

LANGUAGE PLANNING AND EDUCATION
IN ARUBA: CONTEXTS AND CONTRADICTIONS

by

Jennifer Ellen Herrera

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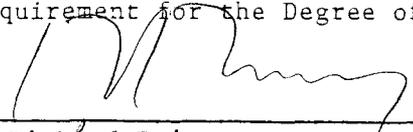
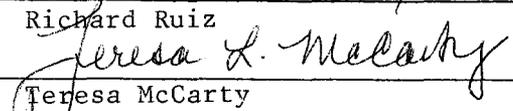
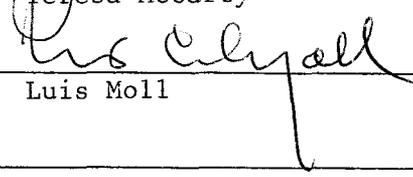
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and recommend that it be accepted as fulfilling the dissertation requirement for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

	<u>5-6-02</u>
Richard Ruiz	Date
	<u>5-6-02</u>
Teresa McCarty	Date
	<u>5-6-02</u>
Luis Moll	Date
_____	Date
_____	Date

Final approval and acceptance of this dissertation is contingent upon the candidate's submission of the final copy of the dissertation to the Graduate College.

I hereby certify that I have read this dissertation prepared under my direction and recommend that it be accepted as fulfilling the dissertation requirement.

	<u>12-23-03</u>
Dissertation Director Richard Ruiz	Date

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SIGNED: Jennifer E. Herrera

DEDICATION AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I dedicate this dissertation to the following people:

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ABSTRACT

This study is an investigation of issues of language planning and education in Aruba and how these might facilitate effective change on the island. The questions for this study were:

- 1) What are the predominant language varieties in Aruba, and to what uses are they put?
- 2) What is the official plan the Aruba government has put into place for educational change?
- 3) What generalizable implications for language planning and education surface from an in depth look at the context in Aruba?

Major findings are the following:

- 1) The four predominant languages in Aruba are Papiamentu, Dutch, Spanish and English. Papiamentu is the indigenous language of the island used at home and as the lingua franca for island business. Dutch is the language of all official government documents and is the medium of instruction in the schools. Spanish language is utilized in homes of Aruban immigrants from Spanish speaking homelands and is commonly spoken among tourists and businesses catering to tourism. English is the vernacular language used at home for many Aruban families living in the San Nicolas geographic area of Aruba and is the language that dominates the tourism business.
- 2) The Aruban Department of Education has developed various plans for innovative change for their education system and is working in conjunction with several other

agencies to bring systematic change to education in Aruba. These plans address language issues among others and are being implemented as legal strides are made.

3) In the context of Aruban culture and language, a) education professionals have a responsibility to explore the ideological foundations of their theories and practices, b) A commitment to structural equality is necessary, and c) Commitment to language planning in Aruba, and in any nation, requires a commitment to the struggle for language rights.

Aruba's current political efforts are focused on initiating change for educational practice and theory. Aruba is in a position of unlimited possibilities to plan, design, and implement a new revised educational system that will change the culture of schooling in Aruba.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

History: The Social and Political Context of Education in Aruba

All over the world, nations are sifting through political rhetoric addressing issues of language planning and education. The purpose of this study is to tell the story of language planning and education in Aruba, distinguished by a journey of successes and contradictions for the implementation of Aruba's language plan to formally incorporate Papiamentu, the vernacular language of Aruba, into Aruba's educational entities. This dissertation will provide a contextualized discussion of language planning theories applied to education reform.

Language planning in Aruba involves the use of its indigenous language, Papiamentu. While many indigenous languages face pressures of language shift and struggle to retain the vernacular language of the people, Aruba's Papiamentu is not currently a language considered to be in danger of extinction, and language planning is taking place among government officials, linguists, and educational experts at multiple levels of power to identify. Some language planners are hopeful that Papiamentu will soon be introduced formally into the schools as a language of instruction.

Some of the focus of this study will be to discuss what makes Aruba's indigenous language situation different from that of other indigenous communities and discover how Aruba has retained the multiglossic language status of their island. The study will describe the political issues related to language planning and education, particularly corpus planning, status planning, and acquisition planning. Specifically, I will discuss

past and current innovation projects of Aruba that are designed to implement change in Aruba's education system. Issues surrounding the introduction of Papiamentu into Aruban schools will be identified and discussed in terms of new laws, new educational opportunities, and programs or agencies nurturing these changes.

My interest in language planning and education in Aruba was stimulated when taking my first Ph.D. course at the University of Arizona with Dr. Luis Moll. Dr. Moll had just returned from speaking at an educational conference in Aruba and shared with our class the interesting situation of Aruban inhabitants who utilize four languages in the course of one day on that small island. The potential to maximize learning through the introduction of the indigenous language, Papiamentu, in Aruban schools was actively being discussed and planned. Laws had already been passed such as the Netherlands Antilles autonomy granted from Holland in 1954 and Aruban "Status Aparte" in 1986 giving Aruba legal authority to make internal decisions concerning Aruban affairs including decisions about education. Concurrently, change was being implemented evidenced by several language plans such as the 1988 "Pa Un Enseñansa Bilingual na Aruba," the "SHO-nota" among others written to increase educational opportunities for Aruba's children. Dr. Moll stated that Aruba would be an excellent topic for a future dissertation, and I decided to pursue a dissertation study on language planning and education in Aruba.

As a bilingual educator I see citizens of the USA viewing languages other than English as a problem. For example, California passed a proposition designed to end bilingual education in 1999, and Arizona recently passed Proposition 203 requiring English immersion classes with English proficiency tests before gaining permission to

participate in a bilingual classroom 2000. There is a similar proposal in Colorado that will also eliminate Spanish as a language of instruction in public schools. In spite of the obvious English dominance in the USA, government officials and residents of the states pursue laws and amendments to legally draw boundaries for using any other languages but English. What do other multilingual countries do concerning the education of children? Research on language planning in Aruba reported positive change in education taking place that encouraged the use of the island's vernacular language, Papiamentu. I was interested in investigating the specifics of how they were implementing changes involving such intimate topics as language and culture.

My research of Aruban education has lasted six years and will be ongoing. I initiated communication with educators in Aruba by planning a vacation there with family in June of 1995. I met with a contact Dr. Luis Moll gave me, Drs. Rudolph Kelly from the Instituto Pegagodico Arubano (IPA), who graciously spent two hours with me discussing the historical and present language and education issues in Aruba.

In December of 1995, a delegation of three representatives from Aruba's Department of Education came to Arizona to pursue a relationship with the University of Arizona as a resource of information for Aruba's language and education issues. The Aruban delegation, consisting of Joyce Pereira, Lydia Emerencia and Ramon Dandare, gave a presentation at a luncheon I attended. I was introduced to them as a student interested in their country's educational changes, and we began a long-lasting relationship.

In June of 1996, I returned to Aruba for an extended vacation with my family and added five days to carry out a pilot research project. I began by conducting formal

interviews with educators, parents and key personnel at the department of education. I observed one elementary school and spent time with the teacher. I also attended the teacher training college, Instituto Pedagogico di Aruba (IPA), to hear the final investigative studies the students had conducted. I saw how future teachers were being trained to research and experiment with new ideas for implementing Aruban culture into the curriculum.

In January of 1997, Joyce Pereira came to Tucson as a representative of the Institute Pedagogico di Aruba to organize a required one-month international student teaching for six students. Joyce resided in my home and met with numerous bilingual administrators, teachers, and professors in Tucson to schedule desired experiences for the students, and I was asked to be the USA contact person for the student experience. As a working bilingual teacher, my class was used for IPA students to observe and interact with the kids, and they presented some lessons to the children. I also put them in contact with Universidad Nacional de Mexico in Nogales, Sonora, where the six Aruban students gave a seminar on education in Aruba to Master's degree students. It was a successful international exchange in every way. The six students were valuable informants as they explained their teacher training and their perspective of the changes hoped for in education in Aruba.

Through 1998, I kept in communication with the educators and administrators of Aruba, continuing to do research and gather data. In November of 1998, my husband and I had an opportunity to travel to Europe. While there, I spent one of three days in Amsterdam, Netherlands at a local school video-taping and interviewing educators,

administrators and parents. This was an important and strategic research opportunity as Aruba, being part of the Dutch Kingdom but having a Status Aparte from the Netherlands, has constitutional rights to govern itself concerning internal affairs. Yet, Aruban schools still closely resemble schools in the Netherlands in structure and pedagogy, giving classroom instruction to Aruban pupils in Dutch in spite of the vast language and cultural differences between The Netherlands and Aruba. The one-day visit I conducted in Amsterdam provided a glimpse of the contrast between the education systems of the Netherlands and Aruba.

In March of 1999, I returned to Aruba for two and a half months to conduct research specifically intended for this dissertation. While living in Aruba, I stayed with Joyce Pereira most of the time along with my 15-month-old daughter. I found that by having my daughter with me, I was forced to learn more culturally-embedded details as daily living requires functional information, especially with a pre-toddler away from extended family support in a foreign country. A local preschool named Jardin Disneylandia (no relation to Walt Disney Corporation) cared for my daughter while I observed schools, interviewed and gathered historical documents. Socially, the educators and students were very kind to invite me to many social functions including a wedding, church services, dinners, the beach, an art expose, and many other interesting events. My daughter attended her first circus in Aruba. Immersed in the Aruban culture, I feel as if I broke through many cultural misconceptions, and my immersion will help the research be more accurate.

This research study is a culmination of over six years of my relationship with educators, administrators, linguists, parents and government representatives of Aruba.

Statement of The Problem

In Aruba, children are being educated in Dutch, essentially their fourth language, while most Arubans speak Papiamentu, English and Spanish as their first, second, and third languages respectively. Tests taken in Dutch at the end of the sixth year of primary school dictate what career path the student will take, as the scores of those examinations determine for which higher education/career preparation school the student qualifies. So, at about age twelve children in Aruba are given a test in Dutch, typically their fourth best language; these test scores determine the profession they will have for the rest of their adult lives. This situation leaves Papiamentu-dominant students at a great disadvantage for achieving desired educational and career goals (since they are obviously less able to demonstrate what they know in the language they know least well). An additional indignity is that this language requirement is placed on the majority of students by Aruban law in their own country, which leaves national Aruban students with a huge handicap. The Dutch language requirement in education hinders them from achieving all they want to achieve educationally and professionally.

Why does Aruban law impose Dutch as the primary language of instruction in schools? Part of the answer can be found by considering the political history of Aruba. Language planning and education in Aruba have been influenced by its history as a colony of The Netherlands. Colonial education historically is constructed by the politically dominant power to break traditions, social structures and cultures of the

colonized (Emerencia, 1998). In this manner colonies develop identification with the colonial power, culture and objectives at the expense of their own language and culture (Rodney, 1972). Powerful politicians holding the idea that Papiamentu is not an adequate language for use in formal education influenced public opinion and discouraged the promotion of Papiamentu use in schools. At the same time Papiamentu was discouraged, Dutch was encouraged as Holland offered university scholarships for students to study at the Dutch Universities which require the ability to read, speak and write in Dutch. So, for college and university bound students in Aruba, learning and mastering the Dutch language was desirable.

European culture and the Dutch language have dominated Aruban schools since the 1920s even though the indigenous language, Papiamentu, is widely used to conduct business in the community, converse socially, and communicate among family members at home. For example, there are five newspapers in Aruba written in Papiamentu, two local television news agencies televising news reports using Papiamentu and several radio stations that broadcast locally in Papiamentu. However, children in Aruba are still educated in Dutch. The children come to school at the age of four speaking primarily Papiamentu, yet from age six (first grade) all educational content instruction is given in the virtually foreign language of Dutch.

Research indicates that learning an additional language such as Dutch takes time to develop language fluency necessary for developing cognitive conceptual knowledge. Studies have shown that learning a second language for academic use can take from five to nine years, and that providing students with substantial amounts of primary language

instruction is helpful in second language acquisition. As Cummins (1979), Krashen (1981), McGroarty (1988) and others have stated, the more developed the home language of the child, the more effectively the school language will be acquired. The most academically successful students are those with the most highly developed literacy skills in their vernacular language. Aruban language policy blocked implementation of language acquisition research pertaining to academic use of Papiamentu in schools until 1986 when the public voted for a "status aparte" from the Netherlands that permits Aruba to independently govern educational programs. The "status aparte" legislation permitted Aruban educators, government officials, parents and administrators to create various new plans for education to bring innovation to Aruban schools.

Significance of the Study

According to Trueba (1988), academic failure or success of children is related to social phenomena connected to historical and social conditions. This dissertation documents and reports on the academic failure or success of the children of Aruba in relation to historical and social conditions. The study provides government officials, education professionals, and academic communities a contextualized discussion of language planning theories that can result in changes in education reform, applicable in serving the people of both macro and micro populations with unique language and cultural attributes. Knowledge of the Aruban language situation could help understand other language planning and education situations. This research amplifies and elaborates aspects of language planning that address language maintenance such as corpus, status and acquisition planning practices and the relationship of language to schools.

Research Questions

The research questions are the result of a six-year relationship with linguists, researchers, educators, and government officials in Aruba, which began the inquiry of the issues of language and education. I have met annually with those who are actively part of the transformation of the culture of schooling in Aruba to gather information and participate in discussions about educational reform, specifically as it pertains to language planning.

The research questions serve to organize the presentation of the data, as the main components (language planning and education) are explored through the details of the more specific and informative issues (historical cultural aspects supporting indigenous language retention and the various official innovation plans).

- 1) What are the predominant language varieties in Aruba, and to what uses are they put?
 - a) What is the language attitude toward official documents, home language use, education, and the lingua franca for conducting daily business of government officials, linguists, educators, parents, students, and other citizens of Aruba?
 - b) What social and political history has affected language use?
 - c) What languages are used for newspapers, radio broadcasts, television, advertisements, education, etc.?

- d) How has Aruba retained the multiglossic existence of Papiamentu, English, Spanish, and Dutch? What makes this indigenous language situation different from other nations' experiences?
- 2) What is the official plan the Aruban government has put into place for educational change?
 - a. How has the plan been implemented based on the views of different affected people: government officials, linguists, administrators, educators, parents, teachers, and plan developers?
 - b. What does the plan look like in Aruban classrooms?
 - c. What measure will be used to determine the success of the language plan's implementation?
 - 3) What generalizable implications for language planning and education surface from an in-depth look at the context in Aruba?

Definition of Terms

For the purposes of this dissertation, the basic definition of *language planning* can be best found in the words of Kaplan & Baldauf (1997):

Language planning is a body of ideas, laws and regulations (language policy), change of rules, beliefs, and practices intended to achieve a planned change (or to stop change from happening) in the language use in one or more communities. To put it differently, language planning involves *deliberate*, although not always overt, *future oriented* change in systems of language code and/or speaking in a societal context (Rubin & Jernudd, 1971). The language planning that one hears most about is that undertaken by government and it is intended to solve complex societal problems, but there is a great deal of language planning that occurs in other societal contexts at more modest levels for other purposes (p.3).

Another term referred to in this dissertation, *polity*, is a geographic or political entity with observable language and cultural characteristics.

The *Kingdom of the Netherlands* consists of three polities: The Netherlands (located in Western Europe), The Netherlands Antilles (includes the islands Curacao, the governing seat for all The Netherlands Antilles, Bonaire, Saba, St. Eustatius, and St. Maarten), and Aruba. Throughout this dissertation I use other titles or names specifically referring to The Netherlands in Western Europe such as The Dutch Commonwealth and Holland. (For geographic locations, see Map 1 on page 66.)

Assumptions and Limitations

Several assumptions of the cultural studies tradition apply to my research. Kincheloe and McLaren (1994) list seven fundamental assumptions (summarized below by M.Gall, et al., 1996) and apply to this dissertation:

- a) Certain groups in any society are privileged over others.
- b) Oppression has many faces as all the cultural categories are interconnected.
- c) Language is central to the formation of subjectivity both consciously and unconsciously.
- d) Social relations of capitalist production and consumption mediate the relationship between the signifier and the signified, which are never stable or fixed.
- e) Social and historical power relations mediate all thought.
- f) Domain values and ideological inscription cannot be completely separated from facts.
- g) Mainstream research practices have served to maintain the oppression of groups representing other cultural categories defined in systems of class, race and gender.

These assumptions help stimulate critical reflection about mainstream practice and research in education. Other assumptions and limitations pertinent to this dissertation are as follows:

- 1) As research indicates, this study assumes that the education domain of language planning mainly has influence on children from the age of five to 16 (Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997).
- 2) The study assumes that the data collected on the perceptions of those interviewed and accessed for information reflected reality.
- 3) The interview format of the oral portion of the study was limited by the degree to which the researcher was able to adequately communicate and comprehend through cultural and linguistic differences.
- 4) Self-perception and recall by the subjects may not have been precise.

Organization of the Remaining Chapters

In Chapter Two, a review of the literature on language planning theory and background has been organized into three sections. These include language planning theory and education, language planning practice (status and corpus planning), and acquisition planning (language and literacy plus critical pedagogy).

In Chapter Three, the research procedures used in this study are described. A definition of the case study approach used for the research in this dissertation is given. Data sources are cited and study consultants are identified. Then the three methods of research are described: interviews, observation and documentary evidence.

Chapter Four focuses on the language situation in Aruba. It contains a chronology of political-historical factors contributing to language genesis, a discussion of demographics in Aruba that pertain to language use, a reflection on the waves of immigration and acculturation, a presentation of a sociolinguistic survey conducted in Aruba, a history of language policy regarding education decisions on Aruba, and finally a discussion of language in education.

Chapter Five identifies the educational structure and systems. First, the impact of colonial education is reviewed. Second a comparison and contrast of the Kingdom of the Netherlands' school structure and system with Aruba's school structure and system is presented. Finally the cultural issues relative to educational structure and systems are examined.

Chapter Six annotates the history of political agencies involved with language planning in Aruba. It begins with a historical timeline of significant documents. Then, identification of various laws, agencies and plans proceed. Finally a discussion of how these agencies, laws and plans have worked together ends the chapter.

Chapter Seven presents the analysis of language planning in Aruba as categorized by status planning, corpus planning, and acquisition planning. Specific attention is given to language-in-education planning, as the thrust of this dissertation is to report on the language planning and education in Aruba with attention to cultural context and systematic change.

Chapter Eight contains research conclusions, implications and recommendations for further research. Summaries about the influence of research, the influence of language policy in Aruba and the influence of education aspirations for Aruban citizens are given.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

This chapter presents highlights of previous research about theories and findings that are related to the present study. Literature found to be pertinent to this study is reviewed in this chapter under the following headings: language planning theory, language planning practice: corpus coupled with status planning, and acquisition planning: language and literacy coupled with critical pedagogy.

Language Planning Theory

Language planning has taken place as long as human history has been recorded. A certain amount of language planning occurred when Greek and Latin were the lingua francas, and Latin was spread throughout the conquered lands as the Roman kingdom expanded. Practical realities of everyday life became settings for teaching Latin. When Britain was invaded in 55 BC by Julius Caesar, local residents who were enslaved by Roman households were forced to understand their masters who spoke only Latin. Maps with Latin terminology were in use for completing buildings and naming places that had formal language planning effects (Kahane & Kahane, 1988; Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997). Many other political conquests that resulted in takeover have imposed their language on the land rendered captive. Other situations such as natural disasters, civil unrest, and economic struggle cause people to migrate in large numbers. Governments receiving these populations into their own polity are then forced to plan for language to communicate for adequate administration and maintaining social conduct while distributing commerce and goods to the immigrants can be achieved. While language

planning occurred throughout history, it seems to have transpired without much conscious decision making about language and at a slow rate (Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997).

Kaplan & Baldauf (1997) point out that the twentieth century saw an acceleration of language change problems as this specific span of years reported extreme numbers of populations being relocated and moved due to natural and man-made disasters. There was an abundance of colonial empires dismembered in the twentieth century, among them Aruba. These new governments were forced to consider language issues as they pertained to the establishment and maintenance of civil administrations and with the need for developing or retaining healthy commerce for survival. The rapid growth of language change problems led scholars, governments, and linguists to development of the fairly new discipline of language planning.

While language planning is not a new field of study, it is a new discipline of about thirty-five years with most development happening only in the past twenty years (Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997). Literature about language policy and planning can be found in a variety of writings in related fields such as Economics, Political Science and Business that have responded to interdisciplinary solutions to real life problems in practical terms. This newer emergence of language planning research from a varied background of disciplines has created terminology and definitions that are context specific and differ accordingly. However, theoretical discussions and research are just beginning to emerge to a larger degree in journals and special writings designated for the examination of language planning. Thus language planning is a relatively new discipline still forming a theory of language planning.

Language planning is strategic to implementing purposeful changes desired by a polity or community. Approaches and types of language planning lead to achieving desired goals, therefore a target must be defined so that the aim can be sighted for clearly identified goals. Governing officials set goals within the contexts for systematic change and thus must be given precise direction and boundaries. The goal determines the direction of change (Hornberger, 1990). An effective coordinating agency can better impose policies rather than relying upon voluntary compliance.

Whether formal or informal in origin, support for language planning exists only because planning for languages takes place. Monolingual or dominant-power language speakers perhaps may quietly disesteem language planning due to the fact that when one speaks only one language, the need or desire to speak a second language is very limited. This opinion is echoed in an interview with an Aruban educator/linguist in Aruba:

Vignette #1

I grew up speaking Papiamentu as well as Dutch in my family. We lived in a neighborhood with several Dutch-speaking families with children. My parents encouraged us to speak Dutch. As kids we always read Dutch books, invented word games and had reading contests. My home experiences were rich in literacy. If you speak Dutch, education (in Aruba) is easy. If not, it's hard. I chose to teach Dutch (for a profession) because I wondered why Dutch is so hard for people. I decided to study Dutch to find out. While researching language-learning problems in Holland, I was assigned a research project of Turkish children. For academics, I made a textbook for them. Then I realized they (the Turkish children) were like the Aruban children who speak Papiamentu and now I understood the dilemma.

Unless you are exposed to educational injustices done to second language learners, dominant language speakers have a hard time understanding why language planning is so crucial concerning education and language. Respectful and fair language planning is key.

Ruiz (1994) describes various orientations toward language that are important to consider when planning for language because they constitute the framework of language attitudes. Three orientations toward language have a dramatic impact on approaches in planning: language as a problem, language as a right, and language as a resource.

When language is perceived as problematic, attempts to change existing language practices are made to fix something that is perceived as being wrong and needing attention. This view of language as a problem reinforces attitudes that the language itself lacks value, a political judgment rather than a linguistic one. Language as a right is the perspective that speakers of a language have the right to maintain and use their language(s) for purposes of their choosing. Laws that protect language minority groups affirm the legal right to maintain the native language(s) they hold dear. Language as a resource engages the idea that language is both good in itself and a tool for mediating culture and meaning. Any language that is capable of expressing culture and giving meaning should not be disregarded as un-useful but rather as a pertinent resource. These language orientations affect language planning (Nyati-Ramahobo, 1998; Ruiz, 1994). Responsible language planning can best be achieved by choosing to view language as a resource. Judgments of cultural and lingual values of any language are dangerously easy to make and affect our language attitudes. Therefore, the language orientation of language planners must be carefully considered when planning for language.

