

Macroacquisition Theory and the Raizal Community of San Andres, Colombia: A Sustainable Community?

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The aim of this paper is to apply the Macroacquisition Theory of Speech Community Bilingualism to assess the linguistic and cultural sustainability of Colombia's Raizal community, and, if threatened, the purpose is to identify measures that might address this. Raizal (Root) is the name given to the original community on the islands of San Andrés (St. Andrews) and its sister islands of Providencia (Old Providence) and Santa Catalina (St. Catherine's). Macroacquisition as proposed by Brutt-Griffler (2002) cuts across traditional theoretical models of Second Language Acquisition-induced language change, language contact, in its essential premise that the individual is the ultimate locus of contact. According to scholars such as Weinreich (1974), such a shift is necessary as the linguistic can only be studied in the context of the extra-linguistic, or socio-historic conditions, and so 'attempts to formulate linguistic constraints on contact phenomena have failed because both the direction and extent of linguistic interference is socially determined' (Thomason, 1986). Macroacquisition focuses its study of language change in the specific socio-historic conditions of communities, and, as Mufwene (1993) has shown, the emergence of Creole languages also lies in the extra-linguistic.

The understanding that Second Language Acquisition works as a social, rather than individual, process explains how language change arises from the socio-historic conditions of language spread to new speech communities via a process of Second Language Acquisition of the group rather than the individual. As summarised by Thomason & Kaufman (1988) 'the history of a language is the function of the history of its speakers.' Critical to Macroacquisition Theory is whether the Speech Community has a shared first language or not, as this determines which Type of Macroacquisition is undergone.

Type A takes place in a larger process of community formation where the community together acquires a common second language that serves as a unifying linguistic resource. The socio-historic condition necessary for this is that the community formation and social Second Language Acquisition take place simultaneously. In the case of San Andrés this was the unifying of the disparate peoples who came, or found themselves, in the Caribbean and who needed to develop a culture, a society, in their new home. For Raizales, this is their English-Creole language and culture formed over the centuries following their arrival in the Anglophone-Caribbean. However Type B, since the community and speech community antedate the process of Macroacquisition, arises through the transformation of a monolingual speech community (or a section of it) into a bilingual speech community. This is also the case for Raizales in relation to Spanish and Colombian culture; through colonial imposition the Raizal community has been transformed in the course of the 20th century into a bilingual English/Creole-Spanish one. The linguistic outcomes of these two types are different. In Type A, the speech community, although made up of bilinguals, shares only one language, the

second language; here English/ Creole. For many Raizales there exists a diglossia in the Local Languages with more formal occasions eliciting the use of English while Creole is the 'natural' every-day language of interaction Forbes (1989). In Type B, the speech community shares both languages; the case of Raizales today with both English/Creole and Spanish.

The learning populations can be national, regional or, as in the case of Raizales, ethnic, but Macroacquisition is of the whole group and is both a linguistically and historically bounded process. A Speech Community is viewed as a strong case of community rooted in its Shared Subjective Knowledge and its discourses, and these define a culture. This knowledge is manifest in the community's norms of interaction, value systems, and beliefs, alongside other kinds of knowledge about their natural and social worlds. It is this common-sense knowledge that binds communities and demarcates them from one another and in which a member has an 'insider status' that a non-member does not. A Speech Community is stronger and more coherent than other communities, such as religious ones, because it alone facilitates the ready communication of this shared knowledge via the common language. This leads to a definition of Speech Community as that type of social grouping in which Shared Subjective Knowledge exists and can be linguistically communicated easily and readily among the group members (Brutt-Griffler, 2002).

The issue this paper addresses is whether, in the case of Raizales, there is an association between respondents' language use in the home and their cultural values, their Shared Subjective Knowledge. More specifically, does the choice of language in the home and the degree of its usage determine the Localness of respondents' cultural attributes, their Shared Subjective Knowledge?

The Sociohistoric Conditions

San Andrés and its sister island of Providencia were settled by English and Creole-speakers but were only very briefly British territory. They were always part of the Spanish Empire but also always on the margins, as with the rest of the Central American Caribbean, and the dilemma facing settlers was clear from the start: how to remain Anglo in a Hispanic world. The first settlement of the islands was by English Puritans in 1629, funded and organised by the Merchant Adventurer companies of London but they were dislodged by the Spanish in 1642. For the next 20 years, the islands were taken and retaken by the British, but by the 1660's they were once again depopulated as neither the British or the Spanish, with de-facto sovereignty, found a use for them (Parsons, 1956).

The resettlement of the island, largely from Jamaica, took place from the 1770s but as early as 1786 this presence was undermined. The Treaty of Versailles and the Clarifying Amendments led to the evacuation to Belize and elsewhere of all British subjects from Central America and its offshore islands. Although San Andrés was not specifically mentioned, a ship came to evacuate all those who did not refuse to leave. Those who stayed petitioned the King of Spain for permission to remain. Although at first unsuccessful, they did finally receive Royal assent in 1792, but on three conditions: to convert to Catholicism, to speak Spanish and to cease trade with Jamaica. These were accepted, but enforcement was another matter, especially as Spanish control of its colonies weakened and then was lost entirely.

At the Convention of Cúcuta in 1822, representatives from the islands signed up to Bolívar's dream of La Gran Colombia. On its early demise, the islands by default came to be part of Nueva Granada (Colombia) which, with its internal chaos throughout the 19th-century, enabled the island and its settlers to remain largely autonomous. It was in this period that the Islander, now Raizal, community was formed and its Shared Subjective Knowledge developed. The abolition of slavery, and the simultaneous development of the coconut export trade to the USA, enabled a community of smallholders to develop and thrive economically. This link to the USA was deepened by the establishment, and immediate and sustained success, of the Baptist church with its close ties to Jamaica and the southern states of the USA. The community was defined by its English Protestantism and total opposition to the 'Paña' (the derogatory term used by Islanders when referring to their 'governors', Spain and then Colombia), the exact opposite of the agreement struck in 1792, and Colombia (the new Spain) eventually started to take action.

The 1886 Colombian 'Regeneración' constitution was based on the principle of the unification of the nation through Spanish and Catholicism, and so posed a clear threat to Islanders. This English-speaking Baptist community which had developed in the 19th-century, was confronted by a colonial policy of the state designed for the pre-modern indigenous peoples of the nation rather than the modern, internationally trading and connected community existent on the island. From 1900-26, the English-speaking Josephites and then Spanish-speaking Capuchins, through their control of public schools and the imposition of the national curriculum, together with economic and other incentives for converting to Catholicism, made some in-roads into the community. Success was mostly among the poorer in the community as they could not afford the English education of the private church-based schools and felt the need to take up the economic and employment advantages Catholicism provided.

However, it required a more direct policy to really make the changes desired. In 1953, on the first ever Presidential visit to the island, a Freeport was declared and special economic incentives were given for investment in the island. The building of the airport dramatically improved communications and contributed to the development of commercial houses selling duty free goods to Colombian businessmen and tourists, and the development of a hotel and tourism sector. This economic integration into the national economy and the development which ensued drew in labourers and small businessmen as settlers, and by the mid-1970s Raizales had become the minority community and had lost control of the island's economy. They had to adapt to the reality that Spanish had become the lingua franca of the island, especially in commerce, tourism and the media, the only sectors of importance. Settlement continued to grow, and over-population - today San Andres has the highest population density of anywhere in the Caribbean - is a major underlying cause of social tension between the communities and of the environmental hazards engulfing the island. This tension manifest itself in the emergence of local political and community groups which organised the community, demonstrated against the abuses of the state and made demands for political autonomy. They were ready to seize the opportunities which the more modern and liberal Colombian Constitution of 1991 was to usher in.

This new constitution recognised the Raizales as a distinct ethnic group with its own language and traditions that needed protection. To limit further over-population, the main Raizal demand for immigration controls for Colombians was accepted and the Occre¹ Office

¹ Oficina por el Control de Circulación y Residencia – Office for the Control of Movement and Residence.

established for this purpose. In addition, English was recognised as an official language on the island and freedom of worship was established. However, demands for land reform - the Raizales having 'lost' most lands on the island through misguided selling, speculation and cheating - were not met. These were in one sense radical, and much needed, reforms. Officially, Raizales now had recognition and rights enshrined in the Constitution and so were provided a platform on which to build their future, but in many ways it had come too late. At least two generations had been educated in an entirely Colombian curriculum. Their only language of literacy was Spanish and further opportunities for higher education really only exist on the mainland where they feel the full force of Colombian culture.

Methodology

This paper applies Macroacquisition Theory to the Raizal community of San Andres by drawing on survey data collected in 2005. The data has been analysed using SPSS and the results produced using its statistical functions. It begins by considering responses to questions about language use in the home to determine the degree of English/Creole and Spanish bilingualism in the community. This provides a measure of the degree of language shift that has occurred and indicates whether their traditional languages are endangered. There is no issue with Raizales needing to have Spanish as a language; it is the lingua franca of the islands and the nation, but if the development of a healthy bilingualism is giving way to the loss of the traditional languages in the home, where it can be supposed language choice is relatively free of external constraints, there is cause for alarm. These language responses are then reorganised into Language Profile sets according to their strength in terms of Localness, which are then used to study other variables by crosstabulation.

These other variables have been divided on the basis of how 'Free' or 'Fixed' the variable is:

1. 'Free' Choice Variables: Food, Music, Partner/Best Friend, Identity and Religion. While all of these are influenced by family and background, they are ultimately, for adults, a matter of choice. The responses of the Under 20s in these are more likely to be inherited, Fixed, than consciously adopted, but are still 'true'. Any significant associations between Local Language Profiles and these variables, tell us something about the variations in Shared Subjective Knowledge within the Raizal community and so are most relevant to Macroacquisition Theory. These 'test' the Shared Subjective Knowledge aspect of Macroacquisition by identifying, or not, significant associations between the Localness of the Language Profile and these other variables, and also provide a reliable measure of how far, and fast, cultural traits are being maintained, eroded, or shared. All of these are then amalgamated into Overall Local Profiles according to their overall degree of Localness, of their maintenance of traditional cultural traits.
2. Fixed Variables: Age, Gender, Place of Birth and Race. While Age, Gender and Place of Birth are givens, Race is slightly less clear, especially as the responses are subjective ones of how respondents see themselves, which is not necessarily how they are seen by others. Any significant associations between Local Language Profiles and these variables, inform us of 'natural' divisions within the Raizal community.

