CREOLE LANGUAGES IN EDUCATION AND THEIR ROLE IN SHAPING CARIBBEAN IDENTITIES: MODELS FOR INTEGRATING ENGLISH LEXIFIER CREOLES INTO SCHOOL CURRICULA IN THE EASTERN CARIBBEAN

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By

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DEDICATION

*A veces en mi madre apuntaron antojos de liberarse, pero se le subió a los ojos una honda amargura, y en la sombra lloró. Y todo eso mordiente, vencido, mutilado, todo eso que se hallaba encerrado, pienso que sin quererlo, lo he levantado yo. *

-Alfonsina Storni, Argentina

This dissertation is dedicated to my mother, Carmen Ana Zambrana, or Cathy as many know her. In 1980, she found herself alone with four daughters, no spouse, no job, no car, no degree, no family, no friends, and in spite all obstacles learned to drive, went to college, and learned to fend for herself and for us her daughters. She encouraged my sisters and me to study hard and be independent. She gave up many of her dreams because of different circumstances and I hope she can share with me this achievement.

My infinite gratitude and appreciation to Dr. Nicholas Faraclas for persevering with me as my advisor throughout the time it took me to complete this research and write the dissertation. His profound knowledge and wisdom have supported and enlightened my journey through research, critical thinking, and most importantly through action. He is one of the few people I know that lives what he teaches, and invites his pupils as equals to experience research and academia as places for activism. His guidance, during the writing of this dissertation and over the entire course of my time in the doctoral program, has been invaluable.

My thanks must go also to my first-grade teacher Mrs. Brunilda Sierra. Her passion for education motivated me to become a teacher.

In addition, I dedicate my dissertation work to my family (my husband, my sisters, and my niece and nephews) and my students (please, go forth and be better than me).

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The inspiration for doing the research came from the Caribbean Languages and Literature doctoral degree program at the University of Puerto Rico, Río Piedras. The program has been one of my most important and formative experiences and the University of Puerto Rico has forever changed my life. I am grateful to the many professors and fellow students who shared their knowledge and experiences, and challenged me every day. I must acknowledge the many friends, colleagues, and students as well, who assisted, advised, supported and encouraged my research and writing efforts over the years (thanks, research group!).

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ABSTRACT

In this dissertation, I will identify and analyze the serious problems that have arisen in the Caribbean due to the imposition of European colonial languages as languages of instruction in the education systems of those territories of the region where the majority of the population speak a creole language. I will also identify and analyze the attempts that the people of the Western Caribbean have made thus far to address these problems in order to envision how the peoples of the Eastern Caribbean might also find a way to begin to transform a formal educational system whose language policies have reduced their children to failures and victims into a system that equips their children to be powerful agents in the learning process.

When discussing solutions to the problems of the formal educational system in the Caribbean, I will be taking a novel approach, which I consider to be perhaps the most important and original contribution of this dissertation. I do not attempt to articulate possible solutions on the basis of models developed in the formal systems of the metropoles, because I refuse to turn my work into yet another colonial imposition of an inappropriate and imported 'fix' on the peoples of the region. Instead, I attempt to identify elements of the informal educational systems which have emerged organically over the past five centuries from the feminized, Africanized, Indigenized creole cultures of the Caribbean as both a foundation stone as well as a source of inspiration for the design and implementation of education policy and practice that serves our interests and reflects who we are as Caribbean peoples.

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Introduction, Purpose and Methodology

The Caribbean presents a unique situation of African, Indigenous, and European languages and cultures coming together or 'colliding' in the Americas. European colonial expansion involved an invasion of the region by Europeans of the propertied classes, accompanied from the beginning not only by non-propertied Europeans but also by Africans who these same propertied Europeans had forcibly removed from their ancestral homelands to become their enslaved labor force in the colonies. This invasion displaced and decimated many of the Indigenous peoples of the Caribbean, although the assumption commonly made that the Indigenous peoples of the region were completely exterminated is a myth (Faraclas and Viada 2012). The unfolding of these events has given rise to a phenomenon that is of pivotal concern in the present study: the creolization of language, culture, and informal education. Even though in most territories of the Caribbean the imposed official language is European, in everyday life most people speak creole languages. Despite the fact that in most territories of the Caribbean the imposed formal education system is European most people receive an informal creole education. I prefer to use the term 'informal education' here, instead of the term 'non-formal education' which is commonly used to refer to vocational and other semi-formal modalities of colonial education.

With the imposition of European languages as the official languages of the colonies in the Caribbean and the rest of the Americas, African, Indigenous, and creole languages and their speakers were marginalized. The education systems put in place by the colonial powers have played a major role in this process of marginalization, whereby

the creole languages spoken by the overwhelming majority of the peoples of many of the territories in the region have been banned from the classroom and devalued to the point that they are not even recognized by most of the population as languages at all, but instead as 'broken' forms of the European languages from which most of their creole lexica are derived.

In recent years, some attempts have been made to remedy this situation, especially in the Western Caribbean, but in the Eastern Caribbean much less has been done. In this dissertation, I aim to take a closer look at what has actually been achieved in terms of integrating creole languages into the formal education system in the territories of the Western Caribbean such as Aruba and Honduras in order to suggest how similar efforts could be successfully carried out in the territories of the Eastern Caribbean such as St. Croix and St. Eustatius.

The establishment and expansion of systems of education in both the colonial and neo-colonial (I prefer this term to 'post-colonial') Caribbean as a means of perpetuating metropolitan hegemonic cultural and linguistic models has more often than not valued the contributions of Europeans over the linguistic and cultural contributions of Africans and Indigenous peoples (Faraclas et al. 2008). From the beginning of formal education in the region, issues of choice of language of instruction, materials, and subject matter have been decided upon by powers foreign to the Caribbean, i.e. the colonial administrators before independence and the foreign 'advisers' and 'experts' after independence.

In a number of territories of the Caribbean, the various stakeholders in the formal education process (students, teachers, parents, administrators, etc.) have attempted to decolonize their educational institutions by re-forming these institutions according to their own image and interests. In this dissertation, I will be reporting on such efforts, focusing specifically on the Western Caribbean, where such initiatives seem to have advanced more than in the other parts of the Caribbean. My evidence from the Western Caribbean will then be utilized to make recommendations as to how similar efforts could be successfully undertaken in the Eastern Caribbean, a part of the Caribbean where such initiatives have been comparatively few and far between.

While efforts to de-colonize education at the formal level can be said to still be in their infancy in the Caribbean, this does not mean that education, language, and culture at less formal levels have suffered the same fate. Outside of school, African and Indigenous descended peoples have ensured that many of their ancestral lifeways have survived and thrived in the region. In this area, special attention must be paid to the significant contributions of African and Indigenous descended women. The Research Group on the Role of Marginalized Peoples in the Emergence of Creole languages and Cultures at the University of Puerto Rico, Rio Piedras (hereafter 'Working Group'), of which I am a member, has begun to document this fascinating process (Faraclas 2012).

Faraclas (2012) explains the tendency of dominant academic discourses to equate all 'significant' and 'universal' history, politics, economics, and culture with those of the

dominating classes. He also states that given the scarcity of documents written by or about any but the most privileged women, much of the limited scholarly work that has been done on women in the colonial period has focused on European descended female members of the colonial propertied classes. This situation has hindered any serious consideration of meaningful female input into the formation and transmission of creole languages, cultures, and lifeways in the Caribbean.

The silence in the academic literature concerning women as agents in linguistic and cultural transmission cannot, however, be attributed merely to the availability of documents attesting to their key role in the domain of informal education. Most academic work on the social configurations that emerged in these climatic and cultural environments so hostile to Europeans, fails to recognize that:

> in most cases it was the traditionally female, Indigenous, and African skills, knowledges, cultures, and languages of non-European descended women which prevented the premature demise of both European descended males and the children that they fathered. Taking advantage of their powerful position as environmental and cultural mediators and of their inalienable power over life and love, these women not only defensively resisted colonial domination, but went beyond to become agents in the feminization, Indigenization, and Africanization of 16th and 17th century colonial cultures. But successful resistance waged by women has often been discounted and left unacknowledged since what is commonly recognized in dominant discourses as resistance systematically excludes and erases women's social and historical agency (Faraclas 2012, p. 61).

Even a cursory glance at the facts on the ground during the first three centuries of European colonization of the Americas should leave us absolutely no doubt about African and Indigenous descended women's stewardship of informal linguistic and cultural education up until the establishment of formal education systems in the 19th century in most of the European colonies in the Caribbean. As Faraclas points out, in the Caribbean from 1500 to 1800:

- the number of European descended women was extremely limited

- most European descended men (even those of the propertied classes) married or cohabited with women of Indigenous or African descent

- the overwhelming majority of children (including those of European descended fathers) who survived to adulthood had Indigenous or African descended mothers

- it was mainly Indigenous and African descended women (rather than European descended women of the propertied classes) who took advantage of all opportunities available to them (and incessantly strove to expand these opportunities) to create and re-create social, political, economic, and cultural forms that integrated important elements of their ancestral female, Indigenous, and African ways of life and knowledges

- marginalized European descended women (and men) of the non-propertied classes (rather than those of the propertied classes) often allied themselves with Indigenous and African descended women (and men) in *sociétés de cohabitation* (2012, p.74).

One of the concepts used by our Working Group is that of *société de cohabitation* (a term coined in Gonzalez-Lopez 2007) which refers to societies outside of colonial control where propertied people of European descent are not in a position of political, economic, or cultural power. *Sociétés de cohabitation* and their feminized, Africanized, Indigenized and creolized modalities of informal education predominated during the first two centuries of the colonial era and have persisted in many forms until today. In this dissertation, I will demonstrate how *sociétés de cohabitation*, as places of interethnic and intercultural cooperation which have rejected domination and erasure, can offer a useful and pragmatic lens with which to assess the social, historical, economic, and political forces which have had, and continue to have, an impact on formal and informal education in the region. I will also show how *sociétés de cohabitation* can provide a foundation upon which educational policy and practice can begin to be de-colonized in the Caribbean.

Two members of the Working Group, Faraclas and Bellido (2012) survey historical evidence which shows that in every part of the Afro-Caribbean and under every colonial and neo-colonial regime, renegade communities and other *sociétés de cohabitation* have included a substantial part of the population, have always been a formidable force to reckon with, and have always played a fundamental role in the shaping of the informal educational systems, political economies, societies, cultures, and languages of the Caribbean. According to them:

These renegade communities have played this vital role from the first Spanish settlement of the Greater Antilles in the 16th century, to the French, English, and Dutch privateering operations and their initial efforts at the establishment of colonies in the early 17th century, to the conquest, populating, and initial capital accumulation in English Jamaica and French St. Domingue in the later 17th century, to the relentless threat of rebellion and attack that shaped plantation society in the 18th century, and which in the end led to the end of mercantilist monopolies and the abolition of slavery in the 19th century, to the revolutionary influences of urban under-classes and Afro-centric movements in the 20th and 21st centuries …. Instead of Chaudenson's (2001) European dominated *sociétés d'habitation* and *sociétés de plantation*, renegade *sociétés de cohabitation* offered a space where significant numbers of people were living in communities where people (especially women) of Indigenous and African descent and their cultures were in a position of prestige and power (Faraclas and Bellido, 2012, p. 13).

Through the identification and analysis of the grave problems that have arisen in the Caribbean due to the imposition of European colonial languages as languages of instruction in the education systems of those territories of the region where the majority of the population speak a creole language and the identification and analysis of the attempts that the people of the Western Caribbean have made thus far in addressing these problems, peoples of the Eastern Caribbean might envision successful ways to begin to transform a formal educational system whose language policies have reduced their children to failures and victims into a system that equips their children to be powerful agents in the teaching/learning process.

When discussing solutions to the problems of the formal educational system in the Caribbean, I will be taking a novel approach, which I consider to be perhaps the most important and original contribution of this dissertation. I do not attempt to articulate possible solutions on the basis of models developed in the formal systems of the metropoles, because I refuse to turn my work into yet another colonial imposition of an inappropriate and imported 'fix' on the peoples of the region. Instead, I attempt to identify elements of the informal educational systems which have emerged organically over the past five centuries from the feminized, Africanized, Indigenized creole cultures of the Caribbean as both a foundation stone as well as a source of inspiration for the design and implementation of education policy and practice that serves our interests and reflects who we are as Caribbean peoples.

Methodology

Following a survey of the study of language contact in the Caribbean and its outcomes as well as the socio-historical and linguistic factors that have shaped the Greater Caribbean, I focus on the role of educational policies in the shaping of the identity of Caribbean Peoples. Sociohistorical factors as well as issues of political economy must be taken into account (Faraclas, et al. 2008) when examining the wide range of language contact phenomena in the educational landscape from both general linguistic and sociolinguistic perspectives.

Through the analysis of archival and public domain field work, this study intends to offer a view on the status of education in the Caribbean based on a critique of the ideological currents shaping education in the Caribbean, demonstrating an informed understanding of responses to colonial educational polices, highlighting the important work that has been done in the Western Caribbean (WC) and evaluating how it can inform the work that is to be done in the Eastern Caribbean (EC).

This analysis of archival and public domain field work will allow a reflection upon educational experiences and the ideological presumptions that underpin them, in order to evaluate the historical and ideological factors that have influenced educational policy, to examine the contentious relationship between mostly suppressive but sometimes enlightened policies in the development of Caribbean educational structures, and to evaluate the functions of education in the contemporary discourse on history, culture, and identity.

The teaching practices in colonial educational settings in the Caribbean make little use of practices of cultural inclusion and collaborative teaching practices. The teaching methodologies are predicated on supposedly inclusive and democratic principles, but most of the outcomes (which focus on literacy) fail to break from normative practices of colonial education. The bottom line is that settings of colonial education and their rigid hierarchical organization by governments in most of the Caribbean provide scarce and limited opportunities for the affirmation of a Caribbean identity that embraces multiculturalism and multilingualism. Even though some policies in the Western

Caribbean (WC) have been initially inclined to reproduce educational models used in European school settings, it is through a selected few educational programs and the support of culturally-aware groups that a space is opened for the affirmation of a Caribbean identity.

Description of Chapters

The first chapter of the dissertation will provide an outline the purpose of the dissertation; describe the methodology; and state the main research questions. Also included is an introduction examining the present situation in the Eastern Caribbean, where the prospects for the use of creole languages in the schools are generally not very bright. The causes and effects of this situation will be explored, with particular attention paid to St. Croix.

The second chapter will provide a review of the literature outlining the state of the debates surrounding questions addressed, including the different positions adopted by linguists and specialists in education on the use of creole languages in education. The review of literature will describe and analyze the problems posed by the marginalization of English lexifier creole languages and their exclusion from formal educational contexts in St. Croix and the rest of the Eastern Caribbean, with a sociolinguistic focus on how the mishandling of public policy on language and education has had and continues to have a negative impact not only on educational performance itself but also on peoples' identities and self-perception in the Eastern Caribbean.

The third chapter will focus on the Western Caribbean, where several interesting projects (including *Proyecto Scol Multilingual*) are being implemented with the aim of including creole languages as languages of instruction and as languages of initial literacy in the schools. Although most discussion will center on Aruba, innovative programs in Jamaica and Honduras will also be considered. The chapter will thus provide a detailed account and synthesis of some of the initiatives being undertaken outside of the Eastern Caribbean toward the re-valorization of creole languages and their inclusion in school curricula.

The fourth chapter will explore the possibilities and obstacles for the implementation in the Eastern Caribbean of innovative programs which include the use of creole languages in schools, similar to those found in the Western Caribbean, with the goal of determining the extent to which such initiatives could be replicated with the English lexifier Creoles of the Eastern Caribbean. The discussion will not neglect the complex interactions that take place between students' diverse language and educational histories, their literacy practices, institutional discourses, and the many modes involved in engaging with texts. Examples of the situation in St. Croix and Statia will be examined. Recommendations for further research will then be presented.

Delineation of Position and Research Questions

The proposed research seeks to answer the following research questions:

1. Which societal discourses shape the way that people in the Eastern Caribbean think about English lexifier Creoles? How do these discourses impact language and education policy? How have these policies impacted the peoples of the Eastern Caribbean, in terms of their patterns of communication and expression as well as their sense of personal and group identity? How have these policies impacted academic performance and success rates among students in Eastern Caribbean schools? What are the main obstacles to the use of English lexifier Creoles as languages of instruction and initial literacy in classrooms in St. Croix and the rest of the Eastern Caribbean?

2. What are some of the solutions to these problems of language and education policy that are being proposed and implemented in other parts of the Creolophone Caribbean, such as Aruba, Jamaica, and Honduras? Is the acceptance of the use of a particular creole language in formal educational contexts dependent on whether it is seen as different from the standard or not?

3. Can educational models used in the Western Caribbean (Aruba, Jamaica, and Honduras) be utilized to promote and facilitate the use of English lexifier Creoles as languages of instruction and initial literacy in classrooms in St. Croix and the rest of the Eastern Caribbean?

Research on the use and role of creole language varieties in education in Aruba and St. Croix has usually focused on method, content, strategies, and teaching resources and materials. My research intends to examine the process from an analysis of language policies and planning, with a focus on ideology. Part of the analysis will be based on my

observation of education providers in an attempt to understand underlying social interactions.

The dominance of hegemonic metropolitan visions of education in the Caribbean inevitably leads one to focus on concepts such as 'colonialism' and 'imperialism'. Colonialism in its most traditional sense involves the gaining of control over particular geographical areas and is usually associated with the exploitation of various regions of the world by European powers from about 1500 onward. It is often used interchangeably with imperialism - as the extension of state power and dominion either by direct territorial acquisition or by gaining political and economic control of other geographical areas. Colonialism sometimes involves the settlement of the controlling (European, in the case of the Caribbean) population in a territory; and always involves the exploitation of local economic resources for metropolitan use. Colonial and imperial regimes have perpetuated their control in the Caribbean through hegemony exercised through colonial institutions including school systems.

Education should be focused on the power of language to secure people's sovereignty and well-being. Living conditions in some countries are now worse than under plantation slavery during the colonial era. This is because the processes of re-colonization and neo-colonialism have in many cases gutted the concepts 'independence' and 'abolition' of any substantive meaning in contemporary Caribbean society (Von Werlhof, 2001).

After close examination of the cultural and political dynamics underlying formal education in the Caribbean, one can hypothesize that educational entities have reproduced hegemonic oppressive discourses while maintaining power structures and suppressing those "marginal" groups that present a threat to the status quo. Much of the discourse engaged by Caribbean education providers is embedded within a "teacher centered" practice which does not allow for an integrative curriculum that fosters critical thinking skills. The only organized forces against this neo-colonial agenda are a few community based "organic" grassroots groups who struggle to provide education that promotes the well-being of all participants and that engages in non-dominant, mainly pan-African, non-gendered, non-racial, non-classist discourses.

Effective education should provide an understanding of the ways in which language organizes social interaction and understanding of the ways in which language reflects cultural and subcultural identity. Education should provide as much as possible a participatory, student centered pedagogy with students actively engaged in learning processes so that they can use their existing knowledge to shed light on areas of understanding about language which they may not have previously explored, through the use of such methods as discussion, collaborative group work, active research, critical analysis of materials, etc.

While at the micro level there have been some success stories in the Caribbean, from a macro perspective, the incorporation and recognition of the creole languages into the educational sphere remains an unfulfilled promise and the subject of much

speculation and debate. Some limited jurisdictions in Aruba, Jamaica, Belize, and Honduras have crafted and adopted various initiatives that incorporate the local creole language into classroom practice with various degrees of success, but for the most part such initiatives are virtually non-existent in the Greater Caribbean. The problem is compounded because it has proven difficult, to say the least, to shed the negative perceptions that have plagued creole languages for so long. As Kleine explains: "Sociolinguists are very familiar with the widely recurring pattern that minority languages or non-standard dialects are held in disdain by the majority population and the elites in a given multilingual society" (2007, p.3). Taking full advantage of the Caribbean's tremendous multilingual resources should not be neglected; by doing so we are truly being shortsighted. Formal education can play an important role in building a linguistic infrastructure that can enhance our prospects for multilingual communication across the Caribbean.

In the meantime, there is growing concern among Caribbean peoples that the Caribbean region faces a veritable educational crisis. Thus, governments are under increasing pressure to formulate and adopt more effective educational policies, methodologies, and strategies to address the public's unease. Therefore, the time has come to examine what has been done, is being done and can be done to ascertain the efficacy of prevailing practices.

Studies on second language (L2) learning often focus on teacher-student interaction in an institutional setting. However, it is well known that other types of

interaction can help speakers learn a second language: for example, interaction between non-native speakers and interaction between native and non-native speakers outside the traditional context of the language classroom.

This dissertation research will focus on the description and analysis of the problems created by the current language and education policy in St. Croix and the rest of the Eastern Caribbean, as well as on the description and analysis of solutions to these problems currently being implemented in Aruba and other parts of the Western Caribbean, with the aim of exploring the possibilities for utilizing elements of these Western Caribbean solutions in addressing the situation in the Eastern Caribbean.

In general, the description and analysis of problems due to language and education policy in the Eastern Caribbean and the description and analysis of the solutions to similar problems being implemented in the Western Caribbean will rely on archival research as well as on personal communication with stakeholders in the formal education process in a number of Caribbean societies, including St. Croix and St Eustatius in the Eastern Caribbean, and Aruba, Jamaica, Haiti, and Honduras in the Western Caribbean.

Chapter 2:

Literature Review

The Caribbean area was initially inhabited by indigenous peoples and because of colonial expansion experienced an influx of Europeans and Africans. This presents a unique situation of cultures coming together in the "New World" and the different spheres of metropolitan influence in the territories of the Caribbean. Most recognize French, English and Spanish as the major imperial presence – even though there has been a presence of many other colonial powers. Diverse socio-historical factors gave rise to diverse language contact situations. Sociohistorical factors as well as issues of political economy must be taken into account (Faraclas, et al. 2008) when examining this wide range of language contact phenomena from both general linguistic and sociolinguistic perspectives. We introduce some concepts here in order to try to arrive at an account of the major types of contact-induced change and to discuss the general processes and principles that are at work in the pluri-lingual Caribbean (Aceto, 2003).

One of the outputs of contact in the region is what have been denominated 'creole languages'. The genesis of creole languages in the Caribbean has been one of the main issues of debate in pidgin and creole studies. González-López (2007) underlines the need for creolists to pay closer attention to African languages in the emergence of Caribbean Creoles, when she states the following:

> The cultural identities, cosmologies, and languages of the indigenous inhabitants of the Americas and those brought by slaves as they dealt with foreign elements imposed on them must be taken into account not only when formulating theories about the origins and development of Creoles but also when studying the impact

these aspects have had and continue to have on the development and maintenance of all co-habitating languages, identities and cultures in the Caribbean.

Her notion of *societés de cohabitation* provides an important matrix for social interaction in the Caribbean, and it is especially relevant for educational settings in the region. The issue of language in education is important when dealing with neo-colonial pluri-lingual, pluri-cultural, and pluri-identified societies. Language is the backbone of culture and the trademark of ethnicity.

Faraclas and Bellido (2012) survey historical evidence which clearly shows that: in every part of the Afro-Caribbean and under every colonial and neo-colonial regime, renegade communities and other *sociétés de cohabitation* have continuously represented a substantial part of the population, have always been a formidable force to reckon with, and have always played a fundamental role in the shaping of the political economies, societies, cultures, and languages of the Caribbean. These renegade communities have played this vital role from the first Spanish settlement of the Greater Antilles in the 16th century, to the French, English, and Dutch privateering operations and their initial efforts at the establishment of colonies in the early 17th century, to the conquest, populating, and initial capital accumulation in English Jamaica and French St. Domingue in the later 17th century, to the relentless threat of rebellion and attack that shaped plantation society in the 18th century, and which in the end led to the end of mercantilist monopolies and the abolition of slavery in the 19th century, to the

revolutionary influences of urban under-classes and Afro-centric movements in the 20th and 21st centuries.

Sociétés de cohabitation have been an integral and important feature of the political, economic, social, and cultural configurations that emerged from European invasion of Africa and the Americas from its very start. The first Portuguese voyages to the West African Guinea Coast in the mid-1400s, the first Spanish voyages to the Caribbean in 1492, and the first Portuguese voyages to Brazil in 1500 were soon followed by massive, constant, and in many cases successful subversion of the official colonial project by communities of renegades and maroons, where women and people of Indigenous and African descent were often in positions of strength politically, economically, and culturally. While these members of vilified 'sub-cultures' are usually depicted as unimportant fringe players, their numbers and level of success at achieving their political, economic, social, and cultural objectives compared rather auspiciously with those of the entrepreneurs, captains, sailors, government officials, priests, indentured laborers and slaves who established the first perilous and vulnerable footholds of European influence and control overseas. Instead of Chaudenson's (2001) European dominated sociétés d'habitation and sociétés de plantation, renegade sociétés de cohabitation offered a space where significant numbers of people were living in communities where people (especially women) of Indigenous and African descent and their cultures were in a position of prestige and power (Faraclas and Bellido, 2012, p. 31).

People, especially those living under colonial rule, have been told that Creoles are a corruption of so-called "standard" languages and that their use in education would have a negative impact on educational standards, socio-economic mobility, the morality and integrity of society, and the identity of nations. Not only may government officials and administrators decide to favor a status-quo language situation in schools that favors the languages of the colonizers and standard varieties; but also parents may believe that use of creole languages may not be of any value, may "hold back" the development of children, and that it may "hinder their chances for success" (M. Friday, personal communication, May 2006; D. Ras, and D. de Mei, personal communication, March 2015).

Siegel (2005) explains that in most places where a creole is spoken, its speakers make up most the population as a whole and mentions Belize, Suriname, Guyana, Haiti, Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago, St Lucia, Dominica, Guadeloupe, and Aruba and the rest of the Dutch Caribbean as examples. He clarifies that despite the Creole being the majority language, most of these territories do not have an official policy for teaching literacy in the creole language. In its place, the standard form of a colonial European language (Dutch, English, French, Portuguese, Spanish) persists as the official language of the country and the language of education.

There has long been a debate regarding how these creole languages emerged. Mervin Alleyne (1971) explains how Africans (in Africa and the Americas) interpreted English or French structural patterns in terms of West African linguistic patterns. The

result was linguistic variation and instability, which is characteristic of any dynamic acculturative process. Among field slaves who had little contact with people of non-African descent and who comprised the largest sector of the population on the major islands, a linguistic variety (Creole) took shape. For Alleyne (1971) and Allsop (2006), the monogenetic theory that places all Creoles of the colonial era as descendants of the Mediterranean contact language Sabir is based on a flawed model that does not account for the fact that the Atlantic Creoles show structural parallels with West African languages. For Alleyne, the varieties spoken since the beginning of colonization in the Caribbean showed great variation and were not rapidly conventionalized. Differential acculturation came into play in the contact of Europeans and African and can account for the nature and the degree of this variation. Alleyne rejects the idea that Europeans simplified their superstrate varieties to communicate with slaves (1971).

The cultural identities, cosmologies, and languages that negotiate a co-existence amidst power struggles in the Caribbean must be taken into account when theorizing on the selection and implementation of educational policies (Brathwaite, 1984). The tight relationship between politics, knowledge, language, and the spaces of freedom are ever present in education. The framework of *societés de cohabitation* can be seen as a shift from ideologies that are not at the service of the people to those that reflect their image and interests.

Brathwaite (1984) presents the Anglophone Caribbean as a region of linguistic plurality, with English being imposed, English lexifier Creole emerging as a hybrid

adaptation, and what he calls Nation language becoming the language used by slaves and laborers alongside ancestral languages, such as Amerindian languages, Hindi, and Chinese. The languages brought by Africans to the region shared some common semantic and stylistic features which were often officially suppressed because of the status of inferiority ascribed to them. Nonetheless, these language features exerted important influences.

The subject of the status of creole languages as well as the attitudes that have developed regarding their use in the Caribbean and in other spaces where they have emerged have been a topic of debate in creolophone societies (Faraclas, 2008).

The recognition and inclusion of Papiamento in the ABC islands and Tok Pisin in the urban areas Papua New Guinea as languages of instruction and/or initial literacy in public school systems represent an encouraging example of acceptance and a shift towards positive evaluation of these as formal languages in their own right notwithstanding that Creoles have for the most part been branded unfit and officially banished from all formal educational contexts in the territories in which they are spoken (Faraclas 1996; Siegel, 2005).

In the Western Caribbean, there have been experimental attempts to incorporate the use of English lexifier Creoles in educational contexts in Jamaica (Devonish & Carpenter, 2007), Belize (Decker 1997), and Honduras (Faraclas et al 2008). Although French-lexifier Creoles have received some recognition as languages of instruction and initial literacy in St. Lucia (Mitchell 2009), English-lexifier Creoles have remained almost completely excluded from the classroom in the Eastern Caribbean. Modest efforts

are underway in St. Vincent to remedy this situation, but progress has been extremely

difficult (Prescod, personal communication, 2008).

Emerging positive attitudes toward Creoles and their use in the classroom have

nearly always been the result of a better understanding and recognition of creole

languages as languages in their own right, as well as an appreciation of creole languages

(in conjunction with creole customs, cultures and religions) as vehicles for the assertion

of their speakers' identities. This shaping of identities in the Caribbean has been complex

for various reasons. Roberts explains that in contrast to the European colonizers who

could draw on a long history captured by literature, people of the Caribbean find that the

available record of the evolution of colonial identity in the New World is insufficient and

inaccurate being that it was written by Europeans that conceptualized colonial societies as

exotic economic ventures and these views persisted through colonial times and endure to

the present day (Roberts, 2008, p. 2).

Siegel (2005) points out how standard European languages are seen as the key to

upward mobility and economic success as they are recognized as the languages of former

colonial powers and the current leaders. On the other hand the Creole is habitually

associated with repression and powerlessness as a language of former slaves or

indentured labourers. These negative attitudes toward Caribbean Creoles are in part due

to misconceptions, ambivalence, or ignorance about the origin of these languages. Some

of the most commonly held biases toward creole languages are intimately linked to

beliefs that they are 'slave languages' which share the inferior status and stigma

associated with slaves in colonial society. One of the many misconceptions about the speakers of creole languages is that their political economy is that of scarcity given that the communities that have traditionally been creole in their language, culture and identity engage in a political economy of subsistence. This situation is aggravated when creole languages are also seen as 'broken', 'bastardized', or 'uneducated' versions of their European lexifier languages. Since creole languages commonly suffer general negative attitudes and low prestige they are not often valued in public formal domains (Siegel, 2005, Mühleisen,2002)

The marginalization of English lexifier creole languages and their exclusion from formal educational contexts in St. Croix and the rest of the Eastern Caribbean and the mishandling of public policy on language and education has had and continues to have a negative impact not only on educational performance itself but also on peoples' identities and self-perception in the Eastern Caribbean. Conversely the recognition of the Iberian lexifier creole language of Papiamento in formal educational contexts in the Western Caribbean island Aruba along with the notion of recognizing other spoken varieties present successful prospects for more inclusive language policies in the Caribbean.

The implementation of educational discourses, policies, and programs as a means of perpetuating hegemonic cultural models under colonialism and neocolonialism often has placed unequal value on the contributions of the Indigenous, African and European cultures that collided in the Caribbean (Faraclas et al. 2008). Policy on language of instruction, materials and subject matter has often been decided upon by powers outside

of the Caribbean. The identities, ideologies, and languages that negotiate a co-existence amidst the multiple power struggles in the Caribbean must be considered when theorizing on the selection and implementation of educational discourses, policies, and practices (Brathwaite, 1984). Given the demands of colonial powers in the Caribbean, language education and planning have recognized "standard" languages but the vernaculars have tended to be neglected. Consequently, the political and economic rule of the colonizers established a sociolinguistic hierarchy that still prevails. The European nations that colonized the Caribbean have left deep-seated linguistic impressions on their colonies that for the most part constitute an attempt to erase and/or nullify the agency of the colonized in the creation of creole languages.

