-abolition reality was far more complex, and the emancipation process was significantly more difficult and gradual than the promulgation of decrees and the enactment of laws.

National belonging

The other concept that I wish to address in close relationship to citizenship is that of national belonging. National belonging implies extremely complex and deep-seated feelings of collective identities, shared values and lived experiences, entrenched in the notions of being part of a community or a nation-state. In that sense, it is the emotional resonance and the cultural ramification of citizenship. As Camilla Nordberg (2006) has stated in her article *Claiming citizenship: marginalised voices on identity and belonging*, “citizenship is much more than rights and responsibilities. It is also about experiences of belonging and recognition.”

44 Contemporary debates in the political arena and in the media on national identity and belonging which highlight the power and complexity of identity and belonging in a globalized world have captured the attention of scholars. Sheila L. Croucher (2003) in her book *Globalization and belonging: the politics of identity in a changing world*, emphasizes the subjective content of belonging as something generating exclusion and creating social division as well as providing the means to overcome these limitations. She states that inherent in the concept and practice of national belonging is the related reality or fear of not belonging. People understand and define who they are by specifying who they are not. Identity relies upon an Other while belonging relies on an Us and necessitates the existence and recognition of a Them.

Croucher’s analysis of belonging falls under what Antonsich defines as the political dimension of belonging. That is “a discursive resource which constructs, claims, justifies, or resists forms of socio-spatial inclusion/exclusion.” Often intertwined with these factors is a more personal dimension of belonging which is intimate, refers feeling “at home” described as a “symbolic space of familiarity, comfort, security and emotional attachment” (in Challinor, 2012).

Scholarship in the Caribbean has concerned itself with issues of identity and belonging (inclusion/exclusion). Aaron Kamugisha, a lecturer in Cultural Studies at the University of the West Indies at Cave Hill, Barbados, looks at citizenship beyond

the legal definition with its fixed boundaries, and sees it as something that involves a variety of practices of belonging, identity concerns, and relationships with institutions (2007: 21).

The study by the historian Verene Shepherd (2005) entitled *Belonging and unbelonging: the impact of migration on discourse of identity in Jamaica history* adds a new dimension by showing how national belonging has been conceptualized in the Caribbean historically. She focuses on the early discourses in Jamaica centering on the questions of who can claim rights to social spaces and their material benefits, as well as whose culture is legitimized in a racially and ethnically unequal society (Shepherd, 2005: 1). These are questions regarding citizenship and belonging played out in various forms within nations. Shepherd describes the discussions in Jamaican society about who is truly “creole” or Jamaican. She uses the sociological term “ranking” to conceptualize the social ordering of competing identities and cultural hierarchizing that emanate from the search for membership and belonging and that have the tendency to include and exclude groups in Jamaican society (Shepherd, 2005).

One theme stands out in Shepherd’s study, which is the fact that she also looked at citizenship and belonging at the micro level by considering how the black lower class has mobilized around these issues. In Jamaican society immediately after abolition, it was not only the colored middle class that was concerned with citizenship and national belonging, but also the larger black working class, which had just come out of slavery. This group in particular had to compete within the existing boundaries of social inequality with new ethnic groups of workers from India, who were imported to deal with the labor shortage. This was not the case for Curaçao, where it was not until the beginning of the 20th century that immigrants were brought to the island to work for the recently established oil company.

Nevertheless, social stratification did exist in Curaçao among formerly enslaved people. Within the group of African descended Curaçaoans distinctions were made for example, according to the length of time a slave had lived on the island – as illustrated by the proverb ‘Es ku bo wela luangu a siñabo awe, di mi krioyo a siñami ayera kaba’ (literally: What your grandmother Luango taught you today, my Criollo grandma taught me yesterday). Even though both persons could be referred to as criollos, as both were born on the island, the one whose parents or grandparents were also born on the island felt superior to the one whose parents and/or grandparents came directly from Africa.

The newly arrived slaves were referred to as bozals and were at the bottom of this hierarchical scale. Moreover, frequent miscegenation between white slave-owners and black enslaved women had led to the emergence of a significant number of people of mixed race in the society. In this multiracial society, the group of mixed origins enjoyed a privileged status compared to the black group and this created tensions that divided the African descended Curaçaoan population. Given the dominant image of

them being ‘uncivilized’ people, it was not easy to claim an identity based on their ethnic heritage. Hoetink (1958: 84) wrote that Afro-Curaçaoans classified themselves according to whether they were descendants of slaves freed before or in 1863. People would often emphasize that they did not descend from enslaved people. Some would take pride in their light complexion. This means that at the time of Emancipation, the group of descendants of the enslaved was already stratified in terms of ethnic origin, color, social position and class.

Given these complexities of the lived experiences of enslavement and social relationships in Curaçao, I would like to explore how African descended Curaçaoans have defined themselves in terms of a national connectedness to Curaçao and how they have set boundaries around who belongs and who does not. Moreover, it is particularly interesting to ascertain when and how the concept of *Yu di Kòrsou* became a national marker of identification for those who belong.

The concept *Yu di Kòrsou* within the politics of belonging and citizenship in a historical perspective

In order to understand the sense of national belonging in Post-emancipation Curaçaoan society it is important for us not to look solely at the state, but to consider the Roman Catholic Church. Even though the colonial government dealt with issues that were related to citizenship in its attempt of eradicating what it deemed as ‘improper’ behavior by the former enslaved, it was less present in engineering collective identities and belonging among the former enslaved than was the Church. At the time of emancipation, the Roman Catholic Church was the primary institution exercising authority and control over the lives of African descendent Curaçaoans. It had become a prime institution engaged in the education of this group, establishing many programs including instruction in reading and writing in Church schools. In that sense, this institution helped to develop literacy, an important element in dominant notions of democratic citizenship. At the same time, however, the imbuing of the former slave population with Catholicism was envisioned as a package including the enforcing (sometimes by means of corporal punishment) of a ‘western’ work ethic, obedience to the law, disciplined kinship patterns characterized by the nuclear family and the extinction of what was considered African ‘heathenish’ culture. Even though some resisted the control of the Catholic Church because they did not share the values and behavior promoted by the Church, on the other hand, abiding by the rules of the Church could open doors, for example, to employment in institutions run by the Church, such as schools and hospitals, and to greater social standing and mobility. In its attempts to spread the word among the population and to change the popular mindset as to what it saw as proper behavior, the Church started its own newspaper in which they used the creole language Papiamentu. The newspaper was initially titled *La Union*, published by the *Gezellenblad van de Sint Josef (Club San Hose)*, but when this periodical ceased to exist, another publication *La Cruz* took its place. The

newspaper was a way of reaching the majority of the population, whose normal language for expressing themselves was and still is Papiamentu. Alongside news items, the journalists would write weekly series of stories that concerned everyday life, focusing on morals and values. The success of this method depended heavily on the level of literacy within the population. To spread the message, those who were able were asked to read these stories aloud to the illiterate.

The Roman Catholic missionaries in their mission to change behavior also promoted what they defined as patriotic feelings. This intersection of the sacred and the secular manifested itself in the role that the Church played in encouraging feelings of national belonging, packaged within a connection to the Netherlands as the colonial motherland. In some of these documents in which they encouraged patriotism, they would often use the concept of *yu* [child] as well. An example is the following poem, one of the few preserved in written form from the time of Abolition in 1863. Even though the author is not known, the lyrics reveal the influence of the Roman Catholic Church and according to a statement of a priest-historian, the poem was most probably ghost-written by a priest. In this poem, the term *yu* refers to the social group whose history was one of slavery. It was used in this instance to assure the formerly enslaved that they (also) belonged to Curaçaoan society as children of God. In this poem, the concept nation appears twice. Reference to the King of the Netherlands is made four times and the term *yu* (written in the poem as *jieuw*) appears three times, while the concept God appears six times.

Cancion di libertat

Roeman nan gradici ku Noos
Pa cielo soe bondad
Foor di toer bofoon noos tie é koos
Noos tieen noos libertat
Awé na bolontad die Rey
Y pa boos di noos nasjoon
Pa noos tin dilanti die Ley
Liber die toer sjoon
Bam pidie Doos rodiá baauw
Koe santoe debosjoon
Su bindisjoon pe és bon trabaauw
Hasi pa noos nasjoon
Noos tata grandie goestoe y boon
Y maas sabi koe noos
Manda awe bo bindisjoon
Pa toer boon jieuw die Dioos
Den bida largo i salud
Kontentoe motjoe koos
Pa Rey, La Reyna i su jieuw
Nos toer ta pidie Dioos
Reconicido noos lo ta

Song of freedom

Brothers and sisters say thanks that we,
For heaven's goodness
Out of all mockery, have the thing
We have our freedom.
Today by willingness of the King
And the voice of our nation
We are in the eyes of the law
Free from all owners.
Let us ask God on our knees
With holy devotion
His blessing for this good work
Done to our nation.
Our great father just and good
More knowledgeable than us
Send today your blessing
To all good children of God.
In long life and in health
Very glad
For the King, Queen and her child
We all ask from God.
Grateful we will be

Pa doechi libertat
 Ma Dioos bo man so lo paga
 Y obra die bondad
 Sjoon nan adioos, na Dioos soe manoe
 Lo tien in (Noos ta sigoe)
 Amoor pa noos y bosonan
 Hoestichie pa noos toer
 Niengoen koe noos lo ta rabiá
 Oen pober poor ta boon
 Pa sabi keen ta fortoena
 Noos tien noos koerason
 Noos tien noos koerason
 Awe no tien kegamiento mas
 Ni manoe riba noos
 Noes toer ta jieuw stima di oen kaas
 Katiboe die Dioos
 Salud Dioos doechi pa trabaauw
 Contentoe koe noos Ley
 Y biba semper Corsouw
 Hoelanda y noos Rey
 Hulanda y noos Rey

Corsouw, 1 July 1863

For the sweet freedom.
 But God, only your hands will pay
 This work of goodness
 Owners goodbye, and from God's hand
 There will be (we are sure)
 Love for us and for you
 Justice for all of us.
 None of us will be angry
 A poor person can be good.
 To know who is fortunate
 We have our heart
 We have our heart.
 Today there will be no complaining anymore
 No hands over us
 We are all beloved children from one home
 Slaves of God.
 Here's to sweet God for work
 Happy with our law
 And long live Curaçao
 Holland and our King
 Holland and our King

Curaçao, 1 July 1863

The poem gives us an indication of how nationalistic feelings were constructed within a religious context. Curaçao is seen as part of the Dutch Kingdom. In particular, the king and his family receive much attention. The poem also gives us some clue as to the way in which the recently freed were looked upon. *Yu* in this particular poem indicates much more a notion of equality, that is of “Children from one home”.

This notion of equality is not present in the eulogy of the Catholic newspaper *La Union* of November 26 1890, dedicated to Dutch King Willem III, who died on 23rd of November 1890. It recognizes King William III as playing an important role in the Abolition of slavery and deserving the gratitude of the formerly enslaved: “We have lost our King who made our enslaved freed children.” The term *yu* [child] is used here in the less positive sense of a less developed human being. The pre-Emancipation ideas that questioned the human capacities of the enslaved remained prevalent and continued in the discourse of the post-Emancipation period. The dominant ideologies at the time held that formerly enslaved people (both those freed recently and those manumitted earlier) were less than full human beings and were certainly not to be considered equal to their former masters. Demetrius Eudell calls this type of discourse “political language” in his publication *Political Languages of Emancipation in the British Caribbean and the US South* (2002). According to Allison Blakely, the notion that Africans were perpetually childlike existed until far into the twentieth century

(Blakely, 1993). It is because of this reasoning that Elis Juliana condemned the term *Yu di Kòrsou* and used the term *Kurasoleño* instead.

The Roman Catholic role in creating a sense of national belonging manifested itself again when on the occasion of the coronation of Queen Wilhelmina on September 6, 1898, a local Dutch friar Pater Radulphus composed the lyrics of an unofficial Curaçaoan island anthem in Papiamentu. The song was known as “*Den tur nashon nos patria ta poko konosí*” (Among all nations, our fatherland is little known) and was sung until the 1930s to the melody of the Tyrolean hymn ‘Andreas-Hofer-lied’. In the 1930s Friar Candidus Nouwens composed the melody of the song. For many years people would sing it on the island on the occasion of Dutch royal birthdays as well as on other official occasions. It was only replaced by an official anthem by the local Curaçaoan government in July 1979, twenty five years after the island achieved its autonomy in 1954.

One should bear in mind that this unofficial anthem of 1898 was not the result of an act of the state or of a national consensus. The fact that it was composed on the coronation of the Queen shows that to the Church, feelings of national belonging implied in particular feelings of appreciation for the Dutch Kingdom. Also, its lyrics played a role in this ideological notion of national identification. One of the couplets in the song states that ‘*pobresa ta nos suerte i bida ta pisá...ma nos ta gosando di fabornan di un tera respetá*’ (Life is difficult and poverty our fate, but we are enjoying the possibilities of a respected land (the Netherlands)).

On the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the daughter of William III Queen Wilhelmina in 1900, the Roman Catholic Church dedicated an entire article in its newspaper *La Cruz* to what is called patriotic love (*amor di patria*). This sustained the Church’s definition of patriotic love as national belonging in conjunction with love for the Dutch Kingdom. In this particular article, the author condemns the notion of independence as it existed in the neighboring countries of South America. In this article also the term *Yu di Kòrsou* appears in the phrases: “However poor the fatherland might be, we should still love it. A child can see the fault in its parent, a *Yu di Kòrsou* might see that in his land, but these faults should not lessen the love he has for his country.” The article combines moral teaching with citizenship training in its specific instructions as to how to behave as a citizen. According to the writer “If we love our fatherland, we should better ourselves first. A fatherland consists of citizens and becomes better when the number of good citizens rises. A good citizen is he who sustains the government of his country as much as possible and who shows respect to those with dignity and authority.”

These are just a few examples that exemplify how the Roman Catholic Church attempted to create a sense of national belonging among African descended Curaçaoans. The Church worked on developing feelings of attachment and familiarity towards the mother country Netherlands in its attempt to construct a sense of security

among Afro-Curaçaoans. At the same time, the Church's role in the process of writing and publishing in Papiamentu helped to make the language more dominant in Curaçao society. By this time, this Creole had already served for at least 100 years as the main medium of communication by all social categories in the society.

According to scholars such as René Römer (1974), Linda Rupert (2006) and Alan Benjamin (2002), Papiamentu over the course of time became part of a creolized Curaçaoan identity. In post-emancipation society, Papiamentu was already a key element in an embryonic form of national identity and belonging in the society. Once again, this was not the result of a state led initiative. In fact, Papiamentu was often singled out as a serious hindrance to the development of Dutch patriotic feelings in the society. For example, in the minutes of the Colonial Council, Curaçao would often be compared in a negative light to Suriname where Dutch was widely spoken, with Papiamentu being condemned as a language that hindered social advancement.

People felt that a Dutch presence was lacking in other local cultural expressions too. For instance, in one remarkable article in the *Curaçaosche Courant* (CC) of March 5, 1909, the author observed that Dutch music and songs were unknown on the island but that this would soon change as new piano-music songs would soon arrive from the Netherlands to be played during a musical evening. Moreover, Spanish was widely spoken and understood in the society, due to the island being surrounded mostly by Spanish-speaking countries. Oostindie explains that this situation resulted from cultural neglect during the first centuries of the Dutch colonial Empire in the Caribbean in comparison to pro-active culturally assimilatory policies on the part of other colonizing entities (Oostindie, 1995). Papiamentu was a lingua franca in Curaçao, used even among the local Dutch population which had lived on the island for many generations.

National belonging at the micro level

For Afro-Curaçaoans, national belonging has often been constructed more clearly through the experience of migration. Migration provides a productive analytical entry to the study of citizenship because it challenges the taken-for-granted assumptions about its nationally delimited boundaries. It is said that migration unsettles the daily lives of immigrants including the ways in which they deal with their own identity and culture and how they demarcate their notion of citizenship. This applies not only to migrations taking place now, but also to migrations which took place in the past.

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 migration, before and after the abolition of slavery. Before the abolition of slavery people became migrant workers elsewhere in the region, such as Venezuela, Puerto Rico and Saint Thomas. After abolition, freed Curaçaoans went to Costa Rica,

Panama the Dominican Republic and Cuba. It is important to note that Papiamentu would in this respect transcend national boundaries as documents show that migrants from Curaçao would continue to speak the language in their new homelands. The presence of *tambú* songs (*kantika di tambú*) in Papiamentu in the Curaçaoan diaspora dramatizes the role that Papiamentu has played a marker of African descended immigrant culture in the Caribbean (Allen, 2012).

Through migration, Curaçaoans claimed recognition as a distinct group while heightening their sense of belonging. My study (Allen, 2001) of Curaçaoans who migrated to Cuba to work in the cane fields in the early 20th century shows how Curaçaoan migrants either assumed or dismissed a certain national identity depending on the circumstances in which they found themselves. I discovered that these men called themselves *Holandeses* [Dutchmen] when they were in Cuba. By labeling themselves in that way, they distinguished themselves from other “undesirable” migrants such as the Haitians who occupied a much lower social position. Clinging to their Dutch nationality gave them some security and protection against the type of ill-treatment that the Haitians experienced.

When they returned home, they called themselves *Cubanos* [Cubans] which gave them a sense of self-worth. As ‘*Cubanos*’, they tended to speak Papiamentu intermixed with Spanish words and danced according to the newest dancing styles that they had learned in Cuba. Because of their status as Cuban return migrants, they were greatly respected by the Curaçaoan population of that time. At the same time, in their correspondence about the situation in which they found themselves in Cuba, as well as in their retrospection in the interviews I had with them, they would automatically identify themselves as “*Yu di Kòrsou*”. Curaçao was the place where their umbilical cord was buried (*e lugá kaminda mi lombrishi ta derá*). It was their home, a place to which they felt strong feelings of belonging and which when stranded in Cuba, they did their utmost to return to.

This sense of Curaçao as true home is confirmed by the following article from 1911 titled “Patrotism of Surinamese People”, (CC, 3 March 1911), where the author compares the patriotism of Surinamese with that of Curaçaoans. According to him, there was an increasing tendency of Surinamese families to leave Surinam and settle elsewhere forever. In Curaçao, this was not the case. Here, many young men left to seek a better living elsewhere, but when they reached middle age and had succeeded in acquiring property, they would usually return to their homeland to continue working or to enjoy their earnings. The author sees their return as a form of patriotism that is lacking in Surinam. In that sense, Curaçaoans may move around the world, but they still strongly identify with and remain attached to the place where they were born and grew up.

Finally, it can be said that the notion of national belonging in Curaçao became stronger when people of different ethnic backgrounds came to the island after the

establishment of the oil-refinery in the 1920s, as attitudes against foreigners hardened. A large number of immigrant laborers came in from South Asia, China, the Middle East, Portugal, Surinam, the English-speaking Caribbean and the Netherlands. This led to significant changes in Curaçao's demographics.

These demographic changes are important, as they together with the existing differences, determined the construction of belonging. To deal with such changes one began to make distinctions between those who were on the island before the twentieth century and the newcomers. In his article "Het wij en zij van de Curacoënaar" [The Us and Them of the Curaçaoan], René Römer (1974) examined the relations between Curaçaoans and these new ethnic groups and the accompanying discourse. According to him, the new immigrant groups became categorized, labeled and ranked according to the racialized, ethnic boundaries that existed in pre-industrial Curaçao. In addition to categorizing the newcomers according to racial and ethnic origin, Curaçaoans also labeled and stereotyped them based on the work they did and their (presumed) distinctive behavioral patterns. In this new context the term *Yu di Kòrsou* began to be used popularly as a marker to distinguish the *strañero* [stranger/newcomer] – as they were called as a group – from the *Yu di Kòrsou*, the pre-industrial inhabitants of Curaçao, and to denote national belonging.

For discussion

52 In this article, I contend that much more attention needs to be paid to the historically specific character of national identity in Curaçao and in doing so, I have looked at the historical conception of citizenship and the process of national identification in post-emancipation Curaçao.

During slavery, citizenship was primarily restricted to slave owners and other propertied people of European descent, with the African descended enslaved excluded from citizenship. The formal abolition of slavery in 1863 did not mean an entirely new way of life for those who had received their freedom. While they faced new challenges, their economic and social lives continued to be marked by the legacies of the past. Specific group identities in Curaçaoan society remained based on a strongly hierarchical social system that included or excluded groups based on racial and ethnic classification. Such demarcation and ranking based on ethnicity and color/race have persisted up until the present.

There was a continuing tendency among the elites to ascribe a certain identity to Afro-Curaçaoans that is said to derive from their ethnic background and historical experience of enslavement. In that way, even though the ending of slavery afforded the formerly enslaved with some potential to claim citizenship, the existing social structures that preserved unequal power relationships severely constrained this possibility. One can state, that the formerly enslaved were not simply excluded from civic citizenship but that their incorporation into society occurred with constant reference to a hierarchy of power, against which they had to resist continuously.

Curaçao stands out in the ways it has dealt with the citizenship of its African descended population. The state played a very weak role in addressing issues of citizenship, when compared to the active role played by the Roman Catholic Church. After emancipation, the Church increased its involvement in shaping the behavior of the Afro-Curaçaoan population, leaving a strong mark on its identities. It went beyond developing a notion of civic citizenship among this group. It attempted to create a sense of national belonging by developing feelings of attachment and familiarity towards the Netherlands as the colonial motherland. In that process, they used Papiamentu as their main medium of expression and in that sense they helped to make this language ever more dominant in Curaçao society. In promoting s notions of belonging, the Church often used the concept of *Yu di Kòrsou*. It is clear that the meaning of the concept of *Yu di Kòrsou* has changed according to social circumstances over the years and must therefore be placed within the context of the socio-historical development of Curaçaoan society.

It seems that the notion of *Yu di Kòrsou* has been a cultural(ized) concept ever since it appeared. As such, the concept embodies and engages notions of identity, shared heritage and belonging as well as ethnicity/race and exclusion. As a concept to promote patriotism and national belonging, it was originally not used to oppose Dutch colonialism. It was a notion of national belonging within the wider context of Dutch hegemony. In the twentieth century with the arrival of oil company and immigrant workers, it became a marker to distinguish those born on the island before the establishment of the oil-company and the newly arrived immigrants. More recently, in the context of the transition to a new constitutional status for Curaçao at the start of the 21st century, it seems that the concept of *Yu di Kòrsou* is becoming more formal and juridical. Beyond its identificational role, the term has progressively become strongly involved in the determination of citizenship. As such, it now comprises stronger notions of membership, loyalty, relationship to institutions, and claims to economic, social and political rights, benefits and obligations.

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THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN MODERN (POST-) COLONIAL CURAÇAO: ASPECTS OF POWER RELATIONS IN COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE

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Until the introduction of general suffrage in 1948 and the subsequent elections a year later, the elite on the Dutch Caribbean island Curaçao was mostly Protestant and Jewish, comprising in the early decades of the twentieth century approximately 12% of the total population. The vast majority of the Curaçao population was of African descent and – as a result of intensive missionary efforts – Roman Catholic. Quite interestingly, the Catholic church on Curaçao played a substantial role in, and had impact on, a colonial territory that was part of the dominantly Protestant Netherlands. These data alone justify an interest in the role of the Catholic missionary church in the development of Curaçao society. Doubtless, an in-depth study of the dynamics between the Catholic church, Dutch government and local society – which is the subject of my PhD research – will shine new light on, and add valuable insights to, our understanding of the developmental history of modern and contemporary Curaçao. Inherent to the study of a missionary church in the context of colonial rule is the use of concepts such as power, influence, resistance and agency. Though the power aspect in particular of the Curaçao Catholic church has often been referred to in literature, neither the exact nature of this power, nor that of related aspects has been thoroughly explored. In order to be able to study the impact of the Catholic church on Curaçao society, it is of importance to first address the question what constituted the nature of power of the missionary church in this late colonial and post-colonial society.

This article explores concepts and insights on the power, influence, resistance and agency of missionary churches in a colonial setting and answers the question which seems most relevant, or at least of interest, for the study of the Catholic church and Curaçao society in a period of modernization and industrialization (1915-1948) followed by a period of decolonization and emancipation (1948-1973).

The history of the Curaçao Catholic church will first be presented, highlighting specific elements of the church's position in the spectrum of colonial power relations. Next, concepts and insights on power, influence, resistance and agency of missionary churches in a colonial setting are presented. After that, we return to the case of

Curaçao, in an attempt to delineate which aspects of power relations seem most relevant to the study of Curaçao society in the aforementioned eras of modernization, decolonization and emancipation.

Missionary activities were regulated on Curaçao in 1824 and further consolidated in 1869 by means of a contract between the Congregation of the Propaganda Fide, the mission department of the Holy See in Rome and the Dutch province of the Order of Dominican priests.

Though these events suggest progressive development, throughout most of the nineteenth century the colonial government reluctantly tolerated priests on the island. In the Netherlands itself, though the Protestant church was no longer the state church, Protestantism was still the dominant religion. Religious freedom had been granted in 1795, yet the Catholic church on the island retained a missionary status until 1853. On Curaçao some missionary efforts had started in 1776, but initiatives were continuously plagued by a shortage of religious workers.

Despite these challenges, in 1824 the arrival of mgr. Niewindt would turn out to be the start of a period of intensive missionary work. An almanac published with permission of the Dutch government reported in 1857 that there were no ‘heathens’ left on the island of Curaçao (Almanak, 1860: 34). In practice this meant that all enslaved and free Afro-Curaçaoans, who on racial grounds did not have access to the Protestant and Jewish congregations on the island, were baptized Catholics.

In 1869 the Dominicans became responsible for the Curaçao mission in general through the Apostolic Vicariate¹, with their priests active in parish churches and in cultural organizations such as the Catholic press and various semi-elite societies. Under a contract with the Dominicans, Dutch congregations of Sisters and Brothers took on, or continued to assume, responsibility for ‘civilizing²’ activities such as education, health care and charity. Since the arrival of the Sisters of Roosendaal in 1842, a majority of religious workers on the island were female, and most of the work was done by them in the ‘*kunuku*’ – the rural and most impoverished parts of the island. Women would outnumber men in the religious workforce until the period of decline of Dutch religious activity in the 1960s.³

The impact of the Catholic missionary efforts on the Afro-Curaçaoan population without doubt has been considerable. In post-slavery Curaçao living one’s life as a ‘good Catholic’ and complying to all sacraments and to Catholic norms and values was crucial for the non-elite population, as Rose Mary Allen (2007) has demonstrated

¹ The Apostolic Vicariate is the diocese in a missionary territory.

² Rose Mary Allen has studied the impetus behind the 19th century belief in the need to ‘civilize’ this group, which was based not so much on a genetic distinction, as much as on the belief that Africa lacked civilization, and therefore all people originating from Africa lacked civilization. (Allen, 2007: 94).

³ For 1940 Brada reports that 323 or 67% of the 479 missionaries were female (Brada, 1963).

for the 1863-1917 period. A large majority of the population was dependent on support from the missionaries for their most basic human needs. Compliance with the Catholic moral and religious framework of rules was a *conditio sine qua non*, a seemingly inescapable part of life, whether an individual was struggling for survival or trying to move up the social ladder.

The influential position of the Catholic church thus had a long history when in the 1920s and 1930s the church expanded its organization. This was not only done through building new parish churches and schools, but also by establishing organizations such as the Roomsche Katholieke Volksbond and a wide variety of recreational and educational societies (Broek, 2006: 53-55). With this strategy the church responded to the social changes brought about by the establishment of a massive oil refinery in 1915, creating a new industrial labour class as well as a middle class and affording some opportunity of social mobility, though this was still limited for most of the majority of the Afro-Curaçaoan population (Dekker, 1982: 122).

The oil refinery would prove an ally as well as competition for the Catholic church. Although much more archival research⁴ needs to be done on the specific relationship between these institutions, it is clear that the church and the refinery had a shared interest in maintaining social order. Both, for instance, promoted married life. At the same time, much to the dismay of the church, the refinery brought new material wealth and immigrants with different cultures and lifestyles, both of which proved attractive to the Catholic population of Curaçao which had never known much luxury. Another consequence of the establishment of the oil refinery was a shift towards a profound preference for the Dutch language both in the newly created industrial and business sectors as well as in government, putting even more pressure on educational institutions. In this context, and that of a fast growing population⁵, the amount of trained local assistant teachers grew rapidly. This initiative apparently was more than a mere practical solution for labor shortage in the classrooms. The assistant teachers were recruited from the most “decent and upright” families, and would, “under the strict guidance of the religious congregations, take care of the education and upbringing of the local child⁶” (150 jaar Rooms Katholiek onderwijs, 1992: 161-162). Until the 1950s, when all teachers needed full certification, this group not only helped

⁴ The only researcher that was allowed access to the Shell/CIPM historical archives was Jaap van Soest, who – much to the benefit of future researchers – shared his insights in a detailed publication (1977) and his collected data in an open access database. Nevertheless – grateful though we are for his endeavor – it remains a pity that no further research can be done in the supposedly rich and detailed archives.

⁵ Population grew from 1915: 33.677 to 1935: 55.463 and to 1955: 118.858 (Van Soest 1977: 654)

⁶ Literally: the people’s child – what the author refers to is the (lower class) Curaçao born child.

alleviate the heavy work load of certified teachers, but apparently was also of major importance as role models for local students.

Against this background of ‘*verhollandsing*’ civil criticism started to make itself heard, most notably by journalist Willem Kroon and fellow writer Medardo de Marchena. The latter published a pamphlet titled *Ignorancia ó educando un pueblo* (1929) in which he accused the Catholic church of deliberately preventing the Afro-Curaçaoan population from receiving education at a sufficient level to be able to develop towards full participation in society. Willem Kroon criticized the church for overstepping its bounds by doing so much more than strictly religious work. Furthermore he claimed that instead of bringing people together, the church sustained and promoted differences between people based on class and color (Broek, 2006: 77-79).

Kroon was not the only one to accuse the church of promoting differences. Recent research reveals that Kroon’s accusations were not baseless. Marit Monteiro, in her study of the Dutch Dominicans during the pre-World War II decades titled *God’s Predikers*, states that for the Dominicans on Curaçao “the improvement of the fate of the local population was the primary target, but they acted within the existing social order, which was constructed based on class and race” (Monteiro, 2008: 332). This study does not shy away from making bold statements regarding the strict and class-conscious positioning of the average priest at the time. For instance, Monteiro claims that the paternal tone of speech of the priests could be “racially colored and colonial” (ibid.).

There can indeed be little doubt that the Catholic church on Curaçao adopted a culturally repressive attitude, not only throughout most of the colonial period, but also in the post-colonial years. Some of their repressive actions were not exclusive to their work on Curaçao, but typified their behavior worldwide as a consequence of Canon law, such as their firm stance against their religious enemies, such as the Masons.⁷ More specific to the local context were strict instructions given to the Catholic faithful regarding ‘forbidden’ newspapers and political parties, such as the Democratic Party. Against the background of general suffrage, it is important to note that the church considered it necessary to issue pastoral letters in which implicit though clear

⁷ This was in accordance with canon law 2335 (Codex Iuris Canonici 1917). In Curaçao, for instance in 1953 a pastoral letter was issued as a ‘reminder’ to the congregation. (Mgr. Van Zeppenfeldt, 8 November 1953, to be read in all masses on 22 November 1953). Should a baptized Catholic that joined the Masonry or Protestant church wish to return to the Catholic church, this was only possible after signing an official ‘*mea culpa*’ with the signature also of the Bishop or his representative. Apparently this was no incident; such declarations were pre-printed (in Papiamentu, with Protestantism as default) and only needed to be made personal by adding name, date and signature. In the Curaçao National Archives (Archief Vicariaat Dominicanen 135: Correspondentie met Mgr. Vuylsteke) such declaration was found of Reinier Martijn, aged 65, dated 11 May 1915. The printed ‘Protestantism’ is striped through, added is a handwritten ‘Maçoneria’.

recommendations were made as to how their congregations should vote were made in 1949, 1958 and 1962. They did so because, as Mgr. Holterman explained in his 1958 pastoral letter, “many of our Catholics lack insight”.⁸

Just as explicit, but probably even fiercer was the Catholic fight against African and Afro-Caribbean belief systems and their respective practices, including ‘heathen’ Tambú dance music (Rosalia, 1997). The fact that performing this music and attending Tambú dances was legally banned in 1934 is one of the clearest examples of Government and church collusion. It would take until 1952 for the official ban on Tambú to be lifted.

Cultural-religious repression by the Catholic church in Curaçao seems to have had mixed results over the longer term. Some peripheral rituals such as Montamentu (originally from Santo Domingo) – which is of an exorcist nature - are even today performed in a clandestine way, indicating some fear of repression or social exclusion. On the other hand, by the time the ban on Tambú was lifted, a syncretic Catholicism had evolved that quite naturally became the mainstream religious culture of all Curaçao Catholics. Despite the putative African origin of many of its rituals, such as the *ocho dia* (Triebels, 1981), a typically Antillean church culture with a highly devotional character and integrated rituals surrounding birth and death has easily found its way into the beliefs and practices of the Catholic population as a whole. This tendency has been enhanced during the post-war decades by the fact that the Catholic population of the island includes an ever increasing number of migrants from the rest of the Caribbean, many of whom have intermarried Afro-Curaçaoans.

In the post-war years, the apparently solid position of the Catholic church in Curaçao society diminished rapidly. In a time of decolonization and political empowerment, the Afro-Curaçaoan population started a process of mental emancipation, supported by improved possibilities for higher education. In the political arena, the Catholic party, established in 1937 with the involvement of the clergy, did not stand a chance against the immense popularity of new political parties and their leaders, in particular Dr. Da Costa Gomez.

Under new legal frameworks, the role of religious organizations in society also decreased, with the professionalization of education, health care and social work. In the areas of education and health care in particular, a growing group of trained local professionals rapidly took over in the 1950s and 1960s. In 1962, when the Second Vatican Council opened, aimed at modernizing the church, a majority of the Curaçao clergy seemed ready for a new approach.

The 30 May 1969 revolt on Curaçao, itself at times linked to Catholic church involvement, represented the end of the ‘old order’, or whatever was left of it. In the years to follow, the church would restrict itself more to religious matters, as Willem

⁸ Pastoral letter of 5 August 1958, to be found in various archives, e.g. Archive of the Diocese of Willemstad, Kroniek Holterman, X, Bisdom en Politiek.

Kroon had suggested in the 1930s. Furthermore, the church in Curaçao, faced by a rising tide of resignations and re-allocations, was assigned priests from all around the world, becoming at last – just like Curaçaoan society – ethnically diverse (Van Gelder & Lascaris, 1981).

One of the major issues regarding the sustainability of the impact of the Catholic Church concerns Catholic religious identity on the island (Monteiro, 2008: 770; Boudewijnse, 1992: 9-11). The Catholic church in Curaçao can be characterized as a cultural church – historically an element of cultural identity for a large majority – contrary to being a religion of choice. This has changed since the 1970s, but in a remarkably different way than in most parts of the Western world. Religion in contemporary Curaçao has always been and still is a vital part of life for most people. New evangelical churches have boomed since the 1970s. This could be an indicator of religious and cultural emancipation, contrasting to a pre-1970 experience of limited choice and repression.

A survey of priests on Curaçao in 1973⁹ revealed a rather negative view regarding the past and future of the Catholic church on the island had taken root by the 1970s. On 19 June 1973 an interview with Dominican priest Paul Brenneker was published in the *Brabants Nieuwsblad*¹⁰, a leading newspaper of the predominantly Catholic southern part of the Netherlands. In this interview Brenneker sharply criticizes the role of the missionaries in the Dutch Antilles:

“It is a little sad to have to acknowledge this in hindsight, but in the Antilles the mission – with all good intentions – has chosen a wrong approach. To think of what we have ruined for these people by forcing a European culture upon them, often based on the idea that “external order will lead to internal order”, as I once overheard a missionary saying. This is a key problem, especially because the missionary venture has remained without any effect. There are currently not even six priests originating from the island.”

“Religion on the Antilles – and elsewhere – has been overtly linked to material values. It is like blackmail “if you become part of the church we admit you to our schools”. Because of this, knowledge and science have always been thin layers of lacquer over the drive to earn money. There is no motivation.”¹¹

Lack of motivation, quite interestingly, is an observation also made in a different context. In Dutch colonial historiography, the predominant view on how the Dutch government has dealt with the Dutch Caribbean territories emphasizes their indifference and negligence – ‘careless colonialism’ as Gert Oostindie has phrased it¹²

⁹ Archive of the Diocese of Willemstad, Kroniek Holterman.

¹⁰ Kept by Brenneker in his scrapbook (Curaçao National Archives, Collectie Brenneker, 9).

¹¹ Translated by author.

¹² The 2005 edition is a revised English edition of *Paradijs overzee* (1997). In 2005, the phrase ‘careless colonialism’ is replaced by ‘absent minded colonialism’ or *achteloos*

(Oostindie & Klinkers, 2003: 57; Oostindie, 2005: 164). Even though the oil companies would have a major influence on the development of the island both economically and demographically, when the decolonization process started in the post-war years, the Dutch West Indies still had little priority for the Dutch Government, being, as they had always been, not only strategically insignificant, but also “far away both geographically and culturally” (Oostindie & Klinkers, 2003: 62).

In comparative perspective, the position of Curaçao as a substantial Catholic mission without a Catholic colonial government is quite unique. From the start of the Portuguese expeditions along the coast of Africa in the 15th century, a priest or group of priests – mostly Franciscan or Dominican – always accompanied the ship. Rome was quick to support this church-state cooperation with the directives *Cantate Domino* (1441) and *Romanus Pontifex* (1454) giving instructions regarding the Christianization of newly ‘discovered’ territories.

For major Catholic colonial nations such as Portugal, Spain and France, close cooperation between secular and religious power in the New World would become normal practice. In these territories for centuries to come, Catholic churches explicitly promoted processes of cultural dominance and imperialism.

Concepts of cultural imperialism, cultural transformation and transculturalization¹³ moved to the center of colonial historiography in the 1990s. Publications such as *Tensions of Empire* (Cooper & Stoler, 1989) furthered a growing interest in interdisciplinary approaches and the broadening of colonial history perspectives. For non-Catholic territories in particular, where missionary organization and colonial power did not explicitly cooperate, this approach implied a substantial widening of the perspective of historians and anthropologists on colonial rule.

Not only was the result of this shift in perspective that missionaries in these territories became seen as “significant historical actors within the drama of colonialism”, they were thereafter also considered by many scholars as “key agents in the production of ideas about human difference” (Ballantyne, 2011: 234).

Missionary actions in the non-Catholic British Empire, as Jeffrey Cox (2002: 12) contends based on studies by T.O. Beidelman (1982) and Jean and John Comaroff (1991), were “often deeply implicated in systems of imperial coercion and control”. Much, of course, could and should be said about the personal motives of each

kolonialisme. The 2003 English edition *Decolonising the Caribbean* (Oostindie & Klinkers, 2003) uses the phrase ‘careless colonialism’. I have chosen to use this translation, not only because it seemed more appropriate, but also to avoid what for this article would be irrelevant discussions about English historiography following the publication of Bernard Porters *The absent-minded imperialists: empire, society, and culture in Britain* (2004).

¹³ The term ‘transculturization’ was first used by Fernando Ortiz in his 1947 Spanish publication of *Cuban Counterpoint: Tobacco and Sugar* (1995). The term suggests that in a society in which several cultures meet, cultural features are both lost and shared, thereby creating a new culture.

individual missionary. Brian Stanley (1990) and Andrew Porter (1999) in particular have written in defense of the many women and men that, in their view, distanced themselves from imperial rule. But even in those circumstances, Beidelman (1982: 5-6) claims, they “aimed at overall changes in the beliefs and actions of native peoples, at colonization of heart and mind as well as body”.

Important and convincing as this approach seems, it leaves us with questions regarding the exact nature and formality of this power position. Apparently in the non-governmental missionary setting which predominated in the non-catholic colonies, the influence and power of missionaries could be both implicit and substantial. How can this be?

In his influential conceptual framework of power relations, Steven Lukes distinguishes formal power from informal power, and adds a third dimension that in particular seems relevant to our study of colonial missionary relationships. Lukes defines this third dimension as “the power to shape, influence or determine others’ beliefs and desires, thereby securing their compliance” (Lukes, 2005 [1975]). Associated with this third dimension is ‘soft power’ – a term introduced by Joseph Nye (2004) regarding strategies of seduction in order to exercise influence, based on the expectation that such strategies will in the end prove much more effective than inducement, coercion or other manifestations of ‘hard power’. Lukes (2007) warns though against the dynamics that can follow from a ‘soft power’ approach; what might begin as a form of seduction can in fact end up being the most offensive and resented of all influencing strategies, running a high risk of provoking a boomerang effect (Lukes, 2007: 83, 95-96).

In any given relationship, power and influence can therefore be the result of either active coercion or insidious co-optation. The asymmetries of power relations can be either overtly evident, as is the case when ‘hard power’ is applied, or close to imperceptible, as can be the case with the use of ‘soft power’ strategies. Colonial and missionary histories obviously operate along this diffuse spectrum between the intentional and the unintentional, and between the perceptible and the imperceptible.

In his study of the Punjab, Cox attempts to view this spectrum of strategies of domination from the contemporary missionaries’ perspective. Missionaries must have been aware of power relationships, inequalities and the imperial power context (2002: 17) confronting, in Cox’ words, “problems created by the nature of imperial power”. But so did the colonial officers themselves. It is generally agreed that on the whole, the resulting cooperation between the two within this colonial context was constructive both for the missions and the colonial government. Without exception there was always a trend towards a ‘win-win’ result for both. This was equally the case in the French colonies, where even after the adaptation to the separation of church and state in 1905, missionary involvement in colonial rule and cultural

imperialism persisted or even increased, justified by opportunism on the part of both parties (Prudhomme, 2008: 53-55).

A work of major influence on church, state and societal relations in a colonial context is Edward Said's *Culture and imperialism* (1993). Said argues that cultural interactions were of primary importance in establishing patterns of colonial rule with long-term impact on post-colonial society. Although Said suggests that the effectiveness of these colonial patterns stemmed in particular from a "daily imposition of power in the dynamics of everyday life" (Said, 1993: 131-132), missionaries are hardly mentioned in his study.

In response to Said's *Culture and imperialism*, Andrew Porter wrote his fiery 1997 article titled "*Cultural imperialism*" and *protestant missionary enterprise, 1780–1914*. Porter argues that claims of missionary cultural imperialism "neglect the message of many recent historians of the extra-European world who have shown the considerable power which local societies possessed to deflect or selectively absorb Western influences" (Porter 1997: 387).

Being representatives and frontline workers of the church, missionaries often appear as agents of specific world views and values in colonial societies, but it seems necessary to be cautious when using the term 'agent' as well as when measuring and interpreting the impact of and influence of such 'agents'. In general agreement with Porter, Tony Ballantyne asserts that: "communities could adapt Christian teachings but retain hostile views of missionaries" (2005: 441-442).

In this context, it is therefore necessary to look more closely at dynamics of domination, resistance and compliance. Charles Tilly (1991) demonstrates the existence of a dynamic closely related to the ambiguous posture referred to by Ballantyne, which is often a manifestation of implicit resistance. This is where compliance "turns out to be a sort of constant rebellion" (Tilly, 1991: 598). Steven Lukes has recognized this mechanism also in his work on power relations. He illustrates this dynamic with an Ethiopian saying: "when the great Lord passes, the wise peasant bows deeply and silently farts" (Lukes, 2005: 124).

When the Dominican mission to Curaçao was officially established in 1869 there were reportedly no 'heathens' on the island; one was either Jewish or a baptized Christian. The justification of the mission shifted through time, but for long remained focused on helping out the needy and bringing – as claimed in many publications – 'civilization to the uncivilized'.

The Dutch government clearly benefitted from the presence of these missionaries on Curaçao, not only for their role in sustaining social order, but also because they provided a basic social safety net on a low cost basis. This became of particular importance after the establishment of the oil refinery. The fact that the Catholic church sustained a strong position in the colonial territory of a predominantly Protestant nation was never the result of conscious planning, but on the eve of modernization at

the beginning of the twentieth century, it had clearly become a conscious part of the infrastructure of colonial governance. As it evolved in the period between 1917 and 1948, this conscious partnership seems to have included a form of cultural agency on the part of clergy as well as locals playing a role within their institutions or under their auspices.

From the perspective of the population, the missionaries were undoubtedly Dutch people promoting and representing Dutch – or at least supposedly Dutch - morals, rules and regulations. This had political implications; during the post-war years when the population of Curaçao became increasingly involved in the processes of mental emancipation and social mobility, the widespread expectation was that the prominence of Dutch religious personnel in society would diminish significantly. As such, one could be a devout Catholic and at the same anti-clerical; the latter attitude being a reaction to Dutch colonialism and Dutch paternalism, and not related to in any particular way to religious preference.

In studying the Curaçao Catholic church and its relation to colonial rule, it is important to keep in mind that missionaries, government officials and parishioners functioned within a diffuse spectrum of power relationships, in which at least three features figure prominently: 1) a long history of dependency on the part of the population on the church for their basic necessities and the role of the church in sustaining social order; 2) the resulting influence of priests and other religious workers on the ‘soft power’ level; and 3) in the post-war period, the rapid decline of Catholic involvement in society, indicating that behind an appearance of loyalty to, and appreciation of, the Catholic missionaries, there seems to have been an undercurrent of non-compliance and implicit resistance to aspects of Catholic power, influence and agency.

While the Catholic church has lost some of its adherents since the 1970s¹⁴, it is still by far the largest denomination on the island. Anti-clericalism over the past decades clearly has never had as its goal to damage the Catholic church itself, but instead to loosen the stranglehold on society that the clergy had been able to establish and maintain for over a century. What made this stranglehold possible in the first place? When Brenneker complains that ‘there is no motivation’, what he seems to be drawing our attention to is in perfect parallel to the presumed ‘carelessness’ of colonial governance: just as the Dutch authorities on Curaçao’s lacked a clear vision, the Catholic authorities were apparently in charge of a ‘mission without a vision’. As such, the influential position the church could be seen – but this obviously needs further analysis - to be the result of the existence of a societal void which it came to fill. This can be interpreted negatively as the church seizing as much authority as it

¹⁴ According to the Curaçao Central Bureau of Statistics the census found 89.1% of the island’s population to be Roman Catholic in 1972, 88% in 1982, 80.1% in 2001 and 72.8% in 2011.

was allowed to seize, or more positively as the church taking on responsibility where no one else was willing to assume responsibility.

When analyzing the diffuse spectrum of power relations on Curaçao, it is necessary to acknowledge and consider as many perspectives on as many levels of society as possible and in each case, particular attention should be paid to the intentions and motivations behind positions and actions.

In further research attention should also be paid to two specific and as yet unanalyzed factors. In the first place, we should keep in mind that missionaries on Curaçao have never been a homogenous group; there has always been significant diversity both at the individual institutional levels as well as in relation to formal position within the mission. The church, one could claim, lacked unity and suffered from a considerable gap between a ruling elite and its actual operatives ‘on the ground’. Secondly, serious attention needs to be paid to the fact that on Curaçao, as elsewhere, women have been responsible for carrying out most missionary work, especially its most humbling tasks in its most challenging environments. Gender distinctions should play an integral part in the collection and analysis of whatever data is utilized to support any of the narratives that are explored and elaborated in the future concerning the Catholic church and power relations on Curaçao.

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MELE-CALYPSO: USING THE *PETIT* NARRATIVES OF GOSSIP TO ARTFULLY DECONSTRUCT *GRAND* NARRATIVES IN ARUBA

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Calypso music has been described in much of the literature as one of the main deconstruction methods of what Lyotard (1984) calls “grand narratives” in the Caribbean. Calypsonians have not only used political commentary, social commentary and humor to carry this out this task, but they have also deployed ‘petit’ narratives such as gossip to do so (Hill, 1993; Hill, 1967; Manning, 1990; Phillips, 2009; Rohlehr, 1990). Using creative deconstructive methods as a point of departure, this paper utilizes ethnography and song text analysis to explore a composition by calypsonian Lord Boxoe. This is done in such a way as to demonstrate how Arubans in general, and calypsonians in particular, are able to utilize the so called ‘*mele calypso*’ to achieve their goals while leaving their communities’ pluri-cultural, pluri-lingual and pluri-identified structure intact.

The term *mele* is used as a synonym for gossip in many of the vernaculars of the English speaking Caribbean (Allsopp, 2010). Aruba continues for the most part to use English lexifier Creole as the language of choice during calypso competitions, despite English being the third most spoken language on the island alongside Papiamentu, Spanish and Dutch. The dominance of English lexifier Creole within this genre of music is due to the language practices of migrants from the English speaking Caribbean in the earlier part of the twentieth century to Aruba seeking work in the petrol refineries and their settlement of the coastal city of San Nicolas on the eastern side of the island where these refineries were located (Alofs & Merkies, 2001; Green, 1969).

In my search for a better understanding of the way Arubans deal with ‘grand’ and ‘petit’ narratives and the way Arubans really construct and experience life, I spoke to a local barber in the area of San Nicolas by the name of Cedric. Cedric is a short middle aged fellow who, because of his participation in a long history of barbershop conversations, has a unique and unrivalled understanding of the complexities of Aruban society. All the boys and men in the *barrio* come into his shop to get their hair cut, or sometimes just come in for a chat. During a very amicable conversation, Cedric

told me that the only way I could really get to the ‘nitty gritty’ of Aruban society was by going the ‘*mele* calypso’ route. He said that ‘*mele*’ encompasses an array of attitudes and styles that are unique to each island’s culture.

In my experience, when someone is gossiping they might say “he/she ponging *mele*” in the local English lexifier Creole or “e persona ey ta bati bleki” in Papiamentu. In songs like *Mele man* and *My business* I have observed calypsonians such as Dr Hook and Mighty Campo often refer to the culture of ‘*mele*’ in their performances in a realistic yet humoristic way. In the process, they frequently make fun of themselves as victims of verbal slander, while touching on some deep-rooted issues in the process. Furthermore, it has not escaped my notice that even calypsonian Mighty Talent, known throughout the Dutch Kingdom as the ‘King of Kings’, often asserts in his lyrics that “calypso ta redo”, thus equating calypso to gossip and gossip to calypso.

I also understood from Cedric that ‘*mele* calypso’ is sung using double voicing or ‘double entendre’ to provoke the audience by reminding them of some of the ‘petit’ narratives of society. ‘*Mele*’ and calypso are intertwined because when ‘*mele*’ is verbally being transferred back and forth on street corners, in church pews, beauty salons, barbershops and rum shops (corner liquor stores) this often happens in a calypso-esqe performance milieu, which is punctuated and syncopated by high and low pitched tonalities and gasps of “*Oh Yeah!, Aha!, Who Say So!*” and the “*Fo True!*” and accompanied by the ‘neck twirl’, the ‘hand on the hip’ and the ‘roll of the eye’.

Cedric told me that if one does not understand the local ‘*mele*’, one’s understanding of Aruban life remains superficial. He was talking about ethnographers who come to the island to do fieldwork and their inability to really understand what is taking place beyond the socially desirable answers. He said: “Whatever the people want these scientists to hear they will let them hear, but to really ‘hear’ is a different story. *Mele* is the ‘he say she say’ in the barrios or what Marvin Gaye was referring to as the ‘grapevine.’”

As an example of real ‘*mele*’, Cedric mentioned how the elderly look at the death announcements in the newspaper and say “*chups*”, making a sucking or kissing sound with the teeth accompanied by a frown and a puckering of the lips. This *chups* is an indication that the narrative in the death announcement or the eulogy is not entirely correct. The *chups* is an indication that Mr. Barak (fictitious name) did not have 10 children as officially stated in the paper. The *chups* is an indication that Mr. Barak, a well respected airline pilot, had a passion for full figured caramel complexioned ladies, which was the reason for his five so called ‘outside children’. Because of his professional status, the other five children who unequivocally carry Mr. Barak’s nose, eyes and walk don’t make it into the death announcement.

The *chups* is also an indication that Mrs. Zawoski’s (fictitious name) “blissful” marriage of over 40 years wasn’t as blissful as stated in her eulogy. The truth, as

revealed by calypsonian Lord Boxoe, is that Mrs. Zawoski would invite *Gege* (the local Casanova) into her home to keep her company while Mr. Zawoski was laboring amidst the poisonous gasses of the local oil refinery. In this case, Lord Boxoe uses ‘*mele calypso*’ to package the story without naming names and thereby ruffling too many feathers:

*Yuh playing a sagaboy
Yuh wife is home alone
don't you imagine
she would like to pick a bone
when she feeling hip
and she want to take a dip
when you not around
then Gege will go down*

(chorus)

*Gege he is di man,
holding she hand,
got di speed
that every lonely woman need,
Gege he is di man,
holding she hand,
Gege is di man that got di magic in he hand.”*
(Lord Boxoe, 1983)

In this song, Lord Boxoe skillfully deconstructs the ‘grand’ narrative of Aruba as One Happy Island where homes consist of a father, mother and children, where the father works hard to take care of the family and where the mother is chaste, stays at home and takes care of the household and the kids. The artist deconstructs the dominant image of the Aruban woman as religious and sexually conservative, having no sexual desires or experiences outside of marriage. The notion of the faithful, submissive and church going wife is thus challenged. The notion of the Caribbean man as the macho, *sagaboy*, who beds many women and ‘spreads his seed’ at will is also challenged.

Lord Boxoe is sensitive enough not to specifically mention any personal names in this song, for that could cause serious rifts within the local community, which, like so many others in the Caribbean, consists of a sometimes fragile ‘*mélange*’ of diverse bits and pieces, meshed together to form a creolized whole. This cultivated ambiguity is essential, because the artist knows that certain taboo issues are to be mentioned in artfully indirect ways. Lord Boxoe deploys ‘double entendre’ when he sings “*when she feeling hip, and want to take a dip.*” *Dip* in this context does not refer in a literal

way to a swim in the water but instead to a plunge into sexual arousal. Insinuations are done in such a way as to create and maintain a certain level of ambiguity, where the listener keeps on guessing who the legendary Gege might be and who Gege has allegedly been satisfying with his potent magic hands.

To be recognized as a true calypsonian in Aruba, one must be a master of the double voiced art of using ‘petit’ narratives to deconstruct the ‘grand’ narratives of society, in such a way as not to cause unnecessary individual and collective damage within the local community. This ananzi-istic maneuverability of the calypsonian is essential in order to maintain ‘livability’ for all in one of the most densely populated parts of the Dutch Kingdom. The calypsonian knows that everyone on the island is interconnected in one way or another, whether it be via familial ties, friendships or work. The ‘*mele calypso*’ creates a safe space wherein the artist is able to heighten the audience’s critical awareness concerning the petit and grand narratives of their society, without causing undue harm.

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FROM THE CARIBBEAN TO THE PACIFIC: TWO DIFFERENT PEOPLES FACING SIMILAR CHALLENGES

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This paper is a comparison of the strides made today in the teaching and transmitting of the language, history, heritage and culture of two different peoples: Papiamentu (-o, in Aruba) speaking Antilleans and the *Syilx* (pronounced [si.ilh]) of the Okanagan in British Columbia, one of the provinces of western Canada, along the Pacific coast. Both groups have in common early European contact which impacted their lives and both groups strive today to find ways in which to instill pride and self-esteem in their young people. They wish to provide their young people with avenues to learn about their ancestral language and heritage, to revalue their internal perspective, and to relearn and retain their linguistic and cultural awareness. Culture forms invisible bonds between members of any community, because it holds people with the same cultural background together, passing on their values. This propagation of values does not only transmit cultural knowledge and retain relationships among people. It also builds up traditions over the longer term. The loss of culture and language are becoming ever more common and a tragic phenomenon of an ever more globalized world.

The culture of a community gives its people its unique character. While it might relate to dance, music and language, culture also entails more intangible phenomena such as national pride. While many elements of ancestral Antillean and Okanagan culture might no longer be practiced, both peoples presently seek an active re-acquaintance with and revival of their past. Only when a people is permitted to address its own educational needs can it be assured that the diversity of its knowledge and culture will continue on into the future. Communities and individuals have the right to choose the course of their own development and determine their own vision of any developmental process. This process starts with the classroom, which wields the greatest influence on youth who in turn, have the greatest impact on whether language is retained and which traditions are to be preserved. It is said that it is easier to build strong children than to fix broken men.

Papiamentu/o is the creole language of the Antillean peoples of Aruba, Bonaire and Curaçao (the ABC islands) in the Caribbean. Papiamentu became an official language in Aruba in March 2003 and Papiamentu became an official language in Curaçao and Bonaire in March 2007.

Curaçao, the largest of the three islands, became one of the most significant slave depots in the Caribbean in the late 1700s. The three islands have therefore experienced cultural and linguistic influences from their original indigenous inhabitants, their European colonizers, and the tremendous numbers of Africans who were worked and sold on their soil. The ABC islands along with Saba, St Eustatius and St Maarten eventually became the Netherlands Antilles, a political unit which was dissolved in 2010.

With the movements for independence on the islands in the 1960s came a resurgence of culture as a means to distance Antilleans from the dominant European language and culture imposed by the Dutch. Once considered wrong, evil or grotesquely vulgar, many African and Indigenous traditions, dances, folklore, stories, customs and beliefs were once more celebrated as positive aspects of Antillean culture. After much debate, Papiamentu gained the status of an official language. And yet, it is not accepted by every community on the islands. It is not the language of instruction in most secondary schools and official government documents are still written in Dutch. In many instances, the language of the colonizer is still chosen as the 'proper' way to speak, while Papiamentu is usually used to facilitate communication in informal settings. While interviewing two women in Bonaire, they expressed their fear that Papiamentu will once again lose its hard-won status there, as Bonaire became a municipality of the European Netherlands in 2010, while Curaçao became an independent island within the Kingdom of the Netherlands, a status that had already been achieved by Aruba in 1986.

When their forebears were transported from Africa to a life in the Caribbean on the ABC islands, the people did not forget rituals that continued to be passed on from generation to generation. Even though the colonial authorities often prohibited them from practicing these cultural traditions, Antilleans managed to find ways to do so. Many creatures depend on camouflage as a basic survival strategy. The people did likewise, exploring the science and the art of hiding in plain sight, hiding one's desires and hopes was one way to adapt and conceal one's inner self. Aart Broek et al. wrote about this phenomenon in their work titled, *Pa saka kara* (1998) which means to come out from hiding one's face and to publicly show it, casting off this debilitating fear and refusing to be hidden. At present, the public use of Papiamentu is foregrounded in this type of cultural awareness and revival.

In Aruba, many traditional dances, songs and games are emerging from oblivion and are once again being performed. For example the *dandé* 'call and response' song and dance is once again being celebrated around New Year and the game of *deragay* [bury the rooster], where a blindfolded person tries to find a buried rooster, is once again being played. In the Aruba Archeological Museum there are Indigenous artifacts

dating back to the Pre-Ceramic period of 2500 BC on display to remind people of the island's rich indigenous heritage.

Many of the old traditions in Curaçao which were almost lost, such as planting small gardens for produce, are now being restored through educational programs to get people back to the land. In small multi-media classes, Curaçaoans are being taught how to plant organically, economically and pesticide free. The Humming Bird Facilities make pamphlets and hold markets where they display homegrown produce. Some of the old food traditions are also making a comeback on menus of various restaurants where one can once again eat *karkó*, *sòpi di kadushi*, *iguana*, *kuminda krioyo*, and *yambo* to name but a few. A favorite spot for such foods is at Janchi's in Curaçao. The *Prins Bernhard Cultuurfonds* has supported more such projects for youth than I have space here to record. One effort directed at reforging links between the youth and traditional culture is *Fundashon Nelson Tremus* where Mr. Nelson Tremus gives hands-on guidance as the group creates sailboats.

Then there is the *tambú* dance (m.youtube.com/watch?v=VnfM8WYtOQ), once banned by the church for being lewd and indecent, that has seen a major resurgence on the island. It is now deemed to be the national cultural dance of Curaçao. The beat of the *tambú* drum is accompanied by the shrill tones of the *chapi* (the flat blade of a hoe). The lyrics of *tambú* songs most often reflect what is happening politically in the community and on the islands. In Bonaire there are the harvest or *seu* songs that have seen a revival. Ronnie Mercera and her group sell CDs that represent this type of newly popularized traditional music.

77

Many were the hours that the late Elis Juliana spent at radio stations so that children could listen to “*Oompi Elis*” as he told customary stories. Juliana was involved in collecting and preserving folklore, stories, and musical instruments from the senior citizens of the day. In honour of his literary work in Papiamentu, there is now a yearly contest for prospective poetry writers where they can try their hand at creative writing in Papiamentu. Another successful effort is the *Arte di Palabra* contest that sees young people compete for prizes with their writing projects.

On Bonaire the Jong Bonaire after school program encourages the island's young people to use the wisdom of their ancestors to think about the future and to start building a path toward it. The center works to build self-confidence, self-esteem and self-discipline. It provides an environment where young people can discover themselves and their world with the guidance of trained youth workers. There is a calendar put out every year by this group that incorporates traditional proverbs into its design and now some of the old proverbs are being used once again.

Just as in the Caribbean, many First Nation Peoples in North America also were prohibited from expressing their cultures and traditions publicly. Under treaties written

and enforced by the Europeans, first the British colonial government and then the Canadian government took the lands of many First Nation peoples ‘in trust’, and forced them onto reservations. The First Nation Peoples had to obey foreign laws and their children were forced to go to ‘residential schools’ that were often far away from where their parents lived, where they were forced to practice a European religion, and to speak a foreign language. They were punished when they practiced their own customs and when they spoke their own language.

Unlike most First Nation peoples, the *Syilx*/Okanagan People never signed any treaties, either with the province or with Canada. The majority of treaties were signed prior to the inclusion of British Columbia as part of Canada, which makes Okanagan land and title rights very complicated. The *Syilx* never surrendered or sold their land. Nevertheless, the Okanagan people are still victims of the colonization process. There was no regard or inclusion of the Okanagan people in important decisions about their land.

In an interview (and later in many email conversations) with Jordan Coble, the Curator and Heritage Researcher at the Westbank First Nation Heritage office and Repository, he explained:

“The name *syilx* refers to how we are intertwined with the land, water and other resources around us. I refer to myself as *sqilx*, which is the general term for First Nations/Aboriginal/Indigenous people. The reason I refer to myself as *sqilx* as opposed to *syilx* is because my elders taught me that we are no longer as connected to the land as we once were. There are four different stages of existence according to our traditional stories and we are in the third, nearing the fourth stage of existence which is a result of colonization, assimilation and the appropriation of western methodologies, so therefore many of us, myself included, are losing our connection coinciding and ultimately related to the language.

Another name we are more commonly referred to as is Okanagan, in our language *suk’naq’in*, which refers to those who carry a message to the top of the lake. In the past there were certain members of the community who were *suk’naq’in*. Their job was to carry messages to the top of the lake to pass on to other *suk’naq’in* who would carry that message to a neighbouring community or where a *suk’naq’in* would carry the message to *nkmeplqs* (Vernon – Head/top of the Lake) where our high Chief lived. The reason we are referred to as Okanagan is because when the settlers came into our territory, the first person they came across was a *suk’naq’in*. The settlers asked the person what he was instead of who he was, so the person answered back, I am *suk’naq’in*. The settlers believed that all the First Nations People of this area were *suk’naq’in* or Okanagan. The Westbank First Nation is one of eight *syilx* communities. They have a long, rich history on this land.”

Westbank First Nation and the whole Okanagan territory are really focused on the use of their language in education, starting with elementary school and continuing well into the university level. Each level comes with different programming and ways of ensuring that the language continues to be spoken. Many First Nation languages are currently endangered; and the *syilx* language is no exception. Many of the fluent speakers are in their elder years, which mean that fluency levels could very well be diminished in the next generation or two. Thankfully there has been a recent push to ensure that more young people become fluent in the language. Many of the communities have local schools that teach *nsyilxcen* (our language) and some focus on fluency while others adapt the language into their curriculum as any other course, so although they are not focused on fluency they still ensure the language is being taught. Also, the school district is now allowing students to take *nsyilxcen* in some public schools. Again, it's not focused on fluency but it is a great alternative to learning languages that are not local to the community. Beyond the school system, the community is really focused on programming that fosters a total physical response technique utilizing videos along with after school programs that include parents and children learning together. The videos are usually geared toward the younger audiences and utilize traditional stories using puppets to not only teach the language itself, but also its relevance to animals, places, and names. They have also created CDs that accompany a small workbook that is also geared toward children and translates common songs like Itsy "Bitsy Spider" but using instead the Okanagan language.

In 1915, Chief Baptiste George started the first school on the Osoyoos Reserve, creating a strong foundation for the education of the children. He believed that a European education would give Osoyoos children the skills they would need to succeed in the future, but he did not want to send them away to residential schools like they had to in the past. Generations of the *syilx* children have benefitted from this vision and have been educated right where they live in reserve schools. This tradition continues today in several Indian Band schools. These are not the infamous residential schools.

In times past, each generation passed along knowledge of the land and technologies for harvesting the rich and diverse resources on the land. They traded with their First Nation neighbours and developed a unique culture that sustained their societies for thousands of years. Their elders told *chaptik* stories, which were an important source of community knowledge and values.

Teacher Anthony Walsh arrived at the Okanagan Reserve in 1932 to teach at the *Inkameep* Day School. Walsh understood and respected *Syilx* culture and encouraged his students to explore their heritage. Living in a time of rapid change on the reserve, Anthony Walsh encouraged his Day School students to interpret and integrate into both the traditional Okanagan culture of their elders and the increasingly dominant

European culture. This philosophy was in direct contrast to the approach taken in residential schools where anything that smacked of Native culture was suppressed. During his years as a teacher, his students blossomed, creating works of art and performing old Okanagan songs, legends and stories. At one performance he wrote:

“The thing that impressed me the most were not the sincerity of the young actors in full costume and masks, the haunting melodies of the songs, the graceful movements of the dancers...but a new light that appeared in the eyes of the parents and the old people; a light that signified their renewed sense of pride in their cultural heritage. For they had witnessed something that brought back memories of distant days, when they had held their heads high and were ashamed of no one” (Penticton Museum, BC, Canada, 2013).

From the 1890s to the 1970s, children from the Osoyoos Indian Reserve had to attend residential schools. This was not an isolated occurrence as First Nation children across Canada were shipped far away from their communities, their parents and relatives to attend classes in these schools. Many are the deep, long-lasting traumatic wounds this caused former students who were punished for using their languages and practicing their cultures.

Residential schools were set up by the Federal government and run mostly by Anglican and Catholic churches. Native language and culture were suppressed in an effort to assimilate the children into Canadian society. Anthony DePalma (*The New York Times*, January 08, 1998) writes:

“For the first time, the Canadian Government has formally apologized to its 1.3 million indigenous people for 150 years of what Indian groups have charged were paternalistic assistance programs and racist schools that devastated their communities as thoroughly as any war or disease. Along with the formal apology, the Government promised today to establish a \$245 million “healing fund” for the thousands of Indians who were taken from their homes and forced to attend residential schools, where they were sometimes physically and sexually abused.”

In an effort to guide the students into a discovery of self, heritage and culture, the *Inkameep* Day School students, aged six to sixteen began depicting their everyday lives on the reserve and expressing their evolving sense of identity through art. Their world was a complex mixture of their rich Okanagan heritage and North American popular culture. For the Day School students, drawing was only one avenue of expressing their changing world. The Okanagan tradition is represented today through legend and song as talented Osoyoos children tour communities, performing songs based on traditional Okanagan legends and culture. A strong tradition continues today as Okanagan people are working to keep their language and culture alive through establishing cultural centres and archives. They are preserving their traditional food resources, re-establishing spiritual practices and strengthening political organizations.

They celebrate indigenous music and dance as well as socializing and competing with other First Nations during *pow wows* and other gatherings in an effort that a strong tradition continues among them. Today, on the reserve, Day School students express the duality of their world through their art. They may live on one reserve, yet they take part in two traditions. They express the duality of their world. Frequently they sign their work with both their Okanagan and European names. In their art they are able to interpret both Okanagan and Christian traditions through Okanagan eyes.

School is the best place to receive lessons and practice language but after children move on to public education or graduate there are not that many resources to access. More evening programs are being put into place that focus on bringing the whole family together to learn as well as programming specifically for particular age groups to foster things like self-awareness for youth and a reconnection for adults or elders who were disconnected from the land, community or language for whatever reason. Of course in today's day and age, it is becoming more difficult to establish consistent participation but that does not mean either of these peoples will stop trying.

Slavery, expropriation and assimilation/colonization have had a lasting effect on the peoples involved and these effects continue to play a devastating role in the development of their societies. I believe that a major concern is that, in general, people do not acknowledge that things which happened generations ago can have a lasting effect. Much of the damage that took place during colonization has never been addressed or acknowledged appropriately, and even where it has been acknowledged it does not always lead to healing or a means of working together as equals. There is definitely still damage remnant from the colonization that took place in the Caribbean and in North America, and I don't believe that the healing process that is required can be limited to Antilleans or to First Nations peoples; I truly believe that healing requires the participation of all parties in the process.

Another lingering effect of colonization is substance abuse. Many people have become victims of alcohol or drug abuse and this cycle persists today among both the First Nations as well as the Antilleans. These are difficult issues to address because there has been a reluctance for people to share because of the trauma that was experienced and from not knowing how to move forward in a positive way. The best thing that a community can do is to start a support group for survivors of substance abuse and descendants of survivors so that they can all feel more comfortable in sharing their stories and find ways to empower these survivors to be more confident, and to know they are supported by their communities .A good way to do this is to center these programs in culture and in traditional practices since this two-fold approach provides for hands-on activities for people to work together. In some cases this has shaped new artists as people have found a passion for what they inherited but were not able to access. Many survivors felt ashamed of their languages, their cultures, and themselves

in the past. By showing them that their culture is still alive, that young people are actively trying to revive the language and to relearn the history of their people is one step toward finding healing.