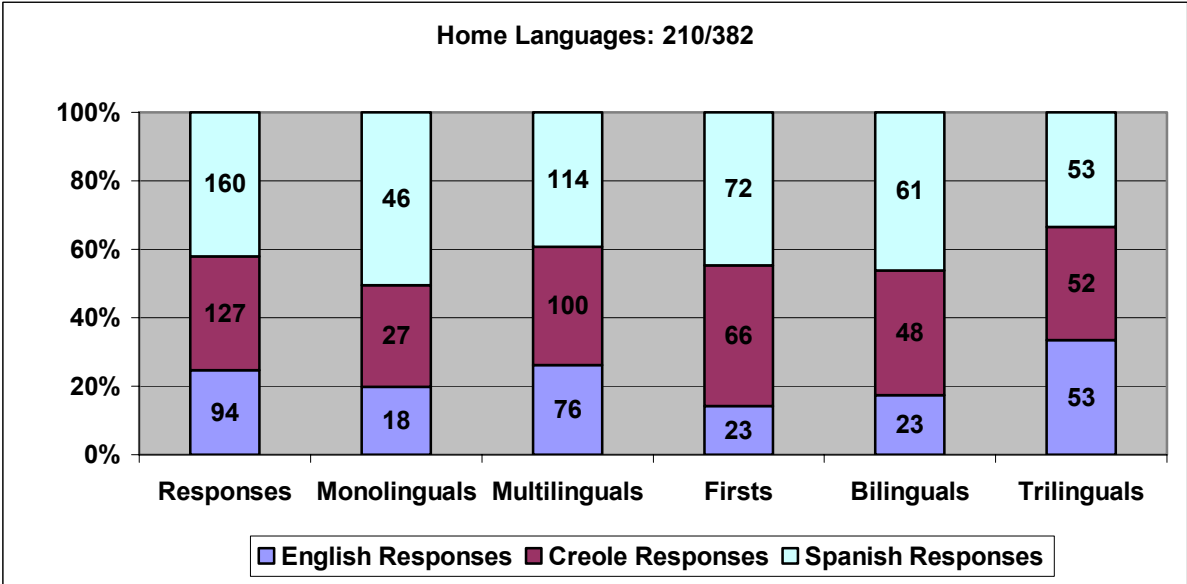
The tables produced by crosstabulation are displayed as 100% stacked columns which compare the percentage each value contributes to a total across categories. The Chi-square for the table is calculated to determine if there is a statistically significant difference in the result

from that expected by the null hypothesis. The final step in analysis is to see which, if any, of the individual cells contributes significantly to the Chi-square value. This is achieved by using the Adjusted Standardised Residual where adjustment is made for the row and column totals. If the Residual is >2, it indicates that the cell makes a major contribution to the overall Chi-square value.

The Data

The first principle of Macroacquisition theory is that there be a bilingual speech community. To investigate this, multiple, ranked responses to the question ‘Which language(s) do you use at home?’ are analysed. Not all respondents ranked their multiple response and they are treated as a sub-set of Not Ranked respondents. As already mentioned, the Raizal community is one with a bilingual diglossia in Standard Caribbean English and Creole, and so these are studied both separately, and together as a set of Local Languages.

Language Responses



In all, there are 210 respondents of whom 161 (76.7%) have a Ranked and 49 (23.3%) a Not Ranked Language response. Some respondents gave multiple language responses but did not indicate, as requested, which was their First, Second or Third language. They are treated as separate set, the Not Rankeds. They generate 382 Home Language responses, an average of 1.8 responses per respondent. 221 (57.9%) are Local Language responses with 94 (44.8%) being English and 127 (60.5%) Creole, from 164 (78.1%) respondents. Almost as many, 160 (76.2%, 41.9% of responses), use Spanish, and 1 has German.

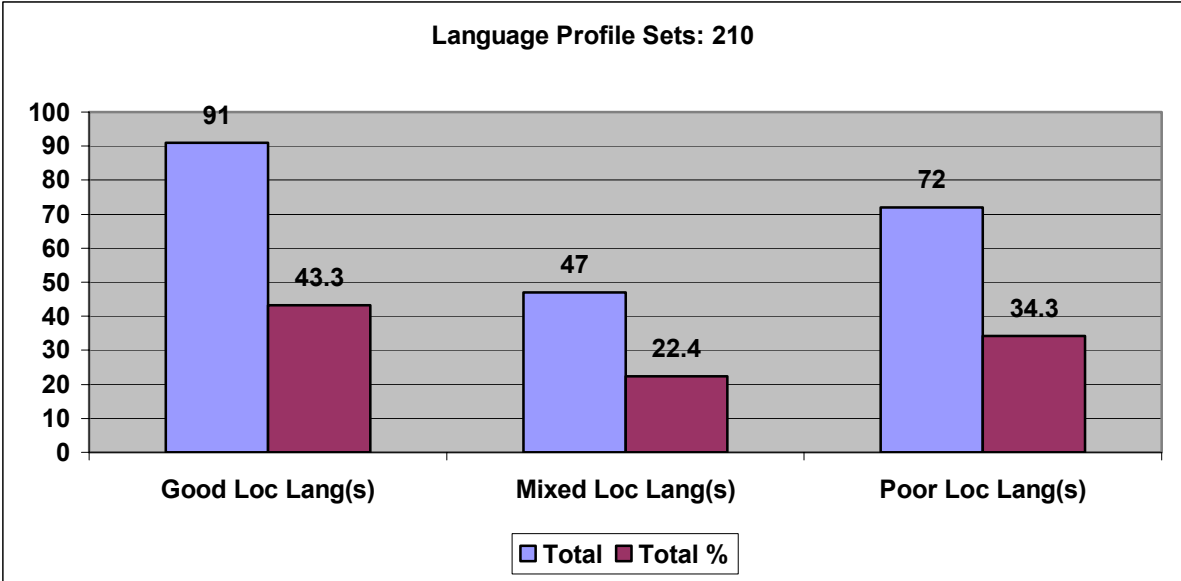
Of the 161 Ranked respondents, 89 (55.3%, 42.4% of respondents) have a Local Language as First Language with 66 (74.2%) Creole and 23 English. 72 (44.7%) have Spanish which is higher than for either of the Local Languages reflecting the lingua franca status of Spanish on the island and the dominance of Spanish in the media, much of which is national. This signals that a considerable number of Raizales do not closely belong to the Speech Community in Macroacquisition terms; they are now primarily Hispanic and if they

have retained a Local Language, it is as an auxiliary one. 91 (56.5%, 43.3% of respondents) are monolingual with 45 (49.5%, 28% of Ranked) being so in a Local Language; 27 (60%) have Creole and 18 (40%) English. Logically, 119 (56.7% of respondents) have a Multilingual response and all (100%) have a Local Language with 114 (95.8%, 54.3% of respondents) also having Spanish.

In their home language use, only 54.3% of Raizales directly fit the bilingual speech community premise of Macroacquisition Theory, but there are also 50 (23.8%) Raizales who only use Local Language(s) but as a matter of choice rather than ability given their Spanish education and the large presence of monolingual Spanish speakers. This gives 164 (78.1%) respondents who can be considered as English/Creole and Spanish bilinguals and who conform to the bilingual requirements of Macroacquisition Theory. However, they remain exposed to the danger of losing their Local Language(s) as has already happened to 46 (21.9%) respondents, although they too may well use Local Language(s) outside the home in community events. With over three-quarters of respondents using Spanish, it has clearly made in-roads into the homes of Raizales, but there is still a lot of Local Language use as well. In summary, well under half are securely part of the Raizal Speech Community and over a third are already lost or endangered.

The strength of their Local Language responses, according to Macroacquisition Theory, should determine the strength and weakness of their cultural responses, of their Shared Subjective Knowledge. To investigate this, the data has been organised into subsets according to the strength of the Local Language response. There are 3 Profiles:

1. the Good Local Language(s) Profile; all those with Only Local Language(s) or a Local Language as First of a multilingual response;
2. the Mixed Local Language(s) Profile, all those with Local Language(s)/Spanish Not Ranked responses;
3. the Poor Local Language(s) Profile, all those with a Local Language(s) as auxiliary to Spanish as First, or No Local Languages.



Of the 210 respondents, 91 (43.3%) have a Good, 47 (22.4%) a Mixed and 72 (34.3%) a Poor Local Language Profile. The first step in analysis is to consider the distribution in this simplified Local Language data set. Giving a ranked value of 1 to the Poor Local Language set through to 3 for the Good Local Language set gives a Mean of 2.09, considerably stronger than the 1.50 expected if equally distributed. The Median falls on Mixed Language and the Mode on Good Local Language, both as expected, and there is a Standard Deviation of 0.88. However, can this be taken as a reliable representation of Language responses in the wider community of can be extended to the whole population of Raizales, some 21,762 (DANE Census, 2005).

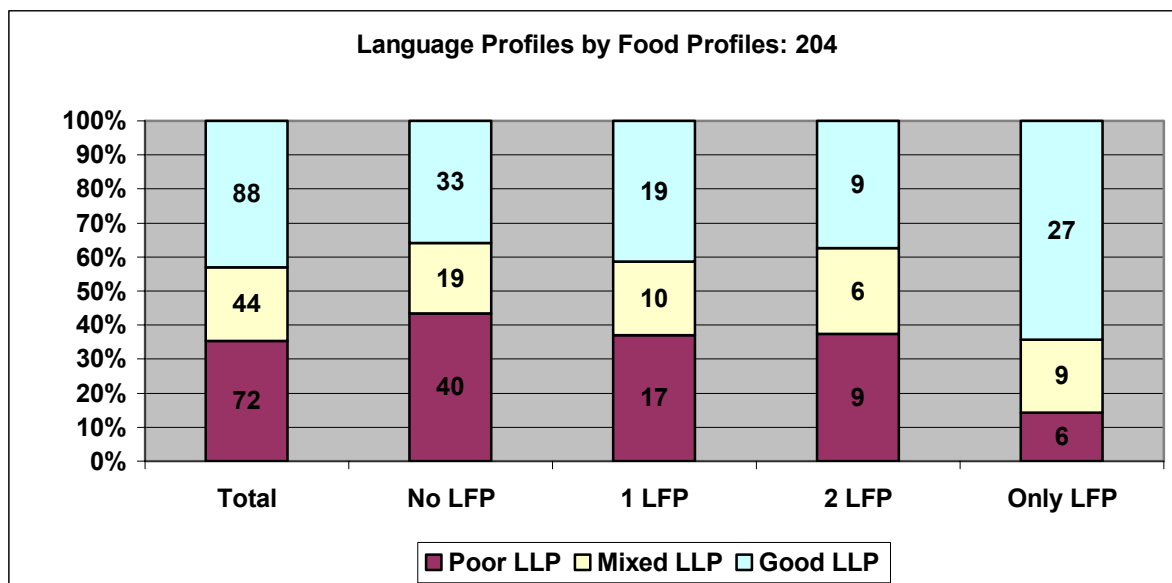
In these Local Language Profiles, the Chi-square conditions of the value for the Expected Frequency not falling below 5 in more than 25% of the cells, and there being a minimum expected count of 5, are met. With a Chi-square Value of 13.91 and a significance probability of 0.001, we can be confident that the distribution of these Local Language Profiles is not by chance. These can now be reliably be used to test, by crosstabulation, whether there are associations with the responses to other variables in the survey data.

Food

A respondent's Food choices are a reflection of their economic conditions but also of emotion as seen in common refrains such as 'the stomach is the way to a man's heart'. We can suppose therefore that those at the heart of the Speech Community, here identified by their Good Local Language Profile, will remain wedded to their traditional foods.

The most common Food response is General Foods (pasta, chicken, meat etc.) with 267 (56.4%) responses from 154 (75.5%) respondents. The next most common is Islander Foods (rondon, crab claws, tail, conque, coconut rice) with 162 (34.2%) responses from 112 (54.9%) respondents. There are surprisingly few Colombian Food (bandeja paisa, ajiaco, papa choreada) responses, only 18 (3.8%) responses from 18 respondents. In addition, there are 26 (5.5%) Fast Food responses from 24 respondents.

These Food responses can be regrouped according to the strength of their Islanderness. This gives 42 (20.6%) respondents with Only Local Food(s), 24 (11.8%) with 2 Local Foods and 1 Not Local, and 46 (22.5%) with only 1 Local Food (and another/others). The other 92 (45.1%) have No Local Food responses. That almost half of respondents have No Local Foods and only 66 (32.4%) have a 'Good' Local Food response is a cause for concern. However, today almost all foodstuffs on the island are imported and there is little local agriculture, even of a subsistence nature, and so availability works against Local Foods and for General Foods. The Chi-square conditions are met and with value of 49.33 and a significance probability of 0.000, we can be confident that the distribution of these Local Food responses is reliable.



