

This volume, *Southern Entanglements: Southern Epistemologies, Southern Praxes and the Languages, Literatures and Cultures of the Dutch Caribbean and Beyond*, is a collection of peer reviewed articles that present a critical perspective on the languages, literatures, and cultures of the ABC Islands, the rest of the Dutch Caribbean and beyond. The book is part of a two-volume set published annually since 2009, which provides a platform for recent writing from and about the Dutch Caribbean in particular in one volume and about the Greater Caribbean in general in the other. The contributing authors include a wide range of voices old and new from the Caribbean and beyond. The online versions of the 30 volumes published in this series between 2009 and 2024, all the covers of which are shown here, 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>.



Southern Entanglements

Faraclas | Severing | Echteld
Delgado | Rutgers

Southern Entanglements: Southern Epistemologies, Southern Praxes and the Languages, Literatures and Cultures of the Dutch Caribbean and Beyond



Edited by
Nicholas Faraclas
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Literatures and Cultures of the Dutch Caribbean and Beyond

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Volume 1

Edited by

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UNIVERSITY
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DR. MOISES DA COSTA GOMEZ



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Cover: An overview of the covers of the 30 volumes published over a 15-year period (2009-2024) which contain a wide range of articles including the proceedings of the Eastern Caribbean Islands Cultures Conference, ECICC, or the Islands in Between Conference, organized by the University of Puerto Rico at Río Piedras, the University of West Indies, UWI, the Fundashon pa Planifikashon di Idioma, and the University of Curaçao, UoC.

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Introduction and acknowledgements

In 2004, the Fundashon pa Planifikashon di Idioma (the Language Planning Institute of Curaçao) organized the Curaçao Creoles Conference (CCC2004), an international conference on Creole languages. At CCC2004, three of the world's leading associations for the study of Creole languages, the Society for Pidgin and Creole Linguistics (SPCL), the Society for Caribbean Linguistics (SCL), and the Association of Portuguese and Spanish Lexically Based Creole Languages (ACBLPE), came together for the first time. The participating researchers responded to the CCC2004 call for papers to present and publish the results of their work, which resulted in the publication titled *Linguistic Studies on Papiamentu* (Faraclas, Severing & Weijer (Eds.), 2008). This fruitful collaboration led to the start of a series of publications that became linked to the already existing annual meetings of the Eastern Caribbean Islands Cultures Conference or The Islands in Between Conference on the Languages, Literatures and Cultures of the Eastern Caribbean, which held its 11th meeting in Curaçao in 2008. The very first volumes had the guiding titles *Leeward voices* and *Re-centering the 'Islands in Between'* (Faraclas, Severing, Weijer & Echteld (Eds.), 2009).

We now celebrate the joyful fact that the collaboration that was initiated earlier (2004) has now yielded 15 years of uninterrupted publications. The collaboration that started between the Fundashon pa Planifikashon di Idioma (FPI), University of the Netherlands Antilles (UNA), and the University of Puerto Rico at Río Piedras (UPR) was expanded with the participation of the University of West Indies, Barbados (UWI). The books are currently published by the University of Curaçao and the University of Puerto Rico at Río Piedras.

The two publications: *Southern Entanglements: Southern Epistemologies, Southern Praxes and the Languages, Literatures and Cultures of the Dutch Caribbean and Beyond* together with *Southern Resonances: Southern Epistemologies, Southern Praxes and the Languages, Literatures and Cultures of the Greater Caribbean and Beyond*, contain a collection of articles that present a critical perspective on the languages, literatures, and cultures of the Greater Caribbean and the Caribbean diaspora. The contributing authors include a wide range of voices old and new from the Caribbean and beyond.

This book forms part of a two-volume set, with this volume focusing on the ABC-islands (Aruba, Bonaire and Curaçao) and other parts of the (former) Dutch Caribbean, in particular, and the 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 28 volumes, together a total of 30 volumes published in this series between 2009 and 2024, 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

**SOUTHERN EPISTEMOLOGIES,
SOUTHERN PRAXES AND FOOD SECURITY
IN THE DUTCH CARIBBEAN AND BEYOND**

BEING PREPARED FOR EXOGENOUS SHOCKS: EXPLORING STRATEGIES TO TRANSFORM THE FOOD SYSTEMS OF CURAÇAO, ARUBA AND SINT MAARTEN

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Abstract

The Covid-19 pandemic heavily disrupted the food systems of the Caribbean islands of Aruba, Curaçao and Sint Maarten. To provide recommendations on how to strengthen the food system in a way that is feasible and acceptable for the stakeholders and population on the islands, a content analysis was done on the 13 research activities that have been conducted within the scope of a ZonMw¹-funded project. Themes that emerged most frequently were farming techniques, farming knowledge and collaboration, consumer education and government. A framework has been extracted from this analysis presenting the five most adequate strategies for transforming the food system.

Key terms: food security, food systems, multi-method analysis, sustainable food production, small island states

¹ ZonMw arises from two organizations: ZorgOnderzoek Nederland (ZON) and the area of Medische Wetenschappen (MW) [Healthcare Research Netherlands (ZON) and the Medical Sciences (MW) of the organization NWO]. These organizations merged, and the name ZonMw was used. NWO, Nederlandse Organisatie voor Wetenschappelijk Onderzoek is the Dutch Research Council (NWO, Dutch: Nederlandse Organisatie voor Wetenschappelijk Onderzoek) is the national research council of the Netherlands.

Introduction

The Covid-19 pandemic heavily disrupted the food systems of the Caribbean islands which engendered an increase of food prices, aggravated even more by the war in Ukraine (Caricom, 2022). For Aruba and Curaçao food prices had already been on the rise since 2019 when a trade embargo with Venezuela, formerly an important source of fruits and vegetables, had been established. For example, in Curaçao 64% of households reported suffering from reduced income in August 2022, 98% reported increases in food prices and an alarmingly 47% reported reduced food consumption. Food price inflation was 8.3% in Curaçao and 7.4% in Aruba at that same time (Caricom, 2022). These threats to food security affect reaching the target of Sustainable Development Goal 2: ending hunger by 2030.

In all three islands, tourism is a major driver of the economy (CIA, 2024; World Bank, 2023). Until recently, the oil industry played a large role in the economies of Aruba and Curaçao. Although the islands have a history of subsistence agriculture in the past, during the last decades there was little attention to agriculture and the focus was on tourism and industry. From 2014 to 2018 agriculture represented one of the lowest contributors to the overall GDP of Sint Maarten and did not show growth whereas food imports increased considerably (Ministry of TEATT, 2022).

14 The pandemic however has led to a breakthrough in policy development for agriculture on the islands. In Sint Maarten the Ministry of Tourism, Economic Affairs, Transportation and Telecommunication published its very first policy on agriculture in 2022 (Ministry of TEATT, 2022). The Ministry of Finance, Economic Affairs and Culture of Aruba identified agriculture as one of its six promising sectors (Gobierno di Aruba, 2019). In Curaçao however, it is harder to attest governmental attention to agriculture and food security. The National Development Plan for Curaçao 2015-2030 (Government of Curaçao, 2015) is aligned with the SDGs but agriculture does not play an important role in it, nor does it in the Economic Outlook of 2023 (Ministry of Economic Development, 2023).

In order to study the broader effects of the Covid-19 pandemic on the agriculture and food situation in Curaçao, Aruba and Sint Maarten and to learn from it for the future, ZonMw-funded research was initiated on the three islands. The purpose of this paper is to present an overview of the broad array of research activities that have been conducted within the scope of this project and to propose research based recommendations on how to strengthen the food system on the islands in a way that is feasible and acceptable for the stakeholders and population on the islands. A content analysis of the data generated was carried out to reach this goal.

Theoretical background

Food Security

Food security is conventionally defined by the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) as “when all people, at all times, have physical and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food to meet their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life” (FAO, 1996). In this paper, the division into six pillars proposed by Clapp et.al. (2021) is used: Availability, Access, Utilization, Stability, Agency and Sustainability. Availability of food refers to the amount and type of food produced on the island and imported to the island. Access refers to whether households have economic access and physical access to the food. Food prices play a big role as well as the location and amount of points of sale (supermarkets, grocery stores, but also restaurants of all types) and to what extent healthy foods are in stock. Utilization is the appropriate use of the foods in the household and also refers to adequate nutrient uptake in the body. The fourth pillar stability refers to the continuity of this system. It refers to year-round access and not risking losing access as a result of unexpected changes (FAO, 2016). Agency is the ability of people to exercise control over their lives and is integral to empowerment, and sustainability refers to practices that take into account the needs of future generations (Clapp et.al., 2021).

Healthy food systems

To be food secure, the food system of a country needs to be such that it supports the six dimensions of food security. FAO, IFAD, UNICEF, WFP and WHO (2021) state that current food systems are not providing safe and nutritious foods to feed the world’s population adequately, and thus a transformation of our food systems is required. HLPE (2020) adds to this by stating that transforming the food system requires a shift from a simple focus on quantity to a focus on quality in all its dimensions. This is clearly the case for Curaçao, Aruba and Sint Maarten, where the population’s diet is known to be insufficient to meet nutritional needs: according to Ramdass et.al. (2020) and UVI and USM (2015) obesity prevalence on the three islands is high, pointing towards a food system that assures food security in terms of food *quantity*, but not in terms of food *quality*, i.e. micronutrients.

Moreover, it is observed that food environments are uneven in quality across different locations, even within the same country, being much unhealthier in some neighborhoods than in others (HLPE, 2020). It is known that supermarkets and grocery stores are less frequently encountered or even absent in poorer neighborhoods and that they have a limited selection of healthy foods, while there is a high concentration of fast-food restaurants in such zones. These are called food deserts (Rogers, 2023). Consumption of high-energy beverages and snacks, as well as other processed and ultra-processed foods are much higher than recommended in Aruba, Curaçao and Sint Maarten (Visser et.al., 2024; UVI and USM, 2015). According to HLPE (2020) this is due to low levels of

knowledge on nutrition, loss of traditional knowledge and food practices, high exposure to advertisements of unhealthy foods and low availability of affordable nutritious foods. These causes should be prioritized when improving the food system.

Food production in Small Island States

Farmers in Aruba, Curaçao and Sint Maarten are almost all smallholder farmers, as is generally the case in Small Island States (SIS) in the Caribbean (Saint Ville et.al., 2015). Smallholder farmers, defined as farmers with less than two hectares of land (World Bank 2003), often have limited access to technology, face challenges in collaboration and exchange of know-how, and suffer from pests. This inhibits their capability to compete in markets that are overflowing with imported foods (Saint Ville et.al., 2015). Many small island states face specific constraints related to their limited surface, remoteness and vulnerability to natural disasters. These factors are the reason why the economies of these states are often susceptible to changes outside their control (Briguglio, 1995). According to Teng and Montesclaros (2023) it is not easy for SIS to develop the agricultural sector due to limitations of natural, human, and financial resources. Extra effort is needed to organize farmers to effectively exchange know-how and materials. However, they found that there are also advantages that SIS have above larger countries, like having short supply chains and the ability to market products with highly reduced food miles, and these should be exploited.

Research methodology

For this research, a content analysis was carried out. The content that was analyzed consisted of papers on all the research activities done within the scope of the ZonMw project on Covid-19, Food Security and Economic Diversity in Curaçao, Aruba and Sint Maarten. Since raw data was not available for all research activities, the Results section from each research paper was used for coding. All research activities were carried out in Curaçao, Aruba and Sint Maarten between November 2021 and March 2024. In total, 13 papers were analyzed for this research, as indicated in Table 1: four from Aruba, five from Curaçao and four from Sint Maarten. Four papers focused on specific products or

Table 1 The papers included in the content analysis

Aruba	Curaçao	Sint Maarten
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • De Kort, Obispo, Carmona Báez, Echteld, and Mijts (2024) • Moreno Ramirez (2022) • Van der Loo (2022) • Van Bekhoven, Van den Berg, Strijbosch, and Floren (2023) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mossman (2022) • Pruijs (2022) • Roeke (2023) • Van Werkhoven (2022) • Visser, Carmona Báez, Echteld, and Mijts (2024) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bowers, and Severina (2024) • Frederick, and Snijders (2024) • Hoogstad, Echteld, Carmona Báez, and Mijts (2024) • Van der Werff (2022)

production techniques, five on stakeholders as the main respondents, three on consumers as the main sample, and one paper combined stakeholder and consumer perceptions.

To analyze the papers, inductive coding was used, meaning that data analysis was carried out without a pre-developed concept in mind. Inductive coding allows for the creation of a concept or model after analyzing the data (Verhoeven, 2011). At first, initial coding was done on a subset of the research papers. After reviewing and streamlining these crude codes, the rest of the papers were coded.

Coding was conducted in two directions:

- Challenges: What are the perceived challenges to food security on the island, according to respondents?
- Solutions: What are the perceived solutions to improve food security on the island, according to respondents?

Codes were subsequently assembled into themes. For the purpose of ranking these themes it was decided to count the amount of research papers in which the theme appeared. This meant that themes recurring in all articles were considered more important than themes encountered in only one or two articles. Some quotes are included in the Results section of this article.

After the analysis, stakeholders on each island were involved with the aim of validating the content analysis. In order to present the results to the stakeholders, the top four solutions that came out of the analysis were shaped into five strategies for the future. Stakeholders were asked to rank these strategies. They were also asked to come up with ideas on how to put the solutions into practice. In Curaçao and Aruba, a meeting with stakeholders was organized with this aim. In Sint Maarten, input from other recent stakeholder meetings were used to validate our proposed strategies.

Results

As mentioned above, the focus of this paper is on an exploration of the ways in which the food system needs to be changed to yield a more resilient situation on the islands: What should be done in St Maarten, Aruba and Curaçao in order to be less dependent on imports and less vulnerable to exogenous shocks like the Covid-19 pandemic? Consequently, it is important to understand current perceptions on the challenges that restrain food security and on perceived solutions for improving food security and food sovereignty.

Results of the content analysis for challenges to food security

The content analysis for challenges to food security generated seven themes: access to food, consumer attitude, consumer knowledge, distribution chain, farming knowledge and collaboration, government, and production materials and land. Performing a count of the number of papers in which each theme appeared yielded the ranking presented in Figure 1. The five most selected challenges will be discussed below.

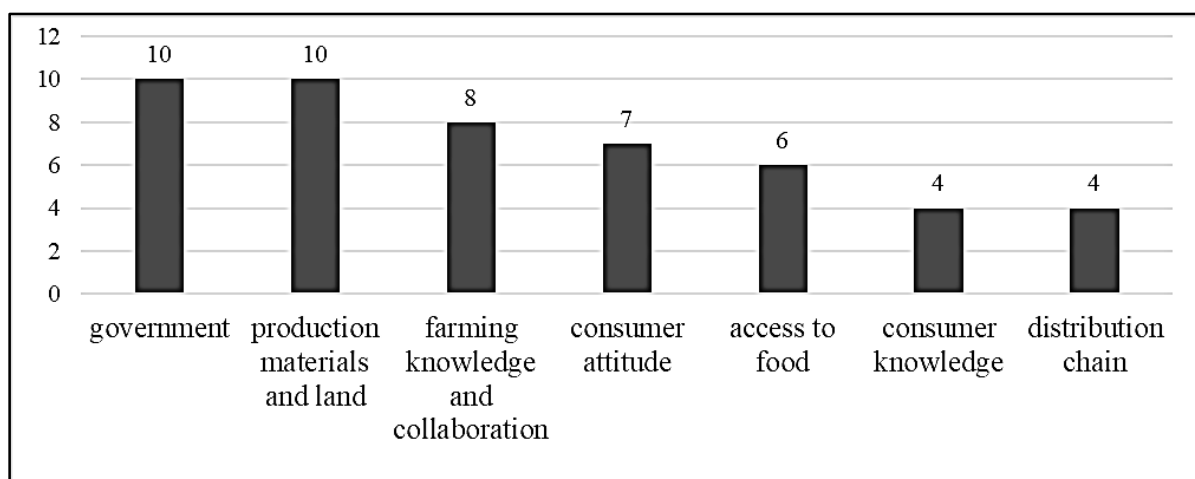


Figure 1 Count of challenges, out of 13 research papers in total

Government

Government is a diverse theme that mainly revolves around transparent government policies and regulations, and the fair implementation of these. There are many comments on the type of governance and current policies on the three islands: stakeholders perceive a lack of continuity and dedication within the government. But also the lack of services and the lack of access to data is reported to be a problem. In Aruba moreover, there seems to be a specific issue with outdated and much too strict regulations.

“Stakeholders mention the absence of a dedicated agricultural department and effective governance mechanisms in Sint Maarten.” (Sint Maarten)

“... resistance to changing outdated laws.” (Aruba)

Production materials and land

The theme *Production materials and land* is mentioned as much as the theme *government*, and the two themes seem to be narrowly related. Production materials include all elements used in farming, including water. The analysis shows that access to sufficient and affordable water is a pressing topic for the farmers. Stakeholders on different islands say that tap water is expensive and farmers are not always granted the discounts given to high-volume users. Other types of water provision like rainwater harvesting, well water or grey water are not always feasible or affordable. Other problems around water are also mentioned like the salt content of well water and the low nutrient content of tap water.

“The infrastructure on the island is arranged in a way that all the rain that falls is drained to the sea as quickly as possible. This water should be collected for the agricultural sector.” (Curaçao)

Next to the water issue, the cost of farming is also frequently mentioned. Not only is water expensive, but also other materials and equipment needed for agriculture are costly, like fertilizers, electricity, mulch or soil. Moreover, accessing funding to cover

these production expenses is not easy since stakeholders report that banks are not interested in financing agricultural activities. This makes it very difficult to compete with imported products.

“The need for increased funding to support the existing agricultural policy” (Sint Maarten)

“The necessity of importing all materials appears to be a concern for the sector. One farmer expresses his concern for the future of chicken (egg) farmers in Aruba because of rising costs of chicken feed internationally.” (Aruba)

Particularly in Curaçao obtaining terrain seems to be a significant obstacle to farming. Farmers reported that they have been waiting for many years for plots of arable land, that property development is privileged over agriculture and that pieces of land stay empty for years due to entangled inheritance issues. In Aruba this issue was also mentioned, but to a lesser extent.

“There is currently a waiting list of about thirty years. I myself am in the syn-tropic sector, in which I and many young farmers want to start, but no land is made available for us.” (Curaçao)

Farming knowledge and collaboration

The analysis showed that stakeholders on all three islands are very aware of a lack of knowledge and collaboration among farmers. A lack of knowledge sharing or collaboration is frequently mentioned. Interestingly, the perception of competition between farmers and the risk of ideas being stolen seems to play a role here.

“Everybody is working from his or her own bubble, because it seems like everybody is very protective about their own things.” (Curaçao)

“Various farmers point out a sense of competition in Aruban agriculture. Nonetheless, they each explain that there is no competition because the market is not saturated, there is not enough production.” (Aruba)

Consumer attitude

All challenges related to consumer behavior and consumer habits have been classified under the theme *consumer attitude*. The most important is the consumer opting for convenience, and thereby jeopardizing a healthy food intake and indirectly decreasing the demand for fresh local produce.

“Fast food, packaged snacks, and sugary beverages are readily available and require minimal preparation. In today's fast-paced world, convenience often takes precedence over nutritional value.” (Sint Maarten)

“Entrenched culinary habits, particularly a preference for warm, fried foods throughout the day, continue to constrain the consumption of fresh produce.” (Aruba)

Results of the content analysis for solutions to improving food security

Regarding the solutions to food security challenges, nine themes have been identified through the coding process: consumer education, farmer attitude, farming knowledge

and collaboration, government, processing, production materials and land, promotion of local products, sales, and techniques. Performing a count of the number of papers in which a theme appeared yielded the ranking presented in figure 2. The top four themes will be discussed below.

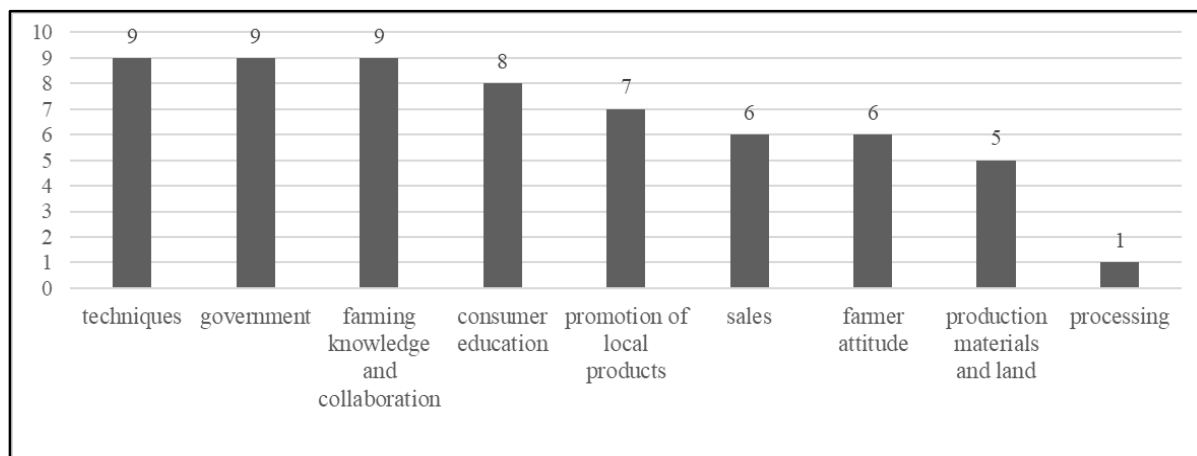


Figure 2 Count of solutions, out of 13 research papers in total

Technique

Some research activities stemming from this project have been aimed at one or another specific agricultural *technique or product*, which obviously generated knowledge concerning these techniques or products. These were: food forests, home gardening, and the cultivation of the *comcomber chikito*, a local vegetable. But apart from these specific activities, several suggestions were made during the surveys and interviews that have been placed under the theme *techniques*. Hydroponics and aquaponics are mentioned several times as a promising technique for the islands. It becomes clear that both commercial farming, as well as home or community gardening, have their value in increasing food production on the islands.

“Food forests can be small-scale, in someone’s backyard, or on a larger scale, for example in a company garden.” (Curaçao)

“A select group of growers have demonstrated over the past few years that hydroponic cultivation can indeed be financially viable, particularly through the production of leafy greens.” (Aruba)

Government

As could be expected from the section on challenges above, where government related challenges appeared on top, for the way forward the *government* is also needed. There is a clear demand for transparent, accessible and efficient government policies and regulations on agricultural affairs, and also for a strengthening of each island's agricultural services.

Interestingly, there is also mention of increased or stricter policies on food for the purpose of making the healthy choice the easy choice, for example regulations for schools, food advertising and subsidizing healthy food.

“Governments play a critical role in shaping policies and implementing initiatives that promote nutrition, combat obesity, and address diet-related health issues.” (Sint Maarten)

Farming knowledge and collaboration

The responses pertaining to the theme *farming knowledge and collaboration* can be divided in three main subtopics. The first is to widen current farming knowledge. Several sources mentioned that the efficiency of agriculture can be improved by educating farmers. There are also best practices that could serve as an example: in Sint Maarten there are several NGOs that assist local farmers and in Curaçao a stakeholder created a Facebook page where producers can share, give advice, and buy/sell each other's products.

“We need to get more and better information on how to do this in a cost effective way. Techniques shown on videos on YouTube are not always applicable to Curaçao.” (Curaçao)

The second subtopic is to develop collaboration, both among farmers and between farmers and other parties. In Aruba for example there is a desire for more interaction moments between the farmers and the agricultural department in Santa Rosa.

“By fostering partnerships between producers, distributors, and other stakeholders, interventions can enhance market efficiency and create opportunities for value addition and diversification within the agricultural value chain.” (Aruba)

A remarkable third subtopic that emerged from the analysis is that of establishing training for new farmers or training on new techniques. The idea of creating an agricultural school is mentioned explicitly in both Sint Maarten and Aruba. In Sint Maarten there is a suggestion for getting the community more involved in the island's agriculture. Education on specific techniques is also essential. Food forests for example require adherence to certain principles and sharing knowledge and skills is necessary to generate success.

Consumer education

Not only farmer knowledge, but also *consumer education* is believed important for the development of food production on the islands. One of the subtopics is providing education in schools: teaching the youth about agriculture and making them more aware of local production and local products, as well as teaching them about healthy foods and subsequently encouraging a healthy diet.

“These programs can include interactive sessions, cooking classes, and the incorporation of nutritional information into the curriculum. When children understand the importance of a balanced diet, they are more likely to carry these habits into adulthood.” (Sint Maarten)

Secondly, education and promotion aimed at the general public are mentioned. The goal is twofold: to increase knowledge about a healthy diet as a means to make healthier choices, and to bring the consumer closer to the process of local food production. The expectation is that as the consumer becomes more aware of the possibilities of cooking with local products there will subsequently be higher consumption or demand. A wide range of ideas have been proposed on how to do this, the most obvious being workshops, courses and cooking classes. Also, other types of health promotion are mentioned, like the use of nutrition labels and using modern media for promotion activities.

“Now that everyone is either on Instagram or TikTok, we can make our own account and show people how eating healthy is helpful for you and how it will keep you healthy.” (Sint Maarten)

Results of the stakeholder meetings

The top four themes for solutions were used for validation with stakeholders: *techniques, government, farming knowledge and collaboration* and *consumer education*. In order to prepare for input from stakeholders, these four themes were remodeled into five positive strategies towards the future. The theme *techniques* had to be divided in two, since the assembled research papers clearly showed that commercial agriculture as well as home or community gardening each have their value in food security on the islands.

22 Subsequently, stakeholders in all three islands were asked to rank the strategies according to suitability and feasibility. In Aruba, 15 stakeholders were present at the meeting and in Curaçao there were eight. In Aruba, most votes went to the strategy on home and community gardening and to the strategy of collaboration and exchange of knowledge. Education on health, nutrition and food to consumers was also regarded as a promising strategy. One participant had an opinion outside the five proposed strategies and insisted that all current problems could be solved with financial aid like subsidies and tax exemptions. In Curaçao, most of the votes went to consumer education and government action. Input from Sint Maarten showed that the main strategies identified had to do with government regulations and policies, consumer/community education and knowledge sharing.

The stakeholder meetings were also used to brainstorm for ideas for the practical implementation of the proposed strategies. The ideas that had an added value in comparison to the data already analyzed are briefly discussed here.

Regarding the proposed strategy of *flourishing home and community gardening initiatives*, an idea mentioned was to give away (seeds of) fruit trees, making better seeds available to home gardeners and helping home gardeners with sustainable pest control. Input for the strategy of *well-developed sustainable commercial agriculture* was mainly concentrated on helping farmers sell their produce, organize trade using a partnership

and the accessibility of wholesalers or trade intermediaries. It was also suggested that farmers be assisted in making and implementing business plans.

Input for the strategy *robust collaboration and exchange of knowledge between stakeholders* in Curaçao was centered around the issue that local farmers don't have enough resources to promote their products, with cooperation in marketing being proposed as a possible solution. In Aruba proposals to create platforms to exchange knowledge were very well supported, and included ideas for an information hub, and for a database for local information on different issues like seed use and sustainable pest control. The idea of the creation of a digital portal was also proposed on Sint Maarten. The added value of a regional symposium and regional collaboration was suggested in both Aruba and Sint Maarten.

There were many ideas on how *effective education on health, nutrition and food* for consumers could take shape. One suggestion was to design a local food pyramid for nutrition education purposes and adapt school materials to the realities of each island. In order to make consumers better acquainted with local products, there should be better promotion of local markets/sales points. Regarding promoting local food to tourists, the idea came up to appoint a specific local product as the signature dish of the island, like the comcomber *chikito* in Aruba, or have it certified as a superfood to attract tourists' attention.

Regarding the vision of strong, fair and transparent government regulations and policies, a main topic of interest in Sint Maarten was to have stakeholders involved in government decisions and in policy design. Moreover, solutions were sought to address the differences in price between local products and imported products. Ideas that came up were to create taxes on international fast food chains, to provide subsidies to grocery stores to sell local produce, and to create a credit system to compensate for the externalized costs.

Drawing on the findings of the inductive concept analysis, the validation of those findings with stakeholders, and some aspects of theory, Figure 3 shows a framework of five strategies towards a more food secure future for Aruba, Curaçao and Sint Maarten. It indicates the most promising directions for reforming and transforming the islands' food systems whilst taking into account the advantages and constraints of being SIS, and in a way that is feasible and acceptable according to local stakeholders and households.

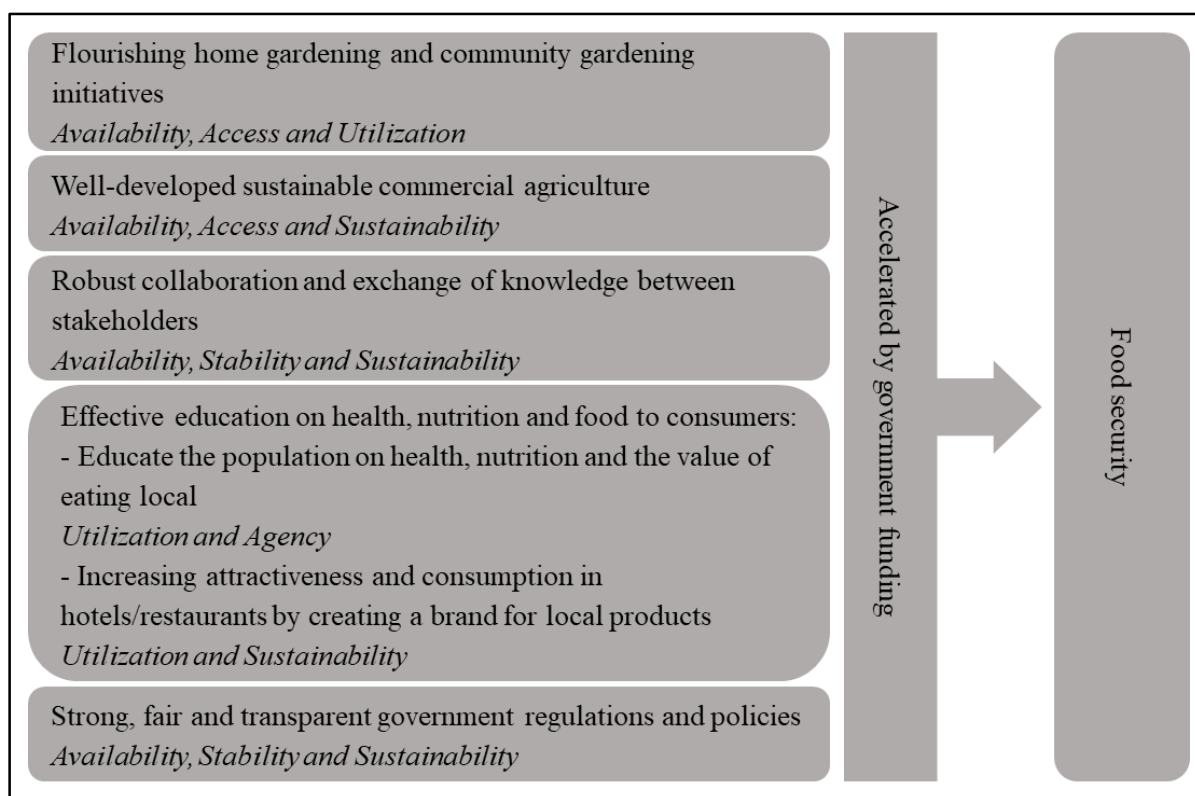


Figure 3 Framework with the five most adequate strategies for transforming the food systems of Aruba, Curaçao and Sint Maarten.

Conclusion

Food security is a topic that recently has come to the attention of many in Aruba, Curaçao and Sint Maarten. Within the limitations, being Small Island States and having limited natural, human, and financial resources (Teng and Montesclaros, 2023), there are possibilities to transform the food systems of the islands from a state of very little agriculture and very high dependency on imported foods (CIA, 2024; World Bank, 2023; Ministry of Economic Development, 2023) to a situation of more and more diverse agricultural activities that are feasible and acceptable to the island populations.

The proposed framework shows five strategies towards the future. All five strategies should be tackled to assure a situation of food security. The results show that there is a desire to encourage and cherish a variation in production techniques on the islands, in the interest of broadening the supply and to interest a broad range of people into agriculture: Home/community gardening and commercial gardening clearly both have an added value to the food system. Collaboration is necessary to be able to share investment costs, and exchanging knowledge is essential for building know-how for our specific circumstances. Education to consumers is direly needed to enlarge their knowledge on healthy nutrition as well as on the nutritional and cultural value of local foods.

It is on purpose that four of the five strategies have been formulated independently of government. The fifth strategy ‘fair and transparent government regulations and policies’ is nevertheless needed to guide and support the actions in the right direction. There are a lot of opinions about the quality of functioning of the government, but change can well be initiated by a small group of passionate people in a bottom-up manner. There are farmers who manage to make an investment themselves and end up being profitable. Farmers can collaborate to sell their produce more effectively and they can join efforts to promote their products. Consumers can start their own home garden and community volunteers can set up a food forest.

However, funding highly accelerates improvements, especially when these improvements are aimed to help the most vulnerable part of the population, which in the end is always the goal when we talk about food security. The farmer who invested personally will not be able to sell the produce for a very competitive price. The existing examples on the islands show that production prices and consequently market prices of their products tend to be high; this is in line with Teng and Montesclaros (2023). To assure that the food system will change for the most vulnerable households, too, governments must engage in developing the agricultural sector, for example by establishing subsidies, funding and tax exemptions (FAO et al, 2021).

Funding

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INVESTIGATING CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES IN DEVELOPING LOCAL AGRICULTURAL FOOD PRODUCTION SYSTEMS IN ST. MARTIN: A COMPLEX ADAPTIVE SYSTEMS ANALYSIS

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Abstract

Reliance on imports augments vulnerability to exogenous shocks that threaten food security. The study upon which this paper is based investigated challenges and opportunities for developing local food production systems in Sint Maarten, to build resilience and diversify its economy. We applied mixed methods; interviews, expert meetings, and participatory action research. After a first analytical cycle, we validated and adapted our initial explanatory model, to subsequently carry out the main investigation. We found systems interacting within a context lacking capacity and resources, creating negative feedback effects. We propose solutions that contribute to establishing a sound framework for decision-making and creating synergies within existing initiatives or through incorporating external resources.

Key terms: Sint Maarten, food security, agriculture, systems analysis

Introduction

Food security exists when all people, always, have access to sufficient and nutritious food to meet their dietary needs for a healthy life (FAO, 1996; FAO, 2020; FAO, 2021). Because of their setting, Small Island States, or SIS, can face unique challenges (Alberts, 2020), which include food security and the impact of exogenous shocks such as COVID-19. The United Nations states that “(...) many SIS face high import and export costs for goods as well as irregular international traffic volumes. Yet, they must rely on external markets for many goods due to the narrow resource base” (UN, 2023).

Extreme dependency of some SIS on imported food leads to major risks in food security. High food prices partially result from import taxes and transportation costs because of logistic inefficiencies, lack of economies of scale, and high vulnerability to price fluctuations and global disruptions affecting the supply chain (Van der Geest & Slijkerman, 2019; Van Geelen, 2020). Simply put, how will people eat when the boats stop coming in? Van Geelen (2020) demonstrated that for Dutch SIS, high food prices are a limiting factor for sustainable economic development, and dependency on imports restricts food availability and the quality of perishable products.

Some SIS can also be characterized as Small Island Tourism Economies, or SITEs (McElroy, 2006; McElroy & De Albuquerque, 1988; McElroy & Parry, 2010). These are islands with small populations and limited resources, whose economic growth and livelihood overwhelmingly relies on tourism export and a consistent inflow of foreign direct investments (Shareef & Hoti, 2005; Cannonier & Galloway Burke, 2019). One can argue that within the context of being both a SIS and SITE, a one pillar tourism economy, further contributes to vulnerability and dependency on external, volatile, global developments that impact tourism influx.

For small island states that highly depend on tourism, developing local food production systems can build resilience against external threats, while simultaneously diversify their one pillar tourism economies. The Caribbean island of Sint Maarten colonized by the Dutch and Saint Martin colonized by the French, listed as a SIS (UN, 2023), is such a case. The island spans 87 square kilometers, of which its Dutch side covers 34, making it the smallest populated island shared between two nations (Guinness World Records, n.d.) and one of the smallest and most densely populated countries in the Americas (Worlddata, n.d.). The Dutch side's population, as of 2023, officially totals 57,500 registered inhabitants of a diverse makeup (STAT, 2023). It is not uncommon for Sint Maarteners to, often proudly, proclaim that the island harbors well over 100 nationalities. Its GDP per capita is estimated at USD \$35,900 in 2022, which is the third highest in Latin America and the Caribbean (World Bank, 2022). The Sint Maarten Trust Fund (2022) estimates that tourism accounts for 45 percent of its GDP, 73 percent of foreign exchange income, and creates jobs for one-third of the employed population. In terms of local food production, the country currently hosts only a handful of registered commercial farmers, who produce on a small scale, and the government published their first agriculture policy in December 2022 (Dep. of ETT, 2022).

In this paper we investigate the key challenges for developing local food production systems in Sint Maarten and seek to identify and map opportunities for improvement. Firstly, we review the literature on food security and food systems. Based on this review, we develop an initial conceptual framework and explanatory logic. Subsequently, we discuss the cyclical nature of our research design and methods, followed by a recount of our data collection and preliminary analyses wherein we further specify our initial conceptual framework. Lastly, we present our findings based on the adapted conceptual

framework, detailing underlying mechanisms of issues and challenges, and then present recommendations for improvement.

Literature review

Food security and COVID-19

Conventionally, we speak of food security “when all people, at all times, have physical and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food to meet their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life” (FAO, 1996; FAO, 2020; FAO, 2021). The FAO identifies four food security dimensions: food availability, economic and physical access to food, food utilization and stability over time. Furthermore, the conceptualization of food security is evolving to recognise agency and sustainability as additional dimensions (FAO, 2020; FAO, 2021; Clapp, Moseley, Burlingame, & Termine, 2022). Food *insecurity* has severe negative impacts on national economies, as well as on the livelihood and economic capabilities of vulnerable groups (WFP, 2021a; WFP, 2021b). At a global scale, we have not made general progress in achieving food security as described in Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) Target 2.1, i.e. ensuring access to safe, nutritious, and sufficient food for all people all year round, as reported by the FAO in successive years (FAO, 2020; FAO, 2021). What is more, the COVID-19 pandemic has uncovered and exacerbated food insecurity, vulnerabilities in food systems, and threats to lives and livelihoods, especially for those living in fragile contexts (FAO, 2021). Something similar applies to the recent waves of global inflation and increases in cost of living due to the war in Ukraine (WFP, 2022).

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Food security in Sint Maarten

Sint Maarten’s extreme dependence on imported food, as well as being a tourism economy, yields vulnerability to price fluctuations and global developments, both of which are major risks to its food security. Between 2010 and 2016, Sint Maarten’s food consumer price index (CPI) increased by 52.8%, as opposed to comparable islands such as Aruba, also a SITE (Alberts, 2020) with 11.7%, Bonaire with 13.1%, Curacao with 26.8%, Anguilla with 10.1%, and Antigua & Barbuda with 10.9%. The ‘source areas’ for import had considerably lower food CPI increases over that same period, i.e. Miami with 8.5% and The Netherlands with 13.8% (Ecorys, 2017). This is significant, though it needs to be noted that there are contextual differences between the islands that impact the numbers.

While the exogenous shocks of the COVID-19 pandemic and global inflation jeopardize food security on SITEs, they also provide an opportunity to review economic strategies to improve livelihoods and food security. By stimulating, developing, and scaling environmentally, economically, and socially sustainable local food (production) systems and a strong agriculture sector, SITEs can strengthen national capacities, alleviate depend-

ency on food imports, build resilience against exogenous shocks and risks, and economically diversify (World Bank Group, 2020; Van Geelen, 2020). Agriculture has profoundly shaped human history, and, since the work of the earliest economists, has always been included as a vital primary productive sector (Mazzucato, 2019). We need to eat daily to live and therefore, nutrition is something countries should want to exert some form of direct control over. To gain a better understanding of how local food (production) systems may impact food security, we first need to gain a better understanding of both concepts.

Food security dimensions

Following the FAO (1996; 2021; 2022), HLPE (2020) and Clapp et al. (2022), we note that food security has six dimensions:

1. *Availability* addresses whether food is actually or potentially physically present, including production, food reserves, markets and transportation, and wild foods.
2. *Access* addresses whether households and individuals have sufficient physical and economic access to food.
3. *Utilization* addresses whether households and individuals are maximizing the consumption of adequate and diverse nutrition and energy through appropriate preparatory and feeding practices.
4. *Stability* addresses whether the entire food system is stable in providing the previous dimensions at all times. Long term instability, approximately six months or longer, is linked to chronic food insecurity, whereas short term or temporary instability is linked to transitory food insecurity (Fraanje & Lee-Gam-mage, 2018). Climatic, economic, social, and political factors can all be a source of instability.

The High Level Panel of Experts (HLPE) of the Committee on World Food Security proposes two additional food security dimensions. While these are not formally agreed upon, one can strongly argue for their conceptual relevance and legitimacy in the context of the right to food (FAO, 2021)

5. *Agency* refers to what a person is free to do and achieve in pursuit of whatever goals or “values he or she regards as important” (Sen, 1985). As such, one does not only exercise one’s voice and make decisions, but also acts upon these to improve one’s own and community’s well-being (Fukuda-Parr, 2003). Pertaining to food security, agency translates as the capacity of individuals and groups to exercise a degree of control over their own circumstances and decisions about what foods they eat and produce, how that food is produced, processed, and distributed within food systems, and their ability to meaningfully engage in processes that shape food system policies and governance processes. As such,

agency is a central aspect of addressing inequities and power imbalances between actors within food systems (Clapp et al., 2022). It goes beyond access to material resources as it includes empowerment, i.e. the ability of people to take actions that help improve their well-being, food security, and nutrition, as well as their ability to meaningfully engage and influence in society (FAO, 2021; HLPE, 2020).

6. *Sustainability* concerns the long-term ability of food system practices to provide food security and nutrition in a way that contributes to regeneration of natural, social, and economic systems and does not compromise the economic, social, and environmental foundations generating food security and nutrition for future generations (HLPE, 2020). It emphasizes the connections between ecosystems, livelihoods, society, and political economy to maintain food systems and support food security into the distant future (Clapp et al., 2022).

Whereas the first four food security dimensions are measured via agreed upon constructs, most prominently through the Food Insecurity Experience Scale Survey Module (FIES) formulated by the FAO (2018), sustainability is very difficult to operationalize, and agency can vary from an individual to a national level.

Food systems and contextual factors

Since food security is a multidimensional concept and cannot be investigated separate from food systems (FAO, 2021; Haug & Ruth, 2018; Fraanje & Lee-Gammage, 2018), we need to establish an understanding of food systems and their components. Food systems can be described as encompassing the full range of actors and their interlinked value-adding activities involved in the production, aggregation, processing, distribution, consumption, and disposal of food products. They comprise all food products as well as the broader economic, societal, and natural environments in which these diverse production systems are embedded. They are composed of sub-systems, e.g. farming or supply systems, and interact with other systems, e.g. energy systems. Changes in other systems may cause structural changes in food systems. Within food systems, we can further identify food environments, which refer to the “physical, economic, sociocultural and policy conditions that shape access, affordability, safety, and food preferences” (FAO, 2021).

Holistically approaching food systems entails including all relevant elements, their interrelations, and social, environmental, and economic impacts of solutions to achieve transformational systemic changes. Adopting such a systems level approach means not being confined to one single sector, sub-system (e.g. value chain or market), or discipline, and thus broadening the framing and analysis of issues as the result of a network of interlinked activities and feedback (Nguyen, 2018).

A sustainable food system lies at the heart of the United Nations' Sustainable Development Goals. Sustainability of food systems can be likened to sustainable food security, as discussed above. It delivers food security and nutrition for all while making optimal use of all input resources, provides broad based benefits for society, is environmentally sound, economically fair and viable, and does not compromise the economic, social, and environmental bases to generate food security and nutrition for future generations or other countries or regions (Capone, El Bilali, Debbs, Cardone, & Driouech, 2014; Nguyen, 2018; Group of Chief Scientific Advisors, 2020).

Following the above, we can ascertain that food systems cannot be investigated separately from adjacent systems, which we dub 'contextual factors', which include policies, programs (Haug & Ruth, 2018), as well as social, political, economic, legal, and environmental systems (FAO, 2021). Establishing a sound notion of relationships between the various direct and indirect factors, drivers, synergies, and trade-offs involved, within and between these systems, is essential (Fraanje & Lee-Gammage, 2018; FAO, 2021; Haug & Ruth, 2018). We therefore need to encourage all actors involved, such as policymakers, practitioners, and the public, to engage the bigger interdisciplinary picture and facilitate multi-stakeholder sense-making, collaboration, coordination, and synergies, to ensure successful sustainable outcomes of direct and indirect food systems interventions.

Conceptual framework and research question

In our literature review we explain how contextual factors impact food systems and how both contextual factors and food systems impact food security (Figure 1). To improve food security, we thus need to intervene in its drivers, i.e. contextual factors and food systems.

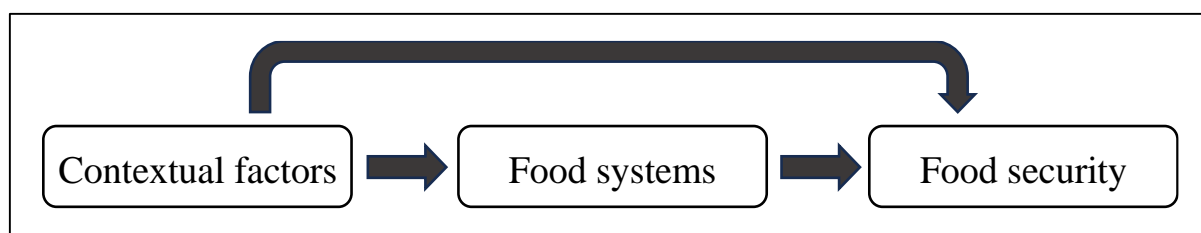


Figure 1 Food security drivers

The HLPE have constructed a detailed and comprehensive conceptual framework (Figure 2) on food security and systems to illustrate how various drivers impact food systems (HLPE, 2020; FAO, 2021).

Building upon the foundation of this framework and applying it to the setting of Sint Maarten as a SITE, we constructed an initial research question that reads: What are the drivers and challenges for local food production in the small island tourism economy

state of Sint Maarten? After validation of our conceptual framework, a process we describe in our data collection, we further specified our research question as follows: What are most prominent drivers and challenges of the institutional framework, infrastructure,

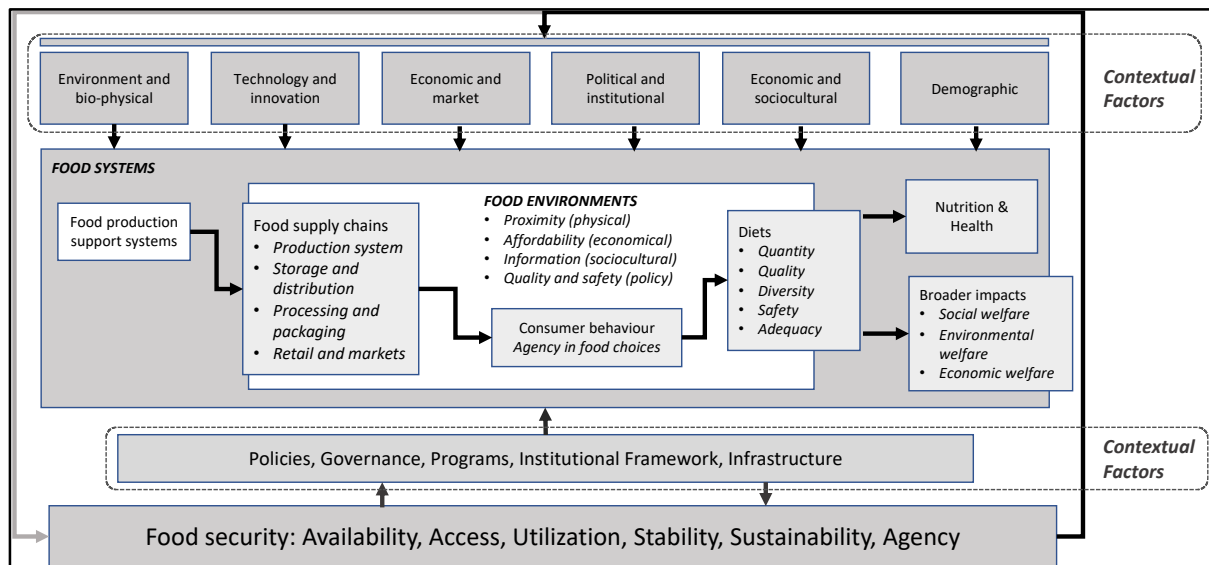


Figure 2 Generic conceptual framework food security. *Adapted from HLPE (2020).*

resources, and capabilities impacting the local food production systems on the small island tourism economy state of Sint Maarten, and which opportunities for improvement can we identify?

Explanatory logic of structure-conduct-performance

We can confidently assume that different actors, or stakeholders, in food and adjacent systems have different, and likely changing, perspectives on sustainability and form their own narratives, resulting in divergent ambitions and goals, and system level trade-offs due to their interactions (Rivera-Ferre & Ortega, 2011; Thompson, 2009). This implies that we are dealing with complex adaptive systems (SAPEA, 2020).

To successfully transform these complex food and adjacent systems, we need to take a comprehensive approach encompassing not only regulatory, functional, and processes aspects, that reside at a structural level, but also behavioural aspects, addressing the duality between structure and agency (Bourdieu, 1984; Giddens, 1984). One way of doing so is to draw upon the structure-conduct-performance paradigm for evaluating food and adjacent systems as the foundation for an explanatory logic (Nguyen, 2018; Porter, 1979). This framework prescribes that its three elements interact in the following way. The (1) structure of systems is dynamic and driven by complex and varying mechanisms regarding governance and social, political, economic, and environmental developments. It generates incentives for stakeholders influencing their decision-making, capacities, and ultimately their (2) conduct (behaviour). At the same time, stakeholders

are also interdependent and impact each other's decision-making processes and capacity to act. By governance mechanisms we mean the rules, processes, and instruments that structure interactions and decision-making between public and/or private entities to realise collective goals for a specific domain (Kooiman, 2003). Therefore, explicitly addressing that agency, and the ability to meaningfully engage in processes that shape governance processes, is a central aspect in our investigation.

The overall (3) performance of the food and adjacent systems, which is generally assessed in terms of trade-offs in social, economic, and environmental sustainability, results from the aggregated conduct of stakeholders in the systems (Nguyen, 2018). The system's performance generates feedback that influences the conduct of stakeholders and the structure of the system in an evolutionary process.

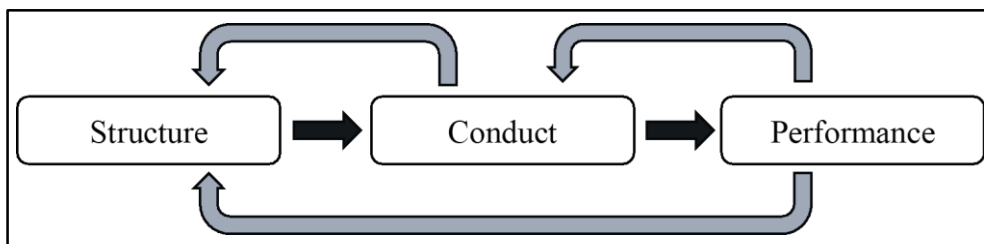


Figure 3 Structure-conduct-performance paradigm

To illustrate the mechanism in Figure 3 above with a simplified example, imagine that structure of a food production value chain (encompassing farms, wholesale, and retail) incentivises actors to purely pursue maximizing individual profits. This will guide their decision-making and behaviour, which then, taken together, informs how the system operates. In this fictional example we may predict that the system will produce low quality unsustainable products. However, it also implies that actors potentially have power to initiate systems changes, for example, by increasing consumer value by improving product quality, establishing new standards, and forcing other actors to do the same.

To improve system performance, we need to identify and analyse root causes of under-performance, binding constraints, and seek to leverage opportunities. Theory prescribes several interventions such as changing stakeholder behaviours, developing a joint vision and strategy, adopting an integrated set of solutions supported by multi-stakeholder partnerships, and facilitating rather than being directly involved (Nguyen, 2018).

Research design and methods

Our research design is best described as a combination between a descriptive and exploratory case study. A case study approach naturally applies as we are investigating a contemporary real-world system, where there are many more variables at play than objects of interests, interacting in a complex manner, all while there are unclear boundaries between the system of interest and other systems (Yin, 2018). A concern in case studies,

and qualitative research for that matter, is the need for rigor. One way to achieve this is by clearly outlining the research process and justifying each decision made (Yin, 2018; Gioia, Corley, & Hamilton, 2012). We have presented our research questions, case of interest, and initial explanatory logic, and will proceed to discuss our data collection methods and criteria for interpreting our findings. Within our case study approach, we collect and analyse qualitative data from multiple sources, through multiple methods. Hence, we apply triangulation of data and methods, which helps us to address our complex research setting better than any single method alone (Hennik, Hutter, & Bailey, 2020; Yin, 2018).

Building upon the notion expressed earlier that we need to explicitly address agency and the ability to meaningfully engage in processes that shape governance processes, especially in relation to those stakeholders that lack information and political and structural support (Eise & Rawat, 2021), we borrow elements from community-based and participatory action research methodologies, involving key stakeholders in various phases of our research, most prominently in the analysis of our findings. Community-based participatory research is about creating partnerships, building coalitions, developing relationships, and coordinating action. It involves active and meaningful participation of groups and communities affected by the issues studied, in all phases of research to support community-driven objectives, to produce meaningful results and to have positive impact (Nelson G. , Ochocka, Griffin, & Lord, 1998).

Furthermore, as we investigate complex *adaptive* systems, we also include an action-research component, which emphasises simultaneously investigating issues and generating solution-oriented knowledge by taking action within the system in which the issues are located. The elements of investigation and solution generation are linked by critical reflection, providing context that allows for a deeper understanding of the issues (Bradbury, 2015; Bournier & Brook, 2019). We argue that including stakeholders in this manner contributes to their empowerment and their ownership of problems and solutions. As such, we contribute to positive impact, sustainable solutions, and promoting social equity.

Following the above, we apply three concrete data collection methods consisting of interviews, participatory action research, and expert meetings. All participants were fully informed on the objectives of the project as known at the time of their engagement, were provided the option to remain anonymous, and gave their permission to be recorded. After our interactions, the participants were informed on the project's progress, until the project was concluded.

While we set out using a conceptual framework and explanatory logic based on theory, our analytical plan for interpreting our findings comprises inductive elements as well, due to the unique context of our project, which is Sint Maarten. We thus not only seek to describe, and to some extent, explain, but also seek to explore and adapt our generic framework, investigate that adaptation in a new cycle, and generate new hypotheses.

Figure 4 depicts our analytical cycle and iterations, initially following principles described in grounded theory and qualitative research (Bryman, 2016; Hennik, Hutter, & Bailey, 2020), where in the second iteration we investigate our adapted framework by *pattern matching* as described by theory (Yin, 2018), while allowing for emerging insights and new hypotheses.

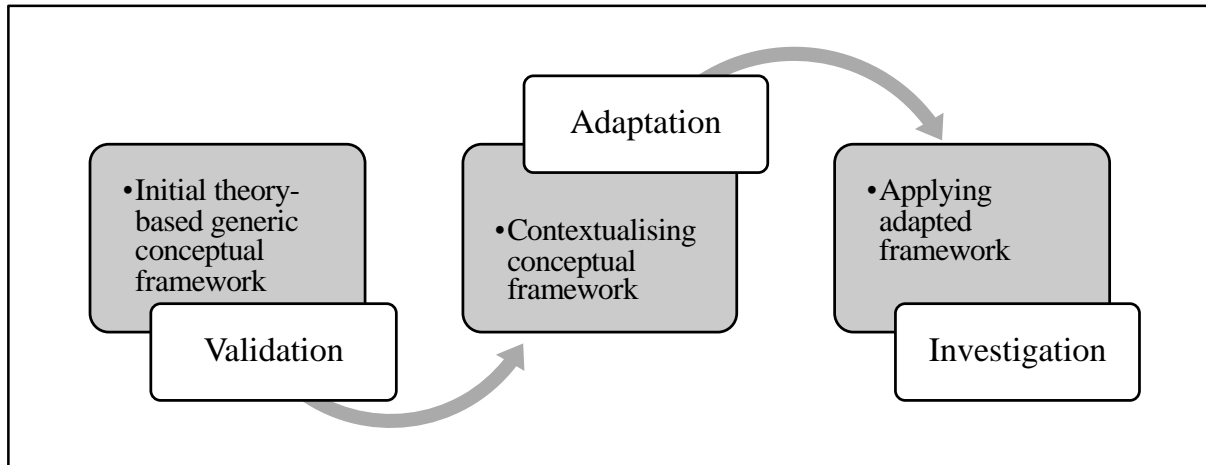


Figure 4 Analytical cycle

Data collection and preliminary analyses

Based on our literature review and initial conceptual framework, we identified food system stakeholder groups, and contacted individuals representing these groups for exploratory interviews, in total $n = 29$, with the following groups, agriculture $n = 9$, government $n = 8$, retail and import $n = 4$, NGOs $n = 2$, education/research $n = 4$, and power and energy infrastructure $n = 2$, noting that most respondents simultaneously represent

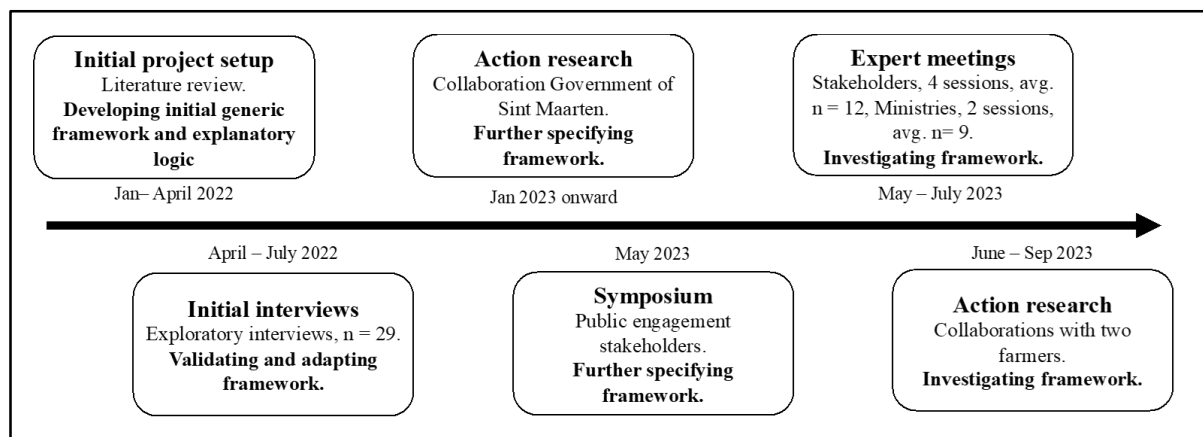


Figure 5 Project activities timeline

private citizens. Based on the results of these interviews, we validated our initial conceptual framework, describing how food systems and contextual factors impact food

security, confirming that it indeed fits the context of Sint Maarten. Additionally, we further contextualized our model, putting more emphasis on *contextual factors* as critical elements for Sint Maarten at the time of conducting this research.

We continued to contextualize and detail our conceptual framework, by engaging Sint Maarten's communities through a symposium, of which most parts were recorded for review at a later time, visiting farmers markets, and by officially collaborating with the Department of Economy, Transportation & Telecommunication (ETT) of the Ministry of Tourism, Economic Affairs, Transportation and Telecommunication (TEATT) of the Government of Sint Maarten, which is responsible for agriculture. We established that the government of Sint Maarten is a key stakeholder and to ensure positive sustainable impact, we need to find synergies between their efforts and our research, acknowledging the importance of a research-policy interface for food security (Roodhof et al., 2021), putting action research into practice.

The above activities allowed us to further specify those themes within the contextual factors of our conceptual framework that are most prominent for the context of Sint Maarten. We then organized two expert meetings on the themes identified, inviting representatives from all relevant stakeholder groups. We grouped the themes into two topics for practical reasons, (1) 'Policies, Political environment, Governance' and (2) 'Infrastructure, Resources, Capabilities'. These two topics were each split over two sessions. In the first session we identified opportunities and challenges. In the second meeting, held two weeks later, so that participants had time to process the content, we identified and probed roadmaps to solutions. The expert meetings were recorded with consent of the participants and transcribed for analysis using AtlasTi.

Following the above, we organized two inter-ministerial (expert) sessions for key stakeholders from ministries of the government of Sint Maarten, where we focused on inter-ministerial collaboration regarding local agriculture development, in which we integrated insights obtained from the earlier expert meetings. These sessions were attended by representatives from Ministries and Departments of Health, Education, Spatial Planning, Economy, and Culture. Similarly, to the stakeholder expert sessions, these were also split over two sessions, first identifying opportunities and challenges and two weeks later, identifying and probing roadmaps to solutions. The inter-ministerial sessions were not recorded, due to possible sensitive information.

All sessions were prepared through careful deliberation with research assistants, local professionals, and partners at the department of ETT, devising a workflow and establishing a clear scope, while leaving room for emerging insights, to ensure maximum participative engagement and effectiveness.

Additional to the expert meetings, we actively collaborated with two local food producers, visiting their farms on several occasions, interviewing them, and having research assistants working alongside them, to map their activities, perceptions, problems, and needs.

As established earlier, investigating food systems requires a holistic approach, considering how the systems' elements and varying perceptions and interests of actors are interrelated, interact, and influence each other in a complex way. We therefore tried to acknowledge and approach this notion in a simplified way by matching our expert and inter-ministerial meetings findings with experiences of local food producers and our partners at the department of ETT.

Findings and discussion

We approach food systems, as well as the relevant adjacent systems we identified for the unique context of Dutch Sint Maarten, namely the political environment, policies, governance, infrastructure, resources, and capabilities, as *complex adaptive systems*. Furthermore, we theorize that their *structure* incentivizes decision making and *conduct* of actors, which then aggregates into what we describe as *performance* of the system. To account for applying an initial *generic* holistic conceptual framework to a *unique* research site, we opted to analyze our findings in iterative cycles. This section presents the findings of our last iteration, where we investigate our contextualized framework while leaving room for emerging insights and is structured as follows. *Firstly*, we present a high-level descriptive analysis, highlighting the frequency of main topics mentioned during the *four* stakeholder expert meetings and various interviews. *Subsequently*, we match what the theory prescribes with patterns we observed in all our *six* expert meetings (i.e. including the inter-ministerial sessions), interviews, and *action research* efforts within (1) the department of ETT and (2) with farmers. *Finally*, based on the preceding analyses, we generate and argue for new hypotheses, solutions, and interventions, which we embed in theory.

Starting our final analysis, we applied *in vivo* coding for the four expert meeting transcriptions, and subsequently translated these *codes* into overarching *categories* (Gioia, Corley, & Hamilton, 2012), which we validated with our other collaborators. The results of the descriptive analysis are presented in Figures 6, 7, and 8, depicting the frequencies of *categories* mentioned.

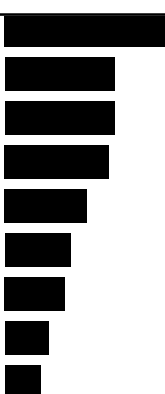
Absence functional agriculture department	23	
Financial constraints operational resources and infrastructure	15	
Lack of regulation and legal framework	15	
Lack of research, knowledge, and experts	14	
Financial constraints policy / program development and implementation	11	
Lack of capacity in policy development and lawmaking	9	
Politicized decision-making driven by special interests	8	
Difficulties commercial financing options	6	
Disconnection current policy and practice	5	

Figure 6 Challenges

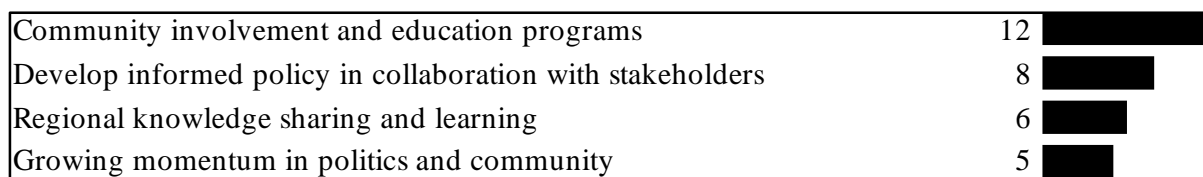


Figure 7 Opportunities

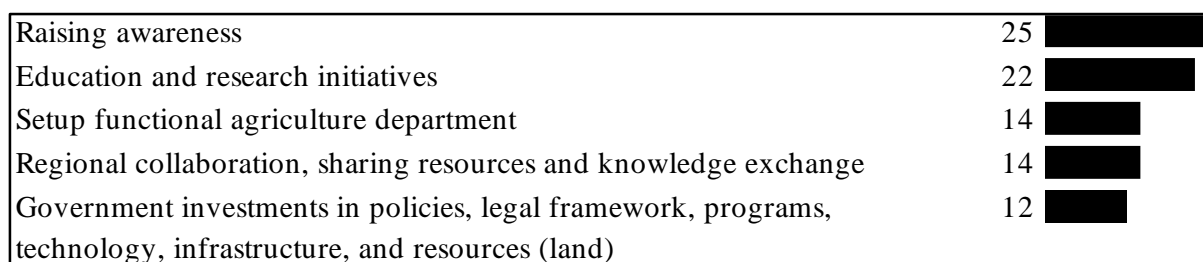


Figure 8 Roadmaps to solutions

Pertaining to the solutions, there are several positive feedback and interaction effects applicable. Firstly, raising awareness, education, and research initiatives may positively impact the challenge of capacity building, which in turn may again positively impact raising awareness, education, and research initiatives. Furthermore, education and research initiatives may positively impact regional collaboration and involving youth, which both can have long term positive impact if managed appropriately. We have identified several other interaction effects and established concrete interventions due to the action component of our project, which we will discuss below.

Now that we obtained a descriptive overview of the main categories in the relevant themes identified for Sint Maarten, we seek to build explanations and descriptions of underlying mechanisms at play, by looking at how and/ or why certain outcomes occur (Yin, 2018). We discuss three main findings from our *pattern matching* analysis, in which we pay special attention to identified key players' roles, which are politics, government, farmers, and the community, and their incentives and decision-making. After our explanation building for each finding, we address possible solutions, recommendations, and interventions.

Financial resources

There are certain sequences of interventions in order, due to various interdependencies. As such, we will first address the issue of deficiencies in governmental financial resources for agriculture in Sint Maarten. This is mentioned by all stakeholders in every session and in interviews, and various explanations are provided. A root cause seems to be that political decision-makers do not see value in investing in agriculture. They are perceived to believe that it is not possible, either not offering substantiation for their claims, or stating that it will not yield a clear monetary return on investment. Though,

sentiments seem to be slowly changing toward a more favourable attitude. Addressing the situation from a systems perspective, and based on our action research efforts, it becomes clear that before any major investment is to be made, several building blocks need to be in place. There needs to be (1) a sound infrastructure supporting policy development and research, that supports developing clear insights on the feasibility, sustainability, impact, and return on investment of various agriculture developments. Furthermore, since our findings show that all stakeholders believe investment decisions to be largely politically motivated, it can be argued that (2) community support, or lack thereof, for the matter impacts investment decision-making within government. However, mobilizing the community can prove difficult. Vaas et al. (2020) provide a thorough participatory action research account on community inertia when dealing with an invasive species in Sint Maarten's neighboring island Saba. They argue that communities can be inert because of habitual community practices, comparable to institutional inertia. Furthermore, community inertia occurs when community members do not view issues as a problem due to uncertainties and perceived low impact, leading to a feeling of high cost trade-off when acting (Munck af Rosenschöld, Rozema, & Frye-Levine, 2014) and when communities believe that existing power dynamics prevent them from addressing the issue (Bachrach & Barantz, 1963). Non-government participants have consistently voiced a lack of faith in the functioning and quality of the political and governmental institutions of Sint Maarten, which they believe are mainly led by opaque personal interests of decision-makers. Furthermore, farmers are distrustful of the government's integrity when it comes to sharing business plans and innovations. This incentivizes farmers and others to acutely look out for their own interests. However, we did observe a growing momentum supporting the development of local agriculture, partially due to the COVID-19 pandemic, where people in quarantine picked up local gardening, leading to a new interest in agriculture.

We can identify several negative interaction and feedback effects from the above, where a need for community support to influence political dynamics is lacking, partially due to perceived poor political institutions which in turn informs poor political processes (Acemoglu & Robinson, 2012). Good political processes are a prerequisite for good decision-making. To start building the policy and research infrastructure that precedes agriculture development from within government, strong and good decisions, especially on (social) returns on investments, are needed.

Based on our analysis, we argue that, from a governmental point of view, to break the presumed negative feedback effect, the next steps toward developing sustainable local agriculture should build upon the current growing momentum supporting agriculture and contain arguments to convince decision-makers to make small investments and look for funding contributing to sound and informed policy development and research. However, these activities need not be limited to initiation by policy makers, as the community and practitioners can also be facilitated into taking on part of the work, which may

also help in overcoming the lack of capacity in policy making. The above contributes to providing clarity and a foundation for subsequent informed decision-making. Furthermore, if communicated well, it may also help improve community awareness and perception on the functioning, quality, and even inclusiveness, of political and governmental institutions.

Our action-research interaction has created a concrete intervention in the form of a proposal to perform an economic impact analysis for developing an agriculture sector, which builds upon this research project and feeds into the macroeconomic model applied to Sint Maarten. Another concrete initiative currently effectuated by the Government of Sint Maarten, is a train-the-trainer program on Aquaponics as a new technology for producing crops, funded by the EU.

Further potential interventions came from the two inter-ministerial sessions, where one objective was to find synergies between initiatives and programs contributing to agriculture development in Sint Maarten, to increase efficiency and effectiveness. Concrete initiatives identified were education programs, where several schools in Sint Maarten receive funding for agriculture programs, and farmers' markets. These initiatives were identified to have synergies with educating, creating awareness and visibility, and indirectly increasing community support.

Regulatory and legal framework

Developing quality regulatory and legal frameworks for agriculture in Sint Maarten has various requirements. In this section we will leave out the financial requirements and address two other main requirements, namely capacity and expertise. Simply put, we are talking about capable, knowledgeable, and available people, both as policy makers and external stakeholders that are consulted for policy development. Our findings show that these are lacking. Farmers are running their operations without clear regulation, as this is absent. One might say, they will ask for forgiveness not permission, and they feel that they are fully in their right to do so, after engaging with government for longer periods, on multiple occasions, and not experiencing clear tangible results. They feel that they are not being supported or heard and occasionally are at the short end of what they experience as *ad hoc* regulation enforcement.

Comprehensive and meaningful policy development takes patience, inclusive research, creating partnerships, and interdisciplinary and multi-stakeholder engagement, sense-making, and coordination. This is a tall order for a situation where the basic requirements, such as financial resources and capacity, are lacking. Furthermore, we found that the structural work-context of policy makers contains a substantial amount of institutional sludge, i.e. barriers that hinder progress, resulting in frustration, fatigue, and cynicism (Sunstein, 2019), causing delays, unnecessarily increasing workload, and decreasing efficiency and effectiveness.

We again see evidence of negative interaction and feedback effects, in this case mainly within one system, that of policy makers involving agriculture, which is embedded in a larger ecosystem of government that contains operational inertia and institutional inefficiencies, while experiencing changing demands. This context substantially restricts the range of effective interventions that can be made based on this project. Put differently, even if an intervention is developed by policy makers, will it get through the institutional sludge?

The challenge of doing the same or more with less is common in the quest for efficiency and effectiveness in organizations (Simon, 1997; Cyert & March, 2013). However, the matter is urgent, as the negative impact on farmers, as mentioned, is significant and will continue unless something changes. Possible solutions are tapping into external resources or internal innovation (Mintzberg, Lampel, Quinn, & Ghoshal, 2003). Regional collaboration, sharing resources, and knowledge exchange may prove valuable and provide a basis to perhaps ‘leapfrog’ ahead, as the knowledge and processes do not need to be developed internally. Concrete examples are the Rural Agriculture Development Authority in Jamaica and how Anguilla supports local farming, amongst others through tax benefits. However, we believe that a minimum level of infrastructure and capacity needs to be present to not only absorb the knowledge, but also efficiently and effectively translate it into processes and procedures. Another option, once more, came out of our action-research approach, and that is to implement digital technology, to digitalise processes of a to-be-established agriculture department pertaining to monitoring the implementation of regulation, standard operating procedures, quality control, and sustainable practices.

Market developments

Currently in Sint Maarten, the market, i.e. farmers, is leading developments in agriculture. Farmers clearly state that they welcome governmental action but will not wait on it to act themselves. This has led to interesting developments. Some have taken it upon themselves to lead regarding practices and standardizing operations, developing and learning independently, and are taking advantage of better conditions across the water in Anguilla. However, for all participants, the door toward collaborating with the government is open. During the process of this research project, and in our expert meetings, where representatives of government were present, we observed the gap between the two groups decreasing and mutual understanding increasing through constructive conversation.

We observe that there is much fragmentation and little coordination in Sint Maarten in terms of agricultural practices, access to resources, and knowledge, both operational and regarding institutional and regulatory frameworks. We therefore conclude that there are many missed opportunities for practitioners to substantially improve their activities in terms of knowledge acquisition, learning efficiencies, operational effectiveness, and

sustainability management. The wide and diverse range of market led local food production system initiatives begs for coordination, overview, and preferably collaboration. We can link these developments to the lack of capacity in policy development, as policy makers can tap into market led developments by practitioners, creating various synergies. Having farmers and practitioners meaningfully contribute to policy development, includes them in governance shaping processes, and makes them feel heard and appreciated. This is another form of inviting external knowledge and resources to contribute to development, as mentioned above, providing an efficient basis to ‘leapfrog’ ahead, avoiding reinventing the wheel. Furthermore, the digitalization of policy processes is fully compatible with including practitioners’ knowledge and can also serve as a hub disseminating knowledge on regulation compliance, standard operating procedures, quality control, sustainable practices, and for education purposes, thus being effective in both directions.

Synthesis and conclusions

The development of local food production systems in the small island state of Sint Maarten is proving to be a complex and challenging endeavor. Many of the most urgent challenges interact with each other creating negative feedback effects, within an overall context that is lacking capacity and resources. We identified how stakeholders are restricted by these contexts and seek to individually optimize their situations. The various potential system level roadmap solutions we presented and discussed commonly deal with attempting to capitalize on low hanging fruit and overcoming the challenge of doing the same with less or doing more with the same, by finding synergies through external collaborations or innovative approaches.

Overall, there is a lack of a comprehensive infrastructure for policy development, implementation, research, and meaningful stakeholder engagement, while residing within a fragmented environment low on capacity and resources. Therefore, the next steps forward, whether they are new initiatives or seeking synergies in existing ones, should contain some level of contribution to constructing said infrastructure and a framework for informed decision-making. This would help ensure that future decisions and actions are more informed and coordinated within the larger objectives of developing local agriculture in Sint Maarten. Thus, while one might to some extent be ‘building top down’, one could simultaneously capitalize on existing and emerging initiatives.

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STRENGTHENING ECONOMIC RESILIENCE IN SMALL ISLAND STATES: A SITUATIONAL ANALYSIS OF FOOD ENTREPRENEURSHIP, WITH A FOCUS ON THE CUCUMIS ANGURIA CUCUMBER IN ARUBA

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Abstract

The COVID-19 pandemic's border closures dealt a severe blow to Small Island States (SIS), revealing vulnerabilities in economic and food security due to heavy reliance on tourism. This crisis emphasized the necessity of robust food security systems to enhance economic resilience and safeguard livelihoods. Scant literature exists on specific challenges facing SIS food systems. This paper addresses these gaps, focusing on the Cucumis Anguria cucumber (*comcomber chikito*) in Aruba. Through participatory action research, consumer surveys, and expert interviews, significant constraints to food entrepreneurship are revealed, in areas such as innovation, technology adoption, entrepreneurial acumen, and risk mitigation. The study provides insights applicable to food systems in SIS, contributing to resilience-building efforts.

Key terms: Small island states, food security, economic resilience, cucumis anguria cucumber

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Introduction

The Cucumis Anguria cucumber, colloquially known as *comcomber chikito* in Aruba and *kònkòmber chikí* in Curaçao, takes center stage as a compelling subject within the broader discourse of food security in Curaçao, Aruba and Saint Martin, the CAS islands. The appeal of the *comcomber chikito* extends beyond its culinary virtues; its palatable taste, robust texture, and facile cultivation in the hot semi-arid climate of some Caribbean islands render it a pivotal component in addressing food security challenges exacerbated by the COVID-19 pandemic. The pandemic laid bare the economic and food security vulnerabilities of Small Island States (SIS), a category to which the CAS islands belong, in part due to their heavy reliance on tourism and very high dependence on imports, including food. With borders abruptly closed to tourist arrivals, these islands faced a sudden and severe economic shock. Against this backdrop, the cultivation of traditionally successful crops like the *comcomber chikito* gains prominence as a strategic response to enhance economic resilience and safeguard livelihoods in the face of future disruptions, whether anthropogenic or natural.

In the cultural context of Aruba, this cucumber variety is familiar to many among the older generations, woven into the fabric of hearty stews that have solidified their place as a cornerstone in the traditional local cuisine. While it is commonly believed to be endemic to the Dutch Caribbean, an intriguing revelation emerges upon closer examination. This species, contrary to prevailing assumptions, is not confined to the Dutch Caribbean but is prevalent across extensive regions of Latin America, enjoying particular popularity throughout the Caribbean archipelago. The question arises: why has the *comcomber chikito* become so ingrained in the agricultural landscape of this specific geographical locale? Research on its origin negates its indigenous status in the New World. Rather, historical evidence suggests a plausible introduction from West Africa during the era of the transatlantic slave trade, a period marked by the transportation of enslaved individuals carrying bags or pouches containing not only tobacco but also seeds of various useful plants, including the *comcomber chikito*. The seeds may have been deliberately planted in the West Indies when first introduced or they may have been discarded and started growing in a semi-wild state, but this can never be ascertained (Meeuse, 1958).

Yet, despite its African origin, no extant wild ancestral form of the *comcomber chikito* has been identified on that continent. Meanwhile over time, the process of cultivation and adaptation in the New World has likely led to substantial morphological changes, complicating the recognition of its original wild progenitor (Meeuse, 1958). Thus, the historical trajectory of the *comcomber chikito* intricately intertwines with the narratives

of culinary heritage, migration, and botanical evolution, offering a captivating subject for further exploration and scholarly inquiry.

In light of the COVID-19 pandemic, the World Food Programme (2020) highlights the severe impact on livelihoods in Aruba due to the halt in tourism. The closure of borders and tourism-related activities led to a deterioration in incomes, increased food prices, and concerns about the future livelihoods of the population. The government of Aruba has introduced policies and programs to support food security and assist people losing incomes, emphasizing the need for continued monitoring and long-term interventions to mitigate socioeconomic impacts, particularly for vulnerable groups and migrants. These efforts underscore the importance of addressing the multifaceted challenges faced by SIS, including the enhancement of food security and livelihood support programs. Additionally, the investment strategy outlined by the Government of Aruba (2019) emphasizes the importance of economic diversification and the role of investment in driving sustainable growth and development on the island. The strategy identifies six promising sectors, including agriculture, as key areas for focus, highlighting the government's commitment to improving the investment climate and stimulating a resilient and diversified economy (Gobierno di Aruba, 2019). The COVID-19 pandemic further underscored the importance of this priority, as noted by the Committee Economic Recovery and Innovation Aruba (2021) in its “Repositioning Our Sails” Master Plan, a strategic policy framework with a three-year planning horizon aimed to guide decisions affecting the socio-economic development of Aruba. This document represents a national vision for a more resilient future and sets policy directions and priorities for economic recovery and resilience (Committee Economic Recovery and Innovation Aruba, 2021). The plan prioritizes strengthening and safeguarding energy and food production sustainability and enhancing healthcare and social security standards, fostering a welcoming business environment, and empowering the local workforce through lifelong learning and digitalization initiatives (Committee Economic Recovery and Innovation Aruba, 2021). This paper aims to contribute to the growing discourse on food security strategies by examining the specific parameters of food systems in SIS, with a focus on the *comcomber chikito*. The rationale behind this choice lies in the belief that identifying constraints for this traditionally cultivated crop yields insights that are universally applicable across all of the food systems of the CAS islands.

