



VALORIZATION OF PAPIAMENTO

in Aruban society and education, in historical, contemporary and future perspectives

Joyce L. Pereira

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Joyce Lomena Pereira

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Chapter 1

Introduction

In this introductory chapter, a theoretical framework will first be presented (1.1). After giving an impression of the sociolinguistic context of Aruba (1.2), the research design will be discussed (1.3). Finally, an outline of the thesis is given (1.4).

In Aruba, Bonaire, and Curaçao, the Leeward Islands of the Dutch Caribbean, Papiamentu or Papiamentu ¹ is the generally used vernacular. In the Windward Islands of the Dutch Caribbean St. Maarten, Saba and St. Eustatius, English and Caribbean English lexifier Creole are used in daily communication. However, up until May 2003, Dutch was the official language for all the six islands. In 2003, Aruba opted for two official languages, namely Dutch and Papiamentu. And after being tabled for ten years, a bill was passed in March 2008 which designates Dutch, English and Papiamentu as the three official languages in the five islands of the Netherlands Antilles, Curaçao, Bonaire, St. Maarten, Saba, and St. Eustatius.

Papiamentu

The language Papiamentu or Papiamentu arose after the conquest of these islands by the Dutch from the Spaniards in 1634 and developed during slavery on Curaçao. By the 18th century, Papiamentu became the general language of contact in Curaçao. After 1750 this language also spread to the islands of Aruba and Bonaire. There are various theories on the genesis of Papiamentu. In colonial literature it is often characterized as a ‘mishmash, ‘bastard Spanish,’ ‘jargon,’ ‘nigger gibberish,’ a ‘barbaric language’, denominations that are indicative of disdain, rather than of insight into the structure and the characteristics of the language. However, there exist hypotheses on the origins of Papiamentu that are of higher scientific value.

¹ There are two orthographies for Papiamentu, an etymological version in Aruba and a phonological version in Curaçao and Bonaire. In Aruba the language is called Papiamentu, in Curaçao and Bonaire it is called Papiamentu.

The monogenetic view holds that all creole languages, including Papiamentu, are derived from an Afro-Portuguese proto-creole, which originated in the coastal areas of western Africa as a result of trade contacts between Portuguese and Africans. Through lexification and restructuring the Portuguese characteristics were partially or completely replaced by French, English, Spanish characteristics in several creole languages. Proponents of this theory are among others Lenz (1928), Menkman (1936), Van Wijk (1958), and Martinus (1996). The polygenetic theory holds that many creole languages developed independently of one another. Proponents of this theory are among others Maduro (1965), and Rona (1970). A third theory postulates a Spanish-based Pan-Caribbean creole, originating on a Portuguese substrate. This Spanish-based proto-creole is thought to have existed in the Caribbean in the sixteenth and seventeenth century, and Papiamentu, Palenquero of Colombia and Bozal of Puerto Rico are thought to have originated from this language. Bickerton and Escalante (1970) and Wood (1972) are proponents of this theory.

These theories contradict each other in some ways, especially with regard to the moment and place of origin and the base language. At any rate, all three theories share a common view on modern Papiamentu, namely, that it is a creole language with a vocabulary of mainly Spanish/Portuguese origin (80 to 85%), to which Dutch, English and to a lesser degree African and native Indigenous (Caquetio) languages also have contributed, and that many words have undergone phonological and/or semantic changes (Wood, 1972; Maduro, 1953).

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Some characteristics of Papiamentu

The grammar of Papiamentu, especially the verbal system and a number of syntactic constructions, have West African features (Martinus, 1996; Todd-Dandaré, 2014b). Here are some examples (Luidens et al., 2010, 2015).

1. As in many West African languages, the basic word order in a Papiamentu sentence is *subject-predicate*. Papiamentu is classified as a S-(aux)-V-O language, Subject (auxiliary)-Verb-Object language. Examples:

<i>Papiamentu</i>	<i>Dutch</i>	<i>English</i>
Mi ta lesa	Ik lees	I read
S-aux-V	S-V	S-V
Mi ta lesa?	Lees ik?	Do I read?
S-aux-V	V-S	aux-S-V
Awe mi ta lesa	Vandaag lees ik	Today I read
adv-S-aux-V	adv-V-S	adv-S-V

2. Typical of West African languages, but unlike European languages, Papiamentu verbs have no conjugation but are accompanied by tense and aspect particles. The time and aspect particles are: *ta* for *present* tense and *imperfective* (*continuous* or *durative*)

aspect, *tabata* for *past* tense and *imperfective (continuous, durative)* aspect, *a* for *past* tense and *perfective* aspect, and *lo* for *future* tense and the *irrealis* modality. The combinations *lo ta*, *lo a* and *lo tabata* can express a condition, a wish, a doubt, an appreciation, a possibility.

3. As in most West African languages, in Papiamentu generally, no grammatical distinction is made between masculine and feminine forms. These distinctions are made only in a handful of words referring to humans (a) morphologically: *maestro* - *maestra*; *suegro* - *suegra* or (b) lexically: *sua* - *cuña*; *yu muhe* - *yu homber*; *toro* - *baca*; *pushi macho* - *pushi embra*. [a: ‘male teacher - female teacher; father in law - mother in law’ or b: ‘brother in law - sister in law; bull - cow; tomcat - female cat’]

4. In Papiamentu, as in many West African languages, the plural form *-nan* is only used if the noun has a definite article or a deictic pronoun.

Examples:

	<i>Papiamentu</i>	<i>English</i>
No definite article nor a deictic pronoun	Mi tin <u>cinco buki</u> . Mi tin <u>hopi buki</u> .	I have <u>five books</u> . I have <u>many books</u> .
<u>A definite article ‘e’</u>	<u>E bukinan</u> ta masha bunita. <u>E cinco bukinan</u> ta masha bunita.	<u>The books</u> are very nice. The <u>five books</u> are very nice.
<u>A deictic pronoun ‘su’</u>	<u>Su bukinan</u> ta masha bunita.	<u>His books</u> are very nice.

5. As do almost all West African languages, Papiamentu has lexical and grammatical tone (Römer, 1991) with pitch and stress (accent) distinguishing lexical and grammatical meaning. Examples: *cacho* and *marā*:

	<i>Papiamentu</i>		<i>English</i>
	<i>first syllable</i>	<i>second syllable</i>	
<i>cach’ō</i>	low tone + unstressed	high tone + stressed	dog
<i>’cācho</i>	high tone + stressed	low tone + unstressed	horn
<i>’marā</i>	low tone + stressed	high tone + unstressed	to tie
<i>mar’ā</i>	low tone + unstressed	high tone + stressed	tied (adjective)

In these examples, an apostrophe is used before the stressed syllable. In the phonological spelling of Curaçao and Bonaire, the stress mark is used according to certain rules. In the Auban spelling, no stress mark is used at all.

Up until 2003, there were ongoing discussions in Aruba concerning the relative position of Papiamentu and Dutch and also about the role of English and Spanish. Low success rates in education and social problems were often blamed on the fact that Dutch, a language that most children do not know when they begin their formal schooling, is used

as the main language of instruction and of initial literacy, rather than Papiamentu, the mother tongue of the overwhelming majority of the students. Others were of the opinion that the use of Papiamentu in education would limit young people's opportunities, both during their years in school as well as in their communities and on the job market after graduation. For the past few years, it has been more and more the case that people both in the community and in decision making positions at the administrative level are convinced that Papiamentu should play a more prominent part in formal education and other aspects of public life. In order to keep abreast of and to facilitate positive change in the language situation in Aruba, the government felt the need to establish a language planning agency: *Instituto di Lengua Arubiano* (IDILA) in the 1990s, which soon disappeared in the new millennium (Pereira 2008; Severing, 2008).

The process of emancipation after Aruba's acquisition of political autonomy in 1954 and participation of diverse stakeholders led to a substantial discussion of the organization of education. The use of the Dutch language as a language of instruction on the one hand, and the neglect of the Papiamentu as home language of most inhabitants of Aruba on the other hand, have had a major role in students' lack of success in education. Note that Papiamentu has for some time been a forbidden language in the schools on the ABC Islands. In the volatile discussions about education in the sixties and beyond, some groundbreaking studies appeared, which formed a basis for a more evidence-based public debate. These publications may have brought about more awareness, which once again led to changing the mindset and policy decisions in language and education policy.

A first document was "*Leerplan en leidraad voor het basisonderwijs op de Benedenwindse Eilanden der Nederlandse Antillen*" (Prins, 1970). This publication is a study of the educational systems of the Dutch Leeward Islands of Aruba, Bonaire, and Curaçao with proposals for education reform. Another important publication was "From objective to subjective social barriers. A historical-philosophical analysis of certain negative attitudes among the Negroid population of Curaçao" (Paula, 1968). A third relevant document was a doctoral dissertation which focused on the negative educational effects of Dutch as the language of instruction in the ABC Islands titled "*Kabes Duru? Verslag van een onderzoek naar de onderwijssituatie op de Benedenwindse Eilanden van de Nederlandse Antillen, in verband met het probleem van de vreemde voertaal bij het onderwijs*" (Prins-Winkel, 1973). This study, based on empirical data for the first time, suggested possible restrictions on the use of Dutch in primary education. The researcher also pointed to highlight the right of children to come to initial literacy by using their language, in this case Papiamentu as the language of the majority. Young local professionals and academics in education became convinced that in the ABC Islands, students' struggle with a foreign language of instruction systematically impeded real learning in the schools by excluding the students' home language from their intellectual development, which is synonymous with handicapping their academic performance (Prins,

1975:66). As the discussion continued, this educational situation was also characterized as a denial of the linguistic and educational rights of Aruban students. The Aruban language policy was found to violate all of the fundamental principles of effective pedagogy and didactics, with consequences like hidden illiterates and failing school results preventing Aruban citizens from realizing their full academic potential (Van Putte, 1999; Dijkhoff & Pereira, 2010). An integral part of the process of colonization worldwide has been through language, where the colonizer's language has been imposed as the dominant official language, making existing local languages subordinate. This situation also has a major impact on the cultural and historical identity of colonized peoples (Meyn, 1983; Garrett, 2008). Such sociolinguistic questions in combination with questions about language and identity in the context of the changing socioeconomic realities of Aruba will continue to keep this discussion alive. It is hoped that the results of the present investigation will contribute to such ongoing debates as well as to greater evidence-based policy formulation with regard to nation building, nation formation, social cohesion, and community development. Discussion of the role and use of Papiamentu as the majority language in Aruba is crucial regarding the extent to which it could lead to more social inclusion, civic participation, creating a sense of belonging and improving social mobility.

The primary purpose of this study is to present the results of our sociolinguistic research designed to gain insight into the language situation in Aruba and to deepen our understanding of the relevant factors that influence the process of establishing a national language policy formulated for optimal deployment of language in the community and education. To achieve this goal, not only were both national and international archival sources consulted, but surveys and interviews were conducted in order to collect both quantitative and qualitative data. The process of collection and processing of this data was facilitated by the Aruban central statistical office. We hope that the outcomes of this study can make a modest contribution to theoretical work in such areas as language policy, language planning, and language management in a context where a creole language is involved in a postcolonial setting.

1.1 Theoretical framework

In terms of a theoretical framework, we situate this study in relation to the main theories and debates in the areas of language policy, language management, and language planning. We do so at the macro-level of the Ministry and Department of Education, at the meso-level of the school boards and Inspectorate and at the micro-level of the classroom practice of schools, teachers and NGO's in the precolonial past, the colonial past and the postcolonial present (Cooper, 1989; Baldauf Jr., 2004, 2006).

Language Policy and Planning (LPP)

As mentioned above, the implicit (and sometimes explicit) goals of colonial language policy and planning have been the imposition of the colonizer's language at the expense of the languages of the colonized. In the context of decolonization, the field of Language Policy and Planning (LPP) has emerged to reverse this process and to repair the damage done by it. LPP, as we now know it, has to do with making decisions regarding language in a given community, designed to address and resolve problems which that community might have with its languages. LPP has to do also with the need to conserve, protect or improve the status of disadvantaged languages and their speakers, taking on the responsibility to open up and extend possibilities to persons who speak heretofore neglected languages. While 'language policy' refers to political decisions of the government regarding languages in the community, 'language planning' refers to the activities of linguists, educational specialists, and schoolboards to influence and/or implement that policy (Baldauf Jr., 2006). This process cannot focus exclusively on technical issues, but must instead enlist the active involvement and the goodwill of the people (Cooper, 1989).

Optimal language planning can be achieved by a language policy that consists of three interrelated components, which are at the same time independently describable: practice, beliefs, and management. Practice refers to observable linguistic behaviors and choices of community members in their (socio)linguistic context. Beliefs refer the values, statuses, and functions assigned to the various languages in a given community. Because it offers the possibility to include a broad range of sociolinguistic situations Spolsky (2009) prefers the use of the term 'language management' instead of 'language planning', to refer to efforts – planned and legalized by laws, regulations or rules – to modify the practices or beliefs of the community members.

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Figure 1.1 Intertwined types of planning in relation to language policy and planning (LPP)

Four types of planning are essential for the formulation of a comprehensive language policy: (1) status planning, (2) corpus planning, (3) acquisition (or language-in-education) planning, and (4) prestige and image planning (Cooper 1989; Kaplan & Baldauf

Jr., 1997; Baldauf Jr., 2004; Ruiz, 2010; Spolsky, 2012). As is shown in Figure 1.1 these types of planning are intertwined and related to language policy and planning.

Status planning focuses on the functions of the languages in a given community. The objects of status planning are primarily the recognition by the government of the position of the various languages spoken in the community (Cooper, 1989) and the legal regulations which follow naturally from that recognition. While it is true that, compared to other Creole languages on other islands of the Caribbean, Papiamentu has a relatively high social profile in the ABC Islands, efforts to give Papiamentu a place in the formal education system have nevertheless experienced considerable opposition. This relatively high regard for Papiamentu has, for example, not only resulted in the formulation of an official orthography for the language on the three islands in 1976, but also, and more importantly, the acquisition by the language of official status in 2003 in Aruba (Ab 2003, no 38) and in 2007 in Curaçao and Bonaire (PB 2007, no 20).

However, coordination among the three islands in the struggle for full recognition of the language has been hampered since Aruba opted for a separate status from Curaçao, Bonaire and the rest of the now defunct Netherlands Antilles within the Dutch kingdom in 1986. The fact that Aruba opted for a different spelling than Curaçao and Bonaire is the consequence of this political position. Aruba has an etymologically oriented spelling (AB 1977, nr.1) and Curaçao and Bonaire a phonologically oriented spelling (PB 2008, no. 88), which makes the joint publishing of printed material quite difficult. Discussions regarding a possible spelling revision that would allow the two areas to use the same spelling are not yet on the horizon.

The Act on Official Languages, which designates both Papiamentu and Dutch as the official languages of Aruba, stipulates that all official communications within the government can be either in Papiamentu or Dutch, both verbally and in writing, that all documents can be written in both Papiamentu and Dutch, and that a translation in Papiamentu or Dutch can be requested for all documents. A person can also choose in which of the two languages he or she wants to take an oath. However, articles 5, 6 and 9.2 of the same Act immediately impose a massive restriction on the use of Papiamentu: the language of legislation, of the judiciary and in notarial acts is only Dutch. This restriction runs counter to the idea of equality between the two languages and hinders the development of Papiamentu as a language of law and justice. Also, it weakens the official status of Papiamentu. It is clear that this law still needs to be revised so that it is valid for all sectors of society, including the justice system, the formal education system, mass media, commerce, politics, etc.

Corpus planning refers to language cultivation, reform, and standardization (Cooper, 1989) and includes such activities as producing all kinds of materials in the target language(s) for education and the community, especially for all the levels of the

acquisition planning (see below). The Department of Education in Aruba has taken this aspect of language planning seriously, designing and publishing a large selection of reading and teaching materials in Papiamentu for students and teachers at both the primary (Scol Multilingual) and secondary levels, including, but not limited to a glossary incorporating the Aruban spelling system and three parts of a grammar manual. What is still missing, however, are explanatory Papiamentu dictionaries for the different levels. Working groups should also be set up as soon as possible to further develop terminology for the various subject areas. A major problem, however, is that there is no realistic budget for recruiting qualified staff, nor for producing the full gamut of materials required for educational innovation. The glaring gaps in the Papiamentu corpus that have resulted from these shortcomings are largely due to the lack of an integrated language and education policy.

Acquisition planning relates directly to the creation of possibilities for all the groups in the community to acquire multiple types and levels of knowledge and competence in the target languages. Linguistic knowledge and competence can be learned via formal education, or acquired in less formal ways. The primary aim of acquisition planning is to support target language use and spread (Cooper, 1989), but, in order to be effective, it must concern itself with the transmission and perpetuation of the cultures associated with the targeted languages (Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997).

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The choice of Papiamentu as a language of instruction has been a long time coming. However, this has not prevented the main teacher training institution on the island, the Instituto Pedagógico Arubano (IPA), from prioritizing Papiamentu in its programming since its inception in 1990. IPA has successfully established Papiamentu as a subject in the curriculum of primary school teacher training, as well as third-degree and second-degree Papiamentu courses for secondary school teachers. Due to the absence of long-term planning in the interests of education, a Master's program in Papiamentu for teachers has never been established at the University of Aruba. An appreciable and growing number of Aruban educators, however, have successfully completed a Master's program in Papiamentu through the University of Curaçao.

Both the Department of Education and the *Biblioteca Nacional Aruba* have provided Papiamentu courses for the press corps. The *Enseñansa pa Empleo* program, which is part of the Government, has for many years been providing courses for the general public, especially for newcomers. Private Papiamentu courses are also offered for these purposes.

The distinction between basic interpersonal communicative skills (BICS) and cognitive academic language proficiency (CALP) was introduced by Cummins (1996) in order to shed light on the nature of language acquisition and learning. BICS involve those competences necessary for successful everyday language use among people who are familiar with the conversational context, while CALP involves those competences

necessary for more abstract and decontextualized language use, such as that which typifies academic registers. Cummins made this difference to pay attention to the difficulties second language learners experience in their attempts to acquire the academic aspects of the school language.

BICS are language skills needed in social situations. It is the day - to - day language needed to interact socially with other people. English language learners (ELLs) employ BICS when they are in the cafeteria, at parties, playing sports and talking on the telephone. Social interactions are usually context embedded. That is, they occur in a meaningful social context. They are not very demanding cognitively. The language required is not specialized. Students usually begin school after having successfully acquired BICS in their home and community languages. If the languages of instruction in the schools are also the home and or community languages of the students, teachers use the students' knowledge of BICS in order to introduce CALP.

CALP refers to a formal academic level in learning. This level of language learning includes not only skills like listening, speaking, reading, and writing about subject area content material, but also skills such as comparing, classifying, synthesizing, evaluating, and inferring. These are all essential for students to be successful in school. To become proficient in these academic language skills students need time and support. Academic language acquisition usually takes from five to seven years of training. The student learns how to handle academic language tasks with cognitively demanding context.

In a natural setting, humans normally develop proficiency in conversational language or BICS well before they acquire a firm grasp of academic language or CALP. As a result, many Aruban parents have opposed the use of Papiamentu in the schools, because they consider their children to be fully proficient and fluent in Papiamentu. What these parents do not realize, is that the average Aruban student (as well as many Aruban teachers) are sorely lacking in CALP in Papiamentu, simply because they have never been given the opportunity to learn the more academic registers of the language. (Cummins, 1996).

Prestige and image planning has to do with increasing the acknowledgment, appreciation and valorization of the target languages (Kaplan & Baldauf Jr., 1997; Baldauf Jr., 2004; Ruiz, 2009 and 2010; Spolsky, 2012), and as such has a major impact on how corpus, status and acquisition planning are received and eventually owned by the community. The focus of prestige and image planning is the promotion of the target languages among the possible users, aiming at the development of a positive mentality and attitude towards those languages. Since Aruba is a post-colonial country where over the centuries negative language policies (Kaplan & Baldauf Jr., 1997) have created an almost antagonistic attitude among community members towards the vernacular and an inaccurate and often an indifferent attitude towards the other languages used on the

island, it is impossible to overestimate the crying need for this particular aspect of Language Policy and Planning (LPP).

It is therefore crucial for all stakeholders to understand that, in the Aruban context, Prestige and Image Planning is one of the areas of language policy and planning (LPP) that needs special attention. This aspect of language planning was only recently added to the three others (Kaplan & Baldauf Jr., 1997), but this should not detract from its importance. According to Spolsky (2009), successful LPP depends critically on the beliefs and consensual behavior of the members of a speech community. As a result of colonialism, non-European society and culture (including language), have been reviled and suppressed in favor of those of the European colonizer. Hira (2009) speaks of the “mental colonization” that in many ways has proved to be just as important as the political and economic power of the colonizer in assuring the success of the colonial enterprise. Phillipson (1992, 2012) and Skutnabb-Kangas (2000) identified this aspect of colonialism that impacted language specifically as “linguistic imperialism”, which has had a devastating impact on the beliefs and attitudes of colonized communities, particularly towards their native languages.

These intertwined aspects operate at the macro level, which regards the ministry and department of education, at the meso level, which is the level of the school boards and Inspectorate, and also at the micro level, which is the practice, the schools, the classrooms, the teachers and the NGO’s. All these three levels require decision making and execution (Cooper, 1989; Baldauf Jr., 2004, 2006).

1.2 Sociolinguistic context

The development of Papiamentu in Aruba, Bonaire, and Curaçao is strongly related to the colonial history of the inhabitants of these islands. During the time of the Dutch West India Company (WIC), which effectively ruled over the Dutch Caribbean from 1634 to 1792, Papiamentu emerged as the most widely spoken language in these islands. (Prins, 1975; Martinus, 1997; Fouse, 2002; Rupert, 2012). Despite recent improvements in its status, Papiamentu is still struggling for recognition, even among its speakers, due to the heavy impact of colonial policy. As a Creole language, Papiamentu has long been regarded as a deficient language, a non-language, or a “dialect” (Prins, 1975:21-22). Official discrimination against Papiamentu, especially in education where it was long banned, had its effect on the way the community feels and thinks today about its language.

Up until the present, the Aruban community is still struggling with the consequences of decree P.B. 28 of 1819 and decrees P.B. 43 and P.B. 49 of 1935 of the Dutch colonial government, which allowed only Dutch to be used as the medium of instruction in the educational system of the ABC Islands. Dutch, an unintelligible foreign language for 93.8% of the students (Dep. of Education, 2014), continues to be the language of initial literacy and instruction in the schools, while Papiamentu, the language that most

students know best, has been systematically excluded. This policy often imposes insurmountable obstacles for both the teacher and the student, a fact which is still too often not acknowledged and trivialized (Van Putte, 1999). Quality education is difficult to achieve when rote memorization replaces comprehension, not only in primary school but at all levels of formal education (PRIPEB, 1997:22; SHA, 1998:11; *Inspectie van het Onderwijs*, 1993).

In the eyes of European and Dutch language educational policymakers of the 19th century, Papiamentu was a ‘slave language’ which was an “unbearable (...) cackling for the finer European ears” and “like the sound of a turkey difficult to get used to”², according to a Dutch teacher named Van Paddeburgh (1819). The prominent presence of Papiamentu in the ABC Islands was also a thorn in the side of Dutch newcomers. The policy of “one nation, one kingdom, one language” of King William I, 1813-1840 (Van Putte, 1999: 21), was based on “*ethische politiek*” (ethical politics), which became the “civilizing mission” – the white man’s burden – of the 20th century (Rutgers, 1996). The persistence of these ideas is demonstrated by the inability of the Dutch ministry of education, Aruban policymakers, and the Aruban community itself to come to terms with the overwhelming scientific evidence that students’ home and/or community languages are the optimal ones to be used in the schools as languages of instruction and initial literacy. An Aruban educational system with Papiamentu as the main language of instruction alongside other languages still encounters enormous resistance at all levels. The most recent illustration of this resistance is the “Protocol of collaboration on the policy areas of Education, Culture, Science and Emancipation between Aruba and The Netherlands”³ of July 4th, 2012, which requires the Aruban secondary education system to be fully embedded in the Dutch school system by 2016.

Since the 1990s, however, we have witnessed slow, but steady shifts in community attitudes toward a more positive valorization of Papiamentu, which have had a certain impact on official decisions concerning Papiamentu at the beginning of the 21st century. As stated above, Papiamentu was given official status in Aruba in May 2003, and in Curaçao and Bonaire in 2007. This marked a real milestone in the history of Papiamentu that opened many doors.⁴ In school year 2002-2003, Papiamentu began being taught as a subject in the MAVO, HAVO, and VWO tracks of Aruban secondary education. In August 2015, Papiamentu became an optional subject in the HAVO and VWO exams, a move made possible by the successful completion by a group of Aruban teachers of their Master's degree in Papiamentu. The first Papiamentu school exam in

² Original text: “*Onverdragelijk is dit gekakel voor het fijnere oor van den Europeaan bij zijne eerste aankomst, en moeilijk kan men zich aan dit kalkoenen geluid gewennen.*”

³ Original title: “*Samenwerkingsprotocol op de beleidsterreinen Onderwijs, Cultuur, Wetenschap en Emancipatie tussen Aruba en Nederland*” (4 juli 2012)

⁴ In Curaçao Papiamentu entered primary education as a subject in 1986. In 1987 Frank Martinus founded *Kolegio Erasmo* on the island, the first school with Papiamentu as language of instruction (Dijkhoff & Pereira, 2010).

the HAVO track took place in September 2016 with the first final exam HAVO and VWO taking place in May 2017. These exams were prepared and made available by the Ministry of Education of Aruba. Another giant step forward is Scol Multilingual, an innovative project which has been successfully piloted at the pre-primary and primary levels, where Papiamentu is the language of instruction and initial literacy, with Dutch, English, and Spanish being taught as foreign or second languages alongside it (PRIE-PEB, 2002). Because Scol Multilingual merits special attention, the present study will examine and analyze some of its initial achievements.

1.3 Research design

The main research objective of this thesis is to gain insight into the Aruban language situation in the past and present with a particular focus on attitudes toward Papiamentu, in order to reach a clearer understanding of the possibilities of Papiamentu achieving the status that it deserves as the home language of the great majority and the community language of virtually all of the people of the island.

Inspired by the key question posed by Cooper (1989: 97-98) as to “What actors attempt to influence what behaviors of which people for what ends under what conditions by what means through what decision-making process with what effect?” we will attempt to provide some answers to the following research questions:

1. How has Papiamentu been historically positioned in relation to formal education in Aruba?
2. What have been the prevalent attitudes in Aruban society toward Papiamentu, particularly in relation to formal education, and how have these attitudes changed over time?
3. How do teachers value the role of Papiamentu in Aruban education?
4. How do parents value the role of Papiamentu in Aruban education?

The complexity of this topic demands an array of strategies, archival and qualitative to help answer research questions 1 and 2, and quantitative to help answer research questions 3 and 4.

To find an answer to the first question: *How has Papiamentu been historically positioned in relation to formal education in Aruba?* source criticism (Boone, 2007) of archives dealing with key moments in the history of education and language in education in Aruba will be complemented by the results of stakeholder interviews (see the list of interviewees in Appendix B1) and consideration of some studies on language, language planning and language education in postcolonial industrializing countries.

To address the second research question: *What have been the prevalent attitudes in Aruban society toward Papiamentu, particularly in relation to formal education, and how have these attitudes changed over time?* the focus will be on the different points of view related to language attitude of the language users concerning the present official

status of Papiamentu, its position in the community, language rights, language vitality, and trends and observable developments in relation to the language. For this purpose, documents produced by institutions such as UNESCO, CBS-Aruba, and the Department of Education Aruba have been consulted and evaluated.

To answer the third research question: *How do teachers value the role of Papiamentu in Aruban education?* I will concentrate on the experiences, ideas, knowledge, know-how, myths, visions, and ideologies of teachers and other education professionals. This part of the research will be based on document analysis and surveys. The first survey was conducted with a representative group of 108 kindergarten and primary school teachers. A *Focus Group Evaluation* was conducted with the 4 SML-teachers then working in the innovative Proyecto Scol Multilingual (PSML) which started the school curriculum with Papiamentu as the language of instruction. The second survey was conducted with the 12 primary school teachers of the PSML two school years later.

To find answers to the fourth and final question: *How do parents value the role of Papiamentu in the Aruban education?* a survey of parents of primary school students as representative of the Aruban community was conducted (Survey Parents 2016). In consultation with the Aruban CBS, we decided to approach parents of primary school students to be the participants in this survey, because for this part of the research they were the most representative group in the society and because their ongoing relationship with the schools guaranteed a high percentage of valid questionnaires. The school boards and principals of eight different primary schools (out of a total of 36) from the eight different districts in Aruba (*Relato Estadístico Enseñansa di Aruba*, 2013-2014:2.2; CBS, 2010, Table P-A.3:77-78), gave us their permission to hand out a questionnaire to the parents of their students, with an accompanying letter that described the purpose and nature of the study.

1.4 Outline of this thesis

To present the results of this comprehensive sociolinguistic study on the position of language in the society and the educational system of Aruba, the four research questions are answered respectively in chapters 2, 3, 4 and 5. Chapter 6 summarizes what the research has accomplished and to what extent the results of this study contribute both to theory as well as to the valorization of Papiamentu in Aruba.

Chapter 1 presents the theoretical framework, the *sociolinguistic* context, and the research design with the research questions.

Chapter 2 provides a *historical* overview of the political, social and linguistic developments in Aruba with a focus on the position of Papiamentu, including its growth, the obstacles it has encountered and its potential. Archival materials, such as letters, minute books of 19th century School Committees, travelogues of Dutch visitors and inspectors, and relevant publications on the Aruban education are analyzed to find answers to the first research question.

Chapter 3 presents the results of literature study and observations on the attitudes towards Papiamentu as the majority language in the *contemporary* Aruban community. These language attitudes are assessed according to criteria related to language rights, language vitality and endangerment formulated by UNESCO. In addition to issues linked to language in education, language activism in Aruba is considered. Since Papiamentu was officially recognized as a national language by the government in 2003, this year is regarded as the dawn of a new era in the history of language education in Aruba.

In Chapter 4, the focus is on an empirical study of the *language attitudes of teachers* in Aruban primary education, especially as these relate to educational reform and to Papiamentu as the language of instruction. The data collected in two surveys of the language attitudes of the teachers are analyzed statistically (Survey SML 2015). In these surveys, the teachers expressed their opinions about Papiamentu, Dutch, present school practice and the Scol Multilingual project.

In Chapter 5, the results of a survey about the *language attitudes of parents* of students of eight primary schools (Survey Parents 2016) are presented. Parents were asked about their opinions regarding the role of Papiamentu in the community and education, about how their children are experiencing the present system and the role of other languages in education.

Chapter 6 includes a *general discussion* of how the results of the present study might have an impact on language planning and policy both at the level of theory as well as at the level of the Aruban community, with particular attention paid to prestige and image planning. Based on existing discussions and plans, a proposal for a language planning institute will be elaborated and presented.

Chapter 2

Historical perspectives on Papiamentu in the Aruban community

This chapter will focus on Aruban sociolinguistic and educational history, taking into consideration its links to the sociolinguistic and educational history of Curaçao where the Dutch colonial government was situated, to find answers to the first research question: How has Papiamentu been historically positioned in relation to formal education in Aruba?

In Aruban history, distinctions can be made among five periods, in relation to their different influences on the valorization of Papiamentu: 1) before the 15th century, when the indigenous languages of the autochthonous inhabitants of the island predominated (2.1); 2) from the 15th century to the mid 19th century, when Papiamentu emerged as a language (2.2); 3) from the mid 19th century to the mid-20th century, when the Dutch colonization of Aruba started in earnest and formal education began on the island (2.3); 4) between 1954 and 1986, when a more autonomous position for Papiamentu can be observed (2.4); and 5) from 1986 onward when Aruba acquired a separate and autonomous status, accompanied by rapid social change, impacting Papiamentu and the other languages spoken on the island (2.5).

Language policy and language planning can be defined in a general way as the formulation and implementation of explicit ideological and political decisions about language, language choice and language practices (Shohamy, 2006). Such decisions determine the activities, initiatives, and efforts of a given nation-state and its civil society to achieve certain goals in terms of the positioning of the languages spoken by its people.

Colonial language policies imposed by metropolitan authorities on their subjugated peoples have had dramatic consequences: complete languages and the cultures that they articulated became officially inferior in the colonized territories where they

were spoken because they were not European. Other languages spoken by the colonized disappeared and were replaced by the metropolitan language. In other cases, new languages arose from the colonial contact situation. However, these were usually not considered to be real languages by the colonial powers. One such language is the Iberian lexifier creole Papiamentu which developed in Curaçao, Aruba, and Bonaire. (Martinus, 1996; Fouse, 2002; Jacobs, 2011; Rupert, 2012). Two important publications focusing on historical developments around Papiamentu in Curaçao are the dissertation of T. F. Smeulders (1987) and the study conducted by Florimon van Putte (1999).

2.1 Language of the original inhabitants of Aruba

Archeological, ethnological and linguistic research suggest that the first inhabitants of Aruba arrived most probably around \pm 2500 BC (Martis 2015). The Caquetios arrived some 3000 years later and lived for at least 500 years on the island before the arrival of the Europeans. They had a regular contact with their neighbors in Curaçao, Venezuela, and Colombia. The Caquetio language belonged to the Maipurean sub-branch of the Northern branch of the Arawakan language family, along with related languages spoken in northwestern Venezuela (Falcón, Zulia, and Lara) and the northeastern Colombia (La Guajira).

According to Martis (2015) and others, there are many details of the long and complicated history of the Caribbean islands and their inhabitants that need a new scientific approach. The archives of many countries including Aruba, are yet to be fully explored. From such sources we learn that in 1499 Alonso de Ojeda, a Spanish captain, was the first European to make landing on the island of Curaçao which at the time, like Aruba, had its own native inhabitants. The colonial conquest of Aruba followed some years later. As on the continent, the encounter with the Spanish was dramatic for Aruba, Curaçao, and Bonaire, which were referred to as both ‘Islas de los Gigantes’ as well as ‘Islas Inútiles’ because no gold was found there. In 1514, the Spaniards looted the islands, abducted the inhabitants and transported them as slaves to Española. In 1520 however, Juan de Ampiéés began sending groups of Caquetios back to the depleted ABC Islands, with the permission of the governor (Martis, 2015).

When the Dutch conquered these islands in 1634, the Spaniards and most of the Caquetios were deported to the Venezuelan coast. However, in the late 17th and early 18th century, there were still “Indians” on the islands. We are not sure if they were Caquetios or Indians of other ethnicities (Van Buurt, 2014). Nooyen (1979, 1995) found evidence of contact between these Indians and the first African slaves in Curaçao in the early records of the Catholic Church there. The Catholic priest Schabel also reported in his “Diurnium” (1707-1708) of baptisms not only of African descended people, mulattoes, and European descended people, but also of indigenous people (Van Buurt, 2014; Rutgers, 2015). While in Curaçao the relatively small group of Indians quickly merged

with the African descended population, in Aruba and Bonaire, the Indians retained their identity a little longer as a separate group.

The historical sources about the Caquetios in this period are scarce but make it clear that their language and culture were soon extinct on the ABC Islands. However, many words of Caquetio or Arawak origin form part of the lexicon of Papiamentu, which has become the main language of the ABC Islands. The still prevailing Caquetio or Arawak words in Papiamentu generally relate to the flora, fauna, and toponyms of the islands (Van Buurt & Joubert, 1997; Dijkhoff, 2003; Van Buurt, 2014; Severing, 2016). Some examples of words that belong to the Papiamentu vocabulary of all the three islands⁵ are *cadushi*, *dividivi*, *shimarucu*, *wayaca* (flora), *chuchubi*, *dori*, *gutu*, *kiwa* (fauna); and *tapushi* (ear of sorghum), *yuchi* (small child) and *warwaru* (whirlwind). Examples of toponyms are *Andicuri*, *Balashi*, *Manchebo* and *Macuarima* in Aruba, *Adicoura*, *Choloma*, *Maniguacoa*, and *Wanapa* in Curaçao, and *Amboina*, *Niki-boko*, *Sorobon*, and *Wanapa* in Bonaire (Van Buurt, 1997, 2014; Dijkhoff, 2003).

2.2 The emergence of Papiamentu

It is very unlikely that the Dutch colonists and the officials of the West India Company (1636-1816) consciously designed a *de jure* language policy for the subjugated populations of their islands in the Caribbean, but their attitudes and practice concerning the Dutch language vis-a-vis Papiamentu, the language of the enslaved, constituted a *de facto* colonial language policy. The outcomes of that informal policy were as devastating as any formal policy, with consequences that have influenced the formal language policies of the following periods substantially. The development of Papiamentu, the emergent language of Aruba, Curaçao, and Bonaire, is thus strongly related to the colonial history of these islands and their inhabitants. Very early in the era of the West India Company, Papiamentu became the most widely used language by the population of these islands.

One of the most compelling hypotheses concerning the genesis of Papiamentu is the so-called Proto-Afro-Portuguese Creole theory, as advanced by Dr. Frank E. Martinus in his doctoral dissertation titled, *The Kiss of a Slave* (1996). This theory assumes that already in the 15th century an Afro-Portuguese Creole language had been developed in Portugal, on the west coast of Africa and on the Atlantic islands along the African coast. This language became a lingua franca that was frequently used not only between Europeans and West Africans when communicating with one another but also among Europeans and West Africans themselves. Martinus contends that during the slave trade of the 16th and 17th centuries this Afro-Portuguese Creole language continued to be used in commercial transactions as well as in other contexts. According to Martinus, before the transportation of the enslaved to the Americas, many were ladinized, that is, they were baptized as Christians and learned elements of this Afro-

⁵ For these words the etymological spelling of Aruba is used.

Portuguese Creole language as well as the creolized culture associated with it. According to Jacobs (2011) recent research has shown that the Dutch West India Company played a significant role in the economy and slave trade on the African offshore islands of Cape Verde, especially in the period between 1650 and 1675. In these decades, which coincide with the peak of the slave trade in Curaçao, the language could have been transported from Cape Verde and elsewhere along the West African coast to Curaçao by the enslaved Africans, where it developed and was modified via relexification to the dominant European languages in the different colonies.

In 1634 the Dutchman Johan van Walbeeck, as a commander of the West India Company (W.I.C.), conquered the islands from the Spaniards and ousted the small Spanish garrison and the majority of the natives. This was the beginning of the Dutch colonization of the islands. In 1635 the first reformed (Calvinist) clergyman arrived in Curaçao and he established the “Gereformeerde Gemeente” (The Dutch Reformed Church) for its Dutch settlers. In 1647 the island became a slave depot. The majority of the slaves were sold to other islands and territories in the region. Many of the enslaved people who remained in Curaçao worked on the plantations that began operation there around 1650. Although the conditions for agriculture in Curaçao were not very favorable, the Dutch colonists did very well economically by their trade in slaves, resulting in a rapidly growing slave population (Fouse, 2002). It is also important to note that in 1650, the first group of Sephardic Jews emigrated to Curaçao. Having fled from the Catholic inquisition in Spain and Portugal, they arrived in Curaçao mainly via Holland or Brazil. They established a Jewish congregation, *Mikvé Israel* (which still exists today), and spoke Portuguese, Spanish and Ladino (or Judeo-Spanish), which they had carried with them from the Cape Verde Islands, Sao Tome and Principe, the West African coast, and other Portuguese colonies (Martinus, 1996).

To protect the superior and elite position of the Dutch colonists, slaves were excluded from learning Dutch and from joining the Dutch Reformed Church (Fouse, 2002:83). This created segregation in the community based on race, language, and religion. Evangelization of the enslaved was therefore carried out by Catholic priests, who opted to use Papiamentu, the language of the enslaved, in their work. The W.I.C. and the Dutch colonists thereby created very unfertile ground for the spread of Dutch and very fertile ground for the emergence of Papiamentu. We have already noted that the ladinized enslaved people who reached Curaçao already had some knowledge of the Afro-Portuguese Creole that was commonly used in the slave trade, and that the Sephardic Jews living on the island of Curaçao spoke Portuguese, Spanish, and Ladino. Many of these Sephardim were also familiar with the Afro-Portuguese Creole that they had encountered along the West African coast, on the African Atlantic offshore islands, and in Brazil. In this situation, the interlanguage that was used most commonly between the slaves, the Sephardim, and the Dutch became Papiamentu. Papiamentu can thus trace at least some of its roots to the Afro-Portuguese Creole spoken by both the slaves

and the Sephardim, with strong influence from the lexicon of the Spanish spoken by missionaries and the Sephardim, and incorporating some elements of the Portuguese and Ladino spoken by the Sephardim as well (Martinus, 1996).

It was very difficult for the Dutch colonists to maintain their language in Curaçao for various reasons: the enslaved population was not allowed to learn Dutch; planters lived a very isolated existence on their plantations; adult enslaved women or ‘*yayas*’ were in charge of the education of the planters’ children teaching them Papiamentu (Römer, 1995); European descended women learned Papiamentu through their very intensive contact with their house slaves; the lingua franca used between the Dutch colonists and the Jews was Papiamentu, and contact with Holland was very infrequent in those early years. The Sephardic Jews used Papiamentu in their contacts with the enslaved population and with the European-descended groups and even with each other. The necessity to use Dutch in Curaçao was almost absent. Other languages, such as Spanish, English, and even French were more common in the commercial contacts maintained by Curaçaoans with the region. Within one or two generations, the Dutch language even lost its function as the mother tongue of the descendants of the Dutch Protestant settlers, with Papiamentu becoming their mother tongue or at the least their dominant second language (Van Putte, 1999). As early as 1819, Van Paddenburgh accused his Dutch countrymen of speaking more Papiamentu than Dutch (Van Paddenburgh, 1819).

In the meantime, the population of slaves in Curaçao was still growing, and by the mid-1700s, they outnumbered European descended people. Since many of these slaves had learned Afro-Portuguese Creole in West Africa, and because the Dutch and Jewish masters used Afro-Portuguese Creole in their contacts with the slaves, Afro-Portuguese Creole and its variant Papiamentu became the language of the slaves. The Dutch language was in no position to stop the advancement of Papiamentu. In fact, Dutch seems to have just stepped aside to let Papiamentu become the mother tongue of almost everyone on the island. There are several documents (see Table 2.1) which show that Papiamentu was already a widely spoken language in Curaçao in the 18th century (Jacobs, 2012; Jacobs & Van der Wal, 2015; Rutgers 2015; Severing, 2016). This linguistic development coincided with the development of a multiethnic and commercially very active community in Curaçao (Rupert, 2012). By the mid-19th century, both the Dutch descendants and the Sephardic community had fully transitioned to Papiamentu as their mother tongue. The label of “language of the blacks and uncivilized” could not be used anymore for Papiamentu (Römer, 1977).

Table 2.1 Evidence of Papiamentu as widely spoken language in Curaçao and Aruba

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- 1705 M. J. A. Schabel S.J. wrote about the language of Curaçao where *most people speak Spanish or at least Creole, which is broken Spanish.*
- 1747 A document of the Rhode Island Vice-Admiralty Court in Newport is the oldest known document that mentions Papiamentu – in the document written as ‘Poppemento’ – as *the language they commonly talk in Curaçao* (Towle, 1936; also Frederiks & Putman, 1859: 156-158).
- 1767 First official mention is made of the Creole language of Curaçao (Brada, 1956)
- 1767 The first appearance of written Papiamentu is “*Awa pasa harina*”, a proverb that occurs as the name of a Jewish ship. (Martinus, 1996: 9)
- 1769 The name ‘*papiement taal van de neegers of inboorlingen*’ is mentioned by Rodier, the company director for the island of Curaçao, in a letter to the Chamber of Amsterdam (Smeulders, 1987)
- 1775 The oldest known document in Papiamentu is a letter of a Jewish inhabitant of Willemstad to his lady-love in the countryside, the so called “love letter” (Martinus 1996: 9).
- 1783 The letter announcing the birth of a child written in Papiamentu by his mother to his father in Holland (The National Archives, Kew, United Kingdom, HCA 30-370 Brieven als buit/Letters as Loot, Universiteit Leiden).
- 1803 The oldest known Aruban text in Papiamentu is a letter by 26 ‘Indians’ of Aruba. (Martinus 1996: 33). See Appendix A1
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According to Johan Hartog (1961), Aruba had a very small population in the 17th and 18th centuries. In 1715 the population consisted of more or less 400 persons: 8 Europeans, 2 slaves, and 393 Indians (Jordaan, 1997:120-121). Due to the fact that neither the Spaniards nor the West India Company had a positive assessment of the economic possibilities of Aruba, this island was for a long time closed to immigration or to permanent settlement. Its only function was to provide the main island of Curaçao with food, goats, sheep and horses (Hartog, 1961). Jordaan (1997:123) gives an insight into a plantation experiment that took place on Aruba from 1716 until 1718, when it failed due to drought and misconduct on the part of commander Koolman, according to official reports.

Since Aruba had little to contribute in terms of economic profit for the Dutch colonial enterprise, very little is written about the island, its people and its culture. Hering (1779:74) wrote: “*nog drie eilanden, hoe wel van minder belang, niet ver van Curaçao gelegen, behooren insgelijks aan de Nederlandsche West Indische Maatschappij; twee van dezelve dienen, om het groot Eiland van vee en leeftogt te voorzien, en deeze worden Bon-Aire en Oroba genoemd; (...).*”⁶ He established that the French in their attempts to conquer Curaçao never had any interest whatsoever in the other two

⁶ Translation: still three islands, though less important, not far from Curaçao, belong also to the Dutch West India Company: those two islands are used to supply cattle and food to the big Island, and they are called Bon-Aire and Oroba; (...).

islands, while in his opinion Aruba and Bonaire were in fact of some importance to Curaçao itself. According to G. B. Bosch: “*Zij hebben daarom geene andere waarde dan dat zij twee, enwel twee bewoonde eilanden van onze planeet zijn; dat zij onder de vaderlandsche bezittingen behooren; aan het gouvernement van Curaçao eenige voordeelen pleegden aan te brengen; en dienden gekend te worden door de zeelieden, die deze wateren*” (Bosch, 1836, part 2:1).⁷ Klooster (1997:113-116) however painted another image of Aruba as a refuge for buccaneers and smugglers of all nationalities. In the second half of the 18th century, Aruba became a small transshipment base on the route between the Spanish colonies and Curaçao.

Under the dominion of the West India Company, the islands Bonaire and Aruba were initially closed off to settlement, but when these islands were opened for settlers from Curaçao around 1750, it was Papiamentu which rapidly took root there, being the language of these Curaçaoans. On June 17, 1754, Moses de Salomon Levy Maduro was the first person from Curaçao who officially proclaimed himself to be an inhabitant of Aruba (Hamelberg, 1901:106). And the oldest known Papiamentu text from Aruba dates from 1803 (see Appendix A1). This text is a letter of protest from 26 so-called Aruban Indians concerning an injustice inflicted on commander Pieter Specht.

The colonial political landscape changed when the West India Company went bankrupt in 1792. As a result of the Napoleonic Wars, the European Netherlands became a French protectorate. In reaction to this threat from France, the British occupied the Dutch holdings in the Caribbean including Aruba, Curaçao, and Bonaire for two brief periods, 1799-1802 and 1804-1816. An analysis of the language dynamics in the 17th and 18th centuries indicates that Dutch language, religion, and culture were considered by the West India Company and the Dutch colonists to be superior to the languages, religions, and cultures of the non-Dutch majority of the inhabitants of Aruba, Curaçao, and Bonaire. This superiority of all things Dutch was so thoroughly accepted and taken for granted by the Netherlanders that they, not aware of the contradiction in their elitist ideas, were actually not in favor of the diffusion of their language in the islands under their control. But by impeding the biggest sector of the population from learning Dutch in order to maintain it as an elite language, the colonial authorities ensured that Dutch would also remain a minority language. The use of Papiamentu, the stigmatized language of the enslaved, could, therefore, develop without any restriction and rapidly became the majority language not only on Curaçao but also in the newer settlements on Aruba and Bonaire.

It is important to note that the implicit language planning and policy implemented by the West India Company and the Dutch colonists for these islands in the 17th and 18th

⁷ Translation: They [Aruba and Bonaire] do not have any other value than being two, in fact, two inhabited islands of our planet; in that they belong to the national properties; in that they bring some profit to the government of Curaçao; and in that they are known to the sailors who sail in these waters. (Bosch, 1836, part 2:1)

centuries were aimed at creating a strictly stratified community with classes divided by language, religion, and race. The politically dominant group of recent European-descended arrivals from the Netherlands would speak Dutch and attend the Dutch Reformed Church, while the less politically dominant non-European descended majority would speak Papiamentu and attend the Catholic Church. The fact that the Dutch colonists prevented the slaves from learning Dutch and preferred to address them in Papiamentu can thus be attributed to an elitist attitude of superiority. We can conclude that the evolution of Papiamentu as the community language on these islands was a natural and logical consequence of this attitude. The evolution of the new language Papiamentu coincides with the evolution of the new communities of Curaçao, Aruba, and Bonaire, the Leeward Islands (Rupert, 2012:212-243).

2.3 Dutch colonization and the start of formal education

While Aruba was neglected during the 17th and 18th centuries due to its alleged minor economic importance to all the dominating colonial entities – the West India Company, the Council of Colonial Colonies, the Council of the American Colonies and Properties, to mention some (Alofs, 2012:20) – a sudden shift based on a new colonial philosophy emerged with the establishment of the new United Kingdom of the Netherlands at the beginning of the 19th century. The colonized islands, including Aruba, as properties, had to be transformed in conformity with the “image and resemblance” of the ‘mother’ country according to the assimilation policy of “one kingdom, one people, one language” that was initiated by King Willem I in 1815, in order to create a big colonial empire (Van Putte, 1997, 1999). The Creole language Papiamentu and other cultural identity markers of the Caribbean islands did not fit into this global scheme. Papiamentu for instance, as the community language of Aruba, Curaçao, and Bonaire, was considered to be a mistaken legacy of the West-India Company and of the colonial officials and was slated to be eradicated (Bosch, 1829:212-219). Oostindie (2001:330) asserts that the languages of the Dutch Caribbean islands are not Dutch, but Papiamentu on the Leeward Islands and English on the Windward Islands, as “the result of age-long care-less colonialism”, “*de vrucht van een eeuwenlang achteloos kolonialisme*”. The historical facts, however, point in the direction of the divide and conquer colonialism that had prevailed up until that time on the islands. According to the Constitution of 1814, the only function of the colonies was to be financially and economically profitable to the Dutch Kingdom (Alofs, 2012:130). At the beginning of the 20th century the *ethische politiek* or civilizing colonial mission, was introduced, under which the colonies were to be ruled by the ‘civilized’ Dutch Kingdom until they too were “civilized” in the European way so that they could become independent at a certain point in the future. This *ethische politiek* can be considered to be a legitimation of the continuation of colonial domination and of the notion of the supremacy of all things Dutch. When in 1815 the

second brief period of English Napoleonic era rule ended and the islands became properties of the new Dutch Kingdom, Aruba had a population of 1.732 persons. An 11¼ page report written on Aruba in 1816 by a commission consisting of H.W. de Quartel, J.F.G. Ziegler and Frans Rojer under the authority of the General Governor of Curaçao A. Kikkert (De Hullu, 1923:372), assessed, among other things, the racial, religious, vocational, and social makeup of the island’s population, as presented in Table 2.2.

Table 2.2 State of the population of Aruba in 1816

The inhabitants of Aruba in 1816								
Race, gender, age, status					Status: white, free, slave		Total	
	male	female	boy	girl				
4 Dutchmen	3	1			1396	white and free people:	1732 souls	
187 Native whites	60	57	37	33	340	male		
20 White strangers	9	4	1	6	417	female		
564 Real Indians	134	192	123	115	311	boys		
584 Colored free people	127	160	144	153	318	girls		
37 Black free people	7	13	6	11	366	slaves		
133 Colored slaves	20	9	65	39				
203 Black slaves	46	81	44	32				
Religious categories		Vocational categories						
279 Calvinists	3	public servants			9	fishermen		
11 Lutherans	194	planters			8	shoemakers		
1106 Roman Catholics	8	merchants			8	shopkeepers		
19 Jews	78	sailors			2	goldsmiths		
	8	carpenters			1	tailor		

Source: De Hullu, 1923:371 (translation by JLP)

In the report, a very small section is dedicated to the inhabitants of the island. A small paragraph titled *Inwoonderen* (Inhabitants) refers to a footnote with a description of the population (Table 2.2) and a paragraph *Beschaving* (Civilization) states “(...) *dat een ieder wel christen is, maar er zijn geen leeraren om verder onderwijs te geven, ook geene schoolmeesteren om de opvoeding der jeugd te soigneren*”.⁸ By “education” the authors were referring to religious education and by “teachers” to preachers. In a few more words the commission describes the medical situation and the situation of the poor, “*het armwezen*”. The major part of the report extensively describes the economic potential of the island: districts, bays, soil condition, climate, minerals, agriculture, animals etcetera, literally: “*de middelen om meerder voordeel van het eiland Aruba te behalen*” (De Hullu, 1923:378), the means to derive more profit from the island Aruba, unabashed written evidence that Aruba, as the other islands, was only a ‘*wingewest*’ for the kingdom, a conquered and economically exploited region: a colony. It is notable that language and other cultural data are not included in this or in later reports.

⁸ Translation: (...) everybody is Christian indeed, but there are no teachers to give further education and no teachers either to take care of the education of the youth.

In his book titled *De Nederlandsche West-Indische Eilanden* (1837:196-218) M. D. Teenstra described Aruba. As in the report by Quartel, Ziegler and Rojer of 1816 (De Hullu, 1923), Teenstra's main interest was focused on the economic problems and possibilities of the island. The population is referred to in a table "*Generale Staat der Bevolking van het eiland Aruba op den 1sten Januarij 1833*" (Teenstra: table C 1837) and he quotes Bosch for his characterization of the Arubans, which we paraphrased as follows: "They like rum, they are simple, religious and honest, thieves because of the circumstances, they like fighting but are in a process of civilization" (Teenstra, 1837: 217-218). It is obvious that "civilization" meant 'assimilation': the more European they acted, the more civilized they were in the eyes of the European colonizers. Religion could be considered an element of social economic status in those days and the economic possibilities of the island were of more importance to the inspectors and researchers than language and other aspects of culture. But we can conclude that the general household and community language was not Dutch, but Papiamentu, a logical fact since immigration to Aruba had taken place from Curaçao where Papiamentu was the community language. Only four Dutch people, three male and one female were living on the island in 1816 (Table 2.2), which is not a sufficient number to influence the language situation. The three Dutchmen were most probably the three public servants mentioned in Table 2.2.

The ABC Islands are surrounded by Spanish speaking countries, so it is understandable that the influence of the Spanish language has been very strong: personal, cultural and commercial contacts have always been very intense, which has resulted in the Spanish relexification of the original Afro-Portuguese Creole (Martinus, 1996:19-37). By the 19th century, Papiamentu had emerged as the most widely spoken language on the ABC Islands, the majority language, without any official promotion on the part of the Dutch, in fact partly, as a result of the Dutch colonial language policy of elitist detachment, as evidenced above.

Visitors from Holland were astonished and outraged by the language situation on the islands. Van Paddenburgh, the first teacher who was officially appointed in Curaçao, wrote about *het papiament* that in his view consisted of 'spoilt' Spanish, Indian and Dutch: "*Onverdragelijk is dit gekakel voor het fijnere oor van den Europeaan bij zijne eerste aankomst, en moeijelijk kan men zich aan dit kalkoenen geluid gewennen*" (Van Paddenburgh, 1819:71-73)⁹. Van Paddenburgh's was only one of the many voices raised against Papiamentu. Another negative voice was that of G. B. Bosch, clergyman and school inspector in Curaçao from 1823 until 1836. Bosch wrote the two volume '*Reizen in West-Indie en door een gedeelte van Zuid- en Noord-Amerika*', the first tome in 1829 and the second tome in 1836.

⁹ Translation: Unbearable is this cackling for the finer ear of the European person when he arrives on the island for the first time, and it is difficult to get used to this turkey-like sound.

In the first volume, he complained: “*Men wordt hier, hoe ongaarne dan ook, weder genoodzaakt de zoo dikwijls gedane klagt aan te heffen, dat onze anderszins zoo roemwaardige voorvaders zoo weinig belang in hunne eigen taal gesteld hebben.*” (Bosch, 1829:212-219).¹⁰ In the second volume Bosch spent only a few words on Papiamento, when writing about a crime committed by a slave in Aruba: “*De woorden, – welke doen zien, dat de Curaçaose landstaal, die thans door zekere omstandigheden, te breedvoerig om hier te vermelden, meer en meer over sommige West-Indische eilanden en op de vaste kust verspreid is, tot hare moeder de Latijnsche taal heeft (...)*”.¹¹ In his opinion, the Dutch colonists were responsible for the fact that not only the African descended and colored inhabitants, but also the European descended children and women used Papiamento, and not the language of the mother country, as in the English, Spanish, and French colonies. He blamed the Dutch mercantile spirit as being harmful to the Dutch language. He also blamed the Catholic priests for using Papiamento in their teaching, making Dutch unnecessary. He called the Papiamento language a ‘jargon’, a very poor language which could be harmful to the minds of the children. He expressed his hope that this language would be put aside and allowed to fade away by the Catholic priests. In a similar vein, Teenstra (1837:7-8) raged against the language of Curaçao, which he described as a “*zamengelapte Papiement*”, a poor patchwork of indigenous, Spanish and Dutch words, with an African accent, which was, in his conviction, very unpleasant to the civilized ear. Nevertheless, Van Paddenburg, Teenstra, and Simons were the first writers who, despite their strong doubts about Papiamento, paid attention to characteristic elements of that language in the quoted works. This is not surprising, given that in Europe there was more than one language struggle involved in the processes of nation-building.