The chart shows a general correlation between respondents' language responses and their cultural knowledge and behaviour, their Shared Subjective Knowledge, in this case favourite foods. The Only Local Food Profile is over-represented in the Good, under-represented in Poor and almost proportional in the Mixed Local Language Profile set, which is as one would expect under Macroacquisition theory. However, in the 2 Local Food Profile set the picture changes; it is slightly over-represented in the Poor and Mixed and under-represented in Good Local Language Profile set. The 1 Local Food Profile set is almost proportional in all the Local Language Profile sets while the No Local Food Profile set is over-represented in the Poor, proportional in the Mixed and under-represented in Good Local Language Profile set. However, are these results significant? There is a Chi-square value of 122.929 and a significance value of 0.044 so we can conclude that there is a reliable association between these Profile sets.

The strongest associations as revealed by their Adjusted Standardised Residual are the likelihood of a Poor Local Language Profile respondent not having an Only Local Food Profile, a cell value of -3.2, and a Good Local Language respondent having one, cell value 3.1. Having a Good Local Language Profile is a condition for having an Only Local Food Profile, of holding the Shared Subjective Knowledge. However, with 27 respondents they account for only 13.2% of respondents. The other significant cell in the crosstabulation is the Poor Local Language/No Local Food one with a value of 2.2; again as Macroacquisition Theory would predict, those with a Poor Local Language also have a Poor Food Profile, a weak Shared Subjective Knowledge.

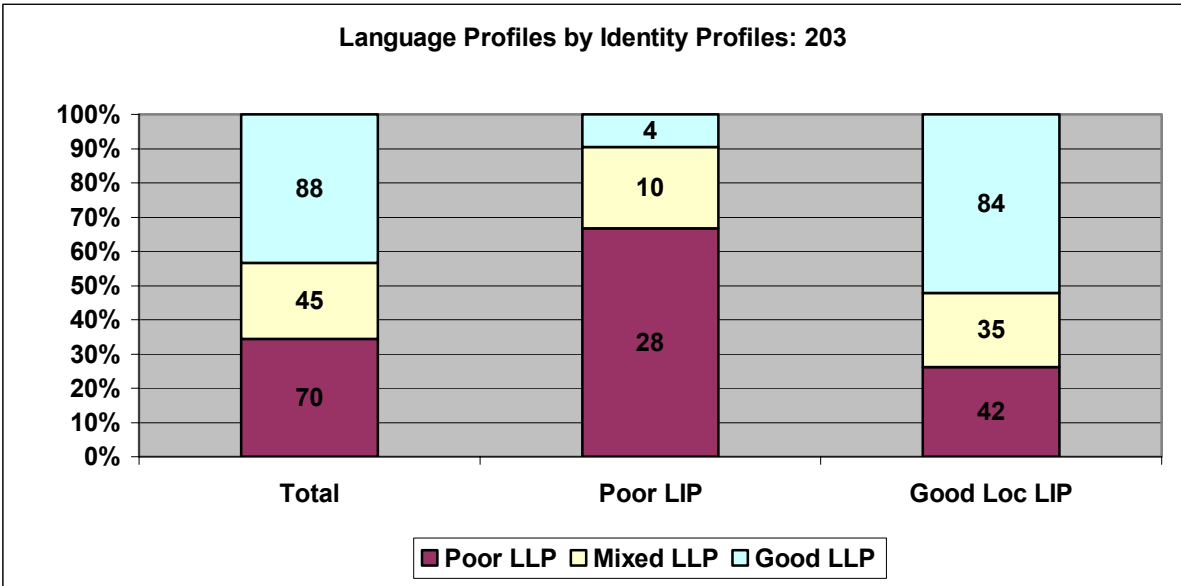
Identities

There are 292 Identity responses, an average of 1.39 responses per respondent, which is considerably lower than for Languages, and of which 199 (68.2%) are Local Identity ones, 10.3% higher than with Local Languages. 57 (27.1%) have a Colombian, 26 (12.4%) an Afro-Colombian, 2 an Aboriginal, 7 a Caribbean and 1 a Panamanian Identity. These 199 Local Identity responses are generated by 168 (80%) respondents with 119 (70.8%, 56.7% of respondents) Islander and 80 (47.6%, 38.1%) Raizal. There are 4 more Local Identity respondents than for Local Language. Only a fifth do not feel themselves to be part of the

Local ethnic group but the division between its two versions is not equal, much as in language with its division by English and Creole. Most hold an Islander identity rather than the newer Raizal one even though there are now also Residents who, born on the islands, also legitimately claim an Islander identity but with a different meaning and connotation; a regional Colombian identity rather than a native Islander one.

The community is at 'home' and know who they are and while some have a multiple identity that includes Colombian, they feel themselves different. They are surrounded by Colombian immigrants who are clearly 'other' and often resented as 'invaders'. However, there are also a considerable number of '50:50s', the result of considerable inter-marriage and partnerships, descendants who share both cultural heritages and for them matters are not clear cut. They often have Spanish as their first language which facilitates their overall integration but as they continue to hold aspects of Raizalness. This is a continuum not a break with the past and a necessary cultural adaptation, but with the latent possibility of turning into total assimilation.

In order to get a set which is valid by Chi-square rules, it is necessary to simplify these by omitting the 7 (3.3%) Mixed respondents who, having both a Local and Colombian identity, have a neutral effect here. This leaves two sets, the Good and Poor Identities. The Good Local Identity set is made up of those with Only Local Identity/ies or with a Local Identity as their Primary one. The Poor Local Identity set is made up of those with a Local Identity as an auxiliary one or with No Local Identity.



The Good Local Identity Profile is over-represented in the Good, under-represented in Poor and almost proportional in the Mixed Local Language Profile set, which is as one would expect under Macroacquisition theory. The picture for the Poor Local Identity set is logically the inverse. With a Chi-square value of 29.95 and a significance probability of 0.00, we can be confident that this is a reliable distribution of Local Identities.

The strongest associations, revealed by their Adjusted Standardised Residual, are the likelihood of a Good Local Language respondent having a Good Local Identity, cell value 4.9, and not having a Poor Local Identity, cell value -4.9. Logically, the values for the Poor Local

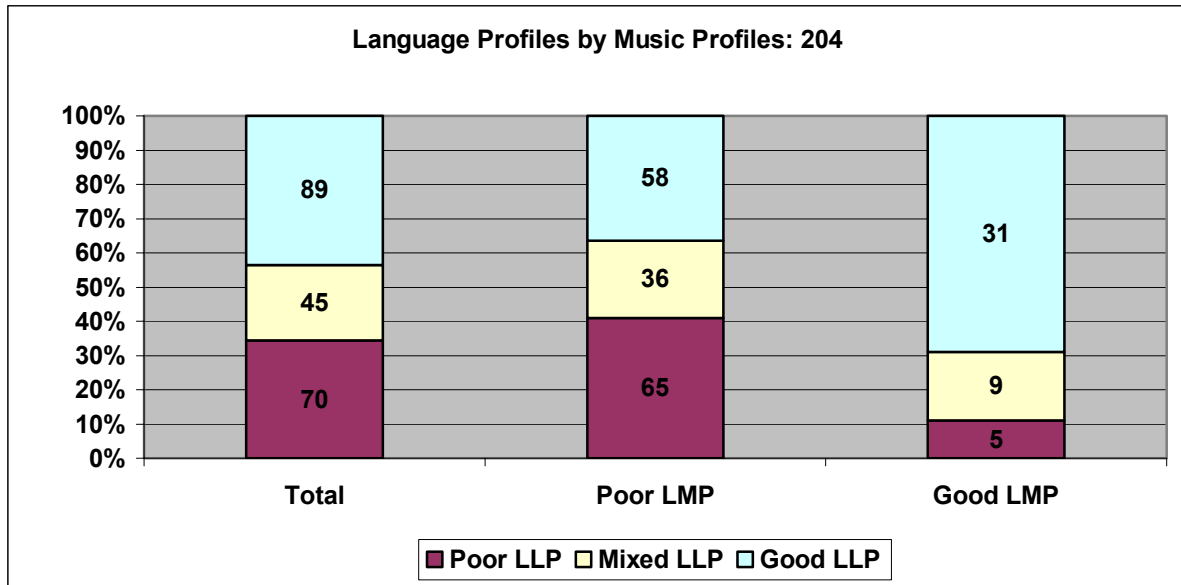
Language cells are the inverse. Having a Good Local Language Profile facilitates having a Good Local Identity Profile, a Shared Subjective Knowledge, and they account for 40% of respondents. A Poor Local Language Profile is associated with a Poor Local Identity Profile and Shared Subjective Knowledge, and so in accordance with Macroacquisition Theory.

Music

The most common Music response is International (Rock, Techno etc.) with 128 (29.8%) responses from 90 (44.1%) respondents. The next most common response is for Anglo-Caribbean Music (Reggae, Mento, Calypso) with 123 (28.6%) responses from 109 (53.4%) respondents. With less responses but more respondents than International, it suggests that many have their Anglo-Caribbean as a single Music response. Next most frequent is Hispanic-Caribbean Music (Salsa, Rumba, Merenque) with 106 (24.7%) responses from 82 (40.2%) respondents, 1.29 responses per respondent, followed by Colombian Music (Vallenato, Cumbia) with 48 (11.2%) responses from 47 (23%) respondents. The least most common responses are for Religious Music with 15 (3.5%) responses from 14 (6.9%) respondents and Other Music with 10 (2.3%) responses from 10 (4.9%) respondents.

Of the 204 respondents with a Music response, 41 (20.1%) have an Only Anglo-Caribbean Music Profile while only 4 (2%) have 2 Anglo-Caribbean Music and another response and 77 (37.7%) 1 Anglo-Caribbean Music response and another/others. The other 82 (40.2%) have No Anglo-Caribbean Music. 4 in 10 respondents have No Anglo-Caribbean Music and only 45 (22.1%) have a 'Good' Anglo-Caribbean Music response; this is a weak Local response indicating considerable loss of this element of Shared Subjective Knowledge. Much of this is down to the media which is almost exclusively Colombian owned, broadcasts in Spanish and musically reflects Colombian tastes. The FM radio stations concentrate on International, mainly US, music.

When crosstabulated with Local Language Profiles, the Chi-square calculation does not meet the conditions required but by simplifying these into Good and Poor Local Music Profiles as done with Identities, they are. This gives us 159 (77.9%) respondents with a Poor and 45 (22.1%) with a Good Local Music Profile; a very weak response with under a quarter being Good. With a Chi-square Value of 63.706 and a significance probability of 0.00, we can be confident that the distribution of these Simplified Music responses is not by chance.