Drawing on the backdrop of an educational and micro-financing initiative targeting food entrepreneurs in Aruba, this research project leverages participatory action research to explore the dynamics of food entrepreneurship in the context of the CAS islands. The results shed light on the binding constraints faced by food entrepreneurs, emphasizing the pivotal role of innovation, the adoption of (new) technologies, entrepreneurial acumen, and risk mitigation capacity within island food systems.

By shifting the focus from the botanical curiosity of the *comcomber chikito* to its integral role in addressing the identified challenges, this paper seeks to contribute valuable

insights into fostering resiliency throughout the food systems in the CAS islands and, by extension, in Small Island States facing similar predicaments worldwide.

The significance of the *comcomber chikito*

The significance of the *comcomber chikito* as a subject of research lies in its unique position within the market dynamics of the CAS islands. Unlike most other food products, this cucumber is not typically imported, highlighting the importance of domestic production in meeting local demand. This aspect enables a detailed analysis of a market that relies solely on domestic sources, offering insights into the resilience and self-sufficiency of the food system within these island nations. Moreover, the *comcomber chikito* thrives in the climatic conditions of the CAS islands, requiring minimal inputs such as water, pest control, and protection from external elements. This inherent adaptability to local environmental conditions underscores its potential as a key component in bolstering food security and agricultural sustainability in the region.

As previously mentioned, the cucumber holds a significant place in the culinary traditions of the CAS islands, with strong historical ties to local cuisine. This cultural familiarity further enhances its importance as a subject of study, as understanding its production, distribution, and consumption patterns can offer valuable insights into broader societal practices and preferences.

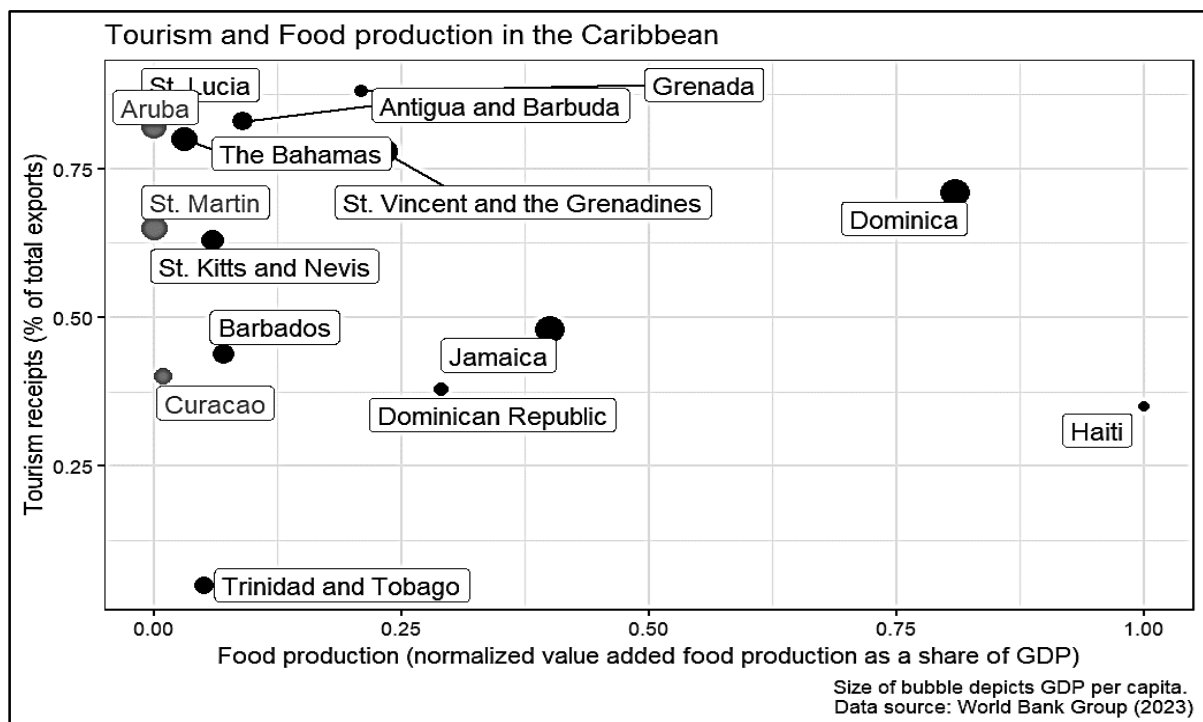
In addition to its economic and cultural significance, the *comcomber chikito* serves as a compelling case study for examining the dynamics that permeate the food chain. By analyzing various aspects such as production methods, marketing strategies, and consumer behavior related to this specific crop, researchers can draw parallels and extrapolate lessons applicable to other agricultural sectors in the CAS islands and beyond. In essence, the *comcomber chikito* serves as a microcosm of the broader challenges and opportunities facing the agricultural sector in small island developing states. Its unique market dynamics, coupled with its cultural importance and adaptability to local conditions, make it an ideal subject for research aimed at enhancing food security, economic resilience, and sustainable development in the CAS islands and similar island nations worldwide.

Literature review

Small Island States (SIS) are widely acknowledged as a special case for sustainable development due to their unique set of challenges and vulnerabilities. These nations share common characteristics such as limited land availability, insularity, susceptibility to natural disasters, and deep integration into global markets, which make them particularly vulnerable to global environmental and economic changes (Connell et al., 2019; Antonelli, 2023). As a result, food security has emerged as a critical issue within the context of SIS, with global processes and changes increasingly affecting their food security landscapes.

While SIS are diverse, varying in terms of tourism development and food production levels, they all face significant external influences that impact their food security (World Bank, 2022; Connell et al., 2019). Within this complexity, the concept of food security itself is multifaceted, with fragmented knowledge regarding the distinct challenges at hand (Shepherd, 2012). In response this, alternative paradigms like ‘Food sovereignty’ have emerged, emphasizing self-subsistence and local control over food production (Van der Loo, 2022). Embedding this discussion within scientific discourse involves considering various aspects, including tourism economics and dependency theory. De Kort et al. (2024) discuss the economic dependency of SIS on tourism and its implications for food production (Figure 1).

Figure 1: Tourism development and food production in the Caribbean.



Source: de Kort et al. (2024) Note: The label "Curacao" in the figure represents the location "Curaçao." Due to technical constraints in the software used to create the figure (ggplot in R), the character "ç" could not be accommodated. We acknowledge the discrepancy and apologize for any inconvenience caused by this limitation.

Resilience studies offer insights into how communities, economies, and food systems can effectively respond to economic shocks. Azmi et al. (2023) emphasize the multifaceted nature of food security issues, highlighting gaps in the literature such as a lack of attention to the perspectives of marginalized groups and insufficient investigation into the connections between food security and other global issues. This underscores the complexity of addressing food security, which requires a multidisciplinary approach that considers diverse perspectives and interconnected factors. Moreover, Azmi et al.

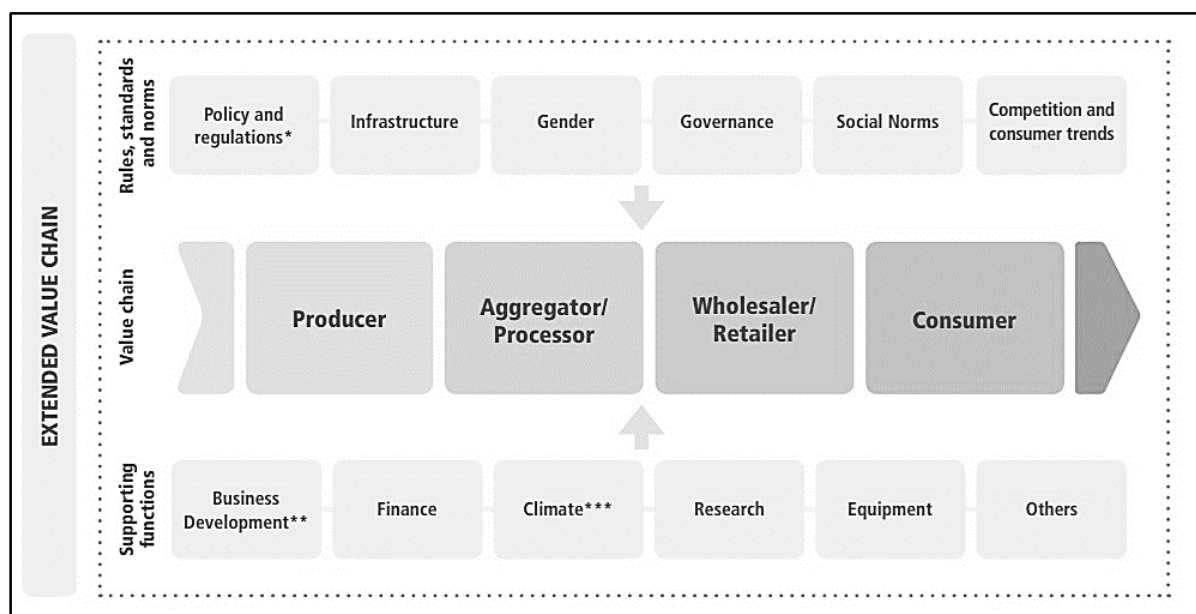
(2023) stress that ensuring food security is not a straightforward task and cannot be achieved by changing a single variable. Instead, it necessitates the integration of numerous multidisciplinary approaches. This perspective resonates with the concept of complex adaptive systems (Dentoni et al., 2020), which recognizes the interconnectedness and dynamic nature of food systems. By acknowledging the complexity of food security challenges and the need for holistic solutions, researchers and practitioners can better address the underlying issues affecting global food security. In the context of small island states (SIS), where vulnerabilities to external shocks are heightened, understanding food security as a complex adaptive system becomes particularly crucial. The interconnectedness of social, economic, and environmental factors in these island nations requires comprehensive strategies that account for the dynamic nature of food systems. Incorporating insights from resilience studies and adopting a systems thinking approach can enhance the capacity of SIS to adapt to changing circumstances and build resilience against future challenges, whether they are anthropogenic or natural.

Risk management and mitigation strategies are essential for ensuring the sustainability of food systems in the face of uncertainties (Azmi, Zailani, & Roni, 2023). Participatory action research facilitates the involvement of local stakeholders in knowledge co-creation (Clarke, 2003). The study of complex adaptive systems helps understand the dynamics of interconnected elements within food systems and their response to external shocks (Dentoni, Pinkse, & Lubberink, 2020). Incorporating indigenous knowledges in sustainable agriculture contributes to the resilience and sustainability of food systems in SIS (Antonelli, 2023). Moreover, life cycle assessments provide valuable insights into the environmental impacts of food supply chains in SIS. For instance, a study by De Vlieghere et al. (2023) assessed the life cycle of importing canned tuna into Aruba through different supply chains and varying can sizes and contents, shedding light on the environmental implications of importing food items (World Bank, 2022). This research informs decision-making processes to promote sustainability in food procurement strategies.

Methodology

Situational analysis, as advocated by Kalenda (2016), is an approach to research using grounded theory principles to identify and describe social worlds and arenas of action, representing complexity through mapmaking. This approach is deemed suitable for the development of qualitatively oriented interdisciplinary research in the social sciences. A situational map is created using the food security value chain framework by the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), which encompasses economic, social, and environmental dimensions (Figure 2). This framework provides a comprehensive overview of the food system, allowing for a thorough examination of various factors influencing food security.

Figure 2: Food systems diagram according to FAO



Source: FAO and UNDP (2020)

Particular attention is given to three key aspects within the food security value chain:

- 1) The impact of the COVID-19 crisis and potential changes: This includes assessing how the pandemic has affected various components of the food system, such as production, distribution, and consumption patterns;
- 2) Innovation in production and consumption habits: This involves examining innovative practices and technologies adopted within the food system to enhance efficiency, sustainability, and resilience; and
- 3) The resilience of indigenous food systems and indigenous food systems for resilience to food security shocks: This entails evaluating the resilience of indigenous food systems in the face of external shocks and exploring their potential contribution to overall food security.

Data Collection Methods

A mixed-methods approach was employed for data collection, comprising both quantitative and qualitative methods.

Survey: A survey was conducted over a representative sample of the population (n=412) to gather insights into consumer preferences and behaviors related to consumption of the cucumber. The survey questionnaire encompassed inquiries regarding dietary habits, food preferences, perceptions of food security, and experiences during the COVID-19 crisis. It delved into various aspects such as awareness of locally grown small cucumbers, purchasing and consumption patterns of locally grown produce, methods of consumption, factors influencing purchasing decisions, shelf life perceptions, familiarity with the benefits of consuming locally grown cucumbers, factors considered important when buying locally grown vegetables, incentives to buy more locally grown

cucumbers, reasons for avoiding such purchases if applicable, and demographic information including gender, place of birth, primary languages spoken at home, and residential location.

Semi-structured Interviews: Twelve semi-structured interviews were conducted with key stakeholders representing various segments of the food value chain. Participants included farmers, producers, distributors, retailers, consumers, and policymakers. The interviews aimed to explore in-depth perspectives on issues related to food production, distribution, consumption, and resilience in the face of challenges such as the COVID-19 crisis. In identifying constraints or challenges, particularly during the interviews, a list of factors collected from World Bank (2022) was utilized as labels. This document already provided an assessment of food security concerns for Aruba, enriching the analysis with locally relevant insights.

Application of Extended Value Chain Framework as an analytical tool

The extended value chain framework proposed by the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) serves as a powerful analytical tool to dissect and understand the complexities of the *comcomber chikito*'s food system. This framework offers a structured approach that facilitates a comprehensive examination of the entire value chain, from production to consumption, while considering economic, social, and environmental dimensions. One of the primary strengths of this framework lies in its ability to provide a systematic framework for analysis. By breaking down the various stages of the *comcomber chikito* value chain, including production, aggregation/processing, wholesaling/retailing, and consumption, insights are gained into the interconnections and dependencies among different actors and processes involved. This systematic approach enables the identification of key leverage points and potential bottlenecks within the value chain, allowing for targeted interventions and strategic decision-making. Moreover, the FAO's extended value chain framework emphasizes the importance of considering broader socio-economic and environmental factors that influence food systems. This holistic perspective is crucial for understanding the intricate dynamics at play and their implications for food security and sustainability. By incorporating economic, social, and environmental dimensions into the analysis, hidden linkages and unintended consequences can be uncovered, thus enhancing the understanding of the broader implications of food system interventions. Furthermore, the application of this framework enables the exploration of the multifaceted nature of the factors influencing the production, distribution, and consumption of cucumbers. For instance, how the COVID-19 crisis has disrupted traditional supply chains and consumer behavior can be examined, leading to shifts in production practices and consumption patterns. Similarly, it is possible to investigate the role of innovation in production and consumption habits, such as the adoption of hydroponic technology, in enhancing the resilience and sustainability of the cucumber value chain.

In addition, the extended value chain framework allows the assessment of the resilience of indigenous food systems and their potential contribution to overall food security. By examining how indigenous food systems navigate external shocks and adapt to changing socio-economic and environmental conditions, lessons learned and best practices can be identified that can inform broader efforts to enhance food security and resilience.

Survey and Interview Results in Relation to the Extended Value Chain Framework

Production

Farmers are occasionally approached about their ability to produce *comcomber chikito*. As of the time of writing, one farm has been identified as recently commencing production to supply to the hotel and catering industries, while two other farms are contemplating initiating pilot production in the near future. What unites these three farms is their adoption of hydroponic systems, a departure from traditional soil-based cultivation methods. The latter is deemed commercially unfeasible primarily due to intensive labor requirements, compounded by constraints related to labor costs and availability.

Furthermore, some local supermarkets occasionally offer *comcomber chikito* on their shelves. However, the origin of these products, although likely local, is often ambiguous. There is a prevailing belief that these cucumbers are often cultivated by immigrants within the informal sector and sold by immigrant-owned small supermarkets. Due to the informal nature of these operations, they are frequently not reported to local authorities, raising concerns about the labor practices employed and whether safe agricultural practices are being upheld.

The introduction of hydroponic technology has revolutionized cultivation practices, offering distinct advantages such as reduced labor demands, heightened knowledge intensity, cultivation in controlled environments, and decreased water usage. However, this approach comes with its drawbacks, notably heightened capital requirements, the necessity for specialized expertise, and heavier energy usage in the form of electricity. Despite these challenges, a select group of growers have demonstrated over the past few years that hydroponic cultivation can indeed be financially viable, particularly through the production of leafy greens.

Producers demonstrate a keen awareness of the broader implications of their production activities, often emphasizing their contributions to food security, import substitution, and sovereignty. This reflects a strong sense of agency, as they go beyond mere profit-making to embody social entrepreneurial qualities.

This sentiment is evident in pricing strategies as well. For instance, there is a farmer who produces local *comcomber chikito* seasonally and, during harvest periods, distributes them free of charge to neighbors and family members. Similarly, some farmers are

hesitant to set market prices for their produce, prioritizing affordability. In cases of limited supply, they may selectively sell below market price, prioritizing marginalized groups such as the elderly, sick, or those facing financial hardships.

The COVID-19 pandemic also serves as a compelling example of the social entrepreneurial spirit among producers. With the sudden halt in tourism activity leading to a decline in demand for local produce, producers responded by collaborating with other stakeholders, including a local food bank, a processor, and a hotel kitchen. Together, they devised innovative solutions to utilize surplus produce that would otherwise go to waste. One such initiative involved processing greens into soups that could be frozen and preserved, providing a sustainable alternative for redistribution by the food bank to its clientele. This collaborative effort not only addressed the immediate challenge of surplus produce but also contributed to the larger goal of supporting livelihoods and ensuring food security during a crisis. Overall, the example illustrates how social entrepreneurship can foster resilience in the face of external shocks, showcasing the proactive and adaptive nature of producers in responding to societal needs.

Aggregating/Processing

Within the Extended Value Chain Framework, the current state of the component of aggregating/processing for cucumbers on Aruba can be briefly summarized. Due to the absence of a functioning market for *comcomber chikito* aggregation and processing activities, no such activities were identified within the local context. This means that farmers directly connect to consumers in the market. The *comcomber chikito* is primarily consumed fresh, with no conservation techniques employed for alternative uses such as pickling, drying, or freezing. This lack of diversification in preservation methods presents an opportunity for the market to explore non-traditional uses of the cucumber, potentially expanding its shelf-life, utility and marketability within the local context.

On the producer side, there is resistance to the idea of exclusivity. Farmers are reluctant to commit exclusively to distributors, preferring to maintain agency and autonomy over their production and distribution processes. This tension between the need for consistency in distribution and the desire for agency among producers underscores the complexity of developing aggregation and processing channels for *comcomber chikito* on Aruba.

Farmers value their autonomy and are hesitant to relinquish control over their distribution channels. However, it is important to recognize that partnering with distributors can offer significant benefits to farmers. Distribution channels provide farmers with the ability to focus their resources on their core business of farming, allowing them to streamline their operations and increase efficiency. By entrusting distribution to experienced partners, farmers can ensure that their produce reaches a wider market and that logistical challenges are effectively managed. Finding a balance between the desire for

autonomy and the benefits of distribution will be crucial in fostering sustainable and mutually beneficial relationships along the *comcomber chikito* value chain on Aruba.

Wholesaler/Retailer

Hotel and catering industry. In the upper echelons of the hotel and catering industry, particularly among non-residents, there is a clear penchant for local produce with compelling narratives, often warranting substantial price premiums for inclusion in high-end cuisine. Interviews with industry insiders have uncovered that local chefs are actively exploring the integration of comcomber chikito into their menus. However, a notable hurdle in this endeavor is the significant research and development required to incorporate these dishes, which can only be justified when there is consistent production. One chef shared a poignant anecdote about a recent incident where a crucial local ingredient suddenly became unavailable due to a misunderstanding, leaving him scrambling to find a temporary solution to maintain his signature dish on the menu. Given the niche nature of these products and the time-consuming process of sourcing imports, substituting imports in the short term poses a considerable challenge.

Supermarkets. As noted above, some local supermarkets occasionally offer comcomber chikito on their shelves. However, the origin of these products, although likely local, is often ambiguous. There is a prevailing belief that at least some of these cucumbers are often cultivated by immigrants within the informal sector and sold by immigrant-owned small supermarkets. Due to the informal nature of these operations, they are frequently not reported to local authorities, raising concerns about the labor practices employed and whether safe agricultural practices are being upheld.

Occasionally, hobbyist or part-time farmers also supply produce to small supermarkets. However, from interviews conducted, it appears that this is not a very desirable route for farmers to take for several reasons. Firstly, the price is typically negotiated on the spot, with supermarkets offering farmers significantly lower prices for their local produce. This leaves farmers feeling undervalued, especially when they observe what they perceive as high markups placed on their products once they are on the shelves. Additionally, there is limited ability to differentiate their product, particularly when compared to similar cucumbers that may have been cultivated without adherence to good agricultural practices. These factors erode the farmers' sense of agency, and in some cases, they may prefer to give away the produce for free rather than succumb to unfavorable terms.

From the perspective of supermarkets, they point to the fact that local produce, due to its ad hoc availability and susceptibility to spoilage, poses a significant risk to the supermarket if it cannot be sold promptly. This risk justifies the supermarkets' reluctance to purchase such products, as they prefer to minimize the chances of being unable to move the product effectively.

Consumption

The feedback provided by consumers on what would encourage them to buy more locally grown cucumbers reveals a multifaceted landscape of preferences and priorities. At the heart of their desires lies a common thread: a deep appreciation for the freshness and quality of locally sourced produce. Many express a strong sense of support for local farmers and businesses, recognizing the importance of sustaining and nurturing the agricultural community. Price and size considerations also feature prominently in their decision-making process. Consumers seek consistency in pricing, affordability, and a balance between quantity and value. They express a desire for greater availability and accessibility, longing for clearer information on where to purchase locally grown cucumbers, whether in supermarkets or farmers markets. Health consciousness emerges as another significant driver, with consumers drawn to the perceived nutritional benefits of cucumbers and their preference for organic, clean produce. Yet, it is not just about health; it is also about heritage and tradition. Many consumers reminisce, harking back to childhood memories tied to locally grown cucumbers, highlighting their cultural significance and the importance of preserving culinary traditions.

The importance of marketing and promotion cannot be overstated. Consumers emphasize the need for increased visibility and awareness of locally grown cucumbers, suggesting that more targeted efforts in this regard could significantly boost sales. Additionally, they express a desire for more knowledge and education about the product, including recipes and cooking methods, to enhance their culinary experience. Convenience plays a pivotal role, with consumers seeking easier access to locally grown cucumbers, whether through expanded supermarket availability or dedicated farmers markets. For some, the appeal lies in the unique flavor and texture of locally grown cucumbers, while for others, it is about supporting sustainable agricultural practices and reducing their carbon footprint.

Many consumers have expressed a genuine interest in incorporating *comcomber chikito* into their diet, provided they have a reliable source to obtain it consistently. This sentiment underscores the importance of availability as a significant factor influencing purchasing decisions among local consumers. The willingness to embrace this locally grown produce highlights a latent demand waiting to be tapped into, contingent upon establishing a dependable supply chain. The key insight gleaned from consumer feedback is that awareness of a consistent source plays a pivotal role in shaping consumption behavior. Consumers seek reassurance that they can access *comcomber chikito* whenever they desire, without the uncertainty of intermittent availability.

However, despite this familiarity and potential predisposition, there are notable challenges in transforming consumer awareness into increased consumption of fresh produce. Research by Van der Loo (2022) highlights a shifting mindset regarding the sourcing of food locally, indicating a growing recognition of the importance of supporting local agricultural systems. Yet, entrenched culinary habits, particularly a preference for

warm, fried foods throughout the day, continue to constrain the consumption of fresh produce.

Interviews with consumers further illuminate the barriers to increased consumption of fresh *comcomber chikito*. Some express hesitancy due to unfamiliarity with traditional cooking methods involving cucumbers, indicating a lack of culinary knowledge that may deter experimentation with new recipes. Additionally, consumer taste preferences pose a challenge, with some individuals finding fresh cucumbers less appetizing compared to other foods. This sentiment may be compounded by perceptions of *comcomber chikito* as bland or lacking in flavor, further dampening consumer interest.

Moreover, the perishable nature of fresh *comcomber chikito* presents logistical challenges, particularly in times of crisis when refrigeration may be limited or unavailable. Unlike processed or shelf-stable foods, fresh cucumbers have a limited shelf life (about 1 to 2 weeks) and require refrigeration to maintain quality and safety. This requirement complicates their storage and use, especially in contexts where access to refrigeration facilities is scarce or intermittent.

Rules, standards, and norms

In Aruba, there are no standards in place to signify the quality of produce, such as through labeling. Consequently, local producers are unable to communicate their adherence to good agricultural practices to consumers, making it challenging for them to justify charging a premium price, based on the quality of their produce.

Producers are grappling with a myriad of regulatory ambiguities, particularly concerning the acquisition of land, building permits, and meeting electrical capacity requirements. The processes governing these aspects are often shrouded in opacity, leaving producers uncertain about the validity and applicability of regulations. One glaring issue lies in the issuance of agricultural land, where a lack of transparency has resulted in a dearth of awarded petitions despite considerable interest from producers. Consequently, many aspiring producers find their intentions to expand production capacity stymied by bureaucratic hurdles. Even when land is awarded, the journey does not get easier for producers, as they encounter formidable obstacles in obtaining building permits. These challenges are exacerbated by stringent issuance conditions, such as restrictions on constructing brick foundations on land designated for agricultural leases. This poses a significant dilemma for modern growers who require essential infrastructure like cooled storage areas, which necessitate sturdy foundations. Furthermore, the power-intensive nature of hydroponic production adds another layer of complexity, as it demands substantial on-site power capacity. However, friction arises when utility companies resist expanding power capacity through their distribution networks, often shifting the burden of significant investments onto producers. This not only strains the relationship between producers and utility providers but also impedes the scalability and sustainability of hydroponic operations.

Supporting functions

The current scenario presents a significant challenge regarding import duty regulations and their impact on auxiliary business support, ultimately creating incentives for disintermediation. Specifically, there is a notable absence of local intermediaries for specialized inputs such as fertilizers and pesticides. This absence places a heavy burden on producers, who must invest considerable resources in researching suitable products online and managing sufficient inventory to prevent disruptions in production. To mitigate the risk of running out of essential products, producers often hold excessive inventory, which they perceive as inefficient but necessary given the time required for importing logistics. Local farms enjoy the privilege of importing inputs duty-free, which offers them a cost advantage compared to intermediaries who must bear the burden of import duties. Consequently, intermediaries are discouraged from participating in the market, leading to a lack of local intermediation for essential agricultural inputs. This inefficiency places an additional burden on local producers, who are forced to dedicate significant time and resources to manage their supply chain, a burden not faced by competitors in larger markets with more robust intermediary networks. Moreover, this lack of intermediary support hampers the offering of auxiliary products that could otherwise strengthen the food system value chain. By discouraging the participation of intermediaries and burdening local producers, the current import duty regulations create barriers to efficient market functioning and inhibit the development of a more resilient and sustainable agricultural.

Constraints and Opportunities for Intervention

In the realm of local agricultural production, time emerges as a critical resource for producers, one that is increasingly depleted due to the existing regulatory landscape and the absence of essential supporting functions. The regulatory framework, characterized by bureaucratic hurdles and cumbersome administrative procedures, imposes significant time and effort burdens on local farmers. This regulatory burden detracts from the capacity of farmers to allocate their time efficiently, diverting valuable resources away from their core business activities. Moreover, the lack of supporting functions exacerbates this time constraint, further diminishing the productivity and effectiveness of local producers. Without adequate access to intermediary services, such as timely procurement of inputs and market distribution channels, farmers are compelled to dedicate excessive time to tasks beyond their primary focus. This includes sourcing essential agricultural inputs, navigating complex import regulations, and managing logistics for product distribution.

As a result, local farmers find themselves trapped in a cycle where substantial time and effort are consumed by non-core activities, limiting their ability to concentrate on essential tasks such as crop cultivation, quality control, and business development. This not only undermines the efficiency and competitiveness of local agricultural enterprises

but also stunts their potential for growth and innovation. Addressing these constraints requires targeted interventions aimed at streamlining regulatory processes, enhancing access to supporting functions, and fostering a conducive environment for agricultural entrepreneurship. By alleviating the time burden imposed on local producers, interventions can empower farmers to redirect their efforts towards enhancing productivity, adopting sustainable practices, and ultimately driving the growth and resilience of the local agricultural sector.

Additionally, addressing regulatory challenges is essential to fostering a more supportive environment for local producers and enhancing the overall resilience of the food system. By promoting transparency, efficiency, and accessibility in regulatory procedures, policymakers can facilitate smoother operations for farmers and incentivize innovation and investment in the agricultural sector.

Furthermore, initiatives to strengthen intermediary networks and facilitate access to essential inputs can significantly reduce the time and effort required for farmers to manage their supply chains. By fostering partnerships between producers, distributors, and other stakeholders, interventions can enhance market efficiency and create opportunities for value addition and diversification within the agricultural value chain.

Conclusion

The analysis of the value chain of *comcomber chikito* in Aruba has revealed significant challenges and opportunities across various stages, from production to consumption. These insights underscore the complexity of agricultural systems in small island states and highlight the importance of addressing key constraints to enhance economic resilience and food security.

The adoption of hydroponic technology by some local farmers represents a notable shift towards more sustainable and efficient cultivation practices. However, this transition comes with its own set of challenges, including heightened capital requirements and the need for specialized expertise. Despite these obstacles, growers have demonstrated resilience and innovation, leveraging social entrepreneurial qualities to navigate crises such as the COVID-19 pandemic and contribute to food security initiatives.

At the aggregating/processing stage, the absence of a functioning market for cucumber aggregation and processing presents both challenges and opportunities. While farmers value their autonomy and are hesitant to commit exclusively to distributors, partnerships with experienced distributors could enhance market access and efficiency. Finding a balance between autonomy and collaboration will be crucial in fostering sustainable relationships within the value chain.

In the wholesale/retail sector, there is a clear demand for locally grown produce, particularly among high-end cuisine establishments. However, ambiguity surrounding the origin of products and challenges in distribution channels hinder market development.

Strengthening transparency and collaboration among stakeholders could unlock the full potential of the local agricultural sector.

The analysis also highlights regulatory ambiguities and import duty regulations as significant barriers to efficient market functioning. Addressing these challenges requires a multifaceted approach, including policy reforms, capacity-building initiatives, and collaborative partnerships. By streamlining regulatory processes, enhancing access to supporting functions, and fostering a conducive environment for agricultural entrepreneurship, policymakers can empower local producers to overcome constraints and drive economic growth, food security, and sustainability.

In conclusion, the present study underscores the critical role of food entrepreneurship in enhancing economic resilience and promoting sustainable development in SIS like Aruba. By addressing key constraints and leveraging opportunities within the endemic cucumber's value chain, policymakers can contribute to building more resilient and inclusive food systems that benefit local communities and economies.

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CURAÇAO FOOD SECURITY BEFORE AND DURING COVID-19: EVALUATION OF THE ISLAND'S FOOD AVAILABILITY, ACCESSIBILITY, AND STABILITY

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Abstract

The purpose of this paper is to analyze Curaçao's food security system during times of COVID-19 through the lens of the six pillars of food security of the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO). The emergence of the COVID-19 pandemic did not, in itself, result in severe disruptions to Curaçao's food supply. Overall food mass flow changes did not fluctuate significantly between 2018 and 2021. Neither did prices fluctuate significantly. In 2021, the total costs of food imports on the wholesale side in Curaçao increased by ca. 50 million florins. The outcomes of this study demonstrate low levels of compliance with 'Recommended Daily Intakes' (RDI) in relation to the island's food supply.

Key terms: Curaçao, food security, availability, accessibility, stability, price fluctuations, recommended daily intake

Introduction

In the wake of a global pandemic, the world finds itself at a pivotal juncture, where the critical importance of food security is coming increasingly to the forefront of public awareness. The COVID-19 crisis has underscored the vulnerability of nations to external disruptions, forcing us to reevaluate our preparedness, resilience, self-sufficiency and sustainability in the face of unforeseen challenges. For Curaçao, which is the context in which this study was done, the need to secure its food supply and safeguard the well-being of its population have never been more apparent.

As the pandemic continues to affect communities worldwide, we are reminded of the fragility of our interconnected food systems. Curaçao is no exception to the global impact of COVID-19. The virus has exposed vulnerabilities in the island's food security, prompting the examination of its response and readiness for future external shocks. The significance of this study lies not only in its attempt to address the immediate concerns that COVID-19 has brought to the fore, but also its attempt to look beyond the present. It seeks to explore how Curaçao can build resilience and sustainability for future external disruptions, turning the challenges of today into opportunities for tomorrow.

The pillars of food security of the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO): 1) availability, 2) accessibility, 3) stability, 4) utilization, 5) sustainability, and 6) agency, are the underlying framework for this overall study (Visser, 2024). The aspects of stability and accessibility (through analysis of price fluctuations), and availability (through comparison between actual available vs. recommended daily intake of food) are the main focus of this article.

Key factors and challenges

The emergence of the COVID-19 pandemic did not, in itself, result in severe disruptions to Curaçao's food supply. COVID-19 deaths nearly exclusively occurred for people with comorbidities, of which most are diet-related health morbidities such as hypertension, diabetes, and cardiovascular diseases (Justino et al, 2022). The COVID-19 pandemic thus revealed deeper underlying challenges of food security and overall diet related well-being on the island that existed *before* COVID-19, such as:

Dependency on Imports: Its heavy dependency on food imports makes Curaçao particularly vulnerable to external factors. Import reductions from neighboring Venezuela (NOS, 2019) and fluctuations in international food prices exposed the risks associated with this reliance. The recent war in Ukraine, and its subsequent energy and raw materials crises have added additional stress to the island's import-dependent food security.

Healthcare Costs Related to Diet: A significant and increasing share of healthcare costs on the island is linked to dietary factors (Public Health Institute Curaçao (VIC), 2012). Import dependency, coupled with low quantities of fresh produce and high quantities of processed foods among those imports, has contributed to health challenges related to diet. The island is faced with high rates of among others, obesity, diabetes, specific types of cancers, digestive, urinary, auto-immune diseases and other diet-related conditions, which significantly strains its healthcare system. The prevalence of these diseases per capita in Curaçao is among the highest in the Caribbean and the world (VIC, 2012), and results in an increased susceptibility to pandemics such as COVID-19.

Underdevelopment of the Local Agricultural Sector: The local agricultural sector faces stiff competition from cheaper agricultural products from countries with

unsustainable labor conditions or higher environmental impacts, the so-called externalized costs of food production. As a result, local farmers struggle to compete, while supermarkets, in turn, are reluctant to buy locally due to differences in price, quality and continuity between local and externally sourced food products.

Externalized Costs and Unsustainable Practices: On a broader scale, the Curaçaoan food system is characterized by high externalized costs, originating both in the exterior where these food products have been produced, as well as locally where it is consumed. These include: ecosystem destruction, loss of biodiversity, unsustainable resource extraction, desertification, and a decrease in the (phyto)nutrient and fiber content of the food supply, resulting in diet related health problems.

Curaçao, facing economic challenges, inflation, and the recent impact of COVID-19, is actively addressing food security concerns. Various actors are working to combat these challenges, including both government-affiliated and non-governmental initiatives.

Governmental Actors and Initiatives: The Ministry of Health, Environment, and Nature (GMN), and the Ministry of Economic Development (MEO) have been at the forefront of developing agricultural policy plans aimed at increasing food and income security, creating jobs, boosting productivity, expanding sales markets, ensuring fair prices, and promoting alternative income opportunities for farmers. The 2018-2023 health and agriculture plan (GMN, 2019) emphasizes modifying eating patterns, eradicating food poverty, and encouraging horticulture and kitchen gardening, alongside educating people about good nutrition and self-sufficient fruit and vegetable growing.

Non-Governmental Actors and Initiatives: Non-governmental bodies, including the ‘Agrarische Kooperatieve Vereniging’ (<https://www.facebook.com/AK-VCUR/>) and ‘Kooperativo Agrario di Banda Ariba’ (KOABA), represent and promote the interests of food producers, agriculture, and animal husbandry. AKV actively engages in testing new seeds, encouraging entrepreneurship in processing crops into shelf-stable products, and preventing crop wastage. Soltuna (www.soltuna.org), the Foundation for Development of Agriculture and Horticulture, coordinate deliveries to wholesale suppliers and purchase local vegetables and fruits, while promoting and supporting local horticulture and agriculture. The Doughnut Economy group (Facebook: Curaçao Doughnut Economy), Kolektivo (www.kolektivo.cw), and Curaçao Syntropic Farming (Facebook: Curaçao Syntropic Farming), promote progressive and sustainable scenarios for a future ready Curaçao, including sustainable agriculture and food security. These groups are grassroots organizations consisting of very engaged, proactive and higher educated individuals working together for a better island.

In the context of an increasing interest in linking food and food security to health, governmental and non-governmental bodies are developing educational programs and initiatives to encourage healthier eating habits from a young age. These (non-)governmental actors collectively play a vital role in addressing the food security challenges and fostering a more sustainable and resilient food system in Curaçao (GMN, 2019).

The present study: Definitions and methods

The UN Food and Agriculture Organization defines food safety according to six pillars (FAO, 2021), and those are:

1. *Availability*: concerns the actual daily supply in the supermarkets, the diversity of products and the presence of products from the complete food bracket;
2. *Accessibility*: refers to the access to that food in terms of economic capacity and distance to food sources;
3. *Stability*: refers to the frequency and regularity in which the food is present;
4. *Utilization*: represents the quality and fulfillment of the nutritional need for a person to live a good and healthy life;
5. *Sustainability*: concerns the overall safeguarding and harmonization of environmental, social and financial factors within the supply chain;
6. *Agency*: refers to the manner and level in which consumers have influence on food related issues.

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This article presents part of a larger ZonMw study, and only focuses on results for 3 of the 6 FAO pillars of food security. Adopting a top-down approach, the study includes a mass balance sheet of Curaçao's national diet, using statistics from the Central Bureau of Statistics in Curaçao (CBS.cw). Adopting a bottom-up approach, the study also in

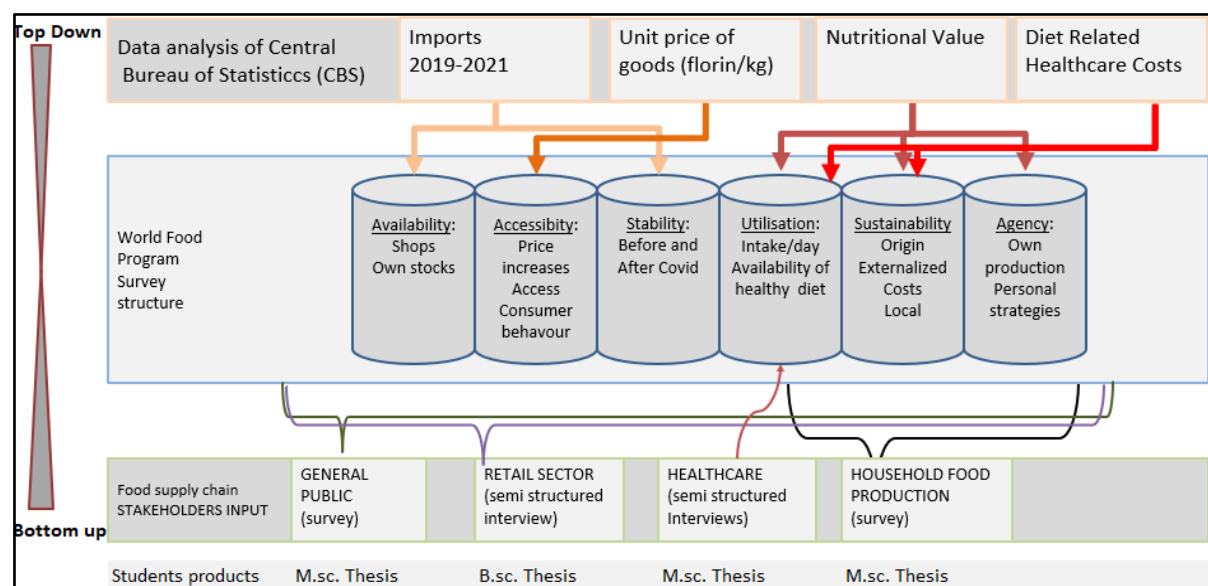


Figure 1 Research boundaries and flow: Top-down and bottom-up approaches adopted in the present study in relation to the FAO's 6 pillars of food security

cludes surveys and interviews with stakeholders in the food supply chain in order to develop insights into the drivers and barriers related to the development of Curaçao's local food production. This bottom-up approach has been supported by master/bachelor research students from the University of Curaçao and Amsterdam. Figure 1 below summarizes both approaches graphically.

Top-down approach

Firstly, import statistics from Statistics Curaçao (CBS.cw) have been used to study the mass flow fluctuations of all imported food between 2018 and 2021 on an annual basis in Curaçao, thus addressing the FAO food security pillar of Stability. Results are plotted in tonnages per year, for 20 specific food categories.

Secondly, these CBS statistics have also been used to look at the price fluctuations over that period, in order to find out whether and how COVID-19 specifically had an impact on the financial (FAO food security pillar) Accessibility of the island's food. The unit price is obtained for each product by dividing its monetary value by its imported weight (i.e. florins/ kilogram), and standardized compared to 2018, in order to identify strong (i.e. <25%>) increases or decreases in prices (Kalkuhl et al, 2016).

Thirdly, these same CBS statistics contain information on all consumables within food categories. Their presence and diversity fall under the FAO food security pillar of Availability. For the year 2019, the entirety of food imports has been examined as a baseline (pre-COVID-19) as the normal availability of food for the local population. From these total imports, food exports, tourism consumption, and food waste are subtracted. The leftover food is then converted back to grams per local person availability per day, and compared to the Recommended Daily Intake (RDI) that a healthy and productive person needs.

Fourthly, this actual availability of food is examined for its health and diversity, which is in line with the FAO food security pillar of Utilization. All imports are aggregated into 20 food categories, and for each of them, the top 75% bulk is analyzed at the level of refining, health, and diversity of intake (not included in this article but in the general ZonMw study) (Visser, 2024).

Fifthly, the local externalized costs of our supply chain (read 'consumption') are investigated, i.e. the diet related healthcare costs. With these local externalized costs, a shadow price is given per kilogram of food, which can then be compared with the local costs of food production (not included in this paper but in the general paper) (Visser, 2024).

This top-down analysis is highly abstract as it uses aggregated masses, florins and populations; and subsequently postulates an average available diet for an average Curaçaoan. This does not take into account local circumstances such as differences in income, region, or eating habits. This analysis is instead intended to jumpstart further

research into sustainable, future-proof food scenarios in Curaçao, which might help in a transition to a healthier and more food secure population.

In our analysis of the yearly mass flow of foodstuffs in Curaçao, the ultimate goal is to assess the composition of food flows entering the island. A number of aggregation steps have been taken to simplify the analysis of the ‘food imports’ database and make it workable. The CBS statistics used are for the years 2018 to 2021, and cover 770 types of edible products with a unique Harmonized System (HS) code, which is managed by the U.S. Census Bureau’s Foreign Trade Division. This allows for an aggregation of products into 22 main categories of food, which is used for our analysis of price fluctuations. Next, a final level of aggregation is done, whereby these 22 food groups are integrated into 9 consumption categories of which 6 are those that a healthy person must consume per day in order to function optimally, while the other 3 categories (alcoholic beverages, sugary beverages and sugary products) have been added in order to enable a more transparent discussion about diet and diet-related diseases, as they have become major threats to overall health.

The current Curaçaoan state of food availability was calculated as the ratio between the actual imported food per person per day on the one hand, and the standard RDI on the other (Visser, 2024). This Actual Satisfaction in Recommended Daily Intake (ASiRDI) was calculated as indicated in Appendix 1 below.

Results

Stability: Changes in food flows during 2018-2021

Figure 2 below illustrates the 20 categories of consumable imports plotted over the years 2018-2021, and is designed to provide an overview of the *general* development of food imports over the COVID-19 period. In general, most of the food categories saw relatively little fluctuation over this period. A few non-essential categories such as alcoholic beverages and sugary beverages declined somewhat, which can be related to the decline in tourism over this period. While imports of meat declined slightly, imports of fruits and vegetables increased.

These minor fluctuations in food mass flows seem contradictory to the then very present and persistent news, which reported on increasing prices and unavailability of certain products, at least at the retail level (in contrast to the wholesale level discussed in this chapter) (Chong, 2023).

Accessibility: Price fluctuations from 2018 to 2021

Accessibility of food encompasses a broad range of factors that influence a population’s ability to get to the food, like price and purchasing power and distance to market. This section focusses on wholesale price fluctuations between 2018 and 2021. The CBS statistics show product imports in mass (*1,000 kg or in tons) and in currencies (*1,000 florins). These values are declared by the importers to customs, and the monetary value

is then the wholesale price (purchased abroad) plus all import duties, taxes and other import charges.

By dividing this monetary value by the mass, a unit price (UP) is created, in florins per kilogram (fl/ kg). Subsequently, this 'UP_{yr}' was standardized compared to 2018 (2018=100%). In order to establish an overview of price change fluctuations, each product in its category was ranked by descending weight and then summed together accumulatively until a cut-off rate of 75% of weight was reached within each food category. This was done so as to investigate whether the price fluctuations mainly occurred in the top bulk 75%, or occurred in the remaining 25%. This last step indicates whether the COVID-19 pandemic had a significant impact on the pricing of Curaçao's bulk supply. These price fluctuations are shown in Table 1 below, the top table representing the price

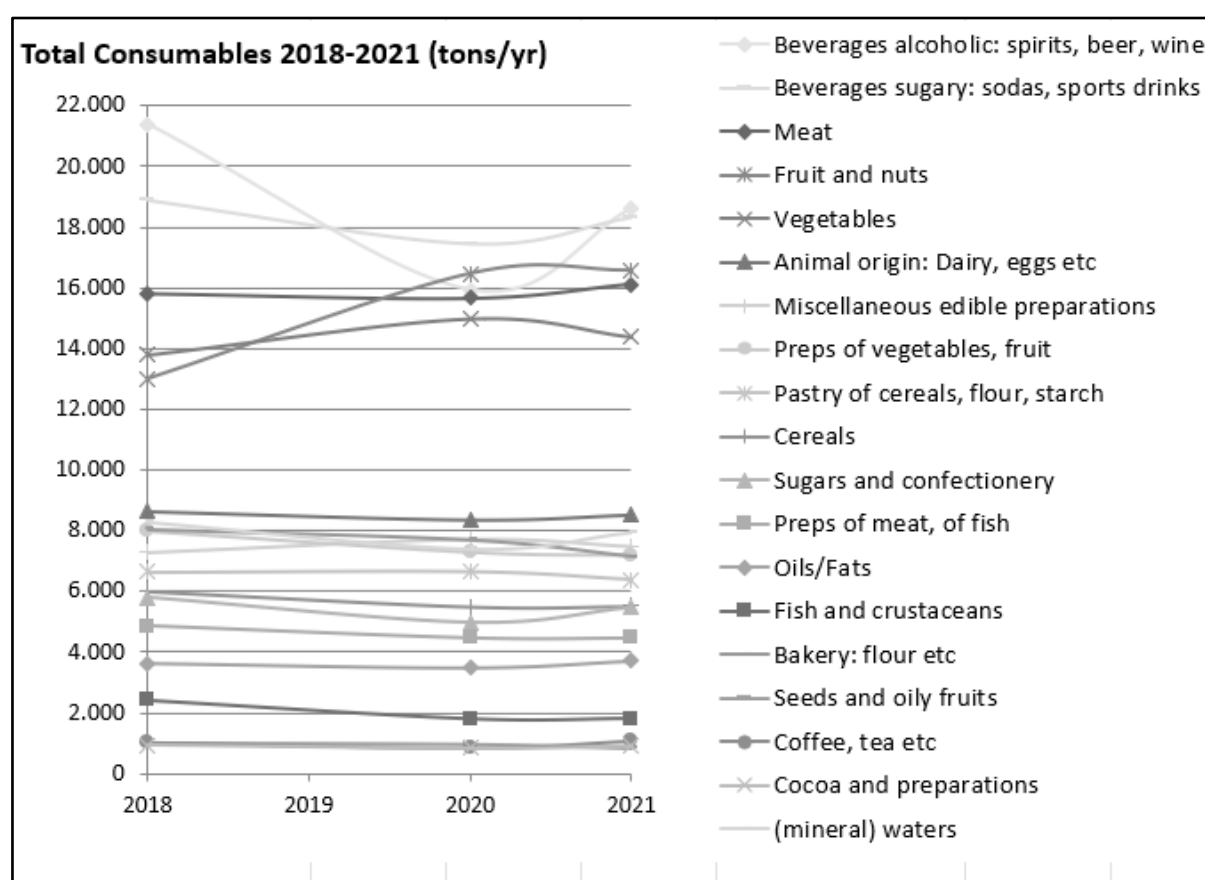


Figure 2 Mass flow rates from 2018 to 2021 of all 20 food categories being imported into Curaçao (source: CBS.cw)

fluctuations of all 770 individual products, and the bottom table showing the fluctuations in the top bulk 75% of all 22 food categories. To the naked eye, the decreases and increases (more than 25% price fluctuations) appear to occur fairly randomly, spread across and within the 20 product categories. Of all 770 products, a net 142 products fell in price in 2019 and 100 products fell in price in 2020. It wasn't until 2021 that a net 97 products rose in price. The bottom half of Table 1 indicates that in the top 75% imports

Table 1 Price fluctuations for all (above) and top 75%-bulk (below) imports

Price in/decreases for all 770 products				
	2018	2019	2020	2021
Increases		107	151	258
Decreases		249	251	161
total (Inc-Decr)		-142	-100	97
Price in/decreases for top 75% bulk within categories				
	2018	2019	2020	2021
Price increases		2	10	17
Price decreases		14	7	11
total (Inc-Decr)		-12	3	6

within all import categories, a net 12 products fell in price in 2019; a net 3 products increased in price in 2020, and a net 6 products increased in price in 2021. What emerges from Table 1 is that little in the way of price increases occurred from 2018 to 2021. Fluctuations in mass, value, and unit price are summarized in Table 2 below. The bottom 3 rows represent the *change* in mass and price, and the net effect of price changes over that period. In 2019, for example, total imports increased by 2.69 ktons, but the total value of imports decreased by 10.7 million florin. In 2020, when the pandemic hit hard, the quantity fell by 12.2 ktons and the value fell by 45 million florins. The decrease in *value* in 2019 can probably be attributed to the incipient stress (overproduction) in the logistics of the global food chain, especially in the region surrounding Curaçao, from which 30% of all of its imports come. The total tonnage increased again in 2021 when the tourism economy opened up again (by ca. 3.6 ktons), but the UP increased considerably from 3,4 to 3,7). The total cost of our island's food imports that can be allocated not to mass flow changes but solely to price fluctuations (i.e. $(UP_{yr} - UP_{yr-1}) * Imports_{yr}$) on the global market during the COVID-19 pandemic, is -20,3 million in 2019, -3,4 million in 2020, and 50,4 million in 2021.

Availability: Actual intake vs. recommended daily intake (RDI)

To further analyze the impact of COVID-19 on Curaçao's food security, the availability of food *during* the crisis is important to study. In order to do so, we first need to get an

Table 2 Societal food system costs during COVID-19 (CBS, 2023)

Variable	Unit	2018	2019	2020	2021
Imports	tons	158.924	161.618	149.473	153.023
Value	florin (x1.000)	564.254	553.559	508.591	571.059
UP (unit price overall)	fl/kg	3,6	3,4	3,4	3,7
Δ imports (change in imports)	tons		2.694	-12.145	3.551
Δ value (change in value)	florin (x1.000)		-10.694	-44.969	62.469
Societal costs of Covid $(UP(yr) - UP(yr-1)) * Imports(yr1)$			-20.258.803	-3.370.620	50.386.917

idea of the long-term food availability *before* the crisis. This section analyses the actual available food for consumption in Curaçao for the year 2019 (the last ‘normal’ year before the pandemic). This availability is calculated as ‘intake per day’, and is then compared to the general, United Nations standard ‘Daily Recommended Intake’.

Share of Tourist Food

Tourists are consuming a considerable amount of imported foods. Curaçao hosts a steady 580,000 cruise tourists per year on average (2010-2019 period), 3.6 million stay-over nights and 25,000 day-trippers. Due to absence of data and time restrictions, the establishment of a precise diet of a tourist visiting Curaçao was unfeasible for the present study, and further research on this topic is recommended.

For a tourist’s diet then, the best data available within the scope of this article is that of cruise ships, and therefore a cruise tourist diet is taken as a basis for further analysis. This was estimated by averaging the food intake from three average cruise ships ‘Symphony of the Seas’, ‘MSC Bellissima’ and the ‘Norwegian Bliss’, for a 7-day trip (CNN, 2019). These are converged into our above-mentioned 9 consumption categories in gram/person/day. The daily intake of a cruiser is summarized in Table 3, and totals 5,1 kg/person/day. This seems extremely high, considering that an ‘acceptable’ actual intake of 1,5 kg/person/day leaves 3,5 kg/person/day to waste, which is confirmed in other literature (CE Delft, 2016). The food consumption on cruises can be called quite extravagant, with e.g. all you can eat buffets and unlimited drinks.

This *general* cruise diet is then extrapolated over the three *specific* Curaçao-visiting tourist categories for the year 2019, ‘cruise’, ‘day-trippers’ and ‘stay over tourists’ that characterize our tourism in Curaçao, as shown in Table 4 (CHATA, 2023; Curaçao Tourism Board CTB, 2023).

Table 3 Cruise tourist’s Diet in kg per person per day

Cruise Diet	kg/p/day
Fruits & veggies	1,44
Starches (grains, flour,	0,67
Meat	0,90
Dairy	0,76
Fish	0,21
Fats (oleaginous seeds	0,1
Sugary products (candy	0,19
Beverages (alcoholic &	0,79
total (kg)	5,07

Table 4 Tourist visits to Curaçao; and share of consumption cruise/daytripper/stay-over tourist compared to cruise tourist’s diet

CHATA & CTB DATA	2010	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021	2022 febr.2023	% consumption visitors:
cruise arrivals	383.000	583.000	583.000	469.498	634.370	671.070	757.277	256.033	146.231	533.622	% cruise v.s. cruise 50%
day trippers				32.995	32.995	20.676	19.452	5.338	7.124	11.040	% day-tr. V.s. cruise 60%
stay over tourists	342.000	440.000	440.000	411.104	441.332		471.096	174.871	256.000	489.558	% stay-ov. V.s. cruise 70%
stay over nights	2.724.000	3.739.000	3.739.000	3.605.340	3.605.340	3.912.704	4.131.463	1.750.366	3.014.000	4.680.000	ton kg conversion 1.000

A distinction is made between a general and specific cruise diet, as general cruise consumption accounts the total food on a cruise, whereas a cruise visiting Curaçao is al-

ready stacked with food at the departing location and only small, missing, or fresh products are bought on the visited islands. Therefore, a specific Curaçao visiting cruiser is assumed to only consume 50% of a general cruiser's diet; a day-tripper is assumed to consume only 60% compared to a cruiser, because of the fast pace of their visit which might allow for only dinner and maybe some snacks; and a stay-over tourist is assumed to consume 70% that of a cruiser (Tourism Master Plan, 2015; Tomaszewska et al, 2021) assuming a lower level of extravagance. These shares are then multiplied by the number of visitors. In 2019, the food consumed by tourists is thus estimated to be ca. 24 kton in total or 16% of total gross imports.

Share of Wasted Food

Share of food waste was deducted from the average of 5 villages spread over the Netherlands (Foundation 'Voedingscentrum' Factsheet, 2020), and was analyzed thoroughly

Table 5 Food waste for 20 categories, (in)evitable and horeca

HS	Category	Food Waste		
		%,hh, evitable	% hh inev	%, horeca
0201 – 0210	Meat	8%	2%	5%
0301 – 0307	Fish and crustaceans	4%	2%	3%
0401 – 0410	Animal origin: Dairy, eggs, honey	8%	4%	5%
0701 – 0714	Vegetables, roots and tubers	11%	25%	7%
0801 – 0814	Fruit and nuts, citruss, melons	9%	25%	6%
0901 – 0910	Coffee, tea, mate and spices	8%	2%	5%
1001 – 1008	Cereals	25%	4%	16%
1101 – 1109	Bakery: flours, starches, inulin	17%	4%	11%
1201 – 1214	Seeds and oleaginous fruits	8%	50%	5%
1501 – 1522	Oils/Fats of Animal or vegetable	8%	50%	5%
1601 – 1605	Preps of meat, of fish	7%	2%	4%
1701 – 1704	Sugars and sugar confectionery	8%	2%	5%
1801 – 1806	Cocoa and cocoa preparations	8%	4%	5%
1901 – 1905	Pastry of cereals, flour, starch	12%	4%	8%
2001 – 2009	Preps of vegetables, fruit, nuts	8%	15%	5%
2101 – 2106	Miscellaneous edible preparations	5%	4%	3%
	(mineral) waters	5%	4%	3%
	Beverages sugary: sodas, sports drinks	5%	4%	3%
	Beverages alcoholic: spirits, beer, wine	5%	4%	3%

on content, evitable and inevitable waste fractions. For 19 Harmonized System (HS) food categories a percentage share is given, as shown in Table 5. For all food categories the %-waste is relatively low (2-10% of weight) except for vegetables and fruits which involve mostly inevitable waste (25% for households) like pits, peels, seeds. Some other remarkable wastes are the evitable household wastes of cereals, bakery and pastry products (HS code 10, 11, 19); and inevitable household wastes of oils and fats and preps of

fruits/vegetables (HS code 12, 15 and 20). On this basis, the total food waste in 2019 for Curaçao was calculated to be some 16 kton, or 11% of total gross imports.

Share of age groups and undocumented inhabitants

To come to an ‘Actual daily Food Availability’, the RDI for an adult male of 19-50 years old is taken as the baseline. To account for women, the elderly and children, their dietary requirements are weighted and transformed in relation to the RDI of an adult male. This is done by combining demographic data of Curaçao (CBS) with nutrient requirements for age groups (‘Voedingscentrum’, 2020). For example, the daily intake of children below 8 years old is 50% of that of an adult male, while adolescent teens between 14-18 years old appear to eat ca. 107% of that of an adult male.

Undocumented inhabitants of Curaçao are also included in the calculations, as they consume imported foods as well. The foundation Salú pa Tur (Health for All) has estimated that this group amounts to ca. 30,000 persons in Curaçao, of which 17,000 are Venezuelan refugees, and ca. 13,000 are undocumented migrants from other countries (Salú pa Tur, 2023).

Share of locally produced food

The local production of food in Curaçao consists of meat (sheep, goat, pig, cow), animal derived products (eggs) and vegetables. The data for these products was gathered from sources such as the abattoir, the governmental agency ‘Agrarische en Visserij Beheer (AVB; Agricultural and Fisheries Authority), the island’s egg farms, and Soltuna. The island’s agricultural sector has been declining over time, along with local production as a share in local consumption, and now accounts for a mere 5% of total ‘net’ consumable imports, or ca. 5 ktons in 2019.

Curaçao’s Deficiency in Food Availability

Table 6 presents the results of all of the above-mentioned calculations in numbers and percentages to obtain the Actual Satisfaction in Recommended Daily Intake (ASiRDI)

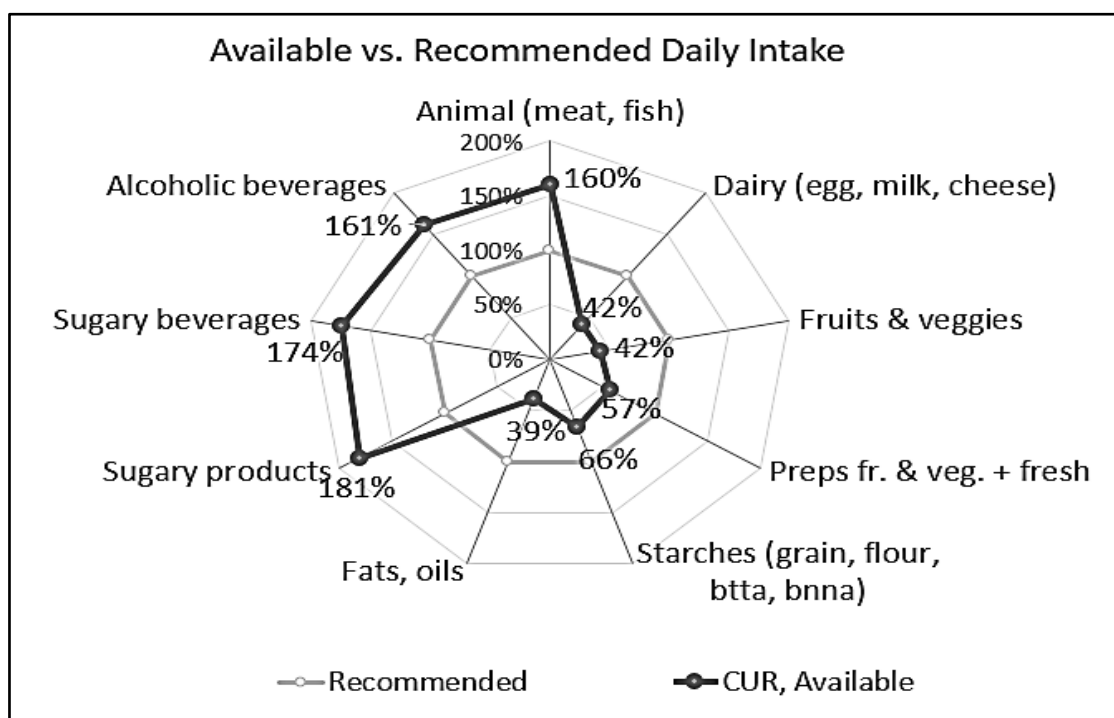
Table 6 Actual satisfaction in RDI in Curaçao for 2019

2019, Categories CUR, Available	CDI (gr/p/d)	RDI (gr/p/d)	ASiRDI %
Animal (meat, fish)	242	151	160%
Dairy (egg, milk, cheese)	112	270	42%
Fruits & veggies	191	450	42%
Preps fr. & veg. + fresh	67		57%
Starches (grain, flour, btt, bna)	351	530	66%
Fats, oils	25	65	39%
Sugary products	109	60	181%
Sugary beverages	217	125	174%
Alcoholic beverages	281	175	161%
totals	1595	1826	55%

for the average person in Curaçao in 2019. As shown in Table 6, the Curaçaoan Daily Intake (CDI, column 2) totals 1595 grams, while the Recommended Daily Intake (RDI, column 3) is 1826 grams. Column 4 gives the ratio of these two (in %), and results in the ASiRDI.

Figure 3 uses a spider diagram to contrast the CDI (dark shaded line) and RDI (light shaded circular line) for our 9 consumption categories. The diagram reveals that there are serious imbalances in the average Curaçaoan diet, with dangerous overconsumption in all 3 of the health-threatening consumption categories (alcoholic beverages 161% of RDI), sugary beverages (174% of RDI) and sugary products (181% of RDI), dangerous overconsumption in the animal consumption category (160% of RDI), and dangerous underconsumption in the other 5 consumption categories dairy (42% of RDI), fruits and vegetables (42% of RDI), preparations of fruits and vegetables (57% of RDI), starches (66% of RDI) and fats and oils (39% of RDI).

Figure 3. Curaçaoan Daily Intake/ Actual Satisfaction in Recommended Daily Intake (CDI/ ASiRDI, dark shaded line) versus Recommended Daily Intake (RDI, light shaded line) for 9 consumption categories.



In contrast, the general ‘street level’ perception is one of relative abundance in terms of food availability, as the supermarkets seem full and diversified. The standard RDI is actually based on human nutritional needs, and is aimed at providing sufficient amounts of all necessary nutrients. Over the course of the 20th century the availability of highly processed foods has increased enormously and this has brought about a corresponding

decrease of essential nutrients in foods (FAO, 2020) due in no small part to the industrialization of food production both on the field and in food processing. Therefore, our required food intake per day has necessarily and steadily been increasing to satisfy our body's constant nutrient demand. Additionally, highly processed foods are typically energy dense and have high fat, sugar and salt content, and so energy requirements are met very easily by them, while the body remains deficient in micronutrients.

Recommendations

This study has revealed some severe food security bottlenecks, and a number of interventions at different levels by numerous different actors will be necessary to begin to deal with them. Such interventions include:

1. *Shift price economics*: Changing product pricing from a weight-based approach (florin/kg product) to one based on nutrition (florin/mg nutrients) incentivizes healthier food choices and discourages overly processed, less nutritious options. Ranking products can be done by summing up their capacity to satisfy the recommended daily intake (in %) of all required nutrients;
2. *Make the healthiest products the cheapest*: Making the healthiest products in each product category the cheapest within that category can be compensated by corresponding price increases for the least healthy products in the same category;
3. *Polluter pays principle*: Including the externalized costs of production into the price of a product holds food manufacturers and supermarkets accountable for the environmental and health impacts of their production methods and encourages more responsible practices. Higher prices for imported, unhealthy foods will indirectly stimulate local, healthy agriculture;
4. *Promote food labeling*: Implementing clearer, transparent and obligatory labeling on foods enables consumers to make informed choices about nutritional content, dangerous additives, etc.;
5. *Support sustainable agriculture*: Encouraging sustainable farming practices, organic farming, permaculture and local food systems reduces reliance on industrialized production, stimulates a living microbiota, builds up soil life, and fosters healthier food options;
6. *Import substitution for selected produce*: Identifying a few new crops every year to be locally grown to fulfill the island's demand and offering such crops protection from imports by offering purchase and processing security promotes food security and healthier diets;
7. *Promote nutritional education*: Empowering local individuals with knowledge about healthy eating habits and food choices helps mitigate the negative health and food security impacts of processed foods.

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Data: <https://dcdp.uoc.cw/content/AA/00/00/81/78/00001/>

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APPENDIX 1

The current Curaçaoan state of food availability was calculated as the ratio between the actual imported food per person per day on the one hand, and the standard RDI on the other (Visser, 2024). This Actual Satisfaction in Recommended Daily Intake (ASiRDI) was calculated as follows:

$$\text{ASiRDI}_{\text{cur}} (\%) = \frac{\text{CDI}_{2019} (\text{gram/person/day})}{\text{RDI}_{\text{UN-WFP}} (\text{gram/person/day})}$$

Where:

$\text{ASiRDI}_{\text{cur}}$ = Actual Satisfaction in Recommended Daily Intake (%)

CDI_{2019} = Curaçaoan Daily Intake for the year 2019 (gram/day/person/category)

$\text{RDI}_{\text{UN-WFP}}$ = the standard Recommended Intake (United nation's WFP's standard).

The CDI was calculated as:

$$\text{CDI}_{2019} = \frac{\dot{m}_{\text{import},2019} + \dot{m}_{\text{local.prod},2019} - \dot{m}_{\text{export},2019} - \dot{m}_{\text{tourism},2019} - \dot{m}_{\text{food.loss},2019}}{365 \text{ days/year} * 1.000.000 \text{ gram/ton} * \text{Population}_{2019}} \quad \begin{matrix} (\text{tons/yr/category}) \\ (\text{day/gram/person}) \end{matrix}$$

Where:

$\dot{m}_{\text{import},2019}$ = the mass flow rate (i.e. 'imports') into Curaçao over 2019, per category;

$\dot{m}_{\text{loc.prod},2019}$ = the total local agro-production in Curaçao over 2019, per category;

$\dot{m}_{\text{export},2019}$ = the outward mass flow rate (i.e. 'exports') in the year 2019;

$\dot{m}_{\text{tourism},2019}$ = the share of food assigned towards yearly tourism;

$\dot{m}_{\text{food.loss},2019}$ = the share of food losses at households and horeca;

Population_{2019} = is indicated as adult men between 18-50 years old, and all other age groups are scaled according to their nutrient intake and added to the group of adult male men (CBS, 2019). Also included are the total estimated illegal habitants of Curaçao as they partake in the consumption of the island's food also.

**SOUTHERN EPISTEMOLOGIES,
SOUTHERN PRAXES AND LANGUAGE POLICY
IN THE DUTCH CARIBBEAN AND BEYOND**

LANGUAGE ATTITUDES OF ARUBAN TEACHERS TOWARD PROYECTO SCOL MULTILINGUAL (PSML) AND THE USE OF PAPIAMENTO IN EDUCATION¹

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Abstract

In this article, the language attitudes of Aruban teachers toward the pilot project Proyecto Scol Multilingual (PSML) and the role of Papiamento in education are examined. What the study that forms the basis for this article demonstrates is that the PSML reform project has achieved some significant initial results in addressing some of the most pressing problems faced by the education system in Aruba, but the data also indicates that PSML needs to be part of a more comprehensive reform of education and language policy and practice. The results from PSML reported in this article provide a rich body of experience for future educational reform on the island.

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Key terms: Proyecto Scol Multilingual (PSML), Aruba, Papiamento, mother tongue education, pilot project

1 Introduction and background: Proyecto Scol Multilingual (PSML)

The teacher is the most important factor in the whole educational system. Without the teacher, there is no schooling. Teaching should not consist solely of preparing students for tests or of following the technical and theoretical instructions in the textbooks, nor should teaching be a one-way standardized pedagogy that ignores the linguistic, cultural, intellectual, social diversity in the classroom. Teachers in a country like Aruba need to be fully aware of the complexity of their multilingual community, need to know details of its history, need to have passion and empathy and must be able to rely on a first-hand cultural understanding.

What makes teaching in Aruba very challenging is the artificial language situation in the schools. Both primary and secondary school teachers have to teach in Dutch, a foreign language for most of the students and for most of the teachers themselves. Despite this

¹ Some preliminary results of this research were published earlier in Pereira (2012).

fact, in the primary school no special degree is required to teach in the language of instruction nor to teach Dutch as a subject matter, even though Dutch is a foreign language for the great majority of the students and the teachers. A special degree is mandatory only for the foreign languages English and Spanish which are taught as subjects in the fifth and sixth grades. For teaching in secondary schools, no special training is required for the use of Dutch as the language of instruction, which has its consequences for the quality of the lessons. For all the subjects which appear in the curriculum, including Dutch, English, Spanish, French and Papiamentu, a bachelor's degree for the lower grades or a Master's degree for the higher grades are required. The understanding that the Aruban teacher needs special knowledge and skills to be able to handle the peculiar situation of Dutch as a foreign language and as the language of instruction is still underdeveloped.

The Instituto Pedagógico Arubano (IPA) is the teacher training institute in Aruba. Teacher training is an essential part of Language Planning and Policy. It is an aspect of Acquisition Planning and also of Prestige and Image Planning. One of the biggest challenges in Aruban education is the proficiency of the teacher in both Papiamentu and Dutch. This is, however, a challenge that seems to be trivialized and even ignored. Despite the fact that ever since about 1880 there has been an ongoing discussion about Papiamentu vs. Dutch as the language of instruction, the problematic fact that Papiamentu-speaking teachers have to instruct Papiamentu-speaking students and other non-Dutch speaking students in the Dutch language has remained unaddressed. Moreover, it is logical, that the Aruban teachers' mastery of Dutch differs substantially from that of the Dutch teachers from the European Netherlands. Aruban teachers are the product of this less than optimal Dutch-only educational system. As graduates of the HAVO-, the VWO- or the EPI-tracks of secondary education, their mastery of the Dutch language is erroneously assumed to be sufficient to start their classes at IPA.

The community expects that IPA will prepare its students to be teachers at the traditional primary schools that still have Dutch as the only official language of education. However, the system is not taking into account that mastering a language for teaching purposes requires many specialized skills. Teaching in a foreign language and teaching a foreign language to children are very difficult without specialized language training. The required language proficiency level for the general teacher in Aruba is at least at B2/C1 of the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages. Educational practice still conforms to the idea that the Aruban educational system must be as close to the Dutch educational system as possible. But the language realities are very different. In the Netherlands children learn all their lessons in Dutch as their mother tongue or second language, while in Aruba children are in a very confusing learning situation with a foreign language used as language of instruction and taught as mother tongue. Maintaining the Dutch language as the language of instruction means creating a range of challenges, not only for the student but also for the teacher.

Thus, the Aruban education sector is confronted with a conflicting language situation that has so far not been taken seriously. If no special training is required for Dutch or any other language in the primary school, you cannot blame the teachers. They are doing their best, against all odds. The IPA tries to solve this dilemma with extra Dutch proficiency courses for the students, the so-called *remediëringslessen* [remedial courses]. The other trivialized problem is the fact that teachers do not master their own language Papiamentu at the required academic level, either. As long as Papiamentu is not included in the curriculum, neither as a subject nor as an instructional language, this problem will not be solved.

The training of teachers in the Aruban educational system is still in conflict with the educational philosophy of the Instituto Pedagógico Arubano itself, to the extent that it is accredited by the Dutch system. Teachers are all-round teachers only from the Dutch point of view: 1) they must be fluent in Dutch, at the level of a native speaker or near native speaker and 2) they must have advanced knowledge and practice of the didactics of Dutch, as if their students were Dutch speaking. The schools use textbooks imported from Holland designed for Dutch children and constructed to meet Dutch learning goals. The reality is that teachers in Aruba are required to use and teach a foreign language without the required time, tools and didactics. In this Dutch-oriented system the curriculum of teacher training is focused on training general teachers without Dutch foreign language (DFL) specialization, and also without Papiamentu as mother tongue (PL1) or second language (PL2) specialization. Strangely, HAVO/VWO/EPI-track Dutch language skills, together with only two courses and some remedial lessons in the first year of their studies at IPA, have been considered sufficient for Aruban kindergarten and primary school teachers.

There is a fundamental difference between the teacher in Aruba and the teacher in the Netherlands: Primary school teachers in the Netherlands can teach in their mother tongue and are prepared to teach Dutch as the first (DL1) or second language (DL2), while Aruban teachers are very handicapped linguistically and pedagogically. Aruban teachers are, in fact, foreign language Dutch teachers without any specialized training for this purpose. Aruban teachers are trained neither to teach Papiamentu, nor to use it as a language of instruction.

The same situation was observed in the Proyecto Scol Multilingual (PSML) pilot project, where the teachers were teaching in Papiamentu, their mother tongue and the mother tongue of the majority of the students, but without specific training to do so. This generation of PSML-teachers never had primary or secondary education in Papiamentu; with only the most recent teacher graduates having had Papiamentu as a subject in the HAVO or VWO-tracks of secondary education. In the IPA-curriculum there is some room for Papiamentu, but not to a sufficient degree. Papiamentu is still taught as a language that teachers may use to communicate better with the students and their parents, rather than as a language to be taught at school. At the time of writing this article, there

were only 3 modules of 40 hours during teachers' four years of study. However, due to the requirements of educational reform, IPA had been developing a new curriculum that allows for the development of knowledge of and proficiency in Papiamentu and the didactics of Papiamentu as a first and second language. We can come closer to achieving quality teaching and quality learning, if the general teacher can meet the students' learning needs in their mother tongue, with proper language proficiency, an adequate didactical approach and with the aid of specialized teachers for the four main languages spoken on the island (Papiamentu, Spanish, English and Dutch).

This concept of specialized primary school teachers for a certain subject was not new at IPA because since academic year 2007-2008, IPA had a specialized teacher training course for physical education called *Movcion & Salud* [Exercise & Health]. This specialization was necessary, because it had proven difficult for many general teachers to guarantee qualified physical education at the primary school level. It is thus clear that the idea that it is not to the benefit of the primary school student to have more than one teacher is obsolete.

Good education is based on the needs and the possibilities of the student and has as its main objective the optimal development of the student. Good and accessible education is a prerequisite for the social and economic development of Aruba or any other country. Educational reform aimed at achieving good and accessible education involves a complicated process of analysis of problems, decision making and especially of social action involving information programs, awareness campaigns, development of curriculum and materials, training of teachers and implementation with continuous monitoring and guidance. In Aruba, we need comprehensive education reform which is characterized by a new vision on education based on decolonial, emancipative perspectives. This will demand the involvement of a critical mass of people with high levels of perseverance, conviction, and powers to persuade and convince.

A paradigmatic example both of the great potential of educational reform in Aruba and the great challenges that confront efforts at reform is the Proyecto Scol Multilingual (PSML), an innovative pilot project that has been implemented at the level of primary education in Aruba. Despite the fact that most people were convinced that changes had to be made, and despite the fact that Proyecto Scol Multilingual was well thought out and that the preparatory activities for the project were being successfully executed, initially there was an atmosphere of skepticism, fear and anxiety related to the project, not only among the teachers who were the ones in charge of implementing those changes, but also among the innovation leaders who had to deal with all kind of challenges during the process.

The main goal of the pilot PSML multilingual schools in Aruba was to provide every child a fair chance to be a successful student. In education, language is crucial and the use of children's mother tongue in education is not only a right, but it is also their most important resource for learning. Due to the decision that secondary education in Aruba

would retain Dutch as the language of instruction, the Minister of Education at the time introduced a change to the original model which involved a transition to Dutch as the language of instruction in grade 5, with Papiamento being a subject of study in grades 5 and 6. This decision had implications for the PSML multilingual school model and therefore also for the didactic approach to Dutch and of course to Papiamento. A program of transition from Papiamento to Dutch to integrate this modification to the original plan therefore, had to be developed, as shown in Table 1 below:

Table 1 The official language model of the Proyecto Scol Multilingual (PSML)

Cycle		Cycle I				Cycle II			
Grade		K-1	K-2	P-1	P-2	P-3	P-4	P-5	P-6
LOI		Papiamento						Dutch	
Subject	Papiamento	Systematic Instruction							
	Dutch	Familiarization				Systematic Instruction			
	English	Familiarization					Systematic Instruction		
	Spanish	Familiarization						Systematic Instruction	
Literacy development		Emergent literacy in Papiamento		Initial literacy in Papiamento		Systematic transfer of literacy skills to Dutch	Systematic transfer of literacy skills to English	Systematic transfer of literacy skills to Spanish	

Source: Department of Education, Aruba, 2007; K=Kindergarten; P= Primary education; LOI=Language of instruction

According to the *Masterplan Proyecto Scol Multilingual* (Department of Education, Aruba, 2007), the PSML had the following characteristics: 1) Papiamento, the national and official language and the mother tongue of the majority of the Aruba children was to be the language of instruction from the first year of Kindergarten (K1) until the fourth grade of primary school (P4) and a subject of instruction until P6; 2) Dutch, a foreign language for the great majority of the children and the other official language of Aruba, was to be the language of instruction in P5 and P6; 3) Dutch, English, and Spanish classes were to start in K1 with a special pedagogical approach called “familiarization”, to introduce and explore the languages in a playful way, with different targets and intensity, while in the higher grades, these foreign languages were to become subjects with more

systematic instruction Dutch in mid-P2/P3, English in P4 and Spanish in P5; 4) there was to be a stronger emphasis on Dutch (compared to the original PSML model proposed in the document *Habri porta pa nos drenta* [Open the door to let us in] (PRIEPEB, 2002), and, to prevent a sudden switch from Papiamentu to Dutch, the developers proposed stepping stones: a) one subject was to be taught in Dutch, probably *Ciencia y Naturalesa* [Science and Nature], from P2 onwards, emphasizing both language and content; b) one subject was to alternate between Papiamentu and Dutch from P2 onwards; c) a strong program was to be offered for Dutch as a foreign language with significant time allotments and a contextualized approach; and d) once or twice a week a lesson in a subject (that could vary) was to be taught in Dutch. Whereas the content based approach focuses on comprehension and on the development of language and thinking skills, this approach emphasized the relationships between the subjects.

