

This volume, *Creative Contradictions: Unsettling Resonances 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. The online versions of these volumes and the other 21 volumes in this series can be found on the Caribbean Languages and Culture Platform in the Partner Collections of the Dutch Caribbean Digital Platform of the Library of University of Curaçao at <http://dcdp.uoc.cw/icarplat>.

Creative Contradictions

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

Creative Contradictions:

Unsettling Resonances in the study of the languages, literatures and cultures of the Dutch Caribbean and beyond



Faraclas | Severing | Weijer
Echteld | Rutgers | Delgado

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University of Aruba



Creative Contradictions:

Unsettling resonances in the study of the languages,
literatures and cultures of the Dutch Caribbean and beyond

Dedication



ELIZABETH SANDERS ARBUCKLE
(August 8, 1928 - May 3, 2019)

A Life of Love, Scholarship and Adventure

Elizabeth Sanders Arbuckle (1928-2019) was my close friend and colleague, an English teacher, and a respected scholar of 19th century British literature who wrote extensively about British feminist Harriet Martineau. I once met a friend from California who said “You know, Betsy doesn’t just study Harriet Martineau, she has become Harriet, who has consumed her research and writing for the last forty years.” At the time of her passing, Betsy was serving for the second time as president of the Harriet Martineau Society in Great Britain. Stanford University Press published two of Betsy’s academic books, and her “definitive” biography of Martineau will soon be published online by her son Michael.

Betsy did her doctoral studies at the University of Edinburgh while taking care of a young family. For many years, she served as teacher, committee member, and MA and PhD thesis adviser in the English Department of the Faculty of Humanities at the University of Puerto Rico, Río Piedras campus. Betsy was an avid traveler and one of the four founders of the annual Eastern Caribbean Islands Cultures (‘Islands in Between’) conference. She attended nearly every one of the first 20 Islands in Between conferences, which have been bringing together students and faculties from universities throughout the Caribbean for the past two decades. She loved teaching, and I remember that once, when she had a group of Puerto Rican graduate students in a Victorian literature class, she created a module on lace-making and invited a Puerto Rican lace-maker to class, in order to demonstrate how lace-making and other activities traditionally relegated to women provided them with the time and venue for organizing themselves to establish and participate in the feminist movements of the 19th century and beyond. We will surely miss her, but Betsy will always remain with us in spirit at the Islands in Between conferences.

Joan McMurray

Creative Contradictions

**Unsettling resonances in the study of the languages,
literatures and cultures of the Dutch Caribbean and beyond**

Volume 1

Edited by

Prof. Dr. Nicholas Faraclas

Prof. Dr. Ronald Severing

Drs. Christa Weijer

Dr. Elisabeth Echteld

Prof. Dr. Wim Rutgers

Dr. Sally Delgado



**UNIVERSITY
OF CURAÇAO**
DR. MOISES DA COSTA GOMEZ



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Volume 1

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University of Curaçao (Universidat di Kòrsou)

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

University of Puerto Rico at Río Piedras (Universidad de Puerto Rico, Recinto de Río Piedras, UPR)
San Juan, 00925, Puerto Rico, www.uprrp.edu

Cover: Painting by Giolina Henriquez, *Power of silence*. Acrylic on canvas, Aruba, 1996. Private collection of the artist.

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Introduction and acknowledgements

The two publications: *Creative Contradictions: Unsettling resonances in the study of the languages, literatures and cultures of the Dutch Caribbean and beyond* together with *Positive Interferences: Unsettling resonances in the study of the languages, literatures and cultures of the Greater Caribbean and beyond*, contain a collection of articles that present a critical perspective on the languages, literatures, and cultures of the Greater Caribbean and the Caribbean diaspora. The contributing authors include a wide range of voices old and new from the Caribbean and beyond.

This book forms part of a two-volume set, with this volume focusing on the ABC-islands (Aruba, Bonaire and Curaçao) and other parts of the (former) Dutch Caribbean in particular, and the second volume focusing on the Greater Caribbean in general.

Together, these volumes provide a platform for researchers and other cultural workers whose work treats the islands, topics, and/or perspectives that traditionally receive less scholarly attention than others at professional conferences and in academic publications. Special emphasis is placed on ensuring that new voices with fresh points of view find a place in these volumes, alongside contributions by more well-established scholars.

The online versions of these volumes and the other 21 volumes in this series can be found on the Caribbean Languages and Culture Platform in the Partner Collections of the Dutch Caribbean Digital Platform of the Library of University of Curaçao at <http://dcdp.uoc.cw/icarplat>.

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The Editors

**UNSETTLING RESONANCES
IN THE SOCIAL HISTORIES OF
THE DUTCH CARIBBEAN AND BEYOND**

AN EXPLORATION OF WOMEN'S STUDIES AND GENDER STUDIES IN CURAÇAO ¹

ROSE MARY ALLEN

UNIVERSITY OF CURAÇAO, DR. MOISES DA COSTA GOMEZ

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Introduction

Since 1960, gender has become an important concept in the social sciences and the humanities. Originally defined as a binary construct for analyzing how a society connotes the physically distinctive characteristics of the sexes and defines what is 'feminine' and 'masculine', nowadays gender is used to denote a variety of identities which do not necessarily correspond with being male or female. Considering the increasing number of published works on this theme, one can conclude that gender has been gaining visibility in the Dutch Caribbean islands, both in academia and in public discussions. Nevertheless, to date there exists no comprehensive study of the production and the institutionalization of knowledge on women's and gender issues in Curaçao or the wider Dutch Caribbean. This makes it pertinent to examine its trajectory on the different islands of the Dutch Caribbean.

In the Anglophone Caribbean there exist useful reviews on women's and gender studies. An example is the article by Patricia Mohammed (1998), "Towards indigenous feminist theorizing in the Caribbean." Also worth consulting is *Gendered realities: essays in Caribbean feminist thought* (2002), an edited book by the same author. Two more recent studies are: *Advancing Caribbean feminist scholarship*, edited by Dalea Bean and Raquel Sukhu (2016), and Tonya Haynes' thesis titled, *Mapping the knowledge economy of gender in the Caribbean, 1975-2010: feminist thought, gender consciousness and the politics of knowledge* (2011).

For Curaçao, the recent dissertation by Adaly Rodriguez, *The rise of women rights in Curaçao: the potential of the Women's Convention to the empowerment and equal rights of women in Curaçao* (2015) is worth mentioning. Even though its main objective is not to review gender studies in Curaçao, it provides much insight into what has been

¹ This is a revised and expanded version of the Public Lecture, titled "An exploration of gender studies in Curaçao", delivered at the University of Curaçao on International Women's Day, March 8, 2019.

written in this area, particularly within the social sciences in Curaçao. It documents both published and non-published literature, reports, government memoranda, chapters in edited books, and papers in international and regional scholarly magazines. Rodriguez' dissertation therefore also gives us some idea of the level of institutional commitment to the study of gender in Curaçao.

Special mention should also be made of *Mundu yama sinta mira*, edited by Ansano et al., the first book dedicated entirely to women in Curaçao. It is a collection of short stories, poems, as well as scholarly articles on women's experiences written in Papiamentu, Dutch, English and Spanish. The contributions encompass women in the pre-Colombian era, enslaved women, the impact of women in migration movements, and women in politics, the arts, literature and other cultural fields. Prepared for the Third Conference of the Association of Caribbean Women Writers held in Curaçao in 1992 the book itself appeared on the market a year later. Its prime motivation was to bring women more to the foreground, both those of the past as well as those of the present.²

In some respects, Curaçao seems to be ahead of the other Dutch Caribbean islands in studies about women and gender. In this article, I explore the development of women's and gender studies in Curaçao by looking at trends in the academia here, and linking it where possible with the work of civil society and non-governmental organizations. This article is an attempt to chronicle and analyze the evolution of the discipline on the island and focuses on scientific and official studies of women and gender; it does not include literary and popular writings. Studies on women in the Dutch Caribbean diaspora in the Netherlands are also not included. The paper should be seen as an initial step toward a much larger project that would map and review trends in the theoretical perspectives, ideologies, and methodologies of gender studies in the Dutch Caribbean. I also provide some recommendations for potential future directions.

Historically contextualizing women's and gender studies in Curaçao

The United Nations International Women's Year (1975) and International Women's Decade (1976-1985) internationalized women's issues and also brought them to the forefront of national discussions in Curaçao as well as in the rest of the former Dutch Caribbean federation called the Netherlands Antilles which at one time or another included: Curaçao, Aruba, Bonaire, Sint Maarten, Saba and Sint Eustatius. In Curaçao, in anticipation of International Women's Year (IWY), a local Steering Committee consisting of approximately 60 organizations including the Federal Bureau of Social Welfare was established in 1974. This Bureau was given the mandate to provide counsel to government regarding the unequal social and legal situation of the Dutch Antillean woman. Subsequently, research on gender was considered a means to produce a body

²Amigoe, 19 June 1993, article by Rudsella Jansen. See also Amigoe 12 June 1993. For review see: Eva Abraham, in *New West Indian Guide / Nieuwe West-Indische Gids*, 69, 3/4 (1995); 327-329. For abstract see: *Caribbean Abstracts*, no. 4, 1992-1993 (1994); p. 16, no. 0035.

of knowledge on gender issues in different areas of governmental work and to address specific problems and concerns. One such study was the inventory, made by a government-appointed committee, of all discriminatory rules and regulations regarding the status of women in general within the Civil Code of the Netherlands Antilles (Rodriguez, 2015). It resulted in at least one very concrete improvement, namely the cancellation of the legal incapacity of married women in 1975.

Curaçao has long been a member of the Caribbean Association for Feminist Research and Action (CAFRA), established in Barbados in 1985. CAFRA has research and publication as major components of its mission (Reddock, 1995). For CAFRA, research and action go hand in hand; research should not be done for its own sake, but as part of developing new approaches for understanding and acting upon issues relevant to women. The late Curaçaoan sociologist Sonia M. Cuales was a leading figure in CAFRA's establishment. Her advocacy toward developing women's studies in Curaçao within a more inclusive Caribbean context has contributed to placing the Dutch Caribbean on the Caribbean agenda. This combination of activism and research was also adopted by the local feminist group *Union di Muhé Antiano* (UMA, Union of Antillean Women), founded in 1975 in Curaçao, which encouraged research through its radio programs and publication in its magazine *Bosero*.

In the 1990s, integrating a gender perspective in governmental policy matters was a key issue for the Interdepartmental Advisory Group, officially established in 1991 under the presidency of the then director of the Bureau of Women's Affairs of the Netherlands Antilles, the sociologist Bernadette Dougle (Amigoe, 9 March 1991). Also, Curaçao's participation in various United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (UNECLAC) conferences led to more practical research, seen as relevant to the design and execution of policies for the improvement of the position of women in society. See e.g. the *Report of the ECLAC/CARICOM/UNIFEM Caribbean subregional meeting preparatory to the fourth world conference on women* (1995), the *Concept instructions of the Netherlands-Antilles Delegation to the 28th meeting of the ECLAC Board of Presiding Officers, Willemstad, Curaçao 3-4 June, 1999* and the *National Report of the Netherlands Antilles on the implementation of the Beijing Platform for Action 1995-2000* (For more information, see Rodriguez, 2015), the *Concept instructions of the Netherlands-Antilles Delegation to the 28th meeting of the ECLAC Board of Presiding Officers, Willemstad, Curaçao 3-4 June, 1999* and the *National Report of the Netherlands Antilles on the implementation of the Beijing Platform for Action 1995-2000*. Shadow reports, such as *Emancipation policy in the Netherlands Antilles; still an illusion*, prepared by Jeanne Henriquez and Jacqueline Martis, local members of the Caribbean Association for Feminist Research and Action (CAFRA), have also aided in increasing public awareness of women's issues.

Since Curaçao and Sint Maarten became autonomous countries within the Kingdom of the Netherlands on October 10, 2010, gender and development issues have remained

subjects of attention as Curaçao continues to deal with the complex demands of diversity and unity in the (re)construction of (what is generally believed to be) a new country and society. Specific reports dealing with the issues of gender equality are the *National Report on the fulfillment of the Brasilia Consensus to the XII session of the Regional Conference of Women in Latin America and the Caribbean, 2013* and the *Cedaw treaty Ngo Shadow report Curaçao September 2015*.

Curaçao's *First Millennium Development Goals Report* of 2011 assessed the island's advancement toward Millennium Development Goal number 3 which was aimed at: 1) eliminating gender disparity in primary and secondary education by 2005 and at all levels of education by 2015; 2) eliminating gender disparities in income and occupational opportunities at all levels and in all sectors; and 3) reducing by 60% the incidence of physical acts of gender-based violence and all forms of gender-based violence. In 2013, a report titled, *Strategies for Sustainable Long-Term Economic Development in Curaçao*, prepared on behalf of the Ministry of General Affairs, explicitly endorsed the gender dimension in economic development. In contrast, Curaçao's *National Development Plan 2015-2030*, approved by the Council of Ministers in 2016, is centered on seventeen Sustainable Development Goals but does not have a specific gender component, other than mentioning teen mothers as a vulnerable group that requires attention. It should be noted that all these reports utilize research, especially gender-disaggregated statistics gathered by the Central Bureau for Statistics, to identify, analyze, and make known how gender issues affect individuals as well as the society at large.

Early research: family and labor

What have been the key areas of gender research in Curaçao? Even though most of the academic studies on gender appeared after the 1990s, the research done in the 1970s and 1980s helps us to understand the development of the discipline. Many of the early works were anthropological and sociological studies of the family, male-female relationships within the family, and the connection with culture. As in the English Caribbean (Trotz, 2009), attention was given to the predominantly black families affected by slavery. These studies presupposed a matrifocal family organization in which women held a dominant position in family life while fathers and other men were completely absent or only marginally present. The 1969 doctoral thesis of sociologist Eva Abraham-Van der Mark, *Yu'i mama: enkele facetten van gezinsstructuur op Curaçao* [Yu'i mama: some aspects of family structure in Curaçao], which was published in 1973, focuses on this concept of matrifocality, in particular during the 1960s, after the automation and restructuring of the local oil refinery.³ Another early work on the family was

³ See also Abraham-Van der Mark (2003). Continuity and change in the Afro-Caribbean family in Curaçao in the twentieth century. *Community, Work & Family*, 6, 1, 77-88. DOI: 1080/1366880032000063914

Male and female and the Afro-Curaçaoan household by A.F. Marks (1976), which investigated the relationships between men and women and the composition of household groups among Afro-Curaçaoans. Marks also elaborated on this topic in his abbreviated article in Dutch, “Gezinsvormen en gezinscultuur” [Family patterns and family culture], in *Cultureel mozaïek van de Nederlandse Antillen* [Cultural mosaic of the Netherlands Antilles]. The same demographic group was also the focus of a 1990 article by Gladys do Rego titled *Het Afro-Caribische gezinsweb en de emancipatie van de vrouw* [The Afro-Caribbean family network and the emancipation of women].

Additionally, Anke van Dijke and Linda Terpstra (1987) examined the paradox of sexual and reproductive autonomy of women in *Jij kunt maar beter bij je moeder blijven: ongehuwde vrouwen met kinderen op Curaçao* [You better remain with your mother: unmarried women with children in Curaçao]. Marriage and the divorce rate received attention in a comparative working paper by Hans van Leusden called *Indicators of marriage and marriage dissolution of the female population of Curaçao, 1960-1962 and 1980-1981: a multidimensional analysis*, which was published in 1985 by the Netherlands Inter-University Demographic Institute. In her paper, “Marriage and the family in a white Caribbean elite: the impact of descent for the ethnic persistence of the Sephardic Jews in Curaçao”, Abraham-Van der Mark (1980) provides a twist to the typical studies on families in the Caribbean.

De strijd van de dansers: biografische vertellingen uit Curaçao [The fight of the dancers: biographical narratives from Curaçao], published by Amil Ramdas in 1988 and republished in 2017, used the biographical method to delve into the lives of black working class Curaçaoan men and women and examined in particular the power-relationships among them as well their bleak economic prospects. Ramdas showed that for many people, while formal marriage and the nuclear family, which are usually promoted as the cornerstones of society, were an ideal to be pursued, because of the lack of secure, paid work and low incomes, the actual family was often scattered. Jeanne Henriquez (1991) applied the same (auto)biographical method in her thesis, *From the womb: Curaçaoan women speak out about their identity*, which looks at mothering and the meaning of womanhood. Guided by this aim, Henriquez (2006) provides new insights and new interpretations of family life among enslaved and freed people in a more recent article, “*Forsa di un nashon ta depende di forsa di su famianan*” [The strength of a nation depends on the strength of its families].

In early work on gender, the participation of Curaçaoan women in the formal labor force received attention in the first publication by the above-mentioned Sonia Cuales, *Verslag van een kandidaats-leeronderzoek naar de positie van de Curaçaose vrouw die bij Texas Instruments heeft gewerkt in periode 1968-1976* [Report of a study of the position of Curaçaoan Women who worked at Texas Instruments in the 1968-1976 period]. This 1977 publication was based on interviews with 43 women employed at Texas Instruments, a (short-lived) local branch of the well-known American electronic assembly

enterprise. Annemiek Van der Veen continued on this track in her 1984 study of a particular labor activity of women in Curaçao and Bonaire, i.e. the handweaving of straw hats. The title of her study is *Hoedenvlechten als kostwinning: een onderzoek naar de invloed van de hoedenvlechterij op de sociaal-economische positie van vrouwen op Curaçao en Bonaire in de eerste helft van de twintigste eeuw* [Hat weaving as a source of income: a study into the influence of hat weaving on the socio-economic position of women in Curaçao and Bonaire in the first half of the twentieth century]

Ann Philipps approached labor from the perspective of migration in her 1988 doctoral study, *Labor and migration in the Caribbean: British West Indian domestic servants in Curaçao, 1940-1960*. Philipps' study is based on oral history and deals mainly with women from the English-speaking Caribbean who came to the Dutch Caribbean islands as domestic workers. This group of immigrant women was also the focus of the 2017 article by Allen titled "An intersectional approach to understanding the social life of female British Caribbean, immigrant domestic workers in twentieth century Curaçao: controlling sexual morality."

A more recent study of women's labor participation is *Barsten in het glazen plafond: opgeleide vrouwen op de Curaçaose arbeidsmarkt: mogelijkheden, barrières en strategieën* [Cracks in the glass ceiling: educated women on the Curaçaoan labor market: opportunities, barriers and strategies] by Paula Kibbelaar (2005). It looks at the labor force participation and career development of educated women. The University of the Netherlands Antilles was key in conducting the 2010 study, titled *Vrouwen van de Nederlandse Antillen en Aruba: naar een betere toekomst: de positie van de Antilliaanse en Arubaanse vrouw in het heden, verleden en in de toekomst* [Women of the Netherlands Antilles and Aruba: towards a better future: the position of Antillean and Aruban women in the present, past and future]. This study was commissioned by the Dutch Ministry of Internal Affairs and Kingdom Relations. It centers the Dutch Caribbean woman as a mother, a function in which she has a powerful leading role, sometimes as the sole educator of her children.

Historiography of women

Historians have also turned their interest toward women who, as a group, had been neglected in historical publications, as editors Verene Shepherd, Bridget Brereton and Barbara Bailey showed in *Engendering history: Caribbean women in historical perspective* (1985) and as Sonia Cuares argued in her article called "In search of memory: gender in the Netherlands Antilles" (1998: 87).

Nolda Römer-Kenepa (1980, 1992) was one of the first local historians to examine the position of Curaçaoan women during the time of slavery in her doctoral study, titled *Vrouwenleven op Curaçao: laat achttiende eeuw en vroeg negentiende eeuw* [Women's lives in Curaçao: late eighteenth and early nineteenth century]. Both abovementioned

studies by Annemiek Van der Veen on hat-weaving and Ann Philipps on English-speaking domestic servants can also be seen as historically based studies, focusing on previously neglected groups like the black working class and immigrant women. Women who migrated from Curaçao to other Caribbean societies are the focal point of two articles by Allen: “*Women’s role in migrant/emigrant labour: Curaçao labour migration to Cuba during the first two decades of the 20th century*” (1992) and “*Women making freedom: locating gender in intra-Caribbean migration from a Curaçaoan perspective*” (2019).

The girls they left behind: Curaçao’s Jewish women in the 19th Century, a working paper published by Josette Capriles Goldish in 2003, is a historical case study of the intertwining of religion, ethnicity and gender. Linda Rupert also links religion, ethnicity and gender in her article called “Waters of faith, currents of freedom: gender, religion and ethnicity in inter-imperial trade between Curaçao and Tierra Firme” (2007) to examine how Curacaoan enslaved women participated alongside free people in the contraband trade between South America and Curaçao.

Reversing the erasure of women in history sometimes requires using different sources and approaches. In his article, “Amerindian women of the Caribbean”, archaeologist Jay Havisier (1992) uses his archaeological research as well as ethnographic studies to decipher Amerindian women’s social life. In *Kòrsou su muhénan pionero* [Curaçao’s pioneering women], historian Jeanne Henriquez (2002) presents (auto)biographical profiles of women from both the past and the present, thereby using biography and autobiography as a methodology for engendering historiography. The exploration of new methodologies is the focus of Allen’s 2017 article, ‘Nothing about us, without us’: constructing women’s historical knowledge, a case study of Curaçao’, which looks at the marginalization of women in historiography, both in the official records (primary sources) and in historical research publications (secondary sources), as well as considering different methods and sources that can be used to ‘reinsert’ Curaçaoan women into the historical narrative.

Gender and sexuality

In the last few decades the subject of sexuality has enjoyed increasing attention from scholars. Popular themes include sexual integrity and sexual rights to acknowledge, valorize and decipher the variegated ways in which people express themselves sexually. The study titled *Sun, sex, and gold: tourism and sex work in the Caribbean* (1999), edited by Kamala Kempadoo, contains an article by Jacqueline Martis that looks at tourism and its link with prostitution in St. Maarten and Curaçao.

The 1996 study by Joceline Clemencia about queer identities called *Women who love women in Curaçao: from “Cachapera” to open throats* could be considered seminal in this subfield as far as Curaçao is concerned. It is mentioned in Kempadoo’s *Caribbean sexuality: mapping the field* (2009) along with classic Caribbean works by M. Jaqui

Alexander (1991, 1997, 2005), Makeda Silvera (1992), Gloria Wekker (1993, 1994, 1999, 2006), Antonio E. de Moya & Rafael Garcia (1996, 1999), and others. Wigbertson Julian Isenia's PhD-research on sexuality as part of a 2017-2022 NWO-sponsored program "Cultural practices of citizenship under conditions of fragmented sovereignty: gendered and sexual citizenship in Curaçao and Bonaire" has proved to be very valuable. Recently, he edited a special issue of *Tijdschrift voor Genderstudies* on sexual politics in the Caribbean and in the Netherlands together with Gianmaria Colpani, which includes his own article, titled "Looking for kambrada: sexuality and social anxieties in the Dutch colonial archive, 1882-1923" (2019).

The most recent (2017) study on sexuality is Chelsea Schields' *Closer ties: the Dutch Caribbean and the aftermath of empire, 1914-2012*, which looks at how sexuality has been approached in the second half of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st century. Her recent article titled "Eros against Empire: visions of erotic freedom in archives of decolonization" looks at how three leftist groups in Curacao combined the sexual liberation struggle with that of anti-colonialism and in that way reiterated that sexual freedom cannot be attained without social, economic and political changes (2019). In the Caribbean, the focus of gender research has been mostly on women, as Patricia Mohammed reminds us in her foreword to *Gendered realities: essays in Caribbean feminist thought* (2002). In Curaçao, two studies by Valdemar Marcha, i.e. *De Curaçaose man: vrouwen over de sociale identiteit van Curaçaose mannen* (2005) [The Curaçaoan man: women on the social identity of Curaçaoan men] and *De Curaçaose vrouw ... moet je ontdekken: mannen over de sociale identiteit van de Curaçaose vrouw* (2009) [The Curaçaoan woman ... must be discovered: men on the social identity of Curaçaoan women] delve into Curaçaoan masculinities and male sexualities. Socialization into manhood is addressed in Allen's article *Learning to be a man: Afro-Caribbean seamen and maritime workers from Curacao in the beginning of the XXth century* in which she looks at seafaring which for long was a major employment opportunity in the past for the black male working class, and an important pathway into adulthood for young African descended men.

The educational under-performance of boys is addressed in Goretti Narain's *The boy problem: gender disparities in education in the Netherlands Antilles* (2009), prepared for the UNESCO National Committee of the former Netherlands Antilles. Boys predominate in the school drop-out statistics and Narain recommends addressing this problem. The most recent study on the family with special attention to the role of the father is Odette Girigorie's PhD dissertation, *Father absence: the consequences for reproductive behavior and mating strategies among females* (2015), which looks at how the absence of a father may influence children, especially during adolescence.⁴

⁴ See also Odette van Brummen-Girigori et al. (2015). Does father abandonment have consequences for the reproductive strategies of girls? A study in Curaçao. *Evolution Mind and Behavior*, 13, 1. Available

Gender, the law, politics, the arts and health care

Within the field of law, family law has received much attention from a gender perspective. For a very long time, local laws discriminated against children born out of wedlock, but the rights of this category of children have been significantly improved and enhanced. This form of discrimination is based on gendered notions of family, reproduction and respectability (Allen, 2007). One area in which change is most visible is the area of the law of succession (property inheritance rights). In the past, when the term ‘child’ was used in a will or other instrument of testacy, it was assumed to refer to legitimate children only, unless children born out of wedlock were specifically mentioned by name in the instrument, or unless no legitimate children existed and therefore only the illegitimate children could have been intended. Now the position is that once paternity is admitted or established, children born out of wedlock can get their fair share of the father’s estate, in case of both intestacy and testacy. In her articles “Vijf jaar nieuw familierecht in de Nederlandse Antillen en Aruba” [Five year new family law in the Netherlands Antilles and Aruba] (2005) and “Ontwikkelingen familierecht in de Nederlandse Antillen” [Developments of family law in the Netherlands Antilles] (2006), D’Hondt examines legal cases to discuss issues regarding paternity laws.

As mentioned earlier, Adaly Rodriguez’ 2015 dissertation explores how the UN Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW, 1979) can be used as a tool to improve the position of women. She pays special attention to the implementation of the Convention’s provisions concerning the eradication of gender stereotypes and the rights of women within the family.

Until the 1980s, gender-based violence was a relatively under-researched area in Curaçao. Today there are more laws and regulations protecting women against violence, such as the regulation against rape within marriage and the non-molestation ordinance. There are also more organizations, such as the Victims Support Office, that offer assistance and counseling to victims of violence. *Aliansa*, an alliance of 21 civil society organizations that advocate against domestic violence and violence toward children, has been an important force in raising awareness about the rights of women and children in an age in which violence has become normalized through the news media. In 2018, they played an important role in the development of a report, titled *Nationaal plan van Curaçao ter bestrijding van geweld tegen kinderen/jongeren en huiselijk/relatieel geweld* [National plan of Curaçao to combat violence against children/young people and domestic/relational violence] that was written under the sponsorship of the Ministry of Social Development, Labor and Welfare.

Interest in violence directed specifically against women has also been sparked among researchers. One example is *Aard, omvang en impact op de gezondheid van relationeel geweld op Curaçao* [Nature, scope and impact upon health of relational violence in Curaçao], prepared in 2008 by Lianne Rückert on behalf of the Department of Medical and Health Services (Geneeskundige - en Gezondheidsdienst). Also worth mentioning is *Domestic violence by and against men and women in Curaçao: a Caribbean study* (2012) by Nikil Ph.L. van Wijk, which looks, among other things at the persistence of cultural factors that legitimate violence in all spheres of daily life. Van Wijk defines domestic violence as a mix of physical, sexual, emotional, and financial violence and intimidation. Her study, based on a survey of 816 people in Curaçao, shows that one in every three persons (25 percent of men, 38 percent of women) in Curaçao has experienced domestic violence as an adult, and almost half (39 percent of men, 51 percent of women) at some point in their life. In their article, titled “Risk factors for domestic violence in Curaçao”, Nikil van Wijk and Jeanne de Bruijn (2012) look at significant risk factors for domestic violence in Curaçao, based upon an analysis of the literature on this phenomenon. They recommend further study to examine the context, nature, and severity of domestic violence in the Caribbean.

Katharina J. Joosen and Corin A. Bailey (2018) have edited a study called *Caribbean crime and criminal justice: impacts of postcolonialism and gender*, which contains articles on the Dutch Caribbean by P.C.M. (Nelly) Schotborgh-Van de Ven, Aspha Bijnaar, Karin Lurvink, Katharina J. Joosen and Janine Janssen. The publication looks at the relationship between postcolonialism, racial stereotyping and gender on one hand and crime, victimization and the responses and policies of the criminal justice system on the other.

Women’s organizing in Curaçao has a long history. Indeed, women’s organizing was a key ingredient in attaining universal adult suffrage in 1948. As in the rest of the Caribbean, the focus of early women’s organizing and political activism in Curaçao was on wider, nationalist concerns rather than on a “narrow preoccupation” with gender equity alone. Studies by Stella Pieters Kwiers (2011) and Allen (2018) provide a historical account of the various forms of women’s organizing in the country. Obtaining universal adult suffrage in 1948 created possibilities for greater political engagement, activism, participation and social advancement of women as well as men and has been an essential component of Curaçao’s continuing journey toward social equality, freedom and justice. This has also been addressed in the bilingual publication *Kas di Pueblo, kas ku un mishon / Kas di Pueblo, house with a mission* (2018), especially in the chapters titled “Derecho di voto pa hende muhé na Kòrsou / Voting rights for women in Curaçao” by Maria Liberia-Peters and “Nifikashon di Kas di Pueblo pa formashon polítiko di muhénan di Kòrsou / The significance of Kas di Pueblo for the political training of women in Curaçao” by Helga Mensing.

Gender-sensitive analysis is increasingly recognized as crucial for better medical research and healthcare. In most cases these studies deal with reproduction. Among the many relevant publications on Curaçao is Adriana Boersma's doctoral thesis on *Reproductive health care for women in Curaçao: induced abortion and contraception* (2011). There are also many studies of how men and women experience medical problems differently, making differentiated treatment a necessity. Medical researchers are discovering that there are a lot more differences between the sexes than reproduction. The most recent study in this subfield is *HPV and cervical cancer on Curaçao: towards implementation of an integrated prevention programme* (2018), which is based on a survey of 5,000 women by Desiree Hooi, conducted to determine HPV prevalence, HPV genotype distribution, and associated risk factors among women in Curaçao.⁵

Conclusions and future directions

Gender studies in Curaçao have made significant contributions to the social sciences by reflecting upon women and men's relative situations and revealing underlying issues related to power and culture. Over the years, local scholars have focused on women and gender through historical studies and studies on labor, health, gender-based violence, and gender and sexuality. They have also introduced and highlighted concepts and methodologies that were previously ignored. Gender studies in Curaçao, as in the wider Caribbean, as well as in Latin America, Africa and Asia, have presented themes, emphases, and approaches that differ from those prevailing in gender studies in Europe and North America. They have thereby enriched the fields of gender and feminist studies worldwide.

Still, certain topics have not yet received much attention in Curaçao. One important subject is the treatment of women and sexual minorities in the public domain. The news media play an important role in influencing young women and men, including in ways to deal with sexuality. Some components of popular culture, through music and video images, portray women as materialist, cheap, easy to get, and even appreciative of violent acts. Recent studies show that women are more likely than men to be victims of online abuse and social-media bullying and threats. Similarly, members of the LGBTQ+ community are more at risk. Research in how the arts, broadly defined, are gendered is still lacking. Allen's article "Tur hende a papia un ko': African-Curaçaoan women conveying messages in traditional folksongs at the beginning of the XXth century", published in *Calabash (Journal of Caribbean Arts and Letters)*, is an attempt in that direction as it looks at how women are represented in oral tradition. Aronnette Martis' doctoral research will look at gender and traditional dance forms in Curaçao and Bonaire as well as the

⁵ See also Desiree J. Hooi et al. (2018) Human papillomavirus (HPV) prevalence and associated risk factors in women from Curaçao. *PLOS ONE*, 13, 7: e0199624. Available at <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0199624>

historical interrelationship between dance and national identities in these societies will be an important addition to the area of gender and arts.

The ever-recurring public debates on colorism forces us to question the intersection of gender and race and needs further study. A gender aware approach to the persistent habit of ranking people based on ethnicity, color and race, as anthropologist Angela Roe has revealed in her recent PhD dissertation, is strongly needed (2016).

Another interesting area of study that has so far been neglected locally is the connection between gender and religion. In 1998 Abraham-Van der Mark analyzed the different ways in which the Roman Catholic Church exerted strong pressure on Afro-Curaçaoan women in particular to behave in a ‘respectable’ way. Her article called “Verlossing onder een religieus regiem: ontwikkelingen in de zorg voor moeder en kind op Curaçao” [Salvation under a religious regime: developments in the care for women and children in Curaçao] needs a follow-up.

As a center for teaching and research, the University of Curaçao (UoC) should continue to play an important role in promoting gender studies. Slowly, the study of gender in Curaçao is achieving the disciplinary legitimacy that it has already achieved in other parts of the Caribbean. One promising current development is the already mentioned 2017-2022 NWO-sponsored program called “Cultural Practices of Citizenship under Conditions of Fragmented Sovereignty: Gendered and Sexual Citizenship in Curaçao and Bonaire.” It involves collaboration between the University of Amsterdam and the University of Curaçao that is generating several studies on gender, sexuality, culture and citizenship. It has organized a masterclass on gender and sexuality in 2019 as a capacity-building project, delivered through the Cultural Studies *studium generale* of UoC’s General Faculty. It is hoped that such support for gender studies and for disciplines like cultural studies with a strong feminist/gender focus continues on a sustained basis, centered on a vision of the university not only in the mainstream fields of teaching and research, but also as a leader in innovative and cutting-edge areas of education and investigation that are pertinent to the present-day local, regional and international contexts.

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CULTURAL AND LINGUISTIC CONTACT DURING THE COLONIAL PERIOD: THE ROLE OF THE DUTCH ENTREPÔTS OF CURAÇAO AND SINT EUSTATIUS IN THE SLAVE TRADE

ANN ALBUYEH

UNIVERSIDAD DE PUERTO RICO, RÍO PIEDRAS

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As typically told, the story of the Atlantic slave trade ends after the ocean crossing ... but for hundreds of thousands of enslaved African people the journey did not end there. Gregory O'Malley (2014)

Introduction

That Curaçao and Sint Eustatius were established as slave trade entrepôts by the Dutch colonial empire from the mid seventeenth to the early nineteenth centuries is a matter of historical record. However, the recent update of the slavevoyages.org website months ago, adding an intra-American database of over 11,500 voyages to current trans-Atlantic data on over 36,000 slave voyages, opens up new avenues of research and enhances our understanding of the scope of the cultural and linguistic contact which occurred during this period. While the creole languages and cultural practices of the islands themselves attest to the impact Africans and their descendants have had on Curaçao and Sint Eustatius, these two entrepôts also played a critical role in the impact enslaved Africans and their descendants would come to have in their new homes throughout the Americas.

The intra-American voyages involved ports from Boston to Buenos Aires, and the fact that Curaçao currently accounts for 1,504 of the total recorded in the database attests to its importance in the transshipment of enslaved Africans and possibly also people of African descent. (In the intra-American database the people transported are listed as “slaves” without clarifying as to whether they were born in Africa or in the Americas, although some information exists for particular voyages.)

Alex Borucki and Greg O'Malley (2018), the organizers of the collaborative ongoing project to track intra-American slave voyages, have credited the team of Dutch researchers led by Jelmer Vos, who have drawn on records housed in Amsterdam and The Hague to track voyages from the Dutch Caribbean, especially to the Spanish

colonies. In fact, it is worth noting that the only destination which shows up in voyages during all of the three centuries tracked here (seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth) is the Spanish colony of Puerto Rico.

Although, as Borucki and O'Malley (2018) note, smuggling and contraband trade are problematic for a voyage-based account of intra-American slave traffic, another unique problem is the fact that while French imperial officials barred non-French traders from their colonies until the late eighteenth century, unofficial records suggest, nonetheless, that "illegal foreign trafficking accounted for perhaps half of the enslaved African people arriving in Martinique and Guadeloupe." Thus, for example, the database record of ten voyages from Curaçao and three voyages from Sint Eustatius to Martinique and Guadeloupe, respectively, during the eighteenth century may seriously underrepresent traffic from the Dutch entrepôts to these nearby islands. Nonetheless, as noted below, the database records 52 voyages transporting slaves from Curaçao to the French colony of Saint-Domingue (Haiti) before the successful revolution ended in 1804.

An important difference between the trans-Atlantic database and the new intra-American database is that while ships crossing the Atlantic were purpose-built for carrying slaves and in that leg of the journey the enslaved people were the main "cargo", intra-American voyages often combined people and goods. Thus, although the *San Fortunato el Nuevo* (voyage ID#110684) is recorded as carrying 973 enslaved people from Curaçao to Portobelo (or Portobello, modern Panama) in 1669, the database contains many voyages carrying only one, two, or three slaves to a port such as New York (New Amsterdam). Moreover, the intra-American database appears to feature a greater percent of voyages for which there is no information about how many enslaved people were transported. For example, numerous voyages leaving Curaçao from the 1720's to the 1750's specify the ship's and captain's names, without any information about how many enslaved people were onboard. Also for some years, especially in the early 1720's, the specific destination port in the Americas is not available either. These gaps notwithstanding, the data to be examined here, which including voyages from Sint Eustatius, comprise a total of 1,699 records, illustrate the wide-ranging contact of disparate peoples which resulted from slave trading out of these Dutch entrepôts.

In his introduction to the *Atlas of the transatlantic slave trade*, David Brion Davis (Eltis & Richardson, 2010: xviii) asserts the usefulness of the maps created on the basis of the data of the slavevoyages.org database:

It is difficult to comprehend the slave trade and the Atlantic Slave System it created without a highly detailed collection of maps. . . . Only maps can fully illustrate the startling discovery that the region that became the United States, home in 1860 to the largest number of black slaves ever assembled in the New World, imported less than 4 percent of the total migration.

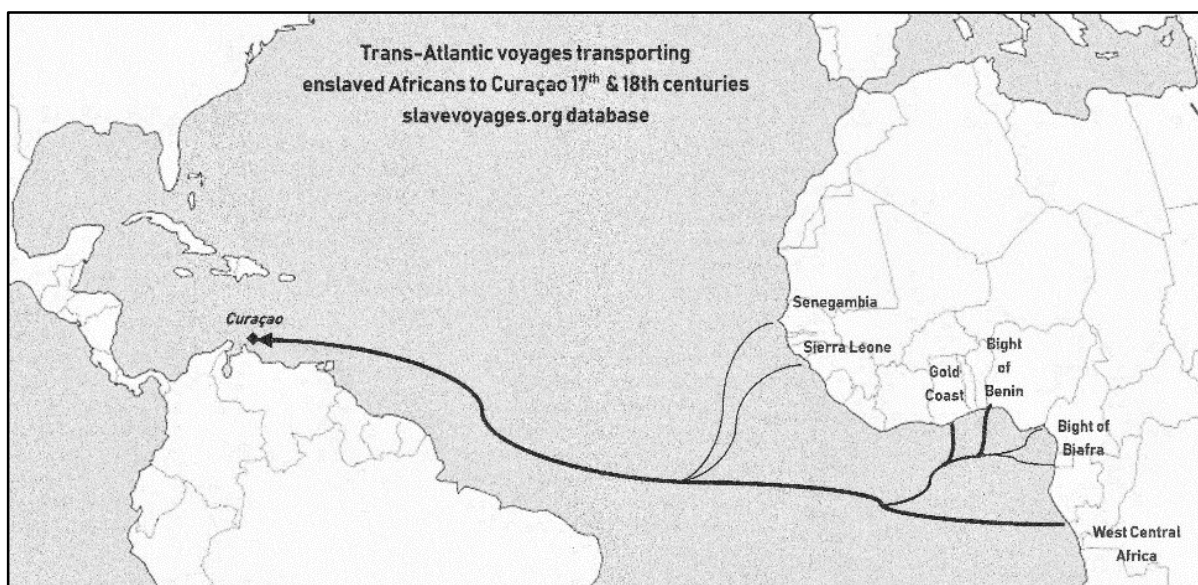
This study of a subset of the new intra-American database will also make use of maps to illustrate the patterns the data uncover. The article will trace the embarkation and

debarkation information for 1) enslaved Africans shipped from the continent to Curaçao and Sint Eustatius (trans-Atlantic database), 2) enslaved Africans and possibly also African-descended people transported from other colonies to Curaçao and Sint Eustatius (intra-American database) and 3) enslaved Africans and possibly also African-descended people transported from Curaçao and Sint Eustatius to Caribbean, North American, Central American and South American ports (intra-American database).

African origins of enslaved people shipped to the Dutch entrepôts

The Dutch first established Recife as a slave entrepôt when they controlled northern Brazil in the first half of the seventeenth century until the Portuguese reclaimed it in 1654. The Dutch West India Company continued to transship slaves, but Curaçao became their major entrepôt, equalled in importance for a short time by Sint Eustatius in the 1720's (Van Welie, 2008; O'Malley & Borucki, 2017). In fact, Klooster (1998: 59) as reported in Van Welie, 2008) claims that Curaçao became "Amsterdam's Caribbean counterpart." Both Dutch entrepôts received "saltwater" slaves (Van Welie: 61) from Africa to distribute especially in the *asiento* trade to the Spanish Americas, as will be discussed below.

Maps 1 and 2 below illustrate the fact that Africans from thousands of miles apart were taken to the two small Caribbean islands of Curaçao and Sint Eustatius during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The trans-Atlantic voyage database as of May 2019 (Slave Voyages, 2019) lists a total of 306 voyages from Africa to Curaçao and 116 voyages from Africa to Sint Eustatius. Voyages from Africa with information about the specific embarkation regions total 300 voyages to Curaçao and 94 to Sint Eustatius. The maps which follow show modern national boundaries as points of reference. The



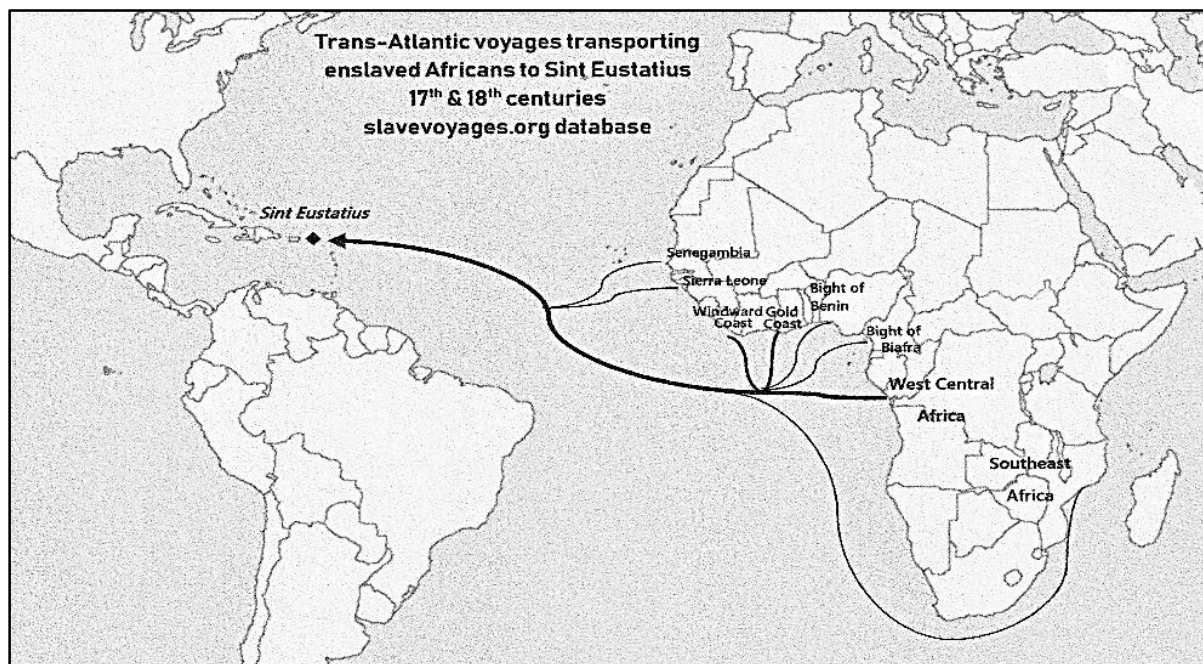
Map 1 Slave voyages from Africa to Curaçao in the 17th and 18th centuries. Map by author. Source: slavevoyages.org

thicker voyage lines roughly indicate the routes featuring both the largest number of people disembarked and the greatest number of voyages. Map 1 depicts the voyages from embarkation regions in Africa to Curaçao for the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The chief regions for both centuries are the Gold Coast: modern Ghana; the Bight (“bay”) of Benin: modern Togo, Benin and western Nigeria, known as the “Slave Coast” in the late seventeenth and most of the eighteenth century (Eltis & Richardson, 2010); and West Central Africa: roughly corresponding to the two present day Congo republics, Gabon and Angola.

Of the 207 voyages to Curaçao in the seventeenth century for which specific embarkation regions are available, 78 originated in the Bight of Benin, 64 originated in West Central Africa, and 25 in the Gold Coast. The total number of surviving Africans recorded as embarking in the three regions during the seventeenth century is 27,018 West Central Africa, 26,819 Bight of Benin, and 8,099 Gold Coast.

In the eighteenth century the database records 93 voyages to Curaçao for which there is embarkation information. 29 of these embarked in West Central Africa, 24 in the Bight of Benin, and 23 in the Gold Coast. The numbers of surviving Africans are recorded as 12,002 embarking in West Central Africa, 10,439 embarking in the Bight of Benin, and 7,065 embarking in the Gold Coast. While the three major embarkation regions are the same, the numbers of voyages and disembarked people in the eighteenth century are roughly half of those traveling to Curaçao in the seventeenth century.

Map 2 below depicts the voyages from embarkation regions in Africa to Sint Eustatius for the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.



Map 2 Slave voyages from Africa to Sint Eustatius in the 17th and 18th centuries. Map by author. Source: slavevoyages.org

Since Sint Eustatius became a slave entrepôt later, it is not surprising that fewer voyages and disembarked Africans are recorded in the database for the seventeenth century. Of the voyages to Sint Eustatius for which specific embarkation data is available, only 12 occurred in the seventeenth century. Of these almost half, five, embarked in West Central Africa. The data show 4,210 surviving Africans disembarking in Sint Eustatius in the seventeenth century, which include 1,498 from West Central Africa and 422 from the Bight of Benin and 403 from the Bight of Biafra region, corresponding to eastern Nigeria, Cameroon, Equatorial Guinea, and Gabon.

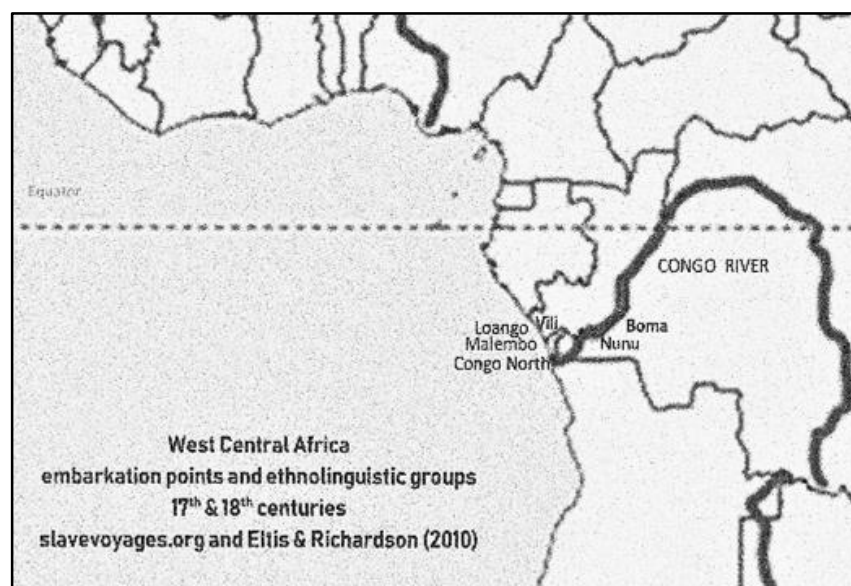
The database for the eighteenth century shows 82 voyages for which embarkation regions are specified, again almost half, 43, originating in West Central Africa. The next largest number of voyages originated in the Gold Coast and Windward Coast, modern Liberia, and Côte d'Ivoire, which embarked 9 and 6 voyages respectively. The total number of surviving Africans disembarking in Sint Eustatius during the eighteenth century is 26,458, of which the majority, 16,576 embarked in West Central Africa. 3,293 and 1,344 embarked in the Gold Coast and Windward Coast, respectively.

All of the African regions recorded in the slavevoyages.org database are multilingual and present a linguistically complex picture of the Africans who were embarked at any given site. Notably the Bights of Benin and Biafra which include present-day Nigeria, are still home to speakers of hundreds of languages. For example, ethnologue.com claims that currently 507 indigenous languages are spoken in Nigeria. And even the Gold Coast, modern Ghana, with “only” 73 indigenous languages currently spoken there is highly multilingual. Although it is beyond the scope of this work to explore what can be ascertained about the specific ethnicities of the Africans captured and transported from all regions shown on these maps during the relevant centuries, Maps

3 and 4 below reflect the ethnic groups and languages spoken around the chief West Central Africa and

Map 3 Chief West Central Africa embarkation points transporting enslaved Africans to Curaçao and Sint Eustatius and ethnolinguistic groups living there. Map by author.

Sources: slavevoyages.org and Eltis & Richardson (2010: 136).

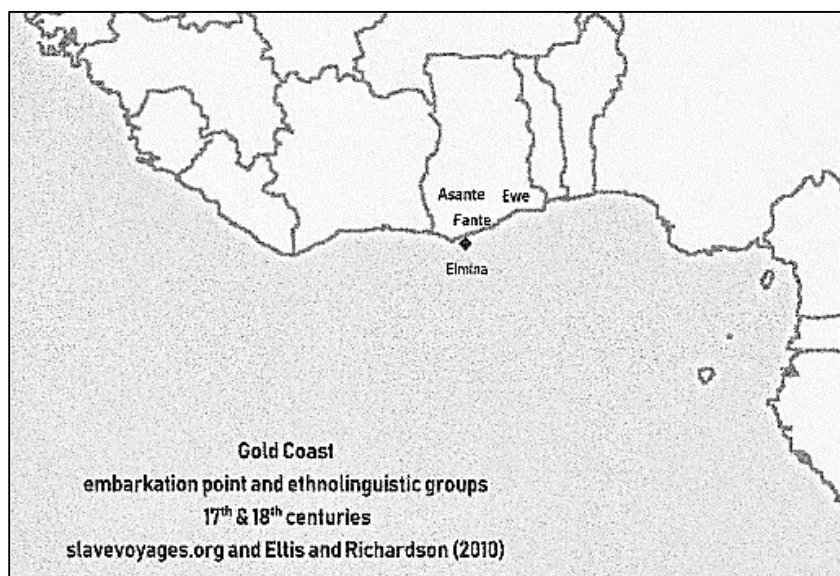


Gold Coast embarkation sites for voyages to both Curaçao and Sint Eustatius during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries according to the slavevoyages.org research and

the related atlas produced by David Eltis and David Richardson (2010) (For further discussion of this question see e.g. Albuyeh, 2019).

In Map 3 all three of the chief West Central Africa embarkation points, Congo North, Loango and Malembo, are to the north of the mouth of the Congo River. Eltis and Richardson (2010: 136) report that Loango was the most important of the Vili kingdoms north of the Congo River, and that these kingdoms emerged as major slave-trading centers, further asserting that “the source of the slaves was undoubtedly the vast Congo River basin.” While the Vili predominated along the coast and were also themselves engaged in the slave trade, further up the river were found other ethnolinguistic groups such as the Nunu and Boma. (See also Warner-Lewis 2003 for corroborating research on West Central African ethnolinguistic groups.)

Map 4 shows the major embarkation point of Elmina, a slave fort which the Dutch took from the Portuguese in 1634. The Fante predominated along the coast during the relevant periods, and also the nearby ethnolinguistic groups of the Asante (Ashanti) and Ewe.



Map 4 Chief Gold Coast embarkation point transporting enslaved Africans to Curaçao and Sint Eustatius and ethnolinguistic groups living there. Map by author.
Sources: slavevoyages.org and Eltis & Richardson (2010: 110).

Colonial ports sending slaves to Curaçao and Sint Eustatius

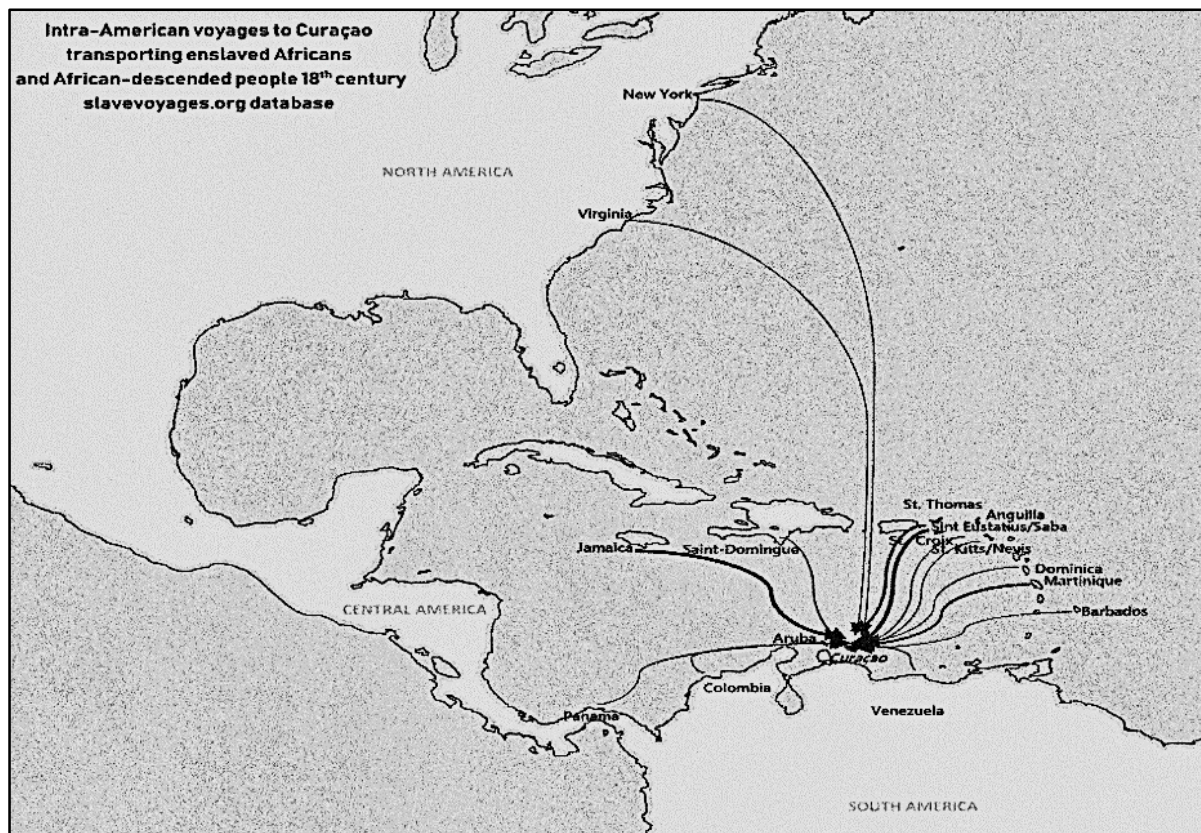
The fact that Curaçao and Sint Eustatius received not only enslaved Africans from mostly identifiable embarkation regions in Africa but also Africans, and potentially African-descended slaves, of unknown ethnicity from the Americas needs to be addressed as well. As recorded in the intra-American database, a total of 254 voyages carried 5,034 slaves to Curaçao. A total of 138 voyages carried 5,686 slaves to Sint Eustatius. (Note that over 100 voyages to Curaçao had no information on the numbers of people transported.)

Although as mentioned above, intra-American voyages report carrying as few as one, two, or three slaves, some of the voyages to Curaçao and Sint Eustatius carried a large

number of people. For example the *Adventurer* (voyage ID#111601) carried 162 enslaved people from La Guaira (Venezuela) to Curaçao in 1754, and the *Haast U Langzaam* (voyage ID#112056) carried 273 enslaved persons from Suriname to Sint Eustatius in 1773.

In the intra-American maps below, the relevant disembarkation points in what the slavevoyages.org database refers to as the “Spanish Circum-Caribbean” include ports in what are today Mexico, Panama, Colombia and Venezuela. It should be noted that while the first three feature only one or two ports each in the database, Veracruz, Portobelo and Cartagena and Río de la Hacha, respectively, voyages to and from Venezuela are recorded as using up to eight different ports or “principal places of purchase” along the Venezuelan coast. The most important of these recorded in the database were Coro and La Guaira; however, for simplicity the maps below simply state “Venezuela” for all of them. Note that the maps below refer to voyages transporting “enslaved Africans and African-descended people” based on the fact that, as noted throughout, some of the slaves caught up in the intra-American trade may have been born in the Americas.

Maps 5 and 6 below illustrate what a wide-ranging intra-American voyage network the Dutch entrepôts were part of. Future research investigating which African ethnolinguistic groups might have predominated in e.g. La Guaira or Suriname in the relevant years could suggest the possible identities of some of the Africans and possibly African-de-



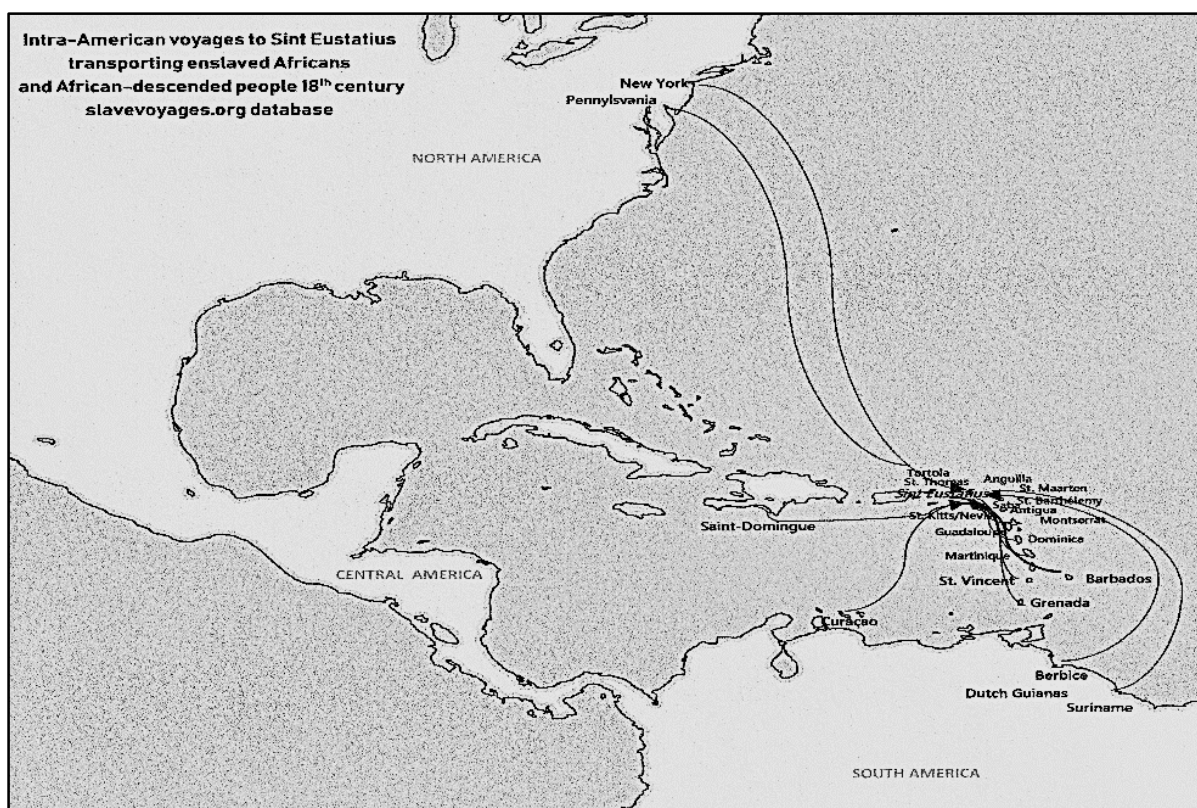
Map 5 Slave voyages from other colonies to Curaçao in the 18th century. Map by author. Source: slavevoyages.org

scended people who were transported to the two Dutch entrepôts. Voyages which include information about the embarkation regions record 213 voyages taking 5,034 slaves to Curaçao and 138 voyages taking 5,686 slaves to Sint Eustatius.

Map 5 below depicts voyages from other colonies to Curaçao in the eighteenth century. The data show that 112 of the 213 voyages to Curaçao embarked in Jamaica. 40 embarked in Sint Eustatius and 10 in Martinique. Fewer than 10 voyages in the database were sent to Curaçao from the other colonies on the map.

While the intra-American database contains many voyages where the number of people transported is missing, as noted above, it does show that the vast majority of the reported total of 4,505 slaves transported, 2,992, were purchased in Jamaica to be sent on to Curaçao.

Map 6 below depicts voyages from other colonies to Sint Eustatius in the eighteenth century. The data show that of the 138 voyages to Sint Eustatius in the database 35 originated in St. Kitts, and 22 in Barbados. Antigua, Dominica, and Sint Maarten sent 15, 12 and 10 voyages respectively. Fewer than 10 voyages in the database arrived from the other colonies which are displayed on the map.



Map 6 Slave voyages from other colonies to Sint Eustatius in the 18th century. Map by author. Source: slavevoyages.org

With the same caveat discussed above regarding the number of voyages showing no information about the number of enslaved people disembarked, the data show four areas sending more or less the same number of slaves, a little over 1000 people. As expected

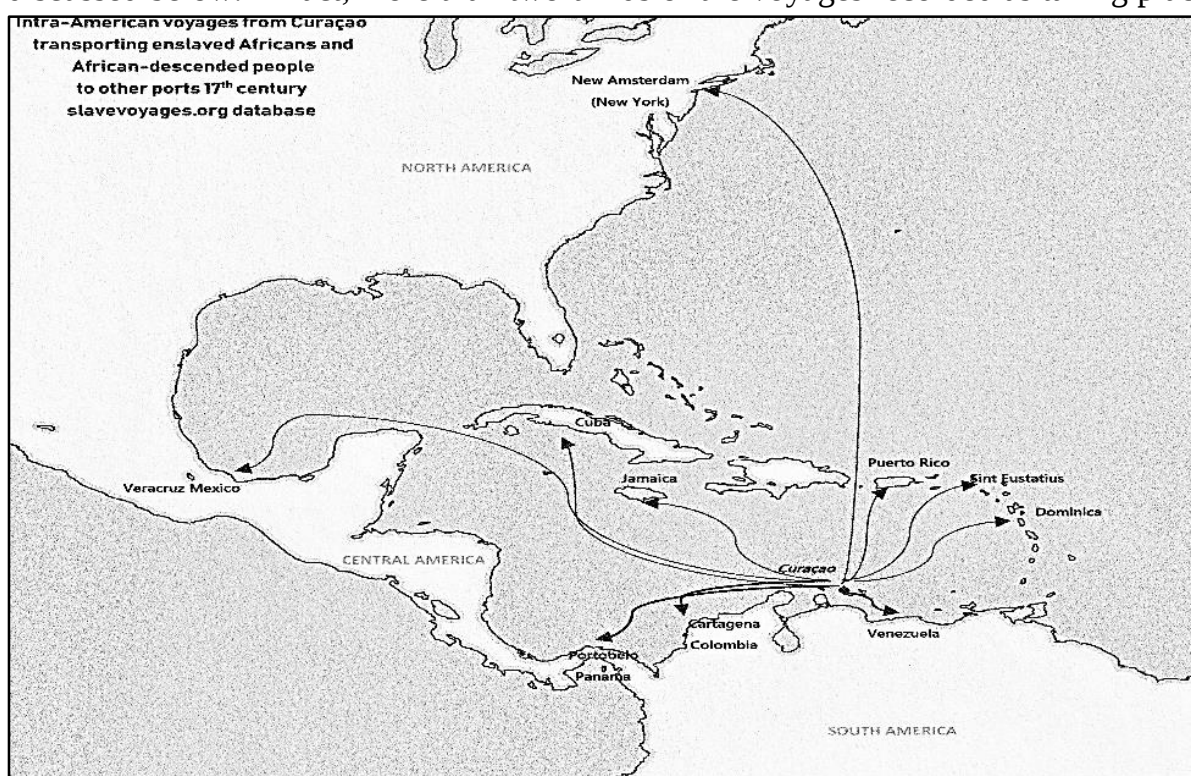
St. Kitts, Barbados and Dominica are three of the colonies. However, although in the database Surinam accounts for just seven voyages, it is also recorded as sending just over a thousand people to Sint Eustatius.

Intra-American voyages carrying enslaved Africans and possibly people of African descent from Curaçao and Sint Eustatius to other colonies

A total of 1,504 voyages are recorded in the intra-American database as carrying slaves purchased in Curaçao to other colonies. Of these, 121 voyages occurred during the seventeenth century, 1,402 during the eighteenth century, and just six during the nineteenth century. As alluded to above, the largest transimperial trade involved traffic to Spanish American colonies. As O'Malley and Borucki (2017: 322) note, two treaties between Spain and Portugal, Alcaçovas (1479) and Tordesillas (1494) “left Africa outside of Spanish influence” and “Spain stuck largely to these treaties and lacked direct access to African trade for most of the colonial period.”

Map 7 below depicts slave voyages from Curaçao to other colonies in the seventeenth century. 97 of the voyages in the database originating in Curaçao during the seventeenth century specify the disembarkation point. 36 of the 97 voyages disembarked in Portobelo. 22 voyages carried enslaved people from Curaçao to Cartagena, and 17 voyages carried enslaved people to embarkation sites in what is now Venezuela.

Remarkably the seventeenth century data contain much more information about the number of people on each voyage from Curaçao than that of the eighteenth century discussed below. In fact, more than two-thirds of the voyages recorded as taking place



Map 7 Slave voyages from Curaçao to other colonies 17th century. Map by author. Source: slavevoyages.org

during the 1600's indicate the number of enslaved people disembarking in the colonies on the map. The number of people recorded ranges from two persons sent from Curaçao to Jamaica on board the *Samuell* in 1690 (voyage ID#102404) to 973 people aboard the *Fortunato el Nuevo*, mentioned above, which disembarked in Portobelo in 1669. Despite the handful of voyages sending a small number of slaves from Curaçao to other colonies, the majority of voyages record that hundreds of enslaved Africans, and possibly African-descended people, were sent per voyage to other colonies during the seventeenth century.

Thus, a total of 28,942 slaves are recorded as having been disembarked from the 97 voyages in the database for this period. The vast majority of the enslaved people, 19,580, were disembarked in Portobelo. Cartagena, Veracruz and the Venezuelan port of La Guaira received the next largest groups of slaves: 4,582, 1,915, and 1,622, respectively.

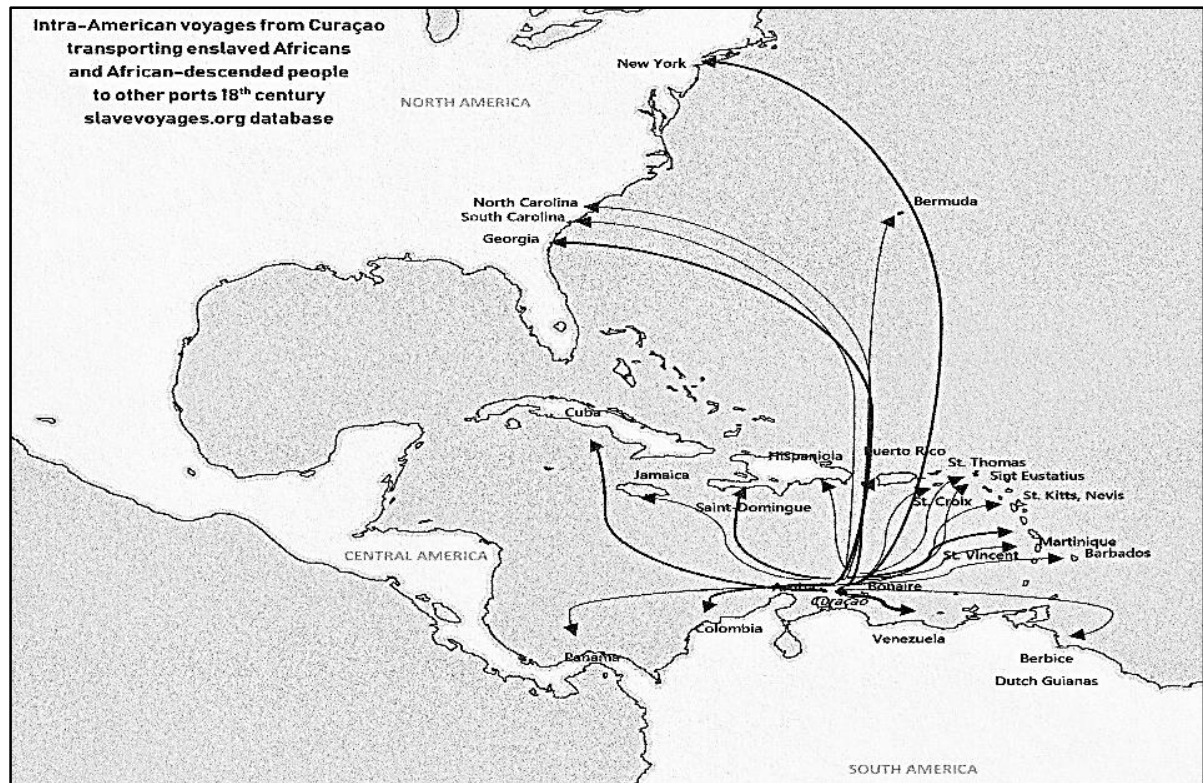
Portobelo, a UNESCO heritage site, was itself an important slave entrepôt. O'Malley and Borucki (2017: 316) report that captives were "marched overland from Portobello across the Isthmus of Panama for transshipment down the Pacific Coast." O'Malley and Borucki (p. 32) also attest that "Many captives seized the opportunity of this overland journey to flee, and eventually a significant maroon community formed in the Panamanian countryside." The Africans who stayed in Panama had a linguistic and cultural impact on the population there as discussed in John Lipski's early analysis: "The Negros Congos of Panama: Afro-Hispanic creole language and culture" (1986).

The slaves who did not escape were transshipped to Callao, the port of Lima, Peru. Lipski (2005) reports that African slaves were carried to the highland mines of Peru and Bolivia ("Alto-Perú") and also to work as domestic servants and artisans' assistants in Cuzco and La Paz. Although especially the latter groups left "some linguistic and cultural legacy", Lipski (2005: 95-96) states that "The full extent of Afro-Hispanic cultural remnants preserved by these groups has yet to be determined," while noting reports such as Rossi and Rubí (1791) which "gave ample evidence of the use of African languages in late-eighteenth century Lima." As to a greater understanding of the importance of Portobelo, we look forward to the analysis to be presented in García-Montón (2019, forthcoming) whose abstract claims Portobelo was "the most important center of the Spanish American slave trade from the 1660's to the 1730's."

Map 8 below depicts slave voyages from Curaçao to other colonies in the eighteenth century. Of the 1,402 slave voyages leaving Curaçao during the eighteenth century only 545 are recorded as indicating the specific disembarkation point in the Americas. By far the largest number of these voyages, 212, travelled to the eight disembarkation sites in what is now Venezuela. 52 voyages carried slaves from Curaçao to Saint-Domingue, 42 to New York, and 32 to Puerto Rico. 27 voyages carried enslaved people to Río de la Hacha Colombia, and 14 to Cuba. In addition, 10 voyages each carried enslaved people bought in Curaçao to Savannah Georgia and Martinique. The other ports on the map

received fewer than 10 voyages from Curaçao during the eighteenth century as recorded in the database

I should note that by my count roughly 850 voyages in the eighteenth-century data for Curaçao show no information about how many enslaved people the ships carried. Thus, it is no surprise that, relative to those for the seventeenth century, the totals for the

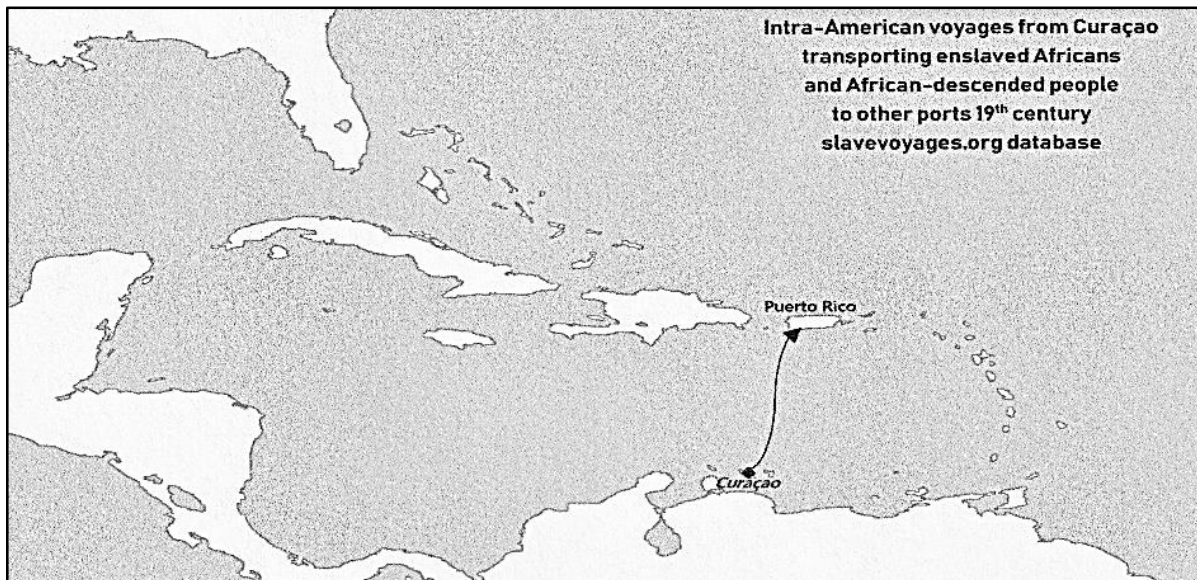


Map 8 Slave voyages from Curaçao to other colonies 18th century. Map by author. Source: slavevoyages.org

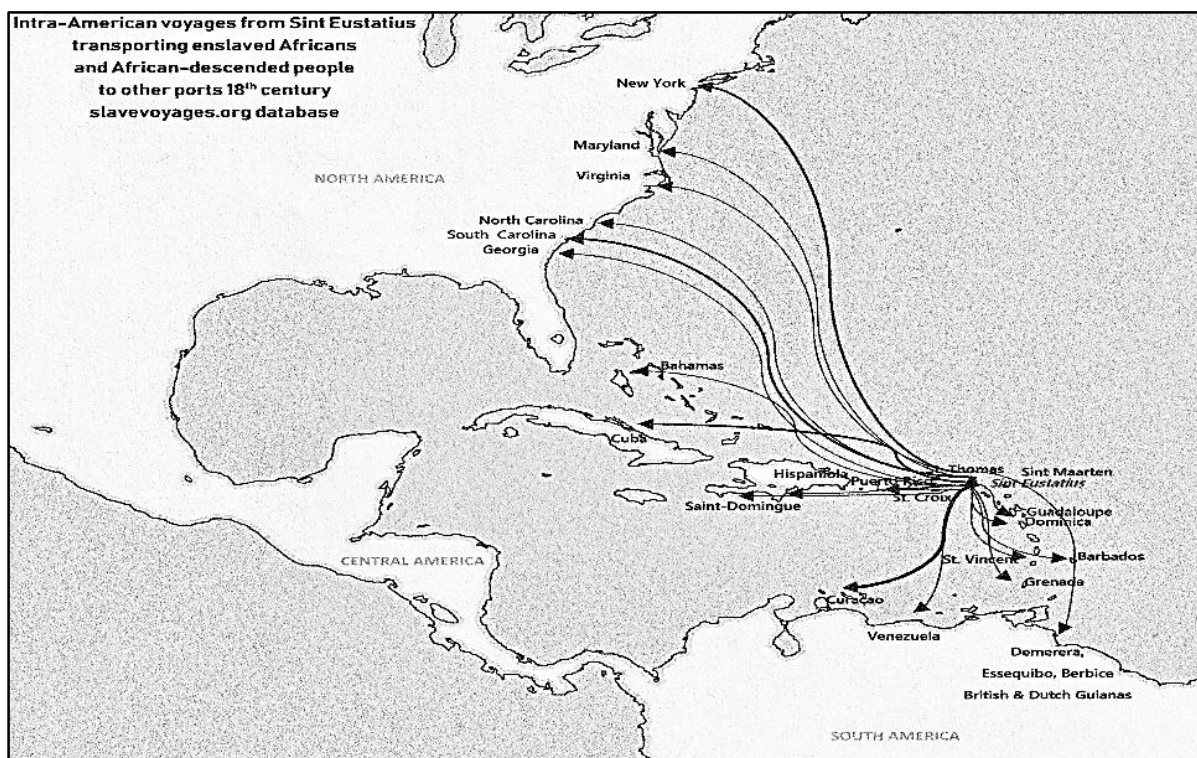
eighteenth century are quite small. The records for the eighteenth century show 4,746 enslaved Africans, and possibly African-descended people, being purchased in Curaçao and sent to other colonies. In addition, the numbers of people that are recorded for each voyage in the eighteenth-century database are on the whole smaller than the numbers recorded for each voyage for the seventeenth century. For example, while 168 enslaved people were sent to La Guaira in 1791 (voyage ID#161105), many more of the voyages recording this information report carrying ten or fewer slaves to other colonies. However, given the overall lack of data regarding the people transported during this period, no conclusions can be drawn as to whether transporting fewer slaves was a trend during the eighteenth century. As noted earlier, the six voyages carrying slaves from Curaçao in the nineteenth century recorded in the database all disembarked in Puerto Rico, reflected in Map 9 below.

