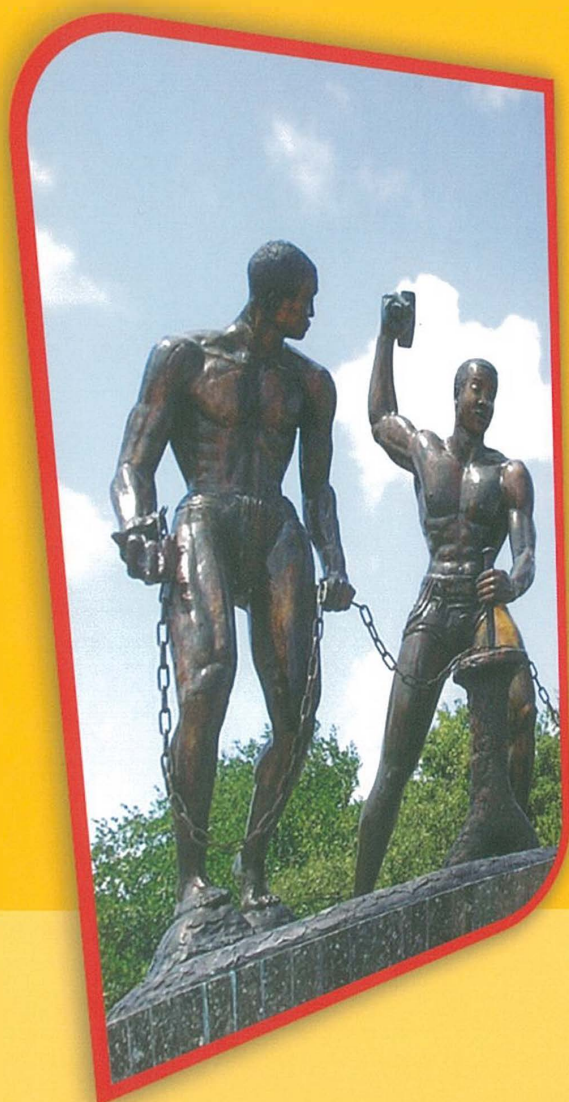# Envisioning
the Greater Dutch Caribbean

Transgressing geographical and disciplinary boundaries

Edited by
Nicholas Faraclas
Ronald Severing
Christa Weijer
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Envisioning the Greater Dutch Caribbean:
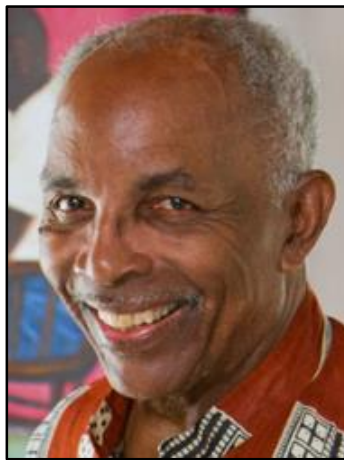Transgressing Geographical and Disciplinary Boundaries

Dedication

We humbly dedicate this volume to

Prof. Dr. Frank Martinus Arion

1936-2015

native son of Curaçao, best-selling novelist at home and abroad, outstanding academic, prolific researcher, committed community educator, and untiring promoter and defender of the Papiamentu language in the Leeward Islands.

We will miss you.

Envisioning the Greater Dutch Caribbean:
Transgressing Geographical and Disciplinary Boundaries

Volume 1

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Acknowledgements

We take this opportunity to pay special tribute to Frank Martinus Arion (1936-2015), a native son of Curaçao, a best-selling novelist at home and abroad, an outstanding academic, a prolific researcher, a committed community educator, and an untiring promoter and defender of the Papiamentu language in the Leeward Islands.

By way of gratitude, recognition and friendship we dedicate the two 2015 volumes to him.

The Editors

TRANSGRESSING BOUNDARIES IN ATTITUDES AND LANGUAGE OF INSTRUCTION

ATTITUDES TOWARD DUTCH AMONG HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS IN ARUBA[1]

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Introduction

The role of Dutch in the education system of the former Netherlands Antilles has been subject to political and societal debates for decades. In this seminal article we will make a contribution to this debate, by discussing the results of a survey that was carried out in March 2015 by the second author of this work for her Master's thesis. We will investigate language use and language attitudes among Aruban high school students, as well as their opinions about the role of Dutch in the Aruban education system.

The results of our study indicate that students from different education levels share positive attitudes toward Dutch as a language of instruction and as a subject, but their general attitudes toward the Dutch language are rather neutral. The importance they attribute to Dutch seems to correlate mainly with their wish to pursue their studies in the European part of the Netherlands. Attitudes toward the use of Papiamento and multilingualism in the school system are positive as well. A majority of the students favor a system in which English plays a prominent role alongside Dutch and students in lower education levels are advocates of the use of Papiamento as a third language. These results are roughly consistent with those presented in Leuverink (2011) and Sollie (2015).

Language and education in Aruba

As shown in table 1 (from Kester & Fun, 2012), Papiamento is the most spoken language in Aruban households and a decrease over the last decades seems to be caused by an increasing number of households that speak Spanish.

As pointed out in Dijkhoff & Pereira (2010), language attitudes in Aruba are strongly influenced by the role of Dutch, a language that was imposed on the community by the

former colonial power. For centuries, Dutch was the only officially recognized language in Aruba, playing an exclusive role in the administration, the education system and in

	1981	1991	2000	2010
Papiamento	80.1	76.6	69.4	68.3
Spanish	3.1	7.4	13.2	13.5
Dutch	5.0	5.4	6.1	6.0
English	10.6	8.9	8.1	7.0

Table 1 Languages most spoken in Aruban households in percentages (Central Bureau of Statistics, Aruba).

all other public domains. As Pereira (2011: 289) indicates, Arubans were taught to despise their own language and culture and negative attitudes toward Papiamento are persistent and hard to change.

Over the past decades the role of Papiamento has witnessed some important positive changes. In 2003, Papiamento was recognized as one of the official languages of Aruba (alongside Dutch) and it is used in the Parliament as well as in official documents (Croes, 2011: 294). Papiamento is also prominent in the media, as Aruba has 4 newspapers, 3 TV-stations and 18 radio stations in Papiamento (Lasten & Tromp-Wouters, 2011: 57). In the education system Papiamento is becoming increasingly more important. Papiamento features as a language of instruction in kindergarten (*kleuterschool*) as well as in special education (Dijkhoff & Pereira, 2010) and it is also being taught as a subject in the lower grades of secondary education. Papiamento is the main language of instruction in the *Proyecto Scol Multilingual*, a model for multilingual primary education that integrates the four major languages spoken in Aruba: Papiamento, English, Spanish and Dutch. In this model, Papiamento is taught as a subject and also used as a medium to teach all other subjects (Dijkhoff & Pereira, 2010).

All the other primary schools in Aruba exclusively use Dutch as the language of instruction, in spite of the fact that Dutch is a foreign language to the majority of the students. School results indicate that many students are hampered by the use of a language that hardly plays a role in their daily life outside the classroom. As pointed out in Van der Linden-Maduro (2011: 129) 27.3% of the students repeat grades, as compared to 2.8% of the students who are native speakers of Dutch. Only half of the students who go to the European Netherlands for their studies pass their exams and receive their diploma, as compared to 70-80% of those who go to the US or Latin America (Van der Linden-Maduro: 129). Dijkhoff & Pereira (2010: 247) mention high dropout rates and a disproportionate number of children who have been misdiagnosed with developmental delays or disorders due to the lack of fluency in Dutch.

Language attitudes in Aruba

Leuverink (2011) presents the results of an initial attempt to investigate language attitudes and opinions about the language policy in Aruba by means of a survey. More specifically, the aim of Leuverink's study was to investigate to what extent the language policy implemented in Aruba was supported by the language attitudes of the Aruban population. The survey was distributed among 185 participants most of whom were closely related to the education system as university students (64.2%) and teachers (25%). As Leuverink points out, the selection of participants may have influenced the results of her study, because most of them are highly educated and 23.8% are native speakers of Dutch. This percentage is high in comparison to the percentages of the overall population of Aruba, as shown in table 1.

Although the majority of the participants (57.1%) feel most comfortable expressing themselves in Papiamento, which is also the language they use most frequently (67.9%), most participants (67.6%) filled-out the questionnaire in Dutch. According to the results of the survey, Dutch is the dominant language of instruction throughout the education system and also the preferred language of instruction for stakeholders at all education levels. Opinions about the use of Papiamento in the education system are slightly more positive among students in comparison to teachers, but both groups share the opinion that Papiamento should be used and is used sufficiently in the system as it is now. Opinions about the use of Dutch are rather negative, which is surprising in view of the fact that Dutch is the preferred language of instruction by far at all education levels. 64.4% of the informants who agree with the statement that grades improve when the mother tongue is used as the language of instruction are native speakers of Papiamento. Interestingly, these informants also prefer Dutch to be the language of instruction at all education levels.

Overall the informants consider themselves to be multilingual, students as well as teachers, and think that it is necessary to be multilingual in Aruba, in order to have better opportunities on the job market. 57.3% of the informants indicate that Papiamento is their favourite language to speak and it is interesting to note that this percentage is actually lower than the percentage of native speakers (62.2%).

Attitudes toward English are very positive as well. Many participants think that English will be the language of the next generation (54.2%), rather than Papiamento (32.1%) or Dutch (2.3%). English is also considered to be the most attractive language (36.6%), followed by Papiamento (20.6%), Spanish (19.8%) and Dutch (10.7%). Overall the participants are advocates of a multilingual society in which English, Papiamento and Dutch play a prominent role, including in the language policy of the government.

A recent study about text comprehension and language attitudes (Sollie, 2015) also illustrates that Aruban high school students share positive attitudes toward multilingualism. The 402 students who participated in the experiment were first-year students from

MAVO and HAVO-VWO[2]. As pointed out in table 2, Papiamento is the language the students most frequently use at home and with friends, being also the language they feel most competent in.

	Papiamento	English	Dutch	Spanish
Best language	38.6	26.4	18.9	14.9
Home language	48.5	11.9	19.4	17.4
Favorite to speak	43.3	32.3	11.7	10.9
Favorite to read	10.7	47.0	35.6	6.0
Used most with friends	72.6	21.4	5.2	0.5

Table 2 Roles of the four dominant languages in students' lives in percentages (from Sollie, 2015: 14).

Notice, however, that English is the students' favorite reading language and their second favorite language to speak (after Papiamento). The experiment reported on in Sollie also shows that the students' results for literal and inferential comprehension were best when they had read the texts in English. The percentage of students who use Dutch at home (19.4%) is rather high in comparison to the percentages of the general population in Table 1. This explains why a high percentage of the students prefer Dutch as a reading language, although this preference may be caused by the fact that Dutch is the language of the education system.

The survey to be discussed below was partially based on the questions addressed in Leuverink's article, but distributed among high school students from different education levels. Therefore, the survey not only tests the consistency of Leuverink's results, but also questions whether differences in age and education levels play a role in language use and language attitudes.

A survey carried out in Curaçao (Kester, 2011) reveals that education levels influence language use and language attitudes among high school students. The overall attitudes toward Papiamentu[3] are very positive, but students from lower education levels consider the language to be even more important for further studies as well as for the job market, presumably because of their orientation toward a future in Curaçao. Students from higher education levels, however, want to pursue their studies abroad and are more focused on the international job market. We will investigate whether similar differences are attested among high school students in Aruba as well.

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[2] The education system in Aruba is based on the European Dutch system. MAVO prepares students for secondary vocational education, HAVO for higher vocational education and VWO for university.

[3] Notice that the language is referred to as Papiamento in Aruba and Papiamentu in Curaçao and Bonaire.

Methodology

In March 2015 the second author of this article distributed a questionnaire among 131 students in 4th year of different streams of secondary education (MAVO, HAVO, VWO). There were 59 male and 72 female participants. The age range of the vast majority of the participants was from 15 to 18 years. 110 of the participants were born in Aruba. There were 73 participants from schools in Oranjestad and 58 students from San Nicolas. In this article we will focus on different education levels, leaving the possible differences between geographical areas of the island, as well as gender differences for future analysis.

Table 3 shows the number of students according to the three education levels. Although the group of VWO students is small, they constitute more or less 25% of the 4th year VWO-students in Aruba. The participants from MAVO (11%) and HAVO (14.3%) constitute lower percentages of their respective cohorts, because the total number of students in these tracks is much larger.

	Number of participants
MAVO	51
HAVO	55
VWO	25
Total number	131

Table 3 The number of participants according to their education levels.

The questionnaire was partially based on previous surveys concerning language attitudes, language use and education in the former Netherlands Antilles (Garrett, 2008; Leuverink, 2011; Kester, 2011; Faraclas, Kester & Mijts, 2013) and adapted for the central research topics under consideration. The questions and statements were formulated in Papiamento in order to facilitate comprehension by the students. Some revisions were made after two pilot sessions with students who provided feedback on certain difficulties and inconsistencies. The final version of the questionnaire was distributed during regular classes by colleagues of the second author of this article, who are teachers of English, Spanish and Dutch.

The statements, evaluated by means of a Likert-scale and multiple choice questions were divided into four different sections: 1) language use in secondary education; 2) attitudes toward Dutch as a school subject; 3) attitudes toward Dutch as a language of instruction; 4) personal data (such as age, gender, education level and birthplace). The complete questionnaire is included in the appendix.

Results

Language use and proficiency

In this section we discuss the use of the four most important languages in Aruba with family, with friends at school, as well as the opinions of the students with respect to the language they communicate best in. As the students were allowed to select the four languages multiple times in order to answer the questions, the percentages may be higher than 100% in total.

	PA			SP		
	mavo	havo	vwo	mavo	havo	vwo
Use with family	74.5	60.0	40.0	29.4	34.5	36.0
Use with friends in school	86.3	80.0	68.0	5.9	3.6	0
Best language	70.6	72.7	48.0	21.6	21.8	32.0

Table 4 The percentages of students who use Papiamento and Spanish with their families and friends at school and consider them their best languages to communicate in.

	DU			EN		
	mavo	havo	vwo	mavo	havo	vwo
Use with family	9.8	14.5	44.0	19.6	32.7	24.0
Use with friends in school	3.9	5.5	20.0	25.5	49.1	52.0
Best language	11.8	14.5	44.0	35.3	54.5	44.0

Table 5 The percentages of students who use Dutch and English with their families and friends at school and consider them their best languages to communicate in.

As tables 4 and 5 indicate, Papiamento is the most frequently used language with family and friends, with the exception of the students from VWO, who use Dutch slightly more often with their families. Notice, however, that all students consider Papiamento to be their best language to communicate in, followed by English, which is also frequently used with friends by the students of higher education levels (HAVO, VWO). The scores of Dutch as the best language for communication are low, with the exception of the many VWO-students who use this language at home. Nevertheless, even the students in VWO evaluate their knowledge of Papiamento slightly higher and use the language most frequently to communicate with friends. Spanish is spoken at home by students from different education levels, but it is not frequently used for communication with

friends and it features as the third best language for communication. These results corroborate the vitality of Papiamento and its importance for social relationships, as well as the importance of English as opposed to Spanish and Dutch.

Language use in the classroom

The following tables show which languages are most frequently used for teaching. Again, as the students were allowed to select the four languages multiple times in order to answer the questions, the percentages may be higher than 100% in total.

	PA	SP	DU	EN
MAVO	23.5	0	86.3	9.8
HAVO	29.1	1.8	87.3	3.6
VWO	3.6	0	100	0

Table 6 The selection of the four languages most frequently used for teaching, according to the students of different education levels (in percentages).

As expected, Dutch is the most frequently used language for teaching by far, to a certain extent in combination with Papiamento and occasionally with English at MAVO and HAVO. The VWO-level seems to follow a 'Dutch only' pattern, presumably because it aims to prepare students for future studies at universities in the European part of the Netherlands.

Opinions about language use in the classroom

In this section we will present a selected set of results of the survey, focusing on the students' opinions regarding language use in the classroom. Throughout this article, because of space limitations, the scores in the 5-point Likert scale corresponding to *completely agree* and *agree* are grouped together, as are those corresponding to *completely disagree* and *disagree*,.

Opinions about the use of Papiamento

1. It is good that Papiamento is used in secondary education (1).[4]
2. Papiamento should be used more in secondary education (3).

---

[4] The numbers between parentheses following the statements refer to the items of the original questionnaire (in the appendix).

	Agree			Neutral			Disagree		
	mavo	havo	vwo	mavo	havo	vwo	mavo	havo	vwo
1.	76.5	32.7	36.0	11.8	40.0	20.0	11.8	27.3	44.0
2.	47.1	16.4	16.0	29.4	36.4	24.0	23.5	47.3	60.0

Table 7 Opinions about the use of Papiamento in secondary education of students of different education levels (in percentages).

Table 7 shows some remarkable differences in opinion among the students of the three education levels. Whereas the MAVO students express positive opinions about the use of Papiamento and favor an extension of its use, the students of the higher education levels tend to disagree more often in particular with the second statement. Students from VWO are clearly more negative; those from HAVO express more neutral opinions. Again, differences in expectations concerning the future (studies at home vs. studies abroad, local vs. international job market, etc.) may play an important role here.

Opinions about the use of Dutch

In this section we discuss the results of the questionnaire corresponding to the statements that evaluate the use of Dutch in secondary education and an additional statement (8) about general attitudes toward the language.

3. It is good that Dutch is used in secondary education (2).
4. Dutch should be used more frequently in secondary education (5).
5. I think that other subjects such as mathematics and history should pay more attention to Dutch (22).
6. It's important that all teachers only speak Dutch in class (31).
7. I like/prefer to speak Dutch in class (35).
8. I like hearing people speak Dutch (20).

	Agree			Neutral			Disagree		
	mavo	havo	vwo	mavo	havo	vwo	mavo	havo	vwo
3.	94.1	89.1	96.0	3.9	10.9	4.0	2.0	0	0
4.	60.8	74.5	48.0	23.5	20.0	44.0	15.7	5.5	8.0
5.	23.5	34.5	8.0	45.1	47.3	52.0	31.4	18.2	40.0
6.	21.6	27.3	24.0	17.6	32.7	28.0	60.8	40.0	48.0
7.	13.7	18.2	44.0	49.0	49.1	28.0	37.3	32.7	28.0
8.	37.3	23.6	40.0	31.4	50.9	20.0	31.4	25.5	40.0

Table 8 Opinions about the use of Dutch in secondary education expressed by students of different education levels (in percentages).

Table 8 illustrates high scores of agreement with respect to the first two statements. Students of all three education levels express positive opinions about the use of Dutch

in secondary education (statement 3) and think that the language should be used more often (statement 4). Presumably the students from VWO express more neutral opinions about a higher frequency of Dutch because they are in a system that does not make use of any other language. This explanation is corroborated by the results corresponding to statement 5, as the VWO students do not favor more attention for Dutch in other subjects, whereas the students from MAVO and HAVO are more neutral. Many students disagree with statement 6 that all teachers should speak Dutch in class, a fact that correlates with the positive attitudes toward multilingualism in the classroom, as we will see below. As expected, the VWO students are rather positive about speaking Dutch in class (statement 7), whereas the students from the lower education levels are more neutral. Finally, statement 8 focuses on general attitudes toward the Dutch language. As we see, the opinions of the VWO-students are most outspoken, because while 40% of them agree, another 40% of them disagree with statement 8 "I like hearing people speak Dutch", whereas the students from HAVO express more neutral opinions, and those from MAVO show more variation in opinion. This final statement is rather informative, because the positive attitudes toward the use of Dutch in secondary education do not coincide with positive attitudes toward the Dutch language in general. As the attitudes toward Dutch are not negative either, the low scores of agreement with statement 7 ("I like/prefer speaking Dutch in class") may be explained by a lack of confidence in speaking the language among the students of the lower education streams (MAVO/HAVO). This is consistent with the opinions about language proficiency in table 5, as very few students in the lower education streams consider Dutch to be their best language to communicate in.

Opinions about Dutch as a subject
This section presents the results of the questionnaire referring to the students' opinions about Dutch as a subject, which have been evaluated by means of the following statements:

9. I think school should teach me to read, write and speak good Dutch (9).
10. Dutch as a subject is important to get a good job in the future (16).
11. I like Dutch as a subject (17).
12. I think it is important to study the grammar, spelling and vocabulary of Dutch to learn the Dutch language (18).
13. I think that Dutch as a subject is difficult (19).
14. I think we should listen to Dutch more often at school, for example by watching movies or listening to the news in Dutch (24).

As the results in table 9 illustrate, the students of the three education streams agree that school should teach them to read, write and speak good Dutch (statement 9), that Dutch

is important to get a good job (statement 10) and that it is important to study the gram-mar, spelling and vocabulary of Dutch in order to learn the language (statement 12). There is slight variation between the scores for statement 10, because students of higher education streams tend to agree less on the importance of Dutch for the job market, presumably because they aim at a career abroad or in an international environment in Aruba.

	Agree			Neutral			Disagree		
	mavo	havo	vwo	mavo	havo	vwo	mavo	havo	vwo
9.	90.2	89.1	92.0	5.9	9.1	8.0	3.9	1.8	0
10.	72.5	47.3	60.0	19.6	40.0	28.0	7.8	12.7	12.0
11.	51.0	20.0	24.0	27.5	47.3	36.0	21.6	32.7	40.0
12.	70.6	85.5	68.0	25.5	9.1	32.0	3.9	5.5	0
13.	41.2	70.9	40.0	31.4	21.8	20.0	27.5	7.3	40.0
14.	51.0	43.6	44.0	29.4	34.5	28.0	19.6	21.8	28.0

Table 9 Opinions about Dutch as a subject in school expressed by students from differ-ent education streams (in percentages).

The scores with respect to liking Dutch as a subject (statement 11) show some intriguing variation between education streams too, as the lower stream students seem to agree more often (51%), whereas those from higher streams express neutral (HAVO: 47.3%) or even negative opinions (VWO: 40%). Especially in the case of the VWO students these results seem to be surprising, taking into consideration that 44% of them speak Dutch at home. As pointed out in van der Linde (2015: 44) the more negative opinions about Dutch as a subject attested among students from higher education streams may be related to the much higher standards they have to meet in their exams. These stand-ards are directly adopted from the European system and, hence, correspond to those of the highest streams of secondary education for native speakers of Dutch in the European Netherlands. This tentative explanation is corroborated in the case of HAVO students by their evaluations of statement 13 "I think that Dutch as a subject is difficult", as 70.9% of them (strongly) agree with this statement.

Opinions with respect to statement 14 "I think we should listen to Dutch more often at school..." are not very strong, but a substantial group of the students from the three education streams share this opinion.

The results of the survey show that the opinions of the students with respect to Dutch, as a language of instruction and as a subject, are positive, but their attitudes toward the Dutch language in general are rather neutral. The motivation of the students to learn Dutch mainly seems to be driven by their wish to pursue their studies in the European Netherlands. Tables 10 and 11 illustrate the arguments the students selected to explain their motivation or lack of motivation to learn Dutch (item 26 in the questionnaire). As

the students were allowed to select the different motivations multiple times, the percentages are higher than 100% in total.

	I want to learn to speak and write better Dutch, because....			
		MAVO	HAVO	VWO
15.	... one cannot participate in Aruban society without speaking Dutch.	42	12.7	12
16.	... I want to go to Holland for my studies.	60	70.9	72
17.	... in order not to be afraid to speak Dutch in class.	38	54.5	20
	Total scores	140	138.1	104

Table 10 Reasons why students in different education streams want to improve their skills in Dutch (in percentages).

	I **don't** want to learn to speak and write better Dutch, because....			
		MAVO	HAVO	VWO
18.	... I think that learning Dutch is a waste of time, because it's a language that has no international importance.	6	12.7	16
19.	... I think that learning Dutch is a waste of time, because I will not need that language in the future.	4	3.6	16
20.	... I think that Papiamento is sufficient to participate in the Aruban society.	2	0	4
	Total scores	12	16.3	36

Table 11 Reasons why students in different education levels **don't** want to improve their skills in Dutch (in percentages).

The results in table 10 indicate that the majority of the students in all three education streams are very motivated to improve their skills in Dutch and that many of them select different arguments for doing so, except for the ones in VWO. As many of the students in VWO speak Dutch at home, they don't need to improve their skills in Dutch in order not to be afraid to speak Dutch in class. As the students in the lower education stream (MAVO) can more easily pursue their studies in Aruba, e.g. at the HAVO-level or in

secondary vocational education, fewer of them want to go to Holland. The students in HAVO and VWO leave the island more frequently, because they have access to higher vocational education (HAVO) and universities (VWO) in Holland with a large variety of options for specialization.

Table 11 shows that very few students don't want to improve their skills in Dutch. Those who consider learning Dutch a waste of time are mainly in HAVO and VWO. As pointed out in Van der Linde (2015: 44), an increasing number of students in HAVO are leaving the island to study in English- and Spanish-speaking countries (United States, Costa Rica). We speculate that students in VWO may additionally be aware of the increasing use of English at Dutch universities.

Opinions about multilingualism in the classroom
In this section we discuss the results of the statements measuring attitudes toward the use of multiple languages in secondary education. As the majority of the students expressed their disagreement with statement 6 "It's important that all teachers only speak Dutch in class", the question arises as to whether they would favour a multilingual education system. The following statements about the use of multiple languages were included in the questionnaire:

21. It is good that more languages, like English and Spanish are learnt in secondary education (6).
22. I would like teachers to speak both Dutch and Papiamento in class (32).
23. Students get confused when teachers speak more than one language in class (34).

	Agree			Neutral			Disagree		
	mavo	havo	vwo	mavo	havo	vwo	mavo	havo	vwo
21.	94.1	98.1	100.0	3.9	1.8	0	2.0	0	0
22.	66.7	61.8	44.0	25.5	25.5	32.0	7.8	12.7	24.0
23.	23.5	20.0	4.0	31.4	18.2	16.0	45.1	61.8	80.0

Table 12 Opinions with respect to the use of multiple languages in secondary education of students from different education streams (in percentages).

The results in table 12 indicate that students from all education streams share extremely positive attitudes toward learning other languages such as English and Spanish (statement 21). The students from higher education streams especially disagree with statement 23 that using multiple languages in class leads to confusion among students. Most of the students in MAVO and HAVO would like teachers to speak both Dutch and Papiamento in class, as shown by the high percentages of agreement with statement 22.

The following table (corresponding to the results of item 11 in the questionnaire) is very revealing in this respect, as we see that the students from all education streams show a strong preference for Dutch and English as languages of instruction and, in the case of the MAVO students, for Papiamento as well. Hence, the students share positive attitudes toward multilingualism in the classroom, without restricting these languages to Dutch and Papiamento.

	PA	SP	DU	EN
MAVO	41.2	13.7	58.8	41.2
HAVO	21.8	12.7	92.7	40.0
VWO	16.0	0	84.0	44.0

Table 13 The preferred languages of instruction according to the students from different education streams (in percentages).

Evaluation of language use and school results
In this section we investigate the opinions of the students regarding the relation between language use and their school results. As Dutch is the language almost exclusively used in the Aruban education system, the statements under analysis in this section measure to what extent students from different education streams feel that they are hampered by the use of a language that is a foreign language to most of them.

24. If you are being taught in a language you do not speak at home, you get bad grades (7).
25. When you are taught in a language you speak at home you get better grades (10).
26. I find it difficult to follow the class when the teacher only speaks Dutch (30).
27. It does not matter to me which language is used for teaching (4).

	Agree			**Neutral**			**Disagree**		
	mavo	havo	vwo	mavo	havo	vwo	mavo	havo	vwo
24.	23.5	12.7	12.0	23.5	49.1	36.0	52.9	38.2	52.0
25.	62.7	60.0	60.0	27.5	30.9	32.0	9.8	9.1	8.0
26.	23.5	14.5	8.0	17.6	25.5	8.0	58.8	60.0	84.0
27.	29.4	14.5	8.0	31.4	25.5	12.0	39.2	60.0	80.0

Table14 Opinions about the potential relation between language use and school results among students from different education streams (in percentages).

As the results in table 14 indicate, the students generally think that there is a positive causal relation between language use and school results, in the sense that using the home

language leads to better grades (statement 25), but the use of another language does not necessarily lead to bad school results (statement 24). This viewpoint is further corroborated by the scores for statement 26, as the majority of the students say that they experience no difficulty following the class when the teacher only speaks Dutch, which is not the home language for most of the students in MAVO and HAVO, as we saw in table 4.

Finally, we see that the students of higher education streams find the language that is used for teaching very important (statement 27), whereas the opinions of students in MAVO are less outspoken. Maybe the students from MAVO are more flexible with respect to language use because they are more familiar with a multilingual education system, as they are more frequently taught in Papiamento (and to a lesser extent in English) alongside Dutch, as we saw in table 6 above. This hypothesis does not seem to hold for students in HAVO, an issue we leave to future research.

Conclusion

This article presents the results of a survey that was carried out in March 2015 among Aruban students in different streams of secondary education, in order to investigate their language use, language attitudes and opinions about the role of Dutch in the education system.

Although further research, involving larger numbers of students as well as a detailed statistical analysis, is needed for solid conclusions, the results of our study indicate that students from different education streams favor the use of Dutch as a language of instruction and as a subject. This is remarkable in view of the fact that the students mainly select Papiamento and English their best languages to communicate in and as the languages they use most frequently with their friends.

The positive attitudes of the students toward the use of Dutch in the classroom may be explained by the fact that many of them want to pursue their studies in the European part of the Netherlands and therefore want to improve their knowledge and language skills in Dutch. As exposure to Dutch is more or less limited to the classroom for many students, they are advocates of using Dutch as a language of instruction and as a subject. Attitudes toward the use of Papiamento are positive as well among students of all education streams. A majority is in favor of a multilingual education system, with English featuring as a second language alongside Dutch. The students of the lower education stream (MAVO) are advocates of the use of Papiamento as a third language as well.

The results of the survey are rather similar to those presented in Leuverink (2011), whose participants were (slightly) older and highly educated (university students and teachers). Also a recent study on reading comprehension in the four most important languages in Aruba (Sollie, 2015) indicates a frequent use of English by high school students, correlating with positive attitudes and best scores on the reading test in this

language. As in Curaçao (Kester, 2011), students from lower education streams consider Papiamento to be more important in comparison to students from higher education streams, presumably due to a different orientation with respect to their future studies and the job market.

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Central Bureau of Statistics Aruba: http://www.cbs.aw/

Appendix

<u>**Cuestionario**</u>

E cuestionario aki ta relaciona cu un investigacion relata na un *afstudeerscriptie* di juffrouw *Ryma van der Linde* pa cu e trajecto final di e *Master of Education di University of Curaçao*. Pa e trajecto final e studiante tin cu haci un investigacion relaciona cu idioma y enseñansa. Juffrouw Ryma ta wordo guia pa señora *dr. Ellen-Petra Kester di Universidad di Utrecht*.

  E cuestionario ta trata di bo opinion riba importancia y uzo di idiomanan na scol. Tambe e ta trata di bo opinion tocante Hulandes como idioma di instrucion y e materia Hulandes.

Nos ta pidi pa contesta tur pregunta sinceramente. No tin contesta corecto of incorecto; ta trata unicamente di bo opinion personal.

E cuestionario ta anonimo y lo trata tur informacion confidencialmente. Si tin interes pa e resultadonan di e investigacion por tuma contacto cu juffrouw Ryma van der Linde. Masha danki pa bo cooperacion!

<u>**Parti 1**</u> **Idiomanan na scol**

Aki bou tin algun ponencia tocante idiomanan na scol. Por fabor, indica si bo ta <u>di acuerdo</u> of <u>no di acuerdo</u> cu e ponencianan, **marcando bo contesta cu un circulo**.

CA = Completamente di acuerdo   (marca CA)

DA = Di acuerdo   (marca DA)

NE = Neutral, ni di acuerdo, ni no di acuerdo (marca NE)

ND = No di acuerdo   (marca ND)

CD = Completamente no di acuerdo   (marca CD)

1. Ta bon cu ta uza Papiamento den enseñansa avanza. CA DA NE ND CD

2. Ta bon cu ta uza e idioma Hulandes den enseñansa avanza. CA DA NE ND CD

3. Den enseñansa avanza mester haci mas uzo di Papiamento. CA DA NE ND CD

4. No ta importami den ki idioma mi ta haya les. CA DA NE ND CD

5. Den enseñansa avanza mester haci mas uzo di Hulandes. CA DA NE ND CD

6. Ta bon cu bo ta siña mas idioma manera Ingles y Spaño den enseñansa avanza. CA DA NE ND CD

7. Si bo haya les den un idioma cu bo no ta papia na cas bo ta haya mal punto. CA DA NE ND CD

8. Den pauze na scol mi por papia un otro idioma cu den les. CA DA NE ND CD

9. Mi ta opina cu scol tin e tarea pa siña mi lesa, skirbi y papia bon Hulandes CA DA NE ND CD

10. Si bo haya les den e idioma cu bo ta papia na cas bo ta haya mihor punto na scol. CA DA NE ND CD

Por fabor, marca bo contesta cu un cruz den e hoki. Bo por scohe mas cu un opcion si ta necesario.

11. Segun bo opinion, den cua idioma docentenan na MAVO/HAVO/VWO mester duna les?
□ Papiamento □ Spaño □ Hulandes □ Ingles

12. Den cua idioma bo ta haya les mas tanto?
□ Papiamento □ Spaño □ Hulandes □ Ingles

13. Cua idioma bo ta papia mas tanto na scol cu bo amigonan?
□ Papiamento □ Spaño □ Hulandes □ Ingles

14. Cua idioma bo ta uza cu bo famia?
□ Papiamento □ Spaño □ Hulandes □ Ingles □ un otro idioma

15. Den cua idioma abo por comunica mihor cune?
□ Papiamento □ Spaño □ Hulandes □ Ingles □ un otro idioma

<u>**Parti 2**</u>   **E materia Hulandes**

Aki bou tin algun ponencia tocante e materia Hulandes. Por fabor, indica si bo ta <u>di acuerdo</u> of <u>no di acuerdo</u> cu e ponencianan, **marcando bo contesta cu un circulo**.

CA	= Completamente di acuerdo	(marca CA)
DA	= Di acuerdo	(marca DA)
NE	= Neutral, ni di acuerdo, ni no di acuerdo	(marca NE)
ND	= No di acuerdo	(marca ND)
CD	= Completamente no di acuerdo	(marca CD)

16. E materia Hulandes ta importante pa bo por haya un bon trabou den futuro.   CA DA NE ND CD

17. Mi ta gusta e materia Hulandes.   CA DA NE ND CD

18. Mi ta di opinion cu ta importante pa siña e gramatica, ortografia y vocabulario di e idioma Hulandes pa mi por siña e idoma Hulandes.   CA DA NE ND CD

19. Mi ta haya e materia Hulandes ta un materia dificil.   CA DA NE ND CD

20. Mi ta gusta scucha hende papia Hulandes.   CA DA NE ND CD

21. Mi mayornan no por yuda mi cu Hulandes pasobra nan no sa suficiente Hulandes pa nan por yuda mi.   CA DA NE ND CD

22. Mi ta di opinion cu otro materianan manera matematica y historia mester pone mas atencion na e idioma Hulandes.   CA DA NE ND CD

24. Mi ta di opinion cu na scol mi mester scucha mas Hulandes dor di por ehempel wak film na Hulandes of scucha noticia na Hulandes.   CA DA NE ND CD

25. Mi ta prefera di uza un metodo di Hulandes cu tin temanan cu mi conoce, manera carnaval, dera gai, dande, horcan den Caribe etc.   CA DA NE ND CD

    A. **Lesa ponencia 26 y scohe <u>solamente un contesta</u> ariba e pregunta: sea ta SI of NO.**
    B. **Ora bo haci bo excohencia entre SI of NO bo ta scohe opcionnan cu ta aplicabel pa bo. Bo por scohe mas cu un opcion si ta necesario.**

26. Mi kier siña papia y skirbi Hulandes mihor,
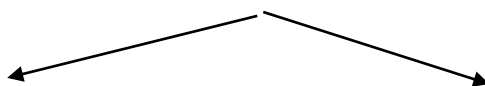
SI pasobra:

0	Un hende no por funciona den sociedad na Aruba si bo no por papia Hulandes.
0	Den futuro mi kier bay studia na Hulanda.
0	asina mi por expresa mi mes sin miedo na Hulandes den les.

NO pasobra:

0	Mi ta di opinion cu siña Hulandes ta perdemento di tempo paso e ta un idioma cu internationalmente no tin importancia.
0	Mi ta di opinion cu siña Hulandes ta perdemento di tempo paso personalmente mi no lo haci uzo di e idioma aki den futuro.
0	Mi ta di opinion cu e idioma Papiamento ta suficiente pa por funciona den sociedad na Aruba.

Parti 3   E idioma di instrucion na scol

Aki bou tin algun ponencia tocante e idioma di instrucion na scol. Por fabor, indica si bo ta <u>di acuerdo</u> of <u>no di acuerdo</u> cu e ponencianan, **marcando bo contesta cu un circulo**.

CA   = Completamente di acuerdo   (marca CA)
DA   = Di acuerdo   (marca DA)
NE   = Neutral, ni di acuerdo, ni no di acuerdo (marca NE)
ND   = No di acuerdo   (marca ND)
CD   = Completamente no di acuerdo   (marca CD)

27. Mi ta haya fastioso cu mi no ta tende Hulandes rond di mi.   CA DA NE ND CD

28. Mi mester papia Hulandes den les.   CA DA NE ND CD

29. Mi mester por papia Hulandes pa asina mi por sigui e les.   CA DA NE ND CD

30. Mi ta haya dificil pa sigui e les si e docente ta papia
solamente Hulandes.   CA DA NE ND CD

31. Ta importante pa tur docente papia Hulandes so den les.   CA DA NE ND CD

32. Mi lo kier pa docentenan na scol papia Papiamento y Hulandes den les.   CA DA NE ND CD

33. Mi no tin problema pa papia Papiamento den les.   CA DA NE ND CD

34. Alumnonan ta bruha ora cu e docente papia mas cu un idioma den les.   CA DA NE ND CD

35. Mi ta gusta/prefera papia Hulandes den klas.   CA DA NE ND CD

Parti 4

Por fabor, contesta e preguntanan aki door di yena e circulo corecto.

1. Cuanto aña bo tin?   _____

2. Sexo: 0 homber   0 muhe

3. Bo a nace na Aruba?   0 Si   0 No

4. Bo mama ta naci na Aruba?   0 Si   0 No

5. Bo tata ta naci na Aruba?   0 Si   0 No

6. Educacion: 0 MAVO   0 HAVO   0 VWO

7. Klas: _____

Masha danki pa bo tempo y cooperacion!

LANGUAGE AND EDUCATION IN A MULTILINGUAL SOCIETY: TEXT COMPREHENSION AND LANGUAGE ATTITUDES AMONG ADVANCED STREAM ARUBAN HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS

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Introduction

Multilingualism

Around 6000 languages are spoken throughout the world. These languages are spoken in some 190 countries, which means that multilingualism is quite a common phenomenon (Shin, 2013). Multilingualism may be defined as "having a repertoire of languages or varieties at one's disposal" (Weber & Horner, 2012). It is common in linguistics to define languages as L1, L2, L3 etc., according to the order in which an individual started to learn the languages in question or the order from strongest to weakest language competence. This is quite a problematic way to portray reality, as boundaries between L1, L2 etc. are not always clear, and L1 in one social context does not have to be L1 in another social context (Weber & Horner, 2012). It is necessary to keep this in mind when considering literature on bilingualism or multilingualism. While acknowledging these facts, the terms 'L1/L2/ etc.' will continue to be used in this article for practical purposes.

Similar problems arise in relation to the use of the terms 'mother tongue' or 'native language'. In some literature they are defined as the language first acquired by a child, whereas in other literature they are used to refer to the preferred language in a multilingual situation (Tulasiewicz & Adams, 1998). For the present study, the concept of 'mother tongue' will not be used. Instead, there will be an attempt to differentiate among constructs such as 'most important home language', 'best language', or 'preferred language' in several contexts.

Aruba is a multilingual society, and its four main languages are Papiamento, Spanish, English and Dutch. According to the census of 2010, 68% of the Aruban population indicated that Papiamento was their most important home language. For 14% of the people this was Spanish, for 7% English and for 6% Dutch (Website Censo, 2010). There are two official languages in Aruba: Dutch and Papiamento. Papiamento is the most important home language for the majority of the population and received the sta-

tus of 'official language' in 2003 (Leuverink, 2011). Dutch is spoken less than Spanish or English, but is nonetheless an official language on the island and the official language of education. This has to do with the political situation. Very briefly stated, Aruba was claimed by the Dutch in the 17th century (Blakely, 1998). Decolonization started in 1954 with a 'Statuut' that declared equality and the principle of mutual support between Aruba and the Netherlands (Oostindie, 2006). Currently, Aruba is an independent country within the Kingdom of the Netherlands. This has been the situation since 1986 (Oostindie, 2006), and it means that the political ties between Aruba and the Netherlands are still very strong. It is worth noting that from a young age, children in Aruba are not exposed to only two languages, but instead to four languages at the same time. This may mean that not all literature on bilingualism (most literature is on bilingualism as opposed to multilingualism) is applicable to the multilingual situation in Aruba.

Language and education in Aruba

As a consequence of multilingualism, more than half of the people in the world are taught in a language other than their home language (Rymenans & Decoo, 1998). There are several different systems in which this is the case. In Aruba, while Dutch is the language of education in all domains, it is not the home language of the great majority of students (Beheydt, 2008). This means that for many people there is a home language (e.g. Spanish), a second language that is dominant, Papiamento, and a foreign language used in education, Dutch (Beheydt, 2008). For most Aruban teachers, Dutch is a foreign language as well: one that they only learned at school or in professional courses (Van der Linden-Maduro, 2008). Students from Aruba who proceed to study in the Netherlands often encounter problems because of their low levels of language proficiency in Dutch (Rutgers, 1997). There are several reasons why these levels of proficiency are often low.

According to Beheydt (2008), children in Aruba are regularly given the feeling that their home language is inferior, and the psychological effects of this may severely impair learning abilities. Weber & Horner (2012) also discuss possible similar effects, focusing on the process of testing. They argue that most language assessments are based on monolingual standards and are therefore unsuitable for multilingual children. They can lead to false diagnoses of language delay or impairment, which in turn may have psychological consequences for the students. Moreover, monolingual assessment reinforces the erroneous view that the multilingualism of students is a 'problem' (Weber & Horner, 2012).

The issue of motivation to learn Dutch seems to be another problem in Aruba, and Beheydt (2008) discusses two reasons for this. One is that many children have a negative attitude toward Dutch because learning it is often seen as a foreign and intrusive obligation. The other reason is that even in education Dutch does not always seem to

be necessary: in Aruba, an explanation given by a teacher in Dutch is often immediately followed by one in Papiamento, to ensure student comprehension.

According to Swain (cited in Rymenans & Decoo, 1998), it is necessary for learners of a language to test their own language use based on communication with others. Beheydt (2008) explains that this opportunity is minimal in the case of Dutch in Aruba: there is hardly any chance for the children to practice speaking and writing outside the school, because there is hardly any contact with Dutch in non-teaching situations. As early as 1981, a paper was published by Instituto Lingwistiko Antiano (ILA) stating that Dutch was a 'phantom language' on the ABC Islands (the Dutch Leeward islands of Aruba, Bonaire and Curaçao): an official language that did not function as one when compared to the real, 'living' languages: Papiamento and English (Rutgers, 1997).

The present study

The present study intends to focus on multilingualism rather than bilingualism: all four of Aruba's dominant languages are taken into account. The main research question is: 'How do the different languages influence performance on a reading comprehension test?' In order to answer this question, four groups of students were given the exact same text, but each in another language. Each group read the text in one of the following four languages: Dutch, English, Spanish or Papiamento. Comparisons were made between performance on literal and inferential comprehension, and between two different advanced tracks of high school education (MAVO and HAVO-VWO). Students also answered some questions about their language use in several situations and about their attitudes to these languages.

Methods and materials
Materials
Texts

Two texts were used. One was retrieved from the website of a Dutch children's newspaper, and the other from a Dutch 3-VWO school book. Both texts were slightly shortened and simplified in order to make them more understandable for the target group. The texts were about gender-neutral subjects: strange baby names and goldfish. The original Dutch texts were translated into English, Spanish and Papiamento by native speakers of these languages. Subsequently, they were translated back to Dutch by native speakers of Dutch, in order to control for translation mistakes. In the end, the group of translators, all of whom were proficient in at least two of the four languages, checked all the translations together. Great care was taken to keep the texts as similar as possible with regard to grammatical constructions and style. The same translation procedure was carried out for the test and the questionnaire described below.

Test and questionnaire

The reading comprehension test consisted of six multiple choice questions in the same language as the text. The choice to formulate multiple choice questions was made for practical reasons: they are easy to code and compare (Lee & Schallert, 1997; Cromley & Azevedo, 2007). Three of these questions tested memory, or literal comprehension: the answers could literally be found in the texts. The other three questions tested inferential comprehension. Answering these questions required a deeper understanding of the text. There were four answers to each question for the students to choose from. The answers provided were 'right', 'close' or 'wrong'. 'Close' answers were based on information from the text, but were not the right answer to the particular question. 'Close' answers in some cases also constituted a plausible answer if one had not read the text. The 'wrong' answers were funny or bizarre answers completely made up by the test designer, without any information that could be found in the texts.

This reading comprehension test was followed by a small questionnaire with 16 questions about the test itself (e.g. whether students liked the texts, how they think they performed, etc.), and questions about language background and attitudes (e.g. 'What is your most important home language?', 'Which language do you prefer to read in?' etc.). This questionnaire was in Dutch for all students, because it turned out to be highly impractical and time consuming to offer students the option to choose a language. The answers to these questions were used to test comparability of the groups, to look for correlations between these variables and performance on the test, and to explore aspects of the students' language attitudes.

Participants

Participants were first-year students from four different high schools in Aruba (N=402, 159 male, 234 female), who had been placed in the most advanced MAVO (N=208) or HAVO-VWO (N=194) streams of education. The choice was made to conduct the experiment with first-year high school students, because of the high drop-out rates reported in the existing literature (Beheydt, 2008; Pereira, 2008). The choice for high schools as opposed to primary schools was made in order to be able to differentiate between students from different educational streams.

The schools were located in two cities: Oranjestad and San Nicolaas. The HAVO-VWO school was selected because it was the only school available to test VWO students on the island. As far as MAVO schools are concerned, all school boards on the island were contacted and the schools under the responsibility of the boards who responded positively were selected for the experiment. No participants were excluded. The only potential participants who did not take part, were the ones who were absent on the testing day. Participants who came in late still took the test.

Procedure

Groups of students were randomly assigned to a reading language. On the testing day, students were informed who the researcher was, and were told that their help was needed for her to be able to get a professional diploma. Subsequently, they were instructed to carefully read the two texts once and then hand them in. Upon handing in the texts, they would receive the test and questionnaire. This choice was made based on a study by Johnston (1984), which revealed that performance improved when readers could not refer back to the text when answering the questions. More importantly, taking away the text removed bias due to prior knowledge (Johnston, 1984).

It was repeatedly made clear to the students that they would not receive a grade, and that making mistakes was not a problem: the research was as much about what they could understand, as about what they could not. Nonetheless, they were encouraged to do their best and not to leave any questions unanswered. The concept of anonymity was also explained to the students: they were not allowed to write down their names and they were promised that nobody in the school would read their answers.

Results

Overall performance

Performance on the test was analyzed with one-way ANOVAs in two different ways. First, only the right answers were taken into account, as they are in the school system: an answer on a multiple choice test is either right or wrong. Second, 'close' answers were differentiated from wrong answers in order to nuance the results.

When looking at the number of right answers, there were significant differences between the languages (F(3, 401)= 14.6, $p<0.01$). Bonferroni post-hoc tests revealed that students scored highest when they had read the text in English, second in Dutch, third in Papiamento and fourth in Spanish. The differences were significant between English and Dutch ($p<0.05$) and between English and Papiamento ($p<0.01$) and English and Spanish ($p<0.01$). Students scored lowest when they had read the text in Spanish and the differences with Papiamento ($p<0.05$), Dutch ($p<0.01$) and English ($p<0.01$) were all significant. The differences in performance between children who read in Dutch and in Papiamento, were not significant.

Taking the 'close' answers into account revealed a slightly different picture. There were still significant differences between the language groups (F(3, 401)=14.4, $p<0.01$). Also, the order of the scores did not change: students still performed best in English, second in Dutch, third in Papiamento and fourth in Spanish. Differences between English and Papiamento ($p<0.05$) and English and Spanish ($p<0.01$) were still significant. The difference between English and Dutch however, lost its significance when the data were analyzed this way. Differences between Spanish and the other languages all emerged as significant at the α=0.01 level. The difference between Dutch and Papiamento was still not significant. The difference in results between

these two ways of analyzing the data shows that there is not only a difference between right and wrong answers, but that language also influences how 'close' students are to the right answer.

How can this pattern of performance be explained? First of all, considering that in 2012 tourism accounted for 66.6% of the GDP and 68.0% of total employment of Aruba (Ridderstaat, Croes & Nijkamp, 2014), one can imagine that the use of English on the island has increased. Between 1986 and 2011, on average 63.3% of tourists have been visitors from the United States of America (Ridderstaat et al., 2014). English also reaches the people in Aruba via the media. Leuverink (2011) found that large majorities read books (48%) and magazines (59%) in English. No research has been published yet on how often Arubans watch English television shows or listen to English music. However, Leuverink found that if people watch television, 78% do so mostly in English. Moreover, a short assessment of the television channels that are offered with a basic television contract in Aruba, reveals that 54 of the 81 channels are for an English-speaking audience. Thus 66.7% of the channels target English speakers, as opposed to 9.9% for a Spanish speaking audience, 6.2% for a Dutch speaking audience, and 8.7% a local Aruban audience (Website Setar, 17-03-2015). This dominance of the English language in Aruba's economy and on Aruban television may be part of the explanation for the relatively high level of English comprehension by the students in the experiment. In other words: English is a language that is very much alive in Aruban society.

Table 1 shows some results of the questionnaire that provide a clearer view of the role that English and other languages play in the students' lives. It shows that English comes second for most variables, except for favorite to read, where students mentioned English most often, and dominant home language, which was English for the smallest percentage of the students.

Table 1 Roles of the 4 dominant languages in students' lives. Papiamento is spoken most at home and with friends, and students feel they are most competent in Papiamento. English is the favorite reading language of a majority, but a high percentage also prefers to read in Dutch. This makes sense considering that Dutch is the language of the education system, and children learn to read in Dutch.

	Papiamento	English	Dutch	Spanish
Best language	38.6 %	26.4 %	18.9 %	14.9 %
Home language	48.5 %	11.9 %	19.4 %	17.4 %
Favorite to speak	43.3 %	32.3 %	11.7 %	10.9 %
Favorite to read	10.7 %	47.0 %	35.6 %	6.0 %
Use most with friends	72.6 %	21.4 %	5.2 %	0.5 %

The results for 'home language' in Table 1 may be surprising, due to some considerable differences with the findings of the census in 2010. See Table 2 for an overview of the differences. The most striking differences are for Dutch and Papiamento: much fewer students chose Papiamento and many more chose Dutch. This can be explained by the nature of the study sample: only the more advanced tracked MAVO and HAVO-VWO students were included, not the less advanced streamed EPB students. It may be very well be the case that Dutch speaking children are overrepresented in these more advanced tracks of secondary education: given that they have an educational advantage due to higher levels of exposure to the language of instruction.

Table 2 Differences between findings of Censo 2010 and the present study: most important home language

	Papiamento	English	Dutch	Spanish
Present study	48.5%	11.9%	19.4%	17.4%
Censo 2010	68 %	7%	6%	14%

Comparing total scores between MAVO and HAVO-VWO

Overall scores between the less advanced tracked MAVO students and the more advanced tracked HAVO-VWO students differed significantly ($F(1, 401)=22.5$, $p<0.01$). As expected, HAVO-VWO students scored higher than MAVO students. However, the differences were not significant for all languages. For Spanish and Papiamento, there were no significant differences in score between the education stream groups. For Dutch and English, differences were significant at the $\alpha=0.01$ level.

The fact that the difference was not significant for Papiamento but that it was for Dutch, is very interesting. Papiamento is the dominant language on the island (and for these students, see Table 1). This means that if school materials were offered to these students in Papiamento, they might do equally well and that if school materials are offered in Dutch, differences may suddenly emerge in performance on the exact same task. This finding suggests that students with equal abilities in some domains may end up in different educational tracks because of a difference in background and abilities in the language domain. To take this even further, one may argue that the current instruction language prevents students with other talents than language from exploring and developing these talents at the right level.

Differentiation between literal and inferential comprehension

There were significant differences in patterns of performance in literal comprehension ($F(3, 401)=15.6$, $p<0.01$) versus inferential comprehension ($F(3, 401)=7.0$, $p=<0.01$). Post-hoc tests revealed, however, that significant differences in literal comprehension

only exist between Spanish and the three other languages ($p<0.01$). There were no significant differences for literal comprehension between any of the other languages. The post-hoc results of inferential comprehension, on the other hand, show a similar pattern to students' test performance: there is a significant difference between English and Papiamento ($p<0.01$) and English and Spanish ($p<0.01$), and a non-significant difference between English and Dutch. All other differences were insignificant.

These results suggest that the average level of Spanish of the students is so low, that they have a hard time both understanding the texts and rote learning the content. As far as the other three languages are concerned, literally remembering the texts was not the problem that caused the differences in scores: it was the deeper understanding of the text. As the goals of education obviously reach much further than rote learning (do we not want to equip these children with optimal skills and knowledge?), this is an alarming finding - students understand (not memorize, understand) less in the language they are being taught in (Dutch), than in another foreign language: English.

Correlation between text language and text ratings

Mean rating scores between the two texts did not differ at all: both texts were rated 2.09 ('quite liked it') on average. For text ratings across language groups, a pattern of significance occurs that is similar to performance: students liked the texts significantly more in English than in Papiamento ($p<0.05$) or Spanish ($p<0.01$). Texts were also rated higher when they had been read in English than when they had been read in Dutch, but not significantly so. The exact same texts were rated significantly lower by the students who read them in Spanish, than by the ones who read them in English ($p<0.01$) or Dutch ($p<0.01$).

These findings show the effect of language from another perspective. Students are more interested in the content of the text if it is presented in some languages rather than in others. In addition, it was found that students performed significantly better on the test when they were allowed to read in their favorite reading language (F(1, 401)=26.2, $p=0.01$). Consult Table 1 for an overview of the students' favorite reading languages.

Self-reported effect of language on performance

Students indicated on a scale from 1 to 4 how well they thought they had performed on the test. The next question was why they thought they performed this way. The answers were coded according to whether students mentioned language or not, and whether language was considered to have had a positive or negative influence.

Of the students who read in Spanish, 56.8 % indicated that language was a reason for their performance, either positive or negative. This was significantly more than for the other languages (F(3, 401)=38.4, $p<0.01$). 45.3% of the students who read in Spanish recognized that they did not do well because of the language. For English and Papia-

mento, very low percentages of students thought of language as an influential factor (9.7% and 11.8%, respectively). For Dutch, however, none of the students thought of language this way. From the literature described previously and from the present study, however, it is known that Dutch as the language of instruction does influence students' performance. As students are clearly not aware of this influence, they may attribute moments of failure fully to their own competence, whereas in some cases they should – at least in part – be attributed to the linguistic situation.

Discussion & Conclusion

The present study compared students' text comprehension in Dutch, Papiamento, English and Spanish. The results show that English is the reading language in which students understand most from the texts presented to them and that it is the reading language that a majority prefers. Based on these results, some recommendations can be made concerning further research and language policy. The recommendations made below are suggestions based on the existing body of research and the present study. It is important to note that more research is still to be done concerning this topic and the feasibility of the ideas presented below.

The existing literature on the linguistic situation in Aruba focuses mainly on two languages: Dutch and Papiamento. The present study shows that this focus has been too narrow, as English is shown to play a significant and growing role in both Aruban society and the students' lives. Instead of thinking of English as yet another language to deal with, it should be seen as a gateway to new opportunities for several reasons. First of all, there are many education materials in English that one could choose from. Second, Aruban students like English and, third, they are -already- best at reading in English. Also, English is important to the Aruban economy, considering its focus on tourism from the US. Finally, English gives students the opportunity to study virtually everywhere in the world, including the Netherlands, where English is the language of textbooks and instruction for many study programs.

Papiamento is also a very important language to the students. A majority prefers to speak Papiamento at home and to their friends, and indicate that this is their best language. As described earlier, it is important for students' feelings of self-worth and identity to value this language also in the education system. There are, however, very few teaching materials in Papiamento, especially in the Aruban variety of the language, and it would be very expensive to have them developed and kept up to date for the relatively small population on the island. A solution might be to use teaching materials in another language (for instance in English), but to be less strict about the language that has to be spoken in class. The reality is that Papiamento is used in education, and that it helps the students understand the material better. It would be a much more realistic policy if Papiamento became one of the official languages of instruction

in non-language classes, or if schools would officially allow the use of Papiamento in class.

Considering Aruba's ties with, and orientation towards, the Netherlands, Dutch is a language that should not be ceased to be offered in school. It should, however, be taught as a foreign language, not as a mother tongue, because in reality it is a foreign language to most of the students (Beheydt, 2008).

The language of instruction has been a subject of debate for a long time, and Aruba is currently struggling with high rates of dropouts, failure and repetition of classes, and a low general education level of around 70%, when compared to students in the European Netherlands. Studies that were conducted on these problems have identified Aruba's educational language policy as one of the main causes of these problems (Pereira, 2008). The same problems have been found for students who are taught in a foreign language that is not very much 'alive' in their community elsewhere in the world (Malekela, 2010; Langenhoven, 2010). It is clear that these kinds of policies are detrimental to meaningful learning, and that changes are necessary. The present study contributes to this body of research with similar findings.

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ACTITUD Y BALORISACION DI IDIOMA DEN ENSEÑANSA SECUNDARIO HAVO Y VWO KLAS 3: KICO E ALUMNONAN TA PENSA DI PAPIAMENTO Y HULANDES?

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Introduccion

E investigacion aki ta explora e actitud y balorisacion di hobennan pa cu Papiamento y Hulandes y e extenso den cua algun factor specifico ta influencia esaki. Aki mester tene cuenta cu dos punto di salida: 1) e hoben ta un Arubiano hablante nativo di e idioma Papiamento, y 2) e tin cu participa den un sistema escolar unda e idioma Hulandes ta e idioma di instruccion.

Na final di e prome aña di ciclo avansa (klas 3 di HAVO) den e sistema educacional di formacion general na Aruba, e alumno ta finalisa un trayectoria di minimo 3 aña consecutivo di e materia Papiamento. Esaki na mes momento den promedio ta e idioma nativo di casi 70% di e alumnonan den cuestion. Despues di klas 3 e hoben ta exponi solamente na e idioma Hulandes como idioma di instruccion den tur e materianan te na examen di HAVO (klas 5). E materia Ingles cu idioma di instruccion Hulandes tambe ta obligatorio.

Awendia ta notabel cu e alumno di klas 4 y 5 di HAVO ta demostra un desinteres den e idioma Hulandes tanto como materia y como medio di comunicacion y idioma di instruccion. E alumnonan ta demostra e desinteres aki na diferente forma. Por ehempel, den varios ocacion cu un alumno ricibi un pregunta na Hulandes for di un docente, e ta contesta esaki na Papiamento. Mester haci mencion cu e idioma Hulandes como materia di examen ta un materia impone riba e alumnonan. E no ta necesariamente un material di su escogencia.

No opstante e desinteres den e idioma Hulandes, e mayoria di alumno cu termina su estudio secundario HAVO na Aruba ta sigui un studio avansa na Hulanda. Y den combersacion cu e alumnonan aki, nan ta demostra di ta conciente cu nan tin mester di e idioma Hulandes. Un dominio di Hulandes na nivel aceptabel ta necesario pa por participa activamente den e sociedad Hulandes, tanto na scol como den comunidad.

Hopi aña atras e colonisadonan Hulandes a impone e idioma Hulandes riba e comunidad Arubano. E tempo ey e gobernantenan a fiha cu Hulandes ta e idioma oficial den circulo institucional gubernamental, idioma di instruccion na scol. Segun añanan a

transcuri, e Arubiano, anticipa pa e desaroyo di idioma Papiamentu na Curaçao, a trece cambio gradualmente na e uzo di idioma Papiamento na Aruba. Un ehempel di esaki ta momento cu Parlamento di Aruba a dicidi cu su reunionnan ta tuma luga na Papiamento. Na aña 2007 a crea un documento titula "Ortografia di Aruba – version 2007" cu actualmente ta den proceso di oficialisacion. Entre tanto Papiamento ta un di e dos idiomanan oficial di e pais desde 2002 banda di Hulandes.

Na e momento aki den e comunidad Arubano tin dos idioma oficial di mes balor estatal, pero no di mes balor funcional. Aunke Papiamento ta e idioma nacional nativo, e ta e idioma minoritario den e sistema educacional di Aruba pa loke ta MAVO, HAVO y VWO. Si pone atencion riba e nivel educacional HAVO y VWO, Papiamento ta solamente un materia den e klasnan 1, 2 y 3, mientras e idioma Hulandes ta un materia den tur e añanan di HAVO y VWO y e ta e idioma di instruccion pa tur e añanan di HAVO y VWO.

Ta notabel cu Papiamento como idioma crioyo a desaroya den otro forma compara cu otro idiomanan crioyo den Caribe. Den comparacion cu e idioma crioyo di Jamaica, nos por mira cu Papiamento a institucionalisa su mes. Por ehempel, na Aruba y Curaçao reunion y legislacion gubernamental ta na Papiamento y Hulandes, educacion den gran parti tin Papiamento den curiculo y ta ampliando su fronteranan mas y mas, radio emisoranan ta transmiti na Papiamento, encuentronan religioso den gran mayoria ta na Papiamento, medionan di prensa ta transmiti nan informacion na Papiamento, etc. Na Jamaica e idioma crioyo no a institucionalisa su mes den mesun extenso cu Papiamento. Eynan e idioma Ingles ta e idioma fuertemente dominante.

Estudio (Garrett, 2002) ta indica cu e echo cu Papiamento a desaroya den otro forma compara cu diferente otro idioma crioyo ta basa riba e echo cu e pueblo Arubano y Curasoleño a uza e idioma Papiamento como forsa di resistencia contra e colonisadonan, pero mas cu tur e idioma nacional nativo tabata y ainda ta e marco di identidad di e pueblonan aki. Consecuentemente e balorisacion y actitud y promocion di Papiamento a hunga un rol hopi grandi den e comunidadnan. E solo echo cu a lucha pa oficialisa Papiamento/u ta indica cu e nivel di balorisacion di e idioma nativo na e islanan aki ta fuerte.

Investigacion estadistico ta indica cu 68.3 % di e poblacion Arubano y pues di e poblacion estudiantil tin Papiamento como nan prome idioma (CBS, 2008). Un investigacion preliminar recientemente teni bou di alumnonan di klas 3 den HAVO/VWO, ta describi cu e metodo cu e scolnan ey ta uza pa e materia Hulandes, ta un metodo di lenga materno (Croes, Maduro & Silva., 2014). Na mes momento ta bon conoci cu Hulandes ta lenga materno di solamente un grupo masha marginal di e poblacion Arubano, esta 6% (CBS, 2008).

Curiculo di Papiamento a fiha cu ta uza e metodo *Cristal* den klasnan 1, 2 y 3 di HAVO y VWO, cual metodo tin como punto di salida cu mayoria alumno tin Papiamento como idioma materno. Na Curaçao nan a desaroya material curicular pa e materia Pa-

piamento te na un nivel academico. Motibo di esaki ta cu na Curaçao nan ta brinda studio den e materia Papiamento na nivel HAVO/VWO y te den Universidad pa loke ta trata docencia.

Pa loke ta trata uzo di e idioma Papiamento como idioma di instruccion, un 50% di e alumnonan di HAVO/VWO no ta mira e necesidad pa Papiamento ta idioma di instruccion den klasnan 4 y 5 di HAVO/VWO ya cu nan ta mira cu e no tin mesun balor cu Hulandes. E idioma Hulandes tin un balor agrega, esta pa sigui studia (Croes, Maduro & Silva, 2014).

Investigacion

Teniendo na cuenta e situacion actual den scol secundario caminda ta notabel cu e hoben ta scoge pa no haci uzo di e idioma Hulandes pa expresa su mes y ta opta pa uza Papiamento, y tambe publicacion di investigacion cientifico riba e tema aki, ta presenta e siguiente pregunta general:

Kico ta e actitud y balorisacion di e hoben di HAVO/VWO 3 di Colegio San Nicolas pa cu e idiomanan Papiamento y Hulandes y kico ta e factornan cu ta influencia e hoben pa cu esakinan?

Di e pregunta general ta destila e siguiente preguntanan di investigacion specifico:

1. Kico ta e actitud y balorisacion di idioma Papiamento bou di e hobennan di HAVO y VWO 3 na Colegio San Nicolas?
2. Kico ta e actitud y balorisacion di idioma Hulandes bou di e hobennan di HAVO y VWO 3 na Colegio San Nicolas?
3. Cua ta e factornan cu ta influencia e actitud y balorisacion pa cu e idioma Papiamento cerca e hobennan aki?
4. Cua ta e factornan cu ta influencia e actitud y balorisacion pa cu Hulandes na Aruba cerca e hobennan aki?
5. Mester influencia e actitud y balorisacion di e idiomanan Papiamento y Hulandes cerca e alumnonan di HAVO 3 y VWO 3 di Colegio San Nicolas?

E investigacion aki lo duna claridad den e pensamento cu un hoben specificamente ta scoge cua idioma e ta uza pa e expresa su mes, no opstante e situacion cu e ta aden. Cu e informacion aki, e seccionnan di ambos idioma por diseña nan plan di les y prueba. E balorisacion di un idioma ta influencia e actitud di e hoben pa cu e idioma. Door di expone e hoben na actividad educativo di e idioma como materia cu ta conduci na un mehoracion di su balorisacion pa e idioma ey, lo por conduci na un actitud positivo pa cu e idioma den cuestion.

Di e resultadonan cu haya, lo defini si mester stimula e actitud y e balorsiacion positivamente cerca e hobennan aki y e otronan cu ta sigui nan.

Ta intencion pa tene e investigacion aki bou di alumnonan di scol di tipo HAVO y VWO y specificamente di e prome aña di Ciclo Avansa. Motivacion pa esaki ta cu e alumno di klas 3 di HAVO y VWO ta termina su formacion di e materia Papiamento

na fin di e aña escolar aki. E hoben tin dentro di poco e opcion di scoge Papiamento sea como idioma extra den VWO 3 of como material extra den HAVO 3.

Pa haci e investigacion posibel a desaroya un cuestionario pa analisa e balorisacion y actitud di e alumnonan pa cu idioma na scol y den bida diario. E cuestionario ta consisti di nuebe diferente parti: 1) poblacion di investigacion; 2) caracteristica demografico; 3) pais di studio posterior; 4) escogencia di idioma di uzo; 5) importancia di Papiamento; 6) importancia di Hulandes; 7) importancia di dominio di Papiamento; 8) scoge Papiamento den bovenbouw; y 9) idioma di instruccion.

Pa realisa e investigacion a scoge pa bay den e klasnan y tene un presentacion chikito. Meta di e presentacion ta pa nan sera conoci cu e investigado, pa splica nan e importancia di e investigacion, tanto pa Colegio San Nicolas, como pa e investigado y finalmente pa realisa e investigacion. Pa garantisa un response mas completo y corecto posibel a scoge pa repasa e cuestionario cu e alumnonan pa nan ta sigur di con pa contesta e preguntanan.

Generalmente e alumnonan di HAVO 3 y VWO 3 tabata hopi coperativo den participa na e encuesta. Aunke e sistema di pregunta den e encuesta no tabata dificil, por a constata cu e alumnonan den cuestion a contesta e preguntanan facilmente. A participa 100% di e alumnonan den klas HAVO 3 y VWO 3 di Colegio San Nicolas. Pa garantisa anonimidad, na final a pone tur e formularionan di HAVO hunto y a bruha nan, pa evita cu e investigado por reconoce of saca afo cua cuestionario ta di cua alumno. Pa loke ta trata e formularionan di VWO a laga un di tres persona bruha nan. A scoge pa haci esaki ya cu e investigado conoce cada un di e alumnonan personalmente den cuadro escolar.

E analisis di resultado a sosode den dos etapa. Prome a conta e cantidad di respuesta pa cada pregunta y registra esaki. Siguientemente a scoge e preguntanan di cua ta desea un presentacion grafico tambe, pa despues por a haci e analisis di resultado y interpreta e respuestanan di e cuestionario. Finalmente ta saca conclusion y lo por duna recomendacion. Pa haci e resultado di e investigacion accesibel a scoge pa presenta e resultadonan absoluto den table acompaña pa su interpretacion. Tambe ta haci uzo di grafica pa indica e resultadonan relativo. Manera indica anteriormente, ta tene e investigacion bou di e poblacion completo di alumnonan di HAVO (H) y VWO (V) di klas 3 na Colegio San Nicolas.

Tabel 1 Poblacion di studio

Tipo di enseñansa	Cantidad di alumno den klas 3
HAVO (H)	35
VWO (V)	21

Den total a participa 35 alumno di HAVO 3 y 21 alumno di VWO 3. Esakinan ta forma e poblacion completo di alumno na Colegio San Nicolas den klas 3.

E investigacion a trata tur alumno di e klasnan HAVO 3 y VWO 3. Algun di nan caracteristica demografico ta inica den Tabel 2 y 3.

Tabel 2 Particion di edad bou di e poblacion di investigacion

Tipo di enseñansa	Edad		
	14	15	16
HAVO	10	13	8
VWO	14	10	1

Di Tabel 2 nos por constata cu e poblacion di investigacion ta parti den 24 alumno total di 14 aña, 23 alumno total di 15 aña y 9 alumno total di 16 aña.

Tabel 3 Particion di pais di nacemento di e poblacion di investigacion y di nan mayornan.

		Ami	Mi mama	Mi tata
Aruba	H	25	22	31
	V	20	11	17
Total Aruba		**45 (80%)**	**33 (59%)**	**48 (86%)**
Otro (Jamaica, Hulanda, Haiti, Colombia, Venezuela, Bahamas, China, Sur Africa)	H	10	13	4
	V	1	10	4
Total otro		**11 (20%)**	**23 (41%)**	**8 (14%)**

Cifra di investigacion ta indica cu tin un cantidad considerabel di e alumno di H3/V3 di cua nan mama ta naci na otro pais cu no ta Aruba. Mayoria tata di e alumnonan di H3/V3 a nace na Aruba. Esaki por ta un indicacion cu den e composicion familiarnan caminda cu tin por lo menos un mayor cu pais natal cu no ta Aruba, lo tin mas cu un idioma ta uza den bida diario.

Un bista mas detaya di e resultadonan di investigacion ta indica cu 5% di e alumnonan investiga a nace na Aruba, pero tur dos mayor a nace na un otro pais. Y 7% di e poblacion di investigacion tanto e alumno como su mayornan a nace na un pais cu no ta Aruba. Tambe ta conoci cu 52% di e alumnonan investiga a nace na Aruba y ambos di

nan mayornan tambe a nace na Aruba. 42% di e alumnonan aki ta biba den un hogar den cua tin por lo menos 2 idioma di comunicadion

Lugar di estudio posterior

Tabel 4 Escogencia preliminar di futuro pais di studio.

	Aruba	**Curacao**	**Hulanda**	**Merca**	**Pais Latino**	**Canada**
HAVO	5	0	20	5	2	3
VWO	2	0	12	6		1
Total	**7**		**32**	**11**	**2**	**4**

Aki mester para un rato keto na e interpretacion di e cifranan den tabel 4. Mester tene na cuenta cu e alumnonan aki no necesariamente a dicidi caba cu ta e pais cu nan a indica, realmente lo ta e pais cu nan lo bay studia den futuro. E alumnonan aki ta den e aña escolar caminda cu nan lo scoge e materianan cu nan kier sigui studia cu ne pa logra nan diploma di HAVO. E resultado di investigacion, manera presenta den Tabel 4, tin un caracter indicativo.
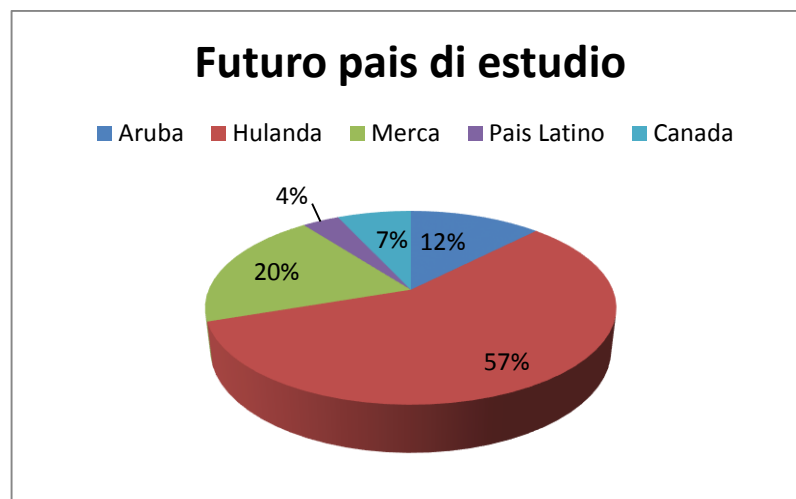
Grafica 1 Particion di escogencia di futuro pais di estudio

Mayoria alumno ta pensando cu nan lo bay studia na Hulanda. E di dos escogencia mas grandi ta pa studia na Merca y di tres Aruba.

E investigacion aki no tin como meta pa haya informacion di e tipo di studio cu nan lo kier sigui. Consecuentemente no ta conoci di e 5 hobennan di HAVO 3 cu a scoge pa

sigui studia na Aruba, si nan tin pensa di sigui un studio avansa di profesion (IPA, Universidad di Aruba) of un estudio avansa di formacion general (VWO).

Tabel 5 ta indica e escogencia di idioma cu e alumno ta uza <u>mas tanto</u> den e situacion-nan specifica:

Tabel 5 Escogencia di uzo di idioma den diferente situacion.

Situacion		Papiamento	Hulandes	Ingles	Spaño	Otro
1. Na cas	H	24	3	3	3	2
	V	13	1	5	2	0
2. Na scol	H	28	4	3	0	0
	V	14	3	4	0	0
3. Cu amigo	H	26	0	8	1	0
	V	15	0	6	0	0
4. Den media	H	16	0	17	1	1
	V	6	0	15	0	0
Total	H	84	7	31	5	3
	V	48	4	30	2	0

E situacion "Na scol" ta referi na cualkier situacion riba tereno di scol. Pues, cua ta e idioma cu e alumno ta uza mas tanto riba tereno di scol. E situacion "Cu amigo" ta referi strictamente na contacto verbal cu un amigo pafo di cura di scol. E no ta acapara e contacto cu un amigo haciendo uzo di cualkier tipo di media (telefon, internet).
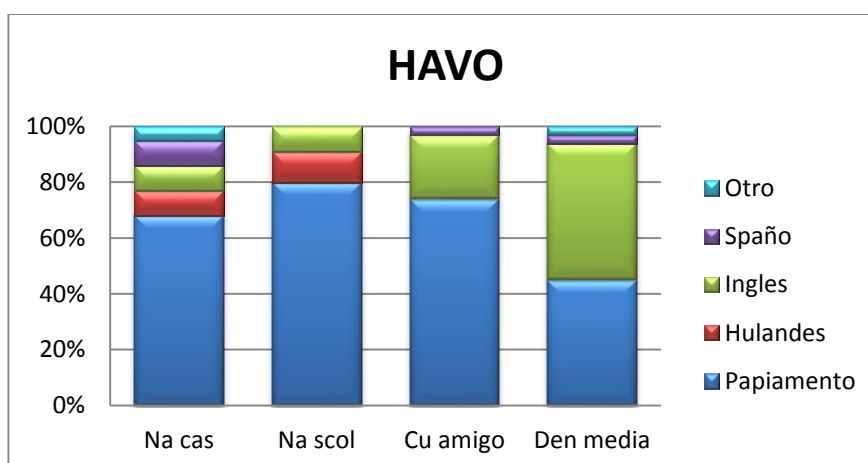
Grafica 2 Escogencia di uzo di idioma di alumno di HAVO 3 den dife-rente situacion.

Resultado di investigacion ta indica pa e alumnonan di HAVO 3, cu e idioma mas uza na cas, na scol y cu un amigo (pafo di cura di scol) ta Papiamento. E dos idioma mas uza cu amigo ta Ingles. E idioma Ingles ta e idioma mas uza den media, aunke Papiamento tambe ta basta uza pa comunica cu otro den media.
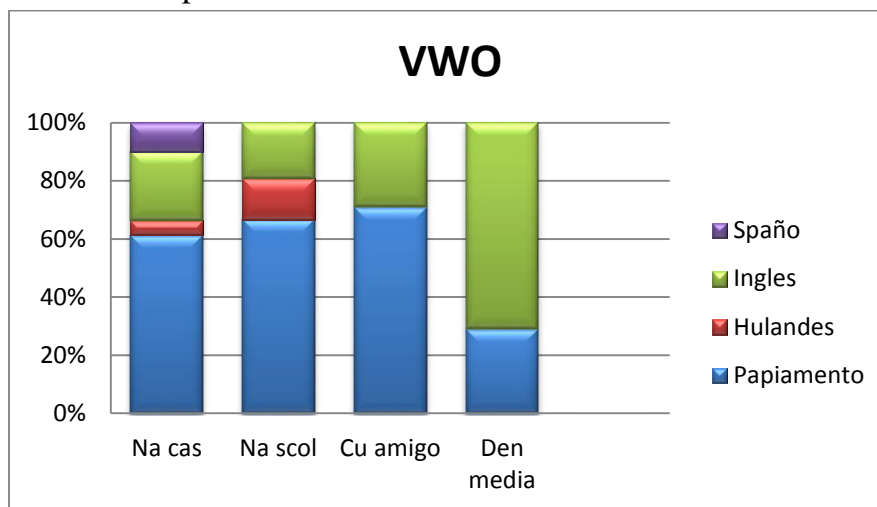
Grafica 3 Escogencia di uzo di idioma di alumno di VWO 3 den diferente situacion.

Bou di e alumnonan di VWO 3 e idioma mas uza na cas, na scol y cu amigo (pafo di cura di scol) ta Papiamento. Contrario cu e alumnonan di HAVO 3, e uzo di Ingles ta hopi mas y e uzo di Hulandes cu amigo y den media ta nihil. E parti di e investigacion aki ta dirigi riba haya sa cua ta e idioma cu e alumno ta uzo den sierto situacion, no e motibo pakico e ta haci esaki, consecuentemente no tin un aclaracion pa e uzo excesivo di Ingles den media bou di e alumnonan di VWO 3.

Riba e total di e poblacion di investigacion por conclui cu e idioma Hulandes practicamente no tin un funcion comunicativo. Pues mayoria di e alumnonan no ta scoge pa uza Hulandes den casi ningun situacion cu nan ta aden, tanto riba tereno di scol como pafor di tereno di scol. Ripara cu aki ta trata e escogencia di e hoben pa cua idioma e ta uza pa comunica den un situacion. Ta berdad cu riba tereno di scol y den mayoria materia ta Hulandes ta e idioma di instruccion, cu ta pone cu den klas e materia ta keda presenta y discuti na Hulandes, pero esey no ta escogencia di e alumno. E resultado aki ta lanta e pensamento cu e alumno, den klas ta haya les na Hulandes y e ta participa na e les verbal y skirbi na Hulandes, pero na e momento cu e mester comunica cu un otro alumno, sea pa elabora riba contenido di e les of pa comunica di modo social, e mayoria bes ta scoge pa haci uzo di Papiamento.

Di e resultadonan ta destila 3 argumento principal ($\geq$ 75% di e poblacion total di investigacion) pa cua e alumno ta considera Papiamento importante, esta 1) pasobra cu Papiamento ta idioma oficial di Aruba (91%); 2) pasobra cu Papiamento ta idioma di mayoria hende riba Aruba (80%); y 3) pasobra e ta e idioma di comunicacion (75%).

E resultado aki no ta sorprendente ya cu Papiamento ta e idioma nativo of e idioma mas uza di mayoria di e alumnonan di investigacion. Di e total di poblacion di investigacion 68% ta opina cu Papiamento ta yuda pa e compronde e materianan trata den les miho. Un 70% di e poblacion total di investigacion ta opina cu Papiamento ta importante, pasobra e ta domina e idioma.

Despues di analisa e resultado di investigacion ta lanta e atencion riba un aspecto specifico, esta di e rol cu Papiamento por tin den e desaroyo actual di e alumno pa cu su comprencion y dominio di e materianan curicular pa HAVO 3 y VWO 3. Aki no ta

Tabel 6 Diferente hustificacion pa importancia di Papiamento

		SI	NO	Kisas
1. E ta idioma oficial di Aruba	H	31	2	2
	V	20	0	1
2. E ta idioma pa sigui studia	H	5	17	13
	V	5	12	4
3. E ta un idioma importante	H	12	8	15
	V	3	3	15
4. Nos a siña cu ta importante pa sa e idioma aki.	H	19	7	9
	V	11	3	7
5. Mi ta compronde les miho	H	25	6	4
	V	12	5	4
6. E ta e idioma di mayoria hende na Aruba	H	29	1	5
	V	16	3	2
7. Mi ta domin'e bon	H	24	4	7
	V	15	2	4
8. E ta e idioma di mi famia (wela, welo, tanta etc…)	H	22	11	2
	V	12	9	0
9. Tur hende na Aruba ta papi'e	H	11	13	11
	V	11	6	4
10. Mi por comunica cu otro hende	H	29	0	6
	V	16	0	5
Total	H	206	69	75
	V	121	43	46

trata di idioma di instruccion, pero e idioma cu e alumno ta uza den comunicacion cu demas alumnonan ora cu e ta traha na su tareanan of ta repasa un materia den praparacion di un evaluacion. Por ehempel, un alumno por studia un materia specifico, laga bisa geografia, di cua e tin e informacion cu e mester compronde y domina na Hulandes pa e siguiente prueba, pero den su preparacion e ta haci uzo di Papiamento pa splica e materia na su mes of na un otro alumno. Lamentablemente e investigacion aki no a incorpora e parti aki.

