

1–4 Registration form (basic details, IRIS fact sheet)

1. Project title

Confronting Caribbean Challenges: Hybrid Identities and Governance in Small-scale Island Jurisdictions

2. Summary & Keywords (max. 250 words)

This program contributes to scholarly research on governance and identity in small-scale polities, with a focus on non-sovereignty and migration. After the dismantlement of the Netherlands Antilles, the six islands remain locked in the postcolonial imbroglio resulting from their rejection of full sovereignty. Against the advantages inherent in the asymmetrical link to the metropolis, there are constraints to the insular populations' autonomy and identities. The constitutional reforms may have deepened the ambivalence of Antillean citizens and politicians towards the Netherlands, while high levels of immigration raise other questions about insular belonging. Our central question is *how political reforms and intensive migrations affect historically grounded identities and political practices on these Dutch Caribbean islands*. The program integrates an interest in past (historical development of hybrid identities), present (governance, migration and citizenship issues) and future (sustainable tourism capitalizing on natural and historical heritage). The program's structure reflects this three-tiered approach. A post-doc will write a long-overdue social history of the three Windward Antilles with an emphasis on the implications of colonialism and their migratory traditions for identity, heritage and politics. Another post-doc will provide a comparative study on the impact of the new municipal status on the opinions and behavior of local citizens, civil servants and politicians on the BES-islands. A PhD student will chart local politics in two fields that are considered vital for sustainable development in these small-scale economies heavily dependent on tourism – nature conservation and cultural heritage.

Keywords: history and heritage; identity; governance; non-sovereignty; postcoloniality; nature conservation; small-scale.

3. Lead applicant

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4. Co-applicants (optional)

Prof. Dr. Ingrid C. van Biezen (Political Science, Leiden University), Dr. Jay Haviser (St. Maarten Archeological Center, SIMARC), Prof. Dr. Joop J.M. van Holsteijn (Political Science, Leiden University), Prof. Dr. Gerard Persoon (Anthropology, Leiden University), Dr. Peter Verthon (Verthon Consultancy, Curaçao), and Prof. Dr. Willem J.H. Willems (Archeology/Heritage Studies, Leiden University)

5–14 Research programme

Please provide information about the entire research programme. For a detailed description of individual sub-projects, see Items 15-27 below.

5. Overall aim and objectives (max. 300 words)

The program adds an historical perspective, contemporary empirical data and fresh insights to the literature on governance and identity in small-scale polities, emphasizing the variables of non-sovereignty and high-intensity migration. The focus is on the least-studied islands of the former Netherlands Antilles, but the approach is comparative. The program feeds into ongoing debates about governance, insular identities and local agency.

The three-tiered interdisciplinary approach links past, present and future. A post-doc will write a long-overdue social history of the three Windward Antilles highlighting the implications of colonialism and migratory traditions for identities, heritage and politics. This approach implies a critical stance towards the prevalent rhetoric suggesting a fixed historical rootedness – an assumption that needs scrutiny for the more distant past and has little relation to processes in recent decades.

While the decolonization process of the Dutch Caribbean has been analyzed in some detail, there are few studies dealing with contemporary views and expectations of local populations, the impact of the new constitutional arrangements on the quality of local democracy and governance, and the interplay between the two. The second postdoc will analyze these questions, drawing upon the available literature on governance in small-scale island jurisdictions and comparing the findings to recent developments in the three autonomous Dutch Antillean islands (Aruba, Curaçao, St. Maarten) as well as to similar small-scale island jurisdictions.

The PhD student will delve into these questions on a micro-level, studying the interaction of local government agencies, NGOs and public intellectuals on the BES-islands as they deal with the challenge of improving the quality of governance and increasing the sustainability of the islands by improving nature conservation and heritage policies. As these sectors are of great significance both to the local population and to the tourist industry, this sub-project will likely have an immediate societal impact.