All of the voyages to Puerto Rico are recorded for one year, 1833. The database indicates that 138 people are recorded as disembarking in Puerto Rico, port unspecified.

195 intra-American voyages originated in the smaller Dutch entrepôt of Sint Eustatius. All of the 195 voyages in the database in which slaves were purchased in Sint Eustatius and sent to other colonies record the principal place of slave landing, i.e. the disembarkation point. Map 10 below illustrates the wide range of ports these voyages traveled to.



Map 9 Slave voyages from Curaçao to other colonies 19th century. Map by author. Source: slavevoyages.org



Map 10 Slave voyages from Sint Eustatius to other colonies 18th century. Map by author. Source: slavevoyages.org

Of the 195 voyages from Sint Eustatius, 43 disembarked slaves in Sint Maarten, and, as noted above and reflected in Map 6, 40 disembarked slaves in Curaçao. In addition, 36 of the slave voyages traveled to Cuba and 19 to Puerto Rico. As recorded in the database, the other ports received fewer than 10 slave voyages from Sint Eustatius.

The database records the number of enslaved persons on board these voyages in almost all cases. The total is 3,395 people, of whom the largest number, 1,198 landed in Cuba. The next largest numbers, 663 and 510 respectively, were sent to the Dutch Caribbean islands of Curaçao and Sint Maarten. In addition, 224 African and possibly African-descended slaves were sent to St. Kitts. Thus, the data for Sint Eustatius reflect to a lesser extent the pattern found by O'Malley and Borucki indicating that Spanish Circum-Caribbean destinations dominated intra-American slave trade voyages.

Conclusion

Noting that “before 1820, perhaps three times as many enslaved Africans crossed the Atlantic as Europeans”, David Eltis (2018) reminds us that “This was the largest transoceanic migration of people until that day.” Both in colonies where indigenous populations had been decimated, typically the Caribbean islands, and in colonies where indigenous populations had largely survived, typically the mainland Americas, the transplantation of Africans impacted all parts of the so-called New World. In his afterword to the *Atlas of the transatlantic slave trade*, David W. Blight (Eltis & Richardson 2010: 296) declares:

The slave trade has to be assessed for what it was: a massive economic enterprise that helped build the colonial Atlantic world, a story of the enormous human cruelty and exploitation that helped forge modern capitalism, a tale of migration and cultural transplantation that brought African peoples and folkways to all New World societies.

What had been underappreciated before the 2008 launch of the online version of the Transatlantic Slave Trade Database was the importance of Brazil (versus, e.g. the United States) as the most important recipient of enslaved Africans. Borucki and O'Malley (2018) maintain that the launch of the Intra-American Slave Trade Database more or less a decade later has revealed the importance of the Spanish Americas “as, probably, the second largest broad region of slave disembarkation in the Americas.” In addition, researching the intra-American database highlights the ways in which entrepôts such as Curaçao and Sint Eustatius sent thousands of people onward to the Spanish colonies and even further flung destinations around the Americas. The suffering caused by the “intercolonial speculators” (O'Malley, 2014) in these entrepôts cannot be overstated. However, the ethnolinguistic richness contributed by the African and African-descended people to the cultures and languages of the locations across the Americas where they ended up is both incontestable and deserving of more research in the intra-American database, of which this study is a first step.

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INDIGENOUS NATIVE AFRAKANS AND AMERINDIANS: CULTURE, HERITAGE AND IDENTITY IN THE VIRGIN IS- LANDS CARIBBEAN AMERICAS AND BONAIRE

CHENZIRA DAVIS KAHINA

VIRGIN ISLANDS CARIBBEAN CULTURAL CENTER AT THE UNIVERSITY OF THE VIRGIN
ISLANDS

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Abstract

This work examines multi-disciplinary resources, educational research, and strategic public policy recommendations being strengthened for recognition, respect and institutional engagements in support of human rights and legacy narratives of Indigenous people of the VI Caribbean Americas. Methodological focus using enunciation to implementation theoretical frameworks for investigative analysis related to transcultural social activism among Indigenous Native Afrakan and Amerindian people within the Virgin Islands of the United States (VI-US) and Bonaire (Netherlands Antilles) are examined. This presentation shares results of cultural research, historical narratives, proposed development and policy related to socio-political and socio-economic dependency realities of 21st century activism addressing self-determination, decolonization and human rights within educational and socio-cultural institutions. Conclusive outcomes related to collaborative community contributions by stewards and stakeholders for the passage of social policy, best practices for development, and related human rights engagements for, with and by Indigenous people addressing land rights and improvements, repatriation of sacred artifacts, cultural preservation, oral history narratives, and more will be examined.

Key terms: indigenous Africans, indigenous Americans, cultural heritage, Caribbean Studies, identity, Virgin Islands, Bonaire, human rights

Enunciation

An informative and respectful discourse on Indigenous Native Afrakans and Amerindians: culture, heritage and identity in the Virgin Islands Caribbean Americas and Bonaire requires transcultural, interdisciplinary and innovative explication and interrogation with objective lenses to explore, deconstruct and decolonize controversial records, educational research resources, and strategic public policy recommendations inclusive of comprehensive definitions of the concept of “indigenous.” The significance of the public history, cultural heritage and identity of inhabitants and multi-generational people with long-family kinships to the former Danish West Indies, reigned over and governed by more than seven sovereign colonial nations, remains a multifaceted source of contention, contradiction, strength, recognition, respect and institutional examination of humanistic efforts to uncover the legacy, culture, heritage and identity of Indigenous peoples of the VI Caribbean Americas.

Annual observances of Native American Heritage Month in the United States, Virgin Islands Indigenous Native Amerindian Heritage Month, United Nations designated International Day for the Worlds’ Indigenous Peoples; Declarations for the World’s Indigenous People; and related Caribbean American commemorative observances within educational and socio-cultural institutions are part of 21st century efforts to revisit the cultural patrimony/matrimony and ancestral indigenous heritage narratives customarily omitted and forced into a resisted silence among the indigenous voices of the Virgin Islands Caribbean Americas.

Discourse on Indigenous Native Afrakans and Amerindians: culture, heritage and identity in the Virgin Islands Caribbean Americas and Bonaire are most respectfully initiated with ancestral indigenous inspirations drawn from words of power and strength invoked and shared by stewards and tradition bearers of Taino, Queskeya or similar First Nation people throughout the entire breadth and depth of the Americas with interwoven transcultural and multilingual linkages. An example of prayers to Taino Mother and Father sacred entities referred to as goddess and god transliterated into English reads as follows:



Figure 1 Anumaat Davis Kahina blowing Ancestral Pu & Conch Shell Horn by Caribbean Sea.-with permission of ADKahina and Photographer CDKahina

Mother Atabey
 Mother of Waters
 Heavenly Mother of the Moon
 Sister of our Ancient Bleeding Mother
 Hear our Sacred people
 Protect our children
 Our precious jewels
 Give us life
 Generous Woman
 Give us your blessing
 Good spirit yes
 I am your servant
 So be it...
 Our Father who dwells in the heavens
 Father of the earth and sky
 Father of the Sun and moon
 Come to us
 You are good, omniscient and generous
 Bring us rain and food
 Avert all negative energy
 Open the way for only good things
 I am your servant
 May it be so.... (Stiles, 2015)

Preparation

The voice of Indigenous, Ancestral, Native, Virgin Islanders, deserve the right to speak to/of our sovereignty, no matter how long it takes or the challenges we face. Hearing and listening to these voices from a fair and non-judgmental perspective is imperative to the process of our evolution or our revolution... With regard to our Native and African born ancestors, they were denied a seat at the 1493 Papal Bull's¹ and The Doctrine of Discovery's² political roundtable as to

¹ The Bull Inter Caetera (Pope Alexander VI), May 4, 1493. An English translation was published in Frances Gardiner Davenport (1917: 72-75), together with the original text in Latin. (Courtesy Caroline A. Browne)

² Thus, when Columbus sailed west across the Sea of Darkness in 1492 – with the express understanding that he was authorized to “take possession” of any lands he “discovered” that were “not under the dominion of any Christian rulers” – he and the Spanish sovereigns of Aragon and Castile were following an already well-established tradition of “discovery” and conquest. Indeed, after Columbus returned to Europe, Pope Alexander VI issued a papal document, the bull Inter Cetera of May 3, 1493, “granting” to Spain – at the request of Ferdinand and Isabella – the right to conquer the lands which Columbus had already found, as well as any lands which Spain might “discover” in the future. See Steve Newcomb, *Five hundred years of injustice: the legacy of fifteenth century religious prejudice* at http://ili.nativeweb.org/sdrm_art.html (Courtesy Caroline A. Browne)

the status of their only home or even the status of their descendants...The common myth is all Indigenous and Native Peoples were intentionally exterminated in one fashion or another with full approval by the church and carried out by its various agents in the Caribbean. (Browne, 2016)

Humans have existed on earth for millions of years and through their movements they populated every continent. Archaeological research has determined that “As a birthplace of agriculture and the towns and cities that followed, America is ancient, not a “new world.” (Dunbar-Ortiz, 2014)

As an extension beyond 20th century research models limiting the term “indigenous” to First Nation people primarily in the Americas while excluding Native Indigenous Ancestral (NIA) people of the international community, the call for human rights inclusive of “Promoting Recognition, Justice and Development” as highlighted as the methodological theme of the United Nations’ designation of the International Decade for People of African Descent (IDPAD) from January 2015 to December 2024, provides a similar area of concern for people within Caribbean dependencies inclusive of the Virgin Islands (US- former Danish West Indies) and Bonaire (former Netherlands Antilles).

As an Indigenous Ancestral Global Afrakan woman of the Caribbean’s 21st century African Diaspora with Native Indigenous Ancestry (NIA) socialized with familial heritage roots in the Caribbean Americas, Dominican Republic, Virgin Islands, Afraka, and a multiplicity of transcultural heritages- I humbly embrace my culture, heritage and identity as a daughter/sister/mother of our shared earth. (Kahina, 2016)

Essentially, a discourse on Indigenous Native Afrakans and Amerindians: Culture, Heritage and Identity in the Virgin Islands Caribbean Americas and Bonaire respectfully includes frames of reference that are the antithesis of or dialectically opposed to western approaches of analysis for pre-western and pre-colonial invasion civilizations as are the case with indigenous native civilizations of the Caribbean Americas before, during and after the Maangamizi (intentional genocidal terrorism and institutional enslavement of Afrakans) known or commonly referred to as the TransAtlantic Enslavement Trade inclusive of the colonialism and dependency institutions that still exist in the 21st century.

America has yet to legally and officially recognize a Native American/Amerindian or Indigenous First Nation “tribe” or group in Puerto Rico or the Virgin Islands despite the DNA testing and cross-referencing reflecting ancestral linkages to people of Taino, Arawak, Queskeya and similar indigenous Ancestral Amerindian ancestry. This is parallel to the quest of Indigenous persons of Bonaire that have created substantial public testimony, research and educational awareness campaigns to restore the



Figure 2 James Finies-President of Nos Ke Bonieru Bèk-Photographer Davika Bissessar-Shaw-with publication permissions from Finies and Bissessar-Shaw

rights of Native Indigenous Ancestral persons via We Want Bonaire Back (*Nos Ke Boneiru Bèk*) movements presenting their legal case and demands to the Netherlands Government, CARICOM, the United Nations and other international entities. An excerpt of correspondences submitted to the King of the Netherlands on these human rights violations of indigenous persons of Bonaire includes the following in the original language (Papiamentu) as cited:

Ironikamente, 1 Juli ta pa nos e dia di mas importante di nos historia den konmemorashon i selebrashon di 1 Juli 1863. Solamente 155 anja pasa nos ansestornan a wordu duná pa Su Mahestat su gobiernu ofisialmente e status di hende. E momento ku nos a wordu rekonsé atrobe komo sernan humano, despues di a wordu sekuestrá i ranká for di nos raisnan i tera i kas ansestral, di nos kultura, religion, manera di biba, Su Mahestat su gobiernu a disidí ku nos no ta mas un obheto o poseshon di un donjo i tabata liber atrobe pa start nos emansipashon i start konstruí nos nashon. Nos tabata e ultimonan pa a wordu liberá i pa nos humanidat wordu rekonsé. Kasi un siglo, 100 anja despues ku otronan den islanan Karibense tabata liber kaba.

Ami sa ku sigur Su Mahestat ta bon na altura di nos historia komun i tambe ku e mayoria di nos pueblo no ta na altura pasobra nos nunca a wordu eduká tokante e parti oskuro akí di historia di Reino pero a wordu sinjá pa respetá Su Mahestat i manera nos a mustra Su Mahestat e rèspèt akí tur momento apesar di krueldat inhumano kometé pa e Hulandesnan na nos bísawelonan, nos famianan, nos ansestornan.

Ami ta dirigí esaki na Su Mahestat pasobra nos pueblo a mostra rèspèt profundo pa Su Mahestat komo nos Rei i Hefe di Estado i pasobra Su Mahestat a mostra di tin konsenshi i sintimentu pa nos. Kisas ta motibu di berguensa ku Su Mahestat no a wak nos direkshon di duna un tiki sosten na nos, Bonaire, ora ku Su Mahestat a bishitá nos isla ruman Korsow kaminda nan ta mes humano ku nos, pero lo kontrario tin nan mes gobernashon i un grado di outonomia, i kisas ta pasobra bo Gobiernu a disidí na Oktober 2010 sin kompashon pa aneksá i ankrá nos huntu ku Sint Eustatius den konstitushon Hulandes sin derecho igual i kontra di deseo di e pueblo manera ekspresá demokratikamente i legalmente pa medio di referenduman di 2010, 2014 i 2015. (Finies, 2018)

[Ironically, July 1st is for us the most important day in our history in remembrance and celebration of July 1st, 1863. Only 155 years ago our ancestors were given by Your Majesty's government officially the status of humans. When we were recognized again as human beings, after being abducted and uprooted from our ancestral land and homes, culture, religion, way of life, Your Majesty's government decided that we were not a trade-good or object with an owner anymore and were free again to start our emancipation and start building our own nations. We were about the last to be set free and have our humanity recognized. Almost a century, 100 years after the enslaved in other Caribbean islands were already free.

I know for sure that Your Majesty is well aware of our common history and also that the majority of our people is not aware as we were never educated about this dark part of the Kingdom's history but were taught to respect Your Majesty and as we did and showed Your Majesty this respect at all times despite the inhumane cruelties done by the Dutch to our great-grandfathers, our families, our ancestors.

I am addressing Your Majesty as our people show profound respect for Your Majesty as our King and Head of State and because Your Majesty has shown to have a conscience and feelings for us. Maybe it is out of shame that Your Majesty did not look and give some support to us in Bonaire, when Your Majesty visited our sister island of Curaçao which are the same humans as us, but contrary to us have their own government and some level of autonomy and maybe because your Government decided October 2010 without remorse to annex and embed us together with the island of St. Eustatius in the Dutch Constitution under unequal rights and against the wishes of the people as expressed democratically and legally through the referenda of 2010, 2014 and 2015.]

Comparatively, while Indigenous persons of Bonaire navigate and negotiate for more autonomy and freedom for ancestral human rights and social governance inclusive of intellectual correctness in how their culture, heritage and identity are perceived, taught and preserved, there are initiatives within the Virgin Islands (US) that are providing methodological development and institutional opportunities for addressing human rights concerns and violations being researched and exposed by diverse stakeholders. Research compiled from archaeological studies from entities like the National Park Service (i.e. Salt River Bay heritage site) and the Slave Wrecks Project (PIs George Washington University and Smithsonian Institution National Museum of African American History and Culture) have provided resourceful intellectual environments for cultural heritage research for strengthening accuracy of public history narratives that impact policy, development and community engagement from the perspectives of the ascendants and people of these respective communities. Definitions of “indigenous” as used for academic testimony for VI Legislative bill development for Recognition of and Respect for VI Sacred National Patrimony and Rights of Caribbean Indigenous Peoples of the VI (Bill 31-0303) have been explored yet silenced due to a multiplicity of socio-economic crises that marginalize issues of culture, heritage and identity over financial survivability of respective communities. In matters of historic preservation, cultural restoration and respect for the patrimony of the Virgin Islands Caribbean Americas the explication of collaborative community policy developments and educational resources contributed to by academicians and community stakeholders for reorganizing cultural heritage preservation, diplomatic affairs and socio-historic documentation for effective passage of legal policies in compliance with U.S., Caribbean and international preservation acts regarding Indigenous people’s artifacts, land improvements, historic preservation activities and oral history narratives are worthy of inquiry, research and solution-oriented recommendations. The Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act of November 1990 (NAGPRA) along with similar documents within the Caribbean Americas that support restorative programs for Ancestral Indigenous culture, heritage and identity are is useful for indigenous and First Nation peoples’ historical and cultural analysis in North America. However, there has been resistance to ancestral legacy claims of people of indigenous heritage in the Virgin Islands Caribbean Americas, hence NAGPRA has not been effective, applicable or useful in the restoration of the cultural patrimony of indigenous rights regionally. There are exceptions in Waitukubuli (Dominica) with the Kalinago Nation securing lands, restoring language and ancestral legacy human rights. The Garifuna of St. Vincent and Belize have secured similar human rights with support from the United Nations’ designations and policies linked to the Declaration of Indigenous People and beyond.

The historical experiences that challenged the human rights of Indigenous people in the Virgin Islands and other parts of the “Greater Antilles” have continued to impact Caribbean sister and brother islands like Bonaire, and their descendants of ancestral natives of those isles, as evidenced in this international media call presented as follows in Overseas Territories on-line publications, before regional Caribbean organizations and institutions and directly to the Government of the Netherlands on multiple occasions with excerpts reflecting the following:



Figure 3 Lionel Pincus and Princess Firyal Map Division, The New York Public Library. (1671). Cruel dealings in Curiana.

Retrieved with public open source permissions from <http://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/510d47e1-f593-a3d9-e040-e00a18064a99>

This letter serves as a serious warning to all Caribbean nations that colonialism has returned to (the) Caribbean in a modernized institutionalized form. Our sister islands of Curaçao, Aruba and St. Maarten are on the same path to be recolonized administratively by The Hague. On these islands The Hague took control over their internal matters by appointing a non-democratic supervisory financial board deciding over the islands’ budgets, parliaments and governments. Same is the case with the judiciary system which is under control of The Hague deciding who will be politically targeted and prosecuted if not collaborating with the Dutch agenda.

This letter serves as a serious warning to all Caribbean nations and organizations that are working towards a Caribbean unity and integration, that colonialism has returned to the Caribbean in a more aggressive form. Our indigenous local Caribbean peoples are the target of an ethnic cleansing process. Our land and natural resources have been repossessed by the colonizing administrative power. Our hope is that all Caribbean nations and leadership will stand together as one voice, showing solidarity towards us, rejecting the recolonization of your fellow Caribbean peoples and especially supporting the courageous democratic elected government and peoples of Sint Eustatius that will be in court against continuation of Dutch colonialism. (Finies, 2018)

This and similar letters encouraging political policy transformations reflect the voices of the people expressing similar forms of invisibility, human rights violations and pending threats for collective community actions for “recognition, justice and development” within quests for self-determination impacting Caribbean life, liberty and security even in the Virgin Islands and Bonaire.

Opening

In matters of this nature it is wise for the Smithsonian to tread with great caution. The disturbance of the bones by seawater makes one aspect of the evidence inconclusive, but the other features – the pre-Columbian ceramic vessel, the age of the soil layers, the evidence of an unusual dental ritual not associated with Africans of slavery times – strongly suggest a pre-Columbian context. In other words, nothing in the evidence associated with the skeletons suggests a post-Columbian dating. The find at Hull Bay (VI) remains, therefore, an open question. Further diggings in that area may establish the pre-Columbian presence of Africans in the Virgin Islands, after all. But the matter is being prematurely closed by a conspiracy of silence, a space of insidious rumors, and an apparent ignorance of African metallurgical history. (Van Sertima, 1976)

Native Afrakan and Amerindian heritage preservation efforts continue to be protectively supported absent of the financial resources required for this work by the VI Department of Planning and Natural Resources' (VIDPNR) State Historic Preservation Office (VISHPO), the VI National Park Service (VINPS) of St. Thomas and St. John, the National Park Service of St. Croix (NPS STX) - especially within its Salt River Bay National Historical Park and Ecological Reserve that is home to significant heritage sites of early human settlements in St. Croix and the Caribbean Americas. The University of the Virgin Islands

(UVI) with select research, policy recommendations, programs and community engagements through its Virgin Islands Caribbean Cultural Center (VICCC),

continues to contribute to the composition and protocol-centered implementa-

tion of proclamations, resolutions and related documentation for preservation, cultural heritage restoration and sacred ancestral matrimony blended with patrimony of ancient traditions in contemporary times for Indigenous people of the VI Caribbean and more. This includes:



Figure 4 World's Indigenous Peoples Day Graphic with permission of Opi'a Taino International, Inc.

Respectful Indigenous Amerindian historic preservation, educational research and heritage restoration have been spearheaded by Opi'a Taino International and the United Confederation of Taino People-inclusive yet not limited to established alliances, ancestral support, respectful collaborations and cooperative agreements with Kalinago (Carib), Boriken Taino, Kiskeia Taino, Karifuna, Per Ankh M Smai Tawi and other organizations, nations and families of the Virgin Islands, wider Caribbean, the Americas and beyond." (VI Indigenous Amerindian Native American Heritage Month Proclamation, 2014)

Areas for intellectual accuracy and inclusion of historic references to "Indigenous Native Virgin Islanders" are linked to research pertinent to pre-Columbian presence of Afrakans and Asians.

Early European explorations to the Caribbean documented the presence of Afrakan and Asian peoples (Leary, 1992). Even during the period prior to the importation of enslaved Afrakans for labor in the Caribbean Americas, "French sea captain De Kerhallet drew a map indicating independent pre-Columbian black settlements in the Americas to include St. Vincent." Indigenous Native Amerindians shared the anthropological ethnic root as Afrakans and Asians. Essentially, the extended sharing of cultural heritage, intermarriage and solidarity for survival against the vestiges of European colonialism and enslavement, "the fact remains, that the Black Caribs were originally Mende (West African merchants) traders of gold and cloth, who established settlements throughout the Circum-Caribbean region, Mexico, Central America, South America and the Southern U.S. They had been arriving in the Americas for thousands of years. (Browne, 2016)

Implementation

I had come to the Virgin Islands a year after the Smithsonian had reported the Hull Bay find. According to the Associated Press report on the discovery, the skeletons of two Negroid males in their late thirties had been found buried in soil layers dated A.D. 1250. Clamped around the wrist of one of the skeletons was a ceramic vessel of pre-Columbian Indian design. Examination of the teeth of the skeletons indicated 'dental mutilation characteristic of early African cultures.' The find must have generated considerable excitement at first, since the area adjoining the grave had been acquired at the cost of hundreds of thousands of dollars... The find at Hull Bay (VI) remains, therefore, an open question. Further diggings in that area may establish the pre-Columbian presence of Africans in the Virgin Islands, after all By March 1976, however, when I visited the site, a blanket of secrecy had descended. The grave had degenerated into a garbage dump. I learned from information filtering out of the Smithsonian that interest had evaporated because the skeletons found in the grave could not be properly

dated. Saltwater had seeped into the bones, disturbing the carbon content, leading to wildly fluctuating readings of skeletal age...” (Van Sertima, 1976)

Despite the reports of disrepair of anthropological and archaeological sites that have the potential to uncover the ancestral linkages of some Indigenous Native Amerindians of the VI Caribbean Americas, there continues to be efforts made to highlight the importance preserving, researching and sustaining awareness of the Indigenous legacy of this region for the benefit of the people of AyAy (ancestral name for St. Croix and these Virgin Islands). Research and sustainable funding to continue the respectful discourse, interactive engagement and uncovering of the truths surrounding the presence of Indigenous Native Amerindians are important for recognizing, protecting and restoring the “sacred national patrimony, and the rights of the Taino, Carib and other Caribbean Indigenous Peoples, as pre-Columbian inhabitants of the Virgin Islands, and recognizing that their descendants continue to exist today...” In VI Legislative Bill 31-0303 of February 2016, the following historical references were outlined on St. Thomas at Magen’s Bay and on St. Croix at Salt River Bay, with identifications of land worthy of preservation as sacred to Indigenous Native Amerindian civilizations:

...the diverse indigenous groups which inhabited the Virgin Islands left us rich evidence of a complex historic process that began more than 3,000 years ago; and the pre-agricultural cultures, as well as the agricultural ones, known to us as Igneri, Ostionoid, Arawaks, Tainos, Kalinago, and Caribs cultures, populated and transformed the Virgin Islands leaving behind a lasting legacy; ...and the island of St. Croix was named Ay-Ay by the indigenous people and that St. Thomas, St. John and surrounding keys were occupied before 2500 B.C.; and...our island’s environment was modified through the introduction of continental flora and fauna and the names of places identifying rivers, mountains and valleys, and multiple elements of our diet, foods, and language still reflect their influence of this cultural heritage left behind today; and... Salt River and Magens Bay, are identified as a pre-Columbian settlements by archeological investigations conducted in 1923 by the Danish archeologist Gudmund Hatt, and that human remains, artifacts, ball court stones and other materials were transshipped to Denmark and are presently housed at the Danish National Museum;... on St. Thomas a pre-Columbian village site, known as TAVI Site, was uncovered by the archaeologists from the State Historic Preservation Office in 1992 during the construction of the Tutu Mall; and...a settlement, human remains, and artifacts were recovered, and through community efforts to preserve this site a landmark court case for a temporary restraining order was filed against Tutu Park Mall in 1992 by two private citizens who identified themselves as descendants of indigenous people of the region for the identification and the protection of this cultural patrimony; and...as a result of this discovery during the 500-year anniversary

about the different uses of the flora and fauna to sustain their health and wellness integrating indigenous traditions of the cultures shared amongst Afrakan and Asian civilizations in the Caribbean Americas. Indigenous Native Amerindians used arrowroot to heal wounds from poisoned arrows, gratings from the root of the reboulissi shrub to facilitate the delivery of babies, tobacco juice and the gummy sap of the touli tree to cure abscesses, *lignum vitae* to treat yaws and syphilis, etc. *hymenaea courbaril* known in VI colloquial terms as “stinking-toe” is a sweet-tasting fruit with an unpleasant odor that is rich in vitamin C and other nutritional benefits. *myrciaria floribunda* better known as “guavaberry” by local people is another fruit with a multiplicity of healing and blood-purification properties used for making beverages, pastries, wine and liquors. Many native fruit trees have medicinal properties with linkages to Indigenous Native Amerindian culture are rare and include *Inga fagifolia* colloquially known as sweetpea or pomshock and *Mammea Americana* colloquially known as mamey apple in AyAy or apricot in Waitukubuli (Dominica). There are many similarities of Indigenous agricultural herbals, sciences, fruits and fauna in Bonaire and other parts of the southern regions of the Caribbean.

Several Native Amerindian and Indigenous Afrakan tools and home implements were adopted by the French colonialists of AyAy (indigenous term for St. Croix) and are still used today. Examples are: the fish pot, throw net, the cotton hammock, pottery, straw baskets, calabash bottles and bowls, clay coal pots, etc. Shared heritage in construction, architecture and housing techniques of indigenous peoples were reflected as forked poles were planted on the periphery of cabins. Beams were tied with vines to the forks, purlines were laid and tied across the beams, and finally palm fronds or sugar cane tops were laid and tied on the roof while the sides were covered with wattle, reeds, or boards. Dugout canoes similar to those of the “Island Caribs” are still built today by Kalinago descendants in Dominica, Guadeloupe and Martinique out of sandbox and silk cotton trees. Most Indigenous people traversed within and throughout the Caribbean waterways of the Virgin Islands and beyond towards Central and South America inclusive of Bonaire, Aruba and Curaçao.

The “Island Caribs” more correctly referred to as “Kalinago” did influence customs and traditions of the VI Caribbean Americas. They were generous hosts despite the reputation of being “warlike” people, willing to gather for a ouicou (party) and share their bounty with a relative, friend or stranger as long as there were no threats to the village, crops or lands. The influence of indigenous cultural heritage and language has remained consistent in contemporary terms throughout the VI with geographical names of indigenous origin. VI names of flora of indigenous origin include: avocado, annona, calabash, cocoa, guavaberry icaco plu, kinép (genip), maize (corn), Malanga, roucouor rookoo (achiote), tobacco, yucca, papaya, manioc, mamee apple, potato, sisal, maubi,

and tomato. Caribbean faunal names of indigenous origin include: agouti, anole lizard, balahoo, barracuda, caiman, capybara, cavali or kavali (crevalle jack), cribishi or kribishee, iguana, manatee (sea cow), manicou, touloulou crab, mampee or mampi. Central and South American terms of indigenous origin include: barbecue, buccaneer, canary, canoe, cay, hammock, hurricane, kallaloo, maubi beer, savanna and many more. (Davis, 2015) With increased awareness of the shared heritage and culture from indigenous pre-enslavement civilizations, twenty-first century policy protections for historic preservation and educational research for indigenous heritage sites in the VI Caribbean Americas will improve and provide more accurate encounters, narratives and public history documentations for future generations.

Recommendations to support indigenous cultural heritage affairs in the VI may include the development of strategic task forces, inclusive of professional personnel with expertise in cultural heritage preservation, indigenous diplomatic affairs, planning and socio-historic documentation for the establishment of infrastructure and policy development to maximize the efficient and effective passage of implementable laws, policies and/or protocols in compliance with federal jurisdiction and authority essential for more protective and respectful legislation regarding artifacts, land improvements, historic preservation activities for Indigenous Native Amerindians: Culture, Heritage and Identity in the Virgin Islands Caribbean. Salt River Bay in St. Croix, Magens Bay in St. Thomas, and Reef Bay in St. John are indigenous cultural heritage sites and there are multi-generational Virgin Islanders with ancestral kinship linkages committed to the preservation, restoration and protections of these respective sacred grounds. More research and policy modifications within the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act of 1990 (NAGPRA) that currently does not apply to U.S. territories and commonwealths with the intention to provide a respectfully inclusive status for Virgin Islanders claiming Indigenous Native Amerindian cultural heritage and identity is essential. The United Nations has designated August 9th annually as the International Day of the World's Indigenous People by UN Resolution 49/214 on December 23rd, 1994 and strengthened by the UN Resolution 61/295 on September 13th, 2007 with the creation of the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous People. According to the UN the most fruitful approach is to identify, rather than define indigenous peoples. This is based on the fundamental criterion of self-identification as underlined in many human rights documents which is shared amongst our Caribbean sister/brother nations like Bonaire and the *We Want Bonaire Back* movement.

...Your Minister of the Interior and Kingdom Relations has also re-confirmed this officially to us in a letter dated January 8, 2014, reg.nr # 2014-0000012853: 'That the people of Bonaire has the right to let its' voice be heard and the right to self-determination, is an hereditary that is not under discussion and is fully

endorsed by the Cabinet.’ ...It is now very clear that there is no legal basis and reasonable grounds exist to further force the state structure, enforce and impose this against the rights and wishes and voice of the Bonairean people, whom you have made miserable since 10- 10-10 (the same happened to St Eustatius, who also has its voice heard on 17 December 2014). So your current political position goes frontally against international law, against the fundamental principles of our customary international and human rights. ... Now it is clear that since 18 December 2015, the population of Bonaire clearly showed: ‘not to have chosen this themselves.’

Briefly, the people of Bonaire, in accordance with international law, is the only one with the right to speak out for the determination of their political structure, their future, and because this structure 10-10-10 was temporary for the period of 5 years, and the people of Bonaire made their voice heard on 18 December 2015 and rejected this illegal state structure and this decision and wishes must be respected by all administrators and politicians of Bonaire and the Netherlands. Finally, we ask you politely but yet urgently your help, to do everything in your ability as soon as possible to begin the dismantling and transfer and repatriation process of your administration because the situation is restrictive among the population.” (Finies, 2016)

Essentially, Indigenous Afrakan and Amerindian people of the Caribbean are continuing to struggle with securing human rights, cultural heritage identity, decolonization, self-determination, and preservation beyond dependencies for land rights as shared herein whether in the Virgin Islands, Bonaire or elsewhere where the remnants of colonialism reign.

Closing

Indigenous Afrakan and Amerindian people of the Caribbean have contributed to the national tradition of every aspect of our society-from agriculture and science to business and the arts. In the Virgin Islands Caribbean Americas along with Bonaire and other Caribbean, Central and South American cultural regions, there are several heritage preservation, cultural restoration, educational research and humanitarian development programs, sites and agencies for the protections of Indigenous Native Amerindian Culture, Heritage and Identity inclusive of Afrakan traditions and lifeways. AyAy United Federation, Opi’a Taino International, VI State Historic Preservation Office, National Park Service (Caribbean Parks in Puerto Rico, St. John and St. Croix), Magens Bay Authority, Guinea Grass Ventures, St. Croix Unified for Community, Culture, Environment and Economic Development, Sankofa Saturdays and others have focused on Virgin Islands Indigenous affairs. Regionally and internationally, Per Ankh M Smai Tawi,

Global Breadfruit Heritage Council, Caribbean Pan African Network, We Want Bonaire Back, African Territories and Realms, World Indigenous Peoples Councils and an expanding list of initiatives, movements, governments and organizations remain committed to ensuring that the Virgin Islands Caribbean Americas recognize, unite, restore, preserve, protect and respect Indigenous Native Afrakans' and Amerindians' people, culture, identity, traditions, heritage, land, life and sacred resources. With increased

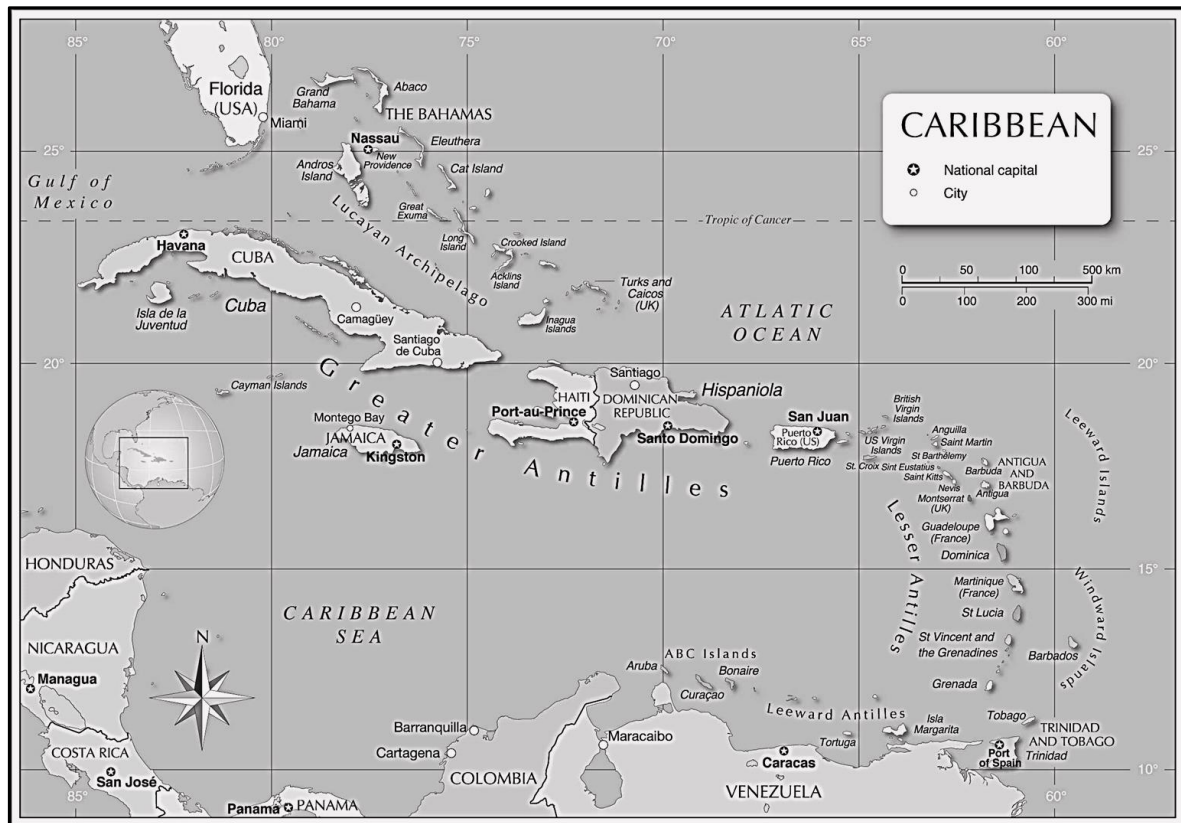


Figure 6 Caribbean Political Map Courtesy nationsonline.org. Copyright Free

public education in Caribbean Studies and Global Indigenous Native Afrakan visibility and respectful inclusivity complemented with sustainable funding resources the VI Department of Education, the University of the Virgin Islands with a special focus implemented through its' VI Caribbean Cultural Center in concert with civic and non-governmental community-based organizations will continue to support cultural heritage and identity efforts with respect to and inclusion of Indigenous Native Afrakan and Amerindian traditions in the VI Caribbean Americas. These efforts are respectfully extended by invitation through organic and proactive collaborative partnerships with Bonaire via organizations like We Want Bonaire Back along with other civics and human rights centered educational projects sharing similar Caribbean Cultural Studies research, development and policy transformation intentions.

With more research and interactive inclusion of voices and actions throughout the VI Caribbean Americas with invitational collaborations from Bonaire and others within



Figure 7 Indigenous Afrakan Woman of the Caribbean –With permission of Chenzira Davis Kahina, Photographer Dena Fisher & Per Ankh AnuMedia

our region, there will be increased engagements to respect, nurture, research, restore and protect our Ancestral Indigenous Native Afrakans and Amerindians: Culture, Heritage and Identity in the Virgin Islands Caribbean Americas and Bonaire with proactive linkages to global civilizations – Afrakan, European, Asian and others - that are all part of the pre-colonial (commonly referred to as Pre-Columbian) experiences. This will facilitate the institutionalization and permanence of preservation and restoration education to strengthen our commu-

nity's collective acknowledgement, awareness, respect and reparative justice for Indigenous Native Afrakans and Amerindian Culture, Heritage and Identity in the Virgin Islands Caribbean.

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PARTISIPANDO LEU FOR DI KAS: TESTIMONIO DI 30 DI MEI NA HULANDA

CHARLES DO REGO,
INDEPENDENT SCHOLAR

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Introdukshon

Den añanan 60 di siglo pasá antiano residensiá na Hulanda, sea pa estudio òf trabou, tabata relativamente isolá di aktualidat na Kòrsou. Komunikashon direkto ku nos pais tabata limitá i informashon tabata masha skars, si no ta pa algun notisia sensashonal. Studiante tabata lesa for di karta i korant ku nan tabata haña ku sierto regularidat di kas i den un “Nieuwsbrief” editá pa Antillenhuis (Kas di Antia) kiko tabata pasando riba suela antiano. Notisia kasi semper tabata yega atrasá i telefòn tabata asina karu ku ta solamente den kaso eksepsional por a hasi uso di esei. Ounke e problemanan laboral i sindikal na kuminsamentu di mei¹ tabata konosí, e disturbio grandi riba 30 di mei 1969 a bin inesperá², a krea hopi konfushon i a lanta bastante interrogatorio. Den e artíkulo akí mi ke deskribí e sirkunstansianan den, i e reakshon di e komunidad antiano den e temporada ei na Hulanda, i no ta trata e rebelion na Kòrsou riba su mes. Alabes mi ke deskribí kon e komunidad antiano a desaroyá sosialmente i kulturalmente mirá for di bista di organisashon i ideologia polítiko. Esaki tambe pa por komprondé kon por a mobilisá den un lapso di tempu asina kòrtiku un grupo relativamente grandi pa manifestá. E análisis ta bai te 1970 i mi a skohe Nijmegen komo punto di referensia siendo un siudat ku relativamente hopi studiante antiano i kaminda a logra un grado di koherensia altu. Ademas Nijmegen ta e siudat di kual mi ta disponé di mas informashon direkto i personal komo mi a studia ei di 1965 pa 1971. Banda di konosementu atkerí a base di partisipashon propio, mi a buska informashon den revista, korant i literatura. Informashon importante a sali for di e 27 personanan ku mi a entrevistá. Nan eskoho pa partisipá no tabata a base ideológiko pero pa nan aporte di un òf otro manera na e proseso di konsientisashon, mobilisashon i informashon òf simplemente pa mi por a averiguá un ke otro akontesimentu. Gran parti, esta 13 respondente, tabata

¹ Amigoe di Curacao, 6-5-1969; Beurs & Nieuwsberichten, 6-5-1969; Vitó, 10-5-1969

² Notisia ku Wescar a bolbe bai plat riba 27 mei no a alkansá nos na tempu

studia na Nijmegen pero a inkorporá tambe respondente di otro siudat relevante manera Leiden, Amsterdam, Utrecht, Delft i Tilburg. Algun tabata sea lider sindikal òf aktivista for di Kòrsou i di bishita na Hulanda. Ta bon pa bisa ku hopi memoria a bai perdí i vários biaha mester a bolbe bèk pa mas informashon i hasi chekeo pa haña e análisis korekto. Pa duna e relato un dimension distinto mi a laga e respondente (R) mes na palabra kaminda mi a konsiderá esei adekuá.

Formashon leu fo'i kas

Posibilidat pa sigui un estudio avansá na Kòrsou tabata hopi limitá i for di siglonan pasá famianan pudiente tabata manda nan yunan, partikularmente esnan hònber, pa estudio na Hulanda. Den siglo 20 mas i mas studiante for di Antia ta bai Hulanda ku un beka di gobièrnu (Oostindie & Maduro: 170-186) pero ainda di un forma limitá. Ademas vários ta esnan ku ta bai Hulanda pa sigui skol sekundario manera H.B.S.³, ku no tabata tin na Kòrsou, i pa por a bai despues universidat òf otro instituto di enseñansa avansá. E grupo hopi hóben akí generalmente tabata keda serka un famia hulandes (hospita) “in de kost” (esta alohamentu ku kuminda i kuido) pero tambe den internat manera Canisius⁴ na Nijmegen. Esaki tabata konta tambe pa esnan di Aruba, otro islanan i Sürnam. Asina nos pais a logra haña su propio médiko, ingeniero, hurista i dosente, i diferente asta a doktorá manera un Moises da Costa Gomez.

Kòrsou den e temporada petrolero (Do Rego, 2012) a desaroyá di tal forma ku famia di klase media tambe por a manda nan yunan bai studia. E komunidad industrialisá tabatin mester di mas hende riba nivel altu, tantu universitario komo vokashonal, i mas oportunidat tabata habri pa mucha muhé. Pa estudionan riba nivel avansá tantu Shell a hunga un papel komo e Fraternan di Tilburg. E últimonan akí a sòru pa alohá hoben antiano den internat i kas partikular bou di guia katóliko i no ta pornada ku Nijmegen i Tilburg, a haña hopi akogida.

1945-1970

E generashon despues di guera sí por a ingresá den universidat i otro instituto di enseñanza avansá ku un diploma di H.B.S. pasobra Peter Stuyvesant College⁵ a habri na 1941 sigui pa otro⁶. Nos mester konsiderá e periodo 1945-1954 komo unu transitorio pero den kua a krea un identidat antiano bou di studiante na Hulanda. E relashon ku poblashon hulandes generalmente tabata bon i esaki lo a keda asina te ku añanan 60 (Oostindie & Maduro, 1986: 205). Alabes organisashonnan di antiano na Hulanda tabata boga pa stimulá kontakto ku otro i pa prepará pa karga posishon di hopi responsabilidat despues na kas (Oostindie & Maduro, 1986: 180-205). Partikularmente na añanan 60 mas i mas studiante a haña kaminda pa Hulanda debí na oumento grandi di

³ Hogere burgerschool komparabel ku havo/vwo i senior high school merikano

⁴ Skol ku internat di Hesuita na Nijmegen

⁵ Kolegio Alejandro Poula

⁶ Radulphus College for di 1948 i MIL na 1949

e grupo di hóben for di final di di dos guera mundial, formashon di un klase medio antiano na Kòrsou i Aruba pa motibu di e ouge ekonómiko ku refinashon di petroli a trese kuné (Encyclopedie N.A., 1969: 90; Statistisch Jaarboek N.A., 1961; Statistisch Jaarboek, 1966.). Den añanan 50 por ehèmpel, e studiante antiano a sali for di un teritorio riku i esei sigur a influensia su aktitut komo persona di sierto klase. E florin ku e mayornan a manda tabata bal dòbel miéntras Hulanda tabata pasa ainda den un temporada di skarsedat i rekonstrukshon despues di guera.

Nos pais a bira outónomo den Reino Hulandes i e nesesidat pa propio kuadro akadémiko a bira mas urgente i un aspekto importante pa gobièrnu. E sistema di beka a bira mas strukturá ku supervisor na tur siudat grandi i dirigí for di Antillenhuis i Stichting Studiecommissie Nederlandse Antillen (SSNA) pa tene bista i akompañá esnan ku un beka di Antia (Encyclopedie N.A., 1985). Pa esnan ku fianza di Kòrsou ta tin Centraal Bureau Toezicht Curaçaose Bursalen ku su mentòrnan for di 1959 (Encyclopedie N.A., 1985: 100).

E studentenan tabata bai Hulanda ku beka pa sigui un variedat grandi di estudio riba entre otro tereno di enseñansa, topografia, atministrashon finansiero i pa atministrashon munisipal. Tambe pa kuido médiko, trabou sosial i pa diferente estudio riba tereno kultural. Pa Kòrsou gran mayoria di beka a bin di gobièrnu insular i gobièrnu sentral, i mas limitá di EEG, Sticusa, Gobièrnu Hulandes i Shell. Segun sifra di desèmber 1955 no ménos ku 402 antiano tabata studia na Hulanda (Oostindie & Maduro, 1986: 211). Den e periodo despues e kantidat akí a subi supstansialmente i na 1967 e total registrá a bira 953 (Encyclopedie N.A., 1969: 540). Di e kantidat total di 953 nos ta konstatá ku 281 tabata studia na nivel di universidat i 155 na un instituto tékniko altu. Den e tempu ei e universidatnan tabata situá na Amsterdam (2), Leiden, Utrecht, Nijmegen i Groningen miéntras e instituto tékniko mas haltu tabata na Delft. Na diferente otro siudat, antiano tabata studia pa un variedat di materia den enseñansa, kuido médiko i den área sosial; entre otro na Tilburg, Den Haag, Rotterdam, Arnhem, Zwolle, Hengelo, Breda, Rotterdam, Amsterdam i Eindhoven. Ta na e sentronan akí e organisashonnan antiano a lanta i e bida sosial i kultural a floresé na añanan 50 i 60. Nos mester remarká ku den e periodo akí no tabata hasi distinshon entre yu di Kòrsou, arubano i otro: tur tabata antiano. Nijmegen tabata konta na añanan 60 ku algu mas ku 100 studiante for di Antia di kual 82 na universidat den e periodo 1955-1965 (Oostindie & Maduro, 1986: 173). Na 1970 e kantidat total a bira 120, mayoria na universidat katóliko. *Tambe den e aspekto sosio-ekonómiko i rasial e konstelashon a kambia. Mas mucha katóliko i di koló a kuminsá un estudio na Hulanda*⁷.

Debí na falta di enseñansa medio avansá partikularmente Aruba a manda hopi mucha “kostschool” na Hulanda, kontinuando e kustumber di Kòrsou. Naturalmente di e famianan ku por a karga e gastunan altu. Teniendo na bista e influencia di frater i frère

⁷ Oostindie & Maduro, 1986: 173. Teksto adaptá.

un kantidat remarkabel a bai internat di Canisius College, bou di guia di Hesuita, na Nijmegen.

Obrero i verpleegster: trahadó kontratá

Entretantu e periodo di “*Oil is King*” na Kòrsou ku hopi empleo a kuminsá pasa pa historia, hopi a pèrdè trabou i no ta tin masha perspektiva mas. Un grupo di trahadó a haña kaminda pa Hulanda, tantu esnan riba kontrato manera laser, bankwèrker, paipfeter i otro trahadó den metal i konstrukshon, den kuido médiko i sosial komo esnan individual. Nan a bai buska nan suerte den un temporada ku ekonomia hulandes a kuminsá krese rápidamente i a atraé hopi trahadó di Antia i Sürnam (Budike, 1982). Empresa hulandes manera Fokker, Bronswerk, Hazemeyer, Werkspoor, Storko, tabata sera kontrato ku antiano ku no por a logra haña un bon empleo mas for di final di añan 50. *Trahador kalifiká i ku eksperensia den Isla i Dok tabata inisialmente hopi gustá na Hulanda (R)* pero a enfrentá sierto problema na trabou (Budike, 1982: 42-44). E motibunan tabata entre otro falta di preparashon adekuá pa ku e bida, hopi biaha den penshon, i kondishon di trabou na Hulanda ku su friu i hopi awaseru. Ademas e falta di dominio di idioma i desepshon segun respondente pa ku *kontrato ku muchu biaha no tabata kuadra ku palabrashon hasí*. A bin aserka ku e obrero hulandes a kuminsa sintié menasá pa e ‘otronan’ ku a dreña merkado laboral i por a kita su trabou. *Esaki a lanta deskonfiansa mutuo, aislamentu di e yu di Kòrsou huntu ku e problemanan di un kultura hopi diferente ku ta manifestá su mes tantu na trabou komo den relashon personal. Asina, pronto hopi di e trahadornan akí a sinti nan mes indeseá i no akseptá, aunke esaki no ta konta pa tur (R)*. Ademas por a nota un rasismo latente, sigur ora e antiano bai buska bibienda (Budike, 1982). Esnan den kuido na hospital en general tabata keda den kas di verpleegster ku un ambiente diferente.

Saliendo for di e komunitat kolonisá di Kòrsou hopi a bai ku un deskonfiansa struktural kontra ‘makamba’ i e frustrashon akí tabata manifestá fásilmente ora kualke konfrontashon surgi. Palabra i komportashon ku den bista di e hulandes ta inosente ta resultá lihé den reakshon agresivo. *Mi no por a akseptá ku e forman tabata yama mi “hee jochie” i pasobra e no a stop, mi a dal’e kore su tras den fábrica (R)*.

E kantidat total di surnameño (60%) i antiano na 1972 a bira 45.000. Despues e kantidat di surnameño en bista di indepedensia na 1975 lo oumentá drástikamente miéntras e ola migratorio di antiano lo tuma lugá mas den añanan 80 i 90. E obrero antiano den añanan 60 no tabata organisá manera e estudiante i nan tabata biba rònt e pais kaminda nan trabou ta. Nijmegen mes no tabata masha industrialisá i pues ku tiki trahadó antiano den e periodo konserní i a keda un siudat típikamente di estudiante.

Riba inisiativa di gobièrnu hulandes i sostené pa e padernan Dominikano, ku tabata traha tambe na Antia, a lanta vários instituton pa yuda antiano na siudat grandi

kaminda por a alkansá e trahahó antiano. Asina a bin e diferente “welzijnsstichtingen” manera Antilliaans Contactcentrum na Amsterdam i mas despues na otro siudat manera Utrecht. Diferente antiano hopi motivá tambe a bai duna un man (R). Asina a habri Antilliaans Contactcentrum nos a bai yuda pasobra nos tabata papia e idioma i konosé e kultura di Antia. E padernan Dominikano i gobièrnu hulandes tabata sòru pa e parti material i spiritual. Asina nos por a kombiná teoria ku práktika (R)

Organisashon i desaroyo di identidat

Te den kuminsamentu di añanan 50 e kantidat di studiante antiano tabata hopi limitá i relativamente isolá. Nan tabata topa otro riba un base individual i nan tabata buska distraishon, amistad i kompañó den e mundu estudiantil hulandes. Tabata konsiderá inkorporashon den komunidat hulandes komo algu mas ku normal, tantu sosial komo kultural i den e tempu ei hopi matrimonio ku hulandes a tuma lugá. Den transkurso di añanan 50 i 60 e studiante antiano a kuminsá pone mas énfasis riba loke ta su propio identidat kultural. Den e temporada ei a kuminsá lanta e diferente organisashonnan i na 1962 a instituí e Stichting Antilliaanse Studentenraad na Den Haag pa sirbi interes di studiante den enseñansa universitario. Remarkabel ta, segun respondente, ku *e punto di salida a bira e organisashon di “dispuut”⁸, pues un reflekshon di e mundu estudiantil hulandes i eksklusivamente pa studiante, preferíbel na universidat òf “hogeschool”*. Entre otro a lanta OASA na Leiden (1960), CANOA⁹ na Nijmegen (1955), VASD na Delft¹⁰, UASA Amsterdam (1964), TAK na Tilburg (1963), Asosiashon Estudiantil Antilliano na Eindhoven i Cadushi na Utrecht (1964) (Encyclopedie N.A., 1969: 539/540).

Fiestanan antiano a sirbi komo momentunan di enkuentro i di kultura musikal i por ehèmpel fiesta di Aña Nobo a haña un nifikashon partikular. Esaki komo hopi studiante mester a keda tera friu pa hopi aña (3-8 aña) promé ku nan por a pasa un fakansi na kas i ku un komunikashon limitá. E fiestanan na hotèl Erica na Berg en Dal, pegá ku Nijmegen, tabata atraé antiano di rònt Hulanda meskos ku esun na Leiden (Stadsgehoorzaal). Asina e antiano por a sinti su mes den su propio ambiente ku músika krioyo ku tinto latino pero e aktividatnan akí a kuminsá mengua na final di añanan 60. E ambiente bou di antiano na Nijmegen básikamente nos por karakterisá komo unu di hopi koherensia i solidaridat ku un nostalgia pa tur loke tabata di Antia i ku e firme propósito bou di mayoria pa bai bèk tera natal. Esaki no a kita ku tabata eksistí sierto kontradikshon a base di pensamentu tradishonal versus esun mas progresivo i a base di e karákternan distinto di sierto miembro di direktiva òf miembro individual den e komunidat antiano, pero sin esaki a resultá den antagonismo.

⁸ Dispuut ta e organisashonnan di base den un sosiedat universitario

⁹ Canoa, tabata e organisashon ku ta risibí studiante antiano ora nan kaba di yega.

¹⁰ 1954 segun R. Hodgson, promé presidente.

E noshon di ta un antiano a sigui krese konsiderabel kreando un identidat nashonal, papiando mas papiamentu, buskando kontinuamente loke ta di nos den kual müzik, baile, literatura i poesia a tuma un lugá importante. E orkesta Tropical Serenaders, estilo cubano, tabata konsistí di talentonan oriundo di Nijmegen. *Esakinan a inisiá for di nan tempu na Canisius College den añanan 1956/57 (R)*

Segun un otro respondente, *CANOA a bin na remarke pa haña un piso den un edifiso nobo siendo komparabel ku un “dispuut” pa alohá 11 studiante*. E asina yamá flèt di CANOA a bira un punto di kontakto i un faktor sosial den añanan 60. Siendo un komunidad primeramente maskulino nan tabata sali hopi huntu, bai sierto kafé i dancing di renombre (El Sombrero) den un época ku antiano komo grupo estudiantil i limitá tabata goza di un akseptashon amplio.

Zonido mas progresivo i krítiko a kuminsa lanta kabes. Por ehèmpel Federico Oduber tabata presentá su ponensianan kontra rasismo i e revista Watapana kaminda Henry Habibe¹¹ tabata profilá; ambos tabata di Nijmegen (Habibe, 2014; 2012). Nan a demonstrá un inklinashon krítiko pa ku sosiedat antiano i a haña un kulminashon temporal den e revista Kambio¹² na añanan 60. Di e revistanan na otro siudat pero ku vínkulo na Nijmegen nos por menshoná Kontakto Antyano. E desaroyonan akí a kontribuí na un politisashon kresiente for di 1967.

Desaroyo universitario, ideologia nobo i demokratisashon

Entretantu universidatnan a krese enormemente na kantidat di studiante di kual hopi for di klase media ménos pudiente, di klase obrero i di famia kampesino. E poblashon universitario total na Nijmegen a krese di algun shen pa varios mil entre 1960 i 1970. Ku esaki e karáker elitario di e mundu estudiantil a kuminsá kambia huntu ku eksigensia pa adaptashon di kuríkulo i pa eliminá e hierarkia rígidu. Studiante a bira mas krítiko i no ta akseptá mas e sistema konservador, eksklusivo i outoritario ku promé a reina. Ademas a bin un politisashon kresiente ku ideanan sindikal di un tendensia socialista den entre otro e asina yamá *Studentvakbeweging* inisia pa Ton Regtien na Nijmegen (Regtien, 1988)¹³. Nan a lucha kontra elitismo estudiantil, pa demokratisá universidat i pa mas partisipashon. E modalnan (*mores*)¹⁴ di ántes ku e studiante mester komportá manera un señor o dama di sosiedat a kambia. E studiante a bira unu ku kabei largu i bruhá, sin modales fini i un vestuario ku mas bien ta reflehá un persona ku ta biba riba kaya. E aktitut a kambia den unu kontra outoridat i pa mas libertat posibel ku a keda ekspresá den akshonnan na universidat i riba kaya (partiku-

¹¹ H. Habibe ta relatá di entre otro di posishon di Federico Oduber, Joe Eustatia, Nicolás Piñai i otro studiante na Nijmegen i nan aktividat literario.

¹² Redaktornan: studiante di Amsterdam i Nijmegen

¹³ Regtien ta hasi menshon di e antiano Harold Arends.

¹⁴ Mores: Sistema di anda; un kódigo di komportashon den un grupo. Ta referí na regla o práktika ku ta apliká den konteksto estudiantil, prinsipalmente bida estudiantil hulandes. Ta trata di regla ku generalmente no ta haña por eskrito. Por papia tambe di moral, kustumber i konvenshon.

larmente na Amsterdam) i un liberashon seksual, pues un kultura alternativo. Mester bisa tambe ku entrada di estudiante femenino na gran eskala a yuda kibra e bastion maskulino universitario.

Algun akontesimentu internashonal a hunga un papel den e kambionan bou di studiante i hóben manera e lucha largu pa derecho sivil di hende di koló (*civil rights movement*) na Merka ku su aspektonan di violensia dramátiko. Tambe demonstrashon masal kontra e guera na Vietnam, sosten pa e lucha di liberashon nashonal di e pueblonan kolonisá i kontra réjimennan diktatorial. Interes pa revolushon cubano (Snethlage, 1961-1971; Werkgroep Informatie Cuba, 1961)¹⁵. Mas aleu e idealnan di Camilo Torres i Che Guevarra, e moveshon di hippy, morto di Martin Luther King sigur a hunga un papel. Remarkablemente e kambio di vishon ekspresá na e di Dos Konsilio Vaticano (1962-1965) i CELAM II¹⁶ na 1968 ku su Teologia di Liberashon a resultá den un moveshon krítiko den Iglesia Katóliko hulandes. *Esaki sin duda a yuda stimulá pensamentu krítiko di algun estudiante antiano kendenan a bai tumando un posishon kontra opreshon i eksplotashon (R).*

Na mei 1968 studiante na Paris ta pone Universidat di Sorbonne plat, sigui pa e wèlga di trahadó franses mas grandi i violento ku Fransia a konosé despues di guera mundial. Esaki tabata inisio di un movementu ku lo surgi na otro paisnan europeo, Merka i Hapon i algu despues den e mesun aña grupo di estudiante a okupá oula grandi di universidat di Nijmegen komo e promé akshon di e índole akí na Hulanda¹⁷. E konosido okupashon di Maagdenhuis na Amsterdam a bin na mei 1969. Konforme ideanan nobo estudio no por ta algu aliená di komunidad, estudio i studiante mester sirbi komunidad i mester ta konektá ku esaki. Pa un grupo di antiano esaki a nifiká ku nan a kuminsá prepará pa hasi mas pa nan pais i no wak únikamente un karera propio. Komo akadémiko esei tabata enserá estudio i análisis profundo di e komunidad antiano i hinka esei den un kuadro latinoamerikano i karibense. Ideologia polítiko lo bai hunga un papel kada bes mas grandi den e manera ku nan ta mira progreso di nan pais i e kambionan ku mester a bini. Nan a sigui prinsipionan sosial demókrata iskièrdista¹⁸.

Pero na Kòrsou entretantu tambe un desaroyo polítiko krítiko a tuma lugá bou di akadémiko hoben ku un influensia supstanshal riba hubentut. *Nos ku a yega Hulanda despues di 1966 a bin ku sierto pensamentu krítiko di e hubentut di Gomezplein,*

¹⁵ Di 1961 pa 1971, Maria Snethlage a transmití informashon tokante e proseso revolushonario pa medio di Informatie Bulletin Cuba. Banda di esei, na 1968 un grupo di artista, eskritor i intelektual ku e aña ei a asistí na e kongreso kultural na Habana a lanta un Komité di Solidaridat ku Cuba.

¹⁶ Konferensia di Obispunan Latino Amerikano.

¹⁷ Esaki ta un akshon di un dia, despues na 1969 lo sigui un mas prolongá.

¹⁸ Na 1966 G. Maduro i O. Arvelo den CANOA i for di 1968 C. Do Rego i A. Nicatia den vários grupo di trabou.

influenziá pa aktivista for di e grupo di Vitó i partido URA (R). Notabel ta ku te final di añanan 60, studiantenan antiano no tabata tin masha noshon i informashon di situashon polítiko di Karibe inglés i franses. Aki barera entre imperionan kolonial a hunga un papel.

Na Nijmegen e studiantenan antiano, meskos ku na otro siudat, a bira lomba pa klupnan tradishonal elitario¹⁹ ku nan ritonan di inougurashon mará na su tradishon. E kultura ei den tabata basta aheno na esun antiano i ku e kambionan grandi den e mundu estudiantil hulandes for di 1967, papel di e *corps* a bira insignifikante. Sede di Union di Studiante Nijmegen (USN) a bira un sentro di enkuentro progresista i militante. Di un bastion di katolisismo konservador, Nijmegen a para bira un siudat rebelde (“de rode universiteit”). Un respondente a duna su opinion: *For di nos entrada den bida estudiantil (1968) nos a konfrontá diskushon polítiko i nos a konstatá ku ta tin un separashon ideológiko entre esnan mas tradishonal i konservador i un grupo chikitu di esnan mas enbolbí den e pensamentunan revolushonario ku tabata dominá e ambiente estudiantil general (R).*

Pa un identidat propio i un konsienshi sosial

CANOA a sigui hunga un papel importante komo un organisashon kaminda antiano por a topa, diskutí i desplegá aktividat sosial entre kual e ayudo pa buska alohamentu i perkurá pa introdukshon di studiante nobo. E aktividat di introdukshon pa medio di e ‘opvangcommissie’ tabata e faktor mas desisivo pa inkorporashon di esnan nobato²⁰ den e komunidad antiano relativamente isolá. Básikamente CANOA a mantené su struktura i karakter tradishonal pero ku sierto adaptashon poniendo mas atenshon riba situashon sosial-ekonómiko i polítiko di pais Antia. Un desaroyo paralelo a bin ku e inisiativa pa lanta *International Students Club* ku e meta pa duna un bon akohida na studiantenan estranhero den sosiedat hulandes. Na 1967 a lanta *Nijmegen International Students Club* (NISC), ku a ofresé algun kamber pa studiante i un sala di enkuentro ku un bar, i den korto tempu esaki a bira un sentro bon bishitá. Despues di tempu NISC a keda hopi influenziá pa kultura i aktividat antiano.

Entretantu a lanta e Antilliaanse Studentenraad (ASR) komo asosiashon di organisahon na nivel lokal. Entre otro Leiden, Amsterdam, Utrecht, Groningen, Tilburg, Eindhoven i Nijmegen, kreando un unidat organisatorio pa henter teritorio hulandes. Na Amsterdam nos ta mira un akitut mas nashonalista i progresivo den Kontakto Anyiano ku meta sosial dirigí riba trahadó. Banda di esei otro sentro di karakter mas bien sosial-kultural a lanta meskos ku por ehèmpel na Utrecht i Tilburg. E antiano a bira mas konsiente di su identidat i a manifestá esei pa medio di su dedikashon abierto pa pais, su ekspreshon kultural i promoshon di papiamentu. Alabes un distansiamentu,

¹⁹ Societas Studiosorum Noviomagensis Roland ta un asosiashon di studiante hulandes tradishonal ku a lanta na Nijmegen riba promé di febrüari 1928.

²⁰ Tabata yama e nobatonan tambe Freshman òf abituriente

pero no rechaso, a tuma lugá di e sosiedat i kultura hulandes. Un faktor ku a aportá na integrashon o mihó konbibensia den e komunidat hulandes tabata nan ekselente dominio di e idioma hulandes den e tempu ei i nan kantidat limitá. Na Nijmegen no ta tin un ambiente di rechaso rasial abierto den e temporada ei i asta por bisa ku tabatin hopi relashon di amistad i tambe di karáktér íntimo entre antiano i hulandes. Loke si tabatin, ta e prekupashon kasi konstante ku e hulandes komun no ta duna e Antiano e balor i konfiansa igual i inkondishonal si e no konos'é bon òf esaki no ta den su gremio o sirkulo mas será. E sintimentu ku e antiano mester presta algu mas pa un aseptashon komplemento a keda molestiá.

Studiante antiano tambe a keda influensia pa e desaroyonan nobo tantu internashonal komo hulandes, pero nos mester bisa si na un forma limitá. Mayoria a mantené nan kustumber i *way of life antiano*, ku un inklinashon pa e ambiente estudiantil tradishonal. Pues nan a keda basta konformista i, segun respondentenan, *tabata opservá e kambionan ku sierto inkietut i asta rechaso*. Sinembargo tin antiano ku a militá den e kambionan i nos a konosé un direktiva di CANOA hopi progresivo den 1965/66 di G. Maduro i R. Arvelo. Un grupo chikitu a sigui simpatisá ku idea di liberashon i dekolonisashon relashoná ku eksplotashon di Terser Mundu, miéntras e problemátika di koló tabata sigui kapta hopi atenshon. Outornan manera Franz Fanon (2002; 2017), John Gerassi (1973) i Andre Gunder Frank (1967) huntu ku korant i revista manera De Groene Amsterdammer, Vrij Nederland i Cuba Bulletin sigur a influensia e movimentu. Mas serka di kas integrantenan di e grupo akí a partisipá na akshon pa cambio universitario p.e. okupashon di oula mayó i marcha kontra guera di Vietnam. Nan a dediká nan energia pa studia e kambionan di pensamentu demokrátiko i anti-imperialista den mundu partikularmente na Amérika Latina i pa analisá loke ta pasa na Antia, entre otro lesando Vitó. Un tópiko di atenshon partikular a bira Statüt di Reino Hulandes ku nan a konsiderá un lei kolonial²¹.

Na 1968 a lanta un grupo di estudio “Werkgroep Participatie” ku un inklinashon nashonalista i tendensia progresivo ku un revista ku yama Caribia²² i for di e núkleo akí a sali e promé grupo iskierdista na Nijmegen (R). Loke tabata di gran influensia ta un siman dediká na lucha anti imperialista na Amérika Latina den e asina yamá “Latijns Amerika week” na 1967. Guera na Vietnam a sigui influensia pensamentu di e grupo, no solamente na Nijmegen pero tambe na otro siudat universitario.

Werkgroep Participatie komo grupo a dediká su tempu mas bien na analisá problemátika sosio-ekonomiko i e relashon polítiko konstitushonal. E liña di pensamentu polítiko ideológiko promé ku 30 di mei den e sirkulo chikitu akí a bira unu sosialdemokrátiko di tendensia iskierdista. Resultado tabata ku e grupo di estudiante interesá i

²¹ Ciro Kroon komo Minister Presidente: “*marxistisch georiënteerde studenten met een kwaadaardig nationalisme*”

²² Caribia tabatin únika mente 2 edishon.

ku un dedikashon grandi pa nan pais tabata bon na altura di desaroyonan den komunidad di Kòrsou pero debí na e difikultat pa mantené nan mes al tantu di e último desaroyonan a pone ku e lantamente riba 30 di mei a kue nan di sorpresa. Na Leiden entre tantu a lanta Antiyas Liber ku un base mas revolushonario i marksista i nan lo a hunga un papel den análisis di sosiedat antiano i formashon teóriko. Na Amsterdam tabatin e asina yamá Antilliaans Actie-commitee, i huntu ku entre otro Nijmegen i Leiden, lo organisá e demonstrashon na Den Haag riba djadumingu 1 di yüni 1969. For di Amsterdam Antilliaans Contactcentrum, ku su lasonan fuerte ku e komunidad di trahadó, lo bai hunga un papel importante den organisashon i mobilisashon di Antiano. *Algun luna promé ku 30 di mei nos dos di Amsterdam, esta Moen i Voges, a hasi un gira pa informá estudiante i e otronan riba e situashon sosial na Antia i e nesesidat pa duna un man (R).* Un respondente di Nijmegen ta afirmá esaki: *Nan a reuní na Nijmegen den aula di universidat i ei nos tambe tabata presente ku un grupo di interesado (R).*

Djabièrne 30 di mei, Willemstad na kandela

Atardi, 30 di mei 1969 e notisia ku Willemstad ta na kandela a kai manera un bòm serka nos na Hulanda. Korantnan di atardi sinembargo apenas ta tin informashon i mester a warda notisia di anochi na televishon pa tende kiko tabata pasando leu ayá na Kòrsou. E inkietut i ansha a kuminsá poderá di studentenan yu di Kòrsou di tal forma ku nan a buska tur manera pa yama otro pa sa kiko ta pasa i hopi a sali e atardi i anochi ei mes pa buska kompania i sosten serka otro (R).

Entretantu tabata buska ansiosamente pa sa mas, i komo estudiante akadémiko alabes pa analisá i interpretá. Tabatin hopi pregunta ku no por a haña un kontesta konfiabel mesora pero hopi ya tabata konvensí kiko tabata kousa di e disturbionan ku na promé instante a keda katalogá komo un revolushon ku a pone nos isla riba e mesun liña ku pueblonan latinoamerikano ku un historia largu di lucha pa liberashon i hustisia sosial (Amigoe di Curaçao, 1969). Asina e studentenan a hala mara ku e forsan mas progresivo di e komunidad estudiantil hulandes ku tabata mei mei di un proseso di kambio pa kibra struktura i formashon akadémiko antikuá, habri universidat pa klasenan ménos pudiente pa medio di demokratisashon i pa mas partisipashon.

Un respondente di Nijmegen ta konta ku riba e mes djabièrnè atardi 30 di mei el a risibí e notisia ku algun antiano a kuminsá agrupá na e sentro estudiantil USN na Oranjesingel pa orientá riba e susesonan alarmante for di Kòrsou. Dirigente di USN a duna un aporte grandi i por a hasi uso di telefon, tambe pa yama Kòrsou, i asina e grupo poko poko a bin haña un bista mas konkreto riba e akontesimentunan. Tabata un shòk grandi aunke na e oranan ei, esta atardi lat na Hulanda, ainda no tabatin un bista kla riba ekstenshon di e kandelanan i embergadura di e destrukshon. Estando na e sentro a drenta un yamada pa wak e disponibilitat di partisipashon na un manifestashon. Tambe a drenta un invitashon di televishon hulandes (AVRO) pa duna

informashon durante notisia prinsipal e anochi ei i ku nan mes lo bin buska e partisipantenan. Di Nijmegen a bai algun persona ku tabata presente manera Robert Pietersz kende tabata presidente di CANOA huntu ku algun otro estudiante. Na Hilversum nan a topa ku otro representante di organisashon antiano entre otro Erich Kleinmoedig. Loke nan a mostra ta ku e disturbionan tin nan orígen den e problemátika sosial i e desigualdat riba nos isla.

Siguiente dia, esta djasabra mas estudiante a bin sentro di USN i a forma un komishon ku a kuminsá prepará e manifestashon pa e siguiente dia djadumingu 1 di yüni. Entretanto prensa hulandes i esun internashonal a kuminsá duna mas informashon i poko poko esnan presente a haña un mihó bista riba e susesonan. Hopi estudiante tabata preokupá i nervioso pa bienestar di nan sernan kerí i propiedat di famia na Kòrsou i mester a duna otro sosten moral. E palabranan di e komandante di marinir na televishon sinembargo a pone mas kandela riba e sentimentu di e antianonan ora el a bisa su soldanan *“ku nan lo bai topa hende bruhá i problemátiko aya”*.

Esnan ku sierto eksperensia den aktivismo estudiantil a tuma iniciativa pa prepará e manifestashon trahando spanduk i skirbiendo lema. E asina yamá lidernan informal, esta esnan ku di un òf otro forma a liderá grupo o organisashon, a tuma direkshon i hasi palabrashon ku inisiadornan na Leiden i Amsterdam i a forma e Komité di Akshon Nijmegen. Intenshon di e manifestashon a bira un protesta kontra gobièrnu antiano ku nos a kulpa pa e situashon di trahadónan na Kòrsou (esta inseguridat di trabou, falta di lei sosial i kondishon di trabou malu), ku e situashon por a kulminá na un desaster asina. Alabes nos a kulpa Gobièrnu Hulandes ku a mantené Antia den un estado kolonial i mas bien a eksplot’é i awor ta manda soldá. Mobilisashon a kontinuá pa logra mas tantu manifestante posibel i danki na e grado di organisashon eksistente, Nijmegen por a bai ku un di e gruponan mas grandi pa Antillenhuis. USN a ofresé pa paga un bus grandi, tur gastu pa preparashon i pa e manifestashon mes. Nan a deklará nan mes solidario i yama algun aktivista pa partisipá. E manifestashon lo bai sede di representashon antiano, esta serka e Minister Plenipotensiaro ku tabata Efrain Jonckheer i eksigí di dje un protesta fuerte. Tur grupo lo topa na Malieveld na Den Haag pa forma e kolumna ku lo marcha bai Antillenhuis. A tuma e desishon pa manda un grupo koordinadó komo parti di nos Komishon di Akshon dilanti pa yuda ku organisashon. E grupo koordinadó for di Nijmegen tabata konsistí entre otro di Charles do Rego, Oswald Kwas, Ligio Wawoe i e aktivista Sürnameño Marcel Kross den outo di Tor Maduro.

