

# Notes

## Introduction

- <sup>1</sup> Royal Netherlands Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies, Leiden University and Erasmus University Rotterdam.
- <sup>2</sup> The University of Curaçao, Dr. Moises Da Costa Gomez and the University of Aruba, as well as the Bonairean Association for History and Culture (FuHiKuBo).
- <sup>3</sup> For a list of these see Oostindie & van Stipriaan (2021), *Antilliaans Erfgoed*, the last page of both volumes.
- <sup>4</sup> The project is mainly funded by the Dutch Research Council NWO. See also <https://www.kitlv.nl/traveling-caribbean-heritage>.
- <sup>5</sup> From the 1930s to the 1960s particularly the Curaçaoan and Aruban oil industry attracted many tens of thousands of migrants from all over the Caribbean, Suriname, Guyana, Madeira, the Netherlands and the U.S. Today, 25-35% of the three islands' population are migrants who were born elsewhere, working in tourism, households and construction, and/or had fled (undocumented) their home countries, particularly Venezuela.
- <sup>6</sup> Today some 160,000 first- or second-generation migrants originating from the Caribbean part of the Kingdom live in the Netherlands, the majority coming from Curaçao.
- <sup>7</sup> It is one and the same language, but their orthographies differ: Papiamentu in Aruba, Papiamentu in Curaçao and Bonaire. Cf. Pereira and Alofs in this volume.
- <sup>8</sup> Alofs (2021), *Godelijk Zoals Gewoonlijk*.
- <sup>9</sup> Allen & Richardson (2021), "Antilliaans Carnaval in Viervoud."
- <sup>10</sup> Franken (2021), "Het Landschap van Nederlands-Caribisch Erfgoed."
- <sup>11</sup> Allen et al. (2017), "Traveling Caribbean heritage."
- <sup>12</sup> See Oostindie et al. (2020), *A Global Comparison*; Veenendaal & Oostindie (2018), "Head Versus Heart"; Veenendaal (2015), *The Dutch Caribbean Municipalities*; Oostindie (2005), *Paradise Overseas*; de Jong (2009), "Implosie van de Nederlandse Antillen"; de Jong & Kruijt (2005), *Extended Statehood in the Caribbean*.
- <sup>13</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>14</sup> See Roe (2016), *The Sound of Silence*; Arrindell (2014), *Language, Culture, and Identity*; Allen (2012), *What is Curaçaoan Culture?*; Ansano (2012), "To Question Identity"; Brison (2005), "The Kingdom's Charter."
- <sup>15</sup> Anderson (1983), *Imagined Communities*; Gellner (1983), *Nations and Nationalism*. There are theorists of course who still wish to promote a kind of longer history whereby nations are peoples, such that there is a Greek or English nation that goes back millennia. It is about common ancestry and irrational psychological bonds whereby ethnicity mutates into 'race.' On this account the ABC islands, poly-ethnically and hetero-culturally constituted in ways that defy easy racial classifications, could not possibly be conceived as nations for those who claim the existence of primordial nationalism. These so-called primordialist and perennialist accounts need not be further engaged. On a defense of primordialism and perennialism, see among others Van den Berghe (1995), "Does Race Matter?" For general critique of primordialism in studies on nationalism, see among others Maxwell (2020), "Primordialism for Scholars Who Ought to Know Better."

- <sup>16</sup> Anderson (1983), *Imagined Communities*, 6.
- <sup>17</sup> For the Caribbean, see, Allen & Guadeloupe (2016), “Yu di Kòrsou, A Matter of Negotiation”; Bonilla (2015), *Non-Sovereign Futures*; Lewis (2013), *Caribbean Sovereignty*; Watson, “Globalization, liberalism and the Caribbean.”
- <sup>18</sup> For debates on undoing classical sociological conceptions of society as a whole see Marcus (1998), *Ethnography Through Thick and Thin*; Long & Moore (2012), “Sociality Revisited, Setting a New Agenda.” A similar approach particularly for the Caribbean can be found in Hall (2017), *The Fateful Triangle* or Gilroy (2000), *Against Race*.
- <sup>19</sup> Sociality does not limit itself to human beings, but encompasses extra-human critters, landscapes, seas, rivers, waters, and objects.
- <sup>20</sup> Anholt (2007), *Competitive Identity*; Kaneva (2011), “Nation Branding”; Volcic & Andrejevic (2011), “Nation Branding in the Era of Commercial Nationalism.”
- <sup>21</sup> [<https://www.vakantie-aruba.info/one-happy-island/>]
- <sup>22</sup> Cf. Moufahim et al. (2007), “Interpreting Discourse.”
- <sup>23</sup> <https://www.sponsorreport.nl/sportcuracao-tourist-board-nieuwe-partner-ajax/en> <https://www.ad.nl/nederlands-voetbal/ajax-sluit-sponsordeal-met-curacao~a79be845/?referrer=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.google.com%2F>
- <sup>24</sup> Dinnie (2016), *Nation Branding*, 41–49.

## Chapter 1. Nation-Building and Nation-Branding in the Caribbean: Comparative Reflections on National Imaginaries and Their Consequences

- <sup>1</sup> Aronczyk (2013), *Branding the Nation*.
- <sup>2</sup> Anderson (1983), *Imagined Communities*.
- <sup>3</sup> Joseph & Nugent (1994), *Everyday Forms of State Formation*.
- <sup>4</sup> Brereton (2007), “Contesting the Past,” 193.
- <sup>5</sup> Anholt (2002), “Foreword,” 233.
- <sup>6</sup> Aronczyk (2007), “New and Improved Nations”; Aronczyk (2013), *Branding the Nation*; Jansen (2008), “Redesigning a Nation.”
- <sup>7</sup> Bonilla (2015), *Non-Sovereign Futures*; Oostindie, Ferdinand & Veenendaal (2020), “A Global Comparison.”
- <sup>8</sup> Prashad (2007), *The Darker Nations*, xv.
- <sup>9</sup> James (1963), *Beyond a Boundary*.
- <sup>10</sup> Bolland (2001), *The Politics of Labour*; Oostindie (1999), *Curaçao, 30 mei 1969*; Vermeer (2021), “Welga! Welga! Welga!”
- <sup>11</sup> Hobsbawm (1990), *Nations and Nationalism*, 46ff.
- <sup>12</sup> <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IvpL9MbMIq4>, accessed December 15, 2020.
- <sup>13</sup> Baud (1996), “‘Constitutionally White’.”
- <sup>14</sup> Alvarez (1995), *In the Time of the Butterflies*.
- <sup>15</sup> Torres-Saillant (1999), *Retorno de las Yolas*.
- <sup>16</sup> De Maeseneer (2014), “Nobody’s Nation.”
- <sup>17</sup> <https://www.newsweek.com/talking-junot-diaz-85723>, accessed December 15, 2020.
- <sup>18</sup> <https://www.foxnews.com/world/dominican-american-author-junot-diaz-in-a-war-of-words-over-country-citizenship-ruling>, accessed December 15, 2020.
- <sup>19</sup> In the words of Emjay Rechsteiner, the film’s curator, “You rarely find a film, made during a historical event—the birth of the Surinamese state—that so strikingly reflects that process and then plays a leading role in it again.” Quoted in Sheila Sitalsingh (2019), “Is Wan Pipel.”

- <sup>20</sup> Gangaram Panday's life was inextricably intertwined with her one and only movie character. For more on Gangaram Panday's life, see De Jong (2018), "Diana Gangaram Panday."
- <sup>21</sup> "One tree/So many leaves/One tree ... One Suriname/So many hair types/So many skin colors/So many tongues/One people," [www.surinamewebquest.nl/wan\\_bon.html](http://www.surinamewebquest.nl/wan_bon.html), accessed December 2, 2020.
- <sup>22</sup> De Kom's book was first published in 1934; in 2020 the 16th edition appeared. It was banned in Suriname and rediscovered by Surinamese students in the Netherlands in the 1970s. In 2020 De Kom, as the first from the Caribbean, was chosen as one of the 50 subjects in the official Canon of Dutch History.
- <sup>23</sup> Adhin (1957), "Eenheid in Verscheidenheid."
- <sup>24</sup> Mahabier (2020), "Sarnámi Yátrá." Mahabier was active in the Kollektief Jumba Rajguru that aimed at the emancipation of Hindustani popular culture and social-democratic or socialist political reforms. Like Wie Eegie Sani, Jumba Rajguru was founded in the Netherlands.
- <sup>25</sup> Ramsodh (2018), *Surinaams Onbehagen*; Sedney (1997), *Toekomst van ons verleden*, 37–39.
- <sup>26</sup> Ramsodh (2016), "Democracy and Political Culture," 36.
- <sup>27</sup> E.g., Ramdas (1992), *De Papegaai*, 98. He criticises the lack of self-reflection and labels "Wan" patronising propaganda. Ramdas was a prolific Surinamese intellectual and writer living in the Netherlands.
- <sup>28</sup> Borger Breeveld, *Wan Pipel's* male lead, was an official spokesperson for the regime.
- <sup>29</sup> Hoefte & Veenendaal (2019), "Challenges of Nation-Building and Nation-Branding."
- <sup>30</sup> St-Hilaire (2001), "Ethnicity, Assimilation and Nation in Plural Suriname."
- <sup>31</sup> *Washington Times*, Suriname Special, October 10, 2014.
- <sup>32</sup> Ganga (2004), "Contemporary Theatre in Suriname," 7–8.
- <sup>33</sup> Mylonas (2012), *Politics of Nation Building*, 22.
- <sup>34</sup> This section is strongly inspired by a visit to Jamaica in 2015 in the context of the project 'Slum Tourism in the Americas: Commodifying Urban Poverty and Violence', funded by the Nederlandse Organisatie voor Wetenschappelijk Onderzoek (NWO, The Netherlands).
- <sup>35</sup> Patterson (2019), *Confounding Island*, 324.
- <sup>36</sup> Hall (2017), *Familiar Stranger*, 20–21.
- <sup>37</sup> Thomas (2004), *Modern Blackness*.
- <sup>38</sup> Doyle (2012), "Rastafarianism & Michael Manley," 118.
- <sup>39</sup> Hall (2017), *Familiar Stranger*, 42.
- <sup>40</sup> Patterson (2019), *Confounding Island*, 323.
- <sup>41</sup> Meeks (2000), *Narratives of Resistance*.
- <sup>42</sup> Doyle (2012), "Rastafarianism & Michael Manley."
- <sup>43</sup> Giovannetti (2005), "Jamaican reggae," 214.
- <sup>44</sup> Moore and Johnson (2011), *"They Do as They Please."*
- <sup>45</sup> Bogues (2006), "Power, Violence and the Jamaican 'Shotta Don,'" 25.
- <sup>46</sup> Thomas (2004), *Modern Blackness*.
- <sup>47</sup> Bogues (2006), "Power, Violence," 26.
- <sup>48</sup> James (2014), *Brief History of Seven Killings*; Saint-Loubert (2019), "An (Un)Easy Sell," 94.
- <sup>49</sup> Kwang, Fernandez & Tan (1998), *Lee Kuan Yew*; Lee (2000), *From Third World to First*.
- <sup>50</sup> Loh, Thum, & Chia (2017), *Living with Myths*; Tan (2017), *Governing Global-City Singapore*; Tan (2018), *Singapore: Identity, Brand, Power*.
- <sup>51</sup> E.g., Altink (2021), "Out of Place"; Pattullo (1996), *Last Resorts*; Taylor (1993), *To Hell with Paradise*; Sheller (2003), *Consuming the Caribbean*; Wilkes (2016), *Whiteness, Weddings, and Tourism*. These authors discuss the centrality of Whiteness in Caribbean tourism. Sheller underlines that tourism development is based on the exploitation of a supposedly subservient local non-White people and

the local environment by White visitors. Similarly, Wilkes connects the growth of so-called location weddings in Jamaica to narratives and visual representations of the region as a place of White lavish behavior and Black servitude.

- <sup>52</sup> In 2019, the relative contribution of tourism to GDP in the Caribbean was the highest in the world, at 13.9%. Globally, in the period 2014–2019, one in four jobs created was in the travel and tourism industry, see <https://wttc.org/Research/Economic-Impactm>, accessed January 27, 2021.
- <sup>53</sup> <https://www.godominicanrepublic.com/beaches/>, accessed December 12, 2021.
- <sup>54</sup> According to the World Travel & Tourism Council (2020), the total contribution of tourism to Suriname's GDP in 2019 was 2.6%, thus well below the Caribbean average, while tourism's total contribution to employment was 5,700 jobs or 2.8% of total employment, <https://wttc.org/Research/Economic-Impact>, accessed January 27, 2021.
- <sup>55</sup> Baud & Ypeij (2009), *Cultural Tourism in Latin America*.
- <sup>56</sup> Johnson and Gentles-Peart (2019), "Introduction," xxvii; our emphasis.
- <sup>57</sup> Aronczyk (2007), "New and Improved Nations."
- <sup>58</sup> Johnson & Gentles-Peart (2019), "Introduction," xxviii.
- <sup>59</sup> <https://www.godominicanrepublic.com>, accessed February 7, 2021.
- <sup>60</sup> Gregory (2007), *The Devil Behind the Mirror*, 154.
- <sup>61</sup> Kempadoo (2004), *Sexing the Caribbean*, 125.
- <sup>62</sup> Sex tourism is considered an undesirable part of Caribbean tourism and is for obvious reasons ignored in branding efforts, just like other problems, such as pollution or crime. Yet it can be seen as an integrated part of the image of servility and hospitality of the local population (see also note 50). Ever since Franz Fanon called the Caribbean the "brothel of Europe" (Kempadoo (2004), *Sexing the Caribbean*, 115) in the 1960s, sex tourism, both hetero- and homosexual, has been part of the informal package of tourism.
- <sup>63</sup> Gregory (2007), *The Devil Behind the Mirror*, 52–60.
- <sup>64</sup> Tourism Foundation Suriname, "Suriname, The Green Caribbean".
- <sup>65</sup> Tourist Foundation Suriname, "Suriname: A colorful experience", 5.
- <sup>66</sup> Hoeft & Veenendaal (2019), "Challenges of Nation-Building and Nation-Branding."
- <sup>67</sup> <https://en.travel2latam.com/nota/63602-dominican-republic-will-change-its-country-brand-logo>, accessed January 20, 2021.
- <sup>68</sup> For more on this campaign see Hoeft (2020), "Suriname: Nation Building"; unfortunately, the URL for the video has been removed.
- <sup>69</sup> Aronczyk (2013), *Branding the Nation*, 132.
- <sup>70</sup> Jansen (2008), "Redesigning a Nation," 121.

