This volume, *Dissolving Disciplines: Tidal Shifts in the study of the languages, literatures and cultures of the Dutch Caribbean and beyond*, is a collection of peer reviewed articles that present a critical perspective on the languages, literatures, and cultures of the ABC-Islands, the rest of the Dutch Caribbean and beyond. The book is part of a two-volume set published annually since 2009, which provides a platform for recent writing from and about the Greater Caribbean in general in one volume and about the Dutch Caribbean in particular in the other. The contributing authors include a wide range of voices old and new from the Caribbean and beyond.

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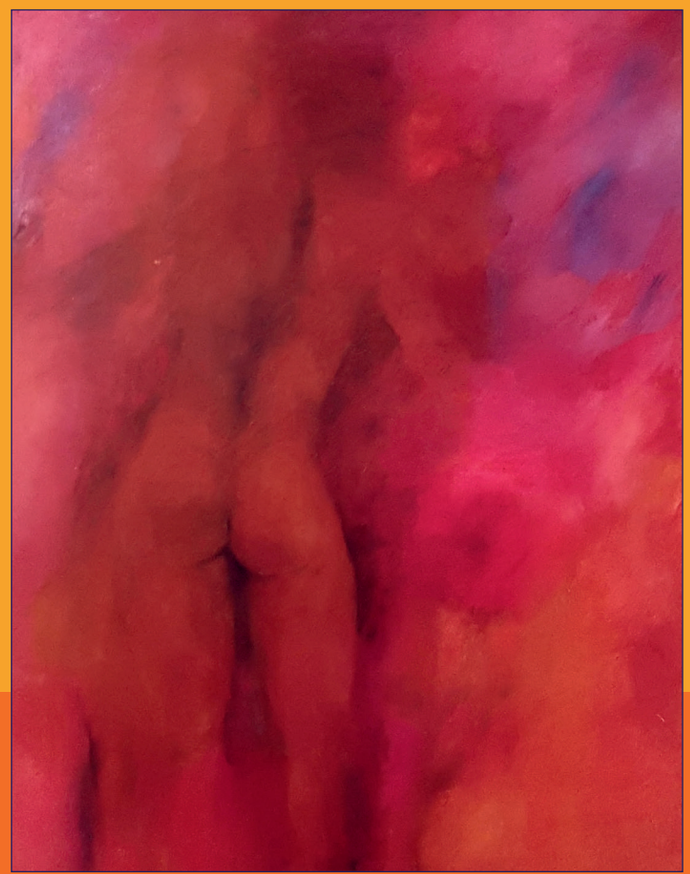
UNIVERSITY OF CURAÇAO
DR. MOISES DA COSTA GOMEZ

Dissolving Disciplines

Faraclas | Severing | Weijer
Echteld | Rutgers | Delgado

Dissolving Disciplines

Tidal Shifts in the study of the languages, literatures and cultures of the Dutch Caribbean and beyond



Edited by
Nicholas Faraclas
Ronald Severing
Christa Weijer
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Volume 1

Edited by

Prof. Dr. Nicholas Faraclas
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Curaçao/Puerto Rico 2018

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This publication received generous support from the University of Curaçao.

The Editors

TIDAL SHIFTS IN THE STUDY OF PAPIAMENTU/O IN THE DUTCH CARIBBEAN AND BEYOND

CALLING INTONATION IN CURAÇAO PAPIAMENTU

HUGO KUBARTH
UNIVERSITY OF GRAZ

Introduction

Papiamentu (PAP) is without doubt one of the most successful Creoles and probably the only one with a secured future among the few Spanish *criollos*. Even though its success may not be measured by the number of native speakers – not more than 350.000 inhabitants living on the so called ABC-islands located 15-60 miles off the Venezuelan coast – it is clearly proven by some outstanding historical facts: after spreading from a slave community to the masters who used it for their internal communication as early as the beginning of the 18th century, it entered local periodicals in the middle of the 19th and literary production in the 20th century. Written first alternately with Spanish spelling (Papiamentu) or with Dutch spelling (*Papiamentoe*), it was later endowed with two official orthographies: a slightly more etymological one for Aruba's *Papiamento* (1977) on a Spanish basis and a phonological variant for Curaçao and Bonaire's *Papiamentu* in 1976. Today, the Creole is used by natives in many types of situations, from everyday conversations at home or at the office to radio and TV commercials, from press news to political propaganda. Education is the only field where PAP still has to reap the full benefits of its status as official language: well established as medium in primary schools and lower degrees of secondary education, it is reduced to a subject at higher degrees and at the University of Curaçao (UoC) – the latter prefers co-official Dutch to facilitate further education in the Netherlands, inside which Aruba, Bonaire and Curaçao have gained "separate" status (Dijkhoff & Pereira, 2010). Since a few years, the bachelor's and master's degree program Papiamentu is offered as an accredited course by the UoC (Severing & Weijer, 2010).

Since 1928, when Rudolf Lenz published his early monography on Papiamentu, which emphasised the "simplicity" of creole grammar, its success has been accompanied by an ever-growing interest on part of the linguists. Proof of this is the endless debate about its origins (cf. Lenz, 1928; Navarro Tomás, 1953; Van Wijk, 1958; De Granda, 1974; Munteanu, 1996; Martinus, 1997; Kramer, 2004; Maurer 2013; Jacobs, 2009; 2012; 2014).

On the synchronic side we find some disparity in the fields of interest: a thematic retrieval of 145 MLA search results for papers on PAP carried out in 2017 showed a clear

preference for morphology and syntax (30%) – often related to typological considerations –, followed by lexicon/semantics (9%) and current language planning (7%). Phonetics, pragmatics and linguistic variation all show a very low percentage. The same holds true for prosody where, in addition, interest concentrates heavily on stress and tone, which are considered as two independent lexical features particular to Papiamentu (Kouwenberg, 2004). Phrasal intonation has not normally been investigated, except for a series of tonological papers of the late Raúl Römer republished in 1991 and two more recent studies on tone, accent and information structure: Remijsen et al. (2005) and Remijsen et al. (2014).

It was this lack of information on sentence melody as a whole that motivated us to carry out a study on calling contours, relying on the correctness of a statement made by Rivera Castillo (2006): "[Papiamentu] has [...] mostly features of restricted tone systems. It also has features of intonational languages, such as demarcative stress and boundary tones in intonation." Within the proposed topic of study we looked for an answer to the following questions:

a) Does Curaçao have a contour comparable to Ladd's (1978) *stylized fall*?
b) Are there other contours frequently used in vocatives?
c) If so, do contours correlate with specific pragmatic variables, namely degree of emphasis, type of subsequent speech act and speaker-adressee-relation?

Methodology

All data were collected personally during a two-months' stay in the capital of Curaçao in the autumn of 2016 and involved 40 informants (10 male and 30 female). All of them were native speakers from the island, as "speech melody is one of the dimensions in which the [ABC-] dialects diverge most" (Kook & Narain, 1993: 72). Besides 37 students between 18 and 25 years of age, chosen randomly at UoC's campus, we were lucky to obtain recordings from two experts on PAP, Drs. Ange Jessurun from UoC, and the writer and actor Gibi Basilio, then director of Willemstad's *Kas di Kultura*, completed by one more interview with the secretary of the latter institution. Recordings were realised in uncompressed PCM-format with an Olympus LS-P2 PCM. As no soundproof room was available, all students were interviewed outdoors to avoid echo and noise caused by the omnipresent air conditioning fans.

Participants were given a short stage direction how to handle four pairs of drawings (see appendix I): each pair presented a specific situation in which a girl or woman was to be called prior to asking her a yes-no-question (Q) or giving her a command (C). For the girl in scenes 1-2 and the secretary in 5-6, informants were asked to make a choice out of a list of local first names of the tone I type (appendix II). According to Curaçao's politeness rules, the adult family member in scenes 3-4 was not to be called by his/her first name but by the Creole equivalent of 'grandmother' or 'aunt'; by the same convention, the 'boss' in 7-8 should be addressed as *señora*. To test possible effects of

emphasis, we further asked our subjects to repeat every sequence of call plus Q/C suggesting an absent-minded child, a grandmother hard of hearing, noisy surroundings or the like.

This produced semi-spontaneous samples of turn opening vocatives like the following (addressee in brackets): [1]

Sc. 1 (to daughter)	*Stella, bo tin set?*
Sc. 2 (id.):	*Stella, no kore pafó!*
Sc. 3 (grandma or aunt)	*Wela, bo ke mi subi e televishon pa bo?*
Sc. 4 (id.)	*Wela, no bai sin bebe bo medisinanan!*
Sc. 5 (secretary)	*Shomara, bo a kopia e kosnan ku mi a manda bo?*
Sc. 6 (id.)	*Shomara, no lubidá bo tas!*
Sc. 7 (boss)	*Señora, señora tin un minüt pa mi?*
Sc. 8 (id.)	*Señora, kòrda riba señora su yabinan!*

Besides our *Q/C Corpus* with its 640 (40x8x2) samples of vocatives preceding a directive speech act, we collected a smaller *Routine Corpus* of bare vocatives: after recording the drawing-based part, participants were asked to play the role of a parent whose intention does not need explicit verbalization as it can be derived from a routine event: "Your child is playing outside as usual. Make a call for dinner solely by calling her. As food is waiting, make a more insistent second call after a short while!" Here, participants could choose between tone I and tone II names (appendix II).

Sample names of both corpora were analyzed for pitch by measuring the voiced parts of syllable rhymes. This was done in two steps. In the first, we manually annotated the boundaries of syllables (*Zulaika*) and nuclei (*Z|u; k|a*) or, whenever present, rhymes with a voiced coda (*l|ai|*). The second step was necessary for a more accurate representation of relevant pitch movements: using a script for Praat 6.0.25, we automatically divided stressed non-final vowels/rhymes into 5 and final vowels/rhymes into 8 parts of equal length.[2] These sections were measured separately for average pitch height, whereas only one value was collected for the rhyme of initial and intermediate syllables. This procedure is based on a method developed in Kubarth (2009) and allows for a time normalized comparison of speech melodies:

[1] Exact wording and content of Q's and C's were left to the discretion of the speaker. Our examples correspond to: 'are you thirsty?' (1); 'don't run out!' (2); 'do you want me to turn the TV louder for you?' (3); 'don't leave without taking your drugs!' (4); 'did you copy the things I asked you?' (5); 'don't forget your briefcase!' (6), 'you have a minute for me?' (7); 'remember [over] your keys!' (8).

[2] This ratio is of course tentative as no data on final lengthening are available for PAP, but it corresponds best to our visual impression of the average relation between stressed and final syllables based on PRAAT graphics.

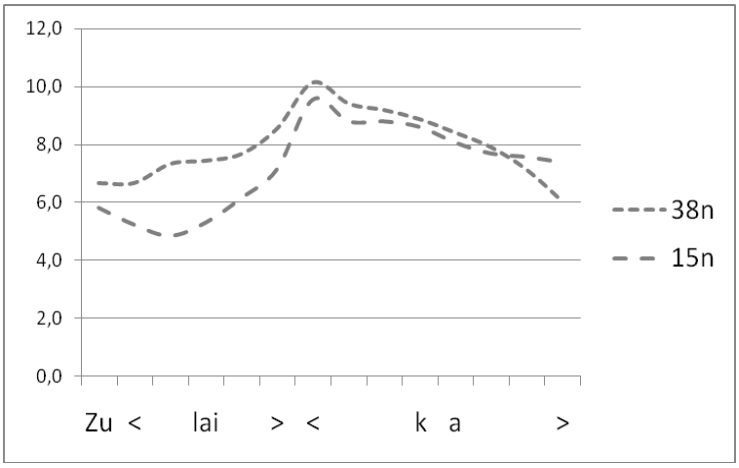


Figure 1 Pitch contour of two calls (in semitones relative to 200Hz)

Previous studies on Papiamentu stress and tone

Papiamentu's lexicon is characterized by a two-way prosodic opposition: distinctive word stress and contrastive tone. Different phonetic cues help to keep them apart, tone being evidently a matter of F0, while stressed syllables are characterised by greater vowel length in relation to their stressless counterparts, as first observed by Rivera-Castillo & Pickering (2004).

Lexical stress

In regular words, stress placement is predictable from morphological category plus either word length in syllables or weight of final syllable (Kouwenberg & Murray, 1994; Kouwenberg, 2004). Unmarked bisyllabic verbs always show penultimate stress, longer ones as well as all participles of Iberian origin receive final stress.[3] Regular nouns and adjectives offer the same alternatives, but according to the ultimate syllable's weight: heavy-ending items are oxytonic, light-ending ones paroxytonic; the latter also include words with a schwa (**òr***gel*) which does not constitute a heavy syllable and is in some cases even transferred to items of Romance origin (***ham****ber*). Antepenultimate stress is always irregular.

In many cases, word stress simply preserves the etymological pattern, irrespective of regularity. This is most evident for non-verbal elements borrowed either from Romance (Spanish (sp.)/Portuguese (pg.) *mata* 'bush/forest' > PAP 'plant', *cuidado* 'attention', *seguro* 'sure', *pescado* 'fish', *difícil* 'difficult', *depósito* 'depository'; *mujer* 'woman', *ligero* 'light' > PAP 'fast', *jóven* 'young', *águila* 'eagle') or Dutch (*kleedje* 'cloth, cover', *mener* (adress form), *org*[ə]*l* 'organ'.[4] Bisyllabic verbs probably stem

[3] Paroxytonic participles like *i**fan**gu* 'caught', *i**kèi**ru* 'paseado' are of Dutch origin.

[4] For more details see Kramer (2015).

Table 1 Regular and irregular patterns of word-stress in Papiamentu

word cat.	syll. number/weight	stress location	regularly stressed	irregular
V	2σ >2σ	penultimate final	***ma**ta, **su**bi* *ata**ká**, kumin**sá***	-- --
PART		final	*ma**tá**, su**bí***	
N, A	light ultima heavy ultima	penultimate final	***ma**ta, **su**shi, **kle**chi, **òr**gel* *kui**dou**, si**gur**, me**ner***	*mu**hé**, pis**ká**, li**hé** **hó**ben, di**fí**sil*
N, A		antepenultimate	-	*de**pó**sito, **rá**pido*

from an original 3rd ps. sg. present form (sp. *mata* 'kills', *sube* 'goes up') (Clancy Clements, 2009); participles may be seen as truncations (sp./pg. *matado, subido*); the same holds for longer verbs which pattern with original infinitives (sp./pg. *atacar* 'to attack', sp. *comenzar* 'to begin'). In sum, all our examples could also be explained without synchronic rules. They are useful, nevertheless, when it comes to separating accentually marked from unmarked first names in cases with uncertain origin or variable spelling like *Siomara/Shomara*, *Shudalín* or *Shenaida*, very popular in Curaçao.

Lexical tone

Unlike its European ancestors, PAP is a tone language with a tonal specification of word syllables. While the "superstrate" languages seem responsible for the Creole's stress patterns, lexical tone is generally seen as a remnant of Africa, with the exception of Kramer (2004), who describes PAP as "a convergent mixture of Spanish and Portuguese by Dutch natives".[5] According to this view, tone would be derived from stress.

The presence of lexical tone(s) is assumed by practically all prosodic studies on Papiamentu, which in recent times have shown an increasing tendency towards inventory reduction, greater derivational simplicity and surface accuracy.

Level-tone approaches

Tonological investigation dates back to Römer (1977) and especially to his autosegmental model (1991a) which derives surface forms from one of four underlying melodies containing a sequence of two or three level tones represented as H or L. By a complex set of derivational rules which initially rely on a non-predictable accented vowel, we get *sūshi* from the HL-sequence of *s*ushi* or *atakā* from underlying *atak*a* with LHL. Among two subsequent metrical approaches, Devonish & Murray (1995) rely on iambic feet, syllable weight and extrametricality to predict one of four regular melodies (LH,

[5] Our translation of chapter IV's original title "Die Entstehung des Papiamento aus spanisch-portugiesischer Konvergenz in niederländischem Munde".

HL, HH, LHL), alongside with two more alternatives for syllables lexically marked as prominent. Rivera-Castillo (1998) is the first to notice that H is normally restricted to one syllable per word. In her approach, feet carrying main stress can be either trocaic or iambic and combine one H- and one L-syllable in an unpredictable order, while preceding feet in longer words only contain L-syllables.

Kouwenberg (2004) relies on two of her criteria used for stress placement to improve tone predictability for unmarked words: morphological category and syllable number or weight. Regular verbs and participles end with a H-toned syllable, while the remaining classes of unmarked autosemantics carry H on their final syllable when heavy, otherwise on their penultimate. She also notes that regular words have H embedded in an alternating sequence of highs and lows.

The rules for tonally regular non-verbs could of course be simplified further by associating H with their stressed syllable. Using our previous words to illustrate regular tone together with some irregular examples drawn from Kouwenberg (2004: 59), we obtain the following scheme:

Table 2 Regular and irregular tone patterns in Papiamentu

word cat.	syll. weight	H location	regular tone	irregular
V		final	***ma**tā, **su**bī* *āt**akā**, kūm**ī**n**sā***	***sūn**chi* ‘to kiss’
PART		final	*m**atā**, s**ubī***	
N, A	light ultima heavy ultima	penultimate final	***mā**ta, c**umīn**da, **klē**chi, **ōrge**l,* *ku**idōu**, si**gūr**, me**nēr***	***mu**chā* (‘child’), *li**hē*** ***mār**tir, di**fī**sil*

The case of *mata* illustrates what has been often noticed for bisyllabic triplets of equal segmental shape: tone placement allows to tell nouns from verbs/participles, while the latter can be differentiated by word stress position. A list of 251 pairs of verb *vs.* non-verb can be found in Joubert (1999: 351-359).

Contour-tone approaches

After criticizing the aforementioned models as based either solely on auditive impression or on insufficient empirical data together with a certain lack of concern for utterances as a whole, e.g. where lexical tone meets intonation, Remijsen et al. (2005) propose a radically different analysis, further developed in Remijsen et al. (2014).

In the 2005 study, lexical tone inventory is reduced to a single privative contour-tone. Corresponding to a fall, it is represented as HL and limited to what its authors classify as *tone II words* (all regular bisyllabic verbs/participles and some nonverbal exceptions). The remaining class of *tone I words* of any length and stress shape is considered as carrying no lexical tone at all. What both types do have in common is the ability to

carry a *prominence tone*. This tone is interpreted as phrasal pitch accent (LH) that surfaces as rise on focussed words in affirmative utterances.[6] This is resumed in the following representation of our previously mentioned *mata*-triplet (‘kills/killed/ plant’) and some more cases taken from Remijsen et al. (2005); round brackets indicate the optionality of rising prominence and falling boundary tone:

Table 3 Lexical and phrasal contour tones

tone cat.	**regular bisyllabics**	**regular polysyllabics**	**irregular**
Tone II (verbs and participles)	‘ma ta | /\ HL (LH L%)	--	‘mu cha (child) ‘pis ka (fish) ‘tam be (also) | \ HL (LH L%)
	ma ‘ta | /\ HL (LH L%)	--	
Tone I (nouns, adj., adv.)	‘ma ta | | (LH L%)	ku ‘min da bu ‘ni ta | | (LH L%)	‘or gel (organ) ‘fan gu (to catch) | | (LH L%)

Empirical data presented in the study show that IIwords maintain the lexically driven fall of their first syllable independently of focus-condition. Any prominence tone must therefore be associated with their second syllable, while focussed Iwords simply carry it on their stressed syllable. The alignment of the prominence rise in tone I bisyllabics depends on available space as it culminates early when the focussed word is sentence final, but late when sentence medial.

Proparoxytonic words, treated apart in Remijsen et al. (2005), were not found to carry any final high as maintained by some of the aforementioned models, but a secondary stress characterized by a final with an average length between that of stressed and unstressed syllables.[7] Unfortunately, nothing is said about oxytonic Iwords, especially longer verbs with regular final stress like *ataká*.

This is remedied in Remijsen et al. (2014). Reanalyzing Raúl Römer’s (1991) autosegmental description of tonal polarization in negations and WH-questions on an acoustical basis, the authors postulate a division between *marked* and *unmarked accentual pattern*. The latter, which corresponds to the combinations of table 3 shown above, is correlated with affirmations, Y/N-questions, and imperatives followed by another constituent, but not preceded by a negator. The marked pattern “serves a number of

[6] More precisely, in words that are either placed under narrow focus or constitute the rightmost element of a predicate focussed as a whole.

[7] As the relevant words studied in Remijsen et al. (2005) were placed sentence medially, this cannot be a case of final lengthening.

unrelated functions" (Remijsen et al., 2014: 309), as it appears in negations, WH-questions and imperatives either final or preceded by a negator. The proposed phonological representation is (HL), phonetically a steep fall that substitutes the whole sequence of lexical and prominence tone in IIwords, while only "inverting" the latter in Iwords. Location of the marked pattern fall is also different: on final syllable in IIwords, on stressed syllable in Iwords.
According to this interpretation, two "martial" key verbs taken from above should be represented in the following way:

Table 4 Contour tones in unmarked vs. marked utterances

	unmarked accent pattern	**marked accent pattern**
Tone II	'ma ta e muska *kill the fly!* | | HL LH	no 'ma ta (e muska) *don't kill...* | HL
Tone I	e ta a ta 'ka *he/she attacks* ⟍ LH L%	(no) a ta 'ka *(don't) attack*! ⟍ HL L%

The *Routine Corpus*

Contours like those presented in 3.2.2 can be taken literally, e.g. as *glissando*-like pitch movements upwards or downwards which makes them quite unsuitable for musical notation. But exceptionally, when speech is chanted, a melody consisting of perceived intervals takes over. One relevant case is the well known *stylized fall,* thoroughly described for English by Ladd (1978). Little by little though, it was discovered in many more languages and constitutes the true *raison d´être* of the present investigation.
The formal characteristic of the stylized fall is a stepping down sequence of two level tones whose distance varies between 3 to 5 semitones (major second to major third), with a preference for the minor third and some tendency towards syllable lengthening. Its function had been matter of some debate – Liberman (1979 [1975]) named it "warning/calling tune", Leben (1976) spoke of a "vocative chant" – until Ladd demonstrated that these were only particular instances of a more general semantic meaning: the signalling of a predictable or stereotyped message. This function as *no news* contour (Ogden et al., 2004) becomes most evident in reminders (*don't forget your **pa**pers*), everyday politeness formula that are not meant too seriously (Italian ***scu**si* 'sorry'), playful criticism (German ***Dumm**kopf* 'dumbhead') and routine calls addressed to children (Hungarian ***Er**zsébet* 'Elizabeth'). It is sometimes even integrated in a facetious musical melody used by children, e.g. Spanish ***a** que no me **pi**llas, **ca**ra de ce**ri**lla* 'you´ll never catch me, knucklehead'.

These examples were all collected by the author and show that the H tone is usually associated with the stressed syllable and, when necessary, spread over a poststressed syllable, leaving the downstepped tone with the ultima. "Oxytonic" French (*par**don***) is a notable exception, as H must shift leftwards to the unstressed penultimate to keep the usual interval shape. In languages with variable main stress, oxytonic words often double their ultimate syllable to that effect: *don't forget your **ke**eys*; ***cia**oo*; *Id**i**ot*; ***Pá**al*; another possible solution is stress shift as in the Spanish variant ***Jo**se* instead of split *Jo**sé**e*.

If stylized falls are truly universal as supposed by some researchers (Day O'Connell, 2013), we should expect to find them in Papiamentu too, at least in their most common context: in routine calls addressed to children.

Results

Our *Routine Corpus* collected first and second call samples of 33 *tone I* and 28 *tone II*-names, giving a total of 122 bare vocatives addressed to a little girl or boy playing outside.

Tone I names

Class I regularly showed the above mentioned prominence rise LH over the lexically stressed syllable, followed by one of two alternatives in first calls: either a rising-falling movement over the last syllable, represented henceforth as HL%, or the expected stylized fall with a final downstepped tone; to facilitate reading, we prefer the notation M% over the usual !H% originally proposed by Ladd (1983). As can be seen in figure 2 second calls presented these same main alternatives. Different final movements were only found in three samples: one first call ending with a simple rise (H%), and two second calls with a final rise followed by a high plateau (H¯%).

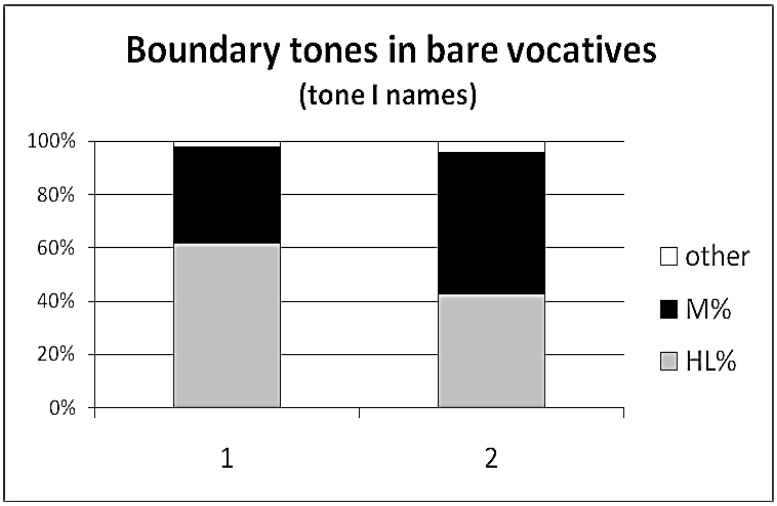


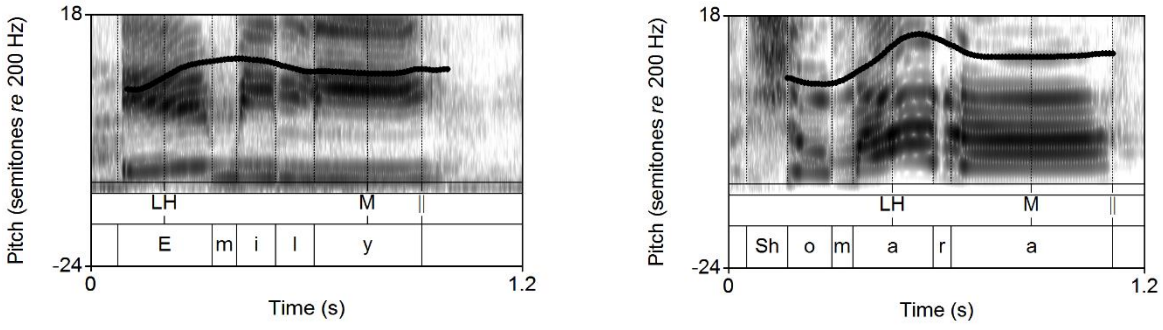
Figure 2 Final rise-falls *vs.* stylized falls in first and second calls

The majority of our subjects chose paroxytonic names like *Shomara*, but we also obtained some samples for antepenult (*Emily*) and final stress (*Shudalín*). Distribution of contour types was as follows:

Table 5 Boundary tone by stress type in tone I names

call	boundary tone	antepenult stress	penult stress	Final stress	total
1st	HL%	3	16	10	29
	M%	0	12	5	17
	other	0	0	1	1
2nd	HL%	2	12	2	16
	M%	1	14	11	26
	other	0	1	1	2

Stylized fall: Like in other languages, this type of chanted contour is very salient as it gives the clear impression of a "musical" interval between stressed and final syllable. This auditory effect is not hindered by the fact that only the final part has level pitch, whereas the preceding accent tone persistently rises to a peak. This is very similar to what we had found in previous vocative experiments with a handful of European languages. Post-tests with these data had also shown that the perceived interval span corresponds best to the measured distance between the mean value of the higher half of the rise and that of the level stretch of the final. The same applies to the three samples of PAP vocatives shown in fig. 3 below, where the subjective minor third (3 semitones) of *Shomara* corresponded to a measured distance of 3,2 semitones, whereas the perceived major second (2 semitones) of *Emily* and *Shudalin* came near to a measured pitch drop of 2,1 and 2,3 semitones respectively. *Shudalín* is furthermore characterized by a split final syllable which seems to be the preferred PAP solution for oxytona – no sample of stress shift with M% was found in our names with final stress. Ultima splitting with M% even occurred once in paroxytonic *Stella*. Note the the very high pitched contour of this call alongside also represented in fig. 3.[8]



[8] The peak in *Stella* is clearly perceived as belonging to the split final.

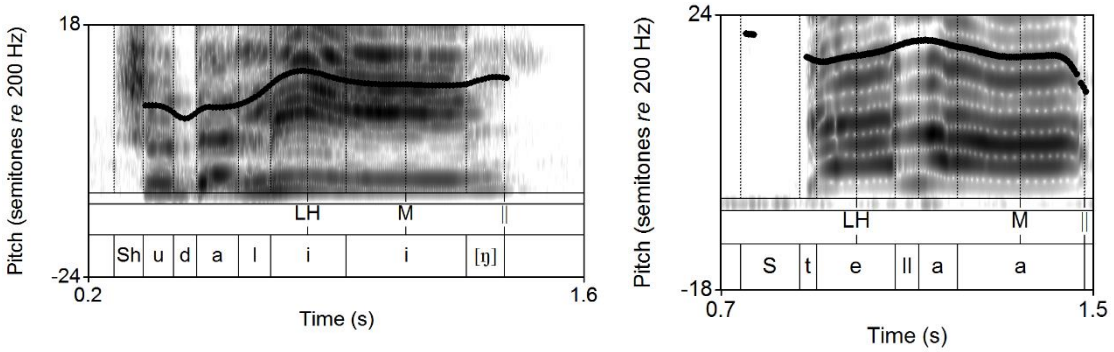


Figure 3 Stylized fall in tone I names with different lexical stress

Rise-fall: Clearly dominating in first calls (76%), but reduced to 49% in insistent repetitions, this contour is characterized by a salient peak on the ultima followed by a fall, regardless of stress pattern:

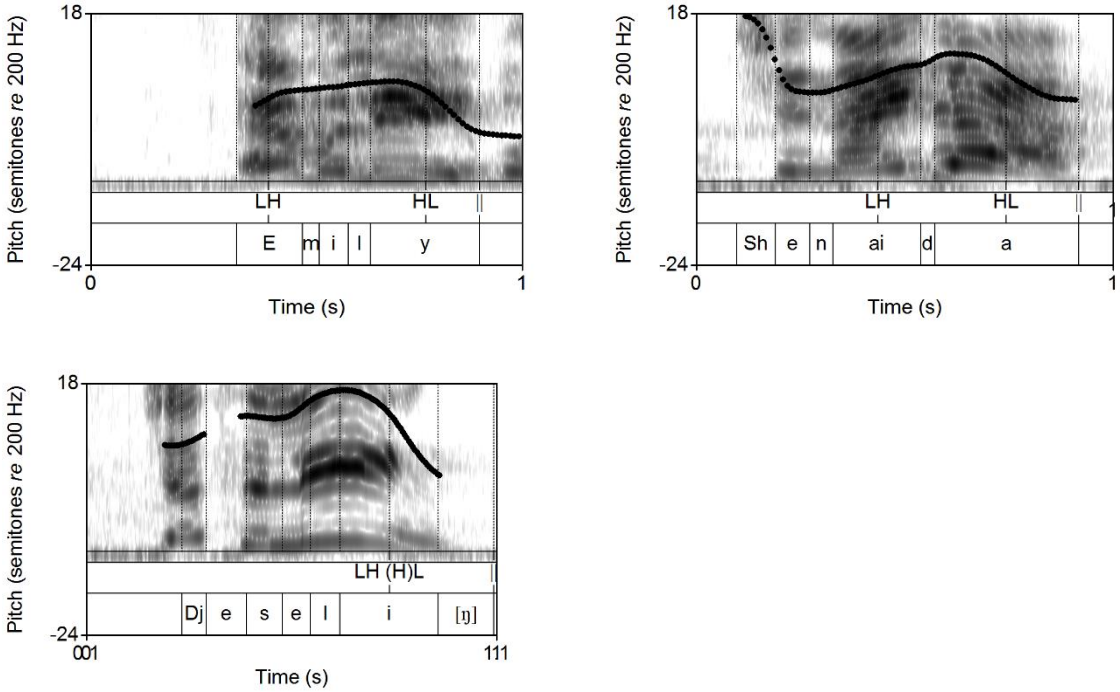


Figure 4 Rise-fall in tone I names with different lexical stress

Why do we prefer the contour representation LH HL% over LH L%? *First*, because tone I vocatives may be compared to sentence final ɪwords under focus; according to Remijsen et al. (2005: 217), the prominence tone of paroxytonic ɪwords does not rise beyond the stressed syllable: "the end point of the rise on the penultimate syllable is aligned relatively earlier – approximately two-thirds into the vowel of the stressed penultimate syllable". Despite this, the final peak of our ɪnames with (ante)penultimate stress is mostly higher or at least as high as that of a preceding prominence tone; if

normal downdrift were at work, it should be lower. In some *Emily*-vocatives, the final peak may even cause the impression of stress shift to non-natives like the author.

Second, as will be shown later, some instances of (pro)paroxytonic ₁words of the Q/C-Corpus were produced with a final fall instead of a rise-fall. Until more information on PAP intonemes is available, we consider it as a variant of the rise fall but maintain a representational distinction between LH HL% and LH L%. Needless to say that an underlying opposition would be limited to names with (ante)penult stress, as the compressed contour final of oxytona would neutralize it anyway.

First *vs*. second calls: In accordance with the so called "effort code" (Gussenhoven, 2004: 79) which postulates a natural biological correlation between pitch span and emphasis one should expect a higher prominence tone rise in insistent calls. However, this was not confirmed when comparing the LH-values of our (pro)paroxytonic words in the two settings. Besides the lack of any significant difference of span, mean values were even contrary to the expectation, with a rise of 3,6 semitones in first *vs*. a smaller of 3,2 halftones in second calls. This result may of course be due to the relatively small number of samples in the two settings (32 and 35 tokens).

Nevertheless, insistent calls usually do sound higher (and louder). The perceived pitch difference was tested by comparing the prominence tone values of all paroxytonic ₁words. A one-way analysis of variance yielded a highly significant difference between first and second calls; means amounted to 8,0 and 12,9 halftones respectively.[9]

What seems more important, however, is the choice of boundary tone type. Seven out of 16 subjects changed from HL% to M% when repeating the paroxytonic name against only one person opting for the reverse direction. All in all, the share of contours with M% increased from 36% in first to 53% in second calls, at the expense of HL% in all three stress groups (see table 5 above). Our samples were not numerous enough to resist a Chi-square test for significant distributional difference.[10] Nevertheless, a certain tendency towards more stylized falls within repeated vocatives calls seems undeniable. Contrary to what has been reported for American English (Day O'Connell: 2010), the interval of these falls reduced a little when used in second calls, dropping from 3,3 to 2,3 semitones. This might be explained by a reinterpretation of the effort code, compatible with the above mentioned prominence tone perception: insistence leads to a higher pitch level throughout. And a last remark for musical ears: although our subjects preferred minor thirds and major seconds, we also found some major intervals up to a perfect fifth in one case.

Contrary to our subjective impression, repetitions are not longer than first calls. Variance analysis of rhyme-duration for all trisyllabic words showed no significant differ-

[9] $F_{emp} = 7{,}95 > F_{crit(1,\ 50;\ 99\%)} = 7{,}2$

[10] $\chi^2_{emp} = 3{,}13 < \chi^2_{crit\ (1,\ 95\%)} = 3{,}84$.

ence at all; nevertheless, the obtained values give a good idea about internal time-relations: in names like *Shomara* we found an average rhyme duration of 74/99 ms in pretonic, 216/233 ms. in stressed and 403/378 ms. in final position.[11]

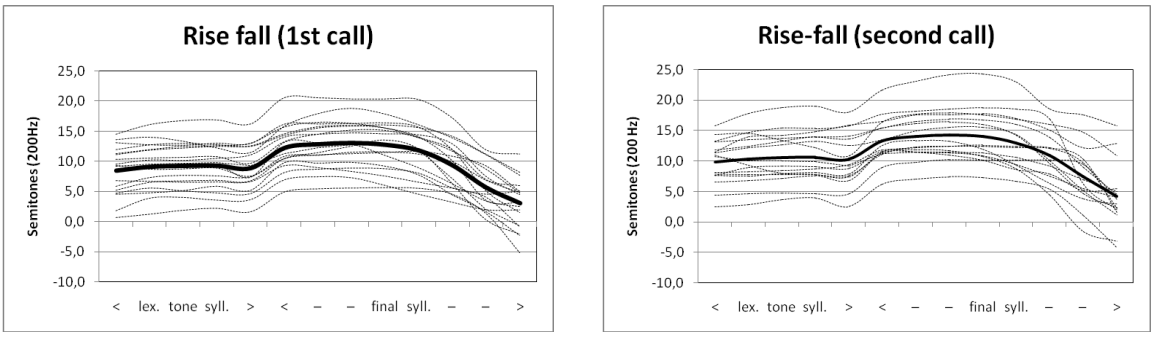
Tone II names

The final contour in $_{II}$names showed a very high and stable proportion of rise-falls in both first and second calls; the smaller lot of stylized falls in first calls increased with repetition, mostly at the expense of final rises, either continuous or terminating with a high plateau.

Table 6 Number of final contours in tone II names

call	boundary t.	samples	distribution
1st	HL%	18	75%
	M%	2	8%
	other	4	17%
2nd	HL%	18	72%
	M%	6	24%
	other	1	4%

According to the level tone approach presented in section 3.2, $_{II}$names should have a low first syllable. And in fact, 94% of our 49 samples were in line with this expectation. However, we found no convincing evidence of a falling lexical tone as postulated by the contour approach of Remijsen et al. (2005). This may be seen in fig. 5 which presents all samples with a "low" first syllable followed by one of the two preferred final pitch movements:



[11] Internal duration difference was of course highly significant with $F_{emp} = 55{,}3 > F_{crit(2,\ 42;\ 99\%)} = 5{,}2$ in first calls and $F_{emp} = 54{,}7 > F_{crit(2,\ 42;\ 99\%)} = 5{,}1$ in second calls.

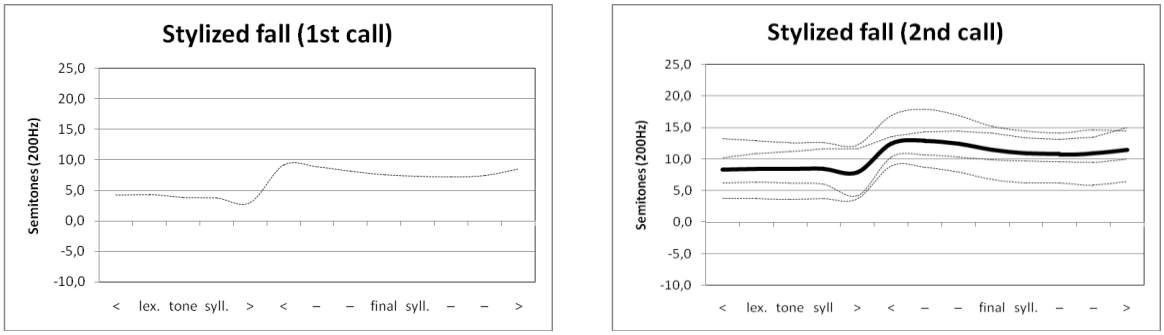


Figure 5. Calling contours with $_{II}$names: samples (broken lines) and mean (bold line)

Varying between a small rise and a shallow fall, the contour-mean over the first syllable shows an almost horizontal line on a low level, confirming the traditional ear-based representation of the underlying lexical tone as being a level L. Its reinterpretation by Remijsen et al. (2005) as contour-tone HL may be caused by the non-initial position of their test words which calls for a falling melody on the tone bearing syllable. In our bare vocatives, no such fall is necessary.

For further details on calls with tone II names, consider the Praat pictures in fig. 6 The upper *Dòni* sample illustrates best what strikes the ear most: the considerable length of the L-bearing syllable. With a mean duration of 163/195 ms in 1st. and 2nd calls, its rhyme nearly reached the values of stressed rhymes in polysyllabic $_{I}$names. *Chichi* showed two very distinct alternatives with final M% in tone II names. The right pattern represents the prevailing solution with the already mentioned ultima splitting, an easy way to leave the low lexical tone untouched. The left illustration stands for three realizations with a level H tone on the first syllable. This cannot be interpreted as an instance of marked accentuation in the sense of Remijsen et al. (2014), but rather as a case of polarization changing lexical L to a phrasal H. There are two more arguments for considering the lower right case as instance of a different type of marked accentuation rather than simple stress shift: the first syllable neither receives the usual prominence rise nor does it show relatively greater length as supposed main correlate of stress in Papiamentu.

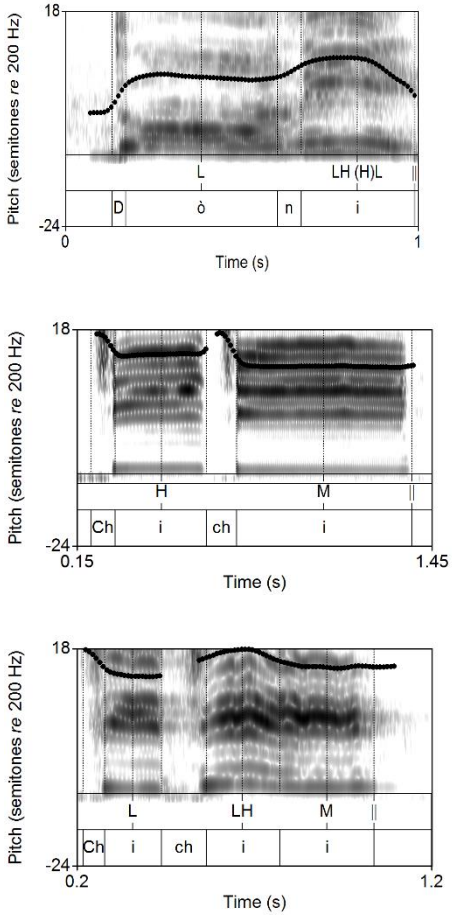


Figure 6 Rise-fall and stylized fall in three tone II samples

Preliminary conclusions

Three observations can be made in conclusion of the Routine-Corpus study. The *first* one concerns the phonological essence of the lexical low of tone II bisyllabics. Varying between an almost flat rise or fall, pitch movement over the first syllable of bare vocative with IInames provides no convincing evidence for the proposed contour tone HL of Remijsen et al. (2005). Yet, their proposal of one "privative" lexical tone in Papiamentu seems correct: our data showed no trace of any lexical high. Therefore, it seems best to return to the traditional L representation proposed by Römer (1977), but considering it the one and only lexical tone in Papiamentu.

The *second* finding is that Papiamentu uses less stylized falls in first calls than many European languages analyzed previously by the author:

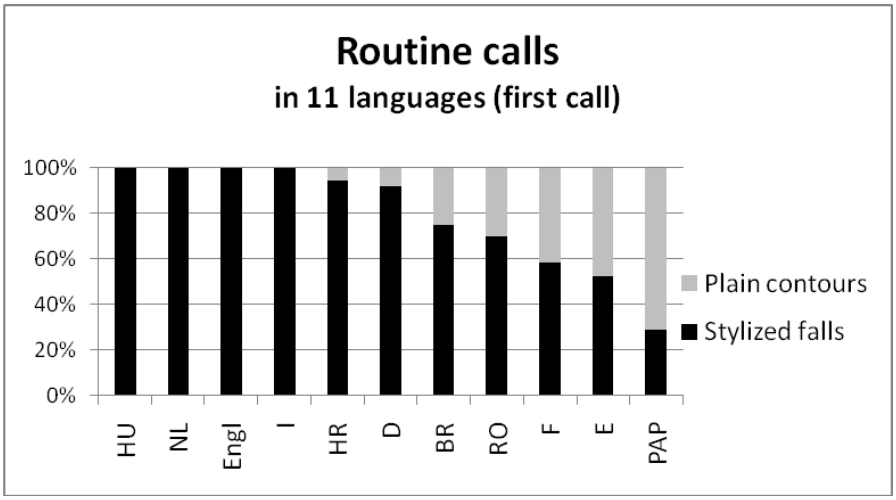


Figure 7 Stylized falls *vs.* nonstylized contour finals in 11 languages

The low rank of PAP may be explained by a *third* and quite surprising fact: as the number of stylized contours rose significantly in our insistent second calls, we might consider them to signal urgency rather than routine. If this hypothesis is correct, the share of stylized falls should increase in the same way in our second corpus to which we now turn.

The *Question/Command Corpus*

Data evaluation of this corpus was confronted with a major problem: many informants did not respect the required pause between vocative and subsequent directive, thus realising only one instead of two clearly distinct intonational phrases. Lack of a silent or at least "subjective pause" (Rossi, 1999: 208) after the vocative reduced the expected total of 640 analyzable vocatives by almost a third. The phenomenon was especially strong in first calls where it left us with only 189 samples with a clear boundary tone, while repeated calls provided 251 assessable tokens. As already mentioned, all vocatives of the *Q/C*-Corpus belonged to the tone I type.

The melodies of the 438 vocatives taken into account turned out to be quite similar to that of tone I names in the *Y/N*-Corpus. Once again, all calls were realised with a rise over the stressed syllable, followed by one of three dominant boundary types: rise-falls (HL%, 66%), stylized falls (M%, 16%), and fall-rises (LH%, 13%). A sample of each of these main plus three more minor types is presented in fig. 8.

The right graphics represent a very limited number of deviant contours that might be considered variants of the first and third main types, namely simple falls (L%, 3%), and two different rises, one leading to high plateau (H^{-}%, 2%), the other one continuously rising (H%, 1%). According to what was said above, our (tentative) representation of the three minor types is surface driven.

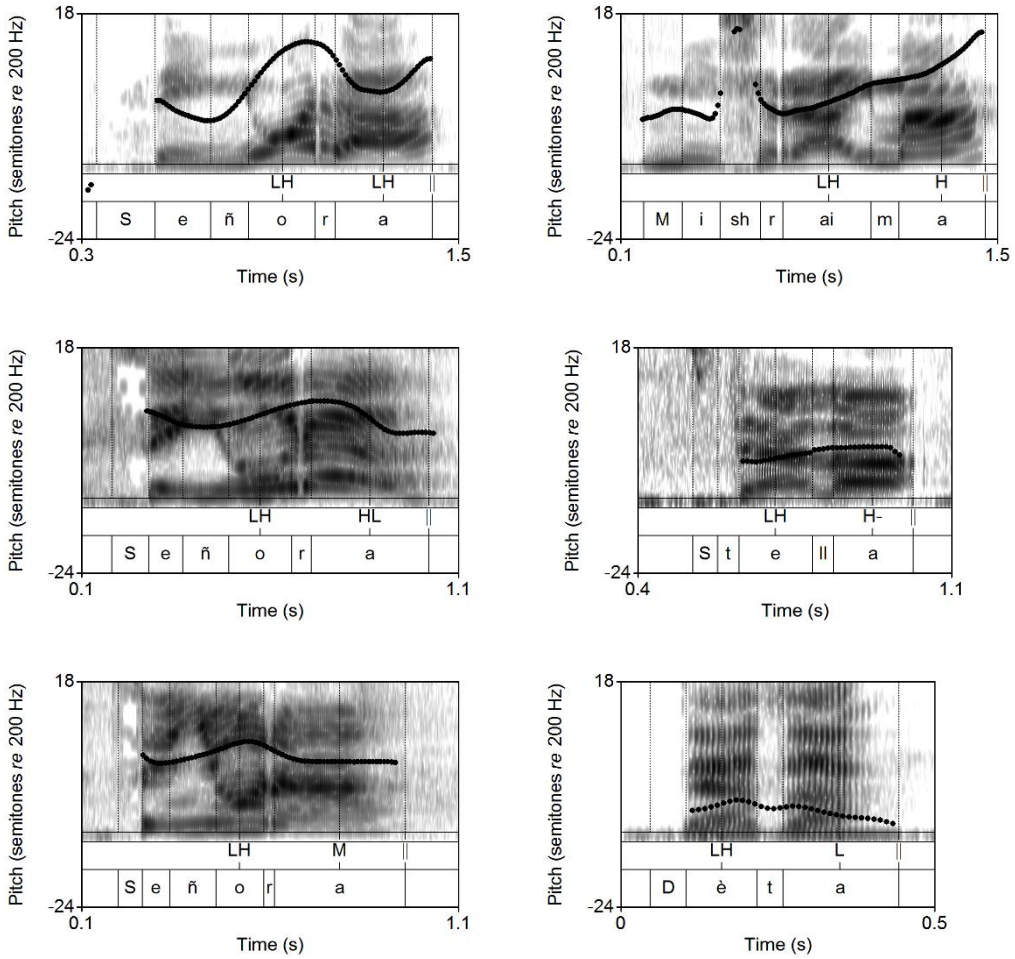


Figure 8 Contour main types (left) and minor types (right) in *Q/C*-Corpus

The role of socio-pragmatic factors

The eight scenes used to elicit vocatives were designed to isolate a number of assumed pragmatic effects on vocatives, namely *modality* of a subsequent utterance, relations of *social power* and *social distance* between speaker and addressee, and once more, *insistence*.

Modality

Vocatives are usually treated as independent elements in speech if not merely as a flexional category; to our knowledge, nothing has been said about any possible incidence of following speech acts on the intonation of a preceding phatic signal drawing the addressee´s attention to what comes next. Put simply, such a "backwards effect" on calls should produce a final rise when followed by a yes/no question – assuming that PAP does not diverge from a universal preference for final rises in questions. According to Dwight Bolinger (1972), two thirds of a set of 250 languages follow this scheme. Commands have not been investigated in the same way, but as their final contour is mostly

falling in our data, we would expect preceding calls to end with a falling melody. Two samples may illustrate the difference:

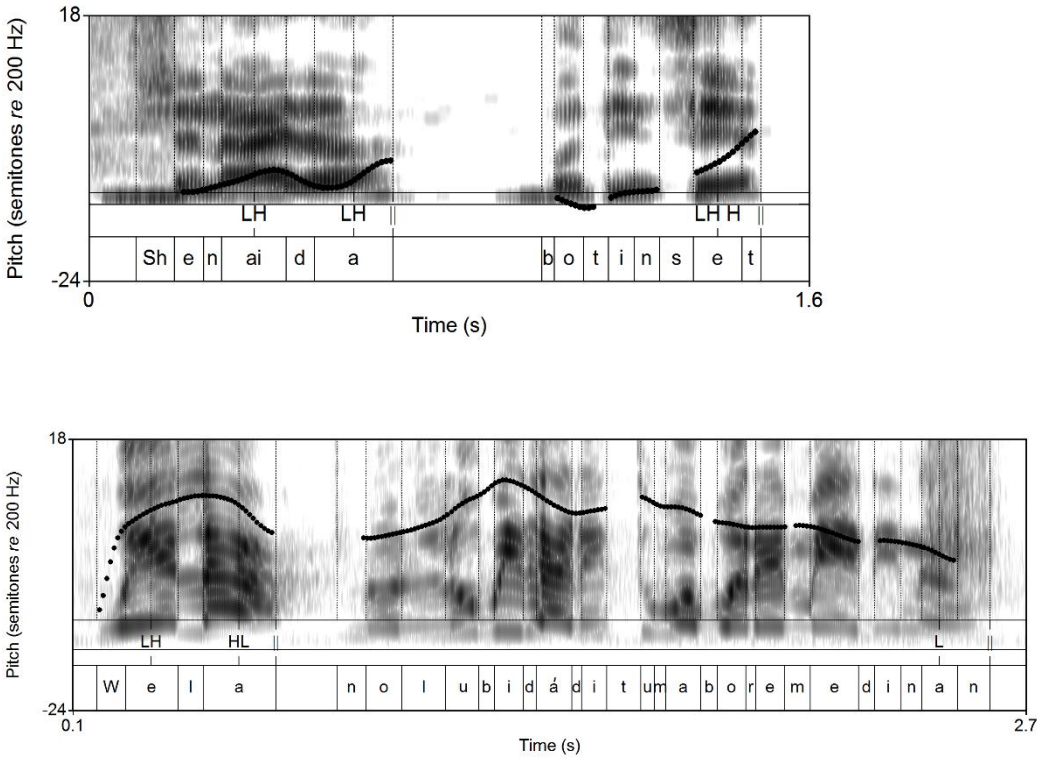
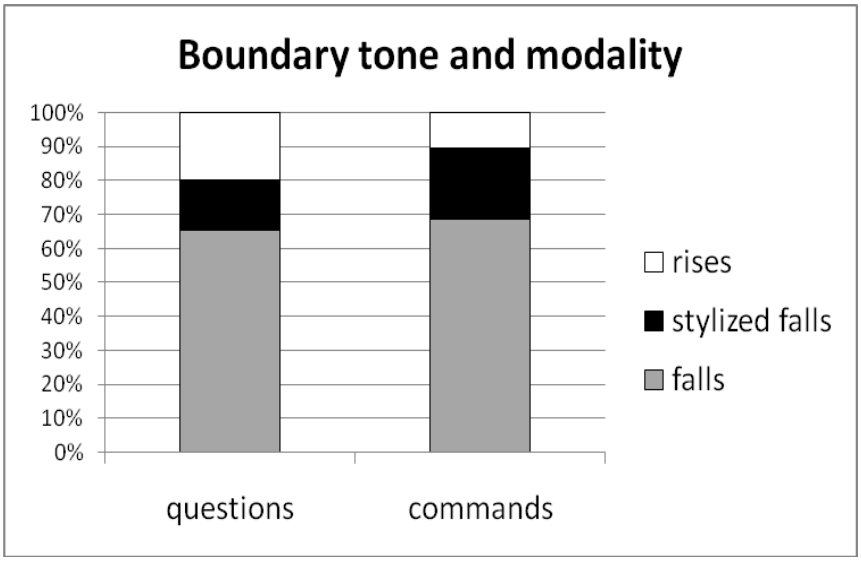


Figure 9 Two calls preceding a different speech act

Descriptive evidence against a possible one-off effect in the above cases was obtained by comparing frequency distributions of final rising vs. non-rising vocatives in all question-scenes (1,3,5,7) against all command-scenes (2,4,6,8). Table 7 gives the results:

Table 7 Effect of directive speech act type on a preceding vocative (1st and 2nd call)



Although the presumed backwards effect was not as strong as expected – falls were still the default solution. It operated independently of social power and relation: whether addressed to a child, a family member, a workmate or a boss, questions always produced a higher proportion of final rising calls than commands. This allowed for a probabilistic test of the backwards effect hypothesis: a one-way analysis of variance of final pitch movement direction yielded a highly significant difference.[12]

Note that these results are perfectly compatible with our findings in the Routine Corpus. Although limited to bare vocatives, their implicit meaning was clearly that of a command 'come in for dinner'; the extremely low proportion of final rises (3%) in names of either tonal category in the first data collection is thus no mystery. Intonation proves, however, that vocatives are something different from true imperatives as they do not adopt the marked accentuation pattern. If this were the case, our ˩name vocatives should not have consistently presented a rise over their stressed syllable, but a fall like in the above representation of *(no) ataká!*.

Social distance and power

The inclusion of these two socio-pragmatic factors as independent variables in our experimental setting was inspired by a 2015 study on Catalan. Its authors, Joan Borrás-Comes, Rafèu Sichel-Bazin and Pilar Prieto gave it the programmatic title "Vocative intonation preferences are sensitive to politeness factors". Relevant factors were drawn from Brown & Levinson's (1987) politeness theory and its dual concept of *face*, defined as:

> (a) negative face, the basic claim to [...] freedom of action and freedom from imposition, and (b) positive face, the positive consistent self-image or 'personality' (crucially including the desire that this self-image be appreciated and approved of) [...]. (ibid.: 61)

According to this definition, speech acts like calls and other directives may be considered as *face-threatening acts* (FTA). Their seriousness depends on the ranking of impositions in a given culture and on the relation between speaker and hearer (1987: 74). This relation can be expressed as a product of *social distance* or *solidarity* and *power* or *social status*. Whenever a FTA is not suppressed, it can be uttered *bald on-record* ("Come in for dinner!"), mitigated by a politeness strategy, either *positive* ("If you come now, you'll get your favourite dish") or *negative* ("Would you mind having dinner now?"), or expressed indirectly or *off-record* ("We're all getting hungry!").

In order to test the hypothesis of vocative sensitivity to politeness factors in Papiamentu, we categorized the addressees in our Q/C-Corpus scenes according to their supposed social relations with the caller: family members (scenes 1-4) were considered as having a close relation with the speaker, in contrast with distant addressees called at work

[12] $F_{emp} = 7{,}02 > F_{crit(1,\ 451;\ 99\%)} = 6{,}7$.

(scenes 5-8); power relation was simulated by separating higher ranking addressees (grandmother/aunt in scenes 3-4, boss in 7-8) from lower placed ones (child in scenes 1-2, secretary in 5-6). Table 8 presents the results. Questions and commands are added together, as modality already proved to have the same effect with all types of listeners present in our drawings.

Table 8 Effect of social relations on vocatives

As can be seen, neither social factor is strong enough to compromise the dominance of the contour final (rise-)fall. It may therefore be considered as unmarked pattern regardless of social setting. Distance relations seem to play a very minor role, leading to a small increase of rises in the working context; inversely, stylized falls are slightly preferred inside the family. The effect of power relation is next to immeasurable. All in all, Papiamentu vocatives seem to blur the distinction suggested for Catalan by Borràs-Comes (2015), according to which stylized falls vs. rises may be considered as prosodic markers of positive vs. negative politeness.

Insistence

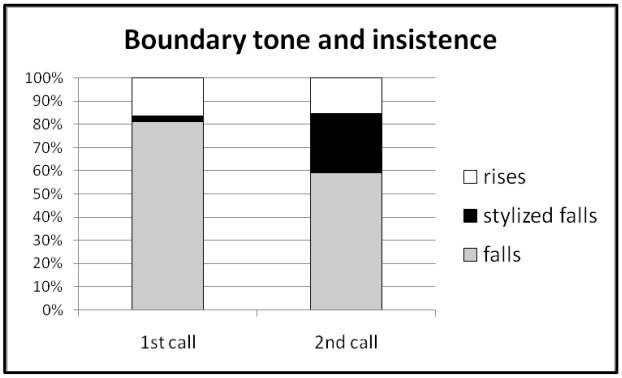
Unlike social relations, insistence does have significant effects on turn-opening calls, most of them similar to those of our Routine Corpus vocatives. One important difference was found when comparing the spans of the prominence tone measured for all (pro)paroxytonic samples in the two settings. Analysis of variance of a total of 149 vs. 203 tokens confirmed the expected effect of Gussenhoven's effort code with a highly significant difference of rise extension and mean rises of 1,8 against 2,8 halftones in first *vs.* second calls.[13] Mean pitch of the stressed syllable of these 352 samples behaved in the same highly distinctive manner as in the routine cases, leaving us again with higher averages in repeated calls: 5,7 halftones above the 200Hz level against only 3,5.[14]

[13] $F_{emp} = 32,5 > F_{crit(1,\ 350;\ 99\%)} = 6,7$.
[14] $F_{emp} = 14,1 > F_{crit(1,\ 350;\ 99\%)} = 6,7$.

Finally, insistence promised once more to be a key factor in the choice of final pitch movement:

Table 9 Boundary tone and insistence with corresponding diagram

	1st call	2nd call
rises	31	39
stylized falls	5	64



As can be seen in the right graphic of table 9, the percentage of plain falls decreases in favour of their stylized counterpart when insistence comes into play. But contrary to the routine data, the difference proved to be very significant in the bigger Q/C-Corpus according to a Chi-square test based on the absolute numbers shown at the left side of table 8.[15] Individual preferences point in the same direction: in 41 cases, subjects changed from H% or L% to M% when calling again, while the opposite only took place twice. As stylized falls increase mostly at the expense of falls – rises seem stable under urgency: the difference becomes even more significant when contrasting only sample numbers of regular and stylized falls.[16]

Conclusions

Resuming the results of both vocative corpora, we may draw the following conclusions for Curaçao Papiamentu.

First, there is a clear intonational division between names of tone categories I and II as to the prefinal part. IINames, always bisyllabic, are usually realized with a low level rather than a falling lexical tone on their first syllable; exceptionally, polarization changes it to a high, but still level tone, resulting in a marked pattern different from the one proposed by Remijsen et al. (2014). INames are unrestricted in length; when used for calling, they always show a steady rise on their stressed syllable.

Second, there are three major types of final inflection or boundary tone in vocatives. *Rises* are the least preferred option, very rare in bare vocatives and only slightly more frequent when followed by a Y/N-question. More common are *stylized falls*, especially in insistent second calls and when addressing a person inside the family. But unlike most European languages, Papiamentu does not use them as a signal of routine but as

[15] $\chi^2_{emp} = 42{,}5 > \chi^2_{crit\ (1,\ 99\%)} = 6{,}6$.
[16] $\chi^2_{emp} = 44{,}0 > \chi^2_{crit\ (1,\ 99\%)} = 6{,}6$.

marker of urgency. This leaves us with *rise-falls* as unmarked final contour which can be used in any situation, regardless of insistence, following message type or social setting.

Third, our results must be taken as a first approach to vocative intonation in Papiamentu. As our subjects had to process the whole bulk of scenes one after the other, routine intonation may have "crept in"; this would make it necessary to complement (or modify) our results by an acceptability judgment study. Furthermore, we must assume that different social relations may be reflected by other prosodic or even lexical strategies. In our tests, calls addressed to the boss many times began with a hesitation signal and repeated *señora* as an address form in the subsequent message, all together said in low voice: *eh ... señora, ... tin ..., señora por tin un momento pa mi?*

With this in mind, lack of clear politeness strategies in Papiamentu´s vocative intonation should not disappoint us, as it would only be consistent with the presently rather egalitarian character of a speech community that not so long ago only knew slaves and masters.