Djadumingu: Manifestashon na Antillenhuis

Promé ku 3’or nos grupo kordinadó a yega Malieveld kaminda ya kaba tabata tin basta manifestante ta para warda. E ambiente tabata tenso I nos a ripará ku e manifestante no tabata konsiente ku e ta tin ku tene cuenta ku hende pa duna guia, sigur no algun estudiante pichon sin ningun outoridat riba nan. Pues e inisio no tabata mashá alentador

i ademas nos a nota un presensia basta grandi di simpatisante di orígen sūrnameño, di paisnan mediteraneo i partikularmente hulandes ku nos no tabata konosé. *Lo resultá despues ku hopi di e hulandesnan tabata pertenesé na un grupo di aktivista radikal “Rode Jeugd” i tambe un kantidat di polis na sivil (stillen) (R).* Ta bon ku e komitiva di Amsterdam tabata prepará ku megafon i asina nos a kuminsá kana e ruta manera stipulá ku marechaussee ku tabata guia nos riba kabai. Hopi manifestante a karga bòrchi i spanduk ku lema kontra kolonialismo hulandes i gobièrnu antiano (Amigoe di Aruba, 1969). E lemanan tabata entre otro: *Mariniers go home; Geen troepen maar werk; Nederland dienstmeid van Uncle Sam i Onafhankelijkheid voor Antillen.*

E marcha a desaroyá basta trankil te ora algun miembro di Rode Jeugd a tira bòm di huma i mesora marechaussee riba kabai grandi a dreña den e kolumna loke a kousa basta spantu i tenshon. Nos impreshon tabata ku alabes nan ke a intimidá e kolumna for di inisio. Ora nos a yega dilanti di Antillenhuis na Badhuisweg un delegashon a bai paden pa presentá Minister Plenipotensiaro Joncheer nos kehonan, i eksigí ku ta pidi gobièrnu hulandes pa manda e marinirnan kas bèk. Den e delegashon tabata tin entre otro Raymond Rojer (Antiyas Liber), Giovanni Maduro i Oswald Kwas di Nijmegen, Russel Voges i Adrian Moen for di Amsterdam. E enkuentro a tuma lugá den un esfera tenso i Jonckheer a tuma un posishon defensivo i e delegashon a sali sin logra su meta.

Komo e grupo pafó mester a warda basta pa tende resultado, e manifestantenan a kuminsá bira un poko alterá i un aktivista a manda un pida dor di glas di e residensia i mas a sigui. Un miembro di e delegashon a kore sali ora pida a kibra glas i bou di insistensia di e manifestantenan a deklará enfátikamente ku Jonckheer a ninga redóndamente loke a pidié. Esaki a bira e señal pa mas pida pero tambe pa marechaussee dreña akshon i riba kabai nan a plama tur hende for di e sitio. Asta a sigui nan tras ora esakinan a buska refugio den e boske dilanti (Scheveningse bos) di e residensia. Direktamente despues di e atake riba kabai, agentenan ku eskudo i klòp a sigui esnan ku a keda atras i hopi a haña sla. Tambe ta tin polis ku kachó. Un grupo di manifestante, despues di e promé konfushon, a kuminsá bringa bèk i e pelea a kontinuá pa un ratu kòrtiku pero ku basta violensia.

Di respondente i di propio opservashon por bisa ku:

E kaos tabata grandi pero gruponan chikitu, partikularmente obrero antiano, a rabia asina tantu pa e violensia ku nan a kuminsa resistí i esaki a resultá den un tanganá formal. Yu di Kòrsou ku pida den man a resultá peligroso i nan tabata saka klenku for di kaya, kibra esaki i manda nan riba e agentenan di kual varios a resultá heridá (R).

Mi a opservá kon un homber a hinka un rama di palu largu na un manera inkreibel bou di un kabai pone esaki kai abou. Pero tambe kon e ginete a logra basta lihé pone su kabai riba pia ku un profeshonalismo ku a pone tur hende kore. Polis na sivil

tabata tur kaminda postulá, asta riba sierto balkon i tabata changa hopi persona ku kier a kore bai despues di e peleanan. E situashon a keda tenso pa algun ratu i ta te banda di 6 or di atardi nan por a hala e polisnan bèk lagando un warda atras. Despues riba portrèt nos por a opservá kon grupo di polis na sivil ku tabata kana sekretamente den e manifestashon a rondoná sistemátikamente algun aktivista konosí i na e momentu ku mando polisial a duna señal pa ataká, nan a bati diferente di esakinan malamente (R).

Pa haña tur esnan di Nijmegen bèk den bus (ku a keda den bisindario) mester a pidi marechausee pasashi liber pa esnan na otro banda di e kordon ku polis a pone dilanti di Antillenhuis. Un di nos a baha pasa mei mei di kabainan pa buska nan komo 'vrijgeleide'.

A lo largu nos mester a konkluí ku e forsa polisial tabata demasiado grandi i ku marechausee a desplegá un furia mas ku normal pa kore ku tur hende. A arestá un total di 17 persona sea pa nan aktonan òf pasobra nan tabata aktivista konosí. No a keda nos nada otro ku pone tur hende di Nijmegen den bus i bandoná e sitio.

Nos grupo di kordinashon a haña sa ku nan a hiba nos kompañero Kross, huntu ku otro nan, prizon di Scheveningen kaminda nos por a interkambiá algun palabra kuné via un bentana chikitu ku trali. E tabata mal batí, ku kara tur na sanger.

Mas lat tur manifestante for di Nijmegen a topa na USN na Oranjesingel. Kada un tabatatin basta pa konta i naturalmente mester a deshogá i bin bei. Nos a disidí ku ta kontinuá ku e Komité di Akshon pa duna mas informashon, sigui analisá e susesonan na Kòrsou i wak konhuntamente kiko por ta nos aporte for di Hulanda. Asina e djadumingu di protesta a bai.

Komité di Akshon

Pa e dia despues di e manifestashon, esta djaluna 2 di yüni, Komité di Akshon di Amsterdam a organisá un enkuentro grandi den sala di konferensia di Hotel Krasnapolsky na Amsterdam. Na e enkuentro akí tur organisashon antiano a keda invitá, huntu ku partidonan polítiko i sindikato ademas di otro grupo aktivista hulandes. Meta tabata pa diskutí riba e situashon na Antia i partikularmente e relashon ku Hulanda. E organisadónan tabata tin difikultat pa tene e enkuentro bon kontrolá debí na e emoshonnan akumulá di e lantamentu pero tambe e forma ku kos a bai na Den Haag. Sí por a skucha polítiko di izkièrda, CPN i PvdA, deklará nan mes kontra Statüt i asta pa kibra lasonan estatal ku Antia.

Algun sindikalista antiano a kaba di bai un konferensha di CLAT²³ na Geneve i alarmá pa e notisianan di Kòrsou (e.o. nan a tende ku 200 hende lo a muri) nan a despachá Bèbè Rojer²⁴ pa e bai atende asunto na Hulanda. Su palabranan na

²³ Central Latinoamericana de Trabajadores

²⁴ Representando América Latina

papiamentu a keda resoná: .. *anto mi ta dispuesto pa bai lucha na Kòrsou i si mester, muri tambe huntu ku Papa Godett (R)*. Esaki ainda mas a pone emoshon den e sala bai haltu. E reunion a finalisá sin un resultado konkreto, pero partikularmente e aktivistanan di Amsterdam a desplegá un forsa organisatorio grandi.

Ounke ta solamente for di Aruba a bai un kantidat di studiante konsiderabel, pero ménos ku di Kòrsou (Oostindie & Maduro, 1986: 172, 173).

Na e sentro estudiantil di “Unie van Studenten Nijmegen”, ku a bin remplasá “kroeg” di e fraternidatnan, e relashon ku studiante di Sürnam a bira hopi fuerte i diferente studiante antiano a keda influensiá pa nan konsenshi rebelde den asunto polítiko i nan posishon antikolonial. Mester remarká ku na otro siudat universitario nos ta opservá un proseso komparabel.

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Na diferente siudat entretantu a organisá komité di akshon i a trata pa yega na sierto unidat pero esei no a resultá faktibel, entre otro pa motibu ku hopi studiante a risibí mensahe di famia preokupá ku a pone preshon pa legumai aktivismo i reanudá estudio. Meskos e instansianan ofisial a hasi: “*algun aktivista di taya na un forma emoshonal a pidi mi kompreshon pa nan desishon di bandoná e lucha i terminá nan estudio. E preshon di kas i gobièrnu tabata demasiado grandi (R)*.”

No ta tur hende tabata riba e mes liña ideológiko i e diferensianan tabata demasiado grandi. Por ehèmpel: hopi studiante a kuminsá duda si en bèrdat no mester a manda marinir pa pone òrdu, miéntras otro a mantené nan posishon anti-kolonial.

A tuma tempu pa vários partisipante pa rekuperá emoshonalmente di e susesonan sin ku nos a realisá esaki den e tempu ayá. Sinembargo e Komité di Akshon Nijmegen a kontinuá ku su trabou pa analisá, informá, traha pamfleta, buska sosten i solidaridat i amplia su base organisatorio. E komité a keda un par di luna aktivo pero pa falta di aktivismo konsistente mester a terminá su trabou i entregá e kantor bèk na USN. Alabes nos a ripará ku e hulandesnan no tabata interesá mashá den Kòrsou pasobra despues di e informashonnan sensashonal di e promé dianan, nan no tabata tin atenshon mas. Elekshon na sèptèmber finalmente a pone un punto tras di Komité di Akshon Nijmegen.

Impakto

E lantamentu na Kòrsou a duna un empuhe grandi pa diferente análisis no únikamente di e akontesimentunan mes, pero tambe pa un búskeda di orígen i faktornan mas pro-

fundo. El a marka alabes un fase históriko ku un dimension nobo den estudio di nos relashonnan estatal i aspektonan sosial-ekonómiko. Ta parse tambe ku Kòrsou a pèrdè su inosensia, el a stòp di ta un lugá idíliko kargá ku sentimentunan nostálgiko i román-tiko i a resultá un sosiedat ku hopi kontradikshon sosial, igual ku otro pais den nos region. A bin realisá ku kultura no ta algu separá di realidat sosial i históriko. Kaminda estudionan tabata permití a kuminsá skohe mas i mas pa analisá aspektonan na kas, hasi proyekto tokante Antia i kore stazje na Kòrsou. Pues un kompromisio ku pais i pueblo i preparashon serio pa bai bèk i aportá. Ta den e temporada djis despues di 30 di Mei a traha anáalisis di klase sosial i di relashon estatal krítiko, mas estudio riba efektonan di rasismo, kolonialismo i identidat. A dreña den historia di sklabilitut i a saka Tula for di sombra. Ekspreshon kultural no tabata inosente mas pero un forma pa konsientisá, i un instrumento pa kambio.

No ta tur studiante a sigui mesun direkshon polítiko, mayoria a bai bèk oula di univèrsidat i alehá nan mes di aktividat polítiko. Otro sí a keda envolví i a karga e anhelo pa duna nan aporte despues komo profeshonal akadémiko. CANOA komo e organisashon amplio, ta enserá den su programa (26 nov 1969) kreashon di un sentro di informashon ku korant i otro material. Tambe pa tene charla pa amplia konosementu di su miembresia. Pero un mayoria ta disidí ku e organisashon no mester bira unu polítiko (16 yanüari 1970). Un grupo limitá sinembargo a sigui desaroyá un konsenshi sosial pa promové kambio fundamental den sosiedat Antiano i nan a kuminsá studia literatura alternativo i progresivo i divulgá esaki pa medio di anáalisis i lektura. Diskushon polítiko bou di antiano di otro banda a bira mas skèrpi.

Na otro siudat kaminda tabatin hopi trahadó, manera Amsterdam i Utrecht, a pone mas atenshon pa lanta sentro sosial pa sostené i guia e antiano i pa krea mas oportunidat pa topa. Esaki en general tabata ku fiesta i aktividat kultural huntu ku dunamentu di informashon i formashon. Tambe a sigui stimulá otro pa bai kas bèk na interes di Antia i hopi a kumpli.

E sintimentu anti-Hulanda a krese huntu ku e frustrashon di hopi antiano ku a bai traha na Hulanda i a konfrontá difikultat grandi den nan interakshon ku e hulandes i un ambiente di mas diskriminashon den añanan 70. E studiante a tradusí esaki den un kuadro polítiko anti-kolonial i a hiba diferente akshon manera esun kontra nombra-mentu di Efrain Jonckheer komo gobernador. Antilliaanse Studentenraad por ehèmpel, ta saka un deklarashon, fechá 31 di yanüari 1970, pa supliká Jonckheer pa deshasí di su intenshon pa bira gobernador. Ora e polítiko hulandes Den Uyl a bin tene un charla pa CANOA na Nijmegen, el a hañ'é konfrontá ku studiantenan basta brabu. Den Uyl a trese entre otro dilanti ku Hulanda a faya pa mira e realidat sosial na Antia maské tabatin algun progreso. Un deklarashon hopi importante di dje tabata ku no por a keda mantené Statüt i ku Antia lo mester bira independiente den un término kòrtiku. Imigrashon masal relashoná ku independensia di Sürnam na 1975 a hunga un papel hopi grandi den polítika hulandes den e temporada siguiente i a yuda un antiano den dife-

rente akshon. Esaki ta parti di e desaroyo polítiko bou di e 9000 studiante- i trahadónan antiano na 1970. Aunke e análisis akí ta bai te na komienso di 1970 mi a duna un bista global i limitá di sierto desaroyo despues, stimulá pa e lantamentu.

Rekonosementu

Un danki na e 27 respondentenan i esnan ku a yuda ku korekshon di idioma, repasá e kontenido i duna opservashon krítiko.

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MEMORIES OF THE PRESENT: SHARING STORIES FROM THE VILLAGE

NINA GRIBLING

UTRECHT UNIVERSITY

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Introduction

The heart of San Nicolas, Aruba, is the predominantly Afro-Caribbean neighbourhood right in the centre of town, which has come to be known as the Village. Contrary to what one might expect from a place called the *Village*, this community has been profoundly impacted by global migration flows and industrialization processes due to the presence nearby of one of the largest oil refineries of the mid-20th century. After the refinery closed in 1985, many migrants went back to their countries, and the local economy suffered as businesses moved to Oranjestad, the main city on the island, leaving behind derelict buildings and abandoned streets. However, under the surface of this “ghost town” still exists a rich cultural melting pot. It is a community that tries to reconnect with its past, in order to sustain their distinct culture and identity. Despite, or perhaps *because of* the social and cultural disintegration that has taken place in San Nicolas, the community is struggling for their history to be recognized. The cultural heritage of the refinery is being negotiated within various cultural institutions, such as the local museums, but also through story telling. This paper looks at the problem of memory making, as embodied in story telling, within a community that is faced with the fragmentation of a bygone world.

During my fieldwork within this community, I have listened to many voices: to the raspiness of old men, whose throats have been cleared by rum, and to the English lexi-fier Creole of women whose voices are not often heard. The study of oral history shifts the focus to these voices, and explores how to listen to and represent someone else’s story. Now that the refinery is at the brink of being closed down for good, there is a need to listen to these stories, and to recognize their voices as a bridge between the past and the present, and between different experiences of the past that are shaped within the present. This article presents three such stories, which show that story telling is not a practice that exists by itself, but an embodied performance that exists because of the remembering that occurs at certain places, and in certain interactions. Therefore, oral

history research is always collaborative, as became clear when my main respondent Ingrid exclaimed near the end of my stay: “O’lo! We still have to do *a lot* these two weeks.”

This article represents work carried out as part of a broader project, which started with a community based research program between the University of Aruba and the University of Utrecht (Mijts & Ballantyne, 2019). It will eventually result in an interactive map that links the recorded stories, together with portraits, to the places in and around the Village that still bear the memories of what used to be. This collaborative visual approach not only aims to document stories for the future, but also places the voices of people from the community at the centre of research.

From boom town to “ghost town”: the Lago period and its aftermath

“... At noon a siren sounded through San Nicolas. We were standing in front of the Botica, where I worked. And we cried. Because it was an ending... of something. Everybody was standing in the street... everybody crying. Sixty years they had been there and it meant the end... for San Nicolas. I still get emotional when I think about it.” Monica

The dominant colonial narrative of Aruba as an “*isla inutil*” [useless island] changed with the oil industry, which placed the small island on the map of the world (Museum of Industry). Before the arrival of the refinery in 1924, Aruba had some 8,000 inhabitants, most of them small-scale farmers. In 1960, there were over 55,000 Arubans who mainly lived around the town of San Nicolas. The presence and the closure of the oil refinery marked a period in which Arubans experienced great societal change and general prosperity, and it was a very significant part of life on the island. Migration processes had already impacted Aruba, but the new industry changed the composition of the population drastically as it drew migrants from all over the Caribbean and beyond to the east point of the island. The impact of the refinery on Aruba has been discussed from multiple perspectives (see Ridderstaat, 2007; Green, 1969; Alofs & Merckies, 1990).

The arrival of the refinery came at a time when Arubans, who were mainly living off the land, were facing many difficulties due to a drought that had lasted for many years. The few industries that had formerly been established on the island, namely gold, aloe, and phosphate, had all been discontinued by that time. Therefore, a lot of men went away to work on the cane fields in Cuba. Between 1917 and 1920, around 5,000 workers went to Cuba from Aruba and Curaçao (Oostindie, 1988). Life on the *cunucu* (small-holding) was austere, involving hard work in the sun for low wages. Most people worked in agriculture, fisheries or low skilled jobs (Ridderstaat, 2007).

The situation changed when the Lago Oil and Transport Company started building its refinery on the natural bay of San Nicolas, as the result of its search for a suitable place for operations near Lake Maracaibo in Venezuela, where oil was being extracted. The refinery started processing oil in 1929, and grew to become one of the biggest refineries in the world. The Second World War saw an increase in the output of Lago, because it provided fuel for American planes. At its peak in 1948, Lago employed 8,300 people (Ridderstaat, 2007; Alofs & Merkies, 1990). The economic stimulation provided by the refinery attracted many people to work and live in San Nicolas, which became a booming oil town with many stores, theaters and bars. Women came as migrants to work in the domestic sector or set up their own microbusinesses (Van den Hurk, 1998; Egers, 1989). San Nicolaas Baai became filled with pipelines and tanks, and the refinery thus became, and still remains, an integral part of San Nicolas.

When the refinery started to more fully mechanize production from the 1950s onwards, many of the people who lost their jobs moved back to their countries of origin. Lago finally closed down in 1985, after which a series of re-openings and closures followed. However, the oil companies that came afterwards never impacted Aruban society as profoundly as Lago did. Today, the refinery is on standby, and questions are raised regarding its heritage, what its role is in the present, and should be in the future. The closure of Lago meant drastic changes for the residents of San Nicolas, who lost their economic stability, but perhaps more importantly, their sense of identity and social cohesion. While San Nicolas used to be the centre of Aruba's economy and social life, the tourist industry has boomed instead and has drawn people to the other side of the island. There is not much left that resembles the San Nicolas of the Lago period. However, various cultural initiatives have been put into place with the aim of raising awareness about the rich heritage of San Nicolas, in part by promoting and appreciative narrative of San Nicolas as "cultural mosaic" in response to the disintegration that has erased much of the town's social cohesion.

A cultural mosaic? Migration and identification

While Lago also employed an Aruban workforce, a decision was made to bring in workers from English speaking Caribbean islands, in order to facilitate and improve workplace communication with the mainly English speaking management (Alofs & Merkies, 1990). This decision resulted in the settlement of different ethnic groups on Aruba, particularly people from the British West Indies and the Dutch Windward islands. While many of the migrants from the Caribbean islands worked in low paid jobs, Lago hired U.S. workers at the higher levels. The American employees settled in the Lago Colony, which became an American enclave secluded from the rest of town by a wall. They did not mix with the Aruban or Afro-Caribbean population because the Colony provided all their services: there was a church, school, club, sports complex, beach and a modern

hospital. These services, except for the hospital, were for the exclusive use of the Americans. Almost all of the Americans left as Lago increasingly mechanized production. Because Lago divided its workers along race and class lines, the town of San Nicolas became separated into different neighborhoods. While Lago provided housing for their higher skilled employees, the rest of the employees built their own houses on plots of land close to the gates of the refinery and the centre of town, using lumber and kerosene tins that they received from Lago. This “shantytown” in San Nicolas commonly came to be referred to as the Village.

The Lago period gave rise to the immigration of some 56 nationalities, most of whom settled in San Nicolas (Museum of Industry). Each of these groups had its own specific cultural traditions, which gave the town distinct cultural characteristics compared to the rest of the island. Although the exchanges that occurred among the different groups resulted in the narrative of San Nicolas as a cultural mosaic, this narrative was complicated by the fact that San Nicolas, and specifically the Village, was (and still is) mainly seen as an Afro-Caribbean town. Thus San Nicolas was given the name “chocolate city”, which is still sporadically used, even though it erases Latin American, East Asian and other ethnicities to be found there. Therefore, perhaps more reliable than race as marker of local identity was the English lexifier Creole also called San Nicolas English commonly used in the Village.

When talking to Esteban Vorst, an elderly resident from the Village, the contradictory nature of identity and identification in San Nicolas becomes apparent. Although he lives in the Village, he does not consider himself as part of the afro-Caribbean group that “belongs” in the Village and who arrived as migrants to work in the refinery, because his family had already arrived before Lago came. He has roots in Curaçao, Bonaire and Venezuela, and grew up speaking Papiamentu. His use of and identification with his language has been a major barrier to his identification process with the Village:

I went to school in Curaçao. That’s why, when I came back, I couldn’t go outside and play with the other children from the Village. They speak English and I couldn’t speak English. Marcelino and them [Esteban’s brothers] could but I couldn’t go. I had to go all the way and play with the Arubian people. ... But here [in the Village], up till now you hear them like crazy, they say ‘ayo’. I say ‘ayo’, what do you mean by that? You don’t say ‘ayo’ you say ‘you all’. Eh boy then they crazy. They don’t wanna understand that ‘ayo’ is ‘you all’. ‘Where ayo going?’

On the other hand, when for example talking about Carnival, he does identify with the afro-Caribbean population because of the specific heritage of carnival that to him “belongs” to San Nicolas, but also because here he differentiate between Arubans and himself in terms of race:

We the black people, don't need a thing [here he probably refers to the parade trucks]. ... The Arubian people are most in the carnival now. Yeah! We started that! And plenty of them [Arubans] they can't dance the carnival. I have a son, the other day he dance in the group, and he told them how to dance. You don't jump up like that, you go with the flow. ... You have to know how to move!

Esteban deployed certain understandings of "Village English" and Carnival to differentiate between different groups of people, but the way he does so changes according to the context. The presence of Lago on Aruba has created another layer of creolization and complicated notions of heritage and identity, i.e., notions of who "belongs". Therefore, when remembering Lago, certain narratives of migration and cultural cohesion aim to construct a sense of belonging. As stories are told again and again and passed on through generations, they make concrete one's ties to the land. Within this process of memory making, some voices are heard, while others are "deselected" and forgotten.

Theorizing voices of the past

Although claiming objectivity, history allows for some stories and memories to be selected and included in what *counts* as history, a process that simultaneously excludes and hides other stories and memories. There is a quite extensive body of literature that has aimed to expose the way in which history is malleable to the needs of power and renders certain aspects of history prominent and visible, while de-emphasizing others or rendering them invisible (see, for example, Smith, 2008; Abu Lughod, 1989; Young, 1990). This is often the result of asymmetrical power relations, for example, between a given nation-state and the minority groups within that state who struggle for public recognition.

At the same time, the process by which this happens (the forgetting of history in the interest of the powerful) does not just involve abstract power dynamics, and is often very complex and contradictory, involving stories of happiness as well as sadness which cannot be disconnected from the present social context in which they are told. Therefore, instead of exposing underlying structures of power, I looked at what people do when they talk about the past. During my fieldwork, I realized that heritage was being used to reconnect people with their community and with their own past, and I thus became more interested in the material forms in which this is being done than in the discourses surrounding the concepts of "heritage" and "identity" that are, in the end, quite empty signifiers. Thus, contrary to what I had expected from this research, I became *less* critical, or more critical of the critical. I learned to focus on the senses, the emotions evoked by old photographs or objects, and even to listen to the spirits of the family members in the story teller's house. The shift from social relations to the material objects and concrete interactions that constitute those relations has become more prominent in recent literature (see for example Candlin, 2009; Edwards, 2012).

Oral history is not a mere document of the past (such as found in the archive), but a representation of the past in the present that is being continuously performed (Vansina, 1985; Perks & Thomson, 2015). The contingency of oral history, which always entails a selective forgetting, might limit its validity within the illusion of ‘objective’ history as a Western discipline (hence the common use of the term oral *traditions* instead of oral *history*). However, the importance of oral history in research is precisely that it does not only say something about the past, but also something about the present in which this past is being remembered. As time passes, stories are being told from different presents, changing the meaning according to the listener or the context in which they are being told.

I believe that my inquiries formed at times a tool for people themselves to ask questions, and engage with their own stories in a different way. Ingrid, for example, did oral history interviews within her family, and is still involved in a project with Monumentsfund Aruba that we started based on our conversations with her family-members. My presence, thus, influenced the way in which people articulated memories. Rather than limiting the process, I perceive this involvement as characteristic of the collaborative research. It uses a decolonizing perspective, in which research is about generating space for people, whose stories or site of memory have been systematically erased, to recover their own stories about the past (Smith, 2008). In order to rewrite history from the perspective of those whose histories have been erased or forgotten, the tools of research have to be critically examined. In what follows, I will re-examine “history” through the lens of oral history. Whose stories are told? What material and immaterial things surround a story, and how do memories become present? While official history is tied to the archive, oral history is an embodied practice that continuously re-presents and re-produces the past within the present. Orality as a cultural tradition, which is mainly associated with non-Western cultures, is often excluded from Western notions of cultural memory that are instead based on text (Haley, 2015). As a “voice from the past” (Thompson, 2017), oral history emphasizes the affective and performative character of the spoken as opposed to the written.

Putting stories up front in research changes the relationship between writing theory and research subject in which the story teller rather than the researcher retains control. It diffuses the power that is embedded in every research project (thus asking, like Edward Said, “Who writes? For whom is the writing being done? In what circumstances?” (1983: 7). Instead of aiming to verify (through interpretation or analysis) the historical validity of a document or account, the story is taken as point of departure to rewrite history from different perspectives and multiple possible histories. Story telling is a way of representing “diversities of truth” (Bishop, 1996), thus diverging from a univocal history that claims a chronological and linear perspective on space and time. Oral history can function as a method to recover a past that might be forgotten by a collective memory. As Linda Tuhiwai Smith (2008) puts it: “[rewriting history] is not simply

about giving an oral account or a genealogical naming of the land and the events that raged over it, but a very powerful need to give testimony to and restore a spirit, to bring back into existence a world fragmented and dying” (p. 28). The sense of history conveyed by this approach can collide with the dominant narratives put forward in museums, in school books, or in research.

Village stories

The *cunucu*

There is a small pink shack near the water tower in the heart of San Nicolas. The stories of many generations are inscribed into the walls of this old *cunucu* house that was built in 1891. The paint is peeling from the walls, and the *fogon*, the traditional stove, is about to collapse. Ingrid lives there now, and she wants to keep her family history alive, which is tied to the history of the town, despite the disintegration around her. One morning, I asked Ingrid whether I could see an old picture of her house. She turned every room upside down, and finally came back with a map that said: family history, please keep off. It included some documents found in the archives of Curaçao, where she stumbled upon the name of her great great grandfather amongst the slaves who had revolted with Tula in Fontijn. His son came to Aruba as a freed slave ten years after the abolition of slavery, where he started a new life. The picture Ingrid was looking for was an old photograph with three even older ladies, standing in their white dresses in one of the rooms of the house. She pointed to each of them: *tantan* Camelia, *tantan* Chia and *tantan* Nita. They would wear only white knitted cotton underpants, Ingrid told me, and they closed the windows, wooden “jealousies”, every day at 6pm to remain inside. The rest of the time I spent with Ingrid, in the room where *tantan* Camelia had died at age 102, I would think of the aunts every time the wind would blow through the wooden jealousies. Ingrid told me that she feels their presence. They are like spirits, but good ones, she says. Although we joke about it, there is a sense of truth to her belief: I had to listen to the emotions evoked by the house. Therefore, we invited Ingrid’s only remaining aunt and uncles, all over the eighty years old, over to the house. They walked around the house with the picture of their aunts in their hands.

Nobody remembers the sea of Nicolaas Baai, because the refinery that came after. But when our grandfather, Petrus Julius Vorst, arrived in San Nicolas he built this house with a view to the sea. That’s older than everybody! Because it was built for our aunts and father. He came from Curaçao to work in the phosphate industry, and afterwards he got one quarter of the Village to buy because that was just bare land. But when Lago came they brought people from outside and they started to make houses in the Village, first just from lumber and tin, and so it got small alleys and became a town. Our grandfather rented out the land to those people from the British islands. Then the government took it over to build

modern houses. This land around the house all belonged to our family, with a pig, chickens, *maishi* [maize], beans and so on. Our father started to build his own house on the land, and then in 1939 they built the water tower. The men worked in Lago, and our grandmother from Venezuela sold food at the Lago gate, eggs and peanuts. The three aunts lived in this house.

Marcelino lived with them for a few years, in a tin shack underneath the Tamarind tree. First, he would sleep on a thin mattress on the floor of the house itself. He remembers that wooden floor very well, because he had to scrub it every



week, not with a mop but with a piece of cloth kneeling on the floor. Every aunt lived in her own part of the house, and they were never married. Camelia was a seamstress, Chia helped out in church, and *tantan* Nita baked cakes. She used a special stick, it is called *hapa*, to place the cakes inside the stove. The cakes would be made on special occasions, such as weddings and Communions, for people in the community. Because of the *cunucu*, there was always food to be shared with all the neighbours.

Tantan Camelia, *tantan* Chia and *tantan* Nita (from Ingrid's photo album)

The gate

Constance Hope lives in one of the only monuments in the Village, which stands out because it looks like it has been painted yesterday, in a deep green. Although it is a small, wooden house it is monumental indeed: one of the only self-made houses that is still left on its original state. Made by her father, who worked in Lago but was also a fine carpenter, the house is a source of pride. The first time I came by, Constance showed me a beautiful black and white snapshot of the house that her father had taken. Only the verandah, from which Constance oversees everything that happens on the

street, has been modernized. Her mother would sit on that verandah, gossiping with the neighbors, and selling cookies and *frio frio* to the children coming by. Now Constance is 84 years old, one year older than the house itself, and she carries a lifetime of stories about the Village with her. A little clouded by the nostalgia of time gone by (“It used to be *nice*”), and with a good dose of humor (“we used to laugh!”) she shared with me the stories of joy and sadness that characterized life in the Village. These stories entail observations of the gendered relations that were also part of the community (as they are present everywhere), but that often remain invisible. While it was men who worked in Lago, and thus also men who collected their salary every two weeks at the Lago gate, people might forget that there would sometimes also be women standing in line to collect the salary of their husbands. Constance laughs when she remembers this particular



Constance Hope on her veranda (Nina Gribbling, 2019)

story, but her laughing hides the hardships that some of these women faced, and that people sometimes rather “choose” to forget.

When you go down by Lago gate, you meet them on the ground, stone drunk! They go to work, from work they had to go to drink the whole night. The police used to come with the van, they used to call it the dog catcher. They open the back, and just take them in a cell to sleep. And when time comes to get the wife and children food to eat, they had no money. Because they are taking credit, so when they get paid they have to pay the bills. So some women used to have to go and *collect*. When the men are getting paid, they go by the gate to collect the envelope. If not, they ain’t getting any money. ‘Cause the man take the money

and go with it. You had to be a brave woman! They know today is payday, they go by the gate, and collect the money. They had to give them something to drink, but the women take it because people used to have a lot of children longtime. You had women with eleven children, ten children, twelve children! Yeah, if you're a brave woman you go and look for the money. [laughing].

The wall

There are no teeth left in his mouth, but that does not stop Esteban from speaking to me for three full hours. It was early in the morning, because he would be out later that day, like every other day, to catch up with his friends. I see him sitting under a tree in the Main Street sometimes, with some other people from the Village, mainly listening to their stories. But Esteban has much to say, especially when I asked him about the Colony. His memories expose the racial dynamics that were also part of the Lago period, even though people might not talk about this because the stories of segregation might be hidden under sentiments of nostalgia for a more prosperous past. The wall that separated the Americans from the other parts of town reminds some of something that used to be beautiful, full of gardens. But for Esteban, the wall represents mechanisms of exclusion.

We couldn't go in the colony! They had this thing that when you do go, you have to know how you're going and where you're going. Cause the Colony wasn't just like you could walk in, because they had a watchman by the gate. If you're going you had to tell him, I'm going by so and so, by misses so house. And then they let you pass. But to say you could go by the Colony how you want? No...



The wall (Nina Gribling, 2019)

At the beginning you could go to the beach neither! Then afterwards, through the fisherman, they started to tie their boats there. They gave them permission to have their boats, and people could go there and buy fish. Only to buy fish. Well, they could do it no, who is you? That time the government was in favor of the Americans. Yeah, there were many here, you gotta take a lot of things from them, you can't hate them, you can't do nothing. Till when the Arubian guy came... Because every day he comes and the American is pickin' at him and pickin' at him, till one day he decided, Well this gotta stop. So he had to follow the American again, then the American turned, and he stabbed him. That's why the judge punished him. If he had stabbed him in the front, he wouldn't have punished him. Because he had enough witnesses that could show the judge that this man is harassing him every day. They talk to you like... you're nothing. And you're a big man already, it isn't easy! But then after that things started to change. It changed because most of them they lay off.

Conclusion

In the heat of the sun, the streets of San Nicolas are quiet, except for some men that sit in the shade of a tree. The buildings still bear traces of the colorful paint that is now peeling off the walls, and the inscriptions that remind of the stores that have long been closed. If you walk around this “ghost town” and imagine all the things that used to be, or sit down underneath a tree to hear those men recall the names of all the stores and their owners, then you will find a community that struggles not to be forgotten. The ghost of the past still lingers in the streets and asks for stories to be told. Similarly, the spirits of the aunts that Ingrid feels around her house are testimonies to a world that is now fragmented by a collective forgetting of the role of the migrant working class families that built the island. Such feelings show that the past is transmitted within the present, and becomes embraced, reproduced or rejected as time passes. The meanings that people attach to the wall, the Lago gate, or their own house expose, and sometimes contest, the way in which the Lago period is being remembered by the dominant narratives of migration and cultural mosaic.

While story telling might be intangible, it is constituted of very concrete practices surrounding it that have material consequences. For stories to be told there need to be certain values attached to their words, which depends on the interactions between the storyteller and the listener, and the time and place in which they are shared. Oral traditions are often seen as likely to disappear, because it depends on a system that the Western world is not accustomed to anymore. However, “intangibility and evanescence – the condition of all experience – should not be confused with disappearance. ... Conversations are intangible and evanescent, but that does not make the phenomenon of conversation vulnerable to disappearance” (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 2004: 60). Despite the cultural disintegration that is taking place in San Nicolas, everyday there are acts of

memory realized, not only in the museums, but also in the stories that people tell when they are sitting down underneath the tree, or look out from their verandah.

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**UNSETTLING RESONANCES IN
PAPIAMENTU/O AND THE OTHER
LANGUAGES OF THE DUTCH CARIBBEAN
AND BEYOND**

REDUPLIKASHON KOMO FENOMENO MORFOSINTAKTIKO; ORTOGRAFIA DI REDUPLIKASHON DEN PAPIAMENTU

ITHEL BRUTE, UNIVERSITY OF CURAÇAO

RONALD SEVERING, UNIVERSITY OF CURAÇAO

NICHOLAS FARACLAS, UNIVERSITY OF PUERTO RICO

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Abstract

Although Papiamentu has gone a lot further in the process of language development than most other creole languages, much still needs to be done in areas such as corpus development. As a contribution to this process, this article provides a brief linguistic analysis of reduplication in Papiamentu, which is productive and occurs with a high frequency in the language. The results of this analysis, which includes suprasegmental factors such as intonation, provide valuable input into various language development processes such as the formulation of spelling rules for words where reduplication is involved.

Key words: Papiamentu, standardization, reduplication, productivity

Introdukshon

Siendo un idioma krioyo, papiamentu ta den un proseso di desaroyo. Basta dékada, i por papia asta di siglo, e idioma akí no por a logra haña su lugá deseá den komunidad di e tres islanan ABC, esta, Aruba, Boneiru i Curaçao (Kòrsou). Despues di diskushon kontinu, finalmente tabatin un serie di hito ku a pone ku papiamentu a haña un posishon mas kómodo den komunidad antiano (Munteanu, 1996; Severing & Weijer, 2010). Por ehèmpel, na 1976, gobièrnu di Kòrsou a fiha su ortografia, i Boneiru a konformá su mes na esaki. Na Kòrsou a formalisá státùs di papiamentu i a kombertié den idioma ofisial banda di e lenganan hulandes i ingles pa e sinku islanan ku tabata forma Antia Hulandes. Aruba tambe a ofisialisá su propio ortografia na aña 1976, ku a

drenta na vigor un aña despues. Na Aruba a trata despues di formalisá un vershon revisá di ortografia na 1992, i tambe despues (2006 i 2007) ku Aruba a deklará Papiamentu un idioma ofisial banda di hulandes na 2003. Aunke e proseso no a keda konkluí, na yüli 2007, parlamento na Aruba a ekspresá un sentimentu positivo pa kuminsá uza e ortografia akí. Aunke e vershon di ortografia di Aruba di 2009 ta den proseso di legislashon, gobièrnu rubiano a publiká su lista di palabra (Tromp-Wouters et al., 2009), ku a duna oportunidat pa desaroyá material didáktiko pa uzo na skol (Pereira, 2018). Ora ku na 1986, a introdusí papiamentu komo materia na skol básiko na Kòrsou i Boneiru, esaki a keda konsiderá un momento históriko pa idioma papiamentu. Esaki a nifiká komienso di un proseso di revitalisashon di idioma papiamentu (Severing & Weijer, 2010). Dos hito importante ku a sigui tabata ku pa lei a deklará papiamentu idioma ofisial di Antia Hulandes banda di hulandes i ingles (28 di mart 2007). E aña despues, a reglamentá kon ta skirbi papiamentu. Na desèmber 2008, a konfirmá ortografia ofisial di papiamentu den un dekreto gubernamental. Pa materialisá loke a fiha i pa propagá un ortografia uniforme, gobièrnu ta publiká un buki ku e título: Ortografia i Lista di palabra papiamentu pa asina stimulá uniformidat di skirbimentu serka siudadano en general i partikularmente serka funshonario públiko i na skol (Jonis et al., 2009).

Un akontesimentu resien i signifkante den kuadro di normalisashon di idioma papiamentu ta dos akuerdo di kooperashon entre e tres islanan abou, Aruba, Boneiru i Kòrsou, ku ta referí na un meta komun pa sigui promové papiamentu riba e tres islanan (Samenwerkingsovereenkomst Aruba en Curaçao, 2018; Samenwerkingsovereenkomst Bonaire met Curaçao en Aruba, 2019). Den e akuerdonan tripartit akí, ta habri oportunidat pa traha konhuntamente na lenga papiamentu. E akuerdonan ta menshoná spesífikamente: maneho di idioma, infrastruktura, enseñansa di papiamentu i investigashon di lenga papiamentu den enseñansa superior. Tur esaki ta krea perspektiva nobo pa edificashon konhunto di papiamentu. E akuerdonan akí ta ofresé un base fuerte ku por kondusí na normalisashon i standarisashon mas aleu di papiamentu. Tin ku mira e artíkulo akí tambe den e kuadro akí. Den un afan pa aplikashon di resultado ku ta sali for di investigashon periódiko, anteriormente a publiká tokante, por ehèmpel, e tema di uzo di sufiho *-do* i *-dor* (Brute & Severing, 2017). Awor, despues di a trata e tópiko morfológiko ei, den e artíkulo akí ta pone atenshon na un aspekto grafonológiko, esta, partikularmente e faseta ortográfiko. Spesífikamente lo atendé reduplikashon komo fenómeno morfosintáktiko. Lo hasi un intento pa averiguá kon por atendé ku ortografia di kombinashon di palabra ora ta trata di reduplikashon den papiamentu.

Ta konosí ku papiamentu a bai mas leu ku mayoria di e otro idiomanan krioyo den su proseso di desaroyo. Sinembargo, a keda hopi pa hasi ainda den un área manera desaroyo di kòrpus di e lenga. Komo kontribushon na e proseso indiká, e artíkulo akí lo presentá un análisis lingwístiko konsiso di e fenómeno di reduplikashon den idioma

papiamentu. Esaki ta pa motibu ku reduplikashon ta un fenómeno ku ta produktivo i ku ta manifestá su mes ku un frekuensia relativamente haltu den lenga papiamentu. E análisis akí ta inklui algun faktor suprasegmental manera tono, relatá na e balor sintáktiko di reduplikashon. Resultado di e análisis akí ta kontené informashon balioso komo aporte na vários proseso ku ta REGARDÁ desaroyo di lenga papiamentu. Un di nan ta formulashon di regla di ortografia pa palabra ku tin di haber ku reduplikashon. Mirá for di e perspektiva di normalisashon di ortografia di papiamentu, lo limitá e investigashon akí na e tipo di palabra redupliká ku por trese diferencia di opinion riba e manera di skirbi di forman akí..

Reduplikashon

Den lingwístika, reduplikashon ta un proseso morfofonológiko, kaminda ta ripití rais di un palabra, parti di un palabra òf e palabra kompleto na un manera eksakto. Banda di reduplikashon total, por distinguí tambe reduplikashon parsial, kaminda ta ripití parti di e morfema base. Reduplikashon ta aparesé den tur idioma, sinembargo, grado di produktivitat di e fenómeno akí ta varia bastante di un idioma pa otro. Mundialmente

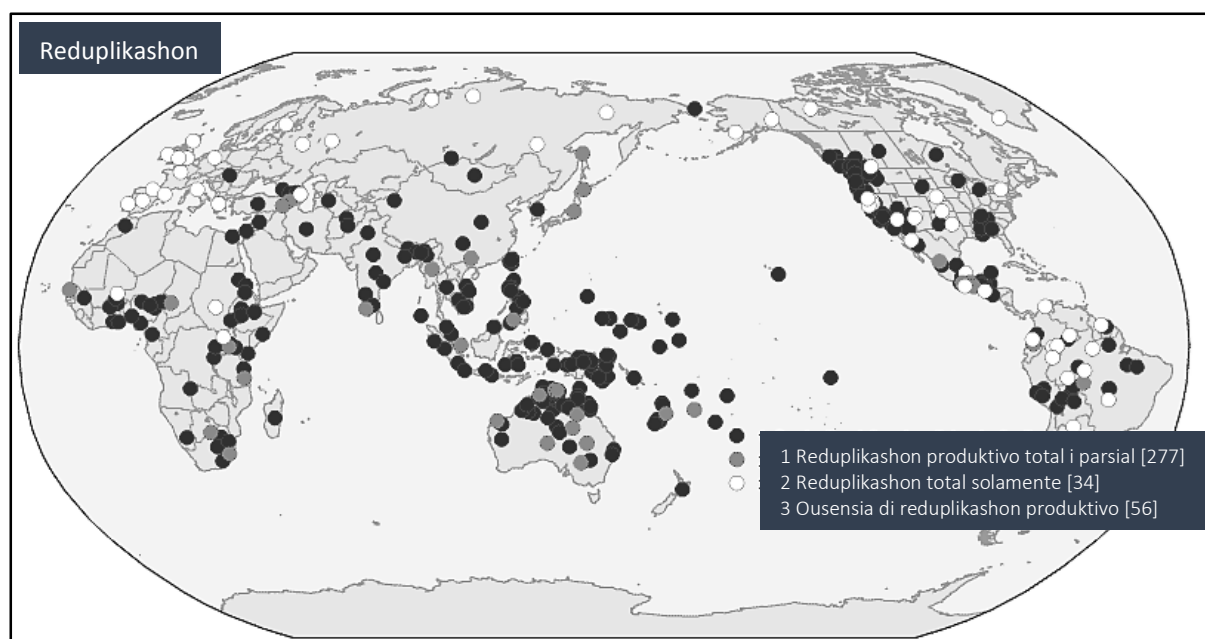


Figura 1 Reduplikashon den lenga na mundu (Fuente: World Atlas of Languages Structures; ku tradukshon)

tin un gran kantidat di idioma ku ta kontené reduplikashon, manera por mira den figura 1 (Dryer & Haspelmath, 2013). Ta hasi distinshon entre reduplikashon produktivo total i parsial (277 idioma), reduplikashon total (34 idioma) i ousensia di reduplikashon produktivo (56 idioma). Konsiderando algun lenga oksidental, nos ta haña reduplikashon total na spañó, por ehèmpel, den: cómetelo todo todo; estoy muy muy cansado; na ingles: bye-bye, no-no; hulandes: bla-bla, samsam, zo-zo; kreyol franses: mango-mango ‘hopi mango’; sa(lé)-salé ‘masha salu’; na papiamentu: kana kana i chikí chikí. Komo reduplikashon parsial, por tende na spañó: ding dong, tic-tac; na ingles: super-duper,

chit-chat; hulandes: wissewasje, flierefluiter i na papiamentu: bragadam, din dòn (mira tambe: Muller, 2007; Kouwenberg & LaCharité, 2011).

Tin biaha, reduplikashon por afektá tantu e segmentonan komo e unidatnan prosódiko. Un deskripsion mas amplio di reduplikashon ta referí na palabra ku a forma ripitiendo zonido. Ta distinguí tres tipo di reduplikashon: eksakto (loko loko, tiki tiki), rima (aliterando: chilin, changalan; rima konsonántiko: pángalan; rima final chinchirinchi) i ablaut (bim bam; a la fin a la fan).

Pa e análisis den e artíkulo akí, a hasi distinshon entre diferente kategoria gramatikal. Na promé lugá, ta studia reduplikashon komo un fenómeno morfológiko, i despues ta analisá reduplikashon den su funshon sintáktiko. Seguidamente, ta indagá su funshon semántiko den frase i tambe komo un fenómeno sintáktiko ku nifikashon metafórik. Despues di analisá reduplikashon serka palabra multisilábiko, ta revisá algun ehèmpel di reduplikashon ku di naturalesa tin un karakter onomatopéiko i idiofónico. Kaminda a konsiderá esei nesesario, a enbolbí e aspekto di tono den e análisis.

Reduplikashon komo fenómeno morfológiko

Ortográfikamente ta distinguí dos grupo di palabra redupliká den papiamentu. Un grupo ku ta skirbi komo un solo unidat fonológiko (*un solo palabra*), i un grupo ku ta skirbi komo dos unidat fonológiko (*dos palabra konsektivo*). Ta konsiderá ku e promé grupo ta un tipo di formashon morfológiko: un tipo di palabra komponé; pues, ta trata di un tipo di palabra nobo kreá a base di un palabra simpel (forma básiko) ku ta ripití/dupliká i ku ta haña un balor semántiko distinto (nobo) for di nifikashon di e forma básiko. (Dijkhoff, 2000; Dijkhoff, 1993) E palabra kreá asin'akí ta bira un unidat fonológiko nobo, ku ta karga su entonashon prinsipal riba e penúltimo sílaba, i ku e tin e siguiente patronchi tonal: balabāla, tapatāpa. Mira e siguiente dos tabèl nan (1 i 2).

Tabèl 1 Reduplikashon komo fenómeno morfológiko ku forma básiko konosí den papiamentu

forma básiko >	forma redupliká	komposishon morfológiko	kategoria gram. di forma redupliká
bala	balabala	N-N (nómen)	ath
bleki	bleki ble ki	N-N (nómen)	sus
chupa	chupa ch upa	V-V (verbo)	sus
fini	fini fi ni	A-A (athetivo)	sus
kore	kore k ore	V-V	sus
moli	moli mo li	A-A	sus
pega	pega pe ga	V-V/N-N	sus/ath
pika	pika pi ka	V-V/N-N	sus
tapa	tapa ta pa	V-V/N-N	sus
tembla	tembla te mbra	V-V	sus

N: nómen; V: verbo; A: athetivo; sus: sustantivo; ath: athetivo

Tabèl 2 Reduplikashon komo fenómeno morfológiko ku forma básiko no konosí den papiamentu

forma básiko > no konosí den papiamentu	forma redupliká	komposishon morfológiko	kategoria gram. di forma redupliká
?	badab ada	?- ?	sus
?	chèpè chèpè	?- ?	sus
?	chim ichi mi	?- ?	sus
?	chip ichi pi	?- ?	sus
?	divi divi	? -?	sus
?	dugu dugu	?- ?	sus
?	frio frio	?- ?	sus
?	kachi kachi	?- ?	sus
?	karikari	?-?	sus
?	kin ikini	?- ?	sus
?	lebe lebe /lèbè lèbè	?- ?	sus/ath
?	lembe lembe /lèmbè lèmbè	? -?	sus
?	mèkè mèkè	? -?	sus/ath
?	mèlè mèle	?- ?	sus/ath
?	pèchè pèchè	?- ?	sus/ath
?	pèkè pèkè	?-?	ath
?	pòtò pòtò	?- ?	sus/ath
?	shiri shiri	?- ?	sus
?	wara wara	?-?	sus
?	were were	?-?	sus

sus: sustantivo; ath: athetivo

E formanan redupliká den tabèl 1 ta basá riba un *forma básiko* ku ta eksistí independientemente den léksiko di papiamentu. I ounke no por derivá nan nifikashon semántiko direktamente for di e forma básiko, por bisa ku esei tin sierto relashon òf asosiashon ku nifikashon di e palabra simpel. Por ehèmpel, e forma *pega*pega ta denotá un sorto di reptil (*Hemidactylus mabouia*) ku ta pega na muraya òf den plafòn di kas. E forma *molimoli* ta referí na un sorto di bèshi chikí i suave (*Physalis angulata*), ku ora moli' é den man, ta bira moli moli. Nifikashon di tur dos palabra tin sierto relashon ku nifikashon di e palabra simpel.

E formanan redupliká den tabèl 2 tambe ta basá riba un forma básiko ku ta keda ripití. Sinembargo, e formanan akí no ta eksistí independientemente den léksiko di papiamentu. Pues, aktualmente, di ningun manera no ta posibel relashoná nan nifikashon semántiko ku e palabra simpel. Pero, manera por mira, meskos ku e

formanan den tabèl 1, nan tambe ta pertenesé na e kategoria di palabra *sustantivo* (*nómen*) òf *athetivo*, i nan tambe tin e mes patronchi di tono i di entonashon ku e formanan den tabèl 1, esta, *mòlì'mòlì*, *tembla'tēmbła*, *wara'wāra*, *dīvì'dīvì*.

Reduplikashon komo fenómeno sintáktiko

E di dos grupo di palabra redupliká den papiamentu ta konsistí di e formanan redupliká ku sintáktikamente ta asumí funshon di un *sintagma athetival*, *atverbial* òf *verbal*. Ta forma e tipo di sintagmanan akí a base di ripitishon di un sustantivo, un athetivo, un atverbio òf un verbo, i ta konsiderá ku ta uza e tipo di reduplikashon akí simplemente pa *fortifiká nifikashon di e forma simpel*. Nan no ta haña un nifikashon nobo, i pa tal motibu no ta papia tampoko di un palabra komponé òf di un formashon nobo. Mira tabèl 3 i 4 (Burton-Roberts, Noel, 1986; Tallerman, 1998; Jonis et al., 2009).

Tabèl 3 Reduplikashon komo fenómeno sintáktiko

forma básiko	kategoria gram. di forma básiko	forma redupliká	funshon sintáktiko
anshá	(ath/atv)	<i>anshá anschá</i>	atverbial
awa	(sus)	<i>awa awa</i>	athetival
bashí	(ath/sus)	<i>bashí bashí</i>	athetival
betòn	(sus)	<i>betòn betòn</i>	athetival
bleki	(sus)	<i>bleki bleki</i>	athetival
bula	(ver)	<i>bula bula</i>	verbal
drogá	(ath)	<i>drogá drogá</i>	athetival
fadá	(ath)	<i>fadá fadá</i>	athetival
fula	(ver)	<i>fula fula</i>	verbal
golos	(ath)	<i>golos golos</i>	athetival
hinchá	(ath)	<i>hinchá hinchá</i>	athetival
mishi	(ver)	<i>mishi mishi</i>	verbal
pisá	(ath)	<i>pisá pisá</i>	athetival
rondó	(ath)	<i>rondó rondó</i>	athetival
sigur	(ath)	<i>sigur sigur</i>	athetival
tempran	(atv)	<i>tempran tempran</i>	atverbial

sus: sustantivo; ath: athetivo; ver: verbo

Tabèl 4 Funshon semántiko di reduplikashon den frase

sintagma	intensifikashon	pluralisashon/ akumulashon	distribushon	funshon sintáktiko		
	1	2	3	1	2	3
N-N >	<i>palu palu</i>	<i>blòki blòki</i>	<i>grupo grupo</i>	ath	ath	ath
	<i>zeta zeta</i>	<i>flor flor</i>	<i>dozein dozein</i>	ath	ath	atv
		<i>bala bala</i>			ath	
		<i>mochi mochi</i>			atv	
		<i>ora ora</i>			atv	
		<i>dia dia</i>			atv	
A-A >	<i>papa papa</i>		<i>unu unu</i>	ath, atv		atv
	<i>fini fini</i>		<i>tres tres</i>	ath		atv
	<i>moli moli</i>			ath		atv
	<i>pegá pegá</i>			ath		
	<i>kayente kayente</i>			ath		
	<i>friu friu</i>			ath		
Atv-Atv>	<i>awor awor</i>		<i>tiki tiki</i>	atv		atv
	<i>lat lat</i>			atv		
	<i>nèt nèt</i>			atv		
V-V >	<i>mishi mishi</i>			ver		
	<i>bula bula</i>			ver		

N: nómen; A: athetivo; Atv: atverbio; V: verbo; ath: athetivo; atv: atverbio; ver: verbo

Ata aki algun karakteristiká mas di e tipo di reduplikashon sintáktiko akí:

(1) ta forma e reduplikashonnan akí a base di e siguiente kategorianan gramatikal: sustantivo (N), verbo (V), athetivo (A) i atverbio (Atv);

(2) e forma básiko di e reduplikashonnan akí ta eksistí semper independientemente den léksiko di papiamentu;

(3) por derivá balor semántiko di e forman nan redupliká direktamente for di e forma básiko; pues, semántikamente e forman nan akí ta indiká intensifikashon, akumulashon/pluralisashon òf distribushon di balor semántiko di e forma básiko. Van Putte i Van Putte-De windt (2014) ta duna komo splikashon ku e tipo di reduplikashon òf repetishon di e mes forma básiko/palabra akí ta duna e idea di *kantidat oumentá*, *intensidat*, *frekuensia* òf *distribushon*. E tipo di reduplikashon akí, den sierto sentido, ta un refleho di nos realidat i

(4) kada un di e dos elementonan di e reduplikashonnan akí ta mantené su patronchi di entonashon (énfasis prinsipal) i tonal. . Ehèmpel: *'pālu 'pālu*, *'mōchi 'mōchi*, i *dro'gā dro'gā*, *go'lōs go'lōs*. Pues, nan no ta bira un unidat fonológiko manera ta e kaso ku e tipo di reduplikashon morfológiko di tabèl 1 i 2.

Tabèl 5 Reduplikashon komo fenómeno sintáktiko ku nifikashon metafórikó

forma básiko	kategoria gramatikal	forma redupliká	uzo/funshon sintáktiko
kuchú	sus	kuchú kuchú	athetival
blet	sus	blet blet	athetival
wesu	sus	wesu wesu	athetival
keshi	sus	keshi keshi	athetival
pushi	sus	pushi pushi	atverbial
depchi	sus	depchi depchi	atverbial
sendé	ath	sendé sendé	athetival

sus: sustantivo; ath: athetivo

Meskos ku e grupo di palabra redupliká di tabèl 3 i 4, e forman redupliká di tabèl 5 ta formá a base di un forma básiko (sustantivo/athetivo) ku ta eksistí den léksiko di papiamentu. Ademas, kada forma básiko di e reduplikashonnan akí ta mantené su patronchi tonal i di entonashon (énfasis prinsipal). Ehèmpel: '*depchi* *'depchi*, *ku'chu* *ku'chu*. Pues, nan no ta bira un unidat fonológiko. Sinembargo, nan no tin un balor semántiko konkreto, manera fortifikashon di nifikashon di e forma básiko mediante *intensifikashon*, *pluralisashon/akumulashon* òf *distribushon* di nifikashon di e forma básiko, pero nan ta transferí sierto karakterístika di e sustantivo (*nómen*) redupliká na e uzo athetival òf atverbial di e forma redupliká.

Ehèmpel di uzo sintáktiko:

- 1a. El a dreña *pushi pushi* den su kamber.
- 1b. E konvoi a pasa *depchi depchi* banda di e outonan stashoná.
- 1c. Ta pasó e ta ninga di kome, el a bira *wesu wesu*.
- 1d. E tayernan di su outo tabata *keshi keshi*.

Reduplikashon di palabra multisilábiko

Ta konsiderá ku e fenómeno di reduplikashon ta afektá solamente palabra mono- i bisilábiko den papiamentu, pero esei no ta realmente e kaso. Ta topa tambe palabra di tres sílaba redupliká ku funshon semántiko intensifikativo òf metafórikó. I asta ta posibel redupliká sintagma (grupo di palabra) den papiamentu. Mira e ehèmpelnan di e siguiente tabèl (tabèl 6).

Tabèl 6 Reduplikashon di palabra multisilábiko

forma básiko	forma redupliká	komposishon morfológiko	funshon sintáktiko
banana	<i>banana banana</i>	N – N	ath
barata	<i>barata barata</i>	A – A	ath
bibitu	<i>bibitu bibitu</i>	A – A	ath
bunita	<i>bunita bunita</i>	A - A	ath
burachi	<i>burachi burachi</i>	A – A	ath
chikitu	<i>chikitu chikitu</i>	A – A	ath
delegá	<i>delegá delegá</i>	A – A	ath
kayente	<i>kayente kayente</i>	A – A	ath
kòrtiku	<i>kòrtiku kòrtiku</i>	A – A	ath
machiká	<i>machiká machiká</i>	A – A	ath
okupá	<i>okupá okupá</i>	A – A	ath
oraño	<i>oraño oraño</i>	A – A	ath
pipita	<i>pipita pipita</i>	N – N	atv
shinishi	<i>shinishi shinishi</i>	A - A	ath
wayangá	<i>wayangá wayangá</i>	A - A	ath

Sintagma redupliká

un pia un pia
un ora un ora
un tiki un tiki
ta mi mes ta mi mes

N: nómen; A: athetivo; ath: athetivo; atv: atverbio

Análisis di e forma redupliká: *poko poko* i *pata pata*

Di e formanan redupliká *poko poko* i *pata pata*, no ta posibel relashoná nan nifikashon direktamente ku nifikashon di e forma básiko (*poko* i *pata*) den papiamentu. E formanan redupliká tin un nifikashon semántiko diferente for di e formanan básiko; pues, nan no tin un funshon semántiko di intensifikason, pluralisashon/akumulashon òf distribushon.

Ademas, mirando ku kada elemento ta mantené su patronchi di entonashon (énfasis prinsipal) i tonal den e forma redupliká: *poko poko* i *pata pata*, nan no ta bira un unidat fonológiko ku un solo énfasis prinsipal. Basá riba e análisis akí, lo mester hinka e formanan redupliká akí den e di dos grupo di palabra redupliká, esta, e grupo di reduplikashon sintáktiko (mira tabèl 3 i 4).

Tabèl 7 Reduplikashon sintáktiko

Reduplikashon sintáktiko			
sintagma	forma básiko	forma redupliká	funshon sintáktiko
A-A	poko	<i>poko poko</i>	atverbial
S-S	pata	<i>pata pata</i>	athetival

S: sustantivo; A: athetivo

Ehèmpel:

- 2a. E trahadónan a traha mas *poko poko* posibel. (funshon atv)
 2b. Mi tata a paga tur su debenan na banko *poko poko*. (funshon atv)
 2c. Ayera Punda tabata *pata pata* di turista di kompra. (funshon ath)
 2d. E outomobilista no tabata sobrio, sino *pata pata*. (funshon ath)

Reduplikashon di onomatopeya i idiofon

Den papiamentu, ta haña tambe algun forma redupliká ku ta representá sierto *zonido*. Den e kaso akí, ta papia di reduplikashon onomatopéiko i idiofóniko, di kua tabèl 8 ta presentá algun ehèmpel.

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Tabèl 8 Reduplikashon onomatopéiko i idiofóniko

forma básiko	forma redupliká	funshon sintáktiko	funshon semántiko
?	vap vap	atv	akumulashon
?	tilin tilin	atv	akumulashon
?	kañañ kañañ	atv	akumulashon
?	zíkinza zíkinza	atv	akumulashon

atv: atverbio

Aki ta sigui algun ehèmpel di e tipo di reduplikashon akí den konteksto sintáktiko:

- 3a. Semper e ta hasi tur su kosnan *vap vap*.
 3b. Kada dos ora, e bèl di skol ta zona *tilin tilin*.
 3c. E kachó a keda grita *kañañ kañañ* ora e otro a mord'é.
 3d. Zag di e karpinté henter mainta ta *zíkinza zíkinza*.

Konklushon

Basá riba e informashon eksponé akiriba relashoná ku e dos gruponan di palabra redupliká den papiamentu, ta skohe pa ortográfikamente skirbi e formanan redupliká di grupo 1 (reduplikashon morfológiko) komo un solo palabra, i e formanan redupliká di grupo 2 (reduplikashon sintáktiko) komo dos palabra konsekutivo. E grupo morfológiko

ta karga e énfasis prinsipal riba e penúltimo sílaba, i ta sigui e siguiente patronchi tonal: *abou, abou, ariba, abou*. Den mayoria di kaso, e forma redupliká akí ta asumí e funshon sintáktiko di sintagma nominal, i den algun kaso, di sintagma athetival. Nifikashon di e forma redupliká akí ta distinto di nifikashon di e forma básiko. Algun ehèmpel di e grupo morfológiko: *pegapega* (reptil), *molimoli* (mata), *korekore* (konsternashon), *blekibleki* (wega di mucha), *pèkèpèkè*, *lalilali*, *pòchòpòcho*.

Den e grupo sintáktiko, ku ta konsistí di dos elemento separá, kada elemento ta karga su énfasis prinsipal, i kada un ta mantené su patronchi tonal, ku por ta *ariba abou, ariba abou* (/'_-'_/_/) òf *abou ariba, abou ariba* (/'_-'_/_/). E forma di reduplikashon akí, sintáktikamente ta asumí e funshon di sintagma athetival, atverbial òf verbal. Ta uza e tipo di reduplikashon akí pa fortifiká òf reforsá nifikashon di e forma básiko òf duna esaki un nifikashon metafórik/idiomátiko. Algun ehèmpel: *zeta zeta, limpi limpi, mochi mochi, para para, ratu, ratu, tempu tempu, loko loko, kuater kuater, awor awor, pisá pisá, aktual aktual, fatal fatal*.

Pa resumí, i basá riba análisis di e fenómeno di reduplikashon den papiamentu, por formulá e siguiente dos reglanan ortográfiko pa e tipo di palabra redupliká analisá den e artíkulo akí.

Ta skirbi (1) palabra redupliká komo *un solo palabrá* ora ku den pronunsiashon solamente e di dos komponente/elemento ta karga e énfasis prinsipal, i e palabra tin e siguiente patronchi tonal: /'_-'_/_/. Ehèmpel: *mōlī'mōlī*, *wārā'wārā*, *dīvī'dīvī*. E tipo di palabra redupliká akí, generalmente, ta pertenesé na e kategoria gramatikal di sustantivo, i ta ser uzá komo sintagma nominal den frase. Den algun kaso, ta uza algun di e forman akí tambe komo sintagma athetival den frase.

Ta skirbi (2) palabra redupliká komo *dos palabrá konsektivo (separá)* ora ku den pronunsiashon kada un di e dos elementonan ta mantené su énfasis prinsipal, ademas di e siguiente patronchi tonal: /'_-'_/_/. Ehèmpel: *'pālū 'pālū*, *'mōchī 'mōchī*. Generalmente, e reduplikashonnan akí sintáktikamente ta funshoná komo sintagma atverbial, athetival òf verbal. Ortográfikamente no ta nesesario hasi uzo di guion (-) entre e dos elementonan di un reduplikashon.

Por konsiderá reduplikashon un fenómeno ku ta presentá bastante frekvente den lenga papiamentu. Pa duna un impreshon di amplio difushon di esaki, ta inkluí un lista ku ehèmpel ku mesora ta ofresé un bista general di un posibel klasifikashon di e fenómeno di reduplikashon na papiamentu (Apèndiks 1). A diseñá e klasifikashon akí, teniendo kuenta ku formashon morfológiko i funshon sintáktiko di e ehèmpelnan selektá. Debí na e echo ku reduplikashon ta okurí tambe ku bastante frekuensia den formashon di nòmber di kariño ku ta usa ampliamente, no solamente pa mucha, sino tambe pa adulto, ta añañá tambe un lista kòrtiku di nòmber propio (Apèndiks 2). E listanan presentá no tin pretenshon di ta eksoustivo. Mas tantu nan ta duna un impreshon di uso, frekuensia i produktividat di e fenómeno reduplikashon den papiamentu.

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APÈNDIKS 1: REDUPLIKASHON ¹

REDUPLIKASHON				
total		total	total	parsial
<i>monosilábiko</i>	<i>bisilábiko</i>		<i>multisilábiko</i>	<i>multisilábiko</i>
biña biña	aichi aichi	kuchú kuchú	badabada	chakaraka
blet blet	aktual aktual	lata lata	balabala	chinchirinchi
blou blou	anshá anshá	lihé lihé	batibati	frakitraki
bon bon	ariba ariba	limpi limpi	binibini	kakalaka
bòt bòt	asina asina	loko loko	blekibleki	karawara
bròs bròs	awa awa	lulus lulus	bògòbògò	katarata
chòk chòk	awor awor	malu malu	bòguibògui	kokoloko
dies dies	bala bala	mashá mashá	chèpèchèpè	kokoyoko
dòf dòf	bashí bashí	mitar mitar	chibichibi	lèkètèkè
dos dos	bebe bebe	mochi mochi	chimichimi	makataka
eis eis	bèrdè bèrdè	moli moli	chipichipi	patarata
flèt flèt	betòn betòn	nada nada	chupachupa	rakataka
friu friu	bisto bisto	nobis nobis	diguidigui	rekubeku
frus frus	blanku blanku	nobo nobo	dividivi	ribirishi
glas glas	bleki bleki	ora ora	djèguèdjèguè	ròkòtòkò
gròf gròf	blòki blòki	palu palu	djògòdjògò	tutifruti
kèns kèns	bobo bobo	papa papa	dugudugu	tuturutu
kla kla	bòshi bòshi	para para	finifini	wishiwashi
lat lat	bruá bruá	pata pata	flèngueflèngue	wòkitòki
ñè ñè	bùmper bùmper	pechu pechu	friofrio	
nèt nèt	chikí chikí	pegá pegá	guruguru	Reduplikashon
nòps nòps	depchi depchi	pia pia	hanuhanu	verbal total
pan pan	día día	pichon pichon	hurihuri	monosilábiko-
püs püs	diki diki	pika pika	kachikachi	bisilábiko
rant rant	dozein dozein	pisá pisá	karikari	baha baha
ros ros	drogá drogá	plèki plèki	kayakaya	bèk bèk
slap slap	duru duru	poko poko	kimakima	bèt bèt
smal smal	dushi dushi	porta porta	kinikini	bira bira
steif steif	fadá fadá	pretu pretu	kishikishi	bòltu bòltu
stret stret	fatal fatal	punta punta	kolokolo	bringa bringa
tres tres	fiho fiho	purá purá	kòlòkòlò	bula bula
tur tur	fini fini	puru puru	korekore	fula fula
vap vap	flaku flaku	pushi pushi	korokoro	hari hari

¹ E lista di palabra aki ku ta atendé ku reduplikashon ta simplemente un muestra di e kantidat di palabra redupliká den papiamentu, ku ortográfikamente ta skirbi manera nan ta aparesé den e lista, teniendo kuenta ku nan formashon morfológiko i nan funshon sintáktiko. E lista ta duna un idea di produktivitat di forma redupliká den papiamentu. Komo ku aki ta duna kontesta riba posibel pregunta ortográfiko, palabra simpel ku un struktura redupliká, esta, no-komponé, manera: baba, bobo, chanchan, koko, mama, papa, tete, tata, tutu, yeye etc. no ta aparesé den e lista. Ta skirbi tur esakinan komo un palabra.

yen yen	flor flor	ratu ratu	kròbòkròbo	kua kua
-----	fresku fresku	repchi repchi	lalilali	mek mek
multisilábiko	fuma fuma	rondó rondó	lebelebe	mishi mishi
baitu baitu	golos golos	seku seku	lèbèlèbè	papia papia
banana banana	grandi grandi	sendé sendé	lembelembe	piki piki
barata barata	grupo grupo	sigur sigur	lèmbèlèmbè	pui pui
bibitu bibitu	guiambo guiambo	skèrpi skèrpi	likiliki	sak sak
bunita bunita	haltu haltu	skondí skondí	lòkilòki	shek shek
burachi burachi	hanchu hanchu	tempu tempu	mèkèmèkè	sinta sinta
changan changan	heru heru	tèrko tèrko	mèlèmèlè	skòp skòp
chikitu chikitu	hinchá hinchá	tiki tiki	ñòmíñòmí`	tene tene
delegá delegá	hopi hopi	tilin tilin	pèchèpèchè	wanta wanta
kayente kayente	kabes kabes	trapi trapi	pèchipèchi	-----
kòrtiku kòrtiku	kabu kabu	unu unu	pegapega	
machiká machiká	kañañ kañañ	via via	pèkèpèkè	
okupá okupá	kara kara	wesu wesu	pikapika	
oraño oraño	keshi keshi	zeta zeta	pòchòpòchò	
pipita pipita	ketu ketu	-----	pòtòpòtò	
shinishi shinishi	kibrá kibrá		shirishiri	
wayangá wayangá	koko koko		slèmbèslèmbè	
-----	kòrá kòrá		tapatapa	
	koti koti		takitaki	
	kuater kuater		tèkètèkè	
	-----		temblatembla	
			wadawada	
			warawara	
			washiwashi	
			werewere	
			wiriwiri	

APÈNDIKS 2: NÒMBER PROPIO²

Bèbè (Alberto), Bibi (Benito), Bubu (Baudilio; ruman hòmber mayó), Chacha (Chantal), Cheche (Sidney), Chichi (Caecilia; ruman muhé mayó), Didi (Diorine), Djèdjè (Jenny), Dòdò (Rudolph), Djodjo (Joseph), Fèfè (Alfredo), Fifi (Philip), Kiki (Virgilio), Koko (Jacobo), Lala (Lavinia), Lili (Angelina), Lòlò (Lorna), Lulu (Luz), Mama (Marelva), Mèmè (Melba), Mimi (Miosotis), Nene (Cornelis), Nono (Rhona) Nònò (Ronda), Papa (Pascual), Pipi (Philip), Roro (Rodrigo), Sese (Cesar), Sisi (Sysline), Tata (Tacito), Tètè (Thelma), Toto (Antonio), Vivi (Vladimir), Wawa (Walter), Yeye (Yael), Yoyo (Yolanda), Zaza (Sacharias), Zozo (Zoltán).

² Derivashon di nòmber di kariño for di nòmber propio ta bastante produktivo i frekvente den papiamentu. E chèmpelnan akí ta limitá solamente na reduplikashon total.

PROCESOS Y PATRONES FONOLÓGICOS DE LOS CRIOLLOS DE BASE LÉXICA ESPAÑOLA-PORTUGUESA EN EL CARIBE

JOHN E. RUEDA CHAVES & ALEX ORTEGA ORTEGA

GRUPO DE INVESTIGACIÓN PARA EL ESTUDIO SOCIOLINGÜÍSTICO DEL CARIBE E HISPANOAMÉRICA (GIESCAH)

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1. Introducción

Los estudios sobre las lenguas criollas son abundantes. En ese sentido, la literatura en este ámbito es abrumadora y se orienta en diversas perspectivas: su clasificación teniendo en cuenta las lenguas del substrato y superestrato, las propuestas sobre su formación, la determinación de un conjunto de rasgos morfosintácticos que las caracterice, su descripción y documentación, su estudio desde la lingüística histórica, entre otros enfoques en el marco de la lingüística. Teniendo en cuenta lo anterior, este trabajo se distancia de dichas perspectivas y plantea el estudio comparativo de los procesos y los patrones fonológicos de un conjunto de criollos de unas mismas lenguas lexificadoras. Así las cosas, el trabajo toma relevancia puesto que la investigación sincrónica o diacrónica del nivel fonológico en los criollos no está muy avanzada (Smith, 2015). Las conclusiones sobre este grupo de lenguas se han realizado desde la morfosintaxis y no desde el nivel fónico (Baum, 1976). O más bien, se ha tratado de rastrear la influencia que ejerce el substrato a partir de la comparación de los inventarios de sonidos y otras propiedades fonémicas de las lenguas involucradas en la formación del criollo (Lipski, 2010). Los pocos intentos por abordar este tema se centran en la comparación de los sistemas vocálico y consonántico y de otros aspectos de la fonología de las lenguas criollas, tal y como se puede encontrar en los trabajos de Parkvall (2000) y Smith (2008).

Dicho estado del arte sitúa al presente estudio como uno que difiere de la tradición investigativa puesto que compara los fenómenos fónicos correspondientes a tres criollos

de base léxica ibérica en el Caribe¹. En ese sentido, se abordan: (i) el papiamento, una lengua hablada en las islas de Aruba, Curazao y Bonaire; (ii) el palenquero de San Basilio de Palenque, población situada en el departamento de Bolívar perteneciente al Caribe colombiano; y (iii) el saramacano², una variedad criolla hablada en Surinam. El papiamento tiene como sistema lexificador al español y al portugués (De Almeida, 1972; DeBose, 1975; Kouwenberg y Muysken, 1994; Holm, 2004; Lipski, 2008; Lefebvre, 2011; Migge, 2011), el palenquero al español (Dieck, 2008; Schwegler, 2011; Piñeros, 2003) y el saramacano al portugués (Bakker, Smith y Veenstra, 1994; Smith y Cardoso, 2004; Lefebvre, 2011; Migge, 2011; McWhorter y Good, 2012; Aboh, Smith y Veenstra, 2013).

Todas las tres variedades consideradas en este estudio han sido influenciadas por las lenguas que pertenecen a la subrama benue-kwa de la familia Niger-Congo, que incluye casi la totalidad (con la sola excepción de las que pertenecen a la subrama Ijoide) de las lenguas habladas en el litoral occidental de África desde la costa de Ghana hasta la de Angola, es decir, un grupo de variedades estrechamente relacionados de manera genética, tipológica, y en términos de contacto histórico entre sus hablantes que consiste de subgrupos como el grupo kwa, el grupo yoruboide, el grupo igboide, el grupo edoide, y el grupo bantoide (Lefebvre, 2011; Bakker, Smith y Veenstra, 1994; Smith y Haabo, 2007; Migge, 2011; McWhorter y Good, 2012; Aboh, Smith y Veenstra, 2013; Smith, 2015; Parkvall, 2000; Grant, 2008; De Granda, 1989; Dieck, 2008; Schwegler, 2011). Cabe mencionar también la influencia de un criollo de base léxica portuguesa propio de la alta Guinea (Parkvall, 2000; Jacobs, 2009).