Social groups and institutions use language as a tool and vehicle for the definition and establishment of social categories and identities. In this process, links are made between ideological, sociolinguistic, grammatical, and phonological phenomena (Lakoff, 1973). We must explore how the insights resulting from the analysis of the role of Creole languages within educational settings can deepen our understanding of the ever elusive and shifting interpretations of creole culture and Caribbean culture. The need for research on this topic becomes evident when we consider that some Creoles have been more successfully recognized and mobilized to achieve national goals than have others. Research on the causes of these disparities can yield insights concerning Eastern Caribbean peoples who are struggling with the development, preservation and recognition of their English lexifier creole vernaculars. The relationship between poverty, inequality, and education has particular relevance here.

Language is of particular importance as a marker of cultural identity. Hall stipulates that cultural identity is not a being but a do; that is, it is not essence but construction (Hall, 1990, p.394-95). In this process, the Caribbean subject runs the risk of becoming the object of the prejudices perpetuated by normative Eurocentric notions of standardization and monolingualism. This means that speakers are in a landscape where the statements of the individual and the collective are decoded; and in which the relationships of power are in addition emphasized. Much of the narrative of the West Indies under the imprint of its unremitting political and national quandaries arises from the pursuit of an identity in which the subaltern subject can be configured from a space in debate with the Western and pro-European positions (Bhabha 2012; Deleuze & Guattari, 1987).

The form of colonial education that neglects the recognition of creole varieties in turn neglects the speakers of those varieties and devalues not only their languages but also their cultures and ways of life thus perpetuating and contributing to the unequal social stratification in the region. The neglect of creole languages and the imposition of the use of standard European languages paint a picture of rejection of a people who, after receiving abuse, ended unwittingly abusing themselves.

Faraclas, et al explain that for most of Caribbean history pluri-lingualism and heteroglossia have prevailed (2008). Nonetheless, the labels of 'Hispanophone', 'Francophone', and 'Anglophone' Caribbean obfuscate this reality which give an

impression of distinct and disconnected localized European language varieties uprooted

to different regions in the Caribbean. Yet, when you visit any of these regions you cannot

help but question the hegemony embedded in these classifications. All these designations

and further divisions (West Indies, Leeward Islands, etc.) while practical for linguists and

other scholars, are fuzzy at best and contribute to a general impression of monolingualism

and fragmentation in the region (LeCompte, P.A., et al., 2010).

The struggle of the average Caribbean person to subsist, to resist, and to deal with

race and identity is made even more complex by the dynamics of language. In the

Caribbean landscape, it is often a creole language that shapes the people and their

quotidian activities –the seemingly trivial and inconsequent daily tasks that in reality are

the backbone of society, and that sustain the Caribbean way of living. These everyday

activities still carry the traces of plantation society. The Creole languages that are used in

these everyday activities express identities that are not exclusively African, European or

Indigenous, but instead, these languages express all of these identities and more

(LeCompte, P.A., et al., 2010).

Reimers (2000) suggests that the commitment to education in the Caribbean region

has been one of quality rather than of equity and access. "Future efforts should aim at

alternative models of education that can effectively provide the opportunities to acquire

in school the cultural and social capital that more privileged children acquire at home and

in their communities" (Reimers, 2000, p.56). Nonetheless, the attempt to measure

educational outcomes in terms of capital as "relevant to economic activity" (OECD,

1998) is problematic since the fixation with quantitative measures of participation neglects to account for all modes of learning and focuses only on formal education (OECD, 1998), whereas creole languages and cultures (which embody a plurality of formal and informal sources) are erased and rarely taken into account when talking about formal/standardized educational policies.

This focus on the use of language in the distinct modes of education brings into perspective some of the central ideas and concerns of contemporary linguistics. Organic intellectuals (as described by Gramsci, 1929-1935) within the field of linguistics must learn to reflect on the nature and functions of language and to analyze language data from various social, cultural, psychological and theoretical perspectives, using a range of methodologies. Knowledge of the issues surrounding language structure and use, in conjunction with high-level language skills is the target of formal education. Stemming from this fact several questions come to mind:

- Is it possible to express independent and/or authentic Caribbean identities through the language of the *conquistador*, i.e. the language which is the vehicle of instruction?

- Are Caribbean identities bound to a colonial space perpetuated by colonial educational practices?

- What, if anything, does this avenue of education contribute to the people of the Caribbean?

- Does language choice in education reflect cultural codifications of race and of the heritage of the peoples of the Caribbean region?

- Can formal educational contexts affirm vernacular speakers' rights?

This research will focus on a variety of cultural spheres, especially those that deal with education that are dominated and manipulated by the discursive power of language.

Examining a sample of important works written in the field of linguistics and more specifically in the area of creolistics, it is plain to see how the research has unfolded since its inception in the 19th century and while the field has expanded exponentially, one will inevitably still encounter disapproving and biased attitudes that some linguists as well as other academics perpetuate toward pidgin and creole languages.

In English, the terms 'creole' and 'creolization' have witnessed many significant semantic changes over the course of their history (Alleyne, 1971; Baptiste, 2005; Roberts, 2008). Originating as terms associated with colonial expansion in the Americas, in popular speech they were successively restricted in semantic scope to refer to African American culture or to particular linguistic phenomena.

Baptiste explains that even though the main areas of interest in the study of creole languages have fundamentally remained the same for many decades, "methodologies have changed toward a more comprehensive multilayered approach aimed at a better understanding of how individual creole languages emerge, evolve and function" (Baptiste, 2005, p. 33). In their 2003 book titled A Pepper-pot of Cultures: Aspects of Creolization in the Caribbean (Vol. 27), Collier & Fleischmann include a series of

articles that illustrate how the term 'creole' has expanded in recent years to cover the wide-ranging area of cultural contact and transformation that characterize the processes of globalization initiated by the colonial migrations of past centuries. As a primary (but not the only) locus of creolization, the Caribbean represents an instructive example of the interplay of its history of colonization and cross-cultural contact (Collier & Fleischmann, 2003).

Roberts (2008) discusses the notion of identity in the Caribbean. Geography is an integral part of our notion of ethnicity and race because place and environment matter in the experiences and processes that shape identity. As a Caribbean person, I believe that our neo-colonial realities heavily define our sense of identity and cultural belonging. Roberts explains that in the formulation of cultural identity the features of place, race and language coalesce. Historical accounts also shape the identities of Caribbean nations and these were almost all concocted by Europeans. For this and other reasons, Roberts claims that: "Colonial societies in the Caribbean were artificial." (2008, p. 2)

Le Page and Tabouret- Keller discuss the perceptions of members of a community regarding its rules, its language and how the community itself wills these tokens into existence.

> Linguistic signs have social as well as semantic value since people project their concepts onto others and establish networks of shared suppositions. Language allows people to symbolize in a coded way all the other concepts used to define themselves and society. Language's metaphors and symbols are the focal center of

peoples' acts of identity -the means by which people define themselves and others (Le Page, 1985).

Language is not just a means for communication but it is part of the identity of an individual and of a nation to present their own perception of who they are and a notion of how they must be (Wever, 2013).

There has been a failure to recognize hybridity in contemporary cultural theory of education as evidenced by the mission and goals of programs for the teaching of English, and a failure to define the process of resistance and contestation whereby mixed identities challenge and subvert assimilative, essentialist dominant discourses, and as Cohen (2007, p. 369) explains, creolization as the more subtle but pervasive form of 'fugitive power' found in the construction and affirmation of creolized identities. Educational authorities and institutions disregard and essentialize creolization and fail to see the productive cross-fertilization which takes place between diverse cultures when they interact. Instead of seeing creolization as the natural process utilized by Caribbean peoples to select particular elements from in-coming cultures, endow these with meanings different from those they possessed in the original culture and then creatively merge these with indigenous traditions to create totally new (Faraclas, 2007, 2008, 2012) "subversive" forms (Cohen, 2007,p. 371), the colonial and no-colonial educational apparatus reproduces racist discourses which portray creolization as 'corruption' of European languages and cultures.

At present, most of the proponents of 'globalization' are implementing an oppressive agenda whereby increasing global connectivity and economic integration is leading toward a growing homogenization of culture and language that is perpetuated by formal education. Opponents of 'globalization' such as Irigaray (2002) and Freire (1970-2000) stress the need for generating an opposite process of cultural and linguistic heterogenization, particularism and resistance that is socially inclusive.

Identity gives people a location in the world and represents the link between people and the society in which they live. Whatever is distinctive about the 'way of life' of a people, community, nation or social group forges an identity of the shared values/meanings of a group or of society. Culture is not so much a set of things as a process, a set of practices. Primarily, culture is concerned with the production and the exchange of meanings and the negotiation of meanings among members of a society or group.

Since culture pervades all aspects of society peoples' selection and interpretation of cultural messages are essential to the process through which they construct and codify identities. Culture then is experienced on many levels, and language plays a pivotal role in the transmission of culture, who we are, how we are seen by others, and our position in society (Whorf, 1956). This information interacts with our race, ethnicity, gender, and personal life history to create our psychosocial perspective and way of viewing the world. It defines our sense of ourselves as well as our status on the power hierarchy, brings with it a set of coping skills, and fosters a particular world view (Tyler, et al, 2013, p. 112).

The manipulation of these elements under colonial domination usually leads to hegemony (Gramsci, 1985) that is,

> …the propagation throughout society of a comprehensive system of values, attitudes, beliefs and morality that effectively supports the status quo in power relations that becomes the organizing principle for all social life. To the extent that this is internalized by the people it becomes 'common sense' so that the philosophy, culture and morality of the ruling elite come to be accepted as the natural order of things.

According to Gramsci, hegemony is the current mode of rule for the bourgeoisie as well as the future mode of rule for the proletarian. Gramsci saw the 'organic' (rooted in the proletariat) intellectual as a crucial element in proletarian politics. For Gramsci, the establishment of a dialog and a dialectic between organic intellectuals and the proletariat would be essential to the establishment of an "intellectual and moral bloc" and this, in turn, due to its capacity for creating history becomes a "historical bloc" (2004).

Gramsci divided the structure of society into institutions that were overtly coercive and those that were not. The coercive ones (the police, armed forces and the legal system) he considered as *the state* or *political society* and the non-coercive ones (the churches, the schools, trade unions, political parties, cultural associations, clubs, the family) he regarded as *civil society*. It is my contention, however, that schools could fit into both categories. Aspects of school life are quite clearly coercive (compulsory education, the national curriculum, national standards and qualifications) while others are

not (the hidden curriculum). For Gramsci (2004), society is defined by relations of production (capital vs. labor); the state or political society (coercive institutions) and civil society (all other non-coercive institutions).

Educational initiatives can serve the purposes of colonialism. In this way, Freire characterizes colonialism as the 'culture of silence'. Colonial schooling attempts to silence certain ways of speaking about the world. To this extent, one class or group could be said to colonize another. Colonialism has tended to be used in relation to the exploitation of majority populations by minority groups (Freire 1970). Prohibiting the use of students' mother tongue in the classroom classrooms is an attempt to silence those who move away from the 'standard'. The educational policies established by colonial and neo-colonial governments are designed to reproduce the status-quo.

Under some circumstances, such as the teaching of literacy in schools, linguistic management is explicit and controlled by a formal authority figure, such as a teacher. Under other circumstances, such as when people from similar backgrounds gather in the same neighborhood, language management may be an organic by-product of circumstances that are not explicitly or externally controlled. As linguists, we cannot ignore the study the forms of language management in schools and society at large but we must explore these different facets of human language and linguistic interaction.

Cummins explains (2001, p.16) that certain groups in multilingual societies tend to see the integration of diverse communities in schools and society as a *problem* that

needs to be solved because "linguistic cultural, racial and religious diversity threaten the identity of the host society". Therefore, these groups champion educational policies that will take care of the perceived problem. The two most prevalent policies promoted by these groups are exclusion or assimilation. Both policies have the same effect, "culturally diverse groups will no longer be visible or audible" (Cummins, 2001, p.16). Policies that discourage students from retaining their culture and mother tongue spread a message that there is more value in identifying with the mainstream culture and learning the mainstream language of the society.

Chapter 3

Creoles in Education in the Western Caribbean

Many of the education systems put in place by the colonial powers in the Caribbean have played a major role in the process of marginalization of creole languages, cultures and ultimately peoples, whereby the creole languages spoken by the overwhelming majority of the peoples of many of the territories in the region have been banned from the classroom and devalued to the point that they are not even recognized by most of the population as languages at all, but instead as 'broken' forms of the European languages from which most of their creole lexica are derived (LeCompte, 2010; Faraclas, et al 2014a).

The language education policies implemented in various territories of the Western Caribbean have had a higher level of success than elsewhere in the region in recognizing the importance of the creole mother tongues in society in general and more specifically in educational contexts as vehicles of instruction. Several interesting projects are being implemented in several Western Caribbean territories with the aim of including creole languages as languages of instruction and as languages of initial literacy in the schools. An examination of the data available regarding the diverse initiatives adopted in this region will help elucidate their various degrees of success.

We begin with Jamaica, and report on the project spearheaded by Professor Hubert Devonish, designed to demonstrate, through a four-year (from 2004 to 2008) Bilingual Education Project (BEP), that instruction in Jamaican Creole could improve performance and competence in the content subject areas as well as improving linguistic fluency in both Jamaican Creole (called Patois or Patwa by most Jamaicans) and English (2007).

Proceeding to Haiti, we first review pioneering efforts initiated by the Bernard Reform involving a transitional bilingualism model with Haitian Creole as the language of instruction for primary education and then French as a subject first and then gradually integrated into the curriculum as the language of instruction while Haitian Creole becomes a subject (Hebblethwaite, 2012). We also consider DeGraff's more recent MIT Initiative, incorporating Haitian Creole into the science, technology, engineering and mathematics (STEM) disciplines.

The work done by the government of Honduras in the 1990s to introduce the mother tongue as a language of instruction and initial literacy at the primary school level is then examined. A framework for Intercultural Bilingual Education (*Educación Intercultural Bilingüe* or EIB) was adopted in Honduras with the goal of addressing the challenges faced by the six indigenous language communities and two African-descended language communities (who speak Garifuna and Isleño) whose ancestral tongue is not Spanish, the official vehicle of instruction in Honduran schools (Ruiz, 2008).

Wagner's (2014) study provides additional data and analysis, which compares the language education policies of Aruba, Jamaica, and Haiti. She examines how colonial history still manifests itself through the design and implementation of language education policies, how these policies impact sociolinguistic attitudes, and what efforts are being undertaken to promote creoles as languages of instruction and the results of such initiatives.

Finally, in the case of Aruba we report on the events that led up to the governmental decree that declared Papiamento as an official language in 2003 and the subsequent promotion of a language educational policy that facilitates its use as a vehicle of instruction. In addition, we discuss the innovative *Scol Multilingual* pilot project that transcends the aforementioned efforts toward bilingual education in the Western Caribbean and pushes for recognition of the pluri-lingual reality of the island incorporating not only Papiamento, but also English, Spanish and Dutch into the

curriculum. Although a large part of the discussion in this chapter will center on Aruba, innovative programs in Jamaica, Haiti, and Honduras are also considered for their recognition and implementation of peoples' vernaculars in education.

Jamaica

After approximately 150 years of Spanish control (1509-1655), the island of Jamaica was seized by Great Britain. Jamaican Creole (JC) is considered to be an English lexifier creole with lexical elements mainly borrowed from British English within the morphological and syntactic frame of the African languages (Nero, 1996). In order to secure their rule and permanence on the island, the British sought to spread and establish Standard English (in this case, Standard Jamaican English or SJE) in important public domains such as public communication and education. This language policy, which continues to this day, reflects and enforces classic colonial sociocultural stratification. Modern day bilingual elites (who tend to favor varieties of JC that are closer to SJE as well as SJE itself) are considered more refined and educated than the lower-class speakers who primarily rely on "deep" JC and have a rudimentary knowledge of SJE. The public assessment of these language varieties is plagued with inherited sociolinguistic stigma, further perpetuated through the public education system's policy of instruction strictly in SJE. Most authors consider the sociolinguistic context in Jamaica to be more of a linguistic continuum than the classic diglossia seen in Haiti (Nero, 1997).

Terri-Ann Barret reports on a pilot project which looks at how select phonological and syntactic structures that Jamaican children are exposed to from their knowledge of

Jamaican Creole (JC) are influencing their learning of those of Jamaican Standard English (JSE) at the grade one level. She explains that language teachers in second language learning scenarios must consider how first language transfer and interference clearly influences the success of the language learner (2010). In Jamaica, JC is recognized as the first language of most of the population, in what the Ministry of Education in its Language Education Policy, issued in 2001, describes as a bilingual society (Alleyne 1989). Barrett examines the extent to which this policy appears to inform the teaching of English in the schools and the level of teachers' recognition of JC and JSE as distinct languages. Some of the challenges she reports are that the mutual intelligibility of both languages poses a severe challenge for the learners of JSE because the status of the child as a second language learner of the standard language is not always clearly recognized. Students' interference with their first language is perceived as a difficulty teaching English in a Creole-speaking environment.

To address the language education issues on the island, the Jamaican Language Unit (JLU) of the University of the West Indies conducted the Language Attitude Survey of Jamaica in order to understand the population's language attitudes and opinions on the management of language in Jamaica (JLU, 2005). This data contributed to the design of the JLU's Bilingual Education Program (BEP) (Devonish, & Carpenter, 2007, p. 300; Wagner, 2014, p.67):

(1)   79.5% of respondents recognized JC as a language.

(2)   68.5% of respondents felt that JC should be made an official language alongside English.

(3)   67.8% of respondents considered that Ministers of Government should

deliver speeches in JC.

(4)   78.6% of respondents considered themselves to be bilingual, while 10.9%

confirmed they only spoke English and 10.5% confirmed they only spoke JC.

(5)   57% of respondents agreed that English speakers were more intelligent,

while 61% considered them more educated.

(6)   71.1% of the surveyed population said they would like to have bilingual

schools.

(7)   57.3% of respondents said they would like to see JC written in standard

form in school books.

Wagner estimates that these results demonstrate that the respondents considered Jamaican

Creole to be a language they wanted to see and experience in more formal scenarios such

as government and education (2014).

Professor Hubert Devonish with the Department of Language Linguistics and

Philosophy at the University of the West Indies, hoped to prove, through a four-year

Bilingual Education Project (BEP), that instruction in the native tongue can lead to

improved "performance and competence" in the content subject areas- mathematics,

science and social studies- and "fluency in language use of Patois and English." (2007, p.

277). The project involved using Patois and English to teach students of grades one to

four in the participating pilot schools. Each English lesson was reinforced by the same

lesson in Patois. The education ministry approved the experiment by a university team to

teach children using Jamaican Patois and English in four primary schools, but did not

plan to adopt the strategy in the formal school system, no matter what the results of the study might be (2007).

Up until 2003, SJE was the only language of instruction in Jamaica in spite of the fact that the majority of children do not speak it as their mother tongue. The BEP ran for four years from 2004 to 2008. Devonish asserts that philosophically the BEP differs from other Creole-education projects in the Caribbean since it was not developed just to remedy problems in the achievement and proficiency of students. It was designed instead to achieve bilingualism of (full mastery of two languages that can be used in any situation) as an asset that brings forth intellectual benefits not realized in situations of diglossia (where two languages or varieties of the same language are used in different situations).

BEP gave priority to choice and incorporated only those schools and teachers who volunteered and gave the option to parents to opt out of the program if desired. The BEP took the necessary steps to teach literacy in JC in the hopes that teachers and learners would become agents of language change and begin to write in the vernacular inside and outside school. One of the goals of BEP was to aid in the process of valorization of Jamaican Creole. BEP identified two prerequisites that had to be met in order for the program to work: recognition of English and JC as distinct varieties, and shedding long held misconceptions that regarded bilingualism as a source of psychological harm to children. Devonish and Carpenter explain that as Jamaican people started to abandon terms such as "broken English" to designate Jamaican Creole and started using the term

Patwa, a difference emerged in people's conceptualization of the Creole as a distinct variety (2007).

Ethnic, socio-cultural and national considerations led the BEP to adopt the name 'Jamaican' as the name used to refer to JC in the program since people identified this label with ethno-racial pride more encompassing than that associated with the term 'Patwa'. BEP sought to identify, along with the teachers, a preferred usage of Jamaican instead of prescribing one exclusive accepted usage. The expected outcomes for the project were that after the four years students of BEP would: 1) show superior self-concept in language and related areas; 2) demonstrate superior literacy skills in both languages; and 3) manifest superior control of the material taught in content subjects (Devonish & Carpenter, 2007).

Some of the findings regarding the self-concept of children were different from what the literature says "disadvantaged" students bring into school. Instead of finding negative attitudes toward themselves and their language, BEP found that children in first grade did not really attach negative labels to their self-perception and viewed their speech as normal. Teachers in the BEP reported that they had to condition themselves mentally to deliver their lessons in Jamaican, and thus assigning it the same status as English since they had not only previously been told that this was wrong but also, they themselves had been telling students the same. As part of the training program, teachers had to be taught to regulate the code-switching practices that they normally used in traditional classrooms, whereby teachers switched to English in formal situations and to Jamaican in informal

situations or to impart discipline. Teachers had to develop formal and politeness registers for Jamaican. The BEP also provided the teachers with bilingual materials and set out to translate materials from English to Jamaican as well as to create for the benefit of the teachers a vocabulary list with technical terms for the different subject areas.

As a result of BEP there was an improvement in teacher-pupil interaction since the language attitude survey revealed respondents perceived speakers of Jamaican as more approachable and friendly. There was evidence that indicated that at the end of the first year of BEP children's language awareness was developmentally advanced. At the oral level children in BEP classes easily produced novel sentences in both languages and were able to translate from one language to the other with ease. At the written level, students were able to differentiate between the two writing systems and easily learned and produced words in the Jamaican writing system which they had not been exposed to before. As Devonish (1996) points out, "linguistic confidence" is a prerequisite to any attempt at vernacular writing, given the high social pressure of proving one's skills in "good" English that potentially surrounds any act of writing in Jamaica.

Carpenter and Devonish (2012) came upon some unexpected findings as a result of BEP regarding gender roles. BEP had a disproportionate influence on the boys in the sample compared with girls. Boys regarded their use of Jamaican as an assertion of their masculinity. Boys showed gains in the area of literacy. This result is significant since boys are the segment of the student population that has been most consistently lagging in terms of achievement.

The Jamaican newspaper The Gleaner (2015, September 6) published statistics from the Ministry of Education that reveal that in 2015 only 65 per cent of the 26,419 students who took the Caribbean Secondary Education Certificate exam got a passing grade. Approximately 72.5 per cent of the females who sat the exams received a passing grade in comparison to 54.9 per cent of males. The article interviewed Professor of Linguistics University of the West Indies, Mona (UWI) Silvia Kouwemberg where she explained why boys are refusing to speak Standard English. According to the professor, boys and girls oftentimes use language to express their gender identities and in the linguistic context of Jamaica, English is linked with being well behaved in the classroom - thus making English a 'girlish' language. In this respect, a boy who does well at English is seen as girlish by his peers and thus refuses to use English with his peers for fear of being teased, since in Jamaican society (as well as others) boys earn prestige by being unruly.

In addition, Kouwenberg explained that English is a second language for most persons and the first language for only a minority of Jamaicans, and because English is not widely used many people do not feel confident speaking it. A study conducted by the British Council also highlighted the fact that teachers themselves are not very confident in their use of English in the classroom. Kouwenberg mentioned that when a language such as English in Jamaica is learned and used only at school but does not make the transition to other social contexts, it is improbable that it will prosper.

In 2005 Morren and Morren (2007) prepared an external evaluation report on the results of the BEP in Jamaica. As part of a series of visits to the BEP Pilot Schools, the external evaluators revised the Bilingual Education Materials, evaluated the goals and objectives of the BEP, identified the strengths of the program and submitted recommendations for its continued existence.

The external evaluators reported the following strengths of the BEP:

- The use of Jamaicans to produce Jamaican Creole materials for Jamaican classrooms was appreciated. Worthy of special recognition was the first-grade book lauded as being of excellent quality, accessible, and appropriate for children.

- The personnel of the University of West Indies, working both publicly and behind the scenes on the BEP, doing administrative work, translation, training, school visits, and/or publicity was of very high caliber.

- The project's way of working with primary school teachers was very imaginative. In the teacher training sessions and in general interaction with teachers, University of West Indies personnel demonstrated sensitivity to the teachers' pedagogical knowledge, the teachers' linguistic awareness of the two languages, and their position as 'pioneers' in the classroom.

- The division of the plan for training teachers throughout year into phases helped teachers to assimilate the material in manageable amounts, to practice using Jamaican Creole in the classroom, and to reflect on the effectiveness of using both languages.

- The pilot school principals and teachers expressed positive attitudes toward
  using Jamaican Creole materials in the classroom. Students also expressed that
  they felt motivated to attend lessons and read stories in their first language
  (Morren and Morren 2007).

The Ministry of Education and Culture approved the implementation of the BEP
in 2004 in three publicly funded primary schools. It followed over a four-year period, a
group of students who were taught in full bilingual program until July 2008 with
participant children finishing the fourth grade. The BEP intended to show an increase:

- in Language Arts skill levels in English among pupils within the project in
  comparison to students who followed the traditional method of instruction;
- in absolute literacy levels of pupils in the project, as shown by their literacy in
  their native language, Jamaican, in comparison to students who followed the
  traditional method of instruction and whose only language of literacy was
  English;
- in levels of competence in content subjects such as Mathematics, Science and
  Social Studies, since students received instruction in English, but also in their
  native language, Jamaican.

At the end of the third year of the project in 2007, a comparison was made of the
Grade Three Diagnostic Literacy Test results of the project children and those taught by
the traditional method in the same school. The project children developed a level of
literacy in English slightly higher than that of those who had not been in the program.
The BEP children achieved this improvement a year earlier than was expected according

to the experiences of other such projects internationally (where it happened in the fourth year). In 2008, the same cohort of children took the National Grade Four Literacy Test and the performance of the BEP children in English literacy skills was better than those who were taught in the traditional manner.

The overall results of the research carried out by expert international reviewers demonstrated that this innovative approach to the language-education issue in Jamaica did indeed yield enhanced results not only in the native language but also in the second language (English) literacy. The BEP approach that treated both Jamaican and English equally produced results that were better than those obtained via the colonial approach which has disregarded the children's native language, Jamaican (UWI Notebook, 2010). To strengthen what was achieved by BEP in Jamaica, Hubert Devonish has spearheaded an initiative for the inclusion of a constitutional guarantee against discrimination on linguistic grounds, which is of course intended as an indirect guarantee of language rights for JC speakers.

Haiti

Haitian Creole (Kreyol) is the creole language with the most speakers in the Caribbean region (over 10 million). The Haitian part of Hispaniola was under Spanish claim until 1697 when it passed to French hands. The focus of the French was mainly on massive sugar production, which meant that little to nothing was done to educate the slaves. Only the children of the French elite were sent to France to be educated (Wagner, 2014). The Voudou religion provided a form of clandestine oral education among the

slaves and a spiritual means for resistance (Hebblethwaite, 2012; Gonzalez-López, 2011). Nonetheless, the French left strong linguistic marks.

Despite their negative attitudes toward the language, the Haitian elite used both Kreyol and French, even during the colonial period (Gibson, 2011). Their linguistic behaviors codified a social stratification of speakers, whereby being a Kreyol speaker marked one as belonging to Haitian society, while being a French speaker conveyed a sense of superior status within that society. This notion still persists in the current sociolinguistic scenario. Kreyol served as a lingua franca between the bilingual white or mulatto colonial masters and the slaves.

Oftentimes in the colonial class system when slave women bore mulatto male offspring of their masters, these children could be freed and sent to France to be educated (Gibson, 2011). These sociohistorical conditions cemented the link between French to race, power, education and social mobility. Currently, and thanks to processes of emancipation (1794) and independence (1804), Haiti lost contact with its colonizer and 90% of its population has Haitian Creole as mother tongue and single language. However, the elite is characterized by being bilingual, since they acquire both French and Creole at home (Holm, 2000). It is this elite that still maintains French in Haiti, because they benefit economically and socially by possessing a language of international prestige.

DeGraff (2010) explains that after independence from France in 1804, the elites (most of them mulattoes) pushed for the use of French for elite closure even though Kreyòl was, and still is, the only language available for nation building. He highlights some egalitarian objectives that Jean-Jacques Dessalines, a former slave and the first president of the new nation had despite being a ruthless dictator: he favored land redistribution to former slaves, he defined all Haitians as "black'' no matter their complexion, and he favored the use of Creole. But after his assassination in 1806, mulatto political power and elite closure determined the political agenda. For this reason, for many years French was the official language, ignoring the fact that most of the population did not master it, and it was only in 1987 that Creole obtained its co-official status.

The situation that prevails between the two languages in Haiti is said to be a typical case of diglossia but this notion is debated by linguists such as Degraff who assert that Kreyòl is now being used in all domains. The prestige of the Creole has increased in recent years, evidenced by its use in political publications and presidential speeches (Holm, 2000; Hebblethwaite, 2012). Since 1925, there have been numerous efforts to standardize Kreyòl and devise an orthographic system for it. Eleven spelling systems have been proposed, responding to three particular ideologies (Schieffelin & Doucet, 1994): a pro-etymological and anti-phonemic Francophile approach; a pro-phonemic approach; and a combination of both, that is, a phonemic orthography with concessions to French.

The Bernard Reform of 1978, proposed by Minister of Education Joseph Bernard, was the first attempt to modify Haitian linguistic educational policy. In 1979, the Government mandated the use of Kreyòl as the language of instruction in Haitian schools and this added pressure for the selection and implementation of an official orthography in 1980 (Wagner, 2014). The process of standardization of the Creole allowed Kreyòl to officially become the language of instruction during the first years of school. The Bernard Reform proposed a transitional bilingualism model for primary education in three cycles (grades 1-9), whereby the language of instruction would be Kreyòl (HC) during the first four years (first cycle), and then French would be introduced as a subject first and then it would be gradually integrated into the curriculum as the language of instruction (from the second cycle on) while Haitian Creole would become a subject (Hebblethwaite, 2012; Gibson, 2011).

Table 1 describes the proposed curriculum:

Table 1: Language instruction curriculum proposed by the Bernard Reform of 1987						
	1st cycle		2nd cycle		3rd cycle	
Grades (G)	Grades 1-4		Grades 5-6		Grades 7-9	
Language instruction conditions	HC as medium of literacy instruction	French G1-G2: oral use G3-G4: initial writing instruction	HC subject	French as medium of instruction	HC subject	French as medium of instruction

Classroom hours of language literacy instruction by grade per week	G1: 5-7 G2: 7.5 G3:3-5 G4: 3	G1- G2: 5 G3: Oral:5 Written: 2.5- 4.25 G4: Oral: 2.5 Written: 4.5	G5-G9: French language to be generalized throughout the whole curriculum

HC = Haitian Creole/ Kreyol; G = Grades

(Hebblethwaute, 2012 as cited by Wagner, 2014)

In this regard, Haiti has been a pioneer in integrating a creole language into formal scenarios of instruction. The actual implementation of the Bernard Reform, however, has been sporadic, with most schools falling back into the old colonial pattern of French as the only language deemed fit for educational purposes. In the few cases where the Bernard Reform has led to an improvement in educational levels. These results have not been obtained without turmoil. Education in Haiti has historically been an issue of severe socio-political controversy due, in part, to a language policy that has favored the bilingual elite minority and penalized the monolingual masses. Another contributing sociohistorical factor is that Afrocentic university movements such as Noirisme in the 1930s which fomented linguistic and cultural decolonization, (including the proclamation of Voudou as the national religion) were brutally repressed (Wagner, 2014). Educational institutions and individuals were consistently and violently attacked by the regimes of Papa Doc Duvalier and his son Jean Claude 'Baby Doc' Duvalier. Even under Jean-Bertrand Aristide tenure as president of Haiti, the state university where students were holding anti-government protests was targeted.