## Chapter 2. Tourism Development and Nation-Building: The Case of Aruba

- <sup>1</sup> UNWTO (2008), *International Recommendations for Tourism Statistics*.
- <sup>2</sup> Page (2019), *Tourism Management*.
- <sup>3</sup> Pattullo (1996), *Last Resorts: The Cost of Tourism in the Caribbean*.
- <sup>4</sup> Ridderstaat (2021a), "Beyond income," 23.
- <sup>5</sup> Song, Witt, & Li (2009), *The Advanced Econometrics of Tourism Demand*; Ridderstaat (2021b), "Households' Net Financial Wealth."
- <sup>6</sup> Lindsay (2019), *Magazines, Tourism, and Nation-building in Mexico*.
- <sup>7</sup> Ford & Sturman (2020), *Managing Hospitality Organizations*.
- <sup>8</sup> Fleming (2022), "How Does Heritage Help Nation Building?"
- <sup>9</sup> Bourgon (2010), "The History And Future Of Nation-Building?"

- <sup>10</sup> Lindsay (2019), *Magazines, Tourism, and Nation-building in Mexico*.
- <sup>11</sup> Ford & Sturman (2020), *Managing Hospitality Organizations*.
- <sup>12</sup> Almeyda-Ibáñez & Babu (2017), "The Evolution Of Destination Branding."
- <sup>13</sup> Scott et al. (2011), "Tourism Branding and Nation Building in China."
- <sup>14</sup> Hoeft & Veenendaal (2019), "The Challenges of Nation-Building and Nation-Branding."
- <sup>15</sup> e.g., Page (2019), *Tourism Management*; Timothy & Boyd (2006), "Heritage Tourism in the 21st Century."
- <sup>16</sup> Fleming (2022), "How Does Heritage Help Nation Building?"
- <sup>17</sup> United Nations (2014), *World Economic Situation and Prospects 2014*.
- <sup>18</sup> Nelson (2007), "Traces of the Past."
- <sup>19</sup> Pattullo, Polly (1996), *Last Resorts*, 13
- <sup>20</sup> Cf. Stupart & Shipley (2013), "Jamaica's Tourism"; Rutty & Richardson (2019), "Tourism Research in Cuba"; Wong (2015), "Caribbean Island Tourism"; Monzote (2013), "The Greater Caribbean"; Williams (2012), "Tourism as a Neo-Colonial Phenomenon."
- <sup>21</sup> Ridderstaat & Nijkamp (2016), "Small Island Destination and International Tourism."
- <sup>22</sup> Croes (2011), *The Small Island Paradox*.
- <sup>23</sup> Ascaniis et al. (2021), "Tourism Management at UNESCO World Heritage Sites: Vol. 2."
- <sup>24</sup> Wong (2015), "Caribbean Island Tourism," 8, (see also chapter 5 in this book).
- <sup>25</sup> Zappino (2005), "Caribbean Tourism and Development."
- <sup>26</sup> A referendum on March 25, 1977 indicated that 95.2 percent of all votes cast (70.1 percent turnout) were for independence rather than remaining in the Netherlands Antilles (4.8 percent) (Source: [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1977\\_Aruban\\_independence\\_referendum](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1977_Aruban_independence_referendum)). The referendum question was deficient, and the "independence" was subject to multiple interpretations.
- <sup>27</sup> Cited in Ridderstaat (2007), *The Lago Story*, 175.
- <sup>28</sup> Independence would later be scrapped and Aruba remains nowadays part of the Kingdom of the Netherlands.
- <sup>29</sup> Ridderstaat (2007), *The Lago Story*.
- <sup>30</sup> Bongers (2009), *Creating One Happy Island*.
- <sup>31</sup> Ridderstaat (2007), *The Lago Story*.
- <sup>32</sup> International Monetary Fund (1995), *Kingdom of the Netherlands-Aruba*.
- <sup>33</sup> Ridderstaat (2007), *The Lago Story*.
- <sup>34</sup> The distinction between nominal and real growth rates is that price developments are included in the nominal gross domestic product (GDP), while in the real GDP, the effects of ongoing price developments are eliminated to describe the production effect better.
- <sup>35</sup> Central Bank of Aruba (2001), *Annual Report 2000*.
- <sup>36</sup> Henny Eman would lose the prime minister function between 1989–1994, but would continue his vision between 1994–2001.
- <sup>37</sup> Aruba Tourism Authority (2018), "Towards a Happy Future for Tourism."
- <sup>38</sup> It is important to note that the survey data are before the COVID-19 pandemic, and some (short-term) changes may have occurred.
- <sup>39</sup> The AZV would prove to be financially unfeasible over time, with adverse consequences for government finances, and subsequent erosion of the package of goods and services provided to Aruban residents.
- <sup>40</sup> Central Bureau of Statistics Aruba (2016), *Happiness and Important Life Domains*.
- <sup>41</sup> Ridderstaat & Nijkamp (2016), "Small Island Destination and International Tourism"; Ridderstaat et al. (2016), "The tourism Development-Quality of Life Nexus."
- <sup>42</sup> Croes et al. (2017), *Happiness and Tourism*.

- <sup>43</sup> Bongers (2009), *Creating One Happy Island*.
- <sup>44</sup> Parke Nacional Arikok (2018), *Annual Report 2018*.
- <sup>45</sup> Bongers (2009), *Creating One Happy Island*.
- <sup>46</sup> Dobson (2021), "The Future of Aruba."
- <sup>47</sup> The construction boom also spilled over to other economic sectors. For example, (Chinese) super- and mini-markets have grown rapidly over the years. Many residents appear to have developed a love-hate relationship with these businesses. They complain about there being too many of them, but at the same like the convenience of having such a store within reach.
- <sup>48</sup> Overheid.aw (2019), "Ruimtelijk Ontwikkelingsplan."
- <sup>49</sup> I Love Aruba 2 Team (2010), "Peaceful Sunset Watch Held in Aruba."
- <sup>50</sup> Visit Aruba (2007), "Stimaruba Very Concerned on Reports About Plans to Build a Hotel near Arashi."
- <sup>51</sup> Peterson (2018), "Nature conservation court case number 9."
- <sup>52</sup> Committee Economic Recovery and Innovation Aruba (2020), *Repositioning our Sails*.
- <sup>53</sup> Central Bank of Aruba (2001), *Annual Report 2000*. International Monetary Fund (2013), *Kingdom of the Netherlands-Aruba*.
- <sup>54</sup> Ridderstaat (2005), *Aruba: Causes and Effects of Excessive Immigration*.
- <sup>55</sup> The first one was related to the demand for labour from the Lago refinery, and to a lesser extent the Eagle refinery; see Mijts (2021), *The Situated Construction of Language Ideologies in Aruba*.
- <sup>56</sup> Sociaal Economische Raad (2019), "Migration in Aruba."
- <sup>57</sup> International Monetary Fund (2013), *Kingdom of the Netherlands-Aruba*.
- <sup>58</sup> Allen et al. (2017), "Traveling Caribbean Heritage."
- <sup>59</sup> . International Monetary Fund (2013), *Kingdom of the Netherlands-Aruba*.
- <sup>60</sup> Increasing immigration led in the early 1990s to shortages in adequate housing, which was reflected in a surge in rent and other prices on the island; see Ridderstaat (2005), *Aruba: Causes and Effects*.
- <sup>61</sup> No beds for so many people.
- <sup>62</sup> Henriquez (2020), "Nieuwe Regels op Aruba."
- <sup>63</sup> Chávez & Godoy (2020), "Boats over Troubled Waters."
- <sup>64</sup> International Monetary Fund (2013), *Kingdom of the Netherlands-Aruba*.
- <sup>65</sup> Hassink et al. (2015), "De Economische Consequenties van de Verdwijning van Natalee Holloway."
- <sup>66</sup> Mohl (2006), "Aruba Increases Effort to Boost Tourism."
- <sup>67</sup> Matthews (2018), "Separating Fact from Fiction."
- <sup>68</sup> On the other side, many people still approved the government's handling of the crisis. Similar to 1985, there was an election during the ongoing crisis. This time, the MEP, led by Aruba's prime minister together with a niece of Betico Croes, managed to maintain the number of seats, and the party lost only slightly more than 1,300 votes, allowing it to continue governing the island. It would be unfair, though, to continue to compare both election results, as they are contextual to different times, crises, leaders, and voters.
- <sup>69</sup> Back then, our knowledge about branding was not as sophisticated as it is now. An advertisement for the Aruba Caribbean Hotel of that time, found in Bongers (2009), also described Aruba as "LITTLE DUTCH ISLE ... CARIBBEAN STYLE" and "ON THE ISLAND OF ARUBA-NETHERLANDS WEST INDIES."
- <sup>70</sup> A study by Croes et al. (2017) revealed that seventy-nine percent of the respondents in Aruba were happy in 2016, providing evidence that the brand's value is still largely valid.
- <sup>71</sup> Aruba Tourism Authority (2018). "Towards a Happy Future for Tourism"
- <sup>72</sup> (www.aruba.com/us).
- <sup>73</sup> Allen et al. (2022), "Traveling Caribbean Heritage."

- <sup>74</sup> Croes & Semrad (2013), “The Relevance of Cultural Tourism as the Next Frontier.”
- <sup>75</sup> Aruba Tourism Authority (2018), “Towards a Happy Future for Tourism.”
- <sup>76</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>77</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>78</sup> Committee Economic Recovery and Innovation Aruba (2020), *Repositioning our Sails*.

### Chapter 3. Slavery and Debates about National Identity and Nation-Branding

- <sup>1</sup> In this chapter, we will limit our discussion to the slavery past and contemporary memory-making in Aruba, Bonaire, Curaçao, and the Netherlands, leaving aside the other former Dutch Caribbean colonies of Guyana and Suriname and the three Northern Dutch Caribbean islands of St. Maarten, St. Eustatius, and Saba.
- <sup>2</sup> Broek, Joubert & Berry-Haseth (2006), *De kleur van mijn Eiland*, 171.
- <sup>3</sup> Rutgers (1996), *Beneden en Boven de Wind*, 276.
- <sup>4</sup> This also entails a rethinking in other spheres, e.g., in December 2010, the Curaçaoan government decided to replace the name of a public secondary school from Peter Stuyvesant College to Colegio Alejandro Paula, after a local intellectual. Peter Stuyvesant (1610–1672) was seen as a symbol of Curaçao’s colonial heritage; his statue near the entrance of the school was removed from the school’s premises.
- <sup>5</sup> Smeulders (2013), “New Perspectives in Heritage Presentations,” 156.
- <sup>6</sup> For a critical assesment of the Kura Hulanda Museum, see Haviser (2005), “Slaveryland”; for a comparison between Curaçao and other countries and their presentation of slavery history, see Smeulders (2012), “Slavernij in Perspectief”; and for an overview of museums in Curaçao, see Benett & De Wildt (2021), “Museale Meerstemmigheid.”
- <sup>7</sup> Including Allen (2007), “Di ki Manera?”; Cain (2009), *De Slavenopstand van 1795*; Jordaan (2013), *Slavernij en Vrijheid*; Klooster & Oostindie (2011), *Curaçao in the Age of Revolutions*; Rupert (2014), *Creolization and Contraband*; Do Rego (2009), *Slavery and Resistance in Curaçao*.
- <sup>8</sup> Rosalia (1997), *Tambú*.
- <sup>9</sup> Allen (2021), “Constructing Collective Memory.”
- <sup>10</sup> For the canon of Curaçao see <https://canoncuracao.cw/>.
- <sup>11</sup> E.g., <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LSOc1PaSqbQ>.
- <sup>12</sup> Walcott (1990), *Omeros*, 111.
- <sup>13</sup> Benett & De Wildt (2021), “Museale Meerstemmigheid”; Smeulders (2012), “New Audiences at Sites Of Colonial Slavery.”
- <sup>14</sup> Tenekyah (2018), “Monuments of Rebellion Against Caribbean Enslavement,” 21, 13.
- <sup>15</sup> Cain (2021), “Musea, Monumenten en het Arubaans Identiteitsbesef.”
- <sup>16</sup> Alofs (2009), *Publicacion Exposicion, Herencia di Slavitud Aruba*.
- <sup>17</sup> De Geus et al. (2021), “Bonaireaans Erfgoed.”
- <sup>18</sup> Allen (1984), *Verslag Cultureel-Antropologisch Onderzoek op Bonaire*.
- <sup>19</sup> Antoin (1997), *Lantamentu di Katibu na Boneiru*; De Geus et al. (2021), “Bonairiaans Erfgoed.”
- <sup>20</sup> <https://caribischnetwork.ntr.nl/2013/06/28/meer-interesse-in-slavernijverleden-op-bonaire/>, accessed May 8, 2021.
- <sup>21</sup> Oostindie (2011), *Postcolonial Netherlands*.
- <sup>22</sup> Martinus (2011), “Un Beau Geste.” (English translation, French title maintained).
- <sup>23</sup> Smeulders (2021), “Postkoloniale Onderhandelingen”; Van Stipriaan (2014), *Slavernij Daar Willen we Meer Van Weten*; Regiegroep Nationaal Trans-Atlantisch Slavernijmuseum (2021), *Met de Kracht van de Voorouders*.