El presente estudio tiene como propósito analizar, desde una perspectiva formal, un grupo de procesos fonológicos descritos para el papiamento, el palenquero y el saramacano. Todo lo anterior con la finalidad de dar cuenta de los patrones fonológicos que se pueden entrever en dichas lenguas si se abordan como un grupo relacionado con vínculos sociohistóricos y lingüísticos. En ese sentido, el análisis formal se constituye en la evidencia que sustenta la unidad en el comportamiento fonológico de los criollos de base léxica española-portuguesa. Los distintos procesos analizados muestran la reestructuración silábica por cuenta de un requerimiento prosódico y la acción de operaciones en nodos pertenecientes a una misma clase de la geometría de rasgos. El trabajo se divide en las siguientes secciones: en el apartado §2, se realiza un esbozo sociohistórico de cada criollo con la finalidad de dar un contexto general de la formación de las lenguas bajo estudio; en la sección §3, se presenta el análisis formal de los procesos fonológicos

¹ La base léxica de criollos como el papiamento y el saramacano no es eminentemente una de tipo ibérico. De hecho, dichas lenguas tienen un alto grado de mixtura puesto que poseen fuentes lexificadoras variadas (Kouwenberg y Muysken, 1994; Smith y Cardoso, 2004; Smith, 2015).

² Una nueva revisión del elemento portugués en el saramacano encuentra una mayor proporción de elementos léxicos de la lengua ibérica en contraposición al inglés en nombres y verbos (Smith y Cardoso, 2004). Lo anterior se convierte en un argumento a favor de catalogarla como un criollo de base léxica portuguesa.

comunes para así señalar patrones fónicos generales; por último, en §4 se exponen las conclusiones.

2. Esbozo sociohistórico de las tres lenguas en el contexto general del comercio trasatlántico de esclavos y la colonización

La formación y desarrollo del saramacano, el papiamento y el palenquero, así como la de otras lenguas criollas del Atlántico, tiene lugar a partir del comercio trasatlántico de esclavos. En ese sentido, se presenta un recuento general de dicha comercialización para así poder abordar distintos aspectos relacionados con la formación de criollos. Como lo describe Parkvall (2000: 117-119), el comercio de personas en condición de esclavitud se potenció como consecuencia de la expansión portuguesa, la cual estableció muchos puestos de comercio a lo largo de la costa africana y colonias en varias islas fuera de sus fronteras. Varios territorios a lo largo de la costa occidental africana se establecieron como zonas de las que se extraían personas que esclavizaron. En el siglo XVII, los Países Bajos, al separarse de España, intervinieron en el transporte marítimo español, atacaron puestos comerciales portugueses en África y Asia, asimismo, conquistaron algunas de las colonias de plantaciones portuguesas en Brasil, convirtiéndose en la principal nación esclavista del mundo. Del mismo modo, a mediados del siglo XVII, Inglaterra y Francia establecieron sus primeras colonias de plantaciones y desarrollaron de manera gradual comercios esclavistas.

El comercio trasatlántico de esclavos se convierte en el contexto general que da lugar a la formación de criollos en el Caribe. El papiamento inició su formación en la primera mitad del siglo XVII con la llegada a Curazao de holandeses, judíos sefardíes y personas esclavizadas desde Brasil en 1659 (Holm, 2004; Kouwenberg y Muysken, 1994; Lipski, 2008). De ahí en adelante, se presenta una situación en la que muchas variedades entran en escena (Holm, 2004). El portugués³ que los judíos empleaban con sus esclavos en Brasil, probablemente se extendió para ser usado con los nuevos esclavos que arribaban de África (Goodman, 1987; Holm, 2004; Kouwenberg y Muysken, 1994), los cuales seguramente tenían conocimiento de un pidgin portugués. A su vez, la alta afluencia de individuos de habla hispana que llegaban a Curazao, por la compra de personas esclavizadas, posibilitó la formación de una koiné de comercio basado en el léxico ibérico común (Holm, 2004), lo cual probablemente direccionó el desarrollo del criollo sobre la base léxica española (Holm, 2004; Kouwenberg y Muysken, 1994). La situación de bilingüismo entre la población blanca de Curazao fomentó el uso del criollo por parte de los holandeses y los judíos, quienes preservaron el holandés y el portugués como lenguas habladas en el hogar y la congregación. Esta situación propició el alto grado de

³ Sería más pertinente hablar de variedades de portugués habladas por cada grupo, así como para el caso del surgimiento del saramacano, se plantea la existencia de una variedad de portugués producto del contacto que era hablada por judíos dueños de plantaciones en Surinam, la cual fue determinante en la aparición del djutongo (Smith y Cardoso, 2004; Aboh, Smith y Veenstra, 2013).

influencia europea en la lengua, la cual es evidente hasta la actualidad. El papiamento aparentemente se estabilizó aproximadamente en 1700 cuando se extendió a Bonaire y Aruba (Holm, 2004). Esta lengua se relaciona genéticamente con criollos de base léxica portuguesa de Cabo Verde y Santo Tomé (Jacobs, 2009, 2014)⁴.

El saramacano proviene del resultado que tuvo lugar después de la relexificación del sranan con elementos del portugués, lo cual trascendió a una variedad denominada dju-tongo (Parkvall, 2000; Smith y Cardoso, 2004). Este proceso inició con la llegada de judíos y de personas esclavizadas que migraron a Surinam en 1665 (Smith y Cardoso, 2004; Aboh, Smith y Veenstra, 2013). Un grupo de judíos portugueses y su personal esclavizado se desplazaron a Cayenne en 1654 y luego a Surinam en 1665, luego de la caída de la colonia holandesa en Brasil (Smith y Cardoso, 2004). Las plantaciones judías alrededor de Joden Savannah, el centro judío en el río Suriname Medio (*Middle Suriname River*), se plantean como el epicentro de la formación del criollo (Smith y Cardoso, 2004; Price, 1983, como se citó en Aboh, Smith y Veenstra, 2013). Se propone que en el período comprendido entre 1675-1680, tuvo lugar una relexificación parcial del sranan a partir de una variedad de portugués en contacto que resultó en djutongo (Aboh, Smith y Veenstra, 2013), lengua que los fugitivos de las plantaciones llevaron al monte, trascendiendo luego el saramacano (Smith y Cardoso, 2004). Desde esa perspectiva, djutongo puede ser equiparado con el proto-saramacano (Aboh, Smith y Veenstra, 2013). El samaracano es de los pocos criollos que se pueden vincular con el papiamento por el elemento portugués que relaciona ambas lenguas (Kouwenberg y Muysken, 1994).

El palenquero es la lengua de los cimarrones que escaparon de las plantaciones al norte de Colombia, y que fundaron Palenque al interior del departamento de Bolívar alrededor del año 1600 (Parkvall, 2000; Lipski, 2008). Hay estudios muy especulativos que sugieren que los yolofs fueron el mayor grupo de personas esclavizadas que arribaron a Colombia hasta 1580, puesto que a finales del siglo XVI y principios del XVII predominaron cimarrones bantúes (Del Castillo, 1982, 1984 como se citó en Parkvall, 2000). Por tal razón, se plantea de manera igualmente muy especulativa, que el kikongo puede constituirse como el único sustrato africano significativo para dicha lengua (Parkvall, 2000; Schwegler, 2011). La formación del palenque (1650-1750) coincide con un período en el que Cartagena ya era relevante como centro de comercio de personas esclavizadas (Heywood y Thornton, 2007, como se citó en Schwegler, 2011). El primer registro histórico sobre la existencia de Palenque data de 1772, cuando el obispo Diego de Peredo y su secretario registran distintos aspectos de esta comunidad (Del Castillo 1984: 83, como se citó en Schwegler, 2011), entre ellos, la variedad hablada por los cimarrones (Schwegler, 2011).

⁴ Existe toda una literatura sobre los vínculos que tienen lugar entre el papiamento y los criollos de base léxica portuguesa de Cabo Verde y Santo Tomé.

3. Procesos y patrones fonológicos en el papiamento, palenquero y saramacano

Esta sección presenta un análisis formal de los procesos fonológicos que tienen lugar en el papiamento, el palenquero y el saramacano, con el propósito de dar cuenta de patrones fónicos generales a los tres criollos. El análisis se basa en la comparación de datos correspondientes a descripciones que comprenden la diacronía y la sincronía de las lenguas. La formalización se aborda desde la fonología no lineal (Goldsmith, 1976: 53), la cual propone que las entidades fonológicas se organizan y están supeditadas a una jerarquía multinivel. Del mismo modo, esta perspectiva teórica considera que dichas entidades tienen una estructura que está constituida internamente por un conjunto de elementos organizados en varios niveles de manera jerárquica. En ese sentido, la jerarquía prosódica (Selkirk, 1980a) y la estructura silábica (Blevins, 1995; Zec, 2007) se retoman por su pertinencia a la hora de tratar fenómenos prosódicos relacionados con la sílaba. Asimismo, se emplean los modelos autosegmentales jerárquicos de Sagey (1986) y Clements y Hume (1995), puesto que se convierten en el derrotero teórico que permite entender los procesos fonológicos del nivel infrasegmental en las tres lenguas. Así las cosas, en §3.1 se aborda un aspecto prosódico que tiene lugar a partir de la acción de fenómenos infrasegmentales que evidencian un patrón silábico generalizado. Por otro lado, en §3.2 se analiza la lenición como el patrón segmental que agrupa un conjunto de fenómenos comunes en los criollos estudiados.

3.1 Un requerimiento prosódico general en los tres criollos: el patrón (C)V

El papiamento, el palenquero y el saramacano coincidieron en un mismo patrón silábico que conllevó a reestructurar parte de su léxico. Lo anterior tuvo lugar a partir de la acción de procesos fonológicos infrasegmentales con incidencia en el plano suprasegmental. El análisis que se plantea aquí propone que dichas operaciones fonológicas reestructuradoras se producen con el objetivo de darle cumplimiento a un requerimiento prosódico sobre el tipo de estructura silábica preferida en la lengua. En ese sentido, la descripción del patrón silábico en los tres criollos coincide en que, en algún punto de su formación, todos propendieron por uno del tipo (C)V, que tuvo lugar a partir de operaciones fonológicas que repararon la sílaba⁵ (Rountree, 1972; De Granda, 1989, 1992; Aceto, 1996; Parkvall, 2000; Plag y Uffmann, 2000; Plag y Schramm, 2006; Lipski, 2010; Schwegler, 2011; McWhorter y Good, 2012). A pesar de esta generalización sobre las lenguas, la discusión sobre la procedencia de dicho requerimiento prosódico está latente, puesto que hay posiciones encontradas sobre la influencia del substrato en la

⁵ En el caso del papiamento, se toman las descripciones proveídas por Lipski (2010) y Baum (1976) sobre los procesos de vocal paragógica y de armonía vocálica que tuvieron lugar en el proceso de formación del criollo. En ese sentido, Lipski (2010) señala fenómenos de paragoge en palabras aportadas por una de las lenguas del superestrato. Por otro lado, en el saramacano no hay evidencia a favor de un contraste entre $\tilde{V}$ y VN, lo que plantea el estatus fonético de la consonante nasal, la descarta como coda y acentúa la preferencia por un patrón CV (McWhorter y Good, 2012). El palenquero sólo posee nasales en la coda silábica y oclusivas producto de un proceso de geminación (Piñeros, 2003).

reacomodación silábica (Schwegler, 2011). La discusión sobre los aspectos externos concernientes a la sílaba se llevará a cabo más adelante. En lo que sigue, se expone el planteamiento formal relacionado con la estructura silábica. Como se había adelantado con anterioridad, se postula que el patrón silábico común en el papiamento, el palenquero y el saracamano no es más que la concreción de un requerimiento prosódico que condicionó la sílaba en las tres lenguas:

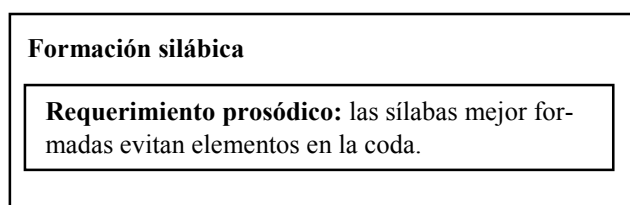
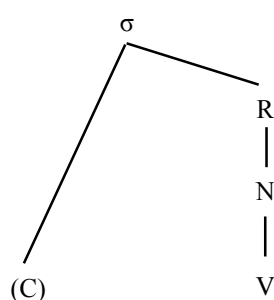


Figura 1 Requerimiento prosódico sobre la complejidad silábica en los tres criollos

El requerimiento prosódico que se presenta en la figura (1) no es más que la exigencia de evitar una sílaba cerrada. Lo anterior no es una particularidad solamente de dichos criollos, es más bien, una propiedad tipológica que muestra la preferencia por una asimetría translingüística: las sílabas prefieren iniciar con una consonante y finalizar con una vocal (Blevins, 1995; Kager, 1999). Lo anterior se ha formalizado, desde la Teoría de la Optimidad (TO), con la restricción *CODA (Kager, 1999), la cual reitera el carácter marcado de esta posición en la palabra (Blevins, 1995; Zec, 2007; Kager, 1999). Desde esa perspectiva, teniendo en cuenta el requisito prosódico de la figura (1), la estructura silábica que se impuso en gran parte del léxico del palenquero y el saramacano, y en un grupo de palabras del papiamento, es como se muestra en la representación (1):



Representación 1 La sílaba en papiamento, palenquero y saramacano siguiendo a Blevins (1995)

La representación (1) evidencia una estructura silábica sin complejidades en los lindes que matiza el hecho de que se prescinde de una consonante al final de la sílaba. En ese sentido, la estructura modela el patrón (C)V común en el papiamento, el palenquero y

el saramacano y agrupa a estas lenguas como un conjunto de sistemas que emplearon distintas estrategias con el propósito de evitar la presencia de codas en parte de su léxico⁶. En contraste, dicha formalización no da cuenta de los inicios complejos del palenquero y el papiamento, lo cual impide plantear una generalización que manifieste una tendencia a vedar las complejidades en los lindes de la sílaba. Teniendo en cuenta todo lo anterior, el saramacano se postula como el único criollo que no registra ni grupos consonánticos en el ataque silábico ni codas en la rima, ajustando todos sus morfemas a un patrón (C)V que parece ser categórico (Lipski, 2010; McWhorter y Good, 2012). La coincidencia en este aspecto hubiese posibilitado plantear un patrón mucho más general sobre la complejidad de los lindes silábicos en los tres criollos de base léxica española-portuguesa.

De la misma manera, este patrón, más allá de establecerse como una regularidad translingüística, también evidencia la cercanía con el substrato (De Granda, 1989, 1992; Lipski, 2010; Smith, 2015), puesto que la mayoría de las lenguas de África subsahariana evitan de manera sistemática las codas (Lipski, 2005: 214). Por otro lado, esta generalización también se reporta como una tendencia en los criollos del Atlántico ya que éstos muestran una preferencia a ubicar a *CODA en una posición alta de la jerarquía que resulta en una estructura del tipo (C)V (Parkvall, 2000). No obstante, como se adelantó en líneas anteriores, la influencia del substrato, en lo que respecta al patrón silábico, tiene sus detractores (Schwegler, 2011). En ese sentido, Parkvall (2000) asume tres posiciones primordiales que, según él, socavan la relación del patrón (C)V con el substrato de los criollos del Atlántico:

- (1) a. Teniendo en cuenta la comparación de sílabas complejas, asevera que la preferencia de sílabas abiertas es más una solución encaminada a alejarse de la lengua lexificadora que de instituirse como una propiedad heredada del substrato.
- b. Profiere que la tendencia hacia una estructura de sílaba abierta “no es necesariamente un rasgo del substrato, ya que podría deberse a tendencias de pidginización”.
- c. Basado en la presuposición de que el español y el portugués son sistemas más cercanos al patrón (C)V propio de las lenguas de África occidental, señala que la proporción de sílabas CV en español y palenquero es similar.

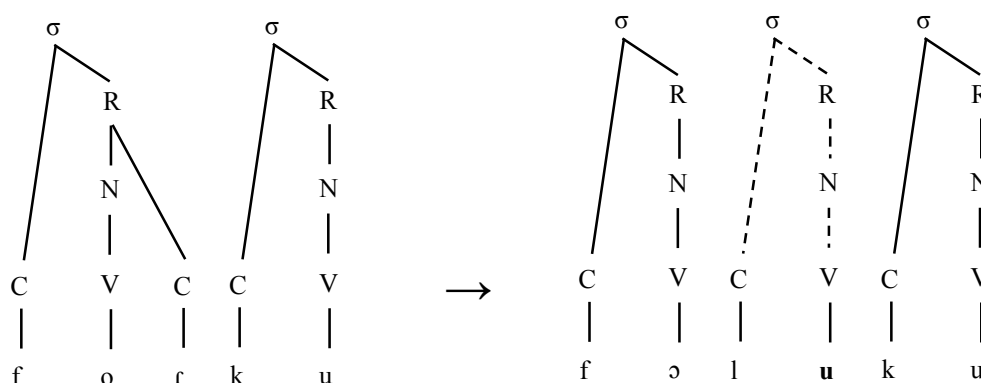
⁶ Parkvall (2004: 52) aduce que el patrón CV y la complejidad silábica que tiene lugar al inicio de la sílaba en los criollos, plantea una asimetría si se tiene en cuenta que la estructura silábica de la mayoría de las lenguas de África occidental evita la complejidad en los lindes. En ese sentido, asevera que la estructura silábica sin codas puede verse más como una tendencia de los criollos a alejarse de su lengua lexificadora, y no como una propiedad heredada del substrato. Teniendo en cuenta lo anterior, los autores de este trabajo plantean que lo que sugiere Parkvall no muestra un alejamiento del influjo africano, puesto que las estructuras silábicas de los criollos poseen características del substrato y el superestrato: patrón CV y complejidad en los inicios silábicos. Así las cosas, su aseveración, más que orientarse desde la perspectiva que rechaza el influjo del substrato (no substrato), se ubica en un punto intermedio.

Teniendo en cuenta los puntos esgrimidos en (1), en lo que sigue se explica cómo el requerimiento prosódico que se muestra en la figura (1) no puede desestimarse como un vestigio del substrato en las tres lenguas criollas analizadas aquí. En primer lugar, la asimetría que se plantea en (1a) evidencia más un punto intermedio que la elección de uno de los extremos del análisis⁷: substrato ↔ no substrato. De la misma manera, la conclusión falta al principio de economía sustantiva (Hornstein, Nunes y Grohmann, 2005: 24) en la medida que desestima (y no maximiza) una propiedad de uno de los *inputs* de las lenguas criollas en el proceso de formación, la cual propició procesos fonológicos reparadores. La maximización del patrón silábico del substrato como recurso prosódico en el criollo optimiza la explicación y evita su extravagancia. En segundo lugar, la posición de (1b) no puede tomarse como un hecho, ya que los hablantes en el proceso de pidginización o formación del criollo pudieron disponer de estrategias del substrato para reestructurar el material proveído desde el superestrato. La simplificación de estructuras que tiene lugar en el proceso de pidginización pudo coincidir con un requerimiento presente en el substrato. En tercer lugar, no es comparable el patrón silábico del español y del palenquero por varios motivos: (i) la comparación no puede hacerse en términos cuantitativos, sino más bien en términos cualitativos por la razón que se aduce en el siguiente punto; (ii) el español tiene un patrón silábico mucho más complejo, con distribución de segmentos de diferentes tipos en sus lindes; y (iii) los procesos concernientes a la sílaba no son los mismos para todas las variedades existentes en el español. Desde esa perspectiva, parece haber razones para no desestimar el requerimiento prosódico de la figura (1) y plantearlo como resultado de la reestructuración de la sílaba en la formación de los criollos.

Las descripciones realizadas para los tres criollos registran diferentes estrategias fonológicas que reestructuran la sílaba en papiamento, palenquero y saramacano: Alleyne (1980: 45-48, como se citó en Lipski, 2010) y Holm (1988: 110-111, como se citó en Lipski, 2010) documentan el uso extensivo de la paragoge en criollos con influencia africana. Del mismo modo, Lipski (2010) plantea tres fenómenos fonológicos en los criollos de base léxica española y portuguesa: vocales paragógicas, epentéticas y armonía vocálica. McWhorter y Good (2012) aseveran que la estructura silábica del saramacano ha resultado de la epéntesis como estrategia para deshacer la complejidad silábica y prevenir la aparición de consonantes en la coda. De Granda (1989, 1992) describe procesos de paragoge y armonía vocálica relacionados con el substrato africano. Plag y Uffmann (2000) encuentran que el sranan temprano agrega vocales paragógicas a la

⁷ Parkvall (2004: 52) aduce que el patrón CV y la complejidad silábica que tiene lugar al inicio de la sílaba en los criollos plantea una asimetría si se tiene en cuenta que la estructura silábica de la mayoría de las lenguas de África occidental evita la complejidad en los lindes. En ese sentido, asevera que la estructura silábica sin codas puede verse más como una tendencia de los criollos a alejarse de su lengua lexificadora y no como una propiedad heredada del substrato. Así las cosas, su aseveración claramente se ubica en uno de los extremos del continuo substrato ↔ no substrato, más en el de ‘no substrato’, cuando el razonamiento al que aduce posibilita otros análisis.

mayoría de las palabras que terminan en una consonante no nasal. Todo lo anterior es parte de los mecanismos que se registran en las lenguas para reparar sílabas imperfectas o deshacer codas (Kager, 1999), tal y como sucede en el fiyi, donde la epéntesis se establece como la operación que se emplea para evitar consonantes al final de la sílaba (Dixon, 1988, como se citó en Kager, 1999: 94). Los procesos descritos en la bibliografía coinciden en la preservación del patrón CV que tenía lugar a partir de la adición de vocales en la palabra⁸. En la representación (2), se muestra la formalización de la epéntesis de *u* en /forku/ ‘tenedor’ proveniente del sranan (McWhorter y Good, 2012: 25).



Representación 2 Adición vocálica en /forku/ ‘tenedor’ proveniente del sranan

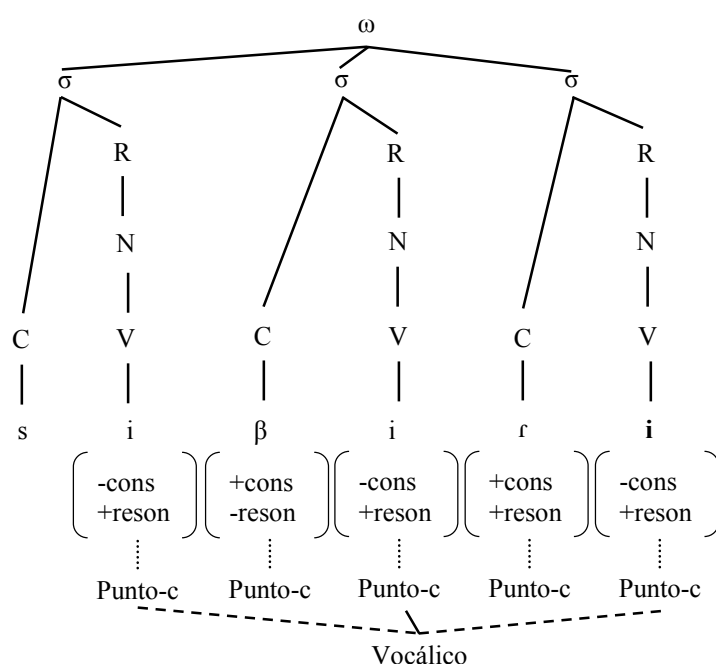
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La representación (2) muestra cómo la vocal [u] se inserta en la palabra para desarticular la rima de la primera sílaba del vocablo proveniente del sranan. Asimismo, interpola el material silábico para preservar la buena formación estructural (Sagey, 1986; Clements y Hume, 1995). En ese sentido, la líquida se resilabifica convirtiéndose en el ataque de una nueva sílaba [2], cuyo núcleo es la vocal epentética. De esta forma, se repara la estructura silábica puesto que respeta el patrón CV, cumpliendo así con el requerimiento prosódico de la figura (1). Desde esa perspectiva, la adición de la vocal se convierte en la estrategia que subsana la estructura marcada en el saramacano.

Por otro lado, la armonía vocálica es un fenómeno que también se describe para las lenguas criollas de base léxica española-portuguesa como un proceso resultante de la adición vocálica para reparar la estructura marcada que genera la coda (Baum, 1976; De Granda, 1989; 1992; Lipski, 2010; Schwegler, 2011). Desde una perspectiva formal, el proceso se modela como en la representación (3), la cual muestra la armonía vocálica que resulta de la inserción de una vocal. En términos formales, el proceso tiene lugar con la propagación de rasgos que se efectúa desde la última vocal de /serbir/. La derivación de este caso del palenquero implica que se lleven a cabo más operaciones, sin

⁸ Como las descripciones de los procesos de preservación del patrón CV registran epéntesis y paragoge, es decir, adiciones de material vocálico en distintas posiciones de la palabra, en adelante, se decidió tratar ambos fenómenos como ‘adición vocálica’.

embargo, sólo se atenderán las pertinentes al fenómeno de interés. En primer lugar, se inserta una vocal no especificada en su Punto-c, la cual desencadena la resilabificación cumpliendo con el requerimiento prosódico tal y como se formalizó en la representación (2) para el saramacano. En segundo lugar, se detona la armonía de la vocal cuando se propaga el nodo vocálico perteneciente al segmento central ubicado en la última sílaba subyacente. Las consonantes posicionadas entre las vocales participantes en la operación fonológica no bloquean el proceso puesto que carecen de un nodo vocálico (Clements, 1991; Clements y Hume, 1995). Esta asimilación de *vocálico* también se registra en el servigliano, un dialecto del italiano que propaga los rasgos de la vocal de su sufijo a la del núcleo de la última sílaba de su base (Clements y Hume, 1995).



Representación 3 Armonía vocálica en [siβiri] 'servir' del criollo palenquero

Parkvall (2000) expresa que la armonía vocálica es a menudo comentada en estudios de fonología de criollos del Atlántico. Sin embargo, asevera que dicho proceso no es productivo en ninguno de ellos y que no encuentra señales de haberlo sido, ya que las tendencias que podrían interpretarse como armonía de vocal tratan realmente de procesos que sólo determinan la calidad de vocales que se adicionan. De la misma manera, afirma que “es posible, pero eso no significa que sea cierto que las tendencias hacia armonía vocálica en los criollos del Atlántico sean debido a la presencia de sistemas de África occidental que posean dicho proceso”. En contraste con esta postura, varios autores se refieren al fenómeno como uno de armonía en el papiamento y el palenquero (Baum, 1976; Lipski, 2010; Schwegler, 2011) y se tiende a relacionarlo con los procesos que

tienen lugar en lenguas bantoides, lenguas kwa, lenguas igboides, lenguas yoruboides, y otras lenguas benue-kwa (De Granda, 1989, 1992; Lipski, 2010; Smith, 2015) y en criollos de base portuguesa del golfo de Guinea (Lipski, 2010), este último, posible substrato del papiamento (Parkvall, 2000; Jacobs, 2009).

Con respecto a lo anterior, es necesario hacer varias salvedades. En primer lugar, el fenómeno que se modela en la representación (3), que se plantea como uno propio del proceso de pidginización y criollización, corresponde a una operación de armonía vocálica contraviniendo a Parkvall (2000). Los criterios proveídos por Van der Hulst y Van de Weijer (1995) sostienen esta idea: (i) es una armonía vocálica porque plantea un estado en el cual las vocales concuerdan con respecto a los rasgos anclados a los nodos Punto-v y Apertura dominados por *vocálico*; (ii) el proceso tiene como dominio la palabra prosódica; y (iii) cumple con la localidad puesto que todas las vocales del dominio concuerdan en cuanto a sus propiedades. En segundo lugar, es innegable que existen casos de propagación por asimilación en los que se determina la calidad de la vocal insertada, tal y como se modela en la representación (2) y como se observa en los datos del saramacano (McWhorter y Good, 2012: 25). No obstante, lo anterior no es la generalidad dado que se pueden rastrear ejemplos de armonía vocálica detonada por la inserción de la vocal como se evidencia en la representación (3). En tercer lugar, Parkvall (2000) puede estar en lo cierto cuando aduce que la presencia de dicho fenómeno no asegura su vínculo con el substrato. Esta aseveración puede sustentarse comparando los procesos de asimilación de las lenguas bantoides con los que se documentan para los criollos de base léxica española-portuguesa. En ese sentido, la revisión de los datos que provee Hyman (1999) sobre este grupo, hace evidente que los procesos de armonía vocálica tienen lugar en contextos eminentemente morfológicos, desencadenados por morfemas específicos, planteando una asimetría con lo que se describe para las lenguas criollas aquí estudiadas. No obstante, en las lenguas igboides y lenguas de otros grupos benue-kwa, la morfología juega un papel mucho menos importante en la armonía vocálica. De todos modos, el vínculo del substrato necesita más evidencia y una comparación más detallada.

El análisis formal de los datos muestra que el patrón silábico que tuvo lugar en el proceso de pidginización y criollización es resultado de operaciones fonológicas supeditadas a un requerimiento prosódico. Los procesos se caracterizan por la adición de material suprasegmental, específicamente un núcleo silábico, por la resilabificación y la propagación del nodo *vocálico*. En los criollos de base léxica española-portuguesa, tienen lugar dos fenómenos relacionados con la inserción de vocales y limitados por un criterio de localidad, definiendo así el tipo de operación fonológica. En ese sentido, la adición de una vocal puede generar la asimilación del nodo vocálico como en el saramacano o armonía vocálica como en el palenquero.

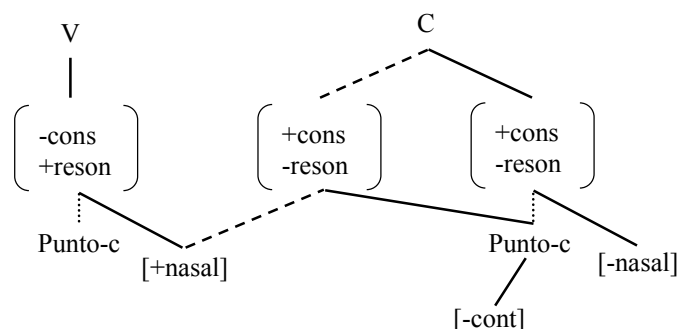
3.2 Procesos segmentales: lenición y la afectación de la geometría de rasgos

El apartado anterior evidenció cómo el patrón CV se establece como una propiedad de los criollos de base léxica española-portuguesa en el Caribe. Por su parte, en el nivel melódico, los procesos fonológicos que tienen lugar en el papiamento, el palenquero y el saramacano también evidencian un mismo patrón de lenición del material infrasegmental que plantea una relación de grupo. Se define lenición como una macrocategoría que agrupa a un conjunto de cambios (Lavoie, 1996; Kirchner, 2013) orientados hacia el debilitamiento del segmento, es decir, a hacerlo más sonoro (Rueda Chaves, 2019). Desde una perspectiva formal, lo anterior se vislumbra a partir de la afectación de nodos y rasgos pertenecientes a una misma clase que se relaciona con el debilitamiento consonántico. En sí, el análisis se sustenta en el estudio de la prensalización, la palatización, la espirantización y la implosivización.

La prensalización se describe como un proceso del palenquero (Patiño Roselli, 1983; De Granda, 1989; Faingold, 1996; Parvkvall, 2000; Piñeros, 2003; Schwegler, 2011) y el papiamento (Tinelli, 1981; Munteanu, 1996, como se citó en Parkvall, 2000; Faingold, 1996; Parkvall, 2000) vinculado a las lenguas del substrato (Tinelli, 1981; Patiño Roselli, 1983; De Granda, 1989; Lipski, 1992; Faingold, 1996; Parkvall, 2000; Avram, 2010). En el saramacano, se ha planteado como un fenómeno producto de la nasalización (Rountree, 1972; Parkvall, 2000; Avram, 2010). No obstante, el estatus de las prenasalizadas parece estar bajo discusión, puesto que no hay acuerdo entre los investigadores en cuanto a este aspecto. Por una parte, McWhorter y Good (2012) presentan pares mínimos que sustentan su propuesta de plantearlos como entidades con un estatus fonémico. Asimismo, Rivera-Castillo (2013), siguiendo a dichos autores, fundamenta su propiedad monofonemática a partir de un estudio fonético. Por otra parte, Smith y Haabo (2007) y Aboh, Smith y Veenstra (2013) no consideran a los segmentos prenasalizados como una serie del inventario de sonidos.

Se describen dos tipos de prensalización: (i) la que tiene lugar por influjo de una vocal nasal en el entorno (Tinelli, 1981; Avram, 2010), y (ii) otra al inicio de palabra sin presencia de un elemento adyacente con el rasgo [+nasal] (Piñeros, 2003). Lo anterior es de alta relevancia puesto que plantea dos análisis formales distintos. El primer caso implica la asimilación de la propiedad [+nasal] por parte del segmento objetivo de la prensalización. Siguiendo a Sagey (1986: 80), se propone una geometría en la que el conjunto de rasgos que formalizan este proceso se ancla bajo una sola unidad temporal (X), que consta de dos especificaciones de nasalidad como característica definitoria de dicho estado fónico. De esta forma, el análisis de la doble especificación de rasgos (Clements y Hume, 1995; Clements, 1999) daría cuenta tanto del momento nasal como del oral correspondiente a la oclusiva (Sagey, 1986). Sin embargo, esta solución no es plausible puesto que predice la existencia de geometrías correspondientes a segmentos no registrados en las lenguas. En ese sentido, la formalización se apega al análisis que propone una unidad temporal bifurcada (Clements y Hume, 1995; Clements, 1999), que

presenta una estructura que se escinde en dos nodos raíz (Piggot, 1988, 1989; Rosenthal, 1988; Lipski, 1992; Clements y Hume, 1995).



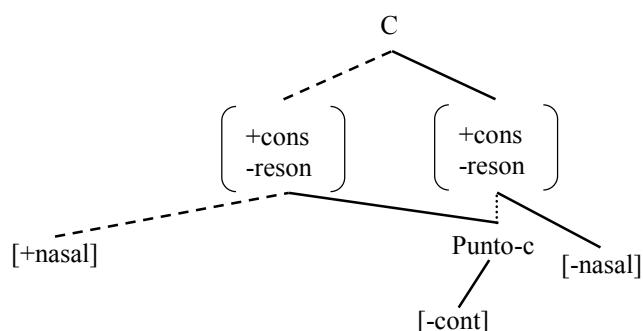
Representación 4 Prenasalización: propagación de [+nasal]

La representación de (4) muestra la propagación de la propiedad [+nasal] desde la vocal nasalizada hacia el nodo raíz resultado de la bifurcación de la unidad temporal correspondiente a la consonante. La raíz interpolada (Sagey, 1986; Clements y Hume, 1995) se genera a causa de la asimilación, con la finalidad de evitar que un solo nodo domine la doble especificación de un mismo rasgo (Piggot, 1988, 1989; Rosenthal, 1989; Clements y Hume, 1995). En ese sentido, la oclusiva adyacente queda compuesta con geometrías que representarían cada momento en la realización de la prenasalizada, tal y como lo registra Tinelli (1981: 8) para el papiamento en el caso: [kumĩⁿda]~[kumĩda] 'comida'. Desde esa perspectiva, el segmento consonántico que poseía sólo el rasgo [-nasal] adopta la especificación positiva, se bifurca y se prenasaliza. Lipski (1992), para explicar la integridad de las oclusivas sonoras en las variedades afrohispanas, propone la misma estructura geométrica y plantea que /b d g/ poseen una estructura bifurcada al inicio de palabra. Esta solución pretende explicar por qué se bloquea la fricativización de las oclusivas y, en el caso de que estén prenasalizadas, intenta explicar por qué el rasgo [+nasal] no se propaga a la vocal contigua. Sin embargo, este análisis es problemático en dos aspectos: (i) en términos de simplicidad, porque parece proponer dos estructuras jerárquicas en distribución complementaria; y (ii) porque carga la representación infrasegmental con información contenida a nivel prosódico cuando propone una geometría escindida en la posición inicial de palabra⁹.

El segundo caso de prenasalización se puede explicar a partir de la existencia de un rasgo flotante [+nasal] que prenasaliza las oclusivas sordas al inicio de palabra en el palenquero, tal como lo registra Piñeros (2003). La prenasalización a partir de un rasgo

⁹ Scheer y Ségéral (2008) explican cómo las posiciones silábicas están relacionadas con procesos de lenición y la fortificación en las lenguas. En ese sentido, el hecho de que no se produzca la lenición de las oclusivas sonoras al inicio de palabra en las variedades afrohispanas (Lipski, 1992), se relaciona con aspectos prosódicos y no con una estructura infrasegmental compleja como tal.

flotante también se describe para el yabem, una lengua oceánica que marca el modo *irrealis* a partir de un subsegmento nasal flotante que se asocia a la oclusiva sonora de la base verbal. Asimismo, tiene lugar este fenómeno en la oclusiva sorda al final de palabra en el jambi malay (Durvasula, 2009: 163-164). El caso del yabem y el del palenquero muestran un condicionamiento morfofonológico puesto que la prenasalización de las oclusivas sonoras al inicio de palabra en el criollo está restringida léxicamente a ciertas categorías de la palabra: nombres, verbos, adjetivos y adverbios (Piñeros, 2003). Teniendo en cuenta todo lo anterior, la formalización del proceso sería como se evidencia en la representación (5):

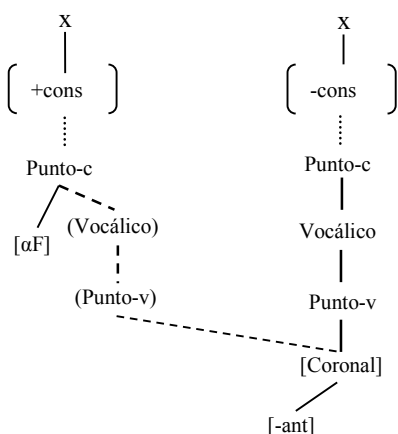


Representación 5 Prenasalización: asociación del subsegmento flotante [+nasal]

La representación autosegmental de (5) muestra como el rasgo [+nasal] flotante se asocia a la oclusiva generando la bifurcación de la unidad temporal de la consonante en dos nodos raíz. De esta manera, la asociación de [±nasal] en cada nodo da paso al carácter prenasal al inicio de palabra. Es claro que se interpola material infrasegmental puesto que se debe preservar la buena formación estructural de la geometría (Sagey, 1986; Clements y Hume, 1995). Desde esa perspectiva, se modelan los tipos de prenasalización en los criollos de base léxica española-portuguesa, la cual tiene como operación en común la asociación de [+nasal] a las estructuras jerárquicas de las oclusivas sonoras en el entorno.

Por otro lado, la palatalización se constituye en un fenómeno común en los tres criollos de base léxica española-portuguesa. López Rodríguez (2019) describe la posteriorización de /n/ en el área coronal en el palenquero. McWhorter y Good (2012) registran la palatalización de /k/ en el saramacano. Por último, Baum (1976) asevera que la palatalización en papiamento es extensa puesto que /d/ y /s/ cambian a [dʒ] y [ʃ] cuando preceden a [j]: [dʒente] ‘diente’ y [okaʃon] ‘ocasión’; Goilo (2000) también reseña dicho fenómeno. El proceso se representa formalmente con la propagación del nodo coronal a la consonante que precede a la vocal que detona la asimilación. En consecuencia, se interpola el material infrasegmental necesario que dominará los nodos propagados en

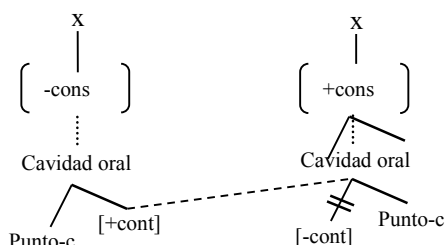
aras de una estructura geométrica bien formada (Sagey, 1986; Clements y Hume, 1995). Cabe resaltar que en la representación (6) se está dando cuenta sólo de un estadio del proceso de palatalización (Clements, 1991). A continuación, se evidencia la formalización descrita en líneas anteriores:



Representación 6 Palatalización en los criollos de base léxica española-portuguesa

Otro proceso que refleja la lenición en los criollos de base léxica ibérica es la espirantización de las oclusivas sonoras. Este fenómeno se describe para el papiamento (Harris, 1951, como se citó en Faingold, 1996; Baum, 1976; Faingold, 1996) y para el palenquero (Piñeros, 2003; Schwegler, 2011) y se adjudica como un proceso proveniente del español como lengua lexificadora (Faingold, 1996; Piñeros, 2003). La espirantización funciona como en el español (Harris, 1985; 1969, como se citó en Núñez Cedeño y Morales-Front, 1999; Núñez Cedeño y Morales-Front, 1999), ya que provoca la lenición de las oclusivas sonoras en el palenquero en posición postvocálica, al interior y entre frontera de palabra (Piñeros, 2003).

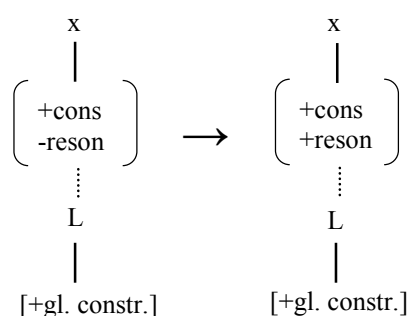
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Representación 7 Espirantización de las oclusivas sordas en palenquero y papiamento

La representación (7) muestra el proceso de lenición de las oclusivas sonoras postvocálicas. La formalización consiste en la disociación del rasgo [-continuo] para la consonante y la propagación de [+continuo] desde la vocal¹⁰, que da el carácter lenis a la oclusiva.

Por otro lado, la discusión sobre el estatus fonémico de las implosivas en el samaracano es de interés puesto que se plantea la existencia de un contraste que parece confirmar el estatus fonémico de /b/ y /d/ en el criollo (Haabo, 2002, como se citó en Aboh, Smith y Veenstra, 2013; Smith y Haabo, 2007; Smith, 2008; Aboh, Smith y Veenstra, 2013) al cual se le adjudica un influjo del substrato (Smith y Haabo, 2007). En contraste, análisis más recientes no encuentran evidencia a favor de postularlas como entidades fonológicas del sistema y plantean a las implosivas como un proceso de variación condicionada (McWhorter y Good, 2012). Estas consonantes han sido descritas para distintas lenguas mayas: el yucateco, el itzaj, el mopán (Sobrino, 2018) y el lacandón (Herrera Zendejas, 2014; Sobrino, 2018). De la misma manera, para lenguas habladas en Suramérica: el wapishana, el paumari y el movima (Maddieson, 2013). Desde una perspectiva formal, su caracterización fonológica en las lenguas mayas se ha realizado a partir de los rasgos [+glotis constreñida] y [+sonoro], los cuales distinguen a la labial /b/ y la coronal /d/¹¹ de sus contrapartes explosivas. Sin embargo, [+glotis constreñida] no se constituye en la propiedad aerodinámica definitoria de estos segmentos puesto que [-obstruyente] / [-resonante] se establece como la única característica con base fonética que distingue a las implosivas de las explosivas (Clements, 2002). En ese sentido, el paso de /b/ y /d/ a /b/ y /d/ que reportan McWhorter y Good (2012), se modela como un cambio en la valencia de la propiedad [resonante], es decir, un proceso de lenición. La formalización de dicho fenómeno se muestra en la representación (8):



Representación 8 Implosivización de la explosiva sonora en el criollo saramacano

¹⁰ A falta de un análisis de las oclusivas sonoras y el rasgo [continuo] en el palenquero y el papiamento, se presume que las mismas están especificadas subyacentemente con dicha propiedad. En ese sentido, este análisis difiere del realizado por Lozano (1979, como se citó en Núñez Cedeño y Morales-Front, 1999) para el español y por Núñez Cedeño y Morales-Front (1999) para la variedad porteña.

¹¹ Según Sobrino (2018) el maya yucateco, el lacandón y el itzaj poseen sólo la implosiva labial /b/. Esta última también es descrita por Herrera Zendejas (2014) para el lacandón. En contraste, Sobrino (2018) reporta la coronal /d/ en el mopán.

La explicación de los distintos fenómenos que se abordaron en este apartado muestra que los tres criollos poseen procesos comunes que se engloban en la macrocategoría lenición. En ese sentido, se presentan operaciones de propagación y cambios de valencia que involucran nodos y propiedades relacionadas con la sonoridad, la cual se traduce en más apertura (Morén, 2003: 223) y, por lo tanto, en pérdida de fuerza (Kirchner, 2013).

4. Conclusiones

Los distintos procesos analizados muestran patrones fonológicos concernientes a la estructura silábica y a fenómenos de lenición que se entrevén en el papiamento, el palenquero y el saramacano. Dichos patrones se deben a un requerimiento prosódico vinculado a las lenguas del substrato de los criollos analizados, y a operaciones de propagación y cambios de valencia de nodos y propiedades relacionadas con la sonoridad, los cuales muestran un mismo comportamiento infrasegmental. Así las cosas, el análisis formal se constituye en la evidencia que sustenta la unidad en el comportamiento fonológico de los criollos de base léxica española-portuguesa. Lo anterior se convierte en un aporte sustancial a la investigación sincrónica y diacrónica del nivel fonético-fonológico de las lenguas criollas, dado que se establece una comparación por fuera del nivel morfosintáctico en un grupo que coincide en su base léxica. De la misma forma, contribuye al debate sobre el influjo o la naturaleza de los procesos y patrones fonológicos en común. En ese sentido, es evidente que divisiones como la de criollos radicalizados (saramacano) y no radicalizados (papiamento y palenquero) (Lipski, 2010) quedan desdibujadas a la luz de este análisis, lo cual conlleva a cuestionar los criterios que avalan tales separaciones.

Asimismo, es innegable el hecho de que fenómenos como el patrón CV, la prenasalización y la implosivización tienen una relación clara con el substrato (Patiño Roselli, 1983; De Granda, 1989; Smith y Haabo, 2007; Lipski, 2010; Avram, 2010; Schwegler, 2011). Sin embargo, el vínculo africano no puede ser la única explicación a la que se recurra para dar cuenta de los patrones fonológicos registrados (Parkvall, 2000), ya que los resultados presentes en los criollos también fueron condicionados por la naturaleza del contacto lingüístico (Lipski, 2010). En consecuencia, el análisis de la armonía vocálica y la espirantización llevados a cabo en este trabajo defienden esta idea y confirman el estatus mixto de las fonologías de las lenguas criollas. Aunque Faingold (1996) tiene razón en el hecho de que el establecimiento de patrones fonológicos se dificulta dado el alcance de algunas descripciones, es menester la comparación de los pocos datos existentes. De esta forma, se pueden determinar las relaciones que tienen los criollos con otras variedades cercanas, con las lenguas del substrato y con las del superestrato, que permitan establecer patrones a partir del comportamiento fonológico de los sistemas trascendiendo la perspectiva que se limita sólo a la comparación de los inventarios fonológicos.

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PAPIAMENTO AT THE UNIVERSITY OF ARUBA, A FIRST STEP: LOOKING BACK AND LOOKING FORWARD

ZULEIKA FERNANDES PERNA-SILVA
UNIVERSITY OF ARUBA

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The Aruban child in the Aruban educational system is just like any child, anywhere: wise, intelligent, eager to learn. But (s)he is also afraid, silenced, uncertain. (S)he won't ask, talk, write, express herself/himself in class. (S)he won't speak, (s)he is afraid to be laughed at, to be classified as dumb. I was such a child.

I can recall being in 3rd grade. Because I liked to talk a lot the teacher reassigned my seat next to a Surinamese boy who spoke only Dutch. I was told that because I didn't understand any Dutch and I couldn't speak Dutch, the teacher wouldn't have any problems with my talking. So, during the next weeks, the teacher instructed us about some war that happened, and that it was a war between "burgers" [citizens]. I didn't know what "burgers" were, apart from food, and I was afraid to ask. For the next years, I went on believing that there really had been a war between hamburgers. And that wasn't the only wrong perception I had during my school years. Just like me, many children in the Aruban educational system still experience similar confusion. However, since its recognition as an official language in 2003, the status and perception of Papiamento have become more positive in the education system of Aruba.

According to CBS Aruba (2012), Papiamento is the most spoken language, with 69.4% of the population using it as their main home language. Papiamento is used for daily communication among Arubans of almost all backgrounds, while Dutch is used in schools and official reports. Although English and Spanish are also used for daily communication, this occurs mainly in the hotel sector, in specific communities and in companies. As professor Danny Pieters stated at the end of the conference titled, "Internationalisation of Universities and the National Language", held in Leeuven on May 4th, 2018: "All universities have to guarantee that all careers (except those that intrinsically imply a knowledge of a foreign language, such as language teaching) should be accessible on the basis of a domestic language study programme; each university will provide the corresponding educational tracks itself or through networks between universities". The University of Aruba complies with this vision.

In 2016, the University of Aruba introduced Papiamentu as a subject for students in their third year of the Faculty of Arts and in the Faculty of Finance and Economics, with the objective of educating the students so they develop expertise in the national language. As the mother tongue of more than 60% of the population of Aruban society, Papiamentu requires a prominent position in the university curriculum. The University of Aruba recognizes the socio-cultural importance of Papiamentu and the need to develop that language at the university level. According to the bylaws of the Faculty of Arts and Science, the language of instruction of the Organisation, Governance and Management (OGM) Program of the Faculty is English. However, the same bylaws mention that, this decision notwithstanding, Dutch, Spanish or Papiamentu can be used as a language of instruction, depending on the student population, the available materials and the learning goals of the program. The students, our future professionals, are educated to work in the Aruban multilingual context, thus courses in Dutch and Papiamentu are included in their required programs, while Spanish is recommended as a free elective.

Papiamentu is currently taught in the Faculty of Arts and Science (OGM), in the Social Work and Development (SWD) program, in the Faculty of Economics and Finance, and in the Academic Foundation Year; it is also an elective for the Wiskunde teachers program (in Mathematics). For instance, in the current OGM program we apply the mix and match approach to Papiamentu in the first year, meaning that the student may use Papiamentu in interviews and in the field. The second year of OGM and SWD consists of teaching about the history and genesis of Papiamentu, sociolinguistic attitudes toward Papiamentu and other languages, and also focuses on grammar, spelling, writing, and oral presentations. Most classroom tasks are conducted in combination with social projects and/or research projects. In the second year, trimester 2, Papiamentu language support and assessment takes place in the Project Management and Community program, while in the first trimester of the third year Papiamentu language support and assessment takes place in the Strategic Management, Communication in Organisations and Preparation for Internship program. With these programs, we aim to help students achieve the B2 level of the ERK Europees Referentiekader (ERK) or European Standard Proficiency Levels, which corresponds roughly to an upper intermediate level in Papiamentu. In the Academic Foundation Year, Papiamentu is an elective, which includes material on creole linguistics, decolonization and identity, fieldwork on linguistic landscapes, sociolinguistics, and the grammar and spelling of Papiamentu. Since the introduction of both programs the participation of the students has been excellent, because the students embrace the knowledge they need in this language. However, we have much further to go! Officially, a student in the Aruban education system has Papiamentu for a total of 5 years, with a 6-year gap between the first two years and the last three. As a result, when students enter any higher level of education that offers Papiamentu, their Papiamentu for academic purposes is not at the level

expected of native speakers, as is the case with other universities abroad where the mother tongue is not the language of instruction. Some students never had the chance to learn Papiamentu in an academic context, thus they encounter their first lessons in Papiamentu in university. Even though they are offered a 10 week program, it is difficult to expect that their proficiency in the language at an academic level will reach the equivalent of B2. Still, including programs in this national creole language at the University of Aruba, our highest educational institution, not only guarantees vitality and institutional support for the language, while preparing professionals with more adequate levels of language proficiency, but also sends a clear message and example to the community and beyond that the mother tongue of the majority has its importance and socio-cultural value.

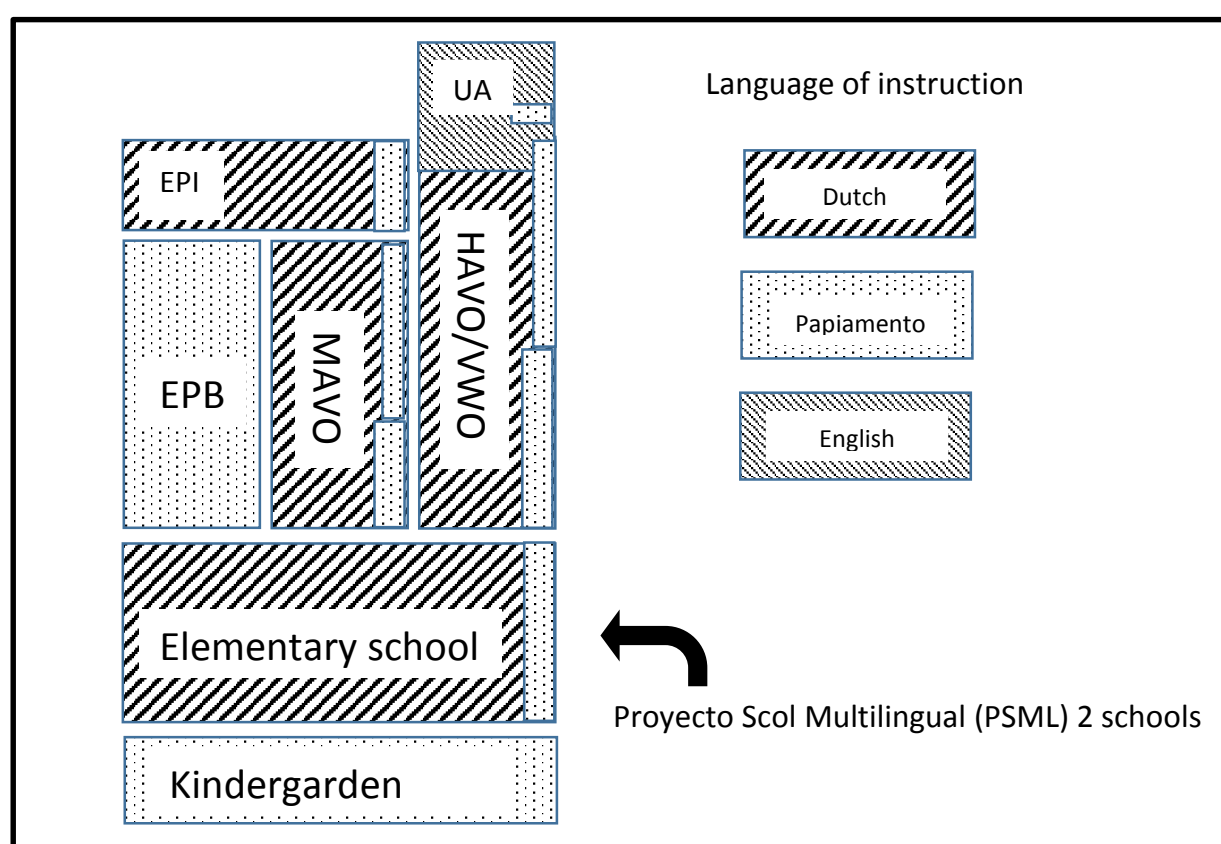


Figure 1 Papiamentu in the Aruban education system. Black: Dutch used as the main language of instruction in most of elementary and secondary (MAVO, HAVO/VWO) and in tertiary technical education (EPI); Light grey: Papiamentu used as the main language of instruction in special secondary vocational education (EPB) and in the pilot Proyecto Scol Multilingual (PSML) at the primary and secondary levels; Dark grey: English used as the main language of instruction at the University of Aruba (UA).

In 1990, The Pedagogic Institute of Aruba, IPA, started a module on Papiamentu in their elementary program. In 1997, they established an Associate Certification in

Papiamentu, which offered candidates little in the way of a guaranteed application for the content in relation to a career path as teachers in the education system. Despite this fact, there were about 20 enthusiastic pioneers ready to attend classes three times weekly for four hours, learning everything about the language, without knowing if they would ever teach this subject. At the time, there were only rumors that Papiamentu might be introduced in higher education, someday. Most of these students graduated and went on to the next step: a bachelor degree in Papiamentu. With these students enthusiastically ready to teach, and with a method adapted from Curaçao, the government had one more reason to speed up the process of introducing Papiamentu as a subject in higher education. In 2018, 25 students became the fourth cohort of the bachelor in Papiamentu program at IPA.

Fifteen years ago, when Papiamentu was first introduced in the first year of high school at Colegio Arubano, parents were standing at the door protesting that this introduction would impede the learning of Dutch. Some students were instructed by their parents to just sit and not participate and maybe with this behaviour the Papiamentu teacher would get annoyed and the teaching of Papiamentu would once again become a thing of the past. Commonly overheard advice included: “Don’t participate in class and eventually they will cancel Papiamentu”, “It will take the place of Dutch, a real language”, “You won’t get anywhere with Papiamentu”, “It’s confusing for the children”, “It’s not even a language!”, “Dumb teachers teach Papiamentu, because it’s not even a language and they didn’t go to study abroad”, “We will give her (the teacher) till December...then she will be looking for another job.” The fight for teaching Papiamentu was not only against such attitudes among parents and children, but also among colleagues who were trying to hinder its introduction. However, the idea was not to change their minds with words, but rather with actions. In the Papiamentu classrooms, both teachers and parents began to witness the majority of the students beginning to participate in class for the first time, because they could speak their own mother tongue, learn about it, and express themselves in it, all while getting good grades.

The subject of Papiamentu, unlike the other language subjects in the curriculum was named ‘Papiamentu language and culture’, instead of ‘Papiamentu language and literature’. The reason for this was that Papiamentu supposedly doesn’t have enough literature or a history of literature extensive enough to justify the course being named that way. Even though there is ample room for debate about this, since Papiamentu stands out among other creole languages in terms of its long and rich literary tradition, Papiamentu teachers embrace this nomenclature, because the it empowers the cultural, historical and sentimental value of this language.

In 2015, seven Aruban teachers graduated with a Master in Education degree in Papiamentu Language at the University of Curaçao. That made possible the introduction of Papiamentu as an exam subject, a move that was subject to some criticism, especially

from our colleagues, who called Papiamentu teachers “people that don’t know what they are doing”. One particular gentleman published articles against the examination process, calling Papiamentu as an exam subject Pineapple Pizza. He went on to wager that if only ten students chose Papiamentu, the Papiamentu teachers could acknowledge this and thereafter get the message that Papiamentu has no place in the curriculum. He lost the bet. The next year started with 5 groups of 30 students that had chosen Papiamentu.

In 2017, two groups of 25 in their last year of high school were asked why they chose Papiamentu as an exam subject and the answer of the majority was that although what they were taught in other languages was taught in Papiamentu too, they understood the concepts much better when taught in Papiamentu. When asked what role their parents played in their decision to choose Papiamentu, the answer of the majority was that they were advised not to choose this subject, because “you will get nowhere with it”. The conclusion was that their decision was determined strongly by their own experience and recognition of the benefits of education in and about Papiamentu. Since 2017, some 300 students have chosen Papiamentu as an exam subject for senior general secondary education (HAVO) nation wide. In 2018, for the first time in the history of the Aruban education system, students were allowed to present research projects using only Papiamentu.

In 2010, the multilingual school project *Proyecto Scol Multilingual* (PSML) started with two pilot elementary schools, making Papiamentu the language of instruction alongside Spanish, English and Dutch. For the first time in Aruban history, elementary school children could talk, ask questions, make jokes, explain things and write in their mother tongue. The participation levels in class have been outstanding as have been the results. This year, the first group of students from the PSML pilot schools will enter secondary school, and that may cause a shift in the way Papiamentu is taught at that level, since the current textbook *Cristal*, which is now more than 15 years old, is based on the previous reality where students who started high school hadn’t had any academic training in Papiamentu. Revision and modernisation of this textbook are in the pipeline. The education panorama for Papiamentu will change completely with the introduction of Papiamentu as the language of instruction in elementary schools. We expect to see the product of this initiative at the University of Aruba in about 10 years, when students’ proficiency in the language will be at a much higher level. It is expected that students will have better results and better language skills, especially in Papiamentu. That means that the current program will have to be changed and we can proudly deliver students with a Papiamentu language skill proficiency at the C1 ERK level. But for now, we can proudly say in relation to Papiamentu at the University of Aruba that we have taken a first step, but we are not quite there yet!

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ODE TO MI NIGRITA PAPIAMENTU¹

HÉLÈNE GARRETT

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Some Caribbean authors have turned to ways of articulating past events not just as part of a historical narrative, but also as a source of artistic and literary creation, as a way of exploring the dynamic interplay between past and present, which may remain, at some level, problematic in their historical and cultural memory. Authors have also begun to use creole languages as vehicles of creation, using Afro-Antillean rhythms as expressions of resistance and cultural identity. In this article, I focus on a work by one of such authors, Guillermo Rosario, in order to help readers gain a deeper understanding and appreciation of the complexities and expressive elegance of Papiamentu in his poem, titled “Mi nigrita papyamentu”.

Guillermo Rosario was born on January 5, 1917 and died on July 26, 2003. After completing his studies at Technical School he obtained his diploma as a carpenter and a designer. He began writing from the age of 14, publishing more than 70 books including novels, poems, short stories and thousands of *pipit'i pinda* (proverbs). Rosario was also a journalist who wrote for several newspapers in Curaçao and Aruba and in some magazines such as *Edifiquemos*, *UnPoko*, and *Opinyon*.

He fervently loved his island Curaçao and its language Papiamentu. Rosario's poem “Mi nigrita papyamentu” [My darling Papiamentu] (1971) is a historical narration written with the goal of presenting a collage of retrieved collective memories of a Caribbean colonial reality adapted to the ideological needs of his society. Very quickly upon reading even parts of this poem, what becomes obvious is the clear admiration and love the poet has for his *nigrita*, which in this case is the Papiamentu language. He writes this poem out of a remembered past and tries to rationalize and find peace with those long ago happenings.

The process of creolization that Rosario describes in this poem involves the blending of African and European cultural influences which is characteristic of the entire Caribbean to be sure, but notably so on the Papiamentu speaking islands. In the colonial and neo-

¹ My attendance and participation at the 21st Annual Eastern Caribbean Islands conference in Aruba, where I presented the paper on which this article is based, was made possible through financial aid from the Prins Bernhard Cultuurfonds Caribisch Gebied.

colonial context, any writing in a creole language can be considered to be a conscious act in which the author deliberately takes on the role of a cultural spokesperson. Hybridity is what principally marks our region's identity. It follows then that the multiple ethnic and cultural strains that produce our contemporary literature are inescapably and indisputably linked.

It must be noted that Papiamentu has two orthographies. There is the more etymologically based one used in Aruba and the more phonologically based one used in Curaçao and Bonaire. Rosario wrote this poem in 1971 at a time when there was no standard orthography in Curaçao, hence his spelling in the poem is somewhat different from that which is presently used. It is nevertheless completely understandable by all Papiamentu speakers.

In comparing his *nigrita* with the color black coffee, untouched by the colonizers' bloodlines, he draws a parallel to Papiamentu in its role as the language of the enslaved. He recounts how, through time, the pure brown color of his *nigrita* has changed to take on the lighter chocolate nuances of ripe medlar fruit, so too has Papiamentu been influenced by Portuguese, Spanish, Dutch and Indigenous Caribbean words and sounds. Rosario notes how Papiamentu itself was formerly not something those who spoke it were very proud of, just as the simple traditional foods of the islands were formerly shunned in favor of more European style dishes. If *funchi* or *stobá* were eaten at all, they would be consumed quickly and clandestinely by household members in the kitchen, rather than on the banquet table for guests. Rosario exhorts his people to be proud of who they are. He notes that Papiamentu speakers seem to have finally accepted Papiamentu to some degree, especially after scholars from abroad have come to study this tenacious and unique language. In this poem, he urges all of us who speak it to proudly acknowledge our love and appreciation for our *nigrita papyamentu*.

Mi nigrita papyamentu

Ay,
mi nigrita-papyamentu
mi stimabo
meskos ku mi stima
e
muhé krioyo
dushi
di mi tera.

Esun ku'n stansha
agradabel i partikular
yen di vigor

My black darling Papiamentu

Oh,
my black darling Papiamentu
I love you
just as I love
the
sweet creole
woman
of my country.

The one with a pleasant
and unique inner strength,
full of a proud energy,

orguyosa manera
un
kabay di rasa,
konsyente
di
su balor.

Esun ku
frenta anchu
boka grandi
wowo skur
ku ta
kórta kandela
sea ora e ta rabyá

o
e ta kontentu.
Esun ku
mirada di soño
ora e ta stima;
lep di
wendreif pretu echu
ku ta sunchi
ku un smak
manera di
kenep'i dam
ku medyo a putri;
djente blanku
manera pérta;
nanishi
medyo pará
ku ta laga
e balki
drumi riba
e dos bok'i fòrnu.

Esun ku
pechunan pará
i duru
manera un meskla
di

much like
a
pedigreed horse
fully aware
of
its worth.

The one with
a wide forehead,
large mouth,
dark eyes
that can
eyes spitting fire.,
whether she is angry
or
whether she is happy.

The one with
a dreamy look
when she makes love;
lips like
ripe black grapes
that when kissing
taste
like some
exotic
tropical fruit;
white teeth
like pearls;
a nose
standing almost upright
which allows
the nose bar
to rest above
the two. oven openings

The one with
erect/upright?? and firm
breasts
that resemble a mix
between

lará i grepfrut regular,
bon sanká
hep anchu
manera brik
pa hopi karga;
kwer'i barika
asentwá
ku ta pone hende
pensa tur kos;
brasa largu, obra di arte;
mannan sensibel
pa karisyá
i
hasi tur klas'i trabow.

Esun
ku
pal'i pia
fuérte,
form'i papilon
kweru lizu
koló di
mespu echu
o
di chukulati
kurpa senswal
i
atraktivo;
kaná
manera
zjilea
drumi lánta manisé.

Bo ta manera
e
muhé pretu
simía
ku
bo no ta haña
otro kaminda

laraha oranges and grapefruit;
firm/round buttocks,
wide hips
like a vessel
for for a lot of freight ;
awesome
belly skin
to turn every
man's head;
long arms, a work of art;
sensitive hands
to caress
and
to perform all kinds of labor.

The one
with
strong
legs,
well formed,
smooth skinned,
the color of
ripe medlar fruit
or
like the color of chocolate;
sensual body
and
attractive,
a jelly-like
hip swing
lay down and awake
at the early dawn.

You are like
the
Black woman,
seed
which
you will not encounter
any other place

sino
akí so
riba e swela
ku ta prudusí
poko awa,
ma
di un gusto uniko:
aw'i pos
ku ta imitá
awa di koko.

ANTES

Bo ta manera
e
“Yaya”
ku e Hudiw
so ke a uza
komo su
“ko’i pasa bon”.
Bon
pa yaya mucha
ma no pa otro kosnan
ku por a mira
lus di día;
bon pa kama
no
pa altá
i
den bwélta
pa saka yu ku n’e.
Bo ta manera
e
“nigrita”
ku e
Protestant blanku
a uza
pa
“remedi”

except
right here
upon the soil
that produces
litle water,
but
with a unique taste:
well water
that imitates
coconut milk.

IN THE PAST

You are like
the
yaya
whom the Jew
only wants to use for himself
as his
“plaything”.
Good
to take care of the children
but not for other things
that can bear to see
the light of day;
good for bed,
not
for the altar,
and
by chance
to make ren with her.
You are like
the
nigrita
whom the
white Protestant man
has used
as
as “medicine”

Ku ora e ta fuma,
 di mal beis
 o pleitá
 ku Shon muhé
 e ta hala
 den ka'i wa'
 dun'e yu
 na granèl,
 ku por haña
 nòmber di
 e tata,
 ma...,
 birá
 di drechi pa robes.

Bo ta manera
 e
 "Shishi pretu"
 k'e
 Kompader Portuges
 a kontra
 den su kaminda
 ku na lugá
 di bay "kampo"
 a keda serka
 di
 kampamentu
 pa poko plaka
 a hink'e
 de un bohiyo
 a traha yu
 ku n'e
 sin stelestan,
 komo protekshon
 di su
 propyo futuro.

Bo ta manera
 e
 muhé pretu fini

When he is drunk,
 has a bad mood
 or after quarreling
 with his Mrs.,
 he then seeks
 his fun somewhere else
 gives her children
 in abundance
 who may receive
 the name of
 their father
 but...,
 turned
 from right to left.

You are like
 the
 Black slut
 whom the
 Portuguese merchant
 encountered
 on his path and
 who instead
 of going to the whore house.
 stayed close
 by the
 camp
 and for a little bit of money
 puts her up
 in a shack,
 gets her
 with child
 without any care
 as to its protection
 for its
 rightful future.

You are like
 the
 refined Black woman

k'e Makamba
ku
tur su pérwisyo
di deskriminashon
i segregashon,
sí
a duna nómbre
di
esposa
i
ku orguyoso i kontentu
a pon'e
den katuna
masha tem'
promé ku esnan mes
k'e ta toka
a diskubrí
ku
"black is beautiful".

whom the *Makamba*
in spite of
all his prejudices
of discrimination
and segregation,
yet
has given the name
of
wife
and
who proudly and happily
looks after
her
early on
and long before those
he knows
discovered
that

Black is Beautiful.

Bo ta manera
e
"Pretu liber"
k'a buska
relashon
k'e Indjan
i
ku
a base
di nan amor
pa otro
a
pone
fundeshi
pa
prokreá
un rasa nobo.

You are like
the
freed Black woman
who sought out
a relationship
with the Indian
and who
on
the basis
of their love
for each other
did
lay
the foundation
to
create
a new race.

Bo ta manera
e mucha muhé

You are like
the colored

di koló
 modernu,
 bon kurpa
 i
 “bon presensya”
 ku e
 Estudyante-Trahador
 Yu di Kórsow
 a bay laga
 “mitar-mitar”
 i despwes
 di a bolbe
 ku titulo,
 a presentá
 k’un di “zeedijk”
 na brasa;
 i
 pa despecho
 i
 “mihó trabow”
 o
 mas byen,
 komo “pasa boka”
 (bakoba reip riba mesa
 bakoba konfeit
 pa kome unbes)
 ta sali ku n’e
 den owto grandi
 ma...,
 despuwes ku solo baha...!

Bo ta manera
 e
 tambú
 ku un tempu
 pa bérgwensa
 nan no tabata ke
 pa nos toka
 den stat,
 ma

modern
 girl
 with a nice body
 and
 a fine bearing,
 whom the
 Curaçaoan
 student worker
 left
 in uncertainty
 and later
 having returned
 with a degree,
 presented himself
 with a slut from *Zeedijk*
 at his side;
 and
 for gains
 and
 better employment
 or
 better yet
 as a dessert
 (ripe bananas on the table,
 candied banana
 to eat right away)
 drives her around
 in a big car
 but...,
 after the sun sets...!

You are like
 the
tambú
 which at one time
 out of shame,
 they did not want us
 to play
 in the cities,
 but

pa nos goso
nos mester
a hui ku n'e
bay mondi.

Bo ta manera
e
funchi ku piská
o funchi ku gyambo
ku hopi
pa no keda menos
tabatin ripara
di kome
dilanti
di esnan di afó
i natural
no tabata bini
riba mesa
ni den hadrei
ni den komedor
ma mester a kom'e
den purá
den kushina
oblig'é
kay pisá
riba nos stoma.

Bo ta manera
e
pargata
ku antes,
tabata manera
un krimen oribel
si bo tabatin'e
na bo pia
pasó'
e tabata loke
mas serka
tabata yega
n'e sambarku,

which, in order to enjoy it,
we had
to flee with it
into the bushes.

You are like
the
funchi and fish,
or *funchi* and okra,
which many
in order not to appear inferior,
would take great pains
to eat
in front
of strangers
and which naturally
would not appear
at the table,
neither in the front hall,
nor in the dining room,
but which needed to be eaten
in a hurry
in the kitchen
causing it
to fall heavily
in our stomachs.

You are like
the
hemp-soled sandal
which earlier
was like
a terrible stigma
if you had it
on your feet
because
it was what
closely
resembled
the peasant sandal,

simbolo
di nos
esklabitut pasá.

Bo ta manera
nos
kabei “kring”
o di
“peper”
ku Dyos
a dunanos,
ma ku nos
tabata
despresyá
i tabata strika
hasi “bon”
pa imitá
loke nos no ta;
maske nos tabata
kore risku
ku esey
di kima
nos kweru
o
kohe
un pasma.

Bo ta manera
e
hómber
o muhé pretu
Yu di Kòrsow
ku, sin sa
ki previligyá
e ta
ku su koló
di chukulati
o esun
di mespu echu,
ke uza kos

symbol
of our past
state of servitude/slavery.

You are like
our
kinky hair
or our
frizzy hair,
which God
gave us,
but which
we
despised
and which we straightened
to make it smooth
trying to be
that which we were not;
moreover we
now ran
the risk
of burning
our skins
or
getting
a bad cold.

You are like
the
Black man
or woman,
Yu di Kòrsou
who, without realizing
how privileged
he is
with his
chocolate color
or the one,
with the color of ripe medlar fruit,
who wants to use anything

pa bira blanku
ku risku
di ofendé
su salú.

Bo ta manera
e
muhé di nos
ku nan
tabata bisa
ta mahos
i sobadje
nan tabata
fórsa
den un shimis baladrán
di e shon blanku
pa e
no saka
e forma bunita
ku Dyos
a dun'e.

Bo ta manera
e chuchubi
nos para Nashonal,
ku pa kwantu
nan kore ku n'e
fo'i tur kaminda,
semper
e tey atrobe
yen di vigor
i
energía
i
ku mas
determinashon
pa keda.

Ma,
tambe

to become white
at the risk
of impairing
his health.

You are like
one
of our women,
of whom they
used to say,
they were ugly
and what is more,
they used
to force
into the corsets
of the white masters
so that she
would not display
that beautiful
and God-given
shape.

You are like
the *chuchubi*,
our national bird,
that for however much
they chase it away
from place to place,
it always
is there again
full of vigor
and
energy
and
with even more
determination
to stay.

But,
also,

bo ta manera
nos rank'i angló
ku
pa kwantu
nan trap'e,
ranka su yerbanan,
marchitá
su flornan
i hasta destruí
su raís,
e ta bolbe lanta kabes
i
ku kada yobida
e ta krese
ku mas forsa
i
mas bunitesa
ku antes.

you are like
our yellow flowering thorn bush
which,
however much
they stomp on it,
pull out its stems,
causing
its flowers to wither
and even destroying
its very root,
yet returns raising its head
and
with each rainfall
grows
with renewed power
and
more beauty
than before.

Ta
pa tur esakinan,
mi dushi
nigrita-papyamentu
mi ke
pa
bo ta bistí
na ordu,
komportabo
segun
e
reglanan establecí
i
mi ke
pa bo sigi tempu
ma,
keda semper bay
bo mes...!

Because
of all these reasons,
my sweet
black darling Papiamentu
I want
that
you are clothed
decently,
behaving yourself
according to
the
established rules
and
I want
that you keep on existing
through time, but
always keep being
yourself...!

Mi sa tambe
ku te aínda

I know also
that until now

abo, meskos
 ku e muhé pretu,
 mirá
 den e bistanan
 konservador,
 boso ta “mahos”,
 ma, hasta nan,
 ku ta bisa’sina
 a lo largu
 ta bin rekonosebo
 ku tur bo
 antoho i enkantonan,
 komo algu
 pará riba su so
 ku lo no laga
 konfushon
 si bo ta
 Ulandes o Ingles
 Spañó o Portuges
 sino di nos...!

Pasobra,
 meskos ku
 e
 muhé pretu finí,
 no a haña
 rekonosementu
 di
 su mes hendenan,
 i
 ku ta e Makamba
 mester a
 dun’e
 nòmber di “señora”,
 meskos abo tambe
 mi nigrita-papyamentu
 ta esnan di afó
 promé
 ku esnan di kas,
 mester a rekonosebo

you, just like
 the Black woman who
 was looked at through
 conservative
 lenses,
 was considered ugly,
 but now, even those
 who said that,
 by and by,
 have come to recognize
 that all your
 desires and enchantments
 stand as something
 on its own,
 which will not leave
 any confusion
 as to your being
 Dutch, or English,
 Spanish or Portuguese,
 but you are Ours...!