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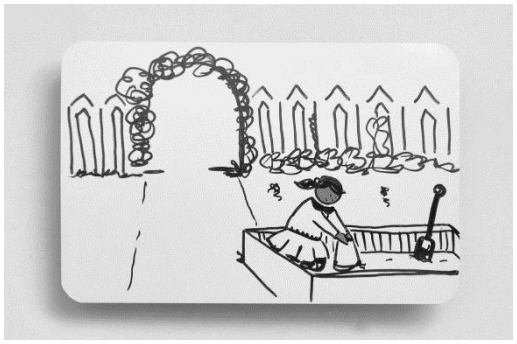
Appendix I: Scenes



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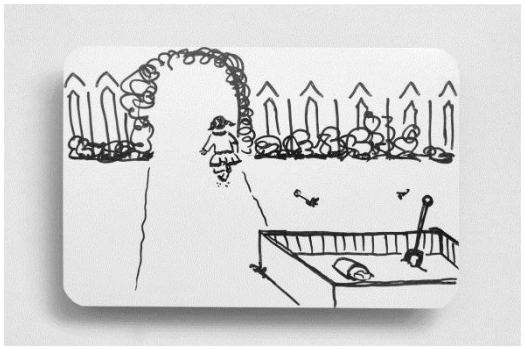

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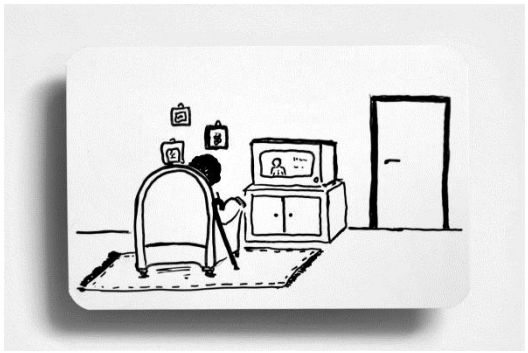

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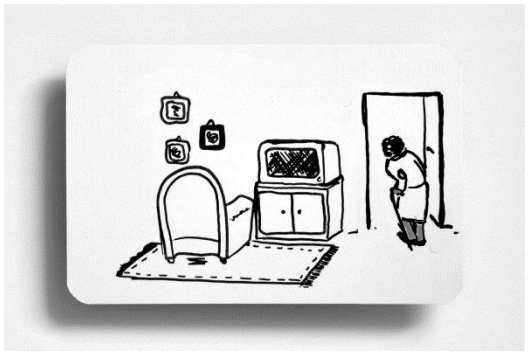

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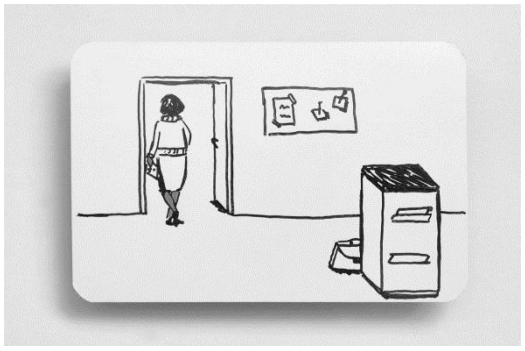

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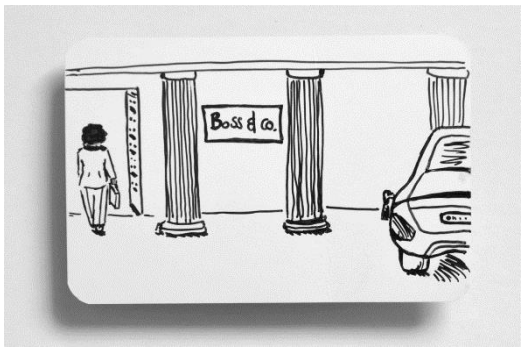

8

Appendix II (List of names)

Cat. I: Djeselin, Djeselin, Dèta, Emily, Mimi, Miss, Shari, Shomara, Shenaida, Shudalin, Stella, Zulaika

Cat. II: Chichi Dòni

LANGUAGE ATTITUDES AMONG STUDENTS IN BONAIRE[1]

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Introduction

Since the dissolution of the Netherlands Antilles on October 10, 2010 the Caribbean island of Bonaire has adopted a new political status as an exceptional municipality of the European Netherlands.[2] This political reform has a strong impact on the small island community due to demographic growth[3], the influence of European Dutch legislation and the increasing cost of living. The new political status of the island has also fueled old debates concerning the linguistic situation of the community, in particular with respect to the status of Papiamentu and Dutch and their respective roles in the education system.

In this article we will present the preliminary results of two surveys that were conducted among students in secondary vocational education by the second author for her Master's thesis (Timp, 2018). We adopted a twofold methodology in order to investigate language attitudes towards Papiamentu and Dutch, as well as opinions regarding the role of the two languages in the education system. Although the results are not conclusive and require larger scale future research the findings seem to indicate that the political changes and their consequences have not affected the students' attitudes towards Papiamentu and Dutch in a negative way. Additional research is necessary in order to strive for a sustainable language policy that recognizes the importance of both

[1] We thank the director of the Scholengemeenschap Bonaire (SGB) for permission to carry out the research project among the students of the secondary vocational education (MBO) tracks. We also want to express our deepest gratitude to the individuals who participated as speakers in the matched-guise experiment and to all the students who filled out the two questionnaires. This research project would have been unthinkable without their willingness to collaborate and their efforts. It goes without saying that we alone are responsible for any errors or misinterpretations.

[2] On October 10, 2010 the Netherlands Antilles were dissolved as a country. Since then Curaçao and St. Maarten have become autonomous countries within the Kingdom of the Netherlands, whereas Bonaire, Saba and St. Eustatius have become exceptional municipalities belonging to the European part of the Kingdom. Aruba already had become an autonomous country within the Kingdom in 1986, by means of its s*tatus aparte*.

[3] The population of the island increased from 15.679 to 19.179 inhabitants between 2011 and 2017 (Central Bureau of Statistics, Caribisch Nederland).

languages and aims at the development of balanced multilingualism for each Bonairean student.

Research on language attitudes

Research on language attitudes is concerned with dispositions to specific language varieties. Ajzen (1988: 4) defined an attitude as "a disposition to respond favourably or unfavourably to an object, person, institution, or event". Attitudes towards language varieties are largely determined by intergroup relations and stereotypical opinions about speech communities and their individual members (Lambert et al., 1960; Giles et al., 1977, and subsequent work). On the islands of the former Dutch Antilles language attitudes are influenced by a colonial history of unequal power relations and ambivalence towards the metropole and its citizens. The population of the ABC-islands Aruba, Bonaire and Curaçao consists of pluri-cultural and pluri-lingual communities in which the majority speaks Papiamento/u as their mother tongue, whereas Dutch was the only officially recognized language up until the first decade of the century. [4][5][6]

Research on language attitudes can make use of *direct* methods such as questionnaires and interviews, at the risk that the results might be affected by a social desirability bias (the tendency to provide 'socially appropriate' answers, Garrett, 2010: 44-45). In order to avoid this methodological problem Wallace Lambert and his team developed the matched-guise technique (MGT) (Lambert et al., 1960) to study language attitudes *indirectly*, by means of 'blind auditions', in which the informants are not informed about the real purpose of the experiment. In this article we will present the results of a study that involved a MGT-experiment as well as a questionnaire to study attitudes towards Papiamentu and Dutch among students in secondary vocational education in Bonaire as well as opinions regarding the use of Papiamentu and Dutch in the education system. First, we will present a review of relevant literature.

Attitudes towards Papiamento/u and Dutch among high school students

There are several seminal studies regarding language attitudes and language use among high school students in Curaçao and Aruba. Although these studies concern students of a younger age group and Curaçao and Aruba differ greatly from Bonaire (in size, number of inhabitants and political status within the Kingdom of the Netherlands) it is relevant to briefly review the results of these studies.

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

[5] The percentages of households speaking Papiamento/u in Aruba and Curaçao can be derived from the data in the Census reports of 2010 and 2011 respectively, as corresponding to 68.3% and 78.5% (Central Bureau of Statistics, Aruba and Curaçao).

[6] In 2003 Papiamento was recognized as an official language alongside Dutch in Aruba. The Netherlands Antilles recognized Papiamentu and English as official languages besides Dutch in 2007.

Curaçao

The first survey, reported on in Kester (2011), was based on 365 questionnaires that were filled out by high school students in February, 2010. The results reveal that language use and language attitudes among high school students vary between the different streams in secondary education. Overall, attitudes towards Papiamentu are very positive, but students from lower education levels consider the language more important for further studies as well as for the job market, presumably because of their orientation towards a future in Curaçao. Students from higher education levels, however, consider Papiamentu to be less important, presumably because they want to pursue their studies abroad and they tend to focus more on the international job market.

Aruba

A second study, based on 131 questionnaires distributed among high school students on Aruba in March, 2015, is reported on in Kester & van der Linde (2015). Although the central topic of the survey concerns attitudes towards Dutch and the use of Dutch in the education system, the questionnaire also contains items with respect to attitudes and use of other languages, in particular Papiamento and English. The results of the study indicate that students from different education streams favor the use of Dutch as a language of instruction and as a subject, whereas they mainly select Papiamento and English as their best languages to communicate in and as the languages they use most frequently with their friends.

The positive attitudes of the students towards the use of Dutch in the education system may be explained by the fact that exposure to Dutch is more or less limited to their classrooms. Attitudes towards the use of Papiamento are positive as well among students of all education streams. A majority is in favor of a multilingual education system, in which English is used as a second language alongside Dutch. The students of the lower education stream (MAVO) are in favor of a trilingual system that incorporates Papiamento as well. As in the case in Curaçao (Kester, 2011) students from lower education streams consider Papiamento to be more important in comparison to students from higher education streams, presumably because they want to pursue their studies in Aruba and they share a more local orientation with respect to the job market.

The language situation on Bonaire

Literature on the language situation in Bonaire is very scarce, but two publications by Bak-Piard (2010, 2016) provide a very relevant overview from the perspective of the political reforms that have taken place since October 10, 2010. In her 2010 article Bak-Piard explicitly addresses the question whether Papiamentu will survive the newly adopted status of Bonaire as an exceptional municipality of the European Netherlands. She observes that the new political status of the island and the language situation cause controversy and threaten to split the community into the ‘original’ population and the

newly arrived residents from the European part of the Kingdom, leading to sentiments of 'Re-colonization of the island by the Dutch' and 'Dominance from the side of the Dutch' (p.43). People are concerned that Papiamentu will be subjected to greater pressure and might eventually even disappear in Bonaire, due to the influx of Dutch citizens and the integration of the island into the European Netherlands (p. 43). In spite of these developments Bak-Piard expresses optimism by pointing out that Papiamentu has survived close contact with many languages (Dutch, English and Spanish among others) over the course of several centuries and she considers the language to be powerful enough to protect its position and to further develop itself (p. 46).

In her second article Bak-Piard (2016) returns to her question about the survival of Papiamentu on Bonaire after 6 years of European Dutch rule, expressing much more concern with respect to its vitality. She observes that the status of the language has changed dramatically since the political reforms, because Papiamentu is no longer recognized as an official language on Bonaire and in accordance with the language law and legislation agreement for the BES-islands (2012) it is only "…to be used- to some extent- in education, government and the courts…" (p. 99).

Although the author points out that the language meets several of the criteria for continued vitality formulated by UNESCO (2011) the change in language policy has had a strong impact in the education system. Since 2010 there has been pressure to increase proficiency in the Dutch language for children living on the island in order for them to meet European Dutch standards, suppressing the time and attention formerly dedicated to Papiamentu in the class room (p. 111). This change seems to have affected attitudes towards both Papiamentu and Dutch among the younger generations in a negative way. Students develop negative attitudes towards Dutch, because of the behavior of European Dutch language professionals who impose their will and make the students feel 'inferior' (p. 102). Students seem to develop negative attitudes towards Papiamentu as well, because educational professionals and parents -especially those from the European Netherlands- think that Papiamentu is irrelevant for academic or professional success.

Furthermore Bak-Piard observes a decline in the number of households where Papiamentu is most frequently spoken over the last decades, partially due to the increasing use of Dutch and Spanish at home, as illustrated in Table 1. Although this development does not necessarily entail an endangerment of the language, it is obvious that intergenerational language transmission plays a pivotal role in language maintenance. Intergenerational transmission of Papiamentu may be hampered by the new language policy that promotes the use of Dutch and enhances negative attitudes towards Papiamentu, as described above.

Table 1 Home languages spoken on Bonaire in percentages (Bak-Piard, 2016: 103)[7] [8].

Most frequently used at home	1992	2001	2013
Papiamentu	78.2	72.3	68.3
Dutch	7.1	10.4	15.4
English	3.7	4.0	4.5
Spanish	10.3	11.4	15.2
Remainder	0.7	1.8	1.2

The author concludes that Papiamentu has survived the new political status of the island, but the language appears to be losing its vitality on Bonaire as it is no longer recognized as an official language, its use as a home language is in decline and its role in the education system is under attack as well (p. 108). These three factors seem to cause increasingly negative attitudes towards Papiamentu among younger generations, which may lead to endangerment of the language even in the near future.

Central questions and hypotheses

Based on the literature review we formulated two research questions and corresponding hypotheses.

1) What are the attitudes towards Papiamentu and Dutch among students in secondary vocational education on Bonaire?

2) What are the students' attitudes and opinions with respect to the use of Papiamentu and Dutch within the education system on the island?

Hypothesis 1:

Students in secondary vocational education may share negative attitudes towards Dutch, due to the societal tensions and concerns related to the political reforms of 10/10/10. Attitudes towards Papiamentu are expected to be positive as the language is acquired by most inhabitants of Bonaire as their L1 or L2. The findings of the *indirect* research method (matched-guise experiment) may be more revealing than those of the *direct* research method (questionnaire), because the results of the former are expected to be affected to a lower degree by factors of social desirability and political correctness.

[7] Bak-Piard (2016: 103) mentions that the sources for the years 1992 and 2001 are Census Netherlands Antilles and for 2013 CBS, Caribisch Nederland.

[8] As pointed out on the website of the Central Bureau of Statistics, the survey that was carried out in 2013 among a cross-section of the Bonairean population first inquired about the number of languages spoken by the participants. In the case of *multilingual* participants (corresponding to 89,9 % of the respondents) a second question inquired about the language they spoke most frequently and these percentages are presented in Table 1.

Hypothesis 2:
Students in secondary vocational education may share negative attitudes and opinions with respect to the use of Dutch in the education system, as the pressure on learning Dutch has increased since 10/10/10 and students face negative attitudes towards themselves among European Dutch teachers. Moreover, very few Bonairean students prepare for a future in the European Netherlands and consequently learning Dutch may be of limited relevance to them. Attitudes towards the use of Papiamentu are expected to be more positive in general and as many students struggle with learning Dutch, they may share positive attitudes towards the use of Papiamentu for education purposes as well.

Methodology

In this article we present the results of a research project which was realized by the second author for her thesis as part of the Master's program in Education at the University of Curaçao under the supervision of the first author. The research methodology of the project was twofold as it involved a matched-guise experiment as well as a survey on language attitudes and language use, by means of two separate questionnaires that were distributed among students in secondary vocational education at Scholengemeenschap Bonaire (SGB). The school director granted permission to carry out the research project among the students and the project was approved by the Ethical Committee (ETCL) of Utrecht University.

The second author conducted the investigation during her regular English classes with the respective groups of students in their own class room. The two questionnaires were each preceded by a form with information about the research project and a declaration of consent to use the results for publication, to be ticked in a box by each participant in order to ensure their anonymity.[9]

The first questionnaire was part of a matched-guise experiment and aimed at the evaluation of female speakers who had been recorded in Papiamentu and Dutch. The experiment involved six audio-recordings of four individuals who read a short text about Bonaire (see Appendix 1). Two of the speakers were bilingual and read the text in both languages. The other two individuals read the text in one of the two languages and these recordings were included as fillers. Table 2 illustrates the order of the audio-fragments.

[9] The questionnaires were numbered and the students were requested to take note of the number, in case they wanted to withdraw their collaboration within 24 hours after participation, as required by the Ethical Committee (ETCL) of Utrecht University. The participation of the students was completely anonymous as the investigator registered neither the students' names nor the numbers on the questionnaires.

Table 2 Order of the audio-fragments in the two languages, as read by the four speakers.

Audio-fragments	Speakers	Languages
1.	Speaker 1	Papiamentu
2.	Speaker 2	Dutch
3.	Speaker 3	Papiamentu
4.	Speaker 4	Dutch
5.	Speaker 2	Papiamentu
6.	Speaker 1	Dutch

In this article we will focus on the results of the two bilingual speakers (audio-fragments 1, 2, 5 and 6), who both work as teachers in primary education. Speaker 1 was born on Curaçao and raised bilingual, as her mother was a native speaker of Papiamentu (born on Bonaire) and her father was a native speaker of Dutch (born in the European Netherlands). Speaker 2 was born in the Netherlands (just like both of her parents), but she has been living in Bonaire for several decades and speaks Papiamentu at home (as her husband is from Curaçao) and also at work as a teacher in primary education. Both speakers were identified as fluent speakers of both languages by the authors of this article (who are native speakers of Dutch and Papiamentu, respectively).

The second author went through the information letter, the form of consent and the instructions for the survey together with the students. She also read the texts in Papiamentu and Dutch aloud, in order for the students to familiarize themselves with the contents of the audio-recordings. The questionnaires were formulated in English in order to avoid a potential language bias (caused by the use of Papiamentu or Dutch). Notice that the use of English was also natural in the setting of the survey, as the second author teaches English to the participants.

After listening to each recording the students evaluated the speakers with respect to 7 personality traits, scoring their agreement, neutrality or disagreement with the statement that the respective traits characterized the recorded individual they had been listening too. The personality traits evaluated were partially selected from the model presented in Bayard et al. (2001) involving four semantic scales: power, competence, solidarity and status. The corresponding personality traits were: assertive (power), intelligent, hardworking (competence), friendly, humorous (solidarity) and educated (status). The trait religious was included as well, as this feature was expected to yield different results for speakers of Papiamentu as compared to those of speakers of Dutch. We only included 7 personality traits to evaluate the individual speakers, in order not to make the task too time-consuming for the participants.

Results

For reasons of time and space we only present a preliminary analysis of a selection of the results from the two questionnaires. We leave a complete analysis of the results and

potential correlations between language attitudes, language use and demographic characteristics of the participants by means of statistical methods for future work.
After a concise description of the demographic characteristics of the 75 students who participated in the research project, we present the results of the two questionnaires. In the case of the matched-guise experiment we only include the evaluations of the two bilingual speakers reading in Papiamentu and Dutch, respectively, as the scores of the 'fillers' provided by the two other subjects may have been influenced by other individual variables. It is important to observe that only 2 of the 75 students identified the recordings of the two bilingual speakers as being read by the same individuals.

Demographic characteristics of the participants

The questionnaires were filled out by 75 students of secondary vocational education, with an age range of 16 to 22.[10] 48 participants were female and 27 were male. Most of the students (52 in total) were born on Bonaire, Aruba and Curaçao, 15 were born in the European Netherlands and 8 were born elsewhere.[11]

Results of the matched-guise experiment

In this section we will present the evaluation of the personality traits of the two bilingual speakers (corresponding to recordings 1, 2, 5 and 6) as part of the matched-guise experiment. In the tables we first present the traits on the power, competence and status scales (assertive, intelligent, hardworking, educated) followed by the traits corresponding to the solidarity scale (friendly, humorous, religious). For ease of exposition the categories *agree* and *strongly agree* are grouped together, as well as *disagree* and *strongly disagree*. All scores higher than 50% are highlight oed in the tables.

[10] For the sake of completeness we observe that 3 participants surpassed the age of 22.
[11] The majority of these students were born in the region: 3 students were born in Colombia, 2 in Surinam, 1 in Guyana and 1 in Saint Martin/ Sint Maarten. Moreover, 1 student was born in China.

Speaker 1

Table 3 Evaluation of the personality traits of **Speaker 1** when speaking Papiamentu and Dutch, respectively (scores in percentages).

		Agree		**Neutral**		**Disagree**	
		PA	**DU**	**PA**	**DU**	**PA**	**DU**
1	The speaker is assertive.	25.7	60.8	59.5	31.1	14.9	8.2
2	The speaker is intelligent.	58.1	75.7	40.5	23.0	1.3	1.3
3	The speaker is hardworking.	25.7	64.9	64.9	32.4	9.5	2.7
4	The speaker is educated.	70.3	83.8	25.7	13.5	4.1	2.7
5	The speaker is friendly.	68.9	70.3	24.3	25.7	6.8	4.1
6	The speaker is humorous.	8.1	16.2	54.1	60.8	37.8	23.0
7	The speaker is religious.	21.6	25.7	58.1	50.0	20.3	24.3

As illustrated in table 3, Speaker 1 is evaluated as intelligent, educated and friendly by a majority of the participants based on the recordings in both languages. The scores for the recordings in Dutch are (slightly) higher. Speaker 1 is evaluated as more assertive and hardworking when speaking Dutch. These results are consistent with stereotypes regarding people of European Dutch descent, because they are generally perceived as very straightforward (or even blunt) and hardworking, as corroborated by research among high school students in Curaçao (Kester & Hortencia, 2011; 2012, 2013; 2015 and references therein). The scores for the features humorous and religious are predominantly neutral or negative and do not reveal a sharp contrast with respect to the two languages.

A comparison between the different scales reveals that Speaker 1 scores slightly higher on the personality traits related to power, competence and status when speaking Dutch. The scores of the evaluations on the solidarity scale are very similar in the two languages, with higher scores for friendliness as compared to humor and religiousness.

Speaker 2

Table 4 Evaluation of the personality traits of **Speaker 2** when speaking Papiamentu and Dutch, respectively (scores in percentages).

		Agree		**Neutral**		**Disagree**	
		PA	**DU**	**PA**	**DU**	**PA**	**DU**
1	The speaker is assertive.	21.6	20.1	56.8	56.8	21.6	23.0
2	The speaker is intelligent.	52.7	55.4	44.6	43.2	2.7	1.4
3	The speaker is hardworking.	48.6	36.5	42.0	52.7	9.5	10.8
4	The speaker is educated.	55.4	64.9	36.5	31.1	8.1	4.1
5	The speaker is friendly.	40.5	32.4	51.4	51.4	8.1	16.2
6	The speaker is humorous.	14.9	8.1	52.7	47.3	32.4	44.6
7	The speaker is religious.	27.0	17.6	47.3	47.3	25.7	35.1

As indicated in table 4 the scores of the evaluations of the personality traits of Speaker 2 are less polarized in comparison to those of Speaker 1. The percentages are lower in general and the scores of the two languages are more similar. The judgments of Speaker 2 are more marked in case of the competence and status scales (in comparison to the power and solidarity scales), as the subject is evaluated as intelligent and educated when speaking Papiamentu or Dutch. Interestingly, the scores in the categories assertive and hardworking are much lower for Speaker 2 than for Speaker 1 in the Dutch guises. On the solidarity scale the scores of Speaker 2 with respect to friendliness are neutral, whereas those in the categories humorous and religious are neutral or negative for both languages.

Both speakers

Table 5 Evaluation of the personality traits of **both speakers** when speaking Papiamentu and Dutch, respectively (average scores in percentages).

		Agree		**Neutral**		**Disagree**	
		PA	**DU**	**PA**	**DU**	**PA**	**DU**
1	The speaker is assertive.	23.6	40.5	58.1	43.9	18.2	15.5
2	The speaker is intelligent.	55.4	65.5	42.6	33.1	2.0	1.4
3	The speaker is hardworking.	37.2	50.7	53.4	42.6	9.5	6.8
4	The speaker is educated.	62.8	74.3	31.1	22.3	6.1	3.4
5	The speaker is friendly.	54.7	51.4	37.8	38.5	7.4	10.1
6	The speaker is humorous.	11.5	12.2	53.4	54.1	35.1	33.8
7	The speaker is religious.	24.3	21.6	52.7	48.6	23.6	29.7

The evaluation of the personality traits of both speakers matches to a large extent the patterns found for Speaker 1: the judgments are more salient in case of the competence and status scales, as the subjects are evaluated as intelligent and educated when speaking both languages and hardworking when speaking Dutch. In the solidarity scale they are judged as friendly when speaking both languages, but scores are neutral for the traits humorous and religious.

Hence, the MGT-experiment reveals that the evaluations of the speakers in the two guises are rather similar. There are no strong distinctions between the evaluations of the two speakers in the two languages corresponding to the power, competence, status and solidarity scales. The question arises as to what extent the evaluations were affected by specific characteristics of the recordings of two educated female speakers who carefully read a text, but the similarity of the scores in both Papiamentu and Dutch constitutes an important result of the experiment.

Results of the survey

In this section we present the preliminary results of the survey, which was partially based on a questionnaire designed for research on the Dutch Caribbean island of St. Eustatius (Faraclas, Kester & Mijts, 2013).

Attitudes towards Papiamentu and Dutch in general

Table 6 Evaluation of the statements regarding language attitudes towards Papiamentu and Dutch (scores in percentages).

		Agree	**Neutral**	**Disagree**
1	I like speaking Papiamentu.	84	8	8
2	I like to hear people speak Papiamentu.	78.7	20	1.3
3	I like speaking Dutch.	38.7	34.7	26.7
4	I like to hear people speak Dutch.	25.3	54.7	20
5	If I have children, I would want them to speak both Papiamentu and Dutch.	73.3	18.7	8

The results in table 6 illustrate a substantial contrast in the students' attitudes towards Papiamentu and Dutch in general. Attitudes towards Papiamentu are very positive, as the overwhelming majority the students agree with the statements that they like speaking Papiamentu (84%) and like to hear people speak Papiamentu (78.7%). Opinions with respect to Dutch are more diverse and there is no clear agreement or disagreement on the statements related to speaking or hearing Dutch. Yet, it is remarkable that the students do not express overtly negative attitudes towards Dutch and a vast majority (73.3%) also wishes for their children to speak both languages.

Attitudes towards Papiamentu and Dutch in the education system

Table 7 Evaluation of the statements regarding language attitudes towards Papiamentu and Dutch in the education system (scores in percentages).

		Agree	**Neutral**	**Disagree**
6	I think Papiamentu should be the language of instruction at MBO.	44	18.7	37.3
7	Papiamentu is more important than Dutch for my future.	5.3	53.3	41.3
8	I think Dutch should be the language of instruction at MBO.	36	41.3	22.7
9	Dutch is more important than Papiamentu for my future.	37.3	38.7	24
10	I think Dutch is a difficult language to learn.	38.7	32	29.3
11	In classes where the teacher speaks Dutch, I feel free to express myself.	22.7	33.3	44
12	I think it is a waste of time to learn Dutch.	8	25.3	66.7

As illustrated in table 7 the results of the questionnaire concerning attitudes towards Papiamentu and Dutch in the education system are quite diverse. Opinions with respect to the use of Papiamentu as the language of instruction seem to be rather polarized, as 44% of the students agree and 37.3% disagree with this statement. Very few students (5.3%) think that Papiamentu is more important than Dutch for their future.

With respect to the use of Dutch as the language of instruction and the importance of Dutch for their future the students' opinions are less polarized, with those who disagree constituting a minority (of 22.7% and 24%, respectively). Although opinions are quite diverse with respect to the difficulty of learning Dutch, it is clear that many students (44%) do not feel free to express themselves when the teacher speaks Dutch and a majority (66.7%) does not consider learning Dutch a waste of time.

The results of the questionnaire illustrate that attitudes towards Papiamentu in general are strong and favorable, whereas opinions differ with respect to its use as the language of instruction in secondary vocational education. The students express diverse attitudes and opinions about Dutch in general and about the use of Dutch in the classroom.

Conclusion

For ease of exposition we repeat the central research questions below.

1) What are the attitudes towards Papiamentu and Dutch among students in secondary vocational education on Bonaire?

Although we hypothesized that students in secondary vocational education might harbor negative attitudes towards Dutch as a consequence of societal and educational tensions

caused by the new political status of Bonaire, this hypothesis was not corroborated by the results. The findings of the matched-guise experiment indicated that the two female speakers were evaluated very similarly when speaking Papiamentu and Dutch. In both guises they were positively judged as intelligent, educated and friendly. Evaluations of the two speakers as hardworking, assertive, humorous and religious showed more diversity, but no negative judgements were encountered in the cases of the Dutch guises. The results of the questionnaires corroborated the students' positive attitudes towards Papiamentu, as they like speaking and hearing the language. Their attitudes towards Dutch turned out to be more diverse, but not necessarily negative. A vast majority of the students (73.3%) agreed with the statement that they would like their children to speak both Papiamentu and Dutch, which may be interpreted as a positive attitude towards the two languages as well as towards bilingualism. We encountered no radical differences between the results of the *indirect* method (MGT-experiment) in comparison to the *direct* method (questionnaires).

2) What are the students' attitudes and opinions with respect to the use of Papiamentu and Dutch within the education system on the island?

Although we hypothesized that students in secondary vocational education might exhibit negative attitudes towards the use of Dutch due to the increasing pressure on learning Dutch, negative attitudes towards them among European Dutch teachers and the restricted relevance of learning Dutch for their studies, this hypothesis was not corroborated by the results either. Attitudes and opinions regarding the use of both languages in the education system were not very polarized. There was no consensus among the students with respect to the use of Papiamentu or Dutch as the language of instruction in secondary vocational educational, nor about the importance of either language for their future. Notice, however, that a majority of the students (66.7%) expressed disagreement with the statement that learning Dutch is a waste of time, which may suggest high motivation to do so on their part.

Obviously, the results of this study are far from conclusive and only present an initial step in understanding language attitudes in a complex pluri-lingual community in times of political transition. Future investigations should not only include more data from a cross section of the Bonairean population (targeting different age groups and diverse education levels), but also study the role of other languages, such as English, within the community. An expansion of this seminal study would be relevant for activities related to language policy and planning, in particular for the development of a sustainable education system that aims at balanced multilingualism, in order for Bonairean students to achieve their full potential.

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Appendix 1: The two texts of the matched-guise experiment

Papiamentu: E promé habitantenan di Boneiru tabata e Arawaknan ku a yega e isla for di Venezuela mas o ménos 1000 aña despues di Kristu. Bo por mira e sobranan di e kultura den forma di pintura riba baranka banda di Onima na e banda ost di Boneiru.

Dutch: De eerste bewoners van Bonaire waren de Arawakken die het eiland vanaf Venezuela bereikten rond 1000 na Christus. Restanten van deze cultuur zijn onder andere te vinden in de vorm van rotstekeningen in de buurt van Onima aan de oostkust van Bonaire

English translation: The first inhabitants of Bonaire were Arawaks who reached the island from Venezuela around 1000 Anno Domini. Remnants of this culture are, among others, rock drawings near Onima on the east coast of Bonaire.

Appendix 2: Questionnaire of the matched-guise experiment

Introduction

During the next 20 minutes you will listen to several audio-fragments in Papiamentu and in Dutch. Please, evaluate certain personality traits of the recorded individuals on the basis of their voices, as if you were listening to a phone conversation or to the radio.

E promé habitantenan di Boneiru tabata e Arawaknan ku a yega e isla for di Venezuela mas o ménos 1000 aña despues di Kristu. Bo por mira e sobranan di e kultura den forma di pintura riba baranka banda di Onima na e banda ost di Boneiru.

De eerste bewoners van Bonaire waren de Arawakken die het eiland vanaf Venezuela bereikten rond 1000 na Christus. Restanten van deze cultuur zijn onder andere te vinden in de vorm van rotstekeningen in de buurt van Onima aan de oostkust van Bonaire.

Please indicate whether you agree or disagree with the following statements per speaker by marking your answers by means of a cross.

Speaker 1

		Strongly Agree	**Agree**	**Neutral**	**Disagree**	**Strongly Disagree**
1	The speaker is intelligent.					
2	The speaker is hardworking					
3	The speaker is educated.					
4	The speaker is friendly.					
5	The speaker is assertive					
6	The speaker is humorous					
7	The speaker is religious.					

Speaker 2

		Strongly Agree	**Agree**	**Neutral**	**Disagree**	**Strongly Disagree**
1	The speaker is intelligent.					
2	The speaker is hardworking					
3	The speaker is educated.					
4	The speaker is friendly.					
5	The speaker is assertive					
6	The speaker is humorous					
7	The speaker is religious.					

Speaker 3

		Strongly Agree	**Agree**	**Neutral**	**Disagree**	**Strongly Disagree**
1	The speaker is intelligent.					
2	The speaker is hardworking					
3	The speaker is educated.					
4	The speaker is friendly.					
5	The speaker is assertive					
6	The speaker is humorous					
7	The speaker is religious.					

Speaker 4

		Strongly Agree	**Agree**	**Neutral**	**Disagree**	**Strongly Disagree**
1	The speaker is intelligent.					
2	The speaker is hardworking					
3	The speaker is educated.					
4	The speaker is friendly.					
5	The speaker is assertive					
6	The speaker is humorous					
7	The speaker is religious.					

Speaker 5

		Strongly Agree	**Agree**	**Neutral**	**Disagree**	**Strongly Disagree**
1	The speaker is intelligent.					
2	The speaker is hardworking					
3	The speaker is educated.					
4	The speaker is friendly.					
5	The speaker is assertive					
6	The speaker is humorous					
7	The speaker is religious.					

Speaker 6

		Strongly Agree	**Agree**	**Neutral**	**Disagree**	**Strongly Disagree**
1	The speaker is intelligent.					
2	The speaker is hardworking					
3	The speaker is educated.					
4	The speaker is friendly.					
5	The speaker is assertive					
6	The speaker is humorous					
7	The speaker is religious.					

Please, fill out the correct information or mark it by means of a circle.

43. Age: _____

44. Gender: male / female

45. Were you born on Bonaire? Yes. No, outside Bonaire in _____
46. Was your mother born on Bonaire? Yes. No, outside Bonaire in _____
47. Was your father born on Bonaire? Yes. No, outside Bonaire in _____

Thank you for your cooperation!

Appendix 3: Questionnaire on language attitudes and language use

Please indicate whether you agree or disagree with the following statements marking your answer by means of a cross.

		Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree
1.	I like speaking Papiamentu.					
2.	I like speaking Dutch.					
3.	If I have children, I would want them to speak both Papiamentu and Dutch.					
4.	I like to hear people speak Dutch.					
5.	I like to hear people speak Papiamentu.					
6.	I think Papiamentu should be the language of instruction at MBO.					
7.	I think Dutch should be the language of instruction at MBO.					
8.	I think it is a waste of time to learn Dutch					
9.	Dutch is more important than Papiamentu for my future.					
10.	Papiamentu is more important than Dutch for my future.					
11.	I think Dutch is a difficult language to learn.					
12.	In classes where the teacher speaks Dutch, I feel free to express myself.					

Mark the language with a cross, you can mark more than one language.

	Which language(s) do you use every day when you talk to...	Papiamentu	English	Dutch	Spanish	Another language :.....
13.	your mother					
14.	your father					
15.	your brothers and sisters					
16.	your friends					
17.	your teachers					
18.	your class mates					
19.	strangers					

Please, fill out the correct information or mark it by means of a circle.

20. Age:	_____
21. Gender:	male / female
22. Were you born on Bonaire?	Yes. No, outside Bonaire in _____
23. Was your mother born on Bonaire?	Yes. No, outside Bonaire in _____
24. Was your father born on Bonaire?	Yes. No, outside Bonaire in _____

Thank you for your cooperation!

PAPIAMENTU IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

RONALD SEVERING, UNIVERSITY OF CURAÇAO
CHRISTA WEIJER, CURAÇAO
NICHOLAS FARACLAS, UNIVERSITY OF PUERTO RICO, RÍO PIEDRAS

Papiamentu is an official language of the Dutch Leeward or ABC islands (Aruba, Bonaire and Curaçao) and also one of the six official languages of the Caribbean. The recent editions of two diaries from the beginning of the eighteenth century (Schabel, 2016, see Image 2) and in the nineteenth century (Putman, 2016, see Image 9) provide a synchronic historical impression of the Curaçao community and in particular of the Papiamentu language spoken there. Using this historical data, this article gives a brief description of the early development of Papiamentu in Curaçao. The focus is on the first half of the nineteenth century, when Papiamentu was not only spoken, but also began to be assigned a function in written form and even in printed form by the missions.

By 500 AD, the indigenous peoples were already present on the island of Curaçao. These Indigenous peoples were related to those of the Venezuelan states of Falcón and Lara. Historical reconstruction reveals that they could sail between the Leeward Islands and the coast of Venezuela by using the various sea currents (see Image 1). A point of departure from the mainland was Puerto Cumarebo, which was previously called Puerto de los Curaçao. This meant: where 'Los Curaçao' (the Curaçaoan Indigenous peoples) made the crossing to the island of Curaçao. Archaeological finds as well as place, animal and plant names show sufficient traces of the frequent contacts and their early presence on the island. In 1499 the Spaniards took possession of the islands of Aruba, Bonaire and Curaçao. In 1513 a large part of the Indigenous population of the three islands was transferred by the Spaniards to the colony of Santo Domingo on the island of Hispaniola to work in the copper mines there (Severing & Weijer, 2016).

When the Dutch West India Company (WIC) took possession of Curaçao from the Spanish in 1634, they found only a few dozen Spaniards together with a few hundred Indigenous people on the island. The Dutch transported the Spaniards to the nearby South America mainland along with the majority of these Indigenous people. In the second half of the 17th century (1659), a group of Sephardic Jews arrived. After 1660 the importation of slaves from Africa on a large scale began (Buddingh, 1994), with Curaçao eventually becoming a prosperous center for the slave trade (Schiltkamp, 1989)

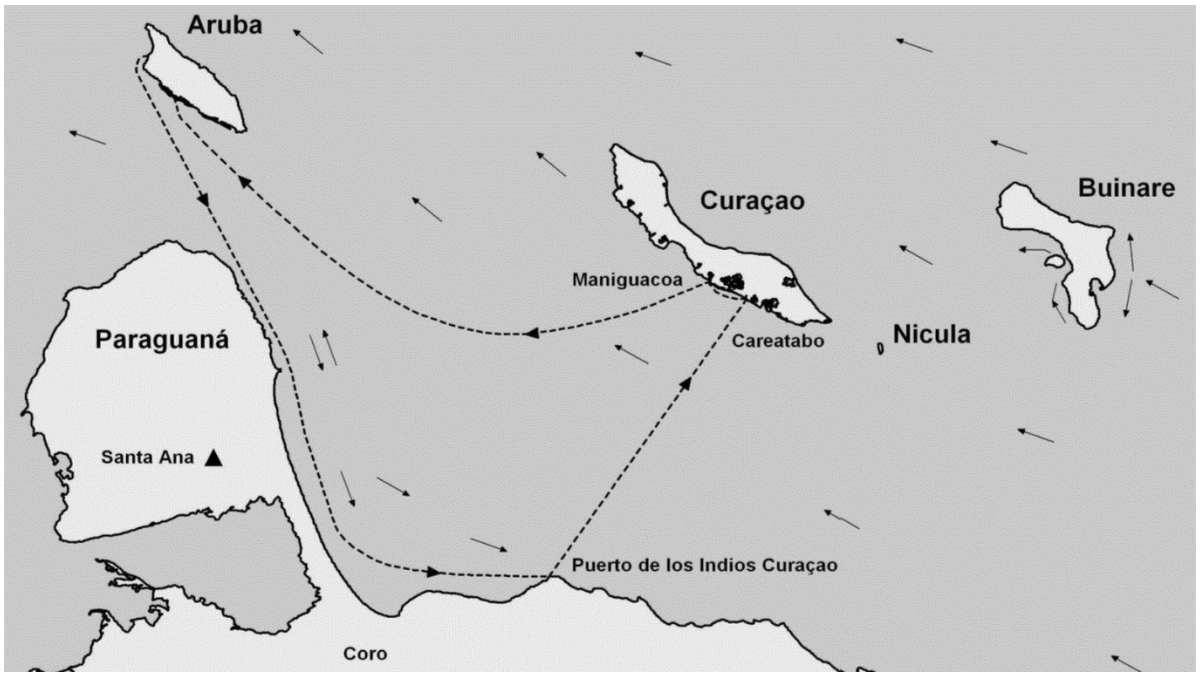


Image 1 Sailing routes of Indigenous peoples between the present-day ABC islands and Venezuela based on archaeological findings and knowledge of sea currents, reconstructed and mapped by G. van Buurt (2014)

(see Image 3). A culturally and linguistically multiplex society emerged from this combination of Indigenous peoples, Dutch, Jews and Africans, where each ethnic group had a distinct social position (Hartog, 1961; Goslinga, 1977).

During the 17th century, little formal education took place in the colony. From 1634 onwards, all company directors and preachers had to declare under oath that they would do their best to maintain the Dutch Reformed religion under Dutch personnel and to bring this religion to the slaves and the indigenous peoples of the island. The ministers were also instructed in 1638 to teach the Christian religion as well to the Portuguese and the Spanish on the island, along with their children (Nooyen, 1979: 69).

During the era of colonial rule by the Dutch West India Company, which in Curaçao lasted until 1792, the company would send a schoolmaster from the Netherlands to the colony to provide education only for the children of the communicants of the Dutch Reformed Church, which in practice, despite all of the above-mentioned directives, usually meant the children of the colonial officials and soldiers. When the schoolmaster died, there were periods during which no formal education was available. A family that

could afford home education would contract and pay a teacher for their children (Komishon, 1992). During this period, Dutch was the language of government and education.

The social and linguistic situation in Curaçao during the 18th century can be reconstructed to some extent from documentary evidence. We get a remarkably concrete picture of life on the island at this time from documents written by Father Alexius Schabel, a Catholic priest from Bohemia who stayed on Curaçao between 1704 and 1713. Schabel wrote a diary in Latin of his experiences teaching and preaching on the local plantations, which was published in 2016 by, among others, the University of Curaçao, with an introduction by Wim Rutgers[1].

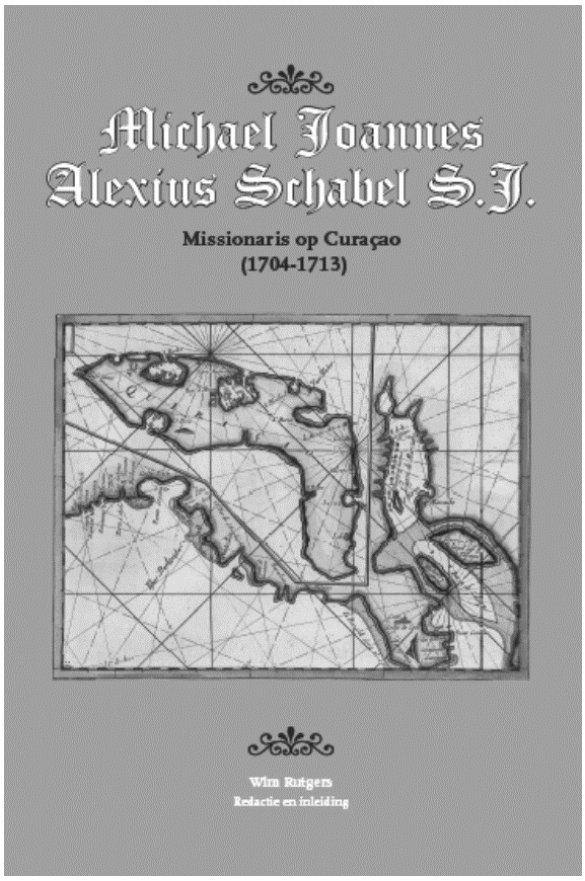


Image 2 The book about Alexius Schabel who stayed on Curaçao (1704-1713) edited by Wim Rutgers (2016) contains the report 'Notitia' (1705), and 'Diurnum' (1707-1708), a diary.

The Santo Domingo and various other synods of the Catholic Church stipulated that no one was allowed to sell an enslaved African who had not been instructed in religion. So, while the Protestants of the Dutch Reformed Church had largely ignored directives to convert the non-European descended population of the island to Christianity, the Catholics took a proactive role in converting the enslaved Africans on Curaçao to Catholicism. The conversion of these Africans and their descendants reinforced the latinization of the Curaçaoan population, as many Spanish-speaking and even some French-speaking priests were sent to the colony for this purpose. Schabel noted in his writing that the local people of Curaçao spoke their own language. This is the earliest reference to a separate language that is not Spanish, English or French (presum-

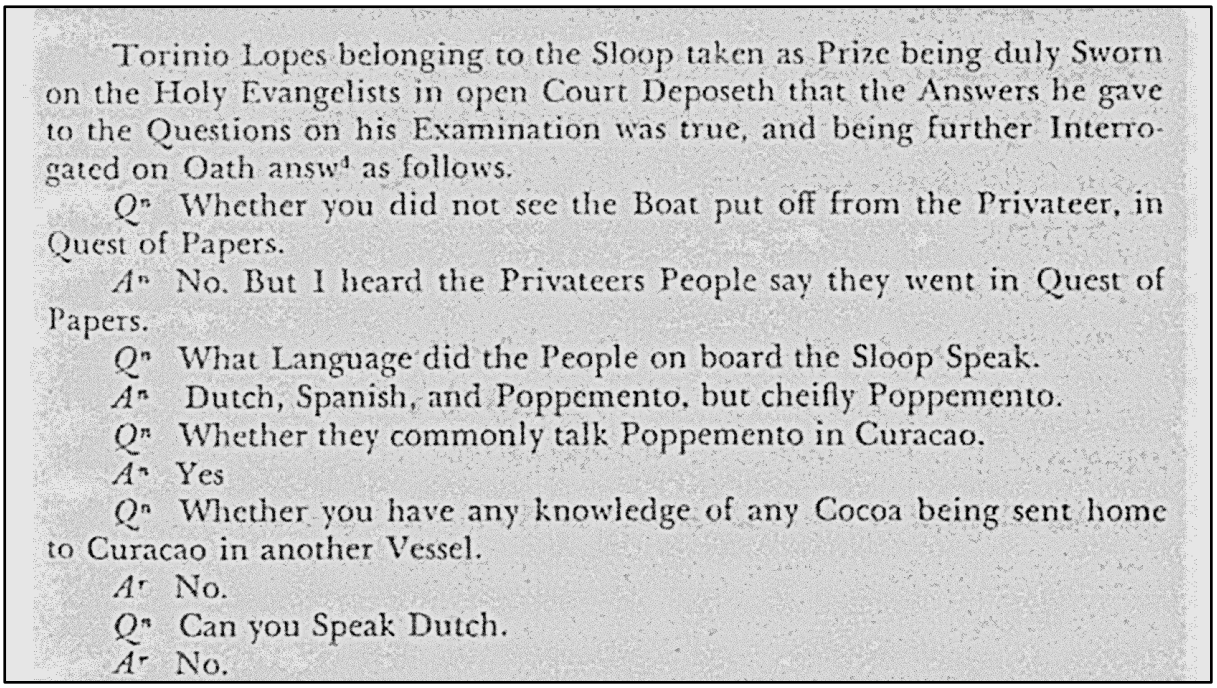
[1] In his preface, Rutgers indicates that Schabel's book is based on documents that are valuable not only in recording the history of the Catholic mission to Curaçao, but also for reconstructing the history and language of the island itself. The book contains the Dutch translation from Latin of Schabel's report titled 'Notitia' (1705) and his diary 'Diurnum' (1707-1708). In 1997 Christine W.M. Schunck published the original Latin text from the manuscript: "Michael Joannes Alexius Schabel S.J. Notitia de Curaçao, Bonayre, Oruba" (1705) and "Diurnum" (1708-1708). Offprint "Archivum Historicum Societas Iesu vol. LXVI (1997) Roma". The translation to Dutch was begun by Jaime Koos Visker († 2001) and finished by Antoon Stikvoort.

ably Papiamentu, or a precursor to Papiamentu) being widely used among the population. Later it was recorded that most inhabitants spoke "broken Spanish" (which also is probably a reference to Papiamentu) (Brada, 1963: 22).

Image 3 Curaçao in the 18th century

Much to the displeasure of the Dutch Catholic Church, the enslaved people of the island had a strong preference for Spanish priests, to the extent that the Venezuelan bishop claimed authority over Curaçao. In order to improve communication with as well as to gain the confidence of the faithful, the Dutch Franciscans (1776) eventually decided to preach in Papiamentu (Klooster, 1994: 293, notes 32 and 33).

Papiamentu, the language that is today (and probably during the 18th century as well) the most widely spoken language on the island, was not spoken only on Curaçao. Groups of enslaved and formerly enslaved people who spoke Papiamentu were to be found on other Caribbean islands, including Puerto Rico and St. Thomas where there was a street inhabited by free people from Curaçao, and where observers noted that one could only hear people speaking Papiamentu (State Commission, 1856: 297). Papiamentu speakers could also be found in appreciable numbers on the mainland, especially in Venezuela around Puerto Cabello, where Papiamentu-speaking 'genti di Corsó' had settled in marron communities called 'cumbes', 'palenques' and 'quilombos' (De Granda, 1973).



Torinio Lopes belonging to the Sloop taken as Prize being duly Sworn on the Holy Evangelists in open Court Deposeth that the Answers he gave to the Questions on his Examination was true, and being further Interrogated on Oath answ[d] as follows.

Q[n] Whether you did not see the Boat put off from the Privateer, in Quest of Papers.

A[n] No. But I heard the Privateers People say they went in Quest of Papers.

Q[n] What Language did the People on board the Sloop Speak.

A[n] Dutch, Spanish, and Poppemento, but cheifly Poppemento.

Q[n] Whether they commonly talk Poppemento in Curacao.

A[n] Yes

Q[n] Whether you have any knowledge of any Cocoa being sent home to Curacao in another Vessel.

A[r] No.

Q[n] Can you Speak Dutch.

A[r] No.

Image 4 Fragment of a 1747 court document from Rhode Island where the crew on board a Curaçaoan ship state that: 'they commonly talk Poppemento in Curaçao' (Towle, 1936)

While documents written by the end of the 17th and the first part of the 18th centuries first mention ‘broken Spanish’, a ‘language of the country’ and later a ‘national language’ and ‘creole language’ spoken on Curaçao, it is only later that Papiamentu is mentioned by name, as indicated in Table 1. The language name Papiamentu was first recorded in written form in a 1775 Rhode Island court document reporting the interro-

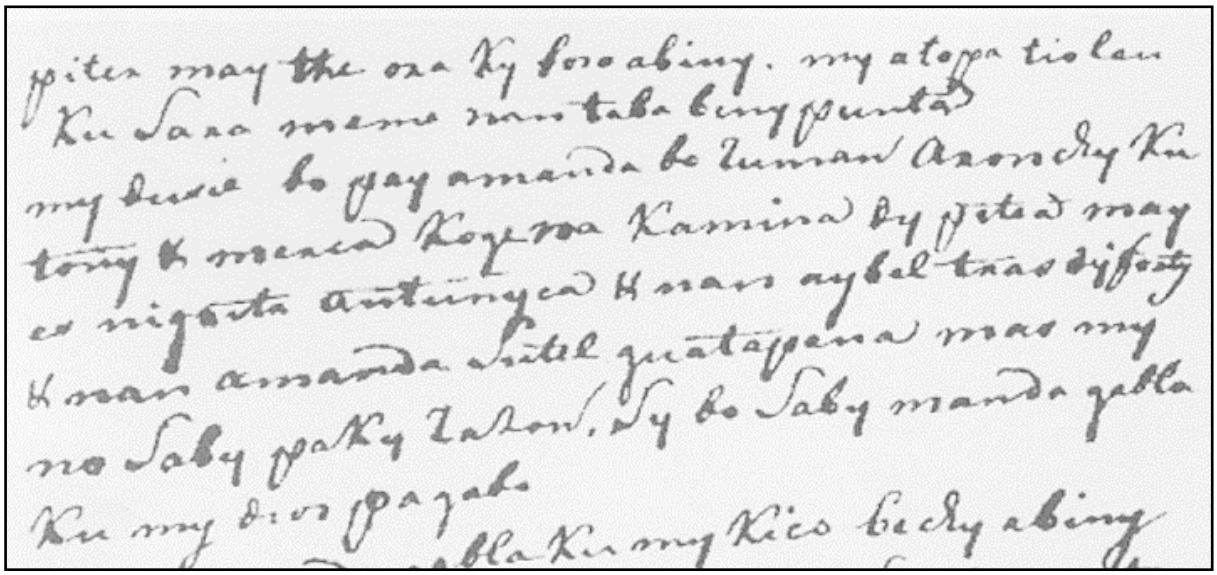


Image 5 1775 correspondence of Abraham de David de Costa, one of the first manuscripts in Papiamentu (Coomans & Coomans-Eustatia, 2004).

gation of the crew of a captured ship from Curaçao (Image 4). This document also provides important evidence suggesting that by 1747, Papiamentu had become the common

language spoken in Curaçao. Although, for the time being, we can consider 1747 as the official 'birth year' of the language name Papiamentu (Coomans & Coomans-Eustatia, 2004a: 158), because there is normally a significant time-lag between linguistic developments on the ground and the appearance of the evidence of these developments in the documentary record, it is reasonable to assume that the name Papiamentu had actually emerged and become commonly used at some point before 1747.

In any case, we now know that Papiamentu already existed in the 18th century and that this language was used by a significant number of the people of Curaçao. We also know that besides being used as a contact language between members of different ethno-linguistic communities on the island, Papiamentu was also being used as more than just a contact language among members belonging to the same ethno-linguistic community, as indicated by the earliest known manuscript in Papiamentu, a letter written by De Costa Andrade, a Jewish Curaçaoan businessman to his Jewish Curaçaoan sweetheart in 1775 (Salomon, 1982: 368; Allen, 2007) (Image 5).

Table 1 The earliest references to Papiamentu (cf. Rutgers, 1994: 42; Rupert, 2012; Jacobs & Van der Wal, 2015)

Year	Name	Source
1705	Broken Spanish	Father Alexius Schabel
1732	El idioma del pais	Father Agustín Caysedo
1737	Creole language	Legal document
1747	Poppemento	Curaçaoans Daniel Soorbeek and Torinio Lopes
1768	Papiamento	Anonymous report to the Archbishop of Caracas
1795	Papiamento	Venezuelan lieutenant Manuel Carrera
1802	Papimento	British governor William Carlyon Hughes
1805	Papiments	Governor Pierre J. Changuion
1816	Papiamentice	Fraternal Brother Johannes Stöppel
1819	Creole or Papiament	Teacher Gerrit van Paddenburgh
1833	Papiamento	Prefect Martinus Niewindt
1837	Papiamento	Father Jacobus Putman O.P.

Table 2 lists the names that have been used to refer to Papiamentu from 1819 to 1913. At present, the official written names of the three insular variants are Papiamento in Aruba and Papiamentu in Curaçao and Bonaire. On Bonaire itself, the unofficial variant Papiamen can also be heard.

Table 2 Some of the names for the Papiamentu language after 1819

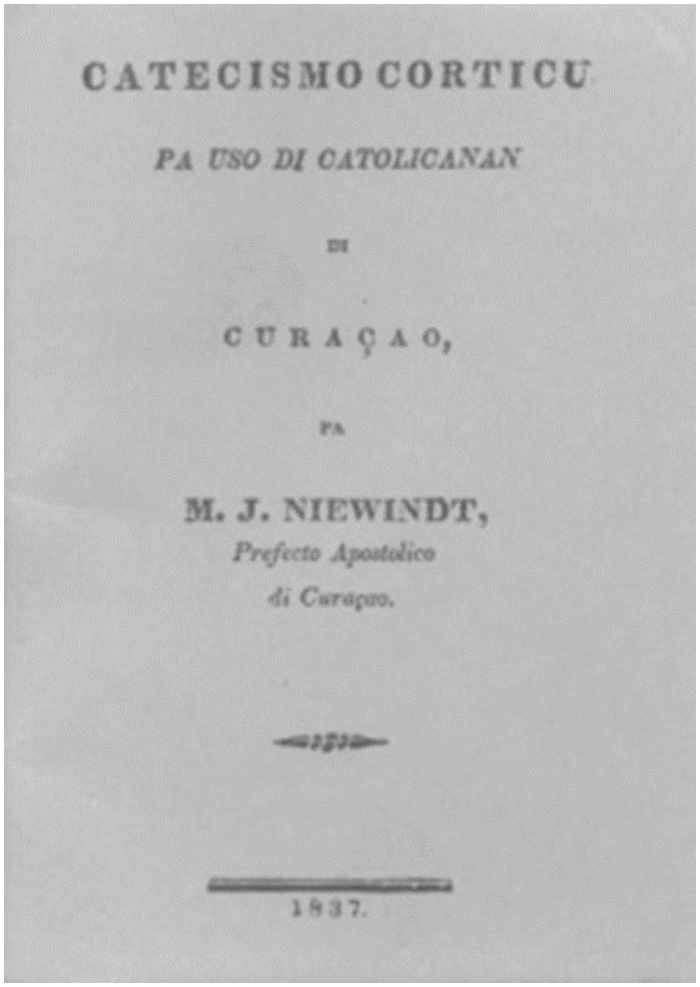
Year	Name	Source
1837	That natural language	(Putman, letter June 7th)
1848	Papiamentu and Curaçao	(Putman, letter May 12th)
1848	Curaçao language	(Putman, letter May 16th)
1856	Malformed Spanish	(State Committee)
1856	Negro language, very-broken Spanish	(Putman in State Commission)
1864	Il dialetto curassese	(Emilio Teza)
1898	vernacular of Curaçao, Langue d'enfant, patois, Papiëmentsch	(Jesurun)
1905	Papiements	(Hesseling)
1911	The negro language of Curaçao	(Frederiks & Van den Branden, 1888-1891, Blok &Molhuysen)
1913	Negerspaansch of Papiamentoe	(Van Ginneken)

While at the end of the 18th century the first handwritten texts in Papiamentu appear, these are followed shortly thereafter by printed texts in the language, the first of which date from in the first half of the 19th century. The Dutch returned to Curaçao in 1816 following a short period of English interim rule over the island as a result of the Napoleonic Wars. The data in Table 3 give an impression of the population composition and the distribution of languages in the colony during the first part of the nineteenth century. The figures indicate that at least 83.3% of the population (enslaved and formerly enslaved Catholics) most probably had Papiamentu as one of their main languages, with a significant portion of the Jewish population (5.3% of the island's inhabitants) and at least some of the Protestants also proficient in Papiamentu.

Table 3 Distribution of the population of Curaçao by race and religion, as of 1 January 1827 (Renkema, 2009

	Protestants	Roman Catholics	Jews
Languages	Dutch	Dutch/Papiamentu/Spanish	Spanish/Portuguese
Whites	1.642	422	783
Colored	34	3.513	-
Blacks	-	8.330	-
Total	1.676	12.265	783
Percentages	11.4%	83.3%	5.3%

With the approach of emancipation, a shift from the coercive control of the whip over chattle slaves to the discursive control of the church and the classroom over wage slaves was on the horizon. Therefore, the Dutch administration appointed a teacher, G. G. van Paddenburgh, to 'bring the education on improved Dutch footing' to the colony. In a book published in 1819, Van Paddenburgh accuses his compatriots of neglecting Dutch in favor of 'pernicious' Papiamentu, which he singles out as an obstacle to learning the metropolitan language.


CATECISMO CORTICU

PA USO DI CATOLICANAN

DI

CURAÇAO,

PA

M. J. NIEWINDT,

Prefecto Apostolico

di Curaçao.

1837.

Image 6 The first printed book: Catecismo Cortico by Martinus Niewindt from 1837. (No copies of the edition of 1824 have been recovered.)

Undeterred, the Catholic mission continued its religious and educational work in Papiamentu, first sending Father Martinus Niewindt and later Farther Jacobus Josephus Putman to the colony. In 1824, Niewindt produced the first printed text in Papiamentu in the form of a catechism (Image 6) and he went on to print more texts in Papiamentu, which many did not consider to be a real language at the time. In one of these printed texts, Niewindt's 1833 letter as prefect of Curaçao to the Christians of his mission, the spelling used largely follows the orthographic conventions of Spanish. (Niewindt, 1833; Severing, 2002).

Father Jacobus Putman arrived in Curaçao in April 1837, and from that point onward he made substantial contributions to language pedagogy in the colony. While his ultimate goal was to teach Dutch to the children, he realized that this would only be feasible through instruction in the home language used by the majority of the population, Papiamentu. (Goslinga, 1956: 100).

To help the priests bring Catholic education to the masses, the long-awaited sisters of Rozendaal from the Netherlands arrived in 1842 to open a school on the Brionplein in Otrobanda. In this institution, the sisters focused mainly on Dutch, rather than Papiamentu. While Papiamentu continued to be the predominant language in the community

and at church, it gradually lost ground to Dutch as the language of education during the second half of the nineteenth century.

In the first half of the nineteenth century, Niewindt printed his books in Papiamentu at Barber on the west side of the island, while Putman printed his Papiamentu volumes at a printing press located in Santa Rosa, on the eastern side of Curaçao. Putman's name is linked to the first Papiamentu dictionary published in 1859 as a Papiamentu-Dutch, Dutch-Papiamentu glossary, combined with conversations in Papiamentu and Dutch for the learner.


KAMIENA DI KROES

KOE HISTORIA, MEDITASJON I ORASJON KORTIEKOE.

PA

J. J. PUTMAN.

Miss. Apost. Pastoor na SANTA ROSA.

Imprimier na
SANTA ROSA.
CURAÇAO 1850.

Image 7 Putman printed his books in Papiamentu on the eastern side of the island of Curaçao in Santa Rosa.

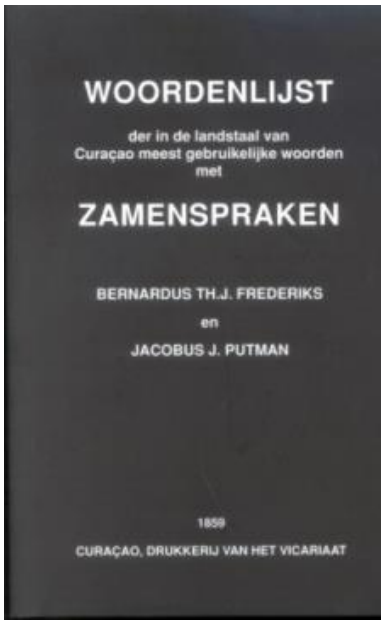


Image 8 Putman's glossary and dialogues in Papiamentu.

Image 9 Putman's journal (1837-1853) was published by the University of Curaçao and the FPI (Rutgers et al., 2016)

In his work, Putman's spelling of Papiamentu is generally quite consistent, but sometimes the same word is spelled differently, in cases such as:

malagradeciedoe, malagradisidoe;
desobedeciedoe, desobedisidoe
bieenabentoeradoe, bienenabentoeradoe.

In his Dutch oriented orthography, Putman deviates from the Spanish oriented orthography used by Niewindt. For example, the following sentence from Niewindt's letter: *Quico nos lo haci cu esai?* would be spelled by Putman as follows: *Kiko noos lo hasi koe esai?* [What will we do with that?]

We can conclude that the use of Papiamentu by the Catholic church during the first half of the nineteenth century would play an important role in the survival and status of the language on the island. The linguistic prestige of the Papiamentu increased as it was given at least tacit approval by prominent figures in the colony. The linguistic development of the language also increased, as its spelling became more uniform and its lexicon was expanded. The relatively early use of the language in print had a standardizing and consolidating effect. The use of Papiamentu as a language of instruction gave the language new functions. In this period, Papiamentu changed from being a language used only for everyday conversation into a language used in more prestigious and formal domains. In this context, the significant contributions of Fathers Martinus Niewindt and Jacobus Putman must be acknowledged and celebrated both by present-day speakers of Papiamentu as well as by those who undertake academic work on the language.