These are only a few documented expressions, but they represent the political ways of thinking in those days, based on a supreme ethnocentric self-confidence (Cooper, 1989:111; Prins, 1975) that propagated the idea that something had to be European to be good and accepted. Creole languages, which have for instance a grammatical structure that differs substantially from that of European languages – no verb conjugation, no noun declension, no gender distinction – were, in the opinion of European officials, not languages at all. This Eurocentric position of the Dutch colonial government and the representatives of the highest social classes influenced the image of Papiamento in a very negative way. The idea that a language such as Papiamento could be a real creation of the mind and soul of a people, a creation with important intellectual, social and cultural functions, was unthinkable in those days. We can conclude that the new colonial situation was not in favor of the language of the islands. The Eurocentric

¹⁰ Translation: Here we are, unwillingly, forced again to raise a complaint, that our glorious ancestors did not attach great importance to their own language.

¹¹ Translation: The words, – which show that the Curaçaoan native language, that because of certain circumstances, too much to report here, is spread more and more on some West Indian islands and on the shore of the continent, has the Latin language as mother (...).

vision and the fact that the islands were considered Dutch property did not allow room for any kind of respect, appreciation or tolerance for an authentic language and culture, different from that of the Europeans. To maintain power, the colonial enterprise continued to divide the colonized population and to influence their minds by attacking their cultural identity markers.

Bosch (1829:220-229), who did not hide his Eurocentric biases concerning the language situation depicted above, assumed as a clergyman a more humane position concerning the religious separation in the colony. He analyzed and criticized this situation in the following terms:

*“Toen ik eenige jaren op Curaçao geweest was, zag ik echter de ware reden in, waarom de Protestanten hunne kerken alhier alleen voor mensen van de blanke kleur bewaard hebben, (...). Deze bestond, namelijk, in eene koloniale staatkunde, om de menschen met eene zwarte en bruine kleur in minachting te brengen. Hoe grooter men de afstand tusschen blanken en zwarten maakte, en hoe meer men de laatsten vernederde, des te vaster en langduriger, dacht men, stond het koloniale stelsel.”*¹²

This religious separatism was in his opinion short-sighted and cold-hearted and the reason why the realm of the Pope was able to grow on the islands (Bosch, 1829:228). With these words, Bosch confirmed the disempowering practices of the colonial system.

From the 18th century onward, the Catholic Church was allowed to work with the enslaved population in Curaçao. In the ABC Islands, the Catholic Church carried out its activities in Papiamentu – the language that could reach the soul – and was as such a very significant contributor to the development of the language. The Spanish priests who were still on the island of Curaçao had to make way for Dutch priests when Martinus Niewindt proclaimed that he and father Eijsenbeil were the only legally appointed priests on the island (Marcha, 2005). Martinus Niewindt, apostolic prefect (1824-1842) and later apostolic vicar (1842-1860) on Curacao, published the first work in Papiamentu in 1825, namely *Catecismo pa uso di Catholiconan di Corsou*. However, this book has been lost (Martinus, 1972). For formal educational purposes, he translated several reading books in Papiamentu. Teacher Jacobus Putman also printed several religious books and school materials in his print shop in Santa Rosa¹³. He was in Curaçao from 1837 till 1853 and can be considered as the founder of folk education on the island (Lampe, 2016; Severing, 2016). The prayer books of pastor Abraham van Dragt of 1847 and pastor Nicolaas Kuiperi of 1864 (Table 2.3) demonstrate that even in the Protestant

¹² Translation: When I had been in Curaçao for some years already, I saw the real reason why the Protestants saved their churches for white people only, (...). This consisted in fact, colonial politics in order to put people with a black and brown color in disdain. The bigger the distance between white and black was made and the more they [the latter] are humiliated, the more solid and longer lasting, they thought, the colonial system would be.

¹³ Some of Putmans more than 20 printed books include: *Kamiëna di kroes koe historia, meditasjon i orasjon kortiekoe* (1850); *Historia kortikoe nan foor di Bybel* (1852); and *Bida di Hesoe Kriestoe, noos dibienoe, adorabel Salbadoor i Libradoor* (1852) (vide Rutgers et al., 2016:421-423).

Church in Aruba Papiamentu had to be used to be understood by the community (Rutgers, 2005).

Table 2.3 Examples of the oldest printed texts in Papiamentu in the first half of the 19th century¹⁴

1833	<i>Prefecto Apostolico di Curacao na Cristian di su mision</i>	Martinus J. Niewindt	Catholic
1837	<i>Catecismo corticu pa uso di Catolicanan di Curaçao</i>	Martinus J. Niewindt	Catholic
1844	<i>Ewanhelie di San Mateo, poeblikado abau di direksjon di Domini C. Conradi</i>	Domini C. Conradi	Protestant
1847	<i>Predikaasie den paapiamente arriba e motivo pakiko heendee ta baai na kerki i teendee na e palabra di Djoos</i>	Abraham van Dragt	Protestant
1849	<i>Boeki di orasjon pa moetcha katholiekanan di Curaçao</i>	Jacobus J. Putman	Catholic
1850	<i>Kamierna di kroes, koe historia, meditasjon i orasjon kortiekoe</i>	Jacobus J. Putman	Catholic
1859	<i>Woordenlijst der in de landstaal van Curaçao meest gebruikelijke woorden met Zamen spraken</i>	Bernardus Th.J. Frederiks & Jacobus J. Putman	Catholic
1862	<i>Katekismoe of sienjansa di berdad i di mandameentoe nan di Religioon di Kriestiaan nan pa oesoe di protestant nan na Aruba</i>	Ds. Nicolaas A. Kuiperi	Protestant
1864	<i>Boekie di pidiemeentoe nan pa oesoe di Protestantnan di Kristelyke Gemeente na Aruba</i>	Ds. Nicolaas A. Kuiperi	Protestant

Source: Latour, 1938; Rutgers et al, 2016

When the islands became part of the colony of “*Curaçao en Onderhorigheden*” (Curaçao and Dependencies) in 1816, the Colonial Council started with the organization of formal education. The first education decree, B.P. 1819 no. 28, stipulated that Dutch be the only language of instruction. To realize the ideal of ‘*one kingdom, one nation, one language*’, education was, in the opinion of the colonizers, the best medium and the most powerful tool for its “civilizing” policy. The decision to introduce Dutch as the only language of instruction in the schools on the islands was clearly not based on any sound linguistic, sociological or pedagogical thinking. Its aim was, on the contrary, to change the linguistic facts on the ground in order to achieve a political ideal: Dutch as the only language in the Dutch Kingdom. Five decades later Simons (1868:131) wrote

¹⁴ These nineteenth-century texts were re-published as facsimile editions and provided with an introduction. These facsimile editions were published by Stichting Libri Antilliani (Bloemendaal) and Fundashon pa Planifikashon di Idioma (Curaçao).

that his hope was “*dat na verloop van tijd onze schoone moedertaal dat Curaçouwsche patois verdringen zal.*”¹⁵

The decree of 1819 was a ‘provisional regulation’ of the school system in which the language of instruction had to be Dutch. In the case of Aruba, one public school was to be established, and one private school (an already existing Spanish school) was to be tolerated. On January 1821 Klaas van Eekhout was appointed by Koninklijk Besluit (Royal Decree) as protestant bible teacher in Aruba, and he was allowed to start the first public school in 1822 (Hartog, 1952). In 1824 he had 31 pupils. The catholic priest Father Serafin de Sevilla who came to the island in 1825 had a school at his house. While Van Eekhout taught in Dutch, Father Serafin taught in Spanish. Enslaved children were excluded from formal education. That changed officially in 1848 by a decree that opened up the possibility for Christian education to enslaved children. However, only the Catholic Church engaged in this type of education, with no financial or other support of the government (Marcha, 2005:23).

Since those early days of the 19th century, complaints and expressions of concern about the poor mastering of “*Nederduitsch*” by the people of the island were heard. Hartog (1952:296) concluded that the results of the Spanish school were better than those of the school of Van Eekhout. According to Nooyen (1965:44) education in Spanish was more suitable for the Aruban population than Dutch, because of the fact that the Arubans had more contacts with Spanish in their day to day lives than with Dutch. Occasionally some realistic opinions were voiced. In 1826 the “*commissaris-generaal voor de Nederlandsch-Westindische bezittingen*”, the general commissioner for the Dutch West-Indian properties, J. Van den Bosch (De Gaay Fortman, 1930:248) wrote with regard to education on the islands: “*De verbeteringen, voor welke het niettemin ruimschoots vatbaar is, worden door bijna onoverkomelijke hinderpalen tegengewerkt, en wel voornamelijk daardoor dat slechts een gering getal kinderen de Nederlandsche taal verstaat, veel minder spreekt, terwijl zij ook niet dat nut kunnen trekken van de Nederlandsche schoolboeken, welke grootendeels ingerigt zijn op eene wijze geheel gegrond op het aanschouwelijke der voorwerpen in Europa, en dus veelal vreemd aan de keerkingslanden*”.¹⁶

The teachers J. Rosenveldt (1824), Abraham van Dragt (1843) and J. C. van der Ree (1848) were the successors of Van Eekhout in the Dutch school in the following years and Father Sanchez continued the work of Father Serafin in the Spanish school. The children learned with great difficulty in Dutch and showed no or very little progress. In the letter of January 9, 1850 of the School Commission to teacher Van de Ree we can

¹⁵ Translation: that after a certain period our beautiful mother tongue will push aside that patois of Curaçao

¹⁶ Translation: The improvements for which it has potential, are obstructed by insurmountable obstacles, and especially by the fact that only a small number of children understands or speaks the Dutch language, while they cannot profit by the Dutch schoolbooks that are primarily based on the imagery of the objects in Europe, and that are mostly strange in the tropical countries.

read the following: “*We hebben de eer uued, (...) het volgende mede te deelen, (...): Dat het ons, ook bij vroegere bezoeken op de school, is voorgekomen het Nederduitsch, lezen als te machinaal geschied, en de kinderen zeer weinig begrijpen van hetgeen zij lezen, weshalve wij van mening zijn het zeer dienstig zoude weezen, de kinderen meer de lessen of verhalen welke zij lezen te doen vertalen, komende het ons voor zij alsdan in de lezing meer genoeg zouden vinden, en zich beter zouden bevlijtigen.*”¹⁷ This is the first letter in which the school commission expressed concern with the learning situation of the children in Aruba, attributing the causes of the problem to the use of Dutch. However, the suggestion advanced for improvement, that the children themselves translate into their mother tongue texts they did not understand, proved unrealistic. Remarkably, this recommendation was put into practice. In a letter dated January 8, 1851, the School Commission commented: “*Het schrijven was over het algemeen voldoende, het lezen in het Nederduitsch en de overbrenging hiervan in het inlands, kon slechts als redelijk worden opgegeven, terwijl het analyseren hier veel te wenschen overliet.*”¹⁸ This was the first serious reference to the children’s mother tongue Papiamento as part of the curriculum, however not as a subject matter, nor as the language of instruction, but only as a practical expedient. In a letter of February 5, 1852, we read that “*het lezen en vertalen in de inlandsche taal*”¹⁹ as part of the exam for the highest grade. This means that, if this is well interpreted, translating into Papiamento – probably to prove that the text was understood – was part of the curriculum in 1852 in the public school in Aruba.

The general opinion was that if the teacher did his utmost, the results would be better. In the letter of January 9, 1850, to teacher I. C. van der Ree, the school commission stated: “*Ten slotte moeten wij uued mededeelen, dat wij, ten volle overtuigd zijn van de weinige lust, volslagen onverschilligheid der ouders en kinderen, en van de moeilijkheden welke uued hierdoor in het geven van onderwijs ontmoet, maar vertrouwend dat uued met ons de handen zal in een slaan, om deze zwarigheden te boven te komen, en de beste resultaten van uw onderwijs in te oogsten.*”²⁰ The situation in the school was very uneasy and unsatisfying: the children had huge difficulties with the Dutch language.

¹⁷ Translation: We have the honor to inform you the following: Also at former visits at the school we have noticed that reading in Dutch is performed too mechanically and that the children understand so little of what they read, so we have the opinion that it would be useful to let the children translate the lessons or stories they are reading, because it seems to us that they would enjoy this reading more and that they would do their best more.

¹⁸ Translation: Generally writing was sufficient; reading in Dutch and the transition to the vernacular can only be considered as reasonable while analyzing leaves much to be desired.

¹⁹ Translation: reading and translating in the native language.

²⁰ Translation: Finally we have to inform you that we are totally convinced of the lack of willingness, the absolute indifference of the parents and children, and of the difficulties that you encounter because of this while giving lessons, but we have the confidence that you will do your utmost together with us to overcome these problems and to reap the best results from your school.

However, the causes were attributed to inappropriate attitudes towards learning. The school commission (in a letter dated September 4, 1851) complained that “*het te betreuren is dat in het algemeen de ouders geene genoegzame zorg dragen (...)*”²¹, not considering the fact that *Nederduitsch*, Dutch, was not mastered by the parents either, that most parents were illiterate and that school was a relatively new phenomenon in a community where daily survival was very challenging. In letter No. 3 of December 19, 1865, the School Commission showed a better understanding of the school results and the economic situation of the Aruban population, by referring to the bad economic situation on the island: “*Door dit ongelukkig droog jaar heeft de behoefte tot levensonderhoud en kleeding veel bijgedragen tot verzuim van school der kinderen.*”²² It is remarkable that in the letters and reports of the School Commission, the mother tongue of the children was never called Papiamentu, but was always referred to as the ‘*landstaal*’ (vernacular language) or the “*inlandsche taal*” (indigenous or native language).

In the second half of the 18th century and the first half of the 19th century, the Catholic mission became stronger. The consecration of churches in various new parishes parallels the growth of the Aruban Catholic population: Santa Ana Church of Noord in 1778, the new St. Franciscus Church of Oranjestad in 1829, and the church of Maria Inmaculada Concepcion in Santa Cruz in 1856. With the establishment of more parishes, Catholic education started slowly to establish itself on the island. In 1855 the first Catholic school was opened in Playa by A. de Vries, the brother of Reverend De Vries of Playa. (*Neerlandia*, volume 15, 1911).

An interesting detail is that teacher De Vries had prepared himself very well for the Aruban language situation. His brother reverend De Vries had sent him a Papiamento-Dutch vocabulary, a church book in Papiamento and a catechism in Papiamento so he could start studying the language before his arrival in Aruba. During his journey from Holland to Aruba, he had acquired sufficient mastery of the Papiamento language to be able to run the school, according to reverend Alphons M. J. Jansen (1911). We can conclude that the language of instruction of the school of De Vries was Papiamento. He probably used the books of Putman and Niewindt, who became a bishop in 1842, which were available in those days.

The School Commission mentioned the school of De Vries in letter 49 of December 20, 1855, as the school for “poor Catholic children of Aruba”. The School Commission was satisfied with the school, because of “*de goede orde en ijver van de onderwijzer eenen zeer geregelden gang heeft en de kinderen zeer veel nut trekken*”.²³ At that moment the school had 98 students, 36 boys, and 62 girls. In comparison: the public school of

²¹ Translation: it is regrettable that in general, the parents do not care enough

²² Original text: Because of this unfortunately dry year the necessity of sustenance and clothing contributed to the non-attendance at school by the children.

²³ Original text: of the good organization and diligence of the teacher which was very useful for the children.

teacher Van der Ree in Oranjestad had at that moment only 23 students, 10 boys, and 13 girls, according to letter 50 of December 18, 1855. According to the *notulenboeken* of the School Commission, there was a permanent waiting list.

Unfortunately, teacher De Vries passed away in 1857, a victim of a prevalent disease called black fever. In that same year 1857 Mgr. Niewindt sent two nuns, both Sisters of Charity, to Aruba to continue with this work. Thus, Soeur Modeste and Soeur Casimire ushered in the era of the Catholic schools of the Franciscan Sisters of Roosendaal (1857-1909).

In 1877 the village of Noord was assigned a permanent Catholic pastor, Bongers. Noord had a small building where a native teacher, Piet Croes, taught the children reading and writing in Papiamentu (Marcha, 2005:158). In the report of 1879 of the School Commission we can read this interesting information: “*Een der leden van de Schoolcommissie heeft aangemerkt, dat op eene dier scholen slechts boeken in de landstaal gebruikt worden*”.²⁴ This was probably a reference to the school of Piet Croes of Noord and not to the school of Soeur Modeste and Soeur Casimire in Playa because this school was completely subordinated to the Dutch normative education decree (Ghering, 1992:32). But it is a fact that schoolbooks in Papiamentu were available, in-

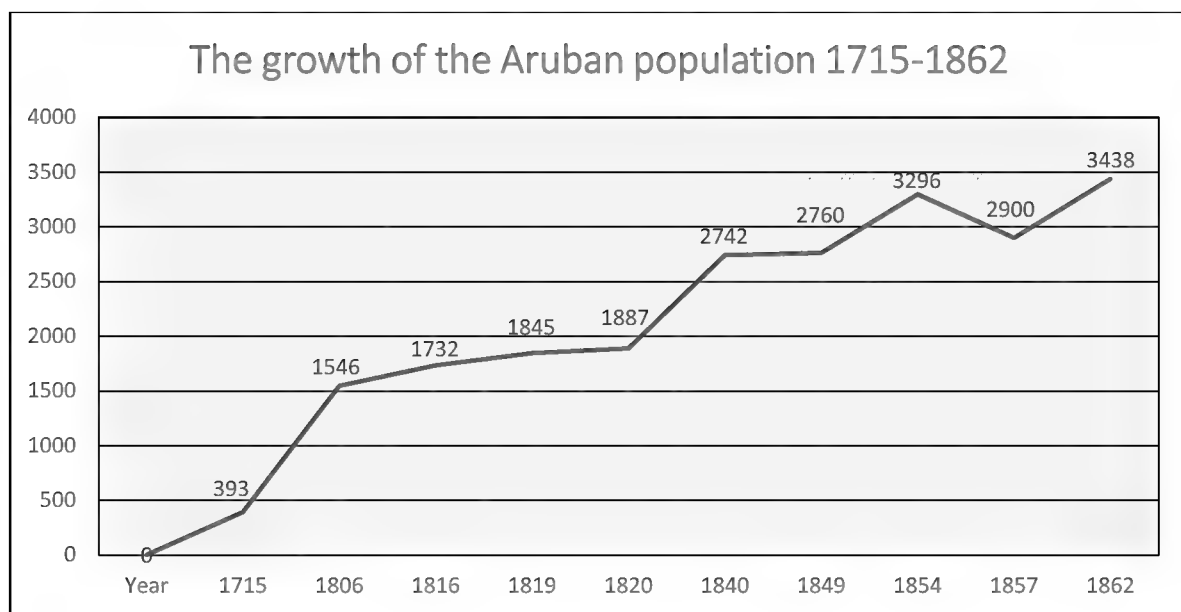


Figure 2.1 The growth of the Aruban Population between 1715 and 1862 (De Hullu 1923, Hartog 1961, Rutgers 2005, Alofs 2012)

cluding a prayer book and the bilingual textbooks of J.J.Putman (Van Putte, 1999:68-80), and a grammar and dictionary of Papiamentu, published by Bishop Mgr. P van Ewijk in 1874 (Marcha, 2005:38). In 1884 the first school was funded according to the

²⁴ Translation: *One of the members has made the remark, that at one of those schools only books in the native language were used.*

new Dutch norms. This new school had three levels. The third and lowest level was free of charge; that was not the case for the second and first levels. The second level had more subjects and the student could choose between English and Spanish as foreign languages. The first level corresponded with a high school of three years with Spanish and English as foreign languages. There were also three categories of teachers.

The number of public and private (religious based) institutions of formal education grew and in the next decades, and many other educational decrees were issued, but Papiamentu was not mentioned in any of these directives (Table 2.9.). Education remained in a miserable state. A.M. Chumaceiro Az. wrote in 1884 (Coomans 1998:394-395) “That is the biggest problem in our education: The child has to learn a foreign language without a mother tongue to help him with that. It would not have been a problem if that foreign language was spoken with regularity in his environment, but that is not the case. Besides the half hour or less in which the child was taken care of in the school during the first school years, it was only Papiamentoe that the child hears and speaks”.²⁵

Papiamentu was the indisputable first language on the islands. K. Martin (1887:124), a professor of geology at the University of Leiden, gave evidence of the linguistic situation in Aruba when he wrote about the poor mastery of Dutch by the Aruban elite:

“These language relations greatly hinder strangers who want to thoroughly inform themselves about the ways of the island; the members of the upper class who served as our guides and who spoke broken Dutch were unable to adequately answer all of the questions directed at them and during a get-together, to which we were later invited by the Governor of the island, I was unable to spark up even the simplest conversation with many of the ladies and gentlemen in attendance.”

This expression can be considered as an example of the colonial assumption that the European language has to be mastered by the inhabitants of the colony and that strangers must be addressed in the language of the colonizer.

Another opinion, surprisingly very much in favor of the Papiamentu-speaking population of the islands, can be read in *Neerlandia* of 1896-1897 in an article of J. H. J. Hamelberg, an archivist who had lived for 16 years in Curaçao and St. Eustatius: “Nor will it be necessary to prove that as long as the lower people are hindered in learning reading and writing in their own language, it is impossible to spread the Dutch language, only on a very insufficient way.”²⁶ And he continued: “Only when the people can read and write their own language fluently, working on the spreading of another language is

²⁵ Original text: “*Dat is de grootste moeilijkheid in ons onderwijs: het kind moet eene vreemde taal leren, zonder eene moedertaal, die het daarin behulpzaam is. Werd die vreemde taal nu maar geregeld in zijne omgeving gesproken, dan ware het niets, doch dit is niet het geval. Buiten het halfuurtje of minder, dat men zich gedurende de eerste schooljaren met het kind op school bezighoudt, is al wat het hoort en spreekt papjamentoe.*”

²⁶ Original text: “*Evenmin zal het noodig zijn aan te toonen, dat zoolang men de mindere bevolking moeilijkheden in den weg legt om haar eigen taal te leeren lezen en schrijven, er geen sprake kan zijn van het verbreiden der Hollandsche taal, anders dan op zeer gebrekkige wijze (...).*”

fructiferous. In the schools visited by the children of the lower class, it must then be compulsory for instance in the two higher grades to teach Dutch from Papiamento and textbooks – which are now lacking – especially for that purpose must be available.”²⁷ As a representative of the *Algemeen Nederlandsch Verbond* he was responsible for the spread of the Dutch language in the colony, but he was very realistic relating to the pedagogical approach. However, his ideas did not get the expected response.

The education of these islands remained in a distressful state due to the language policy that only focused on the Dutch language. There was an interesting discussion between the Colonial Council and the School Commission in Curaçao concerning the position of Dutch and Papiamento as language of instruction (Van Bergeijk and others, 1970: 31). In 1897 and 1907 the Colonial Council tried to pass an education ordinance which stipulated that only Dutch be used as the language of instruction in schools. Governor J.O. de Jong van Beek en Donk (1901-1909) proposed to add the words “as much as possible” in the memorandum of explanation on the draft of this decree, in order to allow the use of Papiamento if necessary. It is noted that a member of the Colonial Council agreed with this opinion and added the remark that Dutch would be an insuperable difficulty, especially for the children in the countryside. The School Commission in Curaçao, however, did not agree. In its response, the Commission emphasized that the knowledge of the Dutch language and the diffusion of this language should not be obstructed.

The letters and notes of the School Commission in Aruba do not give the impression that there was any discussion about the language policy in education. On the contrary, in Marcha (2005:158) one can read, that in 1908 the people of Savaneta were so happy that the nuns got the permission of the bishop to start a new school that they helped with the supply of stones and material. There were not many children yet for the school, because at the old school Piet Croes was the only teacher and he gave his lessons in Papiamento, “which was not attractive, because in the other parishes education was according to the demands of the time, in other words, education by the nuns in the other parishes was already in Dutch” (Marcha, 2005:158). Taking into account that the abolition of slavery took place by decree in 1863, the figures for population growth in Aruba are shown separately in Figure 2.2.

²⁷ Original text: “*Eerst als de bevolking haar eigen taal vloeiend kan lezen en schrijven, kan er met vrucht gewerkt worden aan de verbreiding eener andere taal. Daarbij zou het dan op de scholen, door de kinderen der mindere klasse bezocht, verplichten moeten zijn in b.v. de twee hoogste klassen het Hollandsch uit het Papiementsch te onderwijzen en zouden er voor dat doel leerboeken - die thans ten eenenmale ontbreken - beschikbaar moeten worden gesteld.*”

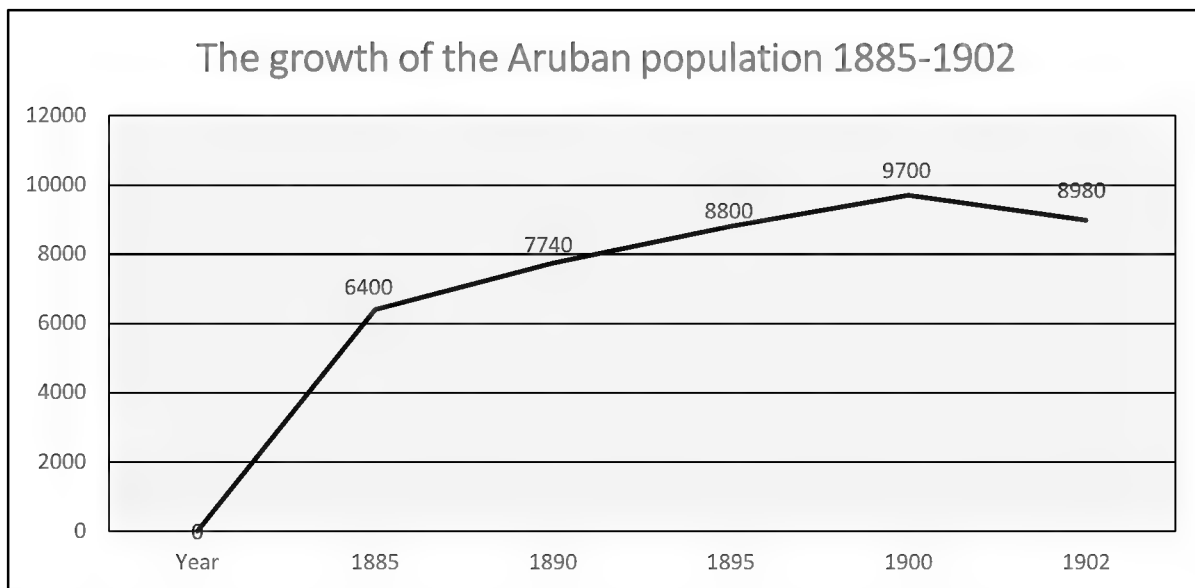


Figure 2.2 The growth of the Aruban population between 1885 and 1902 (Van Kol, 1904)

In Curaçao, however, the language issue was still contentious. A. M. Chumaceiro who had a realistic vision on the school situation in 1884, had a completely different opinion about Papiamentu in 1907 and stated that Papiamentu was: “completely inadequate (...) to further develop the one who only understands the vernacular.”²⁸ And A. Jesurun wrote in the *Jaarlijkse verslagen van het Geschied-, Taal-, Land- en Volkenkundig Genootschap* about the years from 1897 to 1903 that he agreed with the repeated remarks about the disadvantage of using the “patois” of this country in general communication, even by the elites. But in his opinion, it was a lamentable fact that this native language will continue to exist and had to be taken into account. This was in his view regrettable because this language obstructed the learning of the mother tongue (Dutch) and the development of a correct pronunciation of the Dutch language. However, Jesurun was realistic enough to understand that “*Papiëmentsch*” was attractive and that it was not possible to excise it from the society. In this article, he described the grammar of this language that he called “*une langue d’enfant*” (p.97), as equal to that of ‘primitive’ languages (Jesurun, 1897:96-97).

For the colonial elite and for the lawmakers in The Netherlands education in Papiamentu was unimaginable. Monolingual education was the norm, which meant education in Dutch. It was a fact that the colonial authorities could not or did not want to visualize education in Papiamentu. Education in a ‘*negertaal*’, in what they considered a ‘non-language’, was impossible. Bilingual education with Dutch and Papiamentu in equal positions was unthinkable in the oppressive colonial setting. The European “motherland” and everything concerning the motherland was superior. Everything that was different

²⁸ Original text: “volslagen ongeschikt (...) om degeen, die uitsluitend de volkstaal verstaat tot verdere ontwikkeling te brengen”.

was inferior, and that was the case of Papiamentu and its speakers. The most important goal was the establishment of Dutch as a global language and the elimination of “*ellendige*” (“miserable”) Papiamentu (Anonymous, 1906:29).

At the beginning of the 20th century the justification for the European colonial enterprise itself (including that of the Dutch) was shifting to a “civilizing mission”, an “*ethische politiek*” whereby metropolitan European culture, religion, and language were supposed to be adopted by all inhabitants of the colonies and all African, Indigenous, and creole languages and cultures were to be completely eradicated and extinguished, as a form of preparation for future independence. The openly racist language used in several publications when describing the islands, their culture, language, and people is striking. Van Kol (1904:277) called the Aruban mestizo people “*een ras dat meer beloofde dan het negerras*”.²⁹ This civilizing mission was a continuation of the policy of the Dutch Kingdom of Willem I (1813-1840) of one kingdom, one nation, one language (Van Putte, 1999:21).

Under these conditions, it became unacceptable to the colonial government that in a Dutch colony the Dutch language was not the most important and the most widely spoken language. Therefore, an important part of this civilizing mission was to definitely reverse the course of the past history of two hundred years, as a correction of “what went wrong” in the past. According to Rutgers (1994:133-143), this “civilizing mission” disturbed the natural cultural development that was taking place on the islands after emancipation in 1863. The islands that had a historically nurtured cultural orientation to Latin America and the region to which they belong were forced by this new Dutch colonial policy to change to an orientation toward Europe. Papiamentu, the most important cultural and identity marker of the inhabitants of the Leeward Islands, was in real danger.

Most discussions and protests took place in Curaçao. Aruba, with a small population of 9441 in 1912 (Benjamins, 1914-1917:58), had an apparently passive role in these discussions. This may be because the Aruban people could not participate in the

²⁹ Translation: a race that promised more than the black race.

It should be noted that the inhabitants were registered on ethnicity. There was a corresponding ethnic name system for this. According to Klooster (2009) in Jordaan (2012:91), “blacks had less chance of manumission than colored people because in a society in which skin color was a determinant of the social status of a person, the African was at the bottom of the social ladder. Within the group of colored, a distinction was made between all conceivable degrees of mixing, all of which had their own meaning. The mulat had a white father and a black mother. The child of a white father and a mulat was referred to as a mesties or musties. That white women received children from a black or a mulat was extremely rare. The child of a mulat and a black was called a sambo. The child of a mesties and a white was referred to as casties, that of casties and white as a poeties, that of a poeties and white as a grief and, ultimately, the child of a grief and a white as a liplap.” [Allen (2007:73) refers to different terminology: In general, colour, as in the rest of the Caribbean, was rated in descending order as follows: whites, quadroon, mesties, koesties, mulato, sambo and blacks (Teenstra 1977:167; van Dissel 1857:111-112). These terms were like a summary of a combination of qualities, which to some degree were probably internalized by the Afro-Curaçaoans themselves.]

discussions, due to the fact that “*slechts bij uitzondering iemand behoorlijk Nederlandsch verstaat of zelfs spreekt*”³⁰ (Benjamins, 1914-1917:58), and the discussions were mostly in Dutch and held among a very small group of ‘elites’. The letter of Widow Schlipken of Oranjestad in Aruba (Table 2.4 and Appendix A2) of 1912 can be read as indicative of a certain irritation caused by the domination of the Dutch language in school and government.

Table 2.4 One of the very scarce signs in Aruba of the problematic language situation at the beginning of the 20th century.

Letter of widow M. Schlipken to the President of the School Commission,
October 2, 1912

Mrs. Schlipken complains in the letter that the headmaster Mr. Maduro several times had denied admittance to her daughter. She wrote the letter in Papiamentu and finished with the following:

P.S.

Mi ta tuma confiansa di scribri na nos lenga di tera, pasobra ta esun cu mi sa; y cu mi lo por a splica mi mijor.

Translation:

P.S.

I take the liberty to write in the language of our country because this is [the language] that I know; and in which I can explain myself better

42

Source: Archivo Nacional Aruba School Commission, File 1902-1929

A very powerful tool in this ‘civilizing’ mission was the establishment in 1895 of the Algemeen Nederlands Verbond with its goal of “*De handhaving en de ontplooiing van de Nederlandse taal- en cultuurgemeenschap waar ook ter wereld* – The maintenance and development of the Dutch language and culture community anywhere in the world”. In many volumes of its publication *Neerlandia*, complaints abound about the fact that nor in the ABC Islands, nor in the SSS Islands Dutch was the first language. Emblematic of the situation is the following complaint in *Neerlandia* 1896-1897: “Somewhat Jellyby-like, the Netherlands seems to establish a “Language Fund” for South Africa, whereas, according to a correspondence from Curaçao in the “N.R. Ct., “On the islands of Bonaire and Aruba belonging to us, Dutch is spoken by only a few families, but the natives do not understand this language, and in St. Eustatius, St. Martin and Saba Dutch is literally a strange language. On those islands English is the language of school, church, and courtroom; a Dutchman must use an interpreter whose costs are on his account; even the councils of justice do not master the Dutch language.”³¹

³⁰ Translation: ... only rarely there is someone who understands or even speaks Dutch adequately.

³¹ Original text: “*Ietwat Jellyby-achtig lijkt Nederland, dat een “Taalfonds” sticht voor Zuid-Afrika, terwijl, blijkens eene correspondentie uit Curaçao in de “N.R. Ct.,” op de sedert eeuwen aan ons behorende eilanden Bonaire en Aruba slechts door enkele families Hollandsch wordt gesproken, maar*

In accordance with the Catholic vision on education, governor Th. Nuyens (1909-1919) adopted a very strong position about the language of instruction when he visited Aruba in 1911. Nuyens and his retinue visited the school in Noord, and they were not satisfied with the results of the children, in their opinion due to the fact that the Dutch language was used too much. They insisted that Papiamentu must be the teaching medium and that the nuns must learn Papiamentu. The governor communicated this later to the school inspector. (*Kronijkboek Noord*, 2014:54). In the “*Brievenboeken*” of the School Commission of this period no reference to this visit nor any reaction on Nuyens’ opinion can be found, which was to be expected, this idea being very controversial and against the official point of view. As a Catholic, governor Nuyens was also in favor of more subsidies for the Catholic schools; the subsidy for public schools was six times higher at the time. After a battle, he introduced a Royal Resolution in 1912 giving a higher subsidy to the non-governmental schools, supported by the minister of the Colonies.

The contradictions are evident in one important publication, namely the *Encyclopedie van Nederlandsch West-Indië* of 1914-1917, edited by Dr. H. D. Benjamins and Joh. F. Snelleman. One contributor, H. Zondervan, expressed on page 254 his opinion on the language of Curaçao as follows: “The use of Papiamentu hampers the development of the lower class and complicates the learning of the Dutch language. Its abolition, so advisable, encounters the huge difficulty that the education at the R.-Catholic schools is mostly in Papiamentu and must be in Papiamentu due to the religious education.”³² In the same encyclopedia on page 525, however, a contributor with an opposite point of view wrote: “On the m.u.l.o. schools Dutch is the medium of instruction. For the subsidized private primary schools, the regulation requires that the education will be in the Dutch language ‘as much as possible’. On the Leeward Islands Papiamentu is not only the language of the people but also the most favorite language of all who are born there. On the Windward Islands, everybody speaks exclusively English. On all the islands Dutch must be learned thus as a foreign language which would be of great influence to the results of the education”. This declaration of 1913 from a more independent and a probably more scholarly prepared writer, was a logical and realistic conclusion, but one hundred years later, today, it is still an illusion: the ideology of the colonial ‘civilizing mission’ appears to be more powerful than any scientifically proven idea, than any pedagogical philosophy, than any human rights declaration. In chapter 3 of this thesis, these issues will be elaborated. According to Rutgers (1996:5): “The Netherlands conducted an economically oriented colonial policy without a cultural

de inlanders die taal niet verstaan en op St. Eustatius, St. Martin en Saba Hollandsch letterlijk eene vreemde taal is. Engelsch is daar de taal van school, kerk en gerechtszaal; een Hollander moet zich van een tolk bedienen, waarvan de kosten op zijne rekening komen; zelfs de raden van justitie zijn de Hollandsche taal niet machtig”.

³²Original text: “*Het gebruik van het Papiamentu werkt belemmerend op de ontwikkeling van de lagere volksklasse en bemoeilijkt het aanleeren van de Nederlandsche taal. De afschaffing er van, hoe gewenscht ook, stuit op de groote moeilijkheid, dat het onderwijs in de R.-Katholieke scholen grootendeels in Papiamentu geschiedt en, met het oog op het godsdienstonderwijs, wel moet geschieden.*”

component. This policy was characterized by the desire to create a strategic political foothold, with the only aim of trade and profit as soon as it became feasible. In previous centuries, assimilation was never defended. Until the end of the last century, the colonial policy had no cultural component. When at the beginning of this century and under the influence of the ethical policy, the Netherlands also wanted to elevate the colony culturally, which meant westernize and especially giving it a more Dutch character, the Antillean Islands were already strongly culturally embedded in the Caribbean and Latin America region and was it too late for the Dutch language. Like a red thread, the missed opportunity for the Dutch language is evident in this literary history in favor of the native-born language Papiamentu and English.”

In 1915 Shell, a Dutch-British oil company established the Curaçao Petroleum Maatschappij in Curaçao, and many Dutch workers migrated to Curaçao with their families. For the first time in history, the contact zone between Papiamentu and Dutch grew, especially because of a large group of new, Dutch-speaking people. After many discussions and in response to the demand for Dutch schools for the children of the newly arrived Dutch workers at the Shell refinery the Colonial Council proclaimed the decree of 1935, no. 49. In this decree articles 25, 36, 86, 121 and 127 stipulate that Dutch is the only language of instruction in the ABC Islands and English in St. Maarten, St. Eustatius and Saba, the so-called SSS Islands, in all subsidized schools.

In the community at the same time, something very influential happened to the benefit of Papiamentu, especially in Curaçao: the old families of Dutch descent could distinguish themselves from the newcomers from The Netherlands by their mother tongue mastery of Papiamentu, which gave Papiamentu a new impulse (Römer, 1977:83). This community status of Papiamentu, however, was not powerful enough to gain victory its battle for official recognition. The policy of Dutch Europeanization became very aggressive, as exemplified in three main public discussions identified by Rutgers (1994:133). The first discussion took place right after 1900 between the Catholic Mission that advocated Papiamentu as the language of instruction in education and the Government that only wanted Dutch in all the schools. The second discussion started in the newspaper ‘Amigoe’ in 1915 between on the one hand clergyman G.J. Eybers – settled in Aruba – and father Poiesz – settled in Curaçao – defending Papiamentu and on the other hand frair Walboomers as teacher of the Dutch language defending Dutch and denouncing Papiamentu “in structure (...) a primitive language, standing far below any language of culture, and therefore the witness of a primitive and weak way of thinking” (Smeulders, 1987)³³. Smeulders called this discussion the battle between the pro-Papiamentu priests and the pro-Dutch frairs. Eybers and Poiesz had very modern and logical child centered ideas about Papiamentu and Dutch in education, while Walboomers’ only concern was the spread and survival of Dutch in the colony, according to the ideals of the *Algemeen*

³³ Original text: “*In structuur is 't Papiamentsch alzoo een primitieve taal waardoor 't ver beneden elke cultuurtaal staat, en als zoodanig is 't de getuige van een primitief en zwak gedachtenleven.*”

Nederlands Verbond. Table 2.6 shows that three years prior to the arrival of the US oil refinery, most schools in Aruba had a mixed gender population with Roman Catholic schools predominating (72%), and one public school (14%) as well as one Protestant school (14%).

However, when the LAGO Oil Company was established in Aruba in 1924, immigration of oil workers added new languages to the community: Caribbean English lexifier Creole varieties and American English. This development was not conducive to the “*holandisacion*” of the community, but the “*holandisacion*” of formal education was hardly questioned.

Table 2.6 Schools in Aruba in 1921

School	students	district	Aruban Population
Public school	boys & girls	Oranjestad	14%
R.C. school	boys	Oranjestad	72%
R.C. school	girls	Oranjestad	
R.C. school	boys & girls	Noord	
R.C. school	boys & girls	Sta, Cruz	
R.C. school	boys & girls	Savaneta	
Prot. school	boys & girls	Piedra Plat	14%

Source: Archivo Nacional Aruba, file Education 1902-1923, School Commission, letter: Aruba July 5 1921

The third discussion is also extensively traced by Smeulders (1987:199-250). The main topic was of course: Papiamento or Dutch in education? This discussion started in the 1930s and is certainly still going on today in the 21st century, as the establishment and consolidation of the Dutch educational system took place aggressively and rapidly. Crucial in this discussion is the decree of 1935 (Table 2.7) which definitely established the Dutch language as the sole language of instruction. It is obvious that since the establishment of the new Dutch Kingdom the “*Groot Nederland*” concept, based on a Eurocentric worldview, defined the official political attitude related to the colonies in general and to the ABC Islands in particular. In the beginning, the pro-Papiamento Catholic Mission was very powerful and was allowed to manage its schools according to its own vision, especially because of the fact that the Mission was largely independent due to financial support by the church in Holland. But the “*ethische politiek*” that was introduced in the beginning of the 20th century and the mandatory educational decrees, especially PB 1935, no. 43 (*onderwijsverordening*) and PB 1935, no. 49 (*onderwijsbesluit*) translated into a ban on Papiamento. From this moment on the education was to completely conform to the Dutch model and the distance between home and school became insurmountable. As Spolsky (2009:90) states: “The effect is enormous: first when teacher and child do not understand each other’s speech, teaching and learning are severely impeded. Second, a child whose home language is denied, ignored, or

punished by the schoolteacher is persuaded of his or her deficiencies and of his or her parents' disadvantaged status.”

The period from 1936 until 1954 can largely be considered the Dutch-only era. The Colonial Council enacted the education laws which required that Dutch be the only language of instruction in any school that wished to receive the newly instituted governmental education subsidy. Dutch was thus made the *de facto* official language of instruction on the three Papiamentu-speaking islands of Aruba, Bonaire, and Curaçao. Because everyone wanted to receive government money, overt opposition to the imposition of Dutch, even by the Catholic Church, vanished (Smeulders, 1987). It is striking that by the same law English was officially accepted as the language of instruction in the SSS-islands, despite all the scandalized reports about the language situation there. A possible explanation of this difference in the legal acceptance of a language other than Dutch is the fact that English is a European language, while Papiamentu is not; however accepting English meant a negation of the real vernacular in the SSS-islands which is an English lexifier Creole.

Table 2.7 Presence of Roman Catholic nuns and friars in the Aruban education

<i>Zusters Franciscanessen van Roosendaal</i>	1857-1909
<i>Zusters Dominicanessen van Voorschoten</i>	1910-present
<i>Fraters van Tilburg</i>	1914-1937
<i>Broeders van de Christelijke Scholen (Frères De La Salle)</i>	1937-1998
<i>Zusters Dominicanessen van Bethanië</i>	1952-2014
<i>Zusters van de Goddelijke Voorzienigheid</i>	1955-1981
<i>Zusters Franciscanessen van Asten</i>	1975-1994

Sources: Ghering, 1992; online documents of the congregations

This language policy which was totally in accordance with the still existing “*Groot Nederland*” idea and of the ‘*ethische politiek*’, the civilizing mission, determined the school culture at the macro, the meso and the micro levels. At the macro level this meant that language policy was completely imposed by the government in The Netherlands and sustained by the governors and Colonial Council on the islands, not at all in favor of the Aruban people, but of a political ideal, based on a European colonial worldview. The number of schools, especially Catholic schools, grew steadily. These schools were administered by Roman Catholic nuns and friars who were sent from The Netherlands (Table 2.8). When the population on the islands increased, mainly due to the oil industry on the islands of Aruba and Curaçao, more teachers were needed. The nuns and friars would provide education to the islands until the late 1990s, while gradually, the students were handed over to the local teachers. The school boards also passed into the hands of non-clerics. The schools – public and private – were all Dutch medium and were operated strictly according to governmental decrees. Dutch language schoolbooks and educational materials were used.

At first, almost all the non-clerical teachers were Dutch, with a growing group of Aruban teachers being trained in The Netherlands. In this period, any difference with the school curricula in The Netherlands was avoided (Sprockel, 1977:295). The organization of the school system seemed to be an almost perfect replication of the Dutch system in terms of educational goals, curricula, teacher qualifications, inspectorate, certified exams and school boards. The cultural orientation was Dutch; the language of instruction was only Dutch. The commission that was responsible for the exams decided in 1948 that they would use exams produced in The Netherlands (Römer, 1979:114-115).

In the classroom, at the micro level, the children were treated as if Dutch was their first language. In the first grade the mother tongue was neglected and the literacy program was fully in Dutch. This meant an uphill struggle for the largest group of children whose intelligence was measured by their proficiency in the Dutch language. Papiamentu was officially forbidden, and for a long time, the use of Papiamentu in the classroom and playground was punished (Prins-Winkel, 1983). According to Paula (1968), we can resume this phenomenon as the blockage of the mind of the colonized by colonial language policy. This situation can be categorized as a case of negative language planning (Kaplan & Baldauf Jr. 1979:230-232). The majority of the local Aruban community maintained silence due to low levels of awareness and unconsciously adopted the idea that their language and culture were inferior to those of the Europeans.

This imposed form of monolingual education a foreign language had severe consequences for the development of the population of the island. High rates of grade repetition and dropouts became normal phenomena. The level of mastery of the Dutch language became the norm for measuring intelligence (Prins-Winkel, 1975; Emerencia, 1995; Van Putte, 1999). Due to the official rejection of Papiamentu in education, the people of the ABC Islands developed a “*negatief linguïstisch normbeeld*”, (Prins-Winkel, 1975:46), a negative linguistic standard, in relation to their own language. In their discourse, colonial officials used all sorts of Eurocentric myths to convince the people to reject the use of their mother tongue in education and to embrace Dutch as the key to success. See Table 2.8.

Table 2.8 Some typical myths propagated since 1816 to argue against the use of Papiamentu in formal education

Papiamentu is not a language.
Papiamentu does not have a grammar.
Papiamentu does not have enough words; the vocabulary is limited and poor.
Papiamentu is an obstacle to studying and learning other languages.
Papiamentu is an obstacle to learning Dutch.
Papiamentu limits one's horizons; one can do nothing with Papiamentu in this world.
There are no school materials in Papiamentu.
Papiamentu has no place in schools.
Papiamentu cannot or should not be a language of instruction.
Previous generations spoke better Dutch.
The people are not ready for Papiamentu in education. (Aruban politician, 1993)

Surprisingly, however, while Dutch was dominant in formal education, Papiamentu was growing in different ways between 1935 and 1954. At the beginning of the 20th century, Joseph Sickman Corsen of Curaçao surprised the community with his poems in Papiamentu. His poem “*Atardi*” (1905) was the first Papiamentu poem published and became a symbol of the lyrical qualities of Papiamentu. Other important authors in Curaçao who wrote in Papiamentu in the first half of the 20th century are William Hoyer, Willem Kroon, Miguel Suriel and Manuel Fraai, all of whom were very significant for the development of Papiamentu (Lauffer, 1971). In Aruba, Frederik Beaujon can be seen as the first Aruban poet with his “*Atardi*,” “*San Nicolas*” and “*Ay! Mi ta cansá*” published in 1907 and 1919 (Booi, 1983). In 1918 he also translated Byron’s poem “The prisoner of Chillon” into Papiamentu as “*E prisionero di Chillon*” (Rutgers, 2015/2016:38-41). During the Second World War “*Cancionero Papiamentu*” (1943) was published by ‘*Julio Perrenal*’ which is a combination of the names of its authors Jules de Palm, Pierre Lauffer and René de Rooy. To arouse the people's love and appreciation for their own language and culture, these three young authors composed Papiamentu songs. This was the beginning of a new musical era for Papiamentu. In daily public life an increased use of Papiamentu was noticeable on all the three islands. Studies about Papiamentu were published, such as the Papiamentu textbook of E. R. Goilo in 1951 and a proposal for a consistent spelling by A. J. Maduro in 1953.

2.4 Towards an autonomous position for Papiamentu

Out of the circumstances discussed in the preceding paragraphs, a very dualistic and contradictory situation arose. On the one hand, Papiamentu continued to gain an ever-increasing status as the language of the mass media, of the Parliament (1954), and of literature and other cultural expressions. Its use continued to spread, as it became the lingua franca used among all newly arrived immigrant groups and between these groups

and the ‘original locals’. On the other hand, Dutch retained a preponderant status because of its privileged position in the educational and juridical system.

The process of decolonization of the Dutch Empire started on December 6, 1942 when, under pressure, Queen Wilhelmina (Van Galen, 2013:22) introduced the idea of “a relationship within the empire in which The Netherlands, Indonesia, Surinam, and Curaçao will cooperate, while each one of them will look after the own domestic affairs independently and relying on their own strength, yet willing to support each other.”³⁴.

Table 2.9 Home Language Data for Aruba (1950-1980)

	<i>Papiamentu</i>		<i>Spanish</i>		<i>English</i>		<i>Dutch</i>		<i>Other languages</i>		<i>Total</i>
	abs.	rel.	abs.	rel.	abs.	rel.	abs.	rel.	abs.	rel.	abs.
1950											53,209 *
1960											53,199
1972											57,908
1981	48,335	80.1	1,891	3.1	6,393	10.6	3,013	5.0	680	1.1	60,312

Source: Archivo Nacional Aruba (ANA), Central Bureau of Statistics CBS, *Alofs (2011)

When the autonomous period started in 1954 the new Antillean government was put in charge of education on the islands. But developments in the direction of a new vision for education and language were still out of the question. Advocates of Dutch only education attributed the high educational failure rates in Aruba to a lower learning ability, limited intelligence and/or to the low social and economic status of the majority of households. But teachers and other education specialists started to protest against this alienating situation. International scientific publications, especially from UNESCO (1953), contributed to an awakening of awareness that a child’s ability to learn is seriously hampered when he or she does not master the language of instruction.

It is obvious that the young autonomous ABC communities were stuck with a nasty colonial heritage that they had to confront by themselves, without any help from The Netherlands, which had declared that all of a sudden culture, education, and language planning were strictly domestic affairs of the islands. “The Netherlands stayed aloof as much as possible.”³⁵ (Oostindie, 2001-II:222). This attitude can be interpreted as a tacit admission by the Dutch of their cultural and educational mismanagement over almost 200 years and of the fact that The Netherlands had neither the empathy nor the specialized knowledge or first-hand cultural understanding to give any significant help to solve these huge problems.

³⁴ Original text: “*een rijksverband waarin Nederland, Indonesië, Suriname en Curaçao tezamen deel zullen hebben, terwijl zij ieder op zichzelf de eigen, inwendige aangelegenheden in zelfstandigheid en steunend op eigen kracht, doch met de wil elkander bij te staan, zullen behartigen*”

³⁵ Original text: “*Van Nederlandse zijde werd een vrij grote mate van terughoudendheid betracht.*”

In the 1950s, most nuns, friars, laymen, and laywomen in the Aruban education system were from The Netherlands and, as one can expect, fervent defenders of Dutch only education. It is important to note that the Arubanization of the teaching staff started with different groups of ‘*bursalen*’, who came back from Holland after graduating as teachers. The establishment of teacher training programs in Aruba itself began in the early 1960s as HBS-C under the auspices of *Colegio Arubano*, and expanded in the late 1960s as the Arubaanse Pedagogische Academie (APA).

Generally, the educational history of Aruba parallels that of Curaçao and Bonaire. The Antillean Government with representation from all the islands was responsible for educational affairs. There were some Antillean efforts to contextualize education with methods such as “*Nos Tera*” (geography), “*Nos Patria*” (history) and “*Zonnig Nederlands*” (Dutch), but there was no infrastructure for research or for the continuous production of local school materials.

A new regime of knowledge and expertise about these educational issues had to be established by Antillean people themselves. This has proved to be a long process since assumptions and methods of the Aruban educational authorities and Aruban teachers initially remained largely the same as those of their European predecessors. Education was characterized by the absence of a clear vision and of learning objectives in primary and secondary education. Dutch remained the sole medium of instruction and was being taught as a mother tongue. The Dutch school materials were not contextualized and ignored the multicultural and multilingual character of the Aruban society. Papiamentu was still absent in education, which was a complete negation of its importance as the language of the majority. In-service training for teachers was an unknown practice. Typical of a copy-paste neo-colonial model of education, there was no specialized language training for primary school teachers.

It seems that there is still no proper understanding of the fact that the primary school teacher and the teacher of content are actually language teachers, foreign language teachers in this case. Neither the Dutch nor the Aruban primary schoolteacher has been prepared – or allowed – to use foreign language strategies when teaching Dutch. An extra obstacle for the Aruban teachers is that they are not native speakers of Dutch and that most of them cannot rely on a broad, general and academic proficiency in the language. L.F. van Putten correctly argues in *Skol & Komunidat* of September 1976 that educational planning in Aruba had only a ‘manpower approach’, while educational planning has to take into account a multitude of factors and the complexity of the interaction between those factors.

Teachers have not been able to change the system on their own, yet they have often improvised ad hoc solutions within the present system with the intention of helping students to cope, thereby perpetuating a system that is counterproductive. Education in Aruba has become a fossil, a dead structure without content that does not challenge students to engage with ‘real’ learning. However, kindergarten and special education

teachers in Aruba have dared to take matters into their own hands. While the Education Decree of 1935 prescribed that Dutch is the language of education in Kindergarten, since the 1950s Kindergarten teachers have been using Papiamentu unofficially, with the tacit approval of the Department of Education of the Netherlands Antilles (Annual Report 1973-1974:13): “It is therefore highly desirable to establish an ordinance to legalize the existing use.”³⁶ It was only in 1992 that the use of Papiamentu next to Dutch became official policy in Kindergarten by means of the *Landsverordening Kleuteronderwijs Aruba* 1992 in which articles 6.1. and 6.2 are crucial. Special education teachers have been employing Papiamentu since 1974. (Dijkhoff & Pereira, 2010:262-263) This is oral history: there are no official documents, only the experience of the teachers who are very proud of their decision.

In 1965 school inspector P.T.M. Sprockel presented his ideas about Papiamentu in a meeting with teachers in Aruba. According to F. H. Oduber (*Observador*, Aruba, April 9, 1965), inspector Sprockel recommended that the teachers consider Papiamentu to be an indispensable tool in their teaching. Oduber commented: “*Nos por bisa (cu) e balor esencial di tur idioma ta cu dos hende por comunica cu otro. Si nos comprende esaki anto mester admiti cu special(mente) muchanan chiquito di edad di 5 pa diez anja ta pasa un tempu horribel ora nan yega fresco scool i mesora worde enfrenta cu un idioma stranjero.*”³⁷ And he continued: “*E balor di Papiamentu ademas ta uno den e categoria di identidad. Si e aprecio pa papiamento bira algo verdadero, anto tin hopi caminda nobo ta habri pa nos. Es decir, nos fortaleza como un pueblo Antiyano por bira realidad. Propaganda pa Papiamento no ta nacionalismo falso, sino un elemento esencial pa haci Antiyas bira su mes i propio cara.*”³⁸ Unexpected voices were thus able to make a great impact. School inspector Sprockel was very critical about the status of education on the ABC Islands in the 1960s and 1970s. He wrote (in Ghering, 1992:165): “We think about the total lack of a permanent policy vision, the lack of leadership and the lack of important decisions on the part of the Government of the Dutch Antilles. The language issue was a hot topic on which no clear position was taken. Previous provisions were not respected. Necessary educational reform did not get the attention it deserved. Proposals from the department were not approved and remained suspended. Educational interest was subordinated to party-political interests. (...) Of

³⁶ Original text: “*Het komt dan ook uitermate gewenst voor, dat er ook op dat gebied een landsverordening tot stand komt, die het bestaand gebruik legaliseert.*”

³⁷ Translation: We can say that the essential value of all languages is that two people can communicate with each other. If we understand this, we must admit that small children from five to ten years have a terrible experience when they enter school for the first time and are confronted immediately with a foreign language.

³⁸ Translation: Furthermore, the value of Papiamentu is in the category of identity. If the appreciation of Papiamentu is a reality, many doors will open for us. That means that our strength as Antillean people can become a reality. Promoting Papiamentu is no false nationalism, but an essential element to let the Antilles have their identity.

course, the Department of Education suffered the negative consequences of this mismanagement.”³⁹

The volume titled, *Leerplan en Leidraad* (Prins et al., 1970-I: 35), the first official publication that describes the educational realities in the ABC Islands and that proposes a basic curriculum for the primary school, the authors made the following statement: “At this moment the Antilles have a complete education structure from Kindergarten to university that is still, however, in terms of its pedagogical-didactical structure insufficiently adapted to the Antillean Community.”⁴⁰ The authors of “*Leerplan en Leidraad*” indicated that “the time in which the child was sacrificed for the subject, and the teacher had a dominant role within the pedagogical situation, is behind us. In modern education, the aim is to focus on the needs and activities of the child. If in the past the subject-centered curriculum and the teacher-centered curriculum prevailed, now we are going in the direction of a pupil-centered-curriculum” (Prins et al., 1970-I:15).

Table 2.10 Percentages of repeaters per grade in Aruban primary school in July 1963

Grade	1	2	3	4	5	6	mean
Boys	30	25	25	27	29	35	28
Girls	24	19	21	23	22	20	22
Total	27	22	23	25	26	27	25

Source: Prins et al, *Leerplan en Leidraad*, deel een, 1970:48

In this book, the problematic experiences of children in the Dutch only schools are extensively described. “The language problem is certainly not the only problem in the complex pedagogical issues which the curriculum committee faces. But it is indeed, given the nature of language in general and the mother tongue, in particular, the central point of action for many other problems (Prins et al., 1970-I:89)”⁴¹. Mother tongue schools with a bilingual approach are the explicit preference of the authors, and the list

³⁹ Original text: “Wij denken aan het totaal ontbreken van een vaste beleidsvisie, aan het gebrek aan leiding en aan het uitblijven van belangrijke beslissingen uitgaande van de Regering van de Nederlandse Antillen. De voertaalproblematiek werd een heet hangijzer, waarin geen duidelijk standpunt werd ingenomen. Vroegere bepalingen in deze werden niet nageleefd. Aan een noodzakelijke onderwijsvernieuwing werd geen aandacht geschonken. Voorstellen afkomstig van het Departement werden niet afgehandeld en bleven in de lucht hangen. Het onderwijsbelang werd ondergeschikt gemaakt aan partij-politieke belangen. (...) Uiteraard onderging ook het Departement van het Onderwijs de negatieve gevolgen van dit wanbeleid.”