Because,
 just like
 the
 refined Black woman
 who did not receive
 recognition
 of
 her own people,
 and
 to whom the Dutchman
 had to
 give
 the name of “Mrs.”
 likewise you too,
 my black darling Papiamentu
 are being recognized
 first by those from abroad even
 before our own people
 recognized you

komo idyoma.

Ma
meskos ku e
muhé pretu
abo tampoko
no mester laganan
dórnabo ku kosnan
di otro sin mas.
Uza bo
mes prendanan original
o remodelá
esun ku bo haña
di otro.
Kohe aden o
hasi mas anchu
lag'e dosha bon
na bo form'i kurpa.
Na prinsipyo
hopi
lo keda
straño
ma, despwes,
nan lo bin kustumá
ku bo ta bunita
na bo manera.

Pasobra,
awor
uzando kosnan
modernu,
abo,
meskos ku nos
muhé pretu,
por soportá
e mihó komparashon
na lado
di kwalke di afó
pasó'
abo ta bunita

as a proper language.

But
just like the
Black woman,
neither ought
you to let them
adorn you with
other people's things.
Use your
own original jewels
or else re-fashion
those you receive
from others.
Adopt them or
expand on them
let them adjust well
to the shape of your body.
In the beginning
many
will find it
strange,
but, afterwards
they will become accustomed
to the fact that you are beautiful
in your own way.

Because,
now,
using modern
resources,
you,
just like our
Black woman
are able to withstand
the closest scrutiny
on
every front,
because
you are beautiful,

anochi i di dia
den kushina
o
den sala
meskos ku
riba kaya ...

Mi ta kombensí
ku abo
meskos
ku
mi muhé pretu
por ser uzá
pa su kurpa
komo e mecha
pa motivá
kwalke
bómbóshi,
pone tinu
mantené
bo altura,
no laga
bo kurpa
bay,
no degenerá,...!

Pasó'
mi dushi,
laga mahadónan
maha bay.
Tempu a kambya,
nos mentalidat
a kambya,
nos karakter
a kambya
i
nos koló
tambe
a kambya
ku tempu.

night or day,
in the kitchen
or
in the living room,
as well as
in the street ...

I am convinced
that you
just
like
my Black woman
may be used
for your body,
as the spark
to cause
whichever
hubbub.
Pay attention!
Keep
your dignity!
Don't let
your body
go,
Don't let it deteriorate...!

Because
my sweetheart,
let the naggers
keep on nagging.
Times have changed,
our mentality
has changed
our character
has changed
and
our color
also
has changed
with time.

E koló puro
di koffi stérki
di nos
hendenan di antes
ya no ta esun
di mayoria
di nos pweblo,

Pasó'
meskos ku esun
puru puru di lechi
di e “shonnan”,
e tambe a bira
un minoria.
Awor nos tin
un rasa mesklá
di e
“Yaya” ku e Hudiw
di e
“Nigrita” ku e
Protestant blanku
di e
“Shishi pretu” ku e
Kompader Portuges
“muhé pretu finí”
ku e Ulandes
i e producto
dje enkwentro
entre e pretu liber
i e Indjan.
Meskos
ku den bo kaso
proménan aya
nos grandinan a
pone man na kabes
dia ku e
yu muhé,
ruman muhé,
prima

That pure color
of strong coffee
of our
forefathers
now no longer is that
of the majority
of our people,

Because
the same can be said of the
pure color of milk
of the “masters”,
which also has become
a minority.
Now we have
a mixed race
of the
“Yaya” and the Jew,
of the
Black woman and the
white Protestant,
of the
“Black slut” and the
Portuguese fellow, of
the “refined Black woman”
and the Dutchman,
and the product
of the encounter
between the freed black
and the Indian.
Just like
in your case,
in earlier times
our elderly
used to be horrified
the day in which the
daughter,
sister,
niece,

o famía
a yega kas
ku
e fruta
dje “mangusá”.

Ma
bida
a sigi su curso
kosnan a sigui
kambya
sin nos nota.
Poko poko
nos a bin hañanos
rondoná
di un rasa nobo.

Na lugá di e
koffi stérki,
nos a bin hañanos
ku e koló
di chukulati, mespu echu
o
e koló di e koffi
ku hopi lechi aden.

Kisas
t’e ponche aki
k’a trese e
konsenshi i balor
den nos mes...?

Asina ey,
mi dushi lenga,
nos a traha ku bo
ku geni
ku luango
ku makamba
ku ingles kibrá,
ku spaño emfermo

or some other family member
would come home
with
the fruit
of that mixed “mixed dish”.

But
life
continued its course,
things continued
to change
without notice.
Slowly
we came to find ourselves
in the midst
of a new race.

In the place of
strong black coffee,
we find ourselves
with the color
of chocolate, ripe medlar fruit
or
the color of coffee
with much milk.

Perhaps
it was this mixture
that created an
awareness and sense of value
within us...?

In that way,
my sweet language,
we worked with you,
with Gueni,
with Luango,
with *makamba*,
with broken English,
with stilted Spanish,

ku mitar portugues
ku mitar ulandes.

Nos mama i
nos tata
rumannan
nos primu i
famíanan
tambe a pone
man na kabes
pasó' kosnan
straño tabata
pasa ku bo.

Ma porfin
nos a bin hañanos
ku un idyoma propyo
komo resultado di e
kambyonan aki.
Ya nos no ta papya
ni di
geni, ni luango
ni makamba
ni ingles kibrá
ni spaño emfermo
mitar portugues
o mitar hulandes
sino di
“PAPYAMENTU”
un “flatap”
di tur e mesklanen
ku sigel i sigelnan
a bira unu
sin ku nos a dunanos
kwenta di esey.

Meskos ku e koló
di lechi puru
no por a bringa
e mesklamentu

with half Portuguese,
with half Dutch.

Our mothers and
our fathers
sisters and brothers
our cousins and
family members
also shook
their heads
because strange
things were
happening to you.

But finally
we are left
with our own language
as a result of these
changes.
Now we no longer speak
of either
Gueni or Luango,
makamba,
broken English,
stilted Spanish,
half Portuguese
or half Dutch.
Instead we speak of
“PAPIAMENTU”
a concoction mix/brew/mixed dish
of all the mixtures
that century after century
became united
without us even
taking notice.

Just as the color
of pure/mere milk
could not fight against
the mixing

ku e
koló
di koffi stérki,
asina tampoko
nos lo por
bringa e kambyonan
ku a drenta
den bo
i
ku sigur
a faboresebo.

AWOR

Mi dushi
nigrita-papyamentu
tur kos
a bira diférent:
Nos ta propagá
nos tambú
meskos
ku
nos
funchi ku piská
den hotèlnan di luho
i
nos ta
alabánan
dilanti
di straño i di kas...

Nos
ku ta mas hopi
ya
no tin bérgwensa
di nos kabei
di “kring” o di “peper”
anke p’esey
nos ta uza
estilo “Afro”

of the
color
of strong coffee,
neither
could we
fight against the changes
which entered
you
and
which surely are
in your favor.

NOW

My dear
black darling Papiamentu,
all things
have changed:
We advertise
our *tambú* songs
in the same way
as
our
funchi and fish
in fancy hotels
and
we
praise them
to strangers
and to those at home...

We,
who are the majority
now,
are not ashamed
of our kinky hair
nor of our frizzy hair,
although
we do use
the “Afro style”

ma,
nos n'ta imitá
e "bon" aya mas.

Pargata a bira
kos di luho
maske p'esey
nos mester
pone
un pónpón
riba dje.

Mi ke
pa porfin
bo bira
manera nos
stobá di bestya chikí
nos barí será

nos sopitu
nos tumba,
o soppi di piská
nos gyambo ku funchi
o
bolo pretu
nos wiri
o triangel
nos tentalaria

o
panseiku;
Tur,
kosnan
pará riba nan so
di nos...!

Anto
mas awor
ku hasta esnan
ku un tempu

but,
we no longer imitate
the "smooth/right hair" of earlier times.

The hemp-soled sandal turned
into a luxury item,
although
we had to
place
a pompom
on top.

I would like
that ultimately
you become
like our
goat stew,
our *bari será* (Antillean dish)
our sizzling drum dance
our mixed soup,
our *tumba* dances and songs
our fish soup,
our okra with *funchi*,
or our
bolo pretu (black fruit cake)
our *wiri* (musical instrument)
our musical triangle
our sweet tentalaria with crunch
peanuts
or our
peanut brittle.
All
things
that stand on their own and
that are ours...!

And
now even
those
who at one time

tabatin bérgwensa
den bo uzu,
ta bin pretendé
di ta
spesyalista
i kampion
den bo kawsa
komo idyoma;

Mi
ta mas sigur
ku
lo yega
e
dia
ku
abo
mi dushi lenga
lo ta pará
riba
bo mes
mei-mei
di
hopi straño,

ma,
den
un pwesto previligyá
bunita
pa nos,
uniforme,
praktiko
i
konsekwente
den tur aspekto

E ora ey
lo bo
skucha
gritunan

were ashamed
to use you,
pretend
to be
specialists
and even champions
for your cause
as a language;

I
am very sure
that
there will come
the
day
in which
you
my dear language
will stand proudly
on your
own
amidst
foreign
languages,

but now
in
a privileged position,
beautiful
to us,
uniform,
practical
and
consequently,
in all walks of life.

At that time
you will
hear
shouts

di atmirashon
hé..hé..hé.....
fleitmentu
fwuiiii...fwuooooo.....

E ora ey sí,
esnan
di bo
ku,
te awe
no a hasi kaso
lo bin apresyabo
i dunabo, bo balor.

E rekonosementu
aki
di pursi
lon'ta
pasobra
bo parse
spañó, ulandes
ingles ni portugues
sino
pa bo meritonan
propyo.

Asina ey meskos
porfin
nan lo duna
balor na nos
muhé krioyo
pa su
zjeitunan personal.
I
ora esaki sosedé
i
ku
di bérde mes
e transformashon
a tuma lugá

of admiration
hey..hey..hey.....,
whistling also,
fwuiiii...fwuooooo.....

Then, yes,
those
of you
who,
until today
did nothing,
will come to appreciate you
and give you laud.

This recognition
after
all
will not be
because
you resemble
Spanish, Dutch
English or Portuguese,
but,
because of
your own merits.

Then,
finally
they will give
credence to our
Creole women
for their own
spunk.
And
when this has happened
and
that
really,
the transformation
has taken place

rekonosyendo bo
den mil i un
sin duda
nan lo grita
ku un kurason
rebosá
di gran orguyo:
“Ta di nos e ta...”

“TA DI NOS E TA”...!

recognizing you
as one in a million,
then without a doubt
they will shout
with joyful hearts
bursting
with pride:
“It is our own...”

“IT BELONGS TO US”...!

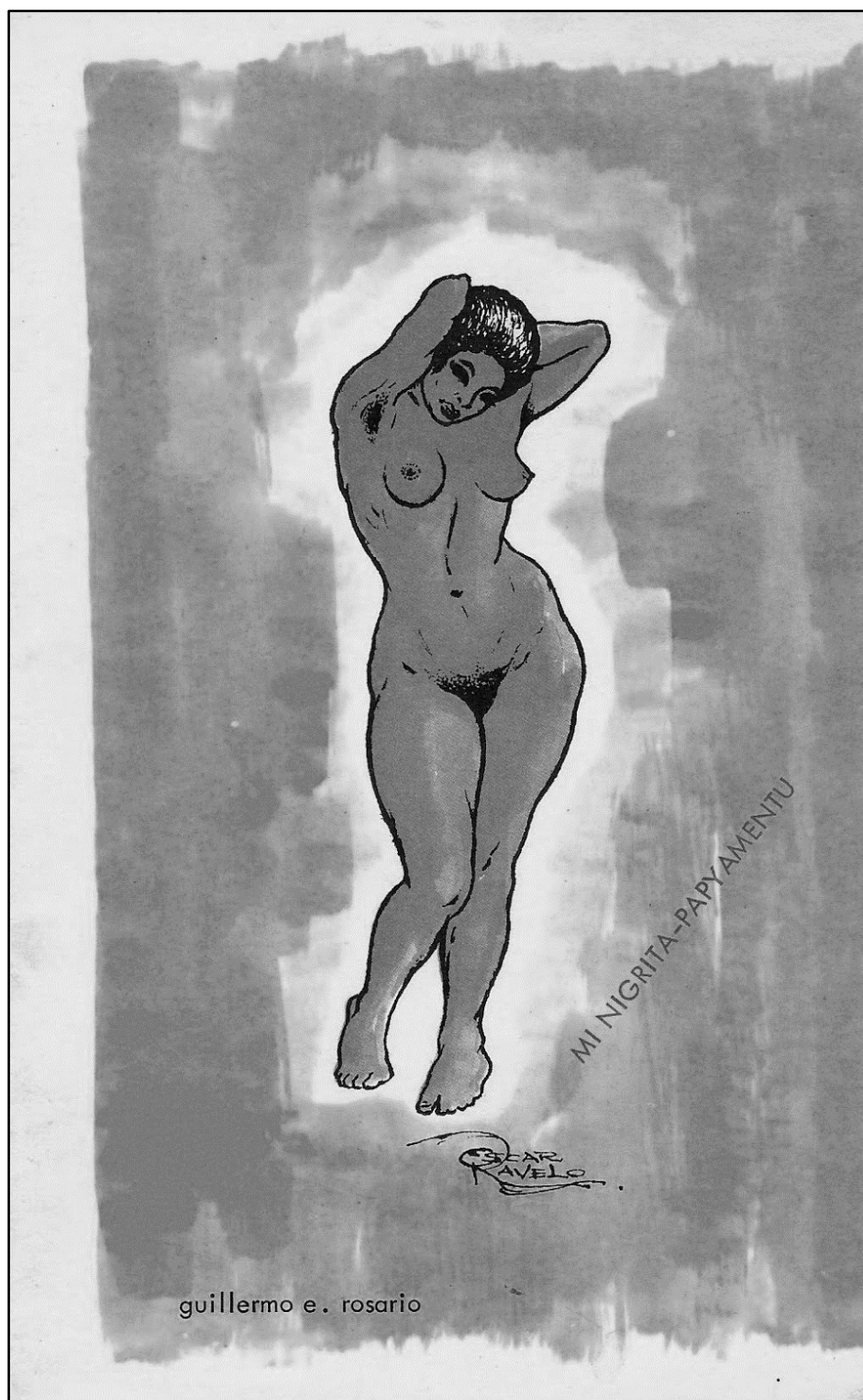
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SARNÁMI AND HINDUISM IN SURINAME: A PRELIMINARY STUDY¹

KIRTIE ALGOE

ANTON DE KOM UNIVERSITY OF SURINAME

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Abstract

This article explores the use of Sarnámi during Hindu religious practices in Suriname. Sarnámi is a language with origins in Hindi, which is mainly spoken by Surinamese of South Asian descent. The aim of this article is to examine how Sarnámi is used in public religious spheres in different ways by different Hindu denominations. Using the theory of diglossia and a qualitative research strategy, two issues are analyzed: (1) the curriculum of the training of Hindu religious leaders; and (2) perceptions and experiences of Hindu religious leaders regarding the use of Sarnámi during religious practices. Results indicate that, regardless of denominational background, Sarnámi is used as a complementary language to Hindi in public Hindu religious practices. Factors that influence this are the training, perceptions and formal educational level of the pundit, as well as the composition of the audience. While there are no remarkable Hindu denominational differences in the use of the language that emerge from the data, perceptions on using Sarnámi in formal religious practices differ at the individual level.

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Key terms: Sarnámi, Sanatan Dharma, Arya Samaj, Suriname, Hinduism

Introduction

Sarnámi is a language spoken by people of South Asian descent, the largest ethnic group of Suriname. Dutch is the official language in this country, but many other languages

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are also spoken. This linguistic diversity is related to the cultural diversity of Suriname. There are various ethnic groups², each with its own linguistic history that evolved in a socio-historical context of slavery and indentured labor. Sarnámi emerged during contact between Indian indentured workers who spoke various languages (Damsteegt, 2008). Most indentured workers came from North India, in particular Uttar Pradesh, and brought many languages with them to Suriname such as Bhojpuri, Avadhi, Hindi, Urdu, and Arabic (Marhé, 2003). In the course of time, communication between the contract workers through these languages gave rise to Sarnámi, a language that has many similarities with Bhojpuri. According to Marhé (2003) four factors influenced the development of Sarnámi. First was the disappearance of languages of minorities and the adoption of the language of the majority of the contract workers. Second was the influence of Dutch and English, the languages of colonial powers. Third was the influence of Sranan Tongo, the lingua franca between various cultural groups in Suriname. And, fourth was the blending between Bhojpuri and Avadhi.

However, besides these factors there was a particular influence of religious organizations and colonial authorities as well. During the colonial period, the Hindu reformist movement, the Arya Samaj, sought to educate children of South Asian immigrants in their own languages. Formal education in Hindi and Urdu were given at the so-called “coolie schools” established by the colonial government, but these were short-lived institutions. The Arya Samaj movement was a pioneer in expanding education in the students’ own languages (Algoe, 2017; Gobardhan-Rambocus, 2001; Mahabier, 2017). This movement advocated the establishment of Indo-Surinamese schools with formal education in students’ own languages, and its priests gave informal religious education in Hindi (Algoe, 2017). In addition to Arya Samaj institutions, Christian denominations also used Hindi in their schools (for instance, Algoe, 2011). This shows the role of religious bodies in maintaining the languages of migrant groups. However, it must be noted that the Arya Samaj emphasized Hindi (Mahabier, 2017) although, in practice, immigrants spoke different languages, of which Hindi was just one.

While Sarnámi is still widely spoken, it has been avoided in formal settings, being considered inferior to Hindi (Damsteegt, 2008). Activists of the South Asian community in Suriname and the Netherlands have made attempts to improve the status of Sarnámi by formalizing the spelling and grammar, establishing Sarnámi institutions, organizing conferences, and supporting legislation promoting the usage and status of Sarnámi (Baldewsingh, Boedhoe, & Mahabier, 2017).

The purpose of this article is to explore the use of Sarnámi in formal religious settings, with emphasis on Hindu sermons. The majority of Indo-Surinamese are Hindu, mostly

² Refers particularly to Indo-Surinamese (of South Asian descent, this term may be confusing, since some might think that ‘Indo’ might also refer to ‘Javanese’ Surinamese, whose ancestors came from Indonesia), Creoles, Maroons, Javanese, Indigenous peoples, and persons of Chinese descent.

affiliated to the Sanatan Dharma denomination with a small percentage affiliated to the Arya Samaj denomination (Algoe & Schalkwijk, 2016). This paper compares the use of Sarnámi in Hindu religious sermons with attention to potential differences between the two denominations.

Suriname is among the few countries in the Caribbean where the language of South Asian contract workers is still used. In other countries in this region with large numbers of descendants of such laborers, such as Guyana and Trinidad, their South Asian languages have been almost entirely replaced by English (Marhé, 2003). Variants of Bhojpuri and Hindi are used in the Caribbean, but mostly in creative and formal settings. In Guyana and Trinidad, Bhojpuri is found in songs, while Hindi is used in religious contexts (Gupta, 2004). During the author's stay in Guyana in 2014, she went to a Hindu temple in the neighborhood of Kitty. There she witnessed how the entire service was conducted predominantly in English, and the religious mantras were recited in Sanskrit, the language from which Hindi is descended. Informants in Guyana explained that they no longer speak Hindi for daily interaction. This differs from Suriname, where Sarnámi is somewhat standardized as well as widely used, not only in songs, but also in daily communication.

Theoretical and methodological background

Previous studies indicate that the use of Sarnámi in formal settings is influenced by its social status (Damsteegt, 2008). Diglossia (Ferguson, 1959; Bermel, 2014) refers to variation between linguistic varieties that is conditioned by context, involving a Low variety (L) and a High variety (H). The L is acquired in common settings, while the H is learned. The H is standardized, while some norms of L are not standardized but are generally accepted (Bermel, 2014). The H is used in formal and official settings, while the L is used in more informal spheres (Deterding, 1998). Everyone usually speaks the L variety, but not the H variety (ibid). Using diglossia theory, we will assess the use of Sarnámi during formal Hindu sermons.

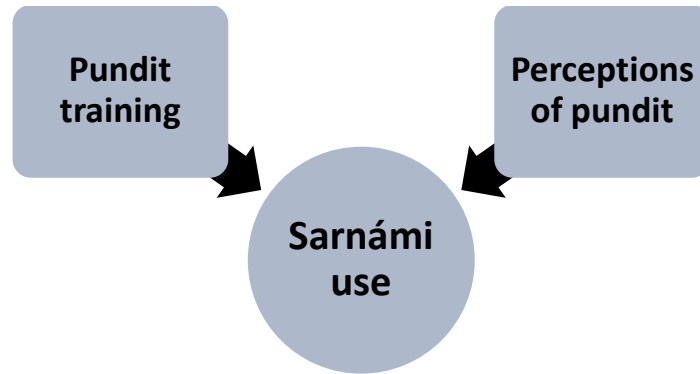
Formal sermons in this study refer to the religious orature of pundits³ in temples. Our initial assumption was that pundits' use of Sarnámi was influenced by their religious training (Ryan, 2004) and their personal perceptions (Figure 1). The role of training institutes is key, as they have the power to adapt to a changing reality. Nair (2014), for instance, explains how a shortage of Hindu priests in India was solved by establishing schools for non-Brahmin boys, as Brahmins⁴ increasingly prefer other professions. A clear example of how personal perceptions play a role in religious sermons is identified in Patel's work (2011). He interviewed a pundit on the use of Sanskrit, the language in which Hindu religious books and scriptures are written. This pundit mentioned that translating Sanskrit into another language would diminish the essence of the original

³ Pundits are Hindu 'priests'.

⁴ In Hindu tradition, only Brahmins, the upper caste within the religion, are eligible for priesthood.

divine message and that therefore people should try to overcome the linguistic obstacles posed by the use of Sanskrit, a variety with which few are familiar. In Hinduism, Sanskrit is viewed as the language of the gods and it is believed that chanting religious verses can connect the individual to a ‘primordial level of reality’ (Ryan, 2004).

Figure 1 Initial inventory of factors influencing Sarnámi use in Hindu sermons in Suriname



The Sanatan Dharma and Arya Samaj denominations have their own training institutes. This study examines their curriculum and the views on Sarnámi of teachers affiliated to these institutes. To better understand the ‘day to day’ context, a case study of the neighborhood of Meerzorg was conducted. Meerzorg is a resort in the district of Commewijne and has both temples of the Sanatan Dharma and Arya Samaj denominations.

Data collection methods included semi structured interviews and participatory observations. In total, 7 pundits of the Sanatan Dharma and Arya Samaj denominations were interviewed. The Sanatan Dharma interviewees were affiliated with the Sanatan Dharma Maha Sabha (SDMS) pundit training institute, while the Arya Samaj interviewees were affiliated with the Arya Dewaker (AD) organization pundit training institute. With respect to the Meerzorg case study, pundits of both denominations were involved.

Influence of pundit training and pundit perceptions

Sanatan Dharma Maha Sabha (SDMS) and Arya Dewaker (AD) both have an infrastructure for training pundits. The former organization has a Council for Priests that coordinates the training of pundits. This training is not provided on a regular basis but is based on the demand and commitment of its candidates. Whenever SDMS branches have candidates, they report this to the Council for Priests. The training of a Sanatan pundit, according to one informant, is focused on pragmatic skills in conducting rituals and sermons, imparting religious knowledge such as epics and astrology, and delivering speeches. The major subjects in a training program are Hindi, Sanskrit, *Karmakandh*,

Vedic astrology, and *Ramayana*⁵ (P, Personal Communication, April 26, 2017). The formal training of pundit candidates is in Hindi. According to the same informant, Hindi is the mother tongue of the religious order and one of the six fields of culture⁶. He argues that Hindi allows devotees to greet each other in a more respectful way than in Dutch, Sranan Tongo or Sarnámi by giving the following example: “In Dutch you would say ‘Dag. Goedemorgen’, meaning ‘Hello, Good morning’. But in Hindi you are taught ‘Namaskár, Namaste’, which are more respectful traditional greetings for Hindus” (ibidem). Such Hindi expressions not only convey a simple greeting, but also acknowledge the soul or the God in the addressee.

It is striking that while Hindi is important in the training of pundits, in practice, teachers shift to Dutch and Sarnámi. This is due to the fact that Hindi is not officially taught, nor does everyone speak it in daily communication, according to one Sanatan informant. The only official institution teaching Hindi in Suriname is *Hindi Parishad* which coordinates about 80 Hindi schools (R, Personal Communication, May 1, 2017). In practice, full Hindi training can take years, which is quite long considering the urgent need for pundits. Thus, for reasons of practicality, the pundit training institute focuses on ensuring basic competence in Hindi among their candidates and this training is considered sufficient to equip them as pundits. The following quote of a Sanatan informant is illustrative: “We just want them [pundits] to be able to conduct basic services. Other training requires a lot of time” (ibidem).

Whether the teacher at the pundit training institute shifts to Dutch or Sarnámi is influenced by the educational level of the pundit candidate. As an informant explained: “Often the young candidates speak better Dutch than Sarnámi, and in that case we explain [things to] them in Dutch. But the older candidates usually are better off with Sarnámi” (P, Personal Communication, May 2, 2017). The case study of Meerzorg confirms this. A Sanatan informant, who has been a pundit for more than ten years, acknowledged that he was not fluent in Hindi during his training. Yet, to become a pundit, he first had to be educated in Hindi. Therefore, he went to a senior pundit in his area of residence to learn Hindi. Shortly after some basic training in Hindi, the candidate visited another senior pundit in the neighborhood to acquire skills in practicing religious rituals. The latter training was given in Hindi. However, when the candidate did not understand the technical details of the rituals in Hindi, his senior pundit shifted to Sarnámi (G, Personal Communication, April 30, 2017).

⁵ *Karmakandh* includes a basic practical training of Hindu pundits with a focus on conducting rituals. *Ramayana* is a classical Hindu epic that narrates the battle between prince Rama and the demon king Ravana who kidnapped Sita, the wife of Rama.

⁶ The respective informant distinguished six fields of culture: language, way of devotion, food, clothing, history, attitude and values.

Image 1 Headquarters of Sanatan Dharma Maha Sabha (SDMS)



In the context of this study, the critical part of pundit training is the linguistic instruction pundit candidates receive for conducting sermons in temple. An informant explained that candidates are trained to focus on Hindi. However, they are allowed to use complementary languages to explain their religious services depending on the composition of the audience. In the view of this same informant, pundits are considered the advocates of culture, and since Hindi is a crucial part of culture, this language has to be promoted through the training of pundits. The case study of Meerzorg also confirmed this view. A local Sanatan pundit argued that Hindi is critical for maintaining the Hindu culture (G, Personal Communication, April 30, 2017).

The infrastructure for pundit training of AD differs slightly from SDMS. The former organization has no particular training institute; however, candidates are trained individually under the supervision of an experienced pundit of the organization. Candidates are trained in two major subjects: Hindi and *Karmakandh* (R, Personal Communication, May 1, 2017; S, Personal Communication, May 4, 2017). Pundits should be able to speak Hindi and conduct rituals and sermons correctly. Once candidates are considered skilled enough, this is reported to the exam commission of AD. The commission then tests the candidate on knowledge of Hindi, speech making, and reciting hymns. Only after the candidate passes the exam, is (s)he allowed to become a pundit. The candidate

then has to sign a form that sets out the rules of moral behavior including a vegetarian diet, no smoking, proper clothing, and personal hygiene, according to an Arya Samaji informant (ibidem).

Similar to SDMS, pundit trainers at AD also shift to Sarnámi and Dutch depending on the educational level and language background of the candidates. An Arya Samaji informant explained that she often had to use Sarnámi to explain religious rituals to candidates. These rituals are mostly in Sanskrit, and in her view, candidates could not always understand Hindi, let alone Sanskrit. In those cases, Sarnámi was used (R, Personal Communication, May 1, 2017).

Just as at SDMS, AD, pundit training prescribes that pundits use Hindi during their sermons. Sarnámi and Dutch are allowed when these are necessary to explain the religious teachings and practices to the audience. However, Hindi is considered more important than Sarnámi as it provides access to religious books. Aesthetics and prestige are also important, for example, one informant said that certain expressions in Hindi are far more beautiful and respectful than in Sarnámi e.g. to ask “How are you?” one says *Āp kaise hain?* in Hindi versus *Tu kaise bate?* [in Sarnámi]” (R, Personal Communication, May 1, 2017).



Image 2 Headquarters of Arya Dewaker (AD)

Source: Offshore Company. Suriname Private Foundation (SPF). Retrieved July 23, 2018 from <https://www.offshorecompany.com/company/suriname-private-foundation-spf/>

Both SDMS and AD informants assigned Hindi a more important status than Sarnámi with regard to formal religious settings, corresponding to the H variety in diglossia the-

ory. In practice, pundits use Hindi in the formulaic technical parts of a religious ceremony such as hymns, rituals and mantras, and they shift to other languages when they have to explain them. This is understandable as they are written in Sanskrit. As shown below, our data indicate that while Hindi in general and its parent language Sanskrit in particular are clearly used as H varieties, Sarnámi cannot be simply considered to be an L variety in relation to them.

Informants of SDMS and AD mention that Hindi is central in religious sermons and practices. It unlocks the access to religious knowledge and allows a more respectful communication than Sarnámi. In addition to their training, the status of Sarnámi is also influenced by the perception of the pundits. One informant explains: “I have some colleagues who argue that they have been preaching in Hindi for ages as taught by their (grand)parents and teachers, and henceforth will not change that tradition. But there are also others who realize the necessity and importance of Sarnámi in communication” (P, Personal Communication, May 2, 2017). In Meerzorg, a senior AD pundit argued that he only speaks Hindi. He does not use Sarnámi at all (S, Personal Communication, May 4, 2017). But there are also informants who say that other Arya Samaj pundits do shift to Sarnámi during the sermons (J, Personal Communication, May 3, 2017).

Two reasons are reported for using Sarnámi in Hindu religious sermons: (1) its complementary role in communication in formal religious spheres, (2) the cultural identity of Indo-Surinamese. The interviewees stated clearly that they do not consider Sarnámi inferior to Hindi. A Sanatan informant for instance said that Sarnámi allows pundits to connect with the world views and feelings of the audience:

With Hindi you cannot achieve your goal. I would even say that the use of Hindi in temples has decreased while that of Sarnámi has increased because the latter is simple. And most importantly Sarnámi includes words from English, Dutch, and Sranan Tongo which enable people to recognize themselves. If we say *kukru*, which is originally from Sranan Tongo and now also included in Sarnámi, we know that we mean kitchen. *Kukru* is better understood than the Hindi word *ra-soi* (P, Personal Communication, May 2, 2017).

An AD informant reported that she is not able to say which language – Hindi or Sarnámi – is better: “They both have their functions and I still would like my grandchildren to know Sarnámi. They should be able to talk and greet their family members in Sarnámi. It is who we are” (R, Personal Communication, May 1, 2017). The interviews with Meerzorg pundits support this view on the value of Sarnámi. An informant said that Sarnámi cannot be considered inferior to Hindi as it is part of ‘day to day life’. This informant explained: “People understand when you preach in Sarnámi. It is easier and closer to the people” (G, Personal Communication, April 30, 2017).

With respect to the framework of diglossia, our findings do not allow us to say that Sarnámi simply has an L status compared to Hindi and Sanskrit, because, in the views of the informants, Sarnámi has become an important complementary language for purposes of communication in formal religious spheres.

Results and conclusions

In addition to pundit training and perceptions of pundits, the use of Sarnámi in religious sermons in temples seems to be influenced by other factors such as the education of the pundit and the composition of the audience.

Interviewees of members of both the SDMS and AD denominations mentioned that, depending on their linguistic skills, pundits can change the language that they use during services in temples. The older generations seem to be less willing to use Sarnámi and Dutch in their services, while the younger ones are more open to doing so. In the view of informants, reticence about changing the language of the service is sometimes due to the perceived limitations of Dutch.

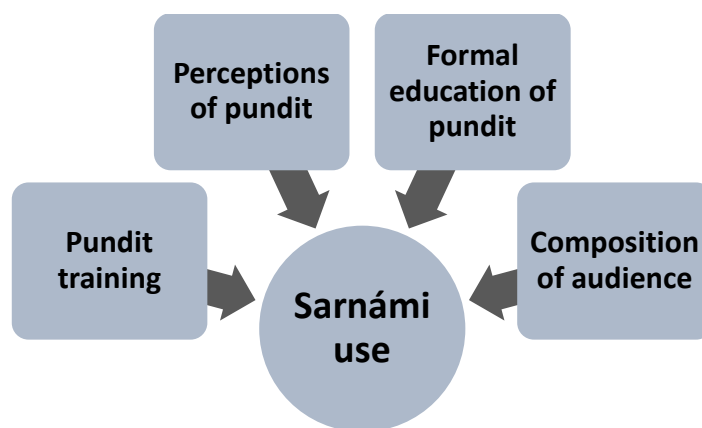
If the pundit is able and willing to speak Sarnámi and Dutch during religious services in temples, another factor comes into play: audience composition. This factor is decisive for the linguistic choices of the pundits, some of whom mentioned that they adapt to their audience. A Sanatan informant, for instance, said that when he goes to northern Paramaribo, he has to use more Dutch, while in the Saramacca district he would not dare to do so. He explains: “People in the former area prefer Dutch services. But in Saramacca nobody will understand me if I speak Dutch. There I better use Hindi and Sarnámi” (P, Personal Communication, May 2, 2017). An AD informant shared a similar experience (R, Personal Communication, May 1, 2017). It seems that, in practice, when they notice young persons and non-South Asian descendants in the audience, pundits add Dutch translations to their speech. An informant explains:

Look you have to consider who is sitting in front of you. Once I started very well preaching in Hindi, but suddenly I noticed a Javanese man and young people in the audience. Then you have to try to translate your speeches, either one sentence or a few words to Dutch and some Sarnámi in between. You have to do your utmost. Sometimes we are invited for certain funeral services or religious services where the hosts tell us up front that there will be other ethnic groups or children who do not understand Hindi or Sarnámi. And as such we have to [give the] speech in Dutch (P, Personal Communication, May 2, 2017).

One informant added that social stratification also seems to influence language use during sermons. The interviewee reported that with audiences with high social status, it is

likely that Dutch will be used rather than Hindi. “They often are more educated and speak less Hindi and Sarnámi” (R, Personal Communication, May 1, 2017).

Figure 2 A more complete inventory of factors influencing Sarnámi use in Hindu sermons in Suriname



Our research findings require a revision of our assumptions about the use of Sarnámi in Hindu sermons. It was assumed that only pundit training and perceptions of pundits would influence the use of this language in Hindu services at temples. Our preliminary study indicates that the use of Sarnámi in temples, regardless the denominational differences, is not only influenced by the training and perceptions of pundits but also by the level of formal education of the pundits as well as of the composition of the audience (Figure 2). The latter includes age, ethnic background, and social status of those attending any particular sermon. In other words, more factors were identified than those assumed at the beginning of the study.

Previous scholarly work has argued that Sarnámi has a low status compared to Hindi (Damsteegt, 2008). The results of our research confirm that Hindi has a high status, but that Sarnámi does not have a categorically low status. Some informants expressed a slight preference for Hindi over Sarnámi; however, at the same time, they mentioned the importance of the latter language for maintaining South Asian culture in Suriname and many have no problems using Sarnámi, even in very formal religious contexts. It indicates that the diglossia theory does not adequately account for the linguistic practices in Hindu temples. This affirms the view of Stępkowska (2012) who observes that not all settings have a clear-cut distinction between the H and L varieties as outlined by Ferguson (1959).

Our study shows that Sarnámi is used in sermons as a complementary language to Hindi, and that while it may at times be perceived as inferior to Hindi, it has also become a critical component of effective religious communication. This makes it difficult to fully support Marhé’s (2017) assertion about the diglossic relationship between Hindi and Sarnámi. In his view, the low status of Sarnámi may result in the eventual disappearance

of the language that will have negative effects on the personal development of Indo-Surinamese. However, while this view has particular relevance to the situations in the Netherlands, it seems to have less relevance to the situation in Suriname, where Sarnámi is better maintained for various reasons (Mahabier, 2017). The fact that informants sometimes assign Hindi a higher status than Sarnámi in the sphere of religion does not necessarily imply that Hindi is a serious threat to Sarnámi. In this regard, we must bear in mind that religious languages are often considered to have a higher power that cannot be ‘translated into conventional meaning’ (Ryan, 2004, p. 28) so that, even in Suriname, as Bajnath (2017) points out, technical religious speeches in Sarnámi still might sound odd.

Hindi still plays a central role in public religious practices due to its function as a gateway religious knowledge, while Sarnámi is used as a complementary language in both Sanatan Dharma and Arya Samaj temples. There are differences in the use of and perceptions of Sarnámi in formal religious practices. Some pundits do not use Sarnámi in such practices, while others do. But these differences do not seem to be correlated with membership in one denomination versus another. This paper assumed that the use of Sarnámi would be influenced by the training and perceptions of the pundits. However, the data revealed two more relevant factors: the formal educational level of the pundit and the composition of the audience.

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**UNSETTLING RESONANCES
IN THE LITERATURES OF THE
DUTCH CARIBBEAN AND BEYOND**

FROM GLOBAL TO LOCAL AND BEYOND: AN INVESTIGATION OF TWO CENTURIES OF LITERATURE IN THE DUTCH CARIBBEAN ISLANDS¹

WIM RUTGERS

UNIVERSITY OF CURAÇAO

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Introduction

This article investigates a process of literary development in the six Dutch-Caribbean islands Aruba, Bonaire, Curaçao, St. Maarten, Saba and St. Eustatius. Dutch Caribbean written literature has evolved from the beginning of the 19th century up to the present, from the initial imitation European literature as an absolute ‘global’ norm, then to an adoption of a focus on the local, and finally to the inclusion of world literature into a local process of writing: from global to local and finally beyond both global and local.

The Caribbean in general mainly consists of some 2,000 islands, mostly small or even smaller; only fifty of which are inhabited. There are some thirty countries in the Caribbean, with a total population of roughly 40 million. The area is multicultural and multilingual. European languages such as Spanish, English, French and Dutch are prominent. There are regional languages such as West-Indian Standard English, as well as island languages, such as St. Martin English, Bajan Creole English and Jamaican English lexifier Creole. We also find varieties of Asian languages spoken in the region, such as Chinese, Hindi, Javanese and Lebanese. Some of these languages find their origin in the region itself, such as the Caribbean varieties of French lexifier Creole, Papiamentu, the Iberian lexifier Creole spoken on the three islands of Aruba, Bonaire and Curaçao, and Sranan in Surinam. Despite all of its political, cultural and linguistic diversity, the Caribbean region shares the same tropical climate, a history of European conquest and colonization, near genocide of the pre-Columbian indigenous population, the brutality of slavery and indentured labor, the economic and environmental devastation of the agro-industrial plantation system, large scale multi-

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directional migration, and the economic, social and ecological impacts of a growing tourism industry.

The six small islands of the Dutch Caribbean are an integral part of the Kingdom of The Netherlands. The population of these small islands totals not even half a million inhabitants. There are also more or less 250,000 thousand Dutch Caribbean people living in the European part of the Kingdom. So-called ‘circular migration’ has become a way of life for many Dutch Caribbean citizens. The three Dutch Leeward Islands (or ABC islands, Aruba, Bonaire and Curaçao) off the coast of Venezuela have two (Aruba) or three (Bonaire and Curaçao) official languages: Papiamentu, Dutch and English. The official languages of the three Dutch Windward or SSS-islands (St. Maarten, Saba and St. Eustatius), 500 miles further north, are English and Dutch. Literature in the Dutch Leeward Islands is written in no less than four languages (Papiamentu, Dutch, English and Spanish), while literature in the Dutch Windward Islands is written mainly in English.

In his *Les damnés de la terre* [*The wretched of the earth*] (1961), Frantz Fanon writes about three periods in the literature of colonized people: 1) imitation of European literature; 2) an inward search for national and historical themes; and 3) resistance to the colonial hegemony of the metropole. In *Culture and imperialism* (1993) Edward W. Said also mentions three periods: 1) global imitation that absorbs European culture; 2) locality that focuses on national concerns; and 3) creative incorporation of world literature to address local themes. Using the frameworks provided by Fanon and Said, this article provides a brief and rough overview of two hundred years of written literature from the Dutch Caribbean.

Stage 1: ‘Global’ Eurocentric literature

After centuries of exclusively oral literature, the first written literature in the Dutch Caribbean islands was published in the last decade of the 18th century in St. Eustatius (Statia) and in the first decades of the 19th century in Curaçao. Given that Curaçao was occupied by the British from 1807 to 1813 because of the Napoleonic Wars, this earliest literature from that island was written and published in English in the only newspaper of that time, *The Curaçao Gazette*. The popularity of ‘globalizing’ European literary styles tended to last longer in the colonies than in the metropolises, with the author of the following poem having no qualms about adopting an 18th century Classicist style at the dawn of the 19th century. Saturated with a Eurocentric vision of the world including an unquestioned assumption that things European are automatically ‘universal’ and ‘global’, this poem satirically expresses the prevailing antagonism between ‘global’ metropolitan England/Europe and ‘parochial’ peripheral Colombia/the Americas.

American poetry

With a Yankee so meek. A bold Briton so proud
In a stage coach, one hot summer morning conversed;
John Bull in his praise of Old England was loud,
While her fleets and her armies he fondly rehearsed.
Of Colombia he spoke with a scornful smile –
(...)

Just then a black cloud on the west was ascending,
The lightning flashed frequent with horrible glare;
Whilst near and more near, a fierce tempest portending,
The thunder re-bellowed along the rent air.
An oak by the wayside Jove's bold made a dash on,
With a peal that knocked horses and travelers all flat –
'There hang you,' cried Jonathan, quite in a passion,
'Have you got better thunder in England than that?'

(*The Curaçao Gazette*, March 15, 1816)

The 19th century romanticist view of the poet and poetry had great influence in the Dutch Caribbean, as demonstrated by the following passage from the local Curaçaoan weekly *The Impulse* – 'journal of general news and literature' (2 X 1871- 12 II 1872):

The poet, if he be truly gifted with 'the vision and the faculty divine', should, above all men, belong to that privileged order of beings, who, in their exalted moments, stand face to face with Divinity itself. His studies, his solitary musings, his close observations of the changing aspects of earth and sky, all tend to elevate his thoughts and purify his heart. When, after long and intimate communion with the spirit of nature, he enters her solemn temples, the veil that hid the mysteries of the universe is drawn aside, and he feels himself in the presence of the Infinite. (...) Great minds have written their thoughts in poetry, on which it exerts a most powerful influence. It leads our thoughts to all that is beautiful and sublime. The power of eloquence is understood by orators and they employ it to impress their hearers. It pleases, and orators know how to speak in a pleasing and convincing manner. (*The Impulse*, Jan 8, 1872)

After the British occupation, English was mostly replaced by Dutch, but French was also normally used specifically for theatrical presentations by the Jewish community of Curaçao. In the second half of the 19th century Spanish became dominant in cultural and literary life. But in every period and time literature in the islands was multilingual in at least three of the four major literary languages on the island: Dutch, English, French and Spanish.

Stage 2: From global to local

At the end of the 19th century and over the course of the 20th century a process of localization and indigenization gradually accelerated, whereby local themes and nostalgia for days gone by on the islands began to take prominence. This shift to local topics was accompanied by a shift to what had already become the most widely spoken language on the ABC islands. The very first mention of Papiamentu in documented form appears in a 1747 Rhode Island court document reporting on the interrogation of the crew of a captured ship from Curaçao. Since England and Spain were at war at the time, the court suspected the crew of smuggling:

Q. What language did the People on board of the Sloop speak?

A. Dutch, Spanish, and Poppemento, but chiefly Poppemento.

Q. Whether they commonly talk Poppemento in Curaçao?

A. Yes. (Severing 2018: 59-71)

This document provides strong evidence that Papiamentu had become a common language in Curaçao by the mid-18th century, but it was only at the end of the 19th century and the first decades of the 20th century that Papiamentu became the most used language in Curaçaoan written literature.

In the first decade of the 20th century an original poem in Papiamentu was published by the Curaçaoan poet Joseph Sickman Corsen. The poem uses a sunset as an existential metaphor for the final years of a human life.

Atardi

Ta pakico mi no sa

Ma es ta tristu mi ta bira

Tur atardi cu mi mira

Solo baha den lamá!

(...)

Prome solo bolbe hari

Tempoe tin pa hopi cos;

I Dios sa cuantoe di nos

Morto, den dj'anochi a bari!

Causa mi doló no tin;

Ma esta tristu mi ta bira

Semper cu mi para mira

Dia jega na su fin!

(Joseph Sickman Corsen: *La Cruz*, September 27, 1905)

[Evening

Why it is, I could not tell:
But, how sad I really feel,
Every evening, when I see
The Sun setting in the sea!

(...)

Before the Sun will smile again,
There is time for lots of things!
And God knows how many of us
Death ere dawn has swept away.

My sorrow has no real cause,
But, how sad I really feel,
When I ever pause to see
The day coming to its close!]

(Trans. G. Pinedo, 1905)

An example of a case of localization is in terms of form rather than content is Aruban Frederik Beaujon's translation of Lord Byron's *The Prisoner of Chillon* (1816) into Papiamentu as *E prisoner di Chillon* in 1918. In the Dutch Caribbean of the second decade of the 20th century, such romantic works of the early 19th century were still widely appreciated. A small fragment of the third part of this extensive poem reads:

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III

Nan a cadena nos, cad'un
N'un djé colúmnonan mas ún;
I nos tabata tres, ma ó!
Toch cada uno tabata só!
Ni'un paso nos por á move,
I mira otro conmove
Den e scuridad líhero
Qu a haci nos, tuma nos
Na nos bista, pa stranhero;
I huntu, ma no huntu dos,
Cadená na man ma uní

III

They chain'd us each to a column stone,
And we were three-yet, each alone;
We could not move a single pace,

We could not see each other's face,
But with that pale and livid light
That made us strangers in our sight:
And thus together-yet apart,
Fetter'd in hand, but join'd in heart

Poet Charles Borromeo Hodge, who can be considered the St. Martin nature poet *par excellence* is another example of this tendency toward indigenization. In 'The Green Hills of St. Martin' where he extols the natural beauty of the hills of his island, nature and nationalism go hand in hand:

The green hills of St. Martin rise
In regal splendor to the skies,
Veiled by the mists of dawning day
As light and shadow dance and play
Across th'eternal slopes serene
And golden valleys in between,
Oblivious to the noisy flow
And struggle of man's world below.

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(Badejo, 2003: 10)

Another example of the nexus between nature and nationalism in poetry is "Adieu Saba" by Stella Richardson-Sloterdijk, who, born and raised in Saba, was "among the large number of our people who had to leave Saba and seek their fortune elsewhere."

Adieu Saba

Now the time has come to leave thee,
Saba, isle of fairest flowers,
Cherished land where I was born and
Where I spent my childhood hours.
Thou art fairest of the islands
In the wide Caribbean sea,
None could be ever more precious,
Than thou, Saba, art of me.

(Stella Richardson-Sloterdijk, n.d.)

Stage 3: Beyond both global and local

After World War II, both the Dutch Caribbean and its literatures witnessed the dawn of a new era of protest, protest against colonialism, imperialism and economic plunder

and deprivation. Poems of protest became dominant in the 1960s, 1970s, and beyond, as new voices spoke and asked to be heard.

Let my voice be heard

Let my voice be heard

Heard over
the pounding of the drum
the twinkling of the crickets

Let my voice be heard

heard over
the cry of a babe
the groan of the sick

Let my voice be heard

echo through
the coldness of the night
the silence of the grave

Let my voice be heard.

(Wycliffe Smith, 1983)

In this tradition, Aruban-born journalist and poet of St. Martin Lasana Sekou (Harold Lake) has played an active role, not just as a prolific writer, but also by founding the publishing House of Nehesi, which provides a platform from which new voices can be articulated. In his poem 'Anthems', Sekou uses the theme of protest to shift the frame from Europe to Africa, and to cast a critical glance at local politicians acting as 'betrayers' in their unholy alliances with the masters of neocolonial plunder from France, the Netherlands and the United States who 'terrorize' the islands. In his study on Sekou's poetry, Howard Fergus writes: "The central themes are liberation, revolution, and independence." Lasana Sekou's concern is local, regional and global: "For him the miseries (not only the victories to claim) of St. Martin, the Caribbean, the Americas, and ... [Africa] ... are miseries that will not let him rest." Lasana Sekou continues to publish protest poetry: "Journalist as he is, many of his poems continue to reflect contemporary realities which give them an immediacy and an undoubted relevance." (Fergus, 2007: 145-155)

Anthems

It is for Love
These songs
For you, Beloved Land
These ballads
These bawling images Iconoclastic barrage
Of freedom songs
Settings
To mash up trenching mal justments.

The betrayers
Have let loose
The franceman
The dutch and american too
To terrorize our unknowing
(...)
What gangsters
These elected mafiosos
Begging us for food come four years' end
(...)
For I and I then
These weaponwakinggrainfilled songs
For We
Beloved of this hill-crested land ...

(Sekou, 1986: 58-59)

In 2002, Curaçaoan writer Walter Palm published the poem 'Avondmuziek' [Evening music] in Dutch, in which he walks the streets of Willemstad, the capital of Curaçao. In those same streets, he hears Dutch nuns singing a Gregorian chant in a nearby abbey, as well as the vibrant drumming of tumba music. In his ears, European chants and African drums mingle into one melody, the inter-cultural and multi-cultural melody from which Curaçao, its peoples and its cultures have emerged:

And Rome, Roosendaal
Ghana and Guinee and
Curaçao
are branches
of one tree,
words
on one page,

five fingers
of one hand
the velvet soft
glove of
the night.

(Walter Palm, 2019) [my translation]

Modern Dutch Caribbean writers belong to their islands, even when they live in far-away places in the diaspora, because the entire globe has become part of their process of bonding with their place of birth. Caribbean writers are actual and virtual migrants bridging different worlds and cultures, and they have become important actors in global literary movements that upend colonial certainties and disrespect colonial boundaries, utilizing whatever they find that resonates with them and their experiences, no matter in which corner of the world they find it, to express their most personal feelings.

Let me finish with Curaçaoan linguist, political activist, writer and poet, Frank Martinus Arion, whose five novels (all originally published in Dutch) embody this third stage of Dutch Caribbean literature, which creatively interweaves global with local in unpredictable and ingenious ways. In his first novel, *Dubbelspel* (1973) [*Double Play*], he describes the political and socio-economic situation in Curaçao and pleads for a new and sustainable economic paradigm, based on local possibilities. In his next novel, *Afscheid van de koningin* (1975) [*Farewell to the Queen*], he protests against exploitation of the African continent by western multinationals and colonialism. His third novel, *Nobele wilden* (1979) [*Noble Savages*], is about the 1968 uprisings in Paris and around the globe, the relation between France and its colonies in the Caribbean and elsewhere and the pilgrimage to Lourdes. In his next novel, *De laatste vrijheid* (1995) [*The last freedom*], he poses the question ‘Who is really Caribbean?’ to which he replies: any person who chooses the Caribbean as their place of settlement and aims to belong to a Caribbean society is a real Caribbean person. In his last novel, *De deserteurs* (2006) [*The deserters*] he takes us back to the Declaration of Independence of the United States, asking us: How is it possible that people who demand freedom for themselves, do not extend that freedom to the enslaved African descended people whose labor has formed the basis for their nation’s prosperity? He ends the novel in the harbor of the tiny Caribbean island of St. Eustatius (Statia), where in 1776 the Dutch governor gave the first official salute to the newly independent republic.

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OVER EEN MEERTALIGE BLOEMLEZING MET GEDICHTEN, LIEDTEKSTEN EN MONOLOGEN VAN FRIDI MARTINA (1950-2014)

ELISABETH ECHTELD UNIVERSITY OF CURAÇAO

RONALD SEVERING UNIVERSITY OF CURAÇAO

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Inleiding

In de meeste studies over de literatuurgeschiedenis van Curaçao en de voormalige Nederlandse Antillen worden slechts enkele woorden gewijd aan de geschiedenis van het toneel en worden er schrijvers van toneelstukken genoemd. Er zijn maar enkele studies, waarin ook aandacht wordt besteed aan degenen die in bepaalde periodes actief waren als “performing artist” of regisseur. Zo is ook over Fridi Martina (1950-2014) weinig bekend. Van haar verscheen recent een postume publicatie van haar oeuvre, *Fridi Martina in good company*¹. Een meertalige bloemlezing met gedichten, liedteksten en monologen van Fridi Martina (Van Veen, Ehteld, Rutgers & Severing, 2019).

Wim Rutgers (1994: 283), verwijst naar deze veelzijdige persoon in de paragraaf “De koloniale schrijfangst overwonnen” onder de kop “Toneel-literatuur”. Hij noemt Fridi Martina naast andere uitvoerend kunstenaars en regisseurs uit de jaren zestig en zeventig van de vorige eeuw: “De eerste activiteiten van de eigen regisseurs en de eigen toneelliteratuur vielen chronologisch samen, wat waarschijnlijk het gevolg was van de afgestudeerden van toneelscholen als B. Every, E. Samson, G. Bacilio, F. Martina en E. Lasten, om slechts enkelen te noemen, die in vele gevallen zelf de stukken voor hun groepen begonnen te schrijven. Vaak was in hun persoon de auteur-regisseur-speler verenigd. Pacheco Domacassé en Diana Lebacs speelden zelf, regisseerden en schreven het eigen script.”²

¹ De hoofdtitel van de bloemlezing verwijst naar een geluids-cd van Fridi Martina met dezelfde titel, uitgekomen in 2007, met gedichten en liederen in verschillende talen (zie inleiding bloemlezing F. Martina, p. 8).

² In de appendix bij het hoofdstuk waar dit fragment uit is geciteerd, wordt Fridi Martina door Rutgers nogmaals in een adem genoemd met andere toneelschrijvers, die in een bepaalde periode aan een bepaald toneelgezelschap verbonden waren (1994: 433).

In dit artikel zullen in het bijzonder de in de genoemde bundel van Fridi Martina verschenen Nederlandstalige en Papiamentstalige gedichten nader bekeken worden met een speciale focus op de gebezigde thematiek, met als doel om na te gaan of uit deze gedichten een poëtica van Fridi Martina gedistilleerd zou kunnen worden.³

De bloemlezing nader bekeken

De bloemlezing, *Fridi Martina in good company*, is een weerslag van het ruime oeuvre van Fridi Martina bestaande uit gedichten, monologen, dialogen, songteksten, toneel-

en filmscripts, in het Nederlands, Papiamentu en Engels van deze gedreven persoon. De teksten van de bloemlezing werden geselecteerd, verzorgd en samengesteld door Philie van Veen. Als kenner van haar persoon en werk leverde zij een belangrijke bijdrage aan de introductie van de bloemlezing met een korte levensbeschrijving en een globale analyse van het oeuvre en verder de Uitgeleide onder de titel, *Sending off*.

In een lijst achter in het boek worden titels van eerder gepubliceerde werken van Fridi Martina genoemd. Bovendien zijn er verwijzingen naar theater- en filmscripts die nog niet eerder gepubliceerd zijn. Er wordt melding gemaakt van haar muzikale producties en composities en er wordt verwezen naar verschil-



lende informatieve, relevante websites. De bloemlezing bevat tevens een Plaatsingslijst van het Nationaal Archief Curaçao uit 2016, die een collectie uit de nalatenschap van Fridi Martina bevat⁴. Uit al deze informatie kan worden afgeleid dat Fridi Martina gedurende haar leven actief was als actrice, voordrachtskunstenaar, dichteres, producent, docente, muzikante en danseres. Bovendien was zij als docente drama verbonden aan

³ De Engelstalige gedichten worden in dit artikel buiten beschouwing gelaten.

⁴ De collectie bestaat onder andere uit dagboeken; stukken (ook krantenartikelen) betreffende voorstellingen en presentaties door de jaren heen; correspondentie met het Koninklijk Huis; verschillende projecten en opleidingsplannen voor dramatische kunsten; foto's; beeld- en geluidsmateriaal waaronder door Fridi Martina uitgebrachte CD's. Ook de foto op de omslag, gemaakt door Francis Ramazan, komt uit deze collectie.

verschillende onderwijsinstituten zoals de Hogeschool voor de Kunsten in Utrecht in Nederland en de University of Curaçao.

Zoals in de Uitgeleide wordt vermeld, richtte Fridi Martina in 1986 in Amsterdam een *Performing Arts Embassy*, op: Villa Baranka. Villa Baranka kon als een internationaal cultureel “performing arts” (trainings)centrum beschouwd worden voor “non-western and female professional Visual & Performing Artists, from all over the world, in collaboration with embassies from Japan to Colombia, from Poland to Spain, and from India to Africa.” (p. 111)

De gebezigde thematiek

Wat zou de drijfveer geweest zijn voor de literaire productie van Fridi Martina, een literaire productie waarvan door het monologische en dialogische karakter van de teksten, met het direct aanspreken van ‘de ander’ constant de voordrachtskunst doorschemert?

In de introductie wordt melding gemaakt van het feit dat Fridi als streven had “om mensen, en vooral jongeren, te ondersteunen in hun proces los te komen van hun minderwaardigheidsgevoel en beleving van onderdrukking en racisme. In haar uitlatingen over mensen die in dit proces bleven steken, was ze vaak scherp van tong en kreeg toch ook lachers op haar hand, wanneer aspecten daarvan door mensen werden herkend en erkend” (p.8). In de introductie wordt een scheidslijn aangebracht tussen het werk dat gedurende de vijftwintig jaar dat Fridi Martina in Nederland verbleef tot stand kwam en haar werk in de periode daarna, toen ze woonde en werkte op Curaçao. Toen zij in Nederland woonde, was het werk voornamelijk Nederlandstalig en nadat zij zich vervolgens op Curaçao vestigde, was er sprake van meer Papiamentstalig werk.

Het Nederlandstalige prozastuk “Vuurdoop”, waarvan een fragment in de bloemlezing is opgenomen, zou als artistiek sluitstuk kunnen worden beschouwd van de periode in Nederland. Het fragment, bestaande uit vijftwintig tekstdelen of alinea’s, houdt het midden tussen een persoonlijke getuigenis van de door de slagen van het leven beroerde innerlijke gemoedstoe-



stand van de ik-persoon en een politiek manifest. Onder de klanken van een melancholische wals, gedraaid door een bewonderaar, “een vriendelijke dame”, worden tropische vruchten als de zoete mango’s, mispels en watermeloenen en tropische bloemen als de rode kayena, alle warmte en passie symboliserend, geplaatst tegenover Nederland, het “koude nuchtere kikkerland” (p.51). De ik-persoon getroost zich tevergeefs alle moeite om zich in Nederland aan te passen: “Ik ben door jullie opgevoed én opgeleid en werd naar jullie beeld geprogrammeerd. Jullie hebben mij gevormd, dat klopt ...” (p. 57). Dit proces van aanpassen verloopt niet soepel en is niet succesvol: “De een heeft mij bestolen, een ander mij bedrogen. Weer een heeft mij vernederd, daarna werd ik geketend, besmeurd met laster en door het slijk gehaald” (p. 52). De Nederlanders die in de tropen vertoeven, waarderen het leven in de tropen en de tropische gastvrijheid niet: “Jij mag bij ons een villa kopen als je kunt, als je wilt met inwonende hulp nog wel voor een lucratief bedrag, hetgeen bij jou tot een onmogelijkheid gerekend wordt en onze fiscus is voor jou vriendelijker dan de Nederlandse. Kijk, de structuur herbergt de vormen van het handelen. Ik heb zelf ook verschillende pogingen gewaagd bij jou, om zelfstandig en op eigen kracht te kunnen opereren” (p. 54). In “Vuurdoop” worden de ‘eigen mensen’ aangespoord niet in het verleden te blijven hangen: “Het leeft nog in ons midden. Die angst om echt te delen wat voor ons allen is. Men wroet maar in het verleden, wat vandaag niet meer bestaat.” (p. 54)

Een verwijzing naar Johannes Calvijn (1509-1564), met de onwillekeurige associatie naar het calvinisme, van soberheid, zuinigheid en lijdzaamheid, vaak toegedicht aan Nederlanders, is in het oog springend: “Calvijn is dood, laat hem in vrede rusten. Herrijs jijzelf nu uit de dood van de verdoemenis, die jij telkens weer over mij uitspreekt, omdat jij denkt dat anders-zijn verschil uitmaakt in het bepalen van een waarde, die jij ook nog minder acht. Dan wat?! Jij weet het zelf niet! Louter door het feit dat ik zo bleek blijk te zijn als jij? Jij bent gewoon zo zwart als ik daarbinnen”(p. 57). De ik-persoon laat zich in “Vuurdoop” niet uit het veld slaan. De Nederlanders wordt een spiegel voorgehouden, maar aan hen wordt tevens de hand gereikt. Hoewel er verschil is qua levensfilosofie en etniciteit, zou harmonie mogelijk moeten zijn: “Ga naar binnen in jouzelf, maak j  uw muziek en schilderij. Dans met mij, nu ik besta voor jou. Wij rekenen elkaar als dood tijdens het leven. Besef je dat?” (p. 56)

Een focus op de Nederlandstalige en Papiamentstalige gedichten

Uit de analyse van enkele van de Nederlandstalige en Papiamentstalige gedichten uit de bloemlezing blijkt dat de thematiek uit “Vuurdoop” zich herhaalt.⁵ Daarbij valt het op dat vooral in de Nederlandstalige gedichten, de emotionele gemoedstoestand van pijn,

⁵ Uit de weergave van het toneelscript “Kleurenblind” (p.14), kan het zich als zwarte vrouw moeten handhaven in een witte maatschappij als thema afgeleid worden.

verdriet, onmacht van de ik-persoon, aan de orde komt, soms samengebald in één gedicht. De lezer wordt daarmee in een emotionele achtbaan meegenomen.

Enkele gedichten in het Nederlands

Van het 24-tal gedichten in het Nederlands zet het eerste van de bundel, “Biecht”, meteen de toon. Dit gedicht is te beschouwen als een lange, persoonlijk getinte, monoloog van 8 strofen van verschillende lengtes:

Ik heb mijn moeder, noch mijn vader
van kind af aan echt meegemaakt, althans heel vaag
Want zij was ziek en hij was weg
Dus moest ik zelf mijn moeder zijn, maar ook van haar
om te begrijpen dat zij al haar krachten
geofferd had aan dat wat zij dacht, dat Liefde was
(...)
Ik bleef achter om door te gaan,
een kind van negen jaar
Ik was alleen en werd gedrild
in de beschaving van het ONTKENNEN
een mens met hart en ziel te zijn
gehuisd in dit lichaam van mij

(p. 12)

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Het gemis van een moeder op jonge leeftijd heeft diepe sporen van eenzaamheid, pijn en verdriet achtergelaten, die de ik-persoon door innerlijke kracht overwint. Daarbij wordt het in de vroege jeugd door de naaste omgeving opgelegde keurslijf, na een innerlijke strijd afgedaan en wordt de ik-persoon gesterkt door het “(...) geloof, dat leven Dansen is” (p. 13) en wordt een manier gevonden om zich een pad door het leven te banen met de volgende boodschap in de laatste strofe van het gedicht:

Liefdevol wil ik zijn
Want ik ben zelf de oorsprong van het Licht,
ook van de duisternis
Ik dans de dans van Licht
Ik ben de maag en buik van Duisternis
omhuld door mijn Lichaam
Ik ben gelijk aan God-Godin
Ik beslis nu mens te zijn.

(p.13)

In de gedichten “Doorbraak” (5 strofen) en “Luister” (7 strofen) spoort de ik-persoon de jij-persoon aan, om het leven aan te durven, zoals de ik-persoon dat zelf ook na

innerlijke strijd durft: “Ik sta hier op de brug, ik reik je nu mijn hand” (Uit: “Doorbraak”, p.17);”Laat je verwennen, geef je over aan de rivier die Leven heet” (Uit: “Luis-ter”, p. 18)

De boodschap, om ondanks alles de hoop niet op te geven, schemert in de meeste Nederlandstalige gedichten door. De ik-persoon laveert, zij het met moeite, langs de klippen van het bestaan en vindt steeds de kracht om door te gaan.

Het gedicht “Advies” (4 strofen) geeft een andere boodschap aan de toegesprokene: je bent slachtoffer van jezelf, niet van een ander. Waardeer jezelf zoals je bent, ontken daarbij je eigen etniciteit niet:

Ontkenning van jouw eigen soort in Ras:
de mens, de vrouw, die moeder wordt en zus...
Het zal jouw deur 's nachts wel passeren
Cursussen en therapie tot in de eeuwigheid der tijd
blijken géén medicijn te zijn
tegen jouw geliefde ziekte in terminale fase
geheel nu uitgezaaid

De waanzin van de hoogmoed
die nu jouw diepe minderwaardigheidscomplex
duidelijk aantoon
Alleen vergeving van jezelf geneest
Alleen liefde wint van haat
(...) (p. 23)

Het lange gedicht “Oh, Nederland” (13 strofen), gaat in op de dubieuze rol van Nederland als kolonisator, met niet alleen een verwijzing naar Calvijn (zoals ook in “Vuurdoop”), maar tevens naar Tula, de leider van de slavenopstand op Curaçao in 1795, die uiteindelijk ter dood werd veroordeeld voor het leiden van de rebellie tegen de machthebber, het Nederlandse koloniale bestuur. Terwijl Nederland geen excuses maakt voor haar aandeel in de slavernij en slavenhandel, eist het wel excuses van Japan, voor misdaden van die natie jegens Nederlanders in het voormalige Nederlands-Indië:

Oh Nederland! ik voel, ik voel, ik voel,
Calvijn zijn hand, hij heeft ons in de greep
Hij eist van ons te buigen weer
en anders te barsten maar

Zijn wij dan juist oprecht het recht ontzegd
te leven als een tevreden mens op aard?

Holland heeft betaald
voor het advies aan ons
onszelf liever te doden
dan samen met hem te leven
op zijn lage land van kou

Zal die pil vandaag goedkoper zijn
dan de straf van Tula in zijn dood?
Een oordeel door Holland opgelegd
omdat Tula zich wist te ontworstelen van zijn juk

Steunend dan op welke kracht, ah? Welke kracht dan toch?
Welke kracht dan? Welke kracht?
Ongelijkwaardigheid bij de start van ons statuut!
Holland heeft ons nog steeds geen pardon gevraagd,
vier eeuwen lang, vier eeuwen lang, vier eeuwen!
En van Japan eist hij dit wel
(...)

(p. 33)

Voor de interpretatie van het gedicht is het goed hier te vermelden dat zij met de woorden ‘steunend’ en ‘kracht’ verwijst naar het monument op Curaçao ter herdenking van de verworven autonomie in 1954 van de zes Caribische eilanden binnen het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden.

Op het monument staat het motto: ‘Steunend op eigen kracht, doch met de wil elkander bij te staan’. Zij verwijt Nederland al schertsend met twee maten te meten. Ze refereert verder ook aan het statuut dat als document, naar



haar oordeel, de ongelijkwaardigheid van de partners in het Koninkrijk vastlegt. Haar herhaalde vraag naar “Welke kracht” wijst op het pijnlijke verschil tussen de koninkrijkpartners in (draag)kracht en op het ongelijkwaardige potentiële kracht elkaar reëel bij te staan.

Enkele gedichten in het Papiamentu

In het 25-tal gedichten uit de bloemlezing in het Papiamentu ligt het zwaartepunt niet zozeer op de innerlijke gemoedstoestand van de ik-persoon, zoals in de Nederlandstalige gedichten. De Papiamentstalige gedichten bevatten in meerdere mate een kritiek op het koloniale verleden en de doorwerking daarvan in het heden.

Het gedicht “Skucha” (Luister) (4 strofen) spoort aan tot positief handelen en introspectie:

Tende	Luister
Laga nos ban krese	Laat ons groeien
Duna nos mes e chèns	Geef onszelf de kans
Pa nos no ta lat un biaha mas	Om niet nog een keer te laat te komen
Skucha	Luister
E bos di nos alma	De stem van onze ziel
Drenta mira paden	Komt bij ons binnen kijken
Keda ketu awó i kontemplá	Blijf nu stil en overpeins
(...)	(...)
Kanta	Zing
Ban bira adulto	Word volwassen
Laga tur kapricho	Laat alle grillen achter
Reta e kompromiso ku nos mes.	Daag uit tot een compromis met onszelf

(p. 19)

In het gedicht van 21 strofen “Ma Karaggggmba!!” (pp. 57-58) wordt Curaçao direct aangesproken: “Kòrsou bo sa, bo ta duna mi rabia di tantu trastu ku bo tin/Bo no tin wowo di mira mas?/(...) / Antó ainda bo ta sklama ku kos ta bai malu ku Kòrsou/ (...)” (Curaçao, weet je, je maakt me woedend door alle huichelarij die je herbergt/Heb je geen ogen meer om te kijken?//En nog steeds schreeuw je het uit dat het slecht gaat met Curaçao/ (...) (p. 57).

De ik-figuur tracht Curaçao te doordringen van het feit dat het alles heeft, maar dat het zich daar niet bewust van is: “Bo tin e luho di e solo, awa limpi rònt di bo / Bo frutanan ku sabor di kaña, bo piská fresku hasá / Un kurá pa sint’aden (...)” (Je hebt de luxe van de zon, van schoon water om je heen? Jouw vruchten met de smaak van suikerriet, jouw vers gebraden vis / een tuin om in te vertoeven (...)). De boodschap van dit lange gedicht is, dat Curaçao een gevoel van eigenwaarde moet hebben, zich zelf moet waarderen. Immers, het eiland is voor velen uit alle delen van de wereld een thuishaven, terwijl

Curaçao zelf, niet positief is over zichzelf: "Anto abo mes, Kòrsou!!... Abo mes ta susha kas/ (Dus jijzelf, Curaçao. Je bevuilt je eigen huis), en niet alleen figuurlijk, maar ook letterlijk: "Bo karson djabou den kaya te asta bruki di bo yu" (Je onderbroek ligt op straat tot zelfs de luier van je kind)

Het gedicht eindigt met de zekerheid dat Curaçao kan genezen. De ik-persoon zal Curaçao opvangen en vergeven:

Pasobra ami si ta kere te ainda ku bo kura ta posibel	Omdat ik geloof dat jouw genezing mogelijk is
Antó mi pordon lo warda bo tras dje porta	Dus mijn vergeving zal jou opwachten achter de deur
Pa asina bo habrié mi risibí bo den mi brasa di kompashon.	Om, zodra je deze openmaakt, ik je in mijn armen van compassie zal nemen.

In het gedicht van 6 strofen, "Habri pa Vishon Kòrsou" (Open voor Vishon Kòrsou), streeft de ik-persoon naar "Pas, Progreso i Prosperidat" (Vrede, Vooruitgang en Voor-spoed) (p. 63), als remedie om alle kwaad te genezen. In het lange gedicht "Proposis-hon" (pp. 64-66), nodigt de ik-persoon, blank, zwart en mulat uit om alle wonden te genezen door het nemen van een bad in de zee:

Mi ta proponé Kòrsou i tur otro ruman rondó di nos	Ik stel Curaçao voor, en alle broeders die ons omringen, laten we nu een bad nemen, want daarvoor hebben we de zee.
Ban baña awó, ta p'esei nos tin laman	Laten we de schurft van het kwaad en schijnheiligheid doen verdwijnen,
Ban kita e sarna di malisia, eliminá hipokresia	en erken de pijn in onze navelstreng.
antó rekonosé e doló den nos lombrishi	Net zoals wij uit gewoonte een be-
Meskos ku nos ta sinti di kustumber un nesesidat di alegria	hoefte hebben aan vrolijkheid, om uit-
pa a la fin nos yega na e pas tan anhelá (...)	eindelijk te komen tot de zo gewenste vrede (...)

Tot slot

Zoals in het voorwoord van de bloemlezing staat vermeld, wordt met *Fridi Martina in good company* beoogd een selectie uit het oeuvre van Fridi Martina te verduurzamen, zodat zij als veelzijdige "performing artist" tot de canon van de dramatische kunsten zal behoren. Door dit artikel met een globale thematische analyse van enkele Nederlands-talige en Papiamentstalige gedichten, kan deze canonisering verder op gang komen.

Daarbij wordt tevens het belang onderstreept van een gedetailleerde (historische) overzichtsstudie van de lokale toneel- en theatergeschiedenis, met aandacht voor het literaire bedrijf en met daarbij ook een anthologie van toneel- en voordrachtsteksten. Dit komt de lokale literatuurgeschiedschrijving ten goede.⁶

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⁶ In deze context kan als voorbeeld van een eerste aanzet voor een dergelijke studie, tevens *Aplauso*, (Van Romondt, et al., 2006) over het literaire toneelbedrijf op Aruba in de tweede helft van de vorige eeuw worden genoemd.

DE ONTMOETING TUSSEN DE FRIESE EN SURINAAMSE LITERAIRE BEWEGING IN HET WERELDKADER

WELMOED DE BOER

INSTITUUT VOOR DE OPLEIDING VAN LERAREN, PARAMARIBO

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Abstract

Begin jaren 50 lopen Surinaamse en Friese taalemancipatoren eventjes hand in hand. Het hoogtepunt van deze ontmoeting is de publicatie van het *Surinamenûmer* van het Fries literair blad *De Tsjerne*. Voor het eerst worden er vertalingen van Surinaamse gedichten gepubliceerd in Nederland. De gastredactie bestaat uit de Surinaamse nationalisten en Sranandichters van het eerste uur, met de latere politicus Eduard Bruma en linguïst Jan Voorhoeve als motor. De uitgave bevat behalve Surinaamse bijdragen essays van de Nederlandse taalonderzoekers Wytze Hellinga en Jan Voorhoeve, die in de jaren 50 een taalonderzoek in Suriname deden. Zij gaven tegendraadse taaladviezen aan het koloniaal bewind, dat in het onderwijs geen aandacht besteedde aan de Surinaamse meertaligheid. Hoewel van korte duur, is de ontmoeting significant voor het grotere kader van naoorlogse ontwikkelingen en de taalwetenschap. Dit explorerend onderzoek verbindt die delen en laat zien hoe die een kortstondig hoogtepunt vonden in *De Tsjerne* van september 1952. In het onderzoek stond de dissertatie van Lila Gobardhan-Rambocus (2001) over de Surinaamse taal- en onderwijsgeschiedenis centraal, alsmede twee essays die het Fries-Surinaamse contact plaatsen in de naoorlogse Nederlandse geschiedenis en die van taalminderheden in het algemeen. De Suriname-editie van *De Tsjerne* is geanalyseerd op inhoud van de essaybijdragen. De adviezen van Hellinga en het werk van Voorhoeve hebben nog steeds waarde, want de taalonderwijsproblematiek van toen is anno 2019 in essentie weinig veranderd. Misschien waren zij hun tijd voor of liep Suriname achter. Inzicht in deze ontwikkelingen levert een beter beeld van de Surinaamse onderwijsproblematiek.

Vakdomeinen: taalemancipatie, postkoloniale geschiedenis, taalgeschiedenis

Inleiding: Taalemancipatie in de jaren 50

Twee ver uiteen liggende volken vonden elkaar halverwege de vorige eeuw in een overeenkomstig belang: de emancipatie van hun eigen talen in een context waarin het Nederlands als enige officiële taal fungeerde. Zowel in Suriname als in Friesland was de erkenning van de eigen talen een fel discussiepunt. Voorvechters aan beide zijden van de oceaan ontdekten elkaar, wat uitmondde in de publicatie van Surinaamse poëzie in proza in het Fries literair tijdschrift *De Tsjerne* van september 1952, aangevuld met kritische essays.