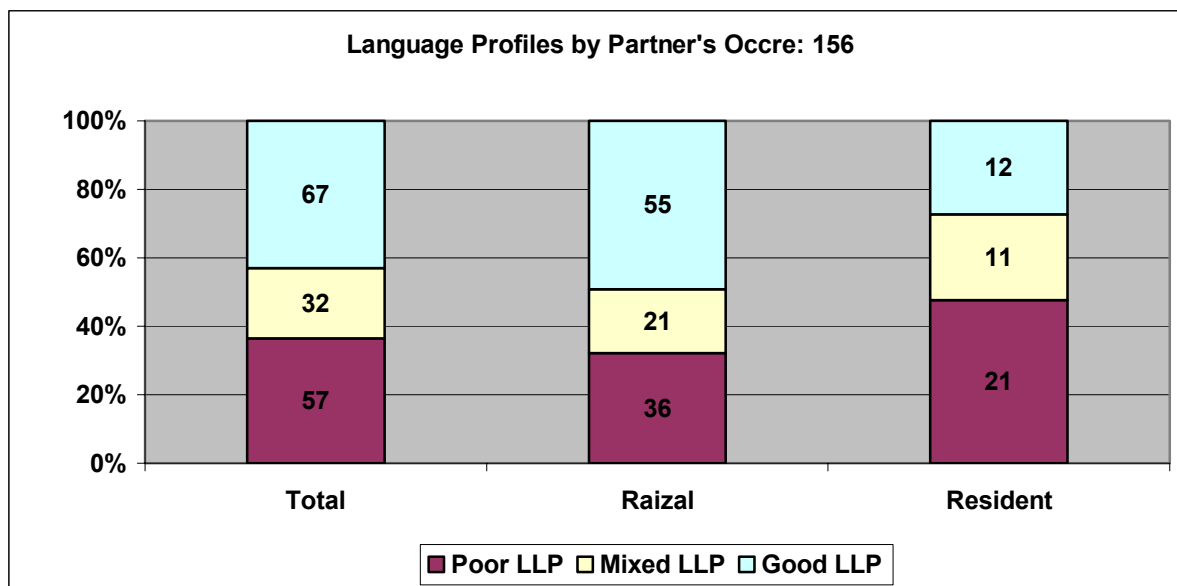


When crosstabulated with Local Language Profiles, the Poor Local Music set is over-represented in the Poor and very slightly so in the Mixed, but highly under-represented in the Good Local Language set. The Good Local Music set is logically the inverse and with a Chi-square value of 17.614 and a significance of 0.00, there is a reliable association between these Profile sets. With the Adjusted Standardised Residual calculation, the Good Local Language/Poor Local Music cell has a value of -3.9 and the Poor Local Language/Poor Local Music cell 3.7. The key factors are therefore the likelihood of a Good Local Language Profile respondent not having a Poor Local Music Profile and a Poor Local Language respondent having one. Having a Good Local Language Profile enables a Shared Subjective Knowledge, a Good Local Music Profile in this case, but they account for only 15.2% of respondents.

Partner/Best Friend's Occre

This data concerns who the respondent lives with, or if Single, has as a best friend, and is based on this other's Occre card. Under Macroacquisition theory, it is expected that the Good Local Language sets will have a correspondingly strong Shared Subjective Knowledge, here having a Raizal Partner. 112 (65.5%), almost two-thirds of respondents, have a Raizal Partner or Best Friend, followed by Resident with 44 (25.7%) and Temporary 15 (8.8%).

However, when crosstabulated with Local Language Profiles, the Chi-square conditions are not met but by omitting Temporary Occre respondents who, as they are of uncertain origin, are not useful to our analysis in any case, they are.

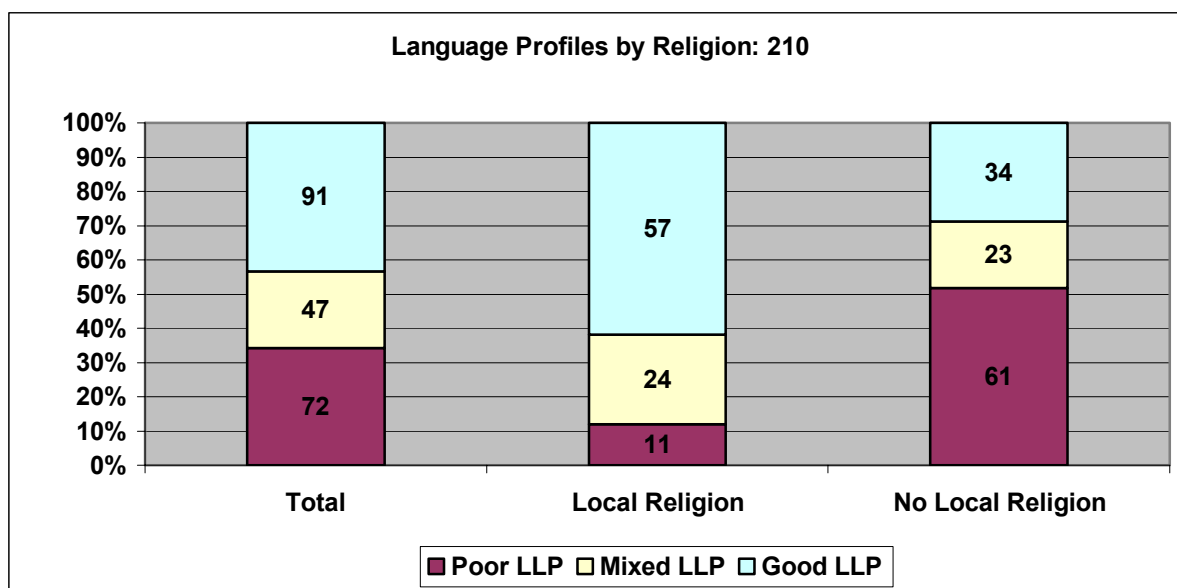


When crosstabulated with Local Language Profiles, the Raizal set is over-represented in the Good and slightly under-represented in the Mixed and Poor Local Language sets. The Resident set is logically the inverse and with a Chi-square value of 6.21 and a significance probability of 0.45, we can be confident that the associations are reliable.

Studying the Adjusted Standardised Residuals we find the Good Local Language/Raizal cell has a value of 2.5 and the Good Local Language/Resident Occre cell - 2.5, logically equal but opposite. The key factor is the likelihood of a Good Local Language Profile respondent having a Partner who is also Raizal and logically not having a Resident Partner. This is what Macroacquisition theory would lead us to expect; a greater use of Local Languages correlates with having a Raizal Partner in the home.

Religion

80 (38.1%) are Baptist but there are more Catholics, 106 (50.5%), than any other faith. Even with the addition of Adventists, 8 (3.8%), and Christian Mission, 4 (1.9%), only 92 (43.8%) have a Local Religion while 118 (56.2%) do not. The first and main plank of Colombianisation has had real effects. The Chi-square conditions are met but with a value of 3.219 and a significance probability of 0.07, greater than the 0.05 value required, we cannot be confident that this distribution of Religion responses is not by chance.



When Religion is crosstabulated with the Local Language Profiles, the overall picture is as expected with having a Local Religion showing a positive correlation with the Good Local Language Profile especially, but also with the Mixed, and with No Local Religion showing a positive correlation with the Poor Local Language set. With a Chi-square Value of 37.92 and a significance probability of 0.00, we can be confident that the variables are associated and so worth further investigation.

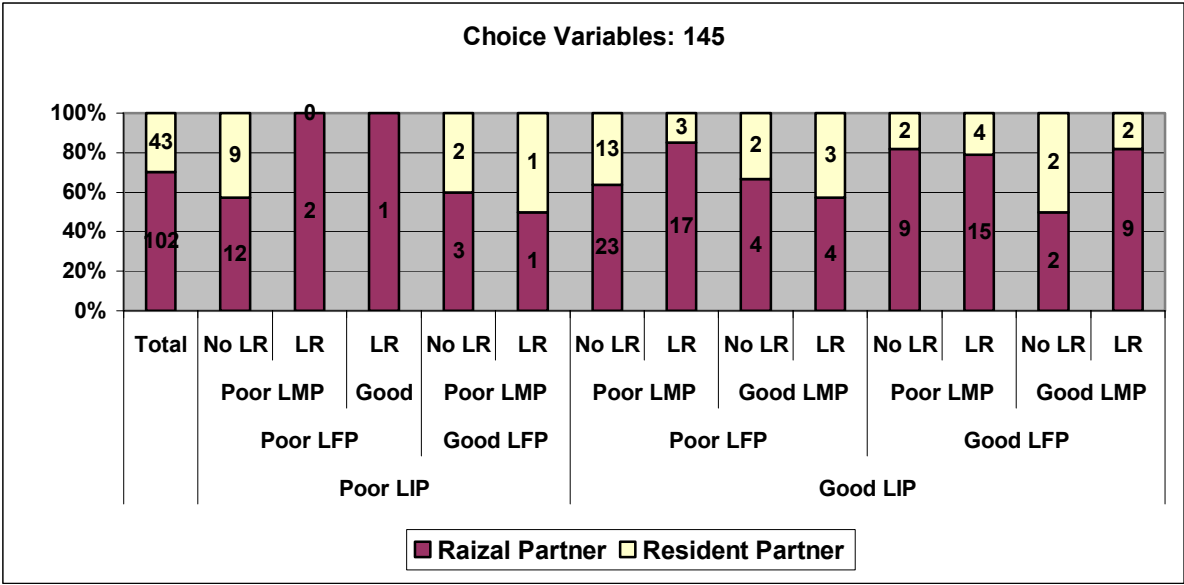
The Poor Local Language/No Local Religion cell has an Adjusted Standardised Residual value of 6.0 and the Poor Local Language/Local Religion, -6.0. The most important factor is a Poor Local Language Profile respondent Not having a Local Religion. Another strong cell is the Good Local Language/Local Religion cell with a value of 4.8 and the Good Local Language/No Local Religion cell, -4.8. For Macroacquisition Theory, being part of speech community facilitates having a strong Shared Subjective Knowledge, in this case a Local Religion, and this is convincingly affirmed here.

It also underlines the close historical link between the Local churches and Local Languages. When this is further crosstabulated with their actual language responses, we find that Creole is more strongly associated with having a Local Religion than English. In one way this is unexpected as the church has historically been the centre for English, the prestige variety and language of literacy and education, and has undermined the vernacular Creole. On the other hand, Creole is uniquely their language, the repository of the community's shared history, which is not accessible to the Colombian immigrants in the way that the global lingua franca, English, is. It thus has greater cultural value than English and today the Baptist church, together with the community's Christian University, has set up programmes in support of Creole and, with international links in Nicaragua and Belize, have been working on developing a standard script for their related Creoles.

Crosstabulated Local Profile Sets

In all of these Choice variables, there is an association between being at the heart of the speech community and maintaining a strong Shared Subjective Knowledge, and being on the periphery or outside of it and having a weak or no Shared Subjective Knowledge. The Raizal

Speech Community in its Shared Subjective Knowledge conforms to Macroacquisition Theory. It is possible to take this further by combining all these Choices to reveal an overall Profile for the Raizal community in terms of their attachment to traditional cultural values, their Localness.