These turbulent conditions have fostered a sense of insecurity within the Haitian education system. Political and economic instability has pushed much of its productive professional class to emigrate, contributing to a lack of trained teachers (Gulbrandson & Luzincourt, 2010). Nonetheless, many Haitians who emigrate from the country are moving to Anglophone countries, which has given rise to a diaspora that still maintains strong relations with the island and that inserts English into the linguistic landscape (Garcia, 2011). In terms of the attitude of speakers toward these languages, Doucet (2000) established that speakers of Creole consider their language a separate system from French and completely appropriate for communication between Haitians. Similarly, they still consider it important to learn a European language, due to the social mobility that it allows them to achieve (Garcia, 2011).

The massive earthquake in Haiti on January 12, 2010 prompted international agencies to commit billions of dollars for infrastructure and to establish a better educational system to alleviate the situation. DeGraff (2010) calls attention to the fact that language must be taken into consideration for any attempts at reconstruction since language is a critical feature of Haitian history.

Kreyòl is the language spoken by the majority of inhabitants and the only language understood by all Haitians. Nonetheless, the current language of instruction in schools is French, despite the Bernard Reform and constitutional provisions that state that both Kreyòl and French are the official languages. In primary schools, students are chastised for their use of Kreyòl. Degraff explains that almost 90 percent of Haitians are

excluded from the learning process when French is imposed as the language of instruction since for most Haitians French is an inaccessible foreign language. Where the current educational system falls short is that most lessons and tests as well as national assessments are in French and most print material and textbooks are in French. In addition, DeGraff points to another shortcoming which is that most teachers are not fluent in French. There is still a need to dispel the erroneous but well entrenched myths that Kreyòl is a broken version of French and that its use isolates Haiti from the rest of the world. Even though Kreyòl shares structural similarities with its French and West-African linguistic counterparts and most of its words have etymological roots in French (through a similar historical process undergone by other Atlantic Creoles), it is a distinct variety with distinct word and sentence structure and distinct sound patterns, and many key words with distinct meanings.

When instruction is delivered in French the Kreyòl-only speaker is shortchanged. DeGraff, as a native Kreyòl speaker himself and a linguist, asserts the language's capability to express complex and sophisticated concepts. Kreyòl 's patterns of development of language structures share similarities with the history of languages such as English. DeGraff proceeds to counter the arguments that claim that Kreyòl insulates Haitians from the rest of the world by explaining that Kreyòl is more widely spoken in the Americas than French is and it has the greatest number of speakers in the Caribbean second only to Spanish. Hence it would be more accurate to say that it is French that could potentially isolate Haitians from their neighbors, and Spanish and/or English, not French, would serve as a better link between Haiti and its neighbors. Furthermore,

Albania, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, Iceland, and Norway, are countries with populations

smaller than Haiti's and whose native languages are the languages of education and

communication within each corresponding nation.

DeGraff (2010) claims that the current language situation is that of what he has

termed a "linguistic apartheid'' since Haitians who speak only Kreyòl are habitually

treated as second-class citizens. At the present time and in the aftermath of the natural

disaster, meetings of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) exclude the majority of

Haitians from their discussions as to where to place billions of dollars of international aid

by virtue of the fact that conversations are held in French and English, languages that

those who need the most aid do not master. DeGraff explains that in order for all

academic subjects in Haiti to be adequately taught, French should be taught as a foreign

language with Kreyòl as the language of instruction.

DeGraff claims that since the 1980s the efforts to use Kreyòl in the schools have

been incomplete and have not been fully successful. In recent years, a group of linguists

and educators has been working with schools that already use Kreyòl incorporating

innovative technology as an indispensable tool. The ambitious goal is to promote

accessible, collaborative, student-friendly, student-centered, inquiry-based and hands-on

learning as a belated substitute for the longstanding and oppressive mechanical-

memorization of French texts unintelligible for most students and teachers. DeGraff sees

the need for the design and enforcement of a comprehensive and systematic array of

Kreyòl-based and technology-based curricular restructurings and on-going teacher training. Without these he fears that billions of dollars of international aid will go into rebuilding educational infrastructure but will otherwise deepen the systemic inequalities between the privileged few and the marginalized millions (2010).

Led by DeGraff, the MIT-Haiti Initiative was created in response to the destruction of Haitian universities by the 2010 earthquake. The Initiative uses digital technology and open educational resources online, all in Kreyòl, to improve science, technology, engineering, and math (STEM) education, as well as leadership and management in Haiti. DeGraff who is also a founding member of Haiti's recently created Haitian Creole Academy (Akademi Kreyòl Ayisyen) and a member of Haiti's National Commission for Curricular Reform is working with a comprehensive team of professionals to undertake this massive project.

The MIT-Haiti Initiative (n.d.) supports the creation of materials to support Kreyòl education. They have a priority for creating digital media and technology-based means of instruction at all levels with specific emphasis but not limited to STEM disciplines. For example, the first ever Kreyòl alphabet songs as educational videos to enhance children's reading skills with culturally relevant material have been created and made available online. An expert team of linguists, teachers and professionals in STEM disciplines work together to produce quality translations of materials and media into Kreyòl. It was only in the 1980s that Kreyòl began to be systematically written, with an

official orthography so most materials for higher education are in French and Kreyòl

materials and Kreyòl terms for STEM, especially at the higher levels, are scarce. The

project is enriching the Haitian Creole lexicon with translations into Kreyòl and the

adoption of new terms for STEM in a bottom-up manner, coining words that may come

from French (and in turn many come from Greek and Latin) but that once in Kreyòl may

adopt a new phonology. As a result of this process they purport to be deepening the

understanding of scientific concepts.

The mission of the initiative as stated in various interviews and its website is "to

promote technology-enhanced active learning and the use of Kreyòl in science,

technology, engineering and math (STEM) disciplines, to help Haitians learn in the

language most of them speak at home" (MIT-Haiti Initiative, n.d.). DeGraff explains that

the initiative meets a critical need in Haiti. It introduces modern techniques and tools for

interactive pedagogy in STEM while contributing to the development, by Haitians and

for Haitians, of digital resources and curricula in Kreyòl to improve quality and access to

education for all. The initiative trains over sixty faculty per year in active-learning

techniques through diverse workshops organized by MIT and Haitian counterparts around

the country. Working with Haitian counterparts the initiative fosters faculty development

at the secondary and post-secondary levels with impact on primary levels. This

organizational support allows the initiative to impact curriculum, change dated habits of

pedagogy and ensure long-term impact at all grade levels. The MIT-Haiti Initiative

website (n.d.) lists the following partners:

- Campus Henry Christophe, State University of Haiti, Limonade (CHCL) which is creating a teaching/learning center to serve academic institutions in the Northern Corridor of Haiti. MIT-Haiti is offering workshops and consultancy at CHCL, and CHCL is offering space, collaborators and expertise toward the implementation of the workshops.

- Lekòl Kominotè Matènwa (LKM) in La Gonâve which is developing high-school programs based in Kreyòl-based interactive pedagogy. The initiave mentions LKM as the model and a training center for K-8 teachers nationwide.

- Ministry of National Education & Professional Development (MENFP) where DeGraff is part of the National Commission for Curricular Reform.

- Corporate partners such as Digicel and Sûrtab who are interested in incorporating Kreyòl-based materials in education projects.

- MIT as part of their global commitment to hands-on learning, science-based, problem-focused, and constructivist pedagogy in Kreyòl, coupled with a variety of resources (digital and non-digital) for active learning.

- The National Science Foundation (NSF) which has provided support in Haiti since 2010.

The MIT-Haiti Initiative's proposed outcome is that co-creation of active-learning curricula in Kreyòl "will democratize access to STEM and teachers immersed in these approaches will help improve Haiti's school system and bring forth unprecedented

systemic change in education" (n.d.). The initiative mainly engages in strategic

consultations with Haitian partners regarding local curriculum and pedagogical practice:

"Experts from MIT are joining forces with educators at Haitian universities and a K-13

school to help improve STEM curricula and pedagogical practice through the creation of

modular curriculum elements to support active learning of STEM content in Kreyòl".

They hope to foster a symbiotic relationship where Haiti learns from this joint initiative

with MIT and MIT learns from Haiti as well (MIT-Haiti Initiative, n.d.).

DeGraff understands that the educational overhaul he and other invested actors

want to enact in Haiti needs to have a strong scientific and theoretical basis and it also

needs resources (economic and others) for its pragmatic implementation. To this effect a

proposal with the institutional support from MIT was submitted to NSF. The NSF

research grant Opening up education in Haiti: Local language for global impact in

cyberlearning and development was awarded with Michel DeGraff as Principal

Investigator and Vijay Kumar (from MIT Digital Learning) as Co-Principal Investigator.

With the support and funding of strategic partners the project has been able to assemble a

task force in charge of the different aspects of the initiative such as investigation, project

management, administration, Biology, Chemistry, Mathematics, Pedagogy, Physics,

leadership skills, Konbit MIT-Ayiti (local organizers of workshops in Haiti), and

communications. Another MIT-Haiti Initiative's effort is to broaden the scope of

Cyberlearning (MIT-Haiti Initiative, n.d.).

When coupled with local languages such as Kreyòl, educational technology benefits populations that have been underserved by technology mediated instruction. To this effect the initiative has created various educational videos and digital tools in Kreyòl for active learning of STEM. These tools are then evaluated and disseminated among Haitian faculty through a workshop series that started in March 2012. The initiative presents evidence in form of videos, testimonials, interviews, that the teachers' pedagogy is improving through their use of digital active-learning resources made available in Kreyòl for the first time in the history of Haiti and serve as testament that the combination of technology, active learning and local languages enhances education, human rights and socio-economic development (MIT-Haiti Initiative, n.d.).

The linguist and educator remarks that they "…hope that the MIT-Haiti Initiative will serve as an example to researchers, practitioners and policy makers, as we document how relatively small choices can have global transformative impact through the multipliers of language and technology." (MIT- Haiti Initiative, n.d).

The MIT Initiative highlights the following aspects of the project as "steps in the right direction" for education in Haiti:

- the emphasis on teacher training at all levels but specially to support those in primary education who have been working with Kreyòl at schools,
- the development of high-quality materials in Kreyòl,

- the development and strengthening of Kreyòl vocabulary in all realms of knowledge,

- the support of the teaching/learning process with technology mediated instruction,

- the recruitment of additional stakeholders and actors from different areas of society,

- and research-based decision making (n.d.).

Honduras

Honduras is a is mountainous Central American country that shares borders with Guatemala, Nicaragua, and El Salvador and has coasts on both the Pacific Ocean and the Caribbean Sea. The Caribbean coast of the country could be considered to be both geographically and culturally part of the Western Caribbean. Its population is over 8 million including mestizos, indigenous and African descended peoples (including Black Caribs/Garifuna). From 1821 (after independence from Spain) Honduras joined the Central American Federation until 1841 when it became a separate, independent country. Honduran education was an enterprise of the Roman Catholic Church under Spanish rule. Non-denominational public education was established at the end of the nineteenth century. At the beginning of the twentieth century several normal schools (teacher training schools) were established.

Faraclas, Kester, Mijts, Ruiz and Simo (2016) describe efforts undertaken by the government of Honduras in the 1990s to introduce the mother tongue as a language of instruction and initial literacy at the primary school level within the framework of the Intercultural Bilingual Education (*Educación Intercultural Bilingüe* or EIB) program, which was designed to reverse the process of language endangerment threatening many indigenous and other minority languages of the Latin American region. The EIB program was adopted in Honduras with the purpose of addressing the challenges faced by the six indigenous language communities (Lenca, Tol, Ch'orti, Pech, Miskito and Tahwaka) and two African-descended language communities (who speak Garifuna and Isleño) in whose ancestral tongue is not Spanish, the official vehicle of instruction in Honduran schools. Most of these languages face different degrees of endangerment.

A base line study to determine the linguistic situation before implementing the new EIB policy of the formal introduction of indigenous and African-descended languages in the classroom was undertaken, taking into consideration the limitations of similar EIB initiatives undertaken in other Latin American countries. Some of those initiatives were not successful because they adopted a top-down approach where the communities did not feel recognized and included and did not feel a sense of ownership over the projects.

Initially the research team consisted of Nicholas Faraclas from the University of Puerto Rico and Santiago Ruiz, a native speaker of Garifuna and director of the PROEIMCA project, which was charged with overall implementation of EIB in

Honduras. To ensure community control and ownership, the researchers adopted a bottom-up community-based action-research approach for conducting the baseline study. A series of planning sessions incorporating cultural and educational workers from all eight ethnic groups as community-based action researchers was initiated. In these planning sessions, the research design was formulated. The community workers themselves agreed upon and designed the instruments for the study based on their identification and analysis of the major obstacles their communities were facing regarding language and education (Faraclas et al, 2016).

The community based researchers identified that one of the main hurdles of the project would be that for decades other similar initiatives had been initiated to integrate indigenous and African-descended languages and cultures into the primary school curriculum; consequently, the group decided to include various diagnostic elements in the instruments to be used in the study to ascertain the extent to which a given school would have already implemented aspects of EIB (Faraclas, n. d.).

The community workers designed five different questionnaires to be used in interview and focus group sessions, one for each of the five stakeholder groups they had identified as key players:

- students (10 questionnaires per school),
- teachers (5 questionnaires per school),
- parents (10 questionnaires per school),
- educational authorities (2 questionnaires per community)

- and community leaders/cultural workers (5 questionnaires per community).

The community workers prepared several shared training sessions to demonstrate how the process of gathering data would actually take place in their communities. During these sessions, the workers identified some unclear questions that needed rephrasing, and to ensure consistency, they came to an agreement on what each question meant and how the responses to each question should be tallied. After these exchanges the questions and questionnaires were modified according to feedback (Faraclas, et al, 2016).

When the training sessions were completed, the community workers went to the communities where they collected 1500 questionnaires (25 questions each) from 48 primary schools. After they had collected all the questionnaires they came together again, this time to tabulate, process and analyze the information that they had gathered. The results obtained from this bottom-up approach were far more comprehensive, statistically valid and relevant to the needs of the communities involved than the research team would have achieved utilizing a conventional approach to research led by external academic 'experts'(Faraclas, n.d.).

The Pearson product-moment correlation coefficient was used to measure the strength of the relationship between several performance variables and the level at which schools were implementing aspects of the EIB program. In the Tables and Figures that follow, the level of response is measured numerically with 1.00 indicating 'always' and 0 indicating 'never'. To read the tables and graphs, two key factors must be tracked:

1) Degree to which the schools in question use the students' mother tongue as language of instruction and initial literacy
   a. Mucho = highest degree
   b. Bastante = high degree
   c. Algo = Moderate degree
   d. Poco = limited degree
   e. Nada = never;

2) Respondents (by group)
   a. A = responses of educational authorities
   b. L = responses of community elders, leaders and cultural actors
   c. M = responses of teachers
   d. N = responses of pupils
   e. P = responses of parents

One of the most important factors to consider when examining the data from Honduras is that the success and satisfaction of all the participants cannot be attributed to one single variable, but instead to a cluster of variables whose values were measured by the very community that has benefitted from the inclusion and recognition of their mother tongue.

Table 2 and Figure 1 indicate that the more the students' mother tongue is used as language of instruction in schools ('Mucho', 'Bastante') the greater the level of satisfaction (approaching a value of 1.0) by all groups of respondents. The considerably robust statistical significance of these findings is indicated in Table 3.

Table 2 Correlation between Levels of SATISFACTION and EIB Practice (L1 Use)

Indicador Nivel de Satisfacción	Niveles de Práctica de la EIB (Promedios)				
	Mucho	Bastante	Algo	Poco	Nada
A: Contento/Rendimiento/ Comportamiento	1.00	.94	1.00	.77	.50
A: Contento/Participación/Padres	.94	1.00	.75	.55	.50
L: Contento/Rendimiento/Niños	1.00	.91	.97	.49	.50
L: Contento/Participación/Padres	1.00	.85	.90	.50	.50
L: Contento/Comportamiento/Jóvenes	.86	.66	.50	.27	.47
L: Contento/Enseñanza/Jóvenes	.84	.89	.82	.39	.45
M: Contento/Rendimiento	1.00	.91	.80	.65	.
M: Contento/Comportamiento	1.00	.90	.85	.71	.
M: Contento/Asistencia	1.00	.98	.95	.78	.
M: Contento/Participación/Padres	.95	.80	.70	.38	.
N: Contento/Enseñanza que Recibe	.98	.96	.83	.86	.85
N: Contento de sus Notas	.95	.86	.83	.80	.57
P: Contento/Comportamiento/Casa	.99	.97	1.00	.76	.
P: Contento/Enseñanza	.94	.86	1.00	.71	.
P: Contento/Rendimiento	.94	.86	.97	.74	.
P: Contento/Comportamiento/Clase	.94	.89	1.00	.78	.

Averages of Levels of Satisfaction regarding the Education of Garífuna Children
(**A**=Educational Authorities, **L**=Indigenous and Afrodescendant Leaders, Elders, and
Cultural Actors, **M**=Teachers, **N**=Students, **P**= Parents of Students; 0=Not Satisfied, .25=
A Little Satisfied, .75=Very Satisfied, 1.0=Completely Satisfied)   (PROEIMCA, 2007)

Figure 1: Correlation between Levels of SATISFACTION and EIB Practice (L1 Use)
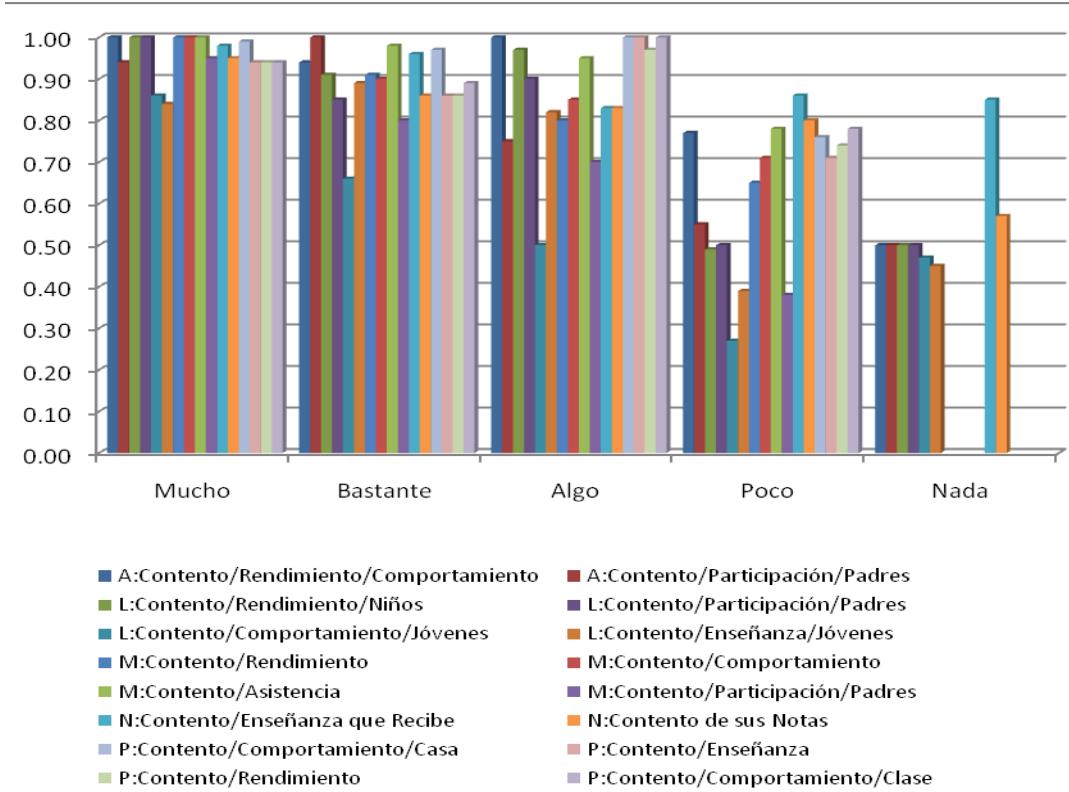
*Averages of Levels of Satisfaction regarding the Education of Garífuna Children (**A**=Educational Authorities, **L**=Indigenous and Afrodescendant Leaders, Elders, and Cultural Actors, **M**=Teachers, **N**=Students, **P**= Parents of Students; 0=Not Satisfied, .25= A Little Satisfied, .75=Very Satisfied, 1.0=Completely Satisfied)* (PROEIMCA, 2007)

Table 3: Level of Significance of Correlation between Levels of SATISFACTION and EIB Practice (L1 Use)

A: Contento/Rendimiento/Comportamiento	**Correlación de Pearson**	**.082**
A: Contento/Participación/Padres	**Correlación de Pearson**	**.402(*)**

|		
L: Contento/Rendimiento/Niños	**Correlación de Pearson**	**.684(**)**
L: Contento/Participación/Padres	**Correlación de Pearson**	**.565(**)**
L: Contento/Comportamiento/Jóvenes	**Correlación de Pearson**	**.428(**)**
L: Contento/Enseñanza/Jóvenes	**Correlación de Pearson**	**.583(**)**
M: Contento/Rendimiento	**Correlación de Pearson**	**.525(**)**
M: Contento/Comportamiento	**Correlación de Pearson**	**.552(**)**
M: Contento/Asistencia	**Correlación de Pearson**	**.447(**)**
M: Contento/Participación/Padres	**Correlación de Pearson**	**.451(**)**
N: Contento/Enseñanza que Recibe	**Correlación de Pearson**	**.485(**)**
N: Contento de sus Notas	**Correlación de Pearson**	**.293(*)**
P: Contento/Comportamiento/Casa	**Correlación de Pearson**	**.383(**)**
P: Contento/Enseñanza	**Correlación de Pearson**	**.606(**)**
P: Contento/Rendimiento	**Correlación de Pearson**	**.551(**)**
P: Contento/Comportamiento/Clase	**Correlación de Pearson**	**.613(**)**

Figure 2 indicates that the more the students' mother tongue is used as language of instruction in schools ('Mucho', 'Bastante') the greater the levels of retention (approaching a value of 1.0) and the lower levels of failure (approaching a value of 0). The statistical significance of these findings is indicated in Table 4.

Figure 2: Correlation between Levels of RETENTION and FAILURE and EIB Practice (L1 Use)
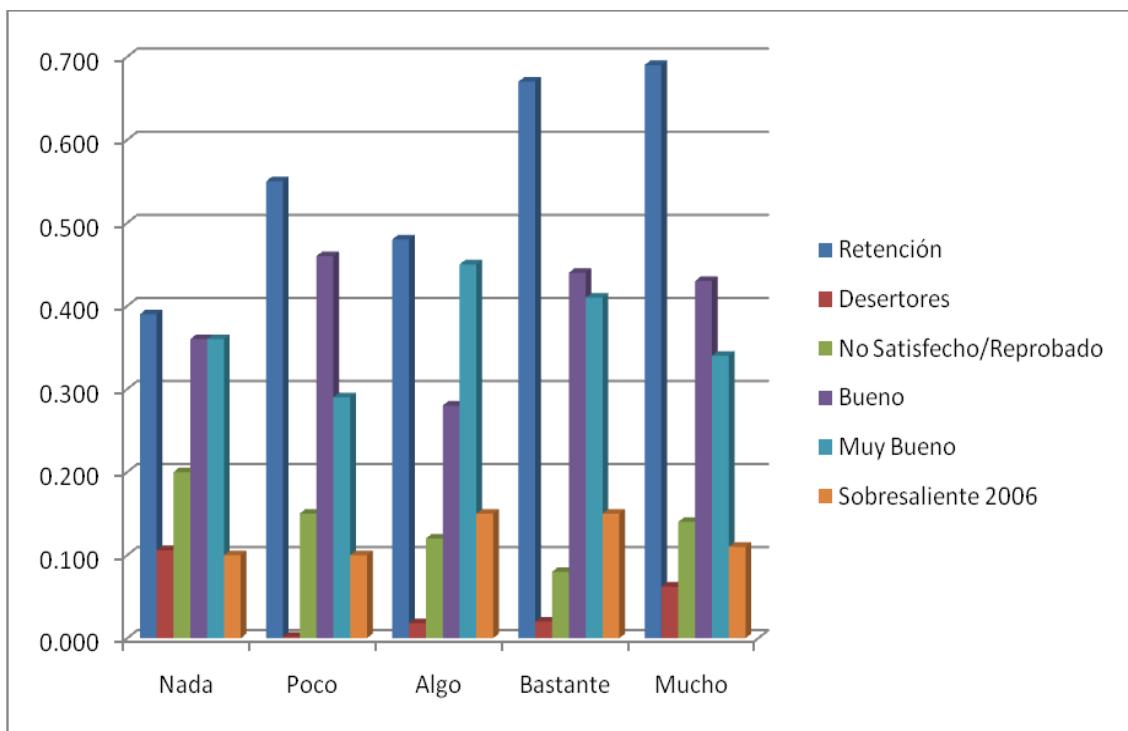
Table 4: Levels of Significance for Correlation between Levels of RETENTION and FAILURE and EIB Practice (L1 Use)

Retención	Correlación de Pearson	.319(*)

Desertores	Correlación de Pearson	-.255
No Satisfecho/Reprobado	Correlación de Pearson	-.458(**)
Bueno	Correlación de Pearson	.164
Muy Bueno	Correlación de Pearson	.059
Sobresaliente	Correlación de Pearson	.090

(PROEIMCA, 2007)

Figure 3 indicates that the more the students' mother tongue is used as language of instruction in schools ('Mucho', 'Bastante') the greater the levels of student well-being, confidence, satisfactory behavior and participation (approaching a value of 1.0) and the lower levels of fear on the part of students (approaching a value of 0) at school. The statistical significance of these findings is indicated in Table 5.

Figure 3: Correlation between Levels of WELL BEING, CONFIDENCE, SATISFACTORY BEHAVIOR, PARTICIPATION and FEAR and EIB Practice (L1 Use)
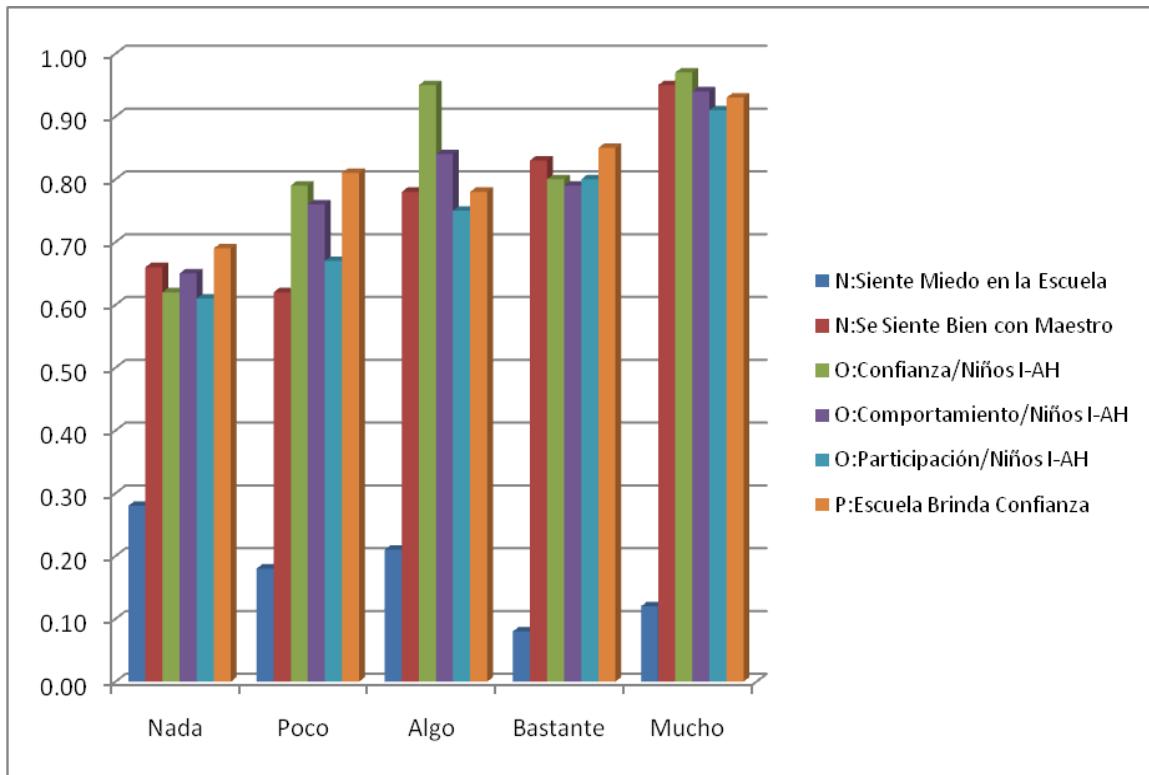
(PROEIMCA, 2007)

Table 5: Significance of Correlation between Levels of WELL BEING, CONFIDENCE, SATISFACTORY BEHAVIOR, PARTICIPATION and FEAR and EIB Practice (L1 Use)

N: Siente Miedo en la Escuela	Correlación de Pearson	-.409(**)
N: Se Siente Bien con Maestro	Correlación de Pearson	.457(**)
O: Confianza/Niños I-AH	Correlación de Pearson	.473(**)
O: Comportamiento/Niños I-AH	Correlación de Pearson	.498(**)

O: Participación/Niños I-AH	Correlación de Pearson	.545(**)
P: Escuela Brinda Confianza	Correlación de Pearson	.438(**)

(PROEIMCA, 2007)

Figure 4 indicates that the more the students' mother tongue is used as language of instruction in schools ('Mucho', 'Bastante') the greater the levels of parental participation (approaching a value of 1.0). The statistical significance of these findings is indicated in Table 6.