Resultado di e investigacion ta indica cu 82% di e alumnonan encuesta ta opina cu Papiamento no ta e idioma pa sigui studia. Esaki tin su aspecto yamativo ya cu aparentemente e alumno no ta conciente di e importancia di dominio di su prome idioma pa logra exito den su studio. Aki tin un area di desaroyo curicular cu e seccion di materia Papiamento tin pa traha riba dje.
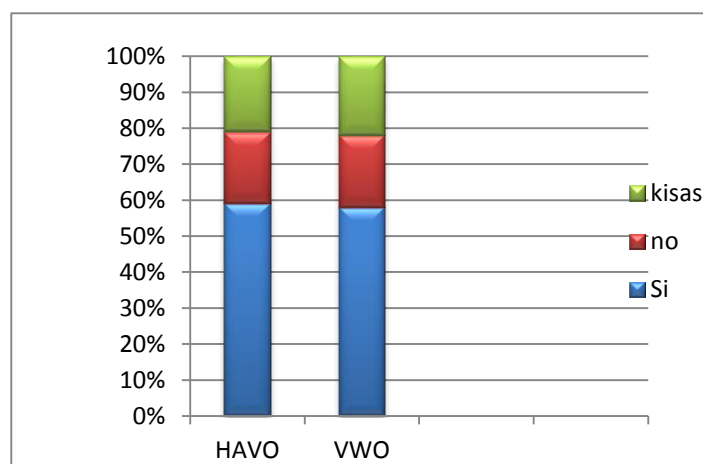
Grafica 4 Opinion general di importancia di Papiamento.

Den general, basa riba e 10 argumentonan specifico den e investigacion, e alumnonan di HAVO 3 y VWO 3 ta di opinion cu Papiamento ta importante. No opstante esey, nan no ta pensa cu e ta importante pa sigui studia. E opinion no ta varia entre alumno di HAVO of di VWO.

Tabel 7 ta duna indicacion di 3 argumento principal ($\geq$ 75% di e poblacion total di investigacion) pa cua e alumno ta considera dominio di e idioma Hulandes importante. Na opinion di e alumnonan di H3 y V3 e idioma Hulandes ta importante, 1) pasobra e ta idioma di scol (86%); 2) pasobra cu nan ta considera e idioma importante (75%); y 3) pasobra cu nan a siña cu e ta importante pa sa e idioma Hulandes (86%).

Di e alumnonan investiga, 64% ta considera dominio di Hulandes importante como cu e ta e idioma pa sigui studia. Esaki ta notabel, pasobra Colegio San Nicolas ta profila su mes como un scol cu ta prepara e alumno pa e finalisa su studio secundario na nivel HAVO y sigui studia na Hulanda. Saliendo di e punto ey, e porcentage di alumno cu ta asocia un bon dominio di e idioma di pais di destinacion cu su futuro estudio, no ta sobresali.

No mas cu 27% ta considera dominio di Hulandes importante, pasobra e ta compronde e les miho. Apenas 18% ta duna Hulandes importancia pa motibo cu e ta domina e idioma aki. Pues e hoben di HAVO 3 y VWO 3 ta considera e idioma Hulandes importante pa e por sigui studia, pero esey no ta dun'e suficiente motivacion pa e domina e idioma aki na un nivel cu e por yuda e alumno den su comprendemento di e materianan ofreci den e di tres aña escolar HAVO of VWO.

Tabel 7 Diferente hustificacion pa importancia di Hulandes.

	Klas	SI	NO	Kisas
1. E ta idioma di scol	H	28	2	5
	V	20	1	0
2. E ta idioma pa sigui studia	H	22	4	9
	V	14	3	4
3. E ta un idioma importante	H	24	1	10
	V	18	1	2
4. Nos a siña cu ta importante pa sa e idioma aki.	H	31	1	3
	V	17	1	3
5. Mi ta compronde les miho	H	13	11	11
	V	2	8	11
6. E ta e idioma di un pais grandi	H	18	10	7
	V	12	6	3
7. Mi ta domin'e bon	H	8	9	18
	V	2	9	10
8. E ta e idioma di mi famia (wela, welo, tanta etc…)	H	5	24	6
	V	2	19	0
9. E ta un idioma oficial di Aruba	H	15	15	5
	V	4	11	6
10. Mi por comunica cu otro hende	H	17	7	11
	V	11	3	7
Total	H	181	84	85
	V	102	62	46

Den general, basa riba e 10 argumentonan specifico den e investigacion, mayoria alumno di HAVO 3 y VWO 3 ta considera Hulandes importante, mas tanto pa studia, comunica cu hende y otro motibonan. Sinembargo na mes momento nan ta opina cu nan no ta domina e idioma Hulandes bon.

Ta conoci cu dominio di un idioma ta inherente na comprondemento di cualkier materia den e curiculo di enseñansa na momento cu e materia ta ofreci den e idioma ey. Den e situacion di Aruba, cu excepcion di e materianan Papiamento, Ingles y Spaño, tur otro materia tin Hulandes como idioma di instruccion. Den caso cu e hoben no ta domina e idioma Hulandes, e lo no compronde e materianan ofreci na dje tampoco, tanten cu ta mantene Hulndes como e unico idioma di instruccion.
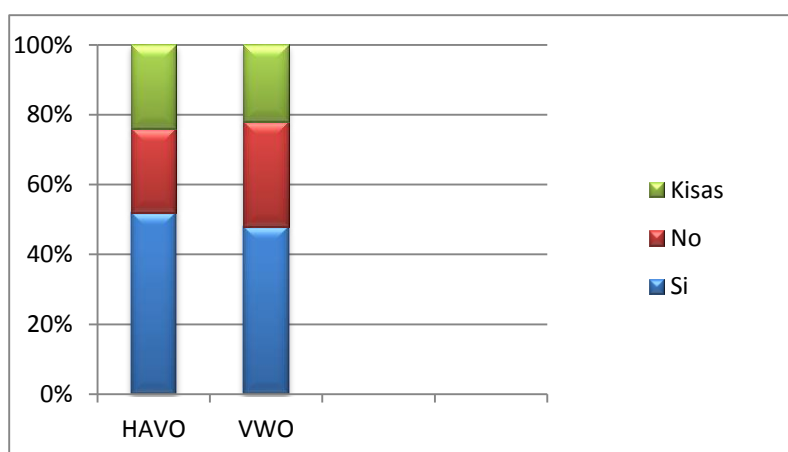
Grafica 5 Opinion general di importancia di Hulandes.

Di e investigacion ta sobresali cu 80% di alumnonan di HAVO 3 y VWO 3 ta di opinion cu ta importante pa domina e idioma bon y p'esey nan ta domin'e tambe. (Mira tabel 8 riba e siguiente pagina). Di e alumnonan encuesta, 70% ta considera dominio di Papiamento importante, pasobra cu splicacion na Papiamento ta mas comprendibel cu na Hulandes y 68% ta opina cu splicacion den Hulandes y Papiamento den les ta conduci cu e alumno lo ta mas participativo den les. Notabel ta cu 45% di e alumnonan di investigacion ta di opinion cu si nan haya les den Papiamento, esaki lo pone cu nan lo haci mas pregunta. Pues, splicacion di materia di enseñansa den Papiamento ta haci esaki mas comprendibel den comparacion cu splicacion den Hulandes, pero e no ta haci e alumno mas acertivo pa cuestiona e informacion ricibi caminda ta necesario.

Di tabel 8 nos por deduci cu 29% di e alumnonan encuesta ta opina cu nan no ta domina Hulandes bon. Un analisis mas specifico di e resultadonan ta mustra cu e mesun alumnonan aki ta pensa cu splicacion den Hulandes ta stroba nan di compronde un of otro materia. Ta existi e pensamento cu e idioma Hulandes ta stroba e alumno den su desaroyo na scol, pasobra cu e hoben no ta domina e idioma Hulandes y ora e haya

Tabel 8 Importancia di dominio di Papiamento

		SI	NO	Kisas
1. Splicacion na Papiamento ta mas comprendibel cu splicacion na Hulandes.	H	25	4	6
	V	14	2	5
2. Splicacion den Papiamento ta encurasha ami pa puntra mas.	H	17	8	10
	V	8	6	7
3. Splicacion den Hulandes ta stroba mi un poco di compronde otro materia.	H	12	12	11
	V	3	11	7
4. Den les unda ta uza Hulandes so, mi tin tendencia di ta mas keto.	H	17	7	11
	V	5	10	6
5. Den les unda ta uza Papiamento y Hulandes, mi ta participa mas den les.	H	24	5	6
	V	14	4	3
6. Mi ta haya cu mi ta domina Papiamento bon.	H	26	2	7
	V	19	0	2
7. Mi ta haya cu mi ta domina Hulandes bon.	H	11	9	15
	V	5	4	11
Total	H	132	47	66
	V	68	37	41

splicacion den Hulandes e no lo comprende esaki facilmente. E investigacion aki no ta dirigi riba e topico ey, pero mas bien ta duna e opinion di e alumno di HAVO 3 y VWO 3 pa loke ta si Hulandes ta strob'e den un manera of otro na scol.
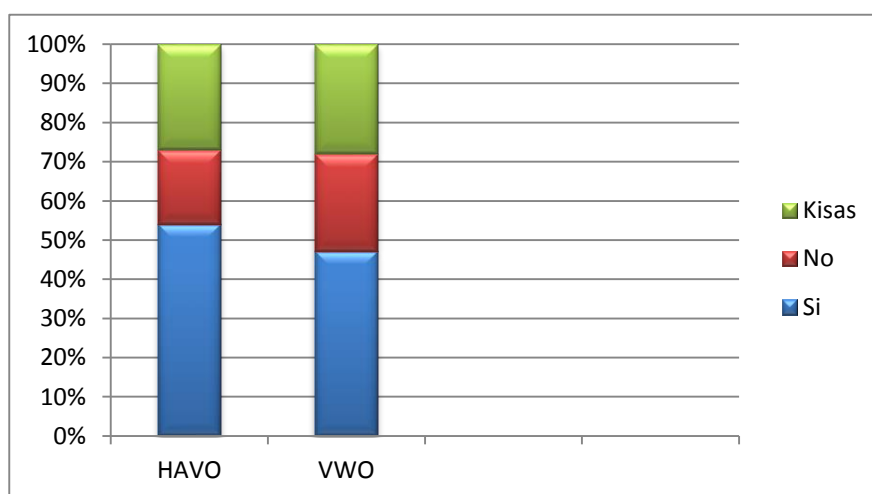
Grafica 6 Importancia di dominio di Papiamento.

Mayoria alumno ta di opinion cu Papiamento ta yuda nan den les, cu nan ta mas activo den les si e ta na Papiamento y cu nan ta compronde e lesnan miho. E alumnonan ta haya Papiamento importante den nan desaroyo local, pero no ta considera Papiamento importante pa por yega na un nivel di educacion mas avansa.

Tabel 9 Argumento pakico lo scoge Papiamento como materia den bovenbouw.

	HAVO	**VWO**
A. E ta idioma di Aruba	5	2
B. E ta e idioma di mayoria hende riba Aruba	0	0
C. E ta e idioma pa comunica cu otro na Aruba	5	2
D. E ta yuda mi pa mi logra caba mi HAVO (y sigui studia)	5	4
E. A, B, C, y D	11	10
F. Otro	7	3
G. Mi no lo scoge Papiamento	2	0

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Tabel 9 ta indica cu 96% di e poblacion total di investigacion ta interesa na momento di e investigacion pa scoge Papiamento den bovenbouw (HAVO 4/VWO 4).

Na prome luga mester tene na cuenta cu e resultado di investigacion no ta indica cu nan lo scoge e materia Papiamento den e siguiente aña escolar. Na momento di e investigacion e alumnonan den cuestion no a haya tur preparacion ainda pa loke ta e materianan for di cua nan mag scoge pa un pakete di estudio den bovenbouw, ni tampoco a haya guia den e criterio di escogencia di materia, teniendo cuenta cu un futuro estudio of labor. E ta indica cu si nan scoge Papiamento e lo ta pa un of otro motibo indica.

Notabel ta si, cu e alumno mester tin un of otro factor di motivacion cu ta motiv'e pa di antemano tin Papiamento den mente como un di e materianan di escogencia. E argumentonan A te cu D indica den tabel 9 no ta duna un indicacion cla cu un di nan ta e argumunto principal. E argumento cu Papiamento lo yuda e hoben pa e logra su diploma di HAVO, tampoco a sobresali.

Aunke no parti di e investigacion aki, ta haci mencion di cu e dos respondientenan cu a indica cu nan lo no scoge Papiamento den bovenbouw, ta dos alumno cu ta procedente di Hulanda y cu tin menos cu 2 aña na Aruba. Ta comprendibel cu nan no ta motiva pa scoge Papiamento den bovenbouw, principalmente si tene na cuenta cu nan lo no keda Aruba ni na e momento aki tin plan pa bolbe Aruba despues di un futuro estudio. E dos alumnonan aki a scoge pa skirbi nan nomber riba e formulario di investigacion.
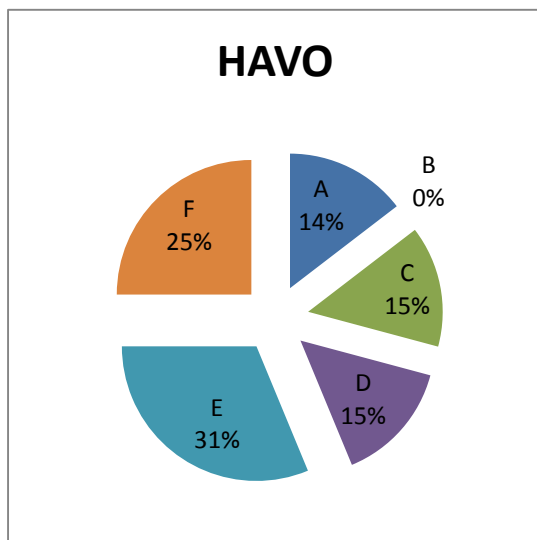
Grafica 7 Argumento pakico un alumno di HAVO 3 lo scoge Papiamento como materia den bovenbouw.
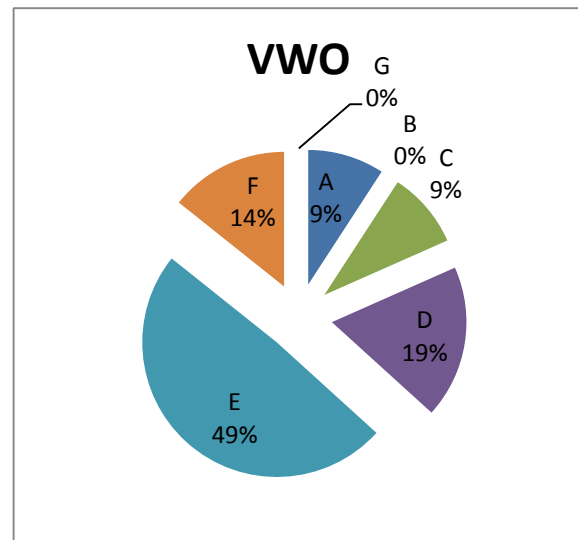
Grafica 8 Argumento pakico un alumno di VWO 3 lo scoge Papiamento como materia den bovenbouw.

Generalmente por conclui cu mayoria alumno a duna di compronde cu si e oportunidad presenta, nan lo kier scoge Papiamento den bovenbouw pa diferente motibo. Aki mester haci mencion cu e investigacion aki no a logra duna un argumento solido of cu mas tanto ta motiva e alumnonan pa scoge e idioma Papiamento como materia den e parti avansa di enseñansa secundario.

Tabel 10 Argumento pakico lo scoge Papiamento como materia den bovenbouw.

	HAVO	VWO
A. Haya les na Papiamento	9	4
B. Haya les na Hulandes	5	3
C. Haya les na Papiamento y Hulandes	10	10
D. No ta importa, basta mi siña	11	4

E alumnonan di HAVO 3 no ta duna un indicacion cla cu nan tin un preferencia pa un idioma of mas como idioma di instruccion den klas. Bou di e alumnonan di VWO 3 por mira cu e escogencia primordial ta pa haya les na Papiamento y Hulandes.
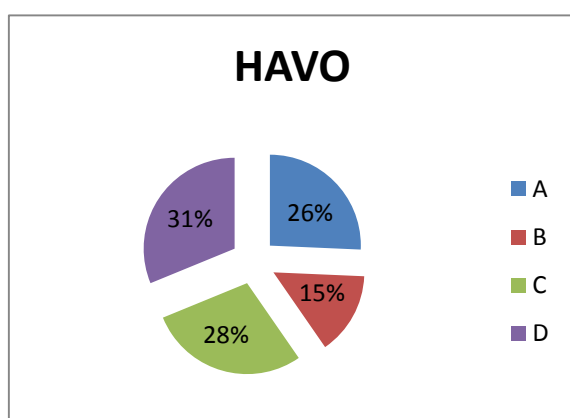
Grafica 9 Escogencia di idioma di
        instruccion di alumno di H3.
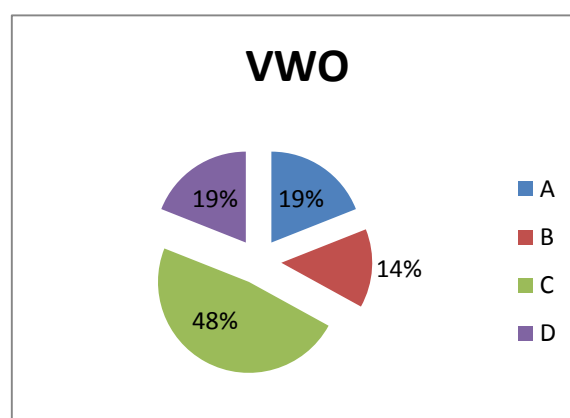
Grafica 10 Escogencia di idioma di
        instruccion di alumno di V3.

Ta notabel cu 59% di e alumnonan di HAVO 3 y 67% di e alumnonan di VWO 3 no tin un escogencia specifico pa un idioma di instruccion, esta sea Papiamento, Hulandes of ambos idioma. Den total esaki ta representa 63% di e alumnonan di HAVO 3/VWO 3. Originalmente tabata spera cu e porcentage aki lo ta mas halto.

Aunke e intencion di e parti aki di e encuesta ta pa haya un indicacion di con e alumnonan di e di tres aña escolar ta opina tocante hayamento di les cu Papiamento como idioma di instruccion of den combinacion cu Hulandes, ta keda e pregunta si e hoben conoce y ta compronde kico ta e imbergadura y consecuencia di un idioma di instruccion. E hoben encuesta practicamente a haya les cu Hulandes como idioma di instruccion desde su entrada den scol basico. E no a haya ningun materia den Papiamento, cu excepcion di e propio idioma Papiamento desde e prome aña escolar den scol secundario. Un di dos argumento di critica ta cu e hoben no por compara pro y contra di e dos idiomanan di instruccion ya cu e no a haya e criterionan a base di cua e lo por compara pa e por scoge.

Conclusion i recomendacion

Pregunta 1:   Kico ta e actitud y balorisacion di idioma Papiamento bou di e hobennan di HAVO 3 y VWO 3 na Colegio San Nicolas?

E alumnonan ta haya Papiamento un idioma cu tin su lugar den e curiculo di enseñansa. Pa loke ta e actitud di e alumno di investigacion pa cu idioma Papiamento ta notabel cu e alumno en cuestion ta uza Papiamento como su idioma di comunicacion den mayoria situacion cu e ta combiba. Tanto na cas, riba tereno di scol y tur otro caminda pafor di cura di scol unda e hoben ta presenta su mes, e ta uza e idioma Papiamento mas tanto. E idioma Ingles ta haya su luga na momento di contacto entre amigonan y

ta mas tanto uza cu Papiamento na momento di uzo di media (internet, whatsapp, media social, etc.).

Di e investigacion por saca afo cu alumnonan di investigacion ta duna balor na Papiamento como esaki ta e idioma di e isla, di e comunidad y pa e importancia cu e idioma tin den e comunidad. Nan ta considera cu e ta un idioma importante y cu si presenta e oportunidad pa scoge e idioma aki como materia di examen, mayoria lo pone esaki den nan pakete di estudio. Pues, por conclui cu riba tur aspecto, es decir, afectivo, social y cognitivo, e alumnonan di e investigacion ta considera Papiamento un idioma importante.

Pregunta 2: Kico ta e actitud y balorisacion di idioma Hulandes bou di e hobennan di HAVO 3 y VWO 3 na Colegio San Nicolas?

Pa loke ta trata e idioma Hulandes, si pone bon atencion riba e datonan genera di e investigacion, por conclui cu e idioma aki, cerca mayoria di e alumnonan di investigacion, no tin un luga den mayoria situacion unda e idioma ta domina. Esaki ta indica cu e alumnonan den cuestion practicamente no ta uza e idioma Hulandes den mayoria situacion riba tereno di scol. Hulandes ta e idioma di instruccion na scol, pero manera e resultado di investigacion ta indica, e uzo di idioma Hulandes den klas no ta surpasa e uzo general di Papiamento riba tereno di scol.

E alumnonan ta considera Hulandes un idioma importante riba casi tur aspecto, cu excepcion riba e parti cu Hulandes no ta nan idioma di famia. Mayoria no ta considera cu nan tin bon dominio di Hulandes. E alumnonan di VWO 3 investiga, ta di opinion cu Hulandes ta stroba nan den cierto forma di compronde nan lesnan y cu nan no of kisas ta domina e idioma Hulandes bon. Tambe mayoria alumno ta contesta cu den les di Hulandes nan tin e tendencia di ta mas keto.

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Pues por conclui cu e idea y pensamento pa cu Hulandes y su importancia ta concretisa cerca e alumnonan como un idioma importante y ta un necesidad pa nan domina esaki bon. Na mes momento e alumnonan ta duna si di conoce, cu nan no ta domina e idioma Hulandes y cu e ta stroba nan den cierto sentido.

Pregunta 3: Cua ta e factornan cu ta influencia e actitud y balorisacion pa cu e idioma Papiamento cerca e hobennan aki?

Di e resultado di investigacion por conlui cu e factornan cu tin influencia riba e actitud y balorisacion pa cu e idioma Papiamento, ta varia. Na prome luga tin e factor emocional cu ta acapara entre otro cu Papiamento ta e idioma materno di e hoben, Papiamento ta e idioma di e pais, Papiamento ta e idioma di famia y finalmente Papiamento ta e idioma den cua nan ta compronde les miho.

Na di dos luga tin e factor social, esta e Papiamento ta e idioma di comunicacion entre amigo. Aki mester para un rato keda na e echo cu e indicado amistad entre e hobennan ta trece cu ne cu nan ta haci mas tanto uzo di Papiamento como e idioma di comunica-

cion entre nan sin distingui e situacion den cua nan ta. Por ehempel, e hoben mas tanto ta scoge pa comunica cu su amigo den Papiamento, no opstante cu e material di les of idioma di instruccion den les ta diferente. Basicamente no ta importa den cua situacion e alumno di investigacion ta, mas tanto e lo scoge Papiamento como su idioma di co-municacion cu un amigo.

Na di tres luga tin e factor academico, refiriendo na Papiamento como idioma na scol y como idioma cu por yuda nan sigui studia. Unabes cu Papiamento a keda institucio-nalisa y e hobennan a haya les den Papiamento pa tres aña, ta duna nan un indicacion cu e idioma tin su importancia den e curiculo, pasobra e ta den klas. Esaki a contribui grandemente na e balorisacion di e idioma. Awo cu ta na vispera di introduccion di Papiamento como materia den bovenbouw y cu e ta bira un idioma di examen, ta duna e señal mas cla ainda cu e idioma ta di gran balor.

Pregunta 4:   Cua ta e factornan cu ta influencia e actitud y balorisacion pa cu Hulan-des na Aruba cerca e hobennan aki?

E factor mas fuerte pa cu balorisacion di Hulandes ta keda esun academico. Hulandes ta profila como idioma di exito academico ya cu e ta e idioma cu, den sierto sentido, ta brinda e oportunidad pa sigui studia. Esaki ta loke e alumno mas tanto ta tende y e scol di investigacion ta pone enfasis tambe cu e studio di HAVO/VWO na Aruba no ta un stacion final di studio, pero ta habri caminda pa y ta prepara e alumno pa e por si-gui studia na Hulanda.

Acerca mayoria di e hobennan investiga ya tin den mente pa sigui studia na Hulanda. E formacion di pensamento aki ta sosode tanto na cas como na scol. Pues e hobennan ta lanta cu e pensamento aki sin sa si di berdad esaki ta cuadra of si e pais di destina-cion pa sigui studia berdaderamente ta brinda e facilidad y estudio cu ta pas cu ne. Sinembargo e hobennan mes ta indica cu nan dominio no ta asina bon y cu si nan mes-ter scoge un idioma di instruccion lo ta den cualkier idioma, na un forma bilingual of na Papiamento.

Preguntanan 5 y 6:   Mester influencia e actitud y balorisacion di e idiomanan Papia-mento y Hulandes cerca e hobennan di Colegio San Nicolas?

Analisando e resultadonan di e investigacion por conclui cu ta necesario pa e acerca-mento di cada idioma haya su atencion debido, na momento cu Colegio San Nicolas ta desea di tin un influencia riba e actitud y balorisacion di e alumnonan di HAVO 3 y VWO 3 pa cu e dos idiomanan aki.

Punto di salida ta cu e hobennan encuesta ta hobennan den un edad cu nan ta rasona y por crea un pensamento concreto tocante un asunto. E hobennan aki ta hobennan cu a siña den e sistema di enseñansa di Aruba henter nan bida y nan sa di experiencia con duro of facil esaki por ta pa nan.Ta trata di hobennan cu a sobrebibi e sistema di ense-ñansa y cu a logra yega te na e nivel di enseñansa secundario na Aruba. Nan ta di tal

indole desaroya caba cu nan por distingui cua ta e maneranan mas efectivo pa nan por compronde cualkier materia pa medio di idioma. E hecho cu Papiamento ta den e curiculo caba ta duna e hoben e experiencia di con ta pa haya splicacion den su mesun idioma of e idioma mayoritario di Aruba. Banda di esaki, e balorisacion pa cu e idioma tambe ta keda influencia positivamente, pues cu unabes e idioma Papiamento ta den curiculo di enseñansa, ta pasobra e tin su importancia. Si compara cu e estudio haci na Statia por conclui cu e resultadonan ta casi similar. E hobennan ta habri pa enseñansa bilingual, aunke compara cu St. Eustatius, nan actitud positivo pa cu Hulandes ta poco menos.

E echo cu Hulandes ta idioma di instruccion y e pensamento general cu e hoben cu ta biba na Aruba tin cu haya su enseñansa secundario na Hulandes pa e por sigui studia na Hulanda, tin un influencia directo riba e balorisacion di Papiamento cu ta e prome of di dos idioma di mayoria alumno cu ta bay scol secundario y ta crea un sinti di aversion pa cu Hulandes y loke e idioma Hulandes ta representa. Ta pa e motibo aki ta necesario pa adapta e acercamento pa cu e dos idiomanan aki den enseñansa. Na e momento aki nan ta idioma opuesto y te riba diferente nivel ta busca argumento pa mantene Papiamento pafo di enseñansa secundario avansa. Pa crea harmonia den e idiomanan cu e sistema escolar ta ofrece na e alumno, ta necesario pa crea espacio pa traha hunto y eventual yega na transicion den e lesnan di idioma.

E investigacion aki ta duna indicacion cu e alumno di HAVO 3 y VWO 3 ta conciente cu e no ta domina e idioma Hulandes. Na mes momento e no ta tanto motiva tampoco pa alcansa e nivel di dominio necesario pa e por haci uzo di Hulandes pa compronde e materianan suficientemente. Aki tin dos punto di atencion pa Colegio San Nicolas. Na prome luga tin cu tene na mente cu, si e scol ta profila su mes como un scol cu ta prepara su alumnonan pa despues di alcansa e nivel HAVO, nan sigui studia na Hulanda, e lo mester percura pa nan dominio di Hulandes ta riba nivel acceptabel. Na di dos luga, pa alcansa e nivel di dominio aki cerca hobennan di cua mayoria di nan no tin Hulandes como nan prome idioma, lo mester tin un campaña di concientisacion pa yega na motiva y stimula e alumnonan pa sigui un trayecto di formacion di modo activo pa loke ta trata dominio di Hulandes.

No mester perde for di bista cu e alumnonan investiga ta duna e indicacion di ta mas tanto motiva pa haci uzo di Papiamento den nan formacion estudiantil. E investigacion ta indica cu mayoria di e alumnonan ta opina cu nan ta domina Papiamento bon y na mes momento Papiamento ta e idioma cu mas tanto e hoben ta scoge pa uza riba tereno di scol. Pues e idioma cu e alumno ta uza pa e papia di e les, pa discuti y pa dialoga riba e diferente contenido y tarea di les, ta Papiamento. Esaki ta motibo suficiente pa riba nivel escolar percura pa e dominio di Papiamento ta mas miho posibel, creando oportunidad pa e alumno desaroya su habilidadnan aplicando e arte di idioma. Esaki lo percura pa un formacion di alumno cu mas contenido cu solamente e materianan ofreci.

Si a haci un investigacion similar un decada pasa, e resultadonan lo tabata completamente diferente, debi cu Papiamento no tabata den enseñansa y no tabata goza di mucho popularidad bou di e alumnonan, nan mayornan y bou di e pueblo den general. Despues di su reconocemento como idioma oficial a cuminsa cu un ola di campaña y concientisacion haciendo asina cu e aceptacion a crece considerablemente. Pero, ainda falta un caminda largo pa cana.

E hobennan a duna di conoce cu nan dominio y comprension di Hulandes no tur ora ta bon y esey mes ta haci cu nan tin e tendencia di ta mas keto den klas. Esaki ta mas un certificacion di e resultadonan di investigacionnan di decadanan largo prome cu e investigacion aki. Pero no ta haci nada cu e resultadonan aki. Tur investigacion y nan resultadonan ta keda un banda. Maske tin hopi tendencia na hopi otro pais pa cu cambio di pensamento pa cu maneho di idioma, ainda nos ta keda mara na e palo di colonialismo, purbando di bende e storia cu ta pa bon di e hobennan, nan futuro y e posibel 200 cu mester bay studia na Hulanda (di e 6000 cu ta finalisa un estudio) di cual 90% no ta logra. Esaki ta dato di Arubahuis na 2014.

Un prome opcion lo por ta pa esnan encarga cu enseñansa pa crea e oportunidad pa e hobennan haya les di modo bilingual, esta cu Hulandes y Papiamento como idioma di instruccion. Esaki ta fortalece e base di Papiamento y ta duna e hoben mas oportunidad pa e expresa su mes den les, banda di otro beneficionan.

Segun un estudio recien haci na Colegio Arubano, mayoria docente a admiti cu nan ta uza otro idioma, entre otro Papiamento y Ingles den nan lesnan pa splica nan materia y e alumnonan tambe a duna di conoce cu esaki ta pasa regularmente. E docentenan a indica cu nan ta ripara cu ora nan splica na mas idioma, e alumnonan ta compronde mihor y mas lihe. Esaki ta un prueba cu mester cuminsa pensa mas den direccion di cambio den maneho pa cu idioma enbes di keda pusha un situacion cu no ta ideal y practico pa nos alumnonan ora ta trata enseñansa di idioma na Aruba. Pa cu esaki e conceptonan di e otro materianan tambe mester ta traduci pa facilita e splicacion di e docentenan. Acerca mester introduci curso di dominio di Papiamento pa tur docente, cu e meta pa sigura un bon calidad di dominio di idioma riba nivel academico.

Aruba ta dispone awo di dos scol cu ta prepara e hoben pa e logra un diploma na nivel di HAVO. Colegio San Nicolas ta un scol relativamente chikito den comparacion cu e otro scol di HAVO, Colegio Arubano, y como tal por tuma e scol aki como scol piloto pa introduci enseñansa bilingual riba nivel secundario. E investigacion aki ta indica cu mayoria di e alumnonan encuesta ta habri pa un sistema di enseñansa unda no necesariamente Hulandes so ta idioma di uzo den klas.

Maneho di idioma no mester ta un decision solamente politico, sino den man di experto riba e tereno aki. Cada minister di enseñansa cu tuma rienda di e ministerio aki tin su propio vision cu e ta considera apropia pa ehecuta den un periodo di cuater aña. Ta un lastima cu e period ta mucho cortico pa den un proyecto piloto investiga, plania, ehecuta, evalua y ahusta exitosamente. P'esey mes ta importante pa crea un plan di

desaroyo riba un plaso largo cu ta carga tambe e aprobacion di demas instancianan encarga cu idioma y enseñansa, pa asina hunto inicia un proyecto piloto caminda ta duna e alumno di un scol HAVO e oportunidad pa haya su formacion y preparacion hacienda uzo di Hulandes y Papiamento den e sistema escolar.

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¿ME EXPLICO? DISCURSO Y LENGUA DE INSTRUCCIÓN EN LA CLASE DE ESPAÑOL COMO LENGUA EXTRANJERA EN UN CONTEXTO MULTILINGUAL: LA PERSPECTIVA DEL ALUMNO AL NIVEL AVANZADO DEL COLEGIO ARUBANO

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Introducción

Dos temas relacionados que siempre han suscitado mucho interés en el campo de la enseñanza de las lenguas extranjeras son la pregunta por la lengua de instrucción (la lengua extranjera o la lengua materna del alumnado) y la cuestión en qué idioma se debería manejar el discurso en el aula. En nuestro caso, estas preguntas giran alrededor del papel del español en la clase de español como lengua extranjera (ELE).

A lo largo de la historia de la enseñanza de lenguas extranjeras, estas cuestiones han sido abordadas y comentadas de diferentes maneras. Desde que en los años setenta del siglo pasado los enfoques comunicativos sustituyen al método audiolingüístico y van a constituir los modelos dominantes en la clase de lengua extranjera, el punto de salida en el aula de lengua extranjera es que un estudiante no aprende mecánicamente; adquiere la lengua extranjera actuando de manera significativa en contextos comunicativos lo más realísticos posibles. El docente debe crear situaciones en las que sus estudiantes puedan experimentar y practicar la lengua que están estudiando. Es lógico, pues, que dentro de estos enfoques y en las investigaciones en relación con los mismos se den mucha atención a la interacción en el aula, al discurso del docente y, como parte de éste, a la lengua de instrucción que el profesor utiliza en clase.

La base teórica de estas ideas se encuentra en primer lugar en las ideas de Krashen, que en los años setenta y ochtena del siglo pasado desarrolla su Teoría del Monitor. Un aspecto clave de este modelo es la importancia del *input* de la lengua meta en el proceso de adquisición de una lengua extranjera. Según la teoría, es preferible que el docente, como primer responsable del proceso de enseñanza-aprendizaje, maneje la clase en la lengua meta para así crear un contexto importante de *input* para el alumnado.

Muy pocos docentes tendrán problemas con estos conceptos teóricos, pero en la práctica se ve que muchos profesores utilizan la lengua materna de sus estudiantes para

impartir sus clases. En general, a pesar de que esta situación teóricamente no se considere la más adecuada, ni el docente ni sus alumnos tienen muchos problemas con esta situación. Sin embargo, en contextos multilingües, donde hay varias lenguas maternas y donde, por ejemplo, la lengua materna del docente no es la lengua materna del alumnado ni la lengua meta o donde la lengua oficial de instrucción no coincide con la lengua materna ni con la lengua meta, la situación es diferente.

Esta situación se presenta en el Colegio Arubano, un colegio secundario público en la isla de Aruba. En la situación lingüística arubana, la lengua oficial de instrucción (el holandés) es la primera lengua de un grupo muy pequeño. Oficialmente la lengua materna de la mayoría de los estudiantes, el papiamento, no puede ser usada como lengua de instrucción. Por otra parte, el inglés está muy de moda entre el alumnado y es además la lengua materna de bastantes estudiantes. El español se imparte como lengua extranjera, sin embargo, para un diez por ciento de los alumnos se trata de la lengua materna. En breve: los estudiantes del Colegio Arubano tienen varias lenguas maternas y se comunican diariamente en varias lenguas, que son para ellos segundas lenguas o lenguas extranjeras. Esta realidad lingüística se refleja en las aulas del Colegio Arubano, hasta en las clases de lenguas extranjeras, donde se utilizan cada uno de los cuatro idiomas comentados aquí arriba, tanto en cuanto a los materiales como en lo que se refiere a la lengua de instrucción y la lengua del discurso desarrollado en el aula. Se trata de una situación babilónica y a veces difícil en la que, se supone, el proceso de aprendizaje de la lengua extranjera es obstaculizado por el uso de varias lenguas de instrucción y por un discurso multilingual.

Ya se ha apuntado que según la teoría del enfoque comunicativo se debería utilizar solamente la lengua meta en la clase de lengua extranjera, tanto como lengua de instrucción como para llevar y manejar el discurso en su totalidad. Por otra parte, existen también bastantes argumentos teóricos a favor del uso (limitado) de la lengua materna en la clase de lengua extranjera. En las discusiones sobre esta cuestión es curioso que generalmente no se tome en consideración la opinión de los alumnos. ¿Qué opinan ellos? ¿Qué prefieren? ¿Cómo piensan aprender más? Estas preguntas son hasta más importantes en contextos multilingües como el arubano, donde los conceptos 'lengua materna', 'segunda lengua' y 'lengua extranjera' no se definen tan fácilmente.

Una investigación sobre las ideas y opiniones de los estudiantes en relación con estas cuestiones podría aclarar muchas dudas e incertidumbres. ¿Quieren solamente español? ¿Quieren que se les explique todo en holandés? ¿Prefieren el papiamento? ¿O una combinación? En base a las preferencias del alumnado se podrían organizar las clases de ELE de una manera más fructífera para así facilitar, fomentar y optimalizar el proceso de aprendizaje. La investigación que se presenta en este artículo gira alrededor de estas cuestiones. La pregunta clave que se ha de contestar es la siguiente: según los estudiantes del Colegio Arubano, ¿en qué idioma(s) se deben dar las clases de español?

Objetivos y metodología del estudio

Objetivo general:

Investigar las preferencias del alumnado en cuanto a la lengua de instrucción y la lengua del discurso en la clase de español como lengua extranjera en el contexto multilingual arubano.

Objetivos específicos:

- Investigar los diferentes discursos que existen en el aula.
- Investigar la base teórica del enfoque comunicativo.
- Investigar las ventajas de utilizar la lengua meta como lengua de instrucción y como lengua del discurso en la clase de español como lengua extranjera.
- Investigar las desventajas de utilizar la lengua meta como lengua de instrucción y como lengua del discurso en la clase de español como lengua extranjera.

La investigación se llevó a cabo en el Colegio Arubano, un instituto público de unos 1700 estudiantes que ofrece educación secundaria a nivel preuniversitario. El español, que se imparte como lengua extranjera, es una materia obligatoria durante los primeros tres años: los niveles Ciclo Básico 1 y 2 y el año 3 del nivel HAVO (que dura en total cinco años) o VWO (el nivel más alto, que dura en total seis años). Desde el cuarto año, el español es una materia optativa. En los primeros tres años se usa el manual *Gente Joven.* En los grupos más altos, se utilizan diferentes manuales de gramática (por ejemplo, *Uso de la gramática española;* un libro para estudiantes de ELE que es totalmente en español*)* y de vocabulario (*Thematische Woordenschat;* un libro de vocabulario que se dirige a estudiantes de ELE de habla holandesa; se contrasta cada entrada española con una traducción al holandés*)*. Las diferentes destrezas y la literatura se practican con materiales desarrollados por los docentes, que pueden ser bilingües (normalmente español-holandés) o monolingües (solamente español).

El Colegio Arubano refleja el carácter multicultural y multilingüe de la isla de Aruba, un país semiautónomo dentro del Reino de los Países Bajos. En Aruba hay dos lenguas oficiales: el holandés y el papiamento. El holandés es la lengua materna de muy poca gente (principalmente holandeses y surinameses) y se utiliza solamente en el mundo jurídico y como lengua oficial de instrucción en la mayoría de los colegios primarios y secundarios. El papiamento, la lengua materna de un 65% de la población, es una lengua criolla a base léxica portuguesa y española. Es la lengua que se oye más en las calles, en la radio, en la tele, etc. Es, en breve, la lengua de Aruba y de los arubanos.

El inglés es la lenga materna de un diez por ciento de la población de Aruba. Entre los jóvenes es una lengua muy popular. Además, como el turismo es la fuente de ingresos más importante y la mayoría de los turistas vienen de EE.UU., el inglés es una lengua de mayor importancia en cuanto a la economía de la isla.

Desde los años ochenta del siglo pasado, muchos hispanohablantes han venido a la isla. El grupo más grande es el de los colombianos, pero también hay muchos venezolanos, dominicanos y peruanos en Aruba. Actualmente, el español es la lengua materna de un diez por ciento de la población y además es una lengua que se oye mucho en las tiendas, en la radio, en la televisión, etc. Es, además, una lengua que juega un papel cada vez más importante en el turismo.

En conclusión, el arubano medio oye y utiliza diariamente varias lenguas. En general, es capaz de defenderse en papiamento, español, holandés e inglés.

Como ya observamos, esta situación multilingüe y multicultural se refleja en el Colegio Arubano. En el aula y durante las pausas, los estudiantes y los docentes mezclan y combinan constantemente varias lenguas. Es muy normal que alguien empiece una oración en papiamento para terminarla en inglés o en holandés. Si no se sabe cierta palabra en una lengua, se cambia simplemente de idioma. No obstante, en el aula, la lengua oficial de instrucción es el holandés. Los docentes de lenguas extranjeras (inglés, español y francés) pueden utilizar las lenguas que imparten; el papiamento, sin embargo, no se permite. Esta lengua se permite solamente en la clase de papiamento, que se imparte como materia obligatoria en los tres primeros años. Está claro que estas normas oficiales chocan con la realidad lingüística de la isla.

Para investigar la opinión del alumnado sobre la lengua de instrucción y la lengua en la que se deba desarrollar el discurso en el aula, se ha optado por un cuestionario, que según Madrid et al. (2003: 105) es "[...] uno de los instrumentos de uso más universal en el campo de la investigación social." Los mismos autores presentan diferentes definiciones sobre esta técnica de obtener datos, entre otras la de Del Rincón et al: "Instrumento que consiste en una serie de preguntas o ítems acerca de un determinado problema o cuestión sobre el que se desea investigar y cuyas respuestas han de contestarse por escrito." (Del Rincon et al*.,* 1995: 207; citado por Madrid et al.: 105).

Para el diseño de un cuestionario, se debe partir de ciertas premisas básicas: el objetivo de la investigación, los destinatarios del cuestionario y las condiciones materiales con las que se cuentan. A continuación, se deben formular las preguntas, que pueden ser directas o indirectas, generales o específicas, y/o interrogativas o afirmativas. En cuanto a la formulación de las preguntas, Openheim (1992; comentado por Madrid et al.: 106) da varias recomendaciones, entre otras: evitar preguntas muy largas, no proponer dos preguntas en un mismo enunciado, evitar la doble negación, incluir siempre la salida 'no sabe / no contesta', no emplear siglas y palabras de jerga, no usar palabras connotadas, evitar palabras ambiguas, no utilizar términos valorativos, no usar palabras vacías de significado, evitar un cuestionario excesivamente largo y, por último, usar formas de amabilidad y agradecimiento.

Para Madrid et al. (p. 107), el uso de cuestionarios conlleva tanto ventajas como desventajas. Aspectos positivos del uso de cuestionarios son que pueden ser utilizados

con grupos grandes y que la información obtenida es bastante precisa, uniforme y estándar. Una de las desventajas de este método es que los datos pueden ser muy subjetivos. Además, si la muestra de estudiantes es limitada o no representativa, el investigador debe tener cuidado con las generalizaciones que formule a partir de los datos.

Un cuestionario puede ser abierto, semiabierto, semiestructurado o estructurado. En este último caso, se emplea generalmente la respuesta de escala para clasificar los ítems (por ejemplo del 1 a 5; 1 = nunca; 2 = raramente, etc.) o la respuesta categorizada en una escala bipolar (por ejemplo: mal/bien; alto/bajo, etc.).

Al desarrollar el cuestionario que se usó en la investigación realizada como parte de este trabajo, se ha tratado de tomar en cuenta las observaciones enumeradas aquí arriba y la *questionnaire design checklist* de Dawson (2002: 98). Además, se ha procurado incorporar en el cuestionario los diferentes aspectos del discurso en el aula y se ha incorporado las diferentes (sub)destrezas que forman parte del currículo de una lengua extranjera (comprensión lectora, comprensión auditiva, expresión oral, expresión escrita, gramática, vocabulario). Al formular las preguntas, el punto de salida ha sido, lógicamente, el programa tal como se imparte en este momento en el Colegio Arubano. Visto que el holandés es la lengua oficial de instrucción en la educación secundaria de Aruba, el cuestionario está compuesto en esa lengua.

Nuestra investigación se llevó a cabo en siete grupos del cuarto año del nivel HAVO; normalmente estos estudiantes tienen una edad media de 16 años. Hay cuatro profesores diferentes (cada uno con mucha experiencia) que imparten las clases de español al nivel HAVO-4. Dos de estos profesores son arubanos, tienen el papiamento como lengua materna y estudiaron en Holanda. Una profesora es de origen portugués, pero nació y se crió en Aruba; estudió en Colombia y en Canadá. El cuarto docente es de origen holandés, tiene el holandés como lengua materna, pero también habla papiamento. Estudió en Aruba, Holanda, España, Curazao y Colombia.

Se ha optado por los grupos de nivel HAVO-4 por varios motivos. Visto que estos alumnos han escogido español como una de sus materias para el examen final (que se realiza al final del quinto año), se puede esperar que completen el cuestionario de una manera seria y responsable. Para estos estudiantes, el español fue una materia obligatoria durante los tres primeros años en el Colegio Arubano (o en otro colegio); es decir, son estudiantes con bastante 'experiencia' en cuanto a esta materia. Además, se trata de un grupo bastante grande (152 estudiantes en total) y por lo tanto es de suponer que los resultados tienen cierta validez y pueden ser generalizados al alumnado completo de los grupos de nivel académico más alto del Colegio Arubano. Los cuestionarios fueron completados en la clase de español en el mes de enero del año 2015 bajo supervisión del investigador.

Resultados y discusión

A continuación se presentan, en forma de porcentajes, los resultados de la investigación. Debajo de cada cuadro se tratan brevemente los aspectos más llamativos de las diferentes respuestas.

La primera pregunta trató la lengua materna del estudiante; se le dieron seis respuestas posibles. El cuadro siguiente muestra las respuestas.

lengua materna	cantidad absoluta	porcentaje
inglés	6	3,94%
holandés	13	8,55%
papiamento	58	38,15%
español	28	18,42%
dos lenguas maternas	46	30,26%
otra lengua materna	1 (portugués)	0,65%

Lo primero que llama la atención al analizar este resultado es la gran cantidad de estudiantes que tienen dos lenguas maternas (casi siempre se trata de la combinación papiamento-español) y el porcentaje muy alto de estudiantes que tienen el español como primera lengua. En el cuarto año, español es una materia optativa, es particularmente popular entre el alumnado hispanohablante. Es decir, los porcentajes presentados en este cuadro no dan una imagen representativa en lo que se refiere a la lengua materna del alumnado del Colegio Arubano en su totalidad.

Los estudiantes de habla hispana pudieron saltar la pregunta 2; en esta pregunta los demás estudiantes tuvieron que indicar si para ellos el español es una segunda lengua o una verdadera lengua extranjera. Los estudiantes que no tienen el español como (una de sus) lengua(s) materna(s) consideraron esta lengua en la mayoría de los casos una segunda lengua (54,16%). Para los demás es una verdadera lengua extranjera.

Al completar el cuestionario, la edad media del alumnado investigado fue 16 años. Los estudiantes menores tenían 15 años de edad; los mayores 18. El grupo investigado constó de 48 varones (31,6 %) y de 104 hembras (68,4 %). Estos porcentajas no son muy llamativos. En general, el español es más popular entre las hembras que entre el alumnado masculino. Por otra parte, en el Colegio Arubano estudian más hembras que varones.

El siguiente cuadro muestra las respuestas a la pregunta: ¿Qué lengua quieres que utilice el profesor cuando explica a todo el grupo qué se va a hacer en la clase y cuando pone deberes? Se trata, pues, de la lengua con la que el docente maneja el grupo en su totalidad durante el proceso de enseñanza-aprendizaje.

instrucciones generales; poner deberes preferencia:	porcentaje
inglés	1,31%
holandés	27,63%
papiamento	9,21%
español	26,31%
me da igual	35,52%

Entre estos resultados hay dos aspectos que llaman la atención. En primer lugar: a pesar de que el holandés es la lengua materna de un grupo muy pequeño, hay muchos estudiantes (27,63%) que prefieren este idioma como la lengua en la que el docente maneje la clase. Por otra parte, es llamativo que ni el papiamento (la lengua materna de la mayoría) ni el inglés (muy de moda entre el alumnado) sean populares para instrucciones generales y el manejo del grupo en su totalidad. También hay un grupo muy grande que no muestra ninguna preferencia específica (35,52%).

A continuación se presentan los resultados en relación con la siguiente pregunta: ¿Qué lengua quieres que utilice el profesor cuando te explica personalmente una pregunta / duda / incertidumbre que tienes sobre la materia?

explicación individual preferencia:	porcentaje
inglés	2,63%
holandés	26,31%
papiamento	25,65%
español	20,39%
me da igual	25,00%

Si comparamos las respuestas a la pregunta 6 con las reacciones ante la pregunta 7, se nota que los estudiantes tienen unas preferencias más claras en cuanto a la lengua en la que quieren explicaciones o aclaraciones a nivel individual que si se trata de instrucciones generales para toda el grupo. Otra vez es interesante observar la popularidad relativa del holandés (26,31%) y la poca popularidad del inglés (2,63). También se nota que a nivel individual muchos estudiantes quieren que el docente les aclare ciertas dudas en su propia lengua materna, el papiamento (25,65%). Por otra parte, también es llamativo el porcentaje alto para la opción 'me da igual' (25,00%).

En el cuadro siguiente se muestran las respuestas a la pregunta 8: ¿Qué lengua quieres que utilice el profesor cuando te saluda antes de empezar la clase o si hablas con él sobre un tema personal antes, durante o después de la clase?

saludos y conversaciones personales preferencia:	porcentaje
inglés	1,97%
holandés	16,44%
papiamento	25,65%
español	15,78%
me da igual	40,13%

La diferencia más llamativa entre las respuestas a las preguntas 6 y 7, por un lado, y las reacciones ante la pregunta 8, por otro lado, se encuentra en la casilla del español. Mientras que esta lengua es considerada bastante importante cuando se trata de instrucciones a nivel general y a nivel personal, no tiene mucha popularidad para los contactos personales sin relación con la organización de la clase y/o el contenido de la materia. La cantidad de estudiantes que prefieren el español para saludos y conversaciones personales es más o menos igual a la cantidad de alumnos que tienen esta lengua como lengua materna (resp. 15,78% - 18,42%). Por otra parte, para muchos estudiantes no es ningún problema si el docente también a nivel personal se dirige a ellos en holandés (16,44%). El alto porcentaje para la opción 'me da igual' (40,13%) parece reflejar la vida diaria en Aruba, donde es muy normal comunicarse constantemente en diferentes lenguas.

En lo que se refiere a las preferencias de los estudiantes cuando se trata de comentar los resultados de un examen, vemos lo siguiente:

comentar un examen preferencia:	porcentaje
inglés	0%
holandés	28,94%
papiamento	9,86%
español	26,97%
me da igual	34,21%

Es interesante observar las coincidencias entre las respuestas a la pregunta 6 (instrucciones generales) y a la pregunta 9. Se puede concluir que para los alumnos los comentarios a un examen caben dentro de la categoría 'instrucciones generales'.

Tal y como se ha señalado anteriormente, el libro de vocabulario es de Holanda, lo que implica que se contrastan las palabras españolas con palabras holandesas. A continuación se presentan las reacciones a esta situación. La pregunta fue ¿en qué lengua(s) prefieres que sea el libro de vocabulario?

lengua del libro de vocabulario preferencia:	porcentaje
español-holandés	48,02%
español-español	14,47%
español-inglés	15,78%
español-papiamento	8,55%
me da igual	13,15%

Basándose en estos resultados se puede concluir que en general los estudiantes no consideran el contraste español - holandés en su libro de vocabulario un problema, a pesar de que el holandés no es la lengua materna de la gran mayoría del alumnado. Los resultados muestran una popularidad relativa del inglés (15,78%) y además que un libro monolingüe (español - español) es solamente para un grupo muy pequeño de los estudiantes (14,47%) una opción interesante.

En el cuadro siguiente se muestran las preferencias en cuanto a la lengua del libro de gramática.

lengua del libro de gramática preferencia	porcentaje
español-holandés	42,76%
español-español	29,60%
español-inglés	11,84%
español-papiamento	4,60%
me da igual	11,18%

El libro de gramática que se utiliza en la actualidad es completamente en español; es decir, los estudiantes están acostumbrados a explicaciones en la lengua meta sin ningún contraste con, por ejemplo, la lengua oficial de instrucción, el holandés. Sin embargo, si observamos las respuestas a la pregunta 11, tenemos que concluir que ni una tercera parte de los estudiantes (29,60%) está satisfecha con un método de gramática monolingüe. Por otra parte, es llamativo que también en cuanto a la gramática gran parte del alumnado (42,76%) prefiera un libro que contraste el español con el holandés, aunque este idioma no es su lengua materna.

A continuación se presentan las respuestas a la pregunta 12: ¿En qué lengua(s) prefieres que sean los materiales de expresión escrita (la carta formal)?

lengua materiales expresión escrita preferencia	porcentaje
español-holandés	51,31%
español-español	18,42%
español-inglés	11,18%
español-papiamento	5,92%
me da igual	13,15%

En general, hay bastantes coincidencias entre los resultados en relación con las preguntas 10, 11 y 12: los estudiantes no tienen muchos problemas con la lengua oficial de instrucción (el holandés), están acostumbrados a la lengua de los libros que están utilizando en la actualidad (gramática: español; vocabulario y expresión escrita: holandés) y, por último, no están interesados en el uso de materiales ni en papiamento ni en inglés. Que más de la mitad del alumnado prefiere materiales en holandés para desarrollar la práctica de la carta formal, también puede ser explicado por el hecho de que en la clase de holandés los alumnos ya han aprendido cómo escribir una carta formal. Tal como en las preguntas 10 y 11, la opción 'me da igual' se ha escogido poco; es decir, en cuanto a los materiales los estudiantes muestran preferencias más claras que en lo que se refiere a la lengua de instrucción.

En el cuadro siguiente se presentan las respuestas a la pregunta 13: ¿Qué lengua quieres que utilice el profesor al comentar textos?

comentar textos preferencia	porcentaje
inglés	0,00%
holandés	23,68%
papiamento	6,57%
español	38,15%
me da igual	31,57%

Se ve una coincidencia grande entre las respuestas a la pregunta 9 sobre los comentarios a un examen y las respuestas a la pregunta 13. En general, los resultados no son muy llamativos: se comentan textos escritos (comprensión lectora) o hablados (comprensión auditiva) en español y es lógico que la clase se desarrolle en esta lengua. Por otra parte, se ve otra vez que el holandés tiene bastante popularidad.

El cuadro que se presenta a continuación muestra las respuestas a la pregunta sobre la lengua preferida en las clases de literatura.

literatura preferiencia	porcentaje
inglés	0,65%
holandés	29,60%
papiamento	8,55%
español	35,52%
me da igual	25,65%

Más de una tercera parte de los estudiantes (35,52%) considera la lengua meta, es decir el español, la lengua más adecuada para la clase de literatura; un resultado poco llamativo. Por otra parte, sí es llamativo que casi un 30% por ciento prefiera el holandés, lo que significa que también muchos alumnos que no tienen este idioma como su lengua materna lo consideran la lengua más práctica para comentar la teoría literaria y textos literarios escritos en español.

Conclusiones

En base a los resultados presentados arriba se pueden sacar unas conclusiones interesantes sobre las preferencias del alumnado de nivel más avanzado en cuanto a la lengua de instrucción y la lengua del discurso en la clase de español como lengua extranjera en el contexto multilingual arubano; cuestión que fue el objetivo principal de este trabajo. Antes de presentar las conclusiones, es importante observar que los resultados de los siete grupos diferentes que completaron el cuestionario son muy parecidos; es decir, no hay diferencias significativas entre un grupo u otro. Tampoco se ha podido notar que las diferencias entre los cuatro docentes (bastante diferentes entre sí) que imparten las clases de español a nivel HAVO-4 hayan tenido repercusiones en los resultados.

En primer lugar es llamativo la poca popularidad del papiamento. Parece que los estudiantes no consideran esta lengua muy relevante en la clase de español, a pesar de que el papiamento es la lengua materna de la mayoría del alumnado del Colegio Arubano en general y también del grupo investigado. Además, visto que el papiamento se ha formado en parte a base del español, es decir, hay bastantes coincidencias entres ambas lenguas (particularmente en el vocabulario), se había esperado porcentajes más altos para la propia lengua materna. La poca popularidad del papiamento puede ser explicada por el hecho de que oficialmente esta lengua no puede ser utilizada en las clases del Colegio Arubano; es posible, pues, que los alumnos, inconscientemente, hayan tomado este hecho en cuenta; es decir, han contestado 'dentro de los límites del sistema' . Otro factor que tenemos que considerar es el hecho de que los estudiantes investigados son los que se encuentran en el grupo más alto y avanzado del alumnado secundario, es decir, prcisamente los que han podido sobresalir en un sistema donde el idioma de instrucción no corresponde con su idioma materno.

Hemos apuntado con anterioridad que el inglés, que se oye mucho en toda la isla, particularmente en el mundo del turismo, está muy de moda entre el alumnado del Colegio Arubano. Sin embargo, esta lengua tiene poca popularidad para los alumnos que completaron los cuestionarios. Al comparar las diferentes lenguas maternas de los estudiantes investigados, se ve que el inglés es la lengua materna de un grupo muy pequeño (3,94%); parece, pues, que muy pocos estudiantes de habla inglesa optan por la materia español en el cuarto año, lo que puede explicar la poca popularidad de esta lengua en la clase de español. Por otra parte, los estudiantes no están acostumbrados a libros o materiales que contrastan el español con el inglés y parece que la combinación de estas dos lenguas no es una opción lógica y/o realista para ellos.

En base a los resultados de la investigación no se puede concluir que para los estudiantes del nivel HAVO-4 el holandés, a pesar de ser la lengua materna de un grupo muy pequeño, constituya un problema en la clase de español – una conclusión interesante. Sin embargo, es posible que también en cuanto al holandés muchos estudiantes hayan contestado simplemente 'dentro de los límites del sistema' (en el que el holandés es la lengua oficial de instrucción) y hayan contestado, consciente o inconscientemente, de una manera 'políticamente correcta'. Por otra parte, los estudiantes del Colegio Arubano aprenden, por ejemplo, los términos gramaticales y la teoría literaria en la clase de holandés y por lo visto no consideran un problema utilizar esta lengua cuando estos aspectos son tratados en la clase de español.

En general, se puede concluir que los resultados de la investigación presentada en este trabajo reflejan que la mayoría de los estudiantes investigados está conforme con la lengua de instrucción utilizada en la clase de español y con la manera en la que se desarrolla el discurso en el aula: una combinación de holandés y español y a veces un poco de papiamento para los contactos sociales a nivel personal y para explicaciones individuales. Es decir, parece que una situación que según la teoria es poco adecuada para el proceso de enseñanza - aprendizaje de una lengua extranjera no es muy problemática según el alumnado al que se dirige este proceso. Se opina que en base a la investigación comentada en este trabajo se puede concluir que en general el estudiante de español del cuarto año del Colegio Arubano se siente a gusto en los contextos a veces babilónicos en los que se imparten las clases de español y opina aprender de una manera eficaz. En lo que se refiere a los materiales, los estudiantes no tienen problemas con libros que contrastan el español con el holandés, a pesar de que esta lengua no es su lengua materna y se trata de una lengua que, generalmente, dominan mal. La excepción a esta afirmación general puede ser el libro de gramática, que es completamente en español. Se podría pensar en cambiarlo por un método que contraste el español con el holandés; una decisión que, según la investigación, los estudiantes avanzados aplaudirían.

Aunque, en general, siempre hay que tratar de optimalizar el proceso de enseñanza-aprendizaje, no parece oportuno cambiar mucho en la clase de español en el Colegio

Arubano en cuanto a la lengua del discurso, la lengua de instrucción o los materiales utilizados. Sin embargo, más investigación, preferiblemente de carácter cualitativa (entrevistas con estudiantes y docentes, observaciones dentro del aula, etc.) y con estudiantes de niveles menos avanzados, puede resultar en una imagen más extensa y poner los resultados obtenidos en esta investigación en contextos más amplios.

La investigación descrita en este trabajo ha mostrado que el cuestionario es una manera poco complicada y bastante eficaz para obtener datos valiosos y relevantes a base de los cuales se pueden comprobar, justificar o desmentir ciertas ideas o suposiciones. Los resultados también pueden formar la base para el desarrollo de nuevas prácticas didácticas o programas educativos.

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TRANSGRESSING BOUNDARIES IN LANGUAGE EDUCATION, CULTURE AND LANGUAGE OF INSTRUCTION

PAPIAMENTO COMO IDIOMA BASE PA ENSEÑANSA DI IDIOMA DEN ENSEÑANSA SECUNDARIO NA ARUBA: TRANSLINGUALISMO DEN LES DI IDIOMA

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Introduccion

E idioma nacional y idioma materno di mayoria alumno na Aruba ta Papiamento (68.3%, CBS, 2008). Den enseñansa avansa a introduci Papiamento como un idioma mas riba e rooster den e prome tres klasnan di Havo/VWO. Su uzo ta keda limita den les di Papiamento, pa motibo cu e idioma di instruccion ta Hulandes pa tur materia. Resultado di un investigacion haci recientemente den klas 3 di Havo/VWO, ta mustra cu Hulandes ta uza un metodo dirigi riba e alumno cu tin Hulandes como idioma materno; Ingles ta uza un metodo dirigi riba adulto cu tin Ingles como un idioma stranhero y Spaño ta uza un metodo dirigi riba e alumno cu tin Hulandes como idioma materno y Spaño ta e idioma stranhero. Papiamento ta uza un metodo cu ta sali di punto di bista cu mayoria alumno tin Papiamento como idioma materno y tin e idioma desaroya te na un nivel academico. E resultadonan escolar pa loke ta e idiomanan aki no ta surpasa un promedio di 8. Pa loke ta trata uzo di idioma Papiamento como idioma di instruccion por lo general, 50% di e alumnonan no tin un preferencia pa esaki ya cu nan ta mira cu e no tin mesun balor cu Hulandes y su uzo pa sigui studia (Croes, Maduro & Silva, 2014).

Enseñansa di idioma na Aruba, particularmente den enseñansa avansa, ta basa riba e pensamento cu por siña idioma solamente uzando e idioma meta, pues descartando e idioma materno di e alumno completamente. Esaki no ta un excepcion si compara algun otro pais cu e mesun situacion. Estudionan haci ta demostra cu no por descarta e idioma materno, pues descartando e, ta minimalisa e balorisacion, ta stroba e proceso di siñamento di e idioma meta y no tin fluides den e idioma meta (Cantoni, 2007). Aunke cu mayoria Rubiano ta di opinion y por broma di ta domina cuater idioma, e pregunta ta surgi si enberdad nan ta domina e idiomanan aki y te na ki nivel. E resultadonan di examen di Havo/ VWO y e problemanan cu e studiantenan ta confronta pa motibo di idioma ora di sigui studia na Hulanda, ta duna un indicacion fuerte cu e sistema no ta funcionando manera ta spera. Conciente di e problemanan aki, e scolnan di Havo/VWO na Aruba a dicidi cu ta trata na drecha e problematica aki, door di instala un comision di idioma algun aña pasa, cu tabata encera docentenan di Hulandes, In-

gles y Spaño, pa traha na bin cu solucion. E resultado tabata cu 1) a aumenta e cantidad di ora den e curiculo pa e idioma Hulandes, 2) a traha mas material pa e materia aki y 3) prohibi uzo di Papiamento den e otro lesnan. Excepcion ta den les di Papiamento, unda ta uza Papiamento mes pa splica e materia. Te cu awo, no a mira e resultado di e accionnan aki, cu ainda ta vigente. Un solucion problable pa e situacion di enseñansa di idioma ta, cambio den vision y otro didactica, loke te awo, no a bin dilanti.

Na aña 2011, bou di encargo di minister di enseñansa, a institui un comision cu lo mester a revisa, a base di algun punto, e sistema di enseñansa avansa na Aruba despues cu na aña 2004 a introduci Ciclo Basico. E comision aki, consistiendo di algun docente y e inspectornan di enseñansa a hiba combersacion cu docente, revisa e programanan y resultadonan. Pa loke ta tereno di idioma, a conclui cu un manera pa drecha e resultadonan pa loke ta dominio di Hulandes di e alumnonan ta door di propone e particion di ora pa cada idioma como lo siguiente den e prome tres añanan di Havo/VWO: Hulandes 14 ora, di cual 2 ta pa vocabulario, Ingles y Spaño 9 cada uno y Papiamento 7 (Guiamo et al., 2011).

Pa un alumno siña un di dos idioma, e mester tin un base di habilidad comunicativo interpersonal y un proficiencia di idioma cognitivo y academico den su idioma materno. Esakinan ta forma e base cu e alumno ta siña e di dos idioma. Cummins (2006) ta distingui dos sorto di bilingualismo: aditivo y substractivo. Den bilingualismo aditivo e idioma materno (L1) ta desaroya y e di dos idioma (L2) ta uza e base aki pa sigui desaroya. Den bilingualismo substractivo e di dos idioma ta domina y no ta haci uzo di e prome idioma, haciendo cu esaki su desaroyo ta mengua.

Den e situacion den enseñansa secundario na Aruba, e bilingualismo substractivo ta e norma. No ta ofrece e alumno e oportunidad pa sigui desaroya su idioma te na un nivel cognitivo ni academico; e idioma di instruccion ta un idioma stranhero y no ta uza e idioma materno como base. Wofgang Butzkamm (2003) ta describi e metodo: Mother Tongue Grammar Method, como metodo efectivo proba cientificamente pa Dodson (1967/1972). E base di e metodo aki ta cu ta uza e conocemento grammatical di e alumno su idioma materno pa siñ'e un otro idioma. Pues e alumno ta haci transfer interlingual pa siña e idioma meta. Estudionan a demostra cu haciendo esaki, e alumno no solamente ta siña e idioma meta miho, sino cu e adkisicion ta bay hopi mas lihe y su idioma materno ta sigui desaroya. Ta desaroya aki, entre otro, bilingualismo aditivo. A introduci, practica y proba e metodo aki na diferente pais cu resultadonan faborable. E pregunta ta surgi si e metodo aki ta eficiente pa e situacion di enseñansa di idioma den scol secundario na Aruba y si e docentenan, e actornan principal, ta habri pa esaki.

Un fenomeno cu ultimo tempo ta birando mas y mas popular ta translingualismo (translanguaging), cu ta e acceso na diferente caracteristicanan linguistico of varios moda di loke ta describi como idiomanan autonomo, door di e bilinguenan, pa maxi-

miza e potencial comunicativo. E ta mas un practica y no tin di e haber cu e idioma mes specificamente. Translanguaging ta encera hopi mas cu code-switching. E ta loke nan ta yama un uzo di idioma hibrido, cu ta un proceso sistematico, strategico, afiliativo y cu tin sentido, loke ta importante pa tur contexto bilingual y multilingual. Ta trata di un acercamento unda e alumno ta siña haci uzo di tur e conocemento di idioma y ta uza esakinan efectivamente pa adkiri y domina e idiomanan efectivamente.

Pa e banda di mundo aki, monolinguismo ta acepta rutinariamente como e norma y bilingualismo ta dobel monolinguismo. Cu polisa y practicanan den enseñansa cu ta dirigi riba monoligualismo, esaki ta silencia e studiantenan cu ta bilingual limitando nan oportunidadnan den bida. Hasta si desaroya programanan bilingual, e scolnan ta demanda un control total di e dos idiomanan aki na forma monolingual enbes di honra nan capacidad bilingual. E sistema liguistico mas compleho cu ta existi ta na Sub-Saharan Africa y SurOeste di Asia (India, Indonesia, New Guinea y Pacifico), sinembargo mas tanto trabou escolar a keda desaroya na Merca, specialmente na Canada.

Mira desde un punto di bista bilingual y heteroglosia y no monolingual y monoglosia, e terminologia code-switching ta perde nificacion na momento cu studiante y maestro ta acepta y adopta e practica di translngualismo cu ta permiti nan funciona efectivamente, educa y sea educa. Translanguaging ta e ora un practica comunicativo responsabel cu ta ofrece posibilidadnan comunicativo y educacional pa tur. Sinembargo ta importante pa compronde cu translingualismo ta keda nutri den espacionan instruccional. E programa multiple multilingualismo ta mescla y e tiponan di programanan di enseñansa bilingual y wak si nan ta resulta y desaroya uzo y di idioma academicamente den un of mas idioma. Pa haci esaki, mester desaroya riba e practica di idioma heteroglosico di e mucha, cu ta un producto di experiencia multilingual.

E bentaha principal di traha riba translanguaging pa educa tur mucha bilingualmente tin di haber cu su potencial como un parti di tur blingualismo. Ta imposibel pa biba den comunidadnan bilingual y comunica entre multilingualnan sin translanguaging. De facto, translanguaging riba su mes ta permiti nos tin sentido di e mundo multilingual den cual nos ta biba. E ta permiti nos compronde nos paisahe multilingual linguistico y compronde e diferente señalnan-visual, auditivo, fisico y espacial, skirbi y linguistico-cu ta rondona nos (García, 2009).

E studiantenan di idioma colonisa ta sinti un incertidumbre liguistico extremo den e idiomanan cu nan ta papia na cas, loke ta conduci na silencio den klas. Pa e bon di e hendenan nan autoestima, nan enseñansa y nan oportunidadnan social, e modonan di e idioma di e comunidad colonisa no por ta laga atras y mester ta inclui den e sistema di enseñansa. E practicanan pedagogico pa tur mucha, pero specialmente pa muchanan cu idioma colonisa, mester ta basa riba dos principio: husticia social y practica social. Niun di dos principio no por ta posibel si e practica di idioma di cas di e mucha no ta inclui den enseñansa. E principio husticia social ta balora e potencial di e studiantenan bilingual y nan comunidad y ta traha riba nan practicanan linguistico. En principio

practica social ta pone siñamento como un resultado di practicanan social colaborativo den cua e studiantenan ta purba nan ideanan y nan accionnan y construi nan idioma socialmente.

Esaki a keda demostra den diferente scol na Merca, unda tabata segrega e alumnonan habla Hispano y somete nan den un programa di educacion special door di nan dominio pober di Ingles. Cu e metodo aki a keda proba cu nan por uza nan conocemento di nan idioma materno pa adkiri Ingles y uza tur dos idioma efectivamente. Cu esaki e miedo inculca den e mayornan di cu biligualismo ta un fenomeno negativo, a keda elimina (García, 2009).

Cu e fenomenonan y didacticanan nobo cientificamente comproba di ta efectivo, por deduci cu e incorporacion di Papiamento den e didactica no mester ta algo dificil ni imposibel. Su incorporacion lo tin beneficio riba diferente aspecto y e posibilidad pa stroba e proceso di adkiri y siña e idioma meta ta inexistente. Ta cuestion atrobe di un cambio di vision y actitud.

Investigacion

A base di e situacion actual y e estudionan literario compara cu cierto vision, ta yega na e siguiente pregunta general:

Kico ta e importancia y bentaha di e uzo di Papiamento den e didactica di un otro idioma, con esaki por keda incorpora den e lesnan di idioma di e prome tres añanan di Havo/VWO na Aruba, cua idioma ta uza den les di idioma den enseñansa di idioma na Havo/VWO y kico ta e actitud di e docentenan di idioma y e alumnonan pa cu Papiamento y uzo di translingualismo den enseñansa di idioma na Havo/VWO na Aruba?

Di e pregunta general ta surgi ocho pregunta di investigacion specifico cu ta:

1. Kico ta e importancia y bentaha di e uzo di e conocemento di Papiamento den e didactica di otro idioma?
2. Con por incorpora Papiamento den e didactica di e otro idiomanan den enseñansa di idioma na Havo/VWO na Aruba?
3. Kico ta e actitud di e docentenan di idioma pa cu uzo di idioma Papiamento den enseñansa di idioma na Havo/VWO?
4. Cua idiomanan cu e docentenan ta uza den les di idioma den enseñansa di idioma den Ciclo Basico 1, Ciclo Basico 2, Havo3 y VWO 3?
5. Kico ta e actitud di e docentenan pa cu aplicacion di translingualismo den enseñansa di idioma na Havo/VWO na Aruba?
6. Kico ta e actitud di e alumnonan di idioma pa cu uzo di idioma Papiamento den enseñansa di idioma na Havo/VWO na Aruba?
7. Cua idiomanan ta uza den les di idioma den enseñansa di idioma den Ciclo Basico 1, Ciclo Basico 2, Havo3 y VWO 3 segun e alumnonan?

8. Kico ta e actitud di e alumnoan pa cu aplicacion di translingualismo den enseñansa di idioma na Havo/VWO?

E investigacion aki tin como meta studia e importancia y e bentahanan di uzo di e idioma materno, den e caso aki Papiamento, cua idiomanan ta uza den les di idioma actualmente y translingualismo den les di idioma, con esaki a keda aplica na diferente pais y e resultadonan. Cu e informacion acumula ta defini e condicionnan y aspectonan cu mester pa introduci e uzo di e didactica aki y con por uza esaki den enseñansa avansa, Havo/VWO na Aruba. E actitud di e docentenan ta di importancia. Como cu esaki ta toca nan directamente, tanto den contenido, como den e proceso pa introduci un didacta di un otro idioma, ta haci un apelacion riba nan opinion cu e meta pa bin cu un plan di accion si ta necesario. Ta apela riba opinion di e alumnonan cu ta hayando les di idioma y ta esnan cu lo beneficia di cualkier cambio na nan bentaha.

E investigacion ta cubri un tema den enseñansa, esta e uzo di e idioma materno di mayoria di alumno den enseñansa avansa den didactica di otro idioma. Como cu esaki ta un tema amplio, ta limita e investigacion na e prome tres klasnan di Havo/VWO na Aruba. E idiomanan cu ta ofrece den e prome tres klasnan aki ta Hulandes, cu ta idioma di instruccion, Ingles y Spaño. Den di tres aña di VWO ta ofrece Frances acerca. Como cu na Aruba tin dos scol pa Havo/VWO, ta haci e investigacion practico na tur dos scol. Pa haya e opinion di e docentenan concerni, ta haci uzo di encuesta bou di tur e docentenan di tur e idiomanan. Pa haya e opinion di e alumnonan, ta haci uza di encuesta bou di 150 alumno.

Investigacion bou Docente
Pa haya e punto di bista di e docentenan a apela na 20 docente; 10 di Hulandes (59% di e docentenan di Hulandes), 5 di Spaño (50% di e docentenan di Spaño) y 5 di Ingles (38% di e docentenan di Ingles). Ta trata di docente di Colegio Arubano y Colegio Sanicolas. Pa haya e informacion necesario a apela na 92 studiante, cu ta ekivalente na cuater klas; Ciclo Basico 1, Ciclo Basico 2, Havo 3 y VWO 3. Ta trata di 15% si e populacion di e prome tres klasnan na Colegio y 5% di e populacion di studiante di scol.

Tur e encuestadonan a haya un encuesta (mira suplemento adhunto) acompaña pa un carta. E docentenan di Hulandes a yena e encuesta den grupo, hunto cu un guia cu a traduci e preguntanan y duna splicacion.

E resultadonan absoluto ta den tabel, unda ta describi e resultadonan di sea e docentenan of e alumnonan, hunto, acompaña pa un grafica cu e resultadonan relativo. Bou di cada tabel y/of grafica tin un interpretacion di e resultadonan obteni.

Pa contesta e preguntanan:

  3. Kico ta e actitud di e docentenan di idioma pa cu uzo di idioma Papiamento den enseñansa di idioma na Havo/VWO na Aruba?

  4. Cua idiomanan cu e docentenan ta uza den les di idioma den enseñansa di idioma den Havo/VWO 1,2, y 3 na Aruba?

  5. Kico ta e actitud di e docentenan pa cu aplicacion di translingualismo den enseñansa di idioma na Havo/VWO na Aruba?

a haci uzo di encuesta cu ta consisti di cuater parti; parti 1 ta encera preguntanan cu ta encera e actitud pa cu Papiamento, parti 2 ta encera pregunta relaciona cu uzo di idioma den klas, cu enfasis riba Papiamento; parti 3 ta encera pregunta relaciona cu uzo di diferente iidoma den les y parti 4 ta relaciona cu e conocemento y actitud pa cu translingualismo den les di idioma.

Tabel 1 Edad di docente

	Hulandes	Ingles	Spaño	Total
20-30	0			
30-40	2	5	3	10
40-50	2		1	3
50-60	6		1	7
	10	5	5	20

Tabel 2 Cantidad di aña den enseñansa

		Hulandes	Ingles	Spaño	Total
0-10		2	4	2	8
11-20		4	1	2	7
21-30		4			4
31-40		0		1	1

E siguiente preguntanan ta pa haya un bista di con e docentenan di e diferente idiomanan ta pensa tocante Papiamento den enseñansa.

Tabel 3 Actitud pa cu Papiamento den enseñanza

		Hulandes		Ingles		Spaño	
		si	no	si	no	si	no
1.	Papiamento ta e idioma materno di mayoria di e alumnonan na scol.	6	4	5		2	3
2.	E uzo di e idioma materno di e alumno den les di idioma ta necesario.	5	5	1	4	1	4
3.	Uzo di Papiamento den les di otro idioma pa splica, e lo por yuda e alumno compronde e otro idioma mihor.	7	3	3	2	5	
4.	Mi ta dispuesto pa haci uzo di Papiamento den mi lesnan si esaki ta na beneficio di e alumnonan.	6	4	3	2	5	
5.	Mi ta kere cu por uza Papiamento den les di idioma, pero solamente den onderbouw. (ciclo basico y H3/V3)	4	6		5	1	4
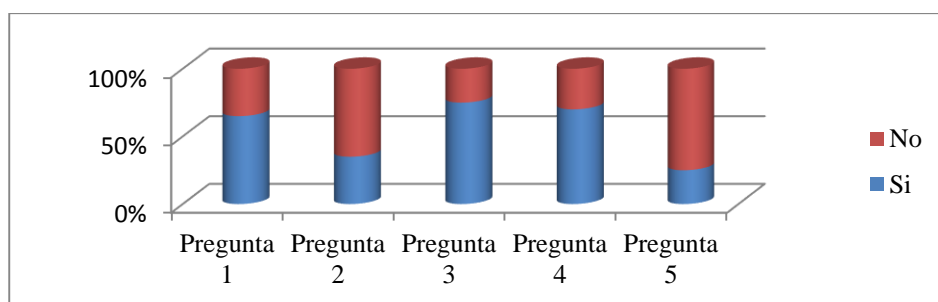
Grafica 1 *Actitud pa cu Papiamento den enseñansa.*

Mayoria di e docentenan ta conciente cu Papiamento ta e idioma materno di mayoria di e alumnonan. Sinembargo mayoria no ta pensa cu e idioma materno di e alumno ta necesario den les di idioma. E opinion aki ta parti mas fuerte cerca e docentenan di Ingles y Spaño.

Aunke mayoria di e docentenan ta pensa cu uzo di Papiamento den les lo por yuda e alumno compronde un otro idioma miho y nan ta dispuesto pa haci uzo di esaki den nan lesnan. Cerca e docentenan aki, e uzo di Papiamento no mester ta solamente den bovenbouw.

E siguiente preguntanan ta enfoca riba e uzo di idioma den les di e docente en cuestion.

Tabel 4 Uzo di idioma den les

			Semper	Hopi biaha	Poco biaha	Nunca
1	Mi ta uza e idioma cu mi ta siñando e alumnonan so den les.	Hul	4	4	1	1
		Ing	2	3	0	0
		Spa	1	4	0	0
2	Mi ta uza Hulandes pa splica algo nobo den mi les.	Hul	9	1	0	0
		Ing	0	0	3	2
		Spa	2	2	1	
3	Mi sa uza Papiamento pa splica algo den mi les den onderbouw.	Hul	0	1	6	4
		Ing	0	1	3	1
		Spa	0	1	4	
4	Mi sa uza Papiamento pa splica algo den mi les den bovenbouw.	Hul	0	1	3	6
		Ing	0	3	1	0
		Spa	0	0	3	0
5	Mi sa uza otro idioma tambe pa splica algo nobo na e alumnonan.	Hul	I:1	I:2 / S:1	S:2 / I:3	3
		Ing	0	S:3	1	0
		Spa	0	0	I:3	0
6	Mi ta ripara cu si mi uza otro idioma tambe, e alumnonan ta compronde miho.	Hul	2	2	4	2
		Ing	0	2	3	0
		Spa	0	5	0	0
7	E alumnonan sa haci pregunta na Papiamento	Hul	0	1	6	4
		Ing	0	1	3	0
		Spa	0	2	3	0
8	E alumnonan mag di haci pregunta na Papiamento	Hul	0	0	6	4
		Ing	0	1	3	1
		Spa	1	1	2	1
9	E nivel di dominio di e idioma cu mi ta siñando mi alumnonan ta bon.	Hul	1	3	6	0
		Ing	2	3	0	0
		Spa	1	3	1	0
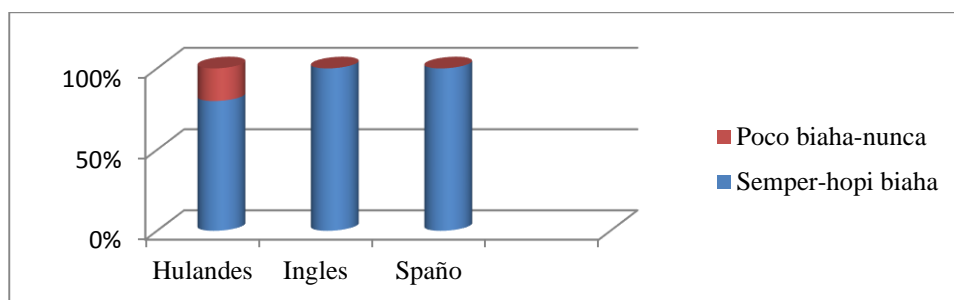
Grafica 2 *Pregunta 1: Mi ta uza e idioma cu mi ta siñando e alumnonan so den les.*

Mayoria docente ta uza e idioma meta so como e idioma di instruccion.
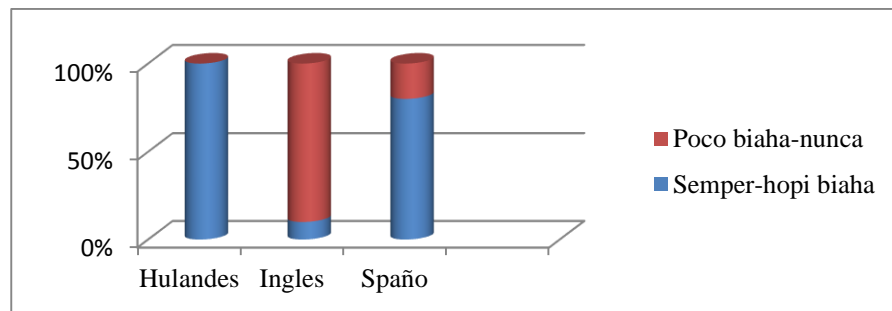
Grafica 3 *Pregunta 2: Mi ta uza Hulandes pa splica algo nobo den mi les.*

Mayoria docente ta uza Hulandes como idioma di instruccion ora mester splica algo nobo. Cerca e docentenan di Ingles esaki ta poco biaha of nunca.