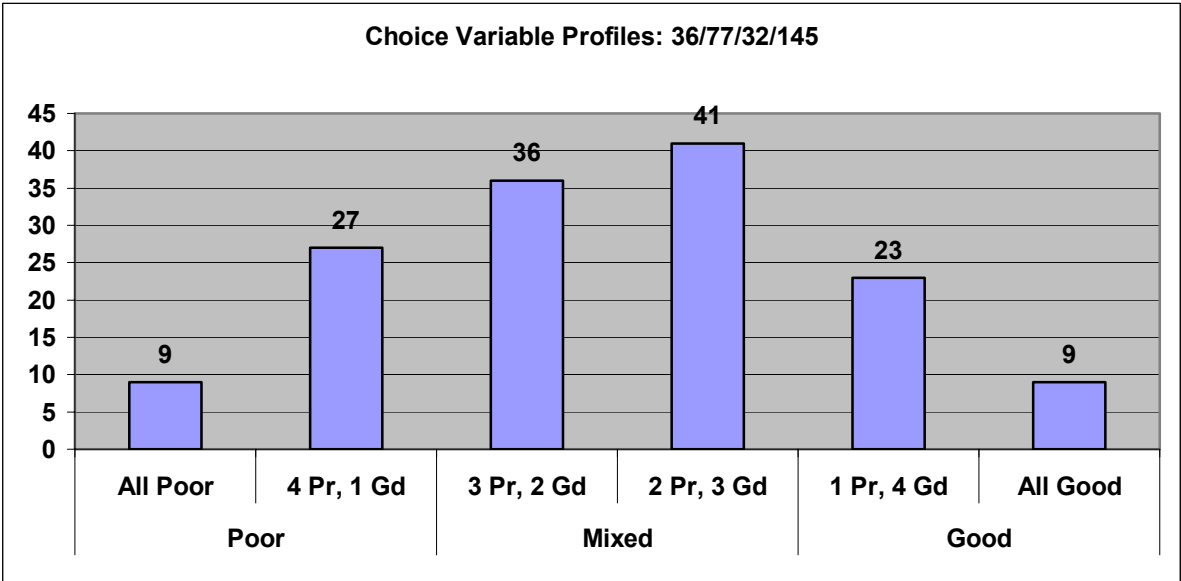
When all of these ‘Choice’ variables are crosstabulated, there are 145 respondents with 102 (70.3%) having a Raizal and 43 (29.7%) a Resident Partner. 83 (57.2%) have No Local Religion while 62 (42.8%) do; 116 (80%) have a Poor Music Food Profile while only 29 (20%) have a Good one; 93 (64.1%) have a Poor Local Food Profile while 52 (35.9%) have a Good one; and 31 (21.4%) have a Poor Local Identity Profile while 114 (78.6%) have a Good one. The only variables in which there is a better Local Profile than not are in having a Local Identity and having a Raizal Partner. In many ways these are the key factors: almost 8 in 10 feel themselves to be at the heart of their community and 7 in 10 hold closest to them a fellow member of the community.

That only just over a third have a Good Food response and only a fifth a Good Music one is of lesser importance as these are products of globalisation which are not specific to the community; they reflect wider, more general, shifts in the world’s consumption of food and music. This is emphasised here in that the shift away from Local Foods has been to General Foods and in Music to International Music rather than to Colombian Food and Music. This is seen in the most common Profile set of all, the 23 (15.9%) respondents with a Good Local Identity, Poor Local Food, Poor Local Food, No Local Religion, and Raizal Partner. This is a Mixed Profile where despite having a Raizal Partner and a Good Local Identity, respondents fail to have a strong Shared Subjective Knowledge with No Local Religion and Poor Food and Music responses. However, the cell only has an Adjusted Standardised Residual value of -1.7 and so is not a significant factor overall. 13 (36.1%) have a Resident Partner, cell value 1.7, making it the fourth most common Profile with 9% of respondents; a Poor Profile where the only Localness is in Identity but this also shows that a respondent can still feel themselves part of the community despite not sharing any common cultural attributes.

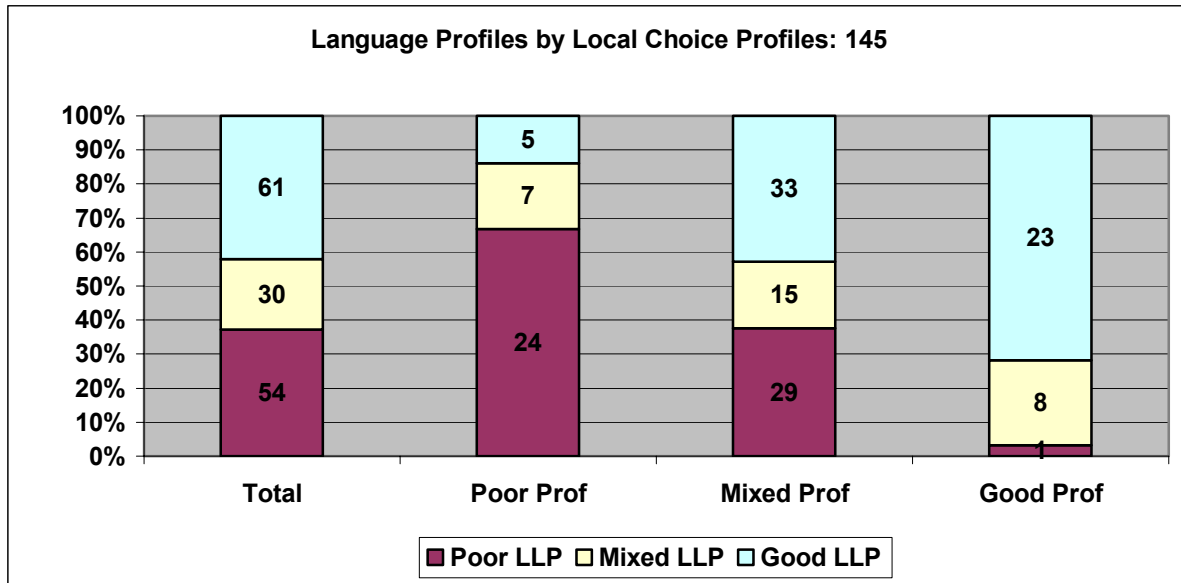
Of the 20 (35.7%) with a Good Local Identity, Poor Local Food, Poor Local Food and Local Religion, 17 (85%) have a Raizal Partner and an Adjusted Standardised Residual cell value of 1.7. This is the second most common Profile with 11.7% of respondents and another

Mixed Profile where despite having a Raizal Partner, a Good Local Identity and Local Religion, they fail to have strong Food and Music responses. The third most common response is the 15 (10.3%) respondents with a Good Local Identity, Good Local Food, Poor Local Food, Local Religion and Raizal Partner. This is a Good Profile where the only weakness is in having a Poor Local Music Profile. The fifth most common Profile with 12 (8.3%) respondents is having a Poor Local Identity, Poor Local Food, Poor Local Music, No Local Religion and a Raizal Partner; the only Localness is in having a Raizal Partner. Despite having a fellow Raizal Partner, they have no Shared Subjective Knowledge features, which is unexpected. The sixth highest response is the 9 (6.2%) respondents with all Good Local Profiles, very few have not shifted in some way from their cultural heritage.

With such a complex crosstabulation, it is not surprising that the Chi-square conditions are not met and so it is necessary to simplify the responses. This is done according to how many Local responses were given.



The highest response with 41 (28.3%) is the 2 Poor and 3 Good Profiles set followed by the 36 (24.8%) with 3 Poor and 2 Good Profiles; together they form the Mixed Profile set of 77 (53.1%) respondents. The third highest response with 27 (18.6%) is the 4 Poor and 1 Good set followed by the 1 Poor, 4 Good set of 23 (15.9%). The All Poor and All Good sets both have 9 (6.2%) respondents. However when these Choice Profiles are crosstabulated with Local Language Profiles, the Chi-square conditions are not met and it is therefore necessary to simplify this into Poor, Mixed and Good Profiles as illustrated above. Now with a Chi-square Value of 36.945 and a significance probability of 0.000, we can be confident that the associations are reliable.



54 (37.2%) have a Poor, 30 (20.7%) a Mixed and 61 (42.1%) a Good Local Language Profile while 36 (24.8%) have a Poor, 77 (53.1%) a Mixed and 32 (22.1%) a Good Choice Profile. The overall picture is as expected with having a Good Choices Profile showing a positive correlation in the Good Local Language set especially, but also in the Mixed Local Language, and the Poor Choices Profile showing a positive correlation in the Poor Local Language set. The Mixed Profile set is proportionally distributed across the Local Language sets. The Chi-square conditions are met and with a value of 32.31 and a significance probability of 0.00, the associations are reliable.

Of the 36 (24.8%) respondents with a Poor Choices Profile, 24 (66.7%) have a Poor Local Language Profile; most with a Poor Choices Profile also have a Poor Local Language Profile. The significance of this association is revealed in its Adjusted Standardised Residual value of 4.2. 7 (19.4%) have a Mixed Local Language Profile while 5 (13.9%) have a Good Local Language Profile and a cell value of -4.0. These are strong confirmation of Macroacquisition Theory as the Poor Profile sets show a strong positive correlation and the Good Local Language /Poor Profile set a highly negative one.

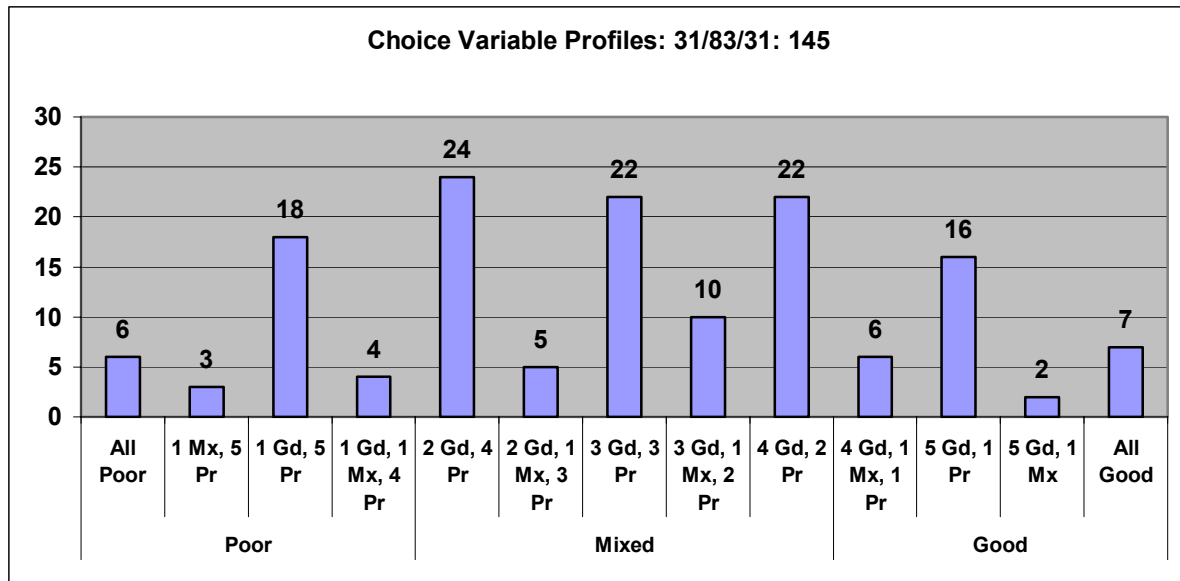
Of the 77 (53.1%) respondents with a Mixed Choices Profile, 33 (42.9%) have a Good Local Language Profile. It is quite possible to have a Good Local Language Profile but only a moderate Shared Subjective Knowledge. 29 (37.7%) have a Poor Local Language Profile while 15 (19.5%) have a Mixed Local Language Profile; all of these are more or less proportional responses and so with no Adjusted Standardised Residual cells of any significance.

Of the 32 (22.1%) respondents with a Good Choices Profile, 23 (71.9%) have a Good Local Language Profile; most with a Good Choices Profile also have a Good Local Language Profile. The significance of this association is revealed in its Adjusted Standardised Residual value of 3.9. 8 (19.4%) have a Mixed Local Language Profile while only 1 (13.9%) has a Poor Local Language Profile. With a cell value of -4.5 it is the most significant association of all; those with a Good Local Language Profile are very unlikely to have a Poor Choices Profile. This is again strong confirmation of Macroacquisition Theory as the Good Profile sets show a

strong positive correlation and the Poor Local Language Profile/Good Profile set a highly negative one.

Local Choice Profiles

Summarising the crosstabulation of Local Choices and Local Language Profiles enables us to categorise all the Local Choices in a single set of Good, Mixed and Poor Local Choice Profiles that can be used to crosstabulate with Fixed variables.