Om meerdere redenen waren de betrekkingen tussen de literaire bewegingen van korte duur. De leidende taalkundigen uit Nederland, die betrokken waren bij het Friese contact, bleven na afloop onderzoek doen in de taalkunde; de belangrijkste pioniers van de Surinaamse emancipatiebeweging Wie Eegie Sanie (WES) gingen de politiek in. In feite scheidden zich hun wegen voordat men zich had kunnen verdiepen in een wederzijdse studie van elkaars literaturen. Bovendien waren het Sranan en Fries talen met een zeer beperkt bereik en een nog kleiner lezerspubliek. In een groter kader gezien hadden ze behalve hun taalminderheidspositie, de wens tot taalemancipatie als enige overeenkomst.

In de jaren 50 streden autonomiebewegingen, gestimuleerd door de *UN Charter* van 1945 waarin het recht op soevereiniteit werd benadrukt, wereldwijd voor de onafhankelijkheid van koloniën en rechten voor minderheden. De ontwikkeling van de taalwetenschap bevatte elementen die hierop aansloten: de principiële gelijkwaardigheid van talen. Taalrechten die werden opgeëist waren behalve voor het identiteitsgevoel van belang in het onderwijs. In de gekoloniseerde gebieden en Europese landen met taalminderheden vond dat onderwijs plaats in de taal van het machtscentrum. In Suriname en Friesland was dat het Nederlands, terwijl de meeste leerlingen die taal thuis niet spraken. Het machtscentrum bleef vasthouden aan het Nederlands, in zijn Europese vorm.

Bij een eerste taalonderzoek in Suriname, eind jaren 40, pleitte de taalkundige professor Wytze Hellenga voor een andere taaldidactiek, die uitging van tweede-taalonderwijs. In de jaren 50 pleitte hij er ook voor om de Surinaamse taalvariant van het Nederlands een plek te geven in het Surinaams onderwijs, in een omgeving die streefde naar Algemeen Beschaafd Nederlands (ABN). Zijn pleidooi was voor de Surinaamse elite en het koloniale bewind een valse noot. Die noot paste wel bij het Creoolse orkest dat bezig was zijn taalemancipatorische instrumenten te stemmen: de oprichters van de culturele emancipatiebeweging Wie Eegie Sanie. Hun eerste optreden vond plaats in het Friese tijdschrift *De Tsjerne* (september 1952), mogelijk omdat Nederlandstalige tijdschriften nog geen belangstelling hadden voor Surinaamse literatuur. De korte ontmoeting tussen de Surinaamse en Friese taalemancipatoren lijkt een feestje dat snel was afgelopen. Maar het was wel vruchtbaar, en significant voor de periode waarin het plaatsvond.

Daarom is het interessant het in een groter kader te belichten, niet alleen om te weten waarom het zo snel doodbloedde, maar vooral waaróm het tot stand was gekomen.

De centrale vraag in dit explorerende artikel luidt: ‘Hoe sluit het aandeel van de Nederlandse taalonderzoekers en de Friese taalbeweging in de Surinaamse taalemancipatie van de jaren 50 aan op historische en taalwetenschappelijke ontwikkelingen in het wereldkader?’ Twee belangrijke spelers worden daarbij belicht: de leider van taalonderzoek in Suriname, Wytze Hellinga (neerlandicus) en zijn student/medewerker, Jan Voorhoeve (creolist).

De hoofdvraag wordt beantwoord aan de hand van de vragen:

Hoe zag de context van een door Nederland in Suriname uitgevoerd taalonderzoek eruit?

Hoe sluiten de benadering en het taalgebruik in de bijdragen aan *De Tsjerne* aan bij de ontwikkelingen van die tijd?

Welke naoorlogse en postkoloniale ontwikkelingen vanuit historisch oogpunt zijn met name relevant in een onderzoek naar de Surinaamse emancipatiebeweging in de jaren 50 in relatie tot het contact met de Friese taalbeweging?

Hoe zijn de taalwetenschappelijke onderzoeken in Suriname van de jaren 50 te plaatsen in de ontwikkeling van de taalwetenschap als vakdiscipline?

Relevantie

Hoewel de jaren 50 in de literatuur over Surinaamse talen en de Surinaamse taalsituatie bekendstaan als de periode van de taalemancipatie, een essentiële wending in de geschiedenis, is er tot nu toe geen onderzoek gedaan dat zich op de ruimere invalshoeken focust. Het Nederlands taalonderzoek in Suriname in die tijd is nogal buiten beeld gebleven, vermoedelijk omdat het niet geassocieerd wordt met Surinaamse taalemancipatie. Klinkende namen van nationalistische poëten van die tijd prijken nu, anno 2019, onder bustes, op scholen en straatnaambordjes, maar de periode zelf met haar hoofdrolspelers verschijnt gefragmenteerd, verspreid over wetenschappelijke werken (Zie o.a. Voorhoeve & Lichtveld, 1975; Eersel 2002; Gobardhan 1993, 2001; De Boer 1998; Abrahams 2011; Van Kempen 1989).

In dit verband figureren de Nederlandse spelers minder; dat er ooit een Wytze Hellinga een cruciale rol in heeft gespeeld is een relatief onbekend gegeven. Hij deed in opdracht van de koloniale overheid een taalonderzoek, waarbij hij het aandurfde om adviezen te geven die niet in het straatje van de machthebbende elite pasten. De Nederlandse taalkundige Jan Voorhoeve, die onderzoek deed naar het Sranan en zich opwierp als fervent voorvechter van die taal, is in Suriname bekender. Mogelijk mede doordat hij zich ook na de jaren 50 bleef bezighouden met het Sranan, en colleges gaf aan Surinaamse studenten (Voorhoeve & Lichtveld, 1975).

In een tijd van emancipatorische herschrijving van de geschiedenis vanuit het perspectief van de gekoloniseerde, richten Surinaamse geschiedschrijvers zich logischerwijs

met name op de Surinaamse spelers in de taalbeweging. Een volk heeft zijn eigen helden nodig. De hoogleraar Wytze Hellinga heeft als neerlandicus vooral naam gemaakt in Nederland, maar is in Suriname nagenoeg in de vergetelheid geraakt. Mogelijk omdat hij toch als een vertegenwoordiger van de koloniale overheid geen associatie opwekte met de Surinaamse taalemancipatie. Onderzoek naar de eigen geschiedenis staat in Suriname sinds 1975 in het teken van natievorming en dekolonisatie (zie o.a. Voorhoeve & Lichtveld, 1975; Charry et al., 1983). Toch zijn de Surinaamse taalemancipatoren niet los te zien van het grotere kader, waarin zich ook spelers van de kolonisator bevinden die al dan niet als tegenspeler fungeren. Een speler als Hellinga waagde zich eraan om de koloniale overheid adviezen te geven die indruisten tegen hun ideeën over een correct taalbeleid. Dat die adviezen waren gebaseerd op wetenschappelijk onderzoek mocht de mening van de machthebbers niet deren.

Tot nu toe zijn die eerste adviezen nooit goed uit het stof geklopt, hoewel er nu in Surinaamse onderwijskringen een frisse roep klinkt tot aanpassing van het taalbeleid. Sinds Hellinga heeft er anno 2019 niet nogmaals zo'n grootschalig wetenschappelijk onderzoek plaatsgevonden naar de taalproblematiek op Surinaamse scholen. De nieuwere generaties in het onderwijs hebben vaak geen weet van eerdere taalonderzoeken, terwijl die meer dan zestig jaar oude inzichten nog steeds van waarde zijn. Bovendien geven ze inzicht in het ontstaan van het probleem; vaak belangrijk om de oplossing te vinden. Aangezien er meer waardering begint te ontstaan voor de Surinaamse variant van het Nederlands, kan zo'n taalonderzoek uit het verleden een degelijke bijdrage leveren aan een betere benadering van de problemen rond het Nederlands als instructietaal.

Doel

Dit explorerend onderzoek wil de Surinaamse taalemancipatie van de jaren 50 in een groter historisch en taalwetenschappelijk kader brengen. Dat doet het via het belichten van contacten tussen Nederlandse taalonderzoekers met de Surinaamse taalemancipatoren die uitmondde in de eerste schriftelijke publicatie van Surinaamse gedichten en proza in het Friese literaire tijdschrift *De Tsjerne* van september 1952. Dit onderzoek wil een uitgangspunt bieden voor zowel dieper als breder onderzoek naar de Surinaamse taal- en onderwijssituatie.

Onderzoeksbenadering

Dit onderzoek geeft een explorerende beschouwing van de Surinaamse taalbeweging in contact met die van Friesland, die het groter internationaal en interdisciplinair kader in beeld brengt. Met name de historische zijde van de naoorlogse autonomiebewegingen en punten uit de ontwikkeling van de taalkunde worden met elkaar in contact gebracht. Het zwaartepunt van dit onderzoek ligt op de Surinaamse situatie. Daarbij maakt het

vooral gebruik van bestaande sleutelwerken, zoals het proefschrift *Onderwijs als maatschappelijke vooruitgang* van Gobardhan (2001), het enige zo uitvoerige historisch naslagwerk over taal- en onderwijsgeschiedenis in Suriname tussen 1651-1975. Daarnaast zijn er taalkundige artikelen geraadpleegd over met name het Sranan en het Surinaams-Nederlands (Gobardhan, 1993, 2006; Charry et. al., 1983; De Boer, 1998; Eersel, 2002) en werk over de Surinaamse literatuur (Van Kempen, 1989). In het beeld van de taalkundige en taalemancipatorische Surinaamse geschiedenis zijn twee essays verwerkt die de Suriname-editie van *De Tsjerne* in het licht hebben geplaatst van de politieke en historische ontwikkelingen in de jaren 50. Ten eerste dat van Liesbeth Brouwer (2003), die deze literaire ontmoeting tussen de Friezen en Surinamers vooral beschrijft tegen de achtergrond van de naoorlogse politiek in Nederland zelf. Ten tweede een beschouwend essay van historicus Jan Ybema (2015), die de korte duur van het contact tussen de Surinaamse en Friese literaire beweging verklaart vanuit de zwakke identificatie van taalminderheden met elkaar.

De essays in de Suriname-editie van het literair blad *De Tsjerne* (september 1952) werden door mij geanalyseerd op taalpolitieke inhoud. Ook Brouwer (2006) geeft in haar essay al een verslag over de inhoud van het Surinamenummer, maar vanuit literair oogpunt. Op basis van de taalemancipatorische ontwikkelingen in de jaren 50 in de beide landen leg ik in deze exploratie een relatie tussen de naoorlogse historie van autonomiebewegingen en de dynamische ontwikkelingen van de taalwetenschap.

Wat betreft de adviesrapporten van Hellinga over de Surinaamse taalonderwijsproblematiek in de jaren 50, baseer ik mij voor dit onderzoek op het proefschrift van Gobardhan (2001: 382-500), waarin deze rapporten behandeld worden. Een diepgaande studie van de inhoud van Hellinga's taalonderwijsadviezen sluit niet per se aan op het doel van dit explorerende onderzoek. Hellinga's collega Willem Pée staat ook niet centraal in dit onderzoek, omdat die geen aantoonbare rol speelde in het contact met de Friese taalbeweging.

Taalonderzoek Hellinga en Pée in Suriname

De vroegste moderne taalwetenschappelijke onderzoeken in Suriname vonden plaats in een periode waarin de taalemancipatie van het Sranan inzette, om onder de onderdrukking van de assimilatiepolitiek uit te komen. De Surinaamse elite streefde naar het onderwijzen van het Algemeen Beschaafd Nederlands (ABN), in omstandigheden waarin de leerlingen over het algemeen andere thuistalen hadden. Vanaf eind jaren 40 leidde professor Wytze Gs. Hellinga in het kader van de culturele samenwerking een onderzoeksproject naar de onderwijsproblematiek rond het Nederlands in Suriname (Gobardhan, 2001: 437, 438; Charry et al., 1983). Sticusa, de Stichting Culturele Samenwerking waarvan Hellinga sinds 1948 bestuurslid was, bevorderde de Nederlandse cultuur in Suriname door middel van activiteiten op het gebied van letteren en theater.

In 1949 werd, zoals Gobardhan (2006) schrijft, ‘met instemming of op verzoek van de overheid’, een onderzoek naar de Surinaamse taalsituatie gestart onder leiding van de hoogleraren en neerlandici Wytze Hellinga van de Universiteit van Amsterdam en Willem Pée, uit België. Dit onderzoek gebeurde via het daarvoor opgerichte Bureau voor Linguïstisch Onderzoek in Suriname, en werd gefinancierd door de Sticusa. Door de koloniale attitude ten aanzien van cultuurgood werd Sticusa door de Surinaamse nationalisten fel bekritiseerd (Gobardhan, 2001; Abrahams, 2011).

Het taalonderzoek onder leiding van Hellinga en Pée was gericht op taalproblemen, en de onderzoekers concludeerden dat er een tweede-taalbenadering nodig was voor het Surinaams onderwijs. Gobardhan (2001: 382-500) heeft een citaat uit Hellinga’s rapport in haar proefschrift opgenomen, waarin hij schrijft dat de taalpolitiek ten aanzien van het Surinaams onderwijs ‘fundamenteel fout’ is. In zijn eerste publicatie (*Language problems in Surinam: Dutch as the language of the schools*, 1955) wees Hellinga ook op de noodzaak van erkenning van het Surinaams-Nederlands voor het onderwijs (Gobardhan, 2001: 382-500). De latere Nederlandse schrijver J.J. Voskuil publiceerde in dit kader een proefschrift over het Nederlands van Hindoestaanse leerlingen (1956). Eva Essed-Fruin deed in deze periode een onderzoek naar het Nederlands van Creoolse leerlingen, waarvan de resultaten zijn opgenomen in Charry et al. (1983) (zie ook: Yakpo & Muysken, 2017). Op twee taalcongressen in 1956 en 1964 werd van zowel Surinaamse als Nederlandse zijde wel weer gepleit voor de erkenning van het Surinaams-Nederlands.¹ Dat pleidooi, van Henry de Ziel en Eva Essed-Fruin, vond bijval. Maar het officiële overheidsbeleid volgde de adviezen niet op en handhaafde de ABN-norm (Gobardhan, 2001).

Gobardhan (p. 434) vermeldt dat de erkenning van het Surinaams-Nederlands pas in de jaren 60 van de twintigste eeuw kwam. Zij meldt het taalcongres van 1964 als periode waarin de acceptatie van het Surinaams-Nederlands inzet (Gobardhan, 2001; 2006; Yakpo, 2017: 288). Ook de Surinaamse linguïst en taalemancipator/dichter Hein Eersel zou bij Hellinga promoveren, hoewel dat er niet van kwam. Eersel hield zich in eigen land wel beroepsmatig bezig met taal en beijverde zich voor het Sranan. Hij was korte tijd onderwijsminister (Gobardhan, 2001; Eersel, 2002).

Hellinga’s sterke aanbeveling om de Surinaamse variant van het Nederlands een plek te geven in het onderwijssysteem werd hem door het bewind niet in dank afgenomen. Het einde van het contact was hiermee ingeluid, want de samenwerking met Hellinga werd na de jaren 50 vanwege diens denkbeelden over taal niet verlengd. Maar de taalemancipatorische activiteiten van de Surinaamse nationalistische poëten gingen nadrukkelijk door, en stimuleerden uiteindelijk ook de Hindostanen en de Javanen in Suriname in de jaren 60 en 70 om hun talen te herwaarderen (Gobardhan, 1993: 170, 195;

¹ In 2005 volgde er een derde Surinaams taalcongres, van de Nederlandse Taalunie, waarop het belang van de erkenning van het Surinaams-Nederlands wederom aandacht kreeg.

Gobardhan 2001). Opmerkelijk is dat onderwijs in het Nederlands in dit soort inzichten blijkbaar een stimulerende rol speelde, want de laatst genoemde etnische groepen kwamen tot taalemancipatorische attitudes ten opzichte van het Nederlands toen zij het Nederlands onder de knie kregen. De in de jaren 50 opgerichte cultuurbeweging voor het eigene Wie Eegie Sanie (WES), kwam tot stand onder leiding van voorvechters die het Nederlands op academisch niveau beheersten, aangezien pioniers als Eduard Bruma, Hein Eersel en Jules Sedney in Nederland hun universitaire studie gevolgd hadden (Gobardhan, 1993; 2001; Charry et al., 1983).

Hellinga leidde zijn taalonderzoek in een omgeving waarin Hindostanen, maar vooral de Javanen, twintig jaar later dan de Hindostanen aangekomen in Suriname, niet massaal het Nederlands beheersten. Het onderwijs was in die tijd zwaar beneden het gewenste niveau, met leerkrachten die zelf amper Nederlands kenden. De oplossing werd gezocht in het opdreunen van lesjes uit de boeken, terwijl er ook wel eigen, op Suriname georiënteerde boekjes werden geschreven om het probleem op te lossen (Gobardhan, 2001). De taalsituatie in de districten rond Paramaribo was misschien te vergelijken met die in delen van het binnenland anno 2019: kinderen die geen Nederlands kennen gaan naar een school waar dat de enige instructietaal is, en waar de leerkracht zich moet behelpen met lesmethoden die niet bij die situatie passen. De afstand tot het Nederlands zoals gesproken in het Suriname van toen zal groter geweest zijn dan nu, aangezien de variant zoals die nu gesproken wordt vermoedelijk deels voorkomt uit tussentaal (zie: De Bies, 2008; Appel & Vermeer, 2008).²

Het *Surinamenûmer*

Het is aannemelijk dat het contact tussen de Friese en Surinaamse taalbeweging is gestimuleerd (en mogelijk geïnitieerd) door Hellinga. Deze hoogleraar was niet alleen een Fries uit een taalbewust milieu, maar hij leverde ook actieve bijdragen aan het Friese jaarboek (*Frysk Jierboek*), want hij bestudeerde naast het Nederlands als academicus het Fries. Zijn adviezen aan de koloniale regering om de taaldidactiek in Suriname aan te passen, horen bij deze persoonlijke achtergrond. Toch wordt de taalkundige Jan Voorhoeve (geboren in Nederlands-Indië), die met hem samenwerkte, genoemd als de motor achter de publicatie van het *Surinamenûmer* van *De Tsjerne*. In het voorwoord, dat door *De Redaksje*, in het Sranan en het Fries is opgesteld, wordt Jan Voorhoeve genoemd als initiatiefnemer (*De Tsjerne*, september 1952; Rutgers, 1990; Abrahams, 2011). Overigens, Voorhoeve zelf schreef in 1975 in zijn beroemde werk *Creole drum* dat het niet verbazingwekkend was dat de Surinaamse literatuur ontvangen werd door de Friezen (Voorhoeve & Lichtveld, 1975:12). Hellinga wordt in het voorwoord van *De Tsjerne* (september 1952) in zowel het Fries als het Sranan bedankt voor zijn taalkun-

² Tussentaal als term om de stadia aan te geven die iemand doorloopt bij het verwerven van een andere taal.

dige bijdrage (*De Tsjerne*, september 1952). Hellinga en Voorhoeve geven in hun essays een fel betoog tegen de taaldiscriminatie van het Sranan. Tot een literaire analyse van de bijdragen van de Surinaamse dichters komt het bij geen van beiden. Dat heeft mogelijk niet slechts te maken met het feit dat ze geen letterkundige zijn, maar dat ze de publicatie op zich plaatsen in het kader van de ‘taalstrijd’. Voorhoeve maakt wel een opmerking over de ‘machine’ in Bruma’s verhaal ‘De Fuik’ (*De Fûke*), die symbool zou staan voor de ‘westerse beschaving’. Behalve het eerste gedicht, dat een voorstel voor een Surinaams volkslied in het Sranan was (niet het couplet *Opo kondreman*) gaat de geselecteerde poëzie op het eerste gezicht niet expliciet over nationalisme of taalemancipatie. Daarnaast is het gebruik van de term ‘Neger-Engels’ in het stuk van Hellinga duidelijk nog van vóór de doorbraak van emancipatoire ideeën naar een groter publiek, hoewel Voorhoeve en Jules Sedney in hun essays schrijven over ‘het Surinaams’.

Hellinga’s analyse, getiteld ‘Verleden, heden en toekomst van het Neger-Engels’³ (*De Tsjerne*, september 1952: 259-266), komt erop neer dat de slechte beheersing van het Nederlands in Suriname vooral haar oorzaak vindt in het verbod voor tot slaafgemaakten om die taal te spreken. In zijn bijdrage constateert hij dat de Hindostanen en Javanen hun moedertalen wél waarderen, in tegenstelling tot de Creolen; deze hadden vooral oog voor de macht die een goede beheersing van het ABN in die tijd gaf. Dat Hellinga schrijft dat het ‘Hindi’ en het ‘Bahasa Indonesia’ de moedertalen zijn van de Hindostanen en de Javanen, reflecteert volgens mij de onwetendheid in die tijd over de taalsituatie van deze etnische groepen. Deze groepen hadden toen al eigen talen – resp. het Sarnami en Surinaams-Javaans – ontwikkeld (Gobardhan, 1993; 2001). Maar van wetenschappelijk onderzoek ernaar was in de jaren 50 nog geen sprake. Hellinga’s woordkeus is expliciet die van taalstrijd: ‘strijd’ en ‘rebellén’. Hoewel Hellinga als Fries ook de Friese taal academisch bestudeerde, heeft hij zijn bijdrage niet in het Fries aangeleverd; mogelijk omwille van de niet-Friestalige gastredactie. Zijn bijdrage werd vertaald naar het Fries.

Voorhoeve beschrijft de Surinaamse literatuur in het Sranan als de geboorte van een literatuur uit het niets. Hij doelt aannemelijkerwijs op de geschreven literatuur, want de taal kent als vanouds een rijke orale literatuur. De ‘strijd’ vergelijkt hij met de beweging van de ‘tachtigers’ die zich onder meer tegen het taalgebruik van de literatuur van eind negentiende eeuw afzetten. Onder de titel ‘Een puber van zeven’⁴ (*De Tsjerne*, september 1952: 268-271) vergelijkt hij de Surinaamse Srananliteratuur met een puber die naar buiten wil treden omdat hij aanvoelt dat hij volwassen wordt. Die puber is dan ‘zeven jaar’; Voorhoeve neemt het werk van Srananvoorvechter J.A.G. Koenders – ‘Papa Koenders’ – uit 1945 als geboortjaar, zeven jaar vóór de vertalingen in het Surinamenummer van *De Tsjerne*, die overigens in 1952 zelf nog maar zes jaar bestaat (Ybema, 2015). Jan Voorhoeve benadrukt dat de Friezen en Surinamers een vergelijkbaar belang

³ Originele titel ‘Forline, hjoed entakomst fan it Neger-Ingelsk’. Vertaling door Welmoed de Boer

⁴ Originele titel ‘In puber fan sawn’. Vertaling Welmoed de Boer

hebben: het strijden voor hun eigen taal. Hij schrijft ook dat ze strijden ‘tegen het Hollands’⁵. Dat was iets wat juist de culturele emancipatiebeweging Wie Eegie Sanie benadrukte niet te doen (Gobardhan, 2001). In de voorlaatste alinea van zijn bijdrage schrijft hij dat de Surinaamse dichters op uitnodiging van de redactie van het Friese blad hun bijdrage hebben geleverd omdat de beide landen hun taalstrijd gemeen hebben. Hij schrijft over de moeizame ‘worsteling’ om onder de westerse cultuur uit te komen. Volgens Voorhoeve zouden zij dit in *De Tsjerne* doen, omdat men in Friesland begrip toonde voor hun strijd en hun werk zou waarderen. Mogelijk speelde mee dat andere Nederlandse bladen of media geen interesse hadden voor het Surinaamse werk.

Een derde bijdrage die inhoudelijk ingaat op de Surinaamse taalsituatie is van de latere premier Jules Sedney (*De Tsjerne*, 1952: 289-292). Onder de titel ‘Het streven van Wie Eegie Sanie’⁶ beschrijft hij hoe mensen de eigen taal op ‘volledig verantwoordelijke wijze’ (in het origineel sarcastisch tussen aanhalingstekens) aan de kant duwen. Sedney schrijft dat met het onderzoek van de beide hoogleraren in 1949 het vraagstuk rond het Nederlands op een hoger niveau is gebracht. Volgens hem toont het feit dat er opdracht gegeven werd om een onderzoek naar de positie van het Nederlands in Suriname te doen, aan hoe hoog de nood was bij de aanhangers van de idee van ‘Groot-Nederland’. Met betrekking tot argumenten om het Nederlands op te leggen om toegang te houden tot de westerse cultuur, schrijft hij: ‘Wij willen die argumenten niet eens bestrijden. Iedereen kan lezen wat hier in andere landen over geschreven en gezegd is.’ Jules Sedney vermeldt hoopvol, met een zekere achting voor de taalwetenschap, de tegendraadse adviezen van Hellinga, hoewel die niet bij naam wordt genoemd: ‘In dit nummer van *De Tsjerne* is het oordeel van een van deze hoogleraren te lezen’. (*De Tsjerne*, september 1952: 291). Sedney benadrukt dat WES niet tegen het Nederlands is, maar een cultuurpolitiek volgt die doelbewust ‘*de Surinaemske kultuer, in casu: de Surinaemske tael*’ wil veredelen. ‘De geschiedenis zal uitwijzen of die taal sterk genoeg zal zijn om het volk te dienen als cultuurtaal’ (*De Tsjerne*, september 1952: 292). Hij schrijft ook over het belang van Sranan als contacttaal, die eveneens gebezigd wordt door de Chinezen, Hindostanen en Javanen in Suriname. WES wordt in dit stuk naar voren gebracht als een studentenvereniging die een stem geeft aan het latente, vaak onbewuste verzet van het Surinaamse volk tegen de cultuurpolitiek. Ook Jules Sedney schrijft in termen van taalstrijd als hij het heeft over J.A.G. Koenders: ‘strijdkreet’ en ‘tegenstanders die ‘met de nieuwe gang van zaken, in de wapenen worden gejaagd’.

Aan het eind van de editie, die acht gedichten en een kort verhaal telt, staat een opsomming van feiten die Jan Voorhoeve vermeldt onder de titel ‘Geluiden van het Surinaamse front’. Onder deze opsomming staat het Unescorapport van Hellinga vermeld. Ook staat er dat zo’n honderd jaar geleden al voor het eerst in het tijdschrift *Braga* een

⁵ *Hollânsk*/‘Hollands’ heeft in het Fries dezelfde, negatieve connotatie als (nu) in Suriname.

⁶ Originele Friese titel ‘It stribjen fan ‘Wie eegie sanie’. Vertaling Welmoed de Boer

vertaling door J.J.L. ten Kate is te vinden van een anoniem Surinaams gedicht (Voorhoeve & Lichtveld, 1975: 7). Voorhoeve legt in zijn opsomming verband tussen Suriname en de rest van Zuid-Amerika, waar de combinatie schrijver-politicus niet vreemd is. Hij geeft als voorbeeld de Surinamer Lou Lichtveld (bekend onder zijn pseudoniem Albert Helman), die onderwijsminister was. Voorhoeve trekt de vergelijking door naar de Antilliaanse schrijver Cola Debrot, die minister-president was (*De Tsjerne*, september 1952: 294). Overigens, de rol dichter-politicus was ook te zien bij de belangrijkste motor achter *De Tsjerne* in het algemeen, in de persoon van Fedde Schurer, die er radicale christelijk-pacifistische politieke denkbeelden op nahield (Brouwer, 2003: 244).⁷ De laatste pagina (zonder nummering) vermeldt dat alle bijdragen zijn vertaald door D.A. Tamminga en Anne Wadman (later een bekende schrijver in het Fries). Op pagina 294 staat in de biografische lijst vermeld dat Hellinga taalkundige studies schreef voor de uitgaves van het Friese jaarboek, in 1937, 1948 en 1941. In die lijst wordt bij de dichter Abongra speciaal vermeld dat hij in het Engels schrijft en zich aansluit bij de ‘*revolusionaire negerpoezij yn Amaerika en it Ingelsk sprekking Caraibysk gebiet*’. Daarbij wordt vermeld dat dit ‘fellere’ element bij de overige Sranandichters ontbreekt, maar niet overgeslagen mag worden in het beeld van de Surinaamse literatuur. Overigens, het literaire tijdschrift *Vox Guyanae* werd eind jaren 50 vanuit Suriname ook verspreid naar de VS en Curaçao, en het wijdde in het julinummer van 1958 een artikel aan Toussaint en de Haïtiaanse revolutie (*Vox Guyanae*, juli 1958: 71-78).

208 Op laatste pagina van *De Tsjerne* over Suriname wordt vermeld dat de bijdragen in het Sranan eerst zijn overgezet naar het Nederlands door Bruma en Voorhoeve, en vervolgens pas naar het Fries. Tevens wordt een Surinaamse kunstavond in Leeuwarden op 27 september aangekondigd, waar het toneelstuk ‘De geboorte van Bonie’ opgevoerd zal worden. Kennelijk verwachtte men veel publiek; er werd aangeraden om op tijd te reserveren. Het nummer bevat illustraties van de bekende kunstenares Nola Hatterman, die WES ook steunde.⁸

Historisch kader emancipatiebewegingen jaren 50

De eerste voorvechter voor het Sranan, stond op in de persoon van de Creoolse onderwijzer ‘Papa’ Jacques A. Koenders. In zijn maandblad *Foetoeboi* schreef hij tussen 1946 en 1956 veel over de waarde van het Sranan. Ook de nationalist en Sranandichters van het eerste uur, zoals Eduard Bruma, Jules Sedney, Hein Eersel en Henry de

⁷ Fedde Schurer zat in de periode 1956-63 namens de Partij van de Arbeid in het parlement. In 1951 kwam er tegen hem een rechtszaak omdat hij zich in de krant had uitgelaten over de arrogantie om de Friese taal niet toe te laten in de rechtbank. Dit eindigde op 16 november van dat jaar in een rel, bekend als ‘Kneppelfreed’ waarbij de politie insloeg en waterkanonnen richtte op protesterende taalstrijders. In 1955 werd het Fries toegestaan in de rechtbank (zie Oppewal, 2006: 139).

⁸ Brouwer (2003) vermeldt dat de redactie geen geld had voor mooie illustraties, waardoor het blad er altijd saai uitzag. De Surinaamse auteurs toen af van hun honorarium ten behoeve van Nola’s illustraties.

Ziel, publiceerden in dat blad. De Ziel schreef onder zijn pseudoniem Trefossa het Sranancouplet van het Surinaams volkslied (Gobardhan, 1993; 2001; Eersel, 2002; Charry et al., 1983; De Boer, 1998; Van Kempen, 1989).

In diezelfde tijd werd ook voor het eerst expliciet door prominente personen erkend dat er een Surinaamse variant van het Nederlands was ontstaan. Bijvoorbeeld door Lou Lichtveld, die onder zijn welbekende pseudoniem Albert Helman *Green Pastures* van de Noord-Amerikaanse schrijver Marc Conelly naar het Surinaams-Nederlands vertaalde (Gobardhan, 2001; 1993). Hoewel Lichtveld minister van Onderwijs was, werd die erkenning van het SN niet in beleid omgezet. Maar er waaide deels reeds een andere, nationalistische wind als het om taal ging. Tijdens de roep om herwaardering van de eigen talen, werd ook die om erkenning van de Surinaamse variant van het Nederlands luider. Gobardhan (2006: 500) omschrijft: “Van een aanvankelijk opgelegde taal werd het Nederlands in de loop van de tijd een eigen taal, de taal van de maatschappelijke vooruitgang. Dat proces kwam vooral goed op gang tijdens de autonomie (1954-1975).” Het was de culturele beweging WES, die zich inzette voor het Sranan (maar niet tégen het Nederlands), die het voortouw nam. De Suriname-editie van *De Tsjerne* was de eerste groepswijze manifestatie van dit politieke bewustzijn bij de Surinamers (Brouwer, 2003: 247).

In een beschouwend historisch essay over de Suriname-editie van *De Tsjerne* noemt Ybema (2015) twee mogelijkheden voor minderheden om aan hun streekniveau te ontsijgen: aansluiting zoeken bij andere minderheden of opgaan in het grotere geheel van het machtscentrum. *De Tsjerne*, die streefde naar een autonome Friese literatuur, poogde het eerste. Dit tijdschrift behandelde ook niet-Friese literaturen, en liet literatoren aan het woord die niet meer als emancipatieleidsman van het Friese volk wilden fungeren, omdat zij streefden naar literatuurkritiek op niveau zonder concessies aan de smaak van het grote publiek. Zij wilden vooral zichzelf ontwikkelen (Buikema e.a., 2003: 246). De emancipatiebeweging in Suriname wordt door Gobardhan (2001: 418) gerelateerd aan de invloeden van de Noord-Amerikaanse *Universal Negro Improvement Association* (UNIA), in 1914 op Jamaica opgericht door Marcus Garvey. Zij noemt hierbij de Surinamer Otto Huiswoud, die behoorde tot de eerste ‘negercommunisten’ van Amerika (Gobardhan, 2001: 418). Otto Huiswoud, die als zestienjarige naar de Verenigde Staten vertrok, was daar met de beweging van Marcus Garvey in contact gekomen (Gobardhan, 2001; Charry et al., 1983). In Suriname was sinds 1923 een afdeling van UNIA actief. Otto Huiswoud woonde in de jaren 30 weer een periode in Suriname, en had mogelijk contact met Koenders (Gobardhan, 2001: 418). Voorhoeve (1975: 184) vergelijkt WES met de *négritude*-beweging in 1932, van Martinikaanse studenten in Parijs. Volgens Voorhoeve was WES wel evenwichtiger in haar benadering dan de Martinikaanse beweging.

Bewegingen op het koloniale wereldtoneel

Vanaf eind jaren 40 roerden onafhankelijkheidsbewegingen zich wereldwijd in de gebieden die nog Europese koloniën waren. Wat de Nederlandse koloniën betreft: in 1945 verklaarde Indonesië zich onafhankelijk en in 1948 werd een begin gemaakt met het ontwerpen van het ‘Statuut voor het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden’, dat de relaties van Suriname en de Nederlandse Antillen in koninkrijksverband moest herformuleren om de koloniën meer autonomie te geven. Na moeizame onderhandelingen kwam het Statuut in 1954 tot stand en daarmee kregen de Nederlandse Antillen en Suriname interne zelfstandigheid, terwijl defensie en buitenlandse betrekkingen koninkrijksaangelegenheden bleven (Gobardhan, 2001: 382). Deze periode van moeizame onderhandelingen viel dus samen met het hoogtepunt van de activiteiten van Koenders, de oprichting van WES in 1951 en de publicatie van de Suriname-editie van *De Tsjerne*. Ook de eerste taalemancipator, ‘Papa’ Koenders werd actief in die tijd, waarin *De Tsjerne* als literair blad het levenslicht zou zien.

Ook in de West-Europese landen zelf ontstonden autonomiebewegingen. Etnische en taalminderheden begonnen zich vanuit hun perifere positie sterker af te zetten tegen het machtscentrum. Tot deze categorie behoorden minderheden als de Friezen, Schotten (Groot-Brittannië) en Basken (Spanje en Frankrijk). Tijdens de Tweede Wereldoorlog hadden verzetsbewegingen ideeën ontwikkeld over de vorming van één Europa. Sommige minderheden hoopten op een betere en autonomere positie in een federaal Europees verband (zie www.eurobasque.eus). Zo werd in 1951 de Baskische raad voor een federaal Europa ingesteld (Consejo Vasco por la Federación Europea). Opmerkelijk is dat Friesland in Europees verband nu samenwerkingen heeft met andere Europese minderheden, waaronder de Basken.

Terwijl eind jaren 40 West-Europa zijn eerste stappen naar eenwording zette, kwam Oost-Europa onder invloed van het communisme (Leffler & Painter, 2005). Ook in Zuid-Amerika ontstonden in de nadagen van de oorlog in vele landen die met hun jonge democratieën worstelden met communistische bewegingen (Leffler & Painter, 2005; Mares 2015; Mary 2017). Vooral die van Cuba sprak eind jaren 50 tot de verbeelding van Caribische koloniën (Mary, 2017). In Suriname sprak de Cubaanse communistische revolutie tot verbeelding van de dichter/politicus Robin Raveles, ook bij WES aangesloten en meer bekend onder zijn pseudoniem Dobru (Abrahams, 2011). Antikoloniale gevoelens vermengden zich gemakkelijk met die van de idee van een communistische revolutie die de onderdrukten armen van het kapitalisme zou verlossen. Communistische leiders speelden ook in op het raciale aspect van onderdrukking binnen het kapitalistische koloniale systeem (Mary, 2017; Borstelmann, 2005).

Identificatie *De Tsjerne*

De redactie van *De Tsjerne* beperkte haar identificatie niet tot Europese minderheden, met wie de Friezen misschien meer gemeen hebben dan met overzeese (ex-)koloniën.

Dat had mogelijk te maken met het streven naar een autonome Friese literatuur dat de redactie wilde loskoppelen van de Friese taalbeweging. In 1950 had het blad al een editie gewijd aan Amerikaanse literatuur. Het blad sprak zich eind jaren 40 ook uit tegen Nederland in de onafhankelijkheidsoorlog van Indonesië (*De Tsjerne*, 1948; 1950; Brouwer, 2003: 243; Ybema, 2015). De Friese taalbeweging zette zich af tegen het politieke centrum in Den Haag, en identificeerde zich vanuit die positie ook met koloniale gebieden die in principe met dezelfde machtsverhoudingen te maken hadden. *De Tsjerne* linkte haar doelstelling ook aan de democratie, die volgens haar pas kans van slagen zou hebben als ook kleine groeperingen een stem hadden in het democratisch debat (Brouwer, 2003: 245; Oppewal, 2006: 136 zie ook *De Tsjerne*, 1948). Dit sloot aan bij de naoorlogse spanningen in Suriname; de leiding van WES vond dat het Statuut voor het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden niet ver genoeg ging in de verruiming van Surinames autonomie (Gobardhan, 2001: 382-500). Volgens Brouwer (2003: 247) was de ontevredenheid over het eerste ontwerp van dit Statuut zelfs de directe aanleiding tot het uitbrengen van de Suriname-editie van *De Tsjerne*. Brouwer (2003: 248) wijst erop dat bij de redactie van het blad vermoedelijk ook de zorg speelde over de antidemocratische gezindheid die bij de Nederlandse regering in ballingschap in Londen was gegroeid, evenals in bepaalde kringen die het politieke spel verantwoordelijk hielden voor de economische crisis in de jaren 30.

De steeds meer sturende Nederlandse Staat werd voor de Friezen een probleem (Brouwer, 2003: 247). Zij vindt dat de Friezen te gemakkelijk de taal als gemeenschappelijk belang hebben aangegrepen, want als dit zo belangrijk was had het volgens haar het Surinamenummer een vervolg gekregen. Overigens, niet alle redactieleden van *De Tsjerne* waren meteen enthousiast over het openstellen voor een Surinaamse bijdrage. In zijn memoires zegt Tamminga, een van de vertalers, dat Jan Piebenga overtuigd moest worden met het argument dat het Sranantongo een minderheidstaal was binnen het koninkrijk (Oppewal, 2018). Tamminga memoreert dat het contact tot stand kwam via de vrouw van de Friese politicus en hoogleraar Anne Vondeling. Tamminga noemt Bruma als spil in het project (Brouwer, 2003).

In Nederland heerste de naoorlogse tijdgeest waarin mensen met een maatschappijkritische en anticonformistische houding al gauw werden beticht van communisme. Ook Eduard Bruma werd door het koloniale bewind daarvan beschuldigd. Jan Voorhoeve, die nauw in contact stond met WES, werd met argusogen gevolgd vanwege zijn vermeende cryptocommunisme. Voorhoeve heeft altijd fel ontkend dat hij communist zou zijn. Ook de Nederlandse kunstenares Nola Hatterman, die in haar huis in Amsterdam WES-leden ontving, moest het ontgelden. De Sticusa weigerde in de jaren 50 de uitzending van de kunstenares Nola Hatterman naar Suriname, wegens haar communistische sympathieën (Winter, 2003: 257; 266; Gobardhan, 2001).

Taalwetenschap en taalemancipatie

De taalemancipatie is vaak vooral gekoppeld aan politieke bewegingen, maar zijn ook een reactie op inzichten omtrent taal. Ontwikkelingen binnen de taalwetenschap zijn niet los te zien van de historische en culturele context (Campbell, 2008; Bloomfield, 1933). Ten tijde van de invoering van de leerplicht in Suriname, in 1876, lag de focus van de taalwetenschap nog op de diachronische bestudering van talen, daarvoor vooral gericht op de vergelijkende methode in de negentiende eeuw om taalfamilies te reconstrueren, zoals het Indo-Europees, met als achttiende-eeuwse pionier Sir William Jones (Campbell, 2008; Bloomfield, 1933: 3-20; Foucault, 1972). In de negentiende eeuw waren er ideeën ontstaan over de relatie tussen taaltypen, sociale evolutie en raciale menselijke kenmerken, zoals bij Wilhelm von Humboldt (1776-1835). Von Humboldt zag een correlatie tussen de groei van een taal en de evolutie van de bijbehorende cultuur. Tegen de achtergrond van deze denkbeelden bekeken de Europeanen de niet-Europese talen en zagen die als ‘primitief’, omdat ze niet pasten binnen de gangbare analysemodellen. Die denkbeelden waren nog levend toen het koloniale bewind in 1876 besloot de ‘Neger-Engels’-spreekende Creoolse massa te vernederlandsen. Het ‘Neger-Engels’ werd gezien als onbeschaafde taal, of eigenlijk helemaal geen taal (Gobardhan, 2001; Eersel, 2002; Charry et al., 1983). Een analytische taal als het ‘Neger-Engels’ was, zonder verbuigingen en vervoegingen, belandde met de Humboldiaanse ideeën erg laag op de trap van taalevolutie (zie o.a. Mühlhäuser, 1986: 23). Dat een taal zonder morfologie een andere maar niet mindere complexiteit kent, werd nog niet ingezien. De negatieve ideeën over het ‘Neger-Engels’ – nu officieel genoemd Sranantongo – zijn overigens nog lang niet uitgeroeid in Suriname.

Het Fries werd wel als volwaardige taal bestudeerd (Dykstra & Bremmer, 1999). De erkenning van die taal was louter een politieke kwestie, die niets te maken had met ras en de minachting van zwarte mensen en hun ‘negertaal’.

Met de intrede van het structuralisme van Ferdinand de Saussure, kwam er begin twintigste eeuw een kentering van de diachronische studie naar synchrone bestudering van talen (Campbell, 2008; De Saussure, 1916). De Saussure wees op de willekeurigheid van taal: de betekenis van woorden is een sociale conventie. De manier waarop Voorhoeve (1975) naar een uitspraak van Bruma verwijst, doet vermoeden dat die bekend was met dit taalkundig principe: *“He considers language and culture as an agreement or civil contract between people. We agree to call a cat ‘cat’ and a dog ‘dog.’ If now these same people are forced to ignore their agreements, they feel themselves guilty of treachery. This makes them unhappy and calls forth resistance.”* (Voorhoeve, 1975: 185)

Het structuralisme bleef de dominante stroming tussen 1920 en 1960 (Mühlhäuser, 1986). Franz Boas (1858-1942), een grondlegger van de Amerikaanse moderne antro-

pologische taalkunde, merkte op dat de inheemse talen niet binnen de bekende beschrijvingskaders pasten en allerm minst ‘primitief’ waren. In zijn theorie over *linguistic relativity* toonde hij aan dat niet elke taal te beschrijven is volgens de tot dan toe geldende grammaticale categorieën die toepasbaar zijn op West-Europese talen. Boas wilde preconcepties vermijden en iedere taal volgens een eigen kader bestuderen (Campbell, 2008). Hiermee sloot Boas dus niet aan bij de evolutionistische ideeën over talen. Het structuralisme erkende de eigenwaarde van elke taal. Met het structuralisme begon de wetenschappelijke beschrijving van talen die voorheen als primitief werden beschouwd. Ook het onderzoek naar meertaligheid als fenomeen was in opkomst.

Taalwetenschappelijke inzichten hadden aannemelijkerwijs een beperkt publiek. Bovendien is het aan de reactie van de Surinaamse elite te zien, dat de taalwetenschappelijke inzichten waarop Hellinga zijn conclusies baseerde, niet gemakkelijk leidden tot beleidsverandering. Hellinga werkte in een taalwetenschappelijke context waar deze inzichten over de gelijkwaardigheid van talen gangbaar waren. Maar wetenschappelijke inzichten dringen soms moeizaam door tot de rest van de maatschappij.

De moderne algemene taalwetenschap onderging eind jaren 50 radicale ontwikkelingen. Noam Chomsky bracht in 1957 met zijn generatieve grammatica-theorie een revolutie teweeg in de taalwetenschap: taal als aangeboren verschijnsel, met een universele grammatica. De sociolinguïstiek, de studie naar de relatie tussen taal en samenleving, was in aantocht als aparte vakdiscipline.

Charles Ferguson ontwikkelde eind jaren 50 de term ‘diglossie’, voor meertalige samenlevingen waar een hoger gewaardeerde taal naast een lager gewaardeerde taal functioneerde, waarbij meerdere talen in verschillende domeinen fungeren, en de hoger gewaardeerde taal het formele medium is met een hogere status (Romaine, 1989; Appel, Hubers & Meijer, 1976). In Suriname was deze diglossische verhouding duidelijk aanwezig: het Nederlands bovenaan, de overige talen en dan met name het Sranantongo, onderaan of zelfs ongewenst. In deze context deed Hellinga zijn onderzoek naar de taalonderwijsproblematiek in Suriname (Gobardhan, 2001: 382-500). Hoewel Voorhoeve wel genoemd wordt als ‘creolist’, was de creolistiek toen officieel nog niet geboren als aparte vakdiscipline. De creolistiek werd veelal geclassificeerd als onderdeel van de sociolinguïstiek (Bickerton, geciteerd in Mühlhäuser, 1986: 37; zie ook Simmons-McDonald & Robertson, 2006).

Talen waarop werd neergekeken, kregen nu wetenschappelijke erkenning (Simmons-McDonald & Robertson, 2006) en werden populair als onderzoeksobject. Ook meertaligheid begon aandacht te krijgen; men begon te zoeken naar wetenschappelijk onderbouwde didactische methoden voor meertalige leerlingen. Hoewel de term ‘NT2’ (‘Nederlands als tweede taal’) nog niet was uitgevonden, kwam dit NT2 ‘avant la lettre’ in het onderzoek van Hellinga en Pée wel aan de orde (Gobardhan, 2001).

Slotconclusies

Hellinga deed zijn werk in een periode waarin het krachtenveld zich wereldwijd roerde, onder stimulans van de *UN Charter* van 1945, waarin soevereiniteit van volken en respect voor elkaars taal en cultuur werden benadrukt. Zo ook in Suriname en Friesland, die als gemene deler hadden dat hun minderheidstaal binnen het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden werd onderdrukt. De jaren 50 waren bovendien een periode waarin maatschappijkritische denkers er vaak van werden beschuldigd met het communisme te heulen. In het voortraject van de jaren 50 had zich een moderne taalkunde gevormd, die niet-Europese talen, vooral inheemse en creooltalen, niet langer als minderwaardig beschouwde. Binnen het structuralisme werd de inherente gelijkwaardigheid van talen erkend. Hoewel de sociologische inbreng aanvankelijk achterbleef in het bestuderen van taal, begon die al op gang te komen. De creolistiek past hier ook binnen. Het kader waarin de Suriname-editie van het Fries literair blad *De Tsjerne* is gepubliceerd, reikt aanzienlijk verder en is complexer dan tot nu toe gepresenteerd werd in sporadische essays die daar aandacht aan besteden. Brouwer (2003) plaatst het in de historische context van de politieke ontwikkelingen van het naoorlogse Friesland, in relatie tot Nederland. Ybema (2015) plaatst de ontmoeting tussen de Friese en Surinaamse beweging vooral in de context van contacten tussen taalminderheden internationaal, iets wat ook Brouwer (2006) even aan de orde stelt. De gastredactie van de Suriname-editie van *De Tsjerne* legt de link met de zwart-Amerikaanse literatuur en de identificatie van de in het Engels dichtende Abongra. Dat aspect komt ook terug in de artikelen van Ybema (2015) en Brouwer (2006). Hoewel Voorhoeve vaker terugkomt als motor achter de Suriname-editie, blijft de taalkunde als factor in Suriname onbesproken in de essays over het contact tussen de Friese en Surinaamse taalbewegingen. De afbakening van een groter kader ligt bij Ybema en Brouwer respectievelijk in de naoorlogse ontwikkelingen in Nederland en de relatie tussen taalminderheden. De Surinaamse kant van het verhaal, zoals het verloop van het Surinaams nationalisme waarin de Surinaamse dichters hun eigen weg kiezen en bedolven raken in hun eigen activiteiten, raken zij nauwelijks of niet aan. Hellinga, die vermoedelijk een belangrijke stimulans was, blijft helemaal uit beeld. Niet zozeer het feit op zich dat hij een Fries was, was de belangrijke stimulans – er zijn ook Friezen die zich niet vereenzelvigen met de Friese zaak – maar dat hij actief in het Friese jaarblad schreef en de Friese taal wetenschappelijk bestudeerde. Dat zegt iets over de gewaagde ideeën die hij in die tijd poneerde, overigens wel gebaseerd op taalwetenschappelijk onderzoek. Hij propageerde incorporatie van het eigene voor het Surinaams onderwijs, in een tijd waarin de ideeën over assimilatie in een ‘Groot-Nederland’ bij vooral de Surinaamse elite nog springlevend waren.

Taalwetenschappelijke inzichten hebben en die ook nog laten implementeren door beleidsmakers ligt niet altijd voor de hand, daar is tijd voor nodig. Tot vandaag zijn de

ideeën over ABN en de zogeheten onwaardigheid van het Sranantongo niet uit de Surinaamse maatschappij verdwenen. De Afro-Amerikaanse en Caribische literatuur maken deel uit van dit groter kader. De link met deze literatuur had voor Suriname meer toekomst dan die met de Europese Friezen, omdat die het raciale aspect vertegenwoordigt, iets wat zeer diep ingrijpt in het bewustzijn van zwarte gemeenschappen op het westelijk halfrond. De Friezen hebben deze pijnlijke link van eeuwenlange rassendiscriminatie niet. Toch heeft korte verhouding tussen de Friese en Surinaamse literaire emancipatiebewegingen vermoedelijk een grotere impact gehad, dan wordt beseft. Hoewel Suriname-editie van *De Tsjerne* een hoogtepunt was, moet gewezen worden op de intensiteit van het nationalisme en de discussies die ermee gepaard gingen. Een speler als Hellinga, die vanuit Nederland zich waagde aan – in feite – antikoloniale adviezen, heeft misschien wel meer invloed gehad dan tot nu toe werd gedacht. Ook Voorhoeves werk op het gebied van het Sranan is niet los te koppelen van de taalemancipatie in Suriname. Alleen het feit al dat twee hoog geschoolde Nederlandse linguïsten de Surinaamse talen serieus namen was voor Suriname een troef.

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THE PROGRESSIVE DEGRADATION OF THE PORTRAYAL OF THE COLONIZED IN APHRA BEHN'S *OROONOKO OR THE ROYAL SLAVE*, EQUIANO'S *THE INTERESTING NARRATIVE OF THE LIFE OF OLAUDAH EQUIANO OR GUSTAVUS VASSA, THE AFRICAN*, AND JOSEPH CONRAD'S *HEART OF DARKNESS*

FRANCES'LEE GONZÁLEZ ROSADO
UNIVERSITY OF PUERTO RICO, RIO PIEDRAS

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In this article, I will explain how there is a progressive degradation of the portrayal of the colonized in the following works: Aphra Behn's *Oroonoko or the royal slave*, Equiano's *The interesting narrative of the life of Olaudah Equiano or Gustavus Vassa, the African*, and Joseph Conrad's *Heart of darkness*. How the colonized are depicted in each text varies not only according to the author's style, but also in terms of how the discourse on viewing the Other changes as well. Behn and Equiano's discourse about the colonized are not entirely positive or entirely negative. What one needs to factor in when comparing these two texts is to explore how and by what they may have been influenced when writing about the colonized. In sharp contrast, Conrad may seem to offer little except for the disclaimer that Marlow's experiences in *Heart of darkness* are loosely based on Conrad's trips to the Congo and the exploits of King Leopold II of Belgium.

Aphra Behn's *Oroonoko* surfaces when British Imperialism is gaining momentum with the slave trade. One would expect to see a continuum from Shakespeare's *The tempest* –in which Caliban is memorable for his irreverence as a character and Prospero abusing him although the former has been given the best lines throughout the play – and a master narrative about how the colonized are savages. Instead, Behn introduces the reader to a romanticized view of the colonized as noble savages. *Oroonoko* is a reinterpretation of the classical Greek hero, since he is described as physically stunning and having a mixture of both Roman and African traits. The fact that *Oroonoko* is also the heir to the crown of Coramantien is parallel to the character of Achilles in *The Iliad*. *Oroonoko* is noble in terms of his lineage and overall military prowess.

What makes Oroonoko a hero, however, according to Behn, is his suffering and his vows to enact revenge as he is double-crossed multiple times. His own people, namely the King, and later the Europeans who capture him to sell him as a slave, are the reasons why Oroonoko struggles, and I think it is important to notice that Behn keeps giving Oroonoko heroic attributes by way of a subplot involving his true love Imoinda, and not so much to place him at the same level of the great Greek and Roman heroes of antiquity.

On the one hand, Oroonoko is regal, strong, and admired; but on the other, there seems to be nothing to celebrate about him because he happens to be the slave in the tale. It is also quite ironic that, once Oroonoko is captured, he is renamed Caesar (in reference to the highest figure in the Roman Empire) and Imoinda is then Clemene. Seemingly so, Behn's portrayal of the colonized can be interpreted in at least two ways: it can be argued that the idea of the noble savage when referring to the colonized can be construed as mockery; or, the story overall can still be seen as a reworking of the heroic tragedy since Oroonoko's own downfall does not lead to a favorable resolution. All that is left is an account of how this particular hero lost his family, his identity, and could not ultimately overpower the colonizer, as a matter of fate.

Behn's *Oroonoko* and Equiano's *Narrative* are similar in the sense that both of the main characters' lives have changed for the worse at the hands of colonizers. They also experience moments of betrayal and peril, but the difference lies in how both texts end. Considering Olaudah Equiano became the "cultured Other" as opposed to Oroonoko's regal status, I think Equiano's own discourse does not help elevate how the colonized are seen or read. Much of Equiano's *Narrative* appears to be Dickensian, but I am not arguing Dickens might be a direct influence. Rather, as a reader, Equiano's life as a slave is almost too fortunate when one compares him to Behn's Oroonoko. While in the end Equiano is able to buy his freedom, Oroonoko dies a gruesome death.

Throughout his account of what happens to him after he has been captured and taken from his village in Africa, Equiano manifests a longing to return to England and stay there despite having had the opportunity to travel the world. Christianity also becomes a psychological buffer which has helped him endure such a drastic change – including culture shock as he witnesses how other fellow slaves are abused and sold for labor – so what can be still regarded as positive in this particular view of the colonized is that their humanity is not depicted as raw within the scheme of betrayal and revenge, but that the colonized are able to arise from what is indeed a horrific, immoral situation such as the slave trade. We must take into account the facts that Equiano became an abolitionist himself and that his *Narrative* was published in 1789, the same year of the French revolution. The veracity of his experiences as both a slave and a free man have been contested. It is possible others could have edited his story or that Equiano himself might have fashioned his own characterization after a different person altogether and that his depiction could be just anecdotal in nature.

As the third and final text to be discussed, Joseph Conrad's representation of the colonized is a matter of prerogative. Conrad himself might have wanted to just recreate his own experiences and travels to the Congo, but it remains unclear to what purpose he displays the colonized as an undefined afterthought. In relation to the other two texts, Conrad's *Heart of darkness* does not offer an individualistic and/or detailed depiction of the colonized. His use of vocabulary to describe the colonized is at best ambiguous and, at worst, could be interpreted as racist. Conrad's only representation of worth – in this matter – is the description of Mr. Kurtz's mistress as the one female subject of unimaginable, breathtaking beauty.

There is nothing inherently positive about the colonized in the protagonist Marlow's tale, and perhaps it was meant to be that way if one considers the foreshadowing exchange between Charlie Marlow and the French physician who attends him before he sets out for the Congo in the service of an ivory trading company: the physician tells Marlow he never sees his patients again because "the changes occur on the inside". By 1899, slavery might be over as an institution, but imperialism was still alive and well. *Heart of darkness* does not revolve around the colonized as an oppressed population, but the European mindset which fears the Other and the unknown. As a child, Marlow had a fascination for maps and discovering remote places to explore them, but as an adult, it must be presumed life itself obviously had to change him. Exploring and discovery are not fun daydreams anymore. An adult is burdened with the responsibilities and regret which come with age.

Although Conrad's narrative showcases how the colonized die out and are brutally abused, what stands out overall is the epitome of imperialism in the figure of Mr. Kurtz. Mr. Kurtz embodies both the success and the actual decline of the slave trade as a systemic way to support economies and politics, but does so at the expense of saying very little about the humanity of the oppressed. Anything "black" or "dark" in *Heart of darkness* lacks even the human emotion of regret and suffering. Different from Behn and Equiano, Conrad does not spare a moment to explore how the oppressed have any emotional depth... and does so at the expense of explaining in better detail how Mr. Kurtz is a brutal representation of systemic oppression and how Marlow in turn is psychologically afflicted by what he has witnessed.

Therefore, Achebe's criticism of Conrad's discourse cannot just be dismissed as a snap judgment. Criticism towards literary work is necessary and Achebe is right to argue that Conrad's narrative does not, at a glance, help or improve how the colonized are imagined and/or visualized. It is also correct to argue that there must be a deeper understanding of how Conrad might have used his skill to tell what he saw and that slavery should not be romanticized by giving the colonized stock traits like innocence and wonder. Nevertheless, the shift in wonder, precisely, which Conrad uses to exalt Mr. Kurtz while regarding the colonized as black masses blending into the wilderness will still motivate

readers to agree with Achebe. Perhaps calling Conrad racist would be too much, but it is not a disservice either to evaluate a work as positive or negative.

In sum, in these three works the representation of the colonized, all African, ranges from individualistic to collective, albeit the latter is just a vague effort on Conrad's part. Both Behn and Equiano are able to represent the colonized from a very specific point of view: both make the similar claim that their narratives are legitimate, straight out of life itself even though the characters that emerge are larger than life. Conversely, Conrad does not claim any truth himself, even though it is on record that Conrad himself went to the Congo and it would be difficult to imagine that Marlow in no way reflects the perceptions Conrad might have acquired there of the colonized. Instead, it is more likely that he uses a fictional narrator to dress up his own experiences, thus making his own retelling a matter of conflict.

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UN IDIOMA NUNKA NO TA SUFICIENTE

DANNABANG KUWABONG, UNIVERSITY OF PUERTO RICO

NIFA ANSANO, CREATIVE INSPIRATION, CURAÇAO

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This selected group of poems by six poets from Curaçao - Elodie Heloise, AEMY Niafeliz, Kati Qui (Katiuska Quiñones), Frits Faber, Crisèn Schorea and Nifa Ansano - and myself, Dannabang Kuwabong, a poet from Ghana, testify to the global nature of the language of poetry. Poetry unites people from different cultures, languages and backgrounds. These poems provide a glimpse into how the historical, cultural, linguistic, artistic, and spiritual worlds of the people of Curaçao and Ghana are inextricably linked. These and other poets, performed their poems in 2018 to celebrate UNESCO's World Poetry Day, which holds on March 21st every year. I am hugely grateful to Nifa Ansano for her hard work in promoting the development of poetry in Curaçao, and for persuading the four other Curaçaoan poets to submit their work.

Organized by Nifa as a private initiative to promote and support Curaçaoan established and upcoming poets, the Poetry & the Spoken Word event during which I met and interacted with these poets took place on the grounds of Landhuis Bloemhof gardens in Curaçao on March 23rd, 2018. While I was attending the 20th Eastern Caribbean Islands Cultures ("Islands in Between") Conference at the University of Curaçao, I learned that this event was taking place. Without any advance notice to the organizers, I arrived at the site and I was warmly welcomed by Nifa, who unproblematically included me in the program. The readings were done in Dutch, English, Papiamentu and Spanish. I chanted a poem in Dagaare, my Ghanaian mother tongue. After the function, we discussed the possibility of having some of the poems submitted for inclusion in the annual post-conference volume that focuses on issues pertaining to the Dutch Caribbean.

I then asked Nifa to ask the poets to submit their work, and five of them graciously did so, as did Nifa herself. I have taken this opportunity to include several of my own poems which were written based on my sojourns in Curaçao while attending the 8th and 20th Islands In Between Conferences in 2008 and 2018. I hope that the bravery and generosity of these poets in sharing their work will encourage other Curaçaoan poets

to publish their creative writing in this annual publication sponsored by the University of Curaçao and the University of Puerto Rico. Masha Danki.

ELODIE HELOISE

De vrije vlucht van mijn hart

De vrije vlucht van mijn hart
gaat gepaard met gronden

Ik schiet wortel
terwijl ik mijn vleugels uitsla
zonder acht te slaan
op enige aardse beperking
die slechts bestaat
in de illusie
van het eindig denken

en voorbij die begrenzing
van het arrogante zelf
ben ik de wortelende boom
én het opwaaiend dartelblad

224

Westpunt, eindpunt

Westpunt, eindpunt
schrijf ik op mijn zonterras
verheven boven zee

Westpunt, eindpunt
Te ver voor hen blasé

Slechts ruimte
fluimt
mij in het gezicht
De zon brandt
doelloos
en gericht
op ronde
heuvelplooien

De kerkklok
lokt met
galmende roep
de laatste leden
van de parochie op
De visser zwaait
naar meneer pastoor
tussen het mazen van zijn netten door
ongestoord
ongehoord
vervolgt Gods man zijn weg

Bezoekers zwemmen
met kabaal
gaan met de stilte aan de haal
Want in het water
drijft een meisje
met haar rug
naar de hemel
toe gekeerd

In de tijd
die ik besteedde
met staren naar de zee
Tijdens het mazen
van de visser
En de dienst
van meneer pastoor
kwam God langs
en nam dit meisje
geruisloos
met zich mee

Westpunt,
Eindpunt,
Punt.

No Preokupá

Bo kurason ta buska un sosiegu,
Bo ke libra bo mes di sufrimentu
No para mira kon b'a bai atras,
lo bo biba bo bida tur hanshá.
Ai entregá tur kos den Dios su man,
Lanta trankil di bo, ruman i bai laman
disfrutá di bida i lo bo mira,
kiko ta e kos ku mas ta bal

Bo por rèk bo bida?
Oh akaso trese e solushon dor di preokupá ?
Dor di desesperá?
Busk'e reino di Señor i tur kos sobrá lo bin di mes
Dal un snèk, djis rilèks, no wòri mi ruman,
no preokupá bo kabes

KATI QUI (KATIUSKA QUIÑONES)

Piedra

Pida pida
pida piedra a spat bai kai
den pan di kada día
di tur ku ta mi sombra.

Inkontinensia,
ku furia di laman
ta buta tur imágen bira boroso.

Espasio ni energia
no ta disponibel pa mi
den mi kouch'i kachó,
leu fo'i kolónan mágiko
sin por sinti bientu
sunchi mi kabeinan
i rònt mi kurpa mané e so por

Dinámika di un pipita ku a spreit den e sintí di mi sintí
a pone mi sinti i

Realisá ku e manera di mas ingenioso
pa siña kon di bèrdat pa balorá bida
ta sintá den e

Aventuranan ku nos ta biba diariamente,
trompeká riba kualke piedra,
pa transformá di piedra bira humano.

Konofló

Blanku i krèm,
bo pañ'i brùit.
Mi tin bo den mi plant'í man.
Bo tela ta fini.
Bo aroma.
Bo aroma ta stèrki,
E ta kubri mi perfume di kueru.
Ku hansha mi ta habri bo shimis ku ta será te den tòrn.
Lag pa lag,
te ora mi yega bo sentro.

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FRITS FABER

Theatratuur

“... Jouw ogen,
dagenraad van beloften,
verblauwen in verdriet, ...”

Bijna theatraal klonken
die woorden. Geschrift
gaf de andere zijde.
Leven levenloos stil.
Karakters, tijdloos geplaatst
in een papieren wereld.

In mijn hoofd, al vaag,
een spoor van herinnering
aan die dag van verlangen
die nacht van gebroken
beloften; verstild in tekens
die niet meer spreken.

Verdriet was geleden,
verleden in minuut.
De scene archaïsch
gevuld met boorden
en zwarte jassen.
De tijd heelt.

Die woorden klonken,
maar beelden ontbraken;
ontstonden ook niet meer
in mijn hoofd. Zij waren
als vogels vervlogen
tussen fladderende
vleermuizen.

(mei 2008)

Woordgedicht

In den beginne was het woord,
het ongeboren ideaal van
zuiver zijn in eeuwig leven.
Het vlammend licht dat
richting geeft aan ...

Zonder woord is niets geworden,
niets belichaamd in een stoffelijk
omhulsel, schijngestalte van
een hoger zijn, de eeuwige
dimensie die verborgen is.

Het woord is leven. De idee,
is geen beweging in de tijd,
noch neemt het woord de

ruimte om te zijn waar jij
en ik vertoeven.

Wij zijn vervulling van het woord.
Het vlees geworden ideaal van
zijn. Het eeuwig leven is ons
in het woord gegeven, doch
verloren in het materiële.

Wie helpt ons zoeken naar
het woord? Dat lichtende
idee van zuiver zijn, dat,
steeds verborgen, richting
geeft aan onze daden?
(februari 2015)

CRISÈN SCHOREA

Hari

Huntu nos ta hari
ma kada ken su harí
tin su koló
su sodó
su éksodo
su doló

Nos ta hari
ma kada harí
ta na midí
dje kishikishi risibí

Ta hari
maske kada un sa
ku ta pa motibu
separá

Hari
Deskargá

Kompartí
Kamuflá

Huntu nos ta hari
ora nos ta huntú
Ma kada harí
ta hari
segun su kòma
i su punto

NIFA ANSANO

Levenscirkel

Ik ben alleen geboren
Maar niet alleen gebaard
Deel van het universum
Dat niet compleet is zonder het heelal
Een noot in de zang op de levenscadans
Die de compositie compleet maakt
Hoewel ik beweer alleen te kunnen bestaan
Zonder jouw adem kan ik niet voortgaan

‘cause we need writers

I write to clear my mind
Calm turmoils in my soul
Express those words I couldn't find
Ease my existence through this world

I read to find some peace
Escape to another reality
Seek wisdom and advice
To feel free and keep my sanity

Combination of words on paper
Portraying feelings and realities
Are the gateway for my heart,
My soul and mind to intertwine with yours

DANNABANG KUWABONG

Heavy Metal Broth (for Asyla Holt)

i

You, my sister, steam
In these cauldrons of cane
Yet rise like history's ghosts
You memorialize heartbeat
In these heavy metal broths
These bottled moans in hums
To dissolve cataract visions
You stir mud waters of forgetting
Free minds docked in amnesia
And generate an avalanche of sights
Your silent gasps are quarry
At the gates to our catacombs
Where new flares of visions light
Where your words are slivers of calm
Slither to skitter above a shimmering Atlantic
Raise-up bleached bones of men un-mourned
Raise-up bleached bones of women un-mourned
Those who gave their all to death
That we might sing resurrection songs
Seated on these jagged sides of Negro Hill.

ii

Here then, dotted beyond stone frames
These rock-fortified coastlines
Unrepentant waves gnaw and kiss
This ever-receding land of coral
I hear uncorrupted maroon flutes
Recall Sisaala sirens of rebirth
We dance away our regrets
Squeeze flashes of smiles
From uncertain and hardened hearts

iii

I too sojourn at gaze at what you see
At the approaching horizon of dreams

Lit by the red glows of hope
shaded by the red glow of pain
I share no nostalgia nor amnesia
Yet like a millipede
I waddle in serendipity
Among silent gazers of eyeless skulls
Below Queen Juliana Bridge
A katholiek I trump from Punda to Otrobanda
Reach Graf Maria Magdalena
Some prefer to call it Santana Berg Altena
For its parade of Afro-Catholic ghosts
To claim a hearing among unheard moans

Epithets on elaborate multi-storied tombstones
"semper den nos kurason"
"Drumi dushi Big Mom"
"Rust zacht,"

And others etch the desires of the left behind
As fumes of corrupting flesh
Filter through new mounts of soil
Float to the surface in search of freshness
Or a nostril to lodge till a day of rebirth
I hasten to leave this silent home
As tunes of heavy metal broth
Call me from my heavy metal dreaming

Home

Home then sister Asyla
Is in the tongue of memory
Where victory begins the struggle
Dotted along these volcanic rocks
And waves of hungry history
Seek but a landfall of healing
Where there is no taste of home
But in the whiffs of ancient smoke
At distant homesteads that
Shut out Willemstad's frenzy
Directs his steps home to Punda Saliña

Drumi Dushi

Saturday morning

Silence slouches through empty streets

As strange vapors seep into hollows

Where tombstones sit on each other

Beside B&B La Creole/Hostel La Creole

Beside the market square of Willemstad

Sephardic's rest at Beit Haim, Berg Altena

Their silence carved in skulls, crossbones, hourglasses

I do not see my name on angel guarded stones

I circle back to Roodeweg Cemetery

Tiptoe around leaning tombstones

Reading memories' hurriedly scripted

Over peeling paint on yawning graves

Each seeking a count of cacti of history

When protesting Rome's cavernous tastes

Was an honorable sport

I do not see my name written on stone.

I am intrigued by *Kolebra Bèrdè*

Kas Chikitu, where the ghost hostel of unbelievers leans

I enter with expectation

I search with trepidation

Here I am told lie memories of unbelievers

Those whose temples did not face sunsets

Caquetíos, Africans, Asians, Moors, Catholics

Above an unnamed grave the words:

Drumi Dushi, Big Mama

Below, a half-exposed face

Half-covered by a handkerchief

Her nestles between her tired thighs

As she sits before a large cauldron

cooking *kadushi* to purify her children

cleanse them from the poison of history.

Museo Kas di Pal'i Maishi

Our pointer of forgotten ways

Ancient seer beyond the graves of memory
Welcomes us below the scattered shades
Of an old *kadushi* and wind swept *dividivi*
Sweat like wizened silence course down
Her facial folds flush out some tortured memories

A branch of the *kadushi* sports a skull
Below a rooster spruces its black tail
And many chickens move freely
Under the shadow of its spread wings
The rooster's chest, a map of scars
Trace various victories achieved with spurs
Against enemies of the clan of combs

We move on to hear the story of sage:
We burn sage wood for sanctification
Its smoke as life force in bread at sunrise

Beside the now unused oven
She points to soil heaps and stresses:
These graveyard pits of *dividivi*
Burnt to produce coal for braziers
For night fires when the enslaved
Tired from salt mining
Returned to their hearths for stone soups

Caught in an earthen jar, cactus ash
Preserve our grain against weevil invasions
She shows us ancient heads of sorghum
And clutters of finger millet
At once, I understand her look of appeal
I raise my voice against the incomprehension
Call the variety of sorghum by name
Name each shape of finger millet
Trace their roots to my Dagaaba origins
My mother's face rises behind the guide's smile

Kadushi

This land is then not a mere graveyard

Of Shipwrecks, ruins, and pirate coves
I hear our guide reprimand a dosing scholar
This land is also home to *kadushi* and turtles
For those of uncertain minds:
Kadushi purifies water to wash clothes
Kadushi becomes starch to starch clothes
Kadushi is liquefied to shampoo the hair
Kadushi is boiled to make soup for the poor
As the saying goes in the days of despair
Patience cooks even stones
Pasenshi ta kushina pida

For the treatment of guinea worms
Where *kadushi* fails to purify and sanctify
We boil “*pun pun kora*” and bathe the swollen foot
Feed its sweetness to the worm
It crawls out and dries-up dead
Even as we sip *kadushi* juice for recovery.

Negro Hill

Besides these banks de’armor
We sat down empty-eyed to sing
Orphan songs of remembrance
Beside Barbara’s homestead
We weep against amnesias
As refinery fumes blot our gaze across the Atlantic
Lean like pines toward eastern coastlands
Where ships of slaves set out
Bopped their way to these islands of slaves
We snuffle against conquistador madams
Who now parade our mothers’ *geles* of pain
And claim and enchain our protest to cane

Yet I, sojourner from those eastern shores
pose with delusional smiles
take erasable shots with no memories
for I think: I carry no burdened spirit
ambulating among tombs
Where Jews, Arabs, Africans, and Europeans

Lie silent from history's violence
With no footnote as a tear
For those that roamed these plains
Before days of panyaring.

Boka Tabla/Table Mountains Cove/bay

3 table mounts **coves/bays**

Fly the *kinikini*
Kalki stones rise
Reveal brick hovels
Enslaved Dagaaba died here
Their graves trampled
By bibbers of horror
In search of dark tourism
All around sponge thorns
Pierce the empty spaces
Beside the winding road
Leading to Dokstertuin
Where a white mansion rises to challenge
The estate of Barbara.

Te deums

Here in Curacao we celebrate god on the cross
See! churches are build facing sunsets
Here plantation lords chanted in unison
Performed ad tedium *Te Deums* to cruelty
Testimony of their god of love
Who they say gave them power over Arawaks
And the daughters of Dagaaba on this rock

Healing Coves

Here by Playa Grandi
Singing watery coves of coral
Swirl and heal broken bodies
The blue-salt clarity of her pools
The coral shells absorb all bacteria
Filter trauma toxins that cripple the bone

Turns tarnished marrow into blue blood
There in the flat belly of the land
A deep belly-bottom yawns
A volcano must have erupted
Now a canyon lies ready and dry
A place that absorbs tsunami waters
And leaks them to these healing pools

We pass several Playas without interest
Even though Kola?? Museum called out
We zoomed past them all inattentive
For no kenepas lined the Playa Kenepa
Nor did the leaning leafless coconut tree
Exude traces of black panter spirits
Though fourteen concrete fists recall
Defiant rage of 1795 against
Monolithic *verhalen* of conquests
I stared out the bus window
Wondering who Abou was
To have a playa named after him.

Pund Caballero

pinos like sky thieves
lean leeward against west winds
and like dividivi bend like bows
trace memory charts as pathways
to those who are lost for directions
on their homeward journeys to Ghana

Julianadorp Rotunda/Rotonde Julianadorp

Cross-dressed as another desirable maid
Anxious to get a glimpse of a sister
Locked in the rape chambers of psycho master
His scent eluded the sniffers night after night
Irish wolfhounds that often-traced hideouts
Of those that would not be enchained
In those plantations of salty horrors
In the great houses of our misery

He tries to sneak pass the human sentinels
But two white coat Cú Faoil sniff me out
Each launch their hundred eighty pounds at me
Canines glint like ancient sacrifice daggers
Miss his ankles but rip my servant pants
He flails, forget his stick-fighting moves
Forgets the *tambú* and *seú* songs of inspiration
And over the wall he leapt to life

The three lights of domingo they say
The three flames lit his paths to caves
Lit his way to protection to the eastside
Green cacti with palms outstretched
Rise like obelisks through granite
White thorns laced together stand guard
Beg forgiveness for insertion of our stories

**UNSETTLING RESONANCES
IN THE SOCIETIES OF THE
DUTCH CARIBBEAN AND BEYOND**

LAW AND PROPERTY RIGHTS IN SMALL ISLAND STATES IN THE CARIBBEAN: A MODERN MODE OF COLONIAL PLUNDER

DONALD SAINT PATRICK TAYLOR
UNIVERSITY OF ARUBA

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Abstract

Legal rules should be reflective of domestic social values, and while they are structurally institutionalized in Caribbean societies, they are also reflective of a colonial past, and in many cases represent a continuation of the dependency that characterizes the emergence of neo-colonialism. Laws of many Caribbean States defer to metropolitan institutions which are divorced from the current social context from which they ought to derive. This article intends to explore briefly the theoretical and contextual underpinnings of legal rules regarding property rights that can guide our insights into issues of critical importance to their proper formulation and enforcement in Western neoliberal societies and neo-colonial Caribbean societies. The protection of property rights has particular impact on the tourism sector in the Caribbean, where there has been an implicit and pervasive acceptance of the neoliberal legal model that allows, for example, the establishment of chain hotels on small islands. This has resulted in new modalities of colonialism, if we define colonialism as the exploitation of the resources of the South by the resurgent metropolises of the North.