Figure 4: Correlation between Levels of PARENTAL PARTICIPATION and EIB Practice (L1 Use)
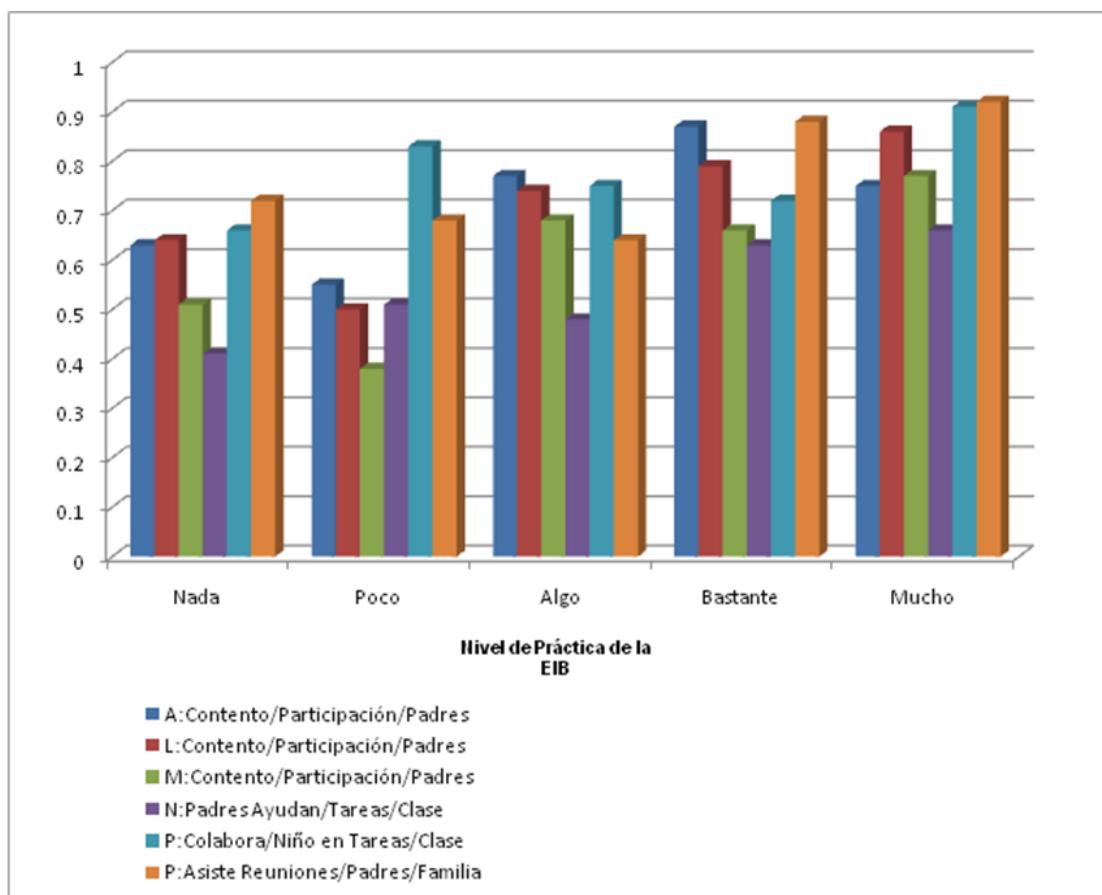
Table 6: Significance of Correlation between Levels of PARENTAL PARTICIPATION and EIB Practice (L1 Use)

A: Contento/Participación/Padres	**Correlación de Pearson**	**.402(*)**
L: Contento/Participación/Padres	**Correlación de Pearson**	**.565(**)**
M: Contento/Participación/Padres	**Correlación de Pearson**	**.451(**)**
N: Padres Ayudan/Tareas/Clase	**Correlación de Pearson**	**.349(*)**
P: Colabora/Niño en Tareas/Clase	Correlación de Pearson	.276
P: Asiste Reuniones/Padres/Familia	**Correlación de Pearson**	**.384(**)**

(PROEIMCA, 2007)

From the data presented in the previous tables and figures the following statistically significant results can be highlighted; the more the local indigenous language and culture were being used in schools:

- the higher the levels of satisfaction among all stakeholders.

- the higher the levels of retention of students.

- the lower the rates of failure

- the higher the levels of well-being among the students.

- the higher the levels of satisfactory behavior among the students.

- the higher the levels of confidence among the students.

- the lower the levels of fear among students at school.

- the higher the levels of participation by parents in their children's education.

The results of this community-based research project demonstrate an overall positive effect of L1 education in this Western Caribbean context. The EIB project in Honduras has also raised the national status of the indigenous and African descended Caribbean languages and cultures present in Honduran society.

Aruba

Aruba is part of the Dutch Kingdom and therefore its governmental, legal and educational systems have historically favored the Dutch language. Although most of the local population speaks Papiamento, all official written documents were worded in Dutch for 350 years. Until recently, all official school exams and classroom instruction have been given exclusively in Dutch. In colonial times Aruba was part of the domain of the the Dutch West Indian Trading Company (WIC) based in Curaçao for the supply of enslaved Africans to South America and the other Caribbean islands. This sociohistorical situation gave rise to the development of a creole language called Papiamento. Wagner (2014) quotes Wiel (2007) to offer an account of the hypotheses of the origins of Papiamento as seen in Table 7.

Table 7: Hypotheses on the Origins of Papiamento

Hypothesis	*First Spanish Hypothesis*	*Second Spanish Hypothesis*	*Language Bioprogram Hypothesis*	*Brazilian Creole Hypothesis*	*Proto-Afro-Portuguese Hypothesis*

Proponent	Emilio Terza (mid 1800s)	Jose Pedro Rona (1970s)	Derek Bickerton (1974, 1981)	Morris Goodman (1984, 1987)	Frank Martinus Arion (1996)
Argument	Papiamento only descended from Spanish as a corrupt variety with African influence, considering as codified evidence the Roman Catholic Prayer Book *Catecismo pa uso si catholiconan di Curaçao*.	Confirmed Papiamento's connections with African dialects and Spanish (not Portuguese); nevertheless, it was based on erroneously interpreted data.	With inadequate input from parents, children re-invented language, resulting in a creole structured according to universal linguistic principles.	Papiamento is formed with a Brazilian Portuguese influence mainly via the presence in Curaçao of Sephardic Jews from Brazil.	Caribbean creole languages can be traced back to a Proto Afro-Portuguese variety spoken in the slave-trading forts on the west coast of Africa where a multilingual population of slaves was kept before being sold.

Adapted from Wagner's (2014) interpretation of Wiel (2007), pp. 9-14

Martinus (1996) supports the Proto Afro-Portuguese Creole theory which asserts that already in the 15th century an Afro-Portuguese Creole had developed in Portugal, on the west coast of Africa and on the Upper and Lower Guinea Islands. It became a lingua franca that was frequently used between Portuguese and other Europeans and West Africans for trade and commerce. During the slave trade in the 16th and 17th century this language probably continued to be the commercial language and according to Martinus, many of the enslaved were ladinized (they were baptized as Christians and learned elements of this Afro-Portuguese creole language) before their transportation to the

Americas. The enslaved brought this language to the Caribbean where it was relexified to the dominant European languages in the different colonies.

Alonso de Ojeda, a Spanish captain, was the first European to reach Curaçao in 1499 and in 1527 Juan de Ampues seized Curaçao, Aruba, and Bonaire for the Spanish Empire. The Dutch colonization of the islands began in 1634 when the Johan van Walbeeck as a commander of the WIC conquered the islands from the Spaniards and a year later the Dutch Reformed Church was established there. In 1647 Curaçao became a slave depot where slaves were sold to the other islands and countries in the region and those who remained in Curaçao worked in business houses and plantations. In spite of the conditions for agriculture not being very favorable in Curaçao, the Dutch colonists turned a considerable profit which gave rise to an increase in the slave population (Fouse, 2002).

In 1650, the first group of Sephardic Jews who spoke Portuguese, Spanish and Ladino (or Judeo-Spanish) emigrated from Brazil (many via Amsterdam) to Curaçao. As Calvinists who believed that they were chosen by God to dominate all other peoples, the Dutch colonists forbid slaves from learning Dutch and joining the Dutch Reformed Church. Spanish speaking Catholic priests from South America therefore took on the evangelization of the slaves, a task they carried out using the language of the slaves. The Dutch thereby hindered the spread of Dutch and unwittingly fostered the emergence of Papiamento.

The role of women in the transmission of Papiamento can be seen as an important reason why it was very difficult for the Dutch colonists to maintain their language in Curaçao, since European descended women had very intensive contact with their house slaves and adult slave women called yayas were in charge of the education of the planters' children. Pereira (2010) mentions that within one or two generations the Dutch language was no longer the mother tongue of the descendants of the Dutch Protestant settlers and Papiamento became their mother tongue. There was therefore no need to use Dutch since the Sephardic Jews used Papiamento in their interactions with slaves, other European descended groups, and each other.

The Catholic Church used Papiamento in most of its religious and educational activities and this contributed to the development of the language, including the development of an orthography and a body of literature in the language. When Aruba and Bonaire were opened for settlers from Curaçao in 1770, Papiamento quickly flourished on those islands as well. Shell, a Dutch-British oil company, established a refinery in Curaçao in 1915 and many new Dutch workers with their families went to live in Curaçao leading to a greater contact between Papiamento and Dutch.

By 1920, there was already a sector of the island's society that wanted the incorporation of Papiamento into the public education curriculum (Herrera, 2003). The Dutch government proclaimed three mandates to prevent this from happening:

(1) educators who did not use Dutch as the medium of instruction received no funding;

(2) teachers were prohibited from teaching Papiamento or Spanish; and

(3) Papiamento was declared unfit to educate anyone properly (Herrera, 2003, p. 82).

Dutch was introduced in 1935 as the only language of instruction in education. The negative language attitudes enforced by these mandates still influence Aruba's collective consciousness.

Papiamento, the language of the majority in Aruba, has a long history of struggle for recognition, and against Dutch colonial language policy. This language policy still has a fierce grip on perceptions of the role of the Papiamento in education. But since the last decade of the 20th century, there has been slow but steady progress in language awareness in the community and, therefore, in official decision making concerning Papiamento (Pereira, 2013).

Mijts explains that some of the misconceptions and myths that have at different times serve to paralyze the development and implementation of any widely accepted and supported language policy in Aruban society are part of the discourse propagated in the media and by some policy makers (2013). Mijts shows that much of the rhetoric that surrounds decisions on national language policy that does not recognize the Creole vernacular is not rooted in well-founded research or practice, but is instead founded upon common misconceptions and myths on language learning and language development that can be summed up into three camps:

(1) language instruction must be in Dutch since the standard tests are in Dutch;

(2) earlier generations were taught in Dutch and they succeeded; and

(3) not using Dutch as a language of instruction holds students back and significantly lowers their chances of success in further studies.

He points out the counterproductive nature of such misconceptions which have similar counterparts in other multilingual postcolonial/neocolonial societies (Mijts, 2013).

Nonetheless, near the end of the past century, Papiamento, a Creole language that is currently undergoing a process of revitalization, started being taught in schools and thereafter gained the status of official language on the so-called ABC islands: Aruba, Bonaire and Curaçao. On May 21, 2003, the Parliament of Aruba approved the law that made Papiamento an official language.

Fundamental to the efforts to strengthen the use of Papiamento in formal spheres (law, government and education) is the *Fundashon pa Planifikashon di Idioma* (FPI) or Institute for Language Planning established in Curaçao in 1998. FPI has spearheaded a movement that established four objectives for language planning:

(1) to promote the use of Papiamento as a shared community language in order to obtain national unity,

(2) to promote the use and preservation of Papiamento in order to promote the preservation of Antillean culture,

(3) to promote the development and distribution of relevant vernacular materials,

(4) to promote the enrichment of skills for effective communication among citizens in a multilingual setting (Severing, 2008).

FPI works in conjunction with linguists, researchers, professors, teachers and writers to develop, produce, and distribute didactic materials in Papiamento. Print runs for paper publications are small, the unit price is high and, thus, the range and quality of material are far more limited than for languages with larger numbers of speakers. Whereas languages like English, Spanish, and French feature prominently in commercial applications, creole languages such as Papiamento are underserved. FPI as one of the major producers of didactic materials for the ABC islands continuously deals with requests for standardization of the language. This task is a challenge both technically and linguistically due to the scarcity of economic and human resources. Nonetheless, efforts are made to stimulate more research about Papiamento, and to modify the materials to accommodate variations (spelling, grammar) in the different islands. The Jubilee catalog of *Fundashon pa Planificashon di Idioma* has over 360 titles that include dictionaries, picture books, a complete pre-school program, science and math textbooks and workbooks, and puzzles, games and cds (FPI, 2008).

The successful production of didactic materials depends on an active cooperation between the state, non-governmental organizations, educational institutions, and materials designers. In Aruba, there are continuous programs of training for those charged with producing quality materials in Papiamento, as well as coordinated efforts for the organization of activities in which materials are presented and distributed.

Richardson (2010) underscores the importance for Caribbean students of encountering material with which they can identify, which incorporates familiar linguistic patterns and recognizable characters. He also raises the concern that there is a need to not only recognize the standard varieties spoken in Aruba. He makes the distinction between standard English and Caribbean English (English lexifier creole) spoken in San Nicolas in the southern part of Aruba.

Since 2003 Aruba has been celebrating International Mother Language Day as established by UNESCO. The goals of the activity each year are: the improvement and development of the status of Papiamento, nationally as well as internationally; broadening and deepening of knowledge about all aspects of Papiamento; and creating awareness about the value of Papiamento for its own development. In 2015, the activities involved various groups and associations such as Fundacion Lanta Papiamento, Bon Nochi Drumi Dushi, Grupo di Corector di Papiamento, Departamento di Cultura di Aruba who came together to promote Papiamento. In many of the activities organized for *Dia Internacional di Lenga Materno* didactic and other print material in Papiamento are promoted and distributed not only for students but also for the community at large.

Another institution that works toward the production of didactic materials in Aruba is *Departamento di Enseñansa* (DdE). DdE publishes literature and informative books for children between the ages of 4 to16 (translations as well as original works). DdE organizes workshops for writers and translators at different levels including beginning writers who have a talent for writing but want to know more about the rules for

writing, as well as for those more experienced writers who want to develop their craft further. DdE also organizes workshops for press communications and website development.

Children learn best when they are given the opportunity to engage with abstract concepts in concrete ways, and didactic materials in their mother tongue give students the chance to learn both visually and kinesthetically. By making learning to read or do math a sensory experience, children are more likely to gain the initial skills they need in order to continue benefitting from their education. These materials in Papiamento owe their success to the way they engage students in straightforward, fun and effective learning activities. Students explore diverse subjects and reinforce their language skills working across the four language arts. The materials communicate Aruban life experiences, the island's multi-cultural background and significantly add to the teaching experience by furthering student's practical and creative knowledge of language and culture.

Didactic material creation is a time-consuming, complex and intensive process. The institutions and organizations that produce didactic materials in Aruba (as well as in the other 'ABC' islands of Bonaire and Curaçao) understand that the most essential part of this process is to educate the community about the educational value of their language and culture. To offer an additional example of the creative ways in which Papiamento is reinforced, orthographic and grammatical rules are published as a supplement in the phonebook (*Buki di Telefoon*) which is distributed to local community businesses and the tourist sector (Setar 2010; Setar 2015). In more recent years this phonebook has

published common Papiamento sayings and proverbs that highlight popular cultural

knowledge (Setar 2016; Setar 2017).

In Aruba, innovation in language education has been extended beyond Dutch and

Papiamento via the *Scol Multilingual* project, to include English and Spanish which are

widely spoken among the population either as ancestral languages (English for those in

San Nicolas or Spanish for those who come from Venezuela, Colombia, the Dominican

Republic or other Spanish-speaking countries) or through contact. Prior to *Scol*

Multilingual (SML), these were not included as languages of instruction or literacy at the

primary level.

Table 8 indicates that most native-born Arubans speak four languages:

Table 8: Number of languages spoken by Arubans born on the island in percentages

Number of languages	Percentages of speakers
0	6.6
1	13.6
2	9.6
3	9.3
4	56.1

(Central Bureau of Statistics, Aruba 2010)

In 2007 the Ministry of Education in Aruba articulated a vision for education

where they envisioned a global citizen with proficiency in technical academic, social and

communication skills in Papiamento, Dutch, English, and Spanish, (NOP, 2007). As research evidence in developmental psychology and education identifies language as the major tool for learning, the Ministry of Education in Aruba considered it of critical importance for the curriculum to focus on developing multilingual language skills.

Papiamento, the local language, is seen as the key bridge to learning other languages. Papiamento is also used as the language of instruction in kindergarten in most schools. Pereira (2013) explains that theories of second language education support the use of the native tongue as the most important medium of the teaching/learning process. She then goes on to present the data from the Department of Education listed in Table 9 demonstrating that Papiamento is the mother tongue of most students and the obvious choice as the language of initial instruction and initial literacy.

Table 9: Language Profile of the Aruban Student

Language profile of the Aruban student Department of Education of Aruba Relato Estadistico 2009-2010		
Mother Tongue (L1)	#	%
Papiamento	15,418	72.3
Spanish	2,648	12.4
Dutch	1,399	6.6
English	1,269	6.0
Other	585	2.7
	21,319	*100%*

\# = Number of students who have the language as their mother tongue. % = Percentage of students who have that language as their mother tongue

(Pereira, 2013)

Through field work in Aruba, I participated in the design and implementation of a

framework for the evaluation of the *Scol Multilingual* program, which is at the forefront

of the ongoing transition from Dutch to Papiamento in the elementary schools on the

island. This evaluation project is a collaborative effort between the University of Puerto

Rico, the Instituto Pedagogico di Aruba (IPA), and the University of Aruba (UA) and it

has involved several trips to Aruba during which I participated in community based

action research focused on the use of Papiamento as language of instruction and initial

literacy in Aruban classrooms, which is being implemented alongside strategies for

introducing Dutch, English, and Spanish as second languages from the very first years of

formal schooling. The Aruban effort goes beyond the inclusion of the vernacular in

schools. This initiative, which has been put forward by a network of community agents

and educational institutions, seeks to promote a sense of awareness that would promote a

change in attitudes towards our multicultural heritage in the Caribbean. The community

in Aruba has already put into motion a strategic plan that insists that the school system

reflect their linguistic and cultural reality. As James A. Banks explains, multicultural

education is an idea and a movement to achieve equality, social justice and democracy

(2009).

Dijkhoff & Pereira (2017) construct a timeline for education and language policy

in Aruba since the late 1980s. They explain that the government of Aruba established

education as one of its main priorities in the island's 1986-1990 governmental

programming. A reorganization of the educational system was addressed by various work committees to better meet changing socio-economic demands on the island. Several documents were drawn up to shape the efforts for renovation of the educational system including changes in the language policy. By 1988 documents had been drafted supporting bilingual education efforts in Aruba. The ideas put forward in various documents and initiatives further promoted Papiamento in the community. Part of these promotion efforts included informational programs on radio and television. Over the course of the next decade these efforts gained momentum and 1997 was proclaimed officially as 'the year of Papiamento', and the *Cadushi di Cristal* (crystal cactus) trophy award was instituted to recognize those who most successfully promoted Papiamento through art, writing and research.

In June 1999, a national committee named *Proyecto di Innovacion di Enseñansa Preparatorio y Enseñansa Basico* (PRIEPEB) headed by the Ministry of Education presented their plan for a new primary school system as part of the 1999-2008 strategic plan. A conceptual framework was presented in 2002 with the *Curiculo Basico Aruba - Progreso Nacional* program. Two different language policy documents: *Habri porta pa nos drenta* in 2002 and *Curiculo Idioma y Educacion* in 2003 argued for bilingual schools with both Papiamento and Dutch as languages of instruction (Dijkhoff & Pereira, 2010).

Amidst the political tension and intense debate about the language of instruction in Aruba, in 2003 various actors continued to develop the new language policy for

primary education. The Minister of Education in Aruba eventually accepted a proposal for a multilingual education model, namely *Scol Multilingual* (SML), with Papiamento as the language of instruction throughout primary education up to the fourth grade. The *Proyecto Scol Multilingual* initiative began in 2009 with two pilot kindergartens and in 2012 in two pilot primary schools. Stakeholders in Aruba decided on a community based research model, where different participants have input in the research, thus ensuring that all interested parties in the community are able to take control and have ownership of the education process. This community based research initiative of the Education Department, the *Universidad di Aruba*, and the *Instituto Pedagogico Arubano* (IPA), aims assess the progress in the transformation of the current monolingual Dutch primary school classroom into a pluri-lingual pluri-cultural venue where the students' first language (Papiamento/u) is valorized as a language of instruction and initial literacy, and then utilized to teach Dutch, Spanish, and English as second languages. Some of the questions generated by the research community of stakeholders in Aruba were:

- Are students of SML more open to other languages and cultures? To what degree?

- Is there evidence of a shift in attitude/perception of students of SML to other languages and cultures?

- Do students whose mother tongue is English/Spanish feel more included/recognized/satisfied in SML?

- Does a higher 'feeling of inclusion' translate into better school performance?

- Is there a correlation between the 'level of inclusion' English/Spanish students feel and their academic performance?

- Is there a higher level of participation of students whose mother tongue is English/Spanish?

- Does increased familiarization with English have an impact on students' use of web based materials and technology?

- Can SML help dispel fears some people might have of English displacing Dutch?

- Can SML help level the status of English/Spanish to that of Dutch when official documents are written in Dutch?

- How can the process of recruiting English/Spanish teachers be made more flexible?

- Can teachers of English/Spanish have more flexibility in terms of resources they are allowed to use in their classes (e.g. using community native speakers of English/Spanish as resources in their classrooms)?

- Does technology, cable tv, music in English/Spanish have an impact on students' perception of English/Spanish? How does this affect the inclusion of English/Spanish in SML?

These questions as well as others were used as the blueprint for the assessment SML. The means of assessment that were developed demonstrate the benefits of multilingual literacy and the winds of public opinion and politics have changed in favor of this initiative. Regine Croes articulates the challenge to open the public debate again and continue the multilingual model throughout primary and secondary education, maintaining a major role for Papiamento throughout the education system and building

upon students' knowledge of other languages in a realistic, challenging and meaningful way (Croes, 2013).

In Aruba children interact with various languages daily. The amount of input per language may differ, depending on the language(s) spoken at home or in activities in and after school. Even though Papiamento is the mother tongue of 70% of the children, only Dutch is integrated into the primary school curriculum as language of instruction, with English and Spanish being offered as foreign languages at a later stage, in the 5th or 6th grade. Since 2008, however, when the Department of Education initiated the *Proyecto Scol Multilingual* (SML)using Papiamento as the language of initial instruction and initial literacy in primary school, simultaneously, the other three languages that play an important role in the Aruban context are included in the curriculum from kindergarten onward and offered through an approach referred to as "familiarisation" in the early years.

This multilingual model envisages an input-based, (content) integrated (semi)foreign language curriculum for Dutch, English and Spanish. The fact that the SML project is only active in three pilot schools does not imply that students in other schools do not develop multilingually. Williams explains how her preliminary case study research has shown that, for example, even without formal instruction in English, many children acquire this language informally, mainly through (digital) media (Williams, 2013).

The *Scol Multilingual* Project is designed to carry out the transition from the monolingual Dutch education system in Aruba to a system which galvanizes primary school students' non-academic competence in Papiamento, English, Spanish, and Dutch to promote literacy and academic competence in all four languages. In formulating the philosophy of the *Scol Multilingual* Project the stakeholders decided to focus on providing learning experiences founded upon a network of meaningful connections within a multilingual context and informed by the school´s and the community´s particular social-cultural-historical contexts. They believe learning is holistic and integrated, not fragmented into bits and pieces. *Scol Multilingual* aims to connect these bits and pieces into meaningful networks where the learner is not a passive recipient in the learning process, but is an active constructor of meaningful connections through dialogue and interaction about meaning, through a process of questioning and answering and of in which multi-languaging is an integral tool.

Additionally, proponents of Scol Multilingual recognize that learning is not confined to the classroom. Aruban society, like many other Caribbean societies, has emerged through history as a multilingual society (Croes, 2006; Alofs, L., 2008; Carroll, 2009; Dijkhoff, M., & Pereira, J., 2010). Papiamento is the most commonly used language at home, in the media and in everyday Aruban life; it is the most important marker of Aruban identity (Alofs, L., 2008); it is the vernacular and first language of most of the population and it used as an official language in Parliament, in official documents and was given the corresponding status of official language in 2003.

Nevertheless, Papiamento is not the only language that children learn as part of their everyday life. Most children watch a variety of television channels proceeding from the United States in English on a daily basis. But English is also the mother tongue of a substantial group of Aruban citizens, whose ancestors immigrated to Aruba from a variety of English Caribbean countries during the 20th century. Many of them went on to work at the refineries such as the Eagle Petroleum Company and the Lago Oil and Transport Company in the area of the island known as San Nicolas. The Caribbean varieties of English that these immigrants speak at home have developed into a distinctly Aruban variety of Caribbean English, namely St. Nicholas English.

Even after the official recognition of Aruban autonomy (*Status Aparte*) in 1986, Aruba has remained part of the Dutch Kingdom and this political situation assumes that all Aruban citizens learn and speak the Dutch language. The material reality of most Aruban children is that they hear and learn Dutch only at school and their mastery of Dutch does not meet the expectation of the educational system. Many Dutch speaking immigrants to Aruba learn Papiamento and interact with the local population in Papiamento.

After the closure of the LAGO refinery, the government decided to develop fully the potential of Aruba as a major tourist destination. Since the economic boom in the 1980s, the biggest group of immigrants to Aruba is made up of Spanish speaking people from the Latin American countries surrounding the island (Croes, 2006; Alofs, 2008). Many children growing up in Aruba learn Spanish from interacting with Latin American

people, listening to Latin American music, watching Venezuelan television and using the

internet.

In its educational philosophy, *Scol Multilingual* recognizes that a multilingual

environment, such as that of Aruba, equips children with multiple tools to perform

diverse ways of negotiating, interacting and building meaning. Croes remarks that the

value of this multilingual environment is far greater than the sum of its parts; as every

language is grounded in its own social-cultural-historic roots and contributes not only

new words, but also new perspectives, different ways of conceptualizing the world,

different cosmologies, and new and diverse images and concepts that enhance learning.

In a multilingual context, the learner establishes multiple connections, and by doing this

becomes a multilingual learner who constructs multiple identities.

Even though Aruban people recognize that multicultural and multiple identity

characteristics can be an asset, they also identify certain challenges. Croes (2006)

mentions that many people in Aruba feel that with the constant influence of so many

languages and cultures, Arubans do not develop a clear sense of national identity. People

identify the need to preserve Aruban traditions, Aruban values and the national language

Papiamento in the current situation where children are exposed to the strong forces of

assimilation to other languages, cultures and identities. Carroll (2009) identifies this

language situation as a threat to the vernacular and uses Ruiz's 2006 typology to place

Papiamento in a category where a language of wide communication is perceived to be

threatened by multilingualism. Stakeholders in Aruba recognize that the need to build a

strong sense of national identity with the benefits of learning in a multilingual and multicultural environment may seem like a challenge, but multilingualism and multiculturalism are in fact some of the most fundamental values that underpin Aruban identity and projects such as *Scol Multilingual* seek ways to reconcile all these issues.

Croes identifies the monolingual tradition which Aruban schools inherited from the traditional colonial education system as one of the biggest obstacles for the successful implementation of multilingual education. *Scol Multilingual* proposes to overcome this obstacle by: working together at all levels towards a multilingual and multicultural curriculum, multilingual teacher training, multilingual channels of communication within and between the schools, multilingual parent and community involvement, multilingual and multicultural testing, the use of multilingual media, among others (2006).

Scol Multilingual seeks to expand the functions of each of the target languages. The SML team recognizes that even though ideal, it might be problematic to expect that students become completely balanced and fluent multilinguals in Papiamento, English, Spanish and Dutch. Children learn languages at different paces or they might have different degrees of access to different languages in different scenarios. To acknowledge this, the *Scol Multilingual* project developed more representative attainment targets that meet as closely as possible the expectations of Aruban parents and at the same time match the opportunities that each child has to practice each target language in her or his daily lives. *Scol Multilingual* recognizes Papiamento as the language that offers most

possibilities in education as it is the mother tongue of most the children and the national language for all children.

In traditional monolingual Dutch schooling the natural way of learning through the mother tongue is significantly blocked. The imposition of Dutch has several outcomes for children who through rote memorization learn words in Dutch but may have difficulties grasping the precise meanings of abstract words. Learning concepts first in a foreign language in which they do not feel competent may mean that they fail to learn that there are words for these concepts in Papiamento and fail to use and develop more academic vocabulary in Papiamento.

Scol Multilingual goes beyond the recognition of Papiamento as the mother tongue of most students to acknowledge and mobilize the formidable resources that English and Spanish speaking students represent. They also recognize the shifts in relevance, prestige and use of both English and Spanish in the last 25 years where English has become more readily available through the internet and cable TV, replacing the Venezuelan channels the previous generation of Arubans favored and Spanish has acquired a status more closely related with immigrants from Latin America. (Croes, R. 2006) Parents and educators recognize that learning English can help facilitate increased transnational student mobility.

Croes identifies that the development of realistic attainment targets for Dutch, which carries the highest expectations but which children encounter and use least in their

daily lives, as the biggest challenge for the *Scol Multilingual* Project. Stakeholders want

children to reach the uppermost levels of education and want to make sure that if (or

when) the children go to Holland to further their studies, they will be able to succeed – in

Dutch. The level of competence expected in Dutch is thus a high academic level,

requiring complex language abilities and abstract vocabulary, in spite of children having

minimal contact with Dutch outside of school (2006).

The *Scol Multilingual* Project has proposed a structured way to introduce literacy

in the four target languages. As part of the blueprint for literacy, children receive initial

oral exposure to all the target languages and the introduction of literacy in a step by step

progression (shown in table 10) in different grades according to the agreed upon

emphasis for mastery of each target language. From Kindergarten on, Dutch, Spanish and

English are taught employing a familiarization approach during the first years and

progressively introducing a more systematic approach in the second and third grade for

Dutch, in the fourth grade for English and in the fifth grade for Spanish. This systematic

approach consists of the transfer of literacy skills in Papiamento to reading and writing

skills in the other three languages (Dijkhoff & Pereira, 2010).

Table 10: Initial Literacy in Scol Multilingual

Grade	K	1	2		3	4	5	6
Papiamento	*oral*	*initial literacy*	*oral+literate*		*oral+lit*	*oral+lit*	*oral+lit*	*oral+lit*
Dutch	*oral*	*oral*	*oral*	*initial literacy*	*oral+lit*	*oral+lit*	*oral+lit*	*oral+lit*
English	*oral*	*oral*	*oral*		*oral*	*initial literacy*	*oral+lit*	*oral+lit*

Spanish	*oral*	*oral*	*oral*	*oral*	*oral*	*initial literacy*	*oral+lit*

Initial Literacy in Scol Multilingual. Croes, R. (2006). Philosophical background of the Scol Multilingual: reconstructing the blueprint. Instituto Pedagogico Arubano. Unpublished Manuscript.

It is noteworthy to see that these emphases on each target language reflect the perceptions of stakeholders regarding the instrumental use of these languages and not necessarily the number of speakers that employ each variety. Wagner (2014) presents percentages from the Central Bureau of Statistics of household speakers of each language in table 11.

Table 11: Languages most spoken in Aruban households in percentages

	1981	1991	1996	2000	2010
Papiamento	80.1	76.6	74.0	69.4	68.3
Spanish	3.1	7.4	10.0	13.2	13.5
Dutch	5.0	5.4	6.5	6.1	6.0
English	10.6	8.9	7.0	8.1	7.0

Central Bureau of Statistics, Aruba in Kester & Fun, (2012, p.1); Emerencia, (1998), cited in Herrera, 2003, as cited in Wagner (2014)

It is interesting to note that most stakeholders prioritize the promotion of Dutch in schools despite it being the least spoken language in Aruban households. The colonial heritage has nurtured language attitudes that devalue the majority's creole vernacular and endorse the colonizer's European language, where the outcome is public education programs that historically have given the colonizer's European language a high status as

a valid vehicle for academic instruction, even though the vernacular of the majority of the island's population is a creole language (Wagner, 2014).

Evidence has demonstrated that Arubans studying in the US or in Latin American countries tend to have a higher success rate than those who study in the Netherlands, thus refuting the assumption that in order to learn a language - Dutch in this case - at the academic level required to be able to have success with it as a language of instruction in higher education, Aruban students have to start using it as the language of instruction from as early a stage as the first grade of primary education. Additional evidence refuting this assumption was the successful introduction of a specific one-year program for teaching Dutch as a Second Language to predominantly Latin American pupils entering the Aruban primary education system after grade two. The success of this group in mastering Dutch within a year with a higher level of proficiency than Aruban children who had experienced Dutch as the language of instruction from a much earlier age, proved that to learn Dutch, the approach to teaching Dutch and the strength of the basis previously attained in the mother tongue (Spanish in this case) were more important factors than the quantity of years Dutch was used as a language of instruction. Even the idea that since higher education in Holland is conducted in Dutch, then education in Aruba should be in Dutch as well so students can eventually succeed there, has been undermined by the reality that Dutch institutes for higher education are currently shifting towards the use of English as the language of instruction in their academic programs (Croes, 2006).