6. Populaire samenvatting in het Nederlands (max. 300 words)

De Nederlandse Antillen bestaan niet meer. Sinds de magische datum 10/10/10 zijn de in bevolking grootste eilanden (Aruba, Curaçao en Sint Maarten) autonome landen binnen het Koninkrijk, de kleinste, de 'BES-eilanden' (Bonaire, Sint Eustatius en Saba) bijzondere gemeentes van Nederland. Onderling verschillen de eilanden sterk qua schaal, geschiedenis en cultuur. Wat zij delen is een sterk ambivalente verhouding tot hun voormalige kolonisator. Uit veelal pragmatische motieven wijst de overgrote meerderheid van de Antilliaanse bevolking de onafhankelijkheid af, maar gelijktijdig leeft er wantrouwen, onbehagen en onvrede over wat wel wordt betiteld als de Nederlandse 'rekolonisatie'. Deze ambivalentie wordt vertolkt in de politieke arena, maar evenzeer in de sfeer van vertogen over een unieke, in de geschiedenis gewortelde identiteit van elk van de eilanden.

Dit onderzoek beoogt op basis van historisch en contemporain onderzoek een scherper beeld te construeren van de hedendaagse politiek en van discussies over eilandelijke identiteiten van de postkoloniale Antillen. De vraagstelling luidt *welke invloed bestuurlijke hervormingen en omvangrijke migraties hebben op de mede in het verleden gewortelde identiteiten en op het politieke bedrijf op de eilanden*. Een postdoc zal zich verdiepen in de nu nog vrijwel onbeschreven sociale geschiedenis van de Bovenwinden, en daarmee een bijdrage leveren aan debatten over de identiteit van elk van deze eilanden, die sterk zijn getekend door migratieprocessen en meer recent de nieuwe staatkundige status. Een tweede postdoc zal de bestuurlijke processen en spanningen op de BES-eilanden onderzoeken, alsmede de consequenties van Nederlandse interventies in deze kleinschalige samenlevingen voor de kwaliteit van bestuur en voor de beeldvorming over Nederland(ers). Een promovendus zal de dagelijkse praktijk van het bestuur in de BES-eilanden en de reacties daarop onderzoeken, i.h.b. ten aanzien van cultureel erfgoed en natuurbescherming, sectoren van groot belang voor de lokale bevolking, maar ook voor het toerisme en daarmee voor de economie.

7. Discipline code(s)

26.60.00 (Archeology), 36.90.00 (Area studies), 46.90.00 (Cultural Anthropology), 50.90.00 (Environmental Science), 27.40.00 (History), 44.10.00, 44.20.00 (Public Administration and Political Science)

8. Outline of research plan, incl. sub-projects (max. 1200 words)

Please note: references are in sub-project descriptions

On 10/10/10, the constitutional entity of the Netherlands Antilles was laid to rest. Aruba, Curaçao and St. Maarten have the status once accorded to the entire six-island entity, an autonomous country within the Kingdom. The three least populated islands (Bonaire, St. Eustatius, Saba) are integrated into the Netherlands as special municipalities. All islands remain locked in the postcolonial imbroglio resulting from their rejection of full sovereignty. Against the advantages to the asymmetrical link to the metropolis – guarantees for democracy, human rights, territorial integrity, citizenship of, and the right to reside in, the metropolis, economic support – come constraints to local autonomy. These constraints affect self-perception and identity. The constitutional reforms may have deepened the ambivalence of Antilleans towards the Netherlands, and also affect internal relations on and between the six islands.

The decolonization of the Dutch Caribbean and the process of constitutional devolution have been well-analyzed, but there is little scholarly literature on the functioning of governance and the opinion of the Antilleans about the reinvigoration of the Dutch presence ('recolonization'). This program will provide a link between the past, present and future of the least-studied islands of the former Netherlands Antilles by enhancing understandings of the challenges facing them, thus also contributing to wider debates about local identity and governance in small-scale polities. Our central question is *how political reforms and intensive migrations affect historically*

grounded identities and political practices on these Dutch Caribbean islands. The program will produce a much-needed social history of the Windward islands, chart recent changes in structures of governance and perceptions of non-sovereignty and identity in the BES-islands, and include case studies on political processes in the domain of cultural and environmental heritage.