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THE USE OF L1 IN L2 VOCABULARY TEACHING TO PRODUCE BETTER RESULTS ON ENGLISH TESTS

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Introduction

The literature on foreign language teaching generally supports the idea that L1 to L2/FL methods produce better results in vocabulary acquisition than do L2/FL to L2/FL methods. The present study explores whether the use of Papiamentu as L1 in L2/FL vocabulary learning in English produces better results on vocabulary tests than the present L2/FL to L2/FL method used at a secondary school on the island Bonaire. In order to determine which approach would produce better results, a cohort of senior students was divided into two groups, group A and group B. During the first three weeks, group A was provided with an L1 translation and group B was only taught in English. During the second three weeks, the groups were switched, with group A being taught only in English and group B provided with an L1 translation. In addition to test results, the data collected for this study include the answers provided anonymously by students on a questionnaire designed to elicit students' opinion about the current L2/FL to L2/ FL method used at the school for vocabulary learning in comparison with the use of a L1 to L2/FL method. The results also show that students in the L1 to L2/FL experiment group retained more lexical items, they accessed the lexical items with greater ease and they recalled them for a longer period.

Bonaire is a multilingual community and the most widely spoken language is the creole language Papiamentu, with approximately 74.7% of the population using it as their home language. The other home languages spoken on Bonaire are Dutch with 8.8%, Spanish with 11.8 %, English with 2.8% and other languages with 1.8%. This multilingual situation is also reflected in our schools. Bonaire has one school for secondary and higher education, which has four departments at different locations. At the VMBO institution for secondary vocational education, the students mostly speak Papiamentu to communicate with one another and with the teachers. This indicates that the students have built up a lot of vocabulary in their first language (L1), which could be used to learn any other language.

Although the students love English and come in contact with it on daily basis, they do not speak it due to lack of vocabulary. The method used to teach English at the school

is a second language (L2) /foreign language (FL) to L2/ FL method and this often makes it difficult for students to learn English and to improve their results on English vocabulary tests. I believe that the students' L1 can support L2 vocabulary teaching and learning. According to Grace (1998) the mother tongue or L1 is a useful tool for L2/FL vocabulary teaching and learning**.**

Hypotheses and research questions

The hypotheses tested in this study are as follows:

Hypothesis 1: The use of students' mother tongue is effective in improving vocabulary learning in an English L2/FL classroom.

Hypothesis 2: L1 to L2/FL teaching will produce better results on English vocabulary tests than L2/FL to L2/FL teaching.

To gain more insight into areas related to the hypotheses, a research question was formulated along with several sub-questions. The central research question is the following:

Does the use of students' L1 in L2/FL language teaching produce better results on English vocabulary tests than L2 to L2 language teaching?

The sub-questions are as follows:

1 Are the L2/FL to L2/FL methods currently used on the island to teach English the best ones for the Bonairean context?

2 Does the use of L1 have a positive effect on passive vocabulary skills vs active vocabulary skills in L2/FL?

3 Does the use of L1 have a positive effect on the learning of superficial word knowledge vs deeper word knowledge in L2/FL?

4 How can the use of L1 help students learn L2/FL vocabulary?

Literature review

The word vocabulary itself has a broad definition, from a list of words and their meanings to all of the words used in a language, by a group or individual. The study of vocabulary deals not only with the total number of words in a language, but also with the subset of those words one must know to communicate effectively with others. Vocabulary is central to a language and therefore essential to language learning. For the purpose of this study, I will consider vocabulary as the total number of words that are needed to communicate one's ideas, feelings and intentions.

Teaching vocabulary is one of the most important ways of developing student's L2/FL knowledge. It is therefore one of the crucial elements in second and foreign language learning and it plays a major role in acquiring a language. Although vocabulary has been somewhat neglected in the recent past as an important knowledge area in language learning, researchers have been increasingly turning their attention to it (e.g. Nation, 2001).

Knowledge of vocabulary is seen as an important means to learn a second language because a small vocabulary impedes effective communication. Schmitt (2000) points out the importance of vocabulary acquisition, observing that lexical knowledge is central to communicative competence and to the acquisition of a second language. The relationship between vocabulary knowledge and language use can be seen as complementary because vocabulary knowledge provides the means for language use and, vice versa, language use stimulates increase of vocabulary knowledge (Nation, 2001).

The importance of vocabulary is evident in all communicative contexts, both formal and informal. Students with the most vocabulary are the ones who are best able to acquire more vocabulary. Nation (2001) concludes that acquisition of vocabulary is of crucial importance for successful second language use, arguing that acquisition of vocabulary plays an important role in the formation of complete spoken and written text. For both second language learners and foreign language learners, learning vocabulary items plays a vital role in all four language skill areas, listening, speaking, reading and writing. The acquisition of an adequate vocabulary is the key for successful second language use because, without a comprehensive vocabulary, one is unable to apply what one may have learned for effective and meaningful communication.

Research has shown that second language learners rely heavily on vocabulary knowledge and the lack of that knowledge is the major obstacle for second language learners to overcome. Other researchers contend that vocabulary is one of the most important, if not the most important, element in learning a second or foreign language, because there is not much value in being able to produce grammatical sentences if one does not have the extensive vocabulary that is needed to express oneself.

Using the basic pedagogical principle of going from the known to the unknown, Cummins argues that the optimal way to build academic competence in a second or a foreign language is to utilize students' academic competence in their first language. In other words, academic competence in a first language should precede academic competence in a second or foreign language (Cummins, 2000).

Krashen (1983) proposes a distinction between naturalistic informal language acquisition on the one hand and formal language learning on the other. Compared to other areas of language teaching and language learning, the lexicon and vocabulary have received limited attention by researchers, especially since the rise of Chomskyan mentalist linguistics and mentalist pedagogy in the 1960's which rejected the focus on the formal structured sequencing and drilling of the behaviorist pedagogy that preceded it. Recently, scholarly interest in vocabulary learning has increased, as evidenced by the ongoing debates between those who advocate the acquisitional approach of Krashen (1983) and those who argue for a more balanced approach that includes formal learning of words, such as Nation (2001).

Krashen de-emphasized formal learning and formal sequencing in his work. According to Krashen, second or foreign language vocabulary teaching should be acquisition like

and taught in an informal way. He argued that students learn a second or foreign language best when they learn it naturally, just as they learned their L1. He stated that formal language teaching in second or foreign language classes is fairly useless and ineffective. He recommended instead that second or foreign language students follow the same natural process they did when learning their L1.

Nation, on the other hand, recommended a very different approach. Although he recognized the importance of natural acquisition, he also stressed the importance of formal and sequenced learning of vocabulary. In addition, he argued that while an acquisitional approach is important, it is not enough to ensure that second or foreign language students acquire sufficient vocabulary in the target language. According to Nation, vocabulary teaching and learning should follow a certain sequence, but within that structure students should be allowed to learn naturally as well.

Nation highlighted the importance of formal and sequential teaching of vocabulary to second and foreign language learners by contrasting ways in which vocabulary is typically acquired in an L1 with the vocabulary learning needs of L2/FL learners. According to Nation, native speakers acquire words in their L1 at the rate of about 3 per day or 1000 words over 365 days. For most L2/FL learners is this far too slow, as it would require too much time before they acquire sufficient L2/FL vocabulary. Therefore, he argues that high frequency words in L2/FL must be taught formally and strategically until learners gain a mastery of enough words in L2/FL to allow them to acquire more words naturally from listening and reading.

While as a general policy it is important to have strong strands of L2/FL meaning-focused use and fluency development in L2/ FL classes, research shows that the first language can play a useful role in L2/FL classes as well (Nation, 2001). The fact that L2/FL learners are already equipped with an L1, and thus have developed conceptual and semantic systems linked to that L1, suggests that L2/FL vocabulary learning could be enhanced by providing as many opportunities as possible for the mapping of new L2/FL vocabulary onto already exiting conceptual frameworks in the L1. When students are exposed to a second language they have already learned how to categorize the world from their L1 experience, thus, L2/FL vocabulary items are likely to be associated to L1 representations (Pavičić Takač, 2008).

Studies in second and foreign language teaching show that there generally appears to be limited preference for inter-lingual methods, where significant use is made of L1 in the classroom. There appears to be a bias instead for intra-lingual methods, which involve teaching the target language through the target language itself. This tendency seems to ignore research which shows that use of the mother tongue in language L2/FL classes can be a useful tool to support both second and foreign language learning in an efficient way.

Duff (1989) argues that translation involving the mother tongue has largely been ignored as a method for L2/FL practice and improvement. Krashen (1983) even considers

the first language to be a barrier for L2/FL learners and the major cause of learner's problems with a new language. Translation has been viewed as an unsuitable practice for L2/FL learning, with some arguing that L2/FL learners need to have acquired a considerable level of proficiency in L2/FL before they can perform translation tasks effectively.

Although many have a negative view on the use of an L1 in L2/FL learning, the positive role of the mother tongue has also been acknowledged as it has been demonstrated to be a rich resource which, if used correctly, can assist L2/FL language teaching and learning (Cook, 2003). According to Cameron (2001) when new words are encountered, students need support to work out their meaning and translation strategies involving L1 may help in this process. In several studies, researchers have provided evidence that indicates that the L1 is active during L2/FL lexical processing in beginners as well as more advanced language learners (Sunderman & Kroll, 2006).

In studies exploring whether the use of the L1 in teaching facilitates L2/FL learners' understanding of the meaning of new words, Liu (2009) claims that a bilingual teaching method facilitates learners' vocabulary acquisition. In his study with first-year undergraduate non-English majors at the University of Science in China, Liu provided evidence to support his claim. In this study, he provided both the experimental and the control group with 60 words taken from a text and asked them to write a Chinese translation for the words they already knew. Then the participants were asked to read the text. Afterwards, the participants were given a brief explanation of the essay so as to facilitate their comprehension. In addition, the words included in the first test were discussed with the participants. During this process, the experimental group was given an explanation of the words both in L2 and in L1 whereas the control group was only given an explanation in the L2. The results in Liu's experiment clearly showed that the group given instructions and meanings both in L2 and L1 performed better than the control group which only received instructions and explanation in the L2.

In another study, involving native speakers of Dutch learning Italian, Lotto and de Groot (1998) compared word-association and picture-association methods. The results in this study indicated that providing students with L1-L2 word pairs yielded better L2/FL vocabulary learning outcomes than picture or L2-L2 pairs. A similar study was conducted by Grace (1998), the findings of which indicate that translation involving L1 resulted in L2/FL learners retaining more words. In this case translation was recommended as an optimal method for L2/FL beginners since it provided an opportunity for learners to double check the meaning of words in both and L2/FL.

Using the L1 to discuss L2/FL activities is a very useful way to get students actively engaged with the concepts involved in a given task, especially when it includes a lot of the L2/FL vocabulary which could be used completing the task. Discussing an L2/FL task in the L1 not only helps learners to get on top of the content, but it also helps them gain control of relevant L2/FL vocabulary in an L1 context. There is a useful role for

the L1 in helping learners gain the lexical knowledge needed to reach higher levels of L2/FL performance. All in all, research in this area shows that the L1 is a useful tool for L2/FL vocabulary teaching and learning.

Methodology

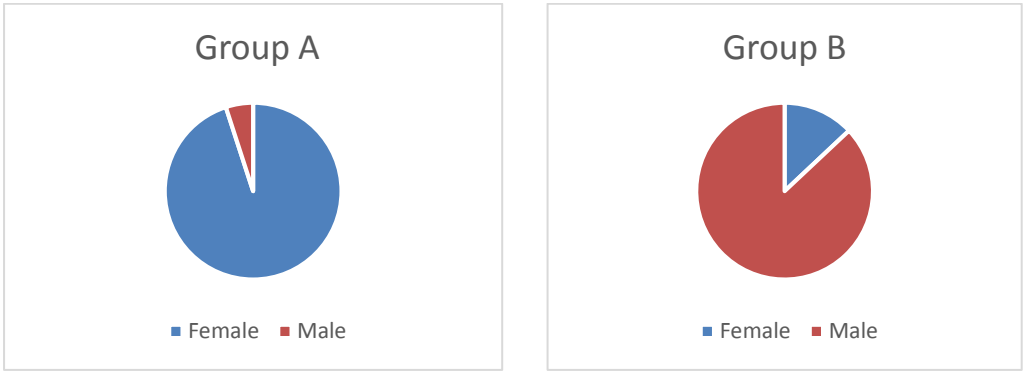
As indicated in the introduction, the goal of the present study was to find out whether the use of L1 in teaching vocabulary helps L2/ FL learners achieve better results on an English vocabulary test. To do this, an experimental group of students was taught vocabulary lessons which include the L1 translations of a set of selected lexical items while a control group was taught the same vocabulary lessons with no L1 input.

A total of 33 students from the "Scholen Gemeenschap Bonaire" (SGB) secondary school participated in the study. The students were all aged between 14 and 16 years during the study. From the total number of participants, all were included in the sample and all partook in the tests administered.

The students were divided into groups, distinguished by the use of different languages of instruction, whereas the other aspects of practice in relation to vocabulary teaching remained the same. During the first three weeks group A was only taught in English while group B was provided with an L1 translation. During the second three weeks, the groups were switched, with group A being provided with an L1 translation and group B being taught only in English.

As indicated in figure 1 below, group A consisted of 18 participants (1 male and 17 female) and group B included 15 participants (13 male and 2 female). Although the ratio of male to female students was quite different in the two groups, this should not have had any effects on the results, since both groups were exposed to both procedures.

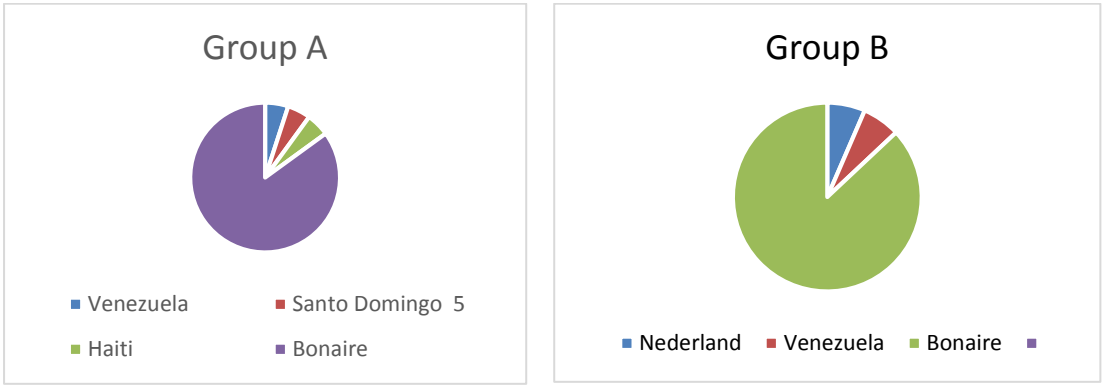
Figure 1 Gender



As shown in Figure 2, the great majority of the students in both groups were born on Bonaire, while a minority were not born on Bonaire; that is 15% in group A and 13% in group B. Nevertheless, all the immigrants selected for the study had been enrolled in Bonairean schools for at least seven years or more. In addition, they were well adapted to the classroom as a group and all of them could speak and understand Papiamentu at

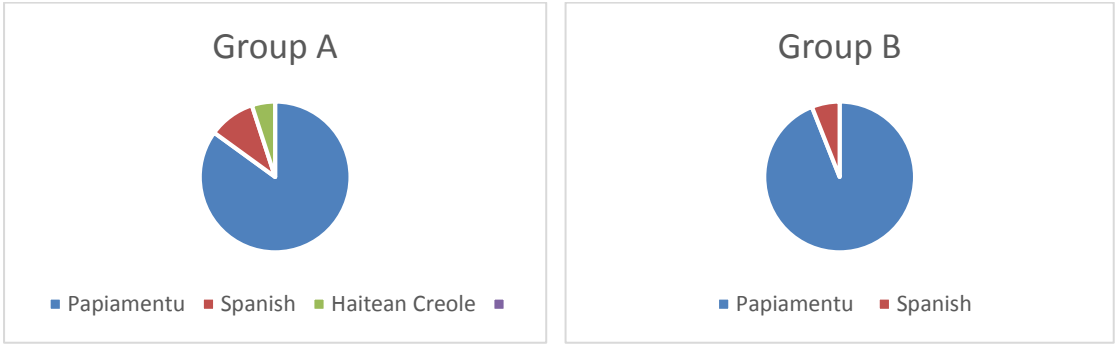
a very high level of fluency. The main country of origin for the migrants in both groups was Venezuela.

Figure 2 Place of birth.



As indicated in Figure 3, the vast majority of the students in both groups said that they spoke the local language Papiamentu at home. While Spanish was reported to be the second most spoken language at home, the official language Dutch was not reported to be spoken at home by these students. 85% of the students in group A and 94% of the students in group B reported speaking Papiamentu at home, Spanish was reported to be spoken by 10% of the students in group A and by 6% of the students in group B. One student in group A reported speaking Haitian Creole at home.

Figure 3 Main language spoken at home

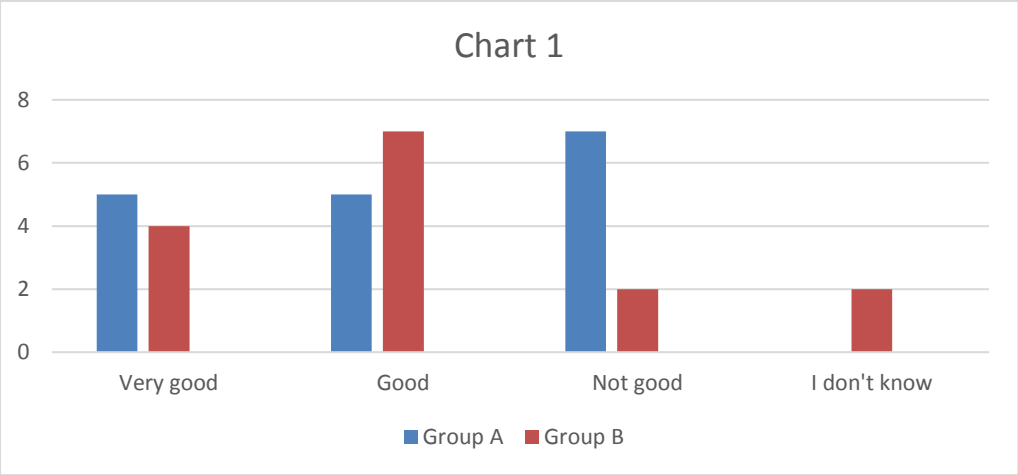


With regard to the students' educational background, all of them had attended Dutch based primary schools for seven years or more and they had continued the same kind of Dutch based program in their secondary school. They all started formal English instruction in school when they were about eleven or twelve years old in grade 8. From that age onward they have been exposed to two hours of English as L2/FL per week. None of the students reported receiving any other formal instruction in English.

The experiment was designed to find out whether the use of the L1 in vocabulary teaching helps the students to achieve better results than L2/ FL to L2/ FL vocabulary teaching. From each text a total of 30 words were selected to be explicitly taught. The total number of words introduced was therefore 60 words.
The two English L2/ FL classes partook in the experiment over a period of 6 weeks. Each week I introduced 10 of the total 60 selected words in English to each class. During the 6 weeks the methodology stayed the same for both groups, with only the language of instruction varying. This means that both classes received the same instructions, exercises, and words, except that during the first 3 weeks group A followed an L1 to L2/FL approach while group B followed an L2/ FL to L2/FL approach. During the following 3 weeks, I changed the language of instruction in the classes, that is group A followed an L2/FL to L2/FL approach, while group B followed an L1 to L2/FL approach.
The students of both groups were provided with an English vocabulary list with definitions and a text with questions used to measure passive and active competence in reading and writing English. Testing both passive and active competence helps to determine not only the extent to which the students are processing superficial word knowledge but also deeper word knowledge. For one group, the language of instruction was English only, with both the vocabulary items and their definitions being in English, while for the other group the vocabulary was in English but the definitions were in Papiamentu and there were two languages of instruction: English and Papiamentu.

Results on the vocabulary tests

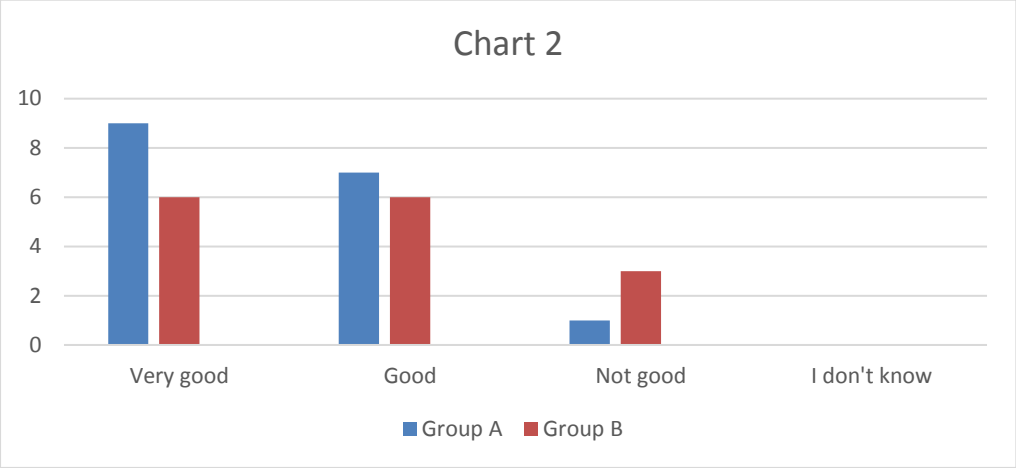
Chart 1 Answers to question 3a: How did you experience learning the words in English?



As shown in Chart 1, 28.1% of the students had a very positive experience learning the words in an L2/FL to L2/FL approach. 37.5% had generally positive experience and 28.1% had a negative experience with 6.3% answering “I don’t know”.
Answers to question 3b: Explain why?

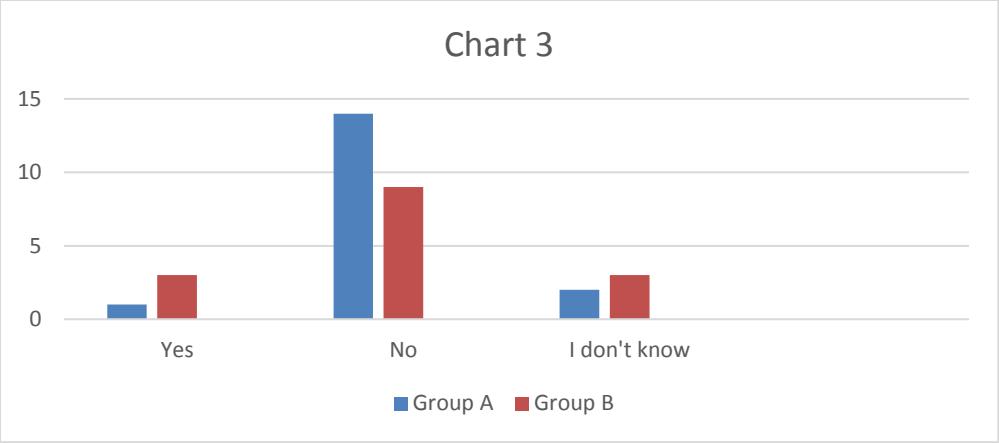
Despite the fact that students in both groups reported having difficulty studying the words using an L2/FL to L2/FL approach, some said that they liked learning the words in English. The students having difficulty reported that they were unfamiliar with the words and did not know all the words in the definitions in English. Many also said that they themselves ended up translating the words and the story into Papiamentu. They also indicated that learning the words in English was made difficult because of their limited knowledge of English. On the other hand, some students reported that they learned some new words from the English definitions themselves.

Chart 2 Answers to question 4a: How did you experience learning the words in Papiamentu?



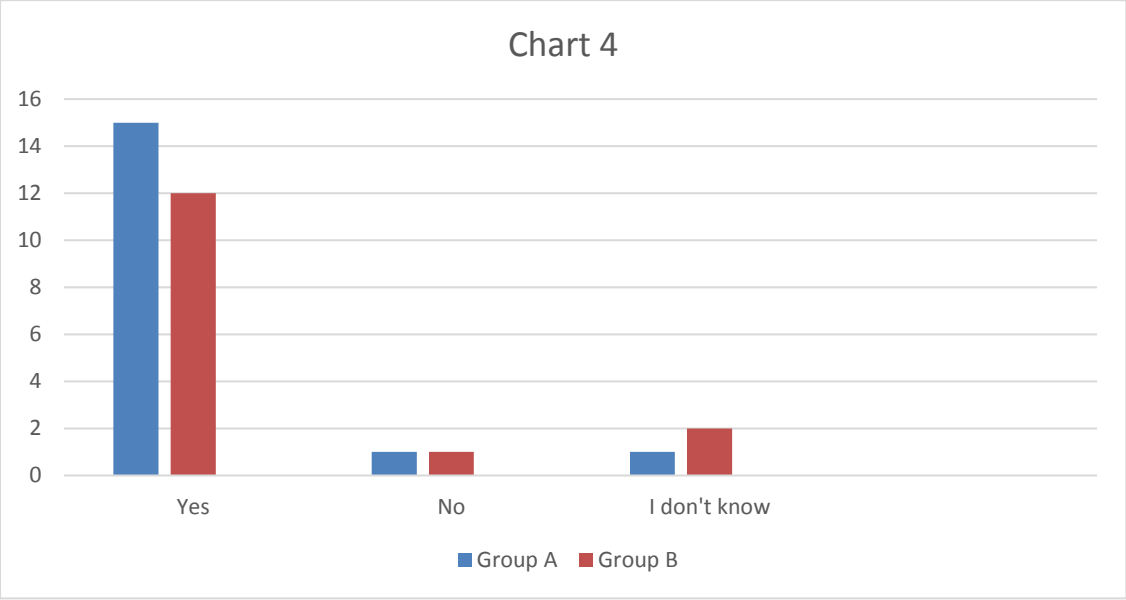
As shown in Chart 2, 46.9% of the students had a very positive experience learning the words using an L1 to L2/FL approach, 40.6% had a generally positive experience, and 12.5% had a negative experience, with none answering: “I don’t know”.
Answers to question 4b: Explain why? In this case most students in both groups pointed out that they already speak and understand Papiamentu well and that Papiamentu made it easier for them to understand and learn the words. They mentioned that they learned the words faster because they had the Papiamentu translations. Two students, however, reported that Papiamentu did not help them because they already knew the words on the list in English before the lesson.

Chart 3 Answers to question 5: Do you think that English should only be taught in English?



As shown in Chart 3, the great majority (71.9%) of students in both groups thought that English should not be taught in English only. A minority of 12.5% (1 student in group A and 3 students in group B) felt that English should be taught in English only and 15.6% of the students answered "I don't know".

Chart 4 Answers to question 6: Do you think that English teachers should use Papiamentu to teach English?



As indicated in Chart 4, the vast majority (84.3%) of the students felt that Papiamentu should be used to teach English, while 6.3% of the students said that Papiamentu should not be used to teach English with 9.4% answering: "I don't know".

Results on the vocabulary tests

The results for group A and group B on the reading comprehension test (Test A) and the vocabulary use in sentences test (Test B) were tabulated and the scores obtained after the L2/FL- L2/FL lessons were compared to the scores obtained after the L1-L2/FL lessons. Test A (reading comprehension) and Test B (vocabulary use in sentences) were scored at a maximum of 10 points and a minimum of 1 point. Following the marking conventions with which the students were familiar at the school, all scores starting at 5.5 and higher were considered *Voldoende* (sufficient) and all scores starting at 5.4 and lower were considered *Onvoldoende* (insufficient).

Chart 5 Reading comprehension test results

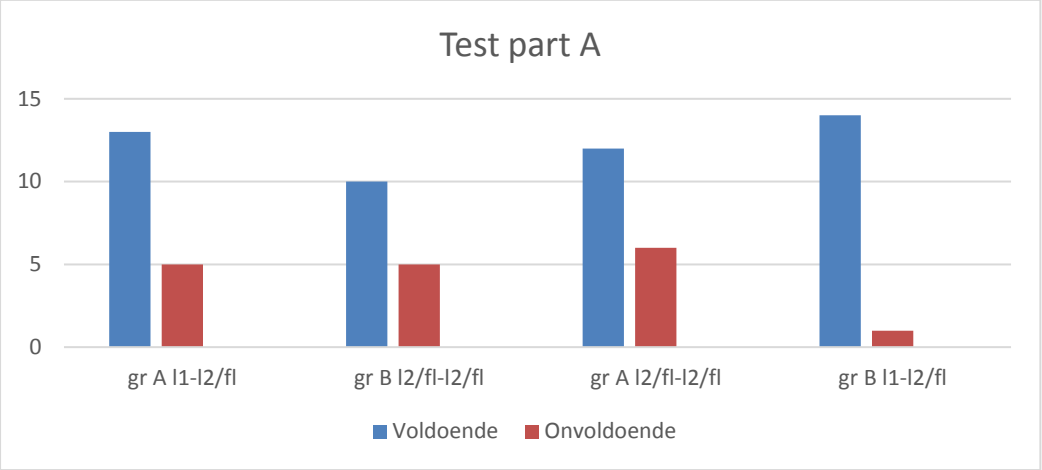


Chart 5 above shows that on the reading comprehension test, after the first three weeks of L1-L2/FL lessons, group A had 73% sufficient scores, while after the first three weeks of L2/FL- L2/FL lessons, group B had 67% sufficient scores. After the next three weeks of L1-L2/FL lessons, group B had 94% sufficient scores, while after the next three weeks of L2/FL-L2/FL lessons, group A had 64% sufficient scores. Thus, when they received English only L2/FL-L2/FL instruction, both Group A and group B scored less than the corresponding experimental L1-L2/FL which received Papiamentu and English instruction covering the same material.

Chart 6 Test results of vocabulary use in sentences

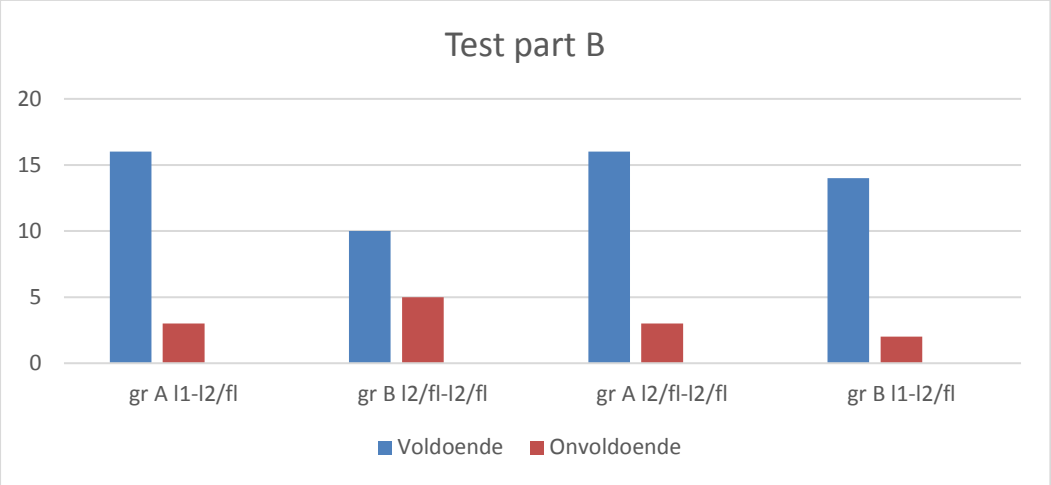


Chart 6 above shows that on the vocabulary use in sentences test, after the first three weeks of L1-L2/FL lessons, group A had 88% sufficient scores, while after the first three weeks of L2/FL-L2/FL lessons, group B had 67% sufficient scores. After the next three weeks of L1-L2/FL lessons, group B had 94% sufficient scores, while after the next three weeks of L2/FL-L2/FL lessons, group A had 88% sufficient scores. Thus, once again, when they received English only L2/FL-L2/FL instruction, both Group A and group B scored less than the corresponding experimental L1-L2/FL which received Papiamentu and English instruction covering the same material.

Chart 7 Skills and knowledge test results: Group A L1-L2/FL approach

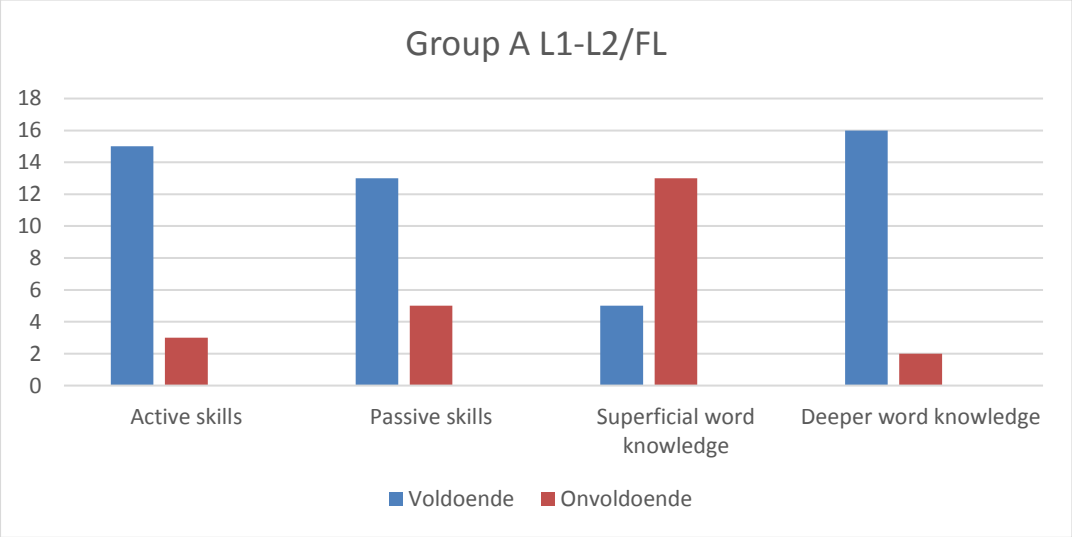


Chart 7 above shows that on the skills and knowledge test, after the first three weeks of L1-L2/FL lessons, group A had 83% sufficient scores for the active skills and 72% sufficient scores for passive skills. This chart also shows that group A had some difficulties with superficial word knowledge and therefore they had 28% sufficient scores, but they scored 89% sufficient for deeper word knowledge.

Chart 8 Skills and knowledge tests: Group A L2/FL- L2/FL approach

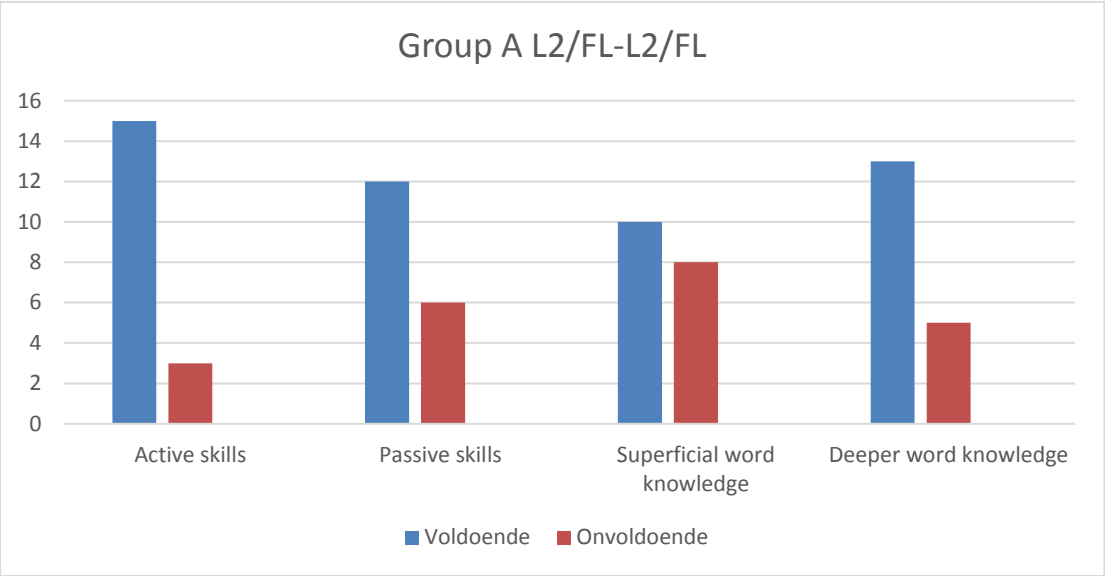


Chart 8 above shows that on the skills and knowledge test, after the next three weeks of L2/FL- L2/FL lessons, group A had 83% sufficient scores for the active skills and 67% sufficient scores for passive skills. Group A had 56% sufficient scores for superficial word knowledge and 72% sufficient scores for deeper word knowledge.

Chart 9 Skills and knowledge tests: Group B L1-L2/FL approach

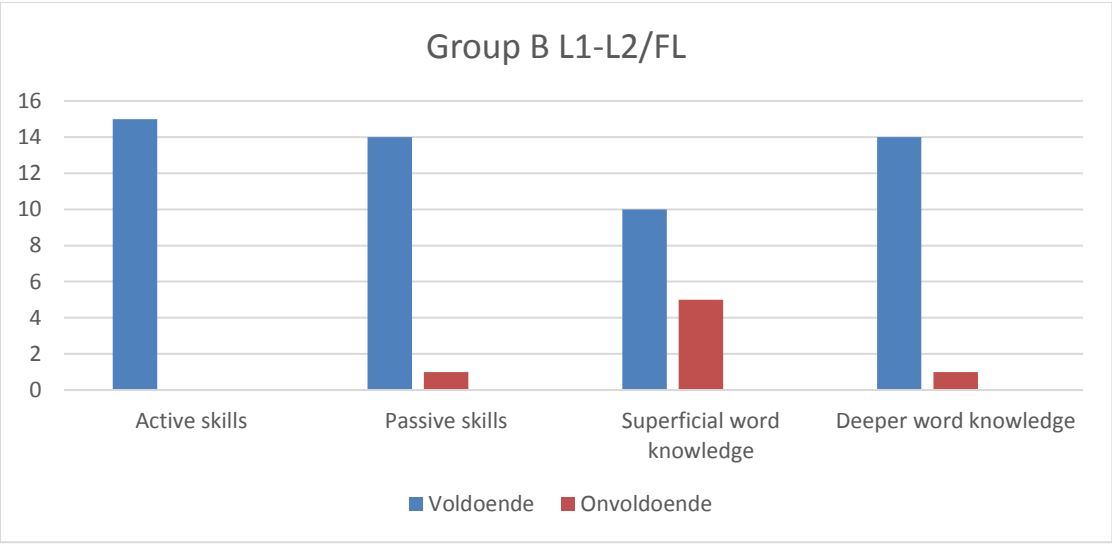


Chart 9 above shows that on the skills and knowledge test, after the first three weeks of L1-L2/FL lessons, group B had 100% sufficient scores for the active skills and 93% sufficient scores for passive skills. Group B had 67% sufficient scores for superficial word knowledge and 93% sufficient scores for deeper word knowledge.

Chart 10 Skills and knowledge tests: Group B L2/FL-L2/FL approach

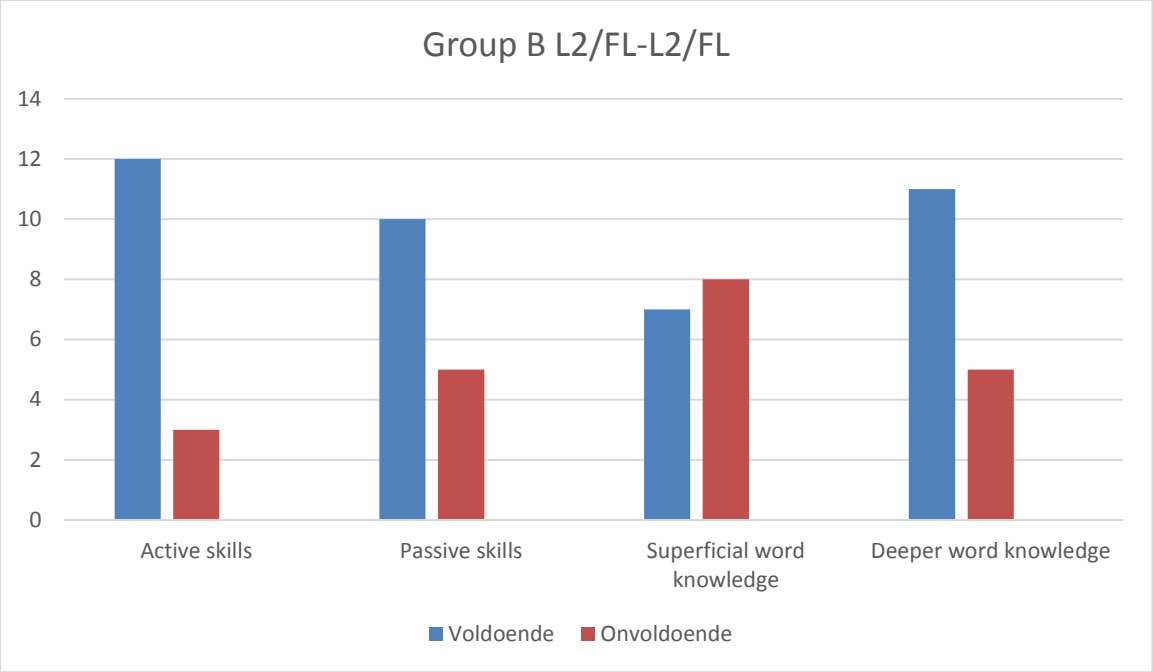


Chart 10 above shows that on the skills and knowledge test, after the next three weeks of L2/FL- L2/FL lessons, group B had 80% sufficient scores for the active skills and 67% sufficient scores for passive skills. This chart also shows that group B had 47% sufficient scores for superficial word knowledge and 73% sufficient scores for deeper word knowledge.

A comparison of Charts 7 and 10 indicates that for the vocabulary covered in Weeks 1 to 3, the performance of the L1-L2/FL students in Group A was generally similar to that of the L2/FL-L2/FL students in Group B: 83% vs. 80% sufficient for active skills; 72% vs. 67% for passive skills; 28% vs. 40% sufficient for superficial word knowledge; and 89% vs. 73% sufficient for deeper word knowledge. There did, however, seem to be an advantage to the L1-L2/FL approach for deeper word knowledge, and an advantage to the L2/FL-L2/FL approach for more superficial word knowledge.

A comparison of Charts 8 and 9 indicates that for the vocabulary covered in Weeks 4 to 6, the performance of the L1-L2/FL students in Group B was generally superior to that of the L2/FL-L2/FL students in Group A: 100% vs. 83% sufficient for active skills; 93% vs. 67% for passive skills; 67% vs. 56% sufficient for superficial word knowledge; and 93% vs. 72% sufficient for deeper word knowledge.

Analysis, conclusions and recommendations

The results obtained in this study generally confirmed both of my hypotheses and provided the predicted answers to my research questions:

Hypothesis 1: *The use of students' mother tongue is effective in improving vocabulary learning in an English L2/FL classroom.* This hypothesis was generally confirmed: Students' learning experiences with the L1-L2/FL approach was reported by them to be much more positive than with the L2/FL-L2/FL approach, and the scores achieved by each group after being taught using an L1-L2/FL approach were more often than not higher than those of the group which had been taught the exact same lessons using an L2/FL –L2/FL approach.

Hypothesis 2: *L1 to L2/FL teaching will produce better results on English vocabulary tests than L2/FL-L2/FL teaching.* This hypothesis was also confirmed: The scores achieved by each group after being taught using an L1-L2/FL approach were more often than not higher than those of the group which had been taught the exact same lessons using an L2/FL-L2/FL approach.

Central research question: *Does the use of students' L1 in L2/FL language teaching produce better results on English tests than L2 to L2 language teaching?* This question was answered affirmatively by the results: The scores achieved by each group after being taught using an L1-L2/FL approach were more often than not higher than those of the group which had been taught the exact same lesson using an L2/FL-L2/FL approach.

Sub-questions:

1. *Are the L2/FL-L2/FL methods currently used on the island to teach English the best ones for the Bonairean context?* The results of this study indicate that the L2/FL-L2/FL methods currently used on Bonaire to teach English are not the best one for the students of the island, with the students expressing a clear preference for an L1-L2/FL approach and performing generally better using an L1-L2/FL approach.
2. *Does the use of L1 have positive effects on passive skills vs active vocabulary skills in L2/FL?* The answer to this question is generally that the use of L1 has a positive effect on the learning of passive and active vocabulary skills. While the results obtained during Weeks 1 to 3 indicate a slight advantage in the areas of active and passive skills for the L1-L2/FL approach, the results from Weeks 4 to 6 indicate a clearer advantage for the L1-L2/FL approach.
3. *Does the use of L1 have a positive effect on the learning of superficial word knowledge vs deeper word knowledge in L2/FL?* The answer to this question is generally that the use of L1 has a positive effect on the learning of deeper word

knowledge. The results obtained during Weeks 1 to 3 and Weeks 4 to 6 indicate a clear advantage for the L1-L2/FL approach in this area. In the area of superficial word knowledge, however, the results were mixed. In Weeks 1 to 3, the results for the L2/FL-L2/FL group were better than those obtained by the L1-L2/FL group. In Weeks 4 to 6, however, the performance of the L1-L2/FL group was better than that of the L2/FL-L2/FL group in superficial word knowledge

4. *How can the use of L1 help students learn L2/FL vocabulary?* The results of this study indicate that L1 can help students learn L2/FL vocabulary in two main ways: 1) affectively, by providing students with a more positive learning experience; and 2) cognitively, by offering students more learning pathways to enhance their performance on tests designed to measure their mastery of L2 vocabulary.

Based on the findings of this study, we put forward the following recommendations in order to improve second and foreign language learning in Bonairean schools:

- Schools should use methods that are designed to teach L2/FL as a second or foreign language, and not as if it were a first language.
- Schools should allow teachers to use L1 in L2/FL teaching.
- Students should also be allowed to use their L1 not only for translation purposes but also to help them to better learn their L2/FL lessons.

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TIDAL SHIFTS IN THE STUDY OF SOCIETY IN THE DUTCH CARIBBEAN AND BEYOND

SPIRITS, REVOLUTIONARIES AND COMMUNITIES: RECOGNIZING CRITICAL PRESENCE AS DE-COLONIAL DISCOURSE[1]

RICHENEL ANSANO
INDEPENDENT SCHOLAR

Until sometime in the mid-twentieth century in Curaçao most births happened at home, midwifed by women. The new mother would be physically taken care of, ritually sheltered until the most immediate dangers of the new child coming into this world would have subsided after a few days. At some point in this care the umbilical cord and placenta would be buried in a special place, in the yard, as used to happen in so many cultures of the world, and so the mother and child would be part of that land, that territory, that place and space. A remarkable thing really: a unique singular relationship between a newborn (only one umbilical cord and placenta defines this being) and a land that has been around for a long time, but at the same time: a potentially recurring relationship between a woman and a land. A woman could mother several relationships to a land and in the process also have many iterations of her identity on that land.

Although I do not know for sure, I was probably the first one of my siblings to be born in the hospital instead of at home. I know in any case that I was born in the hospital. That also means that the umbilical cord and placenta became biomedical waste instead of an offering to the land. So, I write from the space of the first one severed from such land-based birth ceremonies, but maybe also from the space of the first one in my family to understand the need to guard spaces and the possibilities of spaces. And from that space, understanding the land, being in Curaçao, living on the land, I have found it important to make my authorial position explicit whenever I can, for my ancestors, elders, peers and the next seven generations. In this particular case, I explore the voice of ruptured legacies of ceremony and what I have found outside of assumed genealogies of ceremonial identity.

[1] I am grateful to CLACSO for being able to teach a master class, in October 2017, in their *1ª Escuela Internacional de Posgrado: Paradigmas críticos de la emancipación en el Caribe y América Latina*, and especially to Felix Valdés García for inviting me to participate and for being such a gracious host. The gathering inspired me to further develop some of these ideas.

One of the tasks called forth by legacies of colonialism and slavery in the Caribbean is to write histories of the unthinkable and the impossible, as Michel-Rolph Trouillot has shown (Trouillot, 1995), of all those acts that seem impossible even as they happen, because official public consensus tells us they are not possible. For me this means writing with a sense of empty spaces, silences and silencing practices, writing from a stance of creative suspicion around visible images and audible voices, and writing as if the legacies of the unthinkable and the impossible, these two historical forces of colonialism and slavery. This requires specific political and spiritual sensibilities and an ability to create and navigate stories to find the silences that reveal the material presence of the unthinkable and the impossible.

In Curaçao many have written about society in unthinkable ways, ways that were not sanctioned by the official centers of knowledge production, or else were quickly contained and forgotten if they had been given space. Critical thinking in Curaçao has a long history of linking seemingly disparate practices, making community agency visible, recognizing contestations to hegemonic practice and ideology, and exploring utopias where current practice seemed lagging behind social dreams. Unlike most of the rest of the Caribbean, however, there is no sustained narrative that has articulated this critical thinking as an intellectual tradition, or as a social practice. Instances in which this articulation has happened have also become hidden, unengaged archives. The current project looks at three elements of critical presence in Curaçao, and how they might inform us about sustained practices from several proponents, with varying thematic, methodological, strategic and epistemological foci, and with a broad base that blurs the distinctions between academic and public intellectuals, as well as between individual and collective intellectual good.

From the start, however, the idea of critical thinking needs to be clarified in order to do justice to critical approaches on the island. Whereas critical thinking is seen in academic circles mostly in the context of legacies, extensions, developments and contestations of Critical Theory my interest in the Curaçaoan material does not follow this trajectory. Most of those who adopted critical approaches up until the late 20th century in Curaçao were not influenced by the field of Critical Theory. We might use the insights of Critical Theory to understand, theorize and otherwise contextualize some of this critical presence, however. Another aspect of the Curaçaoan critical legacy that is important is that it embodies a lot of critical practice that is not about written thoughts, but instead it is about social action, ceremonial practice, oral performance, thinking on your feet. So, critical practice might be a better name. One of the reasons this is important is to avoid some of the artificial distinctions between critical thinking and practice by academics, public intellectuals, folk artists, community leaders, and other actors and to pay attention to some of the real distinctions and their dynamics.

On why your head swells when you go by Villa Maria: wandering souls and memorized boundaries of violence

Even though many people experience them, spirits are one of those aspects of reality that are supposed to be impossible. Their silencing has required a lot of storytelling, medication, religious rituals, theorizing, suppression of experience, as well as torture and other physical violence throughout history. Popular wisdom in Curaçao also mentions another cause: artificial light. Elders mention how spirits receded with the advent of electric light: they are seen less often and less easily (Roosje, 1987; Martina, 1987). Still several people see spirits of their ancestors, of nature elements or other entities. And part of the reason for this is exactly because they seem to be "the screaming presence of that which appears not to be present" (Admin, 2014).

But popular culture in Curaçao is neither exclusively nor especially vision-centric when it comes to spirits. Spirits are still also heard, smelled and felt after the coming of electricity. Most of the connections with spirits are through touch and through a felt-sense. Besides visually, spirits may be perceived through the skin as goosebumps and shivers (*e kurpa ta bisti*, the body gets dressed), through pressure on different body parts when going to bed or waking up, purple patches that form at night (*kinipí di defuntu*, pinches from ancestors), embodiment in ceremonies (*transportá/bai/monta*, transportation/to go/to mount), fainting, or pressure in the head that is called *kabes ta reis*, "the head swells".

Each of these types of body-senses of spirit are tied to different situations, kinds of spirits and experience of the sensor. On one end of the spectrum *bistimentu*, a sudden rush of energy, accompanied by goosebumps is the most generalized kind of perception and is activated by ancestors, emotional energies in the environment, memories of deceased people, a sense of profound truth, and the presence of living charismatic people, among other things. At the other end of the spectrum *kabes ta reis*, "the head swells" indicates the presence of a *zumbi*: a spirit of someone who has gone through a violent or sudden death, or human-looking spirits that have no known or remembered history in the community.

The story of an encounter with one of the latter exemplifies the issue of artificial light. Isabela Susana (Susana, n.d.) tells the story of two men who had an encounter with a *zumbi* nun in the bush when looking for their lost donkey. The nun was sitting on a cliff and got startled and yelled as they inadvertently shone a light on her. She then sang a song that says that human beings are evil. While the shining of the light prompted her song about the evil nature of humans she also mentions in her song that if it were not for the evil of human beings she would not be sitting on the cliff. This probably means she had been a living person who died at the hand of, or because of another human being. The theme of unjust death or unaddressed injustice at the time of death is

common to many *zumbi* stories. This is a transcultural phenomenon, found across the globe (Gordon, 2011; Lincoln & Lincoln, 2015).

Hauntings tend to be calls to transformative action, redressing past wrongs. When they take place they call into question the accepted consensus about history and justice of the specific place where they occur. But these encounters also inspire shock and might become a source of dis-balance themselves. One of the men who encountered the *zumbi* nun became either mad or compulsive and kept crowing like a rooster until his death. Other encounters have more benign results even if the historical issue is not resolved. Zumbi, however, do not only call to action for redress. They might also simply have remained on the land because of their history being attached to a specific place. Some *zumbi* simply remain attached to a historic place and may even repeat actions of received injustice. Virginia Meulens (1959) tells the story of a slave spirit who carries a bundle of sorghum stalks every night to the slave owner's granary in the Bou di San Juan area. Most *zumbi*, however, including the one mentioned by Virginia Meulens, seem to have a story of power relations and inequality that is easily recognizable. Kalitu Martina, e.g., recounts how he and his fishing buddy met a Dutch ghost army that came out of the sea at Norkan, on the North Coast of the island. He says that these were people who were killed by slaves and kept marching this way (Martina, 1987). Slaves used to kill people at Pia Grandi, a large rock on the North Coast. People tend to see a big fire at that place, which dies out and reappears.

Martina explains that, after he and his friend hid in a fisherman's shack, the army marched right by the shack but they did not go through a shaft of light that was falling from the shack onto their path. His buddy wanted to go see the army but could not get out because he was too drunk. He cautions that this is why the elders used to tell the stories about *zumbi*: so you would know where they were, what they were and how to avoid them. Even when an historical injustice has been remedied, *zumbi* may still roam in the place where they serve as a reminder of these events. The late traditional song-master, Martili Pieters, recounts how a slave owner left his main plantation to go beat rebellious slaves at another plantation of his. Soon after he left he had an accident. The horse slipped and broke its neck and legs, the coachman broke a leg. The slave owner died. Pieters then states:

> See how God works. He was going to beat the slaves. God stopped that in such a way.... That is why, whenever you get to Via Maria your head swells up. That's the road where the horse slipped and broke the *shon*'s [master's] neck, its own legs and the coachman's legs also.

> Everything stopped! The beating of slaves stopped! God made it that way....
> (Pieters 1989) (see Ansano, 2010 for interview fragment and broader context).

The unjust violence against these enslaved Africans ended with Shon Sutulan's death: justice was served by none other than God, but still the specter roams in Villa Maria. Emplacement, the lingering of memories kept awake in a place by the non-resting perpetrator of injustice, seems to be a possible outcome of historical processes regardless of justice being served. Emplacement retains presences encased in physical spaces which convey memories that destabilize the status quo of specific historic actions and relationships, memories that prevent erasure of the knowledge of historic violence, presences kept alive through charged places, embodied encounters, and memorializing narratives.

Zumbi seem to do several things: they call for redress, for remembrance and maybe for healing of places of violence. Kalitu Martina's statement about the elders' narratives is key: by keeping alive the stories that created these charged places people will remember the history and know to avoid these spaces of violence and injustice. Rather than giving way to redress or expiation the narratives turn haunted places into sacred spaces, enshrining ghosts, memorializing things that should not be forgotten. Things that would have been called impossible if the spirits did not roam and if the elders did not tell their stories. The elders, in this case, are *prima facie* critical actors in a dependent post slavery society with a centuries long history of colonialism.

Another course of action is also possible: to change the ways we record memories. Some practitioners clear places of their memories of violence. Ancestors might be given a chance to be at peace, and instead of roaming they are allowed to offer their wisdom when summoned in *mesita* ceremonies. Others show up in benign dreams. Still others might simply disappear from the scene because their actions were so evil that their remembrance would perpetuate the *fuku* of violence and bad luck. In this view memory is not always something to be pursued because memory itself might induce harm. *Zumbi* are still seen as impossible in official discourse. When they are recognized to exist sometimes there is a religious fervor with which some of those who perceive them are verbally attacked, quite reminiscent of the historic witch hunts, although *zumbi* encounters are not institutionalized in any structured manner. Since they challenge official social conceptions and have been redefined in Christian religions as satanic or devilish, their true social, spiritual and political stories are invisibilized in the name of doctrine.

Revolutionaries: envisioning new relationships

The late 18th century has been categorized as an Age of Revolution because "the period that began with the onset of the American Revolution in 1775, was punctuated by the demise of the ancien régime in France, saw the establishment of a black republic in Haiti, and witnessed the collapse of Spanish rule in mainland America" (Klooster & Oostindie, 2014: vii). This was a period of challenges to, and reduction of the power of European imperialist states, the establishment of democracies and the clear shift to industrial capitalism. In *Curaçao in the age of revolutions* (Klooster & Oostindie, 2014) several authors position Curaçao squarely in the dynamics of this period, with its 1795 slave rebellion, its internal power dynamics, and its contribution to regional revolutionary activities and social transformation. One characteristic of revolutionary action is the intent to transform current relationships and build future ones that are more in line with the combined ideals of those who engage in these actions. This includes, most of the time, some notion of institutions that are more just or represent group interests better than the current ones.

In the Age of Revolution, however, African-derived institutions in Curaçao seem to have been seen as impossible. Writings from the period, at least, do not mention anything resembling institutions. Periodic cultural practices (some that were banned or otherwise regulated, but still seen as nuisances rather than institutions), loose networks, weak primary groups, and insufficiently planned actions are mentioned, but not taken seriously. This is still the case today. Many reasons are given for not believing African institutions existed or could have existed in Curaçao. These include:

- *narratives about history*: notions of the small scale of the island and the presumed resulting lack of a critical mass; the great diversity of Africans who arrived in Curaçao as a result of the Transatlantic slave trade and the resulting lack of common culture;
- *narratives of lack of agency of Africans*: the assumption that Africans were only victims rather than agents of their own history, only enslaved and nothing else; a different view sometimes accepts their resistance and creativity but does not see those as sufficient for creating sustained institutions;
- *archival silences*: the supposed lack of documentation African institutions in archival materials;
- *historic memory*: the process whereby industrialization becomes the only lens we can use for interpreting the past, the only possibility for reading all of the events and societies that precede it; with its institutions alone becoming the only institutions imaginable;

- *fragmentation of social knowledg*e: an ignorance or blindness about existing practices because the different pieces of information are held by different actors who do not communicate with the intention of finding historical truth;
- *euro-centric notions about institutions*: the common belief that institutions that do not look like European ones do not exist.

This means that many areas of African culture have remained unexplored along with their organizational, ideological, strategic, pedagogical and legitimating functions. But processes and recurring patterns of organized community activity have also gone largely unstudied. Topics like African culture transfer to non-Africans through the *yaya* (nanny), language origin and religious syncretism have received some attention partly because they support the creolization discourse in Caribbean Studies and a local discourse of multiculturalism. These cultural processes are not seen as institutionalized practices, but rather as logical, almost deterministic outcomes of enslavement, physical proximity, and the need for communication between different ethnic groups. There are some important exceptions to this general attitude, however, such as Rosalia's (1997) treatment of cultural practices, Allen's focus on post-emancipation life-worlds (2007), and Rupert's (2012) view on contraband and marronage.

Agriculture and medicine are two promising areas where we might look for institutional patterns:

- Figuring out how an African staple like sorghum became a local staple, and how rain-fed sorghum cultivation through hoe agriculture, a very specific African (and decidedly not a 17th or 18th century European) agricultural system came to be adopted in Curaçao while the gender roles were changed from a predominantly female institution in Africa to a male one in Curaçao. This system also includes trenching with hoes, covering seeded trenches with the foot and winnowing (*bencha*) styles analogous to women's agricultural techniques in many African societies (Kerber, 2015: 89)
- Documenting a possibly predominantly Central African medical institutionality: including mostly Central West African derived afro-diasporic notions like fate/spiritual influenced/charged or harmful environments and conditions (*fuku*), illness as a consequence of dis-harmonized bodies (*beela*, possible source for the Curaçaoan *belá*, meaning "to have been made sick") (Janzen & Green, 2003: 13-16), to *materia medica* with plant names, which when they are traceable to Africa, end up being predominantly from Central Africa (Rodríguez, 2016). Additionally, illness types like "excessive thinking illness" (Ansano, 2010), are analogous to the Shona illness of *kufungisisa*, as well as Nguni *ukucabanga kakhulu* and *ingqondo iyagijima, inhliziyo iphansi* (Ngcobo & Edwards, 2012: 3)

and might show further patterns and processes that point to coherent systems of health philosophies, illness etiologies and treatment strategies.

Whereas these are areas that have survived early colonial history and the history of slavery, there is evidence from the mid to late 18th century that indicates the possible presence in Curaçao of some additional institutions that are more specific to that period. After a century and a half of slavery on the island and of slave trading as a major economic activity there are contours of legal, military, religious, government, and social history institutions among the African population of Curaçao. For now, an admittedly circumstantial[2] case can be made for a legal system that included the poison ordeal *dikisa nkasa* (Simbandumwe, 1992: 171), an important judicial process in the Congolese diaspora, as exemplified by Haitian *makendal* groups of the period (Ansano, 2013; 2014). In a broader sense, some ceremonies mentioned in the 18th century might very well be part of institutions analogous to the Central West African *Lemba*, West-African institutions such as *Poro* and *Sande* on the Guinea coast, Eastern Nigerian *Ikenga*, *Bwiti* from Gabon, *Nzila* in Western Zambia, the *Beni-Ngoma* and the *Kalela Dance* in East Africa and the Copper Belt, and *Isangoma* in South Africa (Janzen, 1982: 6). Janzen mentions Lemba's "move with slave-emigrants to the New World where it still survives" (ibid).

If we stop calling the 1795 events a rebellion and rename it a military mobilization and at the same time stop seeing stick fighting as a quaint folkloric legacy, we might recognize the contours of a vibrant composite Congolese military institution that includes at least both the military action in 1795 and the *wega di palu* stick fighting networks, with master stick fighters being called *pastó di palu*, "stick priests", reminiscent of "those who were initiated into the [*engolo* stick fighting] art as a sacred vocation" in Angola (Desch-Obi, 2008: 41; Ansano, 2014). While this stick fighting art is not mentioned in court reports of the 1795 mobilization, and might not have been part of it, it is certainly one of the factors that necessitated the mid 18th century reference in law decrees to *birosi* and *japans* groups, that needed to be banned because they "publicly attacked each other with sticks" and thus caused social disturbance.