E Graficanan 4 y 5 ta referi respectivamente na pregunta 3 y Pregunta 4:
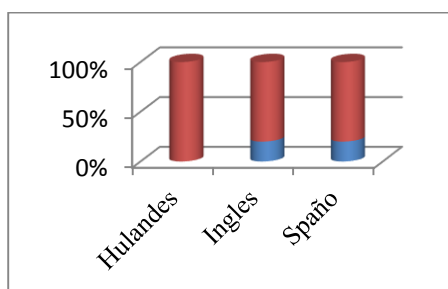
Grafica 4 *Pregunta 3 Mi sa uza Papiamento pa splica algo den mi les den onderbouw*
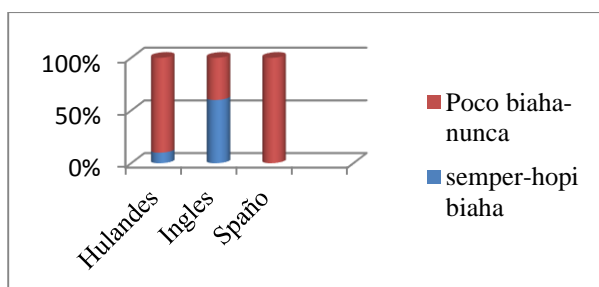
Grafica 5 *Pregunta 4 Mi sa uza Papiamento pa splica algo den mi les den bovenbouw*

Den e lesnan di Hulandes den onderbouw ta uza Hulandes pa splica. Den les di Ingles y Spaño esaki sa sosode. Sinembargo den bovenbouw, sa uza Papiamento mas hopi den les di Ingles.
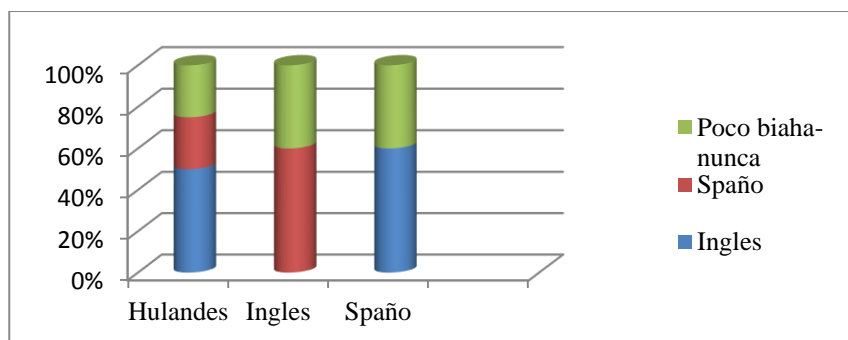
Grafica 6   *Pregunta 5: Mi sa uza otro idioma tambe pa splica algo nobo na e alumnonan.*

Den les di Ingles ta uza Ingles y ocasionalmente Spaño pa splica y den les di Spaño ta uza Ingles. Di e cantidad absoluto y cantidad di porcentahe por deduci cu Ingles ta e otro idioma mas uza den les di Spaño y Hulandes.
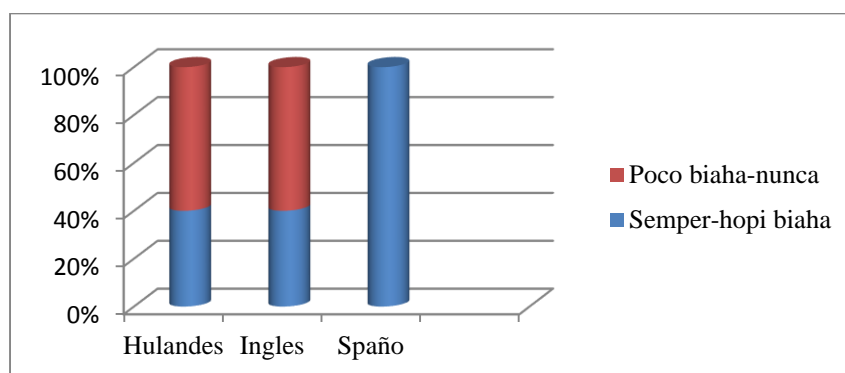
Grafica 7   *Pregunta 6: Mi ta ripara cu si mi uza otro idioma tambe, e alumnonan ta compronde miho*

E docentenan di Hulandes y Ingles ta indica cu poco biaha of nunca ta ripara cu si nan uza otro idioma e alumnonan ta compronde miho, mientras tur e docentenan di Spaño si ta ripara esaki.
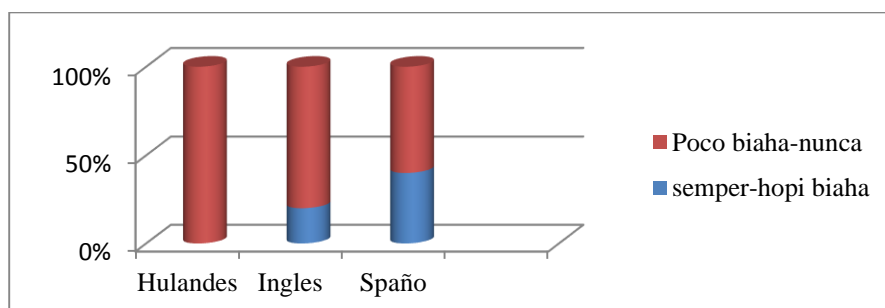
Grafica 8   *Pregunta 7: E alumnonan sa haci pregunta na Papiamento*

Den les di Hulandes e alumnonan no sa haci pregunta nunca of poco biaha na Papia-
mento. Den les di Ingles esaki sa pasa y un poco mas biaha mescos cu den les di Spa-
ño.
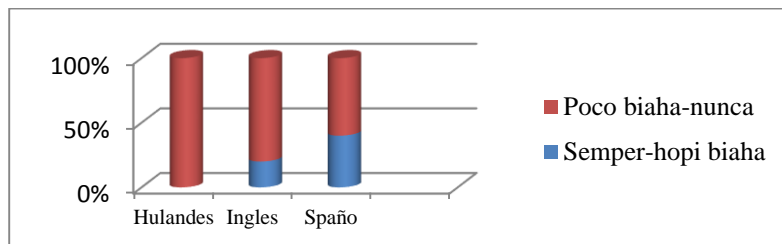
Grafica 9   *Pregunta 8: E alumnonan mag di haci pregunta na Papiamento*

Den les di Hulandes e alumnonan no mag di haci pregunta na Papiamento, mientras
den les di Ingles esaki por un poco mas y den Spaño mas ainda.
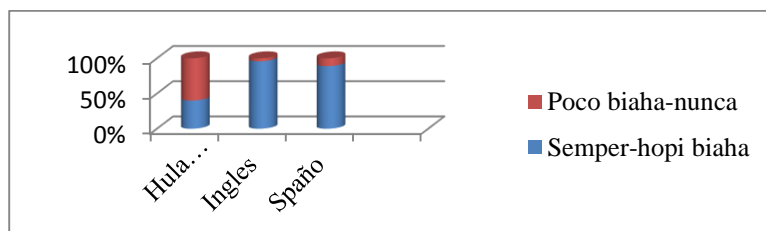
Grafica 10   *Pregunta 9: E nivel di dominio di e idioma cu mi ta siñando mi*
              alumnonan ta bon.

Mayoria di e docentenan di Hulandes ta di opinion cu e dominio di Hulandes di e
alumnonan poco biaha of nunca ta riba bon nivel, mientras cu esnan di Ingles ta haya
cu semper of hopi biaha e Ingles ta riba bon nivel. Mescos ta cerca e docentenan di
Spaño.

E preguntanan siguiente ta dirigi riba vision pa cu uzo di idioma y enseñansa di idio-
ma.

Tabel 5 Vision pa cu uzo di idioma y enseñansa di idioma den les

			Si	No	Kisas
1	Por uza diferente idioma simultaneamente pa duna les di idioma	Hul	4	3	3
		Ing	2	1	2
		Spa	4		1
2	Dunamento di les di idioma uzando dife-rente idioma por sostene comprension di idioma miho.	Hul	5	1	4
		Ing	2	1	2
		Spa	5		
3	Duna les uzando diferente idioma pareu lo	Hul	2	2	6

	por bruha e alumno.	Ing	1	1	3
		Spa		2	3
4.	Mi ta kere den duna les di idioma uzando e idioma meta mes so	Hul	6	4	
		Ing	3	2	
		Spa		1	1
5.	E manera cu nos ta dunando les di idioma awendia ta anticua.	Hul	3	2	5
		Ing	3	1	1
		Spa	1	2	2
6.	Mi ta kere den explora formanan didactico nobo pa siña e alumno un idioma nobo	Hul	10		
		Ing	5		
		Spa	4		1
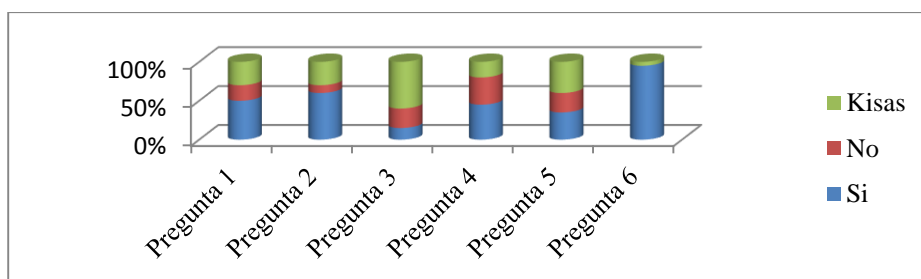
Grafica 11 *Vision pa cu uzo di idioma y enseñansa di idioma den les*

Mayoria docente ta pensa cu si of kisas por uza diferente idioma simultaneamente pa duna les. Tambe mayoria ta pensa cu si of kisas dunamento di les uzando diferente idioma por sostene comprension di idioma miho. Sinembargo mayoria ta pensa cu kisas uzo di diferente idioma pareu tog por bruha e alumno. Esaki ta mas fuerte cerca e docentenan di Hulandes. Pa loke ta e creencia den duna les den e idioma meta so, e docentenan ta dividi casi pareu den nan pensamento, unda cu e mayoria di e docente-nan di Spaño ta pensa cu kisas esaki ta e caso. Nan ta parti casi igual tambe den nan opinion riba e cuestion cu awendia e forma di duna les ta anticua. E docentenan di Hulandes tin mas duda riba esaki. Un gran mayoria ta kere den explora formanan di-dactico nobo pa duna les di idioma.

E preguntanan cu ta sigui ta pa haya un bista di e conocemento di pa loke ta trata translingualismo y actitud pa cu esaki.

Tabel 6 conocemento y actitud pa cu translingualismo

		Hulandes		Ingles		Spaño	
		si	no	si	no	si	no
1	Translingualismo ta uza diferente idioma den otro simultaneamente.	4	3	5	0	4	1
2	Translingualismo lo por yuda sostene e comprension di idioma miho	8	1	4	1	4	1
3	Translingualismo den klas ta similar na e situacion real di idioma na Aruba.	5	3	4	1	4	1
4	Translingualismo ta mesun cos cu code-switching.	2	5	4	1	1	2
5	Mi ta kere ya nos ta uzando translingualismo den les di idioma	3	4	5	0	5	0
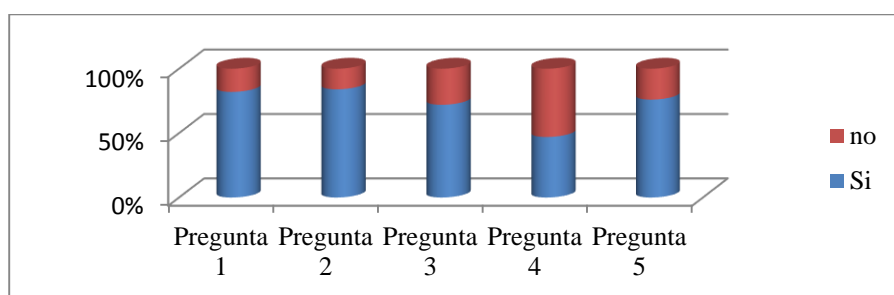
Grafica 12 *conocemento y actitud pa cu translingualismo*

Mayoria docente ta pensa cu translingualismo ta encera uza diferente idioma den otro simultaneamente pa duna les. Cerca e docentenan di Ingles esaki ta 100%. Mayoria docente, en especial esnan di Hulandes, ta pensa cu translingualismo lo por yuda sostene comprension di idioma y mayoria ta pensa cu translingualismo ta refleha e realidad di idioma na Aruba. Un cantidad casi igual di docente ta pensa cu translingualismo ta mesun cos cu code-switching. Esaki ta mas fuerte bou di e docentenan di Ingles. Mayoria docente ta pensa cu ya ta uzando transligualismo den klas, cu e docentenan di Ingles y Spaño como mayoria absoluto.

Ta di remarca cu di e 10 encuestadonan bou di e docentenan di Hulandes, tres a duna di conoce cu nan no por a yena tur e contestanan ya cu nan no ta compronde kico ta translingualismo of code-switching. Un docente di Ingles a remarca cu translingualismo ta sosode 'scondi' ya cu ta prohibi pa uza otro idioma cu no ta Hulandes pa splica un concepto na Ingles. Recientemente el a contesta un alumno na Papiamento y el a haya un remarca di su superior, cu tabata den les e momento ey, pa no haci esaki mas ya cu idioma di instruccion na e scol aki ta absolutamente Hulandes.

Investigacion bou Alumno
Pa haya contesta di e alumnonan riba e preguntanan

6. Kico ta e actitud di e alumnonan di idioma pa cu uzo di idioma Papiamento den enseñansa di idioma na Havo/VWO na Aruba ?;
7. Cua idiomanan ta uza den les di idioma den enseñansa di idioma den Havo/VWO 1,2 y 3, segun e alumnonan ?;
8. Kico ta e actitud di e alumnonan pa cu aplicacion di translingualismo den enseñansa di idioma na Havo/VWO ?

e encuesta ta parti den cuater parti: parti 1 ta encera preguntanan tocante e uzo di idioma den les di e idiomanan Hulandes, Spaño y Ingles, parti 2 ta encera preguntanan relaciona cu actitud pa cu Papiamento y parti 3 ta encera preguntanan cu ta relaciona cu translingualismo.

Tabel 7 Particion di alumno segun idioma materno

Idioma materno	Papiamento	Hulandes	Spaño	Ingles	Otro
Ciclo Basico 1	11	8	3		21
Ciclo Basico2	17	1	3		21
Havo 3	20	3	2	1	26
VWO 3	16	4	2	1	23
Total	64	16	10	2	**92**
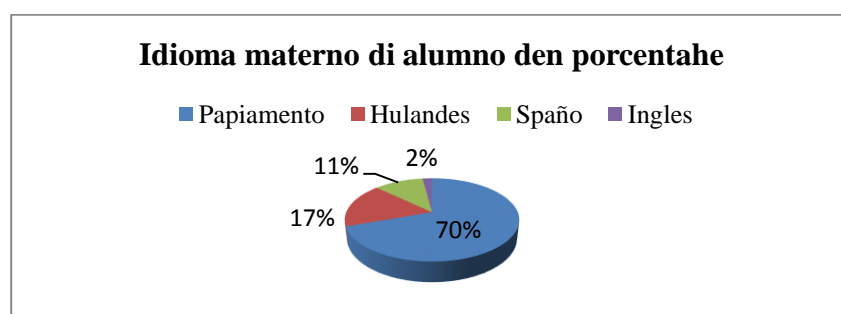
Grafica 13 *Idioma materno di e alumnonan encuesta*

Mayoria di e alumnonan encuesta tin Papiamento como idioma materno. E scol basico di decendencia di e alumnonan di CB1 ta varia entre 8 scol, di cual 5 alumno ta bin di un scol unda ta uza estrictamente Hulandes so, mientras cu na e otro scolnan ta conta mas tanto cu maestronan Hulandes.

E siguiente preguntanan ta consisti di 3 segmento ta igual parti den seccion pa cada idioma. Asina ta haya un bista cu idiomanan ta uza, cu enfasis riba uzo di Papiamento.

Tabel 8 Uzo di idioma den les di Hulandes

			Si	No	Tin biaha
1	Den les di Hulandes ta Hulandes so ta uza pa splica	CB1	19		3
		CB2	15		6
		H3	21	1	4
		V3	23		
2	Sa uza ehempel di Papiamento pa splica den les di Hulandes	CB1	1	9	12
		CB2	10	1	10
		H3	12	4	10
		V3	3	18	2
3	Por haci pregunta na Papiamento den les di Hulandes.	CB1	2	15	5
		CB2	6	3	12
		H3	5	11	10
		V3	0	19	4
4	Sa uza otro idioma tambe pa splica den les di Hulandes.	CB1	I= 1	18	I 3
		CB2	I=5	9	I=4
		H3	I =2 / S=1	20	I= 3
		V3	0	23	0

99
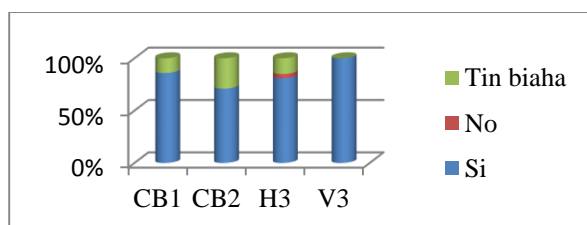
Grafica 14   Pregunta 1: Den les di Hulandes ta Hulandes so ta uza pa splica.

Den tur klas ta uza Hulandes so mas tanto pa splica un concepto nobo. Den CB2 esaki ta poco menos y den V3 e uzo ta 100%.
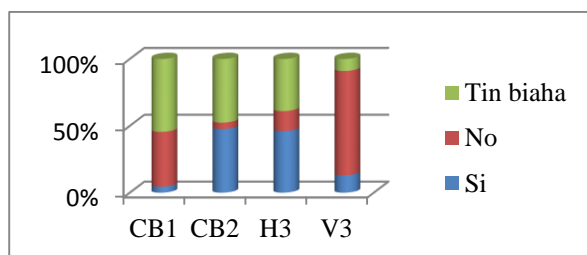
Grafica 15   Pregunta 2: Sa uza ehempel di Papi pa splica den les di Hulandes.

Den CB1 e uzo di Papiamento tin biaha ta mas hopi compara cu e otro-nan y e ta baha gradualmente, segun e klasnan ta bira mas halto.Ta uza mas Papiamento mas tanto den CB2 y H3.
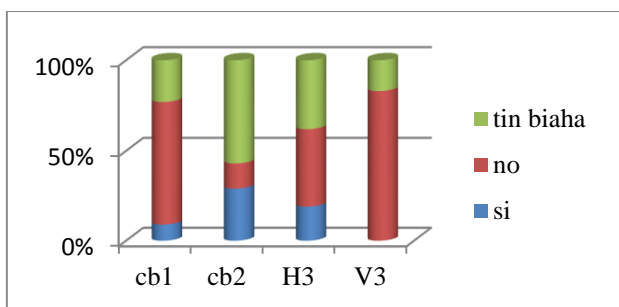
Den CB1 y V3 esaki no ta posibel.

Grafica 16   *Pregunta 3: Por haci pregunta na Papiamento*
den les di Hulandes.
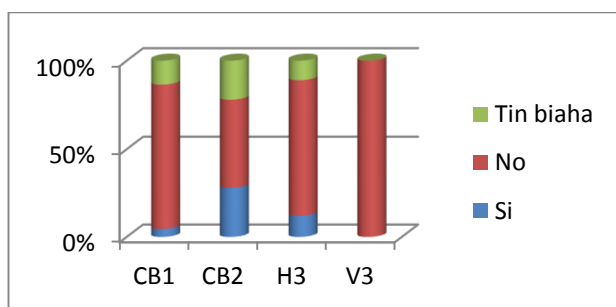
E uzo di otro idioma ta minimo te tin biaha den les Hulandes den CB2 y H3. Den CB2 y H3, ta uza Ingles ocasionalmente.

Grafica 17   *Pregunta 4: Sa uza otro idioma tambe pa splica*
den les di Hulandes.

Tabel 9   Uzo di idioma den les di Spaño

			Si	No	Tin biaha
1	Den les di Spaño ta uza Spaño pa splica.	CB1	2	12	8
		CB2	8	5	8
		H3	13	3	10
		V3	5	7	11
2	Den les di Spaño, ta Hulandes ta uza pa splica.	CB1	10	0	12
		CB2	8	3	10
		H3	10	1	15
		V3	7	3	13
3	Sa uza ehempel di Papiamento pa splica den les di Spaño.	CB1	9	6	7
		CB2	5	5	11
		H3	6	12	8
		V3	12	3	8
4	Por haci pregunta na Papiamento den les di Spaño.	CB1	5	11	5
		CB2	12	5	4
		H3	12	6	8
		V3	16	3	4
5	Sa uza otro idioma tambe pa splica den les di Spaño.	CB1	0	21	1
		CB2	0	15	0
		H3	I 1	25	0
		V3	I 4	4	15
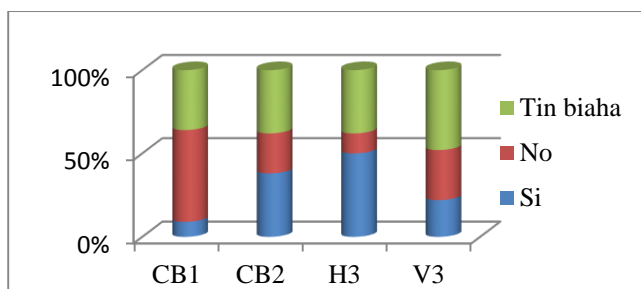
Grafica 18   *Pregunta 5: Den les di Spaño ta uza Spaño pa splica.*

E grado di uzo di Spaño den les di Spaño ta minimo den CB1 y V3. Den CB2 y H3 e ta un poco mas hopi.
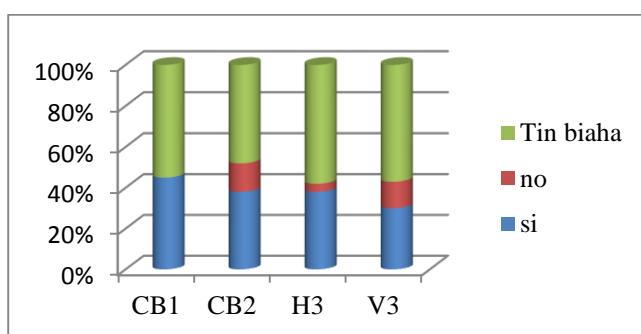
Grafica 19   *Pregunta 6 Den les di Spaño ta Hulandes ta uza pa splica.*

Den e lesnan di Spaño Hulandes ta basta uza pa ora di splica.
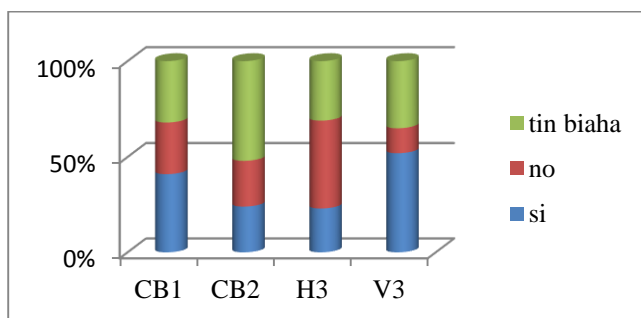
Grafica 20   *Pregunta 7: Sa uza ehempel di Papiamento pa splica den les di Spaño.*

Den CB 1 y V3 ta uza Papiamento mas biaha pa splica den les di Spaño.
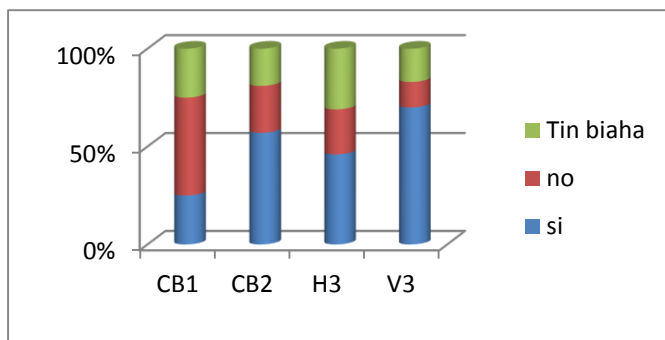
Ta permiti pa haci pregunta na Papiamento den les di Spaño mas tanto den CB2, V3 y H3. Esaki ta menos den CB1.

Grafica 21   *Pregunta 8: Por haci pregunta na Papiamento den les di Spaño.*
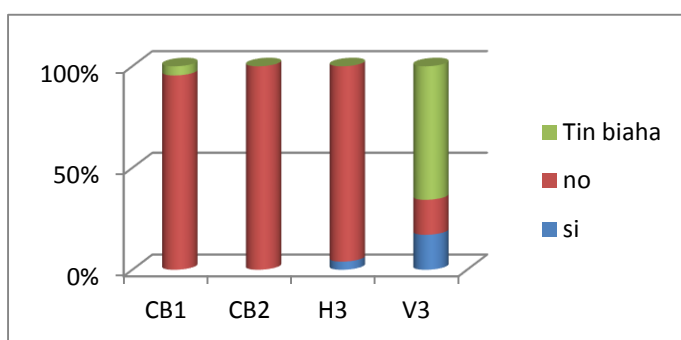
E uzo di otro idioma den e lesnan di Spaño ta minimo te nihil den e otro añanan, cu excepcion den V3. E otro idioma indica cu ta uza ta Ingles.

Grafica 22   *Pregunta 9: Sa uza otro idioma tambe pa splica den les di Spaño.*
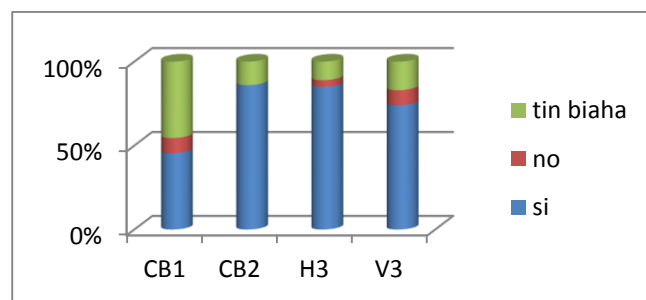
Den tur klas ta uza Ingles pa splica e materia durante les di Ingles.

Grafica 23   *Pregunta 10: Den les di Ingles ta Ingles pa splica*
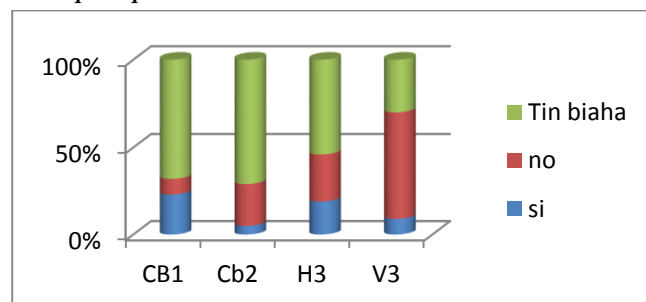
E uzo di Papiamento ta minimo te nihil den Cb2 y H3. Den Cb1 y V3 si ta uz'e mas.

Grafica 24   *Pregunta 11: Den les di Ingles ta uza Hulandes pa splica.*

Tabel 10   Uzo di idioma den les di Ingles

			Si	No	Tin bi-aha
10	Den les di Ingles ta uza In-gles pa splica	CB1	10	2	10
		CB2	18	0	3
		H3	22	1	0
		V3	17	2	4
11	Den les di Ingles ta uza Hu-landes pa splica.	CB1	5	2	15
		CB2	1	5	15
		H3	5	7	14
		V3	2	14	7
12	Sa uza ehempel di Papiamen-to pa splica den les di Ingles.	CB1	8	4	10
		CB2	1	16	4
		H3	0	22	4
		V3	8	8	7
13	Por haci pregunta na Papia-mento den les di Ingles.	CB1	12	2	9
		CB2	0	19	2
		H3	1	23	2
		V3	17	0	6
14	Sa uza otro idioma tambe pa splica den les di Ingles.	CB1	0	22	0
		CB2	0	21	0
		H3	0	26	0
		V3	0	23	0
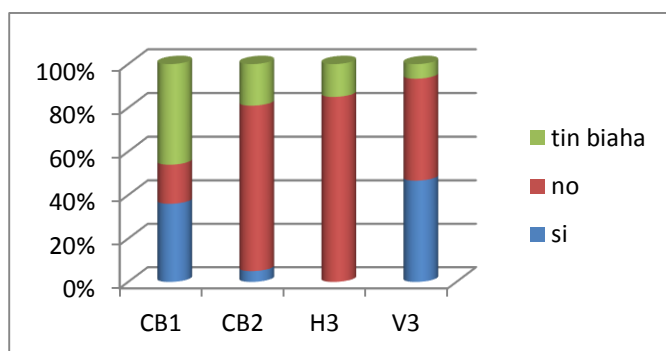
E uzo di Hulandes ta minimo den e lesnan di Ingles.

Grafica 25   *Pregunta 12: Sa uza ehempel di Papiamento pa splica den les di Ingles.*
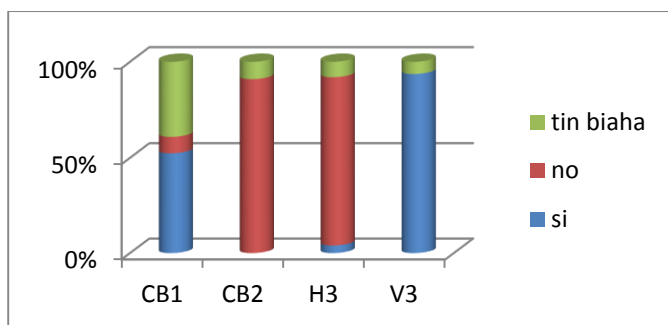
Den Cb1 y V3 ta permiti pa haci pregunta na Papiamento, mientras cu den Cb2 y H3 esaki no ta posibel of e ta minimal.

Grafica 26   *Pregunta 13: Por haci pregunta na Papiamento den les di Ingles.*
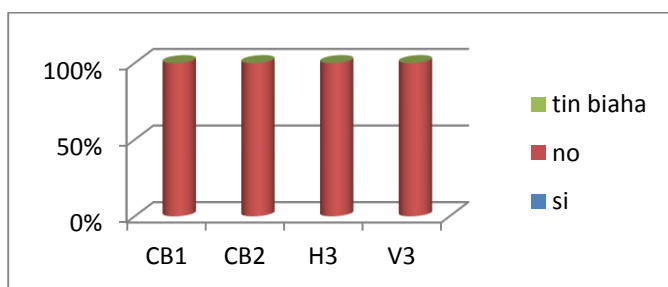
Den e lesnan di Ingles di e klasnan encuesta no ta uza otro idioma (den e caso aki Spaño).

Grafica 27 *Pregunta 14: Sa uza otro idioma tambe pa splica den les di Papiamento.*

E preguntanan aki ta evalua e actitud di e alumnonan pa cu e uzo di Papiamento den les di otro idioma.

Tabel 11 Actitud y opinion pa cu uzo di Papiamento den les di idioma.

			Si	No
1	Splicacion na Papiamento den tur les ta mas facil pa compronde.	CB1	12	10
		CB2	18	3
		H3	19	7
		V3	18	5
2	Splica algo di un idioma uzando Papiamento ta miho pa compronde.	CB1	15	7
		CB2	18	3
		H3	24	2
		V3	19	4
3	Puntra na Papiamento y haya contesta na otro idioma ta mas facil.	CB1	11	11
		CB2	8	13
		H3	16	10
		V3	8	15
4	Puntra na otro idioma y haya contesta na Papiamento ta mas facil.	CB1	10	12
		CB2	11	10
		H3	12	14
		V3	14	9
5	Splicacion na Hulandes ta mas facil cu na Papiamento	CB1	12	10
		CB2	9	12
		H3	3	23
		V3	5	18

E alumnonan encuesta ta haya cu splicacion na Papiamento den tur les ta mas facil, cu excepcion di e alumnonan di CB1. Cerca nan e opinion ta casi igual dividi. Mayoria di e alumnonan ta di opinion cu splica un idioma haciendo uzo di Papiamento ta miho pa compronde e idioma cu ta splicando.

Puntra na Papiamento y haya contesta na otro idioma no ta mas facil, segun e alumnonan, cu excepcion di esnan di CB2 y V3. Sinembargo puntra na otro idioma y haya contesta na Papiamento ta mas facil segun e alumnonan encuesta di CB2 y V3.

Splicacion na Hulandes ta mas facil cu na Papiamento cerca e alumnonan encuesta di CB1.

E siguiente preguntanan ta evalua e diferente formanan y idioma pa splica algo den un idioma y preferencia pa idioma di splicacion den les di idioma. Ta inclui (a) splicacion den e idioma mes; (b) splicacion pa medio di Hulandes; (c) splicacion na Papiamento; y (d) splicacion cu ta inclui diferente idioma. A inclui splicacion di palabra y concepto.

Tabel 12 Splicacion den les di Spaño

1. Un docente di Spaño ta splica e palabra '*volante*'. Cu cua splicacion , segun bo, bo por compronde mas liher/mihor ?		
a. Volante es un obheto en el carro que uno uza para manejar.	CB1	2
	CB2	3
	H3	1
	V3	5
b. Volante is een stuurwiel.	CB1	12
	CB2	8
	H3	9
	V3	2
c. Volante ta un obheto cu ta uza pa maneha un vehiculo.	CB1	5
	CB2	2
	H3	6
	V3	8
d. Volante ta un stuurwiel, steering wheel.	CB1	3
	CB2	8
	H3	10
	V3	8
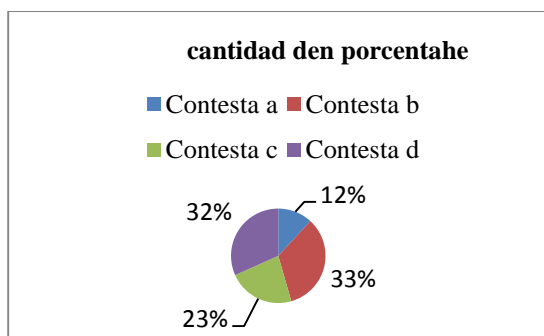
Grafica 28 *Splicacion den les di Spaño*

Mayoria alumno tin preferencia pa splicacion b, cu ta un combinacion di Spaño y Hulandes. Esaki ta mas tanto cerca e alumnonan di CB1. Un porcentahe menos tin preferencia pa splicacion d, cu ta un combinacion di Spaño, Papiamento, Hulandes y Ingles. Esaki ta mas cerca esnan di H3.

Tabel 13 *Splicacion den les di Ingles*

2.Un docente ta splica e siguiente frase den les di Ingles: ***He has a debilitating disease and the options for treatment and improvement are limited .*** Cu cua ta splicacion, segun bo, cu bo por compronde mas liher/mihor ?		
a. He has a disease and he will get worse and there are no possibilities for treatment or getting better.	CB1	2
	CB2	3
	H3	1
	V3	5
b. Hij heeft een verzwakkende ziekte en de opties voor behandeling en verbetering zijn gering.	CB1	12
	CB2	8
	H3	9
	V3	2
c. E tin un malesa debilitante y e opcionnan pa tratamento y mehoracion ta limita.	CB1	5
	CB2	2
	H3	6
	V3	8
d. E tin un disease debilitante y options pa treatment y improvement ta limita	CB1	3
	CB2	8
	H3	10
	V3	8

Grafica 29 *Splicacion den les di Ingles*

Un di tres parti di e grupo encuesta, di cual esnan di CB1 ta mayoria tin preferencia pa splicacion na Hulandes, mientras e cu casi un di tres parti, di cual esnan di H3 ta mayoria, tin preferencia pa splicacion den diferente idioma combina.

Tabel 14 *Splicacion den les di Hulandes*

9. Un docente di Hulandes tin cu splica e palabra **burgeroorlog.** Cua di e maneranan aki ta esun cu bo lo siña e palabra mas miho, segun bo ?		
a. Burgeroorlog is oorlog tussen de inwoners van een land.	CB1	17
	CB2	13
	H3	16
	V3	11
b. Burgeroorlog ta guera entre e habitantenan di un pais.	CB1	4
	CB2	6
	H3	8
	V3	7
c. Burgeroorlog, civil war, guera civil ta guera entre e habitantenan di un pais.	CB1	1
	CB2	2
	H3	1
	V3	4
d. Burgeroorlog is een guera tussen de burgers.	CB1	0
	CB2	0
	H3	1
	V3	1
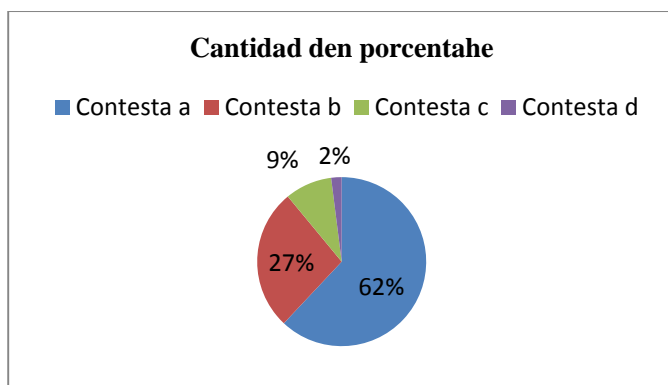
Grafica 30 *Splicacion den les di Ingles*

Mayoria alumno encuesta tin preferencia pa splicacion na Hulandes den les di Hulan-des. Esaki ta menos fuerte cerca esnan di V3. Poco mas cu mitar di e grupo aki ta pre-fera un di e otro opcionnan.

Tabel 15 *Preferencia pa cu idioma di instruccion den les di idioma.*

10. Si bo mester a scoge un forma pa bo docente splica algo den un les di idioma, lo bo scoge:		
a. Pa e splic'e solamente den e idioma cu mi ta si-ñando	CB1	1
	CB2	4
	H3	1
	V3	5
b. Pa e splic'e na Papiamento	CB1	1
	CB2	2
	H3	6
	V3	7
c. Pa e splic'e na Hulandes	CB1	6
	CB2	1
	H3	2
	V3	1
d. Pa splic'e den cualkier idioma, basta mi por com-pronde.	CB1	14
	CB2	14
	H3	17
	V3	10
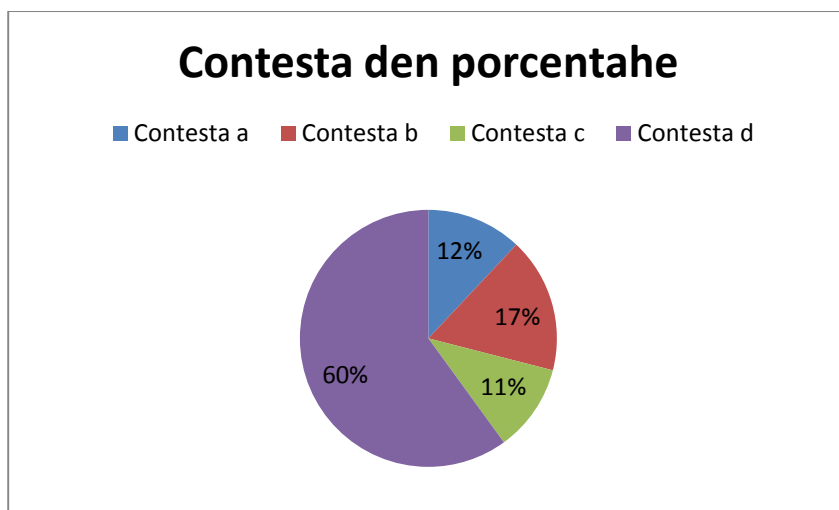
Grafica 31 *Preferencia pa cu idioma di splicacion den les di idioma.*

Pa e gran mayoria di e alumnonan cuestiona, no ta importa e idioma cu ta uza pa splica contal cu nan por compronde loke ta splicando. E di dos preferencia ta pa splicacion na Papiamento (17%). Remarcable ta cu ta solamente un alumno di CB1 a scoge e opcion aki.

Conclusion y recomendacion

Riba e pregunta 'Kico ta e actitud di e docentenan di idioma pa cu uzo di idioma Papiamento den enseñansa di idioma na Havo/VWO? ta conclui cu mayoria docente ta na altura cu Papiamento ta idioma materno di mayoria di e alumnonan na scol. Sinembargo nan no ta haya cu e uzo di e idioma materno di e alumno ta necesario den enseñansa di idioma. Na mes momento nan ta di opinion cu uzo di Papiamento ora di splica nan materia lo yuda e alumno compronde miho si y nan ta dispuesto pa uza Papiamento den nan les si ta necesario y na beneficio di e alumno den onderbouw y bovenbouw. E docentenan a duna di conoce tambe cu e muchanan nunca of poco biaha sa haci pregunta ta Papiamento y cu nan ta permiti pa haci pregunta na Papiamento masha poco. Esaki por ta debi na e factor describi anteriormente, pues e docentenan Hulandes cu no ta domina Papiamento y na e hecho cu tin prohibicion estricto pa cu uzo di Papiamento den les. E actitud pa cu Papiamento den les di idioma ta positivo y tin boluntad pa cu su uzo.

Riba e pregunta 'Cua idiomanan e docentenan di idioma ta uza den les di idioma na Havo/VWO?' e docentenan ta uza mas tanto e idioma cu nan ta siñando e alumno den les. E idioma di escogencia despues di e idoma meta ta Ingles den les di Spaño y Hulandes. E uzo di Papiamento ta minimo. E uzo di Ingles den por ta debi cu e ta un idioma trendy y hopi uza den media bou di e alumnonan y nan ta identifica nan mes cu ne. E uzo nihil di Papiamento den les di Hulandes por a debi na e factornan, cu ta entre otro, e stigma cu Papiamento ta stroba e desaroyo di Hulandes, e nivel di Hulan-

des ta malo pues mas di dje lo yuda mehor'e y e motibo mas grandi por ta cu mas cu mitar di e docentenan di Hulandes no ta domina Papiamento, sea pasobra nan tin poco tempo na Aruba of debi cu nan no a siña e idioma. Poco mas cu mitar di e docentenan ta ripara cu si nan uza otro idioma tambe den nan les hopi biaha e alumno ta compronde miho. Sinembargo esaki no ta refleha den e resultado ya describi pa uzo di idioma den les, pues cu nan ta practic'e regularmente.

Remarcable ta cu e docentenan di Hulandes ta opina cu e dominio di Hulandes bou di e alumnonan ta bou nivel y esnan di Spaño y Ingles ta haya cu e dominio hopi biaha ta bon. Pa cu esaki por tin diferente motibo, entre nan, e cantidad di alumno na scol cu tin Spaño of Ingles como idioma materno, e dos idiomanan aki ta biba den e comunidad y cerca e alumnonan, e docentenan ta flexibel pa cu uzo di otro idioma den klas y mayoria di e docentenan di e dos idiomanan aki ta docente di habla Papiamento. Pa cu e materia Hulandes y e resultado, e cantidad di alumno cu tin Hulandes como idioma materno ta minoria, e idioma Hulandes no ta biba den e comunidad, e docentenan no ta flexibel pa cu uzo di otro idioma, mayoria di e docentenan no ta domina Papiamento (of e otro dos idiomanan) y e metodo ta dirigi riba alumno cu tin Hulandes como idioma materno.

Contesta riba pregunta "Kico ta e actitud di e docentenan pa cu aplicacion di translingualismo den enseñansa di idioma na Havo/VWO na Aruba?" a haya como resultado cu mayoria docente ta pensa cu ta posibel pa uzo diferente idioma simultaneamente den les di idioma y cu uzo di diferente idioma por sostene comprension di idioma mihor. Sinembargo na mes momento nan ta pensa cu uzo di diferente idioma pareu por bruha e alumno. Poco mas cu mitar di e encuestadonan ta di opinion cu duna les den e idioma meta mes tog ta miho. Mayoria ta pensa cu e translingualismo den klas ta similar na e situacion real di idioma na Aruba. Mitar di e docentenan ta pensa cu translingualismo ta similar na code-switching y mayoria ta pensa cu ya nan ta uzando translingualismo den klas. E opinion riba si e manera di duna les awendia ta anticua, ta parti casi igual bou di e docentenan entre si, no y kisas. Tur docente ta duna di conoce cu nan ta kere den explora formanan didactico nobo pa siña e alumno un idioma nobo.

Mester remarca cu varios docente di Hulandes no por a contesta e preguntanan aki, asina mes cu a tuma e encuesta aki colectivamente y cu splicacion acerca. Di e resultadonan aki por conclui cu tin un necesidad grandi di recapacitacion y modernisacion di enseñansa di idioma. E pensamentonan tocante enseñansa di idioma ta varia di diferente angulo; di anticua te mas moderno y kisas falta di informacion, sea pa motibo di estudio, falta di recapacitacion, edad y tempo den enseñansa, si tuma cu diesdos di esnan encuesta tin 10 of mas aña den enseñansa y shete, di cual seis di e diesnan di Hulandes ta entre 50 y 60 aña.

Riba e pregunta 'Kico ta e actitud di e alumnonan den onderbouw di Havo/VWO pa cu Papiamento den les di idioma na Havo/VWO?' ta conclui cu mayoria alumno ta haya cu splicacion na Papiamento den tur les, incluyendo les di idioma ta mas facil y miho pa compronde. Sinembargo puntra algo na Papiamento y haya contesta na otro idioma ta pa e alumnonan di CB2 y V3 mas dificil y den CB1 e opinion ta dividi den mitar. Puntra algo na otro idioma y haya contesta na Papiamento ta mas facil pa e alumnonan di CB2 y V3. Mayoria alumno ta haya cu splicacion na Papiamento ta pa nan mas facil cu splicacion na Hulandes, aunke pa esnan encuesta di CB1 esaki no ta e caso. E resultado aki por ta debi cu ocho di esnan encuesta di CB1 ta di habla Hulandes.

E opinion relaciona cu puntra y haya contesta na Papiamento ta kisas dividi, dependiendo di e docente(nan) cu e alumno tin pa les di idioma. Si e docente no ta domina Papiamento, esaki ta haci cu meramente e hacimento di pregunta y spera un contesta ta tranca e comunicacion y ta haci asina cu e alumno ta pensa cu lo ta mas facil pa haci e pregunta den e idioma cu e ta siñando mes. Un factor tambe di influencia ta e hecho cu como Papiamento ta haciendo su entrada e aña benidero den bovenbouw, a cuminsa cu un campaña di concientisacion riba uzo di idioma materno den bovenbouw cerca e alumnonan di HAVO 3 y VWO 3. A cuminsa desde december na splica e hobennan kico bo idioma materno por haci pa bo, enbes di kico abo por haci cu ne. Pa cu esaki a experiencia con dos alumno di V3 a bay cas cu e decision pa scoge Papiamento y ta haya resistencia di mayor. Despues di splicacion di e alumnonan na e mayornan, e mayornan tabata menos resistente pa cu e idea. E alumnonan a comparti e experiencia aki den klas cu e demas alumnonan.

Riba e pregunta 'Cua idiomanan e docentenan di idioma ta uza den les di idioma na Havo/VWO?' mayoria di e alumnonan a indica cu den les di Hulandes, cu ta uza un metodo dirigi riba alumno cu tin Hulandes como idioma materno, ta uza Hulandes so como idioma di instruccion y raramente Papiamento of Ingles. Sinembargo esaki ta diferente cerca den CB2 y H3. Aki e factor por ta e docente y su actitud, conocemento, escogencia y/of decendencia ta haci un diferencia.

Den les di Spaño, cu ta uza un metodo cu ta dirigi riba alumno di habla Hulandes, ta uza Spaño solamente tin biaha. Mas tanto ta uza Hulandes combina cu Spaño, Papiamento y Ingles. Por a nota cu den CB1 ta un poco mas estricto cu uzo di Hulandes y esaki ta refleha tambe den e contestanan di e docentenan di Spaño. Den les di Spaño ta mas flexibel pa cu uzo di idioma den les.

Den les di Ingles, cu ta uza un metodo dirigi riba adulto stranhero, ta uza primeramente di Ingles pa splica y de bes en cuando por haci pregunta na Papiamento. Esaki ta sosode mas tanto den e V3. Den les di Ingles no ta uza Spaño. Ingles ta un idioma di escogencia y popular bou di e alumnonan loke por influencia den e lesnan.

Riba e pregunta "Kico ta e actitud di e alumnonan pa cu aplicacion di translingualismo den enseñansa di idioma na Havo/VWO?' e alumnonan ta indica cu den les di Spaño

nan ta prefera splicacion na Hulandes. Esaki specialmente den CB1. Kisas e cantidad di alumno encuesta y e pensamento pa cu Hulandes, scol di decendencia tin influencia riba e escogencia aki. E di dos escogencia, cu ta casi igual den porcentahe cu e prome, ta cu e alumnonan ta prefera splicacion cu ta un combinacion di Spaño, Hulandes y Ingles simultaneamente. Esaki ta hopi fuerte cerca e alumnonan di CB2, H3 y V3. Esaki por ta debi na nan experiencianan den e añanan previo di enseñansa di idioma, nan dominio di idioma y nan rasonamento pa cu idioma. Den les di Ingles mitar di e alumnonan encuesta ta prefera splicacion na Ingles mes, specialmente den H3 y V3 y un cuarto di y tur encuesta ta prefera splicacion na Papiamento. E escogencia pa spli-cacion na Hulandes cada bes ta cerca e alumnonan di CB1 hopi fuerte. Mayoria alumno ta opina cu e idioma di splicacion no ta importa, basta nan compronde y e di dos escogencia ta splicacion na Papiamento, specialmente cerca e alumnonan di H3 y V3. E alumnonan mas grandi ta mas avansa den nan pensamento y rasonamento. Nan ta mas conciente pa cu nan escogencianan. E contesta aki ta refleha e caracter pluri-lingual y facilidad pa cu uzo di idioma di e alumnonan y ta un indicacion cu mester ta mas flexibel pa cu uzo di idioma den klas.

Mayoria di e docentenan ta habri pa Papiamento y pa cu flexibilidad di uzo di idioma den les (translingualismo), pero e falta di conocemento, dominio di idioma, exigencia di metodo, palabracion den e diferente seccionnan di idioma na scol, falta di un solo vision, reglamento estricto pa cu uzo di Hulandes den les, falta di recapacitacion ta factornan cu ta conduci cu e enseñansa di idioma por keda tranca.

E alumnonan ta indica cu nan ta habri pa cu Papiamento y pa cu enseñansa den mas cu un idioma (translingualismo) y cu e idioma di instruccion no ta di tanto importancia basta nan compronde. Mas halto e klas ta, mas e alumno ta mustra di conciente pa uzo di Papiamento y otro idioma den les. E vision pa cu Papiamento a cambia y ta sigui cambia. Dies aña pasa e resistencia di parti docente, alumno y mayor tabata hopi grandi. Aunke awendia tin algun docente di Hulandes ta bringa e idea di introduccion di Papiamento den bovenbouw, e gran mayoria ta mira su bentaha, no dor di conoce-mento teoretico, sino experiencia propio cu e necesidad den les di parti di e alumnonan. E aceptacion ta hopi mas grandi cu dies aña pasa. Pa loke ta toca e parti di recapacitacion, specialmente riba tereno di idioma, e scolnan secundario, specialmente Colegio Arubano y Colegio Sanicolas a keda atras. E ultimo congreso di idioma tabata mas cu 15 aña pasa. Ta hopi aña caba cu ta papia di maneho di idioma, pero no tin accion.

Un alumno ta yega despues di pauze y ta para den e porta di klas combersa cu un ami-ga di un otro klas:'..*te veo luego, cualquier cosa, me esperas afuera!'*. E docente den e klas ta bis'e: '*Camila, drenta ! E bel a zona basta rato caba.'* Ta yega un compañero coriendo y ta dal den Camila. Camila ta bis'e: '*Watch out man! I almost fell'*. E com-

pañero ta contest'e: *'Hey, I'm sorry!'*, mientras e alumno sinta banda di e porta ta bisa nan dos: *'Hou op en kom snel naar binnen joch ! Later kunnen jullie verder chillen.'*

Esaki ta e caracter multilingual di nos hobennan y e situacion multilingual diario real di nan. Sinembargo, ta keda insisti cu e situacion aki ta uno prohibi. Ta keda considera otro idioma, cu no ta Hulandes, den enseñansa como barera pa siña un otro idioma.

Gobierno tin e responsabilidad y obligacion di percura pa enseñansa den su pais. Un di obligacionnan aki ta percura pa e maneho di idioma. Den e situacion di Aruba, unda ta conbibi mas cu 78 idioma, e curiculo di scol mester por acopla na e situacion real y no poniendo enfasis riba ideanan anticua y irealistico. No por ta asina cu ta sigui tapa e situacion real di e alumnonan. Prome cu tur otro accion mester reconoce y acepta e realidad di idioma na Aruba.

Institucion di un comision di linguista pa haci un investigacion di e situacion di idioma den enseñansa na Aruba ta un necesidad. Di e rapport cu lo sali di e investigacion aki, presenta un vision y segun e resultadonan haci e cambionan necesario riba nivel nacional. Cu esaki ta bin programanan di recapacitacion di vision y didactica y guia riba termino largo. Esaki mester por inclui recapaticacion riba dominio di e idiomanan cu ta ofrece den e curiculo. Parti di esaki ta tambe pone como exigencia cu e docente den e scol avansa na Aruba mester tin dominio di e idioma materno di e alumno cu e ta sirbi.

E maneho di gobierno mester ta plania riba termino largo y no ta cambia cada cuater aña pa sirbi e agenda politico di e minister concerni.

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Pa garantisa continuidad y exito di scol multilingual y sosten na e docentenan den enseñansa avansa, mester cuminsa cu e estudio di Papiamento riba nivel bachelor atrobe pa despues e mesun docentenan aki sigui pa nivel di master.

Aruba ta hopi rico na experiencia pa cu multilingualismo cu ta similar na hopi otro pais. Por tuma e experiencianan di otro paisnan y aplica nan na un manera structura den nos sistema. No ta necesario pa inventa nada di nobo.

Un particion igual pa cada idioma lo ta na su lugar, eliminando asina e pensamentonan 'e idioma aki ta mas importante pasobra....' y 'mas di e materia lo yuda e dominio'. E mensahe aki aki tambe ta bay pa e alumnonan y lo tin su influencia riba e balorisacion di idioma.

E situacion actual na e scolnan investiga ta asina cu e seccionnan di idioma ta traha separa di otro, pues treciendo cu ne cu hopi biaha e materianan ta crusa otro no intencional, perdiendo oportunidadnan di haci uzo di conocementonan adkiri cu lo por facilita e comprension di e idiomanan na un manera efectivo. Un cooperacion y trahamento hunto lo beneficia no solamente e alumno y su adkision di idioma, sino tambe e docente mes den su conocemento y splicacion di e materia.

Cada scol tin e obligacion di ofrece recapacitacion un cantidad di ora pa aña y varios no ta haci uzo di esaki. Lo ta na su luga si e scolnan tuma un cantidad di dia pa aña dedica na maneho di idioma y e areanan cu ta toca esaki.

Revision di e metodonan di e otro idiomanan tambe ta necesario pa asina e ta acopla na e necesidadnan di e alumnonan. No por ta asina cu ta traha cu metodonan cu no ta cuadra ni cu contexto, ni cu e situacion real di e alumnonan.

Ta obvio cu aunke tin un prohibicion di uza otro idioma cu no ta Hulandes na e tipo di scol aki, tog e docentenan ta recuri sea na Papiamento, Spaño of Ingles den nan lesnan. Necesidad ta mas fuerte cu imposicion. Un docente cu ta pone su alumnonan na prome luga, lo traspasa e reglanan imponi y duna su alumno e miho calidad di enseñansa posibel. Si scol no ta ofrece recapacitacion, tin otro manera y fuente cu un docente haya informacion y por educa su mes riba tereno di idioma y aplica nan. Cu experiencia propio por yega mas leu den conbencimento, cu aplicando teoria so. Un docente experiencia y respeta di literatura, esta prof. dr. Wim Rutgers a yega di bisa, 'Den bo klas abo ta rey y si bo por splica pakico bo a haci tal accion, ta pasobra e ta bon y niun hende por bisabo lo contrario!'

Duna e alumnonan espacio pa comunica den e idioma di nan escogencia. E docente mester corda cu e idioma di instruccion, den e caso aki Hulandes, ta meramente un herment pa traspasa informacion. Si e alumno no ta compronde e contenido di e herment aki, e informacion no ta yega optimalmente y lo keda produci alumnonan cu ta sali di un contexto multilingual cu un definciencia den dominio di idioma.

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DOELMATIG WOORDENSCHATONDERWIJS VOOR NEDERLANDS ALS VREEMDE TAAL IN HET ARUBAANSE VOORTGEZET ONDERWIJS

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Inleiding

Op Aruba is het Nederlands een vreemde taal, waarmee leerlingen vooral in de klas geconfronteerd worden, omdat het de officiële instructietaal op de scholen is. Op het moment dat leerlingen van de basisschool naar het voortgezet onderwijs (VO) gaan, zijn ze wat hun kennis van het Nederlands betreft nog in een leerfase. Naast problemen met grammatica en spelling hebben veel leerlingen een beperkte woordenschat. Ze hebben een bepaald aantal woorden op de basisschool geleerd, maar dit blijkt vaak niet voldoende om goed met de lessen in het VO mee te draaien. Tegenwoordig worden daarom in het eerste jaar van het VO aparte woordenschatlessen verzorgd, naast de reguliere lessen Nederlands.

Tijdens deze woordenschatlessen wordt de nadruk gelegd op algemene schooltaalwoorden, die veelal onbekend zijn bij de Arubaanse leerlingen. Het is van groot belang dat er actief gewerkt wordt aan het vergroten van de woordenschat. De context waarin en de manier waarop deze woorden aangeleerd worden, spelen een belangrijke rol. Dat dit niet altijd even gericht en doelmatig gebeurt, komt omdat docenten Nederlands in de brugklas met een overvol lesprogramma kampen en dan de woordenschatlessen gebruiken om reguliere lessen Nederlands te draaien. Daarnaast worden vaak moedertaalmethodes voor de woordenschatlessen gebruikt die uitgaan van woordenschatverwerving in de moedertaal. Echter, moedertaaldidactiek sluit niet aan op onze Arubaanse situatie waarin het Nederlands een vreemde taal is voor de leerling.

Het doel van dit artikel is om (toekomstige) docenten Nederlands, vakdocenten en RT'ers op de hoogte te brengen van de laatste ontwikkelingen omtrent het geven van doelmatig woordenschatonderwijs (DW) in het VO. Naar aanleiding hiervan is in dit beschrijvend en adviserend literatuuronderzoek de volgende hoofdvraag geformuleerd:

Hoe kunnen vakdocenten Nederlands, op een havo-vwo-school, doelmatig, algemene schooltaalwoorden aan vreemdetaalleerders van het Nederlands in de brugklas geven?

Bij het beantwoorden van deze hoofdvraag is gebruikgemaakt van wetenschappelijke literatuur over woordenschatverwerving in een vreemde taal. Eerst wordt het belang van woordenschatonderwijs uiteengezet. Daarna worden de basisprincipes van woordenschatonderwijs beschreven en er wordt ingegaan op de denkbeelden omtrent doelmatig woordenschatonderwijs in een vreemde taal. Vervolgens worden de eisen aan doelmatig woordenschatonderwijs in een vreemde taal besproken. Tot slot worden aanbevelingen (ondersteund en gelegitimeerd door de literatuurstudie) gegeven ter bevordering van het woordenschatonderwijs in het Arubaanse voortgezet onderwijs.

Het belang van woordenschatonderwijs

Op de kleuterschool maakt slechts een kleine groep kinderen spelenderwijs kennis met het Nederlands, de meeste kinderen komen er pas op de basisschool voor het eerst mee in aanraking. Leerlingen horen het Nederlands uitsluitend als de docent aan het woord is. Buiten school is nauwelijks input van het Nederlands (Van der Linde & Keulers, 2014). Thuis wordt meestal Papiamento gesproken. Als deze leerlingen eenmaal de basisschool hebben afgerond en naar het VO gaan, wordt een taalachterstand bij ze geconstateerd. Het is vooral de woordenschat van deze leerlingen die beperkt is: hierbij gaat het zowel om de algemene schooltaalwoorden als de woorden in de alledaagse taal. Als gevolg hiervan hebben ze veel problemen bij verschillende vakken, het verwerken van teksten en het begrijpen van vragen en opdrachten. Per slot van rekening is de leerstof verpakt in woorden.

Als er naar de relatie tussen onderwijsachterstand en woordenschatkennis gekeken wordt, dan meldt Verhallen (2009) dat onderwijsachterstanden nog steeds in verband zijn te brengen met belangrijke verschillen in taalkennis en woordenschatkennis. Volgens Verhallen en Verhallen hebben kinderen met een taalachterstand grote moeite met de verwerving van diepe woordkennis en met hiërarchische betekenisrelaties tussen woorden (geparafraseerd uit Van Schalkwijk, 2011: 20). Woordenschatonderwijs is dus geen luxe, maar noodzakelijk om onderwijsachterstanden weg te werken.

Een grote en veelzijdige woordenschat is zonder meer een voorwaarde voor schoolsucces. Leerlingen hebben een uitgebreid jargon nodig om de lessen te kunnen volgen, opdrachten te kunnen maken en vragen te kunnen beantwoorden. Wie minder woorden kent, beschikt over minder sleutels om kennis te verwerven. Nagy stelt dat de opbouw van woordkennis cruciaal is in het onderwijs, als middel en als doel (geparafraseerd uit Verhallen, 2009: 5). De kennis van de wereld kan alleen groeien wanneer iemand nieuwe concepten en woorden leert kennen. Hajer et al. (2007) brengen ter sprake dat leerlingen die niet over voldoende woordenschat beschikken over de hele linie minder goed zullen presteren. Ze zullen niet alleen achterblijven bij taal, maar ook bij andere vakken. Daarnaast geven Hajer et al. (2007) aan dat woordkennis bepalend voor tekstbegrip is: om een tekst goed te kunnen begrijpen, blijken leerlingen

minimaal 85% van het totaal aantal verschillende woorden uit de tekst te moeten kennen.

Woordenschatonderwijs is dus een noodzaak. Dankzij woordenschatlessen kunnen niet alleen onderwijsachterstanden weggewerkt worden, leerlingen kunnen ook (vak)lessen goed volgen, en instructies bij opdrachten en gestelde vragen beter begrijpen. Buiten de klas is het aanbod van het Nederlands minimaal en krijgen leerlingen weinig kans om hun woordenschat uit te breiden (Teunissen, 2008). Om leerlingen kans op succes te geven in het Arubaanse onderwijs, moet hun woordenschat binnen de school op peil gebracht worden.

De basisprincipes van woordenschatonderwijs

De basisprincipes van woordenschatonderwijs vormen de grondslag voor woordenschatlessen en taalmethodes. Verhallen (2009) bespreekt vijf kernpunten die fundamenteel zijn voor woordenschatonderwijs in een vreemde taal. Deze vijf kernpunten gelden dus ook voor woordenschatlessen in het Arubaanse onderwijs, waar het Nederlands een vreemde taal is. Ten eerste moeten docenten voor ogen houden dat woordenschatverwerving cumulatief is. Het gaat bij woordenschatonderwijs niet om het leren van losse woorden, maar het aanhaken van nieuwe woorden aan een zich gestaag uitbreidend netwerk. Ten tweede is woordenschatuitbreiding onlosmakelijk verbonden met kennisopbouw. Leerlingen met een rijke woordenschat kunnen niet alleen beter en preciezer communiceren, maar ook beter denken over allerlei aspecten van de wereld om hen heen.

Daarnaast moeten docenten zich ervan bewust zijn dat leerlingen de kennis van achterliggende woordbetekenissen geleidelijk opbouwen. Zij leren woorden niet in één keer, er zijn allerlei gradaties in woordkennis. Het is bovendien belangrijk om in onderwijssituaties aandacht te besteden aan diepe woordkennis. Leerlingen moeten naast de alledaagse taal ook formelere betekenisrelaties kennen, zoals bij academische woorden en conceptenwoorden. Ten slotte moeten docenten er rekening mee houden dat verschillen in woordenschat tussen individuele kinderen in dezelfde klas heel groot kunnen zijn. Hart en Risley melden dat kinderen uit taalrijke milieus per jaar acht miljoen woorden meer horen dan kinderen uit taalzwakkere gezinnen; minder taalvaardige kinderen blijken de woorden die ze hebben verworven minder "diep" te kennen (geparafraseerd uit Verhallen, 2009: 8).

Denkbeelden omtrent doelmatig woordenschatonderwijs

Doelmatig woordenschatonderwijs (DW) in een vreemde taal gaat uit van intensiever en effectiever woordenschatonderwijs. Onderzoekers hebben verschillende denkbeelden over deze schoolse kwestie. Hieronder zullen enkele denkbeelden omtrent DW in een vreemde taal besproken worden.

Hulstijn (2012; let wel, in dit artikel is Nederlands de moedertaal van de leerlingen!) geeft aan dat het verschil tussen woordenschatuitbreiding in een vreemde taal en de uitbreiding van de Nederlandse woordenschat gelegen is in het feit dat leerlingen veel minder aan de vreemde taal worden blootgesteld dan aan het Nederlands. Er is veel minder tijd voor herhaald gebruik van de woorden, zodat ze nieuwe woorden die niet tot de basiswoordenschat horen snel weer vergeten. Daarom moet men kiezen voor realistische woordenschatdoelstellingen in het DW voor een vreemde taal, waarbij een selectie wordt gemaakt van leerdoelwoorden die expliciet aangeboden zullen worden. Deze leerdoelwoorden moeten zo veel mogelijk (in context) herhaald worden totdat ze beklijven. Het is daarom beter dat leerlingen minder woorden voor de lange termijn dan meer woorden voor de korte termijn leren.

Kwakernaak (2010) spreekt over het feit dat er meer aandacht voor de doeltaal-"omzet" moet zijn: van receptieve naar productieve woordenschat, herhaling van woorden, selectie van een beperkt aantal woorden en taalgerichte feedback voor woordenschatonderwijs in een vreemde taal. In het onderzoek van Kwakernaak uit 2011 wordt veel nadruk gelegd op het feit dat de aangeboden woorden vaak herhaald moeten worden: de mens leert woorden en grammaticale structuren te beheersen door ze steeds te herhalen. DW in een vreemde taal kan en moet die herhaling organiseren in een sterke context.

Hulstijn (2012) geeft, net als Kwakernaak (2011), in zijn onderzoek aan dat woorden die aangeboden worden veelvuldig herhaald moeten worden en met korte pauzes moeten terugkeren in de les, bij het lezen van boeken, krantenartikelen etc. Hij maakt gebruik van het motto: "gebruiken of verliezen". Door middel van dit motto wil hij illustreren dat volwassenen uit eigen ervaring weten dat veel schoolkennis met de jaren wegzakt tenzij die kennis regelmatig gebruikt wordt.

Ten slotte stelt Web dat leerlingen via het lezen van teksten beter (lees: meer aspecten van) woorden leren naarmate zij deze woorden vaker onder ogen krijgen. Leerlingen hebben minder moeite met de spelling van een tien keer aangeboden woord, ze herkennen de betekenis van zo'n meervoudig aangeboden woord sneller, ze kunnen woorden opnoemen waarmee het woord gewoonlijk geassocieerd wordt en ze herkennen het zinsverband waarin het woord gebruikt wordt (geparafraseerd uit Gesignaleerd, 2007: 27).

Kortom, docenten moeten voor realistische woordenschatdoelstellingen kiezen, de aangeboden woorden veel herhalen en de woorden vaak in verschillende contexten aan bod laten komen.

De eisen aan doelmatig woordenschatonderwijs

Een vreemde taal leren is in principe vergelijkbaar met het leren van de moedertaal (geparafraseerd uit Van Schalkwijk, 2011). Kinderen die later een taal gaan leren maken gebruik van hun aangeboren taalleermechanisme. Maar dit proces van taalverwer-

ving kan alleen op gang gebracht worden door veel taalaanbod te geven. Voor DW betekent het dat er veel begrijpelijk taalaanbod gegeven moet worden binnen de korte tijd die beschikbaar is. Volgens Teunissen (2008) moeten docenten in hun lessen consequent alleen de doeltaal gebruiken. Dat betekent dat leerlingen niet alleen bij het vak Nederlands het Nederlands moeten horen, maar ook bij alle andere vakken.

In eerste instantie moet het aanbod van nieuwe woorden gericht zijn op de semantisering van de kernbetekenis. Verhallen en Verhallen stellen dat kinderen met een taalachterstand grote moeite hebben met de verwerving van diepe woordkennis en met de hiërarchische betekenisrelaties tussen woorden (geparafraseerd uit Van Schalkwijk, 2011: 20).

Bonset en Hoogeveen (2010) stellen dat er bij het aanbieden van nieuwe woorden een combinatie van de incidentele en intentionele methode gekozen moet worden. Er bestaat bij DW in een vreemde taal namelijk geen leerlijn in traditionele zin; er is geen precieze dwingende volgorde. Incidenteel leren is leren zonder dat men zich ervan bewust is dat men aan het leren is. Dat gebeurt als leerlingen in aanraking komen met het lezen van teksten en het luisteren naar fragmenten. Intentioneel onderwijs is bedoeld, ontworpen en gepland onderwijs (geparafraseerd uit Van Schalkwijk, 2011: 22). Bij intentioneel woordenschatonderwijs hoort de "robuuste aanpak" (Beck, McKeown & Kucan): de betekenis van woorden wordt expliciet uitgelegd en in een duidelijke context geplaatst zodat leerlingen een beeld krijgen van de betekenis (geparafraseerd uit Verhallen, 2009: 13). Ook Tesser (2001) ondersteunt de robuuste aanpak. Daarbij zijn voor hem de volgende zaken "absoluut noodzakelijk": directe instructie van woorden, aanbod van woorden in een context, aanbod van woorden in een conceptueel netwerk en ten slotte de aangeboden woorden zeven tot tien keer herhalen.

Hulstijn (2012) stelt dat docenten voor realistische woordenschatdoelstellingen moeten kiezen. Daarmee bedoelt hij dat er een selectie van leerdoelwoorden gemaakt moet worden; te denken valt aan algemene schooltaalwoorden die bij alle vakken voorkomen. Deze algemene schooltaalwoorden moeten zo veel mogelijk (in context) herhaald worden en bij alle vakken voorkomen, zodat ze beklijven. Daarnaast vindt Hulstijn (2012) dat het bij het onthouden van woorden niet zo belangrijk is of de leerlingen de woorden intentioneel of incidenteel leren. Er zijn twee zaken die volgens hem een rol spelen bij het leren van nieuwe woorden. Voor de receptieve beheersing van de aangeboden woorden is aandacht en herhaalde blootstelling van belang en bij de productieve beheersing gaat het om het herhaald gebruik van de aangeboden woorden. Met andere woorden: de aangeboden woorden in verschillende context aan bod laten komen en de leerlingen deze woorden vaker laten gebruiken.

Al met al moet bij DW voor Nederlands als vreemde taal veel taalaanbod in het Nederlands gegeven worden en de aangeboden woorden moeten zowel incidenteel als intentioneel geleerd worden, waarbij er sprake is van herhaalde blootstelling.

Conclusie

Uit het bovenstaande beschrijvend literatuuronderzoek kunnen een aantal conclusies getrokken worden.

Ten eerste blijkt een grote en veelzijdige woordenschat een voorwaarde voor schoolsucces te zijn. Om leerlingen de kans op schoolsucces te geven, moet hun woordenschat binnen de school op peil gebracht worden. Alhoewel er weinig discussie bestaat over de vijf kernpunten van woordenschatonderwijs, zijn er verschillende denkbeelden over de invulling van doelmatig woordenschatonderwijs. Ten slotte kunnen de eisen voor doelmatig woordenschatonderwijs Nederlands als vreemde taal als volgt worden samengevat: er moet sprake zijn van veel taalaanbod, niet alleen tijdens de lessen Nederlands, maar bij alle vakken; de leerlingen moeten de woorden zowel incidenteel als intentioneel aangeboden krijgen; en de aangeboden woorden moeten vaak herhaald worden.

De conclusies naar aanleiding van de hoofdvraag worden door wetenschappelijke artikelen ondersteund en gelegitimeerd. We moeten ons wel realiseren dat de gepresenteerde onderzoeken allemaal in de Nederlandse context uitgevoerd zijn.

Hoe kan voor docenten Nederlands de theorie naar de Arubaanse onderwijspraktijk vertaald worden? Leerlingen moeten zoveel mogelijk oefenen met de Nederlandse taal door bijvoorbeeld presentaties te houden, interviews af te nemen, door te luisteren naar het nieuws, waarbij ook het referentiekader vergroot wordt. Hierbij wordt doelmatig aan de productieve kennis van woorden gewerkt. Daarnaast is het van belang dat docenten woordenschatmethodes gebruiken die het viertaktmodel van Van den Nulft en Verhallen (2009) gebruiken om nieuwe woorden aan te leren. In dergelijke woordenschatmethodes staan gerichte oefeningen die afgestemd zijn op voorbewerken (woorden in context aanbieden), semantiseren (betekenisuitleg), consolideren (herhalen en inprenten van het nieuwe woord), controleren (nagaan of het woord daadwerkelijk is gekend) en herhalen (beklijven van het woord) van de aangeboden woorden. Verder moeten docenten zich voornamelijk richten op algemene schooltaalwoorden waarbij er tien woorden per les in verschillende contexten aangeboden worden. Daarbij moeten de aangeboden woorden zowel incidenteel als intentioneel aangeboden worden. Denk aan het lezen van *Amigoe op school* of de serie *Boeken Boeien* waarin algemene schooltaalwoorden in de verhalen verwerkt zijn en achterin verklaard worden. Andere opties zijn het opzoeken en opschrijven van betekenissen in woordenboeken of via woorden.org en die informatie in een woordenschrift bijhouden, voorbeeldzinnen met de nieuwe woorden maken, woordraadstrategieën aanleren, leerlingen relaties met andere woorden laten leggen door met een woordenweb te werken.

Uit alle onderzoeken blijkt dat woordkennis een belangrijke voorwaarde tot schoolsucces is. Doelmatig woordenschatonderwijs is dus van essentieel belang voor Arubaanse leerlingen.

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PURBANDO DI CONTRAARESTA UN SISTEMA INADECUA, ADECUADAMENTE: UN EXPERIENCIA CU ALFABETISACION INICIAL

Zuleika Silva
Aruba

Introduccion

Mi ta mama di un yiu homber, Inald, cu awo tin 7 aña. Como maestro di scol basico y despues docente na scol secundario den enseñansa na Aruba, mi ta conciente di e problemanan cu ta bini dilanti ora di siña e alumnonan lesa y skirbi den Hulandes na scol basico y kico esaki ta conduci na dje unabes cu nan yega scol avansa. Palabra simpel manera 'eigeel' y 'waarde' no ta hancra cerca tur alumno di Havo3/VWO 3. E maestronan di scol basico, di cual 65.7 % (Rapport estadistico anual 2012-2013) ta Rubiano, tin cu haci nan maximo esfuerso, cu tur bon intencion, pa siña e alumnonan den scol basico lesa y compronde idioma Hulandes, idioma di instruccion y comunicacion na scol, cu hopi biaha nan mes no ta domina optimalmente, no necesariamente pa nan mes falta. Como mayor, mi no kier pa mi yiu ta parti di e mayoria, cu pa falta di un sistema inadecua, no ta haya e oportunidad pa desaroya, entre otro, su habilidad di lesa manera mester ta, no tin motivacion pa lesa y lo no desaroya su potencial maximo manera hopi otro mucha na Aruba, cu ta victima di e sistema di enseñansa. Mirando cu e situacion aki lo no cambia por lo pronto y pa tur e motibonan ya describi, mi a tuma e decision di siña mi yiu siña lesa den su propio idioma.

Siguientemente, un analisis cortico di e situacion idiomatico na Aruba, e metodonan cu ta uza den enseñansa primario na Aruba, e pasonan tuma pa siña Inald lesa, e resultadonan y conclusion.

Situacion di idioma na Aruba

Aruba ta conta cu un populacion hopi diversifica pa loke ta trata idioma materno. Como un comunidad caminda hopi idioma ta biba, facilmente un habitante ta haya su mes den contacto cu e diferente idiomanan, y e necesidad pa comunica den e idiomanan aki ta haci cu nan ta bira parti di dje.

Tabel 1 CBS, 2006

	Exacto	Porcentahe
Papiamento	69,358	68.3%
Spaño	13,711	13.5%
Ingles	7,129	7%
Hulandes	6.110	6%
Chines	1,456	1.4%
No ta papia ainda	1,563	1.5%
Otro	1,725	1.7%
	101,484	100%

Por mira den e tabel cu Spaño ta e di dos idioma mas grandi na Aruba, mientras Ingles ta na di tres luga. Mester remarca cu Ingles ta tambe e idioma di comunicacion den HORECA, debi cu Aruba ta economicamente dependiente di turismo. E idioma di instruccion y di comunicacion na scol ta Hulandes, cu ta apenas e di cuater idioma na Aruba. Pues, ta trata aki di un idioma cu apenas 6% tin como idioma materno.

Teoria encuanto siña lesa

E edad adecua pa siña un mucha lesa ta varia. Prome cu e mucha siña lesa, e ta haya e fundeshi di idioma oral; un proceso humano normal cu ta bay automaticamente den tur cultura y den idioma materno. Sinembargo, siña lesa si no ta bay di mes. E mucha mester compronde, interpreta y manipula e simbolonan di idioma skirbi.

Cu ki edad ta ideal pa un mucha siña lesa, no ta estableci. Pero si mayoria di experto riba e materia ta di acuerdo cu mas tempran, miho. Cu esaki ta trata di mucha cu ta siña lesa, na sea cas, e luga di cuido (speelschool), of den enseñansa preparatorio e prome aña. Entre e rasonnan ta destaca:

- Neurologico: Lesamento ta yuda desaroya e mucha su celebro hoben. Den e prome seis añanan, e mucha ta siña hopi mas lihe cu den cualkier otro periodo den su bida. Ora e adulto ta papia, canta y lesa pa e mucha, e conexionnan den su celebro ta fortalece y e conexionnan nobo ta forma. Lesamento ta un di e factornan cu tin efecto grandi riba e proceso aki;

- Educacional: E rasonnan educacional ta cu e ta habri e posibilidad pa exito academico, unabes cu e mucha ta gusta lesa. Expansion di vocabulario ta bay rapido, como cu nan ta conoce mas palabra mas lihe cu na su bes ta conduci na mas conocemento pa cu siñamento di otro materia tambe;

- Psycologico: e mucha tin mas confiansa den su mes; e por canalisa su energia unabes cu e scoge pa sinta y lesa. E ta mas creativo. Den un ambiente trankilo, den initimidad di su cas, e ta disfruta mas compara cu den klas;

-       Linguistico: mas tempran e mucha siña lesa, mas tempran e ta exponi na buki, conocimento y idea. Su vocabulario ta expande, su gramatica ta mehora, skirbimento ta bay mas facil (bou circumstancia normal), e tin un miho spelling y comunicacion oral ta bay miho. Nan ta describi nan sentimentonan i experiencia hopi mas ampliamente y miho. E mucha mes, dependiendo di su desaroyo, por indica ora e ta cla pa cuminsa siña lesa.

Ta distingui tres fase di lesamento:
1. Fase preliminar: e mucha ta imita otro hende su lesamento. E sa cu ta existi algo cu bo ta wak y por saca informacion di dje. Y loke cu bisa, por ta skirbi tambe.
2. Fase di cuminsa lesa: e mucha ta pone atencion na e detayenan cu ta riba papel (letter) y con esakinan ta representa palabra. Nan ta compronde zonido di e letternan y acopla nan na e simbolonan corecto.
3. Fase di lesa cu fluides: E mucha por lesa facilmente comprondiendo cu facilidad loke e ta lesa.

Ta mas cu logico cu e proceso di siña lesa aki mester ta den idioma materno di e mucha. Manera a indica caba, idioma oral ta forma e base solido pa siña lesa. Si e idioma di instruccion no ta e idioma materno di e mucha, e ora ey mester fortalece e idioma di instruccion riba nivel oral prome y mientras e ta siña lesa den e idioma ey. Si e no ta bini den contacto cu e idioma di instruccion na scol pafo di scol, ta spera e ora ey di scol, cu e ta yena e bashi aki.

Metodo pa siña lesa den enseñansa na Aruba

Kleuterschool: 4-6 aña

Enseñansa preparatorio, kleuterschool, a haya un otro contenido e ultimo decadanan aki. Conoci prome como un 'bewaarschool' caminda e muchanan ta bay djis pa pasa dia y hunga, e concepto ey a cambia cu tempo, mescos cu e curiculo. Enfasis ta riba formacion, educacion y preparacion di e mucha pa su futuro escolar na un manera bon structura. Esaki ta encera hungamento mas structura, les basico pa prepara pa matematica, lesa y idioma, conocemento general y mas.