The program consists of three closely related projects. The first focuses on the social history of the Windwards – specifically the impact of (post)colonialism (including the legacies of slavery) and migration on politics and contemporary identity debates. While their present constitutional status differs, the three islands share a colonial history and, hence, one dimension of insular identity debates hinges upon the relationship to the Netherlands. As a second dimension, migration transcending imperial/national borders is crucial. Ongoing migrations elicit tacit and open debates about insular belonging and identity, as do changing internal hierarchies among the three (with St. Maarten taking the place previously held by St. Eustatius).

Engaging with scholarly debates about historically-grounded identity claims, this project will be based on a range of empirical methods. The postdoc, an experienced Atlantic historian, will work in metropolitan and insular archives, libraries, and repositories, and engage with the insular population in oral history projects. She will work with local historical societies and experts and will produce scholarly publications and local cultural heritage materials for use in schools, local media, and museums.

The second project focuses on governance in the BES-islands. Three years after 10/10/10, there are heated debates about the efficacy and integrity of the new system of governance, and about local (popular and elite) agency versus metropolitan control. On St. Eustatius and Saba, there are also feelings that the previous subordination to Curaçao and/or St. Maarten has been exchanged for undue dependence on Bonaire, the administrative center of the BES-islands. Scholarly analysis of this complex situation is lacking.

This project will build on and expand the available literature on politics in small-scale territories. A postdoc specialized in governance and democracy in independent micro-states will frame his study through the lens of non-sovereignty, about which there is a dearth of scholarly literature. He will focus on the impact of the municipal status on the quality of governance, the reactions, perceptions, and interactions of local citizens, civil servants, politicians, and metropolitan Dutch public servants. The research includes a follow-up of an extensive quantitative survey from the late 1990s measuring Antillean perceptions and expectations regarding the Kingdom of the Netherlands. The new survey provides a unique opportunity to chart changes in attitudes over nearly two decades. To provide a comparative perspective, the survey will also be conducted on Aruba, Curaçao and St. Maarten, providing a test case for the widely-held assumption that misgivings about metropolitan ‘recolonization’ augment as the intensity of Dutch governmental intervention increases.

In close cooperation with both postdocs, a PhD student will bridge the historical and contemporary foci of their projects and conduct two case studies on local administration in fields that are vital for tourism and, hence, for sustainable development: cultural heritage and nature conservation. As Caribbean islands are increasingly adding a cultural heritage component to their tourist industries, dilemmas emerge about the representation of colonial history and its legacies. Local identity constructions incorporating this past often sit uneasily with tourists' ideas about tropical paradises. The PhD student will analyze how these challenges are confronted in the BES-islands by local actors in the heritage and tourism sectors.

In the realm of nature conservation, the PhD will analyze the functioning of the (Marine) Natural Parks on the BES-islands, focusing on local agency in complex and dense governmental structures. The PhD will benefit from the work of the historian postdoc on the social history of the Windward Antilles, which includes a study of the historical relationship with governance structures, while also utilizing the existing information on the history and cultural heritage practices on Bonaire. The PhD will make use of the findings of the political scientist postdoc on the complexities of governance in the islands. By drawing upon the findings of the two postdocs, and integrating nature conservation in the program, this project will help chart a course for future development.

Small-scale implies that the activities and presence of the three researchers as well as the active involvement of the lead applicant will be closely monitored on these islands. This could produce dilemmas, but it also provides opportunities for discussing research results with government organizations, cultural heritage and nature conservation groups, the press and the general public on both sides of the Atlantic. These interactions, in turn, will become part of the research program.

If the proposal receives funding, we will start in the Summer of 2014. The main applicant and co-applicants will co-author various articles with the main researchers – see the deliverables and detailed work programs below. In the third year of the project, a symposium will be held at the CSNI bringing together the researchers and experts from the various islands as well as regional experts.