Language Planning Practice

The academic discipline of language planning itself is an attempt by someone such as the governing party, people of a community or some other agency to modify the

linguistic behavior of a particular community for some reason. Traditional discussions of language planning make a distinction between two branches of language planning that implement the practice of the plan made: corpus planning and status planning. Each of these branches covers specific goals.

Corpus Planning

First, corpus planning concerns itself with the language per se, the linguistic aspects such as orthographic innovation, design, harmonization, spelling reform, pronunciation, language structure, expansion of vocabulary, simplification of registers, style, and the preparation of language material (Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997). While norms and standardization are necessary for meeting needs at a national level for economic and political goals, Fishman (1988) encourages flexibility for community languages used for social and interpersonal function within linguistic minority groups.

Similar to Fishman's promotion of norm flexibility, Roger Andersen (1983) takes the position that in Creole Papiamentu there is a need for a variety of normative standards in order to permit rich expression in communication. Andersen transcribed six texts of complete speech events from a large range of natural speaking interactions in Papiamentu. The texts transcribed included a variety of speech events, including a conversation between two boys, a folk tale, a public forum, the radio news, and the TV news. The analysis focused on style (casual to careful) and setting (informal to formal). Variations were categorized by sets of phonological variations in Papiamentu such as vowel deletions, consonant deletions, deletion and palatalization of "s", and the phonological variation in four grammatical words. His analysis concluded that the more

casual conversations had greater variation from standards than formal speech such as the news or public speaking. The phonological variations in Papiamentu were found to be orderly and systematic, indicating several different norms that currently exist in the use of Papiamentu.

Sebba (1998) conducted a study in Brittany on British Creole, which is an unstandardized written language variety with an English lexicon base used by people in Brittany of Caribbean heritage. Sebba proposes that the writers' orthographic practices are patterns of choices the writers make about how to use the alphabetic means available to them when writing. He suggests that Creole writers, perhaps unconsciously, choose writing conventions that emphasize the differences between Creole and Standard English because the Creole represents the creation of an anti-standard instead of a standard.

In comparison, Sebba points out that Papiamentu, the Creole language spoken in The Netherland Antilles, has two distinct orthographies. One, based in Aruba, emphasizes etymological lexicon-based conventions while the other orthography, found in Curacao and Bonaire, favors a more phonological lexicon base. The phonetic approach assists literature users to transfer reading skills (transitional literacy) to another more powerful language because it is similar to another language. However, many Creole users (like the Papiamentu users of Aruba) prefer the culturally embedded practice of orthography that is unique to their culture because it identifies who they are as a people group, using spellings and sounds unique to their language instead of compromising grammar creations that mimic some other language. Sebba concludes that there are underlying ideologies based on experiences behind these orthographic choices.

Emerencia (1996) agrees with Sebba (1998). She asserts that the decision-making process for choosing an etymological orthography for Papiamentu instead of the phonological orthography chosen by Curacao and Bonaire was “strongly influenced by political developments of those times and can only be understood against the background of those political developments” (pp. 12). Her reference is to the Status Aparte movement of the 1970s. In 1977, the Aruban government decided to embrace the etymological orthography.

Haugen (1983) discusses the corpus aspects of language planning in two categories: (1) the establishment of norms, or “codification” and (2) the extension of the linguistic functions of language, or “elaboration.” Haugen’s first activity of corpus language planning is codification. Codification of a language addresses the standardization procedures that help develop and formalize the literate language norms. Individuals with linguistic training usually perform the codification as they decide specifically what linguistic form the language will have. Sometimes linguistic agencies are used to conduct the codification process for the language. Codification is not simply a technical task. Rather, the codification of a language carries social, cultural, and political consequences for the language planners, language users, and for the communities of the minority languages (Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997; Luke, McHoul, & Mey, 1990). Codification work typically results in a prescribed orthography, grammar and a development of a dictionary. To achieve these results, the processes of graphization, grammatication and lexication take place.

Kaplan & Baldauf (1997) cite numerous studies that document the processes various nations and language groups are engaged in concerning graphization that involves the choosing of alphabetic, syllabary or ideograms, character scripts, or spelling reform of established languages. When the local vernacular has not had a written history, a standard orthography must be developed for literacy to occur. Thus graphization is essential. Sometimes foreign missionaries were the first to write down many indigenous languages, often adopting orthography from their own conventional backgrounds with little success in representing tonal systems and other language idioms. Those orthographies needed to be modified to reflect the tonal idiosyncrasies of the language.

Grammatication is the formulation of rules that define how the language is structured. A standardized dialect of the language is prescribed, particularly for languages used in schools or for literacy development. Concerning schools, language planners must decide what grammar will be taught and how can it be taught most effectively. Other concerns deal with the local vernacular with a grammar that may vary from that of the target language. All these issues must be thought through (Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997). Once these grammars are defined, the polity needs to further plan how to produce and distribute the grammars to the public, how to train teachers to use the proposed grammar, and how to keep updating and republishing grammar books as refinement occurs. Producing and distributing books with grammatical information is a key activity for grammatication.

Lexication concerns electing and developing a suitable lexicon that assigns style and spheres of usage of words for how to use them in specific domains. It is an ongoing

process that often produces expressive vernacular resources for traditional areas of communication but may lack technical wording necessary to facilitate modernization. When technical vocabulary development is needed, there are several approaches linguists may try: borrowing foreign words, inventing words using borrowed roots, or reviving old words not commonly used (Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997).

Haugen's third category of corpus language planning is elaboration. Elaboration addresses the development of the function of language or how the language is implemented to meet the diverse functions of real life. Haugen (1983) discusses elaboration in terms of terminological modernization and stylistic development, and Kaplan & Baldauf (1997) add a third category they call internationalization. For elaboration it is essential that publications that offer a variety of materials in different genres beyond literacy materials be made available to the public. Publications such as newspapers, magazines, comic books, agricultural or commercial pamphlets and more must be offered in the chosen language. Local radio and television broadcasting in the target language should be encouraged, as should the use of the language in civil services and religious sectors as well as in everyday business and life. Literary artists ought to be encouraged to create poetry and fiction in the language. The goal is that every possible sector use the language so that internalization of the language can occur among the population much faster than dissemination through the education sector alone could achieve (Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997).

In the development of elaboration, terminological modernization is a high priority in view of the rapid changes in technology, especially as it concerns the economy. This

topic overlaps somewhat with the lexication of the language discussed earlier. Assigning terms as the language adapts to social change is a function critical to language survival as literally thousands of new terms are generated each year. Kaplan & Baldauf (1997) list many studies that address some strategies used by many language planners around the world for terminological “modernization.”

Discourse varieties for specific domains need to develop stylistically. The stylistic development of a language is elemental in bridging with communication expressions about cultural domains important to language users (Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997). Oral language situations may differ from written language situations; thus stylistic development needs to consider rhetorical structures that may require attention to deal with grammar and lexicon issues. In Papiamentu, Andersen (1983) found that distinct linguistic variations exist depending upon the language situation. Andersen further states that the variations are necessary in order to keep the rich communicative expression in Papiamentu. Andersen believes that it is more important to maintain a variety of norms in Papiamentu instead of establishing only one norm. Andersen’s study records six different settings or language situations and identifies grammatical trends dominating each type of setting. The six language situations are an animated conversation, traditional narrative, interview, public speaking, planned speech by one individual, and planned speech by another individual. In each language setting Andersen notes final vowel deletions, reduced use of the word *no*, prepositional deletions and other symbol deletions. Grammatical patterns emerged, and Andersen concluded that there are four variations identified as stylistic deviations: vowel deletion, consonant deletion, deletion

and palatalization of “s”, and phonological variation in our grammatical words (*manera*, *di*, *tabata*, and *ningun*).

The manner in which the media use language expresses culture and involves application of language style. Two common approaches to stylistic development are (1) from the bottom up, where language skills are built systematically via a planned language development program, or (2) from the top down (Kaplan, 1989), where high status language models in domains are required such as politics, technology and culture, and where a “high” variety of language is passed down by people with power and authority to make decisions about the language. Kaplan & Baldauf (1997) propose that perhaps both approaches are necessary, as the many facets of stylistic development need to grow from both ends. Andersen (1983) submits that stylistic development is unconscious for native speakers because people immersed in the culture take on the values of that culture, and the values of a culture are expressed in one’s style of speaking whether it is through the tones or actual letter sounds. The tones and sounds communicate feeling and value behind the words, thus Andersen’s proposed ideal that stylistic development is unconscious- acquired in context of everyday life.

A third component of elaboration development of a language has been termed internationalization. As a language grows beyond merely local and national uses, standardization becomes important again. In this area of internationalization, the language must be evaluated in light of how readers of the language from different polities are able coherently and rhetorically to receive and, in return, give credibility to what writers of the language from similar but differing polities have tried to communicate

(Mauranen, 1993). In the case of the language Papiamentu, Aruba is pursuing and developing a different written grammar than other Papiamentu polities, Curacao and Bonaire. Language planning theory suggests that in order to develop elaboration of a language, internationalization is vital. However, Aruban linguists knowingly disagree in spelling and grammar with The Netherland Antilles islands, thus missing the opportunity to come into agreement on the spelling and use of Papiamentu in the interest of creating international language norms. Resisting collaboration with other polities that speak, read and write Papiamentu is in contradiction with the larger goal of language planning for Papiamentu.

Clearly, corpus planning does not deal solely with linguistic issues. Rather, corpus planning is involved in real life issues and contextual situations that embrace status planning areas of social, historical, cultural and political elements. Computer communication and international media access are trends causing tremendous impact in the corpus planning arena. For language planning, status and corpus planning are interrelated and cannot be treated as completely separate entities. Instead status and corpus planning must be incorporated simultaneously in order to make a strong plan for the target language.

Status Planning

Second, status planning is concerned with the social and political roles of language in society and with the function of a language (Kloss, 1969). There are two main functions of language within its speech community: it is a tool of communication, and it holds a symbolic force as an emblem of groupness (Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997). In Aruba,

Papiamentu is the primary language used as a means to communicate, and Papiamentu is also the language that defines who is Aruban (Emerencia, 1995). Holm (1989) reports that Papiamentu enjoys an unusually high prestige for a Creole language. Papiamentu is spoken by all social classes in many settings and is used expansively in the media.

The social and political roles of language in society vary among people groups, nations and polities. In Aruba, the vernacular language Papiamentu is used by many people in similar ways. Papiamentu's shared use surpasses ethnic differences, country of origin varieties and economic class distinctions. However, in other national polities, Jones (1998) discusses the cultural context of Brittany where language is diverse among its inhabitants. Strong differences in dialects and numerous sub-dialects represent strong diversity that uniquely defines specific geographic centers or communes. Each commune has its own customs and distinct variety of language dialect. The commune is the central focal point for most people and did not require nor promote interaction with other communes. To this day, commune-based identity is prevalent in Brittany. In Aruba and Brittany, both polities use language to distinguish the social and political role of language in society, assigning status to language in a specific and meaningful way.

The aspects of language planning that relate to social issues and concerns augment status planning and have two connected issues: language selection and language implementation (Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997). One place to begin in determining language selection and language implementation is to see what languages are currently being used and for what purposes. An excellent way to acquire this information is to conduct a socio-linguistic survey.

Research and data collection via sociolinguistic surveys are valuable resources for polities making an official national language choice decision. When selecting a language, Kale (1990) has suggested various criteria that consider the language's political neutrality, dominance, prestige, tradition and affinity.

As part of socio-linguistic theory, it is important to note in which language government officials are conducting business. Kaplan & Baldauf (1997), Nyati-Ramahobo (1998) and others assert that the language used by the seat of government, such as Parliament, reveals that language's status in its polity. The language used for legal business is indicative of governmental leaders' value and status for the language in which they conduct business.

Once the socio-linguistic survey results are tallied and a target language is chosen, a plan to promote language acquisition needs to be created. When planning for language acquisition, De Swaan (1998) believes that young adults must be pressured into making a conscious efforts to learn the mother tongue. Use of the mother tongue in the educational system of the polity would reinforce a necessary conscious effort for students because the sentimental and personal value of their home language is coupled with the instrumental value placed on the home language that for schooling determines academic progress and success. De Swaan (1998) also maintains that although parents may desire their children to learn the mother tongue, they will ensure optimal career prospects for their children by making sure their children learn the dominant language, even if the dominant language is not the mother tongue. Many times, language choice for creating language policy strongly affects the degree to which the vernacular language will be learned.

Language planning usually targets one language in particular. Kaplan and Baldauf (1997) point out that in a community where multiple languages interact, the language plan aimed at one language will have some planned and unplanned impact on the non-lingual factors and sometimes the lingual factors of the community's other languages and cultural contexts. For example, if English is made the official language of an African polity, all the road signs, government documents, educational materials, etc. will be changed to English, which is a written lingual factor, now directing automobile traffic in a different language, recording governmental decisions in official documents, and educating students in the new language. The use of the new English language system will automatically create culture-related changes. For example, educational resources such as maps, texts, and references will represent Western ideology with linear logic if the materials were created for educating students in the USA. Reading books that come from the United States may contain a section about famous American heroes or holidays like our Independence Day celebration, pertinent in our history but not necessarily important nor relevant to people outside of our culture. Learning this information communicates values (our highly esteemed historical heroes or our special historical conquests such as Independence Day). Utilizing English as the official language of instruction would communicate underlying values. Communication of historical value would be a non-lingual factor related to language planning that must be accounted for when planning for educational instruction languages.

In comparison to the non-lingual factor discussed above, a lingual factor could have also an international effect. For example, let us examine a lingual factor such as the use

of accents for specific words in French. If France decided to modify the use of accents in French for certain words due to language planning, there would be a ripple effect that would have an impact on the French spoken and/or written in Belgium, Britain, Germany, Spain, Switzerland, Francophone Africa, French Polynesia, and French-speaking Canada in addition to all the places where French is taught as a foreign language because many printed materials originate in France and would be written with the new accent placements. Textbooks produced in France would be updated and reprinted using the new accent marks. Eventually, French-speaking countries buying educational textbooks and resources from France would be exposed to new demonstrations of standard grammatical practices and would probably choose to adopt the revised accent rules that France amended. These are examples of simultaneous interaction of lingual and non-lingual factors within the total ecology of the language-planning context.

Fishman (1996) asserts that language planning is not a linear step-by-step process, rather, language planning takes on a zig zag trail that travels in and out of various contextual situations and goals through phases to address targets, yet leaving room for interaction and results to take place.

De Swaan (1998) proposes that language defines certain areas of communication. To get work finished, written and/or verbal communication help complete the job. If the language(s) at work cannot be understood, workers will have trouble completing the job. For example, in Bible times a monolingual group of people was constructing the tower of Babel to reach the heavens by human will. The story reports that God did not want the people to achieve that goal by their own united power. So, God confused their language

by giving different lingual components to different sub-groups of people. The once monolingual people were now monolingual in different languages and could not communicate and comprehend one another. The people could no longer continue the construction of the tower as their ability to communicate was seriously impaired. Cultural practices and products are hindered depending upon the degree of language required. Any change in language use can have a huge impact on any society.

Two common fears for the survival of language emerge: (1) a language might die, actually like the extinction of a threatened species, if people relinquish the use of the indigenous language, or (2) native cultural practices and products might disappear if the language embedding them is no longer spoken or understood. These matters focus upon culture, identity and group solidarity and are related to and connected through language.

Ideology is lived not only through language, but also through experience (Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997). Experience accounts for events, social practices, historic happenings, and choices that we make. Giroux and McLaren (1989) urge educators to see their classroom as a place to provide an atmosphere for learning which allows individuals to acquire a language that encourages expression and reflection to shape their own experiences in such a manner that certain learning situations might be transformed into a larger project of social responsibility. For example, experiencing prejudice is a different knowledge than reading about prejudice. It is difficult to understand language experiences not personally lived through. In this second vignette, an Aruban educator/linguist discovered that other intelligent individuals were denied the same

professional opportunities that she had had simply because their command of the Dutch language was not strong enough.

Vignette #2

In primary school the teachers used Dutch and were Dutch. I could already speak some Dutch when I went in to school. In secondary school, I noticed that some of my friends understood the materials (class content) but they could not explain it. They could recite information but not understand the meaning. I became very frustrated seeing this. Many friends came to me for help. Our system... it is test based. You take a test that determines your studies and your profession. While I studied at the university in Holland, I chose to do my thesis paper in English so that the professors there could see what it is like to try to understand deep concepts in their second language. Now they can know what education in a language that is not your first language is like.

Vignette #2 illustrates the frustration students being educated in a second language have when the role of language in education excludes one's native language. Ruiz (1984) proposes that language conservation is an orientation or language attitude viewing language-as-resource. The role of language in society influences language planning efforts. Ruiz (1994b) maintains that there are three language orientations: language-as-problem, language-as-right, and language-as-resource. In the context of Aruba, the language-as-problem orientation is based on the belief that if people in Aruba would speak Dutch, all the problems associated with learning and education would go away. The language-as-right asserts that language is a basic human right. Rights-orientation pertains to laws that advocate for the right to have formal access to voting, civil service examination, judicial and administrative proceedings and public employment. The right to personal freedom and enjoyment is also affected. The language-as-right orientation

encourages different language groups to invoke rights against each other. In Aruba, language-as-right orientation involves the advocacy for use of Papiamentu, supported in written laws. Language-as-resource orientation emphasizes the development of more and better language skills. Ruiz (1984) points out that many times language planning lacks language conservation that promotes language-as-resource. In Aruba, the vernacular language, Papiamentu, has not been directly utilized as a language resource for learning in the public schools. Therefore, language planners in Aruba are addressing this issue.

Through language, educators with a language-as- resource orientation can help students define experiences in a way that affirms their experiences, acknowledging their voices as an important role of learning (McLaaren & da Silva, 1993). The analysis of human action is complete only when it attends to people's own notions of what they are doing. Thought and feeling are always culturally shaped and influenced by a person's social environment, biographical background, and historical context (Rosaldo, 1989).

Acquisition Planning

Kaplan & Baldauf (1997) refer to acquisition planning as language-in-education planning. The term "language-in-education" does not refer only to a polity's schools. Language-in-education goals utilize many vehicles of implementation such as in churches, community organizations, the media, etc. Language planning is primarily a function of the governing party, penetrating many divisions of the public sector, whereas acquisition planning refers to only one – the education division. In Aruba, language-in-education includes schools as well as the use of Papiamentu in church services, written publications and news casts given in Papiamentu, radio programming and various other

avenues of public use and education. Studies by Ingram (1990), Kaplan & Baldauf (1997), Kennedy (1984, 1989), Paulston and McLaughlin(1994) view acquisition planning as the most powerful and effective means for bringing language change to a polity. One reason for such high expectation is that the education sector deals with standardized forms of a language. Literature, print media and textbooks used in schools make strong statements of reinforcement concerning norms and standards for the acquisition of a language. Kaplan & Baldauf (1997) refer to the education sector as the “transmitter and perpetuator of culture” which is why it is chosen as the place for implementing language planning.

According to Kaplan & Baldauf (1997) there are six basic education language policy and planning decisions that need to be examined for both native and immigrant populations.

- Which language(s) will be used for instruction and what level of proficiency is necessary to meet the society’s needs?
- Who will teach the language of instruction as part of the curriculum? What training is necessary for educators?
- What part of the student population will be exposed to the language of instruction? What strategies can be employed to solicit the support of parents and the community to implement this plan?
- What methodology can be used for initial placement and on-going instruction and testing?

- What assessment will be utilized to measure the accomplishments of teachers and the education system?
- How can all of these activities be supported with structure and monetary resources? How will the education language system be sustained in all the contexts of the education system over periods of time?

A basic acquisition planning flowchart outlined by Kaplan & Baldauf (1997) shows how language-in-education planning cannot begin until language planning has reached the policy decision stage. This is important because language policies need to be written that support language plans, then materials can be printed and reorganization is financed. The flow chart suggests that after policy decisions have been made, the education sector plans can then be devised and implemented. Substantial inventory of methods, materials, teachers, and other resources must be made for maximum potential realization that will determine the effectiveness of the education sector's impact on transmitting language acquisition.

Acquisition planning has as many different problems among language polities as there are contextual differences. In Botswana, there are problems of low teacher morale and lack of trained teachers and principals. A teacher attitude survey conducted by Nyati-Ramahobo (1998) indicated that more teachers used English than Setswana because language policy requires students to pass English. Thus, examination policy overrides general language policy in this case. Teachers say that children have a negative attitude toward Setswana because they think it's irrelevant. The principle of language as a resource has been demonstrated by the Botswana government in that provision has been

made encouraging minority children to take minority languages as subjects in school at the secondary level.

Some language planning theorists have developed systems of quantifying language acquisition. One such theorist, De Swaan (1998), discusses language acquisition in terms of Q value. He proposes that each language has a Q value based on the language's prevalence and centrality. Language displays network effects. He states that all recorded and memorized texts together make up the accumulated textual capital. For de Swaan, this indicates and explains the dynamics of language acquisition, conservation and abandonment. Quantification is a tool for tracking and discerning language acquisition sequence and progress.

Language Acquisition Planning and Education

Language acquisition planning directly influences school work and children's learning. The language of instruction in schools has an effect on education outcomes because language appropriates cultural meanings and practices. Rockwell (1996) discusses the verb "appropriate" as giving a sense of active transformation through the nature of a human agency, enabling the character of culture to emerge. The human agency uses available cultural resources to apply meaning as experienced by persons in objects, tools, practices, and words.

Similarly, learning in children is discussed by Vygotsky (1978) in terms of culturally and linguistically appropriate interaction between a child and an adult or peer in his or her zone of proximal development. In this theory, a child is viewed as having an unfolding of potential through the engagement of independent action that is assisted by

another person. From this interaction, educators can understand the developmental processes being formed within the child that will constitute future accomplishments, and the adult can further the child's learning by demonstrating and creating with the child the next developmentally appropriate task. Through these experiences, the child can develop a cognitive structure that is shaped and continues to mature with new experiences and feedback. Three necessary elements in the child-adult interactions are effective communication, shared cultural values and assumptions, and common goals for activities (Trueba, 1988). The setting of the activity helps us to understand the role of culture in the acquisition of knowledge.

Two of Trueba's three necessary elements between teacher/adult – student interaction for educational learning and acquisition of knowledge are dependent on the cultural and linguistic communication being comprehensible. If comprehension cannot or does not take place, the educational concepts will not be able to form. Thus, the language chosen to be the medium of instruction for education must be a language both student and teacher can utilize at a level in which meaningful communication can take place.

Conclusion

Language planning is a developing field of research that has helped me form a theoretical framework for how language planning is valuable in planning educational strategies to reach academic goals. Aruba's multilingual context is outside of my personal realm of experience as I am only bilingual. But, with the basic foundations of language planning theory such as ideology, orientation, status and corpus planning, I am able to analyze language planning and education within the context of systematic change

in Aruba. I was surprised at the discovery of the numerous polities around the world who are planning language, specifically language in education, with the goals of language equity and cultural respect. With all of these vast language planning scenarios, a wealth of information about successes and failures can be obtained. This dissertation contains the story of Aruba's language planning and education venture and will be yet another significant contribution to the language planning research.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

In this dissertation, I explore factors that contribute to the language planning and education decisions in Aruba. A pilot study I conducted in Aruba in 1996 revealed that government officials, linguists, educators, and administrators were united in the idea that Papiamentu, the indigenous language of Aruba, needed to be introduced into the schools in some way because it would benefit students cognitively and psychologically. However, they disagreed about how implementation of the use of Papiamentu should be accomplished. The present study is a more in-depth continuation of the pilot study as I explore how the organized plan of lingual and pedagogical innovation for the use of Papiamentu in Aruban schools is being implemented in order to accomplish their cognitive and psychological goals. Also, I delineate what plans or programs have been designed and created addressing outcomes reported as desired by Aruban national citizens.