Pa loke ta lesamento, ta cuminsa mustra e muchanan letter y cu esakinan tin sentido; pues, nan no ta djis simbolo los sin mas. Unabes pega e letternan na otro, ta haya palabra. Ta acompaña e palabranan cu plachi. E meta no ta pa e muchanan lesa sino pa cuminsa cu alfabetisacion inicial den idioma Papiamento.

Metodo den eerste klas

Den practicamente tur eerste klas na Aruba, ta uza e metodo Veilig Leren lezen pa siña alumno lesa. E metodo ta sali di e punto di bista cu e alumno tin Hulandes como idioma materno y cu e alfabetisacion inicial a tuma luga den Hulandes caba. E metodo ta consisti di werkboek, leesboek, leeskaart, letterdoos y material di sosten cu por haya

riba internet. Por abona riba revista y cumpra e bukinan. E contexto ta completamente dirigi riba Hulanda.

E metodo tin cuater diferente acercamento:

1. Maan: E acercamento uza clasicalmente pa tur alumno.

2. Ster: Dirigi riba e alumnonan cu mester di un ayudo extra pa yega na prestacion suficiente.

3. Raket: Dirigi riba e alumnonan cu mester di mas challenge ya cu nan por avansa e proceso di lesamento riba nan mes forsa.

4. Zon: E acercamento aki ta dirigi riba e alumnonan cu por lesa caba. Nan ta posee un actitud pa cu siñamento independiente, y nan tin bon concentracion; pues, nan por siña lesa riba nan mes.

Mayoria di scol ta uza solamente acercamento 1, pues esun clasical, saliendo for di e punto di bista cu tur mucha ta riba e mes nivel.

E sistema cu ta cuminsa cu e palabranan basico: ik, maan, roos, vis. Ta corta e palabranan den pida (sintetisa) *i-k* pa despues pega nan na otro => *ik*. Asina ta haci cu tur palabra monosilabico. Pues, en realidad, e mucha ta lesa e palabra dos biaha. Uno pa cort'e y despues peg'e. Ta siña e mucha cu sea klap man of haci movemento cu man riba mesa pa sostene e lesamento aki. Pues, basicamente ta siña e muchanan lesa door di parti e palabranan den zonido pa despues bolbe pega nan na otro. Pa e muchanan Rubiano, ta trata di e palabranan desconoci.

Lesa den enseñansa special

Contrario na e scolnan basico regular na Aruba, enseñansa special si ta ofrece e base di lesamento den Papiamento. A scoge pa desaroya un metodo teniendo cuenta specialmente cu e nivel congnitivo di e grupo aki. E metodo "Dal bay numa" ta diseña y dirigi riba e gruponan un te shete di enseñansa special. E ta consisti di buki di lesa, buki di ehercicio, letra, silaba y palabra y carchi cu dibuho pa sostene e palabranan basico. E contexto ta completamente Arubano. E palabranan di introduccion ta: mama, papa, remi, gati. E metodo ta siña e mucha pa lesa e palabranan aki den parti silabico.

1. Ta cuminsa na siña e letternan acopla na zonido.
2. Despues ta pega dos zonido na otro. Ta forma un silaba: *m-a==> ma*.
3. E sguiente paso ta pega dos silaba na otro: *ma-ma*.

    Asina ta traha diferente combinacion: *ma-mi, pa-pi*

    Pa un tempo ta sigui lesa cu e strepinan aki meymey di e palabranan y despues ta elimina esaki.

Pues, contrario na e metodo Hulandes, cu conoce dos paso pa yega na lesa, e metodo aki conoce tres paso.

Experiencia cu Inald

Lesamento na cas

Alfabetisacion di Inald a cuminsa for di baby. Tabata conta storia mientras e ta den barica y for di algun dia naci ya tabata pone buki su dilanti. Su interes pa lesa a bini hopi tempran. Pa haci esaki, a scoge e metodo 'Teach your child to read in 100 easy lessons' como sosten pa cu iñamento di lesa. E metodo ta sali for di e punto di bista cu lesamento di palabra mester bay den un solo biaha, pues, no ta corta palabra adelanta ni parti nan den parti. Pues ta pega tur letter/zonido den un solo biaha. Con lihe esaki bay, no ta importante. E ta dirigi riba lesamento di Ingles; pues, a adapta e palabranan y secuencia di zonido/letter. A mantene e metodo di lesa. Den e relato cu ta sigui a pone fase, edad, actividad(nan), duracion y observacion den un tabel.

Fase	Edad	Actividad	Observacion
Preliminar	0-3 aña	-lesa -hunga cu letter di spons, foam, palo -stempel di letter	
Siña lesa	3.5 - 4.5 aña	-Introduci e letternan acopla na zonido: A-M-I-P (ami, mami, papi) S-O-T-L (ta/sa/lo) K-U-N-B / D-E[e]-F-G / H-R-V-W-Z A scoge pa laga e letternan C – J- Q –Y pa mas adelanta.	E no por a skirbi, pues tabata uza stempel y letter di palo. Poco poco a cuminsa introduci skirbimento di e letternan. Cada sesion tabata dura 7-10 minut maximo.
Lesa cu fluides	4.5 aña	Por lesa buki na Papiamento	
	6 aña	Por lesa buki na Papiamento (tur tipo di construccion) A cuminsa siña lesa na Hulandes Por lesa na Hulandes (Nivel AVI E4)	
	7 aña	Na final di aña escolar a termina cu nivel AVI- M4 A cuminsa lesa buki Easy readers Nivel 1 na Ingles	Dependiendo di e storia e ta lesa full e buki of mitar.
	7 aña y 6 luna	Por lesa buki na Ingles nivel 2 Easy readers	

A cuminsa ntroduci e letternan den forma di wega cu letter di spons, letter di papel y letter di foam. E tabata haya nan pa hunga cu nan durante wega no structura, pa stempel cu ferf etc. Tambe a pega e letternan di alphabet den su camber caminda e ta wak nan tur dia. Poco poco a cuminsa pone atencion na e 'zonido' di letter. E secuencia di letter tabata: *a-m-i-p*

Cu e letternan aki por a forma: *ami, mama, papi.*

A base di e cuater letternan aki tabata traha palabra. Como cu e no por a skirbi, tabata traha cu letter di palo y stempel.

Ora di pega e zonidonan aki na otro, e tabata bay como lo siguiente:

ami

Ta pone dede riba e parti abou di e flecha mientras ta bisa e zonido. Ta cuminsa move dede riba e pijl mientras ta bisa e zonido cu ta sigui te ora yega na final di e pijl (ammmmiiiiiii). Esey ta final di e palabra. Pues, no tabatin analisis di palabra. Ta lesa e palabra den un solo biaha. Tempo cu a dura pa 'hunga' cu esaki tabata dos pa tres siman.

Unabes cu e tabata pega tur e ocho zonidonan aki na otro, ta cuminsa traha frase.

> *ami ta ami*
> *mami lo ta*
> *ami a los*

Asina a sigui cu e demas letternan na forma spontaneo. Siñamento di e otro letternan a bay masha lihe y na un manera spontaneo. Inald tabata wak un palabra y e tabata purba les'e. Den caso cu e no tabata sa cua zonido e letter ta representa, e ta puntra. Un ehempel ta e letter Q. Pasando banda di e edificio Aquawindie's, caminda e ta landa, el a puntra con zonido di e letter cu ta *p* bira parobes ta. El a sigui splica cu e ta les'e riba e blachi pega riba parti patras di stoel di un colega den klas cu yama Quintessa. A puntr'e kico e ta kere cu esaki ta y el a bisa cu e no ta sigur, pero e mester ta un combinacion di dos zonido si, cu ta k+w. Pero loke a pon'e duda ta cu tanto den Quintessa, como Aquawindie's tin un *u* tras di e *q*, pues e no ta sigur si ta [kw] of solamente [k]. Den e caso di letter *y*, e tabata lesa esaki riba e blachi pega na stoel den e nomber Kylie, y el a asumi cu banda di [j], e por zona manera [ai] tambe. Aki a trata e zonido aki como [ie] y [j]. Den caso di e nomber, como ta trata di un nomber Ingles, e zonido ta cambia, pues e ta zona [ai]. Pero a pone enfasis cu na Papiamento, e ta para su so como [i] y den un palabra como [j].

Entretanto, e tabata lesando buki na Papiamento. E palabranan di cua e tin duda, e ta puntra. Pues, siñamento di letter acopla na zonido a cuminsa bay hopi spontaneo. Mester a siñ'e hopi tempran e signonan di lesa: . / , /? /.../!. E signo di sclamacion e kier a traha su mes nomber p'e: jup.

Pa letter C, como cu ta trata di un letter cu ta uza pa dos zonido, dependiendo di posicion di letter den palabra, a tuma un poco mas tempo ya cu a scoge pa siñ'e e reglanan simplifica. Esaki a bay den forma di wega. C ta un letter cu no sa kico e kier. E kier ta mes grandi cu un *k* y mes bunita cu *s*. Pues, el a dicidi cu dilanti e zonidonan *a- o- u- e* ta 'fia' e zonido di [k], y dilanti di e zonidonan *e* y *i* e ta [s]. Esaki a tuma un poco mas tempo pa asimila ya cu ta trata di un solo letter y dos zonido, cu atrobe ta depende di

otro zonido. E enfasis tabata mas tanto riba uzo di e letternan aki cu vocal. Pa sostene esaki, a pega plachi y palabra manera cas/ cura/ coi/ celebra / .... den su camber. A enfatisa cu tin palabra, manera sinta, cu no ta gusta e cambio, pues nan si ta keda cu e *s* of *k*. Na juni 2012, finalisando e prome aña den kleuter, durante un dia di paseo riba bicicleta, e maestra a introduci e dia pintando un bicicleta y skirbiendo e palabra *bisicleta* bou di e pintura. El a cuminsa repasa e reglanan di e dia, mientras Inald a hisa su dede. El a bisa e maestra cu riba borchi e tin un eror. E palabra *bisicleta* ta fout skirbi. E maestra ta dun'e e krijt, inconciente di su fout, y ta pidie pa e mustr'e e eror y coregie p'e. Inald ta lanta y ta splic'e cu el a siña cu e *c* ta haya zonido [s] ora e ta dilanti di un *i*. Mester agrega cu tin biaha e ta bruha y a puntra si e letra ey tin un zonido ta un [s] of [k].

Den e di dos aña di kleuter, e maestra tabata tapa e palabranan cu e kier a siña e klas, ya cu Inald tabata lesa tur cos. A pidi nos pa para un rato cu siñamento di lesa na cas, ya cu e tabata lesa tur cos adelanta y no tabata duna espacio pa e otro muchanan pensa y purba lesa e palabranan brinda.Tabata por a observa cu pocopoco e tabata lesa palabra di tur largura tur caminda; *edificio, corant, propaganda*. Como cu el a siña lesa den un solo biaha, niun palabra tabata cortico of largo p'e. Durante henter e proceso aki, tabata uza buki na Papiamento tur dia pa sea lesa of conta storia. Cada bes cu e siña un letter/ zonido nobo, e tabata kleur e letter. Un dia coriendo den auto, el a coy un corant y cuminsa lesa e titulo riba e pagina principal '*Sindicatonan a bay protesta dilanti di edificio di gobierno'*.

Un dado momento e tabata experimenta cu skirbimento, y el a scoge pa cambia e manera di skirbi su nomber, ya cu segun e, nos no ta skirbie bon. Enbes di *Inald*, e tabata skirbie *Ainult*. Tabata un discusion di varios siman pa el a acepta *Inald*. Aki a cuminsa splic'e cu su nomber mester ta lesa na Ingles; pues, e uzo di letter pa zonido ta otro. El a cuminsa bira conciente di esaki y tabata puntra ora e lesa un palabra; mester les'e na Ingles of na Papiamento? Pocopoco el a cuminsa skirbi, y te cu 6 aña y 10 luna e tabata skirbi fonologicamente ora e no sa e palabra. Na juli 2013 el a dicidi cu e ta skirbi su mes buki. Asina el a dedica un siman na skirbi storia cortico riba diferente blachi cu nan pintura acerca. Como cu ta trata di un mucha cu hopi tempran a custuma cu buki, e particion di un comienso di un storia y un final ta hopi cla p'e.

Lesamento na scol primario

Inald su prome encuentro cu Hulandes a tuma luga na scol bascio. Curioso e prome dia di scol pa conoce e famoso 'ik'. Aki a cuminsa un discusion cu e maestro ya cu e 'ik' ey no ta [ek] sino [iek]. Hopi cuestionamento a bini di parti di Inald pa cu e zonidonan, cu e ta combenci cu tabata fout. A palabra cu e maestro cu ora di splica e zonidonan den Hulandes, djis bis'e cu na Papiamento e ta asina y na Hulandes e ta asina. E discusionnan a mengua y como cu e base di lesamento ta solido caba, esaki tabata bay lihe. E parti di analisis y sintesis di palabra duna den klas manera e metodo ta prescribi, tabata fada Inald. Probechando cu ya e ta lesa caba y ta capta e zonidonan basta

lihe, a cuminsa concentra riba su vocabulario y uzo di idioma Hulandes. Nos a haya a pregunta di dje dicon e frasenan ta *ik loop*, pero *hij loopt*. Pues aki por a observa cu e tabata conciente di e idioma cu e ta siñando. Como cu e fase pa siña lesa e idioma a bay lihe, por a concentra riba e comprension mas tanto.

Na januari 2014 Inald a cuminsa cu e metodo *Veilig leren lezen 'zon'*.

Inald tabata traha cu tur dos metodo den klas. E tabata participa den les hunto cu e klas, cu tabata trahando 'maan', y acerca e tabata traha cu e sistema 'zon' ora e caba. El a completa 'zon 4' y 'maan 10' den eerste klas.

E contacto cu idioma Ingles den e medionan di komunikashon y su peliculanan faborito a pone cu a bay over na cuminsa siñ'e lesa Ingles. Loke ta inexplicable ta cu esaki a bay hopi lihe, y cu casi nada di splicacion. Ora e ta duda, e ta puntra y ta dun'e splicacion cortico cu e zonidonan den e idioma ey ta diferente y e pronunciacion ta diferente. Asina, riba su propio iniciativa, el a cuminsa lesa buki nivel 1 na Ingles na mei 2014 (7 aña y 4 luna). Awo e ta na nivel 2. Por a observa te ainda cu e sa puntra con ortografia di e palabranan ta. Un di biahanan tabata cu e tabata hungando un wega di palabra na Ingles y bou di e plachi di un cabrito tabata tin g..t skirbi. El a puntra con ta yama cabrito na Ingles. A bis'e cu ta goat. El a contesta: no por ta cu dos *o* si, pasobra dos *o* na Ingles ta zona [u] manera den f*oo*d di *food court*. Su splicacion pakico e por lesa e textonan na Ingles ta cu e ta corda e zonidonan cu e ta scucha den pelicula y programa, y asina ora e cuminsa lesa, e ta pensa cu asina e palabra mester por zona, y e ta reconoce si e ta bon of no.

Conclusion

Si analisa e sistema di duna enseñansa di lesamento y idioma general na Aruba, por conclui cu e sistema ta faya cu e mucha, pa loke ta specificamente lesamento, por lo menos dos biaha. E prome ta cu e ta siñ'e lesa den un idioma cu no ta su idioma y no ta ni sikiera su di dos idioma. E di dos biaha cu e ta faya cu e mucha ta cu ora ta siñ'e lesa, no a dun'e e base oral prome ni alfabetisacion den e idioma straño ey. Y ta spera di e mucha cu e mester logra un nivel di lesamento den e idioma ey (AVI-nivo) cu e risico cu si e no logr'e, e ta keda sinta (ripiti e aña). Mi lo no sigui elabora, manera hopi a haci prome cu mi y cu lo sigui mescos cu mi, di tur e desbentahanan cu nos sistema di enseñansa tin pa cu idioma ta trece cu ne den e relato aki.

Meta di e relato aki ta pa demostra, a base di experiencia propio, cu alfabetisacion y siñamento di lesa den e idioma materno tin solamente beneficio y sigur lo contribui na mengua hopi problema cu e muchanan di Aruba ta confronta cu ne den enseñansa. E ta forma e fundeshi pa transferi loke e sa caba pa un otro idioma.

Nos ta observa cu facilmente Inald ta keda recuri constantemente na e conocemento cu e tin caba di acoplacion di letra y zonido den Papiamento. Su motivacion pa lesa ta grandi, y e ta lesa den tur tres idioma, un miho cu otro. Sinembargo, como e sistema na scol ta encera duna les clasicalmente, asumiendo cu tur mucha ta riba e mesun ni-

vel, e tabata demotiva den les. Pesey e maestro a scoge pa lag'e sigui cu 'zon'. No ta trata di un mucha excepcional, sino djis di un mucha cu a siña lesa den su idioma materno. E metodo por ta ideal y ta ofrece masha hopi sosten pa mayor y e mucha, incluyendo online, pa un mucha cu tin Hulandes como su idioma materno, pero no pa un mucha den e sistema di enseñansa na Aruba.

Esaki sigur no ta e prome grito pa cu e situacion y sigur un solo ehempel no lo cambi'e. Sinembargo, por sugeri si pa introduci un sistema structura pa siña e muchanan den kleuter cuminsa lesa den nan idioma materno mas tempran. Acerca por desaroya un metodo di lesamento na idioma Papiamento pa scol basico sigur pa e prome dos klasnan. E metodo di Hulandes y Papiamento por bay paralelo. E enfoke no mester ta riba resultado lihe, sino mas bien riba adkiri conocemento basico den e idioma materno cu ta conoci. Esaki lo forma e base primeramente pa transferi conocemento di letra/zonido y habilidad di lesa di idioma materno pa otro idioma, i motiva e mucha pa cu lesamento y aprecio pa e idioma propio.

E proyecto piloto di scol multilingual ta trahando duro pa introduci un sistema di enseñansa cu ta adecua pa nos pais plurilingual. Ta trata di un proyecto piloto cu ta encera tres scol participante, di cual te awo ta mustrando e beneficionan spera cerca e alumnonan, maestronan y satisfaccion cerca e mayornan concerni. Por a observa den e klasnan na e scolnan aki cu e interes ta otro, e participacion na e lesnan ta halto y e muchanan ta papia mas facil y ta hopi activo den les. Pero ainda falta hopi pa yega na e meta final.

Mayornan cu ta conoci cu e situacion y kier haci un diferencia pa cu nan yiunan, por cuminsa for di tempran caba cu alfabetisacion inicial door di inculca e amor pa buki den nan. Un acercamento na Fundacion Bonochi drumi dushi' pa bishita cas pa lesa storia pa e yiunan ta un bon ocasion pa cera e yiunan conoci cu buki. Bishita na biblioteca, cumpra buki pa e mucha tin acceso na nan na cas tur ora, ta accionnan facil cu por haci un diferencia grandi. Por cuminsa siña e yiunan letter y zonido den forma di cera conoci cu buki, den forma di wega tempran, y pocopoco ta bay na lesamento di palabra. No mester tin un preparacion academico pa haci esaki.Ta boluntad ta conta.

Aunke satisfecho cu e resultadonan logra pa cu Inald, sentimento di impotencia y desapunto ta keda latente como cu Inald ta un so di e grupo grandi di mucha, cu tin mes derecho cu ne, cu a haya su derecho y siña lesa den su propio idioma y sobrebibi den un sistema mancaron di siña lesa. Nos a faya y ta keda faya cu nos muchanan di Aruba, tanten cu no bini cambio den e vision y politica pa cu idioma den enseñansa na Aruba.

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CONTENT BASED INSTRUCTION IN ENGLISH CLASSES IN ARUBAN MAVO SCHOOLS

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Background

"Ay no juffrouw…les awe atrobe?.... laf" (Oh no teacher….lessons today again?...boring).

One of the biggest challenges that I have been confronted with over the past years as an English teacher at Central Student Academy (CSA), high school, is the lack of motivation and interest amongst students during grammar classes. Student performance reports concerning *persoonlijke kwaliteiten* (personal student qualities) specifically show, among other factors, that many students come late to class, forget materials at home, complain when starting class or receiving assignments, refuse to participate in class discussions, answer only when told to do so and not spontaneously, would rather be on their cell phones, than participate actively, and rarely take notes (CSA, Leerlingvolgsysteem, 2008-2014).

In the classroom students are often quoted as saying "*Juffrouw, e lesnan ta laf*" (teacher, the lessons are boring) or *"Juffrouw, dicon nos tin cu siña gramatica?"* (Teacher, why do we have to study grammar?) These quotes indicate a lack of interest in studying grammar rules. Furthermore, school reports of the past years show that the exam results for English grammar are consistently lower compared to the exams for listening- and speaking comprehension, with a relatively high percentage of students receiving a failing grade in grammar (CSA, SO Kaart, 2008-2014). The 2012-2013 evaluation report shows that 24% of the students received a failing grade for the grammar exam compared to 6.7% for their listening exam and 14.7% for their speaking exam. Evaluation reports from other high schools also show similar trends (Richardson-Gumbs, 2013).

These comparatively low grammar results of the past years have led me to the conclusion that the way students are being instructed is not optimal. I am inclined to believe that this deficiency is due to the didactic method utilized, as well to the fact that the content used for the grammar lessons and assignments is not sufficiently appealing to students. Informal interviews have indicated that not only the students, but also the teachers are frustrated with the content of their English textbooks, which has negatively

affected their levels of motivation. There is little inspiration to try anything new. These so called 'instruction based lessons' connected to the English methods are entirely focused on grammar rules with little connection to every day experiences. The current method used for English lessons at CSA is called American Headway, which is originally designed for students in the U.S.A; specifically for ESL (English as a second language) learners. Based on my personal inquiries as well as an evaluation done by the *Vakgroep Engels*, the committee of all the (MAVO) high school English teachers on the island, the following may be concluded with regard to American Headway:

- Many of the themes are for the most part not contextualized to the regional situation. The majority of the topics are US topics, which are not linked to Aruba and the Aruban student.
- The method is outdated. It consists only of a book with a CD Rom. There are very few online sources or links to updated online sources.
- The vocabulary is not appealing to our present generation of students and does not correspond to the world they live in. For example the themes that are addressed include topics about Abraham Lincoln, Neil Armstrong, the sun's rays reaching earth, flying over the International Date Line, etc.
- The content of the course book does not go into depth. The topics are being dealt with in a very superficially way.

(Richardson-Gumbs, 2013)

These conclusions corresponded with the findings of a study conducted by the department of language and literature at Urmia University in Iran, evaluating several English L2 course books. Below follows the findings of this study, which consisted of 320 participants:

Figure 1 shows the results of a question about whether the topics and themes in the textbook are related to learner's need and interests. Here it can be seen that American Headway scored lower compared to the other textbooks.

Figure 1

Table-4. Participants' Attitudes Regarding SQ3					
	2. The topics and themes in the textbook are related to learners' needs and interests.				Total
Which textbook?	Agree	Partly agree	Partly disagree	Disagree	
American English File 1	74	11	---	---	85
American Cutting Edge 1	70	5	---	---	75
Interchange 1	65	5	10	---	80
American Headway 1	10	15	---	55	80
Total	221	36	10	55	320

Figure 2 presents the results of the question as to whether the materials in the text book are up-to-date. Here again, American Headway trails the others.

Figure 2

Table-6. Participants' Attitudes Regarding SQ5					
	5. The materials in the book are up-to – date				Total
Which textbook?	Agree	Partly agree	Partly disagree	Disagree	
American English File 1	68	12	5	---	85
American Cutting Edge 1	70	4	---	1	75
Interchange 1	15	14	40	11	80
American Headway 1	10	8	52	10	80
Total	163	38	97	22	320

It is remarkable to see that stakeholders in other parts of the world share the same opinion about American Headway being outdated and not connected to the learner's interests and needs (Alavinia & Siyadat, 2013).

The practical knowledge of the English language on Aruba is quite important in daily life, seeing that Aruba is a multilingual island. More or less 66.3% of the population speaks Papiamento as their mother tongue. The other mother tongues are Spanish, with approximately 12.6%, English with approximately 7.7% and Dutch with approximately 5.8%. Looking specifically at English, we see that it has a high status in society as it is spoken as a foreign language on different levels by the majority of the population. An important reason why English has attained such a high position in society has to do with tourism, which is the island's main source of income. Approximately 80% of the tourists who come to Aruba are from North America. Another reason is the fact that over 90% of the media on the island, whether it be cable TV, internet or radio are English based; specifically from the US (ATA, 2013). Besides this, one should not forget how important a role English has played Aruba's history with regard to the oil industry which brought many English speaking immigrants from the Caribbean to Aruba (CBS, 2010; Alofs & Merkies, 2001).

A possible solution to counter the lack of motivation by students and teachers, and to encourage a positive attitude during English grammar classes is to apply a method that educational researchers call "content based instruction" (CBI). Numerous studies have shown this method to be effective for ESL and EFL (English as foreign language) learners (Peng, 2007). Most studies describe CBI in foreign language education as a methodology in which language is learned in real life texts, examples and real communication situations. The focus is not on learning English but learning through English. The aim of content based instruction is for students to become independent learners of grammar rules and skills such as listening, reading, speaking and writing (Bilash, 2011; Davies, 2003). Further discussion on this method will be given later in this document.

The hypothesis for this study is the following:
Students will be much more motivated to learn English grammar once the present approach is replaced by a Content Based Instruction approach.

Research aims and questions
To gain more insight into areas related to the hypothesis, several research questions were formulated as a point of departure. There is a central research question and several sub questions.

Central research question:
How does content based instruction affect student attitudes towards learning the English language, specifically English grammar?

Sub-questions:
1: How does content based instruction affect student engagement?
2: How does content based instruction affect student performance?
3: How does content based instruction affect teacher satisfaction?
4: What benefits have students received from content based instruction?

With regard to the main concepts highlighted in the research questions, the literature shows that there are several interpretations of what constitutes *student attitudes* towards learning. Gardner sees attitude as related to aspects of motivation for learning a language, with motivation being a combination of effort and desire (Gardner, 1985). Wenden talks about three components of attitude: cognitive, affective and behavioural. McGuire and Van Els speak of the three components being so interrelated to one another that is it almost impossible to distinguish them (McGuire, 1969: 157; Van Els et al., 1984: 116; (Wenden, 1991). Among these different interpretations, I consider Van Els to be the most useful in this study because I also see the three components as inextricably linked. In this regard, for this research I have specifically chosen to focus on attitude itself and on a few related elements, namely*, performance, engagement* and *satisfaction.* These elements not be seen as separate but instead as interchangeable.
Teacher satisfaction has also been specifically researched in this thesis, because the literature suggests that the attitude of the teacher has an enormous impact on the attitude of the student, in a positive way or a negative way. When the teacher is contented with the lessons to be taught, the teacher displays an appealing attitude, which creates a safer and more welcoming environment in the classroom (Al-Tamimi & Shuib, 2009).

This study seeks to evaluate the impact of CBI lessons on the attitudes of the students with regard to English grammar at CSA MAVO level compared to the traditional methods currently in use. With these results I will have a better idea about how to improve

my lessons and become a more effective English teacher. I will then be able to motivate my students to perform better during English grammar classes and more importantly, to let them enjoy the process of learning as I enjoy the process of teaching.

Another aim of the present work is to encourage students to develop a positive attitude toward learning the English language. Studies show that it is important for students to have the right attitude whilst learning a language (Starks & Paltridge, 1996). Positive attitudes towards the language, the culture and people under study influence students' success (Karahan, 2007). The results of this study may be also useful to other colleagues at my school as well as at other schools on the island in teaching English and other subjects.

Content based instruction

Content based instruction (CBI) is a methodology for language instruction that has been in use for over twenty-five years. According to Brinton, Snow & Wesche (2003, [1992]), CBI is 'the concurrent study of language and subject matter, with the form and sequence of language presentation dictated by content material' (p. ix). Studies indicate that CBI has been used increasingly over the last ten years at the primary, secondary and tertiary levels. CBI is described in most studies as a method of language instruction that focuses primarily on the content rather than the form, with lessons organized and engaged around the content or information to be acquired. CBI also uses contextualised examples and everyday real life situations as a basis for improving language comprehension and communication. CBI incorporates the previous experiences and knowledge of the students in the classes. This brings richer knowledge to the classroom and helps students advance from the known to the unknown (Davies, 2003); Spencer & Guillaume, 2006; Kasper, 2009, [1999]; Valeo, 2013).

CBI does not focus much on the language itself, but instead it focuses on communication and information exchange. It is assumed that learners learn best with CBI, because of it provides opportunities for contextualized and meaningful language use, where the primary goal is the acquisition of information. The reasoning behind this assumption is the well known fact that students learn a second language more successfully when the information is interesting and when there is a specific goal attached to the process. Classes are more motivating when the focus is less on the language and more on ideas, issues and opinions. CBI also encourages a positive student attitude towards learning, in order to help learners on a long term basis both to maintain their language skills and develop a variety of learning strategies after they have received classroom instruction (Gardner, 1985). In spite of its content focus, CBI has also been shown to help with global language proficiency and competence in specific language skills such as listening, speaking, reading and writing.

CBI approaches have been mostly used in classrooms where students are learning a foreign language, especially grammar. Many studies on the effectiveness of CBI have been carried out in countries where multiple languages are spoken or where foreigners want to learn a dominant language. Most CBI studies have been conducted in North America and Asia. Perhaps this is related to the financial means of research institutions to carry out these types of studies.

One of the biggest challenges that teachers experience in using CBI is the fact that it is quite difficult to focus on content without losing sight of the grammar. Studies have shown that many teachers have many difficulties maintaining their goals while applying these methods. This often results in interesting and entertaining classes, but little in the way of grammatical instruction. Most studies clearly demonstrate higher levels of student participation in CBI classes, while at the same time showing only limited improvement in the area of grammar. Studies also show that teachers utilizing CBI are often faced with excessive preparation tasks. This is because there are very few CBI textbooks, which leaves teachers no option but to develop their own materials. Most teachers are not trained for this at most teacher training colleges. When developing materials, teachers are also expected to set goals that comply with national standards (Baecher, Farnsworth & Ediger, 2015).

CBI also involves integrating different subject areas and carrying out interdisciplinary projects. This often presents challenges because many teachers find it difficult to combine disciplines in an effective way and/or find it difficult to speak the more than one disciplinary "language" for example, combining the jargon used by specialists in English with that used by specialists in mathematics, etc.(Snow, Met, & Genesee, 1989). These challenges a, CBI remains an effective method to combine content based active

Figure 3

Integrating language & content

Adapted from Snow, Met & Genesse (1989)
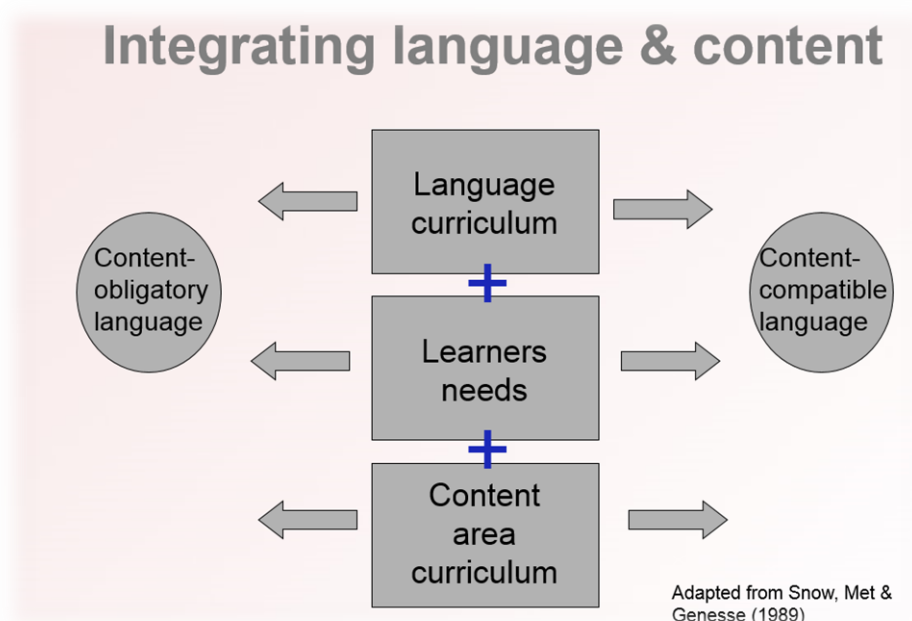
ties with the regular requirements of the ESL curriculum. In figure 3 below one can see the benefits students receive from interdisciplinary projects which integrate language and content: (Wade-Corrales, 2009)

The central blocks in the figure represent the requirements of the language curriculum, students' own particular needs and the curricular requirements of the specific content area of the lesson. When all three components are added together students receive, as the left arrows show, content obligatory language (CO) and, as the right arrows show, content compatible language (CC). CO consists of the obligatory vocabulary, grammatical structures and functional expressions that are directly related to the content that is being discussed at the moment (Bentley, 2010). CC, on the other hand, refers to the vocabulary and grammatical structures that are important for language learning, but are not directly related or obligatory to the content of the given lesson, and which are usually provided to enhance the lessons (Met, 2009).

Figure 4 below contains a table designed by Tara Fortune and Dianne Tedick shows the benefits that students receive from content obligatory language and content compatible language. The left column shows the benefits of CO and the right column shows the benefits of CC. The central column below shows the benefits that both CO as well as CC have in common.

Figure 4

Content-obligatory (CO) language objectives:	Content-compatible (CC) language objectives:
➤ Are necessary to learn the key content concepts for the lesson/unit ➤ Are primary – usually generated first ➤ Are more readily identifiable ➤ Are directly supportive of the "big idea" or "essential understanding" you are teaching ➤ Are essential to complete the lesson's content objectives ➤ Act as the "Meat and potatoes" or "bare bones" language of the lesson ➤ Are required to learn for success with the assessment(s) ➤ May be derived from national, state, and local content standards ➤ Are content- or discipline-specific, more academic in nature ➤ Are "what-oriented"—the "what" being the content	➤ Expand students' language learning beyond more academic forms and functions ➤ Provide an opportunity to sequence language instruction by reviewing previously introduced language and previewing language yet to come [introduce (I) → repeat (Rep) → refine (Ref) → Master (M)] ➤ Provide "extra language" or "filler" to round out students' language development ➤ Complement and supplement the content-obligatory language ➤ Are supportive of teacher-selected lesson activities and learning tasks ➤ May be derived from national, state, and local language standards (e.g., ACTFL, TESOL, etc.) ➤ Are inclusive of more communicative forms and functions ➤ Act as "language enhancements"; "above and beyond" ➤ Are "how-oriented," not as much about the "what" of the content

Content-obligatory *and* content-compatible language objectives:

➤ Address the various components of language, including language structures (grammar), communicative and academic functions, as well as words and word groups or familiar and useful chunks of language
➤ Support language development at the microlevel

(Fortune & Tedick, 2014)

In the case of this study, the theme based model of CBI was selected as the focus, because themed lessons are more appropriate for students in secondary education. Furthermore, the students at CSA share for the most part the same levels of English language proficiency. Therefor there is no need for using the sheltered model or adjunct model because in those models CBI is used for specific students who need extra teaching to be able to participate with the rest of the class. While most of the studies on CBI have been done on bilingual educational systems in places such as Canada and USA, the case of Aruba is somewhat different as more languages are used in the everyday surroundings of the students. This is why the Aruba-specific focus of ABC is relevant. This research should therefore provide interesting insights into an established method used in a new context.

Research methodology

In this study the methodology of Action Research in Education has been used, and the focus has been on a wide variety of evaluative, investigative, and analytical research methods designed to diagnose problems or weaknesses- whether organizational, academic, or instructional- and help educators develop practical solutions to address them quickly and efficiently (Abbott, 2014). A series of theme based CBI lessons were carried out and evaluated during a period of 5 weeks at secondary grade 3 level at CSA MAVO School. A comparative evaluation was also carried out in a parallel class where CBI was not administered. The research was carried out in the second trimester of the school year 2014-2015 in the months of January and February.

CBI was administered in class 3A, which consisted of 27 students, 15 boys and 12 girls. Class 3B continued with the regular program. Class 3B consisted of 26 students, 14 boys and 12 girls. All of the students were in their pre-exam year at CSA MAVO. Their ages varied between fourteen and sixteen. The majority have a Papiamento and or Spanish speaking background and are learning English as a foreign language. However, the students are exposed to the English language outside of the classroom in their daily activities, especially on social media. Using the Common European Framework as a reference, it can be concluded that the majority of the students are on an A2 level.

A total of 11 lessons were given during this period. Each week consisted of 2 or 3 classes of 45 minutes each. The CBI classes were taught by the present researcher. The theme based CBI lessons supported the grammar topic Modal Verbs of unit 4. Modal Verbs are a verb type used for making requests, asking for permission or giving advice. A few examples are verbs such as *should, must, can* and so forth. The same grammar concepts were used for the regular non CBI class (3B). The CBI lessons included contextualized themes focussing on all four main language skills (listening, reading, speaking and writing). These grammar lessons were linked to task-based activities which were adapted to the theme of the season on the island, which was Carnival.

Most of the grammar assignments were taken from the textbook, with adaptations were for the overall themes, headlines, the names of the events. Several evaluations were also carried out throughout the lesson series, e.g. students acted out dialogues and were also tested orally on the grammar. At the end of the lesson series students of both groups received a traditional grammar test and an interactive assignment. The grammar test consisted of several grammar tasks where verbs forms had to be changed for tense. The interactive assignment was an essay writing assignment, where students could share their thoughts and opinions.

The sequence of the CBI lesson series can be found in Figure 5 below:

Figure 5

Lesson 1 Introduction

Lesson 1 was an introductory class for the unit. Students received an explanation of the title of the chapter 'Teenagers and Carnival', as well as an explanation of the targeted grammatical elements. Unlike with the previous chapters of the book, the students received the opportunity to copy the summary of the grammatical explanation from the back of the English grammar book. This was to make themselves acquainted with the grammar, seeing that the traditional grammar explanation was not included in the CBI lesson series.

Lesson 2 Warm-up

Students received assignments where they brainstormed on important facts about teenagers going to carnival in Aruba. A text was read about two Aruban girls sharing their life experiences about carnival. The grammar focus was on: *can, have to* and *be allowed to*.

Lesson 3 & 4 Planning to go to the Grand Parade

Students read a text about two Aruban boys planning to go to the Grand Parade in Oranjestad. Assignments were completed using the grammar topic *should*. Lastly, they completed an interactive assignment on the same grammar topic.

Lesson 5 Signs

In this lesson students learned about several kind of signs: prohibition signs, facility signs, safety signs, admission signs, etc. using the grammar topic *must*. This topic was also discussed in an interactive assignment where students imagined going to Aruba's Carnival Queen Election at the RIU hotel and the signs encountered on their way.

Lesson 6 and 7 Dialogue

In pairs, students wrote dialogues talking about the school's carnival celebration while making rules for this event using *must* and *don't have to*. Students presented their dialogues in front of the class.

Lesson 8 "A World Guide to Good Manners:" How not to behave badly in Aruba and abroad

This text was about the customs associated with different cultures. The text was adapted to also include the customs and cultures of Aruba. Students did exercises based on the text.

Lesson 9 Words for nationalities and customary their celebrations

This vocabulary focused lesson was based on students doing assignments about different nationalities and their customary celebrations.

Lesson 10 Grammar Test

Students received the traditional grammar test for the unit dealing with Modal Verbs.

Lesson 11 Final project: Essay writing

Students wrote essays sharing their opinions on one of the chosen topics concerning Carnival in Aruba and their findings about Carnival during the lesson series.

Several methods were used to collect the data for the research. The methods used were classroom observations, audio evaluations, oral group evaluations, essay evaluations, test results and teacher self-evaluation. PARA (2006), Johnson (2012, [2002]) and McCallister (2014) were used as a frame of reference for the following evaluations:

Classroom evaluations
The teacher observed the students during the research by looking at their body language, attitude and engagement in class, in order to gain a holistic and well-balanced picture of the students' performance. The teacher saw the students very often and had a good understanding of their behaviour paid special attention to the following:

- Interest: Whether or not students protested or complained at the beginning of the classes or when receiving assignments.

- Participation: Whether or not students participated actively by brainstorming on questions, responding to questions, asking questions and completing assignments.
- Preparation: Whether or not students had their materials with them at all appropriate times.
- Engagement: Whether or not students showed signs of boredom, such as yawning, talking with classmates, using cell phones or laying their head on the table.
- Enthusiasm. Whether or not students gave up on assignments out of frustration, because they considered the assignments to be unclear, too difficult, etc.
- Focus: Whether or not student paid attention or in class.
- Attention: Whether or not students made eye and maintained contact with the teacher, tracking the teacher's movements with their eyes.
- Documentation for Future Reference: Whether or not students were taking notes without teacher having to tell them to do so.
- Positive Feedback: Whether or not e the students were reacting positively by laughing, making jokes and giving suggestions.

Audio evaluations

The teacher recorded the classes in order to go back and listen to the recordings. This helped in gaining a better understanding of what actually happened in class. The audio evaluations, using project (2006) framework for behavioural management as a reference, were focused on factors such as:

- Students' silence and attentiveness, especially during the reading of texts or grammar explanations.
- Students' reaction and participation during assignments and discussions.
- Students' voicing of opinion or protest when assignments were given.

Oral evaluations

Toward the end of the lesson series the CBI group was evaluated orally to get a sense of their thoughts on the lessons. The teacher asked questions such as:

Did you enjoy the class?

Was it interesting or boring?

Would you like the other chapters to be changed?

Essay evaluations

The teacher assigned an essay task to the CBI group to assess if students could produce information on their own and were able to provide an evaluation of the lessons. The theme of the essay was carnival season and their evaluation of the lesson series.

Test evaluation

The traditional grammar test for modal verbs was administered to both groups, the CBI group and the regular group. In this test, modal verbs had to be used in the correct tense. The results of the two groups were compared to see if any significant differences emerged.

Teacher self evaluation

The teacher documented the process of teaching with the CBI method by keeping a journal. I specifically monitored my own attitude and whether I found the lessons enjoyable.

Results

Classroom observations

The teacher observed the students during the research period by looking at their body language, attitude and engagement. Some of the results are presented in Figure 6 below:

Figure 6

CBI Group	Regular Group
Students showed interest in the Carnival topic by participating actively and not protesting at the beginning of class. Students had their materials with them at all times. Students participated well by brainstorming on questions, responding to questions, asking questions and completing assignments. Students showed no sign of boredom such as talking with classmates, using cell phones or laying head on table. Students showed no sign of frustration by sighing or giving up on assignments. Students paid attention constantly. There was a lot of eye contact and students tracked teacher's movements with their eyes. Students took notes without teacher having to tell them to do so. Students reacted positively by laughing, making jokes and giving suggestions.	Students participated in class unwillingly, protesting vociferously when told to get their course books. About a quarter of the entire class forgot or left their notebooks at home. Students exerted minimal effort when doing assignments or responding to questions. Students were constantly talking, using their cell phones secretly or day dreaming. Students complained about assignments and did not complete all of them. Students were present in class, but their minds were not focusing on the lessons. Students took no notes, until teacher told them to. Students were very indifferent and dour.

Audio evaluations

Classes were recorded so that an analysis could be made of aspects of the students' participation.

Some of the results are found in Figure 7 below:

Figure 7

CBI Group	Regular Group
Students maintained silence and listened attentively when required, for example during texts readings, grammar explanations, or dialogue presentations. All students gave answers when given the chance. Students made "whoooo" sounds when students' names were mentioned in the texts. Students participated actively and loudly when the do's and don'ts during carnival were being discussed. Students laughed loudly at other students' answers. Students disagreed with "noooooo" sounds when they held an opinion different from that expressed by the teacher or fellow classmates. Students were very noisy during class discussions. When teacher asked them to be quiet, students reacted by saying "the lesson is exciting" Students did their assignments attentively and did not voice any protest.	Students were quiet out of respect. Students made no remarks and participated unenthusiastically. Students participated passively and didn't commence any discussion. Students said nothing that indicated enjoyment of the lessons. Students had no opinions. Class was still, but students were secretly talking. Students voiced their disinterest when given assignments.

Oral Group evaluations

CBI group

The CBI students' feedback was very positive. They expressed simultaneously that they enjoyed the classes and found them interesting. They enjoyed the fact that the chapter was different compared to the other chapters. They also said that they did not know what kind of assignments to expect when they came to class. This created an enthusiasm

within them to come willingly to class. The answer to the last question if they would like for the teacher to contextualize the other chapters as well, was a firm "yes". According to them, classes would be a lot more exciting if they had more lessons with familiar topics or topics that are enjoyable.

Essay evaluations

The CBI students' essay evaluations were very positive. Each student received the opportunity to express their thoughts in writing. Despite the fact that they are students who have difficulties expressing themselves in the English language, they completed their essay successfully within the given time. Their feedback was genuine and it corresponded with their oral feedback. Here again the students stated that the classes were interesting and 'fun,' and requested that the other chapters be modified to include more contextualized topics. They enjoyed the Carnival topic, because it is known to them and therefore is easier for them to relate to. They remarked as well that the assignments were exciting, because they could communicate their opinions with the class and give their feedback on issues that mattered to them.

The essay assignment showed that the students' writing ability had improved in terms of both. Vocabulary and grammar use. Modal verbs were used correctly and were put in the correct tense. Sentences were constructed very well and communication was clear.

Test results

At the end of the lesson series students of both groups took the same grammar test on tense use with modal verbs. The results of the CBI group and the regular group were compared, to see whether any significant differences emerged. In the end, the results were essentially the same for both groups, with the regular group (class 3B) scoring only 0.2 points higher than the CBI group (class 3A), as shown in Figure 8 below:
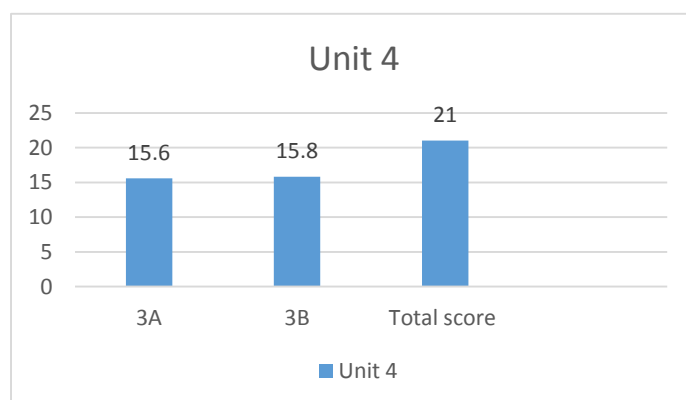
Figure 8

Teacher self-evaluations

Figure 9

CBI Group	Regular Group
The teacher experienced the CBI lessons as very challenging but satisfying.	The teacher experienced the lesson as routine. Not much preparation went into it.
In the beginning the teacher was nervous as the teacher did not know what to expect. As the lessons went on, the confidence of the teacher rose.	The teacher was not intrinsically motivated. The topic was not exiting. The teacher was bored with the lesson material
Preparing the materials with regard to the content was especially time consuming. It was not always easy. Almost everything had to be researched and further developed from scratch. The Modal Verbs also had to be integrated in the content.	Preparation was not challenging. The teacher had taught the same lessons more than seven years in a row.
Preparing the lessons required a certain level of creativity.	The teacher used little creativity in preparing lessons.
Working with CBI generated a positive attitude within the teacher. Teaching became really enjoyable for the teacher.	The teacher was serious and did not laugh To get the students to work the teacher had to be very strict. No room for conversation or spontaneity.

4.2 Discussion of results

Classroom observations
Possible reasons for the high levels of student participation during the lessons in the CBI class when compared to the regular group class could be related the topic that was discussed and the assignments that were given. The topic and assignments were related to the students' direct social environment with relevant examples and real life situations. The students could relate to the Carnival theme because Carnival was actively happening on the island, and particularly at the CSA School. There was a specific example used in class that was taken from the Youth Queen Election involving a student of the CSA. This touched the students on a personal level. The students of the regular group did not relate to the topic in the course book, where no specific theme was dealt with.

This caused them not to have a specific interest in the topic being taught. This finding is supported by the literature, which states that a good foundation for developing language comprehension and communication is provided when meaningful examples and real life situations are presented to the learners. It is also stated in the literature that classes are more motivating when the focus is more on opinions, issues and ideas, rather than only on language. (Kasper, 2009; Valeo, 2013; Spencer & Guillaume, 2006).

Audio evaluations
The results showed that the CBI group was verbally more active compared to the regular group who hardly voiced anything. Probable reasons for this is that assignments administered in the CBI classes call for more participation, where focus on communication is primary, rather than on the grammar. The assignments of the regular group were only course book related assignments. There were hardly any communicative assignments. The content was far removed from their world, resulting in a situation where there was no emotion attached to it, and the students had no personal reason to express themselves orally. It has been shown in the literature that when communication is focused on, students' previous knowledge gets triggered, their drive enhances, and their self-assurance grows, which diminishes fear in the students and motivates them to participate more enthusiastically (Brinton, Snow, & Wesche, 2003). We can also say that this has been the case with my students.

Oral group evaluations
Students expressed high levels of satisfaction with the CBI classes. Students were so satisfied that they asked that the entire course book be changed to CBI format. This shows that CBI influences students to consider the learning process more positively, which stimulates their interest. Another factor that was observed is that CBI improves students' self-confidence. They are more open to express their likes and dislikes. The literature that is mentioned in the above analysis supports these results, it shows that administering CBI helps the students to engage more freely because their fear is lessened by the types of assignments and the relevance of the topic (Snow, Met & Genesee, 1989).

Essay evaluation
Students' fear of writing was practically overcome by CBI. Their interest in writing has grown, so that now writing is experienced joyfully as a chance to express their thoughts instead of just another grammar assignment. It can also be concluded that the self-confidence of students has risen due to the relevance of the topic. Studies have shown that essay assignments encourage deeper learning strategies rather than surface learning strategies. Deep-learning is a method that can be integrated into CBI lessons. It is a highly effective method that offers a fundamental content to students. This is done in

such innovative ways that students first learn the content and then are able to apply it (Education, 2012).

Test results

These results do not indicate any significant differences in the test scores between the CBI group and the regular group, but instead reflects the inadequacy of current tests to measure real learning, rather than mechanical short term memory based reproduction of information. After the test period, students of the CBI group made links with the CBI assignments in order to remember grammar rules. In contrast, the regular group does not have any links to join to the grammar topic and have already forgotten the grammar rules. The CBI group has demonstrated here that they have mastered some deep-learning skills through CBI. Theory shows that students who apply deep learning approaches effectively learn the theoretical and practical components of a course. In contrast, students who apply a surface approach learn by memorizing information in order to reproduce it during a test. The information is usually forgotten after the test has been passed (Biggs, 1987).

Teacher self-evaluation

The teacher invested a lot of time creating assignments and altering the lessons. Although it was a lot of work, the time invested in the lessons was well worth it. The CBI lessons created a positive attitude on the part of the teacher. The teacher received a great feeling of satisfaction especially when seeing the students engaging in the lessons. Moreover, the teacher did not have much motivational work to do, because the theme and the lessons created an intrinsic motivation within the students. The teacher is of the opinion that modifying one chapter was doable, but having to adjust an entire course book seems quite demanding and time consuming. The literature shows that applying CBI often calls for excessive preparation, where one has to be very creative (Baecher, Farnsworth, & Ediger, 2015).

Conclusions and recommendations

At the beginning of the present study I set out to look for possible ways to improve my English grammar classes, seeing that my students were not motivated to study grammar. I began the search and encountered the CBI method, which made me enquire more about it. This motivated my main research question on the effect of CBI on student attitudes towards learning the English language, especially grammar. From the results obtained, it can be concluded that the hypotheses has been proven, with even better results than first expected. The results have demonstrated students' genuine participation and in depth comprehension on all levels. In the one case where the results in both groups (3A and 3B) did not show any significant difference, we see this as being related to the type of test that was given, which measures traditional and ineffective ways of learning. The

results have shown that the CBI group developed many other skills besides mechanical and superficial reproduction of memorized information. They developed writing skills, critical thinking skills, debating skills, application skills and much more. The research was set up to evaluate the effect on student attitudes, but along the way, new and valuable information was gathered, such as the positive effect that CBI had on the teacher's attitude. Applying CBI in the classroom was like experiencing an entire new way of teaching. The classroom became lively, where the students were enthusiastically involved and the teacher was proudly enjoying the students' progress.

Here follows a list of recommendations:
- Teachers should be allotted curriculum development hours to make CBI lesson plans. This is needed seeing that teachers already have a busy work schedule and CBI lessons demand much preparation.
- Schools should implement interdisciplinary projects into their curriculum which incorporate the methods and benefits of CBI.
- CBI workshops should be given in schools. All teachers deserve to know about CBI and its benefits. Then teachers can also apply CBI methods in their classes.
- All chapters of the course book should be modified to CBI. This would ensure that all secondary schools receive the same lessons and that all students progress on the same level. This could be done by group effort, where each school would be in charge of adapting a few of the chapters.

- Existing assignments should be transformed into interactive and or communicative assignments. These help stimulate students to creatively produce in the new language, instead of merely reproducing mechanically.
- When implementing CBI, there should be a balance between content and grammar. Teachers should make sure not to focus too much on the content and forget about the grammar.
- Themes or topics for CBI lessons should be interesting and should be chosen based on students' level. This is very important to take into consideration, otherwise the lessons will not appeal to the learners and the desired aim would not be achieved.
- Teachers should commence lesson preparations in advance. The CBI lessons need a substantial investment of time to produce a good product, that incorporates interesting content, the requirements of the language curriculum and the learners needs ed.
- When implementing CBI teachers should leave room for interaction between the students, whether it be discussions, sharing of opinions or giving advice. Teachers can encourage this by allowing students to speak their mind. Teachers can also use controversial topics that will trigger certain emotions and cause students to express themselves.

- Teachers should always display a positive attitude, in order to create a positive attitude within the students. Teachers can do this by greeting the students when entering the classroom and interacting energetically with the students during the lessons.
- Bringing props to class enhances students' interest and participation. Teachers can create a positive learning ambiance when props and other materials related to the topic are used.

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Transgressing boundaries in language, translation and education

TARGET-AUDIENCE LOCATION AND AGENCY IN TRANSLATION: THE CASE OF CURAÇAOAN PAPIAMENTU[1]

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Introduction and literature review

In the multilingual context of the island-country of Curaçao, some professional Papiamentu translators and non-translators (henceforth translators and non-translators) tend to use English lexical items in their Papiamentu (non)translations. This paper examines whether target-audience location plays a role in determining the extent to which such translators act as agents of lexical transfer. The quantitative aspect of the research develops from a questionnaire sample of 205 (non)translators. The qualitative aspect builds on an open-ended question on the questionnaire, and also on a set of Papiamentu (non)translations (see Appendixes 3 and 4 for examples).

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The research questions are: 1) Does target-audience location play a role in the translators' transfer of English lexical items into their Papiamentu translations? 2) Do translators report more English-to-Papiamentu lexical transfers than do non-translators? and 3) What is the translators' and non-translators' justification for their lexical transfer? These questions are important because although Papiamentu generates lexical items from its historical lexifier languages, mainly Spanish, it also tends to produce new vocabulary from English rather than Dutch. Also, despite the fact that the fastest way to produce needed texts in a creole is to translate existing ones, creole translation tends to be seen as a side-issue in Caribbean societies. Thus, the contributions of creole translation have largely been ignored. But in the case of Curaçao, I suspected that translation plays a vital role in the lexical transfer process of Papiamentu, and hence in the agency of translators.

Research on lexical transfer with respect to Caribbean creoles is rather meager and, although useful, it is for the most part not current. In his seminal paper, Wood (1971) presents a brief linguistic history of the emergence of Papiamentu and then thoroughly

discusses the colonial and postcolonial mercantile activities that played a role in its formation. These activities took place between Curaçao and English-speaking islands as the Napoleonic Wars were raging, thus occasioning the occupation of Curaçao by the Dutch, then the English and then the Dutch again. These events have given rise to many loanwords in Papiamentu.

Wood adds that "[s]uch borrowing is, however, taking place in many parts of the world at the present time and its occurrence in Curaçao and Aruba is of comparatively minor linguistic interest" (1971: 175). That was then. Little did he know that in the decades that were to follow his research, this same occurrence would become a major area of interest not only in Linguistics but also in Translation Studies (see also Wood, 1972; Andersen, 1974).

Appel and Muysken (2006) have discussed the apparent rapid lexical expansion in early colonial era Caribbean Creoles, particularly Sranan, Saramaccan and Papiamentu (cf. Hancock, 1980; Dijkhoff, 1993; Muysken, 2001). Snow (2000) presents a survey of Caribbean Creoles that are in contact with national languages to which they are not lexically related. Spanish and the English-lexifier Bastimentos Creole are in contact on the island of Bastimentos in Panama. This co-existence involves a rather stable diglossic relationship. Thus, Snow (2000) proposes a discrete diglossic model as an interim option for studying language variation on that island and for other stable contact milieux where the official language is not a traditional lexifier of the creole. Similar ideas are also discussed by Agustín Llach (2010) and Serrander (2011).

Kinnunen and Koskinen (2010) explain that in an intuitive way, the concept of agency appears to be an intrinsic part of the professional roles of translators, and therefore to understand these roles, attention must be paid to agency. Kinnunen and Koskinen's expressed objective (p. 6) was to search beyond the sociological contributions of Bourdieu for new perspectives that might enlighten us on the question of agency within Translation Studies. Thus, they formulated a concise definition of agency as the "willingness and ability to act".

In the concept of agency, the aspect of "willingness" "describes a particular internal state and disposition" whose nature is "largely individualistic and psychological" (p. 6). Thus, translational transactions in which the translator's behavior is regarded as morally and ethically conscious, reflective and intentional, are a question of the translator's willingness. The aspect of "ability" is related to "constraints and issues of power(lessness)" and choice as regards the actions of all the actors, irrespective of their social status, in a translational transaction (p. 6). The aspect of "acting" is a question of "exerting an influence in the lifeworld" (see also Poupaud, 2008; Okyayuz Yener, 2010; Haddadian Moghaddam, 2011).

However, many other meaningful definitions of agency have been proposed in Translation Studies. Noting also that Buzelin (2011: 6) points out various paths of the notion of agency, I will present two of these definitions here. Milton and Bandia (2009: 1) see an agent of translation as "any entity (a person, an institution, or even a journal) involved in a process of cultural innovation and exchange". Again, all of these exist in the Papiamentu context. Simeoni (1995: 452) views an agent as "the 'subject', but socialized. To speak of a translating agent, therefore, suggests that the reference is a 'voice', or a pen (more likely a computer today), inextricably linked to networks of other social agents". Again, this definition fits the Papiamentu context. Besides, if each is applicable to one and the same entity while yet somehow different from one another, then each must have a distinct focus (see also Buzelin, 2014).

The focus of Milton and Bandia's (2009: 1) "agent" seems to be open exchange of ideas between cultures; while that of Simeoni (1995) seems to be a socially networked translation medium. The challenge here is to see which of these definitions is suited to my research questions (see also Tymoczko, 1998; Tymoczko, 2010; Boase-Beier, 2006). However, after considering the merits of the definitions herein proposed, I decided to adopt, for the purposes of the present study, Kinnunen and Koskinen's (2010) definition of agency for its brevity and comprehensiveness.

Finally, although these research efforts are insightful and influential, none of them has investigated directly the role of target-audience location in the translator's agency through lexical transfer. Thus, the present study is the first of its kind to investigate this issue, using real data based on questionnaires from (non)translators with various backgrounds and professional training, as well as an analysis of Papiamentu (non)translational texts. It is hoped that this study will shed some light on a few of the much-debated issues around the agency of translators.

Methodology

The present study adopts a mixed-methods approach in a multilevel-model format for two reasons: 1) the data-collection methods consist of a combination of questionnaires, and Papiamentu public-health medical texts. Thus, the research is triangulated and makes for investigation that is richer and more perceptive than research carried out by only a quantitative or qualitative method. 2) The multilevel-model format allows the researcher to investigate concurrently, in one phase and on the same research topic, different levels of analysis that may be either quantitative or qualitative (see Creswell, 2007; Liu, 2011).

The quesionnaire. Self-reported data from (non)translators who agreed to participate in this study on the island were collected through a questionnaire consisting of 51 questions. Apart from questions asking for biographical data, source and target

languages, attitude toward lexical transfer, text types worked on and types of lexical transfer, the respondents were asked to indicate their target-audience locations. The response choices were a) Aruba, b) Bonaire, c) Curaçao, d) Saba, e) Sint Eustatius, f) Sint Maarten, g) the Netherlands and h) "Other". From these, they could make more than one selection. Also, to elicit their reasons for their lexical transfer practice, they were asked: "What factors motivate you to borrow English expressions from the English texts you translate into Papiamentu?" / "What factors motivate you to borrow English expressions into your Papiamentu writing, publishing or editing?" Many of the participants were contacted through the kind and efficient help of the Fundashon pa Planifkashon di Idioma (FPI), and the questionnaire was administered online at www.surveymonkey.com from November 2011 to February 2012. I was able to draw up a list of 125 translators, and another list of 150 non-translators writing in Papiamentu. I assume that these numbers are close to the actual population of translators and writers working in the language. The final sample size was 205 respondents (100 translators and 105 non-translators) all residing and working in Curaçao. The sample was thereafter analyzed statistically.

The (non)translational texts. Although English-to-Papiamentu lexical transfer takes place in all sorts of texts, I limited my investigation to public-health medical texts because I wanted to conduct this aspect of the research on texts to which any Curaçaoan could relate. Hospitals, the *Servisio di Salubridat Publiko* (Public Health Department) and other health-related agencies must constantly keep the public aware of certain health facts. Texts in the form of pamphlets and flyers on public-health medical information have to be at the disposal of the general public. Besides, they are normally written so that the language is simple enough for the general public to be able to read and understand it. Thus, the texts chosen for this study are from hospitals, medical laboratories, doctors' offices, the Ministry of Public Health, the *Departamento Salu Hubenil* (Department of Youth Health Care), health organizations.

Research hypotheses and variables

Hypotheses. The first hypothesis is: Translators report more English-to-Papiamentu lexical transfers for non-Papiamentu-official target-audience locations than do translators who do not service these locations. The second is: Translators report more English-to-Papiamentu lexical transfers than do non-translators when both groups service the same target-audience location. The variables are therefore lexical transfer activity and target-audience location.

Lexical transfer activity by translators and non-translators. The lexical transfer variable refers to the use of any English lexical item in a Papiamentu text for expressing an idea or part thereof, irrespective of whether the item is a quotation of someone's utterance or whether a corresponding Papiamentu expression exists. The variable is dependent, discrete and measured by the self-report assessment from the questionnaire respondents with respect to the frequency of lexical transfers into their (non)translations. Thus, on a 5-point Likert scale, where 5 = always, 4 = frequently, 3 = occasionally, 2 = rarely, 1 = never, the reported frequency can be estimated.

Target-audience location. The target-audience location variable refers to two cases. In one case, Papiamentu and English coexist, but at least the former is official. These Papiamentu-official locations are Aruba, Bonaire and Curaçao (geographically the ABC-Islands). In the other, Papiamentu and English coexist, but the latter and/or Dutch is official. Such non-Papiamentu-official locations are, for example, the continental Netherlands, and the islands of Saba, Sint Eustatius and Sint Maarten (geographically the SSS-Islands). The variable is independent, discrete and, as mentioned earlier, is measured on multi-selectable responses that can be computed with the (non)translators' reported lexical transfer.

The Papiamentu translators and non-translators. For the purposes of the present study, the definitions provided by Parkins Ferrón (2012) are used. Thus, a professional Papiamentu translator is anyone who for payment expresses in written form the ideas of an English source text in Papiamentu, thus creating a Papiamentu translation. A Papiamentu non-translator is anyone who for payment produces (that is, writes, publishes or edits) a text originally in Papiamentu, hence a Papiamentu non-translation. Both the translator and non-translator account for such constraints as culture, context, grammar rules, writing conventions and idiom of the target language and also of the source language of lexical transfer.

It is noteworthy that the set of (non)translators in Curaçao is varied. There are exclusive translators (T) who only translate. The term "exclusive" denotes that they do not engage in non-translational writing. Additionally, there are translators who also write non-translations (writing translators, or wT), writers who also translate (translating writers, tW), those who produce translations just about as much as they produce non-translations (writers/translators, WT), and the non-translators (W) who only produce non-translations. Thus, the distribution of (non)translators can be considered as a spectrum where the exclusive translators are found at one end and the non-translators at the other.

All others (wT, WT, tW) are to be found between these two extremes and are referred to as translators-and-writers (Parkins Ferrón, 2012).

Results

The questionnaire

The results of the inferential statistical tests were computed by SPSS to compare the lexical-transfer activity of the translators and non-translators by target-audience locations. The respondents in the survey were asked to indicate the locations of their target audiences. For the correlation tests, I divided the locations into two groups. The first group comprised the ABC-Islands, which were the Papiamentu-official locations marked with "X" in the data (Table 1). The other group consisted of the non-Papiamentu-official locations marked with "Y". To test the correlation between lexical transfer and non-Papiamentu-official target-audience locations, I conducted several Mann-Whitney U tests at $\alpha = 0.05$. These tests allowed me to see whether there was any difference in the lexical-transfer indexes of the groups of translators and non-translators who serviced the non-Papiamentu-official locations and those who did not.

The first test was done on all the respondents in the sample as a whole. An examination of the findings in Table 1 shows that the results of the Mann Whitney U test revealed a statistically significant difference at $\alpha = 0.05$ ($Z = 12.188$, $p < 0.001$). The correlation coefficient is 0.851, which indicates a very strong positive correlation between the variables. The mean rank of the lexical-transfer indexes of those who serviced the non-Papiamentu-official locations was 60.50 while that of those who did not was 43.00. Thus, examination of the rank averages demonstrates that the (non)translators who serviced the non-Papiamentu-official locations were more inclined to report they used English expressions in their (non)translations, than were those who did not. These results correspond to what I would expect as English is more prevalent in the non-Papiamentu-official locations than in the ABC-Islands.

Table 1 Mann-Whitney U tests comparing the respondents' lexical-transfer tendency in two groups of target-audience locations: non-Papiamentu-official (X) and Papiamentu-official (Y)

Translators and non-translators	Test order	N	Mean rank (X)	Mean rank (Y)	Mean rank difference (X – Y)	Correlation coefficient
All	1st	205	60.50	43.00	17.50	0.851
All translators	2nd	100	34.50	16.50	18.00	0.804
Exclusive translators	3rd	51	15.50	11.00	4.50	0.844
Translators-and-writers	4th	49	19.50	6.00	13.50	0.715
Non-translators	5th	105	26.50	27.00	-0.50	0.862

N = 205. Overall $\alpha = 0.05$ (Bonferroni corrected $\alpha = 0.05/5 = 0.01$). $p < 0.001$

Four other tests were done as indicated in Table 1. The second test was done on all the translators, the third on the exclusive translators, the fourth on the translators-and-writers as translators, and the fifth on the non-translators. An examination of the findings shows that the results reveal a statistically significant difference at $\alpha = 0.05$ with $p < 0.001$ in each case. The correlation coefficient in each of the five tests ranges from 0.715 to 0.862, thus indicating a very strong positive correlation between the lexical-transfer and target-audience-location variables.

For the first four tests, examination of the rank averages demonstrates that the translators who serviced the non-Papiamentu-official locations were more inclined to report lexical transfers in their translations than were the translators who did not service those locations. These results correspond to what I would expect.

However, in the case of the fifth test on the non-translators, the mean rank of the lexical-transfer indexes of those who serviced the non-Papiamentu-official locations is lower (26.50) than that of those who did not (27.00). This suggests that the non-translators who serviced the non-Papiamentu-official locations were less inclined to report lexical transfers in their non-translations, than were those who did not. The results in this last test do not correspond to what I would expect. I had always expected the respondents

(whether or not they were translators) who serviced the non-Papiamentu-official locations, to report more lexical transfers than I had expected of those who did not, particularly since English is more widely used there.

As regards the open-ended motivation question, "variety of expressions / flexibility for clarity" was the factor most reported for making lexical transfers. Among the exclusive translators, 55% reported this as a reason, followed by 23% of the non-translators and 19% of the translators-and-writers. While only 23% of the non-translators reported this as a reason, 47% of the translators did so. Among all the translators, the reason that was least reported was "consumer appeal / marketing" with only 3%. However, this percentage is only for the exclusive translators as none of the translators-and-writers reported this as a reason (see Appendix 2).

The (non)translational texts

Four common types of lexical transfer were identified in the Papiamentu texts and are discussed here according to the methods of translation, especially direct translation, outlined in the seminal work of Vinay and Darbelnet (1958/1995: 85).

Unmodified borrowing. This is the use of lexical items without any morphological modification in Papiamentu texts: for example, "mouthwash", "self-service", "upgrading".

Modified borrowing. This is the use or transcription of a lexical item in the form of a morphological translation: for example, *printernan* for "printers" or *power locknan* for "powerlocks", *playoffnan* for "playoffs", where the suffix *-nan* is a plural marker in Papiamentu.

Morphophonetic translation. This is "a special kind of borrowing whereby a language borrows an expression form of another, but then translates literally each of its elements". The result is a structural parallelism, or "structural calque", "which introduces a new construction into the language" as seen in the following examples: *bulfait* for "bull fight", *gazòil* for "gas oil", *sanpépr* for "sand-paper" and *buldòk* for "bulldog". In this case, the lexical items have undergone a translation that is morphological, phonetic and phonological all at the same time.

Syntactic imitation. In this borrowing, the resulting calque is lexical and "respects the syntactic structure of the TL [target language], whilst introducing a new mode of expression" as in the examples of *no wòri* for "don't worry", and *lebumai*, *lègumai*, and *leumai* for "never mind".

Some of these lexical items given here as examples have in fact been in the language for many decades. Nonetheless, they serve to illustrate various types of English-to-Papiamentu lexical transfer (see also Maduro, 1966; Wood, 1971; FPI, 2009; Parkins Ferrón, 2012: 356).

Discussion

To appreciate the agency of the translators, it is important to keep four things in mind in this discussion: 1) Kinnunen and Koskinen's (2010) definition of agency as the "willingness and ability to act"; 2) Simeoni's (1995: 452) view of an agent as "the 'subject', but socialized […] a 'voice,' or a pen (more likely a computer today), inextricably linked to networks of other social agents"; 3) Simeoni's (1998) carefully formulated hypothesis that the "translatorial competence [of the translator] may be characterized by conformity to a greater extent than is the competence of other agents active in the cultural field" (1998: 7). That is, among all the competent parties in a translation transaction, the translator may be more inclined than any of the others to keep to the accepted and expected way of carrying out the translation task; and 4) Toury's (1995: 267-279) "law of interference", which suggests that the source text interferes in the target text by default. I will examine these ideas in the context of my findings.

As the translators who serviced the non-Papiamentu-official locations reported more lexical transfers than did the translators and non-translators who serviced Papiamentu-official locations, comments by a few of them are worthy of mention. Besides, they are found to support these results. Respondent 197, a female non-translator who is trained in secondary education and works mostly on cultural text types, said, "I use English in my Papiamentu but not because I cannot find a Papiamentu expression." She reported that because she is often around many English-speaking family members from Sint Maarten, "the English expressions just come out automatically. I more easily go between English and Papiamentu than between Papiamentu and Dutch."

Respondent 74, a male translating writer trained in physics, reported that he easily goes between English and Papiamentu because his parents were from Curaçao and Sint Eustatius, and he spent most of his childhood in the latter, where English is mostly spoken, not Papiamentu. Therefore, when he cannot find a suitable Papiamentu expression, he tends to "find one in English rather than take one from Spanish, because I don't speak Spanish well." Understandably, the farther away one goes from the Papiamentu-official target-audience locations, the more likely it is that English will be used more than Papiamentu.

The comment by Respondent 69, a female translating writer who was trained in secondary education, is also worth mentioning. She said that she was inclined to use English expressions when translating a text that had to do with safety and was therefore of a more serious nature if and only if the audience was more likely to know the English term better than the Papiamentu one. However, she added that she "would still include the Papiamentu term. So, I would […] say [...] I borrowed because [the text] WAS safety-related, and the English expression was the better-known expression" (respondent's emphasis).

Respondent 28, a female exclusive translator with formal training as an educator and translator, commented that "finding the right expressions for what I want to say" is what motivates her to use English in her translations. She further commented "[s]ometimes I can find the Papiamentu expressions but if the text is not formal, I will use what people use which may be mostly some English expression. If the text is formal in nature, then I will use a Papiamentu expression, and if I cannot find one, I will consult my colleagues until we come up with one". She admits to being more inclined to use English expressions in her translation the less formal the text is. In other words, the more formal the text is, the less lexical transfer she engages in. This is quite the opposite of the comment by Respondent 38, a male exclusive translator and trained anthropologist. He said that:

> [t]he more technical the text is, the more I am motivated to reach for some foreign expression. If the expression fits better but is Dutch, I use it. If it is English, I use it. I use whatever fits best, in my opinion, for the audience I am translating for. So, the search for what I feel fits the translation best according to the audience is what motivates me to use an English expression in my translations. (Respondent 38)

Thus, the comments show that there are translators who feel that the more "serious" the text is, the more suitable it is to use some English expression in it. Others feel that the more "serious" it is, the less English should appear in it. Clearly, these are opposing but valid views.

The foregoing results and comments suggest that this magnitude of lexical transfer among the translators may be due to the fact that the texts they produce are for audiences who are away beyond the jurisdiction (or sphere of influence) of the Papiamentu language planners such as the FPI. Further, Dutch and/or English, not Papiamentu, are the languages promoted in the non-Papiamentu-official locations, and therefore, the purpose of the translations that the translators produced is not likely to be to promote Papiamentu there. Since my findings show that the translators engaged voluntarily in more lexical transfer in the non-Papiamentu-official locations than they did in Curaçao,

I can say that they have acted as agents of lexical transfer and for the various reasons they expressed. In this case, Kinnunen and Koskinen's (2010) definition of agency as the "willingness and ability to act" is adhered to. But what about Simeoni's (1995)?

My findings suggest that the translators who serviced the locations away from Curaçao are most likely to follow each other in their increased use of English in their translations rather than try not to use any English expressions at all. Further, clients and end-users in those locations are more likely to appreciate the use of English lexical items in their texts than Papiamentu lexical items that are not as common there. This further suggests that a translational transaction for those locations is likely to be such that the translator as an agent of lexical transfer is still "the 'subject', but socialized […] inextricably linked to networks of other social agents", including their clients, end-users and other translators. Each translator will have their own justifiable reason for using lexical transfer in their translations for these locations. If they felt a considerable degree of freedom to engage in lexical transfer in the Curaçaoan context (and the data in Appendixes 1 through 4 attest to this fact), they ought to feel even freer in these distant locations, as their comments above imply. Also, some responses indicate that the translators' use of English expressions often coincided with their client's or end user's requests.

What about Toury's (1995: 267-279) "law of interference"? Does the source text actually interferes in the target text by default? I think this may very well be the case in these non-Papiamentu-official target-audience locations because, whether or not English is an official language there, it may be regarded as more prestigious than Papiamentu. Evidence for this can be found in Dijkhoff, Kouwenberg and Tjon Sie Fat (2006) who observe that despite the fact that, theoretically, the majority language of the ABC is Papiamentu/o and of the SSS is Dutch, in practice the household language with the highest number of speakers on any of the islands is either Papiamentu/o or English. Further, the populations of the SSS-Islands are composed mostly of speakers of English (Central Bureau of Statistics of Aruba, 2000).

Conclusion

This study of Curaçaoan Papiamentu translators as agents of lexical transfer by target-audience location has been insightful. However, it does not claim that target-audience location is the only factor influencing their agency, as others such as text sensitivity, experience and formal training are also found to be associated with lexical transfer (see Parkins Ferrón, 2012).

Quantitatively, the results reveal that target-audience location plays a role in translator agency. Translators who serviced non-Papiamentu-official locations were more inclined to report their English-to-Papiamentu lexical transfer than were: 1) translators who did not service those locations, and 2) non-translators who also did so.

Qualitatively, the most reported concern of the (non)translators is "variety of expression / flexibility for clarity". Lexical transfer born out of such concern often represent a form of agency and not subservience as Simeoni (1995, 1998) might have supposed, and target-audience location is one instance where lexical transfer is often desired and appreciated by translator and target audience alike. Further, in the case of non-Papiamentu official target-audience locations, the promoted language is that of the transferred lexical items (English) rather than that of the translation (Papiamentu), which aligns with Toury's "law of interference" (1995: 267-279).

In the end, it is clear that the professional Curaçaoan Papiamentu translators, at least in this sample, did act as agents of lexical transfer and were moreover willing and able to do so. Thus, by this fact, it is hoped that the present study has at least pointed out the dire need for a better understanding of the role of translators as agents of lexical transfer.

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Appendix 1

Mann-Whitney U tests for comparison of the respondents' lexical-transfer tendency in two groups of target-audience locations: non-Papiamentu-official (X) and Papiamentu-official (Y) – Rank sums, mean lexical transfers and test statistics

Translators and non-translators	Rank sum (X)	Rank sum (Y)	Mean lexical transfer (X)	Mean lexical transfer (Y)	U	Z
All	7,260	3,655	1.82	1.91	10,200	12.188
All translators	2,346	528	1.76	1.81	2,176	8.040
Exclusive translators	465	231	1.96	1.97	630	6.029
Translators-and- writers	741	66	1.61	1.49	418	5.008
Non-translators	1,378	1,431	1.89	1.97	2,756	5.008

N = 205. Overall $\alpha = 0.05$ (Bonferroni corrected $\alpha = 0.05/5 = 0.01$). $p < 0.001$

Appendix 2

Responses to the open-ended question – the respondents' comments on their motivation to engage in English-to-Papiamentu lexical transfer

Respondents reasons for English-to-Papiamentu lexical transfer	Exclusive translators n = 51	Translators-and-writers n = 49	Non-translators n = 105	All translators n = 100	All non-translators n = 105	All respondents N = 205
Variety of expressions / flexibility for clarity	28 (.55)	19 (.39)	24 (.23)	47 (.47)	24 (.23)	71 (.35)
Wider readership / popularity on the Internet	6 (.12)	14 (.29)	27 (.26)	20 (.20)	27 (.26)	47 (.23)
Globalization /Internet technology	6 (.12)	14 (.29)	27 (.26)	20 (.20)	27 (.26)	47 (.23)
Client satisfaction / employment stability	13 (.25)	4 (.08)	3 (.03)	17 (.17)	3 (.03)	20 (.10)
Lack or disuse of specialized terms	6 (.12)	4 (.08)	16 (.15)	10 (.10)	16 (.15)	26 (.13)
The status of Papiamentu as an official language	1 (.02)	3 (.06)	6 (.06)	4 (.04)	6 (.06)	10 (.05)
Consumer appeal / marketing	3 (.06)	0 (.00)	9 (.09)	3 (.03)	9 (.09)	12 (.06)
Nothing	3 (.06)	7 (.14)	15 (.14)	10 (.10)	15 (.14)	25 (.12)

Appendix 3

Public-health medical non-translation text in Papiamentu

Cardio **Check**

Ta organisa un Cardio Check pa Managers kaminda kompanianan ku ta spònser FKnK por manda nan managers pa un chèkmentu liber di un ofisina di dokter òf hospital. Nos ta chek e.o. peso, BMI, sintura, % di Bodyfat, preshon, glukosa, kolesteròl, ECG i un test di kondishon. Nos profeshonal ku ta traha den kuido di salu manera kardiolognan, enfermeronan ku ta hasi i evalua tur e testnan den un knipi di wowo. For di nos Gym ront Kòrsou tin diferente representante ku ta laga sera konosi ku e arte di MOVE i e matrial, aparatonan mas nobo pa bo skohe bo deporte mas miho. Nan tur ta duna konseho i ta bai kas ku tur e resultado.

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Source: *Fundashon Kuida Nos Kurason* (Curaçao Heart Foundation) 2009

Influenza A [H1N1]

General Information, Symptoms and prevention
How do I get infected?
The Influenza A (H1N1) virus has an "<u>airborne</u>" transmission, which means that it exits the body of an infected person while this person is talking but especially when sneezing and coughing.

The virus enters the body of a healthy person through the eyes, the nose and mouth. This will happen when people do not follow hygiene rules when coughing, sneezing or for hand washing.

What happens then?
The GGD will start the necessary investigations once it's established that we are dealing with a probable case of Influenza A (H1N1).

What will happen during this investigation?
You can expect:

- a visit at home (or at the hospital if the patient is hospitalized)
- the <u>public health nurse</u> of the GGD, will ask questions as well as explain things to the patient ad his/her family.
- take the patient's temperature
- take a nose or throat sample in order to perform the necessary laboratory tests.
- the nurse will dispense the necessary medication after approval by your doctor

The <u>public health nurse</u> will follow up on the patient until his/her recuperation.

Stop the spread of germs that make you and others sick!

Source: www.curacao-gov.an (2012)

Influenza A [H1N1]

Informashon general, síntomanan i prevenshon

Kon mi ta pega ku e virùs?

E virùs di grip ta pega via airu òf lokual ekspertonan ta yama "airborne". Esaki kemen ku e virùs ta sali for di e kurpa di un hende malu ora e papia pero prinsipalmente ora e ta nister òf tosa.

E virùs ta drenta kurpa di un hende sano via di wowo, nanishi i boka.

Esaki por sosodé por ehèmpel ora no ta sigui reglanan di higiena di tosa i/òf reglanan di laba man.

Kiko ta pasa e ora ei?

A base di e informashon ku e pashent duna por determiná si ta trata di un kaso posibel di Influènza A (H1N1). Una bes determiná esaki, GGD ta kuminsá ku su trabou di investigashon di e kaso i posibel kontaktonan.

Kiko esaki a enserá?

Esaki ta enserá:
- un bishita na kas (na hospital si e pashènt ta interná).
- Akinan e "public health nurse" esta e zùster/bruder di GGD, lo hasi pregunta i duna splikashon na pashènt i su famia.
- midi e temperatura i
- tuma un muestra pa e tèst di laboratorio.
- Ademas lo entrega e remedi nesesario una bes e dòkter duna su aprobashon.