⁴⁰ Original text: “Op dit moment hebben de Antillen vanaf de kleuterschool tot aan de universiteit een volledig onderwijsstelsel dat qua pedagogisch-didactische structuur evenwel nog onvoldoende is aangepast aan de Antilliaanse samenleving.”

⁴¹ Original text: “Het taalprobleem is weliswaar niet het enige probleem in de gecompliceerde pedagogisch-didactische materie, waarvoor de leerplancommissie zich ziet gesteld. Het is echter wél, gezien het karakter van de taal in het algemeen en de moedertaal in het bijzonder, hét centrale aangrijpingspunt voor vele andere problemen.”

of conclusions and recommendations is impressive and convincing (Prins et al., 1970-I:98-99). This book took on significant importance at the Arubaanse Pedagogische Academie, the teacher training college.

There has been a historical and natural shift from an educational system with a majority of Dutch teachers (Catholic nuns, friars, and contracting parties) to an educational system with local teachers, mostly with a Papiamentu, but also with an English or Spanish background. This Arubanization started in the mid-1950s and early 1960s. Education students were selected on their mastery of Dutch and sent to the Netherlands for their studies and returned to Aruba with a mastery of Dutch that was generally above average and continued the practices of their predecessors, which means teaching Dutch as mother tongue to the exclusion of Papiamentu.

In 1962, teacher training started in Aruba under the auspices of Colegio Arubano, managed by the Stichting Middelbaar Onderwijs Aruba, SMOA. The graduates of this teacher training course had to complete their training for one year in The Netherlands to obtain the so-called “*hoofdakte*”, and thus be fully qualified. In 1969 the Arubaanse Pedagogische Academie (APA) was established in Aruba with two streams: a four-year program to prepare teachers for the primary schools and a three and four-year program to prepare teachers for Kindergarten. The intake level of the students was HAVO. In 1980, 1981, 1983 and 1984 inter-insular meetings were organized with the teacher training institute of Curaçao, the Akademia Pedagogiko Korsou (APK), as part of the so-called “*Interinsulair Kontakt Opleiding Leerkrachten*” (IKOL), to discuss important issues and problems. The APA and the APK also organized two conferences, in 1982 “*Toekomst Opleidingsinstituten voor leerkrachten*” (The future of training institutes for teachers) in Curaçao and in 1984 “*Kalidad di enseñansa: e reto di añanan ochenta*” (Quality of education: the challenge of the 1980’s) in Aruba. The APA, together with the teachers union SIMAR, was a breeding ground for new ideas about education in Aruba.

In Aruba, where people had always been very passive and resigned about educational and language issues, discussions started at last in the late 1960s and 1970s in which the teacher’s union “*Vakbond Leerkrachten Aruba*” (VLA), since 1976 “*Sindicato di Maestro di Aruba*” (SIMAR) played a very important role. SIMAR’s magazine “*Vorm*”, in 1976 renamed as “*Skol & Komunitat*” (S&K)⁴², was leading in the discussions about education reform; many S&K articles and interviews were quoted in the local newspapers and discussed on the radio and in the community and they contributed thus to the awakening of consciousness concerning education and language of instruction. The first conference of SIMAR in October 1975 was titled: “*Keda sinta, un mester...?*” (Grade repetition, is that necessary?). The conclusions of the conference

⁴² The teachers’ magazine “*Vorm*” Jan 1970-May 1975 // “*Vorm/Skol I Komunitat*” June July 1975 – Dec 1975 // S&K Jan 1976-1986, VLA became SIMAR in Jan 1976

were, that Aruban education had to be more individualized and more adapted to local circumstances. A crucial step to that adaptation was seen to be the introduction of Papiamentu as the language of instruction in all the grades of primary school, based on cultural, political, psychological, developmental and pedagogical arguments. The recommendation was that the introduction of Papiamentu had to be the first and most important part of the education reform (Jutten et al., 1975).

Aruban teachers, united under VLA/SIMAR, constituted from the 1960s to the 1990s a powerful group of thinkers and researchers who were able to make many taboos in education subjects of discussion, especially the language of instruction, teacher training, colonialism, Eurocentrism and political interference. Their articles had a broad audience, and workshops and seminars were well attended. Their impact on the community was notable: they contributed to a greater knowledge about Aruban history and culture and to a growing awareness especially about the problems of education. A detailed study of VLA/SIMAR and *Vorm/Skol & Komunidat* is highly recommended as well as a study of *FENETA*, another magazine with a very critical voice at that time which not only focused on political and social issues, but also on education. The dissertation of Dr. A.C. Prins-Winkel *Kabes duru? Verslag van een onderzoek naar de onderwijssituatie op de Benedenwindse Eilanden van de Nederlands Antillen, in verband met het probleem van de vreemde voertaal bij het onderwijs*⁴³ (1973) was an eye-opener, a research report with shocking data on repeaters and dropouts, confirming the conclusions of *Leerplan en Leidraad*.

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Prins-Winkel (1975:46) concludes the following: “The repeated failure or falling behind of the person who has to use a medium that he knows less, triggers tensions and frustrations in the one and confirms the perceived superiority in the other who is using his mother tongue. Is it strange that based on such an interaction of forces those who fall behind develop feelings of insufficiency which is a danger not only for the value of the language but also of self-esteem?”⁴⁴ Her research contributed substantially to a better understanding of the psychological and social-emotional effects of this child unfriendly form of education and its paralyzing effects (Prins-Winkel, 1975:124) that lead to powerlessness, emptiness, and loss of self-respect. Prins-Winkel’s conclusion of 1973 is still valid today:

“When the Dutch people in the Antilles propagate the Dutch language ‘because you cannot think in Papiamentu’ and the Antillean people do not want Papiamentu in the curriculum ‘because the children speak it already and at school

⁴³ Translation: Blockhead? Report of a study on the educational situation on the Leeward Islands of the Netherlands Antilles, related to the problem of the foreign language of instruction.

⁴⁴ Original text: “*Het herhaalde falen of achterblijven van degene die een hem minder bekend medium moet hanteren, wekt bij de een spanningen en frustraties en bevestigt bij de ander, die wèl zijn moedertaal gebruikt, de eigen superioriteit. Is het wonder dat zich op grond van een dergelijk samenspel van krachten bij degenen die achterblijven insufficiëntiegevoelens ontwikkelen, waardoor niet slechts de waarde van de taal, maar ook de eigenwaarde in het geding komt?*”

you must learn something else', the first group (the Dutch) forgets that not so long ago its own language was disqualified for the same reason and that the Dutch region is very small, while the second group (the Antillean) does not realize that its language cannot develop totally because of its neglect in education." (Prins-Winkel, 1973:45).

That this study had an enormous impact was shown by the Annual Report on Education in the Netherlands Antilles for school year 1973-1974 (1974: 4) which referred to this research in its preparations to introduce Papiamentu in formal education on the ABC Islands and English on the SSS Islands.

Nevertheless, in contradiction with the statements made in the above mentioned Annual Report, the education system remained an unchangeable bastion and people continued to accept the written and unwritten educational rules as normal and self-evident, especially the selective and exclusive character of this system. Taking an evaluative perspective, Smeulders (1987:287) stated that "the education in the former colonies appeared to be one of the last bastions of an 'intern' colonialism, which expresses itself in the stepmotherly treatment of the native language in education."

The Aruba expression "I love my *dushi* Papiamentu" remains meaningless as long as the second part of the expression is: "but not in education". On March 21, 1974 the Minister of Education of the Netherlands Antilles at that moment, Hendrik Croes, declared in a televised speech:

"Nos a duna reconocimiento na nos idioma, pasobra cu psicologonan, pedagogiconan, cu nos tin a hasi estudio, a demostra cu e muchanan cu ta cuminza na kleuterschool, e prome dos klasnan, awel e muchanan di 4 anja pa 8 anja, bo no tin mag di separele for di e idioma cu el a custumbra cune, e idioma cu e ta papia na cas. Anto esey tabata un di e motibonan principal, cu nos a dicidi cu nos ta establece papiamento como voertaal banda di Hulandes. Pero te na e di dos klas di e schoolnan basico. No mas alew pasobra nos ta considera e tempo suficiente y e oportunidad nan cu un mucha ta hanja di 4 pa 8 anja suficiente pa e sinja Hulandes cu lo keda e voertaal oficial pa resto di nos enseñanza, (...)" (VORM, April 1974).⁴⁵

He further argued that Papiamentu in all of primary education would be too costly and⁴⁶would isolate the ABC Islands. It was obvious that the minister, like many others up until the present, had difficulties imagining a school that is different from the Dutch only school, a school with Papiamentu as language of instruction and one or more other

⁴⁵ Translation: We acknowledge our language, because our psychologists, educationalists have done research, and they have demonstrated that the children who enter Kindergarten, the first grades, so the children of 4 till 8 years of age may not be separated from the language they are used to, the language they speak at home. And that was one of the main reasons why we have decided to introduce Papiamentu as medium of communication next to Dutch. But till the second grade of the primary schools. Not further because in our opinion this period and the opportunities offered to the child are sufficient to learn Dutch which remain as the official medium of communication in the rest of our education, (...).

⁴⁶

languages of wider communication as subjects in the curriculum, for instance Dutch and English taught as foreign languages. Learning a new language and learning all subjects in that language at the same time is an insuperable hurdle for most students. Thinking processes which require highly developed academic language are severely underestimated and even ignored in Aruban schools (Faber, 1999).

A UNESCO publication of 1976 concluded the following regarding primary education in Aruba: “Because of the high rate of repetition (about 20% per grade) this level of education must be considered inefficient, entailing unnecessary high expenditure and having ill effects upon children. Further, it is unrealistic to assume that children whose mother tongue is not Dutch can complete the Dutch primary school’s program in the same span of time as Dutch children. For reasons of both equity and efficiency it would seem necessary to introduce the mother tongue as the medium of instruction throughout this level of education” (UNESCO, 1976b:27). About secondary education this publication states: “- the selection process takes place too early, namely throughout and at the end of the primary school; – the criteria for selection, and in particular performance in the Dutch language and school intelligence tests are such that they favour one group of children; – children who channelled into lower vocational education do not have a fair start in life, because they are virtually unemployable upon completion of the course” (UNESCO, 1976b:29).

In the meantime the teacher unions of Aruba, Curaçao and Bonaire were worried about the fact that the government of the Netherlands Antilles was not doing anything to prepare itself and the communities of the islands for possible independence and instead the political controversies between Aruba and Curaçao were flaring up again and differences were being emphasized. In the Aruban battle for its “*Status Aparte*” Papiamento orthography became a political issue, symbolizing the differences between the islands. In 1976 the Aruban Parliament enacted the law that legalized the Aruban etymologically based orthography (examples: *stoel*, *conexion*, *cas*)⁴⁷. In that same year, Curaçao and Bonaire legalized their phonologically based orthography (examples: *stul*, *konekshon*, *kas*)⁴⁸. One language, two orthographies, which has as consequence an artificial and expensive division within one language. All of a sudden people were talking about Papiamento of Aruba and Papiamentu of Curaçao and Bonaire as if they were dealing with two different languages.

In 1976 and 1977 the teacher unions of the ABC Islands organized a series of encounters about the new political structure and education reform and they concluded the following: The goals of Antillean education have to be underpinned by a new vision of society and the human being. The focus of the educational policy has to make explicit the general goals which arise from this vision of society and the human being. Education must provide citizens the kind of knowledge, attitudes, and skills which enable them to

⁴⁷ *Stoel*, *conexion*, *cas* = etymological spelling = chair, connection, house

⁴⁸ *Stul*, *konekshon*, *kas* = phonological spelling = chair, connection, house

break relations of dependence (with the political leaders, mass media, etc.), to break economic dependence and to be able to cooperate with others. These goals cannot be realized in an educational system that is fundamentally not democratic. The process that leads to reform must consist of research, planning, experiment, evaluation, and implementation (S&K, March 1977). The third conference of the Society for Caribbean Linguistics held in Aruba in September 1980, confirmed these ideas and emphasized the importance of the establishment of an institute for standardization of the Creole languages of the Caribbean. Collaboration and solidarity instead of rivalry and conflicts were in this view the keys for solving problems that were typical of the whole region. Another important linguistic conference was organized by the *Instituto pa Promoshon i Estudio di Papiamentu* (IPEP) of Curaçao and the University of the Netherlands Antilles in June 1981 in Curaçao. Some of the topics were: Education in the mother tongue, Papiamentu vocabulary, the linguistic aspects of reading, the tonal aspect of Papiamentu, grammatical aspects of Papiamentu, and Papiamentu in the press. It is worth mentioning that SIMAR reorganized its Education Committee (*Onderwijscommissie*) in 1979 to stimulate positive developments in the educational field. This committee had the following tasks: (1) to advise the board concerning its position concerning educational issues; (2) to coordinate the educational working groups within SIMAR.

The teacher training institutes of Aruba and Curaçao, respectively the Arubaanse Pedagogische Academie (APA) and the Akademia Pedagógico Kórsou (APK) decided to be proactive and renew mutual links, taking into account the issues they had in common related to the training of teachers. Together they organized in May 1981 in Curaçao and October 1981 in Aruba meetings about (1) the problematic linkages between HAVO and teacher training, and (2) the organization of refresher courses as an important task of the APA and the APK (S&K, October and November 1981).

Discussions about the role of languages in education on the ABC Islands advanced slowly. It was only in 1982 that the Minister of Education of the Antilles published a “Letter to the workers in Education” on September 20 which supported the idea of kindergarten and elementary school as mother tongue schools. The governing colleges of the islands of Bonaire and Curaçao endorsed this premise and decided to include Papiamentu as a subject in elementary school in 1986 (Severing & Verhoeven, 1995a; 1995b; Severing, 1997:11). For the governing college of Aruba Papiamentu as a school subject was still not a priority.

2.5 Impact of Aruba’s *Status Aparte* on Papiamentu⁴⁹

In 1986 Aruba obtained its “*Status Aparte*”, a new political position in the Dutch Kingdom. From this date on Aruba followed its own path. In the government plan for 1986-1990 education was given high priority. It was believed that a more efficient educational

⁴⁹ Part of this paragraph was published earlier by the author (Dijkhoff & Pereira, 2010)

system was needed in order to preserve the high level of socioeconomic development in Aruba. Several commissions were established to reorganize the current educational system. Their recommendations were laid out in documents which were intended to guide the upcoming process of innovation. “*Renovacion di enseñansa; un prioridad pa futuro*” (Innovation of education; a priority for the future) (*Directie Onderwijs Aruba 1988-RE*) was the basis for educational reform and described the framework of the new educational system and the new educational structure. Chapter VIII.7 was dedicated to the language of instruction. With reference to several old and new documents on the issue, it supported the ideas laid out in “*Pa un enseñansa bilingual*”, mentioned below. (Advice of the Commission “*Stuurgroep Herstructurering Onderwijs*” (SHO).

“*Het Pedagogisch Instituut*” (The teacher training institute) (*Directie Onderwijs Aruba 1988-PI*) laid the foundation for a new teacher training institute. Despite protests by the personnel of the Arubaanse Pedagogische Academie (APA) this teacher training institute was put on hold from 1986 till 1990, due to the economic crisis caused by the shutdown of the EXXON oil refinery in 1985. The new teacher training institute would have the following tasks: pre-service training, in-service training, research and development on the function of teacher training, an active participation in educational reform on the basis of its expertise, and service to the field of education and the community educators.

“*Pa un enseñansa bilingual*” (Toward bilingual education) (*Directie Onderwijs Aruba 1988-EB*, Advice of the Commission “*Werkgroep Papiamento*”) proposed a new primary school structure. The starting point of the commission was the existing language situation in the schools which was characterized by the use of the foreign language Dutch as the language of instruction. The commission called this situation an “anomaly that has to be corrected” (p.3). The solution that was presented was a ‘normalization’ or a ‘healing’ with Papiamento as the language of instruction and as subject matter. However, because of the sociolinguistic situation of Aruba where Dutch still had important functions, the commission proposed a bilingual educational system with both Papiamento and Dutch as languages of instruction. The argumentation of the commission in favor of the introduction of Papiamento was based on sociolinguistic, pedagogical, political and cultural motives. The following categories of preparative activities were recommended: 1) activities related to the language Papiamento; 2) activities related to the introduction of bilingual education; 3) activities related to study and planning; 4) activities for the community; and 5) political and legal decisions.

The committee was aware of the magnitude of this reform and proposed to start with a) the formation of a ‘spearhead group’ to prepare, initiate, supervise and evaluate the process of introduction; b) the formation of a group to promote Papiamento and c) the instrumentalization of the Instituto di Lengua Arubiano, IDILA, to be able to develop and finalize the implementation activities. The “spearhead group” became a reality in the *Plataforma Maneho di Idioma* (PMI), the promotion of Papiamento started officially

with the establishment of “Grupo pa Promove Papiamento” (GP3) and *Instituto di Lengua Arubiano* (IDILA) became the official Papiamento section at the Department of Education.

Table 2.11 Most widely spoken languages at home in Aruba 1990-2010

Language	1991		2000		2010	
	Abs.	%	Abs.	%	Abs.	%
Papiamento	51,061	76.6	59,984	69.4	69,354	68.3%
Spanish	4,946	7.4	11,368	13.2	13,710	13.5%
Dutch	3,626	5.4	5,289	6.1	6,110	6.0%
English	5,954	8.9	7,001	8.1	7,129	7.0%
Portuguese	185	0.3	225	0.3	-	-
Chinese	-	-	-	-	1,456	1.4%
Other	914	1.4	1,781	2.1	1,725	1.7%
Does not speak yet) ⁵⁰	-	-	-	-	1,568	1.5%
Not rep.			759	0.9	432	0.4%
Total	66,686	100.0	86,407	100.0	101,484	100.0

Source: Central Bureau of Statistics, CBS Aruba, 2013, www.cbs.aw

IDILA had already existed since 1986 when Aruba obtained its *Status Aparte*. It is the continuation of the Aruban section of the *Instituto Linguistico Antiyano* (ILA). The special tasks of IDILA were the standardization of the orthography with an official spelling as the result; standardization of the lexicon leading to the publication of an explanatory dictionary and specialized terminology lists; standardization of the grammar with a basic grammar book as one of the outputs; research on Aruban and Antillean literature in the Caribbean and international context; research on the oral literature of Aruba and the Antilles; and conservation of texts with historical and cultural value. In later years IDILA was transformed successively into *Grupo Idioma* and *Grupo di Maneho di Idioma pa Enseñansa*, which still exists. The establishment of the government department IDILA clearly initiated a process of conscious language policy making.

“*Grupo Pa Promove Papiamento*” or GP3 involved representatives from all relevant governmental entities who focused on promoting Papiamento through informational programs on radio and television. 1997 became the year of Papiamento, “*Aña di Papiamento*”, and in that year GP3 introduced a special award called “*Cadushi di Cristal*”, which honored the persons who most effectively promoted Papiamento through their art, research or other efforts.⁵¹ GP3 officially still exists but is no longer active and “*Cadushi di Cristal*” was awarded in 2008 for the last time. (See also 3.5)

⁵⁰ Note: First population and Housing Census, CBS 2012: “In addition, a category ‘Does not speak (as yet)’ was added to provide for individuals unable to speak and for young babies.” (p. 42)

⁵¹ *Cadushi di Cristal* was awarded in 1997 to the poet Digna Laclé (1925), in 1999 to poet, author and composer Hubert ‘Lio’ Booi (1919-2014), in 2001 to poet and author Ernesto Rosenstand (1931), in

Thereafter, several working groups were commissioned to analyze the language situation in education and to prepare for the implementation of the new ideas. The commission for the innovation of the teacher training college – formerly “*Arubaanse Pedagogische Academie*” (APA) and now “*Instituto Pedagogico Arubano*” (IPA) – started its work in 1989, followed in 1991 by the commission for lower vocational training – “*Lager beroepsonderwijs*” (LBO) now “*Enseñansa Profesional Basico*” (EPB) – and in 1994 by the commission for secondary vocational training – “*Middelbaar Administratief Onderwijs*” (MAO) and “*Middelbaar Technisch Onderwijs*” (MTS) now “*Enseñansa Profesional Intermedio*” (EPI). 1994 was a very important year in this optimistic realm of educational innovation. The Department of Education with its Section of Curriculum Development, the *Instituto Pedagogico Arubano* and the *Sindicato di Maestro di Aruba* (SIMAR, the teachers union) organized a four day Language Conference entitled “*Ervaringen en nieuwe denkbeelden in taalonderwijs en taalplanning*”, “Experiences and new ideas about language education and language planning”, with local and international experts. The aim of this conference was to bring the discussion about the Aruban language situation to a higher level and to finally attain a well-grounded language policy (*Taalcongres 1994, Stuurgroep Taalproject*). The conference was followed in October and November of that same year by workshops for teachers, with different panels and activities on the language issue (“*Onderwijsdagen 1994*”, ed. *Stuurgroep Taalproject*).

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“*Plataforma Maneho di Idioma*” (PMI) was installed at the *Departamento di Enseñansa* in November 1995 with the assignment to formulate proposals for a new language policy and to execute this language policy in Aruba. The “*Comision Modelo di Idioma*” was part of this platform and prepared the document “*Proposicion pa un Maneho di Idioma pa Enseñansa Basico Renova di Aruba*”, a proposal for a language policy for reformed primary education in Aruba (*Comision Modelo di Idioma*, PMI, 1997). This document proposed a multilingual model with two languages of instruction, Papiamentu with Dutch using a foreign language approach and familiarization in the first years with Dutch, English, and Spanish.

In 1995 the “*Stuurgroep Herstructurering Algemeen Vormend Onderwijs*” (SHA) started to prepare for innovation in general secondary education. General secondary education is divided into three streams: MAVO, which prepares students for secondary vocational education; HAVO, which prepares students for higher vocational education; and VWO, which prepares students for university. Each stream has a “*Ciclo Basico*”, consisting of the first two years and a “*Ciclo Avansa*” consisting of the last two years of MAVO, the last three years of HAVO and the last four years for VWO. (SHA, 1998, 2005.) The structure and the curriculum were adapted to link-up with the secondary

2003 to linguist and poet Ramon Todd Dandaré (1942), in 2006 to theater group *Grupo di Teatro Mascaruba* and in 2008 to linguist and poet Mario Asintho Dijkhoff (1959-2015).

school system in The Netherlands. This restructured system finally became active in the school year 2004-2005.

Papiamento became a subject in the *Ciclo Basico* and it was meant to be a mandatory subject up to the exams at the end of the *Ciclo Avansa*. However, the plans suddenly changed. In this level of education, especially at HAVO and VWO, the position of Papiamento was still very weak, for different reasons. The first reason was the focus on Holland. Studying in Holland is still seen as the ultimate goal and the myth that Papiamento hampers learning Dutch is still fully alive. Secondly, especially the teachers of French and Spanish considered Papiamento as real competition: they fear that Papiamento as a language subject will take the place of French and Spanish in the curriculum and that the Papiamento teacher will push aside the French and Spanish teacher. Their complaints had an effect, and in the new curriculum for 2006-2007 Papiamento would no longer be offered as a subject after the third year of MAVO, the fourth year of HAVO and the fifth year of VWO and that it would be an elective in only one of the study profiles, namely Humaniora (Language and Arts).⁵² In some newspaper columns – especially in a newspaper published in the Dutch language – subtle, but fierce voices against Papiamento are still resounding.

Efforts to bring forward the issue of continuity of school multilingual from Kindergarten until the end of the secondary school have not been appreciated. Just as tragic is the elimination of the new locally adapted content and material for the subjects of science (N&T), social studies (ASW) and cultural education (CKV) in the *Ciclo Basico* of HAVO and VWO, because they allegedly do not prepare the students adequately for the *Ciclo Avansa* and thus for study in the Netherlands. There thus have been several missed opportunities to reform secondary education so that it reflects the Aruban context and conforms to the needs and talents of the Aruban youth. The reform of secondary education until now has been only organizational. The fear to accept or to participate in the development of a new vision for an Aruban education that is not Dutch based, has a paralyzing effect, especially in secondary education where most teachers are trained in the Netherlands. The pressure of the Dutch inspectorates and Dutch and Aruban officials to maintain Aruban education as Dutch as possible is tangible.

While we are heading for multilingual primary schools with Papiamento in an important role, in 2012 Aruba signed an agreement with the Dutch Ministry of Education that stipulates that by 2016 Aruban secondary education HAVO/VWO will be reorganized completely according to the Dutch regulations (*Samenwerkingsprotocol* 2012, 1.1-1.17). In the “*Bijlage Beleidsvoorstellen inzake aanpassingen exameneisen en aantal vakken in havo en VWO*” (*Commissie AVO*, 2014) Papiamento is mentioned as an ‘extra optional subject’, figuring in the category of “modern foreign languages”.

⁵² In the *ciclo avansa* a study profile is a combination of subject matters. Study profiles are: *Mens- & Maatschappijwetenschappen* (Social Studies), *Natuurwetenschappen* (Science) and *Humaniora* (Language and Arts).

In the school year 2015-2016 Papiamentu will appear in the curriculum as an optional subject in the exam profile. Counter-arguments state that Papiamentu in HAVO and VWO has an added value for the development of the student and of the community and that good proficiency in the mother tongue and familiarity with Aruban culture are indispensable and of a high priority. In 2015 Aruba graduated its first Papiamentu teachers with a Master degree, trained by the University of Curaçao.

In 1995 the “*Proyecto Innovacion di Enseñansa Preparatorio y Enseñansa Basico*”, (PRIEPEB), the official commission that had the special task of studying and developing a new primary school system, started its activities and in May 1996 the commission presented its proposals to the stakeholders in the educational field. After a process of deliberations the report titled “*Un bon Enseñansa Basico: Condicion pa un miho futuro – Plan Strategico 1999-2008*” (*Directie Onderwijs*, PRIEPEB 1999)– a document that analyzes education and the community and proposes a strategic plan for educational reform – was finalized in June 1999. This document contains proposals for reform, change and improvement of kindergarten and primary schools over a period of ten consecutive years. The plan, as did the proposal of 1997, recommends an educational model that reflects the sociolinguistic reality of Aruba and that takes into account that Dutch will remain a language of instruction in secondary education. This implies a bilingual system involving Papiamentu and Dutch as languages of instruction. This model is supposed to solve the problems related to the quality of language education and to the language of instruction. To prepare for the implementation of this new primary school system, different study groups started their work on research and development. In 2002 the document titled “*Curiculo Enseñansa Basico Aruba – Programa Nacional*”, (*Directie Onderwijs*, PRIEPEB 2002a) to which all the educational stakeholders had a chance to contribute, was presented to educators. This document became the basis for the development of all the other documents concerning the language model and the specific curricula of the different areas of education (clusters of related subjects). It presented a new vision on education for Aruba, the general outlines of a new curriculum, and new goals.

For language in education two documents are important, namely “*Habri porta pa nos drenta*”, (Open the door for us), (*Directie Onderwijs*, PRIEPEB 2002c) and *Curiculo Idioma y Comunicacion* (*Directie Onderwijs*, PRIEPEB 2002b).⁵³ The first document describes the language situation in Aruba and in the schools and proposes a multilingual primary school – that includes two years of kindergarten and six years of elementary school – where students will be exposed to the four languages that are important in Aruba: Papiamentu, Dutch, English, and Spanish. This new primary school will be divided into two cycles: the 1st cycle consists of the two years of kindergarten

⁵³ PRIEPEB proposal for a language curriculum (Other PRIEPEB curriculum documents include: Ciencia natural y Tecnologia, Estudio Social, Matematica, Formacion di Arte, Educacion di Salud, ICT)

and the first and second grade of the existing elementary school; the 2nd cycle consists of grades three to six. In this multilingual school (scol multilingual) Papiamento will be the language of instruction up to grade 6, B-6 (Table 2.12), meaning that all subjects will be taught through Papiamento. Papiamento will also be taught as a subject, with the objective of improving the language skills of the students, both at the level of daily communication and at the academic level. Aruba being a multilingual community, Dutch, English and Spanish will be taught as well, mainly through the development of oral skills during the 1st cycle of primary education with and through the development of both oral and literacy skills during in the 2nd cycle.

Another important change will be a content-based approach, which will enable students to acquire knowledge in any one of the languages mentioned above, thus preparing them for secondary education (Pereira, 2008). In this approach language skills are developed together with the knowledge of the content of the different disciplines. The focus of education is on comprehension and on the development of critical cognitive learning skills through the mother tongue.

Cycle		Cycle I				Cycle II				
Grade		K-1	K-2	P-1	P-2	P-3	P-4	P-5	P-6	
LOI		Papiamento								
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	Syst. transfer of lit. skills to English	Systematic transfer of literacy skills to Spanish		

Figure 2.3 The first language model of the Scol Multilingual (Source Department of Education, PRIEPEB, 2002b)

The document entitled “*Curiculo Idioma y Comunicacion* – PRIEPEB document with vision, mission, goals and curriculum for language in the multilingual school” presented in 2003 gives concrete form to the ideas of “*Habri porta pa nos drenta*” describing the vision of language education in the new multilingual school and the learning objectives or standards of the language curriculum. This document describes the importance of

Papiamentu – as first and second language – for the development of the cognitive academic language skills and the relations between Papiamentu and the three foreign languages. PRIEPEB has organized yearly meetings and conferences to inform and discuss the state of affairs with educators. In Chapter 4 this multilingual school model will be extensively discussed.

Of immense importance for language planning for Papiamentu as the community language was the officialization of the vernacular Papiamentu on May 21, 2003, when the Aruban Parliament enacted the “*Landsverordering Officiële Talen*”, the Ordinance on Official Languages. With this law not only Papiamentu became official in Aruba, but Aruba was also first in the Kingdom to officialize Dutch as the national language. In the general paragraph of the “*Memorie van Toelichting*” (Explanatory Memorandum) one can read:

“*Met het groeiend besef van een eigen culturele identiteit en vanuit de erkenning van het belang van taal in dat proces, is, zeker sinds de Status Aparte, de behoefte ontstaan om op alle maatschappelijke terreinen het Papiamentu te kunnen gebruiken als een taal die gelijkwaardig is aan het Nederlands, zowel in woord en geschrift. Het doel van de onderhavige landsverordening is om formeel vast te leggen dat het Papiamentu en het Nederlands de officiële talen zijn van Aruba, daarmee onderstrendend dat deze talen gelijkwaardig zijn. Beoogd wordt met deze landsverordening te bevorderen dat ervaring wordt opgedaan met het gebruik van het Papiamentu in het bestuurlijk en juridisch verkeer.*”⁵⁴

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However, contradictory to this text are Articles 5 and 6 of the Ordinance which exclude Papiamentu as the language of justice. Article 5 states simply that “*Wetgeving geschiedt in het Nederlands*” and Article 6 that “*De officiële taal die als rechtstaal, bedoeld in artikel 1 van het Wetboek van Strafvordering van Aruba (AB 1996 no.75), voor Aruba is toegelaten, is het Nederlands*”⁵⁵ Additionally, Article 8, which refers to attorney documents excludes Papiamentu. The Explanatory Memorandum refers to these articles as exceptions to the relation of equality between the two languages. The arguments used for these exceptions are the small scale of Aruba, limited financial means and the connection between the Aruban legal system with the legal systems of

⁵⁴ Translation: With the growing awareness of their cultural identity and in recognition of the importance of language in that process, especially since the *Status Aparte*, a need was created to use Papiamentu in all areas of society as a language equivalent in Dutch, both spoken and written. The purpose of this ordinance is to formalize Papiamentu and Dutch as the official languages of Aruba, thus underlining that these languages are equal. The aim of this ordinance is to promote that experience is gained with the use of Papiamentu in administrative and legal communication.

⁵⁵ LV Official Languages Aruba, Article 5: Legislation takes place in Dutch. Article 6: The official legal language which is referred to in Article 1 of the Criminal Code of Aruba (AB 1996 no.75), and which is approved for Aruba is Dutch.

The Netherlands and of the Netherlands Antilles. None of these are linguistic arguments. According to Velásquez (2010), this law conflicts with the principle of equality between the two languages because on the one hand, it creates the possibility to integrate Papiamentu into governmental administration and on the other hand it constitutes a major obstacle to promoting the development of Papiamentu as the language of law and justice. This law ignores the fact that many good translations in Papiamentu of legal documents were already published at that time in Aruba and Curaçao, for instance, the Constitution of Aruba by IDILA and the many books about the constitution, labor law, and criminal law by the late Hubert Th. Lopez.

The Netherlands Antilles followed Aruba on March 7, 2007, with the officialization of Papiamentu, English, and Dutch. After the dissolution of the Netherlands Antilles Papiamentu became official in Bonaire on January 1, 2011. It is curious that it was only in 2010 that the Dutch language was “anchored” in the constitution as the official language of the Netherlands (Rijksoverheid.nl). This has had as a consequence for Bonaire, a new Dutch municipality in the Dutch Kingdom since 2010, that the law of 2007 that officialized Papiamentu as the official language was eliminated with serious effects on the educational reform process on the island.

The officialization of Papiamentu had a positive impact on the introduction of Papiamentu in education, as both a stimulus and a substantial back-up for personnel at the Department of Education. In the community people demonstrated a certain pride that their language is official; during the national celebration of “Dia di Himno y Bandera” on March 18 Papiamentu is one of the favorite topics.

Two of the conditions for the success of the new school system are adequate school materials and well-prepared teachers. At the Department of Education, different groups were formed for the development of school materials. Up to now the production of books has been reasonably successful. The *Grupo Idioma* is working in a systematic way on books in Papiamentu, both translations and original books, for the primary schools. The production of a *Papiamentu* grammar has been very successful: in 2010 the first volume “*Manual di Gramatica di Papiamentu – Morfologia*” and in 2015 the second volume “*Manual di Gramatica di Papiamentu – Sintaxis*” were published. However, the development of language textbooks is problematic, due to a lack of experience in this area and due to the fact that appointing full-time skilled material developers seems not to be an option for the government. Working with the “*Fundashon pa Planifikashon di Idioma*” (FPI) of Curaçao on the language textbook “*Cristal*” – a Papiamentu textbook series for secondary schools – that used the format of the Curaçaoan series “*Mosaiko*”, was a positive experience that resulted in further collaboration with the FPI for the production of “*Rampa*” (for 4-5 year olds), an adaptation of the Curaçaoan “*Trampolin*”, an integrated series for the first two years (kindergarten) of the first cycle of the *Scol Multilingual*, especially for Papiamentu, mathematics and social development. Other textbooks are “*Baile di letter*” (for 6 years

old) and “*Festival di idioma*” (for 7–12 years old). Additionally, the textbooks “*Taalpret*” and “*Taalsprong*” for Dutch as a foreign language and “*Conta cu mi*” for Mathematics were developed.

Papiamento teachers have been being trained since the 1990s. Aruba has a team of ‘*derdegraads*’ and ‘*tweedegraads*’ Papiamento teachers, who respectively hold the equivalents of a pre-bachelor’s and bachelor’s degree in Papiamento education. These Papiamento teachers, who teach at secondary schools, are in charge of the Papiamento courses for primary school teachers organized by the *Instituto Pedagógico Arubano*. They are also tasked with the development of school materials at the Section of Curriculum Development of the Department of Education and thus play an important role in the preparation and development of materials for the multilingual primary schools. After the minister of education rejected a proposal for a Masters degree in Papiamento at the University of Aruba in 2012, stating that it would have ‘no added value’ for the island and that there were no funds available, in September 2013 an on-line Master study in Papiamento, Dutch, English and Spanish for teachers became a reality, offered by the University of Curaçao (UoC) in collaboration with the Instituto Pedagógico Arubano (IPA) and the annex of the UoC in Bonaire. In June 2015 Aruba graduated its first professional Masters in Education specialized in Papiamento, graduates of this ABC-island collaboration.

Mandatory in-service teacher training courses in Papiamento started at the *Instituto Pedagógico Arubano* in 2006 and were financed by the *Fondo di desaroyo Aruba* (FDA)⁵⁶. These courses had the following content: Papiamento knowledge and competencies, the new vision on education and language education, didactics and practice. Due to the limited space of time allowed for in-service training, the course remained very basic, sufficient for teachers at traditional schools, but not for teachers at the Scol Multilingual pilot schools. This limited preparation can be harmful to the quality of the SML.

⁵⁶ FDA is a monetary facility provided by Dutch development aid and controlled by the Aruba Investment Bank.

Table 2.12 Ten main achievements for Papiamento (1976-2018)

1	Papiamento has an orthography since 1976.
2	Papiamento was declared an official language of Aruba in 2003.
3	The Papiamento corpus has been expanded to include a spelling book and grammar.
4	There are textbooks for and in Papiamento.
5	Papiamento has a growing amount of literature in the language, especially literature for children.
6	Papiamento is taught as a subject in many secondary schools.
7	Primary school teachers receive in-service training in how to teach in and about Papiamento.
8	The schools of the <i>Pilot Project Scol Multilingual</i> have been using Papiamento as the main language of instruction and are teaching Dutch as a foreign language.
9	The government decided that from 2018 on the Scol Multilingual model will be introduced at all primary schools.
10	Aruba has already graduated teachers with Bachelors and Masters degrees in Papiamento. A Bachelor's degree program in Papiamento for teachers has been established at the Instituto Pedagogico Arubano (IPA). A Master's degree program in Papiamento for teachers has been established at the University of Curaçao, and Aruban students are participating in this on-line program at the Instituto Pedagogico Arubano.

Despite these developments, discussions are still taking place, and the development of Papiamento is being systematically disrupted in many arenas. For instance, after having limited the hours for Papiamento as a subject, the HAVO/VWO high school *Colegio Arubano* has put a ban on Papiamento in its classrooms and instead wants to focus on Dutch proficiency. In 2007, the Minister of Education published the report “The learner, our focus: A Strategic National Education Plan 2007-2017” (*Nationaal Onderwijs Plan*, National Educational Plan, NOP), which states the following:

“After more than a decade of traveling on the road of educational innovation, the leadership of the Department of Education identified the need for a national plan that would articulate a unified direction and bring about coherence among the various ongoing innovation efforts. Though there had been a plan for restructuring the educational system since 1988 (SHO-nota), it was no longer reflective of the new realities of the 21st century. A new national educational plan was deemed necessary that would reflect the issues of the time and create a new vision of the desired future.” (p. 5)

Strangely enough, there is no mention of the PRIEPEB⁵⁷ and SHA⁵⁸ documents of the Department of Education, all produced in the last decade of the 20th century or in the first decade of the 21st century, and instrumental in the reform process.

A country in the phase of decolonization has many challenges, and indeed it will take huge efforts to change the situation for the benefit of the community. The problems and possibilities have to be described, the goals formulated, the strategies to reach these goals planned and a workable implementation plan designed. Reforming a system that is not functioning well requires strong commitment on the part of all the stakeholders. For that reason, it is astonishing to read on page 11 the following:

⁵⁷ PRIEPEB – Proyecto di Innovacion di Enseñansa Preparatorio y Enseñansa Basico

⁵⁸ SHA – Stuurgroep Herstructurerend Algemeen Vormend Onderwijs

“2.8. In all respects, the proposed restructuring efforts represented enormous demands of time, manpower, resources, creativity, motivation, willpower and perseverance. The challenge was not only one of restructuring an antiquated educational system but also one of creating the new Aruban citizen with her/his own cultural sense of self. In the minds and hearts of the architects of restructuring, a historic process of decolonization and forging of ownership of the educational process had begun. What they did not realize, was how ambitious this plan was and what kind of commitments it would take to fully realize.” (Ministry of Education, National Education Plan (NOP), 2007:11).

In this National Education Plan (NOP), language problems are not described in any detail. The statements are very general and there is no reference to the earlier analyses of the language situation in Aruba nor were any ideas on language policy included. This leaves one with the impression that the whole process of thinking about the language situation and the resolution of the problems that arise from it has to start all over again. The role of language and Papiamentu in education is mentioned briefly in a carefully-worded way: “2.19 Research evidence in developmental psychology and education identifies the language as the major tool for learning. Because of this research-based finding, it was deemed critical for the new curriculum to focus on developing multilingual language skills. Papiamentu, the local language, was seen as a bridge to learning other languages” (NOP, 2007:16). However, the NOP correctly states that there exists “a lack of commitment at the policy level to resolve educational language issues.” (NOP, 2007: 43).

According to the NOP, renewed emphasis must also be placed on proficiency in Dutch in primary school. In 2007, 2008 and 2009 all sixth- graders were tested on their proficiency in Dutch and mathematical skills. As primary education did not have national learning standards, the tests were based on the contents of the Dutch teaching materials. Students were therefore tested, apparently unwittingly, according to the national learning standards for Dutch schools in The Netherlands. The ‘insufficient’ results on these tests in 2007 were predictable. Schools were required to produce and implement an improvement plan for Dutch instruction and in 2008 and 2009 the tests were repeated. The improvements were minimal: The national average of the final score was 5.0 in 2007 (CBS 2007) and 5.5 in 2008 (CBS 2008).⁵⁹ The researcher of the Aruban Central Bureau of Statistics concluded (sic) that “the language itself is not the most important factor that determines whether people score high or low, but that underlying factors play a role in this and that this, for example, has to do with the

⁵⁹ In the Dutch educational system 10 is the highest score and means ‘outstanding’, 9=very good, 8=good, 7=amply sufficient, 6=sufficient, 5= insufficient, 4=highly insufficient, 3=bad, 2=very bad

educational level of the parents or the genetic composition of the intelligence of the children that they have inherited at birth" (RNWO, 2007).⁶⁰

These tests were heavily criticized and after two terms they were replaced by the Dutch CITO-test, but this test is only for Aruban children who are selected for the HAVO/VWO tracks, while in The Netherlands all six graders must do this test. Another difference is that in The Netherlands the advice of the primary school is of more importance than the outcome of the test. In Aruba, the test is used as a decisive selection tool for HAVO/VWO. This means that up to the present the proficiency in the Dutch language is normative for intelligence and a successful school career. In other words, a twelve-year-old child, born in Aruba or elsewhere, a native speaker of Papiamentu, Spanish, English or another language, is supposed to have the same level of language proficiency (BICS and CALP) as a twelve-year-old Dutch child in The Netherlands. The results are devastating for too many of the students who always had good marks in primary school.

It is remarkable that parents and teachers have remained passive in the face of this obstructionism. The UNESCO statement of 1979 (b:28) can be repeated literally in the second decade of the 21st century: "The children who survive the annual selection process that takes place in the primary school face a new and more formidable barrier when they seek admission to some sort of secondary education. Those who have good command of the Dutch language and elementary arithmetic may be admitted to schools for full secondary education (HAVO – VWO); those whose performance in these subjects is average may proceed to schools for lower general education (MAVO or ETAO), and the others may find a place in schools for lower professional education. This selection process is hardly fair on a number of children."

This crab walk leading to a confusing situation is the consequence of the lack of well thought-out and coherent language policy, planning, and management. It makes, for instance, no sense to have an official language with its official spelling, but no laws to ensure its position in the community (education, justice, commerce, press, entertainment, etc.). It makes no sense to exclude it from primary school and have it only as a subject in secondary school. It makes no sense to recognize the fact that Dutch is a foreign language, while the pedagogical approach does not change. It makes no sense to organize in-service training in Papiamentu for teachers if they are prohibited to teach in that language or to use the language in the classroom. Moreover, it makes no sense to work only on language policy and planning for education, while this has to be an integral part of national language planning and policy. According to Spolsky (2006:6): "Language and language policy both exist in (and language management must contend

⁶⁰ Original text: "(Dat betekent dat, uuhhmm,) de taal op zich niet de belangrijkste factor is die bepaalt of mensen hoog of laag scoren, maar dat onderliggende factoren een rol spelen in deze en dat kan bijvoorbeeld te maken hebben met het educatieniveau van de ouders of de genetische samenstelling van de kinderen hun intelligentie die ze hebben meegekregen bij geboorte." RNWO-interview 2007

with) highly complex, interacting and dynamic contexts, the modification of any of its parts may have correlated effects (and causes) on any other of its parts.”

One gets the impression that successive ministries of education were obstructed in their decisions and successive education commissions of the Parliament were obstructed in their advice, not only due to budgetary challenges, and not even due to their ties with The Netherlands, but instead due to a lack of courage as well as a lack of communication with Aruban educational and language experts and subsequent lack of knowledge on this complicated matter.

The former government of Aruba stated in its ‘Government Program 2013-2017’, chapter Education, Family Policy and Adult Education that a decision on the language issue is necessary and cannot be postponed. The multilingual model with the four languages will be introduced at primary schools as part of the establishment and implementation of comprehensive language policy. The possibilities for diversification of the language of instruction within the multilingual model will be explored. The new government installed at the end of 2017, took the decision on this matter and proclaimed that in 2018 the process of education reform would start: mother tongue-based multilingual education will be implemented in the primary schools in Aruba. The decisive factor, according to the new Minister of Education, are the excellent results of the two schools of the pilot project Scol Multilingual. At the level of secondary education, discussions have yet to start on the renewal of the MAVO, HAVO, and VWO so that they will connect with the new primary school.

Also important is the agreement signed on August 24, 2018 between the education ministers of Aruba and Curaçao, with the aim of stimulating cooperation between the countries in the field of Papiamentu and the exchange of knowledge, skills, expertise. This agreement should also provide a framework for cooperation in the field of language policy.

2.6 Conclusions and discussion

This chapter focuses on the linguistic and educational aspects of the history of Aruba and recounts a long journey of domination, transformation, self-discovery, and recovery. As have its sister islands Curaçao and Bonaire, Aruba has gone through many changes during its 130 years of Spanish and 320 years of Dutch colonial domination and has now, during the last 60 years of autonomous or semi-independent status, begun the process of discovering its linguistic and educational potential.

These last 60 years were indeed years in which educational professionals, increasingly of Aruban descent, have tried to change the Dutch-only-educational system into an authentic Aruban educational system that can best meet the island’s educational goals. The traditional focus on Dutch, the orientation toward The Netherlands and the exclusion of Papiamentu are seen as the source of many educational problems and as discriminatory and anti-democratic. Proficiency in Dutch has become the ruler by which

intelligence is measured and the determinant factor in educational success. This fact has had an impact on the community that, although proud of their language Papiamentu, is very reluctant to change, resulting in a very ambiguous situation.

The project for a new multilingual primary school with Papiamentu as the language of instruction is piloting with very positive results. In general, however, secondary education, still inclines toward Dutch and the Netherlands, primarily due to the decision of the government to sign an agreement with the Dutch Ministry of Education which stipulates that this secondary sector has to comply with all the Dutch exam norms by 2016. At the same time, the government is beginning to advocate English as the language of instruction in secondary education, according to the “*Regeerakkoord 2013-2017*”

Discussions are still taking place, but now more than ever the ideas are very diverse and it seems difficult to get everyone to move in the same direction. The Aruban senior teacher Crispin Bruce’s words (*Skol & Komunidat*, 1978, volume 2:9) are still valid forty years later, today in the 21st century: “In an authoritarian relationship, there is always oppression. We, in the school, are the greatest oppressors. We suppress - I will mention some - creativity, spontaneity, opinion, cooperation, self-confidence, independence, communication, the urge to explore, etcetera, supposedly with the aim to reach even higher education goals: Teaching subject matter knowledge. We, therefore, create people who do not even perceive oppression as oppression.”

Prominent in the history of education in the ABC Islands is the focus on the Netherlands and on Dutch education, which is a logical consequence of their colonial background. The problematization of this European orientation, however, has not yet lead to real solutions. It is, therefore, extremely important that slowly but gradually since the 1960s educational and language experts from our islands have opened the doors to other countries in the Caribbean and Latin America, where people are looking for solutions to similar problems. Many are members of organizations such as the *Society for Caribbean Linguistics* (SCL), the *Society for Pidgin and Creole Linguistics* (SPCL) and *Associação de Crioulos de Base Lexical Portuguesa e Espanhola* (ABLPE) that are important platforms for researchers and practitioners. The contacts that arise from this new orientation are of unique value for scientific cooperation in favor of our Creole languages and multilingual communities.

To conclude, it is evident that our process of self-discovery and recovery in the areas of language policy, planning and education has only just begun.

Chapter 3

Contemporary perspectives on Papiamentu in the Aruban community

This chapter examines the general prevailing attitudes of the Aruban community towards Papiamentu as the language of the majority on the island, in order to find answers to the second research question: *What have been the prevalent attitudes in Aruban society toward Papiamentu, particularly in relation to formal education, and how have these attitudes changed over time?* To describe the contemporary period, the year 2003 is decisive as a starting point, since in 2003 Papiamentu, among other things, acquired an official status by law through government intervention. Contemporary perspectives on Papiamentu will be given by focusing on language attitudes in the Aruban community (3.1), language rights (3.2) and language vitality (3.3), the role of Papiamentu in education (3.4), and language activism (3.5). Throughout this chapter, I will draw on results of recent studies as well as on local and international sources. The chapter will close with conclusions and discussion (3.6).

3.1 Language attitudes

Although Aruba is currently an independent country within the Dutch Kingdom and, together with the European country of the Netherlands and the Caribbean islands of Curaçao and St. Maarten, forms the Kingdom of the Netherlands as four independent countries, Aruba has a clear colonial past. In the twentieth century, Aruba first became autonomous (1954), and it later acquired a separate status within the kingdom (1986). The traces left behind by colonial history can still be seen, among other aspects of life on the island, in the ethnic composition of the population and in the widespread use of Papiamentu, a Creole language.

Language attitude can be described as the ideas and feelings people have about languages in general, and about their own language specifically. These ideas and feelings can have positive or negative implications regarding behaviors towards languages

and their speakers and, as a consequence, regarding maintenance or abandonment of languages (Sallabank, 2012:104). A negative language attitude may have a decisive impact on language policies, even after a country obtains its autonomy or independence. A process of internalization of the myths used by the colonizers can result in linguistic attitudes characterized by persistent ignorance and even feelings of fear, uncertainty, and disbelief (Devonish, 2007; Hira, 2009).

The Dutch ‘civilizing politics’, had the ultimate goal of transforming the existing cultures of the colonies into a European culture (Rosalia, 1997). These policies had a massive impact on the attitude of the inhabitants of the colonies in relation to their own language and culture, which were seen as inferior. Papiamentu did not disappear as intended by these policies. However, nearly two hundred years of systematic exclusion and suppression of Papiamentu by the Dutch has had its consequences. In the autonomous era after 1954, this complex negative linguistic attitude has become an obstacle to the emancipation of Papiamentu speakers Aruba, Curaçao, and Bonaire, as the rejection and neglect have continued, but now from the inside, by the colonized mind. While the language managed to survive colonial suppression, acquiring a strong position in the community, as illustrated by expressions such as: “*mi dushi Papiamentu*” (my beloved Papiamentu), it has also been reviled by many of its speakers: “*Pero e no ta sirbi pa enseñansa*” (However, it is not suitable for education), echoing the colonizer’s voice.

The community seems not to be aware of the magnitude of the problems caused by this rejection of its main home language. The Aruban Dutch-only-education system can hardly be classified as quality democratic education because of its heavily selective and exclusive character. The transformation of Aruban education into a system that really focuses on the child and its talents is in the opinion of many an unrealistic endeavor (NOP, 2007). Nobody seems to be concerned with the fact that our schools are violating human rights, language rights and the rights of the child (UNICEF, 2013). That Papiamentu might be in danger of extinction is something that many people never think of. It is obvious that action for attitude change is urgently needed. The notion that since 1954 the Dutch Caribbean islands are autonomous in their educational affairs and that they can develop their educational systems for their own benefit, according to international standards and not only to Dutch standards, is growing slowly. It is significant that NGOs are working on campaigns to awaken the language and cultural consciousness of the Aruban people to fill the gaping void left in the wake of the negligence of governmental and educational institutions in these areas.

Over the last few decades, Aruba’s educational situation has finally been attracting the attention of Aruban and non-Aruban researchers. Inspired by the challenging linguistic situation in Aruban schools, several Masters and PhD studies have been conducted on a variety of aspects of Language Planning on the island.⁶¹ Moreover, there

⁶¹ Master studies: Caster, 1992; Boekhoudt-Croes, 1995; Wester, 1996; Tromp, 1997; Maduro, 1997; Thiel, 2000; Wiel, 2009; Croes, 2007; Fun, 2014; Kelly, 2015; Luidens, 2015; Croes, 2015; Silva, 2015;

have been numerous papers presented at national and international conferences which are often published. An important platform for these papers since 2009 is *Proceedings of the Eastern Caribbean Islands Culture Conference (ECICC)*, a collaborative publication of Fundashon pa Planifikashon di Idioma (FPI) of Curaçao, the University of Curaçao (UoC) and the University of Puerto Rico (UPR). In these studies, different topics are covered in all four areas of LPP, namely Prestige and Image planning, Status planning, Corpus planning, and Acquisition planning, all related to the language situation in Aruba, Curaçao, Bonaire, St. Martin, St. Eustatius and Saba. In general, these studies are increasingly being carried out against a Caribbean background.

Since the establishment in 1924 of Lago Oil & Transport Co. Ltd. Aruba has become an increasingly multilingual community. Table 3.1 provides an overview of the position of the different languages in the Aruban community from the end of the twentieth to the beginning of the twenty-first century. The most recent census of 2010 reports that Papiamentu is spoken in most households (68.3%), with Spanish as the second most used language at home (13.5%), followed by English (7.0%), Dutch (6.0%), and other languages (3.1%).

Spanish has been a very familiar language to the people of the ABC Islands, due to centuries-old cultural, commercial and family ties. Immigration from the Spanish-speaking Caribbean and Latin America grew because of the establishment of the oil refinery. But it is the enormous growth of the touristic sector in the last decades of the 20th century that enhanced immigration from these countries, resulting in a second place for Spanish since the census of 2000.

English was the language of the refinery, a U.S. owned company. Caribbean varieties of English lexifier Creoles and American English came to Aruba with the Caribbean and American oil refinery workers. These Caribbean English lexifier Creole varieties influenced one other and developed into a new variety, now known as the San Nicolas English or San Nicolas English lexifier Creole (Richardson & Richardson, 2012:47; Devonish, 2016). American English was used at the oil refinery and at the LAGO Vocational School (Ridderstaat, 2007). English has long been very popular on Aruba, being the language of the largest group of tourists, of commerce, cable television, and social media (Peterson, 2015).

Contrary to Dutch, the presence of these two languages, English and Spanish, is a very natural phenomenon in the Aruban community, and they are very accessible as languages of the region. Since the beginning of the television era, Spanish has been a popular language of telenovelas (soap series), news and show programs. The same, on an even bigger scale, has happened with English, which is omnipresent in the tourism, entertainment and internet sectors. One factor which contributes to Arubans' relative ease in their use of these languages, is the compulsory presence of both English (in

Arendsz, 2015. PhD dissertations: Herrera, 2003, USA; Emerencia, 2007, The Netherlands; Carroll, 2009, U.S.A.

grade 5 and 6) and Spanish (in grade 6) as foreign languages in Aruban primary education as well as in the Ciclo Basico of Secondary Education. Aruba is now known as a multilingual community with two official languages (Papiamentu and Dutch), and a significant percentage of inhabitants who can manage the four languages Papiamentu, Dutch, English, and Spanish on a sufficient communicative (BICS) level (CBS, 2004a:134).

Table 3.1. Population by language most spoken in the household

Aruba's multilingual situation in the last three decades								
	1981		1991		2000		2010	
	Abs.	%	Abs.	%	Abs.	%	Abs.	%
Papiamentu	48,335	80.1	51,061	76.6	59,984	69.4	69,354	68.3%
Spanish	1,891	3.1	4,946	7.4	11,368	13.2	13,710	13.5%
Dutch	3,013	5.0	3,626	5.4	5,289	6.1	6,110	6.0%
English	6,393	10.6	5,954	8.9	7,001	8.1	7,129	7.0%
Portuguese	245	0.4	185	0.3	225	0.3	-	-
Chinese	-	-	-	-	-	-	1,456	1.4%
Other	435	0.7	914	1.4	1,781	2.1	1,725	1.7%
Does not speak (yet) ⁶²	-	-	-	-	-	-	1,568	1.5%
Not rep.					759	0.9	432	0.4%
Total	60,312	100.0	66,686	100.0	86,407	100.0	101,484	100.0

Although Aruba has developed into a multilingual society with Papiamentu still as the majority language and the lingua franca, the island's political and educational policies have never sought to further the academic (CALP) development of Papiamentu, mainly because of misinformation about the nature and importance of Creole languages. Only Dutch, English, Spanish and French were taught at school, in other words, only foreign, European languages were considered suitable for education, while Papiamentu, the first language of the majority, was and still is considered by many an obstacle to learning these languages, and to career success. Exceptions have been made since the 1950s for Kindergarten and since 1979 for special education, where, when it became obvious that Dutch was not functional at all, the teachers courageously took the decision to start using Papiamentu as the language of instruction.