From a military perspective we would also be able to understand the 1795 actions against the background of Kongolese led multi-ethnic military actions in the late 18th century Caribbean, such as occurred in Haiti and mobilizations by other ethnic groups such as the Akan, Nago, Igbo and Wolof. For example, while Tula is a Congolese name, it is quite possible that the name of the leader of the mobilization, rather than being a

[2] Though circumstantial, this idea is based on several important elements: accusations of manufacture and use of poison, the probable functional title of one of the practitioners, the hard evidence of a relationship to an organized community healing system, and the fact that this was at a time of great internal conflict in Curaçao.

proper name, or maybe besides being one, could be derived from a Congolese military title of *shatula*, commander. Another leader of the mobilization has been called Bazjan Karpata, but Bazjan is a colonial title for overseer. Quauw, a *bomba*, another leadership title in the slave economy, seemed to be a leader of the earlier 1750 mobilization (Jordaan, 2013: 189). This interface between slave society leadership and military leadership also occurred in the Haitian revolution (Thornton, 1993: 199). If Tula's name is derived from *shatula*, however, this would be a title conferred by himself or those close to him. It was not a colonial title.
Similarly, spaces were also marked by the Africans during the 1795 mobilization. A beach where they were given sustenance, is called *Playa Batumá* (Batumá Beach), possibly from Kikongo *batumbá*, freedom. But other spaces also evoke freedom and at least in one case, anti-slavery connotations. Bulabanda is a site whose name has been recently interpreted through modern Papiamentu as *bula den banda* or *bula un banda*, ("jump to the side") unwittingly erasing an important connection to the Congolese *bulabanda* practice of enslaved people who break the bondage to their owner (Ansano, n.d.).

Public Prosecutor Van Teylingen, who argued both a 1788 case of poisoning which was actually a probable *dikisa nkasa* and the case against the leaders of the 1795 mobilization, felt it necessary to call both sets of protagonists "liars". The leaders of 1795 lied about freedom while the ones from 1788 lied about their ability to heal and perform magic. Thus, in 1788 a network of "dance houses" (a name for houses of ceremony, that was still used in the 20th century), which were sites of congregation for the public who participated in the serving of ritual food, the performance of musical ensembles, and the donning of symbolic clothing and paraphernalia were all reduced by the prosecutor to the intent and execution of "lying" or "deceit"[3]. A mobilization of approximately 2000 people in 1795 was also reduced to the result of deceit on the part of a handful of trouble makers. African agency was inconceivable for Van Teylingen: good Africans were obedient. Those who were not obedient were misled by a few willful deceivers, which could be used to deflect the underlying cause of the problem at hand from the European authorities. This leaves no room for broad-based organized critical action by members who share a view of society that is different from the dominant one. In the 20th century Father Brenneker documented how popular African religion was used to influence official court proceedings as well as to dispense alternative justice (Van der Velden, 2009).
Father Latour (1949) (and many along with him) was also unable to see the organized African religion that lay right before his eyes. He saw all African spiritual practices on

[3] NL-HaNA, WIC, 1.05.01.02, inv. no. 212

the island as superstition and was glad that the civilizing mission of the Roman Catholic Church had prevented the spread of "heathen" mores. So, the relationship between a poison ordeal, healing centers, well defined religious practices and a community of practitioners would have been totally lost on him. This blind sense of impossibility is still present with many who see *montamentu* as a set of separate superstitious practices and insist that, while some may be legacies from the slavery period in Curaçao, most came from the Dominican Republic in the mid-twentieth century. No awareness of the organized practices of the 18th century onward exist. No reality check exists either about the extensive local and global network of practitioners, ceremonial spaces, commercial backing for supplies, large financial transactions, and known leaders, not to mention the complex ontologies and epistemologies supported by historical memories of spirit beings, pre-emancipation sacred places, extensive related lexicon, etc.

Even less conceivable to the colonial gaze might have been government by Africans in the slavery period. If mere institutional organization on the part of African descended peoples was unthinkable for the mainstream dominant society, governance on their part was beyond the unthinkable, although the Haitian revolution finally made this become imaginable. Legislators described the above mentioned *birosi* and *japans* as unruly gatherings of uncontrolled Africans. But there are indications they might actually be royal succession *kanda*, or houses, from the Kongo: Npanzu, (rendered *japans*) and followers of Ambrosio I, who were rendered *birosi* in the Curaçaoan archives. The two main *kanda* in Kongo at the time were the Kimulaza and the Kimpanzu. The Kwilu, Kilukeni and Kinkanga *kanda* had already stopped existing (or at least stopped succeeding to the throne) at different points in the 17th century. Ambrosio I, however, was the last Kwilu ruler, whose reign ended in 1631. A possible Kwilu-Npanzu rivalry is not far-fetched on this side of the Atlantic, even after a century of Kwilu not being in the line of succession on the other. As late as the end of the 19th century the Kimulaza, Kimpanzu and by then the Agua Rosada were eligible successors (Thornton, 1993: 196-197).

Succession lines and rivalries do not of themselves constitute government institution, but if these succession rivalries really existed in 18th century Curaçao we might also find elements of African governmental processes or aspirations. The toponym *Bulabanda* (Ansano, 2012), e.g., reminiscent of a process to change slave masters initiated by the enslaved in Kongo (MacGaffey, 2008) might point to a ritual of spiritual liberation but could also be a political statement against slavery. The intent to form a community seemed to also be present in a 1750 mobilization, although the initiators also harbored the idea of killing the Kongolese (potential carriers of Npanzu/japans and Ambrosio/birosi identities) on the island, according to witnesses (Jordaan, 2013: 186-

190). This rivalry might also point to the significant presence of Kongolese on the island, along with their legal, religious, and other organizations.
It is telling, however, that the titles of certain keepers of tradition are definitely non-Kongolese. Although the traditional body of harvest songs is called *kantika makamba*, (Makamba songs), the Makamba being a West Central African people, we find *labariano* and *cheli* as keepers of tradition. These are both Arabic influenced titles from West Africa. These are traditions from Arabic influenced areas with a focal point in the Western Atlantic region. *Labari* is "news" or "telling" in some of these Arabic-influenced languages, whereas *jeli* is the keeper of tradition better known as *griot* in the West. *Cheli* has disappeared as a title. Only the late traditional song-master Martili Pieters mentioned Cheli Kwidama as one of his song-masters. Cheli Kwidama was a carrier of traditional songs, who spoke Papiamentu with everyone except his own mother, with whom he spoke Guene (a common name for four languages previously spoken by Africans on the island) because she did not speak Papiamentu.

Since the beginning of the 20th century Cheli has been seen as a nickname instead of a function or title. Labariano, on the other hand, still lives on in the 21st century as a title for great *tambú* singers. One of the qualities of a great tambú singer is his or her word artistry but a second, equally or more important characteristic is the ability to critically present a review at the end of each year. Both *cheli* and *labariano* were tradition bearers, with one maybe being a carrier of longer traditions and the other a chronicler of recent happenings. Martili Pieters studied with several masters and was able to gather various traditions and sets of songs. His knowledge shows that song-masters were tradition bearers in a way that was preserved until his time. Information passed on through songs have encoded historical events, music and song legacies. A kind of information that is still inconceivable to many who only see fragmentation, historical discontinuity, lack of organized transmission lines, and impossibility of lasting intergenerational teaching, because of imagined or documented conditions of slavery.

All these plausible impossibilities of legal, governmental, military, religious, tradition bearing, agricultural and medical organization among Africans combined, frame the presumed impossibility of Africans being revolutionaries, rather than occasionally misguided rebels, in the eyes of the colonist or other chroniclers and observers in the 18th century. No value is given to indications of institutional development. Much subsequent thinking and action has, however, managed to extend the existence of questionable impossibilities into the present.

What the masters threw away became our culture: community and contradictions of critical voices

In 2016 Curaçao ratified the 2003 UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Heritage. Community is the principal actor within this Convention. All issues of safeguarding, from identifying heritage, deciding if and how this heritage is to be safeguarded and taking the responsibility for the actual actions that lead to safeguarding are prerogatives of the community. Hence also the importance of capacity building at many levels for guiding implementation. During one of the capacity building sessions for local teachers and after school instructors one participant stated that *mangusá*, the local traditional dish of boiled beans, corn, sorghum and peanuts, originated from discarded food from the master's table that got recycled by the enslaved. Her point was that these were substandard food items, and a legacy of mistreatment of Africans. This neglects the oral historical information (which she did not know of, and which Rene Rosalia correctly referred to during the session) that elders loved this food and did not consider it substandard. It also neglects the fact that many African cultures, as well as cultures from other continents have similar foods.

Examples of similar foods from Africa include Zimbabwe's *mutakura* (peanuts and beans), South Africa's *umngqusho* (beans with corn or hominy), Ghana's *abro ne ase* (beans and corn), Cameroon's *krang krang* or *guru guru* (peanuts and popped corn, similar to Ghana's *abro ne nkate*). Kenyan *githeri* (boiled corn and beans) and Nigeria's *adalu* (sweet corn and peanuts, similar to Cameroon's *cornchaff*) are wetter than *mangusá* but still similar enough. On a different track, and of a different kind of relevance would be the similar sounding Brazilian *mungunzá*: mostly known as cracked white corn cooked in coconut milk, with sugar, cloves and cinnamon. Corn might be the common denominator between *mangusá* and *mungunzá*, originating from Kimbundu *mu'kunza*, "boiled corn" (Ferreira, 2010). Mangusá as a word might have come from Brazil, rather than Africa. In Brazil *mungunzá* is also called *canjica*, *mingau de milho branco* or *chá de burro* (Vera Moura, personal communication). It is only in the Ceará region, however, that they have a version that is specifically called *mungunzá*, which is salty, and includes beans, just as does Curaçaoan mangusá. Ceará happens to be the region from which the last Dutch colonists left under leadership of Matthias Beck in 1654. Beck ended up as Vice-Director in Curaçao a few months later (Schiltkamp, 1989: 250) after a very short while in Barbados. Little information is known about Africans who might have made that Brazilian-Caribbean voyage, ending in Curaçao (or about other groups importing this African-Brazilian heritage into Curaçao).

As members of the local community, most of us do not know our history. Formal education in history has not given us any real shared lasting sense of local

transformations, off-island origins and connections of local groups, nor has it made us aware of the major historical processes that made the island what it is today. Unfortunately, most of us have also given up curiosity, a sustained critical perspective, or confidence in the validity of one's own worldview as a legitimate reality rather than only a series of incidental and uncoordinated defensive moves against dominant social narratives that are intuitively and logically felt to be wrong. In such a context it is no wonder that some of us might see ourselves as being the dregs or 'leftovers' of other, truly legitimate identities, through a process that has led us to believe that we have no no other possibility than to assume 'derived' identities.

These derived identities may shield us from shock or awe at an encounter with spirit, by creating selective blindness to the deep horrors of intergenerational injustice, even when fighting for social justice. Historical consciousness and the long duration of social identities can only be interpreted by derived identities through the lens of the other, better, real identity, an identity that might be problematic, but still conceived as ideal. Nor may derived identities understand the dreaming, whether every-day, utopian or reactive, shown by revolutionaries. Dreams of realities, other than the ideal one that has already been realized elsewhere, are not possible. Derived identities are one of the ways in which impossibility is entrenched in minds, bodies and places.

Dreams, whether wild or systematic, are nevertheless essential to life. In colonial, postcolonial and neocolonial spaces dreams may be just one form of political, narrative and spiritual intelligence (Ansano, n.d.), but dreaming constitutes a crucial form that integrates these intelligences in a way that is difficult to find in other activities. Critical presence is vital to the Curaçaoan community, as may be seen from historical evidence. Unless critical thinking and action are understood to exist, and unless they are consciously engaged, social dynamics will recreate fragmentation, stagnation and disarticulation of the common good.

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AN INTERSECTIONAL APPROACH TO UNDERSTANDING THE SOCIAL LIFE OF FEMALE, BRITISH CARIBBEAN, IMMIGRANT DOMESTIC WORKERS IN TWENTIETH CENTURY CURAÇAO: CONTROLLING SEXUAL MORALITY[1]

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Introduction

The establishment of an oil refinery in Curaçao in the early 20th century drastically changed the economic structure, demographic composition, and demand for labor on the island. Labor migration into Curaçao involved both men and women, making it an interesting case for studying Caribbean migration from a gender perspective. Although labor migration is often seen as solely a male endeavor, increasingly, migration studies include women's involvement, problematizing and contesting the idea of migration patterns based solely on male labor. Although this new, gendered approach to migration is admittedly shaped by the global concern with present-day migratory movements in which women participate in large numbers, studies are now also focusing on women's migration in the past. *Women, gender and labour migration: historical and global perspectives* (Sharpe, 2001), which is a collection of gender-specific historical studies of migration in the 19th and early 20th centuries, shows that women have long been involved in long-distance labor migration. In the introduction, Pamela Sharpe describes the Caribbean as a region in which migration has been male-dominated in contrast to Latin America where it has been more female-dominated. This finding, however, is based on migration to Europe and the USA only, while intra-regional migration within the Caribbean is overlooked. In the report of the UN Expert Group Meeting on international migration and development in Latin America and the Caribbean (2005), intra-Caribbean migration is recognized, but as something occurring from the mid-20th century onwards, thereby neglecting such migration in the first half of the 20th century.

[1] This article is part of an ongoing study that examines intra-Caribbean migratory movements of women and men from the former British Caribbean colonies to the Dutch Caribbean island of Curaçao in the twentieth century.

A key characteristic of British West Indian immigration to Curaçao in the 20th century was the comparatively large number of women who came to work in domestic service roles in households in Curaçao. Also worth mentioning is that these British Caribbean women, who had started to arrive in Curaçao as domestic workers especially in the 1940s, continued to come to the island when the oil refining sector declined in the 1950s. In contrast, most male immigrants lost their jobs and returned to their countries of origin. Consequently, in the 1960s the number of women in Curaçao from the British Caribbean exceeded that of their male counterparts: 2,914 to 2,281 (Census, 1960: 15; Allen, 2015). In the 1960 census, British West Indian citizens were placed together with people of the French Caribbean, but who were present in small number on the island.
More international studies now show that gendered differences have an impact on migration behavior, and that these differences are furthermore shaped by the social and cultural contexts of the host society. This case study of gender analysis of migration in Curaçao contributes to understanding how gender has interacted with migration in the Caribbean. It demonstrates how, there was an urge to regulate gender and sexuality in Curaçao which focused on women's morality in general and resulted in the policing of immigrant women's behavior in particular. I would like to spotlight these Caribbean women immigrants in Curaçao and especially the interplay between their presence and certain behaviors promoted as morally correct in the receiving society. The migration of British West Indian women to Curaçao in the 20th century fits the well-known phenomenon of poor (often black) migrant women who worked as help and caregivers for elite (often white) families. As such, it connects gender to class, race and ethnicity and demands an intersectional approach. In this article, I use gender as a connecting factor to look at the intersections of migration, class, sexual morality, citizenship, and other cultural aspects and through this perspective, I consider the social situations which these intersections produced.

Intersectionality in the study of migration examines the dynamic interplay between competing meanings of migration experiences in a society by looking at the interconnectedness of age, gender, sexuality, social class, religion, ethnicity, and race. Patricia Hill Collins and Sirma Bilge state in their book *Intersectionality* (2016) that intersectionality is a way of analyzing and understanding the complexity in the world, in people, and in human experiences. It emanates from the idea that people's lives, social inequality, and the organization of power in a given society are better understood as being shaped not by a single axis of social division, be it race, gender or class, but by many axes that work together and influence each other. Intersectionality as an analytical tool gives people better access to the complexity of the world and of themselves. Using intersectionality as an analytical tool in the present study enables analysis of how the migrant status of the British Caribbean domestic servants in Curaçao has been shaped along the axes of gender, sexuality, race, ethnicity, and class.

The "domestic servant problematique" in Curaçao

Female domestic labor immigration to Curaçao is socio-historically interrelated to the domestic work which has been performed for centuries by local Curaçaoan women. Women in Curaçao often worked as domestic servants. Jeroen Dekker's overview in *Curaçao zonder/met Shell* (1982) points out that between 1900 and 1929, i.e. just before and just after the establishment of the oil refinery, the number of women working as domestic servants in Curaçao was still relatively large. An interesting note is that a distinction was made between domestic servants, washer women, and cooks because women in the last two occupations earned higher wages than those in domestic work (Dekker, 1982: 158). Depending on how wealthy families were or how much they wanted to employ domestic workers as an aspirational status symbol, they employed a woman in each of the separate forms of domestic help. In 1931, nearly 70 years after the abolition of slavery (1863), domestic service remained one of the few options open to women of the non-propertied classes.. Data from the Colonial Report covering 1931 shows that the number of domestic workers in Curaçao was 1,927, which was second only to the 5,038 people employed as hat weavers. Interestingly, of the 1,210 people doing office work, only 200 were women (*De Banier: Staatkundig Gereformeerd Dagblad*, 23 May 1932).

In Curaçao, a domestic worker is called a *kriá di kas*, which literally translates as "raiser of the house" and implies the title of a person who both keeps house and raises the people of the home, a term that suggests a close support function within the household. Nevertheless, oral historical data from the beginning of the 20th century shows that it was not a category of work that women of the non-propertied classes considered desirable. In my recent article *Struggling for survival: the female face of the early twentieth century labour migration from the English-speaking Caribbean to Curaçao* (2016)**,** I explained that after the Abolition of slavery in Curaçao in 1863, domestic work remained stigmatized because of the poorly regulated, harsh labour conditions in which women had to work. Parents generally preferred their daughters to learn to do other work, like sewing, so that they could be more autonomous. Furthermore, workers were vulnerable to sexual harassment by their employers and/or the sons of the employers. The Roman Catholic Church, which in those days pastored especially to the African descended working-class population, warned against the numerous cases of young girls being sexually harassed in the workplace. They were also concerned that girls from the countryside who went to work as domestic servants in town could be tempted by the "loose way of life" that prevailed there (Allen, 2016).

With the establishment of the oil refinery on the island in 1915, there was an increase in households, in particular of Dutch expatriates with a high socioeconomic position, and this raised the demand for domestic servants. By the 1930s, the lack of domestic servants had become acute. Newspapers of the time dedicated much attention to what

was labeled "the domestic servant problematique" and analysis of contemporary news articles provide some insight into the way in which working-class women played out their position and navigated within the limits of their relative power. The contradiction between the condescending attitude of local people towards domestic service and the growing demand for such service is clearly revealed in a Dutch newspaper article of 1937 which stated that while there is a desperate need for domestic servants, many young local girls who could have worked as domestic servants preferred to remain unemployed (Het Vaderland: Staat- en Letterkundig Nieuwsblad, 6 December 1937).

Many attempts had been made to make domestic work seem more appealing. For example, in 1918 a Labor Exchange (*Arbeidsbeurs*) was opened to present employment opportunities to women and girls, while providing "ladies with good servants" (*De Curaçaosche Courant*, July 5, 1918, letter to the editor). Later, the possibility of introducing a school program was discussed, which would teach girls not only how to clean a house, but also how to serve, and how to answer their employer when asked a question (*Amigoe*, 14 November 1941). In an attempt to raise the prestige of domestic work, it was also claimed that Curaçaoan women used to consider it an honor to be a domestic servant and that Curaçaoan domestic servants had even gone to work in the Dutch colony of Suriname, where they had gained a good reputation (*Amigoe*, 7 December 1944).
Attempts to make domestic work more appealing to locals are attested to by observations by public figures such as Pedro Pablo Medardo de Marchena (1899-1968) who wrote for the magazine *De Onpartijdige* and was a fervent critic of the Dutch colonial government and the Roman Catholic mission.[2] In one of his articles published in 1933, he described the disadvantaged position of women, particularly domestic servants and shop assistants, which he believed was caused by the poor education that girls received in local schools (De Marchena,1933 quoted in Broek, 2018). Yet, despite these efforts, continued low status perpetuated continued low wages. For example, one informant, born in 1920 on the plantation Savonet in Banda Bou and who started to work at the age of eighteen as a domestic servant in Otrabanda, Willemstad, related that she was paid only 15 guilders a month for her work (Interview Allen and Maduro, 16 October 2007).
In 1940, limited attempts to improve the status of domestic workers were enacted in the Civil Code under the heading "From hiring of servants and labourers" (1940, *Lvo. tot wijziging en aanvulling van het B.W. Omtrent huur van dienstboden en werklieden*. See also 1940, 126 Wijziging: 1940, 151). Notwithstanding, in 1969 the magazine *Vitó* (edited by Stanley Brown and others) described the growing discontent among domestic workers and proposed a labour union for domestic servants to deal with the many atrocities within the sector of domestic service. In the 1980s, both foreign and local domestic

[2] Because of his riotous publications, Pedro Pablo Medardo de Marchena was banished from Curaçao and imprisoned on the neighbouring Dutch Caribbean island of Bonaire during World War II.

servants became the focal groups of emergent womens' organisations (*Amigoe*, 8 April 1983).

During the domestic servant problematique predominant in the period of end of the 1930s and 1940s, Curaçaoan women began to make use of the local shortage of domestic workers to demand higher pay for their work. As covered in a 1937 newspaper article, the high demand versus the small supply of domestic labor had indeed led to an increase in the domestic servant's wage (Het Vaderland: *Staat- en Letterkundig Nieuwsblad*, 6 December 1937). A few years later, the author of a magazine article even complained that the wage level for domestic servants was increasing "disproportionately" as employers were desperately looking for servants, even to the point of stealing away servants from others (M.P. Gorsira in a magazine of November 1944, as cited in the *Amigoe* of December 4, 1944). This same author also indicated that domestic servants were earning 30 to 35 guilders per month at that time. With a domestic servant's board and lodging included, her wage could be estimated at about 100 guilders per month (*Amigoe*, December 4, 1944), which was much more than the 15 guilders previously indicated that one domestic worker was earning at the beginning of the 20th century. Demanding higher pay also meant demanding more respect for domestic service, an insistence that was strengthened by the high demand for this category of work and the fear among housewives of being left without a domestic servant (*Amigoe*, December 4, 1944).

Before the arrival of immigrant women from the British West Indies in the 1940s, domestic servants had already been introduced from other locations such as the Dutch Caribbean island of St. Eustatius (Het Vaderland: *Staat- en Letterkundig Nieuwsblad*, 15 June 1926). When the shortage of domestic servants became more pronounced, some attempts were made to attract workers from Suriname. In 1937, the managing board of Curaçao's oil company sent out a circular to the company's Surinamese expatriate staff to encourage Surinamese maids to come to Curaçao.

This was also reported in a Surinamese newspaper called *De West: Nieuwsblad uit en voor Suriname* of the third of December 1937 under the title *Surinaamse dienstmeisjes naar Curacao*? (Surinamese domestic servants to Curacao?) Subsequently, an article in another Surinamese newspaper (1937) under the same title cautioned Suriname ladies against going to Curaçao, stressing that even though the monthly wage there was twice as high as in Suriname, it was not accepted by Curaçaoan women, confirming that local women were demanding higher pay (*De Surinamer: Nieuws en Advertentieblad*, 19 December 1937). In 1939, the government of Curaçao cautiously gave permission to admit 25 Surinamese women to the island as domestic workers (Philipps, 1988: 28-30). Sourcing domestic workers from Suriname did not last long however as British West Indians replaced Surinamese workers from the 1940s onward (Philipps, 1988: 28-30). The desperate economic situation on many Caribbean islands at that time, due to the decline of

the sugar industry, motivated many women to leave their home countries – which the British politician Lloyd George (1863-1945) had called the "slums of empire" – and to emigrate to Curaçao on their own to become domestic workers (Singh, 2004: 216).
Many British West Indian women who chose to migrate were single mothers who left their children in the care of a friend or relative. Some of them already had some migration experience and came to Curaçao via the Dominican Republic.[3] They came to Curaçao to do domestic work and to support their families in their country of origin by sending back money and goods. In that way, they took control of their lives and manifested autonomous behavior. Such behaviours can be seen as an early example of the modern-day phenomenon of women engaging independently in migration in search of work. It should be noted that although there were some British West Indian women who came to join their husbands already in Curaçao as labor immigrants, their number was small as the oil refinery preferred to employ younger unmarried men. By the mid-20th century, the number of English-speaking domestic servants had grown and the demographic statistics of Curaçao show that on January 1, 1953, 80 percent of the 1,727 single foreign domestic workers who were registered with the Immigration Office came from a variety of places in the Anglophone Caribbean, including Barbados, Trinidad and Tobago, Anguilla, Montserrat, St. Kitts and Nevis, Dominica, Antigua, Grenada, St. Vincent, Tortola, St. Lucia, Jamaica, and British Guyana (lecture by the Chairman of the Chamber of Commerce, 1953; Philipps 1988: 40).

One can conclude that women from the British West Indies were brought in to take over the bulk of the available domestic work in Curaçao and to maintain the prevailing exploitative conditions. Their introduction into the society added the complexity of intersections between gender, class and race. Gender- motivated inequality and other social inequalities within the colonial power structure in Curaçao were reinforced as these immigrant women from the British West Indies came to occupy a lower/working class position. Their introduction also raises the question of how one should understand the social position of the Surinamese women, who were only temporarily brought in as domestic workers in the late 1930s.

The challenge posed to local norms of sexual morality

It is noticeable that even though the local demand for domestic workers was much greater than the supply and increased over the years, it was only after 1938 that the Dutch colonial government in Curaçao became less reluctant to allow the entry of single female workers to the island (Philipps, 1988: 28). Government officials seemed to have been concerned that they would have little control over foreign, young and single

[3] Perhaps they managed in this way to escape the brutal dictatorship of General Rafael Leónidas Trujillo, who was President of the Dominican Republic from 1930 to 1938 and again from 1942 to 1952.

women on the island who could be harmful to public morality. This fear seems to be confirmed by an article in a Surinamese newspaper, commenting on the possible presence of young Surinamese ladies in Curaçao: "It is not desirable, for entirely self-reliant in their free time, they will still need some relaxation and scattering, which is not easy to find for the girl here" (De West: *Nieuwsblad uit Suriname*, 3 December 1937).

In the migration of domestic servants, age became a crucial factor in the opportunity for work, adding to another intersectional axis of inequality. The age requirement for admittance in the 1940s was at least 21 years and not more than 50 years of age for English-speaking domestic servants. In the 1950s, the requirement was added that they should prove through an official document that they were unmarried, as in the past married women had sometimes migrated and left husbands and children behind. (Philipps 1988: 35, 36). This means that the attitude in Curaçao was contradictory. Government officials in Curaçao saw unmarried immigrant women as a threat to local morality, yet at the same time, being unmarried was a requirement for admission to Curaçao as a domestic worker.

With the arrival of young, unmarried women, a discussion surfaced in Curaçao on issues related to sexual morality and respectability. These women came into a society in which gender roles were sharply divided. This division is clearly described by Clendon Hayes Mason, a St. Lucian studying Social Work who had been employed in the human resources department of Curaçao's oil company, in his thesis titled *The Greatest of These* (1958). In his description of the situation of the English-speaking workers at the oil refinery, Mason gives a glimpse of Curaçaoan society through the eyes of an immigrant. His chapter on the customs and mores of Curaçao contains much information on gender relations and gives some indication of how men and women interacted with each other and of the importance to Curaçaoan women of living up to the prevailing norms of femininity and respectability. Mason describes female and male behavior during dance parties – perhaps one of the few opportunities that he had as an immigrant to learn about the customs of the local population. Qualified by him as Spanish customs, he states that men and women did not easily mingle. During a dance party, the women would sit in the dance room and when the music started, the men would approach them and ask them for a dance. When the dance was over, they returned to their respective seats. There was very little intermingling; the men would not stay to talk to the women between dances and they would not go together to some other room to indulge in even the most harmless of platitudes (p.20). Mason writes that the women were well chaperoned and that the chaperones took a position in the room which provided a good vantage point for careful vigilance. Although married women were not chaperoned, if a man wanted to dance with a married woman, he had to first seek the permission of her husband (p.20).

Mason's observations about gender relations in mid-20th century Curaçao correspond with what others have written about the ideal, respectable Curaçaoan woman who should be innocent, chaste, a virgin before marriage, obedient and submissive (Allen,

2017). He also states that this ideology prevailed mostly among lower and lower-middle class families. Yet it did not exist to such an extent among the higher classes as they had traveled extensively to the USA, Canada and Europe and had been influenced by the customs there (1958). However, Mason's description of male-female relationships is contradicted by the vivid description of social life in Willemstad in the 1940s in *Seis aña kaska bèrdè* (2010), a memoir by the well-known Curaçaoan author and cultural activist Pierre Lauffer (Curaçao, 1920-1981). This memoir contains short stories about Lauffer's time as a military police officer between 1939 and 1945 and describes his participation in local events that reflected less rigid divisions between men and women than Mason described.

Government officials in Curaçao tried to dictate certain behaviours among the British West Indian women by establishing rules and regulations related to moral behavior. One of these rules required them to live in their employer's household. These employers were principally the Dutch staff of the oil company, but also members of the traditional Jewish commercial elite, as well as Surinamese and Lebanese families of high standing (Philipps, 1988: 105). Consequently, these women became known locally by the generic name of 'sleep-in' (i.e. live-in) maids. An exception was made for a woman whose father worked on the island as she could stay at her father's home (Philipps, 1988: 36). Confined within the walls of the homes of their employers, the immigrant domestic workers cleaned, did the laundry, cooked, and/or provided childcare. They were an indispensable part of the household but were locked in a vulnerable and subservient position. A number of immigrant women from the British West Indies were interviewed in the 1980s by the historian Ann Philipps (and afterwards also by myself) and these interviews revealed numerous exploitative situations (Philipps, 1988; Allen, 2016).

Church attendance was also a factor ironically affecting local people's perceptions of domestic workers' morality. Once every two weeks domestic servants would get an afternoon and a weekend off, which they could use to attend to their personal affairs. In their free time, they had some opportunity to develop relationships with friends, for example by going to church and/or parties. Church activities got them out of social isolation and gave them some relief as they found solidarity with other women in a similar position. (Allen, 2016). However, as most of them were Protestant, church attendance lead to antagonistic situations in a society that predominantly identified as Roman Catholic (Groenewoud, 2017). As a result of religious differences, both male and female migrant workers, were marginalized and depicted as agents of Satan (Allen, 2013).

Some government regulations were aimed at controlling the sexual activity of migrant domestic workers. For example, pregnancy or living in concubinage was used as a reason for deportation to the home country (Philipps, 1988: 37; 1992: 105). In the beginning, women faced immediate deportation in the event of pregnancy and could never re-enter the country. But in the 1950s, the latter prohibition was dropped; women could

go to their country of origin to deliver their child and then return to Curaçao (Philipps, 1992: 104; Allen, 2016). Perhaps the regulation against pregnancy and concubinage was motivated by popular opinions illustrated in sources such as the article in a local newspaper dated October 21, 1939, under the heading *Zuigelingzorg* (Infant care), that linked the high mortality rate of very young children on the island to women who had come (in particular) from the British West Indies to work as domestic servants. According to the article, they bore children out of wedlock and left these children in the care of strangers or left them to fend for themselves, because they did not have relatives in Curaçao who could look after their newborn children. This article continues by stating that any of these children were admitted to hospital with serious burns and fractures (*Amigoe di Curaçao*, October 21, 1939). In addition to articulating popular opinions about infant neglect and abuse, this article provides some indication that there was already a notable presence of British West Indian women in Curaçao before 1939 and their behavior was already characterized as immoral.

The regulation that prohibited immigrant women from becoming pregnant while employed was an attempt to police their sexual behavior and reflected a prejudiced ideology. There are no data available as to how many women became pregnant and how many terminated their pregnancies to avoid deportation. Yet it was well known that in certain neighbourhoods where immigrant women stayed on their days off, there were people specialized in helping to "throw away the belly" (i.e., abort) (Interview Allen, 2017). The regulation may have been justified by moral arguments, but the enforcement of it was open to abuse. According to some women, the prohibition against pregnancy was used as a threat against domestic workers by women who would lie to the Curaçaoan immigration authorities, claiming that a domestic worker was pregnant so that she would have to be deported. Deportation as a result of alleged pregnancy was also the case when an employer, for some reason, did not want the services of a particular woman anymore.

The fact that pregnancies occurred can be deduced from references in popular discourse. For example, the author Pierre Lauffer refers in his prose and poetry collection *Raspá* to a situation in which a domestic servant from St. Kitts had become pregnant by her employer and who was therefore deported from the island (1962; 2006). Another example is the following anecdote in a recent Kittitian newspaper:

> If you ask around, you would be told that when girls left here to travel to Curaçao and Aruba as domestic servants, if they get pregnant, they would be sent back home. The desperate mother would seek help from *Sweet Garboly*, who would concoct a dumpling. The mother would post the dumpling by boat. On arrival in Curacao, the dumpling will still be hot, given to the male and marriage will take place (The Labour Spokesman, August 30, 2013, p.15).

The anecdote, in which supernatural power was referred to, might seem funny, but it indicates that these women also hoped to attain respectability and perhaps also financial

security through marriage and that becoming pregnant as an unmarried person, was not something that they desired.

It should be noted that while these immigrant women were expected to refrain from sexual activity, legislation was introduced in Curaçao to accommodate the sexual behavior of immigrant and other men on the island. In 1949, a group composed of the Chief of Police, the Dutch Minister of Health, representatives of the Roman Catholic Church, and the head of the United States military forces on the island agreed to set up a brothel called *Campo Alegre* to serve Dutch marines, US soldiers and seamen, and local oil-company workers (Kleijn & Schrover, 2013: 33). It was estimated that at that time about 8,500 sexually active single men lived on the island, and every month this figure was augmented by about 20,000 seafaring men who would dock in Curaçao and potentially engage in sexual activities (2013: 33). Attention to the phenomenon of prostitution on the island and to the potential dangers of sexually transmitted diseases started to grow during the 1940s. Yet, even in 1930, the Government introduced a regulation in which foreign nationals were asked to present proof of morality. In that way, government officials tried to prevent "prostitutes, traders in pornographic writings and such, pimps, tradesmen in women and girls" from entering the country (*Nieuwsblad van het Noorden*, 3 December 1930, *Provinciale Geldersche en Nijmeegsche Courant*, 2 December 1930). In most of the local discourse of that time, women from neighbouring countries who came to the island to work as prostitutes were singled out as agents of moral decay and a threat to the local society. A newspaper article from 1954 also links the presence and living patterns of British Caribbean domestic servants to moral decay and prostitution. The article claims that the so-called moral decay in Curaçao was influenced by the fact that a number of admitted foreign domestic servants no longer lived with their employers, but on their own, which gave rise to the suspicion that the growing demand for prostitution could be met through these women (*Amigoe*, 29 March 1954).

In addition to the intersecting forces of gender, class and sexual morality that had an impact on the living conditions of British West Indian domestic workers in Curaçao, citizenship/nationality also influenced their status and behaviours. According to Peter van der Veer (1995: 15), migration often generates nationalism, because "nationalism needs the story of migration, the diaspora of others, to establish the rootedness of the nation." Migration confronts people immediately with the questions of who belongs, who does not, and what efforts ought to be undertaken to belong. This was also the context for the British West Indian migrants (Allen, 2013). In 1943, a law was passed in the British colonies stipulating that children born in a non-British territory to unwed mothers who had migrated from that territory would not be granted the nationality of their mother. It should also be noted that the decision in Curaçao to prohibit immigrant domestic workers from becoming pregnant on the island was in part motivated by the

desire to ensure that they would not bear children who would obtain the Dutch nationality. The status of immigrant women in Curaçao was further complicated in 1966 by the Ordinance regarding Admission and Expulsion (P.B. 1966 No. 17) which defined the conditions that foreigners must meet in order to be lawfully admitted to Curaçao (Philipps, 1992: 104; De Bruin & Groot, 2014: 28). This ordinance gave provisions for some women who became pregnant in Curaçao to breach their work contracts and deliver their child on the island, with all children born on the island being granted Dutch nationality. This reinforced antagonistic feelings concerning citizenship and identity, as exemplified in a speech made in 1979 by the departing president of the Union of Pensioners of the Netherlands Antilles, who complained that, in Curaçao, the children of women from the British islands had the privilege of being Dutch citizens, even though their mother was not born in Curaçao and their father was not even known (*Amigoe*, 28 December 1979, *Aandacht voor vergeten gepensioneerden* [Attention for forgotten pensioners]). These expressions voiced common concerns and prejudices connected with the relationship between gender, migration, citizenship and nationalism.

Race and ethnicity was also an intersectional factor that affected the social position of immigrant domestic workers. Racial stereotyping of physical appearance and racially-determined status were the norm in early 20th century Curaçao, as mentioned in writings of that time, such as De Marchena (1929), Willem Kroon (1933), Jose Anthonia (1949) and analyzed in recent studies by Margo Groenewoud (2017) and Angela Roe (2016). Race played a significant role in determining the social status of both male and female immigrants from the British Caribbean. This is reflected in frequent references to the skin color of British West Indian women; several newspaper articles from that period refer to their skin color to accentuate that they were of African descent "even though" they spoke English (*Amigoe*, 1941; *Amigoe*, 1971; Allen, 2013). In fact, neither their Caribbean variety of English nor their English-lexifier Creole was considered "proper English" and was used to argue that they were not completely British. In this way, language too was an important marker of difference in relation to migration and added to the variety of intersections affecting social inequality. The language barrier made it more difficult for migrant workers to make contact with the local population as they often could not speak Papiamentu (the creole spoken by the majority of Curaçaoans and Afro-Curaçaoans in particular). Furthermore, as live-in domestic servants employed mostly by Dutch-speaking elite families, they had little opportunity to learn and practice Papiamentu.

Conclusion

The incorporation of British West Indian women as domestic servants in Curaçaoan society provides some indication of how gender may intersect with sexuality, class, citizenship and race, and how all these affect the ways in which both women and men

position themselves and interrelate in a society. Through an intersectional approach, I have looked at the complex axes of power affecting the status of female, British West Indian immigrant domestic servants in Curaçaoan society in the 20th century. I have tried to expose the different ways in which factors such as gender, sexuality, class, age, citizenship and race as well as religion and language intersected and impacted the status and behaviours of these women.

The women who are the subject of the present study started arriving at a period when local Curaçaoan domestic servants were in the process of negotiating their own position by demanding increased payment and respect. However, the conflicts between local and migrant domestic workers show how class and economic power differences might have inhibited female solidarity and limited gains. Furthermore, female, British Caribbean, immigrant domestic servants arrived in a Curaçaoan society which was racially segmented and was struggling with changing norms and values regarding male-female relations. These unmarried women were seen as presenting a challenge to locally championed norms of sexuality and respectability, and as a consequence, Curaçaoan officials attempted to control their sexual behavior through restrictive regulations concerning residence (sleeping in), relationships (concubinage), and reproduction (pregnancy).

The 20th century migration of English-speaking Caribbean women to Curaçao has helped to add complexity to the ethnic diversity of Curaçao's society. The enterprises and households that employed these immigrants established, enforced, and/or perpetuated certain gender, class and color distinctions and inequalities as well as norms related to sexual morality and respectability. Curaçao's particular historical experience with immigration from the English-speaking Caribbean may, upon critical reflection, provide useful insights for dealing with current and new waves of transnational migrants. The present study confirms that accommodation between locals and immigrants is affected by a range of polemic social, moral, and cultural factors that can be manipulated to perpetuate conflict and maintain subservience. It also serves to illustrate that solidarity among working populations is not easy and takes time, even when these groups are similar in terms of ethnic and cultural background.

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CONTRACTED OIL-WORKERS IN CURAÇAO 1920-1980: DIVERGING PATHWAYS AND INTEGRATION

CHARLES DO REGO

Introduction

Curaçao is still attracting many immigrants due to its relative stability, an elaborate social security system, rule of law, and, in spite of economic downturns, a relatively high standard of living. Taking into consideration the social and political conditions in many surrounding countries and worldwide, immigration will remain a structural element and the process of integration requires further and more profound analysis. Despite sometimes negative net migration rates, in 2016 alone 5,455 new immigrants on a total population of 178,236 were registered according to the Central Bureau for Statistics.

An analysis of the biggest immigration period in the history of modern Curaçao, i.e. between 1920 and 1955, can provide some insight and tools which might help us in determining the best ways to handle the challenges of integrating the newcomers. The oil refinery, established in 1916 (Van Soest, 1976: 177), represented the most advanced industrial technology of its time, and together with a mass influx of immigrant workers it shook up existing social structure and labor relations. During the entire period covered in this article, the refinery remained the driving economic force on the island. Taking in a considerable mass of external workers, the oil company became not only a new workplace but also a new living environment as it had to comply with the lodging, catering and other basic needs of the majority of its labor force.

The central questions addressed in this study are: 1) What was the effect of being invited on contract by a big modern company to a traditional society undergoing rapid changes? 2) How did the different immigrant groups cope with their new working and living environment and what became the different pathways that they forged to reach economic stability and social inclusion? and 3) What kind of livelihoods did they develop in the transitional phase before becoming an integral part of Curaçaoan society?

The focus of this study is on the process of adaptation of the first and second generations of those immigrants. This process started in the late 1910s and continued until 1953 and beyond, when Shell ended systematic contracting of foreign laborers (Van Soest, 1976: 515), thus lasting for more or less the span of two generations. That process also involved their offspring who were born and/or grew up in Curaçao, which extends our analysis until the end of the 1970s. The research involved a study of immigration and

integration literature, a comprehensive analysis of the industrialization process and its implications for the local social fabric and culture, as well as a socio-historical analysis of the main sending countries and territories. Local newspapers, periodicals and magazines were also consulted, as were scholarly studies of immigrants from the West Indies and Suriname. One of the immigrant groups, the Portuguese, has been studied intensively by the author (Do Rego, 2012; Do Rego & De Bruijn, 2017). Representative first and second generation members of each of these and other immigrant groups were interviewed as well.

Entering a new era

Since the conquest and occupation of Curaçao by the Dutch in 1634, with alternating intensity, different waves of people came to the island either by free choice or in bondage, as was the case for the many enslaved Africans (Hartog, 1961: 435-449). After a prolonged period of economic stagnation and poverty, Curaçao became an economic hotspot in the Caribbean after the establishment of the refinery by the Anglo-Dutch Shell Group in 1916.

The industrialization of Curaçao introduced a new working environment accompanied by considerable and steady immigration after 1921. From an economy based on an internationally oriented but small and vulnerable merchant sector in the harbor town and a traditional and extremely poor rural sector where ill managed plantations were still the centers of power, the island entered abruptly into the modern era. Its demography, primarily as the result of immigration, also changed: from 32.709 in 1920 to 125.094 inhabitants in 1960 when the mass influx of contract laborers had already come to an end (Central Bureau for Statistics).

The oil refinery introduced a process of industrialization and modernization that shook up social relations in a profound way (Van Soest, 1976: 204-220). The local population was, within a relatively short time span, not only confronted with a totally new economic activity but also with a relatively large influx of newcomers from very different places and cultures. This put a stress on the people and enormous pressure on available housing and land. Due to the absence of a well-developed transportation network at that time, the local population itself also moved closer to the main refinery gates and mooring points for the ferries transporting workers from the neighborhoods in town to the factory. This resulted in a complex mix of forces of exclusion and inclusion.

The old society was dominated by a local protestant merchant elite and the colonial governors. It was also divided by class, race and religion since the Roman Catholic Church was omnipresent and influenced the daily life of the lower and a significant part of the middle classes. Resentment against immigrants who represented competition on the labor market was not only felt toward low and semi-skilled workers from abroad, but also towards the small traders who arrived at the same time. The relatively large influx of technical and administrative employees of the Shell group together with higher

skilled personnel for the medical sector, administration, education and so forth posed a threat to the former masters, merchants and traditional public servants. They feared that these immigrants would change the formal and informal power relations on the small island. The Catholic Church was afraid of the arrival of non-Catholic religious groups who threatened its dominant position among the lower and middle classes. (Groenewoud, 2017: 80)

The economic stagnation at the end of the 19th century resulted in a dramatic situation for most Curaçaoans, and poverty, malnutrition and unhealthy conditions were widespread among the approximately 30.000 inhabitants of the island (Dekker, 1982: 24-25). The island experienced a situation of very low population growth as the result of a low birth rate and almost no immigration and a small but steady outflow from the higher social classes and periodically even from the lower strata (Van Soest, 1976: 17-18). The economic activity in town was based on international trade and shipping; in the countryside this consisted of mixed farming with emphasis on animal husbandry. Nearly half of the population resided in the town area, centered around the harbor and thus had a relatively metropolitan worldview. The other half lived in dispersed rural settlements on the many ill kept plantations and domain grounds. The plantations were still the center points of power and employment. The old paternalistic social structure and way of life, in particular in the countryside, continued to exist until the 1940s. Most people in the countryside lived on meager harvests from poor soils and arid conditions. The educational system reflected social and religious divisions and did not offer sufficient opportunities for the poor The society was very paternalistic and relations between the different social classes was primarily based on a patron-client relationship with a very influential Catholic Church as an important factor in daily life (Groenewoud, 2017: 101).

The average local laborer was no less eager to work hard for a decent salary and stability than the average immigrant. But most were accustomed to seasonal work on dry fields and saltpans, in construction or in the harbor and commercial district, and thus not familiar with continuous work with strictly regulated hours. The refinery had to transform the farmhands, sharecroppers, small craftsmen and harbor workers into industrial laborers through on the job training. But Shell preferred immigrants who were relatively isolated from their families and social environment, who were easy to control and who did not have a network on the island to form a united power base until the union movement took off in the 1950s. They could also be sent back when their contracts ended or at the company's discretion to keep wages low.. The local laborer was classified by the multinational oil-refinery as not suitable to their needs and they were mainly employed by the contractors, while Shell itself hired immigrant workers for its core activities, although most of them too had to be trained on the job. Shell consistently demonstrated a marked and exclusionary preference for outsiders: in 1934 almost 85 % of the workforce consisted of Antilleans, Surinamese and Dutch laborers. In 1938 this figure was

not more than 46%. These figures changed again when the big war started and many foreigners had to leave. After the war a massive return began and in 1951 of a total of 12,000 oil workers 2,434 were Portuguese, 2,033 were British West Indians, 3,357 came from other Dutch islands and 799 from Surinam.

According to the Census Office, in September 2011 the island was home to over 150 nationalities and, from the archives of the Civil Registry, out of the 126,000-people born in Curaçao, only 44,000 (35%) were the offspring of parents, both of whom had been born on the island. Beside these facts we see a constant shift in the demographic constellation due to the economics of oil refining, labor policy of the multinational Shell, changing conditions in the immigrants' homelands and shifting preferences of migrants, both those entering and those leaving.

People migrate to seek better opportunities abroad, taking along with them their cultural baggage, knowledge and experience. It is thus important to consider the region or country from which they came and the specific time of their arrival. Almost all entered Curaçao as poor individuals with no knowledge of their new environment and insufficient resources or networks which might enable them to make rapid progress. The different groups followed different pathways in their drive to attain at least what they considered an acceptable level of economic wellbeing. We should also take into account that until the 1940s the social fabric and culture of the island society remained relatively unchanged and traditional (Römer, 1976: 55-60).

Some actively took their livelihoods into their own hands, exploring various income-generating opportunities to sustain or improve their wellbeing, making use of the various resources, capital or assets they owned or could lay claim to (De Haan, 2012). In our work, we focus on those who came to Curaçao as oil workers on a contract and managed to stay long enough to eventually establish a livelihood. We have selected groups who managed to get out of their marginalized position in the receiving country and who had a noticeable socio-economic impact by their numbers and length of stay. These include the Dutch nationals from Holland and from the former Dutch Antilles, the Surinamese, the Portuguese, the Venezuelans and the former British West-Indians. We have also studied the effect that the prevailing system of immigrant contract labor had on their participation and ultimately their integration in the receiving society.

In the period under consideration, the Caribbean region was characterized by colonialism, asymmetrical political and economic relations with the mother countries Britain, France and Holland and a dominant American presence, in particular in the Spanish speaking territories. Plantation economies and extraction industries were directing raw materials to the colonial metropoles. Mono-culture or emphasis on certain crops helped preserve economic dependency and limited opportunities for collective and individual growth. Poverty was widespread as were social relations based on inequality. The resulting migration patterns attracted workers towards the economic hotspots in the region: Cuba and to a lesser extent the Dominican Republic and Central America for

plantation labor, Venezuela and Trinidad for petroleum drilling and Curaçao and Aruba for oil refining. The World Economic Crisis and World War II hit hard, except in the oil producing and refining regions. Migration became more than ever a way out of poverty and Curaçao was one of the few destinations that offered the opportunity to do so. The biggest groups of oil immigrants between 1917 and 1930 were the Dutch, the Dutch Antilleans (from Aruba, Bonaire, Saint Maarten, Saba, Saint Eustatius), the Surinamese and the British West-Indians (Van Soest, 1976: 242-243), that is, immigration -took place within the existing colonial networks of Holland and Britain. Some companies began to employ workers from Venezuela, particularly from Maracaibo, Paraguaná and Coro on a six-month contract basis (Van Soest, 1976: 245-246). This was due to their proximity and the dependency of Shell on friendly relations with this crude oil exporting country. The Venezuelans, and in their wake the Colombians, were not liked because of their militancy and the New York Stock Market Crash of 1929 gave the multinational an opportunity to repatriate most them. The lower layers of Dutch workers too were laid off after 1929 or promoted to higher ranks. These groups therefore will receive only limited attention in this article.

For Curaçao in 1934 the economic crisis was almost over. Oil products were of strategic importance and Shell's facilities were expanding, and the company needed many more workers once again to comply with its preparations for the coming war (Rozenburg, 2014: 10). Shell crossed frontiers to get workers from the Portuguese territories of Madeira and the Azores, where British influence was significant. In 1939 most immigrant workers were laid off and repatriated once again because of the outbreak of hostilities in Europe. From 1944 on, due to a diminishing danger of submarine attacks, Shell started once again to look for workers abroad. In those years we see a substantial shift towards the Portuguese. They even replaced the English-speaking West-Indians as the biggest group of immigrant workers. The Portuguese came on contracts of 2 and 4 years but many would renew their contracts and quite a few managed to stay.

The period of 1944 until 1953 was marked by a high immigration rate and almost all the above-mentioned groups were well represented. At this time not only the male oil-workers came but some also were allowed to be joined by their wives and children and a family-based community developed in Suffisant and surrounding neighborhoods. The fifties also marked a turning point: immigration of oil workers on contract ended and the government adopted a series of measures to halt the influx of workers in order to comply with rising nationalism and the desire for more and better employment and opportunities for Antilleans. In 1954 the political struggle resulted in a new constitution for the Netherlands Antilles, including Curaçao, which became an autonomous part of the Kingdom of the Netherlands.

The different groups were taken care of by the company to differing degrees and with differing approaches. During the initial period the company took good care of the needs

of the Dutch workers, and others such as the Arubans and Surinamese were accommodated nearby and in a fairly acceptable way (Van Soest, 1976: 247). For the Venezuelans and British West-Indians Shell built temporary camps but soon started to concentrate all migrant laborers in barracks and later in bungalows in the Suffisant area, with each group strictly separated, even in terms of kitchens, dining-halls and facilities for recreation and sports. This exclusionary policy was justified by the belief that this would prevent tensions between the different ethnicities, cultures and races but it was also motivated by a desire to prevent solidarity among the groups. Inside the enclosed compounds the migrants were of course also separated from the local population. Only when the immigrant moved out of the company compounds did contacts and social relations with the local population become more intense. Intimate relations as respondents indicated, were established between the male oil-immigrants and local as well as immigrant women. Once established outside the compounds, the minorities could enhance their own livelihoods, often as a transitional phase to a more secure economic status.

Moving out of marginality

Anglo-Dutch Shell applied a complex system of worker categories, each with its own status, salary levels, living quarters, sport and entertainment facilities and other benefits, and this reflected a strong hierarchical system of dealing with its workforce and preventing unification by keeping all ethnicities separated. For the purpose of this study we will concentrate on those workers who started at the lower levels and their struggle to get out of their marginal position at the refinery and in society. We have to include as part of our analysis two groups that had an impact during the first 15 years of the oil industry: the Dutch metalworkers and the Venezuelans.

Besides the higher level Dutch employees who, together with a small cohort of British expatriates, filled the technical and administrative positions, there were the Dutch metalworkers from the docks of Amsterdam and Rotterdam, the so called *pletters* or steelworkers. While employees and some highly skilled workers were paid a monthly salary, all of the other local and immigrant workers were paid bi-weekly, in the form of the *kinsena*. Locals and immigrant workers in the course of time also attained employee status but were a minority until the start of the 1950s. Despite the fact that Dutch low-skilled and semi-skilled workers almost disappeared by the end of the 1930s, they had a considerable cultural impact, to some extent changing the mindset in the colonial society about white Dutchmen. This large group of almost exclusively single men lived quite down to earth and at times even rough lives, in sharp contrast to the traditional Dutch elite on the island . Their behavior shook up the existing view of the white man in those days of white supremacy.

According to respondents, the presence of these less skilled Dutch workers also sharpened class and ethnic contradictions, because they occupied the better positions even if locals were better prepared to do so, to the extent that at times, the lower ranked locals

were forced to train their Dutch bosses to do their job well. They didn't mingle much with the local working population although some mixed families emerged and members of this group established long lasting technical businesses on the island. Their cultural heritage has been difficult to trace as they were part of the broader Dutch group. We will therefore analyze the Dutch group as a whole although they cannot be considered as a group needing to extract themselves from marginality.

The Dutch in the middle and higher positions played an important role, as they were essential for the operation of the refinery. From the beginning, these groups were kept at a social distance in their geographically isolated living quarters in exclusive neighborhoods and did not integrate with others. Exclusion was the norm and they did not establish a livelihood on the island independent of the company. They came with Shell and they left with Shell. Their impact, however, in the social, cultural and political spheres was quite substantial. Their presence as members of an elite class in a colonial context influenced social values and behavioral norms. Dutch oriented education provided a high-quality system with standardized norms through to the secondary levels, including the teaching of several languages. The mandatory use of Dutch as the official language at a relatively late stage of the island's colonial history, which was to become an element for social and cultural resistance, was significantly re-enforced by this group. Shell influenced the political course of the island, to the extent that Curaçao was in practice governed by the governor, the bishop and the director of the refinery. Furthermore, Dutch attitudes and discriminatory selection criteria for employee positions triggered the formation of labor unions, sparked the labor riots of 1969, and, most importantly, awakened the consciousness of being Antillean versus *makamba* (of European, especially Dutch, descent)**.**

The Venezuelans, together with Colombians, initially had a significant impact, but they would play a less important role as oil-workers after 1930 due to the company's efforts to eliminate them and the high labor militancy among their ranks, e.g. the first communist cell in Curaçao was formed by Venezuelans, and they actively participated in the attack on the government center and the kidnapping of the governor himself in 1929. Their removal was quite thorough and those who remained were subjected to vigilance for some time and were tolerated thanks to the island's dependency on crude oil from Venezuela. As a respondent who grew up in the 1950s and 1960s in Suffisant revealed "my father had to stay for one year in Venezuela. It was only due to the efforts of the Venezuelan consul that he could return to join his family again. It was power politics". Although this group influenced the local society culturally and socially they will not be further discussed due to their small numbers as oil-workers after 1930. Political unrest and oppressive governments have influenced migration between Venezuela and Colombia and the Antilles in different ways.

The English-speaking immigrants from the British West Indies were for a long time the biggest immigrant group besides the Dutch and the Dutch Antilleans. They have played

an important role in Curaçaoan society, not only as oil workers but in other economic sectors as well. They came from the lesser Antilles, Jamaica, Trinidad, Barbados and British Guyana from 1922 onwards. Shell used the official structures in the sending territories to control this influx, but chain migration (De Haas, 2003: 32) was also important. They were from varied origins and mostly related by language, nationality and creole culture. Shell considered them loyal and offered them jobs as security personnel, watchmen and drivers. The heavier type of work was given to the Portuguese. The English speakers were not obligatorily confined to the camps and they were allowed to stay after the end of their contract period (Van Soest: 367). A significant characteristic of this group was their strong attachment to church life, in particular Anglican and Methodist with minorities of Seventh day Adventists, Jehovah's Witnesses and other denominations (Hartog 1961: 1056-1058. The dominant Catholic Church considered them as alien and a threat to island society (Allen, 2007).

The West Indian presence in Curaçao remained relatively consistent, even when jobs at the refinery fluctuated, because many got work as skilled electricians, welders, pipefitters, masons and security personnel. Many brought their families but a significant number of them became engaged in Curaçao with women from the West Indies who came as household maids working for the Dutch employees and the local affluent elites and middle classes (Phillips, 1988). The presence of so many women marked a significant difference between this and other immigrant groups, and the social networks that emerged gave the West Indian community a specific character, according to respondents. The migration to Curaçao took place before the British territories got their independence in the 1960s and before West Indian migration to England took off in the 1950s. Their migration to Britain, Canada and the US would continue for some time, redirecting migration streams, or some migrants simply returned home once prospects there became better in their eyes. Those who stayed mostly joined the lower middle class and occupied a variety of jobs using their experience at the refinery to earn a living. They concentrated in the neighborhoods close to the main refinery gates, such as Dein, Kanga, Weis Afó, Monte Carmelo and Buena Vista after leaving the company compounds. There was no common economic sector they gravitated toward, but instead they adopted more individual occupations.

They continued to speak English at home but their children became full Curaçaoan citizens and identify themselves as *Yu di Kòrsou* or Curaçaoans (Van der Dijs, 2011). Their upbringing in working class neighborhoods and their racial similarity helped their integration as did the calypso culture, the steelpan, carnival and Afro-Caribbean dancing styles. Their performance in music and sports were helpful to their integration. The second generation endured different forms of bullying, in particular at the primary schools, as revealed by respondents. This exclusionary attitude changed gradually, but their parents had to endure more due to their use of English creole and inability to speak

Papiamentu fluently without an accent. Generally speaking, however, after an initial period they experienced relatively minor problems blending into the local society.
This immigrant group produced important community leaders and politicians and the first generation was known for labor union activism. The transitional livelihoods established by the first generation were those associated with lower and lower-middle class groups such as technical trades based on the experience and training that they received from the refinery in the case of the men, and household services, sewing, elderly care, cooking and food selling in the case of the women. West Indian women, because of their relative numbers, the high demand for their labor, and their role as heads of households in single parent families occupied a prominent place. They were particularly zealous in financing their children's studies, and in insisting that their children study hard to overcome their social and economic marginalization. The result is that many are now middle-class citizens of the island, according to respondents. Dutch Windward islanders from Saint Martin, Statia and Saba were, in the eyes of Curaçaoans, often regarded as being part of the West Indian group, due to linguistic and cultural similarities.
The Surinamese were among the first immigrants employed by the oil refinery and their presence was very consistent during the whole oil period. While they were laid off in 1930, they soon regained prominence in the late 1930s and thereafter until the big layoff in the 1950s, at which time many took off for Holland as part of the first migratory movement from the Dutch Caribbean. Others returned to their homeland while a group stayed permanently on the island. Initially, many established themselves in the neighborhoods of Willemstad such as Otrobanda and Dòmi. Young, single men rented would rent a room at a house owned or rented by a Surinamese family, often or woman, who had gained a foothold on the island. When Shell built barracks for its contracted workers the Surinamese got their own section known as Surinamedorp (Suriname village), with small bungalows for single men and married men. They had their own facilities such as a kitchen and a clubhouse (Waaldijk, 1947). At an early stage, we see the emergence of small private Surinamese catering businesses as a reaction against the company food and in favor of their distinct and varied taste in food.

Most Surinamese workers were Creoles from the lower middle class, many of mixed ethnic descent and almost all from the capital Paramaribo. The Surinamese were Dutch speaking and according to respondents, exhibited a noticeable Dutch cultural influence, alongside a more Latin oriented attitude regarding leisure time (Römer 1976: 58). As they mastered Dutch (Hoefte, 2014: 63-67) better than the common *Yu di Kòrsou* they got more privileged positions at the refinery. The Surinamese workers on a Shell contract were better educated (Van Soest, 1976: 365) and could more easily access training at the Shell company vocational school. A considerable group came in the 1940s and 1950s as professionals in varied positions at the refinery as well as in government as public servants or in other sectors as medics, police officers, lawyers and in the school

system. This was due to their education in the Dutch colonial system, their proficiency in the official language and their officially recognized diplomas.
The local population was not always happy with this situation, especially at the refinery, where Surinamese foremen often were in charge of locals. This was for a long time an exclusionary factor. As for integration, much of what was said above regarding the West Indian group is also applicable to the Surinamese, with the distinction that the Surinamese occupied a higher echelon as a group in society. For the second generation it was equally hard to confront exclusionary attitudes, in particular on the part of the local youth, as respondents revealed. At home they continued to speak Dutch and, for the first generation, they often used Dutch in their social contacts with local people. Many of the first generation of oil-workers belonged to the upper layers of the working class and to the middle class. Their ambition to establish themselves as part of the upper middle class on the island largely succeeded, due to an even stronger emphasis on furthering their children's studies on their part than among the West Indians. The first generation included a number of community and labor union leaders. With the new political status of Curaçao in 1954, having the Dutch nationality was a requirement to vote in local elections. Because they had Dutch nationality, the Surinamese became an influential group of voters and prominent members of political parties.
The Portuguese Immigrants, mainly from Madeira, some from the Azores and some from mainland Portugal, came to Curaçao in first instance to replace the Venezuelan workers in 1929, but this experiment proved so successful for Shell that they gradually became the most sought after and biggest group of immigrant workers at the refinery. They were very willing and loyal workers, and Shell used them for the backbreaking and mean work that others did not like to do. They became, in their own words, the mules of the company. They were lodged primarily in large barracks at Suffisant, as were other workers, but they were the ones who stayed longer in the barracks than any other migrant group. Shell took care of their food and other requirements, but they had to pay their monthly fees and remittances and were confined to the Portuguese camp. In this way Shell could always keep a labor reserve at hand in times of high demand, because the Portuguese were more disposed than others to work extra hours in order to send more money to their families back home and for savings.
Recruiting and contracts, with approval of the Portuguese government, were handled by a British firm Hinton & Sons. The Portuguese were accustomed to work as poor peasants on hilly uplands and to work mostly within hierarchical social structures. In Curaçao they used to work in teams under the supervision of a Surinamese or local foreman. They started off as marginalized workers in the oil industry, living and working in isolation from other laborers and local society at large. After the restructuring of the oil industry, a substantial proportion succeeded in carving out a new livelihood for themselves as farm laborers, ice-cream vendors, and increasingly as independent small

farmers with small produce outlets. This transitional livelihood pathway of agro-commercial entrepreneurship laid the foundation for a sustainable livelihood in later decades as a successful business elite owning supermarkets. They were in fact the only immigrant group of oil-workers to build up a distinctive and sustainable livelihood of their own within the first generation of immigrant life.