Case Study Approach

This study focuses on what makes Aruba's indigenous language situation different from and similar to that of other indigenous communities and how the introduction of that indigenous language into the schools affects individuals and the community. Because Aruba's situation is unique, a qualitative case study is best for description and contextualization of the data collected. Case study research as defined by Gall, Borg, and Gall (1996) is "the in-depth study of instances of a phenomenon in its natural context and from the perspective of the participants involved in the phenomenon" (p. 545). Four

characteristics of case study include: focus on specific instances or cases; in-depth study of specific cases; natural context examination of the phenomenon; and studying the emic perspective of the participants in the case study. I examined language planning and education in Aruba as a single entity or phenomenon and focused on aspects pertaining specifically to Aruba at this particular time (Merriam, 1988; Stake, 1988). In the Aruba case study I investigated the power relationships in the culture, identifying political language use and planned innovative language use all for the empowerment of the current students being denied a culturally relevant and economically equitable education in the majority population's primary language, Papiamentu.

Within the case study, I wrote using the historical-structural approach to language planning. The historical approach to research helps researchers understand present conditions by shedding light on the past. Historical data are synthesized into meaningful chronological and thematic patterns as others' accounts of important historical events that took place before the research began provide context which helps conduct an accurate study (Gall, et al., 1996).

Structuralism "is an approach to investigation that focuses on the systemic properties of phenomena, most notably the relationships among elements of a system" (Gall, et al., 1996, p. 635). A key principle of structuralism is the idea that social reality exists in relationships, not in particular things (Gibson, 1984). The structural-historical approach as discussed by Tollefson (1991) goes beyond learner variables for analysis as individuals will be located within the larger political-economic system with references to language and economic class measured by secondary education testing outcomes related to

resulting professions, the central macro structural unit of analysis. Historical-structural language planning research assumes variables identified in the neoclassical approach, such as motivation and attitudes, have some underlying explanation. It seeks reasons for the varying degrees of individual learner variables.

Like Tollefson, I believe that education is closely associated with economic class, and schools are gatekeepers to the labor force and determine which people have which jobs. Language is a primary factor in creating or sustaining social and economic class as educational accomplishment directly relates to job acquisition. These beliefs address the underlying explanation for motivation in language planning and are included in the historical-structural language planning research approach. The historical-structural approach emphasizes the effects of plans and policies of the distribution of economic resources and political power. This will help determine the degree to which the plan and policies undermined existing class structure.

Applying the historical-structural approach as a researcher, I was a privileged participant observer (Wolcott, 1988). I was someone known, trusted, and received easy access to information for the collection of data. The years of building relationship with the educators and government officials allowed me to comfortably obtain the information I needed. I was immersed in the culture as I lived in the houses of educators and participated in their daily lives. I carried out natural research as an ethnographer observing, listening, and speaking (Ely, Anzul, Friedman, & Garner, 1991).

Data Collection

In this study I embraced the case study approach that includes several types of data collection resources:

1. Formal and informal interviews.
2. Descriptive, focused, and selective observation.
3. Historical texts as documents, legal legislation, and other documentary sources.

The use of multiple methods of collecting data is typical in case study research and supports what Denzin (1989) terms "triangulation," the combination of several methods to examine the same contextual situation with similar conclusions. Triangulation is "the convergence of at least two pieces of data" (Ely, et al., 1991) and serves as a means to confirm the accuracy of collected data to form substantial evidence.

Interviews

Ely, et al. (1991) defines different types of interviews. First, the informal interview is one conducted during participant observation in which any question the researcher might ask during observation would be considered an informal interview. Second, the formal interview is conducted at a preset time. Both informal and formal interviews were a primary source of information and data collection in this study.

Upon my arrival in Aruba, I scheduled formal interviews in English with a variety of possible sources including educators, parents, students, government officials and linguists. In many cases the interviewee qualified as more than one of the categories of sources mentioned above. In those cases, questions were specific to draw out responses

from each perspective. Also, I considered the location of the interview when specifically asking for one perspective. For example, Joyce Pereira is an Aruban native speaker of Papiamentu, a linguist and an educator. I interviewed her formally at her educational institute, Institute of Pedagogy of Aruba (IPA) to encourage an educator point of view. I interviewed her in English informally as an Aruban citizen and native speaker of Papiamentu at her home. Some of the names have been changed. Interview sources included but are not limited to:

Joyce Pereira	government official, professor, linguist
Lydia Emerencia	government official, educator, parent
Ramon Dandare	government official, professor, linguist, parent
Ralph Lemontez	government official, linguist
Frank Pinon	former director of IPA, educator, parent
Alba Flores	current director of IPA, educator, parent
Sylvia Gonin	principal, educator, parent
Eva Duarte	principal at special education school, educator, parent
Doy Martin	educator, researcher
Gino Vorke	educator, parent
Maribelle/Juraine	educators
Rini Supima	educator, parent
Yosmar Inop	educator, parent

New contacts made during this study were also included. See appendix A for the interview participant's consent form and appendix B for the proposed interview protocol used for interviewing government officials, administrators, educators, linguists, researchers, and parents.

Observations

Spradly (1980) identifies a series of three types of observations for fieldwork: descriptive, focused and selective.

Descriptive observation answers the question "What is going on here?" and gives general information about who, what, when, and where. I used these questions to help me write up many vignettes immediately after observing.

Focused observations refer to a single cultural domain. For example, in Aruba I focused on the use of Papiamentu in the education system. My study had an interest in the application of language planning theory. Structural questions led the observations to identify relationships by asking questions such as "In school, when do people speak in Papiamentu?" A descriptive question would have been "What language(s) do people speak in school?" Structured questions directed the focused observations in Aruban schools.

Selected observation guided contrast questions based on previously defined terms in various cultural domains help the observer to take note of differences. Three types of questions Spradley (1980) discussed were utilized: dyadic, triadic, and card-sorting contrast questions.

I spent approximately thirty-four hours observing in eight Aruban schools. Emerging patterns in the data gave me themes for analysis. These themes helped me contextualize language planning and education in the context of Aruba.

Historical documents

Four types of primary historical sources were collected for the historical research. These include written documents or records, quantitative records, oral records, and relics. Materials like legal documents, records, newspapers, periodicals, business records, committee reports, memos, institutional files, and tests in Dutch, Papiamentu, English and Spanish were gathered for research data. The historical sources served to verify the accuracy of information derived from the interviews and observations.

Chapter Six of this dissertation contains a table that explicitly lists the names of legal documents and proposed plans by governmental committees that were used in this study.

Conclusion

I designed this dissertation using a case study approach believing this method would be best suited for examining phenomena in their natural context from the participants' points of view. The case study is coupled with the historical-structural approach that records historical events keeping social reality in the context of relationships versus placing reality on things. For data collection I conducted formal and informal interviews; participated in descriptive, focused, and selective observations; and collected historical texts as documents, legal legislation, and other documented sources. These multiple methods of collecting data supports the theory of triangulation (Denzin, 1989) and the combination of several methods to examine the same contextual situation with similar

conclusions confirm the accuracy of collected data to form substantial evidence. I believed a case study design would be the best way to bring together people's opinions, memories and reflections with documentary evidence in order for me to gain an understanding of which language education policy decisions are made and why they are made in Aruba.

CHAPTER 4

LANGUAGE SITUATIONS IN ARUBA

Every geographic location has a history that reveals cultural and linguistic background information. This chapter contains the study findings, and it discusses issues related to the following subject matter: 1) political-historical factors contributing to language genesis, 2) demographics in Aruba that pertain to language use, 3) waves of immigration and acculturation, 4) socio-linguistic survey of Aruba, 5) language policy in education decisions, and 6) language in education. The historical background information of Aruba will lay the foundation for the study findings.

Political-Historical Factors Contributing to Language Genesis

In order to consider educational views of language and culture, one must consider the historical-cultural context in which the examined phenomena exist (Goodwin & Duranti, 1992). On the Dutch Caribbean island of Aruba, European political domination has forged a linguistically complex scenario for the education of its people. Following is a brief political history of Aruba's conquerors, immigrants and demographic shifts over the past 500 years. Many changing economic conditions caused movement and considerable cultural and linguistic change to Aruba. Table 1 on page 61 summarizes several political factors that contributed to the language genesis on Aruba, and those political factors are discussed hereinafter.

Aruba's current population mix of approximately 70,000 people is the result of a long line of political-historical events that have influenced its makeup. Indigenous Caiquetios, a tribe of the Arowak native peoples, originally inhabited the island of Aruba (Hartog,

1988). They are thought to have come from the coast of Venezuela traveling back and forth for better fishing around Aruba's shores. In 1499, Spaniards arrived on the island of Aruba. According to Hartog (1988) the Caiquetios were poor fighters and rather flexible people. When the Spanish came exerting political dominance, the Caiquetios willingly received baptism, consenting to both religious and political submission. Aruba, Bonaire and Curacao were declared "useless islands" because no valuable metals were found, so the Caiquetio people and any other inhabitants were evacuated to Santo Domingo to work in copper mines. Later, some of the original Caiquetios were brought back to Aruba when the Spanish decided to re-inhabit the island (Hartog, 1988). Horse and cattle breeding industries were started and remained a strong business for many years. The name Aruba was first recorded by Gonzalo F. de Oviedo in 1526 in his book titled Historia Natural y General de Las Indias. It is not known what the name Aruba means but is thought to be an orthographic invention that phonetically copied the verbal name the Indians gave the island (Hartog, 1988).

During the Eighty Years War with Spain in 1634, the Dutch inhabited the island of Curacao to use as a naval base to attack Spanish ships sailing in the Caribbean. In order to protect their base in Curacao the Dutch decided to occupy both Aruba and Bonaire, the two islands on either side of Curacao, claiming Aruba as part of their commonwealth in 1634. European settlers began arriving on Aruba in 1754 to work small pieces of land. Some African slaves from Curacao were brought to Aruba to serve as house slaves until 1863 when slavery was abolished (Boekhoudt-Croes, 1996; Hartog, 1988).

Papiamentu, the language of Aruba and neighboring islands Curacao and Bonaire, developed as a Creole language used for communication among African slaves and European inhabitants in Curacao. When the house slaves from Curacao came to Aruba they brought with them their Creole language, Papiamentu. Papiamentu has a Spanish lexicon base and combines linguistic features found in Spanish, Portuguese, Dutch, African languages, English, and French. (Boekhoudt-Croes, 1996). According to Martinus (1972), Papiamentu is a Creole language originating from a Portuguese African proto-Creole language the African slaves brought to Curacao starting in 1662. On Curacao, the language further developed and became the lingua franca between the Portuguese, Spanish Jews, and the Dutch Protestants, thus increasing the use of Papiamentu in the higher economic status groups of society. Papiamentu today is the vernacular language of Aruba.

Papiamentu grew in vocabulary as elaboration took place. According to Boekhoudt-Croes, the Papiamentu language adopted many words from other languages as members of specific language groups dominated various professions. For example, many Dutch borrowings refer to technical and official activities while Spanish borrowings refer more to the professions of shoemakers or fishermen. French borrowings applied to the fields of gold and silversmiths. In 1740, the Dutch Jesuits began to Christianize the slaves using Papiamentu as the language of instruction (Boekhoudt-Croes, 1996). From its earliest days, Papiamentu was used for educational purposes. The vocabulary of Papiamentu continues to grow.

Table 1
Political Factors
Contributing to Language Genesis on Aruba

1499	Spain conquered Aruba. Arawak native people fled.
1634	Dutch claimed Aruba as part of their commonwealth.
1662	African slaves brought a proto-Creole language to Curacao.
1740	Dutch Jesuits Christianized the slaves using Papiamentu.
1754	European settlers began arriving on Aruba.
1824	Gold was discovered and brought many foreigners to Aruba.
1924	Oil from Venezuela was brought to Aruba to be refined.
1920-1940	Population of Aruba quadrupled.
1960	Tourists began coming to Aruba.

Table 1 is a brief summary of the political factors that contributed to the language genesis in Aruba. Political dominance, commerce, and manipulation of natural resources made the most significant impact on the population of Aruba.

The discovery of gold in 1824 brought an increased number of foreigners to the island, and with the foreigners came many other languages. Then, oil from Venezuela was brought to Aruba, and Standard Oil came to operate an oil refinery in 1924. Refinery workers came primarily from the Caribbean Islands and the United States. They developed their own town called Sero Colorado. Sero Colorado grew and expanded having a United States oriented school, a church, a supermarket, upper class housing, and a hospital. The people who lived there were isolated from the Aruban population. English was the language most commonly used in Sero Colorado for company business.

Although the Aruban population was not large enough to provide enough refinery workers, many British Negro immigrants from other English speaking Caribbean islands were drawn on to work on Aruba, contributing to a population explosion.

With this significant increase of people living in Aruba, the original Arubans began raising the question, “Ken ta Arubiano” (Who is Aruban?). No one people group was native to the land as all the groups had immigrated for various reasons. However, the lighter-skinned Latin-American and European colonists felt they had more right to call themselves Arubans since they lived on the island longer and spoke Papiamentu (Do Rego, 1995; Emerencia, 1998). Many of the darker-skinned immigrants spoke English as their first language, but nearly all of them understood Papiamentu perfectly. However, this debate of national identity continued to increase along the lines of skin color and language (Emerencia, 1998).

The influence of the Dutch language was primarily forced by Aruba’s colonial attachment to Holland. As part of the Dutch Kingdom, all government documents and contacts concerning governmental affairs were made in Dutch. But, Aruba (see map 1 on page 70) began to grow in population as many more people came to the island from Holland, Curacao and Surinam. So, many languages were used. From the 1920s to the 1940s, the population of Aruba quadrupled (Boekhoudt-Croes, 1996). Tourists began coming to Aruba in the 1960s speaking primarily Spanish, English and Dutch. None the less, governmental documents and contacts remain in Dutch.

Demographics in Aruba that Pertain to Language Use

Today, the population contains a variety of peoples from many different homelands (see Nationality Percent table 2).

Table 2
Aruban Population by Nationality

Nationality	Percent
Dutch	89.2
Dominican	2.2
Colombian	2.0
Venezuelan	1.7
American	0.8
British	0.5
Surinamese	0.5
Haitian	0.4
Philippine	0.4
Chinese	0.3
Jamaican	0.2
Peruvian	0.2
Portuguese	0.2
Other	1.4
Total	100%

Table 2 shows that many residents of Aruba are from foreign nations. Foreign residents bring foreign languages, customs, and educational backgrounds that create a natural multicultural atmosphere in Aruban educational settings. The 89% Dutch population accounts for citizens from any of three Dutch Kingdom polities: Holland, the Netherlands Antilles, and Aruba.

The Europeans and African slaves intermixed to become the present day Arubans, and the many foreigners who have come to Aruba for economic opportunities create the Aruban community. There are more than 43 nationalities represented on the island of Aruba. The Aruban census of 1991 data reveals that 6.4% of the total Aruban population has a Spanish speaking nationality. The island is multicultural and multilingual.

Waves of Immigration and Acculturation

A 1991 census reports that there are four prominent first languages spoken in Aruba: 76.6% speak the vernacular island language Papiamentu, 8.9% speak English, 7.4% speak Spanish, 5.4% speak Dutch, and 1.7% speak other languages. These percentages have fluctuated minimally over the past waves of immigration and acculturation periods in Aruba (see table 2 and figure 1).

Table 3
Waves of Immigration and Acculturation:
Dominant Languages

Languages in Aruba	1 st Wave (1972)	Acculturation (1981)	2 nd Wave (1991)
Papiamentu	70.7%	80.1%	76.6%
Dutch	8.1%	5.0%	5.4%
English	14.1%	10.6%	8.9%
Spanish	2.5%	3.1%	7.4%
Other	4.6%	1.1%	1.6%

Aruban Population by Dominant Language

Language Use Over Time

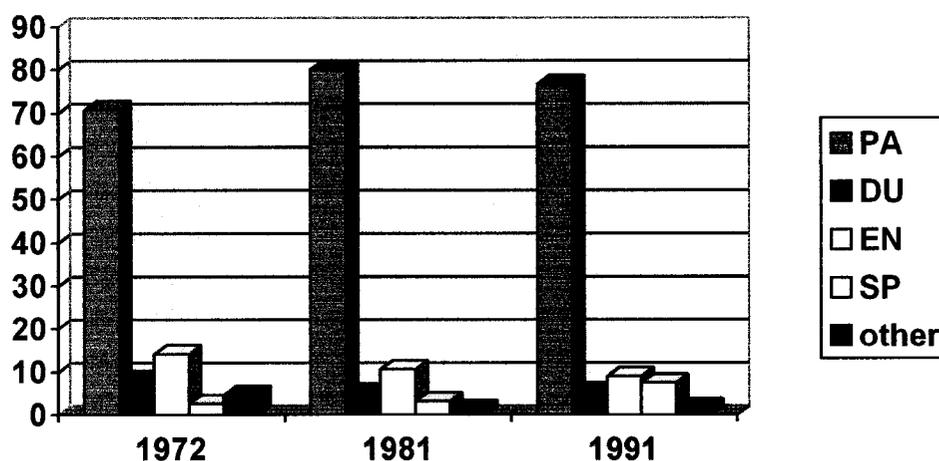


Figure 1

Source: Census 1972, 1981 and 1991

The above table and chart indicates there are four dominant languages: Papiamento, Dutch, English, and Spanish. The majority of the population named Papiamento as their primary language.

In Aruba, the population of Papiamento speakers has fluctuated: 73.3% in 1972, it increased to 80.1% in 1981 then decreased to 76.6% in 1991. The percentage of English speakers has consistently decreased from 14.6% in 1972 to 10.6% in 1981 to 8.9% in 1991. The Spanish speaking population has consistently increased from 2.6% in 1972 to 3.1% in 1981 to 7.4% in 1991. The number of Dutch speakers has fluctuated having 8.4% speakers in 1972 that decreased to 5.0% in 1981 and increased to 5.4% in 1991. Speakers of other languages slightly increased from 1.1% in 1972 to 1.2% in 1981 to 1.7% in 1991. The language with the most speakers is the vernacular language Papiamento. The second language dominant group is English, and the third language

dominant group is Spanish. The language with the least number of speakers is Dutch.

These statistics came alive in my own personal experiences while in Aruba.

While walking down any of the numerous beaches, I could hear the sound of crashing ocean waves, the squawk of sea gulls and the sound of people participating in a host of water activities. Music from Latin America competes with the American top 40 and is laced with a Caribbean rhythm and percussion sound. I could hear people conversing primarily in Papiamentu with family, in Spanish and English with tourists and in Dutch when near the schools. Every Aruban can switch languages in mid conversation as the audience changes. Words seem to flow effortlessly as speakers ensure that accurate meaning is transferred and received (Field Note, 6/22/96).

At many churches in Aruba the services are bilingual in Dutch and Papiamentu.

Attendees who do not speak or understand Dutch or Papiamentu are handed interpretation devices consisting of headphones and a receiver labeled by language. The churches have people assigned to interpret into Spanish, English or sometimes even Portuguese depending on the need of those attending. The interpreters speak into a special microphone that relays the translation to the small headset receivers, the end result being that non-Dutch and non-Papiamentu speakers can follow the service by headset interpretation. Many Sundays I was probably the only person in the congregation requiring English interpretation, but church members who are fluent speakers of other languages consider interpretation as their service to God. Usually I could not locate the interpreter, as they can sit with the transistor microphone and interpret from almost any place in the church. But their interpretation allows outsiders, i.e. linguistic and cultural foreigners, the opportunity to participate in the church service. Interpretation is a highly valued skill and is necessary in many ways for events in multicultural and multilingual Aruba.

There are many political-historical factors contributing to language genesis in Aruba. First, the political domination of conquering polities brought the Spanish and Dutch languages to Aruba. Then African slaves brought a proto-Creole language to Curacao that over time developed into the Creole Papiamentu. European settlers brought their diverse languages, and with job opportunities in gold and the oil refinery, more language influences were added to Aruba. Tourism reinforced the use of other languages, especially Spanish and English. The ability to interpret has become a valuable asset for Aruban citizens as the marketplace demands multilingual communication.

Socio-linguistic Survey

Status planning refers to social issues and concerns, which are factors in language planning. Polities must make the choice of what language to use to communicate with the citizens and how to implement the language focusing on the adoption and spread of the language norms as selected and codified (Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997). Multilingual communities having more than one language significantly used by the population, such as Aruba, must choose one or more languages for communication with the public and one or more languages for official purposes.

While choosing an official language to conduct business and communicate with the public may appear to be a simple task, many factors must be considered. Exogenous languages (established foreign languages) provide a bridge to the external world while endogenous or vernacular languages (local languages spoken at home) accommodate the establishment of a common history and heritage of a community which facilitates unity. Kale (1990) suggests several criteria for selecting a language. These include political

neutrality, dominance, prestige, tradition, and areal affinity. However, each nation's choice must depend upon specific goals and perspectives of the citizens within their particular contextualized language situation.

To gain an accurate context of the languages being used in a multilingual community, information must be collected about what segments of the population speak which language. Also, it must be determined in what registers the languages are being used, what purposes the languages serve, and what resources are available for each of the competing languages. There are several ways to find out this information. Sociolinguistic surveys and observation of who speaks what to whom under what circumstances are two of many ways accurate information can be collected. Language choice must be made in light of specific linguistic information that needs to be collected (Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997). In Aruba, Regime Boekhoudt-Croes conducted a survey of the language use and language needs of the Aruban working population (Boekhoudt-Croes, 1996).

Boekhoudt-Croes surveyed the frequency and difficulty of the use of different language skills of the Aruban working population. Various linguistic contexts and skills were questioned. Results of the language use and needs survey were compared with languages used in education. The survey concluded that the Papiamentu language, when compared to other languages, was used more regularly by a majority of the working population compared to the other languages, thus indicating that Papiamentu is the most important language for communication in Aruba. The Boekhoudt-Croes socio-linguistic survey reconfirmed that three other languages are also commonly used on the island. They are English, Spanish and Dutch. Aruba is a multilingual society that commonly

uses four languages in the midst of conducting an average day of business. However, in spite of Papiamentu's higher number of uses, Papiamentu is not used significantly in Aruba in the education domain. Instead, Dutch is the primary language of instruction throughout students' entire educational career. Let us examine why this is the case in light of language policies imposed by the government.

Language Policy

First, the governing power of Aruba's external affairs differs from the authority for internal affairs. In the language history section at the beginning of Chapter Four, we determined that the Kingdom of the Netherlands (Holland) claimed Aruba as their colony in 1634, as well as the islands of Curacao, Bonaire, Saba, St. Eustatius, and St. Maarten (See Map 1). Within colonial political structures, The Netherlands combined the colonial islands together as one entity called the Netherlands Antilles. Within the Netherlands Antilles, Curacao was the governing seat for all the colonies. The Netherlands directed all governing business concerning the Netherlands Antilles to Curacao.