The Proyecto Scol Multilingual, as a mother tongue based multilingual school, started as a pilot project with only two kindergartens and two primary schools, because: 1) the school materials for Papiamentu and for Dutch were still in the process of development; 2) the new school system was required to prove that PSML students performed better in Papiamentu, with no lowering of levels in proficiency in Dutch when compared to their non-PSML counterparts and 3) the teachers had to become more prepared for this innovative project (Department of Education, Aruba, 2007, p 5). In the school year 2012-2013 the first grade pilot classes began, three years after the start of the two-year pilot kindergartens. There was close cooperation between the *Desaroyo di Curiculo* [Curriculum Development] section of the Department of Education of Aruba and the Fundashon pa Planifikashon di Idioma (FPI) the Language planning agency of the Government of Curaçao in the development of the materials for Papiamentu. The languages Dutch, English, and Spanish also had their place in the new multilingual schools, for different reasons. Dutch is the language of the Dutch Kingdom and in Aruba the second official language next to Papiamentu. English is a regional and global language which many young Arubans are acquiring as a second language outside of school, while Spanish is the second most spoken home language in Aruba and also a regional and global language.

The *Masterplan Proyecto Scol Multilingual* (Department of Education, Aruba, 2007) further indicated that some important principles had to be taken into account, including the following. 1) The longer pupils have access to education in the mother tongue, the more skilled they become in acquiring second or foreign languages. The vocabulary and the higher thinking skills in the mother tongue should be given the chance to develop firmly so that children can apply the required transfer strategies when learning foreign languages. 2) Foreign languages should not be used too soon as languages of instruction. The sixth grade should not be seen as the final transition from mother tongue to foreign language as language of instruction. Children must be given the time they need to learn the foreign language before it is used as a language of instruction. 3) It is of the highest

importance to work systematically on the development of oral skills. To prevent an abrupt transition from mother tongue education to foreign language education, a ‘bridging’ curriculum for Dutch was being developed.

2 Pre-PSML survey design and results: Teachers’ language attitudes in mainstream schools

In order to gain insight into the language attitudes of the teachers in the mainstream schools in Aruba, a survey was conducted during the school year 2010-2011. It is important to acquire more information about the experience and the ideas of the Aruban teachers who still teach in the traditional educational system, especially in terms of how they value the role of Papiamentu in Aruban Education. The research objectives of this survey among teachers at mainstream schools were multiple and pertained to the following: 1) the attitude of teachers in conventional education with regard to educational innovation; 2) where these teachers stood in relation to the introduction of Papiamentu as a medium of education and as a subject; 3) what they thought of the transition from Dutch as medium of instruction to Dutch as a foreign language subject; and 4) these teachers’ proficiency in the different languages in the curriculum.

In this survey, teachers from 12 schools in Aruba participated: 4 kindergartens and 8 primary schools. The schools represented all of the districts of Aruba. At the moment the survey was administered, two of the kindergartens were already PSML schools, while none of the primary schools were in the project. Two primary schools were in the PSML preparatory phase and were integrated into the project in August 2012. The kindergartens in the sample represented 15.4% of the kindergartens in Aruba and the primary schools in the sample represented 22.2% of the primary schools on the island. All 25 teachers (100%) from the 4 selected kindergartens completed the questionnaire, as did 81 (out of 89 = 91.0%) of the teachers and 2 of the principals from the 8 selected primary schools. The 25 kindergarten teachers represented 17.6% of Aruban kindergarten teachers and the 81 primary school teachers represented 17% of Aruban primary school teachers. Some respondents were selective, and answered only the questions they felt were relevant to them. Table 2 lists the survey schools and the number of teachers and principals per school who participated in this survey, which is referred to below as the ‘Pre-PSML’ survey.

Based on the research question *How do teachers value the role of Papiamentu in Aruban education?* a questionnaire was designed. The questionnaire was used to gain insight into the attitudes of kindergarten and primary school teachers toward Papiamentu. 46 closed questions separated into the following seven sets were included: A) personal data; B) language use and language proficiency; C) language attitudes; D) Papiamentu’s role in the community; E) Papiamentu’s role in education; F) statements about Dutch and Papiamentu in primary school; G) and statements about Proyecto Scol Multilingual.

Table 2 The schools involved in the Pre-PSML survey and the number of teachers and principals who filled out the questionnaire, by school level

Type of school	School	District of Aruba	Number of teachers
Kindergartens	School A	(OE)	7
	School B	(SC)	5
	School C	(OW)	7
	School D	(OE)	6
Primary schools	School E	(SC)	13
	School F	(OE)	16
	School G	(N)	11
	School H	(P)	9
	School I	(SN)	10
	School J	(OW)	9
	School K	(S/PC)	9
	School L	(SC)	6
Total	12 schools		108

Oranjestad-West (OW), Oranjestad-East (OE), Noord (N), Paradera (P), Santa Cruz (SC), Savaneta/Pos Chikito (PC) and San Nicolas (SN)

These sets of closed questions were followed by a final section H) with open ended questions for personal remarks, to add a qualitative aspect to the results.

The questionnaire was administered in Papiamentu to the majority of the teachers, but we provided a Dutch version for some Dutch teachers who did not have a sufficient mastery of Papiamentu to answer the questionnaire formulated in that language.

This survey took place in March and April of the school year 2010-2011, one and a half years before the Proyecto Scol Multilingual (PSML) was adopted by the first grade classes of two primary schools. The school boards and principals reacted positively to the researcher's request to administer the survey to the teachers of their schools. To obtain geographical balance, each of the school districts on the island was represented by one primary school. The response of the teachers and principals was satisfactory. For the statistical analysis of the data, SPSS software was used. The results presented below are based on the data obtained from kindergarten and primary school teachers and principals in the Pre-PSML survey, and are divided into the eight sets (sets A through H) that appear on the questionnaire.

A. Characteristics of the participating teachers

Section A of the questionnaire dealt with the characteristics of the participating teachers and principals. This sample of 108 respondents consisted of 25 kindergarten teachers, 81 primary school teachers and 2 primary school principals. Only 2 out of 8 primary school principals and 0 out of 4 kindergartens principles participated. All the teachers were certified teachers who had completed teacher training at HBO, i.e., bachelor's level. The respondents included 11 males, or 10.2% of the total group of respondents

and 97 females, or 89.8% of the total. The male teachers were all primary school teachers. In the school year 2010- 2011, there were only 3 male kindergarten teachers out of a total of 142, which is 2.1%. Two years later, in the school year 2013-2014, the total of male kindergarten teachers was 4 out of a total of 149 kindergarten teachers, which is 2.7%. The fact that this sample has only 11 male primary school teachers (10.2%) is representative of the general population: in the school year 2010-2011, Aruba had only 72 male teachers, which is 14.7% of a total of 498 primary school teachers.

The popularity of the teaching profession declined after the dismantlement of the *Arubaanse Pedagogische Academie* in 1986. Graduates of Colegio Arubano were discouraged from enrolling as students at the IPA, which started in 1990, with the argument that they would be unable to be employed upon graduation. It took great effort on the part of IPA to convince the community that *Aruba mester di maestro*, [Aruba needs teachers]. Women of all ages finally responded. The birth year of the teachers ranged between 1941 and 1990 (Mean: 1969.57; Standard Deviation: 10.6). Regarding teachers' country of birth: 71.3% originated from Aruba, 14.8% from the Netherlands, 7.4% from Surinam, 2.8% from Curaçao, 2.8% from Colombia and 0.9% from Venezuela. All the teachers had Dutch nationality, which is a requirement for appointment as a teacher in Aruba.

In most of the following tables, the results for the kindergarten teachers are listed after 'K', while results for the primary school teachers and principals are listed after 'P'. In these listings of results, no difference was made between responses from the schools which eventually were to be included in the PSML project and those which were not.

B. Language use and language proficiency

Tables 3 to 5 below show the results for section B of the questionnaire on language use and language proficiency. In order to gain insight into the language use and the language proficiency of the teachers, the respondents were questioned about the different languages that they master. The teachers made an evaluation of their own language proficiency and they answered questions regarding the way they use their languages, their challenges with regard to the different languages and their desire to master the languages they know. Table 3 shows the languages of the teachers. The results of the survey show that some teachers have more than one mother tongue and probably also more than one language of identity. The language that is mastered by most teachers alongside their mother tongue is English at 54.6% and secondly Spanish at 20.4%. Most teachers (73.1%) feel most comfortable using Papiamentu, which is far from the case with the other languages, a fact which needs to be taken into account by policy makers.

It is not surprising that 92% of the kindergarten teachers and 72.3% of the primary school teachers say that Papiamentu is the language that they master the best. Papiamentu is the mother tongue of 78.7% of all the teachers, and kindergarten teachers use

Table 3 The languages of the teachers

Language	Mother tongue	Language of identity	Mastered next to mother tongue	Most comfortable language
Papiamento	78.7%	77.8%	11.1%	73.1%
Dutch	26.9%	28.7%	10.2%	18.5%
English	5.6%	8.3%	54.6%	7.4%
Spanish	4.6%	6.5%	20.4%	.0%
Other	2.8%	1.9%	3.7%	.9%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

The language proficiency of teachers is a very important aspect of their teaching. In Table 4 the teachers (N=108) evaluate their own general proficiency in the different languages.

Table 4 Teachers' evaluation of their own language proficiency

		Excellent	Good	Ample sufficient	Sufficient	Dubious	Insufficient
Papiamento	K:	36%	56%	0%	8%	0%	0%
	P:	24.1%	48.2%	14.5%	9.6%	3.6%	0%
Dutch	K:	12%	36%	32%	20%	0%	0%
	P:	24.1%	45.8%	19.3%	9.6%	1.2%	0%
English	K:	4%	44%	16%	24%	12%	0%
	P:	4.8%	36.1%	26.5%	25.3%	6%	0%
Spanish	K:	4%	32%	12%	32%	12%	8%
	P:	3.7%	25.6%	22%	19.5%	13.4%	15.9%
(An)other language(s)	K:	10%	20%	10%	10%	50%	0%
	P:	4.2%	12.5%	29.2%	29.2%	16.7%	8.3%

K: Kindergarten; P: Primary school

this language as the medium of education. The percentage of primary school teachers who state that their mastery of Dutch is excellent or good (69.9%) is lower than the percentage for Papiamento (72.3%). English and Spanish show relatively low scores. These languages are still absent in the kindergarten and are only in the curriculum of the fifth and sixth grade of the primary school as subjects, taught by special language teachers. While Papiamento is officially in the curriculum of grade five and six as a subject, because of the shortage of Papiamento teachers it is not present on the roster of most schools.

All of the 108 respondents also evaluated their more specific language use and skills. The results are shown in Table 5.

Table 5 Language use and language proficiency of the teachers

		Papiamentu	Dutch	English	Spanish	Other
Most spoken language	K:	92%	8%	0%	0%	0%
	P:	78.3%	24.1%	4.8%	1.2%	0%
Least spoken language	K:	0%	38%	29%	25%	8%
	P:	3.6%	9.6%	28.9%	53%	7.2%
Most preferred language	K:	80%	28%	20%	8%	4%
	P:	67.9%	35.8%	17.5%	11.1%	3.7%
Least preferred language	K:	4%	40%	8%	32%	12%
	P:	1.3%	18.2%	22.1%	45.5%	9.1%
Least problems when speaking	K:	76%	20%	8%	4%	4%
	P:	77.8%	27.2%	6.2%	3.7%	0%
Most problems when speaking	K:	8%	32%	28%	24%	8%
	P:	7.5%	16.3%	32.5%	43.8%	3.8%
Least problems when writing	K:	80%	28%	12%	4%	0%
	P:	67.1%	47.6%	17.1%	4.9%	0%
Most problems when writing	K:	8%	20%	20%	36%	16%
	P:	4.9%	13.6%	30.9%	51.9%	3.7%
Least problems when reading	K:	92%	32%	32%	16%	0%
	P:	63.9%	73.5%	31.3%	14.5%	0%
Most problems when reading	K:	12%	24%	20%	16%	12%
	P:	10.7%	9.3%	26.7%	48%	8%
Language courses I want to attend	K:	52%	36%	20%	4%	12%
	P:	38.3%	18.5%	28.4%	19.8%	17.3%
Language in which I think	K:	80%	20%	8%	4%	0%
	P:	77.1%	37.3%	10.8%	2.4%	2.4%

K: Kindergarten; P: Primary school

Among the findings listed in Table 5 that are the most significant for language policy are that, not only do 80% of the kindergarten teachers and 77.1% of the primary school teachers indicate that they think in Papiamentu, but also that 92% and 78.3%, respectively, indicate that Papiamentu is their most spoken language and that 80% and 67.9%, respectively, indicate that Papiamentu is their preferred language. They also state that in Papiamentu they have least problems when speaking (76% and 77.8%, respectively) and writing (80% and 67.1%, respectively). The kindergarten teachers have fewest problems reading in Papiamentu (92%), while the primary school teachers have fewer problems reading in Dutch (73.5%) than in Papiamentu (63.9%). For the kindergarten teachers Dutch is the least spoken (38%) and the least preferred (40%) of all the languages. Dutch is also the language, which causes them the most problems when speaking (32%). On the other hand, Spanish is the least spoken (53%) and least preferred (45.5%) language for the primary school teachers and the language that causes them the most problems when reading (48%) and when speaking (43.8%). For both groups, Spanish is the most difficult language to write (36% and 51.9%, respectively).

All of the teachers report that they want to have more language courses and the language in which they most want further formal instruction is Papiamentu (52% K) and (38.3% P). While most teachers have informal competence in Papiamentu, they were never taught the academic registers of that language in school. More attention, therefore, needs to be paid to language in the initial and in-service training of teachers. In fact, the teachers feel that their language proficiency is deficient, not only in English and Spanish, but also in Dutch and Papiamentu. It is therefore highly unlikely that they have received sufficient training to attain the CALP (Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency) levels or CEFR (Common European Framework of Reference for Languages) B2 level, which is supposedly the minimum level required for teaching.

C. Language attitudes

Tables 6 to 9 below show the results for section C of the questionnaire on the language attitudes of the teachers. The relation was examined between the teachers' opinion about Papiamentu as language of instruction in primary school and both their country of origin and their school level (kindergarten or primary teacher). Although most teachers (73.3%) knew that Papiamentu is an official language, 26.7% were not sure or did not know, which is an unexpectedly high percentage.

The answers given to the question *What is Papiamentu in your opinion?* (Table 6) demonstrate significantly ($p < 0.001$) that 10.8% of the teachers still did not have enough information about the language, especially the teachers who were not born on the ABC-islands, with significant percentages of those born in Colombia 66.6%; the Netherlands 26.7%; Suriname 16.7% still thinking that Papiamentu is something less than a language in its own right.

Table 6 Relation between birth country and understanding of the nature of Papiamentu

	What is Papiamentu in your opinion?				
	Language	Dialect	Broken Spanish	A mixture	I do not know
Aruba	94.7%	2.7%	0.0%	2.7%	0.0%
Colombia	33.3%	33.3%	33.3%	0.0%	0.0%
Curaçao	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Netherlands	73.3%	6.7%	0.0%	13.3%	6.7%
Suriname	83.3%	16.7%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Venezuela	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Total N=103	89.3%	4.9%	1.0%	3.9%	1.0%

As shown in Table 7, most kindergarten (91.3%) and primary school teachers (87.2%) had the opinion that Papiamentu must be the language of instruction in primary school.

Table 7 Relation between school teaching level and opinion about Papiamentu as language of instruction in primary school

	Do you think that Papiamentu has to be the language of instruction in primary school?				
	Certainly	In some cases	I don't think so	No	Other
K-teacher	56.5%	34.8%	4.3%	4.3%	0.0%
P-teacher	56.4%	30.8%	2.6%	7.7%	2.6%
Total N=101	56.4%	31.7%	3.0%	6.9%	2.0%

K: Kindergarten; P: Primary school

The cross tabulation between country of origin and opinion about Papiamentu as language of instruction yielded significant results ($p < 0.001$), as listed in Table 8. For the question *Do you think that Papiamentu has to be language of instruction in primary school?* It was only teachers from the Netherlands: 7.1% (K) and 28.6% (P) and the teachers from Surinam: 14.3% (K) and 14.3% (P) who showed any appreciable opposition to the idea.

Table 8 Country of birth and opinion about Papiamentu as language of instruction in primary school

	Do you think that Papiamentu has to be the language of instruction in primary school?				
	Certainly	In some cases	I don't think so	No	Other
Aruba	64.9%	28.4%	1.4%	2.7%	2.7%
Colombia	50.0%	50.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Curaçao	66.7%	33.3%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Nederland	28.6%	35.7%	7.1%	28.6%	0.0%
Suriname	14.3%	57.1%	14.3%	14.3%	0.0%
Venezuela	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Total	56.4%	31.7%	3.0%	6.9%	2.0%

The question *What can be done to sustain Papiamentu better*, was answered by 62 teachers which is 59.3% of the total group. The teachers have very realistic ideas about what has to be done to sustain Papiamentu better. They propose the following: 1) Papiamentu has to be introduced in education backed up by law; 2) Laws to protect the language are urgently needed; 3) Long-term awareness campaigns must be organized in the schools, churches, community centers, and the media; 4) Newcomers to Aruba have to learn the language and we can help them by speaking Papiamentu with them; 5) School materials must be produced in Papiamentu; 6) Teachers, parents the press and others need more

Papiamento courses; 7) The PSML multilingual school project can prove that Papiamento is important for quality education; 8) Papiamento in education can increase the involvement of parents in education; 9) Papiamento has to be used in all official events and documents; 10) Papiamento has to be used creatively and in the arts; 11) Television programs and advertisement must be broadcast in Papiamento; 12) Advertisements on billboards, road signs etc. must be in Papiamento; 13) Writing, reading, and buying Papiamento literature have to be encouraged more; and 14) A digital dictionary and spell and grammar check for Papiamento must be generated.

Table 9 shows that the teachers think that all the institutions mentioned should support and promote Papiamento. Only a minority of the primary school teachers, however (33%), can visualize NGOs and community centers as language promoters.

Table 9 The institutions with the task to support and promote Papiamento

	K	P
The government	80.0%	81.3%
Department of Education	91.7%	79.0%
Department of Culture	70.8%	50.6%
The media	70.8%	56.8%
School	70.8%	61.7%
NGO's & Community Centers	63.6%	33.3%

To the question *Do you want to attend Papiamento courses?* 103 teachers responded as follows: *Yes*: 40.8%; *Depends on the offer*: 26.2%; *Perhaps*: 13.6%; *No*: 11.7%; *Other*: 7.8%. These teachers noted that they wanted to attend Papiamento courses on *Spelling*: 61.9%; *Grammar*: 57.7%; *Literature*: 27.8%; *Reading*: 20.8%; *Writing*: 43.8%; and *Conversation*: 34.7%. These results show that the teachers, some more than others, were eager to develop their Papiamento language skills.

D. Papiamento's role in the community

Table 10 below shows the results for section D of the questionnaire on the role of Papiamento in the community.

The four initial statements refer generally to the appreciation of Papiamento and to the recognition of its role in the community, and there was a high level of agreement on the part of all of the teachers regarding them. But when it came to specifics, the kindergarten teachers were more likely to accept the importance of Papiamento's role in the economy of Aruba (76%) and its use in commerce and tourism (76%), than were the primary school teachers (51.3% and 58.5%, respectively). In relation to the statement *We have to be proud of Papiamento as official and national language of Aruba*, 28 teachers commented that Papiamento is unique, that it is important for Aruba, that it determines their

Table 10 Papiamentu's role in the community

		Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Papiamentu should not be allowed to die out	K:	96.0%	0.0%	4.0%	0.0%	0.0%
	P:	94.8%	2.6%	0.0%	1.3%	1.3%
Papiamentu must be promoted in the community (media, etc.)	K:	88.0%	4.0%	4.0%	4.0%	0.0%
	P:	77.2%	7.6%	8.9%	5.1%	1.3%
We have to be proud of Papiamentu as official and national language of Aruba	K:	92.0%	3.8%	4.0%	0.0%	4.0%
	P:	87.5%	7.5%	2.5%	2.5%	0.0%
Papiamentu must be part of the National Anthem & Flag Day ceremonies	K:	92.0%	4.0%	4.0%	0.0%	0.0%
	P:	86.1%	7.6%	5.1%	1.3%	0.0%
Papiamentu is important for the Aruban economy	K:	56.0%	20.0%	12.0%	4.0%	8.0%
	P:	36.8%	14.5%	25.0%	17.1%	6.6%
Papiamentu must be used more in commerce and tourism	K:	36.0%	40.0%	0.0%	24.0%	0.0%
	P:	33.8%	24.7%	16.9%	10.4 %	14.3%

K: Kindergarten; P: Primary school

identity, and that it is an essential part of their cultural heritage. One teacher said that “If Papiamentu disappears, we as Arubans will also disappear”. In addition, 13 teachers stated that “Papiamentu is ours, so we have to be proud of it.”

E. Papiamentu's role in education

Table 11 below shows the results for section E of the questionnaire on the role of Papiamentu in education. The teachers had very explicit opinions about Papiamentu's role in education. They grew up in the midst of debates about introducing Papiamentu in education, but at the moment this survey was administered, only the kindergarten and the special education teachers were working with this language, because the Proyecto Scol Multilingual had not yet started at the primary school level. Table 11 shows the teachers' opinions about the role of Papiamentu in education.

The scores for statements on teaching Papiamentu as a subject (6-8) were very much in favor of Papiamentu, both in the case of kindergarten teachers as well as with primary school teachers. There were no scores for statements 1 and 5 for the primary school teachers because they had not yet had experience with Papiamentu in education. The kindergarten teachers were in unanimous agreement (100%) about the statements *Using Papiamentu as the language of instruction feels good and works well* and *Teaching Papiamentu as a subject feels good and works well*. 80% of the kindergarten teachers and 80.3% of the primary school teachers (N=106) agreed with the statement *Papiamentu must be the language of instruction in primary schools*.

A total of only 24 teachers (K and P) gave extra comments on the statement *Papiamentu must be the language of instruction in primary schools*: 5 teachers were in favor

Table 11 Papiamento's role in education

		Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Using Papiamento as the language of instruction feels good and works well	K:	78.3%	21.7%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
	P:	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
Papiamento must be the language of instruction in primary schools	K:	48.0%	32.0%	4.0%	4.0%	12.0%
	P:	53.1%	27.2%	0.0%	9.9%	9.9%
Papiamento must be the language of instruction in secondary schools	K:	25.0%	41.7%	8.3%	8.3%	16.7%
	P:	15.0%	26.3%	3.8%	36.3%	18.8%
Papiamento must be the language of instruction in tertiary education	K:	47.8%	30.4%	4.3%	13.0%	4.3%
	P:	18.2%	35.1%	13.0%	19.5%	14.3%
Teaching Papiamento as a subject feels good and works well	K:	63.6%	36.4%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
	P:	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
Papiamento must be a primary school subject	K:	79.2%	20.8%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
	P:	82.5%	12.5%	0.0%	3.8%	1.3%
Papiamento must be a secondary school subject	K:	70.8%	29.2%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
	P:	78.8%	10.0%	5.0%	5.0%	1.3%
Papiamento must be a subject in post secondary and tertiary education	K:	80.0%	16.0%	0.0%	0.0%	4.0%
	P:	70.5%	16.7%	5.1%	3.8%	3.8%
Papiamento is an obstacle to learning Dutch	K:	4.0%	16.0%	4.0%	8.0%	68.0%
	P:	8.9%	11.4%	15.2%	13.9%	50.6%
There is a strong relationship between home language and school success	K:	68.0%	24.0%	0.0%	4.0%	4.0%
	P:	63.6%	18.2%	10.4%	3.9%	3.9%
Compared to Dutch, English, and Spanish one can't say everything in Papiamento	K:	34.8%	34.8%	0.0%	4.3%	26.1%
	P:	31.6%	32.9%	7.9%	7.9%	19.7%
If Papiamento is used to explain, the students will understand better	K:	84.0%	8.0%	4.0%	4.0%	0.0%
	P:	77.9%	15.6%	2.6%	3.9%	0.0%

K: Kindergarten; P: Primary school

of Papiamento in grade 1, 2 and 3 only; 6 teachers preferred Papiamento alongside another language; 1 teacher could see Papiamento only in special education; 1 teacher was in favor of Dutch only and 10 others were in favor of Papiamento as language of instruction for different reasons, most of all for better academic success.

Concerning the statement about *Papiamento as the language of instruction in secondary education* it is notable that the difference between the primary school teachers who agreed and who disagreed was less than might be expected: 41.3% agreed and 55.1% disagreed. Most of these teachers, however, were in favor of Papiamento as the language of instruction in post-secondary and tertiary education, namely 53.3% agreed while 33.8% disagreed.

For the statement *Papiamento must be a primary school subject* there was a high level of agreement: 100% (K) and 95% (P). The teachers were also in general agreement with the statement *Papiamento must be a secondary school subject*: 100% (K) and 88.8% (P)

as well as with the statement *Papiamento must be a subject in post-secondary and tertiary education*: 96% (K) and 87.2% (P). Almost all of the comments of teachers who took the time to write something related to these three items were very positive.

Concerning the statement *Papiamento is an obstacle to learning Dutch* we can conclude that there was a positive tendency to accept the importance of the role of Papiamento in education: 76% of the kindergarten teachers (K) and 64.5% of the primary school teachers (P) disagreed with this statement. The statement *There is a strong relationship between home language and school success* yielded a high percentage of agreement: 92% of the kindergarten teachers and 81.1% of the primary school teachers agreed. For the statement *If Papiamento is used to explain things, the students will understand better* the levels of agreement were 92% (K) and 93.5% (P), but this contrasted with the levels of agreement with the statement *Compared to Dutch, English, and Spanish one can't say everything in Papiamento*: 69.6% of the kindergarten teachers and 64.5% of the primary school teachers agreed with this statement.

F. Statements about Dutch in the primary schools

Table 12 below shows the results for section F of the questionnaire on Dutch in the primary schools. The questions in this section were only applicable to the primary school teachers since the kindergarten teachers did not have experience with Dutch as the language of education. The two principals did not answer these questions either because they are not in the classroom.

Table 12 Experience with teaching in Dutch

	Very good	Good	Normal	Uncertain	Unpleasant	Unnatural
How do you feel while teaching in Dutch?	12%	13.3%	53.3%	9.3%	5.3%	6.7%
How do you feel while explaining and teaching in Papiamento?	32%	32%	28%	1.3%	5.3%	1.3%

There are some remarkable contradictions in this section. While most primary teachers (53.3%) stated that they feel normal when *teaching in Dutch*, their feelings about their own teaching contradicted their feelings about the *performance of the students in Dutch*. An additional question asked regarding the most difficult aspects of teaching Dutch. Most teachers (between 61.2% and 94.0%) seemed very content with their teaching and did not experience difficulties with any of the tasks. Only explanation (38.8%) and communication (28.4%) scored a little higher in terms of difficulty than the other teaching tasks. Teachers also reported, though, that communication with students about subject matter in Dutch was not easy. It was said to be very good by 12.5%, easy by 15.3%, regular by 45.8%, somewhat difficult by 16.1% and very difficult by 8.3% of the teachers. In any case, substantial numbers of teachers stated that their students had difficulties

with comprehension, oral tasks, comprehensive reading and productive/creative writing, with 53.5% and 52.1% of the teachers reporting that comprehensive reading and productive/creative writing were two of the most difficult language skills to develop in Dutch. Only technical reading was felt by the teachers to be rather easy for the students. In addition to the 32.8% of teachers who did not prefer to go on with Dutch as the language of instruction in primary schools, there is a majority of 39.1% who would change if the law changed. The largest group of teachers (75.4%) stated that they would accept teaching in Papiamento under any circumstances (50.8%) or if the law demanded that they do so (24.6%). A total of 44 teachers commented on the statement *I prefer teaching in Papiamento*: 29 teachers stated that they preferred Papiamento for their students to be more successful in school; 5 teachers wanted both Papiamento and Dutch; 5 teachers insisted on Dutch because of the law, 1 teacher wanted Dutch because the school materials were Dutch, 2 teachers wanted Dutch because they did not master Papiamento, and 2 teachers wanted Papiamento only as a support language.

In practice, despite laws and policies to the contrary, many teachers have found themselves obliged to use Papiamento in the classroom. The results for the statements *I use Papiamento to explain things to the students* and *I teach whole lessons in Papiamento* demonstrate this clearly. Papiamento was reported to be used at substantial levels by teachers to explain things (always 39.7%, many times 42.7%, and sometimes 24%). Teaching of whole lessons in Papiamento was also reported at considerable levels by teachers (always 1.4%, many times 14.5%, sometimes 52.2% and never 31.9%).

G. Statements regarding Proyecto Scol Multilingual

Tables 13 to 16 below show the results for section G of the questionnaire on Proyecto Scol Multilingual. At the moment the survey was administered, two of the kindergartens were already PSML schools, while none of the primary schools were in the project. Two primary schools were in the preparatory phase and were integrated into the project in August 2012. The results for the statement *Sufficient information about PSML has been made available to me* show clearly that the kindergarten teachers have more information about PSML than the primary school teachers. In any case, for the statement *I agree with the ideas behind PSML* most of the teachers 73.9% (K) and 81.6% (P) expressed agreement with the ideas behind PSML.

Table 13 Teachers' opinions about PSML (1)

	Much	Sufficient	Little	Nothing	
Enough information about PSML has been made available to me.	K: 24.0% P: 10.1%	K: 28.0% P: 17.7%	K: 32.0% P: 44.3%	K: 16.0% K: 27.8%	
	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
I agree with the ideas behind PSML	K: 17.4% P: 22.4%	K: 56.5% P: 59.2%	K: 8.7% P: 12.2%	K: 0.0% P: 0.0%	K: 17.4% P: 6.1%
It is a good idea to include secondary school in PSML	K: 50.0% P: 32.1%	K: 44.4% P: 54.7%	K: 0.0% K: 0.0%	K: 5.6% K: 0.0%	K: 0.0% P: 13.2%

Ten (10) teachers (K and P) gave their opinion on the statement *It is a good idea to include secondary school in PSML*: Most of them, 94.4% and 86.8%, respectively, were positive about PSML at the secondary level.

Table 14 Teachers' opinions about PSML (2)

	Certainly	Partly	Perhaps	I don't think so
I think that PSML will be successful	K: 54.5% P: 40.3%	K: 4.5% P: 9.7%	K: 36.4% P: 43.5%	K: 4.5% P: 6.5%

The majority of both kindergarten and primary school teachers were optimistic about the success of PSML, 59% and 41%, respectively (Table 14). Five (5) teachers commented on the statement *I think that PSML will be successful*. Two comments were very encouraging: 1) "I have seen this system in other countries where it was very successful; so, in Aruba, we can accomplish this." and 2) "This is a good system for this multilingual community where Papiamentu is the common language." The other three comments were recommendations: 4) "We all, teachers and departments, have to work on it together." 5) "The project has to be well structured." and 6) "Don't forget to evaluate the project systematically and listen to the teachers who are in the project."

Table 15 Teachers' opinions about PSML (3)

	Yes	No	NA
I want my school to be part of PSML	K: 57.1% P: 78.9%	K: 42.9% P: 21.1%	

The majority of the kindergarten teachers (57.1%), and the primary school teachers (78.9%) wanted their school to be part of PSML (Table 15). A total of 32 teachers (K and P) wrote their opinions about the statement *I want my school to be part of PSML*: 5 teachers needed more information, 15 teachers wrote that it would be a positive change, 3 teachers said that the idea seemed senseless, and one Dutch teacher disapproved.

Table 16 Opinion about in-service training Papiamento

	Excellent	Good	Fairly good	Regular	Insufficient	Bad
What is your opinion about the in-service Papiamento courses?	K: 9.1% P: 7.7%	K: 68.2% P: 41.0%	K: 22.7% P: 21.8%	K: -- P: 17.9%	K: -- P: 7.7%	K: -- P: 3.8%

Table 16 indicates that 100% of the kindergarten and 70.5% of the primary school teachers were pleased with the in-service courses on Papiamento organized by the Instituto Pedagógico Arubano (IPA). A total of 40 teachers (K and P) wrote comments about these courses. The remarks include the following: 1) Many teachers appreciated the courses and they stated that they had learned a lot; 2) For others, there was too much repetition; 3) Others stated that the courses had to be continued and they wanted refresher courses; 4) Others asked why they had to attend this course if Papiamento is still prohibited in their schools; 5) Some said that not all the facilitators were well prepared; 6) Some stated that such an intensive course after school hours was very tiring; 7) Some felt that these courses must be offered to the wider public, including members of the press, etc.; 8) Some teachers wanted more differentiated content; 9) Others wanted more grammar; and 9) Some wanted the courses to be based more on educational practice.

H. Open ended questions and personal remarks

The last part of the questionnaire (section H) consisted of two open-ended questions. A total of 46 teachers (K and P) answered the question *What are your suggestions and wishes related to the in-service courses of Papiamento?* Their answers and comments can be summarized as follows. 1) These courses must be organized more frequently with yearly refresher courses; 2) Especially new teachers from abroad must have this information and training as soon as they are on the island; 3) These courses must continue and must be accessible for all actors in the education field; 4) A series of courses must be created with progressive levels; 5) These courses must be mandatory for others beside teachers; and 6) There must be more publicity for the courses.

56 teachers gave answers to the question *What are your suggestions and wishes related to the educational reform and to the introduction of Papiamento as the language of instruction and as a subject in Aruban education?* Only one teacher expressed their fear of negative consequences due to the introduction of Papiamento as language of instruction. The other reactions were as follows: 1) “Papiamento must be part of our education. Keep going on with the *Proyecto Multilingual*.” 2) “We are still acting against the right of the child, while we pretend to have a child-centered education. Put the child in the first place.” 3) “The school material has to be ready when the project starts. Dictionaries have to be available for every teacher.” 4) “More schools must enter the PSML.” 5) “More finances for education is needed, especially for the reform.” 6) “The goals must be well formulated.” 7) “Better communication with the inspectorate is important.” 8) “All the teachers must master Papiamento. It is unfortunate that team meetings have to

be in Dutch because a few Dutch teachers do not master Papiamentu and do not want to learn it either.” 9) “The whole community must be informed about the need of education reform, the plans, the why and the how. A national awareness campaign with all kinds of activities related to Papiamentu will be advisable.” 10) “It is important that everybody knows why Papiamentu is the key in our education: the child will have more self-confidence because the school material will be better understood and will make more sense.” 11) “A special teacher for Papiamentu is needed at the primary schools.” 12) “Why was PRIPEB eliminated while it was functioning so well?” 13) “If the Department of Education is in favor of Papiamentu in education, then it has to support the school boards, the schools, and the teachers to use Papiamentu without fear.” 14) “The Department of Education and the Minister of Education must have the same vision and present this to the community.” 15) one teacher designed a complete educational structure from primary school p until the middle vocational school (EPI) with proposals concerning the languages.

Conclusions: Pre-PSML survey

The point of departure in this survey was that the teachers are one of the most relevant actors in education; particularly when it comes to reform. They manage the educational process and experience its successes and failures first hand, every day. They are also the primary interface between children, parents, school board and government. They know what is happening in education. They know from the inside what the challenges are. Moreover, they are the ones who have to execute all the changes. So, it is logical that they have to be involved from the beginning to the end of the reform process. That is why this survey can serve as a starting point for the reform process. Insight into the needs, wishes and attitudes of the teachers with regard to educational change and especially the language of instruction is a very important first step for educational language policy, language management and language planning.

Although education reform in Aruba is a complicated process, we cannot say that the teachers are reluctant to participate in it. Both kindergarten and primary teachers are very positive about *Proyecto Scol Multilingual* and seem to be enthusiastic about becoming part of the project, even though they have little information about it.

While the teachers are in general very positive about in-service training in Papiamentu, they want more. One teacher wrote: “*Ta mi deseol pa cuminsa cu Papiamentu pa asina demostra pueblo con positivo e resultado lo ta. Asina kisas tur hende lo duna sosten na e cambio grandi cu hopi tin miedo di dje.*” [It is my wish to start with Papiamentu to prove to the community how positive the results will be. That is the way perhaps to sustain the big transformation of which so many are afraid.] It is crucial to attend to the needs of the teachers, by providing them with information and with training, to ensure that they are well prepared when their school is integrated into the PSML.

3 Proyecto Scol Multilingual (PSML) teachers' satisfaction interview design and results

In this section, the results of the focus group teacher satisfaction interview of the first four PSML primary school are presented. This evaluation was held in November 2012 and was conducted by the PSML Research Team principally to determine how the teachers were experiencing the new role of Papiamentu as language of instruction in the Proyecto Scol Multilingual primary schools.

The teachers at the Proyecto Scol Multilingual pilot schools constituted a crucial group of stakeholders in the implementation of the reform project. The success of the project depended to a large extent on the teachers, who were the ones who put innovation into practice. Their involvement in the implementation process was an important part of their development as PSML teachers: their enthusiasm, motivation, satisfaction, and their practical experiences were all valuable elements in the transition to a new educational system. In order to gain insight into the experiences of these teachers a focus group interview was carried out to help answer the research question: *How do teachers value the role of Papiamentu in Aruban education?*

The focus group interview took place in the first semester of the first year of the PSML in primary school. The group of interviewees were the four teachers at the two PSML primary schools, who were the first ones in Aruba who had the opportunity to teach in Papiamentu at the primary school level. At that moment they were teachers of grade one, which was the only grade that was implementing the multilingual program. The instrument that was used during this focus group evaluation was an in-depth interview with open questions in which the participants could articulate their experiences, opinions, feelings, and recommendations regarding *the Proyecto Scol Multilingual* which was at that moment in its fourth month of execution at the grade one level. The questions focused on the following topics: A) Teachers' relationship with colleagues and others, B) Teachers' experience with Papiamentu lessons and materials, C) Teachers' experience with Mathematics lessons and materials, D) Teachers' experience with Dutch lessons and materials, E) Teachers' experience with English and Spanish lessons and materials and F) Materials, timetable, and evaluation. The interview was recorded and took place in an informal setting, a quiet corner of a restaurant. This informal setting was necessary to limit the stress the four teachers might experience and to encourage them to be open and critical, as part of a conversation in which the participants could complement one another's contributions, to contribute to a total picture.

A new and healthy relationship had emerged between the PSML Grade 1 teachers and other stakeholders in the PSML, including the PSML Research Team, the PSML *Grupo Nucleo* [Nuclear Group], parents, and other community members who could serve as resource people for teachers. For example, on Tuesday 20 November 2012, the four Grade 1 PSML teachers participated actively in a session where they and members of the PSML Management Team collaboratively designed the PSML Report Card, which

was used to assess Grade 1 students' performance. Teachers' observations, comments and concerns were acknowledged, discussed, and incorporated into the design of the Report Cards. In the process, teachers had a chance to take ownership and gain a deeper understanding of this aspect of the evaluation process, while PSML management Team members were able to gain a deeper understanding of what actually happens in PSML Grade 1 classrooms.

In general, the PSML Grade 1 teachers were very enthusiastic and fully supportive of the project, but they were also overworked. Much of their free time was being consumed with all of the extra work necessary for preparing lessons. In one school, teachers were very appreciative of new extended break periods of 30 minutes once per day rather than the former 15 minutes twice a day in the daily timetable, which gave them time to perform these new and demanding tasks in a sustained manner. In the other school, teachers were very grateful to have other teachers available who could teach English, Spanish, and Physical Education to the PSML Grade 1 students. Members of the PSML Team committed themselves to meet some of the training needs of the PSML teachers under the *Plan di Profesionalisacion* [Professional Development Plan] developed by *Seccion Guia* [Inservice Section] and Instituto Pedagogico Arubiano. Besides the weekly encounters with PSML Team members, the teachers from both schools began organizing their own meetings. After some initial difficulties, the communication between the teachers at the two schools became more regular and productive. They worked together to develop materials.

The challenges faced by the teachers included some that had to do with the differences between the two pilot schools. For example, in one pilot school, the PSML *Preparatorio* (Kindergarten) level classrooms were located beside the PSML Grade 1 classrooms, thus facilitating mutual support. This was not the case in the other PSML Grade 1 pilot school, which did not conduct PSML *Preparatorio* classes of any kind.

A. Teachers' experience with Papiamento lessons and materials

The PSML Grade 1 teachers were on a steep learning curve, trying to come to terms with a very different set of educational opportunities and challenges from the ones that they used to face in the Dutch only system. During their weekly meetings with PSML Team members, teachers reported that at first, they were not sure whether they could play as much in Papiamento as they do in Dutch because Papiamento is the language of instruction and the language of initial literacy. Over time, they came to realize, however, that the PSML students were already used to playing with language from their experiences at the PSML *Preparatorio* (Kindergarten) level. The teachers also had problems avoiding Dutch terminology in the first weeks of Language and Literacy classes.

The teachers noted that the Papiamento lessons were going very well and that both they and the students felt that a comfortable and productive learning environment had been

established. The students had a very high degree of comprehension and could be presented with more challenging material than could be handled in the former Dutch only system. Teachers needed to be made aware that they could go a lot further in Papiamentu than they could in the former Dutch system, and introduce more advanced topics, such as creative writing. Some teachers felt that the number of minutes allocated to Papiamentu was not quite sufficient and that the lessons in Papiamentu were sometimes too easy for the students. One of the PSML Grade 1 teachers had the following to say about this: “*E maestra ta sinti cu ta combersa e ta combersa cu e muchanan y cu no ta parce cu ta les e ta duna. Aki tambe ta expresa cu e echo cu les ta bay asina suave, ta trece un sintimento di duda cu ta hiba constantemente na un necesidad pa comproba si di berdad e muchanan ta compronde. Ora di haci esaki e muchanan mes ta reacciona cu un actitud di ‘Si juffrouw, nos ta comprende. Duh...’.*” [Teachers feel like they are having a conversation with the children, it does not feel like teaching. Because the lesson develops so easily, the teachers often doubt whether the children actually have understood the lesson and that is why they check continuously. When they do so, the children respond with an attitude of “Yes, miss, we have understood. Du-u-uh!”).

The teachers said that the children generally had no problem using the Papiamentu textbook series *Baile di Letter*. The teachers were using the books creatively because there were still areas where the texts were less than complete, in terms of all of the resources needed by the teachers to teach the lessons. For example, the correct answers to questions in the textbook were not provided in the teachers’ manual. There were also some technical problems and some materials did not arrive at the schools on time. Some of the materials did not include crucial elements such as complete letter boxes so that the teachers themselves had to fill in the letter boxes and this took a lot of time. The teachers had meetings with personnel from the Curriculum Section to give feedback and to have their concerns registered and their questions answered.

B. Teachers’ experience with Mathematics lessons and materials

During the focus group interview as well as at their weekly meetings with members of the PSML Team, teachers generally expressed satisfaction with mathematics lessons and the mathematics textbook series *Conta cu mi*. They stated that the children could relate well to the Aruban images in the book and the use of Florins (the Aruban currency) instead of Euros in examples and problems. The teachers were pleasantly surprised by the considerable ease with which they could teach mathematical concepts in Papiamentu. The students were rapidly becoming independent learners and the teachers were struggling to provide students with sufficient work to occupy their time after they so rapidly finished the assigned tasks in the textbook.

C. Teachers' experience with Dutch lessons and materials

During the focus group interview as well as at their weekly meetings with the PSML Team, the PSML Grade 1 teachers said that most of the Dutch lessons were enjoyed by the students, but that in some instances, the students showed less positive attitudes toward learning Dutch than for other subjects. The teachers reported that the Dutch textbook series *Taalsprong* was easier than the Papiamentu textbook *Baile di Letter* in terms of lesson preparation, but it involved more logistical problems and expense.

The teachers noted that they should not have been expected to shop and pay for the materials required to teach from *Taalsprong*, and expressed their unease regarding the extra preparation time and the extra time and money that they were spending to purchase supplementary materials for the Dutch lessons. In response to these concerns, the Development Team for Dutch as a Foreign Language prepared resource kits for the lessons that required special props. The teachers also noted that they had been unable to fill out the daily evaluation forms that are required for users of *Taalsprong* because they had no time available to do so.

D. Teachers' experience with English and Spanish lessons and materials

Due to problems with finding specialized teachers to give English and Spanish lessons, there was some delay in initiating English and Spanish classes in the way that they were originally planned. Only some of the PSML Grade 1 teachers felt confident teaching English and Spanish themselves without the help of specialized teachers. Some teachers might have overcome these challenges by utilizing students who are native speakers of English or Spanish as assistants and by inviting the English and Spanish teachers who give lessons in Grades 5 and 6 into their Grade 1 classrooms. The teachers reported that students who had not participated in PSML at the *Preparatorio* (Kindergarten) level sometimes showed initial apprehensiveness towards English and/or Spanish instruction, but they observed an overall excitement about and interest in playing with other languages

E. Materials, timetable, and evaluation

The teachers were meeting together and evaluating materials and then sending regular reports to the Curriculum Section. A member of the PSML *Grupo Nucleo* was relaying teachers' feedback to the Curriculum Section as well. These procedures needed to be systematized, however, to make sure that all of the feedback from the users of PSML texts was received, acknowledged and acted upon by the Curriculum Section so that the next editions of PSML materials would reflect these valuable inputs from teachers, parents, and other stakeholders.

In some classrooms, the time allotments to the various PSML subjects were not getting the attention that they deserved. More emphasis needed to be put on this in monitoring

activities. Because the students were so eager and able to finish their Papiamento lessons, there may have been a tendency for the teachers to cut those lessons short, instead of going on to more challenging activities that could not be included in the traditional Dutch-only Grade 1 classroom, such as creative writing in Papiamento.

As shown above in the case of the role of the PSML teachers in designing the PSML Report Card, within the context of PSML, the teachers had taken on a more pro-active role in the determination of the criteria and point scales utilized to evaluate the performance of the PSML students. The teachers were unsure at the beginning as to what the tests and other evaluation materials were to be for subjects besides Dutch. The teachers wanted at least 3 marks in each area of evaluation for each term. The teachers suggested that the point scale for PSML students should be the more demanding 80% scale, rather than the 60% scale used in the former Dutch only system. On Report Cards 0-5.4 = *Insuficiente* (unsatisfactory); 5.5-7.9 = *Suficiente* (satisfactory); and 8.0-10 = *Bon* (excellent).

For the four teachers, PSML represented a new challenge: teaching in Papiamento at the primary school level, after years of training and practice in the Dutch only system. What they experienced as one of the most positive aspects of PSML when compared to the Dutch only system, was the way that the students were motivated to acquire new knowledge and skills. The students were demonstrating that they could do more than in the traditional school, and they wanted more. The teachers expressed that they needed guidance to learn how to best harness this increased motivation to help students become independent critical learners. During the focus group interview, it was evident that a close collaboration between the teachers and all the actors, such as coaches, textbook developers, and researchers would be very crucial for the success of the project.

4 PSML teachers' survey design and results: PSML teachers' language attitudes

To find out what the teachers thought about their new PSML classes, a survey was held among the teachers of the two PSML schools in 2015. This component of the study was designed to answer the research question: *How do teachers of the Scol Multilingual value the role of Papiamento in Aruban education?* focusing on the experiences and attitudes of these teachers related to Papiamento and the other languages used and taught in their schools. All 12 teachers of the two PSML schools participated in this survey (N = 12). When this survey was administered on February 28, 2015, the Proyecto Scol Multilingual had reached the third grade of primary school. There were two Kindergartens and two primary schools involved in the project and both primary schools had two parallel groups per grade, one still adhering to the old Dutch only system and the other implementing the new PSML program with Papiamento as the language of instruction. The 12 PSML teachers had therefore by then been teaching almost three years, two years or one year under the new PSML program. Given that the PSML was still a pilot project, this survey seemed appropriate to gather data concerning the teachers' characteristics,

self-image, attitudes, beliefs, opinions, experience, knowledge, and expectations, related to their practice before and after their involvement in the PSML project.

The survey questionnaire consisted of 68 questions among which seven categories can be distinguished: A) General information or the personal data of teachers and students, including sex, age, grade and mother tongue; B) Teachers' attitudes, beliefs, opinions, and motivation including intrinsic and extrinsic motivation for working in the PSML; C) Teachers' experiences with PSML, especially in relation to how they experienced the main differences between the traditional Dutch-only-school and the Proyecto Scol Multilingual ; D) Teachers' competencies and knowledge including their preparation, self-image, knowledge and language skills; E) Teachers' evaluation of the project in relation to students and their performance, teaching materials and parents; and F) Teachers' perspectives on the project, in relation to the future of PSML and teachers' advice on how to improve the project.

All 12 teachers from the two PSML pilot primary schools completed all the questions and statements on the questionnaire in writing. Because they constituted a small group of twelve, the teachers were invited for breakfast on a patio where they could fill in the questionnaire. This meeting was also a venue for the teachers of the two schools to meet with one another to exchange ideas and plans. The informal format made it easy for teachers to ask questions about details of the questionnaire to make sure that they had understood all of the items as intended, which they greatly appreciated. The teachers participated with much enthusiasm and requested more of these meetings. Because the focus group contained a limited number of participants, the results of the survey are indicated in percentages and no more extensive statistical analyses have been performed.

A. General information

There were two pilot PSML schools, each with 6 PSML classes, for a total of 12 PSML classes and 317 students in 4 first-grade classes, 4 second-grade classes, and 4 third-grade classes. The grade one classes together had 109 students, 53 male and 56 female, between 5.5 and 8 years of age. The grade two classes together had 105 students, 55 male and 50 female, between 6 and 9 years. The grade three classes together had 103 students, 57 male and 46 female, between 8 and 11 years. In total there were 165 (52,1%) male students and 152 (47,9%) female students. There were 12 female PSML teachers and no male teachers. The number of years of work experience as a teacher varied from 1 to 15 years. The mother tongues of the teachers were Papiamento (10 or 83.3%), Papiamento and Dutch (1 or 8.3%) and English (1 or 8.3%). The different home languages of the children in their Scol Multilingual primary level classes at the time of the survey in February 2015 are shown in Table 17.

The multilingual character of the school population is evident, with a very high presence of Papiamento. 267 out of 317 children (84.2%) had Papiamento as the language that

Table 17 Home languages of Scol Multilingual pupils at primary level, February 2015

Home languages of the children PSML grades 1, 2, and 3, February 2015 (N=317)					
1 Language	Number	Percent	More than 1 Language	Number	Percent
Papiamento	215	81.1%	Pap/Spanish	25	48.1%
Spanish	33	12.4%	Pap/Dutch	13	25.0%
Dutch	9	3.4%	Pap/Chinese	6	11.5%
English	2	0.8%	Pap/English	3	5.8%
Chinese	5	1.9%	Pap/Spanish/Italian	2	3.8%
Portuguese	1	0.4%	Pap/Portuguese	1	1.9%
			Pap/Spanish/Chinese	1	1.9%
			Pap/Haitian Creole	1	1.9%
1 Language	265	100%	More than 1 Language	52	100%

they spoke at home or as one of the languages that they spoke at home. Of this group 215 (81.1%) had Papiamento as their sole home language. In addition, 49 (15.4%) were bilingual at home and 3 (0.9%) were trilingual at home, all with Papiamento as one of their home languages. 10 out of 12 teachers (83.3%) had Papiamento as their only mother tongue, while one teacher had two mother tongues, one of which was Papiamento, which yields a total of 11 or 91.6% for Papiamento as the teachers' mother tongue.

B. Teachers' attitudes, beliefs, opinions and motivation

In response to the question, *Were you well informed about PSML before you started as a teacher in PSML?* 16.7% of the teachers answered no, 66.7% just a little bit, and 16.7% yes. This is a remarkable result: only 2 (16.7%) out of 12 teachers felt that they had been well informed about this project. This means that information about PSML was not adequate. This confirms the levels of agreement indicated in the Pre-PSML survey above (Table 13) with the statement: *Sufficient information about PSML has been made available to me* where 62% of the teachers reported not having sufficient information about PSML. Despite minimal briefing about the program, these teachers had the courage to accept the job. This suggested a high level of motivation on their part.

In response to the question, *Was it your own decision or choice to work in PSML?* the teachers answered as follows: 7 (58.3%) of the teachers ended up working in PSML because they wanted to work at a reformed school and with Papiamento and 5 (41.7%) ended up working at PSML purely because of decisions made by local school boards. This result confirms what we concluded from the first question; that the majority of PSML teachers were either highly motivated to join PSML beforehand or became highly motivated about PSML after joining the project. The different reasons the teachers indicated are presented in Table 18.

Table 18 Reasons for working in the Proyecto Multilingual in descending order of frequency

1	I want to work in the reformed school with Papiamentu	18.2%
2	In my opinion, educational reform is necessary and I want to contribute to it.	15.2%
3	I was asked and this is a new interesting challenge.	12.2%
4	I wanted to try a new educational system.	12.2%
5	I am convinced that this school is better because Papiamentu is used as the language of instruction, the mother tongue of the majority of the students.	12.2%
6	I am convinced that this school is for the benefit of the students.	12.2%
7	There was a vacancy and I applied. It was my own decision.	9.1%
8	I am fed up with the traditional school in Dutch.	3.0%
9	I just graduated and I applied for this job because it corresponds with my ideas.	3.0%
10	My proficiency of Papiamentu is better than my proficiency in Dutch.	3.0%
Total		100%

C. Teachers' experiences with PSML

As shown in Figure 1 below, all of the PSML teachers had the experience that in PSML the children learned with more pleasure than in the traditional Dutch school (100%) and that the lessons in Papiamentu were more communicative (100%). 10 teachers (83.3%) said that their PSML students were active learners and dared to express their opinions, which they were not able to do in the traditional Dutch schools. A substantial majority of the teachers reported a positive experience working in PSML classrooms. 9 teachers (75%) reported working with greater satisfaction than they thought was possible. 9 teachers (75%) also said that they felt comfortable in PSML. 9 teachers (75%) reported as well that they were well prepared to teach in PSML. Teaching was easier because the children understood everything more rapidly was also the opinion of 9 teachers (75%). 9 teachers (75%) stated as well that in their PSML classes the progress and development of the students had become very noticeable. 8 teachers (66.7%) reported working with greater pleasure in PSML than in the Dutch system. 5 teachers (50%) said that they did not agree with the assertion that they felt more confident teaching in the Dutch system than at PSML, which meant that they felt confident teaching in Papiamentu; 3 teachers (25%) agreed and 3 teachers (25%) did not have an opinion. 5 teachers (41.7%) agreed with the statement that in PSML the child is the focal point, 6 teachers (50%) did not have an opinion on this and 1 teacher (8.3%) disagreed. Most teachers felt that they could not predict with great certainty (75%) that the PSML pupils would repeat fewer grades than other students in the higher classes.

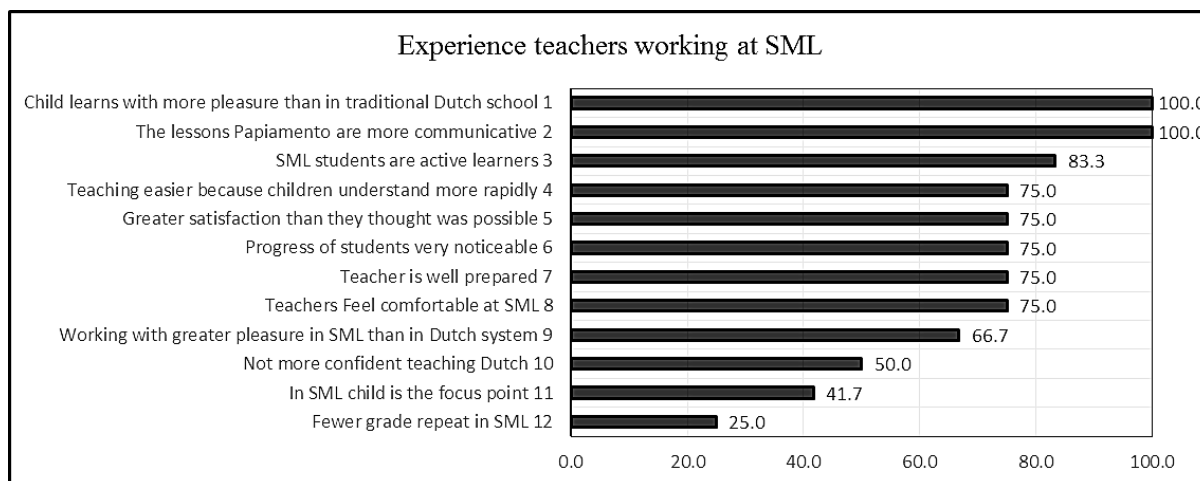


Figure 1 The experience of the teachers (N=12) working at PSML in percentages in descending order

D. Teachers' competencies and knowledge

10 teachers (83.3%) were positive about their proficiency in Papiamento, while 11 teachers (91.7%) rated their proficiency in Dutch as good. 6 teachers (50%) said that their mastery of Papiamento was better than their mastery of Dutch, while 4 teachers (33.3%) were neutral and 2 teachers (16.7%) disagreed with that assertion. 4 teachers (33.3%) stated that their Dutch was better than their Papiamento; 7 teachers (58%) were neutral and 1 teacher (8.3%) disagreed. 10 teachers (83.3%) said that they were sufficiently prepared to use Papiamento as the language of instruction. 7 teachers (58.3%) thought that they were sufficiently prepared to teach Papiamento as a subject, while 12 teachers (100%) thought that they were sufficiently prepared to teach Dutch as a subject. Mathematics in Papiamento posed no problem for 11 teachers (91.7%). Only 5 teachers (41.7%) stated that they were well informed about the ideas behind PSML. Only 6 teachers (50%) stated that they were able to give a good explanation of those ideas.

E. Teachers' evaluation of the PSML

The teachers were asked to evaluate different aspects of PSML. Concerning the performance and learning experience of the students, the teachers were all very positive. The majority stated that the students liked reading in Papiamento (100%); the students liked writing in Papiamento (91.7%); the students liked mathematics in Papiamento (75%); the students liked the Dutch foreign language lessons (58.3%); the students liked the English foreign language lessons (75%); the students liked the Spanish foreign language lessons (83.3%) and that in PSML the students could communicate, express themselves, ask questions, etc. (91.7%). Most teachers were rather satisfied, with some reservations, with the quality of the materials provided for Papiamento (58.3%) and Dutch (66.6%) in PSML. Eleven teachers (91.7%) stated that their preparation as PSML teachers could

have been more extensive and profound. Only 4 teachers (33.3%) agreed with the statements that the parents were well informed about the PSML and participated in the educational development of their children. Six (6) teachers (50%) said that the parents were satisfied with the results of their children. Most teachers (75%) felt that PSML needed to be further developed and implemented in all primary schools.

F. Teachers' perspectives on PSML

Only 3 teachers (25%) thought that all the Aruban schools could adopt the PSML system, mainly because there were no PSML training activities available for teachers in the other schools. Their opinions about the capacity of the Department of Education and IPA to make PSML a success were mixed. Although the teachers were almost unanimous in their opinion that the whole community would benefit from a PSML system (8 teachers = 66.7%); that PSML would prove the value of Papiamentu as language of education (8 teachers = 66.7%) and that PSML would prove that educational innovation is necessary and possible (9 teachers = 75%), they were very divided about the introduction of a similar multilingual system in secondary education: 4 teachers (33.3%) agreed, 4 teachers (33.3%) were neutral and 4 teachers (33.3%) disagreed. Concerning the use of Papiamentu as the language of instruction until grade 4 or until grade 6: 7 teachers (58.3%) said grade 4, 4 teachers (33.3%) grade 6 and one teacher (8.3%) did not know.

Teachers were also allowed to write extra comments and recommendations, and most took advantage of the opportunity to do so. The teachers registered their complaints about the following: 1) PSML materials and textbooks were not ready in time and the teachers were not involved at all in the development of these materials; 2) PSML teachers were not getting sufficient guidance and support; 3) PSML teachers needed more intense in-service training to perform better; 4) Initial preparation of PSML teachers could be more extensive and in-depth; 5) More information about PSML needed to be provided to parents and the community; and 6) Parents should be involved more to be able to participate more in the development of their children and of PSML.

Conclusions PSML teachers' survey

Among the conclusions that we can draw from the PSML teachers' survey are the following:

- 1) The school population was quite diverse in terms of language background. However, the vast majority of teachers and pupils had Papiamentu as their home language, 83.3% and 81.1% respectively. In addition, 8.3% of teachers and 16.4% of pupils were multilingual, with Papiamentu as one of their languages.
- 2) The teachers were very motivated to work at their PSML schools. Although most teachers (62%) indicated that they did not have much information about

this project in advance, they took the job because they felt that educational innovation was necessary. Of the 12 teachers at least 75% had, on average, very good experiences with teaching in the new schools and with the progress of the pupils.

- 3) Contrary to expectations, the teachers generally (77.8%) appeared to be satisfied with their own knowledge and skills with regard to the school subjects. It was striking, however, that only 45.9% of the teachers indicated that they were well informed and that they could explain the ideas of the PSML to others. The opinion of 91.7% was that their training to be a PSML teacher could have been more extensive and profound.
- 4) Teachers were generally (82.1%) very satisfied with the performance of their pupils, not only in the four languages, mathematics and other subjects, but also, and above all, in communication skills. Therefore it was surprising that only 50% of the teachers said that the parents were positive about the results of their children.
- 5) A majority of 75% of teachers warned against introducing PSML too quickly in all schools. Certain conditions would have to be met, such as: a) the materials would need to be ready; b) teachers, including IPA graduates, would need to be well prepared and intensively trained in order to function in the new system; c) society and parents, would need to be kept well informed of developments; and (4) parents, would need to be involved in the education of their children.
- 6) 69.5% of the teachers stated that they were convinced that the whole community would benefit from the PSML project, because educational innovation was necessary and possible. They were also convinced that PSML would prove Papiamentu's importance as a language of instruction.

5 General conclusions and discussion

The experiences of the PSML teachers reported on in this article were confirmed by a study that the Research Team of the Instituto Pedagógico Arubano and the Department of Education carried out in 2016, as the first cohort of PSML students completed grade 4 (Croes & Williams, 2017). This team compared the results of students in the two PSML primary schools with those of two traditional non-PSML schools at the end of grade 4. The research team considered several dimensions of quality education, with a special focus on the effect of the language of instruction, Papiamentu (in PSML classrooms) or Dutch (in traditional classrooms), on the development of: 1) comprehension of oral texts, 2) comprehension of written texts, 3) the ability to ask critical questions about a new topic and 4) the ability of pupils to explain what they read in their own words. The following results of this study were presented by researchers Régine Croes and Merlynn Williams in 2017:

- 1) Pupils in the PSML program demonstrated critical learning skills that are significantly higher than the critical learning skills of the pupils in the traditional schools. This was demonstrated at a statistical reliability level of more than 99%.
- 2) In both programmes (i.e., both in PSML schools and in traditional schools) the pupils demonstrated their critical learning skills significantly better when using Papiamentu, compared to when using Dutch. This was confirmed at a statistical reliability level of more than 99%.
- 3) Pupils in the PSML program used Papiamentu significantly better to demonstrate their critical learning skills compared to pupils in the traditional programme. This was proven at a statistical reliability level of more than 97%.
- 4) There were no statistically significant differences between the pupils in PSML schools and pupils in traditional schools concerning their skills to understand, ask questions and explain in Dutch. This suggests that in the Aruban context, the shift from using Dutch as language of instruction to teaching Dutch as a foreign language in PSML has no negative impact on students' levels in Dutch.

The most important aspect of educational reform is the mindset of everyone involved: the trainers, the teachers, the parents, the school boards, the department of education, the community, and the government. Aruba desperately needs to give priority to child-oriented, realistic, mother tongue based educational goals. This means that it is mandatory that in our education policy and practice: 1) we re-center our children and their right to receive a quality education; 2) we respect and empower our teachers who are struggling especially with the language of instruction and initial literacy in their teaching; 3) we discard old myths, doubts, prejudices, and practices; 4) we reevaluate our possibilities with an open mind, without fear.

What the study that forms the basis for this article demonstrates is that the PSML reform project has achieved some significant initial results in addressing some of the most pressing problems faced by the education system in Aruba, but the data also indicates that PSML needs to be part of a more comprehensive reform of education and language policy and practice. The teachers are very willing to contribute to this process, but they need help on a constant basis to assume their role as change agents. These preliminary results from PSML provide a rich body of experience for future educational reform on the island.

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LANGUAGE ATTITUDES OF ARUBAN PARENTS TOWARD PROYECTO SCOL MULTILINGUAL (PSML) AND THE USE OF PAPIAMENTO IN EDUCATION

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Abstract

In the study upon which this article is based, the language attitudes of Aruban parents toward the pilot project Proyecto Scol Multilingual (PSML) and the role of Papiamento in education were examined. The results revealed that, with the exception of the small minority of parents who spoke Dutch as their main home language, the great majority of the parents were very enthusiastic about Proyecto Scol Multilingual and the use of Papiamento in all aspects of life on the island, including education. The results reported on in this article provide a rich body of data that can inform efforts toward educational innovation on the island in the future.

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Key terms: Proyecto Scol Multilingual (PSML), Aruba, Papiamento, mother tongue education, pilot project

Introduction and study design

In this article, the results of an empirical study designed to address the research question *How do parents value the role of Papiamento in Aruban education?* will be described and analyzed. The school community consists of four important groups of stakeholders: the students, the teachers, the parents, and the rest of the community. Although parents play an important role in the socialization their children, in the recent history of Aruban education not much attention has been paid to the voice of parents. It was only with the implementation of the PRIPEB (*Proyecto di Innovacion di Enseñansa Preparatorio y Enseñansa Basico* [Pre-primary and Primary Education Innovation Project]) (all translations are by the author unless specified otherwise) reform project between 1995 and 2002 that parents participated for the first time as valued stakeholders in the educational process. The *Comision di Mayor*, [Parents' Committee] abbreviated as COMAY (which as a word also means the godmother of one's child), was the parents' organ within

It is therefore most regrettable that after 2002, COMAY ceased to exist and thus the voices of the parents have been silenced again. Innovators and language planners must be aware that parents have, consciously or unconsciously, their own ideas and opinions about issues such as language use in the schools. In one of the few studies on education in Aruba, where parents' voices are heard, Tromp (1997) asked parents of kindergarten and primary school students about their ideas related to language in education. Tromp reported that 29.1% of the parents preferred a combination of Papiamentu and Dutch as language of instruction; 35.3% opted for a combination of Papiamentu and Dutch plus one or more other languages; and 15% wanted Dutch only. In other words, 87.7% of the parents wanted to maintain Dutch alone or in combination with other languages, as language of instruction.

Although 66.5% of the parents were positive toward Papiamentu as a language of instruction, a majority of this group saw a place for Papiamentu only in grade one, two and three, as a bridge to learning Dutch (Tromp, 1997, pp. 74-75). To give voice to Aruban parents in the 21st century as important stakeholders in the education process, we have included a survey of parents of primary school children on language attitudes and the role of Papiamentu in education in the study upon which this article is based, which was designed to answer the research question *How do parents value the role of Papiamentu in Aruban education?*

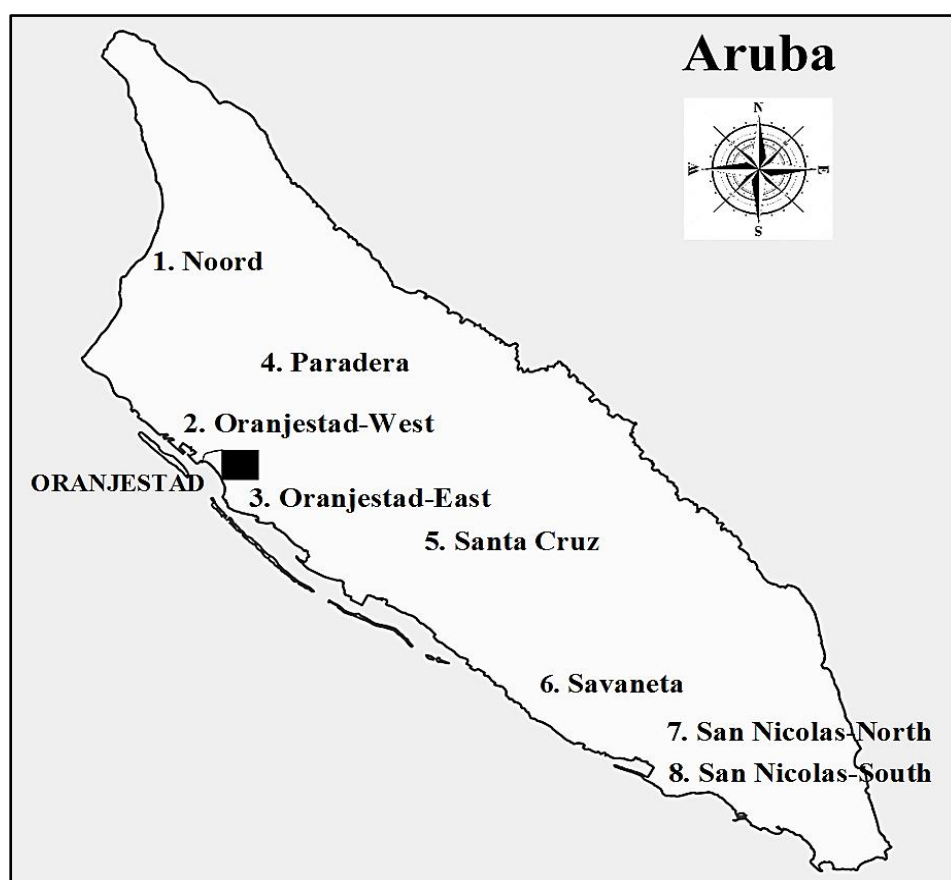


Figure 1 The 8 school districts of Aruba

In 2016, Aruba had eight school districts (see Figure 1), and from each district, the parents of pupils in one primary school were selected to participate in the survey. The eight schools represented 22% of Aruba's 36 primary schools. The total number of primary school pupils on the island in 2016 was 8,900 students. The eight selected schools in the sample had a total of 2,048 students, which was 23% of the total student population. The parents of all the children from the selected schools were invited to fill in a questionnaire, but only one per household. Out of a total of 1,650 households, 1,141 questionnaires were returned of which 1,115 were valid. This means that the survey had a sample size of 1,115 respondents, reflecting a response rate of 68%. Participation in the survey was anonymous and voluntary.

The questionnaire was divided into two sections: section A with 12 background items and section B with 36 attitude items. The language used in the questionnaire was Papiamentu. The background items were related to the personal characteristics of the participating parents and their child(ren), including: the caretakers'/parents' relationship with the child(ren), the age of the parent(s) and child(ren), the highest level of education of the parent(s), sex of parent(s) and child(ren), the school level of child(ren), the grade of the child(ren), the class repetition history of the child(ren), and the home languages of the parent(s) and the child(ren). The attitude items were measured using statements about language in Aruba, designed to elicit information about the attitudes of the parents related to issues such as the role of languages such as Papiamentu, Dutch and English in education and the community, to their children's performance in Dutch, etc. For all attitude items, the responses were measured along a five-point Likert scale, which gave the respondents the opportunity to choose between the options: 1) Totally disagree; 2) Partially disagree; 3) Neutral; 4) Partially agree; and 5) Totally agree.

The survey was administered as planned in March 2016. The Central Bureau of Statistics of Aruba made a scan of the final version of the questionnaire for the SPSS software that they use. Volunteers helped to stuff 2,000 copies of the scan into envelopes which contained an explanatory letter and a pencil with an eraser, which were required by the Central Bureau of Statistics to ensure that the questionnaires would be completed in such a way that their computers could process them with minimal problems. Eight large boxes were then filled with the number of questionnaires each school needed, based on estimates from the principals and then the boxes were delivered to the schools. The teachers were responsible for the distribution and the collection of the questionnaires: each student was given an envelope to bring home to her or his parent(s), with only one questionnaire being filled in per household. The researcher collected the envelopes as the students returned them. The researcher screened the 1,141 returned questionnaires for their completeness. A total of 26 incompletely filled out questionnaires (without personal data or filled in on only one side, etc.) were eliminated. The next step was the encoding of the remaining 1,115 valid questionnaires. After the valid questionnaires were scanned at Central Bureau of Statistics, a second screening took place to detect

ambiguities. The researcher validated the correct information from the original questionnaires and indicated what corrections had to be made. Finally, all the corrected data was entered and processed using SPSS software.

Since we did not use a national random sample of all students in Aruba, but instead selected one school from each district and incorporated the parents of all the students of the school into the study, the individual characteristics of the parents who participated in this survey could not be generalized to the entire population of parents on the island. In addition to that, there was a disproportionally high participation of mothers rather than fathers in filling out the questionnaire. This, however, had a minimal effect on the purpose of our survey, which was to establish relations and comparisons concerning attitudes with regard to language and language in education. For example, although the proportion of mothers and fathers in the sample differed from their proportions in the entire population, comparisons between mothers and fathers as separate groups were still possible. With regard to attitudes, the results may favor the views of mothers, but in that case, they may express the attitudes of the particular parent who is typically the most intimately involved in the school activities of the student, which is relevant for this study.

Study results

Demographic characteristics of parents

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The variables that related to the background of the parents were their relationship with the child, the age of the parents, the highest level of education of the parents, the sex of the parents and the languages of the parents. The participating parents, who had children in grades from one to six of primary school, consisted of 766 mothers, 213 fathers, 26 grandparents, 11 tutors, 15 others and in 79 cases both parents together filled in the questionnaire. In the cases where both parents completed the questionnaire, the sex of only one of them was marked on the questionnaire, including 43 mothers and 22 fathers. In Aruba, mothers have traditionally played the role of the primary caretaker of the child, so it was not surprising that mothers formed the majority of the respondents. The group of parents who constituted the survey sample were thus 22.7% male and 77.3% female (n=1,090).

At the moment of the survey in March 2016, the respondents were between 20 and 86 years of age, with an average age of 39.4 years. Most parents were between 31 and 45 years old. The two eldest caretakers were 83 and 86 years of age, respectively. Regarding the educational level of the parents, we noticed a clustering into two groups of equal size, with on the one hand the low and unskilled categories constituting 50.9% of the sample, and on the other hand, those with tertiary level education constituting 49.1%. The percentages that resulted from the Census of 2010 (Central Bureau of Statistics, Aruba, 2010) are very different: with 65.8% of the population in the low and unskilled

categories, while 33.4% in the middle, high and university level categories. An explanation of this difference might have to do with the relative youth of the parents, indicating a correlation between lower age and more access to higher education.

A remarkable result emerged from the data with regard to the levels of information about Proyecto Scol Multilingual (PSML) among the parents. In this study, two of the participating schools were already in the multilingual PSML project where Papiamentu was being used as a language of instruction and initial literacy, while the other six schools were in the traditional Dutch only system and thus not in the PSML. Of the 1,115 parents in the sample, 960 filled in the relevant questionnaire item. Of these, 37.6% (361) had children in a PSML school and 62.4% (599) had children in a school that was not in the PSML. Of the parents with children at a PSML school 94% (341) correctly reported that their school is in the PSML. 6% (20) of the parents stated that their PSML school was not a PSML school, which can be considered technically correct if their child was in one of the higher grades which at that moment were not yet in the project. Of the 599 parents with children at a non-PSML school 41.1% (248) erroneously reported that their school was a PSML school. There were also 155 parents (13.9%) who did not fill in this item. These results indicate that the levels of information among the parents about the PSML project and educational reform was very low.

The age of the children in the survey (Table 1) was between 6 and 16 years with an average of 10.07 years. One child was 6 years old and three children were 16 years old. The sex of the children (n=1,101) was 46.0% male and 54.0% female. The repetition average was 1.31 times. A total of 257 out of 1,055 children, which is 25%, had repeated a grade once, twice or three times during their school career.

Table 1 Characteristics of the children in terms of age, grade level and repetition rates

Age of the children			School grade level			Grade repetition rate		
Age	Freq	percent	Grade	Freq	percent	Repetition	Freq.	Percent
6-7	127	11.7%	Grade 1	181	16.5%	Never	790	74.9%
8-9	325	29.9%	Grade 2	184	16.7%	Once	212	20.1%
10-11	337	31.0%	Grade 3	177	16.1%	Twice	45	4.3%
12-13	265	24.4%	Grade 4	186	16.9%	Three times	7	0.7%
14 and older	34	3.1%	Grade 5	200	18.2%	Unknown	1	0.1%
			Grade 6	160	14.5%			
			Unknown	12	1.1%			
Total	1088	100.0%	Total	1055	100.0%	Total	1055	100.0%

Table 2 provides an overview of the distribution of gender and mother tongues of parents in the sample. This more or less equal division of the various languages between the two sexes reduces the risk of bias toward mothers mentioned above.

Table 2 Gender and mother tongues of parents

Sex of parent	Mother tongue of parent						Total
	Papiamentu	Dutch	English	Spanish	Other	Multi-lingual	
male	127	12	4	36	14	54	247
	51.4%	4.9%	1.6%	14.6%	5.7%	21.9%	100.0%
female	470	26	19	165	19	139	838
	56.1%	3.1%	2.3%	19.7%	2.3%	16.6%	100.0%
Total	597	38	23	201	33	193	1085
	55.0%	3.5%	2.1%	18.5%	3.0%	17.8%	100.0%

The survey revealed interesting data in regard to language shift and language loss that seems to be occurring on the island, especially in immigrant families. We can define language shift as the change from one mother tongue/home language to another from one generation to another, which generally means that the second generation of immigrants adopts the national language of the host community as its first language. Language shift has a counterpart which is language loss: the original mother tongue/home language, which was the family language or the heritage language, is lost for a new generation. Adopting the language of the host country is often seen by parents, especially mothers, as the most efficient way to prevent exclusion of their children so that they can become integrated members of the host community.

130 A comparison of the mother tongues of the participating parents with the mother tongues of their children can be made by considering the data in Tables 3 and 4. What strikes one most is that in many cases the mother tongue of the child is different from the mother tongue of the parent, which suggests that language shift was taking place, with many children adopting Papiamentu, the language of the community, as their first language. The tables indicate that there was a generational shift of 14.7% in favor of Papiamentu, of 5.9% in favor of ‘Multilingual’ (which almost always included Papiamentu) and of 0.2% in favor of Dutch, and a shift of 12.7% away from Spanish, of 0.7% away from English and of 1.3% away from Other (languages).

Table 3 Language profile of parent and child

	Mother tongue of parent	Mother tongue of child
	Percentage	Percentage
Papiamentu	54.9%	63.3%
Dutch	3.5%	3.7%
English	2.1%	1.4%
Spanish	18.4%	5.7%
Other	3.0%	1.7%
Multilingual	18.2%	24.1%
Total	100% n=1106	100% n= 1053

The statistics shown in Table 4 demonstrated the differences between the mother tongue of the parent and the mother tongue of the child and provided an insight into the phenomenon of language shift in Aruban households.

Table 4 Comparison of the mother tongues of parent and child

Mother tongue of parent	Mother tongue of child						Total
	Papiamentu	Dutch	English	Spanish	Other	Multilingual	
Papiamentu	91.4%	2.4%	0.3%	0.7%	0.2%	5.0%	100.0%
Dutch	26.3%	50.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	23.7%	100.0%
English	34.8%	4.3%	34.8%	0.0%	0.0%	26.1%	100.0%
Spanish	40.9%	1.6%	0.5%	29.6%	0.0%	27.4%	100.0%
Other	27.3%	0.0%	3.0%	0.0%	51.5%	18.2%	100.0%
Multilingual	17.4%	1.1%	1.6%	0.5%	0.0%	79.5%	100.0%
Total	63.4%	3.7%	1.4%	5.7%	1.7%	24.0%	100.0%

The data showed that 26.3% of Dutch-speaking parents, 34.8% of English-speaking parents, 40.9% of Spanish speaking parents, 27.3% of parents who speak other languages and 17.4% of multilingual parents indicated that the first language of their children is Papiamentu. Moreover, in the multilingual group as a whole, Papiamentu is almost invariably one of the languages spoken.

This result confirms the view that because Papiamentu is the dominant language in the Aruban community, it is an essential identity and integration marker for its citizens, with the second and third generations of immigrants adopting Papiamentu as their first language. It is normal to hear children speak Papiamentu to their siblings and their Spanish-speaking parents or to listen to a Filipino who speaks Papiamentu with a Haitian, or a Colombian. This situation is almost normal for the young speakers of all these languages, including speakers of Dutch. Papiamentu is a very functional language for them, the lingua franca between the different language groups, a position that Dutch has never achieved on the island. The fact that it is the community language motivates immigrants to start learning Papiamentu as soon as they arrive in Aruba. These results confirm the strong position of Papiamentu as the community language and of multilingualism.