E public health nurse lo keda vigilá e pashènt su estado di salú te ora ku e bira bon.

Stòp di plama mikrobio ku ta hasi abo y otronan malu!

Source: www.curacao-gov.an (2012)

PAPIAMENTU PORTAL

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with technical assistance from Alexander Kulach[2], Linda Au, and Tanya Kang

Background

The term 'web portal' represents a gate or entryway and has its roots in Internet technology. Initially, web portals were referred to as Internet search and navigation sites that provided a starting point for consumers to explore and access information on the World Wide Web. While these public Internet 'gateways to information' continue to flourish, their capabilities have been enhanced to create a single point of access to in
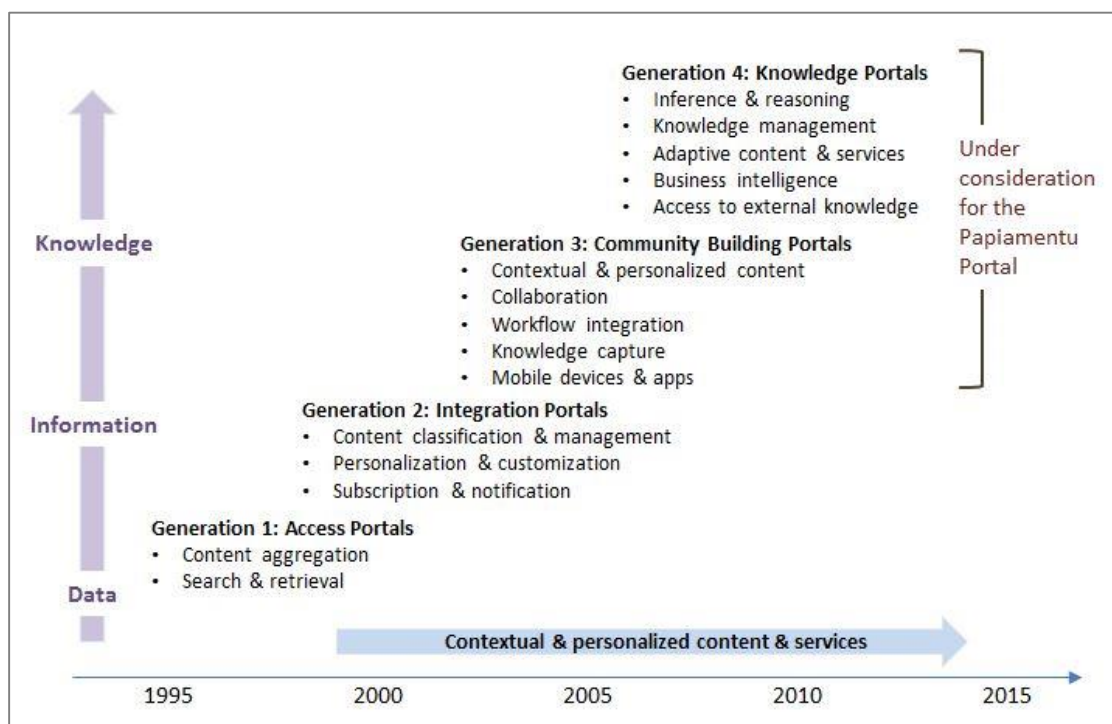
Figure 1. Evolution of web portal services.

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[1] Travel to present this work at the 17th Annual Islands in Between Conference was made possible by a travel grant from the Prins Bernhard Cultuurfonds Caribisch Gebied.

[2] Alexander Kulach is responsible for on-line research related to collaborative capabilities of web portals to facilitate creation and management of dynamic interest groups and interactions among these groups.

Figure 1 presents a summary of common portal services along with a timeline indicating their evolution. It also depicts the services to be incorporated in the Papiamentu Portal. formation stored in various digital repositories, create a library of categorized and personalized content, and provide services to facilitate collaboration and knowledge sharing.

While there are numerous online resources available in the corporate world, the web sites dedicated to learning Papiamentu often offer static information content and relatively modest or poor capabilities to facilitate dynamic interactions among groups of users, such as scholars, students, or the general public.

Project objectives

The primary objective of the project discussed in this article is to develop an online platform dedicated to the Papiamentu language to provide the capabilities to:

- Develop and publish e-learning material in a managed manner and provide contextual and personalized access to the material
- Integrate the e-learning content with other e-learning resources dedicated to the field of linguistics
- Provide collaboration capabilities (e.g., chat rooms, e-conferencing) to form dynamic 'interest groups' and engage users in interactions and collaboration
- Facilitate information and knowledge sharing through the use of context-aware discovery services and knowledge maps, and their application in the practical use of Papiamentu.

The web portal is an integral part of the platform and it is defined as:

> *"A Web infrastructure providing access to, and interaction with, relevant information assets (data, information) and knowledge assets (explicit, implicit and tacit) by select targeted audiences, delivered in a highly contextual and personalized manner."* (Gootzt, 2009)

The key features include a combination of relevant capabilities of portals depicted in Figure 1, specifically: Generation 3: Community Building Portals and Generation 4: Knowledge Portals.

The plan is to develop and deploy these features through the implementation of a few 'building blocks', including a Web Content Management System combined with Knowledge Management tools and the Mashup-oriented web technologies. Table 1 presents the distribution of services among the Portal 'building blocks'.

Table 1. Papiamentu Portal – distribution of services.

Services	Web Content Management	Knowledge Management	Mashups
Content management	·Organization, indexing, creation, publishing, storage, modification and archiving of information content	·Organization, indexing, capture, publishing, storage, modification and archiving of knowledge objects ·Inference and reasoning ·Semantic web	·Integration with external web-based information and knowledge content
Access	·Search Engine Optimization services ·Search and retrieval of information content	·Search and retrieval of knowledge objects ·Inference and reasoning ·Semantic web	·Search and retrieval of information and knowledge objects managed by external systems
Collaboration	·Creation and management of dynamic interest groups ·Scheduling of events ·Blogs, chat rooms, e-conferencing ·Implementation and integration of 3rd party functional modules and services	·Linking knowledge and information objects	·Interactions with external web-based resources ·Integration with external web services and applications
User interface	·Navigation and menu system ·Information content conversion and rendering ·Management of user devices including mobile devices	·Navigation and menu system ·Conversion and rendering of knowledge objects	·Content conversion and rendering
User account management	·Management of user accounts and access privileges ·Management of user profiles		·Interactions
Monitoring and analytics	·Usage monitoring, analysis and reporting ·Dashboard	·Usage monitoring, analysis and reporting	
Content and system protection	·Content backup and recovery ·Intrusion detection and prevention		
System management	·Configuration management ·System monitoring ·Availability management ·User support	·Configuration management ·System monitoring ·Availability management ·User support	

A brief description of the Portal services has been included in the next few sections of the paper.

Web Content Management System

Web Content Management Systems (WCMS) combine processes and technologies to support all phases of digital information published on the web − from authoring and publishing to updating and presentation to archiving and disposal. Most WCMS-based solutions support a broad range of information types, including electronic documents, audio, video, and other multimedia information.

The list of features includes:

- Creation, editing and management of dynamic information content to support organization, approval, publishing, access, maintenance and archiving of the information content
- Site security to protect the content and ensure authorized access to the Portal
- SEO (Search Engine Optimization) tools to make the Portal searchable and accessible on the web
- Chat rooms, e-conferencing and blogging capabilities to engage users and foster collaboration among user groups
- Integration and multisite management capabilities to support integration with external systems
- Web analytics to provide monitoring, analysis and reporting capabilities regarding portal usage for the purpose of improving the functionality and content of the Portal
- Support for mobile devices

All tasks related to content creation, sharing, maintenance and management of information and services are streamlined and automated providing a solid technology platform for contextual and personalized access to the content, collaboration and integration with other digital resources.

The WCMS provides a wide range of built-in tools. Examples include:

- Modules to create and manage content and application functionality, such as content localization (ability to present content in multiple languages) and social collaboration
- Skins to customize the appearance / presentation of the information content and functionality without requiring any specialist knowledge of web languages such as HTML (Hyper Text Markup Language) or development platforms, such as ASP.NET
- Information management tools to support all stages of information lifecycle
- System management tools to install, maintain and manage the Portal in a secure manner

The WCMS is extensible through a large number of third-party applications (e.g., modules, skins) to provide functionality not included in the WCMS core product.

Knowledge Management tools

A Knowledge Management tool contains specialized software components that support processes and practices involved in information aggregation, classification, representation and distribution and building knowledge out of information that can be searched and shared among the users. Cornelius Puschmann wrote about such a tool being used in the linguistic world as an electronic journal as well as a web portal for information research (2008).

In addition to leveraging desirable features of existing web-based linguistic resources, the Papiamentu Portal will also facilitate interactions among groups of users (such as scholars, students, or the general public) and promote knowledge sharing through collaboration and a joint development of content, software services and applications. It is desirable to include written and spoken forms of Papiamentu taking into account the orthography, vocabulary, grammar, syntax and semantics of each variety of Papiamentu.

One example of a Knowledge Tool is taken from the EBSCO host now available at libraries. The Elton B. Stephens Co or EBSCO, is the package of databases and the platform that allows patrons to search through multiple databases, also called federated searching. The primary function is to allow one to search multiple databases for scholarly, peer reviewed articles for papers and research.

There is also a lot of appeal to general interest. There is quite a breadth of magazines available through the Master File Premier database. Though there is no public content allowed, EBSCO works out the agreements with publishers on the content that can be added to their databases. The databases that are included in EBSCO host are packaged to be appropriate and beneficial for different library types: K-12 school libraries, college and university libraries, hospitals, and many other institutions.

Specific role of the Content Administrator for the Papiamentu Portal

At the onset, the role of Content Administrator is to give guidance in this new project with the aim to turn this role over as soon as possible to trusted individuals who will be able to function as co-content administrators. As this project can be administered from anywhere there is Internet, the co-content Administrator could reside in the Netherlands, in Canada or in the ABC islands. It is our intention to train individuals so that this truly will be a Papiamentu venture and that all those interested in Papiamentu will have an added available site where they can hear, read and write in and about Papiamentu.

Functionality and capabilities

One very successful Web Portal is the one initiated by the First Peoples' Cultural Council in British Columbia, Canada. This project is a language teaching and learning project. The First Nations Peoples' Cultural Council developed an Internet and free app-based language-learning avenue to provide First Nations language communities and other learners the tools to document and learn their rich linguistic heritage. This project will provide language learners with training and technical support and equipment and funding to digitize and archive their language online.

FirstVoices is a suite of web-based tools and services designed to support First Nation people engaged in language archiving, language teaching and culture revitalization. Since there are various different languages and writing systems among the First Nations of British Columbia, the language archive contains thousands of text entries in many diverse writing systems that are enhanced with sounds, pictures and videos. For the very young, this project uses picture interfaces to engage young children with the sounds of their languages. This project provides teams with funding to develop additional lesson content and upgrade existing content. Students can also gain access to graduated interactive Web-based vocabulary and conversation building exercises.

Using such a successful Web Portal project as an example, the Papiamentu Portal could function in a similar manner. As a condition of participation, users will be advised that language content must be made publicly accessible via the Internet. Once the minimum content requirements are met, users will be free to create password protected language archives.

Mashup-oriented web technologies

Mashups are hybrid solutions that combine (or 'mash') the existing web-based resources (content, services, applications) and create entirely new applications to achieve specific goals. They provide rapid content integration and deliver enriched results while preserving the characteristics of the original source. The primary characteristics of Mashup-based solutions include combination, aggregation, integration, and visualization of content sources and services. Examples of web-based linguistic applications that can be incorporated in the Papiamentu Portal include speech transcription, recognition and analysis applications, speech diagnostic tools, language translators, language learning tools and social networks. See **Appendix A** for a more complete list of applications along with specific web addresses.

The scope of the project includes the integration of the Papiamentu Portal content and services with selected linguistic web sites and the delivery of their content and services on the portal using open application programming interfaces (open APIs) combined

with web technologies and standards, including EMML (Enterprise Mashup Markup Language) and REST (Representational State Transfer) architectural principles.

Summary

The Papiamentu Portal will provide an online platform dedicated to the Papiamentu language to provide Papiamentu language content, facilitate interactions among groups of users and promote knowledge sharing through collaboration and joint development of content, software services and applications. While we are dedicated to giving our full support to see this project come to fruition, there are numerous challenges associated with the development and on-going operation of the Portal given the scope of the project and the lack of financial support from the ABC islands. Challenges, however, can (and should) be addressed. Any comments and/or advice are welcome.

The one-time costs associated with the development include:

- Costs of hardware and software components required in the development phase
- Design, development and testing services including the information and knowledge content and functionality
- Initial rollout

The on-going costs associated with the operation and management of the Portal include:

- Management of the published information content
- Monitoring or troubleshooting and maintenance of the hardware, software and other network components
- Costs of the telecommunication lines
- 3rd party technical support, (e.g. server, operating system, web platform)
- Expansion of the technical infrastructure, including hardware and software
- Expansion of the content and functionality of the Portal

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Glossary

Term	Description
Content	Information and experiences that provide value for target audiences in specific contexts, which can be expressed through some medium, as speech, writing or many other forms of communication.
Data	Directly observable or directly verifiable facts.
EMML (Enterprise Mashup Markup Language)	An XML markup language for creating enterprise mashups, which are software applications that consume and mash data from a variety of sources, often performing logical or mathematical operations as well as presenting data. Mashed data produced by enterprise mashups are presented in graphical user interfaces as mashlets, widgets, or gadgets. EMML can also be considered a declarative mashup domain-specific language (DSL).
HTML (Hyper Text Markup Language)	A standard markup language used to create web pages. It provides a means to create structured documents by denoting structural semantics for text such as headings, paragraphs, lists, links, quotes and other items. It can embed scripts written in languages such as JavaScript which affect the behavior of HTML web pages.
Hypermedia	An extension of the term hypertext, is a nonlinear medium of information which includes graphics, audio, video, plain text and hyperlinks. This contrasts with the broader term **multimedia**, which may include non-interactive linear presentations as well as hypermedia. It is also related to the field of electronic literature.
Information	Defined as analyzed data – facts that have been organized in order to impart meaning or a message, usually in the form of a document or an audible or visible communication.
Knowledge	Subjective and valuable information that has been validated and that has been organized into a model. Typically it originates from accumulated experiences and it is used to make sense of our world. It incorporates perceptions, beliefs, and values. It often becomes embedded not only in documents or repositories but also in business processes, practices, and norms.

- **Explicit** – knowledge that has been rendered visible (usually through transcription into a document or an audio/visual recording); typically, captured and codified knowledge.

- **Implicit** – information or knowledge that is not set out in tangible form but could be made explicit.

- **Tacit** – refers to knowledge that is difficult to articulate, to put into words or images; typically highly internalized knowledge such as knowing how to do something or recognizing analogous situations. Tacit knowledge resides in the mind of individuals, and is often difficult to describe or gain access to.

  - Tacit knowledge is transformed into explicit knowledge through sharing, recording, storytelling, and conversation, becoming part of the knowledge of the organization, and subsequently becoming available to other individuals to incorporate into their own tacit knowledge.

Mashup	A web page or a web application that combines content (data, information, knowledge), functionality and presentation from two or more online sources to create new services.
Multimedia	Refers to **content** that uses a combination of different content forms including combinations of text, audio, still images, animation, video, or interactivity content forms.
REST (Representational State Transfer)	An architectural style consisting of a coordinated set of architectural constraints applied to components, connectors, and data elements, within a distributed **hypermedia** system. REST ignores the details of component implementation and protocol syntax in order to focus on the roles of components, the constraints upon their interaction with other components, and their interpretation of significant data elements.
Skin	Software designed to control a visual appearance or 'look and feel' of a webpage, a website, an application or a system to meet the needs of a specific user group.
XML (Extensible Markup Language)	A markup language that defines a set of rules for encoding documents in a format that is both human-readable and machine-readable.

Appendix A – Examples of Web-based Linguistic Applications

Examples of web resources designed for linguistic applications include:

- Speech synthesis capabilities to convert written text into spoken language or produce speech from recorded words or phrases stored in a database e.g., www.acapela-group.com
- Speech transcription to convert spoken language into text as offered by Vocapia (www.vocapia.com) or Speechpad (www.speechpad.com)
- Speech recognition to enhance language learning to fine tune pronunciation skills as offered by the Babbel portal (http://uk.babbel.com)
- Speech analysis to capture, visualize and assess speech characteristics for linguistic purposes, such as spectral analysis or intensity analysis (e.g., www.fon.hum.uva.nl/praat)
- References to experts, and diagnostic tools and methods to evaluate speech or voice impairments and identify potential intervention strategies and treatment options e.g., www.asha.org
- Language translators to translate a source language (e.g., English) into a target language (e.g., Papiamentu) e.g., www.donamaro.nl/papiamentu
- Online resources dedicated to publishing information about selected aspects of Papiamentu, such as Papiamentu pronunciation and grammar – see http://papiamentu.pbworks.com/w/page/8963491/FrontPage
- Media resources (e.g., newspapers, radio, TV channels, and social media blogs) dedicated to publishing in or about Papiamentu. Examples include www.extrabon.com/edishon, www.jukaproductions.nl/frames/index-digna.htm, www.telearuba.aw, or http://papiamentu-tur-dia.blogspot.ca as well as Papiamentu video posted on www.youtube.com

MERGING THE ORTHOGRAPHIES OF PAPIAMENTO AND PAPIAMENTU, FROM A CURAÇAO PERSPECTIVE[1]

RONALD SEVERING, UNIVERSITY OF CURACAO

Overview

The aim of this article is to provide an answer as to the question as to how far it would be possible to merge the Papiamento orthography of Aruba on the one hand with the Papiamentu orthography of Curaçao and Bonaire on the other hand into a unified and standardized spelling system. In what follows, I will attempt to provide a possible answer from a Curaçaoan perspective concerning a standardized spelling system.

I will start out with a brief history of Papiamento/u orthography in general and of the Curaçaoan orthography of Papiamentu in particular. Thereafter, I will enumerate a number of criteria for the optimal formulation of spelling systems. Subsequently I explore the reasons for spelling change focusing on whether or not it is advisable to devise a standardized, unified spelling system for the language. Finally, I will present a brief conclusion regarding an eventual merger of the spelling of Aruba with that of Bonaire and Curaçao.

The history of the Curaçao orthography

In 1969 the Curaçaoan linguist Raúl Römer put forward a proposed orthography for Papiamentu, titled "Design of a spelling for Papyamento" (Römer, 1969). His spelling of the word 'Papyamento' already gives us some indication of the direction of Römer's proposal. This proposal met with objections from the various islands. A subsequent committee, which included Mr. Römer as a member, presented an amended version to the Antillean Minister of Education in 1970. This committee was chaired by the renowned Papiamentu scholar Antoine Maduro (Maduro, 1976). Five years later in 1975, an advisory committee, which had been established by the Curaçao government, submitted a revised version of the orthography originally devised by the Maduro-Römer committee. This committee, chaired by the romance scholar Silvio Jonis, was tasked with advising the Commissioner of Education on the pedagogical aspects of the Maduro-Römer orthography.

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The new spelling proposal was unanimously accepted by the Island Council of Curaçao. In a letter of 1976 the Curaçao government announced that it had chosen the Römer-Maduro-Jonis spelling. In 1983, the Commissioner of Education published a booklet, titled *Ortografia di Papiamentu*, with the rules of the official spelling.

Table 1 Spelling proposals for Curaçao, a chronological list

Spelling proposals
1969   Raúl Römer: 'Design for a spelling of Papyamento'
1970   Antoine Maduro: Römer-Maduro, Revised version
1976   Silvio Jonis: version with pedagogical advice: Römer-Maduro-Jonis
1983   Curaçao Government: *Ortografia di Papiamentu*
2009   Fundashon pa Planifikashon di Idioma: *Ortografia i lista di palabra Papiamentu, Buki di Oro* (Orthography and list of Papiamentu Words)

In 1983, the government established Sede di Papiamentu as an agency charged with the design of a textbook, titled *Papiamentu nos idioma* which was published in 1986. At that time Papiamentu was also designated as a subject in primary schools of Curaçao and Bonaire, obviously using the official spelling. This was an important milestone. This meant a revitalization of Papiamentu, which had been starved for official recognition since the beginning of the nineteenth century. At the request of the Antillean Minister of Education the booklet *Ortografia i lista di palabra Papiamentu, Buki di Oro, Kòrsou* (2009) was published by the Fundashon pa Planifikashon di Idioma (Federal Resolution, 2008; Jonis et al., 2009). The book contains a slightly modified

| Curaçao 1983 | Curaçao 2009 | Aruba 2009 |
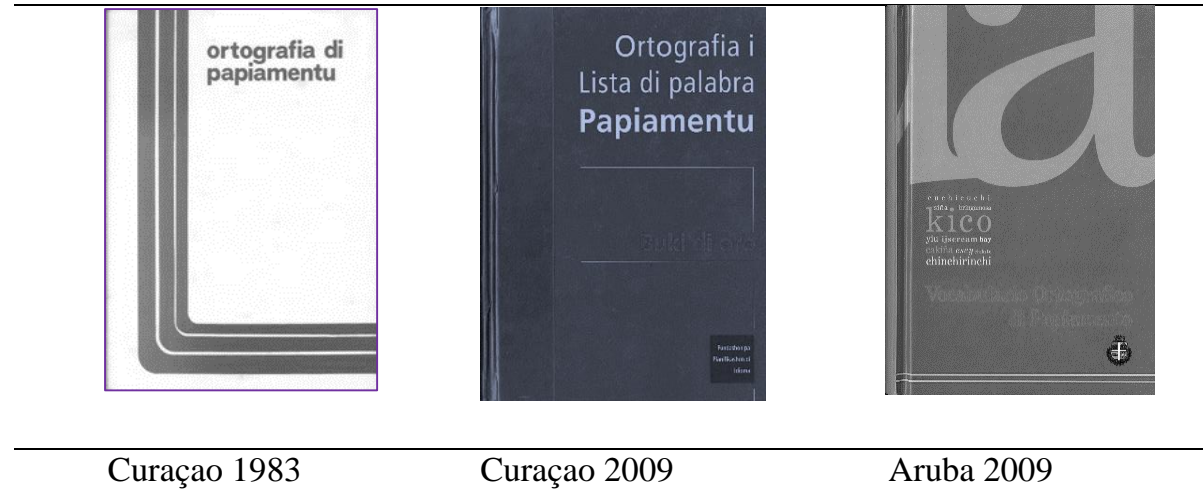
Image 1 Two publications of the Curaçaoan government (1983 and 2009) on the orthography of Papiamentu and one of the Aruban government (2009) for Papiamento

version of the 1976 spelling and a glossary of some 18,000 Papiamentu words. Meanwhile the Aruba government had – also in 2009 – published a similar spelling list: the *Vocabulario Ortografico di Papiamento.* In order to gain a slightly more complete view of these developments, we must go back in time for a moment.

Shortly after arriving in Curaçao in 1824, the Prefect Johannes Niewindt published some booklets in Papiamentu. In 1833, at the request of the Pope, a letter to believers all over the world was printed and distributed in local languages. This first known copy of a printed text by Niewindt was titled *Prefecto Apostolico di Curacao na Cristian di su mision* (1833). The next printed text in the early spelling of Papiamentu was *Catecismo corticu pa uso di catolicanan di Curaçao* (1837).

From the titles of these works, it is apparent that Niewind's spelling follows the orthography of Spanish in such words as: *prefecto, Apostolico, Cristian, Catecismo* and *corticu.* Note the use of the <c> instead of <k>. Something else that strikes the eye is that in the spelling of the oldest Aruban catechism, *Katekismoe,* the letter *k* is used twice. Later this pattern would be reversed, with Curaçao opting for <k> and Aruba for <c>. In later publications during the 19th and early 20th centuries, we come across a variety of spellings for Papiamentu. It should be noted that for Dutch as well, there was no uniform system for spelling in the 19th century despite attempts to devise one[2].

Criteria for an optimal spelling system

What are the criteria for an optimal spelling system? Very often language competence is associated with dictionaries and grammars and an ability to spell faultlessly. Orthography is the way in which spoken language is represented in characters, and mainly has to do with the spelling of words. The point of departure in all spelling systems is that you write what you hear. The speech sounds, abstracted as contrastive units at the level of phonology, are the basis for orthography. This means that the spellings of the Papiamentu of Curaçao and Bonaire, just like in Dutch, are based in principle on sounds. They have a phonological basis.

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[2] In 1863 the spelling system of De Vries and Te Winkel appeared in the Netherlands and Belgium in a work, titled *Fundamentals of the Dutch spelling. Design of the spelling for the upcoming Netherlands Language Dictionary.* Belgium accepted the new spelling almost immediately and as early as 1864 made it compulsory in government and education. In the Netherlands, this was delayed until 1870 for education and 1883 for government documents. The often violent disputes over Dutch orthography that erupted at this time were centered around the simplification of the spelling system. They only ended at last with the acceptance of the Marchant spelling system in 1934 and with the appearance of the first *Green Booklet* on orthography in 1954.

Table 2 Orthographic criteria for the Dutch spelling system

Ortographic criteria for the Dutch spelling system	
Phonological spelling	*lus, streek, ernst*
Morphological spelling	*poszegel* vs. *postzegel; hooft* vs. *hoofd(en)*[3]
Etymological spelling	*mij, mei;* ('me', 'May'); *zij, zei* ('she', 'said') (homophones)
Homophones spelled	*bank* 'bench' and *bank* 'financial instution'
with homographs	*Zij zat op een* bank *voor de* bank. 'She sat on a *bench* in front of the *bank*.'

It is important to realize that what appears in the "Bulky Van Dale" dictionary[4] is largely a written representation of what one hears every day in one's environment (Boon, 2015). It is possible to write a word in Dutch correctly by just jotting down the speech sounds that you hear such as in words as *lus, streek or ernst* ('loop', 'rural area' and 'earnest'). The writing represents the exact way you pronounce these words. Should you want to write such compound words as *kastje* or *postzegel* correctly, you must take into account morphological factors, because *kastje* consists of two morphemes *kast+je* and *postzegel* contains the words *post* 'post' and *zegel* 'stamp'. Should one only go by the pronunciation then one would write *kasje* and *poszegel* (without the *<t>*).

For the spelling of the words *mei* 'May' compared to *mij* 'me' and *lijden* 'suffering' compared to *leiden* 'to lead' one needs to know the meaning of each homophone to spell it correctly. Sometimes there are words that have been adopted into Dutch from other languages along with their foreign spelling, such as *cake* and *steak.* Such words may sound (almost) the same as a Dutch word with another meaning. We may state that, although the basis of spelling in Dutch is based on the phonological principle, there are also other principles that play a part, such as the morphological and the etymological principles.

For centuries, each person wrote Dutch the way that he or she liked, or according to local custom, for example, according to how the language was usually written in the neighboring convent or school. Dutch spelling became somewhat more uniform through

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[3] *Poszegel vs. postzegel;* as a result of an assimilation process the /t/ in *postzegel* is not pronounced in Dutch. In *hooft vs. hoofd(en)* the final voiced consonant /d/ is pronounced as unvoiced [t] under the influence of the unvoiced /f/. In its plural form *(hoofden)* the /d/ remains voiced.

[4] The "Van Dale" is the most prominent and authoritative explanatory dictionary of the Dutch language and it is referred to because of its three major volumes, as the "Bulky Van Dale". The present volumes, which have been published in an illustrated edition, offer some 280,126 keywords. The 2015 edition also provides access to the Van Dale Online, which can also be used on a smartphone or tablet. The dictionary bears the recognition stamp of the Dutch Language Union, which means that it follows the rules and principles of the official spelling of the Dutch Language Union, which is the official orthography endorsed by the government in the Glossary of Dutch language, also called the "Green Booklet". This ensures that the dictionary can be used for monitoring or following the so-called *official orthography*, which has been determined and monitored by the Language Union, which is a treaty organization established jointly by the Netherlands, Flanders and Suriname.

the publication of the *Statenbijbel* (the State Bible), which proved to be an important tool for the cultural unification of the Netherlands.

Why do Latin based spelling systems differ? This is partly due to the fact that the Latin alphabet is limited to 26 letters only, whereas in many languages there can be many more than just 26 contrastive sounds (phonemes). Dutch has about 35 phonemes (Huizinga, 2001: 37). When you are out of letters, you have to think of something else, such as using combinations of Latin letters to represent single sounds or you can create new characters such as ǣ œ and ø.

Table 3. The use of the letter <*a*> in English

In English, <*a*> represents various sounds	
c*a*r	/ɑ/
c*a*t	/æ/
c*a*ll	/ɔ/
c*a*se	/e:/
man*a*ge	/ə/
pl*ea*se	/i:/
c*au*ght	/ɔ/

Table 3 lists some of the sounds that correspond with the letter <*a*> in English. This is an extreme example of inconsistency in a spelling system. In this case we are only talking about the variation in the pronunciation of one letter of the English alphabet. It is obvious that the spelling of English has drifted away from the phonological principle.

A major criterion for an acceptable spelling is learnability (Booij et al., 1979: 89). The more transparent the spelling is, the higher its learnability. This means, then, that the more a spelling conforms to the phonological principle, the easier it will be to learn. There is however a caveat. The learnability factor concerns the novice reader who is still spelling (decoding) while reading. More advanced readers perceive larger units and do not have to decode familiar words any more. Fluent readers increasingly take their cue from the way the word appears at a first glance, as they already have the word engraved in their mind. In this way, people all over the world learn to read English, despite radically inconsistent orthography.

What is the performance record of the Römer-Maduro-Jonis spelling?
How well has the current spelling system of Curaçao actually served its purpose in practice? Evaluative research on how the Römer-Maduro-Jonis spelling is functioning in daily life has been extremely limited. One such study, however, was conducted in the academic stream of secondary education (havo/vwo; Noor & Severing, 2011) in order to find out how students were performing with respect to some 15 categories of spelling difficulties. The students were given a test of 140 multiple choice questions, where they

were asked about the correct spelling of Papiamentu words. The table below shows an overview of the results.

Table 4 Average correct scores for spelling categories among students in the academic stream of secondary school (havo), Noor & Severing (2011)

	Orthographic elements	Score
1	Altered vowel symbols <è>, <ò>, <ù>, <ü>	70.4%
2	Altered consonant symbol <ñ>	90.6%
3	Diphthongs containing <a> (<ai>, <au>, <ua>)	84.0%
4	Words derived from other languages (*safe*, *joya*)	26.4%
5	Consonant symbols <j> and <c>	79.7%
6	Two successive vowel symbols (e.g. *kooperá*)	17.4%
7	Other diphthongs <eu>, <io>, <uo>)	83.2%
8	Diphthongs with modified vowel symbols <ùi>, <òi>, <uè>	61.3%
9	Thriphtongs <iau>, <iou>, <uai>)	57.3%
10	Digraph <gu> for voiced stop sound /g/	77.7%
11	Doubling of consonant symbols (e.g. *pannan*)	32.7%
12	Words with "acute accent" (*karné*, *fió*, *kurú*)	51.7%
13	Words without "acute accent" (*kas*, *lus*, *leu*)	60.8%
14	Syllable divisions (*leim.men.tu*)	66.0%
15	Contractions (*ta'tin*, *dun'é*, *hasié*)	58.5%
	Average	61.2%

With an average score of 61%, the indication is that mastery of Papiamentu spelling can in general be considered to be sufficient among these students. The spelling of altered vowels (*vokal modifiká*) 91% and diphthongs (*diptongo*) 84% seem to have been mastered best by the students, while the most problematic areas were the writing of two successive vowels (*vokal dòbel*) 17%, and double consonants (*konsonante dòbel*) 33%.

Reasons for spelling reform

In the Leeward Islands, Aruba has adopted an orthography where the etymological principle more often takes priority over the phonological principle than is the case in the orthography adopted by Curaçao and Bonaire. Spelling systems can be revised and reformed. In this respect, we may pose the question as to what extent a merger of the two existing spelling systems or the design of a new spelling system for Papiamentu/o desirable? It goes without saying that one common language should optimally have one spelling system. The existence of two spelling systems for the language creates confusion that may have implications for the interface between, for example, education and the written media. There are also unforeseen consequences. For example, Microsoft

Office has not been willing to recognize two separate language regions for the Leeward Islands, and the company has therefore granted only one license for a single spelling checker for Papiamen**u.** For Papiament**o**, users are advised to use the spelling checker for Basque in MS Word.

Modification of an orthography is very seldom appreciated by users, who often show reluctance, lack of interest or outright rejection *vis a vis* spelling reforms. It is difficult to persuade citizens to adopt a spelling to which they are not accustomed. Reformed spellings often erase traces of the etymological origin of words, and new spellings have financial and logistical implications, including, but not limited to the following:

- New student materials: textbooks, workbooks
- New teachers' materials: manuals, educational materials
- New classroom materials: wall charts, games, audiovisual materials
- New reference materials: dictionaries, grammars
- New Spelling Checkers (PC and Mac)

The time period in which children learn to read, varies from country to country. Around the age of six, both hemispheres of the brain have been found to be ready to operate jointly to enable children to learn to read. Experiments which have attempted to teach younger children to read have not been very successful. In the schools on the Leeward Islands where Papiamentu is the language of initial literacy, children learn to read in the language at the age of six. After that they learn to read in Dutch, and eventually learn to read in Spanish and English as well. The children seem able to cope with the four distinct writing systems.

Script is a very important cultural achievement. Illiteracy or poor command of writing, stands in the way of language users becoming responsible citizens who can participate fully in society. Script has acquired a crucial role in today's society. Internationally, the level of development of nations is determined in part, for example, by UNESCO on the basis of their citizens' level of mastery of literacy and numeracy.

Final remarks

In conclusion, it is important to remember that the spelling of Papiamentu has an official status on the Leeward Islands. This applies to both the Papiamen**tu** of Curaçao and Bonaire on the one hand and the Papiament**o** of Aruba on the other hand. For both orthographies, the language corpus has expanded in such a way that a merger of the two spelling systems will not be an obvious and simple matter. The reprinting of currently available texts would involve considerable, if not insurmountable, financial difficulties. Political resistance to merger might be predictable, but its impact is much more difficult to foresee. Although uniting both spelling systems might have its advantages, such a project may be premature, provoking resistance, rather than greater levels of cooperation.

A more reasonable course of action might be to determine if the establishment of a Papiamentu Language Union would be feasible and welcome by all stakeholders. In this case, the three Leeward Islands and, if possible, the large and growing population of Papiamentu speakers in the European Netherlands would need to be consulted and involved. Within such a formal inter-insular framework, such projects as joint electronic database management of the vocabulary of Papiamentu could be initiated. Under such a scenario, the concept of an eventual uniform spelling for Papiamentu will emerge organically and automatically as a point of constructive discussion.

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HET EFFECT VAN VERSPREID AANBOD VAN REKENVAARDIGHEID

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Samenvatting

Verspreid aanbod is een van de meest onderzochte onderwerpen in de cognitieve psychologie. Op verschillende vakgebieden heeft verspreid aanbodgunstige effecten geboekt voor wat betreft retentie van kennis op lange termijn. Omdat het wegzakken van rekenkennis voor grote problemen zorgt, heeft men op de lerarenopleiding op Aruba besloten om de rekenmodule 'Rekenvaardigheid' verspreid aan te bieden. Resultaten uit een eerste analyse toonden aan dat de interventie alleen randsignificant was voor studenten met MBO als vooropleiding. Door de beperkte steekproefgrootte kon men niet met zekerheid zeggen of dit resultaat typerend is voor deze vooropleiding. In een tweede analyse is men gaan kijken naar de invloed van andere factoren, zoals 'score vooropleiding' en 'percentage aanwezigheid'. Dit heeft geen nieuw licht geworpen op het resultaat. Bij het verschil tussen MBO-ers met en zonder interventie kon men wel concluderen dat MBO-ers uit de interventiegroep significant beter hebben gescoord op lange termijn retentie dan MBO-ers uit de controlegroep. Om uit te sluiten dat behaalde resultaten te danken zijn aan meetfouten, werd besloten om nog twee cohorten te onderzoeken.

Aanleiding

In het kader van kwaliteitszorg werd besloten het hele curriculum van het *Instituto Pedagogico Arubano* (IPA) te reviseren. Als enige lerarenopleiding voor basisschoolleerkrachten op Aruba was het niet moeilijk om de 'kwaliteit' van de opleiding te bepalen. De kwaliteitsbeoordelingen voor wat betreft het rekenonderwijs van pasafgestudeerden waren teleurstellend. *Benchmarking* met Nederlandse lerarenopleidingen, onder andere voor de accreditatie van de opleiding, leverde similariteiten op. De belangrijkste overeenkomsten waren: het instroomniveau voor rekenen van eerstejaarsstudenten is vaak te laag; te weinig studenten hebben wiskunde in het examenpakket van de vooropleiding; en er is te weinig onderwijstijd om deficiënties weg te werken (Commissie Meijerink, 2008). Om de kwaliteit van afgestudeerden te bewaken, moeten aspirant-studenten bij het IPA voor de entreetoets rekenen 65% van de punten ha-

len om toegelaten te worden. Het halen van deze minimumnorm blijkt geen garantie te zijn voor het wegwerken van deficiënties. 63%[1] van de studenten slaagt er niet in om de eerste rekenmodule, Rekenvaardigheid, in één keer te halen. Aspiranten bereiden zich voor op de entreetoets, maar 'vergeten' het geleerde blijkbaar al binnen een paar maanden. Deze *Teaching-to-the-test* (Meijer et al., 2006) voorkomt niet dat basale kennis, die nodig is bij het beheersen van verschillende didactische inzichten voor het onderwijzen van rekenen, wegzakt (Meijer et al, 2006; KNAW, 2009).

Een werkvorm waarmee volgens een groot aantal onderzoeken retentie van rekenkennis op lange termijn behaald wordt, is *Spacing* (Figuur 1). In plaats van lessen in blokuren werd het vak Rekenvaardigheid voor een aantal studenten verspreid aangeboden gedurende het eerste blok van het schooljaar 2010-2011.
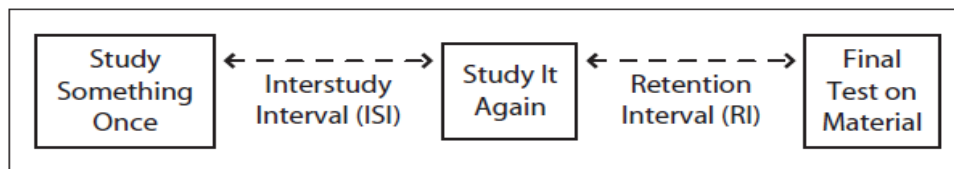
Figuur 1:Basisontwerp voor experiment met verspreid aanbod (Pashler et al, 2007).

Opzet onderzoek

Eerstejaarsstudenten van de lichting 2010-2011 werden verdeeld in twee groepen. Om te zorgen dat ze zo min mogelijk van elkaar verschilden, werden de twee groepen(1A als controlegroep en 1B als interventiegroep) samengesteld door de score van de entreetoetsen rekenen te rangschikken; steeds werden twee studenten met gelijke scores willekeurig toegewezen aan de groepen. Controlegroep (1A) kreeg zeven colleges van 90 minuten, volgens de reguliere blokuren. Interventiegroep 1B kreeg twee keer zoveel bijeenkomsten (14) als 1A maar dan van elk 45 minuten. 1A kreeg in 90 minuten twee keer zoveel stof behandeld als 1B in 45 minuten, waardoor 1B twee keer zoveel bijeenkomsten nodig had om de gehele aan te bieden stof behandeld te krijgen. Aan het eind van de module moesten de deelnemers twee post-testen maken; zo kon men retentie op twee termijnen meenemen in het onderzoek (Pashler et al.,2007; Rohrer & Pashler, 2007; Rohrer & Taylor, 2006).

Interventie:

Spacing berust op het basisontwerp van twee leermomenten, gescheiden door een tijdsinterval (*Interstudy Interval ISI*) en afgesloten na weer een tijdsinterval (*Retention Interval RI*) met een toets (Figuur 1). Aan de hand van dit basisontwerp heeft men gekozen om een module van zeven lesweken, met bijeenkomsten van blokuren van 90

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[1] 101 van de 161 eerstejaarsstudenten in de afgelopen vier cohorten.

minuten te verspreiden over veertien lesweken met bijeenkomsten van 45 minuten. De leerinhoud zou hierdoor evenveel zijn maar over een langere periode verspreid worden.

Tabel 1geeft een overzicht van de beschrijvende statistiek. Om de scores van de studenten met verschillende vooropleiding te kunnen vergelijken, werden oorspronkelijk vier categorieën gemaakt: colloquium doctum (CD), mbo, havo en vwo. In deze cohorten waren er echter geen studenten met vwo als vooropleiding. Naast voorcondities zoals leeftijd, geslacht en de periode tussen laatst genoten opleiding en het IPA (studiekloof), heeft men ook gekeken naar het percentage aanwezigheid bij de interventie.

Tabel 1: Overzicht controle- en interventiegroep op voorcondities

	Controle *(N=18)*				Experiment *(N=18)*				Sig.	
	n	%	Ge-	S.d.	n	%	Gemidd.	S.d.	t(34)	(Twee-
Geslacht									1.448	0.157
Man **0**	1	5.6			4	22.2				
Vrouw **1**	17	94.4			14	77.8				
Leeftijd (jr)			26.44	4.853			27.83	4.541	-0.887	0.382
Vooropleiding										0.840ᵃ
CD **1**	6	33.3			6	33.3				
MBO **2**	7	38.9			6	33.3				
HAVO **3**	5	27.8			6	33.3				
Studiekloof (jr)			5.67	5.573			8.72	5.108	-1.154	0.257
Aanwezigheid (%)			96.03	6.591			91.87	8.128	1.685	0.101

[a]Mann-Whitney Test.

Resultaten:

Gegevens die zijn verkregen van 36 eerstejaarsstudenten werden geanalyseerd met behulp van verschiltoetsen. Tabel 2 is een weergave van de basisanalyse. De t-test bevestigde dat er geen statistisch significant verschil bestaat tussen het gemiddelde van pre-test van de controlegroep en dat van de experimentele groep. Conform de literatuur (Cepeda et al., 2006; Rohrer & Taylor, 2006) zouden de gemiddelde scores van post-test R1 bij beide groepen hoger liggen dan bij de pre-test, maar verwachtte men geen statistisch significant verschil tussen de groepen. Ook dit werd bevestigd: post-test R1 van de controlegroep en dat van de experimentele groep waren niet significant verschillend.

Tabel 2: Verschil in testscores tussen controle- en intervisiegroep

	Controle (N=18)		Experiment			Sig.
	Ge-	S.d.	Ge-	S.d.	t(34)	(Tweezijdig)
Pre-test	7.539	0.8125	7.133	0.7631	1.544	0.132
Post-test R1	8.465	1.3411	8.459	1.0405	0.014	0.989
Post-test R2	7.406	1.6176	8.227	1.3456	1.529	0.137

Waar men wel een verschil verwachtte was bij post-test R2. De scores op lange termijn zouden bij de experimentgroep significant hoger liggen dan bij de controlegroep. Volgens een eerste analyse (Godoy, 2013) was het effect maar randsignificant, wat niet verbazend is omdat een eventueel effect ook moeilijk te traceren is vanwege de beperkte omvang van de onderzoekspopulatie.

Tabel 3: Meervoudige regressie voor Post-test R2

Variabelen	Geschatte coëfficiënten		
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
(Constant)	7.41	11.48	10,38
Dummy Interventie	0.82	0.63	
Leeftijd (jr)		- 0.21	- 0,20
Studiekloof (jr)		0.28	0,29
Vrouw		- 0.51	- 0,40
CD		0.03	0,60
HAVO		0.58	1,60
CD-er met interventie			0,31
MBO-er met interventie			1,62*
Havist met interventie			- 0,50
R²	0.08	0.37	0.45
N	31	31	31

p<0.10

Naar aanleiding van die resultaten werd een tweede t-test uitgevoerd om de Post-test R2 scores van homogene groepen te vergelijken. Er is alleen een significant verschil geconstateerd tussen MBO-ers uit de controlegroep en MBO-ers met interventie. Deze resultaten wijzen erop dat *spacing* wel een effect heeft bij MBO-studenten. Concreet, de resultaten suggereren dat MBO-ers beter scoren op lange termijn wanneer Reken-vaardigheid verspreid aangeboden wordt.

Tabel 4: Verschil in post-test score (R2) tussen homogene controle- en intervisie-groepen.

	Controle (*N=18*)		Experiment			Sig.	
	Gemid	S.d.	Gemid	S.d.	d*f*	-waarde	(Tweezijdig)
CD	8.020	1.479	8.640	1.566	8	0.644	0.538
MBO	6.233	1.350	7.900	1.230	10	2.236	0.049[**]
HAVO	8.200	1.423	8.200	1.470	7	0.000	1.000

*$p<0.10$; **$p<0.05$; ***$p<0.01$*

Conclusie

Een belangrijke kanttekening betreft de steekproefgrootte en de daaruit volgende be-trouwbaarheid van de resultaten. Gezien de beperkte steekproefgrootte is het boven-genoemde gebrek aan significante effecten niet verbazend en hoeft deze studie niet te betekenen dat '*spacing*' nutteloos is voor het wiskunde-onderwijs van het IPA.

Met het aanbrengen van de nodige aanpassingen en met het structureel evalueren van de implementatie zou men over genoeg data kunnen beschikken om met een redelijke zekerheid een uitspraak te kunnen doen over het effect van verspreid aanbod op lange termijn retentie. Mogelijk blijkt 'spacing' dan niet alleen zinvol voor studenten met een mbo-vooropleiding, maar ook voor de overige studenten.

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Transgressing boundaries in literature

SAINT EUSTATIUS WRITERS BREAKING NEW GROUND: A SPECIAL COLLECTION OF ORIGINAL WRITING FROM ST. EUSTATIUS

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EDITED BY MAGUMBO G. MUNTU AND DANNABANG KUWABONG

On May 19th 2015, Mr. Magumbo G. Muntu, a tireless cultural worker for the St. Eustatius Cultural Center and a lover and promoter of Statian art and culture, organized a group of writers and musicians from St. Eustatius to a "Meet & Greet welcome" at the Golden Era hotel for a group of graduate students from the University of Puerto Rico, Río Piedras, and their professors, Dr. Dannabang Kuwabong and Dr. Nicholas Faraclas, who were visiting the island on a field research trip on Statian language and literature. At the meeting, a program was drawn up to hold a writers workshop at the Community Center on the 20th May 2015 which was to be facilitated by Dannabang Kuwabong and Magumbo G. Muntu. The workshop was well attended by over 15 Statian poets, songwriters, and performers, who read from their works in progress, and received critical peer feedback. Following this, the 23rd May, 2015 was set aside for the first ever poetry night at the St. Eustatius Community Center that showcased Statian voices to Statians. This is not to say Statians have been unaware of their writers, but this gathering of notable Statian writers to showcase their work collectively and celebrate each other, was for us a good and promising beginning for Statian literature to be taken much more seriously. The evening was well attended. The work presented included poetry readings, drama skits, music, and some philosophical treatises. Following these very successful evenings, the editors who publish the proceedings of the Annual Eastern Caribbean Island in-between Cultures Conference expressed great interest in publishing some of works of Statian writers in a volume dedicated to the ABC-Islands. This sampling of Statian writing comprises work by Magumbo G. Muntu, Sexy Mona, Juliette George, Misha Spanner, Jules Suarez, and Rhea Courtar. The use of Statian language to deal with Statian issues is heartwarming and adds cultural, socio-environmental, and historical dimensions to their work, while also lending it a tinge of authenticity which sets it apart from the sometimes undifferentiating literary products of the Dutch Caribbean which appear under the rubric of Netherlands Antilles literature.

We begin with Magumbo G. Muntu's satirical representation of "A thief" in which the thief promises to be more vigilant, a subtle warning to Statians to guard well what is theirs. We next move to the representation of wider socio-cultural issues, such as gender and sexual relations in Statia. Magumbo G. Muntu's "Writing poet" and Juliette George's "Chains" reveal the depth of the yearning for full freedom from colonial dependency on Holland on the part of unfree African descended people in the Antilles. There are also poems of upliftment and love in Juliette George's "DON'T LET" and "Home", as well as in Magumbo G. Muntu's "Thinking of you", in which both nostalgia and a desire to reconnect through memory create an atmosphere of tenderness. A perennial issue in African diaspora poetry and social politics is colorism as a direct product of the legacy of enslavement, colonization, and racism. In Juliette George's "Skin" we are confronted by the politics of Afro-phobia and the suggested antidote. Then, in Rhea Courtar's "Caught up" and "Reality check", we find a social realism that questions both individual and national complacency in the collapse of social, cultural, and moral values and traditions so dear to Statians. We then proceed to Sexy Mona's patriotic Calypso poetry which engages the lilted inflections and rhythms of Statian language in "Red, white & blue" and "Jock it up! Jock it up!" One cannot forget the ecclesiastical, philosophical, reflective, and didactic reflections in his essay-poem "Wizard piss; a fine way to get drunk" where he critiques the distorted spirituality advocated and practiced by certain Christian groups, while in "To triumph", Jules Suarez reflects philosophically on the complexities of human existence from an almost deterministic vision, but counters this with a call to Love as the weapon against despair. Finally, Misha Spanner puts forward a social critique of gender and class relationships in "Tom the talking thiefing Ram Cat", a dramatic skit written in a folkloric way that appropriates brilliantly the style often employed in trickster narratives (such as Anansi stories) in Statia and the wider Caribbean.

These few offerings herald the arrival of a new and confident group of writers in St. Eustatius and we hope that scholars of Caribbean literatures and languages, cultures and histories have taken note. At this point we let the writers speak for themselves through their work.

Poems by Magumbo G. Muntu

A thief
Recently this thief in Saint Eustatius announced
He's going to be vigilant
But I wondered in what?
he would be vigilant?
Because in reality

A thief can only be vigilant in stealing
Up to now that's all he has done since he arrived here
Is stealing
Or try to steal from everyone
Even from the hand that feed him
Because that is all he knows
That is what he can do best
As a matter of fact
That's his nature
Stealing
Stealing anything he can get his hands on
As long as it's connected with stealing
Profit and benefit
Stealing is what a thief does
that what makes him a thief
Stealing
Period

Writing poet

I am a poet
And I write
And I write
And I write
Of life in general
About birds and bees and flowers and trees
Nature's paradise
But today the subject is different
It's about liberation
The long awaited freedom
The overdue freedom
That runs like a river water to the sea
but now it's locked inside of me
With one desire
To be free
The freedom that's been so long a coming
It's getting cold. It's growing old
No
The freedom that has been so long a coming
It has gotten cold

It has grown old
The freedom that will free man
From the shackles and chains of bondage
Bound to the rules of man
The foreign man
The stranger
The invader
The Murderer
Who has paralyzed our future
Disillusioned our children's minds

Yes
I'm a poet
And I write
And I write
And I write
Of discrimination
Rejection
Oppression
No

Of Racism
Fascism
Oppression
Depression
Injustice
Crying people
Suffering people
Dying people
We
African people
No
Amerindians
Palestinians
Aborigines
All suffering and oppressed people
Yes
I'm a poet
And I write
And I write
And I write

And you know what
I will
keep on
Writing

Thinking of you
Want to see you today
But you're so far away
I want to see you right now
but I just don't know how
I'm not afraid to let you see
the feelings that's in me
And you're not blind that you can't see
what your love means to me
You know my love is true
Yes you know my love is true
I'm not going to be
a slave in this society
I've looked around and I've seen
it's only killing you and me
I'm not going to be
a slave in this society
I'm going to live my life
As free as I feel it should be
You know my love is true
Yes you know my love is true

Poems by Juliette George

Chains
In and round us
chains of envy, greed, hate, mental slavery and religiosity
Bounded by chains of ideology
Forgetting that each one is entitled to decide his or her own destiny
The tongue, a tool is often used as deadly weaponry,
Spreading lies and discord knowingly, spitefully and willfully,
knowing full well, lies and slander brings about mistrust and hate

While those fighting to make a change looks on helplessly as some just adding more fuel to the fire.
We was taught never fight fire with fire.
He who does that is a fool because there is always two sides to a story, life's golden rule is the
things what you do will surely follow you
What you sow within one self and unto others is what you reap
That is no conspiracy.

Home
Memories of home flashes through my mind
Thinking of the things I did and loved as a child.
I cant help but smile.
It's been a while since I've been home, longing to see my family and friends
Longing for the taste local drinks and cuisines
Longing for dip in the crystal clear sea
Beyond the horizon the sounds of Bèlè, Steel pan, Brass band, Reggae, Zouk, Bachata, Merengue of Bari, Salsa, Cumbia, Shanto, Soca, Tumba, Quimbe beckons me

to my beautiful island, my home in the Caribbean sea
Surrounded by white sand and black beaches
Where the sun light lights up the city
Where the July trees and island flowers blooms and the coconut, mango, guava and palms tress dances in the breeze
Whether sun or rain Whether day or night My island was specially designed to intertwine with ones mind, body, spirit and soul
No matter where ones goes, there is no place like home

DON'T LET
Don't let where small people are fool you
As you screw up your face and roll your eyes
The family they're from, the places they live and circumstances they find themselves in seems it has clouded your mind
Classifying them in thought and in your speech as unproductive, hopeless, crazy and weak
Putting your foot in your mouth before you speak
It is just a matter of time when the tables do turn
Nothing in life ever sets for too long

So to whom it may concern
Remember
Everyone has a struggle
Everyone feels life's burden and it's pain
Everyone has a journey
Everyone has a story
Don't worry it won't be long
When the weak are made strong
When the dark clouds are rolled away
When sorrow will turn into joy
When scarcity turns into sufficiency
The table will turn
It's just a matter of time

Skin
Is it only the color of my skin you see, when you are looking at look at me?
How I am defined?
When you are looking at me?
I am looking at you, looking at me.
What are the thoughts flowing through your mind?

Does my color of my skin defined me as your friend or enemy?
Does it defined me as my brothers and sister keeper
Does the color of my skin class me as having more empathy
More rhythm? More culture
More qualified for a position?
More acceptable More approachable More knowledgeable
Don't let the color of the skin fool you nor define you as being superior or inferior to
no one.
It's what's on the inside is that grows and flows
Exposing the superficial, artificial the fake from the organic and real
Reprogram for mind
A person can accomplish anything regardless to the color of their skin
It's a matter of thought and will
Not skin skin skin

Poems by Rhea Courtar

Caught up
In today's world
We're all caught up
Caught up in everyone's affair
Our neighbor, family, friends
Caught up in no one's beginning
But everyone's ends

Caught up in what we want to be
Not in what we need
Caught up in modern day technology
We're so caught up in pleasing
And satisfying our own needs
Many things we fail to see

Too caught up to realize
Caught up
Caught up
Caught up
Too caught up

Reality check
Can't we open our eyes and see
What has become a reality?
Years ago we knew what to expect
But now we need a reality check.
Things have changed in many ways
In this world we are in today.
There's war on every angle of the earth
Diminishing it of its values and its worth
We're forgetting the meaning of the word respect
Let's open our eyes and get a reality check.

Our youths are taking the lives of each other
Disrespecting, abusing and accusing our mothers
Refusing to get an education
In order to help promote our nation

Sticking knives in our backs and putting guns to our necks
It's obvious we need a reality check.
We treat each other as if they're from Mars
Leaving aches and pains and invisible scars.
Look at what we were to what we we've become.
Take a minute and realize who are the victims.
It's not those who gave orders
But us who used to be the hard laborers
Imagine what could happen next
If we don't get a reality check.

We danced we sang and we cheered
We stuck together and said our prayers.
What has happened, that has turned us into heartless human beings
When we all should be considered kings and queens.
We've fought hard to earn a well-deserved check
Where are we now? Give a reality check.

We're taking everything we fought for
and are actually throwing it out the door.
Are we appreciating how far we've have come? From hard labor or punishment in the
sun? We're merely confirming rumors
That say we are weak, lazy and may even lack a sense of humor.
Do we really want to be seen like that?
I don't think so. It's time for a reality check.

We can be whatever we want to be.
That is reality.
Dedicated, stimulated, motivated we are
Let's not stop now, we've come too far.
Let's inspire each other to become someone
We don't have to be Mandela, Oprah or Malcolm
We can reveal what we have inside
Love, care, faith, and pride
Once we are at the top we don't have to look back
Now is the time for a reality check!!

Calypso poems by Sexy Mona

Brownie!
Nice dog, man I really had
But somebody make me feel so sad
Got me looking out for this dog
But I still ain't seeing Brownie

You see Brownie, I see Brownie
They see Brownie, nobody see Brownie
I look, I look, I look, I looking for Brownie
I look, I look, I look, I looking for Brownie
I look, I look, I look, I looking for Brownie
I look, I look, I look, I looking for Brownie
You see Brownie, I see Brownie
They see Brownie, Nobody see Brownie

Brownie used to run real hard
Sometimes times he even pass my car
And that's what makes me feel so sad
Oh my gosh it really hurt me bad

You see Brownie, I see Brownie
They see Brownie, nobody see Brownie
I look, I look, I look, I looking for Brownie
I look, I look, I look, I looking for Brownie
I look, I look, I look, I looking for Brownie
I look, I look, I look, I looking for Brownie
You see Brownie, I see Brownie
They see Brownie, Nobody see Brownie

Jack where is Brownie?

Still looking for my sweet Brownie
I hope they ain't put him to the ground
Brownie was really nice and round
But still ain't hear a sound

You see Brownie, I see Brownie
They see Brownie, nobody see Brownie

I look, I look, I look, I looking for Brownie
I look, I look, I look, I looking for Brownie
I look, I look, I look, I looking for Brownie
I look, I look, I look, I looking for Brownie
You see Brownie, I see Brownie
They see Brownie, Nobody see Brownie

Jock it up! Jock it up!
This country is moving forward
We got a lot of investors
We got to help our economy
We got the hospital, school and the fishery
But for tourist, what I see
No entertainment can help this country

Help us to live in Harmony
Let us build up a good economy
But we must stop this foolishness
Politician jealously does rule this country
Jock it up! Jock it up!

Promote the tourist industry
Promote the sand and do it nicely
Create job for everyone, you and me even the children
We don't need to universify this land was put here for you and I.

Help us to live in Harmony
Let us build up a good economy
But we must stop this foolishness
Politician jealously does rule this country
Jock it up! Jock it up!

The future of this nice, nice country
Depends solely on people like we
Statia is filled with history
You can check the public Library
They can't keep our big city
With crime, disaster and poverty

Help us to live in Harmony
Let us build up a good economy
But we must stop this foolishness
Politician jealously does rule this country
Jock it up! Jock it up!

Red, white & blue
You can hear people saying Statia
Statia don't have not a thing
Speak the truth, come to the island and see
We don't grudge nobody, for we are living happily
In peace and unity in the arms of our mother country

Three cheers for the red, white and blue
I have had visitors so dare and true
Since I born, this flag 1 always see
Flying proudly over this country

We don't have very much
We are proud to be Dutch
Good relation to other islands
We want "status aparte"
St. Maarten want full independence
And they crying, this how they care
We don't want to live in fear

Three cheers for the red, white and blue
I have had visitors so dare and true
Since I born, this flag I always see
Flying proudly over this country

What a beautiful scene, our flag flying high
Throughout the routes of this country
May the house of Oranje
May it reign forever
For the beautiful St.Eustatius
With a love that is pure and true

Three cheers for the red, white and blue

I have had visitors so dare and true
Since I born, this flag I always see
Flying proudly over this country

Essay-poems and poems by Jules Suares

Wizard piss; a fine way to get drunk

Christians are intrigued by the Devil and the occult without even recognizing the mania and the fanaticism upon which their beliefs are founded.

The same culprit upon whom they blame their woes and the woes of this world never ceases to occupy the deepest core of their souls and they gradually transform themselves to meet this challenge head on even if only by mouth and ritual.

They however lack the vestment, fortitude and knowledge to escape from the evil residue that has gotten encapsulated in their lives.

The cynic view of the Christian is downright laced with violent ramblings and miscommunications of reality.

The mythical over tones of his belief is nothing short of pure saga ever since he pitted himself against the sojourners and magicians of old.

He defied and made a foe of he who may have walked with angels-the lad who may have existed in the company of the mystical dragon-or the host who kept company with some nature spirits.

Because of he – part of the grandiosity of this realm of which our conscious mind is a part was submerged in the Christian's antagonism of powers and events that he could never build upon but which he tore down and stripped of its core values and its unblemished magnificence.

The Christian never improved the miracle but only called many wonders works of the devil.

This same devil of theirs lives within their hearts, souls and minds and sustains them although they forthrightly speak out against some power unseen which in reality lives in them.

They send themselves to the darkest corners of a dark world to which they transmigrate themselves through their rituals and burial practices.

They send all to the slaughter because of their collective madness and the perversion of a concept they bought from others while their faith was in its infancy.

Corrupted they live off of old wives' tales and their ill-fated knowledge of the past to present on their linear oriented ways of life

To triumph

We are never born prepared to overcome the hardships, the anxieties
or the insecurities that we are destined to encounter in this earthly realm.
Still our hearts lead us through the grim shadows that mask our minds…...
grim shadows of uncertainty that may prevent us from attaining any type of liberation
or freedom from the very things seemingly working to enslave us
or keep us bounded since the fall to birth.
Our birth right is not a magnificent thing since we are literally plucked from
our rightful places as part of this celestial expansive realm of existence.
Arriving here is one thing – being able to leave while reversing the process another.
The fate of most humans is certainly hard to prognoses' as we are mostly uncon-
sciously unaware of the trappings of our bio-machines (our bodies) and the limitations
of the season called life.
There is however one known catalyst that permeates this existence and that of which if
we have enough of this residual component can certainly create a new bio-genesis in
the life of conscious humans, thereby brilliantly outshining the gloom and doom that
inevitably keep us locked in the grave or trapped on earth. This catalyst is called:
LOVE

Dramatic skit by Misha Spencer

Tom the talking thiefing Ram Cat

Cast of characters: *Narrator*, *Arabella* (Peppee's wife), *Peppee*, *Jezzibell* (Neighbor), *Tom* (Jezzibell's male cat), *Carol* (Arabella's female cat), *Pastor Shakeup*

Short summary: Tom was a neighborhood alley cat that always seemed to get himself in to too much mischief and confusion. To describe Tom, well he was just not a pretty sight to behold. His appearance was very dirty and un-kept, with a bitten off ear. His day consisted of all sorts of neighborhood cat fights and stealing. His owner Jezzibell and her neighbor Arabella always got into lots of misunderstandings. Jezzibell never admitted that her cat Tom was a neighborhood nuisance. Unfortunately, Tom fell madly in love with Arabella's female cat Carol and, there goes the neighborhood!

Scene 1

Arabella: Come puss puss, up here girl. Carol, my sweetie poo? Not a cat in this neighborhood is as beautiful as you.

Carol: Meow, Meow, Meow.

Arabella: Ahh, that's my girl. I am heading town to buy some cornmeal to make some fungi. Yes girl fish and cornmeal on the menu for today. And I will buy you the best cat food in the supermarket.

Carol: Meow, Meow

Arabella: Carol, my puss Carol? Ahh heck! Man for how I saying it, I sound just like that old dirty talking, thiefing Ram Cat Tom! That bloody cat does make me so mad, when I hear him startup he … Carol? Carol? It sickening! I want to get a good bara-cuda to knock he tail down! Anyway, Carol, my puss puss? I don't want that nasty old mangy cat no way around you my princess!

I warning you for your own, good sweetheart, keep from that old dirty vagabond of a cat Tom! He is no good! He is the neighborhood nuisance and a thief! He thief thief thief and fight fight fight, all day and all night! If you go and get yourself in kittens for him, he aint going to help support them. Remember, I is the one buying you the best cat food in the supermarket. You don't have to catch rat or lizard to eat like those poor neighborhood cats. I does see to it that you eat posh right?

Carol: Meoww, Meowww?

Arabella: Every fight in the neighborhood it is that bloody cat Tom! He starts all the fights. Just a minute "Puss"! You hear there? You hear there? He again out there in some fight.

Tom: RRRRRRRRRRRRRRRRR boyyyyyyyy, yaarrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrr.

Arabella: You lay right down here Puss. You are safe in my house from such violent behaviors. Any ways, I have to run quickly to the supermarket to get a few things to cook. When I get back, I will start cooking dinner. Now you stay right there till I come back, and I know you is a obedient cat.

Carol: Meow, Meowww?

Scene *2*

Narrator: Arabella returns from the supermarket, only to smell a horrible odor coming from her yard. A sign indicating that Tom has been around.

Arabella: Pewwww, I smelling a strong rancid scent. You smell that? You smell that?? I know it that blasted cat Tom was around here. Smell the place! It stinks from how he spray down the place with he cat piss! Nobody can't tell me it aint that mangy old cat! Man that cat gone make me sin my soul! Lord, I hope he aint harassed my poor Carol.

Narrator: Carol lays peacefully licking her paws, in the same area where Arabella had left her.

Carol: Meoww, Meoww

Arabella: Oh thank God you are not harmed by that old Villain Tom. My Smart girl. Oh dear, it is getting a bit late. Let me rush quickly and prepare Peppee's fish and cornmeal, so we both can be on time for church tonight.

Narrator: Peppee arrives home a bit later than expected, so instead of eating, he rushes quickly to get ready for church. He decides that when he returns home later, he can sit back, relax and eat his favorite dinner of fish and cornmeal.

Peppee: Arabella, I put the fish and cornmeal in the oven, so that thiefing cat Tom won't find it. Man, I plan to knock in that fish when we get back home from church.

Scene 3

Narrator: Peppee and Arabella leave for church. When they arrive Pastor Shakeup is preaching a wonderful sermon. While Pastor Shakeup begins his sermon, Peppee's mind drifts off and he falls into a deep sleep. After a while he begins to have a strange and annoying dream. This causes Peppee to shout out in church, causing a big commotion.

Peppee: Hey leave it! Hey you thiefing cat you! He gone with my fish! That blasted cat thief my fish! Come back here!

Pastor Shakeup: Brother? Brother Peppee? Is everything alright? Someone check on the brother please.

Peppee: The blasted cat just thief my fish and he jump through the window!

Pastor Shakeup: Have Mercy Lord!

Narrator: When Peppee realizes that he is actually still in church, he looks around in horror. He is so embarrassed of the ordeal he has caused in church, that he barely realizes that his wife is not sitting next to him. He turns around and glimpses her sneaking out the church door with her hand bag and hymn book clutched under her arm. He picks his chance and sneaks out of the church as well. When they both arrive home, they cannot believe the mess that is laying all around their kitchen. Peppee's eyes hit on the open oven door, where he had his fish and cornmeal secured. Yes, it is all gone.

Scene 4

Arabella: Lord, have mercy on me! Give me faith tonight!

Peppee: A hungry man is a angry man! Don't tell me that bloody thiefing cat thief my fish. I can't believe a meager cat like that got so much strength to open a oven door to thief.

Arabella: Peppee, you were dreaming the truth! That cat really thief your fish.

Peppee: Arabella you bring me that catapult and the broomstick! Because, I know I will catch that cat tonight! He will be cat soup when I am through with him tonight!

Narrator: That night Peppee camps out all night in his rocking chair, waiting on Tom the cat to show up. Unfortunately, Peppee falls asleep. Tom sneaks outside by the open window, and begins calling Carol. Unfortunately, he is not expecting to meet face to face with Arabella.

Tom: Carol? Carol? Arrhh love yo? Arrhh love yo? Carol? Meow?

Narrator: Arabella jumps out of nowhere swinging a broom. She catches Tom a lick right on his back.

Arabella: Carol? Carol nuh? You dirty thiefing vagabond! Take that! I catch you backside now. Talk now! Talk!

Tom: Aww, Awww? Awww?

Narrator: Tom jumps on Peppee, who is still fast asleep, and manages to escape through the open window and vanishes in thin air. When Peppee wakes up, Arabella tells him how she caught Tom and gave him a good broom whipping. Peppee is ashamed that he was in a deep sleep when all the drama took place. The next day Arabella goes over to her neighbor Jezzibell's home to make a complaint about her cat Tom.

Scene 5

Arabella: Jezzibell, Jezzibell!

Jezzibell: Yesss?

Arabella: Good morning, I come to make a complaint about that bloody thiefing cat of yours Tom! I disgust! You have to do something about that thiefing, mangy cat of yours. That cat is a nuisance. Even my poor husband Peppee ended up dreaming about your cat Tom in church. You have to do something about that cat!

Jezzibell: Don't call my cat a thief! He gets food. I does feed him every day.

Arabella: Woman, your cat comes in my house and thief all the time. He thief our fish from the oven last night, he piss up my yard and furniture all the time. My yard smelling bad!

Jezzibell: Arabella don't talk sardines to me! You really hate my poor cat.

Arabella: He harassed my poor cat Carol all day and all night! The wicked cat can talk too. He fresh!

Jezzibell: Hahahahah, woman you sick! Now you lying so much on my poor Tom, that now you saying my cat can talk? Hahhahai, ha hahah.

Arabella: Woman, I hear the cat say Carol? Carol? I love you, I love you? I aint stupid!

Jezzibell: Arabella, Tom is a Ram Cat! Your cat is the one that is harassing my poor Tom. Furthermore, get from around here with your craziness!

Arabella: OK Jezzibell, you certain a piece of barracuda will settle this once and for all.

Scene 6

Narrator: The next day Arabella calls Carol to feed her, but cannot find her anywhere. She becomes very worried. She asks all around the neighborhood, if anyone has seen her "dear cat Carol". Unfortunately, no one seems to have seen poor Carol. One morning, Arabella is sitting on the porch, when to her surprise she sees Carol sneaking behind the old shed in the yard. Arabella sneaks quietly behind the cat. She hears strange sounds coming from the corner in the old shed. Arabella goes to investigate, and to

her surprise she sees 5 playful kittens in the corner. Arabella gasps in shock. Yes, Carol has become a mother.

Arabella: Carol? Oh no not my poor Carol. This can't be true! Oh Carol, how can this happen to my poor Carol. Take me Lord! See what I was warning you about Carol? Lord, now you stuck with 5 kittens to feed. I hope they aint for that old no good Tom! Because Cats like him don't have good intentions. He will be free to go around thiefing, ramming and causing trouble.

Carol: Meoww! Meowwwww?

Narrator: Arabella goes in to inspect the kittens, and to her horror she discovers the ugliest, mangiest, bitten off ear kitten that she has ever seen. It looks just like Tom the talking thiefing Ram Cat! Poor Arabella immediately faints.

The End

TRANSIENT ("*PASSANTEN*") LITERATURE ON CURAÇAO: A COMPARISON OF TWO DUTCH LANGUAGE NOVELS

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On October 10 in the year 2010, the Netherlands Antilles broke up (it had consisted from 1845 to 1986 of 6 islands, and from that year because of the separate status or *'Status Aparte'* of Aruba, the Netherlands Antilles continued, consisting of 5 islands) and Curaçao acquired its autonomous status within the Dutch Kingdom. From that moment on it became politically correct to speak of Curaçao literature. Logically Curaçao literature cannot be considered to be separate from the Netherlands Antilles multilingual (and multicultural) tradition that has co-existed with literature in Dutch, Papiamento, English and Spanish in Curaçao and which has been the basis for the formulation of various literary theories.

In order to be able to demarcate Netherlands Antillean literature, and also implicitly Curaçao literature, the point of departure was originally the biographical criterion, for which the birthplace of the writer served as the main point of reference for classification. If a writer was born in Curaçao, then his/her work was considered to belong to Curaçao literature. But what about writers who were born indeed on one of the islands of the former Netherlands Antilles, but who only stayed there briefly, and who had chosen a different country of residence and who then produced works of literature, whether or not they deployed one of the islands as a their theme or scene of action? Or what about writers who were not born in this area, but settled there at a given moment, stayed for a long time, sometimes until they died, and who then produced works of literature, whether or not they deployed one of the islands as their theme or scene of action?

In order to be able to classify the literature of the islands and to analyze it, the literature textbook *Kadans* (Severing et al., 2006: 11-12), puts forward a biographical continuum which takes the author as its point of departure, in its simplest form: author → text → reader. That continuum does not make the birthplace of the writer the exclusive determining factor for the classification of their work, but also the duration of their stay in their place of birth.

In addition to the author criterion, however, there are also the text criterion and the reader criterion for classification and analysis. In terms of the text criterion, we may ask such questions as to what extent the "text and contents are Caribbean" (Severing et al., 2006: 11-12) and to what extent is it possible to classify and fit the literary work into the periods of Caribbean literary movements (pp. 11-12). In terms of the the reader criterion, we may ask such questions as to what extent the texts are written for a local Antillean reading public or for a non-local 'audience'. In this respect, we may ask questions concerning whether these literary works were published locally or by publishing firms abroad and whether they include explanatory glossaries of local terms.

Two transient writers or *"passant-auteurs"*

This article focuses on two novels in Dutch by two different writers, who through a temporary and defined period of stay in the Antilles as a transient got familiar with "the area by their own observation" (Van Kempen & Rutgers, 2005), without settling there permanently. The works of these writers are classified under transient literature, which has produced a series of new works in the 21st century, particularly in Dutch (Bérénos, 2011).

Here we concern ourselves with the novella *Mijn broer de neger* ([*My black brother*], 2014) by Maria Aker, and the novel *Overzee* ([*Overseas*], 2015) by Marlies Brenters. Although both stories are party situated in the Netherlands, the island of Curaçao is the predominant setting. It is interesting to see how these writers depict the island and its inhabitants. What images do the authors evoke about the Curaçaoan people, about Curaçao itself, and about local customs and traditions? Is there a tendency to be detected in the works which is in line with earlier novels in Dutch, belonging to the transient literature genre? Do the images fit into a tradition as described and identified by Wim Rutgers in connection with the Dutch Caribbean literature of the twentieth century, or are new trends are to be found in the two works (Rutgers, 2007: 309-455)?

Often, as Rutgers says, the Dutch transient author depicts the island through the eyes of a Dutch leading character, who, when visiting the island, describes it from his or her perspective. The images include that of the black servant, hovering as "a shadow in the background", or the man-devouring dashingly beautiful "passionate mulatto girl" (Rutgers, 2007: 396). Rutgers elaborates further:

> Descriptions are often in cliché form, in the case of black people their
> color is often stated explicitly when it is not functionally necessary to
> do so, their physical appearance is sometimes compared to that of an-
> imals (cat-like suppleness, moving about as a predator, fingers as claws

and so on), all black people are fantastic dancers, and when dancing always smile flashing their pearly white teeth, and older black people seem to know no higher ideal than to display their servility towards white men and women. The rich colored man is cunningly calculating and is obsessively bothered by an inferiority complex towards the – in his perception – still superior whites. The Pandora's box of clichés is wide open. (Rutgers, 2007: 454)

In his study (2007) Rutgers brings up a number of other clichés, such as the repeated mention of the popular belief in the supernatural powers of *brua* in the novels and the adulterous behavior of some characters, under the influence of the tropical heat, of course.

In this article, the contents of each of the two works is briefly described. In this process attention is paid to the characterization of the main characters and the description the setting i.e., of the environment in which they move. The characters who play a supporting role are only given some attention whenever they are important for the creation of an image. Then the main images as evoked by the writers are juxtaposed, in order to help answer the question as to whether there are commonalities among them and as to whether these commonalities correspond to the features identified in Rutgers' study.

Mijn broer de neger [My black brother]
Over the course of the 13 chapters in *Mijn broer de neger*, a passionate love affair unfolds (but ultimately comes to nothing) between the two main characters: the married Oscar Juliana from Curaçao, who is the father of two children and who works in construction in the Netherlands and the Dutch schoolteacher, Iris van Galen. When the relationship comes to an end, Iris pays a visit to Curaçao on the invitation of her friend Marieke, who coincidentally lives on the island. Through a miraculous twist of fate over the course of her visit, Iris becomes an acquaintance of both Alicia Juliana, Oscar's mother and his sister Yolande. During a meeting with Yolande, the sentence is uttered which becomes the title of the novel.

This title immediately reminds any local reader who is familiar with Dutch language Antillean literature, of the famous novella *Mijn zuster de negerin* [*My black sister*] (1934) by Colá Debrot (1902-1981). This association is confirmed to the reader by the author herself in the preface to the novella. The question arises, however, as to whether the essence of the novella of Bonaire born Colá Debrot is reflected in that of Aker. Experts who have studied Curaçao literature will wonder whether there is any case of intertextuality to be found here. In the text of *Mijn broer de neger* there

seldom appears any subtle reference to Debrot's novella, apart from the brief appearance of a character with a supporting role, the dark, helpful man called Wantsjo, who is not important to the development of Aker's novella. Do we find here a nod to the Wantsjo character in the Debrot novella, who by his intervention – preventing the main character Frits Ruprecht, from falling into the arms of his half-sister Mary – gives a different turn to the development of the plot of *Mijn zuster de negerin*?

In her introduction Aker mentions as one of the themes of *Mijn zuster de negerin*, "the relationship between the Netherlands and Curaçao in the light of the colonial heritage, portrayed in the desire of a chilly white man [the main character Frits Ruprecht] for a warm black woman Mary [Frits Ruprecht's half-sister]" (p. 5). Aker's thematic analysis does not do justice to this well-known work, and ignores the triple layering of *Mijn zuster de negerin*: miscegenation, incestuous relationships, and response to the wave of racism in the thirties in Germany (Severing et al., 2002: 10).

Whereas in the Debrot novella, the two lovers are stopped in their tracks in the nick of time by fate, and therefore restrict themselves to a tender "flirtation", carnal love making is present in all its intensity in the Aker novella. Whether Oscar and Iris are brother and sister, which does not seem likely given their difference in color, does not become clear in the Aker novella. It remains mysterious, but is suggested by the author indeed: "Perhaps we will see each other again. You are the spitting image of my sister" (Aker: 17). Noteworthy are the words about miscegenation in *Mijn broer de neger*, which are put into the mouth of the father of Iris, a biologist, "race mixing, (...) systematic mixing of races is the only solution to the persistent racism that afflicts the world." (p. 14)

From the first to the eighth chapter the Netherlands is the predominant the scene of action and the reader gets to know the characters by the way they observe each other and are being portrayed: "Iris loves dark men with a mustache and short black hair. No Turks or Africans, but the lovely mixed colors of the Caribbean, just as the man who now stands before her, Oscar, with mustache and crow's feet." (p. 14) The Antillean woman is seen through Iris's eyes: "Iris looked to her side, the chair was empty. She saw the woman who was hastily wriggling her way to the kitchen through the crowd. That was no easy going, because of her considerable rear end."(p. 13) Iris herself by contrast, is explicitly described as "(...) typically from North-Holland, although her mother came from Drenthe. Sturdy shoulders, straight back, wide but not too outstanding hips, a rather flat belly and robust calves. And not to forget the flat butt. What has settled itself over the years at the bottom of her buttocks, must have been fixed firmly at the upper part of the people's behinds way back in Africa." (p. 18)

Oscar has only a modest command of Dutch (just like a student in Iris's class, who has Papiamentu as her mother tongue), but his lack of knowledge of Dutch is compensated because he can dance well to the music of Izaline Calister, a famous Curaçao singer (who is acknowledged by the writer on the last page). The chorus of one of her songs could be the leading motif of the novella: "Mi ke ta di bo so i mi ke sa kon bo bida tabata promé nos topa" (pp. 36-37): ["I want to be there just for you, and I want to know what your life was before we met"] and not, as translated in Aker's glossary, "I want to be like you (...)." (p. 167)

It turns out that Oscar in an earlier stage by sheer naivety has ended up in criminal circles, partly in Morocco. By introducing (in a flashback) the Surinam character Ernesto Lucky, it is possible to articulate the prejudices of Surinam people towards Antilleans: "For the Geluk family Curaçao was never good enough. They still maintain that the slave ships first went to Surinam to sell the best slaves while the inferior Africans ended up in Curaçao …. it was with this Surinam "übermensch" of all people, that Oscar had to do the smuggling." (p. 63)

In Chapter 9, the Netherlands gives way to Curaçao, where Iris, assuming to be pregnant by Oscar, who remains in the Netherlands, moves in with her friend, the Dutch girl, Marieke. The latter lives in Julianadorp, originally an urbanized area, built by Shell – when this company was still active in Curaçao – for their executive personnel, usually hailing from the Netherlands.

Through Iris' eyes, everything she sees is a revelation: "So this is your island, Oscar Juliana, Iris says to herself. This small country where the chill melts out of your muscles by itself. I feel good, I already feel at home, it feels like never wanting to leave" (p. 97). Iris notices the cheerful Curaçao children and: "The colors, the dust, the people on slippers in the market and the sea, that azure green Caribbean Sea. The warm weather is relieving, relaxing, delightful, how wonderful it would be to live here" (p. 99). A visit to the capital, Willemstad, gives rise to a superficial description of historical monuments: "The buildings are rubbing each other like siblings, but there is no question of any unity." (p. 109)

Marieke is less positive about her living environment. She describes Curaçao as an expensive island, with many different social circles that do not integrate and that have little interaction with each other. She also expresses fear concerning the eventual independence of Curaçao, because according to her it is then that the "real Dutch children will be at a disadvantage, because they will never be considered as Antilleans by local people." (p. 100)

The relationship with Oscar shifts to the background, when Iris, who has left her friend's place in Julianadorp because of a quarrel, meets the white Dutch marine Gijs, with whom she has a brief relationship. When Iris during a tour happens to run

into Alicia, Oscar's dark-skinned mother race and racial background becomes the subject of the conversation. At the church of Barber, where she works as the janitor, Alicia produces a deck of cards to tell Iris her future, and tells her that Oscar is really different from the others in the family, and she confides in Iris about her own racial background: "It was never proven, but according to the family of my mother my own father was white" (p. 138). To Iris's question as to whether Oscar's father was white, she replies: "... he is at home with both colors" (p. 138). The author reiterates Iris's thoughts: "(...) Alicia Juliana who apparently is the child of a white man also chose a white man for the procreation of Oscar. That makes Oscar less black than he really is." (p. 140)

In the last chapter, the novella comes to a climax when Iris, among the moonlike rock formations on the coast, meets Oscar's sister who is consumed by anger and hatred. As financial support by Oscar from the Netherlands for the family has failed to materialize, Yolande yells to Iris that Oscar has no decency, no "sense of responsibility for his family. He does not look any further than his own pocket, he does not even realize to whom he is indebted! I don't want him anymore with his nigger behavior" (p. 163). In response to Iris's remark that Oscar might perhaps not be her brother, Yolande yells at her: "I hate him! You take him, maybe he belongs to your family ... *Mijn broer de neger*" (p. 164).

