

This volume, *Navigating Crosscurrents: Trans-linguality, Trans-culturality and Trans-identification in 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 23 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>.

Navigating Crosscurrents

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Navigating Crosscurrents

Trans-linguality, Trans-culturality and Trans-identification in the Dutch Caribbean and beyond



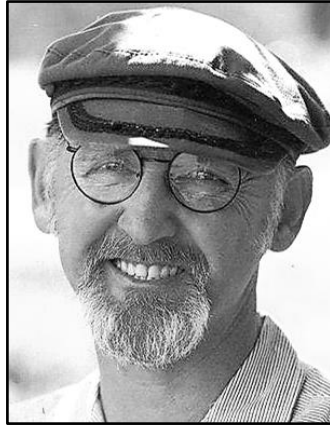
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Navigating Crosscurrents:
Trans-linguality, Trans-culturality and Trans-identification
in the Dutch Caribbean and beyond

Dedication



ARNOLD RAY HIGHFIELD
(March 10, 1940-September 8, 2019)

Arnold Ray Highfield was a distinguished professor who dedicated his life and work to the study of language and history in the Caribbean. In the 1960s and 1970s, he received a BA and an MA in History from Ohio State University, he studied French at the University of Lausanne where he taught at the Lycée Jacquard, and he received a PhD in Romance Linguistics jointly from the University of Madrid and Ohio State University. In the early 1980s, he co-edited some of the seminal volumes on creole languages that have served as foundational texts for contemporary creolistics. Focusing on the US Virgin Islands in general and on St. Croix in particular, his extensive research and published writing on Caribbean history over the following four decades helped to undo the erasure of pivotal inputs from people of African and Indigenous descent in the shaping of the Atlantic World. His careful and insightful translations of eye-witness accounts of colonial life in the Danish West Indies brought this key set of highly consequential documents out of obscurity in a way that would prove to be both engaging and accessible, two qualities that typified him as a scholar and as a human being. He never shied away from his responsibilities to the people of the USVI and readily assumed the role of public intellectual. In that capacity, he used the local media and his popular classes at the University of the Virgin Islands to raise awareness about how a critical understanding of the past can help Caribbean communities, not only to come to terms with the present, but also to create futures in their own images and interests.

Navigating Crosscurrents:

Trans-linguality, Trans-culturality and Trans-identification in the Dutch Caribbean and beyond

Volume 1

Edited by

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



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Navigating Crosscurrents: Trans-linguality, Trans-culturality and Trans-identification
in the Dutch Caribbean and beyond Volume 1

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Introduction and acknowledgements

The two publications: *Navigating Crosscurrents: Trans-linguality, Trans-culturality and Trans-identification in the Dutch Caribbean and beyond* together with *Negotiating Crosswinds: Trans-linguality, Trans-culturality and Trans-identification in the Greater Caribbean*, 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 other 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 23 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 the University of Curaçao at <http://dcdp.uoc.cw/icarplat>.

This publication received generous support from the University of Curaçao.

The Editors

**INTERSECTIONS OF
TRANS-LINGUALITY AND
TRANS-CULTURALITY IN THE
DUTCH CARIBBEAN AND BEYOND**

LANGUAGE USE AND ATTITUDES TOWARD SPANISH IN CURAÇAO

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Abstract

In this article we analyze the results of an electronic questionnaire that was administered to 92 participants who were born on Curaçao, with the aim of determining both their attitudes toward Spanish, as well as the extent to which they use Spanish in different domains. The results indicate that attitudes toward Spanish are generally positive, with most of the participants using Spanish along with other languages with friends and for watching television and movies. There were no appreciable differences between the results obtained from older and younger participants, so that, in contrast to the situation on neighboring Aruba, attitudes toward Spanish in Curaçao seem to be fairly stable at present.

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Key terms: Curaçao, language attitudes, Spanish, multilingualism

Introduction

In this article we present the results of a research project about language use and attitudes toward Spanish on the island of Curaçao. Curaçao is a multilingual society, composed of multilingual individuals. The major home language is Papiamentu¹, but Dutch had been the only officially recognized language on the island for centuries, up until very recently when Papiamentu and English were given official status alongside Dutch. Dutch still dominates the administrative and educational systems, as well as other formal domains of the public sphere. Global languages such as English and Spanish play an important role in Curaçao as well, due to migration, tourism, and the increasing influence of the media (television, the internet). In the study upon which this article is

¹ Notice that the name of the language is written as Papiamento in Aruba and as Papiamentu in Curaçao and Bonaire. In this article we will use both spellings to refer to the variety of their respective islands.

based, we investigate the role of Spanish in present-day Curaçaoan society by analyzing the results of an electronic questionnaire that was administered to 92 participants who were born on the island, with the aim of determining both their attitudes toward Spanish, as well as the extent to which they use Spanish in different domains.

Research on the identity constructions of Latin American immigrants in Curaçao involving participant observation, focus group meetings and open interviews was carried out by Van der Sloot (2010; 2011) who found that Latin American immigrants in Curaçao typically adopt multiple identities. They share strong feelings of a common Latinx identity despite the fact that they have different countries of origin², and they perceive themselves as culturally different from the local population and as culturally similar to other Latin American immigrants. Language seems to play a pivotal role in the perception of group identity (Lambert et al., 1960; Giles et al., 1977, and subsequent work). Latinxs prefer to speak Spanish within their own group as they express themselves better in their native language. The non-Latinx local population identifies Latinxs based on their use of Spanish and their accent when speaking Papiamentu. Hence, language creates a sense of group belonging among Latinxs and defines boundaries with other groups (Van der Sloot, 2011: 349).

Latinxs also share strong feelings of a national identity which is formed in their home country and revalued and renegotiated in the diaspora (Van der Sloot, 2011: 350). Their national identity is expressed in multiple ways (food and drink, music and dance, sport, clothing and speech style) and maintained by their strong social networks (cultural associations, folklore groups, radio stations) and transnational practices: regular contact with their families and frequent visits to their home countries.

Latinxs in Curaçao also adopt a local identity, as they come to feel integrated into Curaçaoan society. Some, however, are impacted by negative stereotyping, which is especially directed toward women, with Latinas being perceived as a threat to local women due to their attractive looks and their dedication as homemakers (Van der Sloot, 2011: 353). National stereotyping plays a role as well, both negatively (e.g. the prejudice against Dominicans as belonging to lower socio-economic classes and against Colombians as being associated with drugs and criminality), and positively (the stereotypical idea that Colombians and Venezuelans are highly educated) (p. 353). Most of the Latinx participants, however, feel at home on Curaçao and identify with the local Curaçaoan culture as well.

² Appendix II provides an overview of the number of immigrants from these countries from 1995 until 2010 (from Van der Sloot, 2011: 358). A report by the Central Bureau of Statistics based on the Census held in 2011 reveals slightly different numbers (according to country of birth):

Dominican Republic:	5.405
Colombia:	4.537
Venezuela:	1.691

From Van der Sloot's (2011) study we conclude that Latinxs are perceived as a distinct group with multiple identities in Curaçaoan society and that the Spanish language is one of their distinctive identifying features. Stereotypical opinions about the largest groups of Latinxs in Curaçao (Dominicans, Colombians and Venezuelans) can be positive as well as negative.

In order to contextualize our study of attitudes toward Spanish in Curaçao, it is important to briefly consider the role of Spanish on the neighboring island of Aruba, which is socio-historically and linguistically quite intimately related to Curaçao. Aruba has been experiencing a massive influx of Latin American immigrants since the 1980s due to the booming tourist industry on the island, which has created a strong demand for immigrant labor.³

Carroll (2009; 2015) explicitly addresses the question as to what extent the waves of Latin American immigration over the past century have given rise to negative attitudes and feelings of insecurity with regard to the viability of Papiamentu among non-Latinxs on Aruba. Based on interviews, he concludes that Papiamentu is not in danger of language shift, but instead is perceived as a strong marker of Aruban identity which clearly distinguishes the local population and integrated immigrants from newly arrived immigrants (2015: 120-127).

That said, Carroll's interviewees also expressed that the sheer number and omnipresence of Latinx immigrants on the island has made many Arubans feel defensive and concerned that Papiamentu and Aruban culture are somehow in need of special protection: "...there is a palpable anti-immigrant discourse targeted at the most recent wave of Spanish speaking immigrants." (Carroll, 2015: 122). The perception that these latest waves of Latinx immigrants are socio-economically somehow inferior to those who immigrated before them, and the perception that some adult immigrants do not make enough effort to learn Papiamentu, seem to have increased negative attitudes toward the Spanish language and its speakers: "... the Spanish language is starting to be viewed as something that is not socially acceptable due to its association with the marginalized immigrant population in Aruban society" (pp. 128-129). Carroll raises the question as to whether this stigma will discourage the younger generations from learning Spanish or result in the denial of equitable opportunities for such recent immigrants (p. 129).

³ A report by the Central Bureau of Statistics Aruba based on the Census held in 2010 reveals the following numbers for the major groups of Latin American immigrants (according to country of birth) on Aruba and Curaçao (repeated from footnote 2). Obviously, the total sum of these groups is higher in Aruba, although the total population is lower.

	Aruba (2010)	Curaçao (2011)
Colombia	9.273	4.537
Dominican Republic	4.109	5.405
Venezuela	3.229	1.691
Total population	101.484	150.563

These negative tendencies are not corroborated by Kelly's (2015) survey on language use and attitudes toward Papiamentu among 149 Latin American immigrants on the island, who report that while Spanish is their major home language (64.8%, followed by Papiamentu at 29.7%), both languages are frequently used with mothers, fathers, brothers and sisters, and that Papiamentu is the language that they most frequently use with friends (39.7%) and strangers (43.1%). These immigrants' attitudes toward Papiamentu are very positive as well, as the participants evaluate the language as being very important for both instrumental purposes (education and the job market) as well as for integrative purposes (socializing within the community). Kelly's findings also indicate that 78.4% of the participants are interested in taking Papiamentu courses to gain further proficiency in the language.

Research questions and methodology

For the present study, we formulated the following central research question: What are the patterns of language use and attitudes toward Spanish on Curaçao? On the basis of this central question, we formulated the following sub-questions: 1) What are the patterns of language use (specifically the use of Spanish) among the local population on Curaçao?; 2) What are the prevailing attitudes toward Spanish among the local population on Curaçao?; and 3) Are there any differences in language use and attitudes in relation to Spanish between different generations among the local population on Curaçao?

To answer the research questions, a questionnaire was designed based on Baker (1992) and previous studies on language use, attitudes and identity in Curaçao (Garrett, 2008; Kester, 2011; Kester 2020). The questionnaire was formulated in Papiamentu and contained five sets of questions regarding: 1) the use of Papiamentu, English, Spanish, Dutch and other languages in interpersonal communication; 2) the use of Papiamentu, English, Spanish, Dutch and other languages in activities involving the media; 3) language attitudes based on the importance of Spanish in various contexts; 4) language attitudes toward Spanish based on affective evaluations; and 5) demographic information about the participants. A trial version of the questionnaire was administered to two students from Curaçao who are living in the Netherlands. After minimal revision based on that trial, the questionnaire was uploaded in June 2019 onto the internet platform 'ThesisTools', which is designed for carrying out online surveys. Participants were recruited through a snowball process in which members of one of the author's personal 'Facebook' networks in Curaçao forwarded the survey to others on the island. All participants received a request to fill out the questionnaire online, as well as an information letter and consent form approved by the Ethical Assessment Committee for Linguistics at Utrecht University (see Appendix I).⁴

⁴ The Ethical Assessment Committee for Linguistics provided permission for publication of the results in retrospect, stating that the study met the standards for approval of the committee.

Results

The questionnaire was filled out by 155 participants in total, but only 92 of the questionnaires were included in the analysis. We excluded the questionnaires filled out by the 59 participants who did not explicitly provide permission to use the results for scientific research, as well as the questionnaires of 4 participants who were born on Aruba or Bonaire. The 92 remaining participants as well as at least one of their parents were all born on Curaçao.⁵

We distinguished two different age groups: 1) the older generation group consisting of 43 individuals aged 26 and older (age range: 26-72, Mean: 33; 2 males and 41 females), and 2) the younger generation group consisting of 49 individuals aged 25 or younger (age range: 15-25, Mean: 21; 6 males and 43 females).

Language use

Table 1 illustrates the results of the questionnaire regarding the use of Papiamentu, English and Spanish with several categories of interlocutors by the participants in the two generational groups.

Table 1 Use of Papiamentu, English and Spanish with different interlocutors by the two generational groups

	Papiamentu		English		Spanish	
	Older	Younger	Older	Younger	Older	Younger
Mother	95%	92%	7%	14%	9%	12%
Father	93%	96%	2%	6%	5%	0%
Siblings	93%	88%	12%	38%	9%	18%
Children	67%	16%	21%	4%	5%	6%
Friends	88%	92%	42%	57%	30%	30%

As shown in Table 1 Papiamentu is the language most widely spoken across all different categories for both generations. English is used more frequently by the younger generation than by the older generation to communicate with siblings and friends. Interestingly, these younger participants do not use English very frequently with their mothers and fathers, indicating that it is not their home language. Spanish is also used slightly more frequently by the younger generation than by the older generation to communicate with their friends. The lower scores for the use of Papiamentu with children can be

⁵ The number of parents born elsewhere was very limited: 6 in the case of the older generation, 11 in the case of the younger generation. Most of these parents were born on a different island in the Caribbean (Aruba, Bonaire, St. Eustatius, St. Vincent, or the Dominican Republic).

explained by the fact that 30% of the older generation and 81% of the younger generation are childless, as indicated in the ‘children’ row of the ‘not applicable’ column in Table 2.

Table 2 Use of Dutch, another language or several languages with different interlocutors by the two generational groups

	Dutch		Another language		Several languages		Not applicable	
	Older	Younger	Older	Younger	Older	Younger	Older	Younger
Mother	12%	18%	0%	2%	0%	8%	0%	0%
Father	9%	8%	0%	2%	0%	2%	9%	4%
Siblings	21%	16%	0%	2%	0%	4%	7%	6%
Children	33%	2%	0%	0%	0%	0%	30%	81%
Friends	35%	33%	0%	0%	9%	4%	0%	0%

Table 2 indicates that Dutch is used in communication with friends, alongside Papiamentu, English and Spanish. The older generation also uses Dutch to communicate with their children and, as we already observed, the majority of the younger generation are childless. The use of another language besides Papiamentu, English, Spanish or Dutch is rather unusual and only few participants of the younger generation indicate that they make use of several languages equally, (although we already observed above that Papiamentu, English and Spanish are often used in communication with several categories of interlocutors).

Table 3 lists the results of the questionnaire regarding media use in Papiamentu, English and Spanish by the participants in the two generational groups:

Table 3 Media use in Papiamentu, English and Spanish by the two generational groups

	Papiamentu		English		Spanish	
	Older	Younger	Older	Younger	Older	Younger
Watch television	42%	16%	81%	96%	49%	61%
Watch movies	7%	2%	84%	100%	49%	39%
Consult web pages	9%	2%	88%	96%	23%	25%
Use social media	22%	22%	96%	96%	20%	20%
Listen to the radio	84%	80%	26%	30%	21%	14%
Listen to music	67%	86%	69%	90%	67%	82%

The results indicate that English is the most frequently used language by far for watching television and movies, consulting web pages and interacting on social media among both generational groups. Papiamentu is more frequently used than English only for listening to (local) radio stations. Spanish is also used for watching television and movies, which is not surprising because in previous decades, the only television programming normally available on the island was broadcast from Venezuela. The three languages are almost equally used for listening to music.

Table 4 shows that the use of Dutch for these same purposes is limited.

Table 4 Media use in Dutch, another language, several languages by the two generational groups

	Dutch		Another language		Several languages		Not applicable	
	Older	Younger	Older	Younger	Older	Younger	Older	Younger
Watch television	28%	10%	0%	4%	5%	0%	0%	0%
Watch movies	2%	6%	0%	4%	7%	0%	0%	0%
Consult web pages	53%	22%	0%	0%	5%	2%	0%	0%
Use social media	22%	22%	0%	0%	2%	2%	0%	0%
Listen to the radio	16%	16%	0%	0%	2%	2%	10%	10%
Listen to music	26%	53%	0%	12%	16%	12%	2%	0%

The older generation tends to consult web pages in Dutch, probably because many of them were educated in a system that used Dutch as the only language of instruction, that is, before 2001, when the Foundation Based Education was introduced and Papiamentu was included with Dutch as a language of instruction. Moreover, the older generation has not been exposed as frequently as the younger generation to English as a global language in the media (and beyond) and may therefore have a stronger preference for reading in Dutch instead of English. According to Table 4 the younger generation listens to music in Dutch more often than the older generation, presumably due to the popularity of certain Dutch rappers, some of whom are of island Caribbean and Surinamese origin. The use of other languages or several languages (equally) is rather restricted.

Language attitudes

Table 5 illustrates the results of the questionnaire regarding the importance of Spanish in carrying out certain activities.

Table 5 Opinions regarding the importance of Spanish in carrying out certain activities by the two generational groups

	Important		Fairly important		Not very important		Unimportant	
	Older	Younger	Older	Younger	Older	Younger	Older	Younger
Living in Curaçao	30%	27%	37%	45%	14%	14%	19%	10%

Making new friends	12%	24%	33%	20%	26%	27%	29%	20%
Being accepted in Curaçao	16%	12%	23%	31%	4%	22%	57%	35%
Raising children	7%	22%	26%	22%	9%	18%	58%	38%
Getting a job	33%	39%	28%	27%	21%	20%	18%	14%
Studying	28%	37%	27%	27%	14%	27%	21%	9%

As demonstrated by the results in Table 5, opinions about the importance of Spanish are rather similar between the two generations and tend to be not very extreme. Spanish is regarded as rather important for living in Curaçao (in general) and for instrumental purposes such as getting a job and studying. Spanish is regarded as (much) less important for integrative purposes such as making new friends, being accepted in the community or raising children. This may be explained: 1) by the pivotal role of Papiamentu, as a first or second language, in these contexts; and 2) by the fact that the population of Curaçao is multi-lingual and multi-cultural, so that those who are not (yet) fluent in Papiamentu can easily communicate in other languages such as English and Dutch, and hence, knowledge of Spanish is not a prerequisite for socializing.

Table 6 presents the results concerning the affective evaluation of Spanish based on the following statements.

- (1) I like to hear people speak Spanish.
- (2) I want my children to know Spanish.
- (3) I would like to know Spanish better.
- (4) Papiamentu may lose its importance due to the use of Spanish.
- (5) Learning Spanish is a waste of time.

Table 6 Affective evaluations of Spanish by the two generational groups

	(Completely) agree		Neutral		(Completely) disagree	
	Older	Younger	Older	Younger	Older	Younger
1.	49%	55%	47%	41%	4%	4%
2.	86%	84%	14%	14%	0%	2%
3.	67%	84%	28%	10%	5%	6%
4.	17%	4%	19%	8%	64%	88%
5.	0%	2%	7%	6%	93%	92%

These results indicate that the participants overall express very positive attitudes toward Spanish. The majority like to hear people speak Spanish (although a similar percentage

of participants expresses a neutral opinion in this regard), they want their children to know Spanish and they themselves want to know Spanish better. They also express strong disagreement with the negative statement that learning Spanish is a waste of time. The majority of the participants don't perceive Spanish as a threat to Papiamentu, and the younger generation expresses more explicit disagreement than the older generation with respect to this statement.

Table 7 lists the results concerning affective evaluations of three specific varieties of Spanish. The majority of the participants express neutral opinions concerning Mexican, Venezuelan and Colombian Spanish. The question arises whether this neutrality truly corresponds to a neutral judgement of the esthetic value of these varieties of Spanish, or instead reflects participants' unfamiliarity and incapacity to identify each variety as such.

(6) Mexicans speak Spanish with a beautiful accent.

(7) Venezuelan Spanish is nice to hear.

(8) I like to hear Colombian Spanish.

Table 7 Affective evaluations of specific varieties of Spanish by the two generational groups

	(Completely) agree		Neutral		(Completely) disagree	
	Older	Younger	Older	Younger	Older	Younger
6.	23%	26%	67%	54%	10%	20%
7.	19%	24%	67%	52%	14%	24%
8.	32%	32%	66%	62%	2%	6%

Conclusions

Based on our findings, we conclude that Papiamentu is the language most frequently used with the different categories of interlocutors. English, Spanish and Dutch are also used quite frequently to communicate with friends. English is the most frequent language for media use and the participants mainly use Papiamentu to listen to the radio. Spanish is used for watching television and movies as well and the role of Dutch is limited to consulting websites (in the case of the older generation) and listening to music (for the younger generation).

Attitudes toward Spanish are generally positive among the two generations. To a certain extent, they consider Spanish important in carrying out activities related to instrumental purposes such as getting a job and studying. Moreover, they value Spanish language skills, because they want their children to know Spanish, they want to expand their own knowledge of Spanish and they do not regard learning Spanish as a waste of time. They do not think that Spanish poses a threat to Papiamentu. Attitudes toward certain specific

varieties of Spanish tend to be neutral, which may be interpreted as a lack of familiarity with (or awareness of) the varieties in question.

There are few substantial differences between the results for the two generational groups of participants. The younger generation uses English more frequently than the older generation with siblings and friends. They also use Spanish slightly more frequently to communicate with their friends. There are only minor differences in language use in relation to the media. Both generations demonstrate similar positive attitudes toward Spanish as well. The main difference between the two generational groups concerns the increased use of English among the younger age group. As Papiamentu is widely used in Curaçao, and attitudes toward Papiamentu are very favorable across different age groups and speakers of different origin (Kester 2020), the increasing use of English by the younger generation may point to a further expansion of their multilingualism, rather than to potential language shift or a threat to the future vitality of Papiamentu on the island.

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Appendix I

Karta di informashon i formulario di pèrmit pa partisipante

Mi nòmber ta Kelly Romero Ojeda, estudiante di Universidat di Utrecht, kaminda mi ta realizando un pre-maestria den e estudio *Spaanse taal en cultuur: educatie en communicatie*. Komo tarea final mi ta realisando mi tesis final tokante e tema: e uso lingwístiko i akтитut lingwístiko tokante spañó entre hobenan i adultonan na Kòrsou. Pa e estudio akí mi a desaroyá un kuestionario ku mi dosente, señora dr. Ellen-Petra Kester.

E kuestionario ta kontené pregunta tokante e uso di papiamentu, ingles, spañó i hulandes i e importansia di spañó na Kòrsou. E kuestionario ta anónimo (no mester yena nòmber) i lo usa tur informashon solamente pa e investigashon di mi tesis final i di señora Kester.

E kwestionario ta tuma 5 minüt pa yena i e partisipashon ta kompletamente voluntario. No tin kon-
testa korekto òf inkorekto; ta trata únikamente di bo opinion personal.

Si tin interes pa e temanan di e kwestionario òf e resultadonan di e investigashon por tuma kontakto
ku señora Kester atraves di P.M.Kester@uu.nl.

E investigashon ta aprobá pa Ethical Assessment Committee Linguistics⁶ di Universidat di Utrecht.
Persona di kontakto ta señora Maartje de Klerk (M.K.A.deKlerk@uu.nl).

Si bo ta dispuesto pa yena e kwestionario i duna pèrmit pa usa e resultadonan pa investigashon
sientífiko nos ta pidi pa marka e hòki aki bou.

Si, mi ta duna pèrmit pa usa mi kontestanan pa investigashon sientífiko.

Parti 1

1. Den kua idioma abo ta komunika mas frekuentemente ku **bo mama**? Ta posibel pa marka
mas ku un idioma.
 - a. Papiamentu
 - b. Ingles
 - c. Spañó
 - d. Hulandes
 - e. Otro idioma
 - f. No ta apliká.
2. Den kua idioma abo ta komunika mas frekuentemente ku **bo tata**? Ta posibel pa marka mas
ku un idioma.
 - a. Papiamentu
 - b. Ingles
 - c. Spañó
 - d. Hulandes
 - e. Otro idioma
 - f. No ta apliká.
3. Den kua idioma abo ta komunika mas frekuentemente ku **bo ruman(nan)**? Ta posibel pa
marka mas ku un idioma.
 - a. Papiamentu
 - b. Ingles
 - c. Spañó
 - d. Hulandes
 - e. Otro idioma
 - f. No ta apliká.
4. Den kua idioma abo ta komunika mas frekuentemente ku **bo yu(nan)**? Ta posibel pa marka
mas ku un idioma.
 - a. Papiamentu
 - b. Ingles
 - c. Spañó
 - d. Hulandes
 - e. Otro idioma
 - f. No ta apliká.
5. Den kua idioma abo ta komunika mas frekuentemente ku **bo amigunan**? Ta posibel pa marka
mas ku un idioma.
 - a. Papiamentu

⁶ Ethische Toetsingscommissie Lingüistiek (ETCL)

- b. Ingles
- c. Spañó
- d. Hulandes
- e. Otro idioma
- f. No ta apliká.

Parti 2

Kua idioma abo ta usa mas frekuentemente pa e aktividatnan siguiente? Ta posibel pa marka mas ku un idioma.

6. Pa wak televishon

- a. Papiamentu
- b. Ingles
- c. Spañó
- d. Hulandes
- e. Otro idioma
- f. No ta apliká.

7. Pa wak pelíkula

- a. Papiamentu
- b. Ingles
- c. Spañó
- d. Hulandes
- e. Otro idioma
- f. No ta apliká.

8. Pa konsulta website

- a. Papiamentu
- b. Ingles
- c. Spañó
- d. Hulandes
- e. Otro idioma
- f. No ta apliká.

9. Pa usa medionan sosial (Facebook, Twitter, Instagram)

- a. Papiamentu
- b. Ingles
- c. Spañó
- d. Hulandes
- e. Otro idioma
- f. No ta apliká.

10. Pa skucha radio

- a. Papiamentu
- b. Ingles
- c. Spañó
- d. Hulandes
- e. Otro idioma
- f. No ta apliká.

11. Pa skucha músika

- a. Papiamentu
- b. Ingles

- c. Spañó
- d. Hulandes
- e. Otro idioma
- f. No ta apliká.

Parti 3

Kon importante bo ta pensa ku **e idioma spañó** ta pa e siguiente aktividatnan?

12. Pa biba na Kòrsou
 - a. Masha importante
 - b. Importante
 - c. Un tiki importante
 - d. No importante
13. Pa hasi amigunan nobo
 - a. Masha importante
 - b. Importante
 - c. Un tiki importante
 - d. No importante
14. Pa wòrdu aseptá na Kòrsou
 - a. Masha importante
 - b. Importante
 - c. Un tiki importante
 - d. No importante
15. Pa kria yu
 - a. Masha importante
 - b. Importante
 - c. Un tiki importante
 - d. No importante
16. Pa haña trabou
 - a. Masha importante
 - b. Importante
 - c. Un tiki importante
 - d. No importante
17. Pa studia
 - a. Masha importante
 - b. Importante
 - c. Un tiki importante
 - d. No importante

Parti 4

Aki bou ta presentá ponensianan tokante **e idioma spañó**. Por fabor, indiká e grado di akuerdo ku e ponensianan.

18. Mi ta gusta skucha hende papia spañó.
 - a. Kompletamente di akuerdo
 - b. Di akuerdo
 - c. Neutral (ni di akuerdo, ni no di akuerdo)
 - d. No di akuerdo
 - e. Kompletamente no di akuerdo
19. Mi lo ke pa mi yunan por dominá spañó.
 - a. Kompletamente di akuerdo
 - b. Di akuerdo

- c. Neutral (ni di akuerdo, ni no di akuerdo)
 - d. No di akuerdo
 - e. Kompletamente no di akuerdo
20. Mi lo ke siña dominá spañó mihó.
- a. Kompletamente di akuerdo
 - b. Di akuerdo
 - c. Neutral (ni di akuerdo, ni no di akuerdo)
 - d. No di akuerdo
 - e. Kompletamente no di akuerdo
21. Papiamentu por pèrdè su importansia dor di uso di spañó.
- a. Kompletamente di akuerdo
 - b. Di akuerdo
 - c. Neutral (ni di akuerdo, ni no di akuerdo)
 - d. No di akuerdo
 - e. Kompletamente no di akuerdo
22. Siña spañó ta pèrdèmentu di tempu.
- a. Kompletamente di akuerdo
 - b. Di akuerdo
 - c. Neutral (ni di akuerdo, ni no di akuerdo)
 - d. No di akuerdo
 - e. Kompletamente no di akuerdo
23. Mexicanonan ta papia spañó ku un aksènt bunita.
- a. Kompletamente di akuerdo
 - b. Di akuerdo
 - c. Neutral (ni di akuerdo, ni no di akuerdo)
 - d. No di akuerdo
 - e. Kompletamente no di akuerdo
24. Spañó venezolano ta dushi pa tende.
- a. Kompletamente di akuerdo
 - b. Di akuerdo
 - c. Neutral (ni di akuerdo, ni no di akuerdo)
 - d. No di akuerdo
 - e. Kompletamente no di akuerdo
25. Mi ta gusta tende e spañó kolombiano.
- a. Kompletamente di akuerdo
 - b. Di akuerdo
 - c. Neutral (ni di akuerdo, ni no di akuerdo)
 - d. No di akuerdo
 - e. Kompletamente no di akuerdo

Parti 5

Por favor, yena di forma korektamente e informashon siguiente:

26. Edat: _____

27. Genero: a. hòmber
 b. muhé

28. E pais unda...

a. mi a nase ta: _____

b. mi mama a nase ta: _____

c. mi tata a nase ta: _____

Danki pa bo partisipashon!

Appendix II

Migration to Curaçao from major sending countries (data provided by the office of civic registration in Curaçao, as presented in Van der Sloot, 2011: 385).

Year	Colombia	Dominican Republic	Venezuela	Total
1995	86	138	42	266
1996	130	279	80	489
1997	151	342	73	566
1998	132	277	73	482
1999	139	276	68	483
2000	225	249	66	540
2001	340	263	113	716
2002	1179	693	166	2038
2003	878	475	204	1557
2004	288	156	141	585
2005	298	264	152	714
2006	292	393	134	819
2007	308	326	105	739
2008	276	231	100	607
2009	174	134	146	454
2010	483	424	78	985
Unknown	24	86	59	169
Total	6109	7369	2341	15819

LA ACTITUD DE LOS ALUMNOS ARUBEÑOS HACIA LOS HISPANOHABLANTES EN LA ESCUELA COLEGIO ARUBANO

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Abstracto

En este trabajo de investigación se analiza la actitud de los alumnos arubeños del tercer año escolar hacia los hispanohablantes en la escuela Colegio Arubano Oranjestad. Debido a la actitud negativa, que es muy notable en la sociedad de Aruba, hacia el grupo más grande de inmigrantes en la isla, se decidió realizar esta investigación con el propósito final de promover la inclusión social y mejorar la actitud del alumno arubeño hacia el hispanohablante. A través de encuestas y entrevistas, se llevó a cabo un estudio empírico cuyos resultados indican que los alumnos arubeños del tercer año no demuestran tener una actitud negativa hacia los hispanohablantes y que su actitud es más bien neutral. Los resultados indican también que los docentes consideran que los arubeños en general tienen una actitud no positiva hacia los hispanohablantes. A base de los resultados, se ofrecen sugerencias que tienen como finalidad mejorar la actitud de los alumnos arubeños hacia los hispanohablantes.

Términos claves: actitud, migración, hispanohablantes, inclusión, diversidad

Introducción, preguntas de investigación y justificación

Llegué al tema de la actitud del arubeño hacia los hispanohablantes, por dos situaciones que me llamaron mucho la atención. La primera situación fue cuando un vecino mío le habló a un hispanohablante en papiamento, estando consciente de que la persona en cuestión no le iba entender. Y la segunda situación fue al encontrarme con una imagen en la red social Facebook, con la leyenda siguiente: “*Bon bini na Aruba! Primi #1 pa papiamento. Primi #2 pa bo desconecta, te ora cu bo siis papia papiamento!!!*” [Bienvenido a Aruba! Oprima el #1 para papiamento. Oprima el #2 para desconectarte hasta

que aprendas a hablar papiamento!!!]. Se observa que en ambas situaciones destaca cierta actitud del arubeño hacia el hispanohablante / inmigrante. Varios arubeños hablan o contestan a los hispanohablantes a propósito en papiamento. Posiblemente, esto se debe a que una gran mayoría de arubeños opina que el hispanohablante que se integra en la comunidad arubeña debe aprender la lengua nativa de Aruba, la cual es el papiamento.

Aruba es una isla multicultural, donde el grupo más grande de personas nacidas en el extranjero proviene de América del Sur y del Caribe. Se estima que un 27 por ciento de la comunidad arubeña tiene el español como lengua materna. Las afirmaciones anteriores se basan en los datos de Central Bureau of Statistics Aruba (CBS). Pues, los hispanohablantes forman una gran parte de la comunidad arubeña y por lo tanto, hay una gran cantidad de alumnos hispanohablantes en las escuelas secundarias. Debido a las actitudes negativas en cuanto a los hispanohablantes en la sociedad arubeña en general, este estudio tiene como meta determinar la actitud de los alumnos arubeños hacia los hispanohablantes en la escuela, para así presentarle a la escuela estrategias para atender a la diversidad y promover la inclusión social, esto como un primer paso hacia una mejora de la actitud del alumno arubeño hacia el hispanohablante.

Hasta el momento actual, no se ha realizado investigaciones sobre el impacto actitudinal de la inmigración hispanohablante en las escuelas secundarias. Con el presente estudio se pretende determinar cómo es realmente la actitud del alumno arubeño hacia el hispanohablante en la escuela Colegio Arubano. Este, como un principio para motivar a que se realicen otras investigaciones más profundas sobre el tema para así presentar soluciones no solamente a la escuela Colegio Arubano, sino más bien a todas las escuelas secundarias de Aruba, con el objetivo principal de fomentar actitudes positivas hacia la diversidad, en las escuelas y en la comunidad arubeña.

Marco teórico

La Unión Interparlamentaria, la Organización Internacional del Trabajo y las Naciones Unidas (2015: 19) definen la migración internacional como: “la circulación de personas a través de las fronteras para residir de manera permanente o temporal en un país distinto al de nacimiento o ciudadanía”. Estas organizaciones estiman que en el año 2013 había unos 232 millones de personas que vivían fuera de su país de nacimiento o ciudadanía durante más de un año. Esta cifra da una imagen de la gran cantidad de personas que residen en un país que no sea el suyo. Hoy en día los motivos principales para emigrar se deben a una serie de factores económicos, políticos y sociales.

Kramsch (1998) indica que: “Para identificarse a sí mismos como miembros de una comunidad, las personas tienen que definirse conjuntamente como integrantes autóctonos frente a otros, a quienes definen como extranjeros. La cultura, como un proceso que incluye y excluye, siempre implica el ejercicio del poder y el control” (p. 8). Esta cita ilustra como se construye una distinción por parte del autóctono hacia otros grupos.

Desde el momento en que el inmigrante inmigra a otra sociedad, se le distingue como un extranjero. Esto se debe a que el autóctono se identifica a sí mismo con su propia cultura y por lo tanto, excluye al inmigrante por poseer una cultura distinta a la suya. Los migrantes ocasionan cambios inevitablemente a la sociedad anfitriona, ya que contribuyen de manera visible a la diversificación étnica, cultural y religiosa de la población, lo cual resulta en el planteamiento de interrogantes sobre la identidad de la propia sociedad (La Unión Interparlamentaria et al., 2015). De ahí que hay ciertos casos en donde autóctonos de algunos estados han adoptado una actitud severa hacia inmigrantes optando por construir identidades homogéneas, monoétnicas, monoculturales, monolingüales y hasta monoreligiosas. Todo esto según ellos por no “perder” la propia identidad. En estos casos, los inmigrantes son percibidos como un fenómeno amenazador, el cual puede traer consigo consecuencias negativas, como la vulnerabilidad de los derechos humanos de los inmigrantes.

La Declaración Universal de Derechos Humanos, Resolución 217 A (III) de la Asamblea General de las Naciones Unidas, 10 de diciembre de 1948, artículos 1 y 2 expresa que:

Todos los seres humanos nacen libres e iguales en dignidad y derechos y, dotados como estos de razón y conciencia, deben comportarse fraternalmente los unos con los otros. Toda persona tiene todos los derechos y libertades proclamados en esta Declaración, sin distinción alguna de raza, color, sexo, idioma, religión, opinión política o de cualquier otra índole, origen nacional o social, posición económica, nacimiento o cualquier otra condición [...] (Naciones Unidas, 2018).

La declaración de derechos humanos asevera que todo ser humano tiene los mismos derechos, los inmigrantes incluidos, y que todos los países tienen que garantizar los derechos humanos de los inmigrantes.

En el año 2010, un 34.5 por ciento de la población de Aruba había nacido en el exterior, y este 34.5 por ciento consiste en personas procedentes de 133 diferentes países (Central Bureau of Statistics Aruba, 2018: 1). Esta cifra ilustra lo diversa que es la comunidad arubeña. De aquí que Aruba es una isla multicultural, donde hay una “coexistencia de personas de diferentes orígenes y etnias” (Kramsch, 1998: 82). Desde el período precolumbino hasta hoy en día, en las sociedades caribeñas siempre ha existido el plurilingüismo, el pluriculturalismo y la pluri-identificación, pero con la imposición de la hegemonía europea en la región, el monolingüismo, el monoculturalismo y la monoidentificación se convirtieron en la norma al cual toda sociedad caribeña debe aspirar (Delgado et al., 2016: 85).

Un reciente estudio de Central Bureau of Statistics Aruba (2018) indica que “la migración es un factor importante en el crecimiento de la población de Aruba” (p. 1). Después del cierre de la refinería Lago en 1985, inmigró una gran cantidad de latinoamericanos para trabajar en la industria del turismo que pasó a ser el pilar económico de Aruba. Central Bureau of Statistics Aruba (2018) indica que “por cada 20 migrantes recientes,

13 se originaron en países vecinos, principalmente de países latinoamericanos, como Colombia, República Dominicana y Venezuela” (p. 1) (Fernandes Perna-Silva, 2016: 78). En los últimos 8 años, debido a la situación socio económico y político en Venezuela, el movimiento migratorio de Venezuela hacia Aruba ha aumentado drásticamente, sobre todo de manera ilegal.

El lenguaje no solo es un medio de comunicación, sino también un marcador de identidad y hay una relación estrecha entre lenguaje, cultura e identidad (Bell & Gurny, 1989; Robinson, 1983, citado en César & Kumpulainen, 2008: 4; Kramsch, 1998). Kester y Lorenzo (2016: 27) afirman que una leve disminución en el número de hablantes de papiamento en las últimas décadas se correlaciona con un número creciente de hogares que hablan español (“A slight decrease in the number of speakers of Papiamento over the last decades correlates with an increasing number of households that speak Spanish”). Pues, a consecuencia de la constante migración de latinos a la isla, se ha presentado una disminución en el porcentaje de hablantes de la lengua materna de Aruba, la cual es el papiamento. Debido a esto, se está considerando el español, el cual no es un idioma asociado con el poder económico en la isla, como una amenaza para el papiamento. El español se habla en Aruba desde la llegada de los españoles en el año 1499 y desde entonces ha mantenido una presencia significativa y un cierto prestigio en la sociedad. Pero desde el cierre de la refinería y la llegada de mano de obra hispanohablante para trabajar en los sectores menos prestigiosos y menos bien remunerados, el español y los hispanohablantes han sufrido una pérdida de prestigio y han adquirido una imagen negativa.

La migración internacional ha resultado en un aumento de la diversidad étnica en la sociedad y en las escuelas. De ahí que en el ámbito educativo hay alumnos de diversos orígenes que conviven diariamente los unos con los otros. Según León del Barco et al. (2010), la interacción entre los alumnos en el aula está influenciada por las actitudes que los alumnos autóctonos mantienen hacia los alumnos inmigrantes. Galvis describe el termino actitud, como “una disposición a responder favorable o desfavorablemente hacia algo específico, como puede ser una lengua, una persona, una institución o un evento” (p. 104). Cabe mencionar que, aunque existen más de 100 definiciones acerca del término, la mayoría de los profesionales sí están de acuerdo en que las actitudes son aprendidas, la cual hace posible que son susceptibles de modificación (Ortego Maté, López González y Álvarez Trigueros, s.f.). El European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia (2005) concluyó en una investigación que las poblaciones mayoritarias socialmente desfavorecidas, tales como las personas que tienen bajos ingresos, tienen más probabilidades de mostrar actitudes negativas hacia las minorías que las poblaciones mayoritarias socialmente favorecidas. Hasta cierto punto, estas diferencias se reflejan en las características nacionales de cada país, donde las condiciones económicas relativamente pobres y el alto desempleo a veces se reflejan en niveles más altos de apoyo a la exclusión étnica (Ortego Maté et al., s.f.).

Antón et al. (2015) observan que las personas generalizan, porque su aprendizaje social progresa diferenciando tipos de relaciones y no acumulando en la memoria recuerdo de relaciones individuales sueltas. Así es como se forman los estereotipos, que se conciben como representaciones estables de modos de ser de personas o grupos (Antón et al., 2015). Rodríguez Izquierdo (2010) indica que es necesario conocer la sociedad y la cultura de origen de las personas, para así entender su situación. Hay que huir de los estereotipos y considerar a cada persona en su complejidad individual, social, cultural y económica. Las afirmaciones anteriores describen el motivo por el cual los alumnos pueden desempeñar una actitud selectiva hacia grupos en la escuela que perciben distinto a ellos. En casos así, los alumnos suelen identificar a su grupo, con “nosotros” y a los que no pertenecen a su grupo, identificarles con “ellos”. Según Antón et al. (2015), esto se debe a que, el “nosotros” simboliza lo cercano y fiable de nuestras relaciones favoritas, mientras que el “ellos” trae consigo incertidumbres, que va en contra de nuestra confianza.

Estas actitudes selectivas pueden resultar en discriminación si la escuela no interviene. Según Antón et al. (2015), cuando la escuela fracasa en sus estrategias para prevenir y sensibilizar contra el racismo y la xenofobia, los alumnos pertenecientes a minorías étnicas, culturales y religiosas posiblemente sufrirán los efectos de discriminación y odio. La discriminación y el odio hacia grupos minoritarios afectan el derecho a la igualdad de trato y atentan contra la dignidad. El efecto de la discriminación en los centros escolares puede extenderse a lo largo de toda la vida del alumno, afectando a su autoestima y bienestar, su desarrollo académico y social y su integración en la sociedad. La discriminación, el trato diferenciado de manera injustificada, niega la igualdad de oportunidades, provoca conflicto y socava la cohesión social.

Un estudio de European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia (2005) indica que hay ciertos países que demuestran apoyo constante a las dimensiones de exclusión étnica, el cual tiene implicaciones sobre cómo los políticos y los medios de comunicación se refieren a las minorías. Los medios de comunicación suelen influenciar de manera significativa en las actitudes de las personas. A través de medios de comunicación nacionales o locales se dan informes sobre las minorías étnicas, en estas muchas veces se presenta un racismo abierto o encubierto.

La escuela ante la diversidad

Ferreira Lafont (2016) asevera que la organización escolar y la actitud docente debe ser el pilar para la inclusión educativa. Debido a que la escuela fomenta valores en sus alumnos y puede influenciar directamente la actitud de sus alumnos, se considera a las escuelas como lugares ideales para la interacción intercultural. La escuela debe jugar un papel importante en el fomento del multiculturalismo cotidiano y la cohesión social. Las escuelas deben fungir como espacios inclusivos, de convivencia intercultural, donde haya una participación de la comunidad, y donde se aprecie la diversidad de las

personas como una oportunidad de enriquecimiento y no como un obstáculo para la convivencia.

Arques Rosas y Navas Martínez (2010) constan que los profesores están inculcando constantemente valores en sus alumnos y es por eso, que es fundamental conocer sus actitudes ante la inmigración, ya que la actitud del profesor será clave para la integración de los alumnos inmigrantes. Espinoza-Herold y González-Carriedo (2017) enfatizan que los profesores deben tomar consciencia del racismo dirigido a grupo sociales y elegir a afrontar el racismo en su interacción con los alumnos en lugar de perdonarlo y reforzarlo. Los profesores deben reconocer el amplio e inmenso poder que tienen para influenciar en las vidas y las trayectorias académicas de los alumnos de manera positiva, pero también de manera negativa. Pues, los profesores tienen la opción de resolver los problemas en lugar de crearlos (Espinoza-Herold & González-Carriedo, 2017).

En cuanto a los alumnos, Espinoza-Herold y Gonzld y Carriedo (2017) ponen énfasis en que la instrucción solamente se vuelve efectiva cuando queda introducida en una matriz positiva de relaciones humanas. Los alumnos se involucrare relaciones humanas. las vidas y las trayectorias académicas de los alumnos de manera positiva, pero también de mavaloradas, abandonarán sus estudios. Por lo tanto, Rodríguez Izquierdo (2010) afirma que los profesores deben ser culturalmente receptivos, utilizando materiales didácticos y brindando ejemplos que demuestran que incluyen valores de los estudiantes de diversos orígenes culturales.

Fernández & Goenechea (citado en Antón et al., 2015) proponen los siguientes principios de la educación intercultural:

El reconocimiento, aceptación y valoración de la diversidad cultural, evitando la segregación en grupos. Los valores como, la igualdad, el respeto, la tolerancia, el pluralismo, la cooperación y la corresponsabilidad social son fundamentales. La lucha contra el racismo, la discriminación, los prejuicios y estereotipos por medio de la formación en valores y actitudes positivas hacia la diversidad cultural.

La visión del conflicto y su resolución constructiva como elemento positivo para la convivencia.

El compromiso y la participación de toda la comunidad educativa en la gestión democrática del centro educativo.

La revisión del currículo para combatir el etnocentrismo y para promover la valoración de lenguas y culturas.

La capacitación del profesorado para trabajar en contextos de diversidad cultural y aplicar metodologías de enseñanza cooperativas.

Una atención específica a los alumnos que no dominan la lengua de acogida, favoreciendo su éxito escolar a partir de un enfoque comunicativo en la enseñanza.

A base de los puntos anteriormente mencionados se puede hacer referencia a 3 aspectos relevantes en la educación intercultural, los cuales son la revisión del currículo, los agrupamientos inclusivos y el plurilingüismo.

En cuanto a estrategias didácticas para el aula multicultural, Jiménez Gámez (citado en Antón et al., 2015) propone las siguientes estrategias:

Estrategias de investigación y descubrimiento

Estrategias que permiten la individualización

Estrategias cooperativas y de participación en la gestión del aula

Estrategias eficaces para desarrollar actitudes interculturales, socio-morales y socioafectivas (la resolución de conflictos interculturales)

Metodología del estudio empírico

El estudio empírico fue diseñado para contestar a las preguntas de investigación siguientes:

Pregunta principal:

¿Cómo se podría mejorar la actitud del alumno arubeño hacia los hispanohablantes en la escuela secundaria Colegio Arubano?

Preguntas secundarias:

¿Cómo es la actitud del alumno arubeño hacia los hispanohablantes en Colegio Arubano?

¿Por qué el alumno arubeño tiene dicha actitud hacia los hispanohablantes en Colegio Arubano?

¿Cómo se podría cambiar la actitud del arubeño hacia los hispanohablantes en Colegio Arubano?

Los datos se recopilaron a través de encuestas con los alumnos y entrevistas con los docentes de Colegio Arubano Oranjestad del 27 de febrero hasta el 7 de marzo de 2019 (véanse Apéndice 1 y Apéndice 2). La muestra consistió en 7 docentes y en 101 alumnos que representaba aproximadamente un 40% de la población total de 250 alumnos. Se escogió realizar la investigación con alumnos del tercer año, H3 y V3, puesto que el tema es un poco sensible y requiere que los alumnos sean maduros para obtener información fiable, y dado que este es el último año que estudian el español como materia obligatoria. Para alcanzar un grupo grande y facilitar el proceso de recolección de datos, se hizo uso del software de encuesta en línea SurveyMonkey. Se elaboró la encuesta en papiamento, de modo que los alumnos entendieran mejor las preguntas y así evitar errores. Una vez finalizada la encuesta, se obtuvo el enlace que daba acceso a la encuesta que fue enviada por correo electrónico a los alumnos de H3 y V3. La entrevista de los docentes se realizó también en línea.

El instrumento que se utilizó en esta investigación para la medición de la actitud de los alumnos fue una encuesta elaborada según la técnica estructurada Escala Likert (véase

Apéndice 1). La escala Likert se enfoca en medir directamente las actitudes de las personas. La escala Likert en la encuesta fue de 5 puntos, y por este medio se determinó el nivel de acuerdo o desacuerdo de los encuestados en cuanto a las proposiciones en la encuesta. Los 5 puntos de la escala fueron los siguientes: totalmente de acuerdo, de acuerdo, ni de acuerdo ni en desacuerdo, en desacuerdo y totalmente en desacuerdo. En la introducción de la encuesta se les solicitó que llenaran la encuesta de la forma más honesta posible y también se les aseguró que la encuesta iba a ser totalmente anónima. Los alumnos recibieron la encuesta vía un enlace en su correo electrónico de la escuela. La dirección de la escuela les solicitó rellenarla desde su celular, tableta o computadora portátil. La encuesta era diseñada de tal forma que se podía volver a la pregunta anterior si era necesario cambiar la respuesta, y fue obligatorio contestar a todas las preguntas de la encuesta.

El otro instrumento que se utilizó en esta investigación para la medición de la actitud de los docentes fue la entrevista (véase Apéndice 2). La entrevista con los docentes fue de manera estructurada, aunque no se realizó cara a cara sino en línea, también mediante del software SurveyMonkey. Todos los entrevistados contestaron a una serie de preguntas predeterminadas en el mismo orden. Los 7 docentes que completaron las entrevistas incluyeron 1 docente de geografía, 1 de matemáticas, 1 de historia, 2 de español y 2 de papiamento.

Los resultados de la encuesta y de la entrevista fueron inmediatamente procesados por el sitio web SurveyMonkey, haciéndolo posible analizarlos en corto tiempo. Además, SurveyMonkey dispone de la opción que da la posibilidad de filtrar y comparar preguntas y respuestas. Se hizo uso de esas opciones para excluir las respuestas de ciertos grupos a ciertas preguntas y también para hacer comparaciones entre las respuestas de grupos diferentes. Finalmente, se tabularon los resultados más relevantes de la encuesta y la entrevista mediante el software Microsoft Excel y Microsoft Word. Cabe mencionar que en esta investigación se consideran a los alumnos que tienen el papiamento como idioma materno como los alumnos arubeños a quienes sus actitudes hacia los hispanohablantes serán medidas. Mientras que los alumnos que tienen el español como lengua materna, se les consideran latinos/hispanohablantes, hacia quienes se supone que existe una actitud negativa por parte de los alumnos arubeños.

Resultados de la encuesta con los alumnos

Se puede observar en el gráfico 1 que la categoría más grande de alumnos que participaron en la investigación, el 54 por ciento, hablaban el papiamento como idioma materno. El segundo grupo más grande, el 21 por ciento del total, hablaban el español como idioma materno. Esta cifra es un reflejo de la gran cantidad de alumnos hispanohablantes que asisten a la escuela Colegio Arubano.

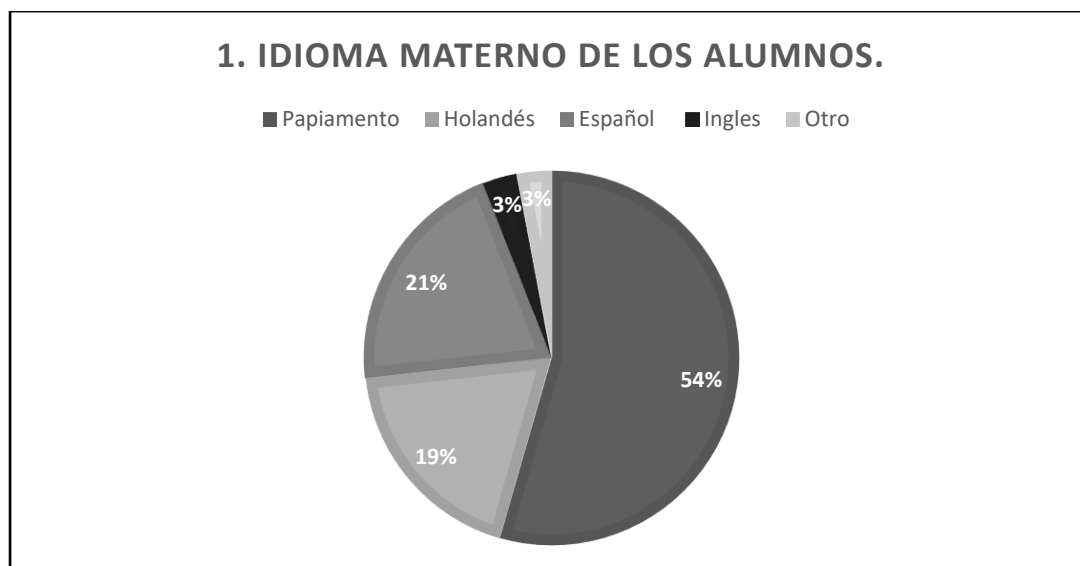


Gráfico 1 Idioma materno de los participantes

En la tabla 1 se encuentran las proposiciones que tenían como fin medir la actitud de los alumnos arubeños hacia los hispanohablantes. De las proposiciones 5 hasta 10 se filtraron los resultados para así obtener solamente las respuestas de los alumnos con papiamentu como lengua materna. En cuanto a las proposiciones 11 y 12, se incluyeron todas las respuestas de todos los participantes, puesto que esas dos proposiciones se tratan más bien de la actitud que se percibe y no de la actitud en sí misma.

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Tabla 1 Proposiciones que miden la actitud de los alumnos hacia el hispanohablante (en porcentaje)

Valor escala Likert:	1 Total- mente de acuerdo	2 De acuerdo	3 Ni de acuerdo ni en desacuerdo	4 En desacuerdo	5 Totalmente en desacuerdo	Prome- dio
5. El español es importante en la comunidad de Aruba.	26.73	39.60	27.72	5.94	0.00	2.13
6. Es importante aprender el español en la escuela.	39.60	37.62	16.83	3.96	1.98	1.91
7. El español debe ser una materia obligatoria.	7.92	9.90	31.68	33.66	16.83	3.42
8. La escuela debe permitir que los alumnos hispanohablantes puedan recibir explicaciones en español también.	14.85	25.74	34.65	16.83	7.92	2.77
9. Opino que los hispanohablantes que viven en	3.96	1.98	12.87	31.68	49.50	4.21

Aruba no tienen una educación avanzada.						
10. Pienso que los hispanohablantes que viven en Aruba deben comunicarse en papiamentu.	9.90	27.72	36.63	16.83	8.91	2.87
11. Considero la actitud de los arubeños hacia los hispanohablantes una <u>no</u> positiva.	19.80	16.83	48.51	11.88	2.97	2.61
12. Siento que el trato hacia los hispanohablantes en la escuela es diferente en comparación con alumnos que hablan otro idioma.	4.95	14.85	29.70	35.64	14.85	3.41

Los gráficos 2-7 incluyen solamente los resultados de los alumnos en la muestra que hablaban papiamentu como lengua materna. En el gráfico 2 se puede observar que un 71 por ciento de los alumnos arubeños indicaron que estaban de acuerdo con la proposición referente a que el español es importante en la comunidad de Aruba, mientras que, solamente un 11 por ciento del total opinó estar en desacuerdo con la proposición.

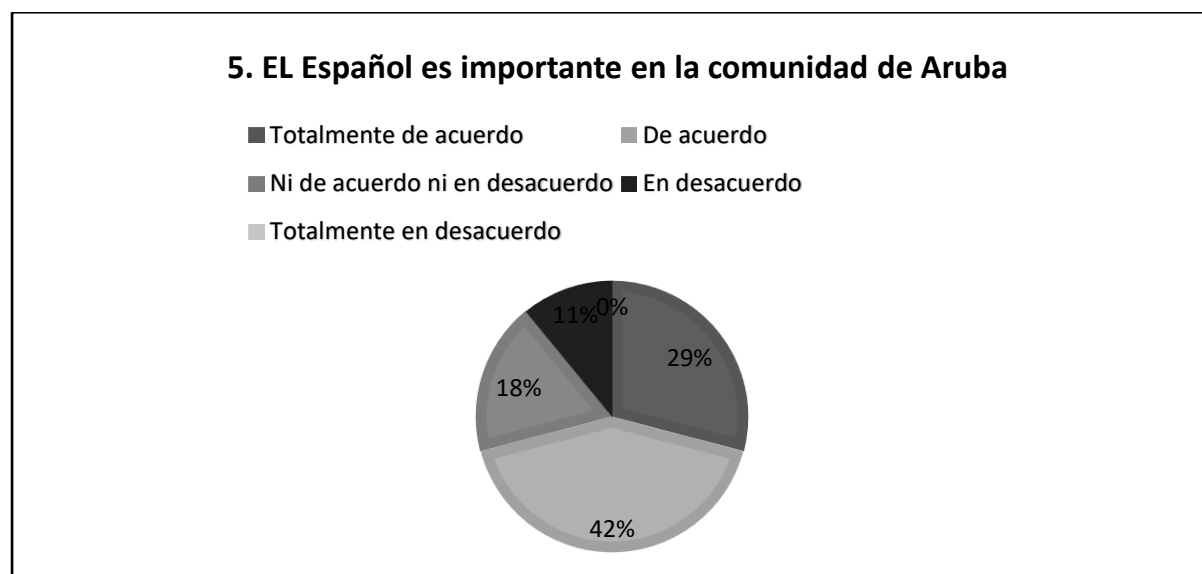


Gráfico 2 Resultados: El español es importante en la comunidad de Aruba.

El gráfico 3 indica que un total del 78 por ciento de los alumnos arubeños estaban de acuerdo en que es importante aprender el español en la escuela. Las 3 motivaciones más mencionadas entre ellos fueron las siguientes: Es importante saber el español: 1) para estudiar en un país hispano; 2) ya que es el segundo idioma mundial; y 3) da la oportunidad de ser capaz de comunicar con más personas.

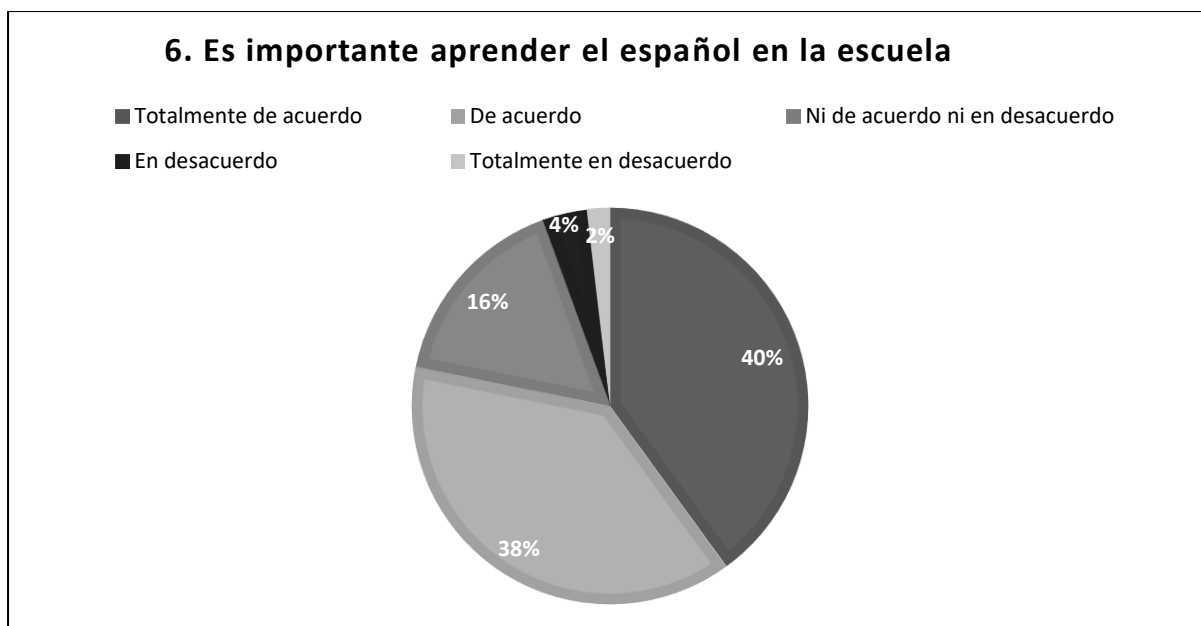


Gráfico 3 Resultados: Es importante aprender el español en la escuela.

En el gráfico 2 se puede observar que, en el caso de la proposición “El español debe ser una materia obligatoria,” un 49 por ciento de los alumnos arubeños indicaron estar en desacuerdo, mientras que solamente un 16 por ciento opinaron estar de acuerdo.

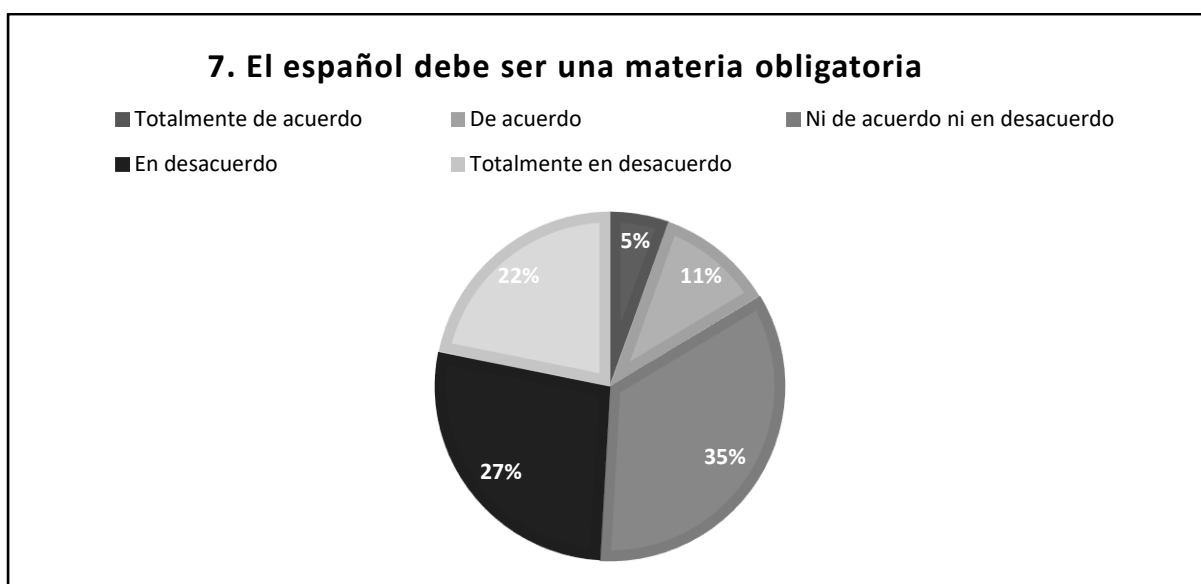


Gráfico 4 Resultados: El español debe ser una materia obligatoria.

El gráfico 5 indica que casi la mitad, un 46 por ciento de los alumnos arubeños opinaron estar de acuerdo con la proposición que se debe permitir dar explicaciones a los alumnos hispanohablantes en su lengua. Por otro lado, un 25 por ciento indicaron estar en desacuerdo, mientras un 29 por ciento de los alumnos arubeños escogieron la opción “ni de acuerdo ni en desacuerdo”.

8. La escuela debe permitir que los alumnos hispanohablantes puedan recibir explicaciones en español también

■ Totalmente de acuerdo ■ De acuerdo ■ Ni de acuerdo ni en desacuerdo
 ■ En desacuerdo ■ Totalmente en desacuerdo

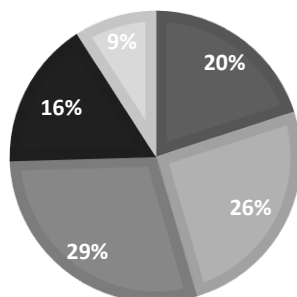
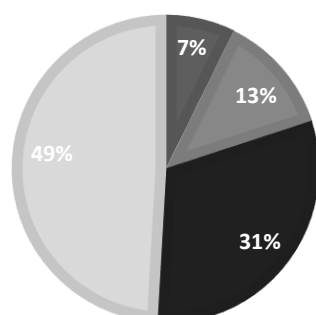


Gráfico 5 Resultados: La escuela debe permitir que los alumnos hispanohablantes puedan recibir explicaciones en español.

En el gráfico 6 se observa que un 49 por ciento de los alumnos arubeños indicaron estar totalmente en desacuerdo con la proposición “Los hispanohablantes que viven en Aruba son personas que no tienen una educación avanzada”. Además, un 31 por ciento de los alumnos estaban en desacuerdo. Sumando los dos porcentajes, se llega a un total del 80 por ciento de alumnos arubeños que está en desacuerdo con la proposición. Las 2 motivaciones más mencionadas entre ellos fueron las siguientes: 1) El idioma que uno habla no dice nada de la educación de la persona; y 2) Son muchos los hispanohablantes que tienen una educación avanzada, pero no reconocen su diploma aquí en la isla.

9. opino que los hispanohablantes que viven en aruba son personas que no tienen una educación avanzada



■ Totalmente de acuerdo
 ■ De acuerdo
 ■ Ni de acuerdo ni en desacuerdo
 ■ En desacuerdo
 ■ Totalmente en desacuerdo

Gráfico 6 Resultados: Los hispanohablantes que viven en Aruba son personas que no tienen una educación avanzada

El gráfico 7 indica que, en cuanto a la proposición que los hispanohablantes que viven en Aruba deben comunicarse en papiamento, un 43 por ciento de los alumnos arubeños estaban de acuerdo, pero un 36 por ciento, opinaron que no estaban ni de acuerdo ni en desacuerdo. Las 3 motivaciones más mencionadas entre los que estaban de acuerdo fueron las siguientes: 1) La persona que inmigra debe adaptarse a la cultura del país; 2) Es importante aprender el papiamento, aunque no debe ser una obligación; y 3) Es necesario poder hablarlo, aunque sea un poco, en otras palabras, es necesario hacer un esfuerzo.

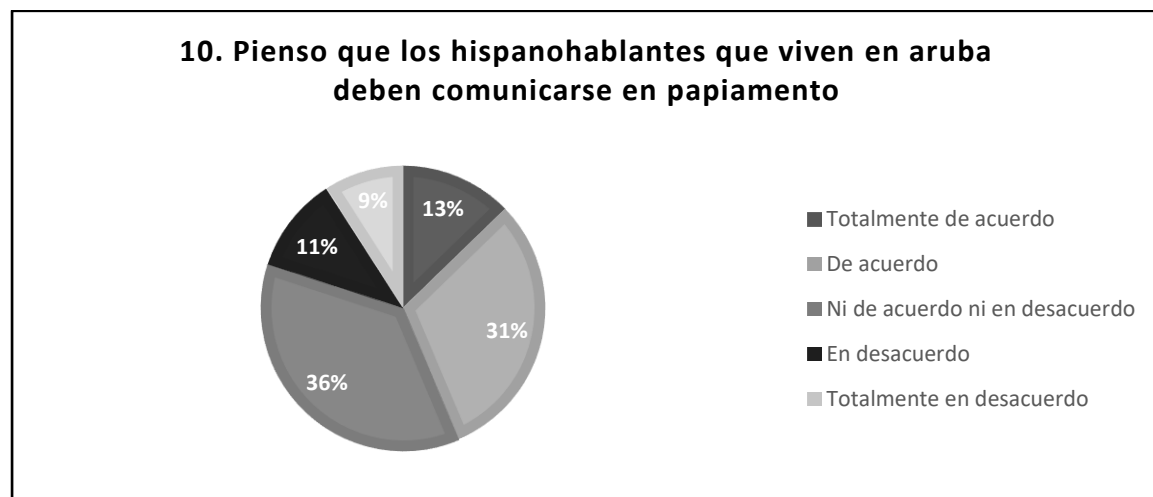


Gráfico 7 Resultados: Los hispanohablantes que viven en Aruba deben comunicarse en papiamento

Los gráficos 8-11 incluyen los resultados de todos los alumnos en la muestra, los que hablaban español como lengua materna incluso. Como se observa en el gráfico 8, un 37 por ciento de los alumnos opinaron estar de acuerdo con la proposición que la actitud de los arubeños hacia los hispanohablantes no es positiva, mientras que un 48 por ciento de los participantes no estaban ni de acuerdo ni en desacuerdo.

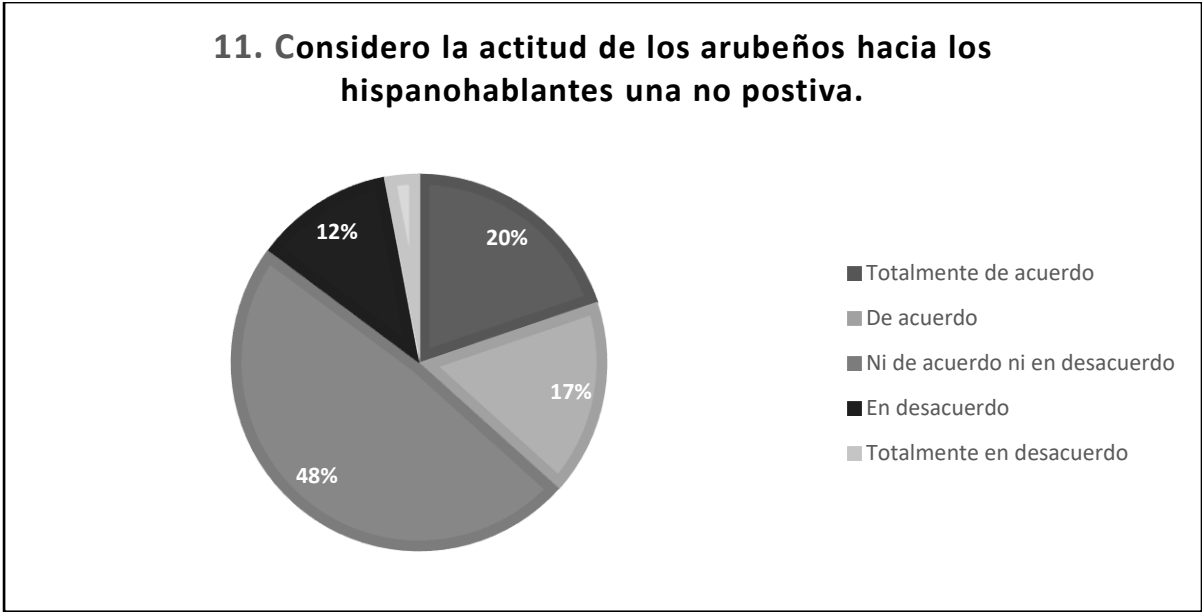


Gráfico 8 Resultados: Considero la actitud de los arubeños hacia los hispanohablantes una no positiva

Para obtener una vista más amplia, se decidió hacer una comparación entre las respuestas de los alumnos que hablaban papiamentu como lengua materna y las de los alumnos que hablaban español como lengua materna, en relación con la proposición “Considero la actitud de los arubeños hacia los hispanohablantes una no positiva”. A pesar de que solo un 33 por ciento de los alumnos que hablaban papiamentu como lengua materna indicaron estar de acuerdo con la proposición, un 67 por ciento de los alumnos hispanohablantes afirmaron estar de acuerdo con la proposición que haya una actitud negativa por parte de los arubeños hacia ellos. Casi la mitad, 49 por ciento, de los alumnos que hablaban papiamentu como lengua materna indicaron estar ni de acuerdo ni en desacuerdo con la proposición.

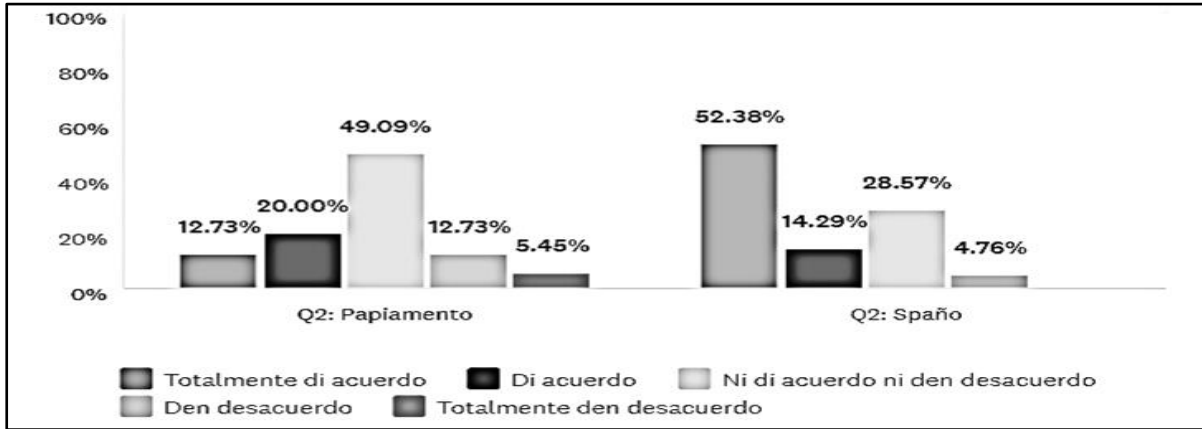


Gráfico 9 Comparación entre alumnos que hablaban papiamentu como lengua materna y alumnos que hablaban español como lengua materna: Considero la actitud de los arubeños hacia los hispanohablantes una no positiva

Los resultados de esta comparación se encuentran en el gráfico 9. Los alumnos tuvieron que motivar su respuesta, y las motivaciones más mencionadas por los alumnos que hablaban papiamento como lengua materna fueron las siguientes:

1. El arubeño tiene un estigma negativo hacia el hispanohablante, esto ya por mucho tiempo, principalmente cuando el partido MEP querría sacar todos los hispanohablantes de la isla.
2. Los arubeños menosprecian la lengua española, posiblemente porque tienen miedo de que su propio idioma cambie.
3. Son muchos los arubeños quienes discriminan a los latinoamericanos siendo que no se debe generalizar y tratar distinto a una persona a base de su origen.
4. Hay quienes no se comportan debidamente y “ensucian el nombre” de los latinos que sí tienen buenas intenciones. Pues, a veces hay algunos hispanohablantes que abusan de la confianza del arubeño, la cual hace lógico que ellos no siempre confíen en los hispanohablantes. Es por eso, que la mayoría de los arubeños tienen una mala imagen de los hispanos.
5. Muchos son los arubeños que les dicen a los hispanohablantes que regresen a su país, ya que vienen solamente a hacer el mal y les quitan las oportunidades de trabajo a los arubeños.

Las motivaciones más mencionadas por los alumnos que hablaban español como lengua materna fueron las siguientes:

1. Personalmente no experimenté una situación que me hizo sentir que si hablo español no pertenezco, pero (muchas veces) siento que si hablo papiamento, entonces los arubeños me confiarán más, sobre todo por los problemas actualmente en Venezuela y sus inmigrantes.
2. No todos los arubeños son así, aunque yo sí pasé por una situación, en donde un arubeño no tuvo una actitud positiva hacia mí.

El gráfico 10 muestra que un 50 por ciento de todos los alumnos que participaron en la investigación estaban en desacuerdo con la proposición que los hispanohablantes reciben un trato diferente en la escuela Colegio Arubano. En cambio, un 20 por ciento de los encuestados indicaron estar de acuerdo.

12. Siento que el trato hacia los hispanohablantes en la escuela es diferente en comparación con alumnos que hablan otro idioma.

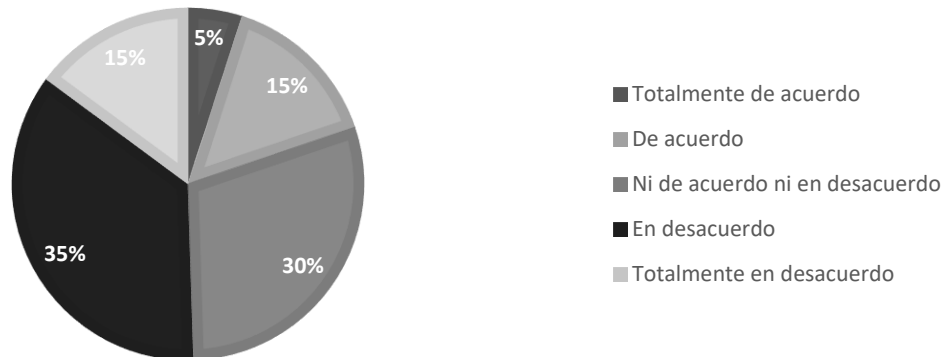


Gráfico 10 Resultados: El trato hacia los hispanohablantes en la escuela es diferente en comparación con alumnos que hablan otro idioma

Para obtener una vista más amplia, se decidió hacer una comparación entre las respuestas de los alumnos que hablaban papiamento como lengua materna y las de los alumnos que hablaban español como lengua materna, en relación con la proposición “El trato hacia los hispanohablantes en la escuela es diferente en comparación con alumnos que hablan otro idioma”. El gráfico 11 indica que un 56 por ciento de los alumnos que hablaban papiamento como lengua materna y un 43 por ciento de los alumnos que hablaban español como lengua materna estaban mayormente en desacuerdo con la proposición de que el trato hacia los hispanohablantes en Colegio Arubano es diferente en comparación con lo de los alumnos que hablan otro idioma.

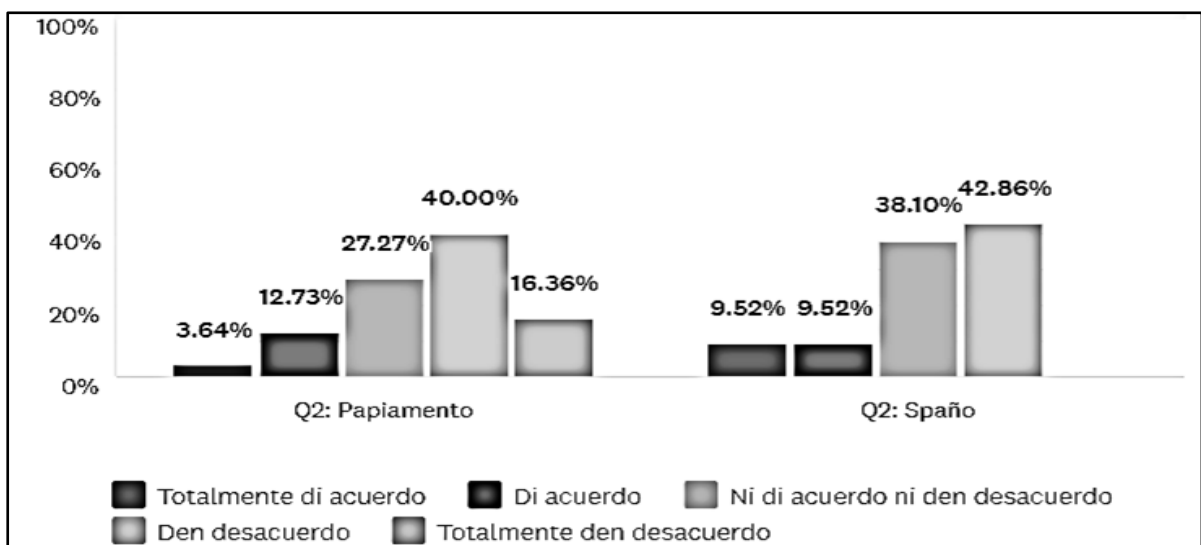


Gráfico 11 Comparación entre alumnos que hablaban papiamentu como lengua materna y alumnos que hablaban español como lengua materna: El trato hacia los hispanohablantes en la escuela es diferente en comparación con alumnos que hablan otro idioma

4.2 Resultados de la entrevista con los docentes

En la tabla 2 se encuentran algunas de las proposiciones que tenían como fin medir la actitud de los docentes arubeños hacia los hispanohablantes. Todos los docentes estaban en desacuerdo con la proposición: #14) “La escuela educa a los docentes sobre la diversidad.” La gran mayoría de los docentes estaban de acuerdo con las proposiciones siguientes: #4) “El español es importante en la comunidad de Aruba”; #5) “Es importante enseñar la materia de español en la escuela”; y #10) “La actitud en general de los arubeños hacia los hispanohablantes es negativa.” La gran mayoría de los docentes estaban en desacuerdo con las proposiciones: #7) “Los hispanohablantes que viven en Aruba no tienen una educación avanzada”; y #9) “Siento que discriminan a los alumnos hispanohablantes en la escuela”. Las opiniones de los docentes eran polarizadas en relación con la proposición: #6) “La escuela debe permitir que los alumnos hispanohablantes puedan recibir explicaciones en español también.”; y ambivalentes en relación con la proposición #8) “Los hispanohablantes que viven en Aruba deben comunicarse en papiamentu.”

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Tabla 2 Proposiciones que miden la actitud de los docentes hacia el hispanohablante (en porcentaje)

Valor escala Lickert:	1 De acuerdo	2 Ni de acuerdo ni en desacuerdo	3 En desacuerdo	Prome- dio
4. El español es importante en la comunidad de Aruba.	71.43	14.29	14.29	1.43
5. Es importante enseñar la materia de español en la escuela.	85.71	14.29	0.00	1.14
6. La escuela debe permitir que los alumnos hispanohablantes puedan recibir explicaciones en español también.	42.86	0.00	57.14	2.14
7. Los hispanohablantes que viven en Aruba no tienen una educación avanzada.	0.00	28.57	71.43	2.71
8. Los hispanohablantes que viven en Aruba deben comunicarse en papiamentu.	28.57	42.86	28.57	2.00
9. Siento que discriminan a los alumnos hispanohablantes en la escuela.	0.00	42.86	57.14	2.57

10. La actitud en general de los arubeños hacia los hispanohablantes es negativa.	85.71	14.29	0.00	1.14
14. La escuela educa a los docentes sobre la diversidad.	Sí: 100		No: 0.00	1.00

Pregunta #11 en la entrevista era la siguiente: ¿Qué se puede hacer según usted para inculcar otra actitud (una positiva) en los alumnos de la escuela Colegio Arubano? Las respuestas a esta pregunta incluyeron: 1) “Darle a cada alumno el mismo valor para así demostrarles que todos son iguales”; 2) “Yo dudo que los alumnos piensan de la misma manera que sus padres, que sí discriminan. Pero es necesario hablar con los alumnos sobre la diferencia de las culturas y la xenofobia.”; y 3) “Más intercambio de conocimiento sobre las diversas culturas.” Pregunta #13 en la entrevista era la siguiente: ¿Cómo atiende usted con el tema de la diversidad en su clase? Las respuestas a esta pregunta incluyeron: 1) “Trato de utilizar el idioma materno del alumno.”; 2) “Lo celebramos. Les pregunto por su origen y les dejo contar sobre su país, etc.”; 3) “A mí no me importa. Él alumno tiene que adaptarse.”; 4) “Se respeta a todas las culturas. En el momento de dar ejemplos en la clase se les involucra con experiencia de su propio país. Se les involucra escuchando su opinión sobre cualquier tópico.”; 5) Elogiar las diversas culturas como una fuerza en nuestra cultura.”; 6) Hablo holandés como lengua de instrucción. Mi asignatura misma es española, pues eso también hablo. Y explico en papiamento, si ninguno sirve para que el alumno entienda. No tengo un problema con diversidad, ya que esta ensancha la clase.”; y 7) “¡Difícil! Pienso que necesitamos de diferentes trayectos para el español; trayecto lengua materna y a lado de eso un trayecto de lengua extranjera. Con esos dos trayectos se puede atender mejor a cada alumno.”

Conclusión y sugerencias

Los resultados del estudio indican que los alumnos cuya lengua materna era el papiamento reconocían la importancia del español en Aruba y la importancia de aprenderlo en la escuela, a pesar de que la mitad de ellos pensaban que el español no debe ser materia obligatoria. La mayoría de los alumnos cuyo idioma materno era el papiamento estaban de acuerdo con la proposición que el alumno hispanohablante debe poder recibir explicaciones en español en la escuela, mientras que la gran mayoría de los docentes estaban en desacuerdo con esta misma proposición. La gran mayoría de los alumnos y la gran mayoría de los docentes estaban en desacuerdo con la proposición que los hispanohablantes que viven en Aruba no tienen una educación avanzada. Ante las proposiciones que los hispanohablantes que viven en Aruba deben comunicarse en papiamento y que los arubeños tienen una actitud no positiva hacia los hispanohablantes, los alumnos cuya lengua materna era el papiamento estaban generalmente neutrales. Al

contrario de lo que opinó la mayoría de los alumnos cuyo idioma materno era el papiamentu, la gran mayoría de los docentes y una mayoría significativa de los alumnos cuyo idioma materno era el español indicaron que sí, existe una actitud negativa hacia los hispanohablantes en la isla.

Mientras que ni los alumnos ni los docentes estaban de acuerdo con la proposición que haya un trato diferente a los hispanohablantes en la escuela, la mayoría de ambos grupos no estaban ni de acuerdo ni en desacuerdo, por lo que no se puede descartar que existe un trato distinto hacia los alumnos hispanohablantes en Colegio Arubano. A propósito, cabe mencionar que una minoría significativa de los alumnos cuya lengua materna era el español pensaban que existe un trato distinto hacia los alumnos hispanohablantes en la escuela. Todos los docentes indicaron que la escuela no tiene programa alguno de educación profesional acerca del tema de la diversidad. De los 7 docentes que participaron en la entrevista, 5 indicaron que sí atendían a la diversidad en sus clases, mientras que 1 docente respondió que sus alumnos debían adaptar por sus propias cuentas y otro docente dijo que la cuestión le parecía una difícil.

En resumen, mientras que los resultados afirman que las actitudes negativas hacia los hispanohablantes son muy comunes en la sociedad arubeña, los alumnos cuyo idioma materno era el español eran más conscientes de dichas actitudes que los alumnos cuyo idioma materno era el papiamentu. Generalmente, los alumnos y los docentes no estaban ni de acuerdo ni en desacuerdo con la idea que estas actitudes negativas tengan un impacto sobre el trato de los alumnos hispanohablantes en la escuela. Sin embargo, los alumnos y los docentes compartían actitudes positivas hacia el español y rechazaron la idea de que los hispanohablantes son mal educados. Estos resultados pueden ser interpretados en relación con las observaciones del European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia (2005) que indican que las poblaciones mayoritarias socialmente desfavorecidas tienen más probabilidad de mostrar actitudes negativas hacia las minorías que las poblaciones mayoritarias socialmente favorecidas. Puesto que Colegio Arubano Oranjestad es una escuela secundaria de nivel superior, donde la mayoría de los alumnos tienen padres que han logrado un alto nivel de educación, existe la probabilidad de que, por ser socialmente favorecidos, los alumnos muestran menos actitudes negativas hacia los hispanohablantes que otros arubeños. De todo modo, los resultados demuestran claramente que se podría mejorar las actitudes de los alumnos y docentes arubeños hacia los hispanohablantes y que se podría mejorar el trato de los alumnos hispanohablantes en las escuelas.

A base de los resultados de la investigación, se presentan las siguientes sugerencias.

Al nivel macro:

- 1) El gobierno debe invertir más fondos en la enseñanza para atender debidamente el tema de la diversidad.
- 2) El gobierno debe asegurar que los medios de comunicación no estén promoviendo la discriminación hacia los grupos minoritarios.

3) Los partidos y los políticos deben adoptar y practicar una política de inclusión social.

Al nivel meso:

1) La escuela debe diseñar un programa de concientización hacia la pluralidad cultural.

2) Los docentes deben ser capacitados y recapitados sobre el tema de la diversidad.

3) La escuela debe dar atención adicional a los alumnos que no dominan la lengua de instrucción (el holandés).

4) La escuela debe procurar que los métodos que se utilicen no sean discriminatorios.

5) La escuela debe incluir a los padres en actividades que fomentan la paz dentro de un ambiente democrático, incluyente y participativo.

Al nivel micro:

1) Los docentes deben valorar a las culturas, idiomas e identidades de sus alumnos e incluirlos en la vida escolar.

2) Los docentes deben auto educarse sobre la diversidad e inclusión social, para así brindarle la oportunidad a cada alumno a desarrollarse plenamente.

3) Los docentes deben inculcar normas y valores en los alumnos, tales como, el respeto, la igualdad, la cooperación, el reconocimiento, la aceptación, la corresponsabilidad y la valoración de la diversidad cultural.

4) Los docentes deben tomar consciencia del racismo hacia grupos minoritarios para afrontarlo y evitar la discriminación.

5) Los docentes deben promover las relaciones humanas y el desarrollo de las competencias comunicativas y sociales por medio de estrategias cooperativas y de participación en la gestión del aula.

6) Los docentes deben utilizar materiales que reflejan el contexto socio cultural y las experiencias de todos los alumnos.

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Anexo I: Encuesta

Pa por finaliza mi estudio di docente di spaño na Universidad di Curacao mi ta realizando un investigacion. Por favor sea asina amabel di responde e preguntanan di e encuesta aki mas honesto posible. E encuesta aki ta uno totalmente anonimo. Di antemano, masha danki pa bo cooperacion.

1. Cua ta bo idioma materno?

☐ Papiamento	☐ Ingles
☐ Hulandes	☐ Otro:
☐ Spaño	

2. ¿Cua ta e idioma materno di bo mayornan?

Mama:

Tata:

3. Spaño ta un idioma mundial.

☐ Totalmente di acuerdo	☐ Di acuerdo	☐ Ni di acuerdo ni den desacuerdo	☐ Den desacuerdo
☐ Totalmente den desacuerdo			

4. Spaño ta e segundo idioma mas papia na Aruba.

☐ Totalmente di acuerdo	☐ Di acuerdo	☐ Ni di acuerdo ni den desacuerdo	☐ Den desacuerdo
☐ Totalmente den desacuerdo			

5. Spaño ta importante den e comunidad na Aruba.

☐ Totalmente di acuerdo	☐ Di acuerdo	☐ Ni di acuerdo ni den desacuerdo	☐ Den desacuerdo
☐ Totalmente den desacuerdo			

6. Ta importante pa haya les di spaño na scol.

☐ Totalmente di acuerdo	☐ Di acuerdo	☐ Ni di acuerdo ni den desacuerdo	☐ Den desacuerdo
☐ Totalmente den desacuerdo			

Motiva bo respuesta:

7. Mester hasi spaño un materia obligatorio.

☐ Totalmente di acuerdo	☐ Di acuerdo	☐ Ni di acuerdo ni den desacuerdo	☐ Den desacuerdo
☐ Totalmente den desacuerdo			

8. Na scol nan mester permiti pa splica e muchanan cu ta papia spaño, na spaño tambe.

- ☐ Totalmente di acuerdo ☐ Di acuerdo ☐ Ni di acuerdo ni den desacuerdo ☐ Den desacuerdo
☐ Totalmente den desacuerdo

9. Mi ta di opinion cu hendenan cu ta papia spaño na Aruba ta hendenan cu no tin educación avansa.

- ☐ Totalmente di acuerdo ☐ Di acuerdo ☐ Ni di acuerdo ni den desacuerdo ☐ Den desacuerdo
☐ Totalmente den desacuerdo

Motiva bo respuesta:

10. Mi ta pensa cu e hendenan cu ta papia spaño y cu ta biba na Aruba mester comunica na papiamento.

- ☐ Totalmente di acuerdo ☐ Di acuerdo ☐ Ni di acuerdo ni den desacuerdo ☐ Den desacuerdo
☐ Totalmente den desacuerdo

Motiva bo respuesta:

11. Mi ta considera e actitud di e arubianonan pa cu esnan cu ta papia spaño uno no positivo.

- ☐ Totalmente di acuerdo ☐ Di acuerdo ☐ Ni di acuerdo ni den desacuerdo ☐ Den desacuerdo
☐ Totalmente den desacuerdo

Si bo ta di acuerdo, dicon bo ta considera e actitud uno no positivo?

12. Mi ta sinti cu e trato pa cu esnan cu ta papia spaño na scol ta diferente compara cu esnan cu ta papia otro idioma.

- ☐ Totalmente di acuerdo ☐ Di acuerdo ☐ Ni di acuerdo ni den desacuerdo ☐ Den desacuerdo
☐ Totalmente den desacuerdo

Si bo ta di acuerdo, motiva bo respuesta:

13. Mi ta asocia mi mes cu alumno di tur nacionalidad.

- ☐ Totalmente di acuerdo ☐ Di acuerdo ☐ Ni di acuerdo ni den desacuerdo ☐ Den desacuerdo
☐ Totalmente den desacuerdo

Si no ta e caso, cu cua nacionalidad bo ta asocia menos?

14. Mi ta sintimi acepta pa demas docentenan y alumnonan.

- ☐ Totalmente di acuerdo ☐ Di acuerdo ☐ Ni di acuerdo ni den desacuerdo ☐ Den desacuerdo
☐ Totalmente den desacuerdo

Anexo II: Entrevista docente

E entrevista aki ta por genera informacion acerca di mi investigacion pa asina mi por finalisa mi estudio di docente di spaño na Universidad di Curacao. Por favor sea asina amabel di contesta e preguntanan aki mas honesto posible. Tur informacion lo keda completamente anonimo. Masha danki di antemano.

1. Docente di materia:

2. Spaño ta un idioma mundial.

- ☐ Di acuerdo ☐ Ni ☐ di acuerdo ni den desacuerdo ☐ Den ☐ desacuerdo

3. Spaño ta e di dos idioma di mas importante na Aruba.

- ☐ Di acuerdo ☐ Ni ☐ di acuerdo ni den desacuerdo ☐ Den ☐ desacuerdo

4. Spaño ta importante den e comunidad na Aruba.

☐ Di acuerdo Ni ☐ di acuerdo ni den desacuerdo Den ☐ desacuerdo

5. Ta importante pa haya les di spaño na scol.

☐ Di acuerdo Ni ☐ di acuerdo ni den desacuerdo Den ☐ desacuerdo

Motiva bo respuesta:

6. Na scol nan mester permiti pa splica e muchanan cu ta papia spaño, na spaño tambe.

☐ Di acuerdo Ni ☐ di acuerdo ni den desacuerdo Den ☐ desacuerdo

Motiva bo respuesta:

7. Mi ta di opinion cu hendenan cu ta papia spaño na Aruba ta hendenan cu no tin educación avansa.

☐ Di acuerdo Ni ☐ di acuerdo ni den desacuerdo Den ☐ desacuerdo

Motiva bo respuesta:

8. Mi ta pensa cu e hendenan cu ta papia spaño y cu ta biba na Aruba mester comunica na papiamento.

☐ Di acuerdo Ni ☐ di acuerdo ni den desacuerdo Den ☐ desacuerdo

Motiva bo respuesta:

9. Mi ta sinti cu e trato pa cu esnan cu ta papia spaño na scol ta diferente compara cu esnan cu ta papia otro idioma.

☐ Di acuerdo Ni ☐ di acuerdo ni den desacuerdo Den ☐ desacuerdo

Si bo ta di acuerdo, con asina nan ta discrimina esnan latino?

10. E actitud di e arubianonan en general encuanto hispanohablante ta negativo.

☐ Di acuerdo Ni ☐ di acuerdo ni den desacuerdo Den ☐ desacuerdo

Motiva bo respuesta:

11. Den caso cu bo contesta na 10 tabata di acuerdo, kico según abo, por haci na scol pa inculca otro actitud cerca e alumnonan di Colegio Arubano?

12. Kico ta bo opinion acerca di inmigración?

13. Con bo persona ta atende cu diversidad den bo klas?

14. Scol ta educa bo(so) como docente acerca di diversidad?

☐ Si
☐ No

15. Kiko scol ta hasi pa cu diversidad?

LA SITUACION LINGÜÍSTICA DE LOS SEFARDIES EN SURINAME

WELMOED DE BOER

INSTITUUT VOOR DE OPLEIDING VAN LERAREN, PARAMARIBO

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Abstracto

De las características del uso diario del portugués en Suriname, lengua nativa de la mayoría de los sefardíes, en los siglos XVII y XVIII se sabe básicamente nada, menos que en los archivos se menciona el '*dyu tongo*' ('lengua judía') un lenguaje que hablaban los esclavos de sefardíes. De los documentos de la comunidad sefardí que se guardan en el archivo de Suriname de esta época, se deduce claramente que el portugués era el idioma formal de esta comunidad, además el español. La situación sociolingüística se puede estudiar según el marco teórico moderno que aplica ahora a la anterior colonia, que hasta hoy en día es una comunidad multilingüe con diglosia. Un estudio de la historia, nos demuestra que la raíz de la diglosia en Suriname, se sembró desde el principio, en el siglo XVII, además existía ya en los Países Bajos, donde los sefardíes mantenían el portugués y el español como idiomas de la comunidad. En este repertorio apenas aparece el judeo-español que se conoce por el término 'ladino' y que figura como lengua nativa en muchas comunidades sefardíes después de su exilio de España. Posiblemente, los sefardíes hablaban un portugués salpicado de palabras de origen hebreo y ladino, como en otras comunidades que perdieron el judeo-español.

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Términos claves: diáspora sefardí, ladino, Suriname, sranantongo, multilingüismo

Introducción

A pesar de que se sabe que la primera comunidad judía en Suriname se formó por los sefardíes de ancestros españoles, que hablaban portugués o español, no se sabe mucho de su repertorio lingüístico en la época de la colonización de los siglos XVII y XVIII. De las informaciones disponibles en los archivos de Suriname sobre la migración de los sefardíes y el desarrollo de su comunidad, se deduce que era un grupo relativamente culto, que hablaba portugués como idioma nativo, y la minoría español, que además era

un idioma valorado para la ciencia y la literatura. Los sefardíes de habla portugués sabían leer y escribir uno o los dos de estos idiomas (Nassy, 1788; Bueno Bilbao, 1928; Gobardhan-Rambocus, 2001). Por medio de la educación escolar de forma privada, y organizada por miembros de la comunidad sefardí, los sefardíes aprendían el francés, un idioma de élite de su época, y el holandés, por ser el idioma oficial de la colonia desde 1667, el año en que los holandeses tomaron control de Suriname. Por el carácter multiétnico de la sociedad surinamesa desde el principio, los sefardíes hablaban la lengua franca, la lengua criolla ‘*Neger-Engelsch*’ (‘inglés de negros’, ahora llamado sranantongo) con sus esclavos. El sranantongo, es una lengua criolla basada en las lenguas ancestrales de los esclavos africanos, con un léxico principalmente de inglés, e influencias de portugués, holandés y los idiomas indígenas de Suriname (Charry et al., 1983; Yakpo & Muysken, 2017; Gobardhan-Rambocus & Hassankhan, 1993). No solamente servía como medio de comunicación entre los esclavos y los esclavistas, sino también a los mismos europeos que hablaban distintos idiomas, por lo que no siempre se entendían entre ellos (Gobardhan-Rambocus, 2001).