9. Innovative aspects and links to other programs (max. 300 words)

The major innovation of this project is its overarching approach. The three-tiered approach incorporates past, present, and future to investigate the interaction between identity and politics in small-scale, postcolonial, non-sovereign territories. The sub-projects connect with each other, leading to optimal resource and knowledge utilization. Not only are the sub-projects linked, but the research results will feed into the phenomena they study. The social history project will be conducted in cooperation with local public and private history and cultural heritage groups, producing educational materials for local use. This research critically interrogates identity discourses that do not necessarily correspond with findings of historical research. Likewise, because of the small scale of the BES-islands, the governance project will not

only produce new empirical insights, but will also become part of local debates on postcolonial identities, the complex Dutch-cum-Antillean organization, and the performance of local administrations. The PhD project will have a strong interactive dimension and, most innovatively, combine the evaluation of environmental and cultural heritage management into one plan for further development.

This highlights another innovative characteristic of the program – interdisciplinarity. Bridging a myriad of (compartmentalized) disciplines and approaches allows for a more comprehensive approach to understanding what postcoloniality means in non-sovereign polities, in identity debates, governance, and in the dynamics linking the two. It adds a much-needed empirical dimension to debates about politics and identity. This inherent and innovative interdisciplinarity is strengthened by the already existing links with the partially NWO-funded Leiden University project on Archeology and Heritage. Links with other programs will be actively sought once NWO's Caribbean Research Program begins.

Lastly, there is so little serious scholarly work on the insular Dutch Caribbean in the fields of history/cultural heritage, identity, and governance, that any endeavor to fill these gaps is not only welcome, but also, by its very nature, innovative.

10. Relevance for this call for proposals (max. 300 words)

NWO's call for the Caribbean Research Program wishes to strengthen the relevant knowledge base, to encourage interdisciplinary scholarship and cooperation between Dutch and Caribbean research organizations, and the training of young researchers. Research should target the insular Caribbean and should have direct relevance to the islands pertaining to the Kingdom of the Netherlands. The present proposal meets all of these objectives, with the caveat that some additional decisions regarding cooperation between the research group and Caribbean partners can only be made as the actual research develops (see under 12).

The present proposal is mainly in the fields of the humanities (GW) and social sciences (MaGW). The specific call for these fields, 'Challenges of small-scale Caribbean isles: Identity, heritage, governance, education', provides further parameters for research proposals. The preamble of that call paints a general, historically grounded, canvas of the contemporary Caribbean, and, specifically, of the former Netherlands Antilles, and proceeds to identify four broad themes for research. Clearly the overall assumptions of the present proposal correspond to the preamble of this call, while the proposal addresses three of the four themes directly and the fourth at least indirectly. Thus, the present proposal corresponds fully to these keywords describing the first three themes in the NWO call:

- insular and regional history, colonial and postcolonial perspectives, management of cultural heritage
- intra-regional mobility, kinship and identities cutting across cultural and legal constraints

- quality and legitimacy of governance in small-scale, non-sovereign polities, contested postcolonial autonomy

We will make the materials produced by the researchers, both on the history of the Windwards Antilles and on issues of governance, local identity and nature conservation in the BES-islands, available to the local populations. In that sense, the proposal also contributes to the fourth theme, of stimulating (in)formal education.

11. Interdisciplinarity of the programme and added value of cooperation between research groups and disciplines (max. 300 words)

While interdisciplinarity is rightly stimulated within and between the fields of the humanities and the social sciences, the little research done over the past decades on the former Netherlands Antilles has remained highly compartmentalized. The present proposal will overcome this fragmentation by bringing together research questions and strategies as well as expertise and participants from a wide range of disciplines within the humanities and social sciences. This will create a broader, less compartmentalized, picture and will address societal concerns at the same time. A link is also made to the hard sciences, i.e. environmental science, concerning local policies and education for nature conservation.