In an article in the *Kelowna Globe and Mail*, Allan Maki (May 31, 2013) wrote “when the Oilers (a National Hockey League) lost their fifth game in a row, this loss inflicted pain and suffering and hurt them to their very soul. Not making the playoffs caused great emotional and psychological upheaval in the lives of the players.” If missing the playoff can cause a person this kind of inner turmoil and disenchantment, can you imagine the trauma experienced by slaves who were removed from their homeland, denied speaking their own languages and forbidden to celebrate their native customs? And what about the First Nation People who were moved by the government from their fertile fields and forests to live on reservations, far away from their burial grounds and on land that was often void of vegetation. The mission statement of the Westbank First Nation repository could well fit the desires of both the Antillean and the *Syilx* as they regain belief in the power of their own voice to inspire, educate and transform their people. They form a united front in their dedication to collecting, preserving, restoring and interpreting their own art and artifacts that reflect the heritage and national history of their ancestors. Indeed, two different peoples facing similar challenges are finding ways to survive and thrive despite a dominant system that has threatened the very survival of their languages, cultures, and communities.

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DE SOCIALE ECONOMIE: EEN BEKNOPT OVERZICHT

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Inleiding

Sociale economie is economie in beide betekenissen van het woord, dus bedoeld als economische activiteit en als economische wetenschap. In de eerstgenoemde betekenis omvat het onder meer die sector van de economie die een brug probeert te slaan tussen de economische bedrijvigheid (productie en verkoop van goederen en diensten) en het maatschappelijk verantwoord ondernemen. Tewerkstelling en democratische besluitvorming krijgen daarom in de sociale economie voorrang op de vergoeding van aandeelhouders. Tot dusver een invalshoek van de sociale economie die sectoraal is. Bij verdieping van het thema blijkt echter dat er tevens een thematisch perspectief bestaat. Zo biedt de Universiteit van Maastricht bijvoorbeeld een Master programma aan in de 'Internationale Economie', met als afstudeerrichting 'Sociale Economie'. In de betreffende leergang komen onderwerpen aan de orde zoals: economie van het sociale gedrag, ongelijkheid, kennis en onderwijs, beleid voor integratie van de arbeidsmarkt, verouderen, arbeidsmobiliteit, sociale ontbering en tot slot gezondheid en milieu. De sociale economie blijkt zodoende een dual en breed begrip te beslaan. Verder valt af te leiden dat de sociale economie, voor wat de westerse wereld¹ betreft althans, in Engeland ontstaan is aan het eind van de negentiende eeuw². Maar spoedig werd het begrip overgenomen door de Fransen. Tegenwoordig is de term sociale economie een bekend begrip geworden in alle Engels-, Frans- en Spaanssprekende delen van de wereld. Niet zo in Nederland, waar na de tweede wereldoorlog met de opkomst van de theorie en praktijk van de welvaartsstaat, ervoor gekozen is om de onderwerpen waarmee de sociale economie zich bezighoudt, te benaderen vanuit andere disciplines. Het feit dat tegenwoordig meer dan tweeëndertigduizend boeken op het Internet gevonden kunnen worden onder de titel 'social economy', 'social

¹ In China slaat het woord sociale economie meer op de bestrijding van het grootgrondbezit door een politiek van herverdeling van grond.

² Mogelijkerwijs bestond de 'Politieke Economie' al vierhonderd jaar eerder als mercantilisme: 1500-1750.

market economy’, en ‘social structures of the economy’, geeft een indicatie van de grote belangstelling die voor dit onderwerp, op wereldniveau, bestaat.

In onderhavige uiteenzetting komen onderwerpen aan de orde die, samengenomen, een schets tekenen van de rol en betekenis van de sociale economie als activiteit en als wetenschap. Betreffende onderwerpen zijn achtereenvolgens: het ontstaan van de sociale economie in het kort, filosofisch uitgangspunt van de sociale economie, definitie, doelstellingen, plaatsing, organisatietypen, werkterreinen van de sociale economie, methode van aanpak, het belang van de sociale economie, de gevaarlijke kant, de nieuwe sociale economie, internationale discussies en zienswijzen en tot slot enkele aanverwante begrippen.

Ontstaan in het kort

De sociale economie bestaat feitelijk sinds het einde van de 18de eeuw toen de moderne maatschappij ontstond en men, in religieuze en burgerlijke kringen, zich ging bemoeien met zaken als overlijdensrisico en ziekengelduitkeringen. Als specialisatie is de sociale economie ontstaan uit de arbeidersbeweging in Engeland, bakermat van de moderne economische wetenschap, aan het eind van de 19de eeuw. Er zijn daarna coöperaties opgericht in de land- en tuinbouwsector, vooral om de productie gezamenlijk af te zetten via een distributieapparaat. Al spoedig sloegen de concepten van de sociale economie over naar het Europese vasteland, in het bijzonder naar Frankrijk: al in 1892 schreef Yves Guyot één van de eerste boeken over dit onderwerp, dat in het Engels vertaald *Principles of social economy* heet. Dit boek heeft de status van een klassieker verworven en is nog altijd verkrijgbaar. Guyot begint zijn oeuvre met het bespreken van het karakter, de doelstellingen en de methodes van de economische wetenschap. Vervolgens besteedt hij veel tijd aan het begrip ‘waarde’ en bespreekt hij genoemd thema vanuit een monetaire en humane invalshoek. In een apart hoofdstuk besteedt de auteur aandacht aan de thema’s landeigendom, handel, banken en publieke organisaties & associaties. In het geval van de eerste twee onderwerpen merkt Guyot onder andere op dat een restrictieve verdeling ervan de economische ontwikkeling van de massa belemmert. In organisaties en associaties ziet de schrijver een ontwikkeling in de richting van het uitwisselen van goederen, en hij voorziet dat de onderhandelingen tussen de verschillende ‘sociale partners’ zullen resulteren in een toename van de vrijheid en de bescherming van het individu. Dit laatste contrasteert sterk met primitievere samenlevingen, waar de slimste en/of de sterkste, te eigen bate, zijn wil oplegt aan de rest. Tot slot schenkt Guyot aandacht aan de rol van de staat in het economische verkeer, terwijl hij in zijn eindconclusie een progressieve, gelijkwaardige en vreedzame maatschappij voorstaat die zichzelf constant verbetert door noeste arbeid, sparen en het continu toepassen van uitvindingen. In deze nieuwe maatschappij acht

de auteur persoonlijke verdiensten die getest worden door vrije concurrentie erg belangrijk. Militaire uitgaven vindt hij echter verspilling van de welvaart.

Het voorgaande beoogt slechts een korte schets te geven van de onderwerpen op het terrein van de sociale economie die deze auteur al meer dan honderd jaar geleden bezighielden.

Filosofisch uitgangspunt

De sociale economie kijkt vooral naar de duurzame effecten van investeringen in onder meer het onderwijs, de gezondheidszorg, de juridische systemen en de sociale zekerheid ten gunste van de sociale stabiliteit. Dit in tegenstelling tot de neoklassieke economie die, hoewel bekend met alle voorgaande factoren, ze niettemin beschouwt als externe factoren voor de productiekosten, de arbeidsmarkt en de economische groei. Het voorgaande betekent dat het verschil tussen de sociale economie en de neoklassieke economie er meer één is van inzicht en aanpak dan van inhoud. Feitelijk kan gesteld worden dat het debat gaat over de ethische vraag of het sociale ondergeschikt moet zijn aan het economische (liberalen en neoklassieken), of dat de economie ten dienste moet staan van sociale doeleinden (sociaaleconomen).

Definities

Het feit dat de sociale economie (minimaal) vanuit twee invalshoeken te benaderen valt, maakt een simpele definitie niet eenvoudig. In het boek *Social economy: international debates and perspectives* van Eric Shragge en Jean-Marc Fontan treffen we de volgende criteria – vanuit vier verschillende invalshoeken – die gangbaar zijn bij het opstellen van definities betreffende de sociale economie:

1. Organisatorische criteria die de voornaamste eigenschappen van de structuren van sociale coöperatieven definiëren.
2. De logica, activiteiten en reguleringen van de betrokkenen bij de sociale economie.
3. Concepten betreffende burgerschap, solidariteit en autonomie.
4. Praktijken waarbij de maximalisering van winsten bezwijkt voor democratische besluitvormingsprocessen.

Het Europees Economisch en Sociaal Comité definieert op zijn beurt de rol van de sociale economie als volgt: “Daar waar de markt en de staat tekortschieten, of onvoldoende doeltreffend optreden, treedt de sociale economie in werking om te voorzien in de behoeften van haar leden en de consumenten.”

Specifieker kunnen we stellen dat de sociale economie een discussie aanwakkert om mensen als subject en niet als object te behandelen. Het welzijn en de maximale ontplooiing van de mens binnen een harmonieuze samenleving dienen voorop te staan, en niet het winstmotief.

In het verlengde van het voorgaande bestudeert de sociale economie in hoge mate alle mechanismen die de specialisatie van de arbeid en de verdeling van het nationale inkomen veroorzaken, plus hun sociaaleconomische gevolgen.

Doelstellingen

Fontan en Shragge (2000) melden in hun boek *Social economy: international debates and perspectives* dat binnen de sociale economie twee stromingen bestaan. De dominante reformistische stroming die beperkte progressieve veranderingen nastreeft binnen bestaande economische ordes; en de meer utopische stroming die een nieuwe maatschappij wenst te creëren uit nieuwe praktijken binnen de sociale stelsels, die tegengesteld zijn aan de gewenste nieuwe maatschappij. De reformisten streven naar meer integratie, in het bijzonder van hen die uitgesloten zijn van de arbeidsmarkten, en willen bredere sociale relaties als gevolg van de hervorming van vele economische ordes en het terugdringen van nationale sociale programma's. Ter onderbouwing van betreffende doelstellingen halen Fontan en Shragge aan dat veranderingen in vele economieën en overheidsstrategieën ertoe hebben geleid dat:

1. Productiemiddelen en diensten geprivatiseerd zijn,
2. Rijkdom en armoede steeds meer met elkaar polariseren,
3. De maatschappelijke sector meer verantwoordelijkheid kan dragen.

Bovengenoemde veranderingen hebben de welvaartstaat in een crisis gebracht die om nieuwe sociale hervormingsstrategieën vraagt.

De twee eerdergenoemde auteurs gaan verder niet in op de doelstelling van de utopische stroming, daar zij dit streven niet haalbaar achten binnen de huidige westerse economieën.

In het bijzonder valt op te merken dat de sociale economie een humanere wereld voorstelt met een betere verdeling van, c.q. een grotere toegankelijkheid tot, de economische rijkdom voor hen die ervan uitgesloten zijn. Organisaties die werkzaam zijn op het terrein van de sociale economie gaan voor andere doelen dan het louter maken van winst. Specifieke doelstellingen kunnen daarom op de volgende terreinen liggen: liefdadigheid aan hen die in nood verkeren, ondersteuning van de leden, of dienstverlening aan specifieke doelgroepen.

Plaatsbepaling

De sociale economie als sector bevindt zich in de regel tussen de private en de publieke sector in. Deze ruimte wordt vaak aangeduid als 'de derde economische sector'. Ter verduidelijking zij opgemerkt dat de sociale economie niet verward mag worden met bestaande economische stelsels, dus ook niet met het communisme of socialisme. Integendeel, zij bekritiseert beide stelsels, evenals het kapitalisme, vanwege het feit dat alle drie gefaald hebben om zaken als samenwerking, participatie,

betekenisvol werk en meer menselijke betrokkenheid in het arbeidsproces voorop te stellen.

Organisatietypen

Sociale organisaties kunnen doorgaans in drie categorieën worden ondergebracht, te weten publieke organisaties zonder winstoogmerk (public sector non-profit); de marktgeoriënteerde, not-for profit sociale organisaties; en civiele verenigingen. Laatstgenoemde organisaties betreffen de Non Governmental Organizations (NGO's). In het Nederlandse systeem betreft de juridische vorm van de hiervoor genoemde sociale organisaties in de regel stichtingen, coöperaties en verenigingen.

Werkterreinen

Terreinen waarop de sociale economie zich begeeft zijn voornamelijk: arbeidsverdeling en verhoudingen, arbeidsproductiviteit, arbeidsmobiliteit, arbeidsmarktintegratie, inkomensongelijkheid, gezondheidszorg, kinderopvang, milieu, vergrijzing, kennis en onderwijs, human development, sociale zekerheid, sociale ontbering, sociale achterstand, sociale uitsluiting en criminaliteit.

Pragmatische modellen

Elke werkdiscipline doet er goed aan te beschikken over praktische modellen van waaruit kan worden gedacht en gehandeld. In de sociale economie is bijvoorbeeld het zogenaamde LETS-systeem bekend. De afkorting LETS is een acroniem voor de Engelse woorden "Local Exchange Trading Systems". Dit zijn lokale privé, not-for-profit uitwisselingsnetwerken waarin goederen en diensten verhandelbaar zijn zonder gebruikmaking van giraal of chartaal geld. Als voorbeeld kan dienen dat een lid punten verdient door voor het kind van een ander te zorgen en deze later weer gebruikt om timmerwerk gedaan te krijgen bij een andere persoon in hetzelfde netwerk. Verder kent men in Canada het zogenaamde Quebec-model dat een vorm van sociale economie mogelijk maakt in een samenwerkingsverband tussen de overheid en coöperaties in voornamelijk sectoren van financiën, landbouw en natuurlijke hulpbronnen. Dit is echter vooral mogelijk gebleken in het Franstalige Quebec, dankzij het bestaan van een zwakke kapitalistische structuur en een sociaal klimaat dat het bereiken van consensus en overeenkomsten aanmoedigde.

Methode van aanpak

De geraadpleegde literatuur vermeldt dat in de sociale economie zaken als het democratische proces, en de ruimte voor experimenteren en participeren in een eveneens democratische omgeving centraal staan. Verder blijkt dat de discussie over het individu dat centraal dient te staan in de optiek van de sociale economie zeer belangrijk is. Het uitgangspunt moet zijn om de werknemer niet louter als object te

zien, als uitsluitend een (wegwerp-) productiefactor. Men dient juist het welzijn van de mens de hoogste prioriteit te geven in elke wetenschappelijke en praktische analyse en/of verhandeling. Met andere woorden, de economische ontwikkeling zal ten dienste moeten staan van de mens en niet andersom. Uit het voorgaande volgt dat zaken zoals zingeving, en verder alles wat bijdraagt tot een harmonieuzere maatschappij, met een hogere kwaliteit van het leven van de burgers, de drijfveren moeten vormen van een inductief proces dat, bottom-up, de wensen en behoeften van de mensen vertaalt in economische activiteit. Vervolgens zal een nationaal ontwikkelingsplan, met een afgestemde visie en beleid, zich topdown, op de volle ontwikkeling van het potentieel van de burgers met een eerlijk beloningstelsel voor hun inspanningen en bijdragen moeten richten.

Belangrijkheid

De sociale sector verschaft werk aan een aanzienlijke groep mensen, produceert en verhandelt goederen en diensten in grote hoeveelheden, terwijl sommige sociale organisaties waardevolle bezittingen beheren. Kortom, de activiteiten van deze sector bezitten veel economische waarde en zijn van sociaal belang.

Uitdaging

Bij het uitblijven van adequate controle- en verantwoordingsmechanismen kunnen sociale organisaties meer profijt gaan opleveren voor hun eigen leiding en werknemers, terwijl zij hun legitieme doelgroepen onvoldoende of helemaal niet (meer) bedienen. Dit kan vooral voorkomen bij overheidsorganisaties en bij stichtingen die sterk afhankelijk zijn van overheidssubsidies waarover weinig controle bestaat met betrekking tot hun effectiviteit en efficiency. Dit laatste staat in de economie van organisaties, c.q. de institutionele economie en de sociale economie, bekend als het zogenaamde “agency problem”.

De nieuwe sociale economie

Andrew Sayer en Richard Walker stellen in hun boek *The new social economy* dat het thema ‘arbeidsverdeling’ een van de meest verwaarloosde onderwerpen is in de politieke economie en de sociale wetenschappen. Het betreft het verschijnsel ‘specialisatie van het werk’ dat aanwezig is in alle menselijke samenlevingen, van de meest primitieve tot de meest ontwikkelde. Bovendien blijkt volgens de twee auteurs, dat de verdeling van het werk een bepalende factor is voor de sociale ontwikkelingen en machtsverhoudingen in een land. Het voorgaande houdt in dat Sayer en Walker sociale ontwikkelingen zien als een afhankelijke variabele van de economische activiteit. Dit brengt ons op een kernpunt, daar sociale ontwikkelingen gestuurd kunnen worden vanuit de economische structuur, processen en cultuur van een land. Dit betekent verder dat de overheid, door bewuste beleidskeuzes te maken –

weliswaar in samenwerking met het particuliere bedrijfsleven en de vakbonden – de sociale ontwikkelingen kan stimuleren of afremmen. Dit laatste is bovendien mogelijk in alle economische stelsels, dus ook in het kapitalisme, waar de laatste tijd vanuit bedrijfsopleidingsinstituten en beleidsstudies de vraag naar meer samenwerking, minder gefragmenteerd werk, en meer menselijke betrokkenheid in arbeidsprocessen steeds meer relevantie krijgt.

Van Noord tot Zuid

De sociale economie is van belang voor zowel het meer ontwikkelde noordelijk halfrond als voor het minder ontwikkelde zuidelijk halfrond. In het Noorden spelen de volgende twee punten een belangrijke rol:

1. Afzwakken van de welvaartsstaat en de opkomst en reacties van sociale bewegingen die de condities in het leven hebben geroepen voor een nieuwe ‘op solidariteit georiënteerde maatschappij’.
2. De hierboven genoemde wijzigingen die geleid hebben tot de herstructurering van de economische en sociale verhoudingen.

In het Zuiden hebben drie praktijken bijgedragen tot een equivalente vorm van de sociale economie, te weten:

1. Microprojecten
2. Bescherming c.q. verdediging van sociale rechten
3. Maatregelen om geïntegreerde sociaal-economische ontwikkelingen te bevorderen.

Tot slot blijkt dat globalisering beide regionen beïnvloedt, zodat het een vereiste is geworden om sociale verandering te laten plaatsvinden binnen een context van internationale solidariteit en samenwerking.

Binnen de Rijnlanden

In het Nederlands is de literatuur over de sociale economie zeer schaars geworden. Dit komt doordat de Nederlandse aanpak anders blijkt te zijn dan in de landen die het Angelsaksische model hanteren. De z.g. Rijnlanden, waartoe Duitsland, Frankrijk, Italië en de Benelux gerekend worden, inclusief de gebieden en landen overzee die een staatkundige band met het moederland behouden, hebben ervoor gekozen om hun sociaaleconomische kwesties wetmatig te regelen binnen een institutioneel kader. We kunnen daarom stellen dat in betreffende landen – en daarom ook in Aruba – de sociale economie werkzaam is via de institutionele economie.

Aanverwante concepten

Uit de geraadpleegde literatuur blijkt dat de sociale economie verwant is aan begrippen als: politieke economie, economische sociologie, (praktische) beleidseconomie, de derde sector, institutionele economie, regionale economie, ontwikkelings-

economie, welvaartseconomie en solidariteitseconomie. Het valt op dat de verschillende concepten op zichzelf, onderling en ten opzichte van de term sociale economie, een opmerkelijke vaagheid in hun aanduiding vertonen.

Slot

Aruba zal een keuze moeten maken tussen twee grondhoudingen: zich evenals Nederland formeel afzijdig houden van de ontwikkelingen op het terrein van de sociale economie, of zich aansluiten bij de internationale en regionale denk- en handelingswijze over genoemd onderwerp. Op deze manier kan bepaald worden in hoeverre de sociale economie, of een deel ervan, nuttig kan blijken voor de sociaaleconomische ontwikkeling. In het geval Aruba ervoor kiest om het Nederlandse model te blijven volgen, zal het er goed aan doen om zijn institutionele economie serieus te bestuderen en deze te ondersteunen met een beleid dat op een duurzame basis berust. Hiervoor zullen de pijlers, grenzen en stuurmechanismen van genoemd model grondig geëvalueerd moeten worden. Dat ook hier concepten uit de sociale economie hun nut kunnen bewijzen, moge thans duidelijk zijn.

De sociale economie is een belangrijk thema. Het Hoofd van de Afdeling voor Economie van de Universiteit van Harvard, prof. dr. Amartya Sen (Nobelprijswinnaar voor de economie in 1998), heeft veel onderzoek verricht op dit gebied, met name voor wat betreft de toenemende globalisering en de ontwikkelingseconomie. Een internet-search op naam van Amartya Sen leidt tot diverse websites met waardevolle informatie over zijn werk en leven.

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**TRANSGRESSING BOUNDARIES
IN LANGUAGE PLANNING AND POLICY**

TOWARDS A LANGUAGE DATABASE OF PAPIAMENTU

RONALD SEVERING, UNIVERSITY OF CURAÇAO; INSTITUTE FOR LANGUAGE PLANNING

KATRIEN DEPUYDT, INSTITUTE FOR DUTCH LEXICOLOGY IN LEIDEN (INL)

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Papiamentu on the ABC islands

Toward the end of the last century, Papiamentu was introduced as a subject in schools and thereafter gained the status of official language on the so-called ABC islands: Aruba, Bonaire and Curaçao. As a result, this Creole language is currently undergoing a process of revitalization. Its codification, however, is an ongoing process. Numerous texts, both religious and secular, including much didactic material, had been produced in Papiamentu since the 19th century. But each writer of that early period followed his or her own spelling conventions, usually falling into either the Spanish or the Dutch-oriented camp. The same applied to the vocabulary used. Some would lean heavily towards Spanish loan words while others preferred words of Dutch origin (Van Putte, 1999; Fouse, 2002).

Codification of Papiamentu

The first known efforts toward codification were those made by Catholic missionaries in the 19th century, in the form of Dutch-Papiamentu dictionaries and grammars (Frederiks & Putman, 1859; Sintiago, 1898). In the 20th century, toward the early 1970s, a commission started working on an official spelling system for the language, resulting in the adoption of the so-called Römer-Maduro-Jonis spelling in 1976 by the Island Councils of Bonaire and Curaçao. In Aruba, a different Papiamentu spelling was adopted in 1977. It should be mentioned that the orthographic rules of Curaçao and Bonaire on the one hand and those of the Aruban spelling system on the other differ in their points of departure. The revised Papiamentu spelling of Bonaire and Curaçao uses diacritics for non-Spanish sounding vowels, as in “*ròm*” and “*pèn*”. This has the effect of highlighting Papiamentu’s differences from Spanish. Another striking feature is the use of the letters “k” and “s” instead of the “c” as in: “*kara*” and “*kansansio*” (Spanish: *cara*, *cansancio*). Aruba opted for its own spelling, which combines etymological principles and phonological rules. So, when we talk about Papiamentu, we are referring to one language with three main regional variants and two official spellings. Papiamentu has been an official language in Aruba since 2003,

and in Curaçao and Bonaire it obtained official status in 2007 (Tromp-Wouters et al., 2009; Jonis & Severing, 2009).

KSP (Commission for Standardization of Papiamentu)

In 1984, the *Komishon Standarisashon di Papiamentu*, a commission with participants from all three islands, was instituted with the aim of both standardizing the existing vocabulary and creating additional terminology where necessary. During roughly the same period, three widely circulated bilingual dictionaries, one English-Papiamentu, Papiamentu-English (Ratzlaff, 1992) and two Dutch-Papiamentu, Papiamentu-Dutch (Joubert 1991; Van Putte, 2005), came onto the market on Curaçao. Aruba has at least two such volumes as well (Dijkhoff & Vos-de Jesus, 1991; Mansur, 1996). Also, electronic spell checkers were issued for WordPerfect and for Microsoft Office. Nevertheless, at the turn of the present century, after approving a total of approximately 6,000 officially standardized words by the KSP (1985; 1988; 1990), lexical work on the codification of Papiamentu gradually came to a standstill.

Buki di Oro (Papiamentu word list)

Codification was resumed in 2009 under the supervision of the Fundashon pa Planifikashon di Idioma or FPI, the National Institute for Language Planning in Curaçao, with the preparation and publication of the *Buki di Oro* (the Golden Book). This official word list, which was approved by the Parliament of Curaçao, contains the prescribed spelling of over 18,000 words. This list is also available on the FPI website, (www.fpi.cw) as a PDF file. A spell checker based on this list, which can be used with Open Office and other open-source programs, can be downloaded from the same site. But 18,000 entries are still not enough to cater to the needs of all Papiamentu language users. For instance, a lot of the basic terminology used in primary and secondary schools is lacking; in some instances the term is simply non-existent, while in other cases it is just the opposite: multiple variants or synonyms are used, sometimes borrowed from different languages (Severing, 1999; Severing & Weijer, 2008).

Papiamentu in a database for teaching

In 2013 the FPI was approached by the teacher-training department of the University of Curaçao (LOFO: Lerarenopleiding Funderend Onderwijs) to work on a project to provide standardized vocabularies to be used by their students and subsequently in local primary schools. Considering the nature of the task it was decided to provide these vocabularies as online content instead of as printed matter, thus allowing them to be updated on a continuous basis. With the assistance of open-source expert group,

Suares&Co., a cloud-based database was set up on a remote server.¹ The database has a public interface for the time being for students, allowing (1) thematic or (2) open searches to gather information for their classes. Next, the intention is to introduce a more user-friendly public interface attuned to the needs of primary-school educators. Table 1 gives an overview of the historical claims regarding standardization of Papiamentu.

Table 1 Overview of the historical claims regarding standardization of Papiamentu

	Status	Number of words
KSP 1984	Official	6.000
<i>Buki di oro</i> 2009	Official	18.000
Digitalization 2013	Official	No limit

The database also has a separate interface for the editors, the so-called “back end” page, where they can add and edit database entries, in a secured way. Although initially not all data fields will be used, the database offers the possibility to record the Dutch, English and Spanish equivalents, the Aruban equivalent, part of speech information, a subject term (specifically for the LOFO project), as well as a description.

Educational areas

So far, the work has mainly involved gathering and reviewing as much of the existing terminology as possible, striving to produce practical and coherent sets of terms to be used in the formal educational areas: (1) Language, literacy and communication; (2) Mathematics; (3) Social studies; (4) Integrated science and technology; (5) Cultural, visual and performing arts; (6) Health and physical education; (7) Social development; and (8) Spiritual education. In the process, the existing terminology has been refined to attain greater coherence and supplemented to fill in existing gaps.

¹ As an Open Source Expert Ace Suares of Suares & Co NV has advocated for the use of Free Software since 1995. His efforts in introducing Papiamentu to the Digital World have not been without merit. In 2006, he offered the first Content Management System that was fully translated into Papiamentu (<http://www.qwikzite.net/index.php?topic=papiamentu>). In 2011, he released the first open source spellchecker for Papiamentu, based on the *Buki di Oro* (<http://open.curacao.com/2011/09/software-freedom-day-17-sept-2011/>). In 2013 he organized the translation of One Laptop Per Child (www.laptop.org) as part of a UNESCO Participation Programme project, and in 2014 he completed a database for the Papiamentu language in cooperation with FPI (palabra.fpi.cw).

Online collaboration

The Internet-based set-up also offers another very significant advantage: location-independent, collaborative input, with experts from different fields being brought on board, each one contributing terms from his or her own area of expertise. With that in mind, the current input interface is being modified to record the identity of the user submitting each addition, modification or deletion request to the system. These submissions may then be reviewed by a selected panel prior to being posted and made accessible to the public.

Corpus management application for lexicographical work

The database has been set up with the assistance of the Institute for Dutch Lexicology. It is meant as a first step towards the development of a central Papiamentu language database, in which all words with their grammatical features can be stored and maintained. Developing such a language database cannot be done without the compilation of a Papiamentu corpus on which the description of the vocabulary of the language can be based. To explore the possibilities for compiling such a corpus and to illustrate the advantages of corpus-building for lexicographical work, Jesse de Does of the INL (Instituut voor Nederlandse Lexicologie in Leiden, the Netherlands) has compiled a preliminary web corpus of present-day Papiamentu. A preliminary lexicon-based enrichment feature with main part of speech and lemma has been added to the corpus, and it was indexed and made searchable using the INL's corpus application [Blacklab: <http://www.inl.nl/onderzoek-a-onderwijs/taaltechnologie/open-source>]. This is the first electronic corpus of the Papiamentu language, and as such it represents a significant first step in creating the necessary means to make diachronic and synchronic studies of Papiamentu word use and grammar possible. The corpus contains about 13 million words (tokens) and about 133 thousand types. It should be noted that the experimental corpus was created using web crawling with language identification. However, the resulting type list still needs to be "cleaned up". Of course, the results should become much clearer after the cleanup is completed. In that process, a large part of the types will be removed: URLs, proper names, numbers, words from other languages, spelling variations, etc. A preliminary estimate indicates that this first experiment promises to deliver tens of thousands (maybe 30.000 to 35.000) of types, a few thousands of which are probably not yet included in the official list of *Buki di Oro*. This may already be considered to be a step forward.

Using the corpus application

The corpus application is basically a tool that allows detailed exploration of the texts. For that purpose, it uses the metadata accompanying each text (e.g. Author, title, date of publication) and the linguistic information attached to each word of the text, i.e. main Part of Speech and Lemma.

What this means in practice is that searches can be carried out without taking spelling variations and inflections into account. In the case of English, for instance, a search for the word “maneuver” would return all instances of “maneuver”, “maneuvering”, “maneuvered”, “manoeuvred”, etc. Searches can also be configured to either include or exclude certain sources (e.g. “only literary sources” or “only newspapers”) or specific periods (e.g. “only the twentieth century and later”). By using grammatical categories, more complex searches are also possible. For example, the user may be interested in determining how frequently infinitive verbs appear in a clause together with a copulative verb, or which prepositions are used in the vicinity of a particular verb. These are extremely useful features that will allow for instant attestation (or rejection) of claims when preparing grammar or vocabulary-related instructional materials. An instance of the corpus application with present day Dutch (the *Corpus Hedendaags Nederlands*) is accessible via <http://chn.inl.nl>.

Another important contribution of a Papiamentu corpus to the codification process will be its help in identifying lexemes which may not yet have been included in the central database, or which may have valid and acceptable word senses not accounted for in any existing dictionaries. In the standardization process, such a resource could tremendously enhance discussions, especially if full use is made of its ability to distinguish the source (author, medium, etc.) and period of the text.

A robust Papiamentu database

However, much work remains to be done to build a truly representative corpus with reliable metadata and high-quality linguistic annotations. Substantial efforts will be required to either acquire digital material or to digitize additional text material: novels, short stories, poetry, as well as old newspapers and other periodicals (which have been appearing in Papiamentu for over a century now), Bible translations, catechisms, bulletins, etc. Unfortunately, extant documents dating from the 18th century or before are extremely rare and 19th century texts are not exactly plentiful either. Nevertheless, bringing the available material together in one place and being able to analyze it digitally is bound to generate new insights. Fortunately, the University of Curaçao is in the process of digitizing its Caribbeana section, comprising many works by local authors, mainly from the 20th century.

The current database can be found at <http://palabra.fpi.cw>. The pilot corpus will be used as a resource in the process of creating, expanding and improving the primary-school vocabularies and ongoing standardization work in general. It is possible to search in four languages: English, Dutch, Spanish and Papiamentu. By way of example, the word “ostrich” was typed in the search box labeled ‘*Buska palabra*’ (Search for a word). The result starts with a discription in Papiamentu: ‘*Espesie di para grandi Afrikano ku no ta bula*’ (A sort of African bird that does not fly). Next appears the translation in Dutch: ‘*Hulandes: struisvogel*’, the Spanish equivalent:

‘*Spañó: avestruz*’ and then the Papiamentu word: ‘*Papiamentu: abestrus*’. The word class is indicated as: ‘*Kategoria gramatikal: sus*’ (Grammatical category: noun). The education field the word ostrich belongs to is: ‘*Area di edukashon: Hende, naturalesa i teknologia - bestia di tera*’ (Field of education: Integrated science and technology-land animal). In Figure 1, the resultss are illustrated with a screen shot of a Front-End-page of Palabra.



Figure 1 Screen shot of a Front-End-page of Palabra (palabra.fpi.cw)

Under the heading *mas informashon* is to be found a comment on the status of progress of current lexicographical work. Table 2 shows how far current joint work has progressed in *Palabra*.

Table 2 Progress in Palabra until 2013

Mas informashon		
Palabra ku entrada hulandes	3034	Words with Dutch entry
Palabra ku entrada spañó	264	Words with Spanish entry
Palabra ku entrada ingles	204	Words with English entry
Palabra ku entrada papiamentu	21403	Words with Papiamentu entry
Kategorianan gramatikal	9	Grammatical categories
Areanan di edukashon	39	Educational areas
Palabra den <i>Buki di Oro</i>	19241	Words in <i>Buki di Oro</i>
Software	Suares & Co	Software
Diseño	Kuki + Ko	Design
Kontenido	FPI & Manuel Maduro	Content

We are confident that the delivery of the first electronic Papiamentu corpus and the novel, state-of-the-art applications that it makes available will lead to important innovations in ongoing codification efforts for Papiamentu, the Creole language spoken on the ABC islands.

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LANGUAGE PLANNING AND POLITICAL RESTRUCTURING IN CURAÇAO: WHAT'S NEW?

MARTA DIJKHOFF

Aruba, Bonaire and Curaçao (ABC islands) were colonies of the Netherlands until 1954 and part of the Netherlands Antilles (along with Saba, St. Eustatius and St. Maarten, the SSS islands). In 1954 autonomy was officially granted to the Netherlands Antilles. Shortly afterwards the country started disintegrating. The ABC islands are at present three separate entities within the Kingdom of the Netherlands. Aruba obtained autonomous status in 1986. In 2010 the Netherlands Antilles itself ceased to exist. Curaçao and Sint Maarten obtained independent status within the kingdom, whereas Bonaire became an overseas municipality of the Netherlands.

Schools in Curaçao (and also those in Aruba and Bonaire) follow the Dutch educational system, despite the political restructuring of the last decades. According to Devonish (1986), “The education system has been a major means of protecting and perpetuating the role of Dutch as the official language, although the majority of the inhabitants of the ABC islands speak Papiamentu as their mother tongue”, see Table 1 (courtesy of the Central Bureau of Statistics of Curaçao and of Aruba).

105

Table 1 Native languages spoken on the ABC islands.

Native languages spoken (in %)	Curaçao 2011	Bonaire 2001	Aruba 2000
Papiamentu	78.6	75	69.4
Dutch	9.4	9	6.1
Spanish	6.0	12	13.2
English	3.5	3.0	8.1
Other/unknown	2.5	1	3.2

In this paper I would like to discuss the challenges that we face as a linguistic community in this phase of our history, with special reference to the social and educational context in Curaçao. These challenges are comparable to the issues Aruba has been grappling with concerning the role of Papiamentu in education, since it left the Antillean political constellation in 1986 (cf. Croes, 2010; Pereira, 2010). Bonaire,

where Dutch was recently re-established as the official language of public administration and education in 2010, is facing related, yet greater difficulties (cf. Bak-Piard, 2010). For a review of the changes on the ABC islands before this date, see Dijkhoff, Kouwenberg & Tjon Sie Fat (2006) and Dijkhoff & Pereira, 2010. This present article can be considered an update on the situation described in these two articles. Some issues in language planning which we were contending with are still unresolved today, whereas others have shifted based on a different political reality.

The contents of this paper are as follows:

Section 1 describes the interrelationship between language, education and politics.

Section 2 describes the language situation on Curaçao, with respect to the three most widely spoken languages (Papiamentu, Dutch, and English).

Section 3 discusses the manufacture of consent in maintaining the status quo, while keeping Papiamentu hostage.

Section 4 describes a possible way out of this highly systemic dilemma.

Language, education and politics

As observed by Devonish (1986) and others (Cooper, 1989; Joseph, 2006) national identity is often used as a '*very effective ideological and emotional trapping*' to preserve national unity and territorial integrity, while disguising the political and economic domination of the peoples involved. Conventional symbols of this constructed harmony (nation building) are land, anthem, flag and language. A language binds the community that speaks it, while excluding others. The ruling political powers (administrative bureaucracy and educated elite) preserve it through their activities (official gatherings, literature and mass media, judicial system, church, state administration and other social institutions). However, it is the educational system which most sustains and perpetuates the unifying function of language. Although dialects of one language may abound, or more than one language may be spoken in the community, children are generally taught to read and write in one 'standard' or 'official' language, making it the sole medium of written communication, learning and career advancement. As remarked by Joseph 2006: "*If language and politics were a country, education would be its capital... it is through education that language and national identity are created, performed and above all reproduced.*"

A bilingual situation creates in essence an unequal setting for individual speakers (Tollefson, 1991). It empowers those who speak the language of education well, because they have it in their linguistic repertoire, and disempowers those who don't (Joseph, 2006: 44). In a diglossic context, the languages spoken also occupy different functional domains and have different levels of prestige (cf. Fishman, 1967). This is the case in Creole speaking communities like Curaçao. With the imposition of Dutch

colonialism, came the imposition of the Dutch language and a Dutch oriented educational system.

Papiamentu, originally spoken by slaves, was associated with poverty, backwardness and informal or simplified non-standard speech, and it has inherited the low status of its first speakers. There is resistance to its use in formal contexts, and every step forward within this setting is only achieved through heated and widespread debate. Dutch, the language of the colonizer, was and is considered a formal and rich standard language with an extensive writing tradition and an elevated status. There is no discussion about its role in education and other formal settings. This diglossic context makes it difficult for those who do not have command of Dutch to gain access to or to participate in state institutions, to obtain information and technological knowhow directly, or to succeed in a professional career, without going through an acculturation process in Dutch. Extensive research (De Palm, 1969; Prins, 1975; Prins-Winkel, 1975; Muller, 1975; Narain & Verhoeven, 1994) has shown time and again that the present educational system is not beneficial for native speakers of Papiamentu.¹ There is a high percentage of repeaters in primary school (26.2% of the local youth in primary schools is 15 to 16 years of age); too many children are being referred to special education (11%); the number of dropouts in secondary education is high (40%) and there is a structural brain-drain. Every year around 300 students leave for the Netherlands and only 1 out of every 10 returns to the island after receiving their degrees.²

107

Students who master Dutch as their mother tongue (9.4% of the population) are favored and benefit from this situation, irrespective of the socio-economic status of their parents. Thus the Dutch-speaking elite are the least inclined to support the introduction of Papiamentu as a medium of instruction. In addition, members of the dominant culture shape the ideological environment, propagating Dutch as a positive asset for socio-economic development. The masses are conditioned by, and look up to their successful co-citizens. They want to gain a place among them by assimilating their norms and values through education, but also by copying their habits, architecture, food etc. or by trying to look like them in color, hair texture and style, clothing and other visible or physical traits (Smeulders, 1987).

Several attempts have been made in the course of time to alter the Curaçaoan educational system. There is a vicious circle that we have gone through since 1969,

¹The percentages are from various sources, but mainly from the last comprehensive report of the Inspectorate of the Ministry of Education in 2006, 'old' online information of the now extinct institution for Youth affairs (DJJO) and personal information.

²Research of the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs mentions that 471 of 665 students received a diploma in 2012/2013: 171 went to the local university; 222 to Holland; and 37 to the Caribbean region for further study, whereas 41 are not traceable. They either started working or left the island on their own, without a scholarship.

when many teachers started to challenge the above described system.³ Thus in the seventies, eighties, nineties, and in the first decade of the new millennium, we have gone through the same debate, and progressed by small steps towards a new role for Papiamentu in education. Still, the position of Dutch has never been challenged in Curaçao, nor in Aruba (Pereira, 2010) or Bonaire (Bak-Piard, 2010).

At present, however, there is a ‘new’ movement, influenced by the shifting of political powers in Curaçao since the disintegration of the Netherlands Antilles in 2010. English is becoming a symbol of resistance to the cultural and political hegemony of the Dutch-speaking elite. This trend is reinforced by the growing impact of telecommunications and the internet. English is seen as a language of global socio-economic opportunities and a way for the young especially, to reach out and be part of what is happening worldwide, particularly in the USA, the so-called “cradle of progress”.

Within this political and social context, the language of intercommunication is Papiamentu. Most of the population is in fact monolingual. A small percentage of the population is bilingual (Papiamentu-Dutch; Papiamentu-Spanish, Papiamentu-English, etc.) and an even smaller percentage is multilingual (Papiamentu-Dutch-English or Papiamentu-Dutch-Spanish or Papiamentu, Dutch and a third or fourth language; cf. Table 2). Why then do we define ourselves as a bilingual or multilingual community?

Table 2. Papiamentu spoken on Curaçao (Census 2001).

Most spoken languages in Curaçao											
	Total		PAP	ENG	NED	SPA	POR	CREO	FRE	CHI	Other/ unknown
			10605								
Papiamentu	106054	81.2%	4	6681	9446	7744	965	283	274	49	221
English	3882	3.0%	2311	3882	830	368	3	27	73	6	262
Dutch	10503	8.0%	4546	1586	10503	727	53	0	108	8	354
Spanish	5281	4.0%	3665	458	615	5281	66	18	35	2	62
Portuguese	706	0.5%	568	6	24	54	706	0	1	0	0
French Creole	253	0.2%	204	28	5	34	0	253	51	0	2
French	52	0.0%	39	11	4	11	0	10	52	0	0
Chinese	657	0.5%	300	30	45	18	0	0	0	657	5
Other/unknown	3239	2.5%	543	254	125	129	16	2	18	4	507
			11823	1293							
	130627	100.0%	0	6	21597	14366	1809	593	612	726	3523

³ The social revolt of 1969 was crucial for the movement challenging the official role of Dutch in education. Two language related commitments were squeezed out of the ruling coalition after these events: i.) The education department would take steps to have an orthography of Papiamentu produced within the shortest time possible and ii.) The department would use this orthography as a basis for the eventual introduction of Papiamentu as the medium of instruction in the education system (Devonish, 1988: 68).

Language and identity in Aruba, Bonaire and Curaçao

The Dutch Leeward Islands, like most Caribbean territories, are multilingual, involving a local language, a former colonial language (Dutch), and the languages of former migrant populations. Papiamentu is by far the most widely used language on all three islands (see Table 1). Dutch is only used by 9.3% in Curacao, 10.4% in Bonaire and 6.1% of Arubans. English is employed in the homes of 3.5% of respondents in Curacao, 4% in Bonaire and 8.1% in Aruba. Finally, Spanish is reported as a home language by 4.6% in Curacao, 11.4% in Bonaire and 13.2% in Aruba. Other languages are spoken by less than 1% of the population. They include Portuguese, Chinese, Sranan Tongo, French and French Creole(s). Moreover, most people who speak Spanish, English and Dutch at home, also claim to speak Papiamentu as their second language. Thus Papiamentu is spoken by 90.5% of the population of Curaçao, the biggest of the three islands and teachers are generally native speakers of Papiamentu.

Most primary schools, however, offer a bilingual curriculum. English and Spanish are also taught in the 6th to 8th grade of most primary schools. At the 8th and final year students finish with a mandatory test on Papiamentu and Dutch. In secondary schools the language of instruction is mainly Dutch, whereas Papiamentu and English are taught as a subject in all grades.

The ABC islands have a strong insular identity. Thus while the central government of the former Netherlands Antilles promoted three official languages: Dutch, Papiamentu and English, the ABC islands themselves were only preoccupied with Papiamentu. It is the basis for national identity in Curaçao (cf. Smeulders, 1987), and it was the basis for a ‘new’ national identity for Aruba, when leaving the Antillean constellation (see Dijkhoff & Pereira, 2010).

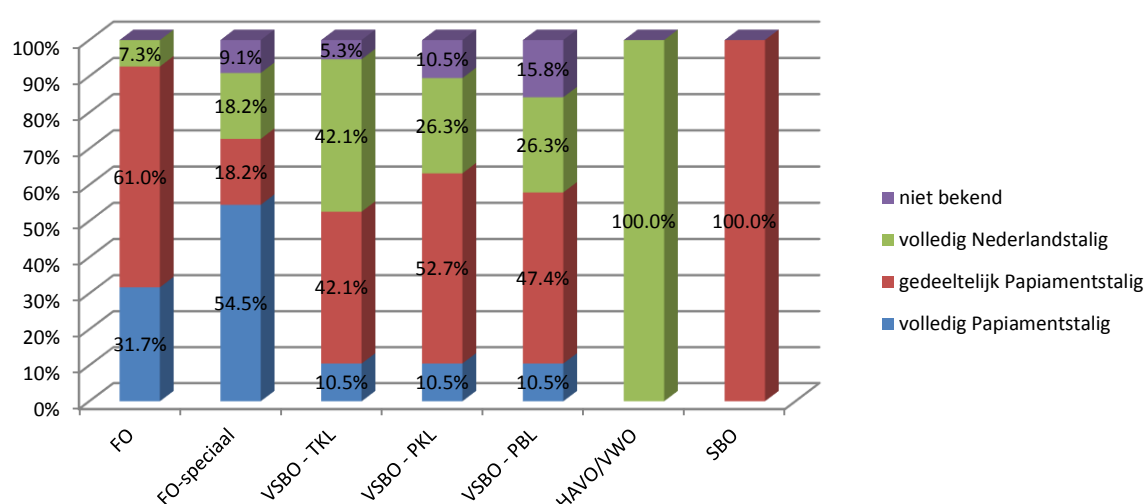
This overlapping development of two separate national identities, one Curaçaoan and one Aruban, has resulted in two distinct (albeit mutually comprehensible) orthographies, yielding, for example the spelling Papiamentu on Curaçao and Papiamento on Aruba. The political result has been two ‘autonomous’ island states (Aruba and Curaçao) and one overseas municipality of the Netherlands itself (Bonaire). At present, *Papiamento* is a national language, next to Dutch in Aruba. Dutch is the only official language in Bonaire, whereas Curaçao is rethinking the ‘Antillean’ legacy.

In Curaçao there are no ‘heated’ discussions anymore on the role of Papiamentu in society or in education, except by the uninformed. For all educational partners (ministry, school boards, teachers, and teacher colleges) the controversy has been settled: Papiamentu is an official language and it no longer needs any additional protection. Still, the role of Dutch in our educational structure is stronger than ever. Even now, it is the sole medium of instruction in a number of primary schools and all secondary schools but one. All students, moreover, have to go through Dutch final

exams; even in the one secondary school (SKAIH) that teaches in Papiamentu, the Dutch exams are translated and administered to the students.

It is also a well-known fact that a larger and growing number of teachers and young people are using Papiamentu to communicate with each other in the school setting. This was strictly prohibited in the past, as is so common with low status languages. In a survey conducted this year by the Ministry of Education in all schools on the island, teachers observed that the use of (mostly spoken) Papiamentu is overwhelming at all educational levels, from primary schools (FO) to secondary schools (VSBO, HAVO, VWO: which officially should use Dutch as the language of instruction) and vocational training colleges (SBO). Thus the old diglossia is still in place, notwithstanding the fact that Papiamentu is widely used in education (see Table 3: green means Dutch only; red is Papiamentu only, blue is a bilingual setting including Papiamentu and Dutch, and purple means no data available).

Table 3 Use of Papiamentu in schools



Recently there has also emerged a strong political lobby for English as a language of instruction. One high school has started to teach in English instead of Dutch, without any ‘real’ resistance (or previous preparation), despite the fact that this innovation is generating additional obstacles⁴ (teachers’ proficiency in English is not adequate, there are no materials, there is no clear connection or possibilities of transfer of credits between the Dutch and the English educational systems, translation or fine tuning of exams in both languages is not completely taken care of, and so on). These are terribly familiar problems, as they are also issues that fuel the debate when discussing the role

⁴These problems were brought forward by teachers and the school board during brainstorming sessions.

of Papiamentu in education next to Dutch. The reasons given in support of English as the language of instruction, are⁵:

1. We are aiming for more political independence from the Dutch, so why not replace Dutch with English? Unlike Dutch, English does not carry any of the emotional burdens of the former colonizer's language.
2. English opens more doors than Dutch: it connects us to a wider and more powerful socio-economic and global community. Our economy is growing in the tourism and international financial services sectors, thus proficiency in English is becoming more important for business than Dutch.
3. Studying in the Netherlands is becoming more expensive because of the high exchange rates of the euro, whereas scholarships for local universities, the Caribbean and the USA are on the increase, and all three of these latter options mainly use English as the medium of instruction.
4. Results in secondary education are worsening. The dropout rate in vocational training colleges is also extremely high. Students are less inclined to learn in Dutch. A switch from Dutch to English might change this negative trend.
5. Students' use of spoken English is improving, so the switch from Dutch to English will not encounter any resistance. They will likely embrace it.

This sentiment is however, not connected to a sense of identity, nor is it territorial. English is a language with high social prestige, yet spoken natively only by 3.5% of the population of Curaçao. Underlying this transfer to English is probably the belief that while Dutch held sway in the past and perhaps still has clout in the present, English is the language that future generations will need to succeed educationally and professionally. English, however, has the disadvantage, as mentioned by Skuttnabb Kangas (2000), of being a 'killer language'. Its spread has largely been at the expense of local languages all over the world (Asia, Africa, Indonesia, Australia, North and Central America). Papiamentu has been able to co-exist with Dutch, because we use these languages in separate domains. However, we do not know what will happen if we allow English to enter this delicate ecosystem. Our attitude of ambivalence towards Dutch and Papiamentu might be a key factor here. Would we stick to Papiamentu as our group identity marker and replace Dutch with English? And would Papiamentu be able to compete with the socio-economic, political and communicative force of English as a global language? As put forward by Mufwene (2008), speakers stick loyally to the identity that their languages assign them, unless socio-economic demands force them to do otherwise. When young people on the ABC islands start to communicate in English, and we support this trend for mainly socio-economic

⁵These opinions were expressed in public hearings held in Curaçao between November 2013 and July 2014.

reasons, we might actually be “bringing in a Trojan horse”, as observed by Wim Kamps (2010). On the other hand, are we discussing the role of English in education in order to evade our ‘real’ and most basic problem: the fact that we are using a language of instruction in school (whether it be Dutch or English), which is different from the language that most of us speak at home?

The manufacture of consent

According to Herman & Chomsky (2010):

Democratic societies are limited in their capacity to control behavior by force. Since the voice of the people is allowed to speak out, those in power control what that voice says – in other words, control what people think. One of the ways to do this is to create political debate that appears to embrace many opinions, but actually stays within very narrow margins. You have to make sure that both sides in the debate accept certain assumptions – and that those assumptions are the basis of the propaganda system. As long as everyone accepts the propaganda system, the debate is permissible. (p. 105)

One reason that propaganda often works better on the educated than on the uneducated is that educated people read more, so they receive more propaganda. Another is that they have jobs in management, media, and academia and therefore work in some capacity as agents of the propaganda system – and they believe what the system expects them to believe. By and large, they're part of the privileged elite, and share the interests and perceptions of those in power.

This manufacturing of consent is visible in the way we deal with Papiamentu in education. A first example is the way we envision Papiamentu-Dutch bilingualism. We are presented time and again with contradictory perspectives. In monolingual communities with a language that has high status, a foreign language is learned for enrichment, guided by the belief that knowing another language is a good thing. However, in the context of Curaçao, parents are told that communication in their native Papiamentu will prevent their children from mastering the school language. They are also not encouraged to challenge disproven notions that teaching children in more than one language will confuse them, resulting in long-lasting, detrimental effects. Some desperate middle or upper class parents who are themselves monolingual in Papiamentu even try to speak (bad or artificial) Dutch to their children, in order to give them a head start in their educational career. In the same vein, some schools still go as far as to forbid teachers and students to speak Papiamentu in school. Thus bilingualism is encouraged for Dutch native speakers in the Netherlands or Papiamentu speakers in Curaçao, when the target is a foreign language with a high status such as English. Bilingualism is however not encouraged

when a low prestige language is used in the classroom or as a target language of instruction.

In the local context, where Papiamentu is a compulsory subject both in primary and secondary education, parents who are native speakers of Dutch are constantly looking for a way out for their children, even though Papiamentu is the language of the community that they live in. During radio talk shows, parents in Bonaire have lamented the fact that a majority of secondary school students did not finish their studies in secondary education this school year, and blamed this on the introduction of Papiamentu (as a subject) in primary and secondary schools. The same thoughts have been voiced frequently in Curaçao's (social) media. The simple fact is, education works better, and is much more meaningful when the language of instruction is the student's native language (regardless of the status of that language). Secondly, the choice regarding which languages are taught is a matter of educational policy, based on local prestige, number of native speakers, and communicative possibilities.

We consider the attitudes of these parents as normal. It is relatively easy to understand native Dutch speakers' reticence to include Papiamentu in the school curriculum, and the Papiamentu speaking parents' efforts to offer their children a head start in Dutch is laudable, yet what these attitudes are actually telling us is that while all languages are equal, some languages, like Papiamentu, are considered to be less equal than others.

A second example of this contradictory attitude is the following. Curaçao is miles apart from the Netherlands, and Dutch is hardly spoken outside the school yard. It is a foreign language to us, and it must be learned from scratch. Yet the general attitude of the community, school boards, teachers, and parents is to tacitly assume that we are Dutch speakers. During their whole school career, students are constantly confronted with Dutch books and school materials which presuppose a Dutch monolingual environment. Thus in primary and secondary education where the language of instruction is Dutch, students with high intelligence do not score according to their level of intelligence. Students become repeaters, dropouts, or perform below their intelligence level, because of their lack of proficiency in Dutch. Instead of learning to develop their brains to become creative thinkers in school, they are constantly struggling to understand what is being said in a language that is foreign to them. There is no real learning taking place in such a context. Students gain rote knowledge to answer questions on exams, instead of understanding the concepts involved. Teachers become desperate with the low results that they obtain and start teaching in Papiamentu, further depriving their students of the possibility of learning 'more' Dutch, and so on. Nobody is particularly shocked by this situation, and teachers expect students to be able to obtain the same results on Dutch exams as monolingual students in the Netherlands.

In addition, the amount of time that we dedicate to learning the Dutch language in both primary and secondary school is not enough to achieve the proficiency or

competence levels comparable to those of a Dutch native speaker. Papiamentu native speakers generally finish primary school with an A2 or A2+ proficiency level of Dutch⁶. However the level of Dutch in the textbooks in secondary education is B1 or even higher (see Valk, 2002). Children also need a vocabulary of approximately 10.000 words to be able to read the content of these books without too much difficulty (see Teunissen et al., 2013). Thus Papiamentu speaking students' command of Dutch in secondary education is generally one (and sometimes two) proficiency levels lower than the one of native speakers of Dutch at the same level of education (see Geelen et al., 2010). The discrepancies between native speaker and a non-native speaker receptive knowledge of words are also cumulative: from a difference of approximately 1000 words as 4 year olds to 8000 words or more as 12 year olds, in an all Dutch environment in the Netherlands (Sanders, 1990). In our communities with no external support for Dutch, these alarming discrepancies are probably much greater.

However, we keep believing that teachers can obtain an acceptable level of Dutch, simply because they received their secondary school and teacher training in Dutch. The university complains about the low level of students' proficiency in Dutch at entrance level and schools complain about the language proficiency of starting teachers. The problem persists, so we must be doing something wrong. When policymakers are confronted with these facts, they simply ignore them, by assuming that it is not necessary or that it is too complicated to distinguish between native and non-native speakers of Dutch in the system. So we keep on teaching Dutch, as if it were our mother tongue.

I believe that the attitudes that we are confronted with are also a fundamental part of this contradiction. These are the result of a process of manufacturing of consent to keep our minds off of our 'real' problems. The pro-Dutch elite and even the revolutionary pro-Papiamentu elite, are holding Papiamentu hostage. Neither allows it to develop the rich vocabulary of a full-fledged language, or wants to equip it for extended use in official domains such as education.

⁶*The Common European Framework of Reference for Languages: Learning, teaching, assessment* (CEFR) designed a framework of reference to provide a transparent, coherent and comprehensive basis for the elaboration of language syllabuses and curriculum guidelines, the design of teaching and learning materials, and the assessment of foreign language proficiency. The CEFR describes foreign language proficiency at six levels: A1 and A2, B1 and B2, C1 and C2. It also defines three 'plus' levels (A2+, B1+, B2+). Based on empirical research and widespread consultation, this scheme makes it possible to compare tests and examinations across languages and national boundaries. The CEFR's illustrative scales of "can do" descriptors are available in a bank of descriptors together with many other related descriptors. http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/linguistic/cadre1_en.asp

- a) For the pro-Dutch elite: Monolingual education is less costly than bilingual or trilingual education. Servicing a linguistic community in one language is cheaper and less complex, than providing information and education in two languages (Papiamentu and Dutch). For example a known pro-Dutch parliamentarian recently voted to use Ministry of Education monies budgeted for language materials in Papiamentu for IT infrastructure and to cover deficits incurred by the local university (Amigoe June 11, 2014). According to her, students need no translation from English to Papiamentu, because they are already accustomed to English from using the internet. Yet reading English on the internet to play games or to listen to music is quite different from academic learning in the highly abstract language used in school, a fact that she (a former teacher) does not mention.
- b) For the pro-Papiamentu elite: The fact that Papiamentu's linguistic community is divided by two different orthographies makes its use in education costly or even useless. Everything has to be done twice and the process of standardization has stopped. We are not able to make maximal use of our collective memory as a linguistic community. No standards are being developed and thus no policy when dealing with regional or subregional language use. We need a larger amount of professional input to do the same type of work. We cannot cooperate and learn together, while advancing our knowledge about using Papiamentu in new domains. Language is also a social code and the expansion of the collective vocabulary of Papiamentu which is necessary for its pedagogical use, is slowed down and less efficient. We (Aruba, Bonaire and Curaçao) are not able to bridge our differences. We are too small to do anything on our own. Yet now that the two spelling lists already exist, a computer program can easily match them, with some minor imperfections. Yet instead of working together on Papiamentu materials, we seek advice from Dutch professionals, and work together on 'Dutch' scholastic materials.

The old pro-Dutch elite, the new pro-English elite, and 'revolutionary' pro-Papiamentu elite all agree that Papiamentu is not an option when dealing with education. Therefore, a fundamental cause of our educational problems remains unaddressed: the undemocratic and elitist view of language planning in our communities that has been inherited from colonial times. By manufacturing consent, we evade our 'real' problems. We will therefore never arrive at 'real' solutions to what Pereira (2010) has called 'healing of our festering wounds'. I repeat her questions here:

1. Why is it so difficult to understand that what Dutch is for the Dutch people, Papiamentu is for our people?
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2. Why are we making learning so difficult and boring for our children?
3. Why is it taboo to even consider Papiamentu as a language of instruction in secondary schools?
4. Why do we have to prove all the time that students will learn Dutch (or English) better, in order to get the attention for our own language?
5. If Dutch (or English) are so important, why doesn't anybody seem to be concerned about the fact that our primary school teachers are not given systemic training in teaching foreign languages?

Conclusion

Education is part of the social structure of state. In most societies, the state has ultimate control over the ideology and content of education. Because education in much of the world is also subject to explicit policy decisions by governmental bodies, the government is able to influence the opinions of the masses. They can maintain the status quo through the existent manufacture of consent. Or they can try to implement 'real' change by making language planning part of a social change by determining not only who benefits i.e. who gets what, but also when and how and for whom language planning is conceived (Cooper, 1989). That would mean pro-actively stimulating the development of Papiamentu into a full-fledged academic language by equipping it for extended use in official domains such as education and law.

Yet the future of Papiamentu depends ultimately on our own potential as communities for allowing and promoting social change. Language planning and social change depend also on a society's power to manage innovation. In order for any proposed changes to take effect, that is, in order for innovation to be accepted, regression to be avoided, and outcomes to be consistent, several other variables need to be controlled for. Questions such as why, who, what, when, where, and how we innovate, are relevant in the different phases of language planning. All available resources and institutions need to be mobilized for implementation: training and materials for teachers, educational products, services, evaluation and monitoring procedures, etc.

We are better able to succeed in our endeavors if we view these questions from a common perspective. Dutch is still seen on all three islands as the language of knowledge, social success, and lately its rich vocabulary has been contrasted with Papiamentu's lack of words in the realms of science and technology. Our efforts should not be aimed solely at the preservation of Papiamentu as a part of our national identity as *yu di Kòrsou*, as we call ourselves. We should maximize our efforts as a linguistic community in order to counter-balance the influence of Dutch. We should present ourselves as a unified linguistic community of Papiamentu speakers living within the kingdom (on different islands, and also in the European Netherlands). We should look for ways to go about doing this, without falling back into the 'old' political controversies. We need to reshape our attitudes and find an alternative way to envisage shared capabilities.

In order to do this, we need, at the very least, a collective entity that deals with common problems such as the two orthographies of Papiamentu; vocabulary issues, and standardization versus maintenance of the Papiamentu varieties spoken on the three ABC islands. Help could come from those who did this job before us, such as el Instituto Caro y Cuervo, de Nederlandse Taalunie, l'Academie Francaise, and the language Institute of Indonesia, to mention just a few. Two orthographies are a challenge, but no obstacle to cooperation on language issues. We have to make time and dedicate effort to the highly complicated issues involved in our linguistic context, especially language planning where Papiamentu competes with three other high status languages, in order to create awareness and to encourage potential users to adopt new ideas in a positive and sustained way, for political (in)equality is reflected in social contexts, yet it has to be learned again and again in order to be maintained (cf. Tollefson, 1991).

All we need is a motivated group and political support. Change is also a question of marketing. It is promoting innovative products in such a way that they become well-liked in a situation where they are 'suspect'. So how do we promote the type of innovation needed, making it 'likable' for the public and 'affordable' for the ministries in our different political and bureaucratic settings? It is easier to achieve small incremental changes than major attitudinal re-orientations. Thus let us think in steps, small and slow, but 'real' steps towards linguistic unity of the Papiamentu community. The road to the understanding of our collective problems will enable us to solve them together.

In order to succeed our belief about whether or we can succeed in a task is important. Before engaging in this task, we need to analyze our starting position in order to determine whether there is some probability of success for the small steps that we may take towards linguistic cooperation. If we predict success, we are maximally likely to embark on the task, as well as maximally likely to be motivated to complete the task (c.q. Deci, 1975 and Deci & Ryan, 1991). Thus we need to:

- a) search for attainable and achievable goals;
- b) act in connection and relatedness: use all possibilities for collaboration and interactivity to keep a common understanding of the job to be done;
- c) maintain autonomy and self-determination for local issues (internal locus of control) yet be in control of our own process as a linguistic community, and do so on an egalitarian basis;
- d) create highly visible communities of practice (individuals and institutions who share methods and ways of learning and succeed in what they do);
- e) use different ways to disseminate information for the general public (about the common vision, mission, goals, actions, and achievements so as to reinforce the notion that we are successful as a linguistic community, that we accomplish tasks in a timely manner, or that we do so effectively);
- f) embrace changes to come which bind our communities (for example, promote Papiamentu as a second language for immigrants, and support Dutch parents fighting for Papiamentu in the 'all Dutch' school curriculum in some schools on Bonaire);
- g) avoid the trap of revolutionary ideas that bring exclusion: we do not want to be like the colonizer. We need a third way which does not create isolation within our communities by putting identity and solidarity at two opposite poles. There is no 'them there' or 'us here' in this context. We can cooperate when we want and with whom we wish. We are also free to use Dutch or European knowledge as we see fit, as long as that knowledge is beneficial to us and plays a constructive part in the achievement of outcomes that enhance the humanity and quality of our lives as well as those of the generations of ABC islanders to come (Memmi, 1965).

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RE-CENTERING THE FOCUS IN DISCOURSE ON EDUCATION IN POSTCOLONIAL SMALL ISLAND DEVELOPING STATES: THE CASE OF ARUBA

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Introduction

During the 2012 Happy Community Conference in Aruba, I was given the opportunity to address the audience on the added values and opportunities of multilingualism in Aruba. One question that was asked during the question and answer round struck me: I was asked whether I, being a European Dutch researcher who works and lives in Aruba, could justify the fact that the language of instruction in most of the Aruban school system is Dutch. Of course I cannot justify why Dutch is the language of instruction, on the contrary: I consider the role of Dutch in Aruban education and society to be an awkward remnant of colonial history. I referred the person who asked the question to the Aruban Minister of Education and the representatives of the education department who were also present. The language of instruction is their responsibility, so they are the policy makers who should justify the decisions that have been taken and the commitments that have been made which have led to current policy and practice in Aruba.

Discourse on language policy and practice can often seem to be commonsensical in nature. As a consequence, this discourse is rarely questioned and is adopted implicitly rather than being formulated explicitly, becoming an underlying ideological construct with its own misconceptions and myths that are often at odds with experience and observation. The person who asked the question at the conference deserves an answer. It is important however that the argumentation provided in the requested justification of the choices made in the past excludes the misconceptions and myths that are too often heard in debates on language and social development. Instead, the answers should be re-centered on the 21st century realities of Aruba, and should incorporate the lessons learned from the past and acknowledge the opportunities offered by the future.

In this article, I will illustrate how the current debates on language in education and language of instruction in the postcolonial small island developing state of Aruba, are heavily influenced by the (post)colonial discourse of Dutch and Aruban policy

makers, government officials and other stakeholders, which paralyzes the development and implementation of any widely accepted and supported language policy. Discourse in the media as well as discourse in interviews with individual policy makers and stakeholders demonstrates that much of the rhetoric that surrounds decisions on national language policies is not rooted in well-grounded research or practice, but is instead founded upon common misconceptions on language learning and language development. This leads to uncertainty among teachers and students, with negative effects on teacher motivation, students' results and in the end the socio-economic development of the island. In order to make the dialogue on language and education more satisfactory for all partners, we sometimes need to remain aware of the way in which what we say is influenced by the way we look at our own context and the way in which we accept current practice as a commonsensical approach to reality that should not be questioned.

To illustrate the counterproductive rhetoric on the choice of language in education in Aruban primary and secondary schools, I will examine and analyze three commonly heard statements: 1) 'If we do not use Dutch as the language of instruction, the language proficiency of the students will never be sufficient for further studies'; 2) 'We can not change the language of instruction because all the final tests are in Dutch'; and 3) 'We should not change the language of instruction, I was taught in Dutch by the friars/nuns, and look at what I have achieved'.

First, the origin of each of these statements and the way in which each reflects and/or reinforces a (post)colonial mindset will be explored and secondly, the contribution of these beliefs to the debate on language policy and practice will be critically questioned.

Discussion of the origin of these statements will involve the comparison of each with current practice and theory. The degree to which each statement reflects and/or reinforces a (post)colonial mindset will be measured by assessing the degree to which it reflects the cultural legacy of colonialism by referring to the doctrines or practices of the former colonizer as inherently more worthy than those which have emerged on Aruba or by replicating notions or concepts that have been inherited from the former colonizer, often without questioning their contextual applicability.

Aruba is a densely populated island in the southern Caribbean with about 107,000 inhabitants on a surface of about 180 square kilometers. Approximately one third of the population is foreign born, representing 133 countries of birth and 92 nationalities (CBS, 2013). Four languages play a dominant role in Aruban society: Papiamentu is the home language of 69 percent of the population, whereas almost 14 percent speak Spanish, 7 percent English and 6 percent Dutch at home. About 4 percent of the population speaks other languages such as Chinese, Portuguese and French or English

lexifier Creoles (CBS, 2010). Papiamentu and Dutch are the official languages, and Dutch is the language of instruction in most schools.

The demographic and linguistic diversity in Aruba can be attributed to its political and colonial history and to waves of migration during the 20th and 21st centuries. Apart from Dutch (post)colonial influence, the immigration of mainly English speakers related to the oil industry during the early 20th century and the immigration of mainly Spanish speakers related to the tourism industry and the general economic prosperity of the island during the late 20th and early 21st centuries have changed the face of the island.

Dutch is the language of instruction in schools, but it is not a language that most of the children are exposed to at home. Apart from its absence in the home, Dutch is absent from most media, popular music, social and cultural activities, which center around Papiamentu, Spanish and English. For 94 percent of the population, Dutch is a foreign language that plays little role in their daily lives outside of school. The use of Dutch as language of instruction leads to a number of unwanted side-effects. The language of instruction is often seen as the sole cause of many educational problems and discussions concerning educational development and educational reform are blurred by the language issue. The scope of this article does not allow for an extensive discussion of the challenges and obstacles related to language and education in Aruba. I refer readers interested in those issues to Dijkhoff & Pereira (2010: 262-267), who provide an insightful overview.

123

‘If we do not use Dutch as the language of instruction, the language proficiency of the students will never be sufficient for further studies’

A common argument used in the debate on language policy in education, is that the language of instruction in primary and secondary education should be the language of higher education. In Aruba this translates into: ‘If we do not use Dutch as the language of instruction, the language proficiency of the students will never be sufficient for further studies.’ Traditionally, Aruban students who aspire to higher education are expected to go to the Netherlands where it is assumed that they will do their studies in Dutch. This is an interesting line of thought, as it ignores the fact that more and more higher education in the Netherlands is offered in English, that not all Aruban tertiary level students go to study in the Netherlands. In any case, this statement also obscures the fact that most Aruban students never even proceed to do any type of post-secondary studies.

This statement implies that the only way to reach sufficient language-proficiency in a certain language, is by teaching people in that language. This idea ignores the basic educational principle that in situations where a language is a *foreign* language, the best way of learning that language is by using foreign language learning methods. The first

language methods and materials developed for Dutch students in the European Netherlands are not fit for the students on the islands, nor are the second language methods developed for immigrants to the European Netherlands which aim to teach Dutch in a Dutch speaking context. Apparently, the basic principles of foreign language learning are tossed overboard when it comes to discussions on the language of instruction in Aruba. Despite the fact that Dutch is not the first language for the vast majority of the population of the island, despite the fact that most people do not pursue further studies and despite the fact that those who do pursue further studies have access to many more opportunities than those which the Netherlands has to offer, Dutch is still considered to be the optimal language of instruction from primary education onwards, in order to cater for those few students who might some day go to university in the European Netherlands.