They used to live on their own, conserving their own social networks and cultural life. Because of racial bias from both sides they remained for some time excluded (Elias & Scotson, 1994). Family life was very strict and separated from mainstream society but when they entered into the grocery sector and their children, especially the girls, attended school, their day to day interactions with others served as an important element of inclusion together with a better understanding of the local language. One inclusionary element was their Catholic religion which they shared with the majority of Curaçaoan society, with its focus on holy day celebrations, processions, adoration of saints and colorful decorations. Their kitchen at the compound was popular as were their football teams and musical groups. But it was only when they moved out of the company compounds and started a living amidst the local population that their process of inclusion began. The Portuguese are a totally integrated group nowadays, with the present generations feeling that they belong to local society, but also proud of their heritage.

An ongoing process

As already stated, not all immigrants were contracted by the oil company, although the immigration on the island in general was determined by the activities of the oil refinery. Merchant groups established themselves, lured by the growing prosperity of the economy and filled in some niches or got better opportunities. These groups left their homelands due to economic hardship, political instability, violence (Syrians, Chinese, Indians and Pakistanis) as well because of persecution in the 1920s and 1930's (Central European Jews). Others came to occupy positions in the growing governmental apparatus and professional occupations in the medical, educational and other sectors. The migrants who could fit in these sectors were those with higher educational levels, vocational training and familiarity with the Dutch system. Mastering Dutch was important and these higher level employees came primarily from Holland, Surinam and the former Dutch East Indies (present-day Indonesia).

Others returned to Curaçao such as the Portuguese, though not to work for the oil company but instead to work for plantation owners and affluent families with big gardens as agricultural laborers and gardeners and for ice-cream factories as street vendors. A considerable number also came on government contracts to work in the department of public works for those menial jobs others did not want to do, as street sweepers, garbage collectors and sewage cleaners. Portuguese immigrants could not enter public office or fields requiring Dutch style education, so what was left for them was whatever they could do with their experience as peasants and farmhands.

Our analysis of immigrant life has yielded fruitful insights into processes of social exclusion and inclusion. By scrutinizing how some opportunities were denied to a particular group of immigrants and how they were able to successfully access other opportunities, exclusion becomes clearly visible. The concepts of acculturation and ethnic identity were instrumental in supporting that analysis (Luhmann, 1995). Language, discriminatory regulations against non-locals, racial bias, and socio-spatial segregation, were among the main exclusionary factors.

To take the example of the Portuguese immigrants: local aversion to farming, market opportunities for food stuffs and habitus in the sense of a culture of manual labor, attributed by locals as well as self-attributed, were the most important access qualifications leading them to ice-cream vending and to farming and gardening. In-group solidarity, underpinned within the family by conservative norms and within the community by ethnic identity, was extremely important to sustain the transition from oil workers to a livelihood as farmers and gardeners-cum-shop-owners, that is, agro-commercial entrepreneurship (Portes & Zhou, 1993). But our attention to acculturation showed that it was the subsequent bonding, which was facilitated by a common religion but even more by their *toko-fruterias* (a grocery shop selling fruits and greens) becoming social meeting places throughout the countryside, that enabled the Portuguese to turn this transitional livelihood from a mere survival strategy into a stepping stone for success. A sustainable livelihood as *toko-fruteria* owners emerged and progressed to supermarket ownership.

According to the census publications in 1960, we see a shift away from oil-based immigrants, and toward a more variegated pattern of immigration involving many more nationalities. The numbers of Venezuelans and Dominicans group had grown substantially by that time, and they were soon joined by significant numbers of Colombians, Haitians, Jamaicans and Chinese, ushering in a new paradigm of immigration to Curaçao (SOAW, 2014). To complete the panorama, we must include the workers who have come without a contract and without legal registration. These include members of ship crews in the harbor, soldiers during wartime, and sex workers (Broek, 2011: 134).

Some closing remarks

A very important finding of this study is how the oil refining industry offered an entrée and a foothold in island society allowing migrants to adapt to the local working and living environments in a structured way, but according to their personal circumstances. As contracted workers they were granted medical assistance and some social benefits, giving them a special status in a time when those arrangements were not common. During a contract period of 4 years they could spend one of their holidays in the homeland, which was very highly valued for maintaining family bonds and friends. Their jobs gave them a reliable income and most could even put some savings aside. Working in a

highly modern industry they could get valuable experience, on the job training and even formal schooling depending on their ability to take classes taught mostly in Dutch.
Despite all of this, the majority remained lower or semi-skilled laborers, and most of them by far were repatriated before they could make some advances to reach middle or higher positions. For those who remained, social bonding took place in various forms (Jönhill, 2012), new networks developed and attributed characteristics or habitus (Bourdieu, 2002) became trademarks for the different groups. The policy of separating the ethnicities and positioning each at a different level of the factory hierarchy based on attributed characteristics and ethnical biases has contributed to severe forms of exclusion. Segregated living environments also contributed to exclusion. For instance, while the Portuguese were very much desired by the company for their work ethic, they were also the ones to stay longer in the barracks and the first contingents to be dismissed by the same company in the 1950s.
On the other hand, the emergence of a modern industrial working class created a framework for the development of class consciousness on the island. It was the oil-worker who formed the backbone of the large and influential trade-union movement and the leaders in the oil period were overwhelmingly from the immigrant groups particularly the West Indian and Surinamese migrants. The influence of the militant Venezuelans during the initial oil-period has already been mentioned. Even the individualistic Portuguese became more class conscious. The concentration in Suffisant of all these groups, although each in his own quarters, had also a dimension of inclusion and this was through sports, cultural events and special national days sponsored by the human resource department of the company. The football stadium, baseball fields and bike tracks, although separated by exclusionary policy eventually provided opportunities to meet others. Clubs such as *Justitia, Pietas, Fides* for the Surinamese and the *Club Portugues* became over the course of time not only in-group meeting points but also inter-group meeting points on special occasions.

Religion has played an inclusive role for the Catholic Portuguese and the company provided space and even a church building for religious services. Processions for the Lady of Fatima through the village of Suffisant attracted thousands. The exclusionary attitudes towards Methodists, Anglicans, Baptists and other religious minorities did not come from the company.
School on the other hand became for most the path to progress and integration, due to mandatory school laws. A respondent remembered that on her parents' visits to a physician she, being just 10 years old, had to go with them to do the talking in Dutch and eventually in Papiamentu. Many parents asked for Dutch citizenship, mainly for the wellbeing of their children in order to access allowances and scholarships. Secondary and higher education has opened middle-class job opportunities for their children. Increased inclusion goes hand in hand with a rise in accessible job opportunities and thus results in more livelihood trajectories different from the original pathway. By now, all

of the descendants of the diverse groups of refinery immigrants are well integrated into the local society. Recent immigration to Curaçao definitely has a distinct character, it is much more individualized and not consisting of large groups contracted by a big firm. Perhaps we can learn from the lived experience of the oil boom immigrants when we consider the challenges experienced by these more recent groups in their integration into Curaçaoan society.

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CURAÇAO NEEDS A TRUTH AND RECONCILIATION PROCESS

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Introduction and definition of concepts

This paper elaborates on the rationale for a Curaçao truth and reconciliation (T&R) process. As a Small Island State, Curaçao has much potential, and yet is falling behind embracing change geared towards collective prosperity. Empirical evidence indicates a conflict dynamic that on the macro-level of society is dismissed with an air of 'all is well', while at lower and micro-levels the conflict endures, perpetuating social inequalities. Most interventions address matters at a superficial level, informed from a reductionist perspective, while systemic approaches that address the fundamental causes, are lacking. Reconciliation is a complex matter and reconciliation that creates trust and understanding that transcends conflict requires truth. Particularly, truth that liberates individuals to become sovereign beings, free of traumatic entanglements, and free to express their full potential.

Reconciliation is a topic that frequently has come up over the years whenever a conflict boils up in our community, however, this has not gone any further then a situational discourse or an occasional activist spark that relatively quickly subsides. The conflict we face is complex and persists, and consists of multiple facets and polarizations, for instance, between the rich and the poor, between those with higher degrees of education and those without, between those of different skin tone, and along the lines of ethnic differences. The compounding causality of all these potential polarities are heavily influenced by our colonial trauma and asymmetric ambivalent relationships within the Kingdom of the Netherlands.

In order to facilitate greater collective understanding, it is important to establish a common frame of reference that establishes transition from the Colonizer and the Colonized dynamic to a Creator-Sovereign-Free community of egalitarian participation. We need a common ground in terms of the meaning of some key aspects and concepts, since some of these concepts are socially constructed and culturally constituted. The concepts are complex and span across generations, geographic localities, and disciplinary boundaries. Although the ethnicity of the population of Curaçao is predominately of African descent, there is a significant presence of minorities of Dutch, Latin American, French,

South and East Asian (including Javanese), Portuguese, and Levantine descent, including those of Sephardic and Ashkenazi Jewish descent. Religiously, the population consists of a majority of Roman Catholics, and minorities of other mostly Christian faiths.
The term 'Truth' is as complex as it is subjective and relative to an individual's perspective. It generally means what is known to be correct, i.e. in accordance with reality, as supported by facts, evidence and/or experience, or fidelity to an original or standard. Truth may also often be used to refer to an idea of "truth to self", or authenticity. Our manifested material reality, can be placed in four domains, where each domain has its own truth-standard, or test for validity. Firstly, the interior individual domain recognizes the subjective world, secondly the interior collective domain recognizes the intersubjective space, thirdly, the exterior individual domain recognizes the objective state of affairs, and lastly, the exterior collective domain recognizes how entities fit together in a system (Wilber, 2001).
The concept of Truth, particularly in relation to history and justice, is difficult to define. As competing versions of history and the politics of memory play out, with all parties having their own version of "what really happened", different genres of truth are often proposed to accommodate the multiple demands laid on it.
Justice is also a problematic concept as, for most, the proper way to address perpetrators of human rights abuses, violence, ethnic cleansing, or genocide, is through criminal proceedings by a court of law, authorized to establish justiciable facts, render verdicts, and to punish. However, Truth and Reconciliation Commissions (TRC) by nature cannot deliver such justice. The process of reconciliation consists of acknowledgement and contrition from the perpetrators, and forgiveness from the victims. Collective reconciliation, however, is independent from healing at the individual level (Avruch & Vejarano, 2001).
TRCs have been usually established by governments in transition to democracy from repressive regimes after periods of widespread violence, state terror, or ethnic conflict. One important matter to consider in the case of a democratization process, is that full accountability for past crimes is an essential prerequisite for a successful democratic transition. Unaddressed past human rights violations undermine the rule of law and the very foundations of the new democratic institutions. The fragility of transitional governments must be emphasized, especially if there is less than full accountability, as the elites of the oppressive old order, in more cases then not, retain power to destabilize or overthrow the new order, if they fear punishment or retribution at its hands (Avruch & Vejarano, 2001). As such, a T&R process is a form of restorative justice, which differs from adversarial or retributive justice. While retributive justice seeks to find fault and punish the guilty, restorative justice seeks to heal relationships between offenders, victims and the community in which the offence has taken or takes place. Another way to define the T&R process is as a process of addressing the legacy of past violence and

rebuilding the broken relationships it has caused (IDEA, 2003), a process essential to resolving transgenerational trauma.

Stress is an important aspect of life that allows us to mobilize resources in adapting to changes or to excessive psychological and/or physical demands on us. Besides individual level stress, there is also group or organizational level stress. Both stress and conflict can cause physical problems (heart disease, ulcers, arthritis), psychological problems (mood changes, lowered self-esteem, resentment of supervision, inability to make decisions, and job dissatisfaction), and/or behavioral problems (tardiness, absenteeism, turnover, and accidents). An individual may turn violent if he or she becomes increasingly unsuccessful in applying coping strategies and/or has been increasingly unsuccessful in resolving her or his conflicts for an extended period. When conflicts are not resolved stress levels increase and if this persists for a long period, chronic stress symptoms, or generally maladapted coping strategies will emerge, impairing the sense- and decision making faculties of a normal individual in his or her daily functions.

Trauma is an overwhelming experience, a shock following a stressful event or a physical injury, which may lead to long-term neurosis. Victims of a traumatic event eventually have a survival reflex. This reflex causes them to fixate on things they can control (e.g. work, eat, sleep, life-cycle), since they cannot control the trauma, resulting in them losing a part of their full capacity or attention in order to keep the memory of the traumatized event locked down and/or away from conscious awareness. This potentially spawns a number of behavioral dysfunctions, for example, obsessive compulsive disorder (OCD), workaholism, overindulgence, and relationship avoidance.

Transgenerational trauma is trauma passed on from the first generation of trauma survivors to the next generation and on through complex post-traumatic stress disorder mechanisms: “what human beings cannot contain of their experience - what has been traumatically overwhelming, unbearable, unthinkable - falls out of social discourse, but very often onto and into the next generation, as an affective sensitivity or a chaotic urgency.” (Fromm, 2011). By fixating only on one thing, for example, one part or a few parts of a system, we miss getting a perspective of the whole system, especially when a wider perspective is what would facilitate collaboration and creative, effective solutions.

The particular ideological framework used for this paper can be defined as a solution-driven systemic analysis perspective.

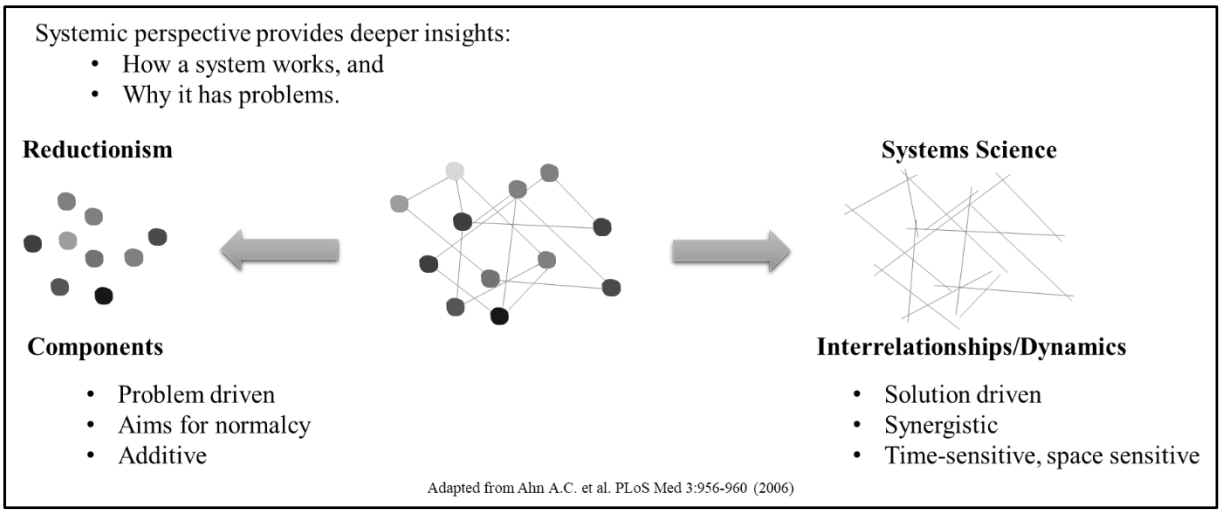

Figure 1 Reductionist vs. Systemic Analysis

A helpful instrument that allows a thorough analysis of complex systems is the Systems Thinking Iceberg Model. The top of the iceberg (above water) represents what is seen, and the larger part of the iceberg (under water) is generally unseen. When we look under the water line, we can notice Patterns of Behavior driven by the Structure of the System supported by Mental Models:

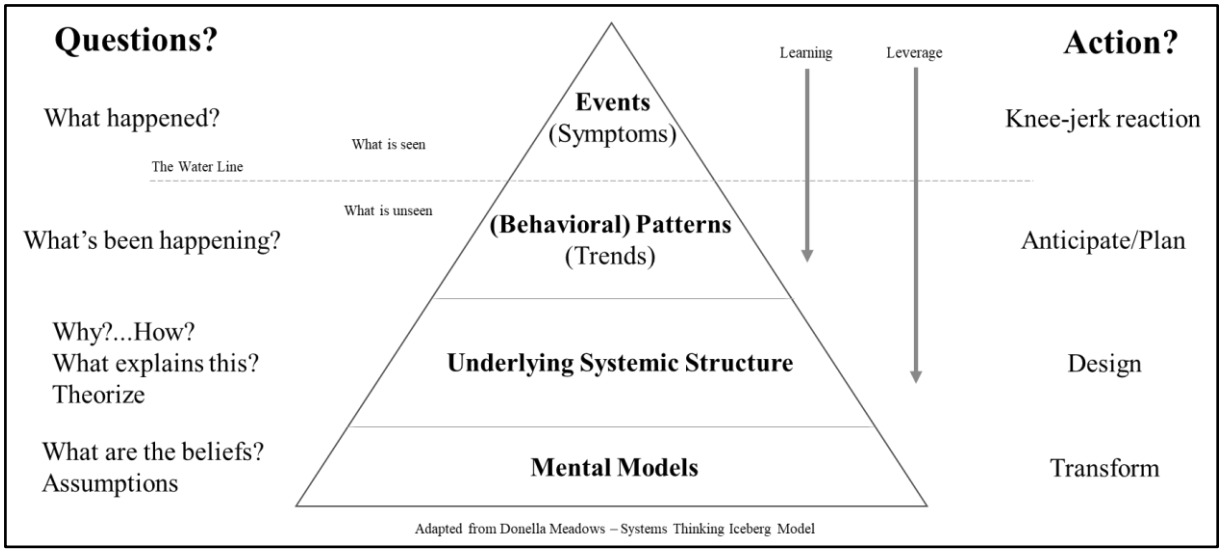

Figure 2 Iceberg Model - Systemic Analysis

In this article, I address the situation in Curaçao at three levels: 1) the macro level, the society of Curaçao in its entirety including kingdom relationships; 2) the mezzo level, organizations and institutions; and 3) the micro level, the family and individual (including the biological functioning of the individual's body).

The case of Curaçao

Curaçao, as most other countries in the Caribbean region, has a traumatic history with slavery and a problematic history with its colonizing country, the Netherlands (Asscher, 2016). The Dutch were major suppliers in the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade, and Curaçao played a key role as one of their major Caribbean hubs. But this socio-economic trauma did not end with the abolition of slavery in 1863 or with the political emancipation of the island as an autonomous state within the kingdom as of 2010. For about two decades Curaçao has experienced sluggish economic growth (IMF 2017)[1] of an average of 1% in contrast to the regional average of 3%. Since 2000, there has been an alarming increase in violent robberies, drug use and drug-related crime (Roggeveen, Van Reenen, Van Dijk & Schakel, 2015: 178). One of the causes for this situation is the fact that the socio-economic inequalities that were established under slavery and colonialism have persisted to the present day.

These inequalities are legitimized and naturalized by the conservative influence of the religious establishment (Slip, 2017; Groenewoud, 2017) and causally reinforced by the 'free-press'. Generally, those that manage to stay above the poverty line, consider the poor to be lazy and/or incapable of making the appropriate decisions to escape poverty. Paired with this notion is the conviction that there are ample meaningful opportunities available to the poor for them to improve their situation. (Humans of Willemstad, 2017).

With a great number of families led by single mothers, women have an important domestic role as caretakers and educators, while men have a marginal position in that context. Research confirms a feminine culture in education in Curaçao, where most of the teachers are female, with an alarmingly few male teachers to provide a male role model. In the street, the 'machismo' image is highlighted, where women are subservient to men and this generates further conflict.

The nature of the conflict that we experience is not one of overtly armed and violent conflict, or of blatant human rights violations, as is prevalent in some countries, rather, it is one of a passive-aggressive, subtle, self-preserving, resilient, and perverse dynamic. This perverseness originates from its multifaceted and systemic dynamic; an undercurrent of intricate interrelated ecclesiastical, financial, cultural and asymmetric power structures, and accepted notions, evolved over time, in nurturing and preserving a compliant and relatively cost effective labor force, whose agents are willing participants as long as their basic short-

[1] RBC Caribbean | Economics, Caribbean Economic Report, September 2016, On Taming Economic Vulnerability and Volatility: A recent World Bank study investigated the main drivers of economic vulnerability and volatility in real GDP growth in the Eastern Caribbean highlighting the fact that growth rates over the last three years exceeded the 2009-13 average. Does this mean that these countries have 'turned the corner'? Will this growth be sustained? Will poverty levels be reduced? Unfortunately, the report concluded that "While there is optimism with the incipient recovery in the OECS, there is no reason to believe that the latent sources of vulnerability and volatility in the region have subsided" and as such, the benefits of current growth rates, may be short-lived. http://www.rbc.com/economics/economic-data/pdf/Caribbean.pdf

term needs and financial aspirations are met despite their collective potential. Sort of an imposed, opposed yet complacent and self-inflicted limitation.

This dynamic optimizes the accumulation of wealth in the hands of ever fewer individuals, while graciously dehumanizing and exploiting the rest; as opposed to optimizing comprehensive sustainable change serving the greater well-being of all equally and equitably. Although slavery was abolished in 1863 in the Dutch Kingdom, the consequences of the violence inflicted on the enslaved and the resulting complex trauma persist to this day, as a wound that has not yet healed. As Dr. Desmond Tutu stated during his 1998 Nobel Peace Laureate award speech, "The past dealt with in a cavalier fashion does not remain the past. It refuses to lie down quietly."

Violence used to assert authority, to keep social order, to dissipate collective dissent, to increase the accumulation of wealth, has been a powerful force in the making of the Caribbean and other American societies and the hierarchical institutions and hegemonic ideologies that these societies are built on (Delgado, 2017). This violence was inflicted over centuries of slavery and colonialism (Fanon, 2008), followed by systemic and structural racism and oppression, including the consistent and systematic denial and suppression of the past, resulting in multigenerational maladaptive behaviors. Historical trauma is perpetuated through the generations as parents who suffer from Post Traumatic Slave Syndrome (PTSS) enact potentially harmful behaviors of self-preservation, even after the behaviors have lost their contextual effectiveness (DeGruy, 2017).

The means to perpetuate asymmetrical power dynamics and the continual transfer of wealth from the many to the few has evolved since the era of slavery and has only become more sophisticated. It now relies on less overtly violent and subtler means which are less traceable to the perpetrators, thus instead of the whips, shackles, masks, scold's bridles, fire, mutilation, and lynchings of the past, for instance, we now have debt enslavement or entrapment; lower quality and genetically modified foods; the replacement of natural cures in favor of pharmaceuticals with life complicating or even life threatening side-effects; profiling and labeling of marginalized groups, etc. Continued reinforcement of negative self-image occurs through subtle instruments such as 'Black Piet', and through the textbooks used throughout the educational system, deeply embedding a debilitating inferior mindset from a very early age.

There is palpable evidence of 'Scientific Colonialism' and 'Social Forgetting', in a nation that denies the existence of race even as racialized socioeconomic inequalities persist throughout the Dutch Kingdom. (Weiner, 2014). Under the pretext that the Afro-Curaçaoans are not ready for social participation and democratic citizenship, strict selection and exclusion mechanisms have been applied and very limited resources have been invested in social development. This has in part been enabled through the church's complete control of the education system and the flow of information. The combination

of colonial and ecclesiastical authority has long been identified as a serious structural flaw by some individuals, yet it was not until the violent outburst of May 30th, 1969 that Bishop J.M. Holterman came to a similar realization (Groenewoud, 2017).

Conflict foments stress, and constant conflict, without proper or effective resolution strategies in place, results in improper coping strategies or survival strategies that in turn create even more stress that escalates to chronic stress, with increasing propensity for violence and traumatic experiences. Our thoughts, attitudes, and beliefs create our

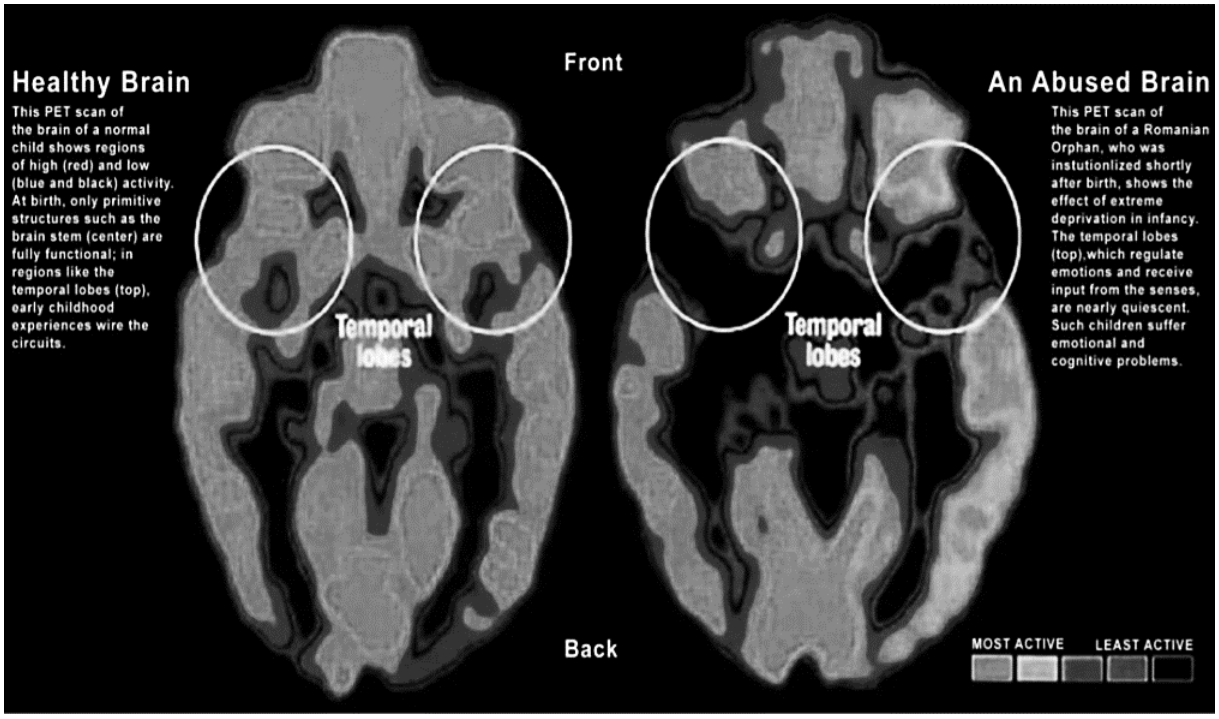

Figure 3 Healthy vs. Abused Brain (www.unitedway.org)

body's conditions, from health to disease. Only 1% of disease is due to genetic defects, the remaining 99% is directly attributable to the environment and our nervous system's perception of the environment. This is the primary source of disease and premature aging leading up to 90% of all doctor's visits (Lipton, 2017).

Different people deal with stress inducing experiences differently based on their level of culture, education, upbringing, state of health and socio-economic status. The working classes, particularly Afro-Curaçaoans, are most susceptible to the consequences of transgenerational trauma, poverty stress, and chronic stress. Chronic stress contributes to the underdevelopment of the functions of the brain required to be proactive and goal-oriented. In the case of a child going through abuse, this may permanently impair his or her future functioning as an adult. Without proper care to counter the consequences of abuse, he or she will start and go through life from a position of relative disadvantage (Hooi, 2018).

Any system, in particular, those mimicking biological systems, from the cell to the organs, to the whole body, to the family, to the community, etc., when faced with a struggle for survival, will divert energy away from growth mechanisms to protective mechanisms. Thus in a prolonged survival state the organism does not rest or regenerate and slowly but surely moves away from homeostasis, creating an environment prone to disease and eventually premature death (Lipton, 2017). Ultimately this impacts the well-being of everyone, by causing stagnation in the socio-economic performance of the entire community (Dare, 2018). People with chronic stress and complex trauma that have gradually been accepted as normal, will be less inclined to be coherent and more susceptible to incoherent information, making them increasingly willing to consent to virtually anything provided they can escape from their situation for at least a short moment. Desperate people make ideal wage-slaves and passive citizens.

Some argue, however, that there is no conflict and therefore there is no need for a T&R process, asserting that there is no standardized or mutually agreed means to measure conflict and thus enable tangibly reporting on the extent of the consequences of stress or trauma. They claim that colonialism and slavery were justified at the time and so reconciliation is not necessary. In support of this perspective, many argue that given the level of available know-how, insight and technology at that time, colonialism and slavery were simply the best business model available. Using such arguments, they dismiss any attempt at truth and reconciliation claiming that the truth is subjective anyway, that there is too much danger in revisiting the past, and that, in their opinion, a T&R process would not work anyway. They maintain that a T&R process is not feasible and makes no sense because Afro-Curaçaoans have not taken full advantage of their citizenship anyway.

This way of thinking has been encouraged by the fact that The Netherlands has not acknowledged their part in the history of the slave trade, an omission that keeps re-victimizing the victims till this day. Even when they agree with the need for truth and reconciliation, many believe that the process of healing will take too much time, so it would be best to leave things as they are. Yet any healing process must get to the source where the wound originated. Without getting to the source, there is no heartfelt healing, and moving forward will always be hindered or limited by that wound. Anything unresolved will keep disrupting our physical, mental, emotional, and spiritual lives.

Discussion

Curaçao may appear to be on a positive track at a superficial level. The evidence to the contrary, however, is right in front of us, where we see our humanity slowly and surely eroding, in our ever more diseased bodies stricken by obesity, diabetes, heart failure; in our ever more violent domestic lives; in the ever increasing criminal activities tearing our communities apart, etc. The conflict resolution mechanisms in place are flawed and failing, pushing us further into a disbalanced state driven by polarizations and populism,

and resulting in decreasing productivity and thus decreasing economic performance and increasing inequality and poverty.

Addressing this requires establishing a T&R process that embodies a formal conflict management and resolution protocol safeguarding truth with integrity and fostering an environment that is safe and fair. It also requires building a culture of conflict resolution, that consistently builds trust and fortifies relationships. Intentionally coming together and establishing a constructive conflict management process embodies a firm commitment to an inclusive and sustainable future. The democratic system has performed as a conflict resolution mechanism in the past, however democratically elected representatives are often corrupted, and citizens often fail to make informed decisions and thereby make themselves and their communities susceptible to opportunistic populism.

We must develop, cultivate and nurture local research in the Dutch Caribbean on such themes as the Transgenerational/Historical Trauma of Curaçao; the relationships between Creature-Subservient-Captive (CSC) behaviors, inequality and inequity; the role played by the education system in producing future citizens that are perpetrators of or susceptible to such behaviors; the shared identities, cultures and values of Curaçao as a multi-ethnic community; and the implementation of democracy in Curaçao, including research on the governmental policy-making processes. We should incentivize collaborative/collective trans-disciplinary academic discourse and integrate established index measurements into our work, such as the Fragile States Index, Democratic Index, Freedom in the World report, Well-Being Index, Youth Wellbeing Index, Social Progress Index, Competitiveness Index, Sustainable Development Goals, and Civil Society Monitor.

We should create a repository starting with key historical moments or tipping points, based on the Iceberg model and investigate the conditions and circumstances most likely to lead to success or failure. We should stimulate and promote a conscious appreciation for the histories, cultures and identities of the different ethnicities that make up our community. Finally, we must institute a Truth & Reconciliation Commission with a parallel monitoring and evaluation regimen taking both international practices and local specific particulars and requirements into consideration, and start to address the fundamental aspects of conflict on our island.

The schema outlined in Figures 4 and 5 below is a potential roadmap for the process:

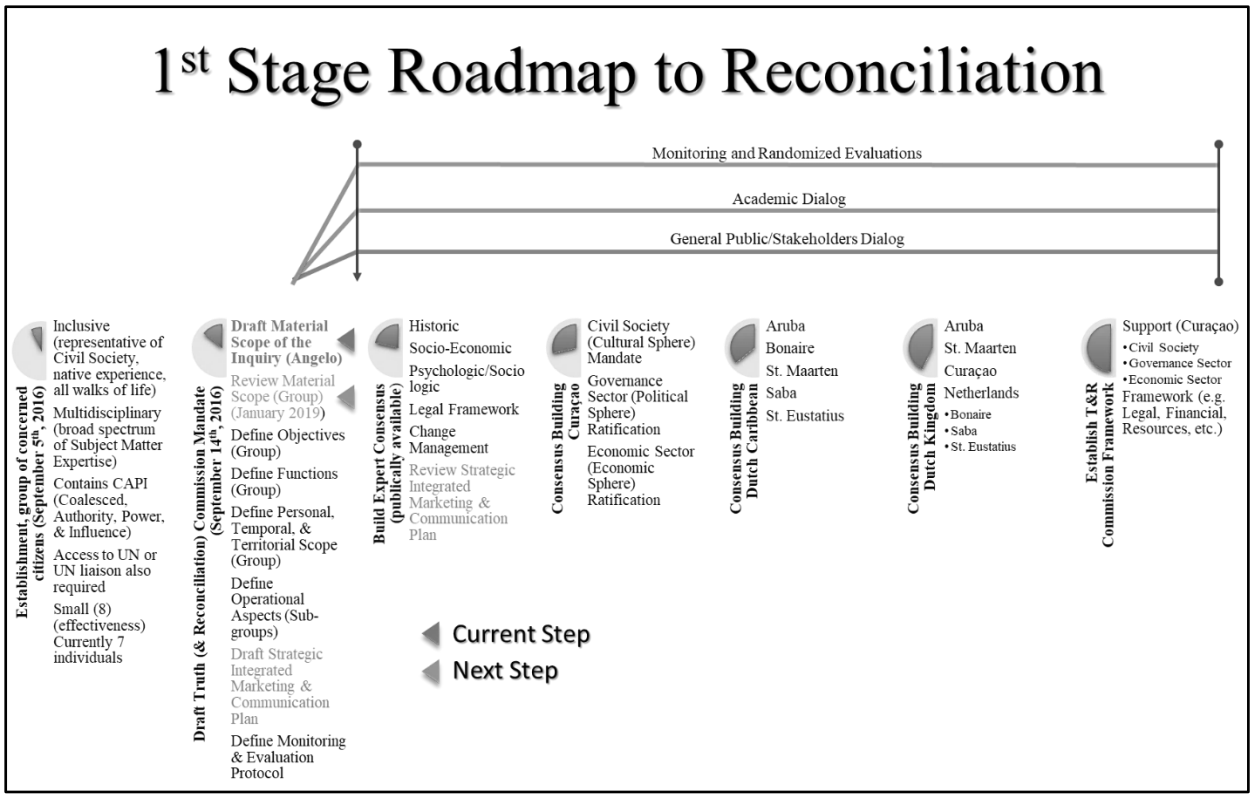

Figure 4 T&R Process Road Map – Stage 1 –Preparation

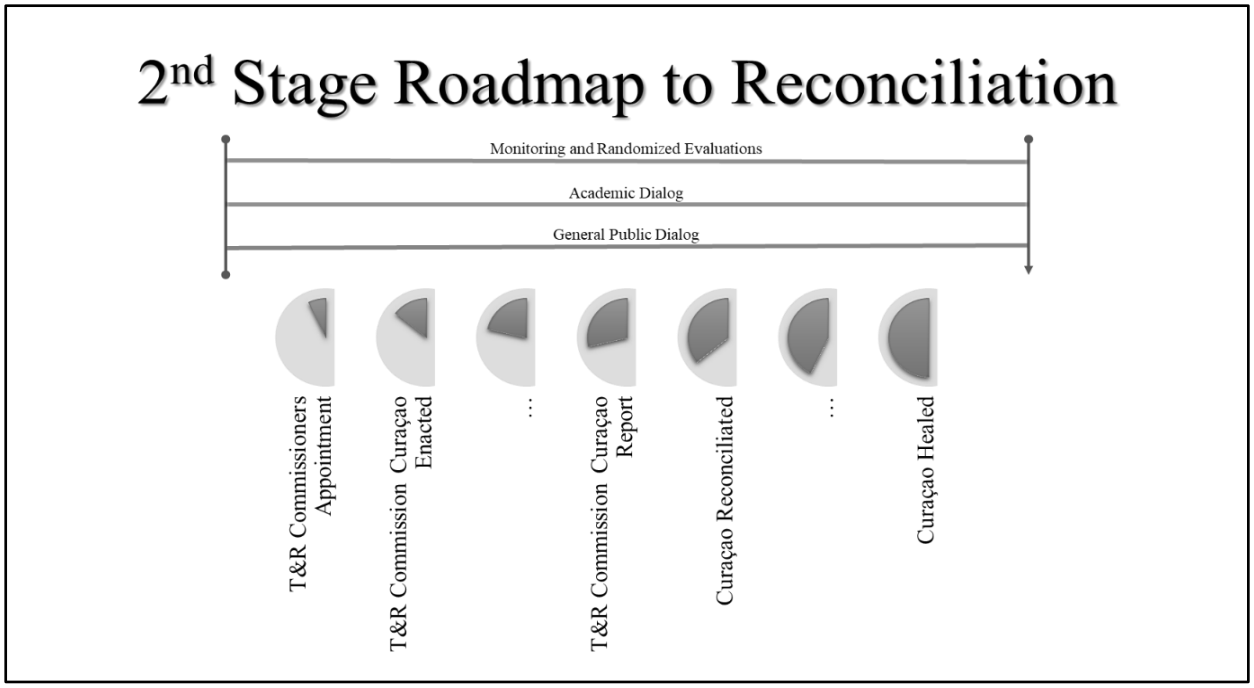

Figure 5 T&R Process Road Map – Stage 2 – The Actual Reconciliation Process

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OUR ELDERS, OUR TREASURE?: ELDERLY CARE IN ARUBA

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In Aruba, we have a saying: *Nos grandinan, nos tesoronan* which means "Our elders, [are] our treasures". Traditionally, the people of Aruba, the other ABC islands and the rest of the Caribbean have been known for their hospitable and caring posture toward tourists and other strangers. These caring attitudes and behaviors extend as well to members of our families, especially the elderly. (A.T.A. report, 1988; CBS-Aruba, 2012; Green, 1969; Garcia-Quinones & Alfonso de Armas, 2010). In Aruba, this hospitable approach is key to our tourist-based economy, and as such it is one of the island's treasures that always on publicly display. But it is also a hidden treasure, given its impact on limiting the social costs involved in providing care for the most vulnerable members of the island's population.

Nos grandinan, nos tesoronan is often heard in speeches by public figures in Aruba on Mothers' Day, International Family Day and the International Day for the Elderly to express our appreciation for our elders on specific occasions (Van Heijst, 2006). This does not mean that 'ageism' does not exist in Aruban daily life, but every extended family on the island can give one or more examples of their own informal care systems, such as the following:

DuDu, as she is affectionately called by her family, is an active widowed woman of the ripe age of nearly ninety. She has always looked after all of her nine children, all of whom, except her eldest daughter ChiChi, have established their own families and moved away. DuDu and ChiChi (the informal titles for "granny" and "eldest daughter" in Aruba) live together in DuDu's spacious house. Dudu cooks every day for the whole family and is considered by all to be a key member of the family. Not a day goes by without DuDu receiving a visit from her adult children, for lunch, after work or for counseling. Visiting neighbors are welcomed as part of the family and are also invited to eat.

One day, DuDu suffers an incapacitating fall. The whole family come together to work out a 24 hour a day program of care for DuDu. They are committed to do as much as possible to fulfill her every wish and need. Each afternoon, in the garden, the family sits *pariba di cas* (on the windward or east of the DuDu's house) in the shade next to her

ground floor window, so that DuDu can hear their familiar voices from her bed and remain connected to them. The care that they give to DuDu comes straight from their hearts. Each one of them will say: "DuDu has taken care of us, she has guided and counseled us through all of our life. I could not be the person who I am nowadays without DuDu. Now that DuDu is in need, I will do everything to ensure her wellbeing". (Sankatsing, 2011; Van Heijst, 2006 and 2008; Westerhof & Bohlmeijer, 2010; Green, 1969)

These informal links of mutual, reciprocal voluntary care can be said to be the glue that has held and continues to hold all societies together for all of human history. Since the transition to capitalism, however, these links and the institutions that foster them, such as the extended family, neighborhoods, and geographically rooted communities, have been progressively attacked, in order to depersonalize, commodify and monetarize the needs that they fill. It is no accident, then, that in the most 'advanced' capitalist countries, most of the needs that used to be filled by reciprocal voluntary work are now filled mainly by some monetary transaction with a coroporation, from purchasing meals at McDonald's instead of eating at home, to institutionalizing the elderly in corporate owned chains of nursing homes instead of caring for an elder at home. What makes Aruba remarkable in this respect is the fact that these links have not yet deteriorated to the point that they have in Northern Europe and, especially, North America. (Tronto, 2009; Gergen, 2009)

Presently, the majority of middle-aged persons in Aruba come from extended families, where it is still customary for the care of the elderly to be provided within the family itself (CBS-Aruba, 2011). Today, there are still children willing to give care to their (grand)parents (personal conversations, 2015). They take them into their homes or they build an apartment in the garden so that they can remain part of the family. Customarily the elder daughter (ChiChi) or the elder brother (BuBu or Buchi) take charge of this responsibility and in exchange, they eventually inherit the parental house, another instance of reciprocity (Green, 1969).

Growing up in the 1960s, my mother told me that neighbors were like family and in Aruban neighborhoods, people of the *barrio* traditionally interacted in many ways as if they were related by blood, as if they were one big family, a rooted community. When one was in need, everyone would come together and give a helping hand, not only in cases of *paga-lomba* where one favor was returned by another (Phalen, 1977), but also because a neighbor, just like a family member, was both trusted and considered to be *hende humano*, a human being. By caring for their neighbors, Arubans were adding to their social capital and personal resources which empowered them to achieve more by working together (Boszormenyi-Nagy, 2009, Tronto, 2009; Baars, 2012; Whitney & Trosten-Bloom, 2010).

There are, however, a number of people in Aruba, including two nursing care professionals whom I interviewed in 2012 and other interviewees from 2015, who think

that the extended family is extinct on the island, and they mention falling rates of fertility and the shift in emphasis toward the nuclear family as evidence. It is also true that Aruba is definitely not immune to the replacement of voluntary reciprocal care by corporate monetarized consumption which has accompanied the demise of the extended family elsewhere. But evidence for the continued survival of the nuclear family on the island can be found, for example, in gatherings each year to celebrate rites of passage as baptisms, first communions, marriages, and funerals which are commonly attended by groups of 300 to 400 people, all related as family, or considered to be family.

One of my interviewees reported that: "When asked why [person x] had not been invited to a gathering [in 2014], the person who organized the event turned white and contested: "There were 250 invited and 300 present, and all were family. I would not know where and how, to include anyone else!" This interaction deserves some analysis, because it shows how the extended family still functions in Aruba. When the organizer of the event is reported to have "turned white", this indicates that there are unwritten codes of communal and reciprocal conduct and obligations that are still taken for granted in Aruban society, that underpin a cashless economy of mutual care. In this respect, Boszormenyi-Nagy (2009) speaks of the balance-book we keep of our positive interactions with others. When the organizer goes on to observe that "There were 250 invited and 300 present, and all were family. I would not know where and how, to include anyone else!", shows how, when confronted with a choice between failing to fully comply with implicit rules about reciprocal conduct on the one hand and not having a *fiesta* at all, this family choose to limit guests to those related to them by blood, thus adapting a custom to the constraints of contemporary life, where ties to neihbors are eroding and the costs of accommodating large numbers of people are increasing (Lock & Strong, 2010).

Sankatsing (2011) and CBS-Aruba (2011) have found that the majority of older Arubans desire to follow tradition and live in their family home until their departure from this life. The advantages of care within this traditional setting are numerous and include, but are not limited to, factors such as the following: 1) older people experience themselves as better loved; 2) older people experience themselves as more useful; 3) older people can enjoy more frequent and sustained interpersonal contact with their loved ones; 4) older people experience the day to day continuity in the events and conversations of home life, which helps to keep their memories and minds active and alert; 5) older people are cared for by family members who have extensive personal knowledge of their particular preferences and needs (Westerhof & Bohlmeijer, 2010; Van Heijst, 2006 and 2008; Widdershoven, 2000). In Aruba, when such care becomes too complicated for the family, they can approach the mutual care support association Wit-Gele-Kruis (WGK) to receive help with, for example, specialized medical needs, without removing the elderly individual from their home.

Just as is the case in many territories of the Caribbean, 40% of the population of Aruba today is foreign born, many coming from societies where links of mutual reciprocal care are still relatively intact as they are in Aruba (CBS-Aruba, 2011). As Arubans, we need to acknowledge the informal systems of reciprocal care that have sustained us over the past and extend these to newcomers, just as our parents and grandparents did during the successive waves of immigration that the island experienced during the 20th century. We must also acknowledge the more formal systems of care that they struggled for and won, such as our tuition free primary and secondary school system, our up to date infrastructure, and our systems of social security, old age pensions and health insurance for all, and make sure that everyone benefits, including those who have arrived only recently. These are our most important treasures. In order to maintain and expand them, we must constantly strive to provide more of the type of care that we have traditionally shared with our families, neighbors, newcomers and strangers to each and every one in our society.

As the rich get richer and the poor get poorer, the people of Europe and North America are experiencing devastating crises in guaranteeing the wellbeing, not just of immigrants, but also of their more well established citizens. Thousands of immigrants are drowning today as their boats are turned away from the shores of Italy, a country which has one of the highest levels of individual wealth in the world and one of the lowest levels of fertility, which means that there are not enough children born to replace and take care of the aging population. The life expectancy of European descended males is actually declining in the USA, a country which spends more on health care per capita, including care for the elderly, than any other. If the people of Aruba and the other nations of the Caribbean can begin to acknowledge and value their traditional systems of mutual care and then successfully apply that understanding to the challenges they face in the 21st century, they could become a model for the rest of the world.

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TIDAL SHIFTS IN THE STUDY OF LITERATURE IN THE DUTCH CARIBBEAN AND BEYOND

EEN OUD POËZIEALBUM UIT 1847 OP ARUBA: 'GRATOS RECUERDOS DE UNA ÉPOCA FELIZ'

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Deze albums waren een stuk geschiedenis, misschien een beetje sentimenteel, maar in ieder geval iets unieks. (De Pool: 118)

Inleiding

In het voorjaar van 2015 werd het Nationaal Archief van Aruba (ANA) benaderd door Ellen Henriquez voor het restaureren van een document. Het was een oud poëziealbum dat in de 19e eeuw eigendom was geweest van Regina Jacomina Bazin. Het album werd gevonden in de nalatenschap van Joan Clarke-Wynn in Engeland, vanwaar het weer naar Aruba terugkeerde. Toen het grote belang ervan bleek, besloot Ellen Henriquez het album te schenken aan het Nationaal Archief van Aruba (ANA) voor behoud en beheer ervan. Op 4 juni 2015 vond de officiële overdracht plaats.

Op 24 oktober 1847 zat het in 1846 geopende kleine protestantse kerkje aan de Wilhelminastraat 1in het Arubaanse Oranjestad tijdens de zondagsdienst stampvol. Voorganger A. van Dragt G.O. (godsdienstonderwijzer) preekte die dag namelijk voor het eerst – en waarschijnlijk ook het laatst – in het Papiaments, daarmee de traditie verbrekend dat de protestanten hun geloof in het Nederlands beleden en beleefden, terwijl het Papiaments was voorbehouden aan het katholieke volksdeel. Zou in dat stampvolle kerkje ook de op de Mon Plaisir plantage wonende Regina Jacomina Bazin-Croes gezeten hebben? Het lijkt heel goed mogelijk.

Protestantisme en het Nederlands

Na een tijd van protestants kerkelijk verval werd in 1843 de oud-militair Abraham van Dragt (1816-1848) tot godsdienstonderwijzer aangesteld. Zijn graf bevindt zich op de protestantse begraafplaats in Oranjestad. De bevolkingsomvang op het kleine eiland was nog gering. Per 1 januari 1848 woonden er 2048 vrijen en 535 tot slaaf gemaakten, in totaal dus 2593 inwoners op het eiland (*De Curaçaosche Courant*, 18 maart 1848). De protestantse kerk telde slechts 411 leden, waaronder 108 blanken en de overigen van gemengd (blank en Indiaans) bloed (Krafft, 1951: 409). Om deze gemeente-

leden in hun eigen taal te bereiken preekte Van Dragt op 24 oktober 1847 in het Papiamento.
Van Dragt geeft in zijn prediking drie motieven waarom hij in het Papiamento sprak: mensen moeten de prediking begrijpen, de landstaal trekt meer mensen en ten derde is het Papiamento een middel om de gelovigen van de roomse dwaalweg op het rechte protestantse spoor te brengen.
Het antagonisme tussen katholiek en protestant werd door de Nederlandse taalbarrière van de protestantse kerk verdoezeld. De protestantse gemeente was met het gebruik van het Nederlands in de eredienst geen concurrent, maar door het Papiamento te gebruiken werd ze dat wel degelijk. Er zijn overigens geen bewijzen dat Van Dragts gebruik van het Papiamento nu gewoonte werd in de protestantse gemeente, niet door hem, noch door zijn opvolgers als Christaan van der Ree (1848-1858). Pas rond de tijd van de emancipatie werd het Papiamento meer structureel in de protestantse kerkdienst gebruikt, met name met de komst van dominee N. Kuiperi in 1858.

Een oud poëziealbum uit 1847 en de taalsituatie

Door de vondst van een poëziealbum uit 1847 en de overhandiging daarvan door Ellen Henriquez en Diandra Alders aan het Archivo Nacional Aruba op 4 juni 2015 hebben we uit onverwachte hoek wat meer gegevens over de taalsituatie op het eiland. Het album was eigendom van Regina Jacomina Croes (1819-1897), echtgenote van de Fransman Louis Bazin (1793-1853), eigenaar van de plantage ‘Mon Plaisir’. Na diens overlijden trouwde Regina Jacomina Croes met de sinds 1854 op het eiland wonende Italiaan Pietro (Pedro) Guiseppe (Joseph / José) Frigerio (1823-1863) die ze ook ruimschoots overleefde.

Het album bevat zeventien gedichten gedateerd tussen 1847 en 1889, waarmee we dus een van de oudste documenten uit de Arubaanse literaire wereld hebben. Regina Jacomina Croes begon met haar album toen ze al bijna dertig jaar oud was.
Dat poëziealbum is om diverse redenen een geweldige vondst. Behalve taalgegevens verschaft het poëziealbum een blik in het intieme familieleven van een van de vooraanstaande families van die dagen en het culturele klimaat waarin zij leefden op het kleine Aruba rond het midden van de 19e eeuw.

De poëtische bijdragen werden– in de volgorde van het album – geschreven door Anthony Croes (1847), Constancia Thielen (1847), Louis Bazin (1847), Constance Thielen, Susanna Maria Schultz (1847), Frederik Bennebroek Gravenhorst (1847), Magdalena S. Croes (1850), Borchard S. Croes (1850), Anna E.. van der Biest (1852), Jacob Thielen (1847), Anna C. van der Biest (1852), Pietro Guiseppe Frierio (1861), onbekend (1870), Gerard Evert Zeppenfeldt (1870), onbekend (1870), Maria [ ]lina Raven (1889) en Guiseppina M. Frigerio (1881).

Ze zijn in het Frans (2), Italiaans (1), Engels (1), Spaans (2) en in het Nederlands (11).Geen enkel in het Papiamento – wat ook niet te verwachten was uit de tijdgeest, omdat poëzie in die taal op de benedenwindse eilanden immers pas van na de emancipatie in 1863 dateert. Hoewel het Nederlands dus sterk overheerst, blijkt uit de bijdragen de meertaligheid van de familie, in dit geval veroorzaakt door huwelijken. Het album bevestigt wel het beeld dat de eilandelijke protestantse elite voor een gelegenheid als deze zich traditiegetrouw tot het Nederlands wendde. Overigens is het opvallend dat de laatste bijdragen uit 1881 en 1889 in het Spaans zijn, de taal die tegen het einde van de 19e eeuw de belangrijkste cultuurtaal van de benedenwindse eilanden zou worden.

Eilandelijke elite

Regina Jacomina Croes werd op 10 november 1819 op Aruba geboren en stierf op 19 november 1897. Ze overleefde haar twee echtgenoten Louis Bazin en Pietro (Pedro) Guiseppe (Joseph / José) Frigerio. Uit het tweede huwelijk werden drie kinderen geboren: Magdalena Guiseppina (30-06-1857), gehuwd met Gerard Evert Zeppenfeldt; Victorio Francisco Plinio Americo (22-09-1858); en Angiolina Clotilde (12-08-1860), gehuwd met Benjamin Titus Henriquez (Krafft, 1951: 411).

De ouders van Regina waren Lourens en Magdalena Croes-Specht. Hij was onderdirecteur van de goudmijnen en zij de dochter van de Commandeur van Aruba, Borchard Specht. Regina kon dus al door geboorte tot de eilandelijke elite gerekend worden.

Aan de familie Specht hebben we overigens ons oudste document in het Papiaments te danken. Pieter Specht, kleinzoon van Borchard Specht, die Commandeur van het eiland was in 1803, raakte in een dermategroot conflict met B.G. Quant dat de rechter op Curaçao eraan te pas moest komen. Arubaanse ‘boschwagters’ verdedigden tijdens het proces hun commandeur met een ondertekende verklaring in het Papiaments: de eerste officiële Arubaanse tekst in het Papiaments. Een eerste artikel over deze ruzie tussen een bombardier en commandeur verscheen inde *Amigoe-Ñapa* van 6 januari 1990.

Hoewel het poëziealbum overwegend Nederlandse bijdragen bevat, mogen we hier niet uit concluderen dat het Papiaments in die tijd niet de belangrijkste taal op het eiland was. De protestantse elite beheerste het Nederlands én het Papiaments, maar voor de ‘gewone’ Arubaan was het Papiaments de dagelijkse taal. Het Nederlands was hem vreemd.

Anekdotiek versus realiteit

De voorganger van Abraham van Dragt was Klaas van Eekhout, die zich beklaagde dat zijn 411 kerkgangers het Nederlands zo slecht beheersten: “Meer dan twee derden van deze menschen waren alleen dooplid, de meesten waren analfabeten, en Eekhout

klaagt erover, dat ze hun gezang opzoeken in hun Bijbel, dien ze ondersteboven voor zich hebben, als ze al in de kerk komen, want de meesten verstaan geen Hollandsch" (Eldermans, 1934: 207). De terloopse opmerking dat van de 411 leden niet meer dan 108 blanken waren, haalt de traditioneel algemeen geponeerde stelling dat de Protestantse Kerk slechts de witte bevolking diende onderuit.

Ook de Gaay Fortman schetste een dergelijk beeld van gering kerkelijk (be)leven: "Meer dan 2/3 gedeelte vergenoegt zich alleen van door den H. Doop tot de Hervormde gemeente te behooren, kan niet lezen noch schrijven, verstaat de Nederduitsche [Nederlandse] taal niet en vraagt nooit naar hetgeen in hunne kerk geleerd wordt. Toen de gouverneur in 1824 de gouvernementsschool bezocht waren daar slechts 31 leerlingen. Hij weet dit aan de traagheid der ouders in het ter school zenden hunner kinderen." Maar de werkelijke oorzaak lag volgens De Gaay Fortman elders en wel bij de vreemde onderwijsinstructietaal, want "de godsdienst- en schoolonderwijzer hield zondags des morgens school en des avonds catechisatie, die beide slecht bezocht werden uit onkunde in de Nederduitsche [Nederlandse] taal." (De Gaay Fortman 1927/1928: 573-574)

Dit is natuurlijk leuk als anekdotiek, het opgeroepen beeld is eenzijdig, want de taalwereld rond de auteurs in het poëziealbum was een andere. De personen die daarin een bijdrage leverden waren goed op de hoogte van de moederlandse literaire cultuur en de Nederlandse taal. Bovendien was schrijven voor hen een dagelijkse bezigheid, zoals uit hun handschrift blijkt. Ze lazen *De Curaçaosche Courant* die vanaf 1816 Nederlandstalig was en waarin geregeld poëzie van lokale auteurs verscheen in diverse talen, maar zelfs voornamelijk in het Nederlands. Deze auteurs waren geworteld in de Europese literaire traditie van de 18e-eeuwse Verlichting, het Classicisme en de Dichtgenootschappen met hun op de klassieken gefundeerde dichterlijke bijdragen, maar ook al in de gevoelige romantiek van de 19e eeuw. De lezers en dichters van *De Curaçaosche Courant* waren op de hoogte van wat er internationaal leefde in de culturele wereld en participeerden daarin.

Al in 1824las en schreef Mosa Lampe, een jonge Arubaanse vrouw, Nederduitse [Nederlandse] verzen, terwijl ze bovendien een Nederlandstalig welkomstlied schreef ter gelegenheid van de komst van de Curaçaose gouverneur P.R. Cantzlaar die de Arubaanse goudvelden kwam bekijken. Ze werd daarmee al in 1824 de eerste Arubaanse 'dichteres' (Bosch, 1836: 221-223).Vanuit dit soort context is een poëziealbum in het Nederlands niet zo'n grote bijzonderheid als op het eerste oog mocht lijken. Maar dan blijft nog wel de vraag of de in het album voorkomende gedichten origineel en door lokale auteurs geschreven waren of dat ze het product waren van nijvere kopieerkunst.

Actanten

Ook al in de 19e eeuw kwamen migranten uit allerlei landen naar het eiland. Louis Bazin werd op 26 juli 1793 in Landerneau, Bretagne (Frankrijk) geboren en stierf op

26 augustus 1853in Aruba. Bazin kwam naar Aruba om goud te zoeken. Hij "vond een vermogen aan goud en zijn huwelijksgeluk op Aruba" aldus Jan Meelis in zijn internetartikel *De geschiedenis van de woonwijk "MON PLAISIR"*.

"Louis Bazin arriveerde in 1830 op het eiland. Hij werd in dat jaar vermeld als eigenaar van een slaaf. Het goud van Aruba trok hem wel aan. (…) Men weet nu nog te vertellen dat Louis wel veertig slaven had. Zij moesten voor hem goud zoeken in de rooien van oost Aruba", aldus R. Nooijen in 1967 in 'Aruba Nostra: Mon Plaisir – herinnering aan Franse immigranten'.

Louis Bazin trouwde op 31 oktober 1838 in zijn 45ste levensjaar met Regina Jacomina Croes die toen nog net geen negentien jaar oud was.

In datzelfde jaar 1838 verwierf Bazin op 10 februari door een akte van vergunning Nº 92 pachtgrond van meer dan vijftig hectare waar hij een (aloë-)plantage begon die hij 'Mon Plaisir' noemde. De huidige wijk Mon Plaisir herinnert er nog aan, maar zijn plantage was veel groter dan de omvang van de huidige wijk. De plantage grensde aan plantage Sividivi en tussen de huidige Adriaan Laclé boulevard en de Fergusonstraat. Er bevonden zich twee meren op dit terrein, een waar nu de Biblioteca Nacional Aruba staat en een waar nu de Vondellaan is (zie Meelis). Nogmaals R.H. Nooijen: "Als plantage is Monplaisir voor goed van de kaart van Aruba verdwenen. Maar de naam is gebleven. Het plantagehuis van Louis Bazin was gelegen, waar nu Sweelinckstraat 19 ligt. Een dadelpalm en een paar tamarindebomen aldaar zijn de enige overblijfselen van het oude Monplaisir, nu Sweelinckstraat, Sibeliusstraat en begin van Adrian Laclé Boulevard." (Nooijen, 1967)

Louis Bazin behoorde door zijn economische positie tot de lokale elite, wat bijvoorbeeld ook uitgedrukt werd door zijn (her)benoeming als een van de twee leden 'der adviserende Commissiën op de onderhoorige eilanden' (CC 3 I 1852). Een jaar later zou Louis Bazin overlijden en werd hij vervangen door 'B. S. Croes, burger en ingezeten op dat eiland'. (De Koloniale Secretaris, J. Schotborgh Hz. in de CC 29 X 1853; 5 XI 1853).

Na het overlijden van Louis Bazin in 1853 hertrouwde Regina Jacomina Croes een klein jaar later, op 23 augustus 1854, met Pedro Joseph Frigerio, geboren op 18 juni 1823 in Como, Lombardia in Italië, die in 1854 via San Francisco naar Aruba gekomen was. Jan Meelis schrijft nog dat Don (Jonkheer) Frigerio uit een oeroud adellijk geslacht uit de 12eeeuw stamde. Hij was bijna vier jaar jonger dan zijn bruid. Frigerio nam de bezittingen met de slaven over (Nooijen, 1967).Al een paar jaar later lezen we echter in *De Curaçaosche Courant* de in 1859 geplande verkoop van de Mon Plaisir plantage:

> Te koop OP HET EILAND *ARUBA*, EEN DER BESTE PLANTAGIEN, genaamd *MON PLAISIR*, met een groot inventaris van vee, enz., alsmede EEN ANDER PLANTAGIE, genaamd CATUMBA, aankomende den Heer P. G. Frigerio. De bovengemelde plantagien kunnen

> gezamenlyk of afzonderlyk verkocht worden. Voor nadere informatien vervoege men zich alhier by H. EVERTSZ. Curaçao den 13 Mei 1859 (CC 14, 21 V 1859)

Of de plantage inderdaad verkocht werd, kon ik niet achterhalen. Maar heel waarschijnlijk niet, want op de dag van de abolitie per 1 juli 1863 kregen ook de slaven van P. Frigerio de vrijheid: 27 slaven op de plantage "Mon Plaisir" en één slaaf te Rooi Taki en een andere slaaf te Nuñe (zie Meelis).

Na de emancipatie van de slaven in 1863 besloot Don Pedro Frigerio terug te keren naar zijn geboorteland Italië, samen met zijn vrouw en kinderen. Helaas stierf hij onderweg op 30 september 1863 te Yaritagua, Venezuela (zie Meelis).Hier is sprake van verwarring in de bronnen, want Krafft (1951: 411) schrijft dat Frigerio plotseling stierf op een reis door Italië op weg naar Como bij Milaan. Hij had volgens Nooijen zijn vrouw en drie kinderen bij zich: "De vrijmetselari j– in Italië of in Venezuela? – zorgde voor zijn begrafenis en hielp Nina met de drie kinderen weer naar Aruba terug te reizen.Zo was Regina Jacomina Croes andermaal weduwe. "Merkwaardigerwijze is Nina altijd meer bekend gebleven als Nina *Bazin*. Zij heeft zich altijd met de goudhandel bezig gehouden. Ze telde haar geld per 'cana', per liter." (Nooijen, 1967)

Jan Meelis weet nog gegevens te melden van Regina in haar latere levensjaren. Regina Jacomina keerde na de begrafenis van haar echtgenoot met haar jonge kinderen terug naar haar "Mon Plaisir" op Aruba. Ze was schatrijk, heeft haar jeugdige kinderen als goede burgers opgevoed en naast haar zware taak van plantagehoudster haar geloof (hervormd protestants) overgedragen op haar nakomelingen. Alle drie kinderen bleven na hun trouwen woonachtig op plantage Mon Plaisir. Haar oudste dochter Magdalena werd moeder van twee zonen en twee dochters en overleed, bijna 49 jaar oud, op 16 mei 1906. Zij schreef op 22 mei 1881 een Spaanstalige bijdrage in het album van haar moeder: Su apreciada hija Giuseppina M.Frigerio. Zoon en stamhouder Victorio kreeg zelfs acht nakomelingen: vier jongens en vier meisjes. Victorio stierf op 82 jarige leeftijd in 1941. Haar jongste dochter Angiolina kreeg zeven kinderen: één dochter en zes zonen. Angiolina werd bijna 80 jaar oud en stierf op 12 juli 1940 (zie Meelis).