El hebreo era el idioma de la liturgia tanto para los sefardíes como los judíos asquenazíes, de orígenes ucraniano y polaco, que también llegaban a la colonia de Suriname. Los asquenazíes formaban un grupo judío separado de los sefardíes (Oudeschans Dentz, 1927). La mayoría de los sefardíes que llegaban a Suriname, probablemente habían perdido o habían perdido por gran parte ya el uso de su idioma de herencia o idioma ancestral: el ladino o judeo-español, que otras comunidades de sefardíes exiliados en áreas como el este de Europa, Turquía y el norte de África, habían mantenido como lengua nativa. Sin embargo, existen comunidades sefardíes que perdieron el uso del ladino, pero mantuvieron durante mucho tiempo un vocabulario ladino o hebreo, que consiste en gran parte, en términos religiosos y culturales (Sullam, 2008). Sullam describe a los términos del ladino en el italiano de los sefardíes como ‘los jeroglíficos’ de su lenguaje. Además, son muchos los términos ladinos y/o hebreos en el lenguaje judío no ladino de otros países, incluso Holanda, donde el idioma yídish se hablaba en la comunidad asquenazí (Van der Sijs & Willemyns, 2009). Posiblemente, en Suriname el portugués hablado diariamente por los sefardíes también estaba salpicado por términos ladinos y/o hebreos. No existe prueba de que se usaba el ladino, aunque este era un idioma conocido por sefardíes de Ámsterdam (Oravetz Albert, 2017). Además, había por lo menos un grupo sefardíes de Livorno en Italia, donde se hablaba el ladino, que se juntó al grupo de sefardíes en Cayena que se mudó a Suriname (Nassy, 1788).

Hipótesis, preguntas de investigación y planteamiento

Aunque la actitud respecto a la situación lingüística y los idiomas nos enseña bastante sobre la cultura y la manera de (sobre)vivir de cualquier pueblo, hasta ahora no, o casi no, se ha investigado el lenguaje hablado por los judíos en Suriname. Con este ensayo, quiero explorar la hipótesis de que el portugués hablado por los sefardíes en la época

colonial de los siglos XVI y XVII en Suriname, era un portugués con características léxicas del ladino y/o el hebreo. La exploración se basa en un acercamiento interdisciplinario a la situación (socio)lingüística de los sefardíes de los siglos XVI y XVII en Suriname, que se podría conectar con los demás estudios sobre el tema en otros países de la región. Es decir, aunque la migración e influencia sefardí en otras colonias de los Países Bajos, como la isla de Curazao, llevan rasgos muy parecidos, me enfoco en esta exploración a la migración sefardí a Surinam. Este estudio se puede, por ejemplo, comparar con las investigaciones sobre el portugués (Joubert & Perl, 2008) y el idioma criollo Papiamentu en Curazao (Grant, 2008).

Investigar la mencionada hipótesis de que en la época de Suriname el portugués hablado era un lenguaje con léxico ladino y/o hebreo, requiere un planteamiento de diferentes ángulos, para buscar la respuesta a la pregunta de investigación principal :

¿Cuáles pueden haber sido las características ladinas y/o hebreas del portugués hablado en la comunidad sefardí de Suriname en los siglos XVII y XVIII?

Para investigar la hipótesis y dar la respuesta a la pregunta principal se hacen las siguientes subpreguntas:

¿Cuáles eran las literaturas que dominaban la vida religiosa y cultural de las comunidades sefardíes en exilio?

¿En que se parecen los repertorios lingüísticos y religiosos/culturales de la comunidad sefardí de Suriname y las de Europa, sobre todo la de los Países Bajos?

¿Cuáles son las posibles huellas sefardíes que indican que entre los sefardíes existía un lenguaje ladino y/o hebreo en Suriname?

El uso diario de los idiomas de los siglos XVII y XVIII es difícil de reconstruir, y depende de fragmentos de lenguaje que se encuentran en los archivos. Se puede tener una idea más amplia de la situación de aquel tiempo estudiando el tema por los ángulos de distintas disciplinas académicas, en este caso la historia, filología y literatura, y sobre todo la (socio)lingüística. Para llegar a descripciones de los idiomas de la comunidad sefardí de Suriname, la investigación depende en primer lugar de la información escrita en los archivos de Suriname y los Países Bajos. En este caso, se enfoca en el lenguaje del portugués escrito de aquel tiempo, traducciones al holandés y varios libros. Además, se considera léxico del sranantongo y del sáamaka que representa huellas del pasado sefardí de Suriname. Para esto se estudian algunos diccionarios, como el diccionario de sranantongo del editorial Prisma, *Woordenlijst Sranan* (lista de palabras del sranantongo) del Ministerio de Educación (1961-2004), el diccionario histórico del léxico del holandés surinamés (Van Donselaar, 2013), *Wöutu Buku Holansi-Sáamaka* (Glock, 1996), y el *Atlas of the Languages of Suriname* (Carlin & Arends, 2002). A pesar de que la mayoría de los términos religiosos no cristianos en estos idiomas tienen sus raíces en las religiones e idiomas africanos, estos idiomas mantienen algunas palabras que refieren a al pasado sefardí (Arends, 2002; Smith, 2002; Ferrier, 1999). Para estudiar la

situación desde un acercamiento sociolingüístico, he aplicado el marco teórico actual de situaciones de diglosia y multilingüismo, que hoy en día siguen caracterizando la sociedad de Suriname (Charry et al., 1983; Gobardhan-Rambocus, 1993; 2001; Léglise & Migge, 2015; Yakpo & Muysken, 2017). Se enfoca sobre todo, en la situación sociolingüística en los Países Bajos y sus colonias en Sudamérica, es decir, en Suriname y Pernambuco.

Las preguntas de investigación del presente estudio implican que también se indaga al mundo literario y de los documentos escritos sobre los sefardíes en el exilio. Para el enfoque filológico y literario se estudiaron artículos y obras claves como los de Harm den Boer (1990), sobre el pasado literario de los sefardíes de Ámsterdam. Para estudiar la historia de los sefardíes en Suriname, se concentró en la obra sobre la historia de los sefardíes de Suriname escrito por David Nassy en el año 1788, además de escritores del principio del siglo XX, como Frederick Oudeschans Dentz (1927) y R. Bueno Bilbaz (1928), y la disertación de Lila Gobardhan-Rambocus (2001), sobre la historia de educación y el holandés en Suriname. Mi ensayo trata el período de la colonización de Suriname entre 1664, el año de llegada de algunos cientos de sefardíes a la colonia, y 1832, el año en que abandonaron a Jodensavanne, población donde se concentraba en gran parte la vida de los sefardíes en Suriname en los siglos XVII y XVIII. El marco histórico internacional es la diáspora de los sefardíes exiliados en otros países como Portugal, los Países Bajos, Turquía, Marruecos, Pernambuco en Brasil, Nueva York y Curazao. En el fondo figura España, porque después de su definitiva Expulsión en 1492, los sefardíes siguieron identificándose con este país, usando el español como uno de sus idiomas literarios.^{1 2}

La historia literaria de los sefardíes

En España, la comunidad judía era numerosa y formaba un grupo con bastante influencia, tanto en la España cristiana, como en el reino musulmán Al Andaluz. Algunos judíos escribieron obras estacadas de la literatura, por ejemplo, *La Guía de los perplejos* del famoso filósofo Moises Maimonides. Esta obra, que empezó a escribir en España y que finalizó en exilio en Egipto al principio del siglo XI, provocó una crisis en la sociedad judía del occidente por sus interpretaciones metafísicas del Torá (Chahlane, 2005). Las comunidades musulmanas, cristianas y judías coexistían relativamente en paz en el reino Al-Andaluz. En esta época, los judíos cultos aprendían, además de su lengua nativa, idiomas no judíos como el árabe y el latín hispano (López Estrada, 1974; Díaz-Mas, 2003).

Los judíos traducían los textos importantes a diferentes idiomas, a pesar de la fatwa de Ibn Adún, un alfaquí (juez islámico) sevillano, que prohibió la venta de libros de ciencia

¹ El nombre preferido de España para los sefardíes es el nombre hebreo ‘Sefarad’

² En la historia de España hubo más expulsiones de judíos, empezando desde 1381, el año que les acusaron de haber traído la Peste Negra al país.

a los judíos o cristianos porque ellos los traducían y podrían atribuirlos a ellos mismos. Sin embargo, la práctica era que se vendían libremente a todo el mundo (El-Madkouri Maataoui, 1999/2000). Después de la expulsión se produjo mucha literatura aljamía hebrea por los sefardíes en el exilio, además se preservó mucho de la literatura oral que algunos sefardíes pusieron en forma escrita para conservarla. Eran muy populares los libritos con romances, cuentos, canciones o refranes impresos por los sefardíes de Oriente (Díaz-Mas, 2003; véase también: López Estrada, 1974).

Las cifras de los judíos expulsados en 1492 se estiman generalmente entre los 50,000 y 120,000 (Hinojosa Montalvo, 2000; Nassy, 1788). Los sefardíes exiliados fundaron comunidades judías en el Norte de África, Turquía y diferentes países europeos. Muchos emigraron a los países cercanos de España, sobre todo a Italia y Portugal. Después de su expulsión en 1496 de Portugal, muchos migraron a los Países Bajos, donde no se les prohibía practicar el judaísmo (Den Boer, 1990). Las comunidades sefardíes en exilio siguieron identificándose con Portugal y España. Por los lazos que mantenían con la nobleza de los países que los expulsaron, los escritores sefardíes en Ámsterdam dedicaban sus obras en portugués y español a los Reyes y la Nobleza de estos países (Herrero Sánchez, 2016; Den Boer, 1990).

En el siglo XV se produce en España una casta de judíos conversos que toman dos posturas: integrarse completamente en la comunidad cristiana o seguir pegado a la antigua religión, en secreto. Los primeros son los judeoconversos, los segundos se conocen como los criptojudíos (Cañas Pelayo, 2016; Quevedo Sánchez, 2016; Contreras Contreras, 1992). Para combatir los criptojudíos se creó la Nueva Inquisición de los Reyes Católicos. Entre los criptojudíos se encontraban los que trabajaban en territorio español, como el teólogo Felipe Godínez (1580-1659), y los que vivían en el exilio, como João Pinto Delgado, quien trabajaba en Portugal, y quien se trasladó a los Países Bajos donde volvió al judaísmo. Tal es el caso también del famoso escritor Miguel de Barrios (1635-1701), nacido en Andalucía y huido con su familia al norte de África, quien llevó en los Países Bajos una doble vida como capitán cristiano de los tercios españoles³, y como miembro de la comunidad judía de Ámsterdam, en la que adoptó el nombre de Daniel Leví. En 1660 viajó al Caribe, pero pronto volvió a Ámsterdam (Den Boer, 1990; véase también Nassy, 1788).

Algunas familias de cristianos conversos volvieron a España, donde lograron ocupar puestos altos en la sociedad, muchas veces por su riqueza (Cañas Pelayo, 2016; Quevedo Sánchez, 2016; Contreras Contreras, 1992). Aparentemente, no temían a la Inquisición y el peligro de acusaciones de ser criptojudíos, aunque su integración era problemática (Cañas Pelayo, 2016). Estos inmigrantes formaban una élite financiera ambiciosa especializada en el comercio con las Indias y Brasil. Se casaban dentro de su grupo social de los cristianos nuevos, y mantenían relaciones posiblemente más profesionales

³ Entre 1568-1648 tuvo lugar la guerra de Flandés para independizar los Países Bajos de España

que étnicas con los sefardíes de Ámsterdam (Contreras Contreras, 1992: Herrero Sánchez, 2016).

Las familias judías en Ámsterdam, lugar que se consideraba el ‘nuevo Jerusalén’, frecuentemente eran ‘judíos nuevos’ que al llegar a los Países Bajos habían vuelto a practicar el judaísmo, después de haber vivido como criptojudíos (Den Boer, 1990: Herrero Sánchez, 2016).⁴ Para los Reyes de España, los sefardíes en Ámsterdam, se convirtieron en contactos importantes para tener acceso a los mercados, según Herrero Sánchez (2016): “[...] los hombres de negocios de la ‘naçao’ mantenían vínculos familiares y estrechas relaciones con la pujante diáspora sefardí asentada en Holanda y Zelanda por lo que no tardaron en convertirse en un factor clave en las complejas relaciones de rivalidad y acercamiento entabladas entre Madrid y La Haya a lo largo del siglo XVII.” (p449) Los contactos entre las comunidades sefardíes en diferentes países en Europa en los siglos XVII y XVIII, nos enseñan algo sobre la vida de los sefardíes de esta época en las colonias. Los textos que circulaban entre la comunidad sefardí habrán circulado en las comunidades de las colonias holandesas también.

El tema de los judíos en el contexto español es muy complejo, sobre todo de la literatura sefardí, criptojudía y judeoconversa, tras la expulsión por los Reyes Católicos en el año 1492. Es decir, en el siglo XV, surge un grupo social diferente a la comunidad judía de Al Andaluz, que había coexistido relativamente en paz con los musulmanes y los cristianos. De la conversión forzada después de la expulsión, nació la comunidad de judíos conversos y su literatura judía en la lengua romance tiene rasgos de las dos culturas, la cristiana y la judía. Respecto al siglo XIV, cabe destacar que los textos cristianos se producían con influencia judía, porque había judíos que colaboraban para producir traducciones en lengua romance de la biblia en hebreo, y algunas obras de ciencia (López Estrada, 1974).

A pesar de que en el territorio español de esta misma época estaba prohibida la literatura judía, las huellas judías aparecieron en la literatura escrita por algunos conversos. Shai Cohen (2013) explica que desde el punto de vista socio-psicológico, sería lógico que existiera una literatura conversa: “Una comunicación tácita entre un grupo de personas que sufren una determinada situación común es un hecho probable.” Un ejemplo de huellas judías en la literatura castellana es el caso de Miguel de Cervantes, quien, supuestamente, era de origen converso. Daniel Leví (Miguel) de Barrios (1683) sugiere que la novela *La española inglesa* de Cervantes posiblemente se basa en una anécdota sobre una joven criptojudía del siglo XIV que se había enamorado de un comerciante inglés, y prefirió permanecer fiel a su religión que casarse con este hombre rico. En la novela de Cervantes, hace lo mismo una joven criptocatólica (Kaplan, 1991).

⁴ Un caso famoso es el del filósofo Baruch Spinoza, hijo de familia judía nueva que tenía muchos problemas con integrarse a la vida ortodoxa de la comunidad judía de Ámsterdam. En 1656, Baruch Spinoza fue excomulgado de la religión judía.

El repertorio lingüístico de los sefardíes

Los sefardíes en los Países Bajos posiblemente ya no hablaban el ladino cuándo comenzaron a colonizar partes de América del Sur y el Caribe, aunque Wilhemina Pieterse (citado en un artículo de Van Tijn, 1970) menciona un lenguaje en los documentos antiguos que estaba salpicada de léxico ladino y hebreo. El ladino escrito se habrá usado entre ellos, porque los documentos fundadores de la comunidad sefardí portuguesa (Kahal Kadosh Talmud Tora) en Ámsterdam, redactado en 1638, contiene dos artículos⁵ en portugués que refieren al ladino (Oravetz, 2017). La comunidad sefardí en las colonias tenía características de multilingüismo con rasgos de diglosia, con el portugués como idioma nativo, el portugués y español como lenguas literarias, el holandés como idioma nacional de los Países Bajos, y el hebreo como lengua litúrgica. Posiblemente, el ladino se usaba de alguna manera para la educación religiosa. Esta era la situación cuando los sefardíes emigraban a las colonias holandesas en Suramérica.

En Suriname, los sefardíes hablaban el portugués y español como lenguas nativas y cultas, aprendían el holandés o ya lo sabían por su estancia en los Países Bajos, al igual que el francés, lengua de la élite holandesa de esta época. (Gobardhan-Rambocus, 2001). Además, hablaban la lengua criolla '*Neger-Engelsch*' (ahora sranantongo) con los esclavos y posiblemente con otros pueblos, incluso los europeos (véase Gobardhan-Rambocus, 2001). Tal vez, los sefardíes eran el grupo más multilingüe de la colonia en esta época que, con aproximadamente veinte idiomas nativos, hasta ahora sigue siendo un país multilingüe con diglosia.

Según David Nassy (1788: 143-147) los sefardíes de Suriname descuidaban la enseñanza y el aprendizaje del holandés. Él menciona las dificultades de los sefardíes para escribir en holandés, y dice que era necesario traducir documentos y lecturas para los sefardíes de la colonia porque no entendían suficiente holandés. Muchos de estas actas están archivadas en el archivo nacional de Suriname (www.nationaalarchief.sr). Apparently, para el tercio de la parte europea de la población de Suriname que era de descendencia sefardí, el portugués y español siguieron dominando como lenguas nativas y literarias (Nassy, 1788: 151, véase también Oudeschans Dentz, 1927; Bueno Bilbao, 1928; Gobardhan-Rambocus, 2001). Se deduce, que la segunda generación de los sefardíes en esta época, no se había integrado mucho lingüísticamente, y que existía una barrera de idioma.

El hebreo también aparece como idioma oficial en el acta del primer matrimonio judío en Suriname, que por los privilegios de judíos en Suriname se solemnizó en la colonia en 1643 (Oudeschans Dentz, 1927). Tardaría hasta 1799 para que apareciera la primera

⁵ "... abraham baruch fara ofisio de Haam e ensinara parasah em ladino e tera deselario florins terzentos esincoenta eflorins quarenta pera caza que saõ ao todo cada ano florins terzentos enoventa"

acta de matrimonio judío redactada en holandés. En la comunidad sefardí de Jodensavanna, las organizaciones y hermandades llevaban nombres en hebreo, como *Liviat Hen* ('Corona de Amor', 1778) o la Hermandad de Sepultureros *Eben Yecara & Gue-miluth Hassadim* ('Piedra preciosa y Muestra de Obras de Caridad'), que existió de 1745 hasta 1830 (Oudeschans Dentz, 1927: 22). Cualquier documento formal de las organizaciones de los sefardíes en Suriname se escribía en portugués, o en algunos casos en español. Las primeras actas de reunión de la comunidad aparecen en 1839 (Oudeschans Dentz, 1927: 26). Pocos años antes, en 1832, el pueblo Jodensavanne se destrozó por un incendio por lo que por fin quedó abandonado. La gran parte de los archivos en aquel tiempo, ya se guardaba en la capital Paramaribo (véase por ejemplo: Oudeschans Dentz, 1927).

Aunque los judíos en las colonias holandesas tenían la libertad de practicar su religión, se veían enfrentados con la discriminación de las autoridades, tanto en Pernambuco como en Suriname. Las quejas de los sefardíes de Pernambuco sobre la intolerancia de la religión judía de la parte los cristianos protestantes, nos demuestran que los sefardíes de esta colonia practicaban su religión y costumbres. Según Nassy (1788: 33), los sefardíes en Pernambuco se aferraban más a su religión por la discriminación a la que se veían sometidos (Ribeiro Bulle das Chagas, 2009). En la colonia holandesa de Pernambuco, la situación lingüística no habrá sido muy diferente a la de Suriname. También los sefardíes que después de la reconquista de Pernambuco por los portugueses llegaron a Nieuw Ámsterdam en 1654 (ahora Nueva York), hablaban el portugués, pero para la liturgia usaban hebreo y para la educación religiosa documentos escritos en ladino (Domingos & Mendes Pinto, 2006; véase también Nassy, 1788). La costumbre era escribir los textos de educación religiosa llamados *halakhic* en ladino. También hay que tomar en cuenta que había una tradición de leer la biblia hebrea traduciéndola en voz alta al ladino (Bunis, 1996).

La lengua escrita de los sefardíes surinameses

Para estudiar los idiomas oficiales de la comunidad sefardí en Suriname, el archivo nacional de Suriname (www.nationaalarchief.sr) guarda muchos documentos, como los documentos notariales como testamentos y actas, y documentos judiciales. A pesar de que el holandés ya en 1667 era el idioma oficial de Suriname, las autoridades emitían decretos para avisar que los documentos notariales en otros idiomas diferentes del holandés no se aceptaban como documentos legales (Oudeschans Dentz, 1927; Bueno Bilbao, 1928; Nassy, 1788; Gobardhan-Rambocus, 2001). Sin embargo, se puede deducir que ya era costumbre no hacer caso a estos avisos, porque en los archivos notariales de esta época aparecen actas en portugués, español y francés.

Una muestra arbitraria de documentos del archivo nacional de Suriname nos indica algo sobre las circunstancias respecto al uso de los idiomas. Resulta que todos contienen nombres y apellidos portugueses y españoles, es decir que los testigos, los firmantes,

las autoridades que redactaban, leían y firmaban, todos sabían un idioma ibérica, que en la mayoría de los casos era el portugués. Algunos documentos redactados en portugués contienen párrafos en holandés, otros, como el reglamento Askamoth y los privilegios de judíos, llevan traducciones al holandés. Jodensavanne tenía su propia jurisdicción dentro de la colonia de Suriname (Oudeschans Dentz, 1927; Nassy, 1788; Gobar-dhan-Rambocus, 2001). Otra indicación del uso de idiomas formales son las lápidas en los cementerios sefardíes, el de Jodensavanne y sobre todo el de la sinagoga de Keizers-straat. En el primer periodo de la estancia sefardí en la colonia, aparecen textos en hebreo, luego en portugués, y luego en holandés.

Una muestra arbitraria de cuarenta páginas del archivo de la Comunidad Sefardí (*Nederlands Portugees-Israelische Gemeente* publicado en www.nationaalarchief.sr) nos enseña que el portugués escrito a final del siglo XVII y hasta mediados del siglo XVIII no es muy diferente del portugués moderno. Solamente la ortografía es diferente, escribiendo <z> donde hoy se usa la letra <s> (presentes/presentes) o la <x>, donde hoy se usa la letra <j>. Esta también es la ortografía del ladino. Aunque según el sitio del archivo nacional de Suriname la colección de documentos escaneados incluye textos en español, no he podido leer estos textos en este idioma, porque estaban en tan malas condiciones que se quedaron ilegibles.

En las actas de reuniones de la comunidad *Portugees-Israelische Gemeente* aparecen los términos hebreos y/o ladinos de las leyes *mahamad* en hebreo, pero escritos con letras romanas. En los documentos del colegio administrativo judío aparece la palabra hebrea *parnas* ‘regente’ cuyo plural es *parnasim*, y el *mahamad* consiste en seis *parnasim*. Así, en los documentos aparecen 2do *parnas*, 1ro *parnas*, etc. En la mayoría de los textos los términos religiosos como *sabath* aparecen en letras romanas, pero a veces, en textos sobre la reglas religiosas, aparecen en la escritura hebrea. Esta costumbre aparece también en otras comunidades sefardíes donde se usa el ladino, como en los textos de educación religiosa, los *halakhic*, en que se escriben los nombres y las bendiciones en hebreo usando la escritura hebrea (Schwarzwald, 2004). Aparece en estos documentos el término *eskamoth*, que luego en la lista de documentos aparece como *askamoth*. También aparecen términos administrativos del portugués como ‘fiscal’ y ‘junta general’.

Se puede asumir, que en aquel tiempo los términos del colegio administrativo judío eran parte del lenguaje diario de los europeos de la colonia, al igual que hoy en día en el holandés de Suriname, se usan los términos de los idiomas de India o de Indonesia como *pandit* (sacerdote hindú) o *maulana* (clérigo musulmán). Sin embargo, se nota que el escritor holandés Oudeschans Dentz (1927) usa el término *Parnasijner*, la palabra *Parnas* adaptada al holandés con el sufijo *-er* indicando el agente y la *ij* siendo una adaptación fonológica, mientras que los escritores de apellidos sefardíes de Suriname, escriben *Parnassim* (Nassy, 1788) y *Parnassins* (Bueno Bilbaz, 1928), la última siendo un término híbrido, usando dos veces el plural: el sufijo del plural hebreo *-im*, al que se agrega la *-s*, que indica el plural holandés. Con dichas adaptaciones del término, Oudeschans

Dentz y Bueno Bilbaz concluyen que *Parnas* ya era una palabra integrada al idioma holandés de la colonia. Además Nassy usa los términos ladinos y/o hebreos para los funcionarios de la administración, como *gabny* (en holandés: *penningmeester* ‘tesorero’) pero, las palabras *parnas* y *cabal* aparte, los escritores holandeses usan los equivalentes en holandés.

En una muestra de los textos del Askamoth (1754) de *Nederlands Portugees-Israelische Gemeente* en portugués con traducciones al holandés, aparecen las palabras de origen hebreo *jehidim* (judíos) y *hazanim* (sepultureros). La palabra *jehidim* en holandés es *joden* (plural de *jood*). En holandés también se usa el término *israeliet*, como en el nombre holandés de la comunidad sefardí se usa el adjetivo *israelisch*. En los textos en portugués esta palabra se escribe con una <j> inicial: *Jsrael*. En otros textos, como las actas de venta de Jodensavanne, aparecen también palabras que tienen equivalente en holandés, como sinagoga: *esnoga* (en holandés: *synagoge*), que en la comunidad sefardí de Ámsterdam hasta ahora se conoce como *snoge* para referir a la sinagoga de la comunidad judía portuguesa (*Grote VanDale*, versión electrónica)⁶ *Esnoga* se derivó de la palabra española medieval *sinoga*, que los sefardíes en el exilio adaptaron al portugués.⁷ La palabra sinagoga tiene sus raíces en el antiguo griego, y no en el hebreo.

Curiosamente, en cualquier texto de sefardíes de aquel tiempo en holandés, aparece la palabra holandesa *kerk* (iglesia), para indicar la comunidad judía, como en *Kerkraad* (consejo de iglesia). Por ejemplo, Oudeschans Dentz (1927) usa *kerkruïne*, refiriéndose a la ruina de la sinagoga en Jodensavanne. Este autor a veces agrega una explicación traduciendo el término hebreo al holandés: “*De kerkelijke gemeente, de Kahal Kados (Heilige Gemeente) zooals zij werd aangeduid, droeg de naam van ‘Beracha Ve Salom’*” [La congregación, el Kahal Kados (comunidad sagrada) como se llamaba ella, llevaba el nombre de *Beracha Ve Salom*] (Oudeschans Dentz, 1927: 18). Cabe destacar que en textos escritos en los Países Bajos en el siglo XX, la palabra *kerkelijke gemeente* aparece también cuando se refiera a la comunidad sagrada de judíos, como en el diario *De kleine krant: het nieuws van de dag* (21 de agosto de 1902). Hoy en día también es costumbre referirse con la palabra cristiana *kerk* a los templos de los hindúes.

Huellas judías en el lenguaje de Suriname

Son principalmente los idiomas sáamaka (*Saramaccaans* en holandés), matawai, sranantongo y el holandés surinamés que llevan posibles claves al lenguaje hablado de los sefardíes en Suriname. El sáamaka y el matawai son dos variedades criollas a base léxica inglesa similares habladas por dos oleadas de esclavos que se escaparon de plantaciones de sefardíes a partir de los principios del siglo XVIII (Yakpo & Muysken, 2017; Arends, 2002; Smith, 2002). Estas dos variedades de cimarrones se caracterizan por el alto porcentaje (hasta el 30 por ciento) de palabras de origen portugués que incluye

⁶ <https://www.joods.nl/portugese-synagoge/>

⁷ <https://forward.com/culture/130921/jews-houses-ain-t-castles-they-re-shuls/>

mucho vocabulario de uso diario y de alta frecuencia, como *duumi* (dormir), *fica* (de *ficar*: quedar), y *baíka* (barriga) (Bruyn, 2002). Los otros idiomas hablados en comunidades de descendientes de esclavos fugitivos en Suriname (nduyka, aucaans o okanisi; páamaka o paramaccaans; kwinti; y aluku o boni) son variedades criollas a base léxica inglesa que tienen mucho menos vocabulario de origen portugués que el sáamaka y el matawai. Los idiomas de cimarrones salieron muy probablemente del mismo lenguaje criollo que la lengua franca de Suriname, el sranantongo (Yakpo & Muysken, 2017; Arends, 2002; Smith, 2002; Bruyn, 2002; Charry et al., 1983). El sranantongo comparte algunas palabras de origen portugués con el sáamaka, como *katibo* (en portugués *cautivo* ‘esclavo/esclavitud’) y *sabi* (en portugués *saver* ‘saber’).

Sin embargo, en el sáamaka no aparecen las palabras hebreas de denotación y connotación religiosa como *kaseri* (ritualmente puro, del hebreo *kasher*) y *trefu* (tabú de comer ciertos productos o ingredientes de comida). El tabú de comer ciertos ingredientes que en sranantongo se conoce como *trefu/tereifa*, en sáamaka se conoce por el término africano *kina* (Helman, 1997) o en la ortografía del diccionario *Holansi-Sáamaka: tjina* (Glock, 1996). Según el *Wikipedia*, en algún pasado en el sranantongo se usaba el término *kina*, que aparentemente se sustituyó por *trefu/tereifa*. Esto no lo he podido confirmar. El diccionario *Sranantongo Prisma* menciona: *kaseri* (1.nomen: Puro 2. Verbo: limpieza espiritual de la Afro-religión surinamesa *winti*); y las combinaciones *kaserilibi* (de sranantongo *libi* (vivir, vida) que significa ‘una vida ritualmente limpia/pura’; *kaseri* *riwatra* (limpieza espiritual anual de la religión afro-surinamesa). Van Donselaar menciona la palabra en su diccionario histórico del holandés surinamés en las ortografías *caseer*, *kaseer*, *kasseer*, y con las traducciones *koosjer* y *kasher*, términos que forman parte del lenguaje holandés de los Países Bajos, que aparecen también en el *WNT*, el diccionario más grande del holandés.⁸ El diccionario *Woordenboek van de Surinaamse Bijdrage aan het Nederlands*, de De Bies (2008) no menciona *kaseer* pero sí *kaseerzout* (sal puro), que es una sal gruesa que se usa para comidas y baños espirituales en la religión afro-surinamesa. De Bies explica que la palabra es una adaptación de la palabra *kaseri sowtu* del sranantongo. En la cocina criolla hay recetas muy valoradas que según se dice tradicionalmente tienen sus orígenes en la cultura sefardí, como el plato al horno *pom*, que sería una comida tradicional para la fiesta Purim, hecha de una malanga grande y amarilla (*pomtayer*). La palabra *boyó* es de origen portugués (*bolo*), que los sefardíes introdujeron al holandés (*bolus*), pero en la cocina surinamesa se refiere a un tipo de bizcocho hecho de yuca rallada. Es probable que, los sefardíes adaptaron sus recetas de repostería a su nueva situación, por falta de harina de trigo, que no es un producto surinamés.

En el uso diario de sranantongo el término para referirse a la etnicidad judía parece siempre haber sido *dýu* (del inglés *jew*). También de los archivos se deduce que había

⁸ <http://gtb.inl.nl/search/#>

compuestos con estas palabras *dyusiki* (*jewish sickness*: lepra), que se asociaba con *te-reifa*, es decir, una enfermedad por comer ingredientes de comida prohibida. Las palabras más comunes para lepra en sranantongo hoy en día son *kokobé* y *gwasi*, ambas palabras de origen africano (Van Donselaar, 1977; Helman, 1977). En sranantongo, el término *dyutongo* se usaba para denotar el idioma de los judíos (del inglés *jewish tongue* lengua judía), pero es difícil decir a qué tipo de variedad exactamente se refería (Arends, 2002; Bruyn, 2002).

En el siglo XVII, aparece otra palabra para referirse a las personas de etnicidad judía, que es de ladino: *pianga*. Aparece en una canción con letras en sranantongo y en una variedad criolla a base léxica francesa, en que se refiere a los judíos como *pianga*, término ladino para referirse a los vagabundos y los pordioseros (Ferrier, 1999). Según Ferrier (1999), *pianga* podría ser una adaptación de la palabra hebrea *pinka*, que significa ‘mensajero’. En el sur de los Países bajos y en Flandés existía el verbo *penanken*, para referirse a los vendedores ambulantes, y había leyes, en los siglos XVI y XVII, tanto en el norte de los Países Bajos como en el sur, para regular el comportamiento de los vendedores ambulantes judíos conocidas por el término *penanken wetten* (*wetten*: leyes) (Ferrier, 1999). El diccionario de holandés surinamés de De Bies (2008) menciona la palabra *pinkalinka*, una palabra arcaica para amenazar a los niños, que pudiera referir a la palabra hebrea *pinka*. Estas son conexiones a las que hay que investigar más a profundo.

El sranantongo lleva claramente la influencia del portugués en las palabras del calendario. Los días de semana en sranantongo son de lunes a domingo: *munde*, *tudeiwroko*, *drideiwroko*, *fodeiwroko freída*, *satra/sabat/sabatdei*, *sonde*. Los nombres *tudeiwroko* (dos-día-trabajo: martes), *drideiwroko* (tres-día-trabajo: miércoles) y *fodeiwroko* (cuatro-día-trabajo: jueves), son calques que se han traducido casi literalmente del portugués, sin embargo, no aplican a los mismos días, solamente a la secuencia: *segunda-feira* (lunes), *terça-feira* (martes), *quarta-feira* (miércoles). *Feira* se refiere a ‘mercado’. El nombre *sabat* (sábado) en sranantongo, o *sabatdei* (día del *shabbath*) viene del hebreo (*shabbath*), día de descanso de los judíos. Es decir, la secuencia de los días de semana en sranantongo sigue el ritmo del calendario cristiano, en que el martes es el segundo día de trabajo. Cabe mencionar que Nassy (1788) en su obra sobre la historia de Suriname, no usa el calendario cristiano sino se refiere a los meses del calendario judío.

Conclusiones

Los sefardíes de los Países Bajos se identificaban con los países de los que ellos o sus antepasados habían sido expulsados (Den Boer, 1990). Los sefardíes de Suriname parecen haber sido relativamente cultos, tal como lo eran en Ámsterdam, y eran unos de los primeros para organizar enseñanza y actividades intelectuales (Nassy, 1788; Gobar-

dhan-Rambocus, 2001). Probablemente, había una fuerte influencia de la literatura sefardí en portugués y español de Ámsterdam y también hay evidencia de literatura en portugués o ladino. Nassy (1788) menciona el poema de los 200 judíos de Livorno (Italia) que agradecen por haber llegado a Cayenne a mediados del siglo XVII. Este poema llegó a los Países Bajos, porque, según Nassy, aparece como adjunto a una obra del famoso escritor Miguel de Barrios.

A la situación lingüística de los sefardíes surinameses se puede aplicar el modelo sociolingüístico moderno de Suriname, como sociedad multilingüe con diglosia que incluye a los grupos étnicos que llegaron principalmente del sur de Asia y de Indonesia a partir de finales del siglo XIX. Al igual que estos grupos, la comunidad sefardí tenía características de multilingüismo con diglosia. Los sefardíes en Suriname mantenían durante muchas décadas el portugués y español como idiomas nativos, sobre todo porque vivían relativamente aislados, y formaban una clase social poderosa. Se puede comparar la situación de los sefardíes con la de los surinameses del sur de Asia, quienes, además del holandés, valoran sus idiomas cultos de la india, como el hindi y el urdu, hablando el sarnami, una variedad surinamesa del hindi, como lengua nativa. De hecho, la posición del sarnami se puede comparar con la posición del ladino, con la diferencia de que el ladino también se usa como idioma culto y escrito.

Del ladino en las colonias holandesas no sabemos mucho. Probablemente, el aislamiento geográfico de Jodensavanne donde los sefardíes en gran parte vivían en Suriname provocó que tardaran en aprender el holandés, ya que sus idiomas diarios eran el portugués, y para una minoría, el español. Para la comunicación formal y escrita se usaba sobre todo el portugués, entre ellos mismos, y, a veces el español, que además era un idioma literario de importancia junto al portugués. Para la liturgia se usaba el hebreo, pero para la educación religiosa, el portugués. El holandés, al principio era el medio de comunicación formal con los europeos, pero no una lengua nativa de los sefardíes. A finales del siglo XVIII empezó a dominar el holandés, que aparece por primera vez escrito en documentos del *mahamad* casi a mediados del siglo XIX. Probablemente, cuando se abandonó a Jodensavanne en 1832, los sefardíes se integraron lingüísticamente a la comunidad de la ciudad de Paramaribo, donde se hablaba holandés con los holandeses y mulatos libres. La lengua criolla a base léxica inglesa sranantongo se hablaba con los esclavos, y posiblemente entre europeos y generalmente entre la gente de las clases social bajas. Posiblemente, en Jodensavanne y las plantaciones cercanas, se hablaba *dyu tongo* con los esclavos, que puede haber sido una lengua criolla a base léxica inglesa similar o idéntica al sranantongo.

Los textos del *mahamad* en portugués y las traducciones de estos mismos, contienen palabras que aparecen en los libros sobre la historia de Suriname. Las palabras que se refieren a la administración sefardí tal vez se usaban en la vida diaria, tal como ahora se usan términos derivados de idiomas del Asia del sur para referirse a los clérigos musulmanes y las mesquitas, y a los clérigos y los templos hindúes. Para reconstruir el

lenguaje diario de los sefardíes el sranantongo y el holandés dan algunas pistas, como palabras que se refieren a costumbres de comida y limpieza espiritual, lo que es lógico porque las esclavas eran las que cocinaban y algunas religiones africanas también conocen el concepto de *tereifa*, comida ritualmente prohibida. Los días de la semana en sranantongo, sin embargo, demuestran la influencia lingüística del portugués, pero adaptado al calendario cristiano. Se puede suponer que para investigar el tema con mayor profundidad usando este modelo multidisciplinario, hay que implicar los idiomas cimarrones el saamaka y el matawai.

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RELIGIE IN SURINAME, TRINIDAD EN GUYANA: INTERRELIGIEUZE RELATIES EN DE RELATIE TUSSEN OVERHEID EN RELIGIE, 2007-2016

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Abstract

Dit artikel maakt een vergelijkende analyse van het religieuze landschap in Suriname, Trinidad en Guyana in de jaren tussen 2007 en 2016 op basis van de *Government Restrictions* en de *Social Hostility Index* van het Pew Research Center (2016). Het doel is om inzicht te verschaffen in de relatie tussen overheid en religie en in de interreligieuze relaties in het Caraïbisch gebied, de regio waar deze drie landen toe behoren. Hiervoor zijn analyses gemaakt van bestaande kwantitatieve data. Suriname, Trinidad en Guyana hebben dezelfde drie grote religieuze groeperingen – christenen, hindoes en moslims – die geen onderlinge extreem gewelddadige conflicten hebben. Maar deze landen verschillen wel op twee punten, namelijk de overheidsrestricties voor religies, en de sociale hostiliteit. Wat het eerste betreft heeft Guyana het minst gunstige klimaat, vanwege het hoogste aantal beperkingen van de overheid voor religieuze groeperingen. De sociale hostiliteit, een indicator van interreligieuze relaties, is het sterkst in Trinidad vanwege terroristische activiteiten. Deze bevindingen laten zien dat de uitdagingen in het religieuze landschap groter zijn voor Guyana en Trinidad dan voor Suriname.

Kernbegrippen: Suriname, Guyana, Trinidad, interreligieuze relaties, overheidsbeleid

Inleiding

De Caraïbische regio kent vanaf de 20^{ste} eeuw, in vergelijking tot andere delen van de wereld, weinig gewelddadige conflicten tussen christenen, hindoes en moslims¹. Sommigen beschrijven deze regio zelfs als “zone of peace” (Barriteau, 2006: 12) met de kanttekening dat deze relatieve vrede niet door iedereen gezien wordt. Daarom zou in

¹ Zie bijvoorbeeld de lijst van Reyckler (1997).

de wetenschappelijke discussies meer aandacht geschonken moeten worden aan de aard van de onderlinge verhoudingen van religieuze groeperingen en de rol van de overheid daarbij in dit gebied.

In Suriname, Guyana en Trinidad vormen christenen, hindoes en moslims tezamen de meerderheid van de bevolking (Tabel 1). Elk van deze landen heeft een religieus mozaiek dat een goede casus biedt voor het analyseren van de interreligieuze relaties en de rol van de overheid daarin.

Tabel 1 Populatie naar religie Suriname (Sur), Guyana (Guy) en Trinidad (Trin) 2002-2012

Religie	Land	Sur	Guy	Trin	Sur	Guy	Trin
	jaar	2004	2002	2000	2012	2012	2011
Christendom		49.0%	56.3%	63.9%	48.4%	62.6%	53.4%
Hindoeïsme		23.0%	28.4%	25.6%	22.3%	24.8%	18.2%
Islam		16.0%	7.2%	6.6%	13.9%	6.8%	5.0%
Geen/Eigen		4.0%	4.3%	2.2%	7.5%	3.1%	2.2%
Anders/onbekend		8.0%	3.9%	1.8%	8.0%	2.7%	21.3%
Totaal		100.0%	100.1%	100.1%	100.0%	100%	100.1%
Totaal abs		492000	751224	1114772	541638	746955	1322547

Bronnen: Algemeen Bureau voor de Statistiek, 2005, 2013; Bureau of Statistics Guyana, 2016; *Census of the colony of British Guiana 1946, Part D*, 1946; Guyana Bureau of Statistics, 2007; Jap-A-Joe, Sjak Shie & Vernooij, 2001; Vernooij, 2012; National Census Report Trinidad and Tobago, 2000; Trinidad and Tobago Population and Housing Census Demographic Report, 2011.

Alhoewel internationaal het recht op religieuze vrijheid wordt erkend, is dat in de praktijk niet overal het geval. De ervaringen van naties met een religieuze diversiteit verschillen. Een overzicht van deze ervaringen vinden we in de *Government Restrictions* en de *Social Hostility Index* van het Pew Research Center (2016). De eerste rubriek geeft het aantal beperkingen dat overheden aan religieuze groepen oplegt weer, de tweede de mate waarin incidenten van sociale hostiliteit tussen de verschillende groepen officieel zijn gemeld. Er blijkt internationaal een toename te zijn van het aantal overheidsrestricties voor religies en ook van de sociale hostiliteit tussen 2007 en 2017. In deze periode is er een kwantitatieve toename van het aantal landen met een ‘hoge’ tot ‘heel hoge’ mate van overheidsrestricties voor religieuze groepen: van 40 naar 52 landen. Ook is er een toename van het aantal landen waarin personen de hoogste mate van sociale hostiliteit op basis van religie hebben ervaren: van 39 naar 56.

Een stijgende trend in overheidsrestricties en sociale hostiliteit op het gebied van religie is ook te zien in Zuid-Amerika, maar gemiddeld veel minder dan in andere delen van de wereld. Dit bevestigt dat de Caribische regio, waartoe ook een aantal Zuid-Amerikaanse landen behoort, tot nu toe een “zone of peace” is (Barriteau, 2006: 12). De vraag of er onderlinge verschillen zijn tussen Suriname, Guyana en Trinidad is de aanleiding om vanuit een comparatief perspectief de relaties tussen overheid en religie, en de interreligieuze relaties te bestuderen.

Theoretische en methodologische achtergrond

Het recht op religieuze vrijheid is vanaf de 20^{ste} eeuw internationaal erkend; het staat in het Mensenrechtenverdrag (*The Universal Declaration of Human Rights*, 1948). Overheden moeten voor de naleving van dit recht zorgen, maar de praktijk verschilt per land. De relaties tussen overheid en religies zijn niet identiek voor alle samenlevingen. Yang (2010) maakt onderscheid tussen pluralisme, oligopolie, monopolie en *total ban*. Het eerste begrip verwijst naar een overheidsbeleid dat gelijke erkenning van alle religies nastreeft; in een oligopolie geldt dat voor een paar religies, in een monopolie voor één en bij een *total ban* voor geen enkele. Yang telde 40 landen met een pluralisme-beleid, 56 landen met een oligopolie, 43 landen met een monopolie, en 2 landen met een *total ban*.

Relatie overheid en religie

De toepassing van het recht op religieuze vrijheid is complex en contextgebonden (Grüll & Wilson, 2018). De complexiteit zit er onder andere in dat de percepties over de naleving van het recht op religieuze vrijheid kunnen verschillen tussen individuen en groepen. Ook kan dit recht in de praktijk haaks staan op de beleving van andere mensenrechten. Het spanningsveld tussen de religieuze vrijheid en andere rechten kunnen overheden ertoe dwingen om de ruimte voor religieuze praktijken te beperken. Maar overheidsrestricties voor religieuze groepen kunnen ook ontstaan vanwege historische redenen. In vele Caraïbische landen hebben koloniale overheden het christendom bevoorrecht boven de religies van de totslaafgemaakten en contractarbeiders (Lampe, 2001). Dit heeft consequenties gehad voor de wijze waarop de relatie tussen religie en overheid is ontwikkeld na het kolonialisme (ibid.). Ondanks het recht op religieuze vrijheid kampten religieuze minderheden met een gebrek aan wettelijke erkenning. Een voorbeeld hiervan is de Winti religie in Suriname (Adhin, 1974).

Bij overheidsrestricties op religieuze vrijheden staat de relatie tussen overheid en religie centraal. Deze relatie kan historisch beïnvloed zijn zoals hierboven geschetst, maar kan ook veranderen door religieus-demografische en -politieke invloeden. Dit gebeurt bijvoorbeeld wanneer grote religieuze populaties een politieke partij steunen die regeermacht verwerft (Algoe, 2009: 2017).

Interreligieuze relaties

Restricties op religieuze vrijheden kunnen lastige gevolgen hebben waaronder het flink verstoren van interreligieuze relaties. Studies tonen aan dat restricties op religieuze vrijheid en sociale conflicten sterk met elkaar verweven zijn (Finke & Martin, 2018). Deze restricties kunnen namelijk leiden tot sociale, politieke en economische condities die religieuze discriminatie bevorderen (Finke, 2013). Er kan overheidsfavoritisme optreden wanneer bepaalde religieuze groepen meer privileges krijgen dan anderen (ibid.), zoals financiële hulp en vergunningen voor gebruik van openbaar vastgoed (Tebbe, 2008). Favoritisme van de ene religieuze groep boven de andere of het beperken van religieuze vrijheid neemt de ruimte weg voor gelijkwaardigheid van religieuze groepen (Finke & Martin, 2018). Religieuze restricties hebben bijgedragen aan oorlogen met een religieuze dimensie in de 20^{ste} eeuw (Rechhler, 1997).

In de context van de relatie tussen overheidsrestricties voor religieuze groepen en sociale conflicten worden Suriname, Guyana en Trinidad en Tobago vergeleken met elkaar. Deze drie landen zijn gekozen vanwege hun religieuze demografie en historische overeenkomsten, die theoretisch van invloed kunnen zijn op religieuze restricties en interreligieuze relaties. Christenen, hindoes en moslims vormen de meerderheid en de drie landen hebben een koloniaal verleden met een bevoorrechte positie van het christendom, die na de onafhankelijkheid geleidelijk aan is veranderd.

72 Voor dit onderzoek is gebruik gemaakt van de *Government Restrictions Index* en de *Social Hostility Index* van het Pew Research Center (2016).

De *Government Restrictions Index* (GRI) geldt als basis om de relatie tussen religie en overheid te bestuderen, terwijl de *Social Hostility Index* (SHI) bedoeld is om inzicht te krijgen in de interreligieuze relaties. De eerstgenoemde index is samengesteld op basis van 20 vragen die gaan over overheidsrestricties voor de beoefening van religie op lokaal en provinciaal niveau (Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life, 2009). Deze vragen peilen de mate van (zowel directe, als indirecte) overheidscontrole op religieuze groepen of individuen. Er zijn vragen over het verbod op religieuze bekering, het verbod op verkondigen van het evangelie en prediken, overheidsfavoritisme in financiering voor religies.

De *Social Hostility Index* meet op basis van 13 vragen incidenten van sociale hostiliteit met een remmend effect op religieuze vrijheid. Ook meet deze index de mate van hostiliteit tussen en binnen religieuze groepen. In de bijlagen zijn de vragen van de GRI en de SHI te zien. Data van Suriname, Guyana en Trinidad zijn verzameld over drie jaren: 2007, 2015 en 2016.

Resultaten

Suriname, Guyana en Trinidad hebben een koloniaal verleden van trans-Atlantische contractarbeid en plantage-economie. Suriname werd het langst door Nederland gekoloniseerd, Guyana en Trinidad door Groot-Brittannië. Ze werden respectievelijk onafhankelijk in 1975, 1966 en 1962. In alle drie landen heeft de kolonisator christenen bevoorrecht boven andere religieuze groepen. Niet-christenen, met name hindoes en moslims, konden min of meer hun religie belijden zolang ze de openbare orde niet verstoorden (Ramsoedh, 1995). Er was een religieuze assimilatiepolitiek, maar met opmerkelijke verschillen. In Guyana en Trinidad was er minder ruimte voor hindoes en moslims om religieuze instituties zoals religieuze scholen op te zetten dan in Suriname (Algoe, 2017; 2011). Complexe dekolonisatieprocessen werkten niet per definitie aan een evenredige lotsverbetering van niet-christenen. Alle drie landen kregen te maken met een politieke strijd, waarbij de religie en etniciteit op een dynamische wijze van invloed waren op het overheidsbeleid. In Guyana werden bijvoorbeeld onder invloed van het marxisme religieuze scholen genationaliseerd, terwijl in Suriname en Trinidad een beleid te zien was van toenemende overheidssteun voor deze instituten (Algoe, 2011).

Overheid en religie

Deze paragraaf analyseert de mate van overheidsrestricties op religie in Suriname, Guyana en Trinidad in de jaren 2007, 2015 en 2016 op basis van de *Government Restriction Index* (GRI). Deze index hanteert een score tussen 0 en 10 waarbij een onderscheid gemaakt wordt tussen vier categorieën (Tabel 2).

Tabel 2 Categorisering *Government Restriction Index* (GRI)

Categorie	GRI Score
Heel hoog	6,6 en hoger
Hoog	4,4-6,5
Matig	2,4-4,4
Laag	0-2,3

Tussen 2007 en 2016 behoorden Suriname, Guyana en Trinidad tot de categorie landen met een lage GRI. Dit is overigens de grootste categorie, waarin ook vele andere Caribische landen voorkomen. Maar er zijn wel enkele veranderingen te zien. In alle drie landen is het aantal overheidsrestricties toegenomen, het meest in Guyana, gevolgd door Suriname en Trinidad (Tabel 3).

Tabel 3 GRI Suriname, Guyana en Trinidad 2007-2016

Land	2007	2015	2016
Guyana	0.7	1.3	1.3
Suriname	0.0	0.4	0.9
Trinidad	0.3	1.0	0.8

Een nadere analyse laat zien dat deze scores worden veroorzaakt door overheidsmaatregelen op onder andere geloofsprediking en toegang tot materiële en financiële bronnen van de overheid. Guyana blijkt het enige van de drie landen te zijn waar de overheid *elke* vorm van religieuze bekering probeert te verminderen. Buitenlandse missionarissen mogen activiteiten uitvoeren, maar er zijn overheidsbeperkingen volgens de GRI-scores van 2015 en 2016. Missioneren is wettelijk toegestaan in Guyana (The Arda, 2015), maar buitenlandse missionarissen moeten beschikken over een visum en een arbeidsvergunning van het Ministerie van Staatsburgerschap (*Report on International Religious Freedom – Guyana*, 2016). In 2009 werden 40 mormoonse missionarissen, als gevolg van het niet vernieuwen van hun arbeidsvergunningen, op verzoek van de overheid aangehouden door het Criminele Inspectie Departement (Wilkinson, 2009). Immigratieautoriteiten zouden naar verluidt deze missionarissen onmiddellijk het land uitzetten, maar na overleg met de Amerikaanse ambassade werd de vertrekdatum met 30 dagen opgeschort. Dit incident is volgens verschillende groepen in Guyana politiek geladen. Zo stelt Wilkinson (2009) dat enkele overheidsambtenaren ervan uitgaan dat de mormoonse missionarissen gelieerd zijn aan de oppositiepartij die moeite heeft het overheids-onafhankelijk liefdadigheidswerk van de mormonen. De mormoonse kerk had vóór dit incident 20 jaar lang arbeid in Guyana verricht. Volgens enkele religieuze groepen zijn de visumregels willekeurig toegepast op de mormonen (*Report on International Religious Freedom – Guyana*, 2016). Dit is ook bevestigd tijdens de interviews met onder andere een christelijke voorganger. De informant stelde dat de regerende partij meer ondersteuning biedt aan hindoes en moslims dan aan andere groepen. Nieuwe christelijke missionarissen uit het buitenland zouden het moeilijk krijgen om zich te vestigen in Guyana, omdat er een wettelijke wijziging is ingevoerd waarbij het aantal werkvergunningen voor buitenlandse missionarissen ongewijzigd blijft. Er mogen slechts nieuwe missionarissen komen om de bestaande in Guyana te vervangen. Ook duurt het lang om de vergunningen te verkrijgen: (...) “Ik heb nooit een brief ontvangen die het tegendeel bewees. Het duurt ook lang voordat je een vergunning krijgt. Het is niet nodig. Nu krijg je een vergunning voor drie jaar, dus het is een stuk makkelijker. Maar het is alsof zij de macht hebben” (F, Persoonlijke Communicatie, 26 maart 2014). Dit citaat illustreert overheidsbeperkingen voor religieuze, met name christelijke, groepen. Van religieuze groepen in Guyana wordt verwacht toestemming te vragen bij het dorpsbestuur alvorens missionariswerk te verrichten in inheemse gemeen-

schappen. Maar bij hindoes en moslims is er sprake van overheidsfavoritisme. Zo zouden zij makkelijker zijn voorgedragen als huwelijksambtenaar dan christenen tijdens de toenmalige regering. Dit blijkt uit het statement van een Volle Evangelie-predikant:

Het is veel makkelijker voor hindoes dan voor christenen. Er is discriminatie ... om mensen te laten huwen heb je een vergunning van de overheid nodig. Normaliter moet iemand het voor je aanvragen, een religieuze organisatie. Het is makkelijker deze vergunning te krijgen wanneer je een hindoe bent dan een christen. Je zou één christelijke huwelijksambtenaar en vier hindoe huwelijksambtenaren hebben in een gebied. Mensen weten dat. Het is feit (F, Persoonlijke Communicatie, 24 maart 2014).

In Suriname is de GRI gegroeid tussen 2007 en 2016. Wellicht speelt hierbij de link tussen de regerende politieke partij en enkele christelijke groepen een rol. De president benoemde in 2011 een geestelijke adviseur die werd betaald door de overheid (Algoe, 2017). In Suriname bestaat al jarenlang de wet op religieuze vrijheid, maar ook een subsidiebeleid voor religieuze groepen. Religieuze groepen zijn verplicht zich te registreren bij het Ministerie van Binnenlandse Zaken om in aanmerking te kunnen komen voor financiële ondersteuning. Zij kunnen een aanvraag hiervoor indienen bij de overheid in de vorm van subsidie voor geestelijke leiders of financiële ondersteuning voor een ‘goede doelen’ project (*Report on International Religious Freedom – Suriname*, 2016). De overheid geeft een honorarium aan religieuze huwelijksambtenaren, die verbonden zijn aan een geregistreerde religieuze groep.

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Net als in Guyana worden in Trinidad buitenlandse missionarissen beperkt in hun religieuze missies. Buitenlandse missionarissen moeten formeel verblijfsvergunningen hebben en tot een geregistreerde religieuze groep behoren (*Report on International Religious Freedom – Trinidad and Tobago*, 2016). Verblijfsvergunningen zijn voor drie jaar geldig. Er moet binnen deze periode wel elk jaar een bedrag van 500 Trinidadiaanse dollars betaald worden. De vergunningen mogen pas een jaar na afloop van de vergunning en pas na vertrek van de missionaris verlengd worden. Dit verschilt met Suriname, waar van overheidswege geen beperkingen zijn voor buitenlandse missionarissen.

Interreligieuze relaties

Om de interreligieuze relaties in Suriname, Guyana en Trinidad te vergelijken is de *Social Hostility Index* (SHI) van 2007-2016 gebruikt. Bij deze index, wordt net als bij de GRI, een indeling gehanteerd (Zie tabel 4).

Tabel 4 Categorisering *Social Hostility Index* (SHI)

Categorie	GRI Score
Heel hoog	7,2 en hoger
Hoog	3,6-7,2
Matig	2,4-3,5
Laag	0-2,3

Suriname, Guyana en Trinidad vallen onder de categorie laag. Dit impliceert dat er nauwelijks of geen sprake is van incidenten waarbij vijandigheid tussen religieuze groepen blijkt. Dit geldt vooral voor Suriname en Guyana, waar de score consistent laag is. Maar Trinidad valt op met een relatief hoge score in 2016 (Tabel 5).

Tabel 5 SHI Suriname, Guyana en Trinidad 2007-2016

Land	2007	2015	2016
Guyana	0.0	0.0	0.0
Suriname	0.0	0.0	0.0
Trinidad	0.6	0.2	2.1

De hoge SHI in Trinidad tussen 2007 en 2016 kan worden verklaard door religieus-terroristische activiteiten. Volgens schattingen nemen ruim 89-125 Trinidadianen deel aan de islamitische terreurbeweging IS (McCoy & Knight, 2017). Lokale functionarissen zeggen dat dit geschatte aantal aan de lage kant is, er zouden wel meer dan 400 personen vanaf 2013 Trinidad verlaten hebben om zich bij IS aan te sluiten (Cottee, 2016). Ook zou het land (met een populatie van 104,000 moslims) met het aantal van 125 al behoren tot de toptanden voor IS-rekruten binnen de regio (ibid.).

Trinidad is niet geheel onbekend met incidenten van religieus extremisme. In 1990 deden de oprichter van de Jamaat al Muslimeen (JAM of ‘Gemeenschap van Moslims’), Yasin Abu Bakr, en zijn volgelingen een poging tot het omverwerpen van de overheid (Ellis, 2017). Alhoewel er zich sindsdien geen significante religieus-gewelddadige aanvallen hebben voorgedaan, wordt het geval van 1990 geassocieerd met een potentiële impact van islamitische groepen en bendemisdaad (*Trinidad and Tobago: extremism & counter-extremism*, 2019; Zambelis, 2009). De JAM kent een lange geschiedenis van politiek-militante daden en criminele activiteiten zoals handel in verdovende middelen en wapens, witwaspraktijken, afpersing, ontvoering en corruptie (Zambelis, 2009). Alhoewel de JAM altijd gebaseerd was op strikte islamitische principes, werd het meer als een criminele organisatie dan een jihadistische beweging in Trinidad gezien – één die meer gericht was op het halen van politieke en sociale doeleinden (ibid.). Trinidad wordt vanwege de geografische locatie gezien als een ideale voedingsbodem voor het voeden van terrorisme en georganiseerde misdrijf (Barrett, 2019). Het ligt strategisch

als doorvoerpunt voor regionale en extra-regionale migratie naar Noord-Amerika en Europa (IOM UN Migration, 2016). Dit maakt Trinidad minder weerbaar tegen transnationale georganiseerde misdaadnetwerken en andere nationale beveiligingsbedreigingen als terrorisme (ibid.) Zo schijnt er een link te zijn op het gebied van wapenhandel tussen Trinidad en Venezuela, waarvan er ook gebruik wordt gemaakt door islamitische criminele bendes (Barret, 2019). Guyana, dat grenst aan Venezuela, is in het verleden ook geassocieerd met criminele activiteiten van de JAM. In 2007 deed de JAM een terroristische poging tot het opblazen van een vliegtuig van de John F. Kennedy International Airport in New York. De leden van de JAM die hierbij betrokken waren zijn ingezetenen van Amerika, Guyana en Trinidad (*Trinidad and Tobago: extremism & counter-extremism*, 2019). Hierbij werd er heen en weer gereisd tussen Guyana en Trinidad voor (financiële) ondersteuning van de JAM. Volgens autoriteiten hadden de betrokkenen ‘gewelddadige fundamentalistisch-islamitische geloofsovertuigingen’ die gemotiveerd waren op een haat voor de V.S. en Israël (ibid.).

Trinidad heeft incidenten gekend van religieuze intimidatie. Personen zijn geïntimideerd of lastiggevallen vanwege hun religieuze visie. Een politieagente, Roop, spande in 2018 een rechtszaak aan tegen de Trinidad & Tobago Police Service, TTPS, vanwege discriminatie op basis van religie. De TTPS voerde een beleid uit dat vrouwelijke politieagenten weerhield van het dragen van een *hijab* tijdens diensturen (Stabroek News, 2019). Haar rechtszaak is gebaseerd op een aantal incidenten, waarbij zij geen *hijab* mocht dragen bij het werk. In 2016 mocht Roop niet de Internationale Dag van de Vrouw bijwonen bij het Chaguanas Politie Station, omdat zij in uniform was en een *hijab* droeg. Een hoge officier vond haar ongepast gekleed en een andere hoge officier bedreigde Roop met een tuchtprocedure. Dit terwijl de TTPS wel toestond dat christelijke agenten rozenkransen droegen en hindoe agenten religieuze armbanden.

Barret (2019) stelt dat de sociaaleconomische omstandigheden in Trinidad, zoals hoge werkloosheid, discriminatie en ongelijkheid, een aanzet zijn geweest voor het aantrekken en exploiteren van jonge personen door terroristische organisaties. In 2017 steeg het aantal werklozen door een internationale daling van de olieprijs. Hierdoor was er een verlies van 6.7% van het bruto nationaal product van Trinidad (Prange, 2017). De overheid wordt door sommige inwoners beschuldigd van te veel aandacht voor moskeeën en minder voor de arme gebieden van het land. “Als de overheid haar huiswerk zou doen, zou zij de jongeren in de arme buurten, waar mensen wonen zonder toekomstperspectieven, in het oog houden, want deze arme zielen vinden een warm welkom bij de Islamitische Staat” (ibid., vertaling auteurs). Umar Abdullah, leider van ‘The Islamic Front’ van Trinidad, beschrijft dat voornamelijk sociale en economische factoren de drijfveer voor terrorisme zijn geweest. Volgens hem gaan mensen niet naar de oorlogsvelden wegens religieuze opvattingen, maar omdat ze niet aan werk kunnen komen (ibid.).

Conclusie

De GRI- en SHI- scores van het Pew Research Center tonen aan dat tussen 2007 en 2016 Suriname, Guyana en Trinidad overheidsrestricties hadden voor religieuze groepen. In Guyana waren deze beperkingen groter, wat tot uiting kwam in onder andere visa en werkvergunningen voor buitenlandse religieuze leiders. De sociale hostiliteit is het sterkst genoteerd in Trinidad vanwege religieus-terroristische activiteiten. Er bestaat een link tussen een lokale islamitische groep en de IS. Als we de drie landen vergelijken met elkaar, dan kunnen we voorzichtig concluderen dat de uitdagingen met de religieuze diversiteit groter zijn voor Guyana en Trinidad dan voor Suriname. Het gaat met name om minder obstakels in de relatie tussen overheid en religie. Letten we op de interreligieuze relaties, dan laten de SHI-scores zien dat Guyana en Suriname het vrij goed doen.

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Bijlagen

Government Restrictions Index Questions	Social Hostility Index Questions
GRI.Q.1 Does the constitution, or law that functions in the place of a constitution (basic law), specifically provide for "freedom of religion" or include language used in Article 18 of the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights?	SHI.Q.1 Were there crimes, malicious acts or violence motivated by religious hatred or bias? SHI.Q.1a Did individuals face harassment or intimidation motivated by religious hatred or bias? SHI.Q.1b Was property damaged as a result of religious hatred or bias? SHI.Q.1c Were there detentions or abductions motivated by religious hatred or bias? SHI.Q.1d Were individuals displaced from their homes because of religious hatred or bias? SHI.Q.1e Were there physical assaults motivated by religious hatred or bias? SHI.Q.1f Were there deaths motivated by religious hatred or bias?
GRI.Q.2 Does the constitution or basic law include stipulations that appear to qualify or substantially contradict the concept of "religious freedom"?	SHI.Q.2 Was there mob violence related to religion?
GRI.Q.3 Taken together, how do the constitution/basic law and other national laws and policies affect religious freedom?	SHI.Q.3 Were there acts of sectarian or communal violence between religious groups?
GRI.Q.4 Does any level of government interfere with worship or other religious practices?	SHI.Q.4 Were religion-related terrorist groups active in the country?
GRI.Q.5 Is public preaching by religious groups limited by any level of government?	SHI.Q.5 Was there a religion-related war or armed conflict in the country (including ongoing displacements from previous wars)?
GRI.Q.6 Is proselytizing limited by any level of government?	SHI.Q.6 Did violence result from tensions between religious groups?
GRI.Q.7 Is converting from one religion to another limited by any level of government?	SHI.Q.7 Did organized groups use force or coercion in an attempt to dominate public life with their perspective on religion, including preventing some religious groups from operating in the country?

GRI.Q.8 Is religious literature or broadcasting limited by any level of government?	SHI.Q.8 Did religious groups themselves attempt to prevent other religious groups from being able to operate?
GRI.Q.9 foreign missionaries allowed to operate?	SHI.Q.9 Did individuals or groups use violence or the threat of violence, including so-called honor killings, to try to enforce religious norms?
GRI.Q.10 Is the wearing of religious symbols, such as head coverings for women and facial hair for men, regulated by law or by any level of government?	SHI.Q.10 Were individuals assaulted or displaced from their homes in retaliation for religious activities, including preaching and other forms of religious expression, considered offensive or threatening to the majority faith?
GRI.Q.11 Was there harassment or intimidation of religious groups by any level of government?	SHI.Q.11 Were women harassed for violating religious dress codes?
GRI.Q.12 Did the national government display hostility involving physical violence toward minority or nonapproved religious groups?	SHI.Q.12 Were there incidents of hostility over proselytizing?
GRI.Q.13 Were there instances when the national government did not intervene in cases of discrimination or abuses against religious groups?	SHI.Q.13 Were there incidents of hostility over conversions from one religion to another?

GRI.Q.14 Does the national government have an established organization to regulate or manage religious affairs?

GRI.Q.15 Did the national government denounce one or more religious groups by characterizing them as dangerous “cults” or “sects”?

GRI.Q.16 Does any level of government formally ban any religious group?

GRI.Q.17 Were there instances when the national government attempted to eliminate an entire religious group’s presence in the country?

GRI.Q.18 Does any level of government ask religious groups to register for any reason, including to be eligible for benefits such as tax exemption?

GRI.Q.19 Did any level of government use force toward religious groups that resulted in individuals being killed, physically abused, imprisoned, detained or displaced from their homes, or having their personal or religious properties damaged or destroyed?

GRI.Q.20 Do some religious groups receive government support or favors, such as funding, official recognition or special access?

GRI.Q.20.1 Does the country's constitution or basic law recognize a favored religion or religions?

GRI.Q.20.2 Do all religious groups receive the same level of government access and privileges?

GRI.Q.20.3 Does any level of government provide funds or other resources to religious groups?

GRI.Q.20.3.a Does any level of government provide funds or other resources for religious education programs and/or religious schools?

GRI.Q.20.3.b Does any level of government provide funds or other resources for religious property (e.g., buildings, upkeep, repair or land)?

GRI.Q.20.3.c Does any level of government provide funds or other resources for religious activities other than education or property?

GRI.Q.20.4 Is religious education required in public schools?

GRI.Q.20.5 Does the national government defer in some way to religious authorities, texts or doctrines on legal issues?

**INTERSECTIONS OF
LITERATURE AND TRANS-LINGUALITY
IN THE DUTCH CARIBBEAN AND BEYOND**

LITERAIR ETHOS: SCHRIJVERS MET DE URGENTIE VAN EEN MOREEL KOMPAS¹

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“Ik schrijf omdat ik niet anders kan, omdat er een uitweg moet zijn voor de intensiteit van mijn gevoelens die nauw verbonden zijn met de sociaal-culturele geschiedenis van toen en nu van mijn eiland.” (Joseph Hart op het schutblad van ‘De woencirkel’)

*“E situashonnan fiktisio deskribí ta kasi real, mi tin sigur ku tin hopi yu di tera idéntiko na mi personahenan.” (Rudolf Crispulo, *Piká ‘i mi pueblo, Prólogo*)*

Abstract

Narco-realism can be seen as a sub-genre of social realism that has a long tradition in Caribbean literature. Modern authors such as Diana Lebacs, Erich Zielinski, Joseph Hart and Rudolf Crispulo are well-known examples. They critically analyze the narcotics problem as part of the general socio-economic and political challenges facing the societies of Aruba, Bonaire and Curaçao.

Key words: Dutch-Antillean literature, Aruba, Bonaire, Curaçao, social-realism, narco-realism

Samenvatting

Narco-realisme kan gezien worden als een sub-genre van het sociaalrealisme dat in de Caribische literatuur een lange traditie kent. Moderne auteurs als Diana Lebacs, Erich Zielinski, Joseph Hart en Rudolf Crispulo zijn bekende voorbeelden. Met kritische blik analyseren ze het narcoticaprobleem als onderdeel van algemeen sociaaleconomische en politieke uitdaging in de samenlevingen van Aruba, Bonaire en Curaçao.

Kernbegrippen: Nederlands-Antilliaanse literatuur, Aruba, Bonaire, Curaçao, sociaal-realisme, narco-realisme

¹ Ik heb voor deze bijdrage gebruik gemaakt van fragmenten uit eerder verschenen recensies en overzichten in dagbladen (*Amigoe*, *Antillaans Dagblad*) en tijdschriften (*Ons Erfdeel* en *Kristòf*)

In 1992 publiceerde de Arubaanse dichteres Philomena Wong, *Di ta ... pa .. tabata*, een Papiamentstalig gedicht ‘Sin titulo’ waarin ze het lokale drugsprobleem dat in die tijd een steeds bedreigender vorm aannam op felle toon aankaartte, zoals in dit korte fragment: “cristina ta bira cristo / halucina, / locura momentaneo / ta podera un alma, / domina un curpa”, in 1993 in *Crusando frontera / Crossing borders*, in het Engels vertaald, “cristina hallucinating / becomes christ, / temporary madness / convulsions seize the soul, / possess the body.”²

Ook andere auteurs spraken zich de laatste decennia uit en waarschuwden tegen de plaag van de ‘chollers’ die de straten van het eiland onveilig maakten, maar die tegelijkertijd vooral als slachtoffers werden gezien, slachtoffers van hun verslaving die gevoed werd door niets ontziende lokale dealers en hun internationale criminele contacten. Literaire auteurs voelden zich verantwoordelijk om hun stem te laten horen als aanklacht én als moreel kompas in de strijd tegen dit probleem dat de samenleving ontwrichtte.

Van sociaal-realisme naar narco-realisme

Een aantal moderne romans van Aruba, Bonaire en Curaçao zijn dicht op de huid van de lokale realiteit geschreven met grote kritische aandacht voor lokale aspecten. Auteurs accentueren aanklachten tegen sociaal schrijnende omstandigheden en zoeken een uitweg die hoop biedt voor een betere toekomst van hun eiland. Recente romans van de ABC-(ei)landen moeten daarom gelezen worden als geschreven vanuit een urgent gevoel van verantwoordelijkheid ten opzichte van persoonlijk leven en maatschappelijk gedrag én de idee dat literatuur een middel bij uitstek is om daarin een juiste houding te realiseren. Ze doen een beroep op morele grondbeginselen, op ethos als levenshouding, op persoonlijke en maatschappelijke integriteit.

Identiteit en solidariteit zijn in deze romans problematische dilemma’s van individu en samenleving, waarbij het persoonlijke politiek is en het politieke persoonlijk. Personages raken in politieke intriges verstrikt en er wordt van hen verwacht dat ze een keuze zullen maken, waarbij in de romans goed en kwaad als scherpe tegenstellingen tegenover elkaar worden geplaatst, zoals in de politieke romans van Joseph Hart, *Verkiezingsdans* (2006), *De woencirkel* (2013) en *Kruispunt* (2015). Romanpersonages worden beschreven als sociale mensen met hun kenmerken van saamhorigheid of vervreemding, van insluiting of uitsluiting, genderrelaties met hun machisme of marianisme, seks, incest en liefde, gezin en opvoeding, generatieverschillen en de sociale omgeving van gezin, familie, vrienden, buurt en zelfs de relatie tot het hele eiland met zijn dynamiek van protest of acceptatie, zoals in de romans van Ronny Lobo: *Bouwen op drijfzand* (2013) en *Tirami sù* (2015) en van Bernadette Heiligers: *Schutkleur* (2015). Nooit

² Philomena Wong (Aruba 1941) was werkzaam in het onderwijs en de FAVI (Stichting Blindenzorg Aruba), en bekleedde diverse functies in sociale verenigingen. Ze droeg bij aan diverse tijdschriften en publiceerde de poëziebundels *Mi ta biba den mo pensamento* (1983), *Na caminda pa independencia* (1986), *Di ta ... pa .. tabata* (1992) en *Crusando frontera / Crossing borders* (1993).

worden hoofdpersonen los gezien van hun sociaaleconomische positie, waarbij traditie en moderniteit, kleur en klasse, etniciteit, respect ontvangen en tonen, afkomst en maatschappelijk succes beschreven worden. Het verwerken van historische trauma's uit een ver verleden van slavernij, kolonialisme en racisme, zoals in Peter Dicker: *Curaçao mijn hart* (1998) en Els Langenfeld: *Porto Marie* (2013). Een terugkerend thema is dat van individu en politiek met felle kritiek op corruptie, de grenzen tussen macht en recht, materialisme en idealisme, zoals vooral in de romans van Erich Zielinski, bijvoorbeeld in zijn debuut *De engelenbron* (2004). Opvallend is het ook dat medische missers van arrogante artsen aan de orde komen, zoals in Henriette de Mezquita: *De lichtkamer* (2015) óf bij Eric de Brabander een protest tegen kwakzalverij in *Hot Brazilian wax en het requiem van Arthur Booi* (2011) of het verband tussen medische wetenschap en ethiek in *Het dilemma van Otto Warburg* (2016). Een belangrijk motief in diverse romans zijn vormen van syncretisme tussen katholiek christendom en allerlei vormen van volksgeloof in de vorm van *bruha* in een menging van missie en magie, zoals bij Myra Römer: *Het geheim van Gracia* (2008) Als er soms Europese thema's aan de orde komen, zoals de Tweede Wereldoorlog, is dat om de aandacht te vragen voor alternatieve aspecten, zoals in Clyde Lo-A-Njoe: *Parelmoerpoeder* (2015) over het grijze gebied tussen collaboratie en verzet óf Jacques Thönissen: *Sarah, de zwarte madonna* (2015) dat specifiek aandacht vraagt voor het lot van minderheidsgroepen zoals de sinti³.

Er komt in deze romans erg veel aan sociaaleconomische en politiek-maatschappelijke problematiek voorbij waarop de auteurs hun kritische blik werpen. De psychologie van de hoofdpersonages wordt daarbij ondergeschikt gemaakt aan de maatschappelijke problematiek.

Maar de auteurs laten de lezers niet achter met de problemen, ondanks de vaak felle kritiek. Ze houden de lezers een scherpe spiegel voor waarin hun visie op hun samenleving weerkaatst wordt, maar ze bieden aan het einde steeds perspectieven voor enige oplossing van de beschreven problematiek en een betere toekomst voor wie de juiste keuze maakt. De kritiek is soms fel maar de positieve boodschap is uiteindelijk de vrijheid van keuze die de hoofdpersonages in hun persoonlijke verantwoordelijkheid moeten en ook kunnen maken.

Te midden van dit sociaalrealisme speelt specifiek de drugsproblematiek in een aantal romans zo'n overheersende rol dat we van een nieuw subgenre als het narco-realisme zouden kunnen spreken, met zijn verwevenheid van onderwereld en bovenwereld, waarbij de arme kansloze jongere vaak de dupe wordt van drugscriminelen.

Romanschrijvers van de ABC-eilanden zagen de grote drugsproblemen op hun eilanden en sloten met hun narco-realisme thematisch aan bij een jonge generatie van Latijns-

³ Deze inleiding is gebaseerd op een deel van een presentatie die ik gaf op de CARAN-conferentie onder de titel 'Kunst die thuisblijft' op de Universiteit van Aruba (22 november 2017). Daarnaast heb ik enkele elementen ontleend aan mijn bijdrage 'Een nieuwe generatie Nederlandstalige schrijvers op de Nederlands-Caribische Benedenwindse eilanden Aruba, Bonaire en Curaçao' (Rutgers, 2017).

Amerikaanse auteurs, zoals Juan David Vásquez met zijn romans *Los informantes* (2004) en *El ruido de las cosas al caer* (2011) in Colombia. In ‘a time [wherein] narco-trafficking trapped a whole generation in a living nightmare’, waardoor zijn romans met hun ‘robuuste realisme’ werden tot ‘the flip side of the magical variation of his compatriot Gabriel García Márquez in diens *Cien años de soledad* (1967) en auteurs als onder meer Alejo Carpentier en Miguel Asturias: “The relationship my country has with the drug trade has shaped my life (...) The consequences reach into every corner of society” (zie interview met Vásquez, door Yaggi, 2010).

I think the reality of the drug wars has really shaped my life. I was born in 1973. This is the year in which the DEA, the Drug Enforcement Agency, was founded. So I really saw this kind of transformation in my country. I was 11 when [drug cartel leader] Pablo Escobar killed the Minister of Justice. When I was 20 in 1993, I was almost killed by a bomb.

I’ve talked about this with other people of my generation and we have agreed that growing up in this very strange country – in which 24,000 people were killed every year; where we learned to live with the risk of a bombing and we made Xs with tape on our windows just in case a bomb went off nearby, so that the shards wouldn’t kill us – all of this shaped us and had a very strong influence on how we developed as citizens. (CBC Radio Posted: Feb 01, 2019 4:53 PM ET | Last Updated: March 13, 2019)

Wat Vásquez zegt over zijn persoonlijke ervaringen en de sociaaleconomische en politieke problemen in Colombia, zagen de auteurs van de ABC-eilanden ook als hún problematiek die leidde tot actie in het nieuwe subgenre van het narco-realisme. De eilanden fungeren door hun ligging als trampoline tussen productie (Colombia) en consumptie (VS en Europa). Deze drugsproblematiek wordt ingebed in een bredere hiervoor beschreven sociaaleconomische en politieke problematiek, waarbij in deze romans drugs enerzijds de veroorzaker zijn van problemen óf waarbij anderzijds drugs de gevolgen zijn van problemen, drugs die vervolgens de problemen weer vergroten en zo tot nieuwe problemen leiden.

Narco-realisme, hoe realistisch zijn de beschrijvingen van de drugsproblematiek in deze romans? Dit leidt wel tot de vraag naar de term narco-realisme. Hier zie ik een parallel met het magisch-realisme en sociaalrealisme. Zoals in het magisch-realisme het magische als realiteit werd voorgesteld, zoals in het sociaalrealisme de beschreven misstanden als realiteit werden beschreven, zo zie ik hier dat de narco-problematiek eveneens als realistisch wordt gezien, als “el reino de la posibilidad de la especulación” (Bant, 2018). Waarbij ik nog wel een voorbehoud zou willen maken vanuit de idee van epische concentratie, waardoor een diversiteit van problemen in deze romans wordt samengevoegd en daardoor verhevigd rond enkele personages: “La literatura como arma en la

lucha entre verdad y posverdad” (Bant, 2018). Maar uiteindelijk blijft de belangrijkste vraag welk appèl op morele grondbeginselen, op ethos als levenshouding, op persoonlijke en maatschappelijke integriteit bij de lezer wordt gedaan. In dit verband zegt Juan Gabriel Vásquez, wijzend op de drugsproblemen in zijn land Colombia, “the book weaves the lives of his fictional characters into actual events, creating a human, personal perspective to the events during those tragic years.” (Adriana La Rotta, *The sound of things falling* by Juan Gabriel Vásquez, *Americas Quarterly*, Fall 2013)

Hierna worden enkele auteurs besproken die de drugsproblematiek in een belangrijk deel van hun romans uitgebreid hebben gethematiseerd, zoals Diana Lebacs, Erich Zielinski, Joseph Hart en Rudolf Crispulo, Jan Brokken en Herman Henneper. De chronologische volgorde, vanaf de jaren negentig van de vorige eeuw, toont aan hoe in de visie van deze auteurs de drugs steeds meer in het leven van alledag bij steeds meer mensen zijn doorgedrongen, hoe de drugscriminaliteit zich heeft verhard en steeds meer een internationaal karakter heeft gekregen, zelfs in zodanige mate dat de drugs zowel persoonlijke levens verwoesten als de samenleving ontwrichten in hun demoraliserende consequenties.

Diana Lebacs: *De langste maand*⁴

Een van de belangrijkste motieven in *De langste maand* (1994) is de drugsproblematiek van het personage Evy, een attente en ogenschijnlijk oppassende jongeman die na het behalen van zijn diploma echter niet aan de slag komt en op het eiland Curaçao geen werk krijgt. Hij verricht wel allerlei kleine klusjes voor het hoofdpersoonage van de roman, Bir, Ambrosia Petronilia Biriña Faneyte, bekend als ‘Bir van op de heuvel’, voor wie hij steun en toeverlaat is, maar hij rolt beetje bij beetje in de wereld van de drugs-maffia: “trouwe Evy die, zeg maar vanwege maatschappelijke omstandigheden, zich zelf kwijt was” (p. 24).

Verslaving begint langzaam. De narco-realiteit laat zien hoe jonge mensen aan verleidingen worden blootgesteld waar ze niet tegen bestand zijn. Door thuisomstandigheden en slechte schoolresultaten of werkloosheid verkeren ze in een positie waarin ze vatbaar zijn voor negatieve invloeden. Na gezin en school speelt de straat en de armoedige en kansarme omgeving waarin het jonge kind opgroeit vaak een belangrijke rol van achtereenvolgens een keertje proberen van een jointje, vervolgens geregeld gebruik, wat

⁴ Diana Lebacs (Curaçao, 1947) schreef jeugdboeken in het Nederlands en Papiaments. Ze debuteerde met het jeugdboek *Sherry: het begin van een begin* (1971). Vervolgens verschenen onder meer vier Nancho-boeken, *Suikerriet Rosy* (1983), *Het witte licht* (1986), *Lichten boven Klein Bonaire* (1990), *Caimins geheim* (2001), *Waar is Olivier* (2009), *Ubuntu* (2010) en *Duizend leugens bruidstaart* (2015). In *De langste maand* heeft Lebacs een aantal van haar dominante thema's: het eiland en zijn bevolking, traditie en vernieuwing bij elkaar gebracht. Met het in dit ‘debuut voor volwassenen’ besproken communicatieprobleem bouwt ze voort op de kernthema's in haar jeugdboeken.

leidt tot een onherroepelijke verslaving. Toen Evy jong was, mocht hij thuis al sigaretten roken en op verjaardagspartijen van de familie vonden de volwassenen het grappig om de jongen een slokje bier, wijn of likeur te laten drinken. Dat weigerde hij als klein kind niet en hij vond het zelfs wel lekker. Zo kwam het van sigaretten roken met vrienden tot marihuana en raakte hij gaandeweg verslaafd.

We krijgen langzaam door middel van summiere aanwijzingen een beeld hoe het Evy vergaat. In die verwijzingen is sprake van een climax. Bir heeft wel contact met de jongen, maar weet toch weinig van hem: “Wat wist ze eigenlijk van die jongen? Wie was zijn familie, hoe gingen die met elkaar om? (...) Inderdaad (...) had ze altijd gevonden dat er een waas van eenzaamheid en melancholie over hem lag. (...) En nu had hij ook al geen werk” (p. 64).

Werkloosheid leidt onafwendbaar tot problemen, ook in zijn contact met de omgeving. Hij weet dat hij zichzelf moet zien te redden. Evy zegt over zichzelf: “Maar de eindjes aan elkaar kopen is niets nieuws voor mij. Dat doe ik al sinds ik van school ben” (p. 88). Anderen hebben een negatief beeld van de jongen: “Evy is keihard (...) Hij is keihard. Hij kan over lijken gaan”, oordeelt Fooi, een vriendin van Bir over de jongen. “Ik heb Evy voor mij zien staan en om geld zien vragen. Wanneer hij geld nodig heeft, kan hij vreselijk agressief worden.” (p. 153)

We zien hoe Evy op straat foute contacten oploopt. Als een Zuid-Amerikaanse ‘zakeman’ opslagruimte zoekt, vindt hij die, op aanwijzen van Evy, in een grote schuur die op het erf van Bir toch maar leeg staat. Onschuldige maar toch ook wel ietwat onnozele mensen raken, zonder het zelf in de gaten te hebben, verzeild binnen de invloedssfeer van de drugscriminaliteit. In dit verhaal zelfs in een carnavalsstoet, waarin de criminelen een enorme cocaïnesmokkel gepland hebben. Bir verhuurt haar schuur aan een drugsbende: “Señor Velásquez zat verlegen om bergruimte. De mangasina verderop in de kunuku leek hem wel geschikt. (...). Hij stond erop dat hij voor de huur zou betalen” (p. 111). “Ik wist toevallig dat die meneer op zoek was naar een opslagruimte (...), ik ken zoveel van die lui” zegt Evy (p. 72).

Als het grote jaarlijkse carnavalsfeest wordt voorbereid, is Bir de spil van de buurt die een grote praalwagen voorbereidt. De Zuid-Amerikaan trommelt zijn kompanen op en samen helpen ze de buurt om de wagen te versieren. Evy helpt de Zuid-Amerikanen, waarmee hij goed kan verdienen: “De Zuid-Amerikanen betalen goed. Kan hij mooi wat geld maken in deze tijd, toch? *Lora nos tin ku lora*. We moeten onszelf bedruipen” (p. 154).

De Zuid-Amerikanen waren zo behulpzaam bij het optuigen van de praalwagen omdat ze daarin drugs verstopten, zevenhonderdvijftig kilo cocaïne. Maar ze worden ontmaskerd als in een spannend jongensboek. Het loopt dus goed af in het verhaal.

Als Evy in aanraking komt met werkelijke drugscriminelen gaat het van kwaad tot erger. Geldnood en vervolgens hang naar luxe zijn de belangrijkste motieven. Stapje voor

stapje wordt dit in het verhaal aannemelijk gemaakt. In speciale, cursief gedrukte hoofdstukken, lezen we hoe Evy stapsgewijs afglijdt tot choller, die steeds meer slachtoffer wordt als hij aan drugs verslaafd raakt. Vijf intermezzo's vormen het ik-verhaal waarin Evy zich in een zelfanalyse, in opeenvolgende stadia van verslaving, karakteriseert als een jongeman van bijdehandje tot paria, van bereidwillige boodschapper tot mula (drugskoerier), als buitengeslotene en verstotene uit de samenleving, levende in angst-dromen waarin hij zijn 'draken' moet bevechten, tot zijn 'genezing' in het laatste intermezzo: "In die draak heb ik dan alles geprojecteerd wat ik niet van mezelf kan accepteren. Door hem te verslaan behaal ik een morele overwinning op mezelf." (p. 170)

In *De langste maand* is de verslaafde een slachtoffer van omstandigheden: geen werk, afwezige ouders en het ontbreken van vaste leiding in het jonge leven. Maar we zien ook dat er voor een slachtoffer wel degelijk redding is als hij de juiste hulp krijgt, in Evy's geval van zijn wijze padrino en in een afkickkliniek. Hij komt dus weer op het juiste pad terecht en wil zelfs bij de Jeugdcentrale jongerenwerk gaan doen.

Een tweede verhaallijn – en een vast motief – is die van de harde buitenlandse drugs-crimineel in de persoon van de Zuid-Amerikaanse drugsbende onder leiding van de Braziliaan Gregorio Velásquez die zowel Bir misleidt als zij hem haar schuur verhuurt – en zo impliciet en ongewild medeplichtige wordt – en de zwakke Evy die niet opgewassen is tegen de verleiding van geld. Hij steelt zelfs van Bir.

De langste maand is een vroeg voorbeeld van het narco-realisme op de ABC-eilanden in het begin van de jaren tachtig van de vorige eeuw. De roman ademt de sfeer van een probleem dat nog incidenteel en beheersbaar is, waarbij de lokale verslaafde nog als slachtoffer van omstandigheden wordt gezien. De echte drugscriminelen zijn buitenlanders, geen mensen van het eiland. De drugscriminaliteit is nog vrij onschuldig in die zin dat er geen geweld gebruikt wordt en de verslaving niet definitief en ongeneeslijk is. Andere en latere auteurs schetsen een veel harder beeld.

Erich Zielinski: *De engelenbron*⁵

Na Diana Lebacs, *De langste maand* (1994) is de beschrijving van de drugswereld en de drugsproblematiek in Erich Zielinski, *De engelenbron* (2004) – dus een klein decennium later – een wereld van verschil en vooral van verharding. Is er in *De langste maand* nog sprake van een werkloze enigszins labiele jongeman die in de drugswereld verzeild raakt en voor wie er uiteindelijk een oplossing blijkt te zijn, *De engelenbron* beschrijft een volwassen, corrupte ex-politieman op leeftijd die zich de drugswereld in rommelt en een gewetenloze jonge drugsdealer die voor niets terugdeinst, zelfs niet voor de dood van een onnozele jonge 'bolita'-koerierster. Zijn in *De langste maand* de echte boeven

⁵ Erich Zielinski (Bonaire 1942 – Curaçao 2012) was zoon van een Duitse vader en een Curaçaose moeder en groeide op in Otrobanda. Hij volgde een opleiding voor onderwijzer en studeerde rechten, was oprichter en redacteur van het tijdschrift Vitó en hoofdredacteur van het dagblad Beurs- en Nieuwsberichten. Erich Zielinski publiceerde de romans *De Engelenbron* (2004), *De prijs van de zee* (2008) en *Scott Zuyderling* (2009).

nog afkomstig uit Zuid-Amerika, in *De engelenbron* zijn er onder de criminelen ook Curaçaoënaars. De drugsproblematiek heeft zich verdiept van incidenteel naar systematisch, via een ingewikkelde organisatie die vanuit Colombia wordt aangestuurd en beheerst, die bovendien geïnfiltreerd is in allerlei lagen van de bevolking. Een positieve ‘oplossing’ aan het einde van het verhaal in *De langste maand* is vervangen door een onafwendbaar doorgaan van de drugscriminaliteit. De overlevenden hebben inmiddels te veel boter op hun hoofd om te kunnen stoppen. Voor wie eenmaal in het drugscircuit terecht komt, is er geen veilige uitweg meer.

Was het drugsthema in *De langste maand* een belangrijk motief tussen andere, in *De engelenbron* is het een van de centrale thema’s dat, hoewel op licht ironische toon verteld, een compleet drugsdrama op het eiland aan het licht brengt. De hoofdpersoon Monchín is een vooraanstaande bijna gepensioneerd politieagent met een zuivere staat van dienst. Maar hij raakt van het juiste pad als hij poedelnaakt in een bordeel in Punda ontdekt wordt met “een erectie die zijn gezond verstand in de weg stond” (p. 36). Hij wordt uit de dienst ontslagen en raakt het juiste pad kwijt door vervalste verblijfsvergunningen tegen hoge vergoedingen te regelen voor illegalen op het eiland: “Monchín had niet alleen een redelijke bijverdienste, maar was ook op sociale wijze actief, vond hij” (p. 28). Hij komt met de drugswereld in aanraking als hij op verzoek van Carlos Fingal, Petchie, zich laat overhalen om op zijn vistochten tegen aanzienlijke vergoedingen drugs op zee op te halen en aan land te brengen.

Petchie, 24 jaar, kolossaal en zwaar, is een van de belangrijke pionnen in de eilandelijke drugswereld die al op jonge leeftijd overal een financieel slaatje uit weet te slaan. Hij verkoopt aanvankelijk kruisbeelden die hij op kerkhoven steelt en vindt een manier om dat soort beelden, volgestopt met drugs, uit Colombia te importeren.

“Handelen in drugs is een kunst, zoals balletdansen in een mijnenveld kunst is. Je moest goed opletten waar je je voeten neerzette en toch geen enkele noot missen van de muziek. Eén verkeerd uitgevoerde pirouette en je had met de Colombianen te maken. Een onvoorzichtige pas de deux en de lokale concurrent zorgde ervoor dat er op je geschoten werd. En o wee als je je voet verkeerd neerzette, dan werd je door het Openbaar Ministerie opgeblazen.” (p. 70)

Naarmate het verhaal vordert lezen we dat het eiland meer en meer van drugs vergeven is. Er zit een duidelijke climax in het verhaal. Op Ser’i Domi is straathandel: “Overal in de buurt was marihuana en cocaïne verkrijgbaar” (p. 61). Er zijn drugsverslaafden bij de markt, men vraagt naar medicinale marihuana en er zijn tal van kleine dealers zoals een Haïtiaan. Drugs zijn overal, ook waar je ze niet zou verwachten, zoals bij de verpleegster Marta Maraño in het hospitaal. Iedereen wordt verleid. De drugshandel is een moeras waarin het eiland wegzinkt. Elke wijk is verdeeld in sectoren waarin diverse drugsbazen de baas zijn. Daarom besluit Petchie over te gaan op het smokkelen van drugsbolletjes – bolita’s – met de KLM naar Nederland.

Daarmee komt het verhaal in een volgende versnelling terecht. De Dominicaanse prostituee Aura heeft een mooie dochter, Linda Rosa, die samen met Petchie besluit om ook koerierster te worden: “Er gingen dagelijks duizenden bolita’s door de lucht naar Amsterdam, uit alle delen van de wereld” (p. 145). Aanvankelijk lijkt ze de onschuld zelve, maar dat wordt tegen het eind ontmaskerd. Hoe ver de drugsriminaliteit in de samenleving is doorgedrongen blijkt bij de voorbereiding van de drugsvlucht, waarbij een oud-politie-agent, Maurice Groenling, die als security-guard is gaan werken, zonder scrupules in die security-functie in de criminaliteit is verzeild geraakt. Hij leert Monchín hoe de drugsmokkel op Hato en Schiphol in zijn werk gaat:

“Je hebt twee jongetjes uit Nederland, blond, geschoren, studententypes, en zo’n sloeber met een plat Rotterdams of Amsterdams accent. Die loopt tegen de lamp zodat de anderen erdoorheen kunnen. Dan is er nog een Curaçaoënaar, volgens mij een jongen uit Buena Vista. Da’s een routinier. Die liep opgewekt naar binnen, blij dat hij op reis kan vanavond. (...) Vanmorgen waren er hier twee Zwitsers en twee Spanjaarden. Die moeten vanavond allemaal mee. En da’s alleen de lading van Petchie” (pp. 169-170). Militairen van de Koninklijke Marine zwaaien vandaag af: “zes man vertrekken vandaag. Twee mula’s [koeriers].” (p. 176)

Maar het loopt fout af en Linda Rosa sterft op Hato als een bolletje openbreekt, waarna Petchie vlucht. Rechercheurs doen onderzoek naar hem: “Wij hebben zes koeriers opgepakt. Wij verwachten dat ze zullen praten. Ook de Colombianen zijn op zoek naar Petchie. Hij weet te veel en hij is ze bovendien geld schuldig. Wij bieden Petchie bescherming aan. Wij sluiten hem op waar Colombianen niet bij hem kunnen. (...). Het is onderdeel van een groter onderzoek” (p. 194). Maar ook voor Petchie loopt het slecht af. Als hij bij Monchín op zijn vlucht hulp zoekt, wordt hij door de moeder van Linda Rosa doodgeschoten en bij de engelenbron in een put geworpen.

Waar *De langste maand* een positief einde kreeg is het slot van *De engelenbron* wrang en deprimerend. Ook Monchín blijkt door en door corrupt geworden: “Het was natuurlijk wel jammer dat hij het extra inkomen kwijt was” (p. 199). Hij heeft zich ingelaten met de drugs wereld en er is geen ontkomen meer aan voor hem. De geheimzinnige achtergrondfiguur, de Colombiaan Oso Blanco, die alle touwtjes in handen heeft, weet te veel van Monchin en er zit voor hem niets anders op dan zaterdag weer te gaan vissen ...

In *De engelenbron* relateert de stijl aan de oppervlakte van het verhaal de ernst van de drugsproblematiek nog enigszins al is op een daaronder liggend niveau de ernst onverbiddelijk. In de later verschenen romans van Joseph Hart is er geen sprake meer van luchtigheid, omdat daarin de problemen steeds nijpender en vooral ook gewelddadiger worden vanwege de politieke dimensie die eraan toegevoegd wordt.

Joseph (Jopi) Hart: *Verkiezingsdans*⁶

Joseph Hart, *Verkiezingsdans* (2013), een vertaling door de auteur zélf van zijn Engeltalige *Election dance* (2006), opent met de dood van de jonge drugskoerier Shurendy Clotilda op het Curaçaose vliegveld, omdat het KLM-toestel uren vertraging heeft: “Een jonge bolita-smokkelaar is gisteren op de luchthaven omgekomen toen een van de 30 bolita’s openbrak. (...) Dit is de zevende dode dit jaar ten gevolge van gebroken bolita’s. De meesten van de slachtoffers zijn arm, jong en alleenstaand” (p. 9). De droom van de jongen om rijk te worden en zijn moeder ‘in een echt stenen huis’ te laten wonen en ‘een auto voor haar te kopen’ is zijn ondergang geworden. Jongeren die weinig kansen hebben worden de misdaad in gerommeld door criminelen als ‘Big Daddy en zijn boevenbende’ (p. 18) en de alleenstaande moeder heeft onvoldoende vat op haar zoon om dat te voorkomen.

De roman *Verkiezingsdans* is het verhaal van een ‘titanenstrijd’ tussen de door en door corrupte politicus Manny Contreras en de jonge idealist Matthew Bartels, een strijd van schurk tegen held, als van David tegen Goliath, tegen de achtergrond van een eilandelijke verkiezingscampagne, met als inzet autoritaire traditie óf democratische vernieuwing. Dat betekent ook en vooral een strijd tegen de macht van de drugs, waardoor het eiland wordt geterroriseerd door lokale leiders en instanties die zich overgeleverd hebben aan de drugsmaffia uit Colombia die op de achtergrond de touwtjes strak in de hand heeft. In laatste instanties zijn drugs de allesbeheersende factor, lokaal en internationaal, met hun miljoenen omzet en witwaspraktijken.

Verkiezingsdans beschrijft een drugscircuit van onderlinge oorlogen en territoria, afrekeningen en executies van iedereen die in de weg loopt, met een ijzeren hiërarchie van kleine sloebbers die als meelopers gemakkelijk te beïnvloeden zijn, lokale personen met maatschappelijke invloed, handlangers die de vuile werkjes opknappen, de absolute leider op de onzichtbare achtergrond – De Stem –, de gezant uit het buitenland en de macht zelf van het geheime in het buitenland gevestigde kartel dat alle touwtjes strak in handen heeft. Macht, geweld en seks gaan hand in hand, zelfs met minderjarigen.