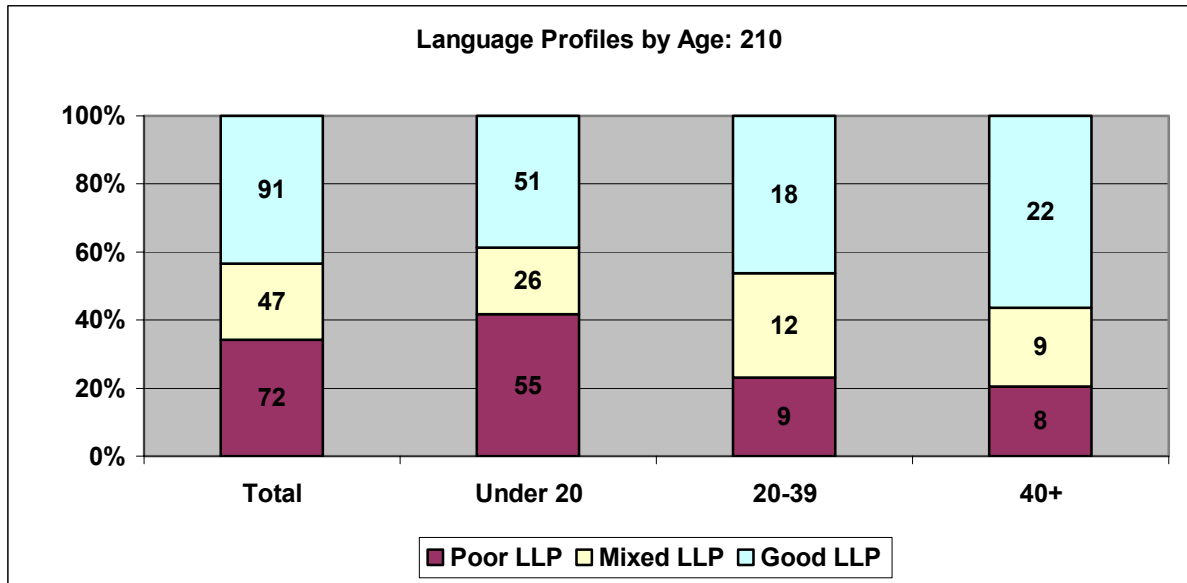


Putting all the Choice Variables into a single set according to the overall strength of the Local response gives 31 (21.4%) with a Poor Profile most of whom 18 (12.4%) have 1 Good and 5 Poor Profile responses. 83 (57.2%) have a Mixed Profile with 24 (16.6%) having 2 Good and 4 Poor, and both 3 Good/3 Poor and 4 Good/2 Poor have 22 (15.2%) respondents. 31 (21.4%) have a Good Profile with 16 (11%) having a 5 Good/1 Poor Profile. The Chi-square conditions for this Simplified set of Poor, Mixed and Good Choice Profiles are met and with a value of 37.30 and a significance probability of 0.00, we can be confident that this distribution is reliable.

Fixed Variables

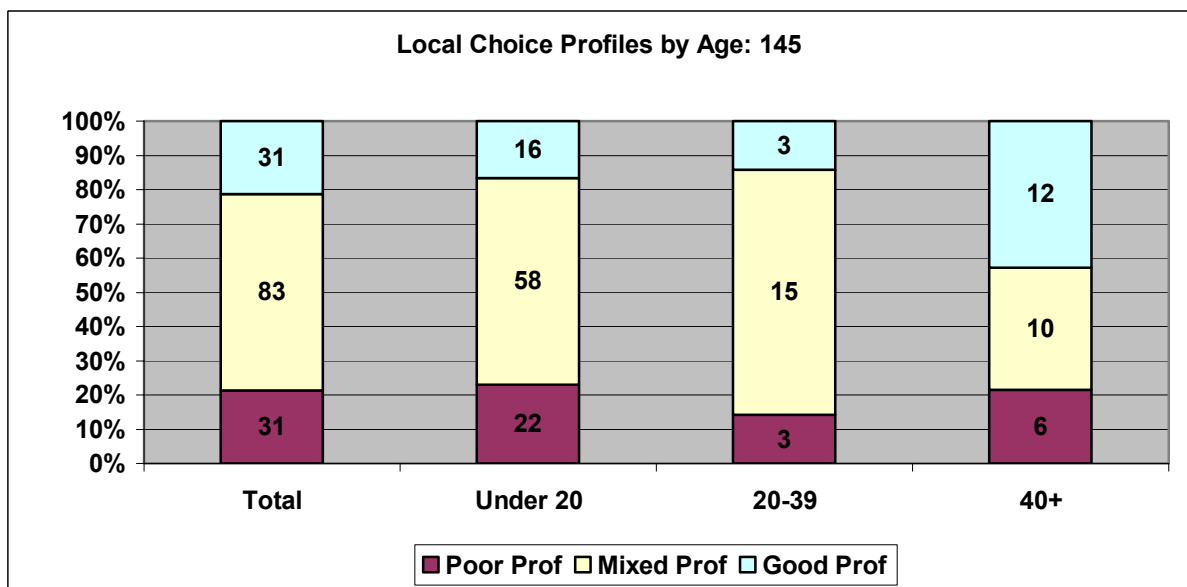
Age

By far the most common Age response is Under 20 with 132 (62.8%) respondents. There are equal numbers in the 20-39 Age Set and the Over 40 Set, 39 (18.6%). The Chi-square conditions are met and with a value of 82.37 and a significance probability of 0.00, we can be confident that the distribution of Age responses is not by chance.



When crosstabulated, the Under 20s are over-represented in the Poor and under-represented in the Mixed and Good Local Language Profile sets. The 20-39s are over-represented in the Mixed, and slightly so in the Good, while under-represented in the Poor Local Language Profile set. The Over 40s are over-represented in the Good, slightly so in the Mixed, and under-represented in the Poor Local Language Profile sets. With a Chi-square value of 9.63 and a significance of 0.047, we can conclude that there is a reliable association between these sets.

The Adjusted Standardised Residual calculation gives the Poor Local Language/Under 20 cell a value of 2.9, making this the key factor. That a Poor Local Language Profile is associated with being Under 20 is worrying for the sustainability of strong Local Languages in the community. Similarly, the Poor Local Language/Over 40 cell has a value of -2.0, making it the other significant association.



When crosstabulated with the Local Choice Profile sets, the Under 20s are slightly over-represented in the Poor and Mixed and under-represented in Good Local Choice Profile sets, which is a concern as it points to a decline and eventual loss of Local Traits. The 20-39s are over-represented in the Mixed and under-represented in the Good and Poor Local Profile sets. The Over 40s are highly over-represented in the Good, slightly so in the Poor, and highly under-represented in the Mixed Local Profile sets. With a Chi-square value of 11.038 and a significance value of 0.023, we can conclude that there is a reliable association between these Local Profiles and Age sets.

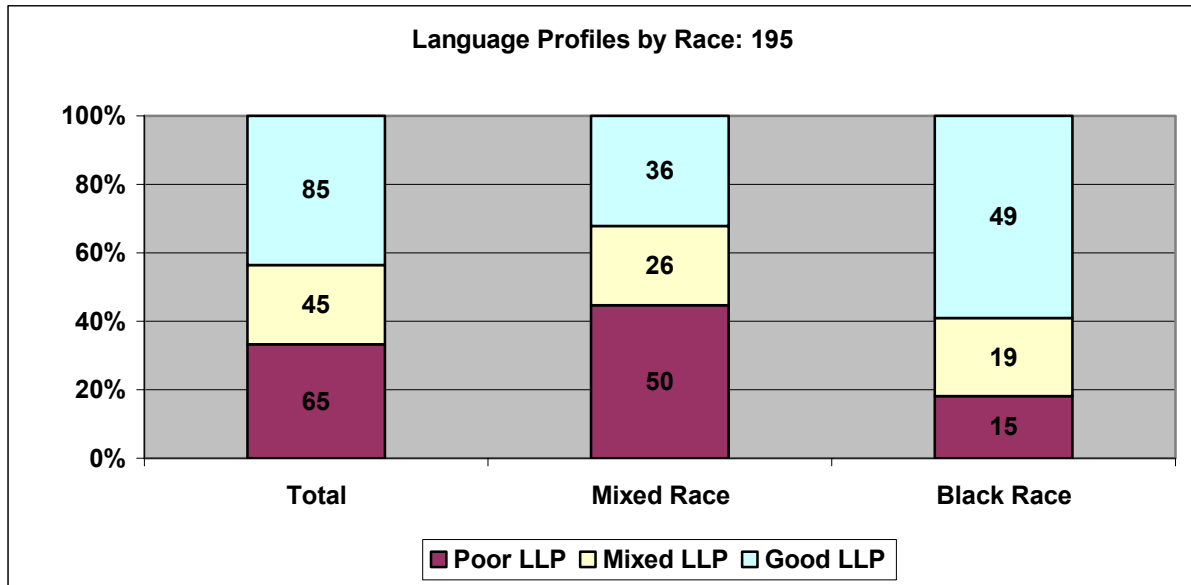
The Good Local Profile/Over 40s cell has an Adjusted Standardised Residual value of 3.1, making this the key factor and a worrying sign for the sustainability of strong Local Traits in the community. The Mixed Local Profile/Over 40 cell has a value of -2.6, making it the other significant association, but for which there is no clear explanation. The Poor Local Profile/Over 40 cell has a value of 0, proportional. The Over 40s tend to have a Good Language Profile but not a Mixed one when instead, not having a Poor one would have been expected. Just outside the 2 range required is the Good Local Profile/Under 20 set with a value of -1.9, another worrying sign for the sustainability of a strong local culture.

While in the Local Language Profiles the key association is between having a Poor Local Language and being Under 20 and secondarily between Poor Local Language and not being Over 40, in the Local Choice Profiles the key correspondence is between having a Good Local Profile and being Over 40 and secondarily between having a Mixed Local Profile and not being Over 40.

Race

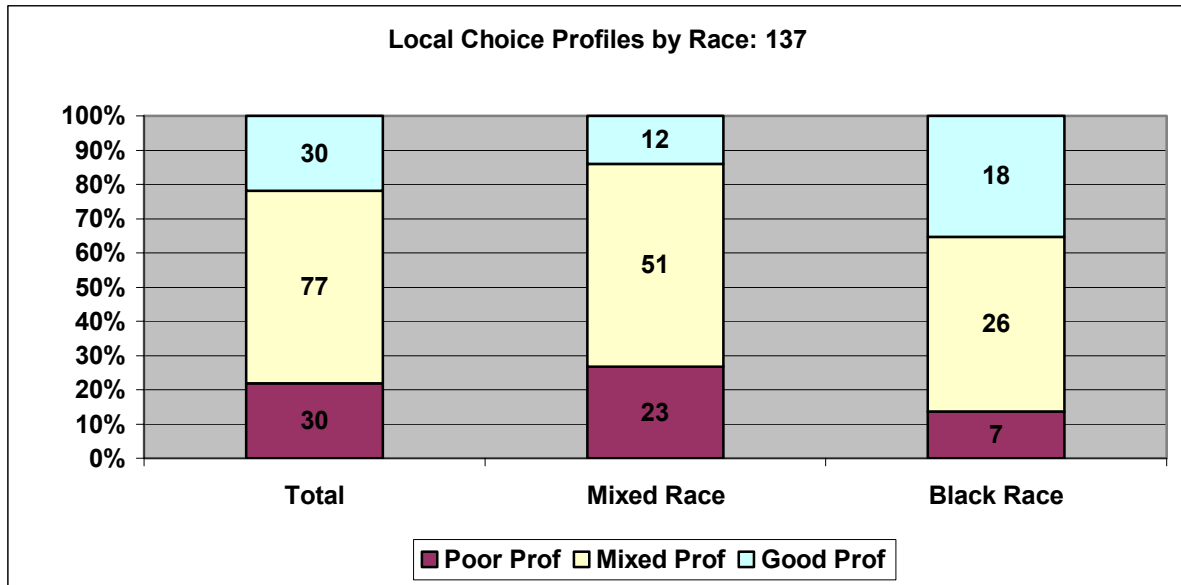
The most common Race response is Mixed with 112 (55.7%) respondents followed by Black, 83 (41.3%), and White, only 6 (3%). These are subjective, self-defined responses and so reflect how respondents see themselves rather than how they are seen by others, and there may be a considerable difference. Nevertheless, the shared and Creole history of the community means many are Mixed, although in other classification systems², they would be considered Black. The Chi-square conditions are met and with a value of 89.58 and a significance probability of 0.00, we can be confident that the distribution of Race responses is not by chance. However, when crosstabulated with Language Profiles, it fails both Chi-square conditions, the problem being with White Race, which with so few respondents, needs to be excluded.