Pater R.H. Nooijen (1967) weet nog te melden dat het huis op de Mon Plaisir plantage het eerste huis op Aruba zou zijn geweest met glasramen en dat Frigerio de eerste piano op Aruba gehad zou hebben. Uiteindelijk is het landgoed Mon Plaisir in eigendom overgegaan op Alfredo Jesurun en H. Evertsz. De laatste bouwde er een nieuwe aloëoven.

> "Met de Royal Mail Stoomboot [Essegueio] is uit Engeland aangebracht eene stoommachine tot het koken van aloë-hars. Deze machine is bestemd voor *Aruba*, waarheen zij onmiddellijk verzonden wordt. Zij zal worden geplaatst op het erf *Mon Plaisir*, waar reeds de noodige gebouwen opgericht zijn. Deze machine kan ongeveer 2000 Imperial Gulloys in twaalf uren bereiden; met andere woorden, zij kan dagelijks 2500 ki-

> lo's leveren. — Men verwacht groot nut van deze onderneming voor de bevolking van *Aruba*. De grond is er zeer geschikt voor alóë-planten en men voorspelt zich dan ook uitbreiding van dezen tak van nijverheid aldaar. De ondernemers zijn de heeren H. Evertz en Cie. van dit eiland, en men mag op prijs stellen dat zij een betrekkelijk groot kapitaal in deze onderneming van dezen aard steken." (*Het nieuws van de dag* 19 V 1881; *Algemeen Handelsblad* 16 V 1881; *De Tijd* 17 V 1881)

"Na jarenlang onderhandelen met diverse grond- eigenaren over de aankoopprijs van grond, die op de geprojecteerde wegen lagen, kon de Overheid in de jaren vijftig van de vorige eeuw eindelijk het zuidelijk deel van de vervallen plantage 'Mon Plaisir' verkavelen en aldaar een mooie woonwijk realiseren. Door naamgeving aan een van de wegen 'Bazinstraat' heeft de Overheid een brok Arubaanse geschiedenis van de 19e eeuw vastgelegd. Als erfenis liet Louis Bazin voor Aruba een mooie naamgeving voor een chique woonwijk met riante woningen als herinnering na, die verband hield met een stuk Arubaanse historie van slavernij, aloë en goud." (Meelis)

Poëziealbums: geschiedenis en modeverschijnsel

Poëziealbum, poesiealbum, liber amicorum, gastenboek, herdenkingsboek bij jubileum of huwelijk, vriendenboekje, het zijn allemaal namen voor nagenoeg eenzelfde doel: het leveren van een bijdrage in een boekje of schrift van een nauw familielid, beste vriend of gastheer. Een boekje waarin de eigenaar bijdragen verzamelt van mensen aan wie hij, om wat voor reden ook, een herinnering wil bewaren (Thomassen & Van der Hoek,2000: 125-127).Er bestaat een uitgebreide literatuur over deze poëziealbums en het album amicorum.

Het liber amicorum ontstond honderden jaren geleden in de Duitse universitaire wereld. De studenten, die in de middeleeuwen vaak van universiteit naar universiteit zwierven, lieten op hun 'peregrinatio academica' hun Bijbels signeren door medestudenten en professoren. Vaak kwam bij de handtekening een klein versje, een opdracht of een tekening. Al snel werd de trend door de verschillende drukkerijen opgemerkt en ging men Bijbels drukken met meerdere blanco bladzijden voorin. De volgende stap was het drukken van boekjes met alleen blanco pagina's.

Zo'n album amicorum was niet alleen een aandenken voor de bezitter, het was ook een soort netwerk en universitair cv., wellicht te vergelijken met het moderne Facebook. De albums werden in later eeuwen steeds luxer, waarbij de erin geschreven gedichten vaak prachtig versierd werden met illustraties. De populariteit was op zijn hoogst in de 18eeeuw, toen het liber amicorum werd overgenomen door aristocraten, handelaren en kunstenaars en tot een statussymbool werd ter demonstratie van vriendenkring en relaties.

In het midden van de 19e eeuw veranderde het uiterlijk van het album in een soort cassette met losse blaadjes. Maar het verloor tegelijkertijd aan belang in de 'herenwe-

reld'. De dames namen het over. Het losbladige systeem was geen groot succes en al snel werd het weer een echt boekje.
Het poëziealbum verloor vervolgens zijn positie als statussymbool en als cv. Het werd een boekje vol lieve gedichtjes en schattige plaatjes in Biedermeiersfeer, huiselijk, braafjes, netjes en hoffelijk. Aan het eind van de 19e eeuw namen de meisjes het poesiealbum over en kreeg het album de moderne vorm en inhoud. Het poesiealbum bleef vervolgens lang het domein van jonge meisjes totdat het 'vriendenboekje' werd geïntroduceerd. Het vriendenboekje wordt zowel door jongens als meisjes op de lagere scholen uitgedeeld (ZieWikipedia).
Deze albums zijn van belang voor "biografische gegevens over aanlegger en contribuanten, ze geven inzicht in de maatschappelijke context waarbinnen bezitter en inscriptoren zich bewegen, en ze bevatten een schat aan literair, heraldisch en iconografisch materiaal, ze zijn kortom een 'spiegel van hun tijd'" (Thomassen & Van der Hoek, 2000: 125-127)) Dat is zo in algemeen literair-historische zin en geldt zeker ook voor het album van Regina Jacomina Croes. Kees Thomassen constateert ook nog: "Een opvallend kenmerk van het 19e-eeuwse album is het grote aantal staaltjes van huisvlijt dat er in te vinden is: (penseel)tekeningen, borduurwerkjes, knipwerkjes, prikwerkjes, haarwerkjes enzovoort" (Thomassen, 2004:51).Dat ontbreekt helaas in het album van Regina Jacomina Croes, een eenvoudige uitvoering zonder enig noemenswaardig door de contribuanten bijgevoegd beeldmateriaal in de vorm van tekeningen of anderszins.

'Gratos recuerdos de una época feliz'

De Europese traditie breidde zich naar de Nieuwe Wereld uit, ook naar onze eilanden. Volgens John de Pool was het poëziealbum een product van een Curaçaose cultuurperiode die in 1935 toen hij zijn *Del Curaçao que se va* publiceerde helaas achter hem lag: 'Gratos recuerdos de una época feliz'. Ze getuigden volgens hem van de gastvrijheid die talloze passanten aan het einde van de 19eeeuw op Curaçao genoten, van het toenmalige culturele peil van de samenleving, van 'de vriendelijkheid en de bijzondere schoonheid van onze dames' en van een 'stukje geschiedenis, misschien een beetje sentimenteel, maar in ieder geval iets unieks.' John de Pool wijdde er enkele bladzijden aan in een apart hoofdstukje: "In deze albums wordt een verzameling spontane uitingen bewaard van de vele bezoekers, die onze gastvrije stranden hebben bezocht. Zij hebben op soms eenvoudige wijze, soms vernuftige wijze lof gebracht aan onze gastvrijheid,…" (*Del Curaçao que se va* (1935), vertaald als *Zo was Curaçao* (1961: 116-118))
De Pool geeft een mooie beschrijving van het uiterlijk van deze albums: "De omslag van fijn marokijn, soms fraai beschilderd, soms met zijde borduursels of metaal, voorstellende prachtige bloemruikers, vogels en vlinders of ook wel eens alleen het woord 'Album', bewaart in zijn binnenste calligrafische pronkstukken, autogrammen van

mannen, die later belangrijke persoonlijkheden werden of die het tevoren reeds waren of het zelfs nu nog zijn…"
In het Spaanstalige Curaçaose culturele tijdschrift *Notas y Letras* (1886-1888) staan nogal wat bijdragen voor poëziealbums, op het eiland 'album de autografo' genoemd, een onderdeel van het normaal geachte sociaal verkeer van de lokale elite in die dagen. Het Arubaanse poëziealbum uit een zo vroege tijd als vóór de eeuwhelft was eenvoudiger van uitvoering.

De zeventien bijdragen zélf

Terwijl in 1803 de 'boschwagters' alleen maar met een kruisje of initialen moeizaam konden 'tekenen', hebben we in het album te maken met onderlegde personen. Uit het gebruikte handschrift valt af te leiden dat schrijven zo niet een dagelijkse bezigheid dan toch wel een zaak van routine was. Het vaak geschetste beeld van een 19e-eeuws cultuurloos eiland blijkt eenzijdig.
Het schrift zelf is wel een wat armoedige variant op de luxe, aristocratische, rijkversierde albums uit dezelfde tijd van ontstaan in diverse Europese landen, met zijn eenvoudige donkerbruine kaft en een donkerblauwe rug. Het album verkeert overigens in slechte staat met op verschillende plaatsen nogal wat plakwerk, en wordt momenteel gerestaureerd door het Archivo Nacional Aruba. Het bevat slechts vier 'illustraties', die kennelijk al in het schrift aanwezig waren, verder geen mooie kleurrijke plaatjes, tekeningen of andere versieringen. Het titelblad heeft niet meer dan de enigszins versierde eenvoudige tekst 'Album' en het jaartal 1847. Waarschijnlijk is het schrift geïmporteerd uit de Verenigde Staten, want verspreid in het schrift bevinden zich een paar illustraties met bijschriften en de tekst New York, William Lewer, met diverse data uit 1838. Deze zal de drukker van het schrift zijn.
De illustraties betreffen echter wel getekende prenten van uitstekende kwaliteit, 'Monks and the Jew' waarop twee mannen door een raam naar binnen gluren naar een man die aan een tafel zit met een aantal boeken voor zich, ondertekend maar onleesbaar, gedateerd New York William Lewer, June 1, 1838. Een tweede tekening betreft een portrettekening van M. Strakosch, 'pianist of the Emporer of Russia'. De derde een portrettekening van 'Joe Miller, in the character of Teage[s]', gedateerd New York Jemima M. Lewer, oct. 1, 1838…. En tenslotte 'George [onleesbaar] Oliver introduced to the respectable Old Gentleman', van een man en een aantal jongere toeschouwers, een tekening gedateerd R. Miller, New York William [Lewer] June 3, 1838. Het zijn stuk voor stuk illustraties die helemaal los staan van de in het album geschreven versjes.
Door de slechte kwaliteit van het papier zijn op de achterkant van de beschreven pagina's soms teksten nog zichtbaar. Het vochtige, tropische klimaat waarin het album bewaard is zou hier ook oorzaak van kunnen zijn.

Desondanks zijn de meeste teksten nog redelijk tot goed leesbaar in het sierlijke handschrift van de 19e eeuw: en dat in een schrift van meer dan 170 jaar oud! Jammer genoeg zijn er enkele teksten die niet meer ontcijferd kunnen worden, wat met name jammer is voor de enige Engelstalige tekst van het album.

Wat vertellen de zeventien verzen ons?

De bijdragen zijn over het algemeen kort, soms zelfs niet meer dan een kwatrijn, maar dergelijke teksten voor poëziealbums moeten immers bij voorkeur op één (rechter) pagina passen. Eén tekst is uitzondering op deze regel met een lengte die anderhalve pagina beslaat.

De inhoud van de versjes is, zoals de traditie dat immers wil, vooral moraliserend, belerend en braaf. Dat levert dus niet zo veel interessants op, ook al omdat de versjes bovendien weinig persoonlijk zijn. De ondertekening met woorden als 'UEdbroeder', 'Uwe welm[enende] Nicht', 'Uw liefheb[bende] Neef' of 'Uwe Heilw[ensende] Vriendin' compenseert dat onpersoonlijke evenwel een beetje. Interessanter dan de traditionele inhoud is de belezenheid die uit de weergegeven versjes blijkt. Zo worden de bijdragen, hoewel niet origineel, toch interessant. Van één voorbeeld is de bron in elk geval bij naam bekend.

Het eerste gedicht dateert van 21 september 1847 en is van Regina's broer Anth. Croes. Het is een gaaf gedicht in de traditie van de bekende poesiealbums, zonder enige specifieke inhoud, maar knap (over)geschreven in een vast en sierlijk handschrift. Er is geen aanhef die meldt dat het gedicht voor Regina bestemd was. Het handschrift verraadt de geoefende schrijver. De inhoud verwoordt het romantische levensgevoel van gelukkig welbevinden, zoals in een van de uitingen van de 19e-eeuwse romantiek. Elke lokale component ontbreekt.

In 't ruisschend lommer dezer bomen
Waar stille rust het harte vleit
Verdwijnen, vrij van angst en zorgen
Mijn dagen in tevredenheid
Hier leef ik eindelijk voor mij zelven
Hier vormt mijn hart geen ijdlen wensch
'K geniet den waren zielvreden
Den hoogsten heilstaat voor den mensch.
Niets, niets ontbreekt mij hier aan 't leven
Mijn melk is fris mijn vruchten zoet
De luchtjens zuiver die me omwaijen
De bloemen groeijen bij mijn voet
Zoo soms een akelig dreigend onweer'

Een oogenblik mijn hart verschrikt
Weldra verdwijnen all' die wolken
Terwijl de regen boog 't verkwikt.

UEdbroeder
Anth. Croes

Den 21 September
1847

Inhoud en vorm roepen de vraag op waar het gedicht oorspronkelijk vandaan komt. Omdat er geen titel is, wordt dat zoeken nog moeilijker. Het is me dan ook (nog) niet gelukt de auteur ervan te achterhalen.

Boekenbezit en leescultuur

Van het langste gedicht in het album dat de titel 'Jongelingsklagt' draagt, kon via de titel de oorspronkelijke auteur achterhaald worden. Het werd geschreven door de Nederlandse dominee Anton Maurits Berkhout (1813-1845). Het origineel verscheen in de *Nederlandsche Muzen-Almanak*, vol. 17, 1834: 44-46, en heeft als ondertitel 'Bij de lente' die in de bijdrage aan het album, gedateerd 22 januari 1870, ontbreekt. Verder is het gedicht gekopieerd. Het is een droevige liefdesklacht van een eenzame jongeling. Of de klacht persoonlijk aan de inmiddels toch niet meer zo jonge Regina gericht is, valt niet op te maken – ze was inmiddels immers al vijftig jaar. De naam van de schrijver lijkt opzettelijk weggewerkt – of zouden het toch de tranen van de klagende jongeling geweest zijn die de naam hebben weggewist?

Het zal duidelijk zijn dat we met een romantisch smachtend hart te maken hebben, vol van leed vanwege het ontbreken van een geliefde. Ook hier vinden we niets wat op lokale context zou slaan. Inhoudelijk is de albumbijdrage dus nauwelijks interessant, maar ze roept wel de vraag op hoe iemand op het eiland in 1870 een gedicht overschrijft dat al in 1834 in een Nederlandse almanak verschenen is. Was die almanak bekend of kwam het gedicht via een andere weg naar het eiland? Dat is een intrigerende vraag rond het boekenbezit en de leescultuur in het Aruba van de 19e eeuw, die voorlopig nog niet beantwoord is. Johan Hartog schrijft in *Aruba: zoals het was, zoals het werd* (1980: 174-321) uitgebreid over Aruba in de 19e eeuw, maar oordeelt over het culturele leven negatief: "Cultureel gesproken is er (…) weinig wat historisch van belang is" (Hartog 1980: 303). Was hij misschien toch te negatief? In *De Curaçaosche Courant* vinden we geregeld meldingen dat er brieven 'ter koloniale secretary' klaar liggen om opgehaald te worden, ook aan Louis Bazin. We kunnen er in elk geval van uitgaan dat *De Curaçaosche Courant* ook op Aruba in beperkte kring gelezen werd.

Kopie of origineel?

Het overgrote deel van de bijdragen lijkt overgeschreven van bestaande voorbeelden, zoals “Ligt zullen deez beschreven blâren, / Na ommezwaai van veele jaren / Zoo duurzaamheid hun lotsdeel zij, / U nog herinneren aan mij,” enz. van Uwe welm. Nicht ConstanciaThielen op 16 oktober 1847.

Maar dan komen we toch ook de in het Frans geschreven bijdrage van Louis Bazin tegen die daarop een uitzondering zou kunnen zijn. Want zijn albumbijdrage luidt ‘Le Diz Novembre’, de tiende november, de verjaardag van zijn vrouw Regina Jacomina Croes. Hij schrijft dus een verjaardagsgedicht voor zijn vrouw in haar album. Het korte gedicht verraadt originaliteit in zijn persoonlijke uitdrukking van zijn genegenheid voor zijn echtgenote, die evenwel verwoord wordt in een literaire vorm die eerder tot de rijmkunst dan tot de dichtkunst gerekend kan worden.

Le Diz Novembre, c’est ta fête
Ce jour qui nous revient tous les ans,
D’un an peze en vain sur ma tête
Sans changer rien à mes sentiments
En vain de printemps passé et revient
La feuille reverdit et tombe
L’oiseau qui chante chaque matin
La fraicheur des bois et l’ombre,
N’est pas heureux, de sa Liberté
Plus que moi assis à ton côté.

Interessant is zijn datering op de negende maand, waar wij november nu als de elfde maand zien. Met een aantal aan de jaargetijden en rond flora en fauna ontleende natuurbeelden belijdt Louis Bazin dat de natuur in haar vrijheid niet gelukkiger is dan hij aan de zijde van zijn vrouw: blad en vogel, de frisse schaduw in de bossen “is niet gelukkiger, in haar vrijheid, dan ik gezeten aan jouw zijde.”

Dat Louis Bazin in 1847 in het Frans schreef is niet verwonderlijk omdat hij immers uit Frankrijk afkomstig was. Zo droeg de tweede echtgenoot van Regina Jacomina Croes, de Italiaan P.G. Frigerio op 17 augustus 1861 een gedichtje in het Italiaans bij. Frans was overigens in het algemeen niet zeer zeldzaam. Ook ‘uwe welmenende nicht’ Magdalena S. Croes schreef op 25 mei 1852 een Franstalig gedichtje in het album:

L’album où vous [inserire]
Quelques accords de ma lyre
Pourra toujours te dire
Les accents de l’amitié.

Er bevonden zich meer Franse families op het eiland. Beaujon en Ponson waren bijvoorbeeld Frans(talig)e immigranten (Alofs & Merkies, 2001: 17). Werd er bovendien op Curaçao al niet in de jaren twintig en dertig van de 19e eeuw toneel in het Frans opgevoerd door een gezelschap dat het motto "On fait ce qu'on peut, mais non ce qu'on veut' voerde? (Rutgers, 1988) In 1870 werd rond de affaire W.K.C. Sassen *Une révolution à Curaçao* gepubliceerd, in 1872-1873 zou het Franstalige blad *L'Echo de Curaçao* verschijnen. Frans was één van de talen, naast allerlei andere Europese.

Een bijzondere albumbijdrage is die van Constancia Thielen op 16 oktober 1847, omdat daarin, helemaal volgens de literaire traditie van de in die tijd modieuze dichtgenootschappen, klassieke verwijzingen worden genoemd als Phebus (Phoebus is de bijnaam van de Griekse zonnegod), Apollo en Morpheus (de Griekse god van dromen en slaap) in een aan die tijd gangbare vorm van beeldspraak. Het is het enige gedicht in dit album dat zich zo aan classicistische versieringskunst te buiten gaat. Ze verraadt wel belezenheid, al zou een gewoon mens zeggen dat hij bij zonsopkomst van zijn bed opstond.

Nauwelijks zag ik de eerste stralen
Van Phebus goude zon op Floras tuinen dalen
Of ik verliet 't altaar aan Morphe toegewijd,

De rest van de bijdrage is dan vervolgens weer in de traditionele stijl van een poesiealbum, met name aan het slot:

Ik had u een bloempje beloofd, ik verzuimde dus geen [tijd]
Maar vloog naar bloemenriik, waar ik Lelïe, Tulp en Rozen
Narcis en Hyacinth van afgunst heb doen blozen
Want mijn keus was bepaald en uit Vriendschap geschied
Ontvang dit bloempje dus, het heet, Vergeet mij niet

Het gedichtje draagt alle kenmerken van gekopieerd te zijn naar een bestaand voorbeeld. Daarom is het jammer dat geen van de bijdragen blijk geeft van een dichtersader, zoals er in *De Curaçaosche Courant* van die dagen toch vele vloeiden. De gedichten leunen dicht aan bij de 19e-eeuwse Nederlandse domineespoëzie van huiselijkheid en klein geluk in een stijl vol vergelijkingen en beeldspraak betreffende de levensloop. Een mooi voorbeeld daarvan is het Spaanstalige gedicht, op 21 april 1889 (over)geschreven door Maria [Isoli] Raven, met zijn mooie rijmschema en de volgehouden vergelijking tussen leven en poëziealbum:
Nuestra vida es un album
Donde el destino

Va pintando las paginas
A su capricho;
Que el cielo hermosa
Pinte las de tu vida
Color de rosa.

Het is duidelijk dat sommigen er eens echt voor zijn gaan zitten om iets moois neer te pennen, anderen maken zich er een beetje met de minste moeite van af, zoals de obligate bijdrage van 'Uw welm. Neef' Jacob Thielen op 18 october 1847:

Als gij eens uw Album ziet
En uwe vrienden wilt gedenken
Vergeet dan uwen neef ook niet
Die u dit blaadje wilde schenken.

In de 19e-eeuwse poëziealbums wordt nog wel eens onderscheid gemaakt tussen coryfeeën-albums en eenvoudiger familiealbums. Uit de eerste vorm moet de status van de bezitter blijken, uit een soort snobistisch netwerk van 'zie eens hoeveel belangrijke mensen tot mijn kennissen of zelfs vriendenkring behoren' óf – de tweede mogelijkheid – als een album van familie, vrienden en bekenden. Het album van Regina Jacomina Croes behoort in al zijn eenvoud tot de tweede categorie. Van de familie schreven de twee echtgenoten Louis Bazin en Pietro Guiseppe Frigerio, de twee broers Anthony en Borchard S., zuster Susanna Maria Schultz, dochter Guiseppina M. Frigerio, nichten Constancia Thielen en Magdalena S. Croes, neven Frederik Bennebroek Gravenhorst en Jacob Thielen, schoonzoon Gerard Evert Zeppenfeldt. Voorts zijn er bijdragen van vriendin Anna E. van der Biest, van Maria [ ]lina Raven en tenslotte van twee onbekenden.

Het grote belang van dit gelukkigerwijs weergevonden album bestaat uit de zeldzaamheid ervan. Het was bekend dat er poëziealbums op Curaçao waren aan het einde van de 19e eeuw, nu bewijst dit exemplaar uit Aruba dat het verschijnsel dus ook daar bestond, en wel op een ongebruikelijk vroeg tijdstip. Het album biedt ons naast de versjes en gedichten inzicht in het sociale leven van een vooraanstaande Arubaanse familie, maar ook in ruimer verband op de multi-linguale taalsituatie op het eiland, de leescultuur en de schrijfkunst van die dagen, en op de Nederlands-Europese culturele oriëntatie van de protestantse eilandelijke elite rond het midden van de 19e eeuw.

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Wikipedia: https://nl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Poesiealbum; https://nl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Liber_amicorum

Verantwoording van bronnen:

Sommige gedichten in de bundel zijn waarschijnlijk origineel, maar de meeste zijn overgenomen uit diverse bronnen. Het blijkt heel moeilijk, zo niet onmogelijk, deze bronnen te achterhalen. De gedichten dragen bijna nooit een titel, vaak zijn er slechts fragmenten opgenomen en ook zijn er wijzigingen aangebracht. Als er wel een bron gevonden wordt, is het nog niet zeker dat de schrijver die specifieke bron gebruikt heeft of dat het gedicht in een andere uitgave gevonden werd. Hierna volgt een lijstje van mogelijke bronnen waaruit de bijdragen geput werden. Ze geven echter wel een beeld van de aard van de leesstof waarover men beschikte rond het midden van de 19e eeuw. De bijdragen waren geworteld in de leescultuur die in die dagen in moederland Nederland gangbaar was; het merendeel van de bijdragen stond in een Nederlandse literaire traditie.

In 't ruisschent lommer dezer bomen

Elisabeth Maria Post: *Reinhart, of natuur en godsdienst*. Amsterdam: Johannes Allart, 1791-1792, deel 3, vijfde boek, hoofdstuk 12, pagina 59.

Ligt zullen deez beschreven blâren

E.L. van der Vliet: Afscheid in Clara's Album. *Miniatuuralmanak.* L.E. Bosch en Zoon, 1844, Vol. 8, p. 22-26

Le Dix Novembre

Waarschijnlijk origineel; geen bron gevonden

Nauwelijks zag ik de eerste stralen

Geen bron gevonden

Niets bestendigs teelt deze aarde

J.A. van B., *Gedichtjes voor de beschaafde jeugd bevattende verjarings-, nieuwjaars, bruilofts- en albumversjes*. G.B. van Goor, Gouda, 1841 pagina 69

Als ge in een leedig uur een vriendenrol doorbladert

Origineel in een bestaand, maar onbekend poëziealbum

L'album où vous inscrive

Geen bron gevonden

Wat rang, wat stand, hoe die ook zij

Christelijke gezangen voor de Evang. Luthersche gemeenten in het Koningrijk der Nederlanden benevens een vervolg bijgevoegd in 1850. Eerste druk 1826. Amsterdam / Haarlem / Groningen: J. Brandt en Zoonen; C.L. Schleijer en Zoon / Johannes Enschedé en Zonen / Erven R.J. Schierbeek en Erven Wed. M. Van Heijningen Bosch 1866. Het geciteerde lied staat onder: Troostzangen - Troost bij de onvolmaaktheden van dit leven, Gezang 303, pagina 379 (editie 1866), Couplet 2 en 3 van in totaal 14 coupletten

[Aansta] (Naaste) Vriendin, dat deze regelen door u

Geen bron gevonden

Als gij eens uw Album ziet

Dit gedichtje kent verschillende varianten in diverse poëziealbums, maar geen identiek luidende bron gevonden.

Den teersten band die zielen hecht

Johannes Immerzeel, jr.: *Gedichten van Johannes Immerzeel, Junior*. J. Immerzeel 1823, Volume 2.

Bella' Italia amate sponde

Deze tekst blijkt een lied te zijn uit een opera van de auteur Vicenzo Monti. http://www.doppiozero.com/dossier/disunita-italiana/vincenzo-monti-dopo-la-battaglia-di-marengo

Jongelingsklagt

Ds. Anton Maurits Berkhout: Jongelingsklagt, Bij de lente. *Nederlandsche Muzen-almanak* , Vol. 17, 1834: 44-46. Niet compleet overgeschreven [zie Rosa Arends]

Faint lines on brittle glass and clear

"Leaving your mark" Don Rittner, Auteur en historicus. Posted July 2, 1809. James Montgomery (1771 – 1854) was een romantisch dichter. Wikipedia noemt hem als voorvechter van abolitie en emancipatie van de slaven en verdediger van kinderen die werden geëxploiteerd als schoorsteenveger. Zijn publicaties bevatten vier edities poëzie van achtereenvolgens 1828, 1836, 1841 en1854.

Gelijk een helder zonnestraal

Geen bron gevonden

Nuestra Vida es un album

Geen bron gevonden

Nacio una rosa entre las flores

Geen bron gevonden

[Gegevens van Rosa Arends, M.Ed. Researcher, Archivo Nacional Aruba en Drs. J.P. (Peter) Scholing; Beleidsadviseur/Informatiekundige, Biblioteca Nacional]

SOLEDAD ACOSTA DE SAMPER (1833-1913) Y HOLANDA: LA IMAGEN DE HOLANDA Y LOS HOLANDESES EN *UNA HOLANDESA EN AMÉRICA* (1888)

WILLEM BANT
COLEGIO ARUBANO, ARUBA

Los holandeses son atrasados y nunca han tenido ideas propias; lo único que pueden hacer es copiar. He aquí la opinión que dio Conrad Busken Huet, uno de los ensayistas holandeses más influyentes del siglo XIX, en 1860 sobre su propio país y sus habitantes. Unos años más tarde, al otro lado del mundo, Soledad Acosta de Samper optó por una protagonista de Holanda para *Una holandesa en América*, una de las novelas más importantes del siglo XIX colombiano. En el libro, la joven Lucía no es presentada como una copiadora, sino como un modelo a seguir. Curioso, ¿o no? ¿Qué vio Acosta en los holandeses, qué imagen presenta de ellos y por qué escogió a una protagonista holandesa y no a una de Francia o de España?

Una holandesa en América, según la portada una novela psicológica y de costumbres, se publicó inicialmente por entregas en 1876 en el diario bogotano *La Ley.* En 1888, la editorial curazoleña Bethencourt e Hijos se hizo cargo de la primera edición como libro. Tanto en cuanto a la estructura como en lo que se refiere al contenido es un libro interesante. En las cinco partes y el breve epílogo, Acosta entrelaza varios géneros narrativos (relatos de viaje, ficción, cartas, diarios, etc.) y perspectivas narrativas; trasciende así los límites discursivos impuestos por un género particular, sin que se pierda la unidad de la obra. También la historia, que se desarrolla a mediados del siglo XIX, es llamativa. En la primera parte del libro estamos en Holanda, en la zona que hoy en día se conoce como Waterland, directamente al norte de Ámsterdam. Es una región con dunas, diques, pequeños canales e innumerables islotes, donde vive gente que tiene "[...] en las venas agua estancada en lugar de sangre" (Acosta, 2016: 13).

En esta región, Lucía, la protagonista holandesa, pasa en casa de su tía y su prima los primeros veinte años de su vida. Sus padres viven en Colombia, el país al que se mudaron cuando 'nuestra holandesa', denominación que Acosta utiliza en toda la obra, todavía era muy joven. En cierto momento, Lucía recibe la noticia del fallecimiento de su madre; su padre le pide que viaje a Colombia para cuidar a sus hermanos. En la segunda

y tercera parte de la novela se describe el viaje de Lucía de Europa a Colombia y podemos leer cómo Lucía se adapta a la vida colombiana, tanto en Los Cocos, la hacienda de su padre, como en Bogotá, donde pasa algún tiempo en casa de Mercedes Almeida, una amiga que conoció durante la travesía en barco de Europa a América. Gracias a Mercedes, Lucía se entera de la actualidad colombiana, descrita, por ejemplo, en la cuarta parte de la novela, y los problemas de un país que se independizó recientemente. Por sus duras experiencias colombianas, Lucía se conoce a sí misma, un proceso que culmina en la quinta parte del libro. Para un resumen completo y más detallado de la novela, véase Alzate (2015a: 128-130).

Holanda y los holandeses en *Una holandesa en América*

El "[...] monótono paisaje [...]" (Acosta, 2016: 31) del país donde nace y se cría Lucía se describe sobre todo en la primera parte de la novela, titulada 'Lucía en Holanda'. Asimismo, en las primeras páginas del libro, la autora amplía sobre el carácter del holandés medio. La imagen que se presenta no es ni negativa ni positiva. Un ejemplo:

> [...] este es el país de la paciencia: hombres, mujeres y niños pasan su existencia sosegada y tranquilamente, y llegan a la senectud sin haberse molestado jamás ni haber tenido nunca el menor afán. Los animales participan de aquella índole pacífica [...]. Los niños juegan sin alterarse ni hacer ruido; las mujeres meditan apaciblemente en lugar de charlar unas con otras, y los hombres fuman sus largas pipas sin disputar ni reñir. No altercan ni porfían, porque creen que no puede haber en el mundo motivo suficientemente grave que les obligue a acalorarse y dejar de arrojar humo por la boca. (Acosta, 2016: 13).

Significativa es la inscripción que corona la puerta principal de la casa de la familia de Lucía: Vreugde en Vrede, es decir, Alegría y Paz. Según el narrador omnisciente, se trata de una inscripción que caracteriza "[...] las costumbres y cándidas ideas de sus habitantes" (Acosta, 2016: 15).

Al introducir a Carlos van Verpoon, el vecino de la familia de Lucía, el narrador subraya indirectamente la tranquilidad de los holandeses: "[...] cierta energía y fuego en la mirada, unida a su actividad, no dejaban duda de la mezcla que debería de haber en su sangre con alguna raza meridional" (Acosta, 2016: 14). Del sirviente de Carlos se dice que "[...] todo lo hizo con una animación y agilidad que probaban que aquel hombre no era natural del país" (Acosta, 2016: 17). Cuando se describe la reacción de Brígida (la criada de la familia de Lucía) ante una mala noticia que trae Carlos, la autora maneja un tono irónico para burlarse de la tranquilidad de los holandeses:

> -¡Una mala noticia! -repitió la mofletuda holandesa sin afanarse sin embargo, ni moverse del sitio.
>
> -Sí, y repito, pueden necesitarla adentro.
>
> -¿Y cuál será la noticia? -preguntó otra vez la criada con la misma cachaza.
>
> [...]

> La criada echó a correr hacia la casa, o al menos si no corría en realidad, ella pensó que volaba; [...]. (Acosta, 2016: 17).

Muy importante en Holanda, esa "[...] tierra tan prosaica" (Acosta, 2016: 22), es 'el justo medio', tal como Rieken le explica a su prima Lucía:

> -Para algunas personas será quizás difícil hallarlo – repuso Rieken con seriedad –, pero he oído decir a mi madre que toda persona que se deja llevar de sentimientos exagerados tiene gran riesgo de encontrar en su camino a la desgracia. Yo por eso trato de buscar siempre ese justo medio de que te hablaba, y sin el cual tengo seguridad de que seré infeliz. (Acosta, 2016: 32)

A veces Lucía tiene problemas con este 'justo medio'; esto se debe supuestamente a la sangre irlandesa de su padre: "Jorge Harris era un hombre audaz, exagerado, rumboso, embustero, como casi todos sus compatriotas [...]" (Acosta, 2016: 22). Cuando su padre le pide que venga a Colombia, Lucía tiene sus dudas; sin embargo, después de algún tiempo, le atrae la idea de dejar "[...] su propia existencia en un medio tan prosaico, mezquino y vulgar" (Acosta, 2016: 24); "[...] cada día encontraba su existencia en Noord-Holland más monótona e insípida [...]" (Acosta, 2016: 27). En la segunda parte de la novela, Lucía llega a Colombia. Desde su nueva patria, sigue manteniendo un contacto bastante estrecho con los familiares en su país natal; se adapta a la vida colombiana, pero nunca se olvida de sus raíces holandesas.

Como holandesa, Lucía tiene bastantes problemas para adaptarse a la vida colombiana. Sin embargo, al final del libro puede concluir que ya no quiere volver a Holanda: "[...] sería para mí gran sacrificio abandonar esta casa y este país que ya quiero tanto. Aunque llevara conmigo a mi padre y a mis hermanitas, comprendo que ya no me acomodaría en Holanda... [...]. Allí nadie me necesita [...]" (Acosta, 2016: 169-170). En la misma reflexión, Lucía dice a sí misma: "Luché, sí, luché, ¡pero vencí!" (Acosta, 2016: 170).

En cuanto a esta conclusión de 'nuestra holandesa' es interesante comparar la descripción del jardín muy típico holandés de la casa donde Lucía se crio (parte 1) con la descripción del jardín de Los Cocos, la hacienda de su padre, al final del libro (parte 5). El lector puede concluir que gracias al trabajo de Lucía, el entorno colombiano ha sido europeizado. Sobre el jardín de la casa holandesa de la tía Rieken, Acosta escribe lo siguiente:

> Al frente ostentaba un jardincillo simétrico, con alamedas de árboles cortados iguales todos y de blanqueados troncos para que se pudiesen lavar todos los días; de trecho en trecho se alzaban sobre zócalos de ladrillos vidriados jarrones de loza plantas floridas; el suelo estaba perfectamente barrido [...]. (Acosta, 2016: 15).

En la última parte del libro se da la siguiente descripción de Los Cocos:

> Al frente de la casa se ostentaba un ancho y barrido patio, con sus enramadas para los caballos a uno y otro lado; en contorno veíanse huertas y hortalizas sembradas a la manera europea y más lejos el corral de las gallinas, y estanques para gansos y patos formados con el agua de un riachuelo que pasaba en la vecindad, todo lo cual presentaba un perfecto modelo de aseo. [...] las paredes blanqueadas y cubiertas con gran número de láminas simétricamente colocadas, hacían frente a las pintadas barandas por cuyas columnas trepaban diferentes especies de enredaderas floridas que perfumaban el ambiente y alegraban la vista. (Acosta, 2016: 167).

Lucía ha podido cambiar la situación en Los Cocos y gracias a su empeño la hacienda de los Harris tiene ciertos toques holandeses; son llamativas, por ejemplo, las palabras 'un perfecto modelo de aseo' y 'simétricamente'.

Los holandeses son pacientes y tranquilos, pero no son vagos; al contrario, son muy laboriosos: "No obstante lo matinal de la hora, todo ser viviente estaba en movimiento según las costumbres del país, es decir, una actividad sin ruido ni animación." (Acosta, 2016: 14). El resultado de estas actividades realizadas sin ruido ni animación es un ambiente limpio y organizado: "[...] en ninguna parte se veía una hoja seca ni la más leve basura ni mancha, y hasta la grama tenía un color uniformemente verde esmeralda." (Acosta, 2016: 15). Visto todo esto, es lógico que "[...] el amor a los trabajos domésticos [fuera una] cualidad indispensable en una familia holandesa de aquel tiempo" (Acosta, 2016: 21). La imagen que se da de Lucía concuerda con estas descripciones generales; en el epílogo, en forma de resumen, se dice que ella es "[...] siempre activa, ocupada, diligente, aseada hasta la exageración, bondadosa hasta el extrema; hacía, sin embargo, guerra crudísima a todo lo que no fuera bueno [...]." (Acosta, 2016: 177).

Además, tal como la propia Lucía observa: "¡Descansar! Se descansa de un trabajo con otro, y no hay peor desgracia que no tener nada que hacer... [...]" (Acosta, 2016: 180). Visto su origen holandés, no es sorprendente que las primeras reacciones de Lucía sobre Colombia y sus habitantes sean bastante negativas:

> El triste aspecto de las playas ardientísimas y nada civilizadas del primer poblado a que llegó nuestra holandesa; la vista de los negros ordinarios y hoscos que miraba por las calles; los niños desnudos; las mujeres desaliñadas y poco vestidas; las calles y plazas abandonadas y solas; todo causó honda repugnancia a la pulcra y esmerada Lucía. (Acosta, 2016: 53).

En la goleta en la que viaja de Santa Marta a Sabanilla, Lucía debe sobreponerse a "[...] la sensación de asco que por la fetidez y el desaseo había despertado en ella la estrecha camilla." (Acosta, 2016: 54). Le impresiona la exuberante belleza de la naturaleza colombiana y la hospitalidad de la gente; sin embargo,

> [...] la mísera y tristísima población de Soledad con sus desvencijadas casas pajiza y calles cubiertas de arenales que quemaban como fuego con el calor del sol, con sus habitantes pobrísimos y escasamente vestidos y el aire de ruina que había por todas partes: todo aquello causó una impresión muy desagradable [...]. (Acosta, 2016: 55).

Lucía sufre el mismo desencanto al encontrarse con sus hermanos Burns y Moore. También la primera impresión de la hacienda de su padre es muy negativa. Por el contenido de sus cartas y la lectura de novelas de aventura, Lucía se ha creado una idea completamente errónea de Colombia y sus habitantes; la realidad que encuentra en Los Cocos no concuerda en absoluto con el paraíso soñado por 'nuestra holandesa': "-¡Ah! -pensaba Lucía con angustia-. ¡Cuán distinta es la ilusión de la realidad! ¡Nada he encontrado en América como lo esperaba!" (Acosta, 2016: 68). En una carta a Mercedes, Lucía escribe lo siguiente:

> [...] ¿qué te diré de la casa misma, del desaseo, desorden e incuria que reinaban allí? Había ciertas imitaciones de comodidades europeas que me llenaron de tristeza, y eran una burla de una civilización que no se conocía en realidad. [...] Ya puedes figurarte en qué situación se hallaría todo aquello: ¡sucio, mohoso, deteriorado, cubierto de polvo, de telarañas y de mugre! (Acosta, 2016: 73-74).

Para Lucía, la palabra clave es 'civilización': "Felizmente mi padre se acordó que yo venía de un país civilizado [...]" (Acosta, 2016: 75). Vista la situación, la tarea que le espera a Lucía es clara: "Entretanto no había que perder un momento, era preciso trabajar sin descanso para ordenar y tratar de civilizar en lo posible aquella casa [y] enseñar a aquellos salvajes a vivir como gente culta" (Acosta, 2016: 76). Lucía considera su trabajo civilizador como un deber, que le toca por ser mujer, hija y hermana mayor. Confrontada con el caos en Los Cocos, comparte la siguiente observación: "¡En adelante dejaré de ser niña y procuraré que el sentimiento del *deber* reemplace toda aspiración de mi corazón!" (Acosta, 2016: 68). En la última parte de la novela, podemos concluir que Lucía ha tenido algún éxito en su proceso civilizador:

> [...] nuestra humilde heroína vivía tranquilamente en Los Cocos, bien que su vida era una continuada lucha, pues le costaba más trabajo civilizar a su familia que lo que habían bregado sus antepasados maternos en la conquista de Batavia. Alentábala, empero, la convicción de que su obra, aunque lenta, adelantaba progresivamente, y veía que el termómetro moral de la hacienda subía y mejoraba notablemente bajo sus cuidados, con lo cual sentía un noble orgullo y una profundísima satisfacción. (Acosta, 2016: 157).

Con Lucía, el lector puede concluir que ha sido un proceso largo y duro, pero valió la pena: "Lo único positivo en este mundo es el íntimo sentimiento y la sincera convicción de haber cumplido estrictamente con nuestro deber. Esa es suficiente recompensa para

una alma cristiana...'" (Acosta, 2016: 180). Con la palabra 'deber', Lucía refiere a su papel como mujer en la sociedad, mejor dicho: su papel dentro de la familia.

El deber de la mujer es un aspecto importante en todo el libro. Cuando el padre de Lucía le pide que venga a Colombia, la tía Rieken reacciona de la manera siguiente:

> Aunque hondamente afligida, la señora Zest pensó que el deber de Lucía le señalaba claramente que era preciso que fuera a acompañar a su padre, que parecía necesitarla urgentemente; acallando su pena, hizo presente a su amada sobrina que solo cumpliendo con sus deberes puede una mujer ser feliz en la vida terrenal y después en la eterna, [...]. (Acosta, 2016: 28).

Para Lucía, no es necesario que su tía le informe sobre sus deberes. En su diario, escribe lo siguiente sobre la partida a América: "Si no fuera por el entrañable cariño que mi padre ha sabido inspirarme, y el sentimiento del deber que me anima, no tendría valor para partir" (Acosta, 2016: 40).

Una vez en Colombia, Lucía se expresa de una manera similar en una conversación con la señora Cox, una amiga de su madre fallecida: "Naturalmente... mi padre me necesita a su lado para que invigile a mis hermanitos [...]" (Acosta, 2016: 60). Al mismo tiempo, 'nuestra holandesa' se da cuenta de que la tarea que le espera será nada fácil: "¿Qué haré en medio de mi familia, tan distinta de lo que me había imaginado?... Estaré tan fuera de mi elemento.... ¡Dios mío! ¡Dios mío!" (Acosta, 2016: 67). Vista la situación problemática en Los Cocos, no es sorprendente que en cierto momento Lucía se enferme; su padre le manda a Bogotá para su recuperación. En la capital pasa algún tiempo en un convento, donde se siente muy a gusto; le atrae la idea de quedarse, sin embargo, "[...] tengo grandes deberes que llenar fuera de estos claustros, que serán mucho más provechosos que mi sempiterno encierro" (Acosta, 2016: 124). Lucía vuelve a Los Cocos para seguir con su trabajo civilizador, es decir, su deber: "Entregose, pues, con alma, vida y corazón a los deberes que se había impuesto, acallando para siempre en su alma todo idealismo y renunciando para siempre a toda esperanza de amar y ser amada" (Acosta, 2016: 157).

En lo que se refiere a la posición de la mujer en la sociedad es importante tomar en cuenta la siguiente observación de Rodríguez-Arenas (2016); según esta autora, Acosta "[...] rechazó las demandas y las actividades efectuadas en los diversos países para que la mujer adquiera derechos y pudiera actuar por voluntad propia en la esfera pública" (pp. 71-72). En varias publicaciones, Acosta se muestra en contra de "[...] los esfuerzos que efectuaba el movimiento feminista que en diversos países de Europa y en Estados Unidos luchaba por los derechos de las mujeres" (p. 73). *Una holandesa en América* refleja estas ideas de Acosta. Lucía es presentada como una mujer fuerte; sin embargo, no hay ninguna duda sobre su posición en la sociedad y en ningún momento se discute

el carácter de sus deberes. A través de Lucía, Acosta muestra que la tarea principal de la mujer es cuidar a su familia y manejar el hogar. Afortunadamente, Lucía, como holandesa, tiene "[...] el amor a los trabajos domésticos [...]", esa "[...] cualidad indispensable en una familia holandesa de aquel tiempo" (Acosta, 2016: 21). Para Acosta, la posición y el deber de la mujer se encontraban en primer lugar dentro de la familia – y así era la situación en Holanda en esa época.

Como holandesa, Lucía es protestante, "[...] la religión que me había enseñado mi tía para mi gasto particular" (Acosta, 2016: 78). El protestantismo era una religión que Acosta conocía bien gracias a su madre canadiense, quien "[...] transmitió a su hija valores como el individualismo, el análisis racional de las cosas, el abstenerse de manifestar públicamente los sentimientos, la continencia y una cierta moral victoriana" (Plata, 2016: 392-393). Se ven estas características en 'nuestra holandesa'; todas son muy importantes en lo que se refiere a su trabajo civilizador en Los Cocos. Sin embargo, no hay ninguna duda que para Acosta existía solamente una verdadera religión: el catolicismo. El tema de la religión surge por primera vez en una carta que escribe Lucía desde la hacienda de su padre a su amiga Mercedes, que reside en Bogotá:

> Me hablas de la necesidad que tiene todo ser humano de una religión que le proporcione consuelos y fuerzas en sus penas y tribulaciones, y me dices que solo la cristiana, y sobre todo la católica, podrá ser un amparo y un alivio en estos casos, porque no solamente nos da fuerzas, sino que nos inspira una resignación que no encontraremos jamás en otra parte. (Acosta, 2016: 78).

Lucía lamenta que para los habitantes de Los Cocos la religión tenga poca importancia: "Una de las cosas que más me ha desconsolado en mi familia ha sido la anarquía que reina aquí respecto a creencias" (Acosta, 2016: 78). Su padre es protestante, pero no practica ningún rito; su hermana Clarisa y dos de los hermanos menores se han convertido al catolicismo, sin que cumplan con ningún precepto religioso. Por una carta de Mercedes, Lucía se ha puesto a reflexionar sobre sus creencias: "[...] sería muy dichosa si alguna vez llegara a comprender la vida como la comprendes tú; has deparado una nueva vía a mi pensamiento, y te suplico me proporciones algunos libros de controversia religiosa que me expliquen claramente tu religión" (Acosta, 2016: 78). Sin embargo, para Lucía no será fácil convertirse:

> [...] yo me he criado en las ideas del libre examen y no me harán creer patrañas, ni podré admitir ciertas teorías que rechazan la razón y el buen criterio; empero, lo que me enseñaron desde la cuna, tampoco me satisface: quiero buscar esa *verdad* al conocimiento de la cual todos aspiramos. [...]. Es posible, y hasta probable, que después de estudiar a fondo el protestantismo y el catolicismo, acabe por rechazar uno y otro, y no me quede con ningún rito ni práctica alguna [...]. (Acosta, 2016, 78-79).

La cuarta parte de la novela se desarrolla en gran parte en Bogotá, donde Lucía se recupera de problemas físicos y mentales en casa de la familia Almeida. En Semana Santa,

> Lucía asistió con sus amigas, y por primera vez, a los imponentes actos religiosos del culto católico; estos le hicieron hondísima impresión y contribuyeron en mucho a calmar su espíritu; despertose en ella entonces grandísimo amor a Jesucristo, nuestro Redentor, que murió por salvarnos, y al pensar en el Hombre Dios, comenzó a sentir que solamente en la religión se encuentra alivio y consuelo, y que las cosas del mundo son todas engaños, ilusiones sin más fundamento que nuestra propia imaginación. (Acosta, 2016: 112).

Durante una breve guerra civil, la señora Almeida manda a su hija Mercedes y a Lucía a un convento. Lucía se siente muy a gusto entre las monjas; en una carta a su tía Rieken en Holanda escribe:

> Mucho he celebrado [...] esta ocurrencia. Aquí se respira una paz tan completa, hay tanta serenidad y dulce regocijo en la fisonomía de las religiones, que creo que no pueden menos de estar contentas lejos del engañoso mundo que la mayor parte de ellas no conoce. [...] Hay momentos en que me provoca quedarme aquí para siempre, y siento que quizás esta sería mi vocación [...]. (Acosta, 2016: 123-124).

Visto todo esto no es nada sorprendente que Lucía se convierta al catolicismo, "[...] la única religión que produce aquella dulce resignación que tanto facilita la virtud [...]" (Acosta, 2016: 158). En la última parte del libro, podemos leer lo siguiente:

> En medio de tantas contrariedades, sin tener más solaz que las cartas que recibía de Mercedes y las que le escribían de Holanda, Lucía guardaba en el fondo de su alma una medicina que curaba todas sus dolencias morales y suavizaba las asperezas de la vida: la fe religiosa. Convertida a Dios desde que no encontró en la tierra consuelo alguno, gozaba en su nueva creencia desde el fondo de su alma, y aunque tardó mucho en publicar a los ojos de todos que para ella el catolicismo es la única religión que produce aquella dulce resignación que tanto facilita la virtud, ella enseñaba a sus hermanitas el catecismo católico y les explicaba los misterios de la religión, obligándolas a cumplir con sus deberes, así como a los sirvientes y arrendatarios de la hacienda. (Acosta, 2016: 158).

Para Lucía, las ideas del libre examen, la razón y el buen criterio son unas características típicas del protestantismo, la religión oficial de Holanda en el siglo XIX. 'Nuestra holandesa' es capaz de combinar estas características con sus nuevas creencias católicas.

Como en muchos otros de sus textos, Acosta enfatiza en *Una holandesa en América* la importancia de una buena educación. Una educación inadecuada puede tener consecuencias negativas. Esto se ve, por ejemplo, en Johanna, la madre de Lucía. Después de pasar algún tiempo en un colegio de Ámsterdam, Johanna regresa a la casa paterna,

> [...] muy docta en labores de mano y toda clase de bordados de ornamentación, amante del baile y de la lengua francesa, y habiendo adquirido la costumbre de ocuparse en futilezas que la hicieron perder el amor a los trabajos domésticos, cualidad indispensable en una familia holandesa de aquel tiempo. (Acosta, 2016: 21).

En Johanna, esta inadecuada educación ha producido cierto 'romanticismo', que ha causado "[...] toda suerte de ensueños inverosímiles [...]" (Acosta, 2016: 22). También Clarisa, la hermana mayor de Lucía, es víctima de una falta de educación; en sus propias palabras: "[...] nadie me enseñó jamás a hacer nada [...]" (Acosta, 2016: 176). Lucía, por su parte, recibe junto con su prima Rieken una educación adecuada en casa de su tía; ésta "[...] había llevado de Ámsterdam una institutora que educó a ambas niñas, enseñándoles lo necesario sin sacarlas de sus costumbres caseras [...]" (Acosta, 2016: 24).

Esta educación "[...] le permite refrenar la 'sangre irlandesa' que corre por sus venas y que agrava el entusiasmo y el carácter soñador heredados de la madre [...]" (Alzate, 2015: 128). Una vez en Colombia, la señora Cox, una amiga de la madre de Lucía, duda si la educación holandesa que ha recibido Lucía le sea útil en su nueva patria:

> [...] Mi educación en Holanda ha sido muy casera.
>
> -Pero usted no tiene idea de lo que es vivir en una hacienda sudamericana lejos de toda población. ¡La pobre de la madre de usted solía encontrarse a veces en completo desamparo en ese campo retirado!
>
> -Yo siempre he vivido en el campo – contestó Lucía.
>
> -Los campos europeos son muy diferentes de los del Nuevo Mundo.
>
> -Señora, yo no puedo evitarlo. Mi deber me llama allí donde pueda hacer algún bien a mi familia.
>
> -¡Pobre niña! – exclamó la señora hondamente – ¿A qué vino usted a pasar trabajos si le dieron buena educación europea? (Acosta, 2016: 60).

Una vez en Los Cocos, la educación sigue siendo un aspecto clave para 'nuestra holandesa'. Escribe a Mercedes: "[...] mi padre, siguiendo adelante su idea de que sus hijos debían vivir democráticamente, no quiso darles ninguna educación; les exige que trabajen en los campos con los jornaleros, y se limita a pagarles un salario como a los demás peones" (Acosta, 2016: 74). Esto es inaceptable para Lucía: por las noches, enseña a sus hermanos a leer y escribir. Es un trabajo duro y de mucha duración. Cuando ella se enferma y el médico le aconseja que se vaya a Bogotá para recuperarse, surge un problema: "Acabó al fin por decir que no podía dejar solas a sus hermanitas en la hacienda, pues a fuerza de trabajos empezaban a civilizarse, y si quedaban nuevamente abandonadas a su albedrío, era perder la labor de muchas meses de lucha" (Acosta, 2016: 97).

En resumen, 'nuestra holandesa' Lucía es práctica, realista y trabajadora; siempre tiene en cuenta 'el justo medio', el buen criterio y la razón; sabe que los ensueños inverosímiles no llevan a ninguna parte; gracias a una educación adecuada se ha podido formar como una mujer que conoce su posición en la sociedad; sus deberes se encuentran dentro de la familia, donde fomenta la formación, la civilización y la religiosidad de sus parientes. En toda la novela, se resaltan estas cualidades; aparentemente, Acosta las consideraba importantes para el contexto colombiano de la época.

El contexto colombiano

Cuando se publicó la novela por entregas (1876), Colombia era un país joven; la República de la Gran Colombia se había independizado apenas medio siglo antes. Para solucionar los problemas sociales, políticos y económicos de sus recién formadas repúblicas, las élites liberales latinoamericanas se orientaban en primer lugar hacia Europa (Eakin, 2007; Vogel, 2002). Está claro, observa Eakin (2007: 219), que "In social and cultural terms, progress meant Europeanization – attracting European immigrants, aping European culture among the elites, and imposing European culture on the non-European peoples of the region." Aparte de tratar de solucionar los problemas de carácter social, político y económico, los intelectuales de la época se dedicaban a la elaboración de una identidad nacional. Un proceso difícil y algo confuso en el que se debían contestar preguntas como ¿qué y cómo es Colombia?, ¿cuáles son las normas y valores que consideramos importantes en la formación de la patria? y ¿de dónde podemos sacar ejemplos o modelos a seguir? Ya durante los últimos años de la Colonia, la élite liberal había empezado con debates sobre estas cuestiones, un proceso que en ese entonces se veía en todo el continente latinoamericano: "En términos generales, en los países latinoamericanos el ámbito imaginario y simbólico (es decir, la representación y el debate) se centró a lo largo del siglo antepasado en los parámetros por lo que debía transitar la configuración de una identidad nacional en las nuevas repúblicas" (Navia Velasco, 2016: 176). Se trató de un proceso largo y difícil, que Eakin (2007: 203) describe así: "In the first 50 years after independence, most of the new nations of Latin America would face enormous difficulties *beginning* the process of nation-building. In most cases, the process would not be *consolidated* until the twentieth century, especially the construction of national communities."

Al afirmar que la identidad nacional es más un estado mental y una proyección político-intelectual que una combinación objetiva de condiciones o hechos, Beller (2007: 11-12) reconoce la complejidad del proceso. Refiriéndose a Hobsbawm y Anderson, considera la nación como una comunidad artificial cuyas características de identidad son fantasías culturales y construcciones sociales. Visto todo esto, no es sorprendente que la literatura tuviera un papel importante en el proceso de crear una identidad nacional. Al respecto, Alzate (2015a: 31) observa que "La escritura de novelas en la época era tan importante

como la participación en los debates del congreso y la redacción de las constituciones" Acosta Peñaloza (2016: 27), por su parte, afirma que "[...] a partir de los libros se consolidan unas prácticas sociales que en su lectura fundamentan, entre otros, el concepto de nación y su relación con las demás comunidades [...]." También Vallejo (2016a: XXii), refiriéndose a De Pool (s.f.: 127), enfatiza la importancia de la literatura en la formación del concepto de nación a mediados del siglo XIX: "El papel de la lectura y la poesía en el desarrollo del pueblo recién emancipado fue de gran importancia para la élite; los libros, especialmente las novelas, constituían los medios de difusión y cultura." En este contexto, Soledad Acosta, una escritora y periodista que forma parte de la élite socio-económica e intelectual de Bogotá, se ocupa desde su propia perspectiva conservadora, católica y clasista de los problemas de su patria y la formación de una identidad nacional: "[...] podemos encontrar en su obra a la Colombia de entonces: sus gentes, sus paisajes, las vías de comunicación, las guerras, las facciones en conflicto. Pero sobre todo qué les preocupaba y cómo trataron de enfrentar esas preocupaciones [...]" (Alzate Cadavid, 2015: 18-19). Por medio de su obra literaria y periodística, Acosta, "[...] una figura clave en la apropiación femenina del discurso político en Colombia [...]" (Vallejo, 2005a: 297), hace política: "[...] como todo autor, escribe sobre y contra o a favor de lo que otros están escribiendo en su momento o han escrito en años pasados. Toda escritura es una propuesta de interpretación que dialoga con su momento, que quiere producir ciertos efectos sobre él.

A esta autora, como a toda su generación, le interesa el futuro de la *patria,* como la llamaron, [...]" (Alzate Cadavid, 2015: 13). Acosta no es una excepción:

> La generación a la que pertenece Soledad Acosta (1833-1913) es una generación que trabaja con ahínco en fundar una nación. Los letrados de su momento pertenecen a la primera generación nacida después de la independencia. Muy comprometidos con su país, agudos, estudiosos y conocedores del contexto mundial, se empeñaron en convertir el territorio en una patria, [...]. Más que *describir* el país, esos letrados lo estaban *escribiendo* [...] (Alzate, 2015: 19).

De esta manera, la novela *Una holandesa en América* forma parte del proyecto de fundación nacional con el que Acosta y su generación estaban comprometidas. Vallejo (2005b: 486) describe brevemente el contexto en el que Acosta escribió y publicó la novela:

> Las épocas de la diégesis de la historia y de la producción textual son épocas de gran trastorno y crisis en Colombia: la acción tiene lugar durante la guerra civil de 1854, y los años de la publicación (1876, 1889) marcan una época de construcción nacional en situaciones de luchas ideológicas entre conservadores y liberales.

Alzate (2016a: 203) subraya la importancia de *Una holandesa en América* dentro de la obra de Soledad Acosta; se trata de "[...] su novela de fundación nacional por excelencia [...]."

Es lógico suponer que Acosta escogió y desarrolló cuidadosamente a los protagonistas de sus novelas; dentro de los textos, ellos debían ser los portadores de ciertas cualidades, ideales y normas para así representar posturas deseadas (o indeseadas) en las discusiones y debates de la época sobre la formación de la nación. En lo que se refiere a *Una holandesa en América,* Acosta optó por una protagonista de Holanda. Lucía es presentada como espejo y ejemplo: a través de los ojos de una extranjera, el lector colombiano de la época podía experimentar su propio país; asimismo, por sus cualidades tan típicas holandesas (en los ojos de Acosta), Lucía es una agente de civilización y se muestra un modelo a seguir. Podemos concluir que la autora opinaba que las características, cualidades y posturas que posee la protagonista holandesa de su novela eran importantes para Colombia. Aparentemente, Acosta no veía estas características en, por ejemplo, Francia o España, países que conocía mucho mejor que Holanda.

La opción Holanda

Ni es sus textos periodísticos ni en su diario, Acosta menciona Holanda y la autora nunca justificó su escogencia por una protagonista holandesa. A pesar de esto, Vallejo (2016a: XXiV) está segura de que Acosta visitó el país natal de la protagonista de *Una holandesa en América* y que se basó en experiencias personales al describir los holandeses y la vida en Holanda durante las primeras décadas del siglo XIX: "[...] las descripciones del paisaje, las casas, las costumbres y la vida [...] surgen claramente no de una lectura sino de una experiencia personal [...]." Es verdad que las descripciones del paisaje holandés donde nace y se cría Lucía son bastante verosímiles; los nombres de los personajes, por otra parte, son en general poco holandeses.

Ya en su juventud, Acosta pasó bastante tiempo en Europa, sobre todo en Francia. También como mujer casada vivió en París y desde la capital francesa viajó con su esposo José María Samper por varios países del Viejo Continente. Muchos de los textos que Acosta escribió sobre Europa presentan un continente en decadencia. Afirma Gerassi-Navarro (2016: 334) que

> [...] se puede conjurar que el avance del liberalismo -adoptado por numerosas naciones europeas y latinoamericanas-, las prácticas políticas heredadas de la Revolución Francesa, el surgimiento de los primeros sindicatos socialistas y anarquistas, la rápida industrialización y los ideales de la Tercera República que desplazan aún más la religión en pos de la ciencia y el progreso [...] son todos rasgos de una nuevo orden mundial que anuncia la modernidad y que marcan la transformación no sólo de orden económico y político sino también social y cultural que Acosta de Samper busca detener.

No hay duda sobre la pregunta dónde se originó el caos: "Acosta de Samper ubica a Francia dentro del caos europeo como la fuerza que ejerce mayor influencia en la destrucción de valores tradicionales, como la ética del trabajo, el amor al prójimo y el respeto por la autoridad" (Gerassi-Navarro, 2016: 337). Por ser el origen del pensamiento

liberal, Francia se constituyó para Acosta en el emblema de la corrupción cuya influencia llegó también a los pueblos hispanoamericanos.