Kelly (2015, p. 20) conducted a survey among Spanish-speaking newcomers to the island where he found that the Spanish-speaking community had a very positive attitude toward Papiamentu. These data contradict the impression of many Arubans that the Spanish speaking community does not accord Papiamentu its true value. Kelly's study concludes that most Spanish-speaking immigrants are proud of living in Aruba and that they socialize very easily the Aruban people. 80% of the respondents agreed that learning Papiamentu was necessary for residing in Aruba. Our results confirm this conclusion, as can be seen in a cross tabulation between the mother tongue of the parents and their willingness to attend Papiamentu language courses. For Papiamentu speakers the willingness to attend Papiamentu courses was 57.8%; for Dutch speakers 23.1%; for

English speakers 39.1%; for Spanish speakers 64.7%; for speakers of other languages 42.4%; and, for multilingual parents 58.8%. It is notable that the willingness to attend Papiamento language courses was highest among Spanish-speaking parents and lowest among Dutch-speaking parents. According to the Central Bureau of Statistics, Aruba (2004, p. 130): “As for the working age population, it seems as if the Dutch speakers either have the most difficulty learning Papiamento or are least interested in learning the language.”

A cross tabulation between mother tongue and district (Table 5) shows a concentration of Spanish speakers in Oranjestad West district, where Spanish scores 32.9% while Papiamento scores 27.4%. In this district, the multilingual group reaches its highest percentage (28.8%).

Table 5 District and mother tongues of parents

District of school	Mother tongue of parent						Total
	Papiamento	Dutch	English	Spanish	Other	Multilingual	
1 Noord	57.4%	1.3%	.8%	20.7%	3.4%	16.5%	100.0%
2. Oranjestad West	27.4%	4.1%	4.1%	32.9%	2.7%	28.8%	100.0%
3. Oranjestad East	54.6%	7.5%	1.3%	21.7%	3.3%	11.7%	100.0%
4. Paradera	51.1%	10.0%	1.1%	15.6%	2.2%	20.0%	100.0%
5. Santa Cruz	77.0%	.7%	.0%	9.5%	1.4%	11.5%	100.0%
6. Savaneta	36.8%	2.6%	4.4%	26.3%	1.8%	28.1%	100.0%
7. San Nicolas North	60.7%	.0%	2.4%	14.3%	2.4%	20.2%	100.0%
8. San Nicolas South	55.8%	1.7%	5.8%	6.7%	5.8%	24.2%	100.0%
Total n= 1106	54.9%	3.5%	2.1%	18.4%	3.0%	18.2%	100.0%

In San Nicolas North and San Nicolas South, where English and San Nicolas English lexifier Creole have traditionally predominated, English was mentioned as mother tongue by the low percentages of 5.8% and 2.4% respectively, while Papiamento scored very high with 55.8% and 60.7%. The Central Bureau of Statistics (Central Bureau of Statistics, Aruba, 2012, p. 112) gives the following information: San Nicolas North: Papiamento 6,973; English 2,166; Spanish 613; Dutch 249, and San Nicolas South: Papiamento 2,450; English 1,442; Spanish 531; Dutch 144. A possible explanation for this is that many of these parents belong to the third and even fourth generation of the immigrants who arrived in Aruba in the 1920s and 1930s and are already integrated into the Aruban Papiamento-speaking community.

Dutch scored the lowest in Santa Cruz (0.7%) and San Nicolas North (0%). In all the districts except Santa Cruz, the percentage of Papiamento-speaking children was higher than the percentage of Papiamento-speaking parents which meant a total increase of 8.4% for Papiamento among the younger generation. Dutch grew by 1.5% in Santa Cruz, by 0.9% in San Nicolas South and by 3.8% in Paradera which yielded a total growth of 0.2%. The multilingual group grew in Santa Cruz by 8.6%, in Oranjestad East by 10.3%,

in Noord by 9.7% and in Savaneta by 9.4%, which yielded a total growth of 5.9%. Table 6 provides an overview of the language shift toward or away from Papiamentu in each district.

Table 6 Parents with Papiamentu as their mother tongue vs. children with Papiamentu as their mother tongue, by district

District	Mother Tongue Parent			Mother Tongue Child	
	n	Papiamentu	The rest	Papiamentu	The rest
1. Noord	237	57.4%	42.6%	61.3%	38.7%
2. Oranjestad West	73	27.4%	72.6%	55.1%	44.9%
3. Oranjestad East	240	54.6%	45.4%	65.2%	34.8%
4. Paradera	90	51.1%	48.9%	54.0%	46.0%
5. Santa Cruz	148	77.0%	23.0%	73.4%	26.6%
6. Savaneta	114	36.8%	63.2%	52.4%	47.6%
7. San Nicolas North	84	60.7%	39.3%	75.3%	24.7%
8. San Nicolas South	120	55.8%	44.2%	65.2%	34.8%
Total	1106	54.9%	45.1%	63.3%	36.7%

The crosstabulation shown in Table 7 between the mother tongue of the parent and the highest level of education completed shows that English and Spanish speakers scored the highest percentages for completion of university level education (WO), with 22.7% and 23.1%, respectively. For the completion of tertiary professional education (HBO), Papiamentu speakers scored second place with 20.9% after Dutch speakers who scored 35.9%. If we consider the levels HBO and WO as more or less equal, then we have the following results for completion of tertiary level education: Dutch speakers 46.2%; English speakers 36.3%; Spanish speakers 31.3%; Papiamentu speakers 27.9%; speakers of other languages 26.7%, and multilingual speakers 23.2%. For completion of the secondary professional education track (MBO) Papiamentu speakers scored 23.6% which is the highest percentage in this category. Furthermore, it is noteworthy that the total percentage of low-skilled or unskilled parents (levels 1 to 3) is 41.6%, according to the answers that parents provided for these items on the questionnaire.

At the very lowest levels, Dutch speakers were noticeably under-represented, while Papiamentu and Spanish speakers were noticeably over-represented, confirming claims that the traditional Dutch-only school system on the island was designed to serve the needs of the small minority of Aruban students who speak Dutch as their main home language, rather than the overwhelming majority of Aruban students who speak Papiamentu and/or Spanish as their main home language.

Table 7 Mother tongues and highest level of education completed by parents

Mother tongue of parents	Highest level of education completed by parents (lowest on left to highest on right)								Total
	Pr.ed. 1	LBO 2	MAVO 3	HAVO 4	VWO 5	MBO 6	HBO 7	WO 8	
Papiamentu	0.9%	12.5%	26.4%	8.0%	0.7%	23.6%	20.9%	7.0%	100.0%
Dutch	0.0%	5.1%	12.8%	7.7%	5.1%	23.1%	35.9%	10.3%	100.0%
English	0.0%	4.5%	36.4%	4.5%	0.0%	18.2%	13.6%	22.7%	100.0%
Spanish	8.8%	12.6%	19.8%	4.9%	4.9%	17.6%	8.2%	23.1%	100.0%
Other	0.0%	0.0%	33.3%	10.0%	6.7%	23.3%	20.0%	6.7%	100.0%
Multilingual	6.0%	20.3%	28.0%	8.8%	0.0%	13.7%	13.2%	9.9%	100.0%
Total (n=1039)	3.1%	13.1%	25.4%	7.6%	1.6%	20.7%	17.7%	10.8%	100.0%

Pr.ed.=Primary Education; LBO=*Lager Beroeps Onderwijs*=Lower Vocational Education; MAVO=*Middelbaar Algemeen Vormend Onderwijs*; HAVO=*Hoger Algemeen Vormend Onderwijs*=Pre-Professional Education; VWO=*Voorbereidend Wetenschappelijk Onderwijs*=Pre-University Education; MBO=*Middelbaar Beroeps Onderwijs* = Secondary Professional Education; HBO=*Hoger Beroeps Onderwijs*, Tertiary Professional Education; WO=*Wetenschappelijk Onderwijs*, University.

Attitudes of parents

We used a pool of 36 variables to measure several aspects of parents' attitude towards language and the use of language in education. To find out whether these items actually belonged to a cluster of variables, we conducted a factor analysis using an Oblimin Rotation Method with Kaiser Normalization. The result of the factor analysis indicated that the variables could be clustered into six groups with an eigenvalue of 1.0 or higher. A total of seven items were eliminated because they did not fit into a simple factor structure and had a factor loading of 0.30 or lower. Two other items were eliminated earlier, because they were not Likert-scaled. Table 8 shows the variables that have high loadings for factors 1 to 6.

Of the questions on the survey, 27 appeared to meet the consistency criteria. In order to determine which factors could be distinguished with regard to the attitudes of the parents, a factor analysis was performed with these 27 variables. (Extraction Method: Maximum Likelihood, Rotation Method: Oblimin with Kaiser Normalization, Rotation converged in 9 iterations). Within the 6 distinct factors, the Item Total Correlation (R_{It} value) was calculated separately per factor. Cronbach's alpha (α) was used as a central measure of reliability. The results of these calculations are shown in Table 8.

The indices in table 8 show that the variables loaded on six factors. Since we could use the factors as new variables that measured an underlying common dimension, we wanted to make sure that for each factor all included items were valid. We resorted to a reliability analysis, which could verify for each item what the item-total correlation was and at the same time express the power of the scale with Cronbach's alpha, for which a value higher than 0.70 would be required. The reliability analysis showed that all the items in

Table 8 Result of factor analysis for the survey with Item Total Correlation R_{It} (Cronbach's alpha) and n (of items/factor)

Question	F1	F2	F3	F4	F5	F6	R_{It}
32	.819	-.034	.041	-.021	-.022	-.041	
33	.938	.039	.046	-.015	.032	-.026	
34	.972	-.028	.109	-.041	.047	-.076	
35	.770	-.007	-.010	.102	-.011	.100	F1
36	.469	.095	-.011	-.020	-.079	.162	$\alpha=.90$
37	-.018	.772	.023	.078	-.036	.027	
38	.012	.863	.053	.047	.036	.019	
39	-.015	.854	.057	.003	.061	.029	
40	.024	.898	.044	-.025	.010	-.080	F2
41	-.039	.807	.001	-.082	-.047	.004	$\alpha=.92$
14	.005	.055	.531	-.032	-.157	.165	
15	.005	.067	.755	.048	-.030	.052	
16	.089	.016	.830	.099	-.042	-.060	F3
17	.058	.060	.708	.026	-.109	.091	$\alpha=.86$
23	.051	.018	.016	.900	.087	.223	F4
27	.070	.052	.056	.777	.059	.109	$\alpha=.82$
46	.004	-.010	.017	-.067	-.683	.045	
47	.006	-.022	-.006	.004	-.882	.056	F5
48	.094	.009	.191	-.076	-.644	.090	$\alpha=.83$
18	-.068	.049	.187	.030	-.078	.522	
19	-.013	-.020	.198	-.046	-.082	.482	
20	.161	.005	.212	.068	-.016	.388	
21	.108	-.018	.227	-.038	-.004	.530	
22	.161	.034	-.115	.096	-.114	.699	
24	.040	-.019	.084	-.040	-.101	.429	
25	.085	.034	-.160	.246	-.028	.711	F6
30	.049	.218	-.003	-.030	-.152	.428	$\alpha=.83$
n=27	n=5	n=5	n=4	n=2	n=3	n=8	

the factors had a high item-total correlation and relations between attitudes on one hand and demographic characteristics on the other. They were therefore maintained. The internal consistency of the scales was also very high with scores for Cronbach alpha of $\alpha=0.90$ for factor 1; $\alpha=0.92$ for factor 2; $\alpha=0.86$ for factor 3; $\alpha=0.82$ for factor 4; $\alpha=0.83$ for factor 5; and $\alpha=0.83$ for factor 6. This indicated that the factors had excellent internal consistency and constituted a reliable scale for measurement. The average alpha value was 0.86.

Five items had a high loading on Factor 1. These five items all related to the Proyecto Scol Multilingual (PSML) and the attitude parents had towards this innovation in primary education in Aruba. This factor was labeled “Attitudes towards the Proyecto Scol Multilingual (PSML)”. Five items had a high loading on Factor 2 which was related to attitudes parents had towards the experience of their children with Dutch while learning. This factor is labeled “Attitudes towards student’s performance in Dutch”. The four items that loaded high on Factor 3 identified the personal relationship the parents had

toward Papiamento. This factor was labeled “Attitudes towards Appreciation of Papiamento in the community”. The two items that loaded high for Factor 4 identified the attitude of the parents towards a possible introduction of English as the language of instruction in education.

factor was labeled “Attitudes towards English in education”. Three items loaded high on Factor 5 and related to attitudes towards the function of Papiamento in one’s life in Aruba. This factor was labeled “Attitudes towards Papiamento as the official and national language of Aruba”. Eight items loaded high on Factor 6 and related to the attitude of the parents towards the contribution of Papiamento to the development of the community. This factor was labeled “Attitudes towards Papiamento’s role and use in the community and education”. In Table 9, the 27 variables with their 6 new factor names are listed.

Table 9 Results of the factor analysis for the survey

Factor name	Variables
F1 Attitudes towards the Proyecto Scol Multilingual (PSML)	32. I agree with the ideas of the Multilingual School. 33. I want the school of my child to be in the Multilingual School Project. 34. I think that the Multilingual School will be successful. 35. It will be a good idea if secondary education is also part of the Multilingual School Project. 36. The Multilingual School respects the right of the child to receive school education in its mother tongue.
F2 Attitudes towards student’s performance in Dutch	37. The oral tasks of Dutch are very difficult for my child. 38. It is very difficult for my child to understand the lessons in Dutch. 39. Technical reading in Dutch (AVI) is very difficult for my child. 40. Reading comprehension in Dutch is very difficult for my child. 41. Creative writing in Dutch is very difficult for my child.
F3 Attitudes towards Appreciation of Papiamento in the community	14. Papiamento has to be promoted in the community, e.g. media, lectures and special campaigns. 15. We have to be proud of Papiamento as official and national language of Aruba. 16. Papiamento has to be part of the celebration of the Day of the Anthem and Flag. 17. Papiamento is vital for the identity and existence of the Aruban people.
F4 Attitudes towards English in education	23. English has to be language of instruction in the primary school. 27. English has to be language of instruction in the secondary school.
F5 Attitudes towards Papiamento as the official and national language of Aruba	46. Papiamento is important for the integration of the immigrant in Aruban society. 47. It is important that all the members of the society master Papiamento, the official and national language of Aruba. 48. All the members of the community must appreciate and promote Papiamento.
F6 Attitudes towards Papiamento’s role and use in the community and education	18. Papiamento is important for the economy of Aruba. 19. Papiamento has to be used more in commerce, advertisement. 20. If in my neighborhood Papiamento courses are offered, I will subscribe for sure. 21. Papiamento has to be a subject matter in the primary school. 22. Papiamento has to be language of instruction in the primary school 24. Papiamento has to be subject matter in the secondary school. 25. Papiamento has to be language of instruction in the secondary school. 30. If the teacher explains in Papiamento, the student will understand the subject better.
Reduction 6 factors	27 variables

To determine the relationships among the six factors, correlations were calculated as shown on Table 10.

The correlation coefficients show that the parents who had positive attitudes towards Papiamento’s role and use in Community and Education (F6) also had positive attitudes towards PSML (F1) ($R=.51^{**}$), positive attitudes towards appreciation of Papiamento

Table 10 Correlation among the six factors

	F1	F2	F3	F4	F5	F6
F1 Attitudes towards PSML	1					
F2 Attitudes towards students' performance in Dutch	.13**	1				
F3 Attitudes towards appreciation of Papiamento in the community	.25**	.10**	1			
F4 Attitudes towards English in education	.24**	.10**	.05	1		
F5 Attitudes towards Papiamento as official and national language	.31**	.15**	.51**	.03	1	
F6 Attitudes towards Papiamento's use and role in community51**	.15**	.46**	.18**	.41**	1

** = Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

F1 = Attitudes towards PSML; F2 = Attitudes towards students' performance in Dutch; F3 = Attitudes towards appreciation of Papiamento in the community; F4 = Attitudes towards English in education; F5 = Attitudes towards Papiamento as official and national language of Aruba; F6 = Attitudes towards Papiamento's role and use in Community and Education.

in the community (F3) ($R=.46^{**}$) and positive attitudes towards Papiamento as an official and national language of Aruba (F5) ($R=.41^{**}$). In addition, the correlation coefficients also show that positive attitudes to the languages Dutch ($R<.16^{**}$) and English ($R<.25^{**}$) are correlated with positive attitudes towards Papiamento. Although these correlations were significant, the values were less high than the ones listed for parents who have positive attitudes towards Papiamento's role and use in the community and education.

We found a weak but significant negative relationship between the age of the parents, on the one hand, and the factors Attitudes towards Proyecto Scol Multilingual ($R=-.067$) and Attitudes towards Papiamento's use and role in community and education ($R=-.063$) which suggested that among the older parents, there was slightly more hesitation in accepting expanded roles for Papiamento in the community and education. We paid special attention to the level of education with regard to language attitudes since there has been a recognizable tendency in Aruba for more highly educated people to favor Dutch. This pattern was confirmed in the survey, as the variable Highest level of education had a negative correlation with Attitudes towards PSML ($R=-.159$), Attitudes towards students' performance in Dutch ($-.098$), Attitudes towards English in education ($R=-.156$), and Attitudes towards Papiamento's use and role in community and education ($R=-.17$). These findings pointed to the fact that the higher the level of education, the less positive the attitude of the parents was towards these factors. Concerning gender, we found no significant correlation with Attitudes towards Papiamento's use and role in community and education, which seemed to indicate that mothers and fathers had similar attitudes concerning the role of Papiamento in education and in the wider community, as shown in Table 11, where the point values of the responses on the ascending five-point scale from Totally disagree (1) to Totally agree (5) were averaged for the 6 factors.

To see how parents from the different language groups responded to the six factors, Independent Sample T-tests were performed, using pairs of languages related to each of

Table 11 Gender and the 6 factors (F) based on an independent sample t-test

	F1		F2		F3		F4		F5		F6	
	M	DfS	M	DfS	M	DfS	M	DfS	M	DfS	M	DfS
Male	3.85		2.66		4.62		3.22		4.65		3.67	
female	3.94	-.09	2.80	-.14	4.67	-.05	3.08	.14	4.64	.01	3.83	-.16

two-tailed p-value M=Mean; DfS=Difference in Score

the factors (Table 11). This test allowed us to compare the means of Papiamento to the means of

Dutch, English, Spanish, Other and Multilingual and determine whether there were significant patterns. For Attitudes towards PSML (Factor 1), a significant difference was found between Papiamento speakers (mean=3.91), on the one hand, and Dutch speakers (mean=3.08) ($p<.001$) and Spanish speakers (mean=4.16) ($p<.01$) on the other hand.

These findings show that the Dutch speakers have the least positive attitudes and the Spanish speakers the most positive attitudes towards the educational innovations that Proyecto Scol Multilingual was piloting in the schools in 2016. To gain more insight we made a comparison between the attitudes of the different language groups related to the items that constituted this factor. It was apparent that the language groups Papiamento and Spanish always had the highest percentage of 'agreement' with the statements, while the Dutch-speaking group always exhibited the lowest percentages. The crosstabulation between Mother tongue of parent and the variable I agree with the ideas of PSML revealed the following scores of agreement by the language groups: Spanish 68.5%; Papiamento 59.4%; and Dutch 38.4%. The comparison between the mother tongues and the variable *I want the school of my child to be in the Multilingual School Project* had similar percentages of agreement: Spanish 77.7%; Papiamento 67.1%; and Dutch 46.1%.

The comparison between the mother tongues and the variable I think that the Multilingual School will be successful yielded similar results: 75.5% of the Spanish-speakers, 66.4% of the Papiamento-speakers, and 38.5% of the Dutch-speakers agreed with this statement. The comparison related to the variable It will be a good idea if secondary education is also part of the Multilingual School Project yielded the following percentages of agreement: Spanish 74.0%; Papiamento 61.1%; Dutch 38.5%. For the variable

The Multilingual School respects the right of the child to receive school education in its mother tongue the scores of agreement were Papiamento 63%; Spanish 56.9%; and Dutch 38.5%. These patterns are illustrated in Table 12.

Table 12 Percentage scores based on an ascending 5-point scale for the six items in the Factor 1 cluster for parents with different mother tongues

Statement	Mother tongue of parent					
	Spa	Pap	Mul	Oth	Eng	Dut
I agree with the ideas of the Multilingual School	57.6	40.2	42.0	35.4	32.3	27.4
I want the school of my child to be in the Multilingual School Project.	69.2	51.8	49.8	44.3	41.0	27.4
I think that the Multilingual School will be successful	68.0	50.4	47.4	68.0	42.6	25.1
It will be a good idea if secondary education is also part of the Multilingual School Project.	63.1	44.1	52.3	41.3	33.7	29.8
The Multilingual School respects the right of the child to receive school education in its own language.	48.7	48.2	36.0	32.5	30.8	17.8
If in my neighborhood Papiamento courses are offered, I will subscribe for sure.	58.8	40.0	46.3	32.1	32.2	17.1
Total average	73.1	54.9	54.8	50.7	42.5	28.9

Spa=Spanish; Pap=Papiamento; Mul=multilingual; Other language; Eng=English; Dut=Dutch

Independent Sample T-tests were also performed using pairs of languages related to each of the six factors. This test allowed us to compare the means of Papiamento to the means of Dutch, English, Spanish, Other and Multilingual and determine whether there were significant patterns. The results are presented in the following tables, with the p-value, which represents the calculated probability that chance factors are accountable for the result. A level of 0.05 was taken to establish significance. In Table 13 an overview of the results of the performed t-tests is presented.

Table 13 Differences between languages compared for 6 factors (F) based on independent sample t-test

	F1		F2		F3		F4		F5		F6	
	M	DfS	M	DfS	M	DfS	M	DfS	M	DfS	M	DfS
Papiamento	3.91		2.94		4.77		2.92		4.76		3.89	
Dutch	3.08	.83***	1.72	1.22***	3.92	.85***	2.89	.03	3.92	.84***	2.83	1.06***
Papiamento	3.91		2.94		4.77		2.92		4.76		3.89	
English	3.66	.25	2.59	.35	4.14	.63***	3.80	.98**	4.16	.60***	3.37	.52**
Papiamento	3.91		2.94		4.77		2.92		4.76		3.89	
Spanish	4.16	.25**	2.59	.35***	4.64	.13**	3.50	.58***	4.69	.07	3.84	.05
Papiamento	3.91		2.94		4.77		2.92		4.76		3.89	
Other	3.86	.05	2.89	.05	4.28	.49***	3.51	.59*	4.11	.65***	3.56	.33*
Papiamento	3.91		2.94		4.77		2.92		4.76		3.89	
Multilingual	3.90	.01	2.73	.21*	4.60	.17***	3.25	.33**	4.53	.23***	3.80	.095

*=p<.05; **=p<.01; ***p<.001, two-tailed p-value M=Mean; DfS=Difference in Score

F1=Attitudes towards PSML; F2=Attitudes towards students' performance in Dutch; F3=Attitudes towards appreciation of Papiamento in the community; F4=Attitudes towards English in education; F5=Attitudes towards Papiamento as official and national language of Aruba; F6=Attitudes towards Papiamento's role and use in community and education.

Table 13 shows that, as far as F1 Attitudes towards PSML was concerned, the t-test indicated that there was a significant difference in the mean scores between Papiamento speakers ($M = 3.91$) and Dutch speakers ($M = 3.08$) and between Papiamento speakers and Spanish speakers ($M = 4.16$) related to attitudes towards PSML. These findings showed that the Dutch speakers had the least positive attitudes and the Spanish speakers the most positive attitudes towards the educational innovations which the Proyecto Scol Multilingual was piloting in schools in Aruba. Spanish-speaking parents who had no political, cultural or linguistic ties to the Netherlands or the Dutch language were the most positive group towards introducing Papiamento in the school system. For them, Papiamento, the majority language, was the key to integration, while Dutch as a minority language, had no social function.

With regard to F2 Attitudes towards students' performance in Dutch, the Dutch-speaking parents had the lowest mean ($M=1.72$) compared to Papiamento-speaking parents ($M=2.94$); this difference was significant ($p<.001$). That the Dutch-speaking parents' attitudes towards the statements related to this factor differed so much from that of the Papiamento group and also from that of the other language groups is a consequence of the fact that the Dutch children were the only group that had been receiving formal education in their own language and therefore had not been experiencing the difficulties that children from the other languages groups were experiencing.

In the case of F3 Attitudes towards appreciation of Papiamento in the community, the Independent Sample T-test showed that the means for Papiamento ($M=4.77$) were significantly higher ($p<.001$) compared to those for Dutch ($M=3.92$), English ($M=4.14$), Spanish ($M=4.64$) and Multilingual ($M=4.60$). However, it should be mentioned that all the language groups showed high percentages of agreement with the statements related to this factor. It was noticeable that the Papiamento group had the highest mean, but it seemed that the majority of the parents of all the language groups respected the fact that Papiamento is an official language in Aruba with an important position in the Aruban community.

Concerning F4 Attitudes towards English in education, the English-speaking parents ($M=3.80$), the Spanish-speaking parents ($M=3.50$) and the Multilingual parents ($M=3.25$) had a mean which was significantly lower than the Papiamento group (in all cases $p<.001$). The willingness to accept English as the language of education instead of Dutch was higher in these language groups than in the Papiamento-speaking group and certainly the Dutch-speaking group.

The mean differences for F5 Attitudes towards Papiamento as official and national language of Aruba, between the Papiamento-speaking parents ($M=4.76$) and the Dutch-speaking parents ($M=3.92$), the English-speaking parents ($M=4.16$) and the Multilingual parents ($M=4.76$) respectively, were significant. Again the Dutch language group has the lowest mean, indicating less favorable attitudes than those held by the other groups.

For F6 Attitudes towards Papiamentu's use and role in community and education, the mean differences between Papiamentu (M=3.89), Spanish (M=3.84) and Multilingual (M= 3.80), were not significant. The mean difference was significant between Papiamentu and Dutch (M=2.83), English (M=3.37) and Other (M=3.80). In general, however, the fact that Dutch speakers scored lowest here reflected the trend toward more negative attitudes in regard to an expanded role for Papiamentu that emerged on their part for the other factors as well. These crosstabulations reveal that Dutch speakers had the most difficulties of all groups accepting Papiamentu as an essential language for commerce and education in Aruba.

Conclusions and discussion

In this article, we reported on the results of a survey which we administered on the language attitudes of parents with children in primary schools in 2016. Parents are important educational stakeholders whose voices are often not listened to by policymakers. It is our hope that this survey will contribute to the development of a relationship of continuous communication between parents and those with the authority to formulate and carry out educational reform.

The analysis of the data gathered from the parents indicated that while age and gender did not play an influential role in determining their attitudes, level of education and mother tongue did, with those with the highest levels of education and those with Dutch as a mother tongue expressing the most negative attitudes toward Papiamentu and the highest levels of satisfaction with the present Dutch-oriented education system.

For F1 Attitudes towards Proyecto Scol Multilingual (PSML) the survey showed that most parents of all the language groups, except the Dutch group, were very positive toward PSML and wanted PSML to be extended to the school of their child and to the secondary schools. Although they lacked specific information about PSML, they understood that their children would perform better in a PSML school with Papiamentu, the native or the second language of the majority their children as the language of instruction. 73.8% of the parents applauded the fact that the teacher of their child used Papiamentu to explain material in class. 74.7% said Papiamentu must be a subject and 62.7% favored Papiamentu as language of instruction in primary school, while 69.2% said Papiamentu must be a subject and 49.4% favored Papiamentu as language of instruction in secondary school. 30% of the parents indicated that their children had problems with the Dutch lessons at school, while 25% did not have an opinion on this question.

While the Papiamentu speakers and especially the Dutch speakers may have registered objections to English as the language of instruction, the other language groups and especially the English-speaking parents showed high levels of agreement with this idea. For all the language groups, except the Dutch speakers, English was reported to be a more accessible language than Dutch, with the following mean scores: P=2.9; D= 2.8; E= 3.8; S= 3.5; O=3.5; M=3.2.

The parents were also very positive about Papiamentu as the official and national language of Aruba. They stated that Papiamentu was vital for the identity and existence of the Aruban people (90.8%), that it was essential for the integration of newcomers (86.6%), and that all members of the community should master this language (90.9%). They indicated that not only must Papiamentu be promoted in the community (90.9%), but also that additional facilities for learning this language were indispensable (86.7%). The data showed that the younger generations of immigrant families were adopting Papiamentu as their first or second language. One consequence of this language shift was that Papiamentu was the only language on the island that was growing substantially as a first language, considering the number of speakers, despite the fact that at the time, Aruba did not have an official integration policy or a holistic language policy that encouraged newcomers to learn Papiamentu, and that Papiamentu was excluded from most of the educational system. Even though historically Papiamentu is the only language that has been excluded from education, it has the strongest position in the community and it is the most accessible language for enabling newcomers to integrate easily into the Aruban community. That said, we must be on guard against the death of languages such as Spanish on the island due to this type of shift. While PSML was designed to promote Papiamentu as the language of the majority, it also was designed to promote the other three major languages of Aruba, providing these students with as many opportunities as possible to maintain and expand their home-based informal competences in their heritage languages, as well as with maximal opportunities to acquire academic competences in them as well.

This survey demonstrates how important it is for parents to be involved in both the education of their children as well as in processes of educational reform. In the past, most parents have been hesitant to go public with their ideas, not because they are ignorant or indifferent, but due to the absence of safe, well-organized platforms designed to elicit their opinions and ideas. We contend that it is the responsibility of the schools, the school boards and the Department of Education to play a dynamic role in establishing and maintaining platforms and venues where parents can be informed and heard.

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BILINGUAL/MULTILINGUAL EDUCATION IN CURAÇAO, BOTSWANA, SAMOA AND THE US

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Abstract

In this article, the approach and performance of the educational system of Curaçao in relation to the island's multilingualism will be compared to bilingual/ multilingual educational programs in Botswana, Samoa, and the United States. By comparing these different educational approaches, Curaçao's performance will be evaluated based on the standards established for transitional bilingual programs. The results indicate that Curaçao's system is for the most part unsuccessful because it lacks important elements that all successful bilingual programs have. For the benefit of its students, Curaçao should adapt its program to the standards of more successful bilingual/ multilingual programs.

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Key terms: Bilingualism, multilingualism, bilingual/ multilingual education, education in Curaçao, second language acquisition, transitional bilingual/ multilingual education.

Introduction and background

At several times during my teaching career in Curaçao, I can remember being in shock and asking myself; "How can students get this far without learning basic instructional Dutch in a school system where Dutch is the almost exclusive language of instruction?" Dutch is such an important part of our education system, so I thought it was impossible to finish primary school and start secondary education without a certain level of proficiency. This has motivated me to work towards a better approach in our primary school system, with the dream of delivering well-prepared students to our secondary schools. Before beginning this discussion, some background information concerning the colonial history of language and education on the island is in order.

Curaçao is a small island in the Caribbean Sea, with a current population of some 150,000 people that was first conquered by the Spanish. The Spanish set up cattle

ranches, but after 15 years declared Curaçao, Aruba, and Bonaire, *islas inútiles* [useless islands] (all translations in this article are by the primary author, unless specified otherwise). In 1514, they ceased their cattle raising activities and transported most of the indigenous population of the so-called ABC islands (Aruba, Bonaire and Curaçao), to Hispaniola to work as enslaved laborers. This is how Curaçao lost most of its indigenous population. Due to its proximity to Latin America, the ABC islands have managed to maintain limited use of the Spanish language (Römer et al., 1977).

In 1634, Curaçao was conquered by the Dutch and by 1648 it had become one of the biggest and most profitable markets for the trade in the enslaved in the entire world. Sugar and salt were also traded in the markets on the island. Curaçao's population grew considerably due to the influx of African descended enslaved laborers. Papiamentu emerged as the Iberian lexifier creole language that most of the enslaved as well as much of the non-enslaved population used for most of their daily communication needs. Enslavement came to a slow end after 1863, following a series of revolts of the enslaved which led to the abolition of the slave trade. According to Römer et al. (1977), the freed slaves on the island continued to work for their former masters under dire conditions and insufficient wages since they did not have any other possible way to make a living. In the late 18th century, the Catholic Church was granted permission to start the formal education of the non-European descended population of the island. Previously, this had been forbidden by the masters out of fear that those of non-European descent might start believing they had equal rights to people of European descent. Because the majority of educators were Spanish-speakers from Catholic institutions in Latin America, and because the majority of the population of the island spoke the Iberian lexifier creole Papiamentu, most of whose words are derived from Spanish and Portuguese, the Catholic ministry used Papiamentu as the language of instruction in its schools (Römer et al., 1977). During the 19th century, Dutch colonial policy shifted definitively from a conscious exclusion of non-European descended people from access to Dutch language instruction to a conscious attempt to use formal instruction in Dutch as a way to discursively control their colonized populations. This led to Dutch replacing Papiamentu as the language of instruction in the schools (Oostindie, 2002). It was not until the late 20th century that Papiamentu would again become a part of the curriculum in the schools of Curaçao.

In the 1960s, the government of Curaçao decided to introduce Papiamentu, the home language of the majority of our students, into primary education as a language arts class. This included 30 minutes of class each day, resulting in students learning basic grammar and the orthography of Papiamentu (Wiel, 2010). This initiative evolved during the 1980s so that language classes in Papiamentu gained the status of a legitimate subject regularly taught in primary, secondary, and tertiary education, but Dutch, a foreign language for most of our students, remained the primary language of instruction.

During the 1980s, although Papiamentu was already introduced as a language arts class, there was constant talk and debate about making Papiamentu the language of instruction. In 1987, this resulted in the establishment of our first primary school Kolegio Erasmo (named after the Dutch philosopher Desiderius Erasmus) with Papiamentu as the language of instruction (Wiel, 2010; Martinus Arion, 2013). It took 15 more years to make Papiamentu an optional language of instruction for the rest of the primary schools in Curaçao.

In 2002, the government of Curaçao gave each primary school on the island the opportunity to choose its language of instruction. Four schools, Marnix School (VPCO), Dr. Albert Schweitzer school (VPCO), Vigdis Jonckheer Mensing College (RK), and Johan van Walbeeck School (DOS) chose to continue with Dutch as their language of instruction, with Papiamentu as a second language. The rest embarked on a new journey with Papiamentu as their language of instruction until the fifth grade, with Dutch being introduced from the beginning as a second language, and then as the language of instruction from the sixth grade onwards. Papiamentu is the mother tongue of the majority of Curaçaoans, and over the past few decades it has been given the status of an official language of the island, along with Dutch and English.

In 2008, the Minister of Education, Miss Omayra Leeflang, withdrew the 2002 agreement that made Papiamentu an official language of instruction (Ministerie van Onderwijs, Wetenschap, Cultuur & Sport, Sector Beleid, 2014). While many plans and potential agreements have been drafted concerning formal education in the three official languages of Curaçao, Papiamentu, Dutch, and English, none of them have been made official. As of 2018, some schools have chosen to continue with the system established in 2002, but due to the lack of consistent official guidance and policy, many have modified how it has been applied to better suit their student demographic. This has given schools a level of freedom that is unprecedented and can possibly be seen as a factor in our success or lack of success in reaching our goal of bilingual/ biliterate students.

The study upon which this article is based has as its main goal the comparison of the approach and performance of the educational system of Curaçao in relation to the island's multilingualism with bilingual/ multilingual educational programs in Botswana, Samoa, and the United States. This research has been carried out in order to evaluate Curaçao's current bilingual education program and its effectiveness in reaching the objectives set at the start of the program to help determine if it is the program best suited to the inhabitants of Curaçao. All of this is done with the intention of providing suggestions for improvements to Curaçao's current bilingual education program. The study has therefore been designed to answer the following research question: *Is the transitional bilingual program the best fit for Curaçao's education system, based on the goals, expectations, requirements, applications, and outcomes of the program?*

Due to the changes each school has made to the bilingual educational structures introduced in 2002, however, a comparison was first made between the Curaçaoan schools

that have chosen to use Papiamentu as their language of instruction, in order to determine how closely these modifications continue to follow the main rules, guidelines, and requirements of the original transitional bilingual program introduced by the Curaçao government in 2002. What has emerged from this comparison is that on the island all of the schools who are using Papiamentu officially as a language of instruction still maintain a transitional bilingual model. Therefore, similar transitional bilingual programs were selected in three other countries (Botswana, Samoa and the U.S.) as a standard for comparative evaluation and to give a broader view of the different possible applications of the program.

These comparisons were made based on a range of factors, including but not limited to: 1) the age of student upon entry into each transitional bilingual program; 2) the level of exposure to the second language taught as a target language through each transitional bilingual program; 3) the duration of each transitional bilingual program; 4) the status of L1 and L2 during the course of each transitional bilingual program; 5) the educational goals set at the beginning of each transitional bilingual program; and 6) the results in terms of students' performance in each transitional bilingual program.

Curaçao

One of the biggest challenges that Curaçao has faced in relation to the use of Dutch as the main language of instruction in the schools is the level of the population's exposure to the Dutch language. Although Dutch is an official language, it is not widely used, except in the most formal domains, such as the courts of law and the education system. Children therefore do not often come into contact with Dutch on a daily basis in their environment outside of school, with only 3% reporting that they always speak Dutch outside of school, only 21% of students reporting that they speak Dutch often outside of school, and 76% of students reporting that they never or only sometimes speak Dutch outside of school (Geelen, 2010, p. 30). This means that Dutch cannot yet be considered a strong first or second language on the island, and that it can only be considered to be a foreign language for the great majority of the population.

Curaçao has opted for a transitional bilingual educational model at the primary level in order to achieve high levels of proficiency in Dutch to prepare students for monolingual instruction in Dutch at the higher levels of education. This approach has reinforced public misconceptions that Dutch language is the 'language of success' while also reinforcing the lack of acknowledgement and valorization of Papiamentu in the public consciousness. Although levels of Papiamentu are higher now among students in these programs compared to the levels before the implementation of these transitional bilingual programs, their levels in Dutch are equal to but no better than the levels in Dutch of the students who attend all but the most elite monolingual Dutch schools, where many of the students speak Dutch as a first language, because they come from Dutch-speaking families.

From the sixth grade onward, the great majority of primary school students in Curaçao, both those who have attended monolingual Dutch schools as well as those who have attended bilingual Papiamentu/ Dutch schools, are obliged to continue their studies monolingually in Dutch, with Dutch as the only language of instruction, while Papiamentu continues to be taught as a subject. Thus, the bilingual schools in Curaçao can be said to be following a transitional model, where instruction in Papiamentu serves the sole purpose of preparing them for monolingual education in Dutch. The situation in the schools in relation to the appropriateness of monolingual education in Dutch is far from satisfactory, with 69% of students reporting that they never or only sometimes speak Dutch at school, versus 31% who report that they speak Dutch often or always at school (Geelen, 2010, p. 30).

At the end of primary school, the students have to pass exams for Dutch, Papiamentu, and mathematics, which determine the track of secondary education to which they will be assigned. As is the case in the Netherlands, the secondary school system in Curaçao is strictly stratified into a number of tracks, only the highest of which prepare students for academic careers and university education. The other tracks prepare students for various levels of professional and manual employment. Educational policy dictates that almost all of these tracks be taught exclusively in Dutch.

Botswana

Botswana is a country in southern Africa with a population of some 2.3 million people. Botswana has one national language, Setswana spoken by approximately 78% of the population. Botswana also has one official language, English, spoken mostly in the business world and urban areas. Apart from these two languages, Botswana has a total of 29 other languages spoken by its population. These 29 languages are spoken as first languages in different parts of the country. Only 2.9% of the population speaks English as their first language (Parsons, 2018).

In 1966, Botswana achieved its independence from British rule and established its own democracy. This was a new start for the country. They considered their greatest asset to be their people and started to reform their education system to prepare their people to succeed in the 21st century (Parsons, 2018; Adeyemi, 2009).

Botswana sees access to basic education as a fundamental human right. It also believes that the role of education should be: 1) to develop and maintain a society that promotes moral and social values; 2) to respect the cultures and languages of different ethnic groups within the country; 3) to promote unity; reject discrimination and uphold social justice (Republic of Botswana, 1993). The state has taken it upon itself to provide and create opportunities for all its citizens to get an education and this has manifested itself in a bilingual education system, with Setswana as the first language and English as the second language.

For Botswana, this has resulted in a lack of consideration for Botswana's language diversity. In Botswana, there are currently 31 languages being spoken, and setting up education in only two of those languages comes at a big cost to the other 29 languages being spoken with strong roots in the community. Botswana has realized that by only offering education in Setswana and English, it has been undermining the languages of the rest of the population and with it, their cultures, their identities, and their values, (Adeyemi, 2009). As stated by UNESCO (1968), each child should have the right to be educated in their mother tongue (see also Adeyemi, 2009).

Botswana has ten years of Primary and Secondary education. The first 7 years are taught at a primary school, followed by 3 years at a secondary school. Primary school provides all instruction and classes in Setswana for the first 2 years of education, grades 1 and 2. This is followed by an early and rapid transition to English as the language of instruction in grades 3 through 7, with Setswana as the only subject not given in English. Secondary school instruction is monolingual in English. This makes Botswana an example of a transitional bilingual program with an early exit after only 2 years into monolingual education system in English.

Botswana was chosen as a point of comparison for the present study because it is similar in many ways to Curaçao, in that it adheres to a transitional bilingual program whose goal is monolingual instruction in a colonial language that is mostly used in the business environment and urban areas, making it more of a foreign language than a second language for the overwhelming majority of the students, who have little or no exposure to English outside of the classroom.

A great challenge for Botswana that is to a lesser extent shared by Curaçao is the diversity in the first languages the children enter school with. For many children, Setswana is not their first language. This makes education more difficult because it is in a language they do not understand and at the same time they are intensely learning yet another (foreign) language, and in order for them to succeed they have to raise their level of proficiency in both in a short amount of time while starting with both at level zero. In Curaçao, however, this problem is to some extent mitigated by the fact that, even those children who come from non-Papiamentu speaking homes have substantial exposure to Papiamentu from a very early age, meaning that for them Papiamentu is either a strong second language or even a first language alongside the language most commonly used at home.

In response to this challenge, Botswana set up a plan/vision in which it established the educational goals it wanted to reach in 2016, which included a language policy that would recognize, support, and strengthen Botswana's wealth of different languages and cultural traditions within the education system. It further emphasized that no Motswana (citizen of Botswana) would be disadvantaged in the education system as a result of speaking a mother tongue that differs from the country's two official languages (English and Setswana) (Adeyemi, 2009).

United States

The United States of America (hereafter U.S.), is part of the continent of North America and has a population of some 333 million people, who are divided among its 50 constituent states the official language of the U.S. is English, spoken as a first language by some 260 million of its inhabitants, so that some 65 million of Americans speak a first language other than English, with some 41 million of speaking Spanish as their first language. This makes Spanish the second most spoken language in the U.S., so that while the first language of the U.S. is English, the second language *de facto* language of the U.S. is Spanish, even though it has no legal status as an official language anywhere in the country.

The U.S has an educational system which is, in most cases, divided into three main parts; primary school, middle school, and high school. Primary school usually starts in kindergarten and extends to 5th or 6th grade, for a total of 6 or 7 years. Middle school usually includes 7th and 8th grades, but sometimes 6th and/or 9th grade as well, for a total of from 3 to 5 years. High school usually consists of grades 9, 10, 11, and 12 grade, for a total of 4 years. However, the different levels are divided, however, all students normally spend a total of 13 years in primary and secondary education. (UNESCO, 2006, p. 14). In the United States, bilingual education varies from one state to another and, even within the same state, from one local government to another. In almost all cases where a school does provide bilingual education, the focus on immigrant English language learners (ELLs) who are born to immigrant parents or who have immigrated to the U.S. with their parents at a range of different ages and on preparing them for transition into a monolingual English system. Most transitional bilingual programs in the U.S. follow an early exit model, where the child uses their mother tongue in one capacity or another for an initial 2 to 3 years of formal education, in order help them to learn English, so that they can then transition into English monolingual education.

In contrast to Dutch in Curaçao and English in Botswana, however, virtually all ELLs in the U.S. are immigrants and therefore have significant exposure to English before they enter school, so that they can be said to speak English as a strong second language. The goal of bilingual education is therefore to bridge the gap in their English knowledge in a short period of time, enabling them to transition into mainstream education as soon as possible, thereby giving importance to the second language and not their first language. The first language is used solely as a means of achieving proficiency in the second language and proficiency in the first language is not seen as a goal in and of itself. The first language and culture of the student are not seen as important.

Transitional bilingual education in the U.S. usually involves ELLs being placed in a separate class based on their proficiency in English. Thus, the basic setup of the American school system is purely monolingual in English, with special classes added on at the primary and sometimes middle school levels wherever there may be students who are not proficient in English in order to give them a 2- or 3-year period to assimilate.

Strictly speaking, the U.S. does not offer bilingual education. Instead, it offers students a few years to join mainstream education because the focus is not bilingualism but assimilation. With the passage of the infamous ‘No Child Left Behind’ (NCLB) legislation by the U.S. Congress in 2001, the U.S. terminated its more progressive and inclusive Bilingual Education Act (BEA), and replaced it with a more reactionary and exclusive federal education policy that offers no support for native language learning, but rather emphasizes the teaching of English only and mandates that all students, including ELLs, are tested yearly in English (New World Encyclopedia, 2013).

Samoa

Samoa is an island nation in the central South Pacific Ocean, among the westernmost of the islands of Polynesia. Samoa gained its independence from New Zealand in 1962. Samoa has a population of roughly 200,000 people, with 93 percent of Polynesian heritage, 7 percent of mixed European and Polynesian descent (so called Euronesians) and less than 1 per cent of European descent. The national language of Samoa is Samoan. The second language is English. Samoan and English are both used in the legislature as required by the constitution of Samoa. (Foster, 2018) English is mainly used in Samoa’s tourism industry, in all facets of the government, and as the language of international trade.

In 1995, Samoa introduced a new educational policy, that included transitional bilingual education. The government asserted that their prime objective for Samoan education should be the development of bilingual individuals, fully literate in Samoan and English. The intention of the implementation of the policy was that of an additive bilingual program, where both the Samoan language and English would be equally important and carried through the entire educational system. The new policy involved an initial three years of full Samoan education to build the children’s foundation in their mother tongue, followed by two years of transition, in which Samoan would be used as the language of instruction, complemented by English as a subject. From grade 7 onward, English would become the language of instruction for the rest of their secondary education. (Ministry of Education, Sports, and Culture, 2006).

This new additive bilingual policy was designed to replace the former transitional bilingual program, in which Samoan had been relegated to a lesser status than English in the perception of the citizens, including the teachers and students. Due in part to this transitional approach, Samoans witnessed significant loss of language, culture and identity. At the same time, students had been put in a position of eventually having to learn monolingually in English, a language in which they had not acquired proficiency. Moreover, their first language skills did not develop enough to be used to help them in this task. Samoans’ reaction to this state of affairs played a big part in efforts to rectify the situation. The governmental authorities came to the realization that the transitional bilingual education policy was not helping Samoa reach its educational goals, and they then went

about setting up a new additive bilingual system in which both Samoan and English would have the same value. (Ministry of Education, Sports, and Culture, 2006).

Samoa has set up a team of researchers to come up with an ideal solution for their educational system and a bilingual educational system that is additive and not subtractive as the transitional bilingual program has been. Developments in education are pending (Ministry of Education, Sports, and Culture, 2006).

Methodology and results

To answer the research question: *Is the transitional bilingual program the best fit for Curaçao's education system, based on the goals, expectations, requirements, applications, and outcomes of the program?* a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods was used. In many cases, archival sources were accessed from the different governmental institutions in each country tasked with education. For each country, the most recently published data available was used. The following tables were constructed based on these data, as well as on the recommended norms for bilingual transitional programs found in Gonzales (1996).

Duration of primary and secondary education

In Figure 1, the duration of primary and secondary education for each country is displayed. All countries except Botswana have a total of 13 years of primary and second

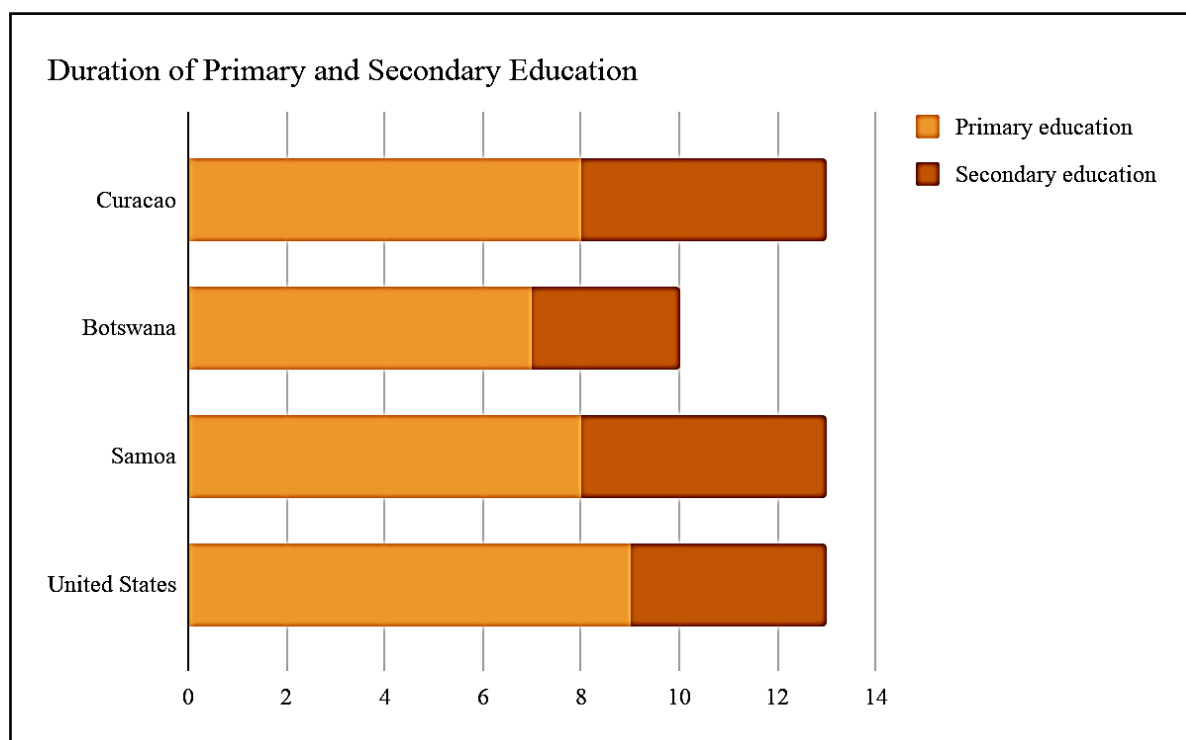


Figure 1 Duration of primary and secondary education. Sources: Curaçao - Ministerie van Onderwijs, Wetenschap, Cultuur & Sport, Sector Beleid (2014); Botswana - Adeyemi (2009); Samoa - Ministry of Education, Sports and Culture (2006), United States - New World Encyclopedia (2013).

ary education, with secondary education beginning with the 8th or 9th grade level. In Botswana, the total number of years of primary plus secondary education is 10, with secondary education commencing at the 7th grade level.

Age of students upon entry into transitional bilingual programs

The data represented in Figure 2 demonstrates that children first enter transitional bilingual programs at the ages of 4 (Curaçao and U.S.), 5 (Samoa) or 6 (Botswana). All of these figures fall within the recommended range for entry into transitional bilingual programs of from age 4 to age 6 (Gonzales, 1996). The discrepancies in these figures reflect

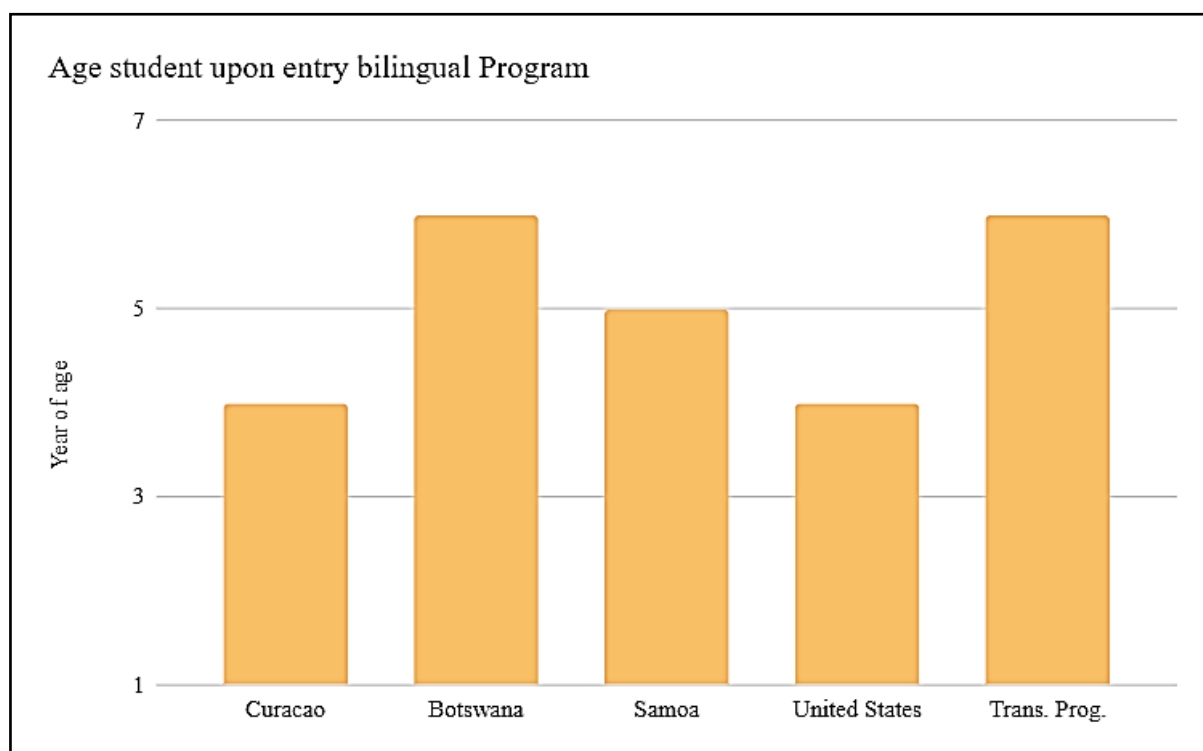


Figure 2 Age of students upon entry into bilingual programs. Sources: Curaçao - Ministerie van Onderwijs, Wetenschap, Cultuur & Sport, Sector Beleid (2014); Botswana - Adeyemi (2009); Samoa - Ministry of Education, Sports and Culture (2006), United States - New World Encyclopedia (2013), Recommended norms for transitional bilingual programs - Gonzales (1996).

the extent to which each country considered makes provision for pre-primary level education. In the U.S., provision is also made for children who immigrate to the country after the ages of 4 to 6, and as a result join a transitional bilingual program at a later stage in their education.

Level of exposure to the second language/ post-transition language of instruction

Level of exposure to the second language, i.e., the post-transition language of instruction is one of the biggest predictors of success for any transitional bilingual program. The

recommended levels of exposure call for a high level of exposure both inside and outside the classroom (Gonzales, 1996) for students to reach native-level proficiency in the second language. Figure 3 demonstrates that the United States is the only country which provides high enough levels of exposure, this is because they offer bilingual education only to immigrants to help them transition to the country's native language. Because transitional bilingual programs were originally designed for immigrant populations, the

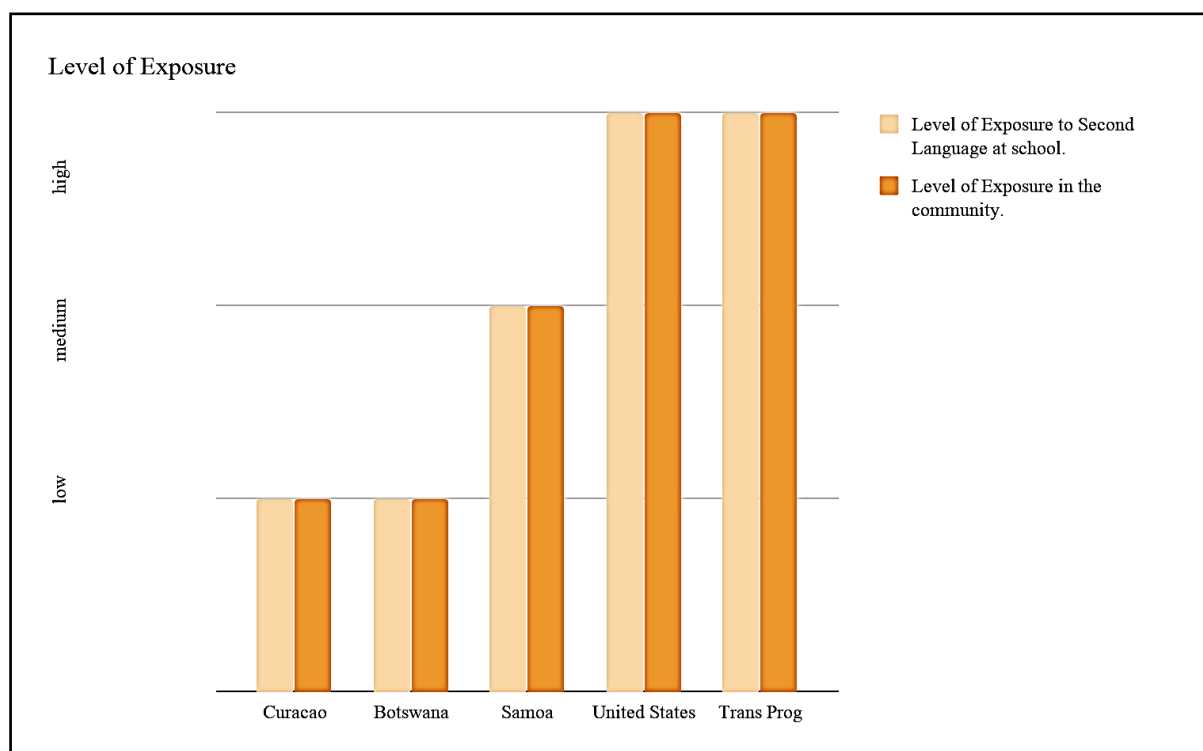


Figure 3 Level of exposure to the second language/ post-transition language of instruction. Sources: Curaçao - Ministerie van Onderwijs, Wetenschap, Cultuur & Sport, Sector Beleid (2014); Botswana - Adeyemi (2009); Samoa - Ministry of Education, Sports and Culture (2006), United States - New World Encyclopedia (2013), Recommended norms for transitional bilingual programs - Gonzales (1996).

U.S. is the only country included in this study where the target population corresponds to the population for which transitional bilingual programs were envisioned. This is not the case in the other countries under study, where transitional bilingual programs are being targeted at the entire student population, immigrant and non-immigrant alike, for the majority of whom the post-transition language of instruction is a foreign language, used rarely by the students outside the classroom. While in the U.S. immigrant and non-immigrant students regularly use English in everyday life, this is less the case in Samoa and not the case at all in Curaçao and Botswana.

Stages of transition to the second language/ post-transition language of instruction

Figure 4 demonstrates the differences between the transitional bilingual programs in the countries under study regarding stages of transition to the second language/ post-transition language of instruction. Transitional bilingual programs were originally designed to help students to transition into monolingual education in a strong second language. What this means is that most of the effort is focused on acquiring the second

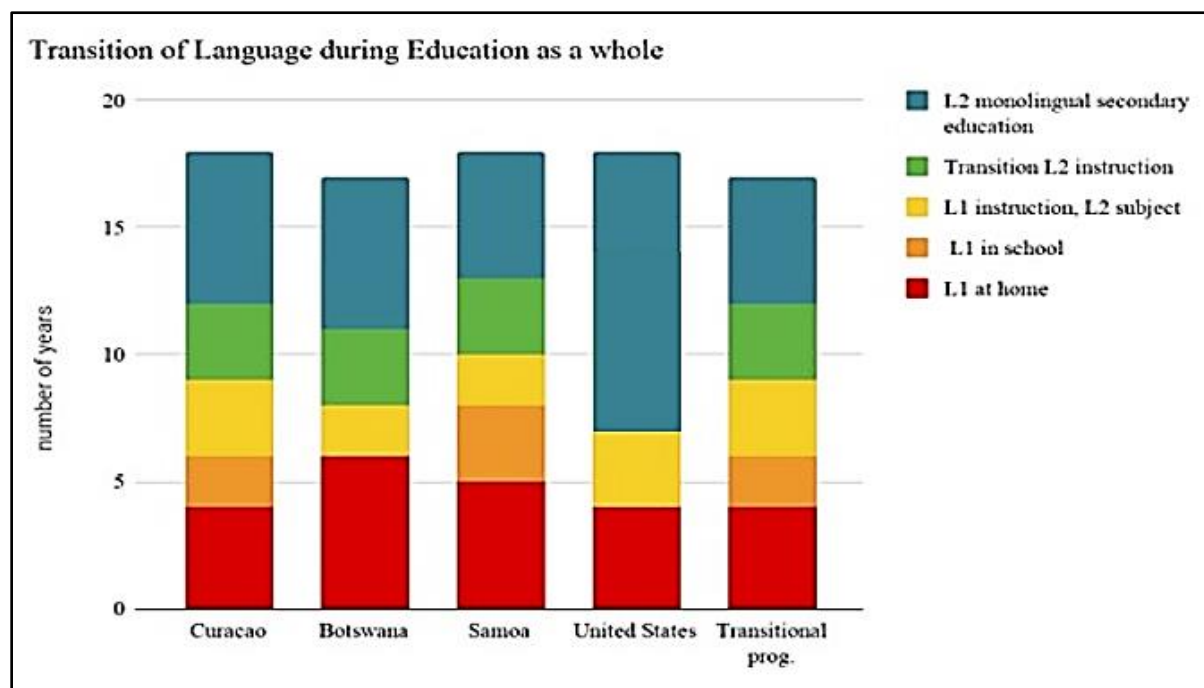


Figure 4 Stages of transition to the second language/ post-transition language of instruction. Sources: Curaçao - Ministerie van Onderwijs, Wetenschap, Cultuur & Sport, Sector Beleid (2014); Botswana - Adeyemi (2009); Samoa - Ministry of Education, Sports and Culture (2006), United States - New World Encyclopedia (2013), Recommended norms for transitional bilingual programs - Gonzales (1996).

Language with little attention paid to the first language. At the stage where the child first learns to read and write, the first language is used as the language of instruction and of initial literacy, alongside many hours of instruction in the second language. This is to give the students ample time to learn and form a base in their first language, but at the same time acquire sufficient language proficiency to allow them to transfer to monolingual education in the second language after a few more years of transition.

The recommended norms for transitional bilingual programs (Gonzales, 1996) therefore call for only one or two initial years of schooling in the students' first language, followed by some four to five years of transition from the students' first language to the second language/ post-transition language of instruction, followed by monolingual instruction in the post-transition second language for the rest of the student's schooling. Given that

the U.S. is the only country among those included in the study where transitional bilingual programs are aimed at immigrant students, i.e., the student population for which such programs were initially conceptualized, one might expect that the U.S. would also conform to these norms. Initially, under the BEA these norms were indeed used in the design of such programs in the U.S., but after the BEA was replaced by the NCLB policies, the number of years where the student's first language plays any role in the classroom were drastically reduced to a total of some 2 years, after which students are expected to 'sink or swim' in purely monolingual classrooms. Botswana seems to have adopted a model similar to that adopted by the U.S. under NCLB, while Curaçao and Samoa have adopted models whose stages of transition conform best to the norms for transitional bilingual programs, even though their target student populations are not those for whom those norms were intended.

Percentage of time spent at each stage of transitional bilingual schooling

Based on the data used to construct Figure 4, Figure 5 illustrates the percentage of the entire span of primary and secondary schooling during which students spend time in transitional bilingual programs in each of the countries included in the study. While the

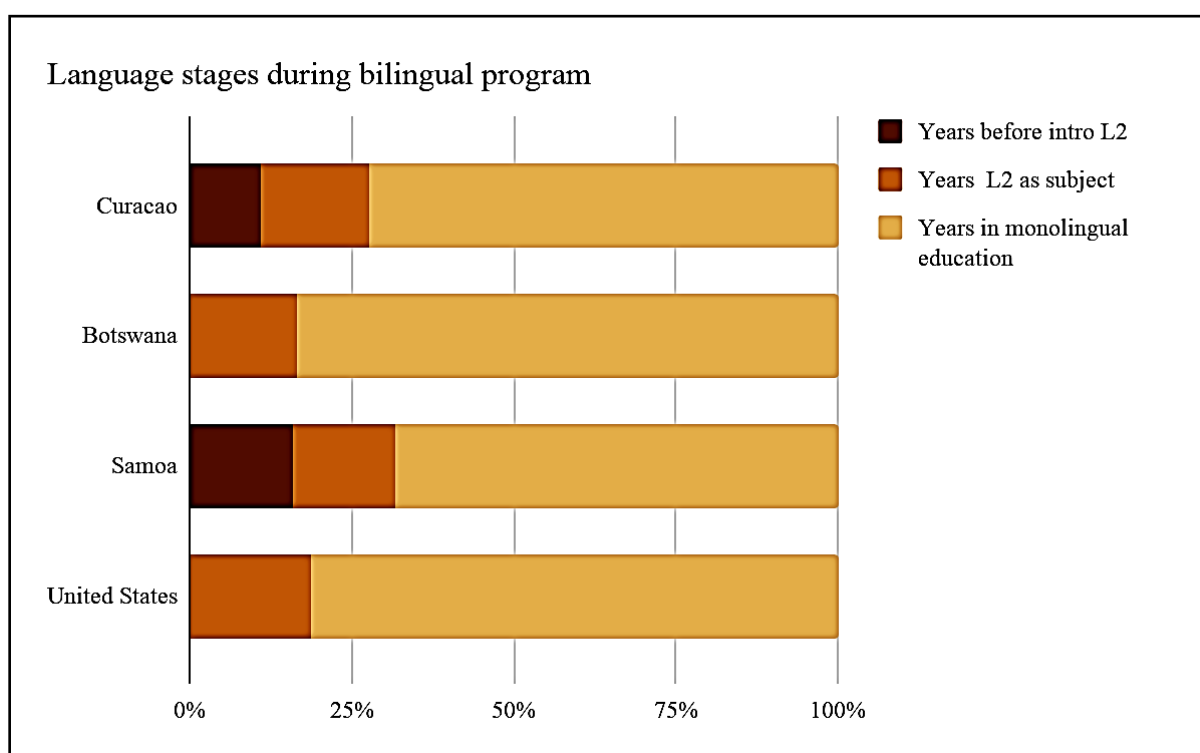


Figure 5 Percentage of time spent at each stage of transitional bilingual schooling. Sources: Curaçao - Ministerie van Onderwijs, Wetenschap, Cultuur & Sport, Sector Beleid (2014); Botswana - Adeyemi (2009); Samoa - Ministry of Education, Sports and Culture (2006), United States - New World Encyclopedia (2013).

U.S. and Botswana (around 20%) provide students with less than the recommended percentage of time devoted to transitional bilingual programming, the percentages for Curaçao and Samoa (more than 35%) conform better to the norms for transitional bilingual education in this respect.

Discussion and conclusions

The levels of language proficiency that have been set as the levels that are realistically reachable for students in Curaçao at the end of primary school are Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR) Level A2 in Dutch and CEFR level B1 in Papiamentu (Kibbelaar, 2012) (Ministerie van Onderwijs, Wetenschap, Cultuur & Sport, Sector Beleid, 2014). Language users at CEFR A2, the level set for Dutch, are those who can understand routinely used phrases and simple instructions and can communicate with simple routinely used phrases, such as asking to use the bathroom, saying if one is able to understand what has been said, or explaining that one is unable to do a given language exercise.

In the primary school classrooms on the island, most students, in both the traditional monolingual programs and the transitional bilingual programs, are indeed able to reach Level A2 in Dutch, but most students in both groups have not progressed beyond CEFR Level A2 in Dutch by the end of their primary schooling. Level A2 is woefully insufficient, however, for the successful transition to monolingual education in Dutch that they are expected to make thereafter. In order to make this transition, students instead need to have at the very least reached the significantly higher CEFR Level B1, at which language users have to be able to understand a wide range of demanding, longer texts and recognize implicit meanings, as well as to be able to write answers that demonstrate their knowledge. Attainment of CEFR Level B1 is the minimum necessary for students to be able to read textbooks in Dutch in all of their subjects, from geography to mathematics. One could even argue that CEFR Level B1 in Dutch is insufficient and that the even more advanced CEFR Level B2 is the level of proficiency needed for the transition to monolingual instruction in Dutch, because it is only at CEFR Level B2 that students gain confidence in their knowledge and understand enough to be able to relay back the important points and summarize what has been read, heard and done in the classroom. Unfortunately, this is also the situation for the other three countries that we have included in this study. All report that their students generally reach a level of proficiency in the second language/ post-transition language of instruction that is reasonable based on their limited exposure to this second language and/ or the limited time devoted to bilingual instruction in their schools. In all of these countries, this has led to a broken system where the language transition is never fully completed, with the first language being used unofficially wherever possible and permissible in all primary school classrooms to bridge the gaps in understanding in countries such as Curaçao, Botswana and

Samoa on the one hand, and with immigrant students suffering from higher failure and attrition rates than non-immigrant students in the U.S. on the other.

In the secondary schools of Curaçao, Botswana and Samoa teachers have to make extensive use of the first language to help the students to understand complex educational texts, otherwise most students would not succeed in their secondary education. In Curaçao, it is only when the students finish secondary school that most of them have attained a CEFR Level B1 in Dutch (Croes, 2018). While in the European Netherlands, 65% of students reach CEFR Level B1 at the end of primary school, in Curaçao only 17% reach the same level.

Transitional bilingual education was originally devised as a means to integrate immigrant populations into monolingual mainstream education in the dominant language of their adopted country, based on their significant exposure to that dominant language outside of the classroom. This is the case in the U.S., but in Curaçao, Botswana, and Samoa, the second language/ post-transition language of instruction used in their education systems is not a language widely spoken in the environment of the students outside of school. The level of exposure provided in the community to this second is therefore very low, so that this language is a completely foreign language for most of them (Elbaum, Berg & Dodd, 1993). The transitional bilingual educational framework was not designed to work for foreign language acquisition, since it relies on high levels of exposure to the second language provided in the community as well as at school (Croes, 2018).

In Curaçao, Botswana, and Samoa, the level of exposure to the second language/ post-transition language of instruction used in their education system is also limited at school. Many teachers are not fluent enough in this second language to use it consistently without making major mistakes and/ or do not have the level of confidence to use the language to the best of their abilities (Croes, 2018), with teachers routinely reverting back to their own and their students' mother tongue to explain the subject being taught when the students do not understand it. As mentioned above, the reported levels of students' use of Dutch on school premises is also very low (Geelen, 2010).

The expressed goals of the transitional bilingual educational programs in Curaçao, Samoa and Botswana go beyond higher levels in the second language to include higher levels of proficiency in the first language as a basis for better second language acquisition. These countries want to give their students' first languages the significant acknowledgement and value that they deserve in their education systems. By following the most basic principle of education, which is to use what is already known by the students to teach them what they do not yet know, they also want to give their students an honest chance to achieve academic success by providing them with a foundation in their first language upon which they might better learn every subject and any other language. But because transitional bilingual education was never intended to pay much attention to the students' first language, the results in all three countries in terms of proficiency in the

first language have predictably been as disappointing as they have been in relation to proficiency in the second language. Curaçao, Samoa and Botswana are all now realizing that the ways in which transitional bilingual programs have been designed and implemented does not give value to their first languages, their cultures, and their people.

The United States, however, uses the transitional bilingual program to help immigrant children transition into mainstream monolingual education, with little or no importance placed on these students' first languages. Therefore, in contrast to Curaçao, Samoa and Botswana, it can be said that the U.S. is the only country included in the present study where transitional bilingual programs are being used with the student populations that they were designed for. Because these immigrant children live in a country where most people speak English as their first language, their level of exposure to English is high. Moreover, in the U.S., most teachers have native fluency in the language that they are using as the monolingual language of instruction. But because of anti-immigrant politics, transitional bilingual programs in the U.S. have been deliberately whittled down over the years to the point where, even though they are targeting their intended populations, they are not succeeding in preparing immigrant students for success in their monolingual post-transitional classrooms.

In light of all of our results and analysis, we conclude that the answer to our research question: *Is the transitional bilingual program the best fit for Curaçao's education system, based on the goals, expectations, requirements, applications, and outcomes of the program?* is no. It is no, because in Curaçao, students, both those who are in transitional bilingual primary school programs and those who are in traditional monolingual Dutch primary school programs, do not receive sufficient exposure to Dutch both outside and inside the primary school classroom to be able to succeed in a monolingual Dutch secondary school system. Because the transitional bilingual model was never intended for a country like Curaçao, this is no surprise. Despite this fact, the transitional bilingual model has not only been misguidedly promoted as the key to greater proficiency in the second language Dutch, but also as the key to greater proficiency in the first language Papiamentu, another goal for which the transitional bilingual model was never intended to achieve. Instead, because transitional bilingual programs by their very nature devalue the linguistic and cultural practices associated with the first language in order to promote the linguistic and cultural practices associated with the second language, they cannot be used to reverse colonial and neo-colonial depreciation of Papiamentu and Curaçaoan culture.

One possible solution to this problem would be to replace the transitional bilingual model in Curaçao with a model based on additive bilingualism and translanguaging that are not limited to a few years of primary school, but instead become the norm rather than the exception in all classrooms at the primary and secondary levels. One framework which can be utilized in this process is that of maintenance bilingual education, also known as late-exit or developmental bilingual education, which would be based on the

use of both Papiamentu and Dutch as languages of instruction over the entire span of primary and secondary education in such a way as to help students develop academic competences in both their first language as well their second language, with the goal of making them fully bilingual and bi-literate (Roberts, 1995). Curaçao can also greatly benefit from a Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) approach that allows for a broader development of the students' vocabulary, resulting in full proficiency instead of limited proficiency based on lack of exposure, combined with a translanguaging approach that allows simultaneous learning of vocabulary in both languages. Given the rising importance of Spanish, and especially English on the island, this framework, with its reliance on translanguaging, could easily be extended from a bilingual to a multilingual program.

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**SOUTHERN EPISTEMOLOGIES, SOUTHERN
PRAXES SOCIETY, LANGUAGE AND CULTURE
IN THE DUTCH CARIBBEAN AND BEYOND**

MOVEMENTU DI HENDE MUHÉ NA BONEIRU: UN INTRODUKSHON¹

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Resumen

E artíkulo aki ta studia eksperensianan di hende muhé na Boneiru i ta purba indentifiká e korientenan prinsipal den e movementu di hende muhé for di añanan 70 di siglo 20. A akumulá dato na 2021 i 2022 den e komunidat boneriano entrevistando un kantidat di 28 hende muhé ku un distribushon amplio di edat (29-92 aña). Resultado di e estudio akí, ta mostra ku durante di tres generashon ku aktividat persistente di movementu di hende muhé boneriano kambio relashoná ku igualdat di género a tuma lugá i por konsiderá e movementu femenino akí komo un agente di kambio den e sosiedat isleño di Boneiru.

Palabra klave: Boneiru, movementu di hende muhé, historia oral, agente di kambio

Abstract

This article reports on a research project regarding the experiences of Bonairean women who joined the movement for universal human rights, specifically women's rights, and tries to identify major trends. Data were collected in 2021 and 2022 by interviewing a total of 28 Bonairean women over a wide age range (29-92 years). The results of this

¹ E kontribushon akí ta basá riba un artíkulo publiká anteriormente, titulá, 'The women's movement in Bonaire: An introduction' (Allen & Bala, 2024) ku a keda editá pa e outornan i tradusí (Rudy Domacasse) na papiamentu.

² Na 2021-2022 a ehekutá e proyekto di historia oral akí tokante movementu di hende muhé na Boneiru, ku ta parti di un proyekto finansiá pa Nederlandse Organisatie voor Wetenschappelijk Onderzoek (NWO) [Organisashon Hulandes pa Investigashon Sientífiko] yamá 'Cultural Practices of Citizenship under Conditions of Fragmented Sovereignty: Gendered and Sexual Citizenship in Curaçao and Bonaire [Práktika Kultural di Siudadania bou di Kondishon di Soberania Fragmentá: siudadania seksual i di género na Kòrsou i Boneiru' (2017-2023).

study show that over three generations, the persistent organized activities of Bonairean women have resulted in changes related to gender equality and that the women's movement can be considered to be an agent of change in the society of the island of Bonaire.

Key terms: Bonaire, women's movement, oral history, agents of change

Introdukshon

Boneiru ta un isla ku un superfisio di kasi 290 km². For di 2010, e ta un entidat públiko atministrá komo un munisipio ultramar spesial di Hulanda, huntu ku e islanan Sint Eustatius i Saba. E ta keda den e parti sùit meimei di Laman Karibe, 80 kilometer for di e kosta nort wèst di Venezuela. Den e dékada di 1970, hende muhé na Boneiru a djòin e ola di movementu pa derecho di hende muhé rònt mundu i kolektivamente i públikamente a kuminsá duna atenshon na desigualdat i inhustisia di género. Den transkurso di aña, e movementu akí a pasa den vários kambio. E artíkulo akí ta studia eksperensia di hende muhé na Boneiru i ta purba identifiká e korientenan prinsipal den e movementu di hende muhé for di e añanan 70 di siglo 20. E ta basá prinsipalmente riba entrevista di historia oral ku a hasi na 2021 i 2022 ku tres generashon di hende muhé boneriano na vanguardia di e movementu di hende muhé, kendenan a hunga un ròl importante den e prosesonan di konsientisashon ku ta bai huntu ku esaki.

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Diseño di e investigashon

Pa por a atkerí dato válido ku suficiente ekstenshon, den un komunidad relativamente limitá na kantidat di habitante, a entrevistá na tur 28 persona. E promé grupo ku a entrevistá a konsistí di 14 persona ku tabatin mas edat ku 60 aña, algun di nan tabata miembro di e diferente organisashonnan di hende muhé i Steering Committee, e plataforma koordinadó bou di kua e organisashonnan di hende muhé tabata kai. Algun di e hende muhé nan den e promé grupo akí no tabata direktamente enbolbí den un grupo di hende muhé organisá, sino tabata aktivista i pionero na nan propio manera den e áreanan di polítika, sindikalismo, bida sosial, òf kultura i arte. E di dos grupo a konsistí di hende muhé den e grupo di edat di 50 pa 60 aña, miéntras e di tres grupo a konsistí di hende muhé entre 20 i 49 aña, generalmente yamá profeshonal hóben. E hende muhe mas yòn ku a entrevistá tabatin 29 aña na e momentu ei i esun di mas edat tabatin 92 aña. Di tal forma a maksimalisá e distribushon di edat rekerí den e grupo di informante. Ademas di entrevista, e investigashon akí ta hasi uso di fuente di archivo³ manera korant i revista pa

³ A saka e artíkulonnan di korant prinsipalmente for di *Amigoe* ku ta basá na Kòrsou i e edishon di Boneiru di *Extra*, ku a haña na Archivo Boneiru, un archivo trahá pa Franklyn 'Boi' Antoin, na <http://www.archivoboneiru.com>. Ta inkluí URL stabil pa haña aksesu na e materialnan archivá ku a konsultá pa e kontribushon akí den e lista di referensia na fin di teksto.

ofresé un bista históriko di e momentunan krusial den e progreso pa yega na igualdat i hustisia di género ku hende muhé boneriano tabatin den e último 50 añanan.