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Key words: colonialism, neo-colonialism, indigenous, dependency

Introduction

The concept of law, politics and economic development are often perceived as distinct areas of work that are researched and discussed along separate disciplinary lines. While such disciplinary divisions may be acceptable in the modern Western episteme, they sometimes clash with the reality of small island states which emerged from the throes of colonialism such as Jamaica, Trinidad and most of the rest of the English speaking Caribbean or those that are currently in a state of post-colonial subjugation such as

Aruba and the rest of the Dutch Caribbean. The purpose of this article is to explore the extent to which law, which is the modern expression of rules and sanction based social interaction, impacts economic development in small island states by perpetuating the doctrine of the sanctity of property rights as fundamental to a global neoliberal order. One notable consequence of the dominance of property rights as a basic tenet in the legal rules generally accepted by small island states is that it privileges power when such power is manifested in investment by foreign interests, usually based in the North. This allows for the continuation of a dependency paradigm that is reflected in the need to attract foreign investors to drive and sustain economic development and growth.

The dependency narrative of the 1960s and 1970s described dependency as being derived from the plantation system, transmuted into dominance by multinational corporations. Norman Girvan (2006) in particular pointed out that dependency is a consequence of colonialism and postcolonialism. With the demise of socialism as a global ideological force in imagining and providing alternatives to the dependency model, neoliberalism expressed as the “Washington consensus” has dominated global economics and global political development. Under neoliberalism as a global economic system, small island states have become disengaged from dominant global discourse as their voices are increasingly othered and marginalized in international discussions on issues such as human rights, climate change and the globalization of income inequality. This is so even though these issues are relevant and pertinent to small island states’ economic and social development.

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The marginalization of small island states under neoliberalism has given rise to increasingly positive views on remaining colonized or on preserving the lingering detritus of colonialism, as part of a thematic shift from the goal of sovereignty to the goal of becoming small non-independent jurisdictions (SNIJs), such as Aruba, Curaçao, the Cayman Islands and other Caribbean territories that, given the Darwinian culture and environment that is engendered by unfettered neoliberalism, find safe harbor by remaining colonized or near colonized and therefore adopting the legal rules and laws of the metropolis. It is clear that as Caribbean islands seek to optimally allocate resources aimed at maximizing their citizens’ welfare there is only one clear and both overtly and covertly sanctioned ideological path that frames economic development discussions, and that is the neoliberal agenda.

This dominant neoliberal and neocolonial discourse implies that economic development is path-dependent and exogenous and not autochthonous led and therefore growth and development is externally driven and dominated. This article is organized as follows: in part one, we will describe the global neoliberal order and the role that property rights play in neoliberal globalization as well as the neoliberal concept of the rule of law; in part two, we will describe tourism to the extent that it is driven by law to provide a rules-based dispute settlement mechanism that lies outside the sovereignty of small island states; in part three, we will discuss the dominance of the neo-colonizers of the

hegemonic North over the neo-colonized in the marginalized South and the significance of that dominance; and in part four we will conclude and recommend further avenues for research.

The neoliberal and neo-colonial orders and the “rule of law”

Anghie (2004) notes that colonialism was central to the development of international law, and the sovereignty doctrine emerged out of the colonial encounter. He further contends that colonialism was a central tenet in the formulation of international law. This was because international law was designed to structure the framework of legal rules for the colonial encounter and was an integral component and weapon of the imperialist project and the exploitation of non-European peoples by the colonizers. From the point of view of the Third World, international law was structured and weaponized to assure Northern supremacy and disempowerment and disenfranchisement of colonized peoples. In seeking to attain this objective, international law also needed an economic and political ideology that was potent and palatable to as many common-sense thinkers and intellectuals of the Third World as possible. This economic ideology has become what is known today as neoliberalism, which champions an opportunistically adjustable and ephemeral mixture of a deceptive sense of economic freedom combined with a veneer of liberal democracy within the context of a world that is ever more globalized and connected by corporate interests.

Neoliberal institutionalists have thus far managed rather successfully to enforce their neocolonial hegemonic paradigms using the specious argument that the governments of the South take a long-term view of inter-state cooperation and relationships, and that these governments place a supreme value on their international reputations above all else, including the well-being of their citizens. This is because at the international legal, political and economic levels, there is more to be gained in the short-term from not incurring the wrath of the neoliberal institutions who, with their symbolic power to declare any country that does not comply with their norms to be a ‘failed state’, determine the reputation and perceived ‘viability’ of any given state among the members of the ‘international community’ created and dominated by the neoliberal establishment.

According to David Harvey (2005) neoliberalism involves and embraces the intensification of the influence and hegemonic dominance of capital by asserting the supremacy of capitalism as the primary and most efficient mode of production, and then by normalizing and naturalizing these ideas so that they are converted into a normative globalized ethic, which demands absolute allegiance to a tapestry of political imperatives and socio-cultural logic. Neoliberalism has therefore become the source of the blueprints and frameworks that determine the current architecture for the formulation and application of international law, especially when it is invoked to dominate and subjugate the non-European other, by appealing to the amorphous and supposedly ‘universal’ concept of the ‘rule of law’. From a Marxian perspective, neoliberalism is a global project

driven by dominant Western economic interests and articulated by compliant Western symbolic elites with the goal of strengthening and reinforcing their domination and extending it globally (Harvey, 2005).

Neoliberalism is an economic and political ideology that privileges and places supreme value on corporate dominated market exchange as “an ethic in itself, capable of acting as a guide to all human action, and substituting for all previously held ethical beliefs” (Harvey 2005: 3). It does this by focusing on the preeminence and supposed economic efficiency that contractual relations bring to the market and focuses on the supposedly market-driven nature of most transactions aimed at optimal allocation of resources. In addition, the neoliberal logic claims that the social good will be maximized by increasing the reach and frequency of corporate dominated market transactions, and it seeks to bring all human action into the domain of corporate dominated markets.

In this context, sovereignty has been reconceptualized from a notion of territorial control and independence to a notion that licenses the increasingly unabashed racialization and otherization of non- Europeans. Sovereignty thus defined is unmoored by imprecise claims of morality and justice (Anghie, 2004: 101). Faced with the international movements for political independence after World War II, this reconceptualization entailed a rethinking of the concept of international law and legal thought in the colonial encounter where colonial states had been denied recognition of their sovereignty. What resulted was a neocolonial order, where the primary instrument used by European powers was the domesticating mechanism of ‘recognition’ which was only bestowed on states that conformed to the Eurocentric norms of ‘civilized’ ‘international’ society and who slavishly accepted and propagated European standards of institutional governance dominated by the corporate elites. Viewed from a post-colonial perspective, the emerging doctrine of international law clearly sees European descended peoples and their governments as subjects and non-European descended peoples and their governments as objects, especially when it comes to the concept of sovereignty.

It should be noted that even in within the post-modern legal philosophical framework, the metropolitan Western states assert that the international law formulated in their image and interests is ostensibly ‘neutral’ and ‘universal’ even though the basis and goal of international law since the colonial era has been the imposition of asymmetric power relations which favor the colonizers over the colonized. International law as we know it at present is therefore a tool used by the economic elites of the West to maintain their political hegemony through unquestioning acceptance of their preferred economic ideology (Anghie, 2004). Examples of international legal concepts that propagate colonial relations in the South include sources doctrine, the notion of acquired rights and doctrines on state succession. Sources doctrine stipulates that treaties are international law and provides the framework, structure and coherence for the exercise of Western domination thereby (Cohen, 2007). The concept of acquired rights (vested or executed rights) pertains to those rights not automatically revoked if a treaty or law no longer

applies. If acquired rights are recognized, they become a part of a given state's legal heritage and cannot be revoked despite changes in the ultimate shift in status from colonized to sovereign state (Douglas-Scott, 2016).

For the states of the South, the concept of internationalized state contracts, which are ostensibly agreements between the state and foreign multinational corporations is emblematic of how international law is utilized to impose the neo-colonial order. The rationale for the internationalization of state contracts was to restrict the sovereign rights of host states to modify, abrogate or rescind such agreements which are essentially under contract law, as private agreements recognized within domestic jurisdictions. This internationalization raised the profile of state contracts from the private domestic arena and subject to host state jurisdiction, to the status of quasi-treaties. As Anghie (2004) points out, the elevation of state contracts to quasi treaties has limited the ability of Southern countries as host states of foreign investments to intervene and modify contract terms, even though they may be detrimental to their citizens' welfare and well-being. In addition, this new contractual regime has elevated a private actor's (the multinational corporation's) position and profile to that of equality with the host state in dispute settlement forums such as arbitral panels.¹ Such elevation also implies the assertion of rights by multinational corporations which are equal or comparable to those of the host state. This involves the diminution of the host state's sovereign powers to legislate in its own national interest and the interest of its citizens to enhance their welfare and reduces the state's autonomy in the domestic sphere to the advantage and privilege of multinational corporations. The internationalization of the state contract and its elevation to the status of a quasi-treaty, has allowed for the application of the doctrine of *pacta sunt servanda* within a domestic and international legal context that limits the host state's autonomy and discretionary powers.

Multinational corporations who have made investments in the Caribbean and other states of the South have thus been granted a quasi-sovereign status, which puts them on equal footing with host states in cases of contract disputes. This process has not just elevated the profile and standing of multinational corporations domestically, but also within the context of international law, by supporting a view that there is equality or near-equality of status with sovereign host states. It should be noted that while multinational corporations presently consider themselves to be equal or near equal in the context of their negotiations or the settlement of disputes in the Caribbean, such audacity is not yet generally accepted by governments in the metropolitan states from which these corporations emerged.

Because it is subservient to the interests of the economic elites of the North, international law is obsessed with the concept of sovereignty or control over physical space, especially as this pertains to property rights, that is, rights over physical territory and

¹ For example, the International Center for Settlement of Investment Disputes (ICSID).

rights over physical things. According to Anghie (2004), the conceptual and philosophical framing of European private law, especially in relation to property law and property rights, has had a major impact on international law jurisprudence and has weaponized international law as an instrument of colonialism and neo-colonialism. Despite its heavily class-biased and narrowly Eurocentric nature and history, international law makes its false claims to ‘neutrality’ and ‘universality’ because it is founded on mutually exclusive and conjunctively exhaustive Platonic colonial epistemic binaries such as ‘civilized’ versus ‘uncivilized’ which neatly correspond to ‘European’ versus ‘Non-European’; ‘rich’ versus ‘poor’; white’ versus ‘black’; ‘normal’ versus ‘abnormal’; ‘true’ versus ‘false’; ‘universal’ versus ‘parochial’ and ‘good’ versus ‘evil’. According to this way of thinking, which still explicitly or implicitly saturates most dominant discourses worldwide, only ‘rich’ white ‘civilized’ Europeans have the capacity to formulate international law which is based on ‘normal’ ‘universal’ ‘truth’ and which can promote ‘universal’ ‘good’.

Legal imperialism, that is, the imposition of metropolitan legal values and norms on colonized societies, has involved a consistent and coherent effort to universalize Western legal mores and to impose them as the normative reference for law. Whitman (2009) notes that Western law was culturally engineered to expand beyond its founding territory and engage or colonize spaces that it considered void of law and legal rules recognized by those in power. Its origins lie in the imposition of the rule of the mercantile classes in the city states of antiquity, and once the space of those city state was covered by such legal rules, their reach was extended to fill spaces outside of the city state.

For the Caribbean, Western legal imperialism is intimately tied to the institution of slavery. As Antoine (2005) notes, one of the results of such a brutal system of law and governance is an enduring psychological residue that burdens former colonies with levels of doubt and insecurity that hamper their ability to formulate legal rules that are reflective of their social reality. In most Caribbean societies, legal reference is commonly made to laws and modalities determined by their former colonizers which have little to do with Caribbean reality. Examples of this are the continued role of the Privy Council in Britain for final appeals and the rejection of the Caribbean Court of Justice (CCJ)² as a competent judicial body for final appeals governments in the region, which demonstrate how Caribbean people continue to doubt their capacity to adjudicate final appeals in a manner that is justiciable. According to Antoine (2005) this lack of trust and continued self-doubt in the capacity and capabilities of Caribbean peoples is one of the primary drivers for the preference for written constitutions in the region instead of Westminster-style unwritten constitutions. As Antoine (2005) further points out, British Caribbean states’ courts and jurists rely almost exclusively on English precedent, which

² Grenada and Antigua & Barbuda Reject Caribbean Court of Justice. *Caribbean360*, Oct. 7, 2018. Retrieved November 2018 from <http://www.caribbean360.com/news/grenada-antigua-barbuda-reject-the-caribbean-court-of-justice#ixzz5Wlq6nYlS>

is so disconnected from Caribbean life that decisions based on their ability to dispense justice at risk, as evidenced in the Pratt and Morgan death penalty case in Jamaica.³

Property rights and the ‘rule of law’ in the Caribbean

In the Caribbean, property rights feature prominently in foreign investors’ decisions to invest, with a clear preference being evident for investment in countries that have strong property rights protection rules. It is also generally believed that strong property rights rules reflect a generally and fundamentally strong system of legal rules, that is, strong property rights rules are routinely equated with the existence and robustness of the ‘rule of law’ and ‘good governance’. There is nothing inherently ‘universal’, however, about property and property rights, and no logical reason to automatically equate strong property rights law with the rule of law and good governance. Perrone (2017) refers to different conceptions of property based on normative and policy preferences. He notes that the interpretation of property is “informed by background conceptions about economics, public law and private authority, the nature of property and by ideas about what law itself is and how it works”. Impacted by temporal and spatial contexts, property can be defined in terms of a system of pre-established rights, which are disputable.

Property rights are regarded as among a set of fundamental rights in some economic and legal cultures, such as that of the United States, whose laws have had a major influence over neoliberal ideology and practice. The neoliberal view is rooted in the philosophy of John Locke, who insisted on the sanctity of property rights and the privileging of property rights as basic rights. Kramer (1997) observes that the Lockean concept of property rights laid the foundation for the appropriation of material goods by individual human subjects, who, in pursuit of individual autonomy could procure or transform things existing in a state of nature to become possessions. Locke’s understanding of property also licensed the transformation of effort manifested as labor into property and therefore the assertion of property rights to the product of that labor.

Our assessment of property rights in the Caribbean includes a compilation of a property rights index as a reference point. This index seeks to measure the extent to which domestic laws provide protection for private property rights, as well as the robustness of property rights law enforceability in these jurisdictions. The higher the score signals greater protection of property rights and the greater attraction for global capital flows. As a reflection of the robustness and resilience of property law, the property rights index provides an objective basis for the evaluation of whether or not there is potential for expropriatory action by the host state.

As shown in Figures 1 through 7 and Tables 1 and 2, the index indicates that property rights law development in most Caribbean states remains below the ‘accepted levels’ in Northern states such as the Netherlands, and that while Caribbean states are marginally better than their counterparts elsewhere in the South from a comparative perspective,

³ Pratt v A-G [1993] 43 WIR 340

they are still ranked low internationally when it comes to recognition of property rights. It should also be noted how property rights law is automatically linked to the ‘rule of law’ in official discourse, as reflected in the way the supposedly ‘neutral’ and ‘objective’ tables and figures are structured.

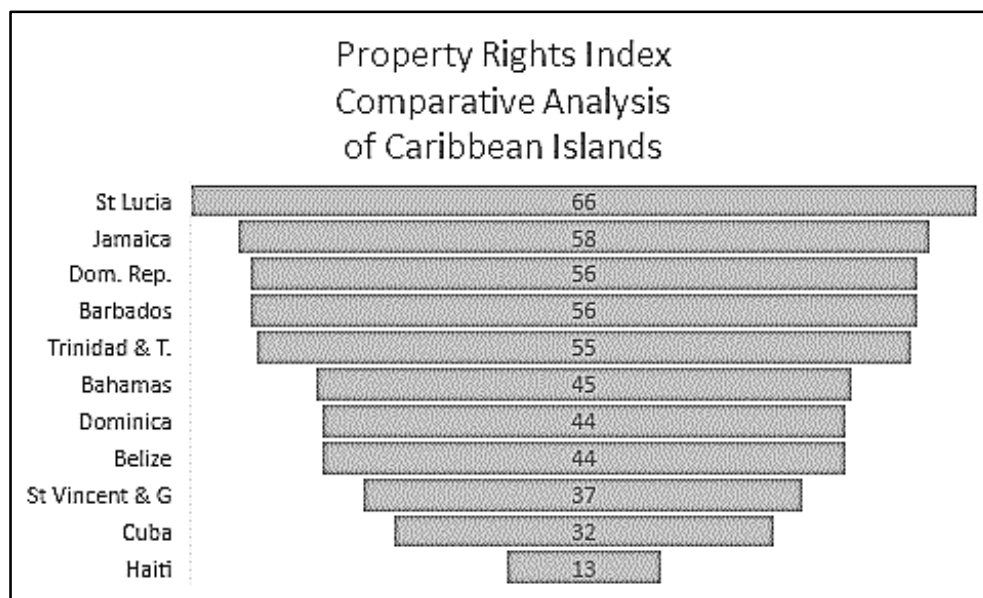


Figure 1 Property Rights Index for selected Caribbean states. Source: The Heritage Foundation and the Wall Street Journal <https://www.globalpropertyguide.com/Caribbean/Jamaica/property-rights-index>, accessed August 2018

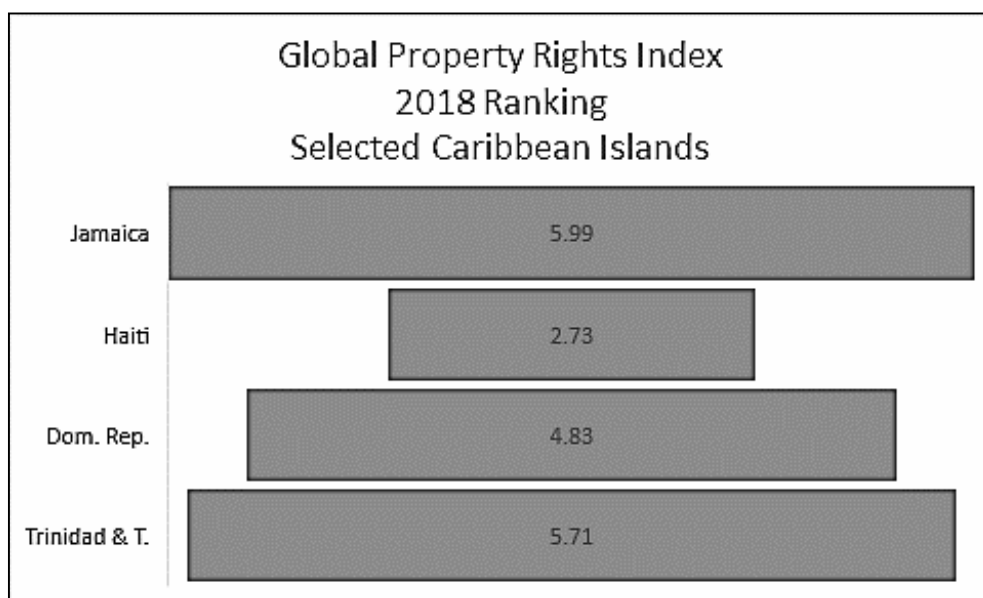


Figure 2 Property Rights Index for selected Caribbean states, updated to 2018. Source: International Property Rights Alliance <https://www.internationalpropertyrightsindex.org/countries>, accessed July 2018

Table 1 Property Rights Index for selected Caribbean states, updated to 2018. Source: International Property Rights Alliance
<https://www.internationalpropertyrightsindex.org/countries>, accessed July 2018

Country	Score	Global Rank	Regional Rank
Jamaica	5.99	51	4
Haiti	2.73	125	20
Dom. Rep.	4.83	87	13
Trinidad & T.	5.71	57	7

Table 2 Property Rights Index for selected Caribbean states, compared with the Netherlands. Source: International Property Rights Alliance
<https://www.internationalpropertyrightsindex.org/countries>, accessed July 2018

Statistic	Jamaica	Haiti	Trinidad & Tobago	Dom Rep	The Netherlands	Comparison between Netherlands and Jamaica
IPRI	5.991	2.733	5.714	4.837	8.325	2.334
Legal And Political	5.328	2.92	5.193	3.98	8.431	3.103
Judicial Independence	6.401	2.371	5.811	2.225	9.075	2.674
Rule Of Law	4.496	3.002	4.674	4.423	8.787	4.291
Control Of Corruption	4.678	2.303	4.476	3.446	8.901	4.223
Political Stability	5.736	4.003	5.812	5.826	6.958	1.222
Protection Of Physical Property	6.474	1.326	5.913	6.106	8.012	1.538
Property Rights Protection	5.98	2.789	5.448	4.82	8.684	2.704
Registering Property	9.36	1.298	7.46	8.524	9.897	0.537
Ease Of Access To Loans	4.083	1.19	4.831	4.975	5.457	1.374
Intellectual Property Rights	5.625	2.108	4.57	4.713	8.661	3.036
Protection Of Intellectual Property Rights	6.17	3.954	6.035	4.426	8.531	2.361
Patent Protection	6.716	5.8	7.5	6.166	9.333	2.617

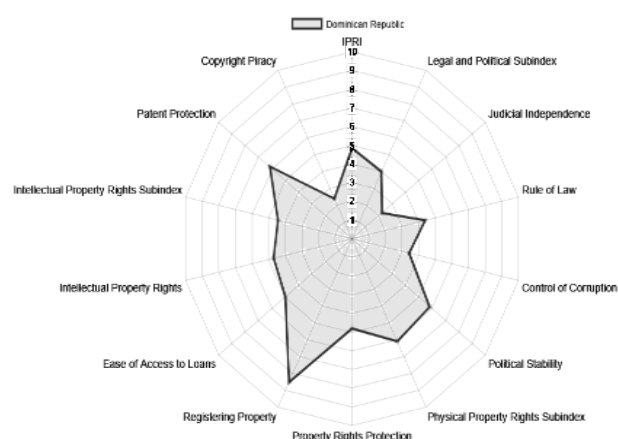


Figure 3 Index values: Dominican Republic



Figure 4 Index values: Jamaica

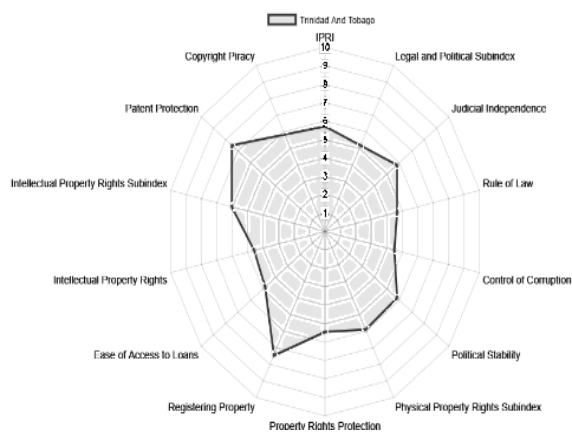


Figure 5 Index values: Trinidad and Tobago

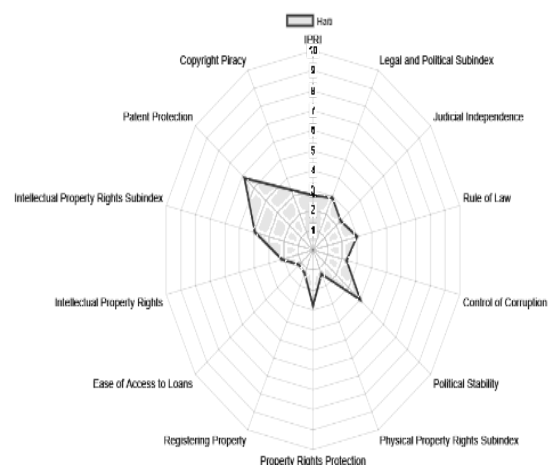


Figure 6 Index values: Haiti

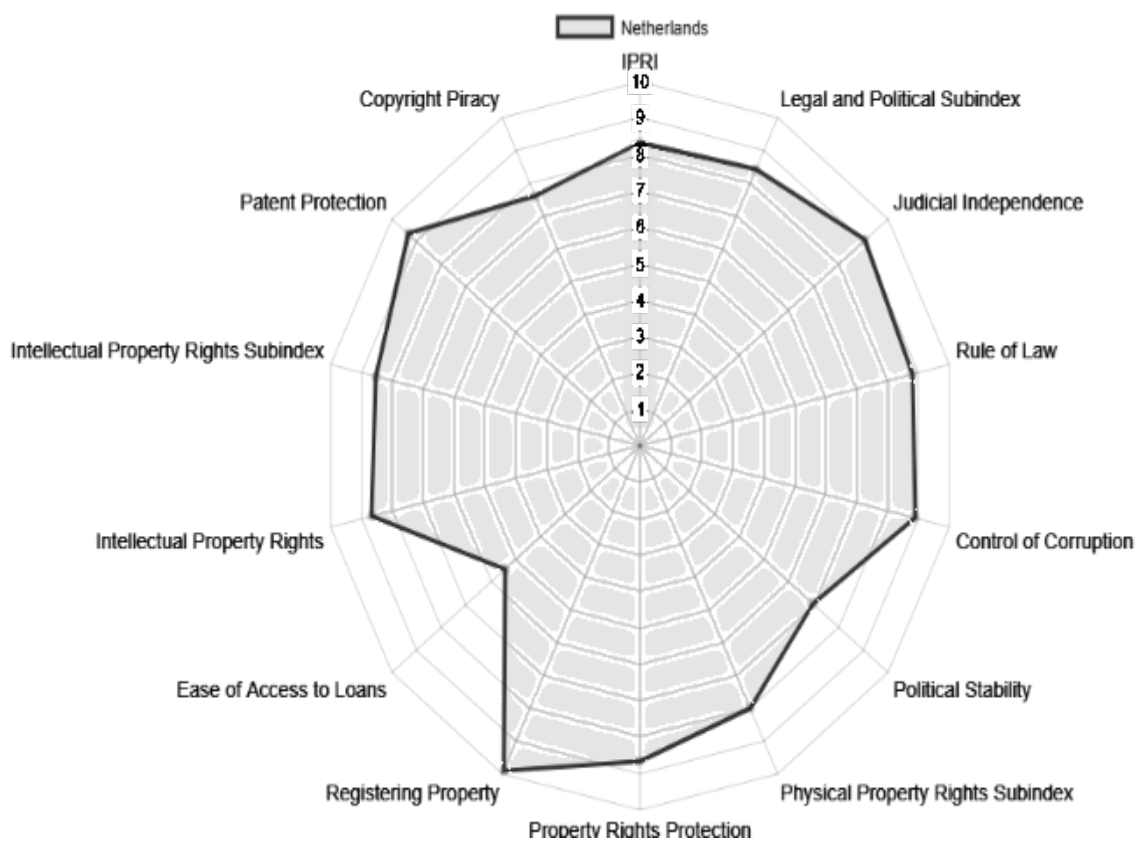


Figure 7 Index values: the Netherlands

Conclusion

There is need for further research on the extent to which the Caribbean has been and continues to be subject to legal imperialism, that is, the extent to which states in the

region are being compelled to adopt legal norms that are exogenous to their social realities without substantial modification to suit the uniqueness of their cultures and peoples. It is, however, safe to say that in general the Caribbean has been impacted by a neoliberal-driven cultural and legal imperialism which privileges property rights and accumulation of those rights in terms of wealth, and by the inevitable social and economic inequalities that ensue from this form of neo-colonization. In this connection, there is a pressing need to embrace alternative theories of property rights which are rooted in a communitarian context that corresponds better to Caribbean realities, as well as to separate the assessment of property rights from assessments of the 'rule of law'. The 'rule of law' and 'good governance' need to be measured in new ways, which de-link them from neoliberal and neo-colonial rights to accumulate capital at the expense of social well-being. Instead, new metrics for 'rule of law' and 'good governance' must be formulated in terms of social adherence to general rules and in terms of the fairness and equity of 'natural law'. It is time to limit the judicial dependence of Caribbean states on European and American models of justice, where that dependence conflicts with the social reality of the Caribbean. This can only occur if the states and peoples of the Caribbean embrace their uniqueness and declare their judicial independence from the resurgent neo-imperial metropolises of the North and their neo-liberal obsession with an inherently exploitative and colonizing understanding of property rights law.

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THE MOTIVATION OF IMMIGRANTS TO ARUBA TO APPLY FOR DUTCH CITIZENSHIP

NORA L. RÖDERS

PEOPLE AGAINST SUFFERING OPPRESSION AND POVERTY, CAPE TOWN,
SOUTH AFRICA

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Abstract

Citizenship status signals the legal membership of an individual in a political or geographical community. This article reports on a community-based, mixed-method study conducted in Aruba in 2018. The study investigated immigrants' motives in applying for citizenship using the theoretical frameworks of rational choice and social identity theory. It is the first study about citizenship acquisition in Aruba and one of the limited ones available outside the North American and European contexts. The results show that immigrants' motives mostly concern personal economic gain and legal/status benefits, while social identity factors play an essential role for those immigrating at a younger age. Opposed to most findings from citizenship studies elsewhere, a motivation shared by all participants was a longing for security and an escape from discrimination.

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Key terms: citizenship, immigration, Aruba, discrimination

Introduction

The closest an immigrant can come to the legal and political status of the native-born is by acquiring citizenship (Aptekar, 2016). To apply for citizenship, however, often entails economic, pragmatic and emotional burdens that people can avoid by obtaining more accessible forms of membership, including legal and permanent residence (Diehl & Blohm, 2003). Therefore, the question arises as to why people choose to apply for citizenship. Rational choice theory (RCT) and social identity theory (SIT) have received much attention in terms of explaining motives for seeking citizenship. From an RCT perspective, people base decisions according to a cost-benefit analysis (Tversky & Kahneman, 1986). Accordingly, immigrants are motivated to acquire citizenship if the benefits in terms of legal status and personal economic gain outweigh the costs. From

an SIT perspective, emotional and identity factors are essential in explaining motivation (Aptekar, 2016). What influences those applying for citizenship alters with a cross-national understanding of laws and regulations impacting nations and individuals (Bloemraad & Sheares, 2017). As most citizenship studies are limited to the European and North American contexts, there is a need for more diversified research.

This study focuses on immigrants' motives in applying for citizenship in Aruba, a Small Island State located just off the Venezuelan coast, which is a constituent country of the Kingdom of the Netherlands. Although Aruba became autonomous in 1986, naturalization, the legal act by which people acquire citizenship, is dealt with under the Netherlands Nationality Act (2015), administered by the Kingdom's Council of Ministers. The political and geographical situation of the island makes it a special case for citizenship studies. Understanding immigrants' motivation contributes to the theoretical debate on citizenship and immigration, in a context of post-colonial and Kingdom relationships. Findings from such a study have the potential to contribute to the sustainable development of Aruban society. In 2010, the foreign-born population on Aruba represented 34% of a total of 101,669 inhabitants, of which more than half were noncitizens (CBS, 2010: 20). Although more recent data are not available to our knowledge, similar, if not increasing numbers of immigrants are expected, given that population estimates indicate that in 2030, about 46% of the inhabitants of the island will be foreign-born (Migration, 2010). Consequently, more people may want to acquire Dutch citizenship. To understand what motivates them could show whether, and if so how, individuals perceive citizenship, how such legal status may affect the further integration of immigrants and therefore the development of Aruban society.

This article explains what constitutes Dutch citizenship in Aruba. Following, it presents the reader to RCT, SIT and previous empirical studies about citizenship acquisition. Mixed research methods in the form of semi-structured interviews and surveys were used to explore immigrants' motives in Aruba. The qualitative and quantitative results are presented independently, and findings are compared. The paper finishes by drawing conclusions from the study and highlighting its strengths and limitations.

As an autonomous country within the Kingdom of the Netherlands, Aruba is independent in many legal matters. Exceptions are noted in Article 3 of the Netherlands Nationality Act (2015) explicitly stating which elements of law-making are 'Kingdom Affairs'. This includes access to Dutch citizenship, to be administered by the Kingdom's Council of Ministers (Ministry of foreign affairs, n.d.). Consequently, there is only one category of citizens, the *Nederlandse Burger* (Dutch citizen) for all countries within the Kingdom of the Netherlands.

Different rights, however, do apply to citizens from different Kingdom territories. The Overseas Countries and Territories of the Netherlands, including Aruba, face distinctive obstacles determined by their geographical size and economic strength, compared to the

Netherlands. They can, therefore, determine which rights are linked to citizenship status, although they are urged to implement policies that are in the interest of all countries within the Kingdom (Karapetian, 2016). For example, the Aruban government has the right to control the inflow of Dutch citizens from the Netherlands and reserve rights (i.e., voting rights, access to loans) for the Dutch citizens from Aruba (DIMAS, 2018; Overheid Aruba, 2015). To become a Dutch citizen in Aruba, people can apply for *naturalization* or *option*, depending on their migration background. Both application processes carry economic, pragmatic and emotional burdens. Applicants must pay an administrative fee, fulfill language requirements and may be required to give up their previous citizenship, amongst others (Immigratie- en Naturalisatiedienst, 2017). Although more easily accessible status and permits exist, many opt for citizenship.

Previous work on the motivation to apply for citizenship

To explain immigrants' motives to apply for citizenship, we draw attention to rational choice- and social identity theory. Rational choice theory makes use of normative analysis to predict individual choices and behavior (Tversky & Kahneman, 1986). The theory builds on the assumption that people are rational agents who take decisions for their benefit, to pursue individual goals, and for "utility maximization" (Petracca, 1991: 289). The utility of citizenship is roughly dividable into personal economic gain and legal/status benefits. Concerning personal economic gain, various studies have found that immigrants want to become citizens to improve their income and enhance employment opportunities (Aptekar, 2016; Reichel, 2011; Sumption & Flamm, 2012). Other economic reasons include access to public benefits, such as welfare benefits or federal assistance programs (Nam & Kim, 2012). Legal/status benefit motives include obtaining inclusive citizen rights (i.e., the right to vote), the ability to obtain a passport that enables visa-free travel opportunities or avoids paperwork for visas (Bloemraad & Sheares, 2017; Gropas & Triandafyllidou, 2012; Harpaz, 2015; Reichel, 2011). Moreover, citizenship gives access to state territory without needing to apply for residence permits, while other legal forms of residence can be subject to policy change and, therefore, never secure full protection (Bloemraad & Sheares, 2017). Immigrants may further acquire citizenship to extend such legal status to their children (Street, 2014).

From the perspective of social identity theory, people take decisions based on emotional or identity factors. They strive for a positive social identity, high self-esteem and psychological well-being (Tajfel & Turner, 1986; Reichel, 2011). In-depth interviews have revealed that immigrants are motivated to apply for citizenship because they feel "at home" in the respective country or identify as nationals already, and citizenship is a confirmation of such emotional attachment (Aptekar, 2016; Witte, 2014). Additionally, people may consider citizenship an incubator to start identifying more with the respective country and its citizens, as Gilbertson (2004) concluded from her study on Dominican immigrants in New York.

Research questions and methodology

Based on previous research and the primary research question which asks: “What motivates immigrants in Aruba to apply for Dutch citizenship?”, two sub-questions have been formulated: 1) Are rational choice motives important for immigrants in Aruba when applying for Dutch citizenship? If so, which ones? and 2) Are emotional or identity motives important for immigrants in Aruba when applying for Dutch citizenship? If so, which ones?

This study used a mixed-method design, including both qualitative and quantitative research methods to answer the research questions. Given the sensitivity of the research topic, the study utilized a community-based approach. Collaborating with the community helps to overcome distrust of the researcher, to reduce biases about sensitive issues (Minkler, 2005) and to enhance validity by developing community sensitive frameworks (Elden & Levin, 1991). For the present study, two students from the Academic Foundation Year Program at the University of Aruba helped with data collection. Both had an immigrant background and had applied for Dutch citizenship themselves. Interviews with two Cabinet of the Governor representatives and a local journalist provided insights into the citizenship acquisition process from the institutional perspective.

For the qualitative part of the study, semi-structured interviews were conducted to gain an in-depth understanding of people’s motives, while leaving room for unpredictable results. The sample consisted of 13 immigrants who were considering applying for citizenship, were in the application process or have already been naturalized. Twelve interviews took place in English; and one in a mixture of Haitian Créole and Papiamentu. The interviews consisted of five parts:

1. The time before migrating to Aruba (education, work experience and feelings of belonging to the country of origin).
2. Immigration to Aruba (date of immigration, age at migration and motives to decide to leave the previous country to migrate to Aruba).
3. Experiences on Aruba (education and work experiences, feeling of belonging to Aruba and the Dutch Kingdom).
4. Incentives to become a citizen and experiences with local immigration institutions (DIMAS and the Cabinet).
5. Demographic questions

The interview questions for the first three parts were adapted from previous studies on citizenship acquisition. The fourth part was constructed using information from interviews with Cabinet officials (personal communication, Feb. 2018) and journalist L. Villegas (personal communication, Feb. 2018).

The quantitative research component consisted of a survey based on a Likert scale questionnaire concerning motives for applying for citizenship and demographic questions. The questionnaire included 15 Likert scaled items to measure the role of rational choice and emotional or identity factors for citizenship acquisition in Aruba. Each item was

phrased as a question beginning with “How important was it for you to apply for citizenship ...” followed by a statement (i.e., because you feel Aruban). The participants ranked the importance on a scale of 1 to 5 (1= Not important to 5= very important). For the analysis, three category constructs combined the different Likert items. The two rational choice categories were: 1) ‘personal economic gain’ and 2) ‘legal/status benefits’. For social identity factors the category 3) ‘emotional or identity motives’ was constructed. A Cronbach alpha was calculated to check for the reliability of the scale and to determine whether the Likert-items measured the intended underlying construct.

The survey included four statements designed to measure the personal economic motives behind applying for Dutch citizenship: 1) ... to get access to higher education on Aruba or abroad; 2) ... to have access to loans; 3) ... to get access to job opportunities in Aruba; and 4) ... to get access to job opportunities in Europe”. While the statements on job opportunities refer to questions asked in previous citizenship studies, the statements about access to higher education and being able to apply for loans were included after the interviews with a journalist (personal communication, Feb. 2018) and a Cabinet representative (personal communication, Feb. 2018). Although higher education may not be relevant to all participants, the statement was included as the average age in the sample group was relatively young. The question concerning loans was included as the Cabinet representative mentioned that access to loans is often restricted to Aruban citizens and represents an important motive for immigrants of all ages (personal communication, 2018). The Cronbach alpha of the constructed variable for the ‘personal economic gain’ category was .76, indicating fairly good reliability.

Several statements measured motivation for legal/status benefits, including: 5) ... to be able to vote in elections; 6) ... because traveling is easier with the Aruban citizenship/ a Dutch passport; 7) ... to be able to come to and leave Aruba without restrictions; 8) ... to avoid having to reapply for permits to live on Aruba; and 9) ... to not be affected by changes in immigration policies. To consider the potential importance of social rewards, for example to increase ones’ status within one’s respective community, to receive equal treatment as ‘native’ citizens or to be rewarded with a higher status within one’s social group (Reichel, 2011), the survey included two statements: 9) ... to be treated equally as the Aruban citizen and 10) ... because relatives applied for it, too. Additionally, the statement: 11) ... so that your children can have the European citizenship, considered the importance of application for citizenship to the future of one’s child. The Cronbach alpha of the constructed variable for the category ‘legal/status benefits’ was .65.

The feeling of wanting to belong to the destination society is evident in any decision to settle there, rather than wanting to return to the country of origin (Reichel, 2011; Wunderlich, 2005), therefore the following statement was included: 12) ... because you decided to settle on Aruba. In previous studies, citizenship was found to be perceived both as a form of recognition and as a natural consequence of increased feelings of

belonging or desire to change membership (Aptekar, 2016; Reichel, 2011). In the present survey, two statements concerned these motives: 13)... because you feel Aruban; and 14) ... to become a full member of the Aruban community. The Cronbach Alpha for the constructed variable 'emotional or identity motivation' was .64.

People wanting to acquire Dutch citizenship in the future, who have already applied for Dutch citizenship or who have already obtained Dutch citizenship were invited to participate in the survey, which was distributed online via the University of Aruba network and through social media, and as a hard copy via a snowball method to include people without internet access. Participants could choose between 3 different languages to fill in the survey (English, Papiamentu and Spanish). They were informed that the study concerned their incentives to apply for citizenship and that their answers would be kept anonymous. The survey included the researcher's e-mail address for questions, concerns or complaints. In total, 60 participants completed the survey, 47 online and 13 as a hard copy. Cases were excluded pairwise to handle missing data.

Qualitative results

People from Latin America (Venezuela, Columbia, Suriname, British Guyana), the Caribbean (Haiti, the Dominican Republic, Jamaica) and Europe (Belgium) participated in the qualitative part of this study. Of the 13 participants, ten were female. Their average age was 30 years. Most participants indicated that they worked for wages. For eight participants, high school was the highest level of education, and five had college experience or a university degree. The average age at migration was 11 years, and most participants were 1.5 generation immigrants. Table 1 presents the most frequently mentioned motives to apply for citizenship.

Table 1 Most frequently mentioned motives to apply for Dutch Citizenship

Motive to apply for Citizenship	Number of participants who mentioned the motive
<i>Access to higher education in Aruba and abroad</i>	9
<i>Access to loans (DUO; Aruba lening; Bank loans)</i>	9
<i>Job opportunities on Aruba</i>	8
<i>To come and leave Aruba without restrictions</i>	7
<i>Not having to reapply for residence/ work permits</i>	5
<i>Live on Aruba for long time</i>	3
<i>Improvement of social status within the Aruban community</i>	3
<i>Decide to stay/ settle on Aruba</i>	2
<i>Children/ Family on Aruba</i>	2
<i>Feeling Aruban</i>	2
<i>Reduce mental distress</i>	2

Interviewees mentioned multiple reasons with access to higher education and receiving loans as the most frequent combination. Other motives included job opportunities on Aruba, to come and leave Aruba without restrictions, to not have to reapply for residence and work permits, the length of residence on Aruba and to improve one's status in the community. Motives are categorized into rational choice motives, namely personal economic gain and legal/status benefits, and emotional or identity motives.

Rational choice motives

A) Personal economic gain

Personal economic gain factors included access to higher education, loans, and job opportunities.

1a) Access to higher education

In total, nine interviewees mentioned access to higher education as an essential motive to acquire citizenship for two reasons. First, they considered the 'international students' higher education fees in Aruba and Europe as very expensive relative to the lower national tuition fees and, therefore, perceived citizenship as economically advantageous. Secondly, interviewees discussed academic opportunities that come with citizenship status, mentioning that there are only a few study choices available in Aruba, of the nine interviewees considering access to higher education as an important motive, seven thought about leaving Aruba to study in the Netherlands or Europe as articulated by a 21-year-old woman from Haiti. "I don't want to study only here and to only have one perspective. I want to go elsewhere and with the Dutch passport, you can basically go anywhere in Europe" (female, 21, Haiti). Study choices seemed to be especially vital for interviewees interested in natural sciences.

1b) Access to loans and inclusive citizen rights

To be able to pay tuition at institutions of higher education, interviewees expressed a need for student loans that they cannot access without citizenship status. Loans included 'Aruba *lening*', which is limited to Dutch citizens from Aruba enrolled at a higher education institute and the 'DUO'- loan that is available to all Dutch citizens and other restrictive categories of people. As only those under the age of 30 years can obtain student loans, two respondents emphasized an urgency to apply for citizenship:

If I get it when I am old, yeah, it doesn't matter anymore. Because when you are thirty I guess you can't apply for the *lening* [loans] (female, 24, Venezuela).

Before the University, I thought I was trapped to go to school because I needed to get my permit. But then I am like: Hey, I do wanna keep going, and I wanna get to the University. So it was just in time. It was just in time that I got my naturalization and I got my passport so I could apply for my *lening* [loans] and then I could pay to go the university (female, 28, Venezuela)

Apart from access to education, various monetary benefits and inclusive citizen rights

are limited to people with Dutch citizenship. These include access to social welfare, pension plans, and construction loans. A middle-aged woman from Suriname described such benefits as the “biggest advantages (of Dutch citizenship)” (female, 37, Suriname), giving her a feeling of freedom: “I can do what, what I would like to do here on Aruba. Let’s say, I would want to start a business, I can actually start a business with my Dutch Passport” (ibid). The ability to obtain loans and economic benefits was considered a great advantage of citizenship as opposed to other forms of legal- and permanent status. This point was illustrated by a 37-year-old woman from Suriname who has an unlimited residence permit (*firma liber*): “I cannot recommend, I cannot use the *firma liber* (...) it doesn’t give me all access” (female, 37, Suriname). People reported problems in organizing their daily lives without citizenship, including but not limited to the inability to open bank accounts in Aruba.

1c) Employment opportunities.

Eight participants discussed employment opportunities because they perceived discrimination against people without Dutch citizenship in the Aruban labor market. For them, citizenship translates into job opportunities.

Just because you have a Dutch passport doesn’t really mean you have experience and expertise but it actually gives you an image. (...) it gives you an exclusive look. (...) when you get a Dutch passport, people regard you highly (female, 21, Haiti)

One participant also mentioned their interest in entering the European labor market. Yet, although participants hope that citizenship will increase job opportunities, they did not believe that their immigrant stigma will fully dissolve. Two middle-aged women from Suriname argued that Arubans look at one’s family name before employing or promoting someone. They referred to this phenomenon as the “Aruban privilege”, reserved for people with a long heritage on the island (female, 30, Suriname; female, 37, Suriname).

2) Legal/status benefits

Interviewees frequently mentioned legal/status benefits as motives for citizenship acquisition, namely for travel purposes, not having to reapply for permits, social rewards and future opportunities for one’s children.

2a) Travel purposes and access to Aruban territory

Seven interview participants based their intentions for citizenship at least in part on the need to travel (to explore one’s surroundings, to be able to go back to their country of origin, to visit friends and family) more freely, with motives including not having to apply for visas and, for those experiencing difficulties with travelling before, reduced waiting times and discrimination at immigration points. Without citizenship, they reported the fear of leaving Aruba and not being able to return to the island. A middle-aged Surinamese woman based this fear on previous experiences with difficulties entering Aruban territory after a trip to her country of origin, despite having permanent

residence on the island. Although the participants were aware that residence and working permits theoretically provide access to Aruban territory, respondents were afraid that statuses other than citizenship might become invalid due to changes in policy.

2b) Not having to apply for permits

Another critical motive to apply for Dutch citizenship, as five participants mentioned explicitly, is not have to obtain residence or work permits. This was considered advantageous in two ways. Firstly, interviewees wanted to save the money and the time that they spend in the application process. Secondly, they wanted to avoid further engagement with the local immigration institution, DIMAS. Concerning the latter, immigrants perceived DIMAS' permit distribution as random and, therefore, their legal status on Aruba as insecure. This has several implications for their lives. First, interviewees mentioned that working and living without a legal permit causes anxiety and mental distress.

(I applied for citizenship) mainly because, because the paperwork here was such a hassle and not feeling comfortable that I was working and being here without papers (...) they can find you and expel you (female, 54, Belgium)

You get with this anxiety problem of rejection (...) your small dreams explode (female, Columbia, 24).

Secondly, applicants had difficulties finding jobs due to gaps in permits, with some feeling pressured to engage in illegal employment:

Are they pushing me to being a drug dealer because that's the only job that you can get to have a fairly decent job of, of, of (or, or, or) what do I need to go myself and kill in front of, of (or, or) making like a big something of you want to die. Actually I, I, I will tell you honestly, you just don't want to live anymore because you don't know what to do (female, 21, Haiti).

Participants said that individual workers at DIMAS discriminate on purpose and create obstacles in the application procedure. Two female interviewees from Belgium and Columbia portrayed the interaction with the institution as a form of competition, a power and status game.

They say OK, we will call you. And they didn't call you for eight months. And you say, I really need my papers and they say oh, but no, we forgot to mention you need another.... So that was really annoying and that's what they do with all the other people. They are very difficult just to not have to give them papers. They hope you give up (female, 54, Belgium).

So the guy told my mom, look really easy lady. You suck my dick and your daughter will get everything. (...) My mom was married still, you know, and my mom crying, you know, she'd say no. And then the guy say, don't worry, I will make sure your daughter, gets, you and your daughter don't get anything in Aruba. I will make sure of that (female, 24, Columbia).

In short, the obstacles DIMAS creates with their handling of permits increased immigrants' motivation to acquire citizenship. Participants wished to avoid having to reapply

for permits with the institution and, therefore, hope to reduce anxiety related to insecure legal- and residence statuses and discriminatory treatment at DIMAS offices.

2c) Increasing one's perceived status

Immigrants hoped to increase the perception of their status vis-a-vis the majority group and to reduce the stigma attached to their immigrant background. A 21-year-old woman from Haiti reported that "if you have a Dutch passport, they (the Arubans) do regard you differently than someone who has a, another, like even a permit of 10 years" (female, 21, Haiti). This motive was most frequently mentioned by South American participants who reported discrimination in school, during job applications and at DIMAS.

2d) For the future of one's children

Inclusive citizen rights may not only be beneficial to interviewees themselves. A 28-year-old woman from Venezuela who initially did not want to apply for citizenship because of her emotional connection to her country of origin, decided to do so for the future of her son: "My son was born, and the situation changes in Venezuela. And then I said: I don't have a future in Venezuela. There is no future for my son there either" (female, 28, Venezuela). All three participants with children mentioned the motive to acquire citizenship for their children.

Emotional or identity motives

Emotional attachment to Aruba was prominent amongst the 1.5 generation immigrants, who migrated before the age of 13. What makes Aruba home, and them Aruban, was mentioned to be their knowledge of Aruban culture, the environment, the memories they had and the social network of friends and family they had established: "(...) there is a lot of history here that you have with your family, so this is home." (female, 27, British-Guyana). They apply for citizenship as a natural consequence to a feeling of being Aruban and as a sign of belonging to the Aruban community. One participant (female, 24, Columbia) further mentioned an emotional attachment to the Netherlands. People who immigrated at a later age (13 years and older) did not consider this motive essential for they seemed to have a stronger relationship with their country of origin. They reported difficulties with learning Papiamentu and reported experiencing discrimination on Aruba. A middle-aged, naturalized respondent from Belgium summarized the feeling as follows:

I have to say after 18 years, it's not like I'm completely integrated. So you're still, you, you never will be an Aruban. ... Because you don't have family here. So there's still some gaps in the language of course because if you're married to an Aruban guy who speaks Papiamentu at home, it's much more easily, but just like picking up from the streets and so even after years its sometimes like, what are they saying? Yeah. So that's, that's the, the gap (female, 54, Belgium).

For immigrants who did not consider themselves Aruban, changing social identities seemed to serve as a means to decrease discrimination and was therefore, motivated by rational choice.

Quantitative results

In total, 60 people completed the survey of whom 48% were already citizens, 20% were in the application process, and 30% wanted to apply in the future. Most participants were born in Latin America, followed by the Caribbean, Europe, and Asia. In total, participants came from 21 different countries. The majority of the participants were female. The age ranged between 19 and 54 years ($M=24.27$, $SD=9.97$). For 68%, the high school diploma was the highest level of education, some had limited college experience (17%), and 8.3% had obtained their bachelor's degree. At 81%, most participants were single. Overall, 12 participants had children. The average migration age was ten years, and most participants were 1.5 generation immigrants.

Table 2 Rating of motives to apply for citizenship amongst immigrants in Aruba

		Mean (max. 5, min. 1)	SD
RCT factors	Access to higher education	4.38	1.15
	Access to government funding	4.22	1.08
	Access to job opportunities in Aruba	3.95	1.21
	Access to job opportunities in Europe	3.61	1.25
	<i>Combined: Personal economic gain</i>	4.05	0.90
	Not having to reapply for working/ residence permits	4.40	0.90
	Because traveling is easier with a Dutch passport	4.34	0.87
	Be able to come to and leave Aruba	4.19	1.14
	Not being affected by policy changes	4.16	1.11
	To be treated equally as the Aruban citizens	3.60	1.39
	Future of one's child	3.58	1.40
	To be able to vote in elections	3.19	1.35
	Because other relatives applied for the Dutch citizenship, too	2.44	1.24
	<i>Combined: Legal/status benefits</i>	3.77	0.64
All Rational Choice Motives		3.94	0.69
SIT factors	Because I decided to settle on Aruba	3.93	1.35
	Because I feel Aruban	3.29	1.45
	To become a full member of the Aruban community	3.28	1.45
All Emotional or Identity Motives		3.50	1.08

Table 2 shows the means and standard deviation for the different motives to apply for citizenship.

Overall, participants considered rational choice motives slightly more important than emotional or identity ones. Among the rational choice motives, personal economic gain received a higher overall score than civic benefits. Here, access to higher education on Aruba and abroad was ranked most important, followed by access to government funding and job opportunities in Aruba. Job opportunities in Europe were considered less important compared to those in Aruba but still represented a significant factor in citizenship acquisition motives. Of the legal/status benefits, participants considered not having to reapply for residence/ work permits as most central, followed by travel opportunities, and being able to come and leave Aruba and not being affected by policy changes in immigration law. The desire to be treated equally as an Aruban citizen was considered important as well as future possibilities for one's children. To be able to vote in elections was considered moderately important. Finally, to apply for citizenship because other relatives had applied for it had the lowest mean score of all factors.

All emotional or identity motives were considered important. Statements included applying for citizenship because of the decision to settle on Aruba, because of feeling Aruban and to become a full member of the Aruban community.

Discussion and conclusions

This research explored immigrants' motives to apply for citizenship in Aruba using both qualitative and quantitative research methods. The sample size was small, and participants were found using a snowball method. Due to these factors, findings may not be generalised. That said, the results of the qualitative and quantitative studies showed similar patterns explaining immigrants' motives to apply for citizenship in Aruba, and that both rational choice and emotional/identity motives are crucial to explaining participants' intentions. In terms of personal economic gain, people identified access to higher education, loans, government funding and job opportunities in Aruba and Europe in their motivation to acquire citizenship. Access to higher education had the highest mean score and was most frequently mentioned in the interviews. The relatively young sample group may have impacted these results, as they might consider higher education necessary for career development and a natural next step after finishing high school. Interviewees referred to the limited options for further study and high tuition fees for international students in Aruba. By acquiring citizenship, people further hoped to be able to obtain government funds and loans. These mainly included student loans and access to welfare benefits. Difficulties with buying land and opening bank accounts without citizenship status were perceived as boundaries to settling on Aruba. The results of the qualitative and quantitative analyses showed that job opportunities in Aruba are an important motive. Interviewees elaborated on discrimination in the Aruban labor market. For them, becoming a citizen translates into employment opportunities, as they believe employers prefer Dutch citizens.

The only notable difference in the outcomes of the qualitative and quantitative research components in terms of personal economic gain concerned the motive to acquire citizenship for job opportunities in Europe. In the survey, this motive proved to be an important factor, as opposed to the interviews, where only one interviewee mentioned the European labor market. The methodological difference between surveys and interviews may explain this discrepancy. While the semi-structured interviews asked about the main reasons to apply for citizenship, respondents may have been inclined to list factors that have affected or affect their lives at the moment of the interview, for example, access to higher education. Entering the European labor market might play an important role in the future, but may not have been considered urgent yet. In the survey, however, a range of possible motives were listed, and some of these may have served as prompts for factors not in the immediate consciousness of the interviewees, especially in the case of those who plan to attend higher educational institutions abroad. The data from the Innovation Report 2017 supports this conclusion; of the 300 students who leave Aruba annually to study abroad, only 20% return within 3 to 5 years and less than 25% of young professionals in Aruba believe that there are adequate business opportunities on the island (Central Bank of Aruba, 2017). In conclusion, job opportunities in Europe should be taken into consideration when discussing immigrants' motives in applying for citizenship.

Among the legal/status benefits, participants considered Dutch citizenship instrumental in making travel easier. The qualitative data from the interviews, however, suggest that convenience was not the only factor at work in making this motivation a priority. Some scholars, including Aptekar (2016) and Gilbertson (2004) observe that people's motives to apply for citizenship in countries with an anti-immigrant climate may reflect their longing for social and political security. In the present study, interviewees indicated that they were concerned about guaranteeing their rights to stay in Aruba and to reduce the stigma attached to their immigration background. Participants described citizenship as the only legal status that secures access to Aruban territory and allows people to travel without running the risk of not being able to re-enter Aruba. Becoming a citizen was seen as a way to reduce the mental distress that develops from an insecure legal status. Regardless of their country of origin, income level or migration background, interviewees reported that DIMAS issues permits in a sometimes arbitrary and inadequate way, and that even immigrants who have the *firma liber* (permanent residence) were scared of policy changes. The results also showed that (perceived) discrimination and racist attitudes increased motivation to apply for citizenship. The motive of securing the future of one's children was only mentioned by those with children, which may (again) show that respondents consider future possibilities when applying for citizenship only after being prompted. Friends' and relatives' applications for citizenship were not considered a major motivational factor.

In both the interviews and surveys, participants considered emotional or identity motives only slightly less important than rational choice motives in their application for citizenship. Feeling Aruban, the intention to settle on Aruba, and the desire to become a full member of the Aruban community proved to be important and moderately important motives. The emotional or identity factors had a higher standard deviation than the rational choice ones, indicating a greater variation in the importance attributed to them. The qualitative interviews support to this conclusion. For interviewees who considered themselves Aruban, the passport seemed to represent a sign of membership confirmation, similar to what was found in previous studies in other countries where citizenship is considered to have symbolic value (Aptekar, 2016; Witte, 2014). There seemed to be the perception, however, especially amongst those in the older age cohort, that one could never fully become part of the in-group who claim a generations-long heritage on the island.

A report by CBS predicts that in 2030, immigrants will represent about half of the Aruban population (CBS, 2010). If longing for security and avoidance of discrimination remain equally important factors in their motivation for applying for citizenship as they are today, fear and anxiety may become driving forces in the reproduction of the Aruban society. In order to prevent such an outcome, it is imperative that policies and practices aimed at reducing insecurity and alienation among the immigrant population be put into practice. Because perceived discrimination was mentioned by a number of participants in the study, it will be necessary to conduct further research to determine how and where discrimination occurs most and how it may affect feelings of belongingness and the understanding of citizenship among different groups of immigrants to Aruba. Citizenship studies should not end with the acquisition of citizenship (Bloemraad & Shears, 2017). Learning how the attainment of citizenship affects people is needed in order to provide insights about whether more liberal access to citizenship might contribute to more successful integration of the foreign-born population on the island and therefore to more sustainable development of Aruban society.

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TECHNOLOGY IN DUTCH CARIBBEAN CLASSROOMS

JANNEKE BEERMAN, ADRIENNE FERNANDES AND LEENDERT PENGEL

UNIVERSITY OF CURAÇAO

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Abstract

The University of Curaçao and its programs for teaching focus on advancements in educational practice. The University fosters blended learning to facilitate an innovative learning experience. Blended learning options offer great benefits for the small islands in the Caribbean, for example, preventing the so-called brain-drain phenomenon. Moreover, use of technology in the classroom is an increasing trend in education globally that leverages the varied modern tools that many argue have changed the way we think and how we process information. This article addresses whether the so-called “flipping the classroom” method works when using an e-learning environment in language studies. It evaluates if the use of social media in classroom contexts might benefit the Dutch Caribbean islands. This article tries to answer the question: how can technology be specifically developed or used to be more helpful in the educational context?

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Key words: education, e-learning, technology, brain-drain, Dutch Caribbean

Introduction: Blended learning and flipped classrooms in Curaçao

According to Horn & Staker (2014) blended learning is described as follows: ‘The definition of blended learning is a formal education program 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; and the modalities along each student’s learning path within a course or subject are connected to provide an integrated learning experience.’ (p. 77)

According to the General Faculty’s Critical Reflection document (Echteld, 2017), bachelor alumni had asked the General Faculty of the University of Curaçao (UoC) repeatedly if it could provide a professional master course that would enable them to stay on their own islands. The General Faculty of the University 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 service range as well. There are four professional master teacher-training programmes, namely: Papiamentu, English, Dutch and Spanish. In order to create a bigger platform and exposure for these programmes, the General Faculty formed alliances with Aruban and international institutes (e.g. in Puerto Rico, Suriname and the Netherlands). These alliances have additionally enabled increased insight through shared knowledge and experience. The UoC's blended learning programme and its course modules are streamed simultaneously to all the islands in the service range via Blackboard Collaborate Ultra, which is part of Blackboard, UoC's current course management software. The professor stands in front of a physical group of students as well as a digital group of students around the islands to ensure that the blended learning strategy is being used according to the same standards as the face-to-face modality. In addition, all learning tools used during face-to-face courses are digitized to facilitate distance access and promote an integrated learning experience. Technicians on each participating island monitor the streaming service and troubleshoot when necessary as this helps to establish optimal performance rates. In addition to digitized learning tools, the lectures are recorded and can be accessed anytime via a lecture archive in Blackboard Collaborate Ultra so that students who cannot attend lectures can access them at a more convenient time. Also, students who did already attend the lectures can use the recordings as a revision aid. Moreover, older cohort students, who may have interrupted their studies and want to start again, can access these recordings and so facilitate their return to the programme.

A Dutch software developing company named "Three Ships Enterprises BV" designed a new Flipping the Classroom solution called "Cumlaude Learn" on their Cumlaude Academy (e-Learning) platform which is also hosted locally on Curaçao (<https://curaçao.cumlaudeacademy.com>) and may benefit learning experiences in secondary education on Curaçao. Another product that they offer on the same platform is "MyliveTutor", which is a solution to connect tutors and their students in a digital 1-on-1 classroom, especially designed for tutoring. In this virtual classroom, tutor and student can talk to each other, share information, upload files, draw and write on a virtual whiteboard and watch clips. Tutors and students can access the session anywhere as long as they have an internet connection and a digital device with a microphone or headset. Flipped learning is a pedagogical approach (explained in Gerstein, 2012) that inverts more traditional classroom-based learning. It promotes the concept of students learning material before class, with classroom time then being used to deepen understanding through discussion with peers and problem-solving activities that are facilitated by the teacher.

A flipped classroom turns the traditional model on its head. Traditionally, the students would receive information from the teacher in class time and work on problem-solving activities as homework outside of the classroom. In the flipped setting, students use an

online platform to access supplementary e-books and textbooks, videos and other multimedia materials for the information that, in traditional education models, would have been presented by a teacher through lectures in class time. The flipped method enables students to engage with a wide range of information sources and can be adapted to individual learning styles. The teacher, now in the role of a coach, may use the same online platform for remote discussions in forums or by checking exercises that students can complete online. When in class, the students may discuss their findings or ask their teacher for a more in-depth explanation of the concepts studied. Flipping the classroom can work effectively when using an e-learning environment, and blended learning brings together elements of both traditional and flipped classrooms to enhance learning.

Technology in the classroom

Increased use of technology in the classroom follows worldwide trends in globalised economies. According to Van Lier (2003), “technology is to be a positive force in education, it should not be cast as an alternative to classroom teaching” (p. 49). At UoC and throughout the education system of the Netherlands, teachers have aimed to embed technology in the classroom in ways that focus on educational outcomes. According to Coenders et al. (2014), integrating technology as a pedagogical method to maximize differentiation in the Dutch classroom started in the 1980s. In the 1990s, the integration of technology intensified when the Dutch government merged the special-needs classroom with the regular classroom. So teachers needed to find a balance among providing basic knowledge, enabling repetition of information and practice for slower learners, and offering enrichment activities tailored for those who already demonstrated mastery of a specific skill. Meanwhile, the world went through an immense period of digitalization, and international education models leveraged technology to cater to different learning styles and needs. Besides the integration of technological advancements, education models have increasingly incorporated more real-life situations for students so that they are able to learn from situations they might encounter when they start working. This approach aligns with Curaçao’s government-initiative to promote 21st Century Skills that stress the importance of being able to work together, developing critical thinking skills, engaging in problem-solving and increasing cognitive knowledge. In addition, the focus on these 21st Century Skills is becoming very important in primary and secondary education. Graduates of any teacher programme should have mastered these skills in order to be able to work with them adequately among young people.

Technology in the classroom and digital learning materials have many advantages over traditional resources. For instance, physical textbooks tend to have a metaphorical expiration date and cannot be updated with new information as it becomes available. The only way to minimize this disadvantage is for schools to invest in new books every few years, and this is financially not realistic. Aside from the advantage that institutionally-

generated e-materials can be updated more quickly and cost-effectively than physical materials, another advantage is the ease with which e-syllabi and other electronic materials used in classes can be shared. In addition, online resources can often be cheaper than print alternatives as there are still many sources that have free accessibility or have free copy and/or distribution rights and are specifically designed for education. Moreover, teachers who are participants in online networks such as Digischool, KlasCement, and Wikis are already sharing materials and lesson plans with each other. Participating teachers can easily adapt the available lesson plans and other e-resources to fit the needs of their students or their available physical resources in the classroom. Digital material can also be used in adaptable blocks that can be rearranged easily compared to traditional textbooks. In addition, the use of technology in education can generate interactivity as programmes are able to give instant feedback and badges when answers are correct or give hints and instructional videos when incorrect answers are given. In sum, the advantages of using technology in education not only appeals to a younger generation of learner, but also offers a range of advantages over traditional instruction, suggesting that technology is not merely a trend but is a phenomenon in education that will redefine the way we think of learning in the future.

How technology is implemented depends on several factors including institutional organization, availability and expertise of teaching and support staff, and technical related issues. The Dutch organization KennisNet (kennisnet.nl) has developed a “4-in balance model” which addresses the relationship among the above-mentioned factors (Kennisnet Foundation, 2015: 19). Their model stipulates that the educational organization must have a vision on education and especially a vision on digital education. This vision must include a long-term plan of what the organization would like to achieve and include a reasonable prediction of demands anticipated in the future. On this basis, the equipment (hardware) and related applications (software) can be chosen. When the equipment and applications are in place, an analysis of current skills must be made in order to provide the necessary capacity building so that the staff can use the equipment well. The final step in this process is to make an assessment of the required infrastructure (including both hardware and software) and realize any necessary update, upgrade or purchase.

One of the conceptual models used when introducing technology in the class is the model for Technology Pedagogy and Content Knowledge (TPaCK) (Mishra & Koehler, 2006). In the traditional class model, teachers know the content of their subjects and they also know their students’ learning needs. In the technology-enhanced class, teachers must not only recognize the learning needs of students related to content knowledge but must also be aware of students’ needs related to using technology to enhance their learning experience. It is very important to know what technology best fits students’ learning needs and the content of the class in order to achieve learning goals. Finally,

teachers have to take into account the context they are working in. When the context is understood, it is easier to select adequate platforms to support embedded technology, for example, applications like Whatsapp groups, LinkedIn and Facebook can be used for sharing information, collaboration on class activities, professional networking and problem-solving.

Social media in the classroom

Social media can increase collaborative performance in business and educational environments. According to Abe and Jordan (2013), “over the past decade, social media and technology have become prevalent in the day-to-day life of many college and university students” (p. 16). This means that social media has transitioned from being something private, used to keep up to date with friends, to something professional, used for personal, institutional, economic and political advancement. Online collaboration among students and teachers in the learning process is of great importance and has proven to get the students engaged through active participation (Barkley, Major & Cross, 2014). Nowadays, educational institutions are increasingly promoting the use of social media. Abe and Jordan (2013) explain: ‘In 2007, the Higher Education Research Institute found that 94 percent of first-year college students spent time on social networking sites in a typical week. From Skype to Twitter to Facebook, these modes of social media are often used as tools to keep in touch with friends and family, socialize, and share personal opinions. Considering that such a high percentage of students are spending time on social networking sites, college faculty and administrators may benefit from integrating social media into their curriculum to serve as a useful tool to enhance student learning.’ (p. 16)

Besides, most social media platforms are very easy to access and freely available with features at no additional costs, which makes social media a very cost-effective educational tool. The easiest way to incorporate social media in the classroom is via apps or virtual games that can make content more fun and accessible than traditional methods. In addition, teachers can use YouTube clips or design their own clips using cloud-based software such as PowToon to create a more personalized learning experience for their students. PowToon clips can be designed from scratch which means that teachers can decide to show images, text and use voice-over to explain the specific material their students need to focus on.

Abe and Jordan (2013) explain, “the use of social media encourages students to interact with one another and may increase engagement and interest in the course content” (p. 16). Social media in the classroom can be used to create and share student-generated instructional materials that:

- help students acquire real-world data from other platform users.
- enable students to provide feedback with features such as memes.

- reinforce student's understanding of specific subjects being taught by, for example, creating a class Wiki.
- encourage students to create their best, publishable, work by sharing posts and blogs related to class content.
- improve writing skills, foster creativity, and facilitate critical thinking with sites such as Storyful and Wakelet.
- help students work together on assignments in and out of school using cloud-based platforms like use Google Drive.
- bring literature to life by inventing Facebook profiles and WhatsApp threads.

The ideas presented above use easily accessible tools that can engage students and improve performance while using social media. Abe and Jordan (2013) explain: 'While it is unreasonable to expect educators to increase their level of self-disclosure through social media such as Facebook, it is important to recognize the benefits of connecting with students as well as to consider alternative ways in which students may be motivated to participate in the classroom.' (p.19)

Certainly, teachers must think about their private digital profiles and their professional digital profiles when it comes to using social media platforms in the classroom. However, concerns about privacy should not become a restriction on using technology in the classroom if professional boundaries are established and institutionalized. It is advisable to engage teachers and staff in policymaking that establishes clear codes of conduct when it comes to the use of digital tools in education settings.

New teaching methods and strategies have emerged since technology has been incorporated in the classroom. Yet, primarily, teachers should ensure that their classroom activities are interactive, challenging and targeted to students' learning needs in a way that is combined with the use of technological and digital devices rather than letting the availability of technology or students' desire for digital entertainment dictate lesson planning. The fact remains that students get easily distracted from the learning process (Berk, 2009). Chalkboards and projected slides using software such as PowerPoint and Beamer are replaced more and more by interactive whiteboards where teachers can explain their digital material immediately with an online and interactive approach. The effective use of classroom technology demands attention to vital elements that increase teacher performance and students' learning experiences. First of all, many schools and students struggle with limited budgets for technological equipment. Internet accessibility, although increasingly considered a basic necessity (after water, food, shelter and healthcare), is sometimes difficult to secure. Secondly, teachers' professional roles change in the technology-enhanced classroom; the traditional teacher is no longer the central or even essential figure in a students' learning experience and performance. Technology-mediated learning demands a different set of skills from teachers such as

having up-to-date knowledge about technological trends, tools and their usage. Thirdly, teachers using technology not only need to know how to use digital tools but also how to ensure the best application of those tools in a classroom environment to enhance learning performance. Finally, teachers need to adapt their classroom management skills to cover communications outside of the classroom. According to Abe and Jordan (2013): “social media provides educators with the exciting new opportunity to connect with students in a manner that continues to provoke thought and discussion outside of the classroom setting” (p. 16).

Social media can facilitate the transition from teacher-based to student-based learning. When discussing a student-based learning approach, we need to determine whether the social media skills of the students allow them to have an effective learning experience. The assumption might be that students already master skills in the uses of social media for learning purposes. However, Abe and Jordan state “in order to effectively integrate social media into the course curriculum, it is necessary to instruct students in using social media critically and intentionally to optimize learning outcomes” (2013: 18). Students must become aware of the difference of using social media in educational contexts and in private settings. Freeman and Anderson (2011) state the advantages of getting this right: “complementing the greater individualization is the greater social inter-action that can result from the ability to link students through networked computers” (p. 200). Vygotsky (1978) claimed, even before the advent of internet technology in classrooms, that learning takes place via social interaction. The use of technology in the classroom has the capacity to increase such social interaction virtually in addition to the interaction taking place in classrooms. According to Larsen-Freeman and Anderson (2011): “the fact that interaction in technology happens mainly through writing means that the interaction is available for later reflection and analysis” (p. 200). Therefore, in addition to the benefits of social interaction for learning purposes, the written mode used for online platforms may also help the students to think about the manner in which they express themselves using the digital tools and thus enhance their learning experience.

Conclusion

This article tried to answer the question: how can technology be specifically developed or used to be more helpful in the educational context? In conclusion, technology has developed in such a way that there are several options available to enhance learning and develop 21st century skills in the classroom. However, before any technology is applied in the classroom context, it is important to analyse the available options, the available resources, and the students’ learning goals. It is also critical to equip and train the teaching staff so that they can use technology effectively in their specific educational context.

Coenders et al. (2014) explain, technology in the classroom is not merely a trend that will fade away; its use for learning purposes has been increasing in parallel with global usage for governmental, commercial, and civic affairs. Successful use of technology in education depends on being able to select appropriate didactic approaches, for example TPaCK, and to select the right technology for the right pedagogical purpose which, in turn, will enhance students' learning. Strategies like flipping the classroom provide a well-structured model for schools to use technology effectively. At the University of Curaçao, flipping the classroom using tools like Cumlaude Learn and MyLiveTutor on the platform created by ThreeShips enterprises BV have helped to connect students with tutors and teachers who have tailored the use of technology to the needs of their diverse groups. New didactic approaches have emerged as teaching with technology changes the role the teacher in the classroom. Instead of a teacher-centred approach, teachers become facilitators of the learning process. According to Larsen-Freeman and Anderson (2011), providing an interactive and technology-mediated student-centred approach will prepare the students for future interactions in the workplace and in the world in general.

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CARE FOR MENTALLY VULNERABLE DETAINEES IN THE CARIBBEAN: A MATTER OF BOTH HEALTH AND HUMAN RIGHTS

FRANS KOENRAADT

UNIVERSITY OF CURAÇAO & UNIVERSITEIT UTRECHT

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Introduction

The Murray case bore dramatic witness to the difficulties involved in legal, psychological, political, administrative and journalistic interaction with mentally ill detainees in the Caribbean. At the time of his life sentence in Aruba and Curaçao, Murray remained deprived of necessary treatment and guidance. In the Netherlands, a maximum sentence can involve life imprisonment, as is also the case in Curaçao. The life sentence in Curaçao is legally bound to a certain minimum duration (Par. 1: 30 Criminal Code of Curaçao), while in both Curaçao and Aruba there is the possibility of grace. In practice, the criminal law sanction for mentally ill offenders may in fact also last a lifetime (Bleichrodt, 2006; Kelk, 2004). Although the detainment of mentally ill offenders in the Dutch system under the institutional framework of *terbeschikkingstelling* (a.k.a. TBS) is imposed for a period of two years, it can then be extended indefinitely for periods of one or two years at a time in certain cases defined by law.

In the prison system as well as the mental health care system, mentally ill offenders constitute a problem group that is a cause for serious concern because the sector is not adequately equipped to deal with them. Detainees with mental problems are officially the exception, although in practice they are part of everyday life in the prison system. The mental health care system is very well equipped to hospitalize or treat them, but only after they have served their sentence. Despite the obligation to provide care for them, prisons usually do not provide a proper treatment climate. The incarceration and punishment of the mentally ill and their exposure to violence in the penal system are among many institutional realities that are certainly not designed to further their well-being.

The Murray case tragically and painfully illustrates the lack of adequate facilities for mentally ill offenders in the Caribbean part of the Kingdom of the Netherlands. In this article, I explore possibilities to solve this problem by attempting to answer the question

as to whether creating a specialised forensic psychiatric hospital or a forensic psychiatric ward in the region is realistic and possible. To answer this question, I use case studies, legal analysis and literature studies to come to grips with the problem of inadequate facilities. I then consider some pros and cons of establishing specialised facilities in the Caribbean region in light of the basic conditions necessary to ensure a positive living environment in forensic mental health institutions. In the text that follows, I examine some striking elements in the Murray case, some similarities and differences between the European and Caribbean parts of the Kingdom of the Netherlands with respect to adequate sanctions for mentally ill offenders, some rulings of European Court of Human Rights (ECHR) in relation to mentally ill offenders, some aspects of proper attention to lifelong prisoners, and some basic necessary conditions for achieving a humane climate for the treatment and support of mentally ill offenders.