⁶² Note: First population and Housing Census, CBS 2012: "In addition, a category 'Does not speak (as yet)' was added to provide for individuals unable to speak and for young babies." (pg. 42)

Table 3.2. The language profile of the Aruban students in school year 2014-2015

School type	Papiamento	Spanish	Dutch	English	Other	Total
kindergarten	2.117	256	122	79	66	2.640
primary school	6.544	1.137	544	423	250	8.898
Incorporation program	11	2	1	-	86	100
special education	390	22	3	23	8	446
special vocational education	287	36	1	31	7	362
lower vocational ed.	1.151	247	39	83	42	1.562
MAVO	2.560	439	157	180	95	3.431
HAVO/VWO	1.280	252	371	146	44	2.093
Total	14.340	2.391	1.238	965	598	19.532
	73.4%	12.2%	6.3%	4.9%	3.1%	100%

Source: Relato Estadístico Enseñansa na Aruba 2014-2015 ⁶³ Departamento di Enseñansa Aruba, www.ea.aw

The percentages in table 3.2 show that the proportions in the schools correspond to the percentages for the languages spoken at home as presented in table 3.1. Papiamento (73.4%; 68.3%), Spanish (12.2%; 13.5%), Dutch (6.3%; 6.0%) and English (4.9%; 7.0%) respectively are the most widely spoken languages at home and at school in Aruba.

With the graduation in 2015 of the first Aruban Master Papiamento teachers, , teachers were available for the first time in the history of the islands who were qualified to teach Papiamento in the highest classes of secondary education. As a result, the government was unable to raise many objections to Papiamento as a subject. After all, the textbooks for Papiamento had already been produced by another government department. The decision to allow Papiamento as language of instruction in the Scol Multilingual only until the 4th grade and to continue in the 5th grade with Dutch as language of instruction was another contradiction that can be attributed to the low appreciation of Papiamento and lack of courage at the level of government.

Attempts to contradict and eliminate overt prejudices against Papiamento often trigger negative reactions. Caribbean Creole languages such as Papiamento are often the target of very emotional attack, due to the fact that they are seen as being relatively young languages of relatively small communities and are linked in the popular imagination to colonialism and slavery. Although Creoles can be considered fully natural languages (DeGraff, 2003, 2005) their importance is still denied, due to a lack of information, and a Eurocentric bias. “Assumptions about the ‘mixed’ origins of languages were often coupled with the expectation that such languages were functionally reduced or degenerated versions of their supposedly ‘pure’ counterparts – a stereotype that creole languages continue to be confronted with today. A language thus disqualified could be presented as acceptable for the purposes of trade, lower education and administration, and at the same time be excluded from the more sophisticated tasks reserved for European languages” (Maral-Hanak, 2009:66). A typical example of this Eurocentric

⁶³ The Statistical Yearbook of 2014-2015 of the Department of Education is the most recent available yearbook.

orientation is a memo of July 2, 2012 issued by the University of Aruba with the following text in which Papiamentu is excluded: “The international character of the UA, as well as the languages, indicated in the *‘landsbesluiten’* as being a faculty-language and the language used to communicate in writing with the government, prompted the AB (=Advisory Board) to decide that both Dutch and English are to be used as the official internal business written communication languages of the UA.” This can be classified as contradictory to the fact that English is not an official language in Aruba, while Papiamentu is.

These acts of Eurocentric based prejudices at the meso and macro levels are the result of the absence of a clear and consistent language policy. A former minister of education of Aruba stated during a discussion in the 1990s that “the community is not ready yet” for the use of Papiamentu in education. When the government had the opportunity to create the first fully multilingual primary school (SML) with Papiamentu as the language of instruction, it agreed with the minister of education to switch from Papiamentu to Dutch as the language of education in the 5th grade. The arguments of the minister were: 1) The school had to prove that the students learn better in Papiamentu; 2) The school had to prove that the students learn better Dutch and 3) Secondary education is in Dutch.

At one of the secondary schools, the management was discouraging teachers and students from speaking Papiamentu, even during the break, using the argument that this practice would hamper students’ progress in their studies. This policy, which started officially after visits by the Dutch educational inspectorate, that conflicts with the linguistic reality and with scientific ideas about language acquisition and multilingualism, where the mother tongue plays an important role as the base for the acquisition of new knowledge (Vygotsky, 1978) and of other languages (Cummins, 1999; Studio Taalwetenschap, 2000). It is clear that monolingual (Dutch only) schools stand in contradiction with the multilingual character of the community, the society, and of course the language rights Aruban citizens. This contradiction can be seen as the cause of many learning problems with socioeconomic consequences for the individuals who fail and are excluded from the system as well as for the community (PRIPEB, 1999; Vaillancourt & Grin, 2000; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2009).

For many years, the government of Aruba has been skeptical about Papiamentu as the language of instruction. The government program for 2013-2017 states that “the possibilities of diversifying the language of instruction will be explored within the multilingual model. The decision is taken together with the school, in which supply and demand factors will be important” (Regering van Aruba, 2013). The work and the reports of former official reform projects sponsored by the Department of Education, in-

cluding the Innovation Project for Teacher Preparation and Basic Education (PRIEPEB)⁶⁴ and the Steering Group Restructuring General Education (SHA)⁶⁵ were thus seemingly forgotten.

Discussions on the continuation of the SML program into secondary education have not yet started. Instead of considering Papiamento as language of instruction instead of Dutch in secondary schools in order to address problems with students repeating grades, official discourse is going in the direction of the establishment of MAVO, HAVO, VWO secondary tracks with English as language of instruction (Regering van Aruba, 2013).

In any case, Papiamento is quite alive in Aruban society, and it is still the language with the largest number of speakers, as shown in Tables 3.1 and 3.2. Walter's scale (Walter & Benson 2012:279-281) can be used to discuss the status of Papiamento and the consequences of language policy. Walter's analytical framework has two parameters: (1) political or national salience and (2) level of language development. Concerning the first parameter, Papiamento scores positively: it is officially recognized along with Dutch as a national language of Aruba, and for Arubans, together with Curaçaoans and Bonaireans it is the most important identity marker. Regarding the second parameter, Walter distinguishes six developmental levels based on criteria such as the extent to which a given language has "a standard writing system, a grammar, a general lexicon, a technical lexicon for educational, legal, technical business, mass communication and scholarly purposes". These levels can be summarized as follows:

Level one languages are designated as *international languages*. These are languages with a long history of being written and which enjoy the status of national or official languages of multiple nation states. These languages are international vehicles of business, education, scholarship, and diplomacy. Examples are English and Standard Arabic.

Level two languages are designated as *major languages*. These are official or national languages of individual nation states, and while they are used as international vehicles of communication and scholarship, their use is more limited in this respect than that of level one languages. Examples are Italian and Japanese.

Level three languages are designated as *developed national languages*. These enjoy status as official or national languages, but they are less likely to be used at the highest levels of education or business than level two languages. The speakers of these languages learn an international language to function at the highest levels of education, research and scholarly publication. Examples are Swedish and Thai.

Level four languages are designated as *underdeveloped national languages*. While these languages are spoken by a substantial number of people (sometimes

⁶⁴ PRIEPEB: *Proyecto di Innovacion di Enseñansa Preparatorio y Enseñansa Basico*.

⁶⁵ SHA: *Stuurgroep Herstructurering Algemeen vormend onderwijs*.

a majority) in a given nation, and are frequently used in the electronic media, they are not usually recognized as official or national languages nor are they normally used in education and the print media. Examples are Jamaican Creole and Aymara.

Level five languages are designated as *underdeveloped sub-national languages*. Although these languages have regional importance within individual nation states, they do not normally have recognition as official or national languages, even though they may be spoken by a substantial number of people. These languages have a limited written corpus, and their speakers must learn another language for education, access to the media and jobs. Examples are K'iche and Karen.

Level six includes *localized oral languages*. These languages are normally spoken by individual ethnic groups with small populations and have no regional or national scope or recognition. They have few speakers and little or no material written in them. Examples are Tuyuca and Ejagham.

Taking into account the limitations of such a framework and of the grey areas between the levels, it can be concluded that Papiamentu might be situated somewhere between levels three and four on Walter's scale. Papiamentu is an officially recognized national language spoken by the majority of the population of the ABC Islands, and it has a standard writing system, a descriptive grammar and an expanding lexicon, designed to equip it to express a wide range of technical concepts. It is widely spoken and written and is used in Parliament, and is the most widely used language in the electronic and print media. It has a growing literature and is gaining ground as a language of instruction in the schools, with both Bachelor's and Master's degrees being offered to specialists in the language. In the Aruban linguistic landscape, however, Papiamentu appears to take second place to English (Bamberger et al., 2016). This phenomenon is largely due to the fact that, since the establishment of the LAGO Oil Company in 1924, English has gained an increasingly important place in Aruban society. English has thus become a leading language in both business and tourism on the island.

3.2 Language rights

The Constitution of Aruba, Chapter 1, Fundamental Rights; Article 1.1 opens with the following passage: "All persons living in Aruba are treated equally in equal circumstances. Discrimination based on religion, belief, political opinion, race, sex, color, language, national or social origin, association with a national minority, property, birth or on any ground whatsoever is not allowed" (Staatsregeling van Aruba: AB 1985, 26; *geldende tekst* AB 1987, GT 1). In contrast with the Dutch constitution, in the Aruban Constitution 'language' is explicitly mentioned. This means that the Aruban government is committed to paying special attention to language rights. This commitment is

re-enforced by the fact that the Aruban government is signatory to some important international treaties and declarations which explicitly mention language and cultural rights⁶⁶:

That said, the UNICEF 2013 report on Aruba (UNICEF, 2013:7) states the following:

“One of the major educational problems is the persistence of a Dutch educational model that is not adapted to local needs: only 6 per cent of the population speak Dutch at home while 68 per cent speak Papiamentu, 14 per cent speak Spanish and 7 per cent speak English. This is one of the causes of the high dropout rate, especially among males. There is also a lot of repetition, with children not studying in grades corresponding to their age. There is no mechanism to reintegrate those who drop out or are expelled, and children may become NEETs (not in education, employment or training), get involved in gangs and engage in illegal forms of subsistence.”

Papiamentu in education is still a problematic affair. Generally, people mention the financial, material and organizational difficulties which might be involved in the introduction of this language as a medium of instruction in the schools, instead of considering the boost that Papiamentu could give to quality education and real intellectual and socioeconomic progress in Aruba. Dutch colonial language policy has apparently succeeded in convincing the Papiamentu speaking community that its language is not suitable for education (Winkel 1973, 1983). This is a case of what Paula (1972) describes as the transition from ‘objective social barrier to subjective social barrier’, by which imposed colonial limitations became self-imposed neo-colonial limitations, with colonized peoples learning to hate or reject their own somatic and cultural features, such as type of hair, color of skin, language, and cultural expressions. In Aruba, this phenomenon has led to serious violations of children’s right to education in their own language (UNESCO, 1953; 2003; UN, 1989). In a country where their language is the language of the majority, Papiamentu children find their language being relegated to a status usually reserved for minority languages.

Despite copious research and national and international legislation, the right to mother tongue medium education is still a ‘hot potato’ (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000), especially in neocolonial societies where the vernacular is not a European language. It has been very difficult for supposedly postcolonial communities to dismantle colonial practices and ways of thinking, which are still in evidence in research which denies the correlation between language of instruction and academic success (Van der Wal, 2011:231) attributing failure rates instead to economic factors (Esser, 2004), or even to the supposed low intellectual capacities of the students (RNWO, 2007).

⁶⁶ Charter of the United Nations (1945, 1997), article 73a, UN; The Universal declaration of human rights (1948), articles 1, 2.1, 7, UN; The use of Vernacular Languages in Education (2003) UNESCO; International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (1966, 1979), article 2.2. UN; International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (1966, 1989), preamble, articles 17.1, 17.2, 24 and 26, U.N.; Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989/1990), article 2, 29, U.N.

The widespread notion of “Creole Exceptionalism” which denies the fact that Creole languages are equal to other languages (DeGraff, 2003, 2005), is hindering the use of these languages in many sectors, especially in education. All this, despite scientific research and proven educational practice that demonstrates that the mother tongue plays a vital role in the development of the human being as well as in the promotion of cultural diversity and intercultural dialogue. The mother tongue is one of the most powerful instruments in the acknowledgment and preservation of traditional knowledge and cultural heritage, both tangible and intangible (UNESCO, 2003c:4).

In short, the mother tongue is of strategic importance for everyone, in terms of identity, communication, cooperation, social integration, education, and general development. The mother tongue is a most important tool for learning as well as for personal development as an individual and as a member of a society. Knowing this, it would be difficult to overstate the importance of the mother tongue in the provision of quality education. We can also conclude that prohibiting learners from using their mother tongue is not only an injustice but also a harmful act which impedes human cognitive growth, emotional health, and social well-being.

We, therefore, dispute claims that the disappointing academic results of Aruban students are primarily due to their personal deficiencies or those of their families (Van der Wal, 2011:231). Instead, we attribute much of the blame for these results to deficiencies in the educational system, especially in the area of language policy. It makes no sense to blame the parents and the students for the fact that their home language is not the language of instruction in the schools or for the fact that while their native language is the language of the majority, the school language is the language of a small minority on the island.

Among many similar anecdotes, we find a case where a group of Aruban third grade students complained that during a two week period they thought that their new Dutch teacher was making strange sounds without any meaning until they understood that he was speaking Dutch. The teacher was not in any way aware of the fact that his students were new learners of Dutch and he was treating them like third-grade Dutch students in The Netherlands. This case may seem extreme, but this is the reality of many children in the Aruban Dutch-only-education system. Comprehension is nil or limited in the classroom (Narain, 1995), oral and writing skills are problematic, not because the children have a language deficiency or lack learning ability, but because this system disobeys the most fundamental law of pedagogy, which is ‘go from the known to the unknown’ that is, use what the students know to teach them what they don’t know. Many teachers try to help the children when comprehension of Dutch is failing by translanguaging, or code-mixing among two or more languages, a practice which is condemned by many school inspectors who insist that teachers adhere to the Dutch-only rules.

As long as the educational system is putting the students and their parents in an unjust position, Aruba cannot be considered to be providing its people with a safe and sound learning environment. The imposition of the use of a foreign language on any individual is supposed to be illegal, according to The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights:

Preamble, article 17 (1976) declares that: “1. No one shall be subjected to arbitrary or unlawful interference with his *privacy, family, home* or correspondence, nor to unlawful attacks on his honor and reputation 2. Everyone has the right to the protection of the law against such interference or attacks.”

Article 24.1 states that: “Every child shall have, without any discrimination as to race, color, sex, language, religion, national or social origin, property or birth, the right to such measures of protection as are required by his status as a minor, on the part of his family, society and the State.”

Article 26 stipulates that: “All persons are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to the equal protection of the law. In this respect, the law shall prohibit any discrimination and guarantee to all persons equal and effective protection against discrimination on any ground such as race, color, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status.”

The Convention on the Rights of the Child, article 29 (1989) is even more explicit:

“States parties agree that the education of the child shall be directed to: (c) the development of respect for the child's parents, his or her own cultural identity, language and values, for the national values of the country in which the child is living, the country from which he or she may originate, and for civilizations different from his or her own.”

While Dutch is still the only official language of instruction in primary and secondary schools in Aruba, Oostindie (2010:36-39) considers the problems with learning Dutch which are experienced by the students of the island to be the result of schools' and teachers' neglect of the Dutch language over the past few decades. He supports the myth that formerly students' proficiency levels in Dutch were better. While he observes that Papiamentu unifies the people of the three Leeward Islands who reside in the European Netherlands, he contends that within one or two generations they will have “to answer the classical question as to what extent they want to conserve their dysfunctional language in the Dutch community” (2010: 206). He adds that the same question will also need to be asked in a less extreme way on the islands themselves. The scenario envisioned by Oostindie for the demise of Papiamentu on the ABC Islands completely ig-

nores the evidence accumulated from the 19th century onward concerning the difficulties faced by the children of Aruban and the other islands when confronted with the Dutch language in education.

Many Arubans who have lived and studied in The Netherlands, have attested to the fact that when living abroad, they have become conscious of the value of Papiamentu and have done their utmost to upgrade their proficiency in the language. Papiamentu is an important heritage language in The Netherlands, as evidenced in the work of SPLIKA⁶⁷ an NGO established with three main goals in mind: 1) to create possibilities for contact with Papiamentu and Antillean culture in the Netherlands; 2) to contribute to the process of official recognition of Papiamentu throughout the kingdom of the Netherlands; and 3) to promote and sustain the use of Papiamentu in the educational system. See section 4.5 for further information about SPLIKA.

Most contemporary researchers (Prins, 1970; Prins-Winkel, 1973; Van Putte, 1997 and 1999; PRIEPEB, 1999, 2002 and 2010; UNESCO, 1953, 1976b, 1999, 2009) come to radically different conclusions from those reached by Oostindie. They observe that it is not Dutch that is being neglected in the schools, but instead it is the students' mother tongue Papiamentu that is suffering neglect. Perhaps points of view such as those of Oostindie and many European Dutch expatriates on the islands are at least partially a product of the situation that Prins (Prins, F.W. et al., 1970:92) describes: "In the school situation ... this leads to almost insuperable prejudices. After all: outsiders [Dutch expatriates]... worry about their children who perhaps no longer can enter the Dutch education without any difficulty when and if they repatriate [to the European Netherlands]." We should not forget, that it is this minority group of Dutch speakers in Aruba (see Table 3.1 and Table 3.2) whose needs are served by the use of Dutch as the language of instruction in the schools. It is no surprise that the small minority of students whose parents speak Dutch in the home are the only ones performing relatively well as a group in the current system (CBS, 2003, 2004b).

The argument advanced by many that education in Aruba has to be Dutch because the students are eventually going to study at the post-secondary level in The Netherlands, is in stark contradiction with the facts. There is growing evidence that the imposition of Dutch as language of instruction has the opposite effect, first by subjecting learners to a less than optimal school environment where their abilities to succeed in any subject, including Dutch language, are crippled from the start, and second, by fostering negative attitudes among students toward Dutch language, which they correctly see as a major source of their experiences of frustration and failure in school. The imposition of Dutch can be said to have that contributed to its rapidly di-

⁶⁷ SPLIKA stands for *Stimulá Papiamentu, Literatura i Informashon riba Kultura di Antianan abou*, which means: Stimulate Papiamentu, its Literature and Information about Culture of the Leeward Islands.

minishing significance in the community in favor of Papiamentu and the regional languages English and Spanish (CBS, 2004). It is no surprise, then, that only between 10% and 20% of each cohort that starts in the first grade eventually goes to study in The Netherlands, and that many, if not most, of the few who do go, fail.

Linguistic studies

The right to mother tongue education is not only based on concepts of human rights, but also on scientific findings regarding human language and learning in such disciplines as neurolinguistics, psychology and educational science. There is evidence that the processing of language has been inscribed into the human brain during the last two million years of our evolution. (Mora, 2012) When children are born, their brains have the capacity to learn any language. And it is naturally the language of our parents which programs the linguistic circuits our brains. This process is so time-consuming that the child's first word is usually uttered no earlier than eighteen months after birth. During the first years of life, children learn thousands of concepts by means of the words of the the language of their parents and it is this language that is anchored in their brains and by which they create their conceptual and social world. Because of these factors, no other language can equal the mother tongue in the area of learning.

Competence in the mother tongue is a normal requisite to learn new languages. According to Weber, Christiansen, Petersson, Indefrey, and Hagoort (2016:1) who investigated brain mechanisms when learning new languages:

Acquiring a second language entails learning how to interpret novel words and relations between words, and to integrate them with existing language knowledge. (...) Learning a new language is a formidable feat for which we have to develop a complex set of linguistic skills, including encoding the words of the new language, learning syntactic structure, and integrating the resulting representations with existing language knowledge.

Such linguistic studies can help us determine and understand the trauma children can experience when their language is ignored in the learning process because it is considered to be unimportant or forbidden. For instance, can we imagine the shock children experience, when all of a sudden they do not understand what the teacher is saying, while previously they were always considered to be competent and intelligent? Children in these situations do not realize that they are not to blame. What are the psychological consequences of this experience? Linguistic studies can help us understand why our educational system is failing and why it cannot be repaired with stopgaps. We must ask ourselves why Dutch, against all better judgement, is still the language of instruction when we have enough data to prove that it is failing and explain why it is failing?

Skuttnabb-Kangas (2004) writes, that "the right to mother tongue medium (MTM) education is in many senses a hot potato", which certainly the case in Aruba.

Because many generations of Arubans have only known a Dutch monolingual educational system, it takes much effort to convince people (including politicians) that Papiamentu as medium of instruction does not simply mean a replacement of the Dutch language by another language. Policy documents such as “*Pa un enseñansa bilingual*” (Directie Onderwijs, 1988-EB) and “*Habri porta pa nos drenta*” (PRIEPEB, 2002a) are very clear in their vision of the role of Papiamentu in opening up greater possibilities for students to better learn Dutch and other languages.

The discussion that started in the social media when the *Scol Multilingual* project was introduced in the first grade of two pilot primary schools in August 2012 illustrates this point. Many of the comments expressed revealed that the language issue is seen by many as of little importance. Traditional, colonial-based perceptions of language and education were in evidence as real obstacles to this and other educational reforms. The myths which have been used to convince the Aruban people to embrace the Dutch language as the only possible medium of knowledge and professional development were still fully evident.

It is obvious that awareness about linguistic rights has to be developed to trigger the desired paradigm shift. Much still has to be done to convince the Aruban people, the politicians included. This is not a strictly Aruban affair. Collaboration among the ABC Islands and with other Caribbean countries which face similar language situations can elevate the debate to an international level. The University of the West Indies in Mona, Jamaica is working together with scholars of other Caribbean countries on a “Charter on Language Policy and Language Rights in the Creole Speaking Caribbean”, to be signed by Caribbean ministers of education and culture. The statement “Every nation should have a language policy that embodies linguistic human rights in the same way that it has a basic energy policy” (Combs & Penfield, 2012:469) is a goal that is worth accomplishing.

3.3 Language vitality

The mother tongues of the world are the guarantee that our heritage can be preserved for the future. Kerttu Vuolab, an indigenous Sami author from the far north of Finland, formulates this idea as follows:

All children have a mother tongue. We human beings started to learn our mother tongue before we were born. The mother tongue is a chain that binds us to our own history. Each one of us is a ring in the chain of generations, a ring in our mother tongue. If any ring grows weak, the whole chain will be weak. Every generation has to make sure that their ring is strong enough to add the next ring onto the chain. Our personal duty is to transfer the mother tongue to the next generation. By passing on our language, the mother tongue, to the next generation, we ourselves guarantee that life itself will continue into the future (Vuolab, 2010:13).

Although Papiamentu is the only one of the four important languages in Aruba that has been excluded from the educational system for a very long time, it has remained the language of the majority. When education was established with Dutch as the only language of instruction, Papiamentu was already very well developed and well anchored on the islands, so that it was too late for the Dutch language to take over the cultural and social communicative functions of Papiamentu.

Language endangerment

Decades of absence of Papiamentu in Aruban schools⁶⁸, however, has had serious repercussions? One of the most noticeable outcomes is the lower levels of proficiency in Papiamentu from one generation to the next: the vocabulary is suffering big losses, and incorrect and careless use of the morphosyntax of the language is common. Code mixing has become normal when speaking and every now and then new grammatical errors turn up and take root. It seems that Papiamentu is experiencing the opposite of development. Can we conclude here that our language is endangered? According to Krauss (1992:6) “a language which, though now still being learned by children, will – if the present conditions continue – cease to be learned by children during the coming century” is endangered. A language without children who learn it, is moribund and not safe. It is very important to have a clear idea about the language situation in post-colonial societies because there are still strong colonial residues in people’s thinking and actions. Sallabank (2012: 103) lists four categories of causes of language endangerment: (1) natural catastrophes, (2) war and genocide, (3) overt repression and (4) cultural, political and economic dominance.

Aruba has up until now been safeguarded against natural catastrophes, war, and genocide, but not against overt repression and cultural, political and economic dominance, which are the real dangers to Papiamentu. These factors overlap with one another and have a deep impact on the linguistic situation. Papiamentu is still openly excluded from educational and public functions. Dutch has a dominant position in education and the justice system, with the blessing of the Aruban and Dutch governments. And while Papiamentu predominates on the Aruban social and cultural scene, education in the Dutch language and studying in the Netherlands is still considered the best option for career success. Moreover, Dutch is taught on the island as a mother tongue, not as a foreign language, which makes education a very exclusive and selective process, where very few succeed. The very influential Dutch and Flemish *Taalunie* – a governmental advisory organization which promotes the spread of the Dutch language in the world – is still providing its advice based on the old colonial philosophy: the European language for knowledge and the vernacular for identity and folklore (Taalunie, 2014).

⁶⁸ In Curaçao and Bonaire, in contrast to Aruba, Papiamentu is a subject in primary education and in some schools language of education.

According to the National Youth Study Aruba 2015, Dutch is the least popular language among the youth, as shown in Table 3.4. It is not Dutch, but instead English which is becoming a real danger for Papiamentu and also for Dutch. Because of the fact that Papiamentu has never had an important place in education nor important official functions and because of the fact that the Dutch language has never become a popular language, it is the English language which is now used everywhere, especially on television, on social media and on the glamorous touristic scene. Krauss (1992: 6) considers this phenomenon as one of the main factors that lead to language mortality. He talks about the ‘electronic media bombardment, especially television, an incalculable lethal weapon’, which he calls ‘cultural nerve gas’. For Skutnabb-Kangas (2008:46) English is the global ‘killer language’.

Just as was the case for the Dutch Colonial government, the autonomous Aruban governments since 1954 have not been openly in favor of Papiamentu in education and other sectors. The National Educational Plan of 2007 does not present a clear vision, and reform activities intended to include Papiamentu are taking place at a snail’s pace. Despite many scientific studies and data on the low performance of Aruban students, the urgency for reform is not acknowledged.

Since Dutch is the language of education, educational and economic success has become synonymous with mastering Dutch and studying in Holland. Meanwhile English has become the economic and commercial language on the island, which influences its popularity, especially among the youth. The complex influences of these repressive educational, cultural, political and economic factors have had a negative impact on the language attitudes of Arubans toward Papiamentu. Negative language attitudes can constitute a hazard that can trigger language loss and language death.

The UNESCO Ad Hoc Expert Group on Endangered Languages submitted the document “Language vitality and endangerment” to the *International Expert Meeting on UNESCO Programme Safeguarding of Endangered Languages* which met in 2003 in Paris. Language communities can maintain a finger on the pulse of the vitality of their languages, using the evaluative criteria for language vitality proposed in this document. A total of nine factors (UNESCO 2003: IV, 7-17) are divided in three sets with each factor being graded on 0-5 scale. These factors are as follows:

- (1) Language vitality and state of endangerment are associated with the following six factors: intergenerational language transmission, absolute number of speakers, proportion of speakers within the total population, trends in existing language domains, response to new domains and media, and materials for language education and literacy.
- (2) Language attitudes and language policies are associated with two factors: governmental and institutional language policies, including official status and use, and community members’ attitudes toward their own language.

- (3) Urgency for documentation is associated with one factor: amount and quality of documentation.

We will now attempt to determine how Papiamentu scores according to these factors in Aruba today.

Intergenerational Language Transmission (factor 1)

According to the Census of 2010 (CBS, 2012:110) Papiamentu is still the household language of the majority and is being transmitted from the parents to the children, as shown in Table 3.3.

Table 3.3 Papiamentu as language of the younger generations

Age group	Male	Female	Total*
0-4	1,960	1,882	3,843
5-9	2,648	2,501	5,149
10-14	2,800	2,749	5,550
15-19	2,868	2,721	5,590
20-24	2,030	1,883	3,913
25-29	1,638	2,036	3,674
Total	13,944	13,772	27,719

Source CBS, 2012, page 110 (*Differences due to rounding)

A problem, however, is that Papiamentu, with the exception of the two pilot SML schools, is not part of the curriculum of the primary school, neither as language of instruction, nor as subject. It is only unofficially used by teachers as an expedient for better understanding, as a form of translanguaging. Normally the language of the majority, the national language, has a prominent place in education. It is at school where children's academic proficiency in the mother tongue is developed with new concepts and the corresponding words, with oral, reading and writing skills. Only since 2002 has Papiamentu entered the secondary school, but only as a subject of study, and it is only since 2016 that it has become exam subject in HAVO and VWO, the highest levels of secondary education. The consequence of the systematic educational exclusion of Papiamentu is a very low level of language awareness among its speakers and an increasing decline of proficiency in the language. Grammatical rules of the European languages taught in school are now being applied to Papiamentu. An example is the commonly mistaken formation of the plural:

Dutch: *Ik heb **veel boeken** gelezen.*

English: *I have read **many books**.*

Papiamentu: *Mi a lesa **hopi bukinan****, instead of *Mi a lesa **hopi buki*** without the plural marker.

Another example is the use of the impersonal noun as subject which does not exist in Papiamento:

Dutch: **Het** is belangrijk te weten, dat ...

English: **It** is important to know that

Papiamento: **E*ta importante pa sa**, ... instead of: **Ta importante pa sa** ...

Concerning the vocabulary, many common Papiamento words and expressions are already unknown by the younger generations, who regularly replace them with Dutch or English words. Examples:

Mi ta wonder con e vergadering a bay – instead of: *Mi tin gana di sa con e reunion a bay.*

E cas ta keda schuin tegenover e botica instead of: *E cas ta keda dilanti di e botica na e otro banda di caminda.*

Pocopoco nos ta bezig di prijs nos mes out di mercado (Awemainta, Sept. 24, 2015) that is trilingual? In stead of: *Pocopoco nos ta saca nos mes for di mercado cu prijs mucho halto.*

Another example is the following trilingual letter:

Mi ta manda un mail pasobra heb een rotweek achter de rug anto mi no ta sinti bon.

Mi no ta bay make pa bin mañan mainta na boso meeting (...) helaas.

Mi tin un stapel werk pa kijk na, mi tin un deadline pa 18 juni, mi casa no ta sintiendo bon dus mi mester yud'e hopi mes, anto na directie tin yen cos ta going on laten we het erop houden dat het een hele onaangename middag was vandaag.

Ora mi caba di kijk na mi werk (...) lo mi pasa door di e research proposal, si tin un latest version please mail mi esey.

Please pass the word that I am so sorry I will not be there in the morning.

We'll keep in touch and take care.

These are all examples of code mixing and codeswitching. While code mixing and code switching are phenomena associated with healthy multilingualism on the part of a speaker or a community, in Aruba, they seem to be used in such an excessive way, that we can see in them a sign of serious loss of vocabulary and of decay in fluency in the mother tongue. The awareness or ability to be creative with new concepts is apparently absent: words and whole sentences are just taken over instead of being translated or transformed to conform with the structures of Papiamento.

Lack of knowledge about one's own language causes uncertainty. It is like a vicious circle, wherein every generation is less able to model the competent use of Papiamento for the next generation. Lack of maintenance and expansion means that even a relatively strong language like Papiamento becomes threatened. We cannot ignore the expanding phenomenon of children of five years and older who speak English, which they learn from cable television, better than their mother tongue Papiamento. English the killer language (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2008a; Mufwene, 2008) is on our doorstep. This

brings to mind the neocolonial ideas of David Rothkopf (1997) who officially stated that as part of the US foreign policy English has to conquer the world.⁶⁹

If we compare the outcomes of the Aruban CBS-census of 2010 with the outcomes of the survey titled “Youth Engaged in Sustainability – National Youth Study Aruba 2015” of the University of Aruba, we can see a remarkable surge in the popularity of English: while only 7% of the youth speaks English at home, it is the most popular language for 24% of the young people.

Table 3.4 The popularity of the main languages spoken in Aruba

	Census 2010 Household	YES 2015 Popularity
Papiamentu	76%	62%
English	7%	24%
Spanish	12%	9%
Dutch	4%	4%
	99%	99%

Source: Peterson, R. (2015): “Youth Engaged in Sustainability – National Youth Study Aruba 2015”, University of Aruba

The ease with which our youth is now speaking English is remarkable. Theirs may be the first generation of Aruban parents that will speak English to their children instead of Papiamentu, weakening or even breaking the chain of intergenerational transmission and accelerating a process of language shift or language loss (Vuolab, 2010; Sallabank, 2012). While Papiamentu is still spoken in families and is transmitted to the new generations, it is used only in limited domains and therefore could be assessed to be at Grade 4 for this first factor according to the scale proposed for language endangerment by UNESCO (2003). Some resolute decisions need to be made now to remedy this situation.

⁶⁹ David Rothkopf, director of the Kissinger Institute writes in: “Foreign policy”, 1997 on page 7: “It is in the general interest of the United States to encourage the development of a world in which the fault lines separating nations are bridged by shared interests. And it is in the economic and political interests of the United States to ensure that if the world is moving toward a common language, it be English; that if the world is moving toward common telecommunications, safety, and quality standards, they be American; that if the world is becoming linked by television, radio, and music, the programming be American; and that if common values are being developed, they be values with which Americans are comfortable. These are not simply idle aspirations. English is linking the world. American information technologies and services are at the cutting edge of those that are enabling globalization. Access to the largest economy in the world – America’s – is the primary carrot leading other nations to open their markets.”

Absolute Number of Speakers (factor 2)

While from 1981 to 2010 Papiamentu grew the most as home language in absolute numbers, that is, by 21,919 speakers to a total of 69,354 which is 68.3% of the population of the island, percentage wise, it experienced a relative decline of 11.8%. This is due to massive immigration to Aruba which caused the total population to grow from 60,312 to 101,484 inhabitants. The home language that grew the most percentage wise is Spanish with 11,819 speakers to a total of 13,710 which is 13.5% of the population. See Table 3.5.

Table 3.5 Absolute and relative growth of the languages in Aruba over three decades (1981-2010)

	Absolutely	Relatively
Papiamentu	+21,919	- 11.8%
Spanish	+11,819	+10.4%
English	+ 736	- 3.6%
Dutch	+ 3,097	+ 1.0%
Other languages	+ 2,501	+ 2.0%
Total	+41,172	+68.3%

Source: CBS Aruba 2013

The data of the Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS, 2013) show that second generation newcomers easily learn Papiamentu and usually adopt it as one of their first languages. This phenomenon is confirmed by the results of the Parent Survey of 2016 which was conducted as part of the present study, the results of which can be found in Chapter 5. The strength of Papiamentu in this respect is heartening, and its unifying character is an important aspect in the process of nation building. By speaking Papiamentu, newcomers can demonstrate their commitment to the country and their willingness to be part of the community.

Another important aspect to consider is that Papiamentu is also the majority language in Curaçao with 118,141 speakers which is 79.9% of the population (CBS Curaçao, 2011) and in Bonaire with 10,967 speakers which is 63% of that island's inhabitants (CBS Statistics Netherlands, 2013). The total number of Papiamentu speakers on the ABC Islands is therefore about 200,000. Contact between the islands is traditionally very important. Not only are there extensive family ties, but also all kinds of professional and other relationships. In the Netherlands there are Papiamentu speakers, usually among the first generation of emigrated ABC islanders. The estimated number is around 150,000 and they are represented by SPLIKA the NGO that is advocating for their language rights.

We can conclude that because Papiamentu is still the majority language and the absolute number of speakers is still growing, Papiamentu could be assessed to be safely

at Grade 5 for this second factor according to the scale proposed for language endangerment by UNESCO (2003).

Proportion of speakers within the total population (factor 3)

Papiamentu is still the majority language, it is still growing in absolute numbers, but according to the different census-data we can see significant changes in the proportion of speakers on the island: Papiamentu showed a decline as home language from 80.1% in 1981 to 68.3 in 2010, while the other home languages grew from 19.6% in 1981 to 31.2% in 2010 (Table 3.5). The most important cause of these changes seems to be the growing numbers of Spanish speaking immigrants. This group more than quadrupled as a percentage of the overall population from 3.1% in 1981 to 13.5% in 2010. This has taken place over three decades in absence of any language policy. The only regulations that in any way protect Papiamentu are the *Landsverordening Materieel Ambtenarenrecht* (LMA) article 14 which states that a public officer who has contact with the public must master Papiamentu within one year, and a mandatory examination in proficiency in Dutch and Papiamentu for those who want to obtain the Dutch citizenship. In any case, newcomers are generally willing to learn Papiamentu, which is felt to be an asset in the process of integration. (CBS, 2013; Kelly, 2015). Because of these decreasing percentages, Papiamentu could be assessed to be at Grade 4 for this third factor according to the scale proposed for language endangerment by UNESCO (2003).

Trends in Existing Language Domains (factor 4)

Papiamentu and Dutch are both official and national languages in Aruba. Papiamentu is used in all domains where oral communication is important, especially communication with the public. Papiamentu is thus the spoken language of communication for the government, police and justice. People involved in commerce and tourism use Papiamentu when they address themselves to the Aruban public. Papiamentu is growing as the language of general communication on the island. When an Aruban or a person who has been living for some years on Aruba addresses the general public, it is usually considered inappropriate for them use a language other than Papiamentu. When the new Dutch director of one of the high schools in Aruba insisted that the students speak less Papiamentu, and required them to use Dutch even during their breaks at school, the students staged a demonstration in protest.

When it comes to written language, however, Papiamentu gives way to Dutch or English, with Dutch being dominant in education and in justice, and English becoming dominant in commerce and tourism. After 200 years of exclusion of Papiamentu, the process of its introduction into the education system has gradually begun, involving a long process of preparatory activities, pilot projects and evaluations. Two kindergartens and two primary schools are now in their ninth and seventh year respectively of the Scol Multilingual pilot project for multilingual education with Papiamentu as language

of instruction. Since 2002, Papiamentu has been offered as a three hour per week subject in secondary schools. Kindergartens and special education programs have a long history of the use of Papiamentu as language of instruction. Since 2002 the two lowest levels of *Enseñansa Profesional Basico* (basic vocational education) have had Papiamentu as language of instruction. So we can conclude that the trend is in favor of Papiamentu.

In the secondary schools, however, Dutch remains the sole language of instruction, and Papiamentu is still not seen as a viable option. On the contrary, Papiamentu and Aruban culture are often considered to be impediments to learning or ‘trouble makers’ (Amigoe, 29/09; 30/09; 6/11, 2015). In fact, there is increasing mention of replacing Dutch with English as the language of instruction at this level, including in official documents such as the “*Regeerprogramma 2013-2017*” (Regering van Aruba, 2013).

There continue to be very positive developments for Papiamentu in fictional and non-fictional literature. The main literary language in Aruba is Papiamentu. There is a history of almost 50 years of fictional writing in Papiamentu for children and a shorter history of fictional writing for adults in the language. Poetry in Papiamentu is the oldest form of literature on the island. Theatrical work is also written and produced in Papiamentu; with many original and translated plays being performed on the Aruban stage. (Rutgers, 1994, 1996). Over the last decade a growing number of non-fictional publications appeared in Papiamentu.

Papiamentu songs with Antillean, Aruban, Caribbean or “crioyo” rhythms are very popular. Authors and composers are doing their utmost to create new songs on a regular basis. There are at least four music festivals held on the island annually which feature new Papiamentu songs: the *Tumba* Festival, *Un canto pa Aruba*, and the *Dande* festival (all with three editions: for children, teens and adults), and *Voz-i-landia* (for children). Papiamentu musical production is also considerable in Curaçao. Aruban Calypso songs which were originally composed solely in San Nicolas English are now being written in Papiamentu as well (Richardson, 2013). The demand for Papiamentu translators and editors is growing rapidly. Because of its increasing but not yet consolidated role in existing domains, Papiamentu could be assessed to be at Grade 4 for this fourth factor according to the scale proposed for language endangerment by UNESCO (2003).

Response to New Domains and Media (factor 5)

Papiamentu has a long history as language of the press, and it is the most widely used language on radio and television on the ABC Islands. Therefore it is no surprise that internet news media in Papiamentu are very popular as well. Aruba has at present several Papiamentu newspapers: one of these, *Bon Dia Aruba*, has a daily English edition, *Aruba Today*, and three times a week a Spanish edition, *Buenos Dias Aruba*. The Dutch newspaper *Amigoe*, printed in Curaçao, has a daily Aruban edition. The Curaçaoan

newspapers *Extra*, in Papiamentu, and *Antilliaans Dagblad*, in Dutch, are available in Aruba. Most of these newspapers are also online. The Papiamentu newspaper *AweMainta* has switched entirely to online publishing. Aruba now has no less than seven online newspapers, most jointly published with Curaçao.

For a small island like Aruba, the number of radio stations is huge. There are 16 stations at this moment (this number can fluctuate), with most of them broadcasting in Papiamentu, three in Spanish and one in Dutch. Some of them have programs in English. Aruba has four television companies: TeleAruba (with two channels), Canal 22, ITV and Parlamento TV; all which broadcast primarily in Papiamentu. TeleAruba has a Spanish news program and also has, as does Canal 22, foreign programs in English and Spanish from American and Latin American channels. ITV is connected with a news site (24ora.com) and Parlamento TV has informative programs from the government and broadcasts public sessions of Parliament.

Social media are also very popular, and Facebook, Instagram, Twitter, YouTube, Pinterest, Tumblr, LinkedIn, Snapchat, all have robust groups of followers in Aruba. While English is often the language used on social media, Papiamentu is also used. Facebook pages and internet sites featuring Papiamentu and the cultures of the ABC Islands and the rest of the Caribbean are increasing in visibility and popularity. A summary of the Aruban mass media and the languages that they use can be found in Table 3.6.

Table 3.6 The Aruban mass media and the languages that they use (as of October 2015)

	Papiamentu	Dutch	English	Spanish
Radio	12	1	-	3
Television	5	-	-	-
Newspapers ⁷⁰	4A +1C	1A +1C	1	1
Magazines	5	-	-	-
Internet: news and entertainment sites	13	-	-	-

Source: Tera Group, Aruba, 2015

It is interesting to observe language use in advertisements placed in newspapers. A random count on a Saturday, the day with the highest number of advertisements (Table 3.7) shows Papiamentu with 65.2%, the highest percentage as expected, Papiamentu being the language of the biggest group of prospective buyers. During a conference in November 2015 in Curaçao with the theme “*Papiamentu den era digital*” new digital possibilities for Papiamentu were discussed, like an interactive thesaurus of Papiamentu. Considering that Papiamentu is used in most new domains and media and is entering all levels of education at a slow but sure pace, Papiamentu could be assessed

⁷⁰ A= from Aruba, C= from Curaçao

to be somewhere between Grade 3 and Grade 4 for this fifth factor according to the scale proposed for language endangerment by UNESCO (2003).

Table 3.7 Languages in advertisements in Aruban newspapers

Language used in advertisements in the Aruban newspapers DIARIO, BON DIA ARUBA, SOLO DI PUEBLO, AWEMAINTA, and AMIGOE di Aruba on Saturday August 29, 2015												
Language	Number of Adds											
	DIARIO (P)		BON DIA ARUBA (P)		SOLO DI PUEBLO (P)		AWEMAINTA (P)		AMIGOE DI ARUBA (D)		TOTAL	
	Abs	%	Abs.	%	Abs.	%	Abs.	%	Abs.	%	Abs.	%
Pap	135	71.1	63	85.1	16	55.2	8	61.5	1	2.8	223	65.2
Eng	33	17.4	9	12.2	12	41.4	4	30.8	6	16.7	64	18.7
Spa	8	4.2	1	1.4	-	-	-	-	-	-	9	2.6
Dut	7	3.7	1	1.4	-	-	-	-	27	75	35	10.2
Pap/Eng	5	2.6	-	-	1	3.4	1	7.7	1	2.8	8	2.3
Pap/Spa	1	0.5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	0.3
Pap/Eng/Spa	1	0.5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	0.3
Eng/Dut	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2.8	1	0.3
Total	190	100	74	100	29	100	13	100	36	100	342	100

Dut=Dutch; Eng=English; Pap=Papiamento; Spa=Spanish

Materials for Language Education and Literacy (factor 6)

Since the moment that Dutch was introduced definitively as the sole language of instruction on the ABC Islands, there was no longer a perceived need to produce Papiamento materials for education. Whenever discussion about the possible use of Papiamento in education takes place, one of the arguments that is always advanced is that there are no school materials in Papiamento and that it is not possible to produce Papiamento materials for education because of the ‘underdevelopment’ of this language (Taalunie, 2014).

For decades, experience was lacking on Aruba in the development of school materials in any language, including Dutch, because all books were imported from the Netherlands. When the introduction of Papiamento in education became more and more imminent, the Department of Education organized courses for curriculum developers who were recruited from all levels of education. Since 2000, the three ABC Islands have introduced important educational innovations, involving the production of a considerable body of high quality school materials of all types and for all levels in Papiamento, so that Papiamento could become a school subject and a language of instruction.

In Aruba, the government's Curriculum Development section has made great progress in this respect. Together with the Fundashon pa Planifikashon di Idioma, a governmental institute on Curaçao, a wide range of textbooks and other materials have been successfully developed, tested, published and distributed. Materials which have proved to be very attractive for students from kindergarten to pre-university are now in daily use in the schools (Fundashon pa Planifikashon di Idioma, 2014; Desaroyo di

Curiculo, 2017)⁷¹. This represents an important step forward in the process of revitalizing Papiamentu. The fact that the three Papiamentu-speaking islands have accomplished this in common, makes this achievement even more significant. The inventory of Papiamentu materials for language education as well as for other subjects is increasing steadily as the demand on the part of individuals and institutions for Papiamentu textbooks becomes greater. Understaffing, the use of freelancers or part-timers and low budgets, however, continue to disrupt continuity in textbook production.

The production of Papiamentu reading books for ages 5 to 13 and older, by the Department of Education as well as by independent authors, is developing apace. Collections of Papiamentu proverbs have also been published. A Papiamentu spelling book with the Aruban spelling rules and a vocabulary list was published in 2009⁷² and grammar books were published in 2010 and 2015⁷³. Modern versions of bi- and multilingual dictionaries⁷⁴ by Mansur with the Aruban etymological spelling (1991, 2011) and by Dijkhoff & De Jesus (1980), Joubert (2013), Van Putte & De Windt (2006) and Ratzlaff (1992) are available. The development of an explanatory dictionary in Papiamentu started in the 1980s as a governmental coproduction among the ABC Islands, but due to political changes, this project did not become a reality.

Literacy education in Papiamentu is a new part of the curriculum, at the SML and the secondary schools. In school year 2016-2017 for the first time Papiamentu was an exam subject in the HAVO/VWO tracks (pre-professional and pre-university education). These school materials are not readily available to the public, but strangely enough, while Papiamentu has been excluded from formal education, the vast majority of the population reads Papiamentu easily. For that reason newspapers and magazines are very popular reading material. Print media is almost 100% in Papiamentu. On line language learning materials are still to be developed, as are textbooks for subjects other than language and mathematics.

Since 1976, Papiamentu has had two different spelling systems; Aruba has chosen an etymologically based orthography and Curaçao and Bonaire opted for a phonologically based orthography. This situation has, unfortunately, created the impression, not only for people abroad but also for Arubans, Curaçaoans and Bonaireans, that we are dealing here with two different languages. The different word images of the two orthographies are becoming a hazard to the development of Papiamentu. People have

⁷¹ Because of the cooperation between the institutions involved and the authors' groups, there are many similarities in Papiamentu language education on the three islands. The learning lines run parallel and the methods differ in spelling but the content is very similar. The titles of the books themselves are similar and the execution and imprint is provided by the same studio for the sake of uniformity: Rampa (4-5 years) *Baile di letter* (6 years) *Festival di idioma* (7-10 years) and *Cristal* (11-16 years). In Bonaire and Curaçao the equivalent titles of the methods are: *Trampolin*, *Salto*, *Fiesta di idioma* and *Mosaiko*

⁷² Departamento di Enseñansa (2009). *Vocabulario ortografico di Papiamentu*. Aruba

⁷³ Departamento di Enseñansa (2013). *Manual di gramatica di Papiamentu – Morfologia*. Aruba

Departamento di Enseñansa (2015). *Manual di gramatica di Papiamentu – Sintaxis*. Aruba

⁷⁴ Only the last editions are mentioned here.

difficulties reading one another's orthography and are somewhat uncomfortable with the orthographic variety of the other party as different from their own. The existence of two orthographies also puts pressure on printing costs because of the lower number of printed copies per orthography. The possibility of sharing books and costs no longer exists. Books and other materials from one island have to be transcribed to be used on the other island. This situation, which was artificially created for political reasons (S&K, no. 10-1976), does not favor the development of Papiamentu where joined forces are of vital importance for growth and survival. Discussions about the urgent necessity of one single orthography started publicly in 2015 (Todd Dandaré, 2015; Severing, 2015). Changing mindsets in the direction of one orthography for Papiamentu will surely be a big challenge in these island communities, but the task is not an impossible one. Considering these remarks related to accessibility of written materials, Papiamentu could be assessed to be somewhere between Grade 3 and Grade 4 for this sixth factor according to the scale proposed for language endangerment by UNESCO (2003).

Language attitude and Policies: Dominant and Non-dominant Language Communities = Governmental and institutional language policies, including official status and use (factor 7)

In regard to what the UNESCO document (2003) refers to as dominant and non-dominant languages, the position of Papiamentu on Aruba is rather complicated. It is the native language of the majority and it is the most used language in the community. In that respect, it is the dominant majority language in Aruba. In other respects, however, it is treated as a non-dominant minority language: for instance, the struggle for its place in education is still ongoing. Another contradiction is that although Papiamentu is the official and national language of Aruba next to Dutch, it still is not recognized by the government as an important language of the community, while Dutch, numerically a minority language, is considered dominant. This is a Eurocentric point of view, influenced by the erroneous idea that Creole languages are not really languages or if they are, they are inferior to European languages. This linguistic situation is common in many ex-colonies. (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2008a; Devonish, 2007). Since 1954, Aruba had official autonomy on educational and cultural matters. That autonomy continued after 1976 with the new political status known as the Status Aparte, but Dutch nonetheless has maintained its dominant position in education. This dominant position has been discussed for decades despite the fact that important research based documents whose findings challenge that dominance have been published (Prins, 1975; Muller, 1975; DEA, 1988-EB; PRIEPEB; 1999). Though concerns about the negative impact of Dutch as the only language of instruction in Aruba are well known, the overall attitude of the government can be classified as ambivalent. If those in charge are convinced of the importance and value of Papiamentu, this does not show in their actions. It is evident


that successive government have had no particular vision about the languages in Aruba and their functions, and none have shown any courage to break with colonial tradition. A typical example of this is the hesitation in deciding to give a green light to the Proyecto Scol Multilingual to continue up until the sixth grade with Papiamento as language of instruction. Thinking about the continuation of Proyecto Scol Multilingual into secondary education seems to be too progressive in this political setting. Another example is the agreement with the Dutch Ministry of Education to use the Dutch regulations for the HAVO and VWO exams starting in 2016.

Of course, there has been some progress, but an openly proclaimed choice by the government for Papiamento as our intangible cultural heritage, as our source of knowledge and identity and as an important language in all sectors of the community, education included, will take time to become a reality. On the other hand, it is noticeable that agencies – governmental and semi-governmental – which have an important function related to the community, recognize the importance of Papiamento and use it extensively in their advertisements, folders, forms, booklets, magazines, and websites. These agencies include, but are not limited to: Archivo Nacional Aruba, Biblioteca Nacional Aruba, Servicio di Impuesto Aruba, Servicio di Limpieza di Aruba, AZV and SETAR. Papiamento correctors, trained by Papiamento experts, are well appreciated by the agencies where they are working. Even the Chamber of Commerce has come to the conclusion that they have to use Papiamento in their courses to attract people; many of their prospective students, high school graduates, do not have the required language skills in Dutch or English to attend these courses and are demanding courses in Papiamento.⁷⁵

We can conclude that although Papiamento is officially proclaimed by law as an official language, in practice there is only weak, inconsistent support. The attitude towards Papiamento is ambivalent and depends on the situation. Its importance for education is slowly coming to be recognized, but in educational practice, many decisions still have to be taken. This all seems to depend on the tenacity or awareness of the stakeholders involved. Therefore Papiamento could be assessed to be somewhere between Grade 3 and Grade 4 for this seventh factor according to the scale proposed for language endangerment by UNESCO (2003).

Community Members' Attitude towards Their Own Language (factor 8)

Aruban citizens seem to have a love-hate relationship with their language. Common expressions about Papiamento are:

“Mi  Papiamento!” -- “Mi stima Papiamento” – “I love Papiamento.”
“Papiamento, ta di nos e ta!” – “Papiamento is ours!” “Pero e no ta sirbi pa enseñansa. Nos no ta yega leu cu ne.” – “But it is not adequate for education. It does not help us move ahead.”. Nevertheless, there is increasing interest in the community about Aruban

⁷⁵ This is the testimony of a Business Administration teacher.

history and culture and also about Papiamentu. Awareness about its value and also about its vulnerability is growing, thanks to the activities of different NGO's.

Papiamentu speakers, especially the older generations, are very proud of their language, but lack of information and lack of skills in this language lead to inaccuracy and indifference. The consequences are false theories about the language when talking to foreigners, false ideas about its functionality in education, many mistakes in vocabulary and syntax, an exaggerated degree of code mixing and code switching with English and Dutch. The youngest generations seem to be already switching to English. If the official support does not change in favor of Papiamentu, the language could be assessed to be somewhere between Grade 2 and Grade 3 for this eighth factor according to the scale proposed for language endangerment by UNESCO (2003).

Urgency for documentation: Amount and quality of documentation (factor 9)

The three Papiamentu speaking island-countries have together generated a substantial number of publications in and about their language, including grammars, dictionaries, textbooks, poetry, novels, dramas, magazines, newspapers, research reports, audio and video recordings, documentaries, and movies. (See factor 6) All these materials are well documented and conserved in libraries and national archives, such as Archivo Nacional Aruba (ANA) and Biblioteca Nacional Aruba (BNA) with its special section *Arubiana*. All publications, old and new, are stored here and are available to the community, especially for scientific research. ANA and BNA consider all archives and all publications as national memory and cultural heritage and their principle mission is to collect, store, organize and conserve them.

Arubiana, one of the special sections of BNA, acquires, collects and preserves all publications with an informative and historical value for Aruba, and has different collections, including: the National Collection, Collection of valuable books, Arubiana/Caribiana Collection, Hartog Collection, Ito Tromp Collection, Documentation about Aruba, and the Collection of magazines. The National Collection documents the cultural heritage of Aruba. This collection as well as the Collection of valuable books consists of rare and antiquarian pieces, (...) and includes the oldest book on Aruba, which dates back to 1577" (www.bibliotecanacional.aw).

Both ANA as BNA/Arubiana has grown along with the growing awareness in the community concerning the documentation of its history and culture. It often happens that they receive valuable old documents discovered at home or at work. Other institutions in Curaçao with important collections about Papiamentu include the Public Library, Library & Research Services of the University of Curaçao, Archivo Nashonal, Biblioteca Mongui Maduro, Fundashon pa Planifikashon di Idioma, and the National Archeological Anthropological Memory Management (NAAMM). Most of these institutions have websites and an ever-growing part of their collections are available in dig-

itized form. Considering that Papiamentu is well documented in all forms and that material is becoming more available, the language could be assessed to be at Grade 4 for this ninth factor according to the scale proposed for language endangerment by UNESCO (2003)).

It is interesting by way of comparison and confirmation to compare the ratings above based on the UNESCO document, with the ratings for Papiamentu based on ‘Ethnologue Languages of the world’ and the typology of Richard Ruiz (2006). Ethnologue uses the *Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale* (EGIDS) with 13 levels to describe the status of vitality of the languages. This is a tool that is used to measure the status of a language in terms of endangerment or development (EGIDS, 2017). This is an extension of Joshua Fishman’s Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS) which consists of 8 levels or rankings (Carroll, 2006). The higher the ranking on the EGIDS scale, the greater level of endangerment. Ethnologue rates Papiamentu in Aruba with the least endangered EGIDS ranking of 1, while it rates English and Dutch with the EGIDS ranking of 3 (Lewis et al, 2014).

The fact that Papiamentu has an official status in Aruba (and Curaçao) is decisive for EGIDS level 1 ranking:

EGIDS 1 ... focuses on the level of recognition and use given to the language by government. Beyond purely official use, however, the focus includes the widespread use of the language in media and the workplace at either the provincial (sub-national) or national levels. ... Because the Ethnologue organizes the language entries by country, EGIDS 1 ... is the strongest vitality level that we report.

Ethnologue’s EGIDS ranking of 1 for Papiamentu is very optimistic, because comparing the definitions of the EGIDS levels with the analysis done according to the UNESCO vitality and endangerment factors, Papiamentu might more plausibly be ranked at EGIDS level 5, if we consider that Papiamentu’s vitality is not yet sustained by its inclusion in formal education.

Ruiz (2006) introduces a typology of eight categories of threatened languages, and he locates Papiamentu of the ABC Islands in type E which he describes as “Majority indigenous languages in small states in contact with Languages of Wider Communication (LCW)”. According to Ruiz there is evidence in the ABC Islands of “L1/L2 functional differentiation”, whereby the L1 – in this case Papiamentu – is confined to non-power domains which is devaluing its L1 status. Ruiz explains, and we agree, that Papiamentu has for many centuries had significant contact with the colonial languages Spanish, English and Dutch which have occupied important, so called power functions in the community, to be precise in commerce, government, justice and education, but despite this, the community has managed to conserve its language. Introducing Papiamentu at all levels of education will facilitate its introduction into those other domains, and this will strengthen its vitality. In the three frameworks – UNESCO’s, Ethnologue’s

and Ruiz' – Papiamentu is ranked more or less in a rather comfortable position. Aruba, Curaçao, and Bonaire can be proud of Papiamentu still being vibrant against all the odds. However, Papiamentu speaking communities must be on guard and must not take this for granted. Much work, hard work, still has to be done to put Papiamentu in the position it deserves, especially in the minds and hearts of its speakers and their politicians, to prevent its eventual demise.

3.4 Language and education

That the majority language of the ABC Islands is Papiamentu and not the language of the former colonizer is due to the elitist position that the Dutch reserved for themselves in the 17th and 18th century under the regime of the West India Company. That elitist position resulted in a severe restrictions on the spread of the Dutch language. The logical consequence was that the language of the slaves became the first language of the whole community, even of the people of Dutch descent. This situation, however, turned out to be a problem during the period when the coercive colonial domination of chattel slavery failed and was replaced by discursive colonial domination by means of systems of formal colonial education. So when the new Dutch Kingdom was established in 1815, the colonial government started a campaign to eliminate Papiamentu and propagate the Dutch language. Education became their most important weapon in this process, and the first Dutch-only school opened its doors in 1822 in Aruba. Now, after almost 200 years Dutch is in fourth place among the four major languages of the island, with only 5% till 6 % of the population speaking it at home, and these are mostly people originally from the Netherlands or Suriname.