2 The UK and USA, for example.



When crosstabulated, the Mixed Race set is over-represented in the Poor Local Language set, proportional in the Mixed and under-represented in the Good Local Language set. The Black Race set is logically the inverse; there is a correlation between the Language Profiles and Race. With the Chi-square conditions met, a value of 18.01 and a significance of 0.00, there is a reliable association between these Language Profiles and Simplified Race sets. The Adjusted Standardised Residual calculation gives the Poor Local Language/Mixed Race cell a value of 3.9 and the Good Local Language/Mixed Race cell a value of -3.7. The key factors in this dataset are that Mixed Race is associated with a Poor Local Language Profile and not associated with a Good Local Language Profile. As the Mixed Local Language set is proportional in the Mixed Race set, logically the values for the Black Race cells are the inverse to Mixed Race, -3.9 and 3.7. Having a Shared Subjective Knowledge, in this case of race relations and being Black, discrimination, is associated with a Good Local Language Profile.

When this is further crosstabulated with their actual language responses, we find that of the 36 Good Local Language Profile/Mixed Race respondents, 13 (36.1%) have English as their First language while 24 (66.7%) have Creole; for English this is 10.3% higher than for the overall percentage of English among Local Language Firsts and for Creole 7.5% less and indicates an association between a Good English Profile and Mixed Race. Of the 49 Good/Black Race respondents, 11 (22.4%) have English as First language while 39 (79.6%) have Creole. For English this is 3.8% lower than for the overall percentage of English among Local Language Firsts and for Creole 5.4% higher. There is a slightly stronger association for Creole than English with Black Race.

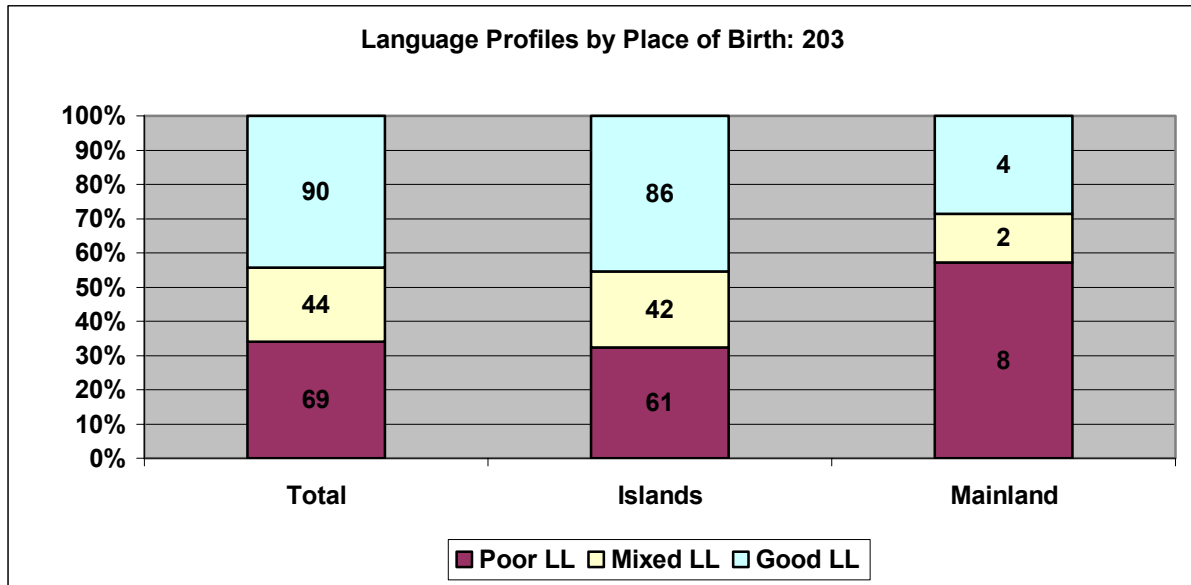


When crosstabulated with the Local Choice Profile sets, Mixed Race is slightly over-represented in the Poor and Mixed and under-represented in Good Local Choice Profile sets, and for Black Race the results are logically the inverse. With a Chi-square value of 9.531 and a significance of 0.009, we can conclude that there is a reliable association between these Local Profiles and Race sets.

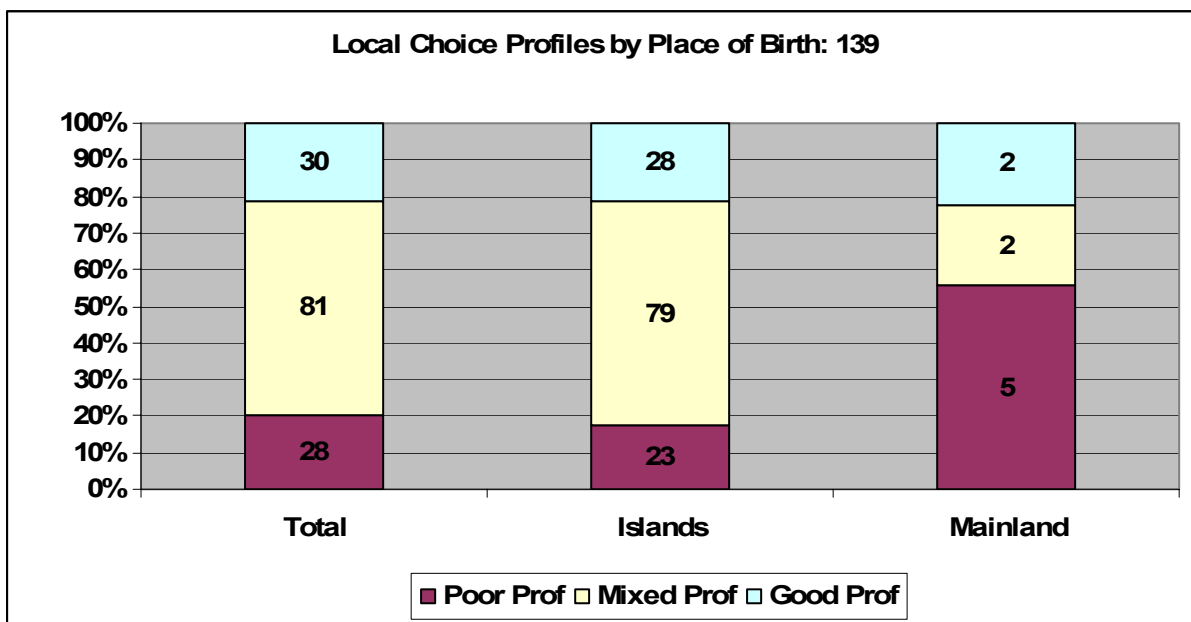
The Adjusted Standardised Residual calculation gives the Good Local Profile/Black Race cell a value of 2.9, making this the key factor, and logically the Mixed Race with a value of -2.9. Just outside the 2 range required is the Poor Local Profile/Mixed Race set with a value of 1.8 and logically the Black Race with -1.8. As when crosstabulated with Local Language Profiles, having a Shared Subjective Knowledge, in this case of racial discrimination, is associated with a Good Local Choice Profile.

Place of Birth

189 (93.1%) respondents are Island Born and only 14 (6.9%) are Born on the Mainland. The Chi-square conditions are met and with a value of 150.86 and a significance probability of 0.00, we can be confident that the distribution of Place of Birth responses is not by chance.



The only clearly positive correlation is the Born on the Mainland set with the Poor Local Language set. However, the Chi-square conditions are not met and so this is unreliable. However, the Poor Local Language/Mainland Born cell has a Adjusted Standardised Residual value of 1.9 and its corresponding Poor Local Language/Island Born cell -1.9. Being just outside the >2.0 range needed, all we can conclude is that this is the strongest, but unreliable, association.

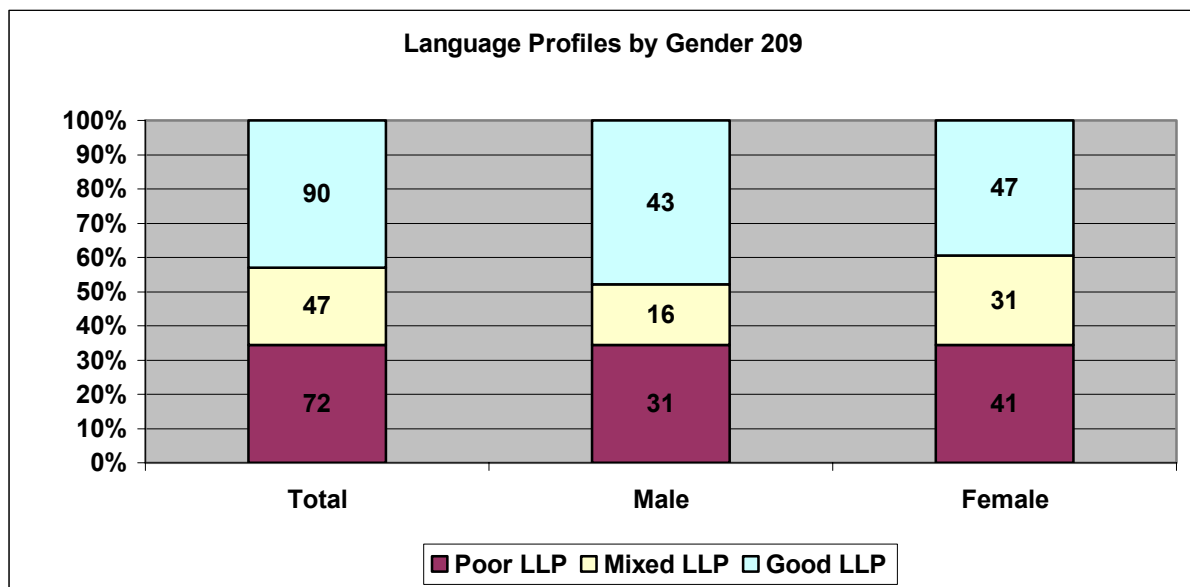


When crosstabulated with the Local Choice Profile sets, the Island Born are slightly under-represented in the Poor, slightly over-represented in Mixed and proportional in the Good Local Choice Profile sets, and for the Mainland Born the results are logically the inverse. With a Chi-square value of 9.139 and a significance of 0.017, these associations are reliable. The Adjusted Standardised Residual calculation gives the Poor Local Profile/Mainland Born cell a value of 2.7, making this the key factor, and logically the Island