Mental health issues and the Murray case

The tragic essence of the Murray case concerns the lack of necessary facilities for a mentally ill detainee with limited intelligence and suffering from an antisocial personality disorder, who at the time of the trial presented a risk of recidivism.¹

In 1979, Murray was deemed guilty of premeditated murder of a six-year-old girl in Curaçao. The victim was his ex-girlfriend's niece, and he killed the girl in revenge for this ex-girlfriend's ending of her relationship with him. In March 1980, he was sentenced to life imprisonment by the Common Court of Justice of the Netherlands Antilles.

Murray was initially sentenced to prison in Curaçao. His stay in detention was plagued by violent incidents, fights, drug abuse and extortion, so he was often placed in seclusion. In 1999, he was transferred to the prison in Aruba, where he could be closer to his family, a move which coincided with favourable developments in his condition and behavior. Several requests on his behalf for grace were rejected by the Governor of the Netherlands Antilles. In the context of his request for early release (in accordance with the criminal law of 2011) a behavioral assessment of his mental condition was conducted. In 2012, this report revealed that his mental problems related to an antisocial personality disorder persisted along with a corresponding risk of recidivism, so that his prison sentence was continued. When he was diagnosed with terminal cancer in 2013, he was granted grace, and he passed away on 26 November 2014.

Some issues that stand out in this tragic and complex case from a forensic behavioral point of view are the following. This case is about a person who had been diagnosed with serious multiple mental problems over the course of decades, including an antisocial personality disorder with psychopathic and narcissistic traits accompanied by a rigid personality profile, limited social skills, lack of empathy and limited intellectual development. In public documents, Murray's intellectual problems are attested to by

¹ ECHR 26 April 2016 (Grand Chamber), *Murray v. Kingdom of the Netherlands*, appl. no. 10511/10.

two IQ assessment scores of 49 and 69, well below the average of 100. On the one hand, the detainee had been described over time as a model prisoner, on the other hand, he had been portrayed as a severely multiply handicapped person.² A gloomy prognosis emerged several times about his very limited possibilities for rehabilitation.

When considering the imposition of the TBS criminal law sanction at the time of his trial, transfer to an asylum in the Netherlands was considered impossible in view of his limited intelligence and insufficient language skills. This reasoning can be regarded as questionable;³ but in 1980 the Supreme Court also found transfer in similar cases to be barely practicable. At the time of the trial in 1979, the psychiatric and psychological need for treatment was emphatically evident, and his placement in detention, which included a few periods in solitary confinement, without significant treatment options can be regarded as contraindicated. Yet the question remains as to whether, in the more than thirty years of his life after the court decision, transfer to a Dutch TBS hospital was completely impossible given the mental necessity for this. The legal possibilities that exist for this purpose were not taken advantage of in this case. Transfer from a penitentiary to a forensic psychiatric hospital has been a possibility within the Kingdom of the Netherlands, both before and after the status changes that were triggered by the *referenda* and took place October 10, 2010.

In trials of comparable cases, the special TBS sanction for mentally ill offenders has often been resorted to in Curaçao – as has been the case in the Netherlands – for a long time. This measure is imposed on perpetrators who have been found guilty of a serious, usually aggressive offense and who, at the time of committing this offense, are suffering from problems related to the development or other aspects of their mental faculties, whereby there is a risk of recidivism.⁴ Forensic mental health reports on perpetrators must be available during the trials of such offenders.

Mentally ill detainees who have been subjected to a TBS order with a warrant for care should optimally be placed in a forensic psychiatric hospital, preferably a TBS-hospital,

² According to a.o. F. Heijtel, psychiatrist at the int. congress “Criminal Law & Forensic Psychiatry”, Santa Barbara, Curaçao, 15 October 2017.

³ Neither behaviorally nor legally to be considered valid, given the population in Dutch TBS hospitals where this kind of problem did certainly occur.

⁴ The TBS sanction is widely feared because, in principle, it can be enforced for an unlimited period of time. This makes it clear that the TBS measure is not and indeed cannot be embedded in the Classical School of criminal law thought, where the principle of the punishment fitting the crime or *proportionality* occupies a central position. It is precisely this notion of retribution that restricts criminal law to solely reactive responses to crimes that have already been committed and does not provide grounds for prospective intervention as regards crimes that might some day be committed. The New School does not primarily view guilt that requires retribution as grounds for punishment but focuses instead on the risk presented by the criminal. It was conceivable on this basis to dissociate from the retrospective approach of the Classical School and allow ample space for a policy on crime that uses the TBS measure as an important instrument (Kelk, 1994). The development of the social sciences and psychiatry have made this approach quite feasible.

for both the execution of the sentence as well as for treatment. If this option is not available, every effort must be made to design and actually implement the necessary treatment and supervision regimes. If, given the nature and the seriousness of both the mental challenge and the estimated danger, a closed institution is considered most appropriate, TBS-hospitals are best equipped to offer treatment, support and security with the appropriate legal protections. When a psychiatric institution offers insufficient security and a forensic psychiatric institution is not available, placement in a penitentiary institution is almost inevitable. In such cases, the institution in question has a duty of care that has been made clear in the legal directives of the European Court of Human Rights.

TBS regimes in various parts of the Kingdom of the Netherlands

Especially in the second half of the twentieth century, the Netherlands played a leading role internationally in mental health care for mentally ill detainees. Many foreign criminal justice and forensic mental health care professionals have sought and received inspiration and training in the Netherlands with regard to the treatment of mentally ill detainees. The Netherlands also served as a model for legislation on criminal sanctions in the Caribbean parts of the Dutch Kingdom, both before and after October 10, 2010. Almost every week foreign professionals visit TBS hospitals in the Netherlands, and these visits have informed the treatment and counselling of mentally ill offenders in other countries.

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I am always wary and sceptical about adopting models of radical forms of forced intervention by one country from another, under different circumstances and within different jurisdictions, where laws, regulations and policies differ, and where the prison system and (mental) health system are rooted and organized differently. For example, what is designed as occupational therapy in one country can in practice become forced labor in another country. For the sake of clarity: it took decades before the procedures of Dutch treatment in a TBS context crystallized somewhat, such that there is now a consensus *within* the different hospitals for the supervision and treatment of an extremely complex population of mentally ill detainees, but despite this, the level of consensus *between* those hospitals is still not sufficient.

Since 1886, the Netherlands – just like Curaçao, Aruba and St. Maarten – has had a dualistic or two-track system of sanctions in criminal law which includes both punishment for retaliation and preventive measures for security purposes, as shown in Table 1.

Table 1 Characteristics of two types of criminal law sanctions

Punishments	Preventive Measures
For retribution	For general protection
To make the offender suffer	To ensure prevention
In principle, limited	In principle, possibly unlimited
Proportional the offence	Not proportional to the offense

In accordance with this dual system, penalties are imposed for retribution for the suffering that results from the offence. In principle, penalties are limited in duration and have a proportionality with the seriousness of the offense and with the level of fault of the perpetrator. On the other hand, preventive measures are not imposed primarily for treatment as many believe, but instead for security purposes. In principle, preventive measures have no proportionality to the offence or to the level of guilt of the offender, and in principle such measures may be of unlimited duration. For example, the TBS measure with an order for nursing is imposed for a period of two years, but can then be extended indefinitely for periods of one or two years each (in the case of indexed offenses against persons). This measure is primarily intended for prevention. The following conditions apply to the imposition of the TBS measure with an order for nursing: 1) the perpetrator has been found guilty of a serious offense (such as aggressive and / or sexual offenses, arson or some other specified offenses; 2) there is a risk of recidivism; and 3) a recent multidisciplinary forensic mental health report is available for the offender.⁵

Both in Curaçao and Aruba – since the new criminal law was introduced there in 2011 and 2014 respectively – the TBS measure can be imposed even though the necessary TBS institution on both islands is missing, and further execution regulations are absent or insufficient. Although all current legal regulations regarding the TBS measure within the Kingdom are based on the measure that was introduced in the law in the Netherlands in 1925 and put into practice a few years later, there are significant differences in different contexts. In Curaçao and Aruba a legal regulation is included in the law (Par. 1:81 e.v. Criminal Code of Curaçao), a legal regulation is available on St. Maarten (Reijntjes & Marchena-Slot, 2016: 272), but the old Antillean legislation still applies to the BES islands of Bonaire, St. Eustatius and Saba.

⁵ The TBS measure has always been a matter of debate in Dutch society and in the academic world. Sometimes criticism focuses on its unspecified duration and sometimes on the intensity of the care. Other controversial issues have been the sequence in which the punishment and the penal measure are put into effect, the proportionality between the severity of the offence and the unlimited duration of the measure, and the increasing costs entailed. Differing opinions have also been expressed by officials involved in the administration of justice. In the 1970s and 1980s, there were doubts as to whether the TBS measure would indeed make society safer, but the measure itself was never fundamentally a point of discussion (Raes & Bakker, 2017; Van der Wolf, 2012).

There are some crucial differences between the Curaçaoan and Aruban regulations on the one hand and the Dutch requirements for imposing a heavy TBS measure on the other. In Aruba and Curaçao, for example, forensic mental health advice from one psychiatrist is sufficient (Van Marle & Van der Wolf, 2013: 69) while Dutch legislation requires a forensic mental health report from two experts, at least one of whom is required to be a psychiatrist. The required forensic mental health report must be of a recent date in the Netherlands, i.e. not older than one year. The Aruban and Curaçaoan legislation does not set any limits on the date of the forensic mental health report. Imposition of the TBS measure is reserved in the Netherlands for offenses punishable by at least a four-year prison sentence, while in Aruba and Curaçao that threshold has been set at six years (Van Marle & Van der Wolf, 2013: 69). In Aruba and Curaçao, in the first instance, a single judge can impose the TBS measure, while Dutch law reserves such an imposition for the multiple criminal chamber of the court or tribunal. A prison sentence in combination with a TBS measure with conditions may last a maximum of five years in the Netherlands, while in Aruba and Curaçao such a prison sentence may last a maximum of six years (Van Marle & Van der Wolf, 2013: 69). For the TBS with conditions measure, probation supervision in Aruba and Curaçao remains optional, while this is required in the Netherlands (Van Marle & Van der Wolf, 2013: 70).

While the trials of mentally ill detainees can lead to the imposition of a TBS measure in the Caribbean part of the Kingdom, a properly equipped forensic psychiatric center is lacking for the effective and adequate execution of such a measure on the islands. Institutions for psychiatric care outside of the prison system (Capriles hospital), within the prison system (SDKK), and related to addiction care (Brasami) are available in Curaçao (Marchena-Slot, 2019). In Aruba, where there is no psychiatric hospital, there are psychiatric wards in a general hospital (PAAZ), in a prison (KIA) and an institution for addiction care (Gaarthuis & Koenraadt, 2014). While each of these institutions cares for the population targeted by their mandate, they do not adequately address the often multiple problems that TBS-patients are facing. In Curaçao, the Forensic Observation and Guidance Department (FOBA) of the SDKK provides for the need for forensic psychiatric care and guidance within a penitentiary institutional context in the absence of a specialised forensic psychiatric centre. A new penitentiary was officially opened in Bonaire in the autumn of 2018. In collaboration with Mental Health Caribbean, a promising but small clinical department has been created there that provides care for mentally ill detainees from Bonaire on a modest scale and procedures are carried out by specially trained staff.⁶

⁶ Research in this penitentiary has revealed that detainees show reduced functioning, specifically in the areas of attention, concentration and intellectual ability, but that these seem to be at relatively comparable level to those exhibited by the detainees in European Dutch prisons. Furthermore, the detainees evidenced various psychosocial problems, most notably related to their financial situation, education, antisocial behaviour and drug (ab)use (Den Bak et al., 2018; Van de Vorst, 2018).

The European Court of Human Rights and mentally ill detainees

Over the past few decades, Belgium has been frequently convicted by the European Court of Justice for violating the European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR).⁷ The European Court of Human Rights (ECtHR) has called member state Belgium to order several times in cases in which the care provided for mentally ill detainees, in particular that of interneers,⁸ the Belgian equivalent of Dutch TBS-detainees, is lagging far behind the necessary levels. In Belgium, this situation is referred to as “the internment train that stood still for a long time and suddenly started moving” (Casselmann, 2018: 196). In 1993, for example, the European Committee for the Prevention of Torture and Inhuman Humiliating Treatment or Punishment (CPT) brought public and political attention to the deficits in the Belgian execution of internment, and in 1994, the CPT found the facilities in the psychiatric department of the penitentiary institution in Lantain to be substandard.

The ECHR guarantees the right to freedom in Article 5 and aims to avoid arbitrary deprivation of liberty. In the case of interneers (mentally ill detainees), the deprivation of liberty is only lawful when it takes place “in an adapted clinic, institution or hospital”. The Court considers that people who are subjects of a protection or care measure, such as internment, should be cared for in an institution that can offer them protection and care (Liga voor Mensenrechten, 2014). In Belgium, some interneers in prison do not receive the necessary care or therapy there, as occurred in the Murray case. Interneers who are in prison in Belgium for lack of space in more appropriate institutions are often described as persons in “the forgotten pit” of Justice (Samyn, 2016). Driven by various orders issued by the ECtHR, Belgium has recently set up two forensic psychiatric institutions for the treatment, support and protection of mentally ill detainees, one in Ghent and one in Antwerp. Ironically, this is happening just as the Netherlands has closed three hospitals, and as a result of this, extensive expertise in forensic psychiatric, psychological and psychotherapeutic treatment⁹ and counselling has been lost.

The pressure on the Kingdom of the Netherlands is increasing. Not only by the ECtHR, but also by the Dutch judiciary, that does not hesitate to impose TBS measures in the absence of an execution regulation, as recently happened in Aruba and Curaçao (Marchena-Slot, 2019). The burning question for quite some time has been: Can a fo-

⁷ ECHR: *Aerts v. Belgium*, 30 July 1998.

⁸ ‘Internering’ is legally determined by the Law of 9 April 1930 on the Protection of the Society against Abnormals, Ordinary Criminals and Perpetrators of Certain Criminal Offenses, Belgian Official Gazette 11 May 1930; fully replaced by par. 1 of the Law of July 1, 1964, BS July 17, 1964. See Jeandarme & Schipaanboord, 2019.

⁹ E.g. sociotherapy, psychotherapy (mainly cognitive therapy and behavioural therapy), psycho-pharmaceutical treatment, occupational therapy, systematic analysis, educational training, sports and mental care. Most of the treatment at these institutions takes place in groups, and there are separate treatment programmes for psychotics, patients with a personality disorder, patients with a sexual disorder, the mentally handicapped, and detainees who represent an extreme flight risk.

rensic psychiatric treatment facility be established in the Caribbean parts of the Kingdom in a dialogue between the islands and the Netherlands so that adequate treatment and counselling can be offered in the region itself? (Prinsen & Vinkers, 2009).

Treating, supervising and communicating with forensic psychiatric patients suffering from a personality disorder requires that staff be experienced and well-equipped to deal with conflicts and crises at different levels and can maintain a humane, optimistic and therapeutic orientation (Moore, 2012). The type of joint funding which would be necessary for the establishment of a TBS-hospital has previously been made available for (the preservation of) judicial bodies such as the Common Court of Justice for Aruba, Curaçao, Sint Maarten and Bonaire, Sint Eustatius and Saba. Such joint funding should therefore be achievable for the institution responsible for carrying out forensic psychiatric sanctions. Nevertheless, the small scale of the catchment area in the Caribbean parts of the Kingdom of the Netherlands continues to impede funding, whether it be for a separate institution for each of the islands individually or a collective one for all of the islands.

The necessary conditions for a TBS-hospital in the Caribbean

Empirical research into the detention experiences of long-term prisoners shows that they have to cope with the uncertainty that comes with the possibility of never being released and with their feelings of hopelessness, lack of meaning and uselessness. With regard to the mental condition of such prisoners, tendencies toward suicide, fear of institutionalization, affective blunting, indifference and loss of sense of time and perspective come to the fore. Institutionalization goes hand in hand with the loss of many forms of autonomy. Liem, Van Kuijk & Raes (2016) note that: "In the course of detention, when the length of their sentence becomes evident, and as they become more intertwined with the institution, detainees lose the sense of control over their own future" (p. 27). Partly based on empirical research, Liem and colleagues argue for an individualized approach that offers expanded perspectives to long-term prisoners (p. 27).

The enormous amount of information about the life imprisonment gathered in recent years by the 'Lifelong Forum' chaired by Wiene van Hattum in the Netherlands is also worth mentioning here.¹⁰ The reason for setting up this forum was the recent sharp increase in the number of lifelong imprisonments in the Netherlands and changes in policy regarding such sentences. The Forum is committed to providing both alternative perspectives on release and the prevention of harm resulting from life-long incarceration (Van Hattum, 2009; 2013; 2016; 2018). Even though there is no TBS-hospital in the Caribbean Netherlands, and in the absence of a separate forensic psychiatric institution there, it must be kept in mind that an important condition for achieving any therapeutic effect in forensic mental health care depends crucially on the provision of a positive living and working climate.

¹⁰ <http://www.forumlevenslang.nl>

In recent years, with other colleagues I have carried out a comprehensive and partly international study based on empirical research into the living environment in institutions of detention, such as penitentiaries and forensic and juvenile institutions (Boone, Althoff & Koenraadt, 2016). All of these institutions face similar problems regarding how optimum use might be made of the available resources, so as to exert a positive effect on the experience of the prisoners and the staff and a positive effect on cooperation in counselling and treatment, both of which might have a positive effect on behavior after detention, in the sense of reducing recidivism. In this regard, we have distinguished six key factors: a) contact among and between staff and detainees, b) autonomy, c) contact with the outside world/ family relationships, d) safety, e) meaningful daily activities, and f) physical well-being (Boone, Althoff & Koenraadt, 2016). These factors are crucial in positively influencing the quality of life in penitentiaries, and are treated individually in the following paragraphs.

Contact among and between staff and detainees

Contact among and between staff and prisoners is singled out in the literature in various ways as central to the quality of the living environment in a closed institution. The relational dimension – including that of prisoners amongst themselves – is identified in the work of Liebling (2011; Liebling & Arnold, 2004) as one of the three main dimensions of prison life. This dimension includes several sub-dimensions, such as respect, humanity, trust, and support. The perceived relationship between staff and prisoners can exercise an influence on the experience of detention by prisoners, on safety and security in the institution, and perhaps even on former detainees' behavior after their stay in an institution.

Respect and support are key concepts that are often mentioned in the literature on the relationship among and between staff and detainees. Respect can be understood in various ways, but from the perspective of prisoners, it seems to at least mean that their needs are listened to and met. Respectful interaction is consistent with the preference which prisoners have been shown to articulate in all types of institutions for a supportive attitude, rather than policy-driven enforcement of rules and regulations (Molleman & Leeuw, 2012). As demonstrated in various studies, a supportive attitude enhances detainees' acceptance of the regime and the rules, and increases their motivation for treatment (where available, given the nature of the institution). This is a finding which is entirely in accordance with the theory of procedural justice. A positive effect on prisoners' experience of safety depends on respectful contact that involves some degree of openness and trust, however tricky that might be in a closed institution in small scale societies like those of the Caribbean.

Feelings of fear among employees can lead to an overly rigid managerial climate (Van der Helm & Drenth, 2013). According to the literature, maintaining the institutional regime and increasing safety by maintaining respectful relationships with prisoners is

preferable to doing so by exercising authority or the use of physically coercive security measures. Crewe (2011) has referred to this as the type of advantage that can be gained through the deployment strategies of “soft power”. Recent research into conflict prevention and de-escalation shows that the use of isolation both by staff and prisoners is found to be very unpleasant and at times counterproductive. A time out appears to be a good alternative in many cases to serve the same purpose (Bowers et al., 2011). Young detainees in particular experience their interaction with staff as negative when they are not given any space, when the rules are applied too strictly or in an unfair manner, when they are treated with insufficient attention or trust, when aggressive behaviour is tolerated or when complaints are not taken seriously (Geenen, 2014).

Autonomy

Autonomy is another important factor in the living environment of detainees that currently attracts much attention in the Netherlands. There is a wide range of definitions of autonomy, but the simplest is the extent to which a prisoner is left to make his or her own choices, especially in relation to responsibility, independence, and self-reliance. The positive impact of giving autonomy to prisoners on the living environment of an institution or on the behavior of detainees seems to depend mainly on the interpretation of the term “autonomy” itself. Recent research confirms that prisoners find themselves in a situation where, in practice, they are able to decide very little for themselves, even in institutions where attempts are made to increase their levels of autonomy. At the same time, however, research shows that giving more freedom and responsibility to prisoners considerably enhances self-reliance (De Jong, Willems & Van Burik, 2015). The extent to which prisoners experience autonomy also depends greatly on their relationships with staff.

Increasing the autonomy of detainees naturally has consequences for levels of safety in the institution. The limited empirical literature shows that increasing the autonomy of prisoners can have a positive influence on both the perceptions of detainees as well as overall safety in the facility. Having a private cell or room and having control over the lights or temperature enhance perceived autonomy (Huisman, 1995). This certainly also applies to being able to independently prepare and cook a meal (Minke, 2014; Beyens & Boone, 2013: 115). Giving some personal responsibility to prisoners can be a first step on the way to a crime-free life, according to research (Meek & Lewis, 2013).

Contacts with the outside world/ family relationships

The literature reveals a strong correlation between the perceived quality of the institutional living environment and the extent and manner in which prisoners are enabled and equipped to maintain relationships with the outside world (Liebling & Arnold, 2012). Receiving visitors appears to have a positive impact on both the behavior of prisoners in detention as well as their motivation to strive for reintegration and avoid recidivism

after detention (Bales & Mears, 2008; Mears et al., 2012; Duwe & Clarke, 2013). The circumstances by which contact with the outside world is maintained or takes place are sometimes a source of frustration, which can lead to prisoners refraining completely from attempting such contact.

Safety

The levels of safety experienced by prisoners is particularly dependent on five factors: a) contact with fellow prisoners, b) interaction with staff, c) personal space, d) trust between the staff and prisoners and e) the type of security measures adopted by the institution. Prisoners feel less safe the more cellmates they have, and their feelings of insecurity and fear are stronger in the night than during the day (Drenkhahn & Morgenstern, 2016: 16). The higher the quality of contact that prisoners have with their fellow prisoners and the more prisoners experience positive relationships with staff, the safer they feel (Van der Laan & Eichelsheim, 2013: 20). The style of supervision deployed by staff also has an impact on feelings of safety. Again, a supportive style can increase feelings of safety, while a hostile style increases feelings of insecurity (Liebling, 2004). Prisoners' perception of safety is even more enhanced when there is trust, a scarce commodity in the context of the prison system (Liebling, 2011). In any case, the level of trust between prisoners and staff has a significant impact on detainees' feelings of safety. Lack of trust and a culture of distrust are, according to Liebling and Arnold (2004: 418), related to experiences of insecurity. As an explanation for a decline in levels of trust in one of the maximum security prisons they examined, Liebling and Arnold identified increased social and cultural distance between staff and prisoners, partly as a result of differences in ethnicity and partly as a result of an individualistic prison culture resulting from the emphasis placed in that particular institution on risk assessment.

Detainees' perception of safety is also related to their living space. As mentioned above, there is a negative relationship between the number of cellmates and the extent to which prisoners feel safe. Sometimes prisoners feel safer the more they are allowed to be outside of their cells. The literature shows that there is a link between the layout of the living environment and privacy issues (Schaaf et al., 2013). Perception of safety is positively correlated with prisoners' levels of access to personal space, their levels of comfort, and the extent to which their wards are well-organized. Unsupervised areas, such as communal showers, are generally regarded as risky and unsafe (Inspectie voor Sanctietoepassing, 2006).

Paradoxically, the literature on the relationship between prisoners' perception of safety and the quality of their living environment demonstrates that increased security measures do not lead to an experience of more security (Molleman, 2014). Security measures can have a negative impact on detainees' living environment and a negative impact on autonomy (Liebling & Arnold, 2012). More physically coercive security

measures do not guarantee greater safety. While more transparency can lead to heightened perceptions of safety, it can also negatively impact dimensions of privacy.

Meaningful daily activities

Empirical research has demonstrated the importance in all the types of institutions of the provision of future-oriented activities that can give meaningful substance to the time that prisoners remain within their walls (Liebling & Arnold, 2014). In general, however, prisoners consider the activities that are offered to them in such institutions to be of little use. Regardless, activities are useful in that they prevent boredom and offer the opportunity for contact with staff and fellow detainees and sometimes with the outside world (Liebling & Arnold, 2014: 314). It is undisputed that offering meaningful activities aimed at future adjustment in society can also have a positive impact on reintegration after detention (Duwe, 2015).

Physical well-being

In relation to physical well-being, I focus here on the impact of food and physical exercise/ sport. While there are frequent complaints in closed institutions about the quality of the food, relatively little research has been conducted on this topic. There have been a number of experimental studies on the effects of dietary supplements on the behavior of prisoners, which seem to suggest that the administering of nutritional supplements can have a positive effect on behavior (Zaalberg, 2015). Sport has a positive impact on both the physical and mental health of prisoners, serving as an important outlet with positive effects on the attitudes, beliefs and behavior of detainees (Meek & Lewis, 2013).

Apart from the six above-mentioned explicit factors that influence detainees' living environment, I have also identified three implicit factors or determinants, which although by themselves are insufficient to ensure a positive living environment, create the conditions for such an environment to emerge: a) premises, b) professionalism and the composition of staff, and c) composition of the resident population. In relation to *premises*, physical surroundings can exert a very significant influence on detainees' living environment. Considerable research has been done on the effects of the size of closed institutions, and, although the results of such studies are not entirely conclusive, it appears that institutions with smaller numbers of detainees provide higher quality living environments than larger institutions (Johnson et al., 2011; Beijersbergen et al., 2012). Norwegian research on all types of closed institutions shows that prisoners in institutions with less than 50 detainees rated nearly all dimensions of quality of life more highly than did prisoners in medium and large sized institutions (Johnson & Granheim, 2012). Research has also shown that relatively small institutions report higher levels of perceived safety. As mentioned above, having to share a cell has a negative influence

on the detention experience, even though this may not be the case for some categories of prisoners in particular circumstances (Fairweather, 2000; Farbstein & Wener, 1982). In relation to *professionalism and composition of the staff* research in several sectors suggests that staff should be able to maintain a certain balance between involvement and detachment. Staff must be close to inmates but also manage to maintain a professional distance. The quality of staff training appears to play a role in this (Drost, 2003; Koenraadt, 2009; Fluttert, 2011: 318). Education to the appropriate professional levels and continuous ongoing training are essential means to increase their knowledge of useful skills and their ability to deploy them at the critical moment, according to research in closed psychiatry wards (Welsh, Bader & Evans, 2013; Johnson & Hauser, 2001; Johnson & Delaney, 2007). In relation to *composition of the resident population*, as mentioned above in the case of the maximum security prison examined by Liebling and Arnold (2004) changes in the social and cultural distance between staff and prisoners can result from changes in the ethnic composition of the population of detainees.

In execution of sanctions where treatment is involved, three components are essential: security, treatment and legal guarantees. In a dynamic execution process, they act as three pillars that keep one another in balance. Too much emphasis on one of the three can work to the detriment of the others. Two other such pillars that are currently gaining in prominence could also be mentioned here, namely, efficiency/ financial policy and professional ethics. Efficiency considerations are playing an increasingly important role in financial policy, just as professional ethics are playing an increasingly important role in the design and implementation of guidelines for the professional conduct of staff. Any positive change in any of the factors mentioned above can offer possibilities for improving the living environment of detainees (Kelk, 2018).

Conclusion

There is still a gap between the law in the books and the law in action when it comes to the adequacy of forensic psychiatric facilities available in the Caribbean part of the Dutch Kingdom. A few years ago, my colleague R. Gaarthuis and I undertook an analysis of the legislation and available facilities for mentally ill detainees in Aruba (Gaarthuis & Koenraadt, 2014), where we determined that one of the major issues that has remained inadequately addressed to date is the venue for the enforcement of the TBS measure in the region.. Specifically, the situation in the Caribbean is worrying, because past experience has taught us that the serious problems raised in this article are by no means imaginary, that the authorities have tended to just resign themselves to these problems, and that any new sanction provisions run the risk of enduring the same lack of effective enforcement as the ones that they are designed to replace. Intentionally or not, there is a distinct possibility that new legislation will only provide formal justification for treatment that is supposed to be therapeutic on paper, but which in practice does not provide much else than long-term detention. (Gaarthuis & Koenraadt, 2014).

The new sanctions systems in the Caribbean part of the Kingdom are designed to reduce recidivism (Bleichrodt, 2013), to separate the “bad” from the “mad”, to punish when it is deemed appropriate and to treat where improvement is possible and necessary. But if there really is to be a reduction in recidivism, any deprivation of liberty from the first day will have to be designed to prepare detainees for a successful return to society, even in the case of a life sentence. This will require intensive coaching inside and outside penitentiaries and forensic mental healthcare institutions, in both closed and open settings. Adequate institutional capacity for effective implementation is therefore a prerequisite to legislation in this area (Gaarthuis & Koenraadt, 2014: 27).

The TBS measure was introduced at the beginning of the twentieth century because mentally ill offenders’ particular needs could not be effectively addressed in the prison system or in the psychiatric hospitals. Placement at a forensic psychiatric hospital or TBS-hospital has proved to be an adequate intermediary solution. Today, many mentally ill offenders in the Caribbean remain in the prison system, even though by virtue of their legal sentence, that is not where they belong. The good international reputation of the Kingdom of the Netherlands in the forensic mental health field is being put into question by the scarcity of provisions for mentally ill offenders in the Caribbean part of the Kingdom (De Jong, Liem & Van Mulbregt, 2019). It is therefore of utmost urgency that all possibilities be explored for making sure that mentally ill offenders will no longer run the risk of meeting Murray’s fate at the hands of the authorities in the region.

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IMPROVEMENT OF ARUBAN NONPROFIT ORGANIZATIONS AND EFFORTS TO ENHANCE THEIR CAPACITY BUILDING

HELMUT VINK

UNIVERSITY OF ARUBA

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Abstract

According to international literature on nonprofit organizations, through the start-up and following years, each individual nonprofit encounters areas for improvement that negatively affect the results of its operations (Worth, 2018; Congress et al, 2017; Allison & Kaye, 2015; Ott & Dicke, 2015; Anheier, 2014; Bryson & Alston, 2011; Bell et al., 2010; Jean-Francois, 2015; Carver, 2006; Stevens, 2002; McKinsey, 2001; Adizes 1979). Examples of these areas are administration, strategic management, funding and financial management. On Aruba, little or no research has been done on these areas of need, nor in the field of support and guidance initiatives that seek to enhance the resilience of nonprofits. In this paper, an outline is presented of six categories of the most common areas for improvement for the realization of objectives of Aruban nonprofit organizations. Moreover, it reports on a number of (recent) ideas and initiatives designed for capacity building of nonprofits. Data were collected mainly through seven interviews with professionals who have knowledge of the local nonprofit sector and are involved in the capacity building of nonprofit organizations.

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Key words: nonprofit organizations; areas for improvement; capacity building

Introduction

In November 2017, the community of Aruba was shaken by a case of lethal domestic violence against two children. In response, the Minister of Social Affairs and Labor commissioned an evaluation of the effectiveness of the child protection system. Part of the results showed that several nonprofit care organizations struggle with obstacles that prevent them from optimally fulfilling their objectives. Among them is one organization

that aims to provide temporary shelter to children up to 8 years old who have been victimized by neglect or abuse. These children need psychological and physical help in a safe environment, however, the organization argues that, because of lack of ample funds and expertise, it cannot optimally support the children, especially those who are severely traumatized and exhibit aggressive behavior (Department of Social Affairs Aruba, 2017: 53, 54).

The foregoing situation is a deplorable one but cannot be a complete surprise. According to international literature, through the start-up and proceeding years, each individual nonprofit encounters areas for improvement that negatively affect the results of its operations (Worth, 2018; Congress et al, 2017; Allison & Kaye, 2015; Ott & Dicke, 2015; Anheier, 2014; Bryson & Alston, 2011; Bell et al, 2010; Jean-Francois, 2015; Carver, 2006; Stevens, 2002; McKinsey, 2001; Adizes, 1979). In this respect, a non-profit does not differ from other types of organizations (government, semi-public, for-profit). Apart from financing and expertise, there could be many other challenges, for instance, in the fields of administration, strategic management, or cooperation. In order to obtain a more comprehensive understanding of their challenges and their diversity, this article intends to identify the areas for improvement that Aruban nonprofits may have to work on. Therefore, the first research question asks: What are the most common areas for improvement for the realization of objectives of Aruban nonprofit organizations?

This article focuses on what efforts are being made in the field of capacity building of nonprofit organizations. Hence, a second research question asks: What local initiatives and ideas seek to enhance the capacity building of Aruban nonprofit organizations? ‘Capacity building’ is to be understood as “whatever is needed to bring a nonprofit to the next level of operational, programmatic, financial, or organizational maturity, so it may more effectively and efficiently advance its mission into the future. Capacity building is not a one-time effort to improve short-term effectiveness, but a continuous improvement strategy toward the creation of a sustainable organization.” (Chandler & Scott Kennedy, 2015: 3) Furthermore: “When capacity building is successful, it strengthens a nonprofit’s ability to fulfill its mission over time, thereby enhancing the nonprofit’s ability to have a positive impact on lives and communities.” (National Council of Nonprofits, 2018: 1).

In Aruba, as far as I know, little or no research has been done that can be helpful in answering these questions. Since existing research is exploratory in nature (Baarda, 2014; ‘t Hart et al, 1998), interviews were used as a research method for this article because they enable the gathering of new insights through qualitative data (Bryman, 2016; Baarda, 2014). I chose to build on the experiential knowledge of seven key persons who have collaborated with non-profit organizations in recent years. The selected respondents are professionals who have knowledge of the local nonprofit sector and are involved in the capacity building of nonprofit organizations. They represent the

National Social Development Fund (respondent no. 1), the Asociacion Trabao di Hubentud na Aruba (respondent no. 2), the Chamber of Commerce and Industry Aruba (respondent no. 3), the Department of Economic Affairs, Commerce and Industry (respondent no. 4), the University of Aruba (respondent no. 5 and respondent no. 6), and Spitzberg Advisors (respondent no. 7).

In the interviews, the respondents had the opportunity to tell me from their own experience what they think are the areas where nonprofits need capacity building and what is being done locally in the field of capacity building for nonprofit organizations. Based on their opinions and some additional existing documents, I have identified areas of improvement and classified them in six categories. Result indicate a first, tentative ordering of areas where improvement is possible and desirable. Through this study, it was not my intention to pursue improvements in the nonprofit sector, but to determine the needs of nonprofits and identify what local capacity building efforts already exist that seek to meet these needs and improve achievements in the sector.

After this introduction, Section 1 will continue with a brief description of the nonprofit organizations in Aruba. Subsequently, in Section 2, the identified areas for improvement for the realization of objectives of local non-profit organizations will be discussed. In Section 3, an outline of the identified ideas and initiatives that seek to enhance the capacity building of Aruban nonprofit organizations will be presented. The article will end with a conclusion.

A concise description of Aruban nonprofit organizations

In contrast to for-profit organizations, nonprofit organizations have no commercial, profit-maximizing orientation. Nonprofits are committed to promoting a certain public interest or achieving a certain idealistic goal, in which government agencies and companies have no direct part (Noordegraaf, 2015; Groot & Van Helden, 2008; Kapteyn, 2001). When they meet their objectives, nonprofits create and distribute certain public value (Bovens et al., 2017; Mendel & Brudney, 2013; Bennington & Moore, 2011; Desmond & Heene, 2006). One example of public value that could be created by a nonprofit organization would be the provision of optimal psychological and physical care to abused children in a safe environment. This service would be of value to the community, even if it cannot be expressed in monetary terms. Based on the findings of the Johns Hopkins Comparative Nonprofit Sector Project, nonprofit organizations meet the following typical characteristics: 1) private organization: an organization “institutionally separate from government”; 2) not profit distributing to the organization’s owners, members, founders, or directors; 3) “self-governing”: designed to control its own activities; and 4) “involving some meaningful degree of voluntary participation.” (Salamon & Anheier, 1996: 2, 3)

In Aruba, more than 1000 nonprofit organizations are registered at the Chamber of Commerce and Industry. However, it is estimated that 300 to 500 of them are not active

(Personal conversation with respondents no. 1 and no. 3). The large and diverse group of nonprofits can be split into nonprofit organizations which perform government-funded public tasks and those which do not. Examples of the first type are education foundations and care institutions for the health of children and the elderly. The second type relates to relatively autonomous nonprofit organizations, such as churches, sports and recreation clubs, service organizations, labor unions, special interest associations and advocacy groups. In particular, this second kind of nonprofit organization is largely dependent on generating its own income, fundraising, and coordinating the commitment of volunteers (Bovens et al, 2017; Noordegraaf, 2015; Burger & Dekker, 2001). However, the boundaries between the two types are not fixed; the government can make it part of its policy that, for example, when sports clubs are considered necessary to provide a neighborhood facility or for health promotion, they may be subsidized (Noordegraaf, 2015).

Splitting society into the three domains of state, market and civil society, nonprofit organizations are neither market nor state, but constitute part of the organizational infrastructure of civil society (Noordegraaf, 2015). Edwards (2014) does not limit civil society to the nonprofit sector (civil society as ‘associational life’), because, he argues, a single approach would not sufficiently explain the political and social developments in a community or add to organizing solutions. Instead, he integrates three different perspectives on civil society – the civil society as associational life; the civil society as the good society; and the civil as public sphere – into “a mutually supportive framework.” Edwards explains:

Theories of the good society help to keep our gaze on the goals and challenges that motivate the search for freedom and human progress; theories of associational life help to explain how to meet those challenges through the medium of non-state action, which is always necessary but never sufficient; and theories of the public sphere connect the two together by providing a framework for argument and negotiation around social goals and the strategies required to meet them. (2014: 130)

Multiple definitions and theories exist, but the essential feature of the civil society is “self-organization of society outside the stricter realms of state power and market interests” in order “to advance common interests” (Anheier, 2014: 82, 83). Regardless of the type of nonprofit, each organization will undoubtedly encounter challenges that negatively affect its impact on society.

Common areas for improvement of Aruban nonprofit organizations

Grouped into six categories, the following overview describes the most common areas for improvement for the realization of objectives of Aruban nonprofit organizations.

The first category concerns governing board and management. In general, leadership is considered an important driver of success for a nonprofit organization. The governing

board and management are the decisive forces that give direction to the organization. However, it appears to be a major challenge to put together a board and a management team which have adequate skills and ample time to make the difference (Personal conversation with respondents no. 1, 2, 3, 5, 6 and 7; Sustainable Development Goals (SDG) Aruba Secretariat, 2018). Moreover, it is not exceptional that certain board members remain in office for too long a period, giving vigor and innovation insufficient chance. This may be the case when the current governing board still (partly) consists of members of the founding board (Personal conversation with respondents no. 1, 3 and 7). Furthermore, it frequently occurs that the governance role and the management role are insufficiently defined or separated, and there is no results-oriented teamwork (Personal conversation with respondents no. 1, 5, 6 and 7).

The second category involves strategic management. In general, formulating long-term policy plans seems to be a challenge (Personal conversation with respondents no. 1, 2 and 6; SDG Aruba Secretariat, 2018). Nonprofit organizations are said to be insufficiently aware of evaluating and responding to changing community needs. They often have insufficient insight into social trends and how these bring change in respect to, for example, their clients' profiles (Personal conversation with respondents no. 1, 2 and 6). Further, they often understand little of statistical analysis (SDG Aruba Secretariat, 2018). Little attention is paid to building in instruments that periodically measure the results of the organizations' efforts. Moreover, there appears to be a lack of insight into a given organization's strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats (Personal conversation with respondents no. 1, 5 and 7).

The third category concerns funding and financial management. The vast majority of the local nonprofit organizations generate insufficient income and are dependent on external funds (Personal conversation with respondents no. 1, 2, 3, 6 and 7). However, it appears complicated to get financial contributions from businesses because the market is small-scale, and usually the same large companies (e.g. banks, hotels) are approached with donation requests (Personal conversation with respondents no. 1 and 2). In addition, not all nonprofit organizations or their projects are eligible for subsidy from the government and/or local or foreign development funds (Personal conversation with respondent no. 1; Regering van Aruba, 1990/1999; Coördinatiebureau Overheids subsidies, 2016).

Furthermore, it becomes clear that only a few people in management roles reflect on creative solutions for generating an organization's own income (Personal conversation with respondents no. 1 and 4). One respondent stressed that "Foundations should focus on generating own revenues and become more profitable" (Personal conversation with respondent no. 3). Another explained: "The government wants nonprofits to become less dependent on the government. The MinFin changed the subsidy regulations for NGOs based on the same principle" (Personal conversation with respondent no. 4). Also, in combination with the lack of funds, some respondents mentioned that many

nonprofit organizations have insufficient understanding of financial management and financial accountability, which makes applying for a subsidy difficult (Personal conversation with respondents no. 1 and 6). Another reason that highlights the importance of financial management is that submitting financial statements for nonprofit associations and foundations is expected to become statutory in the near future (Personal conversation with respondent no. 3).

The fourth category involves volunteer management. As previously mentioned, often nonprofit organizations call on volunteers to perform their activities. However, the majority of nonprofit organizations have no elaborated policy in place to attract and retain appropriate and effective volunteers in the right positions (Personal conversation with respondents 1, 2 and 5; Sequera, 2018). In particular, organizations do not take sufficient account of the diversity in volunteer types, which in literature is associated with different personalities and their fit in the organization. The latter not only impedes the effective recruitment of volunteers but also reduces the success-rate of long-term commitments among volunteers in the organization (Sequera, 2018; Llocella 2017; Macduff, 2006; Clay & Snyder, 1999; Clary et al, 1998).

The fifth (combined) category concerns networking and collaboration. Even though nonprofit organizations operate in society, they are said not to invest adequately in building relationships with their stakeholders (Personal conversation with respondents no. 1, 3, 5 and 7; Hernandez, 2017a). It is argued that since Aruba is a small-scale society with limited resources, it would make sense that nonprofit organizations apply collaborative strategies to maximize their impact (Personal conversation with respondents no. 1 and 3; Directie Sociale Zaken, 2017; Hernandez, 2017). By way of example, without strong communication networks among stakeholders, the administrative processing capacity of some care organizations is so ineffective that long waiting lists have accumulated. Therefore, some clients and the social issues their needs help to highlight do not receive timely attention (Salas, 2018; Croes, 2017; Hernandez, 2017; Directie Sociale Zaken, 2017a). Another project which requires a different type of cooperation among nonprofit organizations and different levels of government agencies is the national Sustainable Development Goals action campaign (SDG Aruba Secretariat, 2018). In this area, however, cooperation is ineffective, so the government has identified collaboration as one of the “21st century skills” that needs more practice among the public sector and NGOs (SDG Aruba Secretariat, 2018: 2). Government findings are consistent with a 2017 report of the Kingdom of the Netherlands to the UN that states: “Awareness of the SDGs is growing across the Kingdom. Ensuring broad involvement and collaboration between different sectors is an ongoing challenge for all the countries of the Kingdom” (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Netherlands, 2017: 7). Naturally, more cooperation and alignment among the key organizations would yield better results. However, working together comes with challenges and requires skills that must be taught.

The last category refers to project management. Local nonprofit organizations often lack management skills which are required during the entire cycle of a project, including the writing of adequate grant-proposals (Personal conversation with respondents no. 1, 2 and 7; SDG Aruba Secretariat, 2018).

Initiatives and ideas that seek to enhance the capacity building of Aruban nonprofit organizations

There are several organizations active in providing services to strengthen Aruban nonprofit organizations. A major institution is the National Social Development Fund (CEDE) of Aruba. Founded in 1980, one of its objectives is to provide support and guidance in the areas such as “the development, guidance and assessments of projects” and “the exploration of financing opportunities for new initiatives” (Retrieved December 2018 from cede/aruba.org/about). One respondent explained:

“Recently CEDE signed an agreement with the government and Dutch foundations to obtain funds [for a] per five-year period. For each five-year period CEDE must write a policy plan that forms the basis on which these funds are provided. Each plan needs approval of the ministers involved. Hence, a five-year plan should be aligned with the government plans. (Personal conversation with respondent no. 1).”

Under certain conditions, projects from nonprofit organizations may be directly eligible for financing by CEDE Aruba or are forwarded to The Cooperation Fund for the Caribbean Part of the (Dutch) Kingdom (Personal conversation with respondent no. 1). In addition, there are several umbrella interest groups which support affiliated nonprofit organizations. For example, the ‘Asociacion Trabao di Hubentud na Aruba’ (ATHA), established in 1986, has about fifty members including nonprofit organizations that are active in the field of youth welfare work (Personal conversation with respondent no. 2). ATHA aims to create better facilities and improve individual opportunities and development for Aruban youth (0 to 21 years) through support, development and stimulation of activities. One of its objectives is “quality care: orienting on optimizing facilities (upgrading), professionalism, training, workshops and expertise” (Retrieved December 2018 from www.vistiaruba.com). The ‘Union di Organisacionnan Cultural Arubano’ (UNOCA) is another overarching organization that includes a number of nonprofit organizations. UNOCA has managed the national fund for cultural development since 1986 and helps finance cultural projects. Professionalism is one of its core values (www.unocaruba.org/about-us).

The following initiatives and ideas that aim to build capacity and improve the achievements of Aruban nonprofit organizations relate to a variety of needs: awareness about the importance of capacity building; education; coaching support; mutual exchange of insights among starting and more experienced nonprofits; change of mindset; appropriate and motivated volunteers; and effective collaboration.

Although many nonprofit organizations would benefit from capacity building, they are not always aware of their needs nor able to indicate which areas need strengthening. As one respondent from CEDE Aruba puts it: “Sometimes you know it, sometimes they do not know it. And sometimes they know it” (Personal conversation with respondent no. 1). To help nonprofits identify needs, in May 2018, the University of Aruba (UA) developed a board evaluation tool. It assists the boards of nonprofit organizations to assess their tasks, their process of working together, their relationship with the executive director, and the performance of individual board members. The aims are to identify what can be improved, what requires more attention, and what should be classified as a priority (Personal conversation with respondents no. 1 and 5). The board evaluation tool was applied with good results in a 2019 trial and will be applied to more organizations in 2020 (Personal conversation with respondent no. 1). In addition to developing the board evaluation tool, the UA was asked to provide a lecture on board responsibilities (Personal conversation with respondent no. 5).

Another initiative put forward in 2018 was to recruit nonprofit consultants/coaches who will be charged with capacity building for nonprofit organizations. A respondent from CEDE Aruba explains:

We do not yet know how many are needed, but at least CEDE wants to get a picture of who is interested to become a coach. And then, at the same time we will know in which areas Aruba has ample expertise to offer (for example with regards to governance or finance), and in which areas not. In the latter case, expertise from outside Aruba must be hired (probably in the field of social enterprises, a new concept for Aruba). (Personal conversation with respondent no. 1)

It is CEDE Aruba’s intention to assign the coaches to organizations that obtain project funding. In this way, each coach is expected to offer tailor-made support which will assist the organization to strengthen their weaknesses and to achieve project goals. The CEDE respondent explains: “For example, if a project requires highly educated volunteers, the coach could provide a strategy to attract them. In case a project aims to introduce a certain methodology for social work, then it will need a coach who understands the implementation of these methods” (Personal conversation with respondent no. 1).

The plan to assign capacity building coaches has been operational since the beginning of the year 2019. Qredits Aruba, a microfinance company which started its operations in March 2017, already applied the coach concept to SMEs. After brainstorming with CEDE Aruba, the idea was proposed to share each other’s coaches for the benefit of each organization’s clients (Personal conversation with respondent no. 1; Qredits Microfinanciering Nederland, n.d.).

Developing a full-fledged capacity building program for its member organizations was made one of ATHA’s goals for 2019, after its members indicated in an annual meeting that there is a demand for training and workshops in various areas of administration (Personal conversation with respondent no. 2). Furthermore, the Chamber of Commerce

and Industry (henceforth, the Chamber) encourages nonprofit organizations to participate in courses it organizes for for-profit organizations. The Chamber's respondent explains: "Both types of organizations share identical issues, in particular in the field of financial management, strategic management, and marketing" (Personal conversation with respondent no. 3). Another respondent explains:

"If you want to function well as a nonprofit, then you must adopt the standards framework of the private and public sectors, in addition to your core goals. This implies that sufficient priority is given to management and administrative functions so that transparency and accountability will not be questioned." (Personal conversation with respondent no. 6).

The prevailing thinking at the Department of Economic Affairs, Commerce and Industry (DEACI), CEDE Aruba, and at the Chamber is that nonprofit organizations must be taught to seek more entrepreneurial initiatives and be open to innovation (Personal conversation with respondent no. 4). One respondent illustrated:

"Do not forget, Aruba is visited annually by many tourists. If the challenge is funding, then a NGO is able to develop alternative activities that may become a new tourism experience. For example, FAVI [Care Foundation for Visually Impaired people] and 'Dinner in the Dark'. For one night, the revenue was 20,000 florins in tickets sold. If you can get tourists to book this event regularly, then the NGO will have an additional source of income! Another initiative is 'Barrio Chef', which brings tourists and locals together to cook creole dishes. Hence, make it a new experience, and sell it!" (Personal conversation with respondent no. 1)

Encouraging new ways of thinking may have implications for setting term limits for board members. Current frustrations with indefinite terms are evident: "Some people remain on the board for one hundred years and impede necessary change!" (Personal conversation with respondent no. 3). "When a director is coming in with a lot of new good ideas, but the board does not recognize these, then innovation has no chance. A board must be able to evaluate itself and see to it that there is always new blood coming in" (Personal conversation with respondent no. 1).

The establishment of an academy for nonprofit organizations is a current topic of discussion between the Aruba Centre of Excellence for the Sustainable Development of SIDS, the UA, and CEDE Aruba (Personal conversation with respondents no. 1, 3 and 4). One respondent explains the advantages of such collaboration:

Given the limited capacity within small-scale societies as Aruba, the introduction of such a new education facility only succeeds when you think in terms of Triple Helix cooperation. Another method inevitably leads to mutual competition and inefficient use of limited resources, and is at the expense of the impact. (Personal conversation with respondent no. 6)

Besides different training modules for the staff of nonprofit organizations, the academy should offer a ‘train-the-trainer’ course that builds the capacity of coaches that can guide individual nonprofit organizations. Moreover, the academy must prepare nonprofit organizations for their contribution to the national campaign of implementing Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) (Bon Dia, 2018a; Kock, 2018; SDG Aruba, 2018).

Meanwhile, with the assistance of the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), the government of Aruba has determined that effective implementation of the SDGs in Aruba demands strengthening of government agencies and nonprofit organizations “in the areas of statistical knowledge, integral policy development, and project management (including monitoring and evaluation)” (SDG Aruba Secretariat, 2018: 2). Therefore, in September/November of 2018, the government organized a tender to obtain proposals for a capacity building program focused on these identified areas for improvement. Proposals had to indicate the ‘gap’ between the existing and the needed individual and institutional capacity for the realization of the SDG project and include a competency-based “program of courses (...) developed for the provision of the necessary capacity building for the public sector and NGOs” (SDG Aruba Secretariat, 2018: 4). Furthermore, the inclusion of a train-the-trainer module was required, and it was expressed that the courses designed “should ideally be integrated into higher education institutions to ensure sustainability and continuity.” (SDG Aruba Secretariat, 2018: 4)

Annually, since 2013, and in collaboration with the Dutch welfare fund ‘Oranje Fonds’, a two-day event takes place in Aruba with the aim of promoting community service. People are encouraged to participate as volunteers in a single project of a nonprofit organization during the term of the event. Although this ‘Aruba Doet’ (Aruba PERFORMS) event results in a large turnout, it is no solution for the recruitment of volunteers for the long term (Personal conversation with respondent no. 1). ‘Feria Social’ is another CEDE Aruba project that brings volunteers into contact with nonprofit organizations. The program is a call to youngsters to gain experience in volunteer work for at least three months. This subsidized formula is reasonably successful because some organizations manage to keep their volunteers after the trial period (Personal conversation with respondent no. 1). However, since there is a great need to recruit and retain volunteers, Hoek (2013) and Sequera (2018) suggest that Aruban nonprofit organizations must pay more attention to different types of volunteers and their basic underlying motivations. Each type of volunteer would have implications for the way a given group should be effectively managed. “This will improve efficiency and decrease the disappointing efforts to obtain volunteers.” (Sequera, 2018: 80)

Since 2017, the Chamber has promoted the concept of a business indicator “where entrepreneurs can come together and share the limited resources to build their business

and create innovative solutions.” It considers the business incubator as one of the “practical solutions to reduce the obstacles and burdens of doing business” (The Chamber of Commerce and Industry Aruba, 2017: 8). Among nonprofits and for-profit organizations alike, “Especially during the first three years, startups will encounter a lot of challenges. A startup is like a seed that has the potential to grow as a strong plant, but it needs sufficient care to develop” (Personal conversation with respondent no. 4). Moreover, DEACI points to the ‘cross-pollination effect’ of the interaction between existing companies with experience in running an enterprise and startup companies with innovative concepts and knowledge of new technologies (Personal conversation with respondent no. 4). Because both for-profit organizations and nonprofit organizations meet similar challenges during their startup years, in 2018, the Chamber discussed with CEDE Aruba the concept of incubators for nonprofit organizations. One respondent explained, “We [at the Chamber of Commerce and Industry Aruba] have brainstormed about the usefulness of incubators for NGOs. An incubator may help to promote another mindset; nonprofits should consider themselves more as businesses and provide their own income” (Personal conversation with respondent no. 3). According to DEACI, up to now, the government has not explored the idea of incubators for nonprofit organizations. However, this may change in the future if the government considers promoting social enterprises (Kock, 2018; SDG Aruba, 2018).

In December 2017, with technical assistance from Dutch and Latin-American experts from UNICEF, the Ministry of Social Affairs designed the Social Crisis Plan. Due to budget reasons, the implementation of the two-year plan began at the end of 2018 (Bon Dia, 2018; Diario, 2018; Salas, 2018; 24Ora.com, 2018). The plan’s ultimate goal is to create an elaborate child protection system where all important sectors are concerned. A major objective is the timely identification of cases where the well-being of children and young people is at risk. In response to the current wait time for services from some nonprofit care organizations, a representative of the Department of Social Affairs argues: “You can not ask a child in crisis to wait two years for help, that is unacceptable” (Salas, 2018a: 1). The newly implemented plan opts for improving client processing capacity through seeking close cooperation and alignment between government agencies and the relevant nonprofit organizations (‘chain collaboration’). It is hoped that the right connections between key organizations and tight coordination will result in the fine-tuning of their purposes and actions, and delivery of better outcomes (Hernandez, 2018; Directie Sociale Zaken, 2017a). In April 2019, an internationally recognized training program was started for 134 professionals working in education, justice and healthcare to teach them to recognize early symptoms of child abuse and to respond effectively, in collaboration with each other. (Amigoe, 2019) The participating care foundations are represented on the plan’s steering committee by CEDE Aruba (Hernandez, 2018). Increasingly, CEDE Aruba has been setting collaboration as a prerequisite for funding projects as “Cooperation between organizations becomes more and more a

leading principle as part of a general plan.” (Personal conversation with respondent no. 1)

Conclusion

According to the literature, through the start-up and proceeding years, nonprofits encounter areas for improvement that negatively affect the results of their operations. In Aruba, as far as I know, little or no research has been done to identify the common areas for improvement which are in need of capacity building. In response to the first main research question, seeking to identify the most common areas for improvement for the realization of objectives of Aruban nonprofit organizations, results confirm that the operations of Aruban nonprofit organizations can be strengthened in six key ways. Grouped into six categories, the following common areas for improvement were identified: board and management; strategic management; funding and financial management; recruiting and attaining volunteers; networking and collaboration; and project management. The general conclusion is that Aruban nonprofit organizations have significant areas for improvement that impede accomplishing their mission and strategic goals. Hence, there is a concrete need for capacity building. However, a structured, integral and effective capacity building system covering all identified areas for improvement is not yet available. Nevertheless, there are positive developments which indicate progress.

308 In response to the second research question, seeking to identify what local initiatives and ideas seek to enhance the capacity building of Aruban nonprofit organizations, results indicate that there is a range of local initiatives and ideas. These local capacity building initiatives and ideas include general education programs, specific courses and workshops, an incubator for nonprofits to access tailor-made coaching, and project related subsidy programs. Some have already been developed and are familiar to many nonprofits, while others are still in a design or discussion phase and/or lack publicity. In general, the manner in which these capacity building services may be accessed appears somewhat fragmented, given the number of different organizations involved (like CEDE Aruba, ATHA and UNOCA) and the different stakeholder groups they focus on. However, there is a current trend whereby various organizations, including those which were not involved before (like the Chamber, Qredits Aruba, the UA, and the Aruba Centre of Excellence for the Sustainable Development of SIDS), consult each other and seek closer cooperation through public sector-university-businesses relations in a Triple Helix model (Etzkowitz & Leydesdorff, 1995). A frequently expressed opinion is that nonprofit organizations should be more open to innovation and entrepreneurialism. Yet, with respect to the development of capacity building methods for nonprofit organizations, there is a noticeable trend towards government prioritized (‘top-down’) projects, like the Social Crisis Plan and the national campaign for implementing SDGs.

It is recommended that a follow-up study be done to evaluate the extent to which efforts for capacity building for Aruban nonprofit organizations can be targeted and delivered in the form of programs offered by qualified institutions of higher education. This modality might increase efficiency, promote responsible use of limited resources, and result in maximum achievable results. At the same time, it would be worthwhile to investigate whether these programs should include government agencies. A broad approach might incorporate all sorts of government initiatives whose success depends on cooperation between governmental entities and (private) nonprofit organizations but which are currently hampered by the lack of shared expertise.

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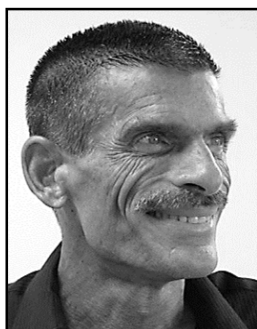
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PERSONAL CONVERSATIONS

- Dated July 12, 2018, with respondent no. 1, representing the National Social Development Fund ('CEDE Aruba');
- Dated June 28, 2018, with respondent no. 2, representing the 'Asociacion Trabao di Hubentud na Aruba' (A.T.H.A.).
- Dated August 7, 2018, with respondent no. 3, representing the Chamber of Commerce and Industry Aruba ('the Chamber');
- Dated July 24, 2018, with respondent no. 4, representing the Department of Economic Affairs, Commerce & Industry (DEACI);
- Dated November 19, 2018, with respondent no. 5, representing the Faculty of Arts & Science, University of Aruba (UA);
- Dated November 29, 2018, with respondent no. 6, representing management of the University of Aruba (UA);
- Dated August 15, 2018, with respondent no.7, representing Spitzberg & Advisors.

ABOUT THE EDITORS



Prof. Dr. Nicholas Faraclas (Puerto Rico) is a Professor in Linguistics at the University of Puerto Rico, Río Piedras. Having received his PhD from the University of California at Berkeley, he has taught courses and published several books and articles in the areas of theoretical, descriptive, socio-, and applied linguistics. Over the past four decades, he has been conducting research on creole languages as well as promoting community based literacy activities in Africa, the South Pacific, and the Caribbean. nickfaraclas@yahoo.com



Prof. Dr. Ronald Severing (Curaçao) is a Professor of Language Education in the General Faculty at the University of Curaçao and the former managing director of the national institute for language planning (FPI) of Curaçao. He obtained Master's degrees in Dutch Language and Literature at Nijmegen and Socio- and Applied Linguistics at Tilburg, and his PhD in Social Sciences at the University of Nijmegen. Together with local authors he has published textbooks and manuals for all educational levels in Papiamentu and Dutch. r.severing@uoc.cw

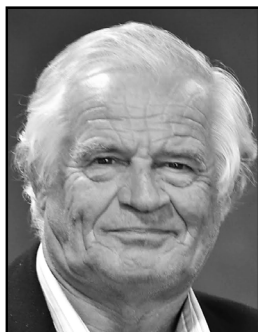


Drs. Christa Weijer (Curaçao) received a Bachelor's degree in French and Dutch, and a Master's in Romance Languages (main subject French) at the University of Leiden, Holland. She taught French and Dutch language and literature for more than twenty years at the Peter Stuyvesant College in Curaçao, and worked for fourteen years at the national institute for language planning, Fundashon pa Planifikashon di Idioma (FPI). christa53@gmail.com



Dr. Elisabeth Echteld (Curaçao) is the Dean of the General Faculty at the University of Curaçao (2006-2012; 2014), where she is now Associate Professor in charge of research. She received her PhD from the University of Utrecht in the Netherlands. Her dissertation focuses on literature written in Spanish in Curaçao during the second half of the 19th century. She has taught courses and published a number of articles on literature. She is co-author of *Kadans*, a literature textbook series used in schools and colleges in the Dutch Caribbean. e.echteld@uoc.cw; www.uoc.cw

ABOUT THE EDITORS (continuation)



Prof. Dr. Wim Rutgers (Aruba) is a Professor in Literary History and Literary Science with a focus on Papiamentu at the University of Curaçao. He received a Master's degree in General Literary Science in Utrecht and his PhD from the University of Utrecht. He has taught courses and published in the areas of Caribbean, Antillean and Aruban literature. He has long been a literary reviewer in the local press. He has written and published textbooks and manuals on literature for different educational levels. wim_rutgers@hotmail.com



Dr. Sally J. Delgado (Puerto Rico) has a PhD in the literature and languages of the English-speaking Caribbean from the University of Puerto Rico, Rio Piedras with a specialization in linguistics, and is currently an assistant professor in the English Department at the University of Puerto Rico in Cayey. Her interests in historical dialectology and theories of creole genesis are explored in her research on Ship English of the early colonial Caribbean. She teaches linguistics and English as a Second Language and has published several articles on maritime culture and history, education, and sociolinguistics. sallyj.delgado@upr.edu

ABOUT THE AUTHORS



Prof. Dr. Ann Albuyeh (Puerto Rico) is a Professor of English Linguistics at the Universidad de Puerto Rico. She received her Ph.D. from the University of Wisconsin-Madison. She is a recipient of the Distinguished Africanist Award for Research Excellence from the University of Texas-Austin, her publications focus on language and culture in the Caribbean and Africa. ann.albuyeh1@upr.edu



Dr. Kirtie Algoe (Suriname) has obtained a bachelor's degree in Sociology (2007) and Master's degree in Development and Policy (2011) at the Anton de Kom University of Suriname (AdeKUS). She completed her dissertation on interreligious relations in Suriname and Guyana in 2017. Her main publications are on religious diversity. She works at the *Institute for Graduate Studies and Research* of AdeKUS. Algoe combines her academic career with sports; she is the only female board-member of the Suriname Olympic Committee. kirtie.algoe@gmail.com



Dr. Rose Mary Allen (Curaçao) received her Master's degree in Cultural and Social Anthropology from the Catholic University of Nijmegen, the Netherlands in 1977. She received a PhD from Utrecht University in 2007. She is now working as a consultant, teaching at the University of Curaçao, and participating as a research fellow in a project on identity issues at the Amsterdam School for Social Science Research, University of Amsterdam. She has published and edited several books and articles on the cultural and social history of the Netherlands Antilles. allen_rm@onenet.an

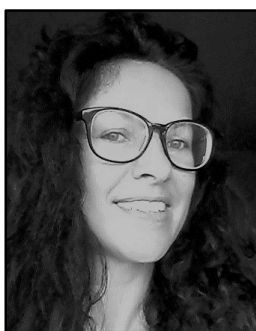


Nifa Ansano (Curaçao) is a stage performer, writer, poet, actress, TV- and radio host, and events and debate moderator. Combining her background in social-legal services and her passion for literature she aspires to create and stimulate an infrastructure for writers of Curaçao to develop their talent and publish their work. As a poet she has performed at various cultural and literary events and has also represented Curaçao in Cuba. She has co-published in various publications and is currently working on her first solo publication. ansanonifa@gmail.com



Janneke Beerman MA (Curaçao) is a researcher at the General Faculty of the University of Curaçao. She was awarded both of her Master's degrees (in Western Literature and in Education: Communication) at the University of Utrecht. j.beerman@uoc.cw

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Drs. Welmoed de Boer (Suriname) studeerde Indiase en Indonesische talen en culturen aan de Rijksuniversiteit te Leiden en creolistiek aan de Universiteit van Amsterdam. Daarbinnen focust zij zich op sociolinguïstiek van Suriname en regio. Zij studeerde ook af als vertaler Spaans-Nederlands. Momenteel richt zij zich in haar PhD-onderzoek op het Surinaams-Javaans. Zij doceert taalkunde en academisch schrijven aan respectievelijk de lerarenopleiding en Anton de Kom-universiteit van Suriname. Daarnaast werkt zij als publicist en vertaler. welmoedventura@gmail.com www.sulinguista.com



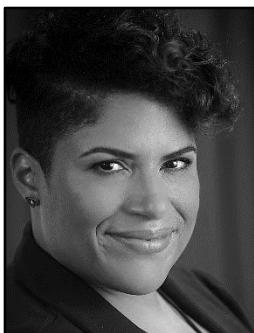
Drs. Ithel S.A. Brute (Curaçao) worked as a teacher of Papiamentu and Spanish at the Peter Stuyvesant College in Curaçao. He holds a Master's degree in Spanish language and literature from the University of Groningen, the Netherlands. He is co-author of *Mosaiko*, a teaching method for Papiamentu for secondary schools. He has published a number of reviews on literature and related areas. Currently he is working as an official translator and guest lecturer at the General Faculty of the University of Curaçao Dr. Moises da Costa Gomez. ithelbrute@yahoo.com; ithelbrute@gmail.com



Drs. Charles do Rego MBA (Curaçao) is a consultant who conducts research and publishes in the fields of social history, migration, slavery, and constitutional development. With an MA in Human Geography from the University of Nijmegen and an MBA from Erasmus University, Rotterdam, he has taught at the Teacher Training Institute and at universities in Curaçao. He is a member of the Advisory Council for Curaçao, Chairman of the Council for Monuments and Board Member of the National Archaeological & Anthropological Memory Management Group. chalsdorego@yahoo.com.



Drs. Frits Faber (Curaçao) dichter en voordrachtskunstenaar, is in 1994 geëmigreerd naar Curaçao waar hij tot 2010 heeft gewerkt als onderwijskundige en praktijkcoördinator aan de Akademia Pedagógiko Kòrsou. Hij heeft gedichten geschreven in het Nederlands, in het Papiamentu en ook in het Engels, waardoor een gedicht van hem is opgenomen in Who is Who in Poetry 2012. Naast de publicatie van enkele bundels, heeft Frits opgetreden tijdens het festival Dichters in de bomen en heeft hij twee keer zijn gedichten gepresenteerd in de Literaire tip-pelzone. frits_faber@yahoo.com



Adrienne Fernandes MA (Curaçao) is a researcher at the General Faculty of the University of Curaçao, where she is now Coordinator of the English Department. She received her Master's degree in English Literature and Culture from the University of Amsterdam. a.fernandes@uoc.cw



Zuleika Fernandes Perna-Silva MEd (Aruba) has been teaching Papiamento and coordinating the Papiamento program at Colegio Arubano since 2004. In 2015 she received her Master of Education in Papiamento from the University of Curaçao. In 2015 she joined the University of Aruba as a part-time lecturer in the Faculty of Arts and Science. Currently she works part-time at the Insitituto Pedagogico Arubano in their Bachelor's program in Papiamento. She has several publications. zuleika_f@hotmail.com



Dr. Hélène Garrett (Canada) received her PhD in Modern Languages and Cultural Studies from the University of Alberta, Edmonton. After an active and productive working life, she is now happily retired (since 2013) in Canada where she lives with her husband in Westbank, British Columbia. She is enjoying spending time with her granddaughter, Kineena and enjoys meeting with her crocheting group, reading and translating. hag2enator@gmail.com



Frances'Lee González Rosado MA (Puerto Rico) is a doctoral student of Anglophone Caribbean Literature at the University of Puerto Rico in Río Piedras. Among her interests are Caribbean drama with a focus on the feminine experience, mainstream drama, and different areas of popular culture. She is the current Publications Chair for Caribbean Without Borders 2020. francesl.gonzalez@upr.edu



Nina Gribbling BA (The Netherlands) participated in an exchange program between the University of Aruba and Utrecht University for her Bachelor thesis at University College Utrecht. During her fieldwork, Nina did oral history interviews within the community of San Nicolas, and collaborated with the local museum, whose objectives include creating heritage awareness on that part of the island. Nina wants to continue with a Masters in Anthropology, and is interested in what role the past plays in the present. n.n.gribbling@students.uu.nl



Elodie Heloise (Curaçao) is an island child with an indestructible love connection to Curaçao and its people. She is an observer of truths and tries to 'grab' them without judgement, usually finding something of beauty in everything. Using her tools of writing and visual arts, she has published several books and contributed to the publication of others. After a career as a journalist and editor, she now runs a cultural center for Art, Nature and History in Curaçao called Landhuis Bloemhof. elonr1@yahoo.com; elodie@bloemhof.cw



Dr. ChenziRa Davis Kahina (St. Croix) is an educator, cultural griot, media technologist, holistic therapist, visionary, ordained minister and community developer. Her Indigenous AfRaKan Caribbean ancestry harmonize with her studies at Rutgers, Pepperdine, Natural Health Institute, and University of California-San Diego. She is a founder of NPO/UN ECOSOC Special Consultative NGO Per Ankh Khamniversity. She is the director of the Virgin Islands Caribbean Cultural Center and teaches in the College of Liberal Arts and Social Sciences at the University of the Virgin Islands. chenzira.daviskahina@uvi.edu



Prof. Dr. Frans Koenraadt (The Netherlands) is a Professor of forensic psychiatry, psychology and criminology at the University of Curaçao; emeritus professor at the Institute for Criminal Law and Criminology of Utrecht University, affiliated with the Netherlands Institute for Forensic Psychiatry and Psychology (NIFP), and advisor at the Forensic Psychiatric Hospital. He is a forensic psychologist at Rampton Special Hospital, Retford, England. He has published about law, mental health, domestic homicide, arson, the history of forensic mental health, and art, crime and mental illness. f.koenraadt@uu.nl



Prof. Dr. Dannabang Kuwabong (Puerto Rico) is a Professor in the Department of English, University of Puerto Rico, Río Piedras. He specializes in Caribbean, women's, and African literatures in English, postcolonial theory, and oral literature. He has published widely in several internationally acclaimed academic and literary journals. He is a published poet with poetry collections to his name and a collection of short stories, including: *Visions of Venom*, *Echoes from Dusty Rivers* and *Caribbean Blues and Love's Genealogy*. zolgbara@gmail.com



ÆMY Niafeliz (Curaçao) is a singer, songwriter, musician, stage performer, producer, director, choreographer, actress, motivational speaker, author, poet, painter and designer. Since her launch as an artist, she has been working voluntarily in projects aimed at changing community mentalities and responses related to criminality, prostitution, drug addiction, domestic violence and child-abuse. She also has performed on the island and abroad and she has won several awards for female artist of the year, song of the year and more. bookingaemy@gmail.com



Alex Ortega Ortega MA, (Mexico) is a PhD candidate of Linguistics in El Colegio de México. His dissertation explores the intonation of the Spanish language in contact with the Wayuu language in Colombia. His other interests include phonology and phonetics, sociolinguistics of Spanish, and pragmatics. He is a member of the Research Group for Sociolinguistic Studies in the Caribbean and Hispanoamerica (GIESCAH) at the Universidad del Atlántico in Colombia. He has participated in research projects such as: PRESEEA, Dispolex, and Languages in Contact in the Colombian Caribbean. aaortega@colmex.mx



Ir. Leendert Pengel (Curaçao) was the manager of the ICT department of the University of Curaçao from 1998 until 2016, when he became the first Manager of the newly established Center for Digital Learning at UoC. He graduated from the Technical University at Eindhoven as a Master in Information Technology in 1992. l.pengel@uoc.cw



Kati Qui (Katiuska Quiñones) (Curaçao) started writing poems and stories when she was 12 years old. By the age of 16, she became part of a theater group named Grupo KARA, eventually becoming involved with the Poetic Colors poetry project, which is where she started blooming as a poet. Later, she started drawing and painting and she had her first exhibition in 2016. Eventually, she became interested in puppets, and she is now merging all her talents to make her puppet business, Teater di Pòpchi Maletin, a success. katiquiarte@gmail.com



Nora Röders BA (The Netherlands) participated in the 2018 UA-UCU student research collaboration, for which she conducted three months of field research about immigrants' motives to apply for citizenship in Aruba. Interested in migration and integration processes, Nora has been involved with refugee and immigrant organizations in Wales, Jordan, and Germany. She currently works for PASSOP, an NGO advocating immigrants' and refugee rights in Cape Town, South Africa, before continuing with her graduate studies. n.l.roeders@gmail.com



Dr. John E. Rueda Chaves (Colombia, Mexico) obtained his PhD in Linguistics from El Colegio de México and a Master from the University of Puerto Rico and is a member of the Research Group for Sociolinguistic Studies in the Caribbean and Hispanoamerica (GIESCAH) at Universidad del Atlántico in Colombia. He focuses on the study of phonetics, phonology, and morphology of Mixtec languages, other indigenous languages and creole languages, as well as on sociophonology and syntactic variation in Caribbean Spanish. He has participated in projects such as PRESEEA and Dispolex. jrueda@colmex.mx



Drs. Crisèn Schorea (Curaçao) is a multidisciplinary artist. By profession she is a sociologist currently employed at Kas di Kultura, but in her heart and soul she is a writer, singer and songwriter, actress and admirer of the performing arts. As an actress she's known for her performance in for instance *Den nòmber di Tata*, *Antigone*, directed by Albert Schoobaar and *Na Pechu*, directed by Roland Colastica. In December of 2016 she published her first poetry book in Papiamentu, titled *Sinti mi Sintí*. Currently she's working on her first album. c.schorea@gmail.com; crisens@hotmail.com



Don Taylor, MSc., CPA, LLM (Aruba), Attorney-at-Law, is a lecturer in International Business Law, Economics, Finance and Accounting Law at the University of Aruba (FHTMS Faculty) and also in Trade and International Investment Law. He is presently pursuing a PhD Law and Economics Stream with a focus on Property Rights, Bilateral Investment Treaties, Bounded Asymmetrical Power in International Agreements LLM - International Business Law with Commendation at the City of London University. donald.taylor@ua.aw, dontaylorlaw@gmail.com



Helmut P.M. Vink, LL.M., M.A. (Aruba) was born in the Netherlands and has been residing in Aruba since 1994. He studied Dutch Law at the university of Tilburg and Public Administration and Organizational Sciences in Utrecht. He was employed as manager and company lawyer at Alrecon N.V., Zurel N.V.; Aruba Bank N.V. and is currently working as lecturer at University of Aruba in the Faculty of Law (2003-2010) and the Faculty of Arts and Science, Department Organization, Governance and Management (2010-present). helmut.vink@ua.aw

ABOUT THE COVER ARTIST



Angiolina (Giolina) Henriquez (Aruba) is a visual artist and poet. After completing her studies at Rhode Island School of Design in the USA, she returned to Aruba, where she continued her active involvement in painting, poetry, illustration, and teaching. Her paintings are expressions of the beauty and difficulties of daily life, and of human interrelations and emotions, which are represented in her compositions as entanglements of fields of depth and light, figures and color, creating stillness or chaos, within a network of recurring profound idiosyncratic symbolisms. Her work is included in local and international private art collections. angiolinah@gmail.com