One feature of this Dutch-only education policy which has long been overlooked or at least underestimated is its corrosively negative effect on society. Instead of encouraging educational achievement, it has caused failure which has had dire consequences for the intellectual and cultural development of the population and also for the existence of their native language Papiamentu. The scars of neglect, suppression, and exclusion are visible: dropouts, grade repetition, exam failure, vocabulary attrition, grammatical errors, and, worst of all, indifference, denial and ignorance. Considering these characteristics, it is not difficult to conclude that Aruban education in its present form is not sustainable at all: waste and failure, marginalization and exclusion cannot be the goals of education in a democratic society. Blaming the students, the teachers and the parents for disappointing school results because they do not speak enough Dutch (Amigoe, Nov. 6, 2015:3) is misguided and not scientifically based.

UNESCO's definition of Education for Sustainable Development (ESD) (2014) is as follows:

Education for Sustainable Development allows every human being to acquire the knowledge, skills, attitudes, and values necessary to shape a sustainable future.

Education for Sustainable Development means including key sustainable development issues into teaching and learning; for example, climate change, disaster risk reduction, biodiversity, poverty reduction, and sustainable consumption. It also requires participatory teaching and learning methods that motivate and empower learners to change their behavior and take action for sustainable development. Education for Sustainable Development consequently promotes competencies like critical thinking, imagining future scenarios and making decisions in a collaborative way.

UNESCO strengthens this definition with the statement that cultural diversity exerts a strong influence on ESD, especially on educational choices concerning knowledge, skills, ethics, languages, and worldviews. In this point of view, ESD *must be relevant and culturally appropriate*.⁷⁶ ESD thus focuses not only on the technical, economic and financial aspects of life, but also and especially on the social and cultural aspects, which are so important to the wellbeing of humanity.

And here is where different UNESCO projects meet: ESD is sustained by the ideas elaborated in the documents about *Human Rights; Mother Tongue and Multilingual Education; Linguistic and Cultural Diversity; Language Vitality and Endangerment* and *Intangible Cultural Heritage*. All these documents emphasize the uniqueness and enormous value of the eco-cultural creations of humanity, which have to be respected and nurtured as the starting point for education and progress. According to UNESCO, it is a matter of the highest importance to safeguard the linguistic heritage of humanity and to encourage linguistic diversity with respect for all mother tongues at all educational levels. This means that when talking in Aruba about introducing ESD, it is mandatory to talk about strategies to change the current Eurocentric educational system into a system that includes the mother tongue of the majority of the students and integrates the culture of Aruban and the rest of the Caribbean.

The decade 2005-2014 was proclaimed by the United Nations as the Decade of Education for Sustainable Development, in which nations were urged to achieve a number of changes in their education systems. What did Aruba do to meet the proposed goals? In Aruba, only the European languages Dutch, English and Spanish have an important place in education. The Creole language Papiamentu, the Aruban native language, is still considered inadequate and is only tolerated, namely as a subject in the high schools and as subject and language of instruction in the lower grades of primary school and the lower vocational school. Nevertheless, Papiamentu is slowly entering the school system, but people are still not convinced that their language and culture are worth being used in the classroom, and they are afraid that if it is, their children will not realize their maximum potential. People know that language is important in education,

⁷⁶ (<http://www.unesco.org/new/en/education/themes/leading-the-international-agenda/education-for-sustainable-development/cultural-diversity>)

but they ignore the fact that the mother tongue is the most important resource for learning. Many teachers and others in the educational field still do not realize that prohibiting and impeding students' use of their home language is like alienating them from their natural way of learning and from their natural learning environment, which makes learning very difficult, stressful, unpleasant and mechanical. The traditional Aruban school is still an institution that acts against the fundamental rights of the child, an institution that is the antithesis to sustainability, as described above.

The fact that many still deny that the use of Dutch instead of Papiamentu in our education system has linguistically and intellectually handicapped our children, has provided fertile ground for the perpetuation of the racist belief that the resulting high failure rate is proof that our children are mentally deficient or have insufficiencies which are genetically determined (Radio Nederland Wereld Omroep – RNWO, Interview CBS, 2007). A comprehensive analysis of our situation is needed to come up with an emancipated language policy which will be beneficial to the whole community, starting from the pre-schoolers who begin their education with great enthusiasm and expectations, to the majority of adults who are now suffering the consequences of a system that did not give them a fair chance, to the elite minority of professionals who managed through privilege or exceptional abilities to achieve their goals regardless of the hurdles placed before them by an unjust system. It is obvious that language policy in education has had a devastating impact on all aspects of Aruban society.

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Table 3.8 shows the level of professional preparation of the labor force in Aruba. The figures are alarming. If we compare Aruba with European countries by means of the Eurostat System, we can conclude that Aruba does not score favorably. Aruba's working population is 17.3% low-skilled (LBO) and 48.5% unskilled (BO and MAVO) which yields a total of 65.8% of the workforce at the equivalent of levels 0-2 in the Eurostat System. For European countries, the sector of the workforce at levels 0-2 is only 21%. Aruba's working population is 20.4% medium-skilled (VBO, HAVO, and MBO) at the equivalent of levels 3-4 in the Eurostat System. For European countries, the sector of the workforce at levels 3-4 is 40.6%. Aruba's working population is only 13.0% highly-skilled (HBO and WO) at the equivalent of levels 5-8 in the Eurostat System. For European countries, the sector of the workforce at levels 5-8 is 38.4%.

Table 3.8 Level of education of the labor force in Aruba. Census 2010

Highest level of education	totals	%	
BO	22.199	33,9	Lower education (LE) T=65.8%
LBO	11.352	17,3	
MAVO	9.544	14,6	
HAVO	5.664	8,6	Intermediate education (IE) T= 20,4%
VWO	481	0,7	
MBO	7.245	11,1	
HBO	6.573	10,0	Tertiary education (TE)T= 13.0%
WO	1.953	3,0	
Not rep.	543	0,8	
Total	65.557	100%	

Source: CBS Aruba 2011; CBS Nederland 2016.

When we consider educational level by household language (L1) in Table 3.9, it becomes readily apparent who the Dutch-only education system in Aruba really serves, that is the 5% minority of students whose parents speak Dutch, most of whom are expatriates from the European Netherlands. The rest of the students fall by the wayside. These speakers of Dutch proportionally outnumber the speakers of the other languages in the jobs that require middle, and especially higher studies.

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Table 3.9 Level of Education by Household language (in %)

	Pap	Spa	Eng	Dut	Other
Lower Vocational/MAVO (LE)	84.4	75.4	77.1	43.5	77.9
HAVO/VWO/Middle Vocational (IE)	10.6	20.4	13.6	26.7	15.6
HBO/University (TE)	4.8	4.2	10.7	29.9	6.4

Source CBS 2010; Pap=Papiamento; Spa=Spanish; Eng=English; Dut=Dutch.

For decades Aruba has been suffering from an enormous ‘brain drain’: Between 2006 and 2013, 68% to 75% of the privileged or talented elite minority of Aruban students who go on to succeed at higher level studies in the Netherlands end up accepting a well-paid job in that country after graduating, many if not most only returning to Aruba for vacations and family visits. 50% of Aruban students fail in the first year of their studies in the Netherlands or drop out completely (Dumfries, interview 2015; Amigoe, April 2013). This means that the overwhelming majority of Aruban students experience education as failure after failure, and most of the privileged or exceptionally talented few become assets to the economy and society of the European Netherlands, rather than assets to the economy and society of Aruba, which sacrificed so much to assure their success.

On a more positive note, the Proyecto Scol Multilingual (Chapter 4) is heading in the direction of sustainability, with Papiamentu as language of instruction and a subject of study in its pilot schools, and the other languages introduced as foreign languages. PSML adopts a child-centered and content-based approach. However, lack of information and political denial have made it very difficult for the project leaders to take action for the expansion and continuation of this initiative. Hopefully this project will be promoted in the community, so that the public can see how well these SML schools are performing, how learning can be changed into a pleasant activity with real participation and development of the child as the prime goal, and how Papiamentu can be a viable medium for learning everything, even Dutch.

With due attention and the necessary resources, PSML has the potential to become an Aruban answer to its educational reform needs. It has all the elements in place to achieve many of the Education for Sustainable Development Goals, including the promotion of education that respects the knowledge and wisdom of the students, their family members and the members of their community, the educational use of the language of the community and the use of the local knowledge as a resource for comprehension. Such an education serves as a valuable tool for the conservation and development of the language of the people, given that it respects culture as a living and dynamic context in which people finds their value and identity. And as Ruiz (2009) states: “Do not consider language as a problem, but as a right and a resource. In that vision education has the important role to help preserve the mother tongue and the cultural identity of the student and to reevaluate, cultivate and develop the mother tongue to the benefit of everyone in the community.”

3.5 Language activism

The structural impediments that have been imposed by colonial and neocolonial regimes which prevent people from using their own language, especially in areas such as education, have had a very negative impact on language attitudes. Lack of knowledge or negative disinformation frequently leads to opposition by speakers themselves to efforts to improve the status of their language. This situation has lead individuals and non-governmental organizations in many countries to take action in order to educate the public with the goal of improving attitudes and influencing the formulation of new language policies which favor the use and survival of their language. While they do not have any official authority, they have tried to persuade their governments and the communities to break with colonial mentalities and practices, often with encouragement and backing from organizations like UNESCO and UNICEF (Spolsky, 2009:204; Combs & Penfield, 2012:462). While most of this so-called language activism has become an important tool in the development of better informed and more socially just language policies, there are also examples of language activism aimed at influencing language

policy in a negative way. A recent example of the latter is the ‘English only’ campaign in the U.S.A (Ruiz, 2006).

Florey, Penfield, and Tucker (2009) propose a framework for language activism that describes the range of activities that can lead to the preservation and promotion of linguistic diversity and the respect of language rights. A collaboration between linguists and non-linguist language activists is key to ensure that their campaigns become well-grounded team efforts. While most language activists are native speakers of the language in question, their linguist allies can be of other linguistic backgrounds.

In the case of Aruba, language activism has been an important force for positive change in language policy and practice in education and beyond. “Emancipate yourself from mental slavery; none but ourselves can free our minds.” These lyrics from the famous Caribbean singer and songwriter Bob Marley’s ‘Redemption song’ are emblematic of the value and function of the activities of language activists in the struggle for recognition and acceptance of Papiamentu and Aruban culture. This struggle has two targets: 1) the community and 2) the government. In the community many different attitudes toward Papiamentu can be observed, both negative and positive: skepticism, distrust, indifference, and mockery on the one hand, but also optimism, concern, respect and eagerness to learn the language better on the other hand. Governments until this century are very reluctant and silent according to language issues; there are changes, but at a very slow pace.

In the ABC Islands language activism (Spolsky, 2009:204) actually started in the 19th century, with articles in newspapers in which individuals like Brusse (1882), A. M. Chumaceiro (1885), and Hamelberg (1897), stood up for Papiamentu and Antillean culture. In Aruba in the 20th century, Titi Davelaar and Donny Laclé (a.k.a. Madame Jeanette) were well-known defenders of Papiamentu. These two gentlemen, not linguists but Papiamentu aficionados, were annoyed by the ungrammatical use of the language in the newspapers and on the radio. They regularly published articles in the local newspapers in which they discussed the language errors, which were much appreciated.

From the 1970s to the 1990s, the teacher unions of the ABC Islands, SIMAR of Aruba, SIMABO of Bonaire and SITEK of Curaçao⁷⁷, were very active in denouncing the misguided language policies of the education system (Chapter 2). SIMAR’s monthly magazine titled, *Skol & Komunidat (S&K)*, included critical analyses of the language situation in the schools, which were often cited by the local newspapers. SIMAR successfully mobilized many teachers in favor of educational reform and the promotion of Papiamentu. This influence reached the level of the Government and the Department of Education, where in the final decades of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st century very important documents were written, decisions were taken and innovative ideas crystallized: Papiamentu became an official national language, a subject in the

⁷⁷ SIMAR: Sindicato di Maestronan di Aruba; SIMABO: Sindikato di Maestro di Bonaire; SITEK: Sindikato di Trahadu den Enseñansa di Kòrsou

secondary schools, the Proyecto Scol Multilingual was initiated, and school books in Papiamento were published. Two important commissions that guided this work were PRIPEB and SHA (as noted in Chapter 3).

However, once these projects were underway, SIMAR and *S&K* eventually lost their leading position in the reform debates, perhaps because it was time for new approaches. *Grupo Papiando di Papiamento* which was established by linguist Mario Dijkhoff (1959- 2015) was the first NGO specifically dedicated to Papiamento in the 20th century. This organization was very active in the 1980s and 1990s in spreading the idea that Papiamento is worth serious study and should be used for all functions. *Grupo Papiando di Papiamento*'s Papiamento lectures and courses were very well attended, well appreciated and influential.

The official establishment by ministerial decree on the 17th of October 1995 of *Grupo Pa Promove Papiamento* (GP3) was in accordance with the recommendations laid out in the official document "*Pa un enseñansa bilingual na Aruba*" (*Directie Onderwijs Aruba*, 1988b:17-22). This GO was an interdepartmental and multidisciplinary commission with members from almost all pertinent organizations and bodies, e.g. *Departamento di Educacion* (DEA), *Instituto di Cultura* (which is now called *Departamento di Cultura*, DCA), *Biblioteca Nacional Aruba* (BNA), and representatives from the media as well as from the world of theatre, music, and literature. GP3's most important aims included raising awareness related to Papiamento, promoting better knowledge of Papiamento, and fostering a more careful, general, and ample use of Papiamento. The existence of this group was highly significant, considering the fact that the government by means of this group openly recognized the value of Papiamento as a national language and signaled its willingness to prepare the community for new language policy and changes in education. GP3 organized a variety of activities, some with a symbolic character like "*Aña di Papiamento*" and a special award for people who excelled in the promotion of Papiamento; and some with an advocacy character, such as information and awareness activities and activities which focus on special groups like students and the press. This formerly very successful GO still exists on paper, but has not been active since 2008, due to expenditure cuts by the government.

Now, in the second decade of the 21st century, both the Department of Education and the SIMAR are in great need of a new generation of activist teachers. The linguistic situation is ripe for action. Old, colonial ideas (see Table 3.10) are still very much alive and are hindering the innovation process, which has been gaining momentum over the past decades. Meanwhile, it appears that the Aruban government has other priorities and finds it difficult to formulate visions and principles on important issues, especially when these issues have to do with new ideas on human rights and require a shift in mentality.

Table 3.10 Public Statements by figures in authority during the 21st century in Aruba that illustrate the persistence of myths concerning the role of Papiamentu in society

1	Do not use the word Papiamentu too much, because people will judge you as being too nationalistic. (Young Aruban politician, 2002)
2	You cannot develop thinking in Papiamentu; Papiamentu encourages laziness in thinking (in Dutch <i>denkluigheid</i>). Belgian professor during a conference in Aruba, 2008)
3	Our sixth graders scored terribly on their National Dutch and Math Tests, the reason being genetics and mothers who do not speak Dutch to their children. (CBS-researcher in a radio interview, 2007)
4	Papiamentu in education? The elite thinks otherwise. (Dutch educational inspector, 2007)
5	What you people want is impossible; that has failed in The Hague. (Dutch educational inspector, 2007)
6	As a scientist, I know that Cummins' ideas are superseded. (Dutch educational inspector, 2007)
7	The Papiamentu mafia is hindering the development of our children. (Dutch columnist in a Dutch Aruban newspaper, 2009)
8	For me Papiamentu may cease to exist, it is not worth anything anyway. (Dutch columnist in an Aruban newspaper, 2009)
9	We do not have languages here at the university. (Dutch university lecturer in Aruba, 2010)
10	A Master study in Papiamentu for teachers has no added value. (Aruban politician, 2012)
11	Papiamentu is interesting for foreign scientists because for them it is exotic. (Aruban politician, 2012)
12	Dutch for academic development, Papiamentu for identity (<i>Taalunie</i> , 2014)
13	Because we sometimes speak Papiamentu in the classroom or in conversations with students or use a lot of Papiamentu at official events, we almost are co-responsible for the fact that so many students fail in the Netherlands. (Dutch director of the high school in Dutch in an Aruban newspaper, 2015)
14	Members of the Dutch Parliament think that education in Papiamentu hampers the tie-up with education abroad (<i>Rapport Tweede Kamer der Staten Generaal 2015-2016</i> , nr.177, p. 5 and 15)

Sources: speeches, lectures, conferences, meetings, conversations, official documents, interviews, and newspapers

For these reasons, the fate of Papiamentu and Papiamentu in education cannot be left in the hands of the government only. The very persistent myths evidenced in Table 3.10 still influence the debates, often without any counter-arguments. We, therefore, agree with Devonish (1988, 2007:70), that “the struggle for a truly democratic official language policy can only succeed as part of the struggle of the mass of the population for a genuinely democratic society.” Progressive community-based NGOs have the important task of monitoring and stimulating the process of change. They can help in the development of language awareness and of a positive language attitudes that can lead to the successful formulation and implementation of new language policy.

Linguists, specialists in education and community members must work together in their efforts toward advocacy, revitalization, and maintenance (Combs & Penfield, 2012) in order to put Papiamentu in the position that it deserves as the mother tongue of the majority and as the national and official language of Aruba. This includes, in the first place, recognition of the language rights of the marginalized majority of Papiamentu speakers in Aruba. Feelings of pride and love as expressed in expressions such as '*mi dushi Papiamentu*', 'my beloved Papiamentu', are not a start but do not go nearly far enough (Mufwene, 2008). Knowledge of the language and the culture of the community, perseverance, empathy, and passion are indispensable requisites for the type of language activist who will succeed in this task.

What does the ‘language activist landscape’ in Aruba look like in the 21st century? The following is based on observations, conversations and personal experiences of the researcher. *Fundacion Lanta Papiamentu* (FLP), an NGO established in May 2009 has as its most important goal raising awareness among the Aruban people about Papiamentu. FLP has enlarged its scope by joining forces with *Fundashon Alsa Papiamentu* (Curaçao), *Fundashon Akademia Papiamentu* (Bonaire), and *Fundashon S.P.L.I.K.A.*⁷⁸ (the Netherlands). In February of 2012, these groups joined together to establish the *Plataforma Union di Papiamentu*, devoted to the recognition of Papiamentu in all the territories of the Dutch Kingdom. *Dushi Papiamentu* (Bonaire) joined later. Their common goals can be formulated as follows:

Raising awareness among the Papiamentu speaking communities concerning the value of their language, to be able to shake off the colonial yoke and change negative mentality towards their own language into a respectful and responsible attitude which is so important for real development and, of course, the recognition of Papiamentu in the Netherlands, being the majority language in Bonaire, which is since 2010 a Dutch “*Openbaar Lichaam*”, a Dutch municipality.

Since its establishment FLP has organized all kinds of events, often in collaboration with other NGO’s as *Grupo Corector di Papiamentu*⁷⁹, *Fundacion Bon Nochi Drumi Dushi*⁸⁰, the GO’s *Biblioteca Nacional Aruba*, *Instituto Pedagogico Arubano*, and in some cases with the infrastructural support of the *University of Aruba*. The collaboration of the FLP with the Research Team of the *Proyecto Scol Multilingual* (PSML) in awareness activities regarding Papiamentu in education in general and PSML, in particular, is given top priority. A wide array of awareness activities have been carried out since 2009, including neighborhood meetings, celebrations, public lectures, televised broadcasts and radio programs, in order to reach people from all walks of life. *Fundacion Lanta Papiamentu* has identified a great need for more of these types of activities to increase community awareness of and involvement in programs like PSML (PSML-RT, 2011).

Language activism in Aruba in the 21st century has many levels and forms and covers a broad variety of activities to achieve greater language awareness in the community and to reach as many citizens as possible. Some of these activities are: a) Research on all aspects of Papiamentu; b) Lectures and conferences about the language Papiamentu: grammar, orthography, literature, history, sociolinguistics, education, lan-

⁷⁸ S.P.L.I.K.A. stands for *Stimula Papiamentu, Literatura, Informashon riba Kultura di Antianan Abou* – Stimulate Papiamentu, Literature, Information about the Culture of the Leeward Islands

⁷⁹ *Grupo Corector di Papiamentu*: The Group of Correctors of Papiamentu

⁸⁰ *Fundacion Bon Nochi Drumi Dushi*: Foundation Have a Good Night, Sleep Well.

guage rights; c) Papiamento courses to stimulate the development of language proficiency on different levels, from beginner to advanced, for L1 and L2 speakers; d) Storytelling, poetry and other oral performances; e) Spelling bees and dictation competitions; f) Book publication; g) Papiamento celebrations: Day of the Mother Tongue (February 21); Officialization of Papiamento (May 21); and Year of Papiamento and h) Awards and special recognition. These activities are also supported by other NGO's that are promoting the Aruban culture in different ways: *Fundacion Editorial Charuba* supports the publication of books mainly in Papiamento for children and adults, both fiction and non-fiction; *Fundacion Mi Cutisa* supports the study and performance of Aruban culture; *Fundacion Bernadina Growell* promotes folkloric events, and *Fundacion Papiamente*⁸¹ provides publication of bilingual (Papiamento and Dutch) books for children.

Important GOs, such as the Department of Culture (DCA), the Department of Education (DEA) and the Nacional Library Aruba (BNA), although limited by their low governmental budgets, are very supportive. DEA and DCA have at different times taken the initiative in organizing events such as The Year of Papiamento, DCA collaborates with Curaçao in very successful projects like “*Arte di Palabra*” and “*Expedicion Rescate*”; BNA cooperates with the NGOs by making its technical, organizational and infrastructural facilities available to them. These governmental departments try to comply with their ‘GP3 tasks’, as much as possible.

Despite the emphasis on Dutch in education, Papiamento is the preferred language in cultural events, even in those cultural organizations with a commercial character. Some of these organizations include Audiovisual Institute (Francisco Pardo) that produces Papiamento films; *Cas di Papiamento*, *Scol di Idioma* and others which provide Papiamento courses; Festivals to promote Papiamento songs and Aruban folklore like *Festival di Dande*, and *un Canto pa Aruba*. And not to forget the authors, poets and songwriters who publish their literary creations in Papiamento. It is remarkable that it would be rather strange for an Aruban artist (author, poet, singer and songwriter) to perform in Dutch. It is amazing that the general proficiency in Papiamento of these artists is reasonable, while Papiamento has never been taught to them in school. This can be attributed to the still existing strong intergenerational transmission of the language (as presented in section 3.3), combined with the good quality of private Papiamento courses. Among this group, the sense of responsibility for using a Papiamento that can stand the test of criticism is very high.

The power of this language activism lies in the fact that it is a self-imposed task taken on by community members who are reacting to unjust situations, which are not handled seriously or adequately by the official authorities, the government in this case.

⁸¹ ‘*Papiamente*’ is a word play referring to ‘Papiamento’ and ‘mente’ which means “*Papiamento pa desaroyo di Mente*” - Papiamento to develop the mind”.

This may be the reason why the public in general responds with an ever-growing enthusiasm to the above-mentioned activities.

We can conclude that language activism is a phenomenon of exceptional importance in the totality of language planning and policy, especially in a country like Aruba, where educational policy is at the same time very contradictory to the realities in the community and very resistant to change.

3.6 Conclusions and discussion

In this chapter the general predominant attitudes toward Papiamentu in Aruba were examined. The research question under consideration was *What have been the prevalent attitudes in Aruban society toward Papiamentu, particularly in relation to formal education, and how have these attitudes changed over time?* In the process of answering this question, language rights, language vitality, the role of Papiamentu in education and language activism were all taken into account.

With the words “Accepting my language is finding my identity”⁸², a researcher at the Archivo Nacional Aruba symbolizes her awakening of consciousness related to her discovery of the potentials of her language. It is indeed a true voyage of discovery from the point that you know nothing about your language or have developed a negative attitude about your language to the moment when you open your eyes and realize that all this time your language rights have been violated.

In demonstrating that the continuation of a two hundred years old school system that has a language policy that does not correspond to the language situation in the community is not a sustainable option, we observed how Aruba handles its unique multilingual character with indifference. Dutch is taught as a mother tongue, and that is causing much educational distress and failure. Papiamentu, still excluded as language of instruction in the educational system and introduced as just a subject in the secondary school, is thus marginalized and is now under threat of endangerment. The UNESCO scale outlined in the document “Language vitality and endangerment” (UNESCO 2003), Ethnologue’s EGIDS (2017) and Ruiz’ typology (Ruiz, 2006) are instruments that can help us to keep a finger on the pulse of the language so that we can make the necessary changes before it is too late.

Change is urgently required, but the Aruban government has thus far not been very energetic in this area, perhaps out of fear of losing supporters, perhaps because of a lack of theoretical and practical knowledge. Waiting for the government to take the initiative is thus not “sustainable” either. The designation of Papiamentu as an official language was a major achievement, as was the establishment of the Scol Multilingual project on a pilot basis, even though plans for reform of the system have been implemented very gradually. In the meantime, the Department of Education is still

⁸² Rosa Arends: “*Acepta mi idioma ta descubri mi identidad,*” during a discussion at the Archivo Nacional Aruba.

working on making sure that all of the conditions necessary are in place for their eventual implementation. In order to ensure comprehensive and effective language planning and policy in Aruba, it will be necessary to create an agency similar the former Instituto Di Lenga Arubiano (DE, 1988-EB), as a national center for language development.

We can conclude that language awareness is at a very low level in Aruba, in all sectors. For that reason, the fourth area of language planning and policy, Prestige and Image planning, must be given priority. Promotional and informational activities with a focus on the community and its mentality and attitude are vital to the preservation and development of Papiamentu. The absence of substantial government initiative has motivated community groups to take action in this and other areas, and they have done so with considerable success thus far.

Chapter 4

Language attitudes of Teachers towards Papiamentu in education

In this chapter, the language attitudes of teachers towards Papiamentu in education will be examined in order to find answers to the second research question: *How do teachers value the role of Papiamentu in Aruban education?* Before going into the empirical part of the study, a short introduction is presented of the languages and language attitudes in Aruban education (4.1). Then we consider teachers' language attitudes in mainstream schools (4.2) and the language practices of the teachers in the Scol Multilingual (4.3). Subsequently, the language attitudes of the teachers in the new Scol Multilingual are examined (4.4). At the end of the chapter there is a general conclusion and discussion (4.5).

The teacher is the most important factor in the whole educational system. Without the teacher, there is no schooling. The quality of the teachers is what really matters (Hargreaves & Fullan, 2012). 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. A teacher in a country like Aruba needs to be fully aware of the complexity of her or his multilingual community, needs to know details of its history, needs to have passion and empathy and must be able to rely on a first-hand cultural understanding.

The teacher's task is very complex and demanding. According to a document of the Department of Education (1988a:15) that proposed a new teachers training institute, the Aruban primary teacher has to be a 'general teacher who is responsible for most of the subjects in the ... school and who can function as a "competent educator", a "carrier of educational reform" and a "social agent". These functions are elaborated in a document of the Instituto Pedagógico Arubano (IPA, 1990:36) into different fundamental teacher roles, i.e. the teacher as 1) facilitator, 2) researcher, 3) indicator, 4) promotor of social development and 5) organizer. The teaching profession has, according to IPA, a

very specific character which requires an active attitude of interpretation, exploration, improvisation, reflection, variation, differentiation, and confirmation of meaning. This means that Aruban teachers not only have the task of implementing what they have learned and what they are instructed to do, but they are also expected to actively contribute to the whole education process by thinking, developing, and evaluating, especially in periods of innovation and reform. According to IPA, teaching is “*kunde én kunst*”, “both competency and art” (IPA, 1990, 4.3.1:20). For Hargraves and Fullan (2012: 29) teaching “isn’t just an art, a craft, a science, or a sacred vocation – or even a mixture of all these things. Teaching is also a job, a line of work”.

What makes teaching in Aruba very challenging is the artificial language situation in the schools, already extensively described in the former chapters. 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 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.

4.1 Languages and language attitudes in Aruban education

In this section, the use of language in teacher training will first be described with a special focus on Papiamentu. Next, teacher attitudes towards the learning of Papiamentu will be considered. Then the multilingual school in Aruba and the design of the present study will be discussed.

4.1.1 Language in teacher training

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. It is noteworthy that although language issues have been very much discussed in the educational community, in the two documents mentioned in the preceding section (DEA, 1988a; IPA, 1990) these issues were not presented as such. Only in the course descriptions of Dutch and Papiamentu (IPA, 1990:51) are references made to Dutch as a foreign

language and language of instruction, to Papiamentu as mother tongue and to the relationship between the two languages in connection with course content and the didactical-pedagogical competencies of the teacher. In fact, according to the IPA document, teachers were to be trained to teach in the Dutch as language of instruction primary school. For the teacher trainers at the IPA who are very aware of the language problems in the classroom (Emerencia, 2007:247-252; Thodé, interview no. 8), this situation was and still is the topic of continuous discussion in search of solutions.

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 the Dutch differs substantially from that of the Dutch teachers. Aruban teachers are the product of this less than optimal Dutch-only educational system. As graduates of the HAVO, the VWO or EPI their mastery of the Dutch language is assumed to be sufficient to start their classes at the IPA, which are still mostly in Dutch. However, the reality is otherwise, according to IPA director Ava Thodé (interview no. 8).

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 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 their mother tongue or second language Dutch, 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.

UNESCO stated in 2003 with regard to the teacher training and mother tongue vs. foreign language instruction:

“The language of instruction in school is the medium of communication for the transmission of knowledge. This is different from language teaching itself where the grammar, vocabulary, and the written and the oral forms of a language constitute a specific curriculum for the acquisition of a second language other than the mother tongue” (UNESCO, 2003b:17).

“All educational planning should include at each stage early provision for the training, and further training, of sufficient numbers of fully competent and qualified teachers of the country concerned who are familiar with the life of their people and able to teach in the mother tongue” (UNESCO, 2003b:31)

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. “In all modern communities there exists a gap between school and life, but in countries where the language of instruction and mother tongue do not coincide, this gap which is at a disadvantage of the child is excessively big.” (Prins, 1970:113) The parents and the secondary schools are complaining about the insufficient mastery of the Dutch language by the primary school teachers and also by some of the secondary school teachers:

“The question of language of instruction was identified by parents as a serious issue affecting student achievement. Parents highlighted that some of the teachers’ poor language proficiency in languages, either Dutch, English, Spanish or even Papiamentu, contributed as a weakness to the student’s education. Graduates from the IPA, for example, are viewed as insufficiently proficient in Dutch to be able to teach competently in Dutch at the 6th grade level. Parents interviewed are concerned about the education their children are suffering in school.”
(*The Learner: Our Focus*: 2.45, p.22)

We can conclude that 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*, or remedial courses. The other trivialized problem is the fact that teachers do not master their own language Papiamentu either at the required academic level. 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, EPI/HAVO/VWO 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 kindergarden and primary school teachers. The “*aansluitingsproblematiek van VO naar het hoger onderwijs*”, [the problems in the connection between secondary and higher education]

are not only visible in the Netherlands, but also in Aruba and especially at the IPA (Thodé, interview no. 8).

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. According to Thodé (interview no. 8), it is also problematic that IPA-graduate teachers are not strong enough to adopt and practice innovative educational ideas and to be real change agents. Merlynn Williams, researcher, trainer and coach at the IPA (interview No. 7) shares this observation and adds that one of the goals of the IPA is to train teachers who do not reproduce knowledge but instead create knowledge, using new didactical approaches.

The same situation can be observed at the Scol Multilingual, where the teachers are teaching in Papiamentu, their mother tongue and the mother tongue of the majority of the students, but without a specific training to do so. This generation of SML-teachers never had primary or secondary education in Papiamentu; with only the most recent teacher graduates having had Papiamentu as a subject in HAVO or VWO. 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. There are only 3 modules of 40 hours during teachers' four years of study. However, due to the requirements of educational reform, IPA is 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 teachers can meet the students 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. This concept of specialized primary school teachers for a certain subject is not new at IPA because since academic year 2007-2008, IPA has had a specialized teacher training course for physical education called *Movecion & Salud*. 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.

“One of the most important innovations in instructional organization is team teaching, in which two or more educators share responsibility for a group of students. This means that an individual teacher no longer has to be all things to all students. This approach allows teachers to apply their strengths, interests, skills, and abilities to the greatest effect, knowing that children won't suffer from their

weaknesses, because there's someone with a different set of abilities to back them up". (Lanier, 1997).

IPA has elaborated a new curriculum which was introduced in the academic year 2016-2017 (IPA, 2016). Because the language of instruction is the backbone of school education, the development of an intensive program for Papiamentu in all four years of training at IPA must be considered, including training in the language itself, its use as language of instruction and the didactics of how to teach the language as L1 and L2. It is only then that we can ensure quality teaching and quality learning in the schools, with less stress, more interaction, more real and spontaneous communication, more real teaching and learning (Directie Onderwijs Aruba, 1988-EB; PRIEPEB, 1999).

45 years ago, the authors of *Leerplan & Leidraad* (1970:97), recommended an 'L.O.'-degree in Papiamentu for the mother tongue school.⁸³ The L.O. degree no longer exists, but we can create something similar with a Bachelors and Master's degree Papiamentu with a specialization for the new primary school, the Scol Multilingual. Long term and short term training of Papiamentu teachers of different levels –Bachelor, Master, and PhD – is very important, to guarantee sufficient teachers for every school type. Continuity is a key for successful education. A reformed teacher training system might include the possibility for the general teacher who has a Bachelor's degree to achieve a Master's degree for the primary school. Lifelong learning as part of the teacher's profile has to be encouraged. In countries with the highest international scores in education and also in teacher training, like Finland and Singapore, teachers pursue their Master's and even their PhD degrees and remain in teaching, using their expertise and knowledge to upgrade the quality of education (Darling-Hammond, 2012). This is an example that inspires and that contradicts the idea that for a primary school teacher a general Bachelor's degree is sufficient and that specialized Bachelor's, Master's or PhD degrees do not have added value.

4.1.2 Teachers' attitudes towards learning Papiamentu

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

⁸³ "L.O.-degree stands for the *Lager Onderwijs* degree which is the equivalent of a third degree or pre-Bachelor's degree for teachers. This degree represents the lowest level of specialization in a school subject. This level does not exist any longer. Nowadays the specialization levels for teachers are Bachelor and Master.

materials, training of teachers and implementation of the reforms with continuous monitoring and guidance.

In Aruba, we need comprehensive education reform which is characterized by a new vision on education based on post-colonial, 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 currently being implemented at the level of primary education in Aruba (PRIPEB, 2002c, 2010).

Despite the fact that most people are convinced that changes have to be made and the fact that Proyecto Scol Multilingual is well thought out and that the preparatory activities for the project are being successfully executed, there is an atmosphere of scepticism, fear and anxiety related to the project, not only among the teachers who are the ones who will be in charge of implementing those changes, but also among the innovation leaders who have had to deal with all kind of challenges during the process (Garcia-Dijkhoff, interview no. 1). These challenges are best dealt with by clear explanations of the differences between the new Scol Multilingual and the traditional Dutch school in Aruba.

The division of each cohort of students into several tracks in secondary education is determined by examinations of proficiency in Dutch and Mathematics taken by all students at the sixth grade level of primary education. Based on the results of these Dutch and Mathematics tests, in 2014 less than 20% of Aruban students were admitted to the highest level or HAVO track (CBS Aruba, 2014:41). The main goal of the new multilingual schools in Aruba is 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.

The vision of great educators such as Lev Vygotsky and Paolo Freire, complement the vision of UNESCO in its position papers about education. Lev Vygotsky states: "Even though the child develops itself through its own activities and initiatives, the contents of the skills it acquires through this development stem from its social surroundings and the culture in which it is immersed" (Vygotsky, 1978). And Paolo Freire claims: "In school, the deeply rooted language of the people, the language of the oppressed, is systematically disqualified and pushed aside by the artificial language of the "civilized". This way experience remains speechless and the language becomes pointless." (Freire, 1972). In the classroom, it is the dialogue between teacher and student that leads to cognitive development. Both Vygotsky and Freire put the learning and developing students at the center of the education process, based on their experiences and knowledge. This body of experience and knowledge includes their mother tongue

which should be the main tool for dialogue between teachers and students. It is important to note that already in 1953, UNESCO highlighted the psychological, sociological and educational reasons why the mother tongue is so important. Other important conclusions in UNESCO's position paper of 2003 include the following:

“Mother tongue instruction (...) is considered to be an important component of quality education, particularly in the early years. The expert view is that mother tongue instruction should cover both the teaching of and the teaching through this language. (...) It is an obvious yet not generally recognized truism that learning in a language which is not one's own provides a double set of challenges: not only is there the challenge of learning a new language but also that of learning new knowledge contained in that language” (2003b:14-15).

4.1.3 The multilingual school in Aruba

While inservice training for teaching Papiamentu (see 2.6) was taking place and the development of school materials was slowly but surely happening, the *Grupo Idioma* of the Department of Education was struggling with the implementation of the multilingual school project according to the *Masterplan Proyecto Scol Multilingual* (Departamento di Enseñansa Aruba, 2007).

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 (see Table 2.12) which involved a transition to Dutch as the language of instruction in grade 5, with Papiamentu being a subject of study in grades 5 and 6. This decision has had implications for the multilingual school model and therefore also for the didactic approach to Dutch and of course to Papiamentu. A program of transition from Papiamentu to Dutch to integrate this modification to the original plan is, therefore, being developed (Teunissen, 2008).

Table 4.1 The official language model of the Scol Multilingual since 2007

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	Syst. transfer of literacy skills to English	Systematic transfer of literacy skills to Spanish		

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

According to the *Masterplan Proyecto Scol Multilingual* (2007), the SML has the following characteristics: 1) Papiamento, the national and official language (*Landsverordening Officiële talen Aruba 21 mei 2003, regels inzake het Papiamento en het Nederlands als officiële talen*) and the mother tongue of the majority of the Aruba children will 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 grand majority of the children and the other official language of Aruba, will be the language of instruction in P5 and P6; 3) Dutch, English, and Spanish classes will 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 will become subjects with more systematic instruction Dutch in mid-P2/P3, English in P4 and Spanish in P5; 4) there will be a stronger emphasis on Dutch (compared to the model proposed in the document *Habri porta pa nos drenta* (PRIEPEB, 2002c), and, to prevent a sudden switch from Papiamento to Dutch, the developers proposed steppingstones: a) one subject will be in Dutch, probably *Ciencia y Naturalesa*, from P2 onwards, emphasizing both language and content; b) one subject will alternate between Papiamento and Dutch from P2 onwards; c) a strong program will 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 may vary) is taught in Dutch. Whereas the content based

approach focuses on comprehension and on the development of language and thinking skills, this approach emphasizes the relations between the subjects.

The *Scol Multilingual*, 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 perform better in Papiamentu, with no lowering of levels in proficiency in Dutch when compared to their non-PSML counterparts⁸⁴ and 3) the teachers had to be prepared for this innovative project. 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 Curriculo* 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 (See 3.6). The languages Dutch, English, and Spanish also have 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, while Spanish is the second most spoken language in Aruba and also a regional and global language.

The *Masterplan Proyecto Scol Multilingual* (2007) further indicates that account must be taken of some important principles, 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 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 is being developed. *Met open oren* (Theunissen, 2008) is a special foreign language manual designed for the *Scol Multilingual* teacher. Dutch as Foreign Language materials have also been developed, including *Taalpret* (2017) for K1 and K2 and *Taalsprong* (still to be published) for P1 and P2. These methods focus on the development of oral skills and vocabulary, on the basis of the knowledge and skills children have acquired in their own mother tongue. Spanish and English foreign language materials are also being developed.

⁸⁴ Masterplan Scol Multilingual, april 2007, Department of Education, Aruba, p 5: letter of the minister of Education and Administration /2187.

A special team from the Department of Education and the *Instituto Pedagógico Arubano* is now working on setting up a training and coaching program for the teachers of the pilot schools, as well as for the teachers of the schools which soon will be integrated into the project. The developments at the *Scol Multilingual* are monitored by a Research Team, of the Research Center of the *Instituto Pedagógico Arubano*.

4.2 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. First the research objective of the survey is addressed (4.2.1), then the method of investigation is discussed (4.2.2), next the results of the research is presented (4.2.3) and finally conclusions are drawn from the results (4.2.4).

4.2.1 Research objective

The research objectives of this survey among teachers at mainstream schools are multiple and pertain to the following: 1) the attitude of teachers in conventional education with regard to educational innovation; 2) where these teachers stand in relation to the introduction of Papiamentu as a medium of education and as a subject; 3) what they think 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.

4.2.2 Research method

This section describes the method used to obtain answers to the research question. After having described the test group and questionnaire development, data collection and analysis will also be discussed.

Informants

In this survey, teachers from 12 schools in Aruba participated: 4 kindergartens and 8 primary schools. 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 kindergartens in the sample represented 15.4% of the kindergartens and the primary schools in the sample represented 22.2% of the primary schools. All 25 teachers (100%) from the 4 selected kindergartens completed the questionnaire, as did 81 (out of 89 = 91.0%) of the teachers and two of the principals from the 8 selected primary schools. The 25 kindergarten teachers represent 17.6% of Aruban kindergarten teachers and the 81 primary school teachers represent 17% of Aruban primary school

teachers. Some respondents were selective, and answered only the questions they felt were relevant to them. Table 4.2 lists the survey schools and the number of teachers and principals per school who participated in the survey. The schools represent all the districts of Aruba.

Table 4.2 The schools involved in the Pre-SML 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

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

The questionnaire

Based on the research question *How do teachers value the role of Papiamento in Aruban education?* a questionnaire was designed. The questionnaire was used to gain insight into the attitudes of kindergarten and primary school teachers towards Papiamento. 46 closed questions separated into the following seven sets were included: A) personal data; B) language use and language proficiency; C) language attitudes; D) Papiamento's role in the community; E) Papiamento's role in education; F) statements about Dutch and Papiamento in the primary school; G) and statements about Proyecto Scol Multilingual. 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 Papiamento for the majority of the teachers, but a Dutch version was provided for some Dutch teachers who did not have a sufficient mastery of Papiamento to answer the questionnaire formulated in that language. This survey will be hereafter referred to as "Survey Pre-SML". See Appendix B2 for a copy of the questionnaire in this survey: *Papiamento y otro idioma den bo bida*.

Data collection and analysis

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.⁸⁵ The school boards and principals reacted positively to 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.

4.2.3 Results

The results presented below are based on the data obtained from kindergarten and primary school teachers and principals in Survey Pre-PSML, 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 determined 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; Std. Dev.: 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

⁸⁵ Some preliminary results of this research were published earlier as Pereira, Joyce (2012). Language attitudes and language use of Scol Multilingual teachers in Aruba: some preliminary results. In Nicholas Faraclas et al., eds., *Multiplex Cultures and Citizenships, Multiple Perspectives on Language, Literature, Education, and Society in the ABC Islands and Beyond*. Curaçao: FPI-UNA, p. 329-338:.

teachers have the 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 has been made between responses from the schools which eventually were to be included in the SML project and those which were not.

B. Language use and language proficiency

Tables 4.3 to 4.5 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 4.3 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 with 54.6% and secondly Spanish with 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.

Table 4.3 The languages of the teachers (n=108)

Language	Mother tongue	Language of identity	Mastered next to mother tongue	Most comfortable language
Papiamentu	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%

The language proficiency of teachers is a very important aspect of their teaching. In Table 4.4 the teachers (n=108) evaluate their own general proficiency in the different languages.

Table 4.4 Teachers' evaluation of their own language proficiency

		Excellent	Good	Amply 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

It is not surprising that 92% of the kindergarten teachers and 72.3% of the primary school teachers say that Papiamento is the language that they master the best. Papiamento is the mother tongue of 78.7% of all the teachers, and kindergarten teachers use 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 4.5.

Table 4.5 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%
Less 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%
Less preferred language	K:	4%	40%	8%	32%	12%
	P:	1.3%	18.2%	22.1%	45.5%	9.1%
Less 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%
Less 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%
Less 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 in Table 4.5 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 fewer 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 they want most further formal instruction in Papiamentu (52% K) and (38.3% P). 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 – Language Policy Unit) B2 level, which is supposedly the minimum level required for teaching.

C. Language attitudes

Tables 4.6 to 4.9 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%) know that Papiamentu is an official language, 26.7% is not sure or does not know, which is an unexpectedly high percentage. The answers given to the question *What is Papiamentu in your opinion?* (Table 4.6) demonstrate significantly ($p < 0.001$) that 10.8% of the teachers still do 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 4.6 Relation between country of birth 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 4.7, most kindergarten (91.3%) and primary school teachers (87.2%) had the opinion that Papiamentu must be the language of instruction in primary school and this significant result ($p < 0.001$) correlates with the results for item 41 in Table 4.15.

Table 4.7 Relation 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, yes	I do not 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 4.8. 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 4.8 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, yes	I do not 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 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 Papiamentu courses; 7) The Multilingual School Project can prove that Papiamentu is important for quality education; 8) Papiamentu in education can increase the involvement of parents in education; 9) Papiamentu has to be used in all official events and documents; 10) Papiamentu has to be used creatively and in the arts; 11) Television programs advertisement in Papiamentu must be broadcast in the language; 12) Advertisements on billboards, road signs etc. must be in Papiamentu; 13) Writing, reading, and buying Papiamentu literature have to be encouraged more; and 14) A digital dictionary and spell and grammar check for Papiamentu must be generated.

Table 4.9 shows that the teachers think that all the institutions mentioned should support and promote Papiamentu. Only a minority of the primary school teachers, however (33%), can visualize NGOs and community centers as language promoters.

Table 4.9 The institutions with the task to support and promote Papiamentu

	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%

K: Kindergarten; P: Primary school

To the question *Do you want to attend Papiamentu 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 want to attend Papiamentu 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, are eager to develop their Papiamentu language skills.

D. Papiamentu's role in the community

Table 4.10 below shows the results for section D of the questionnaire on the role of Papiamentu in the community.

Table 4.10 Papiamento’s role in the community

		Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Papiamento 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%
Papiamento 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 Papiamento as the 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%
Papiamento must be part of the Aruban National Anthem and 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%
Papiamento 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%
Papiamento 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

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

E. Papiamento’s role in education

Table 4.11 below shows the results for section E of the questionnaire on the role of Papiamento in education. The teachers had very explicit opinions about Papiamento’s role in education. They grew up in the midst of debates about introducing Papiamento in education, but at the moment this survey was administered, only the kindergarten and the special education teachers were working with this language. The multilingual school project had not started yet at the primary school level. Table 4.11 shows the teachers’ opinions about the role of Papiamento in education.

Table 4.11 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 things, 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

The scores for statements on teaching Papiamento as a subject (6-8) were very much in favor of Papiamento, 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 Papiamento in education. The kindergarten teachers were in unanimous agreement (100%) about the statements *Using Papiamento as the language of instruction feels good and works well* and *Teaching Papiamento 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 *Papiamento must be the language of instruction in primary schools*.

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

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F. Statements about Dutch in the primary schools

Table 4.12 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 4.12 Experience with teaching in Dutch

	Very pleasant	Pleasant	Normal	Un-certain	Un-pleasant	Un-natural
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 in Dutch about the subject matter 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 have 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 do not prefer to go on with Dutch as the language of instruction in primary schools, there is a majority of 39.1% who will change if the law changes. The largest group of teachers (75.4%) stated that they would accept teaching in Papiamentu 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 Papiamentu*: 29 teachers stated that they prefer Papiamentu for their students to be more successful in school; 5 teachers wanted both Papiamentu and Dutch; 5 teachers insisted on Dutch because of the law, 1 teacher wanted Dutch because the school material is Dutch and 2 teachers wanted Dutch because they do not master Papiamentu; and 2 teachers wanted Papiamentu only as support.

In practice, despite laws and policies to the contrary, many teachers have found themselves obliged to use Papiamentu in the classroom. The results for the statements *I use Papiamentu to explain things to the students* and *I teach whole lessons in Papiamentu* demonstrated this clearly. Papiamentu 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 Papiamentu 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 4.13 to 4.16 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 the 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 4.13).

Table 4.13 Teachers' opinion about PSML (1)

	Much	Sufficient	Few	Nothing	
Sufficient 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 SML at the secondary level.

Table 4.14 Teachers' opinion 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 the PSML, 59% and 41%, respectively (Table 4.14). 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 4.15 Teachers' opinion 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 4.15). 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 4.16 Opinion about in-service training Papiamento

	excellent	good	moderately good	regular	Insufficient	bad
What is your opinion about the in-service courses of Papiamento?	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 4.16 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) formulated 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 our 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 the Aruban education?* Only one teacher expressed her 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 Papiamentu. 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 PRIEPEB 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.” And 15) One teacher designed a complete educational structure from primary school till the middle vocational school (EPI) with proposals concerning the languages.

4.2.4 Conclusions

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 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 deseño 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.

4.3 Teachers' language practices in the Scol Multilingual

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 (PSML RT, 2012) principally to determine how the teachers were experiencing the new role of Papiamento as language of instruction in the Scol Multilingual primary schools. First the research objectives are addressed (4.3.1), then the research method is discussed (4.3.2), next, the results are presented (4.3.3) and finally conclusions are drawn from the results (4.3.4).

4.3.1 Research objectives

The teachers at the *Proyecto Scol Multilingual* pilot schools constitute a crucial group of stakeholders in the implementation of the reform project. The success of the project depends to a large extent on the teachers, who are the ones who put innovation into practice. These actors must be convinced of the principles and objectives of the project and be pedagogically and linguistically prepared to achieve its goals. Preparation of the teachers for the transition to *Scol Multilingual* is mandatory. Their involvement in the implementation process is an important part of their development as SML teachers: their enthusiasm, motivation, satisfaction, and their practical experiences are all valuable elements in the transition to a new educational system. In order to gain insight into the experiences of these teachers with *Scol Multilingual* this focus group study was carried out to help answer the research question *How do teachers value the role of Papiamento in Aruban education?*

4.3.2 Research method

The research method used in this component of the study was a focus group interview, which 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 Papiamento 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 elicit 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 open questions addressed during the focus group interview (see Appendix B3) focused on the following topics: A) Teachers' relationship with colleagues and others, B) Teachers' experience with Papiamento 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 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. The participants' statements were recorded and categorized using the 6 topics listed above.

4.3.3 Results

The results of the focus group interview are summarized below under headings A to F, each of which corresponds to one of the topics for discussion listed above.

A. Teachers' relationship with colleagues and others

A new and healthy relationship has emerged between the PSML Grade 1 teachers and other stakeholders in the PSML, including the PSML Research Team, the PSML *Grupo Nucleo*, parents, and other community members who can serve as resource people for teachers. For example, on Tuesday 20 November, the four Grade 1 PSML teachers participated actively in a session where they and members of the PSML Management Team collaboratively designed the new PSML Report Card, which will be 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 are very enthusiastic and fully supportive of the project, but they are also overworked. Much of their free time is consumed with all of the extra work necessary for preparing lessons. In one school, teachers are 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 give them time to perform these new and demanding tasks in a sustained manner. In the other school, teachers are very grateful that they have other teachers available who can teach English, Spanish, and Physical Education to the PSML Grade 1 students.

Members of the PSML Team have committed themselves to meet some of the training needs of the PSML teachers under the *Plan di Profesionalisacion* developed by *Seccion Guia* and *Instituto Pedagogico Arubiano*. Besides the weekly encounters with PSML Team members, the teachers from both schools have begun organizing their own meetings. After some initial difficulties, the communication between the teachers at the two schools is becoming more regular and productive. They are now working together to develop materials.

The challenges faced by the teachers include some that have to do with the differences between the two pilot schools. For example, in one pilot school, the PSML

Preparatorio (Kindergarten level) classrooms are located beside the PSML Grade 1 classrooms, thus facilitating mutual support. This is not the case in the other PSML Grade 1 pilot school, which does not conduct PSML Kindergarten *Preparatorio* classes of any kind.

B. Teachers' experience with Papiamento lessons and materials

The PSML Grade 1 teachers are 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 have come to realize, however, that the PSML students are already used to playing with language from their experiences at the *Preparatorio* PSML Kindergarten level. The teachers also had problems avoiding Dutch terminology in the first weeks of Language and Literacy classes.

The teachers note that the Papiamento lessons are going very well and that both they and the students feel that a comfortable and productive learning environment has been established. The students have a very high degree of comprehension, and can be presented with more challenging material than could be handled in the former Dutch only system. Teachers need to be made aware that they can go a lot further in Papiamento 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 Papiamento is not quite sufficient and that the lessons in Papiamento 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 sentimento 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 compronde. Duh..."*". [Teachers feels like they are having a conversation with the children, it does not feel like teaching. Because the lesson is developing 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 say that the children generally had no problem using the Papiamento textbook series *Baile di Letter*. The teachers are using the book creatively because there are still areas where the texts are 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 are not provided in the teachers' manual. There are also some technical problems and some materials did not arrive at the schools on time. Some of the materials do not include crucial elements such as complete letter boxes so that

the teachers themselves have had to fill in the letter boxes and this has taken a lot of time. The preparation time needs to be reduced for this textbook. The teachers have had meetings with personnel from the Curriculum Section to give feedback and to have their concerns registered and their questions answered.

C. 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 have been pleasantly surprised by the considerable ease with which they can teach mathematical concepts in Papiamentu. The students are rapidly becoming independent learners and the teachers are struggling to provide them with sufficient work to occupy the children's time after they have so rapidly finished the assigned tasks in the textbook.

D. 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* is easier than the Papiamentu textbook *Baile di Letter* in terms of lesson preparation, but it involves more logistical problems and expense.

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

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

Due to problems with finding specialized teachers to give English and Spanish lessons, there has been 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 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 Kindergarten *Preparatorio* 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

F. Materials, timetable, and evaluation

The teachers are meeting together and evaluating materials and then sending regular reports to the Curriculum Section. A member of the PSML *Grupo Nucleo* is relaying teachers' feedback to the Curriculum Section as well. These procedures need to be systematized, however, to make sure that all of the feedback from the users of PSML texts is received, acknowledged and acted upon by the Curriculum Section so that the next editions of PSML materials will reflect these valuable inputs from teachers, parents, and other stakeholders. For example, the enormously time-consuming work being done by the PSML Grade 1 teachers of designing letter boxes for *Baile di Letter*, should be integrated into the letter boxes provided in the next editions of this textbook series.

In some classrooms, the time allotments to the various PSML subjects are not getting the attention that they deserve. More emphasis should be put on this in monitoring activities. Because the students are so eager and able to finish their Papiamentu lessons, there may be 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, like creative writing in Papiamentu.

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 have 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 want at least 3 marks in each area of evaluation for each term. The teachers have 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).

4.3.4 Conclusions

For the four teachers, PSML represented a new challenge: teaching in Papiamentu 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 need guidance to learn how to best use this 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.

4.4 Teacher language attitudes in the Scol Multilingual

To find out how the teachers thought about the school, a survey was held among the teachers of the two SML schools in 2015. First of all the research objectives are addressed (4.4.1), then the research method is discussed (4.4.2), next, the results are presented (4.4.3) and finally conclusions are drawn from the results (4.4.4).

4.4.1 Research objectives

This component of the study was designed to answer the research question *How do teachers of the Scol Multilingual value the role of Papiamentu in Aruban education?* focusing on the experiences and attitudes of these teachers related to Papiamentu and the other languages in their schools. See Appendix B3 for the questionnaire used for this survey. In this section we present the results of this survey, referred to as *Survey SML* which was held in February 2015 with all the teachers of grades 1, 2 and 3 of the two SML schools.

4.4.2 Research method

All 12 teachers of the two SML 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 PSMML program with Papiamentu as the language of instruction. The 12 SML teachers had therefore by then been teaching almost three years, two years or one year under the new SML program. Given that the SML is still a pilot project, this survey seemed appropriate to gather data concerning the teachers' characteristics, self-image, attitudes, beliefs, opinions, experience, knowledge, and expectations (Laurence Neuman, 2006), related to their practice before and after their involvement in the SML project.

The survey questionnaire (Appendix B4) 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 SML project; C) *Teachers' experiences with SML*, especially in relation to how they experienced the main differences between the traditional Dutch-only-school and the Scol Multilingual ; D) *Teachers' competencies and knowledge* including

their preparation, self-image, knowledge and language skills; E) *Teachers' evaluation of the project* their relation to students and their performance, teaching materials and parents; and F) *Teachers' perspectives on the project*, in relation to the future of SML and teachers' advice on how to improve the project.

All 12 teachers from the two SML 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 contains a limited number of informants, the results of the survey are indicated in percentages and no more extensive statistical analyses have been performed. Percentages provide a straightforward summary statistic when it concerns multiple-choice and rating scale survey responses.

4.4.3 Results

The results of Survey SML are presented below in sections A to F, which correspond to each of the seven categories listed in the previous section.

A. General information

There are two pilot SML schools, each with 6 PSML classes, with 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 have 109 students, 53 male and 56 female, between 5.5 and 8 years of age. The grade two classes together have 105 students, 55 male and 50 female, between 6 and 9 years. The grade three classes together have 103 students, 57 male and 46 female, between 8 and 11 years. In total there are 165 (52,1%) male students and 152 (47,9%) female students. There are 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 are 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 4.17.

Table 4.17 Home languages of Scol Multilingual pupils at primary level, February 2015

Home languages of the children SML 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%

The multilingual character of the school population is evident, with a very high presence of Papiamento. 267 out of 317 children (84.2%) have Papiamento as the language that they speak at home or as one of the languages that they speak at home. Of this group 215 (81.1%) have Papiamento as their sole home language. In addition, 49 (15.4%) are bilingual at home and 3 (0.9%) are trilingual at home, all with Papiamento as one of their home languages. 10 out of 12 teachers (83.3%) have Papiamento as their only mother tongue, while one teacher has two mother tongues, one of which is Papiamento, which yields a total of 11 or 91.6% for Papiamento as mother tongue.