- <sup>24</sup> Hondius et al. (2019), *Slavery Heritage Guide*; Brandon et al. (2020), *De Slavernij in Oost en West*; Oostindie (ed.) (2021), *Colonialism and Slavery*; Van Stipriaan (2020), *Rotterdam in Slavernij*.
- <sup>25</sup> Wekker (2016), *White Innocence*.
- <sup>26</sup> In 2016, a teaching package on slavery and human rights in Sint Maarten was compiled to be used in primary schools in all countries of the Kingdom. The focus is not on the suffering during the transatlantic slave trade and slavery, but on the deeds and traditions of the enslaved. This teaching package has been developed by the University of Utrecht, the University of Amsterdam, and the University of Sint Maarten, in collaboration with PABO students from the Iselinge Hogeschool in Doetinchem, see <https://caribischnetwork.ntr.nl/2016/05/18/les-over-slavernij-vanuit-caribisch-oogpunt/>.
- <sup>27</sup> Sint Nicolaas & Smeulders (2021), *Slavery*.
- <sup>28</sup> For the survey see <https://www.ioeresearch.nl/actueel/nederlanders-voelen-weinig-voor-excuses-slavernijverleden/>.
- <sup>29</sup> Bloembergen & Eickhoff (2014), “Een Klein Land dat de Wereld Bestormt”; Smeulders (2021), “Postkoloniale Onderhandelingen.”
- <sup>30</sup> Raad voor Cultuur (2020), *Koloniale Collecties en Erkenning van Onrecht*.
- <sup>31</sup> Quoted from the committee chair, former prominent politician Sybrand Van Haersma Buma.
- <sup>32</sup> <https://www.raadvoorcultuur.nl/actueel/nieuws/2021/02/08/tussenadvies-commissie-collectie-nederland>, accessed May 6, 2021.
- <sup>33</sup> For statistics and figures revealing this difference, consult the museum association’s online report [https://www.museumvereniging.nl/media/2017\\_museumcijfers-nieuw.pdf](https://www.museumvereniging.nl/media/2017_museumcijfers-nieuw.pdf).
- <sup>34</sup> Smeulders (2021), “Postkoloniale Onderhandelingen.”
- <sup>35</sup> Cf. Van Stipriaan, “Representations and Reparations” in this volume.
- <sup>36</sup> Benett & De Wildt (2021), “Museale Meerstemmigheid op Curaçao.”
- <sup>37</sup> See also Guadeloupe and Oostindie, “Caribbean Diasporas, Metropolitan Policies, and Cultural Heritage” in this volume.

## Chapter 4. Representations and Reparations of Slavery in the Caribbean

- <sup>1</sup> E.g. the islands, the three Guyanas and Belize. Calculation based on an internet search (Wikipedia and Tripadvisor), [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Category:Lists\\_of\\_museums\\_in\\_the\\_Caribbean](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Category:Lists_of_museums_in_the_Caribbean); Ariese (2018), “The Social Museum in the Caribbean,” 59.
- <sup>2</sup> <https://www.museumpeil.eu/hoeveel-musea-er-eigenlijk-nederland/>, accessed March 15, 2021.
- <sup>3</sup> Cummins (1992), “Exhibiting Culture Museums,” 212.
- <sup>4</sup> Ibid.; Cummins (1996), “Caribbeanization of the West Indies.”
- <sup>5</sup> [https://www.tripadvisor.nl/La\\_Isabelica\\_Museum-Santiago\\_de\\_Cuba\\_Province\\_Cuba.html](https://www.tripadvisor.nl/La_Isabelica_Museum-Santiago_de_Cuba_Province_Cuba.html), March 17, 2021.
- <sup>6</sup> <http://antislavery.ac.uk/>“Legacies+on+Display:+Slavery+in+Museums”; [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Category:Lists\\_of\\_museums\\_in\\_the\\_Caribbean](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Category:Lists_of_museums_in_the_Caribbean), accessed March 17, 2021; list of 198 social museums in the Caribbean, composed by Ariese (2018), 59; individual searches per country via Wikipedia and Tripadvisor.
- <sup>7</sup> <http://www.antislavery.ac.uk/solr-search?facet=collection%3A%22Legacies%20on%20Display:%20Slavery%20in%20Museums%22>, accessed March 17, 2021.
- <sup>8</sup> I should add here that most of the information was gathered via the internet; just a minority of Caribbean museums were visited by the author.
- <sup>9</sup> <http://www.antislavery.ac.uk/items/show/2047>, accessed March 17, 2021.
- <sup>10</sup> <https://stchristophernationaltrust.kn/national-museum/>, accessed March 17, 2021.

- <sup>11</sup> It is owned and managed by the Suriname Museum Foundation, but the fort is state property and some of the staff are on the government payroll.
- <sup>12</sup> <https://www.facebook.com/surinaamsmuseum/about/>, accessed March 21, 2021.
- <sup>13</sup> Winkels (1983), *De Toover-Lantaarn van Mr. Furet*.
- <sup>14</sup> Reeser (2012), *Verzamelaars en Volksopvoeders*, 241.
- <sup>15</sup> <https://www.afar.com/places/pompey-museum-of-slavery-and-emancipation-nassau>, accessed March 17, 2021.
- <sup>16</sup> The Fort Charles Museum in Port Royal forms part of the National History Museum of Jamaica.
- <sup>17</sup> <http://jamaica-gleaner.com/article/commentary/20160804/devon-dick-jamaica-needs-slave-museum>, accessed March 17, 2021.
- <sup>18</sup> <https://www.france24.com/en/20200718-racism-in-cuba-banned-by-law-alive-on-the-streets>, accessed March 17, 2021.
- <sup>19</sup> <https://www.visitarcuba.org/museo-nacional-ruta-del-esclavo-matanzas>, accessed March 17, 2021.
- <sup>20</sup> <http://www.antislavery.ac.uk/items/show/1781>, accessed March 17, 2021.
- <sup>21</sup> Hernández de Lara & Rodríguez (2017), *Castillo de Museo de la Ruta del Esclavo San Severino*.
- <sup>22</sup> <http://www.antislavery.ac.uk/items/show/1624>, accessed March 17, 2021.
- <sup>23</sup> He was president of the Regional Council of the French overseas department of Guadeloupe from 2004 until 2015, and a member of the Socialist Party, like President François Hollande.
- <sup>24</sup> Based on an interview with Jean-François Manicom, artistic curator of MACTe, who, disappointingly, left the museum right before its opening. In Van Leeuwen (2019), “Het slavernijmuseum komt er.”
- <sup>25</sup> <http://us.media.france.fr/en/node/5552>, accessed March 20, 2021.
- <sup>26</sup> Frith & Hodgson (2015), “Slavery and its Legacies,” 10.
- <sup>27</sup> Smeulders (2012), “Slavernij in Perspectief,” 57.
- <sup>28</sup> Cf. <https://terrarmuseum.com/>, accessed June 28, 2021.
- <sup>29</sup> <http://www.voyagerbonairetours.com/voyager-bonaire-tours.html>, accessed June 28, 2021.
- <sup>30</sup> Cf. Van Stipriaan et al. (2007), *Op Zoek naar de Stilte*, 117–124. See also Orphelin (2021), “Het Slavenverleden.”
- <sup>31</sup> The main exception to this was the temporary exhibition *Legacy of slavery/Herensha di Sklabitad* in the old plantation warehouses of Sta. Martha in 2006, which attracted in five months almost ten percent of Curaçao’s population.
- <sup>32</sup> Adviescollege Dialooggroep Slavernijverleden (2021), *Keten van het Verleden*.
- <sup>33</sup> Benett & De Wildt (2021), “Museale Meerstemmigheid op Curaçao.”
- <sup>34</sup> That budget is only allotted to the Curaçao Museum, NAAM, and the Monument Board.
- <sup>35</sup> <https://caricomreparations.org/>, accessed April 15, 2021.
- <sup>36</sup> <https://thevoiceslu.com/2021/02/dr-june-soomer-says-caricom-reparations-quest-has-wider-caribbean-support/>, accessed April 15, 2021.
- <sup>37</sup> <https://triunfodisablika.wordpress.com/category/reparations-2>, accessed April 15, 2021.
- <sup>38</sup> “A repatriation program must be established and all available channels of international law and diplomacy used to resettle those persons who wish to return. A resettlement program should address such matters as citizenship and deploy available best practices in respect of community reintegration.”
- <sup>39</sup> Cf. McKeown (2015), “Reparations for Caribbean Slavery.”
- <sup>40</sup> <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-caribbean-slavery-idUSBREA252520140306>, accessed April 15, 2021.
- <sup>41</sup> <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-caribbean-slavery-idUSBREA252520140306>, accessed April 15, 2021. Author’s emphasis.

- <sup>42</sup> <http://www.antislavery.ac.uk/items/show/1624>, accessed April 15, 2021. Author's emphasis.
- <sup>43</sup> <http://memorial-acte.fr/the-founding-acte-memory-holds-the-future>, accessed April 15, 2021.
- <sup>44</sup> <http://memorial-acte.fr/the-founding-acte-memory-holds-the-future>, accessed April 15, 2021.
- <sup>45</sup> <http://us.media.france.fr/en/node/5552> accessed April 15, 2021.
- <sup>46</sup> Personal email information by the Department of Foreign Affairs (DBB) and the Department of Culture (DCA), d.d. June 11, 2021.
- <sup>47</sup> Nevertheless, when dialogues on the effects of the slave past were organised in Bonaire in 2021, participants were very outspoken about the still very unequal relations between their society and the Dutch as well as Dutch arrogance and alleged superiority with which Bonaireans are still treated, all of which should be repaired. Cf. Adviescollege Dialooggroep Slavernijverleden (2021), *Keten van het Verleden*, 5B.
- <sup>48</sup> [https://nl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Statenverkiezingen\\_Cura%C3%A7ao\\_2021](https://nl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Statenverkiezingen_Cura%C3%A7ao_2021), accessed June 3, 2021.
- <sup>49</sup> Among whom are chairman and sociologist Frank Quirindongo (also Kirindongo), historian Jeanne Henriques, writer and theatre director Gilbert Bacilio, and consultant Henry Vijber. Personal information on the *Plataforma* and the general state of the debate in Curaçao by Jeanne Henriques. See also the extensive interview with Frank Kirindongo, [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6T7aKO-IBds&ab\\_channel=Kafesito%27sTV](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6T7aKO-IBds&ab_channel=Kafesito%27sTV), accessed July 3, 2021.
- <sup>50</sup> CPAN is a mechanism to facilitate collaboration among Caribbean and international Pan-African formations, the African Union, and the African continent. It was established in Barbados, 2004.
- <sup>51</sup> Cf. Van Stipriaan (2001b), "The Long Road to a Monument."
- <sup>52</sup> Arion (2005), "Naar Nieuwe Overzeese Betrekkingen," 55.
- <sup>53</sup> Adviescollege Dialooggroep Slavernijverleden (2021), *Keten van het Verleden*, 5B.
- <sup>54</sup> Except for Haiti, of course. However, Haiti is too poor and too crisis-stricken to have a strong voice here, although it was one of the initiators of UNESCO's International Slave Route Project.