Het verhaal kent perspectiefwisselingen van de drugsbendes met hun niets ontziende wreedheid, naar de slachtoffers en naar de lokale politie in samenwerking met de DEA van de Verenigde Staten, de Nederlandse RST en de PTJ in Venezuela. Soms zijn er kleine succesjes als iemand gepakt wordt en doorslaat, maar soms zijn er ook wel aanzienlijke resultaten door het plaatsen van af luisterapparatuur met de arrestatie van centrale leidende figuren als gevolg.

⁶ Joseph (Jopi) Hart (Bonaire) was docent Engels in het middelbaar onderwijs en aan de Universiteit van de Nederlandse Antillen. Hij publiceerde de dichtbundel *Entrega* (2000), en de romans *Election dance* (2006), *Verkiezingsdans* (2013) en *The yard* (2010), *De wooncirkel* (2017). Zijn roman *Kruispunt* dateert van 2015.

Drugscriminaliteit infiltreert de hele eilandelijke gemeenschap, van laag naar hoog, van individuen en functionarissen bij de politie, immigratie en douane en politieke bestuurders. Curaçao is een centrum van de georganiseerde misdaad aan het worden. Wat eerst beperkt was ‘tot de rijkeluisclubs en enkele dakloze verslaafden’ (p. 138) die drugs gebruikten, is nu een georganiseerde misdaadbende geworden.

De Colombianen zijn bezig hun activiteiten naar het buitenland te verplaatsen en de toename van misdaad gerelateerde executies en drugs-smokkel via de zogenoemde *bolita expres* en containervervoer zijn slechts het topje van de ijsberg. Er zijn al heel wat drugsbaronnen, of hun vertegenwoordigers, die hier in kanjers van huizen wonen. Ze zijn volledig legitiem en hebben een zeer laag profiel in de gemeenschap. (p. 137)

De roman bevat tal van drugsgerelateerde activiteiten, zoals droppings en politieacties die tot vuurgevechten leiden waarbij een agent gedood wordt. Er vallen gewonden bij hardhandige arrestaties door de politie, er is sprake van drugstransporten naar Europa en de VS via Willemstad als trampoline. Van alles komt aan bod: politieke inmenging door financiering van de onafhankelijkheidspartijen op het eiland; het kunstmatig ‘afknippen’ van de lokale drugsvoorraden waardoor straatjunks in paniek raken, wat leidt tot drugsoorlogen op straat; moord en doodslag onderling tussen de verschillende drugsgangs in de barrio’s in een strijd om het monopolie. “Er was een nieuw tijdperk aangebroken in de drugshandel op Curaçao.” (p. 234)

De steeds sterker wordende greep van de politie op de drugshandel in *Verkiezingsdans* leidt tot paniekreacties bij de gangs, die steeds driester worden, bijvoorbeeld door aanslagen op Matthew Bartels die ze als hun grootste en invloedrijkste vijand zien, maar die mislukt omdat de politie een valstrik heeft uitgezet: “In één avond verloor Manny zijn hele misdadige organisatie en hij realiseerde zich dat al zijn zorgvuldig uitgezochte informanten nu verdacht waren.” (p. 371)

De grond wordt heet onder de voeten en Manny Contreras besluit te vluchten, maar wordt gearresteerd: “U wordt beschuldigd van samenzwering voor moord, lokale en internationale verhandeling van drugs, financiering van verdovende middelen, het witwassen van geld, fraude, illegaal wapenbezit en het leiden van een criminele organisatie” (pp. 461-462). Alle mensen die in de organisatie van Manny zitten, waaronder immigratie- en douanebeambten, worden aangehouden.

Het einde van de roman betekent de deconfiture van de schurk als ook zijn zoon in de Dominicaanse Republiek gedood wordt, en zijn dochter, die hem altijd onvoorwaardelijk steunde, de echte waarheid van haar vader ontdekt. Een beroerte en gedeeltelijke verlamming zijn de metaforen van zijn machteloosheid. Het hele internationale netwerk lijkt opgerold en de Colombianen maken een vreselijk einde aan de nu machteloze drugscrimineel door hem op zijn ziekbed in het hospitaal te martelen en te vermoorden.

Maar dan komt aan het slot van het verhaal op de allerlaatste pagina een geheimzinnige figuur een ‘klein pakje’ brengen aan een even geheimzinnige andere persoon: “Onze partij heeft een groeiende invloed in de arme wijken. Het moet niet al te moeilijk zijn de jonge werklozen te organiseren. Met een beetje discipline kunnen we ze in het gareel krijgen” (p. 533). Zolang er armoede in achterstandswijken heerst, zolang er een vraag is, zal de drugshandel blijven bestaan is de navrante conclusie. Evenals in Erich Zielinski, *De engelenbron* zal de handel op georganiseerde wijze doorgaan, zij het met andere personen, maar waarschijnlijk niet minder crimineel, in de ijzeren greep die zij op hun beurt op het eiland zullen hebben.

Joseph Hart: *Kruispunt*

In het eerste hoofdstuk van *Kruispunt* (2015), de derde roman van Joseph Hart, valt de achtjarige Frensel de man aan die zijn vijftienjarige lievelingszus Nicsherda ‘verkracht’ met toestemming van moeder Fina Jamanica, die zichzelf al jaren lang prostitueert om aan drugs te komen: “Stom jong! Had bijna haar inkomsten naar de bliksem geholpen. Jarro is een ruwe klootzak maar hij betaalt tenminste en zorgt ook voor het spul” (pp. 12-13). Dit ‘incident’, dat de thuissituatie en opvoedingsomgeving typeert, is bepalend voor de rest van Frensel’s leven.

De overgrootouders van Frensel, Papa Chamon en Ma Chita, werden nog tijdens de slavernij geboren en hadden zich na de abolitie opgewerkt tot de redelijk welvarende stamouders van de ‘Jamanica-clan’, maar Ma Lina vormde later een buitenbeentje en leidde een ‘los leven’ waar Fina het resultaat van was: “Het was alsof die dochter [Fina] er uitsluitend op uit was zich het leven zo rampzalig mogelijk in te richten” (p. 21). Fina blijkt het zwarte schaap van de familie die nu niet meer dan een krot tot woning heeft en haar eigen vijftienjarige dochter prostitueert. Ze werd op twaalfjarige leeftijd zelf door een ‘besnorde mankepoot’ verkracht en gaat omdat ze geen interesse heeft in school met ‘foute vrienden’ om: “van inbraken waren ze overgegaan op verdovende middelen” waarbij Fina als koerierster werd gebruikt. Ze genoot van de spanning, van het gevaar. Ze snoof de prikkelende geur op van succes en falen, één verkeerde stap en alles kon in elkaar donderen. Later gingen ze zelf het spul importeren en ook naar Nederland smokkelen. Dat waren opwindende tijden geweest. Een keer had ze de reis gemaakt en had ze een hele hoop bolletjes geslikt en ook in haar vagina verstopt. Ze had toen veel geld verdiend (pp. 28-29). Ze raakt zwanger maar ze blijft doorgaan omdat ze dubbel verslaafd raakt: aan drugs én aan geld. Tot de bom barst en de *gang* wordt opgerold waarmee de problemen beginnen: zwanger en geen geld meer.

Zo’n ‘deterministische’ tendens is vaak aanwezig in deze romans over drugsproblematiek. Er zijn negatieve ervaringen op jonge leeftijd die leiden tot een leven waarin personen zich laten verstrikken in het drugscircuit waaraan geen ontsnappen meer mogelijk (b)lijkt.

Frensel wordt op veertienjarige leeftijd van school ‘getrapt’, neven en nichten van de Jamanica-clan kijken op hem neer wegens zijn huidskleur (p. 34) en die ‘aanranding van zijn zelfrespect’ (ver)leidde hem vol wrok, zijn ‘haatkamer’, tegen de samenleving met haar arrogante leraren, corrupte politici en brutale Nederlanders, toen hij zeventien was, naar de ‘straat’ en de drugs in dienst van een dealer: “Een zoon moet voor zijn moeder zorgen. En dat doe ik ook.” (p. 34)

Kruispunt is veel meer dan een drugsroman, omdat er tal van sociaaleconomische en politieke problemen in aangekaart worden. Evenals in *Verkiezingsdans* werkt de auteur ook hier met scherpe tegenstellingen tussen goed en kwaad. Zo worden twee jongens die mannen worden, Frensel en Giovanni, tegenover elkaar geplaatst. Beiden komen uit een problematisch gezin, want ook Giovanni heeft met zijn moeder Viola geen gemakkelijk leven gehad. Beide personages staan op een kruispunt om een keuze te maken en te beslissen wat ze van hun leven gaan maken. Maar waar moeder Fina en zoon Frensel in het negatieve blijven steken, ‘kiezen’ Giovanni en zijn moeder Viola, die ook verkracht is op haar veertiende (door een priester), juist een positieve levenshouding die tot succes leidt. Zo demonstreert het verhaal tegenstellingen slecht / goed – haat / vergeving – confrontatie / harmonie. Beide personages worden door ‘leiders’ tegen wie ze opzien beïnvloed, Giovanni door Pastoor Alfredo als verpersoonlijking en vertegenwoordiger van een ethisch-religieuze richting, Frensel door de geslepen racistische en machtsbeluste politicus Macho Nato (Dionato Sabana).

Moeder Fina ontbeert elke moraliteit als ze aan haar kinderen trots vertelt over haar drugsverleden en haar rol in de *gang*. Drugs worden een familie-business van zoon Frensel, moeder Fina en dochter Valeska die de administratie bijhoudt (p. 64). Een andere dochter is naar Nederland vertrokken waar ze – hoewel drugsvrij – welbewust in de prostitutie gaat, een ‘beroep’ dat ze al vanaf haar veertiende heeft uitgeoefend.

Het lukt Frensel niet blijvende contacten aan te gaan, niet met vrouwen, zoals zijn vriendinnen Chola, Xiomara en Yolande: “Hij moest erkennen dat voor hem de liefde even ongrijpbaar was als het respect dat hij eiste” (p. 103). Frensel vindt als drugsdealer voldoening in de machtspositie die hij daarin bekleedt, maar raakt zijn gevoelens van minderwaardigheid niet kwijt en wordt woedend en agressief als hij te weinig ‘respect’ krijgt. Hij ondergaat in zijn werk een radicaliseringsproces van zijn sociaal-politieke opvattingen, wat zich uit in ongekende wreedheid die hem een gevoel van macht geeft. Zo rekent hij genadeloos af met Jarro, die zijn zus verkrachtte toen ze vijftien was. Zijn moeder Fina prijst hem om die moord op Jarro. Uit veiligheidsoverwegingen verdwijnt Frensel naar Nederland, waar hij al snel in het drugscircuit terecht komt als compagnon van Norwin met ‘straatovervallen, inbraken en drugs’ en erger als hij twee Antillianen genadeloos vermoordt in een drugsoorlog met concurrenten.

Naarmate het verhaal vordert raken de drugs wat op de achtergrond en krijgt de roman een meer politieke lading. Frensel heeft op Curaçao grote bewondering opgevat voor Macho Nato, de racistische politicus die scheldt op de koloniale Nederlanders en de

eilandelijke elite als ‘kakademici’ en ‘makamdemici’. Frensel politiseert en krijgt extremistische opvattingen. Als het daarom tot een breuk met collega-dealer Norwin komt, wordt het voor hem steeds moeilijker zijn drugsrijk in stand te houden. Hij moet noodgedwongen overgaan op straathandel, maar komt daarbij al snel in de problemen. Hij raakt zijn scherpste kwijt, wordt bedrogen en overvallen, moet vluchten voor zijn leven, raakt zijn vaste klantenkring kwijt door zijn ontoeschietelijkheid. Hij besluit terug te gaan naar Curaçao, waar hij zal proberen Macho Nato te steunen in zijn politieke strijd tegen de koloniale Nederlanders: “Hij was een wandelend kruitvat dat op elk moment kon ontploffen” (p. 215). Hij is vervuld van een dodelijke boosheid, die wordt gevoed door nieuwe vernederingen die tot wraakgevoelens leiden met ‘zijn stiletto, een verlengstuk van zijn erotische ego’. Een bijdrage aan het nieuwe Curaçao volgens de ideologie van Macho Nato zal bewijzen dat hij, Frensel, respect verdient.

Op Curaçao dreigen revolutie, staatsgreep en gijzeling van belangrijke personen, een soort ‘tweede 30 mei’ met een gevaarlijke mix van racisme en xenofobische randverschijnselen. Dat leidt tot een hoogtepunt van dreiging en redding, die echter onschadelijk wordt gemaakt. Zowel moeder Fina als zoon Frensel komen dan tot inzicht en inkeer. Het einde van de roman is daarom positief waarbij Frensel een belangrijke rol speelt, maar desondanks of juist daardoor gedood wordt door een politiekogel: “Hij was zich ervan bewust dat hij eindelijk die ene daad gesteld had waar hij zijn hele leven naar gesnakt had” (p. 325). De drugs dealende schlemiel is uiteindelijk een held.

In *Kruispunt* is de drugsproblematiek ingebed in een politieke en sociaaleconomische analyse van het eiland, waarbij de ‘nieuwe politiek’ de rol van de vroegere kolonisator heeft overgenomen. De bordjes zijn verhangen, personen zijn vervangen, maar de oude politiek uit koloniale tijden duurt voort, nu bedreven door de eigen mensen. Zo zijn drugs ook metafoor voor de eilandelijke verloedering die oude gevoelens van uit kolonialisme geërfde minderwaardigheidsgevoelens een voedingsbodem verschaffen voor het onvoorwaardelijk eisen van respect. Drugs geven Frensel een gevoel van vrijheid en macht door ‘de rechterhand [te] zijn van de dood die zijn land kwam bevrijden van al die parasieten’. (p. 269)

Drugs en drugsgebruik zijn oorzaak en aanjager van maatschappelijke problemen, in het ingewikkelde systeem van dealers en verslaafden, van veel geld verdienen en het witwassen daarvan, van lokale drugsoorlogen met internationale consequenties, van drugsbestrijding door de lokale overheid gesteund door internationale anti-drugseenheden.

Drugs en drugsgebruik worden vooral beschreven door aandacht te schenken aan kansarmen en maatschappelijk gedepriveerden die tot drugsgebruik of drugsdealerschap vervallen. We lezen nauwelijks over partydrugs en drugsgebruik bij de ‘elite’ als normaal onderdeel van de gezellige omgang, drugs bij concerten en festivals. De aandacht gaat nagenoeg uitsluitend uit naar de maatschappelijke onderlaag als probleemgroep.

Ook in *Kruispunt* vinden we desondanks een positief einde door het tot inkeer komen van moeder Fina en zoon Frensel.

Rudolf Crispulo: *Piká ‘i mi pueblo*⁷

Het romandebuut van Rudolf Crispulo, *Piká ‘i mi pueblo*, met zijn lange ondertitel *Elogio na hende hustu ku ta sigui kombatí kolebra maske nan haña piká* (2014) opent met de beschrijving van het bijbelverhaal over de strijd tussen David en Goliath in 1 Samuël 17. Het is een metafoor voor de ogenschijnlijk ongelijke dubbele strijd die de sociaal werker Angelo David Batista voert tegen drugsverslaving én zijn huiselijke situatie in zijn mislukte huwelijk met zijn vrouw Sana en zijn dochter Rose. De naam Batista roept reminiscenties op aan Johannes de Doper als voorganger van de Verlosser. De drugsverslaafde choller Chè Chòler biecht zijn leven op aan zijn dode hond Osa, de enige ‘vriend’ die hij nog heeft, voor hij uiteindelijk zelfmoord pleegt. Hij geeft zijn levensbeschrijving vanaf de tijd dat hij nog de Angelo David Batista was, als zeer gewaardeerde professional bij de Servizio di Asunonan Sosial, waar hij onvermoeibaar mensen in nood hulp bood. Angelo is een kwetsbare ‘David’. Als workaholic ging hij zó op in zijn werk dat hij zijn persoonlijke leven en zijn gezin verwaarloosde: “bo por kana yuda henter mundu, ménos bo mes!”

Er zijn in de roman drie met elkaar verweven verhaallijnen die grafisch worden weergegeven. Angelo’s werk bij de Sociale Dienst wordt aangegeven met een kadertje in de vorm van een dossieromslag. Daarnaast is er het privéleven van Angelo dat vanaf het begin gebouwd is op allerlei mogelijkheden van mislukking: een fout huwelijk met zijn eerste ‘cliënte’ wat een breuk met zijn ouders inhoudt; een geadopteerde dochter Rose uit een misdadig gezin waarvan de vader in de gevangenis zit voor drugssmokkel en de moeder door drugsdealers werd doodgeschoten (p. 188). Deze verhaallijn wordt aangegeven met aanhalingstekens. Ten derde zijn er de verwickelingen in de vorm van een flash back rond een jong meisje Sizaira, intieme vriendin van Rose, die aan aids ten onder gaat als ze zwanger raakt door onbeschermd seks als ze nog maar een puber is. Deze verhaallijn wordt met een kruisteken aangeduid. Er zijn drie tijdlagen: 1997 in de vorm van flashbacks, 1999 als het ‘rampjaar’ voor de hoofdpersoon en zijn gezin, en het ‘nu’ van het verhaal in 2005, het moment dat het verhaal verteld – of misschien liever: opgebiecht – wordt.

De roman is doortrokken van de drugsproblematiek, vooral door de verwoestende werking op de verslaafde mens en de algemeenheid ervan. Drugs zijn overal te koop, Angelo neemt voortdurend drugs in beslag van zijn ‘klanten’ en overhandigt die aan de

⁷ Rudolf Crispulo (Curaçao, 1961) volgde een MTS-opleiding en werkte in de bouwwereld, waarna hij in Puerto Rico kunsten en communicatie studeerde. Terug op Curaçao begaf hij zich in de wereld van het theater en produceerde naast een tiental toneelstukken acht ‘foto-novela’ die in een combinatie van beeld en tekst maatschappelijke problemen aan de orde stelden. Hij was bovendien stagemanager in het Sentro Pro Arte en cameraman bij de lokale films als *Almacita di desolato*, *Ava & Gabriel* en *Papa’s song*. In 2007 studeerde hij af als docent met een bachelor Papiamento aan de UNA.

politie of gooit ze tenslotte maar in een drum als de politie ze niet meer wil hebben (p. 62; p. 134) Bolletjesslikkers vind je overal, evenals dealers en hun lokale en internationale drugskoeriers. Overvallen zijn nooit ver weg. Daarnaast komen er nog tal van andere problemen op het eiland voor waarmee de sociaal werker wordt geconfronteerd, zoals onveilige seks met aids tot gevolg, jeugdzwangerschap, incest en huiselijk geweld, alcoholisme, vroegtijdig schoolverlaten, maar vooral ook armoede, werkloosheid en geweld in het algemeen: “E isla tabata bendishoná, maldishoná, òf maldishonadamente bendishona?” Angelo werkt zich een slag in de rondte, met slechts nu en dan resultaat: “Den práktika, Angelo tabata kriminólogo, sociólogo, agogo, mago i tur kos pareu.” Het is een lange lijst die gaandeweg naar een climax wordt gevoerd als deze verhaallijn zich steeds meer verweekt met de persoonlijke positie van Angelo en zijn gezin: “rondoná pa adikto: kliente adikto na problema, gobernante adikto na plaka, fama i poder, i e mes, adikto na trabou ...”.

Angelo gaat aan zijn werklust tenslotte ten onder en raakt overwerkt en gedesillusioneerd zélf zodanig aan drugs verslaafd dat hij eraan ten onder gaat. Zijn naam verandert van Angelo David naar Chè wat ‘bah’ betekent. De roman is het verhaal van zijn leven en een bekentenis, een biecht van drievoudig professioneel en menselijk tekortschieten, ten opzichte van zijn werk, zijn gezin en zichzelf, opgezaald met een niet te verwerken schuld. Door zijn huwelijksproblemen verhuist hij naar Banda Abou waar hij voortdurend last heeft van inbraken, waarvoor hij ten einde raad een ‘oplossing’ vindt door een fles met alcohol te vermengen met een schoonmaakmiddel. Als de vrouwelijke dief, Chuchubi Embra, daarvan drinkt sterft ze. Angelo laat het lichaam verdwijnen, maar blijft nu opgezaald met niet te delgen schuldgevoelens en pleegt zelfmoord. Zo is de cirkel rond, het verhaal eindigt waarmee het begon.

Is het dan allemaal triest? Nee, want het einde biedt toch nog een dubbel perspectief in de persoon van dochter Rose die in Nederland sociaal werk gaat studeren en haar vader ooit zal opvolgen, én Chuchubi Macho de partner in crime van Chuchubi Embra die zich bekeert tot het Christelijk geloof en zelfs als pastoor veel kan gaan betekenen voor zijn parochie. Heiligen worden zondaars en zondaars worden heilig. Dus toch: eind goed al goed. Maar de boodschap van deze roman die de lezer vooral blijft, is dat drugs onmenselijken, de mens onherroepelijk ten onder doen gaan.

Jan Brokken: *De droevige kampioen*⁸

Precies halverwege *De droevige kampioen* van Jan Brokken, is het ‘Dertig mei 1969’ en staat Willemstad in brand. We zijn dan al honderdvijfenzeventig bladzijden en zesendertig hoofdstukken onderweg. De hoofdpersoon Ricardo (Riki) Marchena staat op dat moment aan het begin van zijn roem als tafeltennisser van internationale allure. Over hém en het

⁸ In 2012 publiceerde de Nederlandse auteur Jan Brokken, die een aantal jaren op Curaçao woonde, *De droevige kampioen*.

verhaal van zijn verbazingwekkende wereldrecord als sportman gaat het verhaal. Maar het gaat ook over Curaçao - en een beetje over Aruba.

Het is een verhaal van een kampioen aan de eenzame top naar een choller in de nog eenzamer goot. Riki Marchena, the Parera Kid, wordt “het symbool van een hele generatie: de donkere jongen uit Parera die het dank zij de sport ver wist te schoppen” (p. 167). De meervoudige en alom bejubelde kampioen gaat het ook financieel voor de wind als hij in zaken gaat. Hij raakt echter binnen korte tijd door goklust en drugs aan lager wal en er blijft uiteindelijk niet meer van hem over dan een droevige ex-kampioen die tot armzalige choller verwordt.

Riki is kansarm geboren in een volkswijk, zijn vader pleegt zelfmoord, zijn moeder gaat naar Aruba. Al leidt de sport tot roem, het kwaad zit ingebakken door het marihuanagebruik, aanvankelijk na een enkele maar al snel na elke spannende wedstrijd, en de goklust en de desastreuze gevolgen daarvan. Riki steekt zijn zaak in brand en krijgt twee jaar gevangenisstraf.

Als hij aan de cocaïne raakt, is het choller-bestaan onvermijdelijk. Vies en opgejaagd houdt hij zich enigszins in leven door auto's te wassen voor een paar guldens die net de behoefte aan base kunnen bevredigen. Riki die niet wilde verliezen in de sport wordt wel verliezer in het maatschappelijke leven. Maar toch niet echt: “Eerst had hij de grenzen van zijn lichaam verkend, nu onderzocht hij die van zijn geest” (p. 338). De geschiedenis van Riki leest als een metafoor voor de opgang en ondergang van een eiland: de olierijkdom tijdens en na de Tweede Wereldoorlog, en de verloedering daarna (zie ook Rutgers, 2007).

Herman Hennep: Tres diferente ruta

Met de roman voor young adults *Tres diferente ruta* (2006) heeft Herman Hennep het drugsprobleem naar voren gebracht; het is er hem in zijn verhaal om te doen de jongeren een duidelijke keuzemogelijkheid te bieden.

Drie jongeren, twee jongens en een meisje, die op totaal verschillende wijze door hun ouders verwaarloosd worden, gaan alle drie het verkeerde pad op. Ze hebben maar weinig schoolse opvoeding genoten omdat ze de school alle drie vroegtijdig verlaten. Ze lopen van huis weg en komen op straat in aanraking met minder fraaie vrienden en zaken, die hen op de weg van kwaad naar erger brengen. Jeremy's vader drinkt en slaat zijn vrouw, de ouders van Roy hebben het zo druk met hun carrière en maatschappelijk succes dat ze totaal geen aandacht hebben voor hun opgroeiende zoon. Rita wordt geadopteerd omdat haar moeder niet voor haar kan zorgen. Als het adoptief echtpaar zelf toch kinderen krijgt, betekent dat het einde voor Rita.

Door hulp van een oude vrouw en zijn oma lukt het Jeremy tenslotte uit zijn uitzichtloze leven te treden door naar de SAMBA (Stichting Alcohol Misbruik Bestrijding Aruba) te gaan voor hulp. Roy is onverbeterlijk, maar het meest tragisch blijkt het meisje Rita die als choller en drugsverslaafde ook nog aids oploopt en zich met een overdosis van haar leven en lijden verlost. Dat ze op haar beurt een kind achterlaat zoals haar moeder

haar indertijd afstond, krijgt een positief einde omdat deze moeder nu alsnog haar kleindochter opvangt en opvoedt: “Ta mi deseo pa tanto hoben como adulto, ora lesa e buki aki, haya un tiki mas informacion con pa preveni, cu nan yiu, ora bin den contacto cu droga, no sa kico pa haci.”

Tot slot

Ik heb een beperkte greep gedaan uit een aantal werken die alle het actuele en belangrijke thema van de drugs bespreekbaar willen maken. De auteurs van deze romans positioneren zich in hun creatieve werk als kritisch moreel kompas van hun samenleving, waarbij echter niet alleen felle kritiek geleverd wordt, maar waar aan het einde ook impliciet of expliciet een positieve uitweg voor de opgeworpen dilemma's geboden wordt.

Wat daarbij opvalt is dat geen van deze romanciers de drugsproblematiek bagatelliseert of vergoelijkt. Unaniem wijzen ze op negatieve aspecten waar drugs toe leiden.

Romans zoals deze, die vanuit een sociaal-maatschappelijke betrokkenheid geschreven worden, wordt in literaire kringen nog wel eens verweten niet meer dan een vorm van goedbedoeld 'pamflettisme' te zijn, omdat ze niet zouden voldoen aan de meerduidigheid die literatuur eigen zou moeten zijn. Maar waarom kan eenduidigheid van thematiek en een uitgesproken standpunt van een verteller geen goede literatuur opleveren door de wijze waarop de thematiek stilistisch gepresenteerd wordt? Deze 'geëngageerde' werken vertrekken vanuit een literatuuropvatting die niet alleen voor de mooie literaire vorm wil kiezen maar die de vorm in dienst stelt van een sterk inhoudelijke component. Deze literatuur beschrijft geen vage 'universele' meditatie over het menselijk tekort, de eenzaamheid en de existentiële onkenbaarheid, maar benoemt concreet wat er schort aan de lokale samenleving met al zijn sociaaleconomische tegenstellingen. Deze auteurs gaat het er niet om de lezer in verwarring achter te laten met een veelheid van interpretaties maar om de lezer op de feiten te drukken, feiten waartegen wordt gewaarschuwd en die worden aangeklaagd en waarvoor een heldere oplossing wordt geboden: de ethos trekt aan het langste eind.

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Bijlagen: Additionele informatie over de besproken teksten

1 Philomena Wong: Sin titulo

Sin titulo

den un bar
na bulevar
djaca ta hole plak'i droga
bazuka, base, ... hash,
krishikrash, krishikrash,
krishikrash!
cristina ta bira cristo
halucina,
locura momentaneo
ta podera un alma,
domina un curpa
y ta predica;
olo dj'e maldito yerbe
ta penetra
cantidad di mente
afecta:
yaco
cambio den macaco
ta grawata
fo'i tur buraco
p'e maldishona su mes
robes
c'un sneif di coca,
ta coba, grawata, coba,
herida
carni dj'un mama
desespera;
mientras, djaca ta hocha plak'i droga:
coca, heroine, hash,
krishikrash, krishikrash,
krishikrash!

Philomena Wong,
Di ta ... pa .. tabata
1992

The nameless

in a bar
on the boulevard
rats sense money
reeking of drugs:
base, bazouca, hash,
krishikrash, krishikrash,
krishikrash!
cristina hallucinating
becomes christ,
temporary madness
convulsions seize the soul,
possess the body,
pontificates;
the smell of the accursed weed
penetrates
scores of affected minds;
jacco
turned into a monkey
scratches,
burrowing into every hole,
burying himself deeper and deeper
for a line of coke;
digging, scratching, picking
cutting into the flesh
of a mother in despair;
while the rats devour
the spoils of drugs:
coke, heroine, hash,
krishikrash, krishikrash,
krishikrash!

Philomena Wong,
Crusando frontera / Crossing borders.
1993, p. 41

2 Diana Lebacs: *De langste maand*

Diana Lebacs: *De langste maand* is de eerste roman voor volwassenen van Diana Lebacs. Het verhaal bevat veel meer dan alleen drugsproblematiek en gaat over communicatie, misschien beter over miscommunicatie en verloren gegane harmonie. De eerste communicatielijijn loopt via de hoofdpersoon, Ambrosia Petronilia Biriña Faneyte, bekend als ‘Bir van op de heuvel’ omdat ze Riba Seru 163 woont. Ze is negenenzestig jaar oud en weduwe van Eusebio. Ze behoort tot de ‘mama grandi’, ‘de oudste wortels van het eiland’: “Deze vrouwen kenden het eiland, de cultuur, de geschiedenis als de palm van hun hand; ze bezaten levenswijsheid en hadden de volkswijsheid in pacht.” Dat uit zich concreet in Birs grote kennis van inheemse kruiden en hun genezende werking. Via haar en diverse andere bewoners op en rond de heuvel wordt het Curaçaose volksleven van alledag beschreven.

Bir krijgt een brief van het WEB dat ze tweeduizend gulden achterstallige waterrekeningen moet betalen. De jongen Evy, die weliswaar zijn diploma gehaald heeft maar tot nu toe geen werk kan vinden en Bir nagenoeg dagelijks bezoekt, leest het onheilsbericht aan de analfabete Bir voor. Ze reageert verontwaardigd. Zal ze haar zes kinderen om geld vragen? Nee, nooit, die hebben genoeg aan hun eigen zorgen! Maar hoe komt ze dan op korte termijn aan zoveel geld? Ze laat Evy een nummer kopen: “‘We vinden een oplossing, ik zweer het. En vanavond koop ik vier cijfers. Stel je voor dat ik de hoofdprijs win!’ Uitgelaten en zelfverzekerd grabbelde ze de gulden uit de zak van haar jurk. ‘Hier, het is nog geen acht uur. Koop beneden 07 voor me, wil je? Ik win vast en zeker!’”

Een tweede communicatielijijn is die via Ibi ‘Malus’, ex-bewaker en *self made* reporter, die de schandaaljournalistiek van het eiland personifieert. Hij zet het bericht van Birs waterschuld in de krant om het wanbeleid van het WEB aan te klagen. De verteller voorziet het gebeuren van kritisch commentaar: “De kranten – en het was een publiek geheim dat het hier voornamelijk het ochtendblad waarvoor Ibi werkte betrof – stonden tegenwoordig vol met valse en verwrongen berichtgeving, insinuaties en informatie met een tendentius karakter.” Onder het mom van wantoestanden aan de kaak te moeten stellen heeft de berichtgeving vaak niet meer om het lijf dan “Man slaat fles kapot op hoofd andere man. Vechtpartij tussen kip en hond. Man moet zijn dingdongetje laten opereren. Vrouw gooit hete olie op slapende echtgenoot. Knikker rolt in beerput. Het haalde bijna allemaal de voorpagina.” De verteller is wel zeer kritisch tegenover deze vorm van berichtgeving: “Tot zijn geluk ontdekte hij de begrippen persvrijheid en vrijheid van meningsuiting en al snel kreeg hij door dat de gezaghebber niet kon optreden tegen verslaggevers zoals hij en bij kritische geluiden niet veel meer kon doen dan de mensen de raad te geven de desbetreffende krant niet meer te kopen. Vanaf dat moment was Ibi’s zelfvertrouwen snel toegenomen, tot een omvang die buiten elke proportie lag. Niemand maakte hem wat. Hij was machtiger dan welke politicus ook.”

Ibi ‘Malus’ ziet op een gegeven moment hoe een moeder en haar twee kinderen op een trottoir door een racende auto worden gedood en maakt de meest gruwelijke foto’s. Eigenlijk is deze persmuskiet “een etterende zweer die maar niet ophoudt”, wat gesymboliseerd wordt door Ibi’s ontstoken rechterarm die niet wil genezen.

Ook de radio als communicatiemedium komt er slecht af. Fooi heeft beneden aan de voet van de heuvel haar winkeltje. Ze zal het moeten ontruimen omdat er een verkeersweg gepland is. Maar ze klaagt in het radioprogramma ‘De stem van het volk’ het regeringsbeleid aan. Het wordt daarna mode om persoonlijke klachten en grieven via de radio openbaar te maken.

Verspreid door het hele boek heen zijn er vijf cursiefgedrukte door de jongen Evy zelf vertelde fragmenten, die weergeven hoe de jongen aan de drugs raakte, maar daar dankzij de teruggekeerde padrino en een ontwenningsskuur weer van afkomt. Door de drugs is de communicatie, met name met Bir, aanvankelijk verstoord – maar ze wordt aan het einde hersteld.

Een volgende romanlijn is de voorbereiding op het komende carnaval en de viering daarvan. Uit Nederland arriveert er een filmploeg die het leven op Curaçao en het carnaval wil filmen. De in Nederland wonende Antilliaanse Loudrid, dochter van Bir, is lid van de filmploeg. Ze heeft er grote moeite mee weer op haar geboorte-eiland te wennen: “Ze stond erbuiten. Ze hoorde er niet bij. Ze had er geen greep op.

Waarvoor had ze godverdomme al die jaren in het buitenland gestudeerd? Ze voelde zich afgewezen. Dertig mei moest opnieuw tot leven komen!” Als de Nederlandse filmploeg niet naar de Curaçaose realiteit wenst te kijken maar alleen vooropgezette stereotypen denkt te kunnen produceren, komt het tot een uitbarsting.

Intussen heeft Bir haar probleem met de waterdistributie opgelost. Ze leent vijfhonderd gulden op de bank, de zes kinderen brengen samen duizend gulden bijeen. Via Evy huurt de Spaanssprekende Señor Gregorio Velazquez een afgelegen schuur op Birs terrein en betaalt daarvoor de nog ontbrekende vijfhonderd, zodat Bir haar ‘schuld’ in één keer kan aflossen.

Carnaval nadert. Señor Velazquez en zijn mannen maken de praalwagen van de groep Ambiente, waarvan Bir de leiding heeft. De groep verkleedt zich als skelet: de dood in de feestelijke optocht, dat was nog nooit eerder voorgekomen. Tijdens de gran marcha blijkt de hulp van Señor Velazquez niet onbaatzuchtig te zijn, want hij en zijn mannen hebben niet minder dan zevenhonderd vijftig kilo cocaïne in het frame van de praalwagen verborgen. De bende wordt ontmaskerd; wat een schande voor Bir en haar groep!

Steeds blijken de dingen anders te zijn dan ze van de buitenkant schijnen. Wie is er nog te vertrouwen? Bir vraagt zich af wat er de laatste tijd met haar en het eiland aan de hand is. De laatste decennia omhullen de Curaçaoënaars zich met een waas van teruggetrokkenheid. Ze antwoorden elkaar ontwijkend en knijpen bij het vroeger zo hartelijke ‘Kon ta bai?’ zelfs argwanend de ogen toe. “Want wie vroeg elkaar in deze tijd nog oprecht hoe het ging? En het was lang geleden dat zij zich gelukkig gevoeld had, en vooral rustig. Rust. Dat was het. Rust en vrede van binnen.” Op bladzijde 102 vat Bir haar ideeën nog eens samen tegenover de jongen Evy: “Dat is het wat de lucht vervuult. We wantrouwen elkaar, we gissen maar wat omtrent elkaars gedrag. We draaien waakzaam om elkaar heen. Geloof me, Evy, het is veel erger dan vroeger, toen we allemaal nog onwetend en onkundig waren. Alles is ten koste gegaan van onze rust, onze gemoedsrust. Onze hebzucht kent geen grenzen.” Bir weet niet wat te doen. Ze voelt hoe haar vroegere energie verdwenen is: “De tijden veranderen. En ik buig mee, als de watapana op de vlakte van de noordkust.”

Dochter Loudrid vraagt zich ook “voor de zoveelste keer in korte tijd af hoe het kwam dat Curaçaoënaars in de omgang zo omslachtig en behoedzaam om elkaar heen slopen. Ineens had ze er het woord voor gevonden. Collectieve basisangst. Onopvallend peuterde ze haar zakboekje uit haar tas en schreef het op.” Van alle miscommunicaties, of het nu op persoonlijk vlak is of via de heersende schandaaljournalistiek, worden steeds weer onschuldigen het slachtoffer. Dat blijkt nogmaals aan het einde van het verhaal, waar een in de loop van het gebeuren steeds opduikende geheimzinnige figuur in een rolstoel zich tenslotte openbaart. Deze heeft twee jaar geleden een kind overreden, waarvan Ibi afschuwelijke foto’s maakte en in extenso in de krant plaatste. Ze heeft gezworen dat de journalist daarvoor zal boeten.

In *De langste maand* worden niet alleen problemenesignaleerd, maar er worden ook enkele oplossingen voor het communicatieprobleem aangedragen. Je moet de werkelijkheid onder ogen durven zien. Aan het einde van het boek leest Evy de rest van de brief van het waterleidingbedrijf voor: er was een schikking mogelijk geweest, maar Bir was zo boos dat ze niets meer wilde horen. Je moet kunnen luisteren. Je moet een open oog voor de waarde van de traditie hebben. Je moet liefde voor het eigene kunnen opbrengen. Bir pakt haar schrift met kruidenrecepten dat ze in de loop der jaren volgeschreven heeft en noteert op de kaft: “Het groot kruidenboek door Bir Faneyte.” Als ‘mama grandi’ ziet ze de waarde van haar kennis in – die mag niet verloren gaan, maar moet aan volgende generaties worden overgeleverd. (*Amigoe*, 17 september 1994)

3 Erich Zielinski: *De engelenbron*

Hoofdpersoon Monchín (Salomon Hesus Martina) in Erich Zielinski’s *De engelenbron* (2004) is een ‘onrecht’ kind van een man uit een aanzienlijk joods geslacht en de zwarte vrouw Ana. Hij groeit op in Fleur de Marie, maar krijgt met de toelage die hem door zijn joodse grootmoeder Rosa wordt toegestopt een

goede opleiding. Hij brengt het tot politieagent en houdt ervan op zijn mooi gepoetste indrukwekkende Harley Davidson rond te rijden. Hij maakt promotie ondanks het feit dat hij twee aspirant-agentes bezwangert. Het is 'het hete joodse bloed' luidt zijn steevast excuus. Hij trouwt Morela en krijgt met haar vier kinderen. Maar de escapades blijven en nemen een catastrofale wending als hij op een dag spiernaakt in een Colombiaanse hoerenkast wordt aangetroffen. Hij behoudt zijn salaris maar zijn aanwezigheid wordt op het politiebureau niet langer op prijs gesteld. Morela reist met haar studerende kinderen af naar Nederland en laat daarbij beslagleggen op het salaris van haar ex-man. Monchín's leven ligt in puin. Hij houdt zich overeind door zijn fantasie. Elke dag vertrekt hij nog keurig gekleed en met aktentas naar zijn 'werk'. Voor weinig geld huurt hij een zolderverdieping in een oud huis in Otrobanda, dat de naam De Engelenbron draagt. Als zijn oude Harley Davidson wordt afgedankt tikt hij deze op de kop, sloop de wielen eraf en monteert het vehikel op een lege put waar hij hem bij tijd en wijle start. Hij waant zich dan weer agent en projecteert zich "in het heelal en in de betrekkelijkheid van de dingen om hem heen". Fantasie vervangt de werkelijkheid, maar Mochín lijkt de rust van de routine te hebben gevonden.

In huize De Engelenbron wonen ook de eigenaars, de Surinaams-Hindoestaanse Rona Ramlal met haar twintig jaar oudere verlamde man Hendrik van Alsum. In hetzelfde huis exploiteert de Dominicaanse Aura haar bordeel tot haar mooie dochter Linda Rosa overkomt. De woonsituatie is nogal gecompliceerd omdat Monchín losse relaties onderhoudt met zowel Rona als Aura. De vrouwen accepteren dat. Ook Hendrik weet van de relatie van Monchín met zijn vrouw Rona en ook hij accepteert het omdat hij niet anders kan met zijn verlamde lichaam.

Ex-politieman Monchín begeeft zich op een hellend vlak als hij om wat gemakkelijke bijverdiensten op te strijken vergunningen gaat regelen voor buitenlanders, een hellend vlak dat veel steiler wordt als hij tijdens zijn visvangsten begint met drugs aan land te brengen. Carlos Finegal, bijgenaamd Petchie, is pas 24 jaar, een meter tachtig lang en weegt 140 kilo. Hij is niet alleen letterlijk een zware jongen. Petchie deugt niet. Niet in zijn tienerjaren toen hij de verkeerde vrienden om zich heen verzamelde, maar al helemaal niet nu hij een drugscircuit om zich heen gebouwd heeft. Nagenoeg ieder personage raakt op de een of andere wijze in Petchie's netwerk verstrikt. Er vallen dan ook slachtoffers, zoals Linda Rosa, de mooie twintigjarige dochter van de Dominicaanse hoerenmadam Aura. Maar de moederlijke wraak is even verschrikkelijk als effectief.

Monchín en Hendrik lossen met behulp van de twee vrouwen Rona en Aura de vuile zaakjes op, maar het laatste woord is aan Oso Blanco. De eigenlijke hoofdfiguur in het drugsdrama blijft in het verhaal op de achtergrond maar heeft daar de touwtjes stevig in handen. "Tot zaterdag", zijn dan ook zijn laatste woorden voor Monchín. Ook al hoort deze hem niet meer, hij zal waarschijnlijk niet uit het voor hem geweven web kunnen ontsnappen.

Zo is *De engelenbron* een luchtig verteld verhaal over losers. Monchín wil zijn leven zo graag georganiseerd houden en op de routine van zijn dromen zijn leven in alle rust leven, maar het blijkt niet voor hem weggelegd. Zijn eens zo machtige Harley Davidson staat nu verankerd op een oude put en is alleen op vleugelen van de fantasie nog in beweging te krijgen. Een afgang voor de ex-agent die hijzelf niet eens ziet. Zijn fantasiegesprekken met Broeder Abt bieden ook maar weinig soelaas. Bovendien wordt Monchín nu danig op zijn kop gezeten want Oso Blanco heeft hem aan het eind van het verhaal stevig in zijn greep. Hendrik leeft met al zijn geld van zijn vroegere zakencarrière eenzaam met zijn zorgzame maar "overspelige" vrouw en heeft van het leven niet veel meer te verwachten. Beide mannen hebben hun situatie aan zichzelf te wijten omdat ze niet van de vrouwen en het geld konden afblijven. Wel zit er een aardige twist in de kooptransacties van het huis. Die slimmerik van een zo in het geloof verankerde Hendrik is minder onschuldig dan hij aan zijn bed gekluisterd lijkt.

Zo spelen er een aantal intrigerende motieven op mysterieuze wijze door en met elkaar, wat het lezen ervan tot een spel maakt, wat zijn uitdrukking in het lichtvoetige taalgebruik vindt. In *De engelenbron* zijn de

menselijke problemen niet van de lucht maar het is gelukkig geen ‘zwaar’ boek door zijn licht ironiserende vertelwijze.

Erich Zielinski schreef zijn boek in het Nederlands, in ‘de taal met geschiedenis maar zonder affiniteit met het land’ zoals hij het in het boek zelf omschreven heeft. De structuur is gevarieerd omdat hij de belangrijkste personages beurtelings in een van de 23 hoofdstukken centraal stelt, met Linda Rosa precies in het midden en Oso Blanco aan het einde.

De grote lijn van het drugsgebeuren wordt geconstrueerd door middel van afzonderlijke verhalen over de personages die samen die grote lijn constitueren. De auteur neemt de lezer daarbij mee naar Suriname en Santo Domingo. De zee en het eiland worden met aandacht voor het detail beschreven, in het bijzonder de sfeer van Otrobanda en het oude huis aan de Naniesteeg. We leren de geschiedenis van de Nederlander Hendrik van Alsum en zijn Surinaamse vrouw Rona Ramlal kennen. We lezen het levensverhaal van Dominicaanse Aura met haar problemen en haar vechtlust om te overleven en geen loser te worden. Haar dochter Linda Rosa is wel mooi van uiterlijk maar blijkt met haar twintig jaar verregaand onnozel. Maar onbetwist hoofdfiguur is toch Monchín met zijn motorfiets en zijn levensfilosofie. (*Ons Erfdeel*, 48, 717-728, 2005; *De brug van Paramaribo naar Willemstad*, 290-291, 2007)

4 Erich Zielinski: *De prijs van de zee*

Ook in Erich Zielinski’s tweede roman, *De prijs van de zee* (2008), komen drugs voor maar het is daar zeker geen hoofdmotief. Het verhaal is veeleer een literaire thriller over huwelijk, overspel, schuld en dood.

Het verhaal speelt op Bonaire, het geboorte-eiland van de auteur. Een Nederlandse waarnemend officier van justitie bij het Openbaar Ministerie op Bonaire, Emile Tijsma, is zijn vrouw Elise Berkenbos langdurig ontrouw en heeft een verhouding met het knappe, jonge, Colombiaanse dienstmeisje, dat in verwachting van hem is. Als het dienstmeisje dat aan Elise vertelt, schiet deze haar man dood. In verwarring rijdt ze naar het Washingtonpark met het lijk van haar man in de kofferbak. De auto komt in het water terecht, maar Elise wordt met haar kind Jean-Luc gered door twee vissers.

In feite wordt de waarnemend officier door de Colombiaanse drugsmafia gebruikt: hij bezwijkt voor het mooie dienstmeisje dat met haar man in een appartement op het erf woont; hij zou gaan repatriëren en als huisboedel zijn auto meenemen. De banden van die auto zijn echter door op het eiland wonende Colombianen vol cocaïne gestopt, waarvan de waarnemend officier niet op de hoogte is. Deze drugszaak is echter bijzaak in het verhaal.

5 Joseph Hart: *Election dance* / *Verkiezingsdans*

In Joseph Hart, *Election dance* is het politieke persoonlijk en het persoonlijke politiek. Ten eerste is er de terugblik op de jeugd van Matthew Bartels en wel speciaal diens relatie tot zijn dominante, alcoholische, loshandige vader en de onderworpen moeder die alle huiselijk geweld lijdelijk ondergaat. Matthew blijkt een speciale relatie met zijn moeder gehad te hebben, waarvoor de verteller zelf naar de Oedipus-mythe verwijst. Er is zelfs sprake van een dubbel incest-motief van moeder en zoon, dochter en vader. Deze wrange jeugdervaringen blijken de volwassen persoon blijvend te traumatiseren. Onderwijs vormt een tweede verhaallijn, waarbij lesgeven geen traditionele kennisoverdracht is maar een dynamische interactie tussen docent en student met volop gebruik van moderne didactiek en leermiddelen. Matthews werk voor een groep intellectuelen is een derde verhaallijn, waarin Matthew de populaire personificatie wordt voor eilandelijke ontwikkeling, ook in politieke zin. De naderende verkiezingen zijn een vierde verhaallijn. Matthew blijkt de onbetwiste Held en Hoofdpersoon die in de titanenstrijd als enige kans maakt de Grote Tegenstander Manny Contreras te verslaan.

De traditionele lokale politiek blijkt wijd en diep verweven met de onderwereld van plaatselijke corruptie en internationaal vertakte drugs en witwassen, waarbij ook de politie niet vrij uitgaat – de vijfde verhaallijn. Naast deze maatschappelijk gerichte verhaaldraden is er tenslotte weer een persoonlijke:

die van verliefdheid, liefde en seks, een platonische relatie met Thelma en een vurige relatie met Daniela / Daniela Sint Jago, de moeder van een van zijn leerlingen. In Thelma vindt hij uiteindelijk zowel een moeder als een echte partner als iemand die aan zijn seksuele behoeften tegemoetkomt.

De twee persoonlijke verhaallijnen – jeugd en liefde – worden met de vier maatschappelijke – onderwijs, denktank, politiek en misdaad – sterk verbonden wanneer de jeugdervaringen de hoofdpersoon bijna de nek breken als aankomend politicus. De twee hoofdlijnen – de persoonlijke en de maatschappelijke – lijken beide in een vicieuze cirkel te raken. Matthew dreigt door zijn jeugdtrauma en zijn huwelijk, de familiegeschiedenis van vader op zoon in een negatieve spiraal te herhalen, maar hij ontkomt eraan door Thelma die hem geestelijk bevrijdt.

Deze persoonlijke doem van de hoofdpersoon wordt gespiegeld in de geschiedenis van het hele eiland dat zich door de traditionele politiek van favoritisme, corruptie, vriendjesbevoordeling en persoonlijke verrijking steeds verder naar de ondergang beweegt. Matthew bevrijdt niet alleen zichzelf maar ook zijn eiland omdat hij met de verkiezingen een daverende overwinning behaalt.

De verteller houdt de lezer een spiegel voor, maar biedt hij ook perspectief? Het romaneinde blijft open met de vraag of Matthews relatie nu wel zal standhouden en hoe de nieuwe politiek voet aan de grond krijgt om idealen tot realiteit te maken. Hoe zal de partij alle gedane verkiezingsbeloften weten waar te maken? Een ironisch verhaalstaartje geeft zowel de bedenkelijke status quo als de uitdaging van een moeilijke toekomst weer. De positieve boodschap is echter dat geschiedenis niet een gegeven is maar wordt gemaakt door mensen die haar beïnvloeden.

In de karakterbeschrijving en ontwikkeling van de hoofdpersoon is *Election dance* een psychologische roman, maar in de uitvoerige aandacht voor en de beschrijving van de nijpende armoede en niet langer acceptabele wantoestanden in achterstandswijken is het ook een sociale protestroman. Met de beschrijving van de drugswereld en witwaspraktijken zou de roman ook tot het jonge genre van misdaadroman en wel speciaal die van het narco-realisme gerekend kunnen worden. *Election dance* is ook een politieke roman door de eilandelijke politieke praktijken in negatieve en positieve zin tot één van de centrale motieven te maken met het perspectief hoe uit de politieke impasse te raken. Alle uitvoerige beschouwingen over politieke vernieuwing en maatschappelijke problemen en een normen-en-waardendiscussie maken de roman ook tot een ideeën-roman. Tenslotte geeft de in het verhaal verweven misdaadraad het verhaal ook hier en daar een thrillerachtig karakter. (*Antilliaans Dagblad*, 10 april 2014)

6 Joseph Hart: *Kruispunt*

De derde roman van Joseph Hart: *Kruispunt* (2015) is sterk op het eiland betrokken met zijn scherpe tegenstellingen aan de vooravond van 10 oktober 2010. Via de opgevoerde personages krijgen lezers een caleidoscopisch beeld van het eiland dat met zijn inwoners voor scherpe politieke keuzes staat: onafhankelijk en autonoom zijn zonder inmenging van buitenaf (lees Nederland) of samenwerken en met die samenwerking sterk te staan. De meningen zijn in het dagelijkse leven sterk verdeeld, zo ook via de opgevoerde personages in de roman.

Het voorkaft van *Kruispunt* is in verband met dit thema betekenisvol: voetstappen van een keurige heer, die kan kiezen tussen een pijl naar links of naar rechts, met in het midden een groot vraagteken. Langs de randen van het voorkaft zijn de kleuren van de Curaçaose en de Nederlandse vlag afgebeeld. Welke richting dient er genomen te worden? Welke kant moet het op met het eiland?

Over het antwoord laat de verteller de lezer zelf kiezen door steeds dilemma's op te voeren. Maar tegelijkertijd wordt de lezer door die alwetende verteller met strakke hand gestuurd door de vragen omtrent de te nemen richting zodanig aan de personages te verbinden dat ze door de lezer instemmend of kritisch gelezen zullen worden.

Allereerst is er de zorgvuldige opbouw van het verhaal in drie ongeveer even lange delen (Curaçao – Nederland – Curaçao), die weer worden opgesplitst in respectievelijk 16, 13 en opnieuw 16 korte hoofdstukken. Zo'n strak schema vergt planning en discipline bij het schrijven. De alwetende verteller houdt

de lijnen strak en wisselt de hoofdpersonages voortdurend af, waarbij de hoofdpersonen elkaars antagogenisten zijn, want tegenover Frensel staat Giovanni, tegenover politicus Dionato Sabana (Macho Nato) staat pastoor Alfredo Petrona, tegenover Fina staat Viola. Het verhaal is opgebouwd rond scherpe maatschappelijke en politieke tegenstellingen die beurtelings de aandacht van de lezer vragen. Wat de twee jeugdige hoofdpersonen Frensel en Giovanni gemeenschappelijk hebben is een problematische jeugd in disharmonische gezinnen vol geweld, seks en drugs. Daarbij staan drie urgente problemen centraal: gebrekkig en tekortschietend onderwijs, de afwezige vader in zoveel eenoudergezinnen en de verloedering van de achterstandswijken in schrijnende tegenstelling tot de rijke buurten op het eiland. De thematiek wordt aan de hand van twee jongeren en hun beider gezinnen verteld. Twee keer speelt de Santa Famia in Otrobanda een belangrijke rol in het leven van de hoofdpersoon. Religie is een steeds terugkerend motief. Een laatste perspectiefwisseling die ik wil noemen is de rol van de vrouw. *Kruispunt* is aanvankelijk een boek, waarin mannen de vrouw misbruiken en minachten, maar waar aan het einde de vrouw mentaal de sterkste blijkt te zijn, als de moeder van Frensel, Fina, haar leven in eigen hand neemt.

Op het eerste oog lijkt er een sterk deterministische tendens in het verhaal, want hoewel Fina, de moeder van Frensel, uit een goed nest komt, is ze totaal afgedwaald naar prostitutie en drugsverslaving, die ook haar moreel besef aantasten. Ook haar kinderen zullen haar slechte voorbeeld volgen in de drugshandel op het eiland en de prostitutie in Nederland. Frensel ontspoot compleet als een meedogenloze en gewetenloze killer als hij denkt te weinig gerespecteerd te worden. Niemand lijkt aan dit onverbiddelijke lot te ontsnappen, maar er is ook een andere kant van het verhaal. Ook Viola, de moeder van Giovanni, had een moeilijke jeugd, maar zij heeft zich op weten te werken tot een redelijk bestaan, waarmee ze haar zoon alle kansen op onderwijs en studie in Nederland biedt. Mensen hebben een keuze in hun leven, ook de gedepriveerde, in een wereld van armoede en geweld opgegroeiden. Niemand is kansloos in het leven, benadrukt het uiteindelijk toch positieve verhaal. Niemand is slaaf van zijn verleden. Er is hoop voor wie voldoende zelfrespect heeft, waarbij religie een belangrijke rol vervult.

Om het begrip ‘respect’ draait veel van de inhoud. Voortdurend respect van anderen eisen als je geen zelfrespect hebt werkt desastreus in het leven. Hier staan het harmoniemodel van pastoor Alfredo en het conflictmodel van volksmenner-politicus Macho Nato scherp tegenover elkaar. De roman bevat een scherpe analyse van een maatschappelijke tweedeling tussen arm en rijk, wat parallel loopt met kansloos en kansrijk. Er wordt heel wat geredeneerd in het verhaal dat naast de voortschrijdende handeling veel beschouwingen en vertellerscommentaar bevat. Hier worstelt de verteller met het dilemma om evenwicht te bewerkstelligen tussen diepgang en spanning in het verhaal. In de eerste twee delen overheerst het eerste, in het laatste deel het tweede. Naar het einde toe krijgt de handeling steeds meer het karakter van een spannend jongensboek. Dat leest wel lekker weg, een roman is per slot fictie, maar het doet tegelijkertijd afbreuk aan de grote mate van waarschijnlijkheid en betrouwbaarheid van de sociaal-maatschappelijke analyse in de eerste twee delen. Daar staat weer tegenover dat dit deel juist de uiteindelijk positieve boodschap van het verhaal benadrukt: niemand is kansloos en nooit is het te laat om met volledig zelfrespect de juiste weg te kiezen. Dat doet moeder Fina, dat bewerkstelligt Frensel eveneens, al kost hem dat zijn leven.

De verteller maakt in het gecompliceerde verhaal uitbundig gebruik van beeldspraak en stijlverschijnselen als parallelie, contrast en spiegeling. Standpunten die door het ene personage worden verkondigd, worden vervolgens door het tegengestelde personage ontzenuwd. Bepaalde gebeurtenissen en personages krijgen extra reliëf door herhaling in het vervolg van het verhaal. Zo wordt de jonge vrouw Chola in het eerste romandeel gespiegeld met Yolande in het derde deel, die als vriendinnen van Frensel op hun beurt weer gespiegeld worden met Xiomara, de vriendin van Giovanni. De volstrekt tegengestelde levenshoudingen van Frensel en Giovanni worden aanvankelijk in gescheiden hoofdstukken verteld tot de levenslijnen elkaar in het tweede en derde deel raken. De tegenstelling tussen de pastoor en de poli-

ticus op Curaçao zetten zich in Nederland voort. Bepaalde gebeurtenissen en discussies worden gespiegeld in een later hoofdstuk. Zo refereert Macho Nato als politiek leider die zich van de Nederlandse dominantie op het eiland wil bevrijden enkele keren aan de vrijheidsheld Tula op 17 augustus 1795.

Joseph Hart, *Kruispunt* is een hard boek dat misstanden klip en klaar benoemt, maar aan het slot ook een optimistisch boek dat perspectief op een open en positieve toekomst biedt. Een eiland als geheel én zijn individuele inwoners ontvangen respect als ze zichzelf respecteren.

(*Antilliaans Dagblad*, 22 maart 2016)

7 Rudolf Crispulo, *Piká 'i mi pueblo*

Het thema van het romandebut van Rudolf Crispulo, *Piká 'i mi pueblo* (2014) ligt in het verlengde van de acht populaire Foto-Storia die de auteur eerder produceerde. Hoofdmotieven van het gebeuren zijn onveilige seks en vooral de verwoestende werking van drugsverslaving op de mens, naast tal van andere problemen die aan de orde gesteld worden. De auteur raadt de lezer van tevoren al aan de tekst nauwkeurig te lezen. Die raad is hier toch wel heel toepasselijk, wegens de gecomprimeerde stijl met nogal wat oude woorden en traditionele uitdrukkingen. Aan het eind van de roman vinden we dan ook een woordenlijst van niet minder dan achttien pagina's. Geconcentreerd woordgebruik en een rijke inhoud gaan hand in hand.

Ook puur literair-technisch gezien is de roman interessant. Hoe het verhaal precies in elkaar steekt blijft lange tijd verborgen voor de lezer. Pas tegen het einde van de roman zien we dat de eigenlijke verteller van het verhaal de hoofdpersoon zélf is, een gegeven dat kunstig verborgen wordt gehouden doordat deze er geen ik-verhaal maar een vertelling in de derde persoon van maakt. Overigens heel navrant omdat hij zijn levensverhaal vertelt aan het enige contact dat hem is overgebleven: zijn stervende hond Osa. Dat op zich is ook weer bijzonder omdat de ex-vrouw van de hoofdpersoon Rossana heet en hij zijn hond dus genoemd heeft naar drie letters uit deze naam. Je zou er om kunnen lachen als het niet zo triest was.

Er klinken vele stemmen in dit verhaal. Functionele muziek en liedteksten van onder meer de Curaçaose musici Ced Ride, Chin Behilia, Rudy Plaat, Rignald Recordina en Buis Haile vertolken op cruciale plaatsen van het verhaal als reien in een klassiek drama de verwikkelingen van de hoofdpersonen. Rudolf Crispulo is er hierin geslaagd zijn beschrijving een extra geïntegreerde dimensie te geven als lyrische reflectie op de handeling. Een prachtig experiment dat volkomen werkt! Geëngageerde verhalen als moreel kompas zijn voor de lezer ook literair-technisch interessant.

VERTALINGEN EN ADAPTATIES NAAR HET PAPIAMENTU IN DE EENENTWINTIGSTE EEUW: ZET DE TRADITIE UIT DE VORIGE EEUW ZICH VOORT?

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Abstract

Curaçao has maintained a theatrical tradition for a long time, in which successful works from the international canon are translated into Papiamentu and the content is adapted to the local context. This article includes a brief analysis of a recent translation of *A Doll's House* by Henrik Ibsen into Papiamentu by Comenencia (2016), titled *Nora su Kas di Pòpchi*. This translation proves to be a faithful literary rendition of the source text, with suitable atmospheric adjustments aimed at evoking the *couleur locale*.

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Key words: Papiamentu, Curaçao, theater, translation, adaptation

Samenvatting

Curaçao heeft lange tijd een toneeltraditie in stand gehouden, waarbij succesvolle werken uit de internationale canon naar het Papiaments worden vertaald en de inhoud wordt aangepast aan de lokale context. Dit artikel bevat een korte analyse van een recente vertaling van *A Doll's House* door Henrik Ibsen in Papiamentu door Comenencia (2016), getiteld *Nora su Kas di Pòpchi*. Deze vertaling blijkt een getrouwe literaire weergave van de brontekst te zijn, met passende sfeeraanpassingen gericht op het oproepen van de *couleur locale*.

Kernbegrippen: Papiamentu, Curaçao, toneel, vertaling, adaptatie

Inleiding

In 2016 werden van de hand van Paul Comenencia (1960) twee adaptaties naar het Papiamentu gepubliceerd van werken van Henrik Ibsen (1828-1906), *Nos Baluartenan*,

naar het toneelstuk *Samfunnets støtter* (1877), eerder in het Engels verschenen onder de titel *The pillars of society*; en *Nora su kas di pòpchi*, naar het toneelstuk *Et dukkehjem* (1879), eerder in het Engels verschenen onder de titel *A doll's house*. Het vertalen en adapteren van toneelwerken van wereldfaam naar het Papiamentu past in een lange traditie met een bloeiperiode in de tweede helft van de vorige eeuw. Het feit dat er recent, ruim zestig jaar na de piek van deze bloeiperiode, twee werken uit de Noorse literatuur aan deze traditie worden toegevoegd, is opmerkelijk en behoeft nadere aandacht.

Comenencia, die *Nos baluartenan* en *Nora su kas di pòpchi* in eigen beheer uitgaf, putte uit de eerdere traditie van uitstekende vertalingen en adaptaties naar het Papiamentu ook zelf zijn inspiratie, met als belangrijk streven de ontwikkeling van het Papiamentu en de verhoging van het aanzien ervan.¹ De beweegredenen van Comenencia lijken vooralsnog in lijn te zijn met die van zijn voorgangers uit de vorige eeuw, die in de meeste gevallen door hetzelfde gedreven werden om tot hun vertalingen en adaptaties naar het Papiamentu te komen². Dit kan onder andere worden afgeleid uit studies of deelstudies die aandacht geven aan toneel en toneelvertalingen en toneeladaptaties in de voormalige Nederlandse Antillen en Aruba (Debrot, 1977; Römer, 1989; De Rooy, 1990; Rutgers, 1994; 2016; Broek et al., 1998; 2006; Eckkrammer, 1999; Garrett, 2004; Echteld, 2009; 2013). Deze studies verwijzen bij het beschrijven van de toneelgeschiedenis van de tweede helft van de vorige eeuw naar vertalingen en adaptaties van werken van wereldfaam voornamelijk uit de Franstalige, Engelstalige, Spaanstalige en Nederlandstalige literaire traditie. In deze context worden vertalers als May Henriquez (1915-1999), Luis Daal (1919-1997), Jules de Palm (1922-2013), Raúl Römer (1923-1985), Frank Martinus Arion (1936-2015) en vele anderen genoemd.

In het proefschrift van Wim Rutgers, *Schrijven is zilver, spreken is goud: oratuur, auraliteit en literatuur van de Nederlandse Antillen en Aruba* is een uitgebreide chronologische lijst opgenomen van de talrijke (succesvolle) toneelvoorstellingen op de verschillende eilanden, waarbij ook melding wordt gemaakt van opvoeringen van vertaalde of

¹ “Het is precies wat mij ook geïnspireerd heeft om hier een bijdrage aan te leveren, mede door de van jongs af aan door mijn moeder en haar collega’s van toneelgroep Thalia [in 1967 opgericht] meegekregen interesse voor toneel alsook mijn overtuiging dat uitbreiding van de Papiamentu bibliotheek met goede vertalingen van internationale literatuur (en toneel) essentieel is voor de verdere ontwikkeling en het aanzien van de taal” (Paul Comenencia aan E. Echteld in E-mail op 7 juni 2020). Op de achterflap van *Nora su Kas di Pòpchi* is bovendien te lezen dat Comenencia in zijn jeugd toneellessen kreeg van de dramadocente en actrice Mila Palm. Als volwassene werd hij ook zelf lid van Thalia, waarna hij door medeacteur en schrijver Philip Rademaker werd betrokken bij de adaptatie naar het Papiamentu van het toneelstuk *Out at sea* van de Poolse toneelschrijver Slawomir Mrozek, hetgeen bij hem het enthousiasme voor het vertalen en adapteren aanwakkerde.

² Omdat het Papiamentu als jonge officiële creooltaal zich in een normaliseringstraject bevindt, wijst Comenencia erop dat hij ter ondersteuning bij zijn vertalingen, zoals hij zelf aangeeft in het voorwoord van de twee adaptaties, gebruik kon maken van toenemend naslagmateriaal voor het Papiamentu als het woordenboek van Sidney Joubert, van de officiële woordenlijst van de overheid: het *Buki di oro* van de Fundashon pa Planifikashon di Idioma en van Spèlchek Papiamentu 2.0, hulpmiddelen die in de vorige eeuw nog niet ter beschikking stonden aan zijn voorgangers.

geadapteerde toneelstukken (pp. 471-497).³ Daarbij wordt door Rutgers opgemerkt dat helaas slechts enkele van deze adaptaties en vertalingen de status van manuscript konden overstijgen en ook daadwerkelijk gepubliceerd werden (Rutgers, 1994: 244). Een nauwgezette analyse van de lijst van vertalingen en adaptaties in het Papiamentu van opgevoerde werken, opgenomen in de studie van Rutgers en later uitgebreid in de studie van Broek et al. (2006), geeft een verschuiving van toneelstukken uit de Engelse en Franse literaire traditie, naar toneelstukken uit de Spaanstalige literaire traditie.

Eva Eckkrammer, die in haar studie naar dezelfde schrijvers verwijst als Rutgers en Broek, geeft aan dat het aantal vertalingen en adaptaties rond 1970 aanzienlijk begint af te nemen. Als voorbeelden uit deze laatste periode noemt zij de adaptaties *E rosa tatuá*, door Nydia Ecury, oorspronkelijk *The rose tattoo* van Tennessee Williams; *Porta será* door May Henriquez, oorspronkelijk *Huis Clos* van Jean-Paul Sartre en *E dos krianan* door De Rooy en Palm, oorspronkelijk *Les bonnes* van Jean Genet (Eckkrammer, 1999: 65-66).

Slechts sporadisch wordt in de studies in detail op de tekst van de adaptaties en vertalingen van de toneelstukken ingegaan. In *De kleur van mijn eiland* (Broek, 2006), wordt dit als volgt verwoord:

Besprekingen, die iedere opvoering onder auspiciën van het CCC begeleidden, besteedden juist aan het toneelspel veel aandacht, terwijl aan de inhoudelijke kant van de toneeltekst, met uitzondering van een samenvatting, slechts zeer beperkt aandacht werd besteed. Op de discrepantie tussen origineel en Papiamentstalige bewerking, die veelvuldig aanwijsbaar is, werd al evenmin ingegaan (...). (p. 187)

Het is in lijn met het vorige citaat de moeite waard om de toneelteksten zelf aan een vergelijking tussen de desbetreffende brontekst en de vertaling of adaptatie te onderwerpen, met daarbij in gedachte het perspectief van Hélène Garrett, die in haar proefschrift *Translating Papiamentu* stelt dat het vertalen een interculturele en interlinguïstische aangelegenheid is, waarbij er sprake is van interculturele overdracht (2004: 11-12). Ook het artikel van Courtney Parkins is interessant in dit verband. In zijn artikel “Taking the bull by the horns: professional Curaçaoan Papiamentu translators and writers facing the challenges of globalization head-on” gaat Parkins in op beperkingen, waar vertalers van het Papiamentu tegenaan lopen: “The translator also allows for constraints that include culture, context, the grammar rules of the source and target languages, their writing conventions, and their turns of phrases.” (Parkins, 2013: 348)

In dit artikel zal, met de hierboven weergegeven citaten als leidraad, nader worden ingegaan op een van de Papiamentstalige adaptaties van Comenencia, *Nora su Kas di*

³ In deze lijst wordt ook melding gemaakt van de opvoering, in 1982, van het toneelstuk *Spoken* van Ibsen, door de toneelgroep Studio (Rutgers, p. 494), waarbij ik er vooralsnog vanuit ga dat het om een voorstelling in het Nederlands gaat en niet in het Papiamentu.

Pòpchi. Ik zal dit werk nauwgezet vergelijken met de Engelse brontekst van Michael Meyer, door Comenencia getypeerd als “gran konosedó di Ibsen” (2016: 6) [een groot kenner van het werk van Ibsen]⁴.

***Nora su kas di pòpchi* nader onder de loep**

Bij deze eerste tekstvergelijking wordt nagegaan of de bewerking in het Papiamentu dicht gebleven is bij de door Comenencia gebruikte Engelse brontekst of dat er meer sprake is van “een eigen stuk” door het creëren van bijvoorbeeld door de ‘couleur locale’ beïnvloede aanpassingen. Uiteraard speelt de interpretatie van de vertaler van de brontekst ook een rol bij de totstandkoming van zijnvertaling.⁵ Het valt op dat voor de titel van de tekst in het Papiamentu niet is gekozen voor de letterlijke vertaling van de Engelse brontekst *A doll’s house*, maar voor *Nora su kas di pòpchi*, waarbij het zwaar-
tepunt in de Papiamentstalige tekst onwillekeurig bij Nora, een van de hoofdpersonages uit het stuk, komt te liggen.

Om tot een overzichtelijke tekstvergelijking te komen richt de analyse zich op 1) de rollen; 2) de structuur en verhaallijn; 3) de toneelaanwijzingen en dialogen (gebezigde taal) en 4) de ruimte en tijd. Het resultaat van deze gestructureerde tekstvergelijking zou daarnaast ook nader inzicht kunnen geven of en in welke mate de Papiamentstalige tekst bijdraagt aan de statusverhoging en het aanzien van het Papiamentu.

Rollen

Een vergelijking van de rollenlijst van de personages in de Engelse brontekst (Ibsen, n.d.: 1072) en van de vertaling in het Papiamentu (Comenencia, 2016: 8), geeft een afwijkend beeld qua gekozen namen⁶. “Torvald Helmer, a lawyer” [een jurist], wordt in de adaptatie als “Elmer Torres, abogado, direktor di banko” [advocaat, bankdirecteur] gepresenteerd. “Nora, his wife” [zijn echtgenote], als “Nora, kasá di Elmer” [echtgenote van Elmer]. Dr. Rank heet in de adaptatie Dr. Jens⁷. Mrs. (Christine) Linde behoudt haar achternaam met alleen een wijziging van de beginletter van haar voornaam, Kristine, naar de officiële spelling van het Papiamentu, en wordt gepresenteerd als amiga di skol di Nora [schoolvriendin van Nora]. “Nils Krogstad, also a lawyer” [ook een jurist], wordt in de adaptatie “Nils Krukman, empleado di banko” [bankmedewerker].

De drie kinderen van het echtpaar, “The Helmers’s Three Small Children” [de drie kleine kinderen van de Helmers], worden gepresenteerd als “E tres yunan chikí di Elmer

⁴ In een volgend artikel zal *Nos Baluartenan* onderwerp van onderzoek zijn.

⁵ In dit onderzoek wordt buiten beschouwing gelaten, dat de vertaler van de Engelse brontekst, mogelijk ook concessies heeft moeten doen ten opzichte van de originele tekst in het Noors van Ibsen.

⁶ In de rest van het artikel worden de namen uit de adaptatie naar het Papiamentu aangehouden en niet die uit de Engelse brontekst.

⁷ Dit personage, dat in dit artikel niet nader aan de orde komt, wordt hier volledigheidshalve wel vermeld.

i Nora” [de drie kleine kinderen van Elmer en Nora]. De kinderen worden in de rollenlijst van beide teksten niet met naam en toenaam genoemd, maar uit de dialogen in beide teksten kan worden afgeleid dat zij Ivar, Bobby (in de Engelse brontekst Bob) en Emmy heten. De verzorgster van de kinderen, “Anne-Marie, their nurse” [hun verzorgster], wordt in de Papiamentstalige tekst gepresenteerd als “Yaya di Nora su yunan” [de Yaya van Nora’s kinderen]. Door “nurse” met “yaya” te vertalen, een vrouw die in het Curaçao van vroeger tijden de rol van kinderverzorgster [kindermeisje] had, ademt de tekst in het Papiamentu meteen een lokale sfeer uit. De twee bijrollen ondergaan qua naamgeving in de versie van Comenencia geen veranderingen. “Helen, the maid” [de hulp] wordt getypeerd als “Helen, kriá” [hulp in de huishouding of dienstmeisje]; “A porter” [een portier] wordt in de tekst in het Papiamentu letterlijk vertaald met “Un pòrtir”.

Structuur en verhaallijn

Bij het nagaan van de opbouw van de teksten blijkt dat de structuur van beide niet noemenswaardig van elkaar verschilt. Er is ook in de adaptatie sprake van drie akten, waarbij niet wordt afgeweken van de verhaallijn, die zich door Comenencia als volgt kort laat samenvatten: “E ta trata drama di un ama di kas inteligente i dediká na su famia, ku un dia ta lanta, rebeldiá kontra dominio di su kasá i diktadura di normanan sosial ku komunidat ta (purba) imponé” (p. 6). [Het gaat over een drama van een intelligente huisvrouw, toegewijd aan haar gezin, die op een dag wakker wordt, in opstand komt tegen de heerschappij van haar echtgenoot en tegen de dictatuur van sociale normen die de samenleving haar oplegt (probeert op te leggen)]. Deze korte samenvatting is duidelijk geschreven vanuit het perspectief van Nora, die met Elmer Torres en hun drie jonge kinderen, het kindermisje Anne-Marie en de hulp, één huishouding vormt. Beide toneelteksten tonen de drukke dagen voor Kerst met Nora, die zich verheugt op de inkoop die zij kan doen en Elmer, die haar daarin matigt en maant tot zuinigheid, ook al heeft hij net een hoge positie binnen een bank gekregen met een beter salaris in het vooruitzicht. Kristine Linde, een vriendin van Nora, die zij enkele jaren niet gezien heeft, verschijnt ten tonele. Kristine vertelt Nora dat zij weduwe is geworden. Zij vraagt aan Nora om Elmer te bewegen om haar bij de bank in dienst te nemen. Nora vertelt op haar beurt aan haar vriendin dat zij, buiten medeweten van Elmer, jaren geleden op twijfelachtige wijze een lening had gesloten om een gezondheidskuur voor Elmer in het buitenland te kunnen betalen en dat zij nog steeds bezig is met de afbetaling daarvan. Door allerlei intriges van personages als Nils Krukman komt Elmer achter het geheim van zijn vrouw, waarop hij haar ernstige verwijten maakt. Als echter blijkt dat de kwestie in de doofpot kan worden gestopt, slaat zijn woede om in vergevingsgezindheid. Het huwelijkse leven kan wat hem betreft voortgaan alsof er niets gebeurd is. Maar de breuk blijkt onherroepelijk. Nora is duidelijk geworden dat Elmer niet om haar geeft, maar dat hij status en eer belangrijker vindt. Zij verlaat huis en haard, symbolisch uitgebeeld door het dichtklappen van een deur (“Zonido di porta di kas ku ta dal sera” [Het geluid

van het dichtslaan van een deur]), om een nieuw leven te beginnen zonder haar man en kinderen.

Toneelaanwijzingen, dialogen en de gebezigde taal

Gewoonlijk bevatten de regieaanwijzingen van de dramaturg additionele informatie die de interpretatie van het werk vollediger maakt. Daarnaast bieden de aard van de dialogen en het bijbehorende taalgebruik meer inzicht in de literaire bedoelingen van de auteur en in de kwaliteiten van het stuk. Daarom is het interessant om aspecten als toneelaanwijzingen, dialogen en de gebezigde taal bij de analyse te betrekken.

Toneelaanwijzingen

De aanwijzingen die de toneelschrijver in of bij zijn dramatekst geeft, worden door de regisseur gebruikt om de toneelvoorstelling te realiseren zoals door de auteur bedoeld. Doorgaans betreffen deze de *dramatis personae*⁸, de wijze van handelen van de acteurs (waaronder voordracht, mimiek en handeling), de locatie, de kleding, de rekwisieten, de decors, de geluids- en lichteffecten e.d. Men maakt onderscheid tussen directe toneelaanwijzingen, zoals die in de neventekst gegeven worden, en indirecte toneelaanwijzingen, die uit de hoofdttekst afleidbaar zijn. Voor de literatuurwetenschap zijn vooral de aantekeningen van de auteur zelf van belang, zoals hij die in het script verwerkte of daaraan afzonderlijk heeft toegevoegd (Van Bork e.a., 2002).

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Eerste akte

Een vergelijking van de toneelaanwijzingen aan het begin van de eerste akte van de tekst in het Papiamentu en van de Engelse brontekst, geeft enkele lichte verschillen. De tekst in het Engels begint met een expliciete plaatsbepaling “The action takes place in the Helmers’ apartment” [de handeling vindt plaats in het appartement van de Helmers] (p. 1072), die in de tekst in het Papiamentu niet voorkomt. Het valt op dat de Papiamentstalige tekst (p. 9) niet altijd letterlijk de volgorde van de Engelse tekst volgt, maar dat alle tekstdelen wel in beide tekstfragmenten zijn terug te vinden.

Akto I

Un sala di kas ku aksesu habrí pa komedor i kushina. Ounke no luhoso, e sala ta kómodo i nèchi mueblá. Entrada prinsipal di kas ta na man drechi parti patras di esenario. Na man robes parti patras di esenario tin porta di ELMER su ofisina. Entre e dos portanan tin un piano.

[Een huiskamer met een open eetkamer en keuken. Hoewel niet luxe, is de kamer comfortabel en netjes gemeubileerd. De hoofdingang van het huis is aan de rechterkant,

⁸ De meeste toneelschrijvers geven vooraf een lijst van de *dramatis personae*, personen van de handeling, ofwel personages die in het toneelstuk met elkaar de handeling opbouwen, waarbij de held (protagonist), de tegenspeler (antagonist) en de derde daar tussenin (tritagonist) worden onderscheiden.

achter het toneel. Aan de linkerkant, achter het toneel, is de deur van het kantoor van Elmer. Tussen de twee deuren is er een piano]

Act I

A comfortably and tastefully, but not expensively furnished room. Backstage right a door leads to the hall, backstage left, another door to HELMER's study. Between these two doors stands a piano.

Het Engelse woord “hall”, typisch voor de huizen in Europa, maakt plaats voor “entrada prinsipal” [Hoofdingang]. “Tastefully (...) furnished” wordt in het Papiamentu vertaald met “nèchi mueblá”.

Entre e dos portanan tin un piano. Meimei di e muraya na man robes tin un porta ku un bentana na su man robes. Pegá ku e bentana tin un mesa rondó, dos stul kómodo i un sofa chikitu. Mei mei na e muraya na man drechi di esenario tin un porta. Kantu di e muraya, parti dilanti di esenario tin un kushina ku stof i un mesa di komedor chikitu ku kuater stul.

[Tussen de twee deuren staat een piano. Halverwege de muur, aan de linkerkant is een deur met een raam aan de linkerkant. Bij het raam staat een ronde tafel, twee comfortabele stoelen en een kleine sofa. In het midden van de muur aan de rechterkant van het toneel, is een deur. Aan de kant van de muur, aan de voorkant van het toneel is een keuken met een fornuis en een kleine eettafel met vier stoelen]

In the middle of the left-hand wall is a door, with a window downstage of it. Near the window, a round table with armchairs and a small sofa. In the right-hand wall, slightly upstage, is a door; downstage of this, against the same wall, a stove lined with porcelain tiles, with a couple of armchairs and a rocking chair in front of it. Between the stove and the side door is a small table.

De beschrijving van de goed geoutillieerde huiskamer geeft, hoewel onderling licht verschillend, een knusse sfeer weer. Opvallend is dat “a couple of armchairs”, vertaald wordt met “kuater stul” [vier stoelen]. In de tekst in het Papiamentu volgt de verwijzing naar een schommelstoel iets verderop in de toneelaanwijzing.

Eibanda mes tin un stul di zoya, un kashi glas yen di tayó, glas, kòpi ku skòter, etsetera. Por mira tambe un kashi yen di buki tokante ekonomia i lei, i un tapeit abou na suela. Tempo pafó ta skur i áwaseru ta kai.

[Daarnaast een schommelstoel, en een glazenkast vol borden, glazen, kopjes en schotels, etcetera. Er is ook een kast vol boeken te zien over economie en recht, en een tapijt op de grond. Buiten is het donker en het regent.]

Engravings on the wall. A what-not with china and other bric-a-brac; a small bookcase with leather-bound books. A carpet on the floor; a fire in the stove. A winter day.

De tekst in het Papiamentu is explicieter. “China, and other bric-a-brac”, geeft ruimte aan Comenencia om de kast te vullen en om de boeken te specificeren als boeken voor economie en recht. Comenencia vertaalt “A winter day”, niet letterlijk maar kiest voor zijn adaptatie een tropische setting, met “Tempu pafó ta skur i awaseru ta kai” [Het weer buiten is donker en het regent]⁹.

Tweede akte

De vergelijking van de toneelaanwijzingen aan het begin van de tweede akte levert weinig onderlinge verschillen op.

Akto II

E mesun sala. E palu di Pasku ta pará banda di e piano. Tur regalo i vários adorno den e palu a disparsé. NORA su kartera i bachi ta poné riba sofa. E so ta den sala i ta kana bai bin nèrvioso. Despues di un ratu e ta keda para na e sofá i kue su bachi. (p. 53)

[Dezelfde huiskamer. De kerstboom staat naast de piano. Alle kadootjes en verschillende kerstboomversieringen zijn weg. Nora’s tas en jas liggen op de sofa. Zij is alleen in de huiskamer en loopt nerveus heen en wer. Na een poosje blijft zij voor de sofa staan en pakt haar jas.]

Act II

The same room. In the corner by the piano the Christmas tree stands, stripped and disheveled, its candles burned to their sockets. NORA’s outdoor clothes lie on the sofa. She is alone in the room, walking restlessly to-and-fro. At length she stops by the sofa and picks up her coat. (p. 1093)

Het zinsdeel uit de Engelse tekst “its candles burned to their sockets”, is in de tekst in het Papiamentu niet terug te vinden. De tekst in het Papiamentu geeft aan de Engelse tekst een eigen interpretatie. Opvallend is dat het Engelse to-and-fro [heen en weer] in het Papiamentu vertaald is met “ta kana bai bin”, een constructie met seriële werkwoorden die zo typisch is voor het Papiamentu.

Derde akte

Een vergelijking van de toneelaanwijzingen aan het begin van de derde akte levert slechts kleine verschillen op.

⁹ De periode van het jaar waarvoor de vertaler kiest, is equivalent aan de contextkeuze van het originele toneelstuk. Immers in de Curaçaose geografische context is de eindejaarsperiode, de regentijd, te vergelijken met de wintertijd.

Akto III

E mesun sala. E mesa banda di e sofá awor ta pará meimei den sala ku stul rònt di dje, manera promé. Ta anochi lat i lus di kas ta sendé. E porta ku ta duna pa entrada di kas ta habrí i di aleu por tende muzik di baile ta toka. SRA. LINDE, sintá na mesa, ta pasa den un revista, ku un ekspreshon di preokupashon riba su kara. E ta purba lesa pero su tinu ta mas pafó ku den e buki. Kada ratu e ta drei wak porta di kas. (p. 88)

[Dezelfde huiskamer. De tafel naast de sofa staat nu in het midden van de kamer, de stoelen eromheen zoals eerder. Het is laat in de avond en het huis is verlicht. De voordeur van het huis staat open en er klinkt dansmuziek van buiten. Mevrouw Linde zit aan de tafel en bladert in een tijdschrift, met een bezorgd gezicht. Zij probeert te lezen, maar haar aandacht is meer gericht op haar omgeving dan op het boek. Steeds weer draait ze zich om en werpt een blik op de voordeur.]

Act III

The same room. The table which was formerly by the sofa has been moved into the center of the room: the chairs surround it as before. A lamp is burning on the table. The door to the hall stands open. Dance music can be heard from the floor above. MRS. LINDE is seated at the table, absentmindedly glancing through a book. She is trying to read, but seems unable to keep her mind on it. More than once she turns and listens anxiously towards the front door. (p. 1109)

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Het deel, “absentmindedly glancing through a book. She is trying to read, but seems unable to keep her mind on it”, wordt in het Papiamentu vertaald met “un ekspreshon di preokupashon riba su kara. E ta purba lesa pero su tinu ta mas pafó ku den e buki.” geen letterlijke vertaling van de tekst in het Engels, maar wel een vertaling die de inhoudelijke lading dekt.¹⁰

Dialogen en gebezigde taal

De dialoog komt ook voor in andere literaire vormen. Bij toneel gaat het om de afwijzing van de gesproken tekst door de personages die met elkaar in gesprek zijn.

Bij het vergelijken van de dialogen blijkt dat de Engelse brontekst redelijk nauwgezet gevolgd wordt. Maar ook bij de vertaling van de dialogen worden er lichte aanpassingen gedaan, mede ingegeven door een streven naar het effect van de ‘couleur locale’. Elmer richt zich bijvoorbeeld in de eerste scène tot een neuriënde Nora, met de woorden: “Ta mi kanari ta flùit ei?” (p. 10) [Is mijn kanarie aan het zingen?], “Is that my skylark twittering out there?” (p. 1072) [Is dat mijn leeuwerikje?]. Een verwijzing naar een kanarie zal de doorsnee Curaçaose toeschouwer eerder aanspreken dan een leeuwerik, die voor hem onbekend is. Elmer vervolgt: “Ta mi paharitu ta bula bai bin eifó?” [Is dat

¹⁰ Daarbij is het bijzonder dat er in de vertaling in het Papiamentu, eerst sprake is van een tijdschrift [revista] en verder op in het fragment van een buki [boek].

mijn vogeltje dat daarbuiten heen en weer vliegt?], “Is that my squirrel rustling?” [Is dat mijn eekhoorntje dat ritselt?]. De vergelijking van Nora met een vogeltje zal meer tot de verbeelding spreken van het lokale publiek dan met een eekhoorntje, dat in de Curaçaose natuur niet voorkomt.

Het valt op dat in de Engelse tekst herhaalde malen verwezen wordt naar de lekkernij macaroons in de Papiamentstalige tekst “kuki” [koek] of “kos dushi” [zoetheid] gebruikt worden. Deze versimpeling is mogelijk ingegeven door het feit dat het woord “kuki” en “kos dushi” bij het lokale publiek zeker begrepen wordt en de speciale koek, “macaroons”, vraagtekens kan oproepen. Opvallend genoeg kiest de vertaler er niet voor macaroons te vervangen door een lokale variant van macaroons.

Elmer spreekt Nora in de Papiamentstalige tekst herhaaldelijk aan met het voor een lokaal publiek zo herkenbare *dushi* (liefje), om zijn genegenheid uit te drukken jegens haar. Een letterlijke vertaling is in de Engelse brontekst daarvan niet terug te vinden.

Deze toevoeging kan beschouwd worden als een lokale aanpassing, ofwel het streven van de vertaler enig *couleur-locale* aan te brengen. Een andere opvallende contextualisering volgt uit de scène waarin Nora Elmer ervan wil overtuigen dat er dit jaar wel meer geld kan worden uitgegeven met kerst. Nora: “Konpolaga, Elmer. E aña akí sí nos por eksagerá un tiki. Of nò? Awor ku bo salario a subi, ta hopi sèn bo t’ei gana pa luna.” (p. 10), [Natuurlijk, Elmer. Dit jaar kunnen we wel een beetje overdrijven. Of niet? Nu jouw salaris omhoog is gegaan, ga je per maand veel geld verdienen.], “You’ve got a big salary now, and you’re going to make lots and lots of money.” Elmer reageert als volgt: “Otro aña, sí. Ma kòrda ku ta te aprel mi ta kuminsá kobra e salario nobo.” (p. 11) [Volgend jaar wel. Maar denk eraan, ik ga het nieuwe salaris pas in april krijgen], “Next year, yes. But my new salary doesn’t start till April.” (p. 1073). Elmer geeft vervolgens aan dat hij een *vorskòt di dosmil florin pa Pasku* [een voorschot van tweeduizend gulden voor Kerstmis] (p. 11), moest vragen, in het Engels terug te vinden als, “I were to borrow fifty pounds today” (p. 1073). Door “pounds” niet letterlijk te vertalen in het Papiamentse “libra” maar te verwijzen naar de lokale valuta van guldens wordt de tekst meer naar het lokale publiek toe vertaald.

Zoals ook uit de vorige dialogen kan worden afgeleid, doet de tekst in het Papiamentu qua vlotheid en scherpte niet onder voor die in het Engels. Nora richt zich tot Elmer in verband met de uitgaven voor Kerst. Nora: “Ai Elmer, bo mes no ta haña ku e aña akí sí nos mester por gasta un tiki mas? Ta promé Pasku ku nos no tin nodi kremenchá.” (p. 10) [Ach, Elmer, vind je zelf niet dat we dit jaar iets meer kunnen uitgeven? Het is de eerste Kerst dat we niet hoeven te beknibben], “Oh, Torvald, surely we can let ourselves go a little this year! It is the first Christmas we don’t have to scrape.” (p. 1073). Het Papiamentse woord *kremenchá* dekt de lading perfect van het Engelse “to scrape”. Nora wordt door Elmer getypeerd als *Un barí sin bom* [een vat zonder bodem] (p. 13), terwijl de Engelse tekst luidt: “What is the name of that little bird that can never keep any money?” (p. 1074) [hoe heet dat kleine vogeltje dat geen geld kan vasthouden?].

Wanneer Kristine Linde aan Nora vraagt of haar echtgenoot na de reis die hij voor zijn gezondheid moest maken ook beter werd: “Anto bo kasá a bin bèk kompletamente kurá?”, “And your husband came back completely cured?” (p. 1077), antwoordt Nora met het voor een Papiamentstalig publiek zeer herkenbare “Sprinchi sprinchi” (p. 20) [Springlevend], in de Engelse brontekst terug te vinden als “Fit as a fiddle!” (p. 1077), een uitdrukking die de lading dekt en ook de kracht heeft van het gereduplicateerde “Sprinchi sprinchi” [Letterlijk: springlevend, springlevend]. Zowel de volledige (sprinchi sprinchi) als de gedeeltelijke reduplicatie (Fit as a fiddle) is een taalkundig verschijnsel in het Papiamentu en in veel andere talen, zoals ook het Engels, dat versterkende werking heeft (Brute & Severing, 2019).¹¹

Door te kiezen voor ‘kanari’ in plaats van leeuwerik, ‘paharito’ in plaats van eekhoorn, ‘kuki’ of ‘kos dushi’ in plaats van macarons en het invoegen van het woord ‘dushi’ (liefje), bouwt de vertaler karakteristieke Curaçaos-Caribische sfeer- en stemmingselementen in het toneelstuk die de lokale omgeving weergeven. De drie voorbeelden: *kremenchá; un barí sin bom en sprinchi sprinchi* illustreren de vertaalkunst van Comenencia die goedgekozen equivalenten selecteert¹². Wanneer de term equivalent gebruikt wordt binnen de vertaalwetenschap is dat ter aanduiding van de relatie van ‘gelijkwaardigheid’ tussen brontekst en doelttekst. Immers vertaling en origineel kunnen niet identiek zijn, maar vertonen bepaalde vormen van equivalentie (Van Bork e.a., 2002; ALL, 2012-2019).¹³

De voorbeelden die exemplarisch zijn voor het vertaalde werk, laten ook zien dat het stuk geschreven is voor een Curaçaos publiek, waarvoor Comenencia de sfeer comfortabeler maakt door een passende stemming en door de couleur locale voldoende aandacht te geven in de doelttekst. Er is sprake van een gevoelige taalhantering in deze vertaling.

¹¹ Van het verschijnsel (volledige) reduplicatie (Papiaments: loko loko, tiki tiki; Nederlands: samsam, nounou; Engels: bye-bye, night-night), dat in Europese talen eveneens voorkomt, is fit as a fiddle te beschouwen als een vrije variant in de vorm van partiële reduplicatie (Papiaments: bim bam; a la fin a la fan; Nederlands: zig-zag, wissewasje; Engels: bric-a-brac, chit-chat).

¹² Meestal wordt bij het vertalen de term “taalkundig equivalent” gebruikt, waarbij equivalente woorden, woordgroepen en zinnen in verschillende talen met elkaar overeenkomen. In de semantiek wordt met een equivalent een woord of woordgroep bedoeld, verwijzend naar hetzelfde concept als een ander woord of een andere woordgroep. Dit wil zeggen dat er bij echte equivalentie niet alleen sprake is van een volledig overeenkomende denotatie, maar dat de verschillende woorden of woordgroepen ook tot hetzelfde register behoren en exact dezelfde connotatie hebben. In een enkel geval kan het zelfs om hele zinnen gaan; men spreekt dan ook wel van proposities die logisch equivalent zijn. In ruimere zin wordt de aanduiding ook wel gebruikt als equivalent van ‘gevoelige taalhantering’ (Van Bork e.a., 2002).

¹³ De discussie inzake de term equivalent is dan wel, hoe precies die equivalentie moet worden gedefinieerd (is het een kwestie van tekststructuren, intenties, effecten, buitentekstuele referentie, stijl, functie?), op welk niveau men ze moet beschouwen (bijv. zinsniveau of tekstniveau?) en hoe strikt equivalentie moet zijn (perfecte omwisselbaarheid of ruwe gelijkenis?). Types en gradaties van vertaalequivalentie zijn gekoppeld aan de culturele situaties waarin de vertaler opereert (ALL, 2012-2019).

Ruimte en tijd

Een nauwgezette vergelijking van de teksten geeft in eerste instantie de indruk dat de Engelse brontekst en de adaptatie naar het Papiamentu, zich beide in dezelfde ruimte en tijd afspelen. De plaats van handeling is in alle drie de akten immers de huiskamer van de familie Torres. Maar dit beeld verandert wanneer “a winter day” vertaald wordt met “Tempu pafó ta skur i awaseru ta kai”. Dit is de eerste aanwijzing dat de ene huiskamer zich in een koud land bevindt en de andere huiskamer niet. Ook geeft de vertaalkeuze voor “paharitu” voor eekhoorn en “kanari” voor leeuwerik, een verschuiving in de plaats van handeling.

De vertaling van “yaya” voor “nurse” in de rollenlijst, lijkt voor deze verschuiving een vooraankondiging, alsook het feit dat de namen van de hoofdpersonages in de Papiamentstalige tekst in voor toeschouwers met een lokale achtergrond herkenbare namen veranderd zijn.

De toneelaanwijzingen van de eerste akte en de eerste dialogen, doen vermoeden dat beide toneelstukken zich in dezelfde tijd afspelen. Maar dat idee vervaagt als in de Papiamentstalige versie plotseling het woord *lèptòp* verschijnt bij de vertaling van de opmerking van Nora: “Last winter I managed to get a lot of copying to do. So I shut myself away and wrote every evening, late into the night” (p. 1080) [Afgelopen winter lukte het mij om veel kopieerwerk uit te voeren. Dus sloot ik mezelf op en schreef iedere avond door, tot laat in de nacht], dat in het Papiamentu vertaald wordt met “Ki ora ku Elmer sali bai, mi tabata saka mi *lèptòp* kuminsa traha” [Elke keer als Elmer wegging, haalde ik mijn laptop tevoorschijn en begon te werken]. Een laptop was er in de tijd van Ibsen nog niet, en komt in de Engelse brontekst niet voor. Dat geldt ook voor het woord ‘officemanager’, dat door Nora gebruikt wordt om aan Elmer de vaardigheden van Kristine aan te prijzen voor een taak bij de bank. Nora; “Kristine ta un tremendo *office manager*” (p. 33) [Kristine is een geweldige office manager (...)]; “Kristine is frightfully good at office work” (p. 1084). De woorden in het Papiamentu plaatsen de adaptatie meer in het heden dan in het verleden. Dit wordt door Comenencia geleidelijk en geruisloos gedaan.

Ondanks dat Ibsen ontkent dat het om een feministisch spel ging, veroorzaakte het toneelstuk destijds een grote sensatie en een storm van verontwaardigde controverse in de theaterwereld, de internationale media en de samenleving.¹⁴ Het hoofdpersonage Nora is een symboolfiguur geworden voor de vrouwenemancipatie en wordt wereldwijd gezien als een belangrijk rolmodel. Maatschappelijk zorgde het stuk rond 1880 voor

¹⁴ In 2006, de honderdste verjaardag van Ibsen's dood, onderscheidde *A Doll's House* zich als het meest uitgevoerde toneelstuk ter wereld dat jaar. UNESCO heeft Ibsen's gesigneerde manuscripten van *A Doll's House* on the Memory of the World Register in 2001 ingeschreven als erkenning voor hun historische waarde en betekenis als cultureel erfgoed van de wereld. Bijzonder was zijn invloed op de opkomst van vrouwenemancipatie, de vrouwenbeweging en zijn rol in de opkomst van het moderne Westerse drama.

veel opschudding en onrust; er werden zelfs demonstraties voor en tegen het stuk gehouden, niet alleen in Noorwegen maar in heel Europa. *A doll's house* is dan ook wel een der meest invloedrijke werken genoemd die ooit werden geschreven (UNESCO, 2001). In de derde akte zegt Nora: “Mi sí ta kere. Anto sigun mi bo tin rason tambe. Mi no ta kla pa eduká e muchanan. Pasobra mi tin ku eduká mi mes promé. I abo no por yuda mi ku esei. Ta algu ku mi mes tin ku hasi, riba mi mes. Ta p’esei m’a disidí ku ta mihó mi bai.” (p. 113) [Ja. Je had volkomen gelijk. Ik ben niet geschikt om ze op te voeden. Er is nog iets dat ik eerst moet doen. Ik moet mezelf opvoeden. En daar kun je me niet mee helpen. Het is iets dat ik alleen moet doen. Daarom verlaat ik je.]; “Yes. You were perfectly right. I'm not fitted to educate them. There's something else I must do first. I must educate myself. And you can't help me with that. It's something I must do by myself. That's why I'm leaving you.” (p. 1121)

Ibsen focust op Nora als symbolische personage. Daardoor toont hij in het personage van Nora de sociale realiteit en identiteit, macht en vrijheid van vrouwen. Ze wordt een vertegenwoordiger van het feminisme. Zij wil laten zien dat de vrouw in alles gelijk kan zijn aan de man en autonoom is in haar eigen identiteit (Iseni, 2014: 16; Devaki, 2018). In 2002 werd *A doll's house* opgenomen in de lijst van beste 100 boeken uit de wereldliteratuur, samengesteld op initiatief van de Noorse boekenclubs en de Zweedse Academie. De keuze van de vertaler om dit wereldvermaarde stuk op te nemen in het plaatselijke drama-repertoire, past in de traditie van toneeladaptaties van de Curaçaose toneelwereld. Het zijn doorgaans stukken die op wereldniveau tot de klassiekers behoren, bij voorkeur een relevante boodschap bevatten en die wat ruimte en tijd betreft na adaptatie geschikt zijn voor het lokale theater- of lezerspubliek.