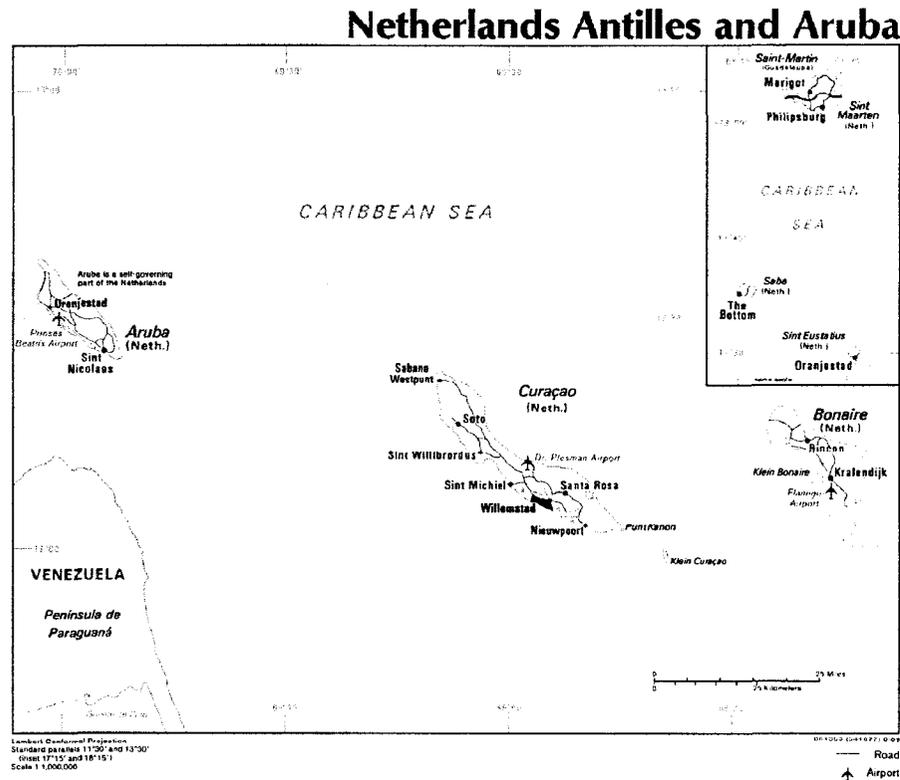


Figure 2

Figure 2 above illustrates the physical proximity Aruba has to the Netherlands Antilles polity.

Being ruled from a distance was difficult, so around 1940, the Netherlands Antilles began asking for autonomy from The Netherlands concerning all internal affairs. They wanted to make all governing decisions affecting just the colonial islands without control by The Netherlands. Autonomy was granted in 1954. The Netherlands Antilles were free to be their own polity and free to govern themselves internally while enjoying defense protection and other external benefits from Holland. With autonomy, the Netherlands Antilles began overseeing the education of its people. Discussions of using Papiamentu

of instruction became more intense as the possibilities of designing a better language policy increased.

In 1979 the Netherlands Antilles wrote a Primary Education Act that nobly states in Article #9 that the official language for educational instruction shall be Papiamentu. However, in the same Primary Education Act of 1979 in a later article, #89, states that Article #9 will not be immediately enacted, rather enactment will begin at a future date yet to be determined.

Aruba's frustration grew as the people became tired of Curacao, the governing seat of the Netherlands Antilles, making decisions that fostered the best economic interests of Curacao. So, Aruba requested a Status Aparte from the Netherlands Antilles. The Netherlands granted Aruba Status Aparte in 1986. Both the autonomy from Holland for the Netherlands Antilles and then the Status Aparte from the Netherlands Antilles gave Aruba complete legal authority to make its own internal decisions concerning Aruban affairs. Then, Emerencia (1998) affirms that in 1993 some problems in the Aruban government and Aruba's increased role in drug-trafficking in the region led the Aruban Prime Minister and the leader of the opposition political party to sign an agreement called Acuerdo di 1995 giving the Dutch government the right to intervene in the internal affairs of Aruba again. The suspected drug trafficking in Aruba was considered a matter of concern to the security of the entire Kingdom of the Netherlands (Holland, Netherlands Antilles and Aruba), thus justifying the right to intervene once again. Furthermore, another protocol (The Protocol of Willemstad) was signed in 1998 that calls for "the maintenance of Dutch in our schools and for the alignment of the educational systems of

the three entities of the Kingdom” (Emerencia, 1998, pp.30). Emerencia reports that a formal request has been made presenting the idea that three languages be recognized as official languages in the Kingdom of the Netherlands: Papiamentu as the national language of the Dutch Leeward Islands (Aruba, Curacao, and Bonaire), English as the national language of the Dutch Windward Islands (Saba, St. Eustatius, and St. Maarten), and Dutch as the national language of The Netherlands. This proposal offers equal rights for all polities and supports unity in the midst of diversity.

To summarize language policy in Aruba, table four records an organized review of the history of official government documents that bestow or deny the power to the Aruban government to enact language policies.

Table 4
Official Government Policies for Aruba

YEAR	1954	1979	1979	1986	1993	1998
POLICY	Autonomy Granted	PrimaryEd Act, #9	Primary Ed Act, #89	Given Status Aparte	Acuerdo di 1995	Protocol of Willemstad

Table 4 identifies the year various political actions or policies were passed. In several cases, one action counter-acts another. Progress is attempted but not very successive.

Language policy in Aruba has been inconsistent with regard to language use in education. Cobarrubias (1983) asserts that there are three kinds of language policies: endoglossic, exoglossic, and mixed policies. Right now Aruban language policy favors the exoglossic policy that prioritizes the propagation of a foreign language with a wider language use outside of the polity. Endoglossic policy supports and promotes indigenous languages and the sense of national identity. A mixed policy does both, encouraging

group unity and providing a language of wider use to increase business and personal growth opportunities available only outside of the immediate culture (Ruiz, 1994).

Current legal statutes dictate Dutch as the language of content instruction. This is a serious dilemma with serious consequences for Aruban children. Why? Because in Aruba, children are being educated in Dutch, which is essentially their fourth language. Tests taken in Dutch at the end of the sixth year of primary school dictate what career path the student will take, as the scores of that exam determine what higher education/career preparation school the student qualifies for. So, at more or less age 12 a child in Aruba is given a test in their fourth best language (meaning they utilize three other languages better than Dutch), in which test scores determine the profession he or she will have for the rest of his/her adult life. So, at about age twelve children in Aruba are given a test in Dutch, typically their fourth best language; these test scores determine the profession they will have for the rest of their adult lives. This situation leaves Papiamentto-dominant students at a great disadvantage for achieving desired educational and career goals (since they are obviously less able to demonstrate what they know in the language they know least well). An additional indignity is that this language requirement is placed on the majority of students by Aruban law in their own country, which leaves national Aruban students with a huge handicap.

Language in Education

As a Creole language, is Papiamentto the most beneficial language to use as the language of instruction in Aruba? Research supports native language instruction in

education as literacy skills and strategies are able to transcend languages and build upon one another: competency in one's first language has been found to dramatically increase the competency attainable in the second language (Cummins, 1979 & 1981; Collier, 1989; Emerencia, 1998; Herrera, 1999; Krashen, 1981; McGroarty, 1988; Moll, 1992; Muller, 1982; Prins-Winkel, 1982; Ruiz, 1994; among many others). Cummins (1979), a researcher in the field of language in education presents a conceptual theory using the constructs CUP and SUP. CUP stands for "common underlying proficiency" and SUP stands for "separate underlying proficiency." CUP is the idea that once a concept is learned, that cognitive conceptual data learned in the first language of a student automatically transfer to the second language of that student and can be expressed in the second language without re-teaching the concept in the second language once appropriate vocabulary has developed. Ideas and concepts are not locked into different language containers in the brain. Rather the underlying proficiency can be expressed as the words are learned to express that learning.

In Aruba one interviewee said, "In Aruban schools, if you don't know the answers in Dutch, then you don't know the answers." This reflects the SUP theory in that a child cannot be credited for knowing the concept unless he or she can produce the answer in the second language. However, in Aruba the expectation is that the student must respond with the correct answer in their fourth best language. When operating on the SUP model of education, much of the classroom instruction time begins to revolve around teaching language instead of content. Research has indicated that languages are better learned

when not taught directly but rather indirectly - not as a subject (language) but using the target language as a medium of content instruction for given subjects (Ruiz, 1994).

Emerencia (1998) organized a chart that delineates the arguments against or in favor of the use of Papiamentu in schools.

Table 5

Arguments Against Papiamentu	Arguments In Favor of Papiamentu
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Papiamentu is not a complete language or not suitable enough to be used as a medium of instruction. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The vernacular language is the most important instrument for cognitive, social, emotional and moral development.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Papiamentu is not a Language of Wider Communication (LWC). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A solid development of the first language serves second and foreign language acquisition.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Papiamentu instruction will debilitate children's possibilities to learn Dutch. Dutch is the most important language in education because in secondary education Dutch is (and should stay) the medium of instruction. For higher education, Aruba is mostly dependent on Holland for scholarships and university opportunities. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Papiamentu is the national language of Aruba. Use of Papiamentu in schools can and should serve the strengthening and expansion of this language.
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Use of Papiamentu in schools can and should also serve the development of Aruban culture and serve the development of national identity.

In table 5, Emerencia (1998) identifies three commonly perceived arguments against the use of Papiamentu in Aruban schools and four promoted and research substantiated arguments in favor of the use of Papiamentu in Aruban schools.

Arguments against Papiamentu lack scientific data to support what they propose as valid reasoning. First, Papiamentu *is* suitable enough to be used as a medium of

instruction. Any language that you can use with others to communicate and make sense qualifies that language as suitable. In Aruba, parliament uses Papiamentu as the language of discussion (Emerencia, 1998). The complex matters discussed by parliament would require considerable vocabulary and standard usage in order to communicate effectively with members. Nyati-Ramahobo (1998) asserts that the language used by the seat of government such as Parliament reveals that language's status in that polity. Kelman (1973) makes a differentiation between sentimental attachment to a language and instrumental attachment to a language. Using a language in parliament is an instrumental use of the language because the specified language is necessary or instrumental in accomplishing an important task. Sentimental attachments are signaled through language and have to do with identity, expressions, and community which is especially important when forming a sense of groupness among specific people. Instrumental attachments are evident when finding value in a language because it will help one get a better job, grow in prestige, or get into the best schools. In the case of Papiamentu, the language has instrumental attachment as Papiamentu is used to discuss politics. If one wants to communicate with the other politicians, the person's ability to use the language employed in parliament is a good indicator of a language's instrumental value.

The language of instruction in schools of any nation is a language that carries instrumental value (Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997; Ruiz, 1994). Instrumental value contributes significantly to the maintenance and strength of a language in any polity and in the case of Aruba the primary use of Dutch in the schools works against the desired instrumental goals for the national language Papiamentu.

A second argument against Papiamentu use in schools in Aruba is that Papiamentu isn't a language of wider use. This statement is true as only two other islands, Curacao and Bonaire, use the Papiamentu language. However, the mandated and practiced language of Aruban education, Dutch, is not an extremely well known language of wider use. In Holland, de Swaan (1998) reports that 80% of the Dutch population is competent in English and Bergentoft (1994) found that Dutch students begin learning a foreign language around age 10 to 17. They study a second language for a minimum of three years and a maximum of eight years. If Aruba's motherland, The Netherlands, isn't mandating Dutch-only instruction for their own citizens, how much more important it is that Aruba does not limit themselves to just one language of instruction?

A third argument against Papiamentu is that Papiamentu instruction will debilitate students' ability to learn Dutch, and Dutch is important since higher education opportunities in Aruba and abroad use Dutch as the medium of instruction. Research proves over and over again that this simply isn't true. The first language literacy and language skills transfer to the second language and actually give a firm conceptual foundation conducive to second language learning. In Aruba, one official stated that the department of education is currently collecting data that indicates that Spanish-speaking children coming from Spanish speaking homelands with a firm grasp of their primary vernacular language are actually surpassing Papiamentu-speaking children on Dutch tests. One aspect of language acquisition theory that supports these data is that when a child gets a firm foundation in literacy with the first language, the students' second, third and fourth languages are much more comprehensive (Cummins, 1979 & 1981; Collier,

1989; Emerencia, 1998; Herrera, 1999; Krashen, 1981; McGroarty, 1988; Moll, 1992; Muller, 1982; Prins-Winkel, 1982; Ruiz, 1994; among many others).

Valeriano (1981) claims that the native language has to be functional in school and gives strong arguments in relation to the process of learning to read. In her research, she points out that Papiamento-speaking children are highly restricted as they approach Dutch text in reading. Without the ability to understand or decipher the print into comprehensible information, reading lessons in Dutch may be regarded as a meaningless activity. Valeriano states there are clear pedagogical, linguistic and psychological reasons for using Papiamento for beginning reading instruction. Reading in Papiamento would be a significant and meaningful experience as the known written language makes sense to children, providing a comprehension-based reading instruction. A study by Gray (1957) concluded that methods that emphasize word elements neglect the development of comprehension, again supporting that reading instruction must be centered around comprehension.

Education must be a natural continuation of the development which begins at home (Emerencia, 1998; Muller, 1982). Since Papiamento is the home language of the majority of students in Aruba, Papiamento should be the language of content instruction at school, especially reading. Muller states that Dutch is a foreign language that most students do not hear or use in any context outside of the school gates. Muller supports teaching Dutch as a foreign language subject in the Aruban schools.

Similarly, Emerencia concurs with Muller as she discusses several key obstacles that interfere with learning Dutch in the Aruban context. First, she declares that Dutch

language learning is not sustained adequately by use in the community and it is not used in the majority of families as a home language. There are no Dutch-speaking television stations, only one radio station that uses Dutch and very few newspapers. A majority of the families do not use Dutch at home and consequently children rarely use Dutch out on the playgrounds. Second, because Papiamentu is not used in the primary schools for instruction, the introduction of Dutch for educational instruction is implemented without solid language concept formation that research cited previously says is required for second language learning. Third, Aruban teachers are not completely proficient enough in Dutch to detect their own errors. Those errors are then passed down to the students acquiring Dutch in the classroom context. Fourthly, the Dutch language has become stigmatized for Papiamentu-dominant students with being a language connected with failure. Attitudinal elements impact emotional triggers that bring shame and fear. Relationship between attitudes and language learning success have a significant relationship as discussed in Douglas Brown's research (1980), and Emerencia cites those data in describing the elements of emotion that affect Dutch language use and learning. Fifth, the Dutch culture-oriented textbooks do not represent the Aruban world and prevent students from understanding the underlying cultural meanings of the reading texts. These research-based findings about language acquisition are numerous and applicable to the context of Aruba and education issues.

Chapter Four focused on the language situation in Aruba. It contained a chronology of political-historical factors contributing to language genesis, discussion of demographics in Aruba that pertain to language use, reflection on the waves of

immigration and acculturation, presentation of a sociolinguistic survey conducted in Aruba, the history of language policy that documents education decisions in Aruba, and finally disputes over Aruba's practice of language in education.

With all research data confirming that the first language is the best language in which to formulate concepts and learn educational content, why do the administrators and government officials continue to put off educating Aruban students in the vernacular language? The next chapter will offer suggested reasons.

CHAPTER 5

EDUCATIONAL STRUCTURE AND SYSTEMS

Chapter Five identifies the educational structure and systems of Aruba and how they relate to language in education practices specifically in Aruba. First, the impact of colonial education is reviewed. A comparison and contrast of the Kingdom of the Netherlands' school system structure to Aruba's school system structure is presented. Finally, the cultural issues relative to educational structure and systems are examined.

Colonial Education

Colonial education is often structured and evaluated on the mother country's educational system and values. For Aruba, the mother country, or the colonizing country, is The Netherlands. The Netherlands is a Western European nation located almost four thousand miles away from Aruba. The Netherlands (Holland) occupied and claimed Aruba as part of the Dutch commonwealth in 1634 (see the political-historical factors section in Chapter Four). The national language of The Netherlands is Dutch although learning foreign languages is encouraged. Currently in Aruba, the vernacular language of the island is Papiamentu but the language of instruction in schools is Dutch. In a language proposal document by PMI (1997) for Aruban schools, there is a brief paragraph in English that addresses the colonial dominance experienced in regards to language. It says,

.....the strongest psychological strategy to colonize a nation was to take away its language: there is no more effective way to weaken a nation (pp.5).

The mandate for Dutch to be utilized in Aruban schools is a directive from Holland. Aruba's aspirations for autonomy and national growth that involve improvement of educational opportunities for future generations are largely compromised when the language of the schools is decreed by the former colonizing country.

There are many colonization strategies that focus on breaking traditions, social structures and cultures of colonized people. Fanon (1971) and Carnoy (1974) report that there are long-term effects of colonialism that pierce the very depths of relational structures of people and skew the people's perspective on reality. One example of this penetrating effect was during colonial rule in 1920 when the Dutch governor of colonized Aruba became very disturbed by the suggestion of conscientious citizens requesting to incorporate Papiamentu into the education program in Aruba. This outrage of the governing party birthed three new mandates: 1) educators would receive no funding for schools not using the Dutch language as the medium of instruction, 2) teachers were denied permission to teach in either Papiamentu or Spanish, and 3) the vernacular tongue was cursed and proclaimed as being a language completely unfit to educate anyone properly (Prins-Winkle, 1982). Over time, the promotion of the Dutch language as the medium of instruction and the utter rejection of Papiamentu became so well-integrated into the Aruban population that no one seemed to remember the serious disadvantages the Dutch language in education gave the Papiamentu speaking children in school (Prins-Winkel, 1981). As evidenced in the chart Arguments For and Against Papiamentu in Chapter Four, these three ancient mandates against using Papiamentu in the schools as a language of instruction issued in 1920 are still dominating Aruban public attitude today.

In my opinion, this is a long-lasting impact of a colonization strategy that still grips and impacts the present thinking of Aruban citizens.

Comparison and Contrast of Dutch Schools to Aruban Schools

While Aruba was a colony, the Netherlands created educational structures for all the Netherlands Antilles that closely resembled the educational structure in Holland. The progression of primary, secondary and upper education classes still function as the model students in Aruba experience today. Holland and Aruba have very similar school system structures. They are specifically similar in that:

- Both use Dutch as the primary language of instruction.
- Both use a test for promotion into the career preparation tract at the end of the sixth year of school.
- Both have similar higher education structures (See the flow chart of the Dutch Educational System taken from Van Els (1994 on p. 87).
- Both access Dutch culture based textbooks for instruction with Dutch heroes and Dutch history.

Schools in Aruba differ from Dutch schools in a few areas.

- Aruba does not offer special “Black” schools that are government sponsored with fewer students per teacher and special food programs. Nor is there an ongoing coffee drinking invitation to parents of students with linguistically different backgrounds to come and meet at the school.
- Aruban children begin to wear uniforms in first grade.

- Aruba has no special “weights” system to add points to exams of linguistically different children.
- Aruba begins foreign language education in the first year of kindergarten at age four.

Schools in The Netherlands

The Netherlands offers free public education and begins foreign language instruction between ages 10 and 17. Over 80% of the students who finish their education are competent in two or more languages.

When I visited a local school in Amsterdam, the children were very happy and playful in the kindergarten and much more strict and quiet in grades one through six. It was a typical day before a holiday with anxious children ready to get out of school. I was there on December 4 and Holland’s Sinterklaas (comparable to United States’ Santa Claus) comes on December 5. This excerpt from my field notes in a Netherland’s kindergarten captures an educational scenario in Amsterdam:

The students look larger and taller than our students back in the USA. When I commented that they look bigger, Marianne (the teacher) said she read that Netherlands people were reported as being the largest people individually in the whole world. The students dressed in casual comfortable clothing, most had layers such as an undershirt, sweater and then a cardigan. No uniforms. Marianne said she’s glad they don’t have uniforms - she thinks regular clothes are more comfortable. Two students with English native speaking parents came in to the classroom. The teacher introduced me in English as a visiting teacher from The United States. When I asked the kids if they understood the other children and the teacher in Dutch, they both said “Yes.” One boy helped another cut out two shiny gold papers for the hat of Sinterklaas. In the block area children shared as they built individual towers. One boy began to build on a girl’s tower and she knocked it down in protest to his addition. The kids maintained an average noise level. Marianne called three children over to where she was assisting a student with a puzzle to reprimand their loud

voice volume and rough play. The three students immediately looked down at the floor and seemed to be sorry. They returned to the play area and began playing again, only this time more quietly.

The teacher, Marianne, told me the goals of students age four and five are to learn how to concentrate, work alone, play games, know their colors, count to ten, learn and apply the concepts of more, less, right and left. Five-year-olds take a written test referred to as the CETO test. This test examines the child's ability to differentiate between concepts and understandings. They do not test for alphabetic naming, instead they have the children match a picture to the correct word. She said they take a more holistic approach to reading instruction. Marianne referred to specific conditions for learning that guide their literacy approach. In third grade students learn the whole word, and later they begin to differentiate letters and sounds. The focus of this approach is to develop aural and visual skills in word recognition. Thematic units are planned and organized by the teachers. In kindergarten they believe kids learn through play so there is always a special imaginative play area such as the hospital, the grocery store or the fire station.

When I asked about children from different linguistic backgrounds, Marianne gave me similar information that her principal, Renske Pesman offered. Many minority children in Holland come from a different linguistic background and are gathered into special schools referred to by both the public and educators as "Black Schools." I asked if all the children attending those schools were racially darker skinned (thus the name "Black") and both educators paused and looked at me with confusion. Then, as if a light bulb turned on, they said of course not but that the label "Black" school probably began along the racial skin color differences associated with linguistic differences long ago. In

my mind I noted that they were not aware of the outdated terminology that assumes different language backgrounds mean “black” skin color. At the Black schools, they have fewer children per class to facilitate more teacher-student interaction. Black schools often have food programs for the children and parents are invited to come and drink coffee at the school anytime. One special Black school in Amsterdam provides three hours per week of education to be given in the home language. It is the only one of its kind and not going to be promoted or expanded. Students who have less than one year of living in Holland qualify for “weights” that add points to exams to make up for linguistic discrepancies. Some international schools are bilingual, and teachers from other nations are welcome to teach home language education at those schools. However, the Dutch government wants to give less money to these kinds of special programs and schools.

In Holland there are several paths a student can take to obtain the education needed to fulfill qualifications required for specific careers. The flow chart on page 87 indicates that everyone must first complete eight years of primary education starting school at age four. At the end of the eight years of primary education, a test is administered in Dutch to determine what secondary schooling tracts the students qualify for. Teachers and administrators assist and advise the parents and students in determining which tract is best. The test scores ultimately do direct the career paths chosen.

When there are disputes over test scores, students can attend a lower level tract then retest and apply for a higher level the following year. In this way, the system is less confining and restrictive. However, immediate replacement is delayed until the required test score for the higher level school is obtained.

instruction while Dutch is introduced as the primary language. In one kindergarten classroom, preference for Dutch is evident in that the Dutch alphabet is posted and recited while the Papiamentu alphabet is not. Other languages such as Spanish and English are sometimes introduced in kindergarten as secondary languages. At age six, students begin primary education classes using Dutch as the medium for instruction from grades one to six. At special education schools like Emma School, the language of instruction for all grades, one through seven, is Papiamentu.