## Chapter 5. Aruban Archaeological Heritage: Nation-Building and Nation-Branding in a Caribbean Context

- <sup>1</sup> Fortenberry (2021), "Heritage Justice, Conservation, and Tourism in the Greater Caribbean."
- <sup>2</sup> Oostindie and Van Stipriaan eds. (2021), *Antilliaans Erfgoed*.
- <sup>3</sup> Siegel et al. (2013), "Confronting Caribbean Heritage in an Archipelago of Diversity."
- <sup>4</sup> Dijkhoff & Linville (2015), "Achieving Sustainable Heritage Management in Aruba."
- <sup>5</sup> Dijkhoff (2004), "The history of Archaeological Research in Aruba."
- <sup>6</sup> Dijkhoff and Linville (2015), "Achieving Sustainable Heritage Management in Aruba."
- <sup>7</sup> Hofman and Havisier (2015), *Managing our Past Into the Future*.
- <sup>8</sup> Dijkhoff and Linville (2015), "Achieving Sustainable Heritage Management in Aruba."
- <sup>9</sup> Hofman et al. (forthcoming), "Connecting Stakeholders."
- <sup>10</sup> Interestingly, Europeans first invaded the island around AD 1500, and not 1499.
- <sup>11</sup> Richardson (2020), "Sweet Breakaway."
- <sup>12</sup> Versteeg & Kelly (2019). *The Archaeology of Aruba. Volume 3*.
- <sup>13</sup> Razak (1997), *Carnival in Aruba*; Pereira (2018), *Valorization of Papiamentu*.
- <sup>14</sup> Franken (n.d.), "Using Music to Shift the Narrative in our Community"; Dijkhoff (1997), *Tanki Flip/Henriquez*.
- <sup>15</sup> Erasmus et al. (1998), *Een Tijdvonkje*.
- <sup>16</sup> Alofs (2003), "The Peasant and the Rebel."
- <sup>17</sup> Central Bank of Aruba (n.d.). "Banknotes and Coins."
- <sup>18</sup> Galloy (2000), "Symbols of Identity and Nationalism in Mexican and Central-American Currency."
- <sup>19</sup> Hymans (2010), "East is East, and West is West?"

- <sup>20</sup> Alofs (2003), "The Peasant and the Rebel"; Sankatsing (2004). *Craft Development in Aruba*; Toro-Labrador et al. (2003), "Mitochondrial DNA Analysis in Aruba."
- <sup>21</sup> Personal communication, R. Gutiérrez.
- <sup>22</sup> Allen (2001). "Song Texts as Literature of Daily Life in the Netherlands Antilles".
- <sup>23</sup> Jeon & Rincon Boysz (2020). "Ta Mi Hendenan."
- <sup>24</sup> Curet (2011), "Colonialism and the History of Archaeology in the Spanish Caribbean."; Haber & Gnecco (2007), "Virtual Forum: Archaeology and Ecolonization"; Pagán-Jiménez (2004), "Is all Archaeology at Present a Postcolonial One?"; Pagán Jiménez & Rodríguez-Ramos (2008). "Sobre Arqueologías de Liberación en una 'Colonia Postcolonial'"; Ulloa Hung (2009), "Patrimonio Arqueológico e Identidades en la Republica Dominicana"; Valcárcel Rojas (2014), "Arqueología en un Ambiente de Ciencia en la Periferia."
- <sup>25</sup> Curet (2011), "Colonialism and the History of Archaeology in the Spanish Caribbean."; Pagán Jiménez & Rodríguez-Ramos (2008), "Sobre Arqueologías de Liberación en una 'Colonia Postcolonial.'"
- <sup>26</sup> Pagán Jiménez & Rodríguez-Ramos (2008), "Sobre Arqueologías de Liberación en una 'Colonia Postcolonial'".
- <sup>27</sup> Curet and Hauser (2011), "Migrations, Seafaring, and Cultural Contact in the Caribbean"; Pestle et al. (2013), "New Questions and Old Paradigms Re-Examining Caribbean Culture History."
- <sup>28</sup> Ulloa Hung (2018), "Legado Indígena".
- <sup>29</sup> García Arévalo (1988), *Indigenismo, Arqueología e Identidad Nacional*; Jacobson (forthcoming), "Jeu d'Argile."; Ulloa Hung (2018), "Legado Indígena."
- <sup>30</sup> Hofman & Ulloa Hung (2019), "NEXUS 1492"; Valcárcel Rojas & Ulloa Hung eds (2018), *De la Desaparición a la Permanencia*; Pesoutova (2019), *Indigenous Ancestors and Healing Landscapes*.
- <sup>31</sup> Pagán-Jiménez (2007), "De Antiguos Pueblos y Culturas Botánicas en el Puerto Rico Indígena"; Valcárcel Rojas et al. (2018), "Arqueología en Managuaco."
- <sup>32</sup> Pesoutova (2019), *Indigenous Ancestors and Healing Landscapes*; Pesoutova & Hofman (2016), "La Contribución Indígena a la Biografía del Paisaje Cultural de la República Dominicana."
- <sup>33</sup> Barreiro & Hartmann, "De la Desaparición a la Permanencia"; García Molina et al. (2007), *Huellas Vivas del Indocubano*.
- <sup>34</sup> Deive (1979), *Las Devastaciones*.
- <sup>35</sup> García Molina et al. (2007), *Huellas Vivas del Indocubano*.
- <sup>36</sup> Pesoutova (2019), *Indigenous Ancestors and Healing Landscapes*.
- <sup>37</sup> Boomert (2000), *Trinidad, Tobago, and the Lower Orinoco Interaction Sphere*; Hofman & Hoogland (2011), "Unravelling the Multi-Scale Networks of Mobility and Exchange"; Pagán-Jiménez et al. (2015), "Early Dispersals of Maize and Other Food Plants."
- <sup>38</sup> Boomert (2016), *The Indigenous Peoples of Trinidad and Tobago from the First Settlers until Today*.
- <sup>39</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>40</sup> Forte (2005), *Ruins of Absence, Presence of Caribs*.
- <sup>41</sup> Central Statistical Office (2012). *Trinidad and Tobago 2011 Population and Housing Census Demographic Report*.
- <sup>42</sup> Brereton (2007), "Contesting the Past."
- <sup>43</sup> Forte (2013), "Carib Identity, Racial Politics, and the Problem of Indigenous Recognition."
- <sup>44</sup> Pemberton et al. (2018), *Historical Dictionary of Trinidad and Tobago*.
- <sup>45</sup> Rouse & Allaire (1978), "Caribbean Chronology."
- <sup>46</sup> Reid (2018), *An Archaeological Study of the Red House*.
- <sup>47</sup> Delpuech (2013), "Sur la Constitution des Naturels du Pays."
- <sup>48</sup> Jean et al. (2020), "Haitian Archaeological Heritage."
- <sup>49</sup> Charlier-Doucet (2005), "Anthropologie, Politique et Engagement Social."

- <sup>50</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>51</sup> Jean et al. (2020), "Haitian Archaeological Heritage."
- <sup>52</sup> ISPAN (2010), *Le Parc National Historique Citadelle, Sans-Souci, Ramiers*.
- <sup>53</sup> ICOMOS (1982), "National History Park-Citadel Sans-Souci, Ramiers."
- <sup>54</sup> Jean & Hofman (2018), "Dynamiques Interculturelles des Traces Mémoires Amérindiennes d'Haiti."
- <sup>55</sup> Wernet-Paskel (1992), *Ons Eilandje Aruba*.
- <sup>56</sup> Jean et al. (2020), "Haitian Archaeological Heritage."
- <sup>57</sup> Ulloa Hung (2018), "Legado Indígena."
- <sup>58</sup> Curet (2015), "Indigenous Revival, Indigeneity, and the Jíbaro in Borikén."
- <sup>59</sup> Phulgence (2016), "Monument Building, Memory Making and Remembering Slavery."
- <sup>60</sup> Veloz Maggiolo (2003), *La Isla de Santo Domingo antes de Colón*; Pagán Jiménez and Rodríguez-Ramos (2008), "Sobre Arqueologías de Liberación en una 'Colonia Postcolonial'"; Rangel Rivero, ed. (2018), *Cuba: Arqueología y Legado Histórico*.
- <sup>61</sup> Hofman & Ulloa Hung (2019), "Nexus 1492"; Pagán Jiménez & Rodríguez-Ramos (2018), "Sobre Arqueologías de Liberación en una 'Colonia Postcolonial'"; Veloz Maggiolo (2003), *La Isla de Santo Domingo antes de Colón*; Ulloa Hung (2005), *Una Mirada al Caribe Precolombino*; Hernández Godoy (2003), "Arqueología e Historiografía Aborigen de Cuba en el Siglo XIX."; Domínguez et al. (1994), "Las Comunidades Aborígenes de Cuba."
- <sup>62</sup> Ulloa Hung (2018), "Legado Indígena."
- <sup>63</sup> Alvarez (2021), "From Closed Museum Spaces to Inclusive Cultural Meeting Points"; Ariese (2018), "The Social Museum in the Caribbean"; Con Aguilar (2019), "Heritage Education"; Jean & Herrera Malatesta (forthcoming), "Local Voices, Global Debates."
- <sup>64</sup> Hofman et al. (forthcoming), "Connecting Stakeholders"; Hofman & Hoogland (2016), "Connecting Stakeholders"; Sankatsing Nava & Hofman (2018), "Engaging Caribbean Island Communities with Indigenous Heritage and Archaeology Research."
- <sup>65</sup> Pagán Jiménez & Rodríguez-Ramos, "Sobre Arqueologías de Liberación en una 'Colonia Postcolonial'"; Hofman and Hoogland (2016) "Connecting Stakeholders"; Hofman and Havisser (2015), *Managing our Past into the Future*; Hofman et al. (forthcoming), "Connecting Stakeholders."

## Chapter 6. Four Islands: Contemporary Art in Suriname, Aruba, Bonaire, and Curaçao

- <sup>1</sup> Grantsaan & Jungerman (2009), *Wakaman*. Participating artists: Gillion Grantsaan, Remy Jungerman, Patricia Kaersenhout, Iris Kensmil, Charl Landvreugd, Kurt Nahar, Marcel Pinas, Ori Plet, and René Tosari.
- <sup>2</sup> An expression used by several artists and collectors in Suriname.
- <sup>3</sup> Cf. <http://www.nolahatterman.com/onderwijs/> and <https://www.facebook.com/pages/Nola-Hatterman-Art-Academy/350437178322342>, accessed July 30, 2021.
- <sup>4</sup> Stated in a film documentary celebrating the academy's fortieth anniversary (2021), [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TIIn2-L7yW-Y&t=296s&ab\\_channel=AHKCOInstitute](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TIIn2-L7yW-Y&t=296s&ab_channel=AHKCOInstitute), accessed July 30, 2021.
- <sup>5</sup> Cf. Meijer zu Schlochteren & Cozier (2010), *Paramaribo Span*.
- <sup>6</sup> Among which the Mondriaan Fund is the most prominent.
- <sup>7</sup> After almost two centuries of imports of enslaved Africans followed more than half a century of imports of indentured labourers from Asia.
- <sup>8</sup> Cf. Vlasblom (2006), "*Kibri a kulturu*"; Perrée (2011), *Marcel Pinas*.
- <sup>9</sup> Cf. Mijns & Mulder (2015), *George Struikelblok*.

- <sup>10</sup> Visser & Reeder (2007), *Talent*, 20.
- <sup>11</sup> Van Stipriaan (2001b), "Roads to the Roots or Stuck in the Mud?," 287.
- <sup>12</sup> <https://srananart.wordpress.com/about/>, accessed July 10, 2021.
- <sup>13</sup> <https://siaf.sr/siaf/>, accessed July 10, 2021.
- <sup>14</sup> Van Binnendijk (2005), *Zichtbaar*.
- <sup>15</sup> Cf. Visser & Reeder (2007), *Talent*.
- <sup>16</sup> Visser & Reeder (2007), *Talent*, 21–22.
- <sup>17</sup> <https://Curaçao-art.com/artists/tony-monsanto/>, accessed June 8, 2021.
- <sup>18</sup> Van Buiren & Ernst (2019), *Kerncijfers Caribisch Deel Koninkrijk*.
- <sup>19</sup> <https://chata.org/Curaçao-tourist-board-launches-new-global-branding-campaign-feel-it-for-yourself/>, accessed July 12, 2021.
- <sup>20</sup> Cf. Hengeveld (2018), *Het Curaçaosch Museum 70 jaar*.
- <sup>21</sup> Cited on Sharelly Emanuelson's website, <https://www.sharellyemanuelson.com/continuing-with-uniarte-at-new-location-in-otrobanda/>, accessed August 1, 2021.
- <sup>22</sup> Basic information and news on the Curaçao art world can be found at <https://Curaçao-art.com/artists/>.
- <sup>23</sup> See his published columns from the *Antilliaans Dagblad* (Antillean Daily): Gulmans (2019), *Beeldende kunst van Curaçao*.
- <sup>24</sup> <https://institutobuenabista.com/>, accessed August 1, 2021.
- <sup>25</sup> [http://www.caribbeanelections.com/eDocs/budget/cw\\_budget/cw\\_begroting\\_2019.pdf](http://www.caribbeanelections.com/eDocs/budget/cw_budget/cw_begroting_2019.pdf), accessed August 3, 2021.
- <sup>26</sup> <https://www.mcb-bank.com/about-us/mcb-and-our-community/art-and-culture>, accessed August 2, 2021.
- <sup>27</sup> Cf. <https://m.facebook.com/cbcscur/posts/88927569847247>, accessed August 3, 2021.
- <sup>28</sup> <https://www.marliesschoenmakers.com/art-consultancy>, accessed August 3, 2021. Cf. Gulmans (2019), *Beeldende kunst van Curaçao*, 15–17.
- <sup>29</sup> <https://terramarmuseum.com/exhibitions/temporary-exhibitions/>, accessed August 3, 2021. See also Van Stipriaans chapter in this volume: "Representations and Reparations."
- <sup>30</sup> Almost 1.1 million stay-over tourists and 0.8 million cruise ship tourists before the Covid-19 pandemic, Van Buiren & Ernst (2019), *Kerncijfers Caribisch deel Koninkrijk*. For statistics and figures see: [https://www.tweedekamer.nl/sites/default/files/atoms/files/kerncijfers\\_koninkrijk\\_definitief\\_19022019.pdf](https://www.tweedekamer.nl/sites/default/files/atoms/files/kerncijfers_koninkrijk_definitief_19022019.pdf), accessed August 1, 2021.
- <sup>31</sup> <https://www.aruba.com/nl/activiteiten/kunst-en-cultuur/galerieen>, accessed August 3, 2021.
- <sup>32</sup> <https://africanah.org/osaira-muyale/>, accessed August 4, 2021.
- <sup>33</sup> <https://ateliers89.org/about/>, accessed August 3, 2021.
- <sup>34</sup> Martis & Smit (2002), *Arte: Dutch Caribbean Art*, 134.
- <sup>35</sup> <file:///C:/Users/gebruiker/Downloads/Memorie%20van%20Toelichting%20begroting%202020.pdf>, accessed August 3, 2021.
- <sup>36</sup> <https://arubaartfair.com/>, accessed August 3, 2021.
- <sup>37</sup> Visser & Reeder (2007), *Talent*, 21–22.
- <sup>38</sup> "The Gerrit Rietveld Academie is an international university of applied sciences for Fine Arts and Design in Amsterdam (NL). It is home to a close-knit community of international students from across the world. Students and teachers jointly create an environment for learning that brings together thinking and doing. This is where unexpected, innovative ideas are born" (<https://rietveldacademie.nl/en/>, accessed August 10, 2021).
- <sup>39</sup> Cf. his biography: Alofs (2021), *Godelijk Zoals Gewoonlijk*.