B. Teachers' attitudes, beliefs, opinions and motivation

On the question, *Were you well informed about the SML Project before you started as a teacher at the SML?* 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 were well informed about this project. This means that information about SML was not adequate. This confirms the levels of agreement reported above with the statement *Sufficient information about PSML has been made available to me* of the Pre-SML survey: 62% of the teachers reported not having sufficient information about SML (Table 4.13). Despite minimal briefing about the program, these teachers had the courage to accept the job. This suggests a high level of motivation on their part.

On the question, *Was it your own decision or choice to work at the SML?* the teachers answered as follows: 7 (58.3%) of the teachers ended up working at SML because they wanted to work at a reformed school and with Papiamento, 5 (41.7%) ended up working at SML purely because of decisions made by local school boards. This result confirms what we concluded from the first question; that the majority of SML teachers were either highly motivated to join SML beforehand, or became highly motivated about SML after joining the project. The different reasons the teachers indicated are presented in Table 4.18.

Table 4.18 Reasons for working in the Proyecto Multilingual in descending order of frequency

1	I want to work in the reformed school with Papiamento	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 Papiamento 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 applied for this job because it corresponds with my ideas.	3.0%
10	My proficiency of Papiamento is better than my proficiency in Dutch.	3.0%
Total		100%

C. Teachers' experiences with SML

The majority of the teachers report a positive experience working in SML classrooms. 9 teachers (75%) say that they feel comfortable. 9 teachers (75%) say that they are well prepared. 8 teachers (66.7%) report working with greater pleasure in SML than in the Dutch system. 9 teachers (75%) report working with greater satisfaction than they thought was possible. 6 teachers (50%) agree with the statement that in SML the child is the focal point, 5 teachers (41.7%) do not have an opinion on this and 1 teacher (8.3%) disagrees. Teaching is easier because the children understand everything more rapidly is the opinion of 9 teachers (75%). All 12 teachers (100%) say that the lessons in Papiamento are more communicative. All 12 teachers (100%) have had the experience that the child learns with more pleasure than in the traditional Dutch school. 6 teachers (50%) say that they do not agree with the assertion that they feel more confident teaching in the Dutch system than at SML, which means that they feel confident teaching in Papiamento; 3 teachers (25%) agree and 3 teachers (25%) do not have an opinion. 9 teachers (75%) state that in their SML classes the progress and development of the students have become very noticeable. Only 3 teachers (25%) agree with the statement that fewer children repeat a grade in SML. 10 teachers (83.3%) say that their SML students are more active learners and dare to express their opinions, which they were not able to do in the traditional Dutch schools.

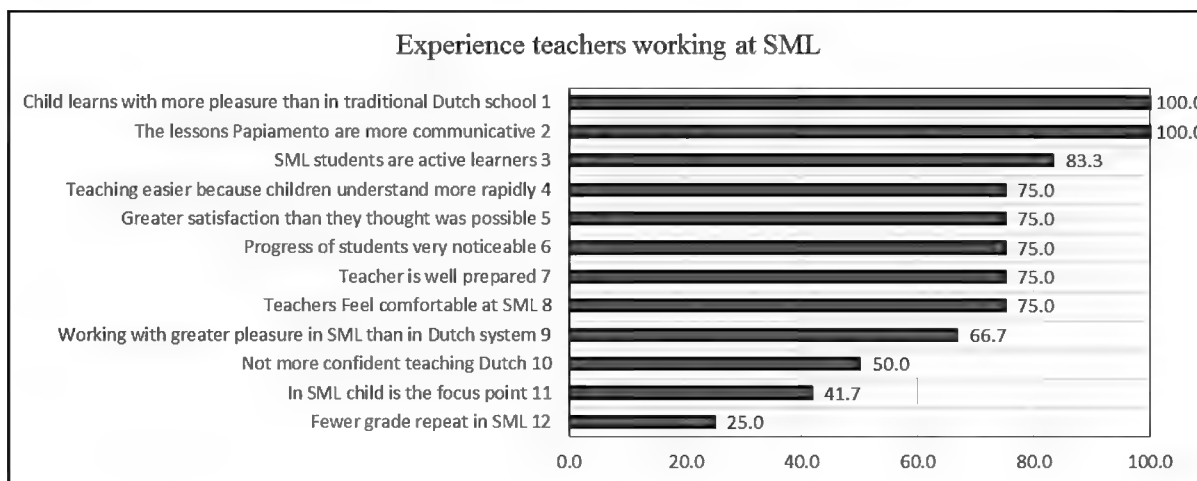


Figure 4.1 The experience of the teachers (n=12) working at SML in percentages in descending order

The teachers at the SML have the experience (100%) that the children learn with more pleasure, that the lessons in Papiamento are more communicative and that the SML students are active learners. The teachers cannot predict with great certainty (for no more than 25%) that the SML pupils in the higher classes will show less grade repetition.

D. Teachers’ competencies and knowledge

10 teachers (83.3%) are positive about their proficiency in Papiamento, while 11 teachers (91.7%) rate their proficiency in Dutch as good. 6 teachers (50%) say that their mastery of Papiamento is better than their mastery of Dutch, while 4 teachers (33.3%) are neutral and 2 teachers (16.7%) disagree with that assertion. 4 teachers (33.3%) state that their Dutch is better than their Papiamento; 7 teachers (58%) are neutral and 1 teacher (8.3%) disagrees. 10 teachers (83.3%) say that they are sufficiently prepared to use Papiamento as the language of instruction. 7 teachers (58.3%) think they are sufficiently prepared to teach Papiamento as a subject. 12 teachers (100%) think they are sufficiently prepared to teach Dutch as a subject. Mathematics in Papiamento poses no problem for 11 teachers (91.7%). Only 5 teachers (41.7%) state that they are well informed about the ideas behind SML. Only 6 teachers (50%) state that they are able to give a good explanation of those ideas.

E. Teachers’ evaluation of the project

The teachers were asked to evaluate different aspects of the project. Concerning the performance and learning experience of the students, the teachers were all very positive. The majority state that the students like reading in Papiamento (100%); the students like writing in Papiamento (91.7); the students like mathematics in Papiamento (75%); the students like the Dutch foreign language lessons (58.3%); the students like the English

foreign language lessons (75%); the students like the Spanish foreign language lessons (83.3%) and that the students can communicate, express themselves, ask questions, etc. (91.7%). Most teachers are rather satisfied, with some reservations, with the quality of the materials provided for Papiamento (58.3%) and Dutch (66.6%) in SML. Eleven teachers (91.7%) state that their preparation as SML teachers could be more extensive and profound. Only 4 teachers (33.3%) agree with the statements that the parents are well informed about the SML and participate in the development of their children. Six (6) teachers (50%) say that the parents are satisfied with the results of their children. Most teachers (75%) feel that the SML must be further developed and implemented in all primary schools.

F. Teachers' perspectives on the project

Only 3 teachers (25%) think that all the Aruban schools could adopt the SML system, mainly because there are no PSML training activities available for teachers in the other schools. A plan for intensive in-service training is now being implemented. Their opinions about the capacity of the Department of Education and IPA to make SML a success are mixed. Although the teachers are almost unanimous in their opinion that the whole community will benefit from the SML system (8 teachers = 66.7%); that SML will prove the value of Papiamento as language of education (8 teachers = 66.7%) and that the SML will prove that educational innovation is necessary and possible (9 teachers = 75%), they are very divided about the introduction of a similar multilingual system in secondary education: 4 teachers (33.3%) agree, 4 teachers (33.3%) are neutral and 4 teachers (33.3%) disagree. Concerning the use of Papiamento 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) SML materials and textbooks were not ready in time and the teachers were not involved at all in the development of these materials; 2) SML teachers were not getting sufficient guidance and support; the preparation and guidance of the teachers could be much better; 3) SML teachers needed more intense in-service training to perform better; 4) Initial preparation of SML teachers could be more extensive and in-depth; 5) More information about SML 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 SML.

4.4.4 Conclusions

Among the conclusions that we can draw from the data, are the following:

- 1) The school population is quite diverse in terms of the language background. However, the vast majority of teachers and pupils have Papiamento as their

home language, 83.3% and 81.1% respectively. In addition, 8.3% of teachers and 16.4% of pupils are multilingual, with Papiamentu as one of their languages.

- 2) The teachers are 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% have, 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%) appear to be satisfied with their own knowledge and skills with regard to the school subjects. It is striking, however, that only 45.9% of the teachers indicate that they are well informed and that they can explain the ideas of the PSML to others. The opinion of 91.7% is that their training to be a SML-teacher could have been more extensive and profound.
- 4) Teachers are 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 is surprising that only 50% of the teachers say that the parents are positive about the results of their children.
- 5) A majority of 75% of teachers warn against introducing SML too quickly in all schools. Certain conditions must be met, such as: a) the materials must be ready; b) teachers, including IPA students, must be well prepared and intensively trained in order to function in the new system; c) society and parents must be kept well informed of developments; and (4) parents must be involved in the education of their children.
- 6) 69.5% of the teachers state that they are convinced that the whole community benefits from the SML project, because educational innovation is necessary and possible. They are also convinced that SML will prove Papiamentu's importance as a language of instruction.

4.5 General conclusions and discussion

What the surveys and the focus group interview demonstrate is that the SML reform project is a work in progress that 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 indicate that, if PSML is to succeed, it has to be part of more comprehensive education and language policy and practice is yet to be developed. 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 (Thodé, interview No. 8). Conducting further research

on the project, assessing its results (Croes & Williams, 2017) and adjusting implementation accordingly in dialogue with the teachers, will help them to confront challenges and explore possibilities. According to Bernstein “If the culture of the teacher is to become part of the consciousness of the child, then the culture of the child must first be in the consciousness of the teacher” (1972, p. 149).

It is about time that Aruba finally gives priority to child-oriented, realistic, mother tongue based educational goals. In an interview held with the then director of the Department of Education (interview No. 6), she expressed that it is now the time “to refuse to accept “no” for an answer, to stop being afraid, to realize that together we have the responsibility to eliminate negative colonial legacies”. This means that it is now mandatory, without delay, 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 in their teaching; 3) we throw away all old myths, doubts, prejudices, and practices; 4) we reevaluate our possibilities with an open mind, without fear; 5) we further develop the PSML, so that it can meet all our educational demands; 6) we continue with the development of the SML into the secondary education, and 7) we organize a long-term promotional campaign which promotes all aspects of the reform.

It must be acknowledged, that education reform in countries like Aruba is more than a simple change of structure or educational approach. According to PRIEPEB in its strategic plan (PRIEPEB,1999:5), the goals are multiple and must include: 1) a high quality learning process; 2) the intellectual, emotional, social and spiritual development of all children; 3) educational content that is adapted to the needs of the Aruban community and to the demands of the new millennium; 4) high professional capacity of everyone involved with primary education; 5) schools and other educational entities with an innovative capacity; 6) a positive and optimistic culture at all the levels of education and a structure to sustain it; and 7) professional cooperation and exchange at all levels of education. According to the leader of the PSML (interview No. 4), undertaking this challenge is of vital importance for this much needed reform.

The most important aspect of this 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. Old educational myths must be discarded, as they are the greatest obstacles in the educational innovation process (Studio Taalwetenschap, 2000). Meanwhile, there is ample evidence that the mother tongue is the most important educational tool (Weber et al, 2016), especially when it comes to developing creative, productive and critical thinking in education (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2008a). "Do not consider language as a problem, but as a right and a resource. In that vision education has the important role to help preserve the mother tongue and the cultural identity of the student and to reevaluate, cultivate and develop the mother tongue to the benefit of everyone in the community" (Ruiz, 2009).

The experiences of the SML teachers have been confirmed by a study that the Research Team of the Instituto Pedagógico Arubano and the Department of Education carried out in 2016, as the PSML students completed grade 4. This team compared the results of students in the two SML primary schools with those of two traditional non-SML 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 or Dutch, on the development of these competencies in Aruba. They investigated the following language skills: 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 to explain in their own words. The following results of this study were presented by researchers Régine Croes and Merlyne Williams in 2017:

- (A) Pupils in the multilingual programme demonstrated critical learning skills that are significantly higher than the critical learning skills of the pupils in the traditional schools. This was shown with a reliability level of more than 99%.
- (B) In both programmes, so both in multilingual schools and in traditional schools, the pupils demonstrated their critical learning skills significantly better by using Papiamentu, compared when using Dutch. This was confirmed by a reliability level of more than 99%.
- (C) Pupils in the multilingual programme used Papiamentu significantly better to demonstrate their critical learning skills compared to pupils in the traditional programme. This was proven by a reliability level of more than 97%.
- (D) There were no statistically significant differences, nor with a minimum level of reliability of 90%, between the pupils in multilingual schools and pupils in traditional schools concerning their skills to understand, ask questions and explain in Dutch (Croes & Williams, 2017).

These results show that, in the Aruban context, the teaching of Dutch as a foreign language is more effective than the use of Dutch as language of instruction, and that the shift from using Dutch as language of instruction to teaching Dutch as a foreign language has no negative impact on students' levels in Dutch.

Chapter 5

Language attitudes of Parents towards Papiamento in education

In this chapter, the results of an empirical study designed to address the third research question *How do parents value the role of Papiamento in Aruban education?* will be described and analyzed. After a discussion of the research objectives (5.1), the methodology (5.2) and data collection (5.3), the results will be presented (5.4), followed by conclusions and discussion (5.5). The school community consists of four important groups of stakeholders: the students, the teachers, the parents, and the rest of the community. Primary socialization refers to the period early in a person's life during which they initially learn and build their selves through experiences and interactions around them. This process starts at home with the family, in which one learns what is or is not accepted in society. Family, in particular parents, are the ones that have the greatest impact on the socialization process (Maccoby, E. E. (2015).

Although parents play an important role in the socialization of 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 PRIEPEB (*Proyecto di Innovacion di Enseñansa Preparatorio y Enseñansa Basico*) reform project between 1995 and 2002 that parents participated for the first time as valued stakeholders in the educational process. The *Comision di Mayor*, abbreviated as COMAY (an abbreviation, which as a word also means the godmother of one's child), was the committee of parents within PRIEPEB that supported the reform process. The parents expressed their feelings, opinions, and aspirations concerning education in Aruba. Their participation in the PRIEPEB was powerful and highly appreciated. PRIEPEB relied on the principle that reform can only be successful if schools, teachers, parents, and other interested people are involved from the beginning of the innovation process (Emerencia, 2007).

For that reason, it is most regrettable that after 2002 COMAY ceased to exist and that 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 towards 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, 1997:74-75). 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 in the present study, with a focus on language attitudes and Papiamentu in education.

5.1 Research objectives

This component of the present study designed to answer the research question *How do parents value the role of Papiamentu in Aruban education?* consists of a survey which will be referred to *Survey Parents 2016*.

5.2 Research method

Aruba has eight school districts (see Figure 5.1), and from each district, one primary school was selected to participate in the survey. The eight schools represent 22% of the primary schools since Aruba has 36 primary schools. The total of primary school students in 2016 was 8.900 students. The eight selected schools in the sample had a total of 2.048 students, which is 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. The total households of students was 1,650. A total of 1,141 questionnaires were returned of which 1,115 were valid. This means that this survey has a sample size of 1,115 respondents, reflecting a response rate of 68%. Participation in this survey was anonymous and voluntary.

The *Survey Parents 2016* questionnaire was divided into two sections: section A with 12 background variables and section B with 36 attitude variables. The language used in the questionnaire was Papiamentu. See the questionnaire (translated into English) in



Figure 5.1 Map of Aruba showing the eight districts of the participating schools

Appendix C1. The background variables indicate the personal characteristics of the participating parents and their children, including: the caretakers'/parents' relationship with the children, the age of the parents and children, the highest level of education of the parents, sex of parents and children, the school level of the children, the grade of the children, the class repetition history of the children, and the home languages of the parents and the children. The attitude variables 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 variables, 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.

5.3 Data collection and analysis

The survey was administered as planned in March 2016. The Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS) 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 a white eraser, which are required by CBS 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 questionnaires without personal data or filled in on only one side, for instance, were eliminated. The next step was the encoding of the remaining 1,115 valid questionnaires. After the valid questionnaires were scanned at CBS, 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 cannot 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 based on the internal characteristics of mothers and fathers could be considered separately. 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 most intimately involved in the school activities of the student, which is relevant for this study.

5.4 Results

When describing the results of this survey among parents with children in primary schools in Aruba, the following aspects will be discussed: the demographic characteristics of the participating parents (5.4.1), the demographic characteristics of the children (5.4.2), the mother tongues of the parents and children (5.4.3) and relations between attitudes on one hand and demographic characteristics on the other (5.4.4).

5.4.1 Characteristics of the participating parents

The variables that relate to the background of the parents are 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. Since Aruba is a society where the mother is the primary caretaker of the child, the mothers formed the majority of the respondents. The group of parents who contributed to this survey 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 see a clustering into two groups with on one side the low and unskilled categories, constituting 50.9% and on the other hand, the tertiary level with a score of 49.1%. The percentages that appear for the Census of 2010 (Table 3.8) are very different: 65.8% of the population belongs to the low and unskilled categories, while 33.4% are at the middle, high and university levels. An explanation of this difference might have to do with the age categories of the parents.

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 PSML, while the other six schools were in the regular 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 on a school that is 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 was 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 are 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 and educational reform was very low.

5.4.2 Characteristics of the children

The age of the children in the survey (Table 5.1) 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. This result corresponds with the findings of Prins-Winkel in the 1960s and 1970s (1975:71).

Table 5.1 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%

5.4.3 Mother tongues of the parents and the children

Table 5.2 is 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 biased toward the mothers.

Table 5.2 Gender and mother tongues of parents

Sex of parent	Mother tongue of parent						Total
	Papiamento	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 this new generation. Adopting the language of the host country is the most efficient way to prevent exclusion and to become an integrated member of the host community. However, this phenomenon of language shift and loss can have severe consequences for the child

concerned, such as deterioration of family relations (Fillmore, 2000; Park, 2013). The *Proyecto Scol Multilingual* aims to address language issues like this one positively, using all the languages of the students as valuable resources for education (Ruiz, 1984, 2009).

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 5.3. and 5.4. 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 is taking place, with many children adopting Papiamentu, the language of the community, as their first language. The tables indicate that there has been a generational shift of 14.7% in favor of Papiamentu, of 5.9% in favor of ‘Multilingual’ (which almost always includes 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 5.3 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	100.0%	100.0%
Total	n=1106	n= 1053

The statistics shown in Table 5.4 demonstrate the differences between the mother tongue of the parent and the mother tongue of the child and provide an insight into the phenomenon of language shift in Aruban households.

Table 5.4 Comparison of the mother tongues of parent and child (n=1106)

Mother tongue of parent	Mother tongue of child						Total
	Papiamentu	Dutch	English	Spanish	Other	Multilingual	
Whole population	63.4%	3.7%	1.4%	5.7%	1.7%	24.0%	100.0%
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%

The data indicate 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 indicate 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 (2015:20) conducted a survey among Spanish-speaking newcomers where he found that the Spanish-speaking community had a very positive attitude towards 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 with the Aruban people. 80% of the respondents agreed that learning Papiamentu was necessary for residing in Aruba. Our results for *Survey Parents 2016* 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 (see also Appendix C4: Table C4.6). 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 Papiamentu language courses was highest among Spanish-speaking parents and lowest among Dutch-speaking parents. According to CBS (2004a:130): “As for the working age population, it seems as if the Dutch speakers either have the most difficulty learning Papiamentu or are least interested in learning the language.”

A cross tabulation between mother tongue and district (Table 5.5) shows a concentration of Spanish speakers in Oranjestad West district, where Spanish scores 32.9% while Papiamentu scores 27.4%. In this district, the multilingual group reaches its highest percentage (28.8%).

Table 5.5 District and mother tongues of parents (n=1106)

District of school	Mother tongue of parent						Total
	Papiamentu	Dutch	English	Spanish	Other	Multilingual	
Whole population	54.9%	3.5%	2.1%	18.4%	3.0%	18.2%	100.0%
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%

In San Nicolas North and San Nicolas South, where English and San Nicolas English lexifier Creole have traditionally predominated⁸⁶, English is mentioned as mother tongue by the low percentages of 2.4% and 5.8% respectively, while Papiamentu scores very high with 60.7% and 55.8%. 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 Papiamentu-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 Papiamentu-speaking children is higher than the percentage of Papiamentu-speaking parents which means for Papiamentu a total growth of 8.4% 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 yields a total growth of 0.2%. The multilingual group grew in Santa Cruz by 8.6%, in Oranjestad East by 10.3%,

⁸⁶ Central Bureau of Statistics (2012, p.112) gives the following information:
 San Nicolas North: Papiamentu 6,973; English 2,166; Spanish 613; Dutch 249
 San Nicolas South: Papiamentu 2,450; English 1,442; Spanish 531; Dutch 144

in Noord by 9.7% and in Savaneta by 9.4%, which yields a total growth of 5.9%. Table 5.6 provides an overview of the language shift in the districts.

Table 5.6 Parents with Papiamentu as their mother tongue vs. children with Papiamentu as their mother tongue, by district

District	n	Mother Tongue Parent		Mother Tongue Child	
		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	\bar{x} 52.6%	47.4%	62.7%	37.3%

The cross tabulation shown in Table 5.7 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 the university level (WO), with 22.7% and 23.1%, respectively. For the HBO level, Papiamentu scores second place with 20.9% after Dutch which scores 35.9%. If we consider the levels HBO and WO as equal, then we have the following results: Dutch 46.2%; English 36.3%; Spanish 31.3%; Papiamentu 27.9%; Other 26.7%, and Multilingual 23.2%. For the MBO level Papiamentu scores 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, CBS Nederland, 2016) is 41.6%, according to the answers that parents gave to these items on the questionnaire.

Table 5.7 Mother tongues and highest level of education completed by parents (n=1039)

Mother tongue of parents	Highest level of education completed by parents (lowest on left to highest on right)								
	Pr.ed. 1	LBO 2	MAVO 3	HAVO 4	VWO 5	MBO 6	HBO 7	WO 8	Total
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%
\bar{x}	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; VWO=*Voorbereidend Wetenschappelijk Onderwijs*=*Pre-university*; MBO=*Middelbaar Beroeps Onderwijs*, Secondary Vocational Education; HBO=*Hoger Beroeps Onderwijs*, Higher Vocational Education; WO=*Wetenschappelijk Onderwijs*, University.

5.4.4. Attitudes and demographic characteristics of parents

We used a pool of 36 variables to measure several aspects of parents' attitude towards language. To find out whether these items actually belong 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 5.8 shows the variables that have high loadings for factors 1 to 6.

Of the questions on *Survey Parents 2016*, 27 appeared to meet the consistency criteria. In order to determine which factors can be distinguished with regard to the attitudes of the parents, 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) is used as a central measure of reliability. The results of these calculations are shown in table 5.8.

Table 5.8 Result of factor analysis for *Survey Parent 2016* 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 indices in table 5.8 show that the variables load 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 is required. The reliability analysis showed that all the items in the factors had a high item-total correlation and relations between attitudes on one hand and demographic characteristics on the other (5.4.4). 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 indicates that the factors have excellent internal consistency and constitute a reliable scale for measurement. The average alpha value is 0.86.

Five items have a high loading on Factor 1. These five items all relate to the Proyecto Scol Multilingual and the attitude parents may have towards this innovation in primary education in Aruba. This factor is labeled “Attitudes towards the Proyecto Scol Multilingual (PSML)”. Five items have a high loading on Factor 2 which is related to attitudes parents have 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 load high on Factor 3 identify the personal relationship the parents may have towards Papiamento. This factor is labeled “Attitudes towards Appreciation of Papiamento in the community”. The two items for Factor 4 identify the attitude of the

Table 5.9 Result of factor analysis Survey Parent 2016

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 the Proyecto Scol Multilingual (PSML)	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 the Aruban society. 47. It is important that all the members of the society masters Papiamento, the official and national language of Aruba. 48. All the members of the community must appraise 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

parents towards a possible introduction of English as the language of instruction in education. This factor is labeled “Attitudes towards English in education”. Three items load high on Factor 5 and relate to the attitudes towards the function of Papiamentu in one’s life in Aruba. This factor is labeled “Attitudes towards Papiamentu as the official and national language of Aruba”. Eight items loaded high on Factor 6 and relate to the attitude of the parents towards the contribution of Papiamentu to the development of the community. This factor is labeled “Attitudes towards Papiamentu’s role and use in the community and education”. In table 5.9 the 27 variables with their 6 new factor names are listed.

To determine the relationships among the six factors, correlations were calculated as shown on Table 5.10.

Table 5.10 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 Papiamentu in the community	.25**	.10**	1			
F4 Attitudes towards English in education	.24**	.10**	.05	1		
F5 Attitudes towards Papiamentu as official and national language	.31**	.15**	.51**	.03	1	
F6 Attitudes towards Papiamentu'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 Papiamentu in the community; F4=Attitudes towards English in education; F5=Attitudes towards Papiamentu as official and national language of Aruba; F6=Attitudes towards Papiamentu’s role and use in Community and Education.

The correlation coefficients show that the parents who have positive attitudes towards Papiamentu’s role and use in Community and Education (F6) also have positive attitudes towards PSML (F1) ($R=.51^{**}$), positive attitudes towards appreciation of Papiamentu in the community (F3) ($R=.46^{**}$) and positive attitudes towards Papiamentu 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 Papiamentu. Although these correlations are significant, the values are less high than the ones listed for parents who have positive attitudes towards Papiamentu’s role and use in 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 Papiamentu’s use and role in community and education* ($R=-.063$) which may lead to the conclusion that among the older parents, there is slightly more hesitation in accepting expanded roles for Papiamentu in the community and education. We paid special attention to the level of education with regard to language

attitudes since there is 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 has 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 point to the fact that the higher the level of education, the less positive the attitude of the parents is towards these factors. Concerning gender, we found no significant correlation with *Attitudes towards Papiamento's use and role in community and education* which seems to indicate that mothers and fathers have similar attitudes concerning the role of Papiamento in education and in the wider community, as shown in Table 5.11, 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.

Table 5.11 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

To see how parents from the different language groups respond to the six factors, Independent Sample T-tests were performed, using pairs of languages related to each of the factors. This test allowed us to compare the means of Papiamento to the means of Dutch, English, Spanish 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* is now piloting in the schools. To gain more insight we made a comparison between the attitudes of the different language groups related to the items that constitute this factor. It is apparent that the language groups Papiamento and Spanish always have the highest percentage of 'agreement' with the statements, while the Dutch-speaking group always exhibits the lowest percentages. The cross tabulation between *Mother tongue of parent* and the variable *I agree with the ideas of PSML* (Appendix C4: Table C4.1) 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 almost the same 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 5.12.

Table 5.12 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 5.13 an overview of the results of the performed t-tests is presented.

Table 5.13 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	.83***	2.94	1.22***	4.77	.85***	2.92	.03	4.76	.84***	3.89	1.06***
Dutch	3.08		1.72		3.92		2.89		3.92		2.83	
Papiamento	3.91	.25	2.94	.35	4.77	.63***	2.92	.98**	4.76	.60***	3.89	.52**
English	3.66		2.59		4.14		3.80		4.16		3.37	
Papiamento	3.91	.25**	2.94	.35***	4.77	.13**	2.92	.58***	4.76	.07	3.89	.05
Spanish	4.16		2.59		4.64		3.50		4.69		3.84	
Papiamento	3.91	.05	2.94	.05	4.77	.49***	2.92	.59*	4.76	.65***	3.89	.33*
Other	3.86		2.89		4.28		3.51		4.11		3.56	
Papiamento	3.91	.01	2.94	.21*	4.77	.17***	2.92	.33**	4.76	.23***	3.89	.095
Multilingual	3.90		2.73		4.60		3.25		4.53		3.80	

*=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 5.13 shows that, as far as F1 *Attitudes towards PSML* is concerned, the t-test () indicates that there is 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 show that the Dutch speakers have the least positive attitudes and the Spanish speakers the most positive attitudes towards the educational innovations which the *Proyecto Scol Multilingual* is piloting in schools in Aruba. Spanish-speaking parents who have no political, cultural or linguistic ties to the Netherlands or the Dutch language are the most positive group towards introducing Papiamento in the school system. For them, Papiamento, the majority language, is the key to integration, while Dutch as a minority language has no social function.

With regard to F2, *Attitudes towards students' performance in Dutch*, the Dutch-speaking parents have the lowest mean (M=1.72) compared to Papiamento-speaking parents (M=2.94); this difference is significant (p<.001). That the Dutch-speaking parents' attitudes towards the statements related to this factor differ 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 are getting school education in their own language and do not experience difficulties that children from the other languages groups are experiencing.

In the case of F3, *Attitudes towards appreciation of Papiamento in the community*, the Independent Sample T-test shows 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 show high percentages of agreement with the statements related to this factor. It is noticeable that the Papiamentu group has the highest mean, but it seems that the majority of the parents of all the language groups respect the fact that Papiamentu 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) have a mean which is significantly lower than the Papiamentu group (in all cases $p < .001$). The willingness to accept English as the language of education instead of Dutch is higher in these language groups than in the Papiamentu-speaking group and certainly the Dutch-speaking group.

The mean differences for F5, *Attitudes towards Papiamentu as official and national language of Aruba*, between the Papiamentu-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, are 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), are not significant. The mean difference is 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 score lowest here reflects the trend toward more negative attitudes toward an expanded role for Papiamentu that emerged on their part for the other factors as well. These cross tabulations reveal that Dutch speakers have the most difficulties of all groups accepting Papiamentu as an essential language for commerce and education in Aruba.

5.5 Conclusions and discussion

In the previous chapters, we outlined the results of surveys that we carried out on the language attitudes of teachers in 2012 and 2015. In this chapter, we reported on the results of a similar 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 educational reform.

The analysis of the data gathered from the parents indicates that while age and gender do not play an influential role in determining their attitudes, level of education and mother tongue do, 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 school. 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 subject and 62.7% favored Papiamentu as language of instruction in primary school, while 69.2% said Papiamentu must be 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 greatly 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 are adopting Papiamentu as their first or second language. One consequence of this language shift is that Papiamentu is the only language that is growing substantially as first language, considering the number of speakers, despite the fact that Aruba does not have an official integration policy or a holistic language policy that encourages newcomers to learn Papiamentu, and that Papiamentu is 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.

Chapter 6

General discussion on the valorization of Papiamentu in Aruba

In this last chapter, a general discussion on the valorization of Papiamentu in Aruba will be presented. In doing so, the findings regarding the research questions will be summarized. First, results pertaining to the first two questions regarding historical and contemporary perspectives will be discussed in section 6.1. Subsequently, the third and fourth research questions are addressed in sections 6.2 and 6.3. In section 6.4 we consider the limitations of the present research and future research lines suggested by our results. Finally, after discussing the implications of those results for language planning in section 6.5, our conclusions and recommendations are presented in section 6.6.

Information and knowledge can change people's ways of thinking. Therefore language policy and planning are not possible without research. Trying to implement fundamental education reform in a society that has little information and engagement in the process can trigger resistance based on fear of the new and the unknown, reluctance to abandon old and familiar structures, lack of trust in the benefits of innovation, and other forms of opposition. If the benefits and importance of Papiamentu in education and the community can be demonstrated and this information can be communicated to the people by involving them as active members in the research, planning and implementation processes, these fears can be assuaged.

Jim Cummins (1999:1) states that education has to be “a means of transforming the future rather than reproducing the past.” For that reason, it is essential to know the mistakes of the past and their consequences to prevent their repetition. The almost 200 year old Dutch-only-education system in Aruba, where Dutch is a foreign language for 95% of the students, puts the future of these students in jeopardy. To claim that the main causes of the low educational success rate in Aruba are the weak socioeconomic position of students' families and the low educational levels of their mothers (Esser, 2004;

RNWO, 2007), means that the problem of a foreign language of instruction is being denied or at least underestimated (Benavot, 2016).

UNESCO indicates that 40% of students worldwide do not have access to education in a language they understand. The UNESCO GEM Report's World Inequality Database on Education (WIDE) shows the country-by-country breakdowns for learning, depending on the language of assessment. "In multi-ethnic societies, imposing a dominant language through a school system has frequently been a source of grievance linked to wider issues of social and cultural inequality" (Benavot, 2016:1).

There is little doubt in the minds of most Arubans that the current education system is not working. While formal education has the aim of maximally developing the intellectual capabilities of the child, Dutch only schools seem to be doing the opposite. The low educational performance rates on the island are not a new phenomenon, but instead they have been the theme of reports by those responsible for formal education in Aruba since its inception. To fix the system, the Aruban government and the community must collaborate to formulate and implement meaningful language policy and planning. This will necessitate a comprehensive, holistic approach to language policy and planning that actively mobilizes all sectors of the community both in research to identify the problems and their causes, as well as in efforts to solve those problems. Only this approach can assure that requisite changes occur in Arubans' awareness, mentality, and attitudes concerning language and education. It is only upon the foundation of such changes in public awareness, mentality and attitude that any significant progress can be made in assuring that Aruban children will eventually have the same opportunities that children in other countries have to use their mother tongue as a resource and the most important tool for success in their educational endeavors (Awopetu, 2016). Considering the magnitude of such a project, we recommend the establishment of an official institute for language planning and policy and Papiamentu.

6.1 Historical and contemporary perspectives

Despite all conscious and unconscious efforts expended in the past to eliminate Papiamentu, this language has not disappeared and is still very much alive on all the three of the ABC Islands. Although negative colonial attitudes towards the language still exist, Papiamentu's position in the Aruban community is even stronger than it was some decades ago. Previous research among young people in Aruba and the other islands shows that school-aged youth have an increasing positive attitude towards Papiamentu (Kester, 2011; 2016; Kester & Fun, 2012). This is also the case on Bonaire (Kester & Lorenzo, 2016) and Curaçao (Kester & Hortencia, 2011; Kester & Hortencia, 2010; Kester, & Hortencia, 2015; Kester, Buijink, Fun and Hortencia, 2017). It is the most used language in the community; it is the mother tongue of 69% of the households; it is the main language in the press; and it is the language used in Parliament and government. Second and later generations immigrants to Aruba have enthusiastically adopted Papiamentu as

their first language (CBS, 2011; Kelly, 2015) and Papiamentu serves as the main lingua franca among all the language communities in Aruba. Papiamentu is everywhere and is gaining ground in several domains, such as education, literature, commerce, justice, the press, and the internet. The imposition of Dutch in the education system had an effect that the colonial authorities never expected: the people did not become Dutch-speaking, and Papiamentu did not disappear. In the 21st century, Papiamentu is still the language of the majority, and Dutch is still the language of a small minority, many of whom are expatriates. The more emphasis on Dutch in education, the more Papiamentu pops up everywhere in the community, in a very natural way. What's more, Dutch appears to be the least popular language among young people (Table 3.4), although the idea that Dutch is necessary for intellectual development still prevails.

In 2017, the new Minister of Education made the announcement (*Bon Dia*, December 14, 2017) that in January 2018 the national implementation of the *Proyecto Scol Multilingual* will start. Until now, the use of Papiamentu for initial literacy and as a language of instruction was only allowed in two PSML pilot schools. This represents significant historical and educational change and meaningful progress in a centuries-long struggle. This does not mean, however, that the battle is over, on the contrary, another struggle has to be undertaken seriously, namely our efforts to convince the Aruban people that their language is worth learning in the formal system. UNESCO is one of the institutions at the forefront in the defense of peoples' linguistic rights, and, as a result of their efforts and those of grassroots movements worldwide, we are now becoming aware of the importance of protecting our biodiversity and our cultural diversity (UNESCO, 2003a; 2003c; 2003d).

The surveys and interviews carried out as part of the present study were necessary to find out what the ideas of Aruban community members are about the role of Papiamentu in education. The surveys indicate that the great majority of both the teachers and the parents are in favor of expanded roles for Papiamentu in the community and in education. The interviews reflect the enthusiasm of the teachers of the SML schools and articulate their proposals for improvement and extension of the SML project (Chapter 4). These SML teachers, their colleagues in other schools, and parents who on the whole have minimal information about the project, nevertheless want the project to continue.

The data provided in this dissertation can help educators, linguists, parents and politicians, in fact the whole Aruban community, to overcome the obstacles, to break the silence and embrace a new educational vision which is genuinely in favor of Aruban students and their community. This vision can also have a positive impact on the rest of society, including the political, judicial, economic, social, cultural, and health sectors who can benefit from a new understanding of language on the island in order to comply with their commitment to the society in which they operate.

Papiamentu is a language with legal status in the 21st century, whose position is firmly anchored in law. School materials, didactic tools, linguistic reference materials such as dictionaries, grammars, and spelling guides are increasing in quantity and quality, with financial support from the authorities for production and distribution. Thus, from a historical perspective the valorization of the Papiamentu can be said to have experienced steady growth.

6.2 Educational considerations

“Ever since Macnamara (1966), empirical evidence has been published on the problem of teaching content in a student’s weaker language. This has recently been confirmed in a number of studies in the US, Israel, Africa, and elsewhere. But this is an area, like belief in evolution or global warming, where empirical evidence seems not to convince.” (Spolsky, 2009:101). A report on bilingual education and policy for the island of Madagascar by Gouleta (2006) shows that the island has challenges that are very similar to those of Aruba. Although issues relating to language and education naturally occur in virtually all countries, the special feature of this report is the involvement of, among others, the World Bank in Washington.

Language policy and planning are very complicated matters, and Aruba is no exception in this case. Language is the most important vehicle for communication, expression, and contextualization. Language is strongly linked with the history of a community, with its cultural and social life; it is a medium of thinking and behavior. Above all else, language determines a person’s identity. In multilingual and multicultural post-colonial countries, language issues are particularly challenging. In most cases, the mother tongue of the majority of the population is seen as the root of almost every problem in education, instead of the real culprit, which is the foreign colonial language that has been imposed on the community, causing alienation. The relationship between the languages and the people representing these languages in these situations becomes one of an unequal struggle for power.

People’s behaviors and attitudes are crucial to language policy which is “not autonomous, but rather the reflex of the social, political, economic, religious, ideological, emotional context in which human life goes on.” (Spolsky, 2009:9) In Aruba’s situation, language planning needs to take on new and different forms, modalities, and goals. It is important in the process of language policy and planning to identify language not as a problem, but as a resource for educational, social, cultural, and economic progress. (Ruiz, 2010; Vaillancourt & Grin, 2000). The language of the majority of the students, the community language, the language that the children of newcomers learn so easily, can never be a problem or obstacle in education. It is mandatory that education respects and acknowledges the linguistic reality of the community. Ignoring the scientific findings on the importance of the mother tongue in the learning process and suppressing that mother tongue goes against all theories of education. According to Faraclas (2011):

“We destroy our students’ chances to learn Dutch by not teaching them first in Papiamentu (L1). The key to success in a foreign language of instruction is a solid foundation in the first language (Papiamentu). If we use Papiamentu (L1) as the first language of instruction and literacy in school, we are giving our students the foundation that they need to cope with Dutch (L2) as a language of instruction and literacy later on from a position of strength” (Faraclas, 2011).

Profound knowledge of the linguistic characteristics and potentials of a community, but also a profound knowledge of what language policy and language planning are, is mandatory. With the creation of a team of well-informed and well-prepared professional language planners in mind, Language Planning Courses, guided by Dr. Richard Ruiz (1948-2015) of the University of Arizona, were organized by the University of Aruba between 2009 and 2012, and by the *Instituto Pedagógico Arubano* in 2013.⁸⁷ The current situation the island suggests that this initiative should continue.

Language policy and planning are usually part of a national attempt at fostering a particular language situation in a community. There are many definitions of what language planning means. According to Cooper (1989: 45) “Language planning refers to deliberate efforts to influence the behavior of others concerning acquisition, structure, or functional allocation of their codes.” In Cooper’s definition, two aspects are intertwined: 1) deliberate efforts and 2) behavior towards language. In the Aruban situation these are precisely the two most pressing challenges. As a colonized people who for so long did not have much to say about their governance and education, Arubans learned to despise themselves and their Aruban social and cultural values. Papiamentu, although the language of the majority in our community, is treated as a minority language in education. The attitudes of the Aruban population can only begin to contribute to positive sociolinguistic change if their doubt, fright, shame, and underestimation of Papiamentu, is transformed into an acceptance of their mother tongue as a precious part of their heritage, and of their progress as a nation.

It is hard to change mentalities and attitudes towards language that are based on misconceptions propagated over centuries. Very few people realize the irrationality of having to defend one’s own language in one’s own country. Two hundred years of negative, exclusive language policies have created complex challenges with severe consequences in many sectors of the community.

Increasingly research is being done nationally and internationally which demonstrates that a language like Papiamentu, which most Aruban children speak as their mother

⁸⁷ The language planning courses were organized by the Institute for Language Planning, founded as part of the Center for Lifelong Learning of the University of Aruba. In 2013 the Instituto Pedagógico Aruba hosted the course, during the 16th Annual Eastern Caribbean Island Cultures Conference (ECCIC) that was held that year in Aruba. The late Prof. Dr. Richard Ruiz (1949-2015) of the University of Arizona, was in charge of the program. Dr. Luis Moll (University of Arizona), Dr. Patricia Azuara (Santa Fe Community College) and Dr. Kevin Carroll (University of Puerto Rico) assisted him in some of the courses.

tongue or second language, is in no way a handicap or a problem in the education process, but instead is the most relevant and adequate medium for the child to use for learning and thinking. Based on this evidence, international agencies such as UNESCO (1953, 1976, 2003, 2005, 2006, 2016) have declared that it is a child's right to be educated in its mother tongue, because it is the primary resource that the child uses to think, to understand, and to develop, socially, culturally, and pedagogically.

The mother tongue-based multilingual education being provided by the *Proyecto Scol Multilingual* is proving to be an effective alternative to the Dutch-only system (Croes & Williams, 2017). While this project must be supported by all the stakeholders, changing laws and executing education reform will not automatically alter ways of thinking and modify attitudes of people on the island. Relevant partners in the Aruban community have to be involved, including the Department of Education, the Department of Culture, *Instituto Pedagógico Arubano*, the University of Aruba, the Department of Justice, the school boards, the parents, the teachers, the students, the media, non-governmental and community organizations and of course also linguists, educationalists and researchers who can serve as advisors, designers and developers. Emerencia (2007) shows how this type of cooperation can help to reach a common goal. *Instituto Pedagógico Arubano* (IPA) and *Proyecto di Innovacion di Enseñansa Preparatorio y Enseñansa Basico* (PRIPEB) are two examples of such efforts involving 'situated, collaborative knowledge creation', which have had substantial results.

The present study of the attitudes of teachers and the parents of school-age children have yielded important results (chapters 2 to 5). The percentages of kindergarten and primary school teachers with a positive appreciation of the role of Papiamentu in Aruba ranges from 60% to 96%. These teachers are also very positive (88.1%) about Papiamentu as language of instruction in primary school. They agree with the ideas behind the *Scol Multilingual* (77.8%) and with the idea of including secondary education in this project (90.5%). The results indicate that the teachers who are directly involved in the project are positive (100%) about their use of Papiamentu as a language of instruction at school, especially in primary education: all the teachers state that the lessons in Papiamentu are more effective in terms of communication and certainly more pleasant than in traditional Dutch-only classes. The parents were generally positive with regard to their attitudes towards PSML (62.9%); their attitudes towards appreciation of Papiamentu in the community (90.5%); their attitudes towards Papiamentu as official and national language of Aruba (89.5%) and their attitudes towards Papiamentu's role and use in the community and education (63.1%). The parents were less positive with regard to their attitudes towards students' performance in Dutch in the traditional schools (31.1%). More positive attitudes toward Dutch and less positive attitudes toward Papiamentu are largely restricted to the less than 10% of Arubans who speak Dutch at home. Because of their more articulate and privileged voice in the media and

other spheres, however, their public discourse may have had the effect of distorting people's understanding of the extent to which their opinions do not reflect those of the overwhelming majority of Arubans.

Generally, students appear to be more at ease and have a more positive attitude towards school when Papiamentu is the language of instruction. The general preference on the island is for the introduction of Papiamentu as the language of instruction throughout Aruba. All want a more significant role for Papiamentu in the community and at school. Until now, although these statements seemed true, no empirical study had been carried out to show that they are indeed the case. The findings of the present study provide a scientific basis for teachers' and parents' recognition and appreciation of Papiamentu.

6.3 Valorization of Papiamentu in Aruba revisited

Language is arguably the most important creation of humanity. All children have the capacity to acquire the language of their community, the environment of their first socialization. It is through this language, the mother tongue, that children develop knowledge about the surrounding world and cognitive, social, cultural and emotional abilities. This language and the linguistic competencies associated with it are the basis of all new knowledge, including knowledge of other languages. Consequently, the mother tongue is the most important language in a person's life, the origin of the language notwithstanding.

In the last decades, there has been a growing awareness worldwide about the importance of the mother tongue in good language teaching. Language policymakers and planners are investing in efforts to not only maintain but also expand the functions of mother tongues in all areas, including education. We should not assume that this will automatically happen without constant and active intervention, or without serious management (Spolsky, 2009:1-9). According to Kennedy (2011), it is beneficial to think about the different roles and functions that language has in relation to development. He proposes (referring to Appleby et al., 2002) four categories of relations between language and development: language *in* development, language *as* development, language *for* development and language *of* development. Development refers here to the development of the language itself, to the development of the language and cognitive skills of its speakers and to the development of the community in which it functions.

The category *language in development* refers to "the role of languages in national socioeconomic development" (Kennedy, 2011), to how languages function in the community. Some questions related to Papiamentu to be answered are: What are the functions of Papiamentu in the community, in the work place, in families? What is the role of Papiamentu in the socioeconomic development of Arubans? What are the possibilities for expanding these functions? What is the Aruban community doing with Dutch,

English, and Spanish? What can be said about language proficiency, in general, and in particular related to the different languages?

The category *language as development* refers to “the provision of language teaching and language projects where language provision is an end in itself” (Kennedy, 2011). This requires the availability and accessibility of language material, courses, studies, research, etc. This area is of vital importance in the case of Papiamentu, which has serious arrears due to its colonial history.

The category *language for development*, involves the use of language as “an essential tool for the development of different domains” (Kennedy, 2011). It is of paramount importance to acknowledge this role for languages such as Papiamentu. Their users tend to use loan words from other languages in all sorts of domains, due to a lack of (personal) language proficiency or because indeed the language has considerable lacunae in the development of specialized terminology. If the language has never been allowed to be used in education and other official venues, it has never had the opportunity to develop a rich vocabulary for domains such as science, the law, business and the arts. Using the morphological characteristics of Papiamentu, a future language institute can build on existing efforts to produce terminology lists for these domains.

The category *language of development* has to do with the lexical, grammatical and discourse characteristics of a given language. A comprehensive analysis of Papiamentu’s roles and functions according to these categories and including them in new LPP efforts will contribute to maximizing the vitality of Papiamentu.

6.4 Limitations and future research

Cooper’s key question *What actors (1) attempt to influence what behaviors (2) of which people (3) for what ends (4) under what conditions (5) by what means (6) through what decision-making process (7) with what effect (8)?* (Cooper, 1989: 97-98) is relevant to LPP in Aruba. LPP is a complex, multilayered enterprise which does not exist in a vacuum, but which instead emerges from the efforts of many individuals and is influenced by multiple contexts. Moreover, it is important to evaluate what has been done already, and what still needs to be done.

As outlined in Chapter 2, since 1988 Aruba has developed several language planning documents which resulted in the establishment of the *Proyecto Scol Multilingual* (PSML). An analysis of the contents of these documents shows a relation of continuity among them.

The document “*Pa un enseñansa bilingual – Nota di maneho pa introduccion di Papiamentu den enseñansa na Aruba*” (DE, 1988-EB) is a proposal for coherent LPP which includes Papiamentu in all aspects of formal education. It has a clear vision and describes the conditions needed for the introduction of Papiamentu in education, considering the use of Dutch as the language of instruction as an anomaly that has to be

corrected. However, the committee was aware of other challenges. Apart from the language issue, there were many other factors addressed in this document which have had negative influences on education, such as vague and incorrect educational goals, irrelevant subject content, inadequate didactical approaches and internal and external structural factors that have promoted unjust selection outcomes (PRIEPEB, 1999). All-sided educational reform was thus required, in which the introduction of Papiamentu was a substantial element.

Considering the enormity and complexity of this task, the committee proposed (DE, 1988-EB) a reform program to be introduced in phases, starting with the introduction of a bilingual primary system with Papiamentu and Dutch both as subjects and languages of instruction. The committee used sociolinguistic, psychological, pedagogical and political-cultural arguments for the introduction of Papiamentu. Their argument for maintaining Dutch as a second language of instruction was based on the fact that it was not possible to reform secondary education, which is currently Dutch-only, simultaneously with primary education, and the fact that Dutch retains some important functions in government. The committee also recommended that Papiamentu be the language of instruction of some subjects in secondary education as well.

This reform document (DE, 1988-EB) served as starting point for the development of another proposal, titled “*Proposicion pa un maneho di Idioma pa Enseñansa Basico Renova di Aruba*,” presented by *Comision Modelo di Idioma* of the *Plataforma Maneho di Idioma* (PMI) in 1997. In agreement with the document of 1988, it recommended that both Papiamentu and Dutch be languages of instruction, but also contended that English and Spanish, as important languages in the community, in the region and the world, had to be included in the curriculum as well. For that reason, a multilingual education model instead of a bilingual education model was proposed, with Papiamentu as the main language of instruction and the three other languages as subjects. The PMI document is very explicit about the role of each language, the relation between the languages, the implications for language pedagogy and didactics, and learning goals.

The PRIEPEB documents: *Un bon Enseñansa Basico: Condicion pa un miho futuro – Plan Strategico 1999-2008* (1999); *Habri porta pa nos drenta – proposicion pa modelo di idioma pa Enseñansa Basico Arubano – nota di discusion* (2002); and *Masterplan Proyecto Scol Multilingual* (2007) are practical elaborations of the ideas presented in the documents of 1988 and 1997, including the design concept of the *Scol Multilingual* with its motivation, goals, and organization. PSML started as a pilot project in the school year 2009-2010 in two Kindergartens and in the school year 2012-2013 in two primary schools. At present, it appears that in 2018 the pilot project will be converted into an implementation of the *Proyecto Scol Multilingual* throughout the Aruban primary education system. Chapter 4 of this dissertation is dedicated to PSML.

An additional document drawn up by the Ministry of Education (NOP) titled “The Learner: Our Focus – a Strategic National Education Plan 2007-2017” mentions

an 'educational language policy' as one of the nine strategic goal areas to be developed (NOP, 2007: 74, 77). This educational language policy must have a graduate in mind who "is a multilingual person who can read, write, speak proficiently in at least four languages, Papiamentu, English, Dutch and Spanish; and observes, listens, and articulates thoughts well" (NOP, 2007: 53).

The six documents mentioned in the preceding paragraphs can be considered to be an energetic start to comprehensive educational Language Policy and Planning in Aruba. We can conclude that the development of LPP with Papiamentu as the central point is a slow process that has started already, but that has encountered significant roadblocks on the way. Based on new developments related to LPP (Baldauf Jr., 2006) and on what has already been accomplished in Aruba, the prospects for coherent, comprehensive and evolving LPP for all sectors on the island are exciting and challenging.

During the past periods, the process of introducing Papiamentu as part of the emergence of comprehensive and coherent LPP has been hampered, not only by lack of consistency in policy making, but also by the absence of open support by successive governments and ministers of education. The fact that Aruba is still giving the Netherlands the opportunity to interfere in determining the future direction of Aruban education, and that different ministers of education have been constantly presenting new ideas to work on, is of great concern. Until now, the focus has been exclusively on education and only superficially on Papiamentu itself. Mediocre infrastructure, insufficient budgets, and personnel shortages are symptomatic of a lack of vision and an absence of will- ingness.

The director of the former Aruban Language Planning Agency, IDILA, Todd Dandaré (2016), argues that an institute for language planning is a top priority. He reasons that the project *Grupo di Idioma den Enseñansa* could, in fact, become such an institute. This project urgently needs to be recognized as a permanent body or institute, to be able to work seriously on important matters related to Papiamentu. Its principle tasks, according to Todd Dandaré should be: 1) determining a general language policy for the community and a special one for education; 2) elaborating a planning framework based on the principles laid down by UNESCO; and 3) promoting the conservation and expansion of Papiamentu.

Despite the fact that Aruban linguists and educational experts have a very critical role to play in these processes (interview #2 Tromp-Wouters and interview #3 Maduro), important bodies such as IDILA, GP3, PMI and PRIEPEB, which were designed to harness their energies, have fallen by the wayside. There seems to be a reluctance to move forward in the discussion concerning multilingualism in Aruba. One initiative which could resolve this impasse would be an officially recognized independent agency that is charged with developing cohesive and comprehensive LPP for the island. No more ad hoc political decisions, no more fragmentation of activities, but instead more

continuity and coherence, provided by a respected institute for language management and planning.

6.5 Implications for language planning in Aruba

Baldauf Jr.'s The "Evolving Framework for Language Planning Goals by Levels and Awareness" (2005) is a four-tiered framework that focuses on the goals of LPP and clarifies the complexity of the work that has to be done. The four aspects of language planning are included, namely, status planning, corpus planning, language-in-education planning, and prestige planning. Each aspect has its specific policy and implementation planning goals, but they are all intertwined and related, as shown in Fig. 6.1.

The Prestige and Image Planning aspect is, in the case of Aruba, of greatest importance because the progress of Papiamentu depends crucially on levels of community language awareness. In other words, Prestige and Image Planning (PIP) can be considered to be the driving force behind the other aspects of LPP in Aruba.

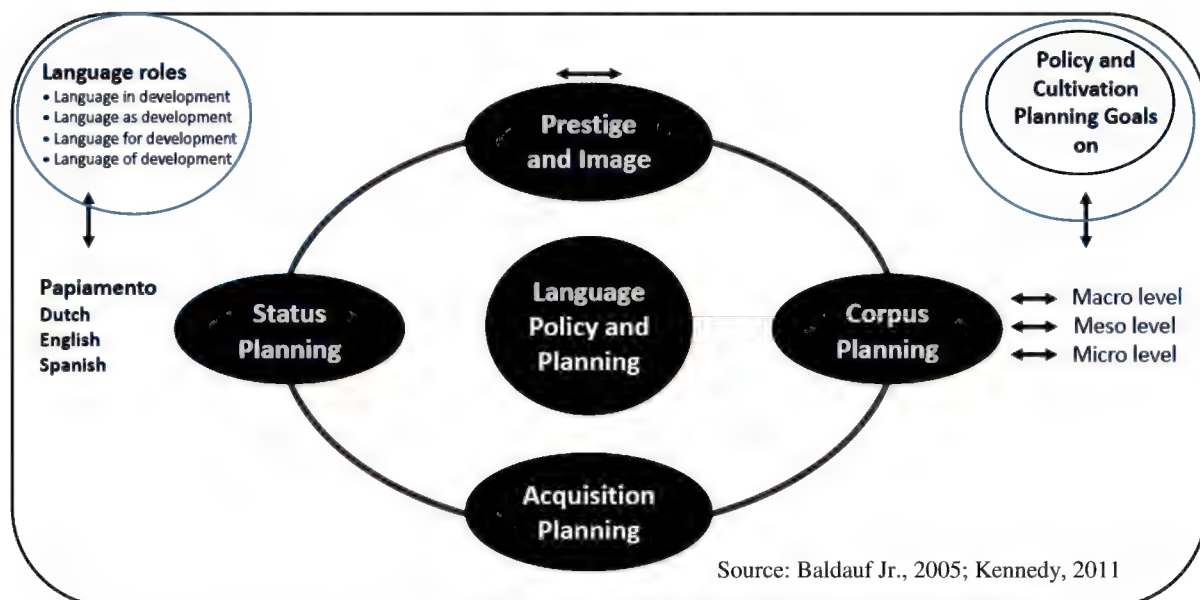


Fig. 6.1 A model for an Aruban Language Policy and Planning Agency

Although Prestige and Image Planning is a rather recent addition to the model, the authors of the 1988 document about bilingual education (Directie Onderwijs Aruba, 1988-BE), concluded 30 years ago that the promotion of Papiamentu is one of the priorities for the development of LPP in Aruba, given the fact that Papiamentu has been neglected and suppressed for such a long time. We draw the same conclusion in the present study: it is evident that Arubans' attitudes towards Papiamentu are still hindering the formulation and implementation of LPP in such a way that it maximizes the quality of educational and other societal outcomes. Therefore, special attention must be paid to PIP, for the simple reason that people's ideas about language are, in the end, what make or break any LPP process.

In the recent past many working groups and commissions were formed to work on aspects of LPP, resulting in both progress and fragmentation. Success can be optimized and fragmentation eliminated if there is a special institute where all existing groups and commissions are united and which is in charge of the development, planning, and implementation of a well thought-out LPP with short, middle and long-term goals and activities. We do not have to re-invent the wheel here. In *Pa un enseñansa bilingual na Aruba, nota di maneho pa introdukshon di Papiamento den enseñansa na Aruba* (Directie Onderwijs Aruba, 1988-RE) very useful ideas concerning such an institute are advanced, in line with best practices established internationally in countries such as Indonesia, India, Ireland and Israel (Lo Bianco, 2012).

The Language Policy and Planning institute that we are proposing must comply with a series of principles that are mandatory for effective and sustainable functioning, including those presented in this paragraph and the paragraphs that follow. The institute must have an autonomous *status*, it must perform at an academic level and it must operate with an independent budget. It must have a close collaborating relationship with the Ministry of Education, the Department of Education, the Department of Culture, the Instituto Pedagógico Arubano, the University of Aruba, the school boards, the Commission of Education of the Parliament of Aruba, the general public, companies, institutes and NGO's. The institute must also collaborate with universities and other related institutes abroad, especially in Curaçao and the rest of the Caribbean.