Currently, the program is in its fifth year at the two pilot primary schools, and since the decision to continue to the sixth grade is contingent on the outcome of the project, the results in these schools are being carefully scrutinized. The standards for assessing the results of the project have been difficult to define, which in turn problematizes the process of evaluation. Qualitative and anecdotal evidence from the those involved in the pilot schools, such as teachers' remarks on the students' relative progress, language proficiency and reading abilities in both Papiamento and Dutch as well on students' positive attitude towards the program, suggest the success of the program. An objective test to measure the development of students in areas such as language and creative and critical thinking has been developed by the Aruban research team and they are in the process of analyzing the data collected (Dijkhoff & Pereira, 2017).

The SML team has faced various difficulties during this period. These complications include limitations in terms of time allotment for teaching all four languages, the quantity of appropriate school materials, and the development of Papiamento vocabulary for abstract terms and specific terminology required for different school subject areas. The language proficiency of teachers and their general pedagogic ability to wholly implement this decidedly integrated curriculum of language and instruction have also been challenging as well as persistent parents' doubts about the future performance of students in Dutch.

Dijkhoff and Pereira report that many people still highly regard the traditional educational system which insisted on Dutch as the only language of instruction. As an example, they mention how the National Education Plan 2007-2017 does not identify language problems, and does not recognize the *Scol Multilingual* pilot project as a possible solution to the current realities of language and education in Aruba. Furthermore, there has been a Netherlands-driven renewed emphasis on students' proficiency in Dutch in primary and secondary schools (2017). Nonetheless, the results of student testing in 2008 and 2009 showed minimal improvements after primary schools were required by the Ministry of Education to design improvement plans for Dutch instruction (Dijkhoff & Pereira, 2010). In 2014 at risk (MAVO) students starting an academic program (HAVO) at Colegio Arubano were required to take a special two-week program, consisting mainly of Dutch language lessons under the assumption that this would give students an advantage and better prepare them for their academic career. Aruba's Government Program 2013-2017 recognizes the urgency of resolving the language situation and recognizes the multilingual model with the four languages within primary schools but also floats the possibility of implementing English as the language of instruction for the secondary level of MAVO, HAVO, and vocational (VWO) education. Dijkhoff and Pereira regard these developments as a sign that there is still much work to do to convince the community and the government of the importance of embracing Papiamento as the language of instruction in Aruba (2017).

The ongoing assessment of the status of Papiamento and Dutch is not confined to what happens in Aruba. Kester and Fun (2012) carried out a survey to examine the

attitudes of Arubans in the Netherlands regarding their identity and language use of

Dutch and Papiamento. For this, they adapted Garret's (2008) questionnaire used to

measure language use, attitudes and identity in Curaçao. The results show how language

plays a strong role in the identity of Arubans. Kester and Fun included the following

statements regarding Dutch identity and citizenship in the questionnaire so respondents

could evaluate on a likert scale:

    1. I am a person who is bothered to say that I am a Dutch citizen.

    2. I am a person who feels strong ties with the Netherlands.

    6. I am a person who considers it important to be a Dutch citizen.

    7. I am a person who makes excuses for being a Dutch citizen.

    10. I am a person who is critical about the Netherlands.

    12. I am a person who feels at home in the Netherlands.

From the results presented in table 12, Kester and Fun conclude that the Aruban students

in the Netherlands share a positive attitude towards their Dutch citizenship: where only a

low percentage (10.6% for statement 1) are bothered to say that they are Dutch citizens,

make excuses for being Dutch citizens (4.3% for statement 7), and are critical about the

Netherlands (20.2% for statement 10). In addition, a high percentage consider it

important to be Dutch citizens (67.0% for statement 6), and feel at home in the

Netherlands (86.2 % for statement 12). They notice, however, that this positive attitude

does not necessarily correspond to strong ties with the Netherlands (38.3 % for statement

2 with 27.6% feeling no strong ties).

Table 12: Results in percentages: Statements concerning Dutch identity and citizenship among Aruban students in the Netherlands

	Agree	Neutral	Disagree
statement 1	10.6	21.3	68.1
statement 2	38.3	34.0	27.6
statement 6	67.0	21.3	11.7
statement 7	4.3	17.0	78.7
statement 10	20.2	22.3	57.5
statement 12	86.2	9.6	4.2

Kester, E. P., & Fun, J. (2012). Language use, language attitudes and identity among Aruban students in the Netherlands.

In terms of Aruban identity their questionnaire contained the following statements and the results in percentages can be seen in table 13:

3. I am a person who tends to hide the fact that I am an Aruban.

4. I am a person who is happy to be an Aruban.

5. I am a person who identifies with other Arubans.

8. I am a person who considers himself to be an Aruban.

9. I am a person who feels held back because I am an Aruban.

11. I am a person who is proud to be an Aruban.

Table 13: Results in percentages: Statements concerning Aruban identity.

	agree	neutral	disagree

statement 3	3.2	10.6	86.1
statement 4	90.4	8.5	1.1
statement 5	73.4	18.1	8.5
statement 8	46.8	29.8	23.4
statement 9	89.3	7.4	3.2
statement 11	42.6	36.2	21.3

Kester, E. P., & Fun, J. (2012). Language use, language attitudes and identity among Aruban students in the Netherlands.

From these data, Kester and Fun conclude that Aruban students in the Netherlands are very positive about their Aruban identity: the great majority are happy to be Arubans (90.4% for statement 4) and a very small percentage tend to hide their Aruban identity (3.2% for statement 3). Arubans' mixed identity might explain why a lower percentage consider themselves to be Arubans (46.8% for statement 8) or express overt pride in being Arubans (42.6% for statement 11). Nonetheless, their residence in the Netherlands may arouse a sense of group identity, where a high percentage identify with other Arubans (73.4% for statement 5).

Kester and Fun recognize that additional research might be needed to investigate whether students experience a lack of equal opportunities in the Netherlands, and if they suffer discrimination due to the political changes that have raised xenophobic and discriminatory sentiments in the Netherlands during the past decade, to see if these events correlate with the high percentage of informants who feel held back due to their Aruban identity (89.3% in statement 9).

Kester and Fun's results for the importance of Papiamento in various contexts among

Aruban students living in the Netherlands are shown in table 14.

Table 14: Results in percentages: Importance of Papiamento in carrying out certain activities.

	Activities	Important %	Unimportant %
1.	Living in Aruba	90.4	9.6
2.	Talking to family	73.4	26.6
3.	Expressing feelings	70.3	29.8
4.	Being accepted in the community	70.2	29.8
5.	Raising children	69.2	30.9
6.	Talking to people outside of school	68.1	31.9
7.	Making friends	66.0	34.0
8.	Making jokes	64.9	35.1
9.	Finding a (romantic) partner	59.6	40.4
10.	Formulating ideas	57.4	42.6
11.	Talking to friends in school	56.4	43.6
12.	Making phone calls	55.3	44.7
13.	Being liked	51.5	48.9
14.	Getting a job	47.9	52.2
15.	Becoming smarter	46.8	53.2
16.	Writing	45.8	54.2
17.	Talking to teachers in school	44.7	55.3
18.	Reading	42.6	57.5
19.	Watching TV/video	30.8	69.1

20./21	Playing sports/ Going to church/chapel	29.8	70.2
22.	Singing	28.8	71.3
23./24.	Earning plenty of money/Going shopping	26.6	73.4
25.	Passing exams	24.5	75.5

Kester, E. P., & Fun, J. (2012). Language use, language attitudes and identity among Aruban students in the Netherlands. Multiplex Cultures and Citizenships.

The high percentages obtained in relation to the importance of Papiamento in carrying out certain activities indicate that Papiamento is considered most important for living in Aruba (90.4%) and for social networks, as indicated by the percentages for talking to family (73.4%), expressing feelings (70.3%), being accepted in the community (70.2%), raising children (69.2%), talking to people out of school (68.1%) and making friends (66.0%). In more than 50% of the cases students use Papiamento to communicate at home and with friends which Kester and Fun (2011) regard as an indication that their life in the Netherlands also seems to involve a Papiamento-speaking social network.

But the students do not consider Papiamento (very) important in other areas as evidenced by the low percentages expressed in table 14 for getting a job (47.9%), talking to teachers at school (44.7%), earning plenty of money (26.6%) or passing exams (24.5%), and leisure activities such as singing (28.8%) and watching TV/videos (30.8%), and for writing (45.8%) and reading (42.6%) maybe because they do not use their native language for educational purposes in the Netherlands and it is probable that their multilingual background from Aruba allows them to make use of other languages for

daily communication such as e-mail, online social networks and for reading digital newspapers and media.

In their comparison of results from Aruba with their findings from Curaçao, Kester and Fun (2011) reveal several interesting differences. Both groups are very happy with their Aruban/Curaçaoan identity, but students from Aruba identify more strongly with other Arubans. They also have a more positive attitude towards their Dutch citizenship, but surprisingly they feel much more held back in the Netherlands because of their Aruban identity. With respect to the importance of Papiamento, Curaçaoan students find their language more important for reading and writing, for their studies and the job market. This point of view can be explained by the language situation in Curaçao, where the use of Papiamentu (spelled here with "u" to reflect the different orthographies in Aruba 'Papiamento', and Curaçao 'Papiamentu') instead of Dutch has increased in all formal domains, including the school system. In Aruba, the language situation is slightly different in the sense that Spanish and English play a more important role than they do in Curaçao.

The importance of multilingualism is reflected by the fact that the Aruban government is working with the *Scol Multilingual* educational model that includes four target languages. The results with respect to language use suggest that Aruban students in the Netherlands use their native language mainly at home and with friends. Curaçaoan students use Papiamentu more often, including when meeting strangers, a fact that may be explained by the larger Curaçaoan community in the Netherlands. Garcia (2011)

mentions that Appel & Verhoeven (1995) argue that the attitudes of Antillean people towards the Dutch language revolve around two factors: in first place, it considered as a language with instrumental value, but, at the same time, it is rejected due to its colonial connotation. This might explain the attitudinal findings of Kester and Fun (2011).

The Instituto Pedagogico Arubano (IPA) as the teacher's training college in Aruba plays a vital role in the process of educational reform. IPA prepares new teachers for all levels of instruction, who will be able to function both in the current system as well as in the new developing system while also providing professional development to upgrade those teachers who are already in the system. IPA traditionally prepared primary school teachers for the traditional Dutch system and offered bachelor degree courses in Papiamento for secondary education. Now the educational system overhaul requires that IPA prepare teachers for a system with Papiamento as subject matter and the language of instruction, and Dutch, English and Spanish as foreign languages. IPA must undertake a renovation process where their instructors use Papiamento as the language of instruction themselves, develop new strategies for the language arts, enable the development of new curricula for and in Papiamento, Dutch, English, and Spanish and provide programs in Papiamento for in-service training of teachers and for improving and testing the competence in Papiamento and the other languages, not only for students but also for teachers and IPA instructors themselves (Dijkhoff & Pereira, 2010).

As part of their teacher-training efforts, Aruba has developed the *Perspectiva Mundial* Stay Abroad Program: A Global Perspective on Sustainable Education and Development, as a kind of capstone course. The *Perspectiva Mundial* Stay Abroad Program is part of the third year stay abroad course at the Instituto Pedagogico Arubano where students engage in a 15 European Credit (ECTS) course on Sustainable Inclusive Development (SID) with a focus on innovation in education, the environment, culture and democracy (as established by the United Nations). Aruban students are required to participate in an international program (already existing or tailor made) in the Caribbean, Latin America, North America, Europe or elsewhere so they can experience and compare diverse educational systems and overall aspects of development and modes of world making around the globe. For about a month, students visit and stay in the host country and participate of various activities, such as: school visits (primary/elementary) for observations and interviews with teachers, visits to educational research centers at Universities, visits to curriculum and test development departments, library visits, museum visits, excursions to national parks (with a focus on sustainability), as well as leisure activities to interact with locals. IPA has established specific objectives of the stay abroad program:

- Developing a broad perspective on Sustainable and Inclusive Development around the world: with focus on the theoretical perspectives of Planet, People, Profit and Participation

- Acquiring knowledge of different education systems

- Acquiring knowledge of diverse pedagogical and didactic perspectives

- Acquiring knowledge of innovation in teaching and education

- Participating in a cross-cultural experience with focus on history, migration, multilingualism and the arts

- Collecting data, via interviews, documentation and observations for research purposes, with students writing a research report upon their return.

IPA recognizes the need for students to be well equipped to deal with the ever-changing circumstances in e global community and develop the ability to actively participate and contribute to a more sustainable future. These types of in-service training activities for teachers allow them to put to use their multilingual and multicultural knowledge and to experience firsthand that other places may face similar challenges in terms of language, education and culture.

To assess the level of success of projects such as *Scol Multilingual*, stakeholders understand that the role of teachers is crucial. To ascertain teachers' attitudes regarding distinct aspects of *Scol Multilingual*, Pereira (2013) devised a series of surveys administered during the academic year 2011-2012 to investigate the position of the members of this group in relation to the following:

- education reform

- the introduction of Papiamento as medium of education and as subject matter

- the introduction of the new position of Dutch, not offered as the only language and the only medium of education, but as a foreign language

- their own mastery of the different languages in the curriculum.

Table 15 demonstrates kindergarten and primary school teachers' perceptions regarding their own language proficiency.

Table 15: Statements about language proficiency

	Strongly Agree	**Agree**	**Neutral**	**Disagree**	**Strongly Disagree**
1. My command of Papiamento is excellent	K: 33% P: 26%	K: 58% P: 54%	K: 8% P:11%	K: 0% P:7%	K: 0% P: 2%
2. My command of Dutch is excellent	K: 8% P: 24%	K: 33% P: 48%	K: 42% P: 19%	K: 17% P: 9%	K: 0% P: 0%
3. My command of English is excellent	K: 8% P: 4%	K: 25% P: 37%	K: 25% P: 26%	K: 25% P: 24%	K: 17% P: 10%
4. My command of Spanish is excellent	K: 0% P: 7%	K: 25% P: 28%	K: 17% P: 28%	K: 33% P: 15%	K: 25% P: 22%

Legend: K=Kindergarten, P=Primary Schools (Pereira, 2013)

Pereira found that 91% of the kindergarten teachers and 80% of the primary school teachers say Papiamento is the language they master the best. Papiamento is the mother tongue of 78.9% of all the teachers and kindergarten teachers use this language as medium of instruction. Thus, Pereira concludes that it is not surprising that the percentage of

primary school teachers who state that their mastery of Dutch is good or excellent (72%) is lower than the percentage for Papiamento. English and Spanish show relatively low scores. These languages are absent in kindergarten and early primary education, and are only in the curriculum of the fifth and sixth grade of the primary school as subjects, taught by special language teachers.

Table 16 shows Pereira's results concerning teachers' opinions about the role of Papiamento in the community.

Table 16: Statements about Papiamento's role in the community

	Strongly Agree	**Agree**	**Neutral**	**Disagree**	**Strongly Disagree**
5. Papiamento should not be allowed to die out	K: 100% P: 96%	K: 0% P: 2%	K: 0% P: 0%	K: 0% P: 2%	K: 0% P: 0%
6. Papiamento must be promoted in the community (media, etc.)	K: 100% P: 80%	K: 0% P: 7%	K: 0% P: 9%	K: 0% P: 2%	K: 0% P: 2%
7. Papiamento is an official language in Aruba	K: 82% P: 74%	K: 18% P: 13%	K: 0% P: 2%	K: 0% P: 2%	K: 0% P: 9%
8. We have to be proud of Papiamento as the official and national language of Aruba	K: 100% P: 91%	K: 0% P: 9%	K: 0% P: 0%	K: 0% P: 0%	K: 0% P: 0%
9. Papiamento must be part of the Aruban National	K: 100% P: 87%	K: 0% P: 7%	K: 0% P: 7%	K: 0% P: 0%	K: 0% P: 0%

Anthem and Flag Day ceremonies					
10. Papiamento is important for the Aruban economy	K: 58% P: 30%	K: 25% P: 19%	K: 17% P: 28%	K: 0% P: 16%	K: 0% P: 7%
11. Papiamento must be used more in commerce and tourism	K: 17% P: 35%	K: 75% P: 28%	K: 0% P: 12%	K: 8% P:7 %	K: 0% P: 19%

(Pereira 2013)

Statement 5 to 9 score very high with both the kindergarten teachers (100%) and the primary school teachers (an average of 93%) regarding the appreciation of Papiamento and of the recognition of its role in the community. Pereira explains that statements 10 and 11 show much lower scores in the group of primary school teachers (49% and 63%), compared to the kindergarten teachers (83% and 92%) perhaps because kindergarten teachers are working with Papiamento and this allows them to be more positive regarding its role.

Table 17 lists Pereira's results concerning teachers' opinions about the role of Papiamento in education.

Table 17: Statements about Papiamento's role in education

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
12. Using Papiamento as the language of instruction feels	K: 60% P: 37%	K: 40% P: 37%	K: 0% P: 20%	K: 0% P: 5%	K: 0% P: 2%

good and works well					
13. Papiamento must be the language of instruction in primary schools	K: 42% P: 58%	K: 50% P: 22%	K: 0% P: 0%	K: 8% P: 9%	K: 0% P: 11%
14. Papiamento must be the language of instruction in secondary schools	K: 9% P: 7%	K: 55% P: 29%	K: 9% P: 44%	K: 15% P: 0%	K: 9% P: 20%
15. Papiamento must be the language of instruction in tertiary education	K: 20% P: 20%	K: 60% P: 27%	K: 0% P: 9%	K: 20% P: 29%	K: 0% P: 16%
16. Teaching Papiamento as a language subject feels good and works well	K: 56% P: NA	K: 44% P: NA	K: 0% P: NA	K: 0% P: NA	K: 0% P: NA
17. Papiamento must be a primary school subject	K: 75% P: 89%	K: 25% P: 5%	K: 0% P: 0%	K: 0% P: 5%	K: 0% P: 2%
18. Papiamento must be a secondary school subject	K: 67% P: 87%	K: 33% P: 4%	K: 0% P: 2%	K: 0% P: 4%	K: 0% P: 2%
19. Papiamento must be a subject in tertiary education	K: 75% P: 77%	K: 25% P: 14%	K: 0% P: 2%	K: 0% P: 5%	K: 0% P: 2%
20. Papiamento is an obstacle to learning Dutch	K: 0% P: 14%	K: 25% P: 9%	K: 8% P: 19%	K: 0% P: 14%	K: 67% P: 44%
21. There is a strong relationship between home language and school success	K: 67% P: 55%	K: 33% P: 30%	K: 0% P: 9%	K: 0% P: 0%	K: 0% P: 7%
22. Compared to Dutch, English, and Spanish one	K: 27% P: 28%	K: 46% P: 35%	K: 0% P: 9%	K: 0% P: 5%	K: 27% P: 23%

can't say everything in Papiamento					
23. If Papiamento is used to explain things, the students will understand better	K: 83% P: 77%	K: 17% P: 18%	K: 0% P: 2%	K: 0% P: 2%	K: 0% P: 0%

(Pereira 2013)

Pereira found that the scores for statements 12, 13, 17, 18, 19 and 21 are very much in favor of Papiamento, both for kindergarten teachers as well as for primary school teachers. The scores for statements about Papiamento as language of instruction in secondary education (14), and tertiary education (15), show hesitation, especially by the primary school teachers. There are no scores for statement 16 for the primary school teachers, because they did not yet have experience with Papiamento in education at the time the survey was conducted. Regarding statement 20, Pereira concludes there is a positive tendency to accept the importance of the role of Papiamento in education, with responses of 67% and 58% respectively. The scores for statement 23, 100% and 95%, which are very positive for Papiamento, contradict the scores for statement 22.

Table 18 summarizes Pereira's results concerning teachers' opinions about the *Scol Multilingual* program.

Table 18:Statements about **Proyecto Scol Multilingual** *(the SML Project)*

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

24. Sufficient information about PSML has been made available to me	K: 42% P: 19%	K: 50% P: 19%		K: 0% P: 50%	K: 8% P: 12%
25. I agree with the ideas concerning the role of Dutch, English and Spanish in PSML	K: 25% P: NA	K: 75% P: NA	K: 0% P: NA	K: 0% P: NA	K: 0% P: NA
26. I want to stay in PSML	K: 92% P: NA	K: 0% P: NA	K: 0% P: NA	K: 0% P: NA	K: 8% P: NA
27. I think that PSML will be successful	K: 75% P: 43%	K: 17% P: 41%		K: 8% P: 8%	K: 0% P: 8%
28. It is a good idea to include secondary school in PSML	K: 40% P: 33%		K: 60% P: 49%		K: 0% P: 18%
29. I agree with the ideas behind PSML	P: 29%	P: 54%	P: 10%		P: 8%
30. I want my school to be part of PSML	P: 76%				P: 24%

(Pereira 2013)

The kindergarten teachers, who traditionally work with Papiamento as medium of education, had more information about SML, agreed with and did not have problems accepting the ideas of the SML. Two of the kindergartens included in the sample were already SML-schools. The primary schools were not yet included in the project at the time of the survey, but the primary teachers generally agreed with the ideas behind PSML; two of these schools were in the preparatory phase and were integrated into the project in August 2012. (table 17).

Table 19 summarizes Pereira's results concerning teachers' opinions about Dutch at the primary school level.

Table 19: Statements about Dutch in **Scol Basico** *(Kindergarten and Early Primary Education)*

	Strongly Agree	**Agree**	**Neutral**	**Disagree**	**Strongly Disagree**
31. Using Dutch as the language of instruction feels good and works well	K: NA P: 10%	K: NA P: 12%	K: NA P: 56%	K: NA P: 10%	K: NA P: 12%
32. Explanation of subject matter is an extremely difficult part of teaching in Dutch	K: NA P: 41%				K: NA P: 59%
33. Communication is an extremely difficult part of teaching in Dutch	K: NA P: 24%				K: NA P: 76%
34. Evaluation is an extremely difficult part of teaching in Dutch	K: NA P: 12%				K: NA P: 88%
35. Differentiation is an extremely difficult part of teaching in Dutch	K: NA P: 10%				K: NA P: 90%
36. Adaptation of materials is an extremely difficult part of teaching in Dutch	K: NA P: 5%				K: NA P: 95%

37. Students find oral tasks to be an extremely difficult part of Dutch lessons	K: NA P: 93%				K: NA P: 8%
38. Students find comprehension to be an extremely difficult part of Dutch lessons	K: NA P: 63%				K: NA P: 37%
39. Students find technical reading to be an extremely difficult part of Dutch lessons	K: NA P: 8%				K: NA P: 92%
40. Students find comprehensive reading to be an extremely difficult part of Dutch lessons	K: NA P: 68%				K: NA P: 32%
41. Students find creative writing to be an extremely difficult part of Dutch lessons	K: NA P: 60%				K: NA P: 40%
42. I would like to go on teaching in Dutch	P: 26%		P: 42%		P: 32%
43. I prefer teaching in Papiamento instead of in Dutch	K: NA P: 56%		K: NA P: 22%		K: NA P: 22%
44. I use Papiamento to explain things to the students	K: NA P: 28%	K: NA P: 44%	K: NA	K: NA P: 26%	K: NA P: 3%

45. I teach whole lessons in Papiamento	P: 5%	P: 71%			P: 24%
46. My communication in Dutch with the students is excellent	K: NA P: 8%	K: NA P: 11%		K: NA P: 46%	K: NA P: 36%

(Pereira 2013)

Pereira found that most of these statements were not applicable to the kindergarten teachers, because they did not have experience with Dutch as language of education. She calls attention to the contradictions in this section. While the teachers are mostly neutral concerning the statements 31 and 42 about teaching in Dutch, their point of view about their own teaching contradicts their opinion about the performance of the students in Dutch. Pereira's findings show that kindergarten teachers are very positive about *Scol Multilingual* while the primary school teachers seem to be a bit more hesitant, perhaps because it might be difficult for them to visualize the new school dynamic. Pereira posits that another factor may be that some primary school teachers do not dare to admit that by teaching in Dutch they are contributing to the faillure of the students, as indicated by the contradictions in their responses to the questions regarding Dutch in kindergarten and early primary education.

Pereira also presents important findings regarding the parents of primary school children (grade 1 to 6) in Aruba. In 2016 she administered a survey with 1,115 respondents to a sample of mothers, fathers, grandparents, tutors and other guardians.

Aruba is a traditional society where the mother is the most important caretaker of the child as evidenced by the majority of caretakers being mothers.

In her analysis of the mother tongues of the respondents and the children, Pereira found important information about the patterns of language transmission within Aruban families. Table 20 shows that in most instances the percentage of the language of the child and the percentage of the language of the parent is different. Pereira believes this is evidence that many children with an ancestral language other than Papiamento adopt Papiamento, the language of the community, as their first or second language and she concludes this is why the multilingual category is increasing.

Table 20: Comparison of Language Profile of Parent and Child

	Mother tongue of parent	Mother tongue of child
	Valid Percent	Valid Percent
Papiamento	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

(Pereira, 2016)

Pereira crosstabulated the results for mother tongue of the parent and mother tongue of the child as seen on Table 21 which evidences the patterns of language

transition in Aruban households. She offers the statistics as proof of the importance of

Papiamento as an important identity and integration marker. Respondents mentioned that

next to their mother tongue, they also master the following languages: Papiamento 7.4%;

Dutch 1.0%; English 2.2%; Spanish 2.1%; and Other 2.1%. A majority of 85.1% marked

three or four options, including Papiamento, Dutch, English, and Spanish.

Table 21: Crosstabulation of Mother tongue of parent and Mother tongue of child

Mother tongue of parent	Mother tongue of child						Total
	Papiamento	Dutch	English	Spanish	Other	Multilingual	
Papiamento	91.4%	2.4%	.3%	.7%	.2%	5.0%	100.0%
Dutch	26.3%	50.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	23.7%	100.0%
English	34.8%	4.3%	34.8%	.0%	.0%	26.1%	100.0%
Spanish	40.9%	1.6%	.5%	29.6%	.0%	27.4%	100.0%
Other	27.3%	.0%	3.0%	.0%	51.5%	18.2%	100.0%
Multilingual	17.4%	1.1%	1.6%	.5%	.0%	79.5%	100.0%
Total	63.4%	3.7%	1.4%	5.7%	1.7%	24.0%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests $p<0.000$ (Pereira, 2016)

Pereira asserts that the results of this survey indicate that to counter the effects of

both an educational tradition of monolingual instruction in Dutch that has lasted almost

two hundred years, and the negative attitudes towards creole languages in education that

have persisted for an even longer time, there is a need of a continuous dialogue between

all the stakeholders involved (Department of Education and the IPA, school-boards, parent's councils and teachers' unions).

The main asset of *Scol Multilingual* is that it concretely and formally moves beyond the mere awareness and tolerance of other languages in Aruba, to incorporate them into the formal realm of education stressing not just the differences but the convergences between them, which leads to a critical appraisal of one's own language and culture. Despite qualms, people in Aruba are moving on to the next stage in developing a shared understanding of and support for the introduction of Papiamento within a multilingual model for education. There is a certain level of common understanding and general support that allows a transformation of thought, where people are willing to give linguists and pedagogues the benefit of the doubt regarding education and language policy.

Chapter 4.

Eastern Caribbean

In this chapter, the present situation in the Eastern Caribbean will be examined, where the prospects for the use of creole languages in the schools are generally not very bright. The linguistic scope of Creoles in society and education will be explored, with particular attention paid to St. Croix and St. Eustatius (Statia).

St. Croix

This island 50 miles east of Puerto Rico has been known by many names (Ay Ay, St. Croix, Santa Cruz, Ste. Croix, Cibuquiera). For the past 500 hundred years, various colonial powers have flown their flag over it (England, France, Spain, the Netherlands, the Knights of Malta, Denmark, the US, not to mention renegade pirates). Initially, the inhabitants were various groups of indigenous peoples but colonial invasion carried with it an influx of Europeans and enslaved Africans. In 1917 the United States purchased the island from Denmark and it remains a territory of the US today as part of the US Virgin Islands (USVI).

Currently, most of the population identifies as Crucian although there are many inhabitants from the Lesser Antilles who are referred to as *downislanders* by Crucians as well as a sizeable population from Puerto Rico, sometimes referred to as Porto Crucians. Although the migration relationship between Vieques and St. Croix dates from the end of the 19th century, Puerto Rican migration to the island of Saint Croix increased in the 1930s, 1940s and 1950s after the collapse of the sugar cane industry in Puerto Rico, and the expropriation of over 60% of the land of the people of Vieques by the U.S. Navy (Highfield, 2009; Rabin, 2009-2010). Following the Puerto Ricans came Dominicans (from the Dominican Republic), Cubans and Columbians (Mathews, 2002). It has been estimated that by the 1970s, Spanish-speakers made up some 35% of the population of St. Croix. With them came Spanish language television, radio, print matter and, not least, musical traditions, all principally from Puerto Rico (Rivera, 1992; Villanueva, 2006).

Levels of bilingualism and multilingualism are high on St. Croix (Highfield, 2009, DeJesus 200X) .

The language situation in St. Croix is not unlike that found in many other Caribbean territories. English is presently the official language, but there are other languages that have populated the linguistic landscape of the Virgin Islands. A Dutch lexifier Creole, Negerhollands, arose in the 17th century on St. Thomas from interactions between Dutch planters and enslaved African and spread to St. John and St. Croix. In the 18th century, German missionaries translated the Bible into Negerhollands. The use of Negerhollands declined with emancipation in 1848 and the influx of English lexifier Creole speakers from other islands. Crucian, an English lexifier Creole, arose on Saint Croix and is still spoken there. The United States occupation in 1917 resulted in American English becoming the standard administrative, educational, and economic language. "Virgin Islands English," which retains some creole features, is commonly used in personal and informal situations but it is not recognized in formal scenarios (education, government, law). Crucian, the variety used as a vernacular on the island has been identified by Aceto (2003) as an English lexifier Creole.

To shed light on the debates surrounding the status of Crucian as a Creole language or a dialect of English, Aida Vergne compared the grammatical features of Crucian with the features identified by Faraclas (1990) as being shared by the Benue Kwa languages and the Atlantic Creoles. Her study examines 96 features grouped together under the categories: Verb classes; Copulas; Serialized verbs; Tense, aspect, and

modality; Voice, transitivity and objects; Nouns; Pronouns; Possessive adjectives; Determiners and adjectives; Adverbials; Ideophones; and Sentence level phenomena:

Verb classes

In the Benue-Kwa languages, Yoruba, Igbo and Obolo, verbs are minimally classified into a high-toned class and a low toned class, sometimes with one additional tone-defined class attested. The basic tone carried by a verb determines the suprasegmental pattern found over the verb phrase in which it is found. While the classification of verbs in Nigerian Pidgin can be done on the basis of tone, and while the suprasegmental patterns found over verb phrases are determined by the tone associated with the Nigerian Pidgin verb, the classification of verbs in Crucian on the basis of tone is less straightforward. Despite the fact that verbs in Crucian can be found carrying high pitch and low pitch, their suprasegmental behavior seems to be determined more by the general intonational and stress contours of the sentence than by any tone associated lexically with an individual verb, as demonstrated by Faraclas and Ramírez Morales (2006). This is is one of the few feature groups that we consider in this work where Crucian does not seem to pattern in a clear way with both Nigerian Pidgin as well as with the Niger Congo substrate languages.

Copulas

Most Benue-Kwa languages have more than one copula. Despite the widespread assumption that creole languages tend to have no copulas, NP shows a

complex copula structure with different copular lexemes. NP has an identity copula *nà*, an existential copula *dè* and a negative copula *bì*. In Yoruba, Igbo and Obolo, there is also more than one copula and the different copulas in each language include an identity copula and an existential/locative copula. Crucian and Nigerian Pidgin copulas are very similar in function to those found in the Benue-Kwa substrate languages. Both Crucian and Nigerian Pidgin have more than one copula, including an identity copula and an existential/locative copula and a highlighter. Crucian also has a negative copula.