In their 2013 study on the language of instruction in the educational system on the island of St. Eustatius, Mijts, Kester, & Faraclas list a number of possible consequences of not using the students' first language as the language of initial instruction: "1) very low levels of academic performance in public schools; 2) extremely high school attrition rates; 3) the effective exclusion of the majority of the population from access to the minimal degree of education sufficient for effective participation in the globalized economy; 4) the extreme concentration of wealth and educational opportunity among a very small elite class; and 5) excessive dependence on expatriate professionals and skilled (and even semi- skilled) labor from the (...) countries where the language of instruction in schools is that of the majority of the students" (Mijts, Kester & Faraclas, 2013: 18). Of these consequences, the first two and the last are especially relevant to Aruba as well. In the first place, student performance in Aruban high schools is very disappointing: despite a relatively high average expenditure per student, the students do not do well in the system, especially compared to their peers in the Netherlands who go through exactly the same system with the same language of instruction. In the second place, there are too many drop outs and too many overage students in Aruba: 39 percent of the population not attending school has achieved no higher degree than a primary education certificate. Finally, in Aruba there is a strong (but diminishing) dependence on expatriate professionals and skilled labor from the European Netherlands in the governmental and educational sectors, and from the European Netherlands and the United States in the industrial and tourism sectors. These Aruban realities sharply contradict and seriously undermine any notion that Dutch should be the language of instruction in Aruba because it optimally prepares students for further studies.

‘We cannot change the language of instruction because all the final tests are in Dutch’

One of the justifications given for the use of Dutch as the language of instruction in Aruban schools is the fact that final tests in primary and secondary education are administered in Dutch. Policy makers and curriculum designers claim that the language of instruction in Aruban education must be Dutch, because that is the only way that students in Aruba will be able to meet the requirements set by the Dutch testing system which has been adopted in Aruba. At the end of primary education, Aruban pupils are subjected to the European Netherlands-designed CITO-tests for language (read Dutch) and mathematics skills. Student’s results on these tests play a crucial role in how they are tracked at the secondary level. At the end of secondary education – especially in those tracks where students are prepared for higher education – students are tested in Dutch using tests developed for students in the European Netherlands as well. These tests have therefore been designed to measure how schools have prepared their students for life, work and further studies in the Netherlands, rather than for life, work and further studies Aruba and the rest of the islands.

The desire for maximal objectivity and the fact that the resources of small island developing states are limited are two of the most commonly mentioned reasons for external testing of students in primary and secondary education in Aruba. The claim that one cannot change the language of instruction because of the language used on these tests is based on at least three false assumptions: 1). that one’s external testing authority should rule one’s educational system; 2) that in order for a student to be a successful learner of a language and to be proficient enough to be able to answer test questions in that language, the student should have been taught in that language; and 3) that it is impossible to develop external tests in the students’ home language or to translate the already existing external tests into the students’ home language.

While external testing may improve the objectivity and the credibility of student assessment, it also raises a number of serious issues and questions. The most obvious issue is that the current tests are sorely lacking in contextual relevance for Aruba (or for the other former Dutch islands where the same tests are used). The consequence is that in order to perform well on these tests, students in the Caribbean part of the Kingdom of the Netherlands must master a greater quantity and more diverse quality of subject matter than do students in the European Netherlands. Not only must they learn what they need to prepare for life, work and further studies in the Aruban context, but they also (at least in the case of the 94 percent of the children who do not have Dutch as a mother tongue) must master a foreign language and a foreign culture just to understand their teachers and textbooks as well as to take their tests. For example, their mathematics assignments and tests include problem solving questions involving streetcars, ice skating, six-lane highways and intercity trains... These questions are purposefully designed to trigger a recognizable context for European

Dutch students, but at the same time they create an extra obstacle for Caribbean students.

At present, the authority for the final assessment of Aruban students is in the hands of a foreign institution that tests them according to European Dutch standards in the Dutch language and for a European Dutch context. It is no surprise then that the performance of Aruban students on these tests falls significantly short of the performance of European Dutch students. On the contrary, it is logical. If European Dutch students were to be taught and tested using Aruban language, culture, and norms, their results would lag far behind those of Aruban students. Because teachers themselves are assessed based on the results obtained by their students on these external tests, the risk is real and practice shows that teachers will devote more time to prepping their students on the specific knowledge and skills included on the tests, than to teaching students what they really need to know to be successful in Aruban society. In the final analysis, it makes no sense to say that the language of instruction must be Dutch *because* the final assessment is in Dutch, as if no other language could or should be used for external assessment. Aruban policy makers are free to choose which kind of final assessment they use for primary and secondary education, and what curriculum will be offered to the students. A change in the assessment methods for education in Aruba - and the other islands of the former Dutch Caribbean - is possible, as has been proven by the education system in English-speaking Dutch municipality of Saba which has moved away from Dutch tests in favor of the English CXC-examination system.

‘We should not change the language of instruction, I was taught in Dutch by the friars/nuns, and look at what I have achieved’

During Dutch colonial times, and afterwards during the first decades of the semi-independent Netherlands-Antilles, many Aruban students were taught by the friars and the nuns in the catholic schools. Those who excelled were sent to the episcopal school in Willemstad, Curaçao, and some of those managed to obtain a higher degree in the Netherlands. Although many of these students eventually made the European Netherlands their home, those who returned to the Caribbean became the pioneers of modern day society, contributing heavily to the development of the islands. When members of this elite class in Aruban society say that Dutch should remain as the language of instruction in Aruba, because they were taught in Dutch and they succeeded academically and professionally, they completely overlook the fact that the number of Arubans who actually do succeed in this way has always been alarmingly low. Only 2 percent of Arubans over 60 years of age has had any university or non-university tertiary education, and over 50 percent has completed no more than primary education (CBS, 2010: 135). The select few who managed to succeed are the policy

makers now. So those who managed to cope with a Dutch language education system have become successful, but in the process they have forgotten about the large proportion of the population who could not cope with the same system.

Prins-Winkel (1983: 14) makes the following disturbing observations about the educational situation in Curaçao in and before the 1970s, a situation that supposedly was even better than the situation in Aruba: “Attention was focused on the relatively few who – astonishingly enough! – did succeed: probably aided by intelligence, linguistic abilities, endurance, good memory, a healthy disposition and above all: aided by more or less educated parents or acquaintances, with at least some knowledge of Dutch, who were in a position to rightly stimulate and motivate their children. The greater part of Antillean children were not so fortunate...”

If one looks at current educational policy in Aruba, one notices that the main focus is on preparation for higher studies in the Netherlands. The reality is, though, that only about 12 percent of the population not attending school has a bachelor's or master's degree – not always from the Netherlands though – so for at least 88 percent of the population, the preparation for higher studies in Dutch was irrelevant. A large proportion of the people who hold decision making positions in the Aruban government have higher degrees from institutions in the European Netherlands, which was the main option for post-secondary education in the 20th century. In the 21st century, however,, possibilities for further education in the Caribbean region, on line learning , and other new opportunities have made tertiary studies in Dutch only one of a wide range of possible options.

Concluding remarks

All three statements discussed in this article bear witness to the colonial past of Aruba. The first statement is based on the erroneous assumption that the best/optimal language for tertiary level studies is Dutch, the language of the former colonizer. The second statement is based on the erroneous assumptions that Aruba cannot and/or should not devise its own assessment systems, and that the best/optimal system for the external testing of students is the Dutch system. The third statement is based on the erroneous assumption that the educational system designed by the Dutch colonial authorities was and still is the best/optimal one for the people of Aruba. The assumed superiority of the former colonial power still saturates discourse on language and education in Aruba.

The person who asked me the above quoted question on the use of Dutch as language of instruction in Aruba during the Happy Community Conference in 2012 was right to do so, and she deserves an answer. The answer should come from the policy makers and government officials who set the perimeters for the educational system and who are responsible for the socio-economic development of Aruba. When we talk about language and education, and about how we want to shape the educational future of

Aruba, we need to open up a space for dialogue on priorities and possibilities in which the myths and misconceptions of the past have no place. In that dialogue, there should be room not only for discussion concerning educational goals and for an assessment of technical and financial means to achieve them, but also for an honest acknowledgment of the fact that the current educational system which uses Dutch as the language of instruction does not provide the stimulus and opportunities that Aruba wants and needs to offer its young people.

The fact that the question is still being asked, reflects the fact that the answer has not yet been heard. The consequences of this inability to face reality have been painful for past generations. Perhaps meaningful dialogue on language and education will only be possible once personal experience and personal agendas are given less priority than the future of the children in Aruban schools. If we can find a way to move beyond the erroneous assumptions of the past, it may be possible to revive the motivation and commitment of teachers and students to education in Aruba.

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CREOLE LANGUAGES AS THE MEDIUM OF CLASSROOM INSTRUCTION: PERSPECTIVES FROM HAITI TO CURAÇAO AND BONAIRES

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The last thirty years have been witness to a noteworthy increase in the use of Pidgin and Creole languages (P/C) in the public life of a great number of island nations and territories around the world. As pointed out by Migge & Léglise (2007: 314), the active usage of both Pidgin and Creole languages has extended to domains such as health education, vocational training, political campaigning as well as the media. In the face of years of stigmatization and blatant disregard for these burgeoning linguistic varieties, ongoing progressive developments and the efforts exerted by appreciable numbers of multilingual communities have certainly demonstrated that P/Cs are viable and appropriate means of communication, gaining what is hopefully to be somewhat more equal footing with the European languages with which they have coexisted over the centuries.

Despite these positive developments, however, very little change within the formal educational systems of the majority of Creole speaking communities has been observed; at best, it may be categorized as a painfully slow struggle in order for P/Cs to gain a much more significant role in the education of children and young adults. According to Migge & Léglise (2007), while students are, for the most part, no longer discouraged from using their Creole language in their daily interactions, the use of their vernacular has been deemed as unofficial within their school systems, and in numerous cases, relegated to a distant secondary role within their academic and intellectual development as young citizens of their respective countries. In short, informal tolerance of their vernaculars is growing; nonetheless, the language which they have learned from infancy within the domain of their homes has not yet been formally incorporated into to their formative years in school. In all too many cases, their P/C language has simply been viewed as a transitional tool to the full acquisition of an official standard European language.

Given the plight of Creole languages in their struggle for full recognition as truly national vernaculars which will indeed reach new plateaus once each language reaches true prominence as the language of instruction in these communities, this paper

considers (1) the specific cases of three Caribbean nations, namely Haiti, Curaçao and Bonaire, whose Creole languages, Kreyòl and Papiamentu, have coexisted with French and Dutch, respectively, and whose linguistic struggle within the confines of the day-to-day educational process of their youth evidently unites these three distinct nations and communities within the Caribbean context; (2) recent findings obtained by members of the Haitian academic community within the Diaspora in the United States regarding the role of Krèyol in Haitian classrooms from the very early stages of elementary-level education, and; (3) recent findings gleaned from studies in Curaçao and Bonaire, where Papiamentu has struggled to achieve its truly deserved status as a viable medium of classroom instruction on these islands of the former Netherlands Antilles. The vital issue at hand points to the present and future roles of two separate Creole languages, *Kreyòl* and *Papiamentu*, as key factors within the formal educational processes of the children and youth of these Caribbean nations.

According to Siegel (1999: 515; 2005: 295), we may distinguish three broad types of educational programs which incorporate Creole languages: instrumental, accommodation and awareness-raising programs. All three of the aforementioned programs seek to incorporate these languages into formal education; the principal differences among them constituting a type of *continuum*, along which can be situated the varying degrees of value that each program places on a given Creole language.

130 Instrumental programs attempt to incorporate a Creole language into the educational system, employing it as a medium of instruction for the teaching of subjects such as science and math, and ideally, all academic subjects. Indeed, children are afforded the opportunity to acquire literacy in and through their own P/C vernacular. The European standard language is then taught as a second language. Migge & Léglise (2007: 17) provide an updated map from Siegel (1999) of the countries and territories around the globe in which instrumental programs are underway. In the Caribbean, countries with instrumental programs include Haiti (Kreyòl in primary school grades 1-6), Curaçao and Bonaire (Papiamentu in pre-primary and primary level-grades 1-6), Jamaica (Jamaican Creole in primary school grades 1-4), and Nicaragua (Kriol at the primary level). The updated map illustrates that since 1999, important changes concerning P/C inclusion in educational policy have come about in Nicaragua with Kriol, as well as with the establishment of experimental pilot projects in Jamaica and San Andrés (Colombia), in which the Jamaican and Saintandrewan Creole languages have assumed important roles in educational policy projects.

The awareness programs to which Siegel refers (1999: 515) aim to increase positive consciousness concerning children's home language and culture without necessarily introducing their vernacular language as a means of instruction in the classroom. Included in this category are Kwèyòl in Saint Lucia and Créole in Martinique and Guadalupe. Mather (2013) points out that awareness programs have been

implemented in all four French overseas departments (Martinique, Guadeloupe, French Guiana and Réunion), as well as in the case of Hawai'i Creole and Krio in Australia.

The third type of program is that of accommodation, in which the P/C is at best tolerated in the classroom, and never to be used nor considered as a language of instruction. In this regard, Migge, Léglise & Bartens (2010) point to a variety of actual classroom behaviors, ranging from informal language exchange in the Creole language between teachers and students in order to carry out creative activities, explanation of complex material and concepts which if imparted in the Standard European language would not be understood by children to the extreme end of the spectrum, where the use of the vernacular is completely prohibited.

Following numerous revolts carried out by plantation slaves, initiated, according to Fouron (2010: 28) in a 1791 uprising spearheaded by *gens de couleur* (mulattoes) as well as other Haitian citizens and patriots, the armed struggles of the oppressed people of Haiti finally achieved its ultimate goal: national independence from French colonialism and the genesis of a new Caribbean nation in 1804. The linguistic situation of this Caribbean republic has meandered endlessly in parallel fashion to the ebb and flow of Haiti's tormented history, fraught with slavery, foreign invasion, isolationism, horrific coups d'état and enormous economic challenges. The existence of both French and Haitian Creole stems from French imperialist expansion which gained a solid footing in the Caribbean by the seventeenth century. Regardless of the overwhelming use and preference of Haitian Creole over the language imposed by the francophone colonizers of Haiti, there is still little doubt as to which language carries the greater prestige; even long after colonialism was defeated with the advent of Haiti's independence, the perception that Haitian Creole is not a language of great tradition nor one of 'wider communication' has persisted (Zéphir, 2010: 61), which is often re-inforced by the extensive use of French in official government business as well as the Haitian press.

Undoubtedly, one of the most significant advances in what could well be referred to as a renewed acknowledgement of the intrinsic value of Haitian Creole as a truly national language occurred during the 1980s, as part of a process of significant educational reform. The then Minister of Education, Joseph Bernard, directed nation-wide efforts to introduce Haitian Creole as a vehicle of instruction during the first four years of schooling as well as to teach young students their initial literacy skills in their native language, Kreyòl. French was to be taught orally only as an object of instruction, which would, in turn, be taught in written form by the third year. The aim, as Dejean has stated (2010), was to have "balanced bilinguals" by the end of their first ten years of formal instruction. At best, this policy has been implemented very unevenly, and for many Haitian children it remains an unfulfilled promise.

Coinciding with these educational reforms, Haiti's 1987 constitution (article 5) declared Kreyòl as the nation's official language along with French, signifying a second major step toward full recognition as the nation's vernacular, in so much as it raised Haitian Creole to its rightful status as the language that all Haitians share. As reported by Etienne (2000: 5), Kreyòl has since gained important ground in a number of institutional domains, including the Haitian parliament (*Chambre des Députés* and the senate) as well as in some courtroom venues. According to Hadjadj (2000), these efforts toward achievement of language reform promoted Kreyòl as the language of instruction, with the hope of providing broader access to education for all Haitians as well as of bringing about sorely needed pedagogical reform.

Commissioned by the Bureau of Haiti's Special Envoy to the United Nations and the Social Science Research Council (SSRC), a research team comprised of six Columbia University graduate students, five from the School of International and Public Affairs (SIPA) and one from the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, conducted a qualitative study, titled *The Haitian Diaspora & Education Reform in Haiti: Challenges & Recommendations* (Carlson et al., 2011) in order to analyze the capacity of the US-based Haitian Diaspora to contribute to the promotion of much needed change in Haiti's education system. The project's chief aims were to (1) study existing and potential relationships between Haitian Diaspora groups and development in Haiti; (2) make recommendations to the government of Haitian Diaspora organizations and international agencies to assist the country in education reform; and (3) enhance diaspora engagement and contributions to Haiti. All recommendations and conclusions gathered by the research team were to be directed toward diaspora organizations, the Government of Haiti, and the international community.

With a nominal Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of some 8 billion US dollars in 2012 and a population of nearly 10 million, Haiti is classified as one of the world's poorest countries, far behind its neighbors in the areas of income, health and education. The tragic effects of the devastating earthquake of January of 2010 have had a profound impact on all aspects of life in Haiti and have placed this nation on the brink of total despair. According to the above mentioned study (Carlson et al., 2011), it is estimated that approximately 1.3 million children and youth under the age of 18 were directly affected by the disaster. Of this population, 700,000 were primary school-age children between the ages of six and 12 years old.

As part of its data collection process, the research team conducted 37 interviews (including one focus group interview) over an approximately two month period. Although the majority of the sample consisted of individuals and members of groups within the Haitian Diaspora, interviews were also conducted with members of several non-Haitian non-governmental organizations. The research team included among their interviewees persons with experience in the fields of primary and secondary

education, vocational training, and student support. The team also interviewed people in Haitian diasporic centers such as New York, Massachusetts, Washington, D.C., and Florida in order to obtain a comprehensive understanding of their involvement in education in Haiti.

After analyzing the data, the research team identified a matrix of salient topics that included education, with particular emphasis on and interest in curriculum and language of instruction. The study revealed that there were three perspectives on the language of instruction in Haiti: (1) the view that French must continue to be the main language of instruction, because French represents an integral part of Haitian cultural and linguistic history as well as being a language with greater social capital than Kreyòl; (2) views that emphasize the importance of Kreyòl in education, not only from a practical perspective (few students actually understand French) but also because such a policy would promote Haitian cultural identity; and (3) the use of English as language of instruction, due to the significant presence of non-governmental organizations from English speaking countries in Haiti following the earthquake as well as the country's "close relations and geographic proximity to other English-speaking nations" (Carlson et al.: 26-27).

The following is a brief summary of the team's final recommendations regarding the language of instruction:

- a. The Haitian government must work towards the creation and implementation of a standardized curriculum, which among its principal tasks is the establishment of a primary language of instruction.
- b. Haitian education should be bilingual, incorporating a primary and a secondary language, with the most prominent candidate languages being Kreyòl, French, English and Spanish.
- c. In order for the Haitian government to determine whether or not a bilingual / multilingual system should be established as well as to determine which languages should be used in such a system the general population of Haiti should be consulted, considering two principal factors, namely economic impacts and social value.

As in the majority of the Caribbean islands and territories, the Dutch Leeward islands of Aruba, Bonaire and Curaçao are multilingual. Dijkhoff & Pereira (2010: 235) state that according to the latest census (2001), the principal languages spoken on the ABC Islands are Papiamentu, Dutch and Spanish. Papiamentu is by far the most widely spoken language, to which data regarding its use as the home language so clearly attests: more than 80% of Curaçaoans, 73 % of people in Bonaire and almost 70% of Arubans speak Papiamentu. Conversely, the reported use of Dutch in citizens' homes

is very rare, garnering a mere 9.3% in Curaçao, 10.4% in Bonaire and 6.1% in Aruba (Dijkhoff & Pereira 2010: 235). Interestingly, most people who do speak Dutch, English or Spanish at home also claim Papiamentu as their second language. As linguists who have worked extensively with the language situation of the ABC Islands, Marta Dijkhoff and Joyce Pereira's research has been based upon fieldwork and observation in primary schools, interviews and discussions with school personnel as well as the analysis of documents concerning language policy and education, such as reports, laws, census statistics, and similar aspects. Dijkhoff & Pereira (2010) carefully revisit language policy developments between 1979 and 2001, which established a definitive framework for sorely needed changes yet to come. As they clearly point out, prior to 2001, (2010: 246-247) formal education in the Leeward Islands used Dutch as the language of instruction, as if the Papiamentu speaking children, most of whom are not exposed to Dutch outside the classroom, used Dutch as an L1 or a widely spoken L2. The faulty assumption was that children in Bonaire and Curaçao would simply 'pick up Dutch' with some degree of ease as they learned how to read and write in this language, that is, they were expected to gain new knowledge through a language with which they were essentially unfamiliar. While very little attention was paid to their vernacular language, Papiamentu, frustration among students and educators grew as the dropout rates for students spiked. In addition to the above-mentioned educational shortcomings regarding students' overall academic achievement within the school systems of Bonaire and Curaçao, a widespread and persistent sense of dissatisfaction prevailed among educators and parents, due to a students' lack of language proficiency in both Papiamentu and Dutch.

In the 1990s educational reform took place at the pre-primary and primary levels. Some of the most crucial changes came about through the *Foundation-based Education* (FBE) program, which attempted to guide the schools toward a more realistic policy regarding language use in the classroom. Three fundamental areas were targeted by FBE: learning environments, learning approach and evaluation, with a total of eleven specific measures to be implemented. This program gave rise to a significant number of changes within the school systems of Bonaire and Curaçao (Dijkhoff & Pereira 2010: 254), including the following:

1. Classroom instruction in Papiamentu on Bonaire and Curaçao for ten consecutive years; with Dutch to be taught as a subject and foreign language
2. Inclusion of children with learning and behavioral problems
3. Design of curriculum to no longer be based exclusively on methods imported from Holland but rather upon the cultural needs and interests of children within the Caribbean context
4. Authentic evaluation based on a portfolio system

These changes would afford elementary school children the opportunity to develop Dutch-language skills during a ten-year period, with the goal of eventually reaching proficiency levels appropriate for the third year of secondary education.

Significant changes in this policy were made during 2007, at the behest of the Minister of Education. Dijkhoff & Pereira see the following factors as having brought about these changes: (1) political issues regarding the Dutch Kingdom and its own educational system; (2) general absence of consideration for 'local' issues; and (3) influence exerted by the Roman Catholic school board on the islands. As a result, there was a transfer of the authority over education in Bonaire and Curaçao to the Dutch government which in turn entailed a reduced commitment to any of the changes in language policy proposed under FBE and increased tendencies toward discouraging the use of Papiamentu as a medium of instruction. School boards in Curaçao began to revert to using Dutch as the language of instruction because permission was granted to local school boards to discard or opt out of the use of Papiamentu as well as to choose other languages of instruction, thus adopting a monolingual model to replace the FBE bilingual model of education.

Data gleaned by Dijkhoff & Pereira clearly demonstrate the current state of affairs regarding language policy on Curaçao and Bonaire which is characterized by a plethora of inconsistencies regarding any effort to establish a steadfast language policy, to the net detriment of Papiamentu. Dijkhoff & Pereira (2010: 259) report that of the 28 Roman Catholic primary schools in Curaçao, one uses Dutch exclusively while 27 are presumed to be bilingual. Eight of these schools begin reading and writing classes in Papiamentu, and 19 in Dutch. Public schools in Curaçao and two smaller school boards maintain Papiamentu as the medium of instruction and teach Dutch as a subject. Notwithstanding, a survey of public school language policy (Dijkhoff, 2009) indicates that some schools are utilizing a bilingual model similar to that used by Roman Catholic schools, in which instruction commences in Papiamentu in the lower grades and switches to Dutch in grades in the fourth or fifth grade.

Of the five schools in Bonaire, one Roman Catholic school teaches all subjects in Dutch in all grades and the other four of them use Papiamentu as the medium of formal instruction (Dijkhoff, 2009).

Indeed there are very robust common bonds among these three Caribbean nations of Haiti, Curaçao and Bonaire relative to their struggles over time to preserve their national identities as well as strengthen their national languages, particularly within the domain of education for their children. All three island nations can be said to be inextricably united in a common struggle. Just as every centimeter of Caribbean space has suffered the pillages and oppression of slavery and colonialism and the cultural designs of a European metropolis, we also find renewed and vigorous awareness, national pride, and the will to achieve full recognition of national vernaculars in the

classroom as one of the most cherished national treasures. In recent years, as noted by Dijkhoff & Pereira (2010: 271), collaborative efforts among educators from Curaçao, Bonaire, and Aruba regarding language planning and the strengthening of Papiamentu as a viable medium of education have been underway. Between 75 and 100 teachers have successfully completed BA and MA level programs in Papiamentu language studies and teaching and now work as instructors and language consultants in schools and government agencies on all three of the ABC Islands. Alongside its impressive and comprehensive list of textbooks and other publications in Papiamentu the *Fundashon pa Planifikashon di Idioma* (FPI) in Curaçao has recently initiated a project with partners in Aruba to produce the language series *Cristal* for use at the secondary level.

Despite holding diverse views regarding national language policy in the Haitian education system, Haitian scholars, linguists, educators and the overwhelming majority of Haitian citizens at home and in the Diaspora concur that this issue must be urgently addressed. Within the scope of these efforts, as observed here, the Haitian Diaspora has assumed a much more pro-active role in the discussion of national issues, particularly in the wake of the devastating earthquake of January of 2010. Most certainly, it will be necessary to carefully assess the role of the Diaspora in national language issues in future research.

136

Finally, the moment has arrived to foster much greater consciousness regarding linguistic, cultural, and historical issues among the general citizenry of Puerto Rico, a Caribbean nation itself, which shares the Antillean space with its sister nations. The academic community of Puerto Rico has richly contributed to these efforts; linguists, students, and educators in Puerto Rico have spearheaded important research endeavors in order to strengthen cultural ties between Puerto Rico and its Caribbean neighbors, despite the numerous hindrances and lack of incentives put into place by different political administrations on the Island of Puerto Rico. The study of and the subsequent cognizance and sincere appreciation for the defense of the vernacular Creole languages within our midst will no doubt enrich Puerto Rico's own educational and cultural experience.

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CARIBBEAN LANGUAGE EDUCATION POLICY AND PLANNING: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THREE ISLAND CASE STUDIES

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Introduction

Most nations today have multilingual sociocultural scenarios that complicate educational planning and demand language education policies (LEPs) that synchronize language and public education policies. The Caribbean islands are particularly challenging in this regard because many of the vernacular languages spoken in the region are Creoles, and the official languages are legacies from the former colonizing powers. This study analytically compares the LEPs of three Caribbean islands – Aruba, Jamaica, and Haiti – in order to evaluate their similarities and differences and propose a more comprehensive view of the language planning dynamic in the region. Through an exhaustive literature review of primary and secondary sources and a reliance on the theoretical understandings obtained from Cooper's (2009) model of language planning, a case study is constructed for each island which considers the sociolinguistic history, pedagogical issues, LEP development, and sociocultural repercussions of the LEP efforts. The case studies are analyzed together in order to demonstrate the overall political, economic, and social repercussions of LEPs and language attitudes. The project concludes that even though the three islands are politically autonomous, their educational systems still reflect colonialist attitudes because the previous colonizers' school systems have been *adopted* without being *adapted* to local sociocultural and sociolinguistic contexts. This condition consequently reproduces and perpetuates language attitudes that favor standard European languages and devalue the creole vernaculars.

In order to investigate and evaluate Caribbean LEPs, three Caribbean islands, each with its unique history, sociolinguistic circumstances, and LEP efforts, were systematically compared. A *comparative framework* is often utilized when similarities and differences need to be analyzed. Pennington (2009) observes that comparing the similarities and differences between political systems across countries allows social scientists to evaluate how different states compare and assess whether theoretical models are able to claim universal validity (p. 13). Bignold & Gayton (2009: 5)

comment that comparative educational research “helps educationalists to consider the implications of doing things differently, remembering that any educational system is set within the historic, social, economic and political context of the country concerned.”

A comparative approach to language education policies allows researchers to observe LEPs and assess their respective developmental trajectories, taking into consideration the different sociocultural, historical, and political forces at play in a given country. As Novoa & Yariv-Mashal (2003) explain:

The focus of Comparative Education should not be on the “facts” or the “realities,” but on *problems*. By definition, the facts (events, countries, systems, etc.) are incomparable. It is possible to highlight differences and similarities, but it is hard to go further. Only *problems* can constitute the basis for complex comparisons: problems that are anchored in the present, but that possess a history and anticipate different possible futures; problems that are located and relocated in places and times, through processes of transfer, circulation and appropriation; problems that can only be elucidated through the adoption of new *zones of looking* that are inscribed in a space delimited by frontiers of meaning, and not only by physical boundaries.” (p.16)

The cases selected for this comparative study – Jamaica, Haiti, and Aruba – share socio-historical characteristics that are influential in the development of each island’s LEPs. These three islands are all characterized by a colonial heritage which has fostered language attitudes that devalue the majority’s vernacular Creole and exalt the colonizer’s European language, resulting in public education programs that historically have recognized the colonizer’s European language as the only valid vehicle for academic instruction, even though the vernacular of the majority of each island’s population is a creole language.

What is interesting, though, is that each island was colonized by a different European power and therefore has a different vernacular Creole in tension with a different European language, as Table 1 demonstrates:

Table 1 Language Profiles

Island	Creole	European language
Aruba	Papiamentu (Portuguese/Spanish-lexified)	Dutch
Haiti	Kreyol (French-lexified)	French
Jamaica	Jamaican Creole (English-lexified)	English

Table 1 also shows that each island (system/case) is representative of the different Creole-speaking communities throughout the Caribbean.

Each island's sociopolitical history is radically different, and their sociolinguistic compositions have evolved in response to their individual developmental trajectories. Regardless of their differences, these systems all support language education policies that exclude the majority's vernacular Creole.

Cooper's (2009) theoretical model can serve as a guide to language policy researchers who are attempting to describe, predict, and explain language-related changes, both planned and unplanned. This model will serve as the organizational and theoretical underpinning of the present comparative study.

CASE STUDY 1: ARUBA

The island of Aruba was part of the former Netherlands Antilles until 1986 when it was granted *Status Aparte* from the Kingdom of the Netherlands, resulting in local autonomy. The island's two official languages are Dutch and Papiamentu, while English and Spanish are also widely spoken. Martinus (cited by Carroll, 2009) argues that Papiamentu originated from a Proto-Afro-Portuguese Creole developed among the slaves that were brought to Curaçao, the colonial capital of the Netherlands Antilles. Generally speaking, the language integrates linguistic elements from (1) the African languages spoken by the slaves brought from different parts of Africa to Curaçao; (2) the variant of Portuguese spoken by the Sephardic Jews who emigrated from Brazil and became slave traders; and (3) the Dutch language spoken by the merchants who owned the slaves and the land. "These groups brought a collection of diverse languages, cultures and histories, laying the foundation for what is now Aruba." (Carroll, 2009: 100).

Many scholars agree that neither Spanish nor English was involved in the creation of Papiamentu, even though it is undeniable that, nowadays, Spanish and English have become very influential. Some analysts even consider that they are threatening the sociolinguistic stability of Papiamentu. "The formation of Papiamentu, as well as its subsequent survival, had a lot to do with its role as a *lingua franca* among the diverse inhabitants of the Leeward Islands [Netherlands Antilles]" (Carroll, 2009: 101). This was made possible by the Dutch government's lack of interest in educating the slaves, since they were believed to be unworthy of being considered as or treated like Dutchmen. Therefore, the lack of instruction in the Dutch language, combined with the need of the multilingual slaves to communicate among themselves, created the context in which Papiamentu became not only the language of the slaves but also a language in which other groups communicated with them, as the Catholic priests did.

It is necessary to note that the Catholic priests, whose mother tongue was Spanish, played a very influential role in the development of Papiamentu because when they arrived on the island, they learned the language, conducted services in Papiamentu,

and initiated slave education efforts. This allowed for the development of the language in other spheres (religion and education) and the appropriation of many Spanish words into the lexicon of the Creole. Also, when the Dutch government banned the priests from using Papiamento as the medium of instruction in schools, they still conducted clandestine services in the language (Carroll, 2009).

With the expansion of access to formal education in the late 19th century, the Dutch government in Aruba required the use of Dutch in official government proceedings and tried to implement language education policies that recognized Dutch as the sole, valid medium of instruction, partly because authorities noted that not even the Dutch children raised in Aruba were learning to speak Dutch correctly.

Standardization

Papiamento codification efforts began with the Catholic priests and missionaries who came to the island and translated the Bible into the population's vernacular Creole in order to instil their religion (Carroll, 2009; Herrera, 2003). The translators used their knowledge of Spanish in the codification of Papiamento and produced an etymological orthography for the language. Later on, the translated Bible began to be used as a literacy teaching tool, until the Dutch prohibited the practice. Carroll (2009) explains that informal standardization processes were taking place in local newspapers in Papiamento and printed media through the already codified etymological orthography.

Currently, the Aruban Linguistic Institute (ALI) is responsible for most of the Department of Education's (DE) corpus planning objectives, such as standardizing orthography, grammar, and lexicon; developing and revising a Papiamento dictionary, creating Papiamento spellchecking software, researching the colloquial uses of words, and keeping track of publications (Herrera, 2003). It also has a daily radio program of Papiamento instruction for children and provides the newspaper's Papiamento crossword puzzles. More importantly, "An advisory role is maintained by the ALI as educators incorporate instruction in Papiamento for delivering content of the curriculum current only at special schools" (Herrera, 2003: 120).

Pedagogical issues

By 1920, there was already a conscientious sector of the island's society that was suggesting the incorporation of Papiamento into the public education curriculum (Herrera, 2003). The Dutch government was outraged by these suggestions and proclaimed a set of mandates which could be considered the first official LEPs implemented on the island. No funding was to be given to any educator who did not use Dutch as the medium of instruction, and teachers were prohibited from teaching Papiamento or Spanish. "The vernacular tongue was cursed and proclaimed as being a language completely unfit to educate anyone properly" (Herrera, 2003: 82). These

mandates shaped creolophobic language attitudes that still dominate the island's collective consciousness. By the mid-1950s, the Dutch government began to offer scholarships to those Aruban students who successfully graduated from the island's Dutch school system.

During the 20th century this policy met with much resistance from the Papiamentu-speaking majority which included teachers and school directors. In response, the Dutch government began to offer subsidies to schools in order to ensure that they would only use Dutch as the medium of instruction, and certified teachers were brought from the Netherlands (Carroll, 2009: 116). It could be said, though, that the Dutch language never acquired the social prestige intended or expected, because it embodied political and sociocultural tensions. Nevertheless, it still remains the language of instruction in schools and is the primary language in the courts and the government.

The movement of *Status Aparte* was ultimately an initiative to gain local autonomy through the recognition of a unique Aruban identity. Among the arguments used to promote this movement were the linguistic differences between the Papiamentu used in Aruba and the unique varieties of Papiamentu used in Curaçao and Bonaire, respectively. The two most important differences are the stronger influence of Spanish in the lexicon and the etymological spelling adopted in Aruba. This demonstrates the crucial value of language as a cultural identity marker. What is even more interesting is that in Aruba, English and Spanish are gaining speakers as well. The following table describes the sociolinguistic profile of Aruban households from 1996 to 2010:

Table 2 Languages most spoken in Aruban households in percentages
(Central Bureau of Statistics, Aruba in Kester & Fun, 2012: 1; Emerencia, cited in Herrera, 2003)

	1981	1991	1996	2000	2010
Papiamentu	80.1	76.6	74.0	69.4	68.3
Spanish	3.1	7.4	10.0	13.2	13.5
Dutch	5.0	5.4	6.5	6.1	6.0
English	10.6	8.9	7.0	8.1	7.0

This table reveals two very significant tendencies. First, the Spanish language has experienced a steady increase of native speakers, while the percentages of Dutch and English language native speakers have plateaued. On the other hand, Papiamentu has suffered a decrease of native speakers but still holds a solid advantage over the others. This might be explained by an increase in bilingual or even multilingual speakers that have acquired Papiamentu even though their household (first) language is one of the

others. Therefore, Aruba possesses a multilingual sociolinguistic context that experiences dynamic linguistic variability.

Even with the officialization of Papiamentu on May 21, 2003 (Carroll, 2009: 120), its use in classrooms has been limited due to the Aruban government's history of LEPs that resulted from the original Dutch language education mandates. These policies have fomented palpable tension between polarized language attitudes:

In 1979 the Netherlands Antilles wrote a Primary Education Act that nobly states in Article #9 that the official language for educational instruction shall be Papiamentu. However, in the same Primary Education Act of 1979 in a later article, #89, states that Article #9 will not be immediately enacted, rather the enactment will begin at a future date later yet to be determined. (Herrera, 2003: 71)

A few years later, in 1998, *The Protocol of Willemstad* was enacted which made permanent the use of the Dutch language and the Dutch curriculum design in the education systems of Curaçao, Bonaire, and Aruba (Herrera, 2003). In other words, the *Protocol* fossilized the Aruban public education system as a copy of the Dutch education system by restraining any efforts toward modification or contextualization.

Language education policy development

Many scholars and institutions advocate the use of the mother tongue for early instruction because it allows the students to develop cognitive abilities without having to be concerned with decoding a foreign language of instruction. "Research supports native language instruction education as literacy skills and strategies are able to transcend language and build upon one another: competency in one's first language has been found to dramatically increase the competency attainable in the second language" (Herrera, 2003: 73).

One of the problematic aspects of the Aruban education system has been its blind mirroring of the Dutch educational system via the use of Dutch as the language of instruction and the utilization of teaching materials based on the Dutch culture. Higher education structures do the same, with students promoted into career preparation tracks or levels after the sixth grade, depending on their performance on a standardized test (Herrera, 2003).

This implies that the Aruban education system uses Dutch as the medium of instruction, thus restricting the pedagogical process to the teaching and learning of what constitutes a foreign language for most people and impeding the teaching and learning of content. Students are inserted into a curriculum that requires them to master a new language in order to be educated. Furthermore, Aruban teachers who are not proficient enough in Dutch to detect their own mistakes often resort to teaching straight from the text books (Herrera, 2003: 79).

Teaching is further thwarted because the materials are not culturally contextualized and are therefore less accessible to the learners.

The ways culturally relevant themes emerge in curriculum are seriously hindered when the language for those local materials is translated into a foreign language. It is unnatural and obstructs the flow in communication. When applying cognitive concepts to community problem solving, the foreign language again causes unnecessary impediment. (Herrera, 2003: 101).

These circumstances call into question the efficiency of an education system that determines a student's level of schooling based on a test given in a foreign language that has been prepared for with culturally inaccessible materials. While Papiamentu is considered by most Arubans to be a determining element of their cultural identity, Dutch is considered the language of opportunity and progress because of the academic and professional opportunities that result from its mastery. Nevertheless, for those who do not manage to master it and advance within the public education system, Dutch is regarded as the language of exclusion and failure (Herrera, 2003; Carroll, 2009; Kester & Fun, 2012).

It is apparent that the reasons for using Dutch as a medium of instruction not only reflect the sociolinguistic attitudes associated with Dutch but in a way also contribute to their perpetuation through LEPs. Aware of the benefits of mother tongue instruction and the negative impact Dutch-medium instruction is having on the students' academic performance and the island's collective linguistic attitudes, a number of institutions and organizations have dedicated themselves to devising plans and projects that support the use of Papiamentu in the Aruban classroom.

The first institution to be recognized is the Department of Education (DE) and its collaboration in *Na Caminda pa nos Drenta*, a government document written in 1988 by the Papiamentu Commission in an attempt to introduce Papiamentu as the language of instruction in the island's schools (Herrera, 2003: 105). This document laid the foundation for a series of initiatives

Instituto Pedagógico Arubano (IPA)

The IPA is a four-year higher education institution that focuses primarily on the training of teachers and the continuous education of already certified educators. It also sponsors research on, and development and evaluation of existing programs in conjunction with the schools. It has six primary goals:

- (1) Educate teachers to be investigators and researchers;
- (2) Develop innovative pedagogy so educational tasks will be successful;
- (3) Embrace a Vygotskian theory of education;
- (4) Produce Dutch proficient teachers to give grammatically correct content instruction in Dutch. Direct native Dutch teachers to teach the upper grades;

(5) Produce Papiamentu proficient teachers to communicate and explain educational lessons for preschool children; and

(6) Stimulate participation in community projects (Herrera, 2003: 106).

The IPA has also proposed an initiative to further develop their certification program up to a Bachelor of Arts degree. It requires students to visit schools outside of Aruba in order to broaden their pedagogical perspectives and complement their teaching styles. In sum, the IPA represents an ongoing effort to ameliorate the education system's problems by engaging directly with educators.

Thodé (2010) reports that the IPA has successfully alleviated the shortage of primary school teachers, as well as designed and implemented five new courses of study for their teacher training programs. The goal is to continue developing the teacher training curriculum and promote research. In order to carry out their second goal, they have developed the *Centro di Investigacion di Enseñansa (CIDE)*, a research department dedicated to the design and implementation of research projects focused on Aruban education, and to the training of Aruban educators as pedagogical researchers. As a means of organizing and directing their research efforts, each year is assigned a theme.

By directly involving teachers in these research initiatives, the IPA hopes to foment community involvement, since teachers are the ones who operate in the community context and, by working directly with community members, have a clearer view of their particular educational needs. In this sense, teachers are considered the agents of change and improvement of the LEPs.

Proyecto Innovacion Enseñanza Preparatorio y Enseñanza Basico (PRIEPEB)

Another innovative and crucial initiative was the PRIEPEB. "The goal of this project is to stimulate, organize and coordinate innovation in Aruban Education. This ten-year plan contained proposals for change to improve education in Aruba over the years from 1997-2006" (Herrera, 2003: 108). It advocated change from the bottom-up, that is, from the public to the educators to the politicians. It established nine committees, each focused on a particular area for research and innovation linked to sociocultural aspects of education and language education in order to develop more culturally relevant structures and curricula for kindergarten, primary education (years 1-5), and special education:

(1) A committee for curriculum reform tasked to develop a national curriculum for public schools that would incorporate contextualized materials.

(2) A teaching pedagogy committee to research alternative teaching methods so the students' different learning styles could be properly addressed, complemented by a school development committee focused on the development of teams of educators according to the students' particular needs and by a structures committee focused on synchronizing the curricula

of all the education system's structures (kindergarten, primary, and secondary) in order to achieve a more holistic and complete system.

- (3) A committee for school, society, and family to serve as an intermediary between schools, the community (society), and individual families, with the goal of looking into the relationships among these entities in order to gain a better understanding of the system's overall dynamics.
- (4) A legal and financial regulations committee to review the legal aspects of all the reforms and changes. In other words, this last committee would serve as the PRIEPEB's governmental advocate.

Plan di trabao pa realisacion di un Maneho di Idioma pa enseñansa na Aruba (PMI)

The PMI concerns itself directly with the language education policies and planning necessary to make the previous projects possible. "The thrust of this document moves toward meeting the goals of developing Papiamentu as a Creole language and introducing Papiamentu as the content language of instruction in schools in Aruba" (Herrera, 2003: 114). The plan's first innovative proposal is that the schools should be multilingual like the island's population. The first portion of the plan reviews the steps that need to be followed in the language planning process. It includes processes such as standardization, orthography, lexical innovation, etc.

The second portion lists the plan's goals of implementing Papiamentu as the language of content instruction, teacher training, and curriculum language preparation. The third section presents a literature review of the language planning efforts so far and notes any blind spots or themes left to be researched. The final section identifies organizations that might be instrumental in social/community outreach and language promotion. Different campaign and advertisement strategies to promote Papiamentu are proposed.

Grupo Pa Promove Papiamentu (GP3)

The Department of Education declared 1997 the Year of Papiamentu, and the GP3 was one of the primary sponsors of the year's events. A number of special projects were initiated that promoted the improved knowledge and correct use of Papiamentu (Herrera, 2003: 116). Most of these projects were cultural outreach projects that included promotional memorabilia such as t-shirts, posters, stickers etc. They also promoted the translation of famous literary works such as *The Diary of Anne Frank* in order to demonstrate the use of the language for formal genres. The success of the year was made apparent when the GP3's efforts reached the media, and journalists and TV personalities adopted and encouraged the use of GP3's proposed standard orthography. Moreover, GP3 began to offer journalists and other media personalities

various linguistics classes and language workshops on how to properly use Papiamentu.

Scol Multilingual

Croes (2011) considers the *Scol Multilingual* project to be the first initiative that explicitly supports multilingual education through a holistic approach and regards learning as a process of construction. Given that every language transmits a particular sociocultural perspective, it regards Aruba's sociolinguistic context not only as a producer of multilingual individuals, but also as a producer of multicultural individuals. It intends, unlike traditional schools, to utilize the students' multilingualism and multiculturalism as complementary stepping stones in the attainment of knowledge.

This project proposes to gradually introduce literacy instruction in four languages during the first years of schooling, in order to produce students who are literate in all four.

The most salient road block that this project has encountered is the traditional Dutch-only system itself and the language attitudes that come along with it. In order to address both the pedagogical and social aspects of the Aruban context, the project has designed the curriculum in a way that permits the expansion of the social functions of the languages to academic functions.

Sociocultural repercussions

It is important to note that using Papiamentu today as a medium of instruction is an initiative that is being tested only in some schools. Moreover, it is an initiative that is opposed by many parents who have never been formally taught Papiamentu and consider its instruction to be a waste of time. Interestingly enough, Papiamentu has been the language of instruction for many years in special education classes, kindergarten, and vocational education (Pereira, 2008: 172). This reveals that the parental and institutional resistance to Papiamentu is only related to its use in "normal programs." Papiamentu is implicitly accepted as the proper language of instruction for those students who are not viewed as cognitively capable of succeeding in the standard system.

Attitudes such as these reflect the stranglehold that the colonial worldview still has on the collective consciousness of the Aruban people, as they are perpetuated through LEPs. Moreover, Papiamentu is listed last in the list of subjects that the Department of Education offers its students during the Basic program (analogous to elementary school). One could argue that this placement could be a mere coincidence because it was the last subject to be added. But it raises the question: If it is, in fact, the language of instruction, should it not be listed as a priority subject, alongside reading, writing, and Dutch?

Kester & Fun (2012) argue that “language attitudes seem to be heavily influenced by the status of Dutch as a foreign colonial language that was imposed on the community and recognized as the only official language until 2003” (Kester & Fun, 2012: 1). The researchers conducted an investigation in which they surveyed Aruban students studying in the Netherlands regarding their feelings about their Dutch identity and citizenship, their Aruban identity, the importance of Papiamentu, and language.

The survey concluded that Aruban students in the Netherlands have a positive attitude towards their Dutch citizenship and residency in the Netherlands. Interestingly enough, these university students are mostly positive about their Aruban identity, while also feeling held back by it. When moving to the Netherlands, Aruban students become part of the Antillean minority and face the sociocultural limitations associated with minority populations. Therefore, their Aruban identity becomes a possible hindrance when trying to access the opportunities (academic, professional, etc.) available in the Netherlands.

This tension might be explained by their conceptualization of Dutch as the only appropriate language to use in academic, work-related, or professional contexts. In contrast, they consider Papiamentu to be important for living in Aruba and relating to their family and friends (social networks) (Kester & Fun, 2012). These observations should be considered as indicative of how attitudes towards Papiamentu and Dutch are related but not mutually exclusive. Both languages are considered useful for different functions. It seems that there is tension among the different language attitudes: while Arubans defend Papiamentu as a cultural identity marker, they recognize that Dutch will ‘open more doors.’ In other words, in order to be a true Aruban, one must speak Papiamentu, but if one wants to succeed and have a prosperous career, one must master Dutch.

CASE STUDY 2: HAITI

In order to understand sociolinguistic attitudes toward Haitian Creole (HC) and French in Haiti, we must consider the island’s sociolinguistic history. Haiti was a French colony from 1625-1803, and at that time, the colonizers’ focus was mainly on plantation slavery, which meant that little to nothing was done to educate the slaves. Only the children of the French elite were sent to France to be educated. On the other hand, the Voudou religion provided a form of clandestine oral education among the slaves: “[t]he culture of *oral transmission* in Haitian Vodou negated and waged war on the culture of *written transmission* in French colonialism and Catholicism” (Hebblethwaite, 2012: 259). As a result, “Haiti’s capitalist and neocolonialist bilingual society [French] evolved as a written civilization whereas monolingual Haitian Creole society evolved as an oral civilization” (Hebblethwaite, 2012: 259).

Gibson (2011) reports that even during the colonial period, the Haitian elite used both HC and French. Therefore, it is important to recognize that Haiti’s elite has histori-

cally been bilingual. In other words, regardless of their negative attitudes toward the language, they spoke HC, and they could be identified as Haitian because of that fact. It could be said that being a HC speaker marked one as belonging to Haitian society, while being a French speaker conveyed a sense of one's superior status within Haitian society. Social stratification was therefore perpetuated and enhanced by linguistic behaviors and the relation of the speakers to the plantation slave economy.

When the Haitian revolution broke out in 1791, the country suffered tremendously in all administrative aspects. The revolution intended to eradicate the rule of France over the island and ultimately claim Haitian autonomy. However, after the French colonial elite was overthrown, a new *mulatto* bilingual elite took over and perpetuated the French governmental system as a model for the new republic of Haiti and retained the French language as the official language for government (Gibson, 2011: 17). The valorization of French by the light-skinned local elite cemented the language's prestige *vis-à-vis* HC and led to the devaluation and exclusion of the HC-speaking community from all government affairs and services, including education. In Haiti today, a French-only education system is controlled by a tiny bilingual minority and is imposed upon a mostly excluded HC monolingual population.

It was not until the Constitution of 1957 that HC received a glimmer of recognition and was approved to be used in specific circumstances – such as in legal proceedings – involving monolingual HC speakers. Two decades later, the Constitution of 1979, promoting Haiti as a bilingual republic, recognized French as the language of instruction and HC as a tool of education. Finally, in the 1987 Constitution, Haitian Creole was co-officialized as “the sole language that unifies all Haitians”, supposedly acknowledging the monolingual HC-speaking majority's language rights, without altering the controversial bilingual characterization of the society (Hebblethwaite, 2012).

Many scholars have debated the designation of Haiti as a bilingual country because only the Haitian elite (5-7% of the total population) are actually bilingual, while the rest (93-95%) are essentially HC monolinguals (Hebblethwaite, 2012; Gibson, 2011). Furthermore, different varieties of French are spoken among the bilingual elite, and different varieties of HC are spoken through the island. The bilingual elite utilize two varieties of French – traditional Haitian French and French with creolisms. As could be anticipated, the second variety incorporates some lexical elements from the *Kreyòl fransize* spoken by this population, also known as the *Kreyòl swa* (soft Creole). Among the rural and urban masses, three varieties of Haitian Creole have been described: *Kreyòl*, *Bon Kreyòl*, and *Kreyòl rèk* (Gibson, 2011; Schieffelin & Charlier-Doucet, 1994). There is still some debate regarding the nomenclature for these varieties and the sociolinguistic stigma they carry, but the existence of contrasting varieties of HC has never been questioned. Therefore, it would be sounder to consider

Haiti's sociolinguistic context as pseudo-diglossic, rather than bilingual (Gibson, 2011).

Standardization

The dichotomy that is very influential in the collective consciousness and language attitudes in Haitian society is between the *Kreyòl fransize/Kreyòl swa* of the elites and the rural and urban varieties of HC spoken by the masses. The elite varieties approximate French, the power language, to such an extent that when it came to standardizing HC, class-based controversies emerged.

Since 1925, there have been numerous efforts to standardize HC and to construct an orthographic system for it. Eleven spelling systems have been proposed, responding to three particular ideologies (Schieffelin & Charlier-Doucet, 1994):

(1) *A pro-etymological and anti-phonemic Francophile approach* has been proposed by scholars who argue that HC's orthography should remain close to French because they are coexisting and related languages and because a similar orthography will facilitate the acquisition of French orthography. Such writing systems have been mostly used in literary circles by independent writers who construct their own orthographies based on etymological links to standard French (the language they are literate in). Nevertheless, one of the main problems with etymological orthography, in Haiti's particular sociolinguistic context, is that it is pedagogically unsound.

(2) *A pro-phonemic approach* was the basis of the McConnell-Laubach orthography proposed in 1943, which considered accessibility by the illiterate masses not exposed to French in their daily lives and the literate masses that only encounter it in schools as the most important issue. The phonemic spelling system was promoted through a literacy campaign under the administration of Elie Lescot (1941-1946) and utilized materials inspired by Protestant religious texts with a salvation agenda. Some argue that the involvement of the Protestant church contributed to the resistance to and ultimate failure of this spelling system, because it was associated with the American regime. One of the biggest issues the system presented was that it lacked representation of the rounded vowels (p. 184).

(3) *A combination of both: a phonemic orthography with concessions to French spelling* was proposed by scholars, like Presoir, who favored a phonemic orthography complemented by French orthography for the vowel sounds that are shared by the two languages. Presoir (a Haitian linguist) modified a few aspects of the McConnell-Laubach orthography but retained the phonemic codification. This system adopted some

French orthographic conventions such as the digraph *ou* to represent both the vocalic /u/ sound and the semi-vocalic /w/ sound (p. 185).

In 1979, the Bernard Reform mandated the use of HC as the language of instruction in Haitian schools, putting pressure on ongoing standardization efforts. The construction and standardization of a HC orthography was imperative, given that it was to be implemented and promoted in the curriculum and materials intended for the public education system, which traditionally used French as the medium of instruction at all levels. It was also going to be used in the writing of teacher training materials. An official orthography was chosen in 1980 and implemented. This orthography, known as *òrtograf ofisyèl* (official orthography) or *òrtograf kreyòl*, was constructed by Haitian linguists of the National Pedagogical Institute (abbreviated as IPN in French) and French linguists of the Université René Descartes. The Bernard Reform intended to implement this new orthography in the public education system, but no effective implementation was ever carried out because of the government's explicit lack of interest in educational affairs and the hold that Francophile attitudes have over the administration in Haiti.

Pedagogical issues

Education in Haiti has historically been a controversial issue due, in part, to the language policy that has favored the bilingual elite minority and penalized the monolingual masses. Another factor that contributes to this controversy is that many of the fomenters of political and social rebellion have been university students from the State University, resulting in the violent targeting of state campuses and their student bodies.

During the 1930's, the *Noirisme* social movement set the stage for the Afrocentric political theory that considered the established representative government or democracy a mere façade through which elite mulattos exploited the majority. *Noirisme*, as a political movement, argued that Haiti would be more prosperous under a strong, black leadership and insisted adamantly that Haiti should be limited to African descended people, that HC should be the sole language of instruction, and that voodoo should be the principal spiritual practice (Gulbrandson & Luzincourt, 2010). *Noiriste* leaders noticed that this movement provoked an increased awareness of black culture and pride and considered that the best way to further encourage these attitudes was through higher education. Nevertheless:

Despite the *noiriste* acknowledgement of education as a primary means to promote its agenda, there was also a fear of education and intellectuals as possible threats to *noiriste* power. One reason for this fear was the close connection between the education sector and the Roman Catholic Church. Papa Doc [François] and other *noiristes* saw the existing Catholic institutions as perpetuating “cultural terrorism”

against black Haitians. The *noiristes* argued that religious schools promoted a sense of inferiority among blacks and endorsed dependence on foreign white powers. These factors, and the understanding that schools have often been hotbeds of opposition around the world, led the Duvalier regimes to attack educational institutions in attempts to neutralize likely threats to power. (Gulbrandson & Luzincourt, 2010: 8)

In 1959, during the François “Papa Doc” Duvalier Regime, a teachers’ strike protesting the infiltration of Duvalier’s *Tonton Macouts* militia into the ranks of teachers was broken up by governmental force. Papa Doc arrested students, abolished all youth groups, bombed educational facilities, and surrounded the university and schools with police (Gulbrandson & Luzincourt, 2010: 7). In 1985, soldiers shot and killed four students during an anti-government demonstration. This catalyzed a change in the conflict that unified popular protests against the state and eventually led to the collapse of the Baby Doc regime (Gulbrandson & Luzincourt, 2010: 9).

Such tempestuous conditions have fostered an immensely insecure atmosphere, to say the least, within the Haitian education system, for both teachers and students. With Haiti’s ongoing political and economic instability, much of its productive middle class has chosen to emigrate, contributing to the lack of trained instructors (Gulbrandson & Luzincourt, 2010: 7). The insecure atmosphere is exponentially aggravated by the socioeconomic chasms that, unfortunately, still characterize Haiti’s demography. One could only imagine the frustration that middle-class and lower-class families face within these circumstances.

To top it all off, the school system has severe deficiencies, exacerbated by the 2010 earthquake, including:

- (1) Mismanagement of funding: According to the UN report (AVS, 2011: 1), in 2008, only 1.97% of the gross domestic product was spent on public education.
- (2) Teacher qualifications and training: only 60% of private school teachers and 20% of public school teachers are properly trained and certified. (AVS, 2011: 11)
- (3) Curriculum development and implementation: The Haitian public school system operates under the traditional French education model, and none of the reforms that have been proposed in order make the system more accessible to the Haitian population have been successful. Moreover, neither the ENI nor the ENS offers pedagogical methodology courses, thus limiting the teachers’ capacity to construct and implement curriculum. There are only two publishing companies that produce manuals (the Frères d’Instruction Chrétienne and the Henri Deschamps Publishing company), and some teachers are forced by necessity to produce books on their own which are usually of poor quality.

(4) Accessibility to learning materials: Regardless of the initiatives to produce quality teaching materials, the devastatingly low investment of government funding inhibits the individual institutions from purchasing the materials.

(5) Infrastructure: Another consequence of the limited government investment in education is the dilapidated school facilities whose classrooms usually lack adequate tables, benches, chalkboards, chalk, learning aids, and even electricity and basic sanitation facilities. Some rural schools serve a large population that cannot be accommodated by their facilities; therefore, teachers often have to deal with overcrowded classrooms with students at multiple levels (Hebblethwaite, 2012: 257; Gulbrandson & Luzincourt, 2011: 3). Children are forced to participate in a school system that provides inhospitable facilities and conducts itself in a foreign language (French).

(6) Rural demographics: Because of the governmental inability to sustain a reliable public education program, approximately 90% of the schools in Haiti have been privatized, making tuition costs a major obstacle for middle- and lower-class families (Quamina-Aiyejina, 2000). The harsh socioeconomic realities of middle- and lower-class Haitian families have led many to consider education as a privilege and not a basic human right. Quamina-Aiyejina documents an explicit preference for educating boys over girls, resulting in many girls staying at home to help with domestic chores. Many school-aged children stay at home during the rainy season in order to help their families with agricultural activities, and some families with multiple children even send them to school in turns because they cannot afford tuition for all of them at once (AVS, 2011).

Language education policy development

In order to advance to the university level or the teacher training college, at the end of their third cycle, children must pass an official two-part examination: a *Rétorique* (rhetoric) exam and a *Philosophie* (philosophy) exam (Quamina-Aiyejina, 2000). Failing either exam leaves the student with three options: grade repetition, dropping-out, or vocational and technical training.

The Bernard Reform of 1978, proposed by Minister of Education Joseph Bernard, was the first attempt to modify Haitian LEPs. It is important to note that there have been two other education reforms, the National Education and Training Plan (PNEF, in French) of 1995 and the Operational Plan of 2010-2015. These reforms have been legislated in order to restructure the education system through the improvement of components that allow the proper implementation of the national curricula and make

education more accessible (Quamina-Aiyejina, 2000). However, neither plan tackles language education issues; therefore, for the purpose of this project, I will focus on the Bernard Reform, the first and only plan that proposed a language education policy. The Bernard Reform proposed a transitional bilingualism model for the primary education cycle (grades 1-9), whereby the language of instruction would be HC during the first four years, and then French would be introduced as a subject and gradually integrated into the curriculum as the language of instruction (Hebblethwaite, 2012; Gibson, 2011).

Table 3 describes the proposed curriculum:

<i>Language instruction curriculum as proposed by the Bernard Reform of 1987</i> (Hebblethwaite, 2012: 265)						
	1 st cycle		2 nd cycle		3 rd cycle	
Grades (G)	<u>1-4</u>		<u>5 -6</u>		<u>7 -9</u>	
Language instruction conditions	HC as medium of literacy instruction	French G1-G2 : oral use G3-G4 : initial writing instruction	HC subject	French as medium of instruction	HC subject	French as medium of instruction
Classroom hours of language literacy instruction by grade per week	G1: 5-7 G2: 7.5 G3: 3-5 G4: 3	G1, and G2: 5 Oral: 5 Written: 2.5- 4.25 G4: Oral: 2.5 Written: 4.5	G5-G9: French language to be generalized throughout the whole curriculum			

This model, utilizing an hours-of-exposure structure, aimed at the production of balanced bilingual individuals and the integration of the vernacular, culture, and history of Haitian students, while also supporting perspectives of the outside world through French (Hebblethwaite, 2012: 265). The Bernard Reform was to be implemented in select public/pilot schools called “reform schools” and later implemented in all schools in the public system (Gibson, 2011).

Unfortunately, this model has been poorly implemented, and what has resulted is a hybrid blend between the former French-only system and the Bernard Reform. Gibson (2011) reports that at the end of the Reform’s first decade (1979-1989), the new curriculum was only implemented in 16.2% of classrooms. It is important to note that

the aforementioned figure is for implementation in classrooms, not in schools or educational districts. This could be explained by the government's suspension of the Reform from 1982 until 1987, when it was reestablished under the National Pedagogical Institute.

During the second decade (1990-1999), all of the public schools had implemented the reform and its Mother Tongue Instruction (MTI) component. Nonetheless, site visitors observed that the curriculum was being implemented to varying degrees, which means that the educational system was not truly complying with all the mandates established by the Reform. In addition, a number of private schools had also partially implemented the MTI component of the Reform. Finally, some schools are reported to have modified their LEP in response to parental demands (Gibson, 2011). All of these conditions demonstrate a lack of LEP standardization and consistency in both public and private schools.

The implementation process has been aggravated because of the absence of national debates and discussion of the reform, which might have ameliorated the parents' and school administrators' dissident language attitudes and, most of all, the inertia of government agencies. Parental attitudes towards mother tongue instruction vary according to their social class. Parents of the lowest-class tend to strongly oppose the Reform because they consider that delaying the acquisition of French will hamper their children's chances at social mobility, thereby perpetuating their subordination. On the other hand, elite, upper-, and middle-class parents tend to consider MTI as a symbolic castration of French (the "gatekeeper" in maintaining social divisions) and a hindrance to the children's mastery of French (Gibson, 2011: 25).

Educators and school administrators share views similar to those of the parents but also relate their evaluation of MTI to their own French and HC proficiency. As products of the French-only system, most Haitian educators have greater proficiency in written French, even though most of them understand and speak HC better than French (Gibson, 2011). This attitude implicitly calls into question their French proficiency, which, as discussed earlier, is usually less than excellent.

Sociocultural repercussions (reform results)

The abysmal student performance statistics demonstrate the failure of the education system as a whole. In the academic year of 2001-2002, "...of the 1,000 who began primary education, 500 completed Grade 4 and 355 continue on to secondary education... In 2003 only 21.99% of all those enrolled in school passed the *r  thorique* exams and 17.75% passed the *philosophie* exams" (Hebblethwaite, 2012: 267-268).

Hebblethwaite (2012) argues that there has been an increase in school enrollments and teaching positions, and while the dropout rates for the first five years of instruction have decreased from 18% to 10%, they increase to about 30% as the students progress to French-only instruction. An even more alarming phenomenon, which also

demonstrates the detrimental effects the country's economy is having on the education of its youth, is the increasing incidence of over-aged students or *surâgés* (AVS, 2011). The 2010 earthquake exacerbated the already critically wounded public education system and resulted in a negligent denial of the right to an adequate education for the vast majority of Haitian children (AVS, 2011: 1). The earthquake affected at least half of the nation's schools, as well as three universities in Port-au-Prince that were almost completely destroyed. Moreover, it destroyed the Ministry of Education, causing the entire school system to shut down for three months after the disaster. More than half the students impacted by the earthquake remained out of school, with children in displacement camps facing particular challenges in accessing education. Efforts to build temporary schools within camps are often blocked by landowners who fear that camps will turn into permanent settlements (Gulbrandson & Luzincourt, 2011: 3).

CASE STUDY 3: JAMAICA

After approximately 150 years of Spanish domination (1509-1655), the island of Jamaica was taken over by England, thus facilitating the development of the island's official variety of English, Standard Jamaican English (SJE), from the different varieties of English spoken by the English, Irish, and Scottish colonists of varying social classes and dialects (Frank, 2010; Patrick, 2004). The slaves had to communicate with the overseers and each other within this multilingual situation. The result was the emergence of an English-lexified pidgin with West African grammatical features that eventually became a creole language as the younger generations of slaves began to speak it as their mother tongue. Jamaican Creole (JC) is, therefore, considered an English lexifier Creole and is constructed from lexical elements borrowed from English within the morphological and syntactic frame of the African languages originally spoken by the slaves (Jettka, 2010; Nero, 1997; Patrick, 2004). There is still debate regarding the Creole's genesis because there is evidence for two possible scenarios: (1) There is evidence that suggests a pidgin developed on the island among the slave population. (2) Other evidence suggests that there might have been a pre-existing pidgin that arrived with the slave population and was relexified as a result of the island's sociolinguistic circumstances (Patrick, 2004: 3).

From the 19th century onward, in order to secure their rule and permanence on the island, the English sought to spread and establish Standard English in important public domains such as public communication and education. This language policy, which continues to this day, reflects and enforces the classic colonial sociocultural stratification on the island. Modern day bilingual elites (who tend to favor varieties of JC that are closer to SJE as well as SJE itself) are considered more refined and educated than the lower-class speakers who primarily rely on "deep" JC and have a shaky knowledge of SJE. The public assessment of these language varieties is laced

with inherited sociolinguistic stigmas which are further perpetuated through the public education system's policy of strictly SJE instruction.

Many authors consider the sociolinguistic context in Jamaica to be that of a linguistic continuum along which three broad language categories are recognized: the *acrolect* (+prestige language) and the *basilect* (-prestige language) which function as the opposing language poles, and the *mesolect* which refers to the variety that is in the middle of the continuum (Patrick, 2004). The Jamaican creole continuum, thus, refers to the existence of multiple creole language varieties whose characteristics resemble those of SJE (acrolect) and JC (basilect) in varying degrees (Jettka, 2010, Nero, 1997). Patrick (2004: 3) argues that:

...[y]et between these poles lies the continuum of everyday speech: a series of minimally differentiated grammars with extensive variation – an apparently seamless web connecting two idealized varieties, which arose in the same place and time-frame and share distinctive features, yet cannot be genetically related. (p. 3)

Considering the Jamaican language situation as a continuum allows us to understand how most Jamaicans are able to switch among varieties without any formal instruction in their use and without noticing the differences among the varieties. This situation contributes to the widely reported phenomenon of JC speakers claiming to be speaking SJE, when really they are speaking a creole variety that is closer to SJE along the continuum (MOEY&C, 2001: 5).

Sociocultural repercussions

When Jamaica became an independent country in 1962, it retained SJE as the island's sole official language even though it was primarily used by a very small group of upper class Jamaicans in contrast to JC, the habitual language of the masses. Nevertheless, since 1962, language attitudes toward JC have become more favorable because the sociolinguistic context in Jamaica promotes SJE as a *politically relevant* language in contrast to JC which has become a *culturally relevant* language (Jettka, 2010). Most of the island's dancehall music is performed in JC, and there have been poets who have published their poetry in JC and elevated the attitudes concerning its functionality outside colloquial and informal domains (Frank, 2010). Nevertheless, the island's language education policy recognizes SJE as a *political language* that facilitates social mobility by providing access to educational and professional opportunities within the global community (Nero, 1997; MOYE&C, 2001; JLU, 2008).

Standardization

JC's gradual acquisition of cultural prestige has demanded an explicit differentiation between JC and SJE as individual languages, thus tightening the tensions on the

Creole-speaking continuum. JC has been codified using the Cassidy-Le Page writing system. Frederic Cassidy (Jamaican) and Robert LePage (British) published the *Dictionary for Jamaican English* in 1967 and later developed the phonemic orthographic system consisting of 36 symbols (24 consonants and 12 vowels), each representing a unique phoneme in the language (Cooper, 2009). Cooper (2009) argues that this writing system has not caught on because of the lack of JC instruction in schools. Nevertheless, she notes that the Jamaican Language Unit's Bilingual Education Program has adopted it with some modifications.

Pedagogical issues

The disjointed relationship between political (SJE) and cultural (JC) language practices has translated into deficiencies in education policies and, consequently, abysmal academic performance at every level of the public education system. The most salient issue regarding all education policy is that the language of instruction is SJE, while the great majority of the students live in a virtually monolingual JC context. Students are expected to learn through a language that seems foreign to them, with materials that are (still) based on British culture and have not been contextualized to their particular sociocultural context. This promotes an atmosphere of estrangement from the content material and a lack of trust in their own reality as academically valuable (Frank, 2003).

Frank (2010) suggests that the domination of Western culture and literature in the curriculum and by extension, the culture delayed the emergence of a West Indian literary tradition. Therefore, original Jamaican print literature is a fairly recent phenomenon, and much of it is written in SJE, with notable exceptions. The general reluctance to publish literature solely in JC, in particular that directed to children, is another obstacle that has hindered the inclusion of JC in the national curricula.