The last words of the novella, spoken to Iris by Yolande after the former screams that she is not pregnant by Oscar, are: "Koño bo mama mès", wrongly translated in the glossary as "Damn your own mother" (p. 167). These words are a far cry from the final poetic words of the novella *Mijn zuster de negerin:* "Sad is what became of life, but it was filled with a meaning that it lacks elsewhere." (Debrot, 1986 [1934]: 88).

Overzee [Overseas]

In *Overzee* (2015), a novel divided into two parts with 28 chapters (part 1: 17 chapters, part 2: 11 chapters), the main character, Stella, originally an investigative reporter and happily married to Joost, has, now that her children have left their home, returned to her native island of Curaçao. It was on this island that she spent her childhood with her parents. From the moment of her arrival on the island we get to see Curaçao through Stella's eyes. The long wait for the luggage upon arrival at the airport is cause for annoyance. Stella also notices the uncooperative Antillean employee of the car rental company, who makes a lazy impression on her. Stella, who speaks only a few words of Papiamento, combines business with pleasure by not only holidaying during her stay but also by doing some research on the uprising in Curacao, which occurred on 30 May 1969.

During her research on this historic event which in many ways transformed the consciousness of the African descended people of the island, Stella happens to come across some issues concerning the past of her family. This gives the novel a triple layering with Curaçao as the setting: the nostalgic longing for her carefree childhood on the island, the reconstruction of a historical event, and the unraveling of a family secret. The reader learns that Stella's father worked in a high position at the fictional GlobalOil (a clear reference to Shell), a company that is presented in the novel as a source of chemical pollution, which reflects the current reality on the island. As a small child Stella lived in the fictional Oranjedorp (Orange Village, a reference to Julianadorp) where the roads, according to her perception, are now only passable with difficulty, in comparison to former times.

Stella enjoys her vacation, dances to Antillean music and seeks refreshment in the Caribbean Sea (with the white bodies of Dutch children as seen through Stella's eyes, standing out against the dark islanders). She is staying on the western side of the island at Sans Souci, a renovated plantation converted into a guesthouse. This guest house is run by a Dutch couple, Hennie and Jos, through whose eyes , the reader gets an idea of the daily concerns of local entrepreneurs, such as the efforts that must be made by the couple to obtain a permit for a swimming pool. There has been a burglary in the yard of Sans Souci and there are references to drug trafficking. Hennie has difficulty with determining her attitude towards the local maid, to whom she gives a ride home every day after work, which was not exactly customary when Stella was living in Curacao as a little girl. Stella remembers that her mother had at her disposal a gardener, one live-in maid and one non-live in maid who walked home instead of being given a ride home. Seen through Stella's eyes, the island comes alive with frequent references to beautiful local flora (cacti, lamunchi), fauna

(chuchubi and trupials whistling away) (Brenters: 11)), references to rare owls, called palabrua's and the ever present barking and uniformly similar looking dogs. A visit to Willemstad not only gives descriptions of the local population, but also mentions the shops of yesteryear, which, despite their fictionalized names, are quite recognizable to the reader who is familiar with the island. Stella's socio-historical research bears witness to the social stratification among the employees at the oil company. The fictional GlobalOil sailing club will immediately remind the local reader of the still existing Asiento sailing club.

Stella's research on the effects of the uprising of May 30th involves her paying a visit to the Mahaai district in order to interview Del Pinto, a character of Jewish origin with connections to the banking sector and with knowledge of the history and the business operations of GlobalOil: "Just like many people who have lived their whole lives in the tropics, his skin was yellowish and stained; pigmentation spots lay as fragments of a map on his face and hands" (p. 54). Del Pinto says: "Since the uprising one thing has very clearly changed. The dark population of Curaçao has gained self-awareness and has access to power. But judge for yourself what the uprising has brought about, when you have walked around here for a couple of weeks." (p. 59) Her research leads her to contact others, such as the sociologist William van Zeeland and her father's successor at GlobalOil, Johan or John van Rijn. In this way Stella finds out that her father had a smashingly beautiful local secretary:

> A Curaçaoan young lady with velvety smooth light brown skin and long black hair. Of course one can see quite often, that mixed children of white and dark couples come out splendidly. She was that type of woman. And also with a perfect figure, not too skinny, with such a nice round Curaçao butt. She was always in heels and wore pencil skirts which made her beautiful body stand out. Supposedly chaste, but yet very seductive. A thing she herself knew all too well." (p. 116)

While Stella gradually gains more insight into the uprising of May 30th and its causes, explained in detail by Van Rijn, her parents' former life also becomes a lot clearer. Eventually Stella, and also the reader, through a web of relationships, is led to assume that her father, who suddenly dies during her stay on Curaçao, had fathered a child with his secretary, and was subsequently repatriated. The matter appears to be slightly more complex, however, and it is her mother who allegedly became pregnant in an extramarital relationship, which provides Stella with a half-brother. It seems that this character, Boy, with whom Stella gets involved in an amorous relationship, is Stella's half-brother: "Boy is my half-brother, it kept resonating in her head, like an alarm that kept on sounding shriller and shriller. Of all the

men walking around on the island, he had to be the one to cross her path. He was the one she had this crush on" (p. 213). At the end of the novel Stella temporarily leaves the island behind, full of fine plans for a future stay on Curacao, and in the company of a rescued stray dog, Dushi. At Schiphol she is to her surprise met by her husband Joost.

Conclusion

In *Mijn broer de neger* and in *Overzee,* images are used that have also been identified in previous studies (Rutgers, 2002; 2007; Van Kempen & Rutgers, 2005). In both works, race and ethnicity is a recurring theme. There is a difference however. Iris goes out in search for cross racial adventure, while in Stella's case, she seems to fall into a cross-racial relationship by happenstance. In both works there is, albeit in varying degrees, a consistent thread of adultery. It is not only the Curaçaoan man who does not take marital fidelity too seriously, but also the Dutch ladies in both novels.

The social stratification on the island is reflected in both works. There are also many descriptions of nature which are predominantly positive. Both novels make frequent reference to Caribbean music. In the novel *Overzee* there are references to crime in Curaçao, especially in the area of drug trafficking, whereas in *Mijn broer de neger* reference is made more to criminal behavior among Antilleans in the Netherlands. The work seems to be written for a Dutch reading public, judging by the comments and additional texts. In *Mijn broer de neger* there is a preface, word of thanks and a multilingual glossary. *Overzee* only has an epilogue. That would not have been necessary for local readers. The fact that in *Overzee*, names are partly veiled, suggests that this writer may also have had a local audience in mind when writing her novel, and this might explain the lack of a glossary as well.

With regard to form, one can say that intertextuality is present in both novels. In *Mijn broer de neger* it is of a more explicit nature, whereas in *Overzee*, it is implicit. The results of this study provide information about imagology in the transient literature about Curaçao in Dutch. This literature deserves more in-depth studies in the future and more comprehensive analysis perhaps using the frameworks of imagology and/or post-colonial literary theory as a starting point.

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ECO-DREAMING AS EMBODIED NATIONALIST LAND-SCAPING: TOWARD A "TOPISTIC" READING OF LASANA SEKOU'S *NATIVITY*.[1]

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Lasana Sekou is indisputably the poet laureate of the Netherlands Antilles of today with over 17 titles to his name, and numerous awards. I read Sekou's *Nativity* (2010), a tripartite anthology of poetry (English/Spanish/French), that Afua Cooper (2010: viii), in her introduction, describes as an intricate pattern of "nature, native, nation" woven to create a new vernacular landscape and socio-political environment for a revolutionary poetic of liberation of the traumatized social, cultural, and natural environments of St. Martin. I argue that Sekou echoes Eugene Victor Walter's notion of the "topistic" imagination to establish a mythopoeic and ecological cartography of St. Martin dissolving the worlds of humans, land, water bodies, spirits, gods, animals, and vegetation in one epic journey of activist re-membering, writing, and righting of his peoples' dismembered histories and cultures. I propose that *Nativity*'s epic and mythic qualities lie in Sekou's pan-African-Caribbean ecological consciousness that incorporates and envisions St. Martin's geophysical and historical place. In this envisioning, St. Martin's environment is defined by both human and non-human experiences; it is a place that "echoes and organizes memories, images, feelings, sentiments, meanings, and the work of the imagination" (Devereux, 1996: 87).

I stress that Sekou's pan-African-Caribbean eco-dreaming then develops a vernacular landscape ideology that "contains its own memory of events and its own mythic nature, its genius loci, of spirit, of place, which may or may not be visible, but can be apprehended by the human . . . interloper" (Devereux: 88). I further argue that Sekou in *Nativity* answers Edouard Glissant's (1992: 131) call for a new landscape consciousness to be a "subject of the most fundamental protest" against the multiple cultural and ecological alienations and to re-establish a new socioenvironmental and political landscape consciousness. Finally, I conclude that *Nativity* illuminates and provokes new mythic imaginings to mobilize and reclaim an "aesthetic connection with

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[the] earth" of St. Martin. (Glissant, 1997: 150) In *Nativity* Sekou becomes a *verdade-ro cantore* unraveling the "entanglements proliferated in the [circum-Atlantic] planta-tion zone [that] disabled the taxonomies distinguishing the human from the vegetable from the atmospheric revealing . . . interpenetration forces" (Allewaert, 2008: 349), and conserving a "world of Eco-systemic interpenetration" (Cartwright, 2013: 175) on which Sekou's eco-dreaming is grounded. Through eco-dreaming in *Nativity*, Sekou ruptures what Nixon (2011: 19) calls the neo-liberal globalist externalizing logic that creates enclaves of "displacement without moving" and destroys the life-sustaining features of the landscape toward ecological, political, cultural, economic, and racial emancipation.

> The *poetics* of landscape, which is the source of creative ener-gy, is not to be directly confused with the *physical nature* of the country. Landscape retains the memory of time past. Its space is open or closed to its meaning. (Glissant, 1992: 150)

Glissant's statement above provides me with an opening to begin my reading of Lasa-na M. Sekou's *Nativity* (2010) as a rudimentary and ruminating enterprise in which I seek for glimpses of engagement of socioenvironmental consciousness as a catafalque to display a poetic of complex national consciousness deeply rooted in St. Martin's circum-Caribbean cultural, ecological, political, linguistic, historical, mythical, mysti-cal, and performative expressiveness. Sekou's creative aesthetics is hence integral to his politics of location and identity, underpinned by a crafting of a poetic vernacular of St. Martin as a circum-Caribbean ecological symbol with "visionary modules of interpenetrating psychocosmic energies" (Griffith, 2010: ix) of his people, both to de-fine and to "clarify [St. Martiners'] cultural [and historical] consciousness" and gravi-tate them toward viable political and economic independence. (Griffith: ix)

Toward this end, as I argue later in the paper, Sekou delves deep into the "creative influence of [orature]", such as "ritual transitions, ceremonial masks, proverbs, spells, tales, music, and other artistic and mythic expressions evolving from the oral context" (Griffith: x). Often comparing him to Edward Kamau Brathwaite and Leroi Jones aka Amiri Baraka, Howard A. Fergus (2007) and Fabian Badejo (2003) have both stressed the "multiple harmonies and differentiations . . . [of] the complex of values shaped by the plantation as tensional fields of colonial oppression and the coerced [African] mi-grants' resistance" (Griffith: xi). Thus, I read Sekou's multiple poetic and perfor-mance styles as deriving, but not solely, from the residual African oral forms to form the base "modalities of vision" in his aesthetic content, structures, and themes . . . as vehicles of psychic adjustment to the new landscape"(Griffith: xii) of St Martin. My foray into *Nativity's* mangrove poetics is driven by a yearning for an "extensive analy-sis of informed [cultural and political nationalism] that brings to the fore evident structures of a mythic geography concerning psychocultural" and socioenvironmental

"processes" delineated in Sekou's work. This mythic geography, as I argue below, defines Sekou's poetics of relationship with St. Martin.

Nativity's nationalist vision erupts from a close cartographic reading of St. Martin's natural ecology and cultural environment and conjures a shamanic ego-mobility, mental synthesis and literary symbiosis in which St. Martinhood is both static and flexibly mobile within Afrisporic natural, mystical, and mythical landscapes. These states of mystical co-existences facilitate an engagement of contrapuntal symbolizations of these landscapes, achieving a form of hallucinatory consciousness that opens multiple memory portals to stage iconic performance within an Afrocentric historiography. In this meditative trance-world, the poetry becomes an epic stage on which Sekou interlaces disparate Pan-African historical figures and landscapes to model an interpretation of St. Martin's political ecology. Thus, his model of St. Martin becomes transmogrified from an isolated, single island divided by foreign powers into an ecological centerpiece of the African world that unifies the various Caribbean islands. This multiphasic and experimental representation of St. Martin found in the design of *Nativity*, echo Brathwaitean jazzy and bluesy contrapuntal tonalities that pillar the jagged architectural positioning of the poems' parts to erect multi-chambered spaces through which Sekou the Pythia speaks prophetic history in this new mythology of St. Martin. The poetry on the page stands on platforms of irregular allusions and syntactic-phonemic constructs that defy deconstructive analysis. I argue further that Sekou's poetic memory is founded and lodged in the landscape which acts as an omphalic gridiron of Pan-Caribbean and Pan-African legends and cultural memories to chart an epic panorama in this new land in which the people slouch towards a political Bethlehem to be born.

Sekou's use of the epic panorama of iconic African landscapes to form the foundation on which to build a new St. Martin does not exist in historical and cultural isolation, but is situated in the interstices of excavated Africanized legends and landscapes scattered across the globe. Revisionary interpretations of archeological discoveries in St Martin grant mythic dimensions to St. Martin's own narrative landscape. Following in the footsteps of Africanist historiographers such as Jan Vansina, Cheik Anta Diop, V. Y Mudimbe, Molefi Asante and Osagyefo Kwame Nkrumah, among others, Sekou draws unperceptively then from oral narratives of Ancient Africa, converts the unachievable yearning of St. Martiners for a return to the ancestral homeland – Africa by African St. Martiners – into mythic memories of initial departures from Africa. This is spelt out in "In Time" in *Pelican heart* (Sekou, 2010: 236):

> I will ride
> The Atlantic
> To Afrique some day
> If not in body
> My soul

Shall journey back
To rest in the land
Of my true people
On entering – my spiritual being
Shall bend low in homage
And weep poems of longing
. . . .

Thus as Bunksé (qtd. in Devereux: 85) writes: "The homeland [Africa for Sekou] begins to take on mystic qualities…. It ceases to be of contemporary world and becomes increasingly a part of the archaic past. It then joins the ziggurat landscape" of [ancient] Egypt, Nubia, Carthage, Ghana, Mali, Zimbabwe, Nzongo, Songhai, Kanem Bornu, Abomey, etc.

Accordingly, Sekou challenges the contemporary post-Columbian perception of St. Martin as encrypted European possession "in terms of economic [cultural, historical, linguistic,] and social utility" (Devereux: 85). Indisputably, the corporate footprint that crisscrosses St. Martin and, by extension, other Caribbean archipelagos and seascapes provide illusions of development and economic boom in the form of cruise ships, hotels, recreation beaches, and casinos. Bunksé's (qtd. in Devereux: 86) idea of "edge cities" developing horizontally around these new "landscapes of economic power" translates into my concept of "edge nations" scrambling, grasping, confusedly to hitch onto the shadow radiations of the rich and economically dominant nations of Europe and North America. In the case of St. Martin, it can be argued that their location in this continuum is further distanced from the peripheral centers as they struggle against primary edge nations in Latin America and Asia such as Brazil, China, and India. Sekou's poetics therefore coincide with Bunksé's conclusion, that "place values [in St. Martin] are increasingly sacrificed for 'jobs' and consumption (Bunksé, qtd. in Devereux: 87).

Sekou's poetic ecology acts as a site of revolutionary lament and consciousness and is hence comparable to Kathleen Raine's lament against the alienation of Scots from their landscape and throws Sekou's lament and hopes into greater relief. Similar to Sekou's lamentations in *The salt reaper – poems from the flats* (2005 [2004]), discussed by Kuwabong (2014: 221-232), Raine (qtd. in Devereux: 85-86) articulates this loss of connectivity to ancestral landscape as a loss of the collective soul of the people:

"When they look at familiar hills, what they see is the landscape of their imagination also, of poetry and music and songs, stories and memories familiar to them all. They inhabit both inwardly and outwardly their native place… And what then is done to those inner worlds when whole environments are destroyed, forests, the oil-rigs and petrol refineries,

the nuclear waste processing and the rest that do not so much change a
place but destroy place and memories altogether?"

However, what complicates the case for Sekou is the fact that so many St. Martiners
of today carry memories of different homelands, real and imaginary (*Nativity*: 21),
which have little connection with the quantum consciousness of a historical St. Martin
as a place being advocated as worthy of preservation without fossilization. As the na-
tive populace of St. Martin diminishes and is overshadowed by huge immigrant in-
puts, there may be a need to re-conceptualize the landscape of St. Martin and develop
a new language for St. Martin's ecological consciousness, a new ecological literacy
that is essentially poetic, mythic, and epic to include by appropriation, these new im-
prints of re-conceived different homelands carried in the mindscapes of the new arri-
vals, who, nonetheless, stake a legitimate claim to a rootedness in St. Martin's cultur-
al, political, and ecological landscape, but lacking the mythic consciousness of native
St. Martiners, or who may share a dispersed rootedness with other Netherlands or
French Antilleans.

Let me explain what I mean by mythic consciousness and how Sekou engages it in his
poetic ecology toward a nationalist ethic. What I posit here is not an endorsement of
pathetic fallacy theory to read Sekou, but a strategic reconceptualization of St. Martin
"as a place of experience" (Devereux: 87) that "evolves and organizes memories, im-
ages, feelings, sentiments, meanings and the work of the imagination". (Walter, qtd. in
Devereux: 87) To do this, it is essential to engage what Walter as cited in Devereux
(p. 88) framed as "topistic" reading that recognizes the landscape as an agent of action
with its own agency, language, history, its own mythic consciousness that transcends
rationalized interpretations of the natural topographies as inanimate and dormant re-
positories of human actions. In this sense, Sekou's poetry visualizes the places he in-
vokes as active agents of human destinies and not passive recipients of our behavior.
St. Martin's ecological agency interacts with us and impacts us and awakens our con-
sciousness in multiple undecipherable ways because like every landscape, as Deve-
reux has argued, St. Martin "contains its own memory of events and its own mythic
native, its genus loci or spirit of place, which may or may not be visible but can be
apprehended by the human… interloper, especially in the appropriate mental state" (p.
88). Indeed, Devereux's comments that "places can therefore illuminate us, and can
provoke mythic imaginings within us" (p. 88) throws greater light on Sekou's monu-
menteering celebration of the landscape of St. Martin in his poetry as the starting point
in the struggle towards cultural, political, social, and economic sovereignty.

Monumenteering through evocation of place, sacred or historical, names and monu-
ments raises certain connotations. Consequently, Sekou's poetic does not dwell only
in the mythic interaction with the land, but also in the incorporation of the marvelous
and the real of a pan-Afro-Caribbean cosmogony populated by "spirits in all sort of

forms". (Devereux: 208) However, I must stress here that Sekou's poeticization of these non-human actors in the environment is not unique. He operates within the wider context of other African Caribbean poets who also parade these otherworldly actors, the "duendes", "Papa Bois", "jumbies", "rolling calf", "moko jumbies", Biembiems", "duppy", "jamettes", "soucouyants", etc., that populate the Caribbean environment, linking them to African "Legba", "Isis", Osiris", "Ra", "Horus", and Indigenous Caribbean "Ciguapa" in their work in order to create African Caribbean references to an alternative worldview that counters the material worldview often projected through European enlightenment rationalism. As they circulate through the poetic landscape, they initiate different states of consciousness and lines of communication through the use of esoteric language for constructive insurgency against the discourse that negates them.

Following this logic, Sekou's engagement of esoteric and iconoclastic language of St. Martin, its rhythms and structures facilitates his poetic manipulation of the politics of racial, historical, and cultural recuperation and reconstruction. The poems determine their own musical notations and ritual arrangement on the page to denote the multitude interactive experiences with the land, not in isolation, but set within the mythic dimensions of an epic performance. They stimulate deep-structural analogues to establish landscape as image and memory. In *Nativity*, Sekou demonstrates how "landscape can stimulate this deep structure… evoking imagery and narrative, which [he] then [projects] back onto the land and in the process", he establishes a resonance "between the land [of St. Martin] and those who dwell close to it for generations. The mythic narrative is the means whereby that resonance is maintained 'generationally'" (Devereux: 232). Indeed, Sekou's lamentation is certified by a conviction of how tragic it is for St. Martiners to ignore the rapid erosion and disarticulation of their mythic consciousness and social orientation to their land. When that mythic consciousness to the land is finally erased and the portal between their land and their mindscape is closed, all may be lost. This portal can be kept open through the language of poetry, as Raine (qtd. in Devereux: 227) argues, "… the language of poets is a language of images upon which meanings are built in metaphors and symbols which never lose their link with light and darkness, tree and flower, animals and rivers and mountains and stars and winds and elements of earth, air, fire and water. The language of poetry is the language of nature . . ." Hence, in discussing the mythic dimensions of Sekou's poetic, it is appropriate to echo Glissant's reading of Perse's work when he writes that it is the "natural world that engenders and dictates his style (. . .) the shifting, the fragile, the fluid… it is the nature that first and foremost speaks in us—repersonalization of Caribbean folklore to increase the certainty of the people's beliefs through the use of folkloric characters and allusions" (Glissant, 1992: 227).

This is unlike the uninhabited landscape of Caribbean Creole folktales, in which "if the place is indicated, it is never described" against which Glissant complains (1992:

131) because that landscape is not to be lived in by real humans; it is merely a landscape of the imagination where etiological, problem, cautionary, etc. tales are told. For Glissant, the landscape of folktales in which duendes, Jablesse, etc., roam are never possessed because they are "never the subject of the most fundamental protest" (Glissant, 1992: 131). This absence of possession and protective protest originates in the symbolization of humans through non-humans: "trees, creatures and people" and sustained by the relationship among them (Glissant, 1992: 131). The estrangement between land and people blossomed from the traumatic history of the land (Benitez-Rojo, 2005). "The land that has been suffered is not yet the land that is offered, made accessible. National consciousness is budding in tale, but it does not burst into bloom" (Glissant, 1992: 131). These words undergird Sekou's mythic poetic.

Through a performative technique that sustains his poetic ideology, Sekou's "prophetic vision of the past" (Glissant, 1992: 64) becomes the manure that nurtures buds of socio-cultural and political consciousness into full blooms of nationalism. This bloom will be the restoration of the often erased collective consciousness or memory, a re-membering of the broken consciousness of St. Martiners, re-establishment of the harmony between "nurture and culture" and (re)-production of a re-visionary historical foundation for a politics of liberation, a lived history of remembrance. Sekou spells this out in "**Culture is borning borning change**":

> change is borning culture
> is borning we is
> borning culture culture borning
> we is borning change is borning borning
> is borning us
> a crackling roost crack in the universe
>   to crow and cackle our existence across
> time   eternal   journey . . .   . (*Nativity*: 5)

I return to the initial topic with which I started my reading of *Nativity* Afua Cooper, in her introduction, describes *Nativity* as an intricate pattern of "nature, native, nation" (p. viii) woven to create a new vernacular landscape and socio-political environment for a revolutionary poetic of liberation of the traumatized social, cultural, and natural environments of St. Martin. I maintain that Sekou's *Nativity* poems echo what Eugene Victor Walter (qtd. in Devereux: 88) theorizes as "topistic" imagination in his mythopoeic and ecological cartography of St. Martin. In the process Sekou entangles the worlds of humans, land, water bodies, spirits, gods, animals, and vegetation in an entangled epic journey of activist re-membering, through writing, and righting of his peoples' dismembered histories and cultures. Allewaert writes that these "entanglements that proliferated in the plantation zone disabled taxonomies distinguishing the human form the animal from the vegetable from the atmospheric, revealing an assem-

blage of interpenetrating forces that [can also be described as] ecology" of creolization (p.341). Thus, Cartwright comments incisively that "The deep basilectal sources of creolization – African and indigenous – conserve orientations to a world of ecosystemic interpenetration." (Cartwright, 2013: 175)

Appropriating Cartwright's reading of Cabrera's *El monte* (1954), I posit that Sekou's *Nativity* poems elicit urgent recalls of Afrisporic "cultural memory, preservation, and synthesis that forced the enslaved inheritors of African cultural systems" (Cartwright: 203) towards "an earth centered locally grounded [Caribbean] hermeneutics" (p. 200) The poet Sekou becomes a *verdadero cantore* that unravels "circum-Atlantic literature myth, and history" (p. 206) and energizes these hidden relationships. *Nativity's* ecosystem and culturescapes, draw charts reflecting Glissant's (1997: 150) "aesthetic connection with earth", and, thus, with the cultural and racial history of St. Martin. It is hence appropriate that Sekou beckons his people to join him in reinventing themselves through the bounty of their ecology: "Come now", he writes;

> Let us drink cool running water
> The hills and valleys and fields
> The evening breeze and fertile seas
> Are filled with his seed
> He comes ploughing
> With every morning dew
> Sowing to see we in our hill-crested land
> Growing
> Free and Strong. ("Thomas Emmanuel Duruo", *Pelican heart*: 275)

Both Glissant and Sekou seem alarmed that the denaturation of the Caribbean, especially the Francophone and Netherlands Caribbean islands might through "intentionally standardized consumption . . . triumph permanently over the pleasure of consuming one's own product" (Nixon, 2011: 151). Having ended one plantation system in which *salt* was the main crop, Sekou has a nightmare about an externally manipulated and directed neo-plantation economy that has gripped the island (Nixon: 152) causing consumer dependency. What Sekou questions is this form of insidious colonization in which St. Martiners "consume the world without participating in it" (Nixon: 152) often generating frustration, violence and despair.

Through his poetic vision Sekou challenges us to accept and support him in his role of writer as activist. Thus he calls for a revolution, a *Reconquista* awakening. "It is time too / to tear down the statutes / & powder into dust the *statuten* to them" of the conquistadores "& build living monument from aloe / & maize & calabash & gold & mold correct / our New World self in the sacred heart" that would reflect the "[. . . .] image to eternity to bear Lucayan / Ciboney / Taino y Lokono" and the "Kalinago too". (*Nativity*: 14) As indicated above, this vision of a new nation amazingly pedes-

tals the very African communities and nations that colluded with the European enslavers of African people, and fails to hold them partially accountable for the traumas of his people. He romanticizes these groups: Ashanti, Dahomey, Yoruba, Congo, Mandingo, and Wolof unquestioningly as heroic antitheses to European Negrophobic ideologies that legitimized and moralized the enslavement of African in the Caribbean. Here Sekou falls into the ideological trap of glorifying those West and Central African feudal empires that flourished on either the trans-Saharan or the trans-Atlantic slave trades, presented by Eurocentric historiographers as the 'great kingdoms of Africa'.

Nonetheless, I am cognizant of Sekou's genuine desire to show the trans-Atlantic connection between pre-Columbian indigenous pan-Caribbean communities and post-Columbian enslaved African peoples. Moreover, these passing instances of ideological and interpretational lapses in historical re-visioning are ameliorated by a sustained dramatic and ritualistic use of words and sound, image and symbol to articulate a conscious and an active movement toward real democratic freedom. Sekou here plays the role of the writer as activist, whose activism leans heavily on using the yearnings of his people for healing from a centuries old dependency syndrome in their "embattled socio-environmental memory" (Nixon, 2011: 24)

Sekou in *Nativity* (2010) *The salt reaper* (2005 [2004]), *Brotherhood of the spurs* (2007 [1997]), and *Maroon lives: tribute to Maurice Bishop & Grenadian Freedom Fighters* (2013) arrives on the scene with "inconvenient questions about [the] long-term ecologies of social injustice that cannot be colorfully blended into touristic boilerplate" (Nixon, 2011: 24). Sekou's understanding of tourism as either eco-pastoralism or urban-pastoralism in which St. Martin and the Caribbean become empty spaces for rich outsiders to roll in in ship and plane loads and seek entitlement rights to pleasure is well founded. *Nativity* reflects Sekou's planetary consciousness and turns him into what Nixon (p. 17) calls a "writer activist", a crafter of vernacular landscapes as formulas to fight and over-come neo-imperial and global violence against the poor. Sekou articulates this position clearly in the "Preface" to *Maroon lives* (2013: vii) with these words; "it is done in the hope that as 'we journey still', the book will resonate with today's protest poetry, related literary criticism, and dispatches from the culture wars and the challenges of globalization. It is certainly hoped that this tribute title would inform somehow the discourse and defiance of the enterprise of imperialism whatever shape, form, or guise this may take." Thus apprehension energizes the poet and enables him then to craft new mythologies of resistance and rebirth as Nixon (p. 17) explicates in his definition of the writer activist as righter:

> [The] writer activists can help us apprehend threats imaginatively that remain imperceptible to the senses, either because they are geographically remote, too vast or too minute in scale, or are played out across a timespan that exceeds the instance of observation or even the physiological life of the human observer… Writing can challenge perceptual

habits that downplay the damage slow violence inflicts and brings into imaginative focus apprehensions that elude sensory corroboration.

Sekou's search for that "vernacular landscape" is also a determined war against lethargy in the struggle for political and economic independence as the only path St. Martiners can take to define their own national identity/nationhood. Thus, as Nixon argues, "A vernacular landscape is shaped by the affective, historically textured maps replete with names and routes maps alive to significant ecological and surface geological features." (p. 17) In *Nativity*, Sekou shows how relevant this is. *Nativity* is replete with place names, names of St. Martin, pan Caribbean and African diasporas, ancient and contemporary African heroes, and Caribbean and artistic, literary, and historical movements. Names of African, African diaspora and other anticolonial heroes are roll-called and paraded to stimulate dormant revolutionary mindscapes, as the underwater sculptures of human figurines in Moliniere Bay in Grenada stimulate what Sekou (qtd. in Sample, 2013) asserts to be "virtual vistas of living art that benefit nature and humanity by their creative, conservationist, and haunting integration with the marine habitats where they were sunk" not to be forgotten, but to act as galleries of historical memories to guide the present and future, and as Sample envisions, "to speak to a universal subterranean memory. They are like anchored gates opening and linking the various parts of the literary texts by the authors".

Thus, like *Maroon lives*, *Nativity* is a dirge for a population gripped in the vices of election racketeering, economics of graft, that ". . . the people in cul-de-sacs empty of dey oan self", (p. 16) who have forgotten the heroic struggle of the ancestors, the maroons, who never gave away their freedom for land grant pittance, ". . . should know by now / whoenemycallyououtyournames / can't imitate & live, anti-man / system can't mimick & live . . . "(2010:16). To refresh their drunken memories, a roll call of heroes is in order: Marcus Garvey, Kwame Nkrumah, Patrice Lumumba, Dessalines, Delgrès, Fédon, Accabre, Bassa, Joseph, Mackandal, General Bourdeaux, Martin King, Queen Mary, King Court, Tomboy, Hercules, Bottom Belly, Marie-Jeanne Lamartinièr, Malcom X, William E. B. DuBois, CLR James, Mamá Tingó, among others. The ancestral roll call helps Sekou to expand the revolutionary roles played by St. Martiners in the figures of Duruo, Lake, and Alrett.

> Duruo blacksmithing in Sannemingo
> &
> planting Marcus Garvey in S'Maartin
> people like we so fo'José Lake *Opinion*
> & Alrett unioneering push & drag us
> through guanlet trials in Soualiga

> fire mek love light of labor to out the
> smoke & still coughing us out of ghost (p. 22)

Apart from these contemporary names, Sekou's vernacular landscape is also populated by ancient mythical African gods and goddesses whose genetic codes St. Martiners carry in their marrow.

> . . . Osirian
> cultured in the holy Isis wombs birthing
> Horus Krishna Sut-Nahsi Christ Mohammad
> & colossal forms reach for the cosmos
> from the Valley of Kings/
> at the base of it all some unknown
> etched in stone: *Man Know Thyself* (p. 34)

Names of mythical goddesses and gods are not as compelling as the historical allusions to great African empires of the ancient world. Sekou lists these not to display the sheer vastness of his knowledge, but as a flagpole to show St. Martiners that they come from this history of achievements. Thus the Axumites, Kushites, Elamaites, Ta-Nehesi, Ta-Meri, Numidia, al Sudan, Mwenemutapa, etc., all testify to Sekou's desire to use history to underpin his developing vernacular landscape rooted in a bigger historical, cultural, and geophysical environment.

Thus, for Sekou, Nixon's (p. 18) declaration that a vernacular landscape is not a monolithic entity but is "integral to the socio-environmental dynamics of the community" that is both interiorized cultural and historical memory and exteriorized in the perceptible and invisible landscape changes is forcefully presented. Moreover, in collapsing the multiple historical times, heroic struggles, and geographical spaces in *Nativity*, Sekou succeeds in constructing a vernacular landscape for St. Martin which can be understood within the contours of cultural innovation, linguistic pluralism, and artistic production all in consort with an evolving socioenvironmental consciousness:

> (caribs dem vindicated)
> . . .
> Maroon Lives
> & a Knight rights Caribbean genesis
> where Black Jacobins built citadels
> & immortalize seminalblood in hawkstone
> from lofting pinnacle licking vaginal
> heaven to Carriacou where they Big Drum Dance
> original Nommo for names and folks in morning-call:
> "woyo, Mamn
> beautiful Louise, Oh!

I want to go Guinea
to meet my parents
but the sea stands
in the way" (p. 11)

Though there is the hint of frustrated desire in the inability to return to the original homelands in Africa, Sekou in *Nativity* advocates a construction of cultural links to alleviate the pain of separation by geographical and historical distances: ". . . build bridges / and plat kanga curls / across we head & wreath cotta" (p. 11). This act of cultural rememory, though physiological, is also psychologically liberating in a symbolic way. Through the act of kanga curls, a balance can be achieved between "patrimony & creation / & ikem dance, dance, dance / 'til Earth collapses in full" (p. 11) and nourished by this cultural bridging, the socio-economic environment will be "blooming & uttering forth / an orgasmic quenching of thirst" (p. 11) for belonging and freedom.

But to fully conceptualize the implications of Sekou's dream, it seems necessary to contrast that with the oppositional forces arraigned against the people's desire for total liberation. These oppositional forces originate from the "official landscape – whether governmental, NGO, corporate, or some combination of those". (Nixon: 17) Local and transnational forces often deny by omission or neglect vernacular cartographies in cultural narratives such as those that Sekou enumerates in allusions to folk medical practices derived from the natural environment, Anansi folktales, and micro-economic activities in traditional markets. In official landscape narratives, the environments both natural and social are artificially zoned for purposes of wealth extraction and social control and exploitation of labor. Thus, when vernacular landscapes such as the beach fronts, salt ponds, hills, marshes and forests are colonized through direct and indirect interventions and appropriations by corporations or otherwise to erect massive tourist hotels, casinos, holiday mansions for the rich neo-imperialists and their native collaborators, when farming lands and forests are converted into pastures for export beef or for export mono-crops, the vernacular landscape is liquidated to achieve the illusion of economic growth.

As indicated above, Sekou seeks to enlist the history of resistance to this game of constant deception by recalling Pan-African political and literary predecessors in the struggle toward racial, cultural, economic, and political liberation. It is his hope that this can help "deliver a New Day of Power & Glory / to wash up visions / work up a heaving ocean & Stand" (*Nativity*: 13) "firm. & true up roots" anchored on evidence of cultural, spiritual/religious, linguistic, artistic, archaeological and historical facts of the presence of African ancestors in the Americas before Columbus (pp. 37-41).

But this new day will not dawn unless the people recognize and accept their rootedness in these landscapes, claim them as their own. Thus in "Culture is all over" Sekou

argues for recognition of the rootedness of Africa in the Caribbean and in the Americas, and this legitimates his call for a new conceptualization of belonging to these lands, a claim of birthright.

mek us world Home
in all lands
peopled ebon
      yellowgolds
      *canela*copper
      con café
dushi.dulce
         sunreds
We have been to the Mountaintop
We have seen to the Land
We have been sowing in
      the Land
      that has been sowing us
                   out
We are cross bearer sharecropping &
      Factory workers coping
We have been crucified/dangling strange fruit
    from southern trees   (*Nativity*: 32)

I do not imply that Sekou's poetry advocates stagnation. What I propose is that his eco-dreaming is a tactical endorsement of a philosophy of sustainability, regeneration as "landscape as resource become critical" (Nixon: 17) in which a gradualized approach to material improvement is blended with "spiritualized vernacular landscapes, serving webs of accumulated cultural meaning and treating the landscape [of St. Martin] as if it were inhabited by the living, the unborn, and the animate deceased" (Nixon: 17). Echoing Langston Hughes' "The Negro Speaks of Rivers" Sekou traces the links between continental African landscape and the New World pan-American landscape to justify the call for a revolutionary love and liberation of the land from colonial and neo-liberal imperialism.

So we we be moving
In Nation in time
Where feet don't scorn ground
. . .
                    like rivers
                            Niles&Nigers of rivers
                    & Amzons&Mississippis of rivers
            flowing thunder deep *ríos* of rivers
                    like my soul's been running
                            deep   (*Nativity*: 30-31)

This poetic reconstruction of historical struggle to etch a new cartography of survival in an alienating landscape caused by the horrors of forced translocation from Africa is another way of encouraging the people to recognize their rootedness in these new environments and to claim that rootedness. Sekou's eco-psychology here is not limited to the physicality of his vision, but also to the defense of that vision on the basis of how slave narratives, cultural practices (music, dance, carnivals, food, traditional medicine, folklore, etc.) have shaped the new world's consciousness with Africanist cosmogony. (*Nativity*: 7-25)

Sekou's vernacular landscape is populated by three concentric and interlocking circles of beings that interact with the natural topos. First, the ancestral spirits who are forever present, and who include the spirits of pre-Columbian indigenous people, the spirits of enslaved Africans whose undeniable labor of love was nonetheless brutally enforced during the period of salt plantations, and the spirits of post-slavery indentured laborers (*Nativity*: 18, 23).

Second, the living population whose struggles not to forget are recorded by Sekou, or as Berger (2007: 4) puts it, not to "reduce the dead to those who have lived." Sekou's poetic in *Nativity,* by invoking the ancestors who had stood up to oppression and have now become transnational figures of resistance and hope for freedom and socio-cultural and racial recuperation, shows that "by themselves, the living [are] incomplete. Thus the living and dead [are] interdependent" (Berger: 5), though Sekou laments the erasure of that ancestral memory as a form of deracination caused by the commoditization of the environment. This tends to eliminate the spiritual presence of the ancestors from historical and contemporary consciousness, replacing it by the dehumanized appeal of capitalist consumerism.

Third, the title *Nativity*, implicates Sekou and the reader in a future already born but not yet named. "Culture born here" (p. 2) he declares is "new world and nativity / found/n/ation" (p. 2) But what is born in this new environment entails a determined struggle to break the dependency caused by eco-social and psychological displacements engendered in the politics of colonial (economic and political) domination of

St. Martin. Frustratingly, Sekou recognizes the differences between political rhetoric and the reality of the socio-economic conditions of his people, conditions that frustrate all attempts to live the dream of total independence. Nonetheless, as he prophesizes, even "under the gales of traitor / [the] people dwell/ in swaddling poverty and *restavek* servitude" (pp. 2-3).

Thus, St. Martin's socioenvironmental displacement is more complicated than mere forced migration from Africa. It is worsened by neo-liberal imperialist developmental agendas that target St. Martin as a site for human resource extraction. This further distorts the construction of a vernacular landscape for St. Martin. Nixon declares this as "displacement without moving" (p. 19); a system in which the native community is "simultaneously immobilized and moved out of [his/her] living knowledge as [her/his] place loses its life sustaining features. . . goners with nowhere to go . . . their once-sustaining landscape . . . gutted of their capacity to sustain by an externalizing instrumental logic" (p. 19) dictated by rich nations and their new tools of colonial interventions such as the IMF, WB, NAFTA, WTO, EU etc. *Nativity* sets out to challenge the multiple dislocations St. Martiners have suffered from the very first when their African ancestors were dislocated from Africa captured in the opening lines of the poem.

> though bitter work brought us here
> hauled out anddriven in like nails
> in palms and feet from hoororful
> mothership belly gutting out
> > umbilical chains
> > severed
> with vinegar salt and se blood rust
> > > lashed
> > > ("Culture is work". *Nativity*: 1)

In spite of the inhuman conditions in which the ancestors worked, beaten, raped, insulted, killed, Sekou declares, their resilience has flourished in their cultural retentions: "devilish white drunk us blood and sweat / from the hueman slaves / and / culture / keep working us back / upwards and wuk up the Truth in us"(*Nativity*: 1). The tenacity of these ancestors enables them to create a new vernacular landscape in the Caribbean/St Martin that has been bequeathed to the living in the form of folklore, food, medicine, art, music, dance, language etc. The ancestors by their blood and sweat and creativity, translated the culture of death into a culture of life through a labor of love. This is their title deed to the land handed down through generations to the living. (*Nativity*: 19). In this labor of love, Sekou joins the discourse of ancestral logic to redefine the harmattan dust and the hurricanes that originate from West Africa as an ecological connection to the Caribbean, a connectivity that then naturalizes the claim

of St. Martiners to the land. These natural phenomena "born free self on harmattan wind / traverse the ocean / bring natural seeding" (*Nativity*: 12) from Africa which entitle African peoples to claim these islands as their birth-right.. They bring rain, and fertile soil to the Caribbean and give entitlement to the descendants of African to the produce of the land.

> In Lenten time
> and arrive fertile fresh
>   & copulating fire
>   wet
>   with
>   brightness of salamander green
> a spill of sprouts
> peeling off dew sweat & fortifying
> the battery flesh of Brimstone Hill labor to dawn down
> through earthsoilgardened ground
> when the Falmboyant sees its period
> & the July Tree landscape burns in mindscope   (*Nativity*: 13)

Thus I return to my original position of reading *Nativity* as Sekou's epic of sociopolitical, economic and environmental justice in the search for a new naming. *Nativity* is a ritual preparation for the ultimate self-renaming. It is a time for "reasonings" and "grounationings", a time to throw off the yoke of fear. *Nativity* is a gallery of ceremonial rituals, myth narratives that announce the "Season of Remembrance / A season for Recall and Renewal" (*Pelican hearts* 2010: 296). If then *Nativity* is a gathering of remembrances, recalls and renewals, the vast repertoire of allusions provide the ingredients for these rituals and ceremonies of remembering and re-memberings. (Re) membering is also a call for a ritual of mourning to bury the dead in the in the middle passage for without that ritual of burial, the present will never be blessed by the unburied dead (*Pelican Heart:* 296-297). Sekou in *Nativity* "ploughs, seminates and gleans in the social landscape in a journey of collective self-discovery, the work assumes an epic quality." Fergus (2007: backcover). In *Nativity*, Sekou utilizes what Glissant (1992: 249-50) identifies as presences/absences that define Caribbean struggle and existence as the building blocks for his Caribbean poetic. Glissant defines these absences/presences as:

> –   The definitive extinction of the Amerindian people,

> –   The presence or absence of ancestral hinterland or, what is really the same thing, the systemic success of techniques of survival

– The presence or absence of an extensive physical hinterland, and that is the success of cultural accretion based on *marronnage*

– The potential, or lack of it, to create or maintain an autonomous system of production

In this struggle of "defiance of the enterprise of imperialism" Sekou (2013: vii) believes that "the individual, the community, the land are inextricably [linked] in the process of creating history [and] landscape is a character in process. Its deepest meanings need to be understood" Glissant (1992: 105-106). To read *Nativity* is to engage in a dance of multiple rhythms and movements that transcend the purely the political and linguistic and enter into arenas of representations, interpretations, analysis, and evaluation often associated with mythic and epic poetry in which the landscape: natural, historical, social, spiritual, political, and economic play pivotal roles.

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PEN INKT BLANCO BISTI CU SAYA: SCRITURA FEMENINO DEN POEMANAN ARUBIANO NA PAPIAMENTO

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Introduccion

Scritura Femenino ta un estilo di skirbi creativo y practica pa e escritornan femenino. Aki e hende muhe ta skirbi tocante su mes, tocante bida y experencia di hende muhe cu e proposito di yuda e ser femenino sali for di su 'couchi di oro' y para pa su derechonan. Tur esaki e autornan femenino di Aruba ta expresa den nan obranan.

Segun e publicacion "Arubaanse literatuur in vogelvlucht" skirbi pa Wim Rutgers, e prome ser femenino cu ta skirbi y publica un poema na Aruba ta Mosa Lampe riba e fecha 24 di augustus 1824. A pesar di e informacion aki, no por bisa cu siguridad si tabatin un posibel continuacion durante e temporada aki respecto skirbimento di poema pa hende muhe Arubiano. Echo ta cu sondeando pa informacion y investigacion tocante Scritura Femenino den poesia skirbi na Papiamento cerca e autornan femenino na Aruba, ta resulta practicamente ausente. Como cu no tin estudio ni informacion investigativo haci tocante e parti aki, por considera esaki como un parti bashi den estudio di literatura Arubano na idioma Papiamento, mientras cu na e otro paisnan den Caribe si ta trata esaki. Pues, esaki ta haci cu no solamente ta necesario, pero tambe, sin duda, importante.

Scritura Femenino den e literatura di Aruba ta importante pa e desaroyo di tanto idioma Papiamento como literatura di Aruba mes. E ta contribui, entre otro, na adkiri mas termino di literatura den idioma Papiamento; pues, e ta amplia vocabulario academico. Tambe Scritura Femenino ta haya su inculturalisacion den literatura di Aruba na momento cu e autornan femenino Arubiano ta adapta e scritura aki a base di e bida y experencia di e muhe Arubiano cu tin cu deal cu e aspectonan familiar, social, cultural, spiritual/mistico, intelectual y di relacion humano. Den enseñansa di Papiamento como materia, Scritura Femenino ta aporta pa e studiante por tin, entre otro, conocemento di literatura, idioma, arte, cultura, historia, balor propio y balor pa otro; mas ainda si e Scritura Femenino ta Arubanisa.

Obhetivo ta pa investiga si e caracteristicanan, forma, profundidad, imagen, funcion di elaboracion literario y influencia di periodo y desaroyo di Scritura Femenino ta den e cuater obranan na Papiamento di e cuater autornan femenino di Aruba.

Autor y su obra scogi

E autornan scogi ta ordena segun aña di nacemento. Esaki ta duna un bista di e periodo y desaroyo cu e autor a biba y skirbi su coleccion di poema publica na e tempo ey.

Bos di sanger, **Nydia Ecury**

Nydia Maria Enrica Ecury a nace dia 2 di februari aña 1926 na Aruba. E ta yiu di un tata di color y un mama blanco. Ecury ta studia Ingles na Canada y ta traha pa Aruba Esso News. Cu trinta aña, Ecury ta bay biba na Corsou (1957). E ta bira mama di dos yiu, Alexander y Caresse. Den e periodo aki, Ecury ta publica: *Tres rosea* (1972) cu e ta skirbi hunto cu Sonia Garmers y Mila Palm, *Bos di sanger* (1975) y *Na mi kurason mará* (1978). Na aña 1980, e ta debuta como actriz cu su 'one woman show' *Luna di papel,* cu ta hacie masha popular. Como scritor, poeta y actriz, Ecury ta publica su di cuater coleccion di poema *Kantika pa mama tera/Song for mother earth* (1984), cu ta un publicacion bilingual. Ecury ta bira pa prome biaha madushi na momento cu su nieto Richard ta nace, y e ta dedic'e e obra *Un sinta den biento* (1996). Despues Ecury ta bolbe bira madushi di tres nieto mas: Walter, Matthew y Evan, i e ta publica *Luho di speransa* (2003), su di seis y ultimo coleccion di poema. Banda di esaki, Ecury ta skirbi tambe buki pa mucha y ta traductor di varios obra teatral prominente, entre otro, Romeo & Juliet di Shakespeare. Cu su poema *The visit*, Ecury ta sali den e prestigioso Oxford Book of Caribbean Verse na 2005. Dia 2 di maart di aña 2012, Ecury ta fayece na Corsou cu ochentiseis aña. Cada coleccion di poema di Ecury ta describi su fase di bida como muhe cu tin cu enfrenta cultura, custumber, creencia, mentalidad, bida y tradicion di sociedad Antiano (Arubiana/Caribiana).

A pesar cu e coleccion di poema aki ta su di dos publicacion, *Bos di sanger* ta e prome obra propio di Ecury. E coleccion aki ta consisti di binti poema y e no ta contene niun ilustracion. E portada ta diseña pa Ecury mes. E ta dedica e obra na su wela cu e ta admira hopi pa ta un muhe independiente cu un spirito fuerte pa e tempo ey, y e kier sigui su ehempel (Arubiana/Caribiana). E poemanan den *Bos di sanger* ta basa riba e autor su recuerdonan tempo cu e tabata biba na Aruba:"Rekuerdo", unda e ta recorda varios momento como mucha caminda e ta hunga den naturalesa y ta experencia custumbernan di e tempo ey. E autor ta skirbi tambe den forma poetico y alabes humoristico tocante su cabey blanco den "Mi orguyo". Como yiu den "Pretu" y "Bruit di mi tata", como mama den "Aroll-Mi yu stima", como muhe den "Seru boka dushi" y "Muchu stimá", y como muhe para pa su derecho den "Shishi bida".

"Mi" ta biba den mi pensamento, **Philomena Wong**

Philomena Wong ta nace dia 22 di december aña 1941 na Aruba. E ta yiu di un tata Chines y un mama Arubiano (Bonaire tv). Wong ta studia tanto na Hulanda como na Aruba y ta traha como maestro y cabesante den enseñansa di Aruba. Na 1970, e ta debuta como autor den e revista literario *Watapana*. Tambe e ta skirbi den *Di nos* na 1971, *Cosecha Arubiano* na 1983. E tempo ey, Wong ta publica su prome coleccion di poema *"Mi" ta biba den mi pensamento* (1984). Ademas di su prome publicacion, e ta skirbi den *Skol y comunidad* na 1985-1986. Na ocasion di Aruba su Status Aparte, Wong ta publica su di dos coleccion di poema *Na caminda pa independencia* (1986). Conoci pa su poemanan critico, e ta publica su di tres obra *Di ta … pa… tabata* (1992) y e di cuater obra *Crusando frontera: Crossing borders* (1993) cu ta un obra bilingual. Na 1993, Wong ta capta atencion di un sala yena cu 2400 hende cu su presentacion di poesia como invitado di International Woman's Writers Organisation na Olter-opera na Frankfurt-Alemania durante Frankfurter Buchmesse. Banda di ta escritor, poeta y declamado, e tempo ey e ta forma parti tambe di varios organisacion, entre otro, Y.M.C.A., Chinese Youth Club, Women's, Group MUSO, Cas pa Hubentud y e ta postula su mes como candidato politico riba lista di e partido AVP. Su poemanan critico ta describi su sentimentonan of algo cu ta cautiv'e cu ta expresa su resistencia contra abuso di hende muhe y nan sentimento, presion y educacion den decada ochenta (Arubiana/Caribiana).

Wong su prome publicacion *"Mi" ta biba den mi pensamento* tin un total di diescuater poema. E coleccion ta acompaña pa seis potret preto cu blanco cu ta ilustra parti di curpa y curpa completo di un ser humano. E ta dedica e obra aki na tur hende den ken ta biba un "Mi" (Arubiana/Caribiana). E autor ta pone enfasis riba e pronomber "Mi" ya cu e ta bin varios biaha padilanti den e coleccion. Ademas, e titulonan ta sconde e contenido berdadero di su poemanan manera "Sin mas" y "Triumfo", dos poema cu ta papia di e ansha di hende muhe pa su reconocemento y pa libertad di su sufrimento. Den e poema "Sin mas", e autor ta laga e muhe Arubiano halsa su bos contra opresion y ta cuestiona su mes pa duna contesta riba su preguntanan. Den e poema "Triumfo", e autor ta laga e muhe identifica e sintomanan di e pena di ta priva di su libertad, pa despues e laga e muhe realisa cu no ta laat pa ta liber y cu e tin capacidad pa sali for di e prizon di bida pa haya su libertad, su derecho.

Hala di berdad/Wings of truth, **Giolina Henriquez**

Giolina Henriquez ta nace na aña 1958 na Aruba. E ta yiu di un tata ex-diputado, ex-minister di finansa di Antiyas y ex-gezaghebber. Cu su diesdos aña Henriquez ta cuminsa skirbi poesia y crea arte. Despues di caba Colegio Arubano, Henriquez ta sigui studia na Pine Manor College y Rhode Island School of Design na Merca. Despues di su estudio den exterior, Henriquez ta bolbe Aruba y ta dedica su mes completamente na arte. E ta representa Aruba na Antesala Caracas na 1984, Arte

Contemporaneo Aruba I y II na 1985 y 1986 caminda e ta tene varios exposicion di su obranan di arte, entre otro, Wings of truth na aña 1996. Tin un catalogo di exposicion titula *Giolina Molina: Wings of truth*, Artimo Foundation 1996; e ta contene poesia na Ingles, Papiamento y Hulandes. Na 1999 Giolina ta publica tambe e coleccion di poema *Hala di berdad, un preludio pa e neofito – Wings of truth, a prelude to the neophyte*. Henriquez, mama di tres yiu homber, artista, escritor y poeta, ta activo tambe den e organisacion Aruba Marine Mammal Foundation. Su cuadranan hunto cu su poemanan skirbi den decada nobenta ta un reflexion interior, en busca di e berdad, honestidad y amor como hende, como muhe (Arubiana/Caribiana).

Henriquez su publicacion *Hala di berdad/Wings of truth* ta un coleccion di bintitres poema bilingual acompaña pa un of mas pintura colorido cu Giolina mes a pinta. E obra aki ta dedica na tur esnan cu a bay laga nos cu nan aura di musica riba hala di amor (Arubiana/Caribiana). E autor ta describi su mundo misticamente profundo yena cu sentimento y emocion. Den "Skina di amor", e ta laga e amor di pareha resalta aunke cu su mita ta sin libertad. A pesar di e amor, toch pa motibo di, entre otro, "Arma social" y "Eufemismo social", e amor aki no a sobrevivi "E mata di amor lubida" pa despues e mes reflexiona riba su mes uzando "mi". Asina por conecta mas poema cu otro cu ta laga e refleho interior di e autor resalta.

Spiel di mi alma, Rosabelle Illes.

Rosabelle Illes a nace dia 17 di october aña 1987. E ta yiu di un tata teologo y un mama negoshante. Cu seis aña e ta skirbi su prome poema. Cu diesdos aña, e ta cuminsa sinti e kico y pakico di su skirbimento ora e sigui e cursonan di Energia Universal. For di e momento ey, Illes ta skirbi mas y mas poema te cu e ta publica su prome coleccion di poema, na Ingles, *Beyond insanity* (2005). Despues di caba Colegio Arubano, e ta bay Hulanda pa studia psicologia na Universidad di Leiden, y e ta obtene su PhD den psicologia. Aya Illes ta publica su di dos coleccion di poema *Spiel di mi alma* (2010). Despues e ta publica un kalender di arte combina cu poema cortico *Wholism* (2012); storia cortico *Stars for sale: a buck each* (2013), *The invisible short-story* (2013), *Species* (2014) y un poema *True friendship* (2014). Ademas di ta un escritor, poeta y profesional, e ta hopi conoce tambe como un artista pa su forma peculiar di presenta y declama poema cu ta capta atencion di tur hende. Illes ta skirbi a base di tur e preguntanan cu e tin. E ta purba di contesta nan pa medio di inspiracion cu e, un muhe hoben, ta haya door di medita, y e ta form'e den poesia pa despues pon'e riba papel cu su estilo di tercer milenio (Arubiana/Caribiana).

Spiel di mi alma ta Illes su di dos publicacion di coleccion di poema, pero su prome skirbi na Papiamento. Bintiun poema acompaña artisticamente sea pa un pintura of pa un potret ilustra pa diferente artista y pa Illes mes. E coleccion di poema aki ta dedica na su dos welonan defunto cu a siñ'e balor di awo y poder di union (Arubiana/Caribiana). E autor ta habri e coleccion cu e poema "Bo reflexion den un

otro dimension". Cu e poema aki, e autor ta expresa di kier purba drecha su mes pa e por drecha mundo. P'esey tambe e poesia su tras "Prinses", caminda e ta skirbi di "mi" pa e por pensa ken e ta realmente. Asina e ta keda busca su mes y alabes purba di yuda otro pa mehora mundo, pero toch e autor ta yega na e punto camindae ta skirbi e poema "Incompleto", cu e ta un hende imperfecto, cu ta hiba e fe di por "Pidi, Kere, Ricibi", e penultimo poema di su buki, pa e drecha su mes y mundo.

Analisis di e coleccionnan di poema

Analisando e cuater obranan hunto, mi por saca afo cu e tema central ta: experencia di bida di hende en general, pero describi for di perspectiva femenino. Tin un solo liña cu ta trata e fase, situacion y experencia cu un hende ta enfrenta den su bida y di tur loke cu bida ta trece cu ne, pero cada un na un manera diferente.

Awor, analisando e bukinan separa, cada obra tin su propio liña principal. *Bos di sanger* di Ecury su liña ta: bolbe na bo rais y origen di bo existencia. E liña cu *"Mi" ta biba den mi pensamento* di Wong ta trata, ta: descubri bo mes como hende y no con otro kier pa bo ta. *Hala di berdad* di Henriquez su liña principal ta: busca claridad den e berdad. Finalmente, *Spiel di mi alma* di Illes tin como su liña: un spiel pa e hende of grupo di hende por wak y reflexiona te den profundidad di su ser cu e meta pa mantene e sociedad hunto.

Mirando e orden aki y conectando e cuater liñanan di e obranan bek na otro, nan no ta forma simplemente e tema central, pero interesante ta cu nan ta forma a basa di secuencia di e periodo (decada 70, 80, 90 y e prome decada di tercer milenio) di cua e tema ta evoluciona, crece y desaroya den e generacion femenino. Pues, un desaroyo a base di periodo, tema y generacion femenino cu ta demostra cu e autornan femenino aki ta posee un tratamento particular di tempo y accion; tambe, nan ta haci referencia na experencia di bida.

E cuater autornan femenino aki ta comparti e mesun pensamento cu otro pa loke ta trata motibo literario. Esnan cu ta bin dilanti den tur cuater obra ta: amor-felicidad, decepcion cu amor, meditacion-reflexion y morto.

Amor – felicidad

Ecury ta uza:"Bini dushi" (3.3 p. 29 Seru boka dushi), "Bini prenda" (4.1 p. 29 Seru boka dushi) y "pròp bo ku amor" (1.2 p. 31 Muchu stimá) como elemento di contenido pa indica amor y felicidad. Encambio Wong ta menciona, manera, "dj'amor, bondad y felicidad" (5.4 p. 11 Homenahe na un muhe) y "felicidad" (1.5 p. 53 Felicidad); mientras Henriquez tin "skina di amor" (1 p. 9 Skina di amor), "pareha" (2 p. 9 Skina di amor), "lora den brasa enamora" (3 p. 9 Skina di amor) y tambe ta aparece e palabra "amor" den henter e poema Djis amor (p. 9) pa medio di e forma stilistico di ripiticion. Illes ta trata di:"...mi caricia a afecta henter bo bida?" (1.1 p. 36 Amor Visual), "...ansha...pa mira otro?" (4 p. 36 Amor visual), "amor" (1.7, 1.9, 1.10,

1.12, 2.1-3 p. 36 Amor Visual), "e pasion" y "energia sexual" (11 p. 36 Amor Visual). Ecury su uzo di elemento di contenido ta denomina mas tanto na un cariño general cu lo bo por uza cu otro persona cu no ta bo pareha so. Comparando Illes cu Ecury, Illes ta accentua e afeccion, cu na su turno ta bira un emocion y cu ta hib'e na un accion di amor. Illes su profundidad den funcion emocional ta bay den un extremo compara cu Ecury cu kisas ta uza e elementonan cu mas "etica" den funcion emocional. Entre Wong cu Henriquez, Wong ta mas superficial den su uzo di elemento di contenido; pues, Wong no ta drenta den profundisacion pa loke ta sentimento di palabra of expresion di amor y felicidad. Kisas esaki tin di haber cu Wong kier ta cauteloso cu expresion di ? Encambio Henriquez ta personifica amor, "amor tin soño tierno y ardiente" (5.1 p. 9 "Djis amor"), y alabes e ta compara amor cu un rosa pendiente riba cama (5.2 p. 9 "Djis amor"); pues cu un muhe cu ta spera riba su amor, mirando cu hende ta simbolisa rosa cu un muhe relaciona cu amor, ternura y romance: erotismo. Aki atrobe mi por saca afo cu Henriquez ta enfoca e emocion di un muhe como algo spiritualmente puro, limpi, intocabel y bunita. Henriquez ta profundisa cu su elementonan di contenido mas fuerte compara cu Wong. Un mas cu otro, Ecury y Wong toch ta "cuidadoso" cu expresion di y/of uza palabra di sentimento di amor compara cu Henriquez y Illes. E dos ultimo autornan aki ta mas habri y kisas hasta mas 'directo' pa loke ta uzo di palabra, numa nan ta suavisa e 'directo' aki door di uza stilistica manera personificacion di amor, "Amor a haya wowo" (Illes, R. 3.1 p. 36 Amor Visual).

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Decepcion cu amor

Ecury ta expresa decepcion cu amor cu e elemento di contenido:"bira lomba bai lagami" (1.4,5 p. 31 Muchu stimá) caminda e ta uza expresion pa interpreta e abandono. E ta un expresion directo, compara cu Wong unda e ta skirbie den e formanan aki: "robá di su ser mas esencial" (5.6 p. 33 Fiel?) y "e no kier wordu traishoná" (6.6 p. 33 Fiel?). E prome forma ta mas alegorico ya cu e ta expresa cu un sentimento importante hundo paden di su ser a keda horta. E forma aki tambe ta denota un profundisacion fuerte compara cu e ultimo forma cu ta mas directo. A pesar cu e ultimo forma aki ta directo, toch e ta profundo ya cu e palabra "traicion" ta ser considera semanticamente un palabra di peso. Henriquez tin "Rais di e mata di amor, claba y bruha" (7 p. 21 E mata di amor lubida). Por bisa cu aki titulo di e poema mes ta duna un idea caba di e decepcion di amor uzando metafora pa describi cu amor tin un comienso, cu ta e rais, y ta crece bira grandi y fuerte cu ta denota e mata, pero cu na mes tempo e amor a keda traiciona y hasta confuso pa e palabranan *claba* y *bruha*. Illes ta trata e decepcion cu amor den e forma di conotacion positivo uzando "palabra bunita" cu toch ta duna na final un impresion negativo:"Den e momentonan desespera... e ora ta sali e nificacion real di loke ta un palabra bunita" (14, 16-18 p. 32 Palabra bunita).

Meditacion - reflexion

Ecury su reflexion ta un meditacion den imagen di oracion:"Orashon di Aña Nobo" (p. 33) cu ta titulo di e poema. Ecury ta haci uzo di signo di sclamacion na e prome verso di e strofanan cu ta laga un liña desaroya cu ta laga contenido di e reflexion crece cu e siguiente elementonan:"Habri!"; "Korta!"; "Harpa!"; y "Planta!" (1,2,3,5. 1 p. 33 Orashon di Aña Nobo). Esaki ta haci cu Ecury kier enfatisa e elementonan aki pa inicia e liña di reflexion den e strofa ey. Ecury su stilistica ta mas tanto metafora:"Korta yerba shimaron di ideanan frustra..." (2.1,2 p. 33 Orashon di Aña Nobo); y, "Planta simia di espiritu di libertad..." (5. 2-4 p. 33 Orashon di Aña Nobo). E imagen con Wong ta duna su sistema di "reflexion", ta door di adopta y adapta e wega popular Cac'i sconde, caminda e pronomber "mi" ta central: Esaki si ta un wega di caco scondi! Mi ta sconde: mi. Mi ta busca: mi. Mi ta tras di: mi. Lo mi haña: Mi?" (p. 27 Caco scondi). Netamente pasobra e ta un wega, Wong ta hunga cu e idioma tambe pa medio di wega di palabra. Esaki ta haci e poema di reflexion alegre y dibertido. Kisas intencionalmente un forma pa stimula reflexion di "mi". E palabranan clave "sconde", "busca", "tras di" y "haña" ta e elementonan di contenido cu ta conduci na e reflexion pa "mi" por contra su mes. Cu e parti aki, tambe por deduci cu e tin un funcion tanto moral como cognitivo; pues, pa e muhe por sinti cu e tin balor y ta convenci cu e tin derecho como muhe. Den e poema " Berdad scondi" di Henriquez, e reflexion ta a base di e signo di pregunta. E ta inicia cu e elemento di contenido:"Ken mi ta?" (1 p. 23). E sentido cu Henriquez kier trece dilanti ta e libertad di scoge kico ta prioridad personal pa e lesadonan. Pa facilita esaki e ta duna opcion A of B; alabes e ta mara e lesadonan na dos opcion so. Na cada tanto verso, Henriquez ta pone un frase interogativo pa introduci un aspecto pa despues e lesado opta pa su prioridad:"Anto, kico ta e storia? Berdad of soño? Cerebro of alma? Sentimento of instinto? E pidanan of e totalidad?" (5-9 p. 23). Di e manera aki, e imagen cu Henriquez kier proyecta e nificacion di reflexion ta haciendo uzo di forma directo y abstracto, manteniendo e uzo interogatorio. Illes tin henteramente un otro sentido di reflexiona riba algo. Mas tanto e ta indica cu reflexion mester sosode den un forma diferente cu no ta esun di semper, manera: reflexion cognitivo, mental, fisico, psicologico of pa medio di pregunta manera Henriquez. Pero, mas bien un reflexion spiritual eleva cu no ta mara na niun institucion organisa. Pues, "...reflexion den un otro dimension" (1 p. 8 Bo reflexion den un otro dimension). E importancia cu Illes kier laga sa tocante reflexion ta, entre otro:"Ta e reflexion di unda nos ta awor"; "Transformacion disfrasa den bo reflexion"; "Cambio y inspiracion ta aparece den bo reflexion, paso nan sa di e situacion" (16, 18, 20, 21 p. 8 Bo reflexion den un otro dimension). E "nan" den verso 21 ta indica e podernan spiritual di universo cu ta guia y ta percura pa bo. E forma con Illes ta uza idioma ta masha abstracto y na mes tempo e imagen textualmente proyecta tocante e forsa di reflexion ta resalta. Ecury su reflexion ta den forma di oracion caminda e ta saca afo cu Cristianismo a hunga un

papel importante y te hasta dominante den e epoca ey ya cu su reflexion tin e imagen di oracion, mientras cu Wong ta pone mas atencion na e parti psicologico di e persona mes den imagen di un wega popular. Henriquez ta haci uzo di e forma spiritual abstracto y directo den un imagen interogativo cu ta indica cu e tempo ey otro gremio y creencia di fuente spiritual ta haci su entrada den e generacion di 90. Illes ta accentua e fuente spiritual aki mas fuerte ainda den e manera con e ta proyecta e imagen di reflexion cu mas profundidad cu no ta di Cristianismo mas.

Morto

Referente "morto", Ecury ta uza e elementonan di contenido:"Den kurá di mi wela difuntu" (4.1 p. 9 Promesa); y, "mesté muri" (1.1 p. 27 Bruit di mi tata). E elementonan aki ta indica directamente e motibo literario "morto" pa cua e ta haci uzo di e palabra "meste" pa pone enfasis riba "muri". E autor ta haci uzo tambe di metafora:"Dia cu mi bolbe na shinishi" (1.1 p. 21 Testament). Ecury ta uza palabra arcaico pa duna un bista di tur loke ta reina e tempo ey rond di morto:"mortaha i totenems" (1.4 p. 21 Testament). Probablemente den decada 60 y 70, ta uza e palabranan aki cu e tempo ey ta masha comun, pero cu awe ta arcaismo.

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Kisas ainda hende di edad sa uza e palabranan aki, pero na Aruba ya no ta scucha nan mas. Otro forma stilistico cu Ecury ta aplica, ta eufemismo:"Papa Dios tin mesté 'i mi" (2.8 p. 25 Happy birthday Niño Hesus). E elementonan aki combina cu e variedad di forma stilistico ta duna "morto" un imagen humoristico y alabes tradicional cu e creencia di ta mira of sinti forbor cu henter e poema Promesa ta expresa. Pa Wong " morto" no necesariamente mester ta fisico. Den su caso, un hende por ta "morto" na bida, y hasta e persona por "muri" na bida: " "Mi" a muri den mi pensamento (1.1,2 p. 7 "Mi" a muri den mi pensamento). Interesante ta cu Wong ta cuminsa su obra cu "muri" y ta cab'e cu "biba": "Mi" ta biba den mi pensamento" (1.1,2 p. 59 "Mi" a muri den mi pensamento). Cu e elementonan di contenido aki, Wong kier expresa cu pa por cambia di pensamento, mester elimina e pensamentonan anterior prome pa despues haci e cambio di pensa otro y biba di nobo: pues, muri den pensamento pa despues biba bek. Pa Wong por trece su mensahe cla, e ta haci uzo di contradiccion pa hinca su obra den e forma aki. Pues, Wong ta trece un imagen diferente referente morto. E elementonan di contenido cu Henriquez ta uza pa denota "morto" ta:"Un paso mas cerca di e fin" (14 p. 15 Hala di libertad), "confronta e fin" (16 p.15 Hala di libertad), "ora di ta cara cara cu morto" (19 p. 15 Hala di libertad), "Na momento di luto" (1-11.1 p. 29,31,33 Resolucion sin fin), "... a termina e buelo di e berdad despega. Einan a prevalece, claba na cruz,..." (13.4,5 p. 33 Resolucion sin fin). A pesar di e elementonan aki, e imagen cu Henriquez ta uza pa referi na "morto" ta completamente diferente for di Ecury y Wong. Henriquez ta consider'e como un libertad di tur cos; no ta catibo di bida. Ta haya esaki den e siguiente elementonan di contenido:"E almanan ta topa pa uni den un canto. Liber di isolacion, spiritonan ta

balia." (7-10 p. 3 "Secreto"); "Liber di ilusion" (19 p. 3 "Secreto"); y, "Pa despues bira bula bay pa eternidad cu aura di musica y riba hala di amor." (25-28 p. 3 "Secreto"). Henriquez ta haci uzo di e forma metafora combina cu un toke spiritual. Illes tin e siguiente elemento di contenido:"Ta keto. Mi no a custumbra cu e silencio." (1,2 p. 12 Ta keto), "Un biento fuerte ta pone mi realisa cu na e mesun piedra unda mi a cuminsa mi a termina" (16,17 p. 12 Ta keto). Mirando e forma con Illes a uza e elementonan di contenido aki, e ta duna un imagen di un ciclo di bida humano. Illes ta uza piedra, un simbolo, como e base di energia pa nace y muri, principio y final door di personific'e. Pues; e energia divino tin poder pa laga e parti spiritual encarna y reencarna pa e ciclo di bida humano keda existi.

E otro motibonan literario relevante pa comunidad di Aruba caracterisando e como no solamente un isla, pero tambe como un cu ta forma parti di e region di Caribe ta: sclavitud y hende di color. Ademas di esakinan, un motibo literario cu pa hende muhe ta representa un momento di integridad, ta: infancia. Mester remarca cu den e ultimo tres motibonan literario, no ta tur cuater autor tin esakinan den nan poema.

Sclavitud

Pa loke ta sclavitud, Ecury ta skirbi:"T'ami tin di mantene un Tradishon k'a origina den e selvanan di Africa" (4.4 p. 49 " Bos di sanger"). E ta duna cu indirectamente e ta descendiente di Africa caminda e hendenan a yega Caribe como catibo, pues hende no liber. Alabes, e ta denota historia di humanidad den nos region. Wong, di otro banda, ta interpreta sclavitud den un otro forma:"Ami, un muhe Arubiano, un ser humano, tin un curpa y un alma cu kier biba, y no ser biba." (1.1-5 p. 15 "Sin mas"). Tambe tin e parti:"Un ser encadena na deber tradishonal, na derecho: un fabor." (6.1-3 p. 23 "meditashon"). Otro tambe ta:"For di mas profundo di mi entraña ta scap'un grito sofoca; sclamashon desespera, pa diripiente explora: ta kende mi ta? ta unda mi ta? ta kico mi ta?" (1.1-7 p. 39 "E triunfo"). Wong ta accentua un situacion unda e muhe ta enfrenta su mes sentimento ocasiona pa opresion di un persona of ley cu kier dicta riba dje y priv'e di su libertad emocional. E tipo di sclavitud aki ta un sclavitud moderno. Henriquez ta wak sclavitud den un otro perspectiva:"Mas leu cu por pa mi hui fo'i nan sistema sicologico" (1.8-10 p. 1 "Hala di berdad"). Henriquez ta referi na e tristesa, trauma, rabia y e forma di pensa di e sociedad. Pues, e hendenan cu ta biba rond di dje. E por ta bisiña, colega, amigo of famia. E ta indica e sclavitud di sociedad. E ta hopi cerca di e sclavitud di Wong, pero den e caso aki, e muhe no tin niun ley of un hende cu ta dicta riba dje pa e sigui desaroya, sinembargo e peso di tristesa, rabia y e "follow a group" ta hunga un papel cu e muhe por ta esclavo di e sistema psicologico di sociedad. Na su turno, Illes ta wak sclavitud completamente diferente:"Mi ta egoista y mi ta impaciente. E unico cos cu mi tin den mi mente ta ami..." (1.7,8 p. 28 "Influencia) Illes kier mustra cu un hende por ta esclavo di su mes

egoismo. E persona no ta sinti su mes liber ya cu su egoismo ta gobern'e; esey ta e sclavitud di su propio ego.

Hende di color

Ecury ta e unico autor di e cuaternan cu tin un poema dedica na hende di color. Na prome instante, Ecury ta referi cu "pretu" na color di cuero mes:"Tin hende cu ke rabia sulfura si bo hera bisa nan ta pretu..." (p. 15 "Pretu"). Sinembargo, Ecury ta stimula su lesado di color pa keda contento cu e color scur cu e tin caminda e parti unda ta bisa "...anto mi kurason tin un deseo grandi di por tende mi tata yamami Nini pretu..." (1.5-10 p. 15 "Pretu"). Aki, Ecury ta menciona specificamente e color "pretu", pero den e caso aki pa tum'e como un palabra di cariño. Anto pa despues e termina su poesia "Anto pa mi haña chens di kontest'e Dundunchi, kabei di spons!" Un parti humoristico cu ta indica cu cabey di Ecury su tata ta un cabey tipico di un hende di color. Cu otro palabra, aprecia bo color y con bo ta como hende "pretu". Alabes, e poema aki ta denota e rasgo di historia di catibo.

Infancia

Ecury ta corda su infancia:"Mi ta corda tempu di aña ku awa ta yobe enbes di bai skol, nos ta para b'ei het sapatia..." (3.1-4 p. 5 "Rekuerdo") y "Den kura di mi wela na 'Ruba nos a traha bolo di lodo, nos a salta kontento hunga kaku kori i kaku skondi" (2.1-5 p. 9 "Promesa"). Wong ta describi esun di dje den e forma aki:"den scochi dj'un muhe mi a ser carga, alimenta y zoya...", "den cercania dj'e muhe mi a ser guia y proteha..." (2.1-3 y 4.1-3 p. 11 "Homenahe na un muhe"). Illes ta expres'e den e forma aki:"Weso di mi saya ta distingui bo teblachi ora nos tur sinta pa fiesta. Un multitud di infancia creci den e tata sinta bou di mesa wanta na bida pa medio di e mama cargando e mesa. Cambi'e di luga. Bir'e boc'abou. Ta e mucha wanta na pia di e tata... di e mesa" (p. 10 "Prinses"). Ecury ta recorda su infancia hungando dushi y pasa momento pret cu otro mucha. Wong ta interpreta su infancia recordando e amor y cuido cu el a haya di su mama. Illes tin un controversia compara cu Ecury y Wong. Illes ta describi infancia door di wak e mama como esun cu tin e famia sosteni unda e tata, a pesar di ta esun cu ta representa e famia, ta wanta na e mama pa keda na bida, e mucha ta wanta na e tata, kisas pa e tata no bay. Aki nos ta deduci cu infancia ta un fase di integridad pa e muhe ya cu e ta un fase caminda e mucha muhe chikito cu ainda ta biba den e muhe ta corecto, puro, atento y educa caminda e ta percibi e bon y e malo, y ta sincero cu su mes y cu otro. E diferencia entre Ecury cu Wong y Illes tin un perspectiva di e experiencia di infancia basta grandi for di otro. Illes ta mas general, a pesar di por ta su realidad, siendo Ecury y Wong ta mas subhetivo.

Mirando e analisisnan, mi ta haya e impresion cu e periodo y tempo ta hunga un rol den pensamento di e autornan na momento di skirbi e poemanan. Den decada 70 y 80

na Aruba ainda hende tin nan sentimentonan hopi scondi, pasobra ta tabu pa expresa, entre otro, tocante relacion sexual. P'esey, Ecury y Wong ta uza hopi etica den nan vocabulario, a pesar cu Wong ta expresa revolucion den su contenido. Henriquez y Illes ta mas habri, pero comparando nan dos hunto, por bisa cu Illes ta mas habri ainda pa loke ta pensamento. Spiritualmente, Ecury ta refleha Cristianismo di e organisacion Catolico ya cu e ta menciona "Mama Maria" (5.2 p.7 Rekuerdo). Wong den su obra ta spiritual den un otro forma. E ta indic'e cu pensamento cu un hende mester tin di su mes. Henriquez y Illes ta indicaspiritualidad den un forma di energia universal. Aki por deduci cu den decada setenta, dominio di Catolicismo ta mas fuerte compara cu decada 90 y mucho menos fuerte den e prome decada di tercer milenio. Emancipacion di hende muhe den e añanan setenta ainda no ta mucho na vigor na Aruba ya cu e tempo ey no ta permiti pa hende muhe casa bay traha. P'esey tambe Ecury, den su poemanan, ta skirbi tocante e mama y ama di cas. Wong, cu ta di un generacion mas jong cu Ecury, ta expresa su revolucion pa cambia di pensamento. E tempo ey, influencia di e ola femenino pa derecho igual cu e ser masculino a "yega" Aruba. Den tempo di Henriquez, e ser femenino moderno ya a cuminsa wak nan posicion como ser emancipa den un otro forma. Pa Illes, den su poemanan, ya e no ta un topico di dia mas, indicando cu emancipacion di hende muhe na Aruba ta den un fase basta avansa.

Conclusion di e investigacion
Caracteristica

Tin un desaroyo di Scritura Femenino den e cuater autornan femenino di Aruba a traves di decada setenta, ochenta, nobenta y e prome decada di tercer milenio. Den e caso aki, e ta cuminsa cu Ecury cu ta skirbi tocante su mes bida y experencia. Wong ta evoluciona esaki door di skirbi tocante hende muhe cu por wak su mes sexualmente posesiona for di su curpa. Henriquez ta desaroy'e caminda e hende muhe ta keda oprimi emocionalmente, su expresion ta keda nenga y e ta scapa pa haya su libertad. Illes ta culmin'e cu e muhe cu ta pone su mes incomprendibel y inimaginabel den palabra. A pesar cu Ecury y Wong tin rasgo di deconstruccion den nan obra, toch Henriquez y Illes tin e uzo di deconstruccion mas fuerte den tur poesia di nan obra. Ta keda na e lesadonan pa saca e nificacion afo. Tur cuater autor ta uza e pronomber personal "mi", indicando asina un caracteristica mas di Scritura Femenino. E temanan tambe cu ta bini dilanti ta relevante, pasobra ta trata di e bida di un ser humano specialmente cerca hende muhe, pasobra nan ta mas habri pa papia tocante: amor, felicidad, meditacion-reflexion, morto y tambe infancia cu ta un momento di integridad den bida di mayoria di ser femenino. Loke ta duna Scritura Femenino un toke Arubanisa ta e uzo di expresion y e manera con e autornan femenino di Aruba ta hunga cu e palabranan na Papiamento, uzando e categorianan gramatical pa forma hasta un expresion nobo na Papiamento cu netamente ta identifica cu e ta di Aruba. Un ehempel ta e expresion tipico di Aruba: Na pi'i trabou. Y, loke ta duna e Scritura

Femenino Arubanisa e toke di Caribe ta e tema di sclavitud y hende di color mustrando asina e rasgo di e tempo di catibo. Scritura Femenino ta skirbi tocante e temanan cu ta encera hende, principalmente hende muhe.

Forma

Un autor femenino no ta specifica ni indica directamente su mensahe, pero e ta haci uzo di forma stilistico y figurativo di alegoria, contradiccion, eufemismo, metafora, personificacion y ripiticion. Tur esaki ta contribui na e deconstruccion.

Profundidad

Como cu tur cuater autor ta skirbi for di nan entraña y for di experencia, esaki caba ta expresa profundidad. Sinembargo, e autornan Henriquez y, mas ainda, Illes tin e Scritura Femenino mas profundo compara cu Ecury y Wong. Esaki ta pasobra erotismo di e ser muhe ta resalta mas den sentido spiritual combina cu fisico; aunke, Wong tambe tin rasgo di e parti aki, pero mas fisico.

Imagen

E imagen cu Scritura Femenino tin den e cuater obranan aki ta muhe como yiu, nieta, mama, muhe cu ta stima y kier ta stima unda e parti psicologico, precision di e muhe den su afinidad pa haci di su bida, su ser y su experencia un arte di palabra pa percibi esencia di tempo y accion pa pon'e riba papel den forma di poema. Den e ultimo decadanan tambe e parti spiritual y mistico ta bolbe bira fuerte den Scritura Femenino di Aruba.