Konteksto históriko di movementu di hende muhé na Boneiru

Boneiru ta kompartí ku sobrá di Karibe un historia di kolonialismo i sklabilitut ku a forma su desaroyo. Kontrali na Kòrsou, su promé habitantenan, e poblashon indígeno Kaketio, a permanesé na Boneiru. Despues a bini otro grupo di indígeno for di tera firme, kolonisadónan spañó, hulandes i habitante sklabisá afrikano (Haviser, 1991). Promé tabata West-Indische Compagnie (WIC) ku a ehekutá kolonisashon hulandes di Boneiru. Durante e periodo di WIC, a trese hende sklabisá for di Afrika pa traha den industria di salu i di palu di brasia. Despues di disolushon di WIC, gobièrnu hulandes a konfiská su propiedatnan i kontinuá ku su operashon, usando e isla komo un tipo di rancho grandi. Reino Hulandes tabata doño direkto di e hendenan sklabisá ku tabata konosí komo *katibu di Rei*, pues sklabisá pa gobièrnu. Esnan sklabisá ku tabata saka salu for di salíña durante e temporada di sekura tabata sali djadumingu di nan kasitanan na Pueblo di Katibu (manera tabata yama e pueblo di Rincon) i kana mas o ménos seis ora bai e salíñanan di salu parti sùit di e isla. Ei nan tabata keda durante siman den kasita di piedra serka di e salíñanan, kantu di laman. Djasabra nan tabata regresá kas kaminda nan tabata haña nan ransun semanal. Den temporada di áwaseru, esnan sklabisá tabata traha den kunuku planta maishi den loke eufemístikamente tabata yama *landstuin*. Mayoria historia oral tokante bida sosial na e salíñanan ta data di e periodo despues di emansipashon, pero asta e storianan akí ta konta di e trabou duru ku tantu hende hòMBER komo hende muhé tabata eksperensiá (Antoin, 2020; Allen, 1983; Dalhuisen, 2009). Hende muhé a hunga un papel importante den resistensia kontra sklabilitut, manera e lantamentu di *katibu* di 10 di novèmber 1834. E dia ei, diestres persona sklabisá, inkluso seis hende muhé, a djòin Martis di Katalina Janga i lanta kontra nan trato brutal di parti di un *bomba*, un *katibu* ku un papel di supervisor riba e otronan sklabisá, na e plantashi yamá Fontein.

Despues di abolishon di sklabilitut na e kolonianan hulandes den Karibe na 1863, e kondishonnan sosioekonómiko na Boneiru kasi no a kambia. Hende hòMBER a bandoná e isla na kantidat grandi pa buska trabou otro kaminda i okashonalmente tabata manda sèn kas. Den siglo binti, e refinerianan di petroli ku a establese na Kòrsou (1915) i Aruba (1929) a ofresé trabou na trahadó maskulino di Boneiru. Hende muhé mientrastantu tabata kuida kas, traha den kunuku kòrta sentebibu, piki *watapana* (*Libidibia coriaria*), kosechá salu den salíña na e parti sùit di Boneiru i den besindario di Slagbaai, òf traha sombré di kabana pa gana nan pan di kada dia. Den su krónika tokante hende muhé na Boneiru, Boi Antoin (2020) ta menshoná nòmber di vários hende muhé ku tabata hasi trabou ku tradishonalmente hende hòMBER sa hasi i ku a desafiá e ideanan di femenidat ku tabata dominante e tempu ayá.

Hende muhé boneriano a atkerí forsa i poder polítiko tempu ku a introdusí derecho di voto universal na Boneiru i e otro islanan hulandes karibense na 1948. Durante e promé elekshon despues di 1948, esta esun ku a tene pa Konseho Insular 4 di yüni 1951, tabatin mas votadó femenino ku maskulino. Di e 2.362 siudadanonan ku por a vota, 779 tabata hende hòMBER, sugeriendo un kantidat signifikativo di hende muhé adulto ku a ehersé nan derecho di voto. Ta importante pa menshoná ku, ya na 1954, Rose Heitkönig-Rigaud tabata e promé hende muhé diputado den Kolegio Ehekutivo di Boneiru. Na 1966, e tabata e promé hende muhé di Boneiru ku a bira gezaghèber interino (Cosijn i van den Dungen-Gronovius, 2010). E tabata un maestra di skol, kasá di e konosido komersiante, Jules “Heit” Heitkönig, i ruman muhé di Adele Rigaud, un di e pioneronan den e lucha pa derecho di voto pa hende muhé na Antia Hulandes (Henriquez, 2002; Willem, 1945, 1979).

Inisio di e movimentu di hende muhé den e dékadan di 1970 i 1980

Mas o ménos na 1975, Aña Internashonal di Hende Muhé di Nashonnan Uní, vários organisashon di hende muhé a lanta na Boneiru i tabata konosí e tempu ei bou di e nòmber genérico damesclubs, esta (klup di dama, vários asosiashon den kua hende muhé na Boneiru tabata organisá nan mes relashoná ku un variedat di propósito i tema (Rodriguez, 2015). Hopi di e gruponan akí tabata representá un di e barionan di Boneiru, algun di nan tabatin un orientashon religioso, miéntras otro tabata relashoná ku trabou (sindikato) òf polítikamente afiliá. Por ehèmpel, UPB (Union Patriótiko Bonairiano), un partido polítiko establese na 1969, tabatin un klup di dama, *damesclub*, ku frekuentemente tabata tene diskushon polítiko⁴ ku tabata boga pa partisipashon di hende muhé den política (Amigoe, 1979). Hende muhé tabata organisá nan mes tambe pa yuda salvaguardá patrimonio kultural, manera den e klup di hende muhé yamá Nos Kosecha (Extra, 1987).⁵

No tin un bista general di e kantidat di organisashon di hende muhé ku tabata eksistí den e dékada di 1970 na Boneiru. Un repaso kòrtiku den e korantnan lokal ta muestra nòmber di klup di dama manera Gold Finch (Amigoe, 1989, 1978a; Entrevista, 2020c), RINFA (Rincon *Femenina* [sic]), Flamboyant (Amigoe, 1977b), i ORFEBÓ (Organisashon Femenino Boneriano, fundá na 1973). E último klup menshoná akí, ku su promé presidente Theresita Trickx-Toré (Amigoe, 2020) tabata hopi aktivo, i a selebrá su di tres lustro di eksistensia ku hopi publisidat na 1988 (Amigoe, 1988; Toré, 1988). Kisas por haña un bista un tiki mas mihó di e organisashonnan di hende muhé for di un artíkulo di Amigoe (1983) ku ta menshoná vários klup komo firmante di un telegram ku a manda

⁴ Ta menshoná e organisashon den un teksto huntu ku un foto den Amigoe (5 di mei, 1977a). Segun e teksto, e mucha muhé nan frekuentemente tabata tene diskushon polítiko.

⁵ E artíkulo akí ta menshoná selebrashon di e di 10 aniversario di Nos Kosecha. Hende muhé ku regulamente tabata bai *fiesta di kòmbèk*: fiesta popular kaminda tabata toka prinsipalmente músika kubano, a kuminsá ku e organisashon akí.

komo solidaridat pa e organisashonnan di hende muhé ku idea similar na Kòrsou tokante 25 di novèmber komo un dia pa kombati i konsientisá pa loke ta trata violensia kontra hende muhé. E organisashonnan di hende muhé di Boneiru ei tabata: Asondra, Diasa (Dia Sosial i Alegre), ORFEBO (Organisashon Femenino Boneriano), hende muhé ku tabata traha pa ALM (Antilliaanse Luchtvaart Maatschappij), hende muhé ku tabata traha na Departamentu di Asuntunan Sosial, hende muhé ku tabata traha pa Konseho di Tutela (Voogdijraad), i Asosiashon Boneriano di Sekretaria (Amigoe, 1983). A menshoná e organisashonnan akí tambe durante e entrevistanan di historia oral kondusí pa e outornan di e kontribushon akí, huntu ku otro klup manera APRODA (Agrupashon pa Progreso di Dama), Grupo Amistad i Yuda ku Amor.

Un karakteristiká remarkabel tabata ku miembresia di grupo manera ORFEBO tabata habrí solamente pa hende muhé kasá (Amigoe, 1988; Toré 1988; Amigoe, 2020). Parse ku enfatisando importansia di matrimonio, e gruponan akí ker a konformá nan mes ku e balor- i normanan sosial predominante. Sin embargo, hasiendo esei, nan a ekskluí un grupo grandi di hende muhé. Den e entrevista ku Altagracia ‘Gacha’ Pourier Jacobino, fundadó di RINFA, el a menshoná ku inisialmente nan grupo tambe a sigui e regla akí, pero despues a bandoná esaki komo ku nan tabata ke saka un grupo grandi di hende muhé for di e isolashon di nan kas (Entrevista, 2022a).

Mayoria di e organisashonnan ei a adoptá un aserkamentu di yudansa mutuo pa ataká e problemanan sosial den e sosiedat boneriano. Nan tabata organisá aktividat pa rekoudá fondo na benefisio di nan komunidat, ku tabata varia di kumpra un inkubadora (couveuse) pa hòspital, un frizer nobo pa e kas mortuorio (Amigoe, 1978f) te na atendé ku e nesesidat pa un pasadia pa mucha. Por ehèmpel, ORFEBO a tene un enkuesta pa evaluá e nesesidat pa un pasadia pa mucha i despues a kuminsá ku un sentro asina yamá Kresh Bon Kwido den e kapital Kralendijk na 1979, pa akomodá e mamanan ku tabata traha (Toré, 1988; Entrevista, 2022a). RINFA a sigui ORFEBO su ehèmpel i a kuminsá ku un pasadia pa mucha na Rincon, Boneiru su di dos bario mas grandi. Vários grupo di hende muhé a organisá tambe aktividat dirigí riba ayudo propio i desaroyo di abilidadat personal, ku tabata varia di kosementu i kushinamentu te ku abilidadat pa papia den públiko, según Rudmila Koffy-Makaai ta raportá (Entrevista, 2020c). Meta di e aktividatnan ei tabata pa yuda hende muhé funshoná di manera signifikante pafó di e esfera doméstiko.

Un di e puntonan kulminante di mobilisashon di hende muhé na Boneiru tabata nan protesta na 1978 kontra e intenshon pa establecé un sentro di prostitushon na Barcadera, na e parti sùitost di Rincon. Di un banda, e protestanan tabata motivá pa kerensia religioso i opheshon moral, i e gruponan di hende muhé a haña sosten tantu di e pastor aktivista radikal di Rincon, e ekuatoriano pastor Gilberto Alcívar,⁶ komo tambe di organisashon manera Steering Committee na Kòrsou i Konferensia di Iglesia di Karibe na Barbados. E kabesnan den prensa ta duna un impreshon di e konsternashon ku a surgi. Por lesa: Kolegio Ehekutivo no ta duna e organisadónan sosten finansiero – Konferensia

⁶ A menasá Alcívar ku ekspulshon vários biaha; el a bandoná e isla na 1979.

tokante prostitushon na duda (Amigoe, 1978c) i Dia di estudio promé ku kongreso riba prostitushon ta sigui' (Amigoe, 1978d). Di otro banda, tabata un esfuerso eksitoso pa eksigí akshon pa asunto di trafikashon humano, komo ku despues gobièrnu a bandoná e idea pa un sentro di prostitushon. Tabata un viktoria signifkante pa hende muhé di Boneiru i, den mes aña, e isla a bira e promé den Karibe pa organisá un konferensia tokante trafikashon di hende muhé den region, risibiendo hende for di tur parti di mundu (Kem-padoo, 1999, p. 15; Amigoe, 1978e, 1978b). Esaki a konektá nan tambe ku e movimentu di hende muhé den sobrá di Karibe. Asina por nota na e isla ruman kaminda tambe ta skirbi tokante protesta kontra un burdel na Aruba den dékada di 1950 (Kelly, 2024).

E organisashonnan di hende muhé di Boneiru tabata aktivo tambe pafó di nan propio isla. Promé ku 2010, Boneiru tabata parti di Antia Hulandes, ku tabatin un gobernador, un gobièrnu sentral i un parlamentu antiano ku tabata konsistí di representante di tur sinku isla, ku sede na Willemstad, Kòrsou. Kambio den lei manera e ordenansa sentral importante di 7 di mei, 1975, tokante eliminashon di inkapasidat legal di hende muhé kasá, tambe tabata vigente na Boneiru. Ademas, kada isla tabatin kontrol di su mes asuntunan lokal via un gezaghèber, Kolegio Ehekutivo, i Konseho Insular. Den e konstelashon di gobièrnu sentral i huntu ku e organisashonnan sosial di otro isla, hende muhé di Boneiru a partisipá na preparashon i implementashon di plan di akshon di Konferensianan Mundial tokante Hende Muhé di Nashonnan Uní na 1975 (México), 1980 (Copenhagen), 1985 (Nairobi) i 1995 (Beijing). Pa preparashon di e promé konferensia mundial, a lanta un steering committee ku a sirbi komo un organisashon di koordinashon lokal pa derecho di hende muhé na Boneiru siguiendo e modelo di e Steering Committee na Kòrsou. Grupo di hende muhé ku struktura formalisá, esta ku statuto, tabata representá den Steering Committee Bonaire. E komité a organisá tayer i konferensia pa diskutí tur asunto tokante derecho di hende muhé i violensia kontra hende muhé. Partikularmente Dia Internashonal di Hende Muhé ku ta selebrá anualmente riba 8 di mart, tabata determiná e agènda prinsipal pa asunto relashoná ku igualdat di género.

E Ofisina di Asuntunan Humanitario i di Hende Muhé, un órgano di gobièrnu sentral ku a lanta na 1989, basá riba rekomendashon di Nashonnan Uní, a yuda Boneiru konektá ku e organisashonnan den sobrá di Karibe i Amérika Latino, manera UNECLAC⁷ i CAFRA. Na nivel di e organisashonnan sosial, SEDA (Sentro di Desaroyo di Dama, ku a kambia su nòmber despues pa Sentro di Desaroyo di Hende Muhé) na Kòrsou tambe a funshoná komo un entidat di koordinashon. Kada unu di e steering committeenan di e islanan di Antia Hulandes tabatin un representante den esun di Antia Hulandes.

Dékada di 1990 i e promé dékada di siglo 21

Den e dékada di 1990, Boneiru a haña representashon den Grupo Konsultativo pa Asuntunan di Hende Muhé di Antia Hulandes (*Adviesgroep Vrouwenzaken*), establese na

⁷ Mira entre otro e resúmen tokante Trabou, enseñansa, salú i rekursu humano di e delegado di Boneiru, N. Gonzalez (Budike-Polak, 1991).

1991 pa mónitòr intersekshon di asuntu di género ku diferente ministerio i departamentu di gobièrnu (Amigoe, 1991; Entrevista, 2020b). Aña 1994 tabata marká pa e boneriano Edith Strauss-Marsera birando e promé hende muhé pa okupá e posishon di Minister di Desaroyo i Kooperashon di Antia Hulandes despues ku Partido Democratico Boneriano (PDB) a gana elekshon pa staten na Boneiru. E tabata enkargá tambe ku Asuntunan di Hende Muhé. Durante su periodo komo minister, el a adoptá un aserkamentu antiano ampliá habriendo ofisina pa asuntu di hende muhé na tur isla di Antia Hulandes. Meta di esaki tabata pa fasilitá implementashon di maneho guberna-mental pertinente, asina e ofisina di e islanan akí por a identifiká e retonan spesífiko ku hende muhé ta enfrentá na kada isla i inisiá proyekto pa atendé ku asuntu manera igual-dat di género, desaroyo, pas, edukashon, salú, i labor. Esakinan tabata e rekomendashon-nan prinsipal di e konferensia final di Nashonnan Uní su Dékada pa Hende Muhé, ku a tene na Nairobi na 1985 (Amigoe, 1994b; Entrevista, 2020a), i e konferensia di Beijing na 1995. Bou di maneho di Strauss-Marsera, igualdat di hende muhé no tabata djis un meta riba su mes mas, pero un aspekto di un desaroyo di bienestar mas holístiko. A disolvé despues Ofisina di Asuntunan Humanitario i di Hende Muhé menshoná ariba situá na Kòrsou, i na su lugá a bini Departamentu di Bienestar Sosial, Famia, i Asuntu-nan Humanitario (Amigoe, 1995d, 1995e). Parsialmente e desishon akí tabata motivá pa konsiderashon di Aña Internashonal di Famia na 1994, (Amigoe, 1995c) ku a hasi un yamada pa un reakshon sosial mas amplio pa igualdat di género i mas inklushon di hende hòMBER, tantu den nan partisipashon den emansipashon di hende muhé komo tambe pa atendé ku e impaktonan atverso di desigualdat di género riba bida di hende hòMBER.⁸ E aña ei, organisashonnan di hende muhé na Boneiru a enfoká tambe riba famia durante selebrashon di Dia Internashonal di Hende Muhé (Amigoe, 1994a).

E investigashon di historia oral ku a forma base pa e kontribushon akí ta indiká ku e hende muhé nan pionero di dékadan di 1970 i 1980 gradualmente a bira ménos visibel durante e dékadan di 1990 i 2000, miéntras a integrá programa di bienestar sosial di gobièrnu den maneho di gobièrnu. Esaki a kondusí despues na un redukshon di grupo di hende muhé. Entre e personanan entrevistá for di e generashon ku a konsistí di hendenan di 50 pa 60 aña, solamente un persona entrevistá ketu bai ta miembro (i presidente) di un grupo di hende muhé. Ku tempu a profesionalisá mas e krèshnan ku a kuminsá komo resultado di aktividatnan di ORFEBE i RINFA, inisialmente bou di guia di Fundashon SEBIKI, Boneiru su organisashon no-gubernamental bou di kua krèsh tabata kai, ku tabata ofresé kurso di kapasitashon pa edukashon di mucha i entrenamentu pa sostené mayor (Entrevista, 2022b).

⁸ Ann Philipps, Troepiaal Advies, former policy officer at the Office of Women's and Humanitarian Affairs, from June 1994 to December 1995. [Ann Philipps, Troepiaal Advies, eks-kolaboradó di maneho na Ofisina di Asuntunan Humanitario i di Hende Muhé, di yùni 1994 te desèmber 1995]. Korespondensia via e-mail ku outor, Rose Mary Allen, 16 di desèmber, 2022.

Aunke sosiedat boneriano a akudí mas i mas na gobièrnu pa solushon di su problemanan sosial, práktikanan diskriminatorio di género a persistí, partikularmente den e arena di relashon laboral. Na 1993, basá riba akshon di sindikato i kaso hudisial individual, gobièrnu sentral a aseptá e prinsipio di pago igual pa hende muhé i hende hòmbler, terminando diskriminashon basá riba género manera reflehá den diskrepansia di salario entre hende muhé kasá i nan esposo den servisio di gobièrnu, funshonario públiko maskulino i femenino, i e echo ku no tabata permití pa funshonario públiko femenino kasá sera kontrato di trabou permanente (Rodriguez, 2015). Sinembargo, desigualdat salarial den sektor privá a persistí i abogado Carlene Peterson a boga den un diskurso di Dia Internashonal di Hende Muhé na 1995 pa un maneho di labor mas faborabel pa hende muhé. E diskurso di Peterson a indiká ku, apesar di mas partisipashon di hende muhé den e merkado laboral di Boneiru, inkluso den posishon di liderazgo, lei i tradishon diskriminatorio di genero a keda komo opstákulo e tempu ei. Peterson a menshoná mama diborsiá i soltero ku ta enfrentá muchu mas direktamente e estorbonan legal i sosio-kultural akí; manera menshoná promé, inisialmente hasta a ekskluí nan for di algun grupo di hende muhé (Amigoe, 1995b).

Despues di 10/10/2010

10 di òktober, 2010, Boneiru a bira un entidat públiko di Hulanda, atministrá komo un munisipio spesial i goberná pa un Gezaghèber apuntá pa Reino Hulandes, un Kolegio Ehekutivo ku tres diputado, i Konseho Insular ku nuebe representante elegí pa pueblo. Den e elekshonnan insular di 2019, Nina den Heyer tabata e polítiko ku a risibí e kantidat mas altu di voto surpasando asina su mes lider di partido na voto, i pa despues a bira e úniko diputado femenino den Kolegio Ehekutivo (Editor, 2022; Entrevista, 2022c). Den Heyer tabata responsabel pa asuntunan sosial (inkluso hubentut i famia), bibienda públiko, salubridat públiko, enseñansa, kultura, labor, registro sivil, i revitalisashon di servisio sivil. El a tuma su retiro na sèptèmber di 2022 pa bira un funshonario públiko altu: direktor di e departamentu di Enseñansa, Kultura i Siensia di gobièrnu hulandes na Karibe Hulandes (RCN). Na 2022, tres di e nuebe miembronan di Konseho Insular tabata hende muhé. Un di nan, Désirée Coffie, ta e promé hende muhé pa kuminsá ku i liderá un partido polítiko na Boneiru (Coffie, 2022d).

Un kantidat relativamente grandi di hende muhé den e partidonan polítiko na momentu di publikashon di e kontribushon akí, ta marka un kambio den persepsion di hende muhé komo aktor polítiko. Den un di e entrestanan di historia oral, konsehal Désirée Coffie (Coffie, 2022d) a reiterá loka un otro hende muhé polítiko a bisa na 1995, ku “hende muhé no mester tin miedu di polítika”. Coffie a kuestioná e suposishon ku polítika ta un mundu di hende hòmbler, ya ku hende muhé ta, na su opinion, mes nesesario den gobièrnu ku, por ehèmpel, na kas, pasobra “nan ta plania i organisá mihó, ta kuida hende mihó, i sosialmente i emoshonalmente ta mas balansá. Eseinan ta karakterístika ku hende hòmbler ta karesé di dje” (Coffie, 2022d). Aunke ta parse ku e tabata

hustifiká partisipashon polítiko di hende muhé den término di normanan di género i konsepto di maskulinidat i femenidat konvenshonal, por mira su komentario komo un yamada pa kambia status quo.

For di 10 di òktober, 2010, gobièrnu nashonal di Hulanda ta representá na Boneiru pa Representante di Reino i Ofisina di Hulanda Karibense (Rijksdienst Caribisch Nederland, RCN). E último ta interkonektá ku i ofresé sosten na e ministerionan di Hulanda ku ta, òf mester ta na Boneiru (komo tambe na St. Eustatius i Saba, e dos otro islanan hulandes karibense ku tin un státus konstitushonal komo entidat públiko, meskos ku esun di Boneiru). Na Boneiru a dekretá kambio konstitushonal kompañá pa lei nobo di eutanasia, aborto, i matrimonio entre personanan di mes sekso – meskos ku na Hulanda; Schields (2024) ta presentá un diskushon tokante e reakshonnan kompleho riba e leinan akí. For di 10 di òktober, 2010, e isla a eksperensiá un kresementu signifkante di poblashon, indusí pa establecimiento di RCN i ekspanshon di e aparato públiko i migrashon di funshonario for di Hulanda. E isla a risibí tambe imigrante laboral for di Kòrsou, Aruba, otro islanan karibense i Amérika Latino. Loureiro (2024) ta diskutí migrashon for di e pais latinoamerikano mas serkano, esta, Venezuela. E gruponan di imigrantenan akí a kontribuí na oumento di e poblashon di Boneiru di 15,679 habitante na 2011 pa 22,573 na 2022 (CBS, 2022). E balansa di género a inkliná, ku mas hende hòmbler ku hende muhé na e isla na aprel 2022 (Statista, 2022). For di 2010, pobresa a bira un problema serio, spesialmente pa hende grandi i hóben, aunke den teoria tur hende tin derecho riba mes oportunidat i benefisio manera nan kompatriotanan na Hulanda (Nationale Ombudsman, 2019). Entre e habitantenan nasé na Boneiru, tin un malkon-tentu kresiente ku e trato desigual ku nan ta risibí kompará ku e munisipionan na Hulanda (Europeo). E personanan entrevistá a supstansiá ku aktualmente tin hopi hende muhé di Boneiru ta djis sobreviví enfrentando pobresa, debí na kosto di bida haltu i entrada abou, miéntras nan ta atendé ku un sèt di problema kompleho manera outoestima abou, problema di salú mental, burnout, i/òf adikshon na droga.

Den e Boneiru nobo akí, ta parse ku e gruponan di hende muhé òf e movimentu di hende muhé generalmente no ta atendé ku e retonan spesífiko pa hende muhé, sino ta un kadena di organisashon i agensia ta atendé ku esakinan, tantu na nivel nashonal (ministerio) komo lokal (departamento), ku kada organisashon responsabel pa solamente un parti di e problema (UN Women, 2020). E aserkamentu di gobièrnu pa asuntunan sosial ta karakterisá su mes pa e asina yamá aserkamentu integral di bario (*integrale wijk-aanpak*). E aserkamentu akí ta orientá pa kubri e nesesidatnan di infrastrukutura i bienestar di un bario integralmente, ku e meta pa mehorá kondishon general di bida di residente ku e enfoke riba e áreanan kaminda tin un akumulashon di problema sosial i/òf ekonómiko (Eilandsraad Bonaire, n.d.; UN Women, 2020; Beek, 2013).

Nos investigashon di historia oral ta indiká ku kasi no tin grupo di hende muhé mas na e isla. Un grupo di hende muhé aktivo ta RINFA, ku a selebrá su di 48 aniversario na

2022.⁹ Ketu bai nan ta atendé ku nesesidat di spesialmente hende muhé di edat. Hopi di esnan entrevistá den e proyekto di historia oral ta atribuí e baimentu atras akí na un individualisashon kresiente den sosiedat, ku hende muhé poniendo muchu mas atenshon na nan propio nesesidatnan individual ku na esnan di hende muhé komo grupo. E opservashon akí ta hustifiká mas investigashon, incluso di Boneiru su konekshon ku prosesonan global kontinu, parsialmente indusí pa suambio konstitushonal na 2010.

Opservashon final

E introdukshon akí a trata na historisá kon hende muhé na Boneiru a aserká igualdat i hustisia di género. Den e dékada di 1970, e movimentu nasiente di hende muhé di e isla a pone direkshon i ritmo pa un igualdat mas amplio pa hende muhé den merkado laboral, den e ámbito doméstiko i den partisipashon polítiko. Esaki a kambia den e dékada di 1990 tempu ku gobièrnu sentral i insular a tuma algun di e aktividatnan di bienestar sosial den kua e movimentu di hende muhé tabata enbolbí kuné. Ku e reforma konstitushonal di 2010, preokupashon tokante desaroyo di hende muhé a bira mas intersektá ku otro reto sosial, manera pobresa i seksualidat.

E estudio presente ta mustra klaramente e nesesidat pa investigashon adishonal profundo di e ròlnan ku hende muhé di tur kategoria di edat a hunga komo agente diambio den e sosiedat isleño chikitu di Boneiru i e impakto di e kambionan konstitushonal di 2010 riba esaki. Ademas e ta afirmá e balor di un aserkamentu feminista pa komprondé diskriminashon di género i aktivismo di género, miéntras na mes momentu e ta konektá e eksperensia boneriano ku esun di sobrá di e region karibense i desaroyonan ekonómiko i polítiko global.

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⁹ A invitá e personanan entrevistá na nan selebrashon, reuniendo na kas di nan miembro di mas edat (90), pa despues entrevistá e grupo núcleo di kuater miembro ku ketu bai ta aktivo (edat 74-78) i nan presidente di mas yòn (53).

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NEDERLANDS EN PAPIAMENTS: DE PROTESTANTSE GEMEENTE VAN ARUBA SEDERT 1822¹

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Samenvatting

De geschiedenis van Nederlands en Papiaments in de protestantse gemeente van Aruba kent sinds 1822, als dominant dilemma dat het gebruik bij voorkeur van het Nederlands het streven naar grotere aantallen kerkbezoekers belemmerde en dat juist het – incidentele – gebruik van de nationale taal, het Papiaments, meer kerkbezoek realiseerde. Deze bijdrage bevat een beknopt historisch overzicht van momenten van het incidentele gebruik van het Papiaments, naast het gangbare Nederlands, in de godsdienstoefeningen van de Protestantse gemeente van Aruba.

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Sleutelwoorden: Protestantse gemeente Aruba, gebezigde talen, historisch overzicht

Abstract

Since 1822, the history of Dutch and Papiamento in the Protestant community of Aruba has given rise to the dilemma that the preferential use of Dutch has hindered the pursuit of larger numbers of churchgoers, while the incidental use of the national language, Papiamento, actually increased church attendance. This contribution contains a brief historical overview of moments where incidental use has been made of Papiamento alongside the dominant language Dutch in the religious services of the Protestant community of Aruba.

Key terms: Protestant community of Aruba, spoken languages, historical overview

¹ Deze bijdrage is een bewerking van en aanvulling op twee presentaties in de Protestantse kerk in Oranjestad, op 10 december 2002 en 22 maart 2023. Verslagen daarvan verschenen in het *Antilliaans Dagblad* (op 12 januari en Rutgers, 2023, p.10)

Inleiding

In tegenstelling tot de Rooms-Katholieke kerk die in haar godsdienstoefeningen het Papiaments hanteerde, was in de protestantse kerkdiensten het Nederlands verreweg dominant, maar werd er sporadisch ook van het Papiaments gebruik gemaakt.

Vandaag de dag beschikt de Protestantse gemeente van Aruba over drie locaties op het eiland waar in drie talen godsdienstbijeenkomsten gehouden worden: Oranjestad (Nederlands), Piedra Plat (Papiaments), San Nicolas en de Colony (Engels).

De Arubaanse Protestantse gemeente werd begin negentiende eeuw een 'randgemeente' van Curaçao op initiatief van een 'gezelschap meest van aanzienlijke vrouwen van Curaçao' die met een wat in die dagen 'excursionistenschip' genoemd werd een plezier- en gezondheids-reis naar Aruba maakten en daar ontdekten dat er op het eiland feitelijk geen Protestantse gemeente bestond: er was geen dominee, geen kerkgebouw en geen gemeente. Vanaf 1636 tot in de negentiende eeuw was Aruba "verstoken gebleven van protestantse zielzorg, niet uit negligentie, maar eenvoudig omdat er geen of te weinig protestanten" woonden omdat er op het eiland een vestigingsverbod gold. (Hartog 1970, p. 84) Tot het laatste kwartaal van de achttiende eeuw werden er door de koloniale overheid geen of bij hoge uitzondering bewoners op Aruba toegelaten. Mozes Levy Maduro vestigde zich in 1754 als eerste vanuit Curaçao op Aruba. Een van de vroege protestantse vreemdelingen die zich tegen het einde van de achttiende eeuw op Aruba vestigden was Willem Herms. Hoewel hij protestants was moest hij zijn drie dochters katholiek laten dopen, bij gebrek aan een dominee op het eiland. (Hartog 1980, p. 117) Gaandeweg vestigden zich aan het einde van de 18^e en het begin van de 19^e eeuw meer mensen op het eiland, ook protestanten. In 1816 waren er inmiddels al 290 protestanten (279 gereformeerden; 11 Luthersen); 1106 ingezetenen waren Rooms-Katholiek; 19 Joods. (Hartog 1970, p. 85) Maar geestelijke voorzieningen hadden deze protestanten dus nog steeds niet.

30 juni 1822

Juist rond juni 1822 kwam onderwijzer en godsdienstleraar Klaas van Eekhout, in 1781 in Amsterdam geboren, vanuit Nederland naar Curaçao. Daar vroeg hij om godsdienstonderwijs te mogen geven; daarvoor had hij immers zijn diploma's gehaald. Hij werd in 1822 echter naar Aruba verwezen.

Van Eekhout was godsdienstleraar en geen bevoegd predikant. Hij mocht dus de sacramenten (doop en avondmaal) niet toedienen. Wel mocht hij preken lezen en godsdienstonderwijs geven, dat door de kerkenraad van Curaçao betaald werd. Hij kreeg instructie elke zondag dienst te houden en catechisatie-les te geven. Daarnaast was hij schoolmeester – de eerste op het eiland.

Op 30 juni 1822 begon Van Eekhout zijn werkzaamheden in een woning van J.H.G. Eman, die Luthers was, waarbij ook de hervormde C. Specht aanwezig was. Zij twee waren de 'kerkopzieners'. "Deze datum beschouwt de Protestantse Gemeente van Aruba

als de dag van haar stichting.” (Hartog 1970, p. 86) Gereformeerd en Luthers gingen samen – zoals op Curaçao.

Er werd vervolgens een huis gekocht voor Van Eekhout waarin een kerk- en schoollokaal werden ingericht. Het stond op de plek waar nu het oude kerkje aan de Wilhelminastraat nog staat. Op 25 augustus 1822 werd hier de eerste dienst gehouden. Van Eekhout trouwde met de Arubaanse Elisabeth Beaujon. Zijn werk was niet gemakkelijk: op school werd veel verzuimd, kerkdiensten werden spaarzaam bezocht. Teleurgesteld verliet hij daarom in 1831 het eiland en ging (weer) naar Curaçao, waar hij in 1839 overleed.

Bezoek ds. G.B. Bosch aan Aruba (1823 – 1834)

Bij gebrek aan bevoegde predikanten op Aruba had de Curaçaose gemeente de verplichting tot geestelijke zielzorg, wat gebeurde door predikanten op dienstreis naar het eiland te sturen. Vanaf 1823 – 1834 bezocht ds. G.B. Bosch vanuit Curaçao de ‘randgemeente’ Aruba zeker zeven keer. Hij doopte er en bediende het Avondmaal, overigens voor slechts weinig lidmaten. Over zijn reizen en verblijf heeft hij zo uitvoerig geschreven in zijn *Reizen in West-Indië* (1836) dat zijn verhalende verslagen een belangrijke bron vormen voor onze kennis van het eiland in het begin van de 19^e eeuw. Hij reisde met een klein zeilschip en werd na een voorspoedige reis bij zijn eerste bezoek aan de wal opgewacht door de godsdienst- en schoolonderwijzer, dat was dus Klaas van Eekhout, en de twee kerk- en schoolopzieners Eman en Specht: “Ik stap met deze langzaam voort, met een gevoel van bisschoppelijke waardigheid,” schreef de dominee ironisch. (Bosch, 1836, p. 48) Maar hij was zich er van bewust dat hij de eerste predikant ooit was die Aruba bezocht.

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Nederlands en Papiamentu

Begin jaren veertig werd de oud-militair Abraham van Dragt aangesteld als godsdienst-onderwijzer (G.O.). Na een gunstige uitslag van een examen ‘volgens de hervormde regels’ werd hij benoemd in het sinds 1822 gebruikte kerkje. (Coomans, 2005, p. 28)

Wegens bouwvalligheid van dit tot kerkgebouwtje aangepaste woonhuis werd dit in 1845 afgebroken en werd besloten een nieuwe kerk te bouwen op de plaats van het huis van de familie Arends. Dit ‘kerkje aan de baai’ bestaat nog steeds en is wel het oudste bouwwerk van het eiland. De gemeente telde toen 122 lidmaten en 288 doopleden. De kerk bleef in gebruik tot een veel grotere nieuwe kerk gereedkwam in 1950.

Ook Abraham van Dragt (G.O.) ondervond teleurstellingen over schoolverzuim en kerkbezoek. De gemeenteleden verstonden het Nederlands gewoonweg niet en konden hun liedboek en bijbel niet lezen.

De preek van 24 oktober 1847

Van Dragt had als godsdienstonderwijzer geen preekrecht, maar las tijdens de dienst bestaande preken voor. De Arubaanse kerkenraad had tijdens zijn vergadering een week ervoor (17 oktober) bezorgd het ‘overgaan’ geconstateerd van ‘eenige protestanten tot de Roomsche Catholieke geloofsbelijdenis’, en vroeg zich af wat de oorzaken daarvan waren en hoe dit te keren. Van Dragt werd daarom door de kerkenraad aangeraden “daar van in de predikatie in het papiaments die den aanstaanden zondag avond [24 oktober] gedaan zoude worden”, melding te maken. (Coomans, 2005, p. 61) Van Dragt voldeed aan het verzoek en vermeldde als titel en thema van zijn preek ‘arriba e motivo pakiko heendee ta baai na kerki’. (Coomans, 2005, p. 45) Hij gebruikte voor deze specifieke dienst een preek van professor Van de Palm, een tekst die hij aan de Curaçaose kerkenraad opdroeg.

Het Papiaments karakteriseerde hij volgens de in die tijd gangbare normen als “eene taal ontbloot van alle die woorden, die de verhevene stijl van den kanselarbeid uitmaken, ontbloot van alle vervoegingen van werkwoorden ...” (Coomans, 2005, p. 59). Maar het ongewenste doel het Papiaments te bevorderen heiligde de middelen om de Rooms-katholieke invloed te beteugelen. In een uitgebreid schrijven, achteraf geschreven, verdedigde Van Dragt zijn handelwijze van in het Papiaments te preken en liet zijn tekst vergezeld gaan van een aan de kerkenraad van Curaçao gerichte uitvoerig, zorgvuldig gecomponeerde oratio pro domo door te melden dat het volstrekt niet gebruikelijk was dat tijdens protestantse dienst Papiaments werd gebruikt, maar dat de preek zeker in een behoefte voorzag, want het kleine kerkje was uitzonderlijk vol en wie er niet was vroeg de preek ter leen.

“Het verrigten van het heilig dienstwerk in de papiamentsche taal zoo zeer tegen de gewoonte der protestantsche Godsdienstviering, verwekte zoo als zich ligt begripen laat, eene buitengewoone deelneming, misschien meer om het vreemde dan om het wezen der zaake, de kerk was dien avond dan ook buitengewoon bezet en die, welke niet konden tegenwoordig zijn wenschten de predikatie van mij ter leen, hetgeen ik weigeren moest, wegens de broosheid van het papier, waar op dezelve was geschreven. Men raadde mij vervolgens dezelve te doen drukken en alzoo voor een ieder verkrijgbaar te doen stellen.” (Coomans, 2005, p. 59)

Onverwachte en ongewenste gevolgen

Van Dragt was ‘huiverig’ om in het Papiaments te preken en hij kreeg gelijk toen bleek dat de preek ‘een dolkstoot in het hart van den R.C Pastoor alhier’ bleek. (Coomans, 2005, p. 61). Dat zal waarschijnlijk pastoor Emmenuel Romero geweest zijn die van 1836-1849 pastoor in Oranjestad was. Zo lang de protestantse gemeente voor de eredienst het Nederlands gebruikte, een taal die door slechts weinig ‘echte’ protestanten gekend werd, kwamen er maar weinig mensen naar de kerk, maar het gebruik van het

algemeen gekende Papiaments leverde gevaar van concurrentie op. Van Dragt voelde zich ‘door verspieters omringd’ en vreesde een aanklacht. Zijn ‘opdracht’ van de tekst aan de Curaçaose kerkenraad moest hem tot steun en bescherming dienen. (Coomans 2005, p. 61)

Predikatie

Het voorstel tot het laten drukken van de tekst werd door de Curaçaose predikant Cornelis Conradi geweigerd. (Coomans, 2001) Wel is die preek in geschreven vorm bewaard gebleven. Het thema was de gelijkenis van de zaaier uit het evangelie van Mattheüs 13: 3-9 – *Oen plantadoor a sali pa planta ...*

Predikaasie

den paapiamente

arriba e motivo pakiko heendee

ta baai na kerki i

teendee na e palabra di Djoos

predikaa den kerki di Aroeba

e 24 di oktober 1847

di

Abm van Dragt G.O.

(Coomans, 2005, p. 45)

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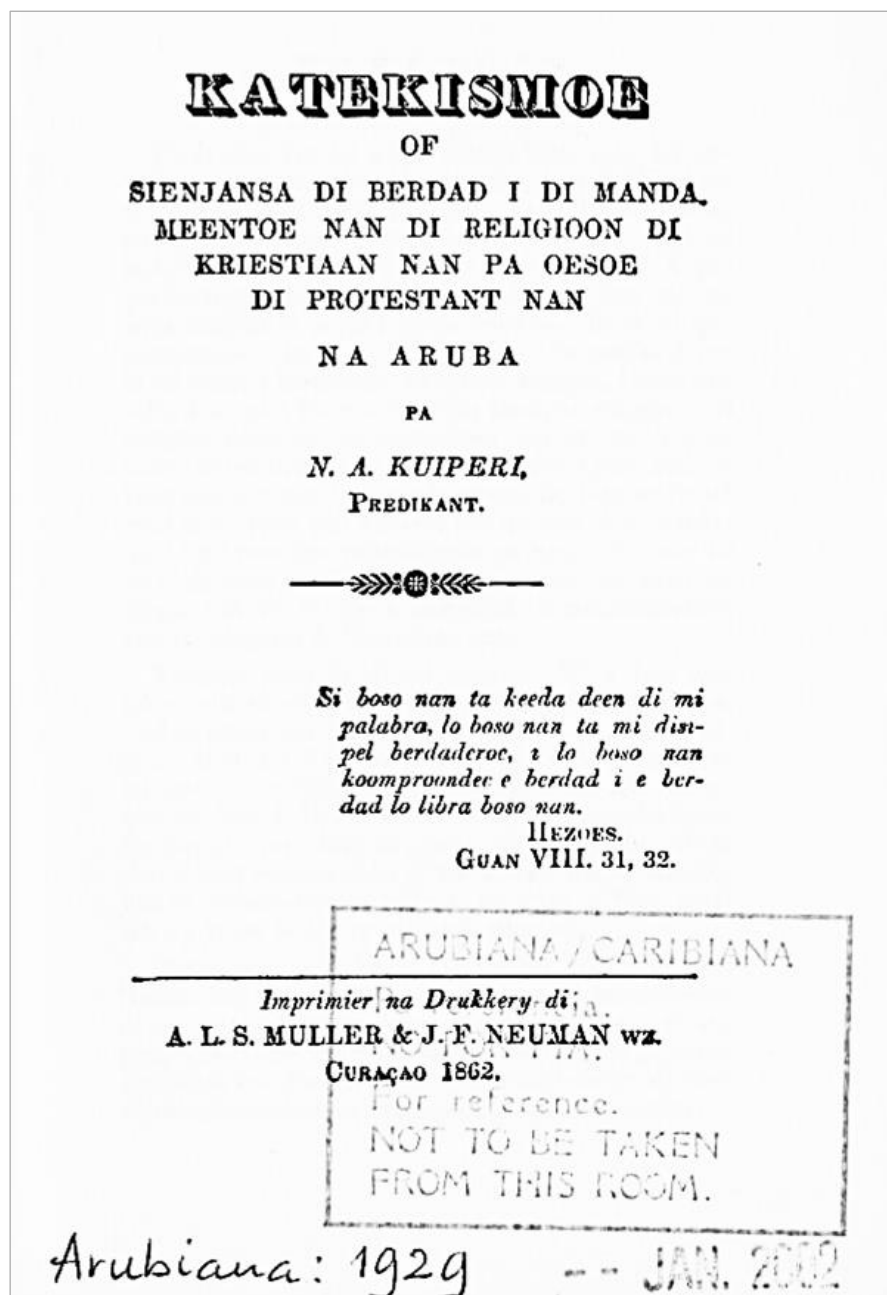
Van Dragt stierf nog geen vol jaar later en werd opgevolgd door opnieuw een godsdienstonderwijzer die aanbleef, tot in 1858 – eindelijk – de eerste predikant werd benoemd in de persoon van Nicolaas Adrianus Kuiperi. Vanaf 1822 tot 1858 heeft de jonge protestantse gemeente van Aruba dus (nog) geen predikant gekend.

Papiaments

Nicolaas Adrianus Kuiperi werd op 30 april 1858 benoemd en hield zijn eerste preek op 3 oktober 1858. In Oranjestad was de voertaal tijdens de kerkdiensten het Nederlands, maar buiten de stad werd het Nederlands weinig beheerst. Door de goudwinning en de aloëcultuur trokken welgestelde personen in het weekend naar een buitenverblijf, vaak in de buurt van Canashito bij de Hooiberg. Dat bracht dominee Kuiperi ertoe in dit buitengewest Papiamentstalige kerkdiensten te verzorgen. Op 23 januari 1859 – vier maanden na zijn komst – preekte hij in het Papiaments in de woning van Izak Maduro in diens buitenverblijf. Dominee Kuiperi was daarmee een voorganger in dubbele betekenis: als predikant ging hij voor in de dienst, maar door het gebruik van het Papiaments

was hij ook een voorganger op het gebied van taalgebruik in de protestantse godsdienstoefeningen.

Dominee Kuiperi was op Aruba de eerste protestantse dienaar van het Woord die in negen hoofdstukken een catechismus: *Katakismoe of Sienjansa di berdad i di mandameentoe nan di religioon di Kriestiaan nan pa oesoe di protestant nan na Aruba* (1862) en een gebedenboekje in het Papiaments schreef en publiceerde: *Boeki di Pidiemeentoe nan pa oesoe di protestantnan di Kristelyke gemeente na Aruba*. (1864)



Afbeelding 1 N.A. Kuiperi, Predikant Aruba: Katekismoe, Curaçao 1863

In zijn voorwoord tot de catechismus schreef de dominee dat hij vanaf het moment dat hij op het eiland was, hij ondervonden had dat de mensen zijn Nederlandse taal nauwelijks of niet begrepen en dat hij daarom Papiaments had geleerd. Vanuit de overweging dat ook de jeugd, “koe nan ta dwaal rond mees koos koe karnée koe no tien un warda-door i mi tawatien miseriekordia pa nan,” een gids nodig had, besloot hij in 1862 een catechismus voor hen te schrijven.

P R E F A C I O.

Fo di oora koe mi a bini seerka boso nan, mi stimado roeman nan deen di noos Seenjoor H. Kr. ! mi tawatien idea di papia koe boso nan, deen di boso nan leengua mees; pasoba mi a mira koe hopi di boso nan, koe no poor koompreendee, kiko mi a papia deen mi leengua; i mi a refleksiona koe mi tawata obligua di papia i sienja boso nan deen di papiameentoe, e leengua di boso nan. Pa motibo di ees aĩ mi mees a koemiensa sienja ees leengua, i boso nan sabie koe mi a koemiensá poko teempoe deespoces di prédika deen di papiameentoe; ma mi no tawata koonteentoe koe ees aĩ, mi a mirá riba e jioe nan di boso nan tambee, i mi a refleksiona, koe nan ta dwaal rond mees koos koe karnée, koe no tien oen warda-door i mi tawatien miserikordia pa nan. Pa ees aĩ mi a skierbie oen boekie of katekismoe pa nan, pa sienja nan fo di djé e sienjansa i e mandameentoe nan di religioon di Kriştiaan nan.

Toemele antó fo di mi manoe. Mi a leza toer lokee mi a skierbie deen di Bybel, e palabra di Dioos, i mi ta keeré ees aĩ, pa motibo koe ees aĩ ta e sienjansa di Hesoe Kriestoe, Jioe di Dioos i di soe Apostel nan. Koe Dioos doená, koe lo boso nan keere oen dia deen di Hesoe Kriestoe tambee; pasoba heende, koe ta keere deen di Jioe di Dioos, ees heende a tieu e bida eternoe deen di soe mees; ma e heende, koe ta deesobedesidoe néle, lo no mira e bida eternoe; e rabia di Dioos ta keeda riba élé.

Toema anto ees boeki aĩ, lesélé; i Dioos, noos Taata, koe ta na ciéloe, biendisioná e lesameentoe di ees aĩ pa boso nan, i Eel ta doena boso nan di soe loes, di soe sabiedoeria i di soe Spiritoe Santoe pa konosee lokee koe poor sierbie na boso nan saloe di alma i biénabeentoeransa eternoe di boso nan.—AMEN!

Afbeelding 2 N.A. Kuiperi, Voorwoord Katekismoe

Het gebedenboekje uit 1864 was bedoeld als steun “na toer soorto i na toer teempoe i na toer okkasioon nan.” Interessant is dat Kuiperi in zijn voorwoord schreef dat hij ook een

gebedenboekje in het Nederlands had geschreven, voor hen die deze taal kenden: "pa ees nan, koe ta konosee ees leenga." Ook interessant is dat de dominee wist of veronderstelde dat personen die geen Nederlands lazen, wél gealfabetiseerd waren in het Papiaments.

P R E F A C I O.

Stimado nan deen di noos Seenjoor !

Oen i otro bees nan a proentra mi, of mi no tien boekie pa lesa pidiemeentoe nan ; i mi a bisa koe mi no ta konosee oen taal boekie deen di leenga di boso mees ; pa ees aĩ anto mi a klee koemplie, tantoe koe mi poor, e dese di bosonan i mi a hasie oen boekie pa bosonan. Bosonan poor leselé i lo bosonan mira, koe mi a hasie ees aĩ na toer soorto i na toer tempoe i na toer okkasioon nan. Mi a skierbie tambee oen Gebeden-boekje deen di Ollandees, pa ees nan, koe ta konosee ees leenga ; i toch mi a hasie ees aĩ asina, koe e oeno boekie poor splika e otro, na manera, koe oen i oter di bosonan poor pidie soe mees pidiemeentoe.

Ma mi no klee, koe bosonan ta korda, koe ees aĩ ta kabba, si ta koos, koe bosonan tien so ees boekie aĩ ; bosonan meester leselé tambee ; pasoba mi a doenee *pa oesoe* di bosonan. Na otro parti mi no klee koe bosonan ta korda, koe ees boekie aĩ ta komplet ; i koe bosonan meester resa ees pidiemeentoe so moetsjoe bees pa ta sekoer, koe Djoos lo koempli toer bosonan dese nan. No ! ma mi a klee doena na bosonan deen di ees boekie aĩ algoen escempel, di manera, koom bosonan mees meester pidie Djoos fo di bosonan koerasoon.

Ees aĩ bosonan meester hasie kada dia i moetsjoe bees.

Toema anto ees boekie aĩ fo di mi manoe koe oen boon koerasoon. Leselé deen di bosonan so i deen di kompania koe otro nan, i lo Djoos doena bosonan soe biendisioon, koe lo bosonan poor oourélé deen berdad i deen spiritoe di bo. Djoos hiba pa ees aĩ tambee ees boekie aĩ, koe soe faboor, na e saloer di alina di toer bosonan, AMEN !!

Antagonisme katholiek en protestant

Het antagonisme tussen katholiek en protestant, zoals dat in 1847 aan de oppervlakte was gekomen, bleef een smeulend vuurtje, tot in 1879 het kerkverblijf in Canashito afbrandde, door protesterende katholieken uit Santa Cruz in brand gestoken uit protest tegen het volgens hen te ver opdringende protestantisme in dit buitengewest. De missie had plannen een school en kerk in Canashito te stichten. (Donk 2019, p. 129) In 1863 werd er in Santa Cruz een katholieke kerk gebouwd. Katholicisme en protestantisme waren geen vreedzame burens.

Het protestantse kerkverblijf in Canashito werd nog wel herbouwd, maar bleek intussen toch minder geschikt. Daarom werd Piedra Plat het nieuwe centrum voor de buitendiensten, waar in 1899 een eerste kerkdienst werd gehouden. In 1932 werd dit kerkje door een storm verwoest maar herbouwd en het dient nu nog steeds als protestants kerkgebouw met vanaf 1947 een eigen predikant. De diensten in Piedra Plat zijn tot vandaag de dag volledig in het Papiaments.

Incidenteel

Ook na het vertrek van dominee Kuiperi werd er sporadisch dienst gehouden in het Papiaments, zoals door dominee N.A. van Duyneveldt, die vanaf 1887 één keer per maand in het Papiamento preekte in Canashito. Op een doordeweekse avond werd vanaf 1888 ook in Oranjestad een keer per twee weken in het Papiamento gepreekt. G.J. Eybers die vanaf 1908 predikant in Oranjestad was, las soms preken in het Papiamento die voor hem vertaald werden: “toen ik pas hier kwam, werden preken, om het mij gemakkelijker te maken in Papiamentu vertaald - op zijn Hollandsch geschreven.” (*Amigoe*, 1915)

Toen dominee Eybers naar Curaçao vertrok, sprak de kerkenraad zijn voorkeur uit om een jonge predikant of godsdienstleraar te benoemen, omdat die ‘meer lust en geschiktheid zal bezitten Papiamentsch aan te leren’. (Archief van de Protestantse Gemeente Aruba, 1916)

Al was het Nederlands verreweg dominant, het Papiaments werd ook in de protestantse kerk niet helemaal afgewezen omdat men de mogelijkheden en zelfs noodzaak zag om in de nationale taal meer gelovigen te bereiken.

Het Nieuwe Testament in het Papiaments vertaald

Het was de Nederlandse dominee G.J. Eybers, van 1908 - 1917 predikant op Aruba, die de tien begin jaren van de twintigste eeuw het initiatief nam om het hele Nieuwe Testament van de Bijbel in het Papiaments te vertalen: “Een van de belangrijkste gebeurtenissen uit de geschiedenis van het Antilliaanse Protestantisme.” (Hartog 1970: 151)

Hij riep daarbij de onmisbare hulp in van zeven vrouwelijke *native speakers*: “Toen ik enkele jaren geleden meer belangstelling begon te krijgen voor Papiamentu, heb ik met behulp van enkele leden van een familie van Aruba, die hun taal, hoewel ze ook andere kennen, niet minachten, een schrijfwijze gevormd, waarvan ik geloof, dat Papiamentu

zulks eischt, waardoor men een beschaafde indruk ontvangt van het geschreven woord en die zooveel mogelijk in overeenstemming is met de etymologie der woorden. (*Amigoe* 23 oktober 1915)

Edith Mercelina (Shon Kichi) Croes, Susanna Geertruida van der Biest, Ana Elisabeth van der Biest, Sunilda Damasa Roos, Susannah Celestina van der Biest-Eman, Ida Croes en Sylva Octavia Lampe maakten een voorlopige vertaling naar het Arubaanse Papiaments, waarna de dominee deze proefvertaling vergeleek met de originele grondtekst: *fielmente traduci segun e texto original*. Hij had daarvoor een eigen spellingontwerp vervaardigd.

San Mateo - Capitulo 5: 1 - 12

1 Y ora qu Jesus a mira e multitud di hende, el a subi riba un ceru, y ora é tawata sinta ei riba, su discipelnan a yega ceca dje.

2 Y habriéndo su boca, é tawata siña nan, bisando.

3 Bienaventurá ta e pobernan di spiritu, pasoba reino di ciélunan ta di nan.

4 Bienaventurá ta e tristunan, pasoba nan lo haya consuelo.

5 Bienaventurá ta e suavenan di curazon, pasoba nan lo haya tera pa erencia.

6 Bienaventurá ta esnan, qu tin hamber y sedu di husticia, pasoba nan lo worde saciá.

7 Bienaventurá ta esnan, qu tin misericordia, pasoba nan lo haya misericordia.

8 Bienaventurá ta esnan di curazon puru, pasoba nan lo mira Dios.

9 Bienaventurá ta esnan, qu ta haci paz, pasoba nan lo worde yamá yiu di Dios.

10 Bienaventurá ta esnan, qu worde persigui pa causa di husticia, pasoba reino di ciélunan ta di nan.

11 Bienaventurá ta boso, ora nan ta zundra boso y persigui boso y gaña tur malu riba boso pa mi causa.

12 Sea contentu y alegre boso, pasoba boso pagu ta grandi den reino di ciélu; pasoba méscos nan a persigui e profetanan, qu tawata promé qu boso. (Nederlandsch Bijbelgenootschap, 1932)

Afbeelding 4 Proefvertaling naar het Arubaanse Papiaments, waarna dominee Eybers deze proefvertaling, in zijn eigen spellingontwerp, vergeleek met de originele grondtekst

In 1916 werd de vertaling door het Nederlands Bijbelgenootschap gepubliceerd in een oplage van duizend exemplaren, die onvoldoende bleek. Het Bijbelgenootschap meldde al in 1919 dat het ‘betreurt de gedrukte oplaag niet groter genomen te hebben’. In 1932 volgde daarom een ongewijzigde oplage in vijfduizend exemplaren.

Ook bij de Protestantse gemeente op Bonaire bleek er grote belangstelling voor de vertaling van 1916 in een tweede oplage van 1932.² In 1952 verscheen er een 'Bonairiaanse' herdruk, in 509 pagina's, met kleine aanpassingen, verzorgd door Ds. J.A. Fricke, Ch. (Cha) Hellmund en J.J.H. Hellmundt. In 1961 verscheen er nog weer een nieuwe oplage. Ook de Gideons-vereniging gebruikte de vertaling van 1916 voor haar bijbel-verspreidingsactiviteiten.

De stem van de vrouw

Het waren begin negentiende eeuw Curaçaose dames die de noodzaak van een eigen Arubaanse protestantse gemeente met succes bij hun kerkenraad aankaartten, het waren begin 20^e eeuw zeven Arubaanse dames die het aandurfdën een zo veelomvattend werk als de Bijbelvertaling van het Nieuwe Testament te maken. In tijden dat de publieke stem van de vrouw niet of nauwelijks gehoord werd, namen zij het initiatief. Vrouwen waren de pioniers.

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² Informatie van Cor Hoogerwerf

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HOW LINGUISTIC PARAMETERS AFFECT CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT AND LITERARY PRODUCTION

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Abstract

Literary production in any given country is a representation of how active and functional the literary circuit is there. It is an indication of the extent to which the literary sector is supported, structured and funded, and reflects social development. This article examines how the changing relationships between Papiamentu and Dutch in Aruba, which reflect the changing relationships between the island and The Netherlands, have impacted Aruban literary production from its beginnings in the late 1800s and early 1900s, to its florescence in the heady years of political and cultural change in the 1960s, and finally to its maturity thereafter.

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Key terms: Aruba, Aruban literature, Papiamentu, language and literary production, cultural development

The lack of consistent support from the state, as well as the absence of anything resembling the Booker Prize in the Anglophone Caribbean, most creative writers in Aruba and the rest of the Dutch Caribbean have found their literary output to be limited by extensive family responsibilities and their financial dependence on a career outside of literature. This means that for most of them, writing has not been their primary profession. In addition, most self-publish their works for a variety of reasons, including, their desire to retain control over content and copyrights, their wish to write in Papiamentu and about local themes (thus rendering their work less attractive to commercial publishing houses), their wish to avoid the possible rejection, the long delays and the high costs usually involved in commercial publication, their reticence to get ensnared in the often tedious processes of responding to reviewers, checking proofs, applying for ISBN numbers, doing public relations work, etc. For this reason, most of the works by Aruban writers cited below do not appear in the references section at the end of this

article, simply because there is no more data available about them than their authors, titles and dates which already appear in the main text, with publication data usually limited to 'self-published'.

The very first known instance of literary expression in Aruba were the poems of Mosa Lampe from the 19th century, which were all written in Dutch-German. It was only in the period between the World Wars that a number of other works appeared, such as *Aruba before and present* (1932) and *Pan Aruban: A History of Aruba* (1932) by H.E. Lampe. A few years later, two more publications, which together represented the establishment of a local literature, rolled off the printing press: *My Impressions of Curaçao* (1934) by H.E. Lampe and *Dioramas* (1938) by Jose Ramón Vicioso, who was born in Santo Domingo. During the 1940s, these were followed by five publications: *Rings, Aruban Anals* (1943) by William Rufus, and *Graciela* (1944), *Romance de Pascuas de Resurrección y otros poemas* (1945), *Triptico del destierro* (1945), and *Páginas Arubanas* (1946), all of which were collections of poetry by Jose Ramón Vicioso. Beside the fact that most of the literary works that appeared during this period had romantic and idyllic content, what also stands out is that Dutch, Spanish and English are the preferred literary languages, rather than Papiamentu, the home language of the overwhelming majority of Aruba's population. This began to change in the 1950s, as new faces appeared on the scene, such as V.S. Pieterella, whose works *Dora Deana y Flornan di amor* (1955) and *Dora Deana y su Lágrimanan* (1955) were written in Papiamentu. Shortly thereafter, J.K.Z. Lampe, a brother of H.E. Lampe, published his poetry collection *Poems* (1956).

The 1960s ushered in a revolution across the literary landscape of poets and storytellers on the island. Numerous newcomers made their debuts, such as Sophie Armand, Federico Oduber, Ernesto R. Rosenstand, Hubert Booi and Henry Habibe, all of whom would make their voices heard over the years to come. Along with these new writers came new content which was in stark contrast to the romantic and idyllic themes of the past, with the tone of many of the poets during this period becoming more socially conscious and critical. An example of this new genre of poetry is the collection *Realizing* (1961) by Federico Oduber, which manifests the prevailing influence of protests against the Vietnam War and the progressive politics of the student movements in the 1960s. In the same year, the first collection of stories about Aruban society *Cuentanan Rubiano* by Ernesto Rosenstand appeared in Papiamentu, followed by *Nos a topa na park* (1963) and *Cuentanan pa un y tur* (1965).

Later in the 1960s, Aruban dramatic writing commenced with the religious play *Golgotha* (1967) and the Indigenous-themed play *Amor di Kibaima* (1969), both by Hubert Booi, who was also busy in the cultural field, hosting *Nos Cultura*, a weekly television program broadcast via Tele-Aruba. As a poet who addressed themes as diverse as religion and nature, Hubert Booi was less known to the public, who recognized him instead, along with Tochi Kock, Ito Tromp and Julio Maduro, as a champion of the

Indigenist response to the Africanist movement in the Dutch Caribbean headed by the Curaçaoan poet Elis Juliana.

Most of the literary output from the period beginning in the 1970s consisted of novels and collections of short stories which, with a few exceptions, were rather descriptive in nature, and revealed much about the attitudes and structures that defined Aruban society at the time. For example, the story *Historia di un Kunukero* (1973) by Digna Lacle was not only about life in the Aruban countryside, but also about prevailing norms and values among rural Arubans. In the anthology *Di Nos* (1971), themes were limited to love, jealousy, alcohol abuse, loneliness and social disadvantage.

Ten years later, another anthology *Cosecha Arubiano* (1983) was published, which included the story *E burache filosofo/The drunken philosopher* (1978) by J. Mansur, about superficiality and triviality in life, as well as the slightly surreal story *E matananta papia* (1981) by Yosmar Sneek. In general, these themes differed somewhat from those in Dutch-language Aruban literature, as if the decision to write in Papiamentu rather than in Dutch had a major thematic impact on the content and even the genre of any given piece of creative writing. For example, for many years, it was taken for granted that no Aruban author could write a long novel in Papiamentu, but this has recently become less and less the case, since the appearance of the first full length Papiamentu-language novel *Sombra di recuerdo* (2012) by Quito Nicolaas, which consisted of no less than 400 pages.

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In the 1980s, Aruban literary production accelerated significantly. This was in no small degree due to the stimulus provided by the nationalist sentiment that led to Aruban autonomy or *Status Aparte*, i.e., the political separation of Aruba from the Federation of the Netherlands Antilles in 1986. In the run-up to 1986, 14 book titles saw the light of day and in 1986, 33 more emerged. In the 1980s, 78.8% of literary publications were in Papiamentu. Many assumed that this phenomenon could be attributed to a temporary outpouring of chauvanist expression in reaction to centuries of colonial and literary marginalization of Aruban language and culture by the Dutch. Instead, since the 1980s, the recognition and use of Papiamentu in Aruban literature has gone from strength to strength. In the 1990s (31 publications, or some 3 per year) and in the period from 2000 to 2015, (75 publications or 5 per year) no less than 64% were published in Papiamentu, as shown in Table 1.

The increase in the use of Papiamentu in literary work on Aruba can be explained to a significant degree by the increase in the prestige of Papiamentu and in the extension of the use of Papiamentu into more and more formal domains in the period leading up to

Table 1 Literary production by Aruban writers, 1970-2015

	Papiamentu	Dutch	English	Spanish	Total
1970s	11 (79%)	2	1	-	14
1980s	28 (85%)	4	1	-	33
1990s	20 (65%)	6	4	1	31
2000s	28 (76%)	6	3	-	37
2010-2015	20 (52.6%)	15 (39.5%)	3 (7.9%)	1 (0%)	38
Total	107 (70%)	33 (19%)	12 (8%)	2 (3%)	153

Source: Based on Rutgers (2016)

and after the watershed year of 1986. Some of the events that mark this process include the following (based on Hartog, 1993):

- 1965: Opening of the television station Tele-Aruba with prime-time news broadcast in Papiamentu, with English- and Spanish-language news broadcasts added later
- 1971: Founding of the MEP party, that advocated and achieved Aruban autonomy or *Status Aparte*
- 1972: Establishment of *Diario* the first Aruba-based and Aruba-focused Papiamentu-language daily newspaper
- 1975: Arubanization of government employeesin, cluding teachers, doctors, heads of department, etc.
- 1976: Adoption of the Aruban flag as a national symbol.
- 1976: Officialization of the Aruban etymologically-based orthography for Papiamentu
- 1978: Replacement of the former Dutch cultural agency by the Instituto di Cultura
- 1978: Debut of the radio program *Butishi di alegria* featuring homegrown music
- 1982: Opening of the Aruban Archaeological Museum
- 1982: Opening of the Aruban National Library
- 2002: Introduction of Papiamentu as subject in the first grades of secondary school
- 2003: Designation of Papiamentu (and Dutch) as the official languages of Aruba

The 1990s witnessed a breakthrough for Aruban writing in the Netherlands, with the publication of *Zuidstraat* (1992), the first Aruban-Dutch novel by Denis Henriquez. This happened at a time when the ‘big three’ Curaçaoan writers, F.M. Arion, B. van Leeuwen and T. Marugg, were no longer publishing. *Zuidstraat* was a biographical story by the author about the street where he grew up. In addition to *Zuidstraat* Denis

Henriquez went on to write three more novels: *Delft Blues* (1995), about student life in the city of Delft in the Netherlands, *The Summer of Alejandro Bulos* (1999), about a half-brother who, because of his elusive objective of achieving success in the Netherlands, had to distance himself from his biological mother, who was as the housemaid of the Bulos family, and *The Death of Rebecca Lopez Ikario* (2016) which takes place around the sickbed of the protagonists' aunt Rebecca, who had acted as her de facto mother.

A few other Aruban writers remained in the Netherlands, such as Giselle Ecury, Joan Leslie, Quito Nicolaas, Olga Orman and Frida Winklaar, all of whom who have contributed to Dutch Caribbean literature. Clyde Lo-A-Njoe should also be mentioned here. Under the auspices of publishing house In de Knipscheer, he successively published the poetry collections *Dansen* (1982) and *Mijn lief en leed* (2005), as well as the novels *Parelmoerpoeder* (2016), *Mallura* (2018), and *Het dossier van de drakendoder* (2021). Lo-A-Njoe writes not so much about Aruban themes, but instead about more global issues, such as mixed relationships, Edgar Allan Poe, the Chinese gang war in the red light district of Zeedijk in Amsterdam etc.

In Aruba itself, while more established authors, such as J. Mansur, H. Habibe, Philomena Wong and Ernesto Rosenstand, continued to write, Jacques Thönissen (1939-2023) made his debut with *Tears for the Macaw* (1998). He then went on to write *Island Gypsy* (2000), *The Call of the Troop* (2004), *Devah* (2010), *Under the Watapana* (2013), *The Black Madonna* (2015), and *Petrified Love* (2019). Thönissen was known for his socio-economically focused literary gaze under which he addressed the contradictions and excesses in society, such as lopsided inequalities that have no place in a prosperous state. He first focused on Aruban society and later his interest shifted to his birthplace of Limburg in the Netherlands. Overall, his oeuvre has proved to be singularly difficult to compare with that of other Aruban authors.

In summary, the use of language in literary production in Aruba can be said to have followed a historical trajectory that can be divided roughly into 4 stages that correlate to the level of prestige attached to the four languages on the island:

Late 1800s to 1945: Dutch, as the official language of education and the state predominates in literature, along with Spanish and English, as influential regional languages, with Papiamentu confined to the informal spheres of language use and absent from literary output

1945 to 1954: Spanish increases in influence in relation to Dutch, with English remaining important and Papiamentu still absent from use in formal venues such as published writing

1954 to 1970: Papiamentu makes a breakthrough into literary usage and steadily expands in prestige as well as in its use in more formal spheres, to some extent at the expense of Dutch, Spanish and English.

1970 to the present: Papiamentu becomes an official language of Aruba and the main language of Aruban literature, with Dutch in a distant second place, alongside a rapid decline in the use and prestige of Spanish, and an increasingly rapid rise in the use and prestige of English.

While the increase in prestige and formal recognition and use of Papiamentu on Aruba has been accompanied by an increase in literary output, much remains to be done to realize the full potential of Aruban creative writers. It could be said that up until now, the substantial successes achieved by Aruban authors (see for example: Smit & Heuvel, 1975; Frank Booi, 1983; Williams, 2000; Rutgers & Ramirez-Ramsbottom, 2006; Severing, Rutgers & Echteld, 2006; Habibe, 2014) have occurred in spite of, rather than because of, any meaningful support by the Dutch Kingdom, the European Netherlands, or the Aruban government. Moreover, in the Netherlands there is no possibility for authors based outside Europe to compete for literary prizes. In this respect, the European Netherlands on the one hand and the rest of the Dutch Kingdom (which includes Aruba) on the other, are two separate literary worlds with an impenetrable barrier between them. There is therefore an urgent need for legislation in the cultural sphere to be adjusted so that most cultural funds and prizes are extended in scope to the Entire Kingdom, and no longer limited in scope to within the borders of the European Netherlands.

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**SOUTHERN EPISTEMOLOGIES, SOUTHERN
PRAXES SOUTHERN EPISTEMOLOGIES,
SOUTHERN PRAXES AND THE LITERATURES
OF THE DUTCH CARIBBEAN**

EXPRESSIONS OF AFRO-ATLANTIC LANGUAGE AND CULTURE IN THE CREOLE POETRY OF THE FRENCH, DUTCH AND ENGLISH-SPEAKING CARIBBEAN

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Caribbean poetics comes into being primarily as an exploration of language. Language in Caribbean Literature is not merely a medium that makes the art possible, nor is it a neutral channel to convey ideas and sensations

Silvio Torres-Saillant (1997, p. 27)

Abstract

Poets from the French, Dutch and English-speaking Caribbean historically have periodically chosen to favor the creoles which are the people's vernacular and continue to do so today. This essay studies examples of Caribbean creole-language poetry in Haitian, Papiamentu and Jamaican. The essay examines the ways in which this poetry both embodies linguistic and literary emancipation and engages the shifting sociopolitical landscapes experienced by the writers and their audience at different points in time.

Key terms: African influences, creole language poetry, Haitian, Jamaican, Papiamentu

Introduction

Dis poem is just a part of the story

His-story her-story our-story the story still untold

(From "*Dis Poem*" Mutabaruka, 1987)

In the early years of the Caribbean colonies, speakers used creole languages formed during the language contact occasioned by the trans-Atlantic slave trade to express themselves in songs which were occasionally committed to writing. Scholars have analyzed early Afro-Caribbean songs rendered in verse; D'Costa (2014a) notes that: "Deep in these language cultures were the oral literatures of many peoples" (p. 23).

Early Afro-Caribbean song-poems, reflect an oral-written relationship that continues today in the performance of creole-language poetry. Modern creole-language poetry is

written and recited from memory for an audience by poets such as Curaçaoan Mishenu Osepa-Cicilia and Haitian Boadiba and written/recited/recorded with music by Jamaican dub poets such as Oku Onuora (Orlando Wong) and Mutabaruka (Allan Hope). It is beyond the scope of this essay to discuss the ramifications of this oral-written relationship, but as Lalla et al. (2014) importantly note in *Caribbean Literary Discourse*, although creole language poetry often appears to be a relatively recent phenomenon “this explosion of verbal art was neither new nor sudden; the intricate mutual involvement of scribal and oral in this developing literary discourse has – like a force of nature – proceeded irresistibly for centuries” (p. 1).

Linguistic literary emancipation in the Afro-Atlantic world

*... dem start fe try tun language,
From de fourteen century,
Five hundred years gawn an dem got
More dialect than we!*
[...they start to try to turn [English into] a language
From the fourteenth century
Five hundred years have passed and they have
More dialects than we do!]

(From “*Bans a Killin*” Louise Bennett 1966, trans. Oxford UP learning link)

In the fourteenth century, Geoffrey Chaucer and a handful of other writers broke with literary tradition and composed verse not in Latin nor the French spoken by the elite in England since the Norman French conquest three centuries earlier. Instead, their poems were written in the people’s vernacular, the medieval dialects which historical linguists refer to as Middle English (Millward & Hayes, 2012). Heavily influenced by language contact brought about by both the Norman invasion and that of Old Norse-speaking Vikings earlier, Middle English, it is worth noting here, is claimed as a creole language by a few modern linguists (O’Neil, 2019). Importantly the choice of the people’s vernacular, reflects, in the words of R. H. Robbins (1979, reported in Potter, 1991), the fact that, “Middle English itself, by its very existence, advocated dissent ... [for Chaucer] to break away from Latin or French and use English *was* a major act of rebellion” (p. 73).

Centuries later, poetic rebellion has continued in the linguistic choices Caribbean writers make when they choose to compose in creole languages instead of languages directly inherited from Europe. The Barbadian poet and scholar, Edward Kamau Brathwaite stated in an interview in the early 1980’s:

We are at the stage Chaucer was in his time. That’s my assessment of it. Chaucer had just started to gel English, French and Latin. We are doing the same thing with our creole concepts, our Standard English, our American and our modernism. (McCrum et al., 1986, p. 313)

Such writing also consciously expresses Afro-Caribbean culture in its rejection of the emulation of European literary traditions. In describing literature written in the creole language Papiamentu in the Dutch Caribbean, Broek (2007, p. 10) refers to the “Antillean literary emancipation” authors sought when they both expressed themselves in the people’s vernacular and reflected on aspects of their Afro-Caribbean reality.

That political emancipation in the Caribbean did not necessarily imply literary emancipation is illustrated by the poems collected in the *Poetry of Haitian Independence*, where Kadish and Jenson (2015, pp. xv-xvi) note that many of the poets “were among the most privileged members of the new society” and longed for “long centuries of grandeur and of peace,” and that, therefore, French was the language in which poets of the new republic of Haiti (1804) chose to express themselves. In addition, Kadish and Jenson illustrate ways in which the verse of post-independence Haitian poets such as Hérard Dumesle refers both to aspects of Afro-Caribbean culture such as Vodou figures and practices, which Kadish and Jenson argue “appropriate[s] a variety of themes and materials from the European repertoire” and reflects, among other things, “a tribute to the democratic values of Greek society” (2015, p. xxx). Kadish and Jenson suggest that Haitian poetry published post-independence, thus:

represents a transitional moment between the diverse arts and cultures brought from Africa and the poetry later in Haitian history that would represent the black republic in Creole (Kreyòl), which was only rarely used to transcribe or preserve cultural productions in the early years of the Haitian nation. (p. xxiv)

In Caribbean societies where creoles are spoken, the question of which languages and themes are suitable for poetry especially concerned authors in the twentieth century. Edouard Glissant of Martinique contrasts “Free and Forced Poetics,” asserting that forced poetics is characterized by the confrontation between “the drive for expression” and the “idiom which is suggested or imposed historically” (1976, p. 95). Extolling “nation language” and the “liberation of the voice in Caribbean poetry,” Brathwaite recommends that: “What we need, now, to go along with the liberation, is a re-orientation of criticism, an aesthetic, that will help us to re-define our current pseudo-classical notions of literature” (1984, p. 49).

Assertions of the liberating benefits of poetry written in creole have continued in recent decades. For example, Cornet (2017) maintains that the Papiamentu poetry of Mishenu Osepa-Cicilia, mentioned above, “calls for a postcolonial liberation in every aspect of life” (p. 191). Below is an excerpt from Osepa-Cicilia’s poem “*Buska Muhe*” [Search, Woman] from her 2009 collection *Librami* [Free Me] translated by Cornet (2017, p. 195):

*Sí. Koba. Buska. Tin libertat
Pasa man na kara I no yora mas
Tin hopi pas, hopi kosnan bon
Den bo nan ta, saka nan afó*

[Yes. Dig. Search. There's Freedom.
Wipe your face don't cry anymore
There's lots of peace, lots of good things
They are inside you, release them.]

Cornet states that this poem “addresses Dutch Caribbean women directly by instructing them to ‘hold on’ and continue the search for consciousness, growth, and autonomy” (2017, p. 194). Cornet concludes that in Osepa-Cicilia’s Papiamentu poetry “the periphery becomes the center, and Papiamentu becomes the vernacular for holistic liberation and freedom” (p. 194).

Engaging with a shifting sociopolitical landscape

*Gangan, mèt-bann, chef kanbiz
Voye ason, woule tanbou, separe manje
Tout mo kreyòl tonbe nan won
Ap fout bay lamizè payèt*

[Magician, maestro, quartermaster
Shake the ason, roll the drum, dish out the food
All creole words are falling into the dance
To damnwell strut our stuff in the face of misery]

(From “Moriso-Lewa/Morisseau-Leroy” Max Manigat, 2001, p. xx) (all translations are by the present author, unless specified otherwise)

Just as the poet Chaucer promoted his language during a time when sociopolitical changes favored an improvement in the status of English (the loss of English possessions in France, the plague known as the Black Death and the Hundred Years War between England and France), enthusiasm for creole-language poetry can be seen as a response to seismic sociopolitical changes in the Caribbean starting with the trans-Atlantic slave trade.

The earliest extant Caribbean verse written in creole may be the Kreyòl poem “*Lisette quitté la plaine*,” a lover’s lament composed in the mid-eighteenth century, decades before Haitian independence (Lang, 2004, p. 128). A “song text,” the website of the Lisette Project states that it “was written in Saint-Domingue around 1757 by the white colonist Duvier de la Mahautière” dramatizing the “plight of an enslaved African man” (2021, parag. 1). The poem was received as a response to the evils of slavery; the Lisette Project observes that:

In 1778, Swiss-born composer and philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau received a copy of ‘Lisette quitté la plaine’ and set it to a new melody. He named the new song, “Chanson Nègre.” Scholars understand Rousseau’s setting as a rare political statement from the enlightenment philosopher denouncing slavery in the French colonies. (Lisette Project, 2021, parag. 2)

In the first decade of the twentieth century, a number of Haitian poets and novelists began to produce poetry written in Haitian (Kreyòl). Robertshaw (2018, p. 4) claims that they were part of a struggle whose goal was “incorporating Haiti’s monolingual peasant majority into public life.” Their work, Robertshaw asserts became “classics of Haitian literature ... which could have engendered a major shift in the acceptability of and attitudes toward Creole were it not for the political collapse of the early 1910s and the subsequent American Occupation” (p. 5). One response to the occupation was an emphasis on French language and culture. Another response by “*Indegéniste* poets and theorists” rejected American interference, but also “contested the reduction of Haitian culture to its French elements and strove for a new national solidarity based on shared African heritage” (Robertshaw, 2018, p. 7). Robertshaw notes that “Creole had a major role to play in this project. The *Indigénistes*, however, had a more limited immediate impact on the status of Creole than one might expect, and it was left to later generations to adapt their ideas to the struggle for language rights” (p. 7).

Robertshaw (2020) evaluates this later period stating, “The twenty-three years (1934-1957) between the end of the US Occupation and the start of the Duvalier era were a dynamic period of introspection and change in Haitian society” which featured a “renaissance in Kreyòl-language literature” (p. 4). Prominent among this later generation is Félix Morisseau-Leroy (Felix Moriso-Lewa). Legros Georges (2017) asserts that “Morisseau-Leroy’s decision to use Creole as a language of literary production was decidedly a political one – one that initially met resistance in the country’s influential and Francophone literary circles” (p. 354). Legros Georges (2017) observes that Morisseau-Leroy recited his poems over the radio, so that “those who encountered his Haitian-Creole poems for the first time often heard them broadcast,” which allowed those in the Haitian diaspora to hear them abroad as well (p. 354).

Below is an excerpt from “*Kristyan Bolye o*” (1953) translated by Robertshaw (2020, pp. 5, 28):

M ap ekri yon liv nan lang pa m
Mesye a yo mèt ri
M konn sa m ap fè
M gen 2 ou 3 bagay pou m di
M gen yon koze pou m koze
Ak moun pa m
 [I’m writing a book in my own language
 The gentlemen may laugh
 I know what I’m doing
 I have two or three things to say
 I have something to talk about
 With my people]

In the Dutch Caribbean also, the periods at the beginning and midpoint of the twentieth century produced poetry in which the linguistic choices reflect sociopolitical shifts. Joseph Sickman Corsen published his famous poem “*Atardi*” [Evening] in Papiamentu in 1905. Noting that most writing was done in Spanish, or less frequently French or even Dutch, van Putte-de Windt (1998, p. 654) comments that “It could be said that the use of Papiamentu in this poem, especially at that time, was the onset of a verbal rebellion within literature.” In her essay focused on “Papiamentu, cultural resistance and socio-cultural challenges” Eckkrammer (2007, p. 76) describes the “so-called oil turn” at the turn of the century when oil companies such as Shell built major refineries resulting in “an intensification of migratory processes” in which “many European Dutch, Surinamese, Portuguese and inhabitants of the British West Indies” moved to Curaçao and Aruba. As a result, the Netherlands took over education and Dutch ended up becoming the sole medium of instruction not only in Curaçao and Aruba, but throughout the Dutch Caribbean, where Papiamentu/o was banned from the schools. Rutgers (2011, p. 177) states that during the same period “the Dutch colonial regime underwent a profound shift in official ideological orientation toward its overseas territories, signaled by the ratification of the *Algemeen Nederlands Verbond* [General Dutch Treaty],” in which Dutch colonies came to be considered as developing countries which needed cultural re-orientation. Corsen wrote Papiamentu poetry at a time when “Dutch language, culture and education were now to become vehicles for ‘civilization’” (p. 177).