All projects share a locally-based, regionally-focused, comparative, strongly empirical and future-oriented approach, and the entire program will transcend disciplinary boundaries. The first project is primarily in the fields of social history and cultural anthropology and has direct relevance to the field of cultural heritage, but borders on archeology as well. The second project is situated at the crossroads of the fields of political sciences, public administration and cultural anthropology. The PhD project is situated in all of these fields, particularly history/cultural heritage, public administration and environmental science.

Within KITLV, the proposed center of the present program, the program would link up with ongoing research programs dealing with clientelism and local politics in Indonesia. Likewise, there is relevant expertise available at the participating Leiden University faculties. The program's location at Leiden University's campus will greatly facilitate synergy within the research and expert group.

12. Geographical focus and regional embedding (max. 300 words)

The research focuses on four of the six islands of the former Netherlands Antilles, leaving the two most populated and best-researched (Aruba and Curaçao) out. The six-island Netherlands Antilles was a colonial construction, and we need to understand each of its constituent parts based on its own merits. Even the obvious differentiation into two zones (the Papiamentu-speaking 'Leeward' Antilles off the Venezuelan coast versus the English-speaking 'Windward' Antilles in the Northern Caribbean) has become less evident. While geographical, historical and cultural parameters point to a division along these lines, the new constitutional arrangements

necessitate a partial ordering along another axis. This explains the decision to focus on the little-studied Windwards as an integral unit in the history sub-project and, conversely, on the three BES-islands in the sub-projects on governance issues.

As the present proposal addresses both history and heritage, contemporary identity debates, and governance issues, we focus on different combinations of islands. The project on social history focuses on the Windwards because their histories are inextricably entangled with one another and with their wider region. Moreover, the extant historiography of the Windwards is meager and the fruits of this historical research will also support historically-grounded identity debates and cultural heritage practices. In the second postdoc project and the PhD project, the focus is on the BES-islands – St. Eustatius, Saba. Bonaire – not St. Maarten. This choice results from the focus on the new governmental context created for the BES-islands.

The broader theoretical and comparative context is the debate on politics and identity in non-sovereign island jurisdictions in the Caribbean and beyond. While focusing on the former Netherlands Antilles, the research will include comparisons to other polities in the region (French *Départements d'Outre-mer*, British Overseas Territories and American non-sovereign entities such as Puerto Rico the U.S. Virgin Islands).

13. Budget overview for research programme (in €)

budget overview		fte	no. of years	financial resources (€) requested from NWO
sub-project 1	personnel	0.75	4	201,085
	material			17,900
	bench fee			5,000
sub-project 2	personnel	1.00	3	199,465
	material			66,383
	bench fee			5,000
sub-project 3	personnel	1.00	4	201,600
	material			14,800
	bench fee			5,000
use of large infrastructure (<i>specify below</i>)				NVT/Not applicable
Total costs				748,733

13a. Explanation of the budget overview (optional; max. 300 words)

The budget is rather straightforward, with ca. € 615,000 dedicated to salary costs and bench fees for the two postdocs and the PhD candidate, and ca. € 135,000 for research costs. As for the latter category, all three sub-projects require travel and accommodation costs, while the costs of the survey will amount to ca. € 50,000. General program costs are reserved for the symposium on St. Eustatius and for the costs of the local supervisor, Dr. Jay Haviser of the St. Maarten Archeological Center (SIMARC). A more detailed breakdown of the budget is available.

14. References to scientific publications (max. 60)

Please note that references to the scholarly literature listed below are only made in the sections on the sub-projects.

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15–27 Sub-project(s)

Please provide information about the sub-projects. Duplicate this section (items 15-27) as many times as there are sub-projects in the proposed programme. For a detailed description of the entire research programme, see items 5-14.