Funcion di elaboracion literario

E simpel echo cu e cuater autornan femenino aki ta skirbi for di nan entraña a base di nan bida y experencia y ta stimula nan lesadonan femenino pa envolve nan mes den nan poema, por saca afo cu e funcion emocional ta esun cu mas ta domina den e obranan aki. Banda di esaki, no por laga afo e funcion cognitivo cu tur cuater autor ta trata tocante e derecho di hende muhe den nan obra. Un otro funcion cu tambe ta sali na cla ta e funcion moral caminda ta enfatisa e balor di hende muhe. Ademas, un funcion cu mi no a pone como punto di estudio cu tambe ta bin dilanti ta e funcion social. E ta bin dilanti pa medio di: igualdad di rasa y sexo, redashi, y biba segun otro; tur esaki ta refleha e cultura di Aruba.

Influencia di periodo y desaroyo

E autornan ta keda influencia pa e periodo y desaroyo. Tumando bek e desaroyo di Scritura Femenino a traves di decada setenta, ochenta, nobenta y e prome decada di tercer milenio di e prome pregunta secundario, Ecury y Wong ta forma parti di un sociedad hopi conserva, sumergi den creencia, custumber y tradicion di nan

antepasado. Ecury ta mas fiel na esaki, pero ya cerca Wong caba por nota e cambio influencia door di e di dos ola femenino den e decadanan di setenta, ochenta y nobenta. For di e obranan di Henriquez y Illes, por saca afo cu ya caba e muhenan aki a drenta un otro era; un sociedad nobo. Un sociedad caminda ya tradicion a pasa pa e di dos plano, por ehempel, unda awo hende muhe ta abarca e puestonan cu antes hende homber tabata ocupa, y tambe cu awo hende muhe ta mas independiente di hende homber. Cerca Illes por wak esaki mas cla ainda. A pesar cu tur cuater autor a studia den exterior, toch por nota e diferencia di generacion.

Conclusion final

Tur cuater autor ta uza y tin Scritura Femenino den tur e cuater coleccionnan di poema na Papiamento. Esaki ta pa medio di e caracteristicanan di Scritura Femenino, entre otro, uzo di e pronomber "mi" y deconstruccion; e formanan stilistico y figurativo di alegoria, contradiccion, eufemismo, metafora, personificacion y ripiticion; e profundidad di erotismo, sentimento di bida y experencia, cu tin funcion emocional, moral, cognitivo y hasta social; unda, e autor ta trece e lesado femenino mas cerca di su scritura, caminda e ta duna su lesado oportunidad di envolve su mes den e poema, pa e reconoce, reflexiona y tuma su decision. Tambe, e imagen spiritual mistico fuerte, e muhe mama, e muhe yiu, e muhe profesional, e muhe como hende, e muhe apasiona y e muhe tradicional. Scritura Femenino Arubiano tin un liña di desaroyo durante e periodo di e añanan setenta, ochenta, nobenta y e prome decada di tercer milenio caminda Ecury ta inicia skirbiendo su bida y su experencia; Wong ta hib'e mas leu door di skirbi tocante hende muhe. Henriquez ta desaroy'e y Illes ta culmin'e unda hende muhe ta pone su mes incomprendibel y inimaginabel den palabra. Hopi biaha tin tendencia di uza e termino Scritura Femenino pa referi na tur produccion literario skirbi pa un autor femenino. Sinembargo, escritor femenino di taya manera Ecury a demostra di a conkista su propio identidad
pa medio di poema. Ta considera Literatura Femenino como un literatura di sentimento. E forma di skirbi aki ta lanta sensacion, emocion yena cu duda caminda ta pone experencia prome cu lenga; cu no ta sali for di cabes, pero for di nan mas profundo y intimo paden di e ser muhe, for di nan alma, for di nan entraña.

Den e investigacion aki a sali un cantidad di aspecto pa sigui profundisa pa medio di investigacion, manera, e parti psicologico-psikiatrico den e poemanan. E cuater autornan femenino di Aruba hunto cu nan cuater obranan tin hopi di ofrece den esaki. Finalmente, mi ta termina mi tesis cu e conclusion aki: Loke prome tabata un simia, awe ta un palo di mata cu ya caba ta pari fruta y cu keto bay ta den su desaroyo y crecemento.

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BOUNDARIES IN CULTURE AND HISTORY

CREATING DESIRABLE PASTS FOR A DESTABILIZED PRESENT: DISCOURSE, POLICYMAKING AND COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION IN A CARIBBEAN HERITAGE ORGANIZATION

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Heritage work is always profoundly political in that it constructs identities that are desired, mistrusted or contested, and embedded in both voiced and unvoiced ideologies of self. It is usually also highly selective in its focus and direction. Heritage work may neglect biological heritage or else use it consciously or unconsciously to exclude certain groups, it might concentrate on lore or architectural monuments, or on a certain period or group. Some of this happens in the context of very concrete issues, such as budget constraints, funder directives or limited personnel. It is important however to not be distracted from a broader and deeper analysis of the relevance, constraints and effects of heritage work by these micro-issues. NAAM, the National Archaeological Anthropological Memory Management organization in Curaçao might serve as a case in point.

The makings of a destabilized present

Social organizations in Curaçao almost always have the legal form of a foundation. Although there are many reasons to have a legal status, the foundation form is usually chosen in order to acquire funds. Even though many of these foundations are classified as non-governmental on the island, some might more accurately by called Non-Profit Organizations (NPO's) due to the fact that they 1) sometimes by conscious choice, but mostly due to market constraints do not make a profit and 2) sustain a sometimes uncomfortable relationship with the government through public funding for services rendered in the public arena. There is a spectrum of funding relationships to the government. In some cases the funding is dispensed and accounted for with no further interaction. At the other end of the spectrum there are government foundations, established by the government, and managed with a governance structure controlled by government officials appointed to boards of trustees. However, shifting

organizational description away from a more administratively oriented public vs. private polarity to the more 'bottom line' oriented public vs. private distinction e that [is conveyed by the NPO terminology hides essential aspects of the historical development and social positioning of these organizations, the impact they do or may have on society and the impact of governmental, business and other interests on their functioning.

- In 1994, as part of the Netherlands Antilles government's effort to reduce its responsibilities to a series of core tasks, the government took the policy decision to assign the work of the National Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology of the Netherlands Antilles (AAINA) to one or more autonomous institutions (Netherlands Antilles, 2006: 41). NAAM was created as a foundation in 1998 during one of the most large scale restructurings of the government apparatus in the history of the island, coming on the heels of decades of explosive growth in hiring in the public sector, limited accountability for government spending, deficient or totally lacking assessment of output, unrealized income potential (including quite generous offshore tax holidays), etc. Although none of these issues seemed to directly affect AAINA, the institute was not exempt from the general efforts to streamline the government. Relieved of its research, documentation and policy development functions, AAINA thus became the privatized National Archaeological Anthropological Museum, a national heritage museum and a national heritage collection management system. Goede (2005) describes the process of privatization in the development of a reduced 'core' government structure from 1985 to 2002 in Curaçao. Some of the characteristics of privatized organizations that he identified (Goede, 2005: 86) are instructive as part of a framework for understanding NAAM: *Downsizing due to efficiency measures.* These measures have tended to be part and parcel of the drive to privatization and were key in the creation of NAAM. This meant effective downsizing and consequently a reduction in areas of work, including research, documentation and publication in the fields of anthropology, archaeology, oral history and musicology.

- *The head of the privatized government entity usually becomes the new CEO.* According to Goede, this might prevent change within the new organization. In NAAM's case the opposite actually occurred: while the institute's director became the new CEO, his previous leadership and his involvement in the transformation of the institute into a foundation with a new purpose seems to have inspired him to influence the organization toward more change.

- *The privatized organization retains many characteristics of government structure and culture.* Some of this is evident in how the subsidy process functions. While the institute has been quite enterprising over the years, it does

bear a heavy imprint of government functioning due to its service contract with the government. Financial administration, human resource management, and intelligent technology have been approached as subsidiary rather than productive processes. Annual reporting has also been directed, to a certain extent, to accounting for subsidized programming.

On policy and political levels, however, there were other, more far ranging sectoral transformations that created a different environment and cultural parameters for privatized organizations in the cultural sector. Policy declarations sometimes notwithstanding, the core government that was envisioned in the 1980's onward was based among other things on a rationalization of tasks, reduction of spending, a model of strategic governability that ultimately did not result in effective structures of governance, and a core business analysis that took existing tasks and functions as points of departure rather than a strategic analysis of where the island was supposed to go.

This was changed to some extent by the *New Beleid* (New Policy) and *Vishon Kòrsou* (Vision Curaçao) approaches, which were attempts to formulate comprehensive policy for all areas of government. *Vishon Kòrsou* attempted to do this based on a planning and implementation platform that pulled in stakeholders from all areas, including the commercial, industrial, labor and civil society sectors. In the end both approaches were abandoned. The whole process of privatization resulted, among other things, in the de-structuring of the cultural sector that had a deep impact on cultural work. Similar effects can be seen in other privatized sectors, such as social services and public healthcare.

The fact that these interventions were conceptualized as mere products or byproducts of establishing a 'core' government made them difficult and controversial to critique. In certain cases objections were seen as anti-efficiency or anti-progress. Accusations of political maneuvering, backwardness and lack of patriotism were not uncommon at the time. The impact on the cultural sector, however is still enormous. A few of the more salient effects include:

- Scientific research in the humanities and social sciences in general, and specifically in linguistics, ethnography and archaeology has been defined as peripheral and delegated to NGOs. This meant that the anthropological and archaeological research previously done by AAINA, as well as the linguistic research previously done by the *Instituto Ligwístiko Antiano* (the Antillean Linguistics Institute or ILA) were to be transferred to the University of the Netherlands Antilles (now University of Curaçao). Without the necessary funds, policy measures or infrastructure however, this research function was never transferred and was thus effectively eliminated.

- Cultural production in the sense of a cultural industry has also been seen as

peripheral. Thus the *Servisio di Asuntunan Kultural* (Cultural Affairs Office) has been privatized and its budget for educational programming, organization of events, marketing, communication etc., has been drastically reduced. At the same time, the limited infrastructure that had been created by the office for cultural production (sponsoring publications, festivals, artist travel and training, oral history research, audiovisual documentation of the cultural landscape) was also *de facto* eliminated from the governmental budget, although some of this funding was re-introduced later.

- Cultural action and its promotion has become increasingly defined in managerialist terms by some of the NGO/NPOs involved. Subsidy accountability, service agreement terms, insecurity of financing (as government subsidies are lowered due to financial insolvency), the continued focus on managerialist interventions by organizational consultants and government interventions (concentration on administrative organization, internal controls, performance indicators, and mostly hierarchical business models tied to profit accounting) has led to an increasing dissonance between stated goals and the methods used to reach them. This relates to managerialism, or more accurately New Public Managerialism, a persistent neoliberal approach that has uncritically invaded social practice at various levels (Claeyé & Meurs, 2012). There is also an increasing dissonance between the accountability structures being created, the effective functioning of organizations and their impact on the community.

Concurrent to these developments the Netherlands was also introducing changes in its own governmental practices and in its relationship with the islands of the Netherlands Antilles and Aruba during the 1990's. Oostindie and Klinkers (2003: 207-212) briefly document the turbulent history of STICUSA (the Foundation for Cultural Cooperation between the Netherlands, Indonesia, Suriname and the Netherlands Antilles), founded in 1948, and eventually dissolved. Its successor, OKSNA (the Consultation Organ for Cultural Cooperation in the Netherlands Antilles) was also disbanded in the 1990s after the publication of a report that, based on unsubstantiated information, accused this new body of inefficiency, clientelism and lack of vision (Oostindie & Klinkers, 212). The recommendations of this report were implemented without any critical questioning by a government that was fully and blindly committed to an economic adjustment process mandated at least in part by the Netherlands and the International Monetary Fund. OKSNA was supposed to be replaced by a new organization that would not be accountable to local governments (deemed to be irresponsible in their management of and accounting for funds), but instead would be accountable directly to the Netherlands, but this entity never actually materialized.

The cultural scene never fully recovered from the nearly 3,000,000 NAF (some US $1,700,000) that was thus suddenly pulled out of circulation for cultural production.

This resulted among other things in the closing of several music schools (despite efforts to save them), the definition of some cultural research as "science" and thus not deserving cultural funding, the reduction of cultural exchange within the Caribbean region, etc. Eventually there were some ad hoc measures introduced that provided some modest and temporary relief in the form of limited government funding, and funding through private foundations, local businesses and various funding sources in the Netherlands. Despite the closure of several key institutions, music instruction is one area that has been addressed a bit more systematically.

The current situation in the cultural sector could be characterized as 'destabilized present'. It is unevenly productive and remains unstructured and volatile. Much has happened on the cultural scene in the past decades, but the field still does not benefit, from the synergy of research, publication, production, education, critical appraisal and funding that emerged in the1980s. The situation in the 1980s was far from ideal, but it offered several powerful examples of effective collaboration. A community supported cultural policy document was approved by the government at the beginning of the new millennium, only to be criticized by the same and subsequent administrations. The policy has not been evaluated since its introduction in 2001, although the government has been working towards doing this over the past year.

Cultural production has continued despite the destabilized present, resulting in cultural promotion being restricted to certain areas, such as artistic promotion, educational programs, some publications, and some public events, some efforts at cultural research, projects of sustainable development through culture and educational initiatives in the areas of civic engagement, community identity and participation. Linkages between cultural practice, however defined, and social issues such as poverty, gender inequality, economic development, multicultural communication, ecological management, personal health management, etc. remain virtually unaddressed because of the reductionist and instrumentalist ways of thinking that have become prevalent due to unmanaged cultural work or because this work is managed from an administrative rather than a social policy perspective. While the cultural sector itself has fallen prey to managerialism its content and social impact remains unmanaged.

Recent government efforts to create a national institute of culture as part of an as yet undefined project of nation building are deepening the managerialist perspective with a new twist: the national institute purports to agglomerate cultural organizations into one big institute without a plan for community involvement, while nation building efforts have begun to use existing neighborhood level organizations for implementing projects. The fact that these neighborhood organizations are in disarray (partly because of a history of party politics and partly because of community level or

organizational disagreements) clearly complicates this approach enormously in terms of expected concrete outputs.

Desirable pasts
The prevailing tendencies toward reductively defined culture have also had an impact on the work of NAAM. In a certain sense, the relative independence that the organization has enjoyed and the sourcing of its income through a mixture of government subsidies, private funds and the provision of commercial services has helped NAAM to remain true to its own vision of the cultural sphere, while providing public services that fulfill government requirements. This has meant e.g. that issues of integrated heritage management, inter-island collaboration with other CAMBES territories[1], attention to cultural constraints and resources relating to social issues, research, and support for heritage institutions have remained on its agenda. Nevertheless, the current cultural management environment, popular interest in culture and the ongoing island discourse on the disintegration of society (and the perceived 'salutary' role of morality and nostalgia for "our values of yesterday") place uncommon pressure on NAAM toward management of a desired heritage.

The artifacts in the NAAM collection give rise to stories that produce different types of meanings for different groups. A few scattered constructs garnered from NAAM visitors, including general audiences, event organizers, and policymakers include the following:

- representations of bygone fortitude, based on the perceived simplicity of artifacts from the past
- idealization of the society of the past
- NAAM as a safe haven for a stable identity against the rapidly changing world
- representations of "our real identity"
- confrontation of youth with their 'comfortability' in contrast to historic hardship
- our African past
- our indigenous past
- things we need to cherish
- adult's romanticized childhood memories of the NAAM site as previous venue of the public library

A NAAM Facebook poll on the desirability of continuing or discontinuing the Sanikolas feast and the presence of the blackface Zwarte Piet also stimulated additional perspectives:

- NAAM's role should be "constructive" rather than being involved in

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[1] CAMBES is an acronym for Curaçao, Aruba, Sint Maarten, Bonaire, Sint Eustatius and Saba.

discussions about current issues

- traditions are important and at the same time they are relics of the past
- current cultural expressions are not tradition
- NAAM should stay with showing artifacts rather than inviting discussion
- controversy should be avoided in doing heritage work
- race and color are not legitimate subjects for a museum

In such a context, public event programming also receives much wider traction than policy discussion roundtables, developing a history textbook series or an intangible heritage training package for local schools, or a cultural values map to be used for early identification of archaeological monuments and heritage sites in projects that use land resources.

Invisible work and other uses of time

Current, recent and not so recent activities at NAAM have included Malta Convention archaeology, support for new heritage legislation in Bonaire, a year-long series of discussions about slavery and abolition commemorating 150 years of the abolition of slavery in Curaçao, exhibits about this same theme, several exhibits on various historical heritage topics, first steps in the implementation of the 2003 convention for the safeguarding of intangible heritage, a set of history textbooks for local schools, digitization of oral history and ethnomusicological recordings, popular as well as professional articles about CAMBES heritage, and several other activities. The main efforts in heritage work during these years at NAAM can be categorized under the following rubrics:

- Policy work for conserving heritage sites
- Heritage education
- Heritage preservation
- Developing tools for heritage preservation
- Providing space for dialogue on issues of history and cultural heritage

Despite a long list of activities NAAM still has the image of being distant from the general population. This is voiced by NAAM-partners as well as the media. It is a curious narrative since NAAM has several activities per year with 50-150 members of the public participating (a reasonable number for the kind of activities that NAAM organizes), NAAM has been in the news and on the most popular talk shows on the radio and television for an average of twice a month in the past two years, produced two major textbook series in intensive collaboration with local schools (one for teaching history and another for teaching intangible heritage), and has been in the picture on controversial issues such as the development of boutique housing on land that was a major site of the 1795 slave rebellion, or the persistence of Zwarte Piet in the Sanikolas festivities in Curacao. The NAAM building is regularly used by other

organizations as a venue for meetings and activities, and several people offer their volunteer services every year. After years of having schools visit NAAM exhibits regularly, this activity has recently been discontinued due to lack of finance and logistical issues.

So, what renders all this work invisible, eclipsed by an image of remoteness? Some of the comments gathered in informal settings mention that NAAM is a place for intellectuals, too far from the central downtown area, has little parking space for evening events, does not provide programming for the popular sectors, is too academic in its approach, and does not organize events. While parking is a real issue, all the other points can be shown not to be true.

Social leadership: choosing inclusiveness and transformation
A clue might be found in the image of NAAM as an NPO and the depth of sustained collaborative work it has or has not been able to maintain. In its philosophy NAAM pursues the engagement characteristic of an NPO/NGO with its functions of service, innovation, advocacy and social change, individual and group self-expression, and community building (cf Hupe et al., 2000). In this sense, it might be well served by a critical engagement of the New Managerialist discourse and its as yet unstudied entanglement with desirable heritage pasts. This combination tends to sidestep crucial policy issues such as the effect on archaeological and intangible heritage by land use in a Small Island Developing State (SIDS), research-based education on history and culture, the legacy of past economic practices in today's informal economy as viable sources of sustainable development, or the impact of historic trauma and community wisdom on social development and identity formation. Most of all, however, the impact of managerialism combined with an uncritical interest in desirable pasts is not conducive to community/participatory programming and program impact assessment within a SIDS framework.

A move away from managerialism might entail bending the *management of culture approach* toward one of *shared social leadership*. It is noticeable that in the managerialist environment of the past years NAAM made the move from identifying itself as a "museum" to defining itself as "memory management". A move from the decidedly fluctuating notion of what a museum is (with its history of colonial entanglements and its multiple and complex issues of identity representations, as well as being an underfunded entity) toward a definite managerial concept, brings the privatization of the nineties to another level, at least in strategic conceptual terms. The NPO/NGO characteristics of service, innovation, advocacy and social change, individual and group self-expression, and community building mentioned above could certainly be conceptualized and structured around either a managerial or a social leadership notion of the organization. But, whereas managerialism moves from goal

setting and aligns or uses the resources efficiently to accomplish these goals, social or participatory-transformational leadership sets out to do the same but with sustained social participation. Emphasizing participatory engagement, it highlights the socially inclusive goal setting that might go missing even in the PPP or PBC[2] environment, whereas its transformational stance calls for a more specific commitment to impact assessment that evaluates social and environmental resources with the same persistence and rigor that is applied to financial and other operational resources. Rather than a marketing ploy, however, this needs to be an authentic organizational commitment because PPP, PBC or NPO/NGOs can use social accounting as obfuscation rather than providing transparency or delivering the intended social transformation (Spence, 2009).

On an operational level NAAM has started with so-called open rounds to experiment with the culture change required for this. Open rounds bring social actors from various fields to NAAM to explore specific topics in a group setting. Any participant may suggest or enact their own follow up to these meetings, but NAAM also takes the results of the meetings as points of departure for programming that will be coordinated with her social partners. Broader, community based planning is also envisioned for the future. This fits perfectly in the new orientation NAAM is planning. Partly in response, however, to the worsening financial situation of the island and the resulting insecurity about public subsidies NAAM is also embarking on a restructuring of commercializable services and better procurement of private funding to complement subsidies, which have been structurally insufficient, leaving an estimated 20-30% of public services rendered to the government to be covered by other (commercial) sources of income. This would lead to a more solid triple sourced income base (public, commercial and private funding) to be complemented by triple-cost social accounting. Long-time internal discussions on mission and vision have thus been quickened in the new financial environment. The current desirable pasts might make way for shared planned futures.

On a more structural level NAAM will initiate a new direction that combines social engagement and inclusiveness toward sustainability in the cultural sector as well as having the cultural sector be a source of sustainability for the community at large. The combined effects of the cultural destructuring of the 80's, SIDS economies of scale, intra-Kingdom migration dynamics, and other structural problems[3] include, among

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[2] PPP or TBL refers to the profit, people, planet or triple bottom line approach where a corporation accounts not only in the traditional terms of profit, but also looks at the impact of its processes on the natural and social environments in which it operates. PBC refers to Public Benefit Corporations, which while also pursuing profit actively pursue activities that have specific critical social benefit for the communities in which they operate.

[3] Some of these include the lack of actual community participation in social and community projects or the de-intellectualization of the intelligentsia through their being siphoned off into civil service or managerial jobs. Especially in the 70's and 80's intellectuals returning from the Netherlands after their

other things:

- a lack of continuity in the humanities and social sciences, or in arts education
- a graying of the community of scholars, in step with a wider trend of graying in the community
- short lived or projected short-lived local legacies in the arts, social sciences, humanities
- an incredibly short memory regarding our own local achievements
- a prima facie assumption that we have only mimicked external production
- a visible plethora of methods, ideas, interests that do not fit in the local context and do constitute mimicry

This context might be seen as a starting point for rooting a sorely needed community participatory model for a heritage institute. This is different from a participatory museum [as described by Nina Simon in her book *The participatory museum*]. The participatory museum model assumes that the museum *involves visitors* in its programming, whereas the current article sees NAAM as a heritage institute that *is involved in the community* in a broader sense. Participation is defined here as the institution's conscious and voluntary incorporation in the community's processes. This perspective could be a starting point for programmatic initiatives, but should be especially fruitful if seen as an incentive for dialogues about heritage, its place in the community and the community's role in defining how to deal with it.

Any new direction will not come out of nothing. NAAM will have to minimally take into account the following:

- The implementation of the 2003 *Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage*
- NAAM's commitment to a SIDS framework as part of its membership in the National UNESCO Commission and its role therein as promotor of the Social Sciences and the Humanities.
- The implementation of the Malta Treaty, or the 1992 *European Convention on the Protection of the Archaeological Heritage*

These are major frameworks of action for heritage work on the island and certainly for a participatory approach to heritage. The 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Heritage calls for NGOs to support communities in defining and safeguarding their intangible heritage. This places participatoriness in a specific and clear perspective: the NGO is not the main agent. While the government or NGOs might promote the safeguarding of heritage, the ones to actually define what heritage

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studies would become civil servants and managers in either the public or commercial sectors. Thus, the humanities and the sciences might be well represented in terms of training, but not at all in terms of development of their respective disciplines on the island, as most graduates do not go on to do research, writing or teaching in their fields of training.

is and how it is to be safeguarded are community actors directly responsible or related to the specific heritage they want safeguarded. The framework for the convention sets parameters for this work in ways that influence how NAAM will be functioning in the future. While NAAM does not only work with intangible heritage, it is a major player in this area. Besides being the point organization for the implementation of the convention in Curacao, it also has substantial collections of oral history, artefacts that are markers of intangible culture, such as paraphernalia of ceremonial and ritual complexes, or artifacts that point to popular cosmologies. In order to work in the spirit of the convention both of these roles of NAAM require intensive dialogue with the community.

The SIDS framework also calls even more profoundly for a vision of inclusiveness. SIDS has predefined areas of attention based on the defining characteristics of SIDS, which include small size, remoteness (less of a factor for Curaçao than for some other SIDS), vulnerability to external shocks, a narrow resource base, and exposure to global environmental challenges. Although the framework itself potentially affords great power to an organization like NAAM, and more so to governments, seen from a heritage work perspective a great deal of collaboration is required with other civil organizations. The web of interconnected issues that the SIDS framework identifies can only be addressed through joint efforts.

Finally, the Malta Treaty, set up to protect archaeological heritage, must be considered. A major component of the treaty is public awareness. Teaching the public about its archaeological heritage, however, requires a critical understanding of the place of this heritage in current and future community identity and social development. This, in turn, calls for deciding, with the community, what directions to take in this respect. The Malta Treaty dovetails with other treaties that would require similar attention to community participation, such as the *Convention on the Protection of the Underwater Cultural Heritage (2001).*

The legal, policy and public environment in which NAAM operates thus calls for strategic involvement with the community. Beyond such directives, participatoriness and community involvement might be conceptualized in different ways. The bare minimum needs could be covered by desk research on community trends, census reviews, news content analysis combined with public information practices and campaigns. On the other hand, true community involvement goes beyond these one-sided actions. Regional standards, experiments, experiences and best practices include concepts such as Latin American *gestión cultural* or *gestión comunitaria*, innovative approaches to the implementation of the intangible heritage convention in Belize and

Jamaica, and the participatory creation of a cultural policy for Curaçao. To learn from these experiences NAAM might be well served by creating new spaces of dialogue or expanding current ones with local cultural agents and those in the region.

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THE ORIGIN OF THE DANDE TRADITION IN ARUBA

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Stima bo cultura.
Aprecia bo tradicion.
Duna balor na bo folklore.
Cultura di un pueblo ta rikesa
y grandesa di nos pais Aruba.

Bernadina Growell
Mama di Cultura di Aruba
(1939 - 2009)

Love your culture.
Appreciate your tradition.
Give value to your folklore.
The culture of the people is the
richness and greatness of our
country Aruba.

Bernadina Growell
Mother of Culture of Aruba
(1939 - 2009)

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Introduction

In Aruba, at the end of the year, a typical 'new year's tradition' is celebrated called the Dande. It is typical because although there are various cultural expressions shared by the only three countries in the world where Papiamento is spoken, the Dande tradition is not known on the other two islands of Bonaire and Curaçao. It is a tradition which started as a New Year's activity, but nowadays can be designated as an 'end of the year tradition' and a 'new year tradition'. The fact is that, in its present form, the Dande tradition is a result of various adaptations since its appearance.

While at the turn of the 20th century the Dande tradition was celebrated on New Year's Day, today it starts a few days before the end of the year. While the Dande tradition was formerly celebrated in family circles, since the second half of the 20th century the Dande tradition has become more commercialized. While formerly mostly local people celebrated Dande, at present foreigners also request and/or accept a Dande Group to come and celebrate with them.

The Dande tradition is a cultural activity, in which a group of musicians and singers play and sing a form of folkloric music in Papiamento also called "Dande". Formerly this Dande group would sing the Dande songs to families and friends. The group would go on *paranda*, from house to house in their neighborhood or in

other districts to present the Dande songs, from right after midnight on January 1st until well into the next day.

In principle, the lyrics of the Dande songs wish each family a happy new year and many blessings for the coming year. The Dande group has a lead singer who presents the verses, to which the rest of the group responds as a choir with their voices and musical instruments. A very unique aspect of the Dande lyrics is that their content has two contradictory sides, providing a space for grieving over events of the past year as well as a space for laughing and dancing with happiness to usher in the New Year.

The fact that the Dande has always been expressed in the Papiamento language is quite remarkable, because Aruba is known to be a multi-lingual country. This means that despite the strong influences that the Dutch, English and Spanish languages have had on various musical expressions in Aruba, Dande has maintained itself for some two centuries as one of the cultural activities where the Papiamento language is used in a poetic way to its fullest.

Past research on Dande has been based mostly on non-scientific publications and oral histories collected by the Center for Research and Development at the University of Aruba in partnership with the Department of Culture of Aruba. There are still many questions which are still not answered. The main challenge of the present research is to answer to as many of these questions as possible, starting with the main question: What is the origin of Dande?

The origins of Dande

For many years different people, both Aruban nationals and foreigners, have tried to provide an answer to this specific question. According to a publication by Eloy Koolman, the grandson of Jan Hendrik Marcus (Jendi) Koolman (1885-1967), the Dande tradition originated in the District of Savaneta in the 1860s.[1] Jendi Koolman was among the first Dande singers and this music was passed to him by his father Jan Leoncio Pieter Koolman Jr. who was a composer of Dande music, his only instrument being the 'tambu'[2] drum. In this publication it is mentioned that Leoncio Pieter Koolman Jr.'s father was an Englishman John Peter Lionce Coleman, who was married to Anna Maria Noguera, a singer and a composer of *tambu* songs, waltz and *danza*. It is not indicated where Mrs. Noguera was born, an urgent topic for further research.

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[1] From an interview with Eloy Koolman by Theolindo Lopez published in Revista Boulevard (1980).

[2] Tambu is a kind of drum with a membrane over one end, which was made at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century in Aruba by using a piece of the trunk of the tree called *palesia*. After the LAGO oil refinery was established in Aruba, the tambu was made from the ready-made wooden drums in which nails were imported by LAGO. In the book *Tambu artisanal tradicional di Aruba*, Celia Thiel provides an account of the construction and the use of the instrument tambu in Aruba.

In a publication by Melvin Boekhoudt in *Nos Dande nos cultura* (2005), one of the first documented Dande lyrics is published, namely that sung by Simon (Buchi Mon) Krozendijk, (1880-1983). In this publication it is also indicated that Juan Gregorio (Goi) Krozendijk, (born in 1854), used to sing the Dande long before Buchi Mon. While Celia Thiel (2012) traces the Krozendijk Dande tradition back to Wimpi Maduro (born in 1836) and forward to Goi Ras (born in 1906) and Vicente Ras (born in 1930), Melvin Boekhoudt argues that because Mrs. Maria Zebel Krozendijk (born 1800), the great grandmother of Buchi Mon Krozendijk, was a slave who came from Cuba to Aruba, the Dande tradition should have an origin in Africa. Obviously, more genealogical research needs to be carried out in places such as Curaçao, and the Netherlands to track down the ancestors of known Dande singers. In the future, researchers from Aruba should also work together with researchers in Cuba and in Africa to try to shed light on the origins of Dande.

Most of the written documentation about Dande consists of articles published by various persons in magazines, newspapers or booklets. A more academic work is that of Celia Thiel, which in fact is more focused on the tradition of another genre, that of *tambu*, which, however, includes a subgenre called *Dande di Tambu*. Thiel uses historical evidence to trace the origin of the *Dande di Tambu* to her family line, which arrived in Aruba between 1790 and 1850, and is based in the district of Brazil on Aruba. Celia Thiel herself has participated in the *paranda di Dande* and inherited the tradition from her family.

Future research on the Dande tradition

Dande is a tradition which has various aspects connected with the context in which it is celebrated and experienced. For example, the term Dande can be used to refer to the song and music: the Dande singer or *Cantado di Dande*; the Dande music player or *Tocado di Dande*; with reference to the *paranda* as in *Ban pasa Dande*, which means "Let's go Dande" or the blessing received from a Dande Group as in *Mi a haya Dande* or "I have got Dande". It is therefore essential that researchers interview various kinds of persons about their experiences with Dande, in order to understand the tangible and the intangible cultural aspects of the Dande tradition and to be able in the end to present a holistic view of it. It is also important to document and analyze the experiences of the older generations as well as the contemporary generation to include the experiences of Dande singers, Dande players, Dande composers, live Dande audiences and Dande listeners via the media. The analysis of oral history should make it possible to present a historical description of Dande in the various periods since the beginning of the tradition. It will also make it possible to analyze the dynamics and changes which have taken place over the history of Dande. It will also be necessary to compare the Dande tradition in

Aruba with similar End of the Year and/or New Year's traditions in other countries where the Dande families in Aruba have ancestors, like Cuba.

Research on Dande will be largely carried out at the level of intangible cultural heritage. This kind of research is best conducted utilizing certain methodologies (Jeanne Henriquez, 2013). In the case of Dande, the literature consists mostly of non-academic publications many by people who are the heirs to Dande traditions in their families. Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999), professor of education and Maori development at the University of Waikato in New Zeeland, sees such sources as equally valuable to more traditionally 'academic' ones. Smith is of the opinion that:

> One problem of being trained to read this way, or, more correctly, of learning to read this way over many years of academic study, is that we can adopt uncritically similar patterns of writing. We begin to write about ourselves as indigenous peoples as if we really were 'out there', the other, with all the baggage that this entails. Another problem is that academic writing is a form of selecting, arranging and presenting knowledge. It privileges sets of texts, views about the history of an idea, what issues count as significant; and, by engaging in the same process uncritically, we too can render indigenous writers invisible or unimportant while reinforcing the validity of other writers. If we write without thinking critically about our writing, it can be dangerous. (Tuhiwai Smith: 36)

It is also important to be very critical about the way non-locals are approaching our Intangible Heritage in Aruba. With regard to this Linda Smith asserts that:

> It is also about reconciling and reprioritizing what is really important about the past with what is important about the present. These issues raise significant questions for indigenous communities, who are not only beginning to fight back against the invasion of their communities by academic, corporate and populist researchers, but to think about, and carry out research, on their own concerns. One of the problems discussed in this first section of this book is that the methodologies and methods of research, the theories that inform them, the questions which they generate and the writing styles they employ, all become significant acts, which need to be considered carefully and critically before being applied. In other words, they need to be 'decolonized'. Decolonization, however, does not mean and has not meant a total rejection of all theory or research or Western knowledge. Rather, it is about centering our concerns and world views and then coming to know and understand theory and research from our own perspectives and for our own purposes. …. (Tuhiwai Smith: 39)

The reasons why the interpretation, the description, the history and the origin of the tradition of Dande matter to people of Aruba are many. The fact that the Dande tradition is one of the oldest folklore activities that still is alive makes it worthy of scientific study, in honor of all our ancestors who made it possible for us to enjoy and live this special occasion each year, over and over again. The description however must be reliable for the carriers of the traditions. Linda Smith is of the opinion that: "So, reading and interpretation present problems when we do not see ourselves in the text. There are problems too, when we do see ourselves but can barely recognize ourselves through the representation. (Tuhiwai Smith: 35)

Scientific research and publication facilitate Arubans' understanding of Dande history in relation to their own history in the context of the Caribbean and the African Diaspora in the Caribbean.[3] For example, over the course of my research, I was able to gather some information about a West African New Year celebration in Cabo Verde called Festas di San Silvestre. This folklore tradition is described by Dr. Manuel Veiga, professor at the University of Cabo Verde, in this way:

> "… there is the tradition to wish the best wishes to friends and neighbors, while singing traditional songs, or by groups of children, either by musical accompaniment, on the night of 31st of December and January 1st of each year. Friends or neighbors visited must give drink to the singers and offer money, no matter the amount. Get well and best wishes are always signs of a good year."
> (Veiga, personal communication, November 7th, 2014)

The fact that the celebration of Boas Festas in Cabo Verde has some of the same features as the the Dande celebration in Aruba, and the fact that historically a significant part of the slave trade to the Caribbean passed through Cabo Verde makes it imperative that we take a closer look at possible African and Afro-Caribbean sources for Dande. In this connection anthropological research by Rose Mary Allen (see her article in this volume) on Afro-Curaçaoan-Cuban connections as well as historical research by Aruban scholar Miguel Donata should be consulted.

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[3] Yet the first slave societies of the Atlantic world existed in the African Atlantic, and not in the Caribbean or the Americas. They were formed on the Canaries, Cabo Verde and Saõ Tomé: in these island communities, societies based on a slave mode of production were well established by the time the first sugar mill was built on Hispaniola in 1516. The importance of these early slave societies and of the early transatlantic slave trade has been underestimated by historians. (Green, 2011)

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WHO PLAYS WHAT ROLE TO TAKE THE STAGE? THE GOVERNANCE OF STAGING AUTHENTICITY AND COMMODIFICATION OF CULTURAL HERITAGE IN ARUBA

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Introduction and statement of problem

What is Aruba known for internationally? The most common answer would be its white beaches, the blue water, and perhaps the exotic and friendly people. Over the last decades Aruba has promoted these natural assets of the island in order to attract as many visitors as possible and feed the main pillar of its economy: tourism. Also, most events and products on Aruba are meant to entertain and serve the (mainly American) tourists, without using and/or emphasizing local craftsmanship, materials or other relevant cultural elements. From the 1950's onwards, the rapidly increased tourism sector has overshadowed the local and typical Aruban cultural heritage more and more.

> "Tourism and the 'American way life' seem to be the new cultural standard for many Arubans and immigrants in this fast changing society. [...] Cultural elements that typify the identity of Aruba's core population for many, such as the close family ties, the districts-orientation and the strong Catholicism, are under pressure of many demands of the labour market and the consumptive lifestyle of big parts of the population." (Alofs & Merkies, 2001: 235)

This danger for culture is true for the entire Caribbean, according to Lasten (2010: 33): "Governments, especially in the Caribbean, did not see or predict that culture, nature, and heritage were important funding mechanisms for the economy. Efforts were guided by politics and directed towards hotels in capitals and small manufactured attractions."

As Arubans have become aware of the issue of diminishing Aruban heritage and the enormous size of the tourism sector, several projects have been initiated to highlight the Aruban cultural heritage and counter the effects of tourism. Typical, one might even say authentic, Aruban commodities, traditions and events have been commercialized and staged for the public to enjoy. MacCannel (1976) described this phenomenon as the situation in which the tourist attraction sets the stage for the visitors, who make

up the audience. These spectators, if successful, are not aware of this setup and experience the act as a real event. Many of these projects have taken into account the large number of tourists on the island and have specifically focused on this group with regards to the promotion and sales of Aruban heritage. "[...] Forgotten historical and cultural elements may bring a new dimension of life for the well being of local citizens and the tourism industry. Building new staged-authentic heritage tourist attractions has the potential to diversify the tourism offerings of many tourist destinations and especially those of small island nations." (Lasten, 2010: 6-7). Moreover, it can create a new and unique 'stamp' of the nation, which can make both locals and visitors aware of the national culture.

Unfortunately, in general it appears to be rather hard to successfully stage and commodify cultural heritage; there exists a continuous search to find a proper balance between authenticity and commercial aspects. If the heritage becomes too commercialized, the supposedly authentic experience is corrupted by the arbitrating factors and is taken out of its local context (MacCannell, 1992). It is argued by many that in those cases "cultural products are taken out of their context by the tourism industry through which they are left without any value" (Van Wijk, 2005: 20). This can also be the case in Aruba, which could explain why many of these initiatives have failed and only some have been successful.

In order to safeguard (and perhaps even revive) the cultural heritage of Aruba in the future, it is on the one hand useful to know what factors have contributed to the success of various projects and, on the other hand, to be aware of the obstacles that have caused failure of projects in the past. Moreover, it is important to see which actors are involved, what role they take and how they relate to each other.

This research aims to review the success- and failure factors and will, based on these factors and the actors involved, propose recommendations for future projects of the commodification and staging of Aruban cultural heritage. The intention of the researcher in the current study is to develop a recipe for planning and designing a staged heritage project specifically for Aruba. Like many small island nations in the Caribbean that are known for their attractive sun, sea, and sand, Aruba also has a story to tell beyond this appeal. These recommendations for successful implementation of staged Aruban heritage are intended to act as a suggestive tool for policy-makers, developers, and researchers in the planning and designing of future staged heritage attractions and products.

Research Question

Based on the statement of the problem, the main research question is:
How can the success and failure of heritage projects in Aruba be explained and how can the success rate be improved?

In order to answer this main research question properly, several subquestions are posed in order to provide a clear framework of knowledge. The subquestions are the following:

- 1) What are the social, cultural, economic and political conditions in Aruba in which cultural heritage developers design cultural projects for tourism purposes?
- 2) What is the role of project developers, the government, and the cultural heritage community when implementing cultural heritage projects?
- 3) What is the vision of the different actors with regard to the balance between cultural authenticity and the commercialization for tourism?
- 4) Which factors have led to success and which have led to failure in initiating and maintaining heritage projects?
- 5) What recommendations can be made in order to improve the success rate of heritage projects in Aruba?

Relevance

In order to effectively add to the already existing literature regarding the topic of cultural heritage, heritage commodification, staging, and nation branding, this paper studies initiators' and stakeholders' views on the factors that are relevant to past failures and successes of various heritage projects on Aruba with regards to tourism. The study of cultural tourism is a rather new academic field, but has already shown that this type of tourism has great impacts on society and its citizens. This research can add to the already existing knowledge in this field and can be an incentive and inspiration for future studies.

Findings of similar studies in the past have provided directions for (local) policy-makers, planners and developers. As a sense of a national identity can change over time, identification through, for example, a big tourism sector or strategies of nation branding, governments and stakeholders can actively alter policies to (re)brand a nation's identity. In particular, results of this paper can add to the success of implementation strategies for cultural heritage projects, which can cause an increase in Arubans' awareness and valuing of local cultural heritage and national pride. Moreover, successful implementation of heritage projects can lead to diversification within the Aruban tourism sector, making Aruba a more distinctive, and thus, attractive destination compared to its current and future competitors.

Methods

Data was obtained through semi-structured interviews with relevant initiators, stakeholders, policy-maker and experts with regard to cultural heritage projects in Aruba. They have been divided into three groups, as referred to in sub-question two: project developers, civil servants, and members of the cultural heritage community. A list of

the organizations related to the interviews is provided in the next section. The interviews were conducted according to a topic list, which directly follows from the academic literature review (see appendix 1). During the interviews notes were made using a notebook and pen. These notes were subsequently written out digitally. During the interviews, the aim was to ask questions in as open a manner as possible and to minimally steer the interviewee. By posing follow-up questions, the understanding of the content could be confirmed and validity of the information could be guaranteed. In addition, follow-up questions provided the possibility for obtaining detailed information concerning specific topics. All interviews were successful and usually much more information and background was given than expected, which was an enjoyable experience. Based on different angles and perspectives, the researcher was been able to gain a comprehensive vision on the political, economic and social/cultural conditions in Aruba, especially with regards to cultural heritage.

A theoretical framework was obtained through a literature review of academic papers concerning nation branding, cultural heritage, staged heritage, tourism, and the social imaginary. Reports on government programs were also obtained and studied. Information from several (statistical) websites was used as well.

Interviews

Over the course of the interviews, individuals involved the following projects, bodies and social sectors were consulted:

Cultural Heritage Projects

Archeological Museum (2009 - present)

Art Galleries (various dates)

Artesania (1972 - early 1990's)

Bon Bini Festival (2011 - present)

Caribbean Sea Jazz Festival (2007 - present)

Carubbean Festival (2011 - present)

Casa di Cultura (1958 - present)

Historical Museum (1983 - present)

International Dance Festival (1989 - 1999)

Monuments Fund (1996 - present)

Monuments Bureau (1996 - present)

Terafuse Aruba (2008 - present)

Union di Organisacionnan Cultural Arubano (UNOCA) (1986 - present)

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) (1987 - present)

Governmental Bodies

Aruban Tourism Authority (ATA)

Directie Cultuur Aruba (DCA)

Ministry of Education
Ministry of Culture and Tourism
Ministry of Economic Affairs
Seyo Nacional pa Artesania Aruba
Cultural Heritage Community
Academics
Artists
Cultural Practitioners Bon Bini Festival
Cultural Practitioners Carubbean Festival
Cultural Practitioners Palm Beach
Teachers of Art

Data collection

Cultural heritage, commercialization and its effects

For the sake of simplicity, this study uses the definition of cultural heritage as proposed by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), which states that the term cultural heritage encompasses several main categories of heritage: 1) tangible cultural heritage, consisting out of movable heritage (e.g. paintings, sculptures), immovable heritage (e.g. monuments, archeological sites), and underwater heritage (e.g. shipwrecks), and 2) intangible heritage (e.g. oral traditions, rituals, performing arts) (UNESCO, 2015).

As this study is considering those cultural heritage projects that have a focus on the tourism market, some complications should be taken into account. The tourism sector, to start with, can transform culture into a commodity that can be consumed by tourists, by selling the experience of visiting the country; culture, in the tourism sector, is truly a product. From this perspective, tourism can be seen as a unique form of consumption (Burns, 1999; Franklin, 2003). Cohen described this as commoditization, the *"process by which things (and activities) come to be evaluated primarily in terms of their exchange value; in a context of trade, thereby becoming goods (and services); developed exchange systems in which the exchange value of things (and activities) is stated in terms of prices from a market"* (Cohen, 1988: 380). By providing these typical authentic culture experiences as commodities to the public, they are (sometimes literally) given a platform on which to perform, a form of staged authenticity (MacCannell, 1976; Pattullo, 2005).

However, the commercialization of these products and events is thought to involve risks: Cohen (1988) and Lasten (2010) mention that tourism can negatively influence areas of community life through commodification and that commodification is believed to destroy local culture and heritage with a proxy of staged authenticity. On the other hand, several researchers argue that while commodification and staged authenticity can indeed cause the loss of the original meaning of a cultural product, at the

same time they can bring about a new meaning (Wu et al., 2014; Brida et al., 2014; Lepp & Harris, 2008; Liu & Var, 1986; Franklin, 2003; Smith, 1989; Van Wijk, 2005).

Governance of Cultural Heritage
Project Developers
In the past, researchers have studied the management of cultural heritage projects and proposed various models that indicate key focus points: Fyall & Garrod (1998) provide five pillars for successful management, focusing on financial and intellectual accessibility and balancing authenticity with needs of visitors. Kaiser & Helber (1978) argue that only structured planning can provide predictability in cultural heritage management and provide a 10-step planning process. McKercher et al. (2005) identified four issues in explaining unsuccessful cultural heritage projects related to tourism, indicating that a lack of understanding in marketing and promoting cultural heritage to the tourism sectors were the biggest problems. Carlsen et al. (2008) propose nine success factors for cultural heritage managers, which are listed below and provide the base for the qualitative section of this study:

a) *Agreed objectives and clear concepts;*
b) *Financial planning for budgeting, capital raising and price setting;*
c) *Effective marketing strategies based on sound market research;*
d) *Destination and proximity to major markets and visitor flows;*
e) *Human resource management, including paid staff and volunteers;*
f) *Planning for product differentiation, life cycles and value adding;*
g) *Quality and authenticity of products and experiences;*
h) *Engagement of cultural heritage and tourism expertise in conservation and promotion;*
i) *Inclusion in design of interpretation as an integral part of the heritage tourism experience.*

Results of this study will also be tested according to the model advanced by Lasten (2010), which takes not only both demand and supply into account, but also external factors, such as government policies, competition and financial backing (see image below (Lasten, 2010: 77)). By analysing the results of this study, it is possible to determine what factors of Lasten's model (as depicted in the diagram below) seem most relevant for Aruba.

External factors

i. Organization & leadership

a. Natural resources

b. Cultural resources

c. Entrepreneurship

d. Finance

e. Labor

f. Competition

g. Community

h. Government policies & Legal aspects

Supply-Side

Seasonality

Site

Assets

Services

Marketing identity

Arts, crafts, drawings

Artifacts, machines

Information & promotion

Accommodation

Transportation, Infrastructure

1. Radius, size characteristics, carrying capacity

2. Admission prices (e.g., tickets, currency, time, access)

Tourists & Locals *Demand-Side*

3. Demographic/ Socioeconomic

4. Other statistics (e.g., sense of arrival, place, and time)

5. Story

Government and heritage community

Although it is important to look at the relevant factors for cultural managers when studying the governance of cultural heritage projects, it is also necessary see what other actors can be involved. It is clear that the government often has a task with regards to policies about culture and national identity, usually implemented through a minister. More interestingly, though, is the role of the citizen; as it is a given that culture is created and shaped by an entire population, it seems logical that the 'normal citizen' would have a say in cultural heritage projects.

According to Arnstein (1969), many democratic governments like to argue that they would like citizen participation to be at a high level and idealize the participation of those that are governed. However, Arnstein continues, although it is easy to use terms such as citizen participation or even citizen power, there exist different gradations of citizen participation that go beyond hierarchical top-down and bottom-up strategy models. "There is a critical difference between going through the empty ritual of participation and having the real power needed to affect the outcome of the process" (Arnstein, 1969: 216). Arnstein created a simplified ladder of citizen participation,

consisting of eight different rungs where the first rung represents the least citizen participation and the last the most: 1) manipulation (e.g. advisory sub-committees), 2) therapy (e.g. palliative participation), 3) informing (e.g. only top-down communication), 4) consultation (e.g. neighborhood meetings), 5) placation (e.g. committee member without decision power), 6) partnership (joint decision-making bodies), 7) delegated power (e.g. dominant decision-making power for citizens on boards), and 8) citizen control (e.g. citizen-governed programs). The first two rungs fall into the category of nonparticipation, the following three rungs are referred to as degrees of tokenism, and the last three are categorized as degrees of citizen power. Using Arnstein's model of civil participation, one is able to describe the level of participatory governance in a society as a whole or per sector. This study has solely focused on an analysis of the culture sector in Aruba, whereas others have studied the same in, for example, the sustainability sector in Aruba (Spier, 2014).

Interviews

In this section, all sub-questions as posed in the first chapter will be answered based on the information retrieved during the conducted interviews.

1) Although culture has been overshadowed by the focus on the tourist economy in the past decades, many interviewees and other Arubans seem to realize that their national culture and history needs to be conserved and treasured. All interviewees state that they are enthusiastic towards the development of culture in Aruba and believe that Arubans have started to value cultural aspects of society more and more over the past years. Also economically, it seems to be a great investment opportunity for Aruba to brand itself not only as a destination for sun, sea and sand, but also for a cultural experience. Marketing itself as a cultural destination within the Caribbean would supply tourists with a wider variety of pull-factors to visit Aruba. Moreover, there seems to be an increasing demand by tourists for cultural experiences when visiting Aruba as compared to the past (Croes et al., 2011). The government is aware of this demand and, under the supervision of the current minister, tourism and culture are now united in a ministry for the first time in Aruban history. All in all, it is safe to conclude that social, economic, and political conditions are optimal for the development of cultural heritage projects for tourism purposes. However, the cultural conditions are weak due to the young age of the national culture and the sensitive nature of the topic.

2) The government takes on strong role in the implementation of cultural heritage projects. As the main financer of most projects government can greatly influence the development and shape of a project. Also, although some projects are financially independent, the government is able to fill multiple positions on the board in charge. In particular, the minister of culture and tourism seems to have a clear vision of how to

combine tourism and culture and as to which people should be in charge of combining them. Consequently, project developers and their successes are rather dependent on whether or not the project's vision fits that of the minister. The cultural heritage community is also aware of this and maintains a cynical approach toward the government with respect to its statements regarding involvement of the community in the decision-making process. It seems as if all three groups agree on the fact that the minister is, just like any other minister, eager to leave his mark in Aruban history. This has resulted in poor civil participation according to most project developers and all members of the cultural heritage community, while the government states that efforts to achieve this are being made (e.g. the consultation sessions that the Directie Cultuur Aruba (DCA) has held or the group discussions that have taken place with stakeholders concerning the transformation of San Nicolas into a cultural city).

3) All groups appear to agree on the fact that culture should not be commercialized too much, as this can negatively affect the authenticity. In order for culture to be attractive, most interviewees argue that civil participation should be high so that the product is not taken out of its context. Although the government aims to stage culture so that it remains authentic, most project developers and members of the cultural heritage community criticize the government for having too much of a commercial approach in balancing culture with tourism. Specifically the current minister is said to think more from the demand perspective of the tourists with regards to commercializing culture; an opinion also shared by most civil servants.

4) One of the main factors leading to success is a high level of creativity; all three groups share this view. It was remarkable that almost all interviewees replied that these creative ideas had high levels of authentic quality as opposed to more commercialized products that one finds more often in Aruba.

However, it must been said that there are many pitfalls when it comes to the implementation of cultural heritage projects in Aruba. One of the main causes for this, as explained by all interviewees, is that cultural development in Aruba is very young. There is still a lack of local professionals and experts to provide a solid base for properly organized projects. Some factors that lead to failure can be found in the lack of financial planning, while others can be found in the low levels of concept quality. In general, this has created a cultural sector that has an absence of professional and constructive criticism, but is dominated by an emotional atmosphere (which is also due to the sensitive nature of the topic). In addition, the small-scale of the Aruban society adds to the role egocentrism plays in cultural development and results in a sector that rules out any form of collaboration, which consequently leads to inefficient use of resources.

Most interestingly, though, is that the government plays a deciding role in determining the success or failure of most cultural heritage projects. Just like most project developers, the government seems to fall prey to the same egocentrism mentioned above in generating cultural heritage projects. All interviewees, including all civil servants, have admitted to the fact that your social network and personal ties with policy-makers, specifically those with the minister, are the main determinants of success. As one of the interviewees stated, culture has become a political tool.

Discussion and recommendations

All in all, two problems can be identified with regard to the development of cultural heritage projects in Aruba:

1) There seems to be an inconsistent view concerning the role that government takes; whereas the government itself states that the participation of the cultural heritage community is important and actively tries to engage them, community members and project developers both believe that their opinions are not being heard and taken into account when developing policies and plans. The government seems to suggest that it is involving the community at rung five (placation) or even six (partnership) of Arnstein's scale, but community members and project developers argue that their participation level should be categorized more as at rung four (consultation). It is clear that a degree of tokenism from the government toward other actors involved in the development of cultural heritage is evident.

2) The strong presence of egocentrism among all actors in the cultural heritage sector in Aruba, which is presumably the result of a form of nationalistic pride, creates the absence of any form of collaboration. Politically short-term thinking, in particular, stimulates this environment. Even though four years are not enough to properly develop an impressive and successful cultural heritage project, ministers in charge only have that amount of time before the next national elections take place. Due to the fact that every minister seems to try putting his or her mark on Aruban society within this period of time, those that are active in the cultural sector are extremely dependent on the minister's view. This, taking into account that most cultural projects need a longer time to develop, proves to be counterproductive with regard to what tourists demand, stakeholders long for and the minister of culture purports to achieve (i.e. sustainable culture in Aruba).

Thus, in order to answer sub-question number five, we can state that neither the top-down approach, nor the bottom-up approach, as described by Lasten (2010), can work in Aruba: the top-down approach leaves no room for civil participation, which is necessary for culture to remain authentic (especially in the case of the young culture of Aruba), whereas the bottom-up approach produces low-quality projects.

Logically, then, the solution lies in between these two extreme forms of governance. In order for the government, and specifically the minister, to achieve their goals relat-

ed to culture and tourism, it seems obvious to propose a balance whereby government offers the cultural heritage community a framework of aims and policies on the one hand, while on the other hand increasing civil participation through providing a platform for discussion that has some form of decision-making power (i.e. beyond tokenism).

In addition, it seems wise to establish a committee or council of local experts and professionals in the cultural field that can provide solicited or unsolicited advice to the government with regard to anything in the sector. Moreover, it is recommendable to put more effort into assuring transparency and public awareness, highlighting the efforts that the government makes to improve and increase civil participation in the sector. This could serve to diminish the rather cynical perspective most Arubans seem to take concerning this issue. Finally, it is advisable to maintain the efforts of the government regarding cultural education and documentation. In both the short-run and especially the long run this can greatly increase cultural awareness and vaporization on the part of Arubans.

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Appendix 1

Introduction
- Personal introduction
- Goal of the interview
- Explanation of goal of material

Personal Data
- Man/Woman
- Age
- Married/Single/Cohabiting
- Nationality/Ethnic background
- Education
- Occupation

Heritage Project
- Open questions regarding the history of the project.
  - Can you describe the development and history from the initial idea of the heritage project until its actual realization?
  - What specific steps were taken in this process?
- Direct analysis with regards to the 10-step structure as proposed by Kaiser & Helber (1978).
  - Can we tick off all steps of the structure or are several steps skipped/missing?
- Closed directed questions concerning the missing steps or missing information.
  - Did any market and resource analysis take place during the process of realizing the heritage project?
  - Was the plan approved by, for example, the government?

Contributing Factors
- Closed questions based on the project's history with regards to contributing factors detrimental to the project's success or failure.
- Goal is to categorize these factors according to the five key factors as proposed by Carlsen et al. (2008).
  - In what way has the market been analyzed and what tools/information were used?
  - How was a proper understanding of the market demand and supply created?

- Closed questions that specifically lead to categorizing success and/or failure factors to on of the elements of the detailed list of key factors as proposed by Carlsen et al. (2008).
  - Is it indeed true that there has been disagreement with regards to the objectives and concepts of the heritage project?
  - Were/are there more part-time or full-time staff member (or perhaps volunteers) and can you specify the way the staff was managed?

Nation Branding and Identity
- Open questions connecting to the academic literature regarding the national identification, the social imaginary, and nation branding.
- Goal is to investigate how these initiators/stakeholders believe their heritage projects affect these phenomena.
  - Does this heritage project have a social or economic effect? If so, how?
  - Has this project contributed to revive or alter the brand of Aruba? If so, how? If not, how could this be done in the future?

TRANSGRESSING BOUNDARIES IN RESEARCH, IDENTITY AND SOCIETY

"WE ARE OF THE SAME BLOOD": THE CURAÇAOAN-CUBAN INTRA-CARIBBEAN MIGRATION IN THE CONCEPTUALIZATION OF IDENTITY AND THE POLITICS OF BELONGING

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Curaçao is rediscovering its link with the Caribbean, in particular that with Cuba. Curaçaoans' interest concerning their family members who went to Cuba at the beginning of the 20th century and never returned, is now becoming greater than ever. This is evident in the increasing number of Curaçaoan people who are tracking their family migration history to Cuba, sometimes travelling to that country in search of their relatives.

People express this re-awakened interest in the Curaçao-Cuba connection by emphasizing that "We are of the same blood" [*nos tin mesun sanger*][1] thus encapsulating the popular idea of having the same blood running through one's veins, thus sharing a common ancestry. There is this awareness of historical kinship, which can transcend the national borders of one's own society. The notion of having the same blood is used here as a metaphor for asserting a vital connectedness between people who do not necessarily live in the same place.

What has brought about this increased interest in and search for family ties on the island of Cuba? What are the conditions in contemporary Curaçaoan society that have led to this increased interest? In this paper, I would like to examine this phenomenon as a part of the process of how Caribbean identities are continuously negotiated through intra-regional migration movements. Anthropological studies of Caribbean transnational migrations unduly examine cultural interaction and identity formation from a perspective centered on present-day transnational migrations to the metropolis (Goulbourne & Solomos, 2000). There appears to be very little study that has explored the historical resonance and active creation of identity in the present resulting from the past Caribbean migration movements, despite the fact that migration addresses issues of beliefs, social and spiritual life and therefore has an impact on people's self-

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[1] Interview R. M. Allen (1992).

awareness and self-knowledge as well as their collective conceptualization of identity (Allen, 2001; 2002).

Anthropologist Nanette de Jong who did fieldwork on the musical life of Curaçao in the 1990s detected a typical kind of affinity on the part of Afro-Curaçaoans in particular towards Cuban culture as result of the Curaçao-Cuban migration at beginning of the 20th century. According to her, Cuba had acquired a mythological status, which had been appropriated and adapted to fit the daily social life of Curaçaoans, thus enabling a new sense of belonging, and becoming part of collective memory. She named this process a "memory of memories", resulting from the retelling of cherished myths and celebration of rituals – many times with ancient antecedents – in order to reconnect to cultural origins (2009).

Curaçao's contemporary familial engagement with Cuba through its migration history can be placed within this context of memory making and keeping. I argue that these past intra-Caribbean migrations carry much potential for discovering a sense of diasporic belonging within the Caribbean context that redefines identity, either personal or collective. In Curaçao, such Cuban migration memories form part of the complexity of ways in which Curaçaoans define and re-define their places in their society and in the world (De Jong, 2009).

The data for this article are based partly on a study that I did in the 1980s and 1990s among Curaçaoan immigrant workers born during the period from the end of the 19th to the mid-20th century who had returned to Curaçao as well as those who had remained in Cuba. The resulting findings were published in several publications, including *Ta Cuba mi ke bai* (2001), *La Emigración laboral de Curazao a Cuba a principios del siglo XX: una experiencia* (Allen, 2000) and *Para Cuba quiero ir': la emigración laboral de Curazao a Cuba a principios del siglo XX* (Allen, 2002). The present article is also based on data collected from newspaper articles about the search for family members in Cuba as well as from interviews I held with some second generation Curaçaoan-Cubans and their families in Curaçao.

The birth of the Cuban-Curaçaoan diaspora

Similar to other Caribbean societies, migration is rooted in the history of Curaçao. It tells the history of people, both of African and European origin, elites as well as enslaved, men as well as women. While the elite European settlers of Curaçao have received much scholarly attention,[2] the significant role of African descendants in the formation of regional identities is less acknowledged and studied.

Even before the abolition of slavery in 1863, some members of the freed black population left the island in search of a livelihood elsewhere. A Roman Catholic priest,

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[2] Members of the Curaçaoan elites migrated to several places in the Caribbean and most of the time maintained their links with relatives.

who was interviewed in 1853 by the Commission to prepare for the impending freedom of the enslaved in Curaçao, noted that enslaved Curaçaoans, upon attaining their freedom, would certainly leave their island of birth as others had done previously. He thus underscored an already existing tradition of migration among the black population freed before the abolition of slavery. The Caribbean migration specialist Elizabeth Thomas-Hope (1992) includes this in a list of "strategies of adjustment" emphasizing migration as a survival strategy of the black working class. This adjustment was inherent in the Caribbean economic and political structure whereby families accommodated, endorsed and depended on these migration movements. This is been vividly expressed in a popular Papiamentu proverb that says *"Si bo no kana, bo atras no ta tembla"* [If you don't walk, your buttocks will not shake].

Following official emancipation in 1863, in a pattern similar those typical of other freed persons throughout the Caribbean, poor Curaçaoans supplied labor for countries in the region that needed workers for specific projects. They were recruited to build Latin American railroads and to dig the Panama Canal, often times by companies who needed cheap laborers. The recently freed slaves, who had little access to land and few educational opportunities, served their purposes well. These Afro-Caribbean people, living in extreme poverty, were eager to leave their country and make a better life for themselves. This was similar to other European and Asian immigrants' historical experience, and for the first time, freed Afro-Caribbean people were able to join the ranks of 'voluntary' migrants in search of economic opportunity. In 1872 for example, 399 laborers from Curaçao went to work on railway construction projects in Costa Rica (Römer, 1979). Ten years later, it was the construction of the Panama Canal that attracted poor black workers from Curaçao. Later, others left Curaçao to go to Colombia, Surinam, Santo Domingo[3] and finally to Cuba (Dekker, 1982; Koot, 1979; Pieters, 1985; Van Soest, 1977).

However, it was not the Afro-Caribbean migration to Panama[4] to build the transoceanic Canal, but the work opportunities in Cuba that accounted for the most massive migration of male Curaçaoans. The Curaçaoan-Cuban migration of cane workers was an overwhelmingly working class and male event, even though some women also migrated either alone or with their partners or spouses. Never before had men from Curaçao migrated in such a large number, even when economic conditions had not been favorable on the Dutch island. Although it is not clear how many male migrants originating from Curaçao left for Cuba at the beginning of the 20th century, it is likely that about 50% of men in their prime work years emigrated to work in the cane fields there

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[3] Apart from cane cutters, Curaçaoans were imported to do other kinds of jobs as well.

[4] The migration to Panama did not have the same impact on Curaçao as it did on the rest of the Caribbean. The number of people who migrated from Curaçao was less compared to those from the rest of the Caribbean, such as Barbados, Antigua, Grenada and Jamaica, from which about 130.000 people migrated (Newton, 1984).

(Paula, 1973; Römer, 1979). Historian A. F. Paula in his book, *Problemen rondom de emigratie van arbeiders uit de kolonie Curaçao naar Cuba, 1917-1937,* stated that the number was approximately 2,300 men .These data are based on the number of men who were officially registered on ships' passenger lists departing for Cuba. It is difficult to obtain an exact figure and their number could be larger as some men left from Aruba to go to Cuba and were not registered in Curaçao; oral history reveals that many people used any possible manner to stow away.[5]

The labor migration from Curaçao to Cuba started in 1917 and reached its peak in 1919. There are official data stating that in 1919, at least 1900 men left to work as cane cutters for the *colonias* owned by the American Chaparra and Manatí Sugar Companies in the eastern part of Cuba. A large part of the Cuban sugar production was financed by U.S. capital, which at that time dominated an important part of the Cuban economy. They worked in the vicinity of factories situated in Delicias, Chaparra and Manatí, and many of them settled in the port of Cayo Juan Claro in the city of Puerto Padre and the town of Vazquez in the province of Las Tunas. Although in Cuba they were few in number compared to the Haitian and Jamaican migrants, their departure had a major socioeconomic impact on Curaçao itself.

In the oral histories I obtained through my interviews with some of these men, as well as a few women,[6] they informed me that they migrated for a variety of reasons. From the interviews, it became evident that the informants intended their emigration to be temporary. The Cuban-Curaçaoan migration was meant to be a circular one, which is a form of migration in which the migrants would move to do seasonal work and then return. This was a pattern also found in the wider Caribbean. They were driven by push factors such as economic hardship in Curaçao and pulled by the opportunity to earn more in Cuba. Some had a clear goal such as paying for the first communion of a sibling or a child or buying a piece of land in order to build a house.[7] Before 1921, when the sugar economy in Cuba was still flourishing, there were many work opportunities.

Some were successful and even opened their own shops in Otrobanda in Willemstad upon their return. On the other hand, documents reveal that there were many disappointments. The Roman Catholic Church played an important role in disclosing the hardships the migrants encountered abroad. This was done via articles in their newspapers which raised an alarm for the authorities to address the situation. For example, a report of October 3rd, 1919, written by the district master of the second and third districts, at the request of the then Governor, stated that a number of men who had returned from Cuba complained of bad living conditions and unwanted temptations

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[5] For example, men would hide themselves in barrels in which products were transported, or would be secretly ferried in small boats by their friends to board ships on the open sea.

[6] Some women migrated as nannies for the several Curaçaoan Jewish families living in Cuba.

[7] As in the rest of the Caribbean, before marriage, a man had to have his own house or at least some structure to prove that he could accommodate a future wife.

there, and that when they became ill, they did not receive the medical care promised in their work contracts. Relationships with fellow Cubans were complex and characterized both by cooperation and conflict, largely determined by identity politics in Cuba regarding race and class.

Oral reports, in particular by women, who had remained home, highlighted the extreme poverty that their emigré companions and spouses left them in and told of how they survived with a meager income through making straw hats (Allen, 1992).

In 1921, Cuba experienced a crisis of over production of sugar.[8] People who formerly earned six to seven dollars a day began to earn 30 to 40 cents. When the economy declined, it became difficult to find jobs in the *tempu morto* (Spanish *tiempo muerto*), the period after the *zafra* as the harvest was called, so that it was no longer possible to find employment by clearing the land and planting new sugar cane. Over the course of time, Cuban laws began to favor Cuban workers over foreign workers (Leiva, 2011).

From 1921 onwards, a large number of these men began to return to their islands of birth, sometimes helped by the Dutch colonial government, which sent ships to take them home.[9] Some were able to finance their return journey themselves because they had saved enough money while working. Nevertheless, for some people, returning to their country of birth remained problematic. This was because they had gone to Cuba just before the sugar crisis and therefore, had not earned enough to return after such a short time. Ohers, who had succumbed to many temptations such as partying every weekend, dressing according to the latest fashion, visiting prostitutes and other forms of recreation, had not saved any money. There were other reasons as well. When asking one informant why he did not make use of the transport offered by the Dutch colonial government to transport stranded laborers, he replied he worked far in the interior of the country and that he and the other countrymen learned only afterwards that there had been a Curaçaoan ship in the harbor to transport workers. Another worker only returned in 1953. According to him, he did not want to come back as a poor beggar and be a nuisance to his family. After all, he had gone to Cuba to prevent this. In the course of time, he was even offered Cuban citizenship and he refused, as he would never "change his religion and nationality."[10] He had always worked with the idea of returning to his homeland someday, which he did after staying in Cuba 34 years.

During my interviews in Cuba, as part of my search in 1992 for those who had remained there, one of the principal reasons given by descendants of these men was that they had started a family with either Cuban or migrant women. This made it emotionally difficult for them to leave. Many continued to work in the sugar industry, earning

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[8] See also newspaper *Amigoe*, 11-8-1921, which informed the public that the Chaparra sugar company, where many Curaçaoan, Aruban and Bonairian men had gone, was bankrupt.

[9] Amigoe di Curaçao: weekblad voor de Curaçaosche eilanden, 29-01-1921; 23-10-1926; 31-07-1926; 05-06-1937.

[10] Interview R. M. Allen (1992).

a very low income. In 1970, they received their *jubilicación* or retirement benefit from the Cuban Communist Government for their lifelong engagement in agriculture. There are no exact figures of the number of migrants who remained in Cuba. One reason for this is the fact that the *Holandeses,* as they were called in Cuba[11], were not counted as a separate category in studies regarding Cuban migration for a long time. Most of them continued to live in the eastern part of the country, but some moved to the capital of Havana.

Searching for identity in Curaçao-Cuban migration

Cuban- Curaçaoan migration clearly impacted the cultures of both societies. The late author José Baez wrote in *La imigración de Antillanos Holandeses en Cuba* (1992) how Curaçaoans as well as Arubans and Bonairians influenced the culture of eastern Cuba. For example, making straw hats became a source of income for most Cubans. Baez described a man named Agustin Palma, the Curaçaoan creator of a 20-foot-long boat used for sea fishing in Vazquez that subsequently became the model for all fishing boats in the area (Ocampo Zaldivar, 2000). The Dutch Caribbean influence is also noticeable in Cuban cuisine, in the way corn meal (*funchi*) is cooked as well as the fact that people put sugar in their red bean soup as is still done in Curaçao.

In Curaçao, the Cuban influence was particularly felt in the musical sphere. Music was a common way of communicating between migrants and Cubans in Cuba, and in their spare time Curaçaoan migrant workers learned to play new musical instruments such as the bongo drum, the guitar, the *tres* (a guitar with three double strings) and the *marimbula* (a wooden box with plugs used as a musical instrument). They also learnt new musical genres such as the *son*, *guanguanco*, *rumba*, *mambo* and other types of music. Some continued to play these instruments and music after they returned and they formed different musical bands, where they introduced these Cuban musical genres to the Curaçaoan population and even composed songs in these genres in Papiamentu (Martijn, 2002; De Jong, 2009; Allen, 2011). These bands playfully deconstructed and critiqued the existing class hierarchy in Curaçaoan society. They were looked upon very negatively by the elites, who labeled them under the generic derogatory term as *Banda di Bongo* (Bongo Bands). However, the Afro-Curaçaoans contested these names by naming their bands as *conjunto*, for example *Conjunto Mundumar*, *Conjunto Gezellig*, *Conjunto La Fama* and *Conjunto Lucky Strike* (De Jong, 2009). In their music, these migrants demonstrated how they had learned a different way of life in Cuba and how they were not afraid to contest the existing class barrier of that period. Because they often challenged the existing social order in Curaçao, they were considered rude and insolent.

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[11] At an official level in Cuba, these migrants, together with migrants from the rest of the Dutch Caribbean, were categorized as *holandés* (Spanish word for Dutch) because of their Dutch nationality.

The perception Curaçaoan people had of these migrants was quite clearly expressed in the poem *Donde Cuba* [There in Cuba] written by the distinguished ethnologist and poet Elis Juliana (1961). In his unique way of exposing the sensibilities of the Curaçaoan population, Juliana introduced the central figure in the poem, the Curaçaoan migrant named Palu Wico, who after spending 25 years cutting cane in Cuba returned to Curaçao. In the first part of the poem, he describes the outward display of material wealth by the cane cutter, who was elegantly dressed with an expensive straw hat worn sideways and a cigar in his mouth. This poem deals with the dynamic of identity, displayed for example, in the use of the local creole language Papiamentu mixed with plenty of Spanish words.

> Donde Cuba adjá tin oro
> Mucha mah ke aki tin pieda
> Por eso pue tanta hente
> ke ta yá en ke bolberá
> Adjá un hardin de muchachita
> dulce manera caña mes
> Por la Sabado asina
> si bo ta sali pa deberti
> Ay ta djòdjò bo ta djòdjò[12]

Translation:

> There in Cuba there is a lot of gold
> Much more than the stones we have here
> That's why so many people
> who are there, don't want to return
> There are plenty of girls
> as sweet as sugar cane itself
> Saturdays, for example,
> when you go out to enjoy yourself,
> Oh, you will indulge to the extreme

Juliana expresses the crippling estrangement experienced by some cane cutters after remaining so long in Cuba. After staying 25 years in Cuba, Palu Wico no longer recognizes the island he has left and he constantly depicts Curaçao in a negative light when comparing it to Cuba. In that sense, *Donde Cuba* is a poem of cultural displacement and of identity. Palu Wico's self-image is placed vis a vis that of his birthplace and it focuses on what differentiates him from the 'others' (those who had re-

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[12] Part of the poem by Elis Juliana, *Donde Cuba* (1961).

mained). In the final part of the poem, Palu Wico declares that he would like to safely return to Cuba, because Curaçao, his birthplace, is no longer home and does not evoke in him a sense of belonging.

Juliana's typical presentation of this type of condescending figure has made this poem very popular among the public and with performance artists. Only recently, Kirina Hoijer, born in 2001 student at a secondary school won a prize for her presentation of the poem in the *Arte di Palabra* competition in 2015.[13] When I asked her whether she had any family who had gone to Cuba to work in the past, she answered negatively. Her motivation for choosing the poem was based on the fact that the central figure looks down on the local language in a condescending way, something she asserts, continues even today. [14]

The fictitious Palu Wico contrasts sharply to the real life Curaçaoan Andres Marquez Kirindingo, who remained in Cuba all his life. He was born in 1899, the son of Nicolaas Marquez and Rosa Kirindongo in Bandabou and went to Cuba in 1919. I met him in 1992 in a home for senior citizens in Las Tunas where he told me that every month, he would save part of his pension with the idea that he would eventually return. However, as he did not have any contact with family members in his country of birth, this remained a remote possibility. Andres Marquez Kirindingo displayed a lively nostalgic memory of his birthplace and maintained a sense of belonging to it. Descendants of Curaçaoans in Cuba often spoke of how their fathers kept the idea alive of one day returning to Curaçao, which also instilled in their offspring a sense of social belonging not exclusively bound to place. These recollections during interviews made the conversations highly emotional, and full of tearful moments.

Nostaligic memory was also present in the case of Andrés La Croes, born in 1900, who went to Cuba in 1919 and returned to Curaçao after living in Cuba for about 73 years. He added another dimension to the Curaçaoan-Cuban migration experience, showing the long-term consequences of migration and family separation. He went to Cuba together with his brother who eventually returned, while Andrés remained in Cuba. His family in Curaçao searched for him and discovered that he was still alive. They arranged for him to come and visit his brother after having been away for so many years. His brother unfortunately died some weeks before his arrival.

Civil society, more than the state, has been the catalyst for these memories on both sides. The late Eugene Godfried (1952 –2009), the long time director of the Caribbean

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[13] The *Arte di Palabra* (Art of Words) is a literary competition of poems, *haiku* and short stories written by secondary school students. It aims to stimulate appreciation, creativity, and expression of and in the Papiamentu language among young people in Curaçao, to enrich Papiamentu literature, and instill positive values among the youth by means of art. Recently a book has been published including a collection of some of the most outstanding entries over the last 12 years.

[14] Interview Allen with Kirina Hoijer (2015).

desk at Radio Havana Cuba dealt with these issues of migration during his radio programs for AfroCubanweb. Another example of this is the collaboration established during the 1990s between the Africari Foundation[15]and the *Associación Holandesa de Cuba* in Cuba, which tries to bring these families together. This Association was founded in 1992 by Carmen Varona Alvaréz, who was a descendant of a Curaçaoan father and a Cuban mother. This association has succeeded in reuniting several families.[16]

From the Curaçaoan side, the interest to reunite with family members in Cuba has also been very high. Erwin Grotestam related in a newspaper article the emotional encounter he had with Cuban descendants of his migrant family (Casimiri, 1998). Another example is that of the Curaçaoan broadcaster Erwin Raphaela, who remembered how his father's life was impacted by the migration of his own father, who never returned from Cuba. In his radio program *Bario pa bario* (Neighborhood to neighborhood), he has dedicated several broadcasts to Curaçaoan-Cuban migration and has focused on strengthening family ties between these two Caribbean islands. What started in the 20th century continues into the 21st century, now facilitated by modern technology and better transportation facilities.

In 2014, the journalist Loeki Nicolaas followed a number of families during their search for family members in Cuba and reported about their experiences in a series of articles in the local newspaper *Antilliaans Dagblad* (2014). There she reports how memories of the labor migrant/ family member have remained alive as part of an oral tradition, transmitted from generation to generation and how these historic memories are actualized in the enormous efforts people take in searching for their families in Cuba. Recently in 2015, a daughter of one of these Curaçaoan cane cutters and a Cuban mother visited her family members in Curaçao. In my interview with her, she spoke about how she remembered that her father continuously talked about his homeland, making Curaçao also a part of their collective memory and identity. Her presence on the island attracted much attention and she was interviewed by various television and radio stations. People recognized her as resource for finding their relatives in Cuba (Allen, 2015).

Curaçaoan-Cuban migration and its role in Curaçaoan identity formation

The data which I have presented show that in particular Curaçaoan-Cuban migration still plays a dominant role in the contemporary Curaçaoan experience. Curaçaoan identity seems to adhere to a representation of the self that transcends national bor-

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[15] The AfriCari Foundation (ACF) was a cultural education foundation established on April 12, 1996 by Cheraldine Osepa. AfriCari is the abbreviation of the words African Caribbean. The main goal of the ACF was to promote the African Caribbean culture in all of its aspects and by doing so, to integrate the island of Curaçao more within the Caribbean. In 2006, it ceased to exist.

[16] La emigración de curazoleños a Cuba. Consecuencias para ambas islas Clara Olivia Ocampo Zaldivar http://www.caribenet.info/oltre_ocampo_migraciones_curacao_cuba.asp%3Fl%3D.

ders. This leads to the question: what are the issues that have led to the increased interest with respect to this specific Curaçaoan-Cuban connection?

Curaçaoan concerns with identity issues have been very complex and determined by situational factors. There are certain periods in the history of Curaçao where there have been serious concerns about cultural and identity issues, such as after the uprising of 30 May 1969[17], when Afro-Curaçaoans expressed the need for more recognition. Also, during the process of constitutional reform from 2006 until 2010, public discourse made reference to a (presumed) common identity. These moments reveal that there seems to be difficulty in managing a plurality of ethnicities, shaped historically by the mechanisms of colonialism and slavery. These sociostructural features have influenced the ways in which people experience and define their local and cultural identity. In addition, there is a dilemma of finding a comfortable balance between modernization/globalization, where fixed identities seem to be supposedly dissolving, and affirming local traditional culture and local expression.

Balancing resistance with pragmatism in a globalized world results in tensions between national and supranational identities. Therefore, Curaçaoans are dealing with a notion of belonging in multiple ways (Allen, 2010). While on the one hand, Curaçaoans present themselves as both Curaçaoan and Dutch, they also claim to be Latin American and Caribbean (Allen, 2010). I argue that this renewed interest in Cuba should be positioned within the search for a Curaçaoan identity, which lies within a more Caribbean context.

This notion of Caribbeanness has always been a problem for the rest of the Caribbean. Different scholars have argued that there hardly exists a notion of being Caribbean in Caribbean societies, even though people claim a shared Caribbean identity as expressed in, for example, food, music and social institutions (family, kinship). This lack of a coherently articulated Caribbeanness is explained as a result of the colonial histories of these societies and with the clear language divisions (i.e., English, French, Spanish, and Dutch) that separate them (Benitez Rojo, 1996; Girvan, 2001; Hillman & D'Agostino, 2003; Pantojas García, 2008; Römer, 1982).

Post-colonial Caribbean societies have hardly done away with these hegemonic influences and divisions, as they have often perpetuated the same colonial notions of differentiating societies according to language as did their former colonial metropoles. The historian Franklin Knight (1990) coined the term "fragmented nationalism", whereby Caribbean people most of the time identify themselves in terms of their national territories and rarely as "Caribbeans". In addition, language difference has led

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[17] The hierarchies, divisions and contradictions of Curaçao's post-colonial society resulted in the turbulent labor protests of the 1960s and the social uprising of 30 May 1969, all of which not only constituted a struggle for higher wages, but also for more respect and recognition for the Afro-Curaçaoan population. After that uprising, Afro- Curaçaoans began to be employed in higher governmental functions such as governor, etc.

to a process of erasure, whereby those Caribbean societies which do not fall neatly into the highly problematic categories of 'Anglophone', 'Francophone' and 'Hispanophone' are rendered invisible (Ineke Phaf, 1990; Gert Oostindie & Inge Klinkers, 2003).

In a recent article about present economic dilemmas hindering cooperation within the Caribbean, Emilio Pantojas García (2008) underscored Cuban novelist and essayist Antonio Benítez Rojo's ideas that the concept of Caribbean and *caribeñidad* (Caribbeanness) is something that is very problematic. For Benitez-Rojo (1998), the plantation experience of the Caribbean has resulted in a variety of cultural fragments in Caribbean societies. He compared it to "the big bang of the universe that Caribbean things enclose" and "whose slow exploding throughout modern history threw out billions and billions of cultural fragments in all directions." Furthermore, in their "endless voyage they come together in an instant to form a dance step, a linguistic trope, the line of a poem, and afterwards they repel each other to re-form and pull apart once more, and so on" (p. 55).

The above-mentioned reflections on what is meant by the term 'Caribbean' have somehow neglected the effects of past intra-Caribbean migrations in the process of weaving a web of connectedness between people of different Caribbean societies. These migrations have created an awareness of being part of a larger community that transcends spatial distance in terms of the geographical area of one's island. Caribbean migration flows have played an important role in the process of cultural exchange by bringing people closer together in a period when communication systems were still very limited. In this process, as exemplified by Curaçao-Cuban migration, even though people often have come from different language areas in the Caribbean; they have still managed to share patterns of behavior and live together.