Two projects worthy of recognition have been developed in order to provide more culturally relevant materials: 1) *The Doctor Bird Reader* series (developed by the Ministry of Education, Youth and Culture (MoEY&C)) is a Jamaican contextualized school reader for 4th-6th grade students which provides content vocabulary from the Jamaican context while improving the students' general language skills. (Frank, 2010; Observer, 2003); and 2) *The Blue Mahoe* series (also developed by the MoEY&C) for secondary school students (Observer, 2003).

In order to fulfill the requirement for Black literature in the public education curriculum, a secondary school project introduced a poem written by Michael Smith in JC. The poem was positively received by the students who manifested an interest in the material because it related to their own reality (Frank, 2010). In addition, the Macmillan Language Arts Program has published a series of standard Caribbean English instruction books (with teacher's notes) that are targeted at and contextualized for Caribbean populations. These English language arts materials include illustrations

of dark-skinned people presented in Caribbean contexts and the popular African Anansi character. More importantly, the content of these books presents contextualized themes (tropical fauna and flora, beach vocabulary, Jamaican place names) that enable the students to experience their reality through standard Caribbean English.

Furthermore, the series' preface has a section on *How parents and guardians can help their children* which provides a list of pronunciation difficulties children might encounter when learning English, depending on the variety of Creole they speak (English-lexified or French-lexified Creole). This section is followed by tips on how to manage the students' difficulties, while encouraging and supporting their language skills, therefore making the language learning process more accessible to parents and guardians and adding another level of contextualization (Mitchelmore, 2007). McMillan Caribbean has also published a book series titled *Exploring English in Jamaica*, which presents conflicting ideological perspectives in the content material aimed at teaching English. The book claims to "foster a positive and healthy attitude to Jamaican Creole English, our unique national language...It is a language that our children should feel proud of, while they must also realize that accuracy and fluency in Jamaican Standard English is essential for their educational and vocational success" (p. iv). However, it provides a problematic comparison of the two languages where it characterizes JC as an emotive and familiar language often used in poetry and music, and concludes that learning SJE is also essential because "We are citizens of Jamaica, but we are also citizens of the world." (Gordon, 1998: 18-19). Moreover, when discussing the development of Jamaican Creole English, the foreword establishes that: "... Creole is not 'bad' English. Nor is it 'bad' African Language. Creole is a language *in its own right*. It is a rich language, and we should be proud of it.

Jamaican Creole is part of our inheritance." (Gordon, 1998: 108).

Teachers who were students of the public system instruct their pupils with the little knowledge (and what they can improvise) of SJE, code switching frequently to JC. It has been reported (Frank, 2003) that when teachers feel insecure or unsure of the language they are using, they employ correction strategies. Merely correcting a student and demanding the repetition of what is considered 'correct' does not allow the students to learn *why* they are making mistakes and internalize the correct forms of speech for their varieties. Therefore, students cannot improve their language abilities, as they cannot discern the root of their mistakes.

Moreover, linguistic inconsistencies hinder the learning process because students never achieve a complete mastery of either language. In a study conducted by Norton (1997: 589), two Jamaican college students reported that it was difficult for them to speak 'straight English' (standard variety of English) for a long period of time without any 'cuts' (JC interference). Furthermore, when analyzing the students' informal

writing, Norton (1997: 590) notes that there are instances of creole influence, specifically in the lack of verb inflections for subject-verb concordance, participles, and tense, as these are redundant in JC. All of the aforementioned elements result in poor academic performance, high dropout rates, and functionally illiterate citizens who oftentimes find it difficult to indicate which language variety they are speaking (Morren & Morren, 2007; MoYE&C, 2001).

Language education policy development

The Ministry of Education, Youth and Culture is the government agency that has been responsible for most of the literacy and language initiatives on the island. In 2001, the MoEY&C developed and proposed a Language Education Policy that focuses on developing literacy skills and addressing languages attitudes regarding JC and SJE (MoEY&C, 2001). The policy considers the recommendations from Jamaica's National Association of Teachers of English (NATE) and the Jamaica Reading Association (JRA) which had previously published position papers proposing educational reforms.

In 1989, the NATE proposed an education policy that supports the use of JC and SJE in schools and recommended that teachers be trained in order to enable them to help students become more competent in both languages. Eight years later (1997), the JRA published a document that encouraged an evaluation of the officiality of SJE, given the island's sociolinguistic circumstances and the repercussions experienced in literacy development. MoEY&C policy retains SJE as the official language of instruction and intends to promote the oral use of the vernacular in schools, even though it explicitly recognizes Jamaica as a bilingual country and acknowledges the Jamaican students' challenging sociolinguistic context (MoEY&C, 2001: 1-2).

The policy aims at eight particular initiatives (MoEY&C, 2001: 20-26):

- (1) Concerned about the students' (language learners) lack of motivation and negative attitudes towards the languages (with SJE seen as inaccessible and JC viewed as unworthy of prestige), the proposed policy should aim to ameliorate these attitudes through mother tongue instruction and cultural enrichment. The policy supports the inclusion of Creole exposure opportunities in the classroom, facilitated by the guidance of 'linguistically aware teachers' and contextualized content materials.
- (2) Language goals in schools should recognize and promote SJE and JC as equally valuable languages.
- (3) Language instruction should be based on *transitional bilingualism*, in which the students (up to the fourth grade) acquire basic literacy skills in their mother tongue (JC) and then are exposed to the second language (SJE). The ultimate goal should be to develop the student's cognitive abilities in the language that is most accessible to them (mother tongue), and then

transition into second language instruction with the already developed literacy abilities, emphasizing contrastive analyses and other bilingual teaching strategies. Schools should also provide English immersion opportunities through literature and content-based language teaching that is sensitive to differences in the learning interest and styles of boys (there is a higher incidence of academic failure for boys).

- (4) For the upper primary and secondary levels, teachers should modify the previous teaching strategies in order to accommodate the differing ages and ability levels. Jamaican Creole should be used as a complementary asset through appropriate bilingual techniques.
- (5) Literacy teachers should promote an interest in reading, provide materials that appeal to the students, and promote the use of libraries as a literary resource.
- (6) Special education programs should be available for the training of teachers and the aid of students in need.
- (7) Teacher education should include mandatory courses and subsequent refresher courses on literacy and language acquisition topics as well as language courses in both JC and SJE as separate languages. Teachers should also be sequentially evaluated for language competence.
- (8) Program evaluations and assessment should be rigorous and timely.

In sum, the Jamaican state, as expressed in the LEP, supports a Monoliterate Transitional Bilingualism (MTB) model with a ‘home language’ (JC) to ‘school language’ (SJE) approach. (Carpenter & Devonish, 2010: 168-169). It also aims to provide a learning environment (managed by properly trained teachers) that foments the inclusion of both languages with the aim of alleviating the sociolinguistic stigmas and prejudices associated with JC.

Taking into consideration the MoYE&C’s policy, the Jamaican Language Unit (JLU) of the Department of Language, Linguistics and Philosophy of the University of the West Indies (Mona, Jamaica) proposed a Bilingual Education Program (BEP) to be implemented in grades 1-6. Nevertheless, when it was implemented some modifications were made. One of them was that instead of being implemented in grades 1-6, it was implemented in grades 1-4 in a cumulative fashion. During the first year, it was put into action in the first-grade groups in three public schools. The second year it was extended to the pilot group second-graders and the new first graders, and so on.

The BEP was conceived as a full bilingual model of learning and teaching which would assure that over the initial years of primary education: “(1)... [it] would, at minimum, do no harm, notably to pupil’s competence in English; (2)... [it] would produce an increase in Language Arts skill levels in English amongst pupils within the project relative to those in traditional modes of instruction; (3)... [it] would produce

an increase in absolute literacy levels of pupils in the project as manifested in their literacy in their native language...[JC] as compared with the literacy levels of non-project pupils for whom English was the only language of literacy' (Carpenter & Devonish, 2010: 173).

The BEP retained SJE as the language of instruction but supported teaching in both languages, giving equal value to JC (JLU, 2008; Morren & Morren, 2010). This initiative involved redesigning instruction to support bilingualism in JC and SJE, providing learning and teaching materials in both languages, and training teachers specialized in JC teaching. Implementation was therefore complemented by an ongoing process of translation of teaching materials, teacher training in bilingual delivery, implementation within the schools and project evaluation (Carpenter & Devonish, 2010).

The BEP was designed to meet the needs of a large number of creole monolingual students who by the first grade showed deficiencies in their language abilities. It also targeted students who by grade 4 had demonstrated literacy deficiencies in English (JLU, 2008). The BEP proposed to directly address the sociolinguistic ambivalence (language attitudes) and the literacy deficiencies by teaching literacy in JC and SJE separately. It also proposed to use each language as the medium of instruction for particular subjects, giving equal exposure time to each language.

An innovative aspect of this project is the use of a standard writing system for JC instruction based on the Le Page-Cassidy orthography developed, taught, and promoted by JLU under the direction of Dr. Hubert Devonish. This team has produced a bilingually titled book (*Writing Jamaican the Jamaican way* or *Ou fi rait Jameikan*) featuring a language learning CD that facilitates graphophonemic instruction (Cooper, 2009).

It is important to note that the Minister's and the state's commitment and support for a more general implementation of the program are to be based on the children's competency in English, further reiterating SJE's role in sociolinguistic hierarchy of Jamaica.(Carpenter & Devonish, 2010: 173). Morren & Morren (2010) published an evaluation (conducted in 2005) of the bilingual education project (BEP) in which they observed pilot teachers who were using the recently translated materials (SJE to JC) and teachers in training. They also interviewed the curriculum translation team, pilot school teachers, mainstream school teachers, pilot school principals, parents of children in the BEP program, and the personnel from the University of the West Indies (UWI) responsible for implementing the BEP.

Regarding the instruction materials in JC, the evaluators were concerned because there were insufficient funds to reproduce high quality materials for each student, while they recognized and applauded the creative efforts put into contextualizing the materials and making sure every student had a copy. They also acknowledged that the students were given adequate opportunities to speak JC but lacked opportunities to

practice writing JC (Morren & Morren, 2010: 5). Another strength of the Jamaican BEP recognized by the evaluators was that the materials were being constructed by Jamaicans, which is extremely favorable to the process of contextualizing materials. Finally, they observed that the attitudes towards JC had become more positive among the administrative staff (principals, teachers etc.) and the students themselves, who seemed more motivated to learn through JC instruction.

Keeping in mind that the evaluations were made early on in the policy's implementation process, the evaluators offered three recommendations in response to the observations and interviews that were conducted: 1) Teachers should receive on-going and supportive training, as they are the professionals who are implementing the policy hands-on with the students; 2) Students must not be taken out or transferred from the BEP program before the initial four-year period, nor should there be non-BEP students with BEP students, since both would be put at an academic disadvantage, with non-BEP students trying to catch up and BEP waiting for them to do so; 3) BEP school administrators should be supportive of teachers and distribute materials in a responsible and timely manner. The evaluators additionally suggested the development of strategies to include the parents in the implementation process, as it would be beneficial if the community were involved in the BEP's initiative. Finally, they emphasized that constant code-switching within the classroom (on the part of teachers) could lead to fragmented bilingualism. They strongly suggested that the teachers keep the languages separated as much as possible.

In May-June 2007, as part of the MOYECs normal annual evaluations, a nationally administered Grade 3 Language Arts Diagnostics Test in English Language Arts and Communication Tasks was taken by all the Grade 3 students in the project schools, both within and outside the BEP. The BEP also designed and administered parallel tests in JC to their pupils: *We Gried Chrii Pikni Kyan Du Tes* (the *Grade Three Language Arts Diagnostic Test for Jamaican*) (Carpenter & Devonish, 2010).

The adapted BEP test for Jamaican followed the same content outline as the standard MOYEC test for English. The results of these tests are promising.

Table 4 Scores on Grade 3 Language Arts Diagnostic Tests for Jamaican (Carpenter & Devonish, 2010:176)

	BEP Jamaican	BEP English	Non-BEP English
Mean Score	64%	62%	61%
Minimum Score	95%	90%	93%
Maximum Score	30%	20%	23%

As anticipated, the percentage of BEP children attaining the mean score on the Jamaican test (64%) was higher than the percentage attaining the mean score on the

English test (62%), since JC is their native language. What is surprising is that small difference between the test results (2%). Moreover, 61% of the non-BEP (exclusive SJE instruction) students attained the mean score, so it appears that the BEP only provided a very small advantage for the children. There is still no clear picture of the program's successes. Other evaluations must be made in order to observe if the changes made by the BEP implementation team have been effective (assuming changes have been made), but according to Morren & Morren, in 2007 Jamaica's BEP seemed to be heading in the right direction. Only time will tell.

Sociocultural Repercussions

In order to address the language education issues on the island, the Jamaican Language Unit (JLU) of the University of the West Indies conducted the Language Attitude Survey of Jamaica in order to understand the population's language attitudes and opinions on the management of language in Jamaica (JLU, 2005). This survey was part of the data that contributed to the design of the JLU's *Bilingual Education Program*. The survey found that: 1) 79.5% of respondents recognized JC as a language; 2) 68.5% of respondents felt that JC should be made an official language alongside English; 3) 67.8% of respondents considered that Ministers of Government should deliver speeches in JC; 4) 78.6% of respondents considered themselves to be bilingual, while 10.9% confirmed they only spoke English and 10.5% confirmed they only spoke JC; 5) 57% of respondents agreed that English speakers were more intelligent, while 61% considered them more educated; 6) 71.1% of the surveyed population said they would like to have bilingual schools; and 7) 57.3% of respondents said they would like to see JC written in standard form on school books. These results demonstrate that the surveyed respondents considered JC to be a language that they were very interested in seeing and experiencing in more formal scenarios (government, education).

DISCUSSION

The case studies have demonstrated that the colonial experience has left profound roots in each island's political and linguistic ideologies, and, consequently, in each island's language education policies.

Sociolinguistic history

One of the manifestations of this colonial legacy is the adoption of the European colonizers' form of government and with that, the design and content of their education systems (language of instruction and materials). All adoptions were made with few initial efforts to adapt the curricula to the demands of each insular sociolinguistic and cultural context, even when political autonomy was achieved.

The case studies confirmed that language – both the creole and the European – has been a vital factor in two of the island’s political development by serving as a significant identity marker for influential political movements. In Haiti, the tension between Haitian Creole and French becomes apparent in the *Noiriste* movement’s claims that HC should be the only language spoken in Haiti since it is the sole representative of the Afrocentric identity, while French represents the oppressive *Mulato* regimes (Gibson, 2011). One of the arguments the Aruban government proposed when advocating political autonomy in the *Status Aparte* movement was that the Aruban variety of Papiamentu was different from the varieties spoken in Bonaire and Curaçao (Papiamentu) (Carroll, 2009).

Considering these circumstances, one would expect that in Aruba and Haiti, at least, the attitudes towards the inclusion of creole languages in government services, particularly education, would be more liberal. However, Europhilic attitudes have traditionally prevailed within the three societies, ascribing a higher sociopolitical standing to the respective European language, while considering the vernacular Creoles as heritage languages. Therefore, tension remains between the recognition of Creoles as culturally relevant languages and the acknowledgment of European languages as those that provide opportunities for socioeconomic mobility.

Standardization

These tensions are also relevant in the standardization debates between phonemic and etymological orthographies. Orthographies not only codify languages; they also give a physical shape and appearance to linguistic identities (Schieffelin & Charlier-Doucet, 1994). Moreover, standardization is not limited to codifying the language, it also sets the standards for the variety of language that will be taught in schools (Shohami, 2006 a&b, Wright, 2004 a&b). Etymological orthographies assume that creole languages and cultures share a high degree of identity with those of the European colonial powers, a controversial assumption when unique and autonomous sociolinguistic creole identities are being claimed (Migge et al., 2010). However, Aruba has chosen to retain the etymological orthography initially produced by the Spanish missionaries, because this spelling system supports their linguistic differentiation from Curaçao, which has a phonemic orthography. In contrast, Jamaican Creole uses a phonemic orthography, and Haitian Creole has retained a phonemic orthography with French borrowings for certain sounds.

Pedagogical issues

As mentioned above, each island’s public education system uses the European language (heavily laced with an oppressive historical referent) as the language of instruction, while disregarding the vernacular Creoles as potential languages of instruction. Creoles in the classroom are “informally tolerated to varying degrees as a

transitional measure to facilitate acquisition of the official language(s) and (European) language(s) of education” (Migge et al., 2010: 2). Consequently, teaching materials are not provided in the vernacular Creole and do not necessarily reference insular realities.

Even though children can acquire language with relative ease, requiring them to acquire an academic register of the European language makes the acquisition experience ideologically and pedagogically problematic. Overlooking a child’s vernacular language at an institutional level implicitly signals that this form of speech does not have the capacity for rational/academic functions. In addition, the school systems only provide literacy instruction in the European language, even though most of the students begin their formal education with little or no knowledge of the language and absolutely no literacy skills. In other words, Aruban, Haitian, and Jamaican children begin their reading and writing skills development in a language that they themselves cannot yet speak, but need to master in order to progress in school. The vast majority of students are therefore subjected to inaccessible learning environments where they are exposed to pedagogical dynamics that force them to learn a new language in order to access the academic content material.

LEP development and policy repercussions

LEPs in all three islands not only put the children at a severe pedagogical disadvantage, they also reproduce and, thus, perpetuate Europhilic language attitudes and ideologies. Kester & Fun’s (2012) survey of Aruban students in the Netherlands demonstrates these dynamics. The surveyed students reported feeling proud to be Aruban and speak Papiamentu, but at the same time they felt held back by their sociolinguistic identity.

In addition, two pedagogical matters seem to be overlooked. Firstly, as Mather (2014) explains, creole instruction does not necessarily cancel or rule out the acquisition of the European language. Europhilic ideologies have had such a tight grip on public sensibilities that creole instruction is routinely considered a threat to the children’s English, Dutch, and French acquisition instead of as an enrichment of the children’s linguistic repertoires. These concerns are framed under the false belief that there is a direct relationship between instruction time and academic achievement, a belief that frames Haiti’s 1979 *Bernard Reform* design (Migge et al., 2010).

When done systematically, mother tongue instruction encourages the development of transferable literacy skills and therefore complements the acquisition of the European language. Many researchers have argued that literacy is more easily learned in a familiar variety of language and that literacy skills acquired are easily transferable between languages that share common features (Migge et al., 2010; Roberts, 1994). This means that once basic literacy skills are acquired, they can also be used to decode and encode other languages. Consequently, one could argue that initial creole literacy

instruction will facilitate a student's literacy development without hindering the acquisition of literacy skills in the European language because the child would have already developed some transferable skills beforehand.

Recent policy efforts in Jamaica (*Bilingual Education Program*) and Aruba (*Proyecto Scol Multilingual*) aim at alleviating perceptions of language threat and the repercussions they have had on the island's academic achievement levels by introducing bilingual or multilingual pilot programs in a few pilot schools. Evaluations of the *Jamaican Bilingual Education Program* students have demonstrated that creole instruction does not pose any significant threat to the children's acquisition of English. In the case of Aruba, no evaluations are available because the program was just implemented in 2012.

The vast majority of the children of these three islands will eventually become the parents of the next generation of students. Therefore, it is not surprising that parents and policy executors (teachers and school directors) are opposed to the use of their Creole as the language of instruction, since they themselves did not have the experience and were taught to consider their vernacular unfit for academic purposes and not useful for social mobility. Without a doubt, a change in language attitudes will catalyze a change in LEPs. However, there will be a collective attitude change only when island governments begin to recognize and support vernacular Creoles as media of instruction. Proper institutional support requires teacher training programs, teaching materials for academic subjects and language instruction, and proper community awareness programs.

Reaching the highest ranking policy executors and convincing them to make the necessary changes is the first task. In Aruba, the efforts made in language awareness programs and the positive reception to and participation of the community in these programs demonstrate that even though *de facto* language attitudes seem to support Papiamentu, the implementation of creole inclusive policies depends on the *de jure* language attitudes of those who will execute the policies. In Haiti, the devastating sociopolitical and economic situation has been exacerbated by an institutional disregard for LEPs and public education programs in general. The historical polemic between the government and academic institutions has resulted in limited efforts to implement and promote the *Bernard Reform* of 1979, as well as a scarcity of public awareness campaigns that aim at ameliorating attitudes toward HC. In the case of Jamaica, even with the approval of a LEP by the Ministry of Education, Youth and Culture, institutional support for the Jamaican Language Unit's *Bilingual Education Program* has been tied to the English test results achieved by the students, which must prove that the student's English acquisition has not been affected by instruction in Jamaican Creole.

Including Creoles in national curricula requires a transformation in the institutional language ideologies which directly influence the pedagogical ideologies that control

the design of public education programs. Creole-inclusive programs will directly contribute to the construction of inclusive language ideologies by impacting the children, who will reproduce and promote these attitudes in their future lives.

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APPLIED LINGUISTICS IN ST EUSTATIUS: HOW CAN LINGUISTS CONTRIBUTE CONSTRUCTIVELY TO DEBATES CONCERNING THE LANGUAGES OF INSTRUCTION IN CARIBBEAN SCHOOLS?

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Introduction

Debates regarding language of instruction at the primary and secondary levels have been raging for decades in the Caribbean in general, and in the Dutch Caribbean in particular. Most of the students on the Statian English-lexifier Creole speaking Dutch island of St. Eustatius (and in most of the rest of the Dutch Caribbean) find themselves in a situation at school where Dutch is used as the language of instruction, even though the overwhelming majority of them almost never encounter written or spoken Dutch outside of the classroom. The use of Dutch as a language of instruction has effectively limited the numbers of Dutch Caribbean students who manage to succeed at school to the small minority whose parents are willing and able to speak Dutch at home, whose families are willing and able to pay for special tutoring in Dutch after school; and/or who have very exceptional levels of capacity and motivation for learning. The rest of the students are left behind.

In order to help find solutions to this problem, our research group was approached toward the end of 2012 by the educational authorities in both St. Eustatius and the European Netherlands to study the question. We accepted the challenge, well aware of the fact that, despite our best intentions, when we linguists and specialists in language education have gotten involved in such controversies in the past, our input has more often than not proved to be very polarizing and, in the final analysis, counterproductive. In order to avoid making a bad situation worse, we adopted a community based approach that would actively involve all of the stakeholders in the education system on the island in the process of identifying, analyzing, and finding solutions to the problem at hand. We also decided to complement this approach with a multi-pronged set of research strategies including: 1) a language attitude and use survey of a representative sample of all of the stakeholders; 2) a narrative proficiency

test to gauge students' levels of productive competence in Dutch and English; 3) in depth interviews with members of all stakeholder groups; 4) numerous classroom observations at all levels in all of the schools on the island; and 5) a review of the scientific literature about societies who face similar challenges regarding language of instruction as those found on St. Eustatius.

In this paper, we will present the results of this year-long study, which were finalized, accepted, and presented to the stakeholders in January of 2014. First, we will discuss the socio-historical and educational context in which the study took place. Next, we will review a selection of the statistical results of the survey on language attitudes and use. This will be followed by a report on the findings from the narrative proficiency tests. Finally, we will analyze the data gathered from the interviews and class observations. It appears that the community based multi-strategy approach adopted in this study has made it possible to recast the debate around language in education in more scientifically grounded and less polemical terms, thereby facilitating a process of community mobilization to better meet the educational needs of Statian students.

Context

This part of the paper will provide a brief historical background to contextualize the widespread use of English, and Statian English lexifier Creole and the limited use of Dutch in Sint Eustatius; an overview of the language policies (and their outcomes) implemented in the Dutch Caribbean since the establishment of the first schools; and an introductory description to the *Report* of the Research Team on Language and Instruction in Sint Eustatius (Faraclas et al., 2014).

In 1636 the Dutch took possession of Statia and in 1640 the Dutch Governor of Statia ordered the colonization of Saba for the Dutch West Indian Company. In 1664, those Dutch colonizers were expelled from Saba and sent to St. Maarten by the British pirate Henry Morgan. Those expelled presumably settled in the southern part of the Island that had belonged to the Dutch since the 1648 Treaty of Concordia. By 1659 “there were nearly as many Zeelanders as English speaking people in Saba” (Hartog 1975: 21) Saba Government documents state that: “For almost 200 years, the Island constantly switched among the Dutch, Spanish and British. It was in 1816 that the Dutch took definitive control of Saba until today”.

Aceto (2006: 414) asserts that Statia’s “drought-ridden climate made it largely unsuitable for use as a significant plantation colony.” Statia became a “central slave trading depot” in the early 1700s and later during the century, it was an important trading center for purchasing and exporting of goods and materials (p. 414). It seems that English, more than Dutch, was the lingua franca for commercial transactions in Statia.

The reasons for the use of English instead of Dutch in Statia are many. Immigration came mainly from other English speaking Caribbean islands: “Speakers of English-derived language varieties represent the largest group of immigrants” (Aceto: 418). Language use in Statia was also influenced by that found on neighboring islands: “The proximity to Anglophone islands, as well as robust trade with these same islands, encouraged the local emergence of English as the vernacular of Statia” (Aceto: 414). According to Oostindie (2005) the resident English-speaking population that inhabited the islands since the British domination stayed after the transfer of power to the Dutch by the mid 1600s. Also, “the Dutch arrived too late in the day and with too few colonists and too little interest to have a significant cultural impact” (p. 9). Furthermore, “the Netherlands had never intended to turn the Caribbean colonies into foreign pendants of its own culture [...] The slave population in the islands had virtually no contact with Dutch culture” (Oostindie: 19).

Discussing Dutch policies of domination in the Caribbean colonies, Pereira (dissertation in progress) suggests an explanation for this lack of propagation of Dutch culture and language: “To protect the superior and elite position of the Dutch colonists, slaves were prohibited from learning Dutch and from joining the Dutch Reformed Church. This created a segmentation in the community based on race, language and religion. Evangelization of the enslaved was therefore carried out by Catholic priests, who opted to use Papiamentu, the language of the enslaved, in their work. The W.I.C. and the Dutch colonists thereby created very unfertile ground for the spread of Dutch” (Perreira: 5).

The lingua franca that prevailed was English and “the islands were mainly oriented towards their immediate [English-speaking] surroundings” (Oostindie: 9). Arnold, Rodríguez-Luis & Dash (2001: 3) state: “the national language of independent Suriname, Sranan or Sranan Tongo, was lexified in English *before* the takeover of the colony by the Dutch in the 18th century. The Creole of the islands of Saba and St. Maarten is likewise related to English for similar reasons. Although Dutch is the administrative language, a local English idiom is the vernacular language”. Holm (1989) claims that: “It is not clear when English finally emerged as the dominant language”. Perhaps, it *has always been* the dominant language all along in Sint Maarten, Sint Eustatius, and Saba (the SSS Islands) since European conquest.

Various churches were in charge of all formal education during the 19th century. Children in Saba, for example, were taught “how to read and write English as this was absolutely necessary for religious instruction” (Hartog: 90). On the SSS Islands, “[u]ntil 1923 the language of communication and the language of instruction in education was English” (van Enckevort: 3).

Aceto states that in 1933 Dutch became the official language of instruction in the public school system of Statia; but in the 1970s to 1990s efforts were made to promote

English as the official language of instruction at the primary level. In any case, by the 2000's Dutch remained the language of secondary education, with some instruction in English occurring at the primary level. Today, primary education begins in English with a transition phase to Dutch in the final years of primary school, and secondary education is in Dutch. In a 2013 report about St. Maarten titled, *The situation of children and adolescents in Sint Maarten*, the main problems in the education system are pointed out: There is a tendency toward 'educational apartheid' since children go to whichever schools their families can afford to send them to. There is no official language of instruction in secondary schools and no unified curriculum. "Little is taught about Sint Maarten's roots and history" (Aceto: 31).

In 2012 a team of specialists with different backgrounds was selected and approached by the Dutch ministry of education: "To investigate the benefits of and the attitudes towards Dutch and English as languages of instruction in primary, secondary and vocational education on the island of Sint Eustatius" by carrying out the following tasks: literature research, surveys and interviews on attitudes and the formulation of conclusions on language of instruction. The team consisted of the following members: Ellen-Petra Kester of Utrecht University, Eric Mijts of the University of Aruba, and Nick Faraclas of the University of Puerto Rico.

During the research project, the team adhered to the following guiding principles: they used a community based approach, which acknowledged and valorized the expertise of stakeholders in Statia; they applied multiple research methods; they integrated different research backgrounds; and they combined insights from literature with real life experience in Statia. The work of the research team consisted of research planning and design, a literature study, a preparatory visit in February 2013, field research April 2013, analysis of data, discussion of data and publication of the report.

The research team's recommendations were subsequently approved by the relevant authorities and English will become the language of instruction in all St. Eustatian schools.

Survey

In order to collect quantitative information regarding language use and attitudes toward language and education in St. Eustatius, we designed a survey which was administered to all of the stakeholders in the educational system on the island. The survey consisted of four parts: 1) a set of general questions designed to investigate attitudes toward language and education; 2) a more specific set of questions concerning opinions about the importance of the Dutch language in different domains; 3) another set of specific questions about the use of various languages in specific settings; and 4) a final series of questions on the demographic characteristics of each respondent. 432 questionnaires were collected from a representative sample of

primary and secondary school students, parents, teachers, other education professionals, and the general public.

Questionnaires were distributed among students by the team members in the classrooms. The questionnaires for parents were distributed and collected by the schools. Questionnaires for the general public were available at the office of the Ministry of Education, and teachers filled out their questionnaires during focus group meetings. 432 Questionnaires were filled out and analyzed, 195 from students, 164 from parents, 40 from teachers and 33 from the general public.

The majority of the respondents (>50%) in most of the categories were born outside St. Eustatius. Nonetheless, they strongly identify with the island (>70%) and with other Statians (69%) and they are happy to be Statians (75%). The majority of the teachers (>70%) was born outside St. Eustatius; 45% were born in Holland. Statistical analysis of the responses indicate that while St. Eustatius is a multilingual community, Statian English (a continuum of varieties) is the most widely used language across all domains. The majority of the population is only exposed to Dutch in very formal domains, mainly in the class room. Also standard/school English is used by parents and teachers in more formal situations, such as at work or when talking to strangers.

Table 1 Language use by students in Primary Education

	Statian English	Standard English	Dutch
Mother	73,3	26,8	33,0
Father	74,2	21,6	15,5
Siblings	83,5	21,6	17,5
Friends	88,7	20,6	23,7
Teachers	44,3	52,6	66,0
Class mates	86,6	22,7	13,4
Strangers	64,9	29,9	16,5

Dutch is considered to be very important, especially for instrumental purposes related to education and the job market. Dutch is considered less or not important for integrative functions related to social activities in the community.

Table 2 Importance of Dutch for students in Primary Education (PE) and Secondary Education (SE)

Activity	Students in PE	Students in SE
Passing tests	90,7	86,7
Earning money & getting a job	84,4	76,8
Reading & writing	70,2	61,1
Making friends	31,3	9,3
Being liked	27,1	10,2
Talking on the phone	23,7	14,4

Statistical analysis indicates that students (as well as their parents) in secondary education, where the use of Dutch as the language of instruction is most systematically and rigorously enforced, express less positive attitudes toward Dutch and education in Dutch than do other groups. This contrast suggests that the obligatory use of Dutch at school is having a negative impact on attitudes toward Dutch.

Table 3 Positive attitudes of students towards Dutch

	PE	SE
I like hearing Dutch spoken	53,1	29,8
School should teach students to read and write in Dutch	82,3	59,4
I would like to know Dutch better	82,3	69,1
Learning Dutch is a waste of time	8,4	13,5

Most respondents feel strongly that the education system should ensure that students have high levels of competence in both English and Dutch. Attitudes toward bilingualism are positive as are attitudes toward both English and Dutch.

In general, the results of the survey indicate that what has been a very polarizing debate over language of instruction on the island over the past decades actually conceals remarkable levels of agreement by all stakeholder groups about what is happening linguistically on the ground at present and about how the education system should be equipping the students linguistically for the future. The statistics on language use clearly indicate that for the great majority of the population, Stavian English is a first language and Dutch is a foreign language. The statistics on attitudes

reveal that everyone wants students to achieve academic competence in both English and Dutch at school. In other words, nearly everyone agrees on where they are now (A) and where they want to go (B), with the only serious differences of opinion centering on how to get from A to B.

Narrative Proficiency test

In order to obtain a general idea of the productive competence of students in St. Eustatius in both English and Dutch during and after the transition is made from English as the main language of instruction in the first four years of primary school to Dutch as the main language of instruction in secondary school, a Narrative Proficiency test was designed by our research team, using the Tanzanian language proficiency research of Birgit Brock-Utne and Zubeida Desai as an example (Brock-Utne & Desai, 2010).

The test was administered to 177 students aged 10 to 15 in the final two years of primary and the first years of secondary education. In the test, students were asked to write a story based on a series of 6 images that represented a chronological storyline. One randomly selected half of each participating class was asked to write the story in English first, then in Dutch, while the other half of the class was asked to write the story in Dutch first, then in English. The images and storyline were designed so that a story could be told based on them using only high frequency words and minimally complex sentence structures. The research team is of the opinion that the available data on language tests are too strongly tied in to the Dutch educational system and that these data do not provide sufficient insight into the adequateness of language proficiency of the students, given the consensus that Dutch is a foreign language in Statia, and not a second language or mother tongue for most of the population.



The 6 images consecutively show (1) a woman who has been robbed by a thief, (2) the thief running away, (3) a policeman seeing that the thief is running away, (4) the policeman running after the thief, (5) the policeman apprehending the thief, (6) the lady being happy with her returned purse. Vocabulary used to describe the storyline can be basic: for the description in Dutch the vocabulary has been compared to the 1001 words a 6 year old non-native speaker of Dutch in the Netherlands is expected to know before entering school (Bacchini et al., 2005) and this vocabulary is sufficient to provide adequate descriptions of the storyline. For the description in English the same check has been performed against frequency lists for English, and, except for one word (*chase* for image 4), all vocabulary is part of the 1000 most frequent words used in English. (http://en.wiktionary.org/wiki/Wiktionary:Frequency_lists/PG/2006/04/1-10000)

The main goals of the administration of the narrative proficiency test were to find out (1) what happens to the language proficiency in English during the transitional phase and (2) to what extent does the proficiency in Dutch after the transitional phase match the proficiency in English. In this way we can describe the actual competencies of Statian pupils in writing and in expressing themselves using the consecutive languages of instruction of the Statian educational system *before, during and after* the transitional period. For the description of the actual competencies, we look at the story: correctness of the storyline, link between the storyline and the images, degree of detail in storyline; the sentence: sentence/phrase length, sentence complexity (simple sentences, coordination or subordination, use of tenses, use of modal auxiliaries, coherence of VP/NP, SVO-order), signs of direct speech; the vocabulary: adequacy of vocabulary used, diversity of vocabulary used (possible use of synonyms), use of pronouns; and spelling (including punctuation). Apart from that, the research team

observed the students' behaviour during the administration of the tests. The test was distributed among all pupils in all *groep 7* and *groep 8* classes (all Grade 5 and 6 classes) of all 4 primary schools; all students in all of the three *Schakelklas* sections (the transitional year between English primary education and Dutch secondary education) at the secondary school; and first, second and third year students at the secondary school. In total, 177 tests were administered, 94 at the 4 primary schools, including 46 *groep 7* students and 48 *groep 8* students; and 83 at the Gwendoline van Putten secondary school, including 30 in the three *Schakelklas* sections, and 53 in the first, second and third years of secondary education.

A very successful description of the storyboard is the following text by a 10 year old girl from group 7 in primary education who says that at home she speaks English, Dutch, Spanish and French.

“One day a woman was walking down the road with her purse. Then out of the blue a thief came and stole the woman's purse. He ran down the road away from the woman. But when he was running he ran past a policeman on duty. The police man saw him and started to chase the thief. Finally the policeman caught the robber he arrested him and made him give back the purse to the woman. She thanked the policeman and slapped the thief and everyone but the thief live happy ever after. The thief spent 15 years in prison.”

It is clear that this girl has developed a very strong language proficiency in English that allows her to create a lively and pleasant story with detail and imagination, including punctuation, adequate vocabulary, grammatical coherence and correct spelling. Unfortunately, such high quality stories were very rare among those written by primary and even secondary school students. The stories written by primary school students in *groep 7* and *groep 8* are generally of poor quality and do not meet the standards set out in the core objectives for primary education. Even compared to many of the stories written by 15 and 16 year old secondary school students, this young girl's performance on the narrative test is exceptionally high. In general, teachers in both primary and secondary schools are acutely aware that there is a gap between the quality of performance of students when they complete their primary education and the quality of performance expected of them when they enter secondary school.

One of the observations made during the analysis of the students' responses is that students who wrote in Dutch tended to switch to English vocabulary, as the work from a 13 year old boy (English and Spanish languages at home) in the first year of secondary education shows.

Dutch:

Een vrouw was aan te lopen en een dief pakt haar tas en rent weg. En **police officer** heeft hem gen gezien en rent achter hem **until he catch and gave her the lady her**

bag back.

English:

A Lady was walking and a thief and stole her bag while he was running a police officer saw him and run after him until he catch the thief and return the bag to the lady

The response of a 14 year old boy in secondary education shows even more issues, mixing Dutch and English, omitting punctuation and showing a clear lack of knowledge of spelling conventions in both Dutch and English. The full report (Faraclas, Kester & Mijts, 2014) of this research project includes many similar or even more alarming examples of students' struggle with both languages.

English:

the woman bag got stolen en the teaf went runing en de cop saw him runing en ?? ran after him en he kot him en den give de women back her bag.

Dutch:

de vrouwvrouw heeft stoken en the teaf went runing en de sop saw him runing en ran after him en he kost en ?????den give de women back her tas

182 A high percentage of students show serious deficiencies in writing skills, often in both languages. The students' work contains many spelling mistakes and often there is no or limited use of punctuation. Many students struggle with vocabulary issues and grammatical issues (including word order and verb forms). Sometimes there are striking differences between the English and Dutch storyline.

While administering the tests, students at all levels demonstrated a collective negative attitude toward Dutch, and students who were expected to write their first story in Dutch postponed the task or started to act out instead of attending to it. Generally, students performed better writing in English than in Dutch, although some students managed to produce high quality stories in both languages. Stories written by students in the last two years of primary school seldom met the standards set for the core objectives of primary education, even though these students performed much better when they wrote in English than when they wrote in Dutch. After primary school, the development of written language proficiency in English appeared to come to a standstill. The written language proficiency for Dutch improved during and after the transition to Dutch as the language of instruction at the end of primary school, but in general proficiency in English remained better than in Dutch, even at the secondary level. After several years of secondary education, written proficiency in both Dutch and English was in most instances still well below all of the core targets set for primary education in Holland.

These results demonstrate that the present system is not equipping the majority of the students with adequate levels of competence in either Dutch or English. As students progress through the final years of primary education and the first few years of secondary education, they fall further and further behind the European standard for both languages and they develop negative attitudes toward using Dutch in school.

The negative attitude toward expressing oneself in Dutch should be of major concern to all of the stakeholders in the educational system in St. Eustatius. Besides making it extremely difficult to remedy students' grossly insufficient skills in Dutch, it condemns the majority of students to failure in the present system, which currently insists on the use of Dutch as the language of instruction and assessment in all classes in secondary school, as well as in many classes at the primary level.

Classroom observations and focus group interviews

With the goal of attaining a qualitative understanding of the lived experiences of the people of St. Eustatius in relation to the language of instruction used in the schools on the island, our research team conducted 19 observations of regularly scheduled classes at all levels of primary and secondary education and 49 focus group interview meetings, including 9 meetings with groups of teachers, 12 meetings with individuals and groups involved with educational management, 22 meetings with groups involved in activities associated with the educational system (youth and family services, etc.), 5 meetings with groups of students, and 1 general meeting with parents.

183

The classroom observations revealed that students and teachers at all levels perform better when English is taught as a first language and used as the general language of instruction and when Dutch is taught as a foreign language and not used as the general language of instruction. We observed that while students enjoy learning Dutch when it is taught in an informal and playful way as a foreign language in the early years of primary school, their enthusiasm for learning Dutch diminishes as the transition is made to Dutch as the main language of instruction at the end of primary school, and evaporates when Dutch becomes the main language of instruction in secondary school. In early primary classrooms, we witnessed uniformly high levels of class participation among all students in classes where English is used as the main language of instruction and Dutch is taught as a foreign language. But in later primary and secondary classes where Dutch is taught as a first or second language and used as the language of instruction, we almost invariably observed a 'core/periphery effect' whereby a few students, most of whom have some significant exposure to Dutch outside of school, constitute an active 'core' that actively participates and interacts with the teacher, while the majority of the students retreat into the non-participating 'periphery' of the class.

During a class in primary school (Primary School Class Observation 1 (Dutch lesson in Dutch)), the team observed the following: the European Netherlander teacher tried to teach the class in Dutch as much as possible, but was obliged to use English often. A Core-Periphery effect was evident: A small core group of students actively participated in Dutch and sat together close to the teacher. The others were sitting farther away from the teacher, not participating, and needing special instructions in English. Some were silent and acting shy and others were acting out and resented the teacher's efforts to discipline them. The main part of the lesson was a dictation, with the students writing out vocabulary words that they had studied in Dutch. Most students could not interact in Dutch, but a few could do so very well. Students spoke Stavian English with each other and tried to explain things in Stavian English to each other, but the teacher would not let them do so, because it was a test.

In another class (Primary School Class Observation 3 (English lesson in English)): The students participated actively in the English lesson. They were getting lots of positive feedback from the Guyanese teacher. The teacher was asking lots of questions and all of the students were answering. The teacher was interpreting what the students wanted to say, rephrasing it when necessary. The teacher began to list all of the points being made by the students about what successful communication is. There was not enough space on the blackboard for all of the excellent points being made by the students. There was no core-periphery effect in this classroom. The students were performing on a very high level. All of the students were eager and raising their hands. There were no students acting out. The teacher gave the students lots of feedback. The teacher was strict, but the students didn't resent it.

Another class observation illustrates the challenges for students and teacher alike (Primary Class Observation 10 (Dutch lesson in Dutch and English)): Here '*massa productie*', a concept that had not yet been introduced in English, was being introduced first in Dutch. The Stavian teacher tried to use mainly Dutch but she/he translated when necessary. Some students could give one word answers to simple questions in Dutch but most used English for longer answers. The teacher had to go through a long explanation in English and give a number of examples in English, to make sure that the students understood, but the teacher never actually used the term 'mass production' in English. There was a shifting core-periphery effect. When the teacher used Dutch and read longer passages in Dutch, the core-periphery effect emerged. Once the teacher started speaking and asking questions in English, the students started engaging again. After the lesson, the teacher explained to us that there is pressure on teachers give more Dutch to the students, because of the *toets* (the standardized tests from the European Netherlands) and because Dutch is the language of instruction in secondary school.

The team also observed class in secondary school, including the so called *Schakelklas*, the transitional year that has been introduced to facilitate the transition between English primary education and Dutch secondary education. In one of these classes (Secondary School Class Observation 16 (*Schakelklas* in DUTCH)): The European descended teacher was well organized. The class was slow moving, covering only 5 vocabulary items. The teacher used a contextualized methodology, using examples from Statia, but the example sentences were quite complex. The teacher asked the students for examples, without checking whether the students understood. The teacher would not allow students to speak in English. When some students tried to make the connection between a vocabulary word such as *het resultaat* in Dutch and *result* in English, the teacher rejected the use of English. There was one European descended girl in the class who didn't say a word. The teacher only used English to give the directions for the homework assignment. There was a dramatic Core-Periphery effect in the class. A few girls dominated the class, especially one who had just been to the Netherlands. None of the boys participated in any meaningful way.

What we observed in the classrooms was confirmed during our focus group interview meetings. While all stakeholders agreed that the schools on St. Eustatius should be producing students with high levels of competence in both English and Dutch, none thought that the schools were actually achieving this for either language. All agreed that for the great majority of the people on St. Eustatius, Statian English is a first language and Dutch is a foreign language. A number of stakeholders commented on growing levels of hostility among students (and some parents) toward Dutch language and all things Dutch. Even some of the few students who speak Dutch at home now refuse to speak Dutch at school.

The following quotes and paraphrases are taken from the report (Faraclas e.a. 2014, p. 101-137) on the interviews that were conducted during the consecutive visits of the research team to the island. They confirm and reinforce the observations and conclusions of the research team.

During the following interviews with Primary school teachers, the discussion on the status of Dutch and English in education and in society was given a lot of attention:

Primary School Teachers: "A basic question needs to be answered: Is Dutch a second language or a foreign language in Statia? Is it a language that Statians are exposed to at an early age or a language that they need to be taught later on as a foreign language?" All agree that Dutch is a foreign language for most Statian students. Most Statian children are not exposed to Dutch until they come to school. "Some parents in Statia can speak Dutch very well, but they never speak Dutch with their children."

Interviews with Secondary School Teachers: There was general agreement on the fact that Dutch is a foreign language in Statia. When asked privately, the great majority of the Secondary school teachers, even those from the European Netherlands, think that

English should be the language of instruction at both the primary and secondary levels.

Interviews with Parents: ‘My daughter is in Group 4 with a European Dutch teacher. She gets Dutch in school and now she’s teaching her father. Children pick up languages so quickly and they love it. The students are also singing songs in Papiamentu. The children even pick up Papiamentu ‘attitude’. But eventually, the excitement disappears. As they go on, the excitement and enthusiasm wane. Why? One reason is that there is no Dutch in the environment to reinforce the Dutch learned in school.’ Another parent reports: “My child has a very challenging teacher at the secondary school, who requires that all reports be written in Dutch. To meet these requirements, my child has to write all reports in English and then use ‘Google Translate’ to translate them into Dutch. She/he receives high marks on the reports that she/he translates this way, whereas she/he gets lower marks on reports that she/he tries to write in Dutch from the very start.”

There is consensus on the failure of the present system: Interviews with Secondary School Teachers: “The students are being taught in Chinese. Everything is being taught to tests that have nothing to do with the students’ reality.” “The students should not be taught in Dutch, which is a foreign language for them. They should be taught in the language that they are more familiar with: English.” One teacher summed it up: “We know one thing for sure, that the system that we have now is not good for the students.” When all of the secondary school teachers were questioned about it, they say that they use English about 50% of the time. “When we teach in Dutch at the secondary school, we are teaching to the walls.” ‘9 out of every 10 students who go on to Holland for studies each year fail and have to come back and their families have to reimburse their scholarships.’

Interviews with Secondary School Teachers: “I see so much creativity in Statian children when they arrive at school, but as the years go on, the lights begin to dim. By the time the students get to secondary school, for all but a few, the lights have gone out. Materials at present are based on the European Netherlands. There is no relevance to Statia. Students can’t see themselves in the materials. Adolescents are trying to find themselves, but they can’t find themselves in the materials. Even the English exam is in Dutch.” “Vocabulary levels among the students are low in both English and Dutch.” “The level of language proficiency in 4th year VMBO is equivalent to Grade 4 in primary school.” This means the students are 6 years behind the levels in the European Netherlands. The students are reportedly 3 years behind when they leave primary school, so that they have only progressed one year during their entire secondary school career.

Interviews with Educational Authorities: “According to official policy, by 2016 student performance in the European Netherlands and the Caribbean Netherlands need

to be on par. It will be impossible to reach par by 2016, although we can try to approximate levels in European Netherlands.” Another policy states that by 2015, Caribbean Netherlands students should have reached ‘acceptable levels’. “The HAVO class only has about 10 in it, but probably not all of these would have qualified for HAVO in the European Netherlands. A lot of incorrect assignment is being done based on testing which is made too easy for the students. Many of the students who are in VMBO-T should actually be at less theoretically oriented levels of VMBO.” “No failing grades were given to the students who were actually failing. All of these issues need to be addressed.”

Interviews with Educational Authorities: “Some people want Dutch only. When I first became part of the School Board, I thought that the school should be completely in Dutch. But now, I have changed my mind. I realized that this approach to Dutch is making people dislike Dutch. This is particularly serious in the secondary school. Now I think that we should build on what the students already know to build second language competence.” “The students’ identity is being lost. They need to learn about their own language and culture. How can you be proud of yourself when you don’t know who you are? In Statia, we are always learning about someone else’s language, culture, history. People don’t know who they are. If our youth cannot find themselves or see themselves in their schooling, they will turn to drugs and other escapes from their pain.” “Statians have a submissive attitude toward foreigners and foreign things. Are the teachers expecting the students to accommodate to them, or are they accommodating the students?”

Interviews with Parents: “Dutch is going over the heads of the students. I have a 7 year old son, he is just learning the sounds. He is also starting Dutch. Seeing him trying to master reading in Dutch before he has mastered reading in English, I see where the problem lies.” “Many people have criticized me for speaking Dutch with my children here in Statia, but I want them to be able to cope with Dutch in Holland. My older son is an *echte Nederlander* and he wants to go back to the European Netherlands. But when he is in school, he speaks Dutch very softly, because he doesn’t want to stand out. He is not proud of it. I tell him to be proud of speaking Dutch. In Holland, he was afraid to speak English because of peer pressure. My younger son is speaking more English now. A minority of Statian parents are also trying to stimulate Dutch in their homes with their children. Many students get good grades in Dutch in primary, but do badly in Dutch at secondary level, so they begin to lose interest in Dutch.”

"My child did extremely well in primary school, but when he got to secondary school, he was put in a *Schakelklas*, and he started feeling like a failure and totally lost interest in Dutch. He now has no interest in studying for the *Schakelklas*, because no matter how hard he tries to study, he always gets a failing mark. For example: he tried hard to learn his 20 vocabulary words per week (often without having the meaning of

the words clearly explained). He learned *betalen*, then when he got the *toets* on Friday, he knew which sentence to put the word in but he was also expected to conjugate the verb, which he did not know how to do, so he failed the test.”

“My nephew opted to take his *CITO toets* in mathematics in English, but couldn’t cope with the test, because he had never been taught the key concepts in English. Parents are used to speaking English, even those who have lived in Holland. This cuts children off from their parents, even from Dutch speaking parents.”

The increasingly negative attitudes toward Dutch from Primary to Secondary education were observed in the following interviews of teachers, parents and educational support professionals.

Secondary School Teachers: “The negative attitudes toward Dutch increase as the students go on in secondary school.” “There is a big difference between the enthusiasm for Dutch before and now. The enthusiasm has gone way down. The media are mostly in English now, there is less Dutch input.” “There is a very strong negative attitude toward Dutch people and language.” “A big reason for the resistance to Dutch is the feeling among Statians that the Dutch are taking over. This fear and resentment has really increased since 10/10/10 [the date when St. Eustatius, Bonaire, and Saba became municipalities of the Netherlands].”

Interviews with Educational Support Professionals: “Students whose parents speak Dutch at home don’t speak Dutch in school and don’t reply to their parents in Dutch. Many students in Statia hate Dutch because they feel that it’s been forced on them. They have a negative attitude toward Dutch. They are expected to perform at too high a level in Dutch and they fail. The children are suffering for all of this.”

“Teachers wonder what happens to the students who begin *spelend onderwijs* [playful foreign language learning of Dutch] in Dutch in the lower grades with such enthusiasm, but end up hating Dutch by the time they reach secondary school. Students have very negative attitudes toward Dutch, including those who speak Dutch at home, perhaps because of peer pressure to speak English. Many students just give up when faced with lessons in Dutch. Some refuse to speak Dutch.”

“Students are getting a negative attitude toward Dutch. Teachers from Holland are expecting the students to perform in Dutch as L1 or L2, not as FL. Most of these teachers aren’t trained to teach Dutch as a FL. When the students don’t perform, the teachers tell them ‘You should know that.’ The students feel like failures, because they are foreign language learners of Dutch, not L1 or L2 learners.” “There is a problem with the *CITO toets*. Parents on Statia don’t have the resources that European Dutch parents have to train their children to take the *CITO toets*. The test comes from the European Netherlands and is not adapted to Statia. Students are not prepared for the *CITO toets* and they fear it. It’s difficult for parents to help their children with all of the changes in the curriculum. The *toets* was introduced without a curriculum. The students can’t succeed in such a system. It’s almost as if the system was designed for

the children to fail. The parents are not allowed to know what is on the *toets*, so they can't help their children."

"At the pre-school level, the parents' meetings are full of parents. At primary, there are fewer, at secondary, almost none. Parents need to be allowed to sit in on classes."

"With 10/10/10 there has been more Dutch influence at different levels, and people are reacting more negatively toward the European Netherlands and Dutch as a language. Once when I went to address a class at the secondary school, I was forced to speak Dutch. This made me nervous. I had to make sure that I didn't make a mistake. We Statians often feel nervous speaking Dutch, even if we speak Dutch well. People feel that the European Netherlands is coming to take over Statia."

Interviews with Parents: "Once my son began his education in Dutch and he stopped doing FBE [Foundation Based Education], he lost confidence and he began to resent Dutch. You could see it in his body language. I can help my child, I can give him the assistance that he needs. But what about the majority of Statian students? Students who once enjoyed learning, now have negative attitudes. When you are judged based on how well you use Dutch, when children begin to fail, when children see that the teacher does not approve of their level of performance, it is not right. Is the school doing its job? I'm having to consider working less hours in order to do the work that the secondary school is not doing, but should be doing, with my son. If I can't give my son all that he needs, imagine a parent who doesn't have all of the advantages that I have." "My son is terrified of going to the secondary school. He is shutting down. He is begging to get out of Statia. His biggest fear is going to secondary school and not being able to express himself in Dutch."

All of the Stakeholders in the focus group meetings and interviews agreed that the goal of language education in Statian schools should be both English and Dutch proficiency. The great majority agreed that in St. Eustatius, the best way to get to academic proficiency in Dutch is to go via academic proficiency in English. One teacher said: "We want children to love Dutch, ... but this means that Dutch cannot be used as the language of instruction."

Interviews with Educational Authorities: "We need to meet the children with what is close to their heart. Language is emotion." "English needs to be strengthened and has to be taught more systematically. Why are Spanish speaking children able to cope with English and Dutch? It's because they have a firm foundation in their own language. "We are hurting the children"

Interviews with Students: 85% of the students in one secondary school group clearly expressed a preference for English as a language of instruction over Dutch, but still valued Dutch as an important language to learn. They would prefer a system where they could choose which language they want to take their subjects in, according to where they would eventually like to go to do their further studies. . In another

secondary school group, the students had mixed attitudes toward Dutch. Some were negative, one or two were positive, the rest were indifferent. Most had a favorable attitude toward English, but some were indifferent to both languages. In another group at the secondary school, most students felt negatively toward Dutch and wanted less Dutch and more English in school: “I speak English, why are my lessons in Dutch?”

Interviews with Educational Support Professionals: “Not letting the children have their home language as their language of instruction is considered by people from the United Nations as a form of child abuse.” “A major reason for underperformance in students is the language. Children lack self-esteem because their language and culture are demeaned. In Saba, students are achieving higher levels in school because they use English in the classroom.” “There is a danger that there will soon be educational apartheid on Statia.” Two European Dutch teachers were trying to start their own school for their children. “Statian people are open people, but has this openness been taken advantage of?”

“Expatriates started to put their children in Statia Terminal School. The ministry stopped this: now the school is only for Terminal workers. Too many times, Statians have just let things happen to them. They haven’t taken control over their destiny.”

“One Spanish teacher has decided to replace the Dutch-Spanish text with an English-Spanish text. The teacher who is still using the Dutch-Spanish text has much lower results than the teacher using the English-Spanish text. It is important that the children understand the materials.”

Interviews with Educational Counselors: “The secondary school insisted that we do our modules [on adolescent sexuality] in Dutch. They said this is a Dutch school, a Dutch island, etc. I told them that the children do not have enough Dutch to express themselves freely. The children need to feel comfortable expressing themselves. We had a confrontation with the secondary school that day. We can stimulate Dutch, but we need to give the students the space to express themselves in English. It’s hard for the students to express their feelings in Dutch. During the sessions, we used English, but we picked out those children who speak Dutch to translate for them into Dutch. But those children don’t want to use Dutch. They want to identify with the other English speaking children. Children don’t like to speak Dutch. Whenever we do counseling, we speak English only. When a European Netherlander counselor tries to understand Statian English, it is very difficult. The European Dutch counselor needs a translation. The children master neither Dutch nor English.”

One parent summed up the situation as follows: “We are hopeful that the language issue will be resolved. This is the last chance that we have to really get it right. For the first time, we are hearing that the decision doesn’t have to be either English or Dutch. The debate has been so bitter and polarized. Now we realize that we can make our children competent in both English and Dutch. We have lived this. We know what’s

going on. Most of the consultants who come assume that we don't know anything. I've seen so many consultants and so many reports. The last 3 or 4 years [since 10/10/10] have been even more consultant-intensive."

Conclusion

The present researchers and all of the stakeholders on St. Eustatius are acutely aware of the fact that many of the general societal problems facing education on the island cannot be simply addressed by changes in educational policy and approach, and will take many years and major social changes to solve. Along with many stakeholders, we contend nevertheless that some problems, such as those caused by language policies which do not represent best pedagogical practice, can be addressed here and now, with palpable positive results. We focus on what can be done at the level of educational policy, approach, and practice to help all of the stakeholders in the education system on Sint Eustatius to achieve their stated goals, which include high quality education for all (not just for a talented few or for the few who have access to Dutch outside of school) and high levels of competence in both English and Dutch (not in English only or in Dutch only).

The results of the Attitudes and Use Survey, the Narrative Proficiency Test, and the Interviews and Class Observations clearly show that Dutch is neither a first nor a second language for the great majority of Sint Eustatian students, yet for decades it has been used and taught in the schools as if it were either their first or second language. The Attitudes and Use Survey and the Interviews and Class Observations indicate that although it has been implemented very unevenly, the new language policy for primary education agreed upon in 2007, which has to some degree legitimized the use of English as language of instruction and of initial literacy, seems to have had some positive effects on primary school student, parent and teacher attitudes toward learning in general and on learning Dutch in particular. This is especially true where Dutch is being taught through *spelend onderwijs*, that is, as a foreign, rather than a first or second language (even though the policy itself recommends the teaching of Dutch as a 'strong second language'). These same research modules reveal more negative and disturbing attitudes among students, parents and teachers at the secondary school level, where Dutch remains the official language of instruction. Many stakeholders stated during the interviews that negative attitudes have increased since 10/10/10. The Literature Survey suggests that if these trends continue, the backlash against Dutch language and all things Dutch on Sint Eustatius could become as acute and intractable as the backlash against English and all things North American on neighboring Puerto Rico. If the present system is retained, negative attitudes will continue to grow and polarization between the Dutch school system and Statian society will become stronger, thus having a further negative

impact on students' success rates, motivation and attitudes.

The research team realizes that language policy is not a magic bullet that by itself will solve all of the problems in the educational system and the wider society. However, language policy is a powerful tool that can help to solve these problems. Moreover, a change in language policy is something that we have control over and which can be implemented here and now.

Based on all of the evidence and these conclusions, we advanced the following language policy options for achieving maximal informal and academic competence in both English and Dutch in the schools of St. Eustatius:

Option 1:

□ Standard/school English as the only language of instruction and as the language of initial literacy in the pre-primary, primary, and secondary schools, with attention paid to the transition from Statian English to Standard/school English during the first years. Dutch should be taught consistently and systematically as a foreign language at all of these levels.

□ Foreign language instruction in Dutch should follow a strategy of *spelend onderwijs* at the pre-primary level and during the first years of primary school, to ensure that all students gain a sufficient informal competence in Dutch to allow them to begin to acquire an academic competence in Dutch.

□ Literacy in English should begin to be taught in the first years of primary school, while literacy in Dutch should not be introduced until a solid foundation has been established in reading and writing English (probably in *groep 5* of primary school).

□ Thereafter, academic competence in Dutch can be further consolidated on the basis of students' academic competence in English. This means that, in general, academic concepts should be taught in English first before they are introduced in Dutch.

Option 2:

Option 2 is the same as option 1, with the following extra:

□ At the end of the second year of secondary school students can opt: 1) to continue on an academic, professional, or practical track with English as the language of instruction and Dutch as a foreign language; or 2) to shift to a HAVO or VMBO track with Dutch as the language of instruction if they plan on further studies in the European Netherlands or the ABC islands (in which case, they will receive some additional hours of instruction in Papiamentu/o as a foreign language).

In JUNE 2014, the Dutch ministry of education, culture and science, made the decision to adopt option 1 and to start the transition to an educational system in Statia with English as the language of instruction and Dutch as a foreign language in September 2014.

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**TRANSGRESSING BOUNDARIES
IN LITERATURE**

‘HISTORY’ EN ‘MEMORY’ IN ARUBAANSE ORALE LITERATUUR: FONTEIN EN OMGEVING ALS BELANGRIJKE ‘LIEUX DE MÉMOIRE’

WIM RUTGERS

UNIVERSITY OF CURAÇAO

Know your history to better shape your destiny

Lionel J. Janga (2013: 19-23)

Er zijn plaatsen van herinnering die algemeen bekend zijn en als zodanig erkend zijn en voortleven in het collectieve geheugen. Deze bijdrage is een poging om door middel van argumenten van Fontein en omgeving op Aruba zo’n plaats van literaire herinnering te maken.

Plaatsen van herinnering

In de historische studie van Johan Hartog, *Aruba, zoals het was, zoals het werd: van de tijd der Indianen tot op heden* (1980), en bij andere auteurs komt Fontein en omgeving een aantal keren voor met gegevens die wijzen op een zeer vroege bewoning, een belangrijke functie in de koloniale tijd en een specifieke plek in het culturele landschap in de moderne tijd. Zo zijn er aan die plaats ook gepubliceerde en ongepubliceerde verhalen verbonden, geschreven en gepubliceerd door Arubaanse auteurs. Het specifieke van de plaats was wel dat er daar stromend water was, iets unieks op het dorre eiland.

Bij Fontein aangetroffen rotstekeningen wijzen op heel vroege aanwezigheid van de Indianen in prehistorische tijden (Hartog, 1980: 3). Historicus Johan Hartog veronderstelt dat de Indianen op Aruba zich vanaf de Europese kolonisatie meer en meer terugtrokken naar de Noordkust, ook naar Fontein. Amateur-archeoloog pastoor A.J. van Koolwijk (Eustatia, 1987) vond aan het einde van de 19^e eeuw bij Fontein “scherven en andere zaken, maar feitelijk gegraven werd daar niet” (Hartog, 1980: 2-3).

Fontein blijft een belangrijke rol spelen in de koloniale tijd omdat er dan al een kleine nederzetting werd gevormd, waarschijnlijk een ranch voor het op het eiland loslopend vee, waarbij “smalle indianenpaden” voor de verbinding tussen de bewoonde plaatsen zorgden (Hartog, 1980: 59).

In 1816 woonden er op het eiland 1732 personen, van wie 4 Nederlanders, 187 ingeborenen, 20 blanke vreemdelingen, 564 Indianen, 584 “gecouleurde vrijen”, 37 zwarte vrijen, 133 “gecouleurde slaven” en 203 zwarte slaven, in totaal 1396 vrije lieden en 336 slaven (Hartog, 1980: 125).

Het door Johannes de Hullu opgestelde *Aruba in 1816* (De Hullu, 1923; Hartog, 1980: 125-126) schrijft uitvoerig over Fontein:

“Er is aan de oostpunt een plaats genaamd Fontein, een lopend water waarvan de source te soupçonneren is uit de bergen te komen, welke waterloop ondanks de drooge jaren die hier geweest zijn, waarbij menschen en vee zijn omgekomen aan gebrek van voedsel, nimmer opgehouden heeft water te geven. Bij deze fontein is een bakkoval aangelegd waar ook een ruitershuis staat, tgeen in een slegte situatie is. In dit huis wordt iemand vergund te wonen en de grond te bewerken, maar hij moet daarvoor contracteeren met den commandeur, wie zints jaaren herwaards deze tuin of bakkoval als een toelaag is afgestaan en ‘t geen wij alsmede geagreëerd hebben. Buiten deze fontein zijn er geene lopende wateren. De verschillende putten en tankies hebben immer in de behoeften van menschen en vee kunnen voorzien.” (Hartog, 1980: 126)

198 Over de kleine plantages oftewel tuinen meldt het Rapport onder meer dat ze klein zijn en niet veel meer opleveren dan maïs, enkele bonensoorten, pinda’s, bananen, kokos en rankvruchten zoals (water)meloenen en pompoenen (Hartog, 1980: 128).

Het blijkt dat Fontein voortdurend bewoond werd. Er was niet alleen een militaire post, een ruitershuis, maar er verbleven ook particulieren (Hartog, 1980: 448). Bovendien leek het gewoonte buitenlandse bezoekers een uitstapje naar de fontein en de grotten aan te bieden. Vooral de fontein zelf stond in de belangstelling.

“Het belangrijkste uitstapje, dat men op dit eiland doen kan, is naar de noord-oostzijde, waar een altijddurend stroomend watertje uit de rotsen vloeit, en diep inlopende grotten der bezigtiging waardig zijn,” aldus de dominee. (Bosch, 1985: 199)

Mosa Lampe, eerste dichteres van het eiland

Begin 19^e eeuw woonde Pieter Lampe op Fontein. Dominee G.B. Bosch, die vanuit Curaçao het eiland Aruba zeven keer bezocht om daar te prediken en te dopen, ontmoette tijdens een uitstapje naar de bron de zuster van Pieter, de jonge vrouw A.C.E. (Johanna) Mosa Lampe, volgens Hartog ‘de eerste inheemse dichteres’ omdat ze ‘Nederduitse brieven’ en zelfs ‘verzen schreef en las’ (Bosch, 1985: 222-223).

Den Generaal P.R. Cantz'laar en Gemalin, te Aruba den 24sten Augustus 1824, met dit volgend lied versierd door juffer A.C.E. Lampe: Eerwaardig Heer en Hoofd, bij wijze: God save the King.

I

Aruba's Opperhoofd
Hier in ons kring.
Ach dat uw liefde en deugd
Steeds zij den troost en vreugd
Die ons omring.
Wij smeken het Albestuur
Voor zijn heil. dat eeuwig duur
Dat nimmer ons liefde -vuur
Voor Cantz'laar doof.

II

Ontvang deez dure wens
Door geen vlijtaal begrens
Uit grond des hart.
Dat steeds uw heil vermeer,
Dat zij uw steeds vereer
De rampen tart.
Al juichend zingen wij,
Al wenschend roepen wij,
bestendig bidden wij
Dat Cantz'laar leef!

III

hen Li ook zij toegewijd
Ons gulle erkentelijkheid,
Verdienstelijk Vrouwl
Blijft steeds met uw Gemaal.
Der burg'ren steun en paal
Daar wij op bouw.
Op dat elks hart getuig,
In liefde met U buig,
Voor Land en Koning juig,
Leef Neerlands Vorst!

Dominee Bosch bezocht de Fontein in 1823, een jaar vóór er in Rooi Fluit goud gevonden werd. Van een jaar later dateert ons enige bewijs dat Mosa Lampe inderdaad Nederduitse verzen schreef. Op 24 augustus 1824 publiceerde de *Curaçaosche Courant* haar lofdicht op Gouverneur R. Cantz'laar, die Aruba bezocht omdat er in juli goud gevonden was. Het was het goud dat de eerste gouverneur deed besluiten Aruba binnen een maand na de ontdekking met een bezoek te vereren.

Het waren niet de minsten die op Fontein verbleven of bron en plantage zelfs in eigendom hadden. In de 19^e eeuw was Fontein toegewezen aan de Commandeur van het eiland.

In 1831 werd aan S.F.W. Gravenhorst, Commandeur van het eiland van 1827-1837, “de grond Fontein, 5000 ellen of een halve bunder, ten gebruike gegeven. Gravenhorst stierf 7 November 1837 en zijn weduwe, Maria Elisabeth Croes, kreeg van gouverneur Baron van Raders het voorlopige ongestoorde genot van Fontein, echter onder beding, ‘de bestaande omheiningen niet uit te breiden en het uitstromende water ten dienste te laten voor de gouvernementsezels en van het andere in de omtrek weidende vee.’ Op 14 September 1838 kreeg mevrouw Gravenhorst-Croes nog een pensioen van 771 gulden. Bij Koninklijk Besluit van 11 Maart 1839, no. 110, verkreeg de weduwe, ‘door finale concessie’ Fontein in allodiale eigendom en erfelijk bezit, ‘zulks als schadevergoeding voor de uitgaven door wijlen haar echtgenoot geleden tijdens zijn onderzoek naar de steenkolenmijnen nabij Coro’.” (Hartog, 1980: 149)

Geoloog K. Martin noteert het oudste orale, magische rijm Dori dori mako

Een halve eeuw later – in 1885 – bezocht de Leidse geoloog professor K. Martin het eiland en bracht daarbij een bezoek aan Fontein waar hij uitvoerig verslag van deed. Na een beschrijving van het landschap, vertelt hij van zijn tocht naar Fontein:

“Om half zes kwamen wij bij Fontein aan, juist nog op tijd, om voor de nachtrust het dagboek bij te houden en de verzameling stenen in te pakken, daar dit bij de uiterst primitieve toestanden beter bij daglicht gebeurt, dan wanneer de duisternis reeds is ingetreden.

Op Fontein bleek dit al zeker het beste te zijn, want hier merkten wij pas, hoe weinig wij waren voorbereid op een reis van enkele dagen op Aruba. Iets, waar wij niet op bedacht waren geweest, daar wij noch op Curaçao, noch bij het korte oponthoud in Oranjestad de ware armoede van het eiland hadden bespeurd. Dank zij de voorzorgen van Evertsz van Colorado, die onze gids nog wat levensmiddelen had gegeven, konden wij tenminste nog iets eten. Een halve tinnen lepel, waarvan de voorste helft, die tot het opscheppen diende, ontbrak, ons zakmes, een kleine kom, een paar borden en een oude waskan, waren ons enig tafelgerei.