Ten aanzien van tijd en ruimte had de vertaler ook de keuze tussen twee verschillende slotscènes. Het feit dat Nora aan het eind van het toneelstuk haar echtgenoot en kinderen zou verlaten, was uiterst controversieel eind negentiende eeuw. Men was bang dat in de Duitse theaters het oorspronkelijke einde niet goed zou vallen. Ibsen werd gedwongen een alternatief einde te schrijven voor de Duitse première. In dat alternatieve einde wordt Nora naar haar kinderen geleid na de ruzie met haar echtgenoot. Als zij haar kinderen ziet, valt ze flauw. Het doek valt, zo wordt geïmpliceerd dat ze bij het gezin blijft. Ibsen beschouwde dit alternatieve slot later als een schande voor het oorspronkelijke stuk en noemde het een “barbaarse wandaad”. Vrijwel alle producties gebruiken tegenwoordig het oorspronkelijke einde, net als bijna alle filmversies van het stuk. Hoewel in de huidige tijd het oorspronkelijke einde voor de Curaçaose samenleving minder controversiële reacties zou oproepen, is de keuze voor de oorspronkelijke, controversiële afloop toch te beschouwen als een statement dat de vertaler maakt ten voordele van de vrouwenbeweging (Heller, 1912: 144).

Tot slot

Uit het voorgaande kan worden geconcludeerd dat de adaptatie naar het Papiamentu dicht bij de Engelse brontekst is gebleven, en tevens inhoudelijk trouw aan het oorspronkelijke werk van Ibsen. De adaptatie ademt evenwel een lokaal karakter en een eigen sfeer uit. Het is zeer aannemelijk dat *Nora su Kas di Pòpchi* niet alleen aftrek vindt bij een grote groep lezers, maar dat het stuk als het zou worden opgevoerd volle zalen trekt. Dit zou in lijn zijn met de literaire traditie van voorstellingen van adaptaties uit de vorige eeuw. Het zou mogelijkserwijs als voorbode kunnen worden gezien voor een herleving van deze traditie, met impliciet een waardering voor het Papiamentu en het verstevigen van de status van deze taal. Na een aanloop van orale teksten groeide een streven naar geschreven literaire teksten in het bijzonder na 1863, waarbij er volle aandacht was voor het Papiaments als literaire taal. De ontstane drang om te bewijzen dat het Papiamentu ook als literaire taal fungeerde, was een verzet tegen de ‘holandisashon’ (vernederlandsing) met de komst van de olieraffinaderij in 1915 en vormde onderdeel van een vroeg pleidooi voor een eigen culturele ontwikkeling (Rutgers, 2018). Nu de jonge creooltaal Papiaments een officiële nationale taal, schooltaal en een relevante gemeenschapstaal is op Aruba, Bonaire en Curaçao, betekent elke toevoeging aan het (literaire) tekstenarsenaal een welkome inbreng die statusverhogend kan werken. Aan het vergroten van de waardering voor het Papiamentu levert *Nora su kas di pòpchi* in 2016 als vertaling en adaptatie van een toneelstuk dat tot het culturele wereldgoed behoort, zeker een bijdrage.

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PAPIEREN HUIZEN IN EEN DORSTIG PARADIJS: DE VERBEELDING VAN NAOORLOGS CURAÇAO IN TWEE CARIBISCH-NEDERLANDSE ROMANS

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Abstract

Dit artikel is een imagologische analyse van twee passantenromans waarin een beeld wordt gegeven van het eiland Curaçao kort na de Tweede Wereldoorlog: *Dorstig paradijs* (1949) van Adriaan Hulshoff *Papieren huizen* (1953) van Ben van Grevenbroek. In de imagologie wordt ervan uitgegaan dat het beeld dat we hebben van andere landen, culturen en mensen voor een deel wordt bepaald door beschrijvingen in literaire teksten. De op deze manier gevormde beelden hebben vervolgens invloed op de wijze waarop de beschreven landen, culturen en mensen worden gezien en benaderd. Op basis van deze theoretische uitgangspunten kan worden gesteld dat de romans van Hulshoff en van Van Grevenbroek, die in de Nederlandse pers welwillend werden gerecenseerd, invloed kunnen hebben gehad op de houding van de Nederlandse onderhandelaars jegens hun Curaçaose gesprekspartners tijdens de rondetafelconferenties over de toekomst van het Koninkrijk, die plaatsvonden in 1948 en 1952. Dit maakt de hier gepresenteerde analyses relevant. Imagologisch onderzoek naar andere literaire werken die behoren tot de Nederlands-Caribische en Caribisch-Nederlandse literatuur en die verschenen na de Tweede Wereldoorlog kan een bijdrage leveren aan een onderzoek naar de moeizame relatie tussen Nederland en Curaçao.

Kernbegrippen: Curaçao, imagologie, *Dorstig paradijs*, *Papieren huizen*

Inleiding

Met haar Curaçaose man Edgardo verruult Evelien van Eerdhuysen, hoofdpersoon van Adriaan Hulshoffs roman *Dorstig paradijs*, begin 1947 het armoedige en grijze naoorlogse Nederland voor de kleurrijke overvloed van het Curaçao van haar schoonfamilie.

Al snel komt ze tot de conclusie dat in haar nieuwe omgeving veel dingen anders zijn dan dat ze gewend is en “dat Curaçao in feite bij Zuid-Amerika hoort en niet bij Nederland” (Hulshoff, 1949: 331). Evelien begrijpt veel dingen niet, iets wat ze volgens haar schoonvader maar moet accepteren: “‘Dans jij maar’, glimlachte hij. ‘De toestanden zijn veel ingewikkelder dan het lijkt. Zelfs al heb je een goed verstand als het jouwe, kun je de verhoudingen en de problemen hier niet begrijpen.’” (Hulshoff: 121).

In de Caribisch-Nederlandse literatuur bestaan veel meer ‘Eveliëns’, hoofdpersonen die zich met hun Nederlandse achtergrond geconfronteerd zien met de ongrijpbare en onbegrijpelijke andere wereld van Curaçao. Niet zelden is het beeld dat de Nederlandse lezer van Curaçao en zijn bevolking via deze romans en verhalen krijgt, weinig positief. Dat is zeker het geval in de twee romans die centraal staan in dit artikel: *Dorstig paradijs* (1949) van Adriaan Hulshoff en *Papieren huizen* (1953) van Ben van Grevenbroek. In de verbeelding van Curaçao zoals die door beide auteurs gepresenteerd wordt, zijn verschillende aspecten te onderscheiden, bijvoorbeeld de politieke relatie met Nederland, de verhoudingen binnen de familie, man-vrouwrelaties en de positie van de *makamba* (import-Nederlander) op het eiland. De kern van dit artikel (Het beeld van Curaçao en de Curaçaoënaars) wordt gevormd door een bespreking van de elementen waaruit het door Hulshoff en Van Grevenbroek in hun romans gegeven beeld van Curaçao is opgebouwd. Deze analyse wordt voorafgegaan door een samenvatting van beide boeken. Maar eerst volgt een klein theoretisch kader, waardoor duidelijk zal worden wat het belang is van een analyse van de literaire verbeelding van Curaçao zoals die wordt gegeven van dit type romans. In de slotopmerkingen worden enkele voorlopige conclusies getrokken en worden er voorstellen gedaan voor vervolgonderzoek.

Literaire beeldvorming

Dorstig paradijs en *Papieren huizen* verschenen enkele jaren na de Tweede Wereldoorlog, die een duidelijk breekpunt vormde in de relatie tussen Nederland en zijn koloniën in West-Indië. In de oorlogsjaren waren de Surinaamse bauxietindustrie en de olieraffinaderijen op Curaçao en Aruba essentieel voor de geallieerde oorlogsvoering. Oostindie (1998: 156) concludeert: “De economische ontwikkeling van beide koloniën was dankzij de oorlog opnieuw in een stroomversnelling geraakt. Zonder twijfel versterkte dit alles een optimistisch zelfbewustzijn in de Caraïbische gebiedsdelen.” Het “optimistisch zelfbewustzijn” werd ongetwijfeld ook aangewakkerd door de rede die koningin Wilhelmina op 6 december 1942 uitsprak voor Radio Oranje. Het woord onafhankelijkheid kwam in haar toespraak niet voor, maar er werd wel degelijk gerefereerd aan interne zelfstandigheid voor de overzeese gebiedsdelen in de West. De nieuwe verhoudingen tussen Nederland, Suriname en de zes Antilliaanse eilanden waren na de oorlog het onderwerp van gesprek op twee rondetafelconferenties, gehouden in 1948 en 1952. Het eindresultaat van deze conferenties was het Statuut voor het Koninkrijk der Neder-

landen (1954), een wettelijke regeling waarmee formeel een einde kwam aan een koloniale periode die ruim driehonderd jaar had geduurd. Nederland, Suriname en de Nederlandse Antillen werden dankzij het Statuut drie gelijkwaardige partners binnen het Koninkrijk.

Zagen de Nederlandse onderhandelaars bij de rondetafelconferenties hun overzeese gesprekspartners inderdaad als gelijkwaardig? Hadden ze sowieso een beeld van de wijze waarop de samenlevingen in de West in elkaar zaten en functioneerden? Interessante en relevante vragen. Antwoorden konden de Nederlandse politici natuurlijk in eerste instantie vinden in officiële gegevens, statistieken, enzovoorts. Maar als het gaat om beeldvorming spelen andersoortige bronnen vaak een nog belangrijkere rol, bijvoorbeeld reisverhalen en fictieteksten. Beller (2007a: 5) is daar duidelijk over: “Our images of foreign countries, peoples and cultures mainly derive from selective value judgments (which are in turn derived from selective observation) as expressed in travel writing and in literary representations.” Dat de beeldvorming van andere landen en hun bevolking tot stand komt en verspreid wordt via literaire teksten is voor Leerssen (2007d: 353-354) geen punt van discussie: “Literary texts are often written under a fictionality convention, requiring a reader’s ‘willing suspension of disbelief’ [...], and thus facilitating the presentations of national commonplaces which in other genres might meet with skepticism”. De wetenschap die zich bezighoudt met “the origin and function of characteristics of other countries and peoples, as expressed textually, particularly in the way in which they are presented in works of literature, plays, poems, travel books and essays” (Beller, 2007a: 7), is de imagologie, een specialisme binnen de vergelijkende literatuurwetenschap. In de imagologie draait het om de bestudering van het *image*: “The mental or discursive representation or reputation of a person, group, ethnicity or ‘nation’” (Leerssen, 2007c: 342). In literaire teksten worden zowel beelden van de eigen cultuur (auto-image) als van het andere en de ander (hetero-image) onderschreven, bestendigd en verspreid. Deze beelden zijn natuurlijk fictief, maar “their cultural study has found that, while stereotypes distort reality, they also create problematic realities of their own” (Beller, 2007b: 430). Dit laatste maakt het bestuderen en analyseren van deze beelden relevant.

Verondersteld kan worden dat met name *Dorstig paradijs* invloed kan hebben gehad op de Nederlandse beeldvorming over Curaçao en daarmee op de manier waarop de Nederlandse onderhandelaars bij de rondetafelconferenties de gesprekspartners uit de West tegemoet traden en met hun verlangens, wensen en eisen omgingen. De roman van Hulshoff werd in de Nederlandse pers welwillend gerecenseerd en in de jaren vijftig werd het boek een aantal malen herdrukt. Rechtszaken die te maken hadden met de identiteit van de auteur die zich verborg achter het pseudoniem Adriaan Hulshoff hielden het boek in het nieuws (Venema, 1990; 1992). Ook *Papieren huizen* kreeg in de Nederlandse pers overwegend positieve kritieken. Uit het feit dat een weinig hoogstaand werk, geschreven door een onbekende auteur en op de markt gebracht door een

uitgeverij die in de Nederlandse literaire wereld geen prominente plaats innam, aandacht kreeg in bijvoorbeeld het Parool, Trouw en de Volkskrant kan wellicht geconcludeerd worden dat de Antillen ‘nieuws’ waren. Op Curaçao was de ontvangst van beide romans beduidend anders dan in Nederland; in de lokale krant Amigoe werden zowel *Dorstig paradijs* als *Papieren huizen* neergesabeld. Waar de Nederlandse pers in veel gevallen het realistische beeld van het eiland waardeerde, was men op Curaçao zelf juist van mening dat er van het door Hulshoff en Van Grevenbroek gepresenteerde beeld niets klopte.

Korte samenvattingen

Dorstig paradijs

De hoofdpersoon van *Dorstig paradijs*, dat zich afspeelt tussen eind 1946 en eind 1947, is Evelien van Eerdhuysen, een studente afkomstig uit een aristocratische maar door de oorlog verarmde familie. In de trein ontmoet ze de Curaçaose rechtenstudent Edgardo Morena de Castello; zijn familie behoort tot de zakenelite van het eiland. Evelien en Edgardo trouwen begin 1947 en vertrekken meteen naar Curaçao. Ze gaan daar inwonen in het grote familiehuis van de Morena's in Scharloo, de traditionele woonwijk van de Spaans-joodse elite van het eiland. Edgardo's vader, sjon Alexander, is de onbetwiste patriarch van de familie; alle kinderen laten zich in hun opvattingen en doen en laten leiden door zijn inzichten, iets waar Evelien veel moeite mee heeft. Voor Evelien is Curaçao een paradijs waar het leven goed is, maar het is letterlijk en figuurlijk een dorstig paradijs. De schaarste aan water zorgt voor problemen bij zowel de oude plantages als bij de grote raffinaderij, die sinds de jaren twintig het economisch leven op het eiland bepaalt. Daarnaast is Curaçao dor in figuurlijke zin: Evelien mist cultuur.

Heel toevallig ontmoet Evelien haar Nederlandse jeugdvriend Feike weer. Hij werkt op de vervallen plantage Sint Paulus, eigendom van sjon Jacob Schalkwijck, een aartsvijand van Edgardo's vader. Als die erachter komt dat Evelien vriendschappelijke contacten blijkt te onderhouden met Schalkwijck ontstaan er grote problemen. Na een auto-ongeluk vertrekt Edgardo zonder afscheid te nemen van Evelien voor een rustkuur naar het buitenland. Het huwelijk wordt ontbonden. Evelien en Feike verlaten Curaçao en gaan op zoek naar een nieuwe toekomst in Zuid-Amerika.

Papieren huizen

Net als *Dorstig paradijs* begint *Papieren huizen* (1953) in het naoorlogse, verarmde Nederland. Jan Diepe, de onzekere en niet erg vlotte hoofdpersoon afkomstig uit de lagere middenklasse, reageert op een advertentie en kan aan de slag als amanuensis en conciërge op een school op Curaçao. Op het strand ontmoet hij Conchita Lopez de Morla, dochter van de rijke zakenman sjon Manchi. Net als de schoonfamilie van Evelien in *Dorstig paradijs* behoort de familie van Conchita tot de Spaans-joodse zakenelite.

Als Jan wordt verdacht van diefstal en wordt ontslagen, gaat hij werken bij de handelsfirma van zijn aanstaande schoonvader. In zijn nieuwe functie ergert hij zich aan het achterbakse geklets en de manier van werken van zijn Curaçaose collega's; zelf voelt hij zich ondergewaardeerd door zijn schoonvader. Hij wil graag voor zichzelf beginnen. Als hij achter de rug van zijn schoonvader om contact heeft met de vertegenwoordiger van een groot Amerikaans bedrijf waarvan sjon Manchi de agent is, ontstaan er problemen. Die worden nog groter als Jan een relatie begint met een donkere Jamaicaanse, die anders dan de zeer passieve Conchita veel belangstelling heeft voor de geschiedenis en de natuur van Curaçao. Door de 'papieren huizen' op het eiland komt alles uit. Jan besluit de verloving met Conchita te verbreken en vertrekt naar Amerika, waar hij gaat werken voor de KLM.

Zoals gezegd zijn in de literaire verbeelding die Hulshoff en Van Grevenbroek geven van het andere (Curaçao) en de ander (de Curaçaoënaar) verschillende aspecten te onderscheiden; deze komen in de volgende paragrafen aan de orde. De afkortingen DP en PH geven de bron van de citaten aan; de paginanummers zijn die van de eerste druk van het betreffende boek.

Het beeld van Curaçao en de Curaçaoënaars

De Curaçaose samenleving

Sterk simplificerend kan worden gesteld dat er in de traditionele Curaçaose samenleving, zoals die bestond voordat de komst van de raffinaderij in de jaren twintig van de vorige eeuw zorgde voor drastische sociaal-economische veranderingen, drie duidelijk van elkaar onderscheiden bevolkingsgroepen naast (en zeker ook: met) elkaar leefden. De sociaal-economische elite werd gevormd door de blanke protestanten, oorspronkelijk van Nederlandse afkomst, en een in het algemeen lichtgekleurde handelsklasse met Spaans-Portugese joodse wortels; lager op de sociale ladder stond de rest van de bevolking, de meer of minder donkere Curaçaoënaars. Hoewel recent onderzoek steeds meer uitwijst dat de sociale ordening gecompliceerder en genuanceerder was dan de hier geschetste, is deze driedeling praktisch bij de bespreking van de sociale contacten van Evelien en Jan op het Curaçao van eind jaren veertig van de vorige eeuw.

Zowel de familie Morena de Castello, de schoonfamilie van Evelien, als de familie Lopez de Morla, de familie waar Jan door zijn verloving met Conchita mee te maken krijgt, behoort tot de van oorsprong joodse handelselite van het eiland. Evelien leert de sociale klasse waar ze door haar huwelijk met Edgardo in terecht is gekomen, kennen op een receptie. Ze ziet daar "bejaarde zwaarlijvige en welgedane heren [...], zij heetten Capriles of Maduro of Salas of Rodriguez, en waren bankiers of scheepsbevrachters of eigenaars van de voorname magazijnen in de Breede- en de Heerenstraat. Zij waren de grote kooplieden van Curaçao" (DP: 55-56). Dat Evelien zeer welkom is in de familie

van Edgardo heeft zeker te maken met haar aristocratische afkomst, maar is ook te danken aan haar uiterlijk: ze is mooi, blond en blank: “Sjon Alexander, die zelf gaarne met zijn Hollandse afkomst van moederszijde koketteerde, betoonde zich hogelijk ingenomen met de blonde bruid van zijn zoon. Nu zou hij blonde kleinkinderen krijgen, snoefde hij en dat was de hartewens van elke Curaçaose grootvader” (DP: 67).

Evelien gaat ook intensief om met een typische vertegenwoordiger van de traditionele protestantse elite, sjon Jacob Schalkwijck, een aartsvijand van haar schoonvader. Dat de relaties tussen de sociale klasse waartoe de familie van Edgardo behoort en de protestantse bevolkingsgroep moeizaam zijn, wordt in *Dorstig paradijs* herhaaldelijk benadrukt. Volgens Betsy, de Nederlandse vrouw van Edgardo's broer, hebben alle Curaçaose koopmangeslachten “zich veel vermengd met Venezolanen maar zij vermengen zich ook thans niet met de Hollandse Curaçaoenaars, die ook al een paar eeuwen op het eiland wonen en meest streng protestant en zeer anti-Joods zijn. Die zijn overtuigd dat zij, en niemand anders, de ware heren en meesters van Curaçao zijn. Wat de grote kooplieden van hun kant natuurlijk ook denken” (DP: 83). Edgardo's jongste zus Consuelo heeft een heimelijke relatie met een protestantse jongen, een relatie die tot mislukken is gedoemd. Consuelo legt zelf uit waarom: “Weet je nou heus nog niet, dat een huwelijk tussen een protestantse Hollandse Curaçaoenaar en een katholieke Spaans-Joodse Curaçaose een onmogelijkheid is?” (DP: 335).

De donkere Curaçaoënaars met wie Evelien te maken heeft, zijn met name huispersoneel en winkelbediendes; ze maken op geen enkele manier deel uit van haar sociale leven. Ze worden structureel aangeduid als ‘negers’. Eveliens houding jegens de zwarte bevolkingsgroep is uiterst negatief. Na een probleem met een verkoopster in een winkel, reageert ze als volgt: “direct daarop verkeerde haar vrees in heftige woede [...] tegen heel het zwarte volk, met zijn onhebbelijkheid en zijn arrogantie. Ze zou willen slaan en stompen, ze zou een zweep willen hebben om ze te striemen. Maar in een ander deel van haar hersens stond tegelijk kristalhelder de gedachte: Dit is hun wraak op ons blanken” (DP: 126-127). Overigens staat Evelien bepaald niet alleen in haar negatieve observaties over de zwarte bevolking. Als Edgardo een opmerking wil afdoen als onzin, heeft hij het over “negerkletspraat” (DP: 363) en als neefje Eddy zijn zevende verjaardag mag vieren, lezen we: “Eddy had alle kinderen uit zijn klas mogen vragen, voor zover ze geen negers of halfbloeds waren” (DP: 199). In het algemeen is het beeld dat van de zwarte Curaçaoënaar wordt gegeven racistisch en regelrecht karikaturaal, zowel als het gaat om uiterlijk als om gedrag: “Er kwam een oude dikke negerin binnen [...]. In een roetzwart gezicht lachten een grote mond met nog prachtig witte tanden en de ogen, in hun blauwig wit, puilden bijna van vrolijke nieuwsgierigheid naar de bezoeker” (DP: 236). En: “Celesta snikte in Papiamento. Als alle negers was ze diep overtuigd dat ze ziek werd als ze in de regen liep” (DP: 384). Uitgesproken racistisch is sjon Jacob Schalkwijck. Over de donkere bevolking van het eiland stelt hij: “Ze zijn namelijk, ondanks alles wat ze hun beschaving en vooruitgang noemen, nog reservaten van

het ergste bijgeloof en volslagen onwetend omtrent de primitiefste eisen van hygiëne. Bovendien geloven ze allemaal vast aan toverij” (DP: 239). Zowel Schalkwijck als Sjon Alexander is van mening dat de moderne ‘neger’ veranderd is; Schalkwijck wijt dat aan de komst van de raffinaderij en de veranderingen die de Curaçaose samenleving als gevolg daarvan heeft ondergaan; Edgardo’s vader geeft de schuld aan politicus Da Costa Gomez, de Curaçaose onderhandelaar bij de rondetafelconferenties over de toekomst van het Koninkrijk.

Dat een man uit een van de twee traditionele elitegroepen een officiële relatie zou hebben met een zwarte vrouw is in beide boeken ondenkbaar. Als bijvrouw zijn deze vrouwen echter geen enkel probleem. Als Evelien met Edgardo aan het winkelen is, ontmoeten ze een halfbroer van hem. Edgardo geeft uitleg: “Dat is een situatie waaraan je hier zult moeten wennen. [...] Als elke grand-seigneur van het eiland heeft mijn vader in zijn goede jaren behalve zijn wettige nakomelingen ook nog een aantal onwettige in de wereld geholpen, dank zij langere of kortere amourettes met knappe negermeisjes of mulattinnen. De tel van die nakomelingschap is Paai allang kwijt” (DP: 69). Voor alle duidelijkheid voegt Edgardo eraan toe: “maar het is natuurlijk uitgesloten dat Paai hem en zijn halfbloed-vrouw ooit in onze familiekring zou ontvangen” (DP: 70).

De door zowel Evelien als Jan opgemerkte Curaçaose multiculturaliteit is terug te vinden in de verschillende talen die er worden gesproken. Jan doet z’n best Papiaments te leren, al noemt hij deze taal in een brief naar huis “dat rare taaltje” (PH: 26). De opvattingen die Evelien heeft over het Papiaments getuigen van nog minder respect voor de moedertaal van de meeste Curaçaoënaars: “Bah, wat een taal, beledigt al m’n klassieke gevoelens” (DP: 167). In beide boeken wordt het Nederlands van Curaçaoënaars uit lagere sociale klassen belachelijk gemaakt. Als Jan in een winkel even moet wachten, lezen we: “Oewaacht een beetje”, zei de juffrouw” (PH: 62). Het Nederlands van de huishoudster van Sjon Jacob in *Dorstig paradijs* wordt als volgt weergegeven: “Lange lange dag. Overal lek, lek, lek, Sjon Jacob so-boo-oos” (DP: 390).

Dorstig paradijs en *Papieren huizen* tonen de Nederlandse lezer een sterk gesegregeerde samenleving. Tussen de twee traditionele elitegroepen bestaat een behoorlijke animositeit; beide groepen hebben hun eigen geloof, taal en tradities, en vaak botsende belangen. Wat beide groepen gemeen hebben is een neerbuigende houding jegens de zwarte bevolking van het eiland. De ‘negers’ worden met name gezien als personeel, hoewel zwarte vrouwen populair zijn als bijvrouw. Evelien en Jan, die beiden via hun partner deel gaan uitmaken van de Spaans-joodse elite, hebben geen echt contact met zwarte Curaçaoënaars. Met name Evelien heeft, zoals gezegd, een racistische, paternalistische en karikaturale kijk op deze bevolkingsgroep.

De makamba's

Hoewel zowel Evelien als Jan op Curaçao deel gaat uitmaken van een lokale familie die behoort tot de traditionele handelselite van het eiland, zijn ze ook nadrukkelijk *makamba's*, Nederlanders die voor kortere of langere tijd op het eiland wonen en werken. Vriendschappelijke contacten hebben beiden vooral binnen deze groep. Het beeld dat van de op Curaçao wonende Nederlanders wordt geschetst is weinig positief: “Hadden de dames op Curaçao eigenlijk ooit andere conversatie dan over kleren of over de ‘Cronique Scandaleuse’?” (DP: 130), vraagt Evelien zich af. Behalve het geroddel is er veel geklaag over de hitte, de kosten van levensonderhoud en het (zwarte) personeel. Tegelijkertijd moeten de *makamba's* toegeven dat het leven op Curaçao heel wat beter is dan in het door de oorlog verarmde Nederland.

In het algemeen beschouwen de Nederlanders de Curaçaose samenleving vanaf de zijlijn. Met een koloniale mentaliteit becommentariëren ze het eiland en de bevolking. Van enig begrip voor de lokale cultuur en van werkelijk contact met Curaçaoënaars is nauwelijks sprake. In beide boeken wordt de relatie tussen Nederlanders en Curaçaoënaars als moeizaam voorgesteld. Eveliens vriendin Constance heeft het zelfs over een “verkapte vijandschap” (DP: 108-109). Evelien en Jan concluderen al snel dat ze zich niet erg thuis voelen op het eiland; de culturele verschillen tussen Nederland en Curaçao zijn te groot.

Politiek

In de periode dat Hulshoff en Van Grevenbroek aan hun boeken werkten, werd er in Den Haag overlegd tussen Nederland, Suriname en de Antilliaanse eilanden over nieuwe staatkundige verhoudingen binnen het Koninkrijk. Het is dus niet vreemd dat in beide boeken de politieke toekomst van Curaçao ter sprake komt. Bij de familie van Edgardo is de Curaçaose delegatieleider Da Costa Gomez niet erg populair: “Een paar maal sprak Paai op boze toon de naam van Da Costa Gomez uit, die, naar hij zeide, de negers opvree om ze in zijn vaarwater te krijgen, zodat straks, als hij bij het slecht ingelichte Nederlandse gouvernement algemeen kiesrecht voor Curaçao had doorgedreven, zijn democratische volkspartij de sterkste van het eiland zou zijn. – En waar gaan wij dan heen? bromde hij. – Naar een negerstaat, als op St. Domingo” (DP: 74). In *Papieren huizen* ervaart Jans vriendin Conchita vergelijkbare problemen: “Waar dat toch heen moest met die mensen van hier, Conchita wist het niet. Ze werden allemaal gek door de politiek. [Chauffeur] Manuel was altijd een nette geduldige jongen geweest, maar de laatste tijd las hij politieke krantjes en hij moest iedere keer vrij hebben om ‘s avonds naar de politieke vergaderingen te gaan. Pápa had hem al eens onderhanden genomen, maar Manuel was er brutaal tegenin gegaan” (PH: 86).

De traditionele elitegroepen van het eiland zijn weinig positief over Nederland. Volgens Edgardo's vader is Curaçao in het verleden altijd uitgebuit en verwaarloosd. Maar door de komst van de raffinaderij is het eiland “van een arm familielid een rijke erftante

geworden en nu wil Holland zich ons bestaan wel herinneren” (DP: 119). In bepaalde opzichten lijken de opvattingen van sjon Alexander sterk op die van zijn aartsvijand sjon Jacob Schalkwijck, die in *Dorstig paradijs* een representant is van de traditionele protestantse elite. Zo is Schalkwijck net zo negatief over de houding van Nederland ten opzichte van Curaçao als Edgardo’s vader: “Voor het stiefkind Curaçao had het Nederlandse Gouvernement immers nooit geld over. – Ze hebben ons zelfs willen verkopen! riep hij opeens met een schel overslaande stem” (DP: 385). Hoewel de relatie met Nederland moeizaam is, ziet de oude sjon met wie Jan in *Papieren huizen* een gesprek heeft over de toekomst van Curaçao, geen andere optie dan een blijvende band met het moederland: “‘Amerika wil hier geen vacuum van een paar zelfstandige eilanden. Wie pikt ze dus? Of Amerika of Venezuela. En deze beide landen hebben rasdiscriminatie, wat voor de oude blanke families niet hindert, maar de bevolking hier en ook velen van hun leiders kunnen dat niet gebruiken. En Nederland kent geen rasdiscriminatie’” (PH: 124).

Voor sjon Alexander is een goede relatie met Venezuela heel belangrijk. Sjon Jacob ziet het anders: “Ik wil Curaçao voor de Curaçaoenaren. De Venezolaanse zender dreigt, dat ze de aanvoer van ruwe petroleum gaan stop zetten, dat ze zelf raffinaderijen zullen bouwen en een haven maken bij Maracaibo. Laat ze voor mijn part begaan. Dan zal ons eiland weer arm worden maar het zal tenminste van ons zijn. De joden-kooplui zullen wegtrekken, die blijven niet wanneer er geen grof geld te verdienen valt, maar wij zullen blijven, de echte Curaçaoenaren, die hier eeuwenoude rechten hebben. En als de luie verwende negers willen eten, zullen ze weer moeten werken” (DP: 386).

Dorstig paradijs en *Papieren huizen* tonen de Nederlandse lezer een verdeelde lokale elite als het gaat om de politieke toekomst van Curaçao. Opmerkelijk is dat dit thema met name belangrijk lijkt te zijn voor de oudere generatie. Dat Evelien en Jan zich niet uitlaten over de politieke toekomst van het eiland is niet zo vreemd; ze zijn pas kort op Curaçao en kennen de lokale verhoudingen nog niet. Opmerkelijker is het dat hun partners, Edgardo en Conchita, helemaal geen mening lijken te hebben over dit onderwerp. Overigens komt in beide boeken ook de mening van de ‘gewone’ Curaçaoënaar niet naar voren. Ook blijft buiten beeld wat de Nederlanders op Curaçao vinden van de politieke toekomst van het eiland. Duidelijk wordt wel dat door de oorlog de oude koloniale tegenstelling centrum – periferie totaal is veranderd. De machtsverhoudingen zijn verschoven; Curaçao kan niet meer worden gezien als achtergebleven koloniaal gebied. Evelien en Jan dragen beiden nog steeds een eurocentrische, paternalistische, koloniale bril, maar moeten eenmaal op Curaçao toegeven dat het leven op het eiland met name in materieel opzicht heel wat meer te bieden heeft dan dat in het verarmde naoorlogse Nederland. Ook in de van oudsher nauwe betrekkingen tussen Curaçao en Venezuela is er sprake van een nieuw evenwicht. Het olierijke Venezuela kan niet zonder de raffinaderij op Curaçao. In de oorlog werden daar grote hoeveelheden brandstof geproduceerd

voor de geallieerden, waardoor het eiland ook in beeld is gekomen bij de Verenigde Staten.

Traditioneel Curaçao – modern Curaçao

Zowel in *Dorstig paradijs* als in *Papieren huizen* wordt het moderne, naoorlogse Curaçao gecontrasteerd met de traditionele samenleving van voor de komst van de olieaffinaderij, die rond 1920 een moderniseringsproces in gang zette dat in de decennia erna tot grote sociaal-economische veranderingen leidde. Willemstad en directe omgeving, met z'n drukte en met winkels die uitpuilen met de laatste mode en modernste apparaten, wordt aan de ene kant zeer positief bekeken (industrialisatie, vooruitgang), maar wordt tegelijkertijd negatief gecontrasteerd met het onbedorven en rustige leven op het platteland. Van het vroegere plantageleven wordt vooral in *Dorstig paradijs* een nostalgisch beeld gegeven, waarbij bijvoorbeeld Schalkwijck niet schroomt de tijd van de slavernij te verheerlijken. Na een verhaal van sjon Jacob denkt Evelien: "Elk [landhuis] was eenmaal middelpunt geweest van zo'n kleine eigen wereld, zo'n paradijs waarin blanke en zwarte mensen zorgeloos en gelukkig hadden saamgeleefd" (DP: 243). In de loop van het verhaal wordt wel duidelijk dat sjon Jacob op zijn plantage een verloren strijd voert en dat de goede-oude-plantagetijd definitief voorbij is. Dat beseft ook de naamloze sjon die Jan bezoekt in *Papieren huizen*: "In de eilandpolitiek waren omwentelingen op komst. Hij zou hier weggaan. Het landhuis was verhuurd en de baai verkocht voor zandwinning. De oude tijden waren voorbij. Men zocht in de nieuwe politiek naar een evenwicht tussen de gekleurde broeder en zijn vroegere blanke overheerser" (PH: 123).

Familie

Na aankomst op het eiland gaan Evelien en Edgardo wonen in het grote familiehuis van de Morena's op Scharloo. Al snel wordt duidelijk dat Edgardo's vader, sjon Alexander, het onbetwiste hoofd van de familie is: "Het was patriarchaal en bijna indrukwekkend, deze 'clan', deze 'sibbe', de ouders en hun drie paar getrouwde kinderen, met de acht kleinkinderen verenigd in één huis, blijkbaar in goede gezindheid en allen tevreden met deze levenswijze" (DP: 72). Ook in *Papieren huizen* is de vader, sjon Manchi, de absolute baas, zowel thuis als op het werk, zo ontdekt Jan al snel: "Pápa was een oude tyran. 't Personeel flikflooide hem. Ze kankerden alleen achter zijn rug. Hij zou wel eens willen weten of Conchita aan zijn kant stond als hij werkelijk eens een flinke ruzie met Pápa kreeg" (PH: 146). Het antwoord op die laatste vraag is simpel: als Jan ruzie krijgt met zijn aanstaande schoonvader, kiest Conchita niet voor haar verloofde, maar voor haar vader. Wat dit betreft hoeft ook Evelien zich weinig illusies te maken. Na een woordenwisseling is Edgardo duidelijk: "Denk je, dat ik mijn vader ongehoorzaam zal zijn en toe zal geven wat jij je in het hoofd hebt gezet?" (DP: 219).

Botsingen kunnen niet uitblijven. Evelien confronteert haar schoonvader met haar afwijkende Nederlandse inzichten: “Toen ik hier kwam, was ik vol goede wil om me aan te passen aan Uw leven en Uw opvattingen, al wist ik dat ze anders waren dan die van Hollandse mensen. [...] Maar ik kan het niet langer en ik wil het niet langer, want het is niet ons eigen leven, maar een leven zoals U het voor ons hebt toebereid” (DP: 141). In *Papieren huizen* probeert Conchita’s zus Ruth aan haar vader uit te leggen dat Jan als Nederlander moeite heeft met een pater familias die alles in de gaten houdt: “Hij is een macamba uit een vrij land. Hij wil niet dat U over hem en Conchita de baas speelt. Hij wil niet bespionneerd worden in zijn werk. Hij wil zelfstandig zijn” (PH: 200).

Binnen de families zoals die worden beschreven door Hulshoff en Van Grevenbroek zijn onvoorwaardelijke loyaliteit jegens de almachtige vader en naar buiten toe de zorg voor de goede naam essentiële waarden. Daarbij worden veel zaken niet besproken, iets waar zowel Evelien als Jan problemen mee heeft. Na een ruzie met Edgardo denkt Evelien: “Als zo vaak had hij gedaan of er niets bijzonders was gebeurd en had hij iedere herinnering aan hun twist weten te omzeilen. [...] Zo waren er in het half jaar van hun huwelijk al vele meningsverschillen geweest, die ze nooit hadden uitgepraat en die nooit waren opgelost doch als bij stilzwijgende overeenkomst begraven” (DP: 214). In *Papieren huizen* formuleert Jan Diepe het op zijn eigen, wat ongepolijste manier: “Verdomde fluwelen slijmerigheid altijd; dat verrekte suave latijnse gedoe; doe je smoel open als je wat te zeggen hebt” (PH: 110). Overigens heeft het begraven van meningsverschillen, dat Evelien zo typerend vindt voor de Curaçaoënaar, ook wel z’n positieve kanten: “Ze moest erkennen, dat deze Curaçaoenaren een savoir-vivre hadden waarvan vele mokkende, kibbelende en ‘nakaartende’ Hollanders konden leren, er waren geen kleine ruzies, en niemand doelde ooit op de conflicten en meningsverschillen, die er vroeger waren geweest” (DP: 345).

Al met al is voor Evelien en Jan het traditionele familieleven van de Spaans-joodse elite op Curaçao uiterst beklemmend en sterk afwijkend van wat ze in Nederland zijn gewend. Als Edgardo en Conchita moeten kiezen voor hun familie of voor hun Nederlandse partner die in hun optiek de naam van de familie te schande heeft gemaakt, is voor hen de keuze niet moeilijk.

Mannen – vrouwen

Evelien en Jan komen er al snel achter dat men op Curaçao anders denkt over de positie van de vrouw en de relaties tussen mannen en vrouwen dan in Nederland. In *Papieren huizen* formuleert Jans zwager José zijn opvattingen kort en krachtig: “‘Vrouwen hoeven niet sportief te zijn’, wimpelde hij af. ‘Voor de oudste sport van de wereld zijn ze allemaal sportief genoeg en verder laat je ze thuis bij hun vrouwendingen’” (PH: 129). In *Dorstig paradijs* verwoordt Edgardo zijn opvattingen wat minder lomp, maar zeker zo duidelijk: “zachtheid en meegaandheid waren naar zijn mening de deugden, die een man hogelijk in een vrouw moest waarderen” (DP: 20). Ook wat dit onderwerp betreft

volgt Edgardo zijn vader. Sjon Alexander stelt: “Jullie Hollandse vrouwen hebt ook geleerd om hoogmoedig en eigengereid te zijn, [...] Jullie bent vergeten, dat de mooiste en sterkste vrouwelijke deugden nog altijd toewijding en volgzaamheid zijn” (DP: 141). Evelien doet deze ideeën af als “belachelijke conservatisme” (DP: 142). Wat sjon Alexander volgzaamheid noemt, ervaart Evelien totaal anders: ze voelt zich een “slavin” van Edgardo (DP: 65) en vraagt zich af of hij werkelijk denkt “dat ze zich als een hond liet bevelen” (DP: 106).

Zowel *Dorstig paradijs* als *Papieren huizen* toont een dubbele moraal. Mannen mogen doen wat ze willen zolang de goede naam van de familie maar niet wordt geschonden; je moet wat dat betreft “sabí” zijn (PH: 185), volgens José, de broer van Jans verloofde Conchita. Vrouwen moeten kuis zijn en netjes thuis blijven. “Jonge meisjes van goeden huize behoorden beschermd en behoed te worden, nooit alleen of zonder toezicht jongemannen te ontvangen” (DP: 19), stelt Edgardo. Dat er voor mannen andere normen gelden dan voor vrouwen merkt Evelien al op de eerste avond na aankomst op Curaçao. Edgardo laat haar achter bij zijn familie en gaat uit met vrienden. Evelien is verbijsterd; de rest van de familie vindt het normaal: “Onze mannen zijn niet gewoon hun vrouwen te vertellen waar ze heen gaan” (DP: 41), zegt schoonzus Carmen. De verklaring voor de alom geaccepteerde dubbele moraal is simpel: “‘Het is de Spaanse zede’” (PH: 60), legt Conchita Jan uit. In *Dorstig paradijs* ziet Eveliens Nederlandse vriendin Constance het ook zo: Curaçaose mannen “zijn naar hun temperament en hun opvoeding veel meer Spanjaarden dan Hollanders” (DP: 168-169); ze zien hun vrouwen “naar Spaanse zede, liefst achter tralies. Zoal niet in letterlijke, dan toch in figuurlijke betekenis.” (DP: 63). Beide boeken laten zien dat de cultuurverschillen tussen Nederlanders en Curaçaoenaars dermate groot zijn dat werkelijke (liefdes)relaties moeizaam zijn. Hulshoff laat deze opvatting verwoorden door Schalkwijk: “Het gaat nooit goed tussen een Spaans-joodse Curaçaoenaar en een volbloed Hollandse, dat heb ik in mijn oude leven al zo vaak gezien” (DP: 251). In *Dorstig paradijs* zien we dat de relatief geëmancipeerde Edgardo die Evelien in Nederland leert kennen, op Curaçao blijkt terug te vallen in het traditionele rolpatroon dat zijn familie en de sociale klasse waartoe hij behoort van hem verwacht. Conchita, de verloofde van Jan in *Papieren huizen*, is een simpel meisje zonder veel eigen ideeën en opvattingen; ze doet zonder commentaar te geven of vragen te stellen wat er binnen de tradities van haar familie van haar wordt verwacht.

Slotopmerkingen

Het beeld dat Hulshoff en Van Grevenbroek de Nederlandse lezers rond 1950 van Curaçao presenteren toont een sterk gesegregeerde samenleving die door de komst van de olieaffinaderij in de jaren twintig sterk is veranderd. Het Curaçaose platteland is voor een groot deel leeggelopen en rond Willemstad is een moderne, geïndustrialiseerde stedelijke samenleving ontstaan, waar anders dan in het naoorlogse Europa van alles te koop is. De internationale verhoudingen zijn door de Tweede Wereldoorlog veranderd

en een meer zelfbewust Curaçao moet zijn positie ten opzichte van Nederland, Venezuela en de Verenigde Staten opnieuw bepalen. Tegelijkertijd tonen beide romans dat met name in de families die behoren tot de handelselite met Spaans-joodse wortels bepaalde zaken nog steeds zeer traditioneel zijn. Voor de families Morena de Castello en Lopez de Morla is de goede naam van de familie vele malen belangrijker dan de wensen en verlangens van Evelien en Jan, met hun individualistische Nederlandse ideeën. De hoofdpersonen van *Dorstig paradijs* en *Papieren huizen* krijgen via hun Curaçaose partners te maken met almachtige vaders, hun onzichtbare vrouwen en uiterst volgzame kinderen. Gehoorzamen en zorgen dat de naam van de familie niet te schande wordt gemaakt is essentieel.

In beide boeken wordt herhaaldelijk, direct en indirect, duidelijk gemaakt dat de normen, waarden en mentaliteit van Nederlanders en Curaçaoënaars dermate anders zijn, dat botsingen en conflicten nauwelijks zijn te voorkomen. De hoofdpersonen van de twee romans zien zich geconfronteerd met het dilemma waar het in een groot aantal Caribisch-Nederlandse romans en verhalen om draait: accepteren en aanpassen of vertrekken. Het lijken de enige twee opties die een *makamba* heeft. Evelien en Jan kiezen beiden voor vertrek, nadat pogingen tot acceptatie en aanpassing hebben gefaald.

Overigens is het beeld dat Hulshoff en Van Grevenbroek geven verre van compleet. In beide boeken krijgen we met name een indruk van de Spaans-joodse handelselite; de andere traditionele elitegroep, die van de protestanten, krijgt slechts zijdelings aandacht. Duidelijk is wel dat deze laatste groep in een veranderende samenleving een achterhoedegevecht voert op vervallen plantages. Wat de denkbeelden van de zwarte bevolking zijn, blijft onduidelijk. In beide boeken zijn de ‘negers’, zoals ze in *Dorstig paradijs* structureel worden genoemd, ondergeschikten. Ze worden neerbuigend bejegend door Evelien en Jan en de beschrijvingen die van hen worden gegeven zijn racistisch, generaliserend en vaak karikaturaal.

Hulshoff en Van Grevenbroek waren passanten, “mensen die het gebied uit eigen waarneming hebben gekend, soms enkel op een korte reis, soms van een jarenlang verblijf en een intensievere vereenzelviging met land en volk” (Van Kempen & Rutgers, 2005: 19), en presenteerden in hun romans een koloniaal, paternalistisch beeld van Curaçao. Beide boeken tonen “that the source of the world’s significant action and life is in the West, whose representatives seem at liberty to visit their fantasies and philanthropies upon a mind-deadened Third World. In this view, the outlying regions of the world have no life, history or culture to speak of, no independence or integrity worth representing without the West. And when there is something to be described it is [...] unutterably corrupt, degenerate, irredeemable (Said, 1993: xix).

Het beeld dat in *Dorstig paradijs* en *Papieren huizen* wordt gegeven van Curaçao en zijn bevolking geeft een indruk van de wijze waarop men eind jaren veertig in Nederland het eiland zag. Nederlandse recensies wijzen nadrukkelijk op de realistische uitbeelding die beide boeken geven. Tegelijkertijd hebben deze romans Nederlandse beelden van Curaçao gecreëerd of bijgesteld en verspreid. En deze beelden, hoe fictief ook, “create problematic realities of their own”, zoals Beller (2007b: 430) stelt. De beelden zullen direct of indirect hun invloed hebben gehad op de wijze waarop Nederlandse politici tijdens de rondetafelconferenties hun Curaçaose collega’s bekeken en bejegenden. Dezelfde beelden zullen daarna ook een rol hebben gespeeld in de vaak moeizame onderlinge verhoudingen tussen Nederland en Curaçao sinds die tijd.

Het analyseren van bestaande beelden van Curaçao en de Curaçaoënaar zoals die te vinden zijn in literaire teksten kan een interessante bijdrage leveren aan een onderzoek naar de achtergronden van de lastige relatie tussen Den Haag en Willemstad. In een dergelijk onderzoek is het in de imagologie gehanteerde onderscheid tussen het auto-image (het beeld van het eigene) en het hetero-image (het beeld van het andere en de ander) relevant. Het beeld dat Hulshoff en Van Grevenbroek van Curaçao geven, is een voorbeeld van een hetero-image; het betreft hier het Nederlandse beeld van een overzees koloniaal gebiedsdeel. Als een Antilliaanse auteur een beeld geeft van de eigen Curaçaose samenleving, betreft het een auto-image. Het is duidelijk dat hetero-image en auto-image elkaar wederzijds beïnvloeden. Dit geldt des te sterker als er sprake is van een koloniale machtsverhouding tussen twee landen. Leerssen (2007c: 343) stelt dat “countries have imported the hetero-image from hegemonic foreign sources and interiorized them as auto-images. There is reason to suspect that the direction of these processes is determined at least in part by power relations.”

Op basis van de opmerking van Leerssen is het interessant om de romans waarmee de Curaçaose auteurs Tip Marugg en Boeli van Leeuwen eind jaren vijftig debuteerden op een andere manier te bekijken. *Weekendpelgrimage* en *De rots der struikeling* geven een beeld van Curaçao dat strikt genomen als auto-image gekenmerkt zou moeten worden, aangezien beide auteurs Curaçaoënaars zijn en hun eigen eiland beschrijven. De vraag is echter of dat beeld niet eerder in tal van opzichten een kopie is van het door Nederlandse auteurs gecreëerde hetero-image van Curaçao, waardoor deze romans nauwelijks beschouwd kunnen worden als reacties op het koloniale discours en het gepresenteerde beeld van het eiland in bijvoorbeeld de boeken van Hulshoff en Van Grevenbroek. Een werkelijk auto-image biedt wel *Dubbelspel* (1973) van Frank Martinus Arion. Een imagologische analyse van de romans van Marugg, Van Leeuwen en Arion zou geplaatst kunnen worden in een ontwikkeling die Leerssen (2007b: 340) als volgt formuleert: “in terms of chronological development, it may be assumed as a working hypothesis that subaltern nations tend to develop a sense of identity and a self-image while under foreign rule, and as a result have their initial self-image thrust upon them,

to be negotiated in the second instance by processes such as internalization, rejection, adaptation or avoidance.” De hier voorgestelde imagologische analyse zou een nieuw perspectief kunnen bieden op de Nederlands-Caribische en Caribisch-Nederlandse literatuur en zou tevens, zoals al eerder aangegeven, een bijdrage kunnen leveren aan een onderzoek naar de moeizame relatie tussen Nederland en Curaçao.

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INTERSECTIONALITY AND CARIBBEAN WOMEN WRITERS

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Abstract

Caribbean women writers find themselves marginalized in terms of both ethnicity and gender, and this double othering is often aggravated by a third marginalization in terms of socio-economic class. Feminist scholarship has attempted to come to terms with the intersection of gendered, ethnic and class marginalization by elaborating a set of theoretical and methodological tools under the rubric of ‘intersectionality’ (Crenshaw, 1989; 1990; 2016; 2018). This article, which was inspired by the doctoral research that I am carrying out for my dissertation (Beerman, forthcoming), titled *Intersectionality in Hybrid Caribbean Literature*, suggests how the work of women writers from the Caribbean can provide insights into this increasingly important framework for social and literary analysis.

Key terms: intersectionality, women writers, Caribbean literature, gender, ethnicity, Kimberle Crenshaw

For centuries, Western academia has used biological determinism to justify, legitimize, and naturalize patriarchal and ethnocentric domination, both in the colonies and in the metropolises (Fausto-Sterling, 2005). One of the key assertions made in the field of gender studies is that gender is a social construct, or, as Simone de Beauvoir (1972) claims: “one is not born, but rather becomes, a woman” (p. 273). According to Eckert (2013), “sex is a biological categorization based primarily on reproductive potential, whereas gender is the social elaboration of biological sex ... but while we think of sex as biological and gender as social, this distinction is not clear-cut. People tend to think of gender as the result of nurture – as social and hence fluid – while sex is the result of nature, simply given by biology” (p. 2). Due to important advances in the women’s and ethnic liberation movements from the 1960s onward, not only have social gains been

made against sexism and racism, but there has also been an increase in scholarly interest in gender, sexuality and race, which have radically upended notions about the construction of identities. In the early 1970's women studies, African-American studies, and Latinx studies departments were founded in universities (Downs, 2010: 2.).

As a result of increased academic attention, gender theory has emerged, not as one unified theory; but as a diverse set of gender theories which differ from one another in their theoretical approaches as well as their aims (Berger, 2014). For example, under the rubric of gender studies, some scholars have begun to investigate the history of men and masculinities, which has made some other specialists in gender studies uncomfortable. Meyerowitz claims that: "For some historians of women, the shift toward gender history was mostly unwelcome. To replace 'women's history' with 'gender history' and to include men and masculinity seemed to some at the time like a conservative retrenchment, a quest for respectability, or an abandonment of the study of marginalized and oppressed groups" (2008: 1347). While many gains have been made in the acknowledgement and valorisation of gender studies, there is still a long way to go. Scott (2010: 1055) notes that apart from explicitly feminist scholarly work, the history of women still does not receive a lot of attention.

Furthermore, Judith Butler (1990) adds a crucial "performative" dimension to gender studies. Butler argues that gender roles are performed rather than being the expression of a monolithic assigned identity, and what it means to be a woman is politically, culturally, socially and historically specific. For example, gendered identities and performances intersect in significant ways with identities and performances based on race, class and sexuality. Therefore, "it becomes impossible to separate out 'gender' from the political and cultural intersections in which it is invariably produced and maintained" (p. 6). Butler and Scott both insist, however, that gender remains politically useful as a category for analysis, with the former focusing on socio-political processes, and the latter focusing on symbols and the imaginary. In a review of some of her previous work Scott (2010) states: "I think gender continues to be useful only ... if it is taken as an invitation to think critically about how the meanings of sexed bodies are produced in relation to one another, how these meanings are deployed and changed. The focus ought to be not on the roles assigned to women and men, but on the construction of sexual difference itself. (p. 10).

Scott contends that: "we need a refusal of the fixed and permanent quality of the binary opposition, a genuine historicization and deconstruction of the terms of sexual difference" (p. 1065). Conceptual units and systems based on mutually exclusive, conjunctively exhaustive binary oppositions are central to the entire Western episteme, and Western 'scientific' and 'academic' discourse is no exception to this. Structuralist analysis is a good example of such binaristic thinking, and Scott advocates the deployment of poststructuralist techniques in order either to transform the categorization of gender, or to abandon the categorization of gender entirely. Scott says that the focus should be

on historicizing and deconstruction notions of gender that are established to form identities based on race, class and gender in a particular time and place.

Murnen, Greenfield, Younger and Boyd (2016) point out that “gender stereotyped traits associated with women encompass the domains of communality and expressiveness, whereas those associated with men represent agency and industriousness” (p.76), with male traits assigned higher social recognition, value and status than female traits. Murnen et al. further observe that, “through cultivation processes, gender-stereotyped behaviors can come to be seen as normative if the themes are repeated frequently”, if “gendered behaviour is rewarded” and if it is the object of “direct instruction or approval from others” (p.79). Because the process of imposing these behaviors is discursive in nature, gendering is vulnerable to multiplex forms of subversion, creating possibilities for a diverse array of counter-identities, dis-identities, pluri-identities, trans-identities, etc.

Crenshaw can be considered to be the source of the term ‘intersectionality’ based on her work related to black feminism and critical race theory. Crenshaw (1989) claims that women of colour can be subjected to different intersecting forms of marginalization and othering in society, and therefore their situation “must include an analysis of sexism and patriarchy. Similarly, feminism must include an analysis of race if it hopes to express the aspirations of non-white women. Neither Black liberationist politics nor feminist theory can ignore the intersectional experiences of those whom the movements claim as their respective constituents (p. 166). The following example taken from Crenshaw (2016) illustrates this. Emma applies for a position at a company, but the company refuses to hire her. She feels the company has not hired her due to the fact she is an African American woman. She goes to court and the judge dismisses her suit by saying that the company does hire African Americans and hires women. However, Emma tries to make the point that the company usually hires African Americans for their relatively lower status, lower paid menial jobs and hires European descended women for their relatively lower paid and lower status office jobs. The judge refuses her claim and does not acknowledge the fact that Emma was facing double discrimination. Also, the judge does not recognize the fact that Emma has to claim discrimination on the basis of both race and gender, whereas this would not have been the case had she been an African American man or a European descended woman.

Moreover, Crenshaw observes that millions of marginalized people worldwide face challenges similar to those faced by Emma as a consequence of intersectionality, that is, as a consequence of the intersections between and among racism, sexism, classism, gender, heterosexism, transphobia etc, and she examines the problematic consequences of, “the tendency to treat race and gender [among other dominant binaries] as mutually exclusive categories of experience and analysis” (1989: 139) under what she calls the prevailing ‘single-axis framework’. By separating racism from sexism, “a single-axis framework erases Black women in the conceptualization, identification and remediation

of race and sex discrimination by limiting inquiry to the experiences of otherwise-privileged members of the group” (p. 140).

Additionally, Crenshaw (1990) distinguishes between three different forms of intersectionality as it applies to women of colour. The first is structural intersectionality, which includes discrimination in employment and “the ways in which the location of women of colour at the intersection of race and gender makes our actual experience of domestic violence, rape, and remedial reform qualitatively different than that of white women” (p. 1245). The second form is political intersectionality, which refers to “the fact that women of colour are situated within at least two subordinated groups that frequently pursue conflicting political agendas” (p. 1252). White feminist discourses have often silenced black women because white feminists fear that the particular struggles of black women might divert attention from the issues prioritized by European descended women (p. 1253). The third, and most important form of intersectionality for the present article is representational intersectionality, which Crenshaw invokes when she discusses how “controversies over the representation of women of colour in popular culture can ... elide the particular location of women of colour, and thus become yet another source of intersectional disempowerment” (p. 1245). Collins and Bilge (2016) note that:

in the early twenty-first century, the term “intersectionality” has been widely taken up by scholars, policy advocates, practitioners, and activists in many places and locations” People use intersectionality as an analytic tool in many different ways to address a range of issues and social problems. They find intersectionality’s core insight to be useful: namely, that major axes of social divisions in a given society at a given time, for example, race, class, gender, sexuality, disability, and age operate not as discrete and mutually exclusive entities, but build on each other and work together. (p. 1)

Colonialism and enslavement have been central themes in Caribbean literature.

According to Goldthree and Duncan (2018):

the islands and continental rimlands of the Caribbean possessed varying degrees of sovereignty in the interwar era, from Crown Colony status to political independence. Yet, across the region, colonialism and foreign military intervention limited most Caribbean residents’ ability to participate in local governance. Three European powers – Britain, France, and the Netherlands – maintained longstanding networks of colonial possessions. (p. 5)

Hence, Rosenberg (2011) asserts that, as part of a nationalist response to colonialism, “critics maintained that West Indian literature had to focus on [a male-centred] Caribbean folk culture” (p. 348) focused on the plight of “enslaved Afro-Caribbean men [who] did not own their bodies or control their relations with their families [and who, even after abolition] were denied access to capital, education and political power (p.349). As a result, “this material emasculation was reflected in the representation of

Caribbean folk culture in British Literature” (p.348). Furthermore, “the construction of colonized and black masculinity became a foundational element of the West Indian literature and of the construction of gender they inherited from Britain” (p. 350).

In the runup to independence as well as after independence, men and women were not granted equal opportunities. The majority of Caribbean intellectuals in the 1950s and 1960s were men, because the colonial authorities granted them access to higher education and scholarships earlier and in larger numbers than women (Rosenberg, 2011: 351). Hence, “there were few women writers, and this may have reduced the possibility of a feminist perspective and strong female characters” in independence era Caribbean writing (p. 351). Although many Caribbean states gained independence as a result of nationalist movements in the region, Goldthorpe and Duncan (2018) observe that “feminist scholars have exposed the imbrication of anti-colonial nationalism and gender ideology, revealing how understandings of masculinity, femininity, and sexuality structured nationalist projects from above and below” (p.4).

Feminist scholars in the region have been joined by Caribbean women writers whose substantial and growing body of work can no longer be ignored. Ashworth (2011) contends that, in the case of Caribbean women narrative fiction, for example:

the second half of the twentieth century saw a dramatically increased visibility of women’s writing in the Caribbean literary project of self-definition, with certain voices emerging as a defining presence [R]ejecting classical realism and revising and rewriting the English literary canon, ... [their] novels challenge hegemonic epistemology in that they depict reality as it is experienced by ‘othered’ subjects and claim the right for self-determination and representation these novels reclaim and recreate missing voices, histories and cultures in the cause of imagining a Caribbean cultural wholeness unavailable in both colonial and patriarchal accounts (p. 209-210).

No longer are the narratives in Caribbean novels told exclusively by male writers via a male gaze, and, as a result, “the centrality of gender to the formation of the Anglophone Caribbean canon suggests that the vexed and political representing Caribbean manhood and womanhood constitutes a continuity between ... apparently distant generations as well as those traditionally excluded from the canon” (Rosenberg, 2011: 348).

Caribbean women writers find themselves marginalized in terms of both ethnicity and gender, and this double othering is often aggravated by a third marginalization in terms of socio-economic class. Feminist scholarship has attempted to come to terms with the intersection of gendered, ethnic and class marginalization by elaborating a set of theoretical and methodological tools under the rubric of ‘intersectionality’ (Crenshaw 1989; 1990; 2016; 2018). This article suggests how the work of women writers from the Caribbean can provide insights into this increasingly important framework for social and literary analysis.

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VAN OOST NAAR WEST EN TERUG; MET EDWARD DE JONGH OP ZOEK NAAR DE ‘PADEN VAN OORSPRONG’

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Abstract

In 1979 maakte de Curaçaose schrijver Edward de Jongh een reis naar zijn geboorteland Indonesië. Een verslag van deze reis verscheen in eerste instantie in het dagblad *Amigoe di Curaçao* en werd later ook in boekvorm gepubliceerd. In dit artikel wordt op basis van een analyse van het verslag van De Jongh ingegaan op de vraag welke ervaringen hij opdeed in zijn geboorteland en of het Curaçaose perspectief waarmee hij de Indonesische samenleving bekeek tot observaties leidden die afwijkend zijn van die van Nederlandse schrijvers die teruggaan naar hun Indische *roots*. Concluderend kan gesteld worden dat het verslag van De Jongh ondanks het feit dat de auteur van Curaçaose afkomst is, weinig toevoegt aan de Indische heimweeliteratuur van Nederlandse bodem.

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Kernbegrippen: Edward de Jongh, reisverslag, Indonesië, Curaçaose literatuur

Eind 1979 keert schrijver Edward de Jongh na een lange vakantie terug naar zijn eiland Curaçao. Hij doet dat zoals hij zelf zegt met een ‘lading vol trofeeën, schitterend door zege en glorie’ (De Jongh, 1999: 115). Deze trofeeën, in de vorm van herinneringen, ervaringen en foto’s, zijn afkomstig uit Indonesië, waar De Jongh in 1923 uit Antilliaanse ouders werd geboren en waar hij in september en oktober 1979 enkele weken heeft doorgebracht. Vijf jaar later doet hij twee keer per week in het dagblad *Amigoe di Curaçao* verslag van zijn reis langs zijn ‘paden van oorsprong’. Op 15 augustus 1984 kondigt de krant de eerste bijdrage van De Jongh als volgt aan:

INGAANDE VANDAAG start de *Amigoe* met een feuilleton; het verslag dat de heer EDWARD DE JONGH maakte van zijn weerzien met Indonesië waar bij [sic] enkele belangrijke jeugdijaren doorbracht. Vandaar de titel: Langs paden van oorsprong.

Een klein halfjaar later, in december 1984, plaatst de *Amigoe* het laatste deel van het reisverslag. In 1985 en in 1999 verschijnen de Indonesische belevenissen van De Jongh in twee sterk afwijkende edities ook in boekvorm.

Edward de Jongh was natuurlijk niet de eerste die verslag deed van een reis naar zijn Indische geboortegrond, het land van zijn jeugd, zijn verloren paradijs, zijn *tempo dulu*. Maar hij was wel de eerste (en vooralsnog de laatste) die dat deed vanuit de Nederlandse Antillen, de West. Wat zag hij? Welke ervaringen deed hij op in zijn geboorteland? En vooral: zijn de observaties van De Jongh wellicht anders dan die van Nederlandse schrijvers die teruggaan naar hun *roots*? Is het Curaçaose perspectief waarmee De Jongh naar het Indonesië van 1979 keek en waarmee hij terugblikte op zijn jeugd in Nederlands-Indië afwijkend van dat van Nederlandse collega's die een heimweereis maakten naar hun land van herkomst? En in het verlengde hiervan: voegt het verslag van De Jongh iets toe aan de Indische heimweeliteratuur die we al kennen? Alvorens in te gaan op deze vragen, volgt er nu eerst een korte kennismaking met Edward de Jongh.

Edward Arthur de Jongh (1923-2007)

“Door bloedverwantschap ben ik aan de West verbonden. In de Oost heb ik geen familie. Maar ik ben er geboren en heb er mijn jeugd doorgebracht. Wij koersten pas Curaçaowaarts toen ik naar de dertien liep” (De Jongh, 1999: z.p.). Zo begint De Jongh het verslag over zijn reis naar Indonesië, het land waar hij in 1923 wordt geboren. Aan zijn geboorteplaats Ambon heeft hij geen herinneringen. Die heeft hij wel aan de plaatsen op Java waar hij zijn jeugdjaren doorbracht: Batavia/Jakarta, Buitenzorg/Bogor, Purworejo en Malang. In 1936 kan De Jonghs vader, die bij de farmaceutische dienst van het KNIL werkt, met pensioen en verruilt de familie de ene Nederlandse kolonie voor de andere; Java wordt Curaçao, Maleis wordt Papiaments; de Indische *sekolah belanda* (Nederlandse school) wordt een lagere school in de West.

In de jaren vijftig schrijft De Jongh zijn eerste Papiamentstalige verhalen; ze worden uitgegeven door zijn eigen uitgeverij en hij verkoopt ze zelf door langs de deuren te gaan (Rutgers, 1996: 258). In 1954 wint zijn in het Papiaments geschreven verhalenbundel *Bon biaha* een prijs in een prijsvraag uitgeschreven door het Cultureel Centrum Curaçao. In hetzelfde jaar publiceert hij de dichtbundel *Capricho*, ook in het Papiaments. In 1969 volgt de korte roman *E morto di Enid Lacruz*, die vier jaar later ook in het Nederlands verschijnt onder de titel *Fata morgana*. Grote lokale bekendheid krijgt De Jongh in 1970 met *E dia di mas históriko*, een reportage-roman over de rellen in Willemstad van 30 mei 1969. Het boek wordt met een aantal herdrukken en meer dan zesduizend verkochte exemplaren een ware Curaçaose bestseller (Rutgers, 1996: 324). In 1981 doet De Jongh zijn intrede in de Nederlandse literatuur als Meulenhoff de kleine roman *De boog* publiceert. Hoewel de reacties overwegend positief zijn (bijvoorbeeld Boomsma, 1987), blijft het bij deze ene publicatie in Nederland. Van een Nederlandse heruitgave van zijn in 1976 op Curaçao verschenen roman *De steeg* zal het niet komen.

In de jaren daarna blijft De Jongh schrijven (met name korte teksten en poëzie in het Papiaments) en vertalen; zo zorgt hij bijvoorbeeld in 1982 met *E prens chikí* voor een Papiamentstalige versie van *Le petit prince* van Antoine de Saint-Exupéry. De Jongh overlijdt in 2007.

Van *Langs paden van oorsprong* (1984/1985) naar *Paden van oorsprong* (1999)

Vijftien jaar nadat in december 1984 de *Amigoe di Curaçao* het laatste deel van De Jonghs reisverslag door Indonesië publiceerde, verscheen met subsidie van het Prins Bernhard Cultuur Fonds bij Bartolomé Editions, de eigen uitgeverij van De Jongh, *Paden van oorsprong*, met als ondertitel *Markante vertellingen uit het verslag van een thuisreis na 43 jaar*. Het boekje was een herziene en ingekorte versie van een slordige privé-uitgave uit 1985 die dezelfde titel had als de serie artikelen in de krant, *Langs paden van oorsprong*. In de korte inleiding van deze eerste uitgave meldde de auteur onder andere: “De druk is een aangepaste weergave van de teksten uit het dagblad, door middel van off-set” (De Jongh, [1985]: [1]). Aangepast leek er weinig; het boekje was nauwelijks meer dan een uitgeknipte en opgeplakte bundeling van de krantenstukken, bijeengehouden door een bruinig kaftje met daarop de titel, de naam van de schrijver en een vage foto van een paar wayang golek poppen. De uitgave van 1999, zo’n 120 pagina’s met licht gewijzigde titel, ziet er heel wat professioneler uit. De teksten zijn geredigeerd en aan het verhaal zijn een twintigtal (historische) foto’s toegevoegd. In het Ten geleide wijst De Jongh zelf op het voornaamste verschil tussen de uitgave van 1999 en die van veertien jaar eerder:

Voor dit boekje heb ik mij beperkt tot de keus van een aantal markante fragmenten uit het volledige reisverslag *Langs Paden van Oorsprong*, betrekking hebbende op: a) mijn zoektochten; b) de verzoening met mijn oude omgevingen; c) mijn jeugdherinneringen. (De Jongh, 1999: z.p.)

De drie door De Jongh aangegeven thema’s vormen een goed uitgangspunt voor de bespreking van *Paden van oorsprong*, het boekje dat het verslag bevat van de reis naar het land dat hem “gedurende latere jaren zo dikwijls hartbrekende dromen had bezorgd” (De Jongh, 1999: z.p.). Aansluitend wordt ingegaan op de in de inleiding gestelde vraag of het Curaçaose perspectief van De Jongh terug is te zien in de beschrijving van zijn ervaringen in Indonesië.

‘Mijn zoektochten’

De reis die De Jongh maakt, vindt plaats in september en oktober 1979 en begint in Medan, een plaats waar de schrijver nog nooit is geweest. Dit laatste geldt ook voor de stad waar de reis eindigt: Denpasar, op Bali. Juist in deze twee plaatsen voelt hij zich het minst op zijn gemak. Over Medan lezen we:

Ik bekijk nog even de gruwelijke vertoning in een stad van over de miljoen inwoners maar blijf op mijn hoede voor overvallers, wanhopige werkloze *Bataks*

voor wie ze mij in het hotel gewaarschuwd hebben, jongens die je zelfs op klaarlichte dag kunnen aanhouden, in alle rust een stiletto onder je ribben houden en je dwingen je portemonnee in te leveren. (De Jongh, 1999: 11)

En ook op Bali slaat plotseling de angst toe:

Is het geen teken van roekeloosheid, in de avonduren zomaar in een sado te stappen? Ben ik in mijn onnozelheid in een val gelopen? Stel je voor dat deze vent ergens een obscuur steegje binnenrijdt en mij aan een stelletje rovers ter plundering aflevert. (p. 112)

In Medan en op Bali heeft De Jongh letterlijk weinig te zoeken, omdat hij er als kind niet heeft gewoond. Op Java is dat anders. Na een vlucht van Medan naar Jakarta volgt De Jongh op Java een route die “een beeld [is] van de werkelijke volgorde van mijn verhuizingen indertijd” (De Jongh, [1985]: 91). Na de hoofdstad gaat de reis via Bogor, Yogyakarta, Purworejo en Surabaya naar Malang, de plaats waar de auteur zijn Indische jeugd jaren afsloot. Yogya en Surabaya zijn tussenstops; het zijn geen plaatsen die deel uitmaken van het Indische verleden van De Jongh. In de andere steden gaat hij op zoek naar tastbare herinneringen, zoals het huis van vroeger, de school, het speelveld. In Jakarta vindt hij veel terug, in Bogor heel weinig. In Purworejo lijkt de zoektocht in eerste instantie op niets uit te lopen:

Dan vraag ik mij ontmoedigd af, of ik hier niet erg ver van *huis* ben... ver en misschien toch heel dicht... De omgeving komt mij logisch erg bekend voor, de huizen, de bomen, de planten, de stilte. Maar ik kan niets signaleren, dat duidelijk samenhangt met een vast of sluimerend herinneringsbeeld; niets markants waarvan ik zeggen kan, hé dat is zus, of, was dát niet waar wij... nee, niets daarvan. (De Jongh, 1999: 70)

Maar dan toch:

Ik wend mijn gezicht weer naar rechts... Dit is warempel *ons* huis... God genade... in gelijke gedaante als ik eeuwig voor ogen gehad heb en dat mij zo dikwijls hallucineerde! Mijn ogen vinden de medische spreekkamer, vlak naast ons erf, het losstaand gebouwtje dat deel uitmaakte van het perceel van de *kompanyi*-dokter in de bocht. (p. 72)

In Malang lukt het na wat zoek en gevraag niet alleen het huis van vroeger terug te vinden, maar ook de school, “vanwaar wij alle drie met een snertrapport westwaarts voeren. Wij konden moeilijk met de lessen mee” (p. 94). De Jongh is dolgelukkig: “Ik heb mij geen ogenblik voorgesteld dat mij in Malang dergelijke triomfen in zo’n korte spanne tijds zouden toevallen” (p. 107). Dat niet alle zoektochten even soepel verlopen en datgene opleveren wat de schrijver zoekt, ligt voor een deel aan vervaagde herinneringen en daarnaast aan zijn “afgetakelde Bahasa” (De Jongh, 1999: 5) waardoor communiceren lastig is. Ook zijn gebrekkige voorbereiding speelt een rol, zo blijkt in Bogor:

Mijn ervaring de laatste paar jaar als makelaar in onroerend goed, heeft mij geleerd dat het opsporen van een adres zonder de nodige duidelijkheid van plaats of straataanduiding, onbegonnen werk kan zijn. Ik heb eigenlijk nog steeds geen écht serieuze poging ondernomen onze vroegere omgeving op te zoeken. Zelfs het situatietekeningetje uit mijn notitieboek, volgens nogal summiere aanduidingen van mijn vader, klopt niet met de toestand die ik hier aantref. (De Jongh, 1999: 44)

In Malang levert de zoektocht naar de Mauritsstraat weinig op. Een lokale, Nederlands sprekende bejaarde helpt hem: de Mauritsstraat heet tegenwoordig Jalan Thamrin, en met die informatie is het huis van vroeger snel gevonden.

‘De verzoening met mijn oude omgevingen’

In 1979 is De Jongh ruim veertig jaar weg uit zijn geboorteland; die ruim veertig jaar heeft hij doorgebracht aan de andere kant van de wereld, in de West. Dat de schrijver de eerste dagen in Indonesië moet wennen en dat er sprake is van enige vervreemding, is logisch. De Jongh ervaart dat meteen al in Medan: “Ik ben plots weergekeerd waar ik ééns thuishoorde, bij de mensen met wie ik opgroeide, tussen oosterlingen, al gaat het hier om Sumatraanse autochtonen” (De Jongh, 1999: 8). En:

Ik zie niet de vertrouwde gezichten van de Javanen uit mijn jeugd, maar nijldige Chinees achtige gezichten die met vluchtige blik de camera in mijn hand observeren. Vragen zij zich af wat ik eigenlijk in Medan kom uitvoeren? Vermoed ik dat maar? Ik hoef toch niet per se voor een buitenstaander te worden aangezien?

Ik zou best kunnen doorgaan voor een Indonesiër van vreemde komaf. (p. 7)

Het dubbele gevoel van er wel bij horen en er tegelijkertijd niet bij horen herkent De Jongh uit zijn jeugd; hij behoort niet tot de lokale bevolking, maar is ook zeker geen *totok* (net aangekomen Nederlander). Terugdenkend aan zijn schooltijd in Batavia schrijft hij:

Kinderen die op hún manier samenzweerden en ons weleens treiterend *Arap* noemden omdat ons uiterlijk naar Oosterse maatstaven iets had van een donkere Arabier. Kinderen die het eens waren dat Europeanen gek waren omdat ze jammerden als ze Indonesië vaarwel toeriepen, daar hun liefde uitging naar de dode natuur, naar de eentonige kleur van de bossen, de verschroeiende zon, de slaapverwekkende schaduw. En we dreunden bij wijze van milde hekel ons rijmpje op dat zinspeelde op het gebruik van papier inplaats van water:

keju pelot	kaaskop
belon di cebok	zijn gat nog ongewassen
makan kodok	eet kikker
setengah mateng	halfgaar

(p. 31)

Al met al voelt Indonesië vertrouwd en vreemd tegelijk en is De Jongh op hetzelfde moment een “rechtschapen ‘landskind’” (p. 25) en een buitenstaander. Tijdens zijn bezoek aan Purworejo noemt hij zichzelf een “halve vreemdeling” (p. 74), waarmee hij indirect aangeeft dat hij voor de helft ook géén vreemdeling is.

‘Mijn jeugdherinneringen’

Uit de citaten in de voorafgaande paragrafen is al duidelijk geworden dat De Jongh niet bepaald een vlotte pen heeft; zijn taalgebruik is weinig soepel, vaak wat plechtstatig en af en toe gewoon onbeholpen. Deze schrijfstijl wreekt zich met name in die gedeeltes waarin de schrijver zijn gedachten laat gaan over zijn soms vervaagde herinneringen en de werking van het geheugen. De Jongh heeft beelden van ruim veertig jaar geleden in zijn hoofd en moet regelmatig constateren dat die herinneringen weinig weerklink vinden in het nu: “Een psychologische merkwaardigheid [...] is het feit dat door de jaren heen aldoor terugkerende beelden van persoonlijke belevenissen uit mijn kinderjaren, ter plaatse uitblijven” (p. 25). Maar op andere momenten lijken de herinnering en de werkelijkheid van 1979 juist weer volledig samen te vallen:

De herinnering aan de afstand en de plaats ten opzichte van ons huis, die met de jaren hoe langer hoe meer op de achtergrond en zoetjes aan in vergetelheid dreigde te raken, is nu plots werkelijkheid. Mijn geheugen heeft wonderlijk gezegevierd. (p. 27).

De plaats waar De Jongh het langste woonde tijdens zijn Javaanse jeugd is Purworejo en het is dus niet zo vreemd dat hij juist bij zijn bezoek aan deze stad een aantal malen filosofeert over zijn herinneringen en zijn geheugen. Dat begint al in Yogya, nog voordat hij doorreist naar Purworejo:

De herinnering die ik aan Purworejo bewaar, is altijd tastbaar nabij geweest. Naarmate de tijd en de afstand die zich van mijn vroegere woonplaatsen scheiden zich verkleinen, anticipeer ik de sublimatie van op komst zijnde herenigingen, de verzoening met omgevingen waar ik eens met heel mijn wezen toebehoorde, die onuitwisbaar in mijn ziel zijn blijven voortleven. (p. 61)

Eenmaal ter plekke blijkt na enig zoeken alles te kloppen met zijn herinneringen; in de woorden van De Jongh: “Hier is het of mensenhanden nimmer het oude beeld vermochten te doorkruisen” (p. 73). Al met al lijkt het erop dat De Jonghs gevoel van erbij te horen en tegelijkertijd vreemdeling te zijn, zijn pendant heeft in de schakeling tussen zijn herinneringen en de realiteit van 1979. Op bepaalde momenten vallen toen en nu, het beeld van vroeger en de werkelijkheid, samen; op andere momenten juist helemaal niet. Sommige dingen voelen bekend en vertrouwd, terwijl andere vreemd en onbekend overkomen.

Curaçao's perspectief

De naam Curaçao valt natuurlijk regelmatig in de gesprekken die De Jongh onderweg voert met Indonesiërs en andere reizigers. Om zijn gesprekspartners enigszins tegemoet te komen laat de schrijver de naam van zijn woonplaats altijd vergezeld gaan van de toevoeging 'South America'. Ondanks dat is de enige Indonesiër die de naam Curaçao iets lijkt te zeggen, de inwoner van het huis in Malang waar De Jongh de laatste periode van zijn Javaanse jeugd doorbracht, maar veel verder dan dat Curaçao een klein eilandje is, komt deze Abdul Hamid ook niet.

De vraag is of de Curaçaose achtergrond van De Jongh van *Paden van oorsprong* een boekje maakt dat een ander, uniek, niet-Nederlands perspectief op Indonesië oplevert. Een lastige vraag. Aan de ene kant lijkt De Jongh zo druk bezig met het letterlijk zoeken naar zijn 'paden van oorsprong' en het bezoeken van enkele verplichte toeristische *highlights* dat hij zichzelf nauwelijks de kans lijkt te gunnen om aandacht te schenken aan het koloniale verleden van Indonesië (en dan met name de rol van Nederland in dat verleden) en de actualiteit en alledaagse realiteit van 1979. Natuurlijk zegt hij wel iets over bepaalde aspecten van het dagelijks leven. Het verkeer bijvoorbeeld, dat op Curaçao lang niet zo hectisch is als in Medan, waar het hem 'een soort verplaatsingsoorlog' lijkt (p. 6). En natuurlijk ruikt hij de geur van *rokok kretek* (kruidnagelsigaretten) en geniet hij van fruit, deels bekend van Curaçao, dat langs de weg wordt verkocht. Over de hitte, een vast onderwerp in Nederlandse reisverslagen, klaagt De Jongh nauwelijks, want die kent hij van Curaçao. Uiteindelijk lijkt een van de raarste dingen die hij meemaakt tijdens zijn reis een bezoek aan de kapper in Yogyakarta te zijn; het is een curieuze ervaring voor De Jongh, die weinig gerust op de stoel zit: "Als zij mijn kronkelig kapsel, waar elke kapper doorgaans moeite genoeg aan heeft, maar niet gaan verpes-ten!" (p. 53).

De verklaring voor de weinig diepgaande kijk die De Jongh heeft op Indonesië, lijkt in de eerste plaats te liggen in de insteek die hij koos voor zijn verslag: centraal staat de letterlijke zoektocht naar huizen, scholen, speelterreinen en andere tastbare herinneringen van vroeger. Dat veel zaken hem niet of nauwelijks opvallen kan misschien ook te maken hebben met het feit dat voor De Jongh de Oost in tal van opzichten zo veel op de West leek dat heel veel dingen eerder herkenbaar en vertrouwd waren dan vreemd en anders. Misschien zorgt juist dit laatste punt ervoor dat het reisverslag van De Jongh toch enigszins anders is dan dat van Nederlandse heimwee-auteurs.

Slotopmerkingen

Voor De Jongh was de reis die hij in 1979 naar Indonesië kon maken, een droom die uitkwam:

Het is een onwrikbare getuigenis die tegen elke prijs de plaats zal blijven innemen van de eeuwig zich verwijderende herinneringen aan wat eens, lang geleden, realiteit was; het is een daadwerkelijke verwezenlijking van kwellende wensdromen, dikwijls kastijdende hallucinaties (De Jongh, 1999: 115).

De laatste aflevering van De Jonghs verslag verschijnt, zoals hierboven al aangegeven, op 22 december 1984 in de *Amigoe di Curaçao*. Na de opmerking over de “trofeeën die schitteren door zege en glorie” waarmee hij is thuisgekomen, eindigt de schrijver zijn relaas als volgt:

Als ik tenslotte deze fragmenten uit een nogal lijvig typoscript over mijn reis, tot de kleinst mogelijke gedaante zou moeten herleiden, zou ik willen volstaan met mijn antwoord op de spontane vraag die vader mij stelde al voór ik hem verslag kon uitbrengen:

“Deseo kumplí?!”

“Deseo kumplí...!” hetgeen hier evenveel betekent als: “Mijn hoogste verlangen is tenslotte in vervulling gegaan...!” (De Jongh, 1999: 115).

‘Deseo kumplí’ voor De Jongh, maar de lezer van zijn reisverslag blijft achter met enkele onvervulde wensen. Zoals gezegd gaat de auteur nauwelijks in op de Indonesische actualiteit. Daarnaast zou het aardig zijn geweest als De Jongh wat vaker ‘het oude beeld’ (zoals hij het zelf noemt) in een wat meer verhalende vorm had opgeroepen om zijn Curaçaose publiek op die manier werkelijk de tijd van toen te laten meebeleven. Dat de auteur dit niet heeft gedaan, lijkt echter een bewuste keuze te zijn geweest:

Over mijn herinneringen aan Purworejo, waar ons verblijf het langst duurde, zou ik lang kunnen vertellen, daarbij het risico lopend mijn zoektochten nodeloos met memoires te belasten. Vertellen is tenslotte vooral ook het vermijden van het minder functionele, ofschoon het van de andere kant soms moeilijk valt hetgeen al dan niet tot de categorie “franjes” hoort effectief te signaleren. (De Jongh, 1999: 76-77).

Dit is een gemiste kans. Iets meer van deze ‘franjes’ en ‘memoires’ hadden zeker niet misstaan in De Jonghs verhaal. Het zou voor de lezer interessant zijn geweest om een idee te krijgen van de manier waarop de kleine Edward als op Java geboren Antilliaan zich verhiel tot de lokale bevolking en de ‘echte’ Nederlanders. Ook zou het aardig zijn geweest iets te weten te komen over de verhouding tussen de jonge Edward en zijn twee broers en de relatie met zijn ouders. Aandacht voor deze aspecten zouden De Jonghs *Markante vertellingen uit het verslag van een thuisreis na 43 jaar*, zoals de ondertitel van de uitgave van 1999 luidt, wat ‘markanter’ hebben kunnen maken.

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**INTERSECTIONS OF
LANGUAGE AND TRANS-LINGUALITY
IN THE DUTCH CARIBBEAN AND BEYOND**

KAPAB IN HAITIAN, KONTAN IN GUYANAIS AND DUSHI IN PAPIAMENTU: POLYFUNCTIONALITY AND SEMANTIC AMBIGUITY IN CARIBBEAN ROMANCE LEXIFIER CREOLE LANGUAGES

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Abstract

Both Haitian (aka Haitian Creole or Kreyòl ayisyen), a French-lexifier creole language, and Papiamentu, an Iberian-lexifier creole language, have repeatedly attracted the interest of specialists in Romance linguistics over the past years. Still, this focus on the aforementioned creole languages has manifested itself almost exclusively in a language-specific way; there is little literature, with the exception of Lefebvre's 2015 anthology, that includes cross-linguistic observation in the same work. This article highlights lexical polyfunctionality, grammaticalization paths and homonymy and polysemy structures, as well as the complex areas of usage of highly frequent lexical placeholders in Romance-lexifier creole languages in the Caribbean from a comparative perspective.

Key words: Kreyòl ayisyen, Guyanais, Papiamentu, polyfunctionality, semantic, ambiguity, creole language

Polyfunctionality and changes of syntactic function

The emergence of creole languages in the context of reanalysis of colonial Romance languages gave rise to new grammatical and lexical structures, which only limitedly allow a classification in terms of the grammatical-lexical units of traditional word classification theory. The boundaries of the *partes orationis* are in many cases fluid. Some expressions are semantically ambiguous, multifunctional and syntactically polyvalent:

Als Folge des Fehlens einer formalen, morphologischen Markierung der Wortart [in den FKS] scheint die Grenzen [sic!] zwischen Wortarten durchlässig und ein

Wort kann, je nach seiner Funktion im Satz, zu verschiedenen Wortarten gehören, ohne dass dies an seiner Form (Endung) erkennbar ist. Eine Reihe von Wörtern konnte so ihre ursprüngliche syntaktische Funktion aufgeben und damit ihre Wortartzugehörigkeit ändern; häufiger ist jedoch, dass die betreffenden Wörter neben der/den neuen syntaktischen Funktion(en) die ursprüngliche Funktion, die sie im Französischen hatten, beibehalten haben. Mit der neuen syntaktischen Funktion können gewisse Änderungen der Bedeutung verbunden sein. (Stein, 2017: 94)¹

Besides the fixed order of constituents and word class transmissibility, the multifunctionality of words as a fundamental syntactic feature of creole languages is specifically emphasized in relevant studies:²

Three features characterize the syntax of simple sentences in HC [Haitian Creole]: (1) the important role of linear order to signal syntactic function, (2) the relative lack of clear marking on word classes, and (3) the multifunctionality of words. (Valdman, 2015: 190)

Although the multifunctionality of expressions in creole languages is currently primarily associated with syntactic-grammatical relations, it is also closely related to semantic ambiguity and polysemy. Both the grammatical and semantic aspects of this phenomenon will be examined in this article.

Parallel grammaticalization pathways in Haitian and Papiamentu³

Grammaticalization can be considered to be a diachronic process whereby new grammatical forms emerge from formerly autonomous lexical and discursive units as they assume a stronger grammatical function.⁴ Striking examples of this process are to be found in Romance-lexifier creole languages in the Caribbean, whose grammatical-syntactical reinterpretation of lexical units from their lexifier languages is by no means

¹ “As a consequence of a lack of the formal, morphological marking of the part-of-speech class (in French-lexifier creole languages), the boundaries [sic!] between the word classes seem fluid and a word might, depending on its function in the sentence, pertain to a different lexical category without this being evident from its form (ending). A number of words could consequently abandon their original syntactic function and change their lexical category; however, it is more often the case that the respective words have maintained the original function which they had in French, alongside their new syntactical function(s). Certain changes in meaning might come along with the new syntactic function.” (translation by the author)

² Cf. for this purpose also Lefebvre, 2015: 360: “The relabeling-based account of creole genesis thus provides a context for constructing a strong argument in favor of a monosemic approach to multifunctionality over a polysemic one. The precise formulation of multifunctional lexical entries was, in some cases, left for future research.”

³ The definitions in this section are based on Targète & Urciolo, 1993 (Haitian) and De Beijer s.d. (Papiamentu).

⁴ On the concept of grammaticalization see Klump, 2007.

unique, but instead can be said to follow universal grammaticalization pathways.⁵ Because the focus of this article is on the relationships between creole languages and their European lexifier languages, the phenomena described in this work are analysed without reference to the Niger-Congo and other non-European languages which were also involved in the contact situations that gave rise to colonial era creole languages in the Caribbean. There can be no doubt that these non-lexifier languages had a significant impact on both the morphosyntactic and semantic behaviour of the Haitian, Papiamentu and Guyanais forms mentioned in this work, especially in areas such as multifunctionality and semantic ambiguity (Faraclas, 2012).

Lexeme with reference to place > Morpheme with locative function

‘house, home’ noun > locative

Haitian:

<i>kay/lakay</i> ₁ noun	‘home, house’
<i>kay/lakay</i> ₂ locative	‘at X’s house’

‘side’ noun > locative adverb, preposition, relative/ interrogative pronoun

Haitian:

<i>kote</i> ₁ noun	1. ‘side’ 2. ‘place; room, space’
<i>kote</i> ₂ adverb	‘where’
<i>kote</i> ₃ relative pronoun	‘where, in which, from which’
<i>kote</i> ₄ preposition	‘beside, near, next to; in comparison to’
<i>bò</i> ₁ noun	‘side, edge’
<i>bò</i> ₂ preposition	‘close to, by, beside, near’

‘location’ > locative adverb, preposition, relative/ interrogative pronoun

Haitian:

<i>anba</i> adverb	‘below, down’
<i>anba</i> preposition	‘below, beneath, under’

‘way’ noun > locative adverb, preposition, relative/ interrogative pronoun

Papiamentu (Curaçao):

<i>kaminda</i> ₁ noun	‘way’
<i>kaminda</i> ₂ relative pronoun	‘(where)to’

Lexeme with reference to time > Morpheme with temporal function

‘time/hour’ noun > temporal conjunction

⁵ In this vein, the *World lexicon of grammaticalization* by Heine & Kuteva (2002), which introduces the general pathways of grammatical change based on a “source target lexicon”, inter alia refers to the Haitian expression *kay* ‘house’, which was then reinterpreted in the sense of ‘at (the house of)’ (p. 176).

Haitian:

<i>lè</i> ₁ noun	‘time (hour, moment)’
<i>lè</i> ₂ conjunction	‘when, at the time when’

Papiamentu (Curaçao):

<i>ora</i> ₁ noun	‘hour’
<i>ora</i> ₂ conjunction	‘when; while; although’
<i>tempu</i> ₁ noun	‘time’
<i>tempu</i> ₂ conjunction	‘when, at the time when’

Apart from the single-element prepositions retained from lexifier languages, such as Haitian *an* < French *en* ‘in, into, as, from, of’, Haitian *sou* < French *sous* ‘on, over, above, up’, Haitian *pre/prè/pwe* < French *près* ‘close to, near; against’, we also observe newly created complex prepositions and conjunctions in creole languages, whose basic elements represent lexemes with local, temporal and dimensional meaning:

Haitian:

<i>bò</i> noun ‘side, edge’	> <i>arebò</i> preposition ‘at the edge of’
<i>lè</i> noun ‘time’	> <i>anlè, an lè</i> preposition ‘above, on top of’
<i>tan</i> noun ‘time’	> <i>etan, antan</i> conjunction ‘while’ (‘at the time when’)

Papiamentu (Curaçao):

<i>banda</i> noun ‘side’	> <i>banda di</i> preposition ‘by’

Homonymous structures and the transgression of word class boundaries in Haitian and Papiamentu

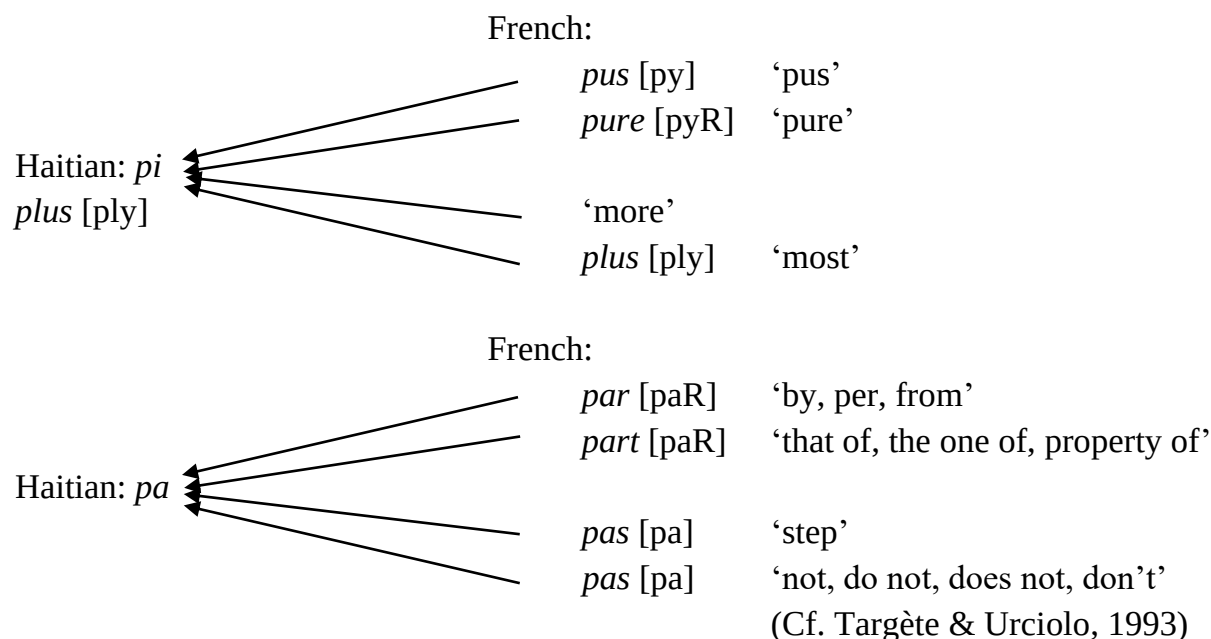
The phonological correspondence of expressions which can originate on the one hand from the actual and/or from the source languages, and on the other hand from a single morphological paradigm or word family, and/or from completely autonomous lexical sources, is frequently encountered in creole languages. This means that already existing homonymous constellations from lexifier languages can be found in nearly unchanged phonological form in creole languages:

Continuity of French homonymy in Haitian:

French:		Haitian:
<i>temps</i> [tã]	‘time’	> <i>tan</i> ₁
<i>temps</i> [tã]	‘weather’	> <i>tan</i> ₂
<i>tant</i> [tã]	‘so, so much’	> <i>tan</i> ₃ (Cf. Targète & Urciolo, 1993)
<i>près</i> [pRɛ]	‘close to, near; against’	> <i>prè</i> ₁
<i>prêt</i> [pRɛ]	‘ready’	> <i>prè</i> ₂ (Cf. Targète & Urciolo, 1993)

The emergence of the colonial era Atlantic creole languages in the 17th and 18th centuries in many cases involved the phonological collapse of originally autonomous words

in the lexifier languages. Typical phonological changes responsible for this phenomenon in French-lexifier creole languages, for example, are vowel derounding (French [y] > Haitian [i]) and the elision of liquids, such as [l] and [R].



Due to syllable structure reduction and the elision of final sounds, the historical infinitive and participle forms of Spanish and Portuguese collapsed in the case of three- and four syllable verbs in Papiamentu, so that today, there is no phonological distinction between the verb and the related adjective equivalent:⁶

alkansá ‘to attain, attained’; *aproximá* ‘to approximate, approximated’; *alohá* ‘to accommodate, accomodated’; *analísá* ‘to analyze, analyzed’; *anulá* ‘to annul, annulled’; *apsolbé* ‘to absolve, absolved’; *deklará* ‘to declare, declared’; *dependé* ‘to depend, depended’; *desinfektá* ‘to disinfect, disinfected’; *disimulá* ‘to dissimulate, dissimulated’; *divorsiá* ‘to divorce, divorced’; *eksplotá* ‘to explode, exploded’; *elaborá* ‘to elaborate, elaborated’; *guberná* ‘to govern, governed’; *presentá* ‘to present, presented’; *saludá* ‘to greet, greeted’ (Cf. Van Putte & Van Putte-de Windt, 2005).