15. Title of sub-project

The Dutch Windward Islands: Confronting the Contradictions of Belonging, 1815 - 2015

16. Summary of sub-project & keywords (max. 250 words)

The Dutch Windward islands of Saba, St. Eustatius, and St. Maarten are English-speaking and culturally focused on the United States and the surrounding Caribbean islands rather than on the Netherlands – despite the fact that they have been Dutch territories for centuries. The ambivalence of the islanders’ status as Dutch citizens inhabiting a predominantly Anglo-American and Caribbean world is particularly visible due to the recent political reforms which some residents think of as ‘recolonization’.

The Anglo-American cultural and linguistic orientation has been reinforced and supplemented in recent decades by heavy migration from all parts of the Caribbean. Close to half the residents of the islands do not even have Dutch citizenship. Thus, long-standing feelings of disconnection and disenfranchisement from the Netherlands have been augmented by debates about insular identity and the place of (recent) immigrants on the islands. These debates are especially evident because of the islands’ small scale.

This sub-project will use a theoretically informed, but strongly empirical, approach to address the overarching question of *how the legacies of Dutch colonial governance and intensive migrations on these three islands intersect in the construction and acceptance of hybrid insular identities?*

Employing a structure in which migratory and political histories will be contextualized within the geographies of the islands themselves, this sub-project will trace the process of the formation of (hybridized) identities, and will place Dutch Caribbean history within larger debates about the crucibles in Caribbean history: mobility, colonial heritage, inter-relationship with the environment, and complexities of identification.

Keywords: migration, identity, governance, social and economic history, cultural heritage

17. Discipline code(s) for sub-project

27.50.00 Social and economic history; 46.90.00 Cultural Anthropology; 36.90.00 (Area Studies)

18. Main applicant and institutional setting of sub-project

Dr. Jessica Vance Roitman (KITLV-KNAW and History, Leiden University), P.O. Box 9515, 2300 RA Leiden, NL, 071-5272378, Roitman@kitlv.nl

*Prof. Dr. Gert J. Oostindie (KITLV-KNAW and History, Leiden University), P.O. Box 9515, 2300 RA Leiden, NL, 071-5272295

*Lead applicant of overall project

19. Period of funding of sub-project

September 1, 2014 to September, 1 2018 (on the basis of 0.75 fte)

20. Composition of the research team and participating partners in the sub-project

consortium	name & title	affiliation	expertise	role in project
main applicant	Prof. Dr. Gert J. Oostindie	KITLV-KNAW and Institute of History, Leiden University	Caribbean history, politics, anthropology	Main applicant
scientific staff				
1.	Dr. Jessica Vance Roitman <i>48 months (0.75 fte)</i>	KITLV-KNAW and Institute of History, Leiden University	Caribbean history, (Dutch) colonial history; social and economic history	Postdoc; main researcher in sub-project
project partners				
1.	Dr. J. Havisier	St. Maarten Archeological Center (SIMARC)	Cultural heritage; history	Advice on research and outreach
2.	Dr. Peter Verton	Verton Consultancy, Curaçao	Migration; Politics	Advice on research and outreach

21. Description of the proposed research

a) Scientific description

The population of Dutch St. Maarten has skyrocketed from less than 3,000 in 1960 to around 40,000 today – a staggering growth fueled by the tourist industry that has led long-time residents to declare that ‘It is doubtful that the benefits [from tourism] can compensate for the loss of Philipsburg [capital of St. Maarten] to foreigners’ (Johnson 1987: 39-40). This statement suggests a fixed historical rootedness and begs the question of who would be defined as a ‘true St. Maartener’ (or Sabian or Statian), because these recent immigrants join previous generations of migrants to the Windwards from the immediate Caribbean surroundings as well as from elsewhere in the Americas and places as far away as China, Lebanon, and Eastern Europe. All of

which suggests that the islanders' social representation of their 'national' history may be somewhat different from the reality.