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Corsen had lived some time in Venezuela, and he wrote many poems in Spanish. However, he seems to have been motivated to produce a few in Papiamentu at this time to show the worth of the national language of his native Curaçao. Rutgers (2011, p. 175) reports the research of Henry Habibe which found that “*Atardi*” was actually a translation of one of Corsen’s Spanish poems “*Cae el Sol*” [The Sunset]. Habibe (2006) claims that the poet “wanted to prove that poetry was most certainly possible in the Papiamentu” (p. 37 reported in Rutgers, 2011, p. 175). However, it was not only Corsen’s choice of language that appealed to fellow Curaçaoans. Van Putte-de Windt (1998) states that in a subsequent Papiamentu poem, “*Ata nubia*” [There are the clouds], Corsen “treats a theme that would inspire many later poets: our native land, notwithstanding all its shortcomings, still instills pride in us all” (p. 654).

Both the onset of World War II and the increased pressure for independence throughout the European colonies had deep sociopolitical ramifications in the Caribbean. Eckkrammer (2007, p. 85) states:

It is no surprise that literature written in Papiamentu, especially in poetry and fictional prose, increases markedly in popularity at the time when the navelstring tying the islands to the motherland [the Netherlands] is weakened during World War II.

Eckkrammer (2007) characterizes the collection of poetry entitled *Patria* (1940) by Pierre Lauffer at this time as launching “the formation of an authentic literary movement, which is still today regarded as a milestone in the development of an independent Creole literature in Papiamentu” (p. 85).

In the Anglophone Caribbean, poetry written in the people’s vernacular also appears both at the beginning and midway through the twentieth century. For example, two early collections of poems by Jamaican author Claude McKay, *Songs of Jamaica* (1911) and *Constab Ballads* (1912) are identified as being, for the most part, written in “West Indian dialect.” Based on the poems themselves, the language appears to be a compromise between “deep creole” and a variety of Standard English. Smith (1948) regards McKay’s early poetry as a response to the sociopolitical tensions present in the British colony at the time:

McKay fits into a pattern of thought which had its genesis directly after World War I His strongest attribute was the extreme dislike for prevailing standards of racial discrimination Negroes had no swords so the poets took up pens for them (p. 270).

The excerpt below is from the poem “*Whe else fe do?*” reproduced in Hansel (1979, p. 127) who translates the title as ‘What Should One Do?’

*And though de wul’ is full o’ wrong,
Dat caan’ prevent we sing we song
All de day as we wuk along –
Whe’else fe do?*

[And though the world is full of wrong,
That can’t prevent us from singing our song
All the day as we work along –
What else can we do?]

Cooper (1996) assesses the significance of McKay’s early poetry:

No black West Indian educated in the British imperial tradition had ever before attempted to use a local island dialect as his primary poetic medium. Ever since the eighteenth century, British West Indian poets, black and white, had with few exceptions striven to duplicate in language and form the traditions of English verse. (pp. 35-36)

Half a century later, Louise Bennett (Coverley) published her collection of poems in Jamaican Patois titled *Jamaica Labrish* (1966), which D’Costa (2014b, p. 157) states “spans the period beginning with the outbreak of World War II and leading to Jamaican independence in 1962.” Bennett both performed and published her poetry, which is characterized by its response to sociopolitical events and issues of cultural identity. For example, her poem “Colonization in Reverse” refers to Afro-Caribbean migration to England after the war. The migrants were known as the “Windrush Generation” after the ship, the *Empire Windrush*, which sailed in 1948, but Grant (2019) states that over

a fifteen-year period, some 300,000 people migrated from the Caribbean to Britain. An excerpt from Bennett's poem illustrates her humor and irony (Bennett, 1966, p. 179):

Wat a devilment a Englan!
Dem face war an brave de worse,
But me wondering how dem gwine stan
Colonizin in revers
[What confusion and excitement in England
They faced war, and braved the worst,
but I'm wondering how they will manage
colonizing in reverse.]
(trans I&I iduRae Interpretations, parag. 10)

In particular, Morris (2014) stresses Bennett's importance during the long fight for independence and among subsequent generations of Jamaicans:

Colonial education had induced in many Jamaicans—more than ninety per cent of us black and descended from Africans brought to the New World as slaves—a tendency to undervalue African elements in Jamaican culture. It became the lifelong project of Louise Bennett, working in a variety of modes, to increase the recognition of these elements Her life and work have contributed greatly—and continue to contribute—to Jamaican self-discovery and self-acceptance. (p. 3)

206 It has been noted that many Caribbean poets themselves immigrated, sometimes to Europe, sometimes to Africa, and often to North America. For example, as a result of the Duvalier regime, the Haitian poet Felix Morisseau-Leroy lived in exile first in Paris and then in Miami. An excerpt from his Kreyòl poem *Chouchoun* [Shooshoon] illustrates some of the motivations for immigration (Laraque & Hirschman, 2001, p. 2):

Kou m'gan kochma
Se tonton makout m'plede reve
Lôt jou m'reve
Y-ap fè-m pote sèkèy mwen sou do-m
[Whenever I have nightmares
It's the tonton macoutes I'm dreaming about
The other night I dreamed
They made me carry my coffin on my back]
(trans. Jack Hirschman)

In addition, some creole language poetry reflects the alienation Caribbean poets who moved abroad even temporarily experienced, reflected in the excerpt of a 1958 Papiamentu poem by Frank Martinus Arion (Arion et al., 1998, p. 533):

M'a kai den sneu
Bo n'por sakami
Kai band'e mi anto

Si bo por a papia
Papiamentu
Lo m'a yamabu dushi
 [I fell in deep snow
 If you cannot save me
 Then lie down beside me
 If only you spoke
Papiamentu
 I would call you my lover]

Creole-language poetry in the twenty-first century

Much of the creole-language poetry from previous eras discussed above has continued to be popular both in the Caribbean and among diaspora populations. Even the earliest poem mentioned continues to inspire. The eighteenth-century poem and song “*Lisette quitté la plaine*” accompanied refugees from the Haitian revolution to Louisiana, as well as, other Caribbean colonies. Anthologized in the US in 1902, Lisette was once more celebrated in Haiti in the 1920’s by Haitian pianist and composer Ludovic Lamothe. This tradition lives on in the twenty-first century through the 2022 documentary “*Lisette*,” screened at US universities in 2023 (see Lisette Project).

In the Dutch Caribbean, J. S. Corsen’s poem “*Atardi*,” states Rutgers (2011, p. 181) “enjoys increasing popularity in recent years [A]fter almost being condemned to oblivion for a while during the age of dutchification in the interbellum period – [it] has resurfaced in the literary life of Curaçao.” As Rutgers points out, “*Atardi*” has been set to music and recited or sung by various artists (p. 181). Currently a few such performances can be watched on YouTube. For example, a video identified as “*Atardi Jacobo Palm [composer] (1887-1982) poem by Josef S. Corsen*,” in which the poem is sung by Thea van Dalen and Thijs Haalstra to piano accompaniment was uploaded to YouTube in 2019 and can be watched today (de Bell, 2019). As this is identified as a performance of “*Latin Classics 2019, Mi Curaçao*” at the Avila Beach Hotel in Curaçao, we can speculate that the intended audience may have included non-creole speaking tourists.

In the Anglophone Caribbean, footage of earlier performances by Louise Bennett can be found on YouTube (Ankhobia, 2012), as well as, performances of poems such as “*Colonization/Colonizing in Reverse*” by other Jamaican poets and teachers and school-children (Wasafiri, 2018; Jamaica Information Service, 2016). In addition, analysis of the poem appears to be particularly popular among academics in Britain’s ex-colonies who include it as part of discussions of post-colonial literature. For example, Indian professors have uploaded readings and lectures of the poem to YouTube presented in English and languages like Malayalam.

It is fair to say that the most recent generation of creole-language poets are very involved in performing their poetry for people living in the Caribbean and/or those living

abroad. In addition, many of the newer generation of creole-language poets are adept at using the media tools available to reach their audiences and have been featured in discussions of their poetry on platforms like YouTube.

A representative of this generation is the Haitian poet Patrick Sylvain/Patrik Silven. Sylvain (2023) composes poetry in Kreyòl such as the excerpt of “*Paradis Selès*” [Heaven] below:

*Mwen te entèvyouwe mò yo. Etoudi
Yo te vle ale nan syèl, men Sen Pyè bare
wout yo poutèt yo pa te gen soulye
[I have interviewed the dead. Dumbfounded
They wanted to go to heaven, but Saint Peter
blocked their paths for not having shoes.]*

Sylvain uses his trilinguality to promote his poetry and his native Haiti across multiple platforms. An example of what Cornet (2017, p. 175) terms the “linguistic and cosmopolitan multiplicity,” of Caribbean poets, Sylvain is a professor in the US, who in his words writes in English and Haitian “to show that Haitian is the lingua franca of Haiti, and [that] it must be valorized (more so than French, which is the language of power)” (Sylvain, 2023, Author’s note). Anthologized in *Open Gate* (Laraque & Hirschman, 2001), Sylvain’s poetry in both languages has been widely published. In addition, both his poetry and other writings have been featured on cable news platforms like CNN (see Sylvain & Joseph, 2010) and in interviews on community access television, subsequently uploaded to YouTube, “Haitian Poetry in Three Languages” (Somerville Media Center, 2015). Sylvain also has appeared in a number of other YouTube videos such as “*Pwomosyon lang ak kilti ayisyen*” (Hogu, 2021). Thus, writers such as Sylvain represent responses to the new opportunities and challenges which engage a new generation of Caribbean creole-speaking poets.

Conclusion

Poets from the French, Dutch and English-speaking Caribbean have periodically chosen to favor the creoles which are the people’s vernacular and continue to do so today. Following a tradition at least as old as Chaucer they have often eschewed writing in the literary languages they were trained in. More importantly, they embody an Afro-Atlantic expression whose verbal art intricately involves mutual scribal and oral discourse, as noted by Lalla et al. (2014) above. Their linguistic and cosmopolitan multiplicity, in the words of Cornet (2017), uniquely positions them to be voices of linguistic and literary liberation, voices which engage the shifting sociopolitical landscapes of their Caribbean homes and diasporic communities.

*M’pa t’janm konnen out e gangan
Men ou fè mèvèy moun ret baba
Lan men-w pòt-plim tounen ason*

Pou fè tout mo kreyòl dyayi
 [I never knew you were a musician
 But you do wonders that leave me speechless
 In your hand a pen becomes a ritual rattle
 Making all creole words convulse.]
 (“*Morissea-Leroy*” Max Manigat, 2001, p. xx)

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DESIRE AS A MONSTER: VISIBLE AND INVISIBLE MONSTERS IN JOSSY TROMP'S "THE AFTERNOON WIND"

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Abstract

This article focuses on the appearances of monsters and their role as a physical phenomenon and as a product of the mind in Aruban author Jossy Tromp's (1998) short story "*E biento di atardi*" ["The Afternoon Wind"]. The representations of visible and invisible/ incorporeal monsters are examined in terms of their origin and their functionality in relation to the characters and the story. The narratives create a space where monstrosities are both hidden and revealed at the same time. The invisible monsters in the story find their origin in desires, while the visible monsters show up as a replication of the imaginary ones. This article aims to demonstrate that desire is the main reason for the existence of these horrendous creatures, which are the productions of the incestuous past of the characters who live on an island that has been branded as paradise. With their presence, they subvert the story and at the same time, they deconstruct the 'One Happy Island' image of Aruba. This intense longing creates horror and, together with the environment of the island that is the setting of the story, they render this 'happy island' a desert of inaccessible harshness and drought, which becomes a space inhabited by the living and the dead at the same time.

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Key terms: Aruba; Jossy Tromp; narrative; monsters; incest

Introduction

From the onset of the European conquest of the Caribbean in 1492 by Columbus (and of Aruba in 1499 by Alonso de Ojeda) up until the present day, myths about the Caribbean islands as an exotic paradise have been created in parallel to myths about the monstrous creatures that live there (Braham, 2016). Bright images of tropical beaches, exotic cultures and exciting music in the touristic brochures collide with darker images of mysterious religions and cults (Hugan, 2018, pp. 126-141). This western gaze is paralleled

by a local tradition of oral storytelling that has great influence in Caribbean writing (Vété-Congolo, 2016) and these stories can be a way to unveil monstrosities on the islands that are kept secret in daily life. In the fictional work of contemporary author Jossy Tromp, we can find uncanny places, monstrous creatures, ghosts and harsh circumstances that deconstruct the image of paradise. Tromp, an Aruban writer of fiction and poetry in Papiamentu, was born in Aruba in 1954, studied biology and law, and was a school teacher at the largest higher secondary school of the island. He made his debut as a writer in 1988 with the collection of short stories, titled *Cetilalma y otro cuentanan Arubiano* [*Cetilalma and other Aruban Stories*] (all translations are by the present author, unless specified otherwise). *Gabilan* [*Hawk*] (2009) was his first collection of poems and *Na caminda* [*On the way*] (2015) his second. His other works include a play, titled *Camid'i cruz* [*Crossroad*] (2015) as well as five volumes of short stories.

We can deduce from the titles of his collections of short stories that Tromp frames his stories as typically Aruban. In “*E biento di atardi*” he constructs a fantasized, imaginary, surreal and baroque island that resembles Aruba but is inhabited by monstrous entities and eerie characters with deep desires. With almost no escape possible, the setting infested with evil, desire, taboo, secrecy, decay, threat and superstition, while the wind, the draught, the sea, the dust and the cacti function as repulsive companions to the characters. In this story there are traumatic occurrences that have occurred in the past that are not being acknowledged in the present, and this may explain why the protagonist has such great and uncontrollable desire and why he invents/ perceives monsters. These monstrous appearances show up and hide at the same time, in order to play with the narrator, the text and the reader.

In this article, I will analyse the presence of monstrous creatures and constructions in the story “The Afternoon Wind” in order to identify what their functions are in relation to desire in the story. I will elucidate this connection between monstrosity and longing in order to demonstrate the historical memory of recurring incidences of incest that are routinely covered up in the Caribbean.

Synopsis of “The Afternoon Wind”

The story is told in an analepsis by Alejandro Simon Silvester, the narrator and main character, as an adult living on his own. He reflects on his lonely boyhood with his grandparents Mamachi and Papachi in a desolate and dilapidated granary after his mother (their daughter) died, when the visits of the monster started. Now as a grown-up, the creature returns to him after all those years and after he has moved to another place, and in flashbacks we get information about the visits in the past when he was still young and longing for his mother.

Alejandro is in a constant state of doubt as to what is actually happening and what is a creation of his mind. On the one hand, he accepts the presence of different kinds of monsters, but on the other hand, he does not fully understand why they come to him.

One specific creature makes more contact than others: a horrible presence from another world that makes sharp noises and has frightening eyes like fire worms, large donkey ears, plastic-like wet wings and hot breath (Tromp, 1998, p. 5). The color of its skin is grey and its back has short hairs on it and it smells like decayed rats and sulphur. Other creatures that invade the story are ugly bulges, devils, beasts, bad souls, shapeshifters and the prince of bad dreams.

Alejandro Simon Silvestre relates the existence of the creatures to a hideous family secret, and he sometimes confuses a specific monster with his mother Altagracia. While his grandparents took care of him, Mamachi held him responsible for their misfortunes. As for the grandfather, he is occasionally considered to be dead in the story, even while he is still among the living. Beside Altagracia, Mamachi and Papachi had one other child, Federico, who died as a young man in the sea when he went fishing with his father during a heavy storm. On his mother's demise, Alejandro comments:

my mother is dead for a long time now. The last memory of her was during that afternoon when I saw her lying in her bed ... the room was full of white doves.

On her right side there was a guardian angel. (Tromp, 1998, p. 41)

Before she died, his mother promised him that she would come back to him and ever since that moment, he has been longing for her return. We do not know who his father is, but his existence is surrounded by assumptions, accusations and secrecy.

The supposedly dead grandfather dwells in the granary, waiting for a horrendous creature to come and visit him every day, but refuses to accept his end. Halfway through the story the old man is found in the granary with hatchet cuts all over his body, his belly cut open and a huge amount of blood gushing out of it. The narrator recounts that "they wanted to cut him in pieces, but something hindered them" (Tromp, 1998, p. 25). Doubts and bewilderment, however, swirl around the circumstances of his demise: "the news about his death caused a lot of unrest. There were many versions of his death. Many of these were rumours, while others were speculations" (p. 34).

Mamachi is an evil woman and she keeps harassing him despite her love for him. The boy thinks that she is a wicked lunatic, because, according to him she has always been doing strange things and she could see the devil, spirits and beheaded creatures (Tromp, 1998, p. 40) The old woman also curses Altagracia because of something that she probably did in the past, which was considered intolerable. The grandmother repeatedly communicates with her dead children accusing them of having abandoned her and begging them to come back.

Alejandro is continually haunted by the absence of his mother, by his desire to be with her again and by the presence of a monstrous being and its accomplices. The deformed figure returns to him in his adulthood, along with his awful memories of life at the granary. In the end, the creature changes into the image of his mother seducing him with her beautiful face and body. As Alejandro starts to question his sanity and is tempted to follow her, she is transformed into a big bat and flies out of the window. Monstrous

relationships are constantly accompanied by monstrous creatures and the monstrous surroundings of the island, as the afternoon wind guides the bat's flapping wings.

Alejandro doubts his own existence and gets confused about what is reality and what is his own invention. He constantly informs the reader that he is creating his own stories and inventing his life: "Maybe I was just fantasizing things or maybe I was imagining them. Maybe. On the other hand, it was not the first time that my brain was creating its own monsters" (Tromp, 1998, p. 7) and "I cannot remember if I was dreaming or if it was happening for real. In my case it does not matter anyhow, because of the subtle difference that exists according to me between dream and reality" (p. 21).

The narrator's voice is inconsistent and unreliable and seems to be deliberately trying to confuse the reader, creating chaos, repetition, chasms and doubts in the narration. Sometimes the narration is appropriated by the voice of the grandmother, and it looks like Alejandro is mimicking her (see pp 26-27; 34-35) and on other occasions, there is an exterior narrator that describes an occurrence outside the perception of Alejandro and his grandmother, for instance, in the fragment where Federico dies (p. 28).

Monsters

According to Aristotle: "The first characteristic of the monster is to be different" (Aristotle, cited in Arnold, 1996, p. 24), while Michael Palencia-Roth (1997) makes reference to the similarities and differences between human beings and monsters when he says that:

The monster- *teras* in Greek, *monstrum* in Latin- generally is a creature similar to yet different from human beings. Both the similarity and the difference are important in the term's semantic field. A monster deviates from accepted norms of humanity. This may be a simple thought, but it has enormous consequences. (p. 24, italics in original)

The degree to which a certain phenomenon and its behaviour diverges from what can be considered as normative is relevant. Palencia-Roth situates a paradigm of monstrosity and teratology in the writing of Homer, commenting on how the bard said that "The Cyclops, or Polyphemus, is a 'monstrous man'" (*Odyssey* 9:187, cited in Palencia-Roth, 1997, p. 25) both biologically and morally: biologically, through his gigantic size and his single eye, and morally, through barbarous practices and attitudes" and that he lives "beyond the borders of the known world" (Palencia-Roth, 1997, p. 25). The monstrous exists between the human and the other, the real and the fictional, the known and the unknown and between the conscious and the unconscious.

"*Monster* derives from the Latin word *monstrum*, which in turn derives from the root *monere* (to warn)" (Asma, 2009, p. 13, italics in original) and thus monsters reveal and warn at the same time. Hock-soon Ng (2004) argues in a similar vein that the word monster "is derived from the Latin *monstrum*, from which the verb *monstrare* ('show' or 'reveal') and *monere* ('warn' or 'portend') are formed, and which also refers to a

divine omen that announces God's (or the gods') will or judgment" (Hock-soon Ng, 2004, p. 4, italics in original). Hock-soon Ng further observes that "major nineteenth-century Gothic narratives, especially *fin de siècle* Gothic, situate the monster as geographically and physically other, [while] the monster in much contemporary literature is located, by contrast, in an 'elsewhere' that is intimately within us" (2004, p. 1). He states that the monster:

ruptures the reality of the self from *within* the subject - it reveals that the self is ultimately a complex 'construction' of society, culture, language and ideology, one which, in the process of becoming constructed, has subjugated 'something' more fundamental within the self. But this 'something' cannot be totally erased, and given the right circumstances, can return to disrupt the frail construction. (Hock-soon Ng, 2004, pp. 1-2, italics in original)

This misshapen monstrous entity is different from what we consider as 'normal', it deviates from our perception of standardness and belongs to 'otherness'. Cohen (1996) uses the terms 'corporeal' and 'incorporeal' to categorize types of monsters. While the former can be anatomically described, the latter is body-less, immaterial, like the wind, a shadow or a sound. Cohen specifies that "the monster's body is both corporeal and incorporeal" (Cohen, 1996, p. 5). I prefer to make a distinction between the visible and invisible, because according to me, an incorporeal entity can still be visible in the form of a vision or shadow, while an invisible entity is hidden and/ or not optically perceptible. Monsters can also be visible to some, but not discernible to others.

Santiesteban (2000) claims that "the monster is image and even when the monster is verbally recreated, it remains primordially visual. The reader imagines the figure that is referred to by the word and completes the visual impression in his mind" (Santiesteban, 2000, p. 125). According to him, it:

is not an idea but a reflection in the mirror, a distorted mirror, and therefore, deforming; but the reflected object is real before the deformation, before the experience, it belongs to a general objective reality. Once deformed, it will be part of the fictional reality. (p. 125)

He suggests that its presence in fiction has different functions, and its objective is to attract and repel at the same time (pp. 121-122). This is observable in Alejandro's desire for his mother and for the creature disguised as his mother at the same time. There is a constant repetition of the same contradiction, making it impossible for Alejandro to escape from this appealing monstrosity. According to Freud:

what renders an event, situation, thing, or a piece of art uncanny is repetition. The constant recurrence of the same thing is the principal factor that accounts for the feeling of the uncanny. The inner compulsion to repeat ... is a feature of the human psyche that brings about feelings of uncanniness. (Freud, cited in Schweigert, 2010, p. 19-20)

Santiesteban (2000) emphasizes that the monster persists in “its ornamental use” and that it “stays in the artistic usage”, thereby becoming a baroque construction (p. 122). The image of the monstrous figure can transform into other forms: a physically abhorrent creature can “be accompanied by a shadow, a mystery or a marginality” (p. 124). In “The Afternoon Wind” the physical monster appears together with an incorporeal form, like the wind, the rain, the drought and other elements of nature, which are depicted as part of the same monstrosity. The visible being demands to reveal something hidden, such as a secret or a desire, while the invisible being wants to hide something. The grandmother warns her grandson that the evening wind is evil: “The treacherous wind brings all kinds of bad souls with it and they try to abduct you” (Tromp, 1998, p. 12). Bloom Bissonette (2010) states that:

just as our nightmares are lurid and irrational actualizations of fears we have about conditions in our ‘real’ lives, the monster as the embodiment of verbs, or *to reveal* and *to warn*, suggests the making visible of things otherwise unseen and unknowable: past sin, future apocalypse, or ... present ideology. (p. 113)

The monster lives among us and is constructed by us and as a matter of fact, we ourselves may be the monster. Hock-soon Ng (2004) contends that monsters are part of the unconscious and that “monstrosity is often a struggle with, or a traumatic experience of, what is known in the Lacanian model, as the Void” (Hock-soon Ng, 2004, p. 2). He cites Peter Brooks (1994) who asserts that monstrosity is created by language, but at the same time it “surpasses language and even jams it, forcing it to encounter an impasse and/or become monstrous itself ... [because, although situated within language, it is also] an excess of signification, a strange by-product or leftover from the process of making meaning” (Brooks, 1994, cited in Hock-soon Ng, 2004, p. 3) and he concludes that: “the monster is both a creation and deconstruction of language” (p. 21). Hock-soon Ng points to the fact that Dracula cannot be definitively killed to show that “Literature as a vehicle to expurgate the ‘other’ fails in the end to resolve the anxieties experienced: the monster cannot be destroyed because it *is within the self*” (2004, p. 5, italics in original). Richard Kearney (2002) also thinks that the monster lives within the self: “each monster narrative recalls that the self is never secure in self” (Kearney, 2002, p. 3) and thus the monster can always manifest itself in order to demand its place.

In “The Afternoon Wind” silence and secrecy are part of the invisible monstrosity and, just like desire, are an important element in the origin of the visible one that keeps on reincarnating in time and space. This is represented in the communication between the old man and the monster that visits him, speaking their own secret language, while the man refuses to speak with the living, ignoring their existence, moving between the world of the living and the dead. The monster is a spectral appearance of the dead mother who is coming to terrorize/ seduce her own son, because of their disturbed and dubious relationship, but on the other hand it is the grandfather as well, belonging to the dimension of the dead, but still among the living.

The afternoon wind, after which Tromp's story is named, is transmogrified in the mind of Mamachi, who warns:

The afternoon wind brings all kinds of illnesses because if it blows over you, you will get as sick as a dog. There is almost no cure for the fever and your blood will boil until you die. The reason for this is that the wind brings bad souls that want to take you with them. (Tromp, 1998, p. 12)

The wind and the darkness are invisible companions of the monsters in the narrative, where the wind is described anthropomorphically and becomes almost visible: "its muscles were shining, and the tendons of its neck were almost snatching. I could see how it was crying ... I could feel its cold fingers like those of dead people" (Tromp, 1998, p. 25). The wind also deforms conversations making communication impossible (p. 13) and moves between cacti that are crying for some water. The wind has no mercy on the sparse vegetation, and it brings drought and sickness causing animals to die of famine and becomes a symbol of decay and ruination. Mamachi says that since the death of the old man everything is lost, the granary is a ruin and the wind is the only thing that you can hear (p. 17). This wind causes to the boy to become nostalgic wishing to be reunited with his mother, thus making his lust stronger. The wind and the monster always come from the same direction, i.e., the east (p. 21). The monster lives in the wind and is part of it or maybe it is the wind itself (rendering it visible and invisible at the same time): "ghosts were dancing tirelessly on the hard wind of the hurricane while it was snatching and carrying the hunchbacked Dividivi trees. The dead were screaming while the living were crying for forgiveness. The sky was dark, and it was raining like a deluge dragging skeletons out of their graves" (p. 24). The wind brings the monster with it, and it blows the words away making it impossible to communicate and share the secrets. The strong dry winds, for which Aruba is known, becomes a reason for the monstrous in the story to exist and to manifest itself.

Desire

For Plato, desire can be for another human being (*eros*), for friendship with another human being (*philia*), for a kind of intellectual companionship (*nomos*), and for harmony and unity with the world of ideas (*theoria*). Just as was the case with Aristophanes, for Socrates "the line between *eros* and *philia* is not always so clearly demarcated." (Silverman, 2000, p. 2). Silverman notes that:

For Aristotle, desire plays an important role in ethical behaviour [where it] functions between knowledge and action ... [giving rise to] a certain conflict in the process of choosing ... [and] this type of desire has to do with a kind of power over oneself and one's emotions as opposed to a feeling or passion for another person or object. (2000, p. 4)

However, desire can also be directed against others: “Evil thoughts in the mind, even if never acted upon, mean that there are bad intentions, for evil thoughts *are* bad intentions. And bad intentions are sinful. Sinfulness is not just by virtue of sinful acts; even sinful desires are considered to be sin” (Silverman, 2000, p. 4). According to Hegel, such desire is based on domination and control (Silverman, 2000, p. 1) and in Goethe’s *Faust* it reaches its limits. Like Goethe, Kant agrees that:

desire wants it all through affirmation, and this is ultimately the achievement of power: to overcome the other through desire, to overcome oneself through will to power, rejecting established values, ideals, and expectations ... [and De Sade reinforces this idea asserting that] desire is desire to encompass everything – through the fullest expression of the passion. (Silverman, 2000, p. 7)

According to Silverman: “Sex, or the libido characterizes a certain energy, drive, passion, or enthusiasm for the object of one’s desire. *Jouissance* is charged with directionality, excess, and release of energy. The libidinal is affective, desiring, and often out of control” (Silverman, 2000, p.1, italics in original).

The longing of Alejandro to see his mother again (the invisible monster) transforms into the appearance of the real creature (the visible monster). Alejandro sees an ‘apparition’ that talks to him claiming him as her child and he thinks: “My mother? Impossible. This is an ugly creature that looks more like a bat ...” (Tromp, 1998, p. 40). If the mother of Alejandro is part of this monstrosity because of her past and because of her return as a creature, this also makes Alejandro part of the monstrosity because “the monster can function as an alter ego, as an alluring projection of (an Other) self” (Cohen, 1996, p. 17).

The Self and (M)Other relationship between Alejandro and his mother is at the same time the relationship between the protagonist and the monster. Sometimes, he confuses the appearance of the mother for that of the other and longs for the strange being to come and visit him. At other times, the image of the mother transforms into that of the monster: at the end of the story, it reappears to Alejandro and then morphs into his mother in order to seduce him erotically, calling him to come with her. He loses himself in the beautiful appearance of his mother:

Now, instead of the ugly creature, a young lady was standing in the same place. The wind was blowing her long hair into her face. I loved her face. Her face was beautiful. Also, her transparent dress was blowing in the wind pressing against her body that was lusty and voluptuous. (Tromp, 1998. p. 41)

The monster repels and attracts at the same time, as it reveals a desired aspect and hides its real appearance. The mother/Other has to disappear in order to liberate the Self (Cohen, 1996, p. 17) and in “The Afternoon Wind” the malformed mother keeps on reappearing to torment her child and to reinforce his desire. Cohen states that the monster turns “immaterial and vanishes, to reappear someplace else”, but leaves its “damage” and “material remains” (1996, p. 4). In the story, the creature becomes invisible, leaving

its destruction behind, but will reappear at another time or place in order to charm Alejandro. The reason why the monster always escapes is “because it refuses categorization” in order “to return to its habitations at the margins of the world” (Cohen, 1996, p. 6). The monster takes on many forms in multiple appearances and its omnipresence in the story causes confusion both to the characters as well as to the reader.

Desire is the reason why the monster has come into the life of the protagonist and it has its own objectives and intentions, but can Alejandro accept that it only exists because of him and how does it unveil itself to him? There are various references to the creature appearing (physically) to the protagonist: the strange beast visits the grandfather every evening and the grandmother refuses to believe when the boy informs her of this (Tromp, 1998, p. 19). The flutter of the giant wings of the beast produces a cyclone in front of the grandfather. Alejandro questions the fact that the thing is a beast but does not know any other name for it (p. 20) and he speaks openly about the thing as his grandfather is sitting in the granary with “the beast resting in his lap and making strange sounds” (p. 22).

Alejandro says that the last time he saw the beast; it was lying quietly while the old man was caressing its belly with its swollen breasts and pointed nipples. At this point we can observe a reciprocal attraction between the creature and the old man. Alejandro reveals that after the beast left, his whole world collapsed (Tromp, 1998, p. 24) because the object of his longing disappeared. Can we assume that the boy sees the monstrous thing as his mother, leaving him now for the second time: first when she died and now as a pregnant beast? At the end of the story the monster/ mother visits him again, now as an adult, and leaves him for the third time, transforming into a wild bat flying out of the window screaming, while Alejandro thinks: “she kept on screaming before she flew away in order to disappear forever, I hope, out of my mind” (Tromp, 1998, p. 42). Was the monster being impregnated by Papachi, just as Alejandra was impregnated by her own father, repeating the incestuous act again and making Alejandro part of the same circular monstrosity? According to Patricia Traperó Llobera, in the final analysis all monsters are human (2015, p. 79), so we can conclude that the monstrosity in “The Afternoon Wind” lives in the characters of the story. Traperó Llobera stresses that deformity can be physical or moral (2015, p. 81) and the moral (invisible) deformity can be the reason in this narrative for the creation of desire and horror at the same time. The spectral is “a figure of absolute alterity (existing both outside and within us)” (del Pilar Blanco & Peeren, 2013, p. 33).

In this story, desire embodies an image that exhibits itself as an invisible nightmare creating a visible one. Santiesteban (2000) stresses that:

monsters can be real or imaginary [and] in the real ones we can find mutations of normal people that were born deformed: animals or men with two heads, without limbs, giants and dwarfs, etcetera. They are real and tangible monsters. On

the other hand, there are those that are mere productions of the mind and imaginary creations of the humans. (p. 97)

In “The Afternoon Wind”, a ‘real’ entity manifests itself that, according to Alejandro, is a terrible creature, something that resembles prehistoric animals and mythological griffins. It comes flying into the house with a lot of noise and keeps circling in the living room. He sees it as a creature from another world and calls it a devil. It manifests itself in order to deceive and seduce both Papachi and Alejandro himself, but also to hide the reality of incest, to keep it a secret. If we take Santiesteban’s theory into consideration, then we can conclude that the monsters in the story are just the mental creations of Alejandro’s desire and longing.

In contrast to the traditional ghost stories, in which apparitions disturb daily life, in “The Afternoon Wind”, it seems almost normal that the living communicates with the (un)dead and this is taken for granted as a part of quotidian reality. The living accepts these appearances as something belonging to the same dimension as theirs, so they do not interrogate the existence of the creatures, nor are they puzzled as to why all of this is happening to them. The protagonist does not really fear the abhorrent apparition, in fact, he is constantly longing for its visits. As an adult, he is not surprised when the creature returns to him because all the time, he has been waiting for it: he has been longing for its reappearance. Cohen (1996) reinforces this idea by stating that the monster’s body:

incorporates fear, desire, anxiety, and fantasy ..., giving them life and an uncanny independence. The monstrous body is pure culture. A construct and a projection, the monster exists only to be read: the *monstrum* is etymologically ‘that which reveals, that which warns,’ a glyph that seeks a hierophant. Like a letter on the page, the monster signifies something other than itself; it is always a displacement, always inhabits the gap between the time of upheaval that created it and the moment into which it is received, to be born again. (p. 4)

The function of the monster in “The Afternoon Wind” is more than to merely inspire fear, it also reveals a secret of incest, that itself functions as a warning about a disturbed past and/or as a wish that cannot be fulfilled: Alejandro longs to be with his mother again, although he knows that she is dead. This desire is so strong that it morphs into an (erotic) obsession. This compulsive longing repeats itself in the grandfather’s caressing of the creature and the grandmother’s wishes to be with her dead children, reproaching them for not visiting her: “Altagracia, where are you? Answer me. Please, answer me. Federico come to your mother” (Tromp, 1998, p. 39).

Cohen (1996) affirms that the fear of the monster is a form of desire for something that attracts and repulses at the same time, as the known/unknown manifests itself to manipulate the longing for the other. Regarding this, Freud (1919/2003) argues “that something can be frightening precisely because it is unknown and familiar” (pp. 124-125). The familiar aspect for Alejandro is the absence of his mother and his desire to be with

her that becomes uncanny when instead of his dead mother, the creature visits him in his fantasies. For Alejandro this means that he is constantly trying to re-invent himself based on whether or not the monster appears to him. He feels deserted and his longing for his mother (and thus for the monster) becomes overpowering.

According to Lacan “individuals are driven by desires which are the symbols of ... unfulfilled desires” (Lacan, cited in Baranoğlu, 2008, p. 15). For Alejandro it is impossible to achieve his wish to see his dead mother and to receive her love. His only consolation is the visits of her substitute that probably is the embodiment of his desire for his mother. The creature comes at nightfall while he is waiting fervently for it, as he says:

I keep on watching the sky until I catch sight of it while the wind carries and rocks it between the cacti at the east-side of the house and I become happy despite the fact that it is not coming for me. However, this is good as my feeling of euphoria only lasts for a moment. Afterwards I become very scared. This is the reason why I do not lose sight of it and watch its movements all the time (Tromp, 1998, p. 21).

Weedman (2014) stresses that:

Gothic novels of the Romantic period often juxtaposed the sublime with monsters - frightening creatures both extraordinary and unnatural, often of vast or grotesque proportions. In Gothic literature, monsters are imbued with uncanny elements and serve to eternalise repressed fears and desires. (p. 1).

This is evident in the case of Alejandro when he is waiting for his mother (desire) in the shape of the monster (fear) to visit him.

We can correlate the relationship of Alejandro with his mother to that of Victor Frankenstein with his monstrous creation, because “the real object of the desire of Victor is the mother. As Victor’s father expands the lack in Victor which cannot be filled with anything but the love of the mother” (Baranoğlu, 2008, p. 19). Alejandro is caught between aversion and lust “He was lying on the sofa and the apparition was still there saying to him that he must not be afraid, as she is *his* mother. He thinks that the grotesque creature cannot be his mother” (Tromp, 1998, p. 5). As his mother was dying, Alejandro climbed on the bed to say goodbye and she kissed him on his head and said something in his ear (a secret) which:

always came when I was thinking about home and about my mother. When will she come back for me? She promised me that she would return and the last time I saw her, she asked me to be patient. These were her last words and still after many days, weeks and years, still no sign of her. (Tromp, 1998, p. 20)

Schweigert (2010) affirms that “a desire is a desire only as long as its fulfilment is not achieved” (p. 48). Alejandro keeps longing for his mother and his desire will never be fulfilled, and this keeps the monster alive because without him, there would be no monster. Just like Frankenstein, he created his own monster in order to keep his desire alive.

Baranoğlu (2008) asserts that “the lack of the desired object is inevitable” (p. 13) and Fink (1995) specifies that desire “is a constant search for something else, and there is no specifiable object that is capable of satisfying it, in other words, extinguish it” (p. 90). Alejandro, after so many years, is trying to reshape his need for his mother, but she continues to appear to him in the shape of a monstrous creature. The desire is the invisible monster that gives form to the visible one in the form of the mother. This longing transforms into a multiplication of the Oedipus complex: the sexual relation of Papachi with his own daughter and the sexual hunger of Alejandro for his mother. Desire becomes a horror when a wish or a longing is so intense and all-encompassing that it subverts the sense of what is real, and the object of it becomes more certain than reality. This illusion comes alive to seduce, manipulate and torture the person who desires, while the person desired is converted into a fetish. This is the type of monster we are dealing with in “The Afternoon Wind”.

The secrecy that is kept during the whole story is part of the invisible monstrosity that gives space to the visible monster to manifest itself. The boy knows that something bad happened, but he cannot figure out what this is, making it impossible for him to narrate the story accordingly. Even though this secret is never told in the story, we can assume that this mystery is related to the grandfather, his daughter and Alejandro. The grandfather did not approve of his daughter's boyfriend because he probably was sexually abusing his own daughter. This makes Alejandro the creation of a monstrous, forbidden and secret relationship and it explains the love/ hate feelings of the grandmother toward her husband, her daughter and her grandson, while she accepts and tolerates this state of affairs at the same time. Thus, the evilness of Papachi in “The Afternoon Wind” is strengthened by the monstrousness Mamachi, who is hiding his secret, making her an accomplice. At one point in the story, the grandmother says to the boy: “If it was not for him [the Grandfather] you would not be here today” (Tromp, 1998, p. 13). In the narrative the identity of Alejandro's father is not revealed and the circumstances of the death of Altagracia are not disclosed. There are deep, dark secrets in the family and according to the grandmother: “not everything can be tolerated by the daylight. Not everything can be discussed with everyone ... These are scandalous things. These are shameful things. Things that cause pain” (Tromp, 1998, p. 36).

Conclusions

“The Afternoon Wind” is in itself a brilliantly monstrous creation as a text, because of the many uncertainties, repetitions, and secrecy deliberately deployed by Tromp in order to create confusion, chaos and disorder in the mind of the reader. The characters cannot connect, and the narrator cannot retell the story properly. The monsters are multiple, overlapping and omnipresent in the story, making it complicated to distinguish their type and function. Their existence is questionable, disturbing the linearity of the story,

forcing it to repeat and mutate all the time. The monster is created both by the words Tromp himself that cleverly deform and disarticulate the text itself, as well as by the words of Alejandro that deform and disarticulate the secret, forbidden desires that gave rise to his very existence and which live on in his mind. Thus, our normative notions of what a story should be are transmogrified along with our normative notions of reality, humanity and sanity. In the process, notions of Aruba as ‘One Happy Island’ and other Caribbean islands as paradise are also transmogrified to reveal a darker side, where monstrosity lurks not only in nature (plants, animals and dirt), but also in the elements (wind, rain, drought). The desert island, with its inaccessible harshness, becomes a breeding ground for the uncanny, which functions to reveal part of the unknown and that which is kept hidden by the cliché images of the tourist industry.

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BETWEEN HERE AND THERE: LIMINAL SPACE IN DEBORAH JACK'S *SKIN*

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Abstract

Deborah Jack's 2006 publication of *Skin*, her second poetry collection, reveals the omnipresent power of history in the lives of people of the African Diaspora. What's past is not past at all, but instead it is carried on in the skin.

Key terms: Racialization, Caribbean society, Caribbean poetry, St. Martin, Dutch Caribbean, Caribbean visual arts

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Drisana Deborah Jack, a visual artist and poet who was born in Rotterdam, the Netherlands in 1970, grew up on the Caribbean island of St. Martin in Cole Bay. Currently she resides in the United States where she is Associate Professor of Art at New Jersey City University. Her second book of poetry, titled *Skin*, is a paradigm of shifting realities that constitute the diasporic experience of African descended peoples, those "reluctant arrival[s]", those homesick or seeking home in "the space in-between" (Jack, 2006, p. 1)

Jack's water poems, a total of five plus "bitter water" in her book of twenty-five, all without capitalization and punctuation, are the core of her collection and represent the liminal space between here and there, Africa, the Caribbean, and North America, liminal spaces between past and present, between trauma and healing. People of African descent are interlocutors caught in a diasporic space of becoming, always becoming. "waterpoem 1" refers to an absence of rivers in Cole Bay. Her meaning is both literal and metaphorical for when she says, "my country has no rivers" (2006, p. 1) she means no way out, no way to respond to the call of the sea. To be landlocked is to be caught between here and there, a Duboisian double-consciousness that Jack develops even further by using water, the ocean, which at once conjures the subconscious as well as the Middle Passage and the ancestral crossing. Those reluctant to arrive on slave ships,

those who dove overboard into shark-infested waters, are spirits that still inhabit the ocean floor and rise to wreak havoc as hurricanes. Jack recognizes that the origin of most hurricane systems that impact the Caribbean originate along the West African coast. She speculates about the connection between hurricanes and Caribbean history (Uszerowicz, 2021); however, she does not claim, as have others, that the hurricanes are produced by angry ghosts, or ancestors wreaking havoc from the sea. Because the paths followed by the storms are the same as the routes of former slave ships, some African legends contend that:

There is a spiritual realm that dominates the physical realm and, in this realm, presides the spirits of our ancestors who were snatched from life unjustly. The spirit never dies, nor does justice so when injustice prevails in the physical realm, justice prevails in the spiritual realm. (Melanian, 2017, parag. 10)

The lapidary effect of the ocean's saltwater wears, weathers, and hones a new people neither here nor there, but created in a conscious hybridity that occupies a contested space. These interlocutors await a final decree for full belonging, for complete citizenship in a hierarchy of white supremacy. "waterpoem 2" speaks of diasporic displacement and begins "I live on another island/ not my own" (2006, p. 8). Being displaced, the speaker in the poem recognizes and signals the displacement of the Indigenous inhabitants who named their island Soualiga before the arrival of Europeans and the enslavement of Africans. The island's beauty is "a timeless seduction" (p. 8), which is metaphor for western civilization and the glitter of capitalism, that members of the Diaspora "meet and retreat" (p. 8). The island's lovely landscape seduces one to disremember its history.

The geography of the Caribbean, and of Jack's island, underpins her poetry. The Dutch colony of Sint Maarten once was known for its salt deposits. Referring to the healing properties of salt, in an interview Jack says that she hopes the salt will heal what ails us, meaning members of the African Diaspora who still suffer from aftereffects of enslavement and colonial rule (Pierre-Louis, 2022, parag. 7). She claims that even if we as a displaced people forget the trauma, the water between us remembers and we carry that history on our skin, thus the title of the poetry collection. Saltwater and salt become a site of memory or re-memory. In the same interview, Jack explains that Toni Morrison's essay "The site of memory" that introduces the idea of re-memory influenced her art and writing (Pierre-Louis, 2022, parag. 3).

In another interview with Jessica Lanay in 2021, Jack calls the Black Atlantic a “rupture and displacement” (parag 10). In the same interview, Jack says:

I think of seasons as a form of memory. I think of the hurricane as a memorial. It is nature constructing its own monument; it’s not fixed, it happens during the same time of year. There is your season; there is your plinth. (parag. 11)

Jack’s third water poem (“waterpoem 3”) in just seven lines depicts a hurricane’s destruction. Whereas the storm is damaging it also is cathartic, washing away and cleansing like salt which purifies but also corrodes. She says, “nature is dealing with the trauma of the Middle Passage” (Pierre-Louis, 2022, parag. 3). In one poem, “a salting of sorts” the poet concludes that “we become the salt” (Jack, 2006, p. 29). We look for a place to bury our grief, somewhere in between here and there.

“waterpoem 4” reinforces her idea of becoming salt with the images of salt tears. She reminds us also of salt in our blood (Pierre-Louis, 2022, parag 7). Moving from the images and recognition of salt in the body, her next poem declares, “there is a sea inside me” (Jack, 2006, p. 38) and this sea is witness to crimes against humanity. The sea in Caribbean poetry/literature functions much like trees do in African American poetics. Trees bear witness to atrocities against the black diasporic body, hold lynch ropes and bear a body’s dead weight. In “waterpoem 4” Jack writes “the sea is heavy/with bodies” (2006, p. 37) some bodies/souls walk with their eyes open and exude sadness. These underwater bodies defy “gravity and other/manmade theories” (p. 37). The poem concludes, “eyes need to tear/ with the salt from within” (p. 37).

“waterpoem 5” further captures the diasporic displacement, in the body of the wanderer. It begins, “there is a sea inside me” and crashes the I of the poem into “eroding shores” (Jack, 2006, p. 38). The sea witnesses “countless crimes” and the speaker in the poem holds a belly of evidence. This poem declares “a flotilla of bodies / beached bloated blurred pixelated” is “history still seeking remembrance” (p. 38). This is the history conservatives want suppressed or revised, a historical record wiped clean of African enslavement and colonial oppression. Deborah Jack is on a mission to remember.

As a visual artist, Jack employs “geography and cultural/spiritual location ... a personal/cultural history based on ancestral or re-memory using painting, video, photography, sound art, and poetry” (2006, p. 46). One of Jack’s exhibits, titled “Saltwater Requiem” suggests that sometimes the aftermath is the storm (Jack, 2019). Her multimedia series “History on our skin” exhibited in 2022 segue ways into the aftermath of both literal and metaphorical storms. The body remembers. Jack’s video declares, “The water between remembers so we carry this history on our skins, long for a sea-bath, and hope that salt will heal what ails us” (2022).

“bitter water” concludes *Skin*, and bemoans the plight of those “trapped between a tired sea and a seething lake” (2006, p. 44). It declares that ancestral memories make refugees of the reluctant arrivers. This poem includes what Jack calls ancestral hymns, Du Bois called sorrow songs in *The Souls of Black Folk* (1903) such as “Swing Low” and “Wade in the Water.” The salt water softens the “scabs of dreams deferred,” a trumpet for Langston Hughes. The final words of “bitter water” echo the song’s promise, “God’s gunna trouble the water” (p. 45).

As a title, *Skin*, with its focus on water and flesh, is a multi-layered concept. It enables the reader to contemplate the “history still seeking remembrance” (2006, p. 38). The history of oppression and cruelty is a long one, dating back some 10,000 to 20,000 years of our 300,000-year existence on this planet. At one point in history people were skinned alive, or flayed, as punishment. One can only wonder at the numerous ways in which terror and violence have been enacted for the purpose of domination and the illusions of power and control. People have been flayed, crucified, lynched, branded, mutilated, blinded, and in other ways tortured until their death. After the Nat Turner uprising people were flayed (Cromwell, 1920). These horrendous acts are “truths we hoped to ignore” (Jack, 2006, p. 30) but the poet urges us to “remember/remember/remember” (p. 30). She implores us to put it all back



Image 1 Underwater Sculpture Park, 2006 in Molinere Bay, Grenada. Used with permission of Jason deCaires Taylor, artist and photographer.

together and warns against “seeking bliss in forgetting” (p. 30). Our skin knows, which calls into question the aphorism it’s only skin deep. Skin deep is deep indeed. In her poetry Jack recognizes the politics of skin and creates a skin text where interlocutors birth “a universe on our skin” (p. 31) meaning that the ancestral memories from here and there live in the largest part of our human body. Those of the African Diaspora must make peace with the skin they are in.

Jack’s words in *Skin* are well reflected in the image depicted below of Grenada’s Underwater Sculpture Park (Taylor, 2006). These sculptures have been seen as a tribute to fallen African slaves that not only evokes ancestral energy expressed in storms, but also constitute an artistic attestation to the ancestral presence at the bottom of the Caribbean Sea. Although sculptor Jason de Caires Taylor did not intend his work to be perceived as such, the image has resonated in this way with people of African heritage and Taylor says that he is pleased that his work has been infused with such historical meaning.

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A SURINAMESE ANANSI STORY REMEMBERED, RESTRUCTURED AND REWRITTEN

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Abstract

A smell, a sound, a taste or a sight might trigger a memory of a past experience that can elicit a traumatic memory or a warm, fuzzy feeling. What sometimes remains of a memory of the past, may just be flashes or crumbs of memory. This paper explores a memory Wilhelm Teebaum had of the Sranan Tongo Anansi stories he heard when he lived in Suriname some 60 years ago. He remembered, restructured and rewrote a distant memory, adapted and adjusted it to fit his own artistic and literary style.

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Key terms: Memory; Sranan Tongo; Anansi story

A story remembered, restructured and rewritten

Memories make us. Everything we are has a connection to everything we were and what we are today, but though memories make us, we have only recently begun to understand how we actually make memories in the first place. A memory is not a static repository, or even a faithful recording of a past event, which is then recalled at will. Consecutive recollections of a past event will thus not be identical even to others who shared in that same event. Traces of information of the past may be influenced in the recounting by deletion, addition or differences in interpretation.

Wilhelm Teebaum is the pen name of the author of “Ba Anansi and the Donkey” the story included in this article. He created his story by means of a remembered past which he then retold in his own format and style. At the linguistic level, the colloquial style of the author increases the reader’s ability to become involved in the story. Teebaum found a way to articulate past events not just as a part of a historic narrative, but also as a source of his artistic and literary creation. I met Teebaum about 12 years ago when he lived in Mannheim, Germany. He explained to me that in writing his Anansi stories, he

created them along the lines of what his nanny used to tell him and his siblings when they lived in Nickerie in Suriname.

Told to him in Sranan Tongo, a Surinamese English lexifier Creole, his stories are similar, but notably not identical to those he heard in his youth. He deliberately created his stories from memories when he was still young and had no idea that someday they would be valuable and meaningful to him. He expressed that he had never kept a diary or even made one single notation concerning his youth. What remained were just flashes or crumbs of a past that was rich in experiences, but which he realized late in life were important to him. These memories may not have precisely reflected the past and at best might have been a distorted memory of the past as he saw it. He intentionally made his tales more complex and longer so that they became his own uniquely created stories. Teebaum wrote the Anansi story included in this article originally in Dutch, and it was later translated into German and English. The German version “Ba Anansi und der Esel” appeared in the anthology *Treffpunkt Leben*, edited by Christine Reiter (2022, p. 195). Authors write about memories of triumphs, of experiences and of lessons learned. A food memory, for instance, can evoke nostalgic feelings about a special dish eaten in a special place. For example, when I see a mango in the grocery store, in my mind’s eye I experience sitting on our stoop in the Wilhelminastraat in Aruba, peeling a ripe and luscious mango with my teeth and then biting into the soft, juicy mango flesh while droplets of juice run from my mouth down my chin.

Anansi stories originated in the trickster tales of West Africa. They are centuries old and sometimes would be told by griots, or story tellers, who would gather people together to come listen. From Africa, Anansi stories spread across the world, first into the Caribbean and later to the rest of the Americas, Europe and beyond. Anansi, the spider, who is sometimes depicted as an animal and sometimes as a human being, is most known for his ability to outsmart, trick and triumph over more powerful opponents by means of his cunning, creativity and wit. He is able to transform his apparent weaknesses into strengths. Anansi has often been celebrated as a symbol of resistance and survival by the enslaved because he is always able to turn the tables on his tormentors.

Sranan Tongo is also known as Sranan, and is used as a native language throughout Suriname as well as being spoken by some 200,000 people of Surinamese descent in the Netherlands and the Dutch Antilles. Sometimes negatively classified as a mongrel or broken language, Sranan Tongo is nevertheless a legitimate language complete with grammar and vocabulary. Sranan has survived through hundreds of years despite being the target of negativity and racism, always adapting and changing like all living languages must do. Teebaums’s story below contains some Sranan words and phrases that reflect the rich social and political history of Suriname and the rest of the Caribbean region.

Ba Anansi¹ and the Donkey

Slowly and dejected, with hanging head, the old donkey stumbled along the road. He was sunk in deep thought when he was hailed by a cheerful voice.

“Good evening, friend Donkey. Where do you have to go at this late hour? Wouldn’t you like it better to be safe in your barn instead of walking around here in the dark?”

“Oh, it’s you,” said the donkey recognizing Anansi’s voice immediately. He lifted his head and cast a tired look over Anansi. “Well, I have no choice,” he sighed, “I became too old and weak to work and they chased me away.” His voice sounded dull.

“*Tye pôti*². How terrible!” Anansi said semi-shocked. “So what are you going to do now?”

“I don’t know,” replied the donkey sadly. “It would be better if *Ba Tigri*³ were to find me and devour me completely.” Tears flooded his eyes.

“I honestly don’t know how I am to go on living,” he sobbed. He calmed down a bit and then continued somberly, “It’s a great injustice. I’ve worked hard my whole life. The last few years I was even a kind of commissioner. I was the donkey that pulled the *daguwagi*⁴. There was no one who could do that better than me! They had promised me that, once I reached my old age, I would get to live out my years in the government’s pasture. You know that there I could relax and enjoy my retirement without having to work. But the people of *Lanti*⁵ are liars and swindlers. It was too late when I found this out. What will become of me now?” The donkey began to cry.

“You shouldn’t give up so quickly!” scolded Anansi. “I think I will be able to come up with a plan.” He smirked quietly to himself in such a way that one could see he had already come up with an idea.

“First you should come with me. You can sleep under the tree next to my house. There is even a bit of grass so you can have something to eat.”

“But wouldn’t the *tigri* come and eat me?” asked the donkey with misgivings. He had heard many tales about Anansi’s little plans and also knew that those plans often went awry for those who were supposedly being helped by Anansi.

“Don’t be like that!” replied Anansi, with just a hint of indignation. “Besides, did you yourself not say just a little while ago that ‘it would be better if *Ba Tigri* devour me completely’?”

“But I didn’t really mean it. Of course I don’t want to be eaten by a *tigri*. I only said that in desperation.”

“Yes, yes, I know that,” said Anansi in a calming voice. And so they walked on together. In a short time, the donkey stood under the tree next to Anansi’s house and chewed on

¹ Mr. Spider

² Oh, poor you

³ Mr. Tiger. In Sranantongo the jaguar is called *tigri* (tiger)

⁴ Wagon in which newly caught wild dogs were transported

⁵ the government

the grass that grew there. The grass was bitter. He was so very tired that he lay down underneath the tree and fell asleep.

When morning light came, Anansi called in a happy voice, "Friend Donkey, I have found the perfect solution." Slowly the donkey opened his eyes trying to remember where he was. It was a moment later that he began to understand that Anansi was talking about his problem.

"A solution?" he asked filled with doubt because he'd had a dreadful nightmare. While he had been asleep under the tree, he had dreamed that *Ba Tigri* had quietly crawled toward him. When the *tigri* was very close by, he growled very loudly which caused the donkey to tremble in shock while still in his dream. He couldn't really figure it all out, but somehow the *tigri* was gone. Relieved he had settled back down and continued his dream when he noticed all of a sudden that his legs were no longer grey, but had brownish and yellowish spots. Surprised he looked at the rest of his body only to discover that he no longer looked like a donkey. He had changed into a *tigri*. His old dull coat had become a velvety soft hide with beautiful markings. He then felt like a king. At that point in his dream Anansi approached him. It was because he was still in a state of bliss that he didn't object or struggle when Anansi bound him tightly onto a cart. Once they arrived at the market place, Anansi told the surprised crowd that he had singlehandedly and after a great fight, captured a fierce and dangerous *tigri*. A director of a circus bought him for a good price, and that was the end of his dream.

"A solution?" repeated the donkey still shaken by his terrifying nightmare.

"Yes," responded Anansi. "I have a wickedly good idea."

"What kind of idea?" asked the donkey who had by this time become a bit curious.

"I'm going to sell you," Anansi said with a mischievous grin. The donkey was shocked. Would his nightmare then become reality after all? He lowered his head and looked at his body from various angles. Happily, he noted that he still was a donkey and not a *tigri*.

"I will live well from the proceeds and the person who buys you will look after you," Anansi said calmly.

"Oh, stop with all that nonsense!" the donkey exclaimed angrily. "Who would want to buy such an old and weak donkey as I am? As soon as they see me, they will *baksi*⁶ you. Or, they will begin to laugh aloud and say that you have gone bananas. They certainly are not going to buy me!"

"No, no!" exclaimed Anansi. "It will go very differently than what you imagine. Nobody will even see you before they have bought you."

"*Anansi k'ba*⁷. Nobody will buy anything, let alone a donkey before they have seen him. Who would want to buy me? Even if such a person existed, he would only give you a couple of cents. How will you live on that?"

⁶ slap (in the face)

⁷ stop teasing me

“We will charge one guilder per person,” Anansi continued explaining his secret plan. “Lots of people will participate, so we will earn a large amount of guilders!”

“Lots of people are going to buy me?” exclaimed the donkey. “*Sortu sososani yu e tak’ now?*”⁸

“To be truthful,” said Anansi, “I’m not really going to sell you. I’m going to sell lottery tickets. But in reality, it won’t make any difference. A lot of people are going to pay, but in the end, only one will end up with the big prize.”

“What big prize?” asked the donkey surprised.

“You are the big prize! Don’t you see how this will work? Really, you are such a *buriki*⁹, *baya!*”

Slowly it became clear to the donkey how Anansi’s plan would work. He nodded to show that he understood, but because he could not figure it out completely, he asked, “And how are you going to do this?”

“I’m going to make lottery tickets,” explained Anansi. “Each ticket costs one guilder. I’m pretty sure we’ll be able to sell a hundred tickets.”

“Really? A hundred tickets? So many?” asked the donkey dumbfounded.

“For sure!” said Anansi. “A hundred tickets! And that means a hundred guilders earned.” The donkey was speechless and looked with awe at clever Anansi.

“What is going to happen to the hundred guilders?” he wanted to know.

“They are for me,” replied Anansi, “After all, I was the one who came up with this plan.”

“And what about me?” asked the donkey.

“You get a new owner who will look after you,” answered Anansi while walking into his house.

“Yes, but ...,” the donkey started but Anansi had already disappeared. In utter despair the donkey began to eat the bitter grass. Some time later, Anansi came out of his house with a hundred tickets in his hand. He showed them to the donkey. They were nicely numbered from one to one hundred.

“Oh, but Anansi, what if the new owner doesn’t want to look after me and chases me away? Then I am once again left standing on the street. What do I do then?” Fat tears ran down his face.

All the better, thought Anansi. In a calm voice he said “That is no problem at all, friend Donkey. At that time we will have another lottery draw and we will earn another hundred guilders, and we will continue doing that until we find an owner for you who will take good care of you. As you can see, I have thought of everything.”

“As long as this doesn’t take too long,” sighed the donkey. “It is just making me so tired, you know, these lotteries. I am already an old donkey. I can’t bear all this *dyugudyugu*”¹⁰.

⁸ What kind of nonsense are you talking about?

⁹ ass

¹⁰ fuss

*Mi no man moro!*¹¹”

“Everything will be alright,” Anansi said reassuringly. “You just stay here. Eat some of that delicious grass to increase your strength and then have a nice afternoon nap. I will go to town to sell the lottery tickets. You will see everything will be alright.”

The donkey actually thought the bitter grass was inedible. However, since his stomach hurt from hunger, he was forced to eat the grass after all. Anansi waved goodbye enthusiastically and disappeared on his way to town.

An hour later a finely dressed gentleman entered the market. He wore a formal dark jacket and a black top hat. His eyes were hidden behind sunglasses so no one would recognize him. The gentleman stopped in front of one of the kiosks in the market, where an old woman was selling mangoes and some other tropical fruit.

“*Wan banknotu*¹²,” she said and pointed to a bunch of mangoes.

The gentleman declined and said, “I heard a special lottery was to be held in this market. Would you tell me where it will be held? I don’t want to arrive too late since there are only a few tickets to be had.”

Shyly the woman looked around, saw nothing that indicated a lottery draw and said, “I know nothing about a special lottery draw, sir. Perhaps you should ask some of the others.”

Anansi walked to the next kiosk and asked the same question. There was no one who knew the answer. So he continued walking. When he reached the other end of the market, he heard two men having a lively discussion about the special lottery draw and how they needed to hurry to buy a lottery ticket.

Anansi smiled to himself and knew the time was ripe to begin the sale of the lottery tickets. Silently he sneaked into a quiet dark place where no one could see him. There he removed the black jacket, the top hat and the sunglasses, all of which he had inherited from his late father. He placed all the items in a bag and walked to the centre of the market where a group of people had congregated. They were intensely discussing the lottery. Anansi discovered a small and rickety table. He jumped on it and with a loud voice announced that the sale of the tickets would begin. The mumbling of voices stopped immediately and the people looked at him full of expectation. He explained how the sale would work.

“The tickets will cost one guilder each. In order to give everybody a chance, it will be only one ticket per person.”

Anansi knew nobody would heed the rules and in fact, many would try to buy more than one lottery ticket.

“And what is the prize?” a voice called out.

“The prize is a donkey,” he said. “A young and strong donkey, used to hard work.”

The words barely left his mouth before the crowd started to push forward. Everybody

¹¹ I have had enough!

¹² fifty cents

could use a strong donkey. Those who stood closest waved with their banknotes and called, “Here, here. Give me a ticket!”

Anansi’s hundred lottery tickets were quickly sold and his wallet was filled with a hundred guilders.

“The draw will be held here tomorrow at 9 o’clock. In this same place the winner will be declared.”

The crowd dispersed and went back to what they had been doing. Anansi went to *Omu Sneisi*¹³ and bought a bottle of *sopi*¹⁴ which he emptied in a few swallows. He felt satisfied but a gnawing feeling in his stomach made him head for a restaurant where they prepared fantastic food. First, he ate three portions of *bakabana*¹⁵, because he was crazy about this dish. Then he devoured a big bowl of peanut soup with *tonton*¹⁶. After that he had rice with *kowsbanti*¹⁷ and roasted chicken. When someone at a neighbouring table ordered a *roti*¹⁸, he wanted to order one also. No, he decided to order two! In the meantime, he drank two litres of gingerbeer. Actually, he wanted to eat more, but from experience he knew he would have a terrible pain in his stomach if he ate more. So, he left the restaurant, went to a jewelery store and bought himself a gold ring, set with a large ruby. When he stood outside again, he counted his money. The hundred guilders had dwindled down to three. He used one guilder to buy a cinema ticket. It had been such a long time since he watched a movie. At a kiosk in front of the cinema he spent another guilder on a bag of *krawkraw*¹⁹, a bag of peanuts and three portions of *petjil*²⁰ with a spicy peanut sauce. From the change he was able to buy a couple of snow cones. Because he had overeaten, he was uncomfortable and therefore he did not enjoy the movie. Due to his sore tummy he was unable to walk as quickly as usual and so it was almost dark when he arrived home.

“Friend Donkey,” he called when he entered his yard. “We did it! I sold all the lottery tickets. Tomorrow, I will take you to your new owner.” He didn’t get an answer. “You really are a donkey!” he scolded. “Instead of being happy and congratulating me for my good plan and business dealings, you lie there pretending to be dead. Why do you do this?”

“I think I am really dying.” The donkey’s voice sounded weak and shaky. That grass of yours, *baya*. I have eaten too much of it although it was very bitter. I was so hungry, you know. *Ay baya, Anansi. Mi bere e hat’ mi sote.*²¹ Oh, I feel wretched. I doubt I will make

¹³ Chinese shopkeeper

¹⁴ booze

¹⁵ fried banana

¹⁶ mashed green bananas

¹⁷ stringbeans

¹⁸ thin pancake with curry-chicken, potato pieces and stringbeans

¹⁹ fried slices of green banana

²⁰ blanched vegetables, a Javanese specialty

²¹ Oh, Anansi. I have such a stomach ache

it through the night.”

“Keep the faith,” replied Anansi encouragingly. “Don’t be so dramatic. My stomach hurts also, but you don’t hear me complain about it. Tomorrow we will see how it goes. Try to get a good night’s sleep because you will have to make a good impression on your new owner.”

By the next morning the donkey had died, but Anansi had already taken that into account.

At the stroke of nine he stood on the little rickety table in the marketplace with the hundred numbered tickets in his top hat.

“The draw will commence,” he called in a loud voice. The crowd pushed around him and hollered elatedly.

“Who is honest enough to pull the winning ticket out of the top hat?” he called to the crowd. The shouting stopped instantly and was replaced with a soft murmur, but nobody responded. None of those present trusted anyone enough to recommend someone.

“We can surely trust our *skowtu*²², can’t we?” said Anansi to the crowd. He still had a bone to pick with the policeman. Not so long ago this officer had taken him to the station after Anansi was caught stealing bananas from the District-Commissioner’s garden. He also knew that not many people had good interactions with the police. The policeman looked around proudly and came forward and started to climb onto the table beside Anansi.

“No, no!”, many people shouted. “No police! We don’t want the police involved. You can’t trust them.”

Offended the policeman stepped back and Anansi smiled secretly.

“Come on now,” said Anansi “if you don’t know of anyone who can make the draw, then I will make the draw myself.” But the crowd didn’t want that either. They knew all too well that Anansi was full of tricks.

Just at that moment a children’s nanny passed by holding a small girl by the hand.

“Little girl,” called Anansi, “you have arrived just at the right moment. You are still young enough that you won’t have any tricks up your sleeves. You may draw the winning ticket out of my hat.” He looked around and asked the crowd “Isn’t that right? Surely, we can all trust this little girl!”

“*Iya baya, na so a de*,”²³ the crowd cheered.

The nanny lifted the girl onto the table and while mixing the tickets up, the child picked out one and held it in the air.

“Come on, read out the number,” encouraged Anansi.

“She is unable to read yet,” said the nanny. She took the ticket out of the child’s hand and read the number aloud. After that she gave the ticket to Anansi who held it above his head. The surrounding people could clearly see that the number read was indeed on

²² policeman

²³ Oh yes, that’s how it is

the ticket. From the middle of the throng someone shouted, “*Dyaso! Mi abi en!*”²⁴ A short stout man made his way to the table. He showed his ticket to Anansi who shouted, “Yes, this is indeed the winning ticket!” Disappointed the others threw down their tickets and slowly the crowd dispersed.

“Congratulations,” Anansi said to the winner.

“Thank you, sir,” responded the man. “Where is my donkey?”

“He is in the yard at my house,” Anansi answered. “If you want to follow me, you can take him with you straight away.”

The winner followed Anansi to his house. When he saw the donkey dead on the ground, he became very angry and yelled, “I bought a lottery ticket for a strong donkey, used to heavy labour and not a ticket for a dead donkey. This is fraud! I’m going to the police!”

“Friend Winner,” Anansi spoke, “I am indeed very sorry that the donkey died suddenly. But I am not a liar. When you bought the lottery ticket yesterday, the donkey was still alive and still very strong. You will not be able to prove otherwise. And I would be very careful about going to the police if I were you! Before you know it, you may end up in jail yourself. And who will get you out of there?”

The man saw that it probably was not a good idea to involve the police. In order to appease him Anansi said, “To show you that I am an honest person, I will refund you the guilder which you paid for the ticket.” He took the last remaining guilder out of his pocket and handed it to the man with a grand gesture and a low bow. Completely confused the man accepted the guilder and went away.

Anansi brought a couple of cans of paint from his house and painted nice yellow and brown spots on the donkey’s hide. Then he loaded the dead beast onto a cart and walked to the market place where he sold it to a salesperson dealing in animal hides. The man paid him fifty guilders for the nice hide of the *tigri*.

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²⁴ Here! I’ve got it!

**SOUTHERN EPISTEMOLOGIES,
SOUTHERN PRAXES AND EDUCATION
IN THE DUTCH CARIBBEAN AND BEYOND**

LA INTERFERENCIA DEL PAPIAMENTO EN EL APRENDIZAJE DEL ESPAÑOL COMO LENGUA EXTRANJERA

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Resumen

Muchos alumnos emplean características de su lengua materna a la hora de expresarse en español, fenómeno que también se hace presente en Curazao. El presente estudio investiga hasta qué grado influye el papiamento en el aprendizaje del español como lengua extranjera. El objetivo de este trabajo es aportar información a los docentes de español en Curazao para que puedan transmitir información de forma efectiva evitando los malentendidos que puedan surgir en la transferencia de un idioma a otro (interferencia), y a la vez aprovechando las similitudes que estos puedan tener (transferencia positiva). A base de los métodos utilizados, se pudo concluir que la interferencia se detecta en gran cantidad, sobre todo en la expresión oral, ya que este suele ser más espontáneo y los alumnos no suelen pensar o analizar a profundidad antes de hablar. En la expresión escrita, sin embargo, aún se hace presente la interferencia, pero a menor grado. Esto porque los aprendices tienen un mayor tiempo para escribir, corregir y luego reescribir lo que quieren expresar. Las interferencias se vuelven aún menores cuando los alumnos tienen que escoger entre 3 o más opciones, pues por intuición, suelen escoger la respuesta correcta.

Términos clave: enseñanza del español como lengua extranjera, transferencia de papiamento, interferencia, análisis de errores, Curazao

Introducción y marco teórico

La lengua materna (L1) de la mayoría de los alumnos en las escuelas secundarias de Curazao es el papiamento. Durante mis pasantías en el colegio piloto noté que muchos

alumnos emplean el papiamento como punto de partida para aprender español como lengua extranjera (LE) o lengua meta. Esto tiene como consecuencia que muchas veces utilizan oraciones gramaticalmente incorrectas que adaptan de su lengua materna. También suelen ‘inventar’ su propio léxico en la fase transicional. A mi parecer este nuevo vocabulario hace parte del fenómeno que llamo el ‘papiañol’.

Para llevar a cabo la presente investigación, se obtuvo información por medio de encuestas, cuentos que escribieron los participantes, la entrevista a una docente e información recopilada de libros e internet. El propósito de esta investigación es determinar qué aspectos juegan un rol en la creación del ‘papiañol’ y qué medidas se pueden implementar para hacer el aprendizaje del español como lengua extranjera uno más eficiente. Para responder a la pregunta de investigación principal *¿Qué supone la interferencia del papiamento en el español para el aprendizaje del español como lengua extranjera en Curazao?* se plantearon las siguientes preguntas de investigación secundarias: *¿Por qué podría haber interferencia del papiamento en el español?; ¿Se deberían evitar las interferencias o se deberían fomentar?; ¿Cuáles son las instancias de interferencia más frecuentes en el primer año de HAVO (hoger algemeen voortgezet onderwijs [educación secundaria general superior]) en una escuela de piloto en Curazao?; y ¿Cómo reaccionan los docentes actualmente en la escuela de piloto en cuanto a la interferencia?*

La formulación de estas preguntas surgió de mis experiencias en la escuela de piloto juntas con las de los docentes de español en la misma institución, que se reflejan en la entrevista siguiente de una docente de español en la escuela concerniente que llevé a cabo como parte de esta investigación (las respuestas a cada pregunta se encuentran en letras cursivas):

¿Los alumnos mezclan los idiomas en su clase de español? *Sí.*

¿Cuáles idiomas son estos? *Español – Papiamento.*

¿Con que frecuencia sucede esto? *Todo el tiempo.*

¿En cuál grupo se puede observar esto? (B1, b2, h3, etc.) *Todos.*

¿En qué aspecto(s) mezclan los alumnos las lenguas? (vocabulario / categorías gramaticales) *Ambos, pero más vocabulario.*

¿Cree que se debería fomentar o evitar el uso de otros idiomas en la clase de español? *Pienso que se puede usar L1 para explicar aspectos de la LE, algo así como gramática comparativa, pero es una prioridad que aumente el input en la LE.*

¿Qué hace usted en la actualidad para fomentar/ evitar el uso de otros idiomas en la clase de español? *Trato de motivar a los alumnos a hablar español, aunque deban recurrir a su L1. A veces es necesario permitir que expresen sus dudas en su L1 para ayudarlos mejor.*

¿Qué cambios ha notado al implementar los puntos previamente mencionados? *Aumenta la confianza y se motivan a hablar en la LE aunque cometan errores.*

¿Qué quisiera hacer en el futuro para fomentar/ evitar el uso de otros idiomas en la clase de español? *Hay que seguir motivándolos a usar LE y como docentes debemos ser consecuentes en el uso de LE, también debemos explotar más el análisis de errores ya que es una herramienta de aprendizaje muy eficaz.*

¿Qué cambios le sugeriría a la sección de español para para fomentar/ evitar el uso de otros idiomas en la clase de español? *Implementar la autocorrección por medio de la reflexión y el análisis de errores.*

La comunidad de Curazao es una comunidad multilingüe (Centro Virtual Cervantes, 2020). En la actualidad, el colegio tiene en su currículo lenguas oficiales como lo son el holandés y el papiamentu, acompañadas de lenguas extranjeras como inglés, español, francés y alemán. Cabe recalcar que como lo indica Holland (2020) el inglés es un idioma cooficial en la isla. A pesar de esto, se enseña como lengua extranjera. La variedad de idiomas que se usa en la enseñanza en la escuela secundaria no solo confirma que Curazao es una comunidad multilingüe, sino que también demuestra el compromiso que tiene el instituto con el desarrollo de lenguas extranjeras en la sociedad. La interferencia (Ayora Esteban, 2008; Editorial Etecé, s.f.) cual es el tema principal de este escrito, tiene que ver con fenómenos derivados del contacto de sistemas lingüísticos. Pero ahora bien, ¿Qué es la interferencia? Perkins y Salomon (1992) aseguran que cuando el idioma que se domina facilita el aprendizaje de la lengua meta se le denomina transferencia positiva. Cuando sucede lo contrario, es decir, que el idioma que se domina dificulta el aprendizaje, puede ser por hacer asimilaciones erróneas, se habla de la ya mencionada interferencia o transferencia negativa.

El español al igual que otros idiomas como el portugués, el italiano, el francés, el rumano y el catalán, pertenece al grupo de las lenguas romances. Según Blasco (1997) hay tres características que se hacen visibles en la mayoría de las lenguas romances. La primera, es el orden sintáctico, este es; sujeto + verbo + objeto. En lenguas en donde existen las preposiciones, estas se posicionan antes del sustantivo, como lo es en el caso del español. La segunda, es que el paradigma verbal es de tipo flexivo. Es decir, las formas verbales se modifican según la persona, el número, el tiempo, el modo, entre otras. Esto también quiere decir que en las lenguas romances hay un sinnúmero de irregularidades verbales. La tercera, es que los sustantivos suelen concordar gramaticalmente en cuanto al género y el número con el adjetivo correspondiente. CourseFinders (2015) recalca que un hispanohablante está familiarizado con la gramática y el vocabulario de una de las lenguas latinas o romances más habladas. Por lo tanto, tienen una ventaja encima de las demás lenguas para aprender otra lengua romance.

Esto quiere decir que detectará similitudes y será capaz de hacer predicciones más precisas que alguien que no conoce ninguna lengua romance.

El papiamento es un idioma que se habla en las islas ABC, es decir, las islas caribeñas de Aruba, Bonaire y Curazao. Hasta el 2010 a estas se les llamaban Antillas Neerlandesas. En la actualidad, Aruba y Curazao pertenecen al reino de los Países Bajos, y desde 2010 Bonaire tiene el estatus de “municipalidad especial” de los Países Bajos. En cada una de estas islas existe una pequeña variación de la lengua. Esta variación se ve principalmente en la ortografía y el vocabulario. La isla de Aruba escogió por una ortografía etimológica que muchas veces se asimila a la ortografía del español, mientras que las islas de Curazao y Bonaire optaron por una ortografía fonológica. En este documento se enfocará en la variación del papiamento que se emplea en Curazao (‘papiamentu’).

Según el portal papiamentu.com (Narin, 1996), el papiamento tiene elementos del español, portugués, holandés, inglés, francés e influencias arahuacas y africanas. Esto se debe, según Choghari (2015), a la historia de las islas ABC. Ella afirma que desde los años 2800 a 2300 antes de Cristo los Caquetíos habitaban las islas y fue hasta 1527 que fueron entregadas a la corona española, que introdujeron de forma forzosa la lengua castellana y la religión cristiana. En 1634 las islas fueron colonizadas por los holandeses, quienes aprovecharon su posición estratégica, convirtiendo a Curazao en un puerto de trata de gente esclavizada de descendencia africana. Varias fuentes (Jacobs, 2008; Infocases, 2018; González de Pérez, s.f.) indican que los idiomas criollos como el papiamento surgieron por la necesidad de comunicarse en un escenario de comercialización durante el periodo de la colonización europea. describe las lenguas criollas del siguiente modo:

Wikipedia (ver Papiamento, 2020) indica que el vocabulario de papiamento se deriva principalmente del español y que el papiamento tiene las siguientes características lingüísticas:

El orden sintáctico es sujeto + verbo + objeto.

Los verbos en papiamento carecen de flexión.

Tiempos, tonos, y relaciones de aspecto se expresan por el uso de partículas preverbales y otras construcciones analíticas.

No realiza acuerdos de género.

Hace uso común de los pronombres.

Durante las etapas iniciales del aprendizaje de la lengua extranjera, el aprendiz prefiere utilizar aquellos términos y / o estructuras que son familiares para él, para poder darse a entender en el idioma meta y por lo sucesivo, alcanzar rápidamente un cierto nivel de fluidez. Esto, lamentablemente no siempre es lo que sucede y el principiante cae en las garras de la interferencia. El hecho que hay una gran cantidad de palabras en el vocabulario del papiamento que proviene del español puede ser un arma de doble filo, pues aunque en la destreza de la expresión oral esto puede ser una ventaja, en la escrita

no lo es. Sotomayor et al. (2013) expone que el dominio de la ortografía es uno de los aspectos más complejos dentro del aprendizaje de escritura española, y se asegura que esta dificultad no solo se presenta en principiantes, sino en todos los niveles.

Como ya se había mencionado anteriormente, el papiamento adoptó varias características del español, por lo que aprender esta para un alumno cuya lengua materna es el papiamento, puede llegar a ser más fácil en comparación con un alumno cuya lengua materna pertenece a las lenguas germánicas, como por ejemplo el neerlandés. Una de las características más marcadas en ambos idiomas es el orden sintáctico, o bien el orden de las palabras en la oración. Este es en ambos: sujeto + verbo + objeto. Esta ventaja se hace prominente en la expresión oral, en donde los principiantes, a pesar de no conjugar el verbo correctamente y no tener concordancia en género ni número, hablan un ‘español’ en donde pueden dejar en claro sus pensamientos.

Otra ventaja para el papiamento-hablante, es el sinfín de similitudes entre el vocabulario en ambos idiomas. Cabe recalcar que el papiamento-hablante de Aruba es el que más goza de esta ventaja, pues en su ortografía es etimológica, lo que quiere decir que se adapta según el origen de la palabra. Es por esa razón que en Aruba se emplea la letra <c> para reflejar el sonido /k/ tal como sucede en español. En cambio, en Curaçao, por utilizar una ortografía fonológica, es decir, que se adapta según el sonido, no se utiliza la letra <c> para reflejar el sonido /k/, sino que se emplea la letra <k>.