While there is no phonological distinction in Papiamentu between the infinitive and participle forms of three- and four syllable verbs, a suprasegmental distinction is made between these forms in the case of disyllabic verbs, and a diacritic is used to differentiate them:

gana [‘ga:na] ‘to earn’ vs. *ganá* [ga’na] ‘earned’; *bisti* [‘bi:sti] ‘to dress’ vs. *bistí* [bis’ti] ‘dressed’; *kambia* [‘ka:mbja] ‘to change’ vs. *kambiá* [kam’bja] ‘changed’; *balia* ‘to dance’ vs. *baliá* ‘danced’; *basha* ‘to pour’ vs. *bashá* ‘poured’; *bende* ‘to

⁶ Van Putte & Van Putte-de Windt (2005) describe these exclusively as infinitive and adjective forms.

sell' vs. *bendé* 'sold'; *bula* 'to fly' vs. *bulá* 'flown'; *chupa* 'to suck' vs. *chupá* 'sucked'; *duna* 'to give' vs. *duná* 'given'; *hala* 'to pull' vs. *halá* 'pulled'; *hasi* 'to do' vs. *hasí* 'done'; *kanta* 'to sing' vs. *kantá* 'sung'; *laba* 'to wash' vs. *labá* 'washed'; *manda* 'to send' vs. *mandá* 'sent'; *pega* 'to stick' vs. *pegá* 'stuck' (Cf. Van Putte & Van Putte-de Windt, 2005)

As in Romance languages, (cf. Spanish *cantar* vs. *el cantar*), the formal correspondence of nouns and verbs is limited to only a few lexicalizations:

Formal correspondence of noun and verb

Haitian:

renmen verb 1. 'to love, to like, to cherish, to be fond of'; 2. 'to love to, to be in the habit of'; noun 'love affair' (Cf. Targète & Urciolo, 1993)

Papiamentu:

balia verb 'to dance'; noun 'dance'

brasa verb 'to embrace'; noun 'arm, kiss'

bende verb 'to sell'; noun 'sale' (Cf. Van Putte & Van Putte-de Windt, 2005)

In the multilingual societies of the Caribbean, where several languages coexist and are in common daily use, enhanced formal congruence of forms from both the native and loanword vocabulary is possible. Papiamentu has several homonymy pairs which have arisen through the significant historical, cultural and political influence of Spanish, Portuguese, Dutch and English:

Homonymy developed through external loanwords in Papiamentu

<i>tin</i> ₁ 'tin' < Dutch <i>tin</i>	and	<i>tin</i> ₂ 'to have' < Iberian <i>tener/ter</i>
<i>te</i> ₁ 'tea' < Dutch <i>thee</i>	and	<i>te</i> ₂ 'until' < Portuguese <i>até</i>
<i>liber</i> ₁ 'pound' < Iberian <i>libra</i>	and	<i>liber</i> ₂ 'free' < Iberian <i>libre/livre</i>
<i>hap</i> ₁ 'yawn' < Dutch <i>gapen</i>	and	<i>hap</i> ₂ 'bite' < Dutch <i>hap</i>

(Cf. Kramer, 2013)

High frequency polyfunctional expressions in Caribbean creole languages

kapab in Haitian

The abandonment of the fixed word class boundaries of their lexifier languages in many cases leads to largely invariable, but semantically and functionally polyvalent forms in Caribbean creole languages. For instance, the Haitian lexeme *kapab* (< French *capable* adjective 'able') is not only used with an adjectival function, but also (sometimes in shortened form *ka*) as a modal verb in the sense of 'can, may':

Haitian:

- Si m gen yon foula, mwen **kapab** mete l nan kou m, al lwen avè l. Si m gen yon flè, mwen **kapab** keyi l, al avè l tou. Men, ou pa **ka** keyi zetwal yo!
- Non, men m **ka** mete yo labank. (De Saint-Exupéry: 82)

French:

- Moi, si je possède un foulard, je **puis** le mettre autour de mon cou et l’emporter. Moi, si je possède une fleur, je **puis** cueillir ma fleur et l’emporter. Mais tu ne **peux** pas cueillir les étoiles!
- Non, mais je **puis** les placer en banque. (De Saint-Exupéry: 83)⁷

kontan in Guyanais

A typical highly frequency word in Guyanais (aka Kreyòl Gwiyane or Créole Guyanais, the French-lexifier creole language of French Guiana) is the invariable form *kontan*, from the French adjective *content* ‘satisfied’. Here again, semantic scope and lexical category have been extended, so that the expression now appears in contexts which seem odd from a standard French perspective. While the French expressions *aimer faire quelque chose* and *aimer quelqu’un/ quelque chose* still have formal equivalents in the creole languages of Guadeloupe and Martinique, they are replaced by the constructions [*kontan* + V] and [*kontan* + NP] in Guyanais:⁸

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<i>Le Petit Nicolas</i> <i>Français</i>	<i>Ti Nikola</i> <i>Kréyol Gwadeloup</i>	<i>Ti-Nikola</i> <i>Kréyol Martinik</i>	<i>Ti Nikola-a</i> <i>Kréyòl Gwiyane</i>
Il aime beaucoup jouer aux billes.	A pa ti enmé i enmé jwé kristal.	I enmen jwé agat toubònman.	I kontan jwé biy.
Il aime bien taquiner papa.	I byen enmé tignoné papa.	I bien enmen mété papa lafet.	I kontan anbété papa.

The following examples illustrate that *kontan* is used as an adjective in predicative and attributive function in the sense of ‘pleased, satisfied, content’ (French *content*) as well as in the sense of ‘to like to do something’ (French *aimer faire quelque chose*) or ‘to like someone/ something’ (French: *aimer quelqu’un/ quelque chose*) in Guyanais:

Examples of kontan in Guyanais

<i>Gosciny & Sempé: Ti Nikola-a Kréyòl Gwiyane</i>	<i>Gosciny & Sempé: Le Petit Nicolas Français</i>

⁷ — If I owned a silk scarf, I could put it around my neck and take it away with me. If I owned a flower, I could pluck that flower and take it away with me. But you cannot pluck the stars from heaven!

— No, but I can put them in the bank.

⁸ All examples are from the introductory part in the language-specific editions where the characters are presented.

Ayè, papa rivé tout kontan (p. 33)	Hier, papa est arrivé tout content (p. 74)
Papa, pa té djè kontan (p. 39)	Papa, qui n'avait pas l'air content (p. 79)
Nou-menm, nou pa télman kontan 'l	Nous on ne l'aime pas trop
Mo kontan rété an mo kaz (Introduction)	Moi j'aime rester à la maison (Introduction)
Jofrwa kontan dégizé (p. 41)	Geoffroy aime bien se déguiser (p. 80)
Mo kontan sa (p. 35)	J'aime ça (p. 76)

dushi in Papiamentu

In the Romance language-speaking world, one single expression can sometimes be used to represent a whole country, such as *tico/ tica* for Costa Rica, *che* for Argentina, and *ándale* for Mexico. The Papiamentu word *dushi* could be said to do the same for Curaçao and the other ABC islands (Aruba and Bonaire), and it covers a broad range of meanings and functions. Due to its positive connotation, it is increasingly used for touristic and product-specific advertising purposes:⁹

Dushi Curaçao 'beautiful Curaçao' (advertisement)

Korsou ta dushi 'Curaçao is beautiful' (advertisement)

*Een hele fijne avond en **drumi dushi*** 'sleep well' (hotel brochure)

Hé dushi! 'Hey baby/ sweetheart' (book cover)

un dushi cuenta 'a nice story' (book title)

*Curaçaose lekkernijen: **kos dushi*** 'sweets' (advertisement)

Dushi kuminda krioyo na un bon prèis! 'delicious creole food' (advertisement)

*E wea krioyo ku su **dushi sopi*** 'delicious soup' (advertisement)

*Banana fria – **dushiii**...* 'Ice cold bananas – delicious!' (product label)¹⁰

Effectively, it would be difficult to find another word on the island which is as semantically polysemous, and which shows such a high extension and frequency in use as the Iberian-derived expression *dushi* (< Portuguese *doce* and/or Spanish *dulce*). In comprehensive dictionaries of Papiamentu, we find the following entries, which reflect the polysemy of *dushi* in different ways:

dushi

Van Putte & Van Putte-de Windt, 2005:

I ape lieverd, liefje

II ath 1 zoet; 2 lekker; 3 heerlijk

III atv lekker, heerlijk

IV sus iets zoets, zoetheid

dushi

De Beijer:

[bnw] 1. zoet;

2. lekker; smakelijk;

3. lief, snoezig;

4. aangenaam; prettig; plezierig

[znw] schat, schatje, snoes(je)

⁹ In Curaçao, the language community identifies so much with the native expression *dushi* that a proper monument was dedicated to it in the capital of Willemstad.

¹⁰ Documented uses of *dushi* in the linguistic landscape of Willemstad/Curaçao.

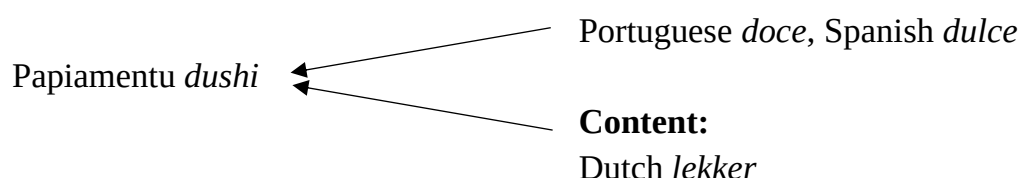
Used as a nickname, an adjective, an adverb or a noun, the multiple meanings and poly-functionality of the Papiamentu word *dushi* resemble those of the semantically similar Dutch word *lekker*, which has comparable related meanings alongside its adjectival and adverbial core meaning ‘delicious’:

Dutch:	English:
lekkere vla, wat lekker!	a delicious custard, how delicious!
dat ruikt <i>lekker</i>	that smells good
<i>lekker</i> weer	nice weather
een <i>lekkere</i> stoel	a comfortable chair
ik voel me niet <i>lekker</i>	I do not feel well
ik ga even <i>lekker</i> zitten	I’ll just sit down and get comfortable
ik hoef vandaag <i>lekker</i> niet te werken	Luckily, I don’t have to work today
droom maar <i>lekker</i> verder	Dream on
ik weet <i>lekker</i> meer dan jij	But I know quite a bit more than you (Cf. www.buurtaal.de)

Given these semantic parallels between Papiamentu *dushi* and Dutch *lekker*, there is reason to presume that, while *dushi* inherited its form from Portuguese and Spanish, its polysemic structure is based on its Dutch counterpart:

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Form:



The following examples of the multi-faceted use of *dushi* in the novel *The diary of a young girl* by Anne Frank, however, show that in the Papiamentu translation, the expression *dushi* by no means automatically corresponds to *lekker* in the original Dutch version:

Anne Frank: <i>E Kas Patras</i>	Anne Frank: <i>Het Achterhuis. Dagboekbrieven</i>	Anne Frank: <i>The diary of a young girl</i>
E manera akí di skribi den mi diario mi ta haña muchu mas dushi (1)	Deze manier om in mijn dagboek te schrijven vind ik veel fijner (9)	This way of keeping a diary is much nicer (1)
buskuchi dushi (2)	boterkoekjes (10)	biscuits (2)
pensa ki dushi lo tabata (2)	te denken hoe heerlijk het zou zijn (10)	thinking how wonderful it would be (3)
Mi mayornan ta masha dushi hende (6)	Ik heb lieve ouders (14)	I have loving parents (6)

Mi tata, e tata mas dushi ku hamas mi a yega di topa (7)	M'n vader, de liefste schat van een vader (14)	My father, the most adorable father I've ever seen (7)
awor akí ta asina dushi i trankil (9)	het is nu zo lekker rustig (16)	it's nice and quiet now (9)
Awor numa mi ta mira kon dushi un trèm por ta (12)	Nu zie ik pas hoe fijn een tram toch is (19)	Only now do I realize how pleasant a tram is (12)
pa un kambio sigur mi ta haña esei dushi (16)	dat vind ik voor de afwisseling wel leuk (22)	it's kind of nice for a change (16)
gosa di bo dushi bida (18)	geniet van je onbezorgde levettje (24)	just enjoy your carefree life (18)
Asina anto mi a presentá bo henter nos dushi Kas Patras! (24)	Zie hier, ik stelde je ons hele, fijne Achterhuis voor! (29)	Now I've introduced you to the whole of our lovely backhouse! (25)
Anto nan ta bisa kon dushi nos kuater ta ku otro (28)	En dan zeggen ze hoe gezellig wij het wel met ons viertjes hebben (32)	They're always saying how nice it is with the four of us (29)
Semper mi ta soña masha dushi akinan (29)	Ik droom hier altijd zo fijn (33)	I have plenty of sweet dreams here (29)
Papa sí ta un dushi hende (32)	Papa is een dot (36)	Daddy's a sweetheart (32)
Pafó wer ta kalor, dushi (32)	Het is buiten mooi warm weer (36)	It's a beautiful day outside, nice and hot (32)
e ta pone mi pensa atrobe riba Moortje. Moortje, mi dushi ! (49)	dat doet mij dan weer aan mijn Moortje denken, o die schat . (51)	it reminds me of my dear sweet Moortje (49/50)

4.4 Passepartout words

Finally, mention must be made of lexical placeholders, which in creole languages also present a high degree of pragmatic flexibility, frequency in use and idiomatic potential. Haitian *bagay* 'object, thing' (< French *bagage* 'luggage, baggage') and Papiamentu *kos* 'object, thing' (< Spanish *cosa*/ Portuguese *coisa*) do not cross word class boundaries in the strict sense, but they serve for actualization and focusing in discourse through their substantive meaning.

Antoine de Saint-Exupéry: <i>Ti prens lan</i>	Antoine de Saint-Exupéry: <i>Le petit prince</i>
kisa bagay (p. 16)	qu'est-ce que c'est que cette chose-là? (p. 17)
dezyèm bagay enpòtan anpil (p. 22)	seconde chose très importante (p. 23)
Anne Frank: <i>E Kas Patras</i>	Anne Frank: <i>The diary of a young girl</i>
un kos chikitu (p. 4)	the slightest thing (p. 4)
tur kos (p. 16)	everything (p. 16)

Conclusion

In this article, the phenomenon of synchronic polyfunctionality resulting from grammatical and syntactical change, semantic transfer and analogy was illustrated with examples of highly frequent words from Haitian, Guyanais and Papiamentu, at least in part to encourage creolists to begin to address the lack of comprehensive studies of such processes in creole languages, identified by Stein (2017):

Diese Entwicklung [= die Aufgabe der ursprünglichen syntaktischen Funktion und damit die Änderung ihrer Wortartzugehörigkeit] wird zwar häufig erwähnt, eine systematische und umfassende Bearbeitung fehlt jedoch noch. Die älteren Arbeiten berücksichtigen den syntaktisch-funktionalen Aspekt nur wenig, und die modernen konzentrieren sich allzu oft auf eine rein synchrone Beschreibung des Sprachsystems und vernachlässigen den (in unserem Fall französischen) Ursprung der Formen und die Veränderung ihrer syntaktischen Funktionen. (Stein: 95)¹¹

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¹¹ This development [= the abandonment of the original syntactic function and thus a changed lexical category] is indeed often mentioned, but still lacks a systematic and comprehensive analysis. Previous publications barely take the syntactic-functional aspect into account, and contemporary works concentrate all too often on a purely synchronic description of the language system and neglect the (in our case French) formal origin and the transformation of the syntactic functions of these forms. (translation by the author)

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USO DI ARTIKULO DEFINI DEN PAPIAMENTU

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Abstract

After a brief description of the diachronic development of the definite article in Papiamentu from the eighteenth century onwards, in this article an attempt is made to gain insight into the function and use of the definite article in the context of the development of the Papiamentu corpus. In order to carry out this explorative and descriptive study, an approach was chosen based on the views of De Saussure and Peirce. The results of this analysis on the use of the definite article provide a relevant contribution to the process of the linguistic development of Papiamentu, aimed at contributing to effective communication in the Papiamentu speaking community in different sociolinguistic domains.

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Keywords: Papiamentu, standardization, linguistic corpus, definite article

Resúmen

Despues di un deskripshon breve di desaroyo diakrónico di e artíkulo definí den papiamentu for di siglo diesocho, ta trata di haña un bista di funshon i uso di e artíkulo definí den kuadro di desaroyo di corpus di papiamentu. Pa realisá e análisis konsiso akí, a skohe pa hasi uso di un aserkamentu, saliendo for di e mira lingwístiko di De Saussure i Peirce. E resultadonan di e análisis akí, riba uso di e artíkulo definí, ku ta di un karakter eksploratorio i deskriptivo, ta ofresé un kontribushon relevante na e proseso di desaroyo lingwístiko di papiamentu ku finalmente ta na benefisio di un komunikashon efektivo den e komunitat di abla papiamentu den vários dominio sosiolingwístiko.

Palabra klave: papiamentu, standarisashon, corpus lingwístiko, artíkulo definí

Introdukshon

Papiamentu ta un di e seis idiomanan ofisial den Karibe, esta, spañó, ingles, franses, hulandes, krioyo haitiano i papiamentu. Aunke ku papiamentu ta papiá solamente na Aruba, Boneiru, Kòrsou i Hulanda¹, i e tin un kantidat di usuario limitá, tòg e ta un lenga vital. Kompará ku hopi otro lenga krioyo, papiamentu ta disfrutá di un prestigio altu bou di su ablantenan, i e lenga no ta na peliger di ekstinsjon. Vários investigashon ta referí na e perspektiva ku e lenga krioyo hóben akí tin, i ta enfatisá su hito- i logronan. (Severing & Weijer, 2010). Notabel tambe ta ku papiamentu no ta aparesé den e lista di UNESCO ku ta kontené e lenganan ku ta bou di menasa di ekstinsjon (UNESCO, 2017).² Komo e komunidad di ablante di papiamentu tin e aspirashon pa duna e idioma un posishon mas fuerte den mas dominio sosiolingwístiko, ta importante pa pone atenshon na planifikashon i polítika lingwístiko, en partikular, revitalisashon, preservashon i mantenementu di e lenga krioyo akí (Trinick, May & Lemo, 2020).

Oumento di státus i distribushon di papiamentu desaroyando corpus

Pa planifikashon di distribushon di idioma, a skohe na Kòrsou pa un modelo di transishon bilingwe papiamentu-hulandes òf viseversa, segun e mayornan di alumno ta preferá. Asina por skohe pa e alumnonan siña lesa na papiamentu òf na hulandes, pa despues, na final di e periodo eskolar, evaluá ámbos idioma, utilizando kriterio na un nivel ekivalente pa tur dos. Na benefisio di e trayekto bilingwe di siñansa di idioma akí, a desaroyá material didáktiko pa papiamentu ku ta ampliamente disponibel na tur e tres islanan abou, esta, Aruba, Boneiru i Kòrsou.

Supyasente na distribushon di idioma òf na e proseso di atkisishon di idioma, tin e trayekto di planifikashon di corpus ta kana. Asina, ordenando e struktura di papiamentu, por konbertié den un instrumento ku mas i mas ta bira adekuá pa atkisishon di lenga i pa materia na skol i, por lo tantu, oumentá su státus komo medio di komunikashon general indispensable. Pa esaki, planifikashon di corpus ta esensial (Severing, 1997). Den e diseño di planifikashon koherente tripartit akí, un papiamentu standarisá bon deskribí i fuertemente desaroyá lo pèrkurá pa, poulatinamente, diskushon riba idioma na skol i tambe den komunidad mengua i pa aseptashon den área adishonal i riba mas nivel oumentá.

Apesar di un aseptashon kolektivo ya relativamente fuerte di papiamentu komo idioma komunitario, te ainda ta eksistí un aktitut lingwístiko kreolofóbiko al respekto di e posishon di papiamentu den edukashon. Na mes momentu, lo por sigui traha desididamente ku e material didáktiko ya disponibel i na distribushon di idioma den medio sosial

¹ E ablantenan di e tres Islanan Abou, huntu ku un komunidad relativamente amplio di ablante den diáspora residente na Hulanda, ta forma un kantidat estimá di 270.000 usuario di papiamentu.

² *UNESCO Atlas of the world's languages in danger* ta indiká e diferente idiomanan na mundu ku ta bou di menasa di desaparishon, e grado di riesgo òf peliger ku nan ta kore. Si e idioma ta safe, e kriterionan relevante ta: (1) si tur generashon ta papia e idioma konserniente, i tambe (2) si transmishon intergenerashonal ta ininterumpí, e idioma no ta inkluí den e lista. Esei ta e kaso ku papiamentu.

i den komunitat, ku un corpus di idioma uniformemente standarisá komo base. Ademas, standarisashon no ta limitá solamente na kodifikashon di idioma, sino ta establese tambe e standart pa esun òf mas variedat di idioma ku lo usa na skol (Wagner-Rodriguez, 2014). Si oumento di stáтус i distribushon di papiamentu ta interrelashoná ku otro i ta dependé di e grado di desaroyo di corpus di idioma papiamentu, ta stratégikamente di importansia pa duna atenshon na e parti lingwístiko akí.

Aserkamentu

Den e artíkulo akí, lo trata di haña un bista di uso di e artíkulo definí den papiamentu, den kuadro di desaroyo di corpus di papiamentu. Promé, lo duna un deskripsjon breve di e desaroyo diakrónico di artíkulo definí komo kategoria di palabra for di siglo die-socho. Pa hasi e análisis ku ta sigui, a skohe pa hasi uso di un aserkamentu ku ta sali for di e mira lingwístiko di Ferdinand de Saussure (1945, [1916]) i Charles Sanders Peirce (2011, [1897]), pa asina elaborá for di e ángulo ei mas detayá riba funshon i uso di e artíkulo definí den papiamentu³.

Artíkulo definí den un perspectiva diakrónico

Den e promé teksto konosí na papiamentu di Abraham da Costa Andrade jr. (1775), ta usa e palabra ‘es’ komo artíkulo definí: *es* negrita Antuñika. Serka Niewindt (2002 [1833]), por lesa: den *es* sieglo di inkrudilidad (p. 1); den *es* parti aquí di mundo (p. 2). Den e mes teksto akí, ta haña banda di ‘es’ tambe e variantenan ‘el’, ‘é’ i ‘e’ (Niewindt: 3): den *es* tempu; *el* segundo domingo di Noviembré; nan ta cumpli ku *é* obra. Serka Putman ([1850]), ku ta un supalerno di Niewindt, pero ku ta skirbi, usando un ortografia mas hulandisá, nos ta mira: Bo mester a karga *ees* kroes (p. 9). Eel ta toema *ees* bofonamentoe, i toer *ees* hoemiliasjon. (p. 17). Segun e lingwista Lenz (1928: 97), e palabra ‘es’ ta e forma kompletu, i e ta indiká ku e artíkulo definí ‘e’ ta derivá di e demonstrativo ‘es’. Segun e gramátika di Van de Veen Zeppenfeldt (1928: 22), frekuentemente ‘es’ ta sustituí ‘e’, prinsipalmente dilanti di palabra ku ta kuminsá ku un vokal: *es* otro Maria; pa *es* ehersisio nobo; na *es* otro sombrénan. Si no realisá e sustantivo, ta obligatorio pa usa e forma kompletu: bo bukinan i *esnan* di mi.

Den algùn palabra fiá for di spañó, e artíkulo spañó⁴ a keda pegá na e sustantivo ku ta sigui e artíkulo, manera ta e kaso ku: laman (*la* mar), Lareina (*la* reina), Lamuèrtè (*la* muerte), Labirgui (*la* virgen (Maria), keda al kaso⁵ (*al* caso, género maskulino) a lo

³ Tantu e lingwista Ferdinand de Saussure (1857-1913) komo e filósofo Charles Sanders Peirce (1839-1914) ta pará na base di lingwístika di awendia, apesar ku nan pensamentu relashoná ku semiologia ta di mas ku un siglo pasá.

⁴ Lenz (1928: 96) ta mustra riba mas kasteyanismo den papiamentu, ku na komienso di siglo binti tabata komun i koriente.

⁵ Mas ekspreshon fiho ku *al*: *al* fin (i) *al* kabo; *al* instante; *al* kontrario; *al* por mayor; *al* respekto

ménos⁶ (a *lo* menos, género neutro), a *la* fin (a *la* fin, género femenino), *alaparia*⁷ (a *la* parilla, género femenino) (Lenz, 1928: 98; Joubert, 2020).

Prinsipalmente ora ta papia, por haña kontrakshon kombiná ku e artíkulo ‘e’. Esei ta e kaso ku e preposishonnan *di*, *na* i *pa*. *Di* e ta bira *dje*: ta kas *dje* pareha resientemente kasá; *dje* otro partisipantenan no tin adrès. *Na* e ta bira *n’e*: yama *n’e* universidat; *n’e* kas nobo tin fiesta. *Pa* e ta kontraé i bira *p’e*: paga *p’e* buki na kaha; *p’e* tiki grip ku e ta sinti. Aunke generalmente den idioma papiá, e kontrakshonnan akí ta masha komun, ora di skibi, sigur den dokumento mas formal, ta usa ‘di e’, ‘na e’ i ‘pa e’⁸.

Modèl di komunikashon

Aunke ta konsiderá De Saussure un di e fundadónan mas importante di lingwístika moderno, vários lingwista ta konsiderá su ideanan komo ekstemporáneo, komo ku ya ta un siglo pasá ku nan a surgi⁹. Su kontemporáneo Charles Sanders Peirce sí, te awe, ta haña atenshon di e grupo internashonal di studioso¹⁰. Pa e análisis akí, perspektiva di tur dos por ta di balor.

Promé ku dreña den tratamentu di uso di e *artíkulo definí ‘e’*, ta presentá konsisamente deskripshon di terminologia ku lo apliká. Na promé lugá, ta hasi menshon di loke den gramátika tekstual a haña e nòmber di *modèl komunikativo* (òf *modèl di komunikashon*). Ku e modèl akí, ta referí na e *konteksto* òf *ambiente* den kua dos òf mas hende ta komuniká ku otro òf ta partisipá den un kòmbersashon. Den un modèl komunikativo, e interlokutornan (partisipantenan) ta pasa *informashon* pa otro verbalmente, no verbalmente òf kombinando e dos forman menshoná. E *modèl komunikativo* akí ta konsistí, generalmente, di tres komponente: *transmisor*, *reseptor* i *ekspreshon*. Mira e siguiente skema.

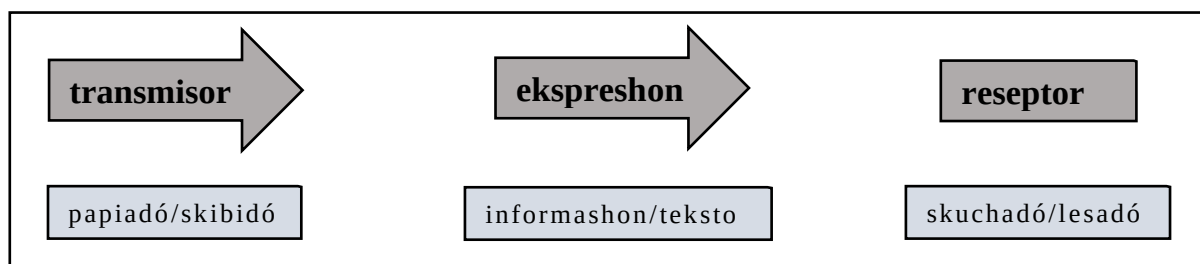
⁶ Mas ekspreshon fiho ku *lo*: a *lo* largu; a *lo* mehor; a *lo* sumo; de *lo* mehor; karesé di *lo* esensial; por *lo* mehor; por *lo* ménos; por *lo* demas; por *lo* tantu;

⁷ Mas ekspreshon fiho ku *la*: a *la* Picasso; a *la* bes; peña a *la* bròshi; a *la* fin a *la* fan; a *la* fòrs; a *la* karga; a *la* largu; a *la* órden; bal(e) *la* pena; ta abo ta *la* kulpa; mete *la* pata; nunca de *la* bida; pena *la* bida;

⁸ Den e karta di Niewindt (2002, [1833]), ku por konsiderá, pa e tempu ei sigur, un dokumento di un kategoria ofisial, por lesa: favornan *dié* jubileo; *diés* tempu; tur esai nos ta desea pa boso *pés* Santu Jubileo. Aki *dié* ta un kontrakshon di ‘di-e’; *diés* ta kontrakshon di ‘di-es’ i serka e palabra *pés*, ta trata di e kontrakshon ‘pa-es’ (mira p. 19).

⁹ Komo De Saussure mes no a publiká muchu, despues di su fayesimentu repentino, dos di su studiantenan Charles Bally i Albert Sechehayé, ku a kore kòlezje serka dje, a publiká nan anotashonnan na 1916 den e buki *Cours de linguistique générale*.

¹⁰ Pa su pensamentunan klave i relevante pa kultura, siensia i filosofia di siglo XXI, ainda na 2020, e Grupo de estudios Peirceanos (GEP) na Universidad de Navarra ta promové i studia obra di e merikano Peirce komo filósofo, semiótiko, pragmátiko i mas. Banda di GEP, tin un ret internashonal amplio (Peirce's scholars) ku ta aktivo.



Skema 1 Modelu komunikativo

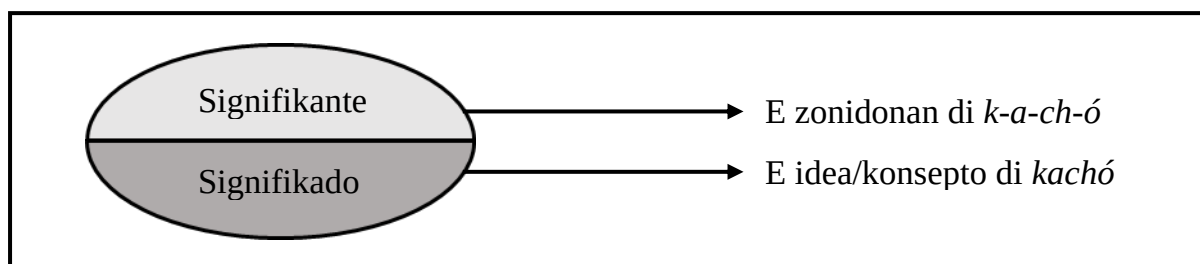
Ku e *transmisor*, ta indiká e persona ku ta pasa un *ekspreshon* (informashon/mensahe) pa e *reseptor*, kende ta e persona ku ta risibí e ekspreshon. Den e modelu komunikativo, e transmisor ta e *papiadó/skibidó*, e reseptor ta e *skuchadó/lesadó* i e *ekspreshon* ta e informashon papiá òf un teksto skibí. E *papiadó/skibidó* ku ta pasa informashon, semper ta hasi esei ku sierto *ophetivo* òf *meta*. Pues, ta papia di *ophetivo* òf *meta komunikativo* di e *papiadó/skibidó*. E *skuchadó/lesadó* tambe ta risibí e informashon ku sierto *ophetivo* òf *meta*. Den e kaso akí, ta papia di *ophetivo* òf *meta komunikativo* di e *skuchadó/lesadó*. Awor, ta e ophetivo/meta komunikativo ta determiná si un papiadó/skibidó ta hasi uso di, entre otro, e *artíkulo definí*, na momentu ku e ta realisá su ekspreshon òf pasa su informashon (teksto papiá òf skibí). Pues, ta dependé di e ophetivo/meta ku e interlokutornan tin den un konteksto komunikativo pa ku nan informashon/mensahe, ku nan lo hasi uso di e *artíkulo definí* ‘e’ òf nò. Pues, mester tene kuenta semper ku e modelu komunikativo akí na momentu ku ta splika òf analisá *uso di e artíkulo definí* ‘e’ den un teksto (skibí òf papiá) na papiamentu.

1.2 Signo lingwístiko

Análisis di e *signo lingwístiko* (palabra) pa e lingwista franses, Ferdinand de Saussure i e lingwista merikano, Charles Sanders Peirce¹¹, tambe ta yuda komprondé funshon i uso di e artíkulo definí ‘e’ den papiamentu. Kombinashon di e teoria di De Saussure (1945, [1916]) i esun di Peirce (2011, [1897]) ta mustra ku por aserká e signo lingwístiko di e siguiente manera: Ku elemento òf signo lingwístiko, ta referí na e palabranan di un idioma. Pues, ku *palabra* ta referí na e elementonan di e diferente kategorianan di

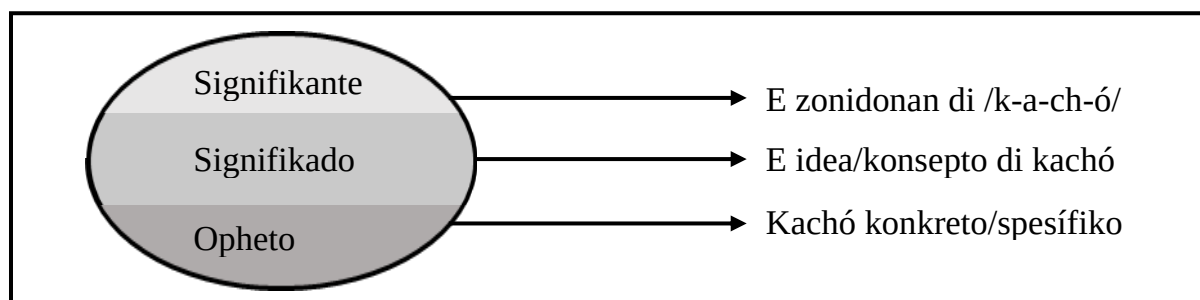
¹¹ E obra akí, probablemente kompilá na prinsipio di 1894, originalmente tabata e promé kapítulo di un buki titulé "El arte de razonar", sinembargo, despues el a bira e di dos kapítulo di e multivolúmen di Peirce "Cómo razonar: Una crítica de los argumentos" (tambe konosí komo "La gran lógica").] Den e selekshon akí, Peirce ta ofresé un splikashon di signo basá riba un análisis di eksperensia konsiente, kaminda e ta tuma komo punta di salida su tres kategorianan universal. E ta studia e tres klasenan prinsipal, di signo: íkono, índise i símbolo, i ta presentá hopi ehèmpel. E ta argumentá, manera el a hasi anteriormente, ku rasonamentu ta impliká e tres klasenan di signo ei, i e ta postulá ku arte di rasoná ta arte di ordená signo, enfatisando asina e relashon entre lógika i semiótika. MS 404. [Publiká parsialmente den CP 2.281, 285 i 297-302.

palabra di un idioma, ehèmpel: sustantivo, athetivo, verbo, atverbio, determinante, preposishon, konhunshon i interhekshon. Segun De Saussure, un signo lingwístiko ta konsistí di dos komponente: *signifikante* i *signifikado* (Skema 2).



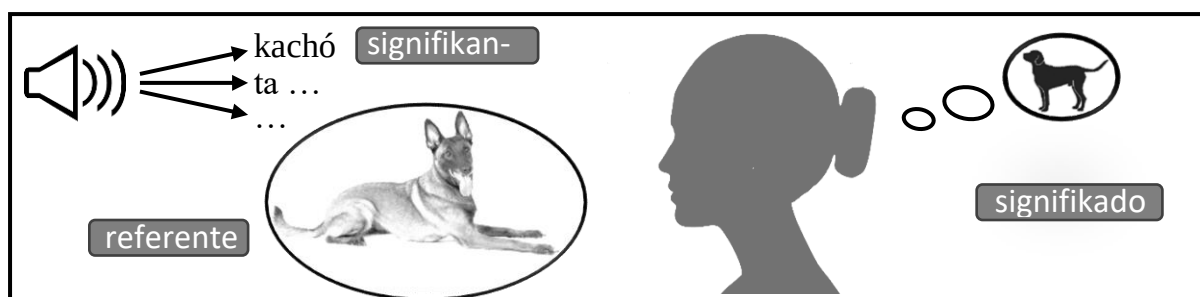
Skema 2: E komponentenan di un signo lingwístiko segun De Saussure

Peirce, sinembargo ta distinguí tres komponente di e signo lingwístiko: *signifikante*, *signifikado* i *opheto* (Skema 3).



Skema 3: E komponentenan di un signo lingwístiko segun Peirce

Den e siguiente skema, por nota un presentashon di e relashon visualisá entre e diferente komponentenan, esta, *signifikante* (símbolo), *signifikado* (konsepto) i *opheto* (Skema 4). Pa klaridat, ta menshoná adishonalmente e términonan sinónimo *símbolo* i *konsepto*.



Skema 4: Relashon visual di significante (símbolo), significado (konsepto), opheto (referente) ku término sinónimo adishonal

Ku e komponente *signifikante* (símbolo) ta referí na e parti material di un signo lingwístiko, e komponente ku bo ta tende (zonido akústiko) òf mira skirbí (grafia riba papel). E ta e forma rekonosibel mediante nos sentidonan. Ku *signifikado* (konsepto) ta

referí na e parti inmaterial, mental, e imágen síkiko òf e kontenido ku ta keda transmití via idioma. E ta e *idea* òf e *konsepto* di un signo lingwístiko (e no ta e opheto/entidat spesífiko real/imaginario). I ku *opheto* ta referí na e *referente* òf entidat real/konkreto/spesífiko na kua ta referí den nos realidat/mundu físiko òf den nos mundu imaginario. Generalmente ta usa e término *opheto referensial* tambe pa opheto.

Pues, ta konsiderá ku e komponente *opheto* di e signo lingwístiko ta referí na e *referente* real/konkreto òf imaginario/apstrakto ku ta pertenesé na nos mundu real/realidat físiko òf na nos mundu ireal/realidat imaginario. Den e artíkulo akí, ta usa e término *referente* pa e komponente *opheto*. Algun ehèmpel di signo lingwístiko den papiamentu ta *kas, shelu, outo, mucha, florin, isla / amor, speransa, religion, sosiedat*. Ku tur e signo lingwístikonan akí, por referí na un *opheto*; pues, ku tur, por referí na un *referente spesífiko konkreto/apstrakto* den nos realidat físiko/imaginario. Awor, pa determiná òf definí opheto òf referente di un signo lingwístiko òf palabra ta usa e determinantenan identifikativo den papiamentu, di kua e *artíkulo definí* ta forma parti. Na papiamentu tin solamente un artíkulo definí òf determiná, ku ta ‘e’. Es desir e ta invariabel pa loke ta trata género i kantidat.

Ta omití òf ta laga e artíkulo definí afó den kaso di, entre otro, uso di sustantivo inkontabel, uso di nòmber propio i geográfiko, lugá públiko genérico, medio di transporte, òf ora ta ekspresá idea general òf apstrakto (ku no a menshoná anteriormente i ku no a modifiká despues). Pues, den e kasonan akí, ta usa e símbolo (Ø) pa indiká ousensia di e artíkulo definí. Mira e siguiente ehèmpelnan:

- (1) Semper nos a bai skol ku Ø bús.
- (2) Nan a start yen di Ø entusiasmo.
- (3) El a keda akusá di Ø asesinato.
- (4) Ø produkto ku no ta bini di Europa ta masha karu.
- (5) Ø Aleksander ta e rei aktual di Reino Hulandes.
- (6) Nos a kumpra Ø djus so.

Terminologia usá pa splika i analisá uso di e artíkulo definí ‘e’

Den e sekshon akí, lo amplia un tiki riba e términonan usá den e artíkulo akí, mirando ku anáalisis di funshon i uso di e artíkulo definí ‘e’ den papiamentu ta rekerí un komprension eksakto di nifikashon di e términonan usá. E siguiente skema ta duna nifikashon di e términonan usá.

terminologia	splikashon
<i>apstrakto</i>	bisá di algu/un entidat presente solamente den nos mente; algu konseptual, intangibel, inkonkreto
<i>determiná</i>	bisá di un sustantivo di kua a identifiká su referente den nos realidat físiko òf imaginario
<i>eksplisitá</i>	indiká/deskribí na un manera mas kla i ku luho di detaye
<i>identifiká</i>	indiká òf referí na algu spesífiko/konkreto/eksistente den nos realidat físiko òf imaginario; spesifiká òf distinguí algu/un kos for di diferente otro pa medio di un elemento determinante
<i>indeterminá</i>	bisá di un sustantivo di kua no a identifiká su referente den nos realidat físiko òf imaginario
<i>genérico</i>	bisá di un sustantivo usá di tal manera ku e ta abarká henter e género di algu, esta, henter e kolekshon/totalidat di un sorto, grupo, klase òf kategoria (di hende, bestia òf opheto)
<i>konkreto</i>	bisá di algu eksistente den nos realidat físiko, presente den e mundu rònt di nos; tangibel; ku tin un eksistensia real
<i>konsepto</i>	idea, noshon òf representashon mental di algu; pensamentu general ku nos tin di algu; imágen mental di algu
<i>referente</i>	den lingwístika: entidat, opheto òf ser na kua un sustantivo ta referí òf ta indiká. Por ehèmpel: <i>referente</i> di e palabra ' <i>porta</i> ' ta referí na e lugá kaminda por sali for di un kas/edifisio etc.
<i>spesifiká</i>	distinguí algu for di vários otro opshon pa medio di e artíkulo definí 'e' òf kualke otro strategia di determinashon den un idioma; determiná; identifiká; apartá for di vários otro kos; 'to single out'
<i>spesífiko:</i>	bisá di algu identifiká, konkreto i presente den e mundu rònt di nos; eksistente den nos mundu real/imaginario

Skema 5 Terminologia usá i splikashon di nifikashon den e análisis akí

Uso di e artíkulo definí pa referí na referente di sustantivo

Segun De Saussure (1945 [1916]) i Peirce (2011 [1897]), un signo lingwístiko/palabra ta konsistí di respektivamente dos òf tres komponente: un *signifikante*, un *signifikado* i un *referente*. Pues, ora un interlokutor pone e *artíkulo definí* 'e' dilanti di un sustantivo den papiamentu, e ta *identifiká e opheto* òf *referente* di e sustantivo en kuestion. Den e konteksto akí, e término *identifiká* ta nifiká indiká òf referí na un opheto òf algu real/konkreto den nos realidat físiko òf imaginario. Pues, un kos/entidat ku tabata simplemente un *konsepto* (e komponente *signifikado*) den nos mente ta haña *eksistensia real* òf *imaginario* den nos realidat. E konsepto *identifiká* akí e ora ei ta bira un *realidat* den nos mundu físiko, esta, e mundu rònt di nos. Otro palabra ku tambe ta ser usá na

lugá di *identifiká* ta *definí*, *determiná* òf *spesifiká*, aunke mester bisa ku no ta tur kaminda òf den tur situashon, por usa e términonan akí komo sinónimo. Laga nos analisá awor e siguiente frase di ehèmpel pa klarifiká un ke otro, tumando komo punto di salida ku tur sustantivo tin un *referente*, sea den nos mundu konkreto/físiko òf den nos mundu apstrakto/imaginario.

Ehèmpel:

(7) *Kachó* ta un animal doméstiko masha gustá.

Den e ekspreshon akiriba (no. 7), no ta referí na ningun *animal spesífiko* den e realidat rònt di nos ku e sustantivo *kachó*, pero na e *idea* òf *konsepto* ‘*kachó*’ (na e komponente *signifikado* di e palabra *kachó*). Pues, no por bisa ku e transmisor a *determiná* òf *identifiká* e sustantivo *kachó* usá den e frase di ehèmpel (1) akí; e no a pone e *artíkulo definí* ‘e’ òf kualke otro determinante identifikativo su dilanti. Esaki ta nifiká ku den e frase akí, e sustantivo *kachó* no tin un *referente konkreto òf spesífiko*. E sustantivo no ta referí na un *kachó* eksistente i konosí pa e interlokutornan den e konteksto komunikativo. Por bisa, pues, ku den e frase akiriba, e sustantivo *kachó* ta simplemente un *konsepto*, un *representashon mental/intelektual*.

E ta simplemente un *idea òf konsepto* den mente di e transmisor ku a ekspresá òf skibi e frase tokante un *kachó*. Niun momentu so, e transmisor no tabatin e intenshon di papia di un *kachó* spesífiko i eksistente den nos realidat físiko. E no ta ker a referí na un *referente (opheto)* esta, un *kachó spesífiko òf konosí* den nos mundu real. Pa e sustantivo òf e palabra *kachó*, por indiká un *referente spesífiko* den nos mundu real, pa e por referí na algu *eksistente* den e mundu rònt di nos, e transmisor lo mester *determiná* e sustantivo òf, mihó dicho, *identifik’é*, poniendo e *artíkulo definí* ‘e’ su dilanti.

Hasiendo esei, e transmisor ta *identifiká* e sustantivo *kachó*, i asina e ta indiká òf referí na un *referente konkreto/spesífiko/ konosí* den e *konteksto komunikativo*. Mira awor e siguiente ehèmpel.

(8) *E kachó* di mi bisiña ta un animal doméstiko masha mansu.

Den e frase akí (no. 8), ta *identifiká referente* di e sustantivo *kachó* ku e *artíkulo definí*. Awor e sustantivo *kachó* ta referí na algu *eksistente* den nos realidat. E ta referí awor na un *kachó determiná (spesífiko/konkreto)*, i no na simplemente un *idea/konsepto (signifikado di e palabra)* den mente di e transmisor, pero na algu ku ta eksistí den nos mundu real. Por bisa ku pa medio di e *artíkulo definí* ‘e’, e *idea/konsepto kachó* a bira un *realidat konkreto* den e konteksto komunikativo. (Pa *konsepto*, ta usa tambe e término *nos-hon* komo sinónimo.) Aki ta sigui algun ehèmpel di uso mas ku sustantivo *determiná* i sustantivo *indeterminá*.

- (9) Ta Klarita a traha *e bolo di kashipete*.
(un *bolo* konosí pa e interlokutornan)
- (10) Ta masha skur den *e kaya patras di nos kas*.
(un *kaya* konkreto i eksistente)
- (11) *E buki di gramátika di papiamentu* lo no bai imprenta mas e aña akí.
(un *buki* konosí)
- (12) Marva ta *dosente di historia* na un skol den Otrabanda.
(*dosente di historia* usá komo kategoria)
- (13) Mi tin hopi gana pa *awa* kai un tiki awe.
(*awa* usá komo konsepto/ noshon)
- (14) Pedro ta bebe *kòfi pretu* ku masha hopi suku.
(*kòfi pretu* usá komo konsepto/noshon)
- (15) E tin un merikano ta bin chapi *kurá* p'e.
(*kurá* usá komo konsepto/noshon)

Den e promé tres frasenan akiriba (9, 10 i 11), e transmisor ta usa e *artíkulo definí 'é'*, pasobra e ta referí na 3 *referente (spesífiko)* den nos realidat, pues, na 3 kos (opheto) ku ta konosí p'e, ku ta un *realidat eksistente* den nos mundu físiko. Ku otro palabra, usando e artíkulo definí 'é', e transmisor en kuestion a *identifiká* e 3 referentenan akí den e konteksto komunikativo.

190 Sinembargo, den e 4 frasenan ku ta sigui (12, 13, 14 i 15), e transmisor no ta referí na 4 *referente (spesífiko)*, sino na 4 *konsepto*, na 4 *noshon* òf *representashon mental/intelektual*. Pa e konseptonan akí por indiká un realidat, esta, algu eksistente den nos mundu físiko, e transmisor mester *identifiká* nan, usando e *artíkulo definí 'e'* (òf kualke otro strategia di determinashon/ identifikashon den papiamentu). Mira e siguiente ehèmpelnan.

- (16) Marva ta *e dosente di historia* na nos skol.
(un dosente konosí/spesífiko)
- (17) *E awa* ku a kai awe tardi a kita mi gana di sali awe nochí.
(*e awa* ku a kai na un momentu determiná.)
- (18) Pedro a bebe *e kòfi pretu* ku masha hopi suku.
(*e kòfi pretu* ku a traha na un momentu determiná)
- (19) Tin un merikano ta bin chapi *e kurá* di bisiña.
(un merikano konosí/spesífiko)

Sustantivo apstrakto

Ta klasifiká palabra manera *lealtat*, *amor*, *kurashi*, *harmonia*, *simpatia*, *deboshon*, *atenshon*, *gloria*, komo ehèmpel di sustantivo apstrakto. Laga nos analisá e siguiente ehèmpelnan:

- (20) Pa bo por kultivá *fe* i *speransa*, ta bon si bo por a lesa literatura inspirador.
(dos konsepto no identifiká)
- (21) *E fe* i *speransa* di e patriarkanan di ántes tabata realmente grandi i fuerte.
(dos konsepto identifiká, pero den nos mundu imaginario)
- (22) Nos mester tin *e fe* i *speransa* ku nos antepasadonan tabatin pa nos por resistí.
(dos konsepto identifiká, pero den nos mundu imaginario)

E sustantivonan *fe* i *speransa* menshoná den e frasenan di ehèmpel akiriba tin un *referente apstrakto/inkonkreto*. Ademas, no a *determiná* nan den frase 20; esei ke mèn ku nan no ta *identifiká/spesifiká*, pasobra no a pone e *artíkulo definí* ‘e’ nan dilanti. Den frase 20, a usa *fe* i *speransa* simplemente komo dos *konsepto* (e komponente *signifikado*), no komo un *realidat spesífiko*. Awor, si e transmisor identifiká e dos sustantivonan akí, manera ta e kaso den frase 21 i 22, e ora ei sí nan ta bira dos *referente spesífiko*, pasobra a duna nan un *eksistensia real* den nos *realidat imaginario*. E sustantivonan akí ta pasa di un *idea/konsepto* pa un *entidat imaginario konosí*.

Identifikashon ku pronòmber posesivo i pronòmber demostrativo

Akiriba a splika ku den papiamentu ta determiná, esta, *identifiká/spesifiká* (*single out*) referente di un sustantivo ku e *artíkulo definí* ‘e’, pero por *identifiká/spesifiká* referente di un sustantivo tambe ku un *pronòmber posesivo* (mi, bo, su / nos, boso, nan) òf ku un *pronòmber posesivo deskontinuo* (e ... akí, e ... ei, e ... ayá). Den tur tres kaso, e *referente identifiká* por ta *konkreto* òf *apstrakto*. Ta interesante pa opservá ku, miéntas por *pluralisá sustantivo konkreto spesifiká*, esei no ta posibel ku *sustantivo apstrakto spesifiká*; e últimonan akí ta aparesé semper den nan forma singular. Mira e siguiente ehèmpelnan (*referente konkreto/spesifiká pluralisá*).

- (23) *E pushi* a subi riba mesa kue *e piskánan*.
(*identifiká; spesífiko*)
- (24) *Bo pushi* a drenta den *mi kushina* kue *mi piskánan*.
(*identifiká; spesífiko*)
- (25) *E pushi akí* a kome gran parti di *e piskánan ei*.
(*identifiká; spesífiko*)

Mira awor e siguiente ehèmpelnan (*referente apstrakto/spesifiká singular*).

- (26) *E lealtat* demostrá pa nos miembronan ta realmente remarkabel.
(*identifiká; spesífiko*)
- (27) Nos *konvikshon* ta mas fuerte ku esun di boso.
(*identifiká; spesífiko*)
- (28) *E amor akí* lo dura pa semper.
(*identifiká; spesífiko*)

Ta konsiderá, ademas, ku tur kombinashon di e artíkulo definí ‘e’ ku un atverbio lokativo kontraé (enklítiko) ta bira un ekspreshon identifiká (determiná/spesifiká), manera *e* baiskel *akí*; *e* outo *ei*; *e* barku *aya*. Susesivamente tambe: *e* baiskel *akibanda*; *e* outo *eibanda*; *e* buraku *ayabanda*. Den e kaso *akí*, ta referí na e siguiente atverbionan lokativo: *abou*, *ariba*, *aden*, *afó*, *dilanti*, *enfrente*, *alrededor*, *atras*, *banda*, *meimei* i *serka* kombiná ku e preposishonnan: *aki*, *ei*, *aya* (skema 6).

aki	ei	aya
akibou ¹²	eibou	ayabou
akiriba	eiriba	ayariba
akiden	eiden	ayaden
akifó	eifó	ayafó
akidilanti	eidilanti	ayadilanti
akienfrente(*)	eienfrente(*)	ayaenfrente(*)
akialrededor(*)	eialrededor(*)	ayaalrededor(*)
akitras	eitras	ayatras
akibanda	eibanda	ayabanda
akimeimei	eimeimei	ayameimei
akiserka	eiserka	ayaserka(*)

(*) E kombinashonnan *akí* ta infrekvente, i sierto di nan por konsiderá komposishon hipotétiko pa ablante nativo di papiamentu

Skema 6 Atverbio lokativo enklítiko, atverbio pronominal den papiamentu

Algun ehèmpel di uso:

(29) *E outo ayatras* ta di mi tio i mi tanta.

(30) *E buki akiriba* ta di nos yu muhé mayó.

(31) Bo por a bisa mi di ken *e pèn tirá eibou* ta?

(32) Tur *e kosnan ayaden* ta di mi ruman muhé mayó.

(33) Tur *e tasnan akibanda* ta di mi alumnonan.

Uso di e artíkulo definí ‘e’ pa identifiká sustantivo

¹² Implísitamente den e ortografia aktual ta skibi atverbio pronominal lòs, sinembargo den e análisis *akí*, ta skibi nan pegá na otro, ora e atverbio i e pronómen ta atyasente: *akibanda*, *eibanda* *ayabanda*. Den algun dikshonario papiamentu, ta topa vários di e atverbionan *akí* skibí komo un solo palabra: *ajabanda*, *ajabao*, *ajaden*, *ajatras*, *eibanda*, *eibao*, *eiden*, *eitras*; lòs pero komo un lema: *aki* *bao*, *aki* *cerca*, *aki* *den*, *aki* *fo*, *aki* *riba* (Jansen, 1945); *akifó*, *akinan*, *eifó*, *eiriba*, *einan*, *ayafó* i *ayanan* (Ratzlaff-Henriquez, 2008 [1992]; Van Putte, 2005; Joubert, 2020). Den e lista ofisial di gobièrnu (Jonis et al., 2009), ta skibi solamente *eifó* na otro. Kisas den un siguiente edishon di e lista ofisial, despues di revishon, por promové konsistensia, skibiendo tur atverbio lokativo i un pronómen enklítiko di forma kontraé, konforme loke tin pará den skema 6.

Manera a indiká na parti 1.1 i 1.2, semper mester tene kuenta ku e *modèl/konteksto komunikativo* ora ta splika òf analisá funshon i uso di e artíkulo definí ‘e’ den papiamentu. Pa por determiná si mester usa e artíkulo definí ‘e’ òf nò, mester sa kiko ta *ophetivo/meta di un transmisor* na momentu ku e skohe pa usa un sustantivo den su ekspreshon (teksto/mensahe). Pues, mester sa si e transmisor ta usa un sustantivo pa indiká òf pa referí na *algu real/spesífiko* den nos realidat físiko, òf si e ta usa e sustantivo simplemente komo un *konsepto (idea/noshon)*, pues, komo un término (signo lingwístiko) ku no ta referí na ningun *referente spesífiko* den nos mundu físiko.

Pues, mester sa si e transmisor ta referí na un *realidat konkreto* òf simplemente na un *representashon mental/intelektual*. Ku otro palabra, e *konteksto komunikativo* i e *ophetivo/meta* di e transmisor ta masha importante pa por determiná si ta hasi uso di e artíkulo definí ‘e’ dilanti di un sustantivo òf nò.

Ehèmpel:

(34) Tin hopi mucha ta lanta sin *edukashon* awendia.

E sustantivo *edukashon* den e frase akí no ta determiná (*identifiká òf spesifiká*); e transmisor ta usa e término *edukashon* simplemente komo un *konsepto* òf komo un *noshon mental* den e frase akí. E ta keda na nivel di e komponente di *signifikado*.

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Ehèmpel:

(35) Ta e *edukashon* ku mi a risibí di mi mayornan a forma mi.

Den e frase akí sí, e sustantivo *edukashon* tin un *referente identifiká/spesifiká*; e transmisor ta referí na e *edukashon* ku el a risibí di su mayornan. E sintagma di eksplisitashon ei ta hasi *referente* di e sustantivo *edukashon* un *realidat*, ku ta presente den nos *mundu imaginario* (mirando ku ta trata aki di un sustantivo apstrakto).

Loke a keda tresé dilanti akiriba ta forma e *kuadro teóriko* den kua mester mira, evaluá, analisá i splika e situashonnan ku ta rekerí uso di e artíkulo definí ‘e’ den papiamentu. Basá riba e informashon presentá akiriba, a hinka e puntonan esensial ku a bini dilanti den e siguiente skema. E skema (no. 7) akí ta yuda hasi kompreshon di e fenómeno lingwístiko akí mas kla.

<i>sustantivo</i>	<i>identifiká</i>	<i>referente</i>	<i>spesífiko</i>	<i>eksistente</i>	
konkreto	+ art. def.	+	+	den nos realidat físiko	<i>presente den nos mundu real</i>
apstrakto	+ art. def.	+	+	den nos realidat imaginario	<i>presente den nos mundu imaginario</i>
<i>ineksistente</i>					
konkreto	- art. def.	-	-	konseptorepresentashon mental	<i>presente den nos mente</i>
apstrakto	- art. def.	-	-	konseptorepresentashon mental	<i>presente den nos mente</i>

Skema 7 Karakterístika determinante pa e relashon entre artíkulo definí i sustantivo

Pluralisashon di sustantivo i sintagma nominal

Otro punto relashoná ku uso di e artíkulo definí den papiamentu ta e fenómeno di pluralisashon di *sustantivo determiná*. Normalmente ta sali for di e punto di bista ku, en prinsipio, ta pluralisá solamente signo lingwístiko, den e kaso akí, sustantivo òf sintagma nominal, ku ta representá un kantidat di mas ku un, i ku di un òf otro forma a keda determiná/identifiká den e konteksto komunikativo (Mario Dijkhoff, 2000).

Ta konsiderá ku un sustantivo/sintagma nominal ta determiná/identifiká ora ku su dilanti a pone e artíkulo definí ‘e’, un pronòmber posesivo òf e ‘e’ di un pronòmber demostrativo (e ... akí, e ... ei, e ... aya). Pues, no ta pluralisá un sustantivo/sintagma nominal ku e sufiho *-nan* si e no ta sintáktikamente determiná (identifiká/spesifiká), ku eksepsyon di e kasonan den kua ta referí apelativamente na un grupo spesífiko (di hende) òf ta referí na nòmber propio òf fam di un grupo di hende spesífiko. Mira e siguiente ehèmpelnan.

- (36) *E wèlguistanan* lo reuní mañan mainta durante ora di trabou.
- (37) Gobièrnu a restourá tur *e kasnan di kunuku* na Westpunt.
- (38) Aña pasá, el a bende tur *su kachónan di rasa*.
- (39) Mi no a logra koregí *boso pruebanan* di siman pasá.
- (40) Durante *e añanan ei*, mi no tabata biba na Kòrsou ainda.
- (41) Nos por a bai ku *e mesanan i e stulnan akí*?
- (42) *Mayornan*, bon biní na nos anochi di informashon.
- (43) *Muchanan*, pone atenshon na loke mi ta splikando.
- (44) *Hóbennan di Charo*, boso hala para na mi man robes.
- (45) Mi tin hopi tempu sin mira *Fransiskonan*.
- (46) *Maritanan* a keda di pasa akibanda otro siman.
- (47) *Maduronan* ta bai biba na Alemanian luna di novèmber.
- (48) Antes nos tabata bishitá *Martinanan* na nan kas den Otrabanda.

Den e frasenan di ehèmpel akiriba, nos por mira, pues, ku tur e sustantivonan i e sintagmanan nominal pluralisá ku *-nan* ta representá un *kantidat plural* òf un *grupo spesífiko determiná*, esta, identifiká den un konteksto komunikativo den nos realidat físiko.

Resúmen i konklushon

Den e sekshon akí, ta duna un resúmen kòrtiku di loke a keda eksponé akiriba. Mirando ku uso di e artíkulo definí ‘e’ ta un fenómeno bastante kompleho den papiamentu, ta importante pa tin un idea eksakto i kla di nifikashon di e términonan ku normalmente ta usa pa analisá i splika funshon i uso di e artíkulo definí ‘e’. Manera nos por a komprondé for di e kuadro teóriko, uso di e artíkulo definí ‘e’ den papiamentu tin di aber ku *identifikashon* (determinashon) di *referente* di e sustantivonan ku un transmisor ta usa den su ekspreshon (teksto skibí/papiá; mensahe). Na momentu ku un transmisor usa e *artíkulo definí ‘e’* dilanti di un sustantivo, ta nifiká ku e ta identifiká referente di e sustantivo pa e reseptor òf pa kualke otro partisipante den e modèl òf konteksto komunikativo. Esaki ta nifiká ku e transmisor ta referí na algu ku ta konosí p’e so òf pa tantu e komo e reseptor òf e otro interlokutornan den e modèl òf konteksto komunikativo. Pues, e transmisor ta referí na algu ku ya el a menshoná den e modèl/konteksto komunikativo. Mira e siguiente ehèmpelnan.

(49) Bo ta prepará kaba pa e *konferensia regional di e aña akí*?

(50) Bo ta kla kaba pa e *konferensia*?

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Tantu den frase 49 komo den frase 50, e transmisor a identifiká/spesifiká e signo lingwístiko (e sustantivo) *konferensia*. Den frase 49, e transmisor a *eksplisitá* e sustantivo tambe, agregando *regional di e aña akí*, pasobra talbes, e reseptor no sa presis na kiko e transmisor ta referí (e *referente* no ta konosí p’e). Den frase 50, e transmisor no a haña nesesario pa *eksplisitá* e sustantivo *konferensia*, pasobra e sa ku, determinando/spesifikando e sustantivo ku e artíkulo definí ‘e’, ya ta sufisiente pa e reseptor komprondé na kiko e ta referí. Pues, den e modèl òf konteksto komunikativo akí, e referente ta sufisientemente konosí pa e reseptor.

Pues, ora ta papia di determiná (òf *identifiká*) *referente* di un sustantivo, ta nifiká ku e transmisor ta *spesifiká* algu, ta ‘single out’ algu òf ta indiká e opheto (Peirce) di un signo lingwístiko (konbertiendo asina un *konsepto* den algu real/konkreto) den nos realidat físiko/imaginario. E *konsepto* òf *signifikado* usá pa e transmisor ta pasa di un *konsepto* (un noshon òf pensamentu) pa un *realidat konkreto* òf pa un *realidat imaginario* ora ta trata di un sustantivo apstrakto. Den mayoria di kaso, ta determiná òf identifiká un opheto/entidat ku, di un òf otro manera, ta relashoná ku *un lugá spesífiko*, ku *un momentu spesífiko den tempu* òf ku *un persona òf entidat spesífiko* (generalmente un *poseedó*).

Algun ehèmpel:

(51) Nos no a bai un *tienda di salú* ayera mainta.

- (konsepto no identifiká;)
- (52) Nos a bai *e tienda di salú* na Brierengat ayera mainta
(referente identifiká i relashoná ku un lugá spesífiko)
- (53) Nan a basha *e museo di arte moderno* konstruí na aña 1950 abou.
(referente identifiká i relashoná ku un momentu spesífiko)
- (54) *E salòn di reino* di e grupo spañó lo bira awor e lugá di reunion pa mas kongregashon.
(referente identifiká i relashoná ku un grupo di hende spesífiko, un grupo poseedó)

Finalmente, e análisis akí ta laga mira ku den papiamentu, ta pluralisá sustantivo òf sintagma nominal ku e sufiho *-nan* ora esakinan ta referí na un kantidat spesífiko. i ta determiná i spesifiká den e konteksto komunikativo.

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AUTONOMY, DEPENDENCE AND LANGUAGE-IN-EDUCATION POLICY IN ARUBA

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Abstract

Since the moment in 1986 when Aruba became an autonomous state within the Kingdom of the Netherlands, it has had the right and responsibility to create its own educational policies while dealing with the limitations and opportunities inherent in its status as a small island state. Since that time, it has become increasingly urgent for those interested in the formulation and revision of policies that impact the use of language in education to address the question as to how Aruba will negotiate its autonomy with current trends toward internationalization in higher education and toward digitalization and online education at all levels of education. This article is an initial attempt at providing some theoretical insights and a draft conceptual framework which might serve to optimize the use of Aruba's autonomous space when constructing language-in-education policies designed to serve its plurilingual community.

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Key terms: language-in-education policy; island studies; autonomy and dependence; plurilingualism; digitalization; globalization

Introduction

On the 13th of March 2020, two people in Aruba tested positive for the COVID-19 virus and the Aruban government immediately announced that all schools would close until further notice to prevent an uncontrolled outbreak of this new disease. For students, parents, teachers, administrators, curriculum developers, teacher trainers and policy developers, this date therefore marked the beginning of an unprecedented acceleration in the already powerful worldwide trend toward digitalized learning, bringing online schooling closer to becoming what many people have been calling the new normal in education. Digitalized learning is not a completely new phenomenon in Aruba: it has been mentioned in the all three of the governmental strategic programs promulgated

since 2009, and many schools have already been using a considerable variety of digital media in their classes. That said, Aruba's sudden and complete dependence on digitalized learning because of the COVID-19 crisis was unprecedented and it caught many actors relatively unprepared.

It is therefore not surprising that there is currently much public discussion on the pros and cons of online learning, and its educational, social and civic impacts. In this article, I will focus on the specific impact that the current crisis is having on the way that language-in-education policy is being envisioned and shaped for the future. If the manner in which digitalized learning is being organized during the COVID-19 crisis gives us a glimpse into that future, the following questions regarding the uses of language in the emerging online educational environment on the island become particularly pressing:

Since the crisis has forced all formal education online, in what language(s) have teachers been communicating online with parents and caregivers, most of whom have now assumed the unexpected role of brokers in the delivery of home-based education to their children? And in what language(s) have the teachers been communicating online with their students?

What language(s) are utilized in the digital and digitalized materials used by the teachers in their online lessons?

How effective has online teaching been in meeting the educational needs of all of the students? Are there some students who have fallen by the wayside because the languages being used in the technology and educational materials did not include their home language(s)?

How do the language choices made during this crisis relate to broader visions and paradigms about language-in-education in Aruba itself and beyond Aruba, on a more global scale?

How do these choices relate to broader issues related to Aruba's autonomous status and themes like nation building and decolonization, globalization and digitalization?

An underlying issue that underpins the concerns raised by all of the questions listed above is the tension between the needs of Aruba's multilingual community on the one hand and on the other, the demands made on the educational sector in Aruba by overseas agents. These international operators include accrediting agencies, governmental operatives and publishers, consultants and other commercial interests, as well as increasingly influential and powerful international corporate interests whose goal it is to commercialize the provision of educational services and materials. In this article, I will frame this tension in terms of Aruba's status of *autonomy* versus Aruba's continuing *dependence* on the European Netherlands and other bilateral and multilateral agencies and interests.

To understand the dynamics of the choices that are currently being made concerning language and education during the COVID-19 crisis and the relationships between these

choices and larger national and international trends and issues such as autonomy and dependence in Aruban society, I will start by providing a brief snapshot of the way languages are entwined in daily life in Aruba. This brief overview is designed for readers who may not be familiar with the island, and it definitely does not pretend to either describe or analyze the many complex and interrelated functions that languages play in our society.

Since 21 May 2003, Papiamentu and Dutch have been designated as the two official languages in Aruba. English and Spanish, however, also play major roles in Aruban daily life. According to the latest population and housing census, as of the year 2010 69% of the population spoke mainly Papiamentu at home, 14% spoke mainly Spanish at home, 7% spoke mainly English at home, only 6% of the population spoke mainly Dutch at home, and 4% spoke other languages as their main home language (Central Bureau of Statistics Aruba, 2010). While these data might at first glance give the reader the impression that Aruba is a multilingual community consisting of separate groups of monolingual people, most people in Aruba actively use the four major languages Papiamentu, English, Dutch and Spanish simultaneously and in interrelated ways on a daily basis (Williams & Croes, forthcoming; Croes, 1995). According to the definition used by the Council of Europe, the way languages are used on the island can be defined as *plurilingualism*, rather than multilingualism (Council of Europe, 2001: 168), since a *plurilingual* person can be defined as “a social agent ... (who) has proficiency, of varying degrees, in several languages and experience of several cultures. This is not seen as the superposition or juxtaposition of distinct competences, but rather as the existence of a complex or even composite competence on which the user may draw”.

Autonomy and dependence

To be able to analyze how language-in-education choices are linked to broader stances on autonomy and dependence, these two concepts have to be understood and therefore defined. According to the online Cambridge Dictionary **autonomy** can be defined as (1) the *right* of an organization, country, or region to be independent and govern itself, and (2) the *ability* to make your own decisions without being controlled by anyone else, while the online Merriam-Webster dictionary defines **autonomy** as (1) the *quality or state of being* self-governing, (2) the *right* of self-government, (3) self directing *freedom* and especially moral independence, and (4) a self-governing state. Broadening the scope of the definition to other languages (as is an obvious and common translanguaging practice for plurilinguals), the online version of the Dutch Van Dale dictionary (Van Dale Uitgevers, n.d.) only briefly defines **autonomie** as (1) *zelfbestuur*, and (2) *zelfstandigheid*, which can be translated as: (1) self-government, and (2) independence (this and all other translations in this article were done by the present author). Taking a look at the online version of the Spanish dictionary of the Real Academia (Real Academia Española, 2019) **autonomía** is inter alia defined as (1) *potestad* que dentro de un Estado

tienen municipios, provincias, regiones u otras entidades, para regirse mediante normas y órganos de gobierno propios, (2) *condición* de quien, para ciertas cosas, no depende de nadie, (3) *comunidad* autónoma. The first three Spanish definitions could be translated as: (1) *power/authority* that municipalities, provinces, regions or other entities within a state have to govern themselves through their own norms and governing bodies, (2) *condition* of somebody who, for certain things, is not dependent on anybody, and (3) autonomous *community*.

According to all definitions, being autonomous relates to being *independent*, therefore autonomy can be seen as the opposite of dependence. As noted when comparing all definitions, autonomy can apply at the individual level, the community level, the state level, or at the levels of municipalities, provinces or regions *within* a state. These levels of autonomy can be seen as a contradiction, since the autonomy of a certain unit or body can be constrained by the autonomy of a larger autonomous body. As an autonomous island *within* the Kingdom of the Netherlands, Aruba's autonomy is limited by agreements and laws at the level of the Kingdom. At the level of the Kingdom of the Netherlands, however, the autonomy of the Netherlands itself is also constrained by agreements and laws on the level of the European Union or even at the global level of the United Nations. Autonomy can thus be seen and defined as a relative space of independence (and therefore also a relative state of dependence), whether on a personal level or at the broader level of a community or state.

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Being autonomous is defined as a power, an authority, a freedom, a right, an ability, a quality, a state, and/or a condition. Although all of these qualifiers are obviously inter-related and are integral parts of a multifaceted concept, it might be important to acknowledge that there is a difference between autonomy being seen as a power, an authority, a freedom, or a right, on the one hand, or as a quality, a state, or a condition on the other. The former emphasizes a *potential* to decide for oneself and the latter emphasizes the *resulting circumstance* in which this potential is actually applied. This may be a minor difference from a certain point of view, but when looking at one's ability to make choices, as well as one's ability to navigate between autonomy and dependence, this distinction might prove to be the determinant factor between the exertion of one's right, freedom, power or authority to make a decision for oneself in one's own image and interests on one side, and the dependent acquiescence to decisions made elsewhere in someone else's image and interests on the other.

Autonomy and dependence of individual citizens

The types of policy choices related to language and education which have been made and will be made in Aruba depend crucially on how the perception of autonomy by individual Aruban citizens relates to their personal language choices in meeting their own educational needs and the educational needs of their children. To understand the relationship between a citizen's personal autonomy and a state's legal autonomy better,

we can start by briefly discussing how representative democracy is ideally supposed to work. Aruba has a parliamentary democracy, in which the authority and legitimacy of the state is said to be derived from the right of its citizens to choose a body of their representatives, the parliament, who in turn choose whether (or not) to support the decisions made by those in executive positions in the government. The autonomy of citizens to meet their own needs is therefore partially transferred to the government, with the explicit expectation that the government will use this amassed power to create solutions to meet its citizens' needs, especially those needs that they would not have been able to meet on their own. Unfortunately, such dependence comes at a cost. Whenever citizens concede their autonomous decision making power to elected representatives, they run the risk of putting that power in the hands of politicians who can be compelled or convinced to make decisions that do not meet the needs of the people who elected them.

In the field of education, the government is expected to take responsibility for providing educational opportunities for its citizens. This expectation is explicitly formulated as such in Article I.20 of the Constitution of Aruba, stating that “*Het onderwijs is een voorwerp van de aanhoudende zorg der regering*” [education is an object of ongoing care/responsibility of the government]. The population of Aruba currently numbers 112,321 (Central Bureau of Statistics, 2020) and the primary and secondary school aged population is around 25 per cent of that total. Given these relatively low numbers, to be able to comply with its constitutional responsibilities in the area of education, the Government of Aruba depends to a considerable extent on policy, resources and opportunities provided at the level of the Kingdom of the Netherlands. In order to access resources and to meet international mobility and quality standards so that it can provide greater opportunities to all its citizens, the Kingdom of the Netherlands itself, in turn, finds it necessary to transfer some of its autonomy in making decisions on education to an even higher level, that of the European Union. Providing that the individual Aruban citizen is happy with the decisions and provisions of the Aruban government, the Kingdom of the Netherlands and the European Union, there is no problem: the transfer of autonomy has led to the desired outcome, whereby the needs of the individual citizens are met in a better way than could have been achieved with citizens acting on their own.

But what happens when the educational opportunities provided by the governmental system do not satisfy the needs of the individual citizen? As acknowledged above, citizens have personal autonomy, and are therefore able to seek out options that better meet their individual educational needs than those provided by the state. Such educational solutions may be offered by a number of entities, including another nation-state, a local or international business, or a local or international NGO. When the COVID-19 crisis hit Aruba early in 2020, this array of alternative educational solutions that individual parents, teachers or students normally might not have previously considered, suddenly gained heightened attention as a means to address the lack of online options provided

up until then by the government. Bypassing the educational apparatus of both Aruba and the Kingdom of the Netherlands, long-distance providers of online education can offer their services directly to students at home, drastically unsettling the roles of the teacher, the school community, parents and even that of the government in enforcing educational policies and influencing educational practice.

Accreditation and dependence

In choosing an educational program, the value and recognition of that program is an important factor to take into consideration. The *recognition* of the value of education is determined by a variety of actors outside of the government. These actors can be local, for example, an Aruban company that bases decisions about employment on their perceived value of a diploma, or an Aruban educational institution that requires a certain diploma or certificate as an entry requirement for admission into a particular degree program or course of study. But such actors are also to be found at the international level, where foreign employers or educational providers weigh the value of the education received in Aruba. Although dependence on international recognition of the value of local educational credentials is not something that only affects small islands, students in small island states are more dependent on foreign recognition and accreditation than are most other students, because they are much more likely to emigrate to access employment and educational opportunities not available on their island. According to the Sociaal Economische Raad (Social Economic Council) of Aruba, between 1992 and 2017 almost 12,000 young people between the ages of 20 and 24 years left the island to live overseas, most with the intention of studying abroad (Sociaal Economische Raad, 2019). Whether they leave Aruba for study or for work, these emigrants are completely dependent on foreign entities for recognition of the value of their acquired “academic capital” (Bourdieu, 1979).

To meet the needs of the considerable number of its citizens who seek training and employment off island, the government of Aruba has therefore been expected to function as a broker in guaranteeing that local diplomas and certificates are recognized abroad, especially in the Netherlands. This dependence on foreign recognition has often limited the possibilities for Aruba to autonomously design and operationalize an educational system and language-in-education policies which are optimally geared to meet the needs of those Arubans who do not leave the island for work or study. This situation has become more complex by the COVID-19 crisis, which has given rise to a new narrative about the broad array of online courses and programs available to pick and choose from. Such courses and programs are offered from Kindergarten level onward by educational institutions in a variety of countries who are authorized to award internationally recognized diplomas and certificates, thus by-passing the borders of the nation-state.

Language, autonomy and dependence

Although, in the process of considering and opting for these new educational provisions the word *language* is seldom explicitly mentioned, the languages in which these online educational programs are offered play a major role in determining what is accessible or not and what is attractive or not to Aruban learners, as well as having an enormous influence on the educational process and consequently on educational opportunities and educational outcomes. Languages and the proficiency to use a range of varieties are often - if not always - key in either opening up or shutting down educational opportunities and in either expanding or limiting the autonomy of the individual learner in choosing and realizing educational goals.

In these uncertain times of public health crisis, the arbitrariness of national borders seems to have become ever more apparent. The COVID-19 pandemic has shown us that pretending to cocoon ourselves within the safe borders of a nation-state is nothing more than an illusion. And with this pandemic causing schools to close on the one hand, and online educational providers offering recognized curricula, certificates and diplomas, on the other, many are coming to see traditional school systems as being obsolete.

Again, in this story the language issue is not often mentioned, but it is just as crucial and all-encompassing as ever. Among all of the factors that will influence their choices, language will be one of the most important when Arubans weigh their educational options from a lengthening menu of providers which at present includes traditional local education, the formal educational system of the Kingdom of the Netherlands, the regional Caribbean educational system, educational opportunities provided by other countries like the US and Canada, or online and offline options provided by non-nation-state-bound cross-border educational entities that offer internationally recognized diplomas and certificates. The local educational arena is becoming a big international shopping mall where one of the main keys to access the merchandise available is the individual's proficiency in the language of instruction. Therefore, besides being the chief medium through which formal learning takes place, language should also be the outcome of learning or an educational purpose in itself and the choice of the languages available for instructional purposes should be taken into account when adding new educational opportunities to the "mall".

Aruba's dependence on foreign entities to recognize and certify the value of our educational outcomes has always made itself especially evident in its counterproductive impact on the language(s) in which we educate our students to demonstrate the competencies that they attain at school. Traditionally the sole official language of instruction in Aruba has been the Dutch language of the Kingdom of the Netherlands, and lately this choice seems to be shifting toward the sole use of English as the new language of most other educational providers. Unfortunately, this means that all too often a student's lack of proficiency in the language of the certifying authority is equated not only with lack of mastery of any given knowledge area, including such less language dependent areas

as mathematics, but also, and more tragically, as a lack of intelligence. With Papiamentu as our main home language, we therefore find ourselves at the bottom of a colonial/neo-colonial linguistic hierarchy where one's knowledge counts for much less than the language in which that knowledge is expressed. More value is placed on a student's ability to solve a mathematical problem in Dutch than in Papiamentu, and more value is placed on that same student's ability to solve the same problem in English than in Dutch. The economic, political, and social status of the language in which we express our educational competencies determines the value placed on those competencies. It is no coincidence that the languages of the European metropolises of the colonial era remain the languages at the top of the educational hierarchy in the present era of neo-colonialism. On the first of January 1986, Aruba became an autonomous country within the Kingdom of the Netherlands and since that date the consecutive versions of the Constitution of Aruba have stipulated in Articles I.1 and I.20 that the Aruban Government has the right and responsibility to both create education policies that serve the Aruban community best and take into account the different language backgrounds, the language rights and the plurilingual repertoires of the island's inhabitants (Staatsregeling van Aruba, 2013). As noted above, however, these rights and responsibilities are significantly circumscribed by the fact that Aruba is a small island state. As Françoise Caillods states in the preface of a groundbreaking publication by the UNESCO International Institute for Educational Planning (IIEP) on educational strategies for small island states (Atchoarena, 1993), the use of foreign curricula and textbooks in small island states and the need to send students abroad for training "leads to cultural dependence and vulnerability, which cannot fail to reinforce the economic dependence and vulnerability that these countries already suffer" (p. 9). The autonomy, rights, and responsibilities of the Aruban government to create "authentic" education and language-in-education policies is also constantly constrained by the island's dependence on foreign actors and institutions based especially in the European Netherlands, but increasingly in other countries as well. The way in which policy actors on various levels have dealt with this balancing act between autonomy and dependence in constructing language-in-education policies has shifted over the years, influenced by developments and trends in the areas of internationalization, globalization, and digitalization.

Language, internationalization and digitalization

After Aruba gained its *status aparte* in 1986, the Netherlands and the other countries in the European Community (of which the Netherlands was a founding member in 1957) became part of the European Union in 1992. As a result, Aruba obtained the status of an Overseas Country and Territory (OCT) within the European Union and since that time, education and language policies and treaties agreed upon among the member states of the European Union have also affected educational and language-in-education policies and practices in Aruba. At the global level, Aruba's interests are represented

by the Kingdom of the Netherlands and therefore, in the specific field of education, Aruba is an associated member of UNESCO and in that capacity we have endeavored to comply with the global and regional declarations related to education and language which have been ratified by the Kingdom of the Netherlands.

With the rapid development of digital technologies in the late 20th century that has led to worldwide connectivity through the internet since the beginning of the 21st century, innovations in the area of informational technology have crossed national boundaries and have impacted all areas of human daily life. These new technologies have also influenced education practices all over the world, pressuring governments to reconsider their national policies to keep up with innovative educational opportunities offered online. Although technological innovations bring with them many new possibilities for improved learning experiences, more often than not the language(s) in which these new learning opportunities are offered are not tailored to local circumstances, but are instead selected with the aim to reach as many students as possible, choosing quantity and one-size-fits-all solutions over quality and contextualized ones. Most education-related digital applications available today are in English, and as a consequence, digitalization of education often goes hand in hand with the introduction of English as an unofficial language of instruction. On the other hand, these same digital technologies have the potential to provide new possibilities for the co-creation of open, authentic and contextualized educational resources in local languages and to support the learning of these local languages. These technological possibilities are, however, limited by educational providers' copy-rights on educational materials and the commercialization of education. Creating a local version of internationally available digital or online educational resources enhances the quality of educational provisions for the local community. Although this translation and adaptation of educational materials is technologically possible, the rights to do so will depend on negotiations with international educational providers aimed at convincing them to share top-quality open educational resources.

Languages and lifelong learning

Traditionally, education has been conceptualized as a sequential and finite process, in which one proceeds from Kindergarten to primary school to secondary school and then maybe to tertiary education, after which one starts working and one never has to experience formal schooling again. Recently, it has come to be expected that one might perhaps from time to time need to undergo online training of some sort, but no one normally anticipates the enormous investment of time, energy and money involved in undertaking a completely new course of study after entering the workforce.

In the current era of fast capitalism, however, education is rapidly coming to be seen as a much more open-ended and iterative process, where learning and working alternate or take place simultaneously. For example, some schools now encourage their students to undertake entrepreneurial initiatives as part of their education as early as possible and

there are many options nowadays to pursue formal vocational training on-the-job. Because the 21st century economy is so volatile, 21st century citizens increasingly find themselves obliged to change the ways in which they provide for themselves and their families many times during their lifetimes. While countries are being pressured to diversify their national economies, individuals are being pressured to diversify their means of providing for themselves. Being part of the workforce is becoming more and more an exercise in dividing one's time among a range of different activities that provide an income to meet one's basic and extended needs. The same individual can be juggling jobs, cooking and selling meals, making and selling music or artwork, providing sports classes, all at the same time, thus creating new balances in their life, according to their personal ambitions, talents, or interests.

The needs of the lifelong learner of the future to multitask and to train and retrain to meet the requirements of a constantly changing and diversifying labor market creates a demand for many sorts of formal and non-formal education. Whether courses are offered in real-time by local public or private institutions or whether learning takes place by watching YouTube videos, googling, attending webinars, or doing an online course, the question of Aruba's dependence on overseas actors for certification and recognition again arises, along with the closely related question of language-in-education. What role will language play in the provision of lifelong learning opportunities?

Plurilinguality and globalization

So, reflecting on the role of languages in expanding the autonomy and opportunities of learners to determine their own educational pathways, what would be the value of learning individual languages? What value do we put on learning Papiamentu, Dutch, English, Spanish, Caribbean English, French, Portuguese, Chinese, Arabic, etc.? Why would we want to include a given language or exclude a language from our (individual) curricula? Seen from a national perspective, which languages would we prioritize and make obligatory for all learners, which languages would we make optional, and which languages would we consider to be unnecessary?

Over the past few centuries, single standardized languages have been imposed as the official languages of nation states in Europe and their colonies, with the aim of constructing unified national identities and solidarities. As a result of that process, it is now taken for granted that the first step in the formulation of language-in-education policy must involve a monolingual zero-sum forced choice. From this perspective, the first decision to be made is to designate the one and only language in which education will be provided, to the exclusion of all other languages. This monolingual framework gives rise to incessant debates about which language to choose as the language of instruction. Proficiency in a wide variety of languages, however, is crucial for lifelong learning in our plurilingual island setting. Left to their own devices, as was the case during the

COVID-19 crisis, Arubans have always automatically engaged in translanguaging practices, whereby they make active use of their complete language repertoire and do not limit themselves to only one language as the formal education system prescribes. Although academic and political models of bilingual and even multilingual education have existed for quite some time, these models have remained for the most part multiplied versions of monolingual education.

Over the past decades, however, we have gained new insights into the manifold ways that learning can take place in a multilingual setting as well as new understandings about how multilingual repertoires can be used in an effective way in the classroom. This means that we now have the theoretical and empirical basis to break with the tendency that has predominated in Aruban education over the past 200 years, which has denied the fact that Aruban students engage in education equipped with a plurilingual repertoire, and has instead forced them to learn in a very limiting and unnatural monolingual way. Researchers such as Ofelia García and Li Wei (2014) have introduced the concept of translanguaging as a pedagogical approach that opens up new spaces for the design of truly plurilingual formal and non-formal education policy and programming (García & Wei, 2014). This acknowledgement and harnessing of the plurilingual repertoires of Aruban students can help to provide them with the academic and linguistic competencies that they will need in the job market of the 21st century. It can also help Aruba to comply with one of the internationally accepted sustainable development goals for 2030, namely, to ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all.

While the provision of education by a nation-state is a service that it provides to its citizens, a national education system as a whole is also a necessary investment that the state makes in its future workforce and therefore in its long term economic and political viability. According to Biesta (2014) and the Onderwijsraad (Education Council) of the Netherlands (2016) the state has an economic interest in providing quality education to its citizens for the following three purposes: qualification of a workforce, socialization of individuals into a cohesive society and personal development of individual talents and potentials (Biesta, 2014; Onderwijsraad, 2016). Since living on a small island is almost synonymous with traveling and moving between countries and even continents, the return on educational investment in a place like Aruba often works in a perversely counterproductive way. In many cases, small island states go to great trouble and expense to create education systems, only to find that they have invested in cohort after cohort of small groups of students who manage to graduate, many of whom, especially the brightest and most successful, eventually end up living and working abroad. To make matters worse, low graduation rates coupled with the brain drain mentioned above exacerbate small island states' dependence on imported foreign professionals to occupy positions which require qualifications that are scarce among local people who stay on the island. These adult foreign professionals often arrive with their families, putting

ever more pressure on the local educational system to flexibly accommodate children with a variety of linguistic and educational backgrounds, often to the point that the system begins to serve the needs of the children of this privileged foreign elite better than it serves local children.

It would be preferable if those in whose education a small island state invests, especially those who attain the highest qualifications, were to stay on the island and use their acquired competencies to help meet the needs of the nation. Because many of these successful students go abroad to access forms of higher education not available locally, distance education might be a strategy for ensuring them such access without them being obliged to go abroad. That said, another strategy might involve sending local students overseas to gain international experience by living and working abroad and then facilitating their return to the island to put their new perspectives, ideas, competencies, and experiences to work creating up-to-date, sustainable and resilient economic opportunities to help their community to flourish.

The ethnic, cultural and linguistic openness of small island societies is often seen as a problem, because it requires that the educational system must be flexible enough to cater for a very diverse population of individual learners. But if we instead consider this openness and diversity to be part of the solution rather than part of the problem, new possibilities open up for learning and using languages in a flexible plurilingual pedagogical framework. By creating a translingual curriculum which excludes neither students' home languages nor the official languages required for international certification, and which focuses on real world challenges in a plurilingual context, we could increase the number of life-long learners who opt to live and participate in an island community like Aruba. We could also instill in them a sense of belonging and connectedness, equip them with an anchor on the open seas of their multiple opportunities, and provide them with a place to come back to.

Conclusion

Although the tension between autonomy and dependence has always been, and will always be, a challenging aspect of policy development on the island, policymakers in Aruba have often deftly and successfully navigated the rough seas between autonomy and dependence to create a space where adoption, adaptation and/or transformation of foreign policies and practices can take place in such a way as to create authentic and autonomous language-in-education solutions that best serve the needs of the citizens of Aruba. Policy makers of the present and future have much to learn from those who have formulated and implemented language-in-education policy in the past. This learning process can begin by posing the question: How can policymakers in Aruba best manage the space between autonomy and dependence when creating future language-in-education policies?

To answer this question, in the upcoming years I will be carrying out a research project in which I will apply the methods and tools of critical discourse analysis to interview/focus group interactions, policy documents, and other oral and written texts. This will be done with the aim of revealing the mechanisms deployed, the lessons learned and the broader social discourses that are transformed in the process of navigating the space between autonomy and dependence when creating language-in-education policies in Aruba.

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CURAÇAO AND PUERTO RICO: TWO CASES OF LINGUISTIC IMPERIALISM

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Abstract

This study examines two cases of linguistic imperialism in the Caribbean, that of the imposition of Dutch by the Netherlands in their colonial island dependency Curaçao, where Papiamentu is the main home language, and that of English by the United States in their colonial island dependency Puerto Rico, where a Caribbean variety of Spanish is the main home language. In particular, the effects of colonialism on language use and language policy are considered, along with their impact on questions of identity and language acquisition. After a brief summary of the colonial history and linguistic landscape of each island, the nexus between language and identity in the two territories is compared and contrasted. The results indicate that, while there are significant differences in relation to inputs and causal factors between the two islands, the similarities between them in relation to effects and outcomes are remarkable. These similarities suggest that each island has much to learn from the other when it comes to issues such as the use of the home language as a language of instruction in schools and the promotion of multilingualism.

Key terms: linguistic imperialism, Puerto Rico, Curaçao, language policy, language attitudes

Introduction

As is the case with all of the other islands of the Caribbean, Curaçao and Puerto Rico have experienced colonization. The former was claimed initially by the Spanish and later the Dutch, while the latter was claimed by the Spanish and later the North Americans. Both islands have been exposed to various different languages throughout history, but each currently has more than one official language. In the case of Puerto Rico, Spanish and English are the official languages, while Curaçao has Papiamentu, Dutch and

English. The official languages in both these islands include one language imposed by the colonizer, and another that is the home language spoken by the general public. Both islands have been impacted by linguistic imperialism, which has engendered struggle to decide which language should ultimately be used. For more than 60 years, Puerto Ricans have been refusing to acquire English because they feel it is not part of their identity. Curaçaoans have held on to their native language and have gone far to consolidate the status of Papiamentu as the main language of Curaçao, all the while struggling with Dutch.

This article explores the relation between identity and language, comparing the cases of Puerto Rico and Curaçao. Both islands share common resentments towards their colonizers, resulting in serious language policy issues and language barriers, but each island has found different ways to confront these issues. In the case of Curaçao, the colonial language Dutch, which is a foreign language for the great majority, is the language of instruction in most schools. Papiamentu, a first language for most of the population, has been implemented as the language of instruction in some schools, which has instilled a sense of pride in the people of the island. In Puerto Rico, the local variety of Caribbean Spanish, which is the first language for the great majority, is the language of instruction in most schools. The U.S. tried to impose the colonial language English as language of instruction in Puerto Rican schools for the first half of the 20th century, and the result has been widespread negative attitudes towards the United States and resistance to English. To conduct this comparative study, the following research questions were generated:

1. How have Curaçao and Puerto Rico's respective colonial histories shaped their language policies, and how have these policies provoked a rejection of the colonizers' languages?
2. How and why do the Curaçaoan and Puerto Rican public identify with their home languages?
3. What is the relation between identity and language acquisition in Curaçao and Puerto Rico?

Curaçao: historical, political and linguistic background

Located in the southernmost part of the Caribbean Sea, Curaçao was a major historical hub both for the sale and distribution of enslaved people as well as for linguistic contact. The island was once the political and economic center of the Dutch Caribbean and played a prominent role in the colonization of the Caribbean. Originally, the Spanish colonizers were not interested in the island because it was not suitable for the production of cash crops. It was not until the island's second conquest by the Dutch that the island's full potential for capitalist marketing and distribution was exploited. Because of its strategic location and proximity to Venezuela, the island would become a regional trading center by the end of the 1600s.

Over the centuries, many different peoples established themselves on Curaçao, and this influenced not only the ecology, but also the cultures and languages of the island, with both negative and positive outcomes. Contact among all of these different peoples brought about the emergence of Papiamentu, the Iberian lexifier Creole spoken today by the majority of the population as one of their first languages. Archaeological evidence indicates that from about 2500 years BC, the first peoples known to inhabit Curaçao were indigenous peoples, who, as was the case throughout the Caribbean before the arrival of the Europeans, were probably plurilingual and probably spoke languages of both the Arawakan and Caliban language families, many of which are still spoken today on the northern coasts of Venezuela, the Guianas and Colombia. Speakers of Caquetío, an Arawakan language, appear to have been the most numerous indigenous peoples on the island when the Europeans arrived (Van Buurt, 2010). With the arrival of the Spanish in 1499 and then the Dutch in 1634, the number of people of European descent and especially the number of enslaved people of African descent quickly grew. Both the Spaniards and the Dutch enslaved the indigenous populations of the island as well, and the numbers of people of indigenous descent diminished relative to those of African descent.

By the time that chattel slavery was abolished in Curaçao in 1863, the island had played a key role in the transatlantic trade in the enslaved for some 200 years. This trade involved the capture of peoples living on or near the Atlantic coast of West and Central Africa to be sold to European traders. Africans successfully prevented the Europeans from establishing colonies in Africa from the arrival of the Portuguese in the 1400s all the way until the 1800s, so for four centuries, the Europeans were only able to set up small trading stations on or near the coast, with the permission of the local people. This meant that the actual capture of enslaved individuals was often carried out by certain groups of Africans, who were supplied with weapons by the Europeans to conquer their neighbors and capture as many people as possible. Thus, by systematically pitting one African ethnic group against another, the Europeans were able to destabilize West and Central African societies and the resulting wars ensured a constant flow of captives for sale.

Once the European traders obtained these captives, they were usually imprisoned in the dungeons of European slave trading stations or in shackles on European holding ships on the African coast for months at a time, before spending more months in chains in the hulls of European transport ships crossing the Atlantic. Needless to say, the mortality rates were high, as was the social, political, economic, and psychological damage done to Africans on both sides of the Atlantic. The captives who survived capture and transshipment were then purchased as enslaved laborers by the colonial ruling classes in the Caribbean and the rest of the Americas (Van der Dijs, 2011).

Although they were confronted with unimaginable challenges as a result of enslavement, African descended peoples in Curaçao and the rest of the Caribbean resisted on

every level. Politically, for example, they were in constant rebellion, with many escaping enslavement to become maroons. Economically, for example, enslaved women gradually took control over local food production and marketing. Culturally, for example, they created the vibrant Caribbean music that has taken the world by storm. Linguistically, for example, they created the creole languages of the Afro-Atlantic, one of which is Papiamentu. These traditions of resistance not only contributed to the abolition of slavery on Curaçao in the 19th century, but also to the eventual movements for greater independence from the Netherlands in the 20th century.

After World War II, the empires of the European colonial powers were gradually swept away by movements for independence. As the Netherlands became increasingly obliged to grant some degree of independence to its colonies, the islands of the Caribbean which had been colonized by the Dutch (Aruba, Bonaire, Curaçao, Saba, St. Eustatius and St. Maarten) were incorporated in 1954 into a new entity called the Netherlands Antilles. The Netherlands Antilles functioned as a semi-autonomous region within the Kingdom of the Netherlands, and Curaçao maintained its colonial status as the capital and seat of political power for the Caribbean part of the kingdom. As was the case for most of the territories around the world that achieved their political independence during this period, the Netherlands Antilles not only adopted most of its political and civil institutions (parliament, courts, schools, etc.) from its former colonizer, but also remained economically dependent on its former colonizer. In this sense, the colonial order was replaced by a neo-colonial order, in which the Netherlands Antilles was nominally independent, but still very much dominated by the Netherlands.

Another aspect of this neo-colonial order was the political dependence of the other islands of the Netherlands Antilles on Curaçao. In reaction to this, the island of Aruba claimed increased autonomy and separated itself from the Netherlands Antilles in 1986, while remaining in the Dutch Kingdom. This process of dissolution of the Netherlands Antilles culminated in the referendum of 10 October 2010 (popularly known as ‘10-10-10’), when St. Maarten and Curaçao voted for more autonomy and a status similar to that of Aruba, while Bonaire and Saba voted for less autonomy to become municipalities of the Netherlands itself. Only St. Eustatius voted to preserve its former status within the Netherlands Antilles, but, with the other islands voting differently, there was no longer a Netherlands Antilles to belong to, so it was forced to become a municipality within the Netherlands like Bonaire and Saba.

The parliamentary system that Curaçao adopted from the Dutch has led to a proliferation of political parties and frequent changes of government. This has had a negative impact on language policy in general and on language policy in education in particular, whereby, for example, schools are given contradictory signals from the government about which language or languages should be used as the language(s) of instruction and initial literacy.

The origin of Papiamentu has been highly debated among linguists, but those facts aside, it is the major home language used in Curaçao, even after over three centuries of Dutch colonization. During the first 150 years of their rule over the island from roughly 1650 to 1800, the Calvinist worldview and capitalist economics espoused by the Dutch made them reluctant to share their language and culture with the enslaved. Alongside the Dutch, however, the Curaçaoan economic elites included a significant number of Sephardic Jews, who spoke Portuguese and other Iberian languages, as well as an Iberian lexifier creole that they had learned over the two previous centuries as a result of their involvement in slave driven plantation agriculture on the Upper and Lower Guinea islands off the coast of West Africa and Brazil. In contrast to the Dutch, the Sephardim readily used this Iberian lexifier creole with the enslaved, some of whom were already familiar with it before they arrived in the Caribbean.

Up until 1800, the Dutch were also reluctant to allow the enslaved access to their Calvinist churches or to formal education, so that Catholic missionaries from the South American mainland eventually evangelized the enslaved on Curaçao. These missionaries used the Iberian lexifier Creole language Papiamentu, which had rapidly become the most widely spoken language on the island, as the language of the church, translating the Bible and other Catholic texts into Papiamentu. As part of their religious instruction, a number of the enslaved learned to read and write Papiamentu as well. With these Spanish speaking missionaries playing such a key role in the development of the language, the main Iberian influences over the language shifted from Portuguese to Spanish.

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With the victory of the enslaved in Haiti and their successful defeat of chattel slavery and the plantation regime there at the beginning of the 1800s, the Dutch were forced to radically reconfigure their system for the exploitation of the labor of African descended people in Curaçao and the rest of the Americas from one based on the coercive control of the whip, to one based on the discursive control of religion and education. In order to do so, they found it necessary to provide formal education to the newly emancipated African descended majority on the island, so that Dutch language, Dutch culture and Dutch identity would be adopted as the norm. For this reason, they formulated language policies that were designed to replace Papiamentu with Dutch, but they ultimately failed. Papiamentu remains the language spoken by the overwhelming majority on the island today, while Dutch is still spoken by only a very small minority. One of the main reasons why Papiamentu has survived is the fact that it functions as an identity marker for the people of Curaçao.

Dutch, Papiamentu and language policy in Curaçao

Papiamentu is the main home language for 250,000 people today, primarily in Aruba, Bonaire, and Curaçao (also known as the ABC islands). While there are differences among the varieties used on each island, people from the three islands can understand

one another, which means that the variation among them is minor (Wiel, 2011). A particularly contentious point of debate among creolists is whether the lexicon (vocabulary) of Papiamentu is mainly of Spanish origin or of Portuguese origin. In this work, we will use the term ‘Iberian lexifier Creole’ to refer to Papiamentu to avoid taking a position in this debate, given the fact that both Spanish influences (via, for example, the priests from South America) and Portuguese influences (via, for example, the Sephardim and the enslaved who were familiar with a Portuguese lexifier creole spoken in West Africa) can be attested in the historical record.

The theories that see Papiamentu as a Spanish lexifier Creole trace the emergence of the language to the arrival of the Catholic priests from South America. There can be no doubt that these priests and their varieties of Spanish played a decisive role in shaping what we know today as Papiamentu, but these theories erase the rich linguistic history of Curaçao that preceded them. The theories that see Papiamentu as a Portuguese lexifier Creole trace the emergence of the language to the arrival of the Sephardic Jews in Curaçao along with the Dutch in the mid 17th century. Once established on the island, this population dominated many aspects of the local economy, including the trade in the enslaved. The Sephardic theory often assumes that the first Jewish population on the island had Portuguese and perhaps a Portuguese lexifier Creole as a home language.