## Chapter 7. Papiamentu: An Official Caribbean Creole Language from Legal Repression to Full Recognition

- <sup>1</sup> Severing (2021), “Het Papiaments”.
- <sup>2</sup> DeGraff (2009), “Creole Exceptionalism and the (Mis)Education of the Creole Speaker.”
- <sup>3</sup> Paula (1968), *From Objective to Subjective Social Barrier*.
- <sup>4</sup> Cooper (1989), *Language Planning and Social Change*, 111; Phillipson (2007), “Linguistic Imperialism.”
- <sup>5</sup> Martinus (1996), “The Kiss of a Slave,” 19–37.
- <sup>6</sup> Fouse (2002), *The Story of Papiamentu*, 83.
- <sup>7</sup> Papiamentu was not the only oppressed Afro-Caribbean slavery heritage in the colony. For a study of the legal and religious repression of the Tambú, see Rosalia (1997), *Tambú*.
- <sup>8</sup> Van Paddenburgh (2012), *Beschrijving van het Eiland Curaçao en de Onderhoorige Eilanden*.
- <sup>9</sup> Bosch (1985), *Reizen in West-Indië. Eerste Deel*, 212–219
- <sup>10</sup> Teenstra (1977), *De Nederlandsche West-Indische Eilanden in Derzelve Tegenwoordigen Toestand*, 7–8
- <sup>11</sup> Alofs (2011), *Onderhorigheid en separatisme*, 46; Pereira (2018), *Valorization of Papiamentu*; Donk (2019), *Beschaving, Bekering en Bevoogding*.
- <sup>12</sup> Rutgers (1996), *Beneden en Boven de Wind*; Van Putte (1999), *Dede Pikiña ku su Bisiña*.
- <sup>13</sup> Prins-Winkel (1975), *Kabes Duru?*; Prins (1975), *Latent Taaltalent*.
- <sup>14</sup> Van Putte (1999), *Dede Pikiña ku su Bisiña*; Van Putte (1997), “De Nederlandse Koloniale Taalpolitiek op de Benedenwindse Eilanden.”
- <sup>15</sup> Eerste Kamer der Staten-Generaal (2012-2013), “Samenwerkingsprotocol”.
- <sup>16</sup> Pereira (2018), *Valorization of Papiamentu*.
- <sup>17</sup> UNESCO (2016). “If You Don’t Understand?”
- <sup>18</sup> Taalunie (2014). *Nederlands op z’n Best*.
- <sup>19</sup> The Rijksoverheid.nl website has two contradicting texts on the same page about the languages on the BES Islands. “Sign language (NGT) and the Frisian language in the province of Friesland are both recognized by law in the Netherlands. Frisian is the second official language in the province of Friesland. On Bonaire, St. Eustatius and Saba (BES islands), Papiamentu and English are recognised as official languages in addition to Dutch. Through European agreements, the Netherlands has recognised Limburgish, Lower Saxon, Yiddish (Jiddisj) and Sinti-Romanes as regional or non-territorial languages.” Retrieved 18-2-22.
- <sup>20</sup> Faracías et al. (2022), “Moving Beyond ‘Chambuká.’”
- <sup>21</sup> Aruba organized a pilot census in 2019. Therefore, Aruba has recent population data. Bonaire and Curaçao have not released new data since 2011.
- <sup>22</sup> Lauffer (1971), *Di Nos*.
- <sup>23</sup> Rutgers (2016), *Balans: Arubaans Letterkundig Leven*.
- <sup>24</sup> Allen & Richardson (2021), “Antilliaans Carnaval in Viervoud.”
- <sup>25</sup> Racoma (2021), “The Role of Languages in Cultural Heritage.”
- <sup>26</sup> The NGOs working for Papiamentu on the islands and in The Netherlands are: Aruba: *Fundacion Lanta Papiamentu*; Bonaire: *Fundashon Akademia Papiamentu*; Curaçao: *Instituto Alsa Papiamentu*; The Netherlands: *SPLIKA* and *Levende Talen Papiaments*. These NGOs joined together to establish the *Plataforma Union di Papiamentu*, devoted to the recognition of Papiamentu in all the territories of the Dutch Kingdom.
- <sup>27</sup> Directie Onderwijs Aruba (1988), *Pa un Enseñansa Bilingual na Aruba*, 17–22
- <sup>28</sup> The Cadushi di Cristal was awarded to people who have excelled in Papiamentu in the fields of literature, linguistics or research. 1997: Digna Laclé-Herrera; 1999: Ernesto Rosenstand; 2001: Hubert “Lio” Booi; 2003: Ramon Todd Dandaré; 2006: Grupo di Teatro Mascaruba; 2008: Mario Asintho Dijkhoff.

- <sup>29</sup> Bambergen et al. (2016), "The Languages in Aruba's Linguistic Landscape."
- <sup>30</sup> Baldauf Jr. (2004), "Language Planning and Policy," Table 1.
- <sup>31</sup> Cooper, *Language Planning and Social Change*; Baldauf Jr. (2004), "Language Planning and Policy"; Baldauf Jr., "Rearticulating the Case for Micro Language Planning."
- <sup>32</sup> Cooper (1989), *Language Planning and Social Change*.
- <sup>33</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>34</sup> Kaplan & Baldauf Jr. (1997), *Language Planning, from Practice to Theory*; Baldauf Jr. (2004), "Language Planning and Policy"; Ruiz (2019), "Language Planning in Multilingual Contexts"; Ruiz (2010), "Reorienting Language-as-Resource"; Spolsky, ed. (2012), *The Cambridge Handbook of Language Policy*.
- <sup>35</sup> Spolsky (2009), *Language Management*. 2009.
- <sup>36</sup> Already in 1988 the report document about bilingual education (Directie Onderwijs Aruba, 1988-EB) concluded that the promotion of Papiamentu is one of the priorities for the development of LPP.
- <sup>37</sup> Skutnabb-Kangas (2009), "The Stakes"; Mufwene (2008), *Language Evolution*.
- <sup>38</sup> Pereira (2010), "How to Begin Healing a Long Festering Wound."
- <sup>39</sup> Ministers van Onderwijs Aruba, Bonaire en Curaçao (2019), *Samenwerkingsovereenkomst*.

## Chapter 8. Nation-Building and Nation-Branding: Aruban, Bonairean, and Curaçaoan Writers between the Caribbean and the Netherlands

- <sup>1</sup> Nydia Ecury (1984) referred to the *kantikanan* in *Kantika pa Mama Tera/Song for Mother Earth*.
- <sup>2</sup> See UNESCO, "UNESCO – What Is Intangible Cultural Heritage?" <https://ich.unesco.org/en/what-is-intangible-heritage-00003>, accessed October 19, 2020.
- <sup>3</sup> Castiglioni & Mariotti (1966). *Vocabolario della Lingua Latina*, 673.
- <sup>4</sup> Rocci (1993), *Vocabolario Greco-Italiano*, 382.
- <sup>5</sup> Fokkema, & Grijzenhout, eds (2004), *Dutch Culture in a European Perspective: Vol. 5*, 230.
- <sup>6</sup> Lamming (2009), *Sovereignty of the Imagination: Conversations III*, 59.
- <sup>7</sup> Gupta (2009), *Globalization and Literature*, 86.
- <sup>8</sup> Bhabha (1999), "DissemiNation," 215–216.
- <sup>9</sup> Rutgers (2007), *De Brug van Paramaribo naar Willemstad*, 43.
- <sup>10</sup> Alofs, e-mail to author, April 27, 2021.
- <sup>11</sup> Jacobs (2009), "The Upper Guinea Origins of Papiamentu," 319–379.
- <sup>12</sup> Rutgers (2007), *De Brug van Paramaribo naar Willemstad*, 215; Phaf-Rheinberger (2007), "The Crystalline Essence of Dutch Caribbean Literatures," 35–46.
- <sup>13</sup> Alofs (1990), "Van Separación tot Status Aparte," 519.
- <sup>14</sup> Oostindie & Klinkers (2003), *Decolonising the Caribbean*.
- <sup>15</sup> Arbino (2013), "Finding the Dutch Caribbean with 'Mijn Zuster de Negerin'", 71–87; Rutgers (1996), *Beneden en Boven de Wind*, 165–166; Nicolaas (2013), "Caribbean Literature from the ABC-Islands in the European Netherlands," 221.
- <sup>16</sup> For references to *chiaroscuro* and Rembrandt in this novel, see Menno ter Braak (1949), "Zekerheid–Onzekerheid."
- <sup>17</sup> Homesickness was the main theme of Debrot's first poetry collection *Heimwee* (1918), see Rutgers (2007), *De Brug van Paramaribo naar Willemstad*, 21. This feeling also prompted Arion to write his novel *Dubbelspel*, see Jansen van Galen (2006), "Frank Martinus Arion over Curaçao."
- <sup>18</sup> Van Kempen (1999–2000), "Dutch-Language Caribbean Voices in English," 281–282; see also Broek (2001), "Ideological Controversies in Curaçaoan Publishing Strategies (1900–1945)," 375–386.
- <sup>19</sup> Koch (2003), "Identiteit en Lokaliteit in *Mijn Zuster de Negerin* van Cola Debrot," 193.

- <sup>20</sup> Ibid., 197.
- <sup>21</sup> Broek (1995), "Reviewed Works," 406–410; Gyssels (2000), "La Migration des Mots et le Néerlandais," 186; De Roo (1980), *Antilliaans Literair Logboek*; De Roo (2020), "Jean Rhys: Hopen tegen Ervaren in."
- <sup>22</sup> Nicolaas (2016), *Met Open Ogen*, 12–13.
- <sup>23</sup> Alofs (2018), *Koloniale Mythen en Benedenwindse Feiten*, 128–129.
- <sup>24</sup> Van Neck-Yoder (1986), "Words and Deeds in Cola Debrot's 'De Vervolgden'," 48.
- <sup>25</sup> Alofs (2018), *Koloniale Mythen en Benedenwindse Feiten*, 125–126.
- <sup>26</sup> See Kril (2018) *Rhythms and Caresses*, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=b3FYok5Xn5U>, accessed October 18, 2020.
- <sup>27</sup> Severing (2013), "Recurrent Themes in the Work of Frank Martinus Arion," 285–294.
- <sup>28</sup> Coseriu (1981), *Sincronia, Diacronia e Storia*, 47, note 33.
- <sup>29</sup> De Roo (1980), *Antilliaans Literair Logboek*, 73.
- <sup>30</sup> See vpro cinema's interview (2017), <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3MENC-WnFbU>, accessed November 7, 2020.
- <sup>31</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>32</sup> E.g., Rutgers, Van Kempen, De Roo, etc.
- <sup>33</sup> Van Kempen (1998-1999), "Icarus op Curaçao Over *Dubbelspel* van Frank Martinus Arion," 45–48.
- <sup>34</sup> See Van der Sijts (2010), <https://etymologiebank.nl/trefwoord/dubbel>, accessed May 28, 2021.
- <sup>35</sup> Hambuch (1998), "Rereading the Caribbean through *Dubbelspel* by Frank Martinus Arion," 55–58.
- <sup>36</sup> See a reference to Chango in an anonymous public diagram on *Dubbelspel*. Coggle.it. (s.d.), "Dubbelspel", <https://coggle.it/diagram/Xib77CTykP1O7qTg/t/dubbelspel-frank-martinus-arion>, accessed October 24, 2020.
- <sup>37</sup> The governor did the same to Padre Rojas in Debrot's *De Vervolgden* (348).
- <sup>38</sup> Nicolaas, WhatsApp message to author, January 25, 2021.
- <sup>39</sup> De Roo (1980), *Antilliaans Literair Logboek*, 76.
- <sup>40</sup> See Coomans-Eustatia et al. (1991), "Frank Martinus Arion," 56–62.
- <sup>41</sup> *wabi, watapana, kibrahacha*, 287–288.
- <sup>42</sup> Rutgers (2007), *De Brug van Paramaribo naar Willemstad*, 130.
- <sup>43</sup> Coomans-Eustatia et al. (1991), "Frank Martinus Arion," 62.
- <sup>44</sup> Walcott (1990), *Omeros*. Book IV, chapter XXXVI.
- <sup>45</sup> See Does's documentary (2013), *Poetry is an Island*, <https://vimeo.com/74510013>, accessed May 22, 2021.
- <sup>46</sup> Both quotations from Walcott (1979), "The Schooner Flight," 346, 350. For Caribbean writers Patke speaks of a "symbolic voyage" toward Africa and of a "literal voyage ... toward the metropolitan centre", see Patke (2006), *Postcolonial Poetry in English*, 208.
- <sup>47</sup> Nicolaas (2013), "Caribbean Literature from the ABC-Islands in the European Netherlands," 223–226; Nicolaas (2016), *Met Open Ogen*, 85.
- <sup>48</sup> Arion (2003), "Creole Identity through Chinese Wall," 151–165.
- <sup>49</sup> Nicolaas, e-mail to author, December 12, 2020.
- <sup>50</sup> Nicolaas (1990), *Eclips Politico*, 10.
- <sup>51</sup> Rutgers (2016), *Balans: Arubaans Letterkundig Leven*, 243.
- <sup>52</sup> Nicolaas (1995), *Ilusion Optico*, 44.
- <sup>53</sup> On that occasion, the former Dutch Speaker of the House of Representatives Gerdi Verbeet recited some poems from this collection. Nicolaas, e-mail to author, January 25, 2021.
- <sup>54</sup> See Senior (2005), *Gardening in the Tropics*.
- <sup>55</sup> See Instituut voor de Nederlandse taal, <https://gtb.ivdnt.org/iWDB/search?actie=article&wdb=WNvT&id=Moo8025&lemmodern=betreuren&domein=o&conc=true>, accessed November 17, 2021.