We troostten ons met de hoop op betere tijden en besloten voortaan dagelijks een man naar het dorp te sturen, die moest zorgen dat de nodige proviand steeds van te voren op het volgende station was en dit gebeurde dan ook in de toekomst.

Gerustgesteld maakten wij nog een wandeling langs het strand.”

Na een slapeloze nacht vervolgt het gezelschap op 31 januari 1885 de reis in de richting van de Yamanota, waarbij Martin in de rooi Cachunti een poel water aantreft waarin de kleine lokale kikvors, de dori, huist. Het doet hem denken aan een oud, magisch rijmpje dat hij van Aruba kent: het lied van de dori.

“Met het onbehagelijke gevoel van een nacht wakker liggen, zag ik de dag aanbreken. Het bed van bananenbladeren, waarop ik moest slapen, was namelijk zo vol ongedierte, dat ik eerst evenals de inheemsen had willen doen, die zonder plichtplegingen in een kamer ernaast, in lompen gehuld op de grond gingen liggen, gekleed en wel, zoals ze overdag waren. Dat wilde mij echter niet gelukken in deze ruimte vol mensen en daarom zocht ik maar rustig een bank in de tuin, vanwaar ik na korte tijd weer naar binnen gejaagd werd, omdat een fijne regen mijn hoofd merkbaar afkoelde.

Dat was de tweede les, die ik op Aruba kreeg: de waarschuwing om nooit meer zonder hangmat te gaan reizen. Mijn gelukkige reisgenoot, de heer Neervoort van de Pol, aan wie onze gids de zijne bereidwillig had afgestaan, terwijl bij zelf buiten onder een boom was gaan liggen, had van een verkwikkende slaap genoten. Mogen latere reizigers hieruit de nodige lering trekken.

De zonnestralen verdreven intussen deze sombere gedachten. Zodra dat ging, d.w.z., zodra het trage personeel met het opladen en zadelen van de dieren klaar was, iets, wat door zijn eindeloze omslachtigheid mij dikwijls tot volslagen wanhoop bracht – begaven wij ons op weg naar de Jamanota, die, naar gezegd wordt, de hoogste berg van het eiland is.

Hiertoe reden wij door een droge rooi, d.w.z. een beek (van het Spaans *arroyo*) van Cachunti, welke van het Noorderstrand bij Fontein in Westelijke richting naar de Jamanota loopt, en waren verbaasd in de daar aan de oppervlakte komende leisteenformatie een plas zoet water aan te treffen van ongeveer drie tot vier voet middellijn, waaruit mijn gids een paar kikkervisjes haalde. Het was ons wel bekend, dat op Aruba de kikvors, de zgn. dori, voorkwam, maar ieder had ons gezegd, dat wij hem zeker niet zouden vinden, daar hij in de droge tijd in de grond kruipt en daarin wel tot een diepte van zes meter is aangetroffen. Deze schijnbare tegenspraak werd de volgende dag echter opgelost, doordat wij een volwassen kikvors vonden, die volgens zeggen van alle

mensen, beslist van de dori verschilde, zodat het eiland dus twee soorten kikvorsen bezit, terwijl deze op Curaçao en Bonaire niet voorkomen. (...)

De dori, den inwoner van Aruba wel bekend, komt in grote massa's te voorschijn bij het begin van de regen en het is dus te begrijpen, dat het volk hem bijzonder vereert, want hij brengt als het ware de verlossing van de lang aanhoudende droge tijd, als gevolg waarvan zo vaak nood en honger optreden. Reeds op het gereedschap van de oude Indiaanse bevolking speelt de kikvors een grote rol bij de sculptuur [vg. blz. 13] en het volk zingt tot nu toe een eentonige melodie, die op de dori betrekking heeft en die mij wel eens door een oude vrouw met grote liefde werd voorgedragen: dori, dori make / si mi mori / kinde ta derami? / A-mi, a-mi, a-mi.: De dori, dori spreekt, (make komt eigenlijk van het Nederlandse 'maakt': als ik sterf / Wie zal mij dan begraven? / Ik, ik, ik.

De melodie bestaat uit twee regelmatige tonen, g en a." (Hartog, 1980: 191-193)

Ook in de twintigste eeuw blijkt Fontein nog een geliefd oord voor uitstapjes te zijn. Zo bezoekt prof. dr. L.M.R. Rutten de plaats nog in juli 1930, waar commandeur Wagemaker hem er opzoekt. (Hartog, 1980: 347) In onze tijd blijkt Fontein en omgeving inspiratie te bieden aan geheimzinnige verhalen, zoals van Ernesto Rosenstand en Frida Domacassé.

Ongeveer 1935 werd er op de plantage een stenen huis gebouwd. Er woonde en werkte later een Chinese familie die er groenten kweekte. Daarna werd het een centrum van het Parke Arikok met een kleine expositieruimte, maar het is met de bouw van het moderne Visitor Center aan het begin van het park in vervallen toestand geraakt (Van der Klooster & Bakker, 2007: 49-50; 277).

Een ongepubliceerd manuscript over Fontein

Een mooi voorbeeld van de cultuurhistorische betekenis van Fontein vinden we in een ongepubliceerd manuscript van Dochi Dañe over de geschiedenis van die plaats. Het interessante van zijn manuscript is de vermenging van persoonlijke elementen met de geschiedenis van het eiland. Dat maakt het Papiamentstalige document tot een werkelijk voorbeeld van de vereniging van persoonlijke herinnering (memory) en algemene geschiedenis (history).

"E storia aki ta pasa via nan tur di un pa e otro, te a jega na mi pa medio di Machi Chea, cu si ta gusta conta di fontein. El por laga su trabaow para, si bo kier tende di fontein.

Ami di chikito, mi a interesa tur loke ta fontein. Ta pesei, cu ainda mi ta basta na memoria. Mi ta pone fontein riba papel pa bosonan tambe conose boso pariëntenan: ta pa bosonan sigui pase, mes cos cu ami a haci awor.”

Dochi Dañe's geschiedenis van Fontein is het verhaal van een gedenkwaardige historische plaats op het eiland, maar ook een familiegeschiedenis over vier generaties.

Borris (Borrah) Croes kwam van Nederland, trouwde met de Curaçaose Emely, ging als weduwnaar met zijn dochter Maria Elizabeth (Mita) op Aruba wonen en verwierf daar de plantage Fontein en zijn bron. Mita trouwde een Gravenhorst die echter al vroeg overleed, waarna zij hertrouwde met Jean Oduber en drie dochters kreeg, van wie de middelste Susanna Clementina (Chancha) zich na een ongelukkig huwelijk met Gustaf Adolf Hubles alleen op Fontein vestigde en vervolgens de plantage tot bloei bracht. Ze kreeg een dochter Maria Graciëla bij haar majordomo Dochi waardoor de plantage een erfgenaam verwierf en in familie-eigendom bleef. Ma Chancha overleed in 1914, waarna de plantage in 1924 voor Fl. 2100,- verkocht werd.

Naast de familiegeschiedenis vertelt Dañe talrijke bijzonderheden van cultureel historisch belang, zoals de gronduitgifte en hoe de familie de plantage en de zeldzame zoetwaterbron in bezit kreeg.

E fuente cu a haja e nomber fontein

Por ta 200 of mas aña, Corsow a haja bon, pa cuminsa ortoga tereno. A cuminsa asina; pero e grandinan lo busca tera di nan gusto promer; pesei mes nan a scohe e partinan di mihor, cu te dianan di awe, ta di nan desendjентenan. Buchi Wan tambe lo haja, pero mas despues. Na Aruba tambe a tuma lugar mes manera. Un poco di e grandinan di Plaja tambe lo bai scohe tera, aki tambe e chikito tambe lo bai scohe despues. Nan a scohe for pabow te parti di ariba. Nan a busca e mihor lugarnan tambe!

Den esnan, cu tambe por a busca tera ta Borrah Croes, cu ta un di e pisanan awor. Borrah ta pensa islanan ningun tin un fuente di awa. Den su pensamento el si ta sinti cu aki si por tin awa. Tur cu por a busca tera ja nan a hacië caba, ningun no a papia, cu nan a topa cu awa ningun parti. El ta pensa: Qui bal tera sin awa, ta un filosofia! Su tres trahadornan, el a bisa nan cu awor ta su turno di bai rondja un tereno. El di cu nan ban ta bai busca parti pariba. Pariba dje ceronan. Nan bai busca e awa di su pensamento. Majan caba nan ta bai! Mita a percura pa nan bai cu alimento. Nan a busca i busca te a bira laat, nan a bolbe sin haja nada. Borrah ta ancioso ta spera nan jegada: Porfin ata nan. Borroh ta scucha nan relato: Nan lo sigui busca manjan trobe. Borrah no kiër tende cu'n tin awa, tin awa un camina, boso ta bai buské pa mi. Majan trobe nan ta sigui tur ceronan a subi i baha te cu nan a juga na e lugar di cero

di santo blanco bunita: Awor nan a baha den un boca di lamar grandi i bunita: Nan ta mira pazuit un baranca stranjo i bunita, cara pariba. Nan ta bai siguië tambe! Sigi bai zuid, nan a topa un spelonk, Nan a bisa otro: com jama e spelonk akie. E biëw a contesta. Shon Borrah lo dune un nomber. E mas biëw di, awe si nos lo contra e awa pa nos Shon. Camna i sigui e baranca te na su punta di zuid. Mirando un bulto di palonan grandi. Mira bow e palu di druif grandi ei un buraco manera un tanki jen di awa kristalina! Nan ta balota e awa su hundura. I ta bisa otro e awa akie tin mas cu 6 pia hundo. Nan a bebe e awa i laba cabes. E wowo ta bin di zuid bow e baranca. E biëw di: ban duna cuenta na Shon. Hopi contento, nan ta bolbe, pa duna cuenta! Shon Borrah ta ancioso ta spera nan jegada. Ata nan porfin. E biëw di Shon Borrah, awe si nos tin e suerte, di haja e fuente, por jame un riëw. Borrah a keda keto pa un rato: E noticia ta mucho bunita. Borrah dici, den mi pensamento i mi fé, mi sabi cu e awa ei ta un parti. Mi ta masha gradicido na bosonan: Majan boso tuma sociëgo. Pero corda bon: pa awor akie, ta boso i ami sol sabi di e awa akie. Un di boso lo ban cu mi bai pa mi mes weite! I pensa pa traha un caminda pa juga aja!

A juga e ora pa bai: Borrah a scohe e biëw pa bai cune. Nan a pasa pe rooi pariba, ainda na rooi Manonchi, bai sigui pa riba pasa den Sta Crus. Coi pariba pe seronan. Borrah cu su mula, e biew cu burico. Nan a juga ne promer sero! E biëw di: Nos ta bai street ariba dericion pa lamar! Ora nan a subi e sero, Borrah a para waak i e di: esakie jama Mira lamar. Nan a sigui pariba te na e boca grandi bunita. Borrah ta admira e lugar bunita e dici: E lugar akie merece un nomber hopi bunita, nos lo jame boca Prins! El tin sù boeki i el a cuminsa pinta e boca di lamar i e barancanan te na e awa! Borrah a sak purba e awa, el no a papia pa algun rato, el di cu e biëw esakie ta un fuente, lo nos jame fontein. E ora el a pinta e tera cu lo el bai pidi. Pero no a pinta e awa! Pa Borrah ta sabi. El di manjan mes lo mi bai na Comandeur, pa aplica pe lugar akie. Asina el a haci tambe! El a haja e lugar. Su palabra, e mapa cu el a traha ta basta pe haja e lugar. Awor e biew ta bai cu su dos companjenan pa traha un caminda pa aja. Camina ta cla tambe awor, trankera ta bai traha, orilia di lamar tin hopi piedra na monton, cu bolcan i horkan di promernan a juga di tira riba tera, senjal, cu Aruba tambe ta tin su partinan di mal tempo! Trankera a ser traha tambe, cu e piedra nei sol.

Porfin fontein ta sera awor. Borrah ta contento awor, tur cos ta bon akie, pero nos mester bai traha un tapa biënto, Pabow di e transha di noord te pazuit, sino nada lo por bini aki den! Nos lo pone mangel i druif, loke cu por krese hopi liher: Corta mangel planchi i druif: E dos palonan akie, cu ta soporta tur biënto i salpeter di lamar asina e windskeet ta traha tambe i Borrah sabi, cu el lo no biba hopi pesei mes el ta pura pa caba cu tur su plannan, pa cu fontein.

Er wordt verteld hoe de plantage werd afgebakend en ingericht, over het planten en activiteiten van kunstnijverheid, over de opbrengsten daarvan die aan de stad geleverd

werden of aan schepen die de haven van San Nicolas aandeden in de tijd van de fosfaat en later de oliaffinaderij. Maar ook over de relatieve eenzaamheid met maar twee burens: Ramona van Vader Piet en Malena van Rooi Dwars.

Dochi Dañe vertelt over feesten op de plantage met bezoekers uit Playa, zoals Henchi Croes en Nina Schwengle uit Savaneta, waarbij muziek gespeeld werd op het Caha di orgel van Benito Arends, met dansen, eten en drinken. Ook hoogwaardigheidsbekleders, gasten van de commandeurs, brachten een bezoek, evenals ingenieurs die in de mijnen en bij de raffinaderij werkten, zoals Jenny, Woolmer, Tregony, Fits Simon, Baxcon Taylor en Tomas. Een spannend fragment is het bezoek aan de grotten van Fontein waarin je in het pikdonker makkelijk kan verdwalen, de angst en opluchting van weer buiten te zijn.

Inglesnan parti awor

Inglesnan ja ta aki basta tempo caba! Nan ta bishita fontein cu hopi frecuencia, ariba Diadomingo nan ta bin, un tras di otro nan ta bin, ta keda henter dia ta un dia di sociëgo pa nan. Ei nan ta come tambe, loke di come cu tin, nan ta come cu smaak. Ora di bai atardi Mr Jennings e hefe majoor di bena ta prome cu ta pone su propina riba mesa, i tur otro ta haci mescos. Cada un ta duna segun su rango di empleo: ta bin Jenny, ta sigui Mr Woolmer, Tregony, Fits Simon, Baxcon Taylor i Tomas: ata un dia Mr Jenny a hinca den su cabes, pa bai en buska, dje fin di spelonk, pero el no kier bal ei sol, i a pidi Dochí bai cune: Dochí a sapatiá ta un biaha sol el a para ei den e entrada so: I a bisa Ma Chancha bisa Jenny pe, cu el no ta loco ainda di bai riska su bida ei den Ni de Caputera lo e bai eiden cu ningun hende: Ma Jenny ta bise no ta asina, nan lo bai, cu hopi cabuja finí, i cu hopi linja pa mara na pilar dje entrada, pa asina, nan no ta core riesko di dwal ei den: pero Dochí si no ta combensi ainda. Dochí di e spelonk ei no ta manera esun di pasuit aja e spelonk aki, na su fin tin un wardador, cu ei Dochí, pa ningun placa di mundo e'n kier contra cu ne cara cara. Despues di hopi papiamento Jenny a bin tende cu nan lo bai anto. pero otro Diadomingo. Nan mester prepara algun cos promer cu bai tuma e riesko ei: Pa Dochí a pensa, e homber aki, ta jen di chispa di oro, sigur mi tin un bon regalo di haja cu mi no kier piërde tampoco! ja e ta mira e botter grandi di rum cu lo e cumpra na waf: Porfin dia di dreña ajega. Dochí a sende un candela ta pe baja un torchi: pa bai cune! Mr Jenny a bin solamente cu Mr Woolmer i Baxcon: pero nan so bai. El no ta bai cu trupa Dochí di! Pasobra, si ta di salí na kareda el no ta para spera riba ningun hende, tur esaki Pa Dochí tin pensa di antemano. Dochí tin miedo dje spelonk di berdad! Asina a sosede tambe. Na cas e otronan a keda i Jenny tin un muchila, ei den tin cabuja finí i un rol di linja selega. El tin 3 bela di hiba den bena, ta bela especial. Tambe un boter di rom, esei ta pe weita pa kita poco miedo dje homber Dochí: cu ta rico di susto. Na porta a mara e cabuya promer. Jenny a saka e botter duna Dochí i a mustre bebe hopi, e tambe a tuma un bon trago. E spelonk ta asina keto, pa promer

bes Jenny tambe ta sinti el tambe tin poco miedo awor: A bolbe tuma un otro bitter mas lo ta banda di 8 or mainta, nan a cuminsa dreña, Dochi cu pida wajaca, Jenny cu bela, masha poco poco nan ta bai. Claridad di mundo a laga nan awor. Ta scur so tin. Nan a topa cu tonelnan na banda nan di muraja e spelonk ta wanta cu farios tipo di pilar: calor tambe ta molestta nan, Dochi ta mostra Jenny e tonelnan, e ta mostra nan no ta dreña ei nan. Nan ta sigui solamente, e camina Mama. Nan a topa un parti difícil awor tambe, Nan mester lastra, tin bes mester gatia tambe, atrobe nan por camna gebeuk. Ma ata, nan ta bai poco suit west. Den basta suit nan ta mira un poco cla tambe, pero no pa nan banda, sino ta pe otro banda. Nan a jega ne claridad ta un pilar para ariba manera un stoepi: El ta blink pe banda di suit, E cabuja a caba tambe net ei, Nan a subi e stoepi pa mara e linja awor Jenny ta sende un otro bela! nan ta banja den sodor, casi nan no tin roseja, ta waak abow na suela, e floer tambe a cambia di color, e ta cora awor di un sorto di stof masha fini pero, ta kico esaki Dochi ta mostra Jeny marca di tur tamanjo di sapato i nan no sabi ta kico awor, ta figura Dochi a grita den suit aja poco cabai Hi Hi? Tambe un grupo di carne a grita, Dochi ta sinti, cu tur loke ta cabai di su curpa a lamta para.

Dochi ta sinti cu no tin sombre mas na cabes. Asina tanto cabai di cabes a lamta. El ta fula pe sombre cu e sombre tei ainda e ta tembla cu su rudija ta zona! Asina tanto miedo a subie: Dochi. E spelonk awor a zwaai un poco zuit na tur dos banda dje muraja nan tin tonel cu ta haap nan. Dios gracia e linja tambe ta cabando den su man cu ta tembla di miedo. Den su pensamiento el ta weita awor e fin dje spelonk: Pero tambe el ta weita tambe riba un trono di piedra e djanco ta sinta. Companja pa su homoinan rond di dje tambe. Awor si cos a caba pa Dochi, el no por mas i linja ta cabando, tur bela a paga, Nan ta den un scuridad spantoso. Pa colmo el sabi cu su wowo a bira tambe. Nan a cuminsa tosa i perde roseja. Dochi no haci nada mas, cu benta un boshi den su boca i morde duro, pe no cai den tur e scur ei, pasobra si e linja cai den e s cur, nan ta perde akie. I e ora si, Ajo Fontein, el ta pensa. Nan no ta weita otro tampoco: Asina scur tei den. Dochi ta pencha Jeny cu dede den pecho, pe sabi cu el no ta bai mas. El a kita su camisa, mare na su heup, bon duro, cu e manganan. A coi un punta dje camisa, hinke den man di Jeny, pa nan por lastra, otro pa bolbe: Dochi ta blo sinti grito di cabai trobe, awor hasta don el ta sinti ta canta, Si mi muri, ken ta dera mi. Si tatin maske ta un tikie di scuridad Dochi lo a core laga Jeny pa su cuenta. El a floek, den su curason, el a plega Jeny i a maldiciona e spelonk cu el Dochi, si ta su mama Taja bin eiden, lo e keda eiden pasobra el, lo no bolbe el pa saca ningun cu perde aki den i el ta hura na tur e tunelanan cu ta hap nan i grunjando: Nan ta bini masha poco poco mes. tur na golpi den cabes. Porfin nan ta cuminsa weita claridad dje pilar, un cu tin e stoepi cu ta mas o menos e mitar di camina Awor nan ta camna un poco mas liher Dochi ta pensa, Ma bon, ta cuanto ora nos ta dcn e fierno aki, El ta sinti hamber awo tambe! Awor hasta e bela a bolbe sende pa juda nan salie mas liher. E cabainan a bolbe grita den su oreja, pero e biaha

akie Dochi plega nan den djente. I a duel e cu e no sabi Jeny su lenga, sino lo el a dune su merecido. Porfin nan a jega porta den biento porfin. Dochi ta hacie senjal di crus. ta loke cu e'n hacie masha dia.

De auteur schrijft in de stijl van een orale verteller, fragmentarisch, waarbij het verhaal heen en weer springt tot de draad weer wordt opgepakt, met zijn herhalingen, maar ook de informatiedichtheid. Zo ontstaat een beeld van Fontein van de koloniale tot de moderne tijd. Het is interessant op verschillende niveaus: als verhaal met zijn orale structuur en stijl, maar ook om gegevens en wetenswaardigheden over oude volkswijsheid, over traditionele geneeskunde en gewoontes.

“Tur esaki nan a tuma lugar na fontein. Tur esaki, mi a tuma hopi dia pa skirbi, dia cu mi molestia mi manan un poco ja mi no por skirbi, mi ta tembla, na manan. Ta pesei tin leter cu mi no por pone bon”, aldus het einde van het relaas over Fontein, zijn bewoners en zijn eigen plaats in de Arubaanse cultuurhistorie, opgeschreven naar aanleiding van de talrijke verhalen van Machi Chea, die maar niet kon ophouden over Fontein en zijn geschiedenis te vertellen.

Dochi Dañe besluit zijn relaas met enkele liederen waarvan hij zich nog fragmenten herinnert, zoals ze gezongen werden op de feestelijke bijeenkomsten op plantage Fontein.

207

“Mi ta skirbi awor e canticanan di e tempo di balia na fontein: di caga di orgel. Nan ta asina anke algun di nan ta un pida sol mi por corda. Ora cu Machi ta mula, si el ta na bon beis, el sa canta nan!

*Na sero di Camacuchi,
Tin un tristo sapaté.
Su number ta Don Pancho
Su fam ta pica floor*

*Don Pancho a pikié floor
Don Pancho a pikié floor
Don Pancho a pikié floor
Don Pancho a pikié floresé*

*Don Pancho a parti panja
Pipita riba Brees
Shimis di seda lina
Ma tambe vaile geel*

*Don Pancho a parti panja
Don Pancho a parti panja si
Don Pancho a parti panja*

*Don Pancho a parti sinta
Bunita i di tur color
Sapato hilchi halto halto
Menjanan di seda, pa bisti te na hato ja
Waltz*

*Despiërta amante, bin tende mi cancion
Ta solamente, mi kier didike na bo!!
Pa mi bisabo, cuanto mi ta stima bo
Mi ta stima bo di henter mi curason
Danza*

*6'or bati pa mi bai
Aj aj, Chico ta na west
6 or bati pa nos bai
Ajega e ora pa nos bai
Aj aj Chico ta na west*

208

*Dobbe paso
Jan a mata, ai un bon polis i
Ata Jan den Coco Prins:
Ata Jan den number 2
Jan a bai te den number tres
Dobbe paso*

*E caminda di Sta Martha
Ta un caminda di perde sanger;
Aja sangura, cu ta chupa bo sanger
Nan ta mes grandi cu maribomba*

Awor e Protestant

*Ma Machi, mi ta sinti na mi,
stoma hopi cram, buska pa mi
un pader catholico. Lo mi kier ta batisa*

Aj no mi juchi. Mi ta trese pa bo un

*conchi sopi di turtuga i carret
pa bo i majan mes bo ta lamta*

furioso ta canta bajonet?

In de overgeleverde manuscripten van Dochi Dañe komen meer verhalen voor, zoals over ‘E grandi di Pieda Cahor, Ma Wana’; ‘Algun personanan hopi stima i respetá’; ‘Historia i bida di nos sobre Bisabuela’; ‘Stria di pasado Rooi Tambu’; ‘E otro storia di Rooi Taki, di Shon Eloí i Jean Ruis’; ‘Storia di Buchi Jim Tobo’; ‘Pastoor di Santa Cruz a perde su porco’; ‘E burache di misa Sta Cruz’ en andere verhalen en herinneringen, die in handschrift bewaard zijn gebleven. De geschiedenis van Fontein is het enige manuscript dat getypt is overgeleverd. Ze verdienen het allemaal zonder meer grondig bestudeerd en gepubliceerd te worden.

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LUIS HENRIQUE DAAL: UNA CONTEXTUALIZACION MÁS DETALLADA DE SU COLECCION PERSONAL

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Introducción

El 5 de octubre del 2013 tuvo lugar el traslado solemne de la colección personal de Luis H. Daal (1919-1997) a la Fundación Biblioteca y Museo S.A.L. (Mongui) Maduro. Debido a la publicidad que se le dio a este traslado, la vida y obra de este escritor local, cuya versatilidad no se puede resumir en pocas palabras, atrajo nuevamente la atención de investigadores, científicos literarios, sin olvidar los amantes de la literatura antillana.

Con la apertura de esta colección, en un futuro cercano no solamente se podrá tener una mejor noción de la vida y producción literaria de Daal, como complemento a las bibliografías y estudios existentes (UNA, Catálogo de y sobre Luis Henrique Daal, 1984; Rutgers, 1994; Habibe, 1997); sino que también el estudio y análisis más detallado de la colección permitirá establecer la expansión de los límites dentro de la historiografía literaria local.

La fuente de información ahora accesible dará una respuesta más detallada a la pregunta sobre en qué medida las contribuciones literarias originales de Daal en holandés, papiamento y español y sus numerosas traducciones de obras literarias famosas, como por ejemplo, de obras teatrales en otros idiomas al papiamento, son importantes para el desarrollo de la tradición (teatral) literaria en el siglo 20, tanto en el aspecto literario-sociológico como literario-histórico. Al mismo tiempo, esta literatura primaria localizada, por ejemplo, en español, puede conducir a un cambio en la periodización hasta ahora usual de la literatura española en Curazao. ¿Se dejaría de constatar un período pasivo después de los períodos propuestos de pre-renacimiento (1870-1885); renacimiento (1885-1915); período pasivo (1915-1940) (Terlingen, 1961; Echteeld, 1999), para constatar más bien un período después de 1940 de resurgimiento de contribuciones literarias en español?

En este artículo trataré brevemente los aspectos ya mencionados, basándome en la lista del inventario de la Biblioteca y Museo S.A.L. (Mongui) Maduro, la cual he usado como punto de partida y orientación, además de en mi propia valoración después del primer análisis del material. Con este artículo se sientan las bases para

estudios posteriores de una obra que merece ser más conocida por un grupo más amplio de interesados y expertos.

Clasificación global de la Colección Daal, con un enfoque en la poesía, la prosa y el teatro

Tras una primera ojeada, de forma global, la lista del inventario de la “Colección L.H. Daal”, que hace mención de una división en 27 cajas, se divide en tres categorías. Una categoría, que se puede clasificar como material con información sobre preferencias personales, intereses y actividades, formaría la base, por ejemplo, de una biografía amplia sobre el escritor, cuya vida ya ha sido presentada por Henry Habibe (1997: 17-38) de forma general. Además, hay una categoría de números raros y excepcionales de periódicos y revistas locales. El hecho que este material pueda ser visto es una suerte para los interesados e investigadores. En la tercera categoría se encuentra la obra y traducciones propias del autor que se subdivide en los tres géneros literarios poesía, prosa y teatro. Se puede apreciar que esta tercera categoría ofrece, sobre todo, suficientes elementos para ampliar los datos bibliográficos de Daal, con un posible efecto sobre la historiografía literaria local, como ya se ha dicho en la introducción de este artículo.

Material con información sobre las preferencias, intereses y faenas personales

La lista del inventario citada menciona un conjunto de contribuciones, tales como publicaciones sobre Luis Daal y su obra y homenajes, que se pueden considerar como fuentes de información secundaria. Además de eso, se menciona un conjunto de estudios de otras personas sobre perros de raza. La inclusión de este material se explica por el hecho de que Luis Daal fue inspector de perros de raza (Habibe, 1997; Heuvel, 2013).

También se mencionan en la lista del inventario dos cajas con material escrito por otros expertos sobre aspectos de la historia de Venezuela y su relación con Curazao con estudios sobre Pedro Luis Brión, Manuel Carel Piar, Simón Bolívar (quien alguna vez de tránsito permaneció en Curazao unos días) y Andrés Bello. Con esto se señala el interés de Daal por la conexión histórica entre Curazao y el resto del mundo.

A la vez, la lista del inventario incluye cajas con diapositivas de edificios en Otrobanda (Willemstad). También hay material fotográfico profesional de otros lugares típicos de Curazao. No me queda claro (aún) si esas fotos profesionales fueron tomadas por el mismo Luis Daal, o si contrató a un fotógrafo para ello. Una explicación para la presencia del material fotográfico, que realmente da una idea de la isla en una época específica, se debe quizás al hecho de que Luis Daal tuvo un papel importante en la realización del documental de televisión *Antilliaans Verhaal*, que además se publicó en forma de libro con el mismo nombre en 1988, ilustrado con amplio material fotográfico.

La colección también contiene cintas sonoras que indican el interés de Luis Daal por las radionovelas. Según la lista del inventario, la prosa *Marcelino Brood en Wijn* (Daal), originalmente *Marcelino pan y vino* de José María Sánchez-Silva (1911-2002), se encuentra en las cintas sonoras como radionovela con el título de *Marcelino Pan i Biña* (Daal) tal como *Lorna mi yu ku mi* de 1961 (también Berry-Haseth, 2013).

En la lista del inventario se hace mención de una caja de archivo con anotaciones y remarcas de Daal sobre la ortografía del papiamentu. Como miembro de la comisión de ortografía *Fo'i hopi un so*, que el mismo fundó, reunió a su alrededor a un grupo de conocedores del papiamentu, quienes finalmente sí hicieron una propuesta de ortografía, la cual al final nunca fue oficializada (Habibe, 1997). Vale la pena comprobar si el material en cuestión contiene fundamentos y aclaraciones de Daal para su propia elección ortográfica, la cual le da un propio carácter ortográfico a sus obras publicadas y a sus obras que se han quedado en forma de manuscritos.

Diversos números de periódicos y revistas locales

En el marco de este artículo, cabe mencionar que se hace referencia en la lista del inventario a cajas con números de diferentes revistas y periódicos locales que son difíciles de adquirir y en algunos casos ya no están disponibles. Estas revistas y periódicos que se publicaron durante un período de varios años, son de interés para la historiografía literaria local por las posibles contribuciones literarias (también del propio Daal) a las cuales puede que aún no se haya hecho referencia en libros existentes (Broek, 1998; Rutgers, 1994).

Aunque incompleto, aquí sigue un listado arbitrario de algunos de los números mencionados en la lista del inventario con sus respectivos meses y años de aparición: *Simadan*: octubre 1961; *Watapana*: noviembre 1968, julio 1969, noviembre 1969, marzo 1970, julio 1970, octubre 1970, septiembre 1972; *Gydelcra*: octubre 1945, julio 1960; agosto 1960, septiembre 1960, octubre-noviembre 1960, diciembre 1960, enero, abril y julio, octubre 1971, febrero 1972; *Antilliaanse Cahiers*: julio 1955, mayo 1956; y *Nieuwe West-Indische Gids*: agosto 1976, 1982 vol. 1 y 2; diciembre 1980.

Prosa, poesía y teatro (traducciones y propia obra)

Según la lista del inventario de la Fundación Biblioteca y Museo S.A.L. (Mongui) Maduro, la colección contiene abundante prosa y poesía. El material se divide en obras originales del propio escritor, traducciones hechas por Daal de su propia obra, y traducciones hechas por Daal de la obra de otros. Muchas veces la lengua meta de estas traducciones es el papiamentu. En un artículo anterior he mencionado la traducción de las obras de teatro de Daal (Echteld, 2009), de la cual también hablaré al final de este artículo. Pero en el inventario las traducciones no solo son de obras teatrales, sino también hay una cantidad significativa de contribuciones de prosa y poesía.

La lista del inventario consiste, por una parte, en traducciones (y adaptaciones) de otros idiomas al papiamentu, por ejemplo, de *A Christmas Carol* de Charles Dickens (1812-1870), cuyas primeras páginas pude ojear a grandes rasgos; y traducciones del español al holandés o del holandés al español.

Cabe mencionar también la traducción al español en forma de manuscrito (una parte escrita a máquina y la otra a mano) de *Mijn zuster de negerin* (1934) de Colá Debrot (1902-1981), no solo famosa en Curazao, sino también en Holanda.

Para tener una idea de la calidad de las traducciones de Daal, citamos aquí: a) un fragmento inicial (Promé Strofa) en papiamentu de *Scrooge su pasku, un kuenta di spiritu den tempu di Pasku*¹, descrito por Daal en la portada como una traducción y adaptación; seguido por b) un fragmento inicial (con el mismo texto en holandés para la posterior comparación) de la traducción al español de *Mijn zuster de negerin* de Colá Debrot².

a) Fragmento inicial (Promé Strofa) de *Scrooge su pasku, un kuenta di spiritu den tempu di Pasku*:

Marley tabata difuntu, pa kuminsá! No tin duda. Pastor, funshonario, fólster i director di agensia funeraria a firma registro di su entierro. Scrooge tambe a firm'é i Scrooge su firma tabatin peso den komersio pa kualke kos ke e disidí di firma. Pober Marley tabata dios-pordón, morto-morto, mes morto ku un klabu di porta.

Komprendemi bon. Mi no ta men di bisa ku mu sâ, di mi mes, kiko tin asina partikular na un klabu di porta. Lo mi tabata mas inkliná, pa mi mes, na konsiderá un klaba di un kaha-di-morto komo e piesa di feretería mas “morto” ku tin. Pero tá sabiduría di nos bieunan ta ankrá den e komparashon akí; i mi mannan pekador lo no mishu kun é sino nos País ta bini abou. P'esei lo bo ke permitimi ripití, ku énfasis, ku Marley tabata mes morto ku un klabu di porta.

Scrooge tabata sâ ku Marley a muri? Kón por laga ku é tabata sâ: Kón por tabata di otro manera? Scrooge ku Marley tabata sosio den negoshi pa mi n'sà kuantu aña kaba. Scrooge tabata su úniko albacea, su úniko atmirador, su úniko heredero, su úniko legatorio residuario, amigu i e úniko ku a yora su morto. I Scrooge asta no tabata kibré pa e hecho tristu ei sino ku é tabata asina un bon komersiante e mes día di entierro, ku el a sera un bon negoshi, ku bentaha.

¹ *Un kuenta di spiritu den tempu di Pasku. Tradukshon i adaptashon di Luis H. Daal* hace mención de la Editorial Lusafè Kòrsou, desèmber 1991, donde Daal indica que ha usado como fuente de información una publicación de Avalon Press, de 1949.

² Para la referencia a la fuente de información se ha partido, por el momento, de Colá Debrot, *Verzameld werk. Deel 3*. La colección Daal revelará posiblemente a partir de cual edición precisamente Luis Daal trabajó la versión en papiamentu.

Mentamentu di Marley su entiero ta tresemi bèk na mi punta di salida. No tabatin duda ku Marley amuri. Esaki tá un detaye ku hende mester komprondé bon sino lo no sali nada maraviyoso fo'i e historia ku mi ta bai kontá. Si nos no tabata perfektamente kombensí ku Hamlet su tata tabata difuntu kaba promé ku e piesa kuminsá, lo no tabatin nada notabel den su keirumentu anochi, den un bientu friu, riba su mes batrei, ku lo tabatin den kualke hòmbèr di edat saliendo después di sukuritu den un lugá ku hopi bientu, banpone, Santana di San Pablo por ehèmpel, literalmente por afektá selebre swak di su yu-hómber.

b) El comienzo de la traducción de Daal de la novela de Colá Debrot, de la cual no menciona título:

Traducción:

El Puerto de la isla arrancaba con un largo canal que desembocaba en una bahía de ribera caprichosa; en el mapa, un rematada por un ramillete de flores. La entrada era tan ancha que buques de bastante (considerable) calada podían virar en el y tan larga que los buques podían amarrar a uno y otro lado, a lo largo de las muelles.

Fuente:

De haven van het Nederlands-Westindische eiland begon met een lange geul die eindigde in een grillige baai; op de kaart een stengel met een tros bloemen. De toegang was zo breed, dat vrij grote steamers er makkelijk in konden keren, en zo lang, dat de schepen aan beide zijden langs de kaden konden aanleggen.

215

Traducción:

Una tarde, igual que tantas tardes del trópico, un vapor maniobraba en el puerto; pequeños remolcadores tiraban los cables que a cada rato rozaban la superficie del agua como si unas invisibles gigantonas se entreteniese a la comba. Un joven se encontraba en cubierta, contemplaba todo esto y pensaba: todo resulta maravilloso. Es, a decir verdad, ya maravilloso que me llame Frits Ruprecht. Lo que para otra persona solo significa: sus dos nombres de pila.

Fuente:

Op een middag, gelijk aan zovele middagen van de tropen, wendde zich juist een steamer in de haven; kleine sloepen trokken aan kabels, die telkens tegen de wateroppervlakte aansloegen, alsof er onzichtbare reuzinnen bezig waren touwtje te springen. Een jongeman stond op het dek, keek naar dit alles en dacht: Alles is wonderbaarlijk. Het is eigenlijk al wonderbaarlijk dat ik Frits Ruprecht heet, wat voor een ander alleen maar mag betekenen: zijn twee voornamen.

Traducción:

También es maravilloso que regreso a esta isla, donde nací, porque mi padre siguiendo a mi madre, también se ha muerto, y también porque estoy harto de Europa donde se ven demasiado pocas negras. Me alegro de ser, definitivamente rico. Quiero vivir con una negra. La llamaré: mi hermana la negrita. Odiaba a Europa las caras pálidas con su frialdad como de un pez, su falta de simpatía fraterna.

Fuente:

Het is ook wonderbaarlijk dat ik hier op dit eiland, waar ik geboren ben, terugkom omdat mijn vader mijn moeder volgde, nu ook dood is, en misschien ook omdat ik genoeg heb van Europa waar men veel te weinig negers ziet. Ik ben blij dat ik voorgoed rijk ben. Bij een negerin wil ik leven. Ik zal haar noemen: mijn zuster de negerin. Ik haatte in Europa de bleke gezichten met hun visachtige kilheid, hun gebrek aan broederlijke en zusterlijke sympathie.

En este artículo, he analizado de forma global estos dos manuscritos de Luis Daal, los cuales se merecen un mayor estudio y la atención de un público más amplio. La posible publicación de *Scrooge su Pasku*, así también disponible como texto en la enseñanza secundaria, permite que los estudiantes puedan conocerlo durante sus clases de papiamento. Existe la probabilidad de que así se inician proyectos para recitar la obra o tratarla artísticamente. La posible publicación de la traducción de *Mijn zuster de Negerin* tendría la capacidad de hacer un gran impacto por su accesibilidad a un área lingüística más amplia. Es probable que la versión española despierte gran interés en lectores en el Caribe hispanohablante. Los temas que se encuentran en la novela de Debrot (por ejemplo, el del incesto) se pueden encontrar también en obras escritas en español del mismo período o antes³.

La colección consta de una gran cantidad de poemas. Junto a los poemas de conmemoración de Daal, se hace mención de una notable cantidad de títulos de poemas que no pertenecen a esta categoría. Vale la pena citar un ejemplo de poema, un soneto en holandés, escrito por Daal en conmemoración de la muerte de la Reina Wilhelmina en 1962:

Zilvere Rouwstoet

Waar eeuwenoude linden schildwacht staan,
zich dromend spieg'lend in de trage stroom,
die eens het zwijgend beeld, als uit een droom,
van Willem, prins, weerkaatste, zal nu gaan

de zilvre rouwstoet van de Vrouwe vroom;

³ Para Daal la traducción de la obra (no se menciona el año en el cual fue realizada) quizás fue inspirada por su trabajo como lector de Filología neerlandesa en Madrid (Habibe, 1997).

uit brons gegoten smart, verwelkt de vaan,
en scharen die, eerbiedig, nu daar staan,
omfloerst het oog om deez'gevelde boom.

Vredige Delft, van hem Muse weleer,
gij, die Oranje huisde in 't Prinsenhof,
bereidt ook un Oranje een rustplaats weer!

Uw onderaards paleis bergt keer op keer
die, prinselijk geboren aan een Hof,
toetreden tot u zwijgend vorstenheir...

Luis H. Daal

Madrid, december 1962.

Es probable que el estudio de toda la prosa y poesía en el inventario, no solo cree nuevas visiones, sino también inspira publicaciones nuevas y póstumas como complemento a las ya publicadas obras de Daal, tales como *Viajar y escribir: Estampas españolas*, 1951; *Viajar y escribir: Palabras íntimas*, 1951; *Kosecha di Maloa*, 1963; *Ku awa na wowo*, 1971; *Sinfonia di Speransa*, 1975; *Na ora oradu/Te juister stonde*, 1976 y *Plenitut*, 1995.

Traducciones teatrales y la colección de Luis H. Daal: algunas preguntas y respuestas

217

Son notables las referencias a teatro traducido en la lista del inventario, como, entre otras, a la obra teatral *Nos dianan perdí, komedia den tres akto* (=Los buenos días perdidos, 1972, de Antonio Gala) y la traducción de la obra del dramaturgo Jacinto Benavente, *Malquerida* (drama en tres actos), escrita a mano. También se mencionan en la colección títulos de traducciones casi completas como *Hesu muhe ta papia!* (=Lo que hablan las mujeres) de Serafín y Joaquín Álvarez, de la que faltan, según la lista del inventario, 20 páginas. También se menciona *El lecho nupcial komedia en tres actos* (sic) una traducción (?) en español sin indicar el título original, pero descrita como obra original de Jan de Hartog y otro título en español *La oveja blanca de la familia (comedia perversa)*. No falta tampoco en la lista del inventario una referencia a la traducción de la obra de Alejandro Casona, *Barku riba ankr* (= La barco sin pescador) (Echteld; 2009; 2013).

La lista del inventario hace mención de un estuche con diversos afiches, anuncios de obras teatrales traducidas. Los títulos que se mencionan en esos afiches pueden ser puestos junto a las respectivas listas ya existentes sobre traducciones teatrales y adaptaciones (Rutgers, 1994).

Las referencias en la lista del inventario de Daal confirman su gran papel en iniciar la tradición que nació en la segunda mitad del siglo pasado de hacer traducciones y adaptaciones de obras teatrales. Como se ha indicado antes (Broek 1998; Rutgers,

1994; Capriles Goldish, 2009; Echteld 2009, 2013), a mediados del siglo veinte se destacó la tendencia de traducir al papiamento y a veces adaptar las obras teatrales que pertenecen a la literatura universal. El objetivo primordial de esta iniciativa era hacer que la literatura universal fuera accesible para todo público. Sería interesante analizar detalladamente, quizás con información adicional de la colección de Daal, el debate social que surgió entre diferentes intelectuales locales a propósito de esta tendencia literaria en papiamento - una tendencia que jugó un papel considerable en el proceso de mejorar el prestigio social de este idioma.

Una pregunta interesante que se puede hacer es si la selección de una obra teatral específica se basa en pura coincidencia o se debe a las preferencias personales del traductor. ¿Cuál fue el motivo de Luis Daal para elegir obras teatrales del dramaturgo español Alejandro Casona (1903-1965)? ¿Se debe esto al hecho de que en aquel momento las obras de Casona eran mundialmente populares? ¿Escogió Luis Daal *La barca sin pescador* porque esa era su preferencia personal, o se debe a la preferencia del director?⁴

Como continuación a una investigación previa (Capriles Goldish, 2009; Echteld, 2009) he echado un vistazo a la traducción de la obra teatral *Nos dianan perdí*, para contestar la pregunta de si en este caso se trata de una traducción literal o de una adaptación. Mi primera impresión es que *Nos dianan perdí*, es una traducción literal del texto original. La estructura de la traducción en tres actos, es la misma que en la obra original. En esta traducción al papiamento Luis Daal no hace concesiones a su propia ortografía, entre otras, su propia acentuación. Es importante que junto a un análisis profundo de *Nos dianan perdí*, se estudien detenidamente las otras traducciones de Daal que ahora son accesibles, y que luego se publiquen estos textos provistos de las anotaciones necesarias para fomentar un florecimiento de la vida teatral local (Echteld, 2009; 2013).

Conclusiones

De esta primera exploración de la Colección Luis H. Daal, no se pueden contestar aún las preguntas que han sido formuladas al inicio de este artículo. Eso sería posible sólo después de un estudio profundo de la colección completa. Son estudios de este tipo que nos permitiría no solamente rescatar estas obras del olvido sino avanzar la historiografía literaria local.

⁴ El polifacético artista plástico y actor Philip Rademaker, que en aquel entonces tuvo un papel en una de las obras teatrales traducidas por Daal, ha dicho que estas elecciones también se hicieron por razones prácticas, por ejemplo, porque un manuscrito específico y un grupo de actores estaban disponibles. La gente se inclina a veces por una obra por sus posibilidades de contextualización local.

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THE ECOPOETICS OF ST. MARTIN: LASANA SEKOU'S SONGS OF SALT AND NATIONHOOD

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Frantz Fanon (2004: 9) asserts that “for a colonized people the most essential value, because the most concrete, is first the land, the land which will bring them bread and , above all, dignity.” This reality is borne out by the fact that “imperialism . . . is an act of geographical violence through which virtually every space in the world is explored, charted, and finally brought under control. Thus for the native [in this case, St. Martiners] the history of colonial servitude [was] inaugurated by the loss of locality [in both Africa and St. Martin] to the outsider; its geographical identity must therefore be searched for and somehow restored . . . through the imagination” (Said, 1993: 225). I engage a postcolonial ecocritical perspective in this article to explore Lasana Sekou’s poetry to assess the extent to which he echoes these observations by Fanon and Said toward formulating an ecopoetic of nationhood for St. Martin. I look at Sekou’s dialogue of negotiation and the recoupling of St. Martin’s history with its landscape to recover a sense of belonging and cultural authenticity that foregrounds the yearning for nationhood. I conclude that Sekou’s poetics of nationhood is rooted in his passionate genealogical, phenomenological, and geographical identification with St. Martin’s cultural, historical, and linguistic development within an ecopoetics of salt.

221

In a short story titled “A salting”, in *Brotherhood of the spurs*, Sekou creates a female seer, Nana Mandisa, who prophesizes to a young Asante girl yet to experience her first menstruation that “wherever in this world the first harvesting of a girl’s ripe blood mixed with water and washed overland, there would her eternal home be” (p. 1). Based on this declarative promise, one is therefore not confounded by Sekou’s constant recall in his work to a passionate and double yet not contradictory filiation to Africa, which he calls God’s land, and to St. Martin, which is the new land of African survival. In consonance with this dual inheritance, Joanna W.A. Rummens in her introduction to the collection sees “A salting” as a “historically informed piece, a literary monument to the nobility and dignity of [Sekou’s] African ancestors” (p. x). Rummens rightly points out that “The young woman’s christening by salt water during her sea journey to the Americas [has] poignant resonance with St. Martiners, whose parents, grandparents, and great-grandparents worked the salt pans of Great

Bay and Grand Case” (p. xi) and which evoke the “talents and contributions, suffering and sacrifice, tremendous courage and resilience” [of the Afro-St. Martiners] (p. xi). It is these qualities in the African ancestors that have built up what today defines the landscape, culture, language, and history of St. Martin, but which are being eroded by new cultural and historical distortions caused by neo-imperialism. To Sekou then, once the links to the land through identification with its cultural history are uprooted from the history of its salt, the loss of national cultural identity, land and future will accelerate. It is against this loss that Sekou writes his poetry.

But how can poetry of non-green ecology ignite revolutionary acts of cultural and historical recuperation through the recall of imagery that symbolize a people’s history of enslavement? In response to the issues raised by this question, I draw on William Rueckert’s (1996: 111) theory of photosynthesis in which he articulates the metaphorical links between poetry and ecology. He argues that “if poets are suns, then poems are green plants among us for they clearly arrest [the poet’s] energy on its path to entropy and in so doing, not only raise matter from lower to higher order, but help to create a self-perpetuating and evolving system. That is they help to create creativity and community.” Rueckert’s position augments my reading of Sekou’s poems of salt. Through the process of negentropy, – “negating of the negative process of entropy” (Rueckert: 111) – Sekou’s poetry prevents his creative energies from being dispersed randomly in uncreative ways. It leads to a fruitful and beneficial release of creative faith, hope, and love for St. Martin among St. Martiners through exegetical listening, hearing, reading and interpreting of the poems. The process described above yields what Rueckert labels as a “transmutation into meaning, and finally to its application” in an eco-social and eco-Marxist [political, economic, racial, historical, linguistic, environmental] “value system” befitting St. Martin.

To relate the above to an ecopoetic reading of Sekou’s poetry then, I propose that the poet be seen as a disperser of illusions, as a reconstructionist addict whose journeys through the language of metaphors and symbols, images and sounds, reflect a deep desire to recuperate and retranslate meanings from shreds of historical memory littering the colonized and neglected landscape of St. Martin. By listening to the landscape and its gift of salt, Sekou seeks to clear from the flummoxed minds of his compatriots a lingering loathing of that landscape that reminds them so much of the shame of their past, but which also reminds them of the nobility, resilience, creativity, of that past. This position is similar to the vision of the Caribbean as articulated by Ralph in V.S. Naipaul’s *The mimic men*: “that in a society like ours, fragmented, inorganic, no link between man and the landscape, a society not held together by common interests, there was no true internal source of power, and that no power was real which did not come from outside” (1995: 206). Thus, as we read the poems of the great salt ponds, Sekou “tends to emphasize”, to echo Michael J. McDowell (1996:

387) in “The Bakhtinian road to ecological insight”, his reflexive sense of place that enabled the historical nobility of his people, and now inspires him to create poetic eulogies so geo-physically and geo-politically rooted, “that so link [poetry] and landscape that the environment plays a role as important as the roles played by his characters” and the poet himself (1996: 387).

Sekou’s project then is to establish a new consciousness, a new historicism, a new organic linkage between St. Martiners and their landscape through a revalorization of that history of which they seem to be ashamed. His poetry of salt seeks to mend the fragmented psyches and use the cleansing and healing quality of the salt in poetic language and imagery to transform the scars of history into memories of victory. Through the imagery of the salt ponds, Sekou seeks to craft a truly localized, communal, and culturally rooted power poetics specific to St. Martin’s history but also generic to the histories of the Dutch Atlantic world. This is achieved in the bold rejection of what is determined and celebrated as St. Martin’s Day in “No more foolin’” (2004: 63), where the poet questions the rationality of celebrating certain holidays dictated by foreign powers:

what we do
 over&in sight of name-calling it
 st. martin’s day
 supposed to be
 a nation day
 not hidden behind
 some other man’s deter-
 mination&armistice
 not rein/force of the functionaries.
 not rallied in one corner
 in a territory
 where the whole is not
 w state as fact
 for once
 for all
 lay full claim
 when we do
 s’maatin day.

Thus, the failure to create St. Martiners’ own national day of freedom is tantamount to living in the world of abolition without emancipation.

Sekou’s use of the disappearing salt ponds as symbolic reference point to craft an ecopoetic of territorial integrity and ownership stems from African-St. Martiners’ felt need to adjust to their radical and brutal transplantations, “that require”, as Helen Tiffin (2005: 199-200) has stated, “retrievals of cultural memories of distant

homelands and ecologies of the soil which influence their perceptions and representations of their new environments and how they relate to them.” For Sekou and his enslaved African ancestors and their descendants of today of St. Martin and the rest of the Netherlands Antilles, this problem of “ancestral exile” must be laid to rest with the acceptance of St. Martin as the new eternal home prophesized by Nana Mandisa to the nameless girl in “A salting” (1997: 1-5) and hence the maternal ancestress of all African-St. Martiners. Therefore, for enslaved Africans and their descendants until recently forced to work in the salt industry, Tiffin (2005: 199-200) further argues that the land has been “influenced by both the conditions of their translocation and their lived circumstances.”

Sekou does not romanticize his ancestral Africa or the history of St. Martin in the salt production days. Indeed, he joins other Caribbean writers in rejecting the dead image of the Caribbean landscape as an idyllic pastoral retreat, a lost Eden. Instead, his St. Martin landscape is saturated with the blood and sweat of his enslaved African ancestors. Thus, Sekou’s poetry “involves a history of ecological reclamation – less a history that seeks to compensate for irrecoverable loss and dispossession than a history of re-won” (Huggan & Tiffin, 2010: 111), or that must be re-won. Yet, Caribbean literature has a place for such narratives as Lizabeth Paravisini-Gebert has shown in “Deforestation and the yearning for lost landscapes in Caribbean literature” (2011: 99-116).

Similarly, Tiffin (2010: 201) asserts in “‘Man fitting the landscape’: nature, culture, and colonialism”, that Caribbean writers, such as Sekou face a challenge that is,

“ . . . particularly complicated, imbricated as it is in crucial ways with histories of transplantation, slavery, and colonialism and with European traditions of land and landscape perception and representation. In depicting [his St. Martin environment Sekou is] obliged to negotiate historical, cultural, political, climatic, and biological factors, resulting in . . . the interplay between historical and current [St. Martin] and ancestral homescapes, ideal or normative environments, and attitudes to tropical and island flora and fauna imported and imposed through colonial rule.”

For Sekou, the problem is resolved through the liminal spaces between history, the culture of salt harvesting, slavery, ancestral exile, and the search for political, moral, cultural, and spiritual rootedness in the new land. After all, as “A salting” tells us (Sekou, 1997: 29), and as history informs us, salt mining and trading in salt was an industry in West Africa and the trans-Sahara trade in which salt was brought on camel backs from the salt mines in Fez in the shadows of the Atlas Mountains, Agades in the borderlands between the Sahara and the Sahel and Daboya in Northern Ghana to the forest kingdoms further south in exchange for kola nuts and gold. Here mention must also be made of the centuries old sea-salt harvesting industry along Ghana’s coast, an

industry that again links West Africa to St. Martin. Thus, salt harvesting in St. Martin for the enslaved African ancestors provided a liminal space for the reconfiguration of their African homeland and cosmogonies to suit the new environment. All these unspoken links animate the revolutionary and poetic mind of Sekou, and then give rise to a conscious nationalist ecological discourse in the poetic representation of the land as history of socio-economic, political and cultural dislocations.

This dislocation is encountered in the death of the salt ponds and hence the death of St. Martin's cultural history and environmental knowledge that had ensured the survival of St. Martiners as a distinct people. The salt ponds that Sekou celebrates in his lamentations are not anthropomorphic or mystically represented. Sekou does not use the salt ponds in what Heidi Bojsen refers to as a "territorial conception of the sacred and its exclusive character", akin to what one would find in Paravisini's (2011: 99-116) reading of the anthropomorphic and animistic qualities in Caribbean narratives of the environment in "'He of the trees': nature, environment and creole religiosities in Caribbean literature", or in Derek Walcott's ecopoetics of plants as delineated by Savory's (2011: 80-98) reading of Walcott's symbolic representation of plants in his poetry. Sekou's ecopoetic originates in the despair of seeing tourism, as Badejo (2003: 62) has stated, replace "salt as the major economic pillar of St. Martin." But to Sekou, tourism swallows up arable land, sea coasts, and salt ponds are filled to provide dry land for hotels, giving way to a neo-plantation economics that threatens to finally separate St. Martiners from whatever is left of the land they might lay claim to. Tourism creates an increase in social and family fragmentation, loss of communal belongingness, and alienation from the land which had provided St. Martiners with a collective and sustainable economic system underpinned by sustainable agricultural practices and salt extraction.

This process also creates a tenuous relationship between the people of St. Martin and Africa, as the consciousness of an ancestral homeland recedes further and further in pace with the people's alienation from the land and its histories. This alienation is tantamount to spiritual and cultural losses, though the ponds per se are not representationally sacred. I call it a spiritual loss because the ponds were economic and cultural links between the people and their land, and more especially, they narrated the history of St. Martiners' struggles for emancipation and self-determination (Nimako & Willemsen, 2011: 52-122).

Thus, when I say the loss of the ponds is spiritual, I intimate a reading that refuses to dichotomize the sacred from the profane, that does not confine what is spiritual to a "transcendent level of purity or non-political and ahistorical essence" (Paravisini, 2011: 102). My meaning is informed by an understanding that Sekou's salt poetic is governed by human, aquatic, and vegetal surroundings. To lose a connection among the component parts is to enter into a world of schizophrenia that leads to a

disconnection between the people and the politics of cultural and economic decision making.

I also refer to the loss as cultural because it is tied to the economy. Thus, as Sekou declares in "Nativity" (2004: 4), "Culture is work" that leads to freedom and not dependence. The work Sekou would prefer to see here is a continuation of sustainable agriculture practiced by his ancestors but which is fast giving way to the "aids of multinastiness / penetration from strange / invading business" (2004: 4). Work in the tilling provides abundance: ". . . grounds to up fruits and / so soil turned over to beauty black / rich and fertile" (2004: 4). Though agriculture, salt mining, fishing, and other physically demanding labors of subsistence recall and re-enact the struggles of the forefathers and foremothers, they also produce not only food, but real wealth and culture in the form of songs, dances, and hence a sense of real freedom. Fergus (2007: 29) has argued that, for Sekou, the concept and practice of work "is a wholesome and holistic one".

Thus, although work on the land is tough, Sekou celebrates the people's victory over bitterness through work, the beauty "to see the people work / cultivating the land / and making preparations for life ("Up from the land"). And further on he writes;

The ground farmer
sings an opulent black song of the land
beat steps to seed the land
beat green drums of sustenance
to weave cool running hands of water ("Up from the land").

Connectivity to the land and what it could be coaxed to produce food-wise is complemented with a by-product which is culture and art. Sekou is stressing that in hard work also lies the road to true freedom and the creation of culture and art. This is stressed again and again in several poems including "My Land" (Sekou, 2004: 21).

It is also my contention that, although Sekou may not be talking about vegetation, his stance on the disappearance of the salt ponds is nonetheless related to what ecocritics call ecocide. Entire habitats and landscapes, human and non-human, together with organisms that evolved and developed to depend on them and their associated socio-economic activities are lost. Using J. Clarke's Eco-Marxist theory, I also see Sekou's lamentation of the disappearance of the salt ponds in the following way: The salt ponds "provided an eco-social space where communes, closely knit, small communities based on love, friendship, shared values, and commitment to a common life . . . cooperative institutions in all areas of social life formed: mutualistic associations for child care and education, for play and enjoyment, for reflection, and spiritual renewal. Organizations [were] based not on demand of power but rather on self-realization of persons as free social beings." (Clark, 1990: 9; Garrard, 2004: 31-34). In "Great Salt Pond speaks" Sekou (2004: 35) humanizes the pond through voice.

The initial self-praise by the pond, as older than humans, its provision of a safe haven for them before they became the perpetrators of ecological disaster: “I come from creation. Teeming with life. / Sifted silt from hillside majesty; kept beach a virgin garden; kept coral reef in the great bay like a fat forest” all as a storehouse of abundance “for eternal feast” (2004: 35) that will no longer take place.

Thus, for Sekou, the negative import of the pollution and subsequent disappearance of the salt ponds cannot be discussed and fully grasped unless they are linked to questions of social-ecology such as the increasing gaps between St. Martiners and the rich foreign owners of land as well as the ownership of political discourse by Holland, all creating a dangerous dependency syndrome among the people of St. Martin. Liverpool (2004: x) articulates this succinctly when he writes that in the *Salt reaper: poems from the flats*, Sekou sees the salt ponds as the repositories of St. Martin’s “cultural traditions, those lost words and colloquialisms of marginalized people, those places that give succor to old and young, those landscapes that enabled [St Martiners] to be fed, and those cultural symbols that allowed them to survive with dignity”. The ponds declare that “I am the mudbag reservoir of your labor. / In me, you came to speak to each other of pain, /of love, of freedom, of union.” This is followed by a revelatory statement of Sekou’s personal project, “. . . the dreams to build as men and women” (Sekou, 2004: 35).

As Liverpool maintains, Sekou’s salt poems are not merely concerned with issues of “culture and identity” but an interlacing of “questions of political mobilization and the struggle for power” (2004: xiii), a struggle that advocates a repossession of the integrity of St. Martiners through land ownership as a measure of national citizenship. Such an ownership implies power by native St. Martiners over their historical narratives to re-structure their present and future. Thus, Loving (1987: 5) claims that Sekou’s poetic has earned him the title of a “miracle, a literary icon”. Fanon (2004: 9) as cited above, writes that “for a colonized people the most essential value, because the most concrete, is first the land the land which will bring them bread and , above all, dignity”. This reality is borne out by the fact that “imperialism . . . is an act of geographical violence through which virtually every space in the world is explored, charted, and finally brought under control. Thus for the native [St. Martin] the history of colonial servitude [was] inaugurated by the loss of locality [in both Africa and St. Martin] to the outsider; its geographical identity must therefore be searched for and somehow restored . . . through the imagination.” (Said, 1993: 225) It is this struggle to reclaim a sense of historical and cultural landscape and belonging that Sekou seeks to secure in his nationalist poetic. Because salt production in St. Martin was comparable to the sugar plantation economies and slavery on the other Caribbean islands, and that both economies cause intolerable trauma to both humans and land, the history of the Great Ponds then becomes the history of St. Martiners, they are the graveyards of his people’s labor, just as Derek Walcott describes the Atlantic as the

history of his people. The Great Salt Ponds testify, as Fergus (2007: 31) puts it bluntly, to “the island’s history of deprivation” but also to the heroism of survival and continuity. Thus, Sekou admonishes St. Martiners to reverence these ponds as they constantly sing conscious lyrics to remind the people, of who they are, a heroic and determined people who must not now accept a role as a dependency dictated by external regimes. The ecological gift of nature becomes the Gethsemane of the African ancestors who slaved to extract the salt for the European slavers:

. . . , I was the pot of water
 In which you first saw your sweat-drenched face,
 Anchored your sweating ebon brow under a crown of thorns
 In the blowing season, the salt I bore was stock
 Bread for merciless slavers;
 Bitter lice bite crumbs for you. (2004: 35)

The synthesis of the salt from the sweaty brow of the enslaved African and the salt from the pond testifies to a historical connection that must never be forgotten. For as the pond speaks further, the suffering and the sowing of blood sacrifice by the African slaves and the sharing of that suffering with the pond humanizes the pond, and in that humanization, the pond then is affiliated by salt to humans.

It was you who sowed humanity in me with the bleeding
 roots that would not rot;
 it was I who seasoned the brine of ages in your pool of
 blood;
 stained you for all time to see, sun-stung backs bending; (2004: 35)

To recover land and hence liberty and power, Sekou advocates the breaking of the neo-slave chains that have reduced the “salt crystals of purple glow in harvest / to dump heap piling pus-ripe and twisted rust-rot in your face / A wart that turns the smile of your city to a vile shitty” (2004: 36). This ecological disaster is caused by cultural neglect for the ponds, which no longer engender rhythms of creativity, and hence have become cesspools, “the stink of town, the nation’s stench and scorn (2004: 36). The rest of the poem is a lament against urban pollution of the ponds. The pain suffered by the ponds is so real I am tempted to call it a poem against pollution. But ecocritics insists that our actions of not caring for the environment when we turn every available ecological space into a dumping ground for industrial, human, and consumer wastes, sets us on a path towards an eventual revenge by nature as our air, water, and soil qualities become so polluted we cannot use them anymore. When the ponds retaliate with a unbearable stench, that may be the time when we will open our eyes. But the greatest cause for St. Martiners’ lack of environmental nationalism is the loss of African ancestral and spiritual pride. Even the idea of taking care of God’s creation is no longer in their reckoning. (2004:37) The only thing left for the ponds to do is

issue curses: “say dying fish, say mangrove fringe, / say diving pelican” because the pond has become a festering plague of treason . . . / a bomb of poison” (2004: 37).

To advance his passionate love for his history and land, Sekou (2004: 47-54) in “cradle of the nation”, crafts a mini epic of the history of the horrors of the middle passage, slavery, salt plantation life, colonization, and neo-colonial imperialism, racism, and classism. All these historical traumas could have completely alienated the people from the land, but as he postulates so brilliantly, the same landscape on which their shame was constructed also ensured their survival. The land produced salt, fish, trade, culture, and a sense of belonging that fed the people’s yearning for freedom. The poem then becomes a historical memory that foregrounds the dream of land reclamation, and subsequently national recovery and liberation. The poem opens with a Sekou myth of Western European (“the great sliver of evil / . . . / a countenance, dripping moss cold / and wicked” (2004: 47) adventurism in search of its own invented “new story of Eden. clear&intent. / clawed in / from the gold coast&bays &brights, spitting fire mostly”. (2004: 47) This sliver of evil went all over Africa and the Caribbean destroying, enslaving, and traumatizing both people and environment to satisfy an insatiable greed. The panyaring activities of Europeans on the West coast of Africa destabilized whole cultures, families, and environments. They,

found family home. on altar&throne.gardens well tended
as earth could be.stowe you all out from heaven
and dis order began. the chase. man&woman&child
to crevice&crag&high places to claim. the exodus.

. . .

to hell up the atlantes coffin of bones, family and phantoms
deep. (p. 47)

The poems delineates in horrid skin crawling detail of death and suffering the sea-journey to the Caribbean. For Sekou, those who survived and arrived at the Great Bay of St. Martin, the salt ponds welcomed them with compassion and a baptism of salt seasoning. Salt strengthened them and helped heal the wounds from the slave whip. In recompense, the pond reveals how the suffering slaves “. . . gave me your names, your blood codes / your ways&wills / from since&whence you came” (2004: 51). The interdependent love relationship between the pond and African slaves is described through a passionate heterosexual love making, where the land of St. Martin is the maiden and the African the male, whose work on the land is couched in sexual terms of fertility games between man and woman. The land provided succor and sustenance to the slave, and in return the slave coaxed food from her. In a follow-up to this poem, Sekou uses haikus to ensure that what he does not mean to say is that the slaves enjoyed the labor of salt mining.

Thus, the history of St. Martiners, in relation to their land and the slave economy of salt may be presented in veiled romantic terms, as “salt reaping I” and “salt reaping II” (2004: 56-57) testify: “going down&going in / was sweet / but the work, o/ was hell” (2004: 56). Again in “salt reaping II”: we keep hearing / it was sweet but hard / but maybe so / it was like loving.” (2004: 57) Nonetheless, the history of how the African ancestors, in spite of all the hell of slavery, were able to construct and consummate a love relationship with St. Martin through the culture of hard work, is sufficient reason to see how Sekou would then turn around and advocate a work ethic that is commensurate with St. Martin’s ecological history. It is in this that I begin to read Sekou’s poetry of the salt ponds as acts of historical re-memory necessary for land reclamation and subsequent political, economic, cultural, psychological, spiritual and social independence. These poems become Sekou’s most passionate denunciation of the cultural and historical neglect that has turned St. Martin into a land of “sons with no manward mission” (“Sons to the fathering”, p. 65), a land in which the people have lost total control of their own modes of production and survival. St. Martin has become a land of the “. . . wretched earth continuum / image the pimp, the punk, the pappyshow / the boy brute. Gangbanger.fatherless&” (2004: 65). But instead of this as an inheritance, Sekou rallies St. Martiners to rise up and reclaim their dignity through reconnecting with the salt ponds, the land, and their history through a reconnection to Africa and St. Martin:

and let us plow vaults of justice
 root-steep into this land, to reclaim this claim
 this blood earth mangrove abode
 this abide of power
 risen of plunged sea, reaped salt, and sanctified flesh
 from where wealth worked will always arise. (“The blockade next time”, p. 5)

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FROM BELLE VAN ZUYLEN TO GERTRUDE STEIN: BUILDING MODERN LITERATURE¹

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Egmond Codfried saw a portrait of Belle van Zuylen's grandmother and suggested that she was African descended. He finds his opinion supported in *Portrait de Zélide* a self description of Belle. The idea in itself is not totally without grounds, since Belle's family used to own property in the Dutch colony of Suriname in South America. After the French Revolution she wrote an interesting novel, *Trois femmes* (1798). The main character is Constance, who lives with two other women of different social class in a little village. In a supplement, *Histoire de Constance*, the author explains about the origins of Constance, her mother being a creole woman haling from Martinique. Belle's friend Du Peyrou and relatives played a major role in the eighteenth century politics in Suriname and owned important plantations. In describing the situation on Martinique she might have been writing about slavery in Suriname.

233

Gertrude Stein wrote *Three lives* in Paris. In this modernistic psychological novel she describes in detail the portraits of three very different women, as in *Trois femmes*. One of these women, Melanctha, is black. This was the starting point for this research: two women writing about black women in an age where this was not a common theme. But they also lived a century apart from each other. There is no undeniable proof that Belle van Zuylen had some influence on Gertrude Stein. However, in studying both *Trois femmes* and *Three lives* we see a number of similarities in topic and theme. Both women were trend setters for their times. In this article these similarities are researched and I look into the possibility that Belle van Zuylen might have been an influence on and an inspiration to Gertrude Stein.