En *Una holandesa en América*, las diferencias entre Francia y Holanda son tema de una breve conversación entre Lucía y el francés Leopoldo, amigo de su hermana Clarisa:

> -¡En Holanda! – repuso el francés –. Sepa usted, señorita, que el país de usted es bien, ¿cómo diré?, *vulgaire, quoi!*, común, diría en la lengua española.
> -Gracias, caballero – exclamó Lucía –. Querrá usted decir que es un país serio, y no ligero e inconstante como el suyo, ¿no es así?
> [...]
> -Comprendo perfectamente – contestó Lucía –, usted es muy amable..., pero entre su país y el mío hay una diferencia notable: allí se enseña buena crianza a los jóvenes [...]. (Acosta, 2016: 100)

En esta conversación resaltan dos características de Holanda: por un lado es un país serio, por otro lado es un país donde se educa bien a los jóvenes. Aparentemente, la situación francesa era diferente.

En lo que se refiere a la imagen negativa de Francia, es interesante que Acosta describa a los franceses de una manera bastante positiva en comparación con los españoles. Las ideas muy negativas que tenía la autora sobre la exmetrópoli y sus habitantes las expone en *Viaje a España* (1892). Gerassi-Navarro (2016: 323-324) resume estas ideas de Acosta de la manera siguiente:

> Frente a los franceses, los españoles carecen de modales y la sociedad se destaca por una corrupción generalizada evidente en el comportamiento de sus funcionarios de gobierno. [...] su interacción cotidiana con la gente le permite opinar con más fuerza acerca de las características del pueblo español que se destacan negativamente frente a las del pueblo francés. Uno de los rasgos sobresalientes del pueblo español que le molestan profundamente es la falta de aseo. [...] Otro rasgo que destaca es la impuntualidad; [...]. Subraya que los españoles han perdido su ética de trabajo y su respeto por las instituciones.

Con base en las observaciones negativas de Acosta sobre España y los españoles, concluye Gerassi-Navarro (2016: 326) que la autora "[...] aprovecha su recorrido para defender las guerras de independencia y sutilmente sugerir que las repúblicas son las verdaderas defensoras de los principios que originalmente les inculcaron los españoles [...]." También Alzate (2015a: 38-39) subraya el antihispanismo de Acosta. Una opinión opuesta presenta Navia Velasco (2016: 188-189), quien considera que Acosta es "[...] una defensora activa de la causa de *nuestra hispanidad* frente a la asimilación que otros proponen de otras culturas. [...] Su propuesta es la de una relación continuada y prolífica, pero en una clara doble vía, en la que también América aporta a España."

En sus *Recuerdos de Suiza* (1859), Acosta es bastante positiva sobre este país y sus habitantes; sin embargo, parece que esta idea ha cambiado unos años más tarde. En una edición más tardía de la obra, ha añadido una nota de pie fechada en 1879 en la que observa:

> Desde que escribimos los anteriores capítulos han variado muchas cosas en Suiza y hoy día habiendo servido de refugio a los internacionalistas y comunistas de Alemania y de Francia aquella República se encuentra minada por la lepra del socialismo: es decir por la inmoralidad, la irreligión y el desorden. (Citado en Vallejo, 2016b: 107).

También en *Una holandesa en América* se reflexiona sobre el desorden en el mundo. Mercedes Almeida, amiga de Lucía que vive en Bogotá y según Alzate (2011) el álter ego de Soledad Acosta, se expresa de la manera siguiente en una carta a Lucía:

> ¿De qué se habla en torno mío? Nada más que de revoluciones, alevosías, traiciones, actos de deslealtad y revueltas públicas, y esto no solo en esta triste república, sino que todo el mundo está agitado y conmovido. Hay guerras en el Perú, en el Ecuador, en Venezuela; hay insurrecciones en España y disputas a mano armada entre Grecia y Turquía; ejércitos franceses, ingleses e italianos marchan contra Rusia; en tanto la China es víctima de una terrible rebelión en que mueren diariamente centenares de hombres... ¡El mundo entero, pues, es presa de la discordia; y esto llaman siglo de civilización y de progreso, de luces e ilustración! (Acosta, 2016: 134).

'El mundo entero', escribe Mercedes / Soledad Acosta, pero en Holanda la situación era diferente. En la Europa decimonónica llena de radicalismos y corrientes revolucionarias, Holanda era un oasis de tranquilidad, donde la familia y la religión eran primordiales.

A mediados del siglo XIX, la época en la que se desarrolla *Una holandesa en América*, los holandeses eran campesinos o artesanos; hasta el tercer cuarto del siglo, casi no había industrialización y por lo tanto tampoco había manifestaciones, revoluciones, sindicatos agresivos o huelgas. Parece justificado concluir que justo por haberse quedado atrás en los desarrollos modernos europeos, la Holanda de los años alrededor de 1850 era para Acosta un ejemplo para la Colombia de los años 1870-1890, cuando se publicó la novela en forma de entregas y como libro. En ese remanso de paz que era Holanda, muy lejos de la Europa en decadencia tan odiada por Acosta, nace y se cría Lucía, 'nuestra holandesa'.

Para Acosta, Holanda se convirtió así en un ideal soñado, que contrasta no solamente con otros países europeos, sino también con Colombia, "[...] la tierra del desorden, la

pereza, la vida disipada" (Navia Velasco, 2016: 185). Por otra lado, es interesante observar que Vallejo (2005b: 484) parece relativizar el origen holandés de la protagonista de la novela de Acosta y la presenta más bien como una (pan)europea:

> [...] la protagonista de su novela representa a esas vi[a]jeras europeas que (re)-descubrieron a Hispanoamérica. *Una holandesa en América*, por tanto, se constituye como excepcionalmente paneuropea, y promueve una conceptualización cosmopolita de la vida colombiana, dentro de un ambiente -colombiano e hispanoamericano- esencialmente hispánico y de una insularidad asfixiante.

También Navia Velasco (2016: 185) afirma el aspecto paneuropeo de la novela; para esta investigadora, *Una holandesa en América* tiene evocaciones autobiográficas en el sentido de que el relato realiza un contraste entre Europa y América Latina, "[...] contraste que actualiza de manera original la oposición entre *civilización* y *barbarie* [...]."

Con base en este pequeño resumen de las opiniones de Acosta sobre Francia, España y Suiza, parece lógico que la autora no optara por una protagonista de uno de estos países para su novela *Una holandesa en América*. Desde su perspectiva católica y clasista, Acosta veía en muchos países europeos, y sobro todo en Francia, un radicalismo y unas corrientes revolucionarias que no le gustaban en absoluto. Al mismo tiempo, tenía miedo de que estas tendencias tuvieran su influencia negativa en la política colombiana. Usando a Europa como espejo, Acosta advertía a sus lectores de los peligros que las políticas del radicalismo colombiano conllevaban para el futuro de su país. Comentando la obra periodística de Acosta, D'Allemand (2016: 58-59) observa lo siguiente:

> Desde sus más tempranas observaciones sobre las sociedades europeas, el discurso periodístico de Acosta registra su repudio al radicalismo secularizante y a las corrientes revolucionarias que amenazan el "orden y policía [de las] Repúblicas" del Viejo Mundo, [...]. Acosta entiende el avance de radicales y socialistas como proceso global que amenaza la supervivencia del proyecto civilizadora universal, supervivencia que para Acosta solo los cimientos cristianos pueden garantizar. [...] En una de sus más explícitas referencias a Colombia, Acosta se queja del error de "nuestros gobernantes" al aceptar las "teorías" en que se sustentan dichas corrientes sin cuestionar sus efectos corrosivos, [...].

Para D'Allemand (2016: 59), el escepticismo sobre la capacidad del radicalismo para poner freno al ascenso de las luchas populares propiciadas por las reformas de medio siglo en Colombia "[...] alcanza su punto álgido en la década de 1870 [...] y se articula con la gestación del movimiento de la Regeneración que liderara Rafael Núñez y al cual Acosta brindara su apoyo." Este apoyo se ve en los artículos periodísticos y textos literarios que publicó Acosta en las décadas 1870-1890.

Observaciones finales

La perspectiva de Acosta cuando escribió *Una holandesa en América* era la de una escritora que, tal como afirma Alzate (2016b: XVii), estaba comprometida en el proyecto de fundación nacional. Desde esta perspectiva, Acosta miraba a Holanda y los holandeses y desde esta perspectiva presentaba representaciones literarias de ese país y sus habitantes. La autora presenta descripciones realistas, reconocibles y verosímiles de Holanda, sin embargo tenemos que considerar la imagen que da Acosta como una representación discursiva; es decir, la autora describe en la novela su imagen particular de Holanda y presenta así una alteridad idealizada.

Cuando se publicó la novela, primero por entregas en *La Ley* (1876) y después como libro en Curazao (1888), se estaba debilitando el liberalismo radical en Colombia; con la Regeneración, tendencia que Soledad Acosta apoyaba, el país experimentaría un viraje ultraconservador. En este contexto sociopolítico, Acosta optó por Holanda como país de origen de la protagonista de su novela *Una holandesa en América.* Con base en sus propias experiencias en Europa, Acosta opinaba que Holanda y el holandés medio poseían ciertas características que Colombia y los colombianos podían tomar como ejemplos. 'Nuestra holandesa' Lucía, portadora de estas características, es espejo y ejemplo para Colombia. Gracias a su carácter y sus cualidades, Lucía es capaz de sacar a su familia colombiana del desorden y así es un modelo a seguir. A otro nivel, otros responsables con las mismas cualidades pueden aportar a la formación y al desarrollo de la patria. Es lógico que las cualidades de Lucía deban ser 'traducidas' a la realidad colombiana; en las palabras de Vallejo (2005b: 491-492):

> Colombia entonces necesita *apropiarse* de esos elementos 'otros' mediante su traducción, traslado, interpretación, recreación, invención, adaptación, asimilación y conversión a lo propio [...]. Lo colombiano, a través del 'otro' inmigrante, llega a enriquecerse por ese otro en un movimiento dialéctico en el cual el inmigrante recrea y reinventa lo propio.

Actualmente, hay muy pocas dudas sobre la importancia de la obra de Acosta. Para Vallejo (2005a: 292), "Debe considerarse a Soledad Acosta como la primera novelista de Colombia y, de hecho, después de Gertrudis Gómez de Avellaneda, como la primera escritora de ficción narrativa extensa en Hispanoamérica." Encontramos observaciones parecidas en, por ejemplo, D'Allemand (2016: 41). También para Navia Velasco (2016: 175), Acosta es una autora imprescindible e impresionante,

> [...] que brilla con autonomía y luz propia en el panorama literario colombiano del siglo XIX. [...] Pocos escritores en Colombia han dejado un legado tan voluminoso, de manera que se ha hecho casi imposible organizar sus obras completas, por la dimensión de su trabajo.

Sin embargo, tal como observa Alzate (2011), en su época poco o nada se habló de Acosta y parece que *Una holandesa en América*, a pesar de sus méritos literarios, tenía poca influencia en el debate nacional. Vallejo (2007: 38) explica la marginación de la autora de la manera siguiente:

> Es preciso recalcar que la canonización de una obra literaria no depende en primer lugar de sus calidades estéticas; entre los factores que median la formación del canon se cuentan la identidad social del autor, así como su raza y género - todos elementos formados en un contexto histórico y todos elementos históricamente específicos [...]. En efecto, un canon es la realización inevitable de los valores culturales hegemónicos [...], valores que, y esto debe enfatizarse para el caso actual, han sido milenariamente masculinos y condicionados en un contexto histórico.

Vallejo (2007: 42) supone que en el caso de *Una holandesa en América* el contenido de la novela también dificultó la canonización: "Se debe suponer [...] que el proceso de canonización en la literatura colombiana no aceptaría canonizar una novela escrita por una mujer que, además, suscribiera perspectivas contrarias a las normas tan alabadas." Es posible que por este contenido controversial no se publicara la primera edición como libro en Colombia, sino en Curazao.

De todas formas, tal como observa Alzate (2015a: 19), la generación de letrados a la que pertenecía Soledad Acosta eran "[...] comprometidos con su país, agudos, estudiosos y conocedores del contexto mundial [...]. Más que *describir* el país, estos letrados lo estaban *escribiendo* [...]." Es interesante relacionar esta observación con la frase del autor francés Balzac que utiliza Soledad Acosta como epígrafe para la quinta y última parte de la novela: 'La vie est un travail, un métier qu'il faut se donner la peine d'apprendre'. Aparentemente, en este proceso de aprendizaje y de 'escribir el país', Holanda y los holandeses podían fungir como maestros y fuente de inspiración para Colombia.

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REFLECTIONS ON DIALECTICS OF CARIBBEAN POETICS AND DOMINANT DISCOURSES OF GLOBALIZATION: ANSWERS FROM LASANA SEKOU'S *THE CUBS ARE IN THE FIELD*

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> "To understand this thing about rightful claim is to engage/
> the contest/
> POWER"
> *The salt reaper* (Sekou, 2005: 3)

Introduction

There are five claims about globalization which the public has accepted because of the dominant position that Western hegemonic discourses hold in the public sphere (Steger, 2003: 97-110): 1) Globalization is about the liberalization and global integration of markets; 2) Globalization is inevitable and irreversible; 3) Nobody is in charge of globalization; 4) Globalization benefits everyone; 5) Globalization furthers the spread of democracy in the world (see also the collection of essays in Sachs, 2010). What is not explicit in these claims is that commodification of resources for the purpose of capital accumulation is the basis for globalism as an ideology, a shared form of thinking that sprung from the early stages of the Age of Enlightenment:

> "Europeans and their descendants on other continents took it upon themselves to assume the role of the world's guardians of universal law and morality.... [These] economic entrepreneurs and their academic counterparts began to spread a philosophy of individualism and rational self interest that glorified the virtues of an idealized capitalist system supposedly based upon the providential workings of the free market and its 'invisible hand'." (Steger, 2003: 31)

Promoters of capitalist ideology in the United States have implemented campaigns of shock and erasure throughout the world as part of the successful spread of corporate globalization. Journalist Naomi Klein comments on Milton Friedman's neoliberal "shock doctrine" experiments in Latin America's Southern Cone in the 1970s: "[W]hile the shock therapists were trying to remove all relics of collectivism from the economy,

the shock troops were removing the representatives of that ethos from the streets, the universities and the factory floors" (2007: 136). Successful campaigns of erasure have been carried out in the Afro-Caribbean region due to the circulation of globalization discourses like those listed above, which are based on metaphors of enclosure and domination (Corum, 2016: 86-103). These discourses have continued to constitute the prototype for causal reasoning, starting with the dispossession of peoples in the early modern period and lasting into the present century. In the modern period, the focus turned to the consumption of novel sources of power, such as electricity and petroleum. Like the alchemists of the 16th and 17th centuries, the elite of the modern period sought unregulated use of energy sources, which has resulted in the annihilation of animal and plant ecologies and the "toxification of entire regions" (Steger, 2003: 33).

The neoliberal shock doctrine, like the European colonial agenda of the early modern period, has carried out erasure campaigns on modes of production that are based on traditional indigenous lifeways which are thought to be in competition with the colonial/capitalist system. Dominant discourses underpinning globalism have not gone unchallenged, however. A Caribbean poetics speaks dialectically and dialogically to Western discourses that have been used to implement economic and cultural shock therapy in Afro-Caribbean and Latin American regions and to marginalize Latin American and Caribbean persons (Glissant, 1981). Prominent literary critic and poet from St. Martin Lasana Sekou, for instance, has deconstructed Western hegemonic narratives of history in his works and called for agency in the greater Caribbean context. In the present short paper we reflect on the ways in which the poem *The cubs are in the field* from the volume *The salt reaper* (Sekou, 2005) provides a critical reading of some of the dominant discourses surrounding St. Martin's history.

Critical readings of dominant discourses

In *The cubs are in the field*, Sekou (2005) provides a critical reading of St. Martin's history in which Afro-Caribbean populations are framed as objects rather than subjects or agents of their historical narratives. Like the investigative work of Naomi Klein (2007; 2014), Sekou urges readers to take action against dominant discourses by critically reading the past, an essential exercise for understanding how to write one's place today. Literacy is of central concern to themes like agency and the construction of languages and literatures (Freire, 1970). Drawing on Freire's ideas and Barthe's essay *Myth today* (2000), Faraclas (2009) distinguishes between three levels of critical reading:

> 1) Superficial level, which is identification with the dominant discourse; this is, reading the lines that have been written for you, analyzing neither the intentions nor the power relations behind the discourse.

2) Freire's "Reading the world", which is critically reading the discourses that we are exposed to in order to determine the intentions of the people or the class who formulated those discourses.

3) Freire's "Writing the world", which is the deepest level of reading wherein we expel others' intentions from the discourses that we live by and repopulate or re-saturate them with our own intentions.

The cubs are in the field contains messages that embody the second level of critical reading listed above. Sekou (2005: 58) confronts his readers about the lack of agency in St. Martin and the Caribbean with his question: "In our s'maatin/ Is there one date of union/ Of our own accord/ Or the less with permission/ & the rest of time&place in name for rulers/ queen's birthday/ bastille day/ riley's hill/ ?" But the poem also surpasses the second level of reading and reaches the third level. Sekou urges St. Martiners to read the world, and to write the world by repositioning themselves and engaging in dialogue with each other.

On the cubs and repositioning in the field

Sekou (2005) presents a metaphor to readers in which history is mobilization. Readers are called to move, that is, mobilize and reposition themselves. Sekou believes that mobilization will allow St. Martiners to repopulate their discourses with their own intentions. He remarks that the cubs in St. Martin have been "out on contract hits among the doubters/ been recruiting in the region of unbelievers/ long time a word like this…/ but the cubs are in the field" (2005: 38). Sekou implores St. Martiners to "risk the leap/ through hurricane-eyed gates of gale-wired cracks" (2005: 39), to take stage at schools, church meetings, carnival, and basketball courts. Mobilization around these venues will permit a critical rewriting of the world in terms of "just power/ becoming & be/ … flourishing/ the mark & matter of the reign of change of the word that is the making of new flesh / of all the nation …" (2005: 44).

Mobilization as action is also framed as dance in the poem, in that dancing is a means to create space for oneself. St. Martiners and Caribbean persons must reclaim spaces to situate themselves, for if they do not, they will be situated: "what is to be done/ by you or to you but done it will be in the doing" (2005: 40-41). González López et al. (2012: 223) argue along similar lines in the discipline of creole linguistics:

> "It is our view that if we do not explicitly position ourselves politically, we will automatically be positioned by and in support of the dominant discourses of patriarchy, capitalism, and racism. Because these discourses have systematically denied agency to women and peoples of African, Indigenous, and marginalized European descent in the forging of colonial era histories, cultures, and languages, we have dedicated our work as cre-

olists to investigating, acknowledging, publicizing, and celebrating the resourcefulness and creative ways in which these same people have resisted domination politically, economically, culturally, and linguistically."

Sekou, like Fanon (2000) before him, urges Caribbean persons to dis-identify with the discourses that have been imposed on them, the discourses which assure that the other remains marginalized and defined in relation to Western hegemonic ideals. Progress and development are two of those ideals that are central to the notion of globalism, and both have been saturated with Western hegemonic discourses (Von Werlhof, 2001; Esteva, 2010). A third ideal is liberation, which Sekou believes has not been defined in Caribbean terms: "over the bridges all forward vision to country/ it must be you that is we self/ for there is no one else to guide & bide us protect & power us" (2005: 42). The *Oxford English Dictionary* defines liberation as "the act of setting someone free from imprisonment, slavery, or oppression". The dictionary cites the 15th century as the origin of the word in the English language. Ironically, the very notion of liberation first appeared in the English language at the start of the age of European exploitation of Atlantic peoples and their lands.

Conclusion

With his poem *The cubs are in the field*, Sekou (2005) provides a critical reading of St. Martiner's multiple ancestral histories and linguistic ties. Sekou's critical reading of Caribbean persons' histories as salt reapers, hewers of water, gatherers of wood, cane walkers, and maroons adds an important perspective to discussions of the roles played by marginalized persons in the revolutionary history of the Afro-Atlantic (see Linebaugh & Rediker, 2000). Sekou challenges Western hegemonic discourses that promote the reconceptualization of situated communities, or places, reducing them to empty spaces devoid of culture and diversity. The work gives us insight as we continue to read the discourses that underpin a globalism, which promises to offer a unified, best-fit scientific method, economic market place, and cultural planet (Sachs, 2010). As part of a larger Caribbean poetics, *The cubs are in the field* is a reminder that there is no universal culture and there is no universal conceptual system. There is only the human imaginative capacity that allows us to make sense of our external world and to critically read the metaphors and discourses that we and others live by (Mülhäusler, 1995).

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UTOPIAN BEE LIFE: AN EASTERN CARIBBEAN STORY

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WITH THE ASSISTANCE OF TANYA KANG, STONEY NAKODA RESERVATION IN MORLEY, ALBERTA

Fables have been told from person to person for entertainment purposes, but also as a means for relaying or teaching morals or lessons. Fables are essentially allegorical myths that portray non-human creatures, e.g. foxes, grasshoppers, frogs, ants, spiders, etc. in human situations. Fables often contain some practical piece of advice and are used to highlight both desirable and undesirable human behaviours. Aesop's fables served a multitude of goals. Politically, fables have also been used by the weak and voiceless to speak out against the strong and powerful. By making one's voice heard through the mouth of non-human creatures, one could hope to be exempt from punishment for doing so. Communities of the enslaved often had griots or other storytellers who could deploy fables as a means of temporary escape, a cry against injustice, and a way to evoke a former way of living. There are many ways of connecting knowledge and memories in our minds but stories are among the most powerful ones.

Culture could be said to consist of the lifeways and knowledge of a particular group of people, including, but not limited to, language, religion, cuisine, social habits, music, and literature. Culture also plays a part in what we wear, how we wear it, our sense of what is right or wrong, how we greet one another, etc. Culture is not fixed, but is instead fluid and in flux. Often some aspect of culture, such as songs and dances, may jump from one community to another, particularly in such pluri-cultural regions as West Africa and the Caribbean. Tanya Talaga writes in her book, *Seven fallen feathers: racism, death, and hard truths in a northern city* (2017), that cultural genocide is the destruction of the above mentioned knowledges and practices. States that engage in cultural genocide set out to destroy the political and social institutions of a targeted group. She goes on to describe some of the ways in which this cultural genocide might be accomplished such as through the seizing of land and the forcible transferal of populations, the forbidden use of their languages, and the banning of spiritual practices. She concludes that "… most significantly, families are disrupted to prevent the transmission of cultural values and identity from one generation to the next" (Talaga, 2017: Prologue).

In his article "What if women ran the world", Bernie Bates writes:

> If it wasn't for strong-willed native women, I'm positive the cultural devastation would have been much worse. I remember my grandmother telling the stories of my people of a time when men were the hunters, warriors and protectors of the village. In her tribe, old native women were the equivalent of today's politicians (Bates, 2018: 5).

Many conquered and enslaved peoples have grown up without really knowing where they come from and thus have not been able to practice their cultural traditions, which they do not remember. Even if they have some memory of these traditions, they are discouraged from practicing them. One has just to recall the zeal of those in power in colonial Aruba, Bonaire and Curaçao in the eradication of carnival, the Tambú, the Seu festival and even the Papiamentu language (Rosalia, 1997). It is ironic that since the tourist boom began in the 1980s, a new somewhat market-driven appreciation for the past has emerged among the ruling classes. When tourist ships bring people from far and wide to the islands, it seems to be a good thing to bring back carnival, customary foods, dances, musical instruments and the art of story telling.

On the Stoney Nakoda Reservation in Morley, Alberta, Canada, my co-author Ms. Tanya Kang interviewed Virgle Stevens, a community Elder, about what culture meant to him, if it was important and what he and the other Elders were doing in order to promote the longevity of their cultural practices. During the interview he stated that:

> Our Stoney ways are educational as well as religious in most of what we teach. I would rather say "our Stoney ways of living". We have adapted various concepts so as to better understand our ways. And it is not just the Stoney people who do this, but also other First Nations. If you can learn and understand other cultures, then it helps you to understand your own traditions and ways of knowing and may even reinforce the benefits of (re)learning your own culture. Learning our own traditions and culture is important, but it is also beneficial to learn from other, i.e. the Sundance celebrations of the Blackfoot First Nations.
>
> In our traditions, it is the Sacred Pipe ceremony that brings people together. In these settings listening is very important and sharing also, but listening to the instructions and stories comes first, before speaking and reacting or criticizing or judging or comparing one set of traditions to others. Our culture stresses that we need to conserve our natural heritage and protect it. In our culture, tobacco plays an important role. With respect one gives a gift of tobacco. We have Elders who go to schools welcoming the children at the beginning of the school year so the children know they have cultural support there. It is also beneficial to have an Elder at a workshop for support, correcting and to give emotional help where needed. In this way the Stoney way of living continues (Interview with Elder Virgle Stevens, Feb, 2018).

The late Elis Juliana asked me to translate his book *Aventura di un kriki* [The adventures of a cricket, 1989] from Papiamentu into English. He was of the opinion that this book of fable-like stories portrayed the characteristics and the culture of his people. The story is written by and about a Cricket (Juliana himself) who is going about doing research. The characters in this book have many human foibles. For example, Lisembein (Centipede) is a Scrooge-like character, who is taciturn and doesn't like interaction with strangers. Kriki (Cricket) first meets him when on a walk he encounters a hovel that has a lot of scuffed smelly and worn boots sitting outside. When he enters the hut, he asks who lives there and receives a curt response. It is Lisembein who lives there, hence the many boots outside. Kriki introduces himself and asks the creature some questions. He is too fast for the creature to harm him and is able to escape with a giant jump.

During his research journey, Kriki encounters many creatures among whom are a spider, a dung beetle, a mouse, a giant moth and some honeybees. Early on, an accident occurs in which a lovesick male bee flies into a spider's web and becomes trapped. Señor Dung Beetle intends to go to the Queen Bee to tell her of the demise of one of her family members and invites Kriki to go along. In this article, I will present my translation of the story about what Kriki and Sr. Dung Beetle find as they come upon a huge tamarind tree where Queen Bee lives in a thriving bee colony, but first I will recount my own story.

Since that time when I was seven years old on the playground of the Prinses Beatrix School in Aruba, I have hated bees or anything that resembles a bee. That fateful day, during our morning recess with laughing children milling around me, I was probably the only one not enjoying our 10-minute break. Unbeknownst to me, three bees had entered my summery dress and were stinging me repeatedly. I know you will be quick to point out that only wasps can sting more than once. Be that as it may, I was in agony. A nice teacher escorted me to the teachers' lounge where she discovered the attackers. Since I had a sister who was allergic to beestings, I was rushed across the street to a Doctor's office where I was given the necessary medicine. Because of my own experience with bees, I have decided to give you a sample of my English translation of *Aventura di un kriki* which deals with bees (30-39):

> We arrived in a garden and stood in the shade of a huge tamarind tree surrounded by other fruit trees such as mango, mispel, soursop, orange, cashew, guava; in short, everything you'd normally find in a bountiful garden.
>
> The Bee Palace was at the top of the tamarind tree. It seemed there was a party in full swing there since I heard lovely music and singing floating downward.
>
> "Sr. Dung Beetle", I asked, "do you think this is the proper time to bring this sad announcement of death? I fear that we might deliver a big shock to them."
>
> "Don't worry!" he said waving his hands, "leave everything to me. We're here to visit Her Majesty Queen Bee. I will introduce you while you make yourself at

home, and we'll enjoy ourselves, drink and dance and flirt with the ladies-in-waiting and later we'll pick the right moment to bring the news to Her Majesty."
I listened with mouth agape, as it seemed so strange to hear Sr. Dung Beetle talk about dancing and having fun with the ladies of the palace seeing that his body was riddled with rheumatism. He spoke with great enthusiasm, such liveliness as he rubbed his hands together with a spark of anticipation in his eyes. It was as if he suddenly felt himself to be a young man, so energetic he appeared. I could hardly recognize him in this state, as the one of just a short while ago. Dumbfounded I looked at him.
"What are we waiting for?" he asked. "We are wasting time."
"I'm ready whenever you are, Sr. Dung Beetle", I said curiously, wondering how he was going to climb way up there. I could not believe my eyes however, when I saw him start climbing up so quickly, so capable that I almost began to doubt my own capacity. I started to climb up after him. In the middle of our climb he stopped for a moment to ask if I was there, only to continue with the same zest as a well-trained athlete.
Nearing the palace, ten Military Sentry Bees approached us cautiously. Each was armed with a bayonet and their faces were very serious. They followed our every move. If I said that I was not scared, I would be lying. I was ready to take off, although I wasn't sure my legs would have obeyed me. My heart pounded in my throat. Sr. Dung Beetle cleared his throat and yelled something I did not catch. The soldiers stopped and presented arms. The foremost one, most probably their captain, lowered his bayonet recognizing Sr. Dung Beetle and approached us, leaving the others to stand quietly at attention. Giving the captain his hand in greeting, Sr. Dung Beetle said in an exaggerated voice, "Greetings Captain, my friend. So happy to see you again."

The manner in which they greeted each other put my mind at ease. Sr. Dung Beetle continued by introducing me to Captain Capi. "This is my colleague, the honorable Doctor Professor scientist *Crickilokaltafis Sualimethadoris*!"
Captain Capi nodded his head slightly in my direction as his eyes gave me the once over from head to toe. I also looked intently at him and greeted him in like manner. Sr. Dung Beetle continued, "Dr. Kriki and I would like the great honor of paying a visit to Her Royal Beeness, Queen Bee of homey and to pay homage to Her Enchanted Beauty as proof of our humble admiration!"
I saw a fleeting smile pass over the face of Captain Capi when he with correct military procedure asked us to follow him, but strangely, he had already somehow announced our visit. When we stood at the door to the palace, he politely took leave of us, promising that when his shift ended, he would like to meet with us and lend us his services.

A high-ranking official clad vey stylishly and with a pointed beard, guided us into the palace. The hallways were decorated with the finest carpets. Walls were adorned with the most exquisite paintings I had ever seen. In every corner there were wax sculptures: incredibly beautiful. What ticked me off was that Sr. Dung Beetle showed not the slightest bit of interest in this display of art. Not even to pretend. He walked the whole way with his head downcast, twiddling his thumbs with his arms crossed behind his back and not once did he lift his head to share my expression of rapt admiration.

Had Sr. Dung Beetle not touched my arm to tell me we should move on, I would have remained standing there in a trance.

Then we went up a staircase and entered another room where about fifty maidens, dressed beautifully in golden velvet gowns were seated singing sweet lullabies. Built into the wall there were thousands of small nooks, and inside each one there lay a tiny child, wrapped carefully in a cloth made of silk and wool. A semitransparent window that was hermetically sealed protected each tot. I greeted the ladies by nodding my head smiling lightly. The ladies stood to their feet holding the edge of their skirts and bowing slightly. They greeted me with an amorous smile all the while continuing their singing. The smell of sweet perfume made me dizzy. In the middle of this room there was a big bathtub filled with flower pollen in which the beauties of the palace bathed themselves while singing love songs accompanied by a string orchestra. In the passionate glances sent my way and their enchanting smiles, one could clearly note a sensual invitation that was so strong; it could even arouse a dead person. Since I did not want to be tempted, I turned my face and hastily walked on.

We then went up yet another set of stairs and entered another large room. By this time I had seen so many magnificent things that I had been kind of blinded, so much so that I could no longer take in what I was seeing. We continued walking until we came upon the door of a smaller room, but which was in fact, the most important room of the whole palace. This was the room of Her Royal Beeness, Queen Honey Bee. Her Highness was reclining lazily on a very luxurious bed that was strewn with flowers. Her ladies in waiting were elegantly clad and court musicians were giving a performance to entertain Her Highness. Dancers around the bed were performing a classical piece in a very provocative manner. I swallowed repeatedly trying very hard to look as if all of this did not faze me in he least. The high-ranking official who had guided us through the palace signaled to the master of ceremonies who was practically draped over the Queen Bee's bed. His eyes were heavy with fatigue and his knees were trembling. He staggered in our direction and after our guide, the high ranking official, whispered something in his ears, he put one hand to his chest, raised the other into the air and announced with a hoarse voice,

"Attention, please! The Honorable Sr. Dung Beetle and the Honorable Dr. Kriki are in our midst to pay their respect to and show admiration for our Royal Beeness!" There were dancers, musicians in the room and a Master of ceremonies who introduced us to Queen Bee. Music dance, everything stopped and all eyes were on us. I felt a shiver go through me even up to my mustache. Sr. Dung Beetle put his hand to his chest, bowed and sank down on one knee. I followed his example. Then we got up, walked toward Her Highness' bed and bowed down to first kiss the bed –which left a sweet peppery taste on my lips – and then gently kissed the hand of Her Highness who showered us with a regal smile. Sr. Dung Beetle who was already acquainted with Her Majesty, introduced me with exaggerated reverence, mentioning all my credentials such as title, race, rank and I don't remember what else.

After a few more formalities, Her Highness gave the musicians a sign to resume their playing, but they did not start up. The dancers also did not go on dancing or perhaps they did not even notice that the Queen had given them a signal. All eyes, wide and intense, were riveted on me. I became shy and kept changing from foot to foot, thinking that it was my fault that the palatial protocol was in turmoil. Noticing how uncomfortable I was, Queen Bee gave a signal and all disappeared from the room and only myself and Sr. Dung Beetle were left in the company of Her Majesty who sat rooted in her bed like a heavy chunk of gold in a cotton-lined case. Directing herself to me she said, "I am very pleased to meet such a famous scientist as you, Dr. Kriki. I hope that we will be able to converse a bit, because I am rather anxious to learn something of your wisdom. It certainly has been a long time since I have been engaged with science myself."

After such a flattery introduction by Sr. Dung Beetle, I turned around and scowled at him, but he just stood there grinning, showing a mouth full of rotting teeth. Noting that Her Majesty was showing some impatience for me to begin dancing, I lowered my head and shot off a quick prayer, breathed deeply, placed one foot down quickly in front and began to spin around as fast as I could on the other foot. When it felt that my head would come off, I started to change feet, lost my balance, fell down onto my stomach and remained spinning there on my belly button. I tried to get up, but I was so dizzy that once again I lost my balance, fell on my back and hit my head. I saw a shower of stars. The fall knocked me unconscious. I could neither see nor hear. I began to come around and sprawling I kicked with my feet, got up and bumped into a dancer. Most likely from fright she embraced me and the two of us fell down with our legs hopelessly tangled. When my head stopped spinning, I shakily forced myself to smile in the direction of the bed. Queen Bee had become very animated and wanted to dance. She had already gotten out of bed. She looked like a great big ball and was so bottom heavy that she could not even lift her legs to walk, much less to dance. The musicians began to play a rather dreary

> piece, a somber waltz, resembling a spiritual from another world. With dignity Queen Bee offered me a soft pudgy and clammy hand. It was with a great deal of trouble that I managed to get her to the centre of the room, since her behind did not lift off the floor. And there she remained, without moving, sitting just like a great gob of hardened tree sap.

I have never gotten over my fear of bees, but nevertheless I have become enchanted by the ironic and humorous images that Juliana painted of them in his book *Aventura di un kriki*. Reading about Kriki's experience with so many different species, I have come to see that Juliana aimed to show us that we all have our place and duty in the communities we live in and that traditional cultural values are important for the well-being of those communities. In his view, there is no need to sacrifice one's culture and heritage, no matter what new conditions one might encounter. Personally speaking, home is the place where my roots have taken hold and, even if I wanted to, I could never pull them out entirely. In the bee hive, Juliana depicts a community where many live together in harmony, where each has their job and no one grumbles at their lot in life, from the armed guards at the entrance, to the young ladies singing nursery rhymes, to the mischievous and flirtatious Queen Bee herself. No-one is concerned with accumulating more wealth or prestige, or with jostling around for a bigger piece of the pie.

As a teller of fables, Juliana masterfully blends typically human and typically insect-like behaviors and imagery to give anonymous, yet powerful expression to a traditional way of life that he and his ancestors experienced.

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JUAN GABRIEL VÁSQUEZ – *LA FORMA DE LAS RUINAS* (2015): UN LIBRO IMPORTANTE PARA EL POSCONFLICTO COLOMBIANO

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"***Romper la camisa de fuerza de la versión oficial"***
Vásquez: 142

En *La forma de las ruinas* (2015) Juan Gabriel Vásquez nos ofrece otra perspectiva sobre dos asesinatos en la historia política colombiana. Sin embargo, el libro es mucho más que una novela histórica; los temas tratados por Vásquez son actuales y se relacionan directamente con el posconflicto. El autor nos invita a reflexionar sobre hechos y ficción, sobre historia y literatura, sobre verdad y posverdad – y sobre novelas como submarinos.

En 2014 Santiago Gamboa publicó *La guerra y la paz,* un libro de ensayos en el que compara el conflicto colombiano con otros conflictos internos, por ejemplo, la guerra en Yugoeslavia. Opina Gamboa que si se quiere crear una paz verdadera, se deben combinar dos elementos que a primera vista parecen contradictorios: olvidar y recordar. Olvidar es esencial para seguir adelante; al mismo tiempo, para superar los traumas del pasado es imprescindible conocer ese pasado y saber exactamente qué pasó. Los colombianos no pueden olvidar las consecuencias de más de cincuenta años de conflicto armado: más de 220,000 muertos, por lo menos 30,000 secuestros y unos siete millones de desplazados. Casi cada colombiano es directa- o indirectamente víctima de la violencia. Sin embargo, en un país que según el autor Alonso Sánchez Baute prefiere vivir con la espalda hacia la verdad, no es fácil investigar y describir los hechos históricos. Winston Churchill observó alguna vez: en una guerra, la verdad siempre es la primera víctima. Es una observación muy cierta para Colombia. La historia oficial es la historia formulada y acordada por el poder político-económico y la élite del país. La pregunta es si esta imagen del pasado es correcta y completa.

En *La forma de las ruinas,* el narrador (que se parece mucho al escritor; hasta tiene el mismo nombre) y su interlocutor más importante Carlos Carballo, presentador de un programa de radio e historiador por afición, reflexionan ampliamente sobre esta problemática; el punto de partida de sus reflexiones son los dos asesinatos políticos más no-

torios en la historia colombiana. En 1914 dos artesanos con motivos poco claros asesinaron en el centro de Bogotá al exgeneral y líder del partido liberal Rafael Uribe Uribe; en 1948 Jorge Eliécer Gaitán, un candidato presidencial muy popular entre los estratos más bajos, fue víctima de un atentado por un lobo solitario con problemas mentales – al menos, según la historia oficial. Carballo no cree las declaraciones oficiales; para él se trata en ambos casos de "una conspiración exitosa" contra dos políticos demasiado críticos y, por lo tanto, peligrosos para los que tenían el poder. Opina que en la historia oficial se manipuló subrepticiamente "una verdad incómoda"; él busca "el otro lado de las cosas" (p. 259). Aunque sea difícil "en este país nuestro, este país de desmemoriados y de crédulos", quiere que la verdad salga a la luz. Que haya personas que no están conformes con esta verdad, no le importa: "Aquí nadie sale indemne" (p. 300). Para Carballo, la búsqueda de una verdad escondida es casi una guerra santa, un combate en el que lucha contra un ejército rival: "el de la mentira, la distorsión, el encubrimiento" (p. 301). Carballo explica detalladamente al narrador cómo Marco Tulio Anzola, un abogado contratado por la familia de Uribe Uribe, trató de sacar en claro lo que pasó realmente en torno al asesinato del líder liberal; todo su trabajo resultó ser en vano. A continuación, Carballo pide al narrador, que es a fin de cuentas un autor conocido, que escriba un libro sobre el asesinato de Gaitán, tal como hizo Anzola sobre el caso de Uribe Uribe. Carballo tiene los datos y afirma conocer los hechos verdaderos; si el narrador acepta, puede empezar de una vez. Aparte de la fama que, sin lugar a dudas, le espera, hay más en juego: revelar lo que realmente pasó; así se podría deshacer la confabulación de los poderosos que en ese entonces pudieron salvarse con hechos manipulados y una historia truncada.

Vásquez juega con la historia y la imaginación, con la verdad y la posverdad, con hechos y ficción. *La forma de las ruinas* es una 'obra de ficción', afirmación del propio autor en la última página del libro, pero el autor presenta su texto como un reportaje semiperiodístico, un informe en el que se investigan los hechos oficiales en torno a dos asesinatos políticos. Sin lugar a dudas, los atentados son hechos históricos; sin embargo, muy pocos colombianos creen que fueron perpetrados por lobos solitarios con problemas mentales. El personaje ficticio Carlos Carballo tiene muchos partidarios en la realidad colombiana. ¿Fueron asesinatos planeados desde arriba? ¿Fueron conspiraciones de rivales políticos? Probablemente fue así, pero faltan pruebas. Tampoco las tiene Vásquez. Por más que Anzola trate de probar que el asesinato de Uribe Uribe no fue la acción de unos individuos descarrilados pero que se trató de una verdadera conspiración, no logra presentar conclusiones convincentes: "Es verdad pero no me consta" (p. 488). En la prensa se considera el libro de Anzola sobre el asesinato de Uribe Uribe 'una mentira'; al mismo tiempo, la historia fabricada por el gobierno es presentada como la verdad. Con Carballo, el lector debe concluir que los que estaban en el poder planearon muy bien el atentado; podían lavarse las manos y a pesar de fuertes sospechas, no había pruebas. Treinta años más tarde la historia se repite; con el asesinato de Gaitán se evitó

que los colombianos eligieran un presidente que iba a introducir ciertas reformas para así mejorar la vida de los más necesitados.

Por un lado es decepcionante que Vásquez no nos cuente nada nuevo sobre el quién, el qué y el cómo de los asesinatos de Uribe Uribe y Gaitán; por otro lado, sin embargo, es fascinante especular con Carballo y el narrador sobre todo lo que pasó en torno a ambos atentados. Al mismo tiempo, el libro nos invita a adoptar una postura crítica frente a los hechos oficiales que se llevan presentando sobre el conflicto armado que terminó en 2016. Sin referirse directamente a este conflicto, el narrador de *La forma de las ruinas* indica la necesidad de tal postura crítica: "la historia colombiana ha probado una y mil veces su extraordinaria capacidad para esconder versiones incómodas o para cambiar el lenguaje" (p. 483). Carballo le da la razón: "eso que usted llama historia no es más que el cuento ganador, Vásquez. Alguien hizo que ganara ese cuento y no otros, y por eso le creemos hoy. O más bien: le creemos porque quedó escrito, porque no se perdió en el hueco sin fin de las palabras que sólo se dicen" (pp. 490-491).

La forma de las ruinas es también un libro que nos invita a reflexionar sobre la función y el propósito de la literatura. En el mundo de la ficción, donde vale más la verosimilitud que la verdad, no existen los límites y las restricciones a los que deben atenerse el historiador y el periodista. Donde ellos terminan, puede empezar el literato para presentar la 'otra verdad' de Carballo. Los informes elaborados desde hace algunos años por el *Centro Nacional de Memoria Histórica* (CNMH) presentan de forma oficial lo que pasó; las novelas y cuentos de Vásquez y sus colegas nos muestran cómo los hechos también hubieran podido pasar. El narrador de *La forma de las ruinas* lo dice así: "eso era lo único que me interesaba a mí de la lectura de novelas: la exploración de esa otra realidad, no la realidad de lo que realmente ocurrió, no la reproducción novelada de los hechos verdaderos o comprobables, sino el reino de la posibilidad de la especulación, o la intromisión que hace el novelista en lugares que le están vedados al periodista o al historiador" (p. 205). También Carballo dice algo interesante sobre el papel de la literatura en la sociedad; una afirmación que, tal como la cita anterior, podemos considerar como procedente del autor Vásquez. Según Carballo, un autor de obras de ficción debe ocuparse de "las verdades que no ocurren en el mundo de lo que pueden contar un periodista o un historiador, esas verdades pequeñas o frágiles que se hunden en el olvido porque los encargados de contar la historia no llegan nunca a verlas ni a enterarse de su modesta existencia" (p. 540).

Un autor de literatura puede presentar en sus novelas y cuentos un panorama histórico alternativo y escribir una contrahistoria. Opina Carballo, y se supone con él el autor Juan Gabriel Vásquez, que así un texto puede convertirse en un "submarino de guerra", en el que "ciertos párrafos eran torpedos que apuntaban al trasatlántico del poder colombiano, listos para abrir una tronera debajo de la línea de flotación y que todo se hundiera en los mares para no salir nunca más" (p. 415). La literatura como arma en la

lucha entre verdad y posverdad; la novela como submarino de guerra. *La forma de las ruinas* es un ejemplo impresionante de tal submarino.

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TIDAL SHIFTS IN THE STUDY OF HIGHER EDUCATION IN THE DUTCH CARIBBEAN AND BEYOND

DISTANCE AND BLENDED LEARNING IN THE DUTCH CARIBBEAN

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Introduction

According to the *General Faculty's critical reflection* (Echteld, 2017), bachelor alumni had repeatedly asked the Faculty of Arts (known as the General Faculty based on the Dutch *Algemene Faculteit*) of the University of Curaçao (UoC) if it could provide a professional masters teacher-training course that would enable them to stay on their own islands. Therefore, the General Faculty started the master programme for the islands of Aruba, Bonaire and Curaçao through Blackboard Collaborate in 2013. In 2017, St. Martin was added to the target audience as well.

It was the first time that the UoC had administered a course through Blackboard Collaborate that was streamed to multiple islands. As such, there are four languages that the professional Masters teacher-training course is available in, namely: Papiamentu, English, Dutch and Spanish. In order to create a larger platform and more exposure to the course, the General Faculty formed alliances with foreign institutes of higher Education in Aruba, Puerto Rico, Suriname and Holland in order to increase insight, transfer knowledge and share experiences. This article addresses how the General Faculty embed blended and distance learning in this course. Furthermore, it discusses the use of Blackboard Collaborate in UoC's online teaching, the difference between distance and blended learning, the roles of e-coaching in blended and distance learning environments, and it shows a model description for an online course at the UoC.

Blackboard Collaborate

The UoC has acquired the Blackboard Learn platform from Blackboard Inc. through their Managed Hosting Services (MHS). All of the modules in the course are streamed simultaneously to participating islands via Blackboard Collaborative, a part of the Blackboard course management software UoC is currently using. Knowing the needs of students abroad to participate in the programmes they offer, the General Faculty through special funds, has also acquired the Collaborate module as add-on for the Blackboard Learn platform of the UoC. ICT-technicians on each island can monitor the

streaming and troubleshoot when necessary. This is a very costly setup, since on top of normal expenses, participating institutions must also pay a technician for facilitating the sessions. For this reason, the UoC has started a process of training their own personnel through a new Center for Digital Learning which offers their teachers basic training in managing the technology so they can become less dependent on IT technicians. Recently, to improve the online experience for both students and teacher, Blackboard Collaborate, which requires JAVA installation, was updated to Blackboard Collaborate Ultra, which uses a completely web-based interface and requires only a FLASH Player add-on.

Up to now, what has been done in in the General Faculty has been streaming, which requires students and teachers to synchronize their schedules because the course is being presented online in real-time. However, because Blackboard Collaborate Ultra permits recording, the students who could not attend the real-time class or who wish to review the material can review the recordings and keep up with the course content. Moreover, older cohort students who had stopped their studies but want to start again can also access these recordings and be able to continue. Another benefit of Blackboard Collaborate Ultra is that teachers remain in their own countries and teach through the platform. This enables teachers from Aruba, Bonaire, Curacao, Puerto Rico, Poland and the Netherlands to come together on this platform and share their expertise. Yet, when possible, the teachers still travel to the participating islands to meet the students in person and to teach a class from that location. Because learning tools such as e-readers and digital academic articles are digitized, they are shared through that same platform and through email. In this way, the teachers make sure the material is sent in advance so students can participate during class.

At the start of the academic year, students are taught how to use Blackboard Collaborate and Progress. They also learn how to access research articles through LRS (Library and Research Services). Collaboration amongst students and teachers in the learning process is of great importance and has proven to get the students engaged through active participation (Elizabeth F. Barkley, Major and Cross in Collaborative Learning Techniques 2014). This is one of the principal reasons why the UoC is moving more to a blended setup of the programme.

Distance learning and blended learning

According to Laren-Freeman and Anderson (2011), "there are two main ways to think about technology for language learning: technology as providing teaching resources and technology as providing enhanced learning experiences" (p.199). For years, teaching resources were chalk and a blackboard. Nowadays, teachers can use interactive smartboards and WIFI as technological resources to enhance learning experiences. They also enable distance learning and blended learning, concepts that need to be specified since

their interpretation can vary and has changed over time. Honeyman and Miller (1993) describe distance learning as:

> a field of education that focuses on teaching methods and technology with the aim of delivering teaching, often on an individual basis, to students who are not physically present in a traditional educational setting such as a classroom. It has been described as a process to create and provide access to learning when the source of information and the learners are separated by time and distance, or both. (p. 68)

Furthermore, distance learning is the first step towards creating a blended learning programme. According to Horn and Staker (2014):

> blended learning is a formal education programme in which a student learns: at least in part through online learning, with some element of student control over time, place, path, and/or pace; at least in part in a supervised brick-and-mortar location away from home; and the modalities along each student's learning path within a course or subject are connected to provide an integrated learning experience. (p. 77)

Distance learning differs from blended learning in multiple ways. The biggest difference is that distance learning is traditional and without student/teacher contact whereas blended learning permits student/teacher contact because it is designed to provide "an integrated learning experience" (Horn & Staker: 77). According to Pierce: "blended learning combines the best of face-to-face and online instruction in ways that can customize the learning experience for each student, while making content more accessible" (2017). Yet there are similarities between distance learning and blended learning, for example, online environments are vital for both distance and blended learning. User-friendly online environments or "platforms" are needed to create an effective learning experience in both cases, because if the online environment is hard to access students' participation will decrease.

The General Faculty offers blended learning for all partner institutes of higher education. However, the principal target group of the General Faculty lies in the Dutch Caribbean islands. The main advantages of offering blended learning programmes in the Dutch Caribbean are, firstly, course viability through increased numbers of participants. It would not have been possible to start a traditional or blended learning course for Curaçao alone since the enrolment was too low. Secondly, Students in Curaçao and from the other islands can remain in their own environments and contribute to their local communities and economies. Thirdly, a student-centred platform permits unlimited information access and because lectures are being recorded, students can access them at any preferred time. Lastly, remote access to the platform permits travel flexibility. Students who travel to another island for work or family visits can participate in the same lectures without falling behind. Furthermore, students can obtain face-to-face time with the teachers because the UoC offers the opportunity for its teachers to give

lectures on other islands. By the end of the programme, the all the students will have met the teacher at least twice.

E-coaching in blended and distance learning environments

The General Faculty is exploring how it might strengthen its online teaching programmes, specifically by introducing e-coaching in blended and distance learning environments and offering additional training for qualified teachers. In this way, the General Faculty will build its capacity to design programmes that can be followed in full, online. Once fully online courses can be offered, a new discourse in teaching can occur in Curaçao which aligns with emerging international models. Laren-Freeman and Anderson (2011) explain:

> a classroom setting with a teacher in front at the blackboard/whiteboard and with students at their desks reading from a textbook, while still the norm in much of the world, is giving way to the practice of students working independently or collaboratively at computers and using other technology, such as mobile phones, inside and outside of classrooms. (p.200)

Furthermore, as online courses become more widely available, a transition in teaching is notable. Carefully designed online programmes mean that 'traditional' teachers are going to be transformed into e-coaches. These e-coaches will not only be experts in their field of research but also experts in computer-mediated learning methods. Pierce (2017) discusses a project where:

> teachers could apply to become blended learning instructors. Applicants received training in how to lead a blended learning environment, and their classrooms were equipped with iPads, MacBooks and collaboration stations featuring flat-panel displays.

E-coaches will be trained and able to work with electronic environments to share their discipline-specific expertise without any difficulties. In this way, the traditional role of the teacher is not eliminated but re-interpreted. According to Van Lier (2003) if "technology is to be a positive force in education, it should not be cast as an alternative to classroom teaching, or as replacing the teacher, but as a tool that facilitates meaning and challenging classroom work" (p. 49). However, we must consider how students respond to this type of teaching and ask if there will still be space for social interaction and learner-centred communication to help increase students' performance. As a starting point, we need to keep Vygotsky's (1978) claim in mind that learning takes place through social interaction. Laren-Freeman and Anderson (2011) agree that "social interaction helps students co-construct their knowledge by building on one another's experience. (p.200). Based on such time-tested educational theory, the usage of chat and forum options in UoC's online learning programme will ensure that social cohesion remains vital. Moreover, the General Faculty's e-coaches will be well-trained in Black-

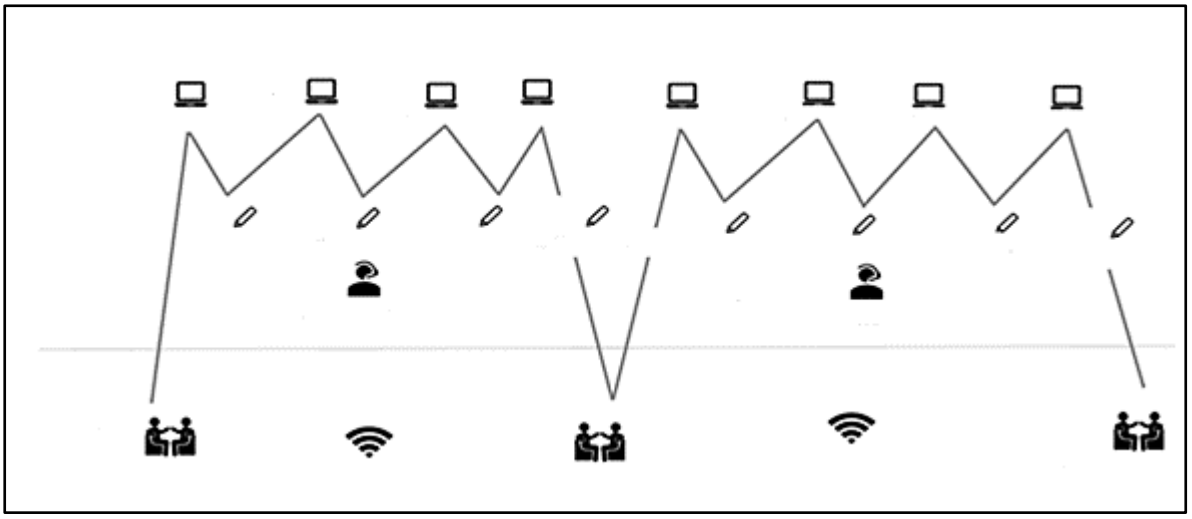
board functionality, specifically features that permit student participation and interaction. In sum, the UoC's use of e-coaches will enable experts in blended and distance-learning environments to provide enhanced learning experiences with social cohesion at the individual and group level.

Model description for online course

The participants of an online course will be able to follow the entire course using Internet-enabled technology and without attending a physical classroom. Interestingly, Van Lier explains that "such integration of technology into project-based teaching is not problem free, of course, but it brings certain rewards in terms of creativity and the development of autonomy and collaborative skills" (2003, p. 50). In order to address potential problems, the electronic environment of any online course must be designed carefully. The proposed UoC online course will consist of a variety of educational activities including access to general information (both text-based and using audio-visual resources), opportunities to evaluate progress in the form of assignments and exams with an interface to access results, and the ability to participate in course-related discussions (see Figure 1). Participants will be able to consult the course page with their questions and either find the answers needed or locate tools to ask the questions to course administrators. Participants will be able to see weekly assignments, access videos, do summative exams and practice their knowledge via formative testing, for example, after watching a particular video, participants might answer a couple of pop-up questions that are embedded into the design of the programme. As a result, participants can see their progress in the course and use this information in conjunction with test results to track learning.

After completing a module, the students will receive a virtual badge to keep track of their progress. Students will be able to submit assignments and access feedback online. They will also have access to discussion boards that will be used as a vital part of the electronic learning environment to promote social cohesion. Moreover, these discussion boards will be the places where students will create a learning community and will be able to give and receive peer support. In the beginning, the e-coach will play a vital role in creating social cohesion to maximize participation and minimize the number of students dropping out. The UoC consider this social space critical as it will create opportunities for individual involvement that will strengthen commitment to the course, an issue that remains essential for a positive learning experience.

Figure 1 "Model Online Course"



Teacher training+ for qualified teachers

In addition to offering the masters teacher-training course, the UoC's General Faculty will support qualified teachers by offering single courses for professional development in subjects such as assessment tools and management tools. The UoC would offer these courses completely online so that qualified teachers could access the material via the platform in their own time and fit courses into their schedules. The flexibility permitted by online professional development courses is currently lacking due to the fact that qualified teachers need to take courses in Curaçao or other islands according to a fixed schedule that may not fit their busy schedules. The UoC's online platform and carefully designed courses will enable more teachers to continue professional development. These courses could also be offered on other islands that do not necessarily follow the Dutch educational system, because some aspects of teaching are universal. Educational trends remain the same for everyone and staying up to date is vital. Furthermore, by promoting enrolment diversity, participants may be able to share different educational approaches and discuss how common problems are dealt with in other Caribbean islands and in other educational systems. This shared experience could create the opportunity to address systemic problems through sharing best practices.

Conclusion

In summary, the growing importance of digital technology and online learning environments influence the process of teaching and learning. Furthermore, it can be stated that due to technological innovations and increased access to online learning tools, the need for traditional classroom learning is decreasing. The UoC is addressing these changes and adapting its curricula accordingly. Firstly, this article presents the differences that the General Faculty recognizes between distance and blended learning. Secondly, the article discusses how the traditional teacher transforms into an e-coaching expert in a

blended and distance learning environment. Based on this information, the article visualizes a model for an online course that the UoC could offer via Blackboard Collaborate. And finally, the article summarizes UoC's proposal for teacher training+ courses for qualified teachers to continue their professional growth. In summary, this article shows how the UoC's programmes embed blended and distance learning to create an effective and accessible learning environment.

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POSTCOLONIALISM, GLOBAL CITIZENSHIP AND THE CHARACTER OF EDUCATION IN DUTCH CARIBBEAN NATIONAL UNIVERSITIES

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In the nineteenth century, relatively young North American universities started to reconsider their academic identity. Discussions about what the American university should be stemmed from a need to claim authenticity and break free from the European academic mould (Smith, 1998). The ambition that became generally accepted was aptly described by Harvard President Charles W. Eliot (1834-1926) when he said:

> "A university must grow from seed. It cannot be transplanted from England or Germany in full leaf and bearing. When the American university appears, it will not be a copy of foreign institutions, but the slow and natural growth of American social and political habits." (quoted in Smith, 1998: 27)

In the past decades, reconsiderations of a similar nature became relevant for higher education institutions worldwide as part of processes related to decolonization. In many former colonies, universities developed the aspiration to play a key role in the emancipation of society by being intellectual engines behind decolonization processes and by employing critical pedagogy in support of transforming communities. This discourse – that I will briefly refer to as postcolonialism – does not seem to have obtained or sustained a prominent place in today's Dutch Caribbean national universities, nor in their development histories.

This article is part of a research project on knowledge, discourse and ideology in the Dutch Caribbean. In this essay I study what choices with regard to the development of higher education were made in the past, and which visions are currently employed by the national universities of Aruba, Curaçao, St. Maarten and Suriname. First, I look at the origins of the government-supported Dutch Caribbean universities in the 1960s and 1970s, to better understand the historical context, ambitions and choices. Next, I present a brief analysis of the visions for education as found in current and recent policy documents and publications. Based on these historical and situational insights, this article argues the need for these universities to profoundly define their cultural identity and ambitions, and sets out the operational consequences as well as the strategic benefits this will have for curriculum development and capacity planning.

Development of national universities in the Dutch Caribbean

When Dr. Moises da Costa Gomez spoke in parliament in 1959 about the need for higher education in the Netherlands Antilles, he not only addressed the much-feared brain drain, but also added a new argument to the discussion. He claimed that if you as a small late-colonial society allow your younger generations to study abroad, you are not only alienating them from their own culture and society, but also posing a threat to the development of your unique society at home (Hendrikse & Da Costa Gomez, 1993). Higher education thus, in this view, inherently holds the responsibility to be culturally distinctive in all programs, to offer social and cultural formation *per se*. Only by offering education rooted in the local culture can it be an instrument for building strong societies.

At that point higher education already existed on a small scale in the Dutch Caribbean. In Suriname as early as in 1882 a Medical School was established, working independently but in close cooperation with Dutch universities. Both in Suriname and in Curaçao small institutes such as the local law schools and schools of engineering had developed in the nineteenth and twentieth century. They would provide the building blocks for the realization of national universities in Suriname (1968) and the Netherlands Antilles (1979).

The development of national universities in the 1960s and 1970s was highly prestigious and political, and not surprisingly met with criticism. This was particularly the case with regards to the Netherlands Antilles that were considered much too small for such ambitions (Narain, 2004). Another reason for scepticism was the close relationship with The Netherlands. In 1974, the prime minister of Trinidad and Tobago, and co-founder of the University of the West Indies, Dr. Eric Williams, wrote a paper on the future of higher education in the Caribbean in which he briefly remarked on the Dutch. He predicted:

> "the Governments, playing the piper, will more and more call the tune. French and Dutch developments will be subject to considerable metropolitan influence." (Williams, 1974: 9)

This prediction was not far-fetched. Intellectual development in the Dutch Caribbean had been shaped by a long history of Dutch cultural imperialism through education (Groenewoud, 2015; 2017). Looking specifically at the development history of national universities in these decades though, a generally strong local focus on the Netherlands is undeniable, but no traces are found of direct metropolitan influence, neither in the former Netherlands Antilles nor in Suriname.

The first university in the Dutch Caribbean was the University of Suriname, founded November 1, 1968. In the explanatory memorandum on the University of Suriname's foundational law, the establishment of a national university was justified by a fundamental need for local expertise and for education based on specific knowledge relevant for the Surinamese environment. In his opening speech, Suriname-born sociologist Prof. dr. Rudolph van Lier added to these motives the ambition to build closer ties with

young Surinamese intellectuals (Van Lier, 1968). Though this was not explicitly mentioned in official documents, Van Lier stated he had no doubts that the underlying goal of the government was "to achieve a stronger bond with the national community and a better adaption to the own environment of the young intellectual, with the aim to prevent the loss of expertise by emigration." This would be achieved "by offering education in the home country in a life phase that is of key importance for the development of the personality" (Van Lier, 1968: 6). By that time already several generations of bright young Surinamese had moved out of the country, most of them to the Netherlands, for advanced studies. Starting in the 1930s, the Surinamese student movement in Amsterdam was well-developed and politically active, resulting in a strong anti-establishment wind blowing back to the mother country from the late 1950s onward (Oostindie & Maduro, 1986).