In the final analysis, it is not only extremely difficult, but in fact counterproductive to designate Papiamentu as exclusively Spanish or Portuguese. Multiple groups of Sephardim came to Curaçao, some of whose families had lived for generations in Portugal and may have used Portuguese as a home language, and others whose families had lived for generations in Spain and may have used Spanish or a particular Sephardic variety of Spanish (Ladino) as a home language. Moreover, in the 17th century, before Portuguese and Spanish had undergone definitive centralization and standardization, it was difficult to draw a neat line between the two languages. Finally, the peoples of Curaçao and the rest of the Dutch Caribbean have always been pluri-lingual, pluri-cultural and pluri-identified, so that during the early centuries of Dutch colonialism when Papiamentu emerged, it is very likely that much of the population had varieties of both Spanish and Portuguese as part of their linguistic repertoire.

Both of these theories also ignore and erase the significant impact of African descended people on the emergence of Papiamentu. As mentioned above, some of the Sephardim as well as some of the enslaved arrived in Curaçao already familiar with a West African contact variety whose words can primarily be traced to Portuguese, but whose phonology, grammar, semantics and pragmatics can be traced in many instances to the Niger-Congo languages spoken along the West Coast of Africa. Another debate among creolists centers on which group of Portuguese lexifier Creole speaking enslaved peoples had a definitive impact on Papiamentu, those who were traded from the Upper Guinea islands off the northern part of the West African Coast such as Cabo Verde versus those

who were traded from the Lower Guinea islands off the southern part of the West African Coast such as São Tomé and Príncipe.

Many Papiamentu speakers are surprised to find that when they arrive in Cabo Verde, for example, they can use Papiamentu to communicate with the people there, so that Papiamentu can in many ways be seen as a mutually intelligible dialect of an Afro-Atlantic Iberian lexifier Creole spoken in both the Caribbean and in West Africa. But in the final analysis, it makes little sense to try to determine whether it is the Upper Guinea or Lower Guinea Islands that were the principal ‘source’ for Papiamentu, given the fact that: 1) the enslaved were traded to Curaçao from all of West Africa, including both the Upper and Lower Guinea islands; 2) people, including the enslaved, were in constant movement between the Upper and Lower Guinea islands; 3) the Niger-Congo languages spoken along the entire coast are both typologically and genetically very similar; and 4) the people of West Africa themselves have always been pluri-lingual, pluri-cultural and pluri-identified, so that people living in the Upper Guinea Islands would have Lower Guinea Island varieties as part of their repertoires and vice versa.

Knowing the pluri-lingual, pluri-cultural and pluri-identified history of Curaçao and the rest of the ABC islands, it is difficult to see how only one language could solely influence the creation of Papiamentu. By the time that Papiamentu emerged, multiple communities had been inhabiting these islands. Because no one specific population was secluded enough to develop the language independently, it must be the result of multiple influences. This pluri-lingual, pluri-cultural and pluri-identified legacy persists on the ABC islands up until the present. Being fluent in more than one language, the people of these islands often engage in code-switching, or the interchanging of different languages during any given stretch of discourse.

In the English, French and Dutch Caribbean, creole languages are widely spoken. In most of the territories colonized by the English and the French, the official language (English or French) is also the lexifier language of the Creole that is spoken as a home language by the majority of the people (English lexifier Creole in the territories colonized by the English, and French lexifier Creole in the territories colonized by the French). This is not the case in the Dutch Caribbean. Because of the early colonial policies of the Dutch which discouraged the use of Dutch by the enslaved, the few Dutch lexifier Creoles ever spoken in the region were limited in the number of their speakers and became extinct before the end of the 20th century. Instead English lexifier Creoles became the home languages of the majority of the population of Saba, St. Eustatius and St. Maarten, while the Iberian lexifier Creole Papiamentu became the home language of the majority of the population of Aruba, Bonaire and Curaçao.

This means that, while the English and French lexifier Creoles are usually considered by most of their speakers be ‘broken’ versions of the official languages English and French, speakers of Papiamentu do not see their language as a ‘broken’ version of the official language Dutch, or even as a ‘broken’ version of Spanish or Portuguese. Thus,

Papiamentu generally has a less stigmatized status among its speakers than do the other creole languages spoken in the Caribbean. That said, Papiamentu has only recently enjoyed anything approaching the official or unofficial status that Dutch and other European languages have always enjoyed in Curaçao and the rest of the Dutch Caribbean. Even though Dutch has never been spoken as a home language by more than a small minority on Curaçao, Dutch has been the language of instruction and initial literacy ever since the beginning of state sponsored universal education on the island. According to Severing and Weijer (2008), “in 1992, 83.3% of the population [of Curaçao] spoke Papiamentu in their households, while 8.6% spoke Dutch. In 2001, 80.8% spoke Papiamentu while 9.3% spoke Dutch” (p. 247). There is a consensus among specialists in education that students have the greatest chance for academic success if they are allowed to learn their subjects and initial literacy in a home language (and Papiamentu is a home language for the majority on Curaçao), while they have the least chance for academic success if they are forced to learn their subjects and initial literacy in a foreign language (and Dutch is a foreign language for the majority on Curaçao).

The results of Dutch-only education have been nothing short of a disaster for the great majority of the people of Curaçao. Up until the present, the education system on the island has systematically deprived most of the students of the opportunity to realize their academic potential and to achieve academic success. Instead, the schools serve the small minority of students whose parents happen to speak Dutch. In response to the catastrophic results of Curaçaoan students in terms of high failure rates, high repetition rates, low test scores, low retention rates, etc. there has been increasing pressure to change the language policy in the schools. In 1982 some primary schools were transformed into mother tongue schools (Amauri Jones, 2016), and by 1983, a framework to have Papiamentu as a separate subject was implemented via the *Komishon pa Maneho di Papiamentu* (commission for the management of Papiamentu).

In 2001, a new educational policy called Foundation Based Education was implemented in Curaçaoan schools. As part of this policy, Papiamentu was supposed to replace Dutch as the language of instruction in all primary schools. Unfortunately, many of the school boards on the island resisted this change in the language of instruction for a number of reasons, including refusal to accept Papiamentu as a language worthy of being used in formal settings, shortages of Papiamentu materials, lack of teachers trained to use Papiamentu in the classroom, etc. By 2007, the government was forced to allow each school board to decide its language of instruction, and today some primary schools use Papiamentu as the language of instruction, while others use Dutch (Severing & Weijer, 2008). Perhaps the main reason for this setback, however, is that the education system in general and the secondary schools in particular remain totally integrated into the education system of the European Netherlands. This means that the eventual goal of education in Curaçao remains first and foremost mastery of all literacy skills and all academic concepts in Dutch (Dijkhoff & Pereira, 2010).

Meanwhile, the spread in the use of Papiamentu from less formal to more formal contexts continues on the ABC islands. For example, there are now more newspapers published in Papiamentu than in Dutch, more radio and television shows in Papiamentu than in Dutch, etc. (Clemencia, 2000). This has been the result of a bottom-up process; in which the language spoken by the people spreads despite efforts to stop it, causing the colonial language to lose some of its power. Dutch is also losing out to English, which has now become a strong second language for most of the younger people on the island. As a result of all of these trends, in 2007, the government designated Dutch, Papiamentu and English as the three official languages of the Netherlands Antilles. Even though the Netherlands Antilles was dissolved in 2010, these three languages remain the official languages of Curaçao and in Aruba, Papiamentu (the name of the language is spelled with an ‘o’ at the end instead of a ‘u’ on that island) has also become an official language along with Dutch. Despite all of these changes, however, colonial and neo-colonial attitudes persist.

Puerto Rico: historical, political and linguistic background

Puerto Rico was originally inhabited by the indigenous Taíno people, who named the island Boriquén. The Taíno spoke varieties of languages belonging to the Arawakan family, and hundreds of words from their languages remain in use in the varieties of Spanish spoken in Puerto Rico today, such as *coquí* (a small native frog), *iguana* (a native lizard), *mabí* (a fermented drink), and *Boricua* (a term used to refer to Puerto Ricans). In 1493, Spanish conquistador Cristóbal Colón landed on the island, and initiated the process of colonialism in Puerto Rico and during the next few years, the Taíno population was decimated by enslavement and disease. Since very few women came from Europe with the Spanish to the Americas during the first two centuries of colonization, Spanish men regularly co-habited with women of indigenous and African descent, and these women were responsible for indigenizing and Africanizing the bloodlines, customs and lifeways that persist on the island. So, while it is true that the Taíno experienced a demographic collapse, they still live on in the genes, language and culture of the Puerto Rican people.

From the mid-1500s until the mid-1800s, the majority of the population of Puerto Rico were of African descent, most imported as enslaved laborers. The rate of manumission was high, so that much of the African descended population of Puerto Rico were *libertos*. While most of the population of Puerto Rico lived in multi-ethnic communities in the hinterland outside of the areas of formal Spanish control, this would change with the fall of the French plantation regime in Haiti at the end of the 1700s, when many sugar plantation owners fled from Haiti to Puerto Rico. When they re-established their plantations on the island, they brought a large number of enslaved people of African descent with them. This influx allowed the Spanish to extend governmental control over

the entire island and was accompanied by a policy of promoting massive European immigration to Puerto Rico in order to ‘whiten’ the island and counterbalance the newly arrived African descended populations working the plantations. Chattel enslavement was abolished in Puerto Rico in 1873.

In 1898, the Spanish-American War ended with the Treaty of Paris, in which Spain transferred its colonial rule over Puerto Rico to the United States. The new colonizers were eager to ‘Americanize’ the population, and this led to the imposition of English as the main language of instruction of Puerto Rican schools. Because English was not a first language or even a second language for the overwhelming majority of Puerto Ricans, these efforts by the U.S. government to teach students in a language they had no exposure to outside the classroom inevitably led to failure. However, instead of reformulating more appropriate language policies based on Spanish, the home language of virtually all Puerto Rican learners, the U.S. colonial authorities experimented with any method they could find to impose English on the students, constantly tweaking their English-only policy initiatives.

After 50 years of rule by officials appointed by the United States government, Luis Muñoz Marín became the first democratically elected governor of Puerto Rico in 1947. One of his most important policy initiatives was raising the status of Spanish to become the official language of the island, with English as the second language. By 1952, Puerto Rico had officially become a Commonwealth of the United States, (Stern, 1961). This status did not sit well with the public, since many restrictions were placed on the island in terms of trade and commerce. The people had experienced a half century of alienation which had forced them to re-affirm their Puerto Rican identity and Spanish language, and reject a North American identity and English.

To this day, the disastrous educational policies of the first 50 years of U.S. rule and the alienation cause by assimilationist North American policies are still evident in the negative attitudes held toward English by the Puerto Rican population. This situation is neatly summarized in Pousada’s (1996) article *Puerto Rico: on the horns of a language planning dilemma*, “... the greatest impediment faced by the English as a Second Language (ESL) teachers has been the public’s resistance to learning English... virtually every combination of Spanish and English was tried in Puerto Rico” (p. 500). Their negative experiences with forced assimilation to North American culture and the English language have put the population in a reactive mode, leading to the widespread rejection of English and the assertion that: “I am not a *gringo*.”

English, Spanish and language policy in Puerto Rico

The current goal of the Department of Education of Puerto Rico is native-like fluency and communicative competence in English. This goal, however, is neither reflected in the curriculum nor in the performance of the vast majority of students. The problem with ESL programming on the island is that it expects students to already have a strong

foundation in English, under the erroneous assumption that because English is the official second language of the island, it is commonly used among most social groups. In the public-school system, students largely reject North American culture, and feel absolutely no connection with the English language. People in Puerto Rico can live their whole lives without having to speak English, mostly because the language is not used beyond the restricted networks of people who are genuinely interested in acquiring it. The combination of these factors creates frustrated teachers who barely speak English in their classrooms, and students who pass their English classes without actually learning the language.

The curriculum is not structured to reflect the complicated reality that Puerto Ricans face, and teachers oversimplify or alter the lessons to such an extent as to render them unaccountable to their original unreasonable objectives. Teachers are not provided with realistic content that actually targets their reluctant learners. This is part of the reason why students are not acquiring English successfully, or have completely rejected the idea of learning it. This could change, however, if they adopted a different perspective. Perspective has everything to do with why Puerto Ricans are rejecting English in the first place, so it is no surprise that it could also play a role in fostering their acceptance of the English language.

Acquiring a language is normally very dependent on the degree to which the learner identifies with the people and the culture associated with the target language. In the case of Puerto Rico, English as a Second Language (ESL) teaching wrongly assumes that Puerto Ricans share an unproblematic connection with the culture and the people of their colonizing nation, which is not the case. The unapologetic rejection of the North American culture has proved to be a hindrance to English acquisition by students on the island for various reasons, one of the main ones being that associating with North American culture is seen as a betrayal of Puerto Rican culture.

Among Puerto Ricans there is a strong belief that English belongs to the “*gringos*”. “*Gringo*” is a word with negative and offensive connotations that is used to describe North Americans, and students routinely call anyone whom they hear speaking English “*gringo*”. Students do not want to be branded a “*gringo*” and instead prefer to stick to their Boricua and Spanish “roots”. These “roots” themselves, however, are in many ways fragile, because they are buried under more than a century of North American political domination and many decades of North American cultural domination through the media, fast food, retail chains, and, more recently, the internet. This insecurity is exacerbated by the ambiguous, semi-autonomous Commonwealth status of the island under U.S. rule and constant out- and return migration to and from the U.S. that involves members of virtually every family on the island, making the definition of what it means to be a Puerto Rican highly problematic, even before adding an assimilative approach to the teaching of English to the mix.

Public school English teachers face an incredible challenge. Students are expected to write compositions in English, yet they lack some of the most basic writing skills in the language. This problem leads to teachers mostly using Spanish in their English classes instead of English. The use of Spanish seems to creep into the English class gradually, through frustration, leakage and patches until it becomes a Spanish class with an English facade. In her 2018 article *Language education policy issues in Puerto Rico*, Pousada states that: “Some of the teachers who stay behind on the island fall into the habit of teaching the English class in Spanish to accommodate the students’ limited English skills. This furthers a common perception among students that English is a “Mickey Mouse” course that one can pass without really making an effort or learning the language” (p. 228). Frustration with the learning of English spreads from the students to the teachers. This alone should be an indicator that the current approach to teaching English in Puerto Rico is on a downward spiral that must be reversed.

A typical linguistic practice commonly found today in Puerto Rican communities is constant code-switching from Spanish to English and vice-versa. Such translanguaging has variously been interpreted as: 1) the result of linguistic deficiencies, with speakers utilizing the switch in order to fill the gaps they might have in either language; 2) the result of high levels of competence in both languages, allowing speakers to weave the two together creatively to convey their message with maximum effect; and 3) the result of the emergence of a new variety, sometimes called “Spanglish”. Perhaps more than in most other languages, loan words from English have been nativized in Puerto Rican Spanish, indicating a deeper connection between the two official languages of Puerto Rico. Code-switching also plays a role in language attitudes.

Social class and political persuasion may have a significant impact on whether speakers choose to express themselves in Spanish, English or through switching between the two. Pérez Casas (2008) conducted a study on how code-switching is influenced by such factors on the island. She found that “Bilingual Puerto Ricans may or may not be aware of how their linguistic practices, in this case codeswitching, may become a reflection of power struggles in their sociocultural setting, and how their linguistic choices may signal an identity or identities that differentiate them from other Puerto Ricans” (p. 15). The study found that Puerto Ricans from lower class backgrounds tended to use Spanish with less code-switching than did others, while more affluent Puerto Ricans, especially those with a more positive view of U.S. culture, code-switched more often. She also concluded, however, that for Puerto Ricans who have lived many years in New York (Nuyoricans), code-switching was seen as a part of their Hispanic identity.

It is important to clarify that code-switching also depends on the style of conversation. For example, a typical newscast will tend to be delivered in formal Spanish with no switching, while among friends code-switching is often quite common. The fact is that Puerto Ricans identify most with Spanish, and not all of the population has adequate

fluency in English to switch. Nuyoricans who may be very accustomed to code-switching might find that constantly doing so on the island could be perceived as obnoxious. Most assume, then, that code-switching is a deliberate and conscious choice, which may not necessarily always be the case. On the topic of code-switching in Puerto Rico, Haiman (1993) offers this perspective: “When New York Puerto Ricans return to the island they must abide by Puerto Rican ethnolinguistic rules and not impose their own... To be Puerto Rican in New York City a Spanish surname may suffice, but in Puerto Rico, Puerto Ricanness is dependent upon culture, and culture is embodied in language,” (p. 58).

How have Curaçao and Puerto Rico’s respective colonial histories shaped their language policies, and how have these policies provoked a rejection of the colonizer’s languages?

Puerto Rico has faced two major waves of linguistic imperialism. During the first wave of colonization experienced by the indigenous people of Puerto Rico at the beginning of the 16th century, the language of the colonizer, Spanish, came to replace the home languages spoken on the island before colonization. During the second wave of colonization experienced by the people of Puerto Rico starting at the beginning of the 20th century, the language of the colonizer, U.S. English, was rejected completely by the people in favor of Spanish, which had by then become their home language. Puerto Rico experienced a series of disastrous language policies after the U.S. occupation in 1898, which attempted to impose English as the language of instruction and initial literacy in the schools. This unfortunate situation stabilized somewhat after Spanish was officially recognized as the language of education in 1948. This is not to say that language security was restored to the people of the island, but only that the English language receded as the main barrier between Puerto Ricans and academic success. Today, citizens of Puerto Rico can live comfortably with minimal to no mastery of English.

In a certain sense, it could be said that Curaçao has also experienced two major waves of linguistic imperialism. Caribbean history was heavily impacted by chattel slavery and the cash crop plantation system that it served. The resulting contact between indigenous Caribbean, African and European descended peoples had major linguistic consequences, both for Curaçao and for Puerto Rico. What was to emerge from this contact as the home language of the majority of Puerto Ricans is an Afro-Indigenized variety of a European language in the form of Puerto Rican Spanish, while was to emerge from this contact as the home language of the majority of Curaçaoans is a Europeanized variety of an African language in the form of Papiamentu. These different linguistic outcomes can be attributed at least in part to differences between the early colonial policies of the Spanish in Puerto Rico and those of the Dutch in Curaçao.

During the first centuries of colonization, the Spanish encouraged contact between people of African, Indigenous and European descent, and did not exclude anyone from their

church or from legal status as a human being. This allowed African and Indigenous descended people to make Spanish language and culture their own but Africanizing and Indigenizing Spanish language and culture in the process, and varieties such as the Caribbean dialects of Spanish were the result. During the first centuries of colonization, the Dutch in the Caribbean and the English settler populations in North America discouraged contact between people of African, Indigenous and European descent, and deprived non-European descended people from access to their churches and from legal status as anything but chattel or private property. This did not allow African and Indigenous descended people to make Dutch and English language and culture their own, so they retained their African languages and cultures and Europeanized them in the process, through influence from the colonial masters and in an attempt to make them more acceptable to the colonial authorities, and creole languages such as Jamaican and Papiamentu were the result.

Massive resistance to chattel slavery throughout the Caribbean culminated in the Haitian revolution, which led to the abolition of chattel enslavement in the 19th century. At this point, the switch from coercively enforced chattel slavery to discursively enforced wage slavery made it necessary for the Dutch and the newly independent United States to attempt to implement more inclusive policies that would facilitate hegemonic control over the formerly enslaved through mechanisms such as evangelization and universal education.

226 Discursive domination depends on ensuring that the dominated classes think, speak and act according to the standards set down by the dominant classes. So, when the Dutch and the Americans began to implement policies of universal education in the 19th century, they insisted that a standard variety of their European language (Dutch in Curaçao and English in Puerto Rico) would be the only language of instruction in the schools, systematically rejecting the use of any Europeanized African language such as Papiamentu or any Africanized European language such as African American English in the classroom. During this ‘second wave’ of linguistic imperialism, the respective colonizer of each island implemented language policies that completely excluded the home language of the majority of the students. Such policies have proved to be disastrous, not only in terms of the academic performance of the students, but perhaps more importantly, in terms of their alienation both from their own languages and cultures as well as from the languages and cultures of the colonizer.

Although the alienation from and rejection of the language of the colonizer is a major force in both Curaçao and Puerto Rico, recent surveys of attitudes in Curaçao (Kester, 2010) indicate that the extent to which the people of Curaçao have rejected Dutch is arguably less than the extent to which the people of Puerto Rico have rejected English. Interestingly, however, these same surveys indicate that negative attitudes toward Dutch language and culture are increasing in Curaçao, while recent investigative work in Puerto Rico seems to indicate that, after more than a century of categorical rejection of

the language and culture of the U.S., the people of Puerto Rico are beginning to feel less averse to learning English. (Domínguez-Rosado, 2012).

Of course, the categorical acceptance or rejection of the language of the colonizer are not the only alternatives available. In the countries of West Africa and South Asia, for example, the people have accepted colonial languages alongside their ancestral languages into their traditionally pluri-lingual repertoire. Because pluri-lingualism is much more widespread in Curaçao than in Puerto Rico, there are many Curaçaoans who, while not feeling much cultural affinity to the Netherlands or much in the way of identification with Dutch people, still find a place for Dutch in their linguistic repertoires along with Spanish and English. In a similar way, a growing number of Puerto Ricans have found a place for English alongside Spanish in their code-switching repertoires. This tendency seems to be growing along with ever increasing out-migration from Curaçao to Holland and from Puerto Rico to the U.S. There are just as many Curaçaoans in the European Netherlands as there are in Curaçao, and there are twice as many Puerto Ricans in the U.S. as there are in Puerto Rico itself.

Another factor that has made the rejection of Dutch more difficult and less radical in Curaçao than the rejection of English in Puerto Rico is the fact that the home language of the majority of Puerto Ricans is an Afro-Indigenized variety of a recognizably European language, Spanish, that has relatively high prestige on a global scale, has been standardized and used in formal education (including universities) for centuries, has hundreds of millions of speakers, and has a vast amount of published material, while the home language of the majority of Curaçaoans is a creole language, Papiamentu, which has relatively low prestige on a global scale, has only recently been standardized and used in public education, has less than one half million speakers, and has a limited (but growing) amount of published material. This means that it has been much easier for Puerto Rico both to justify and implement a formal education system where the home language of the majority of Puerto Ricans is the language of instruction and initial literacy, than it has been for Curaçaoans either to justify or implement a formal education system where the home language of the majority of Curaçaoans is the language of instruction and initial literacy.

Dijkhoff (2014) states that “The old pro-Dutch elite, the new pro-English elite, and “revolutionary” pro-Papiamentu elite all agree that Papiamentu is not an option when dealing with education...Yet the future of Papiamentu depends ultimately on our own potential as communities for allowing and promoting social change.” (p. 115). Although acceptance of the use of the language in formal education is growing, research indicates that there is still a long way to go. Other barriers to the use of Papiamentu in the classroom are the need for the creation and production of more educational materials in the language and the need for more teachers trained to give their lessons in the language. Horan (2012) compares the situation of Papiamentu in Curaçao with that of Irish in Ireland. After centuries of English political, economic, social, cultural, and linguistic

imperialism, Irish had nearly been eradicated. But over the past few decades, the few remaining Irish speakers have taken it upon themselves to preserve and expand the language, which has involved a concerted effort to design and produce Irish language educational materials and to train teachers to use Irish as the language of instruction. When Papiamentu became the official language of Curaçao in 2007, the lack of materials and trained teachers was one of the major justifications used by school boards to retain the old Dutch-only system instead of opting for Papiamentu as a language of instruction. In sum, it is only when we take into account the colonial histories of Curaçao and Puerto Rico that we can begin to understand and explain the striking similarities at the macro level and the significant differences at the micro level between the trajectories that language policy and language attitudes have taken on each island.

How and why does the Curaçaoan and Puerto Rican public identify with their home languages?

Languages carry with them cultures, modes of expression and identities. The phrase “*Seguimos pa’lante*,” in Puerto Rican Spanish has a different range of meanings than the English translation “We keep moving forward.” A person’s language has major impact on their identity and personality. The identities of Curaçaoans and Puerto Ricans have been forged through a history of opposition to political, economic, linguistic and cultural imperialism, with consequences in terms of how readily the average Curaçaoan is willing to identify with Dutch people and their language and in terms of how readily the average Puerto Rican is willing to identify with North American people and their language.

Parents’ attitudes have a strong influence over those of their children. That said, parents are usually the last stakeholders to be considered and consulted when it comes to language policy and planning. In her dissertation, Joyce Pereira (2018) describes and analyzes the results of a survey that she conducted on the different opinions that parents in Aruba have towards Dutch versus Papiamentu as languages per se, and as languages of instruction in Aruba. She found that most parents, even those who speak Dutch, see Papiamentu as the language that best represents the identity of the people of Aruba, and therefore, a growing number of them see the logic in making Papiamentu a language of instruction in the schools. Many of Pereira’s results for Aruba have been replicated elsewhere in the ABC islands, including Curaçao (Kester, 2010).

In her survey-based research, Kester (2010) found that high school students in Curaçao share many of these same attitudes with the Aruban parents interviewed by Pereira. In her study, titled “Language use, language attitudes and identity among Curaçaoan high school students” Kester investigated the relation between Antillean identity and Dutch identity on the island, with specific reference to the use of Papiamentu and Dutch in various settings. She found that the students utilized more Dutch when they spoke to teachers and other professionals, and more Papiamentu with friends and family. Given

the pluri-lingual nature of Curaçaoan society, it seems that they decide which language to use according to their audience. Kester (2010) concludes, however, that they feel most comfortable with Papiamentu: “Language attitudes have become even more positive among young people (high school students) in the course of the last decade... due to the increase importance of Papiamentu in the education system and its recognition as one of the official languages...” (p. 35). These positive attitudes toward Papiamentu are strongest among the majority of students who are from working class backgrounds than among the minority of student who are from more upper class backgrounds, where it is often the case that one or both of their parents speak Dutch at home.

After many decades of struggle against the imposition of English, Spanish is widely recognized as the language of instruction and official communication in Puerto Rico. Puerto Rican Spanish is clearly an important element in notions of Puerto Rican identity, while English plays no such role, except in cases of code-switching. It can safely be said that Puerto Ricans are connected to their variety of Spanish in ways that go deeper than is the case in most other Latin American countries. This is at least in part because, of all of the major Spanish speaking peoples of the world, Puerto Ricans are the only ones who have experienced the attempted eradication of their Afro-Indigenized variety of Spanish.

Because of this history of imperialistic imposition of English and North American identity, Puerto Ricans often refuse to identify with North American people and their language. As a result, the teaching of English, even as a foreign language, is more difficult in Puerto Rico than elsewhere, and the enthusiasm for learning English which is so common in the rest of Latin America is largely absent in Puerto Rico. Although bilingualism has gradually expanded over the years, English is still seen on the island more as a tool to obtain a better paid job than as an identity marker. Instead, English is considered to be an intrusive language, an attitude that has been at least partly responsible for the multiple failures of a series of bilingual educational programs on the island (Torres-González, 2002).

In the pluri-lingual, pluri-cultural and pluri-identified societies of the Caribbean, the notion of ‘identity’ as a singular exclusive norm is perhaps inappropriate. Even in Puerto Rico, where the imposition of English has forced the population to make a zero-sum, binary choice in favor of Spanish instead of English, the common and increasing phenomenon of code switching between Spanish and English on the island demonstrates resistance against being forced into the straightjacket of a single language or a single identity (Soucy-Mercado, 1993). Allen (2010) states that “One might say that identity issues... show the complexity of managing a plurality of ethnicities... identities are constantly being negotiated, fervently debated, and convincingly claimed in ways and during circumstances that may not always be clear to outsiders, or even to insiders. As such, they merit more scholarly investigation.” (p. 124)

What is the relation between identity and language acquisition in Curaçao and Puerto Rico?

Missing the relation between identity and education is a grave mistake. A key factor in language acquisition and learning is motivation, and the most powerful type of motivation for language learning is the degree to which the learner identifies with the people who speak the target language. In her book, titled *Being bilingual in Borinquen*, Pousada (2017) cites Gardner and Lambert (1972) who assert that there are two types of motivations for language learning: instrumental motivation, which has to do with learning language in order to achieve some practical goal and integrative motivation, which has to do with learning language in order to be able to adopt an identity similar to that of other speakers of the target language. In Puerto Rico, the instrumental motivation for learning English has traditionally been to succeed academically or professionally, but more recently this has extended to gaining better access to the electronic media. The integrative motivation for learning English on the island has traditionally been to assimilate more to a North American identity.

Pousada observes that “English can be observed on commercial signs... in the print and broadcast media... It is also increasingly used in informal discourse among students on college campuses... Nevertheless, for many Puerto Ricans, English continues to be a foreign language...” (p. 13). Puerto Ricans often relate English to the United States, and this may increase integrative motivation on the part of those Puerto Ricans who favor statehood and full integration of their country into the United States, while at the same time decreasing integrative motivation on the part of those Puerto Ricans who oppose statehood and reject integration of their country into the United States. While the presence of English on the island has increased, English is far from being a default option for either physical or social survival in Puerto Rico.

Because Dutch is taught as a European language using European cultural models in Curaçaoan classrooms and English is taught as a North American language using U.S. cultural models in Puerto Rican classrooms, students have a very hard time relating to and identifying with Dutch in Curaçao and with English in Puerto Rico. When students cannot relate to or identify with a foreign language, most will fail to learn it, and many will actually resist attempts to teach them a language that they see as having nothing to do with who they are and who they want to be. In her article titled “Papiamentu/o and identity in Aruba and Curaçao” Wiel (2010) observes that Papiamentu is an identity marker in both Aruba and Curaçao that helps people distance themselves from their colonial pasts. When Dutch is used in the classroom instead of Papiamentu, however, the colonial past becomes the colonial present.

Conclusion

Despite their different colonial histories, the relationships that hold today among language, identity and education are in a number of ways very similar in Curaçao and

Puerto Rico. As such, there are many things that Puerto Ricans can learn from Curaçaoans and their struggles for the acknowledgement and valorization of Papiamentu, and many things that Curaçaoans can learn from Puerto Ricans and their struggles for the acknowledgement and valorization of Puerto Rican Spanish. Perhaps the main positive lesson that Curaçao can learn from Puerto Rico is that it is possible to make an Africanized and Indigenized Caribbean language (Puerto Rican Spanish) the official language of government and education, while the main negative lesson that can be learned is that the traditional Caribbean openness to learning many languages (including colonial languages) does not have to be sacrificed in the process. Perhaps the main positive lesson that Puerto Rico can learn from Curaçao is that one does not have to make a zero-sum binary choice between the home language and the colonial language, while the main negative lesson that can be learned is that colonial and neo-colonial attitudes toward Caribbean home languages, especially creole languages, need to be constantly questioned and challenged.

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**INTERSECTIONS OF MEMORY,
HEALING AND TRANS-IDENTIFICATION
IN THE DUTCH CARIBBEAN AND BEYOND**

CONSTRUCTING COLLECTIVE MEMORY AND NATIONAL IDENTITY THROUGH COMMEMORATIONS OF ENSLAVEMENT ON CURAÇAO

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Abstract

The process of remembering the history of enslavement has been considered to be painful and difficult in Curaçaoan society. The multiple memories of enslavement and the actions taken to either express or silence them are meaningful, as they shed light on sometimes confrontational efforts to attain a collective and national identity in a society in which certain social groups have traditionally been excluded as citizens based on class, race, gender and other factors. This article aims to explore how memories of enslavement and resistance against it have been constructed, deconstructed and reconstructed in Curaçao over time through commemorative actions, and how, through such commemorative initiatives, both cultural and national identities as well as citizenship have been negotiated and renegotiated in the society.

Key terms: collective memory, national identity, commemorations of enslavement, inclusion, Caribbean

Introduction

On August 17, 1795, enslaved people in the western part of Curaçao overturned plantation rule in the area under the leadership of Tula, Bastian Karpata, Louis Mercier and Pedro Wakao, with the assistance of women and freed people of African descent. Their demands for freedom and social equality constituted a claim of citizenship as well. Their actions toward self-liberation can be seen in the light of the efforts to end chattel enslavement in Saint Domingue (Haiti) from August 1791 onward and in the Coro region of Venezuela in May 1795. The August 1795 uprising is the largest one in the history of Curaçao in terms of the number of participants, its geographical spread, and the number

of days that it lasted. Although the Dutch colonial army eventually defeated the insurgents, the uprising unsettled the island's slave society by demonstrating what oppressed and enslaved people could attain through cooperative action, and its memory remained a source of fear for local slave owners.

Since the mid-20th century, the anniversary of the revolt of the enslaved in 1795 has gradually become a commemorative event that helps to incorporate enslavement and the resistance of the enslaved into the collective memory of Curaçaoans. Because 2020 marks the 225th Anniversary of the uprising, the government of the island established a committee in 2019 to pay particular attention to developing educational material to increase the limited information on the revolt that is currently included in the official school curriculum (Ministerial Order MB2019/032983). As they have always done in the past, non-governmental heritage organizations were also preparing several activities to throw light on this memorable occasion. Had it not been for the global coronavirus pandemic which has also affected Curaçao, this anniversary would probably have been commemorated on a larger public scale.

The public engagement in Curaçao with the 1795 revolt of the enslaved is relatively recent when placed in historical perspective. This article aims to explain how memories of a difficult history of enslavement in Curaçao and resistance against it have been constructed, deconstructed and reconstructed over time through commemorative action. The Brazilian scholar Ana Lucia Araujo (2010) has argued that memory is “political, determined by social, cultural and religious frames” (6). The memory of enslavement is still a sensitive subject in Curaçao that results in conflicting views about reasons for commemoration and ways of doing so.

Commemoration of enslavement sheds light on how cultural and national identities and citizenship are negotiated and renegotiated in a post-enslavement society (Kardux, 2009). Catherine Reinhardt connects these issues in her seminal book *Claims to memory, beyond slavery and emancipation in the French Caribbean* (2006) as she examines how Martinicans and Guadeloupeans memorialize their enslaved past. In the French Caribbean, enslavement ended in 1848, 14 years after the British colonies and 15 years before the Dutch colonies. According to Catherine Reinhardt, over the course of time the French Overseas Departments in the Caribbean have laid claim to a collective memory of enslavement for national reasons and have transformed their past silences into historical and cultural manifestations, while continuing in a (neo)-colonial relationship with France.

The multiple memories of enslavement and the actions taken to express them are meaningful as they illustrate and interrogate how people define their national history, how it should be remembered and recounted, who should be included or excluded from it, and in which ways people mobilize to remember it. When looking at the memorialization of enslavement as part of the struggle to construct a national identity, the concept of rhizome comes to mind. This Deleuze-Guattarian concept applied to the Caribbean by

Martinican philosopher Édouard Glissant, refers to a continuously growing horizontal underground root system that puts out lateral shoots in unforeseeable ways (Ravizza, 2019: 52). As rhizomes of national identity, memories of enslavement may connect with and influence one other; they can be part of conflicting and contesting forces, simultaneously unpredictable, easily altered, or fragile, but together they are strong enough to serve to stabilize the collective that they undergird (Pirker, 2011: 27).

Commemorating the Abolition of enslavement 1863-1913: “Long live King William III”?

The French historian Pierre Nora calls moments, places, objects and people that symbolize a community’s memorial heritage “realms of memory” in his seminal work about France’s collective memory which carries that very title: *Realms of memory* (1996: xvii). These domains of memory become symbols to which people attach countless meanings.

Commemorations of the July 1, 1863 Abolition of enslavement in the Dutch colonies have taken place in Curaçao since the end of the 19th century. In those days, commemorations were generally designed to pay homage to Dutch colonial power and celebrated colonialism in one way or another (Allen, 2014). Plaques, parks and statues were used as monuments to memorialize certain historical persons or events. For example, when Queen Wilhelmina of the Netherlands was crowned in 1898, the local women’s organization Entre Nous took the initiative to construct a park in the center of Willemstad (Curaçao’s capital). It was inaugurated on August 31, 1898, still exists, and still is called Wilhelmina Park.¹ A statue of the Queen was erected there in 1933 and thus made the link between Curaçao and its colonial ruler more visible.

The first time that the Abolition of enslavement was commemorated on the Dutch Caribbean islands was in 1888, the year of its 25th Anniversary. In Curaçao, a varied program of official ceremonies was organized on July 1 and 2 of that year in which the Emancipation Proclamation was read, and praise was lavished especially upon King William III of the Netherlands (1849-1890) and to lesser extent upon the late Roman Catholic Apostolic Vicar Msgr. M. Niewindt (1796-1860). Niewindt did not live to see the Abolition of enslavement, but was considered to be the pacifier of the enslaved for his efforts to convert them into people who could peacefully and smoothly transition to freedom (Allen, 2007; Lampe, 1988).² That the festivities were mainly in honor of King William III was apparent from the name of the organizing committee, *Comite Fiesta Willem III* [William III Party Committee] (all translations in this article are by the author, unless specified otherwise), which was comprised of members of the upper class. Upon the request of the Governor, this committee joined another committee set

¹ <http://www.curacaomonuments.org/further-reading.shtml>, consulted on April 2020.

² See also the role of the Catholic Church in the 20th century, Margo Groenewoud, *‘Nou koest nou kalm’* (2017).

up by descendants of the enslaved named *Hulde uit dankbaarheid* [Tribute out of Gratitude]. In the several speeches delivered, King William III was presented as the veritable embodiment of the “Dutch emancipator”. Gerardus Vos, in delivering his address as the spokesperson for the recently emancipated, referred to him as “the friend of humanity, who equals God with his deeds” (*Lantèrnu*, 2003: 25). The glorification of King William III lives on in the memorial stone placed at the entrance of Fort Amsterdam (the epicenter of Dutch colonial rule in Curaçao) which was unveiled on July 1, 1888 in the presence of the Governor. The stone reads: “Tribute to King William III on the Occasion of the 25th Anniversary Celebration of Emancipation. Curaçao July 1, 1863-1888. A Free and Grateful People to a Noble and Good Monarch”.³

The official part of the 1888 commemoration took place at the Governor’s residence. It was an occasion for those who had experienced enslavement to display the expected proper behavior, such as abiding by the law and expressing loyalty and gratitude toward the colonial power. During the official ceremony there were also performances of the *seú* [harvest dance] and the *kachu ku heru* [cow-horn and iron]⁴, both important traditional Afro-Curaçaoan cultural practices stemming back to the social life of the enslaved on the plantations. At the same time, the people celebrated in their own way by dancing the *tambú*, despite warnings from the Catholic Church that this Afro-Curaçaoan drum music genre was indecent and immoral and should not be performed.⁵

When King William III passed away two years later, on November 23, 1890, his role in freeing the enslaved in the Dutch colonies was again publicly memorialized, for example, in a 2-page announcement in the Papiamentu newspaper called *La Union*.⁶ In a following edition of the same newspaper, people were encouraged to pay homage to the departed King and were warned that government would act more severely than usual if people dared to celebrate *tambú* as they usually did at the end of the year.⁷

The second commemoration of the Abolition of enslavement occurred on its 50th Anniversary in 1913. It took place in nearly the same manner as it had in 1888, with King William III – now deceased – being mentioned as an ardent defender of freedom during the formal, solemn festivities.⁸ The public activities included a harbor-side fireworks display, a ship lit with countless lights, a Roman Catholic High Mass attended by the authorities, as well as an afternoon parade with a large picture of King William III up front, followed by the members of the official committees, and some musical accompaniment. Meanwhile, the music performance in Wilhelmina Park by an orchestra consisting of

³ Het nieuws van den dag: kleine courant, 25-05-1888; Dagblad van Zuidholland en ’s Gravenhage, 31-07-1888.

⁴ Curaçaoose Courant, 29 juni 1888 De tijd: Godsdienstig-staatskundige dagblad, 9 juli 1888.

⁵ Amigoe 1 July 1888.

⁶ La Union, 26 November 1890.

⁷ La Union, 10 December 1890.

⁸ Curaçaoose Courant, 29 June 1888.

orphans supervised by the Catholic Church⁹ was again unofficially countered by the people dancing the *tambú*.¹⁰

King William III was officially idealized throughout the Dutch Empire, including Suriname. According to historian Alex Van Stipriaan, his actual role had been merely that of signing the Abolition Act, and his exaggerated glorification was a conscious attempt to assuage any resentment toward the former slave masters (2004: 275). A rather different view of the King's legacy can be found in several songs in Papiamentu that were collected in the twentieth century. One such song was recalled by a woman, born in 1916, whose father's mother used to sing it while doing her daily chores. This woman explained that the enslaved felt betrayed by King William III, who presumably had promised them freedom which failed to materialize again and again. The song is one of derision and distress.

<i>Biba biba biba biba Wilmu Dèrdu</i>	Long live, long live William the Third
<i>Biba biba biba biba Wilmu Dèrdu</i>	Long live, long live William the Third
<i>Ma parse Wilmu Dèrdu</i>	But it seems, William the Third
<i>Bo tin idea di frega nos</i>	You are thinking of screwing us
<i>Ma pa bo frega nos</i>	But instead of screwing us
<i>Bo bai frega bo mama.</i> ¹¹	Go screw your mother.

A similar song was collected by Elis Juliana and Fr. Paul Brenneker in the 1960s from Ma Djini who lived in Otrobanda and was born in 1869, six years after the Abolition of enslavement.

<i>Ta ki ora Rei ta bini</i>	When is the King coming
<i>Ki ora Rei ta manda libertat</i>	When is the King sending us freedom
<i>Rei ta pompa</i>	The King is jerking around
<i>Rei ta pompa</i>	The King is jerking around
<i>Rei bai pompa rei su mama.</i> ¹²	Let the King go jerk around his mother.

The somewhat coarse verbs *frega* and *pompa* in the two songs affirm the anger on the part of people who felt that they had been taken for fools with empty promises of freedom. These songs, together with many hidden stories about enslavement that were uncovered in the twentieth century especially by Brenneker and Juliana, should make one reconsider the common notion that Afro-Curaçaoans generally prefer not to

⁹ Het nieuws van den dag: kleine courant, 29-07- 1888.

¹⁰ Curaçaoese Courant, June 1913, 4 July 1913.

¹¹ Interview with a woman born in 1916 (she did not want her name stated), Allen, March 2001 (NatAr).

¹² Interview Virginia Meulens (born 1869 in Otrobanda), Brenneker/Juliana 1959 (Zikinzá-collection, T 440, NatAr).

remember their experience of or connection to enslavement. It seems that they do in fact claim such memories but are accustomed to doing so in the private sphere as part of a family or folk heritage transmitted across generations, perhaps as a result of nearly a century of exposure to reprisals from colonial officials for expressing their contestatory views in public (Allen, 2009).

The role of the Surinamese in shaping the commemoration of July 1 in Curaçao

Any study of enslavement commemorations in Curaçao must take into account the role played by Surinamese immigrants on the island. Surinamese commemorated the Abolition of enslavement every year on July 1, through activities organized by an Afro-Surinamese social group who originally called themselves *Manspasi* [Sranan for ‘Emancipation’] and after 1993 *Keti Koti* [‘The chains have been broken.’] (Van Stipriaan, 2006: 289). Already in the 1940s, there were people strongly advocating for the July 1 commemoration to become a national Surinamese event, and this became a reality in 1960.¹³

Surinamese migrants continued to commemorate July 1 when they settled in Curaçao in the 20th century, where they joined the large influx of immigrants who came from various parts of the world to build a new life on the island. An early reference to their departure from their homeland is found in the newspaper *Suriname* of May 20, 1927, which mentions the names of 51 young boys who had been recruited by the Curaçaosche Handel Maatschappij (CHM). They were part of a much larger group of Surinamese who left their country as it “could not provide them a good life”.¹⁴ In 1943 a Curaçaoan newspaper connected the emigration to the spirit of Emancipation by stating that “even if Emancipation had no material consequences for the Surinamese people, mentally Emancipation had major consequences and individual success was great [important] for many”.¹⁵ Surinamese people came to Curaçao to work not only at the oil refinery, but also as teachers, doctors, pharmacists, nurses, police officers, and customs officers (Heiligers, 2001: 54).

That Curaçao facilitated a re-engagement with Emancipation in the modern-day Surinamese consciousness was already evident when the newspaper *Suriname* interpreted the establishment of a direct commercial connection with Curaçao on July 1, 1931 as an important step towards the emancipation of small Surinamese farmers: “Fast connection which Curaçao. The first direct connection to Curaçao will take place on July 1,

¹³Amigoe di Curacao: weekblad voor de Curaçaosche eilanden, 18-03-1943; In: Het Nieuws: Algemeen Dagblad, 31-12-1952.

¹⁴ Suriname 20 May 1927. The CHM functioned as the permanent representative of the oil company (later refinery) in Paramaribo (Wijngaarde, 2004: 277).

¹⁵Amigoe di Curacao: weekblad voor de Curacaosche eilanden, 18-03-1943.

Emancipation Day. May this first connection, just as Emancipation Day has been the day of redemption for slaves, herald a new and better era for small farmers.”¹⁶

Justitia Pietas Fides (JPF), the organization of Surinamese immigrants in Curaçao, was founded on July 17, 1941 and played a pivotal role in promoting the spirit of Emancipation locally (Wijngaarde, 2004:277). In addition to entertainment, they organized educational events including the commemoration of July 1 as Emancipation Day. The JPF was the initiative of well-known Surinamese immigrants on the island, such as Dr. L. Lashley (an oculist), A.Th.Ch. Simoons, and M.A.W. Goedhart, all of whom were supported by the local Association of Freemasons (Wijngaarde, 2004:277). The involvement of the Surinamese immigrants with the local population is apparent in a petition in 1943 aimed at both Surinamese and friends of Suriname within the Kingdom to contribute articles to the annual newspaper *Emancipatie Courant* [Emancipation Journal] under the editorship of A.L. Waaldijk.¹⁷

Over the years, the JPF organized several events to commemorate July 1. Sometimes the program reflected events taking place elsewhere in the world. For example, during the Second World War, freedom from enslavement was compared to the freedom from fascism that people were fighting for at the time.¹⁸ Presentations with a substantive message were part of the festivities. For example, in 1954 Dr. Lashley gave a lecture titled *Onder rood-wit-blauw is de democratie gewaarborgd* [‘Democracy is guaranteed under the red, white and blue’ (the colors of the Dutch national flag)], which was published in its entirety on the front page of the local newspaper *Amigoe*.¹⁹ In the spirit of the constitutional discussions taking place in the Dutch colonies at that time, his speech seemed to champion the idea that freedom, as a democratic principle, was best safeguarded by remaining part of the Kingdom of the Netherlands.

The JPF’s July 1 commemorations also involved art and artistic expression: a theater group was brought in to perform,²⁰ and an exhibition was held in 1953 in the large Surinamese Club in the neighborhood of Suffisant, which the management of the oil company (CPIM) had made available upon the request of the JPF.²¹ In particular, it is important to mention the performance of Judith Allard-De Kom, the daughter of the Surinamese anti-colonial writer Anton de Kom (1898-1945) in the JPF commemoration events of 1958. On her way to the Netherlands, she stopped in Curaçao to recite works by Surinamese poets, including fragments from the work of her father.²²

Up until the present, the JPF has continued to provide a stage for Curaçaoan performers

¹⁶ Suriname Anno 1931. NO. 50. Koloniaal Nieuws- en Advertentieblad.

¹⁷De West: Nieuwsblad uit en voor Suriname, 29 March 1943.

¹⁸ Amigoe di Curacao: weekblad voor de Curacaosche eilanden, 18-03-1943.

¹⁹ Amigoe, 2 July 1954.

²⁰ Amigoe di Curacao: weekblad voor de Curacaosche eilanden, 15-09-1951.

²¹ Amigoe di Curacao: weekblad voor de Curacaosche eilanden, 30-06-1953.

²² Amigoe, 1 July 1958.

as well. Among them have been Richard Doest, who would accompany the revolutionary Surinamese poet Dobru on the drum whenever the latter was allowed entry into the country, Richard Hooi and René Rosalia.²³ These Surinamese-Curaçaoan interactions helped young local activists to develop their critical consciousness.

Reframing commemorations of enslavement in mid-20th-century Curaçao, 1950-1968

Over the course of Curaçao's post-Abolition period, a gradually increasing number of individuals tried to deconstruct the persisting unequal power relations in the island's society (Allen, 2014). In the Caribbean, the history of resistance to enslavement offered inspiring ingredients that could contribute to an evolving and complex process of identity (re)construction. That local process was reinforced by worldwide social movements in the mid-20th century through which people questioned the existing socio-political order. The 1960s and 1970s saw a variety of attempts to increase the self-respect and social status of people of African descent in the Caribbean and the USA (Higman, 1998: 96). Curaçao's evolution from ignoring or rejecting the phenomenon of enslavement in its past to acknowledging it and celebrating such events as the 1795 revolt could already be noticed in the 1950s. The historian and priest M.D. Latour notes in a 1950 manuscript that "If in the past Tula was considered a wild villain [*burdugu salvahe*], nowadays one even wants to make him a hero" (Latour, 1953-1955).²⁴ Latour continues to write that, on the 50th Anniversary of the Abolition of enslavement (1913), the formerly enslaved did not carry any hatred against their former master, but "regretfully, this has [now] become a fact with the rise of nationalist leaders" since the Second World War.²⁵ An important advocate for shifting people's attention toward slave resistance was the well-known writer Pierre Lauffer (1920-1981) who, as a member of a critical group of young people called the Jolly Fellows Society,²⁶ held a presentation on Tula at the inauguration of their clubhouse in 1952. During that evening a crayon drawing representing Tula was unveiled by Dr. Moises da Costa Gomez, the Prime Minister of the Netherlands Antilles.²⁷ Another notable example is a small article in the *Amigoe* newspaper in 1953 titled 'Ninety Years of Emancipation 1 July 1863–1 July 1953' that refers to the enslaved who rebelled in 1795 as heroes who prepared the way for Abolition in 1863, which "regretfully they themselves did not see come to pass".²⁸

²³ *Amigoe*, 24 November 1990.

²⁴ See also *Ban Rapa Historia*, Nobo, 1 of July 1995.

²⁵ Manuscript of the Priest Latour, called *Geschiedenis van R.K. Missie op de Nederlandse Antillen vanaf 1870 no.IV*, 1950. See also *Ban Rapa Historia*, Nobo, 1 of July 1995.

²⁶ This club was founded in 1946 by a group of young people from the Otrobanda neighborhood of Willemstad who advocated the use of the Papiamentu language and who critically scrutinized the activities of local religious leaders (Rutgers, 1996: 276).

²⁷ *Amigoe*, 24 November 1952.

²⁸ *Amigoe*, 1 July 1953.

In 1954 Curaçao gained autonomy (internal self-governance) from the Netherlands as part of the six-island federation called the Netherlands Antilles. Subsequently, enslavement commemorations on the island took a different turn. The centenary of the Abolition of enslavement in 1963 was celebrated soberly,²⁹ but the island government of Curaçao did unveil a temporary public monument at Rif, the sea-side location where the bodies of the leaders of the 1795 revolt were thrown into the sea after they had been tried and executed (Smit, 1996: 17). The temporary monument had the form of an unpainted large column. Its inscription called for national solidarity and cohesion in the sense that the monument should be seen as a “symbol of a reborn population that shall bundle its strength to build a unified society”.³⁰ In its formal discourse on this occasion, the government juxtaposed enslavement with colonialism when it stated “that the people of Curaçao had come a long way from slavery to free people, from colony to autonomous status”.³¹ Although Msgr. Niewindt was still mentioned specifically as “one of the champions of Emancipation”, and even though the monument was just a simple column, the place chosen was a *lieu de memoire par excellence* [‘a pre-eminent place of memory’], i.e. a place of historical significance, bursting with memory.³² With this choice of location, the island government in fact recognized the importance of resistance of the enslaved, making this 100th anniversary of Emancipation Day quite different in emphasis from the 25th and 50th anniversaries.

A more openly defiant manifestation of the growing emphasis on resistance of the enslaved was the defacing in 1960 of the statue of Queen Juliana of the Netherlands (Groenewoud, 2019) and of the plaque commemorating the 25th Anniversary of the Abolition of enslavement. Both events received extensive media coverage in the Netherlands.³³ Whelan (2002) sheds light on this phenomenon of defacing in her study of North Ireland. She reaches the conclusion that public statues as dynamic sites of meaning transform neutral spaces and help to legitimize authority; however, they can be used equally to challenge authority. The very qualities that make public statues valuable for building popular support also make them a useful target for those who wish to demonstrate opposition (p. 509).

The changing local and global political climate in the 1960s gave rise to various efforts to make July 1 a national holiday. These attempts were, however, to no avail.³⁴ One principal

²⁹ Important to mention the poem written by Guillermo Rosario entitled *1863 1 juli 1963, e rosa di mas bunita (the most precious rose)* dedicated to Tula <https://werkgroepcaraibischeletteren.nl/tag/rosario-guillermo/> and the article by Harry Hoetink *emancipaties sinds 1863* on the essence of emancipation as compared to abolition of slavery in the newspaper *Amigoe*. *Amigoe di Curacao*, 29 June 1963.

³⁰ *Nieuw Suriname*, 3 July 1963.

³¹ *Nieuw Suriname*, 3 July 1963.

³² *Nieuw Suriname*, 3 July 1963. In later years the names of the leaders were placed on the column.

³³ *De Tijd De Maasbode*, 15-02-1960; *Telegraaf*, 9-02-1960; *Friese koerier: Onafhankelijk dagblad voor Friesland en aangrenzende gebieden*, 09-02-1960; *De Waarheid*, 10-02-1960; *Limburgsch Dagblad*, 09-02-1960; *Trouw*, 09-02-1960; *Gereformeerd Gezinsblad*, 10-02-1960.

³⁴ *Amigoe*, 1 July 1965, (Herdenking emancipatie) reaction of the government on the request by political parties NVP, URA, COP, PRP to commemorate the first of July. The government states that it is too late

advocate was the Fundashon Identitat Antiano [Antillean Identity Foundation] under the presidency of the philosopher-historian Alejandro Paula, one of the pioneering post-Emancipation African descended intellectuals on the island and the author of the seminal *From objective to subjective social barriers* (1967). Established in 1968, the Foundation sought to recognize July 1 as a significant collective event through which a sense of nationhood and union could be promoted among the inhabitants of Curaçao.³⁵ Upon the 105th Anniversary of Emancipation Day (1968), the Foundation organized a festive program consisting of different cultural expressions and educational lectures.

Nora (1996) emphasizes that the impetus for many commemorations tends to come “from below”, for example, from local volunteer groups and associations. In the Curaçaoan case, those “from below” were principally young people who were at the forefront of a process of political awakening and who championed new ways of thinking in the 1960s. A generation of young people emerged who increasingly had access to higher education through scholarships made available as part of the post-1954 government policy aimed at creating an indigenous intelligentsia. Some of the members of this generation had gone to the Netherlands for advanced studies, where they came into contact with the work of critical thinkers. When they returned, they brought new ideas to the island and publicly questioned the divisions and contradictions of Curaçaoan society in magazines such as *Ruku*, *Kambio* and *Vito*.

The following quotation from a 1968 publication of a political party consisting of young people shows the importance that they gave to education as a tool for advancing historical consciousness and instilling the spirit of Emancipation:

Teachers, the cultural transmitters of our people, should study Emancipation, and during part of the morning school hours they should devote attention to July 1, Emancipation Day, a great event for the liberation of our people. Ladies and gentlemen, on this day, break away from your cycle of traditional history lessons and inspire your students to understand the meaning of freedom for people and nation. The Antillean people are counting on you.³⁶

A notable example of a commemorative event involving young people was the church service held on Emancipation Day 1968 in the local Dutch Reformed Emmakerk. The service was called ‘The Dream of Equality Has Not Been Realized Yet’ and included a performance by an organization of youngsters called Hubentud pa Christo [Youth for Christ] under the guidance of Rev. S. Gerbrandy. In their performance, the youngsters articulated that principles such as freedom and equality were still unattained goals, even

for commemoration; See petition member of parliament S.D. Abbad to the Minister of General Affairs to make 1 of July official in the same way as the 15 of December (Satuutdag). In: *Amigoe di Curacao: weekblad voor de Curacaosche eilanden*; 01-07-1968.

³⁵ Amigoe, 30 May 1968. In 1969 The executive council has decided to approach the government of the Netherlands Antilles with the request to consider the possibility of declaring July 1 as an official holiday.

³⁶ Amigoe, 28 June 1968.

105 years after the Abolition of enslavement, as “at the time a Dutch person could still get a job more easily than a ‘local person’ on the island.” They juxtaposed this reality with the message in the famous ‘I Have a Dream’ speech (1963) of the slain leader of the civil rights movement in the USA, Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. They concluded their performance with the song ‘We Shall Overcome’.³⁷

During this period there were already several competing voices seeking to determine how enslavement ought to be remembered. This is not unique to Curaçao; studies have shown that in most societies that have experienced enslavement, different social groups hold different views of slavery’s significance (Reinhardt, 2006; Higman, 1998). For Kardux, such ongoing discussions about which memory to preserve, how to do it, in whose name, and to what end, themselves become a memorial to slavery (2009: 176). To begin with, we can consider the differences between the abovementioned Fundashon Identidat Antiano and Movementu 17-8-1795 [the August 17, 1795 Movement]. Both were established in 1968. As mentioned, the first group focused on Emancipation Day. The second group aimed instead to improve the self-esteem of Curaçaoans by commemorating the 1795 slave revolt.³⁸ They wished to honor those who gave their lives for freedom and justice. For them, the 1795 revolt was about the ‘bottom-up’ initiative and agency of the enslaved themselves, whereas Emancipation in 1863 was a ‘top-down’ directive of the colonial power.³⁹ Both focal points – emancipation and revolt – should be seen as part of the evolution of consciousness that most societies with a history of enslavement have experienced. Among the Surinamese in Curaçao too, there were people who were categorically opposed to the commemoration of July 1 and preferred to focus on events of resistance on the part of the enslaved. For instance, a letter to the editor published in July 1953 made reference to the enslaved person Boni who had rebelled against enslavement in Suriname and stated that his act as a freedom fighter deserved more attention in that year’s Emancipation Day commemoration:

I would like to recommend my fellow countrymen to commemorate this not too lavishly, but quietly, preferably with the flag at half-mast. For I think in this way we commemorate “the thousands of our ancestors, the negro slaves who lost their lives in the struggle for freedom and equality in a more dignified way” because the battle is not yet fully fought. *Bonni* completed his part, and the mysterious power, the rhythm of the tam-tam, still rings in our ears.⁴⁰

Linguist and writer Antoine Maduro (1909-1997) argued in his 1961 history book – tellingly written in Papiamentu – titled *E paginanan pretu di nos historia: Fragmentonan relacioná cu temp’i catibu, emancipacion i 25 aña despues*, that Curaçaoans should have a different, more positive image of Tula, the leader of the revolt. In 1968 the island

³⁷ Amigoe, 1 July 1968.

³⁸ Amigoe, 17 May 1968.

³⁹ Amigoe, 17 May 1968.

⁴⁰ Amigoe 1 July 1953.

government of Curaçao established the Emancipation Prize and Maduro was its first recipient a year later, based on his efforts to preserve the purity of the Papiamentu language, which suggests that the government made a connection between preserving Papiamentu and the continuing process of emancipation.⁴¹

On July 26, 1967, a group of young people who called themselves *Movimiento Karpatulista* – a predecessor of the abovementioned *Movementu 17-8-1795* – gathered at the Rif memorial column and held for the first time what they called a “love-in”.⁴² On this occasion, four years after the monument’s inauguration, the group was still restricted from speaking publicly in a defiant way and police were present to keep an eye on them.⁴³ One of the presenters, Hubert ‘Bèbè’ Rojer cunningly attempted to evade these restrictions on free public speaking by saying that he was not speaking but “thinking aloud”. These restrictions on free speech lasted for some time, and were still in effect when the young people who gathered at Rif started to give real substance to what this place of memory represented. In 1983, Richard Hooi (1959-2017) recalled in an interview on the local Z-86 radio station that each year when the commemoration took place, a large contingent of police would be on site (Allen, 1996).

Already in 1967, another speaker at that year’s Rif event posed the following question with an anticolonial tone: “Why do our schools still carry names like Peter Stuyvesant, Willem de Zwijger and Hendrik, and not Tula and Karpata?” The crowd shouted in unison: “Because we still live under colonialism and have a colonized mind.”⁴⁴ Later, in an interview in 1995, this speaker explained why the group had chosen July 26, the day on which Spanish explorers first encountered the island of Curaçao in 1499, and not August 17, the day of the 1795 slave revolt (Allen, 1996). It was because of their lack of historical knowledge, which he blamed on the deficiencies of the educational system.⁴⁵ Ronnie Capriles Martina (1933-2019), a person who was very knowledgeable and outspoken about the history of enslavement, confirmed this lack of knowledge as follows in a 1995 interview:

I learned all about the Eighty Years’ War, Bartholomew’s Night and the ‘heroes’ Tromp and Stuyvesant, but I didn’t know anything about Tula except for what I heard outside school. And when people talked about him, they called him ‘that villain’. It was instilled in us for a very long time that August 17 was nothing to celebrate, that it was just an act of a few rebellious slaves who were not even supported by the others.⁴⁶

Lack of knowledge about Curaçao’s own history is often mentioned by progressive voices on the island. For example, during a workshop in 1983, the teachers’ labor union

⁴¹ In 1968 the Emancipation Prize was installed by the Executive Council of Curaçao.

⁴² Amigoe, 27 July 1967.

⁴³ *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 1 August 1967.

⁴⁴ Amigoe, 27 of July 1967. *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 1 August 1967.

⁴⁵ Interview Allen with Andechi Albert, March 1995. See also Interview in Vito, 1967, jaargang III, No. 5.

⁴⁶ Trouw, 17 August 1995 by Haro Hielkema.

advocated for a policy on history⁴⁷, as have intellectuals, such as Suzanne Huender in 1993 and Charles do Rego in 2013. Reinhardt (2006) notices the same phenomenon in the French Antilles and points to the absence of the trade in the enslaved and plantation enslavement from the official school curriculum. People are unaware of the economic, political, and social realities of the period of enslavement, and for many the history of enslavement is a discovery rather than a memory (p. 2).

The young people of the *Movementu 17-8-1795* were more radical in their approach. In a letter to the editor of the local newspaper *Amigoe* dated August 17, 1968, they compared Tula to other leaders from around the world and demanded that he be recognized as a hero, arguing that

Heroes are made and Tula should be made a hero, just like Brion and Piar. Tula should get a dignified place in the history of Curaçao, similar to how Moses got his place in the history of the Jews; George Washington, Abraham Lincoln, J.F. Kennedy and Martin Luther King Jr. got theirs in the history of the USA; as well as William of Orange in the history of the Netherlands; Fidel Castro in that of Cuba; Camilo Torres in that of Colombia; and Che Guevara in that of South America. Fighting against exploitation and for freedom is justified and worthy.⁴⁸

The slave revolt and rhizomes of national identity between 1969 and the late 20th century

The labor protest and social revolt that took place on May 30, 1969 and which is generally known as Trinta di Mei rocked Curaçaoan society to its very foundations. Behind the protestors' struggle for higher wages, there also lurked complex issues of class and racial oppression, together with questions about national and cultural identity. The discussion surrounding Trinta di Mei often connected the past of enslavement with the present of continuing inequality and injustice. In that particular year, on July 1, even the government connected Emancipation Day in its discourse to the legacy of enslavement and asked rhetorically "whether true emancipation has ever taken place after the Abolition of slavery in 1863".⁴⁹

The demand for emancipation in 1969 pertained in particular to the inclusion of island's the African descended working classes in a more equal and equitable society. This was taken up in the 1970s, which were marked by a surge in the number of grassroots organizations, some of which specifically tackled enslavement and its legacy. One of these organizations was the Fundashon Tula [Tula Foundation], which focused on Tula and the August 17 slave revolt. It was founded in 1974 by Guillermo A. Rosario, author of a book about Tula called *E rais ku no ke muri* [The root that will not die].⁵⁰ Their main objectives

⁴⁷ Amigoe, 24 January 1983.

⁴⁸ Amigoe, 17 August 1968.

⁴⁹ Amigoe, 1 July 1969.

⁵⁰ It was translated by his daughter in Dutch in 2017 as *Onsterfelijk (immortal)*.

were to rethink Tula and to have him publicly recognized as a hero. A 1971 open letter in Papiamentu, submitted to the editor of the *Amigoe* newspaper, explained their reasons for wishing to change the dominant perception of Tula as a “rude black person who stood up against his master and caused death to many, and therefore cannot be considered a hero”.⁵¹ Fundashon Tula also desired to portray Tula in physical form and commissioned a statue of him which became highly contested because Tula was shown naked.⁵² Renée Ater states in his article ‘Slavery and Its Memory in Public Monuments’ (2010) that artists “have always struggled with the question of how to memorialize slavery in a three-dimensional form, as slavery has remained an unreconciled and painful aspect of the American past”(20). A similar conclusion can be drawn from the 1978 article by Mayra van der Dijs, which states that 183 years after Tula fought against the oppressors, one is still debating the question whether he should be presented in a statue as a black or white man.⁵³ Despite the increase in attention to enslavement after Trinta di Mei, in some ways talking about enslavement in public was still an uncomfortable experience. For example, the organization Obra y Logra [Work and achieve] explained in a newspaper article of October 5, 1973 how difficult it was to get people to participate in a public debate on whether Tula was a hero or not.

Here it is worth mentioning the following two groups that focused on changing the image of slave resistance and its leaders: Tribunal under the leadership of Angel Salsbach and Hubentut 70 led by Eugene Godfried and (for a while) Richard Hooi. In the post-Trinta di Mei period, there were several activist groups who dealt primarily with social issues such as youth and labor problems and women’s emancipation and cultural exclusion, but they would also assist in keeping the memory of the August 17, 1795 revolt of the enslaved alive by participating in the annual commemorations. These socially critical groups from the 1970s and 1980s included Union Muhé Antiyano (led by Gladys Do Rego UMA), Union Hubentut Antiyano and Grupo Trinchera under the leadership of René Rosalia.

Another important group was the *Komishon di koordinashon 17 di ougustus* [August 17 Coordination Committee] founded in 1981. Under the leadership of Ruben Seferina, they committed themselves to getting the date of August 17 officialized as a national day, as they saw this as an essential step in the development of the self-consciousness and self-respect of a people who had been oppressed for centuries.⁵⁴ In 1984, the government symbolically recognized August 17 as the Day for the Struggle of Freedom (Dia di Lucha pa Libertat).⁵⁵ In its discourse, the government recalled the fact that not everyone had supported the idea of officially recognizing the struggle for freedom by Tula and others.

⁵¹ Open Letter to the editor by Robert “Tom” Josefa, *Amigoe*, 25 September 1971.

⁵² *Amigoe*, 31 August 1973.

⁵³ *Amigoe*, 17 August 1978.

⁵⁴ Convocation for the meeting of the *Komishon di Kordinashon 17 di ougustus*, dated May 14, 1982. See also Beurs, August 2, 1983.

⁵⁵ Eilandsbesluit 7 August 1984. In: *Afkondigingsblad Curacao* 1984 no.33.

The government thus sought to deal with the complexity of race relations on the island, as evidenced by the difficult debate on the slave revolt, by saying that Tula's battle was not one of "black against white. Slavery and oppression are by no means bound to skin color or variety. The history of the world is a cruel history, practically no people exists in the world that has not experienced the yoke of slavery, including European people".⁵⁶

The 1970s and 1980s also saw an increase in scholarly studies seeking answers to the question of what exactly took place during the 1795 slave revolt. The government took a leading role with the publication of a book on Tula by the historian Hartog (1973). A year later, the Director of the Central Historical Archives, Alejandro F. Paula, published a compilation of the official archival documents on this event so as to better enable researchers to examine the existing sources on what really took place and what Tula's thoughts on self-liberation were. The 1983 book by Charles do Rego, published in Papiamentu, about the causes and the results of the revolt of the enslaved, also made this part of Curaçao's history more accessible to the general public.⁵⁷ Language as an important national identifier is also apparent in the use of Papiamentu in the television series of 18 films, titled "Historia di Kòrsou" about the history of Curaçao from a working-class perspective, produced by, among others, the teachers 'union.⁵⁸ The Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology (AAINA), established by government in the late 1970s continued the study of oral history, following the pioneering steps of the duo of self-taught anthropologists, Elis Juliana (a Curaçaoan) and Paul Brenneker (a Dutch priest in Curaçao). Lio de Palm's publication (1995) is an attempt to place the revolt within the context of oral historical discourse.

According to the Martinican intellectual Édouard Glissant, the memory of the past is not exclusively for the historian nor based only on the factual evidence, but must also be dreamt prophetically for the people, the communities and the cultures whose past has been concealed (Quoted in Reinhardt, 2006: 16). In the post-Trinta di Mei period in Curaçao, enslavement became more systematically de-silenced and the revolt became an inspirational source for vibrant cultural creativity. This was exemplified among others in the play, titled "*Tula, un drama històrico*" [Tula: a historical drama], produced by the writer and actor V. 'Pacheco' Domacassé in 1975, and the song '*Tula warda, no wak ainda*' [Tula wait, don't look yet] by the band Doble R, which became a principal theme song for the annual August 17 commemoration.⁵⁹ There is also the poem "*Lanta*

⁵⁶ Amigoe, 17 Augustus 1984.

⁵⁷ Amigoe 19 August 1995 following the new edition. The book was again republished with new data and illustration and petitioned by Asoslashon promoshon Konsenshi historiko.

⁵⁸ Amigoe 29 April 1982. The program was coordinated by Jeanne Henriquez, Frank Quirindongo and Henry Vijber. The associations of commerce were against this working-class approach to history and voiced this in the Amigoe of 18 August 1982.

⁵⁹ Amigoe, 19 August 1977. "Doble R bracht met zang van Orlando Rosario hun hit van dit moment ~Tula warda". ten gehore" Also Amigoe, 27 August 1977 dedicated a whole page in the Amigoe with

Tula lanta!” [Stand up, Tula, stand up] by Elis Juliana⁶⁰ and the book *Katibu di shon* by Carel de Haseth (1988).

The Komishon di Kordinashon 17 di Ougùstùs was succeeded by the Asosiashon Promoshon Konsenshi Istóriko [Association to Promote Historical Consciousness], which became the driving force behind the annual August 17 commemorations and has been organizing them up until the present day. In the speeches that they gave during the commemorations between 1987 and 1994, they would evaluate the progress of the current generations in the development of Curaçaoan society. Their objectives were no longer to only recognize Tula as a leader, but to examine the present and to draw parallels with the past. Each year, the themes dealt with social and political issues. The government did not always appreciate the Association’s criticism of their policies and would sometimes threaten to cut public funding for the event.⁶¹ But nowadays the government participates each year, provides funding, and contributes with an address that reflects on the current moment in time. More recently, libation rituals to the ancestors are performed at the opening of the program by the anthropologist and transcultural healer Richenel Ansano, who in that way reconstructs a memory of a ritual language that has long been ignored.

Slavery commemoration since the late 20th century

At the end of the 20th century and beginning of the 21st century, interest in enslavement has continued to grow in Curaçao and matches the wider attention for enslavement that, according to the historian Ana Lucia Araujo, has become more evident in Europe and Africa since the 1990s (2009). After the cultural assertion movements of people of African descent across the Americas in the 1960s, in the 1990s enslavement also came to be commemorated at both the private and the public levels in the old metropolises (England, France, Netherlands, Germany, Spain, and Portugal), albeit differently than in the Americas, such as the United States, Canada, the Caribbean, and South America, especially Brazil, but also Suriname, Cuba, Curaçao, Puerto Rico, Jamaica, Colombia, Venezuela, Peru, and Argentina (Araujo 2009: 2).

The diversity of the enslavement commemorations is greater now and takes the forms of monuments, museums, exhibitions, routes of memory, and restorative legal practices, all aimed at creating self-consciousness and a more inclusive society. 1995, the year of the bicentenary of the 1795 slave revolt, was proclaimed Year of Liberty by the government, whose celebration included numerous joint activities between governmental and nongovernmental organizations. In 1998 the government of Curaçao unveiled a new monument at Rif called *Desenkadená* [Breaking the chains]. Designed by sculptor Nel Simmon, it testifies to the suffering and despair as well as the resistance

Rignald Ricordino (Doble R).

⁶⁰ Amigoe, 21-08-1971. It was sent in as a poem to the Newspaper and later on was published in the collection of poems *Kolokolo di mi wea* (1977). See also the poem “*Su Lucha*” by Roy Evers, AD, 18 augustus 2005.

⁶¹ Amigoe, 18 August 1990.

and triumph of the enslaved. UNESCO has declared it a Messengers of Peace site (Francis 2018: 21). Other monuments dedicated to the 1795 slave uprising are the columns representing a fist with a broken shackle, which were commissioned by the National Park Foundation (founded on January 20, 1998) and created by artist Yubi Kirindongo. They are placed on seven locations marking the seven-week trajectory of the rebelling slaves in 1795 (Francis 2018: 13).

Enslavement has become a focal point for museums, which before only focused on the personal collections of elites, as Valika Smeulders indicates in her article ‘New Perspectives in Heritage Presentations in Suriname and Curaçao: From Dutch Colonial Museums to diversifying representations of enslavement’ (2013:153-177). The Museo Tula [Tula Museum], managed by the local Institute of Culture (Kas di Kultura), is based at the former Knip plantation house and estate where the 1795 revolt commenced. Whereas this plantation house once recounted only the story of white owners, it now tells the history of those of African descent who lived and worked on the plantation. The museo “Kas di palu di maishi” also recounts the way of life of the black working classes, which is steeped in the history of enslavement. The establishment in 1999 of the Kurá Hulanda Museum in Otrobanda (the western part of Willemstad), which focuses on the Transatlantic Slave Trade, has also contributed to a new awareness about enslavement and liberation.

Since 1998, the Plataforma Bèrdat Histórikò [Platform for Historical Truth], in cooperation with the National Archives at first and later with Kas di Kultura, annually organizes educational tours which visit the principal landmarks of the 1795 revolt (*Ruta Tula*). Actions taken in the 21st century include the official rehabilitation of Tula from criminal to hero in 2010, the proclamation of the year in honour of Tula (2013), i.e. on the occasion of the 150th Anniversary of the Abolition of enslavement, the exhibition *Libertat riba papel* [Freedom on Paper] held in 2013, the movie *Tula: The Revolt*, screened in Curaçao in 2014, together with the book by Jeroen Leinders titled “*Tula: verloren vrijheid*” (2012), the documentary *Tula su kosecha* [Tula’s harvest] by Selwyn de Wind (2010), and the naming and opening of the Tula Pier in 2017 as a mooring for cruise ships. In 2009, the government took on a more active role by establishing the Plataforma Sklabitut i Herensha di Sklabitut [Slavery and Slavery Heritage Platform] in which various organizations come together under the presidency of Frank Quirindongo. One of its major activities was the Popular Tribune of October 3, 2019, which resulted in a petition to the Prime Minister of the Netherlands to have the Dutch state rehabilitate Tula as a national hero (Bacilio, 2009).

More research is being conducted and more resources are made available related to the enslavement and its modern day impact by institutions such as the National Archives and NAAM (National Anthropological Archaeological Museum Management). A number of publications have also appeared, such as: *Tula: de opstand van 1795 op Curaçao* [Tula: the Revolt of 1795 in Curaçao] edited by Artwell Cain (2009), *Slavery*

and resistance in Curaçao: the rebellion of 1795 by Charles do Rego and Lionel Janga (2009), Hammerstein Mariska and Ruud Bruijn's *Tula's vrijheidsstrijd* (2011), and *Curaçao in the age of revolutions, 1795-1800* edited by Wim Klooster and Gert Oostindie (2011). In addition, the publication *Emancipatie en acceptatie* by Rose Mary Allen, Coen Heijes and Valdemar Marcha (2003) is one of the few that focused on the abolition of enslavement, to mark its 140th anniversary.

Slavery commemorations since the 1990s have benefitted from a process of mutual influence between Curaçao and the Caribbean Diaspora in the Netherlands, especially through NiNsee, the National Institute for the Study of Dutch Slavery and its Legacy based in Amsterdam. Apart from commemorating the first of July each year, in the course of time scholars from Curaçao have been invited to give presentations during the yearly 17th of August Tula-commemorations (Tula-herdenkingen) organized by NiNsee. Such international collaboration has contributed to locating the commemorations within a more global perspective. Valika Smeulders (2009) describes the cross-fertilization that occurred as a result of the exhibition titled *The Heritage of Slavery* held in 2006 and 2007 in Suriname and Curaçao and compares and contrasts the institutional realization and public reception of the heritage representations in both countries (2009). Despite being far from home (to a lesser extent than on the island) different Curaçaoan social groups in the Netherlands hold their commemorations about the revolt of the enslaved in the different towns where they live. The commemoration behavior among the Curaçaoan migrants in the Netherlands in comparison to that on the island, in particular regarding the 17th of August revolt, is described by Sem Pepping in the thesis *Ontketende herinnering aan een verwant verleden. Een onderzoek naar de Antilliaanse herinneringscultuur van Curaçao omtrent de slavenopstand van 1795* [Unleashed memory of a shared past. An investigation into the Antillean culture of remembrance of Curaçao about the slave rebellion of 1795].

These various public events must be understood against the background of social developments related to race relations and the legacy of enslavement, such as the renaming of Peter Stuyvesant College as Kolegio Alejandro Paula in 2011, the removal of the old Stuyvesant statue from that school's grounds, the call for slavery reparations by Frank Martinus Arion (1936-2015) and Joceline Clemencia (1952-2011), and activist campaigns like *Zwarte Piet bai flit* [Black Pete get lost] to put an end to the annual children's feast of Sinterklaas [Saint Nick] and his black-faced helpers called "Black Petes". The commemoration of enslavement can serve as an entry point for dialogue on race and color and the study by Angela Roe (2016) on present-day race relations in Curaçao shows that these subjects still evoke a combination of feelings that are often denied or systematically silenced, such as resentment, indignation and bitterness together with embarrassment, humiliation and shame.

Conclusion

This description of how commemorations of enslavement have taken place in Curaçao since the colonial period until the present time of constitutional autonomy, has served to illustrate the intensity and perseverance that have characterized the struggle to get enslavement in general and anti-slavery resistance in particular recognized and included as symbolic representations of a collective, diverse and dynamic national Curaçaoan identity. A society marked by a history of enslavement and social inequality must search for binding and bonding elements between the various social groups that are divided by race, ethnicity and class and whose members still carry the imprint of enslavement as descendants of slave-owners and/or enslaved persons. Young activists in particular have fought for social equality and inclusion and in that way they have also actively contributed to shape citizenship in a society in which the demand for inclusion has increased, as illustrated by a sequence of historical landmarks such as universal suffrage in 1948, constitutional autonomy in 1954, and Trinta di Mei in 1969. Popular initiatives have managed to get government involved too, even though government has always seemed to navigate between the margins.

The various forms of enslavement commemoration on the island, including those by the Surinamese migrants in Curaçao, have given both momentum and prestige to the memory of enslavement and resistance to it in general and of the August 17, 1795 revolt in particular, but they have also been a source of contention and have sparked heated public discussion about their symbolic meaning. These at times bitter debates have exposed misinformed and suppressed ideas about race that still exist in Curaçaoan society. At the same time, the opportunity to openly express ideas and beliefs which our society has repressed can be seen as an important step toward reconciliation and atonement for a painful past, which in turn can contribute to a more collective identity in which the memory of enslavement has obtained its place. In this way, the memories of enslavement can serve as rhizomes of national identity, simultaneously revealing processes of uprooting and injustice while growing toward inclusion and sharing.

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TULA: THE REVOLT: FROM DELUSIONAL PACIFISM TO REBELLIOUS HEROISM¹

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Abstract

Fictional histories that show evidence of enslaved African agency often focus solely on ideologies of liberation from enslavement. Few narratives imply that some of these rebellions were motivated more by a labor rights ideology that sought for better labor conditions for the enslaved. Leinders' *Tula: the revolt* (2013) suggests that this was the case, at least initially, in the 1795 slave rebellion in Curaçao. While it began as a revolt for improved conditions of servitude (enslavement) and basic decent human and labor rights, it also set the foundation for emancipation struggles from the 1840s until 1863 when the Dutch had no choice but to accept proposals to concede to demands by the enslaved for freedom.

Key terms: Tula, enslavement, agency, Curaçao, revolt

Werner Zips has argued that, "The history of the enslavement of Africans by Europeans has been told from multiple perspectives. A wide array of ideological, theoretical, and methodological assumptions . . . [must be problematized in a way that] investigates the relationship between Europeans and Africans as a struggle for power, . . . [and] redress[es] previous oversimplifications" (1999: 4). He criticizes the simplification of histories of enslavement that leave the enslaved "where the slaveholders wanted to capture them: as objects of the rulers; despite or in the face of their criticism of historical power relationships" (p. 5). To Zips, these narratives tend to be lopsided, and as they have

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focused “solely on the ruler – whether the intent is to defend or to criticize”, they minimize the agency of “the suppressed people to their subservience and the sufferings born of this situation. Shifting the paradigm from the history of domination to the history of conflict (in this case between Africans and Europeans) should provide a corrective to serious imbalance” (p. 5). Yet as Zips argues, the multiple acts of resistance by enslaved Africans were so widespread, unpredictable, and unrelenting that, “they never allowed the colonial institutions and profiteers of the economic system of slavery to let down their guard. Right from the arrival of the first slave ships from Africa in the Caribbean, in the early 16th century, the new comers threatened the exclusive claim to rule of the Europeans” (1999: 5). In *Tula: the revolt* I argue that Leinders shows how enslaved Africans disturbed the peace of the slave economy and became agents of history rather than act as docile objects of Dutch agency.

Leinders’ *Tula: the revolt* (2013) showcases the theme of resistance upfront: “The only language they [the slave masters] know is the lash, and there’s no answer to the lash. If you want it different you’ll have to fight for it” (p. 14). Louis’ words here set Tula’s mind in motion to begin to reject his father’s fatalistic acceptance of the lot of the enslaved. Tula asks his father: “Do we have to just take it all, just put up with it? Look at what they’re doing to us, how they treat us. God made us all equal, but here [in Curaçao; the Caribbean] the whites think they’re in charge, in control” (p. 18). Aware then of the inhuman conditions of their lives Tula here signals his developing consciousness against injustice, but is still bent on seeking justice through peaceful remonstrations.

The Dutch plantation owners were fearful that any modification to their pro-slavery laws would lead to more demands for freedoms long denied the enslaved, and if denied, could lead to the types of rebellions reported in other Caribbean islands. Tula is unwilling to accept Louis’ argument that even his, Tula’s, pacifist approach would still be interpreted as a revolt against white rule (p. 85). Thus, though the uprising in Curaçao was not initially conceived as a rebellion against slavery, the response to it by the whites made it quickly develop rapidly into a full blown rebellion in a matter of days. Leinders insists that though the movement did not immediately lead to emancipation for the enslaved, it still laid solid foundations for the formation of labor unions in the Dutch Caribbean; it forced the masters to implement Dutch laws recognizing certain human rights of the enslaved; and gave the enslaved the right to a day off, small portions of land to cultivate their own food and cash crops, as well as better housing, clothing, and medicine. This is what Tula and his companions died for.

Tula: the revolt responds to Oostindie’s (2011: 1-2) lamentation that while, “The background, process, and outcome of the 1795 revolt are fairly well-known . . . much of the literature consists of rehashing the descriptions and conclusions of a few older texts based on limited archival sources.” Leinders’ fictional recuperation and representation of these well-known facts give narrative life and verisimilitude to the protagonists in this brief historical event that laid the foundations for the emancipation of the enslaved

in Curaçao. Importantly, Leinders' *Tula* attracted the interest of moviemakers to film the story, and hence brought greater global attention to what happened in Curaçao in 1795. Set in Curaçao, the largest of the Dutch Caribbean islands, the movement led by Tula begins as a peaceful protest for better treatment of the enslaved, as dictated by law. Tula's delusional pacifist mentality makes him believe that the problems of slavery can be solved by appealing to the morality and religiosity of the white people. He believes that talking to the plantation owners, and appealing directly to the governor and white people's professed Christian principles would open a space for dialogue and compromise: "There's more than one way to fight, Louis. Words can be more powerful than punches. We have to rise up. Right is on our side. The Bible says all people are equal in the eyes of God. The French, the Dutch, the whites and the blacks . . . we're all equal" (Leinders: 83).

But whose interpretation of the Bible is Tula invoking as witness to the truth that humans are created equal before God? Is it in Ephesians 6:5-8 where Paul instructs and which Fr. Schinck repeats (Leinders: 38):

Servants, be obedient to them that are your masters according to the flesh, with fear and trembling, in singleness of your heart, as unto Christ; . . . doing the will of God from the heart; With good will doing service, as to the Lord, and not to men; Knowing that whatsoever good thing any man doeth, the same shall he receive of the Lord, whether he be bond or free

and repeated in Colossians 3:22-24; 1 Timothy 6:1-2; and Titus 2:9-10 (*King James Bible*, 1769/n.d.). Or does Tula not understand how Europeans interpreted the book of Genesis concerning Cain, Ham, Ishmael, etc., to justify his enslavement as divine will? Tula's delusional naïveté makes him believe that the laws on enslavement will be obeyed by the enslavers. "All I said that they should stick to their own laws, laws that say we have a right to food, clothing, and a roof over our heads. And we have a right to a one day off in a week" (Leinders: 19). Tula's infuriation at the laws being changed in accordance with the whims of the whites should have awakened him to the impossibility of reasoning with the masters. He can shout loudly that people cannot just make up their own laws, "not even the master" (p. 19), but it is the white master on the island who interprets laws made by the white master in Holland, not the enslaved. Not France. So the white master and their priests will never read that portion of the Bible that says: "And, ye masters, do the same things unto them, forbearing threatening: knowing that your Master also is in heaven; neither is there respect of persons with him" (*King James Bible*, 1769/nd, Ephesians 6:9). To do so would expose their unchristian behavior toward the enslaved.

The source of Tula's delusional hopes was the initial success scored by the Haitians against slavery and the fact that Holland itself had become a colony of France. His logic as articulated in the novel is: France has abolished slavery in its territories, and thus it is reasonable that the enslaved in Curaçao, a Dutch colony now under the rule of France,

would also be freed (Leinders: 52-55). Louis counsels Tula early on that the freedom wrenched from the whites by the enslaved in Haiti was not the result of an easy victory. They had to fight and die for it. Knowing the whites in Curaçao, Louis tells Tula that the Dutch would never agree to any notion of freedom or even better conditions of service for the enslaved, although Holland itself was now a colony of France, and France had abolished slavery in her colonies. The narrative is quick to point out however that France would also never compel the Dutch to free their slaves in the Caribbean: “They defeated the whites, but the masters here will do whatever it takes to suppress resistance, from whatever quarters it comes. I’ve never seen a white Frenchman on this island, have you? If we want our freedom we’ll have to fight for it ourselves, just as they did in Haiti” (p. 43).

Later, after the rebellion is in full swing, the derisive words of Willem van Uytrecht confirm this. Tula, though mocked as an ignorant dreamer, is nevertheless credited with dangerous visions of equality between people of every race: “His head is full of stories about all slaves being free because the French are now in charge of the island. Nonsense, of course, the drivell of a dumb nigger, but dangerous nonetheless if it spreads to the entire island. I put an end to it right away. . . .” (p. 135). Though Captain Van Westerholt detests the planters for the way they treat the enslaved on the plantations, he still compares the enslaved to dogs, who must be “trained patiently and with care lest they rebel” (p. 135). Louis’ premonitory observation that “. . . the master will never agree with you, Tula” (p. 53) is confirmed after Willem van Uytrecht takes away Speranza, Tula’s wife, and sends her to a different plantation as punishment for what he considers Tula’s effrontery in challenging the system.

Yet the majority of the people fear the whip more than they desire any improved conditions of service (p. 17). The narrow vision of a ‘reformed’ and ‘improved’ slave system is bound to fail. Slavery cannot be modified; it can only be abolished. Freedom cannot be given by the oppressor but must be seized by the oppressed. Thus, though the enslaved initially believe that their victory does not rest in weapons, but instead in the divine righteousness of their cause, they soon realize that the whites have no interest in negotiating the better conditions for the enslaved which are officially mandated by Dutch colonial laws, but which have been systematically ignored by the masters.

After the loss of many lives, Tula becomes more aware of his naïveté and apologizes: “I was foolish to think the whites would listen to us. I was foolish to think that they would actually respect their own laws and grant us our freedom, It was short-sighted of me to think that we would leave the city as free men and women . . .” (p. 131). Later, following a shout in unison for “*Igualidad!*” (p. 132), Tula becomes convinced that violence is the only language the whites understand. Tula declares: “Today we have seen that we will have to fight for our freedom. The whites set their army against us and revealed their unwillingness to grant that freedom. That leaves us with no choice” (Leinders: 132).

But even at this point, Tula maintains his democratic spirit and asks each one to decide whether to return to their plantations and continue as enslaved persons or to follow the way of armed resistance. But such unity needs to be cultivated carefully and patiently, and time is against them (p. 14). The novel reveals the disturbing realities of competing loyalties that Tula struggles with: the pacifist influence of Christianity; the influence of his African mentors, Jorboe, Tula's father, who believes in the inevitability of white supremacy over blacks (p. 18); treachery by people like Codjo more interested in their individual paper freedom than in group emancipation (pp. 175-179). Of particular note is the duplicity of the Catholic Church as Fr. Schinck personally assumes the classic pretence of using the Bible, especially the Pauline theology that European Christian missionaries constantly referenced to justify slavery and colonization (Rae, 2018; Davidson et al., 1984).

The white priest teaches the enslaved that the reward for their enslavement on earth is entry into the white man's Christian heaven, and hence they do need to fight for fair treatment and freedom on earth. It is therefore surprising that Tula turns to Fr. Schinck for counsel. He fails at this point to fully understand that the priest represents a religion that justifies slavery and serves to kill any spirit of rebellion by preaching acceptance of the status quo for the promise of paradise after death. Demanding to know why the slaves have to do all the work and the whites nothing except engage in debauchery and cruelty toward the enslaved, the priest responds with a well-tested argument that Jesus says everyone must accept their station in life as his/her cross if they want to enter heaven.

Thus, the cross of the enslaved is their enslavement and dehumanization: "We have to resign ourselves to our earthly fate in order to earn our place in heaven. . . . Faith without works is death, the Bible tells us. That's the reality we live in, alas." Following this mollifying speech, the priest paternalistically and patronizingly pats Tula on the head as if to say you poor deluded boy, and leaves Tula wondering (Leinders: 38). Improbable as it seems, it is fascinating how Tula fails to recognize the priest's duplicity even when he refuses to bless his marriage to Speranza. Leinders inserts this episode to reveal the Catholic Church's collusion with chattel enslavement. Dim-witted as Tula seems here, Leinders nevertheless prepares him to better understand the priest's behavior as a failed diplomat for the white government during the war (p. 21; pp. 110-116). It is much later that Tula understands the hypocritical words and lifestyle of the priest, and regrets that he ever put his trust in the Christian religion (p. 50).

The historical record reveals Tula to be an atypical enslaved African. He is reputed to have "been born in Europe to African parents and spent his adolescent years travelling with his enslaver throughout Europe and in some parts of Africa. In Portugal, he graduated from nautical college" (Nimako & Willemsen, 2011: 36), a fact Leinders introduces when Tula is sent to the docks to an apprenticeship under Paolo on how to fix

ships and boats (Leinders: 63-70). Tula according to the official records, arrived in Curaçao as a learned man of letters, a devout Christian, and herbalist, and a polyglot, perfectly at ease in several European and African languages. His wide travels, therefore, gave him an experience of what justice might look like.

Indeed, Tula worked as a Christian evangelist, and is reputed to have visited many plantations preaching, and converting many of the enslaved to Christianity, thus initially acting as an unconscious agent of slavery. This Leinders challenges by presenting Tula instead as a gullible young man who is unable to understand the deceitful use of Christianity to prevent resistance to slavery. Tula's gullibility makes him look for answers from the duplicitous priest to explain the discrepancies between Christ's teachings and slavery (pp. 35-38). The unsatisfactory responses by the priest, his refusal to bless Tula's marriage etc., open Tula's eyes to how intractably the whites oppose any freedoms for the enslaved. This compels Tula to conceptualize and organize the first labor union to press for changes in the slave economy (Nimako & Willemsen: 36; Oostindie, 2011: 1-2).

Leinders's narrative purpose is to somehow make Tula a Christ figure without diminishing his role as a warrior hero. He succeeds ultimately to weave the two character types together throughout the novel (Leinders: 50). Tula is naïve in his thinking that there can be liberty, equality and fraternity, the stated ideals of the French Revolution, between masters and enslaved. Leinders defends his style by making Tula engage the contradictions of the Judeo-Christian philosophy that justified slavery, in an attempt to educate his people about the legitimacy of their demands. But as Audre Lorde (2007: 110-113) has written, it is not possible to use the master's tools to dismantle the master's house unless they are rehomed and rezoned to such a point the master no longer recognizes them. Tula only painfully recognizes this much later, as he woefully fails in his attempts to persuade the master to use his system of justice and religion to modify the conditions of slavery. Tula has not learned the art of dissembling, as his father has taught him, thus he tries to signify on the master and sound like him as a way of subverting the master through the master's own purported philosophy of justice. He is tortured and sent off to the docks for such effrontery.

Tula's transfer to the docks (Leinders: 61-72) in the capital as punishment for being a trouble maker on the plantation follows the narrative pattern of the hero who must suffer persecution at home, and, as part of his trials, flee his place of birth and go on a journey of growth and maturity in wisdom. While in the city, Tula is shocked by one fact; not all the African descended people support his ideals nor the ideals advanced by the Haitian revolution (pp. 67-69). Paolo for example, prefers the personal financial gain that the system provides him to fighting for an end to the system. This also reveals the divisions between the city or house slave and the field slave. Paolo's auto-racism is instruc-

tive regarding some of the consequences of enslavement and racism on African descended people (p. 69). His rejection of Tula's ideals also foreshadows the treachery of Codjo later in the story (p. 98).

But like all heroes who at some point go into exile as a journey to maturity, Tula returns to his plantation with new experiences, skills, and determination to fight on. His experiences in the city, coupled with the tortures meted out to him by his master's son before being deported to the city, harden him, and he is now ready to accept Louis's militant ideology. Subsequently, he organizes a mass march to the capital. This frightens the planters so that they flee to the capital with invented stories of black brutality against all whites, just because Louis takes a couple of drunken whites as hostages to facilitate future negotiations. This is seen as evidence of black terrorism against all whites. The gains made at this initial stage of the rebellion as the novel implies have been too easily achieved to last (pp. 84-85). Leinders also insinuates that freedom that comes without extensive struggle often confuses the unfree who are not been prepared for such sudden liberty. It often degenerates into drunkenness and carelessness that proves fatal when the fleeing whites return with reinforcements hell-bent on restoring their rule (pp. 107-108).

While Tula in his blind belief still seeks a peaceful legal path to achieving freedom for his people, Governor, De Veers and his council members, who are all white slave owners, plan to bring in troops to enforce their domination and keep slavery in place: "Enough, enough. Slaves refusing to work is nothing new, as many of the people here assembled can testify. Most of the time it just blows over. . . . If that doesn't happen in the present instance then we'll have to take the necessary steps to deal with the matter" (p. 83). Dealing with the matter means a brutal suppression of any sign of prolonged cessation of labor. Thus, the peaceful strike envisaged by Tula to force changes to the labor conditions of the enslaved is by its very nature bound to run into conflict with the whites as Louis predicts (p. 43). He adds, "After all, we have to maintain proper law and order, don't we? Should there be any escalation – which I don't expect – then we have to be ready to act and act swiftly" (p. 83). As is still the case today, 1795 news media reports of the oppressed people of Curaçao peacefully claiming their rights are framed through the lenses of lawlessness and rampage, thus providing bogus justification for brutal repression in the name of law and order. False reports begin circulating about how Tula and his group are rampaging and looting plantations. Though Tula and his comrades know the news reports will make them targets for soldiers, they still insist that they do not want war with the whites but only liberty and peace (p. 86). To the whites, these demands on the part of the enslaved are a declaration of war against the system that privileges them.

In what follows, we encounter a critique of Tula and the other leaders of the revolt for their lack of planning to deal with post-liberation issues. For their entire lives up until that point the people have been ordered around and told what to do and what not to do.

Suddenly they are free. Consequently, alcohol becomes the immediate goal after the oppressors have departed. Tula and Louis do not take into consideration the existence of bad and selfish elements such as Pedro and his friends, whose drunken and violent behavior fuels accusations that Tula and his people are bloodthirsty, murderous anti-white “savages” out to slaughter every white they can find. Their acts of indiscipline create division among the people and they divert attention away from the real goals of the revolt, and in the process undermine Tula’s leadership (pp. 86-87). Leinders does not paint all those of African descent as good because of their suffering, and all European descended people as evil because of their privileged position. Indeed, he succeeds in giving humanity to some whites in the characters of Miss Lesire, a white woman who welcomes and hides Tula and his people on her plantation, risking the ire of other whites and vigilantes. However, all the other white people band together and devise a plan to use the army to retake the plantations and re-impose enslavement (pp. 90-91).

Leinders reveals the multiple causes that undermine Tula’s revolt. They include: Tula’s continuous naïveté, Bastian’s and Louis’s simplicity in their war plans; the unpreparedness of the majority of the people for freedom; the treachery of the white plantation owners; the use of superior firepower; internal dissensions among the enslaved and treachery by some enslaved against their own people for a few silver coins. All these lead to the exhaustion of the spirit of resistance and guarantee the victorious return of the whites. That Tula and his people fail to win any concessions, is Leinders’s critique of Dutch colonial practices in the Caribbean, often erroneously considered to have been more benign in comparison to those of other Europeans.

Tula: the revolt is not just a narrative of a failed rebellion to reform slavery, it is also a novel of love between Tula and Speranza. Similar to *Oroonoko* (Behn, 2004 [1688]), both Tula and Speranza are heroic in their own way. Speranza is the unofficial leader of the women and children and guards them with her life as Tula guards the warriors. Yet the romance remains undeveloped because the novel does not read like a romantic tale with an African flavor, but is heavily garnished with the texture of European romance tales (pp. 21-22). Some of the novel’s strength lies in the use of narrative flashback providing historical background to foreground Tula as a future hero. Tula is presented to us as a sensitive adolescent with a developmentally challenged brother, Quako. The fishing trip undertaken by the teenagers with Quako is instructive on Tula’s nurturing and caring nature, important qualities in a hero. Tula is also presented as family-centered and hence his fight is to preserve and protect the families of enslaved Africans. Through these flashbacks, we encounter a Tula who stands up for his brother against the white master’s command. When Quako dies from exhaustion in the cane fields, Tula is deeply hurt but can hardly do anything about it.