Serialized verbs

Yoruba and Obolo and most other Benue-Kwa languages use serialized verb constructions; the verb 'take' is used to show instrumentality; the verb 'give' is used to introduce indirect objects; 'come' and 'go' are used with a locative function; and the verb 'pass' is used to show comparative degree. Serialized verbs in Crucian and Nigerian Pidgin are substantially similar to those found for the Benue-Kwa substrate languages. Both Crucian and Nigerian Pidgin have serialized verb constructions, use the verb 'take' to denote instrumentality, and use the verbs 'come' and 'go' with a locative function. While in Nigerian Pidgin the verb 'give' is used to introduce indirect objects and the verb 'pass' is used to express comparative degree, we were not able to find examples of such uses of 'give' and 'pass' in our Crucian corpus.

Tense

In NP and its substrate languages, aspect is more often marked than tense; future tense is more often marked than other tenses and the future marker is the same as one of the markers for irrealis modality. Also, present tense and realis modality are usually unmarked. Regarding factative tense, a verb which shows no overt tense marking and which is not modified by any adverbials of time, is normally interpreted to be in the present tense, if it is a stative verb, and in the past tense if it is an active verb.

In Yoruba, Obolo, and most Benue-Kwa languages, tense is not prominent, with future being the only tense which is regularly marked, zero present marking, factative tense interpretation and a strong link between future and irrealis modality. In both Crucian and Nigerian Pidgin, we find the same patterns: tense is not prominent, with future being the only tense which is regularly marked, zero present marking, factative tense interpretation and a strong link between future and irrealis modality.

Aspect

In Yoruba, Obolo and most other Benue-Kwa languages, aspect is prominent, completive/incompletive is the main aspectual distinction, a reflex of a verb meaning 'finish/done' is used as an auxiliary to mark [+ completive], a reflex of a locative/existential copula is used as an auxiliary to mark [- completive], and factative aspect is also used to interpret aspect. Crucian and Nigerian Pidgin exhibit the very same aspectual patterns: aspect is prominent, completive/incompletive is the main aspectual distinction, a reflex of a verb meaning 'finish/done' is used as

an auxiliary to mark [+ completive], a reflex of a locative/existential copula is used as an auxiliary to mark [- completive], and factative aspect is also used to interpret aspect.

Modality

In Yoruba, Obolo and many Benue-Kwa languages, modal verbs are common, a zero-subject imperative is used; the most commonly marked modality distinction is [+/- realis], with [+realis] usually unmarked but with a reflex of the verb meaning 'come' and phrase final *o* also used to mark [+realis], while [-realis] is often marked by a reflex of the verb meaning 'go'. While reflexes of the verbs 'leave' or "make' mark subjunctive in Yoruba, this appears to be only marginally the case in Obolo, where such uses of 'make' seem to be restricted to causatives. In terms of modality, Crucian and Nigerian Pidgin are very similar to the Benue-Kwa substrate languages. In both Crucian and Nigerian Pidgin, modal verbs are common; reflexes of the verbs 'leave' or 'make' mark the subjunctive; a zero-subject imperative is used; the most commonly marked modality distinction is [+/-realis], with [+realis] usually unmarked but with a reflex of the verb meaning 'come' ('go' in Crucian) and phrase final *o* also used to mark [+realis].

Voice

In Yoruba, Obolo and most Benue-Kwa languages, there is no true passive; with constructions involving impersonal pronouns, especially third person plural pronouns, or reflexes of the verbs meaning 'catch', 'do', etc. being used instead.

Crucian and Nigerian Pidgin exhibit similar patterns to those found in the Benue-Kwa substrate languages: there is no true passive, with constructions involving impersonal pronouns, especially third person plural pronouns, or reflexes of the verbs meaning 'catch', 'do' being used instead.

Transitivity and objects

In Yoruba, Obolo and most Benue-Kwa languages, the distinction [+/- transitive] is largely irrelevant for verbs with verbs of motion, stative verbs, and copulas taking objects. Human destinations may not be expressed with objects, some verbs take particular objects or cognate objects, and the distinction [+/- direct] is not a very useful one in the description and analysis of verbal objects. Nigerian Pidgin, and to a lesser extent Crucian, are very similar to the Benue-Kwa substrate languages, with the distinction [+/- transitive] being largely irrelevant for verbs, with verbs of motion, stative verbs and copulas taking objects, and with human destinations not expressed with objects. Some verbs in Nigerian Pidgin take particular objects and cognate objects but this does not seem to be the case in Crucian. In Nigerian Pidgin, the distinction [+/- direct] is not a very useful one in the description and analysis of verbal objects but this does not appear to be so in Crucian.

Nouns

In Yoruba, Obolo and most Benue-Kwa languages, associative-genitive constructions and compounds are marked by special pitch patterns and a

pronominal or adpositional linker is used to join two nouns into an associative-genitive construction. Gender distinctions and number specification are normally made only with [+human] nouns. Crucian and Nigerian Pidgin are quite similar to the Benue-Kwa substrate languages, with associative-genitive constructions and compounds being marked by special pitch patterns, a pronominal or adpositional linker being used to join two nouns into an associative-genitive construction, and gender distinctions and number specification normally being made only with [+human] nouns.

Pronouns

Yoruba, Obolo, Engenni, Izi, Igbo, Ekpeye, Efik/Ibibio, Mbembe, Bekwarra and most Benue-Kwa languages distinguish between 6 persons in their pronominal systems, including a distinction between second person singular and second person plural. They do not show gender distinctions, even in the third person. They make an emphatic/non-emphatic distinction and a subject-object distinction. While all of these pronominal patterns are found in Nigerian Pidgin, Crucian follows some of these general patterns, except that there is a gender distinction made in third person singular pronouns, and the emphatic/non-emphatic distinction and the subject-object distinction, while present, are not always maintained.

Instead of the 5-person distinction made in English (where the singular and plural forms of the second person are conflated) in Nigerian Pidgin, Crucian, and all of the Benue-Kwa languages in our sample, a six-person distinction is made. The common assumption that the pronominal form *ayo* used for the second person

plural in Crucian is derived solely from a non-standard English form such as 'all a [of] you' is put into question by our data:

Although *ayo* is also found in other English lexifier Atlantic Creoles spoken in the northeastern Caribbean and beyond, the apparently related forms *awi* used for the second person plural pronoun and especially the plural question word *ahu* 'who (plural)' seem to occur somewhat less commonly outside of St. Croix. In many Niger-Congo languages, the nominal prefix *a-* is used on plural pronouns. For example, in Yoruba the emphatic first person plural form is *à-wa*, while the non-emphatic form is *wa* and the emphatic third person plural form is *à-won*, while the non-emphatic form is *won*. Furthermore, in the Western Benue-Kwa languages, where only traces remain of the Proto-Niger Congo prefixed-based nominal classifying system, *a-* tends to be the most robust relic prefix, as well as the default prefix which is assigned to new items, etc. In Papiamentu, *a-* is the prefix which is assigned to many pronominals in their emphatic forms (*a-mi* from first person singular non-emphatic *mi*, *a-bo* from second person singular non-emphatic *bo*, etc.). The emergence of the *a-* pronominal prefix in Crucian and other Atlantic Creoles can therefore be said to be motivated not only by the Euro-Atlantic form 'all a you' but also by several different patterns found in the Niger-Congo languages spoken along the west coast of Africa" (Faraclas 2014a, Vergne 2011).

Possessive adjectives

Yoruba, Obolo and most other Benue-Kwa languages have possessive adjectives for 6 persons, with gender not being marked on these possessive

adjectives, and reflexive pronouns being formed with a word meaning 'body' and/or 'self', sometimes with and sometimes without an adjacent possessive adjective. Nigerian Pidgin and Crucian follow all of these general patterns, except that in Crucian there is a gender distinction made in third person singular possessive adjectives.

Determiners

In Yoruba, Obolo, and most Benue-Kwa languages, definite and indefinite articles are optional, 'one' is used as the indefinite article and ordinal numbers are used in cardinal compounds. All of these features are found in Nigerian Pidgin and Crucian, with the exception of the use of ordinal numbers in cardinal compounds, for which there was no evidence in our Crucian corpus.

Adjectives and Plurality

In Yoruba, Obolo and most Benue-Kwa languages, there are few or no adjectives and predicative adjectives are absent, with the use of stative verbs instead of adjectives, of associative-genitive constructions instead of adjectives, and of reduplicated forms instead of adjectives being widespread. Yoruba, Obolo and many Benue-Kwa languages often leave plurality unmarked and use reduplicated numerals to convey a distributive meaning. Yoruba, but not Obolo, uses the third person plural pronoun to mark plurality. All of these features are also found in Nigerian Pidgin. They are also present in Crucian alongside features that are more similar to those typical of adjectives and plural markers in English, except perhaps

for the use of reduplicated quantifiers for the distributive, for which there was no evidence in our Crucian sample.

Adverbials

In Yoruba, Obolo and most Benue-Kwa languages, there are few true adverbs, with reduplicated nouns or verbs often used instead, there is one main adposition which can be used to express multiple locative meanings and this adposition may be used with locational nouns to further specify its meaning. All of these features are also present in Nigerian Pidgin. In Crucian, these features are also to be found, alongside features that are more similar to those typical of adverbs in English, except perhaps for the use of the main adposition with locational nouns to further specify its meaning, for which there was no evidence in our Crucian data.

Ideophones

In Yoruba, Obolo and most Benue-Kwa languages, ideophones are onomatopoetic and often reduplicated, with some being used with particular verbs and others being used with many different verbs. Ideophones may be generated spontaneously by a speaker in certain contexts or communicative situations. These patterns are found in both Nigerian Pidgin and Crucian as well.

Sentence level phenomena

In Yoruba, Obolo and many Benue-Kwa languages, dislocation is one of the main processes by which an item may be topicalized and clefting is one of the primary means to show focus, with verbs being nominalized and put at the beginning of a clefted sentence to show verb focus. SVO word order predominates, with adverbial complements (adjuncts) usually coming after the object slot but with a restricted set of adverbials allowed to precede the verb. There is more than one negative marker and these markers normally occur before any auxiliary verbs in a sentence. Noun phrases and sentences can be conjoined without any surface conjunction marker but and/or-type particles are available to be used as conjunctions as well. By far, the most common strategy for conjunction at the sentence level is the use of serialized verb constructions. Relative clauses are optionally introduced by a relative linker and object clauses are introduced by a reflex of the verb meaning 'say'. Yes-no-question tags are used and question words may be compounds formed from a single question word or a particle and a noun. All of these features are also found in Nigerian Pidgin and Crucian, with the sole exception of verb focus clefted sentences for which there were no examples in our Crucian data.

Hypotheses confirmed

The result of this study generally confirms all three of our hypotheses:

Hypothesis 1: Substrate factors play an equally important role in the emergence of creole languages as do universals, superstrates, as well as monogenetic and other factors.

The findings of this study largely confirm this hypothesis. In nearly all areas of their grammars, both Crucian and Nigerian Pidgin show striking similarities to Yoruba, Obolo and other Benue-Kwa languages.

Hypothesis 2: Important structural continuities from West Africa are still present in contemporary Crucian.

The findings of this study largely confirm this hypothesis. While significant continuity from Benue-Kwa might have been expected in the case of Nigerian Pidgin, the parallels between Crucian and Benue-Kwa are in evidence in nearly all areas of its grammar as well. It should be noted, however, that in Crucian many of the typically Benue-Kwa grammatical features found in our study coexist alongside features which are more typical of English, which is not as often the case in Nigerian Pidgin.

Hypothesis 3: Despite the fact some creolists feel that Crucian is not a creole language, Crucian retains a considerable number of grammatical structures that typify both Atlantic Creoles and a large number of Benue-Kwa languages, and therefore could be considered to be a dialect of Afro-Atlantic English lexifier Creole.

The findings of this study largely confirm this hypothesis. On the basis of the pervasiveness of typically Benue-Kwa grammatical features in Crucian that we have encountered in the present study, we contend that Crucian could just as easily

be considered to be a dialect of Afro-Atlantic English lexifier Creole as it could be

considered to be a dialect of English.

Education in St. Croix

In terms of educational policy, bilingual education and English as a Second

Language (ESL) models have been used in St. Croix for the teaching of English but with

different applications and populations. A constant feature of this effort on the part of the

U.S. has been the 'Americanization' of the inhabitants of the U.S. Virgin Islands. The

model of English instruction as well as the language used for this instruction has been

exclusively North American Standard English even though for most of the population the

vernacular is Crucian and the standard is Caribbean Standard English.

Even though St. Croix is a Caribbean island, the Department of Education

systematically excludes the English lexifier Creole of the island as language of

instruction, language of initial literacy, etc. Research in language acquisition shows that it

is easier to achieve literacy in the home language than in foreign language (Krashen,

1999; Cummings, 2001; UNESCO, 2003). So, this is not a question of whether creoles

should be used in formal education –this has been already answered in the educational

literature; the question then is if creoles *can* ever be successfully used in formal education

in the Eastern Caribbean with the same level of success than achieved in some of the

cases from the Western Caribbean examined previously.

In St. Croix, there is resistance to the use of Crucian as the language of instruction because many sectors of the community do not see the value of Creole literacy. Part of this attitude towards Crucian can be attributed to the notion that the vernacular is a corruption of Standard English. Another reason for the rejection of the use of Crucian in educational settings is the association of the creole with poverty. Since education for many is seen as a vehicle for escaping poverty, it is problematic for them to accept Crucian as a language of instruction. English is the official language in the U.S. Virgin Islands and therefore, it is the vehicle for upward economic mobility.

Another obstacle for the use of the vernacular is the scarcity of Creole literature and materials. In contrast to the conscious efforts made in Aruba (and Curaçao) for the promotion and support of the development of local didactic materials in their creole language, St. Croix mainly imports didactic material from the United States. The adoption of materials produced in other neighboring Caribbean countries that recognize creole cultures and languages is not considered.

The vernacular employed by both Crucians and Porto Crucians is seen as "bad talk" and something that hinders proficiency and achievement of students. Even when the large population of Puerto Ricans living in St. Croix communicate in everyday situations with other Crucian people, many have also been convinced by an Educational System that does not recognize the Creole varieties, that Crucian is a corruption of English and do not associate the language with prestigious forms of communication. Covert Prestige for Porto Crucians tend to be associated with Spanish or Spanglish.

There is a Bilingual Program in St. Croix but it is geared mainly to Spanish speakers, by positioning them on an assimilationist track that intends to help them achieve the "same" native-speaker proficiency that their 'mainstream' peers supposedly have. The mission of the program is as follows:

> The Bilingual/English as a Second Language Education Program has been established to ensure that students of limited English proficiency are provided with proven research based language instruction programs that will assist them to master English and to meet the same rigorous standards for academic achievement as all children are expected to meet and, to the extent possible, develop native language skills.
>
> (http://www.stx.k12.vi/state%20page/bilingual/index.htm
> Government of the United States Virgin Islands, State Office of
> English Language Acquisition Bilingual/ESL Educational Program)

The Department of Education in St. Croix frame ESL as a tool of assimilation and monoculturalism in direct opposition to the pluralism and pluri-culturalism that predominate on the island. Formal teaching practices in St. Croix, therefore cannot be said to be culturally or linguistically inclusive, but instead provide limited opportunities for the affirmation of a Caribbean identity that embraces the pluri-culturalism and pluri-lingualism that constitute the students' reality. These opportunities are only accessible outside the classroom, through the work of a few grassroots educational and cultural organizations.

In educational settings in St. Croix, federal law (No Child Left Behind) supposedly emphasizes student-centered environments and the development of critical thinking skills when in reality the dynamics of instruction and language exert a hegemonic control over the pupils that leave their critical and creative potentials untapped. In the end, such educational settings, which Freire (1970-2000) describes as oppressive, are even more destructive when they reject the students' mother tongue, and thereby further cripple the fundamental human instincts of assertion, analysis, creativity and ingenuity.

An example of research that focuses on problems of language and education policy in the Creolophone Eastern Caribbean is Torres (2009) whose work on attitudes toward the use Crucian English lexifier Creole among stakeholders in St. Croix is illustrated in the tables below:

Table 22: Would Crucian Creole interfere with English development? (n=200)					
Strongly disagree	Disagree	Undecided	Agree	Strongly agree	No response
11.5%	19%	18%	29%	21%	1.5%

Torres, G. 2009. Attitudes of Crucian Students and Educators toward Crucian Creole as a Language of Learning. Ph.D. thesis, University of Puerto Rico, Rio Piedras.

Torres interviewed a sample of students from the University of the Virgin Islands in St. Croix and found a widespread attitude among them that the vernacular would potentially interfere with the development of Standard English. Fifty percent of those interviewed expressed a negative opinion of Crucian Creole, 18 % were not decided,

30.5% expressed a more favorable position towards Crucian Creole and 1.5% did not

respond. The tendency in these findings varies somewhat when the students were asked if

Crucian Creole should be included as part of a bilingual program, as shown in table 23:

Table 23: Should bilingual programs in St. Croix include Crucian Creole? (n=200)					
Strongly disagree	Disagree	Undecided	Agree	Strongly agree	No response
16.0%	24.0%	30.5%	17.0%	10.5%	2.0%

Torres, G. 2009. Attitudes of Crucian Students and Educators toward Crucian Creole as a Language of Learning. Ph.D. thesis, University of Puerto Rico, Rio Piedras.

Here the negative opinions have somewhat shifted, leading to a slight increase in the

percentage of ambivalent attitudes towards Crucian, while the more positive opinions

remain more or less the same as in Table 16.

Ursulin found in her survey that nearly all female Crucian respondents reported

using Creole more often and having more positive attitudes toward it than the male

Crucian respondents. In addition, the Crucian respondents tended to identify the physical

environment as central in their choice of whether to use English or Crucian Creole which

contrasts to the respondents from Martinique who tended to identify power relations with

the addressee as central in their choice of whether to use French or Martinican Creole

(2015). In spite of the reticence of the Department of Education in St. Croix to recognize

Crucian or other creole varieties spoken in the island, and in spite of the misconceptions

of speakers themselves regarding their vernacular as "bad "or "broken," most Crucians can be characterized as multilingual (De Jesús, 2012); the recognition of this asset at their disposal could benefit students and the community in general.

The Department of Education in the Virgin Islands administered the College and Career Readiness Standards aligned tests which organize students' scores into one of four categories: exceeded standard, met standard, near standard and below standard (see tables 24 and 25 below). In the student assessment carried out for 2014-2015, throughout the USVI, only an average of 17 percent of students from all grades met or exceeded the English and Language Arts standard; while only an average of 7 percent excelled in math. More than half of students in all grade levels fall below the standard in English and Language Arts (with the exception of Grade 11 with 41%). In math, more than 69% fall below the standard. USVI politicians point out that the Common Core Standard system imposed from the United States lacks the Virgin Islands Standard. Some of them hope to achieve a more holistic educational approach, especially in areas such as social studies, which could include the history and culture of the territory. Thus far, however, they failed to incorporate or recognize the role Crucian language can play in their recommendations.

Table 24:

Virgin Island Department of Education
2014-2015 Assessment Proficiency Rate
Smarter Balanced and the National Center and State Collaborative Assessment
English Language Arts/Literacy
Territory

Grades	Students Tested	Percent of Students tested who scored in each performance level				Percentage of students tested who scored
		Below Standard	Near Standard	Met Standard	Exceeded Standard	Met and Exceeded Standard
Grade 3	1064	65.0%	22.3%	9.2%	3.5%	12.7%
Grade 4	1042	70.5%	17.2%	8.8%	3.5%	12.3%
Grade 5	1072	65.6%	18.6%	12.3%	3.5%	15.8%
Grade 6	1020	51.8%	30.3%	15.4%	2.5%	17.9%
Grade 7	1108	64.9%	20.5%	12.8%	1.8%	14.6%
Grade 8	1029	52.1%	29.8%	16.1%	1.9%	18.0%
Grade 11	818	41.0%	29.0%	23.5%	6.6%	30.1%

Graham, C. (December 22, 2015). Education Commissioner McCollum Calls First Year of New Assessment Results a Starting Point for Measuring Students' Progress Toward College and Career Readiness (Press Release). St. Thomas: Virgin Islands Department of Education.

Table 25:

Virgin Island Department of Education
2014-2015 Assessment Proficiency Rate
Smarter Balanced and the National Center and State Collaborative Assessment
Mathematics
Territory

Grades	Students Tested	Percent of Students tested who scored in each performance level				Percentage of students tested who scored
		Below Standard	**Near Standard**	**Met Standard**	**Exceeded Standard**	**Met and Exceeded Standard**
Grade 3	1067	69.7%	21.3%	8.1%	0.9%	9.0%
Grade 4	1063	69.7%	24.7%	5.2%	0.4%	5.6%
Grade 5	1080	80.1%	15.9%	2.5%	1.5%	4.0%
Grade 6	1028	73.5%	19.6%	5.7%	1.1%	6.8%
Grade 7	1114	75.8%	18.9%	4.6%	0.7%	5.3%
Grade 8	1033	75.4%	18.3%	4.7%	1.5%	6.2%
Grade 11	824	74.0%	15.7%	8.0%	2.3%	10.3%

Graham, C. (December 22, 2015). Education Commissioner McCollum Calls First Year of New Assessment Results a Starting Point for Measuring Students' Progress Toward College and Career Readiness (Press Release). St. Thomas: Virgin Islands Department of Education.

Even with the compelling evidence that over 83% of the students do not meet the standard of English Language Arts and over 93% do not meet the Mathematics standard, the education commissioner blames the tests, and there is no recognition of the linguistic situation of the islands and the impact this has in education. These deficient performance results have led to a commitment on the part of the education commissioner to support students, teachers and schools to ensure greater levels of success; but again, this support does not include the recognition of creole languages and cultures in the United States Virgin Islands.

Although in formal domains, such as schools, there is no recognition of Crucian as something of value for Crucian people, in my fieldwork visits in 2006 to St. Croix I witnessed how some community organizations such as Per Ankh and the Caribbean Community Theater in St. Croix regularly schedule activities and plays to recognize the importance of African descended people in St. Croix and embrace Crucian as a marker of identity and cultural preservation. (Kahina, C., personal communication, 2008).

Statia (St. Eustatius)

Statia is a Dutch island located in the Eastern Caribbean, very near San Martin, with a population approximately of 3,300 inhabitants. On this island, the official language is Dutch, although the mother language of the majority is Statian English lexifier Creole. This Creole emerged in the context of contact between English and African languages in the commercial port that was established there. It is important to remember that this small island was under the colonial rule of different powers, among

them France, England and, finally, the Netherlands. The Dutch welcomed the use of English as a language of trade in the island, which was considered in the 18th century a commercial emporium for the entire Caribbean, due to its status as a free port, its proximity with other islands and due to the strong contact it had with the newly created American colonies (Garcia, 2011).

Today, Dutch is the language of instruction in schools, although it is not the native language of the inhabitants, with English used to varying degrees at the primary level. Many of the inhabitants se Dutch as a necessary language, because, according to Aceto (2003), people think that the political situation of the island as part of the Netherlands requires them to learn it; In addition, some of the inhabitants complete their education in the Netherlands. Due to its size, the island has only one radio station and two television channels that mostly use Caribbean Standard English.

Aceto (2006), who has studied the structure of Statian, the most widely spoken language on the northeastern Caribbean island of Statia, has concluded that this English-lexified variety cannot be characterized as an English-lexifier Creole, but instead should be classified as an 'English dialect Creole' or simply as a variety of English. (2006, 428-9). His characterization of Statian as a dialect and not a Creole reproduces a general tendency the study of Afro-Atlantic language varieties to invisibilize the agency of people of African descent and other marginalized peoples, and to consider only the agency of propertied men of European descent. Some attempts to reverse this tendency

were achieved in the 1960s & 1970s but since the 1980s there has been a resurgence of these Eurocentric arguments. Creolists such as Chaudenson (2002)- in collaboration with Mufwene – have refocused attention on the influence of Europeans and their languages in the Afro-Atlantic, at the expense of Africans and others. Aceto's (2006) linguistic analysis of Statian leads him to conclude that this variety is probably neither the result of the decreolization of an English lexifier Creole formerly spoken on Statia, nor the result of contact between a dialect of English spoken by European descended people and a 'deeper' English lexifier Creole spoken by African descended Statians. Aceto thus asserts that Statian is just a dialect of English and not an English-lexifier Creole. He uses his analysis of the tense, mood and aspect (TMA) system of Statian to characterize it as exceptional in relation to other Creoles of the Caribbean and deviant from typical West African strategies for marking TMA attributed by some to English lexifier Creoles and the rest of the Afro-Atlantic colonial era Creoles. He argues that the Statian TMA system looks less like the TMA system typical of Afro-Caribbean Creoles and West African languages and more like that of English and other European languages. Faraclas, et al. (2016) use Aceto's own data complemented with their own data to show that TMA in Statian basically operates on the same system found in most Afro-Atlantic Creoles and in most West African substrate languages. So Statian could just as easily be considered an English-lexifier Creole (ELC) as it could be considered to be a dialect of English. They conclude that for many other Afro-Atlantic speech varieties, including Statian, it is not possible to make a choice between 'English lexifier Creole' and 'dialect of English'.

Some of the reasons why English and not Dutch has been favored by the population in Statia are offered by Aceto (2003) who attributes the local emergence of English as the vernacular of Statia to the proximity and the robust trade with Anglophone islands. He also mentions the immigration, mainly from other English-speaking Caribbean islands as a possible factor since speakers of English lexifier language varieties make up the largest group of immigrants. In addition, Pereira cites Oostindie (2005), offering as another possible reason the fact that the resident English-speaking population that inhabited the islands since the British domination stayed after the transfer of power to the Dutch by the mid 1600s, and the Dutch arrived late in the conquest with small numbers of colonists and too little interest to have a significant cultural impact. Dutch policies of domination in the Caribbean countries prohibited slaves from learning Dutch and from joining the Dutch Reformed Church so as to protect the superior and elite position of the Dutch colonists This created a stratification in the community based on race, language and religion (Pereira, 2011). Pereira adds that Oostinde mentions that the lingua franca that predominated in the SSS (Saba, Statia, St. Maarten) Islands was English since they were mainly oriented towards their immediate [English-speaking]surroundings (2005). An additional reason is given by Arnold, Rodríguez-Luis & Dash (2001) when they explain that the national language of independent Suriname, Sranan or Sranan Tongo, was lexified in English before the occupation by the Dutch in the 18th century and in similar form the Creole of the islands of Saba and St. Maarten is related to English where Dutch is the administrative language but a local English idiom is the vernacular language. In contrast, Holm (2000) argues that it is not clear when English finally emerged as the dominant language in Statia (Faraclas & Lozano et al, 2015).

Aceto's claim that Statian was never an English Lexifier Creole must be re-examined in light of the tense, mood, and aspect systems of Afro-Caribbean English lexifier contact varieties. In many West African languages and Afro-Atlantic Creoles verbs are often unmarked, so that they are ambiguous for aspect (how the event unfolds over time), and tense (when the event occurs in time). But there are ways to specify aspect, if desired or necessary. Tense is not as important as aspect in many West African languages and Afro-Atlantic Creoles, so that an incompletive aspect marker is used to show the present, an irrealis modality marker marks the future, and a [+anterior] sequential marker may mark the past. In many West African languages and Afro-Atlantic Creoles unmarked verbs can be interpreted by default for aspect and tense according to whether they are plus or minus [active] (Faraclas, et al., 2015). Although verbs are often unmarked for TMA in West African languages and Afro-Atlantic Creoles, the following markers can be used to mark TMA if necessary or desired as shown in table 26.

Table 26: Afro-atlantic Tense, modality and aspect markers

TMA Category	Derivation of Marker	English-lexifier Creoles
ASPECT		
[+completive]	From verb 'done' or 'finish'	*don*, *finish*
[-completive]	From verb 'to be'	*de*, *da*, *a* from *de* 'be'
MODALITY		
[-realis] (future)	From verb 'to go'	*go*

TENSE/SEQUENCE		
[+past]	From past of 'be'	*bin* from 'been'
UNMARKED		
[+active] verb >>> [+completive] aspect, [+past] tense	YES	
[-active] verb >>> [-completive] aspect, [-past] tense		

Faraclas, N., Lozano-Cosme, J., Mejía, G., Olmeda, R., Heffelfinger, C., Cortes, M., Cardona, M., Rodriguez-Iglesias, C., Rivera, F., Mulero, A., DeJesús, S., Vergne, A., MuÑoz, J. P., LeCompte, P. A., Brock, S., & Arus, J. E. (2015). No exception to the rule, revisIted: The tense-modality-aspect system of Statian English lexifier Creole Reconsidered Paper presented at the 18th Annual Eastern Caribbean Island Cultures Conference In St Kitts And Nevis. St. Kitts.

According to Aceto (2003) himself, the following features of the Afro-Atlantic English-lexifier Creole TMA system are present in Statian except for one:

1) Verbs are often unmarked for aspect and tense: widespread

2) The [+completive] aspect marker don: widespread

3) The [-realis] modality/future marker go: widespread

4) The [-completive] aspect marker de, da, a: present

The only feature that Aceto says is not found at all in Statian is:

5) The [+anterior] sequence/tense marker bin: absent

Faraclas & Lozano, et al (2015) provide evidence from Statian periodicals to counter Aceto's (2003) claims:

Although Aceto claims that the Afro-Atlantic English-lexifier Creole preverbal [+anterior] sequence/tense marker *bin* does not occur in Statian, unequivocal evidence for *bin* in Statian can be found in one of the few sources of written Statian, a broadsheet newsletter titled The Statia Gazette which ceased publication some years ago: "[*so, mi bin foloo me moind…*]" 'So, I followed my mind...(So, I did what I intended…)' (2 September 1970). There are many more instances of *bin* in The Statia Gazette which are open to a double-voiced interpretation, such as: "*…she eye been yampie*" 'Her eyes were swollen' (17 June 1970) and "*de dead been glad…*" 'the dead were glad…' (2 September 1970). As demonstrated in Aceto's analysis of Statian, monocausal, mono-dimensional accounts of linguistic systems in the Afro-Atlantic tend to erase African agency, and highlight European agency instead (2003).

To counter Aceto's claims, Faraclas, et al. (2014a) have shown that African and Creole TMA structures cannot be ignored in the analysis of Statian, and refuse to fall into the same epistemic trap as does Aceto:

Instead of arguing for a single African source for TMA in Statian, Faraclas' research group prefers multiply-voiced accounts similar to Statians and other peoples of the Afro-Atlantic themselves. The group does not see scenarios such as that of Aceto, that trace Afro-Atlantic languages exclusively to one cause

(European languages, or language internal development, or universals, or a single West African language) as completely wrong and instead, see those scenarios as incomplete. Following Holm (2000), Faraclas et al. do not strive to identify a single 'definitive' source for the TMA system of Statian since so many of its features are analogous to those found in many different African languages as well as in many European varieties spoken in the colonial Afro-Atlantic. Linear, monocausal, monodimensional accounts of Caribbean languages must yield to multidirectional, multicausal, multiplex scenarios of convergence among forms found in substrates, superstrates, adstrates, and universals. The research group explains that creole speakers must be seen as creative agents who have used their languages to identify and dis-identify with both African and European ways of understanding and performing in the world. Statian is typical of the many Afro-Atlantic language varieties that have been inaccurately described as dialects of European languages. Through processes of formal and structural convergence between African and European languages, the Atlantic Creoles have been wrought and employed by their speakers as tools of double and multiple voicing in order to equip themselves with a linguistic inventory that has enabled them to use the same words and structures to simultaneously assert Afro-Atlantic, Euro-Atlantic, and other identities (Bakhtin 1981; Du Bois 1903, Faraclas, et al. 2014a).