The position of the Suriname establishment came under pressure in the late 1970s. Under the leadership of Desi Bouterse a military coup took place in 1980, resulting in the overthrow of parliamentary democracy which would last until the elections of 1987. In the newly formed Republic Suriname the university was renamed Anton de Kom Universiteit in 1983. This was a highly disputed choice, not because of De Kom himself but because of the left-wing revolutionaries wanting to associate with him and claiming his legend (Fatah-Black, 2017). The commencement speech of the renamed university that Bouterse held in October 1983 was entitled: *De universiteit als instrument voor nationale bevrijding* [The university as instrument for national liberation] (Bouterse, Brunings & Sankatsing, 1984). Both this speech and the introductions by Brunings and Sankatsing addressed the need for postcolonialism in Surinamese academia. In their Marxist views, the university was considered a crucial instrument for intellectual liberation, though at the same time all academics were expected to serve their community by being radically political and loyal.

The developments in the Netherlands Antilles did not resemble those in Suriname, neither in politics nor in academia. In January 1967 a commission was formed to prepare for the establishment of the University of the Netherlands Antilles (UNA). A collection of late 1970s discussion papers anticipating the launch of the institution in 1979 show two areas of concern.[1] One of these was the question how this Curaçao-based institution would compare with, and relate to, Dutch universities. At that point in the discussion it was clear that the government did not want a European-like university, but an institution similar to its Caribbean counterparts, with vocational training alongside academic education and scientific research, all in one university. In this context it was a deliberate choice to name the institution 'university', just like those of Puerto Rico or the West Indies. However, a university at par with Dutch academia – or that of any other 'higher developed area' – was considered unnecessary for the Dutch Antilles.

[1] National Archives Curaçao (NAC), Collectie Kabinet van de Gouverneur, inv. 768-769

The most prominent and even pressing concern in those days though was the need to be able to locally and independently educate students on all levels. P.T.M Sprockel, a senior officer in education and at that time provost of the Curaçao school of engineering, repeatedly emphasized in his position paper that this need was part of a strong and apparently undisputed development towards full constitutional independence.[2] In the early 1970s a movement had indeed started to prepare for independence (Narain, 2004). One of the driving forces was Dr. René Römer, who would become provost of the new university in 1981. In his view higher education should play a crucial role in breaking down eurocentrism and mental dependence. He blamed these phenomena for the fact that the Dutch Antillean people were more adapt to imitate than to create. The promotion of cultural awareness – or *conscientization* – should in his view be a central ambition of the university (Narain, 2004).

The cultural character of the new university was also discussed in the 1978 papers mentioned earlier, though in the margin of a larger discussion. Sprockel's position paper noted that the new institute should reckon with a lack of 'established Antillean higher education traditions'. In response to this statement, the young local academic Ron Gomes Casseres remarked that this should indeed be the ambition, to create Antillean higher education traditions. This in his view would not fill a void though, since there already existed higher education traditions, but these were 'Antillean-based Dutch traditions'. Being educated in the United States himself, as most academics from the Caribbean Jewish community, he clearly feared a continuation of Dutch cultural dominance in the newly developing local academic sphere. "It should be hoped", Gomes Casseres remarked diplomatically, "that these [Antillean-based Dutch] traditions will not interfere with the establishment of a university 'that speaks Papiamentu'."[3]

In the 1970s, according to politician Don F. Martina, a lot of initiatives were taken to build partnerships in the region, and to bring Caribbean expertise into higher education in Curaçao. The long-term result of this was disappointing, mostly due – in Martina's analysis – to the fact that Curaçaoan people "are focused on material gain and not on human development" and also, so Martina claims, because "we don't know anything about the region, we look down on them" (Heiligers, 2005: 148). When interviewed at the event of the 25th anniversary, he observed with regard to the 1980s and 1990s "that the focus of UNA is now fully on the Netherlands".

Throughout the 1990s the sense of urgency with regard to educational reform in the Netherlands Antilles grew. As Isabella (2013: 307) points out, "many shortcomings of this [Antillean] non-contextualized educational system were identified, content-wise as well as with regards to didactic approach." The fact that the local language, culture, and society had not been adequately incorporated into the educational process was considered a key factor in explaining the problematic educational output in the Netherlands

[2] NAC, Kabinet Gouverneur, inv. 769, paper dated 24 March 1978.
[3] NAC, Kabinet Gouverneur, inv. 769, paper dated 13 April 1978.

Antilles. Based on this insight, the islands started to restructure primary and secondary education around the turn of the century.

In 1987 the University of the Netherlands Antilles organized a symposium to discuss their 'reason and right of existence': a public act of self-reflection (Universiteit van de Nederlandse Antillen, 1988). Around that time two new national universities were founded in the Dutch Caribbean. In 1986, following the separation of Aruba from the Netherlands Antilles, the island established their own University of Aruba (1986). Also in the late 1980s, the island of St. Maarten – though still part of the Netherlands Antilles – founded a bi-national University of St. Maarten (USM, founded 1988) to serve the French and Dutch island community with associate degree education for local professionals in business and education[4] (George, 2016).

The local identity and the character of education returned as discussion items in 2013-2014, when they were raised as concern in several reports by UN organizations. The first reporting UN organization was UNICEF, issuing regional reports on Youth and Adolescence in 2013, with those of the Leeward Antilles in particular referring to concerns with regards to the Dutch-oriented education system. (UNICEF, 2013b: 7; 2013a: 182) The Curaçao report states for example:

> "In cognitive terms, the Dutch education system, on which the education system in Curaçao is based, is very good; however, in emotional and psychological terms, it needs to be adjusted to the local context. It is said to construct representations about the Netherlands that are very separate from the Curaçaoan reality and lead young people to suffer from a lack of identity and identification with their island." (UNICEF, 2013c: 48)

When the UN Working Group of Experts on People of African Descent visited Curaçao and the University of Curaçao[5] in 2014, this was one of the topics they considered. The group's end report vented serious concerns regarding equality and employment on the island, of which several were seen as a result of the limited availability and/or the distinctly non-local character of (higher) education (Human Rights Council, 2014).

Having national universities questioned this way is quite understandable, not in the least because worldwide, in similar post- or late-colonial settings, different choices have been made. Strong postcolonial and contestatory tendencies had predominated elsewhere, perhaps most visibly in Africa. Under the presidency of Nelson Mandela for example, South African universities went through a rigorous change program aimed at the decolonization of education. This post-1994 movement looked strong from the outside; evaluations however suggest that putting principles into practice was not easy. Recent research shows for instance that history teachers in South Africa "are still upholding and

[4] http://usm.sx/about/ Retrieved May 2018.

[5] The University of the Netherlands Antilles was renamed University of Curaçao Dr. Moises da Costa Gomez in 2013 as a consequence of the constitutional changes and dissolution of the Netherlands Antilles in 2010.

promoting discourses that advance colonial-, imperial- and apartheid-oriented perspectives" (Moreeng, 2014: 782). What we can learn from these experiences is that localizing and decolonizing education is not a 'quick fix'. It is a change in thinking that needs consistent effort and considerable time.

Quality assurance and visions for education

In the 1990s, when education in the Netherlands Antilles was thoroughly evaluated, improvements with regards to higher education were expected to be made primarily through the implementation of quality assurance, under the auspices of the international accreditation process. The main argument for strong local higher education remained the avoidance of brain drain. No explicit attention seems to have been given in the discussions at that time to the character of higher education or the cultural contents of the curriculum. Meanwhile institutions for higher education in the Kingdom of the Netherlands started to invest in quality assurance and prepare for accreditation processes as a direct consequence of the 1999 Bologna Agreement. Within this new framework, universities in the Dutch Caribbean, including Suriname, started to 'tie global to local': to adapt international – in particular: Dutch – standards to the local context (Isabella, 2014).

The interesting thing about this development is the fact that although international accreditation of course implies compliance, educational programs are not necessarily bound to lose local relevance or character. On the contrary: compliant programs must be aligned to the needs of the local employment market. It seems however inevitable that the need for compliance, as well as the goal to further (international) life-long-learning, will result in the ambition to become a Western 'model university', with foreign higher education institutions and in particular those in The Netherlands as 'role model'. This ambiguity is clearly visible in the vision statements of all universities. The 2017 UoC educational vision for example states that UoC aspires:

> "to educate students to become upright, autonomous, responsible and entrepreneurial world citizens and professionals that are able to be effective in the environment of a country in which sustainable and innovative solutions will be of increasing importance." (University of Curaçao, 2017, translation by author)

Being much smaller than the University of Curaçao, both the University of Aruba and the University of St. Maarten (USM) are centered around the goal to serve the local community by supporting individual development and empowerment. The USM mission statement reads:

> "The USM is an expertise center on the bi-national island of Sint Maarten & Saint Martin specialized in studying and promoting cultures of hospitality in education. As an institution catering to development of knowledge and wellbeing, it offers academic courses as well as adult enrichment programs. The general objective of the USM is to produce in every household on the island an Associate

degree holding mediator and contributor to a tolerant and economically vibrant public life."[6]

The UA mission statement reads:

> "Bring together inspired people who conduct and deliver quality research and higher education in order to enhance the students' and alumni capabilities to participate in the dynamic and ever-changing world, resulting in responsible, satisfied global citizens, who are lifelong learners and who are prepared to positively contribute to the community's quality of life." (University of Aruba, 2017a)

The aspect of empowerment seems to have been approached by USM more on local level and at UA more at a global level.

Like USM, the University of Suriname considers itself a global player but is concerned primarily with local needs and circumstances. The current mission statement of the Anton de Kom University of Suriname (AdeKUS) as found on their website states that this university wants to provide: 'Knowledge development and knowledge sharing in a sustainable partnership'. Attached to this statement are four additional guidelines. As the text on the website reads[7]:

> "Based on this mission the AdeKUS commits to:
>
> 1. performing social relevant research of high academic quality;
> 2. dissemination of scientifically based knowledge and expertise within Suriname, the region and beyond;
> 3. an engaged independence by sustainable partnerships with government, private sector, civil society and international partners;
> 4. a culture of openness which facilitates a discrete critical debate with partners."

This mission not only reflects the academic aspirations for the future of Suriname, but also aims not to repeat past experiences of a regime in which academic independence and an open, critical debate with partners apparently were not self-evident.

A dedication to student formation is found most explicitly in the Aruba and St. Maarten strategic documents. USM in particular seems to take into account the specific Caribbean and island socio-cultural environment (Guadeloupe, 2014). In the case of Aruba, the Strategic Plan 2015-2018 elaborates profoundly on student formation from a socio-psychological perspective. Under the heading 'purpose and direction' it states:

> "The University of Aruba will guide Arubans to deepen their self-consciousness, sense of being, belonging and contribute to an elevated existence as part of humanity. For this, through the University of Aruba, we will study ourselves, find ways to better ourselves as individuals and as a community and then reach out

[6] Email Sharon Freiburg, acting Dean of Academics, to Margo Groenewoud, 3 May 2018. Because of a change of management going on at the time of my inquiry, the information that USM could provide was limited.

[7] http://www.uvs.edu/over-ons/visie-missie/ Retrieved May 2018.

> to the world to help humanity in its further development. The University of Aruba is an agent for the creation of an enlightened society. Our Mission, Vision and Values will help us sharpen our instruments to pursue our purpose." (University of Aruba, 2017a: 3)

In contrast, the Aruban educational vision – being a core guiding document for curriculum development – lacks any references to the environment of the student or alumnus. The educational vision of the UA reads:

> "Our graduates excel in their professional fields and academic pursuits, serve society with an inquisitive attitude, are able to use their creative potential, personal and social awareness, and competencies as sources of collaboration, innovation and quality." (University of Aruba, 2017b)

In the case of the UoC, the educational vision provides ten statements for curriculum development (University of Curaçao, 2017). One of those is related to knowledge of the social and cultural environment. It states that "UoC wants to be a trendsetter for sustainability and innovation based on our unique and specific Curaçao context". In another statement the ambition is brought forward "to educate global citizens." What the practical application of this vision should look like is undefined, but working on these themes will most likely imply citizenship education as well as localized education in the Curaçao context.

From this brief analysis, it becomes clear that national universities in the Dutch Caribbean – in trying to balance global with local – show ambivalence with regard to the character of the education that they promote and provide. In most cases ideas with regard to the social and cultural aspects in the curriculum and the *bildung* aspects of their pedagogy remain indistinct or unspecified. It appears to be assumed that the alumni should be knowledgeable about their environment, about the local and regional social and cultural context, but there are no explicit targets for imparting or transmitting this knowledge. The impact of education could benefit from a further development and specification of these aspects, and of the intentions and beliefs behind these visions for education, with particular attention to how visions should be operationalized. In the ongoing effort 'to tie global to local', a broad discussion in which these identity aspects are agreed on is crucial. More than 'just' policy making, this agreement on contextualized identity is a prerequisite for the implementation of constructive alignment and thus crucial to the quality of education.

Impact of social and cultural ambitions on curriculum development

In order to align with developments in educational science, in recent years the universities of Curaçao, Aruba and Suriname have started to promote the use of the constructive alignment approach in curriculum development. This requires answers to the fundamental questions with regard to cultural identity addressed in this paper. In constructive alignment, the baseline is to define what you want your students to learn (Biggs, 1996: 64). When defining these ambitions one of the first things that should be discussed and agreed, or clarified in case of a fixed presumption, is where and how the university positions and envisions itself with regards to its environment and its students. Obviously, this baseline needs to be regularly evaluated at institutional level as well as faculty level. This is not just a philosophical exercise. These evaluations should result in an agreed framework for teaching, with operational consequences, for example, in the area of capacity planning, in terms of required knowledge and competencies, etc.

This positioning debate is most fundamental given our late-colonial political and social environment. Do we, for instance, see ourselves as integral part of social emancipation and decolonization processes in the Dutch Caribbean? Do we consider ourselves an instrument for nation building and the promotion of citizenship? Or do we want none of this, and rather see ourselves as an independent, innovative, global player, even perhaps a semi-commercial education provider that happens to be based on Curaçao? All can be valid, but a choice needs to be made.

Second, universities should discuss and clarify what their stance is relative to their students. What is our vision of the students we are educating? Are we teaching professional knowledge and skills to a group of aspiring professionals, or do we envision a more general formation of the students, who we consider to be not just aspiring professionals but also human beings and citizens? And if that is the case, how do we perceive these students culturally? Do we see our students as what they themselves identify with? Or do we have a moral or social responsibility to challenge the students regarding their world views and self-images? Should we take our Caribbean identity much more seriously and use that as a source of strength to develop our students first and foremost as *Caribbean* talent, working towards this goal in a close-knit Caribbean academic network (Kean, 2000)?

The positioning debate has a direct link with nation building (Isabella, 2013). Dutch Caribbean universities need to look critically at their environment. A debate on the identity of higher education in the Dutch Caribbean cannot take place without taking into consideration the specific circumstances of being Caribbean and being a Small Island Developing State (SIDS) with a relatively young and dynamic – if not traumatic – constitutional past. In a recent article on education and nation-building in St. Maarten, Guadeloupe and Van der Pijl reflect on nation and identity in a small island environment, in which they claim:

> "nothing is fixed as everything – people, goods, capital, ideas, and the environment – is constantly emerging and reproducing that which has to be imagined as 'a whole'. Thus nationness refers to belonging as a less codified experience and, again, one that is inconceivable outside continuous transborder flows or transmigrancy." (Van der Pijl & Guadeloupe, 2015: 93)

Discussing these issues on an institutional level – and making explicit and well-supported decisions based on this – will have an impact on a curriculum that goes well beyond 'fixing' the current curriculum. Choosing to offer distinctive (Dutch) Caribbean higher education will – consistent with constructive alignment – affect all aspects of learning. First, it will obviously impact the definition of all learning objectives. Second, such change will require a conscientious and consistent choice of teaching/learning activities throughout the program. Third, it will also challenge the assessment methods used, which need to be consistent with both the newly defined learning objectives and the methods used. Consequently, changes on this level will impact the expectations we have of our teaching staff. Should the institution choose to commit to distinctive Dutch Caribbean education *and* formation, the option of having culture-specific 'modules' in your overall curriculum will no longer be available. Depending on the program, this may imply a major paradigm shift, since teaching aspects of (Dutch) Caribbean sociology, culture or history is no longer 'someone else's job', but becomes an integral part of all education provided. Making this shift will not just change the curriculum and what we demand of the university staff, it will also alter the way we approach selecting and instructing (foreign) guest lecturers.

To make the change, integrated course design based on Fink's Taxonomy of Significant Learning (Fink, 2013) appears to be an appropriate method for achieving both the actual curriculum development and the paradigm shift in the teacher staff. This integrated course design takes situational factors into full consideration and the human aspect of formation (*bildung*) is part of the taxonomy.

The result will be 'home-grown' education, just as envisioned by Harvard University founder Charles Elliot. Not a Dutch tree planted in Caribbean soil, but a tree grown from seed. No wonder that for Finks taxonomy of significant learning the metaphor of a tree is also used. When learning involves the environment and holistically takes care of the watering, the rooting and the soil, the impact will be not just the formation of professionals, but sustainable, significant, healthy human *and* social development.

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INTERNATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS EDUCATION: THE RELEVANCE OF PAULO FREIRE

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Introduction

The norms codified in international human rights conventions are often understood to be far more than legal norms. The extent to which international human rights have an actual impact, depends on whether or not, and – if so – how, human rights are invoked and applied by different actors. This impact therefore necessarily depends largely on human rights education and awareness-raising about human rights. Human rights education – as commonly understood – requires education about human rights, through human rights and for human rights (Osler, 2016). It often adopts a critical stance towards governments and abuse of power.

In this article, I argue that if human rights are to contribute to human dignity, a critical stance towards international human rights in human rights education is indispensable. I first look at international human rights (education) and subsequently I explore what human rights education can learn from Paulo Freire, specifically from Freire's call for consciousness and action that liberate from colonizing knowledge, and that restores human dignity by humanizing people through consciousness, knowledge production and/or education.

This analysis of human rights (education) is done by analyzing relevant theories and United Nations (UN) documents. My point of departure will be the UN Convention for the Elimination of all forms of Racial Discrimination. The analysis is further developed by looking at (English translations of) Freire's *Pedagogy of the oppressed.* It also includes a reflection on anecdotes taken from my experience as a lecturer at the School of Law at the University of Curaçao. This study should be seen as a work in progress, because it is part of my ongoing PhD research.

UN frameworks for international human rights education

United Nations (UN) human rights conventions encourage member states to provide for human rights education. This makes sense; if human rights are to be implemented, people in all realms of life have to know about human rights and they have to know how to implement, interpret, apply, invoke – and I would say, further develop or create – these

rights. A common definition of international human rights education can be found in article 2 of the 2011 UN Declaration on Human Rights Education and Training (UNDHRE):

> 1. Human rights education and training comprises all educational, training, information, awareness-raising and learning activities aimed at promoting universal respect for and observance of all human rights and fundamental freedoms and thus contributing, inter alia, to the prevention of human rights violations and abuses by providing persons with knowledge, skills and understanding and developing their attitudes and behaviors, to empower them to contribute to the building and promotion of a universal culture of human rights.
>
> 2. Human rights education and training encompasses:
>
> (a) Education about human rights, which includes providing knowledge and understanding of human rights norms and principles, the values that underpin them and the mechanisms for their protection;
>
> (b) Education through human rights, which includes learning and teaching in a way that respects the rights of both educators and learners;
>
> (c) Education for human rights, which includes empowering persons to enjoy and exercise their rights and to respect and uphold the rights of others.

As determined in article 2 of UNDHRE, human rights education should consist of education *about*, *through* and *for* human rights. This has been reiterated in other documents produced by UN bodies, and literature on human rights education.[1] It thus follows that human rights education should not only focus on human rights norms and the mechanisms for their protection. Instead, human rights education should be taught in a manner that respects human rights of educators and learners, and human rights education should lead to action. Human rights education thus entails education on human rights in its broadest sense, and – as we will see below – it is not only about education in educational institutions.

Although the obligation to provide for human rights education can be found in multiple UN human rights conventions, I begin my analysis of human rights education with article 7 of the UN Convention for the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (CERD). Similar interpretations of what human rights education should entail can be found in other UN conventions and subsequent documents, but this will not be the focus in this paper. The CERD's aim is 'speedily eliminating racial discrimination in all its forms and manifestations'. It obliges states to combat racism through different

[1] There is a growing body of scholarly work on human rights education, e.g. Bajaj, Monisha (2011). Human rights education: ideology, location, and approaches. *Human Rights Quarterly, 33*, 481-508.

measures. Article 7 of CERD obliges member states to contribute to this aim through teaching, education, culture and information. It mandates that:

> States Parties undertake to adopt immediate and effective measures, particularly in the fields of teaching, education, culture and information, with a view to combating prejudices which lead to racial discrimination and to promoting understanding, tolerance and friendship among nations and racial or ethnic groups, as well as to propagating the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, and this Convention.

Thus, the article makes clear that States are not expected to only provide teaching, education, culture and information *in abstracto* to eliminate racial discrimination. Instead, the article also obliges state parties to provide for international human rights education. The CERD Committee – the committee monitoring the implementation of the CERD[2] – emphasizes that proper educational and informational instruments, methods and techniques are essential for the effective implementation of article 7. The Committee has acknowledged that while its members may be experts in the field of racial discrimination[3] in principle they may have no real expertise on educational and informational instruments, methods and techniques. It is therefore expressed that, where needed, the Committee leans on UNESCO's expertise in these areas. Nevertheless, the Committee has formulated relevant general recommendations on this matter.

According to the Committee, human rights education encompasses education extending from primary school to university and to out-of-school education.[4] Measures taken should not be limited to public education systems. Instead they should focus on private schools as well.[5] Furthermore, TV, radio, other mass media such as the internet, social media, books, school curricula, teaching materials, museums, theatre performances, shows, concerts, seminars, conferences, lectures, cultural events, and truth and reconciliation commissions should all be seen as means through which the general public

[2] Article 8-16 CERD.

[3] Article 8 par. 1 CERD: '1. There shall be established a Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (hereinafter referred to as the Committee) consisting of eighteen experts of high moral standing and acknowledged impartiality elected by States Parties from among their nationals (…)'.

[4] E/CN.4/Sub.2/1998/4, p. 15, par. 42 and 47, see also CERD General recommendation XXX on discrimination against non-citizens, 2005, 31; CERD General recommendation XXX on discrimination against non-citizens, 2005.

[5] CERD General recommendation no. 34 on racial discrimination against people of African descent, 2011, CERD/C/GC/34, 62.

should be made aware of article 7 of CERD and its purposes. According to the Committee, the speech and actions of high-level public officials are also means through which the purposes of article 7 CERD can be achieved. [6]

Educational strategies formulated by the Committee include intercultural education and intercultural bilingual education, based on equality of respect and esteem and genuine reciprocity. To this end the Committee emphasizes that it is important for educational materials to provide a fair portrayal of racial or ethnic groups present in a given state, as well as providing information and knowledge of the histories, cultures and traditions of those groups. Educational material should also highlight the contribution of all groups to the social, economic and cultural enrichment of the national identity and to national, economic and social progress. Furthermore, they should include information and knowledge on existing prejudices and xenophobia and be informed by and address human rights themes.

Connected to this, the Committee has urged Member States in multiple general recommendations to review all language in textbooks and teaching materials at all appropriate levels. Stereotyped or demeaning images, references, names or opinions concerning certain racial or ethnic groups should be replaced by images, references, names and opinions that convey the message of the inherent dignity of all human beings and their equality of human rights.[7]

I understand these recommendations formulated by the Committee to aim at creating more complex understandings about the world in which we live. Understandings that might contribute to learners seeing the interconnectedness of their situation with that of others around the world, understandings that would contribute to defying limiting consciousness. However, as I will contend, these recommendations don't go as far as they could and should.

Since the CERD Committee leans on UNESCO's expertise concerning, amongst others, education, I have looked into UNESCO's interpretation of interculturality. UNESCO's understanding of intercultural education departs from the idea of culture being '"the whole set of signs by which the members of a given society recognize ... one another, while distinguishing them from people not belonging to that society." It is also seen as "the set of distinctive spiritual, material, intellectual and emotional features of a society or social group ... (encompassing) in addition to art and literature, lifestyles, ways of living together, value systems, traditions and beliefs."' Following this understanding of

[6] E/CN.4/Sub.2/1998/4, p. 16, par. 48-50; A/33/18, p. 15; CERD General recommendation XXIX on article 1, paragraph 1, of the Convention (Descent), 2002, par. 4 (r) and 4 (s); CERD General recommendation no. 34 on racial discrimination against people of African descent, 2011, CERD/C/GC/34, par. 66; CERD General recommendation no. 35 on combating hate speech, 2013, CERD/C/GC/35, par. 32, 35, 37, 39 and 44.

[7] See amongst others: CERD General recommendation XXX on discrimination against non-citizens, 2005, 12; CERD General recommendation no. 34 on racial discrimination against people of African descent, 2011, CERD/C/GC/34, 31.

culture, UNESCO formulates interculturality as the 'evolving relations between cultural groups. This has been defined as the existence and equitable interaction of diverse cultures and the possibility of generating shared cultural expressions through dialogue and mutual respect.' (UNESCO, 2006: 17):

> Multicultural education uses learning about other cultures in order to produce acceptance, or at least tolerance, of these cultures. Intercultural Education aims to go beyond passive coexistence, to achieve a developing and sustainable way of living together in multicultural societies through the creation of understanding of, respect for and dialogue between the different cultural groups ….
>
> It [intercultural education] needs to concern the learning environment as a whole, as well as other dimensions of educational processes, (…). This can be done through the inclusion of multiple perspectives and voices. The development of inclusive curricula that contain learning about the languages, histories and cultures of non-dominant groups in society is one important example. (UNESCO, 2006: 18-19)

Striking in both UNESCO's and the CERD Committee's understanding of intercultural (education) is that human rights education appears to fall outside of the scope of intercultural education. After all, when discussing intercultural education, human rights education appears to be added as something distinct and additional to, or contributing to intercultural education. It is as if human rights are deemed neutral, and that human rights theory and action is neutral and beyond culture. It thus appears that human rights can't be approached from an intercultural perspective. This would defy the purposes promoted by the emphasis on intercultural education. It thus appears that the pluralism that is envisioned by this interpretation of interculturality is part of a project – the human rights project – in which one hegemonic global ethics is envisioned. I argue that if human rights education is to contribute to combating racism (the aim of the CERD) and beyond that, a world in which human dignity prevails, international human right norms shouldn't escape the concept of culture. To explain this, I have to take a step back and consider the relation between human rights and culture.

Human rights and culture

Often, when discussing international human rights, one will almost inevitably reach a point at which someone wonders: 'But who decides what is just?'. This also happened when I recently attended a lecture on international children's rights and violence against children, more specifically on what children's rights are and how these rights can protect children against any form of violence. Another member of the audience, a layman in the area of international human rights, raised the issue of spanking. She wondered who decides if a particular behavior constitutes disciplinary spanking and who decides

whether disciplinary spanking is allowed or not. This, I find, is a very important question. One that creates a space to discuss the complexity of norm setting at the international and local levels. However, what followed was something that typically occurs; without using these terms, the lecturer discussed the dichotomy between international human rights and culture, and between universalism and cultural relativism.

As I will explain here below, I find that this way of answering the question of 'who decides' and the accompanying narrative on the legitimization of international human rights, are flawed, because they obscure the fact that international human rights are part of culture too. They also obscure the complex processes involved in formulating and interpreting the dominant norms within the realm of what is claimed to be 'international' or 'universal', complex processes with long histories in which actors from around the world have played and still play a role.

When legitimizing international human rights, reference is often made to the universality and neutrality of those norms. The standard narrative disseminating this ideology emphasizes contributions of an imagined 'West' as foundational to human rights. International human rights are then perceived as the outcome of specific events, such as the promulgation of the Magna Carta in England, the French Revolution, the Holocaust, and knowledge production based on the Enlightenment and liberalism. Reference is made to thinkers like Hobbes, Locke, and Rousseau (Barreto, 2013: 6; 8). These events and personalities are then often treated as emanating from isolated geographic loci associated with what is now called Europe and North America. This narrative obviously also informs theories and practices concerning human rights.

Universalists claim that, despite being of 'Western' origin, international human rights have a 'neutral' foundation, providing a framework within which different ideologies and world views can be embedded. International human rights are thus presented as the outer skirt of what is morally just. This means that any other religious or non-religious moral norm or value system should adhere to these standards (see for example Donnelly, 2013). In this line of thinking, non-compliant norms or value systems are perceived as local traditional 'culture' and juxtaposed to international human rights, which are perceived as the output of 'universal reason'. Non-compliant norms are thought to be primitive, something from the past, backwards, while international human rights are thought to be universal, modern and not part of culture at all. In the ideal world all cultures should strive to move from traditionalism or backwardness into the modernity of human rights. Paradoxically, this common international human rights ideology portrays human rights as universal, neutral and inalienable, while at the same time it portrays them as of 'Western' origin.

As a reaction to universalists, cultural relativists claim that human rights are not universal norms and that local cultural norms must prevail. Interestingly, it was 'Western' states and scholars who first invoked this idea. The argument was made that the backward indigenous inhabitants in the colonies were not ready for 'Western' human rights

(Burke 2010: 39-40). The idea of cultural relativism was later used by 'non-Western' states to oppose human rights which were seen as imposed by the 'West'.

Both universalists and relativist usually don't problematize what is meant by 'the West' or 'Western'. In this respect I would like to point out to for example Trouillot, who, quoting Glissant, contends: 'The West is not a place, it is a project' (See Trouillot, 2002). Scholars have been trying to find ways to forego the unending discussion between universalists and relativists. These efforts often don't escape the idea that human rights are something 'Western' and/or, simultaneously, claiming the need for a hegemonic universality.

Interestingly, scholars who consider the dichotomy of universalism vs. cultural relativism, international human rights vs. culture, often have an essentialized understanding of what culture is; they portray culture as something which is static with more or less clear boundaries. But culture is not static nor clearly demarcated. Instead, culture is 'a repertoire of ideas and practices which are historically produced in particular locations under the influence of local, national and global forces and events. This view of culture emphasizes that culture is hybrid and porous and that the pervasive struggles over cultural values within cultural communities are struggles over power (Merry, 2006: 9; 11; 15).

If one wants to use the concept of culture when discussing local value systems, international human rights should be seen as part of an international global culture.[8] Just as local cultures do, this international global culture changes from within and without. The discussions on international human rights should therefore not so much focus on the dichotomy between universality and non-universality, the modern and the primitive. Instead they should focus on the way in which international human rights norms are ascribed meaning, are interpreted and change, and what role other cultures, different actors, geographic location and relations of power play in these processes. In this way hybridity, porosity and power in active norm making at both the international level and local levels become visible. This opens up the possibility of looking at the creation of human rights discourses and practices in different localities which have become invisible in mainstream human rights ideologies.[9]

As Barreto (2013) contends, this practice brings 'out of the shadows significant personalities and thinkers who also have a place in the lineage of human rights. Furthermore, this practice will unveil how human rights are articulated and 'done' in different localities, even when they don't become part of dominant human rights understandings. Acknowledging contributions from other geographical locations and unmasking the impact of culture and colonialism on human rights, would expose erasure and oppression

[8] Merry argues for seeing human rights as part of an international global culture

[9] It has already been asserted that the 'West' is certainly not the only locus in which the idea of codifying moral values in law originated (e.g. Preis in Goodale, 2009: 335-336; 338).

and legitimize power struggles, struggles for change, and or incorporation of diverse value systems and knowledges. It also allows us to fully problematize the 'universality' of the concept of international human rights and the hegemony it creates, and to acknowledge how it can be oppressive towards cultures (including world views and norms concerning justice) that have not (yet) been incorporated into international human rights discourse.

This might also lead to a better understanding of the impact of capitalism, neo-colonialism, patriarchy, ethnocentrism and anthropocentrism on human rights. For example, it can play a role in shifting the focus from human rights as originating from the relation between the individual and the nation state, to a more inclusive and complex narrative including the relation between the colony and the empire (Barreto 2013). Thus the division of international human rights into at least three different generations with different legal statuses can be problematized.

There have been scholars who have warned for the danger of a 'declarationist' approach towards human rights education in which human rights norms are presented as 'neutral universal truth'. Osler contends that – when human rights education makes use of a 'declarationist' approach – there might even be a parallel between the spread of the human rights system and the 19th century civilizing mission of the Christian churches (2016: 8). Others have also pointed out problematic aspects of the human rights project, which consequently find their way into human rights education (e.g. Okafor & Agbakwa, 2001).

Freire and human rights education

I argue that human rights education should include a critical stance towards human rights themselves and that this will contribute to human dignity. Human dignity lies at the foundation of the morality embodied in international human rights. To me it thus only makes sense that human dignity should be the foundation of human rights education too. This implies, at the very least, that learners are seen as human beings worthy of human dignity. It does not mean that it is clear what human dignity exactly entails, although Freire warns that it should follow that learners are not seen as empty and passive bank 'accounts' awaiting the 'deposit' of human rights knowledge, but rather as beings with their own historicities (Freire, 1970).

In my understanding, human rights education should therefore not be 'declarationist', but should be able to contribute to freedom, to liberate instead of imposing a colonial worldview as 'universal'.

This is where I turn to Freire to explore what we can learn. I analyze some of their ideas, partly by reflecting on recent experiences. I once heard a lecturer comparing Curaçao and Sint Maarten to teenagers who were still living in their mother's house (The Netherlands), wanting to live by their own rules but holding their hands out to their mother for money. I had heard this metaphor before. However, this time I was in total shock,

not even necessarily due to the fact that the lecturer would think and say this, but rather because of the fact that this was part of a class. In agreement, a male student reacted to the statement by saying: 'and we have been doing so for centuries'. 'Yes, exactly', the lecturer said.

In this example we can see a colonized and dehumanized understanding of the world; Curaçao, with a population of some 150,000 and Sint Maarten, with a population of some 40,000 are metaphorically transformed into two recalcitrant teenagers who depend on a mother embodied by The Netherlands and its population of some 17 million. This understanding of the world is propagated by the teacher using what Freire characterized as the 'banking' model of education; where knowledge is produced and prepackaged by others elsewhere for the students' passive consumption. This 'deposited' knowledge is detached the students' realities, where they function as human beings with their own knowledge and relations with the world, with other people, and with the state. Realities which encompass the experiences of some 200,000 human beings cannot be merged into a single experience.

I argue that, if human dignity and social justice are the aims of human rights, we have to conceptualize students, not as empty 'accounts', but instead as human beings with their own experiences and critical views. This can contribute to their liberation from situations of oppression. In this article I adopt Freire's understanding of an oppressive situation as 'any situation in which 'A' objectively exploits 'B' or hinders his or her pursuit of self-affirmation as a responsible person (…). Such a situation in itself constitutes violence' (Freire, 2005: 66). As Freire also contends, this does not mean that such a situation is created intentionally. I understand liberation to be a process of humanization or dis-alienation that ultimately depends on each of us. As both Freire and Frantz Fanon (2005, 2008) argue, we are not liberated by others. Freire emphasizes, however, that it is impossible for us to liberate ourselves by our own individual efforts alone, and that is where education plays a crucial role in the process of liberation (Freire, 2005: 66).

So, the above described situation can be interpreted as a situation of oppression. The students, of whom most will probably identify as Curaçaoan, experience what Freire describes as: 'often do they hear that they are good for nothing, know nothing and are incapable of learning anything—that they are sick, lazy, and unproductive'. After all, the narrative provided by the teacher was one in which she merged every Curaçaoan into one single teenager, who, lacking maturity, is dependent on a mother. Moreover, the student who elaborated on the teacher's statement by adding 'and we have been doing so for centuries' not only confirmed that the discourse being propagated had resonated with the mental models, social representations, and ideologies instilled in him by school, the media, and other agents of hegemony, he also demonstrated that he 'in the end … [had] become convinced of [his] … own unfitness' to move beyond them. (Freire, 2005: 63)

What is to be done, then? How do we reach a stage where 'the oppressed become aware of the fact that as dual beings, "housing" the oppressors within themselves, they cannot be truly human.' (Freire, 2005: 95). Freire recommends that to begin this process, we must reject:

> the "banking" concept of education, in which the scope of action allowed to the students extends only as far as receiving, filing, and storing the deposits. They do, it is true, have the opportunity to become collectors or cataloguers of the things they store. But in the last analysis, it is the people themselves who are filed away through the lack of creativity, transformation, and knowledge in this (at best) misguided system. For apart from inquiry, apart from the praxis, individuals cannot be truly human. Knowledge emerges only through invention and re-invention, through the restless, impatient, continuing, hopeful inquiry human beings pursue in the world, with the world, and with each other …. [This is because:] Implicit in the banking concept is the assumption of a dichotomy between human beings and the world: a person is merely in the world, not with the world or with others; the individual is spectator, not re-creator. In this view, the person is not a conscious being (*corpo consciente*); he or she is rather the possessor of a consciousness: an empty "mind" passively open to the reception of deposits of reality from the world outside. (Freire, 2005: 73-75)

Instead, we need to strive to create pedagogies in which the teacher ceases to be a simple narrator, but in which the students are acknowledged in their historicity, and which includes a multi-directional exchange among students and between students and teacher, in which all become part of a dynamic community of co-learners. To do this, Freire points out that 'The students – no longer docile listeners – are now critical co-investigators in dialogue with the teacher.' (Freire, 2005: 81), stating further that:

> The point of departure of the movement lies in the people themselves. But since people do not exist apart from the world, apart from reality, the movement must begin with the human-world relationship. Accordingly, the point of departure must always be with men and women in the "here and now", which constitutes the situation within which they are submerged, from which they emerge, and in which they intervene. Only by starting from this situation – which determines their perception of it – can they begin to move. To do this authentically they must perceive their state not as fated and unalterable, but merely as limiting – and therefore challenging. (Freire, 2005: 85)

This requires critical thinking, which Freire defines as:

> thinking which discerns an indivisible solidarity between the world and the people and admits of no dichotomy between them – thinking which perceives reality as process, as transformation, rather than as a static entity – thinking which does not separate itself from action, but constantly immerses itself in temporality without fear of the risks involved.*'* (Freire, 2005: 92)

But critical thinking in itself is not sufficient. It must be accompanied by critical action, whereby students who already have a critical analysis of dominant discourses but feel like they have to be 'quiet and calm', transform the classroom into a place where they cannot only think critically but also speak and therefore act critically, a place where they come to realize that they are 'in the world' and where they can act upon their newly required consciousness with their whole weight as human beings.

Concluding remarks

I contend that human rights education in which such critical thought and action are encouraged will contribute to a more critical understanding of human rights norms. Freire's pedagogical framework opens up the possibility of an understanding that human rights have always been something of the here and now in every geographical location. It will simultaneously lead to a critical understanding of the fact that not every notion of what human rights (and thus human dignity and social justice) entails, finds its way to the realm of codified international human rights. For the way that international human rights norms get meaning, are interpreted and change are dependent on the role of different actors and cultures (and thus different value systems), from different geographic locations, and positions of power. In this way hybridity, porosity and power relations in active norm making at the international level and local levels become visible.

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TOWARDS STRUCTURED SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH IN THE DUTCH CARIBBEAN

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Conducting multi-year research projects is a challenge for us on the smaller islands in the Caribbean. The necessary resources are lacking, and the available academic staff in higher education is in most cases extremely limited. Those who might otherwise undertake scholarly research have many educational obligations to fulfill, leaving little time to carry out extended research studies. In this article, I will describe efforts currently underway to alleviate this situation on the three Leeward Islands of the former Netherlands Antilles, Aruba, Bonaire and Curaçao, with a special focus on the latter. For the island of Curaçao, which, since the constitutional changes triggered in October 2010 has been granted autonomous status within the Kingdom of the Netherlands, nation building and capacity building are and will remain top priorities (Government of Curaçao, 2016). This is because the sustainable development of the island's economy and society relies heavily on human capital.

Curaçao's national university, which was founded in 1979 as the University of the Netherlands Antilles, and which, since 2013 after the abovementioned constitutional changes, was renamed the University of Curaçao Dr. Moises Da Costa Gomez (UoC), plays an important role as a knowledge center by investing in scientific research and academic output (Strategic Plan 2014-2018, 2014: 3). One of UoC's key objectives is an improvement of knowledge infrastructure via the consolidation of a powerful research platform through the creation of a UoC Research Institute, alongside a digital educational learning platform, which "… will be both to the benefit of research and digital learning, as well as to the external visibility and usability of UoC as knowledge center" (Strategic Plan 2014-2018, 2014: 11-14). This institute will be designed to promote science and scientific research for the benefit of higher education and social development.

One of the first steps in organizing research in a more structured way was the creation of a policy document on research. Although this policy document has not yet been ratified, it reflects on the necessary non-material and material conditions essential to the establishment of a stable research environment and outlines the various fields of research within UoC. As far as the non-material conditions are concerned, the following

activities are considered important: 1) offering courses on research skills, 2) encouraging and facilitating publications, 3) organizing academic conferences, 4) encouraging participation in research projects, 5) creating opportunities for periodic research discussions among professors, recently promoted staff members, and post-doctoral; doctoral and other postgraduate and undergraduate level scholars and students, and 6) employing both internal and external scholars in temporary service, usually with funding through grants. As far as the material conditions are concerned, the policy document identifies: 1) funding by the government, 2) funds, also made available by the government, which are awarded on the basis of quality and competition, 3) monetary support for the UoC to do research for third parties, 4) donations, 5) monies generated by conducting research at the request of government departments on a project-by-project basis and 6) funding from the European Commission. The fact that UoC has established uniform guidelines for UoC publications will help to stimulate high quality scientific publications.

All of the five faculties of UoC, the School of Law (Faculty of Law), the Faculty of Engineering, the Faculty of Social Sciences and Economics, the Faculty of Arts (General Faculty), and the Faculty of Social and Behavorial Sciences maintain research programs linked with the concept of Small Island Developing States (SIDS). The dean of each faculty, as the head of the faculty and member of the academic staff, is responsible for the curriculum offered to the students. This curriculum includes both educational content and research programs. In these research programs, the main research domains or research lines are linked to professorial chairs (in Dutch: *leerstoelen*). A professor, an associate professor or a doctorate senior researcher (assistant professor) coordinates the research programs in each faculty in continuous consultation with the dean, as part of a dynamic and ongoing process.

The research program of the School of Law involves three main programs taking different legal disciplines as a starting point, including: 1) private law, 2) constitutional and administrative law, 3) criminal law, 4) public international law and 5) European law. The Faculty of Engineering, has one main research theme, "Industry 4.0, Technological Resilience" and three main research programs: 1) technology and sustainable development; 2) sustainable water technology and water management, and 3) architectural heritage and social urbanization. The research program of the Faculty of Social Sciences and Economics has 5 themes: 1) organization and innovation, 2) (innovative) entrepreneurship and human capital, 3) corporate social responsibility, 4) fiscal aspects of enterprises and 5) financial hub development and international relations. For the General Faculty, there are four research themes: 1) literature and literary history, 2) linguistics, 3) language acquisition, with a focus on Papiamentu and 4) education policy and educational innovation, particularly with regard to the local and Caribbean contexts. The research program of the Faculty of Social and Behavorial Sciences includes three

main domains or fields: 1) behavioral health and prevention/intervention, 2) health and social welfare and (3) parenting and family welfare.

The Netherlands Organization for Scientific Research (NWO), a Dutch governmental organization whose mission is to advance world-class scientific research that has scientific and societal impact (NWO, 2018), has made it possible, via a complicated architecture of different consortia of institutes of higher education in the Netherlands and the Caribbean, for research institutions in the Dutch Caribbean to apply for research grants. This has been seen as a significant step forward in promoting research in the region. Under the auspices of this new modality for research support, in December 2016 the University of Curaçao received grants for five projects over the following four years, including: 1) Father absence and consequences for reproductive behavior and psychosocial development among Caribbean, Caribbean-Dutch and native Dutch youth; 2) Bilingualism, literacy and school success in the Dutch Caribbean; 3) Traveling Caribbean heritage; 4) Cultural practices of citizenship under conditions of fragmented sovereignty; and 5**)** The Curaçao longitudinal study on juvenile resilience and delinquency: a population- based study on developmental pathways from an ecological perspective.
Since local PhD students, supervisors, post docs and student assistants are involved in these projects, these initiatives are certainly contributing to capacity building at a high scientific level. All are experiencing the unique opportunity of participating in substantial and long-term research in close cooperation with colleagues from other universities of international standing. The accumulated research experience and scientific awareness which is emerging from these projects can have a positive impact on UoC's international ranking, by putting Curaçao and the other Leeward Islands on the map of cutting edge contemporary research. Each of these research projects offers the prospect of around two international publications per year in refereed journals, which over four years can amount to roughly 40 relevant publications.

Four of these five projects are linked to the UoC Research Institute, which is aiming at achieving accreditation in four years' time, which would represent another achievement for research at UoC. The positive effects of these four projects are becoming more and more evident and have improved the scientific atmosphere at UoC by encouraging high quality performance by researchers. Thus, the University of Curaçao seems to finally be rising above the daily routine of education and social services. Although these four projects are not the only ones accommodated within the Research Institute, their strict adherence to international criteria, their compliance with competitive selection procedures, and the ample resources that they provide to UoC make them the driving force behind the institute. These projects are therefore the focus of attention at present, because of their potential for laying a solid foundation for the future.

Some excerpts from the scientific summaries of these projects that appear in their NWO Grant application forms to the NWO-Caribbean Research Program 2016 are listed below, to give the reader an idea of their focus and scope:

Project 1) Father absence and consequences for reproductive behavior and psychosocial development among Caribbean, Caribbean-Dutch and native Dutch youth:

> From an evolutionary perspective, father involvement in child rearing has been necessary for the survival and social development of their offspring. Consequently, father absence may be detrimental for children's health and wellbeing, at least in Western societies where social networks that replace the father are rare. Father absence influences youth development (e.g. reproduction, maturation, problematic behaviors, educational attainment), and although boys are neglected in the scientific literature, different effects appear to be evident for boys and girls. Moreover, the impact of father absence on youth development likely varies with the extent to which father absence is considered deviant by sociocultural standards or constitutes a normative family form, as it does in many Caribbean societies. The question is, how do the consequences of father absence compare across cultures?
>
> The proposed research investigates effects of father absence on reproductive behavior (1) and psychosocial development (2) among Curaçaoan youth, Curaçaoan-Dutch youth and native Dutch youth. (Grant Application Form 2016, Caribbean Research Program, Scientific Summary).

Project 2) Bilingualism, literacy and school success in the Dutch Caribbean:

> When it comes to literacy development in the Dutch Caribbean, we need to recognize the region's particular multilingual context. On the Leeward Islands, children almost unanimously have Papiamentu as their mother tongue (L1), whereas at school the majority of children still learn to read and write in Dutch (L2) first. There is not only a high degree of variation in the school curriculum, but also in children's L1 and L2 skills and attitudes as well as in the levels of parental support. The fact that the census data report high numbers of class repeaters, students with low-level performance and school drop outs underscores the need for an in-depth investigation into the development of bilingualism, literacy and school success. The overall aim of this project is to explain individual variation in relation to academic success in *learning to read* and *reading to learn* in Papiamentu and Dutch throughout the primary grades in two sub-projects. In sub-project 1, the focus is on learning to read, in sub-project 2 it is on reading to learn. (Grant Application Form 2016, Caribbean Research Program, Scientific Summary)

Project 3) Traveling Caribbean heritage

> Centuries of intense migration have deeply impacted the development of the cultures of Aruba, Bonaire and Curaçao. Creolization is the key concept for understanding the origins of their Caribbean cultures, and the most emblematic expression of this is their unique language, Papiamentu/o.
>
> The islands' asymmetrical relation to the Netherlands begs many questions regarding insular identities. Everyday discourse on the islands abounds with references to this uneasy postcolonial relationship. In addition, intensive contemporary migrations – from and to the wider Caribbean, the Netherlands and beyond – have deeply impacted insular demographics and understandings of what it means to be Aruban, Bonairean, or Curaçaoan.
>
> All of this provokes debates about insular identity, and the need to preserve the islands' literarily traveling cultural heritage – but heritage is as much a contested concept as identity.
>
> In this project, Caribbean and Dutch scholars and cultural heritage specialists address these questions, identifying and questioning the dynamics of heritage formation, and developing a multi-generational human resource base as well as a digital infrastructure for the preservation of insular cultural heritage, for outreach activities, and ultimately for stimulating the sustainable development of these non-sovereign SIDS. (Grant Application Form 2016, Caribbean Research Program, Scientific Summary)

Project 4) Cultural practices of citizenship under conditions of fragmented sovereignty

> How is citizenship practiced under conditions of fragmented national sovereignty? Departing from the recognition that citizenship is not only a legal status based on (birth)-rights and filial duties, but equally a notion tied to the histories of the nation-state, its claims of modernity, and its legacies of colonialism, slavery, and gender inequalities, the project examines citizenship in Curaçao and Bonaire in terms of practices and incipient struggles for political subjectivity. It asks *how citizenship is practiced and culturally articulated by subjects facing multiple forms of systemic inequalities*.
>
> The proposed research consists of two multi-disciplinary doctoral projects on citizenship in relation to (1) sexual minorities and (2) gender relations, based at the University of Amsterdam and the University of Curaçao respectively. The first sub-project inquires into cultural articulations of sexual minorities, including case studies in the areas of film, literature, theatre and cultural performance. (…) The second sub-project is a multi-generational study of rituals, customs, language and norms of Curaçaoan and Bonairean women. (…) The study combines methods from the social sciences and humanities, such as discourse analysis, immersive participation, oral history and cultural performance analysis.

(Grant Application Form 2016, Caribbean Research Program, Scientific Summary)

Projects 2, 3 and 4 are all are affiliated with the General Faculty, which has Language, Education and Culture as its main domains. As dean of the General Faculty, I am involved in all three projects in terms of supervision and in terms of promoting spinoff activities related to them. I am also associated in a more substantive way with Project 3, by doing research on the historical literary canon of Curaçao.

Those involved in the Caribbean heritage project have organized meetings with different stakeholders (focus groups) to get a more specific idea of the cultural characteristics and cultural developments on the islands of Aruba, Bonaire and Curaçao. On Curaçao the importance of material heritage was highlighted in a focus group meeting. For example, mention was made of how much the material heritage relates to the non-material heritage on the island, in terms of the stories and social networks associated with the buildings and the neighborhoods where these buildings stand. On Bonaire a link was made between "tourism" as a commodity and cultural traditions and folklore. In Aruba, the commercialization of heritage was emphasized alongside the development of the brand "Aruba" (Allen et al., 2018).

Professor emeritus of Gender Studies at the University of Utrecht, Dr. Gloria Wekker, was invited by those involved in the Cultural practices of citizenship under conditions of fragmented sovereignty project, to conduct a workshop on gender in cooperation with the ministry of Social Development, Labor and Welfare. She also gave several lectures, including one titled, "White innocence and beyond," referring to her study *White innocence: paradoxes of colonialism and race* (2016) which explored what white innocence means in the context of the Dutch Caribbean. A lecture was also delivered by the visual artist (also poet, writer, dramatist, filmmaker, director and curator) Felix de Rooy (1952), titled, "The queer identity in art". De Rooy took the audience on a journey through the various disciplines of visual arts, theater and film, and showed how he incorporated the theme of homosexuality into his versatile *oeuvre*. These activities and others illustrate the valuable spinoffs that have already emerged from these four projects, all of which are enhancing the research culture at UoC. This is a very favorable development which forms an essential part of the University of Curaçao's mandate to promote science, not only in Curaçao but also in Aruba and Bonaire.

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DIDACTICAL APPROACHES TO STUDENT THESIS COACHING AT THE PEDAGOGICAL INSTITUTE OF ARUBA (IPA)

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This article aims to delineate the didactical approach to student thesis coaching at the pedagogical institute of Aruba (IPA). What is here presented is based on 'grounded theorizations' of the past nine years of the author's experience with student thesis coaching. It is also based on analyses of policy papers, documentation and in-depth conversations with thesis coaches and evaluators at this institution and elsewhere.
IPA has several foundational pillars as shown in Diagram 1 below, among which Research and Development are key, especially as they relate to developing competencies for a globalized 21st century world. IPA's Research department Centro di Investigacion y Desaroyo di Enseñansa (CIDE) is responsible for carrying out research assignments in education, as well as for developing and teaching the research curriculum together with thesis coaches, who are responsible for coaching students with their final year theses.

Figure 1 Foundational pillars of the Instituto Pedagogico Arubano

Though IPA has always had research as a key component in its curriculum, it wasn't until recently that a clear decision was made to focus on Practitioner Based Research in Education as a research approach for the institution. This decision was in part made on the knowledge gained by IPA's lecturers and researchers during the past decades as well

as on the recommendations of the NVAO (*Nederlands-Vlaamse Accreditatieorganisatie*) in 2012 when IPA successfully passed its accreditation evaluation. Practitioner Based Research is here understood as research that has:

> … a distinctive approach to inquiry that is directly relevant to classroom instruction and learning and provides the means for teachers to enhance their teaching and improve student learning (Stringer, 2008: 1).

In other words, we are talking about research that is essentially an on the spot procedure designed to deal with concrete challenges in one's school, classroom, workplace. It is dynamic and uses different data collecting methods and procedures such as interviews, observations, questionnaires, journaling, small scale interventions, multiple sources of documentation (audio/film) and case studies. Contrary to some interpretations, it is both qualitative and quantitative and is always open to modification and adjustment as it has a progressive and longitudinal character. More importantly, it promotes agency as it empowers teachers to initiate change from their own point of departure instead of waiting for a top down solution (Cohen & Manion, 1994: 192).

IPA's views this type of research paradigm from a broad perspective in that it includes various sub-approaches. This includes forms of practical research such as Action Research, Inquiry based learning and the like. Thus, Action Research though often used in a generic way, is in this context seen as a *specific form* within a wider frame of Practitioner Based Research. Even so, there has been much debate within the institution with regard to its interpretation, its methodological approaches, its value and what it means on a practical level when it comes to student thesis coaching. The literature suggests that similar discussions also take place in other local higher academic institutions, as well as in institutions abroad, especially in Dutch or Dutch modeled institutions where despite the introduction of a general Bachelor Master (BaMa) tertiary level structure, there is still a culture that promotes a strict divide between practitioner and scientific based forms of education (Inspectie van het Onderwijs, 2003). The author's position on this dichotomy is that in any learning organization theory and practice are part of a continuous process, and one complements the other.

IPA's overall research vision is premised on what Lave & Wenger (1991) have described as 'community based research' where 'everybody' and 'everyone' in the community and in this case the classroom has a role, primarily through dialogue in the research process and the process of knowledge production. The research department's motto is therefore: '*Creando conocomento hunto na beneficio di nos ensenansa*' which can be interpreted as 'creating knowledge together to the benefit of our educational process'. The didactical approach to student research coaching is very much in line with Lev Vygotsky's Constructivist Approach to learning. This has given form to specific ways students are coached in carrying out their research projects. To date, there have been positive results which can be attributed to this specific way of coaching students.

Below are some of the reactions of students at the beginning of the process and after its completion:

Prior to Thesis	Post Thesis
• Students said "Writing is difficult.", "Why do we need to do this?", "Who is going to benefit from this?", "They won't do anything with this work anyway." • Some students mechanically equated research with questionnaires	• Despite its challenges, students felt that they learned a lot about themselves • Students felt very proud, accomplished, resilient • Students understood the value of research better, had a better research attitude, were more critical, had developed problem solving abilities • The majority of students viewed research as essential to the IPA curriculum

Elaborated below are some key components of the IPA didactical approach, listed as best practices worth sharing.

1) **Workshops, not lectures:** Fourth year students are given a series of research workshops in preparation for the writing of their thesis. These are 'hands on' sessions where students are expected to express their thoughts on paper from the initial stages. From the very first workshop students begin the writing process. With their laptops, they are encouraged to design an outline and progressively make their contributions in a form of a working paper.
2) **Recognizing one's potential:** In these workshops students are made aware of the traditional ways of academic writing versus more constructivist approaches. They are encouraged to change their mindset, a paradigm shift, in the way they view themselves, knowledge and knowledge production. Their socio-cultural background is used as a foundation and as a resource from which to depart; not as an impediment. Students often lack confidence as a result of a traditional approach that focusses on weaknesses rather than strengths. One could think here of the proverbial *rode streep* (red mark) as an indication of one's work being incorrect. Psychologically students are often afraid to write because they feel that what they have to contribute has little value or that they are incapable of writing
3) **Research as agency:** In this approach, students are taught that 'everyone can be a researcher' and that research is not for the chosen few in the ivory towers of the 'big' universities. It starts with the realization that bringing about a change starts with oneself. Agency and Empowerment are central tenets of this approach; it is geared towards a democratization of knowledge where it

is not the coach who is the sole expert but all partners who are involved in the co-creation of knowledge.

4) **Collaborative learning:** In this approach students are encouraged to see learning and writing as a collaborative effort. The workshops are centered around group work and promote group writing where students can openly share ideas and receive feedback.
5) **Writing is rewriting:** In this approach students are taught that 'writing is rewriting'. Before the final product is handed in, it has to go through numerous revisions. Peer review is encouraged. They are also taught that research is a dynamic process; form and structure can always be adjusted along the way. This approach also views language as a means not as a goal; grammar can be adjusted along the way. One has to get over the fear of writing by actually doing it; 'errors' are part of the process. Even though the grading is fairly traditional, the thesis is gradually shaped towards the students' final product. One could think of a 'sculptor's approach' where out of stone, through gradual chiseling, shaping and making adjustments, a masterpiece emerges.
6) **Starting small and celebrating small successes**: By encouraging students to start small and by celebrating small successes students and coaches are given confidence that they are on the right track; it produces a feeling of accomplishment. Students are given short semi-structured writing assignments where they concisely jot down their thoughts on a particular theme.
7) **Thesis coach leading by example:** When coaches give feedback, they are encouraged to do this from an approach of encouragement. They ought to recognize the progress of the student, and give constructive support with the things that need improvement. The coach also has to have an open attitude towards learning. Peer feedback is encouraged when there are methodological concerns.

It must be mentioned that this approach has its challenges. Students feel that there are discrepancies in the ways they are coached. Procedures are adaptable and not always clear-cut. Because of the diversity of the disciplinary backgrounds of the thesis coaches each views research methodologies through his or her own particular prism, resulting in diverse interpretations of research concepts and methodological approaches. Constructivist approaches to thesis coaching make heavy demands on coaches, because they often take more time, energy, commitment, and emotional involvement than other more traditional approaches. This can be quite difficult to balance with all of the other teaching, administrative and other tasks that coaches must carry out. Even so, most coaches feel that the benefits outweigh the challenges. As in any pedagogical process, it takes time to design and deploy optimal didactical approaches to coaching.

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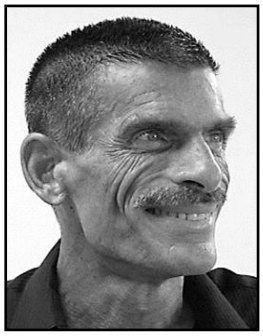

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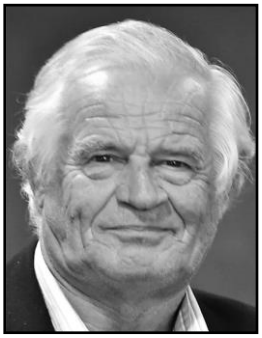

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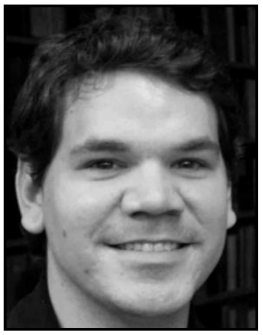

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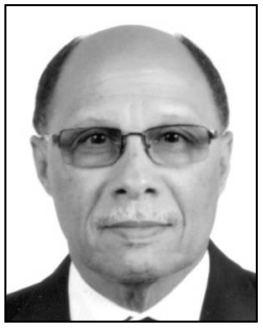

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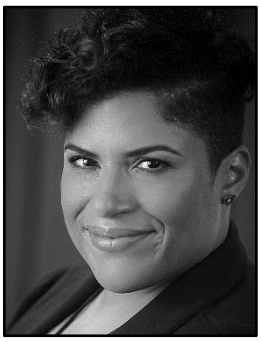

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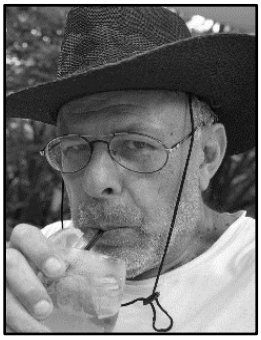

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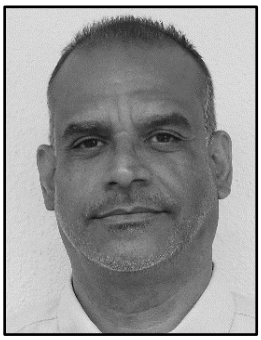

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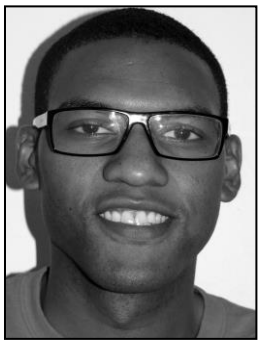

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Ariadna Timp MEd (Bonaire) is an English teacher at the vocational school in Bonaire. With both a Bachelor's and a Master's degree from the University of Curaçao, she has done research on how Papiamentu can be used to teach vocabulary at secondary schools and has worked with Dr. Ellen-Petra Kester to develop a matched-guise test to assess students' attitudes towards Dutch and Papiamentu on the island of Bonaire. ariadna_jmt@hotmail.com

Rita Vitalini MEd (Bonaire) is an English teacher at the Scholengemeenschap Bonaire. For the past two years, she has been studying English at the University of Curacao and has been conducting research on L1 use in L2/FL classes. To obtain her Bachelor's degree she studied different L2/FL teaching methods. Having received her Master's degree from the University of Curacao, she teaches English at different levels in secondary schools. ritavitalini@hotmail.com

ABOUT THE COVER ARTIST

Wilson Garcia (Netherlands) was born in Curaçao and worked at the Fine Arts Academy and the Akademia Pedagógiko Kòrsou teaching art. He still exhibits in Curaçao. On his website, he writes: "To me, art is very personal. It invites people-to-people contact. I portray human contact figuratively in striking colors. I blend figures and environment into a visionary whole, an invitation to feel part of the portrayal. I mix my oils directly on the canvas, which creates numerous transitions and nuances. The portrayal speaks for itself, supported by the title and the viewer designs his or her own story." http://www.wilsongarcia.nl/