I observed many different schools in Aruba. There are 35 public and 48 Catholic schools in Aruba. Together they form one school board that determines desired implementation of educational objectives and the evaluation of goals for Aruban schools. Each school has a head teacher or principal who oversees the educational progress of students and the performance of teachers. Also, principals take care of issues of discipline that may require parent contact.

There are a few private specialty schools in Aruba. A department of education administrator informed me that schools that want to function outside the authority of the school board have the constitutional right to do so as long as they comply with Aruban law. Inspectors from the department of education check periodically with those schools to see if they are in compliance with Aruban education laws. I visited one such school called De Schakel, which translates to "The Transition." It is a relatively new private school where new methods and new things are tested and tried. The director there shared two specific goals with me: 1) for students to be able to be self-initiated, choosing work and able to be self-reliant and work on their own, and 2) for the teaching style to be

holistic using whole language approaches to education. The language used for instruction is Dutch. Unlike other Aruban schools, this building has air-conditioned classrooms for the students. The school is expensive but innovative. Another specialty school is the International School that has an American curriculum and uses English as the medium of instruction. Also, there is a Seventh Day Adventist school that uses Dutch curriculum but emphasizes its religious ideology.

Papiamentu is the language in which most children are proficient when first entering school. The following Table 7 taken from Emerencia (1998) lists the percentages of school age children entering school with various languages:

Table 7
Dominant First Language of School Age Children

Years	Papiamentu	Dutch	Spanish	English	Other
1994	75.0%	7.3%	9.1%	7.5%	1.2%
1995	74.2%	7.3%	9.5%	7.7%	1.4%
1996	74.9%	6.5%	10.0%	7.0%	1.5%

Table 7 records the dominant first language of school age children from the years 1994 to 1996. Papiamentu, Dutch and English show a decrease while the Spanish language reflects a large percentage increase.

Primary language was recorded in 1994, 1995 and 1996 when students in Aruba enrolled for primary education. Papiamentu speakers fluctuated from 75.0% in 1994 to 74.2% in 1995 and 74.9% in 1996. Dutch speakers stayed the same at 7.3% in both 1994

and 1995 but then dramatically decreased to 6.5% in 1996. Spanish speakers markedly increased from 9.1% in 1994 to 9.5% in 1995 and 10.0% in 1996. English speakers fluctuated from 7.5% in 1994 to 7.7% in 1995 to 7.0% in 1996. And speakers from other languages steadily increased from 1.2% in 1994 to 1.4% in 1995 and 1.5% in 1996. The largest language group increase was the Spanish-speaking group. The greatest language use decrease group was the Dutch-speaking group. This table demonstrates that Dutch, the language mandated for content instruction, is the least-spoken language in the homes of Aruban children.

Concerning linguistically different children, Aruba has one program I learned about called PRISMA. The PRISMA project is a pull-out program designed to assist Spanish-speaking children with learning Dutch. Spanish-speaking children spend one hour or more per day concentrating on learning the Dutch language. This is the only program I encountered that addresses the linguistic needs of other-than-Dutch-speaking children.

Each public school is located in the neighborhood of the school population. School buildings vary, but many I visited have a series of connected classrooms that surround a common courtyard or play area. Some have special kindergarten play equipment in a separate area. The buildings are not air-conditioned and they do not need heaters as Aruba's temperatures never drop low enough for that to be an issue. They have block walls with consistently patterned holes in them that allow the Aruban tradewinds that blow continually to bring air circulation into each room.

In the kindergarten rooms, a plethora of puzzles, games and educational manipulatives are housed on numerous shelves. The kindergarten room I spent time in

even had a full sized refrigerator, musical instruments, dress up clothes, and imaginative play station props. The following recorded observation illustrates what a typical day in kindergarten in Aruba might consist of:

First, the children assembled on a carpeted area where roll call was conducted. I was introduced to the class as a visiting teacher from the United States. The children said hello in English to me. This particular primary school was located on the Southeast end of Aruba and has a higher concentration of English home language students. Next, the teacher led the class in a good morning song which the teacher accompanied with a tambourine. Counting finger plays were recited in Papiamento, English and Dutch. From 8:30 A.M. to 8:45 A.M. the teacher told me they were beginning a concentrated time of instruction in Dutch only. They began singing the ABCs in Dutch. Then the teacher led the children through a total physical response lesson on verbs such as running, jumping, dancing, skipping, etc. The teacher gave the commands in Dutch to do the movements. The children demonstrated their understanding by performing the motions called out by the teacher. They ended the 15 minute Dutch instruction time with a Dutch finger play. While still on the carpet, the children were asked to sit down and hear a story in Spanish about safety and traffic. The children moaned when the teacher announced the story was in Spanish. As the story was read, the teacher translated each page into Papiamento and some pages were translated into English as well. Their attention span was ending-the children wanted the story to be done. With all the translations, the simple story took more than 20 minutes to be completed. The room had 22 new little desks and matching chairs for 24 students. The desks were pushed together to form little groups and to function as tables. Then, the following activity required moving to the gymnasium. In the gym, the students took off their shoes and were led in a series of ball handling exercises. The teacher used a variety of media such as a cassette tape with music, the tambourine, and clapping to direct ball movement activities. Clearly, the children enjoyed this activity. After putting their shoes back on, the children went back to the classroom to wash hands and have lunch. Lunches were brought from home. Recess followed lunch. The teacher told us they were having center activities in the afternoon such as working puzzles, completing art projects and using other manipulatives (Field Note, 2).

The teaching of languages instead of teaching content is problematic for Aruban educators. Three of the teachers I interviewed found the pressure to ensure language

learning far outweighed the freedom of teaching concepts and knowledge to the students. The bottom line is that if a child cannot demonstrate knowledge using the Dutch language, he or she will not be given credit for knowing anything. A quote from one educator states, “If you don’t know it in Dutch, you don’t know it.” Emerencia (1998) states that “Children twelve years or older often end up in the ‘lower’ forms of secondary education, because of not mastering Dutch (pp. 17).”

Students lacking mastery of the Dutch language often are retained and forced to repeat grade levels. In Table 8 below, the repetition rate for primary education in 1994 is presented.

Table 8
Repetition Rate for Primary Education 1994
Source: Aruba Department of Education 1994

Papiamentu	Dutch	English	Spanish	Other	Total Avg.
10.9%	3%	8.8%	12.2%	9%	10.2%

Table 8 identifies which language group most often repeats a grade in primary education in Aruba. The Spanish dominant primary school students have the highest rate of repetition while the Dutch dominant primary school students have the lowest rate of repetition.

Repetition Rate for Primary Education 1994

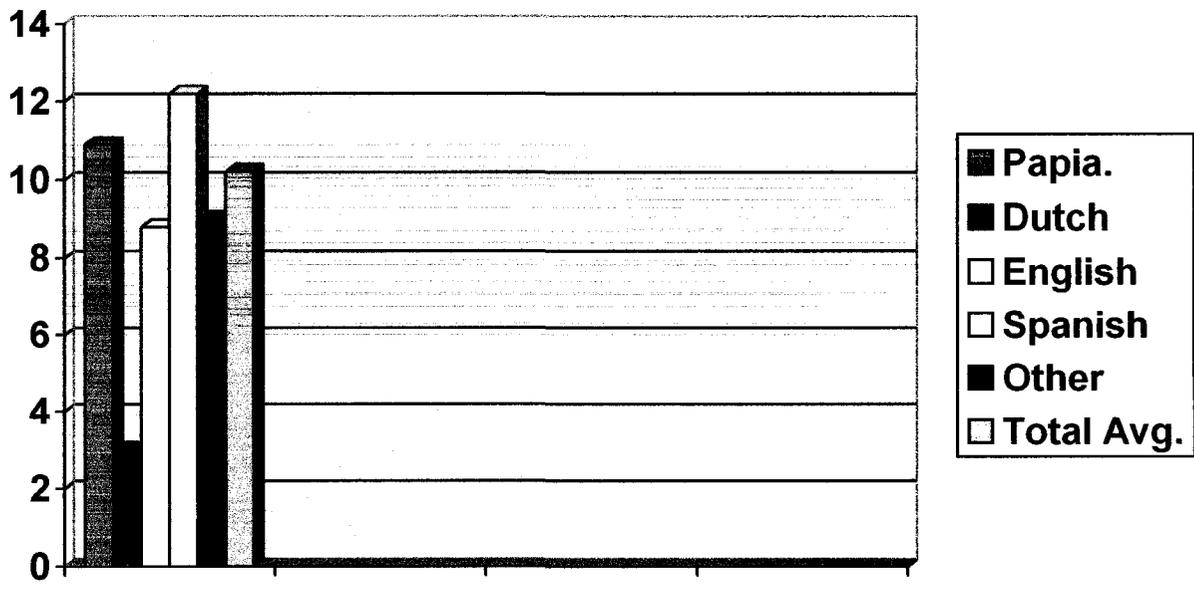


Figure 3

Figure 3 illustrates the higher repetition rate of Spanish dominant primary education students and the lower repetition rate of Dutch dominant primary education students.

For the retention rate of primary education in Aruba, the graph shows that the language group with the highest rate of grade repetition in 1994 was the Spanish speakers with 12.2%. The second highest rate of grade repetition in 1994 were the Papiamento speaking students with 10.9%. Third highest rate of grade repetition in 1994 were the speakers of other languages with 9.0%. Fourth highest retention rate is among English speakers with an 8.8% repetition rate while Dutch speakers have only a 3.0% repetition rate at the primary education level. Obviously the students who come to school with Dutch as a first language have a distinct advantage over children who come to school speaking first languages other than Dutch in the Aruba school system.

In contrast to the activity-rich manipulative environment of kindergarten, primary classes from grade one through grade six were extremely quiet and bare concerning room decoration and shelves for manipulatives. Students sit in evenly spaced rows at individual desks. A chalkboard is in the front of each class and the teacher's desk is usually located in front. The room arrangements give a formal ambiance to the classes. To me, the rooms felt serious and strict, smacking of high structure. Content instruction is given primarily in Dutch. Students closely follow textbooks for daily lessons. This shift to serious, formal and silent atmosphere caused me to consider why the change from kindergarten to first grade is so dramatic. Answers in response to this consideration are discussed in the section called Cultural Issues Relative to Educational Structure and Systems.

The progression from primary school to secondary school to higher educational institutions is explained in the following flow chart.

Table 9
The Aruban Educational System

Postgraduate And Continuing Higher Ed.				
↑ University Education abroad (WO) 4 years	↑ University Education In the USA 4 years			
Or	Or			
International School of Aruba (in Aruba)	IPA Instituto Pedagogico Arubano			
Or	Or			
Universidat di Aruba (in Aruba)	Higher Vocational Education (HHO) 4 years	← Senior Secondary Vocational Education (LTO)	Apprenticeship Training ← → ↑ ↑	Short LTO Courses
↑	↑	↑	↑	
Pre-University Education (VWO) 5 years	← Senior General Secondary Education (HAVO) 5 years	← Junior General Secondary Education (MAVO) 4 years →	Junior Secondary Vocational Education (ETAO) 4 years	Special Education Primary ← And Secondary Education
↑	↑	↑	←	
Transition Class	Transition Class	Transition Class	Transition Class	
↑	↑	↑	↑	
	Primary Education 8 years (age 4-12)			

Table 9 is a flow chart of the educational hierarchy students in Aruba progress through. Standardized test scores determine advancement through the Aruban educational system.

After primary school, students are given a test. Test results determine what level of schooling the child will experience next. The next levels of schooling are various kinds of secondary schools. Basic education (EPB) or Proteccional Basico is for two or more years. LTO is a low level technician school and MAVO is a middle high school that lasts four years or more after primary school. From MAVO students can move on to a middle educational program for a profession. HAVO is a high school higher than MAVO. HAVO is a five year school after primary school. Students from HAVO can enter universities in the United States. VWO is the highest high school. VWO is a six year school after primary. From here students have access to the universities in Holland. VWO schools are available only to the top scoring students.

Aruba has a university on the island called Universidat di Aruba. This university focuses primarily on business degree programs and has goals for promoting economic growth in Aruba. There are current discussions of expanding the Universidat di Aruba departments to include a master's degree program and other colleges of other professional fields.

Aruba also has a teacher preparation college called Institute of Pedagogy of Aruba (IPA) for teacher training. Graduates of HAVO may go directly to IPA or a university in the United States. VWO students may go to IPA or a university in Holland. All of these are four-year educational institutions.

As in Holland, all levels of educational tracts are determined by a written test given in Dutch. Placement into a career tract is directed by those test results alone. Any difference of opinion can be challenged and changed by successfully completing the

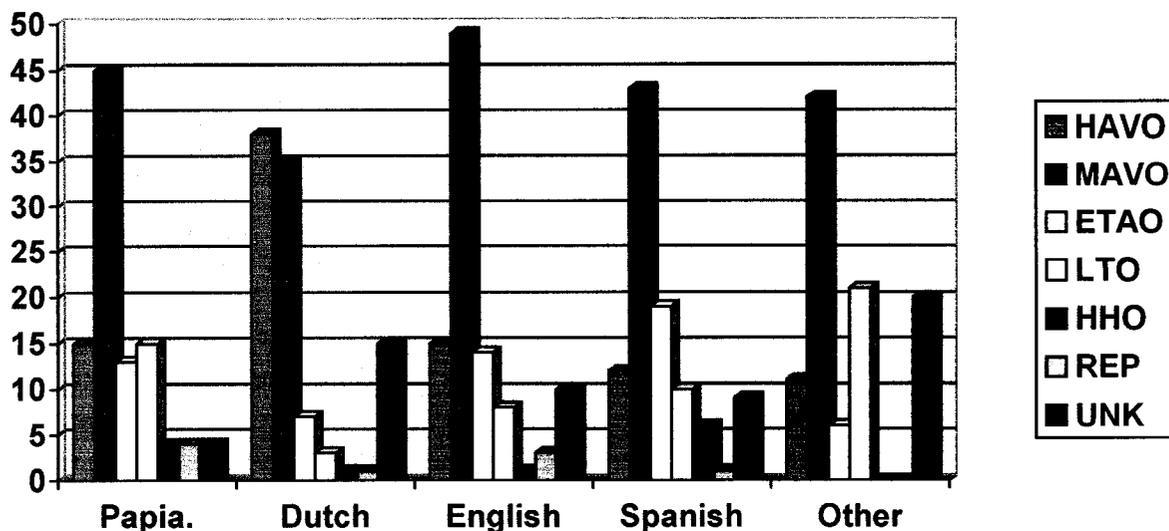
years of the lower level education then testing again. It is possible to test into the higher levels, but it does take time.

Available figures from 1993 through 1994 show that a disparity exists between Papiamentu speakers and Dutch speakers in the level of placement in secondary schools. (See Table 10 and Chart C).

Table 10
Transfer From Primary to Secondary Education
Source: Aruba Department of Education 1993-1994

	Papiamentu	Dutch	English	Spanish	Other
HAVO	15%	38%	15%	12%	11%
MAVO	45%	35%	49%	43%	42%
ETAO	13%	7%	14%	19%	6%
LTO	15%	3%	8%	10%	21%
HHO	4%	1%	1%	6%	0%
REP	4%	1%	3%	1%	0%
UNK	4%	15%	10%	9%	20%

Figure 4
Transfer From Primary to Secondary Education



In table 10 and figure 4, transfers from primary to secondary education reveals that in the highest levels of secondary schooling, HAVO and MAVO, the transfers are dominated by the Dutch speakers. Of 75% dominant Papiamento speaking students, the secondary school placement (Table 10) shows that 15% of the HAVO students are dominant Papiamento speakers.

Of 7.3% dominant Dutch-speaking students, the secondary school placement table shows that 38% of the HAVO students are dominant Dutch-speaking. So, 15% of 75% Papiamento speakers and 38% of 7.3% Dutch speakers were placed at the optimum level of secondary schooling. The ratios of language group speakers to placement are definitely unbalanced as recorded by dominant language. The Papiamento-speaking students are clearly obstructed by the language of instruction issue in education. Tests given in a foreign language will not reflect the full cognitive capabilities of students who

primarily speak the vernacular language. Secondary education placement in Aruba is significantly more favorable for Dutch speakers than Papiamentu speakers.

Cultural Issues Relative to Educational Structure and Systems

When considering the vast inconsistencies from educational concepts birthed in the vernacular language at home to kindergarten, kindergarten to primary education, primary education to secondary education, and then on into higher education in the educational system of Aruba, three main issues surfaced:

1. Language: Most teachers do not speak fluent Dutch.
2. Pedagogy: Textbook methodology is used by default.
3. Realia: Curriculum in Aruban schools lacks relevant local themes that contribute to cultural expression and problem-solving in the community.

First, Dutch isn't the primary language of most of the teachers. At the IPA teacher training institute, teachers are being prepared to teach the children of Aruba in Dutch even though most teachers are native Papiamentu speakers. Emerencia (1998) states that attention to this dilemma has been acknowledged by administrators at IPA. It continues to be difficult to prepare prospective teachers to become skillful Dutch teaching teachers. Recently, some teachers have begun to protest the use of Dutch in teacher education. In light of current language policy, to admit that one is neither proficient enough in Dutch to teach in Dutch nor to be taught in Dutch is risky. To say one is not proficient in Dutch is to say that one is stupid and such proclamations could be detrimental to those desiring a teaching career in Aruba.

Second, textbook pedagogy is used as the main method by default. Emerencia (1998) declares that many educators hold textbooks in high reverence as the only true and valid method of teaching, but that this opinion is driven by the fact that giving content instruction in a language foreign to both student and teacher is very difficult. When this is the situation, the textbook offers teachers with first languages other than Dutch a standardized, grammatically correct medium to teach content curriculum to the students. Dependency on the textbook is understandable when teachers and students are engaging in learning processes through a language that is foreign. I know from personal teaching experience that when I am teaching a subject in my second language, Spanish, I will often follow given textbook lessons for three main reasons: because the vocabulary needed to communicate the concepts is probably superior to what I would have chosen, any worksheets are already prepared in the proper grammatical format, and there is less preparation time required. In my opinion, this is an acceptable practice, however, it many times lacks authenticity that can generate higher student interest and participation. Textbook lessons are often impersonal and do not contain elements that contribute to excellence in instruction. If conceptual lessons are given predominantly in the textbook format, much less personal ownership of the learning will take place resulting in less learning.

Third, curriculum in Aruban schools lacks relevant local themes that contribute to cultural expression and problem solving in the community. At the IPA senior investigation presentations, one student presented her study about using culturally relevant materials in the classroom for teaching curriculum concepts. The investigator

prepared some culturally relevant manipulatives she created from natural phenomena found on the island. Since Aruba is an island, items easily found on the beach were presented. For example, sand was used for measurement, rocks commonly found on the beach were used as counters and seaweed twigs were also cleaned and used. The teacher education student concluded that when given a choice, the culturally relevant mathematical manipulatives were chosen more often than standard culturally irrelevant materials. Vygotskian theory was cited as the student made specific conclusions about the findings of the study. The reason students prefer culturally relevant materials is because of personal relationship to the familiar items. Mediating learning through familiar objects helps children grow in complexity. The culturally relevant materials stimulate conceptual mediation and trigger a variety of activities. The way culturally relevant themes emerge in curriculum are seriously hindered when the language for those local materials is translated into a foreign language. It is unnatural and obstructs flow in communication. When applying cognitive concepts to community problem solving, the foreign language again causes unnecessary impediment.

Chapter Five identified the educational structure and systems. First, the impact of colonial education was reviewed. Then a comparison and contrast of the Kingdom of the Netherlands' school structure and system to Aruba's school structure and system was made. Finally, the cultural issues relative to educational structure and systems were examined. From the research findings, three main educational issues of language, pedagogy, and realia were identified as issues that contribute to the extreme atmospheric shift in Aruban primary education from kindergarten to primary first grade through sixth

grade. The three issues account for the change from flexible activity and communication to highly structured activity and silent formality. The inconsistent systematic educational flow from kindergarten to primary first grade is a result of language policy generated linguistic and cultural disparity.

CHAPTER 6

HISTORY OF POLITICAL AGENCIES INVOLVED WITH LANGUAGE PLANNING

This chapter will record and discuss the historical timeline of significant documents on language planning and education in Aruba. I will identify specific plans and agencies that address linguistic needs of students in Aruban schools. I will also discuss how the agencies and plans have worked together to facilitate change for education and language planning in Aruba.

Historical Timeline of significant documents

There are many significant written documents that address language planning and education in Aruba. As new laws were passed, new papers and plans were proposed for language and education that led me, the researcher, on a walk through the language planning history of Aruba.

In Table 11, I have listed six strategic documents that have had tremendous impact on language planning in Aruba. Numerous committees and commissions have been formed, especially in the past fifteen years. Each report seems to overlap in references, quoted educational research reports, and concluding suggestions for how to proceed. All have similar final analyses about educating the children of Aruba: That it is beneficial to implement content instruction in the vernacular language, Papiamentu, at the primary school level.

Table 11
Significant Language Planning Documents

1988	“Pa Un Ensenansa Bilingual Na Aruba” : a note produced by the Papiamento Commission to plan the introduction of Papiamento as the language of instruction into Aruban schools.	Coordinador di Comishon pa Introdukshon di Papiamento : Rene Herde.
1988	“SHO-nota”	
1996	Inventarisacion di trabaonan haci riba terreno di Papiamento.	
1997	Proposicion pa Un Maneho di Idioma pa Ensenanza Basico Renova di Aruba. First version: discussed during the main discussion on the 30 of June, 1997, Radisson Hotel, Aruba. (PMI)- Plataforma Maneho di Idioma	Comision Modelo di Idioma : Regine Boekhoudt-Croes, Gracy Dijkhoff, Lydia Emerencia, Anne Marie Groot de Proveyer, Franklin Oduber.
1997	“Un Bon Ensenansa Basico: Condicion pa un mihor futuro. Plan Strategico PRIEPEB, first version. The goal of this project is to stimulate, organize and coordinate innovation in education for preparation and basic education for Aruba. This ten year plan contains proposals for change to improve education in Aruba from 1997 to 2006.	Miembronan di grupo nucleo PRIEPEB : Ana Croew-Anthony, Olivia Duarte-Croes, Lydia Emerencia, Monica Henriette, Selwyn Rosenstand, Ava Thode.
1999	“Plan di trabao pa realisacion di un Maneho di idioma pa ensenansa na Aruba.” This document gives a description and an analysis of the work toward meeting the goal of introducing Papiamento as a language of instruction in schools in Aruba.	Autornan : Gracy Dijkhoff (coordinator of the curriculum section, subsection of preparatory and basic education); Lydia Emerencia (coordinator of PRIEPEB); Anne Marie Proveyer-Groot (coordinator general of the curriculum section.)

Table 11 lists six strategic documents that have had tremendous impact on language planning in Aruba.

Na Caminda Pa Enseñanza Bilingual

Na Caminda Pa Enseñanza Bilingual is a government note produced in 1988 by the Papiamento Commission to plan the introduction of Papiamento as the language of instruction into Aruban schools. One department of education administrator remarked that this political paper is the glue of the innovative systems that will be discussed later. This project was a sort of think tank that formulated attainable goals and steps to achieve those goals. From this report five innovative projects resulted: 1) Instituto Pedagógico Arubano (IPA), a reformed teacher preparation school, 2) an integrated Educación profesional básico (E.P.B.) which is a secondary school that trains protection professions such as policemen and other guards and security personnel, 3) a technological middle higher education like a community education school, 4) a secondary education committee to study current problems and bring improvements to secondary education in Aruba, and 5) the primary education reform committee Proyecto Innovación Enseñanza Preparatorio Y Enseñanza Básico (PREIPEB). Two of these innovative projects will be described in detail, first IPA and later on in this chapter PREIPEB. I will discuss PREIPEB separately as it is its own strategic document.