- <sup>56</sup> Nicolaas (2011), *Bos pa Planta*, 9.
- <sup>57</sup> Nettleford (2003), "The Caribbean's Creative Diversity."
- <sup>58</sup> Rodríguez (2012), *Crónicas Caribeñas*, 27.
- <sup>59</sup> Lamming (2000), *Sovereignty of the Imagination. Conversations II*, 32.
- <sup>60</sup> Rutgers (1994), "Schrijven is Zilver, Spreken is Goud."
- <sup>61</sup> See CBS StatLine (2022), "Bevolking, Geslacht, Leeftijd, Generatie en Migratieachtergrond", <https://opendata.cbs.nl/statline/#/CBS/nl/dataset/37325/table?fromstatweb>, accessed October 27, 2020.
- <sup>62</sup> Nicolaas (2013), "Caribbean Literature from the ABC-Islands in the European Netherlands," 222.
- <sup>63</sup> Alofs, Zoom meeting with author, April 23, 2021.
- <sup>64</sup> Sekou (1991), *Mothernation*, 50.
- <sup>65</sup> Ibid., 82-83.
- <sup>66</sup> Van Stipriaan (2016), "Caraïbisch Erfgoed in de Nederlandse Black Atlantic," 11-38.

## Chapter 9. Radical Imagining in Dutch Caribbean Music

- <sup>1</sup> Walcott (2004), "The Antilles: Fragments of Epic Memory," 73.
- <sup>2</sup> Kaba (2021), *We Do This 'Til We Free Us*, 129.
- <sup>3</sup> Lorde (1978), "Solstice."
- <sup>4</sup> Lorde (2007), "Poetry is not a Luxury" and "Learning from the 60s."
- <sup>5</sup> La Croes (n.d.), *Seú ta Muzik Kultural*. I acknowledge here my gratefulness to and appreciation of Vernon Chatlein for sharing this literature with me and for abiding with me in conversation.
- <sup>6</sup> "The government of Curaçao and elementary schools must declare *kuarta*, *tambú*, *chapi* (*agan*), *wiri*, and *kachu* as important musical artifacts of our cultural inheritance. Because youths are continuing the performance traditions, we have today cultural groups of Venezuelan *gaita*, Boneirian *simadan* and drum, and Aruban *dande*, *aguinaldo*, and *gaita*. We have national music, performed by the youths of the respective communities. These musics fall in the genre of traditional music of the Caribbean and Latin America. Such practice has the potential to prevent criminality amongst youths ... the government must invest greatly in this cultural sector" (translation by author).
- <sup>7</sup> Nettleford (2009), "Decolonizing the Spirit."
- <sup>8</sup> Ibid., 36.
- <sup>9</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>10</sup> My thoughts depart from and are informed by the following: Lorde (2007), "Uses of the Erotic"; Allen (2011), *Venceremos?*; Gill (2014), "In the Realm of our Lorde"; Sheller (2012), *Citizenship from Below*.
- <sup>11</sup> Lorde (2007), *Sister Outsider*, 56.
- <sup>12</sup> Ibid., 57.
- <sup>13</sup> Blades (2018), "Pedro Navajo," [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UibAE\\_x6NM8](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UibAE_x6NM8), accessed June 6, 2021.
- <sup>14</sup> Glissant (2010), *Poetic Intention*, 201. Also see p. 199.
- <sup>15</sup> A praxis of being intimate with all that lives and enabling livingness.
- <sup>16</sup> Arroyo (2009), "No le Pegue a la Negra," <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PqmLPeL8aj4>, accessed June 6, 2021.
- <sup>17</sup> Glissant (1997), *Le Discours Antillais*, 63-64.
- <sup>18</sup> [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=z7mvFjkgvvs&ab\\_channel=vprovrijegeluiden](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=z7mvFjkgvvs&ab_channel=vprovrijegeluiden).
- <sup>19</sup> [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TIVseMwypco&ab\\_channel=vprovrijegeluidenvprovrijegeluiden](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TIVseMwypco&ab_channel=vprovrijegeluidenvprovrijegeluiden).
- <sup>20</sup> Rosalia (1997), *Tambú*, 67.
- <sup>21</sup> Lorde (1978), *The Black Unicorn*, 117.

- <sup>22</sup> Brand (2012), *The Map to the Door of No Return*, 25.
- <sup>23</sup> “Rei ta duna libertad,” *Zikinzá*, recording no. T1015.
- <sup>24</sup> “Danki Wilmu den derdu,” *Zikinzá*, recording no. T0730.
- <sup>25</sup> *Tambú* and *tumba* are two music styles from the Papiamentu-speaking islands within the Dutch Caribbean. In Curaçao, *tambú*, which refers to the drum, dance, rhythm, and event, is intensely practiced during the end-of-year festivities, while *tumba* is performed during carnival festivities. Each has accompanying dances and instrumentation.
- <sup>26</sup> <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FjJHPJfYqKI>.
- <sup>27</sup> Lorde (2007), *Sister Outsider*, 54.
- <sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, 56.
- <sup>29</sup> Schappell and Lacour (1993), “Toni Morrison: The Art of Fiction No. 134.”
- <sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>31</sup> Small (1998), *Musicking*.
- <sup>32</sup> Fanon (1967a), *Black Skin, White Masks*, 204.
- <sup>33</sup> Bogues (2012), “And What About the Human?”
- <sup>34</sup> Fanon (1967a), *Black Skin, White Masks*, 206.
- <sup>35</sup> McKittrick (2020), “Pastel Blue”. <https://lareviewofbooks.org/article/pastel-blue-a-promising-inaccuracy/>.
- <sup>36</sup> Kelly (2002), *Freedom Dreams*, 9.
- <sup>37</sup> Thomas (2006), “PROUD FLESH Inter/Views: Sylvia Wynter.”
- <sup>38</sup> [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EcYnJVJUnjc&ab\\_channel=MiamiFilmFestivalMiamiFilmFestival](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EcYnJVJUnjc&ab_channel=MiamiFilmFestivalMiamiFilmFestival).
- <sup>39</sup> [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xjn6nsw4QSo&t=117s&ab\\_channel=HFordHFord](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xjn6nsw4QSo&t=117s&ab_channel=HFordHFord).
- <sup>40</sup> Small (1998), *Musicking*.
- <sup>41</sup> Wynter (2003), “Unsettling the Coloniality of Being/Power/Truth/Freedom.”
- <sup>42</sup> Bogues (2012), *And What About the Human?*, 45.
- <sup>43</sup> Lorde (2007), *Sister Outsider*, 58.
- <sup>44</sup> Bogues (2012), *And What About the Human?*, 45–6.
- <sup>45</sup> Jocelyne Clemencia at the Tula Herdenking, Ninsee Amsterdam, 2010.
- <sup>46</sup> McKittrick (2020), “Pastel Blue.”
- <sup>47</sup> Lorde (1978), *The Black Unicorn*, 117.
- <sup>48</sup> Gansemans (2007), “Musical Traditions in Aruba, Bonaire and Curaçao.”
- <sup>49</sup> In Emanuelson’s *Yamada* (2017), a film documentary that features Grupo Serenada, the oldest functioning choir on Curaçao, celebrating the choir’s longevity and music philosophy. Cofounder and Musical Director Harry Moen notes that he is invested in the work of the choir because it is of himself, part of his being—“e ta parti di mi ser.”
- <sup>50</sup> [https://dcdp.uoc.cw/zikinzá\\_collection](https://dcdp.uoc.cw/zikinzá_collection), accessed June 6, 2021.
- <sup>51</sup> bell hooks (2001), *All About Love*.
- <sup>52</sup> Gilman-Opalsky (2020), *The Communism of Love*; Also see hooks (2001), *All About Love*.
- <sup>53</sup> Gilroy (1993), *The Black Atlantic*.
- <sup>54</sup> Lorde (1978), *The Black Unicorn*, 31.
- <sup>55</sup> See hooks (2001) and Gilman-Opalsky (2020).
- <sup>56</sup> <https://pbccaribbean.com/afro-caribbean-samples-loops/>
- <sup>57</sup> Scott (2000), “The Re-Enchantment of Humanism.”
- <sup>58</sup> Franken (n.d.), “Using Music to Shift the Narrative in our Community,” <https://www.arubatoday.com/using-music-to-shift-the-narrative-in-our-community-a-best-practice-case-of-the-leerorkest-in-the-netherlands/>, accessed June 6, 2021.

- <sup>59</sup> Emphasis mine.
- <sup>60</sup> Lorde (2007), *Sister Outsider*, 38.
- <sup>61</sup> Hartman (2019), *Wayward Lives, Beautiful Experiments*, 33.
- <sup>62</sup> Patterson (2018), *Slavery and Social Death*.
- <sup>63</sup> Kaba (2021), *We Do This 'Til We Free Us*, 129.
- <sup>64</sup> Lorde (1978), *Black Unicorn*, 117.
- <sup>65</sup> Streitfeld (1983), "The Laureates's Life Song," <https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/lifeo/style/1993/10/08/the-laureates-life-song/10d3b79b-52f2-4685-a6dd-c57f7dde08d2/>, accessed June 6, 2021.

## Chapter 10. Sport Heritage, Nation-Building and Nation-Branding in the Anglophone an Dutch Caribbean

- <sup>1</sup> UNESCO (1972), *Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage*; Alofs (2003-2008), *The Aruba Heritage Report*; Ansano (2017), "What is Central to Curaçao's History"; Siegel & Righter (2011), *Protecting Heritage*; Siegel et al. (2013), "Confronting Caribbean Heritage."
- <sup>2</sup> UNESCO (1999), "Third International Conference of Ministers and Senior Officials Responsible for Physical Education and Sport (MINEPS III)", <https://en.unesco.org/themes/sport-and-anti-doping/mineps>, accessed March 2, 2021.
- <sup>3</sup> UNESCO (2011), *Basic Texts of the 2003 Convention*.
- <sup>4</sup> Yin (2014). *Case Study Research*.
- <sup>5</sup> UNESCO (2011), *Basic texts of the 2003 Convention*; Alofs (2003-2008), *The Aruba Heritage Report*, 8-11; Siegel et al. (2013), "Confronting Caribbean Heritage"; Antczak (2018), "Unpicking a Feeling," 18.
- <sup>6</sup> Ansano (2017), "What is Central to Curaçao's History," 60.
- <sup>7</sup> Ibid., 3.
- <sup>8</sup> Ibid., 5, 12.
- <sup>9</sup> Allen (2012), "What is Curaçaoan Culture?"; Siegel et al. (2013), "Confronting Caribbean Heritage"; Antczak (2018), "Unpicking a Feeling."
- <sup>10</sup> Alofs (2003-2008), *The Aruba Heritage Report*, 10.
- <sup>11</sup> Ansano (2012), "What is Central to Curaçao's History," 4.
- <sup>12</sup> Kerr and Wiseman, cited in Ansano (2017), "What is Central to Curaçao's History," 5.
- <sup>13</sup> CARICOM stands for the Caribbean Community. It is a regional grouping that was established in 1973 and now consists of twenty countries drawn from the English, Dutch (Suriname) and French-speaking (Haiti) Caribbean. The majority of the countries (thirteen) are former British colonies and comprise the original group. While the population of the entire bloc amounts to sixteen million inhabitants, among the original thirteen it varies from 52,000 in Saint Kitts and Nevis to 2.9 million in Jamaica. After Jamaica, the largest country is Trinidad and Tobago with a population of 1.3 million followed by Guyana (800,000) and Barbados (285,000) (CARICOM).
- <sup>14</sup> "Member States and Associate Member States": <https://caricom.org/member-states-and-associate-members/>, accessed March 1 2021; CARICOM (1997), *Regional Cultural Policy*.
- <sup>15</sup> Ibid., 7, 10.
- <sup>16</sup> Ibid., 31-40.
- <sup>17</sup> Ibid., 31-32
- <sup>18</sup> CARICOM (1997), *Regional Cultural Policy*, 52.
- <sup>19</sup> West Indian Commission (1992), *Time for Action*, 328; author's emphasis.
- <sup>20</sup> Ibid., 275.