Según Löffler (2011) a pesar de que la importancia de la influencia de la L1 en la adquisición de L2 ya no ocupa un primer plano, como lo hacía en los tiempos del análisis contrastivo, un alumno es influido a cierto grado por el sistema de su lengua materna. Ella considera que es por esto por lo que es de mucha utilidad cuando el docente conoce aspectos de la lengua materna de los alumnos, pues de este modo puede guiar de forma más dirigida el aprendizaje de los alumnos y podrá seleccionar el material didáctico dependiendo de sus necesidades. Es decir, que ella aconseja identificar las interferencias y utilizarlas a favor del proceso de aprendizaje. La interferencia no se debe ver como algo negativo, sino más bien como signo de que está ocurriendo un aprendizaje. Con esto, también queda claro que el papel del docente cambia, pues ahora es el aprendiz quien es responsable de su propio proceso de aprendizaje y el docente es un guía que lo concientiza de sus errores.

Metodología

El diseño metodológico que se utilizó es uno mixto, aplicando instrumentos cuantitativos y cualitativos para efectuar la validación mediante triangulación por método. El lugar donde se realizaron las encuestas es el colegio piloto ubicado en Willemstad, Curaçao. El grupo de enfoque fueron los alumnos del primer año, se eligió a este grupo porque muchos de estos alumnos estaban recibiendo clases de español por primera vez, por lo que se pudo evaluar la fase transicional óptimamente. Este grupo consistió en 48 aprendices repartidos entre los grupos B1B y B1C. Se seleccionaron los alumnos

a base de los grupos de primer año a los que la autora presente daba clase en el colegio, en otras palabras, era un muestreo intencional o de conveniencia.

Se repartieron y se analizaron un total de 73 documentos. 48 de ellos consistieron en una secuencia de imágenes en donde debían contar una pequeña historia de lo que estaba sucediendo en las imágenes y 25 consistieron en una serie de preguntas de selección múltiple. La lengua de instrucción oficial del instituto es el holandés, pero en ocasiones los docentes utilizan el papiamentu para poder brindarles a los alumnos una explicación más clara. El currículo está repartido de tal forma que en el primer año los alumnos empiezan a obtener el español desde cero dos veces a la semana, por una duración total de una hora y media de clase a la semana.

Para la recolección de la información se ejecutó primeramente un documento de secuencias de imágenes en donde los alumnos tenían que escribir un cuento corto en relación con los que se mostraba en las imágenes. Este primer paso se efectuó los días 30 y 31 de enero del 2020. Luego, se analizaron los escritos y las respuestas de los alumnos para extraer las palabras, frases y oraciones afectadas por el fenómeno de la interferencia y se estudiaron la frecuencia con la que aparecieron. El segundo paso consistió en una encuesta con una serie de preguntas que los alumnos debían contestar. Entre ellas, tenían que escoger la palabra que hacía falta en la oración. Todas menos una de estas palabras era incorrectas, basadas en los posibles errores de transferencia que podían cometer a base de su lengua materna. Esto se realizó a través de la plataforma de Google Forms. El tercer paso fue la entrevista que se le hizo a una docente de español. Esto se realizó con el propósito de indagar sobre las posibilidades de interferencia lingüística presentes en sus clases. Se trató de una entrevista virtual (por WhatsApp) estructurada en donde se le hizo preguntas específicas en cuanto al tema. La confiabilidad de esta investigación se refleja por medio de los 48 cuentos redactados por los participantes basados en las secuencias de imágenes repartidas, de las cuales 40 se seleccionaron para redondear el número de investigación y así eliminar las que no se completaron. Para que los resultados finales no se vieran influenciados se optó por no dar una lista de vocabulario antes de dar la tarea, ni proporcionar ningún tipo de diccionario a los alumnos. Las encuestas de selección múltiple fueron realizadas por 25 alumnos a través de la plataforma de Google Forms. Esta plataforma hace un conteo automático de errores y brinda gráficos que ofrecen cifras exactas.

Resultados

Los cuentos

Los cuentos que los alumnos redactaron basados en las secuencias de imágenes fueron evaluados a base de los tipos de errores indicados en la Tabla 1, donde se indica también el porcentaje de cada tipo de error en relación con el promedio del total de instancias donde el error se hubiera podido realizarse en cada texto:

Tabla 1 Numero de errores y porcentaje de errores con relación a todos los ambientes posibles

Tipo de error	Errores/Promedio de total de instancias posibles por texto
Omisión de sustantivo	2.5% del promedio del total de instancias posibles por texto
Omisión de artículos	5% del promedio del total de instancias posibles por texto
Infinitivos en vez de conjugar	12.5% del promedio del total de instancias posibles por texto
Ser versus estar	12.5% del promedio del total de instancias posibles por texto
Concordancia de número entre sustantivo y artículo	22.5% del promedio del total de instancias posibles por texto
Pronombres	25% del promedio del total de instancias posibles por texto
Verbos reflexivos	25% del promedio del total de instancias posibles por texto
Preposiciones	30% del promedio del total de instancias posibles por texto
Ortografía	42.5% del promedio del total de instancias posibles por texto
Concordancia de género entre sustantivo y artículo	45% del promedio del total de instancias posibles por texto
Conjunciones	52.5% del promedio del total de instancias posibles por texto
Acentos	65% del promedio del total de instancias posibles por texto
Prestamos del papiamento	72.5% del promedio del total de instancias posibles por texto

La encuesta

La encuesta fue realizada por medio de la herramienta de Google docs. A diferencia de la secuencia de imágenes, aquí no se pudo corroborar que los alumnos hayan realizado esta sin ninguna clase de ayuda adicional. La encuesta consistió en veinticinco preguntas cerradas, de las cuales las primeras 4 eran preguntas generales:

Pregunta 1: Nivel de español. El 32% pensaban que su español era malo porque no entendían casi nada cuando les hablaban en español. El 24% consideraban que su español era regular porque les faltaba dominar más el vocabulario.

Pregunta 2: Frecuencia del uso de palabras en papiamento en la expresión escrita. La mayoría de los encuestados (52%) pensaban que no hacían uso de palabras en papiamento al escribir en el idioma meta. El 28% de los encuestados pensaban que sí hacían uso de palabras en papiamento al escribir español ocasionalmente. Un menor porcentaje (20%) pensaban que hacían uso de palabras en papiamento con frecuencia.

Pregunta 3: Frecuencia del uso de palabras en papiamento en la expresión oral. la mayoría de los encuestados (52%) pensaban que sí hacían uso de palabras en papiamento ocasionalmente al comunicarse en el idioma meta. 24%

indicaban que no hacían uso de palabras en papiamento en la expresión oral, y otro 24% pensaban que sí lo hacían con frecuencia.

Pregunta 4: Punto de vista en cuanto al uso del papiamento en el idioma meta. El 41.7% de los encuestados creían que no era correcto mezclar el español y el papiamento porque así nunca se iban a aprender palabras nuevas en el idioma meta. El 20.8% consideraban que no era correcto porque eso reflejaba que no se dominaba el idioma meta, y otro 20.8% consideraban que no era correcto porque era flojera mental. Los menores porcentajes eran para los que sí consideraban que era correcto mezclar los dos idiomas.

Pregunta 5: Artículo determinado singular 1. Los alumnos en su totalidad escogieron el artículo determinado correcto.

Pregunta 6: Artículo determinado singular 2: La mayoría de los encuestados (92%) escogieron la respuesta correcta (el). El 8% de los encuestados eligieron respuestas incorrectas.

Pregunta 7: Artículo determinado plural 1. Los alumnos en su totalidad escogieron el artículo determinado correcto.

Pregunta 8: Artículo determinado plural 2. La mayoría de los encuestados (88%) escogieron la respuesta correcta (las). El 12% de los alumnos escogieron respuestas incorrectas, de los cuales 4% optaron por omitir el artículo determinado.

Pregunta 9: Artículo indeterminado singular 1. La mayoría de los encuestados (88%) escogieron la respuesta correcta (una). El 12% de los alumnos escogieron la respuesta incorrecta (un). En este caso ningún alumno optó por omitir el artículo indeterminado.

Pregunta 10: Artículo indeterminado singular 2. La mayoría de los encuestados (96%) escogieron la respuesta correcta (un). El 4% de los alumnos escogieron la respuesta incorrecta (un). En este caso ningún alumno optó por omitir el artículo indeterminado.

Pregunta 11: Artículo indeterminado plural 1. El 96% de los encuestados eligieron la respuesta correcta (unos) y el 4% optaron por omitir el artículo indeterminado en plural, lo que representa una respuesta incorrecta.

Pregunta 12: Artículo indeterminado plural 2. El 88% de los encuestados eligieron la respuesta correcta (unas). El 12% de los alumnos escogieron respuestas incorrectas, del cual el 4% omitieron el artículo indeterminado.

Pregunta 13: Artículos determinados e indeterminados. El 52% de los encuestados eligieron la secuencia correcta. El 32% eligieron la opción que tenía 3 de los 4 artículos incorrectos. El 12% seleccionaron la opción que también tenía 1 artículo incorrecto. 4% eligieron la opción que tenía todos los artículos incorrectos.

Pregunta 14: Determinante de cantidad. La totalidad de los encuestados (100%) eligieron la opción correcta (todas).

Pregunta 15: Adjetivo calificativo. La mayoría de los alumnos (81%) escogieron la respuesta correcta (lindo). El 19% seleccionaron la respuesta incorrecta (linda).

Pregunta 16: Ortografía: Uso de <i> en vez de <y>. El 85.7% de los encuestados eligieron la respuesta correcta. El 9.5% optaron por la <i> latina en vez de la <y> griega como conjunción. 4.8% escogieron la opción en donde se remplace la y griega con la i latina tanto en la conjunción como en la palabra muy.

Pregunta 17: Pronombres personales. La mitad de los encuestados (50%) escogieron la respuesta correcta. El 30% optaron por omitir el pronombre personal, y el 20% seleccionaron la opción en donde se utiliza ‘se’ en vez de ‘le’.

Pregunta 18: Ser versus estar. El mayor porcentaje de los encuestados (85.7%) eligieron la respuesta correcta. El 9.5% optaron por ‘es’ en vez de ‘están’, y 4.8% optaron por ‘son’ en vez de ‘están’.

Pregunta 19: Por versus para. El 65% de los encuestados seleccionaron la respuesta correcta. El 35% escogieron respuestas incorrectas, entre ellas la más frecuente con un 15%: “Ellos fueron a la tienda por comprar algo para su papá.”

Pregunta 20: Palabra <vrouw> (‘mujer’ en español). El 92% de los encuestados escogieron la opción correcta. 4% optaron por <ll> en vez de <j> y 4% seleccionaron <h> en vez de <j>.

Pregunta 21: Palabra <spaarvarken> (‘alcancia’ en español). El 92% de los encuestados escogieron la opción correcta. El 8% eligieron respuestas incorrectas.

Pregunta 22: Palabras <geld besparen> (‘ahorrando dinero’ en español). La mayoría de los encuestados seleccionaron la respuesta correcta (76%). El 20% optaron por la opción de una <r> en vez de doble <rr>. 4% eligieron la opción de <aurando>.

Pregunta 23: Palabras <ik wil> (‘yo quiero’ en español). La mayoría de los encuestados (96%) eligieron la respuesta correcta. El 4% de los encuestados seleccionaron la respuesta incorrecta que omitió la <i> latina de la palabra ‘quiero’.

Pregunta 24 Acento ortográfico 1. La mayoría de los encuestados (56%) eligieron la respuesta correcta. El 44% de los encuestados seleccionaron respuestas incorrectas.

Pregunta 25: Acento ortográfico 2. El 88% de los encuestados eligieron la respuesta correcta. El 12 % seleccionaron respuestas incorrectas.

Conclusiones y recomendaciones

Pregunta secundaria 1: ¿Por qué podría haber interferencia del papiamento en el español?

En la parte de la entrevista, se puede observar que la docente entrevistada aseguró que los alumnos mezclan el español y el papiamento en sus clases de español. Esto es importante, pues aunque el idioma de instrucción del colegio sea el holandés, los alumnos mezclan su lengua materna con el español y no la lengua de instrucción. La educadora también agregó que este fenómeno no solo se presenta en los aprendices del primer año, sino en todos los grupos.

Podría haber interferencia del papiamento en el español porque como hay muchas similitudes entre estos dos idiomas, los alumnos suelen generalizarlas. Con esto se quiere decir que aunque el orden sintáctico puede ser el mismo, el paradigma verbal no. Es por eso por lo que los alumnos suelen utilizar el infinitivo en vez de conjugar el verbo, esto porque se dejan guiar por el papiamento que carece de flexión. En cuanto al vocabulario y la ortografía, los alumnos utilizan la <k> en vez de la <c>, porque así se utiliza en el papiamento de Curazao por el hecho de tener una ortografía fonológica.

Pregunta secundaria 2: ¿Se deberían evitar las interferencias o se deberían fomentar?

En la entrevista, la docente expresó que según su parecer se puede usar L1 para explicar aspectos de la LE, algo así como gramática comparativa, pero es una prioridad que aumente el input en la LE. También indicó que trata de motivar a los alumnos a hablar español, aunque deban recurrir a su L1, pues a veces es necesario permitir que expresen sus dudas en su L1 para ayudarlos mejor. Al implementar esto, ella ha notado que aumenta la confianza y se motivan a hablar en la LE aunque cometan errores.

De esta pregunta secundaria se dedujo que no se deben ni evitar, ni fomentar las interferencias. Lo que el docente debe hacer es utilizarlas a su favor si es que estas ya se hacen presente en el aula. Esto se puede hacer guiando a los alumnos y corregirlos a la hora en la se tome nota de una interferencia. También se pueden utilizar aspectos de la L1 para explicar la L2 en caso de que tengan similitudes en la gramática. Es importante no prohibir el uso de la L1, para que los alumnos no se sientan limitados a la hora de expresarse, pero a la vez hay que motivarles y enseñarles a ampliar su vocabulario y hablar la L1 correctamente.

Pregunta secundaria 3: ¿Cuáles son las instancias de interferencia más frecuentes en el primer año de HAVO en el colegio piloto?

Para empezar, el 76% de los alumnos indicaron en la encuesta que sí hacían uso de palabras en papiamento cuando hablaban español (Gráfico 3). Esto es mucho si se compara con el 48% que aseguraron que utilizan palabras del papiamento al escribir en español (Gráfico 2). De esto se puede deducir que los alumnos incluyen más palabras de su lengua materna cuando se están expresando de forma oral que cuando lo hacen

de forma escrita. Es importante mencionar que, aunque las cifras del uso del papiamento al expresarse en español son elevadas, la mayoría de los alumnos (83.3%, Gráfico 4) opinaron que no es correcto mezclar estos dos idiomas.

Según la profesora entrevistada, los alumnos cometen errores de interferencia tanto en el vocabulario como en la gramática, pero que esto sucede un poco más en el vocabulario. En los cuentos basados en la secuencia de imágenes, las áreas con el mayor porcentaje de errores fueron préstamos del papiamento con un porcentaje de 72.5 y acentos con un porcentaje de 65. Sin embargo, a la hora de evaluar estos aspectos a través de las encuestas, se pudo notar que el porcentaje de errores no era alto. Esto lleva a la conclusión que los alumnos cometen errores cuando no tienen ningún punto de referencia en frente de ellos, pero si se enfrentan a una serie de opciones, suelen escoger la correcta. Así sea por intuición o porque recolectan información que no sabían/ recordaban que tenían.

Pregunta secundaria 4: ¿Cómo reaccionan los docentes actualmente en el colegio piloto en cuanto a la interferencia?

En la actualidad, la docente entrevistada trata de motivar a los alumnos a hablar español, aunque deban recurrir a su L1. Esto ha aumentado la confianza y motiva a sus alumnos a hablar en la LE aunque cometan errores. Ella opina que hay que seguir motivando a los alumnos a usar LE y que como docentes debemos ser conscientes en el uso de LE y explotar más el análisis de errores ya que es una herramienta de aprendizaje muy eficaz.

Pregunta principal: ¿Qué supone la interferencia del papiamento en el español para el aprendizaje del español como lengua extranjera en Curazao? En base a las preguntas secundarias se puede deducir que la interferencia es un fenómeno presente a nuestro alrededor del que muchos no están conscientes. Sin embargo, se detecta en gran cantidad, sobre todo en la expresión oral, ya que este suele ser más espontánea y los alumnos no suelen pensar o analizar a profundidad antes de hablar. En la expresión escrita, sin embargo, aún se hace presente la interferencia, pero a menor grado. Esto porque los aprendices tienen un mayor tiempo para escribir, corregir y luego reescribir lo que quieren expresar. Las interferencias se vuelven aún menores cuando los alumnos tienen que escoger entre 3 o más opciones, pues por intuición, suelen escoger la respuesta correcta.

Aprender una lengua extranjera es una tarea que no resulta fácil, especialmente si este aprendizaje se realiza en un ambiente en donde no se tiene la oportunidad de ponerlo en práctica. Es por eso por lo que un docente debe estimular a los alumnos a utilizar la lengua meta en situaciones ajenas al ámbito escolar. Esto se puede hacer por ejemplo al hacer una visita a algún museo en donde ellos puedan hacer preguntas sobre lo que observan en español. En caso de que esto no sea posible, se puede tratar de recrear situaciones de la vida real en el aula. Un ejemplo de esto es crear una miniciudad en donde los alumnos se encuentran con situaciones variadas. Por ejemplo:

El aeropuerto – los alumnos hablan sobre sus datos personales (nombre, lugar de nacimiento, edad, dirección, motivo de viaje, etc.)

Una frutería y verdulería – los alumnos mencionan las verduras y las frutas que quieren comprar y expresan en que platillos las van a utilizar.

Una tienda de ropa – los alumnos mencionan las prendas de vestir y los accesorios que desean comprar. También expresan si es para ellos o un regalo para alguien más.

Un restaurante – los alumnos piden la mesa, preguntan por el menú y las recomendaciones del camarero, piden la cuenta, etc.

Los alumnos pueden ser evaluados a base de:

Pronunciación: por ejemplo, "helado", la "h" no se pronuncia.

Ejecución de la tarea: ¿Han dicho todo lo que se espera de ellos?

Gramática: por ejemplo, concordancia.

Esta sería una buena oportunidad para utilizar la experiencia como calificación de un examen. En este caso es importante agregar al “pasaporte” una sección en donde los evaluadores puedan rellenar la calificación para la sección correspondiente (por ejemplo, del 1 al 10 para cada aspecto a evaluar).

Con este ejercicio los alumnos podrán lograr la internalización del conocimiento de tal manera que pueda ser aplicado y utilizado de manera automática, es decir, sin recurrir en este caso a situaciones de traducción sea del español al papiamento o del papiamento al español. Para lograr esto, el ambiente y el contexto constituyen factores muy importantes. También sería muy útil implementar la autocorrección por medio de la reflexión y el análisis de errores. De esta manera los alumnos podrán almacenar la información de manera permanente y no superficial, lo que es una ventaja a la hora de expresarse en el idioma meta.

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TO FLIP OR NOT TO FLIP?

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Abstract

The aim of the preliminary pilot study that forms the basis for this article was to determine whether there is a difference between the performance and participation of students taught in a flipped English foreign language (EFL) classroom as opposed to a traditional EFL classroom in 2nd year level secondary HAVO-track education in Curaçao. One group of 26 EFL students (n=26) was taught using a flipped class-room approach, while a comparable group of 26 EFL students (n=26) at the same level was taught using the traditional classroom approach. The class that was taught using the flipped method was required to fill in a survey at the beginning and end of each class in order to measure their participation, while classroom observation was used to gauge the participation rates in the traditional classroom. At the end, both classes took the same EFL exam to compare their results, which indicate that although half of the flipped classroom group did not watch the audio-visual material prior to attending class, they had higher rates of class participation and better exam grades than the group taught using the traditional approach.

Key terms: flipped classroom, English as a foreign language, exam results, class participation, Curaçao

Introduction, research question and methodology

At a secondary school in Curaçao, an English as a foreign language (EFL) teacher has an average of 35 to 40 minutes per class to teach students new material or to re-peat older material with the students. Afterwards, the students are typically as-signed homework designed to make them practice what they have been taught, with no possibility of asking the teacher questions. In the next class, the teacher frequently continues with different material, leaving virtually no room for questions on material previously taught

and/ or homework previously assigned, which often results in less-than-optimal learning outcomes.

Various studies have shown that by adopting the flipped classroom approach, such problems can be eliminated (Mandasari & Wahyudin, 2021; Zainuddin & Halili, 2016; Uskoković, 2018; Fulton, 2014; Berrett, 2012). Under a flipped classroom approach, prior to being exposed to new material in the classroom, students watch a video or PowerPoint at home that explains the new material and during class they can ask as many questions as they need about it, in order to clear up any misunderstandings before they proceed to put their understanding of this new material into practice, through their participation in an active learning activity, which may or may not be combined with a worksheet exercise (De Witte & Cachet, 2013). Al-Harbi and Alshumaimeri's (2016) results indicate that the flipped classroom can bring about significant improvement in students' performance by allowing students to learn at their own pace, by giving teachers more leeway in creating more personalized lessons and by improving student-teacher relationships. In this article, I will report on a study investigating the use of the flipped classroom approach as a method of instruction to increase students' performance and participation in EFL classes as opposed to using the traditional classroom model.

The aim of the preliminary pilot study that forms the basis for this article was to determine whether there is a difference between the performance and participation of students taught in a flipped EFL classroom as opposed to a traditional EFL class-room in 2nd year level secondary HAVO (Hoger Algemeen Voortgezet Onderwijs or Higher General Secondary Education)-track education in Curaçao. The investigation was guided by the following research question: What is the difference between the performance and participation of students taught in a flipped EFL class-room as opposed to a traditional EFL classroom in 2nd year level HAVO-track secondary education?

To answer the research question, one group of 26 EFL students (N=26) was taught using a flipped classroom approach, while a comparable group of 26 EFL students (N=26) at the same level was taught using the traditional classroom approach. The students in these groups included 32 females and 20 males whose ages ranged between 13 to 15 years old, and were of diverse backgrounds, including large numbers of Papiamentu home language students, significant numbers of Spanish home language students, and smaller numbers of Dutch home language students and Chinese home language students. All relevant stakeholders were comprehensively informed about the experiment on August 23, 2022.

The school's online educational platform was used, as is normally the case, to assign homework to the students in the traditional approach group after the material covered in the assignments had been introduced through lectures and exercises in class. This same platform, however, was also used to upload videos or PowerPoints for the students in the flipped classroom group to view at home before they were expected to participate in short exercises and active learning activities in class related to what had been introduced

in the videos or PowerPoints viewed at home. One of the biggest challenges that the researcher encountered while performing this experiment was the internet and the platform on which the audio-visuals had to be uploaded, which was unstable on various occasions, causing delays. While some students did not take the time to watch the audio-visual materials, others struggled to access them, and some did not even know that the materials had been uploaded in the first place. As a result, almost half of the students did not watch the videos before class.

The students of the class that was taught using the flipped method were required to fill in a survey at the beginning and end of each class. On the survey, they indicated if they had watched the video, how they would rate their participation during the activity, what they thought of the activity and whether the learning activity helped them understand the material better or not. At the end, both classes took the same EFL exam to compare their results. The students of the traditional approach class were not required to fill in the survey. Instead, the researcher used in-class observation and a spreadsheet in order to track their participation and record whether or not they handed in their assignments. At the end of the experiment, both the group that was taught using the flipped method as well as the group that was taught using the traditional method took the exact same EFL exam to ensure they were being measured equally. Before taking this EFL exam, the flipped classroom group had been taught six classes where the flipped method was implemented, while the traditional classroom group had been taught seven classes where the traditional method was implemented.

Results, discussion and recommendations

Exam administered to both groups

Using the usual criteria adopted at the school, the researcher categorized the exam results using the following terms:

Excellent	for students who scored $\geq 8.5 - 10$.
Good:	for students who scored $\geq 7.0 - \leq 8.4$.
Sufficient:	for students who scored $\geq 5.5 - \leq 6.99$
Insufficient:	for students who scored > 5.5

The class that was taught using the flipped classroom approach did very well on the exam with all students (100%) scoring a sufficient grade (≥ 5.5) or higher. In the flipped classroom group, 19% scored excellent, 58% scored good and 23% scored sufficient. The class that was taught using the traditional method, scored relatively well on the exam as well, the majority (88%) scoring a sufficient grade (≥ 5.5) or higher. However, the remaining 12% scored insufficient grades (< 5.5). In the traditional approach group, 15% scored excellent, 50% scored good, 23% scored sufficient, and 12% scored insufficient.

To summarize, both classes did quite well on the exam, the main difference between the two is that the class that was taught using the flipped method had zero students that failed the exam, while in the class that was taught using the traditional method, 12% of the students scored below 5.5 which means they failed the exam. Both classes had a significant number of students scoring excellent, with the class that was taught using the flipped method having a slightly higher percentage of students (19%) who scored excellent than the traditional approach class, 15% of whom scored excellent. Both classes also had a significant number of students scoring good, with the class that was taught using the flipped method having a slightly higher percentage of students (58%) who scored good than the traditional approach class, 50% of whom scored good.

Questionnaire administered to the flipped classroom group

For each of the questions on the questionnaire, the students chose an option along a Likert scale: 'Strongly Disagree', 'Disagree', 'Neutral', 'Agree', 'Strongly Agree'.

1) I watched the videos and prepared myself properly before coming to class. The responses were as follows: 'Strongly Disagree' 32%, 'Disagree' 16%, 'Neutral' 18%, 'Agree' 18%, 'Strongly Agree' 16%.

2) I actively participated during the learning activity. The responses were as follows: 'Strongly Disagree' 1%, 'Disagree' 5%, 'Neutral' 25%, 'Agree' 39%, 'Strongly Agree' 30%.

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Observation of the traditional classroom group

The students that were taught using traditional classroom did not receive a questionnaire, instead, the researcher kept track of their participation and how many of them did the assignments they were given during class. For each of these two factors, the researcher chose an option along a Likert scale: 'Strongly Disagree', 'Disagree', 'Neutral', 'Agree', 'Strongly Agree'.

1) Students actively participated during class. The responses were as follows: 'Strongly Disagree' 18%, 'Disagree' 29%, 'Neutral' 6%, 'Agree' 20%, 'Strongly Agree' 27%.

2) Students did the assignments that they were given during class. The responses were as follows: 'Strongly Disagree' 16%, 'Disagree' 26%, 'Neutral' 0%, 'Agree' 29%, 'Strongly Agree' 29%.

On the one hand, even though only a little more than half of the flipped classroom students indicated that they did or partially did the audio-visual preparation before coming to class, the majority (94%) indicated that they participated or at least participated somewhat in the corresponding classroom activities. On the other hand, while a little more than half of the traditional classroom students (58%) were observed to have done the

assignments, only 53% were observed to have participated or participated somewhat in the corresponding classroom activities.

To sum up, even though almost half of the students taught using the flipped class-room approach did not properly prepare prior to class, this did not seem to affect their participation (94%) or their grades (no failing grades on the exam). That said, of the students being taught using the traditional method, approximately half participated while the other half did not. This is reflected in their exam grades, which were generally lower than those of the flipped classroom group, with 12% of the traditional group failing the exam.

Although more extensive investigation is required, the results of this preliminary pilot study suggest that the flipped classroom model can increase student participation as well as performance on exams. Even though I experienced a few challenges in adopting the flipped classroom approach, the students seemed interested and open to this new framework for learning. For teachers interested in implementing the flipped classroom approach, efforts should be made to reduce the number of students who do not watch the material before coming to class. This could be done in the following ways:

- 1) double checking with students to confirm that they all have access to a device and a proper internet connection on which they can watch the audio-visual materials before class

- 2) using a platform that the students are familiar with, but that is also easy to work with for the teacher, preferably one that makes it easy to post and access the material to avoid confusion on the part of the students

- 3) making a practice of giving the students regular reminders to check the platform for their materials.

- 4) using positive reinforcement, for example, giving students bonus points as a reward for continuously watching the audio-visuals.

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EL AULA INVERTIDA EN LA EDUCACIÓN SECUNDARIA EN CURAZAO

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Resumen

A muchos alumnos en Curazao se les dificulta las clases de español y esto lo reflejan en el desinterés durante las clases, el incumplimiento de las tareas y un desinterés por el idioma. Este estudio investiga de qué forma se puede aplicar otro método de enseñanza, llamado ‘Aula invertida’, para que los alumnos se sientan mejor preparados no solo para los exámenes, sino también para situaciones de la vida real. A base de los resultados obtenidos del marco teórico, encuestas y entrevistas, se pudo concluir que no existe una forma exacta para aplicar el modelo del aula invertida. Para lograr que el aula invertida funcione de forma eficaz, se recomienda seguir algunos pasos fundamentales para evitar que los alumnos tomen una actitud de rechazo al cambio. Lo más importante es que los docentes deben estar unidos y con una actitud positiva. Deben ser persistentes y no rendirse. Está más que claro que los docentes de la nueva generación son los más abiertos a aplicar este método y es por esto por lo que se ha creado una serie de clases para motivar a que estos docentes se unan para empezar con un nuevo cambio en las clases de español para lograr un mejor desempeño en los alumnos.

Términos clave: aula invertida, aula tradicional, enseñanza del español, modelo pedagógico, educación secundaria en Curazao

Introducción

El tema de este artículo trata sobre la implementación del modelo pedagógico de clase invertida para mejorar el aprendizaje del idioma español en las escuelas secundarias de Curazao. Se investigará a profundidad el contenido de este método, tanto las ventajas como las desventajas y a base de la información y resultados obtenidos de encuestas y entrevistas y de investigaciones ya hechas en otros países se creará una serie de clases

como producto final para que esta pueda ser implementada en una escuela secundaria del nivel havo (hoger algemeen voortgezet onderwijs [educación secundaria general superior]) de Curazao en las clases del primer y segundo año.

Durante todas las clases de español que se ha observado e impartido, se ha percatado que de los 45 minutos de clase, la mayor parte se utiliza para explicar la teoría y la menor parte para ponerla en práctica. Los alumnos mencionan no haber practicado lo suficiente en clase para poder tener un buen desempeño en las pruebas. Se quejan de que los docentes asignan muchas tareas para la casa y la mayoría de los alumnos no cumplen con hacerlas. Esta es una situación actual que yo misma como futura docente he experimentado; de los 28 alumnos presentes en clase, sólo 10 cumplen con los deberes asignados. Debido a esta situación se consume mucho tiempo en castigar a los alumnos sin poder evaluar si el contenido de la materia se ha aprendido de la mejor forma.

Hoy en día aún se está muy acostumbrado a dar clases de la forma tradicional; aunque se haga uso de diferentes medios tecnológicos para traer variación en el aula, aún seguimos con la estructura de dedicar la mayor parte del tiempo para la explicación de la teoría en clase. Se sigue dejando a los alumnos con un rol de segundo plano, donde deberían de tener un rol más activo e importante en el aula y el docente tener el rol de guía (Unir Revista, 2020).

Cómo solución a esta problemática realicé una investigación en la escuela secundaria involucrada en Curazao con los alumnos de primer y segundo año sobre la aplicación del modelo del aula invertida, también conocida en inglés como 'Flipped classroom'. Este modelo representa una revolución ante la enseñanza tradicional donde los alumnos estudien y se preparen para las lecciones fuera del aula, accediendo en casa o en cualquier lugar los contenidos necesarios para que el aula sea el lugar donde se hagan los deberes, actividades educativas e interactúen aplicando lo que se haya aprendido en casa. Esta metodología se ejecutaría con la ayuda de nuevas tecnologías y con un docente con un rol de guía, dejando el rol de protagonista a los alumnos (Unir Revista, 2020).

González (2007), menciona que es de suma importancia que la población del siglo XXI adquiera nuevos conocimientos para enfrentar los retos actuales de la globalización. Por tal motivo, el conocimiento de una(s) segunda(s) lengua(s) es lo que permitirá el intercambio de información con hablantes de lenguas foráneas, permitiendo así el intercambio cultural. Actualmente, tener un buen nivel de español no solo es útil para temas laborales, sino también para interactuar y obtener mayor conocimiento. Para lograr esto en los alumnos del siglo XXI es imprescindible buscar nuevos modelos pedagógicos que aporten al aprendizaje del idioma español (Importancia, 2018).

Martínez-Salas (2019) recalca que los alumnos con más dificultades son aquellos que no cuentan con el conocimiento previo ni tampoco con un apoyo en casa. Además, llegan muchas veces al aula sin haber realizado los deberes, porque no comprendieron alguna parte y/o se confundieron en las explicaciones, por lo que terminan desmotivados. La

solución a este problema está en indagar cómo se puede invertir mejor el tiempo en el aula, fomentando las actividades de forma dinámica y motivadora para alcanzar un aprendizaje eficaz del idioma español como lengua extranjera.

Como docentes se debe de entender que los alumnos se encuentran en una sociedad donde los aparatos de ‘tecnología inteligente’ forman parte de su vida diaria. Los docentes podrían hacer uso de estas herramientas para obtener un mejor aprendizaje de una segunda lengua, dejando así la enseñanza tradicional a un lado y elegir por un aula más flexible con el uso del modelo pedagógico aula invertida y aplicar en ella los recursos tecnológicos. Haciendo esto el alumno se convierte en el protagonista del aula, dejando así al docente con un rol de guía y de facilitador de conocimientos (Martínez-Salas, 2019).

El modelo de aula invertida es una solución a la falta de motivación y de rendimiento en los alumnos del español como lengua extranjera. Rosenberg (2013) que la experiencia de la escuela secundaria Clintondale High School que fue el primer centro educativo de los Estados Unidos que adaptó completamente el modelo del aula invertida. Los resultados demostraron que el tiempo de atención individualizada del docente al alumno se multiplicó por cuatro, y que los niveles de rendimiento y motivación del alumnado se elevaron. Existen diferentes documentos que reúnen pruebas experimentales sobre la capacidad que tiene el modelo del aula invertida para optimizar tanto la motivación como el rendimiento de los alumnos en las escuelas secundarias (Martínez-Salas, 2019). Por otro lado, Macías-Mendoza (2017) comenta que, a través de la historia en la enseñanza de una segunda lengua, se había instruido las cuatro habilidades lingüísticas por separado. El hecho es que el rendimiento productivo (el habla y la escritura) y el receptivo (la escucha y la lectura) no pueden estar separados. Los dos se deben enseñar en conjunto, porque una interacción absoluta implica el enviar y recibir los mensajes a la misma vez. Haciendo uso del aula invertida se logrará este objetivo donde una habilidad fortalecerá la otra.

Objetivos, preguntas de investigación y metodología

Al final de la investigación presente basada en artículos académicos, entrevistas y encuestas llenadas por el grupo de enfoque, quiero ilustrar por medio de una serie de clases de qué forma se podría aplicar el método del aula invertida en la escuela de investigación para que los alumnos del primer y segundo año se sientan mejor preparados para tener un mejor desempeño en el uso del idioma en tanto las pruebas como en situaciones reales.

Pregunta principal:

¿De qué forma se podría aplicar el método del aula invertida en la clase de español para que los alumnos del primer y segundo año de la escuela de investigación puedan practicar más y así tener un mejor desempeño en el uso del idioma en tanto las pruebas como en situaciones reales?

Preguntas secundarias:

1. ¿Qué se entiende bajo el modelo del aula invertida?
2. ¿De qué forma se debe aplicar el modelo del aula invertida para que sea eficaz?
3. ¿Cuáles son las ventajas y desventajas de un aula invertida?
4. ¿Cuál es la diferencia entre el aula invertida y el aula tradicional?
5. ¿Por qué el modelo del aula invertida sería la mejor opción en comparación con el método tradicional para que los alumnos tengan un mejor desempeño tanto en las pruebas como en situaciones reales?
6. ¿Cómo reaccionan los docentes actualmente en la escuela en cuanto al aula invertida?

El diseño metodológico que se utilizó es uno mixto, aplicando instrumentos tanto cuantitativos como cualitativos. Como instrumento cualitativo se hizo uso de artículos académicos para crear un marco teórico para poder mejor responder a algunas de las preguntas de investigación anteriormente mencionadas. Además, se hizo uso de los resultados de las investigaciones hechas en otros países en donde se aplicó el modelo del aula invertida para poder formular una conclusión confiable. Como instrumento cualitativo, se hizo uso de una entrevista semiestructurada y como instrumento cuantitativo se hizo uso de una encuesta para obtener información de los alumnos sobre la aplicación del aula invertida en el aula de español. El propósito de utilizar métodos variados fue el de efectuar la validación mediante triangulación por método.

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Para esta investigación se hizo una encuesta virtual a través de la plataforma de ‘Google Forms’. Se hizo de esta forma para cumplir con los procedimientos vigentes a causa de la pandemia mundial del COVID-19 para evitar contacto físico con los alumnos. Se hizo uso de un video en la encuesta como introducción para que los alumnos tengan una idea de cómo sería una clase invertida. A base de esto pudieron dar su opinión abiertamente. Para lograr esto se dió una pequeña instrucción para que los alumnos puedan acceder a la encuesta en línea.

El tipo de muestra que se aplicó es una muestra aleatoria llamada muestreo por conglomerados. En la escuela, había siete grupos del primer año y siete grupos del segundo año. Cuatro de estos grupos (~30% de la población total, dos grupos del primer año y otro dos del segundo año) fueron seleccionados al azar para participar en la encuesta de la investigación. Cada grupo consistía en un promedio de 25 alumnos que tenían una edad de entre once y catorce años. Las encuestas fueron realizadas durante un solo día de manera anónima ya que los alumnos no tenían que escribir sus nombres a la hora de llenarlas. Los alumnos hicieron uso de la conexión inalámbrica de la escuela para poder acceder a la encuesta. Se llenaron 96 encuestas. Ese mismo día también se realizó la entrevista con dos docentes de español. Se les pidió autorización para poder grabar la conversación de forma anónima.

Para lograr que esta investigación sea confiable se hizo uso de la plataforma de Google Forms para evitar errores fortuitos. Para lograr la validez de esta investigación se hizo

uso del muestreo por conglomerados, que es una técnica que se usa cuando hay grupos similares, la población total se divide en grupos y los grupos que participan en la investigación son seleccionados al azar.

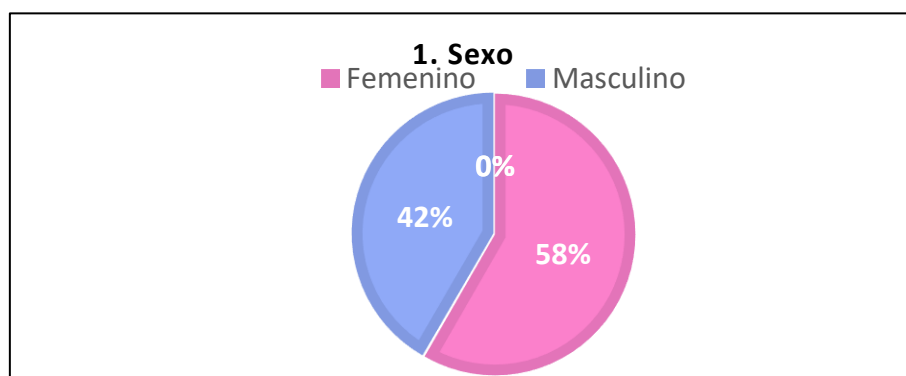
Resultados de la encuesta

Se pudo completar un total de noventa y seis (96) encuestas, es decir que 96 alumnos es el 100% de los resultados. La encuesta consistió en veinticinco (25) preguntas cerradas y una pregunta abierta, de las cuales siete (7) eran preguntas generales.

Información general de los encuestados

En este apartado se encontrarán los resultados de las primeras siete preguntas de la encuesta que recopilaban información general sobre los encuestados.

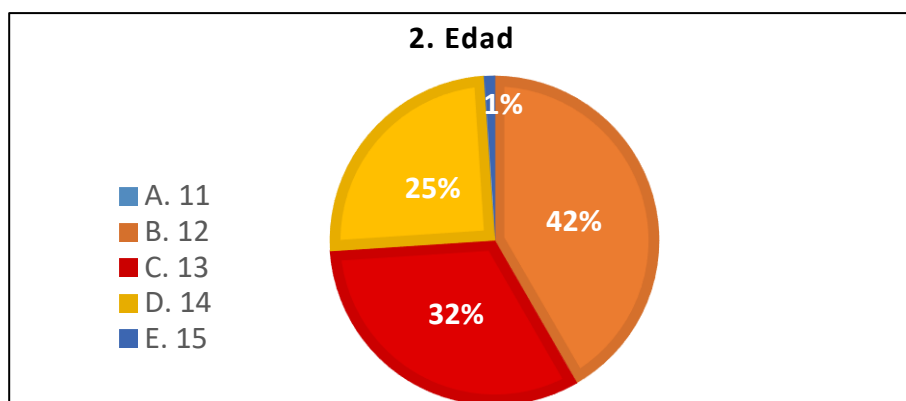
Gráfico 1 Sexo de los encuestados



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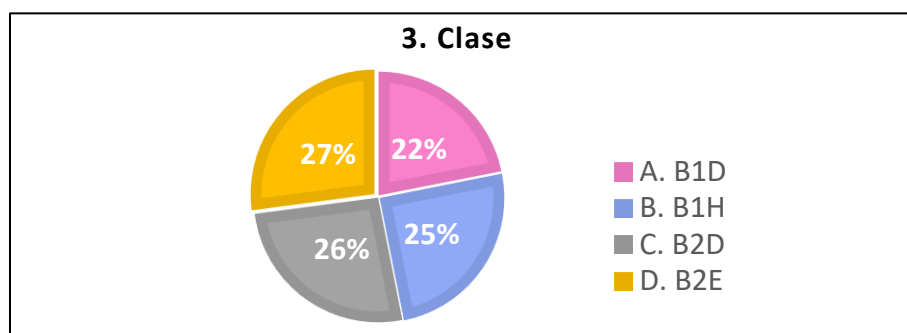
El gráfico 1 indica el sexo de los encuestados. Se puede ver que la mayor parte de los encuestados (58%) eran del sexo femenino y el 42% eran del sexo masculino.

Gráfico 2 Edad de los encuestados



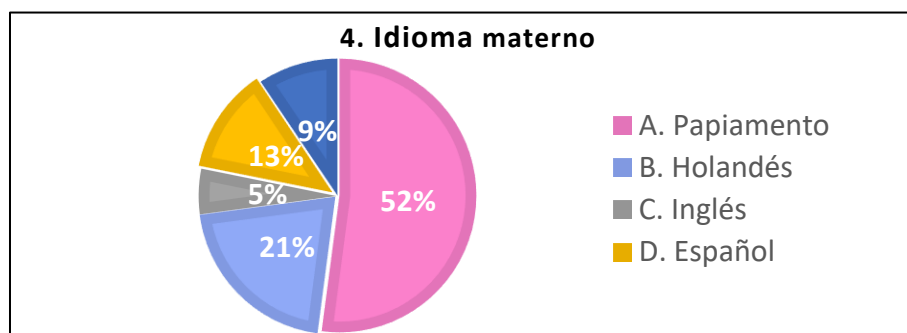
El gráfico 2 indica que casi la mitad (42%) de los encuestados tenían 12 años. El 32% tenían 13 años y el 25 % tenían 14 años. Solo el 1% tenían 15 años.

Gráfico 3 La clase de los encuestados



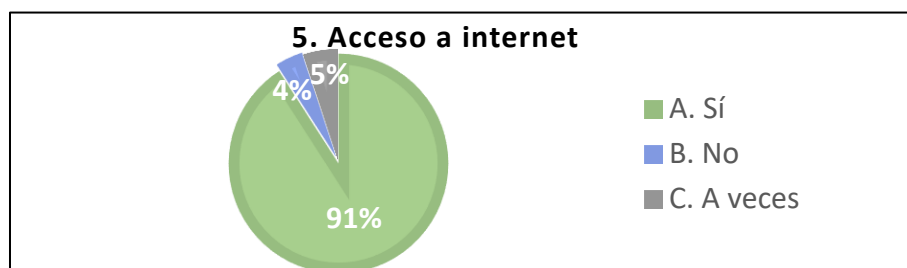
El gráfico 3 indica a qué clase pertenecían los alumnos. El 27% pertenecían a la clase del segundo año B2E. El 26% pertenecían a la clase B2D. En cuanto a los alumnos del primer año, el 25% eran de la clase B1H y el 22% de la clase B1D.

Gráfico 4 Idioma materno



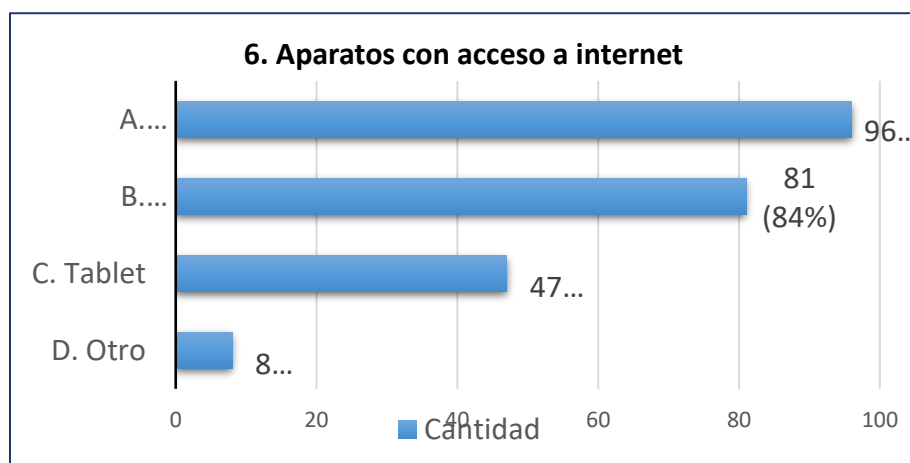
El gráfico 4 indica cuál era el idioma materno de los encuestados. La mayoría (52%) de ellos tenían el papiamento como idioma materno, el 21% tenían el holandés como idioma materno, el 13% tenían el español como idioma materno, el 5% tenían el inglés como idioma materno, y el 9% tenían otro idioma materno, como el hindi, el chino o el árabe.

Gráfico 5 Acceso a internet



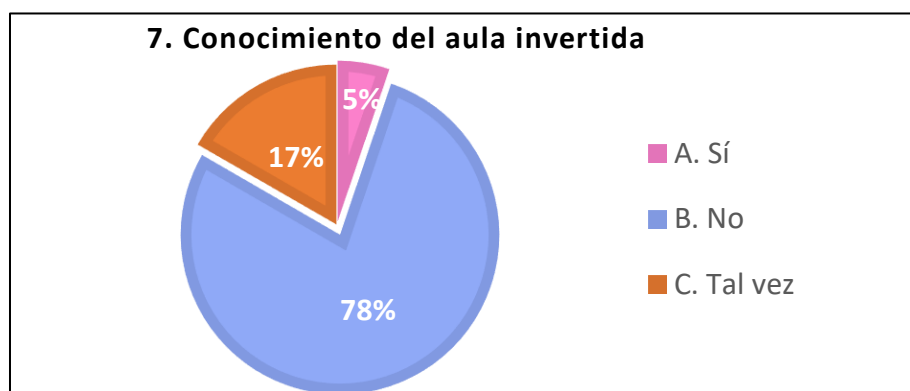
En el gráfico 5 se ilustra cuantos de los encuestados tenían acceso a internet en sus casas. La mayoría de los alumnos (91%) indicaron que tenían acceso al internet. El 5% indicó que a veces tenían acceso al internet y el 4% indicó que no tenían acceso al internet.

Gráfico 6 Aparatos con acceso al internet



En el gráfico 6 se indica qué dispositivos tenían los encuestados para poder acceder al internet. Aquí se puede ver que todos los alumnos (100%) tenían un teléfono móvil para acceder al internet. El 84% tenían un ordenador y el 47% una Tablet. El 8% tenían otros dispositivos, tales como un televisor inteligente o una PlayStation.

Gráfico 7 Conocimiento del aula invertida

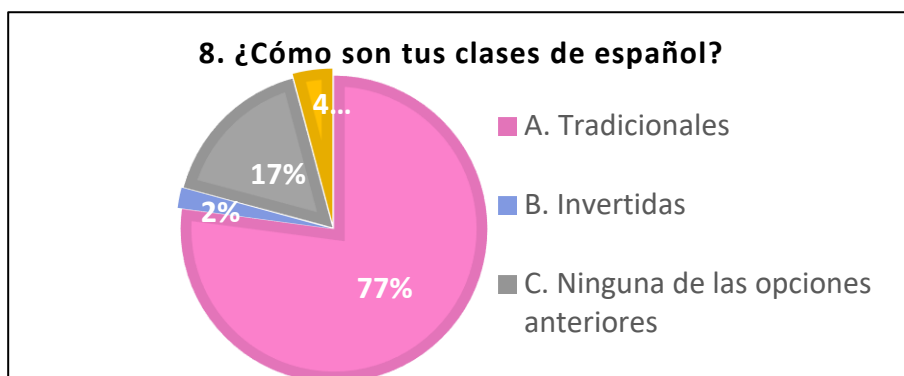


El gráfico 7 demuestra que la mayoría de los encuestados (78%) no sabían lo que era un aula invertida. Un 17% indicaron que tal vez sepan lo que es un aula invertida y solo 5% indicaron que sí sabían qué es el aula invertida.

Las clases de español

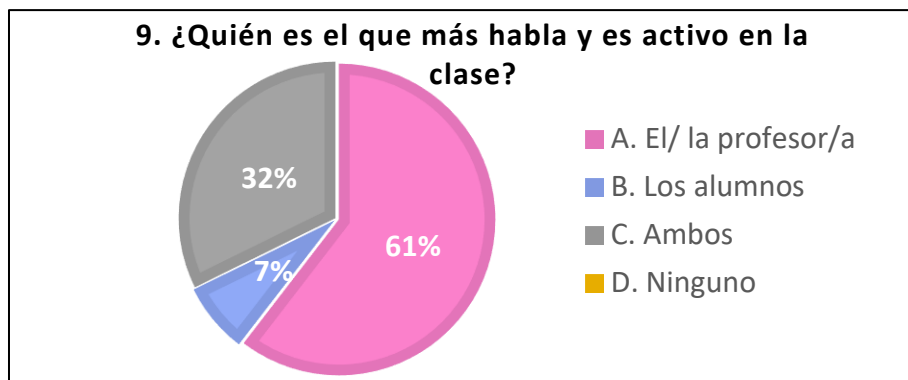
En este apartado se presentan los resultados de la segunda sección de la encuesta. En esta sección se dio una breve explicación del aula invertida y el aula tradicional para que todos los alumnos supieran lo que significan estos conceptos. La sección contiene la pregunta ocho hasta la pregunta diecisiete, las cuales brindan información sobre cómo son las clases de español según los alumnos y qué acción ayudaría más a mejorar el español de los alumnos.

Gráfico 8 Descripción de las clases de español



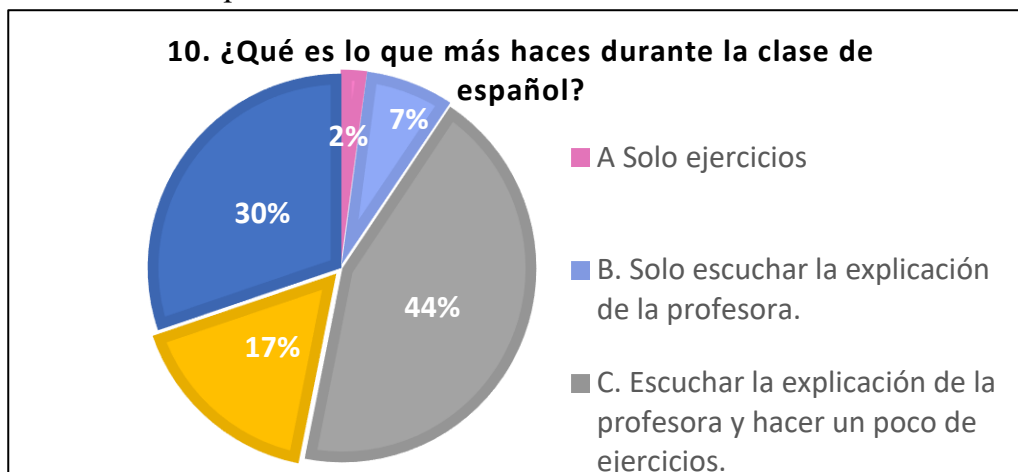
El gráfico 8 indica que la mayoría de los encuestados (77%) indicaron que las clases de español en la escuela eran de forma tradicional. Para el 17%, las clases no eran ni tradicional, ni invertidas, 4% señalaron que las clases de español se dieron de otra forma, y 2% indicaron que se dieron conforme al modelo del aula invertida.

Gráfico 9 El personaje más activo en clase



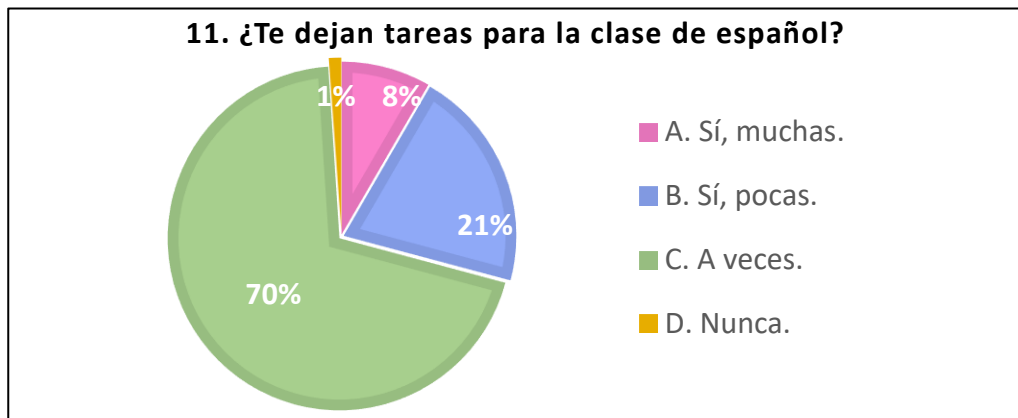
El gráfico 9 indica que la mayoría de los alumnos (61%) señalaron que el personaje más activo en las clases de español es el profesor o la profesora. El 32% indicaron que ambos, tanto los alumnos como los profesores son activos, y 7% señalaron que los alumnos son los más activos en la clase.

Gráfico 10 Lo que más se hace en clase



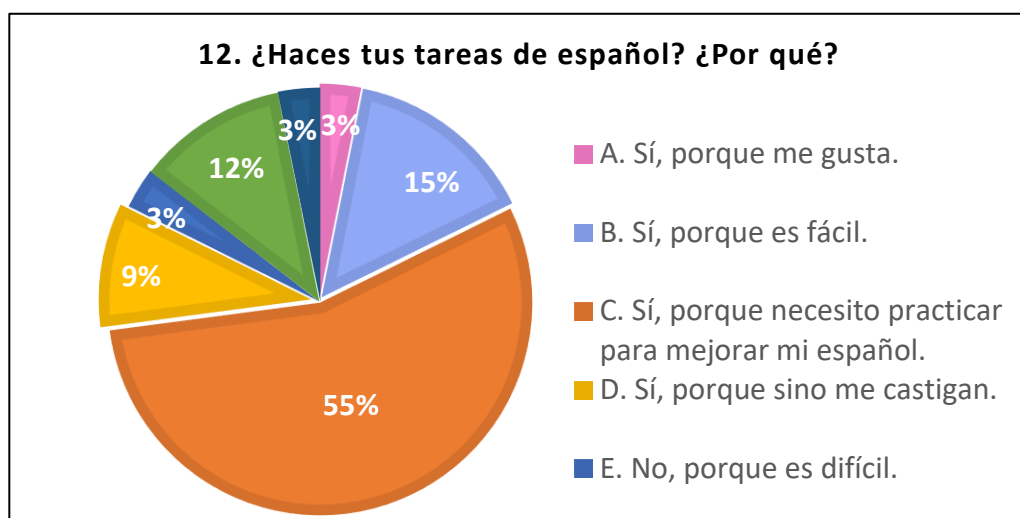
El gráfico 10 indica que casi la mitad de los encuestados (44%) señalaron que lo que más se hacía durante las clases de español es escuchar la explicación de la profesora y hacer un poco de ejercicios. El 30% señalaron que había un balance entre escuchar a la explicación del docente y hacer ejercicios. El 17% señalaron que lo que más se hacía durante las clases eran ejercicios, y 2% señalaron que todo lo que se hacía durante las clases de español eran ejercicios.

Gráfico 11 Cantidad de tareas



El gráfico 11 demuestra que la gran parte de los encuestados (70%) indicaron que solo a veces se les asignaban tareas para la clase de español. Un 21% indicaron que se les daba unas pocas tareas, el 8% indicaron que se les asignaba muchas tareas, y solo el 1% indicaron que nunca se les asignaba tareas.

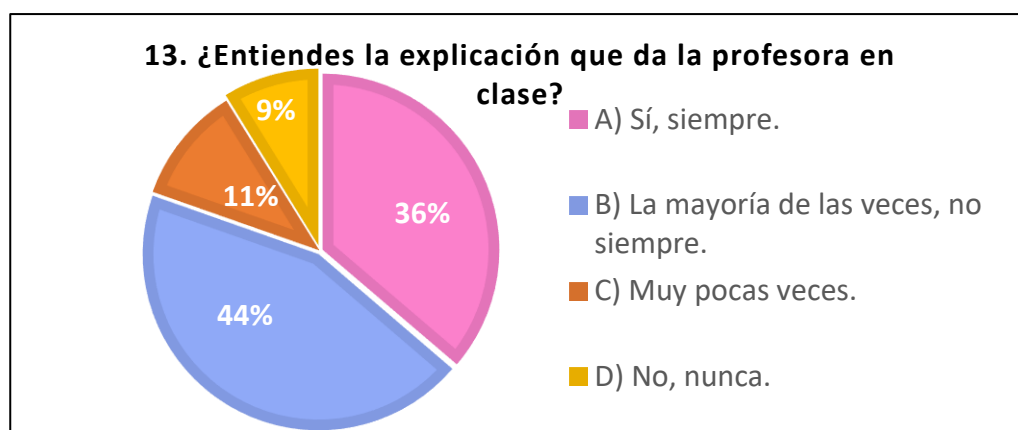
Gráfico 12 Cumplimiento con las tareas



El gráfico 12 indica el motivo por el cual los encuestados cumplían o no con las tareas de español. La mayoría (55%) hacían las tareas de español porque necesitaban practicar para mejorar su español. El 15% hacían las tareas porque eran fáciles, el 9% hacían las tareas para evitar el castigo, y solo el 3% hacían las tareas porque les gustaban. El 12% no hacían las tareas porque consideraban otras materias más importantes y otro 6% no hacían las tareas por otras razones.

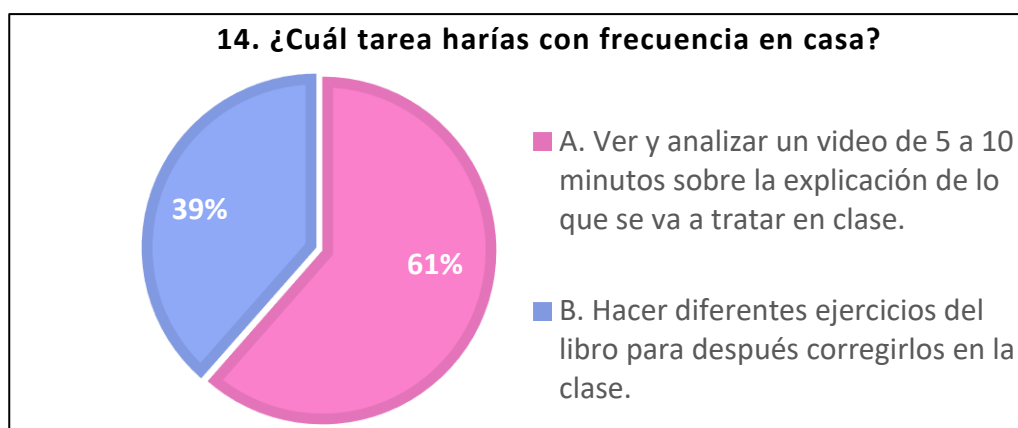
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Gráfico 13 Comprensión de la teoría en clase



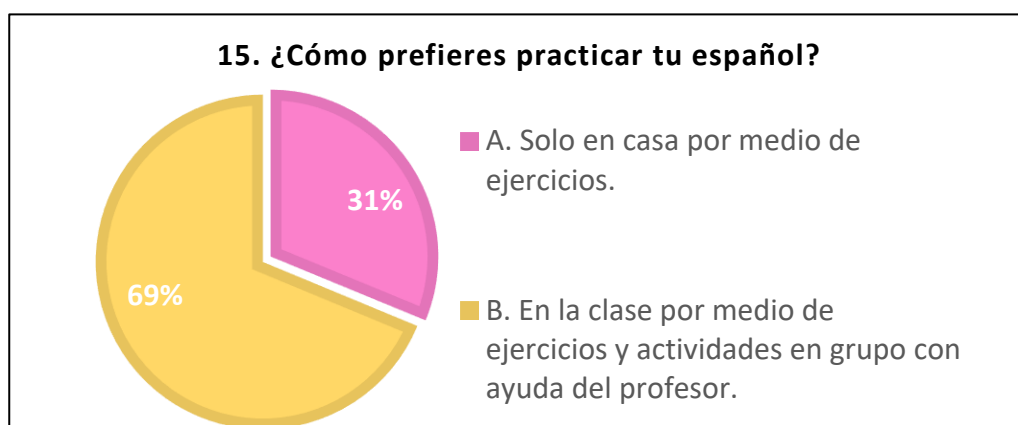
El gráfico 13 demuestra que casi la mitad de los encuestados (44%) indicaron que la mayoría de las veces entendían la explicación de la teoría en clase, pero no siempre. El 36% indicaron que siempre entendían la teoría en clase, el 11% señalaron que muy pocas veces entendían la teoría y 9% indicaron que nunca la entendían.

Gráfico 14 La tarea que harían con más frecuencia en casa



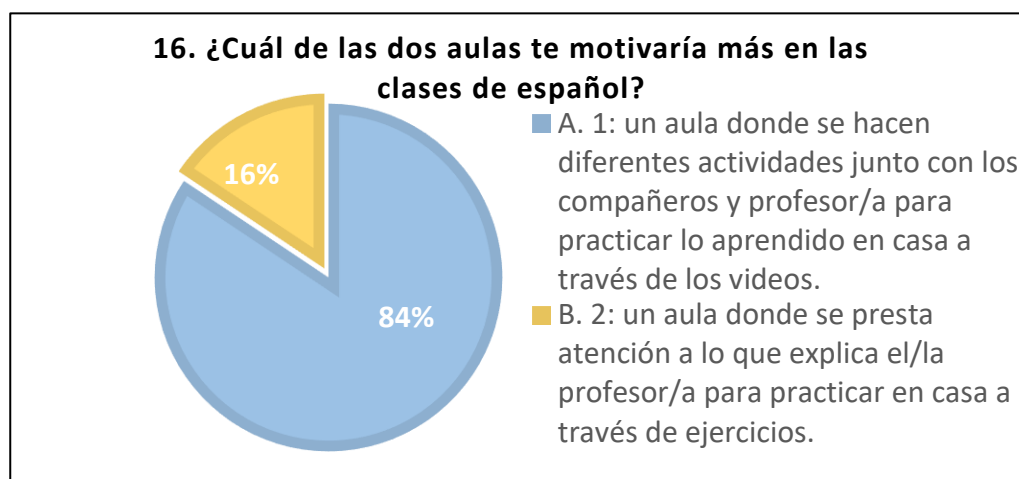
El gráfico 14 indica que la mayoría de los alumnos (61%) preferirían como tarea ver y analizar un video de 5 a 10 minutos sobre la explicación de lo que se va a tratar en clase (tarea del aula invertida) y que 39% preferirían hacer diferentes ejercicios del libro para después corregirlos en la clase (tarea del aula tradicional).

Gráfico 15 La mejor manera de practicar



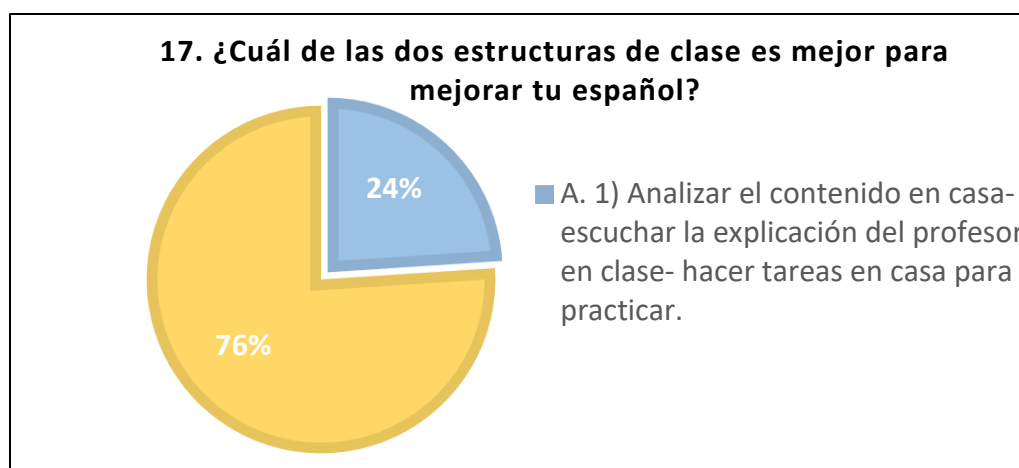
El gráfico 15 indica que la mayoría de los encuestados (69%) preferirían practicar su español en la clase por medio de ejercicios y actividades en grupo con ayuda del profesor (práctica del aula invertida), y que 31% preferirían practicar su español solo en casa por medio de ejercicios (práctica tradicional).

Gráfico 16 La mejor aula para la motivación



El gráfico 16 indica que la mayoría de los alumnos (84%) eligieron la opción A (que corresponde al aula invertida) y que 16% eligieron la opción B (que corresponde al aula tradicional) como el aula que más les motivaría en clase.

Gráfico 17 La mejor estructura para la clase de español



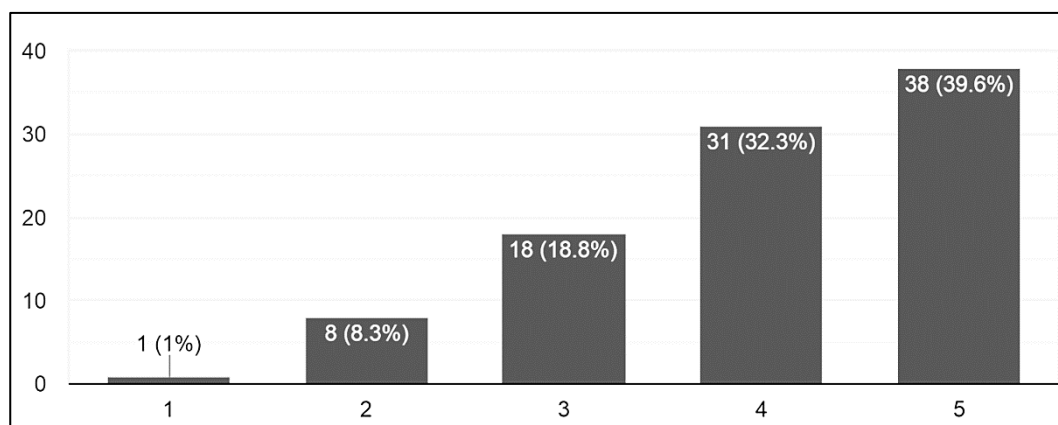
El gráfico 17 indica que la mayoría de los encuestados (76%) escogieron la opción B (característica del aula invertida) y que 24% escogieron la opción A (característica del aula tradicional) como la mejor estructura para mejorar su español.

Grado en que los alumnos estaban de acuerdo con algunas proposiciones

En este apartado se presentan los resultados de la penúltima sección de la encuesta, la cual consiste en la pregunta dieciocho hasta la pregunta veinticuatro. Esta sección brinda información sobre el grado en que los alumnos estaban de acuerdo o en desacuerdo con algunas proposiciones sobre el aula invertida. La escala ofrecida fue de una puntuación del uno al cinco:

- 1= En desacuerdo totalmente
- 2= Un poco en desacuerdo
- 3= Neutral
- 4= Un poco de acuerdo
- 5= De acuerdo totalmente

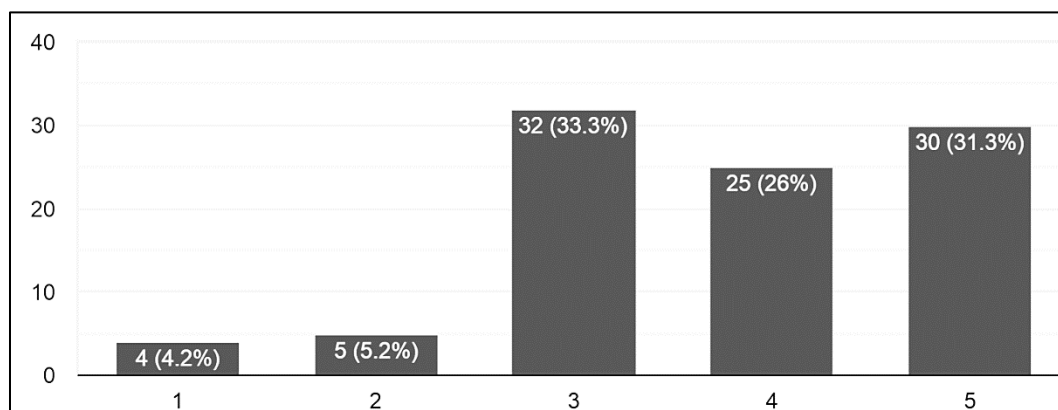
Gráfico 18 Tener siempre un video o material de explicación me ayudaría a aprender a mi propio ritmo y de esta forma mejorar mi español.



El gráfico 18 demuestra que el 39.6% de los encuestados indicaron que estaban totalmente de acuerdo con la proposición, el 32.3% estaban un poco de acuerdo, el 18.8% no estaban ni de acuerdo ni en desacuerdo con la proposición, y el 8.3% estaban un poco en desacuerdo.

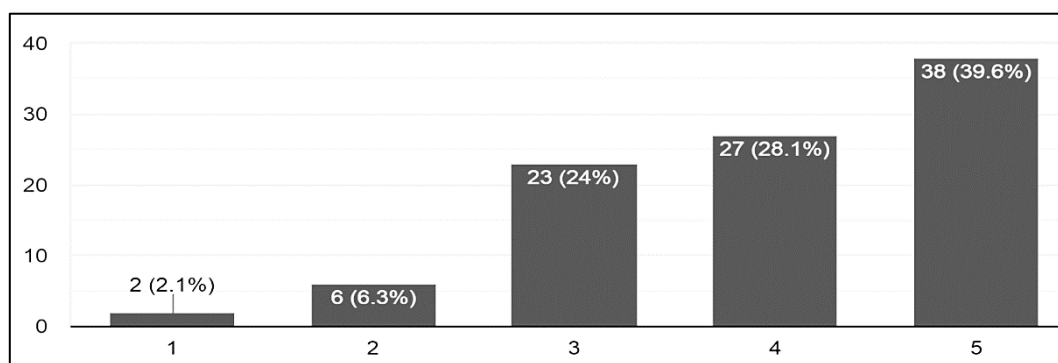
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Gráfico 19 El aula invertida me ayudaría a mejorar mis notas de español



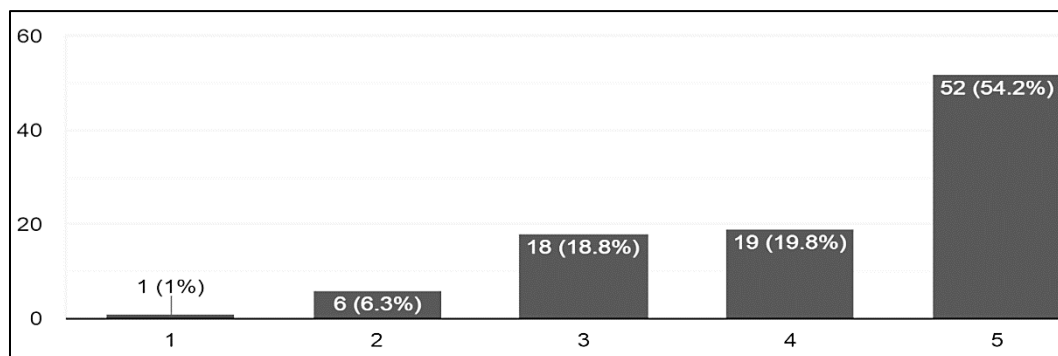
El gráfico 19 indica que el 33.3% de los encuestados no estaban ni de acuerdo ni en desacuerdo con la proposición, el 31.3% estaban totalmente de acuerdo, el 26% estaban un poco de acuerdo, el 5.2% estaban un poco en desacuerdo y el 4.2% estaban totalmente en desacuerdo.

Gráfico 20 El aula invertida me motivaría a participar más en clases



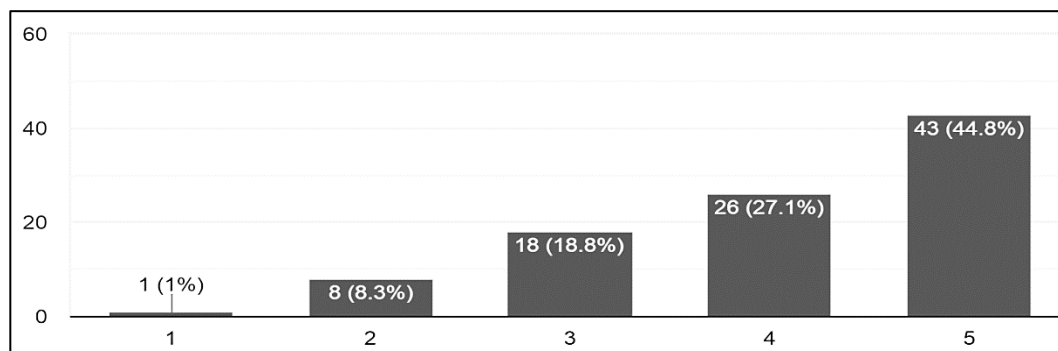
El gráfico 20 demuestra que el 39.6% de los encuestados señalaban estar completamente de acuerdo con la proposición, el 28.1% estaban un poco de acuerdo, el 24% tenían una opinión neutral, el 6.3% estaban un poco en desacuerdo y 2.1% estaban totalmente en desacuerdo.

Gráfico 21 El aula invertida haría las clases de español más interesantes



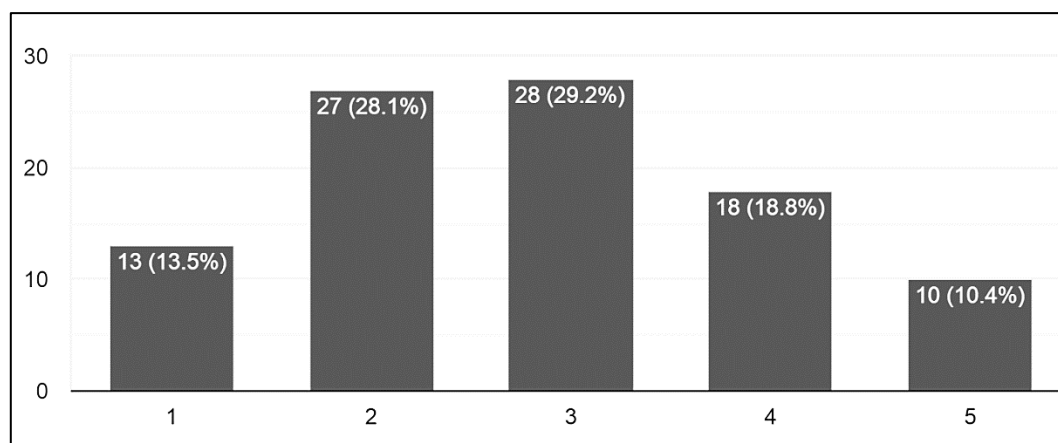
El gráfico 21 indica que la mayoría de los encuestados (54.2%) estaban completamente de acuerdo con la proposición que el aula invertida haría las clases de español más interesantes, el 19.8% estaban un poco de acuerdo, el 18.8% mantenían una posición neutral, el 6.3% estaban un poco en desacuerdo y 1% estaba totalmente en desacuerdo.

Gráfico 22 Estoy listo para experimentar un cambio en la forma de recibir las clases de español



El gráfico 22 indica que casi la mitad de los alumnos encuestados (44.8%) estaban totalmente de acuerdo con la proposición, el 27.1% estaban un poco de acuerdo, el 18.8% mantenían una posición neutral, el 8.3% estaban un poco en desacuerdo, y el 1% estaba totalmente en desacuerdo.

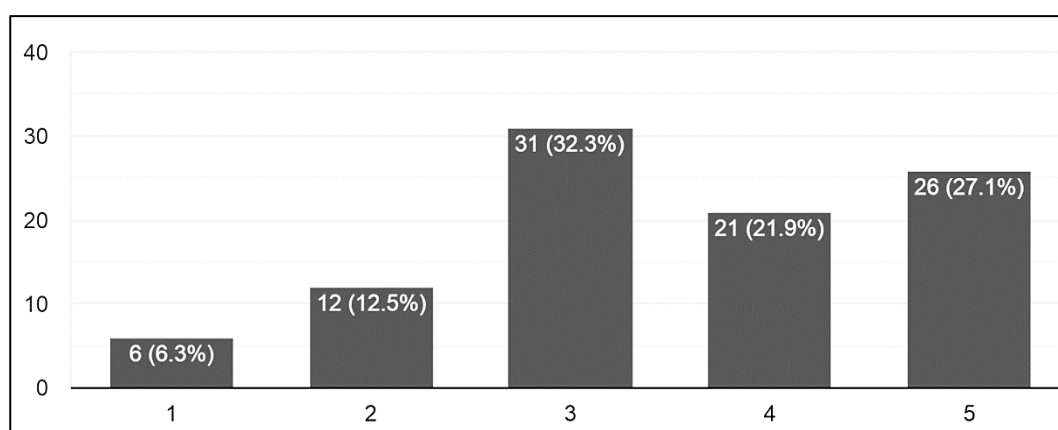
Gráfico 23 El aula invertida me dará más trabajo en casa



El gráfico 23 demuestra que el 29.2% de los alumnos encuestados mantenían una opinión neutral en cuanto a la proposición, el 28.1% estaban un poco en desacuerdo, el 13.5% estaban totalmente en desacuerdo, el 18.8% estaban un poco de acuerdo y 10.4% estaban totalmente de acuerdo.

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Gráfico 24 Soy capaz de estudiar solo en casa para ponerlo en práctica en las clases de español.

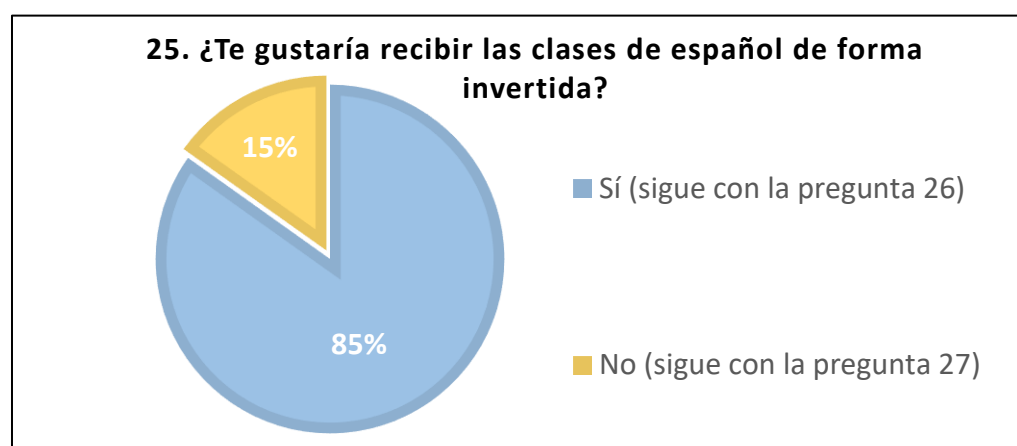


El gráfico 24 indica que el 32.3% de los encuestados mantenían una opinión neutral en cuanto a la proposición, el 27.1% estaban totalmente de acuerdo, el 21.9% estaban un poco de acuerdo, el 12.5% estaban un poco en desacuerdo y el 6.3% estaban en desacuerdo total.