Instituto Pedagógico Arubano (IPA)

Institute of Pedagogy of Aruba (IPA), a four year Aruban higher education institution that prepares and trains public school teachers for Aruban schools, is part of the Aruban education innovation in that the program of study for its future teachers involves preparation and research for change. IPA is the first educational institute developed in Aruba by Arubans for Aruba. After the Na Caminda Pa Enseñanza Bilingual document

was written and attention was given to dramatic changes needed for improving education in Aruba. IPA closed for two years to facilitate planning for reformation and new direction for the laying of the new foundation for teacher education. The current director of IPA, Ava Young, listed six primary goals IPA has:

- Educate teachers to be investigators and researchers.
- Develop innovative pedagogy so educational tasks will be successful.
- IPA strongly embraces Vygotskian theory of education.
- Produce Dutch proficient teachers to give grammatically correct content instruction in Dutch. Direct native Dutch speakers to teach the upper grades
- Produce Papiamento proficient teachers to communicate and explain educational lessons for preschool children.
- Maintain self sufficiency as an educational institute to train teachers
- Stimulate participation in community projects

IPA is responsible for training new teachers, stimulating existing teachers with continuing education, and developing research by doing investigations including evaluating programs in conjunction with the schools. Projects that IPA students must undertake include coursework in linguistics (Dutch and Papiamento); local classroom observations in Aruba; international classroom observations in countries outside of Aruba; student teaching in Aruba; and an investigative research study students conduct, analyze, report and present formally to the IPA faculty as a final examination.

In spring of 1997, six IPA students came to Tucson to meet the thirty day international classroom observation requirement. They spent the month of April

observing in seven different Tucson schools, attending a locally held whole language conference, interviewing educators with different techniques and approaches, touring schools in Mexico, and attending various teacher preparation classes offered by the University of Arizona. Their conclusions about pedagogy included a desire to teach using cooperative learning techniques, whole language approaches, independent and teacher-guided centers, and hands on manipulative use for problem solving. Of special interest was the observation of bilingual classrooms utilizing two languages for instruction since the goal for education in Aruba for many educators is to begin using Papiamentu bilingually with Dutch for classroom instruction. The student teachers spent time at Davis Elementary to observe their immersion program, as well as number of other bilingual classrooms in other schools demonstrating bilingual education using the Natural Approach, Total Physical Response, the Communicative Approach, CALLA approach, content based ESL, and pull-out ESL. From these observations, the students can contribute significantly to discussions of teaching pedagogy in Aruba. Other IPA students visited countries other than the USA such as Cuba, Holland, and Venezuela to observe teaching pedagogy and approaches used in those countries to educate their children.

Recently, a decision was made to change the IPA certificate from being just a certificate to becoming equivalent to a Bachelor's degree. It is possible that former certificates from IPA will trade up to become recognized as BA degrees. IPA is the primary key agency in developing teachers in Aruba.

SHO-Nota

The SHO-Nota is a document that elaborates on what changes are necessary for Papiamentu speaking students. Three specific studies on the changes were written. One linguist commented that the SHO-Nota was the first thinking anyone did about implementing changes.

Inventarisacion di trabaonan riba terreno di Papiamentu

The first version of this plan was written in 1996. In the later 1999 version of the document the goals set in the 1996 proposal were re-evaluated and revisited to assess what goals have been reached and what work remains to be done in order to achieve the previously outlined goals of language planning. It is a directive document giving specific details about what needs to be done and when.

Un Bon Enseñansa Basico: Condicion pa un mihor futuro. Plan Strategico: Proyecto Innovacion Enseñanza Preparatorio y Enseñansa Basico (PRIEPEB), first version.

The goal of this project is to stimulate, organize and coordinate innovation in Aruban education. This ten-year plan contains proposals for change to improve education in Aruba over the years from 1997 to 2006.

The PRIEPEB innovation project plan is a reform project whose primary goal is restructuring education in Aruba for kindergarten, primary education, and special education; it is the first reform project ever initiated in Aruba. Focus of the innovation project is for Aruba to take on a more culturally relevant language, structure, and curriculum for its educational system.

Lydia Emerencia is the present coordinator of the project that was initiated by the Aruba Department of Education. A public meeting was held inviting the people to discuss the need for reformation. The holistic, broad project identifies nine areas for research and implementation. Committees comprised primarily of educators, yet inclusive of administrators and parents, have been formed to examine each of the following nine areas to make recommendations concerning research gathered for accomplishing change. A summary of the nine areas of the innovation plan follows:

1) Curriculum Reform: This committee focuses on the development of a national curriculum for Aruban public schools that includes the adoption of locally rooted materials. One investigation led by Carina Delany, IPA student teacher, conducted classroom research that studied the factors influencing students to play with various classroom materials. She had many categories of classroom materials, one of which was material commonly found on the island of Aruba, including items such as cactus pictures, ocean remnants easily found on the beaches, and commonly used toys. She observed the time the children spent playing with the aforementioned Aruban culturally relevant materials versus the Netherlands' culturally relevant materials such as books with snowmen, dolls with cold winter clothing, and trains. Carina compared how long the children used the materials and what the children did with the materials. Findings indicated that Aruban children preferred the materials culturally relevant to Aruba, and she discovered that the activities conducted with the culturally relevant materials were highly stimulated and were chosen for use more frequently in more complex and difficult tasks than the Netherlands' culturally relevant materials. The

study concluded that culturally relevant materials are more desirable for manipulation in classroom activities, possibly increasing the willingness for students to attempt higher level problem solving. The curriculum committee takes results from studies such as this to make curriculum suggestions for implementation in Aruba.

- 2) Teaching Pedagogy: According to eight interviewed teachers and educators, the Aruban public school educators generally use a teacher centered approach to teaching involving lecture, teacher directed activities, and rote memorization. The objective of this committee is to find alternative teaching approaches to stimulate teachers with new ways of thinking so teachers can meet learning style needs among students. Since Aruban educators are unanimous in their current pedagogical practices using Dutch immersion, IPA student teachers spend time observing in classrooms on the island but must also complete the required 30 day international student teaching in another country, as mentioned previously.
- 3) Relation of School, Society, and Family: This committee is dedicated to building bridges between school, society, and family. One study this committee conducted was a simple telephone survey. Each committee member called a given number of parents from each school to ask them in what ways they have participated at their child's school. Their findings indicated that only a few parents reported visiting the school of their children, and those visits were all concerned with preparing celebratory activities such as a class party. No parents reported assisting in the classroom in an instructor role or in sharing personal areas of expertise. With this information, the committee reported their findings and can make suggestions for

future community and school relationship activities. The committee found parents keep their distance because of bad past school experiences, language barriers, and a basic misunderstanding that parents are not welcome at the schools.

- 4) School Development: Issues this committee discusses include plans for developing teams of educators among staff to better meet the needs of the students, better parent relations, staff development, and teacher continuing education. Presently, teachers do not have any refreshment courses or staff development opportunities. This group hopes to develop plans to keep teachers current on new teaching techniques and approaches, use of technology, and new materials available so that the educators stay motivated and inspired to continue teaching to their fullest potential, reaching each child and their unique individual needs.
- 5) Legal and Financial Regulation: The goal of this committee is to review the legal and financial regulations as Aruba acts autonomously in changing and reforming its educational system. Currently, many old laws are still in tack and care must be taken to revise them as the whole educational structure of Aruba begins to change.
- 6) Structures: Aruba currently has an isolated professionalism in that the primary, secondary, and special education schools lack continuity in many areas. The objective of this committee is to incorporate an effective communication system and synthesize curriculum goals among the three schools mentioned. They envision a more holistic and complete continuous education for their children as students complete their education. For example, special education classes are all self-contained in their own separate schools. In an interview with Mrs. Duarte, principal of Emma, a

special education school, she reported that the biggest problem she sees is the fact that Papiamentu is the instructional language in all special education schools. In regular education schools the language of instruction is Dutch. Therefore, if a child is labeled for special educational needs, (s)he has little chance of being reclassified and returning to regular education as the tests for reading and writing to re-enter regular classes are given in Dutch. For this reason, Mrs. Duarte reported that she is a strong supporter of Papiamentu being introduced and utilized in the regular education classrooms. The principal of Emma School further suggests that special education classes should be divided up and given rooms in the regular education schools to create a more harmonious relationship within the education system of Aruba. Dividing special education classes and dispersing them in regular education schools would further reform regular education teachers' understanding of special education students' needs and allow the special education students to identify with regular education students and goals. This recommendation overlaps with concerns of the special education committee.

- 7) Kindergarten: This committee focuses on the specific needs of students in kindergarten. All other committee goals also pertain to the kindergarten classrooms. However, the members on the Kindergarten committee have professional knowledge of age appropriate needs and expectations and can use their expertise to properly implement kindergarten level objectives.
- 8) Primary Education: This committee considers the particular needs exhibited in grades one through five. All other committee goals are applied to the primary grades as

well. The members of this group have professional knowledge of age appropriate needs and expectations and use this expertise to implement the desired objectives.

9) Special Education: Issues such as overcrowding, language use in instruction, classification and testing procedures, information about mainstreaming approaches to special education needs are all part of this committee's scope. All other committee goals are considered for use in applying them to Special Education. The members of this group have professional knowledge of age appropriate needs and expectations and use this expertise when considering recommendations from the other committees.

It is evident that the committees somewhat overlap in goals, which is what keeps the project together as one united effort to reform the educational system of Aruba. All of these committees support the introduction of Papiamentu into the classroom as research indicates language use is highly cultural. To make Aruban schools more culturally relevant, Papiamentu, must be utilized in the education of Aruban children.

Educators are taking their place in positioning their land for change. Currently, Aruba has the freedom to define and develop an educational reform plan of their choice so that change can take place. Change is always a process, and implementation of educational reform will take time. The PRIEPEB coordinator Lydia Emerencia is aware of the fact that it takes time to move mountains. The project is scheduled for slow but steady innovation over ten years from 1997 to 2006. The project is inclusive of educators and community members, and seeks input and assistance from many in conducting needed research and creating options for change. This change is occurring from the bottom up, from the public to the educators to the politicians. The people for whom

language is being planned are involved in its actual planning and implementation, and Kaplan(1989) calls this "bottom up" planning.

Plan di trabao pa realisacion di un Maneho di idioma pa enseñansa na Aruba.

This document gives an overview description and an analysis of language planning and education in Aruba. The thrust of this document moves toward meeting the goals of developing Papiamentu as a Creole language and introducing Papiamentu as the content language of instruction in schools in Aruba.

The introduction of this plan restates specific rationales for proposing the use of Papiamentu in Aruban schools. They include facts such as that Papiamentu is the historical and contextual social-cultural national language. Because of Papiamentu's prominent use, it should be utilized as a language of instruction in the schools.

Since Aruba is a multilingual island, the plan states that the schools should be multilingual as is the local population. Language gives expression, and translates the culture of a community. Language is the vehicle of thought, the system of symbolism and structure, and the instrument of communication. Several goals for language are listed as needing to target specific outcomes for domestic use, personal use, fortification of culture, and amplification. Educational uses such as being the language of content instruction and using local materials for educational sources are outlined. Also, pedagogical, didactic, and psychological aspects are outlined as well.

The first portion of the actual plan reviews the steps in the language planning process as they are necessary for looking ahead. Corporate and status planning sequences are

restated such as the standardization of orthography, lexicon, instrumental uses, relationship to the community, political decisions and law changes.

The second section of the plan lists goals or objectives that focus primarily on language issues related to Papiamentu. The plan organizes the introduction of Papiamentu into the school as a language of classroom content instruction emphasizing needed plans for teacher preparation, curriculum development, and setting up Papiamentu classes for educators.

The third section of the Plan di Trabao reviews past studies and language planning that have already taken place then notes what study and planning are still necessary. An extensive review of socio-linguistic investigations are listed and checked, indicating status of completed goals. Likewise, a review of psycho-linguistic investigation and purely linguistic evaluation are given and named by key contributing researchers in each area.

The fourth section identifies three primary organizations central to communication with the public about language, specifically Papiamentu. Named are Grupo di Punto di Lansa, IDILA, and Grupo Pa Promove Papiamentu (GP3). Campaigns, advertisements, special awards and distinct events to promote Papiamentu are named. Media resources for introducing and reinforcing proper use of Papiamentu along with promotional recreational programs are also highlighted. A sub-section of section four discusses book publishing in Papiamentu and documents the progress of various translations of key literary resources. Various agencies and organizations are identified as promoters to stimulate book authors, video production and other publication development in

Papiamento. Overall, the plan di trabao pa realisacion di un Maneho di idioma pa enseñansa na Aruba is a summary of language planning accomplished and language planning required for progression of Papiamento to be introduced in the schools as a language of instruction. For complete viewing of this plan, see appendix C.

Agencies and Organizations

Aruba is experiencing change through some established organizations including Grupo Pa Promove Papiamento (GP3) and the Aruba Linguistics Institute. Both of these agencies examine experience, language, and power as issues surrounding the introduction of Papiamento in the public schools.

Grupo Pa Promove Papiamento (GP3)

Aruba's Department of Education created GP3. This organization uses agitation and propaganda to facilitate positive language attitude change. The Aruban government declared 1997 to be the Year of Papiamento. The year of Papiamento had three main goals: To promote better knowledge of Papiamento, to promote more use of the Papiamento language, and to promote correct use of Papiamento. To celebrate this year of Papiamento, many special projects took place. For example, in January of 1997, the Aruba postal service designed a special stamp to commemorate the year of Papiamento. Hundreds of stickers, t-shirts, rulers, and posters were produced and distributed to the children in the schools throughout the year. In September GP3 hosted a symposium on Papiamento. Other special events hosted by GP3 included a theatre festival in Papiamento, a presentation of Papiamento songs festival, development of poetry and literacy magazines such as Chinchirichi, special public presentations of the Papiamento

translations of famous literature works such as The Diary of Ann Frank, and also a special community recognition reward was publically presented to a member of the community who successfully demonstrated the correct and fluid use of Papiamentu. These and many other special programs, celebrations, and propaganda facilitated wider use and greater recognition of Papiamentu, and deem 1997 The Year of Papiamentu as a big success.

Change is scary. People in Aruba fear the proposed idea of introducing Papiamentu as a language of instruction in Aruban schools. GP3 challenges those fears and targets mainly two groups: primary education teachers/students and journalists and people speaking in the media. GP3's approach is to start with building empathy for Papiamentu, promoting that people should feel positive about their language. For example, a small book of poetry has been published in Papiamentu containing poems such as "Mi Dushi Papiamentu," (My Sweet Papiamentu). Joshua Fishman (1996) found that if you talk to members of a particular culture about language loss, they do not address the symbolism of the language but rather talk about the sacredness of language, the sense of kinship associated with language, and their moral commitment to language.

GP3 concurs with Fishman's conclusions about language attitudes as they approach shifting language attitude through agitation and propaganda. Primary students are given several strategically created souvenirs that are reminders to be proud of Papiamentu. They receive free stickers, bookmarks, pencils, and rulers announcing sweet sentiments about their beautiful language. Special activities and school contests created for the students promote the love of Papiamentu.

Journalists and TV personalities are encouraged and instructed by GP3 to use standard grammar and language structure. By nature, journalism and media in general serve as mediums of community wide communication and constitute the instrumental use of language. The grammar and structure that the media use to communicate set standards for language use as media is far reaching into the community. For instance, disc jockeys are master creators of language via jokes and slang, so GP3 strives to build a positive relationship with them to encourage proper and appropriate use of Papiamentu. GP3 encourages and instructs journalists and other media personalities by offering various linguistic classes and workshops for proper use of Papiamentu. Some of these classes have included Cursonana di PEA in 1985-1986, Simar: duna informacion pa medio di workshop y charla, Cafra-curso pa e trahadornan di media, ATV lesnan di Papiamentu, and Curso di Papiamentu pa periodistanan (grupo cu ta duna 3e grado ta bezig). There are five newspapers in Aruba written in Papiamentu. Journalists writing in their columns are constantly encouraged to write using the Aruban standardized spellings and sentence structures. Other language issues that concern GP3 are code switching, language changing, youth dialects, and other inventions and creations of Papiamentu. The main goals of the GP3 organization are to facilitate and nurture positive language attitudes about Papiamentu as change is being implemented.

Fishman, (1996) states that intergenerational language transmission that has sentimental value must take place at home and have ample out-of-home experiences for informal use of the language for maintaining native languages. While GP3 is appealing to the sentimental attachment to Papiamentu with the propaganda and special celebrations,

instrumental attachments to the national system, such as better jobs, social prestige, and schooling, among others are lacking. Ruiz (1994) points out that Herbert Kelman made a distinction between these two attachments, and Ruiz clearly believes that Papiamentu must become more instrumental outside the homes and community encouraging greater aspirations for economic achievement. The role of Papiamentu as a school language will be limited to the extent to which Papiamentu becomes an instrumental language. Papiamentu's success as a language used for education will depend upon the alliance between schools and the public economic and social system.

Aruba Linguistics Institute

Aruba Department of Education established the Aruba Linguistic Institute (ALI). As a section of the Aruba Department of Education, this government organization has three main goals: research, teaching, and collaboration with the educational system of Aruba. The Aruba Linguistics Institute believes that language is functional and must have continued use to be maintained. ALI is responsible for many of the corpus planning objectives such as standardizing orthography, developing and revising a Papiamentu dictionary, creating Papiamentu spelling checkers for computer programs, standardizing lexicon, developing specific vocabulary, researching oral uses of words, standardizing grammar, translating major literary works into Papiamentu, and investigating studies and publications of Aruban literature.

Research includes the preparation and editing of a monolingual Papiamentu dictionary, specifically for native speaker use and not merely for translation purposes. As spellings and usage are presented in correct form, exact meanings of the words are being

defined for general global understanding for Papiamentu speakers. Also, an ALI team completed the process of translating the Diary of Ann Frank. Translated literary works involve intensive research as the setting of grammatical and structural standards will be contextualized and will establish language norms for Papiamentu.

The Aruba Linguistic Institute teaches Papiamentu in a variety of ways. One effective means of teaching has been facilitated by a daily radio program for children designed to instruct them in basic Papiamentu grammar and language usage. The lessons are short, sometimes lasting only 15 minutes and are designed to be fun and instructive. Also, ATV brief lessons are broadcasted on television to reach both adults and students. Sometimes in the newspaper, a Papiamentu crossword puzzle is available in the newspaper for all Arubans to strengthen their control and use of Papiamentu.

Students in the Educacion Profesional Basico (EPB) secondary schools usually graduate and qualify to work in the hotels. EPB students are educated with Papiamentu as the language of instruction. It is the job of the Aruba Linguistics Institute to advise the educators of these schools on the implementation and usage of Papiamentu. Factors that might influence the acquisition of biliteracy were studied by Fishman (1982) who concluded that writing system disparities were reduced by emphasizing the printing system (by reading or writing print), particularly in the earliest grades. By teaching in Papiamentu for content instruction in the schools, especially in kindergarten through fifth grade, writing system differences could be minimized. An advisory role is maintained by the Aruba Linguistics Institute as educators incorporate instruction in Papiamentu for delivering content of the curriculum currently only at the special schools (i.e.; special

education, EPB, and vocational secondary schools). This institute serves as a specialist in addressing Papiamentu language issues in Aruba.

Discussion of How these Have Worked Together

Incorporation of Aruba's culture and language into its political educational structure requires a joining of ideology and implementation among these agencies, the laws, and the language plans of Aruba. Currently there is a slight disparity between the laws of Aruba and the agencies/language plans. Chapter Four discusses two current laws, the Acuerdo di 1995 and Protocol of Willemstad that support and encourage the continued use of Dutch for content language instruction in the regular primary education (grades one to six) and several secondary education school sectors such as HAVO and MAVO. The Acuerdo di 1995 gives the Netherlands the right to intervene in Aruba's internal affairs and Protocol of Willemstad then intervenes with Aruba's internal affairs by mandating the use of Dutch in schools. However, there is no direct statement against an additional language such as Papiamentu being incorporated into the curriculum's content instruction. So, the opportunity to incorporate Papiamentu as a language of instruction in the primary grades is still a viable option.

The common arguments among the agencies and the language plans easily reach consensus on the issues of incorporating Papiamentu into all levels of education in Aruba - as a language of instruction in primary grades and as a subject in all secondary school sectors. The agencies and language plans agree on the research findings that:

- Language mediates learning;
- Language that is culturally relevant enhances comprehension and learning;

- A strongly developed home language conceptual base should be expanded upon in school by continuing to utilize the home language in the primary grades as a language of educational instruction;
- Maintaining home languages via incorporating them in the instruction at school brings educational cohesion (from the home to the schools), a healthy psychological self-concept (by having pride in personal language and culture), and relevance for applying cognitive growth to problem solving within the Aruban community.

Conservation of cultural and ethnic history are central themes found in nearly every law, language plan, and agency concerned with language in Aruban education policy. The laws permit Papiamentu to be a language of instruction in the public schools, and the language plans and agencies unanimously support and plan for the implementation of the Papiamentu into the primary education schools. This desire to utilize Papiamentu as the medium for instruction is based on research confirming cognitive and psychological benefits to students for learning content subject matter while acquiring Dutch as a second language.

There is increasing cooperation in Aruba among IPA, the Department of Education, Aruba Linguistics Institute, GP3, PREIPEB, and PMI as they share the common goals listed above for implementing Aruba's indigenous language, Papiamentu. Many of the members of the agencies and language planning members serve on more than one committee. For example, Ralph Van Breet serves as president of GP3 and member of a PREIPEB sub-committee secondary education. Lydia Emerencia serves as the leader of

PRIEPEB but also serves on PMI. Many others are serving in multiple capacities for the cause of bringing educational innovation and reform to Aruba. Educational professionals in Aruba show a strong commitment to working together towards the difficult tasks of educational reform. Cooperation in attaining the language planning goals is well demonstrated in the positive growth of interaction among agencies and language planning committees (Emerencia, 1996; Herrera, 1998).

Chapter Six annotated the history of political agencies involved with language planning in Aruba. It began with a historical timeline of significant documents. Then, various laws, agencies and plans were identified. Finally, a discussion of how these agencies, laws and plans have worked together ends this chapter.

CHAPTER 7

ANALYSIS OF LANGUAGE PLANNING IN ARUBA

In this chapter, my analysis of language planning for Papiamentu in Aruba is presented and categorized in three sections: corpus planning, status planning and acquisition (language in education) planning. Specific attention will be given to the language in education planning (categorized under acquisition planning) as the thrust of this dissertation is to report on the language planning for Papiamentu and education in Aruba with attention to the cultural context and systematic change.

Joshua Fishman (1988) has said that the status planning and corpus planning should proceed more or less simultaneously for efficient language planning and policy development. My research concurs with Fishman's statement because corpus planning concerns officializing the linguistic aspects of a language, but one cannot delineate the linguistic aspects without the help of status planning that identifies the function of a language. By studying the function of language in a community, the linguistic aspects of that language can be more precise. While status and corpus planning are identified independently in this analysis, they are mutually dependent upon one another. Additionally, acquisition planning activates the corpus and status planning and is a necessary third component of total language planning.