As these migrations have brought people from different Caribbean islands together, they have contributed to constructing a Caribbean awareness. Cultural theorist Stuart Hall (1990), in his seminal essay, "Cultural identity and diaspora", highlighted that Caribbeanness entails "fluid identities". According to him, the notion of Caribbean identities is "intrinsically fluid and is something that 'lives with' and 'through,' 'not despite' difference "by hybridity." Diaspora identities are those which are constantly producing and reproducing themselves anew, through transformation and difference (p. 235). Consequently, this notion of belonging to the Caribbean is very complex and full of contradictions and ambiguities.

One can say that Curaçaoan-Cuban migration at the beginning of the 20th century and its current manifestations in terms of family interconnectedness, contains the seeds of an imaginary ideological Curaçaoness and Caribbeanness, which is worth paying attention to. What was a typical Caribbean culture of migration expanded over the course of time to become a transnational Caribbean diasporic cultural construct blur-

ring national boundaries (Plaza, 2008). I would like to argue that recent impacts of Curaçaoan-Cuban migration have added additional dimensions to the discussions about Curaçaoan identity and how Curaçaoans would like to perceive themselves. This new sense of an imaginary ideological Curaçaoness includes the reconstruction of a historical event involving ancestors who migrated to Cuba in the past as well as their descendants in Cuba. In realizing this, memories are chosen in a selective way and new senses of social belonging and identity are constructed based on nostalgia (De Jong, 2009).

Some concluding thoughts

In this article, I have argued that we should look more at the deeply rooted significance of the Caribbean migrations of the past. Caribbean peoples have migrated for economic survival, and through these migrations they have been able to transcend national boundaries of cultures and languages. Migration thus provides a discourse for looking at diasporic identity within Curaçao as well as across the Caribbean. The re-awakened interest in the Curaçao-Cuba connection offers a rare window for perceiving the role of intra-regional migration as being part of Caribbean cultural identity within the complexity of contemporary Caribbean society.

These migrations represent a subjective experience whereby people often questioned their poverty. The effects of these migrations in the past and present show that these migrations were not just economic but symbolic and cultural as well. The Curaçaoan sense of belonging is not solely shaped by the island's current internal population dynamics, but also by the intra-Caribbean interactions that have affected and still impact it. The Curaçaoan-Cuban migration that took place in the past is now utilized in the processes of self-knowledge and self-awareness, especially with reference of forging an identity of who is a Curaçaoan. It therefore holds considerable promise in understanding broader discourses on identity and on the role that Caribbean diasporas play in the search for identity. It would therefore be worthwhile to find out whether this experience of identity formation is unique to Curaçaoan society or whether it is also applicable to other societies in the Caribbean and beyond.

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YU DI KÒRSOU NA KONTAKTO KU MAKAMBA: ESSAYS ABOUT DUTCH RESIDENTS WRITTEN BY CURAÇAOAN STUDENTS FROM 'MIXED' HIGH SCHOOLS[1]

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Introduction

This article follows up on three previous studies (Kester & Hortencia, 2011; 2012; 2013) about opinions and stereotypes among Curaçaoan high school students with respect to Dutch residents on the island. Although we are fully aware of the fact that 'Dutch' applies to citizens in the European as well as in the Caribbean part of the Kingdom of the Netherlands, we will use the term specifically to refer to citizens born and raised in Europe.

Our previous work, as well as the results presented in this article are based on a survey carried out by the second author of this work in August 2010 for her MA-thesis (Hortencia, 2011) in order to investigate opinions and stereotypes among Curaçaoan high school students with respect to Dutch residents on the island. The methodology of the survey involved two main activities, as the students wrote essays and filled out an electronic questionnaire. The results of the questionnaire pointed out that the high school students did not have very strong opinions of agreement and disagreement with respect to the stereotypes from the literature (Kester & Hortencia, 2011). Only in the case of specific groups, such as teachers, tourists and young people, opinions were more outspoken (Kester & Hortencia, 2012), suggesting that personal experiences may play a role here.

This hypothesis was put to the test in Kester & Hortencia (2013), by the analysis of 36 essays written by students at Kolegio Erasmo. As Kolegio Erasmo is the only school where Papiamentu is actively promoted and used as the language of instruction, the students are not exposed on a daily basis to teachers or fellow students from the Neth-

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[1] We want to express our gratitude to the students who wrote the essays and filled out the questionnaire, because this project would never have been realized without their help. We thank the Board of Catholic Schools ('Rooms-Katholiek Schoolbestuur') who gave us permission to carry out the research at Maria Immaculata Lyceum and Radulphus College in August 2010. We gratefully acknowledge all the schools and teachers for their hospitality and collaboration: Abel Tasman College, International School of Curaçao, Kolegio Erasmo, Maria Immaculata Lyceum, Marnix College, Radulphus College and Vespucci College. Needless to say, we take full responsibility for any errors or misinterpretations of the data.

erlands. Indeed, a careful analysis of the essays shows that opinions about the Dutch are influenced by negative stereotyping, yet they turned out to be diverse and not very strong.

In this article we investigate whether more outspoken opinions are encountered in essays written by students from 'mixed' schools, who are in daily contact with teachers and fellow students from the European Netherlands. In order to answer this question we analyzed 62 essays written by students who are *yu di Kòrsou*[2] from Abel Tasman College, Vespucci College and International School of Curaçao. More specifically, we address the question whether daily contact influences opinions about Dutch residents in a positive way. This question is an initial attempt to put Allport's (1954) "Intergroup Contact Hypothesis" to the test, which predicts that contact between different groups may lead to the reduction of prejudice. The following section presents the hypothesis in more detail.

The "Intergroup Contact Hypothesis"

As pointed out in Pettigrew & Tropp (2011), the "Intergroup Contact Hypothesis" was explicitly formulated in the classical volume *The nature of prejudice* by Allport (1954). In a nutshell the hypothesis states that intergroup contact reduces prejudice between ingroups and outgroups. Since the publication of Allport's volume, hundreds of studies have tested the hypothesis across different societies, groups and circumstances over the course of the 20th century. A meta-analysis of 515 studies by Pettigrew & Tropp (2011), involving more than 250,000 participants from 38 countries, corroborates the relation between intergroup contact and the reduction of prejudice in 94% of the cases. The authors indicate that the results of their findings cannot be explained by other factors such as a publication bias, a sample bias or participant selection. Studies with greater research rigor produce even stronger effects and generalizations hold across different situations and over time.

As Pettigrew & Tropp (2011: 9) indicate, the theory does not predict that all contact will inevitably lead to the reduction of prejudice. The processes involved in intergroup contact as well as their effects are highly complex. As the authors point out, Allport (1954) hypothesized that four conditions were important for intergroup contact to reduce prejudice: 1) equal status between the groups in the situation; 2) common goals; 3) intergroup cooperation and 4) institutional support (pp. 61-64). However, the meta-analysis by Pettigrew & Tropp indicates that while these conditions are likely to yield reductions in prejudice, they are not essential. Anxiety reduction and empathy (more than knowledge) are particularly strong factors favoring the positive effects of intergroup contact (p. 84). Especially close relationships between ingroup and outgroup members, such as cross-group friendships are very relevant for the promotion of posi-

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[2] The term *yu di Kòrsou* ('child of Curaçao') is generally used in Papiamentu to refer to the individuals born and raised on the island.

tive outcomes of contact and reductions in prejudice. As they note, the creation of cross-group friendships may be hampered by certain circumstances, such as severe social norms against cross-group contact and patterns of segregation (p. 126). Moreover, contact effects among minority status groups may be tainted by histories of and experiences with prejudice and discrimination (p. 138).

Pettigrew & Tropp (2011) also analyze cases in which contact seemed to induce increased prejudice, corresponding to only 4% of their sample. These negative intergroup effects turned out to be related to cases of involuntary contact (p. 194) and individual or collective threat (p. 198). As the authors point out, threat is related to the *perceived* percentages of foreigners (that can be different from the actual percentages), but also to other potential mediating factors: "[...] unemployment; a sudden increase in the size of the outgroup; politicians endorsing threatening sentiments; barriers to citizenship and other means for the outgroup to enter the mainstream of national life; and the outgroup's multiple distinguishing characteristics from the indigenous ingroup – race, social class, language, etc. All these factors can potentially heighten threat while simultaneously acting to limit positive intergroup contact" (p. 197).

Applying the "Intergroup contact hypothesis" to the sets of essays under consideration, we may expect prejudice to be reduced at the 'mixed' schools due to daily contact of the students with European teachers and fellow students, depending on the influence of societal factors and cross-group friendships. As Pettigrew & Tropp indicate, cross-group friendships are crucial to reduce anxiety and promote empathy, but their formation can be hampered by social pressure. The literature review in the following section will indicate to what extent these phenomena are witnessed in Curaçaoan society.

Literature review

In this section we will present a concise summary of the literature about Dutch residents in Curaçao, including also a description of Curaçaoan society in general to gain a better understanding of the context of the intergroup contact under investigation.[3]

To the best of our knowledge, Houwing (1997) presents the first systematic study of stereotypes regarding Dutch residents in Curaçao in her MA-thesis. That investigation was carried out between September 1996 and March 1997, involving 50 semi-structured interviews, as well as 346 essays by students from high schools and vocational schools, meetings with teachers and school directors, as well as notes from her personal experiences as a participant observer.

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[3] Due to limits of space we selected the literature that is most relevant to the study under consideration, referring the reader to Marcha & Verweel (2000) and Heijes (2004) for additional information concerning the relationships between Curaçaoan and Dutch individuals in the Caribbean as well as in Europe.

Houwing observes that the attitudes and opinions about Dutch residents are diverse and often contradictory. Colonial history has produced conflicts and fear due to centuries of repression and discrimination, as well as awareness of the undesirable economic dependency of the island on its metropole. On the other hand, the common history has also created strong ties with the Netherlands and positive attitudes due to the relative wealth and prosperity of Curaçao in comparison to other countries in the region.

According to Houwing, Dutch residents are generally categorized into two groups. A minority of Dutch residents adapts to the local culture, has local friends and speaks Papiamentu. Others, a majority, socialize exclusively with other Europeans, maintain a European lifestyle and refuse to learn Papiamentu. The distinction between these groups can be described in terms of Berry's (1992) adaptation model, the first group being an example of 'integration', the second group of 'separation' (p. 42). It is especially the second group that is the target of negative stereotyping (p. 42). These residents are considered to be arrogant and bossy, they have poor personal hygiene and bad taste. On the other hand they are also regarded as hard-working, serious, responsible, punctual and intelligent, illustrating that attitudes and opinions are often contradictory.

Houwing observes that intergroup contact between the Dutch and the Curaçaoan part of the population is very limited and both groups seem to live in their own world (p. 60). Intimate interaction is almost limited to the dance floor (p. 66). Most of her informants know Dutch people, but do not have Dutch friends (p. 43). Opinions about the Dutch are generally based on personal experiences, but this is not necessarily the case. Some of her informants have very strong opinions about the Dutch, in the absence of any contact with Dutch people (p. 43). Houwing suggests that upbringing plays a crucial role in these cases (p. 77). Opinions do not seem to be influenced strongly by residence in the European Netherlands either (p. 58), although positive attitudes are mainly attested among the respondents who lived Holland for many years and have Dutch relatives (p. 58). Several participants mentioned a substantial increase of Dutch residents on the island, an observation that is not supported by the immigration statistics over the years 1981-1992 (p. 43). Many informants observe that Dutch people discriminate against the people of Curaçao and against people of color in general. They do not want to socialize with the local population. A few informants also observe that Curaçaoans discriminate against Dutch residents and try to avoid them (p. 43). Other informants, however, mention the relevance of cultural differences as the causes that hamper intergroup contact, instead of discrimination and racism. For example, teachers do not mingle during breaks because those from Curaçao want to relax and have a good laugh, whereas their Dutch colleagues discuss problems they have with students (p. 64).

Houwing's thesis also contains a description of intergroup contact based on participant observation in schoolyards, supermarkets, bars, discotheques, restaurants, etc.

Her observations with respect to the schools, which are most relevant for the present study, show that students and teachers are generally separated into different groups. Interaction is limited to the classroom and people come together in separate groups during breaks and after school; there are very few cross-group friendships (p. 64). Similar observations hold in other contexts.

It can therefore be concluded that the results of Houwing's study suggest that segregation plays an important role in Curaçaoan society, as intergroup contact and especially cross-group friendships seem to be limited. Importantly, her work seems to corroborate the intergroup contact hypothesis to a certain extent in the sense that personal ties seem to lead to more positive attitudes and, hence, to prejudice reduction.

In *De cultuur van angst* ("The culture of fear") Marcha & Verweel (2003) study the phenomenon of social anxiety that seems to be the rule in Curaçaoan society. On the basis of 13 interviews the authors conclude that the "culture of fear" is real according to their informants, yet difficult to define. The fear experienced in Curaçaoan society is not existential, but rather corresponds to feelings of insecurity and a lack of self-confidence when acting in different social circumstances. Anxiety is mainly triggered and perpetuated by social institutions related to education, upbringing, religion, politics and colonial history (p. 10).

The common assumption that anxiety and insecurity are due to identity problems seems to be an exaggeration. The participants instead consider the culture of anxiety to be a social-cultural phenomenon, determined by the unequal power relations of (post)colonial society (pp. 115-16). These power relations play an important role in the formal contexts of social institutions, but much less so in informal settings and when individuals can speak Papiamentu (p. 118).

As the authors point out, Curaçaoan society is contradictory because it also exudes strong vitality and optimism. They hypothesize that this vitality is related to silence used as a weapon to protect individual identity from mechanisms that induce fear and anxiety (p. 117). Especially when they are in contact with European Dutch citizens, people hide behind a 'wall of friendliness' creating a distance in personal relationships (p. 119). According to some of the participants the culture of fear is not directly related to the history of slavery. Rather, the unequal power relations of the colonial system that have been perpetuated by modern institutions continue to cause threat and anxiety (p. 120). Hence, the study by Marcha & Verweel affirms that intergroup contact may be hampered by social tension in Curaçao, although this phenomenon is not limited to relationships with Dutch residents only.

Our previous work (Kester & Hortencia, 2011; 2012; 2013) focuses on the opinions, attitudes and stereotypes of high school students in Curaçao with respect to Dutch residents on the island. The results from a questionnaire (Kester & Hortencia, 2011) indicate that students do not have very strong opinions of agreement or disagreement with the stereotypes mentioned in the literature. There are a few exceptions, though, with

students often mentioning a lack of adaptability on the part of Dutch residents (unless they have a local partner), their preference to socialize with compatriots, their effort to learn Papiamentu and their more relaxed attitude during residence on the island. The students also agree on the privileged position of the Dutch in regard to jobs and housing, as well as on images of the Dutch as hard workers who are punctual and straight to the point, who see themselves as superior to the local population and who are poor dancers.

As observed in Kester & Hortencia (2012), opinions about certain subcategories of Dutch residents are more outspoken, especially in the cases of teachers, tourists and young people. We hypothesized that social interaction plays a role here, because high school students have more personal relationships with these categories of Dutch residents and, consequently, develop stronger opinions about them. In order to test this hypothesis we analyzed the essays written by 36 students of Kolegio Erasmo in Kester & Hortencia (2013). As this school uses Papiamentu as the language of instruction, these students are not in daily contact with teachers and fellow students from Holland. The results of the analysis indicate that the opinions, attitudes and stereotypes expressed in the essays are very diverse and of low frequency. Negative stereotypes are spread over the entire corpus, often in combination with positive opinions, corroborating the "mixed feelings" reported on in the literature. Notably, nine students who do mention the fact that they have Dutch friends, relatives or neighbours express negative stereotypes in their essays as well. Hence, these results suggest that while intergroup contact may attenuate prejudice, it may not extinguish negative opinions, corroborating Pettigrew & Tropp's (2011) observation that prejudice reduction by intergroup contact may be limited.

The literature review highlights the fact that cross-group friendships are limited in number and that social segregation due to intergroup differences and unequal power relations play an important role in the Curaçaoan society. In this article we investigate whether daily contact with people from the European Netherlands leads to different results in essays written by students from 'mixed schools'. In particular we address the question whether their opinions are stronger and less negative, as would be predicted by Allport's "Intergroup Contact Hypothesis".

Methodology

The second author of the present work visited the schools in August 2010 in order to carry out a survey for her MA-thesis. Students from seven different high-schools participated in the survey: Abel Tasman College, International School of Curaçao, Kolegio Erasmo, Maria Immaculata Lyceum, Marnix College, Radulphus College and Vespucci College.

During the first session the students wrote an essay about Dutch residents in Curaçao and during a second session they filled out a questionnaire. After a short introduction,

the second author pointed out to the students that they were totally free to express themselves, as the essays and questionnaires would be processed anonymously and there were no correct or incorrect answers. Also, the students were free to write the essays in Papiamentu, Dutch, English or Spanish, in accordance with their individual preferences.

General results

Table 1 (from Kester & Hortencia, 2013) presents an overview of the schools, the number of essays from each of the schools and the languages in which the essays were written.

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

Table 1: Schools, number and languages of the complete corpus of essays in Kester & Hortencia, 2013.

As Kester & Hortencia (2013) explain, most of the students may have decided to write their essay in Dutch for different reasons. In the case of the Vespucci College students will have written their essays in Dutch, because their school strictly follows the European system, with Dutch as the only language of instruction. At other schools, the survey was sometimes carried out during a Dutch class which may have influenced the language choice of the students. In general students may feel more comfortable writing in Dutch, because Dutch has been the language of their overall academic experience.

This article is concerned with the analysis of the essays from three schools with a 'mixed' student population. The schools, the number of essays and the origin of the students are presented in table 2.

	Yu di Kòrsou	Dutch	Other/ Unknown	Total number of essays per school

Abel Tasman College	31	11	7	49
International School of Curaçao	24	8	8	40
Vespucci College	7	13	2	22
Total number of students according to their origin	62	32	17	111

Table 2: Schools, number of essays and origin of the students in the present study.

In this section we present and discuss the results of the essays written by 62 *yu di Kòrsou* who are students of Abel Tasman College, Vespucci College and International School of Curaçao. The population of these private schools is diverse and international. Vespucci College strictly follows the European system and most of its students come from European Dutch families who are temporary residents on the island (such as marines).

As the number of students from Vespucci College is very low (7), their results are added in with those of the students of the International School of Curaçao (24) in table 3, facilitating the comparison with the results of students from Abel Tasman College.

	Abel Tasman (31 essays)	Vespucci & International School (31 essays)	Total number (62 essays)
1. I have no problems with Dutch people.	17	13	30
2. Dutch people are not all the same.	15	14	29
3. Dutch people discriminate against the Curaçaoan population.	15	11	26
4. Dutch people are nice, kind and cheerful.	14	10	24
5. Dutch people are arrogant/ feel superior to the Curaçaoan population.	11	12	23
6. Dutch people suffer from discrimination and negative attitudes.	9	10	19
7. Dutch people are bossy and have a dominant attitude.	10	6	16
8. We benefit from the presence of Dutch residents on the island.	6	9	15
9. Dutch people ignore the rules/act out.	6	5	11

	3	7	10
10. There are many Dutch residents on the island.	3	7	10
11. The presence of Dutch residents is good for our economy.	5	4	9
12. The Dutch drink excessively/ are often drunk.	3	5	8
13. Dutch people are just normal, they are like anyone else.	7	1	8
14. Dutch people don't adapt, they don't integrate into the local socie-ty.	3	4	7
15. Dutch people like to go out and par-ty.	1	5	6
16. Dutch people are different from us; they have a different lifestyle and/or behaviour.	3	3	6
17. Dutch people complain a lot.	2	4	6
18. Dutch people refuse to learn/should learn Papiamentu.	4	2	6

Table 3: Opinions and stereotypes mentioned most frequently in the essays written by students from Abel Tasman College, Vespucci College and International School of Curaçao, followed by their numbers in total.

As the results in table 3 indicate, opinions expressed about Dutch residents are very diverse and the numbers corresponding to individual statements are rather low, especially considering the fact that the analysis of the essays was based on a checklist with 75 different items. Therefore opinions about Dutch residents cannot be summarized straightforwardly by a few common and salient characteristics, or at least, they are not spontaneously expressed as such in the essays written by these groups of students. The highest scores, corresponding to almost half of the essays, are only found in the cases of two statements: "I have no problems with Dutch people" and "Dutch people are not all the same".

These results corroborate the conclusions drawn from the electronic questionnaires (Kester & Hortencia, 2011; 2012) that opinions about Dutch residents are not limited to a few salient stereotypes, nor manifested by a strong consensus.

Some of the stereotypes from the literature that were included in the electronic questionnaire are mentioned in the essays as well, but again their frequency is low.

	Number of in-stances in 62 essays	Percentages of agreement in questionnaire

Dutch people discriminate against the people from Curaçao.	26	36,6%
Dutch people are kind.	24	32,4%
Dutch people feel superior to the people from Curaçao.	23	47,2%
Dutch people impose their will on people from Curaçao.	16	30,2%
Dutch people don't adapt to the Curaçaoan society.	7	41,3%
Dutch people don't want to learn Papiamentu.	6	28,9%

Table 4: The frequency of certain opinions and stereotypes from the literature in the essays (absolute numbers) and the electronic questionnaire (scores of agreement in percentages).

More surprisingly, the stereotypes with relatively high rates of agreement (>40%) in the electronic questionnaire (Kester & Hortencia, 2011, summarized in the appendix) are not encountered among the most frequently expressed opinions in the essays:

	Percentages in questionnaires
Dutch people can't/don't know how to dance.	64,3%
Dutch people in a relationship with someone from Curaçao adapt to the local culture.	60,6%
Dutch people who live in Curaçao are more relaxed than those who live in the Netherlands.	58,3%
Dutch people are punctual.	58,1%
Dutch people have the best jobs in Curaçao.	54,8%
Dutch people try to speak Papiamentu.	48,6%
Dutch people are straight to the point.	47,8%
Dutch people in Curaçao only associate with other Dutch people.	44,8%
Dutch people live in the best neighborhoods of Curaçao.	43,7%
Dutch people tend to buy second-hand cars.	42,1%
Dutch people are well organized.	42,0%

Table 5: Opinions and stereotypes with the highest rates of agreement (>40%) in the electronic questionnaire (Kester & Hortencia, 2011).

Hence, although students evaluate these stereotypes as true (to a certain extent), these characteristics don't seem to be extremely obvious or salient.

The results in table 3 corroborate the ambiguous attitude towards the Dutch mentioned in the literature, as we see high scores for the statements that the Dutch discriminate

against people from Curaçao (26 essays), are arrogant (23 essays) and bossy (16 essays). On the other hand, 24 essays express that the Dutch are nice, kind and cheerful and that their presence is beneficial for the island (15 essays) and for its economy (9 essays).

It is interesting to see that a large group (19 essays) observes that Dutch people suffer from discrimination and negative attitudes. Some of the students explicitly express that the mutual discrimination between the European and Curaçaoan inhabitants is a serious problem, leading to substantial societal tension and impeding personal bonding. In the following section we will take a closer look at the stereotypes and opinions expressed in table 3, illustrating each one of them with several examples selected from the corpus.

Examples selected from the essays

I.   I have no problem with Dutch people
This opinion is the most frequently expressed one, encountered in thirty essays. It is remarkable that this observation often features as the initial sentence of the essay, strongly suggesting that the presence of Dutch residents is a problem to be denied instantaneously.[4]

(1) "[…] *dat ik het heel leuk vind dat ze hier wonen, want wij als locale mensen kunnen van hen leren en zij ook van ons.*" (2.2)[5]
'[…that I really like that they are living here, because we local people can learn from them and they from us].

(2) "*Ik vind het normaal, omdat al mijn hele leven Nederlandse mensen hier op het eiland zijn komen wonen. Dus van jongs af aan heb ik deze mensen meegemaakt. Voor mij is het helemaal geen probleem.*" (2.28)
[I find it normal, because during my whole life Dutch people have come to live here on the island. From my early years onward I have met these people. For me, it's no problem at all.]

II.   Dutch people are not all the same
Many students (29) explicitly observe that Dutch people are not all the same, sometimes distinguishing between two categories: those who adapt and integrate into the

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[4] We took the freedom to select and correct the language use in the examples presented in this section. Furthermore, we only provide English translations of the examples, without adding glosses, as the goals of this article do not include a linguistic analysis.
[5] The numbers following the quotes refer to the essays as numbered in the corpus. The numbers starting with 1 refer to students of Abel Tasman College, starting with 2 to the ones of International School of Curaçao and with 7 to the students of Vespucci College.

local society and the ones that preserve a European lifestyle and socialize only with their compatriots. One of the students of Abel Tasman College explicitly adopts this point of view:

(3) *"Om eerlijk te zijn heb ik geen problemen met Nederlanders, maar op het eiland heb je twee soorten: degenen die hier komen om te werken en geld te verdienen, die nuchter zijn en niet alleen komen op plaatsen waar makamba's naartoe gaan. En degenen die komen met veel euro's en denken dat ze alles zijn. Die behandelen de Antilliaan als iemand die niets is. Dat zijn de kakkers, stomme klootzakken, kaaskoppen."* (1.25)
[To be honest I have no problem with Dutch people, but there are two kinds on the island: those who come here to work and to make money, who are down to earth and who don't only go to the places where *makambas* go. And those who come with lots of euros and who think a lot of themselves. They treat a person from the Antilles like someone who is worthless. Those are the posh people, stupid bastards, cheeseheads.]

Others refer to diversity among Dutch people, depending on their birthplaces:

(4) *" Er zijn verschillende soorten Nederlanders, zoals de Nederlanders die vanuit Holland hier komen wonen [...]. Er zijn ook Nederlanders die hier zijn geboren, maar ouders uit Holland hebben [..]."* (2.21)
[There are different kinds of Dutch people, like the Dutch people who come from Holland to live here [..] There are also Dutch people who were born here, but who have parents from Holland.]

(5) *"Er zijn verschillende Nederlanders, uit verschillende plaatsen en provincies die zich verschillend gedragen."* (2.30)
[There are different Dutch people, from different places and provinces, who behave differently.]

III.   Dutch people discriminate against the Curaçaoan population

This stereotype is also frequently mentioned, in twenty-six essays. One of the students of the International School of Curaçao, who was actually born in Europe, considers discrimination to be a characteristic of European Dutch culture:

(6) *"In Nederland is discriminatie bijna gewoon. De meeste makamba's die hier naartoe verhuizen voor maar drie tot vijf jaar hebben er moeite mee om niet te discrimineren. De meesten merken dat niet eens."* (2.1)

[Discrimination is almost normal in Holland. Most of the *makambas* who move here for only three to five years find it difficult not to discriminate. Most of them don't even notice it].

One student at Vespucci College explicitly mentions her fear of discrimination before she started attending the school:

(7) *"Toen ik hoorde dat ik naar het Vespucci zou gaan dacht ik meteen: "Ach nee, zeg, een school met alleen maar Nederlanders. Ze gaan me pesten of discrimineren" [..]. Ik zit nu al vier jaar op deze school en heb veel Nederlandse vrienden en vriendinnen. Ze zijn heel aardig en vriendelijk en ze zijn anders dan de Nederlanders in Nederland."* (7.10)
[When I heard that I was going to Vespucci I immediately thought: "Oh no, please, a school with only Dutch people. They are going to bully me or to discriminate against me" [..] Now I have been at this school for four years and I have a lot of Dutch friends, boys and girls. They are very nice and friendly and they are different from the Dutch people in Holland.]

One of students of Abel Tasman College observes that discriminatory attitudes are typically witnessed among Dutch people at the beginning of their residence:

(8) *"Sommigen discrimineren de Curaçaoënaren te erg. Op scholen merk je dat, bij de Nederlanders die net op het eiland gekomen zijn."* (1.24)
[Some of them discriminate too much against Curaçaoan people. At school you notice this, with Dutch people who just arrived on the island.]

(9) *"Ze komen hier wonen, maar blijven zeggen hoe slecht alles hier is."* (2.10)
[They come to live here, but keep saying how bad everything is here.]

IV. *Dutch people are nice, kind and cheerful*

As observed above, negative stereotyping is often nuanced by positive opinions about the Dutch, as many informants make a distinction between two different categories of Dutch residents. Twenty-four students express in their essays that Dutch people are nice, kind and cheerful, but most of the time they make this observation in contrast to the ones who are unkind and arrogant.

(10) *"Er zijn andere Nederlanders die zich wel proberen aan te passen. Ze groeten als ze ergens binnenkomen en zijn vriendelijker tegen mensen die ze niet kennen."* (2.32)

[There are other Dutch people who do try to adapt. They greet people when they arrive and they are friendlier to people they don't know.]

(11) *"Er zijn ook wel andere Nederlanders op het eiland die heel aardig kunnen zijn en gewoon waarderen hoe dingen hier gedaan worden."* (2.40)
[There are also other Dutch people on the island, who can be very nice and just appreciate the way things are done here.]

(12) *"Maar Nederlanders hebben ook een goede kant. Ze zijn soms heel vriendelijk en willen alles weten over onze cultuur."* (1.18)
[But Dutch people also have a good side. Sometimes they are very friendly and want to know everything about our culture.]

V. *Dutch people are arrogant/feel superior to the Curaçaoan people*

Twenty-three students consider Dutch residents to be arrogant and observe that they feel superior to the Curaçaoan people. As some of these informants also mention that the Dutch are nice and friendly, they corroborate the contradictory attitude and 'mixed feelings' mentioned in previous studies.

(13) *"Soms denk ik dat ze zich wel meer voelen."* (7.10)
[Sometimes I think they feel themselves to be superior.]

(14) *"Ik vind dat de meeste Nederlanders hier een air over zich heen hebben, omdat Nederland controle heeft over Curaçao."* (2.30)
[I think that most Dutch people here have an attitude, because Holland has control over Curaçao.]

VI. *Dutch people suffer from discrimination and negative attitudes*

Nineteen students mention that Dutch residents suffer from discrimination and negative attitudes. Interestingly, some students describe their own experiences with discrimination, due to the fact that they look European or due to their good command of Dutch.

(15) *"Als je door Punda loopt en je hebt licht haar en lichte ogen beginnen ze je te pesten. Als ik door Punda loop gebeurt dat vaak en ze weten niet dat ik ze versta. Ze zeggen gemene dingen en praten slecht over je."* (2.3)
[If you walk in Punda and you have light hair and light eyes they start bullying you. When I walk in Punda this often happens and they don't know that I understand them. They say mean things and they talk negatively about you.]

(16)*"Ik weet niet waarom mijn familie zo'n hekel heeft aan Nederlanders."* (2.26)
[I don't know why my family dislikes the Dutch so much.]

(17) *"Ik vind het zielig als Nederlanders naar Curaçao komen en gediscrimineerd worden en mijn advies aan hen is dat ze beter in Nederland kunnen blijven, zodat ze niet gediscrimineerd worden."* (1.11)
[I feel sorry when Dutch people come to Curaçao and get discriminated against and my advice to them is to stay in the Netherlands, in order not to get discriminated against.]

Some students observe that discrimination and negative attitudes are a mutual problem.

(18) *"Eigenlijk vind ik dat beide partijen elkaar discrimineren."* (1.9)
[Actually I think that both parties discriminate against each other.]

VII. *Dutch people are bossy and have a dominant attitude*
Sixteen students mention that Dutch people are bossy and have a dominant attitude, often connected to feelings of superiority.

(19) *"Nederlanders die op Curaçao wonen denken dat ze de baas zijn."* (2.10)
[Dutch people who live in Curaçao think that they are the boss.]

(20) *"Ze kunnen soms wel gezellig zijn, maar soms voelt het alsof ze dit eiland willen overnemen."* (2.40)
[They can be social, but sometimes it feels as if they want to take over this island.]

(21) *"Ze hebben geld om hier alles te kopen en denken dat ze de baas van iedereen zijn."* (1.43)
[They have money to buy everything here and think that they are everyone's boss.]

(22) *"Op het eiland worden wij gezien als een tweede klasse, waarover zij de baas zijn."* (1.46)
[On the island we are considered a second-class, since they are the rulers.]

VIII. *We benefit from the presence of Dutch residents on the island*

Fifteen students observe that the presence of Dutch residents is beneficial for the island. Some mention reasons related to safety, others say they can learn from them, specifically to improve their language skills.

(23) *"Over het algemeen vind ik het goed dat ze er zijn, want bijvoorbeeld de marine en marechaussee moeten orde houden op dit eiland."* (7.1)
[In general I think it is good that they are here, because for example the marines and the military police have to maintain order on this island.]

(24) *"Sommigen hebben veel gestudeerd en komen met nieuwe ideeën, die nog niet op het eiland zijn bedacht, dus ze helpen een beetje met de modernisering van het eiland."* (2.18)
[Some of them are highly educated and come with new ideas, that have not yet emerged on the island, so they help to modernize the island a bit.]

(25) *"Ik vind het best wel goed dat er Nederlanders hier op Curaçao komen wonen, want dat kan veel dingen beïnvloeden, zoals het Nederlandse taalgebruik van de Curaçaoënaren verbeteren, de economie van Curaçao, etc."* (1.35)
[I think it is fine that Dutch people come to live here in Curaçao, because this can influence many things, like improving the use of Dutch by Curaçaoan people, the Curaçaoan economy, etc.]

IX. *Dutch people ignore the rules/act out*

Nine students mention that Dutch people ignore the local rules and sometimes act out.

(26) *"Ze willen een goed leven leiden en denken niet aan de consequenties van regels, politie, etc."* (2.16)
[They want to live a good life and don't think about the consequences of rules, police, etc.]

(27) *"Maar soms komen Nederlanders hier op de Antillen en willen ze zich niet aan de regels houden, een voorbeeld hiervan is het verkeer.[....]. ..als ze bijvoorbeeld naar Punda gaan parkeren ze overal en ze krijgen geen boete, want er zijn niet zoveel politieagenten die in de straten van Punda zijn om die gevallen te controleren."* (1.18)
[But sometimes Dutch people arrive here in the Antilles and they don't want to obey the rules, an example would be the traffic. [....] when they go to Punda for example they park everywhere and they don't get a ticket, because there are not many policemen on the streets of Punda to deal with such cases.]

(28) "[…] *nan ta bin Kòrsou kibra tur regla i despues bai Hulanda bèk.*" (1.8)

[They come to Curaçao to break all the rules and then they go back to Holland.]

X.   *There are many Dutch residents on the island*

Ten students mention that there are many Dutch people on the island, sometimes observing that their number is increasing. Pettigrew & Tropp (2011) observe that the *perceived* percentages of foreigners can contribute to feelings of threat, but this opinion is not expressed by a majority of the students.

(29) "*Nederlanders zie je overal, in de stad, op feestjes, gewoon op straat, op het strand en vooral in de café's.*" (1.39)

[You see Dutch people everywhere, in town, at parties, just on the streets, on the beach and especially in bars.]

(30) "*Eerlijk gezegd heb ik nog nooit zoveel Nederlanders op dit eiland gezien.*" (1.31)

[To be honest, never before have I seen so many Dutch people on this island.]

XI.   *The presence of Dutch residents is good for our economy*

Nine students observe that the presence of Dutch residents is good for the local economy.

(31) "*Er zijn best veel Nederlanders die hier komen wonen. Ik vind wel dat het de economische groei stimuleert en het arbeidsproces bevordert.*" (7.8)

[There are quite a lot of Dutch people who come to live here. I think it stimulates economic growth and promotes employment.]

(32) "*Als Nederlanders naar Curaçao komen is het goed omdat ze gestudeerd hebben, bedrijven starten en dan wordt de economie van Curaçao veel beter.*" (1.11)

[It is good that Dutch people come to Curaçao, because they are educated, start businesses and then the Curaçaoan economy improves.]

(33) "[…] *want de Nederlanders die hier komen hebben meestal veel geld (door de euro) en dus is het ook goed voor de economie van Curaçao.*" (1.12)

[.... because the Dutch people who come here usually have a lot of money (thanks to the Euro) and therefore it is also good for the Curaçaoan economy.]

XII. Dutch people drink excessively/are often drunk

Eight students mention that Dutch people drink excessively and that they are often drunk.

(34) *"Ik vind dat ze soms te druk beginnen te doen en soms teveel drinken."* (2.40)
[I think that they start making a fuss sometimes and sometimes they drink too much.]

(35) *"Maar vaak vind je 'dronken' stagiaires die elke week uitgaan en bij feesten vechten en vaak problemen zoeken door het effect van alcohol."* (1.28)
[But often you find 'drunk' interns who go out every week and fight at parties and who are often looking for trouble due to the effects of alcohol.]

XIII. Dutch people are just normal, they are like anyone else

Eight students express their opinion that Dutch people are just normal, like anyone else, or not different from the Curaçaoan population.

(36) *"Mijn mening over de Nederlandse mensen is hetzelfde als over iedere andere nationaliteit die hier komt voor vakantie of om te werken."* (1.2)
[My opinion about Dutch people is just about the same as that concerning any other nationality that comes here for holidays or to work.]

(37) *"Nederlanders zijn best wel normale mensen, maar ik vind dat ze niet op dit eiland horen."* (1.48)
[Dutch people are quite normal, but I think they do not belong to this island.]

(38) *"Ik vind Nederlandse mensen gewoon hetzelfde als mensen van Curaçao. Sommigen zijn vriendelijk en anderen niet."* (1.38)
[I think Dutch people are just the same as people from Curaçao. Some are friendly and others are not.]

XIV. Dutch people don't adapt, they don't integrate into the local society

Seven students mention the stereotype that Dutch people don't adapt, don't integrate into local society and only socialize with other European Dutch people.

(39) *"Het lijkt wel of ze op dit eiland willen komen, maar zich niet willen aanpassen aan de cultuur [...]."* (2.40)
[It seems as if they want to come to this island, but without adapting themselves to the culture.]

(40) "[…] *maar ze vergeten dat ze op ons eiland zitten en moeten meegaan in onze cultuur en regels. Het is niet zo dat ze kunnen doen wat ze willen* […]" (1.7)
[….but they forget that they are on our island and have to follow our culture and rules. They cannot do whatever they want.]

XV.   *Dutch people like to go out and party*
Six students observe that Dutch people like to go out and party.

(41)"*Voor de rest vind ik Nederlanders leuker met uitgaan omdat die ook wel van loessoe gaan houden.*" (7.16)
[Furthermore I think that Dutch people are more fun when going out, because they like getting loose.]

(42) "*Je ziet de meeste Nederlanders 's avonds bij feesten in Mambo, Cinco, Bermuda* […]." (2.22)
[You see most Dutch people at night, at parties in Mambo, Cinco, Bermuda....]

XVI.   *Dutch people are different from us; they have a different lifestyle and/or behavior*
Six students observe that Dutch people come from a different culture. They have a different lifestyle, a different mentality and they behave differently.

(43) "*Ik denk gewoon dat de Nederlanders een heel verschillende mentaliteit hebben dan de Curaçaoënaren en ik denk niet dat ze ooit hetzelfde gaan denken.*" (2.40)
[I just think that the Dutch have a different mentality from the people in Curaçao and I don't believe that we and they will ever think alike.]

(44) "*Ik heb geen problemen met ze, maar hun manier om met dingen om te gaan is anders dan van mensen op Curaçao.*" (1.48)
[I have no problem with them, but their way of dealing with things is different from the people in Curaçao.]

(45) "*Nederlanders hebben een heel andere manier om zich te uiten.*" (1.1)
[The Dutch have an entirely different way of expressing themselves.]

XVII. *Dutch people complain a lot*
Six students mention that Dutch people are bitter and complain a lot.

(46) *"Het enige wat ze doen is klagen. Waar ik het nu over heb zijn de grove (meestal niet al te slimme) Nederlanders."* (2.1)
[The only thing they do is complain. What I am talking about now are the crude (generally not too smart) Dutch people.]

(47) *"Ze komen hier wonen, maar blijven zeggen hoe slecht alles is."* (2.10)
[They come to live here, but keep saying how bad everything is.]

(48) *"[…] ze doen dingen waaraan wij niet gewend zijn, zoals bitter zijn en klagen."* (2.21)
[…they do things we are not used to, like being bitter and complaining.]

XVIII. Dutch people refuse to learn/should learn Papiamentu

Six students observe that Dutch people refuse to learn the local language and take this as an offense.

(49) *"Iets dat mij verbaast is dat heel weinig Nederlanders Papiaments kunnen spreken. Ik weet eigenlijk niet of ze dat wel eens proberen, maar de meerderheid kan het niet spreken."* (2.32)
[What surprises me is that very few Dutch people are able to speak Papiamentu. Actually I don't know if they ever try, but the majority is not able to speak it.]

(50) *"Sommige Nederlanders komen hier en willen niet eens de taal leren en dat vind ik erg, want waarom ga je naar een eiland en wil je niet eens de taal leren?"* (1.19)
[Some Dutch people come here and don't even want to learn the language and I regret that, because why do you go to an island when you don't even want to learn the language?]

(51) *"Sommigen willen geen Papiaments leren, dus jij moet Nederlands spreken terwijl je op je eigen eiland bent, maar als je naar Nederland gaat gaan ze geen Papiaments met je praten, maar hun eigen taal."* (1.27).
[Some don't want to learn Papiamentu, so you have to speak Dutch although you are on your own island, but if you go to Holland they are not going to speak Papiamentu to you, but their own language.]

Interestingly, one of the European Dutch students explicitly mentions that he refuses to learn Papiamentu, because he thinks it is not useful.

(52) *"Nieuwe vrienden die ik tegenkom zijn ook allemaal Nederlanders. De reden hiervoor is voornamelijk dat ik geen interesse toon […] en het leren van de taal – Papiamentu- die hier gesproken wordt. Dit omdat ik weet dat ik hier toch niet voor altijd blijf wonen en deze taal maar op 3 kleine eilanden gesproken wordt, dus eigenlijk nutteloos is voor de toekomst."* (2.37)

[The new friends I meet are also all Dutch. The reason for this is basically that I show no interest [....] and [my lack of motivation for] learning the language – Papiamentu- that is spoken here. This [is because] I know that I will not stay here forever and [because] this language is spoken on three small islands, so it is actually useless for the future.]

A comparison with the data from Kolegio Erasmo

In this section we compare the opinions of students from 'mixed' schools to the ones expressed by 36 students from Kolegio Erasmo, a school that uses Papiamentu as a language of instruction in primary and secondary education. Table 6 presents the most frequent opinions and stereotypes expressed in the essays from Kolegio Erasmo (from Kester & Hortencia, 2013), followed by their frequency in the essays analyzed in the previous section.

	Kolegio Erasmo (36)	Abel Tasman (31)	Vespucci & International School (31)
1. Dutch people are bossy and have a dominant attitude.	19	9	7
2. Dutch people discriminate against the Curaçaoan population.	16	15	11
3. Dutch people smell and have poor personal hygiene.	16	1	2
4. Dutch people are antisocial, selfish and self-centered.	11	2	2
5. Dutch people are nice, kind and cheerful.	11	14	10
6. Dutch people encourage same-sex marriage and homosexual relationships.	11	0	0
7. Dutch people enjoy topless/naked swimming and sunbathing.	10	0	0
8. Dutch people try to buy the island, in particular our beaches.	10	1	2
9. Dutch people should learn/refuse to learn Papiamentu.	9	4	2
10. Dutch people are arrogant/feel superior	7	11	12

to the Curaçaoan population.			
11. Dutch people are not all the same.	7	15	14
12. Dutch people are poor dancers.	7	1	2
13. Dutch people misbehave.	6	0	1
14. Dutch people are cheap/stingy.	6	1	1
15. Dutch people are stubborn and always want to know better.	6	3	1

Table 6: The opinions and stereotypes expressed most frequently and the corresponding number of essays from Kolegio Erasmo, Abel Tasman College, Vespucci College and International School Curaçao.

As observed above, the overall scores of the results are not very high and students do not seem to share very strong common opinions. In only two categories do we find relatively high scores (≥10) in the essays from the four schools under consideration: "Dutch people discriminate against the Curaçaoan population" and "Dutch people are nice, kind and cheerful", reflecting the contradictory opinions observed in the literature. Other relatively high scores are obtained in three other categories: "Dutch people are bossy and have a dominant attitude", "Dutch people are arrogant/feel superior to the Curaçaoan population" and "Dutch people are not all the same". Although the students of the 'mixed' schools nuance their opinions more often and express more frequently that Dutch people are not all same, we see that certain negative stereotypes are shared among the students of the four schools under consideration.

Interestingly, the other 10 opinions expressed by the students from Kolegio Erasmo have (very) low frequency scores in the essays written by students from the 'mixed' schools. Notice that opinions about the encouragement of homosexual relationships and topless sunbathing have moderately high scores in the essays of Kolegio Erasmo, whereas they are completely absent in the essays from 'mixed' schools. These observations are related to a stereotypical view of Dutch society, which is often characterized in the media as having liberal moral standards. Hence, the students from Kolegio Erasmo do not only seem to share slightly more negative opinions about Dutch residents, but more importantly their view may involve a rather different characterization of Dutch culture.

Conclusion

In this article we addressed the question concerning the extent to which contact affects opinions about Dutch residents among Curaçaoan high school students. In accordance with Allport's (1954) "Intergroup Contact hypothesis" we predicted that daily contact between Curaçaoan students and European teachers and fellow students in 'mixed' schools, might influence opinions in a positive way and lead to prejudice reduction.

In order to investigate the influence of intergroup contact we analysed essays written by 62 *yu di Kòrsou* from Abel Tasman College, Vespucci College and International School of Curaçao. The results of this analysis corroborate our previous findings (Kester & Hortencia, 2011; 2012; 2013) that opinions with respect to Dutch residents are not very strong and cannot be generalized to a limited number of widely shared stereotypes. However, a comparison with the essays written by students from Kolegio Erasmo (Kester & Hortencia, 2013), a school that uses Papiamentu as the only language of instruction, reveals that opinions are indeed slightly more positive among the students who are in daily contact with Dutch teachers and fellow students. Hence, the present investigation corroborates the hypothesis that intergroup contact reduces negative stereotyping among students from 'mixed' schools, but future research should focus in on whether these more positive opinions are due to cross-group friendships, as predicted by Pettigrew & Tropp (2011).

Furthermore, certain opinions expressed by the students of Kolegio Erasmo are totally absent from the essays written by students from the 'mixed' schools. Our speculation that lack of daily contact with Dutch residents leads to a different view of Dutch culture among the students of Kolegio Erasmo obviously also deserves more systematic analysis.

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Appendix

Opinions and stereotypes concerning Dutch people in general, from Kester & Hortencia (2011). Scores of *total agreement* and *agreement* are grouped together, as well as scores of *disagreement* and *total disagreement*.

		(totally) agree	neutral	(totally) disagree
1.	More Dutch people are immigrating to Curaçao.	72,6%	25,1%	2,2%
2.	Dutch people have the best jobs in Curaçao.	54,8%	32,1%	13,1%
3.	Dutch people work harder than people from Curaçao.	37,3%	25,4%	37,3%
4.	Dutch people are honest.	23,6	45,6%	30,8%
5.	Dutch people that are in a relationship with someone from Curaçao adapt to the Curaçao culture.	60,6%	27,9%	11,6%
6.	Dutch people are more efficient than people from Curaçao.	33,0%	40,2%	26,7%
7.	Dutch people in Curaçao are rich.	35,2%	35,2%	29,6%
8.	If you're out for dinner with a Dutch person they will surely pay for it.	15,2%	36,3%	48,6%
9.	Dutch people tend to buy second-hand cars.	42,1%	40,9%	17,0%
10.	Dutch people impose their will on people from Curaçao.	30,2%	40,8%	28,9%
11.	Dutch people are stingy.	34,4%	47,2%	18,5%
12.	Dutch people live in the best neighborhoods of Curaçao.	43,7%	28,7%	27,5%
13.	If a Dutch person orders something, it will happen faster than if this order was given by someone from Curaçao.	31,4%	29,4%	39,1%
14.	Dutch people are more intelligent than people from Curaçao.	19,6%	27,6%	52,8%
15.	Curaçao people marry Dutch people so they can have have children of a fair skin color.	23,3%	29,7%	47,0%
16.	Dutch people do not adapt to Curaçao society.	41,3%	35,6%	23,1%
17.	Dutch people are kind.	32,4%	49,8%	17,8%

18.	Dutch people are straight to the point.	47,8%	26,1%	26,1%
19.	Dutch people discriminate against the people from Curaçao.	36,6%	31,7%	31,7%
20.	Dutch people are punctual.	58,1%	31,9%	10,1%
21.	Dutch people do not want to learn Papiamentu.	28,9%	40,2%	30,9%
22.	The Dutch people who live on Curaçao are more relaxed than those who live in the Netherlands.	58,3%	30,8%	10,9%
23.	Dutch people feel superior to people from Curaçao.	47,2%	35,6%	17,2%
24.	Dutch people on Curaçao only associate with other Dutch people.	44,8%	26,6%	28,6%
25.	Dutch people have influence over people from Curaçao.	31,2%	37,6%	32,2%
26.	Dutch people are well organized.	42,0%	40,8%	17,2%
27.	Dutch people can't /don't know how to dance.	64,3%	21,3%	14,4%
28.	Dutch people try to speak Papiamentu.	48,6%	30,2%	21,2%
29.	Dutch people are wealthy.	32,0%	48,2%	19,9%
30.	Dutch people are elegant.	21,5%	37,5%	41,0%

WOMEN, LET'S UNITE AND RISE UP: NO MORE VIOLENCE!

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The prevalence of intimate partner violence against women is 35% globally (World Health Organization, WHO, 2013). Around the world, violence against women is a serious and pervasive phenomenon. The WHO estimates that globally 30% of women in a relationship have been victims of physical abuse and an alarming number have been murdered by their partners (WHO, 2013). A study about women's health and domestic violence against women conducted in 10 countries by the WHO found that the prevalence of physical intimate partner violence averaged between 23% and 49%, with Peru reporting physical violence at the hand of male intimate partners at 61% and Japan at 13% (WHO, 2005).

In Curaçao, a study by Van Wijk & De Bruijn (2012) indicated that 38% of women experienced some form of domestic violence during their lifetime. In Aruba, Fundacion Pa Hende Muher den Dificultad (FHMD)[1] recorded 109 new cases of domestic violence in 2013, with even more reported in 2014. The magnitude of the issue and its implications in terms of the psychological, social, health and economic consequences not only for the women, but their children and society (Theran et al., 2006), are ample reasons for social work students to rise up and unite with women and social service agencies to take a stance and raise awareness. Therefore, as Aruban social work students, guided by the core values rooted in the mission of the profession, we feel it is our duty to promote and advocate for social justice, human rights and social change concerning this sensitive and inhumane issue. This paper discusses domestic violence and provides an actor analysis along with recommendations for an advocacy campaign and for a social enterprise project response.

The United Nations defines violence against women as "any act of gender-based violence that results in physical, sexual or mental harm to women. This includes threatening women with such acts, coercion or capricious deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or in private life" (WHO, 2013: VIII). Intimate partner violence and

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[1] Fundacion Pa Hende Muher den Dificultad means Foundation for Women in Difficult Circumstances.

sexual violence are the two most common forms of violence against women (WHO, 2013).

The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) to which Aruba is a signatory, explicitly condemns any form of violence against women. Patel (2008) argues that despite the various initiatives spearheaded in the name of women's rights, the perception that international human rights are gender neutral is false and only theoretical. According to Patel (2008), the feminist perspective finds that in practice, a woman's existence has been privatized and falls outside the state's responsibility. This argument allows for what happens in the confines of a home to be considered "outside of the framework of international rights" (p. 2). Furthermore, Patel (2008) argues that the feminist perspective indicates that states should be responsible for the human rights violations happening in private spheres, and that domestic violence should be treated as a form of torture with the appropriate punishment and consequences attached to it.

In trying to understand the psychology of physical abuse, Rodriguez-Menes & Safranoff (2012) studied the relationship five theories have with physical abuse, namely sexism, family violence, dependency, exchange, and status inconsistency. According to the Centro pa Desaroyo di Hende Muher (CEDEHM)[2] sexism and machismo and economic dependency on men appear to be possible reasons for the perpetuation of intimate partner violence cases here in Aruba.

Data received from FHMD for 2012 appear to indicate that more than half of the new cases involved foreign women particularly from Colombia, Dominican Republic, Venezuela and Peru. These women are often threatened by their male partners with deportation and loss of their status as legal citizens in Aruba, so that out of fear they remain in dysfunctional relationship often to their own detriment and that of their children, who witness domestic violence in the home. The impact of domestic violence on children has adverse effects on their psychosocial and emotional well-being and their ability to concentrate and excel in school.

There is little available data about domestic violence in Aruba. Nonetheless, Marval (2013) states that it is the most common and pervasive form of violence in the Aruban community. The 2009 report by CEDAW on the situation in Aruba explains that there is a lack of justified punishment when it comes to domestic violence in the Aruban penal code. The local law enforcement agency, the Korps Politie Aruba (KPA)[3] launched a system – ActPol – which makes registration of cases possible. However, Marval (2013) reported that there is a lack of proper registration done by the KPA and non-governmental agencies, and that under-registration also occurs. With violence against women going against a woman's fundamental human rights, and with the risks attached to it, it is most certainly an issue that needs to be addressed more consistently.

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[2] Centro pa Desaroyo di Hende Muher means Centre for the Development of Women.
[3] Korps Politie Aruba means Police Force of Aruba.

Actor analysis and causes of domestic violence

The issue of violence against women is a problem because it has widespread consequences, it interferes with the personal development of women, it violates basic human rights such as the right to life, liberty and security of person, and contributes to social and health problems. As the negative impacts and risks present themselves at the micro, mezzo and macro levels, those affected are not only the women but other actors as well, such as abusive men, children, NGO's, social service agencies, and the economy.

According to Theran et al. (2006), domestic violence is a prevalent social and public health problem, with research showing that estimates fall between 21% and 34% of women who "will experience some form of abuse from an intimate partner during their lifetime" (p. 951). Additionally, Theran et al. (2006) explain that women who are victims of physical abuse have a tendency to be more depressed, have increased anxiety, and have a higher likelihood to attempt suicide. Other risks include low educational achievement and alcoholism (WHO, 2013). The health risks include: "incidence of HIV infection, incidence of sexually transmitted infections (STIs), induced abortion, low birth weight, premature birth, growth restriction in utero and/or small for gestational age, … injuries, and death from homicide" (WHO, 2013: 21). They also experience various forms of trauma, including Posttraumatic Traumatic Stress Disorder (Perez et al., 2012).

Often times, we tend to forget that abusive men are also victims of this phenomenon. The abusive men who were the participants in Kaur & Garg's study (2010) expressed "ambivalence and confusion regarding intimacy, a discomfort with closeness, a difficulty in expressing love and a belief that interaction with their partner was more successful when they were intoxicated" (pp. 422-423). Some of the male participants expressed symptoms of depression and a sense of hopelessness with their position in life as well. The women in the focus group discussion in this same study all agreed that wife beating is a deeply rooted behavior and that most husbands believe that they have the right to do so. The women also identified alcoholism as a contributing factor to the domestic violence they experienced. They went further to indicate that domestic violence is a socially learnt behavior, a way for men to exercise power and control over them (Kaur & Garg, 2010). In terms of the risk factors related to abusive men, Dempsey & Day's (2010) study found that men reported the following major reasons and risk factors related to their abusive behavior: a violent upbringing mostly by an abusive father or male figure, a need to always win an argument; a need to justify violence as normal; an inability to explain their unjustified jealousy and a general feeling of being attacked and feeling threatened by others.

When it comes to children, a study from the United States of America shows that within a sample of 617 adult women, 20% reported to have been exposed to physical violence between their parents during their younger years. This study estimated that

37 % of college students reported to having experienced violence between parents, and that this corresponds to 17.8 million children in the United States of America (Øverlien, 2010). Children who have been exposed to domestic violence can experience raised levels of aggression, delinquency, tantrums, depression, anger and anxiety (Openshaw, 2008). It has even been argued by researchers that domestic violence is among the most toxic violence that a child can witness and that children as young as one year old are adversely affected by their father's violence (Adams, 2006; Øverlien, 2010). Research suggests that children are affected in five primary areas: "physical or biological functioning, behavior, emotions, cognitive development, and social adjustment" (Adams, 2006: 334). Some studies have also indicated that psychological and social adjustment problems such as depression, trauma symptoms, and alcohol abuse or dependence in adults who have experienced domestic violence as children (Øverlien, 2010).

Non Governmental Organizations, Social Service Agencies, and the National Economy

In Aruba, organizations such as FHMD and CEDEHM have as primary targets women, while also engaging families in their work. These NGOs must be commended for their intervention and prevention programs and services. FHMD focuses on prevention, intervention, and offers ambulatory help and a shelter for women. They also refer their participants to the Department of Social Affairs for further support and to CEDEHM for judicial consultation. However, the caseloads of the social workers are high, characterized by a long waiting list resulting in burn out and compassion fatigue. In recent times the Fundacion Hende Homber pa Hende Homber[4] and Family First have also added their voices to supporting and promoting the cause against domestic violence and other forms of family dysfunctions.

Most foundations that provide social services are subsidized by the Aruban Government. The recent financial situation in Aruba has led to several funding cutbacks, which in turn has led to downsizing and project elimination, all with a negative impact on services to clients. Another obstacle in these service organizations is the fact that they work as islands on islands. While there have been some spirited attempts to work together, most organizations work on their own and do not directly involve other organizations to help prevent domestic violence. Looking at the role of the NGOs from a more positive perspective, they have helped many women obtain legal aid, counseling, financial independence, mental peace and emotional stability.

Domestic violence also poses risks in terms of the country's economy. Chan & Yin-Nei Cho (2010) categorized economic risks into direct and indirect costs for actors. Direct costs are the costs of materials and labor that are used when providing services

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[4] Fundacion Hende Homber pa Hende Homber refers to Foundation of Men for Men.

in response to violent incidents. Medical care, mental health care, property damage and loss, and use of social and legal services are all examples of direct costs. Indirect costs refer to components such as productivity losses, governmental transfers, as well as long-term effects of violence on the victims and perpetrators, for example loss of wages. Each kind of cost could be borne by different parties such as the government, non-governmental organizations, governmental organizations, and employers who have to pay for services rendered to victimized women, have to offer services, have to pay for hiring replacements at workplaces, etc.

Domestic violence as a human rights violation

The primary ethical principle underlying the National Association of Social Workers' (NASW) code of ethics is to challenge social injustice. In this case, we have to challenge the discrimination against and oppression of women suffering from domestic violence (NASW, 2008). Patel (2008) believes that domestic violence should be considered to be a form of torture and direct violation of a person's fundamental human rights. It is stated in the preamble of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, that all human beings have the right to enjoy freedom of speech and belief and freedom from fear (United Nations, 1948). Article 3 declares that "everyone has the right to life, liberty and security of person" (p. 2). When women are abused by their intimate partners, they are deprived of these basic rights. Most abusive men rob their partner of their liberty to make choices on their own. Article 5 states that "no one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment" (p. 2).

The Aruban constitution consists of 123 articles that are divided into 7 chapters. The first and most important chapter is the one on basic fundamental human rights (Pronk, 2003). According to the Constitution of Aruba (1987) "All those in Aruba will be treated equally in equal circumstances. Discrimination on the grounds of religion, belief, political persuasion, race, sex, colour, language, national or social origin, membership of a national minority, property, birth, or on any ground is not allowed."[5] The Aruban constitution is in tandem with the declaration of human rights as stated in article I.5 and I.16 of the first Chapter. Individuals who break these fundamental rights are punishable by law. In the Aruban Penal Code (2014) there are four articles; 2:273 − 2:276:131 − 132) regarding assault against men and women, which deal with simple assault, assault with a weapon and aggravated assault. The articles that defend the general population against these three types of assault do not have a special focus or clause for women trapped in domestic violence. Nevertheless, there is an effort to pro-

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[5] The original Dutch translation reads: "Allen die zich in Aruba bevinden, worden in gelijke gevallen gelijk behandeld. Discriminatie wegens godsdienst, levensovertuiging, politieke gezindheid, ras, geslacht, kleur, taal, nationale of maatschappelijke afkomst, het behoren tot een nationale minderheid, vermogen, geboorte, of op welke grond dan ook is niet toegestaan" (Afkondigingsblad van Aruba, 1987: 1).

tect family members against domestic violence. This is visible in article 2:277 which states that the punishments mentioned in article 2:273 − 2:276 can be increased by one third if the offense is committed against the perpetrator's mother, legal father, spouse or child (Afkondigingsblad van Aruba 2012, 2014; United Nations, 2009).

The 2009 UN CEDAW Committee Report expressed concerns about the absence of specific measures to address violence against women in the penal code of Aruba. The Committee recommended that Aruba introduce specific legislation on violence against women. According to the report, as long as Aruba does not pass specific legislations on violence against women, Aruba does not fully comply with the CEDAW. In this regard, it was recommended that a bill be passed that would prohibit a perpetrator of domestic violence from entering his/her home and having contact with the other persons living in the home, such as spouse, partner or children, for a period of ten days thus enhancing the safety of those persons. Such an exclusion order would give victims the time to take other measures to stop the violence or eliminate the threat of violence against them. Such an order would also be a clear signal to the excluded person that society considers violence unacceptable (United Nations, 2009:4). Such a law already exists in the Netherlands, the USA and in the English speaking Caribbean, and we wait bated breath for such a law to be implemented in Aruba. However, Marval (2013) cautions about the implementation of such laws without some pre-conditions, such as ensuring alternative housing for men prior to removing them from their households.

By virtue of the ethical codes of practice of social work, we have an obligation to promote social justice and ensure the human dignity of all. By acting in accordance with the NASW, CEDAW and the Aruban Constitution and Aruban Penal code (Articles 2:273 − 2:277), Aruba should aim to stop all forms of domestic violence against women and empower them to become aware of their rights. According to an interview at CEDEHM, women do not wish to separate from their spouses, their ultimate wish is for the violence to stop and for harmony to be restored in the family. With this in mind, it is imperative then that the focus be placed on abusive men, helping them to understand the long term consequences of their violent behaviors on all the actors with the goal of shifting their values and beliefs systems about women, relationships and what it is to be a man.

Advocacy and awareness raising

Any attempt at creating an advocacy and awareness campaign against domestic violence must pay attention to the competing frames and misconceptions in the society. For example, persons with the perception that domestic violence is not their issue to deal with because it is not happening to them, may ignore advocacy messages, thus not being able to get the information on how they can be of help to other women who are victims. Others may hold the belief that the victims are at fault for staying in their situations, and therefore they are not open to considering the range of possible reasons

why women stay and the sometimes limited options women have in leaving such situations. Victims who believe that domestic violence against women is a personal problem and that it cannot be discussed outside of the home will not seek help, thus leaving them isolated, without anybody else being aware of their problem. Victims with the belief that men are supposed to be the head of the household and that they deserve the abuse being done against them will be hesitant to seek help. Women who are unaware of the discrete forms of domestic violence may not know that they are in an abusive relationship and will not seek help, because of their belief that it is not happening to them. Women who hold the belief that without a partner they will not be able to support themselves and their family will be hesitant to seek assistance.

Aruban society generally views domestic violence as taboo, or an issue that needs to be kept and dealt with inside the family nucleus, hence it is viewed as an individual problem and not a societal one. Therefore, framing an advocacy message must portray domestic violence not as a private matter, but an issue that affects all. It is a public health problem that burdens children with its long-term negative consequences. Though people are becoming more aware of its pervasiveness, there are still some women who do not know exactly what domestic violence entails. This lack of knowledge makes them vulnerable to domestic violence and keeps them in a vicious cycle of abuse. Thus, it is only when domestic violence is framed as a public social health issue that requires collective action of all actors that any advocacy and awareness campaign can begin to bear fruit.

The objectives of advocacy and awareness raising campaign should include the following:

> 1. To raise awareness through community education on all types of domestic violence, as well as its signs and symptoms. This can be accomplish through town hall meetings in every district to disseminate information about domestic violence, it's forms, prevalence, risk factors, consequences, and where to find support.
>
> 2. To create solidarity and understanding amongst women in the community when it comes to domestic violence by showing empathy and the true bonds of sisterhood.
>
> 3. To trigger/provoke a change in ideas and the received notions that domestic violence is an individual problem.

Community education is very important as the main vehicle to start changing attitudes and behavior. Furthermore, it serves as a way to inform the public about domestic violence. Ezell (2001) argues that community education is one way to erase wide-held (erroneous) beliefs, stating, "insidious attitudes, beliefs, myths, and ideas are sometimes based on inaccurate and incomplete information" (p. 118). Community educa-

tion allows one to move from the belief that domestic violence is an individual and private problem, to seeing that it is a societal and public problem requiring collective attitude change. Targeting adolescent girls is of particular relevance to plant a seed that ensures that the intergenerational cycle of physical violence can be reduced. Given the widespread use of social media, it is also recommended that this medium combined with television and radio be used in any advocacy campaign.

Possible solutions

In an effort to advocate and raise awareness against domestic violence, the authors of this paper conceptualize a social enterprise by the name ARRIZE. ARRIZE's mission is to empower survivors of domestic violence into being self-reliant and financially independent women who rise above their past misfortunes, in this case by making homemade body lotion. According to the Kline Group (n.d.) there has been a steady rise in the sale of body lotions in the United States America. Research also shows that women control approximately $28 trillion around the world in annual consumer spending (Silverstein & Sayre, 2009). According to Silverstein & Sayre (2009), beauty products are one of the top items women purchase. With this in mind, ARRIZE hopes to capitalize on this market locally, particularly in the hotel sector where tourists wish to purchase locally produced items.

The ARRIZE body lotion will be made using raw materials found in Aruba's own natural environment. These include jasmine, eucalyptus, mint, cucumber, coconut, pumpkin, papaya, mango and aloe which makes it possible to have an assortment of different scents. Thus, local farmers will be supported and contribute to the economic development of Aruba. ARRIZE body lotions will be made for women by women who are survivors of domestic violence who access the services of the FHMD for training in micro enterprise skills. The packaging of the products will be recycled bottles. Furthermore, each bottle will have a brief testimony of the woman who made it, to send a message of solidarity amongst women to rise up with each other in the face of adversity and to stop domestic violence.

Other recommended solutions include the following:

Vocational Training. Vocational training to provide employable skills that can serve as an empowering tool where a woman can be proud of making ends meet on her own without the assistance of a man.

Individual and Family Therapy. In situations where women do not wish to separate from their partners and instead just want the violence to stop, individual therapy is first recommended for the men, women and children followed by family therapy to restore harmony in the home.

Psychoeducational and Support Groups. Psycho-educational and support groups are proposed for men, women and children. These groups have the advantage of providing

a safe space to vent feelings, thoughts and experiences. Additionally, they provide opportunities for healing and building self-confidence and worth. It must be noted that a jail sentence or a fine for abusive men alone will not prevent or change their values, beliefs and behaviors. Thus, psychoeducation and support groups are believed to be an ideal intervention.

Ongoing Staff Training. The aim is to promote lifelong learning opportunities for all professionals. Such training should aim towards helping professionals become aware of their values, and maintain a non-judgmental attitude when working with domestic violence and all the actors involved. More importantly, such training should help professionals cope with burn out, compassion fatigue and encourage continuous self-care.

Inter-Agency Collaboration. Working together can save time and increase efficiency and productivity when working with participants who more often than not are in crisis situations.

Legislation and Policy. Consider the introduction of a Domestic Violence Act with provisions for a Temporary Restraining Order. According to Marval (2013) this can also lead to better protection of women and children, where it is the man who is removed from the house and temporary barred from it, and not the woman as is now the case.

Reintegration Programs for Victims and Perpetrators. Once a perpetrator gets convicted, he sits in jail and he may not get the assistance he needs to deal with behavioral problems and values about women and relationships. When he gets out of jail, he expects that he will enter the same situation that prevailed before his arrest and conviction. Most of the time this is not the case, especially where the victim has sought help, gained self-esteem and now has tools to defend herself. The perpetrator on the other hand has not gotten any counseling, and has not participated in a reintegration program that will provide him with skills to resume his life in a healthier way. If perpetrators see that they no longer have control over their victims, they might resort to more drastic measures such as retaliation, stalking, kidnapping and/or murder. This is why reintegration programs are essential.

Research on Domestic Violence. Thus far, there is very little information on the prevalence, types, and risks of domestic violence in Aruba. Additionally, we do not know the extent to which the findings of domestic violence studies in the USA or in the English speaking Caribbean are applicable to the situation in Aruba. It is therefore important that research be done to expose the real situation of domestic violence and physical abuse in Aruba.

Conclusion

As social workers, it is our duty to combat domestic violence wherever it occurs, in order to promote social justice and ensure that the human dignity of women and children are preserved and honored. The blatant human rights violation that women who

are subjected to domestic violence suffer, compounded with the consequences and risks in terms of social, health and economic aspects should be enough reason for this matter to be taken seriously. Our main message and mission is to change the attitudes and behaviors of all actors and to debunk the belief that domestic violence is a personal and private matter. The clarion call is to perceive domestic violence as a widespread public social health issue. So women, let us rise up and proclaim NO MAS! NO MORE!

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MIXING AND MATCHING PHILOSOPHY AND METHODOLOGY FOR INVESTIGATING CHILD SEXUAL ABUSE

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Investigative enquiry at the doctoral level gives the student the theoretical tools to better comprehend and consider research as both philosophy and methodology. This makes it possible for the student to engage in a philosophical introspection about the most appropriate research methodology for the construction of knowledge regarding the studied phenomenon. The systematic character of research also plays an important role in grounding research as science. This paper explores the knowledge construction process with regard the ontological, epistemological and methodological implications for investigating child sexual abuse (CSA).

This paper first seeks to answer the question: What do we know about the ways in which research has been framed in philosophy and methodology? This is followed with a discussion on what are the considerations for mixing and matching philosophy and methodology in order to select the most appropriate approaches to investigate CSA. It also explores the extent to which reflective practice in research is justifiable in philosophy and methodology.

Inspired by the writings of Agger, I argue that CSA is part of a public social science that grounds private troubles in public issues, connecting them for all to see. In this regard, I feel duty bound as a public sociologist to have the knowledge produced from my research to transcend the academy and engage wider audiences towards building a more democratic public sphere (Agger, 2002). In an attempt to experience research as epistemology therefore, where knowledge is created after a rigorous process of scientific enquiry, I mention possible routes for the publication of the findings of my research. This is intended to guarantee the dissemination of the findings for the purpose of advocacy, policy decision making and social action towards the reduction of incidence of CSA on small islands and beyond. Moreover, I expect that the publication will raise awareness at the macro level on the possible impact of CSA on the prospects of the sustainable human development of small islands.

Selecting a philosophical framework

In research, ontology, methodology and philosophy are the most fundamental concepts to be studied and understood, and as such provide a starting point to discuss what we know about the role and function of research as philosophy. Ontology is defined by Blaikie (cited in Flowers, 2009) as "the science or study of being". He developed this description for the social sciences to encompass claims about what exists, what it looks like, what units make it up, and how these units interact with one another (Flowers: 2). It appears that the ontology defines one's view of the world as an objective reality that really exists, or a subjective reality created in one's mind. For example, as a researcher interested in studying the phenomenon of CSA, I may interview children and ask them to describe their childhood experiences. However, the mega question is to what extent the children will describe what has 'really' happened, or what they 'think' went on within their families. As the children might proceed to describe the complexities of their family dynamics, how do I guarantee that what they share would be the objective reality of that which transpired, what they thought might have happened, or simply their illusions. How individuals determine their realities may therefore be based on their own subjective experience or an objective reality based on facts independent of their thoughts and feelings. The fear is that as a researcher, I might be left with a set of ontological assumptions which may affect my view on what the real situation might have been. According to Flowers (p. 2), when considering that different views exists regarding what constitutes reality, another question might be, how is that reality measured and what constitutes knowledge of that reality.

This brings to mind the concept of epistemology, which is the branch of philosophy concerned with the nature and scope of knowledge produced through research. More importantly, epistemology seeks to find the truth about various phenomena, resulting in a theory of knowledge. Any scholarly attempt to measure, and/or to discover the truth, or rather what can be known about any phenomenon will of necessity have to select the most appropriate research methodology through which reliable and verifiable knowledge might be produced. The production of reliable and verifiable knowledge can take place via a rigorous scientific process utilizing various forms of research methodology. The ultimate purpose of investigating CSA is the creation of knowledge to be shared with the wider community, including social workers and other psychosocial practitioners and policy makers as major change agents. However, prior to accomplishing this, it is important to consider the various research philosophies used to effectively classify research methodologies.

Research philosophy is an overall conceptual framework within which a researcher may work that can be regarded as the basic belief system or world view that guides the investigator (Guba & Lincoln, as referenced in Sobh & Perry, 2005: 1195). The litera-

ture reviewed for this article presented different philosophical assumptions that support paradigms of science such as positivism, post-positivism, the interpretive paradigm, constructivism, critical theory and triangulated realism. For the purpose of this paper, reference is made to positivism, post-positivism, the interpretive paradigm and triangulated realism.

Positivist research is based on a highly structured methodology to enable generalization and quantifiable observations and evaluate the results through the testing of hypotheses developed from existing theory, often using statistical methods (Saunders, Lewis & Thornhill, in Flowers, 2009). This type of research is used primarily in natural sciences (Saunders, in Williams, 2011) and falls within the parameters of deductive reasoning.

The basic reasoning behind positivism assumes that an objective reality exists which is independent of human behavior and is therefore not a creation of the human mind (Crossan, 2003: 50). A major criticism of the positivist approach is that it does not provide the means to examine human beings and their behaviours in an in-depth way (Crossan: 51). This criticism is worthy of consideration in my research, since my intention is to study the impact of experiences of CSA on children's adjustment into adulthood. Crossan quotes Ayer who questions the use of positivist and empirical approaches to the study of human behavior, and suggest that there may be something about the nature of human beings that makes the establishment of laws and the ability to generalize impossible (Crossan: 6). I must confess that I agree with Ayer, based on my social work practice experience, where I have come to realize that different persons react to the same situation differently.

Be this as it may, having reviewed the literature a little further, it would appear that positivism has been challenged and re-examined over time by generations of philosophers and it is now deemed by many to be irrelevant for conducting social science research. Thus, the concept of post-positivism has emerged which assumes that reality is multiple, subjective and mentally constructed by individuals, making it possible to explore in-depth phenomenon from both quantitative and qualitative perspectives (Crossan: 7; 9). Consequently, this makes it possible for social science researchers like myself to have with confidence that our research is indeed scientific and philosophically sound.

Interpretive philosophy posits that the social world is too complex to be reduced to laws and theories such as those that characterize in the natural sciences. This type of research philosophy believes that there are many truths and meanings for any singular fact. Hence, individuals and groups make sense of situations based upon their individual experiences, memories and expectations (Flowers: 3). Consequently, Flowers (p. 3) contends that meaning is constantly constructed and re-constructed through experience resulting in arrange of interpretations. It is these multiple interpretations that cre-

ate social reality. Thus, given the ontological belief that reality is socially constructed, it is of great importance for me to use critical thinking and analytical skills r to discover and understand the meanings as well as the contextual factors that may influence, affect and determine the interpretations reached. Thus, this type of research philosophy, unlike the pure positivism is inductive in its theory building approach.

The philosophical underpinning of triangulated realism is that a reality exists independently of the researcher's mind, i.e. that there is an external reality. The triangulated realist paradigm is, however, differs from positivism in that it is based not on a single methodology, but instead on a battery of mutually supportive methodologies that reflect the interdependency of human values and beliefs that exists in the environment. In triangulated realism, the findings of different approaches and studies are demonstrated to complement one another by analytical generalization and thus 'nestle' within theories (Sobh & Perry: 1195).

The aim of triangulated realism is to generalize to theoretical propositions and not to populations (Sobh & Perry: 1195). Triangulated realism contends that there is a real world out there to be discovered, but triangulation from many sources is necessary to know it.

In light of the three research paradigms discussed, I now consider which appears to be most useful for my doctoral research on the topic of CSA and its impact on the prospects for sustainable human development of small islands. This research topic will be divided into the following five sub topics, each of which could be treated as a separate article for wider dissemination:

- 1: Prevalence, risk and protective factors associated with CSA and the extent to which this is moderated by gender: the case of adolescent girls and boys in Aruba and St. Lucia;

- 2: Received sex education, incidents of CSA and attitudes towards and experiences of sexual coercion amongst adolescent girls and boys in Aruba and St. Lucia;

- 3: The potential impact of CSA on the adjustment of children to adulthood;

- 4: Strategies to reduce prevalence and the negative impacts of CSA and sexual coercion; and

- 5: Knowledge construction through personal reflection and reflexivity in qualitative research practice on CSA.

Given my research topic, it appears that all of the three philosophical paradigms discussed above are relevant. Positivism and post-positivism will be useful as in my at-

tempt to determine the prevalence of CSA, using statistical analysis to generalize to a population. The interpretive paradigm also seems to fit my research because it seeks to validate the children's experiences, memories and expectations, and as such this will assist in understanding how they experience and cope with experiences of CSA, their resilience threshold and the likely impact of CSA on their human development. In investigating the possible strategies to reduce the prevalence and negative impacts of CSA and sexual coercion, I will solicit the opinions of social workers, health care providers and teachers. This dialogue with professionals will require both an interpretive and triangulated approach. In fact, Denzin (cited in Ben-Ari & Enosh, 2010) eloquently conceptualizes this process by stating "in social sciences, there is only interpretation, nothing speaks for itself. Confronted with a mountain of impressions, documents and field notes, the qualitative researcher faces the difficult and challenging task of making sense of what have been learned. I call making sense of what has been learnt, the art of interpretation" (Denzin, in Ben-Ari & Enosh, 2010). Thus, combining post positivism, the interpretive paradigm and the triangulated realism appears to be compatible with the epistemological and ontological assumptions behind my research in the area of CSA.

Selecting a methodological framework

Research methodologies include quantitative, qualitative and mixed approaches. Positivist quantitative methods use large samples, laboratory experiments and simulations.

My research will also necessitate the use of the interpretive paradigm, which involves a more an in-depth examination of the studied phenomenon and as such makes extensive use of qualitative research methodologies such as action research, case studies, focus group discussions, in depth surveys, participant-observer studies and scenario research (Remenyi et al., in Holden & Lynch, 2004: 9). The results of both approaches will then be triangulated to obtain answers to my research questions.

I will commence my research with a survey to obtain data on the prevalence of CSA through questionnaires and interviews. Quantitative analytical techniques will be applied to draw inferences from the data regarding the variable of gender for the incidence of CSA.

I will then gather case studies to document the life history of adolescent girls and boys who experience childhood sexual abuse and sexual coercion, focusing on mental health, sexual health, sexual risk behaviors, resilience, and coping styles and on how these impact life choices in transitioning into adulthood. My approach to these case studies will therefore be more interpretivist than positivist in nature, as it will involve the analysis of more variables than is typically possible in a survey or controlled experiment. Thus, case studies are useful technique, but they also allow for bias. For example as the researcher, I am value laden with inherent biases resulting from my

years of experience as a social work practitioner, working with adult and child victims of CSA, my belief system, values, status and resources.

The process of reflective practice has been an integral part of my professional life as a social worker. It is through reflective practice that I have been able to make optimal sense of my experiences, develop mastery of skills, acquire practice wisdom and cope with compassion fatigue. Therefore, in view of the anticipated emotional intensity and possible impact that the intended research might have on me, I believe that my journal entries will be replete with observations and epiphanies that can constitute a matrix for knowledge production.

In light of the above, what is the stance of research philosophy and methodology on reflection as a source of knowledge construction? This concerns me as some have argued that reflection is not considered to be scientific knowledge. Having searched the literature, it is my view that reflection can be considered as achieving Wright Mills' notion of sociological imagination and therefore should not be discarded. It is important to note that Ben-Ari & Enosh (2010: 2) emphasize that reflectivity must be taken into account, because it acknowledges the researcher's dual position both within and outside the phenomena under study. They further argue that the researcher's position can be thought of as representing a 'liminal space' referring to a subjective conscious state of being between two different existential planes (Myer & Land; Turner, in Ben-Ari & Enosh, 2010: 2). They conclude that reflexivity is an instrumental process in the research endeavour and in the construction of knowledge.

Given the pioneering work of Ben-Ari & Enosh on reflection and reflexivity in qualitative research, I find that it is unfortunate that some scholars still idolize the positivist obsession with facts and figures as the only form of authentic scientific enquiry. As a researcher, I will adopt a position of reflection and reflexive curiosity, stepping back from my research experience to search carefully and persistently for meaning and the development of inferences (Daudelin, in Ben-Ari and Enosh, 2010: 2).

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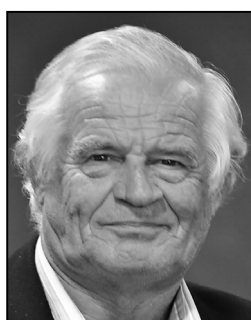
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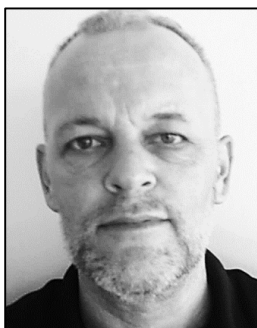
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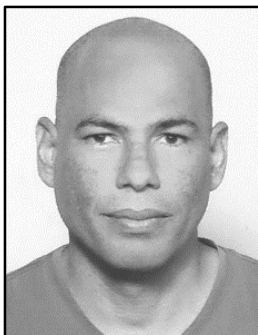
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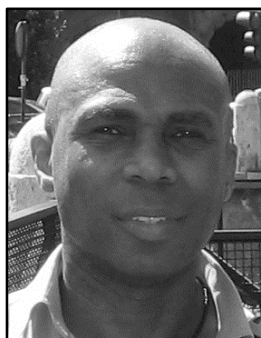
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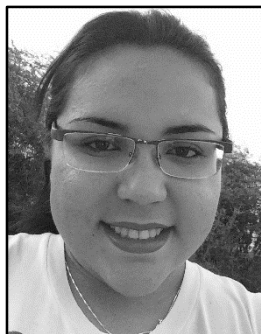
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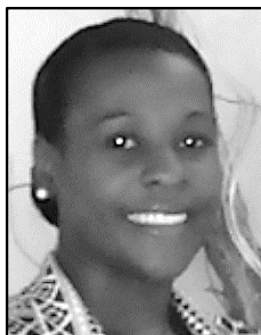
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