In 2013 Faraclas, Kester and Mijts submitted their final report on the research they did on Statia in 2012 to study the benefits of and the attitudes towards Dutch and English as languages of instruction in primary, secondary and vocational education. Their

study consisted of language attitude surveys, narrative proficiency tests for students, class observations and interviews with different stakeholders (students: primary level, secondary level, and *schakelklas* [level introduced in 2011-2012 as a one-year immersion in Dutch to facilitate transition to secondary education]; teachers, parents, and other members of the community). Providing some information regarding the debates surrounding the use of Dutch as a second or foreign language in education in other islands with political ties to the Netherlands (Curaçao and Aruba) they demonstrate how the use of Dutch in natural settings on the island is practically nil.

Using Cummins' (2000) Threshold Theory the research team illustrates the perils of insufficient exposure time and motivation for the attainment of bilingual mastery. The team also explains the difference between intrinsic and instrumental motivation when they discuss the data that shows that Statian participants consider the development of reading and writing skills in Dutch to be very important, but call attention to numerous problems with the present situation, as students have problems expressing themselves in Dutch, do not like Dutch textbooks and parents have trouble helping their children with schoolwork. Attitudes are more negative among those respondents who experience a Dutch-only education system on a daily basis: students in secondary education and their parents. These two categories are also less positive about studying in a Dutch speaking country.

Faraclas, Kester and Mijts explain that after the disbanding of the Netherlands Antilles on October 10, 2010:

> …the language policy in the education system of Statia was maintained; that is, two languages of instruction with equal status (English and Dutch) are used in primary education. Then the primary education follows a transitional model, with English as the main instruction language in the first cycle (*groep* 1-4) and Dutch being progressively used as the instruction language in the second cycle (*groep* 5-8), in order to prepare the students for a secondary education system where finally Dutch is the only language of instruction and examination (2013).

The questionnaires utilized included four sets of questions concerning the attitudes toward language and education, the opinions about the importance of the Dutch language in different domains, the use of different languages in different settings, and the demographic characteristics of each respondent. Several interesting findings as results of the questionnaires are reported by the Statia research group. In terms of language use, Statian English is widely used by all groups excluding teachers, not only in informal situations such as with family and friends, but also with colleagues. When speaking with strangers, Statian English is regularly substituted by school/standard English by adults. Dutch use is limited across all categories of participants, excluding teachers. This might probably be because of their role as models of language instruction and due to the fact that most teachers were born in Holland. The highest percentages for the use of Dutch were found when students communicate with their teachers, even though teachers say they use standard/school English more regularly to communicate with students and

colleagues outside of school. All primary school teachers interviewed agree that Dutch is a foreign language for most Statian students and say that most Statian children are not exposed to Dutch until they come to school.

The results from the interviews carried out by the Statia research team include the following:

When asked in private, the great majority of the secondary school teachers, even the ones from the European Netherlands, believe that English should be the language of instruction at both the primary and secondary levels. When all of the secondary school teachers were questioned about it, they said they used English about 50% of the time. From the teacher interviews, there seems to be a consensus that the current education system is failing:

- "The students are being taught in Chinese. Everything is being taught to tests that have nothing to do with the students' reality."

- "The students should not be taught in Dutch, which is a foreign language for them. They should be taught in the language that they are more familiar with: English."

- "We know one thing for sure, that the system that we have now is not good for the students."

- "When we teach in Dutch at the secondary school, we are teaching to the walls."

- '9 out of every 10 students who go on to Holland for studies each year fail and have to come back and their families have to reimburse their scholarships.'

(Faraclas, Kester & Mijts, 2013)

Respondents to the questions on the survey from all categories (students, parents, teachers) reported that the use of Dutch is mostly reserved for instrumental purposes (education and job market) and less important for integrative social functions. Participants' attitudes toward Dutch are positive since they feel that hearing it, learning it and improving their skills in it is not a waste of time. Most feel the school system should help students improve reading and writing skills in Dutch but as expressed earlier they look at Dutch textbooks with contempt, parents feel inadequate when helping with schoolwork in Dutch and students do not feel particularly inclined to pursue studies in a Dutch speaking country.

Attitudes toward the use of standard/school English are positive probably because of the wide-reaching international reputation of English as a lingua franca. Attitudes toward Statian language/ identity are mostly positive and the informants show a healthy sense of community, although many of them were not born in Statia. In addition, most participants feel that textbooks are not contextualized to the reality of life in the island. The results obtained in the survey regarding attitudes toward bilingualism are very positive and compatible with the results of other parts of the questionnaire. All categories

of participants (with 71% of approval or higher) consider the use of Dutch in Statia important in formal areas (education and the job market), they are highly motivated to learn Dutch and think that the education system should prepare for a high academic competence in both languages.

The research team examined the opinions of all respondents with respect to the academic results obtained by the students. Table 27 shows that students' opinions regarding their academic performance are similar and somewhat neutral while the other categories of participants (particularly parents) are more critical with respect to the results of the students in school. A majority agrees with the statement that they are unhappy with the results of the students. Only in the case of the teachers is the percentage lower than 50% (Faraclas, N., Kester, E. P., & Mijts, 2013).

Table 27: Students' opinions about their academic results & stakeholders' evaluation of students' results

	STUDENTS					
21.	I am unhappy with my results in school					
		Yes	**Neutral**	**No**	*Mean*	*SD*
	Students in primary education	35,1 %	25,5 %	39,4 %	2,04	0,87
	Students in secondary education	32,3 %	36,5 %	31,3 %	3,00	1,22
	OTHER STAKEHOLDERS					
21.	I am unhappy with the results of Statian/my students					
		Agree	**Neutral**	**Disagree**	*Mean*	*SD*

Parents of primary education students	58,8%	24,6%	16,7%	2,41	1,01
Parents of secondary education students	62,5%	31,3%	6,3%	2,25	0,91
Teachers	47,4%	13,2%	39,5%	2,81	1,24
General public	53,1%	18,8%	28,1%	2,47	1,34

(Faraclas, N., Kester, E. P., & Mijts, 2013)

The comparative analysis carried out by the research team found that:

> primary school students have more positive attitudes toward Dutch and education in Dutch than do secondary school students, but for students in secondary education Dutch is more important. Bilingualism and education in English are rated positively by both groups. Second and third year secondary students' attitudes toward Dutch and education in Dutch were more negative than first year students and the students in *Schakelklas*. All three groups show positive attitudes toward English, and consider Dutch to be very important. Parents and other community members share a neutral attitude toward Dutch, more negative for Dutch in parents of secondary students and more negative for English in parents of primary students. All of the Stakeholders in the focus group meetings and interviews agreed that the goal should be both English and Dutch proficiency. The great majority agreed that in St. Eustatius, the best way to get to academic proficiency in Dutch is to go via academic proficiency in English. Even though the results show a multilingual community in Statia, Statian is the language of wide communication in all scenarios (Faraclas, N., Kester, E. P., & Mijts, 2013).

To assess the effectiveness of the current language curriculum the research group in Statia (Faraclas, N., Kester, E. P., & Mijts) administered a narrative proficiency test to students. Students observed a storyboard with six drawings and had to write what happened (half of the students did this in English first and then in Dutch and vice versa for the other half). The stories were evaluated in terms of: correctness of the storyline, demonstrated by the link between the storyline and the images and the degree of detail in storyline; sentences, by observing sentence/phrase length, sentence complexity (simple sentences, coordination or subordination, use of tenses, use of modal auxiliaries, coherence of verb phrases and noun phrases, SVO-order), signs of direct speech; vocabulary, examined through the adequacy of vocabulary used, diversity of vocabulary used (possible use of synonyms), and use of pronouns; and finally spelling, observing correctness and use of punctuation. The objectives for administering the narrative proficiency test were to identify what happens to the language proficiency in English during the transitional phase and to what extent does the proficiency in Dutch after the transitional phase match the proficiency in English. This would allow the description of the actual competencies of Statian pupils in writing and in expressing themselves using the consecutive languages of instruction of the Statian educational system before, during and after the transitional period. After examining the results of the narrative proficiency test, the team found that in general, the students could produce descriptions of the six drawings in the story board. Nevertheless, a high percentage of students show serious deficiencies in writing skills, often in both languages. Most stories were not very detailed and stick to a simple description of the basic story line using very simple sentences and vocabulary, presented grammatical issues (including word order and verb tenses, simple

SVO patterns, use of *and* or no conjunctions), and showed inconsistencies in storyline, and inconsistent punctuation (limited or no use of it), numerous spelling mistakes) (2013).

The texts written by the primary school students and those in *Schakelklas* showed more elaboration and creativity. These results clearly showed that the language skills for Dutch and English in *groep* 7 and *groep* 8 [grades 5 and 6] of primary school do not meet Dutch primary education objectives. Even so, the students in *groep* 7 and *groep* 8 perform much better when they write in English than when they write in Dutch. Most students' vocabulary in Dutch was limited and many inserted English words in their Dutch narratives. The written language proficiency in English of the students in and after *Schakelklas*, and in the third year of vocational education does not show any perceptible progress in comparison with the students from *groep* 7 and *groep* 8 (Faraclas, N., et al 2013).

The development of their written language proficiency in English comes to a halt as soon as the students leave primary school. After having gone through the language proficiency program in *Schakelklas* and almost all of the first year of vocational school, students' written proficiency for both Dutch and English is still below all of the main targets for mother tongue education in the Dutch primary education system (Faraclas, N., et al, 2013).

After the analysis of these findings, the research group (Faraclas, N., et al) demonstrated that even though students perform much better when they write in English than when they write in Dutch, their skills in both languages do not meet the

requirements set down in the core objectives for Dutch primary education. Noteworthy is the finding that all student groups demonstrated a collective negative attitude towards Dutch when asked to use the language to write the story. In addition, students who were expected to write their first story in Dutch postponed the task or started to act out instead of attending to it. The research group remarked how this should be a cause of concern for all Statians since these negative attitudes hinder academic achievement and set students up for failure in a system that imposes proficiency in Dutch (2013).

From their observations in the schools, the Statia research team noted that in classes that made use of English, students and teachers seemed less distant and more at ease than in those classes where teachers mainly used Dutch. Most of the discipline of students was administered in English. When teachers made elaborate clarifications of vocabulary in Dutch, many students either stopped participating or "checked out" from class discussions.

Some interesting excerpts from the report on classroom observations, the narrative proficiency test and the focus group interviews

Observation-Group 6 (English Grammar Lesson in English): The Statian teacher used English to teach the class. The students were all engaged and busy making charts on the basis of their English language workbooks to show the difference between 'action verbs' and 'linking

verbs' in English. The teacher went around the room to check to see how the children were doing. They felt free to ask her questions and to respond to her interventions. She had the language, the facial expressions, and the actions to connect with the students. When she corrected or scolded the students, she used expressions that were culturally appropriate and didn't make the students uneasy or overly uncomfortable. She made jokes with the students to make them happy to learn. She also used Statian English at times to make the students understand and feel comfortable.

The students were eager to carry out the task and to help one another when they could. The teacher gave the students positive feedback. All of the students raised their hands and were not afraid to make mistakes. They felt free to write on the board. The teacher broke the task down into the necessary steps. The teacher showed the students how to use the dictionary to make sure if a word is a verb or not. The students were reading with natural intonation and they knew the meaning of what they were reading. The students easily learned the tests that they can do find out if a verb is an action verb … or a linking verb. Students could distinguish between past and present forms of verbs.

Students needed to distinguish between Statian and School English. They paid special attention to the use of the third person present use of /–s/ and the use of present and past forms. The teacher explained the distinction between 'the way we sometimes speak' and 'the way we speak and write at school'. The teacher allowed herself to be corrected by the students.

The teacher let the students bring experiences from outside the class, television shows, etc. (p. 95)

Observation-Group VMBO-T-3ac (Mathematics lesson, 13 students):
There were hardly any stimulating visual materials in the classroom, except for a depiction of the US marines at Iwo Jima hoisting the Fries flag. The European Netherlander teacher had a very heavy Dutch accent. The teacher was teaching mainly in English, but using Dutch mathematics terminology from a Dutch book. The students answered only in English, except for the specific mathematics terms. The students had the impression that the class was in Dutch. The students didn't write because the teacher had told them that they "should just sit back and let the ideas seep in." The class was essentially a foreign language class. Not much was accomplished in the class, except reviewing 5 terms in Dutch that the students had learned before (p. 100).

Observation-Narrative Assessment *(Group 8, 8 students):* From the moment when the students realized that writing in Dutch was involved, the enthusiasm of the students dwindled. The students generally wrote better stories in English than in Dutch. The students who were asked to write in Dutch before writing in English generally took a much longer time to start the task than those asked to write in English first (p.95).

Brief Interview with Students in SKC (9 students): 7 students felt negatively toward Dutch and wanted less Dutch and more English in school, 2 felt all right with both Dutch and English. Some thought that Dutch was hard. "I speak English, why are my lessons in Dutch?" No one thought that English should not be used as language of instruction (p. 98).

(Faraclas, N., Kester, E. P., & Mijts, 2013)

After the research group submitted its report and recommendations the authorities in the Netherlands approved the transition to English as the language of instruction in all schools in Statia, which is now being implemented. Materials in English from other Caribbean islands are being adapted for Statia and materials to teach Dutch as a foreign language are also being produced. All Statian teachers are participating in a Diploma Course for professional development of their skills in Standard English.

The language situation in Statia is similar to the situations in other Caribbean islands such as St. Martin and Aruba (prior to 2003) for example, with regards to language status in formal realms such as education. After the tests, observations and interviews the consensus is that Dutch is neither a first nor a second language, and instead it is a foreign language. Statia has taken a step in the right direction by changing the language of instruction from Dutch to Standard English, but now Statia finds itself in a similar situation to Saint Croix, in terms of the task of integrating the local English lexifier Creole into the education system.

As in St. Croix, authorities in charge of education have implemented a bilingual program that takes care of some of the needs of the population, but excludes the Creole which forms an important part of the linguistic and sociocultural reality of the entire population. The next challenge for policy makers will be how to integrate Statian English lexifier Creole into the curriculum. The question is whether all stakeholders in Statia will recognize that the variety most people and students employ as their mother tongue is a variety distinct from English. Will they be able to learn from the mistakes of other territories in the Caribbean?

Towards the Recognition of Multifaceted and Constantly Shifting Languages and Cultures

Language's role both as message and medium of instruction highlight its importance as it "connects with the social through being the primary domain of ideology, and through being both a site of, and a stake in, struggles for power" (Fairclough, 1989, p. 15). The relationship between language use and identity, and between language and power fuel the societal discourses that shape the way that people in the Eastern Caribbean think about English lexifier Creoles along with the globalization of English and the degree to which these complicate the native speaker/nonnative speaker dichotomy, and in turn these define how policy makers and teachers traditionally respond to the specific needs of bilingual or plurilingual students (LeCompte, et al 2010). As Nero explains, these English lexifier Creoles incorporate phonological, morphological, and syntactic features of West African and other ethnic languages, with lexicon coming from British

English. Nero contends that: "It is this partial resemblance to a form of standard English, however, that has precluded Creole Englishes from attaining structural autonomy, and the colonial legacy in the Caribbean has allowed them to continue to be portrayed by both their speakers and outsiders as deformed versions of standard English" (1996, 486).

Nero agrees with Roberts (1988) that the value system of colonial slave society devalued Africans and their contributions hence perpetuating the ideology that Africans did not have a language and in turn West Indians would negatively value their language as opposed to English. Evans and Robertson (2010) explain that speakers of languages other than the official ones in the Caribbean have been consistently discriminated against because of language since Creole languages have been associated with under-education, low economic status and lack of opportunity for social development. Some of this discrimination is the direct result of the failure to commit these Creole languages to a writing system.

Siegel presents three main reasons for the devaluation of creoles: 1) their **history** since these territories were in the past colonies of a European authority and their European language became synonymous with upward mobility and the economic advantage of the elite whereas creole languages where associated with a lack of agency and power, while comparisons between creoles and the official languages favored European languages since they have long literary traditions (Alleyne, 1994); 2) the **standardization** of the grammars and orthographies of European languages means that they have dictionaries and grammatical descriptions while most creoles, relying more on

oral traditions, still struggle to find generally acknowledged standard grammars or orthographies and there is a limited number of dictionaries and grammatical studies.; 3) the **legitimacy** of creole languages is contested because they are seen as corruptions of the standard European languages. This is more patent when the standard lexifier of the creole co-occurs and exists as the official language. The fact that both varieties share most of the lexicon drives people to overgeneralize and surmise that they share the same grammar and that differences are the result of errors. This is even more evident when both creole and lexifier are part of a continuum.

Pereira (2011) describes the situation between Dutch and Papiamento in Aruba and in so doing paints a picture typical of most of the rest of the Caribbean. She explains how the people have been struggling with an educational system that is an unmitigated disaster for them. She claims that the decision makers know what the problems and their causes are, but they lack the courage to break with old imported ideas that do not work. She urges people not to slavishly mimic imposed failed educational models that have no consideration for the people, their languages, their cultures, and their histories, which were either completely negated or considered to be vastly inferior by those who imposed another language. She questions how people with this knowledge can still retain a system which is still being used as:

> … a very powerful weapon to colonize, and brainwash us in order to create generation after generation of people who don't believe in their own power and possibilities, but instead believe only in the power and possibilities of others. We can do better, if we dare to think for ourselves and be critical and creative,

essential preconditions to any form of growth or development which will serve

our own interests instead of the interests of those who have taken so much from

us and given so little back. We have to break with … colonial and Eurocentric

patterns… (Pereira, 2011. p. 6)

Educators must explore the possibilities and obstacles for the implementation in

the Eastern Caribbean of innovative programs which include the use of creole languages

in schools, similar to those found in the Western Caribbean. The discussion should not

neglect the complex interactions that take place between students' diverse language and

educational histories, their literacy practices, institutional discourses, and the many

modes involved in engaging with texts (Faraclas, n.d.).

The findings from St. Croix and the rest of the Eastern Caribbean along with the

findings from Aruba and the rest of the Western Caribbean, suggest ways in which the

solutions being proposed and implemented in the Creolophone Western Caribbean might

help people in the Creolophone Eastern Caribbean to begin to address their problems

with language and educational policy. The evidence presented demonstrates how

linguistic mis-management can have devastating consequences, and how the

acknowledgment and valorization of linguistic diversity in the Caribbean in educational

programs can not only improve educational outcomes but also contribute in positive way

to our well-being as Caribbean peoples.

Some of the obstacles which prevent the recognition of creoles in schools are related to the concept subalternity as advanced by theoreticians such as Said (2012), Spivak (2003), Bhabha (2012), Gramci (1985) among others. These scholars demonstrate how pro-European hegemonic tradition has manipulated the construction of peripheral identities, instrumentalizing them by setting up such binary oppositions as East/West, black/white, man/woman, rich/poor (Faraclas, et al, 2014b). Distorted enforcement of such cultural binomials has impacted spaces of western dominance such as schools, which, in turn, are geared to reformulate a stereotyped vision conceptualized of the other as a being offset and deterritorialized (as explained by Deleuze & Guattari, 1987). In this context, all inquiry and questioning of the West in the form of recognition of other languages and cultures is seen as destabilizing, threatening and confrontational.

The educational landscape of the Caribbean is littered with failed designs which have resulted in low expectations and frustration. DeGraff (NSF, 2015) highlights the fact that in many developing nations, one barrier to quality education is the fact that the community language is not used in formal education while the primary language of instruction is a formerly colonial language that few speak fluently. He explains that this language barrier has grave consequences such as academic failure and emotional distress among students; being a long-lasting violation of human rights; and becoming a severe obstacle to socio-economic development.

The colonial history in the Caribbean has fostered Eurocentric views and attitudes that support the implementation of educational policies that provide instruction merely

via the colonizers' European languages. The negative attitudes against Creoles are deeply rooted in a long history of colonialism and neo-colonialism which still militates against Creoles and in favor of European languages, even though the research literature demonstrates the benefit and need of education in the mother tongue for successful mastery of other languages and overall achievement in all other subjects.

Our samples of linguistic and educational policies from the Eastern Caribbean are a testament to the inadequacies of the systems in place and how these Caribbean creole-speaking communities have historically and systematically been subjugated by colonial educational systems that put them at a disadvantage and set them up for failure by attempting to erase Caribbean peoples' sociocultural and sociolinguistic reality. The adoption of foreign languages and models in turn has led to the detrimental adoption of foreign and decontextualized materials (Wagner, 2014). This situation has stunted the development of literacy skills and overall achievement of students and led to educational situations where all actors – students, teachers, parents, administrators, and the community at large, feel frustrated with the system.

The languages that emerged from British sugar slavery in the Caribbean have been generally considered by linguists to be autonomous varieties, and not dialects of English although many people believe them to be corrupted and ungrammatical forms of English. Those speech varieties that developed under French Caribbean sugar slavery have become the subject of intense debate among linguists as to whether they should be

classified as dialects of French or not; and in a manner similar to English-lexifier Creoles, they endure negative perceptions. The African-influenced speech forms that emerged from Spanish colonialism in the Caribbean are normally classified by linguists as dialects of Spanish, except for Palenquero and Papiamento, which are considered to be Portuguese-lexifier Creoles which have been significantly relexified in the direction of Spanish. To acknowledge the contributions of both lexifiers, some propose that these languages be referred to as Iberian-lexifier Creoles (Faraclas, N., et al. 2007).

Kershner (2010) assigns critical roles to Pidgins, Patois, and Creoles in Caribbean (oral) literary discourse as "sites of dialectic contestation rather than amalgamation and argues for post-hybrid, multi-vocal, theories of Creole languages, which must be grounded in notions of counter-resistance in an African and secondary Caribbean multicultural Diaspora." Kershner believes that "theories that privilege the Creole contribute to a multiperspectival shift that re-centers the speaker (rather than margin) of valued discourse and in turn becomes an instrument of a transcendent identity construction and politics" (2010).

Lessons from the Western Caribbean that could spell success for the Eastern Caribbean

The relationship between language spread, imposition and domination and the political and economic dominance imposed by colonial and neo-colonial powers can be

explained by Phillipson's theory of Linguistic Imperialism. When examining the situation of language spread and language hierarchies and in turn language use and maintenance in the Caribbean, the significant impact of Westernized and European agendas becomes apparent. Phillipson claims that Linguistic Imperialism is a 'subset of linguicism.' He defines linguicism as the "practices, ideologies, and structures used to legitimate, enact and reproduce an unequal division of power and resources (both material and immaterial) between groups which are defined based on language" (Phillipson 1992: 47).

The provision of language teaching and learning in the imperial language is a crucial factor in linguistic imperialism. This of course has repercussions for not only which languages are chosen but also what forms of the language and what cultural values are reflected in the language curriculum. The educational situations described above in the Eastern and Western Caribbean offer opportunities for the development of a praxis that may foster a decolonizing approach to teaching and learning in the region and beyond. Listed below are some of the guiding principles:

- Recognition, inclusion, and valorization of the Creole in education.

Based on numerous studies of bilingualism, evidence supports that acknowledging and reinforcing a child's mother tongue early on and specifically developing early literacy skills in a child's mother tongue better supports later academic outcomes in English and other imperial languages. Nonetheless, Caribbean teachers have been trapped

in a mechanical and authoritarian educational system characterized by regressive tendencies that inhibit the process of acquisition and valorization of native Creole languages as a tool for social change.

Creole speaking students are at a disadvantage at schools because their creole languages are considered 'broken,' 'corrupt,' or 'ungrammatical' and posing an unsurmountable obstacle for the acquisition of the standard. Both the Creole and the standard language must be used side by side, and given equal status and functions within the classroom. Through research based approaches administrators and policy makers can help in the implementation of educational programs in creole languages in Statia and St. Croix. These actors have the power to determine whether students feel included or excluded in schools. By bringing students' languages into the classroom, their culture and history are validated. Using Creoles as the medium of instruction in these territories teachers can foster the development of intellectually and linguistically active students who will be able to challenge a linguistically biased and crippling system, thus becoming future agents of change.

The significance of inclusive discourse is established on the fact that "language not only reflects but constructs social reality. Classroom life is instituted through the specific discourse practices in which students and teachers engage" (Goodman, S., Lillis, T., Maybin, J. & Mercer, N. (eds), 2003). Hicks explains how research evidences that "the success of the process of teaching-and-learning depends on the maintenance by

participants of a shared contextual frame of reference" (1995). This can be thought of "as a resource of 'common knowledge' which develops through time, and to which teachers can expect continuing members of their class to have access" (Edwards and Mercer, 1987). This common knowledge can emerge through the progression of a particular lesson or activity, as well as continuing and accumulating over longer periods of time and

> It is constructed using language and other cultural tools (such as books, other texts, and materials); it supports communication in the classroom, and the intelligibility of communication comes to depend on this common knowledge. Teachers and students feel able to assume some mutual knowledge, based on their previous shared experience (Goodman, S., Lillis, T., Maybin, J. & Mercer, N (eds), 2003).

The acceptance of the Creole in formal realms such as education will contribute to a multiple perspective shift that moves the creole speakers out from the margins of society and equips them with valorized speech that can be wielded for transcendent identity construction and politics. The educational situation will finally reflect the intricate sociolinguistic landscape where speakers manipulate a set of coexisting linguistic and cultural systems (LeCompte, 2011).

- Especially in cases where the Creole and its lexifier coexist, it is necessary that students and the community in general be cognizant of the significant differences and interface between both varieties.

In the case of St. Croix, Crucian must be used and recognized as a tool to strengthen the students' proficiency in Standard English. As observed in student and teacher exchanges in St. Croix, sometimes students (and teachers) switch to speaking the creole language in the middle of a lesson without being aware that they have done so. In order to ensure that students and teachers become consciously aware of the nature, purpose and process of language learning and use, a training program similar to the one implemented in Jamaica can be developed to assist teachers in honing their language proficiency skills and in recognizing both varieties so they can in turn devise strategies to help students do the same.

The historical and linguistic situation in Aruba preclude Papiamento from being mistaken for a variety of Dutch; nonetheless, it suffers, similar negative comparisons to European languages as do other Creoles. Of utmost importance is the development of a writing system for the Creole. However, because of the socio-political underpinnings of language planning efforts, and the lack of perceived legitimacy of creole languages, the formulation of a writing system includes two critical goals not usually found in other contexts: (1) choosing a variety of the Creole that would be accessible to the majority of speakers of the language, and (2) establishing the Creole as an autonomous language from its lexifier so that it is perceived as a separate, legitimate language (Siegel,2005). Statia and St. Croix need to consider the question of putting their creoles to writing in relation to the two types of orthography at their disposal, namely a phonemic orthography

and an etymological orthography. An inherent advantage of a phonemic orthography is that it produces a written form of the Creole discrete from that of the lexifier. On the other hand, the etymological orthography, since it retains spellings closely associated to words in the lexifier language, reinforces the interpretation that the Creole is merely a nonstandard offshoot of the lexifier.

- All actors must form part of the decision-making process.

The examples from EIB in Honduras and *Scol Multilingual* in Aruba show the benefit of eventually incorporating as many stakeholders as possible in the processes of research and decision-making for the adoption of language education policies in Statia and St. Croix. Government language policies in the Eastern Caribbean have not only been used to enact colonial domination from the metropole, but they are also a function of economic and social struggles among contending national elites, all seeking to compel compliance among subordinate groups. In addition to learning useful research skills that enhance the participation of each person, baseline studies and bottom up approaches build on sharing life experiences and developing community narratives and histories in communities. Communities which have been excluded from decision-making in the past, will have the opportunity to learn new methods to analyze their social reality, and to seek new forms of grassroots participation that enable them to organize and collaborate in transforming the quality of education and in turn their quality of life. Although Statia has adopted a bottom up approach to research, they have failed to recognize the mother tongue of most of the population. This yields an incomplete result that still shortchanges

their children. St. Croix has also failed to recognize their vernacular and regrettably is imposing educational models from the United States on its children.

- Teachers play a vital role.

As shown in the examples from the Western Caribbean, teachers should receive on-going and supportive training, since they are the professionals who are directly involved in implementing educational policy hands-on with the students. When teachers are considered crucial participants in the implementation process and encouraged to express their concerns or suggestions, projects have a higher chance of success. Contributing to the obstacles faced by speakers of these vernacular varieties is the notion that a 'standard' is the only acceptable form of language. The unfortunate consequences that flow from that notion are made worse by the fact that many teachers themselves exhibit negative attitudes towards students whose language differs markedly from the standard 'ideal' because teachers themselves are products of an educational system that devalues creole languages and cultures. There are still entrenched negative attitudes among teachers and the general public reinforced by the standard language ideology that promotes the superiority of one form of language, and the ideology of monolingualism that downgrades bilingualism and bidialectalism (Siegel, 2007).

Siegel claims that a logical step would be made to overcome the obstacles faced by students if "teachers recognized creoles and minority dialects as legitimate forms of language, if children were allowed to use their own language to express themselves until

they learned the standard, and if they learned to read in a more familiar language or dialect" (2007, p.67). It should be of no surprise that, given much of the educational baggage that teachers bring into the classroom, the opposite is often the case where the vernacular is seen as an unsurmountable obstacle in acquiring the standard. Since the standard language is also portrayed as the key to academic and economic success, the vernacular has to be curtailed and avoided at all costs.   This calls for extensive training and support of teachers regarding the value of the Creole. During the training, special emphasis must be given to the daily challenges that the teachers will encounter. It is very important for schools to contribute to the healthy and positive development of children and youth. The question on the minds of many administrators, policy makers, practitioners and teachers is how to do this in an effective way.

In Aruba and Jamaica in the Western Caribbean, comprehensive teacher training programs designed to aid teachers to revalorize Creoles and to adopt approaches and devise strategies that will help them improve students' academic performance, behavior and character are in place. With the recognition in Aruba of Papiamento as a vehicle of instruction and the decision to implement a multilingual program that recognizes other varieties as well, the *Instituto Pedagogico Arubano* has sought to create educational experiences for teachers involving the valorization of language and culture to foster creative, cognitive, reflective development in children, youth and the community as a whole. The many national and international conferences, the workshops and the courses including the travel-exchange *Perspectiva Mundial De Educacion* contribute to set up teachers for success and to become key agents of change.

In the case of Jamaica, the Bilingual Education Project (BEP) involved redesigning instruction to support bilingualism in Jamaican Creole and Standard Jamaican English. This was done by providing learning and teaching materials in both languages, and by training teachers specialized in Jamaican Creole teaching. Implementation was therefore complemented by an ongoing process of translation of teaching materials and teacher training in bilingual delivery. This overhaul required the full commitment of teachers to aid in the success of the initiative. Wagner (2014) highlights how in the Bilingual Education Project pilot teachers and teachers in training were using the recently translated materials (from Standard Jamaican English to Jamaican Creole). Siegel (2007) points out there have also been some additional developments with regard to awareness programs and that the CAPE syllabus course 'Communication Studies' in Jamaican high schools is an example of a program that includes a 'Language and Society' module that focuses on the linguistic situations in Caribbean territories and their historical background. This module also highlights features and characteristics of the grammar of Creole vernaculars as compared and contrasted to those of Standard English. This program recognizes and explores cultural and linguistic differences as a rich educational opportunity for both teachers and students.

- Moving beyond the dichotomy of the Creole and the imperially imposed language.