Compiling all data and research on language planning and education in Aruba, I have created three tables (see Tables 12, 14, and 15 below) that highlight many language planning strategies employed by Aruban educators, administrators, government officials, parents and students. The tables are not comprehensive and do not portend to incorporate

every agency and initiative being made towards language planning in Aruba.

Information recorded in the three tables (12, 14 and 15) is limited to the research I was able to conduct and obtain with sufficient knowledge to express as data from resources based on historical research I have collected; the March 1999 report to the Aruba Department of Education called Plan di trabao pa realisacion di un maneho di idioma pa enseñansa na Aruba, written by Garcy Dijkhoff, Lydia Emerecia, and Anne Marie Probeyer-Groot; and information obtained in interviews and conversations.

Corpus Planning In Aruba

Corpus planning is concerned primarily with the linguistic aspects of language planning such as orthographic innovation, spelling, pronunciation, language structure, vocabulary, registers, style and the preparation of educational material (Bamgbose, 1989). Haugen (1983) distinguishes these processes by dividing them into two categories: codification and elaboration. Codification includes the establishment of norms for standardization procedures, and elaboration deals with the functional development of the language such as terminology and style.

Once a language or languages have been chosen, norms must be allocated for codification. If the language chosen is exogenous, or foreign, there are likely existing dictionaries, grammar regulations and conventional use guidelines. Such is the case with Dutch. On the other hand, Papiamentu, an endogenous Creole language, has not fully established specific norms as varied spellings exist among the three Papiamentu speaking Netherlands Antilles islands. Efforts to form a standard dictionary exclusively pertaining

to Aruban orthography are under way (Dijkhoff, Emerencia, and Probeyer-Groot, 1999; Prins-Winkle, 1982).

Papiamentu is spoken on three islands referred to as the Dutch Leeward Islands: Aruba, Curacao, and Bonaire. However, there are two distinct orthographies. In Aruba, the orthography emphasizes Spanish lexicon based conventions while the other orthography, found in Curacao and Bonaire, favors more of a phonological lexicon base. Why is there more than one variation of the Papiamentu language? Many Creole users prefer the culturally embedded practice of orthography that is unique to their culture because it identifies who they are as a people group. There are underlying ideologies based on experiences behind these orthographic choices (Sebba, 1998). Aruba's choice to use an etymological orthography of Papiamentu instead of the phonological orthography chosen by Curacao and Bonaire was, "...strongly influenced by political developments of those times and can only be understood against the background of those political developments..." (Emerencia, 1998, pp. 12). For more political historical information, refer back to Chapter Two of this dissertation.

In Curacao, there are two primary phonological variations of standardized Papiamentu, yet these varieties are orderly and systematic. A study by Andersen (1983) documents six complete transcriptions of speech events recorded from six native speakers of Papiamentu. Style and setting dominated the context of the diversity of Papiamentu spoken. Elaboration conclusions indicated that the variations are below the native speakers' conscious level and reflect characteristics of the participants including sex, age, socio-economic status, educational background, occupation, and place of residence which

also reflects the social and psychological dynamics of a multicultural and multilingual society. Andersen concludes that these variations are phonetic, reflecting style and setting and do not pose any threat to the establishment of language norms.

Even though Aruba's lexicon base differs from Curacao and Bonaire, communication is currently comprehensible both verbally and in written form. However, when utilizing written materials in the public schools, the Spanish lexicon base of Aruban Papiamentu will be used exclusively to establish the norms for standardization in Aruba. Aruba will have to create and publish its own books of standards to accomplish this task. No interchange of Papiamentu grammar books will be possible with Curacao or Bonaire due to linguistic differences.

Currently, standardization battles take place publically in Aruba through the national newspapers (Emerencia, 1998). Papiamentu experts analyze and comment on the errors made by various communicators in society. Repeatedly, the subject of the use of the native language Papiamentu is featured in Aruban newspaper articles. The agency GP3, led by Ralph Van Breet, has contributed significantly to the newspaper debates by teaching standards for Aruban Papiamentu in the newspaper. For example, I have several samples from the local newspaper, Bon Dia Aruba, containing language lessons, poems, grammar rules and crossword puzzles which contribute to promoting standardization. One article in the local newspaper, the Diario, documents a public award bestowed upon a woman in the community of Aruba who exhibited excellent use of Papiamentu. Such public articles and awards fuel the fire for the community of Aruba to continue to debate and delineate aspects of the corpus planning of Aruban Papiamentu.

Table 12 identifies corpus planning aspects of language planning in Aruba. The table documents actions taken and actions planned in the corpus language planning category.

Table 12
Corpus Language Planning Strategy of Aruba

Type of Planning	Objectives Done	Objectives in Process
<p><u>Corpus Planning</u>: The linguistic aspects of language planning such as orthographic innovation, spelling, pronunciation, language structure, vocabulary, registers, style and the preparation of educational material.</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Orthographic Standardization: 1997, Aruban Parliament, Director Onderwijs 2. List of words 3. Spelling checker wp5.1, 50,000 words 4. Standardize lexicon (Dictionary) 5. Specific vocabulary development relating to specific material 6. Specific Vocabulary Dictionary 7. Word Use Investigation 8. Grammar Standardization 9. Publish, investigate, and study Aruban literature 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. Officialization b. GP3 implementation c. Campaign for good use of the orthography of Papiamentu a. Compile list and print a. Officialize and upgrade a. Officialize, establish deadline a. Invent and optimize a. Finalize and publicize a. Publish results. a. Complete a basic manual of Papiamentu grammar. b. Develop a formal initiative. Formulate a Masterplan for translation, publication, and distribution of authentic Aruban literature.
	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 10. Study oral literature 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. Devise a program to systematically study Aruban oral literature such as <u>Coleccion na Arubiana</u>, Dijkhoff's Oral history project, <u>Programa</u>

	11. Conserve the Aruban historical cultural text	<p><u>Tele Aruba</u>, and Historian Lucia Kelly's investigation.</p> <p>a. Make use of several sources such as the Gesch. Project, the Museo Archeologico, and the individual collections of people.</p>
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Table 12 records some of the corpus planning objectives that language planners in Aruba have completed or are in the process of completing to implement the Papiamentu language into the Aruba Public School system.

Status Planning In Aruba

Status planning is concerned with the function of a language (Kloss, 1969). There are two main functions of language within its speech community: it is a tool of communication and it holds a symbolic force as an emblem of groupness (Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997). These aspects of status language planning relate to social issues and concerns and have two connected issues: language selection and language implementation (Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997). One place to begin in determining language selection and language implementation is to determine which languages are currently being used and for what purposes. An excellent way to acquire this information is to conduct a socio-linguistic survey.

In Aruba, a survey of the language use and language needs of the Aruban working population was conducted by Regine Boekhoudt-Croes (1996). This survey was conducted to determine the frequency and difficulty of use of different language skills in different situations. The language use and language needs were then compared with language use in education to derive information to form strategies that will bring change

to the current language policy for language in education in Aruba. The study concludes that language in education change is imperative for Aruba in order to better prepare its students for today's economy. The Boekhoudt-Croes study strongly recommends that Papiamentu, the home language of most students, be implemented into Aruban public school education. The use of Papiamentu in public schools would be a positive change for better educating Aruban students.

Research and data collection via sociolinguistic surveys are a valuable resource for polities making an official national language choice decision. When selecting a language, Kale (1990) has suggested various criteria that consider the language's political neutrality, dominance, prestige, tradition and affinity. However, issues of modernization may contradict Kale's criteria in that perhaps an exogenous language is a feasible alternative in order to progress with the goals of being modern. The contextualized situation of the polity is of utmost importance when making decisions of language value and purpose.

As part of socio-linguistic theory, it is important to note in which language government officials are conducting business. Nyati-Ramahobo (1998) asserts that the language used by the seat of government, such as Parliament, reveals that language's status in its polity. The language used for legal business is indicative of governmental leaders' value and status for the language. In Aruba, Parliament utilizes Papiamentu when discussing legal business.

The status of the dialect of the chosen language must be chosen as well. For example, if a nation chooses English as its official language, they must choose which dialect of

English. There is British English, American English, etc. Different dialects carry different status such as "high" or "low." In the previous section discussing corpus planning, I reported that there were political issues surrounding Aruba's choice to use the Spanish lexicon based orthography versus Curacao and Bonaire's choice to use a phonetic lexicon based orthography. Different dialects of Papiamentu carry different status, and to use the phonetic orthography chosen by Curacao and Bonaire would stir up political recollections that may arouse negative status for Papiamentu in Aruba. When status is determined, it can evoke both positive and negative emotions as status is often difficult to separate from a specific people group. As the language(s) is implemented, it is important to monitor and evaluate the success of the change and effect of the plan on various sectors of the population (Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997).

The status of a language can also be demonstrated by gathering data on the languages used for public communication. Following is a chart that documents a record of public communication forms and languages.

Table 13
Aruban Public Communication Data

	Papiamento	Dutch	English	Spanish
Newspapers	5	2	2	0
Magazines	3	3 (mixed Dutch and Papiamento)	3	0
Bulletins	0	0	12	0
Television Aruba	This station broadcasts mostly in Papiamento and English and some in Dutch.			
Cable TV	1	0	19	6
Radio Stations	13	0	0	0
Radio (Christian)	This station broadcasts in all four languages.			

Table 13 identifies the various Aruban public communications. English is the dominant language of public communication followed by use of the island vernacular Papiamento language. Spanish is the third most utilized language and Dutch is the least used language to mediate Aruban public communication.

From Table 13, it is clear that language used for public communication in Aruba is primarily English and Papiamento. Public communication in Aruba is conducted least in the languages of Spanish and Dutch.

Table 14 identifies status planning aspects of language planning in Aruba. The table documents action taken and actions planned in the status language planning category.

Table 14
Status Language Planning Strategy of Aruba

Type of Planning	Objectives Done	Objectives in Process
<p><u>Status Language Planning:</u></p> <p>Concerns the function of a language within its speech community as a tool of communication and as a symbolic force serving as an emblem of groupness (Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997). These aspects of status language planning relate to social issues and concerns.</p>	<p>Socio-linguistic Surveys:</p> <p>“Multilingualismo I Ensenansa: Language needs in Aruban education” by Regine Boekhoudt-Croes (1996).</p> <p>“Opinion di mayoran pa cu diferente idioma den scol” by Shakira Tromp (1997).</p> <p>“Atitud pa cu diferente idioma” by Ramon Todd Dandare.</p> <p>“Uso di Papiamento den scol como medio auxiliar” by Ralph Van Breet, Helen Guda, Roosleen Oduber.</p>	<p>General goals to continue:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Develop expertise in socio-linguistic investigation 2. Collect and publish data on Aruban language issues. 3. Organize workshops and seminars on language investigation. 4. Create a structure to distribute the results of language investigations. 5. Involve the students at IPA for language investigation.
	<p>GP3</p> <p>The Year of Papiamento:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Promote better knowledge of Papiamento 2. Promote more use of the Papiamento language 3. Promote correct use of Papiamento 	<p>Use public newspapers, radio and television to introduce and reinforce use of Papiamento.</p> <p>In schools and in public, pass out stickers, t-shirts, posters and other paraphernalia to celebrate and encourage knowledge and use of Papiamento.</p> <p>Hosted a symposium on Papiamento.</p> <p>Honored a member of the community for her example of proper use of Papiamento.</p>

Table 14 records some of the Status planning objectives that language planners in Aruba have completed or are in the process of completing to implement the Papiamento language into the Aruba Public School system.

In Aruba, Papiamentu is the primary language used as a means to communicate, and Papiamentu is also the language that defines who is Aruban (Emerencia, 1998).

Papiamentu is the tool of communication and the symbolic force as an emblem of groupness. I agree with Holm (1989) who reports that Papiamentu enjoys an unusually high prestige for a Creole language. Papiamentu is spoken by all social classes in many settings and is used expansively in the media.

Acquisition Planning In Aruba

A third component of language planning is acquisition planning. This area of planning determines how the language is going to be acquired and maintained by the public. Included are the issues related to language and education such as school programs and teaching materials to be utilized for language acquisition through content instruction.

Aruba has used a replica of the Dutch educational system, including language (Dutch), structure, and curriculum content. In order to explore alternatives to the Dutch educational system currently employed, Aruba Department of Education developed an innovative pedagogical plan titled "Proyecto Innovacion Ensenanza Preparatorio y Ensenanza Basico" (PRIEPEB). This plan is a reform project with the primary goal of restructuring education in Aruba for kindergarten, primary education, and special education. PRIEPEB is the first reform project ever initiated in Aruba. The focus of the innovation project is for education in Aruba to take on a more culturally relevant language, structure, and curriculum for its educational system. The nine committees each explore variations to the current Aruban education system from curriculum to pedagogy

to community relations. These committees provide a platform for discussions for language in education to take place. Language use in the school is an issue for each of the nine committees. PREIPEB is the vehicle that will drive the corpus and status language plans into existence through planning for language-in-education. For more information on PREIPEB, refer back to Chapter Six of this dissertation.

Aruba Linguists Institute (ALI) was formed by the Aruba Department of Education. Main goals of ALI are to engage in research, teach, and collaborate with the educational system of Aruba. ALI is an important agency for acquisition planning that uses short radio Papiamento language learning programs, brief television lessons and newspaper crossword puzzles/activities to engage all language learners. ALI is teaching the public about their native language.

Grupo pa promove Papiamento (GP3) also participates in teaching the public standard Aruban Papiamento. As mentioned earlier, GP3 has been effective in positively promoting and celebrating the use of Papiamento, thereby influencing the status of Papiamento. GP3 also plays a role in acquisition language planning by offering courses to journalists and newscasters about the proper usage of Papiamento.

Table 15 identifies acquisition planning aspects of language planning in Aruba. The table documents action taken and actions planned in the acquisition language planning category.

Table 15
Acquisition Language Planning Strategy of Aruba

Type of Planning	Objectives Done	Objectives in Process
<p><u>Acquisition Planning:</u></p> <p>Determines how the language is going to be acquired and maintained by the public. Included are the issues related to language and education such as school programs and teaching materials to be utilized for language acquisition through content instruction.</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Promote good use of Papiamento (GP3 and ALI). 2. Promote production of books in Papiamento. 3. Promote the Papiamento alphabet. 4. PRIEPEB discussions and reports. 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. Radio program by Ramon Todd Dandare. b. ATV lessons on Papiamento. c. Papiamento learning for employees. d. Create a special school that teaches Papiamento. a. Increase translation production b. Stimulate native speakers to write and produce books in Papiamento. c. Organize annual festival to celebrate the release of books in Papiamento. a. Get feedback from teachers, parents, and administrators about the need to formally implement Papiamento into the school curriculum.

Table 15 records some of the acquisition planning (Language in Education) objectives that language planners in Aruba have completed or are in the process of completing to implement the language Papiamento into the Aruba Public School system.

A basic acquisition planning flowchart outlined by Kaplan & Baldauf (1997) in twelve steps shows how language-in-education cannot begin until the language planning has reached the policy decision (step four) stage. The flow chart suggests that after policy decisions have been made, the education sector plans can then be devised and

implemented. At the time of this research, Aruba language planners are just beginning to formulate policy for implementing Papiamentu into the public schools. Substantial inventory of methods, materials, teachers and other resources are being made for maximum potential realization that will determine the effectiveness of the education sector's impact on transmitting language acquisition. Once the policy decisions have been made, implementation, evaluation, curriculum policy, personnel policy, materials policy, community policy and evaluation policy can all be planned.

For language planning in Aruba, the context is defined by the historical and socio-linguistic factors of Aruba's past such as the colonial domination experience that remains evident today. The series of laws and policies passed, the immigration and demographic shifts, and the influence of language in the media all contribute to the current desire educators and education administrators have to systematically change education in Aruba to better prepare students for the future.

The systematic change is taking place via the PREIPEB pedagogical innovation plan. The nine committees offer the perfect platform to facilitate communication and discussion in ways that professional educators, parents, students and the general public have opportunity to participate in planning language in education in Aruba.

There are two main issues that must be considered further as language planning in Aruba takes place: existing language policy and parental aspirations.

Language policy has played a paramount role in language use in Aruba. A series of national level policies and governmental decisions that flow between freedom for language in education use and restriction have impacted the language planning in Aruba.

Currently, language policy in Aruba favors exoglossic policy that prioritizes the propagation of an exogenous or foreign language with a wider language use outside of the polity, which in the case of Aruba is the Dutch language. The Protocol of Willemstad signed in 1998 calls for “the maintenance of Dutch in our schools and for the alignment of the educational systems of the three entities of the Kingdom”(Emerencia, 1998, pp.30). Evaluation of the Protocol’s implications and limitations are of foremost importance in order to formulate language policy that is legally acceptable for Aruba.

Parental aspirations may not be accurately represented in the language surveys. De Swaan (1998) maintains that although parents may desire their children to learn the mother tongue, they will ensure optimal career prospects for their children by making sure their kids learn the dominant language, even if the dominant language is not the mother tongue. Many times, language choice for creating language policy strongly impacts the degree to which the vernacular language will be learned.

In this chapter, my analysis of language planning for Papiamentu in Aruba was presented and categorized in three sections: corpus planning, status planning, and acquisition (language in education) planning. Specific attention was given to the language in education planning (categorized under acquisition planning) as the thrust of this dissertation is to report on the language planning for the vernacular language Papiamentu and education in Aruba with attention to the cultural context and systematic change.

Aruban education is experiencing change involving the PREIPEB, ALI and GP3 organizations. Each agency uses experience, language and power as language planners

address the many issues surrounding the introduction of Papiamentu in the public schools. Incorporation of Aruba's culture and language into its political educational structure requires a joining of ideology and practice among the people. Culture is expressed through language; when language is lost, those things that represent a way of life and a way of valuing human reality are lost also (Fishman, 1996).

CHAPTER 8
FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS, IMPLICATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS
FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

This dissertation has considered the issues of language planning and education in Aruba in terms of cultural context that will facilitate effective change on the island. A pilot study I conducted in 1996 revealed that children in Aruba are being educated in Dutch, which is essentially their fourth language, while Papiamentu, English, and Spanish are most Arubans' first, second and third languages respectively. In grade six, students roughly twelve years old take tests in Dutch. The scores of that exam determine which secondary schooling the student qualifies for, which in turn dictates what career path the student will take. Exam results determine what higher education and career preparation school the student is eligible for. I decided to investigate the social and political history of Aruban language in education policies and what cultural contexts contributed to the current educational situation in Aruba. I discovered that the Aruba Department of Education is on the cutting edge of designing a new language plan for language in education implementation and decided to document the process. The main goal of the language in education reformation is to bring systematic change to Aruban education and provide an equal opportunity for every student to excel educationally while learning to celebrate his/her own cultural heritage and vernacular language.

Answers to the Research Questions

I explored the connection between language, culture and political history. I attempted to seek out other influences which, in the absence of research findings, might have

contributed to Aruba's current policy on language in education. This study investigated issues of language planning and education in Aruba as they are examined in terms of cultural context that will facilitate effective change on the island. In general, my research questions comprised the following:

- 1) What are the predominant languages and dialects in Aruba, and to what uses are they put?
 - a) What is the language attitude toward official documents, home language use, education, and the lingua franca for conducting daily business of government officials, linguists, educators, parents, students, and other citizens of Aruba?
 - b) What social and political history has affected language use?
 - c) What languages are used for newspapers, radio broadcasts, television, advertisements, education, etc.?
 - d) How has Aruba retained the multiglossic existence of Papiamentu, English, Spanish, and Dutch?
- 2) What makes this indigenous language situation different from other nations' experiences?
- 3) What is the official plan the Aruba government has put into place for educational change?
 - a. How has the plan been implemented based on the views of differently affected people: government officials, linguists, administrators, educators, parents, teachers, and plan developers?
 - b. What does the plan look like in Aruban classrooms?

- c. What measure will be used to determine the successfulness of the language plan's implementation?
4. What generalizable implications for language planning and education surface from an in depth look at the context in Aruba?

What follows is a general discussion of the initial “big picture” questions, as well as an analysis of important contextual variables which help answer the questions.

Since I was interested in examining the connection between research findings in language planning and the development of language in education practices in Aruba, I began the study by identifying language use and historical/political context for language use in Aruba.

1. What are the predominant languages and dialects in Aruba, and to what uses are they put?

There are four prominent languages in Aruba. They are the island language Papiamentu, English, Spanish, and Dutch. In Chapter Four a table and a chart record the dominant languages from 1972 to 1991. The language with the most speakers is the vernacular language, Papiamentu. The second language dominant group is English, and the third language dominant group is Spanish. The language with the least number of speakers is Dutch.

Papiamentu is the mother tongue of more than 75% of Arubans. Papiamentu is the language used when speaking with family and friends or to do business at the local establishments. The Aruban Parliament uses Papiamentu to discuss important legal issues, and Papiamentu is the language most people in Aruba speak best. In Aruba,

Papiamentu is the primary language used as a means to communicate, and Papiamentu is also the language that defines who is Aruban (Emerencia, 1998). Papiamentu is the tool of communication and symbol groupness. Papiamentu enjoys an unusually high prestige for a Creole language. Papiamentu is spoken by all social classes in many settings and is used expansively in the media.

a. What is the language attitude toward official documents, home language use, education, and the lingua franca for conducting daily business of government officials, linguists, educators, parents, students, and other citizens of Aruba?

To determine the language attitudes toward the above contexts, I reflected back to Chapter Four of this dissertation, Language Situations In Aruba. First, official documents in Aruba remain primarily in Dutch. As a former Dutch colony, colonial rule required all official documents to be written in Dutch. Since 1986 when Aruba was granted a Status Aparte, Aruba had complete legal authority to make its own internal decisions concerning Aruban affairs. The current language plan for Aruba includes the job of translating all legal documents into Papiamentu. This is a work in progress. As mentioned above, Parliament uses Papiamentu to discuss legal issues, and research tells us that the language used by the seat of government such as Parliament reveals that language's status in that polity (Nyati-Ramahobo, 1998). Concerning official documents, Papiamentu's status is growing.

At home, Papiamentu is the language most Arubans choose to use for conversing, joking and interacting as a family. A survey of the language use and language needs of

the Aruban working population conducted by Regine Boekhoudt-Croes (1996) supports the statement above that most Arubans use Papiamentu as their home language.

For education in Aruba, the mandated language of instruction for grades one to grades six is Dutch. The use of Dutch in Aruban education is problematic because research indicates that education must be a natural continuation of the development that begins at home (Emerencia, 1998; Muller, 1981). Valeriano (1981) claims that the native language has to be functional in school in order for the natural continuation of development to proceed and gives strong arguments in relation to the process of learning to read.

The Boekhoudt-Croes survey (1996) was conducted to determine the frequency and difficulty of use of different language skills in different situations. Research compared the language use and language needs with language use in education and determined that the current language policy for language in education in Aruba must be changed to incorporate the vernacular language. Chapter Four contains a table (Table 5) that lists three arguments against the use of Papiamentu in Aruban schools and four arguments in favor of the use of Papiamentu in Aruban schools. The conclusion is that while current instruction continues to be conducted in Dutch, substantial research is directing the language planners of Aruba to work rapidly towards implementing Papiamentu into the Aruban public education as the language of instruction.