Though Tula’s gullibility and unblemished belief in the goodness of all created problems for the movement that he led, his sacrifices raised awareness on both sides of the Atlantic of the horrors of slavery and resulted in the stricter implementation of Dutch

laws governing the minimally acceptable treatment of the enslaved by their masters. Leinders's depiction of Tula and his leadership in the revolt of 1795 in Curaçao not only inspired a movie but also provided a fictionalized rationalization, 150 years after the rebellion, for Tula to be declared Curaçao's national hero in 2009. Following its adaptation to cinema, *Tula: the revolt* has created more interest in the often forgotten slave rebellions in the Dutch Caribbean and has energized the movements organized by the descendants of the rebels of 1795 for reparations and for the re-centering of the agency of enslaved people of African descent in their national history.

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HEALING RACE, SOVEREIGNTY AND REPARATORY JUSTICE IN THE CARIBBEAN: THE CASE OF BONAIRE

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Abstract: This article provides an analysis of systemic racism and reparatory justice in Bonaire and other multilingual Caribbean communities, as part of a larger research project which explores AfRaKan ancestral legacies and remnants of institutional human rights violations in the Caribbean Global South. This creative presentation provides recommendations for healing the people of our region who are obstructed by institutional terrorism, genocidal benevolence, forced tolerance, colonialism, neocolonialism, land invasions (disaster capitalism/gentrification), and acquiescence during decades of erasure and violation of our histories, persons, ancestral sovereignties and human rights.

Key terms: reparatory justice; culture; heritage; education; human rights; decolonization; Caribbean

This article is part of a more extensive work, and for purposes of brevity will include a comparative analysis of selective similarities and differences in quests for self-determination, reparatory justice, reparations and self-governance in Bonaire and other Caribbean islands and territories. Important discourse and dialogue on reparations are to be found in Ayi Kwei Armah's (1984) award-winning novel *Two thousand seasons*:

“How have we come to be mere mirrors to annihilation? For whom do we aspire to reflect our people's death? ... That the destroyers, aspiring to extinguish us, will suffer conciliatory remorse at the sight of their own fantastic success? ... The utterer's voice should make knowledge of the way, of heard sounds and visions seen, the voice of the utterers should make this knowledge inevitable, impossible to lose. A people losing sight of origins are dead. A people deaf to purposes are lost. Under fertile rain, in scorching

sunshine there is no difference: their bodies are mere corpses, awaiting final burial ... Remember this: against all that destruction some yet remained among us unforgetful of origins, dreaming secret dreams, seeing secret visions, hearing secret voices of our purpose ... Leave the killers' spokesmen, the predators' spokesmen, leave the destroyers' spokesmen to cast contemptuous despair abroad. That is not our vocation. That will not be our utterance." (pp. xii-xviii)

Self-determination, reparations, reparatory justice and equitable freedom movements are essential for the reclamation and restoration of the shared humanity among global communities, including the multicultural, multilingual and colonial/neo-colonial so-called democracies of the Caribbean Global South (Corbin: 2020). For example, discussions are underway for the creation of a Reconciliation and Truth Commission for wrongs committed during the TransAtlantic Enslavement Trade by Denmark, Britain, the Netherlands, Spain, France and other European nations in St. Croix, Virgin Islands. This process is necessary, despite the horrific historical remembrances and uncomfortable connotations linked to this concept of repairing and restoring "cordial relations" with some form of remuneration, compensation or other types of equalizing resource exchanges, as noted by Beckles (2013):

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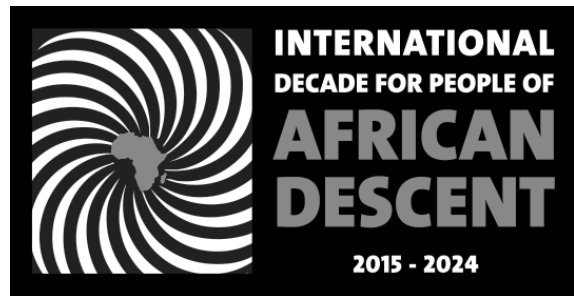
"'Barbarity Time' was the term used by enslaved Africans in the British Caribbean to describe the period of their enslavement. Chattel slavery, and the slave trade that fed it, were crimes against humanity. They went largely unchecked as millions of Africans were consumed by Europe's criminal enrichment project called colonialism. The enslaved fought for their freedom. Thousands died in this quest. Formal emancipation came in 1838. The struggle continued for justice and liberty as human and civil rights were denied in the post-slavery apartheid imposed upon the emancipated. Today, heading the agenda is the case of reparations for these crimes." (p. xvii)

Ptah (1991) points out that any discussion of reconciliation implies revolutionary understandings and engagement related to reparations, restitution and repatriation, as these are all intertwined:

Historically, whenever a people or nation have been terrorized or wronged by internal or external forces, they have sought just compensation for the damages done to their persons and property. There are many examples in biblical, ancient and modern history that proves the correctness of the above statement. Yet, when we of Afrakan ascent put forth our claim it is almost

always greeted with sneers and jeers – especially from certain ones who consider themselves ‘chosen’ to block Afrakan aspirations at every turn. Requests for reparations by people of Afrakan ascent have focused mainly on the chattel enslavement trade of the 16th, 17th, 18th and 19th centuries...Our righteous claim shall be directed against individuals whenever and wherever provable. (Ptah: 1991)

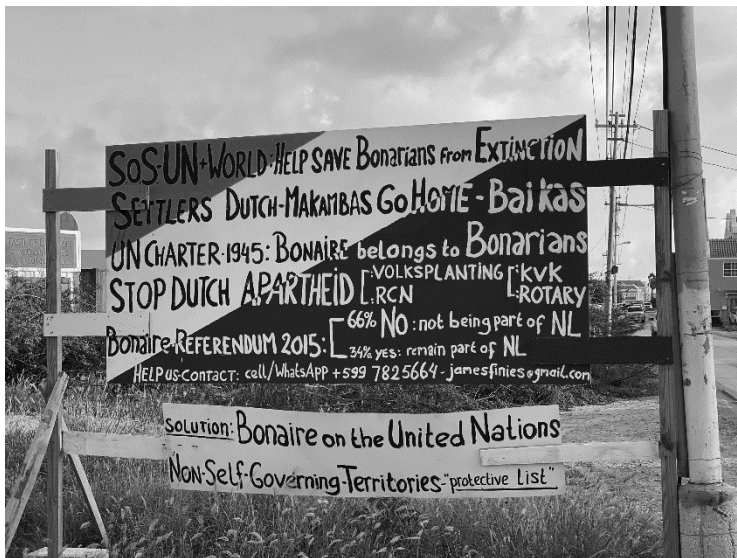
The United Nations’ designated International Decade for People of African Descent (IDPAD) with the theme ‘Recognition, Justice and Development for People of African Descent’, continues to be challenged by systemic racism, societal inequities and institutional trauma imposed on the lives of humanity, with historically antagonistic prominence in the Caribbean. Revolutionary reparatory justice solutions have been proposed to heal remnants of colonialism, enslavement and crimes against humanity for persons of AfRaKan ancestry within the Global Caribbean, as part of revolutionary movements for self-determination, reparations, cultural heritage education programs and reversals of systemic racism. Comissiong (2013) defines reparations as follows:



“Reparations may be defined as the act of making atonement, amends and indemnity for a wrong committed against another. The term implies an active repairing of the damage or injury inflicted on the wronged party.” (p. 15)

In Bonaire, active organizational efforts are being made to support strategic engagement with the United Nations, CARICOM and other international entities to restore human rights, activate decolonialization laws and policies, etc. 2019 marked the 5th year of the United Nations designated International Decade for People of African Descent (IDPAD) from January 2015 to December 2024, with the theme of Promoting Recognition, Justice, Development for People of African Descent. In December 2019, the organization/foundation Nos Kier Boneiru Bek [We Want Bonaire Back] hosted their 4th International Symposium themed “The Political Future, the Right of Self-Determination and Reparations of the Caribbean IV” in Kralendijk, Bonaire. This annual conference highlights critical discussions and cultural education programs about reparations, the political future and the right to self-determination in the Caribbean, with outcomes intended to provide collaborative and cooperative insights, strategies, research opportunities, resolutions and sustainable solutions as part of ongoing processes of decolonization, reparations and restoration of human rights in the 21st century.

The conference focused on some of the countries and territories of the non-independent Caribbean, including Aruba, Curaçao and Sint Maarten, which have limited autonomy within the Dutch Kingdom; Bonaire, Saba and Sint Eustatius which have been incorporated as municipalities into the Netherlands itself; Martinique, Guadeloupe, St. Martin and St. Barthes, which are now similarly incorporated into France as two overseas departments; and territories of the United Kingdom and the United States which have varying degrees of limited autonomy, including the Virgin Islands of the UK and the US. Prospects for the listing/relisting of some of these territories on the United Nations List of Non Self-Governing Territories (NSGT) within a framework of genuine self-determination and decolonization were primary areas of focus. The conference gathered together global and regional leaders, educators, activists, scholars, professionals and specialists of various backgrounds to facilitate communication and research, as well as to promote education on political status options which can lead to full political equality and full self-government.



NKBB Sign on Public Road in Bonaire

In the Caribbean, organizational work linked to reparations, reparatory justice and reawakening human rights has been prioritized in programs such as: the Regional People's Tribunals on Reparations; the CARICOM Reparations Commission; the Caribbean Pan African Network (CPAN); the National Coalition of Blacks for Reparations in America (NCOBRA); the Global Rastafarian Councils and Organs; the Pan

Africanist-Global African Organizations and Civil Society Networks; Per Ankh M Smai Tawi; AfRaKan Spiritual and Traditional Cultural Councils, Circles and Ancestral Sovereigns, etc. The CARICOM Reparations Commission Ten-Point Plan (2015) provides a useful guide to these initiatives for activists, organizations and governments, inclusive of definitions of key concepts utilized in action programs for repairing relations dismantled by systemic racism via reparatory justice on a global scale (<https://caricom.org/caricom-ten-point-plan-for-reparatory-justice/>).

In Bonaire, community activists and researchers of the Nos Kier Boneiru Bek non-governmental organization/foundation remain vigilant in demanding the restoration of self-determination, self-governance and human rights to the people of Bonaire. Mr.

James Finies, the president of Nos Kier Boneiru Bek, shared the following in an open letter to the Minister of the Interior and Kingdom Relations and vice minister-president, Mrs. Kajsa Ollongren, and members of Parliament and Senate of the Netherlands in July 2019:

Topiko: Despues di 156 anja di ley-abolishon-sklabitud gabinete Hulandes ofisialmente ta rekonose i ta lamenta ku nan ta komplise pero ta nenga dekolonisashon i derecho di outodeterminashon na e desedientenan

Nos ta elogia boso gabinete su resiente deklarashonan historiko riba 1 juli 2019 konmemorando 1 Juli 1863, 156 anja despues di proklamashon di boso gobierno su ley di abolishon, finalmente un senjal, un brote , di kompashon i humanidat mustra na e desedientenan, e diaspora di nos antepasadonan ku a wordu dehumanisa, viktimanan di boso ekonomia kriminal i inhumano. E Minister di Interior i Relashonan di Reino, Sra Ollongren a deklara “ku e gobierno no por retrosede tempu, pero ta lamenta profundamente ku sklabilidad tabata parti di nos hostoria komun”i e Minister di Asuntonan Sosial, Sr Koolmees a konfesa: “...no ta solamente e historia di pasado ta doloroso, pero tambe e indiferensia awe ta mesun doloroso”. E deklarashonan aki a sende un luz di speransa nobo den e tunel eterno historiko skur di inkonsiensia Hulandes riba rasismo komo parti di nan ekonomia.

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Nos tur sa ku e ley di abolishon di komersio di katibu di 1814 i e ley di 1818 ku a hasi partisipashon un delito kriminal a kondusi na diskushonan kontinuu den boso parlamento. Pa mas ku mei siglo, nan a debati, no pa kreyensanan humano o sintimentunan di berguensa pa e forma aki di komersio, pero den defensa di e fundamento Hulandes pragmatiko di nan ekonomia, ku ta kondena sklabilidad den teoria pero permiti su kontinuashon den praktika te na 1863 i mas despues. Te ku awe tur boso gobiernonan a tene boso mes i boso i nos pueblonan den un estado di “dissonansia kognitivo” pa medio di kultura-edukashon-leynan di manipulashon kolonial, ningando e hecho ku boso gobierno tabata un di e kolonisadonan di mas kruek di historia di mundu.

Den luz di e rekonosimetu ofisial di boso gabinete di e krimen kontra nos antepasadonan i, por lo tanto di asepta boso responsabilidad ku boso ta kontinuashon di boso antesesornan ekonomia rasista i kriminal komete kontra nos, e desedientenan di e viktimanan, nos lo ke karesidamente hasi e siguiente petishon:

Komo ku boso gobierno a tuma kasi dos siglo pa rekonose i lamenta loke ku boso a hasi kontra nos antepasadonan tabata malu, kriminal i inhumano, nos tin miedo ku lo dura mesun tempu , dos siglo mas pa boso pidi diskulpa, ku lo ta un sigiente paso natural i logiko humano,
Komo boso gobierno ta parse no tin e mind-set pa pidi diskulpa pa motibunan ariba menshona i nos lo no ke start un diskushon riba reparashon ku ta imposibel den e okupashon kolonial ku boso ta mantene nos den aktualmente, nos lo ke pidi bo i boso gobierno pa hasi e mesun simpel pregunta ku boso prome presidente di boso prome asamblea nashonal, durante e debate konstitushonal di Batavia, Pieter Paulus a puntra na 1796: “Den ki forma por konsidera tur hende humano igual?”

Si, e mesun pregunta ta vigente awe, 222 anja despues: “Di ki manera- Nos, boso asina yama “parternan di Reino”, ku resientemente na 10 oktober 2010, a wordu aneksa, re-okupa, re-kolonisa, i ankra den boso konstitushon bao derechonan desigual kontra nos boluntad propio, - ta wordu konsidera hendenan humano igual?...

Pa resumi tur ariba menshona: si realmente boso ta rekonose ku kolonialismo ta un krimen i ta lamenta esaki ku boso gobiernu ta partisipando den dje i ta sosteniendo esaki, por favor follow up i respeta nos referenduman di Bonaire di 2015 i di Sint Eustaius di 2014, ekspreshon di e bos i boluntad liber di nos pueblonan ku legalmente i demokratikamente a rechaza e status kolonial impone. i por favor, kumpli ku boso obligashonan ankra den Karta i Tratatadonan di Nashonan Uni dor respeta i restora nos derechonan sagrado I fundamental humano i di outodeterminashon di propio-gobernashon ku nos a hereda i atkeri. (Finies: 2019a)

[Subject: After 156 years of slavery-abolition-law Dutch cabinet officially recognize and regrets being accomplice but denies decolonization and right to self-determination to the descendants

We commend your cabinet’s recent historical declarations on July 1, 2019 in commemoration of July 1, 1863, 156 years after your government’s proclamation of the abolition law, finally a sign, a sprout, of compassion and humanity towards the descendants, the diaspora of our dehumanized ancestors, victims of your criminally inhuman economy.

The Minister of the Interior and Kingdom Relations Mrs. Ollongren stated “that the government cannot turn back time, but deeply regrets that slavery

is part of our common history” and the Minister of Social Affairs Mr. Koolmees confessed: “..that is not only the stories about the past that hurt, but that today’s indifference can do that just as well”. These declarations have lit a flame of hope again in this deepest everlasting dark historical tunnel of Dutch unconsciousness about the racist part of their economy.

We all know that the abolition law of slave trade in 1814 and the 1818 law that made participation a criminal offense led up to continued discussions in your parliament. For more than half a century, they debated not the humanitarian beliefs or feelings of shame about this form of commerce, but a defense of the Dutch rationale of economic pragmatism, condemning slavery in theory, but allowing its continuation in practice up to 1863 and beyond. And up to now all your governments have kept yourselves and your and our peoples in a state of cognitive dissonance through cultural, educational, legal, and colonial manipulation, denying the fact that your government was one of the cruelest colonizers in the world’s history.

In the light of the cabinet’s official recognition of the crimes against our ancestors and thus accepting the responsibility of being the continuation of your predecessors’ racist and economic crimes committed against us, the descendants of the victims, we would like to kindly request of you the following:

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As it took almost two (2) centuries for your government to recognize and regret that what you did to our ancestors was wrong, criminal and inhumane, we are afraid it may take a similar time-span, another two (2) centuries for your government to apologize, a natural logical human deed.

That as your government seems not to be in the state-of-mind to apologize due to the reasons mentioned above and we would not like to start a discussion with you on reparations as that is impossible in the current colonial occupation you hold us under, we would like to ask you and your government that same simple question that your first chair of your first national assembly, during the Batavian constitutional debate, Pieter Paulus asked in 1796: “In which way can all human beings be considered equal?”.

Yes, the same question remains today 222 years later : “In which way – Are we, your so-called “Kingdom partners”, who were as recent as October 10, 2010, annexed, re-occupied, re-colonized, and embedded in your constitution under unequal rights against our free will - considered equal human beings? ...

To summarize all the above: if you indeed recognize that colonialism is a crime and regret that your government is participating in and supporting it,

then please follow up and respect our Bonerian 2015 and Sint Eustatius 2014 referenda, expressions of the voice and free will of our people that legally and democratically rejected the imposed colonial structure. And please, comply with your UN Charter obligations and resume the decolonization process by respecting and restoring our inherited and acquired sacred and fundamental human rights of self-determination and self-governance.]

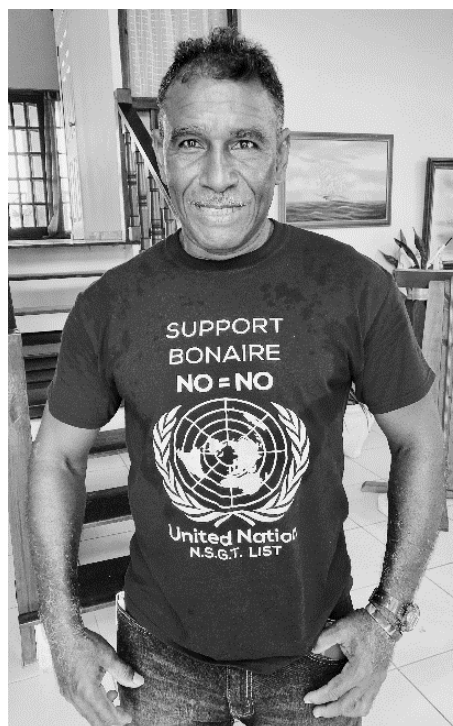
A concise version of the press statement issued following the successful gathering in Bonaire is presented below:

Fundashon Nos Ke Boneiru Bek ta mira bek riba un simposio sumamente eksitoso ku a wordu tene na Bonaire riba e fechanan di 6, 7 i 8 december. E temanan prinsipal di e konferensia a trata tabata derecho di outodeterminashon i reparashon den Karibe. Sr James Finies, presidente di Fundashon Nos Kier Boneiru Bek a enfatisa ku un di e obhetivonan prinsipal ku a funda NKBB tabata pa re-list, re-inskribi Bonaire riba e lista di Teritorionan-Sin-Propio-Gobernashon di Nashonan Uni.

Bonaire tabata escenario di un reunifikashon historiko kaminda representantenan di 9 pais i/o teritorio Karibense ku ta ahinda bou di atministrashon kolonial a reuni. Gobernantenan, lidernan, ekspertonan, akademikonan i aktivistanan for di Aruba, Korsou, Sint Eustatius, Bonaire, Puerto Rico, San Andres, Providensia, Virgin Islands i Cayenne- Guiana tur ku mesun meta komun pa hustisia, desaroyo i bienestar pa nan pueblonan a mostra solidaridat na e pueblo Boneriano. Ta nos tur ta den mesun lucha pa rekobra, restora i respeta nos derechonan fundamental humano.

Loke a resalta mas durante e diskursonan, presentashonan i debatenan tabata ku ta mesun modus operandus, e mesun sistema dividi, oprimi i domina tur e kolonisadonan ta usa kontra e teritorionan i pueblonan ku nan tin bao di nan atministrashon i dominio.

E konklushonan mas impaktante despues di e seshonan di e parti akademiko ku a tuma luga den e sala di konferensia na Capt Dons Habitat i tambe diskurshonan



James Finies of We Want Bonaire Back

publiko den parke Wilhelmina tabata ku e kaminda o ruta pa sigui kana ta, ku un frente-uni direkshon di komunidad internashonal i Nashonan Uni. Especialmente pa wordu re-list, re-inskribi riba e lista di Teritorionan-Sin-Propio-Gobernashon ku ta kai bao di e Komishon di Dekolonisashon ku su uniko obhetivo ta protekshon di e teritorionan i nan pueblonan aki konforme artikulo 73 di Chapter XI di Nashonan Uni i guia, fasilita i yuda realisa nan desaroyo, bienestar i propio-gobernashon i asina eradika kolonialismo den tur su formanan eksistente den Karibe. (Finies, 2019b)

Foundation We Want Bonaire Back looks back on a very successful symposium that took place on Bonaire on the 6th, 7th and 8th of December. The main themes discussed during the conference were the right of self-determination and reparations in the Caribbean. Mr. James Finies, president of Foundation We Want Bonaire Back emphasized that one of the main objectives that the Foundation was founded on was to re-list, re-inscribe Bonaire on the list of Non-Self-Governing-Territories of the United Nations.

Bonaire was the scenario of this historical reunion where representatives of 9 Caribbean countries/territories that are still under colonial administration reunited. Governments, leaders, experts, scholars, and human rights defenders from Aruba, Curaçao, Sint Eustatius, Bonaire, Puerto Rico, San Andres, Old Providencia, Virgin Islands US and Cayenne-Guiana all with the same common objective for justice, development and welfare for their peoples have shown solidarity towards the Bonerian people. We all are in the same struggle to regain, restore and respect of our fundamental human rights.

One of the highlights and revelations of common practice by the colonizers that emerged out of the presentations and discussions, was the fact that the same *modus operandi*, the same system to divide, oppress and dominate are being used by all the colonizers against the territories and peoples that they have under their administration and domination.

The most impactful conclusion after the academic sessions that took place in the conference room of the Captains Dons Habitat and the public speeches that took place in Wilhelmina Park was that the only way forward is as a united-front in the direction of the international community and the United Nations. Especially urgent is the task of being re-listed, or re-inscribed on the list of Non-Self-Governing-Territories that falls under the Committee on Decolonization with the objectives of the protection of these territories and their peoples according to article 73 of Chapter XI of the United Nations; to guide, facilitate and help them realize their development, welfare and self-government; and to finally eradicate colonialism in all its existing forms in the Caribbean.]

There is no closing or conclusion to this work-in-progress on Healing Race and Reparatory Justice Affairs in the Caribbean Global South, not until human rights and reparatory justice are reawakened, rejuvenated and reimplemented globally - inclusive of Afraka and respect for the role of Global Afrakans. The people of Bonaire share similar realities with people of the Virgin Islands and other colonies, protectorates and non-self-governing territories within the Caribbean Americas inclusive of South and Central America.

In light of the popular movements that are currently taking the global stage by revolutionary storm, the transformational frameworks and activism surrounding Healing Race, Sovereignty and Reparatory Justice Affairs in the Caribbean Global South demand transformational, inclusive, transcultural and eclectic approaches to heal the wounds that have remained as painful traumatic memories of the enslavement of Afrakans and Indigenous people. May the conch shell horn serve as the ancestral beacon in contemporary times for cooperative engagement and liberating unity.

The reasoning between the African diaspora and the continent that has started must be taken to new levels. Governments, academia, diaspora, private sector and civic society organizations should listen to and reason with each other ... The continent and the African diaspora must work together and motivate the many well-educated and resourced persons (and their enterprises) at home and abroad to full the mission of creating of greater future. (Farika, 2018: 111.112)



Chenzira D. Kahina blowing Ceremonial Conch Shell Horn

This will require the proactive engagement of diversity, equity and inclusion that respects our Afrakan and Indigenous ancestral legacies. It will also necessitate narratives guided by spiritual ingenuity, intellectual engagement, educational reform and practical programs among communities of stakeholders, stewards, trailblazers, activists, faith-based leaders, entrepreneurs, students/youth, educators, elders and people willing to do this healing work. When we achieve these things, a cultural legacy promoting justice, healing, authentic reparations, and human rights can be restored, reawakened, and realized with abundant prosperity.

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SELLING PROSPERITY AND MARKETING AUTHENTICITY: TOURISM DEVELOPMENT IN SAN NICOLAS AS A CASE STUDY

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Abstract

In 2019, the Aruban government set in motion a plan to build an all-inclusive hotel in the vicinity of San Nicolas. Proponents of this initiative argue that the communities in the southeastern part of the island have not been able to reap the benefits of Aruba's economic development during the past few decades because all of the hotels, restaurants and tourist attractions have been built on the northwestern coast, just north of the capital Oranjestad. A few dissenting voices warn that Aruba's economy is already overly dependent on hospitality. Some fear that mass tourism could transform San Nicolas, currently billed as the "cultural and artistic capital of Aruba", into yet another generic destination for sun-and-sand vacationers. This case study can be adopted as an educational tool in classrooms to stir debate among students, look critically at public discourse, and come up with creative alternatives for economic development.

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Key terms: Aruba, San Nicolas, alternative tourism, discourse analysis

Foreword

We began the process of writing this manuscript in 2019 as two lecturers from the University of Aruba who shared a concern over what we perceived was a lack of critical debate about the island's continued reliance on tourism (and a particular type of tourism) as the only option for economic development. As we prepare to finalize this article in May 2020, the COVID-19 crisis has led to the near complete shutdown of the island's airport for about a month; the number of tourists and hotel occupancy rates are down to practically zero. With 87% of the population's jobs directly or indirectly related

to tourism (WTTC, 2018: 1), there have already been numerous layoffs, and unemployment is certain to soar in the next few months. The United States, our main source of visitors by far, has become the new epicenter of the pandemic, as it's the country with the highest amount of cases and deaths in the world, and even if travel restrictions to Aruba are relaxed in the coming weeks or months, it is highly unlikely that the incoming flow of tourists will be anywhere near 2019 levels, in part because American families are facing difficult economic times as well. Aruba has seen its share of hardships before, but especially for the current generation of college students, mostly born in the 1990s and the 2000s, the present situation is a huge upheaval in their understanding of economic life on this island.

It is therefore as important as ever to encourage open discussions in our classrooms about overreliance on tourism as a development model, especially in the context of small island states. As lecturers at the University of Aruba, we find that most of our young college students have seldom looked at tourism on the island with a critical eye. The majority of them seem to have internalized and accepted without question that tourism is simply Aruba's only economic option, and that the key to continued economic prosperity is to build even more hotels and facilities catering to tourists, especially North Americans on holiday.

The present case study, set in 2019, discusses the island's recently unveiled plans for San Nicolas, a city in the southeast of the island which despite its historical and cultural richness has until now remained largely untouched by the intensive tourism-oriented construction and infrastructure development found on the northwestern coast. This case is intended to be used as a pedagogical tool to problematize the topic, and lead students to become critical of what they hear and read on popular media, move beyond binary stances and simplistic arguments ("tourism creates jobs" vs. "tourists don't care about the local environment") as well as engage in creative problem-solving.

Case studies as pedagogical tools

The case study is a widely used research method in the social sciences, economics, law and public administration. The format adopted herein follows the case study approach used by Harvard, Stanford, INSEAD and other business schools. This is due in large part to the fact that both authors teach at the FEF (Faculty for Accounting, Finance and Marketing), which is the University of Aruba's school for economics, finance, marketing and business studies. Courses at the Faculty of Hospitality and Tourism Management Studies also sometimes use case studies as part of their curriculum.

The tool consists of two documents. The first is the case study itself, which is the text that students receive as assigned reading. Students discuss the case, individually or in small groups, and are tasked with answering the questions posed at the end, using the information that has been presented and supplemented by desk research of their own. There are no strictly "wrong" or "right" answers. Our aim is not to teach students "what"

to think about tourism in Aruba but rather “how” to think about it in a critical way. “From provoking robust student-led discussions to disentangling complex business concepts, cases are strong pedagogical vehicles for building the confidence and critical thinking students need to boldly take a position and convincingly express their ideas” (Harvard Business Publishing Education, 2019).

The second document is typically called a “teaching note”, which seeks to provide additional insight into the issues and equip potential instructors with resources and ideas to enrich class discussion. In particular, in this case we wish to emphasize the interdisciplinary nature of tourism as a subject of study, and the potential for leading the discussion in a myriad of different directions. It should be clear that tourism is not a matter of interest only for those in the hospitality industry; it is, in fact, an economic activity with a pervasive influence on our societies at many levels. It can be examined under a wide variety of disciplines including not only economics but also marketing, urban development and planning, geography, historical preservation, environmental science, and sociology. As mentioned in our teaching note for this case, students might even explore discourse analysis, examining the language used by tourism promoters (both public and private) to describe “authenticity” and what it means to be “Aruban”. Despite being one of the most tourism dependent regions in the world, there is not an abundance of educational resources for the study of Caribbean tourism, especially books and materials by Caribbean authors. *Contemporary Caribbean tourism: concepts and cases* (Roberts, Best & Cameron, 2015), a textbook used at the University of the West Indies, is one exception. A quick search of the Case Development Centre’s catalogue (Rotterdam School of Management, Erasmus University) using the keyword “Aruba” yielded no results; a similar query on the INSEAD Publishing page likewise came up empty. Publications with this type of instructional case study approach (where students are presented with a problem or situation and asked to come up with a creative solution) are conspicuously absent when it comes to Caribbean tourism in general and Aruba in particular. Thus, we submit these materials hoping to make a modest contribution towards filling that gap and encouraging much-needed debate surrounding these topics in higher education classrooms in Aruba and beyond.

THE CASE STUDY

Introduction

There is hardly anyone in the Caribbean whose life remains unaffected by tourism. International agencies, economists and local governments have long promoted tourism as “the” economic development strategy for small island states, where there are allegedly no other viable alternatives for economic development. Nowhere has this model been so “successful” than in Aruba, where travel and tourism’s total contribution

to GDP in 2017 was 86.5% according to the most recent report by the World Travel and Tourism Council (2019). Moreover, the travel and tourism industry accounts for 30% of direct employment and a staggering 87% of indirect employment on the island.

In Aruba, the majority of the hotels, restaurants and tour operators that cater to visitors are located on the western side of the island, north of the capital Oranjestad. However, in 2019, the Aruba Ministry of Tourism set in motion a plan to build a 900-room, all-inclusive hotel in the vicinity of San Nicolas, a city on the southeastern coast of Aruba. Those in favor argue that the eastern side of the island has not been able to reap the benefits of Aruba's tourism-spurred economic development over the last few decades. The incidence of poverty in San Nicolas is the highest for the island, according to the Central Bureau of Statistics' latest report (p. 8), which despite being published in 2018, reflects data collected in the 2010 Census and thus may not accurately reflect the current situation. In addition, as the report itself states, poverty can be defined and measured in different ways (p. 4), so these data must be looked at with a critical eye.

On the other hand, strong opposition has been voiced by those who argue, among other things, that Aruba's economy is already overly dependent on hospitality. Environmental groups (e.g., Aruba Birdlife Conservation) fiercely oppose building new large-scale hotels that will add to the already existing pressure on the environment including land and sea flora and fauna. Others fear that bringing mass tourism will transform San Nicolas into yet another generic, Americanized vacation destination.

Brief historical and economic background

Aruba is an island located in the southern Caribbean Sea about 29 km (18 miles) north of Venezuela. It has a land area of approximately 179 sq km (69 square miles) and, unlike many other Caribbean islands, its climate can be described as a tropical steppe, semi-arid hot climate, with relatively low levels of precipitation. When Spanish colonists arrived and claimed the island around the year 1500, Aruba was inhabited by the Caquetio Amerindians who also lived in northwestern Venezuela. Not finding any gold, and given the relatively arid climate and low rainfall to sustain agriculture, the Spaniards quickly lost interest. In 1513, the entire population was captured and taken to Santo Domingo to work in the mines there. In 1527, some of the natives were brought back, along with horses, cattle, dogs, donkeys, goats, sheep and pigs, which were allowed to roam freely around the island. For Spain, Aruba was basically a large ranch to breed horses and other animals (Hartog, 2003: 15; Dresscher, 2009: 4). When the Dutch came and snatched the island away from Spain in 1636, there were only "a few Indians and some Spaniards" (Hartog, 2003: 20).

The Dutch valued Aruba's strategic location which served to protect their salt supply from the South American mainland while also providing them a military base during their ongoing armed conflict with Spain. The settlement of Europeans was at first forbidden and deemed unnecessary. For many years, the Dutch Commander in charge

and a handful of assistants were the only “non-Indians” who resided on the island. In 1754, Moses Maduro became the first European colonist granted permission by the West India Company to settle on the island, and it was only then that some Europeans and their slaves came to live in Aruba, mostly by way of Curaçao. Aruban society thus began to shift from what was essentially an “Indian reservation” (Dresscher, 2009: 11) to a more diverse colony. Horse breeding was the main commercial activity to supplement subsistence farming and fishing.

The plantations that characterized so much of the colonial-era Caribbean never took hold in Aruba. Around the year 1830, inland agricultural production was initiated in the area named Canashito; this was further extended to the areas of Santa Cruz and Savaneta in 1852. The focus was mainly on crop farming and fruit and seed bearing trees; however, these agriculture ventures were short-lived (Derix, 2016: 5). In 1840 the cultivation of aloe was introduced. This product became the main export in the late 19th century (Ridderstaat, 2007, as cited in Derix, 2016: 5). Although cacti grow in abundance, the island has never been regarded as suitable for large-scale agriculture.

Also in the 19th century, the discovery of gold and phosphate turned mining into the island’s foremost industry for some time. Although these deposits were eventually depleted, “...the social effects of the gold and phosphate companies should not be underestimated. For many inhabitants, the run for gold marked an end to the traditional way of living.” (Dresscher, 2009: 16). Fishermen and farmers would abandon their trade for the chance to extract riches from the soil. Additionally, the gold rush attracted immigrants, and population growth during these decades was significant, from about 2,476 in 1833 to 8,065 in 1893 (Dresscher, 2009: 16).

The discovery of petroleum in Maracaibo (Venezuela) in the early 20th century prompted the advent of the oil refinery industry in Aruba. Of particular importance was the establishment in 1924 of the Lago Oil Refinery in the city of San Nicolas, which possessed a deep harbor well-equipped to receive boats from nearby Venezuela. Since there was not sufficient manpower on the island itself, the company recruited laborers from other Caribbean islands. By 1945, only 32% of the workers were Aruban nationals (Dresscher, 2009: 20). The population of Aruba, which numbered 8,700 in 1924, soared to approximately 60,000 in 1972 (Hartog, 2003: 61). “The Lago refinery of San Nicolas became a multicultural magnet, which kept on drawing people to the island long after the initial construction work had been finished.” (Ridderstaat, 2007; 40, 47; cited in Dresscher, 2009). The current population of Aruba stands at over 110,000 inhabitants. The Lago Oil & Transport Company, Ltd played a dominant role in the economy of Aruba, and in the landscape of San Nicolas, until its closing in 1985. At that time, tourism played only a small part in the overall economic development of the island (Oduber & Ridderstaat, 2017: 2). The closing of the refinery was a significant milestone for Aruba, marking the end of an era and the dawn of a new one. In January 1986, Aruba became a semi-autonomous entity within the Kingdom of the Netherlands and

experienced rapid growth the following years, with a major shift to tourism as the main source of the island's GDP. The expansion of tourism was generally regarded as offering the most promising opportunity for recovering the losses to the economy caused by the closing of the Lago Oil Refinery (Vanegas & Croes, 2003: 316).

Since 1986, the industry has grown exponentially. In 2017, the total contribution of Travel & Tourism (T&T) to Aruba's GDP was 86.5%. Moreover, T&T directly supported 30.1% of total employment on the island. The total contribution, including jobs indirectly supported by the industry, was 87% of total employment (WTTC, 2019: 1). It is important to note, however, that almost all hotels and tourism services providers are located on the island's west coast (the Eagle Beach and Palm Beach areas). During the high season, between one and three cruise ships dock daily at the port in the capital city of Oranjestad. Located approximately 20 kilometers east, the city of San Nicolas has not been significantly transformed by this shift to tourism, although busloads of visitors do arrive on a daily basis from the cruise ships and the east coast hotels to enjoy nearby Baby Beach and view the street art in the downtown area.

Modern San Nicolas

San Nicolas lies southeast of Oranjestad and is Aruba's second-largest city. As of the latest Census (2010), it had a population of 15,284. Most people remember San Nicolas as the site of the oil refinery which brought both an economic and a population boom to the island. However, since the closing of the refinery in 1985, it has become a sleepier town, second to the booming Oranjestad and Palm Beach areas.

During the 1990s, various stores in the main street of San Nicolas were still thriving, supported by locals living in the city and nearby areas. At night, especially on Fridays, the youth from the city enjoyed a night out, with outdoors entertainment and refreshment. However, this weekly event, which became known as 'SaniFest,' experienced dwindling interest due to the flashier offerings on the northeast side of the island. From the late 1990s up to the mid-2000s, the city of San Nicolas experienced a rapid downfall, as many stores closed due to poor customer traffic.

In 2011, the Carubbian Festival was born in San Nicolas at the initiative of the sitting government to encourage locals and visitors alike to enjoy a night of Caribbean music and entertainment, as well as to spend their money at various pop-up tents with food and hand-crafted offerings. The highlight of the weekly event transpired towards the end of the evening with a mini carnival show when dancers in full sequined, feathered and colorful costumes paraded through the main street of San Nicolas, encouraging attendees to join in the mini carnival parade. This Caribbean cultural event was held each Thursday, bringing busloads of tourists to the southeast side of the island for a night of fun and entertainment with the opportunity to mingle with locals and foster new friendships. Most tourists who attended this event bought the package offering from the

hotels. The festival, however, was short-lived, in spite of significant levels of interest from, and attendance by both locals and tourists.

Following the demise of the Carubbian Festival, the city of San Nicolas was partially revived by the Aruba Art Fair. Introduced in September 2016, this two-day event converted the city into the art district of the island, bringing life to different forms of artistic expression and generating island-wide traffic to the city from both locals and visiting tourists. The Art Festival marked the beginning of a transformation for the city of San Nicolas. The city has enjoyed a sort of Renaissance, thanks mostly to its 44 murals by artists hailing from Argentina to Amsterdam. *Forbes* magazine recently described the city as “the Street Art Capital of the Caribbean” (Kester, 2019).

It is estimated that San Nicolas attracts about 10,000 visitors per year (Kester, 2019). However, these tourists don’t stay very long. They are transported to San Nicolas from the west-coast hotels. The visitors may spend a couple of hours on a walking tour of the area and may buy local arts and crafts from Cosecha and enjoy Caribbean cuisine at O’Niel Caribbean Kitchen or light refreshments at Kulture Café, housed in the historical Nicolaas Store. After the tour, they promptly board their buses and head back to the hotels, or perhaps spend the rest of the day at nearby Baby Beach.

The San Nicolas tours usually stop at the beginning of the main street, as the landscape quickly transitions to the red light district, bars, abandoned stores and deteriorating buildings. Amongst these depressive structures is Charlie’s Bar and Restaurant, which started business in 1941 and still considered to be one of the most visited establishments in San Nicolas by North American tourists.

Future plans

In 2019, the Aruba Ministry of Tourism set in motion a plan to build an all-inclusive hotel in the vicinity of San Nicolas. It is not the first time that this idea has been advanced, stirring heated debate among different community sectors. Those in favor argue that the eastern coast of the island has not been able to reap the benefits of Aruba’s economic development during the past few decades because all of the hotels, restaurants and other tourist attractions have been built on the northwestern part of the island, just north of the capital of Oranjestad. Moreover, the incidence of poverty in San Nicolas is the highest in the island, according to the Central Bureau of Statistics (2018). This new all-inclusive hotel thus promises to provide an economic boost to the city, bringing tourist traffic to this side of the island, as well as new job opportunities for its inhabitants. Some residents already employed in the tourism industry may also see their commute time reduced significantly if they are able to find work closer to home and forego the drive to Oranjestad or Palm Beach. New retail, gastronomic and shopping opportunities are expected to emerge in the vicinity as a result.

On the other hand, it has been claimed all-inclusive resorts offer little incentive for tourists to leave the facilities and patronize local businesses. According to Tourism

Concern, a U.K.-based nonprofit organization, approximately one third of guests at an all-inclusive resort never leave the premises to go on excursions or visit a local restaurant. Furthermore, over 65% of hotel guests who answered their survey stated that they believe local communities are in some way made worse off by the establishment of all-inclusive resorts (Ulrich, 2015: 2).

A related but separate matter is the question of how to attract tourists to San Nicolas, as opposed to other destinations including those within Aruba itself. New promotion strategies may need to be developed. According to Mihalič (as cited in Vanegas & Croes, 2003: 317), one of the advantages that tourism has over the classic export of goods and services is ‘natural, cultural or social attractiveness, which normally cannot be exchanged.’ In such a case, considering San Nicolas’s rich past, a strategy could certainly be devised, using the city’s unique history and aspects of its cultural richness and authenticity, to lure tourists to spend time and invest in the city’s inimitable offerings. After all, in tourism, diversification offers varied and customized experience products, flexibility in the planning and design of the destination experience and competitiveness (Benur & Bramwell, 2015, as cited in Weidenfeld, 2018: 4). San Nicolas was once the industrial heart of the island and this is reflected in its diverse cultures and in the fact that it is the birthplace of carnival on Aruba. Nonetheless, these qualities of the city and its inhabitants are seldom reflected in Aruban tourism marketing efforts, depriving the tourist of an integral aspect of the Aruban experience. The current lack of proper representation of the island’s cultural richness in marketing Aruba as a tourist destination takes away from the potential of a ‘local’ and ‘authentic’ experience of the island as a whole.

Discussion questions

1. In 2019, Aruba proudly celebrated 60 years of its tourism industry, the largest sector of the island’s economy. With continuous growth and not much diversification, possible dangers of having an economy that is so heavily based on one single industry, in this case, tourism, went unforeseen for decades. Is there an argument to be made in favor of diversification within the tourism industry, or within the island’s general economy?
2. Current marketing efforts are mainly aimed at North American tourists. For several decades, these efforts centered mostly around sun-sand-and-sea mass tourism and a few in-land activities, such as all-terrain vehicle (ATV) rides. It is only in recent years that campaigns have started to shift the focus instead toward aspects of Aruban culture. How can future marketing strategies align their message with the promotion of the authenticity, rich culture and diversity of the island? How can San Nicolas, its cultural heritage and industrial history be integrated into the marketing of an authentic experience of the island?

3. The current proposal by the Aruban authorities for the economic development of San Nicolas centers around the construction and operation of an all-inclusive resort on the outskirts of the city. Are there viable alternatives to the “all-inclusive” model, or even to large-scale new construction projects?
4. Tourism discourse has become a key communicator of what constitutes “local” and “authentic” identity and culture. How much participation do the people of San Nicolas actually have in this communicative process? Is the San Nicolas community misrepresented, or perhaps absent from representation in the discourse of tourism promotion?

TEACHING NOTE

As discussed in the preface, this case study has been developed as a tool that lecturers can assign to students to discuss and come up with solutions themselves. Some of the following discussion points can be expected to surface of their own accord; others may need some prodding on behalf of the instructor.

A possible starting point for discussion of this case with students would be to assign as a supplemental reading the article by Leonard Jackson “Ameliorating the negative impacts of tourism: A Caribbean perspective.” Jackson (2003) writes that “oftentimes, the net impact of tourism on these island states and particularly within host communities are not widely understood, nor are the benefits derived from tourist activity. Hence, the positive benefits derived from tourism often overshadow and mask some of the negative consequences (p. 574).” The author then proceeds to introduce a conceptual framework that posits a collaborative community-based approach that policy makers can use to “ensure that the concerns and priorities of the stakeholders are addressed through inclusive tourism policies (p. 575).”

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Over reliance on tourism (question #1)

This question asks students to look more critically at the tourism industry, and particularly, Aruba’s lack of diversification in its economy. The phrase “tourism is our economic pillar” is so commonplace in Aruba that it can almost be considered a collocation that even young children in the island will recognize and reproduce almost automatically. Even before COVID-19, however, some alarm bells had begun to ring concerning the island’s over reliance on this single service industry. Students should be encouraged to read, as supplemental literature, the Central Bank of Aruba report “Weathering overtourism and climate change in small island tourism economies” (Peterson, 2020). Among the most important findings of this study which merit discussion in a class setting are the following:

- Overtourism is associated with both socio-economic risks (e.g., low labor participation, low productivity, and increasing income inequality) as well as

environmental ones (e.g., significant loss of scarce natural habitats and coastal erosion)

- The direct economic benefits of tourism are realized within the short to medium term; the socio-economic and ecological costs, however, accrue over the long term
- Structural reforms and transformation are urgently called for

As suggested in the question, one possibility would be to explore diversification *within* the tourism industry. The tourists who currently visit Aruba are overwhelmingly North Americans (more specifically residents of the eastern United States and Canada) looking for warm weather and sandy beaches, who stay at hotels of internationally known brands such as Hilton and Marriott. (Statistics regarding the typical visitor profile can be found in the Aruba Tourism Authority's Corporate Plan & Budget, 2020). Even if students conclude that diversification of the economy as a whole is not likely, there may be a case for diversification in the type of tourist the island attracts, and the type of accommodations and activities that Aruba promotes as part of its "offer."

Alternative tourism (question #2)

This question may be of particular interest to marketing students, encouraging them to develop their own creative marketing strategies to expand the current offer that narrowly targets vacationers seeking warm beaches. Mass tourism focuses mainly on 'sun, sand and sea' adventures, whereas alternative tourism promotes the most unique aspects, represented by a specific culture, group or community. Alternative tourism can be introduced through the promotion of an authentic local experience. This can be enhanced through the inclusion of visuals that incorporate the genuineness of the city of San Nicolas, including the many faces represented in the city and their cultural heritage. Students can take a critical glance at current offerings and develop new ideas to promote San Nicolas as an alternative destination by:

- Promoting the authenticity and uniqueness of the city, influenced by its industrial era, as well as the many immigrants who engendered the city's colorful diversity
- Highlighting the historical journey and cultural heritage as part of what it means to 'Aruban' and 'Caribbean'
- Emphasizing the value of promoting art and culture as authentic experiences

To this end, student groups can design various tour packages to the city that include, for example, mural art photography, historical walking tours, and a visit to the Museum of Industry. Materials should focus on how to adequately promote an authentic experience that clearly reflects the Unique Selling Proposition (USP) of San Nicolas as a destination.

By developing new spending opportunities within the city center, it is expected that this will in turn stimulate local entrepreneurship, with the outcome of creating new job opportunities for inhabitants who otherwise would have to commute to get to work in

Oranjestad. In addition, San Nicolas residents, seeing more options available within the city limits, may be driven to spend locally, which should help improve economic circulation.

Benefits to the community (Question #3)

The proposed all-inclusive hotel in San Nicolas promises job opportunities for San Nicolas residents. Some residents already employed in the tourism industry may also see their commute time reduced significantly if they were able to find work closer to home and forego the drive to Oranjestad or Palm Beach. It is imperative that, in addition to the potential number of jobs that might be created, students examine the quality of those jobs. In fact, Aruba's Economic Policy for 2019-2022 suggests that a high percentage of workers in the hotel and restaurant sector generally earn such a low income that is considered a "vulnerable" group, something that the Aruba Hotel and Tourism Association has strongly disputed and calls misleading due to their access to untaxed tips from tourists (AHATA, 2019).

Apart from job creation, the vision of prosperity that is presented to the host community is one of crowds of patrons visiting the local restaurants and shops, thus providing a much-needed boost to Aruban small-business owners and entrepreneurs. In the case of San Nicolas, there is the hope that a nearby hotel will revitalize the downtown area. However, many are skeptical that this will indeed happen. All-inclusive resorts have been subject of criticism in the past due to the fact that there is often little incentive for tourists to leave the facilities and patronize local businesses. The Tourism Concern report mentioned above is valuable supplemental reading regarding this topic. It should be mentioned, however, that here in Aruba many feel this view of all-inclusive tourism is too categorical. It has been argued that Aruba is generally seen as a "safe" travel destination, and therefore tourists are not afraid to venture outside their resorts, as is the case in other locations. Moreover, after a couple of days helping themselves to the same buffet fare, tourists might be yearning for the opportunity to explore culinary options not included in their pre-paid packages.

Another idea that should be explored in class discussion is the possibility of renovating existing buildings in lieu of the construction of massive new structures built on land that was previously untouched. In the city's glory days, San Nicolas and "the Colony" (the gated community and residential facilities built by Lago Oil for use by its executives) featured not only hundreds of residences but also schools, hospitals, parks and other facilities. A significant number of these properties currently lie abandoned and could perhaps be refurbished to provide small-scale accommodation that would be particularly attractive to the non-traditional visitor interested in some of the alternative tourism options described in the previous section. Daspit (2019) is only one among a number of those working in the hospitality industry who point out the advantages of such a strategy. In addition to "preserving a piece of a city's culture and

history...(re)purposing old but still useful buildings...dramatically lessens the environmental impact of these construction projects.” Moreover, the author notes, the “elegant charm and local character these buildings possess...allows hotel properties to effectively differentiate themselves in an increasingly competitive environment for tourism dollars.” (Daspit, 2019)

Issues of representation (Question #4)

Aruba’s Minister of Tourism and the leaders of the San Nicolas Small Business Association have been quite vocal in their support of this plan for tourism development, but how do the residents of San Nicolas feel about it? To our knowledge, there has been no systematic investigation of the attitudes and perceptions of local residents toward these issues.

Taking it a step further, this question can be used to invite students to engage in critical discourse analysis (CDA). CDA has been around for 35 years, but its application to texts and images used in tourism advertising and promotion appears to be much more recent. The earliest such publication that we have been able to find is a 2006 essay by William Feighery titled “Reading tourism in context: a critical discourse analysis.” Focusing on the promotional material produced by official tourism organizations in England, the author outlines “some of the strategies writers use to naturalize discourse in tourism promotion: that is, to make discourses appear to be common sense and apolitical.”

In the aforementioned textbook *Contemporary Caribbean tourism*, the authors name three important issues that need to be addressed when discussing cultural and heritage tourism:

- 1) Protecting and preserving culture versus selling culture: Cultural assets, for the most part, do not automatically become tourism “products”; some level of commodification or commercialization is generally required. This sometimes results in conflicts between the “asset managers” (who may be intolerant of changes or may see commercialization as a “cheapening” of their art), and the “tourism managers” (who may be regarded as only interested in sales, rather than cultural value).
- 2) Loss or invasion of privacy: Not all community members want to make their “assets” available for outsider consumption. Some may also feel that inviting tourists to “immerse themselves” in their community is robbing locals of their private spaces.
- 3) Contested heritage and dissonance in interpretation: Culture (especially in communities such as San Nicolas), is shared by different groups. From whose perspective is the story told? Is it balanced or one-sided? (Roberts et al., 2015: 371-372)

With regard to this third issue, it should be noted that representations of tourist destinations and their populations carry resonance not only for potential tourists but also for local residents who constitute one of the audiences for such discourse. The discourse of tourism influences the communities that are being represented (and misrepresented) as well as those who are absent from such representation. In most promotional materials for Aruba, for example, Papiamentu is often touted as “the local language.” However, for a large number (perhaps the majority) of San Nicolas residents, their home language is a variety of Caribbean English. In sum, who gets to decide what is “authentic” Aruban culture? When San Nicolas residents see the photos on the glossy tourism brochures targeting tourists, do they see themselves?

Finally, it is important to discuss the fact that, although heritage is often seen as something created in the past that is inherited, heritage and culture are not static. In fact, culture and heritage are dynamic and they evolve in accordance with people’s needs and demands.

Concluding remarks

This paper is the first step in what we hope will become a multiple-phase research project, which will be expanded through additional desk research, as well as interviews with key players and gatekeepers. We also hope to incorporate some of the innovative ideas generated by our students once they are presented with the case study, as well as feedback from instructors at other institutions who use this tool in their classrooms.

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**INTERSECTIONS OF
EDUCATION AND TRANS-IDENTIFICATION
IN THE DUTCH CARIBBEAN AND BEYOND**

INTEGRATING MINDFULNESS PRACTICES IN TEACHING INTER- AND INTRA-PERSONAL DEVELOPMENT TO SOCIAL WORK STUDENTS

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Abstract

A study was conducted with 15 social work students taking a course, titled “Inter and Intra Personal Development” with the objective of determining the impact of teaching mindfulness for self-awareness, improved academic performance and stress management. Students were introduced to mindfulness practices which included breath awareness, STOP practice, mindful eating and walking and the body scan. Students recorded their daily practice experiences in a journal, which constituted the qualitative research. The Five Facet Mindfulness Questionnaire (FFMQ) and the Perceived Stress Scale (PSS) were administered on the first and last day of the semester. Results of the FFMQ revealed overall improvements in the facets of mindfulness at end of the course. Student’s stress which was at the moderate level at pre-test remained the same at post-test. Journal entries revealed mindfulness was useful in supporting students in cultivating self-awareness, honing inter- and intrapersonal skills and coping with personal and academic stress.

Key terms: mindfulness, personal stress, academic stress, self-awareness

Introduction

A 2018 Student Health and Wellbeing study conducted at the University of Aruba revealed that out of four mental health areas: stressed/pressured, depressed mood, self-harm/suicide and substance abuse, students reported higher levels of stressed/pressured ($M = 3.3$; $n = 164$) and depressed mood ($M = 2.6$; $n = 164$). In the area of wellbeing, the PERMA-Profil scale was used which revealed an overall wellbeing score of 6.8 out of a total score of 10. The study also revealed that the top five impediments to

students' academic performance were all associated with stress related symptoms (54% stress; 43% difficulty concentrating; 41% anxiety; 39% sleep difficulty and 33% inter/computer games and social media distractions. The study also revealed that the majority of the respondents (85%, n = 132) recommended that the university should offer counselling and psychological services. A little over half of the respondents (55%, n = 86) went further to indicate that they would use the services and 53% (n = 50) said that they were willing to pay for the services. These findings lucidly reveal that there is cause for concern about students' mental health, stress and wellbeing at the university.

The noble profession of social work is well known for generating occupational stress and burnout. This stress response to the profession has the possibility of adversely affecting one's mental, physical and social health. A great number of studies document the positive impact of mindfulness practices in stress reduction (Smalley & Winston, 2010; Kabat-Zinn, 2013). Studies also show the benefits of mindfulness practices in higher education in increasing attention, concentration, academic performance and reducing the personal and academic stress of students (Hart, 2004; Shapiro et al., 2008; Brausch, 2011; Kyle, 2010; Schwind et al., 2017).

Conscious of the scientific benefits of mindfulness in higher education, and given the author's own modest practice, mindfulness practices were integrated in a course, titled 'Inter and Intra Personal Development' designed for first year undergraduate social work students as a teaching research project in partial fulfillment of a LASPAU (Latin American Scholarship Program of American Universities) Teacher Professional Development Program. The learning goals of the course are to support student's transition into higher education; to discover one's self (intrapersonal) as a condition for understanding and working with others (interpersonal); and to create a new generation of social workers with the skills to take control of their own psychosocial wellbeing, to practice continuous self-care, and to immunize graduates against the likelihood of occupational stress when they become part of a community of social work practitioners. This article describes my experiences as the teacher of the course, as well as the findings of a research project based on students' experiences as a result of the course.

Mindfulness

Mindfulness is defined as a state of mind in which one focusses on experiences in the present moment, in a non-judgmental way (Kabat-Zinn, 1994). Smalley and Winston 2010 offer a more lucid definition of mindfulness as a state of consciousness and paying attention to present moment experience with open curiosity and a willingness to be with what is. Mindfulness consists of formal and informal practices. The formal practice involves setting aside time to be still, sitting down or lying down to meditate focusing on the breath and when the mind wanders away to gently take notice and use the breath as an anchor to return to present moment awareness. Other objects that can be used to

return to the present moment can be focusing on the rise and fall of the diaphragm with breathing, or focusing on any object in one's environment. These informal practices are cultivated by paying attention to and being present in everyday activities, such as brushing teeth, taking a shower, having a meal, walking, driving, and normal conversations.

The practice of mindfulness has its traditional roots in Buddhism (Kabat-Zinn, 1994; Sujato, 2011). Kabat-Zinn (2013) introduced mindfulness to the west by integrating it into a regime of behavioral health in 1979 at the University of Massachusetts Medical School. He developed an eight-week program for stress reduction and relaxation for chronic pain and stress called Mindfulness-Based Stress Reduction (MBSR). Research has shown MBSR to be effective in improving several medical conditions, as well as psychosocial functioning. As the stressful nature of the world takes hold of our day-to-day existence, mindfulness practices have rapidly spread to many more domains, including politics, sports, the corporate sector, the creative industries, mental health professions, social work and education.

Studies have shown the positive impact of mindfulness practices in stress reduction, decreasing burnout, increasing self-awareness, creativity, empathy, compassion, resilience, health and even longevity (Kabat-Zinn, 2013; Follette et al., 2006; Schreiner & Malcolm, 2008). Mindfulness studies in higher education document increased attention, concentration, academic performance and reduced personal and academic stress on the part of students (Shapiro et al., 2008; Baer et al., 2006). Studies show that mindfulness is correlated with interpersonal development (Wallace, 2001) and that mindful individuals are more capable of engaging and maintaining satisfying relationships (Germer, 2005; Follette et al., 2006). Research also shows that mindfulness practices increase self-compassion and empathy (Kabat-Zinn, 2013; Newsome et al., 2012). These benefits of mindfulness are all essential qualities or inner resources necessary for both university students as well as for any social work practitioner, given the complexity of social problems and the importance of human relations to their practice.

As students are welcomed to the university during orientation, when asked their reason for choosing social work, the response is always 'I want to help people'. This desire to help undoubtedly comes from a sacred space of compassion for others and of a desire to improve the quality of life for all of humanity. However, students as neophytes appear to have no idea at the time of their admission to the program that each time they engage with a client, they will be giving away a portion of themselves and will therefore need to refill their cup over and over and over again. By failing to replenish themselves through practicing continuous reflection, care and supervision, they run the risk of running dry to the extent that they may suffer from occupational stress and burnout.

Mindfulness is therefore one practice that social work students can add to their repertoire of skills to immunize themselves against the stress response triggered by their

chosen profession, both as a student and practitioner. In essence, mindfulness has the benefit to enable social workers to be present with self, before they can be present with their clients. These practices can be utilized as tools that help social workers become more intentional and effective change agents as helpers in their work with individuals, families, children and communities (Logan, 2014). More importantly, mindfulness and meditation help practitioners become more present and centered in their professional and personal lives and to increase overall life satisfaction, self-esteem and positive emotions (Keng, Smoski & Robins, 2011; Brenner & Hamonoff, 2004 as cited in Logan, 2014).

Methodology

The research upon which this article is based sought to answer the following question: What is the impact of teaching mindfulness practices in the course 'Inter and Intra Personal Development' on first year bachelor level social work student's academic performance, personal and academic related stress management, and intra and inter personal skills enhancement? A mixed method design was utilized in the study. The Five Facet Mindfulness Questionnaire (FFMQ) (Baer et al., 2006) and the Perceived Stress Scale (PSS) (Cohen et al., 1983) were the instruments utilized in the study. These instruments were administered on the first and last day of class during the semester August 2015–January 2016, consisting of 13 teaching weeks of two hours per week.

The FFMQ is a 39-item self-reported questionnaire that consists of five components of mindfulness: observing, describing, acting with awareness, non-judging and non-reactivity (Baer et al., 2006). The items are scored on a 5-point Likert scale where 1 = never and 5 = very often. The facet of observing refers to the tendency to notice or attend to internal and external experiences (e.g., when I take a shower or bath, I stay alert to the sensations of water on my body"). Describing reflects the tendency to describe and label these experiences with words (e.g., "Even when I am feeling terribly upset, I can find a way to put it into words"). Acting with awareness refers to directing undivided attention to one's current activity (e.g., "I find it difficult to stay focused on what is happening in the present"). Non-judging refers to having a non-evaluative attitude towards inner experience (e.g., "I tell myself that I should not be thinking the way I am thinking"). Non reactivity is the tendency to allow thoughts and feelings to come and go without getting caught up in them or reacting instantly to them (e.g., "I watch my feelings without getting lost in them").

The PSS measures the degree to which situations in one's life are considered as stressful events (Cohen et al., 1983). The 10 items tap into how unpredictable, uncontrollable and overloaded respondents have found their lives over the period of the previous month on a five point Likert scale of 0 = never, 1 = almost never, 2 = sometimes, 3 = fairly often and 4 = very often. Some of the items include "How often you have been upset because of something that happened unexpectedly?"; "How often have you felt nervous

and stressed?” and “How often have you found that you could not cope with all the things that you had to do?” Perception of academic performance was measured by the two following Likert scale questions: “How would you describe your academic performance?” and “How satisfied are you with your academic performance?”

The qualitative part of the study required students to keep a daily journal of their experiences of practicing mindfulness activities outside of the classroom beginning with three minutes and gradually increasing their practice to ten, fifteen and thirty minutes. Fifteen students participated in the pre and eleven participated in the post-test. There were two male students and 13 female students in the group. The mean age of the students was 21 years with 22 as the modal age.

Students were introduced to varied mindfulness practices at the beginning and end of each class, including: 3-minute breath awareness, STOP practice, mindful eating, mindful walking, sensory meditation and body scan. Students were required to practice daily during the week and record their experiences in a journal. Daily journal entries were collected for each student at mid-semester and at the end of the semester. Entries were analyzed manually using content analysis based on the research questions and the five facets of mindfulness.

The Statistical Packages for the Social sciences (SPSS) was used to analyze the data collected from the FFMQ and the PSS. Descriptive statistics and measures of central tendency and standard deviations were performed to obtain the summarized characteristics of the sample. The study used clear ethical standards to assure confidentiality, privacy, anonymity and informed consent. Students were informed that the research would be published and gave consent to use their narratives from their journals.

Results

Journal Entries

The analysis of the journal entries reveals that mindfulness was a useful practice to support students' growth in self-awareness and cultivation of inter and intra personal skills. It also revealed that mindfulness practice had a positive impact in helping students cope with personally and academically stressful situations. Students' initial journal entries in most instances revealed reluctance, apprehension and struggle and were short, characterized by the following entries:

I feel kind of weird doing this by myself. I do not have a voice that I can concentrate on...

I listened to meditation music today, I felt kind of stupid to just listen to this type of music ... I do not know if I can to this every day.

I practice the 3 Minute Progressive Muscle Relaxation Technique...I was not able to focus. I was feeling emotional and my thoughts were racing 100km/h. After the activity, I was not feeling any differently.

I really can't meditate because I cannot quiet my mind. It is always very hectic... However, towards the second half of the semester, students were recounting stories, mindfully reflecting on their own reactions and responses to conflicting situations, mapping out the changes in their own behaviours and in their regulation of their own emotions. Meanwhile, other students discovered their creativity and composed poems of varying lengths.

Journal entries revealed that student's mindfulness practices resulted in more effective coping with academic related stress, reduction of anxiety before exams and reduction in feelings of being overwhelmed as illustrated the following entries:

I was doing my assignment for Psychology and became a bit frustrated...I then closed my eyes, took deep breathes, and followed the direction of my breath going in and out my lungs. As I was finished, I felt the anxiety no more and made a better effort to understand the assignment. It helped me clear my mind....

I was sitting in class and felt a bit overwhelmed when I heard all that I had to accomplish for Professional and Society Practice 1.2. I knew this was a great opportunity to do the deep breathing exercise.... After doing it, I felt more relaxed and began asking the Lecturer detailed questions, thus lowering uncertainty by knowing exactly what is expected of me.... I notice that my perception changes when I do the deep breathing exercise.

...The first final went pretty well, and I am sure that I finished Psychology with a good grade. I did a mindful exercise prior to the exam, and entered the room relaxed and confident...

I really need to study for my midterms this week. That got me a little bit stressed out. Anyway, I did my mindful exercise ... From mindful to mind FULL. Wonderful! ... I wish I discovered mindfulness earlier. This could have really helped me during my high school study.

It was interesting to review journal entries to discover how students benefitted from mindfulness in their personal lives to cope with stressful situations, as shown in the following entries:

This evening I had my first date with a boy I used to date ...I was a little nervous. So I tried to do my exercise before our date. It helped...

I choose to be mindful when breastfeeding my baby cause I felt relaxed the last time I try it. So I took 15 minutes being mindful and enjoying the moment and the time I have with my baby. The moment I was breastfeeding, I noticed the little details my baby has on his face and really saw his mouth movements. It

felt that I was connected to my baby I felt my calmness penetrated to him and made his also calm.

Today was a stressful day, thus I put up one of the mindful sounds and I did some deep breathing exercise which I wanted to do for more or less 5 minutes. But I was so relaxed that I did 10-15 minutes... I felt very calm and very good, almost as if a weight was lifted out of my shoulders...

I sat on the bed, closed my eyes and started breathing in and out. Breathing in power, health and exhaling weakness and negativity. After that, I began smiling, because I just felt happier... I notice that life is better with meditation. Life is too busy and time to relax is vital.

...I did my exercise before sleeping...It made me relaxed and sleepy. Just what I wanted, great!!

With regard to students' ability to develop self-awareness and inter and intra personal skills, one student captured this beautifully as she wrote in her journal:

I feel relaxed and so calm. I'm feeling to write, about myself about my life. Just to have it all on paper or in some way that I can have a view on it. I want to see it in front of me to see every detail in front of me, what I like about my life and what I don't like about it, what is bothering me that I push aside, I hide, instead of reflecting on it and try to grow from it...

Another student wrote about her personal growth in responding to events instead of her former tendency to react to events as shown in the entry below:

I want to write about how I have grown because of doing mindfulness activities. I lay on the floor and began thinking about how my attitude has changed. I found that the many things that made me flair up are now having little to no effect on me. I also noted that I am less angry towards people, because I have learned that I cannot change people's behavior, but I can change the way I react to them...I notice that mindfulness is not foolishness as I and many thought...

The analysis of the journal entries also revealed that students were able to act with awareness, as related by one student in the following way:

Today, I want to write about breath awareness. My body tells me when there is a problem. Usually, I will jump to action to try to fix it. I took deep breaths and begun attracting positive energy and dispelling negative...

In the area of interpersonal development, one student's journal entry read as follows:

Today I had some issues with a friend so this influenced my mood in a bad way. When I did the mindfulness, I was thinking what exactly made me feel bad...so I could understand where my feelings came from. It felt good to try to understand my feelings...to understand why I had this strange feeling in my body...

Other emerging themes captured in the journal entries included students expressing feelings of happiness, increased insight when they had decisions to make, improved

sleep and developing a relationship with the local beaches that went above and beyond recreation and entertainment. All students reported in their journals that they shared their practices with their family members and friends. One student appeared to struggle with the intersectionality between his prayer life as a Christian and the formal practices of mindfulness, while others experienced it as a moment of awakening in the following way:

...this course was a real epiphany, and I hope the results will last a long time.. I will work on maintaining a balance between having goals and free time...

Some students expressed that through mindfulness practices and journaling experiences they were able to discover their creative talent in writing poetry, and they would at times write poems in their journals. Some of the examples below capture the learning goals of the course, specifically those related to reflection, self-awareness and inter and intra personal development:

Knowing

If I am ever in need of relaxation during times of stress
I can use mindfulness techniques while I dress
I have learned the different personality types I possess
Which enabled me to understand the feelings I suppress
I know there is much more of myself to find out
But I am happy that these courses have helped me with my doubts
I know that whatever challenge I face it will work out
And that there are always people that will support me throughout

Live in the Now

Through the fog of a future already passed
He could still visualize the overcast
Of a dream that told him what he could have been
If only he would have achieved this one thing
His wrinkled skin symbolized the years he had to cope
With an entire life, marked by infinite hope
While time pushed him towards his final hour
His ceaseless efforts to succeed, had robbed him of all his power
Standing there, in the golden glow of an early autumn's fall
He realized, that he could never have it all
From within and from without, he finally understood
What his life had always been about
In these final moments, he came to realize somehow
That all he really needed was right NOW

My Mindful Journey
 I've come to find that my self-worth
 Is most vital part to my happiness
 I focus on myself
 By practicing constantly deep breathing and mindfulness
 There is a change in my eyes
 So many new things I realize
 From my life, I will never hide
 Loving the journey, with every stride

Five Facets of Mindfulness Questionnaire (FFMQ)

Table 1 Pre-test and post-test results on the Five Facets of Mindfulness Questionnaire (FFMQ)

FFMQ	Pre-test (M=24.7, SD=2.28) n=15		Post-test (M=28.1, SD=2.5) n=11	
Sub scales	M	SD	M	SD
Observing	22.4	4.5	31	2.9
Describing	26	7.1	32.9	6.1
Act with awareness	29.5	6.1	29.2	7.0
Non judgment	25.4	5.2	24.9	7.6
Non reactivity	20.4	2.9	22.9	5.0

In Table 1, the means and standard deviations of the results on the FFMQ were calculated for the pre and post-tests. At the end of the course, students reported significant increases in two of the FFMQ subscales: 'observing' (pre-test M = 22.4, SD = 4.5 to post-test M = 31, SD = 2.9) and 'describing' (pre-test M = 26, SD = 32.9). Student's lowest facet of mindfulness in both the pre and post-test remained the same: 'non-reactivity' (pre-test M = 20.4, SD = 2.9 and post-test M = 22.9, SD = 5.0) with a marginal increase at post-test. Overall, students' levels of mindfulness increased at the end of the course (pre-test M = 24.7, SD = 2.2 and post-test M = 28.1, SD = 2.5).

The Perceived Stress Scale (PSS)

Individual scores on the PSS can range from 0 - 40 with higher scores indicating higher perceived stress. Scores ranging from 0–13 are interpreted as low stress, scores ranging from 14–26 are interpreted as moderate stress, and scores ranging from 27–40 are interpreted as high perceived stress (Cohen et al., 1983). The results of the PSS at the commencement and at the end of the course remained in the range of moderate stress levels (pre-test: score of 23; M = 16.8, SD = 4.1 and post-test: score of 22; M = 17.7, SD = 3.1). This represented a marginal increase in stress levels at the end of the course.

Academic performance

The impact of mindfulness on student's perception of their academic performance revealed an insignificant increase at the end of course, as represented by the pre and post-test mean scores (pre-test $M = 2.3$, $SD = .81$) and (post-test $M = 2.4$, $SD = .68$).

Discussion, conclusions and recommendations

The purpose of the study upon which this article is based was to determine the impact of mindfulness on students' cultivation of self-awareness, development of inter and intra personal skills and improved academic performance. Journal entries in which students recorded their daily formal and informal mindfulness practices clearly illustrated that students benefitted from cultivating self-awareness and inter and intra personal competencies. Students' journal entries also attested to other benefits, such as improvements in sleep, feeling happy and discovering their own creativity. The results of the pre-test FFMQ revealed that students' three highest levels of mindful awareness at the commencement of the course were for the facets 'acting in awareness' followed by 'describing' and 'nonjudgment'. This means that students reported an ability to direct undivided attention to their current activity; to describe and label their experiences with words, and to maintain a non-evaluative attitude towards their inner experiences. The results of the post-test FFMQ revealed that students' three highest levels of mindful awareness at the end of the course were for the facets 'describing', 'act with awareness' and 'observing'. It is interesting to note that 'observing' which was the lowest ranked facet of mindfulness at pre-test was the facet most improved at the end of course followed by 'describing'.

The results of the PSS revealed a marginal increase in the stress levels of students at the end of the course and also a marginal increase in their perceptions of their academic performance. These increases may be attributed to the time in which these post-tests were administered, i.e., on the last day of class during the last teaching week of the semester, which was one week prior to assessment week. Students expressed feelings of being overwhelmed, anxious and uncertain about the assessment methods used in some of their courses. This seems to suggest that during the most stressful period of the semester, students' application of mindfulness as a tool to manage the stress and anxiety usually associated with final exams was impaired. In the future, it may therefore be best to administer the post-test at least two to six weeks after the termination of the semester. In any case, the results seem to beg the question about how best to introduce mindfulness practice in social work education: Should it be integrated into an existing course or might it be better taught as a course on its own? Regardless of the approach chosen, a question that still remains is whether such a program of study should be optional for students who, by virtue of their religious affiliation, may not want to participate.

Overall, the results of this study on the integration of mindfulness in teaching first year social work students indicates that it can be a useful practice to support students' efforts to cultivate self-awareness, to develop inter and intra personal skills and to cope with personally and academically stressful situations. On the basis of these findings, the following three recommendations are proposed:

The Department of Social Work and Development should acknowledge the stressful nature of student life and its impact on future psychosocial wellbeing and integrate mindfulness and other contemplative practices into the curriculum to cultivate awareness, inter and intra personal development, self-care and stress management.

The Department of Social Work and Development should conduct a longitudinal study to follow up on the impact of mindfulness on the stress levels of social work students, coping mechanisms, inter and intra personal skills and self-awareness at the end of each academic year, and again at least three to five years after graduation to determine if the effects are long-term or fleeting.

The Department of Social Work and Development should introduce mindfulness practices to other faculties and programs at the university.

Reflections

My teaching and student coaching experiences at the university have demonstrated to me that students experience considerable stress throughout their program of study and this correspondingly interferes with their ability to complete the program and/or to reach their full academic and professional potentials. Some of their stresses emanate from histories of adverse childhood experiences, financial difficulties and managing a dual or multiple roles of working and/or caregiving and studying. My teaching experiences also reveal that some students are distracted with their smartphones and other digital devices both in the classroom as well as at home. In light of the above, I made the decision to introduce mindfulness as a course teaching innovation research project.

As I mindfully read the student's journal entries, I observed my dance amongst the three roles of researcher, teacher and mindfulness practitioner. I shared the same liminal space as the students as I observed similarities between their own experiences and mine. Harmonizing these multiple roles, and having to remove myself from the interpretation of students' narratives in the construction of knowledge was at times difficult. Students' reflective accounts of their newly acquired mindfulness lifestyles, routines and experiences inspired me to strengthen my resolve to practice and deepen my knowledge about mindfulness and other forms of contemplative practices both for personal and academic purposes. A particular admonition of meditation teachers became a truism for me, namely that personal and regular practice in meditation is essential for instructors, and without it, a teacher can neither speak with authority about meditation nor adequately address student's experiences (Schumacher, 1977 as cited in Shapiro, 2008).

I became convinced that my personal practice was imperative to better model the targeted behavior to students and maintain states of presence, attention and attunement. It was remarkable to observe how quickly students adopted the practice of entering the classroom with an attitude and readiness to be still as they sat quietly, feet flat on the floor ready to practice. They transferred this same posture to another class where I taught this same cohort of students. On one occasion in that other class, upon their entrance, I sensed their restlessness and agitation and asked, “How is everyone doing today, can we do a three minute breathing space?” One student remarked, “I think we need 15 minutes” and another requested that we turn off the lights. This classroom experience left me with feelings of fulfillment, knowing that students had acquired an appreciation of the benefits of mindfulness practice. Moreover, it confirmed for me that mindfulness has the potential to transform the nature of higher education from one of mere pedagogy to one of all-sided student development. It is anticipated that this teaching research experience will contribute to the creation of a cadre of social work professionals who are self-aware, compassionate, and empathetic, and who practice continuous self-care and take full responsibility of their own psychosocial wellbeing, in order to build resilience and to transfer these inner resources to their family members, friends, and clients.

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PROMOTING SOCIAL AND EMOTIONAL LEARNING BY CURAÇAOAN SECONDARY SCHOOL STUDENTS

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Abstract

Although it has been generally agreed that it is important for schools to foster children's social and emotional development (Zins et al., 2004: 4), most students still lack social-emotional competencies and become less connected to school as they progress from elementary to middle to high school, and this lack of connection negatively affects their academic performance, behavior, and health (Blum & Libbey, as cited in Durlak et al., 2011: 405). The aim of the study on which this article is based was to encourage the promotion of social and emotional learning of HAVO 1-track secondary students at a school in Curaçao. In the study, data was gathered through a literature review as well as by administering the Mohapel Quick EQ test, and the results indicate that there is a correlation between emotional intelligence, behavior, performance and a positive classroom climate.

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Key terms: social and emotional learning, emotional intelligence, social and emotional skills.

Introduction

Imagine: A young girl named Ana just started her first year of high school. Since Ana just came from a school where she was the black sheep of her class, she was very excited about this, at first. "A new school, a new beginning" she thought. But as time went on, she started to feel just like she felt at primary school all over again. Her entire class was always mean to her. At first, it started with little jokes such as: "Ana banana", or "Ana the bookworm". Then the jokes became worse and worse. Her classmates started calling her ugly, laughed at everything she said, and sometimes even sneaked notes with hurtful words into her backpack. All this made Ana feel incredibly useless and stupid of course.

With time, Ana's excitement turned into depression, and her hope that she could feel normal again was soon gone. What made things worse was that the teachers did not even seem to notice. She thought about telling someone several times. But, just thinking about it, she felt incredibly stupid. "How do I tell my parents that I am hated?", "How do I tell my teachers that I am the black sheep of the class?" So, she decided not to tell anyone. But anger, fear and sadness consumed her troubled mind.

Her mother was the first to note the change in her daughter's behavior. Ana became very distant and did not talk much about school. Whenever her mother would ask her how her day was at school, Ana would reply with a very short and dry "fine". Her mother did not mind this much, because she assumed that it was just Ana going through puberty. As usual, Ana's father was too busy with work, so he did not notice much of a change in his daughter's behavior. When he did notice, he was too tired to even say anything. "Besides, that is what mothers are for" he thought.

At school, her English teacher noted that Ana never participated in classroom discussions, yet she said nothing. Her science teacher noted that Ana never seemed to be in a good mood, yet she said nothing. Finally, her math teacher, who was known as a strict teacher, noted that Ana was not doing her homework anymore, and decided to confront her. He said out loud: "Ana either you do your homework or do not come to my class". Of course, the entire class started laughing, and once again, Ana was the joke of the day.

314 Because no one said or did much, the bullying continued, and this of course was reflected in Ana's behavior and performance at school. How Ana's story ended, no one knows. Ana could have chosen to take her own life, or she could have chosen to seek help. But why talk about how it all could have ended while we can talk about how it all could have been avoided in first place? All of this could have been avoided had her classmates had skills such as sympathy and empathy, had her parents recognized what was going on with Ana, had her teachers' primary focus been to ensure the emotional and social well-being of their students, and most importantly, had Ana known how to recognize, manage, and express her own emotions.

The promotion of social and emotional learning in the classroom has proven to have many benefits for students. The study upon which this article is based attempted to answer the question: Why should this secondary school in Curaçao (Radulphus College) promote social and emotional learning of HAVO 1 students? In answering this question, I hope to encourage the promotion of social and emotional learning of HAVO 1 track secondary students at this school in Curaçao.

To be able to answer the main research question of the study, the following sub-questions were investigated:

1. What is social and emotional learning?
2. What is the impact of social and emotional learning on behavior?

3. What are the relationships between social and emotional skills and the learning environment?
4. What is the relationship between cognition and emotion?
5. What can teachers do to contribute to the social and emotional development of their students?
6. What outcomes have schools who have promoted social and emotional learning achieved?
7. What is the relationship between the promotion of social and emotional skills and performance at school?
8. Is there a link between emotional intelligence and performance in class?
9. Is there a link between emotional intelligence and behavior at school?

What is social and emotional learning (SEL)?

Most educators aim to help their students reach their full potential and are in constant search of new methods and strategies that could help them achieve their goals. The social and emotional learning framework emerged from a meeting held by a group of professors, researchers and health care professionals at Fetzer institute in 1994 to discuss ways to improve performance of students. There is a growing body of evidence which suggests that promoting students' social and emotional skills plays a critical role in improving their academic performance.

Research has shown that students bring many emotions in to the classroom. These emotions can have a positive or negative impact on their performance at school (Pekrun, 2014). Negative emotional states deplete a wide array of mental and physical resources within the individual (Sapolsky, as cited in De Houwer & Hermans, 2013: 137). Rimm-Kaufman (2006) conducted a study whose results suggest that it is only when children know how to manage their emotions and their interactions with others that they have time to focus on the academic challenges that lie ahead of them. Only then does school become a safe and productive learning environment in which children willingly invest their trust and their energies (Rimm-Kaufman, 2006). There are also several investigations, including large-scale experiments (e.g., Brown, Jones, LaRusso & Aber, 2012; Raver et al., 2011), that support the idea that targeted social and emotional learning (SEL) interventions can both improve the social-emotional quality of classrooms and facilitate students' social-emotional and academic well-being (as cited in Brackett & Rivers, 2014: 6).

Promoting social and emotional learning in the classroom can lead to successful management, understanding and expression of emotions, which can also be called a higher emotional intelligence (EI). Emotional intelligence can be defined as a person's ability to understand and express their emotions. SEL programs foster the regulation of emotion in ways that help students recognize, talk about and manage their feelings (Brackett & Rivers, 2014). To effectively foster the regulation of emotion, it is

important to focus on the five SEL core competencies, which are: self-management, self-awareness, responsible decision making, relationship skills and social awareness.

What is the impact of social and emotional learning on behavior?

Humans are biologically ‘wired’ in a way that impacts how we experience and express negative and positive emotions (Eid & Diener, 2001). However, many researchers argue that this biological factor is not sufficient to account for our experience and expression of emotions, and biological factors must be complemented by factors from the cultural context in which the emotions are experienced, expressed and perceived (e.g., Kitayama & Markus, 1995; Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Matsumoto, 1996; Mesquita & Ellsworth, 2001 as cited in Eid & Diener, 2001: 869). According to Frijda and Mesquita (1995), a culture can influence emotion through imposing social consequences for emotions, by stressing the norms for experiencing certain emotions and by stressing the social-cohesive functions of emotion (as cited in Eid & Diener, 2001: 869). Despite the differences in how culture can influence our behavior, there are also broad similarities in emotional experiences across different cultures (Eid & Diener, 2001).

It has been proven that emotions have an impact on judgment and decision-making skills (Lerner et al., 2014). For example, a student who is angry at her teacher, may choose to yell at her, even though that behavior could get her into trouble, and students who choose not to do their homework because they find it boring, also know that they are likely to be punished. According to Goleman (2009), our unconscious opinions are based at least in part on emotional memories that have been stored in our brains. The emotions that are evoked in certain situations are also stored in the brain and have an impact on our behavior. Rozin and colleagues (as cited in Lerner et al., 2014) argue that once emotions have been attached to decisions, they become almost impossible to detach (p. 7). Thus, having the ability to manage our emotions is crucial for having the ability to make good decisions, which will inevitably be reflected in our behavior. There are researchers (For example: Brackett & Rivers, 2014) who suggest that low emotional intelligence is related to negative behaviors and that the promotion of SEL in the classroom can reduce the probability of a student displaying self-destructive behaviors by enhancing their emotional intelligence.

What are the relationships between social and emotional skills and the learning environment?

The learning environment, also referred to as the classroom climate, determines the quality of the setting in which students learn (Ghanatabadi, 1991). The concept of a good learning environment refers to the establishment and maintenance of a positive context that enhances learning. In practice, classroom climates range from hostile or toxic to welcoming and supportive (Adelman & Taylor, 2005). One of the factors that is necessary for a good learning environment is a good social-emotional climate. A

study conducted by Robinson et al. (2018) suggests that social climate can influence the mood and the behavior of the people in it. This means that a negative social climate can negatively influence the mood of the students and encourage negative behavior in the classroom. One variable that contributes to the social climate in the classroom is the relationships among students and the relationships between the students and the teacher. For example, if a teacher is always in a bad mood and demonstrates this in the way she treats her students, the students are likely to start feeling resentment towards that teacher and her lessons. The consequence is that they will stop paying attention during her lessons, stop doing her assignments or even start skipping her class.

The ability to manage our emotions is also important when it comes to a positive classroom climate. A student who is emotionally intelligent will choose to confront a difficult situation in a different manner than a student who is not emotionally intelligent. For example, a student who is emotionally intelligent will understand that the emotion of anger is often a mask for the emotions of hurt or frustration. This student is more likely to understand why her teacher gets angry and yells at the class and can recognize if it is the class who caused the teacher to react this way (self-awareness). This student will be more likely than others to react to the situation by starting to behave better and to pay more attention in class. A student who is not emotionally intelligent does not have the skill set to understand why her teacher may be reacting in a such a manner and is less likely to understand that it is the class who caused this reaction.

The physical climate of the classroom also has an emotional impact. Some teachers choose to constantly ‘update’ their classrooms by displaying materials that are related to their changing learning objectives, while others choose to paint their classrooms in warm and inviting colors, etc. The physical climate of a classroom influences the learning environment through the emotions that it evokes. Hill & Epps (2010) conducted a study on the impact of physical classroom climate on student satisfaction by comparing a regular classroom with an updated classroom. The results showed that students were generally more satisfied and experienced more positive emotions in the updated classroom. This suggests that teachers can use the physical climate of their classroom as a tool to enhance the performance of their students.

What is the relationship between cognition and emotion?

Cognition can be defined as the mental processes involved in acquiring knowledge and understanding through thought, experience and the senses (Oxford English Dictionary, n. 1.). Cognitive psychology is the study of mental processes and its application to the field of education was pioneered by authors such as Piaget and Vygotsky from the 1930s onward. Cognitive psychology was the first branch of psychology that started looking into the relationships between cognition and behavior and the relationship between mental processes and the acquisition of knowledge.

As humans we have two information processing systems that determine our emotional response: the affective response processing system and the cognitive response processing system (Komninos, 2017). Our affective response processing system operates outside of our consciousness. It is reactive to sensory information and generates our emotional response to a given situation, for example, feeling disappointment after losing a game. (Komninos, 2017). Our cognitive response processing system on the other hand, is conscious and involves analysis of sensory information which can positively influence and even over-ride our affective processing system. The effects that our cognitive processing system can have on our affective processing system can be positive or negative.

What can teachers do to contribute to the social and emotional development of their students?

The Collaborative for Social and Emotional Learning (CASEL) is a nonprofit organization with the mission of making SEL programs an integral part of education from preschool through to high school. CASEL offers a wide range of SEL programs that have been designed for pre-primary, primary and secondary school students. CASEL's best practice guidelines for SEL programming include the development of a specific set of skills related to social and emotional development using active learning techniques that are connected and coordinated (CASEL, 2015).

The five core SEL competencies identified by CASEL (2015) include:

- **Self-awareness** [which] is the ability to recognize one's own emotions, thoughts and values and how they influence behavior [as well as] the ability to accurately assess one's own strengths and limitations with optimism and confidence. Self-awareness refers to having a "growth mindset" To teach students this competency, we must teach students to identify their emotions, have accurate self-perception, recognize strengths, have self-confidence and have self-efficacy.
- **Self-management** [which] is the ability to manage one's own emotions, thoughts and behavior in different situations. Teaching self-management includes teaching impulse control, stress management, self-discipline, self-motivation, goal setting and organizational skills.
- **Relationship skills** [which] include the ability to establish healthy and rewarding relationships [as well as] the ability to communicate clearly, listen well, cooperate with others, resist inappropriate social pressure, negotiate conflict constructively, and seek and offer help when needed. Teaching relationship skills includes teaching communication, social engagement, relationship building and teamwork.
- **Social awareness** [which] is the ability to take the perspective of and empathize with others, including those from diverse backgrounds and cultures [as well as] the ability to understand social and ethical norms for behavior and to recognize family, school, and community resources and supports. Teaching social awareness

includes teaching perspective-taking, empathy, appreciating diversity and respect for others.

- **Responsible decision-making** [which] is the ability to make constructive choices about personal behavior and social interactions based on ethical standards, safety concerns, and social norms [as well as] the realistic evaluation of consequences of various actions, and a consideration of the wellbeing of oneself and others. Teaching responsible decision making includes teaching students to identify problems, to analyze situations, to solve problems, to evaluate, to reflect and [to assume] ethical responsibility.

RULER (Recognizing Understanding Labeling Expressing and Regulating) is the most popular multi- year SEL program, provided by CASEL, and has been designed to improve students' emotional intelligence. The RULER program has been designed for students from kindergarten through eighth grade (from 5 to 14 years old) and is one of the few SEL programs that does not need separate lessons to promote social and emotional skills, but instead promotes social and emotional skills through teacher practices and integration with academic subject areas. The RULER program builds social and emotional skills by the teaching and learning of emotion related concepts and by introducing tools that open up space for emotions in the classroom (Brackett & Rivers, 2014). In doing so, RULER focuses on five key emotion skills: Recognizing, Understanding, Labeling, Expressing and Regulating emotions. RULER programs also provide opportunities for adult stakeholders, school leaders, staff, teachers and family members to develop their emotional intelligence by learning and applying these five key emotion skills regularly. This is to ensure that RULER is rooted in all aspects of the students' environment (Brackett & Rivers, 2014).

The RULER approach to SEL has been implemented by hundreds of schools and the outcomes are still being evaluated (Brackett & Rivers, 2014). The results from a study conducted by Brackett and colleagues (as cited in Brackett & Rivers, 2014) showed that students who were part of a RULER program for one academic year showed a higher level of emotional competence skills such as leadership skills, social skills, study skills and had higher teacher evaluation ratings compared to the control group (p. 16) Hagelskamp et al. (as cited in Brackett & Rivers, 2014) compared schools that had implemented RULER to schools with regular curricula. After one academic year, their results showed that schools who implemented RULER exhibited higher rates of connectiveness between teachers and students, more student autonomy and leadership, less bullying and more focus by teachers on the students' interest and motivation (p. 16). Overall, various studies conducted on RULER programs have demonstrated positive results in terms of increased social and emotional skills, increased emotional intelligence and improved academic performance. However, it has also been shown that teachers play a crucial role, and that the successful implementation of SEL programs

depend on their openness to the idea of introducing SEL programs and the level of training that they have received to promote social and emotional skills in the classroom. SEL programs provided by CASEL, such as the RULER program, come with a monetary cost, which varies depending on the program. This makes it difficult for schools with limited financial resources to access SEL resources. Most SEL programs are whole school programs, which means that to apply for an SEL program provided by CASEL, school and district teams must engage diverse stakeholders in the program adoption process to identify shared priorities. Besides the CASEL programs, there are various sources available online that give tips and include exercises that have been especially designed to build social and emotional skills in the classroom, based on the five core SEL competencies listed above. These sources provide exercises that give students opportunities to understand, manage and express their emotions. However, before a SEL program is selected, it is important that the school assesses the needs, resources, policies and practices of the school and its surrounding community. SEL interventions are more likely to succeed when they are congruent with the values, beliefs, norms and histories of the children and families served.

Because some teachers may find that implementing activities that have been designed to promote social and emotional skills in the classroom during their lesson is too time consuming, the Center on Great Teachers and Leaders (2014) has identified the following 10 teacher practices that are not exhaustive, but represent instructional strategies that can be used in classrooms to support positive learning environments, social and emotional competencies, and academic learning:

1. **Student centered discipline** [which] refers to the types of classroom management strategies used by the teacher. Disciplinary strategies should be developmentally appropriate and motivate students to want to behave in the classroom.
2. **Teacher language** [which] refers to how the teacher talks to students. Teacher language should encourage student work and effort by re-stating what the student did and what the student needs to do to improve. (e.g., “I see you worked hard on your paper. When you really think about your work and explain your thinking, you get more correct answers). Teacher language should also encourage students to monitor and regulate their own behavior and not just tell them how to behave. (e.g., “What strategies have we learned when we come across a problem we are not familiar with?”)
3. **Responsibility and choice** [which] refer to the degree to which the teacher allows the students to make decisions about their work in the classroom. When students can make controlled and meaningful choices, they acquire a sense of responsibility.
4. **Warmth and support (teacher and peer)** [which] refer to the academic and social support that students get from their teacher and their peers. It is the job

of the teacher to create a positive learning environment where students know that the teacher cares about them.

5. **Cooperative learning** [which] refers to a specific instructional approach in which teachers have students work together toward a collective goal, whereby students actively work with their peers around content in a meaningful way.
6. **Classroom discussion** [which] refers to the conversation the teacher has with the students around content. During classroom discussions, teachers ask more open-ended questions and ask students to elaborate on their own thinking and on the thinking of their peers. This is a good way to help students develop communication skills and teach them how to expand their own thinking.
7. **Self-reflection and self-assessment** [which] refer to instructional tasks where the teacher ask the students to actively think about their work. Students need to learn how to assess their work against increasingly rigorous performance standards that have been devised by the teacher or co-created in the classroom.
8. **Balanced instruction** [which] refers to teachers using an appropriate balance between active instruction and direct instruction, as well as the appropriate balance between individual and collaborative learning.
9. **Academic press and expectations** [which] refers to a teacher's implementation of meaningful and challenging work, and academic expectations that reflect the teacher's belief that all students can and will succeed.
10. **Competence building, modeling, practicing, feedback and coaching** [which] occur when teachers help develop social-emotional competencies systematically through the typical instructional cycle.

Furthermore, because it has been suggested that adjusting the physical climate of the classroom can evoke positive emotions in the classroom (Hill & Epps, 2010), it is a good idea for teachers to make their classroom more attractive to their students by, for example, updating materials on the walls, changing the order of seats and even painting the classroom with more inviting colors.

There are some concerns regarding the promotion of social and emotional skills in the classroom besides those related to lack of time. Some teachers worry about the lack of social and emotional awareness among teachers, parents and students, while others are concerned with lack of training. Administrators sometimes cannot find the funds to finance SEL programs. A study conducted by Schonert-Reichl (2017) explained how teachers' beliefs can influence the implementation of SEL in the classroom. For example, teachers who have a positive attitude towards SEL are more motivated to implement these skills and confident that they hold the skills and knowledge to deliver

this program to their students. This means that teachers need to have a positive attitude towards SEL programs, be trained on how to implement SEL in the classroom and have emotional awareness for successful implementation of SEL.

What outcomes have schools who have promoted social and emotional learning achieved?

Ever since the SEL framework emerged, it has been gaining ground throughout the world. Those who participated in the meeting at Fetzer institute in 1994 were also the ones who created CASEL, with the purpose of establishing SEL as an important part of education. According to Zins et al. (as cited in Cristóvão et al., 2017) researchers have demonstrated that SEL not only improves general emotional well-being, but also has a positive impact on academic performance and lifelong learning (p. 2). Payton et al. (2008) examined the effects of SEL in 213 schools, involving 324,303 students between the ages 7 to 13 by comparing students in control groups to students who were participating in SEL programs. The results showed that students who were participating in SEL programs exhibited enhanced social and emotional skills, improved attitudes towards self, school and others, enhanced positive social behavior, reduced conduct problems /misbehavior /aggression, reduced emotional distress /stress /depression and improved academic performance. Durlak et al. (2011) conducted a study on 213 schools with SEL programs, involving 230,034 students from kindergarten through high school. The results showed that students who were participating in an SEL program showed an 11 percentile-point gain in their academic performance compared to the student who were not involved in an SEL program.

While SEL programs have demonstrated significant benefits for students, there are still many schools that have not been able to do so to the extent they might like to, or that have not adopted SEL programs at all. One major reason for this are concerns on the part of administrators, teachers and parents, who believe that SEL takes too much time and energy away from traditional academic subjects. One way to address these concerns is to raise awareness among all stakeholders of how social and emotional skills can actually improve students' academic performance.

What is the relationship between the promotion of social and emotional skills and performance at school?

While there is a general agreement that it is important to foster the social and emotional skills in children, most students still lack social-emotional competencies and become less connected to school as they progress from elementary to middle to high school, and this lack of connection negatively affects their academic performance, behavior, and health (Blum & Libbey, as cited in Durlak et al., 2011: 405). For this reason, I chose to conduct the study on which this article is based with 28 participants (13 male and 15

female), between 12 and 13 years old, all of whom were members of a single HAVO 1-track group of secondary school students at in Curaçao.

The first instrument used in this study was the Mohapel-Quick EQ test created by a psychologist, Paul Mohapel (2012, see appendix) as a way to measure emotional intelligence. The questions on this test, which takes about 10-15 minutes to complete, are answered on a four-point Likert scale, with a range from 1 (never) to 4 (always). Higher scores indicate higher levels of emotional intelligence. The test is divided in to 4 sections with 10 questions each. Each section corresponds to one of the four domains of emotional intelligence:

Emotional awareness, also known as self-awareness: The purpose of the questions in this section was to measure the participants' ability to recognize one's own emotions, thoughts and values and how they influence behavior.

Emotional management, also known as self-management: The purpose of the questions in this section was to measure the participants' ability to manage their own emotions, thoughts and behavior in different situations

Social emotional awareness, also called social awareness: The purpose of the questions in this section was to measure the participants' ability to take the perspective of and empathize with others, including those from diverse backgrounds and cultures, as well as their ability to understand social and ethical norms for behavior and to recognize family, school, and community resources and supports.

Relationship management: The purpose of the questions in this section was to measure the participants' ability to establish healthy and rewarding relationships.

The Mohapel-Quick EQ test was first administered to the students at the beginning of semester 2, after obtaining permission from the headmaster and the schoolboard. The students were asked to complete the test during one of their English lessons and it took most of the students approximately 15 minutes to do so, with a few taking a bit longer. According to the results of the test, the students were divided in to three groups: low emotional intelligence, average emotional intelligence and high emotional intelligence. The results of the emotional intelligence test were first compared with the average of the grades each student received for all their subjects during periods 1, 2 and 3. This was to see if there was a correlation between academic performance and emotional intelligence. The results of the emotional intelligence test were then compared to the total number of unannounced absences, late arrivals to class, removals from class, and instances of lesson materials not being in order noted in the school record books for periods 1, 2 and 3. This was to see if there was a correlation between school behavior and emotional intelligence.

During semester 2, these students' teachers integrated units into their classes designed to teach social and emotional skills to students between 13 and 18 years of age by the creators of the Youth Development Activity Guide published by the Ohio Adjutant

General's department. At the end of semester 2, after the students had interacted with these units, the students took the same Mohapel-Quick EQ test that they had taken at the beginning of semester 2. The students were asked to complete the test during one of their English lessons, and it took approximately 10 minutes for them to complete the test. The results were compared to the same test the students took at the beginning of the semester to see if there was a difference in the scores before and after the promotion of social and emotional skills in the classroom.