The *members* of the institute should be well-prepared academically and experienced professionals in the fields of linguistics (DE, 1988-EB) education, and public relations. Such professionals include: a) linguists: general linguists, sociolinguists, psycholinguists, language planners, lexicologists, specialists on language didactics, experts on multilingualism and applied linguistics, Papiamento specialists, creolists, curriculum developers, developers of language textbooks, researchers; b) education specialists; c) teachers with a specialization in Papiamento as first (L1) and second (L2) language with a Bachelor's, Master's or PhD degree; d) teachers with a specialization in Dutch, English, and Spanish as foreign language (FL); e) specialists in literature, authors, reviewers; f) correctors and translators and g) public relations professionals.

Within the general *task* of the institute in guiding the process of developing and implementing comprehensive LPP for Aruba, there must be a specific emphasis on the cultivation and empowerment of Papiamento. This general task has multiple aspects which can be divided into activities related to: 1) *Policy planning*, with an emphasis on language and policy decisions and their implications, and 2) *Cultivation planning* with a focus on the functional extension of the development and use of Papiamento (Baldauf Jr., 2005a:960), both of which must relate directly with status planning, corpus planning, acquisition planning, and prestige and image planning.

The *Status Planning* component of the institute must distinguish between policy and legislation, research and advice. It must prioritize the standardization of Papiamento,

which means extending the scope of the law of 2003 to include not only the officialization, but also the recommended usage of Papiamentu in education, in government departments, in the administration of justice, in the public services, in the press, and in commerce. The community must be well informed about this extended law and its implications. Cultivation planning activities must support the standardization of Papiamentu by financing and sponsoring activities which promote the recognition, extension, and implementation of Papiamentu's functions and roles in the community and in the departments and institutions on the island (Hinton, 2001, 2011). Translations from and into Papiamentu, for instance, during national and international events, must be facilitated. In the ABC Islands, in the Dutch Kingdom and in the Caribbean, Papiamentu must be recognized as an official language, which can be used on par with other languages such as English, Dutch, Spanish or French, during conferences, at universities, and in tourism. This extended use of Papiamentu, nationally and internationally, will contribute to the consolidation, spread and higher status of the language.

In the area of *Corpus Planning*, the language components that must receive attention when working on the preservation and modernization of Papiamentu include its graphology, lexicology, morphology, syntax and pragmatics. Concerning these activities, official collaboration with Curaçao and Bonaire is highly recommended.

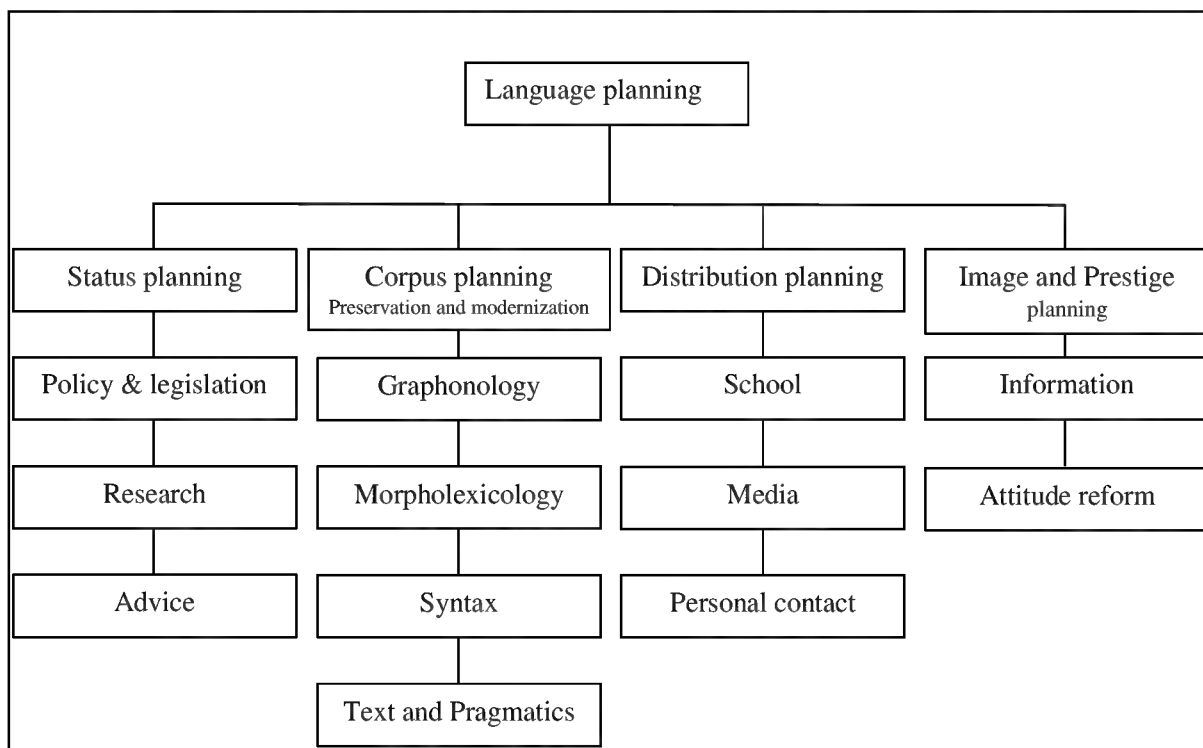
Concerning *Acquisition Planning* (also called *Distribution Planning*) there is a three-fold division into schools, media, and personal contacts. The primary goal of acquisition planning is to make the learning of the language accessible to everyone. The institute must ensure that, in collaboration with other agencies, training is readily accessible to all target groups, including teachers, translators, correctors, civil servants, native speakers, and newcomers. The broader implementation of multilingual education equivalent to the SML could be an initial activity in this area.

In Aruba, *Prestige and Image Planning* deserves a special place in language policy and planning as a whole. Papiamentu must be promoted in multiple ways and by multiple entities. The institute must work actively to raise awareness about Papiamentu; and part of this task is to motivate all governmental and non-governmental bodies to use Papiamentu in their publications and oral discourse. The best propaganda for Papiamentu is the general and public use of the language. Papiamentu has to be prominent in the linguistic landscape, with the goal of demonstrating that the language can be used as the language of science, art, culture, diplomacy, and all other sectors. This is critical for the acceptance and valorization of Papiamentu in the Aruban community and abroad.

Figure 6.2 is a suggested organization chart for structuring the work of the institute. In order to make cooperation between the ABC Islands more feasible, the organizational structure of the language language planning agency of the island of Curaçao, specifically the Fundashon pa Planifikashon di Idioma was used as the model (Severing

& Weijer, 2008: 254-255), but with the addition of prestige and image planning elements.

Figure 6.2 Proposed structure for a language policy and planning institute in Aruba



These are only some very preliminary ideas which should be elaborated extensively by the institute itself. However, there is no doubt about the fact that an institute for LPP is urgently needed. We cannot close our eyes and ears to the linguistic situation in Aruba and the waste of talent, waste of energy and social imbalances caused by the denial of the linguistic, cultural and educational rights of the Papiamentu-speaking children and adults of the island. This institute might be a costly investment, but it will more than pay for itself in the longer term by helping to realize the full academic, social, and economic potential of the people of Aruba.

6.6 Conclusions and recommendations

This dissertation tells the story of Papiamentu, with a focus on Aruba. However, Papiamentu is the language of Curaçao and Bonaire as well. Despite the different histories of the three islands, their cultural, political and educational similarities cannot be ignored. One of the most substantial factors that connects these islands is Papiamentu, which in all three countries still, despite colonial efforts to suppress it, functions as the mother tongue of the majority, the most accessible language and the lingua franca between old and new residents. The three island varieties are very close to each other and differ from each other mainly in the areas of sentence stress and other aspects of pronunciation.

There are other minor variations, for instance, in the areas of vocabulary and morphology, all of which contribute to the richness of the language.

To unite and reunite the three island countries in their efforts to promote Papiamentu, three separate national institutes for LPP could be united under the auspices of a Papiamentu Language Union (Taalunie, 2013; Brute & Severing, 2017). The official status of Papiamentu and the fact that Papiamentu has an increasingly prominent place in the community and education imposes high demands on government and society. It would be the task of a Papiamentu Language Union to ensure cooperation and exchange between the relevant authorities in the field of language policy.

Papiamentu is like the *Kibrahacha* – the *Yellow Poui* or *Tabebuia billbergii* – in a neglected garden: vibrant and blooming in its youth, but reviled in its puberty, with, as a result, serious problems in becoming an independent and confident adult. However, with trimming, new soil, and regular attention, the *Kibrahacha* is now revealing its abundant beauty and its hidden qualities, inspiring admiration and amazement. One of those hidden qualities is its rock-hard trunk that protects the *Kibrahacha* – literally “breaking axes” – from attacks and subsequently from dying and disappearing. The Institute of Language Planning of Aruba and the Papiamentu Language Union must become realities as soon as possible to strengthen and revitalize this remarkable language that has survived so many obstacles to its growth.

The present research contributes in new ways to the debates on multilingualism and the position of the main languages spoken in Aruba: Papiamentu and Dutch, which are official languages, plus English and Spanish, the other two languages that have an important function in society. Chapters 2 and 3 discuss the sociolinguistic history and the history of language in education in Aruba in a more thorough and comprehensive way than in previous documents written on those topics. The role and development of Papiamentu as a Caribbean Creole language in relation to Dutch as the dominant language of the colonial metropole was central in these discussions, where we made distinctions among five successive periods of time in Aruban history, each of which witnessed the unfolding of key events that had an influence on the valorization of Papiamentu on the island.

Another important contribution of the present study is the data on the language attitudes of teachers and parents that we scientifically gathered and analyzed in order to provide an empirical basis for discussions concerning LPP in Aruba. In the past, evidence to support the different positions adopted by those concerned with language and education on the island was often anecdotal, based on a limited sample and/or statistically unreliable. We now can speak with confidence not only when we discuss the attitudes of teachers, using the results included in Chapter 4, but also when we discuss the attitudes of parents, using the results included in Chapter 5. These data can also contribute to the formulation of theories in language policy and planning, particularly in the field of education, and where creole languages such as Papiamentu are specifically involved.

Chapter 7

Summaries

7.1 Resumen na Papiamento

Topico di e disertacion aki ta Papiamento, un idioma crioyo cu a desaroya pa motibo di colonialismo y sclabitud y cu, apesar di of danki na tur e obstruccionnan cu el a topa riba su caminda, a consolida su luga den comunidad y awor tambe pocopoco pero sigur ta haya su posicion den enseñansa. E estudio aki ta investiga a base di cuater pregunta nucleo e maneho di idioma den transcurso di tempo y e actitud relaciona cu idioma cu ta resultado di e manehonan ey. Ademas lo propone un modelo di maneho di idioma cu tin e realidad linguistico di Aruba como punto di salida.

Den capitulo 1 ta describi e base teorico y e metanan di e investigacion aki. E complehidad di e situacion di idioma di Aruba ta exige un maneho di idioma bon pensa y un planificacion cientifico. Pa un desaroyo duradero, coherencia y continuidad ta importante pa cada un di e cuater tiponan di planificacion di idioma, esta planificacion di status, di adkision, di corpus y di actitud, haya su debido atencion. Specialmente planificacion di actitud, o sea planificacion di prestigio y imagen, ta sumamente importante den e contexto sociolinguistico di Aruba. E preguntanan di investigacion ta: (1) Con a posiciona Papiamento historicamente relaciona cu enseñansa na Aruba? (2) Cua tabata e actitudnan dominante den comunidad Arubiano encuanto Papiamento, en particular relaciona cu enseñansa formal y con esaki a cambia den transcurso di tempo? (3) Con e maestronan ta balora e papel di Papiamento den enseñansa na Aruba? (4) Con e mayornan ta balora e papel di Papiamento den enseñansa na Aruba?

Pa haya contesta riba e prome pregunta di investigacion *Con a posiciona Papiamento historicamente relaciona cu enseñansa na Aruba?* ta describi den Capitulo 2 e aspectonan caracteristico di historia di Papiamento den comunidad y den enseñansa. Esaki ta sosode a base di estudio di documento importante tocante historia y enseñansa. Loke ta hala atencion ta cu por constata cu den historia di Papiamento tin dos situacion contrario. Prome cu 1815 tabata casi imposibel pa e comunidad no blanco y sclabisa siña Hulandes. Y pa motibo di diferente circunstancia Papiamento a evoluciona di

idioma di catibo pa idioma di henter e poblacion: e colonistanan Hulandes y e hudiunan Sefardico tabata prefera papia Papiamento cu nan catibonan; e lenga colocial entre e colonistanan Hulandes y e hudiunan Sefardico tabata Papiamento; den e famianan Hulandes y Sefardico e yaya tabata un personahe importante; Papiamento tabata un idioma importante den region; ademá e grupo di habla Hulandes tabata relativamente chikito compara cu e grupo creciente di catibo y otro hende di colo den e comunidad na Corsou. Hulandes a haya pues un posicion di minoria. Despues di 1815 diripiente Papiamento, idioma di henter e pueblo, a bira un idioma prohibi y Hulandes tabata e unico idioma cu tabata permiti pa uza den enseñansa. E maneho di idioma colonial despues di 1815 tabatin como meta pa reforsa e posicion di Hulandes y alabes elimina Papiamento, cu nan no tabata considera un idioma completo, pasobra “den un colonia Hulandes ta Hulandes mester papia”. Den siglo 19 y den e prome parti di siglo 20 decenas di decreto mester a percura pa tur hende compronde cu ta Hulandes ta e idioma di enseñansa y no Papiamento “cu tabata stroba siñamento di Hulandes”. Hulandes como idioma di instruccion a bira hasta un condicion pa un scol haya subsidio di gobierno segun e decretonan di 1907, 1913 y 1935. Consecuencia di esaki tabata cu hasta clero catolico cu semper tabata na fabor di enseñansa na Papiamento y cu tabatin mayoria di e scolnan, a baha cabe. Naturalmente tabatin hende cu no tabata di acuerdo cu e situacion aki, pero no tabata tuma nan opinion na serio. E punto di bista colonial Hulandes y e tantísimo mitonan cu tabata existi tocante Papiamento y enseñansa tabata domina den e discusion.

Na 1954 e islanan a obtene un status autonomo den cuadro di e proceso di decolonizacion. Entre otro esaki tabata nifica cu e islanan mes por a dicidi riba nan maneho di enseñansa. Sinembargo, e discusionnan tocante innovacion di enseñansa a cuminsa pocopoco, pa e motibo logico di falta di experticio riba e tereno aki. Ta te na final di decada sesenta y cuminsamento di decada setenta e prome publicacionnan cu tabata cuestiona e problemanan den enseñansa y cu a inicia e movimiento di innovacion a keda publica. Especialmente e sindicatonan di maestro na Aruba, Corsou y Boneiro a stimula e discusionnan den e añanan 70, 80 y 90 di siglo 20. Diferente investigacion a tuma luga, a organisa conferencia tocante enseñansa. Porfin Papiamento a haya atencion di politica. Na Aruba Papiamento a haya su ortografia oficial na 1976; enseñansa special a cambia Hulandes pa Papiamento como idioma di instruccion na 1979. Despues cu Aruba a adkiri su Status Aparte na 1986 e desaroyonan a cuminsa acelera. Na 1988 Departamento di Enseñansa di Aruba a publica diferente documento importante. A forma comision cu mester a prepara y guia e innovacion di enseñansa. Relativamente hopi lihe tras di otro algun suceso importante a tuma luga. Papiamento a bira materia den scol secundario na 2002; Papiamento a bira idioma oficial na 2003; estudio pa docente di Papiamento di di dos grado/bachelor y master porfin a bira realidad; Proyecto Scol Multilingual a cuminsa na dos scol basico na 2012. Tur ta evento memorabel den historia di Papiamento. Sinembargo, tin un caminda largo di cana ainda.

Capitulo 3 ta contesta e pregunta *Cua tabata e actitudnan dominante den comunidad Arubiano encuanto Papiamento, en particular relaciona cu enseñansa formal y con esaki a cambia den transcurso di tempo?* E opresion y exclusion oficial di e idioma crioyo aki durante hopi siglo, confirma pa un sistema di enseñansa alienante cu tabata permiti e idioma stranhero Hulandes como e unico idioma di instruccion, tabatin hopi consecuencia negativo te dia di awe. Hopi hende no kier reconoce cu siña den un idioma stranhero no ta contribui na exito educativo. Hopi papiado di Papiamento no tin conocimiento di concepto academico den nan idioma, nan ta dun'e un status masha abou y nan no por imagina nan Papiamento como idioma di instruccion ni como materia. E situacion aki a pone cu e lucha pa reconocimiento di Papiamento a bira largo y pisa, cu poco cooperacion. E idea cu idioma ta un creacion unico di humanidad cu ta haci hende capas pa gara e mundo rond di dje y pa forma parti di e mundo aki, ta straño pa hopi hende, tambe pa e politiconan. UNESCO, UNICEF, e innovadornan di enseñansa na Aruba y Corsou y tambe e organisacionnan no gubernamental (ONG) ta defende e ponencia cu idioma, tur idioma, tin un balor masha grandi pa e individuo y e pueblo pa kende ei idioma concerni ta e idioma materno. Cada idioma ta pertenece na e patrimonio cultural di su pueblo y mester ta proteha. Discriminacion basa riba idioma ta contra derecho humano, mescos cu discriminacion basa riba por ehempel rasa, religion, sexo, edad, nacionalidad. Ademá, segun e instancianan aki, ta asina cu ora un idioma muri, ta henter un cultura ta muri cu tur e conocimiento adkiri den e idioma ey. P'esey ta di sumo importancia pa Papiamento mantene su vitalidad. Un bon maneho di idioma por percura pa e idioma aki keda pasa di generacion pa generacion, pa den henter pais ta balor'e y us'e, pa e por cubri tur area linguistico y pa tin material di scol y di informacion y literatura pa tur edad disponibel den e idioma aki. Pocopoco e conciencia a crece cu no ta posibel mas pa laga Papiamento pafo di enseñansa. Sinembargo, ta un echo cu te ainda campaña y programa pa concientisa pueblo di e balor di su propio idioma y cultura ta necesario. P'esey tin diferente ONG activo riba e tereno aki.

Capitulo 4 ta concentra riba e manera con e maestronan ta evalua enseñansa di idioma. E pregunta di investigacion ta *Con e maestronan ta balora e papel di Papiamento den enseñansa na Aruba?* Ta trata aki di dos encuesta y un revelacion den un grupo di enfoke. E prome grupo tabata consisti di 108 maestro cu tabata traha den enseñansa preparatorio y basico tradicional, prome cu e Proyecto Scol Multilingual (PSML) a cuminsa. E encuesta ta demostra, cu mayoria di esnan encuesta ta habri pa innovacion di enseñansa cu un luga importante pa Papiamento. E maestronan aki tin tambe idea bon cla tocante e contenido di e preparacion di Papiamento cu nan lo mester sigui pa por participa den e Proyecto Scol Multilingual.

E di dos grupo encuesta tabata consisti di e unico cuater maestronan cu tabata traha na e momento ey, na 2012, den e dos scolnan di PSML. E evaluacion aki a tuma luga den e prome semester di e proma aña di Scol Multilingual. E maestronan a haya oportunidad pa describi nan experiencia cu PSML pa medio di un evaluacion den e grupo di enfoke.

E aspectonan cu nan a describi tabata nan relacion cu colega y nan experiencia cu e lesnan y e material di Papiamento, Hulandes, Ingles, Spaño y Matematica. Nan a papia tambe tocante e organisacion di rooster y di evaluacion. Pa e maestronan traha na Scol Multilingual tabata un reto di berdad, como cu nan tabata custumbra cu e scol tradicional cu solamente Hulandes. Masha positivo nan tabata haya e forma con e alumnonan tabata reacciona riba e conocimiento y habilidadnan nobo cu nan tabata adkiri den nan propio idioma. Den poco tempo e alumnonan a bira siñado independiente, studioso, productivo y creativo.

E di tres grupo di maestro encuesta tabata consisti di tur e 12 maestronan di e dos scolnan di PSML, cu na e momento, na 2015, ey ya tabatin tres aña escolar. E encuesta ta demostra, cu e maestronan di SML ta hopi positivo relaciona cu e proyecto di innovacion aki, tanto pa loke ta e actitud di siña y e prestacion di e alumnonan, como pa loke ta nan propio funcionamiento. Nan ta conseha Departamento di Enseñansa pa percura pa nan haya capacitacion, guia y sosten intensivo, pa envolve e mayornan den e innovacion aki y pa comunidad haya mas informacion tocante e proyecto asina importante aki.

Capitulo 5 ta dedica na e resultadonan di un encuesta teni bou di mayor cu yiu na scol basico. E 1.115 encuestadonan ta representa ocho diferente districto; a scohe un scol den cada districto. E pregunta di investigacion ta: *Con e mayornan ta balora e papel di Papiamento den enseñansa na Aruba?* Meta di e investigacion aki tabata pa haya un idea di e actitud di e mayornan encuan to e siguiente topiconan: PSML, e prestacion di e alumno den Hulandes, e baloracion di Papiamento den comunidad, Ingles den enseñansa, Papiamento como idioma oficial y nacional di Aruba, e papel y uzo di Papiamento den comunidad y enseñansa. E investigacion aki ta demostra, cu specialmente e fondo linguistico di e mayornan tin influencia riba na actitud linguistico. Aunke nan tin poco informacion, mayoria di e mayornan di tur grupo di idioma, cu excepcion di e grupo di habla Hulandes, ta masha positivo encuan to innovacion di enseñansa cu Papiamento como idioma di instruccion y kier pa e scol di nan yiu drenta den e proyecto aki. Loke tambe a bin dilanti ta, cu e generacionnan mas hoben di e famianan inmigrante ta adopta Papiamento como nan prome idioma of nan di dos idioma fuerte, loke ta nifica cu den hopi famia tin un cambio di idioma na favor di Papiamento. E investigacion aki ta demostra tambe, cu e mayornan kier ta involucra den loke ta pasa den enseñansa. Departamento di Enseñansa por hunga un papel dinamico den formamento di un plataforma caminda e mayornan ta haya oido.

Capitulo 6 ta describi e perspectivanan di Papiamento den e comunidad y enseñansa contemporaneo. E perspectivanan aki ta masha positivo. Loke falta, ta un bon maneho di idioma cu actividad cu ta cubri tur e cuater aspectonan di planificacion di idioma cu ta conecta cu otro. Un instituto oficial pa maneho y planificacion di idioma cu mester traha riba e proyecto aki, ta mas cu urgente. E estudio ta clausura cu un modelo pa tal instituto.

7.2 Samenvatting in het Nederlands

Dit proefschrift heeft als onderwerp het Papiamentu, een Creoolse taal die ontstaan is in de koloniale periode en die van de slavernij en die ondanks of dankzij alle tegenwerking, zijn plaats heeft bestendig in de samenleving en nu langzaam maar zeker zijn plaats ook in het onderwijs aan het verwerven is. Dit onderzoek bestudeert aan de hand van vier kernvragen de taalpolitiek door de eeuwen heen en ook de taalattitudes die het gevolg zijn van die taalpolitiek. Tevens wordt een taalbeleid voorgesteld dat de Arubaanse taalrealiteit als uitgangspunt heeft.

In hoofdstuk 1 worden de theoretische achtergronden en doelstellingen van dit onderzoek besproken. De gecompliceerdheid van de taalsituatie op Aruba maakt een weldoordacht taalbeleid en een wetenschappelijke taalplanning noodzakelijk. Voor duurzame ontwikkeling, samenhang en continuïteit is het van belang dat aan elk van de vier typen van taalplanning, namelijk statusplanning, acquisitieplanning, corpusplanning en attitudeplanning, zorgvuldig aandacht wordt geschonken. Vooral de attitudeplanning, oftewel *prestige- en imageplanning*, is in de sociolinguïstische context van Aruba van groot belang. De onderzoeksvragen zijn: (1) Hoe is het Papiamentu historisch gepositioneerd ten opzichte van het formele onderwijs op Aruba? (2) Wat zijn de heersende attitudes in de Arubaanse samenleving ten opzichte van het Papiamentu, in het bijzonder met betrekking tot het formele onderwijs, en hoe zijn deze attitudes in de loop der tijd veranderd (3) Hoe waarderen leerkrachten de rol van het Papiamentu in het Arubaanse onderwijs? (4) Hoe waarderen ouders de rol van het Papiamentu in het Arubaanse onderwijs?

Om antwoord te krijgen op de eerste onderzoeksvraag *Hoe is het Papiamentu historisch gepositioneerd ten opzichte van het formele onderwijs op Aruba?* worden in Hoofdstuk 2 de kenmerkende aspecten van de geschiedenis van het Papiamentu in de samenleving en in het onderwijs beschreven. Dit wordt gerealiseerd door studie van relevante historische en onderwijsdocumenten. Het valt op, dat er in de geschiedenis van het Papiamentu twee tegengestelde situaties kunnen worden waargenomen. Vóór 1815 was de situatie op de ABC-eilanden zodanig, dat het voor de niet-blanke slavenbevolking bijna onmogelijk was om de Nederlandse taal te leren. Door allerlei omstandigheden werd Papiamentu van slaventaal tot taal van de hele bevolking: de Hollandse kolonisten en de Sefardische joden spraken liever Papiamentu tegen de slaven; de omgangstaal tussen de Hollandse kolonisten en de Sefardische joden was Papiamentu; de ‘yaya’ (kindermeisje) was een belangrijke personage in de Hollandse en Sefardische gezinnen; Papiamentu was een belangrijke taal in de regio; bovendien was de Nederlandssprekende groep relatief klein vergeleken met de steeds groter wordende groep slaven en andere gekleurden in die samenleving. Het Nederlands kreeg daardoor slechts een minderheidsplaats toebedeeld. Na 1815 was opeens Papiamentu, de taal van het volk, een verboden taal en het Nederlands de enige, toegestane onderwijstaal. De taalpolitiek van na 1815 was bedoeld om de positie van het Nederlands te versterken en

tegelijkertijd het Papiamentu dat niet als een volwaardige taal werd beschouwd te elimineren, want “in een Nederlandse kolonie moet Nederlands gesproken worden”. In de 19^{de} en in de eerste helft van de 20^{ste} eeuw moesten tientallen onderwijsdecreten ervoor zorgen, dat men ervan doordrongen raakte dat het Nederlands de onderwijstaal was en niet het Papiamentu dat ‘het leren van het Nederlands in de weg stond”. Nederlands als instructietaal werd zelfs voor de scholen een voorwaarde voor het verkrijgen van overheidssubsidie volgens de decreten van 1907, 1913 en 1935. Dit had tot gevolg dat zelfs de katholieke geestelijkheid, die Papiamentstalig onderwijs voorstond en die de meeste scholen had, overstag ging. Natuurlijk waren er mensen die deze situatie ongewenst vonden, maar hun meningen werden niet serieus genomen. Het Nederlandse politieke standpunt en de vele mythen over Papiamentu en onderwijs overstemden de discussies. In 1954 kregen de eilanden in het kader van het dekolonisatieproces een autonome status. Dat betekende onder andere dat de eilanden nu zelf konden beslissen over hun onderwijspolitiek. De discussies over onderwijsvernieuwing kwamen echter traag op gang, als logisch gevolg van het gebrek aan expertise op dit terrein. Pas eind jaren zestig en begin jaren zeventig verschenen de eerste publicaties die de onderwijsproblemen aan de kaak stelden en die de innovatiebeweging in gang zetten. Vooral de onderwijsvakbonden van de ABC-eilanden stimuleerden de discussie in de jaren 70, 80 en 90 van de twintigste eeuw. Er werd onderzoek gedaan en er werden onderwijsconferenties georganiseerd. Papiamentu kreeg eindelijk de aandacht van de politiek. In Aruba kreeg Papiamentu zijn officiële spelling in 1976; het speciaal onderwijs werd Papiamentstalig in 1979. Nadat Aruba de Status Aparte verwierf in 1986, ontstond er een zekere stroomversnelling. In 1988 verschenen er belangrijke publicaties van Directie Onderwijs Aruba. Er werden commissies gevormd die de onderwijsvernieuwing moesten voorbereiden en begeleiden. Relatief vrij snel achter elkaar vonden er belangrijke gebeurtenissen plaats. Papiamentu werd vak in het voortgezet onderwijs in 2002, Papiamentu werd officiële taal in 2003, de lerarenopleidingen Bachelor en Master Papiamentu werden eindelijk realiteit, de Proyecto Scol Multilingual met Papiamentu als instructietaal ging van start in 2012 in twee basisscholen. Allemaal mijlpalen in de geschiedenis van het Papiamentu. Echter, er is nog een lange weg te gaan.

Hoofdstuk 3 beantwoordt de tweede vraag *Wat zijn de heersende attitudes in de Arubaanse samenleving ten opzichte van het Papiamentu, in het bijzonder met betrekking tot het formele onderwijs, en hoe zijn deze attitudes in de loop der tijd veranderd?* De eeuwenlange officiële onderdrukking en uitsluiting van deze Creoolse taal, bekrachtigd door een vervreemdend onderwijssysteem dat de vreemde taal Nederlands als de enige instructietaal toestond, hebben een lange nasleep met veel negatieve consequenties tot op de dag van vandaag. Dat leren in een vreemde taal niet bijdraagt tot onderwijssucces, wordt door velen niet toegegeven. Veel Papiamentu-sprekenden hebben geen kennis van academische begrippen in hun eigen taal, kennen deze een lage status toe en kunnen zich het Papiamentu als onderwijstaal en als vak niet voorstellen. Door

deze situatie is de strijd om de erkenning van het Papiamentu lang en taai geworden, met weinig medewerking. Dat taal een unieke creatie van de mensheid is die de mens in staat stelt greep te krijgen op de wereld om hem heen en deel te zijn van die wereld, is voor velen, ook voor politici, een vreemd idee. UNESCO, UNICEF, onderwijsvernieuwers op Aruba en Curaçao en ngo's verdedigen de stelling, dat taal, welke taal dan ook, van onschatbare waarde is voor het individu en voor het volk voor wie die taal de moedertaal is. Taal behoort dan ook tot het cultureel erfgoed van zijn volk en dient beschermd te worden. Discriminatie op basis van taal is tegen de rechten van de mens, evenals discriminatie op basis van bijvoorbeeld ras, geloof, sexe, leeftijd, nationaliteit. Bovendien is het volgens deze instanties zo, dat wanneer een taal uitsterft, een hele cultuur uitsterft met alle in die taal verworven kennis. Daarom is het van het grootste belang dat Papiamentu levenskrachtig blijft. Een goed taalbeleid kan ervoor zorgen, dat deze taal van generatie op generatie wordt doorgegeven, overal in het land gewaardeerd en gebruikt wordt, alle taaldomeinen kan bestrijken en dat er school- en informatiemateriaal en literatuur voor jong en oud in deze taal beschikbaar is. Langzaam is het besef gegroeid, dat het niet meer mogelijk is het Papiamentu buiten het onderwijs te houden. Echter, het is een feit, dat er nog steeds campagnes en programma's nodig zijn om het volk bewust te maken van het belang van zijn eigen taal en cultuur. Er zijn dan ook verschillende ngo's die actief zijn op dit gebied.

Hoofdstuk 4 concentreert zich op de wijze waarop leerkrachten het taalonderwijs evalueren. De onderzoeksvraag luidt: *Hoe waarden leerkrachten de rol van het Papiamentu in het onderwijs?* Het gaat hier om twee enquêtes en een focusgroep evaluatie. De eerste groep respondenten bestond uit 108 leerkrachten die in het traditionele kleuter- en basisonderwijs werkzaam waren, vóór de start van het Proyecto Scol Multilingual (PSML). Uit de enquête bleek, dat de meerderheid van deze respondenten open staat voor onderwijsvernieuwing met een belangrijke plaats voor het Papiamentu. Deze leerkrachten hebben ook duidelijke ideeën over de inhoud van de Papiamentu-training die ze zouden moeten volgen om deel te kunnen nemen in het Proyecto Scol Multilingual.

De tweede groep respondenten bestond uit de enige vier leerkrachten die op dat moment werkzaam waren in de twee scholen van het PSML. Deze evaluatie vond plaats in 2012 in het eerste semester van het eerste jaar van de Scol Multilingual. De leerkrachten kregen de kans om via een focusgroep-evaluatie hun ervaring met het PSML te beschrijven. De aspecten die ze bespraken waren hun relatie met collega's en hun ervaring met de lessen en het materiaal voor Papiamentu, Nederlands, Engels, Spaans en rekenen. Ook bespraken ze de totale organisatie met roosters en evaluatie. De leerkrachten vonden het werken op de Scol Multilingual een ware uitdaging, aangezien ze gewend waren aan de traditionele school met alleen Nederlands. Zeer positief vonden ze de manier waarop de leerlingen reageerden op de nieuwe kennis en vaardigheden die ze opdeden in hun eigen

taal. De leerlingen ontwikkelden zich in korte tijd tot zelfstandige leerders, leergierig, productief en creatief.

De derde groep respondenten waren alle 12 leerkrachten van de twee PSML-scholen die op dat moment, in 2015, al drie leerjaren hadden. De enquête laat zien, dat deze SML-leerkrachten zeer positief zijn ten aanzien van dit innovatieproject, zowel wat betreft de leerhouding en de prestaties van de leerlingen, als wat betreft hun eigen functiëren. Ze adviseren Directie Onderwijs echter ervoor te zorgen dat ze intensief getraind, begeleid en ondersteund worden, dat de ouders bij deze innovatie betrokken worden en dat de gemeenschap meer informatie krijgt over dit zo belangrijke project.

Hoofdstuk 5 is gewijd aan de resultaten van een enquête onder ouders van basisschoolleerlingen. De 1.115 respondenten vertegenwoordigen acht verschillende districten; er is gekozen voor één school per district. De onderzoeksvraag luidt: *Hoe waarderen ouders de rol van het Papiamentu in het Arubaanse onderwijs?* Het doel van dit onderzoek was een idee te krijgen van de houding van de ouders ten aanzien van de volgende onderwerpen: het PSML, de prestaties van de leerling in het Nederlands, de waardering van het Papiamentu in de samenleving, het Engels in het onderwijs, Papiamentu als officiële en nationale taal van Aruba, de rol en het gebruik van het Papiamentu in de samenleving en in het onderwijs. Dit onderzoek laat zien, dat vooral de taalachtergrond van de ouders invloed heeft op hun taalattitude. Hoewel ze weinig informatie hebben over PSML, staan de meeste ouders van alle taalgroepen, behalve de Nederlandstalige groep, zeer positief ten opzichte van onderwijsinnovatie met Papiamentu als instructietaal en willen ze dat de school van hun kind wordt opgenomen in dit project. Wat ook naar voren kwam, is dat de jongere generaties van immigrantenfamilies Papiamentu omarmen als hun eerste of sterke tweede taal, wat betekent dat in veel gezinnen een taalwisseling plaatsvindt in het voordeel van Papiamentu. Ook toont dit onderzoek aan, dat ouders graag betrokken willen worden in het onderwijsgebeuren en dat Directie Onderwijs een dynamische rol kan spelen in het creëren van een platform waar de ouders gehoord kunnen worden.

In hoofdstuk 6 worden de vooruitzichten belicht van het Papiamentu in de huidige samenleving en het onderwijs. Deze vooruitzichten zijn ronduit positief. Wat ontbreekt, is een goed taalbeleid met activiteiten die de vier samenhangende aspecten van de taalplanning bestrijken. Een officieel instituut voor taalbeleid en taalplanning dat dit project moet opzetten, is zeer urgent. Deze studie wordt afgesloten met een model voor zo'n instituut.

7.3 Resumen en español⁸⁸

Esta tesis tiene como tema el papiamento, lengua criolla que surgió del colonialismo y la esclavitud y que, a pesar de o gracias a toda la resistencia que ha encontrado, ha perpetuado su lugar en la sociedad y, poco a poco, pero seguro, está adquiriendo su lugar también en la educación. Esta investigación estudia sobre la base de cuatro preguntas principales la política lingüística a lo largo de los siglos y las actitudes lingüísticas que son el resultado de esa política lingüística. También se propone una política lingüística que tiene como punto de partida la realidad lingüística de Aruba.

El capítulo 1 describe el trasfondo y los objetivos teóricos de esta investigación. La complejidad de la situación lingüística de Aruba requiere una política lingüística bien razonada y una planificación lingüística científico. Para el desarrollo sostenible, la cohesión y la continuidad, es importante prestar concienzudamente atención a cada uno de los cuatro tipos de planificación lingüística, a saber, la planificación de estatus, la planificación de adquisición, la planificación de corpus y la planificación de actitud. En particular, la planificación de actitud, es decir, *la planificación de prestigio y de imagen*, es muy importante en el contexto sociolingüístico de Aruba.

Las preguntas de investigación son: (1) ¿Cómo se ha posicionado históricamente el papiamento en relación con la educación formal en Aruba? (2) ¿Cuáles han sido las actitudes predominantes en la sociedad arubana hacia el papiamento, particularmente en relación con la educación formal, y cómo han cambiado estas actitudes con el tiempo? (3) ¿Cómo aprecian los docentes el papel del papiamento en la educación de Aruba? (4) ¿Cómo aprecian los padres el papel del papiamento en la educación de Aruba?

Para responder a la primera pregunta de investigación ¿Cómo se ha posicionado históricamente el papiamento en relación con la educación formal en Aruba? el Capítulo 2 describe los aspectos característicos de la historia del papiamento en la sociedad y en la educación. Esto se logra mediante el estudio de documentos históricos y educacionales relevantes. Llama la atención que se pueden encontrar dos situaciones opuestas en la historia del papiamento. Antes de 1815 la situación era tal que era casi imposible que la población esclava no blanca aprendiera holandés. Por todo tipo de circunstancias el papiamento se convirtió de lengua de esclavos en lengua de toda la población: los colonos holandeses los judíos sefarditas preferían hablar en papiamento a los esclavos; el lenguaje cotidiano de los colonos holandeses y los judíos sefarditas era el papiamento; la 'yaya' (niñera) era un personaje importante en las familias holandesas y sefarditas; el papiamento era un idioma importante en la región; además, el grupo de habla holandesa era relativamente pequeño en comparación con el grupo cada vez mayor de esclavos y otras personas de color en esa sociedad. Por lo tanto, al holandés se le asignó solo un lugar minoritario. Después de 1815 el papiamento, la lengua del pueblo, se convirtió de repente en un idioma prohibido y el holandés el único idioma de instrucción permitido. La política lingüística de después de 1815 pretendía fortalecer la posición del holandés

⁸⁸ Traducción por Ramon Todd Dandaré, Mag. Ling.

y al mismo tiempo eliminar el papiamento, que no se consideraba un idioma completo, puesto que "en una colonia holandesa se debe hablar holandés". En el siglo 19 y en la primera mitad del siglo 20 decenas de decretos educativos debían procurar que la gente se convenciera de que el holandés era el idioma de la educación y no el papiamento, el cual "sería un obstáculo para aprender holandés". El holandés como idioma de instrucción incluso se convirtió para las escuelas un requisito para la obtención de subvención gubernamental, de acuerdo con los decretos de 1907, 1913 y 1935. Esto tuvo como consecuencia que incluso el clero católico, que estaba a favor de la educación en papiamento y que tenía la mayoría de las escuelas, tuvo que virar en redondo. Por supuesto, había personas que consideraban esta situación indeseable, pero sus opiniones no fueron tomadas en serio. El punto de vista político holandés y los muchos mitos sobre el papiamento y la educación superaron las discusiones. En 1954 las islas adquirieron un estatus autónomo en el contexto del proceso de descolonización. Esto significó, entre otras cosas, que las islas mismas podrían decidir sobre su política educativa. Sin embargo, las discusiones sobre la innovación de la educación comenzaron lentamente, como consecuencia lógica de la falta de experiencia en esta área. Apenas a finales de los años sesenta y principios de los setenta aparecieron las primeras publicaciones que denunciaban los problemas educativos y que pusieron en marcha el movimiento de innovación. Particularmente los sindicatos de maestros de las islas ABC estimularon la discusión en los años 70, 80 y 90 del siglo XX. Se realizaron investigaciones y se organizaron conferencias educativas. Por fin el papiamento recibía la atención de los políticos. En Aruba se promulgó la ortografía oficial del papiamento en 1976; la educación especial se convirtió en educación en papiamento en 1979. Después de que Aruba adquiriera el Status Aparte en 1986, hubo una cierta aceleración. En 1988 hubo publicaciones importantes del Departamento de Educación de Aruba. Se formaron comisiones que tuvieron que preparar y guiar la innovación de la educación. Relativamente seguidos se llevaron a cabo eventos importantes. El papiamento se introdujo como asignatura en la educación secundaria en 2002, el papiamento se oficializó en 2003, la formación del profesorado con Licenciatura y Master en papiamento finalmente se hizo realidad, el Proyecto Scol Multilingual con el papiamento como idioma de instrucción se inició en 2012 en dos escuelas primarias. Todos estos son hitos en la historia del papiamento. Sin embargo, aún queda un largo camino por recorrer.

El Capítulo 3 responde a la segunda pregunta ¿Cuáles han sido las actitudes predominantes en la sociedad arubana hacia el papiamento, particularmente en relación con la educación formal, y cómo han cambiado estas actitudes con el tiempo? La opresión y exclusión oficial de esta lengua criolla durante muchos siglos, confirmadas por un sistema de educación alienante que permitía el idioma extranjero holandés como único idioma de instrucción, tienen una larga secuela con muchas consecuencias negativas hasta el día de hoy. Mucha gente no admite que aprender en una lengua extranjera no

contribuye al éxito educativo. Muchos hablantes de papiamento no conocen los conceptos académicos en su idioma, le asignan un estatus bajo y no pueden imaginarse el papiamento como idioma de instrucción ni como asignatura. Debido a esta situación la lucha por el reconocimiento del papiamento se ha vuelto larga y dura, con poca cooperación. Que la lengua es una creación única de la humanidad que le permite al hombre hacerse con el mundo que lo rodea y ser parte de ese mundo, es una idea extraña para muchos, incluso para los políticos. Tanto la UNESCO y la UNICEF como los innovadores de la educación en Aruba y Curazao y las ONG defienden la tesis de que el idioma, cualquier idioma, es de gran valor para el individuo y para el pueblo que tiene esa lengua como lengua materna. La lengua, por lo tanto, pertenece al patrimonio cultural de su gente y debe ser protegida. La discriminación basada en la lengua va en contra de los derechos humanos, así como la discriminación basada, por ejemplo, en la raza, la religión, el sexo, la edad o la nacionalidad. Además, según estas autoridades, cuando una lengua desaparece, desaparece toda una cultura con todo el conocimiento adquirido en esa lengua. Por lo tanto, es de suma importancia que el papiamento mantenga su vitalidad. Una buena política lingüística puede asegurar que esta lengua se traspase de generación en generación, se valore y se utilice en todo el país, pueda cubrir todas las áreas lingüísticas y que haya disponible en esta lengua material educativo e informativo y literatura para todas las edades. Lentamente ha aumentado la conciencia de que ya no es posible mantener el papiamento fuera de la educación. Sin embargo, es un hecho que todavía se necesitan campañas y programas de promoción para concienciar a la gente de la importancia de su propio idioma y su propia cultura. Por lo tanto, hay varias ONG activas en esta área.

El capítulo 4 se centra en cómo los docentes evalúan la enseñanza de la lengua. La pregunta de investigación es: *¿Cómo valoran los docentes el papel del papiamento en la educación de Aruba?* Se trata de dos encuestas y una evaluación de grupo de enfoque.

El primer grupo de encuestados estaba compuesto de 108 maestros que trabajaban en la educación preescolar y primaria tradicionales, antes del inicio del Proyecto Scol Multilingual (PSML). La encuesta mostró que la mayoría de estos encuestados está abierta a la innovación de la educación con un lugar importante para el papiamento. Estos maestros también tienen ideas bien claras sobre el contenido de la capacitación en papiamento que deberían seguir para poder participar en el Proyecto Scol Multilingual.

El segundo grupo de encuestados lo formaban los únicos cuatro maestros que en ese momento estaban empleados en las dos escuelas del PSML. Esta evaluación se realizó en el primer semestre del primer año, 2012, de la Scol Multilingual. Los maestros tuvieron la oportunidad de describir su experiencia con el PSML a través de una evaluación de grupo de enfoque. Los aspectos que discutieron fueron su relación con colegas y su experiencia con las clases y el material para papiamento, holandés, inglés, español y matemáticas. También discutieron toda la organización con horarios y evaluaciones.

Los profesores consideraban un verdadero desafío el trabajar en la Scol Multilingual, ya que estaban acostumbrados a la escuela tradicional con solo holandés. Muy positiva consideraban la forma en que los estudiantes respondían a los nuevos conocimientos y habilidades que adquirirían en su propio idioma. Los estudiantes se convirtieron en poco tiempo en aprendices independientes, estudiosos, productivos y creativos.

El tercer grupo de encuestados eran los 12 maestros de las dos escuelas del PSML que en ese momento, en 2015, ya tenían tres años escolares. La encuesta muestra que estos maestros de la SML son muy positivos respecto a este proyecto de innovación, tanto en lo que respecta a la actitud de aprendizaje y el desempeño de los estudiantes, como en lo que respecta a su propio funcionamiento (de los maestros). Sin embargo, le recomiendan al Departamento de Educación procurar que sean capacitados, supervisados y respaldados intensivamente, que los padres estén involucrados en esta innovación y que la comunidad reciba más información sobre este proyecto tan importante.

El Capítulo 5 está dedicado a los resultados de una encuesta entre padres de alumnos de escuelas primarias. Los 1.115 encuestados representan ocho distritos diferentes; se ha escogido una escuela por distrito. La pregunta de investigación es: *¿Cómo aprecian los padres el papel del papiamento en la educación de Aruba?* El propósito de esta investigación era el de tener una idea de la actitud de los padres hacia los siguientes temas: el PSML, el desempeño del estudiante en holandés, la apreciación del papiamento en la sociedad, el inglés en la educación, el papiamento como lengua oficial y nacional de Aruba, el papel y el uso del papiamento en la sociedad y en la educación. Esta investigación muestra que particularmente el trasfondo lingüístico de los padres influye en su actitud lingüística. Aunque tienen poca información sobre el PSML, la mayoría de los padres de todos los grupos lingüísticos, con excepción del grupo de habla holandesa, es muy positiva respecto a la innovación educativa con el papiamento como idioma de instrucción y quiere que se incluya la escuela de sus hijos en este proyecto. Lo que también surgió es que las generaciones más jóvenes de familias inmigrantes adoptan el papiamento como su primer o segundo idioma fuerte, lo que significa que en muchas familias se produce un cambio de idioma a favor del papiamento. También esta investigación muestra que los padres quieren estar involucrados en las actividades educativas. El Departamento de Educación puede desempeñar un papel dinámico en la creación de una plataforma donde se escuche a los padres.

El Capítulo 6 describe las perspectivas del papiamento en la sociedad y la educación contemporáneas. Estas perspectivas son absolutamente positivas. Lo que falta es una buena política lingüística con actividades que cubran los cuatro aspectos coherentes de la planificación lingüística. Un instituto oficial de Política y Planificación Lingüísticas que deberá establecer este proyecto es muy urgente. Este estudio se concluye con un modelo para tal instituto.

7.4 Summary in English⁸⁹

The subject of this doctoral thesis is Papiamentu, a Creole language which originated during the era of colonialism and slavery and which, despite or thanks to all of the opposition to its growth, has made its place in society permanent and is now slowly but surely earning its place in education as well. By means of four key questions, this research explores the politics of language on the island of Aruba throughout the centuries as well as the linguistic attitudes resulting from those politics. At the same time, a language policy and planning framework with the linguistic realities of Aruba as point of departure is proposed.

In chapter 1 the theoretical background and objectives of this research are discussed. The complexity of the language situation in Aruba requires carefully considered language policy and scientific language planning. For sustainable development, coherence and continuity, it is important that serious attention is paid to each of the four types of language planning, namely: status planning, acquisition planning, corpus planning and attitude planning. Attitude planning or *prestige and image planning*, in particular, is highly important in the sociolinguistic context of Aruba.

The research questions are: 1) How has Papiamentu been historically positioned in relation to formal education in Aruba? 2) What have been the prevalent attitudes in Aruban society toward Papiamentu, particularly in relation to formal education, and how have these attitudes changed over time? 3) How do teachers value the role of Papiamentu in Aruban education? 4) How do parents value the role of Papiamentu in Aruban education?

To answer the first research question: *How has Papiamentu been historically positioned in relation to formal education in Aruba?* specific aspects of the history of Papiamentu in society are treated in Chapter 2. This is done by researching relevant historical and educational documents. It is remarkable that in the history of Papiamentu two contrastive situations can be observed. Prior to 1815, the conditions on the ground in the ABC Islands made it next to impossible for the non-European descended slave population to learn the Dutch language. Due to a number of circumstances, Papiamentu evolved from the language of slaves to become the language of the entire population: the Dutch colonialists and the Sephardic Jews preferred to speak Papiamentu to the slaves; the daily speech between the Dutch colonialists and the Sephardim was Papiamentu; the Papiamentu speaking ‘yaya’ (nanny) was an important figure in Dutch and Sephardic families; Papiamentu was an important language in the region; moreover, comparatively speaking, the Dutch-speaking group was small compared to the ever increasing group of slaves and other people of color in the society. Because of all of these factors, Dutch was never spoken by more than a small minority. After 1815, Papiamentu, the language of the majority, suddenly became a forbidden language and Dutch became the only language of instruction that was permitted in the schools. The politics

⁸⁹ Translation by Frank Williams

of language after 1815 were intended to reinforce the position of the Dutch language and at the same time to eliminate Papiamentu, which was not considered a valid language, because “in a Dutch colony the Dutch language should be spoken”. In the 19th century and in the first half of the 20th century, scores of education decrees were promulgated, which should have seen to it that everyone would understand that Dutch was the language of instruction and not Papiamentu, which ‘was obstructive to the command of the Dutch language’. Dutch as language of instruction even became a prerequisite for schools to qualify for government subsidies pursuant to the decrees of 1907, 1913 and 1935. As a consequence, even the catholic clergy, which was in favour of using Papiamentu for education and also was in charge of most schools, eventually relented and shifted its position. Of course there were people who deemed this situation undesirable, but their opinions were not taken seriously. The Dutch political position and the many myths about Papiamentu and education dominated the discussions.

In 1954, under the terms of the process of decolonization, the islands obtained an autonomous status. That entailed, among other things, that the islands could make their own decisions with regard to their educational policy. However, the discussions on educational reform took a while to get underway, resulting logically from a lack of expertise in this field. Only at the end of the 1960s and at the beginning of the 1970s the first publications appeared denouncing the language problems in the education system and initiating a movement for change. The teachers’ unions of the ABC Islands in particular encouraged such discussion in the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s. Research was carried out and educational conferences were organized. At last Papiamentu got the attention of the politicians.

In Aruba Papiamentu obtained its official spelling in 1976; in 1979 the special education track switched to Papiamentu as language of instruction. After Aruba obtained the Separate Status in 1986, the development of Papiamentu gained certain momentum. In 1988 important documents were published by the Department of Education of Aruba. Committees had been formed to prepare and give guidance for educational reform. Important events took place thereafter at a rather rapid pace. Papiamentu became a subject in secondary education in 2002, Papiamentu became an official language in 2003, the Bachelor’s and Master’s degrees in Papiamentu at last became reality at teacher training colleges, and the ‘*Proyecto Scol Multilingual*’ (Multilingual School Project), using Papiamentu as language of instruction started in 2012 at two primary schools. All of these are milestones in the history of Papiamentu. However, there is still a long way to go.

Chapter 3 gives an answer to the second question: *What have been the prevalent attitudes in Aruban society toward Papiamentu, particularly in relation to formal education, and how have these attitudes changed over time?* The prolonged formal suppression and exclusion of Papiamentu, re-inforced by an alienating education system which permitted only Dutch, a foreign language, as the sole language of instruction, have had long-lasting effects with many negative consequences up to the present day.

Many people do not admit that learning in a foreign language does not contribute to educational achievement. Many Papiamentu-speaking people do not know academic concepts in their language, they assign it a low status and are unable to see Papiamentu as a language of instruction and as a subject in school. Because of this situation the struggle for recognition for Papiamentu has become a long and difficult one, with few willing to commit their time and energy. The fact that language is a unique creation of humanity that enables human beings to come to terms with their environment and to be part of that environment, is a strange idea to many people, including politicians.

UNESCO, UNICEF, educational reformers in Aruba and Curaçao and NGOs all defend the proposition that language, any language, is invaluable to the individual and to the people whose mother tongue that language is. Therefore, language is part of the cultural heritage of a people and should be preserved. Discrimination on the basis of language is a violation of human rights, just as is discrimination on the basis of, for instance, race, religion, gender, age, or nationality. They also believe that if a language dies out, an entire culture becomes extinct together with the knowledge acquired in that language. That is why it is of the utmost importance that Papiamentu retains its vitality. A proper language policy can see to it that this language is handed down from generation to generation, that it is valued and used all over the country, that it can cover all the registers and that teaching materials, informational materials and literature for young and old is available. Gradually as consciousness has risen, it is no longer possible to exclude Papiamentu from education. However, there is no denying that campaigns and awareness programmes are still necessary to awaken the people to the importance of their own language and culture. That is why several NGOs are active in this field.

Chapter 4 focuses on how teachers value language in their teaching. The relevant research question is: *How do teachers value the role of Papiamentu in Aruban education?* The study involved two surveys and a focus group evaluation. The first group of respondents included 108 teachers who were employed in traditional kindergarten and primary education before the start of the *Proyecto Scol Multilingual* (PSML). The survey showed that the majority of these respondents was open to educational reform with an important place for Papiamentu. These teachers also have definite ideas on the nature of the training in Papiamentu that they would have to acquire to feel able to engage in the *Proyecto Scol Multilingual*. The second group of respondents included the only four teachers who, at that moment, were employed in the two schools of the PSML. They participated in a focus group evaluation that took place in 2012, during the first semester of the first year of the *Scol Multilingual*. The teachers were given a chance to discuss their experience with PSML. The aspects that they discussed included their relationships with colleagues, and their experience with the classes and the teaching materials in Papiamentu, Dutch, English, Spanish and arithmetic. They also discussed overall organization and timetables and evaluation procedures. The teachers felt that working at the *Scol Multilingual* was a real challenge, as they were accustomed to the traditional

Dutch-only schools. The way in which the pupils readily responded to new knowledge and skills in their own language was considered as very positive by the teachers. Over the short period of the existence of SML, the pupils had become self-reliant learners, and were eager to learn, productive and creative.

The third group of respondents were all the 12 teachers of the two PSML schools in 2015, which by that time had already been in operation for three years. The survey showed that these SML teachers were very positive about the results of this innovation project, both in terms of the improved attitude towards learning and improved achievement levels of their students, as well as in terms of improvements in their own performance as teachers. However, they recommend that the Department of Education provide intensive training, guidance and support for them, involve the parents in PSML and disseminate more information about this important project to the community.

Chapter 5 is devoted to the findings of the survey of parents of pupils at the primary school level. The 1,115 respondents represented eight different districts; one school per district. The research question addressed by the survey was: *How do parents value the role of Papiamentu in Aruban education?* The objective of this survey was to examine the attitudes of parents with regard to the following topics: the PSML, the achievements of their children in Dutch language schools, Papiamentu in society, English in education, Papiamentu as official and national language, the role and the use of Papiamentu in society and in education. This survey demonstrated that the language background of the parents exerted a particularly strong influence on their attitudes. Although they had little information about PSML, most parents of all language groups, except the Dutch-speaking group, were extremely supportive regarding educational reform with Papiamentu as language of instruction, and they wanted the school of their children to be included in this project. What also became clear, was that the younger generations of immigrant families have accepted Papiamentu with open arms as their main or strong second language, which means that in many families a language shift had taken place in favour of Papiamentu. This survey also showed that parents eagerly wished to be involved in formal education, and suggested that the Department of Education could play a dynamic and important part in creating a platform where parents' voices can be heard.

In chapter 6 the prospects for Papiamentu in present-day society and in education are discussed. These prospects are quite favourable. What's lacking, is a proper language policy whose activities cover all four aspects of language planning. An official institute for language policy and planning is recommended as the agency which must initiate this very urgent process in Aruba. The thesis concludes by suggesting a structural model for the proposed institute.