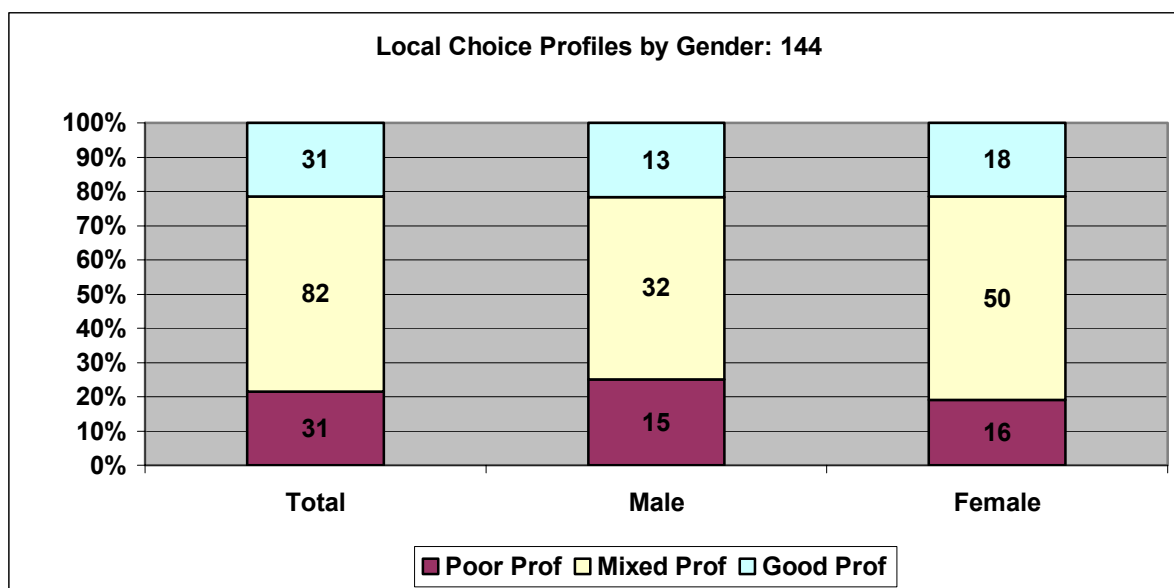
Born with a value of -2.7. Although by Local Language Profiles there are no significant cells, this is not true when all Local Choice Profiles are considered where the expected positive association between Poor Profile and Mainland Born comes through. Also of note is the Mixed Local Profile/Island Born cell with a value of 2.3, and logically the Mainland Born with a value of -2.3. The Mixed Profile set has a positive association with Island Born while the Good Profile set is only proportional. The expected correspondence with Good Profile is diluted to being only a Mixed one which points to the overall hybrid nature of most Raizales and reflects their bi-culturalism.

Gender

Of the 209 respondents, 90 (43.1%) are Male and 119 (56.9%) Female. This is different to the census of 1993 which gave a total of 7,699 Raizales of whom 3,790 (49.23%) were Male and 3,909 (50.77%) Female but with a significance probability of more than 0.05, this difference could be by chance. The Chi-square conditions for Gender are met and with a value of 4.02 and a significance probability of 0.45, we can be confident that the distribution of Gender responses is not by chance.



There is no clear overall pattern of Genders according to Local Language Profiles. Males are over-represented in Good Local Language set, and slightly so in the Poor, while under-represented in the Mixed Local Language set. Results for Females are logically the inverse. Females have a Poorer Local Language Profile and this may be the result of a more general gender difference in language use. Linguists (Lakoff: 1975; Spender: 1980) have characterised women's speech as hesitant, deferent and polite, more accommodating than that of men, here by using more Spanish, it being the lingua franca and national language. Although the Chi-square conditions are met, with a value of 2.376 and a significance of 0.305, the associations cannot be relied upon. With the Adjusted Standardised Residual calculation, there are no cells over the score of 2 which would make them of interest. Language and Gender are not significantly associated and Macroacquisition theory would not contemplate Gender as being a factor in differential Local Language use as it is a theory for the whole Speech Community.



When crosstabulated with the Local Choice Profile sets, Males are slightly over-represented in the Poor, under-represented in Mixed and proportional in the Good Local Choice Profile sets and for the Females the results are logically the inverse. With a Chi-square value of 0.812 and a significance of 0.666, we can conclude that there is a no reliable association between these Local Profiles and Gender sets. The Adjusted Standardised Residual calculation gives no cells anywhere near the 2 range needed; as with the Local Language Profiles, there is no association by Gender.

Conclusion

In all of these Fixed variables, except that of Gender, there is an correlation between the variable and both the Local Language Profile and Local Choice Profile sets. In the case of Age, there is a correlation between being Under 20 and having a Poor Local Language Profile – the heart of the community, its speech is threatened. In a similar way, in relation to Local Choice Profiles, having a Good Local Profile is associated with being Over 40, so also pointing to a dying out of their Shared Subjective Knowledge, but in a less advanced state than for the loss of Local Languages as the Good Local Profile/Under 20 cell has an Adjusted Standardised Residual value of -1.9.

In the case of Race, the strongest correlation is between being Mixed Race and having a Poor Local Language Profile. It might be that in a racist society such as Colombia, being Mixed Race has made it easier to assimilate and be accepted, and in this process of Colombianising their traditional languages have been weakened. It might also be that with this greater acceptance they have partnered more with Colombian immigrants and this mixed household arrangement has affected their home language use as the Resident is unlikely to have either of the Local Languages. When considering their Local Choice Profiles, the strongest correlation is between being Black and having a Good Local Profile; facing discrimination, these respondents have held onto their traditional cultural values.

In the case of Place of Birth, although there is no really significant result, the strongest association is between being Mainland Born and having a Poor Local Language Profile.

Being born in Mainland Colombia, surrounded by Colombian culture, not surprisingly has weakened the traditional languages. Similarly, in relation to Local Choice Profiles, the strongest correlation is between being Mainland Born and having a Poor Local Profile.

Macroacquisition Theory fits the case of the Raizales of San Andrés as there are clear and reliable associations between a respondent's Language Profile and their cultural choices and practices, their Shared Subjective Knowledge. However, in many instances there are few respondents with a Good Profile: for Home Languages they make up 43.3% of all respondents; for Food 32.4%; for Music 22.1%; and for Religion 43.8%. In all of these, there is evidence of a considerable weakening of traditional cultural practices.

The situation is different for Identity where 79.3% have a Good Profile and for Partner's Occre where 65.5% do; two-thirds still choose a Partner from the same ethnic group and almost 4 in 5 have remained loyal to a Local identity. When these are crosstabulated with Local Language Profiles, the proportions of those with a Good/Good Profile decline dramatically. For Language/Food only 17.6% have a Good/Good Profile and for Music only 15.2% have while for Religion with 27.1%, the situation is slightly better but still with just over a quarter of all respondents. Even in the stronger sets, under half of respondents have a Good/Good Profile; for Language/Identity it is 41.4% and for Raizal Partner, 35.3%.

When those with a Mixed Local Language Profile are added, there are another 7.4% with a Good Food Profile, 25% in all. There is another 4.4% with a Good Music Profile, 19.6% in all, another 11.4% with a Local Religion making 38.6% in all. For Identity there is another 17.2% with a Good Profile, 58.6% in all, and for Raizal Partner, there is another 13.5%, 48.7% in all. Even when the Good and Mixed Language Profile respondents are combined, only in Identity does the Good Profile set constitute a majority of respondents.

In terms of numbers, cultural and language traditions are weak and the results from the Age set point to a further weakening over time. As Macroacquisition Theory states, language is the key to cultural maintenance and so much more needs to be done on this front through education and in having a more balanced media. The bilingual education programme, which started in a small way in 1987, has since been given greater scope and resources but has never, even now in its guise of 'ethno-education', achieved what was hoped. The teachers themselves are a product of their own monolingual education in Spanish and struggle to separate their Creole from their Standard English. This makes the teaching of Standard English problematic, and more so as many students arrive at school as monolingual Creole speakers. There is a trilingual agenda which is very hard to deliver, and no attempt has been made to introduce bilingual systems into the schools with a largely immigrant, monolingual Spanish, intake. For a bilingual island, both language groups will have to learn the language of the other, but immigrants, with the lingua franca already, have little incentive to learn Islander-English.

To have this sustainable culture, the community also needs a viable and sustainable economic base, which it does not have. Most of the Constitutional reforms were drafted taking the islands as a totality. Immigration controls, restrictions on development, and administrative decentralisation benefit all legal inhabitants equally. The special provisions granting cultural rights and protections to the Raizal community have been welcomed but their outcomes have been criticised as weak and lacking (Gallardo: 1995). Raizales have made a number of proposals to address this weakness at the base of the community. In the Project Laws of 1995 and 1996, a Land Bank scheme for the community was put forward and

also the setting up of Boards to promote traditional islander economic activities. The Land Bank would buy any land for sale outside North End and, if the seller were a non-Islander, they would buy it at a commercial rate and then pass it to a member of the community in need of land for housing, business or farming. Alternatively, the land would be set aside for environmental purposes such as nature parks. If such measures had been brought in, they might have made a difference to the precarious economic conditions of many in the Raizal community. When challenged that the idea of a Land Bank is unrealistic because land prices are high and the government would never find the finance for it, Juvencio Gallardo (1991) responded; 'When I and others started talking about controlling the population some ten or twelve years ago, everybody thought we were madmen but now we see it in the Constitution and the Law.'

However, this faith in the law to make real changes is not fully justified by the experience of the last ten years. This is exemplified by the provisions in Law 47 for the creation of a Municipality for San Andrés which has never been acted upon. Raizales, if granted a municipality encompassing their sectors (San Luis, the Hill, Cove), would be able to oversee developments in these areas where they are still in a majority and where their culture and traditions are still clearly present. However, the decentralisation proposals in the Constitution have been double-edged. While they have succeeded in transferring more resources to the localities, both departmental and municipal, the local spending bodies have not been made accountable for raising the finance their proposals require. This has led to massive deficits and to bankruptcies of departments and municipalities, which then have had to be bailed out by central government.

The danger in the idea of a creating Raizal Municipality on San Andrés is that it will become a 'ghetto'. It will be dependent on the department for much of its revenue as the commercial and tourist zones lie outside this area. Although Providencia, a Municipality since 1988, is guaranteed 20% of the departmental revenues by Law 47, this has been a source of constant dispute and in 1999 bankrupted Providencia as the Department, with its bank accounts frozen, was unable to make the required transfers. This dependence on the Department, which functions for the benefit of all parties and communities, would be a weakness for a body which identified itself, and was identified, as being exclusively Raizal.

Also suggested in these Project Laws was the creation of a Bureau of Native Affairs under the Ministry of the Interior in Bogotá. While the experience as an Intendency (1911-1991) under the Interior Ministry in Bogotá was far from satisfactory, the climate in Colombia has definitely changed since then. The existence, and desirability, of difference among Colombians is now accepted and it is likely that the relationship could be harmonious. The financing of any Raizal proposals, especially over land and 'repatriation' of those on the island but without the requisite Occre card, will be expensive and consequently difficult, but a direct voice for the community at the centre of government would be better than the lone voice of a Governor of a small and marginal department. The Governors, even if Raizales, have not always demonstrated that they have the interests of their native community at heart, perhaps justifiably as they represent the whole community.

The cultural sustainability of the Raizal community is clearly possible – the data shows only 31 (21.4%) of the community with a Poor Choice Variable Profile, and the same number with a Good Choice Variable Profile, while the majority 83 (57.2%) have a Mixed Profile. A realistic goal for the community is to ensure that members do not slip away completely from their cultural heritage, only 6 (4.1%) have an All Poor Profile, and accept

that the future will increasingly be one where community members hold hybrid cultural traits. The community cannot, and should not, stay entrenched in a rigid historical construct of culture and identity, an idealisation which never existed as San Andrés has always been a site of migration and hence cultural transformation. However, without solutions to the wider economic and political issues facing the community, this will be much less likely as the community will feel forced to retrench into itself.

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