Futuras clases de español

A continuación, se presentan los resultados de la última sección de la encuesta, la cual consiste en las preguntas veinticinco y veintiséis, o veinticinco y veintisiete. Por medio de esta sección se recopila información sobre por qué los alumnos les gustaría o no, participar en las clases de español de forma invertida.

Gráfico 25 Aula invertida en el futuro



El gráfico 25 indica que a la mayoría de los alumnos encuestados (85%) le gustaría en un futuro recibir las clases de español de forma invertida y el 15% no le gustaría recibir las clases de español de forma invertida.

Tabla 1 Argumentaciones a favor del aula invertida

Argumentaciones a favor del aula invertida	Cantidad
1) Porque aplicar el aula invertida sería más divertido e interesante para mejorar la comprensión, los resultados y mantenerse interesados en comparación con el aula no invertida.	42
2) Porque se tiene siempre el material de explicación a la mano y así puedo aprender a mi propio ritmo.	10
3) Porque no siempre quiero escribir, sino también hacer actividades en grupo.	4
4) Porque prefiero estudiar en casa y practicar en la clase para estar más concentrado y motivado.	8
5) Porque creo que es mejor ver un video en casa, sin embargo hay que aplicarlo para poder estar seguro que así es.	4
6) Porque simplemente puede ser más fácil.	3
7) Porque brinda más tiempo para practicar en clase y para ayudar a los alumnos que tienen más dificultades para comprender la materia.	8
8) Porque se practica más en grupos y esto nos ayuda a ser más sociales.	5

Pregunta 26: Argumentaciones a favor del aula invertida

Los alumnos que respondieron a la pregunta veinticinco de manera positiva incluyeron las argumentaciones siguientes por su deseo de recibir las clases de español de forma invertida:

Pregunta 27: Argumentaciones en contra al aula invertida

Los alumnos que respondieron a la pregunta veinticinco de manera negativa incluyeron las argumentaciones siguientes por su falta de deseo de recibir las clases de español de forma invertida:

Tabla 2 Argumentaciones en contra al aula invertida

Argumentaciones en contra al aula invertida	Cantidad
1) Hay que poder aplicarlo antes para poder experimentar cuál es mejor.	3
2) Porque ya nos va bien con las clases tradicionales donde se practica suficiente con ejercicios del libro.	4
3) Porque no tengo mucho tiempo para ver videos en casa, hay otras materias también.	1
4) Porque el aula invertida me parece aburrida.	1
5) Porque estudiar en casa puede distraerme fácilmente, prefiero la explicación en clase.	1
6) Porque requiere de más energía como la temporada que conseguimos las clases por Zoom.	2

Resultados de las entrevistas

Entrevista con docente A

¿Cuántos años lleva dando clases de español? Llevo ya 17 años dando clase en esta escuela secundaria.

¿Cómo es la estructura de sus clases? Depende de cada clase; si empezamos con un capítulo nuevo, leo el título de la unidad, les explico más o menos lo que se va a tratar en esa unidad. Como usamos el libro de compañeros, empezamos siempre con la parte del vocabulario y les pido siempre que estudien el vocabulario antes de venir a clase. Hacemos los ejercicios, después hacemos la gramática, vamos paso por paso. Cuando hay teoría lo explico en clase y luego practicamos.

¿Cuánto se demora para explicar la teoría? Eso depende del tema. Si es un tema relativamente fácil, se puede hacer quizás en cinco minutos, pero con otros temas como el complemento directo me va a tomar mucho más tiempo.

¿Qué tipo de tareas da a sus alumnos? Siempre estudiar el vocabulario y ejercicios del libro para practicar el vocabulario o la gramática.

¿Los alumnos cumplen con estas tareas? Algunos sí y otro no, eso varía. La mayoría hacen la tarea, pero hay periodos en que por ejemplo la mitad de la clase no hace la

tarea. Creo que no la hacen, porque creen que no voy a controlar y otros no la hacen por ser muy perezosos.

¿Ha oído hablar del aula invertida/ “flipped classroom”? (Breve explicación si no conoce el concepto) No conocía el término.

¿Ha intentado aplicar este modelo en algunas de sus clases? Creo que inconscientemente lo apliqué en algunas clases gramaticales.

¿Cómo fue la experiencia en ese entonces? Los alumnos estuvieron muy pasivos.

¿Cómo describiría a sus alumnos? Varía mucho. Algunos son muy independientes y hay otros que son muy perezosos. En cuanto a las calificaciones, no sé si es por el nuevo método, pero han mejorado en comparación con antes.

Como profesor/a de español, ¿estaría dispuesto/a a adaptar su forma de dar clases? Eso del aula invertida es atractivo, pero creo que nos va a costar más tiempo para prepararnos.

¿Haría videos con explicaciones para sus alumnos? No me gusta la idea de grabarme a mí misma y verme en un video, prefiero hacer uso de uno que ya esté hecho o mandar la teoría en forma de documentos para analizarlo en casa. Aunque sí creo ser capaz de hacer un video cuando sea realmente necesario.

¿Cree que el aula invertida motivaría más a sus alumnos durante la clase de español? Es posible, porque los alumnos van a tener un video siempre cuando lo necesitan.

¿Cree que el aula invertida ayudaría a mejorar el rendimiento de sus alumnos? Espero que sí. Creo que lo primero es que la actitud de algunos tiene que cambiar; tienen una actitud negativa hacia el idioma. Si eso cambia, posiblemente si pueda mejorar el rendimiento.

¿Cree que sería una buena idea empezar a aplicar el aula invertida en algunas clases de español? Sí, en algunas clases sí.

¿De qué forma cree que se podría aplicar el aula invertida para lograr mejorar el rendimiento de los alumnos tanto en las pruebas de español como el uso del idioma en situaciones reales? Primero que todo creo que se debe empezar por partes, aplicándolo en algunas clases y no hacer el cambio por completo. Explicarles a los alumnos de qué se trata antes de aplicarlo para que no cause pánico o confusión en ellos. Hay que prepararse, buscar videos y eso toma tiempo. Los videos ayudan, ya que escuchan el idioma y siempre lo tienen consigo.

¿Los padres se involucrarían en este cambio? Mira, hay padres que pretenden saber lo que sucede en la escuela, exigen ciertas cosas. Puede ser que algunos padres digan algo, pero quizás otros digan que es algo innovador que estimule y ayude a los alumnos.

Al ver esta siguiente tabla de ventajas y desventajas del aula invertida, ¿qué lado de la tabla tendría más peso en esta escuela? De ventajas veo como el número tres y cuatro, porque algo nuevo siempre llama la atención. El seis también y el ocho es

más para nosotros los profesores. De desventaja la brecha digital sería un obstáculo. Y la sobrecarga no creo, porque ya están sobrecargados. Para resumir, creo que las ventajas pesarían más en este colegio.

Tabla 3 Visión general de las ventajas y desventajas del aula invertida

Ventajas	Desventajas
1) Genera más tiempo para practicar en clase.	1) Provoca poca mejoría.
2) Favorece la diversidad.	2) Es de poca influencia en la satisfacción de los alumnos.
3) El alumno se convierte en protagonista y es más activo.	3) Resultados negativos en alumnos noveles o con dificultad de aprendizaje.
4) Las clases se vuelven más interesantes.	4) Existe una brecha digital.
5) Mejora el desarrollo de las competencias.	5) Creará confusión en los alumnos que ya están en una etapa confusa, con cambios emocionales y de personalidad.
6) Mejora la retención de contenido.	6) Se crea una escasa valoración del rol docente.
7) Un nivel parejo de los alumnos al principio de la clase.	7) Implica una sobrecarga de trabajo.
8) Promueve el buen uso de la tecnología.	

Entrevista con docente B

¿Cuántos años lleva dando clases de español? Empecé a los veintitrés, así que llevo treinta años dando clases de español.

¿Cómo es la estructura de sus clases? Normalmente empiezo con un repaso de cinco minutos de la clase anterior, si sigo con el mismo tema. De lo contrario empiezo con la teoría del nuevo tema. Después hacemos ejercicios y luego doy deberes.

¿Cuánto se demora para explicar la teoría? En general me demoro diez minutos. Y luego solo los ejercicios del libro.

¿Qué tipo de tareas da a sus alumnos? Casi siempre dejo que se estudien el vocabulario, porque los alumnos no se aprenden el vocabulario. Hago más durante la clase y como deberes doy más que todo el vocabulario.

¿Los alumnos cumplen con estas tareas? No, porque creo no consideran el español como una materia importante para ellos. No les gusta el español, porque entre sí solamente hablan inglés. Y nunca escuchan ni ven una película o serie en español. Para ellos el español es como una lengua muerta; no existente.

¿Ha oído hablar del aula invertida/ “flipped classroom”? (Breve explicación si no conoce el concepto) Sí. Trata de que la explicación que doy ahora en clases se hace por medio de un video que se ve en casa, entonces regresamos a la clase el siguiente

día y se hacen los deberes o los alumnos entre sí pueden hacer la práctica y así el profesor tiene más tiempo para dedicarle a los alumnos que necesitan más ayuda.

¿Ha intentado aplicar este modelo en algunas de sus clases? Nunca, nunca he hecho un video de explicación. Pará mí sería mejor usar un video ya existente.

¿Cómo describiría a sus alumnos? Bueno, tenemos un grupo de latinos que muchas veces no hacen nada y sacan buenas notas, pero la mayoría son como esponjas; se sientan en clase y lo único que hacen es anotar y escuchar. Yo espero que hagan algo en casa, pero no tengo muy claro eso. Aunque no creo que hagan mucho en casa. En cuanto a las notas, el promedio está entre un 6.5 o 7.

¿Cree usted que los alumnos sean capaces e independientes de ver un video en casa y entenderlo tal y como se haría en un aula invertida? Yo creo que sí, porque son muy autónomos.

Como profesor/a de español, ¿estaría dispuesto/a a adaptar su forma de dar clases? Argumente su respuesta. Sí. Cuando terminé mis estudios tenía 27 años cuando regresé a Curazao y yo empecé con el estilo que solía dar clases como se dan clases en Holanda. Yo daba clases en una escuela X. Este es un estilo muy autónomo, que uno recibe la tarea por todo el mes y los alumnos mismos tienen que escoger la materia que quieren hacer durante la clase y me gustó mucho. Pero como yo era la única en una escuela secundaria que usaba este estilo, entonces no funcionó. Además las otras profesoras decían que con ese estilo los alumnos hacían demasiado ruido y tenían que hablar mucho el español entre sí.

¿Haría videos con explicaciones para sus alumnos? No me gusta la idea. Sería capaz de hacerlo, pero no es algo que me guste.

¿Cree que el aula invertida motivaría más a sus alumnos durante la clase de español? Creo que sí, porque vieron que por sus propios esfuerzos pudieron lograr entender algo y aplicarlo. Además, hoy en día ellos son muy visuales.

¿Cree que el aula invertida ayudaría a mejorar el rendimiento de sus alumnos? Sí, porque como ellos mismos han trabajado fuerte para entender y practicar en clase van a retener más en comparación con lo que se hace ahora.

¿Cree que sería una buena idea empezar a aplicar el aula invertida en algunas clases de español? ¡Sí, claro!

¿De qué forma cree que se podría aplicar el aula invertida para lograr mejorar el rendimiento de los alumnos tanto en las pruebas de español como el uso del idioma en situaciones reales? Creo que se debe empezar aplicando el modelo en algunas clases e ir haciendo el cambio poco a poco. Creo que aplicándola en la gramática sería más fácil. Porque para el vocabulario los alumnos utilizan mucho un programa llamado “Words”.

¿Los padres se involucrarían en este cambio? No creo. Cuando los alumnos ya llegan a la escuela secundaria los padres casi no se involucran.

Al ver esta siguiente tabla de ventajas y desventajas del aula invertida (véase Tabla 3 arriba), ¿qué lado de la tabla tendría más peso en esta escuela? Estoy completamente de acuerdo con las ventajas. En cuanto a las desventajas solo estaría de acuerdo con la cuarta y sexta. Hay una clase en la cual muchos alumnos no tienen forma de acceder al internet en casa.

Yo creo que el grupo de los profesores acá van a ver más por las desventajas que pueda causar este modelo, porque ya llevan treinta a cuarenta años dando clases de la misma forma. Sin embargo, creo que los jóvenes si ven las ventajas. Lo malo es que en este colegio, la minoría de los profesores pertenece a los de la nueva generación. Y no creo que habría una forma de convencer a los profesores que ya tienen muchos años dando clase de una forma.

Ahora bien, los jóvenes podrían empezar a aplicar este modelo. Este estilo ya se usa por muchos años. En una universidad de la ciudad de Maastricht, en Holanda, hacen uso de este modelo y a los estudiantes les encanta y se ven buenos resultados. Los que van ahí no fallan.

Conclusiones

En este apartado se presentarán las conclusiones primero en cuanto a las preguntas de investigación secundarias, y luego a la pregunta de investigación principal.

Pregunta de investigación secundaria 1: ¿Qué se entiende bajo el modelo del aula invertida?

Por medio de la pregunta 7 de la encuesta se puede ver que la mayoría de los alumnos no conocían el término del aula invertida. Por este motivo se hizo uso de un video informativo en la encuesta sobre el aula invertida. Para verificar que los alumnos hayan entendido, se hizo uso de las preguntas 7, 8, 9, 10, 25 de la encuesta. Por medio de estas preguntas los alumnos describieron cómo son sus clases actuales de español, la cual la mayoría la definió como un aula tradicional en la pregunta 8. En la pregunta 9 se dio una característica de una clase tradicional donde el 61% de los alumnos mencionó que el profesor es el que más habla y es más activo durante la clase; dando a entender en la pregunta 10 que lo que más se hace en una clase tradicional es escuchar las explicaciones del profesor (según el 44% de los alumnos).

Comparando estas descripciones del aula tradicional con las respuestas dadas en la pregunta 25, se pudo concluir que los alumnos sabían lo que se entiende bajo el aula invertida, porque al argumentar el por qué le gustaría o no recibir las clases de español de forma invertida, mencionaron diferentes características del aula invertida versus la tradicional. 42 de 96 dijeron que el aula invertida sería más divertido e interesante para mejorar la comprensión, los resultados y mantenerse interesados en comparación con el aula tradicional. También que se practicaría más en clase por medio de actividades en grupos.

Pregunta de investigación secundaria 2: ¿De qué forma se debe aplicar el modelo del aula invertida para que sea eficaz?

Ferrero (2020) menciona algunos puntos a seguir para que la aplicación del aula invertida pueda funcionar de forma eficaz. Los puntos a seguir son los siguientes:

- 1) Informarse sobre el tema e informar a los alumnos y padres para ser transparentes y así evitar un rechazo al cambio. Evitar aplicar este modelo inconscientemente como la docente A mencionó en la entrevista, y decir que lo ha aplicado. De esta forma se evita confundir a los alumnos sobre la verdadera aplicación del aula invertida. Sin embargo, la docente A estuvo de acuerdo que es necesario asesorarse y prepararse muy bien antes de aplicar este modelo de aprendizaje. Es necesario fijar los objetivos y crear un plan claro de lo que se debe hacer fuera del aula y lo que se debe hacer dentro del aula.
- 2) Aplicar estrategias donde las actividades en clase se basen en desarrollar las habilidades más altas de la taxonomía de Bloom y en casa las más bajas. Según los resultados de la pregunta 14 de la encuesta se pudo notar que la mayoría de los alumnos (el 61%) mejoraría su español si la tarea fuera tan solo ver un corto video para analizar la información y en la pregunta 15 la mayoría (el 69%) está de acuerdo que en clase se debe hacer lo más complejo; la práctica de lo aprendido por medio de ejercicios y actividades grupales.

El cambio de un aula tradicional a un aula invertida debe suceder paso a paso para que los alumnos y el docente se familiaricen con el modelo e ir adaptando donde sea necesario hasta lograr una aplicación eficaz para la clase. En la entrevista ambas docentes mencionaron estar de acuerdo con este punto.

- 3) Crear contenidos interactivos y cortos haciendo uso de diferentes herramientas y no solo un video. Esto hará que los alumnos cumplan con sus tareas, porque van a estar más motivados e interesados. Como mencionaron ambas docentes en la entrevista, muchos alumnos no cumplen con sus deberes porque no se interesan en el idioma. El 84% de los alumnos mismos indicó en la pregunta 16 que prefieren las actividades hechas en el aula invertida para estar más motivados para mejorar su español. Y en la pregunta 25, 42 de 96 alumnos mencionaron lo divertido e interesante que sería aplicar el aula invertida porque se harían actividades diferentes.
- 4) Formar un grupo de docentes para ayudarse mutuamente con materiales y retroalimentación. De esta forma se podrá mantener una actitud positiva ante el cambio y no darse por vencido en el primer intento fallido.

De esta pregunta secundaria se dedujo que no existe una forma exacta para aplicar el modelo del aula invertida. Sin embargo, se debe aplicar paso a paso teniendo un plan, una estrategia y el apoyo de los colegas para que el cambio funcione eficazmente.

Pregunta de investigación secundaria 3. ¿Cuáles son las ventajas y desventajas de un aula invertida?

En la pregunta 18, el 38.6% de los alumnos estaban totalmente de acuerdo y el 32.3 % un poco de acuerdo que una de las ventajas es tener siempre el material de explicación a la mano y así poder aprender a su propio ritmo para llegar a clase con el mismo nivel de conocimiento que sus compañeros y así mejorar su español. En la pregunta 20 y 21 de la encuesta, gran parte de los alumnos estuvo de acuerdo que el aula invertida les motivaría más en la clase, ya que las clases serían más interesantes. Además, en la entrevista las docentes A y B estuvieron de acuerdo que está sería sin duda una de las ventajas. Tanto en la pregunta 25 de la encuesta como en las respuestas obtenidas de la pregunta 14 de la entrevista, se mencionaron todas las ventajas anteriores que podrían aplicarse en la escuela.

Por otro lado, no todos estuvieron de acuerdo con las desventajas. Como desventajas en la escuela, ven la brecha digital como un obstáculo para la aplicación de este nuevo modelo. Sin embargo, en la pregunta 5 y 6 de la encuesta se pudo ver que son muy pocos los alumnos (el 4%) que no tienen acceso a internet y el 5 % no tiene acceso a internet a toda hora.

Otra posible desventaja mencionada durante la entrevista fue la sobrecarga de trabajo que puede conllevar a aplicar el aula invertida, ya que la minoría de los docentes pertenece a la nueva generación y los otros no estarían abiertos a hacer un cambio en su forma de dar clases por años. Aunque gran parte de los alumnos, el 28.1% (un poco desacuerdo) y el 13.5% (total desacuerdo) contradice que este modelo les dará más trabajo en casa.

De esta pregunta secundaria se pudo concluir que la aplicación del aula invertida puede traer más ventajas que desventajas tanto para los alumnos como para los profesores.

Pregunta de investigación secundaria 4. ¿Cuál es la diferencia entre el aula invertida y el aula tradicional?

Una de las diferencias es que en el aula invertida el proceso de aprendizaje empieza con el alumno desde casa y no con el profesor. Tanto el docente A como el docente B empiezan sus clases con una explicación de 10 o más minutos. En la pregunta 9 de la encuesta el 61% de los alumnos indicaron que el profesor es el más activo durante la clase y casi la mitad (el 44%) mencionaron en la pregunta 10 de la encuesta, que lo que más hacen en clase es escuchar la explicación del profesor para luego practicar algunos ejercicios del libro. En el aula invertida sucede lo contrario. El alumno es el más activo en clase y el profesor solo está ahí para guiarlos, corregirlos y darles retroalimentación.

En cuanto a tareas, el 70% de los alumnos mencionaron en la pregunta 11 de la encuesta que a veces les dejan tarea para la casa. Estas tareas según las docentes A y B consisten en estudiar el vocabulario y practicar con algunos ejercicios del libro. Por lo contrario, el aula invertida deja como ‘tarea’ analizar el contenido en casa para venir a practicar en la clase por medio de ejercicios y actividades, sea individuales o grupales. Es decir, que lo que se hace en el aula tradicional, en el aula invertida se hace en casa, y lo que se hace en casa según el aula tradicional, en el aula invertida se hace en la clase.

En conclusión, existen muchas diferencias entre el aula invertida y el aula tradicional lo que puede hacer que el cambio de un modelo al otro puede ser un poco dificultoso.

Pregunta de investigación secundaria 5. ¿Por qué el modelo del aula invertida sería la mejor opción en comparación con el método tradicional para que los alumnos tengan un mejor desempeño tanto en las pruebas como en situaciones reales?

Por medio de la pregunta 12, se pudo ver que la mayoría de los alumnos (el 55%) hace sus tareas porque quieren mejorar su español. Sin embargo, esto no sucede siempre como lo mencionan las docentes A y B en la entrevista (Martínez-Salas, 2019). La razón según ellas es, porque los alumnos no tienen interés en el idioma y no es por falta de entendimiento de la explicación en clase, porque en la pregunta 13 de la encuesta casi la mitad (el 44%) indicó que la mayoría de las veces entienden lo que se explica en la clase. Cosa que fácilmente se podría hacer en casa por medio de videos, ya que los docentes A y B describen a sus alumnos como bastantes autónomos. Hasta gran parte de los alumnos está de acuerdo en la pregunta 24 de la encuesta en que son capaces de estudiar solo en casa de forma autónoma.

Además, en la tercera sección de la encuesta, las preguntas 14 al 17, los alumnos tuvieron que escoger inconscientemente entre el aula invertida y el aula tradicional para poder mejorar su español y la mayoría eligió en cada pregunta por el aula invertida. En la entrevista al docente B, este también mencionó que el aula invertida ayudaría a mejorar el rendimiento, porque los alumnos mismos habrán trabajado duramente para entender y practicar en clase, por lo que van a retener más información en comparación con el aula tradicional.

Por último, en la penúltima sección de la encuesta, donde pertenecen las preguntas 18 al 24, se pudo notar que la mayoría de los alumnos estuvieron de acuerdo en cada pregunta en que el aula invertida les ayudaría a aprender a su propio ritmo, a mejorar sus notas, a motivarles más en clase y a estar más interesados en el idioma. Argumentaron que las futuras clases de español deberían ser invertidas, porque las clases serían más divertidas, brindarían más tiempo para practicar en la clase y les ayudarían a desarrollar diferentes competencias.

De esta pregunta secundaria se dedujo que el modelo del aula invertida sería la mejor opción en comparación con el método tradicional para que los alumnos tengan un mejor desempeño tanto en las pruebas como en situaciones reales, porque se ha obtenido mejores resultados en otros países con una situación similar a la de Curaçao y porque tanto los alumnos como los docentes están de acuerdo que trae más beneficios consigo mismo que un aula tradicional.

Pregunta de investigación secundaria 6. ¿Cómo reaccionan los docentes actualmente en cuanto al aula invertida?

Para obtener respuesta a la última pregunta secundaria se hizo uso de la entrevista hecha a dos docentes de español en la escuela. Docente A lleva 17 años dando clases de español

y docente B lleva 30 años. Ambas docentes tenían una idea de lo que era un aula invertida. Teniendo en cuenta esto, ambas se mostraron muy abiertas y dispuestas a hacer un cambio en su forma tradicional de dar clases.

Ambas docentes mencionaron que sería una buena idea aplicar el aula invertida en las clases de español, sin embargo, existen algunos obstáculos que impediría una aplicación exitosa de esta. Uno de esos obstáculos es el que mencionó la docente B, es decir, que la mayoría de los profesores en la escuela tiene muchos años dando clase de una forma, más que todo de forma tradicional. Su experiencia, de ya haber querido intentar cambiar el modelo tradicional por otro, no fue positiva, porque muchos docentes no la apoyaron, porque no estuvieron de acuerdo en que los alumnos hicieran mucho desorden en clase. El aula invertida se trata de eso; los alumnos deben de estar activos, muchos de los docentes no quieren eso. Se requiere de mucho trabajo en equipo hacer este tipo de cambio y si no tienes el apoyo suficiente de tus colegas, no funcionaría.

Otro obstáculo sería el hecho de que algunos alumnos no tienen acceso a internet en casa. Esto hará que no puedan seguir la clase de forma óptima, pudiendo causar un bajo rendimiento en las pruebas.

De esta pregunta secundaria se puede concluir que los docentes son conscientes de que el aula invertida trae consigo muchas ventajas tanto para el alumnado como para el profesorado. Sin embargo, los profesores de la antigua generación, que son la mayoría, no estarían dispuestos a hacer lo necesario para cambiar su forma tradicional de dar clase por una forma invertida.

Pregunta de investigación principal: ¿De qué forma se podría aplicar el método del aula invertida en la clase de español para que los alumnos del primer y segundo año de una escuela secundaria puedan practicar más y así tener un mejor desempeño en el uso del idioma en tanto las pruebas como en situaciones reales?

Al obtener respuestas de todas las preguntas secundarias, se podrá responder la pregunta principal de esta investigación. Como menciona Ferrero (2020), no existe una forma definida de cómo aplicar el aula invertida, porque existe una diferencia entre escuelas y clases y alumnos. Para poder empezar a hacer el cambio de un aula tradicional a una invertida es necesario que en primer lugar, todo el profesorado esté dispuesto a colaborar en lo que sea necesario y mantener una actitud positiva durante el proceso del cambio. Antes de hacer el cambio los profesores deben de estar bien asesorados sobre el tema para poder explicarles tanto a los alumnos como a los padres lo que se va a hacer y lo que se espera de ellos. Esto evitará confusión y rechazo a un modelo innovador. El cambio se debe de empezar poco a poco. Después de haberles explicado a los alumnos sobre el aula invertida, se debe escoger un tema donde se aplicará dicho modelo. Este puede ser un tema gramatical para empezar. Según los resultados obtenidos se va adaptando lo necesario hasta ver que funcione.

Antes de dar la clase se tienen que fijar los objetivos, los materiales deben de ser claros, el contenido y las actividades deben de ser cortas, interactivas e interesantes. Tratar de que lo que se haga en clase se base en desarrollar las habilidades más altas de la taxonomía de Bloom (Armstrong, 2010) y en casa las más bajas. También se debe asegurar de tener una estrategia para controlar lo que se está aprendiendo en casa. De esta forma te aseguras que los alumnos hayan cumplido con su deber y podrás tener una vista clara de quién necesite más de tu ayuda durante la clase.

Por último, cabe mencionar que la ejecución de esta investigación tuvo algunos obstáculos al principio, porque primero se quiso aplicar este método y comparar los resultados. Sin embargo, no se pudo aplicar de esta forma por el hecho de que en ese entonces las lecciones se daban por la plataforma de Zoom a causa de la pandemia mundial del COVID-19. Por este motivo se hizo uso de la opinión de los alumnos por medio de una encuesta y la de los docentes por medio de una entrevista para poder responder la pregunta principal.

Esta investigación sería una base para una posible segunda investigación sobre este mismo tema. En una futura investigación se recomendaría aplicar este método por un periodo, con dos clases homogéneas. Estas clases deberían de hacer una prueba previa y una prueba al final. Una de esas clases sería el grupo de control, a la cual se les enseña de forma tradicional y en la otra clase se les enseña haciendo uso del modelo del aula invertida. Al final se comparan los resultados finales para poder ver cuanta mejoría hubo al haber utilizado el modelo del aula invertida.

Como se ha mencionado en el primer apartado de este artículo, se pretendía elaborar en base a la presente investigación y como parte de las metas estipuladas, una serie de clases sobre la forma en la que se podría aplicar el método del aula invertida en la escuela involucrada del nivel havo. Este producto se presentará luego en un documento por separado.

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DOMINIO DI IDIOMA PAPIAMENTU I ESKOHO DI PROFIL EDUKATIVO NA HAVO I VWO¹

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Resúmen

Den e estudio akí a investigá prestashon di 48 alumno den enseñansa sekundario na nivel di havo i vwo klas 3 pa e materia papiamentu na Kòrsou, i a mira si nan prestashon tin relashon ku eskoho di profil pa sigui kuné den e klasnan mas altu. A hasi uso di un instrumentario konsistiendo di un prueba ku ta representá dominio di idioma papiamentu konsistiendo di vokabulario reseptivo i konosementu di gramátika. Ku un enkuesta a midí e aspekto ekstralingwístiko, esta aktitut pa ku lesamentu, lenga papiamentu i duda pa ku papiamentu. A envolví tambe karakterístika personal di e alumnonan manera: edat, sekso, status residencial, ripitimentu di klas i idioma di kas. A tene un pretèst i un posttèst ku un intervalo di 5 luna. Análisis a mustra korelashon positivo entre e variabelnan vokabulario, gramátika i e variabelnan di trasfondo. No tin indikashon ku eskoho di profil edukativo ta relashoná ku muchu di e variabelnan investigá. Solamente edat i ripitishon di klas ta predesí e eskoho.

Palabra klave: Kòrsou, profil edukativo dominio di papiamentu, skol sekundario, faktor lingwístiko, faktor ekstralingwístiko

1. Introdukshon

Den e sekshon akí, ta duna un bista di e aspektonan di siñamentu di idioma relevante pa e estudio presente. Promé lo deskribí (1.1) konteksto di papiamentu den enseñansa sekundario na Kòrsou, despues lo informá riba (1.2) relevansia di vokabulario reseptivo i (1.3) konosementu di gramátika. Tambe lo mustra riba (1.4) algun aspekto ekstralingwístiko i finalmente ta elaborá riba (1.5) eskoho di profil edukativo na havo i vwo.

¹ E artíkulo akí ta basá riba e tésis no publiká, Queenny L. Bolijn-Clemencia, *Relashon entre dominio di idioma papiamentu i eskoho di profil edukativo na havo i vwo*, 2023. Fakultat General di Universidat di Kòrsou (Bolijn-Clemencia, 2023).

1.1 Papiamentu den enseñansa sekundario na Kòrsou

Despues di múltiple dékada di diskushon riba posishon i uso di e lenga vernákulo den komunidat i enseñansa na Kòrsou, ta introdusí papiamentu komo materia obligatorio den enseñansa básiko (6-10 aña) na Kòrsou na 1986. Na aña 2001 ta fushoná skol preparatorio i skol primario den un skol pa enseñansa básiko nobo ku e nòmber Enseñansa di Fundeshi (4-12 aña). Seguidamente a start (Na 2003) ku e promé kohorte di mucha di seis aña ku alfabetisashon na papiamentu i uso di papiamentu komo lenga di instruksion, kaminda únikamente 4 skol tabatin eksonerashon (Severing & Weijer, 2008). Asina a habri oportunidat pa realmente hasi uso di papiamentu pa por presentá tur materia den e idioma akí ku pa alrededor di 80% di alumno ta nan lenga di kas, nan idioma materno L1. Te na e momento ei di implementashon, ta lenga hulandes (L2) tabata ofisialmente e lenga di instrukshon eksklusivo na skol. Notabel ta ku pa mas òf ménos 7 % di mucha hulandes tabata lenga di kas (hulandes L1).

Den enseñansa sekundario idioma di instrukshon tabata i ta prinsipalmente lenga hulandes. Sin embargo, den práktika di tur dia, ta usa papiamentu ku sierto frekuensia durante lès pa yuda komprendé mihó loke keda spliká, durante lès. Fin di e añanan nobenta a kuminsá prepará inovashon pa enseñansa sekundario. Na 1998 a inklui papiamentu den e grupo di materia ku ta obligatorio na skol sekundario. Investigashon a mustra ku Papiamentu komo idioma di edukashon ta altamente balorá den e sosiedat Karibense Hulandes (Juliana & Severing, 2012; Pereira, 2018).

Pa medio di un ordenansa ofisial (2007) ta introdusí Papiamentu komo idioma ofisial banda di hulandes i ingles. Na 2008 Minister ta saka siklo 3 for di enseñansa di Fundeshi i ta laga e selekshon pa idioma di instrukshon den man di kada direktiva di skol. Papiamentu a keda komo lenga di instrukshon den siklo 1 i siklo 2 na skol públiko kasi kompletu i na 9 skol di Direktiva di skol Katóliko. Na final di grupo 8 tur alumno mester a pasa un prueba final di papiamentu, di hulandes i di matemátika. E prueba final ku e alumnonan ta pasa ta konsistí di e áreanan manera kompreshon di teksto, vokabulario i un diktado, tur esaki a tuma lugá na aña eskolar 2009-2010. Na aña 2010-2011 e promé grupo di Enseñansa di Fundeshi a drenta skol avansá. Papiamentu ta un materia obligatorio den e kuríkulo for di e promé klas di skol sekundario te na e último klas ku ta sera skol sekundario, ku ta havo 5 i vwo 6. Den e dos último klasnan akí, for di 2014 e alumnonan ta pasa un èksamen sentral (ETE, 2023, 2024; CvTE, 2024) ku ta konsistí di dos área, ku ta kompreshon di teksto i resúmen di un teksto. E promé grupo ku a drenta enseñansa avansá na 2009 a sigui un trayektoria kaminda papiamentu tabata basta krusial i determinante den nan karera eskolar.

Base pa enseñansa di idioma na Kòrsou

Mayoria estudiante ta hasi uso di e oportunidat eksistente pa hasi nan estudio superior na Hulanda. Pa e motibu akí tin un entendimentu entre e paisnan den Reino Hulandes pa mantené e diplomanan na final di skol sekundario na un nivel ekivalente pa asina por

garantisá e nivel di estudio i asina tambe e konekshon i aseptashon mutuo entre e paisnan. Pa siñamentu di idioma, esaki ta nifiká ku e base ta e Kuadro di referensia di Europa: Common European Framework of Reference for Languages: Learning, teaching, assessment (CERF, 2001) i mas resien e vershon renobá: CEFR, Companion volume (Council of Europe, 2020) i un vershon hulandes di e organisashon Taalunie (Raad van Europa, 2022). Anteriormente tabata parti e kompetensianan prinsipal den 4 komponente: skucha (1), papia (2), lesa (3), skirbi (4) (tabèl 1).

Tabèl 1 E kuater kompetensianan lingwístiko prinsipal* di abilitat idiomátiko

Abilitat di idioma	Reseptivo	Produktivo
Idioma oral	Skucha	Papia
Idioma skribí	Lesá	Skirbi

*Aparte di e kompetensianan lingwístiko prinsipal, sa distinguí tambe kompetensia sekundario ku algun komponente lingwístiko adishonal pa enseñansa di idioma: ortografia (fonema i grafema); vokabulario (2 morfema; 3 leksema); gramátika (4 sintáksis); literatura (discourse, teksto, pragmátika, estilistika, historia literario)

E kuadro di referensia europeo ku ta usa awendia, ta hasi un partishon den sinku kompetensia: skirbi (1), produkshon oral (2), interakshon oral (3), lesa pa komprendé (4), skucha pa komprendé (5) (tabèl 2).

Tabèl 2 E nivelnan di referensia komun: skema di deskripshon pa (outo)evaluashon (CERF, 2001)

Skirbi	papia		komprendé	
	produkshon	interakshon	lesa	skucha
1	2	3	4	5

Ku e kuadro di referensia di Europa, esta e kuadro oropeo komun di referensia pa idiomanan: siñamentu, siñamentu, evaluashon a surgi un kantidat terminologia den un konteksto kontemporáneo validá den e área di edukashon di lenga. Aunke e CEFR su grupo di enfoke ta siudadano di Europa ku ta siña un idioma di otro pais Europeo. Tur esaki pa promové mobilidat entre e paisnan di e union europeo.

Banda di e partishon den sinku abilitat lingwístiko ta distinguí 6 nivel di idioma serka CEFR. Di dominio abou pa haltu nan ta A1, A2, B1, B2, C1, C2. A instituí e klasifikashon akí komo un yudansa pa indiká un persona su dominio di un idioma straño.

Ku e kuadro CERF komo base Hulanda a introdusí un propio kuadro ku su propio partishon den nivel (Referentiekader doorlopende leerlijnen taal en rekenen [Kwadro di referensia pa trayekto di siñamentu kontinuo di idioma i aritmétika], Meijerink, 2009).

Tabèl 3 Komparashon di e nivelnan entre kuadro di referensia di idioma europeo (CEFR, 2001) i kuadro di idioma i aritmétika (Meijerink, 2009)

Kuadro di referensia di idioma	Nivel:	1F	2F	3F	4F		
Kuadro di idioma i aritmétika	Nivel:	A1	A2	B1	B2	C1	C2
		Prinsipiante idioma strañero	Fin di enseñansa básiko	Fin di vsbo/sbo 1/2	Fin di vsbo/havo/sbo	Fin di vwo (preuniversi- tario)	Enseñansa superior Profeshonal/sientífiko

F=nivel fundamental

Aki ta distinguí 4 nivel F: 1F, 2F, 3F i 4F. Den tabèl 3 ta kompará e dos kuadronan menshoná (CEFR, 2001 i Meijerink, 2009).

E dos kuadronan akí ta base pa konstrukshon di instrumentario di tèst pa determiná nivel di dominio di idioma di e diferente idiomanan ku ta ofresé na skol. Esaki ta konta meskos tambe pa lenga Papiamentu den enseñansa.

1.2 Vokabulario reseptivo

Ta distinguí vokabulario reseptivo i produktivo. Vokabulario reseptivo ta e abilidad pa komprondé idioma kaminda ta skucha òf lesa, i vokabulario produktivo ta e abilidad pa papia òf skirbi (Hennessey & Moats, 2020). Vokabulario den lingwístika ta referí na e kantidat total di palabra ku ta usa den un idioma, inkluyendo nan nifikashon, forma di pronunsiá i propiedatnan gramatikal. Vokabulario ta un elemento fundamental di idioma i ta inkluí palabra básiko i términonan spesialisá (Van Rij, 2021). Vokabulario pasivo ta konsistí di palabra ku un persona konosé òf por rekonosé, pero no ta hasi uso di esaki na momentu ku e ta papia òf skirbi (vokabulario aktivo). Ora ta trata di vokabulario pasivo por hasi un distinshon entre e variedat di un vokabulario i e kantidat di palabra di kua e persona sa nan nifikashon, e profundidat di su vokabulario, mihó bisá kuantu konosementu e persona tin di un palabra ta loke ta definí su nivel di vokabulario pasivo (Schmitt, Nation, & Kremmel, 2020).

Ora ta midí grado di abilidad konkreto di idioma serka alumno, por selektá e komponentenan lingwístiko relevante ku por konsiderá representativo for di e konstrukshon teó-riko di lenga (Verhoeven & De Jong, 1992; Verhoeven & Vermeer, 1989). Investigashon ta mostra ku dominio di vokabulario tin un ròl importante ora ta midí dominio di idioma. Vokabulario, lesamentu komprensivo i logronan eskolar ta mostra un korelashon fuerte (Nation, 1990) spesífikamente pa papiamentu tambe tin evidensia di esaki pa enseñansa presekundario. Ademas vokabulario ta un prediktor fuerte di lesamentu komprensivo i lesamentu komprensivo ta predesí éksito eskolar (Severing, 1997).

1.3 Uso i konosementu di gramátika

Konosementu di gramátika, en general, ta referí na konosé e regla di aplikashon di gramátika den konstrukshon di teksto di lesamentu di forma di verbo, órden di palabra i struktura di frase (Purpura, 2013). Esaki ta pasobra konosementu gramátika ta determiná e struktura di frase i ta impaktá kompreshon di lesamentu mas aleu a traves di e sekuensia di funshon di palabra (Vinyals et al., 2015), loke ta nifiká ku konosementu di gramátika por yuda kompreshon di palabra individual òf kompreshon di pida semántiko ora un lesadó ta usa regla di struktura di frase pa dekodifiká nifikashonnan di frase; esta, mas mihó e dominio den aplikashon di konosementu gramátika, mas mihó e rendimentu di kompreshon di lesamentu di teksto ta.

No solamente dominio i uso di gramátika, sino tambe konosementu di regla gramatikal, kada un di e dosnan akí riba su mes, ta faktor bentahoso pa uso korekto i funshonal di idioma. Na otro manera bisá: kompetensia gramátiko tin importansia. Investigashon ta mostra ku kompetensia gramátiko i konosementu di regla di gramátika ta altamente korelá. Nan ta e dos áreanan interkonektá ku ta konserní gramátika (Andilab & Amante, 2024). Usando téknika di skèn ta logra opservá imágen di serebro durante e promé momentunan di siña un idioma nobo. Informashon lingwístiko resien ta keda integrá den áreanan di serebro ku ta usa pa almasená informashon di bo idioma nativo. Loke a deskubrí ta ku ta importante si e idioma nobo tin karakteristiká gramátiko (den e kaso akí órden di palabra) paresido na esunnan di bo idioma materno. Por ehèmpel, ora ku e sekuensia di palabra ta desconosí, por opservá mas aktividat serebral riba e skèn; esaki ta indikashon pa uso di mas kapasidat di serebro. Tambe ta resultá ku nos ta usa e mes áreanan di serebro pa nos idioma nativo ku pa strukturanan di un lenga nobo. E idioma nobo ta bira parti di e retnan di nèrvio eksistente kaba. E eksperimento akí ta mostra pa promé biaha ku si nos por reusá karakteristikanan di nos idioma nativo ora di siña un idioma nobo esaki ta yuda nos serebro (Weber, 2016).

Tin un relashon evidente entre konosementu deficiente gramátiko i eror di ortografia bou di studiante. Ta resultá ku eror ta surgi pasobra ora ta skirbi, no ta apliká konosementu di gramátika. Eksperimento den enseñansa sekundario ta konfirmá ku e studiantenan a kometé hopi eror di ortografia i tambe tabatin problema grandi pa identifiká e funshonnan di e tempunan di verbo. Si e studiantenan konosé e funshon di e forma, nan tin mas chèns di skirbi e forma korektamente. P’esei enseñansa di ortografia mester di un base di gramátika fuerte (Chamalaun et al., 2021).

Estudio resien den enseñansa sekundario ta mostra ku konosementu en general i konosementu gramatikal ta relashoná ku vários otro área di idioma. Asina gramátika ta sostené ortografia di verbo (Chamalaun et al., 2021). Estudiante ta skirbi ortografia di verbo mihó, ora nan tin ku indiká e funshon gramátiko, manera di verbo konhugá, di un atverbio òf un sustantivo (E pelíkula ta pasa (verbo konhugá) seis or. El a yega pasá (atverbio) di seis; El a peña (verbo) bunita; E tin un peñá (sustantivo) bunita. Enseñansa di

gramátika ta sostené abilidatnan di ortografia i tambe e abilidatnan di lesamentu i skirbimentu di studiantenan en general. Aki no ta trata gramátika komo meta riba su mes, pero edukashon di gramátika komo un medio; ta konserní meta instrumental di gramátika.

Estudio di vários komponente di idioma ta mostra ku kontribushon di vokabulario i konosementu di gramátika na kompreshon di lesamentu ta un abilidat di peso den dominio general di abilidatnan di idioma. A resultá ku konosementu di vokabulario ta signifíkamentemente relashoná ku kompreshon di lesamentu; konosementu gramátika a mostra un kontribushon débil na kompreshon di lesamentu. Ademá, e konosementu implísito di gramátika di e studiantenan tabatin un relashon mas fuerte ku kompreshon di lesamentu ku konosementu eksplísito (Zhang, 2012). Esaki ta nifiká ku vokabulario ta generalmente un predikshon mas fuerte di dominio di idioma ku gramátika. Tambe ta resultá ku konosementu di gramátika ta promové rasonamentu i pensamentu krítiko (Van Rijt & Coppen, 2021; Gijssels & Van der Lee, 2023).

1.4 Algun aspekto ekstralingwístiko

Aparte di e aspekto lingwístiko (vokabulario reseptivo i konosementu di gramátika), tin tambe vários aspekto ekstralingwístiko ku por tin influensia riba eskoho di profil di e estudiantenan. No solamente e datonan ku optené ta duna un bista mas amplio i profundo di trasfondo di e partisipantenan. Na mes momentu por konsiderá esakinan variabel di kontrol. Pa e motibu akí, sa inkluí algun variabel ekstralingwístiko den un estudio, manera karakterístikanan personal (sekso, edat, status residencial, ripitimentu di klas) di e partisipantenan (aktitut pa ku idioma papiamentu, aktitut pa ku lesamentu, i duda pa ku lenga papiamentu). Den investigashon anterior na `skol básiko na Kòrsou, Severing (1992; 1997) a konstatá korelashon signifíkante entre vários di e faktornan ekstralingwístiko, di kua diferente sosiolingwístiko, i prestashon pa algun komponente di idioma manera lesamentu tékniko, vokabulario pasivo, kompreshon di frase i kompreshon di teksto i finalmente éksito na final di skol básiko. Aunke por konsiderá preferensia pa un sierto profil edukashonal, tambe un faktor ekstralingwístiko, lo duna esaki atenshon spesífiko seguidamente, komo e ta e núkleo di e estudio akí, i asina e variabel dependiente.

1.5 Eskoho di profil edukativo na havo i vwo

Na final di skol básiko, yamá enseñansa di fundeshi (FO), tur alumno ta keda someté na e prueba final (EFO-toets, prueba di EFO). E resultadonan di e prueba di EFO kombiná ku konseho di skol básiko ta resultá den un konseho pa kada alumno ki tipo i ki nivel di skol sekundario e por skohe. E posibilidatnan ta: havo, vwo, vsbo i svo². Den e

2 Havo [hoger algemeen voortgezet onderwijs] ta para pa enseñansa sekundario general altu; vwo, [voorbereidend wetenschappelijk onderwijs] ta enseñansa preuniversitario; vsbo, [voorbereidend secundair beroepsonderwijs] enseñansa profeshonal sekundario preparatorio; ago,

relato anual di ministerio di enseñansa ta duna un bista di resultado i rendimentu di enseñansa di e diferente tiponan akí di skol (Inspectie Onderwijs, 2020).

Pa prepará pa enseñansa superior e studiantenan tin oportunitat den e di 3 año eskolar di havo i vwo pa forma un profil edukativo. Dependiendo di kua ta e direkshon di estudio preferí i ku tin talento p'é, ta skohe e tipo di profil.

Tipo di profil. Den klas 3, na havo i na vwo, por skohe for di 4 profil ku skol ta ofresé den klas 4 bai ariba. Nan por skohe for di e profilnan: (a) Kultura i komunidad (KK); (b) Ekonomia i komunidad (EK); (c) Naturalesa i salú (NS) i (d) Naturalesa i teknologia (NT).

Bou di guia di skol, mediante un dekanu di guia, dosente di e materianan, suministrando informashon i usando formulario ta asistí i kompañá e alumnonan ku direkshon di un eskoho adekuá di nan profil ku ta determinante pa nan futuro estudio, profeshon i posishon den komunidad.

Profil i estudio superior. Un profil ta konsistí di un kantidat di materia òf vak. Tin algun materia ku tur otro profil tambe tin. E diferente profilnan tin un parti obligatorio parti liber i un parti kompletamente opshonal. E alumnonan por usa e espasio liber pa sigui materia di otro sekshon di e profil òf skohe un materia ku no ta aparesé den ningun di e otro profilnan. Asina nan por skohe pa e materia: maneho i organisashon. Un skol por skohe tambe materia ku ta pas ku e skol. Un skol kristian, por ehèmpel por ofresé, tin ora den un forma obligatorio pa sigui e materia relashoná ku e religion konserní. Introdukshon di e 4 profilnan tin komo meta pa ofresé e alumnonan un pakete di materia koherente, pa asina nan por risibí un preparashon adekuá pa sierto direkshon di estudio superior despues.

Faktor di influensia eskoho di profil. Ora di skohe profil, ta hasi un distinshon entre faktor i aktor ku ta influensia e proseso di eskoho di estudiante na un manera konsiente i inkonsiente. Tin faktor manera e variashon den eskoho den bida diario a oumentá, loke ta nifiká ku e abilidad pa skohe ta birando mas i mas importante. Otro faktornan ta konsientisashon di problema i abilidadnan kognitivo. Ademas, aktornan eksterno ta forma un reto, loke ta hasié difisil pa koregi i ahustá impulsanan inkonsiente i konsiente den diferente situashon. Nos forsa di boluntat tampoko no por wanta e influensia di nos medio ambiente. Nos por asta permití nos mes opinion duna lugá na e konsenso di e mayoria (Tiemeijer, 2011). E konseho di aktornan manera mayornan, kompañeronan di kas, famia i otronan ku tin aspirashonnan eksplísito i implísito pa e karera di e mucha tambe ta importante (Oomen, 2010). Un grupo profeshonal di aktor ta maestronan i personal edukativo di konseho, en partikular dekanonan i mentornan, ku konsientemente òf inkonsientemente ta influensia e eskoho di profil di un estudiante (Gelderblom, Gravesteyn i De Vleeschouwer, 2019; mira Souwer & Van de Lagemaat, 2022).

2. Metodologia

Diseño di investigashon

A skohe pa un diseño di investigashon quasi-longitudinal kaminda a presentá e alumnonan 2 biaha e mes sèt di prueba ku un periodo di sinku luna entre e dos momentunan di midi. Di tal forma por a averiguá ku tabatin progreso i kua tabata e efektonan ku por tabatin influensia riba e resultadonan.

Den e sekshon akí ta splika e metodologia den e siguiente supsekshonnan. Despues di deskribí e (2.1) ophetivo di investigashon i e preguntanan di investigashon, ta indiká kon a (2.2) rekohé dato, (2.3) e prosedimentu di tèst i (2.4) análisis di dato.

2.1 Meta di investigashon i pregunta investigativo

Meta di e estudio akí ta pa investigá prestashon di alumno den enseñansa sekundario na nivel di havo i vwo³ pa e materia papiamentu i a mira si e prestashon akí tin relashon ku eskoho di profil ku ta inisiá kuné den klas 4 i pa despues sigui kuné den e klasnan mas altu di havo i vwo. Pa investigando, por haña kontesta apropiá i mas detayá a formulá tres pregunta di investigashon.

1. Kon e alumnonan ta presta pa dominio di idioma papiamentu, esta pa e aspektonan vokabulario pasivo, gramátika i estilo den klas 3 di havo i vwo?
2. Den ki grado tin un relashon entre dominio di idioma papiamentu i e karakteristikanan di e alumnonan manera sekso, edat, ripitimentu di aña eskolar i aktitut idiomátiko?
3. Te kon leu tin un relashon entre dominio di idioma papiamentu i eskoho di profil edukativo na havo i vwo

2.2 Kolekshonamentu dato

Usando e instrumentonan a kolekshoná dato den un pretèst (desèmber; N=48) i despues di 5 luna tabatin un di dos momentu di tèst (yüni; N=48).

Partisipante

Karakterístika di partisipante. E grupo di partisipante a konsistí di 48 alumno di klas 3 di havo i vwo, ku mayoria ta di havo (N=40) i un grupo mas chikitu di vwo (8). Pa

³ Havo i vwo ta e dos formanan mas altu den enseñansa sekundario na Kòrsou, ku ta koincidí ku e sistema edukativo den Reino Hulandes i asina tambe ku e islanan hulandes den e parti karibense, esta e Islanan Abou (Aruba, Boneiru i Kòrsou) i e Islanan Ariba (St. Maarten, Saba i St. Eustatius). Havo (hoger algemeen voortgezet onderwijs [enseñansa sekundario general superior]) ta prepará pa enseñansa profeshonal superior i vwo (voorbereidend wetenschappelijk onderwijs [enseñansa sientífiko preparatorio]) ta kondusí na enseñansa sientífiko universitario. Despues di a kompletá eksitosamente havo òf vwo, studiante por skohe pa sigui enseñansa superior lokal, ku un palèt di selekshon limitá, òf bai Hulanda ku un beka òf otro pais den region di Karibe (Colombia, Costa Rica i Puerto Rico) òf otro (Estádos Unídos i Canada).

profundisá a kolekshoná algun dato mas di e partisipantenan: sekso, status residensial, edat, ripitimentu di klas i eskoho di profil.

Sekso. Den e grupo di alumno tabatin 27 (56,3%) mucha muhé i 21 (43,8%) mucha hòMBER.

Status residensial (SR). E status residensial di e alumnonan ta mostra ku mayoria a nase na Kòrsou (64%), un kantidat a biba riba e isla for di beibi, esta entre 0 pa 5 aña (18%) i den e último kategoria tin alumno ku ta residensiá na Kòrsou entre 5 pa 10 aña (16%).

Tabèl 3 Edat promedio (\bar{x}) di alumno di havo 3 i di alumno di vwo 3 (N=48; dispershon=13-17 aña)

Edat	13 aña	14 aña	15 aña	16 aña	17 aña	N	\bar{x} =15 aña; luna
Havo	0 (00%)	11 (27%)	19 (46%)	8 (20%)	3 (7%)	41 (85%)	\bar{x} =15;1
Vwo	2 (29%)	3 (43%)	2 (29%)	0 (00%)	0 (0%)	7 (15%)	\bar{x} =14;0
Total	2 (4%)	14 (29%)	21 (44%)	8 (17%)	3 (6%)	48 (100%)	\bar{x} =14;6

Edat. Pa haña un bista di e distribushon di edat di e partisipantenan ta presentá e datonan i porsentahe den tabèl 3, distinguendo e nivelnan di skol sekundario havo i vwo.

Por lesa den e tabèl ku e alumnonan partisipante su edat ta varia entre 13 i 17 aña, kaminda e dispershon den e grupo di havo 3 (Min.=13, maks.=15) ta mas altu ku esun di vwo (Min.=14, maks.=17). Esnan di havo tin un edat promedio di 15 aña i 1 luna i esnan di vwo tin 14 aña. Esaki ta indiká ku e alumnonan di vwo ta mas ku 1 aña mas hóben ku esnan di havo. E edat promedio di e total di alumno ku ta partisipá den e investigashon akí (N=48) ta 14 aña i 5 luna. Esaki ta debí na e echo ku e kantidat di partisipante di havo (N=41, 85%) ta mas grandi ku esunnan di vwo (N=7, 15%).

Ripitimentu di klas (RK). Di e alumnonan na havo mayoria no a keda sinta nunca (70,8%) i un kantidat limitá (29,2%) a yega di ripití aña eskolar. Na vwo ningun (0%) alumno no a yega di ripití aña eskolar. Por remarká ku un di e kriterionan pa por haña atmishon na havo i sigur na vwo ta ku no tin ripitimentu di klas.

Profil. Despues di e di tres aña di estudio na havo i vwo, e alumnonan por skohe un profil di nan preferensia pa sigui kuné den e siguiente klasnan di havo (total 5 aña) i vwo. (total 6 aña). Aprobashon di e profil ta dependé di e prestashon i kapasidat di e alumnonan. E profil ku a skohe, ku e pakete di materia korespondiente, ta esensial pa nan eskoho di profeshon i di mes relashoná ku eskoho di nan estudio ku lo sigui den enseñansa altu profeshonal (pa havo) òf sientífiko (pa vwo). E 4 profilnan ku e alumnonan por skohe den di 3 aña na havo i vwo ta (1) Kultura i komunidad (35,4%), (2) Ekonomia i komunidad (39,6%), (3) Naturalesa i salubridat (18,8%), i (4) Naturalesa i téknika (6,3%) (tabèl 4).

Tabèl 4 Eskoho di profil di e alumnonan di klas 3 di havo i vwo (n=48)

Profil		N	%
1. Kultura i komunidat	CM (Cultuur en Maatschappij)	17	35,4
2. Ekonomia i komunidat	EM (Economie & Maatschappij)	19	39,6
3. Naturalesa i salubridat	NG (Natuur & Gezondheid)	9	18,8
4. Naturalesa i téknika	NT (Natuur & Techniek)	3	6,3
Total		48	100,0

Teniendo kuenta ku peso di e diferente profilnan ku ta distinguí, den e sekuensia akí ta duna skor di 1 te 4 pa e profil ku a skohe.

2.3 Instrumentario

Pa por midi e aspekto (a) lingwístiko, a midi dominio di idioma papiamentu hasiendo uso di un prueba ku 56 pregunta pa midi vokabulario reseptivo i konosementu di gramátika di papiamentu (Anekso 1). Pa haña un bista di algun aspekto (b) ekstralingwístiko a hasi uso di enkuesta online di 30 pregunta tokante aktitut: aktitut pa ku idioma papiamentu; aktitut pa ku lesamentu; i duda pa ku papiamentu (Anekso 2).

a. Aspekto lingwístiko

Seguidamente ta duna detaye relevante i ehèmpel di operalisashon di e aspektonan lingwístiko, ku ta midi dominio di idioma papiamentu.

Vokabulario pasivo (VP). E prueba di vokabulario pasivo a konsistí di pregunta (k=35) den forma di múltiple eskoho. Den e enkuesta prueba tabatin un kantidat 35 di pregunta ku ta REGARDÁ vokabulario pasivo: 3, 4, 5, 6, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 55, 56. Aki ta sigui un ehèmpel.

1. Skohe e antónimo korekto pa e palabra shelu:

- a. firmamentu
- b. fièrnu
- c. hòfi di Eden
- d. lugá primintí

Gramátika (GR). E prueba di gramátika a konsistí di 13 pregunta den forma di múltiple eskoho: 11, 12, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47. Aki bou ta duna un ehèmpel.

12. Den kua di e siguiente frasenan akí e palabra ‘ta’ ta un partíkula?

- a. Mi ta un dòkter.
- b. Mi ta gusta kome galiña ku batata.
- c. Ta mi tata e hòmber bistí na pretu ei ta.
- d. Felis mi ta mi so.

b. Aspekto ekstralingwístiko

E alumnonan a yena un enkuesta online, kaminda a relatá diferente aspekto sosial den kombinashon ku dominio di e idioma papiamentu. Nan mester a yena algun di nan datonan personal i kontestá algun pregunta yenando un sifra riba un eskala di 1 te ku 5: 1. Sumamente di akuerdo; 2. Di akuerdo; 3. Neutral; 4. No di akuerdo; 5. Sumamente no di akuerdo. E preguntanan ku nan a kontestá online tabata den forma di selekshon múltiple, den e forma di eskala di Likert, ku ta resultá den un skor di 1 te 5.

Aktitut pa ku idioma papiamentu (API). Den e enkuesta digital pa e variabel relashoná ku aktitut pa ku idioma papiamentu tabatin e siguiente preguntanan (k=6): 12, 13, 14, 17, 21, 25. Aki bou ta presentá un ehèmpel.

25. Lès i prueba di gramátika di papiamentu ta fásil

- ☐ Sumamente di akuerdo
- ☐ Di akuerdo
- ☐ Neutral
- ☐ No di akuerdo
- ☐ Sumamente no di akuerdo

Aktitut pa ku lesamentu (ALI). A sondia aktitut pa ku lesamentu serka e alumnonan hasiendo uso di pregunta ku ta REGARDÁ e situashon di idioma di nan den nan bida diario. Tabatin pregunta manera esun siguiente.

27. Lesamentu di buki ta un di mi hòbinan

- ☐ Sumamente di akuerdo
- ☐ Di akuerdo
- ☐ Neutral
- ☐ No di akuerdo
- ☐ Sumamente no di akuerdo

Duda pa ku papiamentu (ADI). Aki a trata na averiguá e konteksto di e alumno pa ku e lenga papiamentu i si e alumno por tin duda si e lenga papiamentu ta di importansia pa su sintimentu. Tambe tabatin pregunta ku e ta haña e idioma difisil.

9. Mi ta bini den konekshon ku e idioma papiamentu solamente na skol

- ☐ Sumamente di akuerdo
- ☐ Di akuerdo
- ☐ Neutral
- ☐ No di akuerdo
- ☐ Sumamente no di akuerdo

2.4 Prosedura di tèst

A tene un pretèst i un posttèst ku un intervalo di 5 luna. E promé momentu di tèst a tuma lugá na na desèmber 2022 i e di dos momentu tabata na yüni 2023. E investigadó personalmente a presentá e alumnonan e tèst pa dominio di idioma papiamentu i tambe a laga nan yena un enkuesta digital ekstralingwístiko. Adishonalmente a tuma tur dato

nesesario serka e alumnonan, pa asina haña un bista di karakterístikanan di e alumno komo variabel di trasfondo ku por ta relatá na nan prestashon pa idioma papiamentu.

2.5 Análisis di dato

Despues di a kolekshoná tur dato, a prosesa i analisá esakinan den e programa Microsoft Excel Spreadsheet Software i despues den e programa estadístiko Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (IBM SPSS Statistics 29). Pa por kontestá e promé pregunta di investigashon, na promé lugá a kontrolá si e pruebanan i e lista di pregunta (online) ta mustra konsistensia interno òf na otro manera bisá: konfiabilidad di e sèt di item den e pruebanan. Pa hasi esaki a kalkulá e balor di konsistensia (Cronbach's Alpha, α) interno di e diferente pruebanan (tabèl 4). Meskos a hasi esaki ku e lista di pregunta di e enkuesta pa e variabelnan ekstralingwístiko.

A saka frekuensia i porsentahe di e resultadonan riba e 2 pruebanan. Despues a kalkulá skor, promedio i porsentahe separá di klas havo i vwo. A kalkulá korelashon (Pearson Correlation, R) pa averiguá kon fuerte e relashon ta entre e variabelnan den e investigashon.

Tabèl 4 Kalkulo di konsistensia interno (konfiabilidad) di e variabelnan lingwístiko i ekstralingwístiko (Cronbach's Alpha, α)

Variabel	n	k	α
Variabel lingwístiko			
1. Vokabulario reseptivo	48	35	.80
2. Konosementu di gramátika	48	12	.69
Ekstralingwístiko			
3. Aktitut pa ku idioma papiamentu	48	6	.79
4. Aktitut pa ku lesamentu	48	5	.80
5. Duda pa ku papiamentu	48	5	.78

Pa kontestá e di dos pregunta a usa porsentahe di e skor di e alumnonan di klas 3 pa wak si tin oumento di dominio di papiamentu entre e promé momentu ku a tèst (desèmber) i e di dos momentu di tèst (yüni). Pa haña kontesta riba pregunta tres a hasi uso di análisis di regreshon (T-test) pa wak kua di e variabelnan ta influensiá e eskoho di profil ku e studiantenan ta hasi.

Ora di interpretá resultado for di e kalkulashonnan estadístiko, ta indiká si e diferensia òf relashon ta signifkante. Ei ta hasi uso di e probabilidadat (p) ku ta indiká kon fuerte e relashon signifkante ta. Esei ke men ku e resultado no ta basá riba koinsidensia i e resultado lo kuadra ku realidat. Mas chikitu p (probabilidadat) ta mas fuerte e diferensia òf relashon: * $p < .05$ (bon signifkansasia; 95%), ** $p < .01$ (signifkansasia fuerte; 99%), *** $p < .001$ (signifkansasia masha fuerte; 99.9%). E kantidat di asterisko ta indiká e forsa.

3 Resultado

Kontestando e tres preguntanan investigativo a base di e resultadonan di e diferente análisisnan ta presentá esakinan den e tres siguiente supárafonan: (3.1) Dominio di idioma papiamentu, (3.2) Dominio di idioma papiamentu i karakteristiká di alumnonan i (3.3) Aspekto ekstralingwístiko.

3.1 Dominio di idioma papiamentu i variabel ekstralingwístiko

E promé pregunta di investigashon tabata intenshoná pa averiguá kon e alumnonan ta presta pa dominio di idioma papiamentu, esta pa e aspektonan vokabulario pasivo i konosementu di gramátika den klas 3 di havo i vwo. Den tabèl 5 ta presentá resultado di e análisis konserniente dunando averahe; desviashon (M=Mean; averahe, promedio), desviashon stándar (SD=Standard Deviation) i diferensia den prestashon ku nivel di signifíkansia (p =probability; probabilidad) pa vokabulario reseptivo i konosementu di gramátika di papiamentu na dos momento.

Tabèl 5 Averahe, desviashon stándar i diferensia den prestashon ku nivel di signifíkansia pa e variabel lingwístiko: vokabulario reseptivo i konosementu di gramátika di papiamentu na dos momento (N=48)

Variabel lingwístiko	Momento 1		Momento 2		t	df	p
	M	SD	M	SD			
Vokabulario reseptivo (k=35)	21.21	5.62	23.46	4.47	36.34	47	<.001
Konosementu di gramátika (k=13)	7.02	2.72	8.00	2.13	25.98	47	<.001

Pa vokabulario reseptivo e averahe na promé momento tabata 21.21 punto (60.6% skor) i na di dos 23.5 (67.1% skor), ku un diferensia di 11.0 (10.7%) punto na un manera signifíkante ($p < .001$). Nan konosementu di gramátika a subi di 7.02 (54.0%) pa 8.00 (61.5%) ku un subida signifíkante ($p < .001$) di 0.8 (14.0%) punto. Esaki ta nifiká ku vokabulario reseptivo a subi ku 10.7% i konosementu di gramátika ku 14%. Di tal forma, resultado di e kalkulashonnan ta musta ku e alumnonan a progresá den e sinku lunanan di tempu entre e promé momentu ku a tèst nan i e di dos momento ku a midi nan prestashonnan pa e dos aspektonan relevante di idioma papiamentu, esta vokabulario reseptivo i konosementu di gramátika. Pa vokabulario e alumnonan a bai dilanti ku un promedio redondíá di 11% i pa gramátika 14%. Si tuma e total di e dos abilidadnan akí komo representativo pa dominio di idioma papiamentu, por argumentá ku dominio di papiamentu di e alumnonan den e grupo di investigashon di havo/vwo a progresá ku un promedio redondíá di 13%.

Di e variabelnan ekstralingwístiko: aktitut pa ku idioma papiamentu, aktitut pa ku lesamentu i duda pa ku papiamentu, ku a midi solamente na e promé momento, a kalkulá averahe i desviashon stándar (tabèl 6).

Tabèl 6 Averahe, porsentahe di skor desviashon stándar i diferensia den skor ku nivel di signifíkansia pa e variabelnan ekstralingwístiko: aktitut pa ku idioma papiamentu, aktitut pa ku lesamentu i duda pa ku papiamentu (eskala di Likert: 5 opshon)

Variabel ekstralingwístiko	M	%	SD	t	df	p
Aktitut pa ku idioma papiamentu (k=6)	14.46	48.2	3.61	27.72	47	<.001
Aktitut pa ku lesamentu (k=5)	14.83	59.3	3.62	28.42	47	<.001
Duda pa ku papiamentu (k=5)	16.17	64.7	3.92	28.60	47	<.001

Por mira ku 48.2 % di e alumnonan tin un aktitut positivo pa ku idioma papiamentu. Mas ku mitar tin un 59.3% tin un aktitut positivo pa ku lesamentu. Un parti supstansial di e alumnonan di e skol akí ku tin hulandes komo idioma di instrukshon ta duda ora ta trata apresio pa lenga papiamentu.

Seguidamente a averiguá kua ta e relashon entre idioma di kas i aktitut di e alumnonan pa ku nan aktitut pa ku idioma papiamentu, aktitut pa ku lesamentu i nan duda pa ku papiamentu (tabèl 7).

Tabèl 7 E grado den kua idioma di kas ta relashoná ku aktitut pa ku idioma papiamentu, aktitut pa ku lesamentu i duda pa ku papiamentu (eskala di Likert: 5 opshon)

OR	Idioma na Kas	N	%	AP		AL		AD	
				M	M%	M	M%	M	M%
1.	Hulandes	18	37,5%	16,50	55.0	15,89	63.6	12,39	49.6
2.	Papiamentu	17	35,4%	12,59	42.0	14,77	59.1	19,35	77.4
3.	Spañó	8	16,7%	13,75	45.8	14,00	56.0	17,88	71.5
4.	Ingles	5	10,4%	14,60	48.7	12,60	50.4	16,20	64.8
Total		48	100,0%	x					

OR: órden; AP: aktitut pa ku idioma papiamentu, Maks.: 30 punto; AL: aktitut pa ku lesamentu, Maks.: 25 punto; AD: Duda pa ku papiamentu, Maks.: 25 punto

For di tabèl 6 por lesa ku den órden desendente e grupo di abla hulandes ta esun di mas grandi (37.5%), despues ta sigui Papiamentu (35.4), Spañó (16.7%) i ingles (10.4%). E grupo ku tin un aktitut mas positivo pa ku papiamentu ta esun di abla hulandes (55.0%). Despues ta sigui e grupo di abla ingles (48.7%), spañó (45.8%) i hulandes (42.0%). Remarkabel ta ku e alumnonan ku ta papia hulandes na kas tin un aktitut pa ku idioma papiamentu mas positivo ku e grupo ku ta papia papiamentu na kas, ku un diferensia di 13%. E grupo di alumno ku tin un aktitut pa ku lesamentu mas positivo ta esun di abla hulandes (63.6%), sigui pa e gruponan di papiamentu (59.1%) spañó (56%) i ingles (50.4%). Loke ta resaltá akí ta ku e grupo ku ta papia papiamentu na kasa tin un aktitut relativamente positivo pa ku lesamentu. E sifranan ku ta indiká kua grupo di alumno tin duda pa ku lenga papiamentu, ta musta ku e alumnonan ku ta papia papiamentu na kas ta esnan ku ta resaltá mas (77.4%). Despues ta sigui den órden desendente spañó

(71.5%), ingles (64.8%) i hulandes (49.6%). Resultado di e análisis komparativo akí ta remarkabel. Nèt e grupo di abla papiamentu ta duda mas pa ku papiamentu, miéntras e grupo di abla hulandes ta esun ku ta duda ménos.

3.2 Relashon entre dominio di idioma papiamentu i karakterístika di alumno

Despues di a kontestá e promé pregunta investigativo, dunando resultado di prestashon pa dominio (vokabulario pasivo i konosementu di gramátika) di idioma papiamentu di e alumnonan na 2 momentu i seguidamente e variabelnan ekstralingwístiko (aktitut pa ku idioma papiamentu, aktitut pa ku lesamentu i duda pa ku papiamentu), ta kontinuá ku e di dos pregunta. E di dos pregunta tabatin komo meta pa averiguá den ki grado tin un relashon entre dominio di idioma papiamentu, i di otro banda aktitut di e alumnonan i nan karakterístikanan personal: sekso, edat, ripitimentu di aña eskolar i aktitut idiómátiko. A kalkulá korelashon di Pearson entre e variabelnan relashoná ku dominio di idioma (vokabulario reseptivo 1 i 2; gramátika papiamentu 1 i 2; i aktitut di e alumnonan (pa ku papiamentu; pa ku lesamentu; i di duda pa ku papiamentu;) i nan karakterístikanan personal (edat; sekso; status residensial; ripitimentu di klas; i idioma di kas. E koe-fisientenan di korelashon ta keda presentá den tabèl 8.

Tabèl 8 Korelashon (r) entre e variabelnan relashoná ku dominio di idioma, aktitut di e alumnonan i nan karakterístikanan personal

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
	VR1	VR2	GP1	GP2	AKP	AKL	AKD	ED	SE	SR	RK	IK
1 VR1	1											
2 VR2	.75***	1										
3 GP1	.63***	.48***	1									
4 GP2	.26	.40**	.45***	1								
5 AKP	-.48***	-.43**	-.29*	-.22	1							
6 AKL	-.39**	-.35*	-.18	-.17	.42**	1						
7 AKD	.53***	.63***	.30*	.21	-.57***	-.10	1					
8 ED	.06	.09	-.02	-.19	.04	-.01	.09	1				
9 SE	-.19	-.14	-.07	.1	-.02	.26	-.02	.12	1			
10 SR	-.38**	-.36*	-.21	.11	.10	-.09	-.38**	-.05	-.04	1		
11 RK	.08	.06	.10	-.11	-.07	-.27	.08	.57***	-.10	.07	1	
12 IK	.46***	.42**	.18	.00	-.41**	-.17	.71***	.25	-.06	-.45***	.226	1

Korelashon di Pearson; Sig. (bilateral); *** E korelashon ta signifikativo na nivel di 0,001 (bilateral); ** E korelashon ta signifikativo na nivel di 0,01 (bilateral); * E korelashon ta signifikativo na nivel di 0,05 (bilateral)

[1] VR1: vokabulario reseptivo 1; [2] VR2: vokabulario reseptivo 2; [3] GP1: Gramátika papiamentu 1; [4] GP2: Gramátika papiamentu 2; [5] AKP: aktitut pa ku papiamentu; [6] AKL: aktitut pa ku lesamentu; [7] AKD: aktitut di duda pa ku papiamentu; [8] ED: edat; [9] SE: sekso; [10] SR: status residensial; [11] RK: ripitimentu di klas; [12] IK: idioma di kas

Análisis a mustra ku e korelashon positivo mas fuerte den e investigashon akí ta esun entre vokabulario reseptivo na promé momentu ku esun na di dos momentu (.75***). Relevante tambe ta e korelashon fuerte entre vokabulario reseptivo i konosementu di gramátika papiamentu 1 (.63***). Esaki ta konfirmá e relashon entre e dos abilidadnan

ku ta representá dominio di idioma papiamentu. Meskos ta konta pa e relashon entre e resultadonan di konosementu di gramátika papiamentu na tur dos momentu (.45***).

E variabèl nan ku ta duna un indikashon di e tres aspektonan di aktitut di e alumnonan ta korelá altu ku esnan di dominio di idioma, sin embargo ta trata dos biaha di un korelashon negativo (AKP-VR1: -.48***; AKL-VR1: -.39**). Esaki ke men ku e studiantenan ku tin un aktitut positivo pa ku papiamentu i pa ku lesamentu ta skor abou pa vokabulario pasivo. Anteriormente por a ripará ku e datonan ta mustra ku ta trata den hopi kaso di alumno di abla papiamentu (wak tabèl 7). Pa AKD-VR1-VR2 ($r=.53^{***}$; .63***) e korelashon ta positivo i fuerte. Esaki ta indiká ku e alumnonan ku tin un aktitut di duda pa ku papiamentu (AKD) ta skor altu pa vokabulario reseptivo na tur dos momentu (VR1 i VR2).

E variabèl nan ku ta representá e karakterístikanan personal di e alumnonan no ta mustra korelashon signifíkante ku e otro variabèl nan den e investigashon. Un eksepsion ta idioma di kas ku ta korelá altu ku vokabulario reseptivo na tur dos momentu (IK-VR1; .46***; -VR2: .42**). Por mira tambe e korelashon altu entre idioma di kas (IK) i aktitut di duda pa ku papiamentu (AKD: AKD: .71***) (kompará tabèl 7). E korelashon negativo signifíkante entre status residensial (SR) i vokabulario reseptivo na dos momentu (VR1 i VR2) ta mustra ku mas tantu aña e alumnonan tin ta biba na Kòrsou mas altu nan skor ta pa dominio di idioma papiamentu (SR-VR1: -.38**; SR-VR2: -.36*).

3.3 Dominio di idioma papiamentu, variabel di trasfondo i profil edukativo

Na e di tres pregunta investigativo ta indagá te kon leu tin un relashon entre dominio di idioma papiamentu, karakterístikanan di e alumno i nan eskoho di profil edukativo na havo i vwo.

A korelá e profil ku e alumnonan ta skohe na final di aña eskolar den klas 3 ku tur e variabèl nan den e investigashon akí. A añañá dos variabel komponé dominio di papiamentu 1 (DP1) i dominio di papiamentu 2. A hunta a tuma promedio di skor di vokabulario reseptivo i konosementu di gramátika na tur dos momentu. E resultadonan ta keda presentá den e matris den tabèl 9.

Tabèl 9 Korelashon (r) entre profil (PR) i e variabèl nan relashoná ku dominio di idioma, aktitut di e alumnonan i nan karakterístikanan personal

	PR	DI1	DI2	VK1	VK2	GP1	GP2	AP1	AL1	AD1	ED	SE	SR	RK
PR	1	-,048	-,113	-,120	-,149	,114	,011	,144	,162	-,186	-,377	,089	,004	-,382
Sig											p<.001			p<.001

DP1: dominio di papiamentu 1 (promedio di VR1+GR1); DP2: dominio di papiamentu 1 (promedio di VR2+GR2)

Por nota ku e profil ku e alumnonan skohe, solamente ta relashoná ku nan edat (ED) i ku e echo ku si nan a yega di ripití di klas (RK). Esaki ta un indikashon ku análisis ku

estadística mas avansá pa wak kua variabel lo por tin influensia riba eskoho di profil, lo tin poko resultado.

Ku referensia na pregunta investigativo 3 tokante relashon entre eskoho di profil edukativo i dominio di idioma papiamentu, karakterístikanan di e alumno na havo i vwo, tin di konkluí ku e kálkulonan ta mostra ku no tin relashon amplio di reportá. Solamente edat mas altu i ripitimentu di klas ta indikashon pa eskoho di un profil mas moderá. Aparentemente alumno ku prestashon altu no outomátikamente ta skohe profil ku ta kontené mas reto. E afinidat pa sierto estudio i profeshon ta di mas peso ora ta skohe kon pa sigui den e klasnan mas altu di enseñansa sekundario.

4. Konklushon

Den e estudio akí a logra duna kontesta riba e tres preguntanan investigativo. (1) E alumnonan a progresá entre e promé momentu di tèst i e di dos momentu, sinku luna despues, pa dominio di idioma papiamentu. Esei ta konta tantu pa vokabulario reseptivo komo pa konosementu di gramátika. E variabelnan ekstralingwístiko (aktitut pa ku papiamentu; aktitut pa ku lesamentu; i aktitut di duda pa ku papiamentu) ta relashoná positivamente òf negativamente ku ku dominio di idioma papiamentu. Esei ta konta, sea den un grado ménos altu tambe pa e karakterístika personal di e alumnonan (edat; sekso; status residensial; ripitimentu di klas; i idioma di kas).

(2) E relashon entre dominio di idioma papiamentu i karakterístika di alumno, esta tambe a trese klaridat. E idiomanan ku ta papia na kas hulandes, papiamentu, spañó, i ingles tin influensia riba prestashon pa e materia papiamentu na skol. (3) Dominio di idioma papiamentu i e faktornan di trasfondo no ta fuertemente relashoná ku e profil edukativo ku e alumnonan ta skohe na fin di klas 3. Edat mas altu si kombiná ku ripitimentu di klas ta un indikashon pa eskoho di un profil mas moderá. Aparentemente alumno ku prestashon altu no outomátikamente ta skohe profil ku ta kontené mas reto.

Limitashon di e investigashon akí

E kálkulonan estadístiko a eksponé un kantidat di relashon interesante i di un grado altu. Din embargo, mirando e kantidat di alumno ku a partisipá den e investigashon akí, tin di interpretá e resultadonan kuantitativo ku koutela. Komo ku e kantidat ta limitá tin e riesgo ku tin algu di distorshon. P’esei ta rekomendabel pa konsiderá e estudio akí komo un intento piloto. Ripitishon ta duna oportunidat pa konfirmá e resultado ku a haña na e skol partikular akí ku su propio karakterístikanan. E diseño sinembargo ta duna sierto grado di garantia ku e kalkulashonnan ta yega serka di loke ta tuma lugá den realidat.

Implikashon pa práktika di enseñansa

Profundisashon den literatura profeshonal i sientífiko i teoria mas resien di idioma i edukashon ta habri bista i lanta idea nobo. E proseso investigativo empíriko ta enrikesé i ta lanta ánimo. E resultadonan ku e investigashon ta generá ta duna un bista mas profundo di e patronchinan ku a keda eksponé, ku sigur ta di balor pa práktika den skol i klas. E eksperensia investigativo ta amplia bista pa desaroyo di instrumento manera trahamentu di prueba i enkuesta válido i konfiabel ku por duna basta informashon mas verídiko. Kon ta hasi un prueba pa bo klas mas konfiabel? Ki klase di pregunta por kombiná? Resultado di indagashon di aktitut di e alumnonan por mustra riba nesesidat pa informá, interkambiá di pensamentu i motivá.

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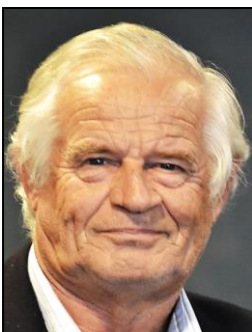
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