Three is all that we have to go by. *Trois femmes* by Belle van Zuylen, *Three lives* by Gertrude Stein and the three old ladies from France; Liberté, Egalité and Fraternité. But there might be more that connects the dots between these two female writers in

¹ This paper was presented at the Berkeley Conference on Colonial and Post-colonial connections in Dutch Literature (Sept. 15-17 2011) as a fictional conversation between the author, Belle van Zuylen and Gertrude Stein. I would like to express my gratitude to Els Moor for translating the French text of *Trois femmes* into Dutch. Also thank you Suzan van Dijk for providing me with relevant literature.

literature than first meets the eye. Both women were émigrées; they both lived in a country different from their motherland. Belle van Zuylen, being of Dutch origin, lived in Switzerland and wrote in French. Belle was born on the 20th of October 1740 at Slot Zuylen in Utrecht as the first daughter of Diederick Jacob baron Van Tuyl van Serooskerken, lord of Zuylen and Westbroek and Helena Vicq. And in Utrecht, the Netherlands, Dutch is spoken. As a young girl however, Belle was taught French by her Swiss governess, Jeanne Prevost. Her teacher was of great influence on Belle's intellectual development. In 1750 they travelled to Switzerland and Paris, where she was introduced to the writings of Voltaire, Rousseau and Diderot and she was much impressed by their thinking. Belle's first personal descriptions were written in the years in which she still corresponded with Prevost. After marrying the Swiss count De Charrière, she changed her name from Belle de Zuylen to Isabelle de Charrière and moved to live in Colombier, Switzerland. Here she devoted her time to writing novels, epistolary manuscripts and philosophical treatises. She had already showed particular interest in *Candide* before writing *Trois femmes*. By 1795 her sympathies turned towards Germany, because of the cruel aftermath of the French revolution. She had started studying Kant. Ludwig Ferdinand Huber translated *Trois femmes* into German and Mr. de Charrière and Pastor Berthoud had just made a copy of this manuscript (Moser-Verrey: 16; see also Wood, 1989). In the original French *Trois femmes* was published for the first time in London in 1796 in a somewhat bowdlerized form, having been censored and in parts rewritten by a French émigré Count, M. de Lally, against Isabelle de Charrière's wishes. It appeared in its complete form in an edition published in Lausanne in 1797, which unfortunately was full of printing errors. Even though some claim that *Histoire de Constance*, the sequel to *Trois femmes*, was not written by Belle, it is now widely acknowledged that it is by her hand.

Gertrude Stein lived in France, but did her writing in English. As a child she lived in Paris and these memories, as a three year old, were still vivid (Stein, 2009, [1909]). She settled there again in 1903, with her brother Leo. When her friend Alice Toklas first became acquainted with her, she was surprised never to see a French book on her table, although there were always plenty of English ones. There were not even any French newspapers. People asked Gertrude if she ever read French and she denied this: "I feel with my eyes and it does not make any difference to me what language I hear, I don't hear a language, I hear tones of voice and rhythms, but with my eyes I see words and sentences and there is for me only one language and that is English" (Stein, 1990: 70). She was interested in earlier work as she bought a quantity of antiquarian eighteenth century memoirs, among them the Creevy papers and Walpole (Stein, 1990: 84).

It is not recorded that Stein ever read anything written by Belle van Zuylen. Even though she said never to read French, Gertrude replied to her often in this language

(Stein, 1990: 9). She translated Flaubert's *Trois contes*, and this despite the fact that she did not read any French (Stein, 1990: 34). As a motto for *Three lives* she used an adapted quote from the French writer Jules Laforgue: '*Donc je suis un malheureux et ce n'est ni ma faute ni celle de la vie.*'² She spent long walks meditating and crafting sentences story about her black female character Melanctha Herbert and the poignant incidents that she wove into the life of Melanctha were often those she noticed in walking down the hill from the rue Ravignan (Stein, 1990: 49). She wrote *Three lives* in Paris, it was published in 1909 by a small unknown publishing house and did not receive much attention initially. But gradually, over the years it acquired somewhat of a reputation (Bishop et al.: 318).

Both Belle and Gertrude had an important connection with the literary salons of their days. According to Zwager who wrote about 18th century salons, Belle thought the ladies from Holland were always short of conversation. "If they have not drunk seven or eight glasses of red wine, they are hardly able to articulate anything." She was more flattering about the women of The Hague, when she was away from Zuylen (Utrecht) for the winter. She conversed seriously with them about reason and friendship and was happy to do so as long as she did not need to be the host and need to smile for no reason (Zwager: 182). Moser-Verrey (p. 6) poses the question as to why Belle wrote in French, even though her mother tongue was Dutch. In all the European courts French was fluently spoken and did not automatically clash with the nobles' attachment to their own country. By choosing to write in French, she did not leave the circles within which she circulated and automatically gained a larger audience.

Belle was very much interested in other women writers (Moser-Verrey: 8). These salons were a way to connect to their work and she took advantage of these venues for stirring up debates on the subject. She did not hide here preference for the short story genre, which to her was more condensed and therefore better suited to enrich parlor debates, by providing short but striking lifelike episodes for discussion (Moser-Verrey: 25). There was much interaction between her work of novel writing and the visual arts, dramatic art and music. But this has not been studied as much as the dialogue between her thought and the philosophical and revolutionary trends of her time (Moser-Verrey: 10). Gertrude's salon was more of an art endeavor than a literary salon. She had visited the World's fair in Paris in 1900 with her brother Leo and he opted to stay in Europe. He became very much interested in art. They were not extraordinarily rich, but together they invested some money and bought a number of paintings by French artists (Showalter: 252). Leo had purchased, for instance

² 'Even if I am unhappy, it is not my fault, neither that of life'. In *Three lives* Gertrude Stein used an epigraph that she attributed to the French symbolist Jules Laforgue. Critics have so far agreed that Laforgue actually never wrote this sentence. It might however have been inspired by a very similar one included in his *Moralités légendaires*.

‘Madame Cézanne with a fan’, which inspired Gertrude to write *Three lives*. In this modernistic novel Gertrude Stein describes in detail the psychological portraits of three very different women, focusing less on social circumstances and more on the three basic types of women that they represented: a self sacrificing Anna who couples dedication to power; Lena, dreamy and passive, for whom it is natural to be used by others and to be excluded from life; and passionate, complicated Melanctha who always loses what she has, because she desires to have everything. Gertrude wrote this novel under the spell of Cézanne’s painting: “Cézanne conceived the idea that in compositioning one thing was as important as another thing.... It impressed me so much that I began to write *Three Lives* under this influence and this idea of composition.” (Bishop et al.: 318)

Belle van Zuylen’s novels are mainly about the damage that people can do to one’s good name. This damage can be repaired with money in the bourgeois world that her characters inhabit in which virtue, clarity and containment, are hypocrisy, narrow mindedness and hopelessness (Korsten: 225). To Belle the arts were of major importance, alongside the importance of being sociable. When travelling to France, she met the painter Maurice Quentin de La Tour (1704-1788), a French Rococo portraitist who worked primarily with pastels. Among his most famous subjects were Voltaire, Rousseau, Louis XV and Madame de Pompadour. He also painted a portrait of Belle in 1771. When writing *Trois femmes*, she chose his name under the pseudonym of Abbé de la Tour to initiate the discussion in the novel (Courtney, 2005: 9). The Abbé cuts short the discussion between theorists who comment on the ideas of Kant, and writes about the three women to bring the subject down to earth. To enhance the literary form of the novel, de la Tour is narrator, witness and main character in the story (Courtney, 2005: 17).

The fashion writing literary portraits as short stories had been imported by the French court from Holland, more precisely from a well known court in The Hague. The writing of portraits made it possible for women of the nobility to make themselves known by means of small descriptive texts which tried to seize the truth and avoid pitfall of flattery on the one hand and of the modesty of the other (Moser-Verrey: 13). These portraits were meant to offer non-complacent physical and moral descriptions. The images to be rendered in the short story are consequently not the ones depicted by imagination, or those imposed by the designs of a particular ideal, but simply, whatever the senses of the narrator enable her to see and hear. This kind of literary portrait appeared regularly in magazines. Often the real name of the woman who authored these pieces was not divulged and Belle opted to use the name Zélide to refer to herself in her own self portrait (De Charrière: 25). Montesquieu wrote about a slave girl using the same name in *Lettres Persanes* (1721). Zélide is also an anagram of Belle’s own name De Z[u]ile. In Zélide, her self description, she wrote: “Her hands

are not nice and white, this she knows and jokes about, but she'd actually rather not joke about this at all." (p. 36, translation by author).

Egmond Codfried had seen a portrait of Belle's grandmother and he speculated that she was of African descent. There is a portrait in which Belle's grandmother, Maria Jacoba van Goor, looks like a colored woman. Codfried claims that Van Zuylen herself was self conscious of her black inheritance and therefore used black characters in her novels (see Van Dijk, 2006). He finds his opinion supported in *Portrait de Zélide* "Elle n'a pas la main blanche..." This idea in itself is not totally without grounds. Her family, the Van Tuyl van Serooskerkens, owned property in the Dutch colony of Suriname in South America.

Gertrude Stein also wrote prose portraits (Showalter: 252). She was inspired by Cézanne and other painters whose works hung in her salon. Picasso painted a picture of Gertrude in 1907 (Stein, 1990: 6). He was so impressed by her that he created one of his first cubist painting 'Trois Femmes', inspired by her book *Three lives*. Gertrude and Leo purchased the painting soon after its completion. It would hang in their salon on Rue de Fleurus until 1913 (Bishop et al.: 318). Actually, she claimed to be doing with words what Picasso was doing with paint (Showalter: 252). She thus became a great influence over a succeeding generation, linking the American novel and Cubism (Bradbury & McFarlane: 103). By this time an American modernist tradition had expanded into an international environment. Paris was at the center of the most significant modernist thinking and creativity (Bradbury & McFarlane: 162).

Speaking about modernism, Korsten (pp. 233-235) says:

If it is about art, film or literature, artists experiment with the notion of perception. In painting it happens that for instance Picasso and Matisse show every object as a gathering of possible viewpoints of that object [...]. In literature one wants to represent the registering and experiencing subject and show how an object changes again and again, depending on the subjective viewpoints and experiences [...] There is a difference between telling and showing. The social-cultural implication of experience makes evident the fact that focalization is more than experience of the senses. It may also depend on ones world view, the ideological thinking behind a societal problem.

We find these principles in the work of Gertrude Stein, and she was one of the first to use these different viewpoints to describe a single situation in short stories such as 'Melanctha'.

Both Belle van Zuylen and Gertrude Stein were reformers of structure and style. The central tension and dynamism of Belle's epistolary novels is created by the different positions from which the different parties live the same events (Korsten: 163). During the Enlightenment the interest in lower social classes was articulated by formulating

social critique. Belle and Stein, however, were well respected members of upper class bourgeois social circles. Belle addressed her self analyses to Constant d'Hermenches. In her letters, she shows little respect for current conventions. She approaches every subject in the critical context of Nature and Reason, and this results in very unorthodox ideas on marriage, morals and religion (Courtney, 1977: 146). James Boswell thought that Belle had a brilliant mind, but lacked good principles (Courtney, 1977: 155). Initially he had a very high opinion of her, but it appeared that jealousy eventually got the best of him. In Belle's writing, the interaction takes precedence over the action, the dialogue gets the better of the monologue and sensitivity does not exclude critical judgment (Moser-Verrey: 15). She expressed the intention to depict "people one can actually meet and to adopt the simplest style" (Moser-Verrey: 18). The epistolary form offers to all those who read it privileged access into the inner life of the character and makes it possible to appreciate sensitivity and to judge a good heart or bad intentions. The reading of a letter can become decisive in orienting the development of the plot (Moser-Verrey: 21).

Gertrude Stein always identified closely with her subjects in a style that was unlike any other. She captured the rhythms and accents of the lives and the mindsets of her characters, including Melanctha, an African descended girl. We sink so much into the story that we almost forget that she is black (Wilson: 177). Carl van Vechten, one of the main white patrons of the Harlem Renaissance, congratulated her on producing: "... the first American story in which the Negro ...is regarded... not as an object for condescending compassion or derision." Richard Wright is said to have read the story to a group of black stockyard workers who were very enthusiastic (Showalter: 252). Wilson recalls that she provided other writers (like Carl van Vechten, Eugene O'Neill and Sherwood Anderson) with a model of describing Negro life totally exempt from even a trace of race consciousness.

Writers are often influenced by others. Belle was first introduced to the work of Rousseau when she was fifteen (Pacini: 258). In Neuchâtel she befriended Pierre Alexandre Du Peyrou in 1773. He was a fervent Rousseauist and printed the work of this philosopher in Geneva. Belle was in a period of transition; she eventually adjusted to her life in Switzerland and tried to find balance in her marriage. She no longer corresponded secretly but started writing novels and short stories (Dubois & Dubois: 19). In those days she wrote pamphlets on the ideas of Rousseau (Van Zuylen: 56). She collaborated with Du Peyrou in editing the second part of Rousseau's *Confessions* (1790). They defended his wife against malicious gossip by Madame de Stael (see Du Plessix-Gray, 2008. Du Peyrou witnessed a reading and the reactions of the public to *Lettres trouvées dans des portefeuilles d'Emigrés*.³ In this pamphlet the main character witnesses the chaos and violence of the Terror and abandons the abstract

³ Du Peyrou wrote about this event in a letter dated 18th October 1793.

principles of “l’indivisible république, et l’invisible liberté et l’impossible égalité” (Pacini: 267).

She admired Rousseau’s musical talents, but disagreed with many of his philosophical ideas. For instance his gender ideology: she refused his binary distinction between male and female roles and questioned the existence of an essentially feminine nature. She also critiqued Rousseau’s excessive idealism, his opposition between a state of nature and one of culture and his faith in the intrinsic goodness of human nature (Pacini: 259). Instead she believed in the natural character of human sociability and had an understanding of civilization as a positive force (Pacini: 260).

Gertrude Stein was born in Allegheny, Pennsylvania and she lived in Oakland, near the University of California at Berkeley, and studied psychology and medicine. She worked out a series of experiments in automatic writing under the direction of William James. She used stream of consciousness in her fiction: “Consciousness is nothing jointed, it flows” as William James wrote in *Principles of psychology* (introduction to Stein, 1990: ix). The results of her own experiments, which were published in the *Harvard Psychological Review* was the first of her writing ever to be printed. It is very interesting to read because the method of writing to be afterwards developed in *Three lives* and *Making of Americans* already reveals itself (Stein, 1990: 77). Her writing is the verbal equivalent of the cubist paintings of Picasso and Matisse (Bradbury & McFarlane: 636). In her last year of medical school she worked in maternity wards where African American women gave birth and she used this experience to write ‘Melanctha’ (Stein, 1990: 82).

239

It is striking that both authors wrote about African descended women. According to Vega, *Trois femmes* would fit perfectly within Said’s theory of Culture and Imperialism, which asserts that the Western world has a shared culture in a common experience of colonialism. The novel is the cultural exponent par excellence of this shared heritage. As a writer, Belle van Zuylen also fits into this paradigm, since she wrote in a literary fashion against colonialism (Vega: 117). After the French Revolution in 1798, Belle wrote *Trois femmes*. The main character is Constance, who lives with two other women of a different social class in a small village.

Later on, Belle wrote a supplement titled *Histoire de Constance* which was never published or translated. In that work, Constance talks about her life, and she turns out to be the daughter of a creole woman from Martinique.⁴ In describing the tragic life of Bianca, the black slave girl with whom Constance’s Uncle Victor falls in love, Belle underscores the concept of *égalité*. He wants to marry her, but is tempted by the seductive actresses who visit the colony and he temporarily forgets how much he

⁴ Creole is used here in the sense of: born on the island. Constance was not a woman of color.

loves Bianca. In the night, she crawls into Victor's room and stands over him with a knife. He wakes up because she trips over a book (this is so curious because as a slave, she probably can not read). He screams for help and she is imprisoned. Victor dies of misery. Constance takes the little Biondina under her wing, where she learns to play the harpsichord, revealing the possibilities of culture that are afforded to a mulatto child and denied a black child. But Constance has to let the girl go, because her new husband does not want her around. The libertarian lives that many men in the colonies live, have disastrous effects on the women, often African descended women, who are dependent on the whims of their lovers, husbands, and fathers. This disastrous love affair and its tragic results become a trope for the relations between Europe and the colonies (Vega: 117).

Belle's friend, Pierre Alexandre du Peyrou, was born in Suriname in 1729, the son of Pierre du Peyrou, who worked as a lawyer with the Board of Civil Justice in the colony. His mother, Lucie Drouillet, as a widow remarried to Phillippe Le Chambier in 1743 and they moved to the Netherlands and later to Neuchâtel in Switzerland. His mother owned several plantations in Suriname, for instance l'Esperance on the Para River) and Perou on the Cottica. When the aunt of his mother died in 1763, he also inherited a coffee plantation La Nouvelle Esperance on the Cottica and part of plantation Rozenburg on the Commewijne River. Even though he did not live in Suriname himself, his relatives played a major role in the eighteenth century politics of the colony and owned important plantations there. In small plantation economies such as that of Suriname, the planters are often related to each other through marriage and family ties (see Neus: 38-39).

We could therefore say that Du Peyrou's fortune was one derived from the blood and sweat of the slaves who worked his plantations. In 1773 Nouvelle Esperance and Perou were burned down and destroyed by runaway slaves under Boni, a famed morroon leader. Even though the plantations were not as lucrative as they had been, Peyrou called on his relatives to recover his property. When he died childless in 1794, in his testament he bequeathed his fortune to his 32 relatives in the Netherlands. He also left money to the slaves on his plantations. It seems improbable that Belle van Zuylen never talked about the Dutch (– not French!) colonies with her dear friend Du Peyrou. In describing the situation on Martinique I gather it is more likely that she was writing about the situation in Suriname, especially if we take into consideration that slavery in Martinique had been abolished in 1794, and Belle wrote *Trois femmes* in 1798.

One of the women in Gertrude Stein's *Three lives* is African descended and her story 'Melanctha' (which means 'black earth' in Greek) is all about her sexual searching and tragic love affair. According to Wilson, Stein was one of the first to write with an approach totally free of race consciousness: "Behind the clear, mostly monotone simplicity of Gertrude Stein's syntax we see more and more how she controls the

contradictory and undividable organisms that human characters are made of ” (Wilson: 177).

This does not mean that Stein’s opinions about black people were always without bias or expressed in diplomatic fashion. To her friend Mabel Weeks she wrote “I have to content myself with niggers and servant girls and the foreign population generally” (introduction to Stein, 1990: xi). In the *Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas* we learn more about Stein’s attitude toward language and Afro-Americans:

Carl Van Vechten sent us quantities of negroes beside there were the negroes of our neighbour Mrs. Regan who had brought Josephine Baker to Paris. Carl sent us Paul Robeson. Paul Robeson interested Gertrude Stein. He knew American values and American life as only one in it but not of it could know them. And yet as soon as any other person came into the room he became definitely a Negro. Gertrude Stein did not like hearing him sing spirituals. They do not belong to you any more than anything else, so why claim them, she said. He did not answer [...] Gertrude Stein concluded that negroes were not suffering from persecution, they were suffering from nothingness. She always contends that the African is not primitive, he has a very ancient but a very narrow culture and there it remains. Consequently nothing does or can happen. (Stein, 1990: 237-238)

241

Belle van Zuylen as well as Gertrude Stein were revolutionary for their times. They both wrote in a fashion that was all about breaking with tradition. By the end of 1792, Revolutionary ideology had spread from France across Europe. Belle wrote *Trois femmes* in 1798, after the French Revolution, in the aftermath of Terror. Bound to the events of the Revolution, *Trois femmes* (and other works) remained unfinished (Moser-Verrey: 19).

Gertrude Stein was involved with the revolution of the word. She stated: “Modernism is our inevitable art, the only composition appropriate to the new disposition in which we live, the new disposition of space and time” (quoted in Bradbury & McFarlane: 23). Her stature as a VIP in Paris and a good friend of Pablo Picasso did not go unnoticed.⁵ Langston Hughes wrote a poem that was a reflection on this era of creative modernism flowing from Paris (Hughes: 91-92).

Cubes

In the days of the broken cubes of Picasso
And in the days of the broken songs of young men

⁵ Woody Allen’s 2011 movie *Midnight in Paris* stars Kathy Bates as Gertrude Stein in her circle of friends at the rue de Fleurus.

A little too drunk to sing
And the young women
A little too unsure of love to love --
I met on the boulevards of Paris
An African from Senegal.

God
Knows why the French
Amuse themselves bringing to Paris
Negroes from Senegal.

It's the old game of the boss and the bossed,
 boss and the bossed
 amused
 and
 amusing,
 worked and working.
Behind the cubes of black and white,
 black and white,
 black and white

242

But since it is the old game,
For fun
They give him the three old prostitutes of
 France –
Liberty, Equality, Fraternity –
And all three of 'em sick
In spite of the tax to the government
And the legal houses
And he doctors
And the Marseillaise.

Of course, the young African from Senegal
Carries back from Paris
A little more disease
To spread among the black girls in the palm huts.
He brings them as a gift
 disease –
From light to darkness
 disease --

From the boss to the bossed
disease –
From the game of black and white
disease
From the city of the broken cubes of Picasso
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Epilogue

In this article, we have seen that it is not certain that *Trois femmes* (and the supplement *Histoire de Constance*) by Belle van Zuylen directly influenced Gertrude Stein's *Three lives*. We might even conclude that it was highly unlikely, since the supplement to the *Trois femmes* that is discussed above was never published. We do see however, that both women were far ahead of their times. Du Plessix Gray published a book on Madame de Staël, and subtitled it: 'The first modern woman'. As a rival of Belle van Zuylen, De Staël might be seen as more of a disciple to this extraordinary female writer with libertine ideas that were not quite accepted in her days. Belle wrote in a confusing mix of social control and sexual passion, discretely presented as a problem, and not, as with male authors as an indirect form of pornography. As Noordervliet pp. 105-106) concludes, "The eighteenth century novels reveal a preoccupation with coded relationships between people, with the outside. But slowly the interest shifts to the inside, the psyche, the thoughts, the memories and the strictly personal inner feelings." This is what Belle van Zuylen wrote about par excellence: the inner lives of women. This was also the case with Gertrude Stein, although she used a staccato voiced stream of consciousness instead of the epistolary form that Belle mastered so well.

Both women had great interest in the arts. Belle enjoyed salons to get acquainted with the work of other women writers, while Gertrude established her own art salon, which became famous even though salons were out of fashion when she started hers at the beginning of the twentieth century. This salon, in which many a famous painter made his name, is still much discussed today.

Especially in writing about black women, both Belle and Gertrude were a novelty. Belle showed how slavery undermined equality between people. She probably based her story about Bianca on tales that she had heard from her friend Du Peyrou, who was born in Suriname. She elaborated on a love affair gone sour and how this resulted

in disaster for all parties involved. Gertrude paints a similar picture in *Melanctha*. Because they both express the feelings of their African descended female characters, they imply in these portrayals that at certain levels they see no difference in the way an African descended woman and a European descended woman experiences her misery. That was extraordinary not only in 1796, but also in 1903. Even if there is no direct connection between these two pioneers of modern literature, they both wrote about themes that were revolutionary and both have left an indelible imprint on how contemporary texts are written and read.

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DUTCH CARIBBEAN VOICES¹

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This paper focuses on the significance of Radio Netherlands Worldwide (*Wereldroep* or RNW) in the development of Surinamese and Antillean literature between 1947 and 1958. There are no recordings left from this era, but the script archives of RNW West Indian transmissions include 267 previously unnoticed literary contributions between 1947 and 1958. This is more than any Surinamese or Antillean magazine published during that period. The content of 173 contributions has been saved in typed scripts. These were mostly written by authors who became well known later on, such as Boeli van Leeuwen, Frank Martinus Arion, Jules de Palm, and Raúl Römer in Curaçao, as well as Johan Ferrier, Eddy Bruma and John Leefmans in Surinam, which suggests important lines of enquiry, such as: what role these *Wereldroep* stories play in the oeuvre of these writers and what significance did they have for their development.

247

The period under consideration in this investigation is dictated by the archives; the broadcasts started in 1947 and there were no more typed scripts saved after May 1958. The broadcasts directed toward the West Indies usually lasted two and a half hours. These broadcasts were geared toward Dutch expatriate audiences and initially included a quarter of an hour and later a half an hour of programming by the West Indian editorial department. This segment dedicated attention to a variety of matters pertaining to Suriname and the Antilles, including culture in general and music and literature in particular.

The broadcasts included five types of literary contributions: oral literature, primary stories, secondary literature, contributions under the auspices of the Surinamese *Wie Eegie Sanie* cultural association and presentations of previously published Surinamese and Antillean work. These literary contributions were not classified as such in any of the broadcasts, which mean that I had to select works and classify them. I used two criteria in making my selections: 1) Was it a literary work? and 2) Was it a Surinamese or Antillean work? The starting point for applying the first criterion is whether the text complies with an esthetical function within the Surinamese or

¹ This paper is a summary of Benjamin Jos de Roo: *Praatjes voor de West; de Wereldroep en de Antilliaanse en Surinaamse literatuur 1947-1958*. University of Amsterdam 2014 (dissertation)

Antillean culture. A lot of the norms that apply to this criterion are not just tied to a specific culture, such as the construction of the sentence, the metaphor, the originality of the use of language, the evocative ability of the author and the personal character of the text. But in a neo-colonial situation such as that of Suriname and the Antilles, esthetical values can be attributed in new and unconventional ways. For example, the division between journalism and literature can come to be defined differently, which has sometimes lead to totally new genres, such as the *conta cuenta* in the Antilles, a form of pleasant storytelling that brings current affairs to light. The cultural background of an author is the deciding factor in the application of the second criterion.

RNW and BBC

The West Indian department started its transmissions in 1947. In the RNW annual reports, J. van de Walle, the head of the department, explained what his intentions were with the West Indian segment within the Dutch broadcast. He wanted to contribute in a positive way to stimulating social life, political freedoms, and cultural expression in the Dutch Caribbean. He felt that the Caribbean audience would only be open to the non-Caribbean programs on RNW, if RNW acknowledged and respected Caribbean voices and culture. He therefore recorded and broadcast not only Antillean and Surinamese music but also the literary contributions that are discussed in this article.

At first sight, it looks as if the literally programing of Van de Walle was similar to that of the BBC in its well known weekly program *Caribbean Voices*, but a comprehensive comparison indicates that is not the case. The BBC transmitted short stories of writers living in the Caribbean. Caribbean authors would send their stories to London and wait expectantly to receive word from Europe as to whether theirs was selected to be read out on the radio by an English employee of the BBC. In their contributions to *Caribbean Voices* writers had to use supra-regional English and the BBC collaborated with the literary magazine *BIM* and certain English publishers in disseminating the stories in print form. In contrast, Caribbean literary works broadcast over the RNW were written by Surinamese and Antillean people living in the Netherlands. These works were solicited by Van de Walle, who looked for writers to submit contributions. The RNW Caribbean writers delivered their work over the waves themselves with some coaching from RNW staff on editing and presentation. There was no fixed transmission day for broadcasting these literary works, and RNW played no role in seeing that these works might eventually be published in print form. Finally, the RNW authors were free to choose among four languages for their presentations: Dutch, Sranan, Papiamentu or English of the Windward Islands.

The different approaches adopted by the BBC and RNW perhaps lead to different expectations on the part of their contributing authors, with those contributing to the

BBC being much more highly motivated from the very beginning to become well known as writers than the RNW contributors. While Caribbean writers were never reluctant to submit contributions to *Caribbean Voices*, potential RNW contributors were often less enthusiastic because progressive Antillean and Surinamese circles considered Radio Nederland to be a colonial institution. It comes as no surprise, then, that *Caribbean Voices* has secured a place in literary history, while Radio Netherlands has secured a footnote, at most.

Oral literature

Three authors contributed oral literature to the RNW broadcasts. Among them, the name Irving Plantz from St. Martin seems to be completely absent from the history of literature. Plantz considered the recording of traditional stories from St. Martin to be of utmost importance since the custom of oral story telling was disappearing there due to the socio-economic transitions underway on the island at the time. He presented a total of 22 stories in the English spoken on the Windward Islands. He did so by drawing not only from his rich repertory of traditional oral stories, but also by telling stories that projected vivid images of the daily life on the island in times gone by. What stands out in Plantz's broadcasts is the absence of figures such as the trickster spider Anansi which are omnipresent in the oral literature of the region.

The other two contributors of oral literature to the RNW broadcasts Surinamese Johan Ferrier and Raúl Römer from Curaçao each told a series Anansi stories, with Ferrier relating a total of 18 Anansi tales and later publishing them in Suriname. Ferrier differs from other collectors of Anansi stories in Suriname and beyond, because of the palpable pleasure that he derived from telling them and his laser-like focus on the message they contained, namely that the weak can outsmart the strong. Roomer broadcast a total of 22 Anansi stories in Papiamentu. Römer initiated his broadcasts on September 24, 1949, thus his Anansi stories should not be confused with those found the collection that Nilda Geerdink-Jesurun Pinto published in 1952. Pinto's collection has often been considered to be the definitive one on recorded Nanzi stories, which appears not to be completely true, since two thirds of the preserved stories of Römer on RNW deviate from the stories of Pinto.

With 61 stories the Radio Nederland archive is the second largest collection of oral literature from the Caribbean island region of the Kingdom of the Netherlands. It is the only collection that includes oral literature from St. Martin. Furthermore: the stories were recorded at a time when there was no little artistic appreciation for this kind of folk art. In this instance, we can say that Van de Walle displayed considerable vision.

Hubert Dennert

The only publically available stories written by Aruban doctor and politician Hubert Dennert (1927-1981) are the ones that he wrote as a student for Radio Nederland. His contributions stand out because they closely follow oral tradition. In most of his stories, he compares his new country with his country of origin. In doing so he introduces the problematic of migration into Antillean literature. He pays a lot of attention to the process of integration into life in the European Netherlands, which he breaks down into three stages. In the beginning newcomers remain Antilles-centric and reject everything that is not familiar to them. The second stage involves becoming accustomed to the weather and the food and building a new social life facilitated by the friendly attitude of the Dutch. Finally migrants begin to feel at home in Holland and begin to identify themselves with their new country. In what could be considered to be his best story 'Een Antilliaan kampeert in Nederland' ['An Antillean camps in the Netherlands'] Dennert insists that it is crucial for the migrant to participate in Dutch society.

Another important theme in Dennert's stories is the definition of migrants' own social and physical living environment in the context of the European Netherlands and its people. What he took for granted in Aruba could not always be left unanalyzed in the Netherlands. For instance, when he participated in the St. Nicholas celebration in Holland, the similarities and differences with the same celebration in Aruba required a re-evaluation on his part. This re-evaluation reverberated through his literary output. For instance, while Dennert at first describes the Aruban landscape from the European stereotypical gaze of white beaches and swaying palms, after he revisits the island his focus changes to the more specifically Aruban beauty of rocks and cactuses landscape.

Boeli van Leeuwen

The Curaçaoan author Boeli van Leeuwen (1922-2007) broadcast the most stories, 36 in total. The RNW stories are very important within the oeuvre of Boeli van Leeuwen. They constitute his first creative prose and as such were especially important for his development as a writer. His concept of art was determined by them, as he began to experiment with his technique. Almost all the elements of the stories come back in one form or another in his later novels. Recurrent themes include: Curaçaoan people and Curaçao; the Dutch and the Netherlands; wisdom and metaphysics; art; and society. Some don't undergo much mutation over the course of his career, especially when it comes to his taste for the fantastic and the absurd, and his soft spot for freaks. The image of Curaçaoan society changes from the broadcasts where it is globally positive, to the novels where it is described as suffocating. Van Leeuwen's attitude toward politicians also changes. In the RNW stories there is appreciation for their wit, but later on there is only criticism.

Most of the elements in the RNW stories about the Dutch and The Netherlands return in the novels: the cramped housing, the crowds, the grey and swampy country, his love for Amsterdam, the role of Darwin and Nietzsche in his thinking under the influence of a teacher, his friends portrayed with absurdist touches, wealth inequality in The Netherlands, the influence of Calvinism there, the sober and frugal language, the ignorance about Curaçao, and the fact that the Dutch are not so passionless as one thinks. In terms of metaphysics and wisdom, the figure of the simple but wise illiterate man can be found from the RNW stories to the novels. His initial opposition to formal learning becomes less evident in the novels, but he insists that intellectuals must be vigilant to ensure that they do not become part of the problem instead of part of the solution to social ills. Themes such as the expulsion from Paradise show an interesting evolution during van Leeuwen's career. In the RNW stories it signals an awareness of human mortality; in the novel *De rots der struikeling* the emphasis is on sin and a disbelief in the existence of a God; in *Een vreemdeling op aarde* the association is with the existential loneliness of man; and in *De eerste Adam* the expulsion from paradise drives the main figure to help others, in whom he meets God.

From his RNW stories, I was able to grasp some central conceptual threads in Van Leeuwen's esthetic to which he remained faithful for the rest of his career. For Van Leeuwen, literature must contain wisdom, truth and beauty as well as mysterious symbolism. Society cannot be ignored and must be portrayed truthfully, by breaking with social conventions and exposing the injustices and prejudices perpetuated by social hierarchies. In his RNW stories, Van Leeuwen experimented and refined a style that came to typify his novels, whereby seemingly incoherent parts eventually fall together into a unit.

Jules de Palm

Jules de Palm (1922-2013, writing under his penname Julio Perrenal), Pierre Lauffer and René de Rooy formed a set of three writers who composed songs in Papiamentu on Curaçao during the Second World War. He continued using his penname when singing these songs on RNW. The RNW archival material reveals that the poem 'Rabia' and the story 'Toni Gonzalez' which were allegedly written for the anthology *Di Nos* (1971) were in reality presented in 1954 and 1956 in front of the microphones of the RNW.

Frank Martinus Arion

Frank Martinus (Arion) wrote six stories for the RNW. He also gave me seven *Afrikaanse notities* [*African Notes*] that he wrote in for the RNW 1973. Although these fall outside the time frame of this study, I mention them because they are unknown, especially written for the RNW and useful to our understanding of his

development as person and as an artist. The main theme of the first five RNW stories is his process integration into European Netherlands society. At first he considers such integration desirable because one should internalize the intellectual resources of Western European culture in order to ensure one's mental independence. As time goes on, he asserts that while total integration can never be achieved, it must remain one's goal. Later he says that one must carefully choose what to accept and what to reject from one's host society. Ultimately, he concludes that one who realises that life is an exchange between being and being different is perhaps nowhere at home, and everywhere a stranger. Since this theme does not resurface later in Arion's novels, the RNW stories represent a unique and until now unknown phase in his development. In the RNW stories Arion first describes Dutch people as cordial and helpful, but later he became less positive. In *Stemmen uit Afrika* he characterizes this friendliness as patronizing that does not acknowledge any responsibility for slavery. The last story illustrates how the (neo-)colonial education system of Curaçao leads to excessive worship of everything from Europe, a vision that comes back in the novel *Afscheid van de koningin*.

Afrikaanse notities are the first African travel stories in Antillean literature. In these narratives, Arion searches for similarities between West Africa and the Caribbean and strives to challenge dominant European discourses on Africa, which he sees as the cradle of Judaism and Christianity. He is critical of his reception in Africa, because as an African descended person, he was not automatically welcomed with open arms as a long lost son. This represents something of a rupture with some of his assumptions in *Stemmen uit Afrika*. Most elements of his *Afrikaanse notities* appear in more striking and sharper form in his novel *Afscheid van de koningin*.

Henk Dennert

A native of Curaçao, Henk Dennert (1930–2006) made 11 RNW broadcasts. The RNW material confirms the prevailing image of Henk Dennert as an average author, but an enthusiastic promotor of Antillean culture and literature. Of particular importance is his role as co-founder of *Círculo Patriótico*, a movement with the objective of preserving and promoting one's own language and cultural heritage. The realization that people on Curaçao were learning less and less about their own language and culture and that there was nothing to be found on these subjects in the libraries was the driving force behind the creation of the organization. *Círculo Patriótico* also wanted to expand cultural links with other peoples in the tropics. The RNW materials on *Círculo Patriótico* are the only documents about that movement from that time. Another of Henk Dennert's RNW stories deals with the Dutch flood disaster of 1953. In that story, he impressively describes how he and other students went to the disaster area to help.

Johan van de Walle

Head of the West Indian Department of the RNW, Johan van der Walle was critical of Euro-centrism and colonial domination, especially in the area of culture. Firstly, Van de Walle wanted to acknowledge, valorize and document Surinamese and Antillean culture. His efforts yielded the first collection of oral literature of the Dutch Caribbean. Secondly, he wanted to stimulate Caribbean literary production by actively seeking out writers. This impetus yielded more stories than any Antillean or Surinamese magazine ever published in the period under review. Thirdly, he wanted to make people in the Kingdom of the Netherlands aware of the important movements for the recognition and promotion of local culture that were emerging in the French-, English- and Spanish-speaking countries of the Caribbean at a time when no other medium was doing so. In the fourth place, he wanted to facilitate an awakening of cultural and political nationalism. This gave *Wie Eegie Sanie* a voice in the Caribbean. In the fifth place, he insisted on treating Dutch, Papiamentu, Sranantongo and Windward English as equally viable languages for literary expression. This certainly raised the status of the Caribbean varieties in question. In each of these areas Van de Walle was undisputedly a pioneer and taking all of these areas together his contribution was significant and unique.

This study shows that the significance of the RNW was different in the development of the various Surinamese and Antillean writers whose literary work was broadcast on its West Indian programs. It was of little importance for Johan Ferrier. Likewise, the RNW contributions of Henk Dennert were not very significant to his development, but his story about *Círculo Patriótico* is culturally and historically important. The RNW stories of Frank Martinus Arion did not have a particularly great impact on his later work per se, but these stories themselves are important because they represent a previously unknown phase in his development. The significance of RNW was great for Jules de Palm and Boeli van Leeuwen because they found the themes that would recur during the rest of their careers in the material that they produced for the broadcasts. The RNW was also of decisive importance for Raúl Römer. After broadcasting his stories there, Römer published nothing more, except for an adaptation of a Dutch work in Papiamentu. The RNW was important for John Leefmans because that is where he began with his prose work, and with developing some of the elements which he later explored in his poetry. Without the Wereldomroep Irving Plantz, Hubert Dennert, Frits Moll, W. Halfhide and Carol Ellassaiss would not have produced any published literary work at all.

The significance of RNW on Surinamese literature appears to be considerable. Many Surinamese literary trends which were thought to have originated in the 1960s can in fact be traced back to RNW broadcasts. The migrant motif, for example, was

pioneered on RNW. Sranantongo was enriched and given higher status, not only because of *Wie Eegie Sanie*, but also because it was generally used in the RNW broadcasts as a literary language. The editorial policy of Van der Walle flowed seamlessly into the policy of the Surinamese literary magazines of the 1960s.

The significance of the RNW for the development of Antillean literature lies mainly in the introduction of the migrant motif and the recording of oral literature. The RNW also helped to reinforce gains that had been made by Antillean writers before the 1940s, of Antillean writers that were put in place before, such as the use of Papiamentu as a literary language and the abandonment of Catholic morality.

Praatjes voor de West [Chats from the West (Indies)] was the term used in the RNW broadcasts to announce some of the contributions that I have reviewed in this study. In the final analysis, however, the broadcasts amounted to much more than chats; instead they represented an important platform that facilitated a significant leap forward for Surinamese and Antillean literature.

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THE REMNANTS OF COLONIALISM IN CONTEMPORARY ARUBAN LITERATURE

QUITO NICOLAAS

NOVELIST, POET AND COLUMNIST, ARUBA

Literature in general provides texts and images that tell us something of the past and the present. In the case of Aruba, this is a past that has its origin in a society that was stratified, where a colonized mind existed, though in which a native language and a literary life was emerging. The literary texts that emerged from such a society sketch a profile of Aruban ways of thinking and behavior. Often it is these texts which give us some insight into a period about which few historical documents have been preserved. From 1845-1948 Aruba belonged to the colony called ‘Curaçao and dependencies.’ In those days the community had no representative body and lived within a fairly passive environment in which a colonial spirit prevailed. During that period of time there was little space for public exchange of views, due to lack of newspapers and other publications that could help stimulate such a process. Most Dutch Caribbean writing from the years 1597-1900 consisted mainly of travelogues focused on Paramaribo and Willemstad. One exceptional work that deals with Aruba is *Reizen in West-Indië* [Travel in the West Indies] by G.B. Bosch dated 1836. This narrative includes a joke told by a Mr. Croes about a Curaçaoan official who was startled when at bedtime his traveling companion took off his wig. The Curaçaoan proceeds to proclaim that “There is that strange gentleman who has become insane and has pulled all the hairs out of his head with his two hands!” The subtitle *The Phenix of Aruba* was more related to two Aruban sisters, Mosa and Johanna Lampe. Mosa, the older of the two sisters wrote letters in the German language and was known for her verses. Their tutor spread the rumor that he would marry his pupil Mosa and this caused her to file a complaint with the Commander. From this short text one can conclude that the sisters came from a family with means, as Mosa spoke a foreign language. At that time, only those who could afford it could hire tutors to teach their children languages and arithmetic. The fact that Mosa had the audacity to complain about her teacher with non-other than the Commander shows the determination of this typically high-spirited Aruban girl. That Mosa wrote verses should be an indication that she was educated in the arts and probably read her work to others – parents, sister or other family members

– as a form of entertainment during family gatherings. It was customary at the time for girls from elite families to show off their talents in this way.

Another such text that mentions Aruba is *De Nederlandsche West-Indische eilanden in derzelver tegenwoordigen toestand* by M.D. Teenstra, which dates back to 1837 (Van Kempen & Rutgers: 143). Among other things, this report makes mention of a 12 year old boy named William Rasmijn who, while tending his flock of sheep, discovered gold in Rooi Fluit. When the boy complained to his father about not having any shoes, the father answered: “you shall have a pair of shoes, as soon as you can earn them yourself.” The father’s answer is typical, because in those times when people depended on agriculture, livestock and fisheries for their livelihood, money to purchase shoes was difficult to come by and children were taught to be independent and self-reliant, that is, as our Aruban elders used to say, “to become strong and stand firm in your shoes.” In the pre-war years, a lively oral literature was still passed on from generation to generation in Aruba. Stories and anecdotes on history, families and remarkable incidents formed the basis for much of the verbal interaction between generations. Mothers were often the main storytellers and they used stories to socialize the children under their care. In this genre, the use of proverbs and sayings featured prominently. Proverbs were used to highlight the values and norms of the community and to educate the young. Proverbs also encapsulate wisdom about life from which one can draw lessons for the future. Examples of such proverbs include *Esun cu colebra morde, ta haya miedo di lagadishi* [Those who are bitten by the snake, become scared of the lizard]. It is remarkable that at present relatively few proverbs and sayings are used in books written for children and young adults in Aruba.

The limited introduction of elementary education in 1845 brought literacy to a slightly broader base of the Aruban population. It took another century before secondary education was established on the island in the form of MULO (lower secondary education) in 1939 and HBS (higher secondary education) in 1949. Due to the late establishment of higher secondary education, the population was for decades to a large extent low-skilled and only a few were prepared for any higher career.

Just as Latin American writers at the beginning of the 19th century felt the need to write about independence, Caribbean writers were engaged with identity and racial issues. Aruban poets of the early 20th century who wrote in Dutch, however, tended to mimic the world and words of the colonizer. Examples of this tendency can be found in the poetry of Johan Karel Lampe (1891-1955). Aruban poetry of the colonial era written in Papiamentu is not different in colour and tone from that of the Romantic era in Europe, especially in its focus on themes of nature and love.

According to historical documents the first evidence of written Papiamentu date from 1769. In Aruba, the Catholic church played a particularly active role in the

development of this language, with the consecration of the Chapel of Alto Vista (built in 1750) and the St. Anna Church in 1772. At the beginning of the 19th century (1804), the island had a population of 1155 (Hartog: 480). All apparently spoke Papiamentu, including the small elite class. Despite its widespread use, an ambivalent attitude toward Papiamentu prevailed in Aruba during colonial times. This less than positive attitude can be attributed not only to the lack of written materials in the language, but also to colonial political structures that placed little value on local Aruban language and culture.

In 1890 Aruba's first newspaper *El Semanario* began to publish in Papiamentu, Spanish and Dutch. This commercially oriented publication appeared on Saturdays, and consisted of four pages full of advertisements and announcements in addition to a drop of news. In these early days, newspapers often discontinued publication after one or two years. The second weekly newspaper *El Faro* (1899-1903), a quadrilingual publication in Papiamentu, Spanish, English and Dutch lasted for four years. *Brisa de Aruba* (1933-1934) and *El Observador* (1935-1938) were newspapers that distinguished themselves for their inclusion of articles in Papiamentu. The well-known Catholic oriented newspapers *La Cruz* (1900) and *La Union* (1933), both published in Papiamentu by the Diocese of Curaçao, were circulated in Aruba over many years.

In the 1950's when radio stations started broadcasting on the island, the use of Papiamentu expanded from the print to the electronic media. Although Dutch was the official language of communication, the widespread use of Papiamentu by the population can be considered to be a form of resistance to colonialism. Partly as a result of this resistance, the 1950s witness the first publication of two works by V.S. Pieterella, *Dora Deana y flornan di amor* and *Dora Deana y su lagrimanan*.

The founding during the 1950s of the magazine *Simadan* with the aim of promoting literary work in Papiamentu in Aruba also embodied such resistance in stark contrast to the Dutch language oriented literary magazine *De Stoep* published in Curaçao. In the three editions of the magazine published in 1950, 1951 and 1960, the pages were filled with the poems of Aruban writers such as Hubert Booi, Nena Bennet and Julio Maduro, who thereby gained a platform for their work.

Contemporary Aruban prose deals with themes such as corruption, environmental issues, social issues and cultural heritage, and the one-dimensional characters of past prose writing in Aruba have given way to characters that are complex and multidimensional. In her short story titled *Chobil y su amigonan Rubiano* [Chobil and his Aruban friends] (Booi et al.: 94-96) Gina Henriquez writes about prejudices among ABC islanders during the 1960s when the Niagara ferry connected the islands. In the story, a Curaçaoan ferry passenger stumbles, falls unconscious and is helped by

an Aruban passenger. Upon regaining consciousness, the Curaçaoan repays this kindness by scolding the Aruban.

In Jose Geerman's short story by *Awacero maishi rabo*, one captures a glimpse of the dire straits experienced by the Aruban peasantry in the 1920s. In the story a violent rainstorm is depicted by the author as a disaster for the peasants, but as a cause for celebration by the children, who see it as a relief from the normally dry conditions on the island.

After *Simadan* other literary magazines emerged in Aruba, including *Chuchubi* (1974-1976), and *Brindis* (1974-1976). These had a restricted impact because they published very few issues over a very short period for a very limited audience. *Chuchubi* was a party-oriented publication which was sometimes regarded as a political pamphlet. *Brindis*, edited by Jossy Mansur and Julio Maduro, focused its articles on local music, folklore and cultural activities, in order to promote Aruban cultural identity, the Papiamentu language, social awareness and the consolidation of a new local cultural elite. *Brindis* published poems by Aruban writers such as Digna Laclé, Julio Maduro, Jossy Mansur, Nena Bennet as well as poems by writers from the other islands like J.C. Provence, Calito Nicolaas and Cecilia (Chichi) Evertz from Bonaire.

In the 1970s and 1980s some progressive teachers took on the task of managing *Skol y Comunidad* magazine, which published among other things, reviews on literature for children and adolescents as well as the work of 1970s generation poets. During this period, Jossy Mansur attempted to shift the historical focus of Arubans from the European Netherlands to their own island with his *Evento, historia y personahe* (1979) and *Punto di vista*.

From the 1980s to the 1990s, Frank Williams published his stories written in Papiamentu in *Regalo di fantasia* (1989), *Alma transparente* (1994) and *E yamada* (1997). In the 1990s two Aruban novels appeared written in Dutch: *Tranen om de Ara* (1998) by Jacques Thönissen and *De zomer van Alejandro Bulos* (1999) by Denis Henriquez.

Although the short stories of Jossy Tromp and Frank Williams differ, they exhibit a certain lack of texture and depth. In *Alma transparente* Frank Williams deals with different aspects of human behaviour and the Compa Nanzi trickster. Most of the stories in this collection are situated primarily in the Dakota district, a migrant community in Aruba during the 1950s and 1960s. In his collection of short stories titled *Un anochi y otro cuentanan Arubiano* (2005) Jossy Tromp focuses on the period of the Second World War and the Noord district as well as the rest of the northern part of Aruba. In the stories Tromp uses some words that are used exclusively in that part of the island. Through the stories of both Tromp and Williams we gain some insight into the ways of thinking and behaviour of Arubans in their day to day lives during the

final days of the colonial period. While these stories at times focus on the relations between Arubans and their Dutch colonial masters, they do not explicitly deal with the contradictions of colonial society, as does much of the prose written in other parts of the Caribbean at the time. From a historical point of view, however, these stories provide important fictional accounts of life on Aruba during a period that remains largely undocumented in the history books.

In 2004 the Papiamentu prose and poetry anthology *Bentana Habri* was published in The Netherlands. This volume launched the work of a new generation Aruban and Antillean authors living as migrants in Europe. Five Aruban writers published ten new short stories there, all of which differ from each other in terms of subject matter, period and location, including Olga Orman's *Campamento durante Pasco* and *Esnan cu no a bolbe*; Richard de Veer's (1929-2014) *Pa cara di*.

The arrival in Aruba of workers from the rest of the Caribbean from the 1930s onward did not immediately give rise to a body of written literature. José Ramón Vicioso from Santo Domingo published his first volume of poetry *Dioramas* in 1938, followed by *Graciela* (1944), *Romance de Pascua de Resurrección y otros the poemas* (1945), *Tríptico del destierro* (1945), *Páginas Arubanas* (1946), *Isla sin bosques* (1964), *Senda de amor* (1966), *Música de Sotavento* (1966), and his final volume *Kadarpélides* (1972). Vicioso left his home every Sunday afternoon for the Sociedad Bolivaria in Oranjestad to share his poetry with other colleagues. His poetry can be best characterised as a profound dialogue with nature. After José Ramón Vicioso, no other immigrant literary figure writing in Spanish has emerged in Aruba.

For the first few decades, English and English-lexifier Creole speaking migrants, while dominant in the refinery workforce, played a lesser role in Aruban literature than they did in Aruban music, perhaps due to the fact that they found themselves somewhat isolated geographically and linguistically on the island (Richardson: 35). It was only in the 1960s-1970s that a new phase commenced for greater participation in Aruban society by second generation immigrants, who began to publish both in Aruba and The Netherlands (Nicolaas: 1990). By the end of the 1970s, the first short story *Distance call* (1978) by Ken Mangroelal and the novel *Witte plaag* (1978) by Angela Matthews appeared. In 1988, Lolita Euson published a volume of mainly religious poetry in the English language titled *Sweet Praises*.

In The Netherlands migrant Aruban writers are making a significant contribution to the survival of Papiamentu literature and are acting as a catalyst for literary cultural activities on the island. In the new millennium, poet Ramon Sharp, dramatist Carmen Herrera, non-fiction writer Yubi Naar and children's author Roland Peterson deserve mention here, inspired in part by the work of writers and poets like Frank Williams, Quito Nicolaas, Dax Hassel, Belén Kock-Marchena, Frida Winklaar and Filomena Wong, who emerged in the 1990s.

Some major breakthroughs have been made in terms of publication in the new millennium: Joan Leslie with *De bloeiende flamboyant* (2007), Irma Grovell with *Kralen uit de Cariben* (2008) and Rosa Arrendell with *Dottie, de kleindochter van de oude slavin* (2008). Only in the short stories of Arrendell does one get a picture of what the migrant experience may have been like on Aruba, including frequent relocations, temporary jobs, exploitation as household servants of the expatriates at the refinery, and coping with life on a minimum wage. Some Netherlands based Aruban writers like Giselle Ecury are writing exclusively in Dutch, while others like Olga Orman, Quito Nicolaas, Frida Winklaar and Joan Leslie are writing both in Papiamentu and Dutch.

To summarize, it can be concluded that while Aruban literature has made great strides forward, Aruban writers and poets, especially those not in the diaspora, tend to be conservative, in the sense that they display a certain reluctance to confront controversial societal issues such as colonialism, racism, gender issues, child abuse, and GLBT issues in their work. Sometimes it seems as if overarching literary currents in the Caribbean area such as Négritude, Antillianité, postcolonialism, feminism and postmodernism haven't as yet had much of an impact on writing in Aruba.

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CARIBBEAN CONCUBINES + NANNIES = NURSERY RHYMES: AN EASTERN CARIBBEAN STUDY

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I have written this article on the subject of concubines and nursery rhymes as the result of reading Frank Martinus Arion's essay *The victory of the concubines and the nannies* in the book *Caribbean creolization: reflections on the cultural dynamics of language, literature, and identity*. Martinus Arion states "Creolization, in the Caribbean at least, is the process of forging new human and cultural identities primarily out of the white and the black races." In other words, Martinus Arion believes creolization in the Caribbean is strongly linked to the mixing of human and cultural features of both European and African descended peoples and it is an ongoing process. Therefore, one's Caribbean-ness depends on how well one is able to adapt culturally rather than one's racial mix.

Creolité has come about as the direct result of daily interaction and cultural fusion of both African and European customs and traditions, with particularly strong influence from the African descended nannies and concubines who passed their African languages, cultures and lifeways down to the children in their care. Martinus Arion believes that European males' sexual infatuation with women of color was evident from the very first days of colonization. Many true accounts have been written in autobiographies that evidence the strong attraction of European descended men to African descended women. Literary works have also presented interracial relationships. For instance, Shakespeare's African character Othello marries Desdemona who is European. David Dabydeen and Benjamin Zephaniah, the editors of the book entitled *Painted love: the literature of interracial love and sex* (2008), compiled the works of different writers dating as far back as the sixteenth century whose work featured interracial relationships. Such celebrated figures as William Shakespeare, George Herbert, Ben Johnson, William Blake, Olaudah Equiano, and John Dryden are among the numerous authors who explored the theme. In many of these works, however, these relationships are stymied or end tragically. To illustrate, Stephen Duck's poem *From Avaro and Amanda* portrays the partners in an interracial couple at odds with each other. The white man Avaro betrays his dark-skinned love Amanda, and sells her as a slave with child in her womb. In E. Pauline Johnson's prose piece *Red girl's reasoning* it is the mestiza Christine who decides to end her

marriage to her European descended husband Charlie whom she discovers harbors racist ideas.

Martinus Arion discusses Cola Debro's novella *My sister the negress* (1935). The young white male protagonist returns home from Europe with one goal in mind: to search for a black woman. He becomes infatuated with a plantation girl who used to be one of his childhood playmates. After several attempts to seduce her, he discovers she is his half sister and he desists from his quest to have her.

Many European men maintained sexual liaisons with African descended women, but very rarely married them, keeping them instead as concubines. Martinus Arion explains that many white men, although married to white women and having children with them, preferred to keep a non-European descended concubine, creating a second household with them and their mixed race children. Francesco Carletti's travel narratives of 1594 exemplify the practice of concubinage during slavery. Carletti reports what he observed on the Cape Verdian island of Santiago:

The Portuguese prefer the black women to their own Portuguese women, convinced as they are that the relationship with these women is less harmful and more joyful because these women are said to be high spirited and healthier. It is, in any case, a true fact that those who are not married to such a woman will try as soon as possible to have such a woman as a concubine. (p. 112)

262

Martinus Arion comments that in Dutch travelogues there are stories of European males cohabiting with African females on the African coast. Some of the relationships may have been consensual, others imposed. A more modern narrative that he mentions is Jean Rhys' *Wide Sargasso Sea* (1966). In that work Antoinette, a white Creole from Jamaica, illustrates the confrontation between the 'pure' vs 'mixed' as Antoinette marries a "pure white" (non-creole) ethnocentric Englishman who spurns her because of her *creolitude*. Antoinette suffers from cultural ambivalence; rejected by African descended Jamaicans because of her white skin and refused by the "pure whites" due to her creole heritage, she is denied "a place" and goes mad. This novel is a chronicle of the life of the author, whose mother was a Creole from Dominica and whose father was a Welshman.

According to Martinus Arion, in many instances the distance was greater between non-creole whites and creole whites than between creole whites and Creoles of color. European descended Creoles could easily mingle with African descended Creoles because they shared the same culture, customs and traditions. They sang the same songs, played the same games, ate similar foods, and were in all likelihood all raised by non-European descended mothers or nannies. Whereas, the "pure whites", having been bred and raised in Europe, had a different set of cultural constructions that was alien to their white Caribbean-born counterparts. They found it difficult to assimilate to the creole whites' ways and manners. This was in part due to the feeling of racial

superiority on the part of the European-born whites who looked down on those born in the Antilles. Psychologist and writer Frantz Fanon (1925-1961) analyzes the psyche behind racial superiority and inferiority in his *Black skin, white masks* (1952). The writer faults the colonizers for instilling in their colonial subjects a sense of worthlessness and belittlement. He contends that:

“All colonized people – in other words, people in whom an inferiority complex has taken root, whose local cultural originality has been committed to the grave – position themselves in relation to the civilizing language: i.e., the metropolitan culture. The more the colonized has assimilated the cultural values of the metropolis, the more he will have escaped the bush. The more he rejects his blackness and the bush, the whiter he will become.” (pp. 2-3)

The Caribbean mentality has been plagued by inferiority complexes encouraged by the colonizers. For a Eurocentric frame of mind, dark skin color and creole languages and cultures are objects of contempt. Thus, people of color aspire to “whiten” their bloodlines by marrying and/or having children with someone who is white, thereby affording themselves with the opportunity to “improve” their race [and opportunities] through their mixed race children. In other words, European descended people pursued African descended mates for sexual purposes while African descended people sought out European descended partners in order to move closer to the white pole of the racial continuum.

In terms of language and tradition, in mixed marriages and/or matches between Dutch men and women from Pernambuco (Brazil), the culture of the colored female was dominant. Martinus Arion adds that Charles Ralph Boxer asserts in *Race relations in the Portuguese colonial empire, 1415-1825*, that Dutch men tended to identify with their creole wives’ or concubines’ religion and country rather than their own. Consequently, they would learn the creole language and would use it as the means of communication with their colored wives or concubines. In addition, they preferred their women’s culture and customs to their own and would quickly adapt to them. Many visitors from the mother country observed with alarm that the children of creole whites were rapidly losing both their European language and culture. That is, they were becoming ‘native’. Biological creolization subsequently was accompanied by cultural creolization.

Martinus Arion argues that the strongest influences in the creolization process undeniably came from the traditions of African descended people rather than from those of European descended people, who would rather think otherwise. For instance, he faults the famous writer Rudyard Kipling (1865-1936) with appropriating rhymes in his writings without allotting due credit to the non-European nannies who sung them and may have authored them as well. To add insult to injury, Martinus Arion points out that the *Encyclopedia Britannica* refers to Kipling as having possessed “a genuine

sense of a civilizing mission that required every Englishman, or more broadly, every white man, to bring European culture to the heathen natives of the uncivilized world” (Martinus Arion: 117).

Martinus Arion dispells the myth that cultural influence in creolization was predominantly mono-directional from European to African. The plantation owners in the big house depended on the plantation workforce in the slave quarters for their economic development, progress and social mobility. In spite of the brutally coercive methods that they used to enforce their dominant posturing, the big houses were totally dependent on the little houses surrounding them not only for their upkeep, but for the care of their children as well.

Martinus Arion describes how people of African descent maintained their values, religion and beliefs and passed them on to their creole offspring despite the imposition of the “dominant” white culture. Black creole children played with the white creole children and passed their traditions on to them too. Thus African and African influenced language, songs, and rhymes found their way into European descended mouths. Language was moving from the fields into the big house and not the other way around, and African descended women and children were pivotal agents in this phenomenon. Strong evidence for the spread of African influenced language practices to people of European descent in the Caribbean is the fact that the Afro-Caribbean Creole Papiamentu rapidly became the language used by all sectors of Curaçaoan in their day to day activities from at least the 18th century onward, and Papiamentu continues to be the main language used by Curaçaoans of both African and European descent.

As suggested earlier, children play a pivotal role in the phenomena of language and culture spread. Children who were being cared for by the black female slaves learned nursery rhymes sung to them as lullabies, and clapping songs for entertainment. These nursery rhymes and songs filtered up to the big house where other siblings and relatives would pick them up. Songs and rhymes tend to be catchy and one may inadvertently find oneself singing them or humming their tune. Martinus Arion suggests that while African descended women fed the European descended babies, so that their white mothers could keep their firm breasts, they were also feeding them their language, customs, beliefs, traditions and stories. These children would often flee from the boring, quiet setting of the big house to join the hustle and bustle of joyful chants, songs and games of their black playmates in the slave quarters. In many cases, the masters’ children’s African nannies were their fathers’ paramours and their offspring their half siblings. Under such conditions, African cultural influences are inevitable and undeniable.

Many nursery rhymes, popular songs, performances and games that were thought to be exclusively of Germanic origin have now been found to be rooted in African traditions as well and to have come into popular usage in Curaçao via Papiamentu. These fall

into several categories, including handclapping games, bedtime songs, initiation into courtship games, drinking songs, seduction songs, etc. Rose Mary Allen asserts in *Rapping, globalization and authenticity: Curaçaoan young people negotiating “postcolonial” identities in an everyday setting of complexity* that the Afro-Caribbean creole language Papiamentu emerged as the result of the mixing of different ethnicities and by overcoming racial divisions, to become an important element in the identity of all Curaçaoans. Children play a significant role in language maintenance. Those few children in Curaçao who do not learn Papiamentu at home almost invariably end up learning it on the streets or school from their peers as a second language.

It is often through music and song that children carry on the legacies of their elders. To illustrate, Martinus Arion traces a famous nursery rhyme in English to an Afro-Caribbean origin in Papiamentu:

Eene meene mute
Tempo de gruta
Tempo de kaza
Eene meene mute
Es debas

[Girls, Boys many
Time to court
Time to marry
Girls, Boys many
Down there]

265

Martinus Arion explains that the origins of this rhyme can be found in the secretly coded conversations among slaves aboard ship who were separated above or below deck, according to their gender. He believes the verse “down there” refers to the men below deck. Another related rhyme in English seems to capture the moment of a slave auction:

Eena, Meena, Mason,
Broke a little bason
How much will it be?
Half a crown to half the town;
Out goes she.

According to West Indies researcher and folklorist Alan Lomax, children's songs in the Caribbean reflect varied influences, because throughout centuries the colonies shifted in ownership to different colonial powers, such as the French, English, Spanish and Dutch. Lomax believes, however, that whatever European influences might have been brought to bear, the primary source remains "black transformations of West African ... structures" (p. x). Lomax discovered a wealth of material in his research on children's songs and games on a number of islands, including Tobago, St. Lucia, Dominica, and Curaçao. The folklorist explains African linguistic and cultural commonalities among them in historical terms. He reminds us that the majority of the population of each of these islands "had the same experience" – they had come from Africa.

Brown girl in the ring, a very popular game in Trinidad & Tobago, is not only sung but also performed with showmanship, coordination and agility. It is a hand clapping ring game that is played among preteens who are discovering their interest for the opposite sex. It has been considered a precursor to adult courtship; much like an icebreaking experience. In the game, players form a ring holding hands, and one of them stands in the middle of the ring and begins skipping or walking around to the song. He/she is then asked to "show his/her motion" The child in the center gives his/her best dancing performance. When asked, "show me your partner", he/she chooses a friend to dance with in the circle.

To conclude, their attraction to African descended women led European men to maintain interracial relationships with them and bear mulatto children who most probably played and mingled with their white half siblings. The daily interaction of both white and black Caribbean children influenced and enriched the both the African and European descended creole child's culture. A European descended creole child would get along much better with an African descended creole child than with a "pure white" child whose upbringing was European. The nannies and concubines who nursed and entertained these children taught them rhymes, songs and games with African roots. People of other ethnicities eventually enriched these Caribbean creole cultural traditions with their influences as well.

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TRANSGRESSING BOUNDARIES IN EDUCATION

ZULLEN WE BIJ ALLE VAKKEN AANDACHT BESTEDEN AAN TAAL?

RYMA VAN DER LINDE

Taalvaardigheid van leerlingen verschilt: daar kunnen docenten niet omheen. Steeds meer docenten hebben behoefte aan tips en begeleiding om onderwijs op hoog niveau te kunnen blijven geven, maar ook om leerlingen te helpen met hun taalvaardigheid. Daarbij moet overigens rekening gehouden worden met het feit dat het centraal examen Nederlands vanaf 2015 inhoudelijk anders zal zijn. Dit zal gevolgen hebben voor de inrichting van het onderwijs bij het vak Nederlands, met name voor het subdomein ‘samenvatten’, dat bij leesvaardigheid hoort. De opdrachten zullen voor de havo op 3F-niveau zitten en voor het vwo op 4F. Door de invoering van de referentieniveaus taal in de centrale examens Nederlands vmbo, havo en vwo zullen vanaf het examenjaar 2015 de prestatie-eisen die hieruit voortvloeien medebepalend zijn voor de normering. Als we naar de referentieniveaus taal kijken, dan betekent het dat kennis van abstracte taal een vereiste is. Voor docenten betekent dit dat bij alle vakken zowel aandacht besteed moet worden aan de inhoud van de les als aan de taalvaardigheid van de leerlingen. Docenten kunnen dus niet alleen op het vak Nederlands steunen; onderzoek heeft uitgewezen dat taalaanbod, interactie en context essentieel zijn bij het bevorderen van de taalvaardigheid. Per slot van rekening worden bij (bijna) alle vakken teksten in het Nederlands gelezen, de instructietaal is Nederlands, de proefwerken zijn in het Nederlands opgesteld, etc. In alle lessen gebruiken docenten taal als middel om de vakinhouden over te brengen op de leerlingen. Dat betekent dat de leerlingen in principe bij alle vakken de Nederlandse taal op een bepaald niveau moeten beheersen. We moeten verder niet uit het oog verliezen dat de instructies en vragen op de examens in het Nederlands gesteld zijn. De abstracte taal, die op school vereist wordt, vormt voor veel leerlingen een belemmering bij het lezen en begrijpen van schoolboeken. Niet alleen in de taallessen moet gericht gewerkt worden aan de ontwikkeling van schoolse taalvaardigheid, ook in andere vaklessen zijn vernieuwingen wenselijk en mogelijk. Het onderwijs moet anders ingericht worden zodat alle docenten, niet alleen taaldocenten, meehelpen met de ontwikkeling van de schoolse taalvaardigheid van de leerlingen.

In dit artikel wordt er op de taalproblematiek van het eiland ingegaan. In dit kader worden de verschillende didactische benaderingen voor vreemdetaalonderwijs

besproken. Als laatste wordt een aanbeveling ter bevordering van het huidige taalonderwijs in het voortgezet onderwijs gegeven. Deze aanbeveling wordt door middel van een kleinschalig experimenteel onderzoek dat in de Arubaanse context is uitgevoerd, ondersteund en gelegitimeerd.

Het schoolse taalgebruik van leerlingen

Op Aruba is het Nederlands, naast het Papiamentu, een officiële taal. Het is een taal die je op het eiland weinig hoort en het is daarom in taalkundige termen een vreemde taal (VT). De Nederlandse taal horen de leerlingen uitsluitend op school, waar het taalaanbod zeer gering is. De instructietaal is Nederlands, maar vaak gebruiken docenten het Papiamentu om iets te verduidelijken. Dit wordt meestal uit gemakzucht gedaan, omdat de leerlingen niet alleen moeite met Nederlands als instructietaal hebben, maar vooral met de abstracte taal die op school vereist wordt. Hajer en Meestringa (1995)¹ geven het volgende voorbeeld ter illustratie: “Mama drinkt thee. Als ze een suikerklontje in haar theeglaasje gooit, dan lost het op. Maar als de leerling op school komt, wordt dat suikerklontje ‘vaste stof’ genoemd en thee, ‘vloeistof’. Bij scheikunde lost een vaste stof op: er treedt een reactie op. Het abstractieniveau in de les is hoog en het taalgebruik verandert mee. Als de leerlingen geluk hebben, legt de docent het vakperspectief en de bijbehorende vaktermen uit met behulp van diverse proefjes, die ze goed kunnen zien en waarbij ze veel met elkaar praten. Maar in de praktijk zal de grote stap van alledaagse kennis en taal naar vakkennis en vaktaal vaak worden gezet aan de hand van teksten uit het schoolboek.”

Het taalgebruik in vaklessen in het voortgezet onderwijs onderscheidt zich niet alleen in abstractieniveau van het alledaagse taalgebruik. Ook het medium is anders: schrijven en lezen spelen een grotere rol. En de functie is anders: het gaat de docent erom kennis over te dragen en kennis te leren toepassen. Hij of zij heeft die kennis al en legt uit, leest voor, probeert al vragend de leerlingen tot dezelfde inzichten te brengen. Wat doen de leerlingen intussen? Zij lezen, luisteren naar uitleg, beantwoorden vragen als ze een beurt krijgen, nemen soms zelf initiatief om een vraag te stellen, schrijven antwoorden op, overleggen onderling. In het vak Nederlands worden zulke opgaven aangeduid met de term taaltaken: communicatieve situaties waarin op verschillende vaardigheden een beroep wordt gedaan. Het bovenstaande maakt duidelijk dat taalvaardigheid op school niet alleen een kwestie is van woorden en begrippen leren, zinnen formuleren, en zinnen uit de teksten lezen. Het gaat om het functioneel gebruiken van taal in typisch schoolse situaties: een vraag uit het boek lezen, een antwoord in de tekst zoeken, een antwoord opschrijven, in de klassikale bespreking luisteren of dat antwoord goed was, het antwoord zo nodig verbeteren.

¹De citaten in deze alinea's komen uit: Hajer & Meestringa (1995: 19-33).