- <sup>21</sup> James (1963), *Beyond a Boundary*; Beckles (1998), *The Development of West Indies Cricket*; Sandiford (1998), *Cricket Nurseries of Colonial Barbados*; Seecharan (2009), *From Ranji to Rohan*.
- <sup>22</sup> Singh (2009), "Cricket Museum Launched at Oval".
- <sup>23</sup> CARICOM (1997), *Regional Cultural Policy*, 53; West Indian Commission (1992), *Time for Action*, 286–289.
- <sup>24</sup> Ibid., 333.
- <sup>25</sup> Levy (2020), "Hero CPL had Record Economic Impact of US\$136m Across the Region," in *Sportsmax*, January 24, 2020. <https://www.sportsmax.tv/cricket-regional/item>, accessed November 24, 2020.
- <sup>26</sup> Haviser & Gilmore (2011), "Netherlands Antilles," 140.
- <sup>27</sup> <https://www.worldometers.info/world-population/aruba-population/>, accessed March 15, 2021; <https://www.worldometers.info/demographics/curacao-demographics/>, accessed March 15, 2021.
- <sup>28</sup> CBS (2014), *Demography of Curaçao*; Allen (2013), "Cultural Adaption," 36.
- <sup>29</sup> Allen (2013), "Cultural Adaption."
- <sup>30</sup> CBS (2014), *Demography of Curaçao*; CBS (2010), *The Foreign Born*, 8.
- <sup>31</sup> Alofs (2003-2008), *The Aruba Heritage Report*, 11, 57, 58.
- <sup>32</sup> Haviser & Gilmore (2011), "Netherlands Antilles," 137.
- <sup>33</sup> Arieese (2018), "The Social Museum."
- <sup>34</sup> CBS, "Participation Survey": <https://www.cbs.cw/participation-survey>, accessed May 20, 2021.
- <sup>35</sup> <https://www.fifa.com/fifa-world-ranking/ranking-table/men/>, accessed May 1, 2021.
- <sup>36</sup> Belson (2017), "With Talent From Two Small Islands"; Waldstein (2014), "A Speck on the Map Gushes."
- <sup>37</sup> Lianne Leonora, email message to author, March 9, 2021.
- <sup>38</sup> <https://sportmuseumcuracao.com/>, accessed March 14, 2021.
- <sup>39</sup> Arieese (2018), "The Social Museum."
- <sup>40</sup> <https://sportmuseumcuracao.com/>, accessed March 14, 2021.
- <sup>41</sup> Alofs (2003-2008), *The Aruba Heritage Report*.
- <sup>42</sup> Ibid., 23–24.
- <sup>43</sup> Ibid., 26.
- <sup>44</sup> Interview with ASU President Gerald Franca, May 24, 2021.
- <sup>45</sup> <https://www.baseball-almanac.com/players/birthplace.php?loc=Aruba>, accessed May 24, 2021; Waldstein (2014), "A Speck on the Map Gushes Talent"; Belson (2017), "With Talent From Two Small Islands."
- <sup>46</sup> Guadeloupe, "Exploring the nation" in this volume; Oostindie, "The study of ethnicity."
- <sup>47</sup> Phone interview with author, May 24, 2021.
- <sup>48</sup> James (1963), *Beyond a Boundary*; Mangan (1986), *The Games Ethic*.
- <sup>49</sup> Guttmann (1978), *From Ritual to Record*.
- <sup>50</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>51</sup> Beckles (2017), *Cricket without a Cause*.
- <sup>52</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>53</sup> Ansano (2017), "What is Central to Curaçao's History," 4.

## Chapter 11. Exploring the Nation through the Lens of Baseball: A Popular Culture Perspective on National Belonging in the Dutch Caribbean

- <sup>1</sup> Hall (2018), "Popular Culture, Politics and History."
- <sup>2</sup> Interview by Sean Illing with David Graeber, see Illing (2014), "Bullshit Jobs"; Glaser (2014), "Beyond Bullshit Jobs."
- <sup>3</sup> Coleman (1988), "Social Capital in the Creation of Human Capital."

- <sup>4</sup> Guadeloupe (2008), *Chanting Down the New Jerusalem*.
- <sup>5</sup> On the weapons of the weak, see, Obadare (2009), "The Uses of Ridicule."
- <sup>6</sup> For a general history of the Dutch Antillean islands and their relationships see, Oostindie & Klinkers (2012), *Gedeeld Koninkrijk*.
- <sup>7</sup> Goffman (1959), *The Presentation of Self*; Goffman (1982), *Interaction Rituals*; Bock (1982), "The importance of Erving Goffman"; Rapport, *Transcendent Individual*.
- <sup>8</sup> Goffman, *The Presentation of Self*; Goffman, *Interaction Rituals*; Bock, "The importance of Erving Goffman"; Rapport (2002), *Transcendent Individual*.
- <sup>9</sup> Walmsley (2018), "Deep Hanging out in the Arts."
- <sup>10</sup> The concept of outernational is borrowed from the Caribbean sound system culture. In its original formulation according to Prasad Bidaye "outernational" signified the opposite of national and international: "If 'international' suggests a relationship between subjects at the national level, 'outernational' is one that takes place outside of state and metropolitan centres of power. It signifies a dialogical relationship from the chronotope of one margin to another. Outernationalism is thus a synthesis of transnational and translocal modes of consciousness, the global awareness of the former and the dialogical intimacies of the latter. It is also a type of attitude: a sense of disregard for nationalism, internationalism, and other political processes that exercise a more systemic disregard for minorities (who are technically majorities) marginalized on the borders of a seemingly borderless world." Bidaye (2012), "Outernational Transmission." In my usage of the term here, I recognise that many of the artists and Black Atlantic art forms that operated to some extent outside of the ambit of nation-states and their metropolitan centres of power, were co-opted by the culture industry that emulated the strategy of the activist musicians that Bidaye and others write about. Outernationality, hence, in my usage of studying Black Atlantic popular culture in its hyper-commercial format, is expressive of capitalism's Anglo-inclined global reach as opposed to more regional and national cultural industries (think for instance of Bollywood and Nollywood).
- <sup>11</sup> In this coronavirus era, the Reggae Sunsplash has gone digital. Via their computers fans the world over will be able to virtually attend the festival. See <https://goreggaesunsplash.com/>. The question however remains how this and other Caribbean states will adapt to the virtualization of tourism.
- <sup>12</sup> Nurse (2002), "Bringing Culture into Tourism."
- <sup>13</sup> Belson (2017), "With Talent from Two Small Islands"; Waldstein (2014), "A Speck on the Map Gushes Talent."
- <sup>14</sup> See Martijn Zeven (2020), "Dit Zijn de 11 rijkste Nederlandse Sporters van 2020," in the Dutch magazine *Quote* of June 13, 2020.
- <sup>15</sup> James (1963), *Beyond a Boundary*.
- <sup>16</sup> Ledgister (2010), *Only West Indians*; Thomas (2004), *Modern Blackness*.
- <sup>17</sup> CBS (2020), *Aruba 50 jaar Sociaal Demografische Ontwikkeling*; Central Bureau of Statistics Curaçao (2015), *Sociaal Economische Kenmerken van Migranten in Curaçao*.
- <sup>18</sup> Sharpe (2014), "Race, Color, and Nationalism"; Sharpe (2005), "Globalization and Migration." See also the classic by Green (1974), *Migrants in Aruba*.
- <sup>19</sup> Doherty (2012), "The Cause of Baseball"; Gems (2006), *The Athletic Crusade*; Brown (1990), "Waging Baseball, Playing War."
- <sup>20</sup> There are of course other markers including carnival. See on the matter Razak (1997), *Carnival in Aruba*. The latter, including its transnational dimension binding the Diaspora in the Netherlands, is discussed in the co-authored chapter with Oostindie in this volume.
- <sup>21</sup> The love that Curaçao has for the "kid from Curaçao," as they lovingly call Andruw Jones, is huge. He is a boy from Brievengat who never forgot where he came from. We are proud of him and happy that he continues to encourage the youngsters to make something of themselves.

- <sup>22</sup> You are in your yard and you see the Haitian man passing by asking, “Good day Miss can I clean your yard for twenty-five Antillean guilders.” You [native Curaçaoan] accept and he comes and cleans it, using your tools and accessories. A year later, the Haitian passes with a rake on his shoulders and plastic bags, and asks, “Miss can I clean your yard for thirty Antillean guilders.” You accept. The following year he has all his own tools, and asks you for fifty guilders. The year after that he comes in a pick-up truck and asks you for seventy-five guilders. Today the Haitian owns his own company, and his children have master’s degrees and are managers of big local companies where the natives have to seek employment. And still, we native Curaçaoans look down on the Haitians.

## Chapter 12. Facing the Ecological Crisis in the Caribbean

- <sup>1</sup> Mac Donald (2017), “Nature Conservation in Times of Natural Disaster.”
- <sup>2</sup> Quijano (2010), “Coloniality and Modernity/Rationality”; Kilomba (2008), *Plantation Memories*.
- <sup>3</sup> Grove (1995), *Green Imperialism*.
- <sup>4</sup> Bourg & Fragnière (2014), *La Pensée Écologique*; Nash (1967), *Wilderness and the American Mind*.
- <sup>5</sup> Blanc (2020), *L’Invention du Colonialisme Vert*; Neumann (2008), *Imposing Wilderness in Africa*.
- <sup>6</sup> Ferdinand (2019), *Une Écologie Décoloniale*, 12-47.
- <sup>7</sup> Scobie (2019), *Global Environmental Governance and Small States*.
- <sup>8</sup> Baver et al. (2006), *Beyond Sun and Sand*; Campbell & Niblett (2016), *The Caribbean*; Jaffe (2016), *Concrete Jungles*; Stancioff (2018), “Landscape, Land-Change and Well-Being in the Lesser Antilles”; Baptiste & Rhiney (2016), “Climate Justice and the Caribbean.”
- <sup>9</sup> Graaf et al. (2016), “Status and Trends Reef Fish and Coastal Fisheries Bonaire.”
- <sup>10</sup> Haviser (1991), *The First Bonaireans*.
- <sup>11</sup> Hartog & Gideon (1975), *Bonaire: Short History*; de Wit (2015), *Suriname en de Nederlandse Antillen*.
- <sup>12</sup> Hartog & Gideon (1975), *Bonaire: Short History*.
- <sup>13</sup> Pakus & Wayaka Advies (2014). *Beleidsvisie Landbouw Veeteelt Visserij Bonaire 2014-2029*.
- <sup>14</sup> Jackson et al. (2014), “Status and Trends of Caribbean Coral Reefs.”
- <sup>15</sup> Eilandsgebied Bonaire (2008). *Evaluatierapport Natuurbeleidsplan Bonaire 1999-2004*.
- <sup>16</sup> Graaf et al. (2016), “Status and Trends Reef Fish and Coastal Fisheries Bonaire”; Debrot et al. (2011), *Preliminary Overview of Exotic and Invasive Marine Species in the Dutch Caribbean*. No. C188/11.
- <sup>17</sup> Ramon de Leon (former Marine Park Manager, STINAPA, Bonaire), interview by Stacey Mac Donald, April 2016.
- <sup>18</sup> Johnson & Jackson (2015), “Fisher and Diver Perceptions Of Coral Reef Degradation.”
- <sup>19</sup> Interview with fisher Jan Hendrik Emerenciana by Stacey Mac Donald, November 2017.
- <sup>20</sup> Debrot et al. (2011), *Preliminary Overview of Exotic and Invasive Marine Species in the Dutch Caribbean*.
- <sup>21</sup> Interview with fisher Eddy Christiaan by Stacey Mac Donald, November 2017.
- <sup>22</sup> Interview with fisher Eddy Christiaan by Stacey Mac Donald, November 2017.
- <sup>23</sup> Johnson & Jackson (2015), “Fisher and Diver Perceptions of Coral Reef Degradation.”
- <sup>24</sup> Interview with fisher Fokke-Jan Havedings by Stacey Mac Donald, November 2017.
- <sup>25</sup> Jackson et al. (2012), “Status and Trends of Caribbean Coral Reefs.”
- <sup>26</sup> Johnson & Jackson (2015), “Fisher and Diver Perceptions of Coral Reef Degradation.”
- <sup>27</sup> Ferdinand (2017), “Living in Contaminated land.”
- <sup>28</sup> Jaffe (2016), *Concrete Jungles*.
- <sup>29</sup> Ferdinand (2016), “Ecology, Identity, and Colonialism in Martinique.”
- <sup>30</sup> Trouillot (1992), “The Caribbean Region.”
- <sup>31</sup> Rabess (1998), “Popular Media and Policy in the Eastern Caribbean,” 453.