One of the greatest assets of the *Scol Multilingual* Project in Aruba is the recognition of plurilingual nature of their society. Since most cultures are in themselves multilayered and polyvalent, including, recognizing, and valuing the diverse linguistic and cultural heritages of all students within the classroom is an effective way of both addressing increased cultural and linguistic diversity in schools, as well as improving the educational experiences, and longer-term educational success and achievement of students. The polyvalent nature of creole languages collides with homogeneity. Croes (2011) considers the *Scol Multilingual* project to be the first initiative that explicitly supports multilingual education through a holistic approach and regards learning as a process of construction. Given that every language transmits a particular sociocultural perspective, *Scol Multilingual* regards Aruba's sociolinguistic context not only as a producer of multilingual individuals, but also as a producer of multicultural individuals. It intends, unlike traditional schools, to utilize the students' multilingualism and multiculturalism as complementary stepping stones in the attainment of knowledge. This project proposes to gradually introduce literacy instruction in four languages during the first years of schooling, in order to produce students who are literate in all four. The most salient obstacle that this project has encountered is the traditional Dutch-only system itself and the language attitudes that come along with it. In order to address both the pedagogical and social aspects of the Aruban context, the project has designed the curriculum in a way that permits the expansion of the social functions of the languages to academic functions.

The recognition of plural languages, cultures, and identities could be of benefit for the eastern Caribbean. For example, De Jesus (2010) explains that for centuries St. Croix has attracted people from many countries. Processes of immigration still continue today and its peoples speak at least 20 languages. Frequently the same individual will embody a plethora of languages, cultures and identities. Most of the population speaks at least two languages—Virgin Islands Standard English and Crucian English lexifier Creole. In addition, more than 40% of the people speak one or more of Spanish varieties—from Puerto Rico, Vieques, the Dominican Republic, Venezuela, Central America, etc. Furthermore over 25% of the population speak at least one or more additional languages—a second or third English lexifier Creole, one or more French lexifier Creoles, Pidginized English, Pidginized Spanish, Arabic, French, Chinese, Danish, one of many African languages or US Standard English. De Jesús' fieldwork involved gathering evidence of the multiple languages spoken on the island. My own field observations in the university, stores, museums, restaurants, on public transportation and in public schools, among other spaces (2007) confirm her findings. Regrettably St. Croix's rich linguistic environment is not recognized by its educational system. Similar contact situations involving numerous languages and cultures abound and Aruba and *Scol Multilingual* is at the forefront of the efforts for recognition of this fact.

- Incorporating models that reflect the organizing principles of *societés de cohabitation* into planning, decision making, and community.

Societés de cohabitation articulate an alternative positive self-identity that negates the sub-humanity attributed to Caribbean peoples as slave descendants by dominant others. Their fluidity of linguistic and cultural identification offers a historically informed framework that allows them to present all languages and cultures as being of the same value as those of the imperial powers. The acknowledgement of vernacular languages gives all a voice to talk about and thus realize their imagined community and offer greater social democratization. As the examples of the Western Caribbean illustrate, the Eastern Caribbean islands of Statia and St. Croix must connect their pedagogical practice with theories of language and power, and should engage in dialogue with other territories involved in similar initiatives. Educational programs inspired by various aspects of the *societés de cohabitation* which have played such an important role in Caribbean history as well as in shaping Caribbean society, can have a positive impact on learners' motivation to learn multiple languages. In *societés de cohabitation,* language contact has never been seen as a problem to eventually be resolved by the adoption of one dominant language. In contact *societés de cohabitation* the imperial or standard variety loses its exclusivity in favor of a role alongside other languages in projecting multiple voices and a pluricultural identities which incorporate a pluri-lingualism. By incorporating this less exclusive and less monocultural approach, our schools could become part of the solution to the inter-communal conflicts that are among the most poisonous legacies of colonialism in the Caribbean, by equipping young people to embrace the true multilingual nature of Caribbean societies.

Cummins explains that in "an era of globalization, a society that has access to multilingual and multicultural resources is advantaged in its ability to play an important social and economic role on the world stage" (2001). *Societés de cohabitation* seriously challenged and still challenge the colonial order. From the middle of the twentieth century onwards the movement for political independence and cultural self-assertion began to gather force but the outcomes of decolonization resulted in a complex, partial, and frequently ambiguous revaluation of local cultural traditions. *Societés de cohabitation* can help transcend the legacy of colonialism in order to acknowledge and valorize the variety and complexity of Caribbean languages and cultures and move them out of the fringes of declining colonial Empires. All the centrifugal elements of *societés de cohabitation* create a plurivalent and heteroglossic space in resistance to homogenizing standardization. Another of the characteristics that has facilitated the success of the *Proyecto Scol Multilingual* in Aruba and that can be useful to other Caribbean communities is that, as a modern reflection of *societés de cohabitation* it engages the community, moving away from the idea of a culturally homogeneous national identity by celebrating ethnic and cultural diversity. It also re-valorizes pluriculturalism in Aruba, which can help overcome long-standing prejudices, racism, and ethnic tensions on the island.

- Production of contextualized local materials.

The Eastern Caribbean educational systems explored in this dissertation do not provide materials in the local creole language since they do not recognize Creole's place in education. In the Western Caribbean, we have examples of locally produced didactic material in Honduras, Jamaica, Haiti, and Aruba. Having such materials available positively affects attitudes towards creole languages and cultures among students who seem more motivated to learn through creolized modes of instruction, and this in turn can positively impact teachers, principals, and parents. The production of materials in creole languages in the Western Caribbean is not restricted to formally didactic genres, but there are also examples of other materials that make use of the vernacular (newspapers, short stories, media, phonebooks, etc.).

As mentioned before, critical to the production of print materials is the progress made in orthography development in Jamaica, Haiti and Aruba. In Aruba, there is a prolific tradition of production of materials. Many of the resources prepared as source materials to help and encourage local literacy projects in Papiamento in Aruba and Papiamentu in Curaçao, recognizing orthographic differences within the ABC islands, are produced by *Fundashon Pa Planificashon Di Idioma* (FPI). In Aruba, FPI as well as other educational and cultural institutions and organizations (Departamento Di Enseñansa, Drumi Dushi, Fundacion Lanta Papiamento, etc.) aid in the production of literacy materials. The availability of dictionaries, grammar books, literature (both translations into Papiamento and original works in Papiamento), textbooks and workbooks for every single subject and all of significant quality (in terms of appearance/presentation and content) elevate the status of the vernacular.

Regarding the instruction materials in Jamaica, Wagner (2014) explains that even though after an initial evaluation of the BEP, evaluators were concerned by the lack of sufficient funds to reproduce high quality materials for each student, they recognized and highly praised the creative efforts put into contextualizing the materials and making sure every student received a copy. The evaluators recognized as a strength of the BEP that the materials being created by Jamaicans were extremely useful in the process of contextualizing materials for primary education. At the level of secondary education, Jamaican creole is used as part of the CAPE syllabus course 'Communication Studies.' Increasing the availability of contextualized learning material and re-tooling educators to participate meaningfully in the process of developing them for their own use is vital for the success of any program that integrates creole languages into instruction.

- Support of a critical mass of organizations in the recognition and promotion of the Creole.

Aruba has been especially effective in enlisting the support and collaboration of diverse organizations in the promotion of Papiamento for literacy, national pride and as a marker of identity. We have already highlighted the important contributions of *Fundashon Pa Planificashon di Idioma* but there are many other promoters of Papiamento. For example, the Foundation *Bon Nochi Drumi Dushi* (2013) established in 2007 as a reading promotion group, initially enlisted a group of teachers to read to

children. They later recruited volunteers of all kinds (parents, grandparents, community leaders) to read to children at different venues around the island. They routinely organize motivational campaigns to recruit more volunteers, and make their presence felt at various public and cultural events. They have also created a website that includes general information about the foundation, as well as reading materials divided into a section that also includes puzzles and games customized for children, and a section for parents and other family members who wish to partake in reading to children in Papiamento.

Another organization is *Fundacion Lanta Papiamento* (FLP) which has as its main objective to spread awareness regarding the importance of Papiamento as the official and national language of Aruba and the mother tongue of the majority of the population. FLP organizes a variety of educational and cultural activities to highlight the importance of Papiamento locally and internationally, alongside many other groups and organizations, including *Grupo di Corector di Papiamento, Biblioteca Nacional Aruba*, *Departamento di Cultura Aruba*, etc. Besides PSML, there are other educational institutions that collaborate in the promotion of Papiamento as part of their academic mission, including: *Instituto Pedagogico Arubano*, *Departamento di Enseñansa*, and *Universidad di Aruba*. If and when Statia and St. Croix decide to embrace, promote and support their Creole languages in their educational systems, they must understand that if they want to replicate the levels of success in the Western Caribbean, they must replicate the continuous, ongoing promotion of the creole language as well as the collaboration of a range of actors and stakeholders beyond those in the school.

- Use of the creole language for scientific inquiry in all subject areas and the integration of technology.

A lesson to be learned from Michel DeGraff's MIT Initiative in Haiti is the application of the Creole especially to those fields of study and scientific inquiry with which many who are still biased against Creoles would not associate the vernacular. The Initiative's use of digital technology and open educational resources online, all in Kreyòl, to improve science, technology, engineering, and math education, as well as leadership and management, is a step in the right direction for elevating the status of the language and broadening its linguistic register and vocabulary repertoire.

That said, the application of Creole to scientific inquiry must not merely be an effort, similar to those which typify linguistics as well as other fields of study, to seek to gain authority and popularity by appealing to a 'scientific pedigree'. According to Harding (1986), the underlying premise is that we are a scientific culture, since scientific rationality has permeated the modes of thinking and acting of our public institutions (p.9, 1986). In modern societies "neither God nor tradition is privileged with the same credibility as scientific rationality" (Harding, 1986, p.16). Thus, more and more theories and hypotheses are validated under a veil of scientific rigor and scientific data and objectivity. Supposedly unbiased and pure scientific research provides a distorted view of the reality of scientific data. Scientific information and scientific theories are economic commodities that other scientists and academics consume.

As Harding points out, regardless of the deep-seated Western cultural belief in science's inherent progressiveness, "…science today serves primarily regressive social tendencies; and that the social structure of science, many of its applications…its ways of constructing and conferring meanings are not only sexist but also racist, classist, and culturally coercive" (p.9, 1986). Harding adds that during the last century the role of science is no longer that of an "occasional assistant" but that of the direct manufacturer of economic, political, and social accumulation. Harding acknowledges that the question should not be: "how to preserve it, as if carved in stone or else to completely reject the European [scientific and epistemological] legacy, but rather how to update it so that it, like many other 'local knowledge systems,' can be perceived to provide valuable resources for a world in important respects different from the one for which it was designed" (p.125).

She claims that reflecting on an appropriate model of rationality in our culture is a project with immense potential consequences because it could produce a politics of knowledge seeking that would show us the necessary conditions to transfer control from the 'haves' to the 'have-nots' (Harding, 1986, p.20).

> The concern to define and maintain a series of rigid dichotomies in science and epistemology… is inextricably connected with specifically masculine-and perhaps uniquely Western and bourgeois –needs and desires. Objectivity vs. subjectivity, the scientist as knowing subject vs. the objects of his inquiry, reason vs. the emotions, mind vs. body –in each case the former has been associated with masculinity and the latter with femininity. In each case, it has been claimed that

human progress requires the former to achieve domination of the latter" (Harding, 1986, p.23).

Part of Harding's critique of the natural sciences is understanding the extent to which science is also gendered. If the nature, uses, and valuations of knowledge-seeking are to become humanly inclusive ones then we must be aware of the economic, political, and psychological mechanisms that keep science sexist. Concurring with Harding, these mechanisms must be eliminated from any project that seeks to bring creole languages and cultures to the forefront by embracing scientific inquiry and research. Violence and competition have been the key methods by which Western science has established domination over nature and colonized persons.

The adoption of creole languages and cultures into STEM fields under a *societé de cohabitation* approach could help move science to those more inclusive valuations of knowledge instead of those dominant paradigms of science that seek to justify the domination of non-European descended peoples by European descended peoples. Science can develop from and be part of a critical, moral and democratic discourse that fosters co-operation as part of its core values. These co-operation-based models of science have been commonplace in most human cultures and for most of human history. Co-operation based science is naturally entrenched in the efforts of communities to manufacture their own knowledges and resources in their own image and in their own interests, while the dominant architype of science is practiced by an elite group of isolated specialists who fashion realities in the interest of a dominant class. Faraclas, et al. 2008 present the

differences between the paradigm of co-operation of inclusive science and the paradigm

of domination traditionally inherent in Western models of science (Table 28).

Table 28: Paradigm of Cooperation contrasted with Paradigm of Domination

PARADIGM OF CO OPERATION/ AGENCY	PARADIGM OF DOMINATION
PARTICIPATION	PASSIVITY
SOVEREIGNTY	COLONIZATION
COMMUNITY AND CO-OPERATION	INDIVIDUALISM AND COMPETITION
NATURAL CONDITIONS	CONTROLLED CONDITIONS
SITUATED KNOWLEDGES	DECONTEXUALIZED KNOWLEDGES
EMBODIED EXPERIENCE	DISEMBODIED, ALIENATED
INCLUSIVE	EXCLUSIVE
BASED ON SECURITY	MOTIVATED BY INSECURITY/FEAR
INCLUSIVE NOTION OF "WE"	EXCLUSIVE NOTION OF 'US' AND 'THEM'
RESISTENCE TO DOMINATION	RATIONALIZATIONS FOR DOMINATION
SATISFACTION	PROGRESS
SPONTANEITY, CREATIVITY	SELF-CONTROL, DISCIPLINE
CRITICAL THINKING	HEGEMONY, INTERNALIZED OPPRESSION
MULTIPLE IDENTITIES	UNITARY IDENTITY
PLURILINGUALISM	MONOLINGUALISM
PLURICULTURALITY	MONOCULTURALISM
POWER	RIGHTS
PROMOTES AUTONOMY	PROMOTES DEPENDENCE
CREATES ABUNDANCE	CREATES SCARCITY
UNENCLOSED	COMMODIFIED
RECOGNIZES MANY TRUTHS	CLAIMS MONOPOLY ON TRUTH
HOLISTIC FOCUS	TECHNICAL FOCUS
NO PRETENSIONS OF OBJECTIVITY	SPECIALIZATION; EXPERTS

(Faraclas, et al., 2008)

These paradigms are perpetuated through language in the form of metaphors. Much of Western science is based on metaphors of competition. *Societés de cohabitation* have always offered peoples in the Caribbean spaces for cooperation and validation of their own powers to create knowledge, and *societés de cohabitation* could be used as a model for new approaches to science and education and all realms of society. (Table 29).

Table 29: Competition-based and cooperation-based metaphors

Cooperation-based metaphors:	Competition-based metaphors:
Systems complement one another o Language incorporates multiple models, heteroglossia, plurilingualism, complex repertories.	Systems oppose one another o Language evolves toward a single privileged dominant target, with a 'selective advantage'.
Language features co-exist synergistically o Non-zero sum games: In contact scenarios, features contribute to a speakers' linguistics repertoire.	Language features compete subtractively o Zero-sum games: In contact scenarios, features are in competition for a place in speakers' idiolects.
Heteroglossia is the end result o Low frequency features are stored, never erased, and can increase in frequency in the appropriate contexts.	Erasure is the end result o Features that have the least inhibitory effect on neuronal units are the features that are omitted from an idiolect.
Complementary and co-operation lead to pluralism o Markets in West Africa and in places such as Guiana are examples of societés de cohabitation, where many different language varieties are used in conjunction, not competition. (The example of Scol Multilingual may fall in this category).	Competitiveness and aggression lead to uniformity o Contact scenarios provide arenas where language users select among a pool of features that are in competition.
Inclusivity: Complexity acknowledged, welcomed, cultivated, and celebrated.	Reductionism: Complexity denied, avoided, constrained, and domesticated.

(Faraclas, et al., 2008)

The use of technologies in the quest to transform the world, must not result in yet another vehicle for Westernization. The role of technologies in promoting creole languages and cultures in education must make world-wide communication possible and be critical and self-relexive, to see if in fact technologies can be used to better the human condition as the Western and non-Western worlds collide. In Haiti we see how Kreyòl-based classroom tools and methods have the potential to shift educational outcomes toward both distributive and political equity. The MIT-Haiti Initiative serves as a model where close collaboration between humanists, educators, scientists, mathematicians, and engineers provides a space of possibility for all stakeholders. Linguistics is critical, alongside education and STEM, for facing global challenges, especially in promoting participatory readiness and distributive justice in disenfranchised communities that speak disenfranchised local languages—in Haiti and beyond.

- Integration of Corporate partners and other means for funding and promotion.

One important aspect to highlight is that in addition to the educational, technological, social and even political benefits of initiatives such as the MIT Initiative in Haiti, there is also a huge economic impact as a result of all aspects of the initiative. From the funds received from an NSF grant, the production of technological materials, the investment in schools, the hiring of translators, etc. there is a boost to economic activity. Organizers of the initiative are actively disseminating information about the

project through conferences, workshops, newspaper articles, videos (the initiative won a Public's Choice recognition from NSF 2015 Teaching and Learning Video Showcase: Improving Science, Math, Engineering, and Computer Science Education), social media (for example, Facebook, YouTube, and Vimeo). A key for successful implementation in the Eastern Caribbean must by the same token the identification possible service providers from community-external and internal sources and establishing viable consortiums that foster a sense of membership that promote, initiate, develop and secure a range of programs, activities and strategies for the benefit of all parties involved. A wide array of actors in each community must contribute to the success of the educational project, be it with time, funds or a combination of concrete and abstract offerings. Stakeholders in the educational process should become themselves communicators and ambassadors who can speak to other stakeholders and help dispel myths surrounding the value of Creoles and their appropriateness to work in STEM fields and engage in complex, rigorous academic discourse and higher order thinking skills while publicizing the gains obtained by an education for all as means of social justice.

- Learners aid teachers in the teaching/learning process.

We offer two vignettes as examples of teacher-learner interactions we have witnessed. The first comes from a school in St. Croix:

Ms. Rivera* corrects Joseph* when he responds in Crucian to the question:

"Where did you go?"

/Mi bin a stour/, says Joseph*

"I went to the store," corrects the teacher without acknowledging whether the

response correctly answers the question or not.

Joseph* does not participate again in class that day.

(* = names have been changed)

In many cases in the Eastern Caribbean, when the vernacular is not the official

language and teachers are seen as the only authoritative fluent speakers of the standard

variety (whether this is true or not), we see students who feel unsure about their language

and in turn feel unsure about themselves and their potential as learners. We gather from

some teacher-learner interactions and exchanges in Eastern Caribbean school settings that

engaging in classroom interaction with teachers of the standard variety is a struggle,

primarily because the pupils may be positioned as dehumanized non-adults who do not

know the target language and bring nothing to the teaching-learning process, or are only

seen to be contributing corrupted, worthless forms. In her 2009 dissertation: "Attitudes of

Crucian Students and Educators toward Crucian Creole as a Language of Learning." G.

Torres concludes that:

The general feeling in St. Croix is that S[tandard] E[nglish] is the language to be

spoken because of its worldwide prestige. It is the language of upward mobility

that will ensure a respected place in the business world while Crucian is viewed as

an obstacle to achieving higher educational and professional goals and as the

dialect of the illiterate. Therefore, speaking in Crucian is reserved for informal domains (interactions among friends and relatives), whereas English is mainly used in formal domains (school and work). Crucian Creole does not enjoy the prestige that SE does due to the constant negative rhetoric against it from the hegemonic SE education that started with the British colonial regime. By enforcing SE, educators are doing what they think is best for the students. Educators believe that Crucian retards the development of English; therefore, since teachers feel responsible for preparing students to become respected professionals, they emphasize SE as the linguistic medium through which that goal must be achieved. Parents also support an English-only methodology for the same reasons teachers do. Many students testified that parents had scolded them for using the "jargon" or "broken English" at home. As a result, the students made an immense effort to restrain themselves from using Crucian at home and at school." (p.155)

A second vignette is an exchange witnessed in one of the schools in the pilot project of *Scol Multilingual* in Aruba:

Ms. Williams* (whose first language is Papiamento) is teaching Spanish at the elementary level. While teaching a song about the family, a student William*, asks how to say "grandfather" in Spanish. Ernesto*, a student who has recently come to Aruba from Venezuela and whose first language is Spanish, explains to his classmates that "*abuelo*" is "grandfather" and "*abuela*" is "grandmother."

Ernesto* seamlessly takes on a role of teacher for the rest of this class teaching

Spanish vocabulary and modeling Spanish pronunciation.

(* = names have been changed)

To resist the marginalizing practices encountered elsewhere, students in *Scol Multilingual* who master any of the languages that other classmates do not, choose to reframe their relationship with the teacher as aids in the teaching-learning process, and from the identity position 'teacher', rather than 'student', claim the right to speak and teach classmates. The success of these types of interaction can be explained by social learning theory, as explained by Bandura. He emphasized the process of observational learning in which a learner's behavior changes because of the observation of the behavior of others and its consequences. The theory identified several factors that determine whether observing a model will affect behavioral or cognitive change. When students perceive similarity of the model to themselves, this increases their self-efficacy, leading to more effective learning of modeled behavior. It is hypothesized that peer modeling is particularly effective for students who have low self-efficacy (Bandura, 1963).

Conclusion

Hancock posits that exposing learners to various languages and cultures at an early age offers them experiential advantages in perception and concept development (1977). Parents, students, cultural leaders, educators and governments, should come

together in order to make teaching and learning more relevant in a changing Caribbean and in a changing world. They must constantly update their understanding of their target audience and their understanding of the material reality of those who participate in the process. The language of the metropole can no longer be the determining factor for the selection of the language(s) used as media of instruction. Now, in a progressive Caribbean, the plurilingual, pluri-cultural and pluri identified nature of the peoples must be recognized, cultivated and celebrated.

Since preparation is the key that will unlock the door of opportunity for the twenty-first century, students at all levels should be given the opportunity to study and use various languages. Studies on foreign language teaching and learning have shown that the earlier a student begins the study of a foreign language the better she or he is able to perform not only in that foreign language but in other subject areas. Aaron (1971) states that persons who have studied foreign languages for several years show improvements in vocabulary, grammar, and composition skills in their own language. Their pronunciation is much better since they are not as inhibited in their oral language performance as the older learner.

But what if, rather than considering these languages to be "foreign", we considered these languages instead were recognized to be a part of the cultural makeup of Caribbean peoples? Certainly, the benefits and rewards will have an impact not only on the educational life of the learner but also on her/his overall quality of life as well. A monolithic monolingual model of instruction which is the prevailing paradigm in most

Atlantic colonial societies treat Caribbean culture and languages as determined and constrained by historical events such as slavery and reproduce a narrative of impossible oppositional struggle against colonial and postcolonial/neocolonial domination (Burton, 1997).

The right to education is fundamental. It shapes the life of the individual, and opens new opportunities of understanding, knowledge and self-assurance. For those who speak a creole language, education in the mother tongue establishes a communicating bridge with the traditions, history and language of the community to which they belong. We must recognize that the multiple varieties spoken in each territory of the Caribbean constitute a wealth of voices that should find spaces as valuable resources in the educational landscape.

Recognition of creole languages and cultures similarly recognizes the decentered, heteroglossic sense of personal authority over language and of personal power through language into the Creole Space brought by African and Afro-Caribbean peoples. Language and power are not the exclusive dominion of elites and Euro-centric peoples, and when Africans and Afro-Caribbean peoples through heteroglossia embrace their traditional sense of personal and community control over their languages, cultures and existence, they can subvert and transform systemic forces that seek to impose a unitary truth (Faraclas, Walicek, Alleyne, Geigel, and Ortiz 2007: 22).

The initiatives being undertaken outside of the Eastern Caribbean in places such as Aruba, Jamaica, Haiti, and Honduras toward the re-valorization of creole languages and their inclusion in school curricula, could be replicated with the English lexifier Creoles of the Eastern Caribbean to improve levels of student success and satisfaction in the learning process. Language planning efforts must take into consideration the plurilingual contexts and the interaction between speakers of different creole vernaculars as well as other varieties that come into play to negotiate meaning in the creole space. Recognizing and accepting linguistic complexity is of utmost importance in educational settings. Educators must acknowledge and valorize diverse communicative factors and strategies such as code switching; speakers' motivation, self-confidence, individual differences; and multiple socio-cultural approaches to acquisition (inter-cultural considerations, learning traditions, biases and expectations, linguistic and socio-cultural identity, know-how, and the languages in contact).

Educators, policy makers, government officials and Caribbean peoples in general must recognize the value of creole languages as evidence of the flexibility, resistance and creativity of Afro-Caribbean peoples (Glissant, 1997); in perpetual bilinguism/multililingualism (Bernabe, 1990) who are not only pluri-lingual, but also pluri-cultural, and pluri-identified (Faraclas, et al 2008).

Ball (2010) observes that the role of the mother tongue in monolingual classes is a topic which is often ignored in discussions of methodology and in teacher training. He contends that the potential of the mother tongue as a classroom resource is so great that

its role should merit considerable attention and discussion in any attempt to develop a 'postcommunicative' approach for teaching and learning other languages. The ideological conception of the school signifies from its very structure a paradigm of institutions with a political character. In this sense, those schools that include and recognize creole languages should operate with the intention of telling a story of legitimacy that can enable their students to interpret their circumstances and their past within a framework of liberation.

The concept of *société de cohabitation* in educational contexts in the Caribbean can further promote a sense of community as defined by McMillan & Chavis (1986). This paradigm provides all the key factors of (1) membership, (2) influence, (3) fulfillment of individuals' needs and (4) shared events and emotional connections as a way to overcome inequities and obstacles faced by speakers of creoles and other 'nonstandard' or minority dialects in formal education. *Sociétés de cohabitation* are founded on a democratic valorization of Caribbean culture since they establish horizontal ties with other Caribbean islands and territories of similar historical, social and cultural background, and of similar stories of imperial and migratory expansion that connect. *Societés de cohabitation* in education have the possibility of generating a vision of greater complexity, amplitude and inclusion in cultural, political, social, and human terms. They involve a recognition of cultural hybridity in Bhabha's terms (2012), from a non-western perspective, as the "specific instance of a transcultural reality not limited in this space to materialize as mere otherness, but as an otherness negotiating whose

interculturalism implies a healthy dialogic speech in the context of the constructions of identity".

Concurring with Barcant (2013), the examination of the educational policies regarding language in the Caribbean can greatly benefit from feminist postcolonial and de-colonial approaches. Presenting brief glimpses of the linguistic situation in some territories of the Western and Eastern Caribbean we have examined how language is integral in the production and maintenance of culture and reflects the dynamics of power relations (Freire, 1970-2000) and how the language of the colonizer became the tool for imposition and oppression of the minds of the colonized (Smith, 2007).

The colonial agenda in the examined territories has hegemonically imposed a language trying to exert political domination over the land and the peoples. Nonetheless, the existence, survival, prominence, and recognition of creole languages that are now rising from the shadows where imperial narratives had been trying to push them, serve to challenge the colonial discourse of domination as acts of identity and resistance. These acts, sometimes overtly and forcefully, but many times as Bhabha (2012) observed, not through political opposition but through ambivalence within the recognition of dominating discourses, stand against erasure and as testament to peoples' agency. Creoles gather, as part of their hybrid nature, a rich legacy of contributions of European, Indigenous and African descended peoples and their recognition in education will ensure that the cultural and linguistic repertoire of the Caribbean landscape is diversely enriched.

London (2003) explains how in the British colonies of the so-called Anglophone Caribbean, the colonial power imposed an artificial hierarchy where English was the primary social and institutional language thus, marginalizing peoples' 'other' cultures and languages. In this schema the colonial discourse regarding Creoles is characterized by the ubiquitous colonial polarization in which the Creole is defined in opposition and in subordination to the Standard at the same time. This scenario similarly played out in other parts of the Caribbean with different actors but with similar results where dominance of the colonial language and culture was sought not only for a particular historical period but for *saecula saeculorum*. Said (2012) enlightens this discussion by clarifying how the concept of 'othering' cannot be separated from the imposed colonial language.

The response to this repressive social order of regimented and institutionalized system of language imposition, strict legalities and governmental policies cannot be mere opposition to dominant discourse and institutions. Instead, pro-active community work, research and dissemination are necessary to create a new set of realities on the ground. The recovery and recognition of peoples' plural identities, plural cultures, and plural languages is necessary for providing spaces where Caribbean people to thrive. In Fanon's (2007) terms the colonial agenda of language imposition has been a prolonged system of epistemic violence, but the complex colonial (patriarchal) structure can also reproduce blindspots for equal representation and resistance.

This dissertation has attempted to identify elements of the informal educational systems which have emerged organically over the past five centuries from the feminized, Africanized, Indigenized creole cultures of the Caribbean as both a foundation stone as well as a source of inspiration for the design and implementation of education policy and practice that serves our interests and reflects who we are as Caribbean peoples. Colonial oppression presupposes an erasure of any resistance to colonial hegemony in society. This entails that Caribbean peoples (as demonstrated in many of the language policies observed in the Western Caribbean) routinely defy (as Pollard, 1994 suggests) society by defying its imposed language. The frequently quoted Lourde (1984) knew that the master's language was not enough to subvert the system. Subverting and appropriating features from the cultural and linguistic repertoires at their disposal have been the ways in which Caribbean peoples have created their fluid identities as a way to not only resist or survive in the face forces that seek to homogenize, marginalize and erase, but also to thrive amidst those nullifying forces. As Barcant (2013) states, Caribbean peoples overstand their agency to seek to address and confront the reality of systemic oppression through collective creative processes of renewal and maintenance of their languages and cultures.

Educational models of possibility and success can emerge when academic excellence and success is fostered through continuous positive interaction of peoples' plural identities, cultures and languages. This recognition will foster a sense of community belonging, security and acceptance while at the same time emphasizing the importance of achievement and success. The future can be promising, as implied by

Frantz Fanon (2007), power knows that eventually colonized peoples will claim what in all justice they deserve, since no imposed regime of subjugation can be eternal.

Our future depends not only on widespread awareness of the positive transformations that occur as a result of the pluri-identified, pluri-cultural and pluri-lingual negotiation process emerging from intense contact in the on-going evolution of the Caribbean landscape. Our future also depends on positive action taken towards more inclusive teaching and transmitting of the language, history, heritage and culture of all peoples in Caribbean societies, including the implementation of pluri-identified, pluri-cultural and pluri-lingual models throughout the whole educational process, creating a major role for Creole languages and building upon students' knowledge of other languages in a realistic, challenging and meaningful way throughout the education system and society in general.

The models from the Western Caribbean are foundation stones through which the Eastern Caribbean and the world can embrace new ways to instill pride and self-esteem in students, provide paths for learning about their languages and heritages, for revalorizing their worldview, for relearning and retaining their linguistic and cultural awareness, and for determining where they fit in a fast-evolving world around them. To achieve these goals, Caribbean peoples do not have to follow a blueprint established by the formal systems of the metropoles that usually become monstrosities that perpetuate colonial imposition through inapt and imported 'fixes' on the peoples of the region. Instead they just need to look around to see what their neighbors are doing to create organic informal

educational systems designed to embrace the feminized, Africanized, and Indigenized creole cultures of the Caribbean to find solutions that ensure that their languages, cultures, heritages and native customs are not lost, but preserved for generations to come.

While the educational panorama of the samples presented from the Eastern and Western Caribbean might present different outlooks they all dramatically attest to the importance of the collective effort of communities to become agents and assuming control over their educational process in the areas of research, policy, planning, and implementation to confront the colonial legacy and to reverse linguistic imperialism and erasure not only in educational contexts but in Caribbean societies in general. With optimism, I examine those promising endeavors which often foster the development of multilingual repertoires and dynamic, multifaceted identities. I invite the readers of this dissertation to see these endeavors as an inspiration of what works, in the hopes that these models can serve peoples whose languages and cultures are being threatened and so they can begin to challenge, what Vandana Shiva calls 'the monoculture of the mind' (1993).

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