The lingua franca for daily business in Aruba is overwhelmingly Papiamentu. Government officials, linguists, educators, parents, students, and other citizens of Aruba primarily speak in Papiamentu for all transactions. The Boekhoudt-Croes survey (1996) substantiates that lingua franca in Aruba is predominately Papiamentu. The only

exception is when a non speaker of Papiamentu is in the conversation, the language usually shifts to accommodate that one outsider. I experience this as an outsider on many occasions. Without formally announcing the language shift (from Papiamentu to English or Spanish), the groups I engaged in conversation for business, research or friendly conversation switched languages very naturally. Also,

b. What social and political history has affected language use?

There are many political-historical factors contributing to language genesis in Aruba. First, the political domination of conquering polities brought the Spanish and Dutch languages to Aruba. Then African slaves brought a proto-Creole language to Curacao that over time developed into the Creole Papiamentu. European settlers brought their diverse languages, and with the natural resource gold and job opportunities via the oil refinery, more language influences were added to Aruba. Tourism reinforced the use of other languages, especially Spanish and English. Skills such as the ability to translate have become valuable assets for Aruban citizens as the marketplace demands multilingual communication.

In education, the political factor of language in education policy currently requires content instruction to be given in Dutch for grades one to six. Chapter Four, Table 4 discusses the outcomes of official government policies for education in Aruba. Language policy has played a paramount role in language use in Aruba. A series of national level policies and governmental decisions that flow between freedom for language in education use and restriction have impacted the language planning in Aruba. Currently, language policy in Aruba favors exoglossic policy that prioritizes the propagation of an exogenous

or foreign language with a wider language use outside of the polity, which in the case of Aruba is the Dutch language. The Protocol of Willemstad signed in 1998 calls for “the maintenance of Dutch in our schools and for the alignment of the educational systems of the three entities of the Kingdom”(Emerencia, 1998, pp.30). Evaluation of this Protocol’s implications and limitations are of foremost importance in order to formulate language policy that is legally acceptable for Aruba.

c. What languages are used for newspapers, radio broadcasts, television, advertisements, education, etc....

In Chapter Seven of this dissertation, Table 13 identifies the various Aruban public communications. There are nine newspapers; two in Dutch, five in Papiamentu, and two in English. There are nine magazines; three in Papiamentu, three bilingual in Dutch and Papiamentu, and three are in English. There are twelve bulletins; all of which are in English. Television Aruba uses Papiamentu and English and a little bit of Dutch. On cable TV there are 19 American English channels, six Spanish channels, and one Aruban Papiamentu channel. There are thirteen radio stations that use Papiamentu and one Christian radio station that utilizes all four dominant languages (Papiamentu, English, Spanish and Dutch). English is the dominant language of public communication followed by use of the island vernacular language Papiamentu. Spanish is the third most utilized language and Dutch is the least used language to mediate Aruban public communication.

d. How has Aruba retained the multiglossic existence of Papiamentu, English, Spanish, and Dutch? What makes this indigenous language situation different from other nations' experiences?

Aruba has retained the multiglossic existence of Papiamentu, English, Spanish, and Dutch largely due to political and social factors. Papiamentu is the island vernacular language. Papiamentu is the primary language used as a means to communicate, and Papiamentu is also the language that defines who is Aruban (Emerencia, 1998). Papiamentu is the tool of communication and the symbolic force as an emblem of groupness. Waves of immigration from 1824 to 1960 caused a significant increase of people living in Aruba. The original Arubans began raising the question, "Ken ta Arubiano" (Who is Aruban?). No one people group was native to the land as all the groups had immigrated for various reasons. However, the lighter skin colored Latin American and European colonists felt like they had more right to call themselves Arubans since they lived on the island longer and spoke Papiamentu (Do Rego, 1975; Emerencia, 1998). Many of the darker skin colored immigrants spoke English as their first language, but nearly all of them understood Papiamentu perfectly. However, this debate of national identity continues to exist along the lines of skin color and language (Emerencia, 1998).

The maintenance of the Dutch language in Aruba was primarily forced by Aruba's colonial attachment to Holland. As part of the Dutch Kingdom, all government documents and contacts were made in Dutch concerning governmental affairs. But, Aruba (see map 1 on page 45) began to grow in population as many more people came to

the island from Holland, Curacao and Surinam. Still, all governmental documents and contacts remain in Dutch. In education, even the most recent Protocol of Willemstad proclaims that Dutch must remain as the language of instruction in Aruban schools so as to maintain alignment of the three polities of the Dutch Kingdom. Again, legal mandate is the reason Dutch exists multiglossically with Papiamentu, English, and Spanish in Aruba.

The Relationship between Language Planning and Language in Education

Examining the connection between research findings in language planning and the development of language in education plans in Aruba, I encountered the pedagogical innovation plan of Aruba (PREIPEB).

2. What is the official plan the Aruban government has put into place for educational change?

In Aruba, there is not one official comprehensive language plan guiding the educational innovations and changes that professional educators are pursuing. Instead, there are several specific plans written by various sectors of the education profession and several agencies that are all working towards the same primary goal which is to implement the native language Papiamentu into the curriculum of Aruban public schools. Many professional educators participate in more than one of the initiatives. For example, one educator is a professor at IPA, has taught Papiamentu classes for journalists, helped translate novels from Dutch to Papiamentu, wrote some of the documents calling for curricular use of Papiamentu in the public schools, and serves on numerous committees addressing language planning issues. The double duty many professionals serve is an

asset to the congruency of the individual plans, projects and agencies since when serving on more than one initiative the professionals can share what they are doing in other initiatives. This overlay contributes to communication among the groups and helps all the groups focus on similar goals.

There are six primary language planning documents that concentrate on the language planning issues for language in Aruban public education. They are Pa Un Ensenansa Bilingual Na Aruba (1988), the SHO-nota (1988), Inventarisacion di Trabaonan Haci Riba Terreno di Papiamento (1996), Proposicion pa Un Maneho di Idioma pa Ensenansa Basico Renova di Aruba (1997), Un Bon Ensenansa Basico: Condicion pa un Mijor Futuro- Plan Strategico PRIPEB (1997), and Plan di Trabao pa Realisacion di un Maneho di Idioma pa Ensenansa na Aruba (1999). All of these documents have similar final analyses about educating the children of Aruba: That it is beneficial to implement content instruction in the vernacular language, Papiamento, in the primary school level. The documents give suggestions for how to proceed in pursuit of this goal. These six documents are listed in Table 11 and discussed extensively in Chapter Six of this dissertation.

However, two of the six documents merit extra discussion because they offer, in my analysis, specific plans for current language planning in education, evidenced in my research. One of the documents will be discussed now and the other will be given elaboration in the following paragraphs. The document for discussion now is the most recent written plan I collected for this research dating back to 1999. It is the Plan di Trabao pa Realisacion di un Maneho di Idioma pa Ensenansa na Aruba (1999 Plan). The

1999 Plan document gives an overview description and an analysis of language planning and education in Aruba. The thrust of this document moves toward meeting the goals of developing Papiamentu as a Creole language and introducing Papiamentu as a content language of instruction in schools in Aruba.

The introduction of the plan restates specific rationales for proposing the use of Papiamentu in Aruban schools. They include facts such as that language is the historical and contextual social-cultural national language. Because of Papiamentu's prominent use, it should be utilized as a language of instruction in the schools.

Since Aruba is a multilingual island, the plan states that the schools should be multilingual as is the local population. Language gives expression, and translates the culture of a community. Language is the vehicle of thought, the system of symbolism and structure, and the instrument of communication. Several goals for language are listed as needing to target specific outcomes for domestic use, personal use, fortification of culture, and amplification. Target educational uses of Papiamentu are for it to become a language used for content instruction and that for cultural context, local materials for educational resources must be developed. The 1999 Plan takes inventory on what has been accomplished thus far and what needs further attention. In my analysis, this document is very precise and will help the language planning in education in Aruba proceed without unnecessary delay.

The Aruba Department of Education created several agencies to address language planning issues of Aruban education. The primary three agencies are Aruba Linguistic Institute (ALI), Grupo pa Promove Papiamentu (GP3), and PRIEPEB. These agencies

examine experience, language and power as issues surrounding the introduction and use of Papiamentu in the public schools. ALI has three main goals: research, teaching and collaboration with the educational system of Aruba. GP3 uses agitation and propaganda to facilitate positive language attitude change. The year 1997 was proclaimed to be the Year of Papiamentu, and GP3's job was to promote better knowledge of Papiamentu, more use of Papiamentu and to promote correct use of Papiamentu. Both ALI and GP3 continue to function and participate in language planning for education in Aruba. Chapter Six describes projects and activities in which these groups participate. The third Aruba Department of Education agency mentioned above, PREIPEB, is an agency and wrote one of the six written documents mentioned above. I will discuss this plan in greater length.

PREIPEB stands for Proyecto Innovacion Ensenanza Preparatorio y Ensenanza Basico which can be generally translated to "preparatory and basic education innovation project." Some of those I interviewed referred to PREIPEB as the "pedagogical innovation plan." The goal of this project is to stimulate, organize and coordinate innovation in education for preparation and basic education for Aruba. The PREIPEB innovation plan is a reform project with the primary goal of restructuring education in Aruba for kindergarten, primary education, and special education; and it is the first educational reform project ever initiated in Aruba. Focus of the innovation project is for education in Aruba to take on a more culturally relevant language, structure, and curriculum for its educational system. The PREIPEB pedagogical innovation plan has nine committees focusing on curriculum reform: 1) curriculum reform, 2.) teacher

pedagogy, 3) the relation of the school, society and family, 4) school development, 5) legal and financial restriction, 6) Aruba educational system structures, 7) kindergarten, 8) primary education, and 9) special education. The PRIEPEB plan offers an incredibly effective platform to facilitate communication and discussion in ways that professional educators, parents, students and the general public have opportunity to participate in planning language in education in Aruba. (For more specific information concerning PREIPEB committees, refer to Chapter Six of this dissertation.)

There are several attributes of PRIEPEB that stand out. One unique feature is that the committees are small, some only have three people. For parents or members of the community wanting to participate in the committee meetings, the small size is congenial and not overwhelmingly intimidating as it would be within a large group. A second positive feature the PRIEPEB has is that it offers a place and time where legal documents and language plans can be shared and discussed at a micro level. People (the general public or even experienced educators) can ask questions and get clarification on the proposals, thus resulting in greater understanding of the ideas. With greater understanding of what is proposed, the community will have a chance to personally consider the ideas and their implications before submitting to new practices that have been mandated down by the government. The micro level discussions will yield macro results because little by little the information shared in the committee meetings will filter out into the community and be a topic that neighbors can discuss. Discussion helps everyone have an opportunity to share and contribute to the planning and to the change. When it is time for people to vote on new language policies or any law/policy concerning

language in education, the public will be able to make an informed decision instead of just maintaining the status quo from the years of lingering colonial rule. A third aspect of PRIPEB is the potential that the workload can be shared and therefore hopefully executed in a timely manner. Personal ownership of the language in education proposal(s) will help the community stay positive and focussed as they engage in the unfamiliarity of educational system and structure change. The PREIPEB plan was designed to be implemented over ten years from 1997 to 2006. The long- term plan will give ample time for significant changes to take place slowly and more naturally.

a. How has the plan been implemented based on the views of different affected people: government officials, linguists, administrators, educators, parents, teachers, and plan developers?

Implementation of Aruba's language in education plan has just begun. In question two above, I pointed out that the people participating in planning language for Aruba serve in more than one capacity. So, my "affected people" categories prevent me from answering question 2a generalizing that the government officials say the plan has been implemented one way while the linguists say the plan was implemented another way. Instead, my answer to question 2a is going to identify general threads of common viewpoints that emerged from at least three or more people I interviewed who fall into one or more of the aforementioned categories. Following are the categories of common observation about the implementation of language planning in Aruba substantiated by direct quotes.

Implementation of Language Planning for Aruba is Slow but Sure

One government official, administrator, parent and plan developer said,

“PREIPEB is a very holistic and broad project...we are attempting to make changes from the bottom up, and that takes time.”

Another administrator, government official and plan developer reflected honestly and said,

“People fear change (language of instruction) ... and there have been some wounds. But the wounds will heal and some people will die...(due to the passage of time)” and then change will take place.

A school administrator, parent and educator stated that,

“Parents don’t want Dutch (as the language of instruction in schools) any more, so change will come.”

These statements, collected from interviews, support the hope that language in education in Aruba is being planned and implemented, even though only at the beginning stages. Their shared prediction is that change will come slowly but surely.

The first interviewee I quoted acknowledges that structural change must begin with the public and up through all levels of people with varying degrees of power to cause change. The general public is a large group of people to communicate with about language issues, so the committees of PREIPEB must reach out and include as many people as possible, which simply takes time.

The second interviewee I quoted inferred that some who oppose change and hold some power in preventing change will eventually pass away. Then, change will occur without their protests and preventions. Natural processes do play a role in the transpiration of change.

The third interviewee summarized her personal observation and generalization on

behalf of parents because she comes in contact with parents on a daily basis.

These three professionals share a similar viewpoint on the implementation of language planning in Aruba. They see that the Aruba language plan is affecting the public's language attitude in that the public's attitude has shifted away from wanting to maintain the colonial structure and language for education in Aruba and towards the utilization of Papiamentu in their public schools.

Lack of Political Will and Courage

Concerning the policy development and law making, several people interviewed pointed out the lack of political will and courage demonstrated by both voters and politicians.

One government official, language planner and educator said,

“Aruba has been autonomous for almost 45 years, since 1954, yet Aruba has not taken this opportunity to develop educational reforms in these years.”

Another educator and professor said,

“In Curacao, they at least have begun to try addressing the issue of Papiamentu in schools. Here in Aruba...well, they can't seem to make any decisions.”

This administrator, government official and linguist said,

“Many (politicians) have no guts to make the new policies for language in education to change.”

These three people suggest that Aruba's language plan implementation has been hindered because law makers and voters are reluctant to act on their convictions that language policy change needs to occur.

It is Taking Too Long

Still others believe that the implementation of Aruba language planning is taking too long. One linguist, professor and government official proposed,

“We must begin; someone needs to start a private laboratory school...” to set a model for use of Papiamentu for educational instruction.

Another language planner, educator and government official also suggested,

“The best decisions (about language planning in education) can be made when certain possibilities are worked upon and tried out in an experimental school.”

A third professor, educator and parent touted,

“I’m going to go to Curacao and try to start working with Papiamentu in schools. There they are already started- Aruba is too slow.”

My conclusion is that a majority of the government officials, linguists, administrators, educators, parents, teachers, and plan developers agree that the Aruba language in education plan is developing at a slow and steady rate; however, their desire is to see more change happen more quickly. The observable implementation of language planning is minimal because the planning is still in the very early stages.

e. What does the plan look like in Aruban classrooms?

Evidence of Aruba’s language in education language planning in school classrooms is very minimal at this time. First, Aruba must complete the policy phase of language planning in order for the language in education changes to begin taking effect in Aruban classrooms. (See Chapter Seven of this dissertation or refer to the basic acquisition planning flowchart outlined by Kaplan & Baldauf (1997)). Nevertheless, some indication of the language planning and promotion of Papiamentu exists in physical form. I visited about 25 classrooms and noticed that almost every room seemed to have pencils or rulers

with the inscription, “Mi dushi Papiamento” translated “My sweet Papiamento.” From my interviews, I know that those items were distributed by GP3 as that agency promotes greater knowledge of Papiamento, greater use of Papiamento, and more correct use of Papiamento. In three classrooms, I observed a poem or other writing hanging on the wall in Papiamento. School classrooms in Aruba do not yet reflect implementation of the language in education plans Aruban language planners are devising.

f. What measure will be used to determine the success of the language plan’s implementation?

There is no one official measuring instrument proposed for use in determining the success of the language plan’s implementation by those planning language in education in Aruba. However, the repeating goal of language in education planning in Aruba is to give students who predominately speak Papiamento (about 80% of students) the opportunity to have more equitable educational opportunities. Research has shown that language issues, such as the use of Dutch (most students fourth best language) for educational instruction with students who speak Papiamento fluently, hinder the outcomes of the mandatory Aruban education tests that determine a student’s career path at or around the age of twelve. It is not fair to test students for knowledge when they are only allowed to answer in a language they do not have the opportunity to learn authentically outside of the classroom. The reports and plans all suggest that Papiamento must be utilized for learning in the Aruban public schools. So, one obvious preliminary measurement of success will be to see Papiamento established as a language of instruction for students in schools.

However, the introduction of Papiamentu itself is not the ultimate goal. Rather the main goal is to see some changes in the statistics of students such as: 1) an increase in the percentage of Papiamentu speaking students testing into the higher levels of Aruban secondary education, 2) a decrease in the percentage of Papiamentu speaking students being retained in primary school, 3) a decrease in the percentage of Papiamentu speaking students dropping out of secondary education before completing their educational program, and 4) an increase in the number of Papiamentu speaking students who pursue and succeed in professions that yield greater earnings and require further education. Some related goals to be realized are for more parent and community interaction with the schools; for teachers to receive on-going education to refine and develop better pedagogical practices; for the number of publications in Papiamentu to dramatically increase; and for Aruban libraries to become flooded with all kinds of picture books, novels, magazines, study resources and articles written in Papiamentu that are authored by local Aruban students and the public. There are many more goals and objectives that can be measured; the above is just a sample.

Conclusions

Aruba's current political efforts are focused on initiating change for educational practice and theory. As a former colony of The Netherlands, Aruba still suffers the long-reaching effects of colonization. Fanon (1971) and Carnoy (1974) report that there are long term effects of colonialism that pierce the very depths of relational structures of people and skew the people's perspective on reality. The promotion of the Dutch language as the medium of instruction and the utter rejection of Papiamentu became so

well-integrated into the Aruban population that no one seemed to remember the serious disadvantages the Dutch language in education gave the Papiamentu speaking children in school (Prins-Winkel, 1982). Ancient mandates issued in 1920 (see Chapter Five of this dissertation) are still dominating Aruban public attitude today against using Papiamentu in the schools as a language of instruction. In my opinion this is a long lasting impact of a colonization strategy that still grips and impacts the present thinking of Aruban citizens.

National language policy making essentially proposes a theory about the nature of the society's language needs at the societal, group or individual levels and how to meet those needs. In Aruba, I conclude that language planning may or may not be influenced by language policy. Language planning may be influenced by language policy in that implementation of language use is governed by government regulation through language policy. Language planning may not be influenced by language policy when Aruba, for example, was given opportunity to develop its own language policy back in 1954 but neglected to act on that freedom. Now, 45 years later, new laws inhibit the progress of new language plan implementation.

This dissertation research concludes that language planning ought not to be undertaken casually. Language planning is likely to be time consuming and expensive. Language planning is not a once and for all type of planning, rather it is ongoing. Language planning implementation requires much more than a set of top-down decisions. Language planning and language policy development must originate from the highest levels of the structure and must implicate the entire structure, and must derive its authority from the community of speakers.

Implications

What generalizable implications for language planning and education surface from an in depth look at the context in Aruba?

One of the implications of this dissertation has shown that education professionals have a responsibility to explore the ideological foundations of their theories and practices. This means they must acknowledge that value judgements are fundamental to their work. The goal should not be to try to manipulate or eliminate values. Instead, values must be made explicit.

A commitment to structural equality is necessary. Structural equality means that the use of the mother tongue at work and in school is a fundamental human right. Language is parallel to race, gender and other factors that deserve legal protection. And, it measures social justice by the extent to which societies ensure that individuals may use their mother tongues for education and employment. Students must have an effective means for gaining the language competence and literacy skills necessary to meet their educational aspirations and economic needs. At present, with the primary use of Dutch in the schools, that appears to be impossible without major changes in the language planning for language in education and language policy in Aruba.

The major implication to be derived from this analysis are that commitment to language planning in Aruba, and any nation, requires a commitment to the struggle for language rights, specifically in regard to the indigenous language which for Aruba is Papiamentu.

Recommendations for Further Research

Many nations experience language dominance by another language group. However, not all nations have maintained their local vernacular language like Arubans have maintained Papiamentu. The maintenance of Papiamentu in Aruba is phenomenal. I recommend further study be conducted to delve deeper into the reasons for the success at native language maintenance Aruba experiences, especially in light of the limited legal permission to use Papiamentu instrumentally.

The research on language planning in Aruba is a long-term project. I recommend that continual documentation of the process of language planning continue on the policies Aruba has and what changes are proposed concerning language in education policy.

Study should be done on the success of any experimental schools that are investigating the use of Papiamentu as a medium of instruction.

More thorough examination of the socio-historical issues that relate to language use in Aruba would bring greater clarity to questions of the extent to which colonial rule has inhibited the use of language in education in Aruba.

Additional research questions for further study follow:

1. How are student's cultural background and home experience utilized in the classroom?
2. What are the educational aspirations of Aruban parents?
3. What are some culturally based explanations of Papiamentu students' academic achievement?
4. What cultural networks and interactions are being developed among the different language groups?

Aruba is in a position of unlimited possibilities to plan, design and implement a new revised educational system that will change the culture of schooling in Aruba.

APPENDIX A

PARTICIPANT'S CONSENT FORM

DISSERTATION RESEARCH STUDY

**Language Planning and Education in Aruba:
Contexts for Systematic Change
Researcher: Jennifer Ellen Herrera, Ph.D. Candidate
University of Arizona**

PARTICIPANT'S CONSENT FORM

I am being asked to read the following material to ensure that I am informed of the nature of this research study and of how I will participate in it, if I consent to do so. Signing this form will indicate that I have been so informed and that I give my consent. Federal regulations require written informed consent prior to participation in this research study so that I can know the nature and the risks of my participation and can decide to participate or not to participate in a free and informed manner.

Purpose

I am being invited to voluntarily participate in the above-titled research project. The purpose of this study is to investigate the influence of language planning and education pertaining to the context of systematic change. The study will examine how attitudes toward language have contributed to the development of Aruban language policy and language planning, and led to the formation of innovative projects.

Procedure

If I agree to participate, I will be asked to participate in at least one interview, and possibly another follow-up interview. My participation is strictly voluntary, and I may terminate the interview at any time.

Confidentiality

All tapes and transcripts will be kept strictly confidential. Excerpts from some of the transcripts may be used in the final dissertation document. I understand that a pseudonym may be substituted for my real name.

I have read and understood the above information. My signature below indicates that I agree to participate in this research study.

Name (please print)

Date

Signature

APPENDIX B

PROPOSED INTERVIEW PROTOCOL:

**GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS, ADMINISTRATORS, EDUCATORS, LINGUISTS,
RESEARCHERS, PARENTS**

Proposed Interview Protocol**GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS, ADMINISTRATORS, EDUCATORS, LINGUISTS,
RESEARCHERS, PARENTS**

- I. Life History**
 - A. Which was your country of birth?**
 - B. How long have you lived in Aruba?**
 - C. What languages do you use? In what order did you learn them?**
 - D. Please tell me your professional history.**
 - E. How many people are in your family?**
 - F. How do you identify your professional self?
(teacher, professor, administrator, linguists, parent, concerned citizen)**
- II. Tell me something you remember that stands out about your childhood educational experiences.....**
- III. Please describe a typical day at work for you.....**
- IV. What is your role in the educational innovation in Aruba?**
- V. How does Aruban language policy affect what you do professionally?**

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