The intersection of three decades of intensified migration coupled with the recent constitutional status changes are hallmarks of the rapid transformations on the islands. These changes have produced debates about insular and national identities, just as they did in Aruba after massive immigration in the 1930s, partly from the Windward islands (Alofs and Merckies 2001). Who is a 'true' islander and who is not? What does it mean to have Dutch citizenship? These debates always reference history. Yet what was this history? How is it currently represented? How is it employed – or not – in the construction of identities?

This project will use migration to, from, and between the islands of St. Eustatius, Saba, and St. Maarten as one of the two central organizing themes for investigating how the islanders' (hybrid) insular identities are constructed. The other theme will be an investigation into the long-term legacies of Dutch colonial administration on the islands. The peculiarities inherent in governing small (insular) polities, including particularistic relationships and clientelism, were coupled on the Windwards with a history of nepotism, lack of knowledge of local conditions, and lackadaisical governance from afar. These factors, this sub-project posits, very likely contribute to continuing feelings of distrust towards, and a concomitant lack of identification and affiliation with, the Netherlands on the part of the islanders. Thus, the continuing legacies of migration and colonial governance, it is theorized in this sub-project, are suitable lenses through which the construction of the current (hybridized) identities on the Dutch Windward islands can be examined.

This sub-project is predicated upon the idea that socially shared representations of history are of great importance in the dynamic and mutually reinforcing process of the construction of individual and collective identities. History provides individuals and groups with narratives that tell them who they are, where they came from and where they should be going, and is central to the construction of identities, norms, and values. Representations of history help to define the social identities of peoples, how they relate to other groups and to current issues of political representation and diversity (Liu and Hilton 2005; Laszlo, 2003). This research into the linkages between history and constructions of identities connects well with newer theories about citizenship and belonging. The idea that citizenship in the sense of formal rights associated with a given territory is synonymous with a single, fixed, cultural identity and attendant feelings of belonging is questionable. Current research explores the (in)congruencies between citizenship, as a legal status, and belonging or identification with a given state or nation (Tilly 1995; Roitman 2012). In addition, this sub-project takes as a point of departure ideas that the geographical/environmental situation of a given place, and, in the case of the Windwards, insularity, especially small scale insularity, stimulates the development of group identities, particularly over and against those considered 'others' (Doumenge 1985: 87-90, 102-103).

These processes were exemplified long ago in the heartfelt plea written to the editor of the *New York Herald* in 1917 by the Court of Policy of St. Maarten. In response to the recent purchase of the nearby Danish islands of St. Croix, St. Thomas, and St. John by the US government, the Court declared that ‘We exist under the aegis of the old regime, but our hearts are with your great republic; our aspirations are to be annexed, and now that [...] our neighbours have been acquired [...] our jealousies are aroused and we are ready and willing to live under the Stars and Stripes.’ This one case illustrates the incongruence between the islanders’ Dutch citizenship and their feelings of belonging based on a long-established cultural and linguistic orientation towards the Anglophone world, especially the United States. Moreover, the St. Maartener’s appeal is an explicit statement of dissatisfaction with governance by the ‘old regime’ of the Netherlands, which, they implied, underlay their desire to be acquired by the United States.

Thus, this sub-project will contribute to answering the central project question of *how political reforms and intensive migrations affect historically grounded identities and political practices on these Dutch Caribbean islands* by producing a long-overdue social history of the three Windward Antilles highlighting the implications of colonialism and migratory traditions for identity, heritage and politics. This approach implies a critical stance towards the prevalent rhetoric of insular identities that suggests a fixed historical rootedness – an assumption that will be scrutinized, especially in relation to (migratory) processes in recent decades. With this critical interrogation, this sub-project will contribute to debates about (insular, hybrid) identities by problematizing definitions of ‘true’ islanders. By analyzing the legacy of colonial (mis)management of the islands, and situating this governance within the framework of a small scale, insular environment, this sub-project connects directly to the other postdoc sub-project on the current political challenges facing the islands, and will provide an important historical basis for the project’s contemporary focus on post-colonialism and democracy. Likewise, this sub-project links directly to the PhD research which has as one of its pillars the examination of cultural heritage policies. To examine these policies critically, an historical perspective on what this (cultural) heritage was and how it is perceived by the islanders is of vital importance.