- <sup>32</sup> Jaffe et al. (2008), "The Caribbean City: An Introduction", 1.
- <sup>33</sup> Slocum & Thomas (2003), "Rethinking Global and Area Studies."
- <sup>34</sup> See International Climate Justice Network (2002). "Bali Principles of Climate Justice," <https://www.corpwatch.org/article/bali-principles-climate-justice>.
- <sup>35</sup> Klein (2007), *The Shock Doctrine*.
- <sup>36</sup> Klein (2018), *The Battle for Paradise*.
- <sup>37</sup> Descola (2005), *Par-delà Nature et Culture*.

## Chapter 13. Digital Humanities, Social Justice and the Pluricultural Realities of Dutch Caribbean Heritage Archives

- <sup>1</sup> DiGiovine (2017), "UNESCO's world heritage program," 83.
- <sup>2</sup> I am deeply indebted to the work of the Digital Library of the Caribbean (dLOC), both its founding members and its compassionate staff, as well as to the valuable resources on digital humanities in the Caribbean collected by Duke University in Small Axe Archipelagos, and those on DH praxis collected by the NEH Caribbean Studies and Digital Humanities Institute hosted by the University of Florida.
- <sup>3</sup> Gilroy (1983), *The Black Atlantic*, 2.
- <sup>4</sup> Ibid., 3.
- <sup>5</sup> Ibid., 7.
- <sup>6</sup> Bonilla (2017), "Freedom, sovereignty, and other entanglements"; Bonilla (2013), "Ordinary Sovereignty"; Veenendaal & Oostindie (2018), "Head Versus Heart"; Hinds (2019), *Civil Society Organisations*.
- <sup>7</sup> Isin & Turner (2007), "Investigating Citizenship"; Koning et al. (2015), "Citizenship Agendas in and Beyond the Nation-State"; Hinds (2019), *Civil Society Organisations*.
- <sup>8</sup> Van der Pijl & Guadeloupe (2015), "Imagining the Nation in the Classroom."
- <sup>9</sup> "The SAMOA Pathway."
- <sup>10</sup> SAMOA Pathway paragraph 80 reads: "We recognize that small island developing states (SIDS) possess a wealth of culture, which is a driver and an enabler for sustainable development. Indigenous and traditional knowledge and cultural expression, which underscores the deep connections among people, culture, knowledge and the natural environment, can meaningfully advance sustainable development and social cohesion."
- <sup>11</sup> And paragraph 81 reads under c, d, and e: "(c) to develop and strengthen national and regional cultural activities and infrastructures ... enhance tangible and intangible cultural heritage, including local and indigenous knowledge, and involve local people for the benefit of present and future generations; (d) To develop cultural and creative industries, including tourism, that capitalize on their rich heritage of and have a role to play in sustainable and inclusive growth; (e) to develop domestic mechanisms to conserve, promote, protect and preserve their natural, tangible and intangible cultural heritage practices and traditional knowledge."
- <sup>12</sup> Supported by the NWO funded Traveling Caribbean Heritage project.
- <sup>13</sup> The foundation for DCDP (<http://dcdp.uoc.cw>) was laid when in 2013–2015 the University of Leiden, the Royal Netherlands Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies (KITLV), and the University of Curaçao (UoC) cooperated in the digitisation of 4,833 collection items from the former KITLV Library with relevance to the Dutch Caribbean and published before 1954. In this project, the UoC library provided local expertise on language, legal and user-related issues. DCDP was developed in parallel to this digitisation project as a digital platform for providing optimal accessibility to this collection specifically for users in the Dutch Caribbean. DCDP is an offshoot of the Digital Library of the Caribbean, dLOC, developed with the support of and in connection with dLOC.

- <sup>14</sup> Initiated as part of the Caribbean Studies Digital Humanities Institute funded by the National Endowment for the Humanities
- <sup>15</sup> Risam (2019), *New Digital Worlds*, 143.
- <sup>16</sup> Paraclas (2021), "From a Creole Past to a Plurilingual Future."
- <sup>17</sup> Pereira (2018), *Valorization of Papiamentu*.
- <sup>18</sup> Ibid., 67; 94-100.
- <sup>19</sup> Standardisation developed in the 1980s and 1990s through the Instituto Lingwistiko Antiano (ILA) for the Netherlands Antilles and its sister-organisation IDILA on Aruba. Educational material in Papiamentu is currently developed by the Fundashon Planifikasion i Idioma (FPI) on Curaçao and by the Department of Education in Aruba. Teacher education is offered through the University of Curaçao and the Instituto Pedagogico Arubano.
- <sup>20</sup> BZK (2021), *Bestuursafpraak voor het Papiaments op Bonaire*.
- <sup>21</sup> Risam (2019), *New Digital Worlds*, 82.
- <sup>22</sup> Wagner (2017), "Nou Toujou La!"
- <sup>23</sup> Risam (2019), *New Digital Worlds*, 143.
- <sup>24</sup> Esprit (2020), "Digital projects."
- <sup>25</sup> Takahata (2020), "A Caribbean Counter-Edition."
- <sup>26</sup> Edmond (2020), "Teaching Without a Text."
- <sup>27</sup> Gilroy (1993), *The Black Atlantic*, 115. For historical context: Groenewoud (2021), "Decolonization, Otherness, and the Neglect of the Dutch Caribbean in Caribbean Studies."
- <sup>28</sup> Rosenberg (2016), "Refashioning Caribbean Literary Pedagogy in the Digital Age."
- <sup>29</sup> <https://hcommons.org/deposits/item/hc:31065>.
- <sup>30</sup> <https://www.slavesocieties.info/>.
- <sup>31</sup> Sutton (2017), "The digital Overhaul of the Archive."
- <sup>32</sup> Wagner (2017), "Nou Toujou La!"
- <sup>33</sup> Derrida & Prenowitz (1995), "Archive Fever," 11.

## Chapter 14. Caribbean Diasporas, Metropolitan Policies, and Cultural Heritage

- <sup>1</sup> For a general introduction to the Dutch Caribbean islands, see Oostindie (2005), *Paradise Overseas*.
- <sup>2</sup> All figures are based on data provided by the various statistical offices of the islands.
- <sup>3</sup> For statistics and figures revealing how much the Dutch islands differ in terms of migrant population from others in the region, consult the Aruban CBS online paper: [https://www.cepal.org/sites/default/files/presentations/icpd15\\_p3-4e.pdf](https://www.cepal.org/sites/default/files/presentations/icpd15_p3-4e.pdf).
- <sup>4</sup> Green (1974), *Migrants in Aruba*; Razak (1997), *Carnival in Aruba*; Alofs & Merkies (1990), *Ken Ta Arubiano?*; Sharpe (2014), "Race, Color, and Nationalism."
- <sup>5</sup> For an early attempt at analysing Aruba transnationally, see Guadeloupe (2009), "Their Modernity Matters too."
- <sup>6</sup> E.g., of all marriages registered in Aruba in 1999, only twenty-nine percent were a union between two people both born on the island; see Timmer (2018), "Aruba," 3.
- <sup>7</sup> Lewis (1983), *Main Currents*; Mintz (1996), "Enduring Substances"; Mintz (2012), *Three Ancient Colonies*.
- <sup>8</sup> For a thorough account of how the Latino and Hispanic label was pushed and created by American policymakers, based on cultural nationalist ideals, see Francis-Fallon (2019), *The Rise of the Latino Vote*.
- <sup>9</sup> Lopez et al. (2017), "Hispanic Identity Fades Across Generations," <https://www.pewresearch.org/hispanic/2017/12/20/hispanic-identity-fades-across-generations-as-immigrant-connections-fall-away/>.

- In an August 11, 2020 NPR online article, Shereen Marisol Meraji corroborates these recent Pew findings, see <https://text.npr.org/901398248>.
- <sup>10</sup> <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/haitian-immigrants-united-states-2018>, accessed September 8, 2021.
  - <sup>11</sup> Giraud (2004), "The Antillese in France."
  - <sup>12</sup> Gilroy (1993), *The Black Atlantic*.
  - <sup>13</sup> Gilroy has reiterated this point in several interviews and other books. For a clear articulation, see Shelby (2008), "Cosmopolitanism"; Gilroy (2000), *Against Race*. For Stuart Hall's deconstruction of the Caribbean as solely a region marked by Black culture, see his article Hall (1994), "Cultural Identity and Diaspora."
  - <sup>14</sup> Scott (1997), "An Obscure Miracle of Connection"; McKittrick (2006), *Demonic Grounds*; Chivallon (2008), "On the Registers of Caribbean Memory of Slavery"; Glissant (2000), *Poetics of Relation*.
  - <sup>15</sup> For a more general recent argumentation of the deconstruction of the idea of an essential Black subject, see also Mbembe (2017), *Critique of Black Reason*.
  - <sup>16</sup> The American comedian Eddie Griffin has made a career explaining these shifting significations. See his "Different Kinds of Black people": <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sAGkdQvGAeE>.
  - <sup>17</sup> Hall (2000), "Old and New Identities, Old and New Ethnicities," 53.
  - <sup>18</sup> Nettleford (1970), *Mirror Mirror*.
  - <sup>19</sup> <https://www.kitlv.nl/research-projects-confronting-caribbean-challenges-opinion-survey/>, accessed September 12, 2021.
  - <sup>20</sup> Extensive discussions may be found in Oostindie & Van Stipriaan (2021), *Antilliaans erfgoed*.
  - <sup>21</sup> This is one of the conclusions we drew from a series of workshops and other exchanges organized by the Traveling Caribbean Heritage team on the ABC islands in the late 2010s. Cf. Franken (2021), *Het Landschap van Nederlands-Caribisch Erfgoed*.
  - <sup>22</sup> Oostindie et al. (2020), "A global comparison of non-sovereign island territories."
  - <sup>23</sup> CBS (2018), *Jaarrapport integratie 2018*; e.g., Engbersen et al. (2019), "Maasstad aan de Monitor."
  - <sup>24</sup> Yamashiro & Roediger (2020), "Biased Collective Memories."
  - <sup>25</sup> Hermes & Hillhorst (2015), "We Have Given Up So Much"; Rodenberg & Wagenaar (2016), "Essentializing Black Pete"; Ceupens (2018), *Pietpraat*.
  - <sup>26</sup> Roetman (2020), "Rutte Wil Naar een 'Land Met Nul Racisme'."
  - <sup>27</sup> Guadeloupe (2022), *Black Man in the Netherlands*.
  - <sup>28</sup> Gilroy (2004), *Postcolonial Melancholia*.
  - <sup>29</sup> Geschiere (2009), *Perils of Belonging*.
  - <sup>30</sup> <https://www.rtlnieuws.nl/nieuws/nederland/artikel/4506021/nederlandse-hiphop-domineert-toplijstje-spotify>, accessed October 12, 2021.
  - <sup>31</sup> <https://www.npo3fm.nl/nieuws/3fm/fb2fe8c7-4d98-4843-83e0-8d1414251b26/broederliefde-heeft-het-record-van-frans-bauer-verbroken>, accessed October 12, 2021.
  - <sup>32</sup> Jessica Roiz (2020), "From Bonaire to the World."
  - <sup>33</sup> On the Rotterdam summer festival and the role played by Marlon Brown, see Guadeloupe et al. (2020), "Indische Foto's, Zomercarnaval en Kapsalon."

## Epilogue

- <sup>1</sup> Hall (1994), 'Cultural Identity and Diaspora'.
- <sup>2</sup> Anderson (1983), *Imagined Communities*.
- <sup>3</sup> Compare Guerra (2014), "Why Caribbean History Matters." <https://www.historians.org/publications-and-directories/perspectives-on-history/march-2014/why-caribbean-history-matters>.

- <sup>4</sup> Trouillot (1995), *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History*.
- <sup>5</sup> Redfield et al. (1936), "Memorandum on the Study of Acculturation."
- <sup>6</sup> Pratt (2008), *Imperial Eyes*.
- <sup>7</sup> Drayton (2016), "Review of Art in the Time of Colony by Khadija von Zinnenburg Carroll."
- <sup>8</sup> Ariese & Wroblewska (2020). *Practicing Decoloniality in Museums*.
- <sup>9</sup> Article 27 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 1948, <https://en.unesco.org/human-rights/cultural-life> declares that: Everyone has the right freely to participate in the cultural life of the community, to enjoy the arts and to share in scientific advancement and its benefits. Everyone has the right to the protection of the moral and material interests resulting from any scientific, literary or artistic production of which he is the author.
- <sup>10</sup> Rickford & Rickford (2000), *Spoken Soul*, 228.
- <sup>11</sup> González-López (2013), "Spiritual Marronage".
- <sup>12</sup> Joosse et al. (2020). "Critical, Engaged and Change-Oriented Scholarship."
- <sup>13</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>14</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>15</sup> Martinez (2020), *Counterstory*.
- <sup>16</sup> Joosse et al. (2020), "Critical, Engaged and Change-Oriented Scholarship."
- <sup>17</sup> Hall (1994), "Cultural Identity and Diaspora," 222.