Leerlingen voor wie het Nederlands niet de moedertaal is, hebben nauwelijks aanknopingspunten als ze zo veel nieuwe begrippen moeten leren in een taal die ze nog aan het verwerven zijn. En de eisen zijn hoog: de stof die de leerlingen in ongeveer acht lessen biologie aangeboden krijgen, moeten ze zo verwerken dat ze op het proefwerk antwoord kunnen geven op vragen als: ‘Wat is een peristaltische beweging?’ en ‘Wat is emulgeren?’ Leerlingen moeten bovendien opsommingen van en relaties tussen begrippen kunnen weergeven. Om de relaties tussen die begrippen te kunnen begrijpen en verklaren, moeten de leerlingen veel algemene schooltaal beheersen, zoals functie, proces, opnemen etc. Die relaties en de uitleg ervan moeten ze halen uit lange en compacte teksten in het biologieboek en de uitleg van de docent. Dit vraagt veel van de taalvaardigheid van leerlingen. En dan laten we de cognitieve complexiteit van het thema nog buiten beschouwing. In dezelfde periode krijgen de leerlingen tientallen andere begrippen aangeboden bij andere vakken. En soms worden bij verschillende vakken dezelfde woorden gebruikt, maar met afwijkende betekenis. Leerlingen ondervinden problemen met het schoolse taalgebruik omdat ze nog te weinig schoolse taalvaardigheid hebben ontwikkeld om zonder problemen het onderwijs te kunnen volgen. Een taal leren kost veel tijd: iedereen die ooit begonnen is een nieuwe taal te leren weet dat het lang duurt voordat je een gesprek ‘op niveau’ kunt voeren over ingewikkelde onderwerpen. Dit geldt ook voor leerlingen van het voortgezet onderwijs. Een kind dat zijn moedertaal leert, is daar jaren mee bezig: het kind is intensief met zijn opvoeders in contact. Dat betekent dat de volwassenen intuïtief hun taalgebruik aanpassen aan het taalniveau van hun kind. Tevens proberen ze in hun eigen taalgebruik net iets gecompliceerdere taalvormen en woorden dan het kind kent toe te passen. Door veel te luisteren en zelf proberen te praten, krijgt het kind met vallen en opstaan het taalsysteem onder de knie. Hoe rijker het taalaanbod van de volwassenen is en hoe gevarieerder de situaties zijn waarin zij het kind terecht laten komen, hoe groter en gevarieerder de taalverwerving van het kind zal zijn.

Bij een T2/VT-verwerving wordt het kind minder intensief geconfronteerd met de taal. Op Aruba wordt thuis meestal een andere taal gesproken dan het Nederlands. Thuis wordt de leerling dus niet met deze vreemde taal geconfronteerd, dit gebeurt voor het eerst op school. Op de kleuterschool wordt het kind nauwelijks geconfronteerd met de eerste basisvaardigheid Nederlands, aangezien daar meestal Papiamentu gesproken wordt. Na twee jaar kleuteronderwijs worden leerlingen in de eerste klas overspoeld met een complex schoolse taalgebruik. Deze leerlingen hebben dus de eerste basisvaardigheid Nederlands niet naar behoren of onvoldoende ontwikkeld, terwijl er op de basisschool wel van hen verwacht wordt dat ze kunnen overschakelen naar complexer schoolse taalgebruik. Deze T2/VT-leerders hebben voldoende tijd nodig om de eerste basisvaardigheid Nederlands (DAT= dagelijks algemene taal) te ontwikkelen in de kleuterklas, om daarna ‘over te schakelen’ naar complexer schoolse taalgebruik.

(CAT= cognitief abstracte taalvaardigheid). Het taalaanbod moet daarbij aangepast worden aan het taalniveau van het kind. Volgens Hajer & Meestringa (1995) gaat de ontwikkeling van de schoolse taalvaardigheid gepaard met de ontwikkeling van de eerste basisvaardigheid Nederlands: daar kan in het onderwijs goed op ingespeeld worden. Anders bestaat de kans dat de leerling ‘alleen met een DAT-zwemband om in het CAT-meer wordt gegooid.’

Hajer & Meestringa (1995) brengen in dit kader ook het volgende ter sprake: “Het is de vraag hoe leerlingen het nu, zowel op de basisschool als in het voortgezet onderwijs, overleven gezien het feit dat de lessen Nederlands op moedertaalmethodes zijn gebaseerd, waarin aandacht voor schoolse taalvaardigheid en tweede-taalaspecten grotendeels ontbreekt.” In deze methodes wordt weinig gerichte steun aangeboden; weinig oefeningen zijn afgestemd op T2/VT-aanbod en op feedback.

De leerlingen die naar het voortgezet onderwijs gaan, zijn nog allemaal de Nederlandse taal aan het bijleren. Ze worden bij diverse vakken met nieuwe vormen van taalgebruik geconfronteerd, waaronder vaktalen. Daartoe moeten ze nieuwe vormen van taalvaardigheid ontwikkelen. Bepalend voor hun succes is daarbij de basis van taalvaardigheid waarop ze verder kunnen bouwen.

Als leerkracht, ouder, opvoeder kun je concluderen dat veel leerlingen een achterstand in hun taalontwikkeling hebben als ze overgaan van het basisonderwijs naar het voortgezet onderwijs. Hierdoor hebben ze niet alleen moeite met het vak Nederlands, maar ook met de zaakvakken. Deze achterstand hoeft niet slechts te maken te hebben met een gebrekkige basis van taalvaardigheid in het Nederlands, het kan ook met intelligentie of het verschil in taalaanleg te maken hebben. Toch kun je een kind niet “minder intelligent” noemen of labelen met “geen taalaanleg” als hij of zij minder taalvaardig is, want naast intelligentie en taalaanleg spelen ook andere aspecten een rol: of het kind introvert of extravert is (bij een extravert kind krijg je meer reactie waar je feedback op kunt geven), de leerstijl en interesse van leerlingen (een leerling die graag leest, krijgt waarschijnlijk meer Nederlands onder ogen dan leerlingen die graag sporten) of het milieu waarin ze opgroeien, de etniciteit en culturele oriëntatie. Veel van die beïnvloedende factoren liggen buiten het bereik van de school. Voor het onderwijs is het vooral belangrijk de voorwaarden te scheppen die van belang zijn voor een gunstige taalontwikkeling, omdat die voorwaarden voor een deel binnen school te beïnvloeden zijn.

Hoe proberen docenten de taalproblematiek op te lossen?²

Vaak hoor je docenten, ook tijdens rapportvergaderingen, de volgende opmerkingen maken: de leerstof is voor de leerlingen te lastig; deze sluit niet aan bij het niveau van het kind; het contact met de leerling verloopt stroef: de leerlingen doen niet mee in de les; hun werkstukken zitten vol taalfouten en zijn moeilijk te begrijpen. Het duurt vaak

²Deze alinea's zijn gebaseerd op Hajer & Meestringa (1995: 42-45).

enige tijd voordat docenten de oorzaak van haperende lessen niet alleen bij de leerlingen zoeken, maar ook het eigen lesgeven als mogelijke probleefactor erkennen. Wanneer ze bij slechts weinig leerlingen problemen constateren, is hun reactie soms: deze leerlingen horen niet in deze klas thuis. Zo worden leerlingen van het vwo naar de havo verwezen, de havo-leerling naar de mavo etc. Pas wanneer meer leerlingen in de klas moeite blijken te hebben met de taal, ligt het voor de docent meer voor de hand het eigen onderwijs onder de loep te nemen.

De schoolboekteksten vormen een struikelblok. Ze zijn vaak te lang, te ingewikkeld geformuleerd, te compact. Bovendien blijkt de in de schoolboekteksten veronderstelde voorkennis bij de leerling nogal eens te ontbreken. In dat geval moeten docenten in de les veel tijd besteden aan het uitleggen van de teksten, waardoor programma's niet in de beoogde periode doorlopen kunnen worden. De docent kiest er dan voor om het schoolboek selectief te gebruiken: hij geeft aantekeningen of mondelinge uitleg en gebruikt het schoolboek alleen bij oefeningen. De leerlingen kunnen de teksten in het boek niet gebruiken bij het leren en de vraag is of de leerlingen wel opschrijven wat de docent dicteert, want aantekeningen worden vaak onjuist geïnterpreteerd. Andere docenten beperken het aantal teksten dat ze gebruiken en daarmee de leerstof. Het is niet nodig elk zinsdeel te begrijpen om hoofdzaken uit een tekst te kunnen halen. Wel wordt het referentiekader van de leerlingen minder uitgebreid, waardoor nieuwe teksten problemen opleveren. Weer andere docenten gaan teksten herschrijven: ze halen de lastige woorden en zinnen eruit. Het is tijdrovend en bovendien moeten leerlingen op den duur toch met lastiger teksten aan de slag gaan om aan de examens deel te kunnen nemen.

Niet meedoen in de les wordt vaak gelabeld met: ze zijn niet gewend om actief mee te praten in de les; leerlingen lezen de opdrachten niet goed genoeg. Docenten dwingen leerlingen om actief mee te doen in de les, maar ze blijven klassikaal en frontaal lesgeven. Ze geven vaak geen groepswork of individuele opdrachten. Het contact met de leerlingen wordt minder intensief, waardoor docenten minder goed kunnen nagaan wat leerlingen van de leerstof begrijpen. Daarnaast wordt er zo minder gelegenheid gecreëerd om te praten over de leerstof. Als docenten merken dat leerlingen zich mondeling of schriftelijk slecht kunnen uitdrukken, stellen ze vaak vragen die slechts korte antwoorden behoeven. Vragen waarbij de leerlingen iets moeten uitleggen, worden niet meer gesteld met het gevolg dat het zelf verwoorden van de stof vermeden wordt. Op proefwerken worden dan ook meestal meerkeuzevragen gesteld. We moeten niet over het hoofd zien dat het lezen van meerkeuzevragen andere, soms hogere eisen aan de taalvaardigheid van leerlingen stelt: de antwoordmogelijkheden verschillen vaak in nuances van elkaar. Weer andere docenten kiezen er juist voor om open vragen te stellen die de leerlingen al eerder als oefenvragen hebben gehad. Het nadeel hierbij is dat een dergelijke reproductie geen inzicht geeft in de mate waarin leerlingen de stof

begrepen hebben. Andere docenten beoordelen alleen op inhoud: de formuleringen worden dan buiten beschouwing gelaten. Nadeel hiervan is dat men vaak moet gissen naar wat een leerling bedoelt.

Verschillende didactische benaderingen bij T2/VT-onderwijs

In het T2-onderwijs of vreemdetaalonderwijs (VTO) zijn verschillende didactische benaderingen mogelijk. Volgens Appel en Vermeer (1994) zijn er vijf kernbenaderingen: grammatica-vertaal, audiolinguaal, communicatief, receptief en handelingspsychologisch. Hieronder staat een korte samenvatting van de verschillende benaderingen volgens Appel en Vermeer (1994). Hieronder worden zowel de voor- als nadelen op een rijtje gezet.

Grammatica-vertaalbenadering (GV)

Deze benadering is traditioneel de bekendste. Het komt erop neer dat cursisten zich de grammatica van de taal eigen moeten maken en moeten leren vertalen; het idee is dat bestudering van grammaticale regels en tweetalige woordenlijsten leidt tot onthouden, het beruchte ‘rijtjesleren’. De regels van de taal worden expliciet aangeboden in min of meer traditionele termen. Er liggen geen specifieke opvattingen over taalleren aan ten grondslag. In een methode die deze benadering als uitgangspunt heeft, komen we vaak de volgende knelpunten tegen: de uitleg van de grammatica laat veel te wensen over en de voorbeeldzinnen zijn nogal onnatuurlijk en kunstmatig. Vanwege de presentatie van grammaticale regels in een grammaticale terminologie, los van concreet taalgebruik, lijken leergangen die volgens deze aanpak werken alleen geschikt voor cursisten die geïnteresseerd zijn in een abstracte, analytische benadering van taal. Vaak zijn dit ook cursisten die ervaring hebben in het leren van een tweede of vreemde taal (VT). VT-onderwijs is zo namelijk eerder een taal bestuderen dan een taal leren gebruiken. Door opzet en uitwerking is GV-benadering per definitie ongeschikt voor jonge T2/VT-leerders.

Audio-linguale benadering (AL)

Deze benadering is voortgekomen als reactie op de grammatica-vertaalbenadering. Voor wat de taal betreft wordt er aangesloten bij de structurele taalwetenschap. Die beschouwt taal als een systeem van structureel met elkaar verbonden elementen, op alle niveaus van taal, van het fonologische tot het syntactische niveau. Voor de structurele taalwetenschap is de mondelinge taal primair. De nadruk ligt bij de AL-benadering dus op gesproken taal: het leren communiceren in de T2/VT. In de AL-benadering wordt taalgebruik gezien als de uitdrukking van een aantal gewoontes die mensen zich hebben eigen gemaakt. Deze visie op taalgebruik is gebaseerd op de *behaviouristische psychologie* die menselijk gedrag in het algemeen zo probeert te verklaren. Leren is in deze aanpak het zich eigen maken van bepaalde gewoontes, en

in het geval van taalonderwijs zijn dat bepaalde taalpatronen of zinnen. Dat gebeurt vooral doordat correcte taaluitingen positief worden gewaardeerd. Verder wordt bij deze aanpak veel belang gehecht aan imitatie als eerste stap in het leren van een respons en herhaling van de respons om er echt een gewoonte van te maken: een bepaald correct patroon moet, vanaf het begin, als het ware worden ingeslepen, de zogenaamde *drills*. De T2/VT is in principe de instructietaal. De nadruk ligt op uitspraak en zinspatronen en minder op woordenschat en in de leerstof is er veel meer aandacht voor de belangrijkste contrasten tussen de moedertaal en de T2/VT. Een voorwaarde hierbij is veel herhaling aanbieden, want pas dan zou het voor de taalleerder mogelijk zijn om de geoefende patronen ‘automatisch’ te produceren. Maar dit type onderwijs is weinig motiverend door de voortdurende herhalingen van de aangeboden patronen. Ook zijn bijvoorbeeld de dialogen in een AL-methode kunstmatig en verre van reëel. Als de taalleerder moet gaan spreken leidt dat niet onmiddellijk tot taalproductie.

Communicatieve benadering (C)

De GV-benadering kiest voor code (de taalvorm), terwijl de AL-benadering pretendeert cursisten te leren communiceren. Maar AL-onderwijs leidt niet altijd tot communicatieve vaardigheid in een T2/VT. De communicatieve benadering kiest ongetwijfeld voor communicatie. Deze benadering is een reactie geweest op de AL-benadering. Een uitgangspunt van deze benadering is: een taalleerder leert een taal door zo natuurlijk mogelijk te communiceren in die taal. Volgens dit uitgangspunt moet iemand een taal leren zoals hij zijn moedertaal leert: door directe en spontane interactie in die tweede taal. De eerste taal van de cursist wordt niet gebruikt, er is weinig schriftelijk materiaal, en de mondelinge taalvaardigheid wordt vooral ontwikkeld in vraag-antwoord interactie tussen docent en leerling. Aangenomen wordt dat de regels van de taal door cursisten impliciet zouden worden afgeleid. In veel communicatieve methodes wordt echter veel grammatica in teksten en oefeningen verwerkt om het verwervingsproces te ondersteunen. Het andere uitgangspunt is dat iemand een tweede taal leert door o.a. de taalvormen en de regels voor het taalgebruik of de communicatieve gewoontes te leren. T2/VT-leerders moeten niet alleen weten wat bv. een grammaticaal correcte vraagzin is, maar zij moeten ook in feitelijke taalgebruikssituaties de weg kunnen vragen, in een restaurant iets kunnen bestellen enz. Deze theorie zet zich af tegen de *Chomskyaanse visie* op de linguïstische competentie die beperkt is tot de structureel linguïstische aspecten van taal, en waarin taalgebruik buiten beschouwing blijft.

In communicatieve methodes worden cursisten met bepaalde taalgebruikssituaties geconfronteerd die zij vaak moeten naspelen. De pretentie daarbij is veelal dat dit de cursisten voorbereidt op reëel communicatief gedrag. Hoe reëel is echter een in de klas

nagespeelde situatie? Bovendien vereist het meespelen altijd nog wel degelijk inlevingsvermogen. Dergelijke communicatieve oefeningen zijn niet geschikt voor alle typen leerders. Bovendien beheersen de cursisten de T2/VT nog maar ten dele, ze zullen elkaar deficiënt taalaanbod leveren. De docent kan niet zorgen voor modelling en expansie, omdat hij daardoor de communicatieve benadering zou doorbreken. T2/VT-leerders zijn dan afhankelijk van gericht taalaanbod om voorlopige hypothesen te formuleren. Het stellen van correcte hypothesen wordt met een deficiënt taalaanbod bemoeilijkt. Een ander nadeel is dat een puur communicatieve aanpak het gevaar met zich meebrengt dat de aandacht te sterk gericht blijft op communicatie in het algemeen als globale vaardigheid, terwijl verschillende aspecten of onderdelen van taalvaardigheid te weinig aan bod komen. Een puur communicatieve aanpak impliceert dan ook dat van T2/VT-leerders te snel taalproductie wordt verwacht, terwijl dezelfde T2/VT-verwervers nog niet beschikken over receptieve vaardigheden.

De receptieve benadering

Bij het leren van een taal wordt de nadruk gelegd op het leren praten. Dat er nog zoiets is als het leren begrijpen, de receptieve vaardigheid in een T2/VT, wordt over het hoofd gezien. Dat is zo omdat het begrijpen een meer verborgen activiteit is. Zolang leerlingen op een aantal standaardfrases in de klas adequaat reageren, blijft vaak verhuuld dat hun receptieve vaardigheden betrekkelijk gering zijn. Bovendien kan een T2/VT-leerder vaak op basis van lexicale en contextuele informatie de betekenis van een uiting reconstrueren. Waarom is taalbegrip voor T2/VT-leerders zo belangrijk? Ten eerste omdat taalbegrip voorafgaat aan taalproductie. Van receptief naar productief, eerst begrijpen en daarna zelf produceren. Ze begrijpen veel van de taal die ze horen, maar kunnen zelf nog niets of niet veel zeggen. Ze moeten hierbij niet gedwongen worden om te praten, maar zullen langzaam maar zeker, net als bij het proces van eerstetaalverwerving, gaan praten. Dit laatste argument wordt ondersteund door het feit dat veel T2/VT-leerders moeite hebben met het feit dat ze een taal moeten spreken voordat ze daar cognitief en emotioneel klaar voor zijn. Denk maar aan het feit dat ze zich ervan bewust zijn dat ze fouten maken en dat ze zich ervoor schamen. Een receptieve benadering is in deze wat vriendelijker. VT-leerders moeten niet zomaar in het diepe gegooid worden. Een ander argument is dat mensen veel meer woorden begrijpen dan ze kunnen produceren. Dat betekent dat veel woorden alleen maar receptief aangeboden moeten worden. Niet elk woord hoeft dus geproduceerd te worden. Ten slotte heeft een receptieve benadering het voordeel dat de T2/VT-leerder de receptiestrategieën ook buiten het klaslokaal kan toepassen. Denk maar aan het lezen van een boek of het omgaan met dagelijkse taalsituaties, waarbij de T2/VT-leerder de kans krijgt om ook met de productiestrategieën te gaan oefenen: wat hij receptief goed beheerst, gaat hij productief gebruiken in verschillende taalsituaties die weer meer taalaanbod zullen ontlokken. Bovendien is het communicatieve gehalte van

oefeningen in een receptieve methode vrij laag: er vindt geen natuurlijke, betekenisvolle interactie plaats. Deze benadering verschilt van de andere genoemde benaderingen omdat zij in feite geen totaalbenadering is. Zij focust op taalbegrip, een deel van taalvaardigheid. De TPR (Asher, 1980) is hier een voorbeeld van. Bij de TPR is de basisgedachte dat het leren van een taal moet worden verbonden aan fysieke activiteiten. Trouwens, Asher geeft zelf aan dat TPR het beste gebruikt kan worden i.c.m. andere methodes en technieken.

De handelingspsychologische benadering (HP)

TPR heeft een handelingspsychologische basis. TPR gaat uit van de koppeling van handelingen aan taal, en de veronderstelling is dat door die koppeling de waargenomen taal beter wordt verankerd in het geheugen. TPR gaat louter om fysieke handelingen van leerders op basis van opdrachten terwijl een HP-benadering van taal meestal betrekking heeft op allerlei handelingen zoals het afleiden van de betekenis van een onbekend woord uit de context en het opzoeken in een woordenboek. Of een woord “googlen”. De T2/VT-leerder leert op morfosyntactisch niveau welke positie het onbekende woord binnen de zin heeft. Op semantisch niveau tracht de leerder de betekenis van het onbekende woord af te leiden uit de inhoud van de omringende tekst. Op lexicaal niveau gaat de leerder na welke informatie het onbekende woord zelf oplevert. Uitgangspunt is dat het leren raden van een onbekend woord uit de context van groot belang is voor uitbreiding van de woordenschat, juist ook buiten de directe taallessen. Evenals de receptieve benadering is de HP-benadering een deelbenadering in die zin dat zij mogelijkheden aangeeft voor oefeningen en werkvormen in een T2/VT-methode.

279

Conclusie

Als we naar T2/VT-methodes kijken, kunnen we concluderen dat een T2/VT-methode op verschillende benaderingen gebaseerd moet zijn. Dat lijkt Hajer & Meestringa (1995) ook een goede zaak: “Het vergroot namelijk de kans dat de leerstof frequent en op een gevarieerde manier aan bod komt, zodat ook verschillende T2-leerders optimaal van het onderwijs kunnen profiteren.” Maar hoe kan nu het beste een vreemde taal gedoceerd worden? Die vraag is nog steeds moeilijk te beantwoorden. Er bestaan geen waterdichte antwoorden aangezien er ook leerders zijn die een vreemde taal zullen leren ongeacht de didactische benadering. Bovendien spelen de voorkennis en ervaring van de T2/VT-leerder, de motivatie om de nieuwe taal te leren of de leerstijl van de T2/VT-leerder een rol. De kunst is om een balans te vinden tussen deze benaderingen. Ondertussen zijn nieuwe theorieën en ontwikkelingen in de vreemdetalendidactiek nog in volle gang. Er is de afgelopen jaren veel over taalgericht vakonderwijs geschreven. Volgens Hajer (2011) zullen de meeste VT-leerders baat hebben bij taalgericht vakonderwijs: een inhoudsgerichte benadering van het onderwijs. De inspiratiebron is

de *content-based approach*: de vakinhoud wordt zo gebracht en verwerkt dat de leerlingen zich beschermd voelen om samen de (taal)obstakels in de lessen te overwinnen en zo de leerstof te verwerken. Lightbown & Spada (2006) ondersteunen ook deze benadering: “*Many questions have been raised by the research that has been done to test the hypotheses that the different proposals represent. Although there is still much work to do, it seems evident that proposals representing an almost exclusive focus on form alone are not recommended. Approaches that integrate attention to form within communicative and content-based interaction receive the most support from classroom research...Classroom data from a number of studies offer support for the view that form-focused instruction and corrective feedback provided within the context of communicative and content-based programmes are more effective in promoting second language learning than programmes that are limited to a virtually exclusive emphasis on comprehension, fluency or accuracy alone.*”

Taalgericht vakonderwijs (TVO) is eind jaren negentig ontstaan in een tijd dat vakken afzonderlijk op het rooster stonden met een centrale en sturende rol voor vakdocenten. De inspiratiebron is de *content-based approach* die in Noord-Amerika en Australië kan bogen op jarenlange ervaring en ontwikkeling, maar ook in Europa onder de naam *content and language integrated* de nodige aandacht krijgt. In Vlaanderen spreekt men in dit verband over begeleid zelfstandig leren en activerende werkvormen. Waar het in beide landen vooral om draait is: meer eigen verantwoordelijkheid van leerlingen en zinnvollere opdrachten die beter aansluiten bij de praktijk van alledag (Hajer, 2011). Volgens het handboek taalgericht vakonderwijs (2011) biedt “TVO nieuwe vormen van leren en het biedt het onderwijs Nederlands nieuwe kansen omdat zij goed aansluiten bij een eigentijdse en meer interactieve, betekenisvolle en strategieoriënterende taaldidactiek. Voor het benutten van die kansen is het echter noodzakelijk de rol van de betrokken docenten opnieuw te bepalen. Van docenten in alle vakken wordt immers verwacht dat zij (ook) taalleerkrachten zijn”. Volgens Hajer en Meestringa (2011) is het uitgangspunt van TVO oftewel *content-based approach* dat de leerlingen bij alle vakken de ‘taal van het vak’ mondeling en schriftelijk moeten (leren) gebruiken om leerstof te verwerven, om die te verwerken en te laten zien wat ze ermee kunnen. TVO is onderwijs waarin, naast vakdoelen, de benodigde taalvaardigheid expliciet is benoemd. Die vak- en taaldoelen worden simultaan ontwikkeld via onderwijs dat contextrijk is, dat vol interactiemogelijkheden zit en waarbinnen de benodigde taalsteun aangeboden wordt. De leerstof wordt qua didactiek en taalaanbod (soms inhoudelijk) aangepast om de (vak)taalverwerving te stimuleren. De vakdocent verzorgt de lessen zelf, na een (grondige) voorbereiding met behulp van taal- en vakspecialisten. Inhoud, taal en leerstrategie zijn altijd te onderscheiden en ze worden geplaatst in het kader van het uitvoeren van bepaalde taken.

Over vak- en taaldoelen staat in het handboek TVO (2011) het volgende: “... onderwijs waarin naast vakdoelen de benodigde taalvaardigheid expliciet is benoemd. Het sluit aan bij andere didactische ontwikkelingen, zoals activerende didactiek, betekenisvol leren en samenwerkend leren, maar heeft als onderscheidend kenmerk de simultane opbouw van taalvaardigheid en vakspecifieke inzichten en vaardigheden.” Het volgende wordt in dit handboek over taal in het onderwijs vermeldt: “Bij het onderwijs in andere taalvakken staat de inhoud van dat vak voorop, de kennis en vaardigheden die onderdeel van het vak uitmaken. Die druk je uit op een manier die past bij dat vak: een vakregister. Dat bestaat uit vaktermen en uit de manieren waarop de taal-denkrelaties die bij het vak horen verwoord worden in bepaalde tekstsoorten (proefverslagen, instructies, essays) die aan die conventies verbonden zijn. M.a.w.: je spreekt en schrijft over het vak zoals het binnen het vak hoort (“als ik op A druk, maak ik de speed 10 hoger” – informatica). Bij taalgericht vakonderwijs wordt er in relatie tot de vakinhoud ook gelet op de benodigde taalontwikkeling. Er is oog voor de taal die de leerlingen meebrengen bij de start van een nieuw onderwerp, voor de mogelijke problemen die de nieuwe inhoud en taal kunnen opleveren. Ook is het leren van de vaktaal mede een doel van de lessen. Omdat TVO bij alle lessen ingezet kan worden, en niet alleen bij taal- of steunlessen, is het een krachtig onderdeel van het taalbeleid van een school. Mochten vakdocenten daar onvoldoende uitkomen, dan is er werk aan de winkel voor het onderwijs in taal, eventueel via steunlessen of workshops waarin de leerlingen vanuit taalperspectief bijvoorbeeld naar vakteksten leren kijken om die beter te leren lezen en begrijpen.

Als laatste staat er in het bovengenoemde handboek TVO ook een stuk over aandacht voor vaktaal: “Leerlingen doen op school kennis en vaardigheden op door daarover te denken, al pratend, lezend en schrijvend. Zonder aandacht voor de verwerving van die vaktaal kunnen leerlingen leerstof makkelijk verkeerd begrijpen. Docenten die dat merken, zijn in eerste instantie geneigd de uitleg te herhalen, of in eenvoudiger woorden aan te bieden en vaktaal te vermijden, waardoor ze in feite het niveau van het vak verlagen. Docenten zijn soms ook geneigd taalfouten en moeizame formuleringen van leerlingen door de vingers te zien: ‘ze zullen het wel begrepen hebben’. Het is beter leerlingen extra kansen te bieden om de vaktaal te gebruiken. Dit kan gedaan worden door in te gaan op wat ze zeggen en schrijven, ze te motiveren en ze te vragen nauwkeurig te formuleren, ze feedback te geven op hun taalgebruik en ze te helpen met de aanpak van het vak en de taal van het vak. Kortom, TVO verzorgen.

Aanbeveling

Hier volgt een kleinschalig experimenteel onderzoek dat in de Arubaanse context is uitgevoerd. Het onderzoek van Van der Linde & Maduro (2011) ondersteunt en

legitimeert TVO. Dit onderzoek werd in het kader van tekstanalyse en tekstbegrip uitgevoerd en heeft zich gericht op taalsteun (één van de pijlers van TVO), toegespitst op begrijpelijk taalgebruik. Er werd tijdens dit kleinschalige experimentele onderzoek aan een groep zwakke tot zeer zwakke lezers in de eerste klas van een havo/vwo-school een traditionele begrijpend-leesles gegeven (Trad.). Aan de andere groep zwakke tot zeer zwakke lezers werd een TVO-les met taalsteun gegeven, toegespitst op begrijpelijk taalgebruik (Exp). Na de gegeven les werd een toets afgenomen. Een week na de gegeven les werd een andere toets afgenomen waarbij ook de inhoud van de aangeboden les getoetst werd. Uit onderstaande tabellen en het staafdiagram is af te leiden dat de experimentele groep (Exp.) telkens hoger scoort dan de traditionele groep (Trad.). Ook na een week scoort de experimentele groep hoger. Dit onderzoek toont aan dat taalsteun, toegespitst op begrijpelijk taalgebruik, een significante verbetering op de tekstbegripresultaten van de leerlingen heeft. Taalsteun, *toegespitst* op begrijpelijk taalgebruik, heeft wel degelijk invloed op de resultaten van begrijpend lezen van de leerlingen. En dit door alleen maar 20 minuten van een TVO-les te hebben genoten. In dit onderzoek wordt TVO aanbevolen voor het bevorderen van de (schoolse) taalvaardigheid van de leerlingen.

Tabel I Onderzoeksresultaten (IBM SPSS 19)

Traditioneel= zonder TVO-gebruik; EXP= experimentele groep, met TVO-gebruik; AB= controletoeets; N= aantal proefpersonen in de groep; Mean = statistisch gemiddelde; Std. Deviation = Standaard Deviatie (SD); Score max. = maximum behaalde score op de toets; rek.gem. = rekenkundig gemiddelde, som van alle scores per groep delen door aantal proefpersonen in de groep

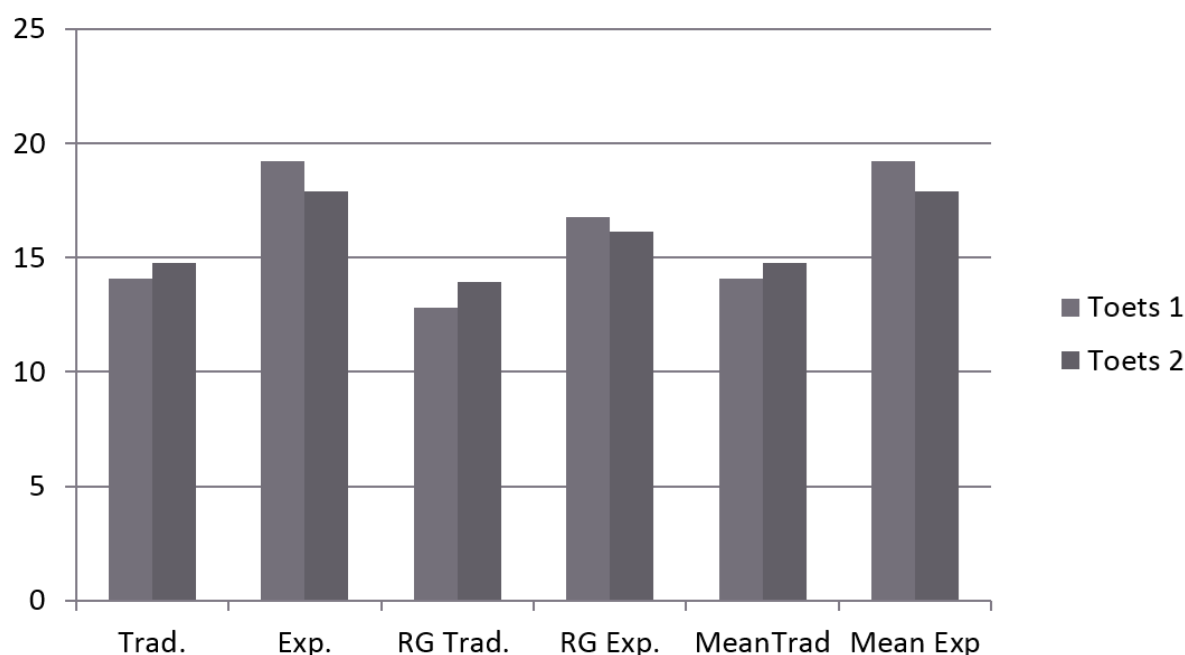
Scores	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Score max.	rek. gem.
Traditioneel totaal (controle/absoluut)	12	14.08	6.65	29	12.83
Traditioneel totaal (controle/ %)	12	.44	.18	1.00	---
Traditioneel totaal AB (controle/absoluut)	12	14.77	3.77	25	13.92
Traditioneel totaal AB (controle/%)	12	.56	.09	1.00	---
EXP Totaal (exp./absoluut)	8	19.20*	5.57	29	16.75*
EXP Totaal (exp./%)	8	.58*	.08	1.00	---
EXP_Totaal AB (exp./absoluut)	8	17.90*	4.61	25	16.13*
EXP_Totaal AB (exp./%)	8	.65*	.12	1.00	---

***hoogste scores**

Tabel II Onderzoeksresultaten (IBM SPSS 19)

Trad= zonder TVO-gebruik; EXP= experimentele groep, met TVO-gebruik; AB= controletoeets; N= aantal proefpersonen in de groep; Mean = statistisch gemiddelde; Std. Deviation = Standaard Deviatie (SD); Score max. = maximum behaalde score op de toets; rek.gem. = rekenkundig gemiddelde, som van alle scores per groep delen door aantal proefpersonen in de groep

Scores	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Score max.	rek. gem.
Traditioneel totaal	12	14.08	6.65	29	12.83
Traditioneel totaal AB	12	14.77	3.77	25	13.92
EXP Totaal	8	19.20	5.57	29	16.75
EXP Totaal AB	8	17.90	4.61	25	16.13



Grafiek 1 Statistische bewerking van het kleinschalig experimenteel onderzoek in het kader van tekstanalyse en tekstbegrip gericht op taalsteun, toegespitst op begrijpelijk taalgebruik. De waarden in tabel I en II zijn in deze grafiek verwerkt. Mean = statistisch gemiddelde; RG = rekenkundig gemiddelde

Tot slot: een vreemde taal doceren is een kunst, zeker als de taalleerder de vreemde taal alleen op school hoort en hij bovendien een zwakke eerste basisvaardigheid in de vreemde taal heeft. Voor de taalleerder is een vreemde taal leren ook een hele klus als hij geen affiniteit met de vreemde taal heeft en als er sprake is van een gering taalaanbod.

Docenten zullen niet gauw overstappen op een andere, nieuwere didactische benadering. Een probleem hierbij is dat ze niet precies weten hoe ze hun lesdoelen moeten bereiken. Zelfreflectie is niet altijd even gemakkelijk: je vertrouwde omgeving loslaten om op zoek te gaan naar onderwijsalternatieven, of juist met andere onderwijstechnieken experimenteren, doe je niet zomaar. Bovendien is het soms moeilijk om een andere didactische benadering op een school te introduceren waar bijvoorbeeld meer nadruk op de stof dan op een interactieve les gelegd wordt.

Wij zijn er dus nog niet uit. Meer onderzoek naar vreemdetaaldidactiek is gewenst. Onderzoekers en docenten moeten gaan samenwerken. Lightbown & Spada (2006) brengen het volgende hierover ter sprake: “*Classroom-based research on second language learning and teaching had given us partial answers to many questions. Through continuing research and experience, researchers and teachers will fill in more details, always recognizing that no single answer will be adequate for all learning environments. Among the questions we will continue to ask are these: How can classroom instruction provide the right balance of meaning-based and form-*

focused instruction?... How should corrective feedback be offered and when should learners be allowed to focus their attention on the content of their utterances? Continued classroom-centered research, including the action research by teachers in their own classrooms, will provide further insights into these and other important issues in second language teaching and learning". Op dit gebied is er nog veel werk aan de winkel!

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PRIMARY EDUCATION IN ARUBA: SHOULD THE STRUCTURE OF CARE BE OUR PRIORITY AT THE MOMENT?

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“Authors who never give you something to disagree with,
never give you anything to think about.”
Michael LaRocca

Introduction

Scientists have been trying to analyze the key determinants of ‘good school practice’ since the early 1960s. Over a period of half a century, a field of research has emerged related to features of school effectiveness. Scheerens (1997) was one of the first researchers that tried to put this rapidly growing field on the map. He did this by breaking the whole field down into five sub-areas of research:

1. Research into equality of opportunity and the significance of the school in this.
2. Economic studies of education production functions.
3. The evaluation of compensatory programmes.
4. Studies of effective schools and school improvement programmes.
5. Studies of the effectiveness of teachers and teaching methods.

The five sub-areas are inter-correlated and cannot be analyzed isolated from one another. It is, for example, important to consider the relationships between school-wide factors (such as policies, leadership and culture) and classroom processes, because in some institutions the former may provide a more supportive environment for teaching than others. They are segregated into five sub-areas by Scheerens (1997) to provide greater clarity and understanding, and together they shed light on the key determinants of good school practice.

In 1994 the Office for Standards in Education (OFSTED) commissioned the International School Effectiveness and Improvement Center (ISEIC) to conduct a review of school effectiveness research, summarizing current knowledge about the factors identified in the literature as important in order to get a better understanding of effectiveness. The aim was to provide “an analysis of the key determinants of school effectiveness in secondary and primary schools.” It was the first list ever attempted in

this field. The analysis identified the following eleven key determinants of effectiveness:

1. Professional leadership
2. Shared vision and goals
3. A learning environment
4. Concentration on teaching and learning
5. Purposeful teaching
6. High expectations
7. Positive reinforcement
8. Monitoring process
9. Pupil rights and responsibilities
10. Home-school partnership
11. Learning organization

To this day, these key determinants for good school practice can be seen as a helpful/practical start kit for school self-evaluation and review. Nonetheless they should never provide a 'blueprint' or 'recipe' for the creation of effective schools. The findings shouldn't be applied mechanically and without reference to a school's particular context. School improvement efforts must always involve a particularized focus on the processes of change and understanding of the history and context of specific institutions.

288

In the world of education this list is of great value. It helps make clear in which areas schools sooner or later will be needing guidance. It is essential for schools to be provided with the necessary tools (time, instruments, methods) in order to undergo self-evaluation. Once a specific school has undergone a self-evaluation and it has been made clear which features of school effectiveness the school possesses and which not, a plan for improvement can be developed.

In the school year 2005-2006 the Department of Education in Aruba started with a project called FACINEA (Facilitado di Innovacion den Enseñansa). The main focus of this project was helping the schools in Aruba to undergo a self-evaluation process and to put a plan for improvement together on the school-level. At that time I was a FACINEA-guide myself and participated in research done by this project gathering information about the actual state of Aruban schools in reference to the key determinants of school effectiveness. The results of that research were shocking. Most schools scored far below the standard on most of the features. It was evident that the quality of primary education on the island needed some 'fine-tuning' on a national level. The Department of Education was going to have to make a concerted effort to help schools to improve their features for school effectiveness.

Then something peculiar happened. Instead of continuing on this crucial track, the Department of Education set course on a whole other journey and the FACINEA project disappeared into the background.

The Structure of Care Project

In 2008 a group of kindergartens approached the Instituto Pedagógico Arubano (IPA or Teacher Training Institute of Aruba) for external guidance. They had been receiving more and more children that were in need of extra attention over the preceding years. The schools (Arco Iris Kleuterschool, Agnes Kleuterschool & Scol Preparatorio Cacique Aterima) felt that they didn't have sufficient resources at hand to be able to provide these children with the services that they needed. That year I had just started working at the IPA. Because of my former experience as a FACINEA guide and my expertise as an educational scientist I accepted the challenge and became the external guide attached to these schools. In 2008-2009 the Structure of Care Project was established with the help of these three kindergartens. Over the past five years the project has grown from 3 schools to 22 schools. There are 25 kindergartens on the island.

The Structure of Care Project sees the school as an organization. And like any other organization the school provides a service to its clients. The service at the school consists of *education and care* and the clients at the school are *the children and their families*. In order to provide good quality service, the school as an organization must divide its activities over three levels. Each level has its own particular clientele, practical tools,

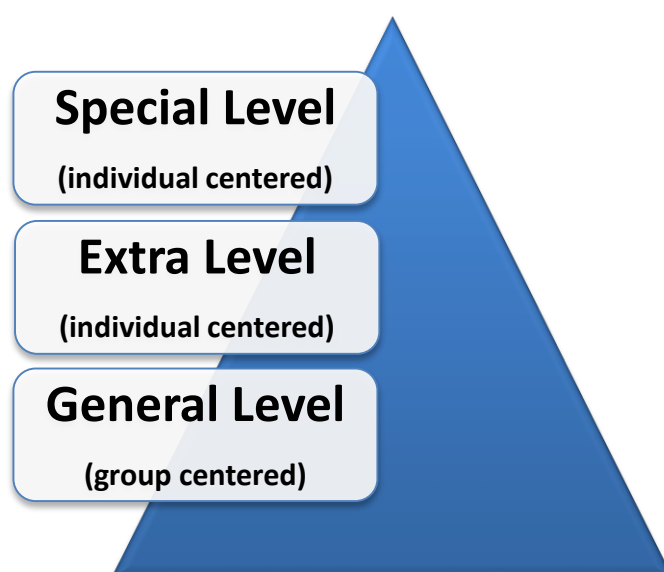


Figure 1 Structure of Care (Three Levels of Education & Care)

personnel, etc. The school management team, together with the external guide, makes sure that the school personnel is sufficiently able to operate on all three levels. There are workshops and network meetings held on a regular and structural basis. The three levels within the Structure of Care framework are inter-correlated: they never operate

in isolation from one another. They are delineated in the diagram below to provide clarity on and understanding of each level at hand.

STRUCTURE OF CARE' PROJECT PRIMARY EDUCATION ARUBA

General Level:

The *general level* focuses on the class group as a whole. It consists of the daily activities that take place (mainly) in the classroom or school building. The project promotes the following teaching strategies: storytelling, problem solving, digital learning, and activities outside the classroom (school trips, etc.). School trips enhance experiential learning and this teaching strategy has been proven to make education at the school level more sustainable (UN, 2012).

The *general level* has two set of goals: general goals and specific goals. The general goals are derived from teaching themes. It has been proven that if content is taught in a thematic context young children will learn faster and better (Janssen-Vos, 1997). The school works each month with a different theme. Unlike the general goals, the specific goals do not change monthly, instead they remain the same. They are derived from the nine areas of development of the child, each of which has its own sub-areas. Each sub-area is broken down into a set of practical steps that need to be taken in a prescribed sequence (from easy to difficult). The teachers have a book where all the steps are described, sorted out and carefully planned over the months during the school year.

“Meta Specifico” di Enseñansa Preparatorio											
A rea di Desaroyo	Sub-area di Desaroyo	Liña di Desaroyo L.D.D. “GRUPO 1”					Liña di Desaroyo L.D.D. “GRUPO 2”				
Taalontwikkeling	A. Luisteren	1	2	3			4	5	6		
	B. Spreken	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
	C. Schriftoriëntatie	1	2				3	4			
	D. Auditieve waarneming	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
Taal-denken	A. Taal-denken	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8		
	B. Tijd	1	2	3			4	5			
Rekenen	A. Kleur & nuances	1	2	3			4	5	6		
	B. Vorm	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8		
	C. Classificeren	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8		
	D. Grootte	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8		
	E. Seriëren	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8		
	F. Vergelijken	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8		
	G. Tellen	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8		
	H. Getallen	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
	I. Meten & wegen	1	2	3	4		5	6			
Ruimtelijke Oriëntatie	A. Eigen lichaam	1	2	3			4	5			
	B. De ruimte	1	2	3	4		5	6	7	8	
	C. Relaties ruimte	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
	D. Plattevlak	1	2				3	4	5		
Visuele Waarneming	A. Discriminatie	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
	B. Analyse/synthese	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
	C. Geheugen	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
Motorische Ontwikkeling	A. Grote motoriek	1	2	3	4		5	6	7	8	9
	B. Fijne motoriek	1	2	3	4		5	6	7	8	9
Muzische Vorming	A. Creativiteit	1	2	3			4	5	6	7	8
	B. Muziek	1	2	3			4	5	6		
	C. Expressie	1	2				3	4			
Sociale Ontwikkeling	A. Sociale gedrag	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Spel & Werkhouding	A. Vrij spel	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
	B. Werkhouding	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

Figure 2 Areas of Development (with a breakdown into sub-areas and their practical steps for groups 1 & 2)

Even though each child develops in their own way and at their own pace, the areas of development remain the same for everyone and every teacher in the school is working on the same set of areas (specific goals) every month. Through the use of themes and daily activities and tasks, the children get a fair chance to work on the practical steps in their own way and at their own pace. This set of specific goals can be seen as a basic tool kit for the kindergarten. They can expand on it or adapt it if necessary, as long as the whole school team remains on the same page! Every change within the

areas of development, the sub-areas or the steps, must be documented at the school-level.

Even pre-schools can use the above described tool kit to give direction to their goals. In this way they can make sure that their children will start kindergarten even better prepared than before. The Structure of Care Project is already working with the elementary schools on a regular basis, in order to adapt the areas of development to the areas of curriculum, from which the goals of the elementary school are derived. Even though the elementary schools and the kindergartens use different terminology when describing their goals, they truly understand each other and network meetings are always pleasant and effective (Lejuez-de Cuba, 2011).

It has to be said that, up until the present day, Aruba has no official set of national goals for Primary Education. The Department of Education has been working on the concept for the past decade. For some reason the past three Ministers of Education have declined to approve their proposals. Could this have to do with the fact that in these proposals the national goals are derived from areas of learning instead of from areas of curriculum which define the goals of the elementary schools or from areas of development with which the kindergartens are working at the moment (Lejuez-de Cuba, 2011)?

The kindergartens in Aruba are working in bottom up way, trying to put their general and specific goals on the map. As of 2014, 22 of the 25 kindergartens in Aruba are working with this set of goals and are using the language associated with this framework. It is high time that the Department of Education begin to use this language when formulating the national goals regarding the kindergartens in Aruba.

Assessment at the *general level* consists of evaluating the tools used and the service provided by educational personnel. The school improvement of individual students is not assessed at the *general level*. The school improvement of the students is assessed in the *extra level* and *special level*.

Extra level:

The school improvement of the children is for the first time assessed at the extra level. The entire school uses the same objective and specific instruments so as to increase the reliability of the tests. For every area of development, the particular step where the child is at that moment is brought into light. If the child is “far behind” or “far ahead” the teacher will have to provide extra assistance and/or challenges for the child. The whole school team helps the child at the extra level, with extra personnel, extra spaces, extra instruments, etc. The school puts all its resources and possibilities to work here. But before the school can assess the school improvement of the child, the child must have gone through the general level first. This way the school can be sure of the fact that each child has been given a fair chance to practice the skills that are being assessed at this level. This fact increases the validity tests administered at this level.

This is why the project strongly recommends that the participating schools first work at the general level. Once the general level framework is in place, the school can start implementing the extra level and the special level frameworks.

Special level:

If after the general level and extra level the child is still not adequately served, even though the school has done everything possible to help, assistance will be then solicited from outside the school at the special level. There are some institutions available on the island to which schools can go for help. It depends on the problem at hand: is it of a cognitive, physical or social-emotional nature? Another assessment of the child's development takes place here, by external help providers.

As part of this project, there is a considerable amount of networking taking place between teachers, school teams, principles, etc. Schools are learning a lot from each other and all the work is being documented (bottom up). During this 2014-2015 school year a book will be published that will serve as a guiding tool for the kindergartens that are currently implementing the Structure of Care Project.. A group of volunteers is working on this publication.

The internal guide

During the 2010-2011 school year the kindergartens started working with internal guides. Even though internal guides are very common and officially recognized in the elementary schools, for the kindergartens this is a brand new phenomenon. The recently certified internal guides within the Structure of Care Project have been doing their work over the past couple of years without receiving adequate pay. This is very frustrating for all parties involved. The workload is too big for the existing external guides, therefore an internal guide is essential at the school level. The official deployment of internal guides at the kindergarten level is something that needs to be done by the Department of Education, but it seems that the Department of Education does not see the Structure of Care Project as a their priority at this moment.

The key determinants of school effectiveness

From day one, the Structure of Care Project has been trying to improve the key determinants of school effectiveness at the school level. Because of its bottom up approach, there is a shared vision and there are shared goals at the project level. The sense of ownership is high at all times. Seeing the school as an organization has improved concentration on teaching and learning, professional leadership, and home-school partnerships. Schools that have implemented the Structure of Care Project have witnessed increased levels of expectation, positive reinforcement, pupil rights and personnel responsibility. Last but not least, the presence of the internal guide has led to more accurate monitoring of student progress. The schools have become more

independent, responsible, and productive, transforming themselves into continuously growing and learning organizations.

Comparison research at Colegio San Hose and Colegio Conrado Coronel

For years now we have been evaluating the effect of the Structure of Care Project at the school level. We have mainly been focusing on the experience of the teachers, the principals, the internal guides, the parents, and the inspectorate. There are several interviews documented on film with different stakeholders. There is no doubt that the Structure of Care Project has helped the schools to work in a more evidence based way and to clarify the roles and responsibilities of the personnel involved. It has also helped to strengthen the home-school partnership. For all the parties involved the Structure of Care Project has become an essential element of the educational process. Even the teachers at the elementary schools are happy with the children they receive from the kindergartens that are participating in the Structure of Care Project. They say the children are now better prepared to enter elementary school.

To assess these achievements, we have organized a comparative research project to measure the extent to which the Structure of Care Project has increased students' improvement at school. In the first place, we wanted to find out if Structure of Care Project kindergarten graduates performed better in their cognitive development (language and mathematics) in the first grade of elementary school compared to children who came from other kindergartens that were not participating in the project. The instruction language at the kindergarten in Aruba is Papiamentu, but as soon as the children start with the elementary school it becomes Dutch. We didn't want this change in the language of instruction to become an issue in our research, so we focused on two elementary schools that maintain Papiamentu as the language of instruction into the first grade and beyond, as part of the Scol Multilingual pilot Project.

Colegio San Hose

At first we approached the Colegio San Hose. We were particularly interested in this elementary school for two reasons:

1. The instruction language in the first grade is Papiamentu, the same instruction language that the kindergartens use in Aruba, so that the use of Dutch as the language of instruction would not represent an external factor that might influence the children's grades. Colegio San Hose is one of the two pilot schools on the island that are participating in the Scol Multilingual Project. The proposed goals of this project are firstly, to achieve higher student performance rates at all educational levels and secondly, to achieve an overall improvement in students' language aptitude (Croes, Richardson & Williams, 2010). The two multilingual pilot schools proposed under this project will feature the four main

languages spoken on the island (Papiamentu, Dutch, English, and Spanish), and will primarily focus on Papiamentu as the language of initial instruction and initial literacy in Aruban kindergartens and elementary schools.

2. Most of the children that enter the first grade at San Hose come from a kindergarten in the region that is also a pilot school for the Scol Multilingual Project. This kindergarten does not participate in the Structure of Care project, but there is also a large group of children that come from another kindergarten in the region that does participate in the Structure of Care Project, so that comparative research could be carried out at this school.

We looked at the average grades for language (Papiamentu) and mathematics of the children attending first grade at Colegio San Hose during the 2012-2013 school year (). Colegio San Hose has two first grade classrooms (class 1A & class 1B), so we considered looking at 4 sets of average grades. The children that came from abroad (The Netherlands and Colombia) and the children who were later assigned to special education in the second grade were excluded from our research.

Table 1 Grades Classroom 1A 2012-2013

	Language (Papiamentu)	Mathematics
Structure of Care students	7.9	8.7
Other	7.2	7.2

295

Table 2 Grades Classroom 1B 2012-2013

	Language (Papiamentu)	Mathematics
Structure of Care students	7.5	8
Other students	7.2	7.2

It was therefore found that the children who had attended kindergarten classes where the Structure of Care Project is in place performed better in the cognitive areas (language and mathematics) than the children who had attended kindergarten classes that do not participate in the Structure of Care Project.

We will continue to track the children's performance in the years to come. It is also our goal to include more areas of development in our research in the future. There are nine areas of development that are strategically taught at the kindergartens participating in the Structure of Care Project. We would also like to include more elementary schools in our research. At the moment there is only one person doing all the work behind the scenes and that person is me. I think that a team is needed to help not only with the research, but also with the coaching, networking and documentation involved in the Structure of Care Project. There is still so much work to

be done. The results of this research show that we must keep moving forward, because the Structure of Care Project is apparently having a positive effect on the school improvement of our children.

Colegio Conrado Coronel

The second elementary school that teaches in Papiamentu in the first grade is Colegio Conrado Coronel. Colegio Conrado Coronel is a special case because:

1. This elementary school participates in both the Scol Multilingual Project and the Structure of Care Project.
2. Colegio Conrado Coronel is an elementary school that has its own kindergarten classes.

Colegio Conrado Coronel is a 'one of a kind' school on the island. Because almost all the children in the first grade come from their own kindergarten, comparative research is not possible here. Therefore, instead of a quantitative study, a qualitative study was done at this school. An interview was conducted with the internal guide of the kindergarten and the internal guide of the elementary school. They were asked questions about the positive effects that the Structure of Care Project has had on the quality of education and care at their school (at both kindergarten and elementary school levels). They were also asked to try to compare the effects of both the Structure of Care and Scol Multilingual Projects on the school team, the children and the parents. Finally they were asked to try to describe the relationship between the two projects at their school.

During the interview, the list of positive things that the 'Structure of Care Project had brought about went on and on. They found it to be a very rewarding way of working at the school level. The instruments that the teachers work with are clear and simple/practical. Because the vision is shared and the goals are the same for everyone, everybody is moving in the same direction. It is easier to work together like this, everybody uses the same terminology, the same instruments and the quality of the service increases. Because of how the work of the project is documented, it is more efficient to collaborate with partners outside the school, such as the school board, the parents, the inspectorate, other schools, etc.

They agreed that internal guide is essential to the success of the project, because she is the one that documents everything done in the kindergarten and sits at the table with the other stakeholders. In the case of Colegio Conrado Coronel, the internal guide of the kindergarten works very closely and on a regular and structural basis with the internal guide of the elementary school. The school improvement of the children is being monitored from the minute they enter the school until the moment they go on to the secondary school. Both internal guides agree on the fact that the Structure of Care Project must be put into place before any other form of innovation is implemented at the school level.

Should the Structure of Care Project be our priority at the moment?

I think it is safe to conclude that the Structure of Care Project is not only an example of good practice but also of a necessary condition that must be in place at all schools in Aruba. Research indicates that the Structure of Care Project has a positive effect on the school improvement of our children. The school personnel finds the Structure of Care Project to involve a satisfying and rewarding way of working at the school level. Last but not least, the Structure of Care Project improves the key determinants of school effectiveness and therefore makes it the ideal tool to be used by the government to enhance quality in Primary Education.

The question thus should not be if we should see Structure of Care as a priority at the moment, but rather: What are we waiting for?

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DE INVLOED VAN NEDERLANDSE SPEELFILMS OP DE SPREEKVAARDIGHEID EN MOTIVATIE VAN PABO-STUDENTEN OP ARUBA

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Samenvatting

Door jarenlange migratie is de samenstelling van de Arubaanse bevolking kleurrijk, multicultureel en meertalig en dit heeft zijn weerslag op het onderwijs. De instructietaal in het basisonderwijs is het Nederlands, maar voor het overgrote deel van de leerlingen is dit niet de moedertaal. Het Instituto Pedagogico Arubano (IPA) leidt studenten op tot leraar in het primair en secundair onderwijs. Studenten die kiezen voor de opleiding aan het IPA, moeten over een goede taalvaardigheid in het Nederlands beschikken. Deze studenten zijn de toekomstige leerkrachten in het basisonderwijs en degenen die de taal als eersten aan de schoolgaande kinderen zullen onderwijzen. In 2012 is tweemaal een bijscholingscursus ‘Spreekvaardigheid Nederlands’ georganiseerd, waarbij o.a. Nederlandse speelfilms zijn gebruikt als inspiratiebron om de taalvaardigheid en de motivatie van de studenten bij het vak Nederlands te vergroten.

299

Aanleiding

De onderwijspraktijk op Aruba wijkt af van die op Nederlandse Pabo's. Het merendeel van de studenten gaat in de toekomst lesgeven in een taal die niet hun moedertaal is. Voor slechts 6.6% van de leerlingen is het Nederlands de moedertaal. Zie hiervoor tabel 1: Taalprofiel van de Arubaanse leerling. Veel kinderen beginnen hierdoor met

Tabel 1 Taalprofiel van de Arubaanse leerling (directie onderwijs, 2009/ 2010)

Moedertaal	Totaal	%
Papiaments	15.418	72.3
Spaans	2.648	12.4
Engels	1.269	6.0
Nederlands	1.399	6.6
Overig	585	2.7

een achterstand op school door gebrek aan kennis van de instructietaal en dit is problematisch volgens Pereira (2012).

Een goede beheersing van de instructietaal is de belangrijkste indicator voor succes in het onderwijs (Driessen, 2004). De meerderheid van de IPA-studenten heeft een niet-Nederlandse achtergrond. Zij spreken het Nederlands sporadisch, vaak alleen in de schoolomgeving. De eerstejaars studenten krijgen wekelijks 180 minuten Nederlands taalonderwijs. Bij de normale taallessen ligt het accent vooral op spelling, vergroten van de woordenschat en grammatica. Daarom is meer aandacht gewenst voor de communicatieve context waarvoor taal gebruikt wordt: de spreekvaardigheid. Hoe groter de communicativiteit, des te beter de resultaten en des te hoger de motivatie van de studenten (Den Boer, et al., 2011).

Opzet van het onderzoek

Om de spreekvaardigheid bij het vak Nederlands te vergroten en de motivatie van de studenten voor het vak Nederlands te vergroten is in 2012 een trainingsprogramma ontwikkeld waarin, naast het gewone taalaanbod, Nederlandse speelfilms zijn gebruikt als inspiratiebron voor de taalontwikkeling. Het eerste experiment vond in april en mei van 2012 plaats. De studenten kregen gedurende drie weken, drie maal een Nederlandse film mee om thuis te bekijken en te analyseren. Den Boer et al. (2011) vinden dat authentieke taalinput het grote voordeel vormt van video/DVD ondersteuning in het vreemde taalonderwijs. Communicatie over en weer is belangrijk bij taalgebruik en taalleren. Chanthiramathi (2011) vindt de rol van interactie in de klas tussen docent en student en studenten onderling noodzakelijk om de spreekvaardigheid te vergroten. Omdat in de eerste cursus de drie speelfilms als een katalysator op de spreekvaardigheid van de studenten werkte, is dit onderdeel in de tweede cursus verder ontwikkeld en verbeterd. Dit maal zijn vijf speelfilms uitgekozen. Door films te gebruiken komt de student meer te weten over achtergrond en cultuur in Nederland. Omdat de IPA-studenten jongvolwassenen zijn, kon gekozen worden uit een groot assortiment van

Primair doel	Verbeteren van de spreekvaardigheid Nederlands
Secundair doel	Vergroten van de motivatie
Doelgroep	Eerstejaarsstudenten IPA
Academisch jaar	Studiejaar 2012 / 2013
Docenten	Deccaan en drie studenten van Hogeschool Arnhem/ Nijmegen
Lesmateriaal	Zelf ontwikkeld remedieerprogramma
Nieuw element	Vijf Nederlandse speelfilms als studiemateriaal
Beschikbare tijd	Zes zaterdagen en thuisstudie, geschat op 28 uur

Figuur 1 raamplan cursus

contemporaine Nederlandse speelfilms met uiteenlopende thema's. Dit onderzoek concentreert zich op de tweede cursus en hoofdzakelijk op de toepassing van de speelfilms in de lessen. In dit onderzoek zijn twee groepen studenten met elkaar vergeleken om te bepalen of deze interventie tot een positief effect heeft geleid.

Voor dit onderzoek is gebruik gemaakt van een experiment: zes bijeenkomsten van twee klokuren, gegeven in een onconventionele setting op de zaterdagochtend, waarin een combinatie van traditionele taaltraining en Nederlandse speelfilms aan de orde kwam. In de cursus zijn twee nieuwe leerelementen geïntroduceerd namelijk Nederlandse speelfilms als studiemateriaal én als 'huiswerk'. De films moeten passen bij de leefwereld van de studenten, dus de docent moet het niveau en de interesse van de doelgroep goed inschatten. De studenten moeten gepakt worden door echte thema's en authentieke onderwerpen. De speelfilm dient als stimulator, de studenten moeten kijken, luisteren, lezen, analyseren en spreken (Massi & Blásquez, 2008).

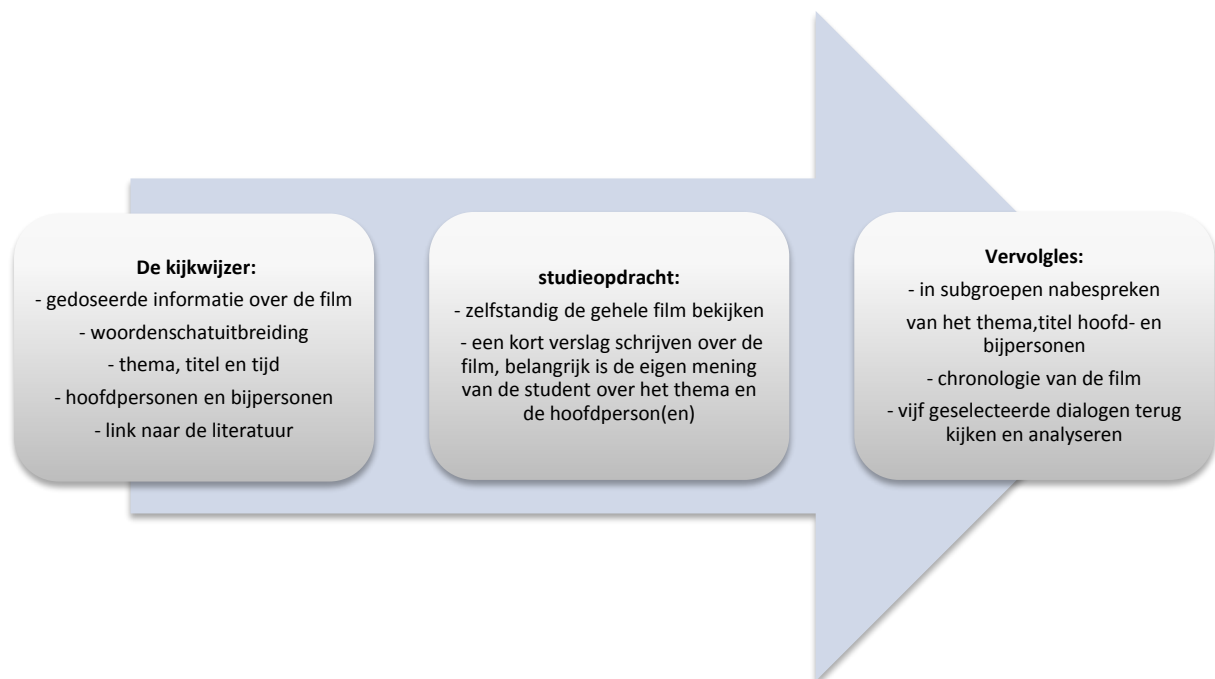
De interventie

De deelnemers zijn verdeeld in een interventiegroep (N =16) en een controlegroep (N =20). De onderzoeker heeft hiervoor de resultaten van de diagnostische toetsen (academisch jaar 2012/ 2013) gebruikt. Dit zijn de gemiddelde cijfers van de vakken Nederlands en rekenen/wiskunde. Om de beginsituatie zo gelijk mogelijk te houden is het matchingprincipe gebruikt. Er zijn koppels gemaakt van de studenten met de laagste en hoogste cijfers. Deze koppels zijn ad random verdeeld in de interventie- en de controlegroep. Door een t-toets af te nemen kon geconstateerd worden dat de groepen vrijwel gelijk waren. Bij de nameting werden de groepen wederom vergeleken middels een t-toets en een regressieanalyse, zodat eventuele statistische fouten tot een minimum beperkt werden. Alle deelnemers zijn onderworpen aan een pre-test en een post-test wat betreft hun spreekvaardigheid in en hun motivatie ten opzichte van de Nederlandse taal. De resultaten hiervan zijn kwantitatief geëvalueerd. De interventiestudenten kregen een extra taalaanbod van 28 uur, bestaande uit: woordgebruik en woordenschat, eenvoudige en complexere zinsconstructies, trappen van vergelijking en grammatica. Thuis moesten de vijf speelfilms op DVD bekeken worden met behulp van de kijkwijzer. Ten slotte moest er een eindverslag geschreven worden. Deelname aan de cursus leverde bij 100% presentie, actieve deelname en een ingeleverd eindverslag, een waardering op van een vrij studiepunt (1 ECTS). Na afloop moesten de deelnemers van de interventiegroep een kwaliteitsenquête invullen, deze is online afgenomen via de HBO-spiegel.

Bij de selectie van de films is rekening gehouden met de volgende elementen:

- Nederlandse films waarin Algemeen Beschaafd Nederlands wordt gesproken
- Films met een sterke verhaallijn, bij voorkeur verfilmingen van Nederlandse literatuur

- Films waarbij Nederlandse ondertitels optioneel zijn
- Films met sterke, duidelijke hoofdpersonen
- Films waarvoor geen historische of culturele voorkennis nodig is. (Het laatste element is toegevoegd omdat de studenten een film over de tweede wereldoorlog in de eerste cursus slecht geëvalueerd hebben).



Figuur 2 De cyclus van de film in 3 stappen, in de klas en thuis

De onderzoeker heeft een college gegeven over de Nederlandse filmgeschiedenis met behulp van een PowerPoint presentatie. Daarna volgde uitleg over de kijkwijzer en is de DVD uitgereikt om thuis te bekijken. Tijdens de volgende lessen werden de films bediscussieerd en geëvalueerd in subgroepen van maximaal vier studenten. Tijdens de lessen werd uitsluitend Nederlands gesproken. Door de docenten (de onderzoeker en drie stagiaires van de Hogeschool Arnhem en Nijmegen) zijn per film vijf momenten (tussen de 30 seconden en 3 minuten) geselecteerd om terug te kijken, teneinde te verifiëren of het filmfragment goed begrepen was. Aangezien de meeste studenten gewend zijn passief naar films te kijken, is het belangrijk dat bij deze lessen het kijken van filmmateriaal gekoppeld is aan verwerkingsopdrachten. Audiovisueel materiaal kan een grote hulp zijn om een vreemde taal te leren (Voller & Widdows, 1993). In plaats van alleen het verbale aspect, geeft film de student ook inzicht in de houding, mimiek, hand- en armbewegingen om een verhaal duidelijk te maken. Authentieke taalinput vormt het grote voordeel van video en DVD (Ishihara & Chi, 2004).

Resultaten/conclusies

Na afloop van de cursus werden de studenten onderworpen aan een spreekvaardigheidstoets, evenals de studenten van de controlegroep.

Er is geen significant verschil geconstateerd in spreekvaardigheid tussen de interventiegroep en de controlegroep. Reden hiervoor kan zijn dat de interventie vanwege de korte duur, slechts zes zaterdagochtenden, onvoldoende impact heeft gehad om de spreekvaardigheid te verbeteren. Tschirner (2001) verklaart dat de introductie van nieuwe media niet persé een causaal positief effect oplevert in de scholen. Ryan (1998) heeft bedenkingen over het rendement versus de tijdsduur die in een filmproject gestoken moet worden.

Een andere reden dat dit onderzoek geen opmerkelijke verschillen in taalvaardigheid tussen beide groepen heeft opgeleverd, kan liggen in de geringe aantallen waaruit de groepen bestonden, wat weer inherent is aan de kleinschaligheid van de IPA.

De motivatie van de interventiegroep naar de Nederlandse taal is wel significant toegenomen. Dit is te verklaren doordat een nieuw leerelement, het gebruik van speelfilms, is toegepast. Een gunstig bijeffect is dat hierdoor de interesse van de studenten gewekt is om bijvoorbeeld het boek waarop de film gebaseerd is te gaan lezen en dat de studenten bovendien via televisie of internet meer naar Nederlandse speelfilms, het journaal en series gaan kijken (Harrison, 2009).

Originele speelfilms zorgen ervoor dat taalstudenten interesse en begrip ontwikkelen voor de cultuur en de achtergrond van een land en zijn bevolking (Kransch, 1989; Kung & Lin, 2008; Pereira, 2012). Door regelmatig gebruik te maken van speelfilms bij taallessen zal uiteindelijk beslist vooruitgang geboekt worden voor wat betreft woordenschat, uitspraak, luister- en spreekvaardigheid. De motivatie ten opzichte van het vak Nederlands neemt immers significant toe.

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DE IMPACT VAN ACTIEVE MUZIEK-INSTRUCTIE OP DE PRESTATIES VAN LEERLINGEN IN HET ARUBAANSE REKENONDERWIJS¹

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Inleiding

Het doel van dit literatuuronderzoek is om inzichtelijk te maken welke academische -, ruimtelijke - en rekenvaardigheden verworven kunnen worden door leerlingen die actieve muziekinstructie krijgen en deel uitmaken van muziekensembles. Specifieker: inzichtelijk maken wat de impact van muziek is op de prestaties in het rekenonderwijs. Er werden onderzoeken vergeleken waar muziekinstructie in het onderwijs werd geïmplementeerd, zowel bij kleuters als bij leerlingen van het basisonderwijs en het voorgezet onderwijs. De resultaten suggereren dat studenten die deel uitmaken van een muziekensemble, en leerlingen en kleuters die actieve muziekinstructie krijgen, significant hoger scoren op academische prestaties, intelligentieniveau, perceptie en geheugen. Bovendien was de bevinding dat actieve muziekinstructie een significant positief effect heeft op de ontwikkeling van de ruimtelijke intelligentie. Er is echter geen significant statistisch verschil gemeten bij de gemiddelde testcores van rekenen tussen studenten die enige muziekinstructie gekregen hebben en studenten die in het geheel geen muziekinstructie hebben gehad.