List of abbreviations

ABC Islands	- The islands Aruba, Bonaire and Curaçao
APA	- Arubaanse Pedagogische Academie
APK	- Akademia Pegagógiko Kòrsou
ASW	- Algemene Sociale Wetenschappen
BICS	- Basic Interpersonal Communication Skills
CALP	- Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency
CBS	- Centraal Bureau Statistiek
CKV	- Cultureel Kunstzinnige Vorming
EPB	- Educacion Profesional Basico
EPI	- Educacion Profesional Intermedio
ETAO	- Economisch Touristisch en Administratief Onderwijs
FDA	- Fondo di Desaroyo Aruba
FPI	- Fundashon pa Planifikashon di Idioma
GLO-A	- Gewoon Lager Onderwijs-A
GLO-B	- Cewoon Lager Onderwijs-B
GP3	- Grupo Pa Promove Papiamento
HAVO	- Hoger Algemeen Vormend Onderwijs
HBS	- Hogere Burger School
IDILA	- Instituto di Lengua Arubiano
IPA	- Instituto Pedagogico Arubano
IKOL	- Interinsulair Kontakt Opleiding Leerkrachten
JP	- Joyce Pereira
LBO	- Lager Beroepsonderwijs
LPP	- Language Policy and Planning
MAO	- Middelbaar Administratief Onderwijs
MAVO	- Middelbaar Algemeen Vormend Onderwijs
MMS	- Middelbare Meisjes School
MTS	- Middelbare Technische School
MULO	- Meer Uitgebreid Lager Onderwijs
N&T	- Natuur & Techniek
NOP	- Nationaal Onderwijs Plan
PIP	- Prestige and Image Planning
PB	- Publicatieblad
PMI	- Plataforma Maneho di Idioma
PRIPEB	- Proyecto di Innovacion di Enseñansa Preparatorio y Enseñansa Basico
PSML	- Proyecto Multilingual
RNWO	- Radio Nederland Wereld Omroep
S&K	- Skol & Komunidat
SHA	- Stuurgroep Herstructurering Algemeen Vormend Onderwijs
SIMAR	- Sindicato di Maestro di Aruba
SKOA	- Stichting Katholiek Onderwijs Aruba
SML	- Scol Multilingual
SMOA	- Stichting Middelbaar Onderwijs Aruba
SSS-Islands	- The islands St. Maarten, St. Eustatius and Saba
UA	- University of Aruba

ULO	- Uitgebreid Lager Onderwijs
UNESCO	- United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNICEF	- United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund
UoC	- University of Curaçao
VLA	- Vereniging van Leerkrachten Aruba
VWO	- Voorbereidend Wetenschappelijk Onderwijs
WIC	- West India Company

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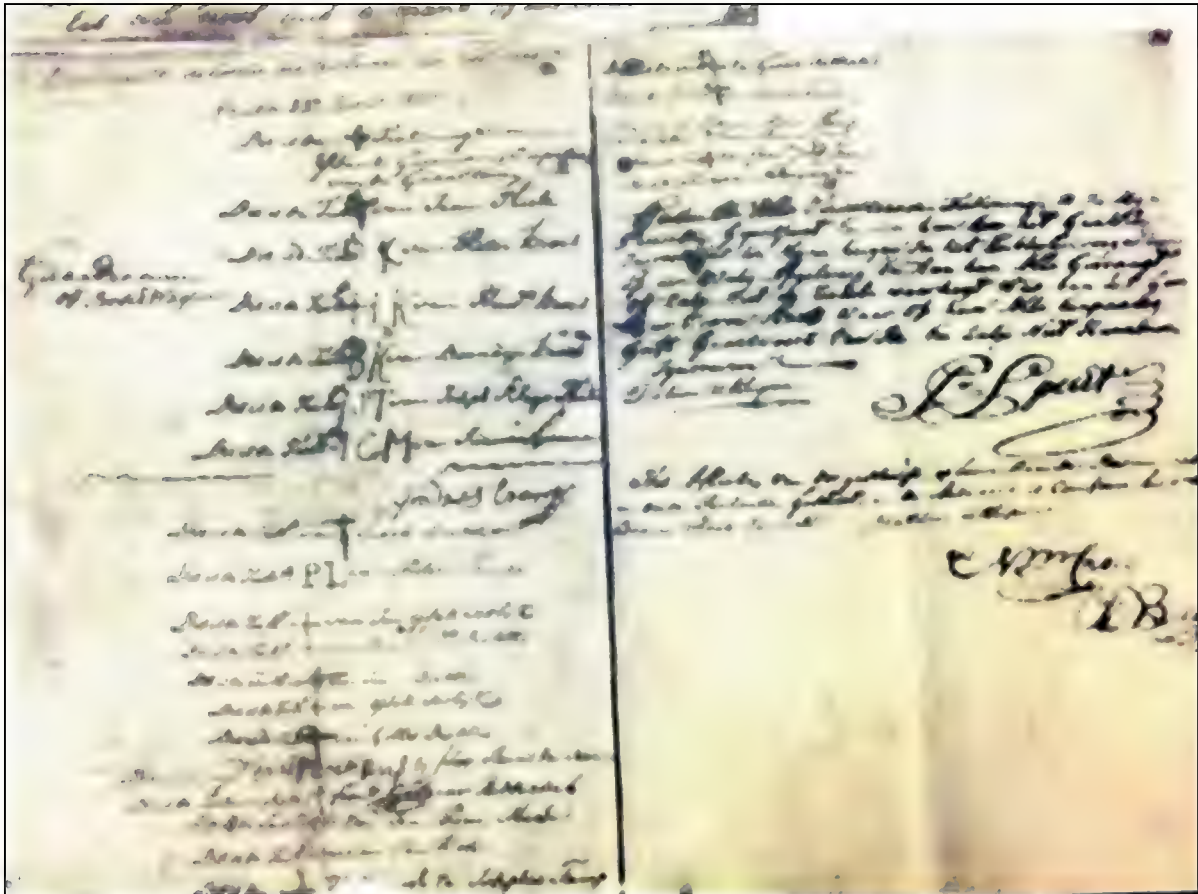
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Transcription of Letter of 21 Aruban Indians written in 1803⁹⁰

<p>1. Noos ta firma por la berdad, y para Serbir na teempoe qui 2. lo llega die moostee 3. qui des die tiempoe koe Señor B.G. Quant ta poner 4. na Serbisje die tera, Seemper noos ta teende coonta qui eel 5. ta maltrata noos comandeur pieter Specht pa toer 6. Soorto die koos y Seemper el dho Quant ta pre- 7. cura die entreponeel deen toer gobierno die coman- 8. deur, por Ees motibo noos ta Espriminta koe 9. Eel ta causa die toer disunion / asina koe a ofre- 10. se na teempoe die comandant Engles, A. Creagh 11. koe eel a habla koe comandant Engles, 12. ku noos Indiaan ta baay Lamanta contra 13. Engles / ariba die Ees falso tistimonio qui eel 14. a hasie contra noos, comandant Engles a baay 15. na kaas die comandeur kibra cañon die canpañia 16. nan roerpert, claba cañon, toema toer scopette y polber 17. y bira toer caion / die fortie Cargaar, pa deen die tera y pidie 18. Asistensie, na toer barco, oen mientira, koe 19. noenka tal koos no pasa na noos cabees, 20. tambien noos ta confesa, qui noos coman- 21. deur a precura Seemper na toer llegada 22. die barcasion Enemigo, die tira alarma 23. na Soe kaas, y tene boon guardia y Ron- 24. da toer anoche, y Seemper noos coman- 25. deur tabata hoento koe noos y koe oen 26. boon gobierno, no solamente na Ees caso</p>	<p>1. We sign for the truth, and to be able to serve where it 2. may be necessary 3. that from the time that Mister B.G. Quant is 4. put to service of the country, we always have 5. that he bothers our <i>commandeur</i> pieter Specht 6. for everything and the said Quant always 7. interferes in all governmental matters of the 8. <i>commandeur</i>, for that reason we experience that 9. he is the cause of all disagreement, like in 10. the time of the English Commander, A. Creagh, 11. when he told the English Commander 12. that we Indians will revolt against 13. the English / on this false testimony he has 14. passed over us, the English Commander went to 15. the <i>commandeur</i>'s house and destroyed the guns of the company 16. their carriage, nailed down the guns, took all the rifles and ammunition 17. and turned all the guns / from the fortress to the inland and requested 18. Assistance, of all the ships, a lie, which 19. never had occurred in our heads, 20. Also, we declare, that our <i>comman-</i> 21. <i>deur</i> always provided at all arrivals 22. of enemy ships for raising the alarm 23. at his house, standing guard well and doing 24. the rounds every night, and Always our <i>comman-</i> 25. <i>deur</i> was with us and with 26. a proper guidance, not only in that case</p>
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⁹⁰ Transcript version of Frank Martinus (1996), with revision of Adi Martis (2018); translation JP

<p>27. allie, mas na toer Sorto die gobierno kie 28. ta depende die comandeur, noos tabata 29. tenido abaaui die oen boon order, y koe moe- 30. choe boon hablar, Sin oesa die ningoen 31. maltrato, ni die palabra, menos di castigo,</p> <p>32. pa poor doena motibo die koorda, kie ta 33. oen omben tocado na Soe Sientier mas con- 34. trario, asta presente nos ta halla nos coman- 35. deur coemplido, na toer Soe rason y conver- 36. sasion y por Ser berdad noos ta firma 37. Ees die noos mismo mano ofresiendo nos 38. hoeramento delantie die trubunal die nos mayor 39. gobierno. 40. Aruba 22e junio 1803</p>	<p>27. but in all cases which 28. depend on the <i>commandeur</i>, we were 29. well commanded and nicely 30. addressed, without any 31. maltreatment, neither with words nor with punishment 32. to give us a reason to think, that he is 33. a man who was out of his mind. On 34. the contrary, till today we believe that our <i>comman-</i> 35. <i>deur</i> is always dedicated, in all his arguments and 36. conversations and for the truth we sign 37. this with our own hand presenting our 38. oath before the court of justice of our highest 39. government. 40. Aruba, June 22, 1803</p>
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APPENDIX A2 Letter of Mrs. Schlipken of 1912 to the president of the School Commission, October 1912

Na Excelente Señor
President di Schoolcomissie
Presenti

Resp: Señor.

Obliga' pa circunstancias, mi ta
biu' cerca Señor en siguiente kejo.

Na mñ. Acton di aña pasa mi a
manda pidi' lugá na school cerca cabes di school
Maduro pa mi joi mujer Antonia Hendrika, y mi a
haya pa contesta en no tin lugar e na principio di e aña
aki mi a bolbe haci e mea peticion y mi a bolbe haya
e mea contesta. For e da peticion nan aki a worde
haci na mi joi homber Federico. Pero como probablen-
te, ~~no~~ Maduro lo a ninga e acusacion aki, si en caso
e no tawata tin poder di haci, (lo ke mi no sé), pa es
motivo mi a pidi' na Señor Gilberto Strauss di porke
y pidi' un lugá na school pa e muchá, lo ke el a hac
pero desgraciadamente cu e meo resultado, pues meo
contestá el a haya —

Como mi por proba, en na principio
di aña taute en den curso di aña, Maduro a acepta
muchá nan school, den di nan hanta muchá en a wor-
de sei' foi school ^{di dinstro} como muchá malvado —; pues mi
ta duna e kejo aki oficialmente, con un celo en un
cu ~~depo~~ contra mi joi Maduro tin.

En penas mi ta pidi' na Sr. Pre-
sidente di tumo para mas pronto posible, a fin en un
por logra haya un lugá pa mi joi, pues mi no tin
otro school, cu mi por mande, y e muchá no por
lanta sin ningun Señansa —

fun. 2 avr 1912
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cu sentimiente di alta consideracion
mi ta firma, su abreviador.

Vinda M. Schlipken

A la Sr. Presidente di

Comision di School

Presente

P. D.

Mi ta tumá confianza di scribibi na un lugá di turá, pero
braz ta causa cu mi sá, ^{mi} cu lo por a splia mi mejor

Tale

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Transcription and translation of Letter of Mrs. Schlipken of 1912 to the president of the School Commission, October 1912

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. Na exelente Señor | 1. To the excellent gentleman |
| 2. President di Schoolcomissie | 2. Chairman of the School Committee |
| 3. Presente | 3. Here |
| 4. Resp. Señor | 4. Dear sir |
| 5. Obligá pa circunstancia, mi ta bin | 5. Forced by circumstances, I come |
| 6. cerca Señor ku siguiente kejo. | 6. to you Sir with the following complaint. |
| 7. Na October aña pasa mi a | 7. In ... October last year I did |
| 8. manda pidi lugá na school cerca cabez di school | 8. ask a place at the school at the school principal |
| 9. Maduro pa mi joi mi mujer Antonia Hendrika, y mi a | 9. Maduro for my daughter Antonia Hendrika, and I |
| 10. haya pa contesta cu no tin lugar: na principio di e aña | 10 got the answer that there is no place; in the beginning of this year |
| 11. aki mi a bolbe haci e mes peticion y mi a bolbe haya | 11. I made the same request again and again I got |
| 12. e mes contesta. Tur e dos peticion nan aki a wordu | 12. the same answer. I sent both requests with |
| 13. haci via mi joi mi homber Federico. Pero como probablen- | 13. my son Federico. But probably |
| 14. te, Maduro lo a ninga e acusacion aki, si en caso | 14. Maduro had denied this accusation, if in case |
| 15. e no tawata tin poder di hacié, (lo ke mi no sá), pa es | 15. he was not allowed to do it, (which I do not know), for that |
| 16. motivo mi a pidi na Señor Gilberto Arends di por ha | 16. reason I asked Mr. Gilberto Arends to |
| 17. pidi un lugá na school pa e mucha, lo ke el a haci | 17. request a place at the school for the child, which he had done |
| 18. pero desgraciadamente cu e mes resultado, pues mes | 18. but unfortunately with the same result, so the |
| 19. contesta el a haya - | 19. same answer he received - |
| 20. Como mi por proba, cu na principio | 20. Because I can prove, that in the beginning |
| 21. di aña tanto cu den curso di aña, Maduro a acepta | 21. of the year and also during the year, Maduro had accepted |
| 22. mucha nan school, den di nan hasta mucha cu a wor- | 22. children at the school, among them even children who had been |

23. de sacá foi school di Zuster como mucha malvado -; pesei mi	23. expelled from the school of the Nuns as bad children -; for that reason I
24. ta duna e kejo aki oficialmente, convencido cu un	24. lay this complaint officially, convinced that
25. cos contra mi joei Maduro tin.	25. Maduro has something against my daughter.
26. Cu pena mi ta pidi na Sr.	26. With sorrow I ask Mr.
27. Presidente di tuma paso mas pronto posible, a fin cu mi	27. President to take action as soon as possible, so I
28. por logra haya un lugá pa mi joei, pues mi no tin	28. can obtain a place for my daughter, so I do not have
29. otro school, cu mi por mandele, y e mucha no por	29. another school, that I can send her to, and the child cannot
30. lamta sin ningun Señanza –	30. grow up without any Education –
31. Cu sentimento di alta consideracion	31. With a feeling of high consideration
32. Mi ta firma, Su Servidor.	32. I sign, Yours Truly.
33. Viuda M. Schlipken	33. Widow M. Schlipken
34. Na Sr. Presidente di	34. to Mr. Chairman of
35. Commision di School	35. the School Commission
36. Presente	36. Here
37. P.S.	37. P.S.
38. Mi ta tuma confiansa di scribi na nos lenga di tera, paso-	38. I take the liberty to write in the language of our country be-
39. bra ta esun cu mi sá, y cu mi por a splica mi mejor.	39. cause it is the one I know, and in which I can explain better.
40. Vale -	40. Vale - Agree

APPENDIX B – Chapter 4

B1 Interviews and Conversations

Interviews

- No. 1: 02-2-2015 (WS320155) Gracy Garcia-Dijkhoff, Head Seccion di Desaroyo di Curiculo, DEA, educational specialist
- No. 2: 03-2-2015 (WS320157) Audrey Tromp-Wouters, Proyecto Idioma den enseñansa, linguist
- No. 3: 03-2-2015 (WS320158) Juan Maduro, Proyecto Idioma den Enseñansa, linguist
- No. 4: 20-2-2015 (WS320160) Régine Croes, Proyecto PSML, educational specialist
- No. 5: 10-3-2015 (WS320161) Comision di Enseñansa di Parlamento di Aruba
- No. 6: 22-5-2015 (WS320164) Annemarie Proveyer-Groot, director DEA, educational specialist
- No. 7: 15-12-2015 (WS320170) Merlynne Williams, IPA/PSML language researcher/teacher/teacher guide
- No. 8: 16-12-2015 (WS320171) Ava Thodé, director IPA, educational specialist
- No. 9: 26-07-2016 (e-mail corr.) Ramon Todd Dandaré, linguist, hispanist, Papiamentist

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Conversations

- No. 10: spontaneous conversation with young musician and composer – anonymous
- No. 11: spontaneous conversation with researcher Rosa Arends at Archivo Nacional Aruba

General questions

1. Con bo ta mira desaroyo di innovacion di enseñansa na Aruba?
2. Kico pa bo ta innovacion di enseñansa?
3. Kico segun bo a logra caba?
4. Kico segun bo falta ainda? 5. Tin suficiente atencion y sosten di parti di gobierno – tur e gobiernonan te awor a. pa enseñansa, b. pa e necesidad di innovacion di enseñansa?
6. Tin un vision y maneho politico pa realisa innovacion/desaroyo di enseñansa?

Specific questions

1. Kico ta funcion di bo departamento/instituto/seccion den henter e proceso di innovacion di enseñansa?
2. Kico ta bo funcion como profesional den henter e proceso di innovacion di enseñansa?
3. Con bo ta haya cu bo departamento/instituto/seccion ta funciona te awor?
4. Ki influencia bo departamento/instituto/seccion tabatin y tin riba desaroyo di esaki?

5. Y riba desaroyo di maneho di idioma?
6. Con bo por describi desaroyo di innovacion te awor?
7. Kico segun bo ta e obstaculonan den e proceso aki?
8. Kico ta e posibilidadnan di cual nos no ta probecha of ni ta probecha suficientemente?
9. Kico ta e problemanan legal, organisatorio, di personal, di vision, financiero cu bo ta mira?
10. Kico ta mara man di bo departamento/instituto/seccion?
11. Ki deseo bo departamento/instituto/seccion tin relacion cu su contribucion na desaroyo di un bon maneho di idioma?
12. Bo tin deseo personal?
- 13 Tin, segun bo, necesidad pa un instancia oficial y profesional pa Maneho y Planificacion di Idioma?
- 14 Kico bo ta mira como e tareanan principal di un instancia asina?

APPENDIX B2 Questionnaire of Survey Pre-SML

Survey Teachers Pre-SML

1. Perfil di informante						
a. Profesion / Funcion					
b. Sexo	1. <input type="checkbox"/> masculino	2. <input type="checkbox"/> femenino				
c. Aña di nacemento					
d. Pais di nacemento					
e. Nacionalidad	1. <input type="checkbox"/> Hulandes	2. <input type="checkbox"/> Otro	Cua?			
2. General tocante uzo di idioma (Tur maestro)						
	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	
	Papiamento	Hulandes	Ingles	Spaño	Otro - Cua	
1. Cua idioma bo ta considera bo prome idioma / idioma materno? Si bo ta bi- of multilingual (= tin dos of mas idioma materno), bo por marca tur e idioma concerni.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
2. Cua idioma bo ta considera parti di bo identidad?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
3. Cua ta e idioma cu bo ta domina banda di bo idioma materno?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
4. Den cua idioma bo ta sinti bo mas confortabel?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.
	excelente	bon	ampliamente suficiente	suficiente	dudoso	insuficiente
5. Con bo ta domina Papiamento?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
6. Con bo ta domina Hulandes?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
7. Con bo ta domina Ingles?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
8. Con bo ta domina Spaño?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
9. Con bo ta domina idioma	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.
	Papiamento	Hulandes	Ingles	Spaño	Otro - Cua	No ta aplicabel
10. Cua idioma bo ta papia mas cu tur otro?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
11. Cua idioma bo ta papia menos cu tur otro?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
12. Cua idioma bo ta gusta mas?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
13. Cua idioma bo ta gusta menos?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
14. Den cua idioma bo ta expresa bo mes miho ora bo ta papia?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
15. Den cua idioma bo tin mas problema pa expresa bo mes ora bo ta papia?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
16. Den cua idioma bo ta skirbi cu mas facilidad?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
17. Den cua idioma bo ta skirbi cu menos facilidad?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
18. Den cua idioma bo ta lesa cu mas facilidad?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.
	Papiamento	Hulandes	Ingles	Spaño	Otro - Cua	No ta aplicabel
19. Den cua idioma bo ta lesa cu menos facilidad?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
20. Marca di cua idioma lo bo kier sigui curso.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
21. Den cua idioma bo ta pensa?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

3. Tocante Papiamento						
	1	2	3	4	5	6
22. Papiamento ta idioma oficial?	<input type="checkbox"/> si	<input type="checkbox"/> mi ta kere	<input type="checkbox"/> mi no ta kere	<input type="checkbox"/> No	<input type="checkbox"/> mi no sa	
23. Kico Papiamento ta segun bo?	<input type="checkbox"/> idioma	<input type="checkbox"/> dialecto	<input type="checkbox"/> Spaño kibra	<input type="checkbox"/> Un mescla	<input type="checkbox"/> No ta idioma	<input type="checkbox"/> Mi no sa
24. Bo ta haya cu Papiamento mester ta idioma di instruccion na scol basico?	<input type="checkbox"/> sigur cu si	<input type="checkbox"/> den algun caso si	<input type="checkbox"/> mi no ta kere	<input type="checkbox"/> No	<input type="checkbox"/>	
25. E maestronan tabata uza Papiamento den les tempo cu bo tabata bay scol?	<input type="checkbox"/> nunca	<input type="checkbox"/> masha poco biaha	<input type="checkbox"/> de bes en cuando	<input type="checkbox"/> tin biaha	<input type="checkbox"/> casi semper	<input type="checkbox"/> tur ora
26. Nan a yega di prohibi bo di papia Papiamento?	<input type="checkbox"/> si, como mucha	<input type="checkbox"/> si, como adulto	<input type="checkbox"/> mi no ta kere	<input type="checkbox"/> no	<input type="checkbox"/>	
27. Ken a yega di prohibi bo di papia Papiamento?	<input type="checkbox"/> mayor	<input type="checkbox"/> maestro	<input type="checkbox"/> doño di trabou	<input type="checkbox"/> colega	<input type="checkbox"/> pareha	<input type="checkbox"/>
28. Si ta si, na unda nan a yega di prohibi bo di papia Papiamento?	<input type="checkbox"/> na cas	<input type="checkbox"/> na scol	<input type="checkbox"/> durante mi estudio	<input type="checkbox"/> na trabou	<input type="checkbox"/> na luga publico	<input type="checkbox"/> . ..
29. Con bo ta haya e prohibicion di papia Papiamento?	<input type="checkbox"/> bon	<input type="checkbox"/> normal	<input type="checkbox"/> straño	<input type="checkbox"/> malo	<input type="checkbox"/>	
30. Kico por haci pa duna mas y miho sosten y apoyo na Papiamento?						
31. Ken / Cua ta e instancia(nan) cu lo mester sostene y promociona Papiamento?	<input type="checkbox"/> gobierno	<input type="checkbox"/> Dep. di Enseñansa	<input type="checkbox"/> Dep. di Cultura	<input type="checkbox"/> e medionan di comunicacion	<input type="checkbox"/> scol	<input type="checkbox"/> NGO
32. Bo lo kier sigui curso di Papiamento?	<input type="checkbox"/> si	<input type="checkbox"/> ta depende di e oferta	<input type="checkbox"/> kisas	<input type="checkbox"/> no	<input type="checkbox"/>	
33. Ki sorto di curso lo bo kier sigui?	<input type="checkbox"/> ortografia	<input type="checkbox"/> gramatica	<input type="checkbox"/> literatura	<input type="checkbox"/> lesamento	<input type="checkbox"/> skirbimento	<input type="checkbox"/> combersacion
4. Ponencia tocante Papiamento den comunidad						
	1. completamente di acuerdo	2. un poco di acuerdo	3. no ta haci diferencia pa mi	4. parcialmente no di acuerdo	5. totalmente no di acuerdo	6. Motiva bo contesta
34. Ta lamentabel si Papiamento mester disparte.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
35. Mester promove Papiamento den comunidad, p.e. via prensa, charla, campaña special.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
	1. completamente di acuerdo	2. un poco di acuerdo	3. no ta haci diferencia pa mi	4. parcialmente no di acuerdo	5. totalmente no di acuerdo	6. Motiva bo contesta
36. Nos mester ta orguyoso di Papiamento como idioma oficial y nacional di Aruba.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
37. Papiamento mester forma parti di e celebracion di Dia Nacional di Himno y Bandera, 18 di maart.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
38. Papiamento ta importante pa economia di Aruba.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
39. Mester uza mas Papiamento den comercio y turismo.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
5. Ponencia tocante Papiamento den educacion						
40. Mi gusta duna les na Papiamento y esey ta bay bon.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
41. Papiamento mester ta idioma di instruccion na scol basico.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
42. Papiamento mester ta idioma di instruccion den scol secundario.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	

43. Papiamento mester ta idioma di instruccion den enseñansa intermedio y superior.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
44. Mi gusta duna Papiamento como Materia y esey ta bay bon.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
45. Papiamento mester ta materia na scol basico.						
46. Papiamento mester ta materia na scol secundario.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
47. Den enseñansa intermedio (EPI) y superior (IPA y UA) tambe Papiamento mester ta materia.						
48. Papiamento ta stroba siñamento di Hulandes.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
49. Tin un relacion importante entre idioma di cas y exito na scol.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
50. Compara cu Hulandes, Ingles of Spaño, bo no por bisa tur cos na Papiamento.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
51. Si na scol ta duna splicacion na Papiamento, e muchanan ta compronde e materia miho.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
6. Ponencia tocante Hulandes den educacion						
52. Con bo ta sinti bo dunando les na Hulandes?	<input type="checkbox"/> hopi agradabel	<input type="checkbox"/> agradabel	<input type="checkbox"/> normal	<input type="checkbox"/> insigur	<input type="checkbox"/> incomodo	<input type="checkbox"/> innatural
53. Con bo ta sinti bo splicando of dunando les na Papiamento?	<input type="checkbox"/> hopi agradabel	<input type="checkbox"/> agradabel	<input type="checkbox"/> normal	<input type="checkbox"/> insigur	<input type="checkbox"/> incomodo	<input type="checkbox"/> innatural
54. Cu cua aspecto di dunamento di les na Hulandes bo tin (mas) dificultad como maestro?	<input type="checkbox"/> splicacion di materia	<input type="checkbox"/> comunicacion	<input type="checkbox"/> evaluacion	<input type="checkbox"/> diferenciacion	<input type="checkbox"/> adaptacion di materia	<input type="checkbox"/> otro
55. Cu cua aspecto di e lesnan e alumnonan tin (mas) dificultad?	<input type="checkbox"/> compronde	<input type="checkbox"/> papia, haci pregunta, combersa	<input type="checkbox"/> lesamento tecnico	<input type="checkbox"/> lesamento comprensivo	<input type="checkbox"/> skirbimento productivo y creativo	<input type="checkbox"/> otro
56. Bo ta prefera i sigui duna les na Hulandes?	<input type="checkbox"/> sigur cu si	<input type="checkbox"/> ta depende di ley	<input type="checkbox"/> no	<input type="checkbox"/>		
57. Bo lo prefera di duna les na Papiamento?	<input type="checkbox"/> sigur cu si	<input type="checkbox"/> ta depende di ley	<input type="checkbox"/> no	<input type="checkbox"/>		
58. Bo sa uza Papiamento pa splica e alumnonan algo, pa nan compronde miho?	<input type="checkbox"/> tur ora	<input type="checkbox"/> hopi biaha	<input type="checkbox"/> de bes en cuando	<input type="checkbox"/> nunca	<input type="checkbox"/>	
59. Bo sa duna les completamente na Papiamento?	<input type="checkbox"/> tur ora	<input type="checkbox"/> hopi biaha	<input type="checkbox"/> de bes en cuando	<input type="checkbox"/> nunca	<input type="checkbox"/>	
60. Con bo comunicacion cu e muchanan ta na Hulandes?	<input type="checkbox"/> hopi bon	<input type="checkbox"/> facil	<input type="checkbox"/> regular	<input type="checkbox"/> poco dificil	<input type="checkbox"/> hopi difigil	<input type="checkbox"/>
7. Tur maestro (Preparatorio y Basico) tocante SML						
61. Bo tin informacion tocante e Proyecto Scol Multilingual?	<input type="checkbox"/> hopi	<input type="checkbox"/> bastante	<input type="checkbox"/> poco	<input type="checkbox"/> nada	<input type="checkbox"/> otro	<input type="checkbox"/>
61a. Argumenta bo contesta.						
62. Bo ta di acuerdo cu e idea di scol Multilingual, specialmente relaciona cu e papel di e idioma Hulandes, Ingles y Spaño den e programa?	<input type="checkbox"/> completamente di acuerdo	<input type="checkbox"/> di acuerdo	<input type="checkbox"/> mi ta indiferente	<input type="checkbox"/> mi no ta di acuerdo	<input type="checkbox"/> mi no tin opinion	
62a. Motiva bo contesta.						
63. Bo ta kere cu ta un bon idea pa inclui scol secundario den e proyecto di scol multilingual ?	<input type="checkbox"/> sigur cu si	<input type="checkbox"/> kisas	<input type="checkbox"/> no	<input type="checkbox"/> mi no tin opinion	<input type="checkbox"/> otro	

63a. Motiva bo contesta.						
64. Bo ta kere cu e proyecto Scol Multilingual por ta exitoso?	<input type="checkbox"/> sigur cu si	<input type="checkbox"/> Kisas si	<input type="checkbox"/> parcialmente	<input type="checkbox"/> mi no ta kere	<input type="checkbox"/> no	<input type="checkbox"/> mi no tin opinion
64a. Motiva bo contesta.						
65. Si bo scol no ta den e proyecto Scol Multilingual, bo ta desea pa bo scol drenta den e proyecto den e proyecto aki?	<input type="checkbox"/> no	<input type="checkbox"/> si				
65a. Motiva bo contesta.						
66. Si bo scol ta den e proyecto Scol Multilingual, bo ta desea di keda den e proyecto?	<input type="checkbox"/> no	<input type="checkbox"/> si	<input type="checkbox"/> no ta aplicabel			
66a. Motiva bo contesta.						
67. Con bo ta haya e cursonan di recapitacion di Papiamento?	<input type="checkbox"/> excelente	<input type="checkbox"/> bon	<input type="checkbox"/> basta bon	<input type="checkbox"/> regular	<input type="checkbox"/> insuficiente	<input type="checkbox"/> malo
67a. Motiva bo contesta.						
68. Ki sugerencia y deseo bo tin relaciona cu e cursonan aki?						
69. Ki sugerencia y deseo bo tin pa innovacion di enseñansa y pa introduccion di Papiamento como idioma di instruccion y como materia den enseñansa?						

APPENDIX B3 Open questions for interview Focus group

The open questions of the interview and the follow-up questions focused on the following topics.

- a. How is your relationship with your colleagues, the parents, the coaches etc.?
- b. What is your experience with the Papiamento lessons and materials?
- c. What is your experience with the Mathematics lessons and the materials?
- d. What is your experience with the Dutch lessons and materials?
- e. What is your experience with the English and Spanish lessons and materials?
- f. What is your opinion about the materials which are available, the timetable, and the evaluation procedures?
- g. What are your recommendations related to this topics? Do you have advices?

APPENDIX B4 Questionnaire of Survey SML 2015

Dato personal di maestro									
1	Sexo	F			M				
2	Edad								
3	Cantidad di aña trahando como maestro di scol								
4	Cantidad di aña cu a traha den e sistema tradicional Hulandes								
5	E aña(nan) escolar trahando den Scol Multilingual (SML)	'14-'15	'13-'14	'12-'13					
6	Den cua klas di SML bo ta trahando actualmente?	1	2	3					
7	Bo a traha den un otro klas di SML tambe? Den cua?	Ningun otro	1	2					
8	Idioma materno (bo por indica mas cu un idioma)	Pap	Hul	Ing	Sp	Otro			
Dato di e alumnonan den bo klas actual									
9	Klas actual	1	2			3			
10	Cantidad segun sexo di alumno	F:				M:			
11	Edad di alumno	Entre..... y.....aña							
12	Idioma di cas →	Pap.	Sp.	Hul.	Ing.	Chi.	Otro:	Otro:	Otro:
	Cantidad di cada idioma →								
Si tin alumno cu mas cu un idioma di cas por indica esey aki.									
Argumentacion pa traha na SML									
13	Bo tabata bon na haltura di e proyecto SML prome cu bo a bay traha ey nan?	si			no		un poco so		
14	Bo mes a scoge pa traha na SML?	Si -Sigui cu pregunta 10-			No -Sigui cu pregunta 11-				
15	Motibo pa scoge pa traha na SML → Pone un X tras di loke ta conta pa bo. <u>Por marca mas cu un motibo.</u> Pone acerca loke bo ta haya necesario.								
15.1	Pasobra a puntra mi y pa mi esaki ta un reto interesante.								
15.2	Tabatin vacatura y mi a solicita. Tabata mi propio decision.								
15.3	Mi a cansa / tabata fada di scol tradicional na Hulandes.								
15.4	Mi kier a purba un sistema nobo di enseñansa.								
15.5	Mi kier a traha cu Papiamento.								
15.6	Mi ta convenci cu e scol aki ta miho, como cu e ta uza Papiamento como idioma di instruccion, e idioma di mayoria di e alumnonan.								
15.7	Mi ta convenci cu e scol aki ta mas na favor di nos alumnonan.								
15.8	Mi ta haya innovacion di nos enseñansa necesario y mi kier contribui.								
15.9	Mi a caba di gradua y mi a solicita pa traha aki, pasobra e scol aki ta cuadra cu mi ideanan.								
15.10	Mi dominio di Papiamento ta miho cu mi dominio di Hulandes.								
15.11									
15.12									
15.13									

16	No tabata mi propio escohenca → Pone un X tras di loke ta conta pa bo. Por marca mas cu un motibo. Pone acerca loke bo ta haya necesario.	
16.1	Directiva di scol a pone mi eynan. No tabata mi propio decision.	
16.2	Directiva a puntra mi, pasobra nan tabata haya cu mi por / sa cu mi lo kier.	
16.3	Mi a caba di gradua y ta aki mi a haya trabou.	
16.4	Mi tabata traha caba na e scol aki ora el a bira SML. Mi a djis sigui cu e cambio.	
16.5	Mi a tuma e klas, aunke mi no tabata di acuerdo cu Papiamento como idioma di instruccion. Ainda mi no ta convenci.	
16.6	Mi a tuma e klas, aunke mi no tabata di acuerdo cu Papiamento como idioma di instruccion. Pero awor mi ta gusta y mi ta convenci cu e sistema aki ta niho.	
16.7		
16.8		
16.9		

Por pone mas punto y of comentario akibou, si bo ta haya esey necesario.

Pa e siguiente parti ta uza un scala di 5:

CA = Completamente di Acuerto

DA = Di Acuerto

NE = Neutral, ni di acuerdo, ni no di acuerdo

NA = No di Acuerto

CNA = Completamente No di Acuerto

Mi experiencia na SML vs scol tradicional na Hulandes

		CA	DA	NE	NA	CNA
17	Mi ta sinti mi mas comodo dunando les na SML cu na un scol tradicional					
18	Mi ta sinti mi bon prepara pa duna les na SML.					
19	Mi ta traha cu mas placer na SML cu na e scol tradicional.					
20	Duna les na e scol aki ta mas satisfactorio cu mi a kere.					
21	Den e scol aki e alumno ta central; den e scol tradicional esaki no ta asina.					
22	E lesnan ta bay mas facil, pasobra e alumnonan ta compronde tur cos mas lihe.					
23	E lesnan na Papiamento ta mas comunicativo. (intercambio natural)					
24	E alumno ta sigui e lesnan cu mas placer awor cu den e scol tradicional..					
25	Ta mas facil pa detecta progreso y monitorea progreso cerca e alumno.					
26	Mi tabata sinti mi mas sigur na e scol tradicional.					
27	Progreso y desaroyo di e alumno ta notable den SML, mas cu den e scol tradicional.					
28	Menos alumno ta keda sinta den SML.					
29	E muchanan ta activo y ta tripi di trece nan opinion dilanti; den scol tradicional nan no tabata por haci esaki.					

Preparacion / Conocemento/ Competencia

		CA	DA	NE	NA	CNA
30	Mi tin un bon dominio di Papiamento.					
31	Mi tin un bon dominio di Hulandes.					
32	Mi dominio di Papiamento ta miho cu mi dominio di Hulandes.					
33	Mi dominio di Hulandes ta miho cu mi dominio di Papiamento.					

34	Mi mes ta sigui desaroya mi dominio y conocimiento di Papiamento.					
35	Mi preparacion pa duna les na Papiamento ta suficiente.					
36	Mi preparacion pa duna les di Papiamento ta suficiente.					
37	Mi preparacion pa duna les di Hulandes como idioma stranhero ta suficiente.					
38	Matematica na Papiamento no ta problema pa mi.					
39	Mi ta bon na haltura di e ideanan tras di SML. (vision, meta, didactica etc)					
40	Mi por duna otro hende un bon splicacion di e proyecto SML.					
Evaluacion						
41	E alumno gusta Lesamento na Papiamento.					
42	E alumno gusta Skirbimento na Papiamento.					
43	E alumno gusta Matematica na Papiamento..					
44	E alumno gusta les di Hulandes (como materia, idioma stranhero)					
45	E alumno gusta les di Ingles (como materia, idioma stranhero)					
46	E alumno gusta les di Spaño (como materia, idioma stranhero)					
47	Nos como maestro di SML ta haya suficiente guia y sosten.					
48	Mi mester di mas capacitacion y recapitacion pa funciona miho.					
		CA	DA	NE	NA	CNA
49	SML merece di sigui desaroya y keda implementa den tur scol primario.					
50	Mi preparacion pa duna les na SML por ta mas amplio y profundo.					
51	E alumno por comunica, expresa pensamiento, haci pregunta, rasona .					
52	E mayoran ta bon informa tocante SML.					
53	E mayoran ta satisfecho cu resultado di nan yiu.					
54	E mayoran tin participacion den desaroyo di nan yiu y di SML.					
55	Mi ta satisfecho cu e material di Papiamento					
56	Mi ta satisfecho cu e material di Hulandes.					
57	SML ta conoci den comunidad.					
Perspectiva						
58	Tur scol por adopta di awor caba e sistema di SML.					
59	Nos maestronan ta prepara pa drenta den e proyecto di SML.					
60	IPA ta cla pa prepara maestro pa e innovacion aki.					
61	Departamento di Enseñansa por carga e innovacion aki.					
62	Mester sigui cu e sistema di SML den enseñansa secundario.					
63	Henter comunidad lo beneficia di e sistema di SML.					
64	SML lo proba cu Papiamento como idioma di instruccion ta un bon decision.					
65	SML lo proba cu innovacion di enseñansa ta necesario y posibel.					
66	Papiamento como idioma di instruccion te klas 4 of te klas 6?	Klas 4		Klas 6		
67. Por pone mas punto y of comentario akibou, si bo ta haya esey necesario.						
68. Por favor, formula un of mas recomendacion.						

APPENDIX C – Chapter 5

Appendix C1 Questionnaire of Survey Parents 2016

A. Dato personal di mayor y yiu

Por favor, marca un cruz na e contesta corecto y yena e fecha na 2 y 3. Ta importante y necesario pa Señor(a) yena tur 12 pregunta. Tin algun splicacion den e carta cu ta compaña e encuesta aki.

<p>01. Mayor – relacion cu yiu: mama tata wela/o tutor otro <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>Fecha di nacemento día -- luna -- aña</p> <p>02. di mayor <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/></p> <p>03. di yiu <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/></p> <p>04. Estudio mas halto di mayor: <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> sb lbo m h v mbo hbo wo</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Den e carta, na punto 4, tin splicacion di e abreviacionnan aki. 	<p>Homber Muhe 05. Sexo di mayor <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>Homber Muhe 06. Sexo di yiu <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>PSML no-PSML 07. Yiu ta na scol <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>1 2 3 4 5 6 08. Klas <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Si tin mas yiu na scol, scohe esun den e klas mas halto di scol basico. Si tin yiu cu ta den scol di PSML, scohe e yiu aki. Na 10, 11 y 12 por yena mas cu un idioma, si esey ta aplicabel. <p style="text-align: center;">+</p>	<p>09. E yiu a yega di keda sinta: 0x 1x 2x 3x otro <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> </p> <p>Idioma materno: 10. di mayor 11. di yiu</p> <p>Papiamento <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> Hulandes <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> Ingles <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> Spaño <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> Otro idioma <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>12. Otro idioma cu mayor ta domina: Papiamento <input type="checkbox"/> Hulandes <input type="checkbox"/> Ingles <input type="checkbox"/> Spaño <input type="checkbox"/> Otro idioma <input type="checkbox"/></p>
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B. Ponencia tocante Idioma y Enseñansa.

Por favor, marca un cruz na cada ponencia na e grado cu ta coresponde cu Señor(a) su opinion. Ta importante y necesario pa Señor(a) yena Señor(a) su opinion na tur ponencia.

	Totamente no di acuerdo 1	Parcialmente no di acuerdo 2	Neutral 3	Parcialmente di acuerdo 4	Totamente di acuerdo 5
13. Ta lamentabel si Papiamento mester desaparece.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
14. Mester promove Papiamento den comunidad, p.e. via prensa, charla y campaña special.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
15. Nos mester ta orguyoso di Papiamento como idioma oficial y nacional di Aruba.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
16. Papiamento mester ta parti di celebracion di Dia di Himno y Bandera.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
17. Papiamento ta vital pa identidad y existencia di pueblo Arubiano.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
18. Papiamento ta importante pa economia di Aruba.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
19. Mester uza Papiamento mas den comercio, turismo, propaganda.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
20. Si tin les di Papiamento den mi barío, mi lo inscribi sigur.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
21. Papiamento mester ta materia den scol primario.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

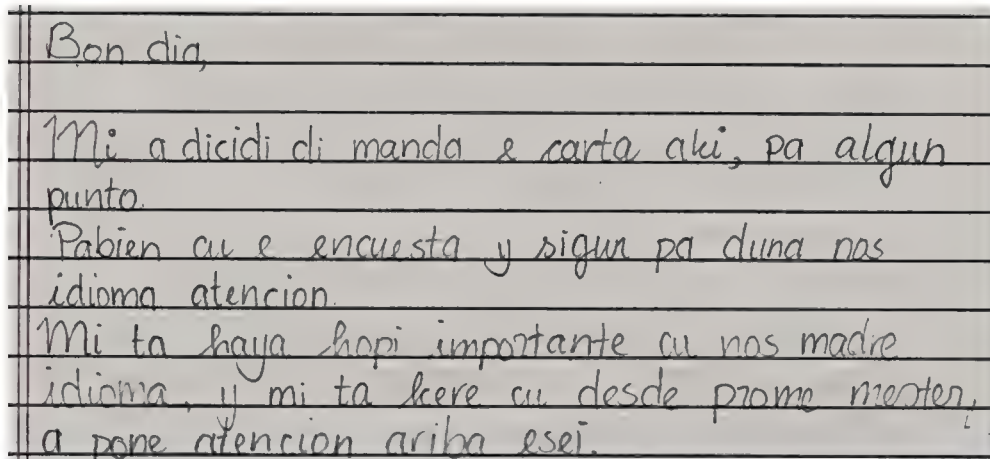
	Totalmente no di acuerdo 1	Parcialmente no di acuerdo 2	Neutral 3	Parcialmente di acuerdo 4	Totalmente di acuerdo 5
22. Papiamento mester ta idioma di instruccion den scol primario.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
23. Ingles mester ta idioma di instruccion den scol primario.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
24. Papiamento mester ta materia den scol secundario.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
25. Papiamento mester ta idioma di instruccion den scol secundario.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
26. Hulandes mester ta idioma di instruccion den scol secundario.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
27. Ingles mester ta idioma di instruccion den scol secundario.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
28. Papiamento ta stroba siñamento di Hulandes.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
29. Bo no por bisa tur cos na Papiamento, compara cu Hulandes, Ingles of Spaño.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
30. Si na scol ta duna splicacion na Papiamento, e alumno ta compronde e materia mihó.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
31. Mi tin suficiente informacion tocante Scol Multilingual.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
32. Mi ta di acuerdo cu e ideanan di Scol Multilingual.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
33. Mi kier pa e scol di mi yiu ta den e proyecto Scol Multilingual.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
34. Mi ta kere cu Scol Multilingual lo ta exitoso.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
35. Lo ta un bon idea pa scol secundario tambe ta forma parti di e proyecto Scol Multilingual.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
36. Scol Multilingual ta respeta e derecho di mucha pa haya les den su propio idioma.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
37. Mi yiu ta haya e tareanan oral na Hulandes masha difícil. +	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
38. Mi yiu ta haya cu ta masha difícil pa compronde e lesnan na Hulandes.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
39. Mi yiu ta haya lesamento tecnico (AVI) na Hulandes masha difícil.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
40. Mi yiu ta haya lesamento comprensivo (lesa y compronde) na Hulandes masha difícil.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
41. Mi yiu ta haya skirbimento creativo na Hulandes masha difícil.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
42. Maestro/a di mi yiu sa uza Papiamento pa splica parti di les cu e muchanan no ta compronde.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
43. Mi yiu ta haya bijles pa Hulandes of otro materia.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
44. Papiamento ta na peliger si e no dreña enseñansa.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
45. Mescla Papiamento cu palabra of formulacion Hulandes y/of Ingles ora di papia of skirbi ta normal	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
46. Papiamento ta importante pa integracion di e inmigrante den comunidad Arubiano.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
47. Ta importante pa tur miembro di comunidad domina Aruba su idioma oficial y nacional Papiamento	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
48. Tur miembro di comunidad mester duna Papiamento su balor y yuda promov'e.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Appendix C2 Questionnaire of Survey Parent 2016 with the scores in percentages

	Totalmente no di acuerdo 1	Parcialmente no di acuerdo 2	Neutral 3	Parcialmente di acuerdo 4	Totalmente di acuerdo 5
13. Ta lamentabel si Papiamento mester desapare.	13.7	2.9	7.5	7.6	68.3
14. Mester promove Papiamento den comunidad, p.e. via prensa, charla y campaña special.	1.4	1.7	10.2	14.7	72.0
15. Nos mester ta orguyoso di Papiamento como idioma oficial y nacional di Aruba.	1.7	0.9	4.6	7.3	85.4
16. Papiamento mester ta parti di celebracion di Dia di Himno y Bandera.	1.7	0.8	5.6	7.3	84.5
17. Papiamento ta vital pa identidad y existencia di pueblo Arubiano.	1.5	1.0	6.8	10.6	80.2
18. Papiamento ta importante pa economia di Aruba.	7.4	9.7	27.6	21.0	34.3
19. Mester uza Papiamento mas den comercio, turismo, propaganda.	5.3	9.5	24.1	22.5	38.5
20. Si tin les di Papiamento den mi barío, mi lo inscribi sigur.	8.0	5.0	28.2	17.1	41.7
21. Papiamento mester ta materia den scol primario.	5.2	5.1	15.0	18.5	56.2
22. Papiamento mester ta idioma di instruccion den scol primario.	10.6	9.9	16.8	19.7	43.0
23. Ingles mester ta idioma di instruccion den scol primario.	5.2	5.1	15.0	18.5	56.2
24. Papiamento mester ta materia den scol secundario.	5.7	6.8	18.3	22.2	47.0
25. Papiamento mester ta idioma di instruccion den scol secundario.	16.4	11.1	23.1	24.0	25.4
26. Hulandes mester ta idioma di instruccion den scol secundario.	4.4	5.1	15.1	28.3	47.1
27. Ingles mester ta idioma di instruccion den scol secundario.	16.1	12.2	20.6	24.7	26.3
28. Papiamento ta stroba siñamento di Hulandes.	10.6	11.5	18.3	18.5	41.1
29. Bo no por bisa tur cos na Papiamento, compara cu Hulandes, Ingles of Spaño.	19.6	11.8	26.7	19.8	22.1
30. Si na scol ta duna splicacion na Papiamento, e alumno ta compronde e materia miho.	4.5	5.2	16.6	22.3	51.5
31. Mi tin suficiente informacion tocante Scol Multilingual.	16.9	13.8	29.1	19.2	21.0
32. Mi ta di acuerdo cu e ideanan di Scol Multilingual.	6.2	6.4	28.0	18.5	40.9
33. Mi kier pa e scol di mi yiu ta den e proyecto Scol Multilingual.	6.7	3.9	21.9	16.0	51.6
34. Mi ta kere cu Scol Multilingual lo ta exitoso.	4.4	4.0	25.9	15.5	50.2
35. Lo ta un bon idea pa scol secundario tambe ta forma parti di e proyecto Scol Multilingual.	9.0	4.8	22.7	16.9	46.5
36. Scol Multilingual ta respeta e derecho di mucha pa haya les den su propio idioma.	5.1	5.0	31.7	15.9	42.3
37. Mi yiu ta haya e tareanan oral na Hulandes masha dificil.	22.4	16.7	24.5	21.9	14.5
38. Mi yiu ta haya cu ta masha dificil pa compronde e lesnan na Hulandes.	25.2	18.3	22.4	20.7	13.5
39. Mi yiu ta haya lesamento tecnico (AVI) na Hulandes masha dificil.	27.6	17.9	25.7	16.2	12.6
40. Mi yiu ta haya lesamento comprensivo (lesa y compronde) na Hulandes masha dificil.	23.4	20.8	23.2	13.7	12.9
41. Mi yiu ta haya skirbimento creativo na Hulandes	22.9	19.4	28.1	18.4	11.1

masha dificil.					
42. Maestro/a di mi yiu sa uza Papiamento pa splica parti di les cu e muchanan no ta compronde.	7.8	5.6	25.0	17.6	43.9
43. Mi yiu ta haya bijles pa Hulandes of otro materia.	50.5	7.3	18.7	5.2	18.3
44. Papiamento ta na peliger si e no dreña enseñansa.	15.1	8.5	21.3	14.1	41.0
45. Mescla Papiamento cu palabra of formulacion Hulandes y/of Ingles ora di papia of skirbi ta normal	23.0	12.9	28.0	16.1	20.0
46. Papiamento ta importante pa integracion di e inmigrante den comunidad Arubiano.	1.4	2.1	10.0	13.1	73.5
47. Ta importante pa tur miembro di comunidad domina Aruba su idioma oficial y nacional Papiamento	1.3	1.5	6.3	9.9	81.0
48. Tur miembro di comunidad mester duna Papiamento su balor y yuda promov'e.	0.9	0.8	7.4	8.8	82.1

C3 A spontaneous letter of a parent



Bon dia,
Mi a dicidi di manda e carta aki, pa algun
punto.
Pabien cu e encuesta y sigui pa duna nos
idioma atencion.
Mi ta haya hopi importante cu nos madre
idioma, y mi ta keere cu desde prome mester,
a pone atencion ariba esei.

Transcription of letter of parent

Good day

I have decided to send this letter for a few reasons. Congratulations on this questionnaire and certainly to give our language attention. I think it's very important for our mother tongue, and I believe that attention should have been paid to this before.

Appendix C4 Cross tabulations

Table C4.1 Mother tongue of parent I agree with the ideas of the Multilingual School

Mother tongue of parent	I agree with the ideas of the Multilingual School.					Total
	Totally disagree	Partly disagree	Neutral	Partly agree	Totally agree	
Papiamento	5.6%	7.3%	27.8%	21.1%	38.3%	100.0%
Dutch	20.5%	17.9%	23.1%	12.8%	25.6%	100.0%
English	8.7%	13.0%	34.8%	13.0%	30.4%	100.0%
Spanish	5.1%	5.1%	21.3%	12.2%	56.3%	100.0%
Other	3.0%	6.1%	39.4%	18.2%	33.3%	100.0%
Multilingual	6.7%	2.6%	32.0%	18.6%	40.2%	100.0%
Total n=1079	6.2%	6.5%	27.7%	18.4%	41.1%	100.0%

Table C4.2 Mother tongue of parent I want the school of my child to be in the Multilingual School Project

Mother tongue of parent	I want the school of my child to be in the Multilingual School Project.					Total
	Totally disagree	Partly disagree	Neutral	Partly agree	Totally agree	
Papiamento	7.2%	4.9%	20.8%	16.8%	50.3%	100.0%
Dutch	25.6%	7.7%	20.5%	20.5%	25.6%	100.0%
English	8.7%	13.0%	4.3%	34.8%	39.1%	100.0%
Spanish	3.5%	1.5%	17.4%	9.5%	68.2%	100.0%
Other	.0%	.0%	39.4%	18.2%	42.4%	100.0%
Multilingual	5.6%	2.0%	27.9%	16.2%	48.2%	100.0%
Total n=1088	6.7%	3.9%	21.7%	15.9%	51.8%	100.0%

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Table C4.3 Mother tongue of parent I think that the Multilingual School will be successful

Mother tongue of parent	I think that the Multilingual School will be successful.					Total
	Totally disagree	Partly disagree	Neutral	Partly agree	Totally agree	
Papiamento	3.8%	3.8%	26.0%	17.6%	48.8%	100.0%
Dutch	20.5%	10.3%	30.8%	15.4%	23.1%	100.0%
English	4.5%	13.6%	22.7%	18.2%	40.9%	100.0%
Spanish	3.0%	3.5%	18.0%	8.5%	67.0%	100.0%
Other	.0%	6.1%	36.4%	12.1%	45.5%	100.0%
Multilingual	5.1%	2.5%	29.9%	16.8%	45.7%	100.0%
Total n=1092	4.4%	4.0%	25.6%	15.6%	50.4%	100.0%

Table C4.4 Mother tongue of parent It will be a good idea if secondary education is also part of the Multilingual School Project

Mother tongue of parent	It will be a good idea if secondary education is also part of the Multilingual School Project.					Total
	Totally disagree	Partly disagree	Neutral	Partly agree	Totally agree	
Papiamentu	10.7%	5.2%	23.3%	18.3%	42.5%	100.0%
Dutch	28.2%	12.8%	20.5%	10.3%	28.2%	100.0%
English	13.6%	9.1%	22.7%	22.7%	31.8%	100.0%
Spanish	5.0%	3.5%	17.5%	12.0%	62.0%	100.0%
Other	.0%	6.1%	36.4%	18.2%	39.4%	100.0%
Multilingual	5.6%	3.0%	22.8%	17.8%	50.8%	100.0%
Total n=1091	9.1%	4.9%	22.5%	16.9%	46.7%	100.0%

Table C4.5 Mother tongue of parent The Multilingual School respects the right of the child to receive school education in its own language

10. Mother tongue of parent	The Multilingual School respects the right of the child to receive school education in its own language.					Total
	Totally disagree	Partly disagree	Neutral	Partly agree	Totally agree	
Papiamentu	3.9%	4.2%	28.9%	16.4%	46.6%	100.0%
Dutch	17.9%	2.6%	41.0%	23.1%	15.4%	100.0%
English	9.5%	.0%	33.3%	28.6%	28.6%	100.0%
Spanish	5.6%	5.6%	31.8%	9.7%	47.2%	100.0%
Other	.0%	3.0%	54.5%	12.1%	30.3%	100.0%
Multilingual	6.6%	8.1%	33.0%	18.3%	34.0%	100.0%
Total n=1091	5.2%	5.0%	31.5%	15.9%	42.5%	100.0%

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Table C4.6 Mother tongue of parent If in my neighborhood Papiamentu courses are offered, I will subscribe for sure.

. Mother tongue of parent	If in my neighborhood Papiamentu courses are offered, I will subscribe for sure.					Total
	Totally disagree	Partly disagree	Neutral	Partly agree	Totally agree	
Papiamentu	7.5%	4.1%	30.5%	19.7%	38.1%	100.0%
Dutch	35.9%	15.4%	25.6%	7.7%	15.4%	100.0%
English	13.0%	8.7%	39.1%	8.7%	30.4%	100.0%
Spanish	2.5%	4.0%	18.8%	17.3%	57.4%	100.0%
Other	18.2%	3.0%	36.4%	12.1%	30.3%	100.0%
Multilingual	7.5%	6.0%	29.1%	12.6%	44.7%	100.0%
Total n=1099	8.0%	4.9%	28.3%	17.1%	41.7%	100.0%

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To all of you: *Masha masha danki!*

CURRICULUM VITAE

Joyce Lomena Pereira was born in Curaçao in 1946 and raised in Aruba. After secondary school, she chose education as her professional career path and became a fully accredited primary school teacher in 1966. While working in education in the Netherlands, she obtained her professional Bachelor (MO-A) in Dutch at the Gelderse Leergangen in 1969, after which she worked in Aruba at Colegio Arubano as a Dutch teacher in the school for HAVO and VWO until 1971. Back in the Netherlands, she obtained a professional Master (MO-B) in Dutch at the University of Groningen in 1976, followed by a Master of Arts in the Dutch Language and Literature with minors in Applied Linguistics and Papiamentu, also at the University of Groningen in 1978. She then went on to work in Aruba as a Dutch and Papiamentu teacher from 1976 to 2012 at several education institutes including: the Arubaanse Pedagogische Academie (APA), the Antilliaanse Lerarenopleiding, the Middelbaar Administratief Onderwijs (MAO), Colegio Arubano, the Instituto Pedagogico Arubano (IPA) and as a guest lecturer at the University of Curaçao. As a researcher, she worked at the University of Aruba from 2009 to 2012. While working at IPA between 1990 and 2012, she had different assignments as a Dutch and Papiamentu specialist with the Department of Education related to educational reform and language policy. She has several publications on these topics. She regularly gives lectures in Aruba, in the rest of the Caribbean and elsewhere about Papiamentu as a Creole language. From 2011 to 2018 she carried out her doctoral research under the auspices of the University of Aruba and the University of Curaçao. Thanks to support and encouragement from the Faculty of Arts of the University of Curaçao, she was able to prepare and complete this dissertation.

Joyce L. Pereira

Valorization of Papiamentu in Aruban society and education, in historical, contemporary and future perspectives

This dissertation presents the results of a comprehensive research project on the position of language in the society and the educational system of Aruba. These results are contextualized by discussions of universal linguistic rights and the history of language and language policy in Aruba. The overall aim of the present study is to answer questions related to attitudes toward language, language rights, educational vision and experience, and respect for one's own identity in order to promote the formulation and implementation of language policy that best meets the needs and aspirations of the people of Aruba.

Papiamentu emerged on the ABC Islands (Aruba, Bonaire and Curaçao) and became an official language on Aruba and Curaçao in the 21st century, due to an awakening of the consciousness of its speakers. Based on archival research, the dissertation starts with an overview of Aruban political, social and linguistic history with a focus on the position of Papiamentu, including its development, its challenges and its potential as both a creole language and as the mother tongue of the majority. In the sections of the dissertation that follow, empirical survey and interview data are utilized to consider Papiamentu from different points of view, including its current official status, its status in the community, its valorization among different groups of speakers, and its prospects for the future. The data upon which this part of the study is based is composed of two surveys and a focus group evaluation of teachers and a survey of parents.

In the final part of the dissertation, Language Policy and Planning theories are used to analyze the results, with the aim of proposing new planning and policy initiatives for the island in general and for its formal education system in particular.

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