Each of the four domains on the Mohapel-Quick EQ emotional intelligence test consists of ten questions, so that each of the 28 students could score a maximum of 40 points per domain or 160 points for the entire test. On the basis of their total scores, students were divided into three groups: low emotional intelligence (less than 54 points), average emotional intelligence (between 54 and 106 points) and high emotional intelligence (between 107 and 160 points). None of the students scored so low as to be classified as having low emotional intelligence, while a total of 11 students (6 male and 5 female) were classified as having average emotional intelligence, and 17 (6 male and 11 female) were classified as having high emotional intelligence, as shown in Table 1.

Table 1 Results on the emotional intelligence test at the beginning of semester 2

Emotional Intelligence (EI)	Male students	Female students	Total
Low EI	0	0	0
Average EI	6	5	11
High EI	6	11	17

Is there a link between emotional intelligence and performance in class?

To see if there was a correlation between academic performance and the emotional intelligence of the students the average grade each student received for all their subjects combined during periods 1, 2, and 3 was calculated and, on the basis of this average grade, students were divided into three groups: low performer (0-3), average performer (3.1-7), and high performer (7.1-10). The results of the grades were then compared with the results of the emotional intelligence test taken at the beginning of semester 2. The results showed that 17 out of the 28 students had high emotional intelligence, out of which 5 were average performers and 12 were high performers. The results also showed that 11 out of the 28 students had average emotional intelligence, out of which 8 were average performers and 3 were high performers.

This indicates there was a correlation between students' social and emotional skill levels and students' levels of academic performance, as shown in Table 2 and Figure 1.

Table 2 Emotional intelligence and performance

Student	Average grade 3 periods	Performance	Emotional Intelligence (EI)
1.	8.4	High performer	EI High
2.	6.1	Average performer	EI Average
3.	7.8	High performer	EI High
4.	9.2	High performer	EI High
5.	5.9	Average performer	EI Average
6.	7.3	High performer	EI High
7.	7.6	High performer	EI High
8.	6.3	Average performer	EI High
9.	8.5	High performer	EI High
10.	7.3	High performer	EI Average
11.	6.8	Average performer	EI Average
12.	7.3	High performer	EI High
13.	6.9	Average performer	EI Average
14.	6.7	Average performer	EI High
15.	7.5	High performer	EI High
16.	7.1	High performer	EI High
17.	6.7	Average performer	EI Average
18.	6.8	Average performer	EI High
19.	7.4	High performer	EI High
20.	7.6	High performer	EI Average
21.	6.5	Average performer	EI High
22.	6.4	Average performer	EI Average
23.	6.8	Average performer	EI Average
24.	7.0	Average performer	EI High
25.	8.0	High performer	EI High
26.	6.4	Average performer	EI Average
27.	7.4	High performer	EI Average
28.	7.2	High performer	EI High

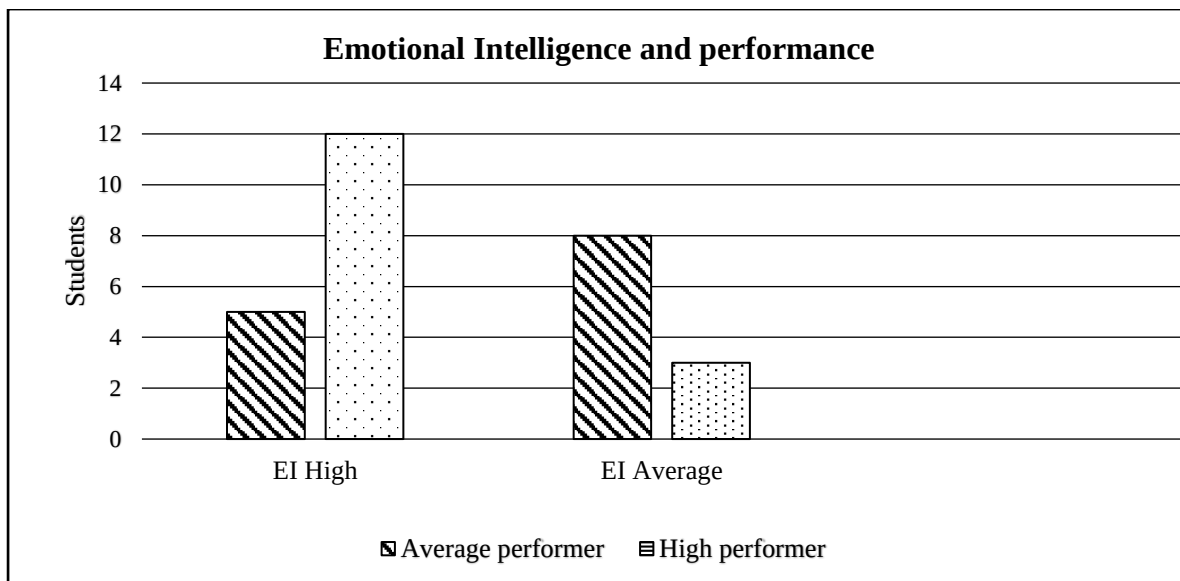


Figure 1 Emotional intelligence and performance

Is there a link between emotional intelligence and behavior at school?

The results of the emotional intelligence test were then compared to the total number of unannounced absences, late arrivals to class, removals from class, and instances of lesson materials not being in order noted in the school record books for periods 1, 2 and 3. This was to see if there was a correlation between school behavior and emotional intelligence. The results showed that the 17 out of the 28 students who had high emotional intelligence were cited an average of 27 times in the school record books, while the 11 students who had average emotional intelligence were cited an average of 36 times in the school record books. This indicates there was a correlation between students' social and emotional skill levels and students' levels of acceptable behaviour, as shown in Table 3 and Table 4.

Table 3 Emotional intelligence and number of times cited in the school record book

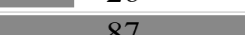
Student	Noted in Magister	Emotional Intelligence
1	 18	High Emotional Intelligent
2	 42	Average Emotional Intelligent
3	 37	High Emotional Intelligent
4	 3	High Emotional Intelligent
5	 20	Average Emotional Intelligent
6	 37	High Emotional Intelligent
7	 12	High Emotional Intelligent
8	 42	High Emotional Intelligent
9	 10	High Emotional Intelligent
10	 17	Average Emotional Intelligent
11	 59	Average Emotional Intelligent
12	 47	High Emotional Intelligent
13	 32	Average Emotional Intelligent
14	 22	High Emotional Intelligent
15	 13	High Emotional Intelligent
16	 28	High Emotional Intelligent
17	 71	Average Emotional Intelligent
18	 38	High Emotional Intelligent
19	 18	High Emotional Intelligent
20	 56	Average Emotional Intelligent
21	 26	High Emotional Intelligent
22	 87	Average Emotional Intelligent
23	 18	Average Emotional Intelligent
24	 9	High Emotional Intelligent
25	 18	High Emotional Intelligent
26	 27	Average Emotional Intelligent
27	 25	Average Emotional Intelligent
28	 8	High Emotional Intelligent

Table 4 Emotional intelligence and behaviour, as measured by the average number of times students were cited in the school record books

Average times cited in record book	EI High	EI Average
Total: 30 times average	27 times	36 times

EI before and after the promotion of social and emotional skills in the classroom

During Semester 2, the students in the sample participated in activities promoting social and emotional learning in their classes. These students took the same Emotional Intelligence test both at the beginning of Semester 2 before participating in those activities and at the end of Semester 2 before participating in those activities. A comparison of the their results at the beginning g of the semester with their results at the end of the semester indicated that at the end of semester 2, 25 out of 28 students had the same emotional intelligence level they had at the beginning of semester 2. While 1 male student went from average emotional intelligence to high emotional intelligence over the course of the semester, 2 female students went from high emotional intelligence to average emotional intelligence over the same time span.

This indicates there was no correlation between students' social and emotional skill levels and students' exposure to activities promoting social and emotional skills during a single semester at the school, as shown Table 5, Table 6 and Figure 2.

Table 5 Results on the emotional intelligence test at the end of semester 2

Emotional Intelligence (EI)	Male students	Female students	Total
Low EI	0	0	0
Average EI	5	7	12
High EI	7	9	16

Table 6 Results on the emotional intelligence test at the beginning of semester 2 (EI test 1) and at the end of semester 2 (EI test 2)

Student	EI test 1	EI test 2
1	EI High	EI High
2	EI Average	EI Average
3	EI High	EI High
4	EI High	EI High
5	EI Average	EI Average
6	EI High	EI High
7	EI High	EI High
8	EI High	EI High
9	EI High	EI High
10	EI Average	EI Average
11	EI Average	EI Average
12	EI High	EI High
13	EI Average	EI Average
14	EI High	EI High
15	EI High	EI High
16	EI High	EI High
17	EI Average	EI High
18	EI High	EI Average
19	EI High	EI High
20	EI Average	EI Average
21	EI High	EI High
22	EI Average	EI Average
23	EI Average	EI Average
24	EI High	EI Average
25	EI High	EI High
26	EI Average	EI Average
27	EI Average	EI Average
28	EI High	EI High

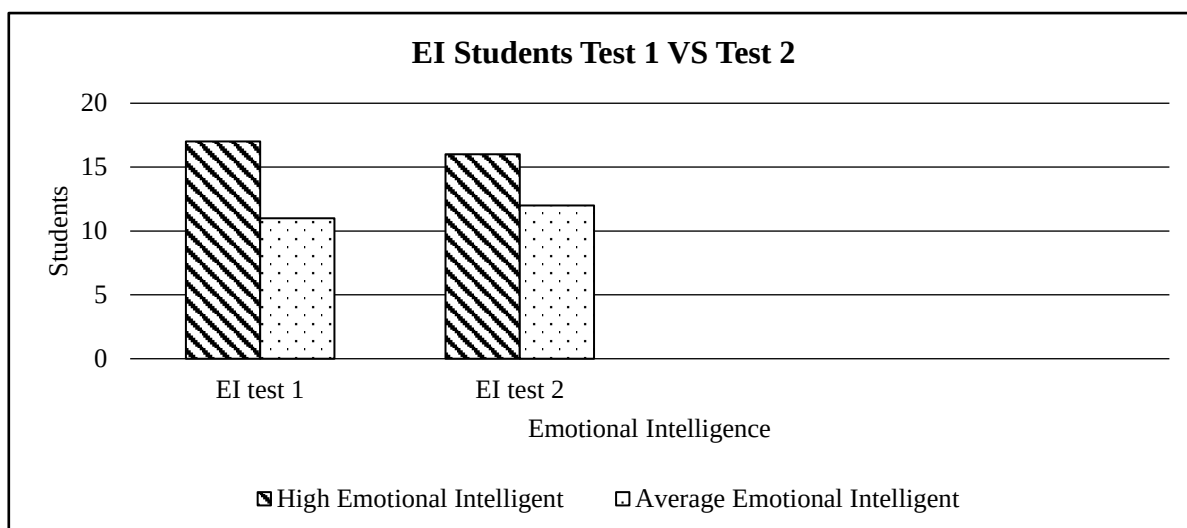


Figure 2 Results on the emotional intelligence test at the beginning of semester 2 (EI test 1) and at the end of semester 2 (EI test 2)

Discussion, conclusions and recommendations

The literature review which was conducted as part of the study upon which this article is based indicated that there is a strong correlation between students' social and emotional skill levels on the one hand and students' levels of academic performance and acceptable behaviour on the other (Lerner et al., 2014; Ghanatabadi, 1991; Brackett et al., 2004; Brackett & Rivers, 2014) The empirical results from the present study confirm these findings.

The literature also indicates that promoting social and emotional skills in the classroom increases students' social and emotional intelligence levels. The empirical results from the present study do not confirm these findings, at least when promoting social and emotional skills is limited to the short period of a single semester and is carried out by teachers who have little previous training specifically in promoting social and emotional skills in the classroom. Promoting social and emotional skills in the classroom has proven to be most effective when sustained over a period of multiple years (CASEL, 2015).

The empirical study upon which this article was based was limited in terms of number of participants and the time interval from pre-test (EI test 1) to post-test (EI test 2). In the future a broader sample group should be selected in order to be more representative of the population of secondary school students as a whole and a longer time interval allowed in order to investigate the long-term effects of promoting social and emotional learning in the classroom. Another factor that was not considered in this study was the social and emotional skill levels of teachers. In future studies, this factor should be taken into consideration in terms of its impact on students' attitudes towards their teachers as well as its impact on the efficacy of programs designed to promote social and emotional skills in the classroom.

On the basis of this study, it is recommended that secondary schools consider promoting social and emotional learning in its classrooms, in order to promote higher levels of academic performance and higher levels of acceptable student behaviour. If a school chooses to embark on such a program, it should be carried out by teachers who have received adequate training in promoting social and emotional skills. Moreover, students should participate in this program over a number of years of their schooling, rather than over the span of one or two semesters. Finally, to allow for the development and eventual propagation of best practices, and to allow errors to be corrected before they are multiplied, it would be wise to start with a pilot program involving a few groups of students.

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Appendix

Mohapel-Quick EQ test, created by Paul Mohapel (2012):

1

The Quick Emotional Intelligence Self-Assessment

Circle the number that most closely represents your agreement with the following statements:

(0 = Never, 2 = Sometimes, 4 = Always)

Statements	Score
Emotional Awareness	
• I am able to stand apart from my thoughts and feelings and examine them	0 1 2 3 4
• My feelings are clear to me at any given moment	0 1 2 3 4
• Emotions play an important part in my life	0 1 2 3 4
• My moods impact the people around me	0 1 2 3 4
• I find it easy to put words to my feelings	0 1 2 3 4
• My moods are easily affected by external events	0 1 2 3 4
• I can easily sense when I'm going to be angry	0 1 2 3 4
• I readily tell others my true feelings	0 1 2 3 4
• I find it easy to describe my feelings	0 1 2 3 4
• Even when I'm upset, I'm aware of what's happening to me	0 1 2 3 4
	TOTAL _____
Emotional Management	
• I accept responsibility for my reactions	0 1 2 3 4
• I find it easy to make goals and stick with them	0 1 2 3 4
• I am an emotionally balanced person	0 1 2 3 4
• I am a very patient person	0 1 2 3 4
• I can accept critical comments from others without becoming angry	0 1 2 3 4
• I maintain my composure, even during stressful times	0 1 2 3 4
• If an issue does not effect me directly, I don't let it bother me	0 1 2 3 4
• I can restrain myself when I feel anger towards someone	0 1 2 3 4
• I control urges to overindulge in things that could damage my well being	0 1 2 3 4
• I direct my energy into creative work or hobbies	0 1 2 3 4
	TOTAL _____

<i>Statements</i>	<i>Score</i>
Social Emotional Awareness	
• I consider the impact of my decisions on other people	0 1 2 3 4
• I can tell easily tell if the people around me are becoming annoyed	0 1 2 3 4
• When people's moods changes, I sense it	0 1 2 3 4
• I am able to be supportive when giving bad news to others	0 1 2 3 4
• I am generally able to understand the way other people feel	0 1 2 3 4
• My friends can tell me intimate things about themselves	0 1 2 3 4
• It is hard for me to see other people suffer	0 1 2 3 4
• I usually know when to speak and when to be silent	0 1 2 3 4
• I care what happens to other people	0 1 2 3 4
• When people's plans change, I understand	0 1 2 3 4
	TOTAL _____
Relationship Management	
• I am able to show affection	0 1 2 3 4
• My relationships are safe places for me	0 1 2 3 4
• I find it easy to share my deep feelings with others	0 1 2 3 4
• I am good at motivating others	0 1 2 3 4
• I am a fairly cheerful person	0 1 2 3 4
• It is easy for me to make friends	0 1 2 3 4
• People tell me I am sociable and fun	0 1 2 3 4
• I like helping people	0 1 2 3 4
• Others can depend on me	0 1 2 3 4
• I am able to talk someone down if they are very upset	0 1 2 3 4
	TOTAL _____

Scoring: Add up the scores for each domain to get a sense of one's emotional effectiveness.
Measure the effectiveness of each competency by the following key:

0 – 24	Area for Enrichment: requires attention and development
25 – 34	Effective functioning: consider strengthening
35 – 40	Enhanced Skills: use as a leverage to develop weaker areas

A DIFFERENTIATED INSTRUCTION APPROACH IN PUBLIC SECONDARY SCHOOL (HAVO/VWO) CLASSROOMS IN CURAÇAO

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Abstract

This research attempts to identify different teaching strategies derived from the Differentiated Instruction approach that can be used to cater to learner needs of students in the first three forms of public HAVO/VWO-track secondary schools in Curaçao. The data presented in this article were gathered through library research, online research, surveys of English teachers and peer recommendations. Given that all teaching strategies of the Differentiated Instruction approach were mentioned by those surveyed as being applicable to the learner needs of HAVO/VWO students, the article concludes that teachers can utilize all of these strategies in terms of content, process, product, affect and learning environment to accommodate their students, taking into account each student's readiness, interests and learning profile.

Key terms: differentiated instruction, secondary education, Curaçao, HAVO/VWO, teaching approach/framework

Introduction

During my internship as an English teacher at *Kolegio Alejandro Paula*, a public secondary school in Curaçao, I continuously encountered different groups of students with a wide range of abilities and with diverse learner needs. This is natural, because every learner is unique. Therefore, as a teacher I should be able to adapt my lessons and teaching style to all my students' different learner needs to ensure that they all benefit equally from my lessons. But this is not as easy as it may at first appear to be. For example, in one of my classes I had six high achievers, many average achievers who did well enough to pass their tests, but who now and then would still get an insufficient grade, four weaker students who constantly scored insufficient grades, and two students with dyslexia. To

make matters even more challenging, one of the few things that all of my students had in common was their constant need for more and more variation in their learning activities in order to keep them focused on their lessons. Being confronted with this type of class, I continuously asked myself how I could help them all at the same time.

With this in mind, I developed an interest in learning how to accommodate different learners with just one ‘me’ as their teacher. My vision of myself as a teacher includes making a difference in all my students’ learning experience and having each one of them leave my classroom with more knowledge of the English language than when they arrive. If I cannot find a way to accommodate all of their different needs at the same time, it will be impossible for me to achieve this goal.

In the research upon which the present article is based, I therefore decided to explore the Differentiated Instruction approach in the context of the public secondary HAVO/VWO-track schools in Curaçao, with a particular focus on the first three forms of HAVO/VWO education, which is called *onderbouw* in Dutch. A principal aim of this research is to identify specific Differentiated Instruction strategies used around the world that might benefit the HAVO/VWO-track students of our island. It is my hope that this study can serve the practical purpose of guiding teachers interested in using some of these strategies in their classrooms or as the basis for an implementation plan for Differentiated Instruction in public HAVO/VWO-track secondary schools on the island.

How the Differentiated Instruction framework emerged

Differentiated Instruction (also known as ‘Differentiated Learning’ or simply ‘Differentiation’) is based on a critique of the ‘one-size-fits-all’ teaching approaches that have predominated up until the present time, because such approaches do not ‘fit’ all the students in any given classroom. This is due to the fact that each student learns differently from his/her classmates, and each has his/her unique abilities, learning needs, interests, readiness levels, culture, socioeconomic status, language repertoire, motivation, etc. (Algozzine & Anderson, 2007), all of which make it necessary for teachers to consider their students’ differences when planning their lessons (Tomlinson, 1999).

Of course, teachers have always been forced by circumstances to adapt their teaching to the different learning needs of their students, but this is usually in spite of the ‘one-size-fits-all’ approach that they learned during their teacher training and that they are directed to adopt to conform with the educational policy and practice of their school. As an innovative, all-sided framework for education that for the first time makes an explicit break with the ‘one-size-fits-all’ approach, the Differentiated Instruction framework was pioneered by Carol Ann Tomlinson in the 1990s. A major precursor to Tomlinson’s work was that of Carleton W. Washburne (1953), an American educator and education reformer. In his article, titled “Adjusting the program to the child” he traces the roots of what was to become Differentiated Instruction to the late 1800s and early 1900s (Snyder, 2009).

According to Washburne (1953), teachers continuously have to deal with a wide range of differences in their students' abilities. He states: "In any classroom of thirty or more children, an intelligence test will almost always show a range of at least four years in mental ages of the children" (p. 138). He warns that teachers should not ignore this problem, or try to deal with it by means of a simple decision to promote or not to promote a student. Despite numerous reforms, he observes that most modern educational models assume that all students can learn the same things at the same age if they put in enough effort, and this assumption forms the basis for the systems that are used to promote or not promote students.

Washburne (1953: 138-147) mentions innovative educator Preston Search of Pueblo, Colorado, who in 1889 experimented with making textbooks 'self-instructive' so that students could learn at their own pace. He also takes note of Frederic Burk's 1912 experimental study at *San Francisco State Normal School* which demonstrated statistically that making textbooks self-instructive enabled students to learn according to their abilities. Mr. Burk started a movement thereafter to promote the use of self-instructive textbooks, which involved the actual production of such textbooks for the public schools of Winnetka, a suburban area of Chicago. He worked rigorously with the teachers in Winnetka to prepare self-instructive text material, diagnostic tests and administrative techniques that allowed each student to work according to his or her maturity and readiness. As soon as the success of this project became widely known, Burk's model quickly spread throughout the schools of the U.S., eventually giving rise to what we currently know as 'workbooks'. By the mid-1920s, teachers from all over the U.S. were implementing the so-called 'Winnetka Plan' or the 'Dalton Plan' developed by Helen Parkhurst with inspiration from the works of Maria Montessori and John Dewey. Even though these two plans were in many respects very distinct, they both created the space for a student's individual growth in a free and creative environment.

Washburne (1953: 138-147) explains that teachers should create a 'stimulating and interesting environment' with a variety of experiences for different students, although he also concedes that there is a common hard-core knowledge base for every subject area that each and every child must sooner or later master: "It is that core of skills that must be adjusted to the ability, the maturity, the readiness, of each individual child – not without real functioning meaning to him, not without motivation, but at the psychological moment when he can learn, with achievement proportionate to effort" (p. 140). Instead of pressuring a student into learning what we (as teachers) want him/her to learn, we should allow student his/her space to show his/her readiness to do so. With this approach, students learn more effectively and actively, which is one of the aims of Differentiated Instruction.

Toward the end of the 20th century, Carol Ann Tomlinson, frustrated by the less than optimal results of 'one-size-fits-all' approach, began assigning different tasks to different students in her classrooms, based on their different needs. Together with her friend Doris

Standridge, she began experimenting with this new teaching approach, which eventually led to her publication of numerous books on Differentiated Instruction for teachers, schools and parents seeking to challenge the ‘one-size-fits-all’ approach. Her groundbreaking book, titled *The differentiated classroom: responding to the needs of all learners*, which was published in 1999, is considered to be the seminal work for Differentiated Instruction (Tomlinson, 1999).

Description and examples of Differentiated Instruction

Differentiated Instruction can be defined as a flexible teaching framework or approach that provides different ‘learning avenues’ that suit each student’s learner needs and preferences and which in turn gives them the opportunity to reach their highest potential in education. Differentiated Instruction is student centered and focuses on the use of adequate teaching and assessment tools that are fair, flexible and challenging to the students, and which engage students in the learning content by giving it meaning (Tomlinson, 2001). Being a framework or approach, rather than a specific methodology, there is no fixed formula for creating a differentiated classroom. Differentiated Instruction can therefore be said to be principle-driven (heuristic) rather than formula-driven (algorithmic). A differentiated classroom is controlled by a philosophy, a set of principles and a few vital practices, which Tomlinson (2014) calls the Three Pillars of Differentiation.

Bosch (2012) describes an innovative program at the Bernard Lievegoed School in Maastricht, the Netherlands, which follows the Waldorf Education model, combined with a Differentiated Instruction and collaborative learning approaches. To stimulate collaborative learning at the secondary level, instead of separating VSBO-TKL, HAVO and VWO-tracked students, which is the normal practice in the Netherlands, all are placed together in one class during their first two and a half years of high school. Collaborative learning is often used in these heterogeneous groups, because the school firmly believes that a student learns the most when he/she explains what he/she knows to someone else. Stronger students in any particular subject area are given the opportunity to explain to the weaker students in their own ‘student language’ what the teacher has just taught in ‘teacher language’.

While the more academically tracked VWO and HAVO students tend to take on such teaching roles in the more academically oriented subject areas, the more vocationally tracked VSBO students tend to take on these teaching roles in the more vocationally and artistically oriented subjects, thus promoting equality and mutual respect among the students. Because the groups are mixed, sometimes ‘popular’ students find themselves working with ‘unpopular’ students. This might seem ‘awkward’ to them at first, but eventually they become used to it and the negative dynamic of clique formation in the classroom is disrupted. Thus, the school demonstrates how collaborative learning can help promote students’ social development (Bosch, 2012).

From the outset, teachers establish a detailed diagnostic dialog with each student in order to get a thorough picture of his/her levels of competence in each subject area upon entry into the program. This is done so that individual plans of study and assessment can be developed for each student. Starting in the 2nd form, Differentiated Instruction is also applied in the assessment procedures, where the students are given the opportunity to reproduce the learning content of a subject in their own artistic and creative way. After the initial two and a half years working together on the same subject areas, students start the task of gaining competence in the subject areas specific to their assigned tracks – VSBO-TKL, HAVO or VWO – while still being in the same heterogeneous class. Strong students feel challenged because they must explain the content to the weaker students and because they may be required to formulate their own learning goals with the guidance of the teachers. Naturally, the teachers know the strong students' previous assessment results and help them reach higher each time. This is where the school applies Russian psychologist Lev Vygotsky's theory of zones of proximal development. In addition to their regular learning activities in their heterogeneous class, VWO students can also participate in 'plus-classes' if they want to go the extra mile and participate in advanced learning activities in academic subject areas, such as science, biology, chemistry, and Spanish (Bosch, 2012).

Nobori (2011) reports on how teachers and staff at the low-performing *Mesquite Elementary School* in Tucson, Arizona used a Differentiated Instruction approach to transform their school into a model for success. While on a very tight budget, the school created a 'homegrown' and easy-to-implement Differentiated Instruction program called Reteach & Enrich (R&E). They started implementing R&E at the beginning of 2003 and after only six months they noticed astounding improvements in their students' test results. From that time onward, the school rose from being one of the lowest rated in the system to receiving the highest possible rating for eight years in a row, and winning the prestigious *A+ School of Excellence Award* from the Arizona Educational Foundation. The school achieved all of this while receiving the lowest per pupil funding in southern Arizona, with administrative costs at half of the national average.

Reteach and Enrich happens every day, during the half hour after 12.30 p.m. throughout the school. During this time, students who are struggling with a learning topic go to 'reteach' class and are given extra time and attention, while students who have mastered the basic concepts go to *enrich* class and take lessons designed to challenge them. The approach is based on a shared curriculum map with defined learning objectives for every week of the school year. At the end of each week, teachers sit together and assess students on the defined objectives of that week. If a student needs more time to thoroughly grasp a learning concept of that week, he/she is assigned to a reteach lesson. If, on the contrary, a student has proven to understand the learning concepts of that week, he/she is assigned to an enrich lesson. Any student can be placed in a reteach lesson at some point in time, due to the fact that students can be good in one subject and weak in another. Students

have indicated that reteach lessons are an opportunity for them to understand a learning topic better than when it was explained the first time (Nobori, 2011).

To ensure the success of the R&E program, all teachers, even the music and physical education teachers, must be involved in the learning process of every student because it is a school-wide approach. Therefore, it is important for teachers to have time for planning to determine which teacher is in charge of which group, and when and how he/she will either reteach or enrich that group. Thirty-five minutes per day are set aside in the teachers' schedule for planning time. All the classrooms of each grade are connected by a central space where teachers can sit at a small round table and discuss their students' progress, evaluate tests, give feedback on the effectiveness of each others' lesson plans, share new ideas and plan for upcoming R&E lessons (Nobori, 2011).

Identifying learner needs

Before planning any lesson, teachers must first identify their students' learner needs, in order to adequately adjust to the learning content to the learners themselves. According to Vicky Minderhout, a professor at Seattle University in Washington state, learning needs or learner needs are what stand between the new knowledge (what the learner wants to know) and his/her current level of knowledge, skills, and enthusiasm (Noessel, 2003). In Table 1, Minderhout (n.d.) provides examples of learner needs in the cognitive, social, affective and psychomotor domains:

Table 1 Examples of Learner needs Adapted from Minderhout (n.d.)

Cognitive	Social	Affective	Psychomotor
Recognize good questions	Communicate with peers	Attain goals	Be in a comfortable setting
Ask good questions	Give and receive support	Nurture positive attitudes	Have transportation
Get help from experts	Experience external motivation	Be open to feedback from others	Have child care
Practice problem solving	Make a difference	Have time for reflection and self-assessment	Get enough sleep
Think independently	Interact while problem solving	Possess well-founded self-confidence	Have a good diet/ adequate energy level
Create work products	Explore and challenge conventions	Define and respond to locus of control	Exercise
Process new information	Grow with friends	Have a sense of belonging	Have access to equipment and tools
Use learning resources	Manage time and tasks	Understand motivations of others	Engage in appropriate/ timely demonstrations

Cognitive domain: As shown in column 1 of Table 1, the cognitive domain includes learning skills which mainly relate to mental (thinking) processes, such as processing information, constructing understanding, and applying knowledge, solving problems and conducting research. These skills correspond to the hierarchy of educational objectives in educational psychologist Benjamin Bloom's Taxonomy: knowledge, comprehension, application, analysis, synthesis and evaluation (Apple, Beyerlein, Davis & Leise, n.d.).

Social domain: As shown in column 2 of Table 1, the social domain includes interpersonal learning skills that relate to communication, teamwork, management and leadership. In the past, educators such as Benjamin Bloom have categorized the social domain under the affective domain with a few links to the cognitive domain. This cross-categorization relates to skill sets such as 'critical thinking about a communication performance'. With the emergence of new theories on learning, however, present-day educators have shifted their focus to the social and cultural contexts of learning, due to the fact that social domain skills support management and leadership skills. The integration of these social learning skills into the curriculum greatly promotes the learning process (Apple, Beyerlein & Leise, n.d.).

Affective domain: As shown in column 3 of Table 1, the affective domain includes learning skills that are mainly related to the emotional processes of the brain, such as: being open to experience, engaging in life, cultivating values, managing oneself and developing oneself. The learning skills in the affective domain heavily impact crucial factors in learning success, such as: student buy-in, self-management, persistence, attitudes toward assessment and level of success (Duncan-Hewitt, Hall & Leise, n.d.).

Psychomotor domain: As shown in column 4 of Table 1, psychomotor learning objectives regard specific physical functions, reflex actions, interpretive movements, and the deciphering of information through physical movement or where gross and fine muscles are used to express or interpret information. These correspond to Bloom's psychomotor taxonomy, and include the natural responses and autonomic reflexes of the human body (Wilson, 2015).

Minderhout (n.d.) states that teachers should decide on how they prefer to attain information concerning the learner needs of each of their students before the first lesson. There is no single best approach to how to gather information about students' learning needs, however, a good approach is to simply ask the students. Through a simple dialogue, the teacher can identify a student's particular learning needs, while simultaneously stimulating the student's interest in the content to be learned. The information gained from such dialogue can be used throughout the learning process in order to adapt teaching strategies to ensure a smooth learning process for the students.

Often, teachers can anticipate their students' individual learning needs based on their initial sketch of each student's entry behavior. The following are a few techniques suggested by Minderhout (n.d.) that can be helpful to one degree or another in identifying student learner needs in a short period of time:

Analyzing syllabi: First of all, while teachers review syllabi or textbooks, students can be asked to think about the general skills and knowledge that they will need to use in order to successfully achieve the stated learning objectives. Teachers can also invite the students to ask questions about the subject and to give their point of view on any doubts or concerns they might have regarding the required skills.

Free writing: In the same way, teachers can ask students to write about a certain topic in order to identify the students' attitudes, expectations and motivation towards the subject (McKeachie & Svinicki, 2006). Teachers can also verify learners' needs by asking them to write short notes on a topic by hand. These notes can then be collected and presented to the class with the purpose of encouraging students to appreciate the varied responses and different opinions on the subject within the group. With this activity, teachers create an opening to clearly indicate which goals the class will be working on.

Developing group vision: Additionally, teachers can explore their students' learning needs by first having the students make a list of their individual positive and negative learning experiences in the past. Then, the students are assigned to groups and each group merges the members' individual lists into one list of positive experiences that the group wants to replicate, as well as a list of negative experiences that the group wants to avoid. This activity creates a good opportunity for the teacher to determine the extent to which the learning content caters to the students' listed learning needs.

Surveying: It can also be helpful to put together a survey that explores students' learning preferences, which may be linked to their prior experience and their motivation to learn the content (Davis, 1993). Teachers can conduct surveys prior to or at the start of workshops in which learners might differ in skills and experience levels.

Identifying lessons learned: It can be pleasing to students to read and respond to comments from former students about what they thought was most difficult or challenging and which learning strategies proved most helpful for the particular subject or course. This can help when addressing issues related to the social and affective domains that might hinder the learning process (Provitera-McGlynn, 2001).

Publicly recording and synthesizing: Furthermore, teachers can publicly record and synthesize learner needs in settings where groups of students or individuals share their objectives and expectations. By aggregating responses, teachers create an opportunity to rephrase and classify the learner needs into different categories. During this activity, teachers can also help students pinpoint what is expected of them to realize their previously mentioned objectives.

Pre-assessing: Teachers can perform a pre-assessment at the beginning of a new learning module or new topic to establish the readiness levels of the learners in the cognitive, social, affective and/ or physical domains. This pre-assessment can be completed during a lesson or as homework, as well as individually or in groups.

Identifying and acknowledging learner needs is a powerful teaching strategy that can unite teachers and students at the beginning of any learning journey. The acquired information can be used to adapt teaching strategies to the students, which will enable them to achieve their personal goals as well as the learning objectives of the curriculum.

Blended Learning

The term Blended Learning has different interpretations in the academic world and the world of business. However, as this report is predominantly related to the academic world, the academic definition of the term will be taken into consideration. The Clayton Christensen Institute defines this teaching approach as “a formal education program in which a student learns – at least in part – through online delivery of institution and content, with some element of student control over time, place, path and/or pace” (Staker et al., 2011). In other words, Blended Learning is a teaching approach that combines ‘face-to-face classroom methods’ with technology, online resources and digital materials. Students attend a typical “brick-and-mortar” school structure but also receive instruction and content via digital and online media where they have more control over when, where, how and how quickly they learn.

The terms Hybrid Learning, Technology-mediated Instruction, Web-enhanced instruction and Mixed-mode instruction are interchangeably used to refer to Blended Learning (Martyn, 2003). As students experience Blended Learning in varied ways (different teacher roles, schedules, physical space and delivery methods, etc.), this teaching approach has come to include the following models (Staker et al., 2011):

Face-to-face driver: Programs offered through the face-to-face model are taught through a Blended Learning approach in which most of the learning content is delivered by face-to-face teachers, who also execute online learning on a case-by-case basis to assist or remediate when necessary. The teachers often do this either in the back of the classroom or in a technology lab.

Rotation: The indicative aspect of programs taught through the rotation model is that students within a classroom rotate from one station to another according to a fixed schedule. Their one-to-one stations are in a self-paced environment with a traditional face-to-face teacher. This model can be categorized somewhere between the traditional face-to-face classrooms and online learning scenarios because it combines these two situations and in some cases, it takes place remotely or on site. The face-to-face teacher usually has the role of supervising the online work.

Flex: The Blended Learning programs of the flex model deliver most of the learning content through an online platform. Teachers play the role of on-site support on a flexible and adaptive basis when tutoring in big or small groups. Programs for dropouts and students who are catching up on course credits fit into this model.

Online lab: There is also the online-lab model, which offers a Blended Learning program through which an entire course is delivered through an online platform but in a normal

brick-and-mortar lab environment. These programs usually provide online teachers, while professionals oversee the learning process and offer some explanation and support. Students who participate in this type of program also follow normal school schedules with traditional courses.

Self-blend: The self-blend model of Blended Learning is widely used with American secondary school students. It takes place any time the students desire to take one or more online courses in addition to their normal day-to-day school schedules. This learning process takes place remotely and individually, which is why it is different from the online-lab model. All online schools that offer these additional online courses promote the self-blend model.

Online driver: The online driver model entails that an online teacher offers all of the learning content through an online platform. Students are mostly working remotely, and face-to-face sessions are either optional or required, depending on their importance level. Brick-and-mortar components of this type of model include extracurricular activities.

The present study

The research project which forms the basis for the present article was designed to answer the following research questions.

1. Which different learner needs are most commonly encountered in students attending HAVO/VWO-track public secondary schools in Curaçao?
2. Which Differentiated Instruction strategies can be used in English language classrooms of public HAVO/VWO-track secondary schools in Curaçao to accommodate different learner needs?
3. How can a Blended Learning approach complement a Differentiated Instruction approach in HAVO/VWO-track classrooms?

To answer these questions, a mixture of different research types and methods was utilized, including the following:

Action research: During my internships, I continuously encountered students who differed significantly in terms of their learner needs and abilities. This led me to pose the question: ‘How do I help them all at the same time with just one ‘me’ as their teacher?’ It is important for me to point out that I do not consider having these different levels in one group to be a problem, because it is natural to have students with different learning needs in the same class. However, the issue is that teachers are challenged each and every day as to how to accommodate these different needs at the same time when each student expects and needs a different type of assistance from their teacher. Therefore, this entire project can be regarded as an example of action research, whereby: 1) I have reflected on the challenges that I have faced in the classroom; 2) I have then critically analyzed those challenges; and finally, 3) on the basis of that analysis, I have acted to transform my classroom in order to address those challenges.

Qualitative research: In order to answer my research questions, 10 English teachers of the first three forms of four public HAVO/VWO-track secondary schools in Curaçao – Albert Schweitzer College, Kolegio Alejandro Paula, Maria Immaculata Lyceum and Radulphus College – were asked to fill out a questionnaire (which served as a survey instrument, see Appendix 1) consisting of 5 questions. The goal was to have a credible sample group for this research. This sample group represented 62% of the total number of teachers who teach English at public HAVO/VWO-track secondary schools on the island, which is 16. All 10 teachers were able to successfully fill out the survey.

Desk research: In order to answer my research questions and to conduct a review of the literature, I used the resources of the library at the University of Curaçao, where I had access to online databanks such as SAGE and EBSCO.

Survey Results to answer Research Question 1: Which different learner needs are most commonly encountered in students attending HAVO/VWO-track public secondary schools in Curaçao?

In order to answer Research Question #1, 10 English teachers of the first three forms of four public HAVO/VWO-track secondary schools in Curaçao were asked to fill out a questionnaire (see Appendix 1) consisting of the following 5 questions

- I. How many years of experience do you have in the field of Education?
- II. Do you agree with the following statement: ‘All students learn the same way and require the same amount of guidance in learning’?
- III. Regarding learning needs, what do your students mostly expect from you as their language teacher? Please explain briefly.
- IV. Have you ever applied a teaching strategy associated with Differentiated Instruction? If yes, please explain. If no, skip to the next question.
- V. If an adequate implementation plan of Differentiated Instruction for public HAVO/VWO schools were formulated, would you be willing to apply this teaching approach in your classroom?

Results for Survey Question 1, teachers’ years of experience: All the teachers who participated in this research had a minimum of 8 years of experience as an English teacher of students in the first three grades of the HAVO/VWO-track.

Results for Survey Question 2, diversity of learning needs: All of the teachers surveyed disagreed with the statement: ‘All students learn the same way and require the same amount of guidance in learning.’ The teachers added comments such as:

“Even personality, age, gender, and group formation play a role in how students learn. Not to mention learning disorders, handicaps, behavioral issues, etc.”

“No, it depends on their prior knowledge, their willingness to learn and their way of learning.”

“(Students differ in) Various learning styles, social backgrounds.”

“No, every student has his/her own way of learning. For example, at [our school] we have a lot of students with learning disabilities and they participate in the same classroom as the ‘normal’ students, but sometimes it makes it hard for them to comprehend the subject given.”

“All students are unique and require different amounts of e.g. time and guidance.”

I believe the teachers’ responses to Survey Question #2 can be explained by the fact that as soon as a teacher steps into her classroom on the first day of school, she immediately notices a group of students with diverse faces, body language, motivation levels and cultural backgrounds, not to mention all of the important areas of diversity which do not immediately meet the eye, and can only be appreciated after building up a meaningful relationship with each student. I therefore completely agree with what the first teacher on the list above conveyed through her comments: Students simply differ in every possible way.

Results for Survey Question #3, learning needs of students: When the teachers were asked which learner needs they mostly noticed in their students, their responses tended to cluster around three areas: 1) needs related to the teacher’s instruction; 2) needs related to the social and affective climate among the students and between the teacher and his/her students in the classroom; and 3) needs related to the learning environment in the classroom.

Needs related to the teacher’s instruction: Students want their teacher to help to them reach their highest potential by providing a clear structure, good explanations, continuous guidance, and the necessary tools and materials:

“Structure is key. Students appreciate a certain teaching style that is repeated in every part of my teaching process. This makes them feel comfortable and me more approachable. This helps the start of every lesson and basically every area [of the lesson].”

“[Their teacher to be] able to speak English and [to be] able to explain grammar.”

“[Their teacher] to explain grammar, translate words, practice fluency and pronunciation.”

“Good and clear explanations.”

“To correct their test papers promptly, [...]”

“The students want the teacher to bring out the best in them, [...]”

“I think my students expect me to give them the necessary tools in order for them to reach their language learning goals.”

“They mostly want to speak the language well and are less interested in the other skills.”

- “To teach them the language and guide them in the learning process.”
- “[Their teacher to know] what their entry level is.”
- “[Their teacher to know] what their next goal is.”
- “[A] roadmap to get to that goal.”
- “Constant monitoring on their way to that goal.”

Needs related to the social and affective climate: Students want to be understood, valued and supported by their teacher and fellow classmates throughout the learning process:

- “[...], help them find the courage to speak out, give them the desire to do the required work, and show them that by completing the program they will achieve certain goals.”
- “[...], they want the teacher to respect them, i.e. understand their difficulties, their hesitations, and their complexes. They don’t want to feel humiliated if they give the wrong answer.”
- “And students want the teacher to be fair in the grading procedure and even in everyday activities – not to have favorites, not to let the best students dominate the class, not to label certain learners as weak from the very beginning.”

Needs related to the learning environment in the classroom: Students want a safe (learning) environment where they feel free in expressing themselves instead of feeling restricted and reprimanded by their teacher:

- “Safe learning environment.”
- “[...], to leave them alone as much as possible.”
- “They don’t want to be harassed by reprimands, i.e. ‘Don’t chat in the back’, ‘Don’t be so lazy’, ‘Don’t text on your phone!’”

As shown in Table 2 below, there are many parallels between the learning needs listed above, which were identified by the teachers in the survey conducted for the present study and those identified by Minderhout (n.d., see Table 1 above):

Table 2 Learner needs identified by the teachers in the survey compared to those identified by Minderhout (n.d.)

Categories of general learner needs identified by teachers in the survey:	Examples of learner needs identified by Minderhout (see Table 1 above):
Needs related to the teacher’s instruction: Students want their teacher to help to them reach their highest potential by providing structure, explanations, guidance, tools and materials	Students want to use learning resources; to process new information; to attain goals; to get help from experts; and to be open to feedback from others.

Needs related to the social and affective climate:	Students want to experience external motivation; to give and receive support; to possess well-founded self-confidence; to have a sense of belonging; and to nurture positive attitudes.
Students want to be understood, valued and supported by their teacher and fellow classmates.	
Needs related to the learning environment in the classroom:	Students want to be in a comfortable setting; to have access to equipment and tools; and to think independently.
Students want a safe (learning) environment where they feel free in expressing themselves.	

It is clear that even though these learning needs are identified by educators from two different countries who teach two different subject areas at two different levels (secondary school English in Curaçao versus university level Chemistry in the U.S.) they are strikingly similar. This leads me to the conclusion that students have general learning needs such as: being in a comfortable setting, having access to learning resources and materials, having a sense of belonging, attaining goals, possessing self-confidence, experiencing external motivation, thinking independently, receiving help from experts (their teachers), nurturing positive attitudes and giving and receiving support.

Additionally, the three general learning needs areas around which the responses from the HAVO/VWO English teachers clustered, line up nicely with Minderhout's (n.d.) four domains: with needs related to teacher's instruction corresponding to Minderhout's cognitive domain; needs related to social and affective climate corresponding to Minderhout's affective and social domains; and lastly, needs related to the learning environment in the classroom corresponding to Minderhout's psychomotor domain.

Results for Survey Question #4, previous experience with Differentiated Instruction:

When the teachers in the survey were asked if they had ever applied a strategy associated with Differentiated Instruction, 6 of the 10 teachers claimed that they had successfully applied Differentiated Instruction strategies. The strategies that they mentioned included the following: the use of flashcards as a form of formative assessment, providing supplementary enriching assignments for quick-paced students (2 teachers), grouping stronger students with weaker students to stimulate peer education, offering different materials and resources to different students (i.e. offering knowledge materials based on student interest in order to stimulate a positive attitude towards learning English), providing tiered lesson activities (students who are struggling with a topic receive individual assistance while stronger students receive extra activities for enrichment), and assigning different roles in the overall learning process to the students according to their capabilities or their learning phase.

Results for Survey Question #5, willingness to implement Differentiated Instruction:

When the teachers were asked if they would be willing to apply Differentiated Instruction in their classroom if an adequate implementation plan for public HAVO/VWO schools

were formulated, 9 of the 10 teachers said ‘yes’, while 1 teacher said ‘no’ because, according to that teacher, it is ‘too much work’. I believe that this 90% positive response rate needs to be taken into serious consideration, because it shows that teachers see the need for changing their teaching approach and are willing to change their instruction with proper guidelines.

Desk Research Results to answer Research Question #2: Which Differentiated Instruction strategies can be used in English language classrooms of public HAVO/VWO-track secondary schools in Curaçao to accommodate different learner needs?

Tomlinson (2001) defines Differentiated Instruction or Differentiation as a flexible teaching approach that provides different “learning avenues” that suit each student’s learner needs and preferences. She describes Differentiated Instruction as: “Responsive teaching rather than one-size-fits-all teaching”. In order to stimulate an efficient and optimum learning process for each student, teachers proactively plan different approaches for what students need to learn (differentiating through content), how they will learn it (differentiating through process), and how they will show what they have learned (differentiating through product) (Tomlinson, 2003). In the second edition of her seminal book *The differentiated classroom: responding to the needs of all learners*, Tomlinson (2014) added two new areas to the three areas identified in the first edition: differentiating through affect and differentiation through the learning environment. Each one of these five areas of differentiation will be considered in this section.

Differentiating through Content: Content is what students should know, understand and what they should be able to do or prove after studying. This is what we, as teachers, teach them. Content is derived from different sources, including national standards, local standards, curriculum guides and textbooks but, in the final analysis, teachers represent the critical factor in deciding what to teach, given their knowledge of the subject and of their students. Therefore, teachers must ask themselves: “What is the essential information?” “What is this subject really about?” “What will prove to be most meaningful to my students?” “What must I share with them to help them understand the essence of this subject?” When teachers have defined what they consider to be the core knowledge, understanding and skills that they need their students to master, they must ask themselves “How can I help my students grasp the new knowledge, understanding and skills?” (Tomlinson & Strickland, 2005).

Due to the fact that students differ in readiness levels, interests and learning profiles, it is important for teachers to differentiate through content with regard to these student characteristics. Tomlinson and Strickland (2005) give a few examples of how high school teachers can differentiate through content in response to student readiness, interest and learning profile. Their first strategy, one that I completely agree with, is using examples and illustrations based on student interests,

because during my internship, I experienced that my students grasped my explanations quicker when I incorporated their real life experiences into my examples and illustrations. Other strategies they propose that I think could be useful to teachers in Curaçao include the following: providing supplementary materials at varied reading levels, using small-group instruction to reteach students having difficulty, using small-group instruction for advanced students, providing organizers to guide note taking, using videotapes to supplement and support explanations and lectures, and presenting material in visual, auditory, and kinesthetic modes (for a full list, see Table A in Appendix 2).

Differentiating through Process: By process, Tomlinson refers to the moment when a teacher asks his/her students to stop taking in information through reading and listening, and to start giving the learning content meaning by interpreting it in their own ways. In this context, process is often used as a synonym for ‘(worthwhile) activities’. Tomlinson and Strickland, (2005) define a worthwhile activity as one that requires students to work with essential knowledge, understanding and skills in order to understand an important idea or principle or to solve a problem. In addition, a worthwhile activity is one that captures students’ interest and engages them so profoundly that they persist at the task no matter how difficult it may be. Tomlinson and Strickland illustrate how high school teachers can differentiate through process in response to student readiness, interest and learning profile by utilizing numerous strategies, including the following that I feel would work best in Curaçaoan classrooms: using tiered activities (activities at different levels of difficulty, but focused on the same key learning goals); providing small-group discussions at varied levels of complexity and focused on a variety of skills; and allowing students to specialize in aspects of a topic that they find interesting and to share their findings with others (for a full list, see Table B in Appendix 2).

Differentiating through Product: Tomlinson and Strickland (2005) use the term ‘product’ to refer to the final result of a long learning period through which a student demonstrates what he/she has learned. Product assignments should have specific, clear and challenging criteria for success that are based on grade-level expectations and individual student needs. A final product can take many forms and as such, can be a very flexible tool for a differentiated classroom. Tests are a possible final product, but research shows that students feel limited in demonstrating what they know when taking tests. Tomlinson and Strickland give a few examples of how high school teachers can differentiate through product in response to student readiness, interest and learning profiles. Of the strategies for differentiating through product that they provide, the ones that I find most relevant to the Curaçao context include: providing access to bookmarked Internet sites at different levels of complexity; encouraging students to demonstrate key knowledge, understand-

ing, and skills in related topics of interest; allowing students to use a range of media or formats to express their knowledge, understanding and skill; and providing visual, auditory, and kinesthetic product options (for a full list, see see Table C in Appendix 2).

Differentiating through Affect: Tomlinson and Strickland (2005) state that, like all human beings, students have affective needs, which include their sense of belonging in their classroom and group, a sense of kinship and a sense that they are valuable to the group that they belong to. Each student experiences these needs in different ways. High achievers have the need to feel comfortable and free when asking challenging questions or when making observations instead of feeling like they are a threat to the teacher. Weaker students have the need to feel included in their class and to feel like they have something to contribute. Students who do not have English as their first language or who come marginalized sectors of the community need to feel integrated and central in the learning process.

Tomlinson and Strickland (2005) make reference to affect as the ‘weather’ in the classroom and to the teacher as the ‘weather-maker’. Every storm or ray of sunshine that students experience in the classroom affects their learning process. The strategies for differentiating through affect suggested by them that I felt would be most useful to Curaçaoan teachers include the following: encouraging the students to listen carefully to each other so that they can understand the intention behind what is being said; seeking and responding to legitimate opportunities through which the teacher can offer the students emotional support and encouragement; and encouraging consistent and equal participation of each and every student in the classroom (for a full list, see see Table D in Appendix 2).

Differentiating through Learning Environment: Tomlinson and Strickland (2005) regard the ‘learning environment’ as visible and invisible classroom structures that allow both the teacher and the students to work in ways that accommodate them individually as at the level of the whole group. They refer to this flexible type of learning environment as the hallmark of a differentiated classroom. In order to create a flexible learning environment, teachers must first ask themselves “What can I do to ensure that different students can grow to their utmost potential in this space?” Teachers should examine how *space*, *time* and *materials* in the classroom can be used flexibly. Even though it is the teachers’ responsibility to create this kind of environment, it is best for teachers to involve their students as much as possible in the process, so that the students acquire a sense of ownership of their classroom and so that students gain a broader and more creative view of what can be accomplished in the classroom.

Tomlinson and Strickland (2005) advise that when the teacher and students are examining space while creating a flexible learning environment, they must consider the following questions: “In which ways can we rearrange the furniture in

the classroom for individual, small group and whole-class work?” “How can we create space for silence and concentration as well as space for conversation and movement?” “How can we deal with materials when students are moving from one place to another place in the room?” When the teacher and students are examining *time* while creating a flexible learning environment, they must ask themselves the following questions: “When is the best time to work as a whole group?” “When is the best time to work in smaller groups or individually?” “How can we control ourselves when we are working without the teacher’s direct supervision?” “How can we receive help when the teacher is busy?” “What do we do when we are finished with a challenging task that was at a high level of quality?” “What do we do when we need additional time for a task that we have worked steadily on?” “How do the students know which tasks to work on at which moment in time?” When the teacher and students are examining *materials* while creating a flexible learning environment, they must ponder the following questions: “Which materials are essential and should always be available in the classroom?” “Which materials should be directly accessible to the students and which materials should only be accessible to the teacher?” “Which materials should be used for which tasks?”

Key elements of Differentiated Instruction

According to the Institutes on Academic Diversity at the University of Virginia’s Curry School of Education (IAD, 2010), the six essential elements of a differentiated classroom include: a high quality curriculum, continuous assessment, respectful tasks, building a learning community, flexible grouping of students and “Teaching Up.”

High-quality curriculum: The IAD (2010) considers a high-quality curriculum to be the result of ‘planning with the end in mind’. This begins when teachers define their learning objectives by defining what they want their students to Know, Understand and be able to Do (KUD) at the end of the learning process.

Continuous assessment: The IAD (2010) see assessment as the controlling factor of Differentiated Instruction, which allows teachers to determine where each student stands with regards to their learning objectives. Pre-assessment can be done by using random tests or surveys to gauge students’ readiness and interests or to determine student groupings. Instructional steps can be planned better by continuously assessing each student’s progress. Formative assessment methods such as exit cards, ‘Question of the Day, journal prompts, observation and one-on-one conversations with students can be effective tools for determining if there is a need for a reteach lesson for those students who did not understand the lesson properly, and/or if there is a need to challenge other students through an enrich activity.

Respectful tasks: The IAD (2010) consider respectful tasks to be tasks that respond to students seeking affirmation, contribution, challenge, power and purpose

through their lessons. These tasks are appealing, inviting, challenging and invigorating. Even though they must be prepared for students of different levels, they must be respectful toward each learner. For example, if a few students are deeply engaged and interested in their tasks and other students are simply filling in a worksheet, then the tasks are not differentiated effectively. This can affect the weaker students' perception of their status within a classroom.

Building a community: The IAD (2010) asserts that in an effectively differentiated classroom, the teacher builds a learning community in which students feel safe, accepted and supported. The students treat each other respectfully, help each other and share each other's success. All students must know what a differentiated classroom is about and all must know which important role each and every one of them play in their learning community. They know that they are responsible for identifying and solving problems in their classroom.

Flexible grouping of students: According to the IAD (2010) an effectively differentiated classroom is characterized by flexible groupings, this means that students may work individually, in pairs, in small groups or as a whole group. On a frequent basis, students should work in different ways with their peers and these groups may be chosen by the teacher, the student or randomly. Examples of flexible groupings include small homogeneous groups of students with the same readiness levels, interests or learning profiles and small heterogeneous groups of students with different readiness levels, interests or learning profiles.

“Teaching up”: Teaching up is defined by IAD (2010) as ‘raising the ceiling for all students’. In this situation, the students are encouraged to work at a level of complexity that is just above their individual level of comfort. Teaching up teaches the students that working hard results in successful growth. One way in which the teacher can achieve this is by planning a maximally complex activity for the most advanced learner, and then modifying this activity for students at lower readiness levels.

Figure 1 represents a flow chart adapted from Tomlinson (2014) to illustrate the connections between the main components of Differentiated Instruction. The IAD (2010) recommends that teachers who use Differentiation Instruction in their classrooms should try to use as many of these components as possible, and should understand the impact that one component has on the other components. According Tomlinson, perfection is not the goal, but instead the goal is for teachers to continue to uncover deeper layers of understanding of the components and to continue improving their ability in planning and teaching with the components in mind.

Differentiation

is a teacher's proactive response to learner needs

Shaped and guided by mindset and general principles of Differentiation

Curriculum of Quality

Continuous Assessment

Respectful Tasks

Building a Community

Flexible Grouping

Teaching Up

Teachers can differentiate through:

Content

Information and ideas students learn in order to reach learning objectives

Process

How students take in and make sense of the learning content

Product

How students show what they know, understand and can do

Affect

A student's sense of belonging and kinship in their classroom

Learning Environment

Visible and invisible classroom structures that accommodate students

According to a student's:

Readiness

A student's proximity to specified learning goals

Interests

Passions, affinities, kinships that motivate learning

Learning Profile

A student's preferred approach to learning

By using instructional strategies, such as:

Learning/ Interest Centers | RAFTs | Graphic Organizers | Scaffolded Reading/ Writing | Intelligence Preferences | Tiered Assignments | Learning Contracts | Menus | Tic-Tac-Toe | Complex Instruction | Independent Projects | Expression Options | Small-Group Instruction

Figure 1 A model for Differentiated Instruction (adapted from Tomlinson, 2014)

Desk Research Results to answer Research Question #3: How can a Blended Learning approach complement a Differentiated Instruction approach in HAVO/VWO-track classrooms?

As Tomlinson (2014) states, the flexible use of different materials and resources in a differentiated classroom is one of the key aspects of creating a flexible learning environment. According to BBC Active (BBC Active & Pearson, 2010), a publishing department of the BBC channel that specializes in topics of the field of education, certain students can work with more advanced resources while other students prefer less complex materials, which makes it necessary for a teacher to approach each lesson from different angles. For this reason, Differentiated Instruction calls for the use of a wide range of materials and resources, such as online content and platforms which can be used to attain learning objectives. BBC Active states that Differentiated Instruction is often enabled by advances in technology and the use of educational audio-visual material in the classroom, making the connection between Differentiated Instruction and Blended Learning a logical one. However, for this logical connection to be established and maintained in the public HAVO/VWO-track secondary schools in Curaçao, technological advances are desperately needed in the language classrooms.

An example of how such technological advances could be achieved with minimal investment in equipment and software is described in Atkins et al.'s study (2014) on the P.K. Yonge Developmental Research School in Gainesville, Florida, a public school affiliated with the University of Florida and a leader in school-based research. This school started implementing school wide Blended Learning in 2010. When the school asked its teachers why they wanted to start implementing Blended Learning, some teachers responded by stating that Blended Learning would better enable them to provide their students with Differentiated Instruction. In addition, the teachers wanted to find quick and easy ways to do formative assessments and they also wanted to make the learning content accessible for students on a 24/7 basis.

One example of Differentiated Instruction through Blended Learning that I found of particular relevance to our situation in Curaçao is provided Atkins, et al. (2014). They describe the ingenious work of Kristen Weller, a geometry teacher at the P.K. Yonge School, who makes use of just one iPad in her classroom to accommodate all her students' needs. After mastering the Show Me app on her iPad, Ms. Weller has been creating podcasts for her students, so that they can access them while they are completing homework assignments or when she is unavailable for face-to-face assistance. First, after taking pictures of the selected mathematical problems that relate to what she is teaching, she uploads the pictures to the *Show Me* app on her iPad. She pairs a confident student with a less confident student for the task of solving the selected mathematical problems. She then chooses a mathematical problem for the confident student, hands him/her the iPad and walks away. The confident student must then make a podcast in which he/she solves the assigned problem while explaining how he/she is doing it step-by-step to the less

confident student. Ms. Weller then selects the same problem and has the less confident student explain to his/her partner how he/she solves this same problem step by step as well. Ms. Weller then moves on to another pair and follows the same steps, with the same or a different mathematical problem, until all pairs have had a chance to make their podcasts. While one pair is using the iPad, the rest of the group is working on either pencil and paper assignments or on online assignments (on laptops provided by the school), which relate to the day's lesson. Finally, Ms. Weller projects the student-made podcasts on her whiteboard, so that everyone in her class receives an additional opportunity to learn problem solving.

With this simple and effective use of Blended Learning, Ms. Weller differentiates through content, process, product, affect and learning environment. She differentiates through content by having heterogeneous duos work on solving mathematical problems and on making podcasts, while the rest of the students work on their personal pen and paper assignments or online assignments that relate to the day's lesson. Ms. Weller differentiates through process by using different materials (books, an iPad, laptops and whiteboard), by having heterogeneous duos teach and help each other while showing one another how to solve a mathematical problem, and by having the students work either in duos or individually on different activities simultaneously (pen and paper assignments, online assignments on laptops or making podcasts of problem solving on the iPad). Ms. Weller differentiates through product by having the students produce different podcasts of their explanations that can be used to explain the whole class at the end of the lesson. She differentiates through affect by teaching the students how to listen to each other's explanations in order to understand the learning content, and how to analyze and give each other feedback on their work during the class discussion, as well as encouraging continuous participation from all students. Ms. Weller differentiates through learning environment by creating a space for conversation, for the production of podcasts, and a space for silence and concentration on the individual pen and paper or online assignments.

Besides being utilized as a supplemental explanation resource, the podcasts are also used for formative assessment. Because Ms. Weller can save her students' work, she can watch their podcasts at a later time and establish which areas they are struggling with and in which areas they show strength. If she notices that many students are having the same difficulties, she uses that information to alter her future lessons. A major benefit of Blended Learning is an increase in understanding, motivation and participation on the part of the students during the lessons, because of their deep engagement in lesson activities resulting in part from their enthusiasm for manipulating technological gadgets.

The example of Ms. Weller's classroom demonstrates that Differentiated Instruction through Blended Learning can be successfully achieved even where the required equipment is limited to just one iPad. In my experience, students become engaged in a lesson as soon as they see anything other than their textbooks, the teacher and the blackboard.

During my internship, I took different objects to class – lollipops, a mini soccer ball, ‘Gift of a Lifetime’ boxes for all students, a bell, a trash ball, a yarn ball – in order to stimulate my students’ participation and motivation. As soon as these objects were visible, the students were immediately interested in knowing what the object was and what its purpose was in relation to the lesson. I then used this opportunity to ‘lure’ them into the lesson topic and I eventually had their undivided attention.

Conclusions and recommendations

The survey conducted as part of this investigation clearly indicated that the teachers do not see a ‘one size fits all’ approach to education as adequate, and would be very interested in implementing a Differentiated Instruction approach in their HAVO/VWO-track secondary school classrooms, if an adequate implementation plan were formulated to do so. My first recommendation is that this planning process should begin, and that all stakeholders (administrators, teachers, students, parents, etc.) be involved, so that this planning exercise can be converted into a community-based action research endeavor.

Another significant result of the survey was that the learner needs identified by the teachers in Curaçao closely matched those identified by educators in other countries, in other subject areas, and at other levels of education, and that these needs correspond to the components of the model for Differentiated Instruction proposed by Tomlinson (2014) which appears in Figure 1 above. This means that the process of planning for the implementation of a Differentiated Instruction approach in Curaçao does not need to start from square one. Instead, I recommend that the needs identified by Curaçaoan teachers be mapped on to the components of Differentiated Instruction outlined in this article and summarized in the model in Figure 1. An example of how such mapping could begin is found in Table 3 below:

Table 3 Matching learner needs identified by teachers of public HAVO/VWO schools in Curaçao with the components of Differentiated Instruction

Learner needs identified by teachers of public HAVO/VWO schools in Curaçao:	Differentiated Instruction components that can meet needs identified by teachers of public HAVO/VWO schools in Curaçao:
Needs related to the teacher’s instruction: Students want their teacher to help them reach their highest potential	Teachers can differentiate through content, process, product, affect and learning environment (see Appendix 2, Tables A through D for specific strategies).
Needs related to the social and affective climate: Students want to be understood, and feel valued and supported by their teacher and fellow classmates.	Teachers can differentiate through affect, process and product (see Appendix 2, Tables A through D for specific strategies).

Needs related to the learning environment in

the classroom: Students want a safe learning environment where they feel free in expressing themselves.

Teachers can differentiate through process and learning environment (see Appendix 2, Tables A through D for specific strategies).

Another finding from the survey was that teachers in Curaçao are already implicitly or explicitly implementing various aspects of Differentiated Instruction in their classrooms. This means that there is already a rich body of locally adapted and empirically tested strategies and practices on the ground. I recommend that, as part of the process of involving teachers in Differentiated Instruction planning, opportunities be created for teachers to continuously demonstrate, document and share their own best practices in Differentiated Instruction, and that these best practices be incorporated into all aspects of planning and implementation.

The desk research component of this investigation revealed how Blended Learning has greatly increased the feasibility, practicality and effectiveness of Differentiated Instruction and how Blended Learning can have a positive effect on students' understanding, motivation, participation and engagement. I therefore recommend that Blended Learning be incorporated as an essential part of any planning related to Differentiated Instruction in the schools of Curaçao and that Differentiated Instruction be incorporated as an essential part of any planning related to Blended Learning in the schools of Curaçao.

In order for Blended Learning to take place in the schools of Curaçao, some equipment and training will be necessary. I recommend that as much as possible the technological resources which are already available in Curaçaoan classrooms, such as Interactive Whiteboards, overhead projectors and computers, be harnessed in a coordinated effort to implement Differentiated Instruction through Blended Learning. In order to achieve this goal, teachers and students will need both to be made aware of the possibilities opened up to them by these resources and to be trained to use them. Since many teachers and most students already have considerable expertise in the creative use of these resources, I recommend that both teachers and students be given the opportunity to continuously demonstrate, document and share their own best practices in this area.

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Appendix 1. Survey questionnaire:

Differentiation in public HAVO/VWO schools

Dear future colleague, my name is Jamie-Lee Wyatt and I am a fourth year student of UoC's *Bachelor of Education in English*. As part of finalizing my study, I must complete my thesis report, and my research is about applying *Differentiated Instruction* (P.T.O. for definition) in public HAVO/VWO schools. I am currently trying to get a picture of which learner needs (P.T.O. for definition) students of public HAVO/VWO schools possess for me to properly pair their needs with the corresponding teaching strategies of the above-mentioned teaching approach that can be applied in HAVO/VWO classrooms in order to boost our lesson effectiveness. For this reason, I would really appreciate it if you could answer the following questions:

I. How many years of experience do you have in the world of Education?

_____ years

II. Do you agree with the following statement: 'All students learn the same way and require the same amount of guidance in learning'?

☐ YES ☐ NO

Comments: _____

III. Regarding learner needs, what do your students mostly expect from you as their language teacher? Please explain briefly.

IV. Have you ever applied a teaching strategy derived from the differentiated instruction method? If yes, please explain. If no, skip to the next question.

V. If an adequate implementation plan of the differentiated instruction method for HAVO/VWO schools was composed, would you be willing to apply it in your classroom?

☐ YES ☐ NO

Comments: _____

Appendix 2. Strategies for Differentiated Instruction (Adapted and taken from Tomlinson & Strickland, 2005)

Table A. STRATEGIES FOR DIFFERENTIATING CONTENT

Student Characteristic	Strategy
Readiness	• Provide supplementary materials at varied reading levels. • Use small-group instruction to reteach students having difficulty. • Use small-group instruction for advanced students. • Demonstrate ideas or skills in addition to talking about them. • Provide audiotaped materials. • Use videotapes to supplement and support explanations and lectures. • Use texts with key portions highlighted. • Provide organizers to guide note taking. • Provide key vocabulary lists for reference during note taking.
Interest	• Provide materials to encourage further exploration of topics of interest. • Use student questions and topics to guide lectures and materials selection. • Use examples and illustrations based on student interests.
Learning Profile	• Present material in visual, auditory, and kinesthetic modes. • Use applications, examples, and illustrations from a wide range of intelligences. • Use applications, examples, and illustrations from both genders and a range of cultures and communities. • Teach with whole-to-part and part-to-whole approaches. • Use wait time to allow for student reflection.

Table B. STRATEGIES FOR DIFFERENTIATING PROCESS

Student Characteristic	Strategy
Readiness	• Use tiered activities (activities at different levels of difficulty, but focused on the same key learning goals). • Make task directions more detailed and specific for some learners and more open for others. • Provide resource materials at varied levels of readability and sophistication. • Provide small-group discussions at varied levels of complexity and focused on a variety of skills. • Use both like-readiness and mixed-readiness work groups. • Use a variety of criteria for success, based on whole-class requirements as well as individual student readiness needs. • Provide materials in the primary language of second language learners. • Provide readiness-based homework assignments. • Vary the pacing of student work.

Interest	• Use interest-based work groups and discussion groups. • Use both like-interest and mixed-interest work groups. • Allow students to specialize in aspects of a topic that they find interesting and to share their findings with others. • Design tasks that require multiple interests for successful completion. • Encourage students to design or participate in the design of some tasks.
Learning Profile	• Allow multiple options for how students express learning. • Encourage students to work together or independently. • Balance competitive, collegial, and independent work arrangements. • Develop activities that seek multiple perspectives on topics and issues.

Table C. STRATEGIES FOR DIFFERENTIATING PRODUCT

Student Characteristic	Strategy
Readiness	• Provide access to bookmarked Internet sites at different levels of complexity. • Lead optional, in-class, small-group discussions on various facets of product development (e.g., asking good research questions, using the Internet to find information, conducting interviews, citing references, editing, etc.). • Use similar-readiness critique groups during product development (especially for advanced learners). • Use mixed-readiness critique groups or teacher-led critique groups during product development (particularly for students who need extra support and guidance). • Develop rubrics or other benchmarks for success based on both grade-level expectations and individual student learning needs.
Interest	• Encourage students to demonstrate key knowledge, understanding, and skills in related topics of interest. • Help students find mentors to guide product development or choice of products. • Allow students to use a range of media or formats to express their knowledge, understanding and skill. • Provide opportunities for students to develop independent inquiries with appropriate teacher or mentor guidance.
Learning Profile	• Encourage students to work independently or with partner(s) on product development. • Teach students how to use a wide range of product formats. • Provide visual, auditory, and kinesthetic product options. • Provide analytic, creative, and practical product options. • Ensure connections between product assignments and a range of student cultures/ communities.

Table D. STRATEGIES FOR DIFFERENTIATING THROUGH AFFECT

1	Being respectful towards her students, colleagues and those around her.
2	Teaching the students how to give and show respect towards each other.
3	Stimulating awareness of and appreciation for each other's differences and commonalities.
4	Encouraging the students to analyze important issues through different perspectives.
5	Encouraging the students to listen carefully to each other so that they can also understand the intention behind what is being said as well as its meaning.
6	Encouraging empathy among the students.
7	Encouraging consistent and equal participation of each and every student in the classroom.
8	Providing structures that stimulate and support student success.
9	Seeking and responding to legitimate opportunities through which the teacher can offer the student emotional support and encouragement.
10	Defining common and individual benchmarks for student success at the appropriate levels.
11	Encouraging and guiding students to achieve their personal best.
12	Celebrating student growth with her students.
13	Helping students to be reflective and effective in peer relationships.
14	Helping students to be reflective and effective when making decisions.
15	Forming students into effective problem solvers in the personal and interpersonal area of their lives.

THE USE OF SMS LANGUAGE BY CURAÇAOAN SECONDARY SCHOOL STUDENTS ON ASSIGNMENTS AND OFFICIAL EXAMS

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Abstract

This article aims to establish how common the use of SMS (short message service) language is on ungraded assignments as well as on graded tests among the 3rd and 4th year secondary school students in Curaçao. The research design included an experiment, questionnaires and interviews. The experiment consisted of an ungraded writing assignment and a graded test given to some 100 students. A questionnaire was used to gain data from the participants with regard to their personal use of SMS language. The interviews were done with four English teachers from the school regarding their experience with SMS language in the classroom. The results indicated that 26% of the ungraded in-class assignments contained 55 SMS language abbreviations, while 14% of the graded tests contained 15 SMS language abbreviations. These results indicate that the 3rd and 4th year students are capable of switching from SMS language to standard English when necessary.

Key terms: SMS language, Standard English, examinations, non-graded assignments, internal switch

Introduction

Teenagers' favorite way to communicate with their friends appears to be by texting. This is something one is able to observe on a daily basis, not only in stores and on the streets, but also in the classroom. The purpose of SMS (short message service) language is to simplify and accelerate texting using combinations of words and numbers, shortening of words, incomplete sentences and acronyms (e.g. LOL, TTYL). The SMS language is meant specifically for texting and it is used as well on social media platforms such as: Facebook, Instagram, Whatsapp, Twitter, etc. In my experience as an intern

training to become a teacher, I noticed that students at all levels also made use of this virtual language on academic writing assignments as well as on official exams.

The purpose of the study on which this article is based was to establish how common the use of SMS language is on in-class assignments as well as official exams of a select group of secondary school students in Curaçao and to compare these results. The main research question was: What is the difference between the use of SMS language on in-class assignments versus on official exams among 3rd and 4th year TKL students of a school in in Curaçao¹?

Background

It often seems that technology has taken over our lives (Emoavwodua, 2018). According to a poll done by online smartphone retailer Mobiles.co.uk (2017), the most common use made of mobile phones is texting whenever and wherever possible on a daily basis. We love to make use of things that simplify our lives, such as SMS language. To understand SMS language, we must first take a look at the birth of SMS (short message service). In the early 1980s, Friedhelm Hillebrand and Bernard Ghillebaert started developing the SMS concept as a way to allow for the transmission of messages from one mobile device to another (Hillebrand et al., 2010). The SMS concept was successfully finalized in 1985, but the first SMS message was sent in 1992 by British engineer Neil Papworth aged 22 at the time (History of Short Message Service, 2016). Mr. Papworth texted “Happy Christmas” to a friend from his work computer, and the rest was history. After typing a few blurbs and then counting the letters, numbers, punctuation marks as well as spaces, Hillebrand found that each of his blurbs almost always totaled in less than 160 characters. Based on this informal experiment, Hillebrand concluded that 160 characters were more than enough for text messaging, and this is the reason why text messages are limited to 160 alpha-numeric characters (History of Short Message Service, 2016).

Hillebrand et al. never imagined SMS to become the success it turned out to be, and this is partly why it was initially made available free of charge. SMS rapidly became more and more popular, and as people started using SMS more often, mobile carriers decided to start charging a small fee per SMS sent so that users had to pay more attention to how much they were texting. Users therefore began inventing new abbreviations, not only to accelerate their texting, but also to make their messages fit within the 160 alpha-numeric characters limit (History of Short Message Service, 2016). SMS language consists of a set of shortcuts that allow users to communicate more quickly and economically by typing less. SMS language has numerous characteristics and can be divided into 20 different types (Tirota, 2015). One SMS language type is the text abbreviation,

¹ I am very grateful to the staff and students of the Marnix College VSBO in Curaçao for their cooperation in this research.

which involves shortening words by using fewer than normal letters, or by using combinations of letters and numbers. While the abbreviation is written differently from the longer form, it is pronounced exactly the same (Madden, 2018). Another commonly used type of SMS language is the acronym, which is formed by putting the initial letters of a longer name or phrase together.

Table 1 contains a list of some of the most commonly used English SMS language expressions (Smart Words, n.d.).

Table 1 Examples of English SMS language (Source: Smart Words, n.d.)

SMS form	Meaning
FYI / JFYI	(Just) For your Information
AKA	Also known as
RU	Are You
AAMOF	As a Matter of Fact
AEAP	As Early as Possible
AFAIK	As far as I know
AFAIR	As far as I remember / recall
ALAP	As Late as Possible
ASAP	As Soon as Possible
@	At
AFK	Away from Keyboard
B2K BTK	Back to Keyboard
BTT	Back to Topic
BRB	Be right Back
B/C	Because
B/C	Because
B4	Before
B4YKI	Before You Know it
BFF	Best Friends, Forever
BM&Y	Between Me and You
B3	Blah, Blah, Blah
BTW	By the way
BTW	By the Way
CTN	Cannot talk now
CYS	Check your Settings
C&P	Copy and Paste
QT	Cutie
DIY	Do it Yourself
EM?	Excuse Me?
F2F	Face to Face

FAQ	Frequently asked Questions
Gonna	Going to
G2g	Got to go
GR8	Great
HF	Have fun
XOXO	Hugs and Kisses
IDC	I Don't Care
IDK	I Don't Know
IDK	I don't know
ILU / ILY	I Love You
IMU	I Miss You
IIRC	If I Recall / Remember Correctly
ICYMI	In Case you missed it
IMHO	In my Humble Opinion
IMO	In my Opinion
IOW	In other Words
IOW	In other Words
IRL	In Real Life
ITT	In this Thread
JC	Just Checking
J/K	Just Kidding / Joke
L8R	Later
LOL	Laughing out loud
MMW	Mark my Words
NVM	Never Mind
NM	Never Mind / Nothing Much
noob n00b	Newbie
NC	No Comment
NNTR	No need to Reply
NP	No Problem
NOYB	None of your Business
N/A	Not Available / Applicable
OT	Off Topic
OMG	Oh my God
OIC	Oh, I See
OMW	On My Way
OTP	On the Phone
OG	Original Gangster
POV	Point of View
RSVP	Répondez s'il vous plait (French: Please reply)

RN	Right Now
ROTFL	Rolling on the Floor Laughing
CU	See you
CUS	See You Soon
CYT	See You Tomorrow
SO	Significant Other
SPOC	Single Point of Contact
C-P	Sleepy
SCNR	Sorry, could not Resist
SFLR	Sorry, for late Reply
TYT	Take your Time
TTYL	Talk to you Later
TQ	Thank You
THX TNX	Thanks
TGIF	Thanks God, its Friday
TIA	Thanks in Advance
TBA	To be Announced
TBC	To be Continued / To be Confirmed
2moro	Tomorrow
2nte	Tonight
TMI	Too Much Information
2	Two, to, too
W8	Wait
Wanna	Want to
WB	Welcome Back
WTF	What the F*ck
WTH	What the Hell / What the Heck
WRT	With Regard to
WFM	Works for Me
U	You
UR	Your / You are

Bharanthan (2012) and Mittal (n.d.) note that while technology may serve to improve some aspects of student performance, the use of SMS language may be damaging Indian students' writing abilities. Singh (2016) reports that teachers at both secondary and university level in Mumbai are alarmed at the growing use of SMS language, which has been found on at least 20-30 percent of exams. Parents and students are being notified that SMS language will be marked as incorrect on exams, resulting in lower grades. While some teachers have no problem with students using abbreviations when making

notes in class, they feel that written examinations require the construction of a complete, grammatically correct sentence.

In South Africa, Matlali (2011) finds that some teachers claim that teenagers who constantly use SMS language will never learn to spell correctly, while other teachers argue that we should be grading students based on their knowledge, not their spelling. Geertsema, Hyman and Van Deventer (2011) studied the attitudes of 22 South African educators with regard to SMS language and written language skills of grade 8 and 9 learners. Their results show that most of the educators perceive SMS language as having a negative influence on written language skills, specifically spelling, punctuation and sentence, and most do not let this phenomenon go unnoticed when encountered on written assignments.

Educators and linguists have contrasting views on the impact of the increased use of SMS language in the US. Some worry that the growing use of SMS language will result in sloppy, disorderly writing habits among students, while others do not. "Innovating with language isn't dangerous," claims Carolyn Adger, director of the Language in Society Division of the Center for Applied Linguistics in Washington, DC. Adger finds the creative use of SMS language wonderful, as it is expanding people's writing abilities. Chris Mahoney, director of technology for the Lake Hamilton School District in Arkansas, fully agrees with Adger. According to Mahoney, students are benefitting from text messaging, as it encourages them to write more as well as being something they are interested in (eSchool News, 2003).

According to linguist David Crystal (2008), neither texting nor SMS language is harmful to the literacy skills of students, and may actually improve students' literacy skills, for the following reasons: 1) Abbreviating is nothing new and it is a literacy skill; 2) It is not habitual for students to use SMS language in their homework and assessments; 3) One must know how to spell before one is able to text; therefore texting cannot be the cause of bad spelling; and 5) Texting involves reading and writing, which improve literacy skills.

Methodology and results

The purpose of the study on which this article is based was to establish how common the use of SMS language is on in-class assignments as well as official exams of a select group of secondary school students in Curaçao and to compare these results. The main research question was: What is the difference between the use of SMS language on in-class assignments versus on official exams among 3rd and 4th year TKL students.

The research design included an experiment, questionnaires and interviews. The experiment consisted of an ungraded in-class writing assignment and an official exam given to 100 3rd and 4th year students. The participants included 51 students from two 3rd year classes and 56 students from two 4th year classes, for a total of 107 students. Due to the absence of students during the research process, the final number of students in the

sample was 100. An anonymous questionnaire consisting of 9 open and closed questions was administered in class with guidance from the researchers, to gain data from these same students with regard to their personal use of SMS language. The interviews were carried out with four English teachers from the school regarding their experience with SMS language in the classroom, and were based on 13 open questions which had been provided to the teachers before the interviews took place.

When interviewed, all four English teachers noted that SMS language plays an important role in their students' lives, but in spite of this, none of the teachers reported paying much attention to SMS in class. They attributed the importance of SMS language to the fact that it is not only trendy, but it is also an easy and fast way for students to communicate with their peers via social media. Two of the teachers believed that the SMS language students most often make use of is based on Papiamentu, rather than on English.

As shown in Figure 1 below, when students were asked to indicate how often they use English SMS language, the majority (68%) reported using it always (35%) or quite often (33%). Those who answered 'sometimes' (27%) and 'never' (5%) indicated verbally that they rarely or never text in English, so that they may actually use an SMS language based on Papiamentu or another language.

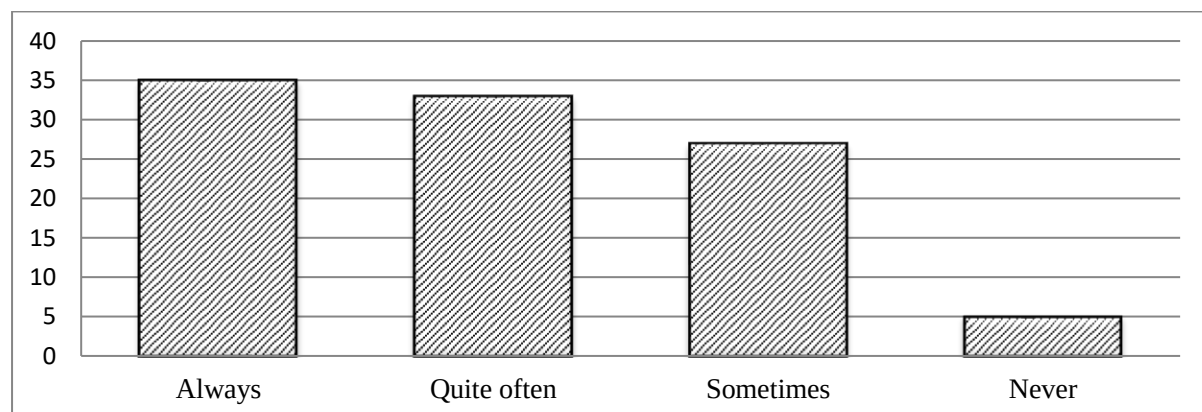


Figure 1 How often students use English SMS language

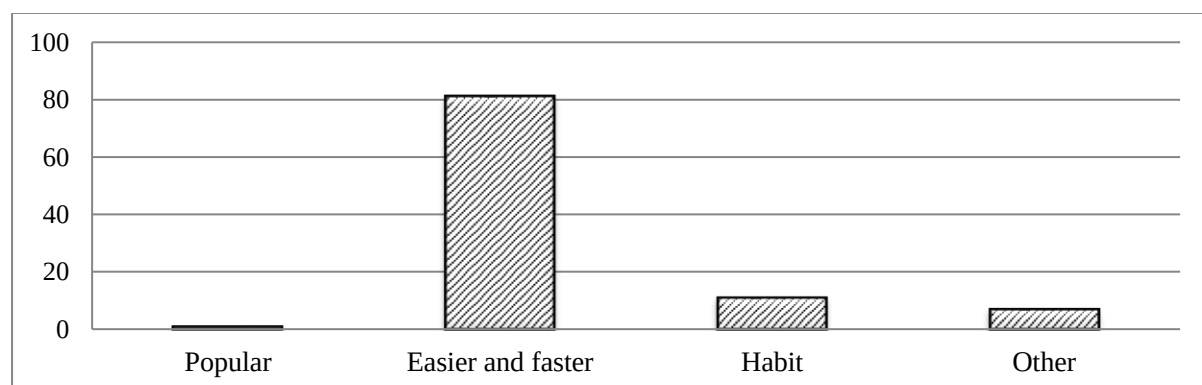


Figure 2 Why students use SMS language

As shown in Figure 3 below, when students were asked the question: “Would you be able to text without using SMS language?” 69% of the students answered in the affirmative.

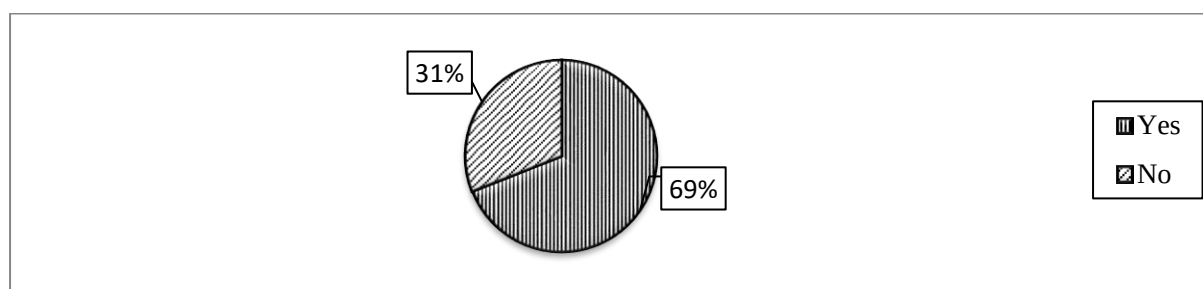


Figure 3 Students’ answers to the question: “Would you be able to text without using SMS language?”

As shown in Figure 4 below, when the 31% of students who reported that they would not be able to text without using SMS language (see Table 3 above) were asked why this was the case, most said that it was a question of habit.

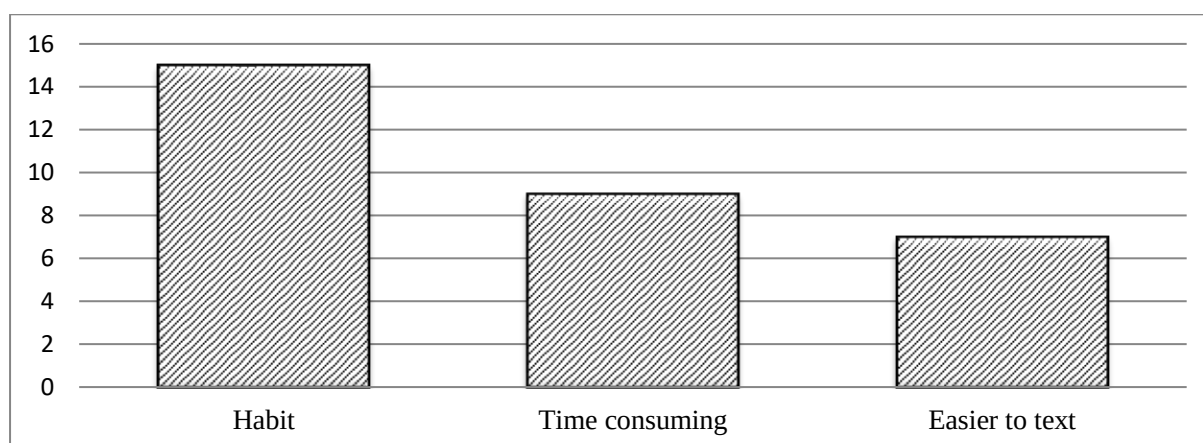


Figure 4 Reasons why students are not able to text without using SMS language

In sum, SMS language plays an important role in the lives of the students according to the students themselves as well as their English teachers. The majority of students utilize it as an easy and quick manner to send a message. Despite this virtual language playing an important role in their lives, the majority are able text without using it.

Both the teachers and students were asked how SMS language could effectively be incorporated into English classes. The teachers felt that SMS language could be incorporated with the purpose of teaching students how to distinguish between SMS language and standard language. As shown in Figure 5 below, when the 21% of the students who answered “yes” to the question “Do you think that SMS language should also be taught in English classes?” had to answer the follow-up question “How do you think SMS

language can be used in English classes?” a plurality (about half of them) said that this should be done with the purpose of teaching students how to distinguish between SMS language and standard language. Thus, the motivations of the teachers and the students were similar.

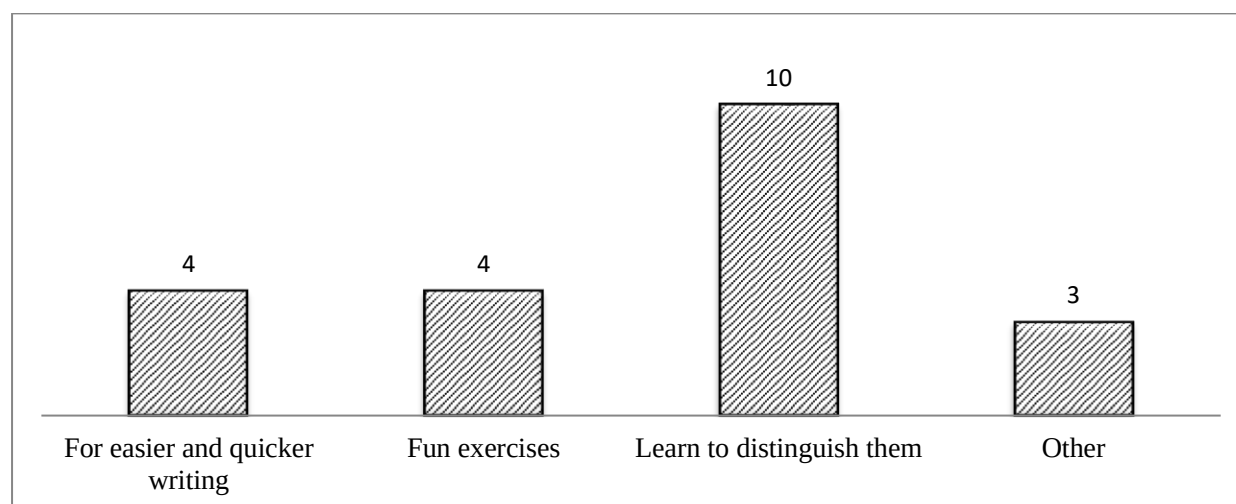


Figure 5 Ways SMS language could be incorporated during English classes according to the 21% of the students who believe SMS language should be taught in English classes

When asked about creative ways to incorporate SMS language into their classes, the teachers mentioned the following:

- Have the students write a mock letter to the principle with well formulated arguments as to why they would want to be allowed to use these abbreviations on their school work.
- Divide the class in two large groups, one group being for and the other against the statement: “SMS language should be allowed on school work”, and have them debate about it.
- Do a fun game about different abbreviations to see if the students know the meaning of them.
- Give the students a text that fully consists of SMS language and have them transcribe this into standard English.
- Give the students word search puzzles to show them what the abbreviations mean.
- Have students write poetry consisting of SMS language.
- Use songs that are about the definition of smileys.

The teachers were asked about which types of academic writing they use in class. They reported that 3rd year students are assessed on their writing of informal letters, and that

4th year students are assessed on their writing of formal letters. Students also do creative writing from time to time, and there are a few exercises about text messaging and writing e-mails in their course book.

Teachers were also asked to indicate how often they encounter SMS language on in-class assignments and homework and to explain how they feel about this. All four of the teachers indicated they encounter SMS language more often than not on in-class assignments, in homework and in student's notes. All reported being displeased when they come across undesirable use of SMS language, and that they point it out and correct students immediately.

As shown in Figure 6 below, when students were asked about how often they make use of SMS language in their daily writing (in their notebooks, diaries, homework, etc.) 6% reported using it 'all the time', 14% 'a lot', 50% 'sometimes' and 30% 'never'.

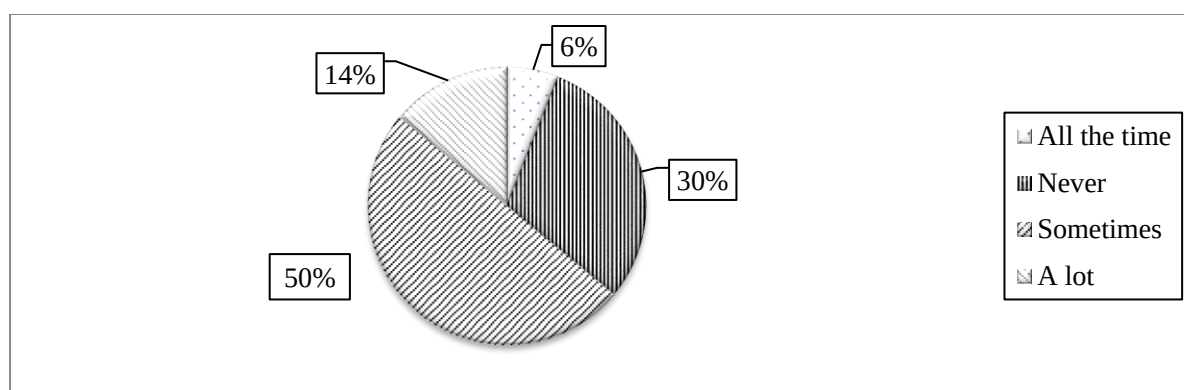


Figure 6 How often students say that they make use of SMS language in their writing

In the first part of the experimental component of the study, students were given an in-class writing assignment. The 3rd year students had to write a fictional story while the 4th year students had to write a graduation speech. These ungraded assignments were then read and analyzed by the researcher to check for the extent to which SMS language was used.

Of the 48 stories written by the 3rd year students, 12 contained SMS language and of the 52 speeches written by the 4th year students, 14 contained SMS language. In sum, 26 out of the 100 assignments contained SMS language. The actual forms of SMS language found in all assignments are listed in Table 2 below.

Table 2 Forms of SMS language used on ungraded assignments

SMS language encountered	Frequency
Gonna	10
Wanna	17
Cause	14
U	6
Gotta	4
Cuz	2
Ain't	1
Kinda	1
Total	55 words

The teachers were asked to indicate how often they encounter SMS language on exams and tests. All four teachers reported that students are much more careful with the English language when it comes to exams and tests, but that they had seen cases of SMS language being used there as well. When asked about why students used SMS language on tests, three of the teachers indicated that their students said that they used it unwittingly and/or that they were writing fast due to time running out. The other teacher said that the use of SMS language has become a habit, and habits are somewhat hard to unlearn.

As shown in Figure 7 below, when students were asked about how often they accidentally made use of SMS language on tests 3% reported using it 'a lot', 51% 'sometimes' and 46% 'never'.

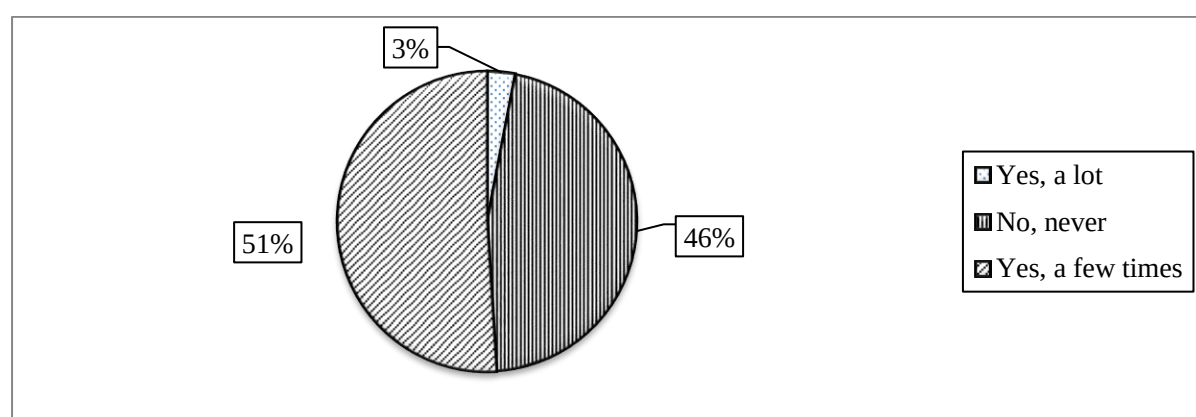


Figure 7 How frequently students say they accidentally used SMS language on official exams and tests

In the second part of the experimental component of the study, students were given a graded test, in which the 3rd year students had to write two short informal letters while the 4th year students had to write a formal letter. These tests were then read and analyzed to check for the extent to which SMS language was used. Of the 42 letters written by

the 3rd year students, 6 contained SMS language and of the 46 letters written by the 4th year students, 6 contained SMS language. In sum, 12 out of the 88 tests contained SMS language. The actual forms of SMS language found in all the tests are listed in Table 4 below.

Table 3 Forms of SMS language used on graded tests

SMS language encountered	Frequency
Gonna	3
Wanna	4
Cause	7
U	1
Total	15 words

To summarize, while the use of SMS language was found on 14% (12 out of 88) of the graded tests, it was found on 26% (26 out of 100) of the ungraded assignments.

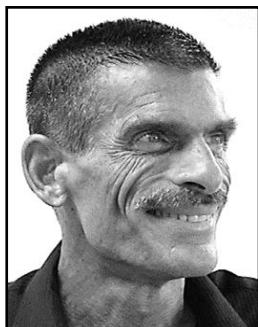
Conclusions

The results of the present study indicate that Curaçao is not exempt from the global trend among students toward the use SMS both outside and inside the classroom, including on assignments and tests. This was confirmed in the interviews of the teachers, the survey of the students and the experimental results for both ungraded assignments as well as graded tests. Both students and teachers reported that students' use of SMS language outside of class is widespread and can be attributed mostly to the desire to communicate more in less time, but there is some indication that students have become so accustomed to using SMS language on social media that it has become a habit. The fact that the students were about twice as likely to use SMS on ungraded assignments (26%) than on graded tests (14%) indicates that students are somewhat aware of when it is appropriate to use SMS language and where it should be avoided. It also shows that students are to some degree conscious of the differences between SMS language and standard language and are able to shift from one to the other when necessary. Neither teachers nor students see SMS language as something that must be included in their lessons at school. Both agree, however, that if SMS language becomes part of the curriculum, it should be used mainly to show how it contrasts with standard language and in which context each of the two codes should normally be used, and teachers had some creative ideas as to how this might actually be done in their daily classroom practice.

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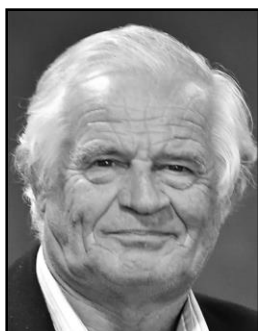
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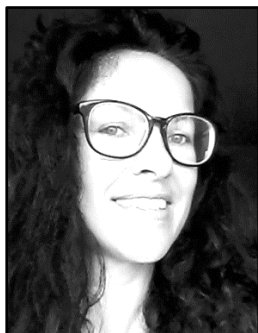
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