Eerst wordt in dit artikel aandacht besteed aan de rekenproblematiek en mogelijke oplossingen daarvoor. Dan komen theoretische argumenten aan bod die gebruikt kunnen worden om de impact van actieve muziekinstructie op de academische prestaties van leerlingen te beschrijven.

Daarna worden de methodes besproken die gebruikt werden om de relevante literatuur te compileren en te verwerken, vervolgens wordt aandacht besteed aan de empirische studies en de resultaten, en tot slot volgen de discussie, de conclusies en de aanbevelingen.

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Rekenlacunes in het onderwijs

Het onderwijs heeft een prominente functie in de maatschappij. Vrijwel alle kinderen en jongeren op Aruba volgen een vorm van onderwijs, en de meesten doorlopen dit vrij goed. Een grote groep heeft echter problemen met rekenvaardigheden: ze presteren ondermaats op rekenkundige begrippen en abstract redeneren.

Het kennen van rekenkundige begrippen is een voorwaarde om succesvol te kunnen deelnemen aan de maatschappij. Rekenproblemen op latere leeftijd kan men vaak terugbrengen tot onvoldoende beheersing van voorbereidende rekenvaardigheden. Bovendien werken de rekenlacunes niet alleen door in de dagelijkse activiteiten en toekomstige loopbaan, maar ze leiden ook tot negatieve leerervaringen, een negatief effect op het zelfvertrouwen en op de motivatie van de leerlingen.

Het besef van getallen en inzicht in essentiële getallenrelaties worden gezien als de basis voor de rekenkundige ontwikkeling. Een fundament dat van groot belang is voor het proces om steeds effectiever te leren omgaan met getallen en getalsmatige data. Het is voor docenten vaak niet eenvoudig om het rekenonderwijs dusdanig in te delen dat alle leerlingen er baat bij hebben. Doorgaans wordt de materie klassikaal doorlopen, wat een belemmering kan vormen voor de hulpbehoevende leerlingen. Deze bevatten de getallenrelaties en data nauwelijks, en ten gevolge hiervan participeren zij niet optimaal aan het programma. Dikwijls laten de docenten deze leerlingen dan aan een individueel programma werken, bijvoorbeeld uit een lager leerjaar, wat beter aansluit bij hun niveau. Deze leerlingen krijgen vervolgens individuele aanwijzingen op het moment dat de rest van de klas met andere opgaven aan de gang is, waardoor ze herhaaldelijk zelfstandig werkzaam zijn. Wil men echter een grote groep leerlingen de leerinhouden goed laten bevatten, dan is het van essentieel belang om volledig interactief groepsgericht onderwijs aan te reiken, met leerinhouden die specifiek gericht zijn op het niveau van de leerlingen. In de praktijk is het niet altijd eenvoudig een dergelijke vorm van onderwijs te realiseren.

Goed geplande leeractiviteiten bouwen voort op wat de leerling eerder heeft geleerd. De docent zal ernaar streven dat ze tevens iets nieuws in zich dragen. Dit hoeft niet altijd om nieuwe leerinhouden te gaan, nieuwe of doelgerichte inzichten zijn even waardevol. Leeractiviteiten zullen altijd ontwikkeld worden met het doel om eerder geleerde zaken te handhaven of uit te breiden. Leerlingen kunnen enerzijds laten zien wat ze zich al eigengemaakt hebben op het gebied van rekenen, anderzijds moeten ze proberen om de lacunes van rekenkundige begrippen en rekenvaardigheden te elimineren en hun bekwaamheden verder te ontwikkelen. De manier van werken is echter essentieel. Het gaat er in eerste instantie om leerlingen in de gelegenheid te stellen om op hun eigen niveau en op een correcte wijze rekenactiviteiten uit te voeren. De rekenactiviteiten moeten vooral gericht zijn op het verwerven van essentiële rekeninzichten en rekenvaardigheden. Leerlingen zullen profijt hebben van terugkerende activiteiten rond

een passend geheel aan inhouden en vaardigheden. Ook hulpbehoevende leerlingen hebben recht op verdere ontwikkeling op het gebied van rekenen, zowel wat betreft kennis en inzicht als wat betreft vaardigheden.

Om deze leerlingen de mogelijkheid aan te reiken om hun reken Capaciteiten te oefenen, toe te passen en verder te ontwikkelen, zal er meer ruimte gemaakt moeten worden voor werkzaamheden die betrekking hebben op problemen die niet alleen gericht zijn op het behalen van rekenvaardigheden. Het is van groot belang dat leerlingen hun eigen strategie leren hanteren en zo de rekenlacunes kunnen oplossen aan de hand van een door henzelf gekozen en begrepen handelwijze.

Ook bij andere vakken kan een beroep op rekenkundige vaardigheden worden gedaan, zodat de leerlingen op diverse manieren in aanraking komen met rekenkundige begrippen. Dat vereist een vernieuwde aanpak. Binnen de rekenles en bij diverse andere vakken die een beroep doen op rekenvaardigheden zal op identieke wijze met de betrokken inhouden en vaardigheden moeten worden omgegaan, willen de leerlingen in het ene domein aanboren wat ze in het andere domein hebben ontwikkeld. Het is belangrijk om aan te sluiten bij het niveau van de leerling voor wat betreft zijn kennis en vaardigheden. Rekenen moet plaatsvinden binnen opdrachten of projecten waar het de sleutel tot de oplossing vormt. Op deze wijze krijgt het rekenen betekenis voor de leerlingen. Actieve muziekinstructie zou een mogelijk positieve invloed kunnen hebben op de rekenvaardigheden.

Van de docenten vergt het dat ze op de hoogte moeten zijn van de rekenaanpak die leerlingen hanteren. Dan kunnen ze een eigen didactisch programma ontwerpen dat overeenstemt met de kennis en vaardigheden van de leerlingen. Het is belangrijk dat de leerlingen plezier krijgen in het rekenen en regelmatig succes boeken.

Het is de plicht van het onderwijs om een passend programma aan te reiken, dat in de behoefte van de leerlingen voorziet en een positieve bijdrage vormt in de cognitieve ontwikkeling. In dit kader wordt getracht om een alternatief programma te ontwikkelen dat de rekenlacunes kan helpen reduceren. Op basis van theoretische argumenten wordt belicht wat de impact van muziek is op academische prestaties en tevens wordt beschouwd of muziek mogelijk zou kunnen helpen om rekenlacunes te voorkomen of op te heffen.

Theoretisch kader

Om een theorie te kunnen formuleren die voorspelt wat de impact van actieve muziekinstructie is op ruimtelijke vaardigheden en de prestaties in het rekenonderwijs, bekijken we eerst het effect van muziek op de academische prestaties en de cognitieve ontwikkeling. Daarna wordt ingegaan op de relatie tussen muziek en academische prestaties, intelligentieniveau, het ontwikkelen van ruimtelijke vaardigheden; het verband tussen rekenen en muziek dat in vele studies naar voren is gekomen.

Muziek als mogelijk rendement voor de rekenvaardigheden

Muziekonderwijs biedt leerlingen de mogelijkheid zich te uiten en contact te leggen met elkaar. Muziek kan de leeromgeving omvormen, voorziet in leermogelijkheden voor kinderen, biedt nieuwe uitdagingen en verbindt de leerervaringen met de belevenissen uit het dagelijks leven.

De laatste decennia hebben verschillende onderzoeken aangetoond dat muziek de ontwikkeling van de hersenen verhoogt en de vaardigheden voor andere vakken, zoals lezen en rekenen, ontplooit. Rekenkundige concepten, van ongecompliceerde sommen tot complexe taken, vormen een onderdeel van de muzikale wereld. Via muziek is het mogelijk om een verbinding tot stand te laten komen tussen actief deelnemen aan muziek en de cognitieve ontwikkeling voor rekenen.

Verschillende studies hebben de verbanden tussen muzikale ervaringen en academische prestaties onderzocht. Vaak kwam men tot de conclusie dat de meest significante overeenkomst tussen muziek en rekenen ligt, ofwel tussen de ruimtelijke vaardigheden die belangrijk zijn voor rekenen, muziek en lezen. Verschillende onderzoeken gaven aan dat muziek de ruimtelijke prestaties vergroot (Burak, 2005; Hetland, 2000a en 2000b; Rauscher, 2003); de rekenkundige bekwaamheden ontwikkelt, leesvaardigheden ontwikkelt en versterkt (Fisher & McDonald, 2001) en op basis van muziek men snel een tweede taal kan leren (Cooper & Grimm-Anderson, 2007).

Al in 1991 had Shaw ontdekt dat bij het luisteren naar muziek en het verrichten van enige rekenkundige taken identieke delen van de hersenen actief zijn. Het onderzoek van Rauscher, Shaw en Ky (1995) geeft aan dat er bij studenten van een middelbare school, die ongeveer tien minuten naar een sonate van Mozart hadden geluisterd, een korte toename van de ruimtelijke vaardigheden tot stand kwam. Elke deelnemer werd getest in drie situaties. De deelnemers van één groep luisterden naar Mozart voordat ze één van de drie ruimtelijke vaardigheidstesten gingen maken. De deelnemers van de andere twee groepen luisterden naar rustgevende muziek of bereidden zich in stilte voor. De prestaties in de Mozartgroep waren uitstekend. Deze bevindingen trokken veel aandacht (Rauscher, Shaw & Ky, 1995). Het onderzoek werd herhaald door andere onderzoekers, de resultaten waren echter niet identiek (Rauscher, 2003).

Ook Rauscher & Zupan (2000) kwamen tot de conclusie dat muziek de ruimtelijke vaardigheden positief beïnvloedde. Studenten die pianolessen hadden scoorden hoger op testen met ruimtelijke vaardigheden dan de studenten die via een computer instructie kregen met ruimtelijke vaardigheden. Studenten die twee jaar keyboardles gevolgd hadden, scoorden hoger dan de controlegroep die geen keyboardles gevolgd had. De studenten die zangles hadden scoorden ook hoger dan de controlegroep, terwijl de studenten die instructie ontvingen op basis van ritme-instrumenten de hoogste scores behaalden.

In het onderzoek van Rauscher et al. (1997) kwam naar voren dat er een verband is tussen muziek en ruimtelijke intelligentie, de vaardigheid om de wereld accuraat waar te nemen en om afbeeldingen op basis van het geheugen vorm te geven. Deze intelligentie stelt je in staat om verschillende elementen te visualiseren. Je kunt kritisch denken, problemen oplossen, van ongecompliceerde dagelijkse zaken tot het ophelderen van geavanceerde rekenkundige problemen.

Een aantal onderzoekers (Rauscher et al., 1997) die het verband tussen muziek en ruimtelijke intelligentie onderzochten, publiceerden hun bevindingen dat muziektraining ver boven computerinstructie uitsteekt en dat muziek op een indrukwekkende wijze de vaardigheden van het abstracte vermogen van kinderen vergroot. Deze vaardigheden zijn nodig voor rekenen en natuurwetenschappen.

Evenzo constateerden Johnson en Memmott (2006) in hun studie dat muziekprogramma's, of het nu om instrumentale muziek of vocale koormuziek gaat, effect kunnen hebben op de academische prestaties en prestaties van rekenen van leerlingen uit zowel het primair onderwijs (3+4^e klas) als leerlingen van het voortgezet onderwijs (8^e + 9^e klas). Cox en Stephens (2006) onderzochten of er een samenhang bestaat tussen het aantal behaalde studiepunten voor muziek en het gemiddelde cijfer voor rekenen en andere kernvakken. Dit onderzoek heeft echter geen significant statistisch verschil aangetoond tussen studenten die in een band hadden gespeeld of in een koor hadden gezongen en de studenten die geheel geen muzikale vorming hebben gehad. Om het effect van academische prestaties over een langere termijn te bepalen heeft Kinney (2008) onderzocht of de resultaten van academische prestatietesten van studenten uit de 6e en 8e klas van de Urban middelbare school (te Amerika) van een zelfde niveau bleven vanaf de 4^e klas en gedurende de deelname aan een ensemble in de 6^e en 8^e klas. Tevens werden bij de deelnemers van een ensemble, band of koor, ook de wisselvallige condities van hun sociaaleconomische status en de herkomst van hun gezinsmilieu in overweging genomen om te zien of deze ook invloed hebben op de academische prestaties. Er werd een positief verband gevonden tussen instrumentale muziek en academische prestaties en de rekenvaardigheden. In de studie van Gouzouasis, Guhn & Kishor (2007) werd de coherentie onderzocht tussen participatie aan een muziekprogramma en de prestaties van academische vakken, om de samenhang te vinden in hoeverre de academische prestaties van de studenten uit de 12^{de} klas gerelateerd waren met de prestaties en deelname aan muziek cursussen.

Vanuit muziekprogramma's kunnen studenten capaciteiten ontwikkelen en deze kunnen overgedragen worden op andere academische vakken, zoals rekenen.

Integratie van muziek en rekenen

Het integreren van rekenen met muziek lijkt ongewoon. Maar als we kijken naar het onderwijs in de jonge jaren van het kind, dan is dat voornamelijk procesgeoriënteerd,

holistisch; men zoekt steeds naar gezamenlijke methodes om te leren. Zo kan integratie van rekenen en muziek een educatief klimaat scheppen waarin het kind kan bloeien.

Onderzoek toont aan dat kinderen bij het ontwikkelen van muzikale vaardigheden kennismaken met concepten die de basis vormen van andere vakken, waaronder ook het rekenen (Bridges,1980). De vaardigheid om problemen op te lossen wordt als één van de belangrijkste vaardigheden beschouwd die kinderen moeten ontwikkelen; vooral voor rekenen is dit een vereiste. Kleine kinderen ontwikkelen deze vaardigheden op een creatieve wijze.

Een groep onderzoekers was van mening dat kinderen die aanvullende muziektraining ontvangen hadden over meer creatieve, excentrieke en complexe concepten beschikten en een hoger abstractieniveau hadden dan kinderen met een geringe muzikale kennis (Bridges, 1980). Andere onderzoekers toonden aan dat kinderen die betrokken waren bij programma's met actieve muziekinstruction een significante toename vertoonden in rekenkundige prestaties.

Verschillende onderzoekers hebben een samenhang aangetoond tussen rekenen en muziek. Muziek en rekenen hangen theoretisch samen op het gebied van harmonie. Rekenkundige eigenschappen zijn ook inherent aan andere muzikale aspecten, zoals ritme, tempo en melodie. Wanneer we beide disciplines schriftelijk willen vastleggen, dan zijn sleutels, notenbalk en maten internationaal bekende symbolen voor muziek, terwijl het bij rekenen om nummers, tekens van gelijkheid/ongelijkheid en algebranootatie gaat. In diverse onderzoeken worden positieve correlaties getoond tussen muzikale vaardigheden van de studenten en hun rekenkundige prestaties. Als gevolg van de verschillende studies die de sterke samenhang tussen rekenen en muziek hebben aangeduid, zijn er vele activiteiten beschreven die docenten kunnen helpen om rekenen en muziek te integreren in de klas. Wanneer muziekactiviteiten op een natuurlijke wijze betrokken worden bij rekenen en beweging, voorzien ze voor de kinderen in een manier om tegelijkertijd hun logische/rekenkundige en muzikale/ritmische intelligenties te ontwikkelen.

Over het algemeen hecht men veel waarde aan onderwijs met een integratieve aanpak, waar concepten en feiten in een thematische context gepresenteerd worden. Een samenhang tussen inhoudelijke gebieden wordt beschreven, zodat leerlingen de concepten beter begrijpen.

De bestudeerde artikelen behandelen wat de impact van muziekinstruction is op de cognitieve ontwikkeling, voornamelijk op het gebied van rekenen. Er zijn verscheidene relevante aandachtspunten in de theorie.

Ten eerste: muziek en ruimtelijke intelligentie komen overeen. Ruimtelijke vaardigheden zijn belangrijk voor rekenen. Met deze vaardigheden kun je de wereld accuraat

waarnemen en beelden oproepen op basis van het geheugen. Je kunt verschillende elementen visualiseren, kritisch denken en problemen oplossen.

Ten tweede: bij het luisteren naar muziek en het verrichten van enige rekenkundige taken zijn identieke delen van de hersenen actief. Het luisteren naar muziek, met andere woorden, vergroot de potentie om visueel te denken.

Ten derde: instrumentale muziek, academische prestaties en rekenvaardigheden staan op een positieve wijze met elkaar in verband.

Tot slot, muziekinstructie ontwikkelt muzikale concepten die de basis vormen voor andere vakken, waaronder ook het rekenen. Kinderen die regelmatig betrokken zijn bij programma's met actieve muziekinstructie tonen een significante toename van rekenkundige prestaties.

Omschrijving actieve muziekinstructie

In de bestudeerde onderzoeken zijn verscheidene categorieën en niveaus van muziekinstructie waargenomen.

Om de impact van actieve muziekinstructie op de academische prestaties en de rekenresultaten te kunnen beoordelen, is het van groot belang om de kwaliteit van de muziekprogramma's in overweging te nemen.

In de studie van Johnson en Memmott (2006) is een positieve relatie tussen muziekprogramma's en prestaties waargenomen, of het nu om instrumentale muziek of vocale koormuziek ging. De impact van instrumentale muzikles werd eveneens in de studie van Fitzpatrick (2006) belicht. In de studies van Cox & Stephens (2006) en Kinney (2008) bestudeerden ze specifiek wat de muzikale impact was van deelname in een band of koor, terwijl de studie van Gouzouasis, Guhn & Kishor (2007) nader inging op deelname in strijkorkest of op muziekcompositie, naast deelname in een band of koor. In de verschillende studies van Rauscher et al. (1995; 1997; 2000) bestond het muziekprogramma uit keyboard- en piano-instructie. In de studie van Hetland (2000) werd er naast het gebruik van keyboard en piano ook xylofoon, muzieknotatie, beweging en componeren of improvisatie toegepast.

Eastlund Gromko & Smith Poorman (1998) menen dat kinderen ook de motoriek moeten gebruiken bij muzikale elementen. Hierdoor kunnen ze beter hun aandacht vestigen op de toonhoogte en ritmische aspecten van liederen en zodoende hun geheugencapaciteit vergroten.

In hun studie werd specifiek aandacht besteed aan handbellen, liederen, begeleiding met bodypercussie bij de liederen en klokkenspel.

Zoekstrategieën

Ervan uitgaande dat actieve muziekinstructie impact heeft op de academische prestaties en in het bijzonder de rekenprestaties, is er gezocht naar relevante empirische en beschrijvende studies, en artikelen die dit onderwerp behandelen. Om adequate

literatuur te achterhalen is er naar data gezocht in de diverse biografische databases en zoekmachines van ERIC, JSTOR, SAGE, PsychInfo, Science Direct, Elsevier en Google Scholar. Voor de analyse van de studies werd gekeken naar empirische studies. De resultaten van de verscheidene studies zijn vervolgens gefilterd met extra zoektermen: *Active music*; *Increase results*; *Math achievement*; *Students achievement*.

De volgende methodologische selectieprocedure is gevolgd:

- a. Validiteit van het onderzoekdesign;
- b. Validiteit van de data;
- c. De manier waarop de data werden geanalyseerd;
- d. Het belang van de resultaten in praktische en statistische zin.

Aan de hand van de gevonden artikelen is een selectie gemaakt om aan de onderzoeksvraag tegemoet te komen. Aanvankelijk werd onderzocht wat de impact is van muziek op de academische prestaties. Vervolgens werd in het onderzoek geanalyseerd wat voor impact muziekinstructie heeft op de intelligentie, het intelligentieniveau en op de rekenvaardigheden.

De studies moesten aan de volgende criteria voldoen om opgenomen te worden:

1. Muziekinstructie was de belangrijkste onafhankelijke variabele.
2. De studies hadden controlegroepen en waren quasi-experimentele en niet-experimentele studies.
3. De studies beoordeelden de resultaten van testen op het gebied van rekenen, academische prestaties, het intelligentieniveau en de ruimtelijke vaardigheden.
4. De resultaten waren de uitkomst van een muziekinterventie en een controlegroep, met een voor- en nameting.

Nadat de inclusiecriteria toegepast waren, zijn uiteindelijk 11 studies geselecteerd.

Vijf experimentele studies:

Rauscher, Shaw & Ky, 1995; Rauscher, Shaw, Levine, Wright, Dennis & Newcomb, 1997; Eastlund Gromko & Smith Poorman, 1998; Rauscher & Zupan, 2000; Cox & Stephens, 2006.

Zes meer algemeen beschrijvende studies:

Hetland, 2000a en b; Fitzpatrick, 2006; Johnson & Memmott, 2006; Schellenburg, 2006; Gouzouasis, Guhn & Kishor, 2007; Kinney, 2008.

De onderzoeken betreffen zowel kleuters, als leerlingen van het basisonderwijs en voortgezet onderwijs (high school).

Metingen van de resultaten

In deze studies waren de testcores van de leerlingen de voornaamste resultaten voor de metingen van de prestaties. Sociaaleconomische status (opleiding/inkomen/baan ouders,

afkomst/milieu), en het type muziek (zoals instrumentale muziek of vocale koormuziek) werden tot ondergeschikte resultaten gerekend.

Aangezien bij een experimentele studie de minste kans is op 'bias' (onzuiverheid) ben ik bij de methodologische beoordeling afgegaan op de volgende criteria:

- (1) of de studie een experiment was, een quasi-experiment of geen experiment;
- (2) of er een controlegroep was.

Om een degelijke en overzichtelijke indruk van de studies te krijgen is een beschrijvend, systematisch literatuuronderzoek toegepast.

Kenmerken van de studies

In vijf studies werden de voornaamste prestatiemetingen van de leerlingen in verband gebracht met academische prestaties: Johnson & Memmott (2006); Kinney (2008); Gouzouasis, Guhn & Kishor (2007); Schellenburg (2006); Fitzpatrick (2006).

De studie van Johnson & Memmott (2006) vergeleek de kwaliteit van verscheidene muziekprogramma's en bestudeerde het effect van de muziekprogramma's op de academische prestaties en de testcores, terwijl de studie van Kinney (2008) eveneens de resultaten van de academische prestaties van studenten vergeleek (de 6^e en 8^e klas), maar anderzijds ook onderzocht of deze resultaten stabiel bleven vanaf de 4^e klas en gedurende de deelname aan een ensemble in de 6^e en 8^e klas.

Gouzouasis, Guhn & Kishor (2007) onderzochten of er een relatie was tussen muziekprestaties en algemene academische prestaties, om te zien of het niveau van muziektraining en de mate waarin leerlingen uitblinken voorspeld worden door het cijfer dat behaald wordt voor muziek en of deze leerlingen ook uitblinken in andere academische vakken.

Naast de metingen van de verschillende prestaties werd ook aandacht besteed aan andere bijkomstige variabelen die een rol spelen bij de rekenprestaties, zoals de sociaaleconomische status, de origine van een gezin, het inkomen en de opleiding van de ouders (Kinney, 2008; Schellenburg, 2006; en Fitzpatrick, 2006).

Behalve de testcores die gericht waren op de academische prestaties werd in de studie van Schellenburg (2006) specifiek gekeken naar prestaties die gericht waren op de verhoging van het intelligentieniveau.

RESULTATEN

Experimentele studies

De resultaten van vijf experimentele studies zijn gebaseerd op het effect van muziekinstructie op de testcores van de studenten.

Als we de resultaten van de vijf experimentele studies naast elkaar zetten, blijkt dat in de onderzoeken van Cox & Stephens (2006) en Rauscher, Shaw & Ky (1995) geen

significant effect aangetoond is op de testcores. De data van de studie van Cox & Stephens (2006) toonden geen significante verschillen in de gemiddelde scores voor rekenen tussen leerlingen met enige studiepunten voor muziek en degenen die geen muziek in hun pakket hadden.

Hoewel de verschillen niet significant waren, was het gemiddelde voor rekenen en het gemiddelde voor de andere vakken bij degenen die minimaal 2 studiepunten voor muziek hadden per niveau hoger bij de overige studenten.

In de studie van Rauscher, Shaw & Ky (1995) kon men daarentegen waarnemen dat de Mozartgroep de hoogste scores behaald had tussen de 3^{de} en 5^{de} dag. De groep die zich in stilte voorbereidde en de Mozartgroep verschilden niet significant van elkaar op de 3^{de}, 4^{de} en 5^{de} dag. De scores van de gemengde groep waren aanzienlijk lager dan van de twee overige groepen. De directe vooruitgang van de scores van de Mozartgroep werden veroorzaakt doordat de leerlingen ongeveer 10 minuten naar een sonate van Mozart hadden geluisterd. De andere groep, die zich in stilte voorbereidde op de testen, behaalde gewoonlijk al goede resultaten.

In de drie experimentele studies van Rauscher et al. (1997); Eastlund Gromko & Smith Poorman (1998) en Rauscher & Zupan (2000) werd wel een significante invloed geconstateerd op de ruimtelijke vaardigheden en de IQ-prestatietest.

De studie van Rauscher et al. (1997) liet bij de muziekgroep een indrukwekkende positieve invloed zien op de testcores van de ruimtelijke vaardigheden (voormeting SD 9.79 en nameting SD 13.41), terwijl de andere groepen (computer, zang en geen muziek) geen vooruitgang toonden.

In de studie van Eastlund Gromko & Smith Poorman (1998) werd eveneens een significant hoger rendement op de ruwe scores van de IQ-prestatietest aangetoond bij de muziekgroep (controlegroep SD 11.47, muziekgroep SD 14.91). De muziekgroep toonde een significant hoger rendement op de ruwe scores van de IQ-prestatietest en het resultaat bleef binnen de muziekgroep stabiel, door de leeftijdsgroepen heen.

De studie van Rauscher & Zupan (2000) toonde een significant positief effect op testen met ruimtelijke vaardigheden. De resultaten hebben uitgewezen dat kinderen die keyboardles volgden significant hoger scoorden op twee ruimtelijke vaardigheidstesten. De resultaten van deze studie waren in overeenstemming met de resultaten die in de studies van Rauscher et al. (1995; 1997) gevonden zijn.

Beschrijvende studies

Bij de resultaten van de zes beschrijvende studies waren de verschillende onderzoeken erop gericht om het effect van muziek te meten en om de impact te bepalen op de rekenprestaties, de academische prestaties, het intelligentieniveau en het ruimtelijk redeneren. De studies onderzochten ook andere variabelen die van invloed konden zijn op de prestaties, zoals sociaaleconomische achtergrond, familie-inkomen, herkomst

gezin, geografische ligging, opleiding ouders en de betrokkenheid bij niet-muzikale activiteiten buiten de school. De studie van Johnson & Memmott (2006) was er expliciet op gericht om het effect van muziek te bepalen op de rekenresultaten. De resultaten van leerlingen van het primair onderwijs in vier regio's werden onderzocht om te bestuderen wat het effect was van de muziekprogramma's, met verschillende niveaus, op de rekenprestaties. De resultaten toonden geen significant verschil op de rekentesten per regio, doch er was wel een significant effect waar te nemen op de diverse muziekniveaus ($F(1, 1022) = 30.49, p < .001, \text{partial } \eta^2 = .029$), terwijl de resultaten van de rekentesten van het voortgezet onderwijs onmiskenbaar een significant verschil toonden voor wat betreft de regio ($F(3, 2954) = 115.35, p < .001, \text{partial } \eta^2 = .105$), en het muziekniveau ($F(4, 2954) = 48.19, p < .001, \text{partial } \eta^2 = .061$). De studenten met een muziekprogramma van hoog niveau, twee van de vier regio's, hadden hogere resultaten voor de standaardtesten dan de studenten die een muziekprogramma met een lager niveau hadden.

De studies van Kinney (2008); Gouzouasis, Guhn & Kishor (2007); Schellenburg (2006) en Fitzpatrick (2006) onderzochten het effect van muziek op de academische prestaties. In de studie van Kinney (2008) kwam expliciet naar voren dat studenten die in een band speelden significant hoger scoorden op de bekwaamheidstesten dan de studenten die in een koor zongen of de studenten die geen muziek hadden. Als we de resultaten vergelijken van de deelnemers van het koor en de deelnemers die geen muziek hadden, dan zien we geen significante verschillen bij welk vak dan ook op de gemiddelde scores van de bekwaamheidstesten tussen de deelnemers van de 4^{de} en 6^{de} klas.

De studie van Gouzouasis, Guhn & Kishor (2007) toonde eveneens aan dat in alle drie vakgebieden een positief verband was tussen de prestaties bij muziek en de prestaties bij de andere kernvakken. De gemiddelde correlatie tussen de prestaties bij muziek en rekenen was ($r = .22$) en bij muziek en biologie ($r = .26$), wat gelijk is aan een matige effectgrootte; de correlatie tussen muziek en Engels was gelijk aan een kleine effectgrootte ($r = .16$). Het meest opvallend was dat studenten, die in de 11^e klas deel uitmaakten van een band, gemiddeld hogere prestaties hadden in alle drie de examenvakken rekenen, biologie en Engels. Voor rekenen was het verschil consequent meer dan 10 procent hoger, met een aanzienlijke effectgrootte ($d = .38$ tot $.61$). Alle studenten die deelnamen aan ensembles in de 11^e klas, in een band, strijkorkest of koor, toonden consequent hogere prestaties voor rekenen en biologie.

Dit geldt ook voor degenen die zich met muziekcompositie bezighielden, hoewel de effectgroottes niet zo aanzienlijk waren als bij de banddeelnemers ($d = .06$ - $.53$).

De studie van Schellenburg (2006) onderzocht het effect van muziek op de academische prestaties, alsmede het effect van muziek op het intelligentieniveau. Ook in deze studie toonden de resultaten een positief effect van muziek zowel op het intelligentieniveau als

op de academische prestaties. Kinderen die reeds op jonge leeftijd met muziek in aanraking komen, tonen hogere resultaten op het IQ en de academische prestaties. Het bijwonen van muzieklessen gedurende de kinderjaren was een significante voorspeller voor het intelligentieniveau van jongeren en de academische prestaties van middelbare scholieren. Vooral het frequent bespelen van muziekinstrumenten had een kleine maar significante associatie met het intelligentieniveau, de perceptie en het geheugen. Deze associatie bleef stand houden, ook toen individuele verschillen zoals familie-inkomen, opleiding ouders en geslacht erbij betrokken werden.

De studie van Fitzpatrick (2006) bewees dat leerlingen, die actief aan instrumentale muziek deden, hogere resultaten behaalden in elk vak en op elk niveau dan de leerlingen die geen instrument bespeelden. De instrument bespeelende leerlingen van beide SES-niveaus, dus zowel met een lagere als met een hogere sociaaleconomische status, scoorden hoger dan hun klasgenoten (4^{de} klas) die geen instrument bespeelden. Instrumentale muziekprogramma's leiden, vanaf de aanvang van de instructie, tot hogere scores.

De studie van Hetland (2000) onderzocht evenals de experimentele studies van Rauscher et al. (1997), Eastlund Gromko & Smith Poorman (1998) en Rauscher & Zupan (2000) het effect van muziek op de ruimtelijke taken en het ruimtelijk redeneren. Hetland (2000) onderzocht wat voor effect actieve muziekinstructie had op ruimtelijk redeneren. De resultaten tonen aan dat actieve muziekinstructie de prestaties op het gebied van ruimtelijk redeneren bij kleuters en basisschool-leerlingen verhoogt, wanneer deze instructie plaatsvindt gedurende een periode van één tot twee jaar. De effectgroottes gaven aan dat één of twee jaar piano-instructie de ruimtelijke vaardigheden deed toenemen in verhouding tot de controlegroep.

Men kon echter geen effectgrootte berekenen voor het derde jaar. Uit een beschrijvend onderzoek bleek dat de controlegroep de pianogroep na drie jaar had ingehaald. Het effect was matig ($r=.37$), maar opvallend consistent voor de populatie van deze studie. De toename van ruimtelijk redeneren werd voor tweederdedeel gezien als resultaat van een muziekprogramma.

Deelconclusie onderzoeksvraag

Dankzij de bevindingen van de diverse studies kunnen we de conclusie trekken dat actieve muziekinstructie een positief effect heeft op de testcores van de academische prestaties, de ruimtelijke intelligentie en de rekenprestaties. Uit diverse onderzoeken blijkt dat studenten die deelnemen aan een muziekensemble, en leerlingen en kleuters die actieve muziekinstructie krijgen, significant hoger scoren op academische prestaties, intelligentieniveau, perceptie en geheugen. Bovendien heeft actieve muziekinstructie een significant positief effect op de ontwikkeling van de ruimtelijke intelligentie.

Muziekinstructie instrueert discipline, vergroot de concentratie en het geheugen. Deze vaardigheden zijn van belang voor de ontplooiing van de academische prestaties.

DISCUSSIE

Inhoudelijk

Deze literatuurstudie wil inzichtelijk maken in hoeverre actieve muziekinstructie impact heeft op de academische prestaties, de rekenresultaten, het intelligentieniveau en het ruimtelijk redeneren; vaardigheden die essentieel zijn om effectieve rekenresultaten te kunnen behalen. Aangezien in het Arubaanse onderwijs veelvuldig naar voren komt dat kinderen te kampen hebben met rekenlacunes, is het van essentieel belang dat het onderwijs een adequaat programma aanreikt om deze deficiëntie van de leerlingen op te lossen en de cognitieve ontwikkeling te ondersteunen. In het kader hiervan is onderzocht wat de impact is van actieve muziekinstructie op de academische prestaties en of muziek zou kunnen bijdragen tot het reduceren van de rekenlacunes.

De onderzochte studies betreffen muziekinstructie aan leerlingen van heel verschillende leeftijden. Het kleuteronderwijs komt aan bod bij Rauscher et al. (1997); Eastlund Gromko & Smith Poorman (1998); Rauscher & Zupan (2000) en Hetland (2000). Het primair onderwijs bij Johnson & Memmott (2006); Schellenburg (2006) en Hetland (2000). Het voortgezet onderwijs bij Cox & Stephens (2006); Rauscher, Shaw & Ky (1995); Johnson & Memmott (2006); Kinney (2008); Gouzouasis, Guhn & Kishor (2007); Schellenburg (2006); Fitzpatrick (2006).

Het merendeel van de empirische studies toonde in het algemeen hogere testcores voor de academische vaardigheden bij actieve muziekinstructie.

Het implementeren van muziekinstructie is een waardevolle benaderingswijze voor docenten die rekenlacunes willen reduceren. Door middel van adequaat onderricht kunnen ze leerlingen instrueren om op een creatieve wijze lacunes op te lossen.

Leerlingen kunnen bekwaamheden ontplooiën middels muziek. Door deel te nemen aan muziekprogramma's kunnen ze muzikale vaardigheden ontwikkelen die overgedragen kunnen worden op andere academische vakken, zoals het rekenen.

De meeste bevindingen van de hier besproken onderzoeken betreffen een toename van academische prestaties bij muziekprogramma's die niet langer dan een jaar duurden. Eén studie (Hetland, 2000) omvatte een langere instructieperiode. In de eerste twee jaar was er sprake van een toename van academische prestaties bij kleuters en basisschoolleerlingen die actief aan een muziekprogramma deelnamen.

Wil men een positief effect bereiken op de rekenprestaties, dan is het van belang om een muzikaal programma aan te bieden dat één of twee jaar duurt en veel afwisseling en variatie biedt, wat cruciaal is om juist de leerlingen die rekenlacunes hebben te bereiken.

Hoewel er in de studies geen toename te zien was in de leerlingenprestaties bij muziekinstructie die langer dan twee jaar duurde, was er wel sprake van een relevante toename van testcores op korte termijn. Meer empirisch onderzoek op dit gebied is gewenst.

Methodologische discussiepunten

Uit de studie van Schellenburg (2006) kwam een opmerkelijk feit naar voren: het volgen van muzieklessen gedurende de kinderjaren blijkt een significante voorspeller te zijn voor het intelligentieniveau en de academische prestaties van studenten van de middelbare school. Het vanaf jonge leeftijd regelmatig bespelen van een muziekinstrument had een significante associatie met het intelligentieniveau, de perceptie en het geheugen.

Deze positieve bevindingen komen overeen met de bevindingen van Eastlund Gromko & Smith Poorman (1998); Hetland (2000); Rauscher (2003). In deze studies is eveneens een correlatie aangetoond tussen muzieklessen en het intellectueel functioneren.

Uit de resultaten van de studie van Kinney (2008) kunnen we afleiden dat de leerlingen met instrumentale bandmuziek significant hoger scoorden op de academische prestaties; dit was al snel na aanvang van het muziekprogramma het geval, en dit bleef stabiel gedurende de hele periode dat de leerlingen actief bezig waren met instrumentale muziek. Ook de resultaten van de studie van Fitzpatrick (2006) tonen aan dat studenten met instrumentale muziek in hun pakket hogere resultaten behaalden, in elk vak en op elk niveau, dan de studenten die dat niet in hun pakket hadden. Zowel studenten uit een hoog als uit een laag sociaaleconomisch milieu die deel uitmaakten van ensembles met instrumentale muziek, behaalden hogere scores dan hun klasgenoten die niet in een instrumentaal ensemble speelden. Instrumentale muziekprogramma's leiden al snel tot hogere scores. Actieve muziekinstructie verhoogt de prestaties op het gebied van ruimtelijk redeneren.

In de studie van Hetland (2000) bleek dat muziekinstructie met de duur van één tot twee jaar de leerlingen hoger doet scoren op de ruimtelijke taken. Dit positieve effect komt overeen met de resultaten van de studies van Rauscher & Zupan (2000) en Fitzpatrick (2006). De diverse onderzoeken, gebaseerd op data, wijzen uit dat muziek de academische prestaties kan verhogen en een positieve impact heeft op de rekenresultaten.

Conclusies

Het merendeel van de empirische bewijzen toont aan dat muziekprogramma's in het onderwijs een significant positief effect hebben op de testcores van de leerlingen. De positieve impact op de resultaten zijn zowel bij de experimentele als bij de beschrijvende studies gevonden.

Muziekinstructie kan bijdragen tot een effectieve ondersteuning voor hulpbehoevende leerlingen die te kampen hebben met rekenlacunes. Het is belangrijk dat kinderen en jongeren tijdens hun schooljaren in aanraking komen met muziek.

Uit de verschillende studies blijkt dat door middel van muziek kinderen en jongeren beter presteren bij de diverse academische vakken, beter scoren voor wat betreft intelligentieniveau en ruimtelijke vaardigheden.

Deze correlatie dient voor de Arubaanse situatie nader onderzocht te worden middels experimentele studies om de impact van actieve muziekinstructie grondiger te kunnen beoordelen, gedegen conclusies te kunnen vaststellen en gewogen adviezen uit te kunnen brengen naar de beleidsmedewerkers.

Aanbevelingen

Docenten beschikken over de potentie om aan leerlingen een diversiteit van muzikale verworvenheden aan te bieden. Actieve muziekinstructie kan toegepast worden ter ondersteuning bij het leren rekenen, en bij het oplossen van de rekenlacunes. Het is van wezenlijk belang om toekomstige generaties aan te sporen muzikale bekwaamheden te ontplooien. Hoewel ook nu al diverse docenten enige muzikale activiteiten inbouwen, is het stellig aan te bevelen om een muziekprogramma van hoge kwaliteit te creëren. Goede muziekprogramma's hebben een positieve en effectieve invloed op de academische vakken en de testcores van de studenten (Johnson & Memmott, 2006).

Middels muzikale verworvenheden ontwikkelen leerlingen capaciteiten die overgedragen kunnen worden op andere academische vakken, zoals het rekenen (Gouzouasis, Guhn & Kishor, 2007).

In aansluiting op de resultaten van de verschillende geanalyseerde studies, is het raadzaam nader onderzoek te verrichten en uit te diepen wat voor effect muziek heeft op de resultaten van andere vakken in het Arubaanse onderwijs. Wat is de impact van muziek op de rekenresultaten van zowel heel jonge kinderen als jongeren, op welke wijze zou men met muziek het rekenonderwijs kunnen ondersteunen.

Het Ministerie van Onderwijs zou scholen moeten aanmoedigen om uitvoerig gebruik te maken van actieve muziekinstructie binnen het onderwijs, en om muziek te integreren in het rekencurriculum.

Dan is het tevens noodzakelijk om docenten bij te scholen en te instrueren op welke wijze ze muziek zouden kunnen toepassen en integreren binnen het rekencurriculum, zodat ze muzikale activiteiten kunnen creëren van hoge kwaliteit, waarbij een ieder aan zijn trekken kan komen.

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FOREIGN LANGUAGE ANXIETY (FLA): EL TEMOR A LA COMUNICACIÓN ORAL EN UNA LENGUA EXTRANJERA

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Los últimos años se ha visto un cambio llamativo en la enseñanza de idiomas extranjeros. Los métodos de antes, con mucho énfasis en la gramática y la traducción, han sido reemplazados por métodos comunicativos con un enfoque en tareas de expresión activa. La competencia comunicativa es el objetivo más importante en las aulas de lenguas extranjeras. En este proceso el papel del estudiante también ha cambiado. Antes podía esconderse: hacía sus ejercicios, rellenaba palabras y formas verbales, traducía frases, etc. Después de unas semanas el docente le daba un examen con más o menos los mismos ejercicios pasivos y repetitivos.

Hoy en día es primordial que el alumno haga algo, que produzca en la lengua meta y que sea activo de verdad. Visto que hablar es el aspecto más amenazante en el aprendizaje de una lengua extranjera y es la destreza que más ansiedad puede producir entre el alumnado, el énfasis actual en esta destreza dentro de los enfoques comunicativos puede poner al estudiante ya ansioso de carácter ante dificultades subestimadas. Estos estudiantes se ven confrontados con situaciones de mayor vulnerabilidad que pueden conllevar estrés y una afectividad negativa. Esto puede llegar a entorpecer e incluso impedir el aprendizaje de la lengua en cuestión. La ansiedad ante la comunicación oral en una lengua extranjera se llama en inglés Foreign Language Anxiety (FLA); en español se usa la misma denominación. Elaine K. Horwitz, una de los expertos más importantes en este campo, describe el problema de la siguiente forma: “[...] a distinct complex of self-perceptions, beliefs, feelings, and behaviors related to classroom language learning arising from the uniqueness of the language learning process.” (Horwitz et al., 1986: 128).

Es evidente que aprender a comunicarse oralmente de una forma correcta y adecuada debe formar parte del currículo de una lengua extranjera. Sin embargo, el FLA es una realidad. ¿Cómo puede manejar un docente de lengua extranjera este dilema? Veamos en primer lugar los síntomas del FLA. ¿Cómo se reconoce este problema en un estudiante y cómo se distingue un estudiante que sufre de FLA del estudiante que simplemente no tiene ganas de aprender?

El instrumento más conocido para medir la reacción de ansiedad de un estudiante en una situación de aprendizaje de una lengua extranjera, es la escala de la ya mencionada

Horwitz. En 1986 desarrolló su Foreign Language Classroom Anxiety Scale (FLCAS), un cuestionario sobre la ansiedad específica en la clase de lengua extranjera. Con la planilla de Horwitz se puede distinguir el alumno realmente ansioso del alumno flojo. Sin embargo, la mayoría de los profesores no necesitan un cuestionario para poder percibir la ansiedad entre su alumnado. Los signos sintomáticos de ansiedad ante la expresión oral en un idioma extranjero son bastante claros.

En primer lugar, hay la evitación general. Los alumnos que experimentan ansiedad tratan de hacerse invisible, evitan la conversación y el contacto ocular con el profesor. Muchas veces quedan atascados en ‘salidas en falso’, se repiten o se huyen en reacciones estándar. También es posible que el estudiante siga usando su propia lengua y simplemente se niega a hablar la lengua que se está estudiando. Los síntomas físicos más notables son la tensión muscular, palpitaciones, temblores, enrojecimiento de la piel, sonrojo momentáneo y dolor de cabeza. También se ve que el alumno tartamudea, suda, se mueve de una forma constante o toca objetos de forma nerviosa. Muchos estudiantes que experimentan la ansiedad sacan malas notas, a pesar de que estudien mucho. El estudio exagerado va de la mano con una búsqueda de la perfección y una autocrítica excesiva.

Una vez detectados los alumnos que sufren de FLA, hay que investigar las causas del problema, para así poder resolverlo. En cuanto a las causas se puede distinguir dos dimensiones: la de la personalidad de alguien y la que abarca el área de los procedimientos en el aula.

En general, casi todos los aprendices de una lengua extranjera experimentan cierto estrés y ansiedad si saben que son escuchados y evaluados. Estos sentimientos son aún más fuertes cuando la tarea oral se ejecuta delante de la clase. FLA, sin embargo, es un sentimiento mucho más fuerte. Depende en primer lugar del carácter del estudiante. Al respecto, Simons y Decoo (2007: 12) comentan lo siguiente: “Quien tiene sentido de la perfección o quien se preocupa por su imagen social experimentará los factores mencionados como mucho más amenazadores.” En general, los estudiantes perfeccionistas, introvertidos, tímidos o inseguros experimentan más ansiedad. Particularmente los estudiantes que al principio tienen muchas dificultades con la lengua en cuestión, son, por ejemplo, incapaces de producir los sonidos de la lengua meta, casi no conocen palabras y no entienden mucho de la gramática, corren el riesgo de desarrollar ansiedad hacia la lengua que estudian. Se ponen nerviosos, se sienten incómodos y a partir de unas experiencias negativas ya no son capaces de seguir el ritmo de los demás estudiantes.

Por su parte también, aspectos relacionados con la dimensión ambiental y social pueden causar y agravar el FLA. Stevick (1980: 4) afirma que “El éxito en el aprendizaje depende menos de los materiales técnicos y análisis lingüístico que podamos utilizar, más de lo que suceda dentro del aula y entre las personas que están en ella.” En esta área hay varios factores a tener en cuenta. Las expectativas y

creencias carentes de realismo, tanto por parte del profesor como por parte del alumno, pueden maximizar la ansiedad ante el idioma extranjero. Por otra parte, pueden existir verdaderas ‘guerras de estilo’ entre el docente y el estudiante. La actitud y el comportamiento de un profesor pueden causar mucho estrés entre sus estudiantes, lo que puede resultar en notas bajas. La corrección de errores de una manera abrupta y severa puede elevar el temor al ridículo y es un elemento que puede generar mucha ansiedad entre el alumnado. También utilizar y aceptar solamente la lengua meta en clase puede causar problemas. Por otra parte, el contexto social, la cohesión del grupo y la relación entre el grupo y el profesor pueden tener mucha influencia. Un grupo muy competitivo puede causar un ambiente muy negativo para un estudiante de ansiedad alta.

Parece que el tener éxito o no en una lengua extranjera también tiene que ver con la posición que esta lengua tiene dentro de la sociedad. Para los estudiantes hay lenguas que son más interesantes, más importantes, más ‘cool’ que otras. Esto se nota en la situación arubana, donde el inglés tiene mucho más estatus que el español. La consecuencia es que los estudiantes no tienen problemas para tratar de superar cierta cantidad de ansiedad y de estrés para hablar inglés, porque fallar en esta lengua significaría cierto aislamiento social. Por otra parte, fallar en español no tiene esta consecuencia negativa y por lo tanto no tratan de superar estrés o ansiedad en relación con esta lengua. El hecho de que en países multilingües, como Aruba, la lengua extranjera puede ser la lengua materna de ciertos estudiantes del grupo, también puede causar ansiedad para un estudiante que ya tiene problemas con la lengua en cuestión. Si un hispanohablante se ríe de un error cometido por un compañero ya estresado, es posible que éste deje de hablar completamente.

La mayoría de los estudiantes pasan un episodio de temor cuando tienen que actuar oralmente en la lengua meta. Su ansiedad es pasajera y disminuye con el tiempo. Para algunos estudiantes, sin embargo, esta ansiedad se convierte en un rasgo, en algo permanente, cuyos efectos pueden generalizarse en el aprendizaje de idiomas y que pueden dificultar gravemente los procesos cognitivos. El FLA influye de una manera negativa en cada una de las fases del proceso de adquisición de una lengua extranjera (input - intake - output). Los pensamientos negativos en relación con la lengua meta compiten por recursos negativos con las demandas cognitivas habituales, debilitando nuestra capacidad para procesar la información nueva. Así, la ansiedad puede influir negativamente en la velocidad, precisión y calidad del aprendizaje. Si la ansiedad interrumpe el esfuerzo cognitivo en una de las tres fases mencionadas, dicha información no pasa a la fase siguiente. La ansiedad interrumpe también el proceso que conlleva la recuperación del conocimiento en momentos de calificación; el estudiante se queda en blanco en un examen.

Uno de los efectos académicos más importantes es que un estudiante que experimenta mucha ansiedad obtiene calificaciones bajas como consecuencia de la misma. El

estudio exagerado no lleva automáticamente a mejores resultados. Hasta es posible que el estudiante en cuestión saque notas más bajas o se quede completamente en blanco en exámenes orales. El estudiante se encuentra en un círculo vicioso, una espiral descendente, que puede causar que deje de estudiar completamente. El FLA también tiene sus consecuencias personales y sociales. En general, el estudiante que padece este problema desarrollará estrategias de evasión para que no le toque el turno. Sin embargo, en cierto momento tiene que actuar, lo que causa varios efectos físicos: dolor de cabeza, manos sudorosas, transpirar, temblar, tartamudear, ponerse colorado, etc. Aún más graves son las consecuencias mentales: el aprendiz pierde la autoestima y la confianza en sí mismo y experimenta estrés, opresión, sentimientos de inferioridad, depresión, etc. Va a desarrollar una frustración y una aversión hacia la lengua en cuestión, deja la materia y a causa de eso hasta puede perder el año escolar.

Visto que las causas del problema se encuentran en las dimensiones personal y social, parece lógico que busquemos las soluciones al problema en estas mismas dimensiones. Como este texto se dirige a profesores de lenguas extranjeras, queremos comentar aquí solamente algunas soluciones en la dimensión ambiental. Es ésta la parte que le toca al docente; la dimensión personal es más la responsabilidad del psicólogo o asistente social. Entonces, ¿qué pueden hacer los profesores para solucionar o al menos aliviar el problema del FLA?

En primer lugar, es importante que cada docente tenga conocimiento del fenómeno y sea capaz de reconocerlo. Después tiene que investigar en qué fase del proceso de adquisición, es decir la cadena input-intake-output, el estudiante experimenta más ansiedad. Basándose en este análisis, se puede tratar de solucionar el problema. Para facilitar el proceso de reconocimiento se puede utilizar el ya mencionado Foreign Language Classroom Anxiety Scale (FLCAS) de Horwitz. Por otra parte, el docente debe crear un ambiente positivo y relajado dentro del aula. Por las investigaciones de Krashen (1981) sabemos que no habrá adquisición si el filtro afectivo está alto. En un ambiente positivo el docente puede hablar la lengua meta sin problemas y puede exigir que los estudiantes también la utilicen como único modo de comunicación. Es importante que el profesor no corrija cada error cometido, más bien, debe fijarse en el proceso comunicativo y en el contenido. Además, hay que cambiar el ‘monologic discourse’, una situación en la que el profesor hace una pregunta fija, por el ‘dialogic discourse’, que es un diálogo verdadero con preguntas abiertas y respuestas que no han sido precocinadas. Investigaciones han demostrado que estudiantes que han sido confrontados únicamente con el ‘monologic discourse’ tienen generalmente más ansiedad cuando tienen que usar la lengua meta.

También es importante que el docente le dé a cada estudiante suficiente tiempo para preparar su tarea oral. Muchas veces el estudiante que tiene que presentarse ante el grupo no está bien preparado y no ha practicado suficiente; ambos factores pueden causar mucha ansiedad. Los estudiantes ansiosos necesitan más tiempo para prepararse

y quizá una tarea grupal sea menos estresante y les ayude a superar la ansiedad. Antes de una presentación ante todo el grupo, se puede practicar en grupos pequeños, para que la tarea oral cause menos estrés.

Una alternativa interesante para ayudar a estudiantes que sufren de FLA presenta Wasserman (2007). Por sus investigaciones ha resultado que se puede practicar la expresión oral exitosamente usando formas teatrales en las que los estudiantes tienen ciertos roles, es decir, no hablan ellos mismos, sino los personajes a quienes representan. Gracias al aspecto lúdico, los estudiantes con su identidad prestada no experimentaban ansiedad, hablaban de una manera más espontánea y tenían más alegría y placer. Según Wasserman, se pueden usar las formas teatrales como un paso intermedio para llegar después a un nivel más alto en el que los estudiantes se comuniquen seriamente sin tomar roles y sin experimentar mucho estrés.

En definitiva, el FLA no es un problema nuevo, pero a consecuencia de los desarrollos en la enseñanza de la lenguas extranjeras es un problema que se ha manifestado mucho más los últimos años. Como muchos profesores de idiomas desconocen el problema, es algo que en muchas ocasiones queda sin solucionar. Sin embargo, las consecuencias para los que sufren del problema pueden ser bastante impactantes. En el proceso de reconocer y solucionar el problema, el docente es el protagonista. Un profesor bien preparado sabe lo que es FLA y cuando prepara su clase, tiene que darse cuenta de que dentro de su grupo puede haber estudiantes que experimentan este fenómeno. Debe preparar tareas poco ansiosas y tratar de crear un ambiente positivo y seguro en su aula. Tiene que organizar su clase de tal manera de que cada estudiante se sienta seguro y ansioso - ¡ansioso por aprender!

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APLICANDO BREVEMENTE TAXONOMIA HERARKICO DEN PAPIAMENTO

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SECCION PROYECTO IDIOMA DEN ENSEÑANSA, ARUBA

Idioma ta forma pa structura (y patronchi) cu nos ta studia den lexicologia, morfologia, semantica, sintaxis, fonologia y fonetica. Mirando -amplitud di idioma, a opta pa lexicologia, limitando esaki na onomasiologia, cu a keda delimita na taxonomia herarkico. Lo sostiene e splicacion, uzando ehempel na idioma Papiamento y fragmento di un texto informativo den Papiamento.

Introduccion

Lexicologia ta studia structura di nificacion y dunamento di number na e nificacionnan. Ta distingui dos acercamento den lexicologia: semasiologia y onomasiologia. Semasiologia ta e acercamento den cua ta sali di palabra pa nificacion:

329

1. ***Paña*** sus (-nan)

(biol.) tehido di hilo di textiel uza pa tapa algo

tela cu ta sirbi como uzo of adorno pa hende, bestia of obheto

duki, tela, lapi, bisti, textiel (polysemia)

2. *Skirbi* riba e ***papel*** aki.

*Mi tin un **papel** importante den educacion.* (homonimia)

Onomasiologia ta e acercamento den cua ta sali di nificacion pa palabra:

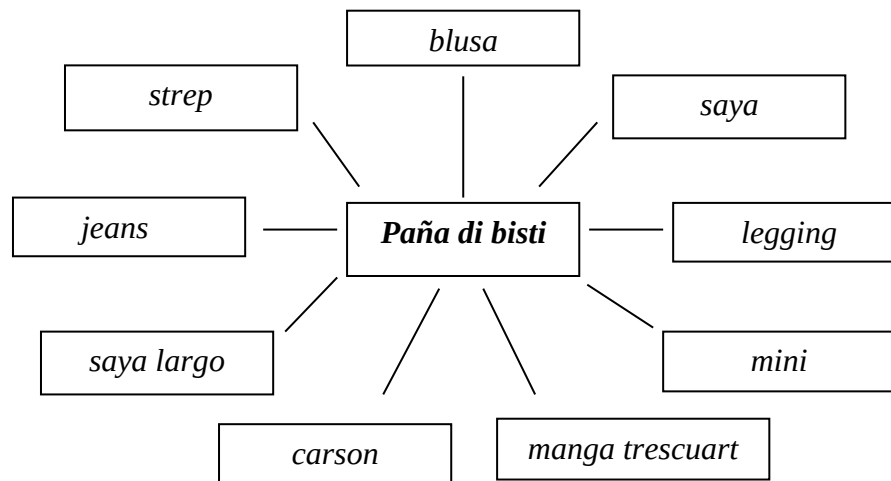
1. *Mi a duna Yermias un **encargo**.*

*Mi a duna Yermias un **tarea**.* (sinonimia)

2. *Su paña tabata **sushi**.*

*Su paña tabata **limpi**.* (antonimia)

A base di un analisis onomasiolodico di e nificacionan, ta descubri un patronchi di relacion, y ta agrupa esaki. Ta yama e agrupacion aki di e nificacionnan campo semantico:



Pues, *blusa*, *saya*, *legging*, *mini*, *manga trescuart*, *carson*, *saya largo*, *jeans* y *strep* ta pertenece na un solo campo semantico, pasobra nan tur ta elemento di e mesun dominio conceptual, esta, ***pañã di bisti***.

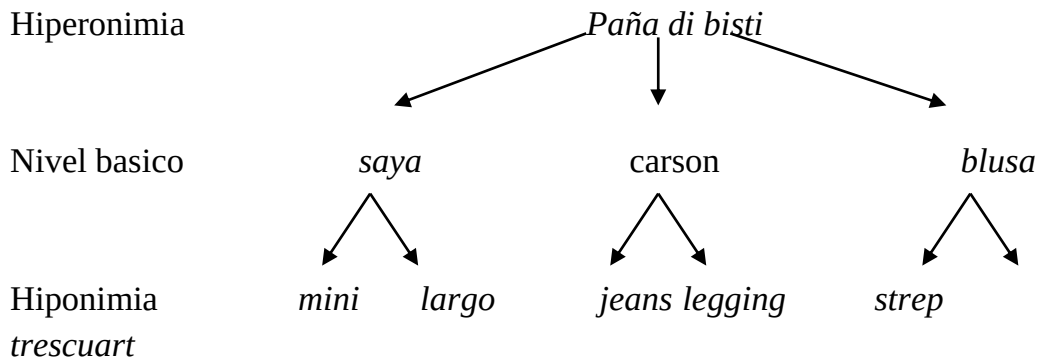
330 Den un dominio conceptual, tin diferente nivel: nivel general, nivel basico y nivel specifico. Den e dominio aki, ta categorisa e elementonan segun nan nificacion:

Nivel	Dominio conceptual
nivel general	<i>pañã di bisti</i>
nivel basico	<i>carson</i>
nivel specifico	<i>jeans</i>

E dominio conceptual *pañã di bisti* ta categorisa den e nivel general, *carson* ta categorisa den e nivel basico y *jeans* ta categorisa den e nivel specifico.

Den un dominio conceptual, no tin solamente un division entre e nivel general, e nivel basico y e nivel specifico, pero na mes momento e nivelnan aki ta forma un taxonomia herarkico ordena. E palabra *taxonomia* ta di origen griego. ‘*Taxis*’ ta nifica ordenamento y ‘*nomos*’ ta nifica norma of regla.

Den un taxonomia herarkico, manera *pañã di bisti*, tin tres nivel abstracto: hiperonimia, nivel basico y hiponimia. Hiperonimia ta denota nificacion general di un concepto, por ehempel, *pañã di bisti*. Nivel basico ta denota e categoria na cua un concepto, a base di nificacion, ta pertenece, por Ehempel, *carson*. Hiponimia ta denota nificacion specifico di un concepto, por ehempel, *jeans*.



Pues, den un taxonomia, tin herarkia entre palabra, p'esey tambe e relacion yama taxonomia herarkico.

Relacion di hiponimia y relacion di metonimia

Den taxonomia, e relacionnan semantico mas comun ta hiponimia – hiperonimia, meronimia – holonimia, sinonimia – antonimia. Den e caso aki, mi ta limita e relacionnan na hiponimia – hiperonimia y meronimia – holonimia.

Relacion di hiponimia

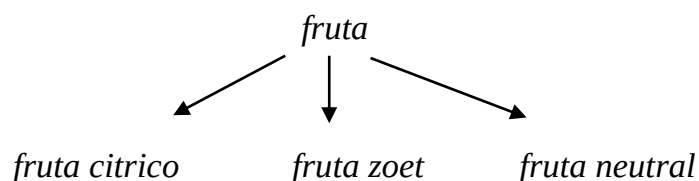
Hiponimia ta deriva for di Griego *hipo*, cu ta nifica *bou di*, y *noma*, cu ta nifica *number*, cu literalmente kiermeen "*number subordina*". Hiponimia ta e relacion entre dos palabra determina, di cua nificacion di un palabra ta completamente inclui den nificacion di un otro palabra: *mango* y *fruta*, *pikines* y *cacho*, y *diaranson* y *dia*.

Den e ehempelnan aki, *mango* ta hiponimo di *fruta*, *pikines* ta hiponimo di *cacho* y *diaranson* ta hiponimo di *dia*.

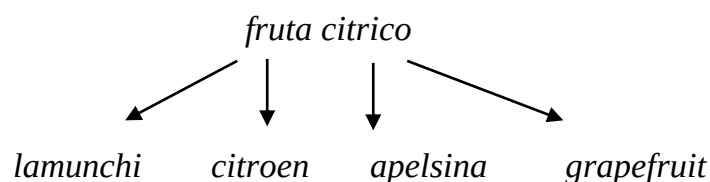
Sinembargo, e relacion di hiponimia no ta consisti solamente di hiponimo, pero tambe di hiperonimo. Pa por compronde esaki, laga nos miranan den practica, uzando e siguiente fragmento di e texto informativo *Lamunchi*:

E mata cu ta crece bon na Aruba y cu tin varios caracteristica beneficoso pa bo salud ta e mata di lamunchi. E ta pertenece na e famia di fruta citrico, manera apelsina, mandarin, grapefruit y citroen. Lamunchi ta di origen Asiatico, pero awor e ta crece na tur parti tropico di mundo.

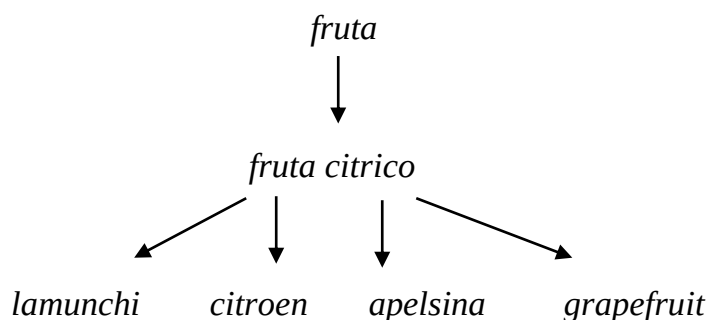
Tumando e fragmento informativo aki como ehempel, nos ta haya e siguiente ordenacion den e relacion di hiponimia:



E relacion entre *fruta* y *fruta citrico*, *fruta zoet* y *fruta neutral* ta e relacion di 'un tipo di', pasobra *fruta citrico*, *fruta zoet* y *fruta neutral* ta un tipo di fruta. Den e caso aki, *fruta* ta e hiperonimo; e ta denota nificacion general di un concepto. *Fruta citrico*, *fruta zoet* y *fruta neutral* ta hiponimo; nan ta denota nificacion specifico di un concepto.



E relacion entre *fruta citrico* y *lamunchi*, *citroen*, *apelsina* y *grapefruit* ta e relacion di 'un tipo di'. *Lamunchi*, *citroen*, *apelsina* y *grapefruit*, cu ta un tipo di fruta citrico, ta hiponimo di fruta, cu ta un hiperonimo.



Den ordenacion aki, e categorisacion ta lo siguiente: *fruta* ta hiperonimo, *fruta citrico* ta nivel basico, y *lamunchi*, *citroen*, *apelsina* y *grapefruit* ta hiponimo. E relacion entre *lamunchi*, *citroen*, *apelsina* y *grapefruit* nos ta yama cohiponimia. Pues, nan ta cohiponimo di otro.

Relacion di meronimia

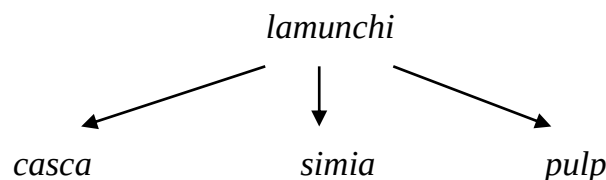
Meronimia ta origina for di e palabra Griego antiguo *meros*, cu ta nifica “*parti di*” y *onoma*, cu ta nifica “*number*”. Meronimia ta un relacion semantico no simetrico entre

e nificacionnan di dos (of mas) palabra den e mesun campo semantico. E relacion di meronimia ta consisti di holonimo y meronimo.

Un fragmento di e texto informativo *Lamunchi*:

Popularidad di e mata di lamunchi ta debi principalmente na su fruta, pero den cushina Indones, ta uza e blachinan pa duna smaak na e platonan di pisca. No ta come e blachi, pa motibo cu e ta mucho duro, pero ta lag'e den cuminda pa su aspecto decorativo. Den e cumindanan tipico di Mexico, Vietnam y Thailandia, ta agrega e casca raspa pa duna e cuminda un aroma. Lamunchi ta, cu un pH di 2.1, e fruta di mas acido conoci te awor, y p'esey e ta un ingrediente esencial den hopi diferente tipo di cocktail, manera Margarita. Tambe ta traha juice di lamunchi.

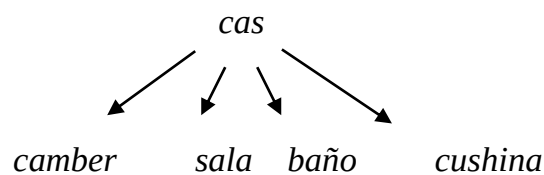
Tumando e fragmento informativo aki como ehempel, e holonimo ta:



Den e relacion aki, *casca*, *simia* y *pulp* ta ‘parti di’ *lamunchi*: nan ta e meronimonan. E palabra *lamunchi* ta e holonimo, pasobra e ta denota totalidad di e caracteristicanan di algo. Den e caso di *lamunchi*, ta su partinan integral. Pues, meronimia ta e relacion di ‘un parti di’.

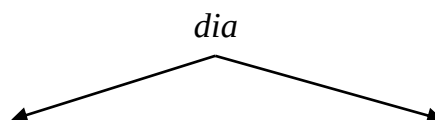
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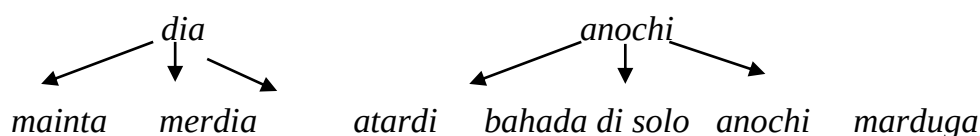
Fuera di e texto informativo, laga nos tuma como ehempel, e concepto *cas*:



Den e ehempel aki, *cas* ta e holonimo. *Camber*, *sala*, *baño* y *cushina* ta e meronimonan, pasobra *camber*, *sala*, *baño* y *cushina* ta parti di un cas.

Algo peculiar ta cu den meronimia, por dividi e entidadnan abstracto den mas parti:





E terminonan *dia* y *anochi* ta aparece dos biaha den e herarkia aki, pasobra *dia* ta referi na e periodo di binticuater ora y na parti di e periodo cu tin luz di dia; *anochi* ta contrasta cu e di dos nificacion di *dia*, y e ta referi tambe na e parti scur di dia.

Bashi lexical

Ora nos aplica e nocionnan di hiponimia y meronimia na e partinan di vocabulario di un idioma, nos ta realisa inmediatamente cu, como papiado ordinario di e lenga, no ta necesariamente nos ta clasifica manera mester ta ni tampoco analisa e cosnan den forma sistematico manera un academico of un científico ta haci. Un ehempel pa meronimia, uzando parti di un dede humano, ta cu e dede tin tres articulacion, pero nos ta uza un termino comun pa un di nan, conoshi di dede (wak Van Putte Nederlands-Papiaments: p. 312).

Esaki ta indica cu tin un ‘bashi lexical’ pa e otro dos meronimonan, pa motibo cu, supuestamente, nos ta uza nan masha poco. Na Papiamento, nos no tin en realidad un palabra exacto pa e otro dos meronimonan aki, p’esei nos ta uza mas tanto ‘conoshi’ pa tur tres articulacion, en bes di uza un expresion descriptivo, manera articulacion memey of articulacion cerca di huña.

Conclusion

Den e acercamento lexicologico, onomasiologia tin e relacion di hiponimia y hiperonimia, y di meronimia y holonimia. E relacion entre hiponimia y hiperonimia ta masha importante den sistema di lenga, mescos cu e relacion entre meronimia y holonimia. Hiponimia y hiperonimia ta permiti nos clasifica concepto. Meronimia y holonimia ta duna nos e posibilidad di por describi concepto. Sin descripcion, no ta posibel pa tin clasificacion, pasobra ta haci tur clasificacion a base di e datonan describi. A base di e relacionnan aki, den taxonomia herarkico ta constata un ‘bashi lexical’, ya cu tin concepto cu, supuestamente, no ta wordo uza, y ta uza un termino comun pa e conceptonan aki. Esaki ta sosode pasa den mayoria di idioma.

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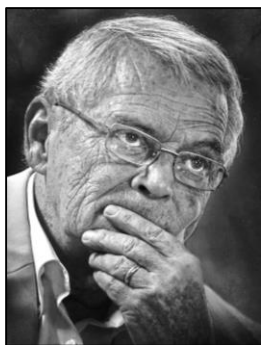
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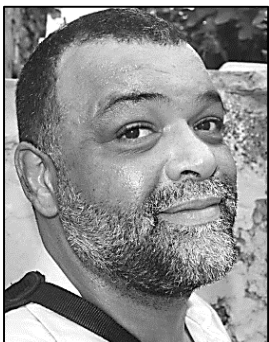
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