Research approach, methodology, and research plan

There are myriad examples such as the above-cited letter which demonstrate the historically entrenched basis for contemporary issues surrounding governance and affiliation on the Windward islands. But not much is actually known about the history of the Windwards, particularly in the 19th and 20th centuries, and the histories that have been written are largely descriptive, and mostly focused on the bi-lateral Netherlands-Windwards’ relationship, thereby ignoring the importance of regional and diasporic connections, and are over half a century old. Therefore, the first step of this project will be to ascertain what the history of the islands was – the who, what, how, and why of the legacies of Dutch colonial governance and intensive migrations on these islands intersecting in the construction of hybrid insular identities. To that end, this project will utilize a long-term, comparative approach. It will compare and contrast the three islands, while also referencing the other Dutch Antillean islands. It will begin in 1815. The

Netherlands was, by then, a Kingdom with imperial ambitions in Asia and the Caribbean. Over the next century, up to the Second World War, Indonesia was increasingly important to the metropolis while the Caribbean colonies became peripheral. But today, only these Caribbean islands are part of the Kingdom. This is where the period under study stops, in the present. By integrating the long arch of history and the complex and diverse influences it continues to exert on the present in these three islands, this project will contribute empirical and conceptual clarity to debates about the link between history and identities, and will, moreover, produce a long overdue social history of the Windward islands framed in a (post)colonial as well as regional context. The methodology will be grounded in the available archival and secondary sources as well as oral histories.

The northeastern Caribbean islands of St. Eustatius, Saba, and St. Maarten are so close that the islanders can see one another on a clear day. This grouping is reflected in the archives. The records for the three islands form one collection, partially located in the Netherlands and partially on Curaçao – but scattered bits remain on the other islands and have hitherto not been systematically researched. The islands' proximity to one another and the classification of the sources, coupled with their shared English-speaking culture and their limited engagement in large-scale plantation agriculture, make it logical for this project to focus on the Windwards together. However, there are important differences between islands which need to be taken in account. The islands differ in geography, population (volume and composition), resources, historical patterns of settlement, including slavery, and race relations. Saba, for example, has had for most of its history a majority white population with very little history of racial mixing. St. Maarten had some sugar plantations as well as saltpans employing enslaved Africans, and St. Eustatius was, until the early decades of the 19th century, an important free port with an ethnically relatively heterogeneous population, but its population collapsed after 1800. These differences will be taken very seriously in the project.

The choice to study the Windwards together, despite these differences, reflects the assumption that these islands connect to the region and, by extension, to the Anglophone world, from the immediately surrounding English-speaking islands up to the United States, and historically far less to the Netherlands or the Dutch Caribbean islands of Aruba, Bonaire, and Curaçao. This is a difference in programmatic design from the other sub-projects which will incorporate Bonaire instead of St. Maarten: a logical choice because the other projects focus on the political status of the islands, in which Bonaire shares a municipal status with Saba and St. Eustatius, in contrast to St. Maarten. This choice does not prohibit comparison. We will incorporate findings for St. Maarten and Bonaire into the conclusions of the entire program, which will serve to broaden our perspectives and the utility of our findings.

This project posits that current feelings of disenfranchisement from the Netherlands (Oostindie and Verton 1998) evidenced in the assertion of non-Dutch identification can be partially explained by the history of (mis)management of public administration in the Windward islands. This is a hypothesis supported by theories current in social history and political science which

assert that political processes directly influence the (public) articulation of personal and group identities, which, in turn, reinforce these political processes (Tilly 1995; Calhoun 1994). There is a long-standing history of dissatisfaction and distrust on the Windward islands towards the Netherlands but also towards Curaçao, which was the seat of autonomous governance for some sixty years and also for much of the colonial period – a distrust that arose partly because Curaçao represented the Netherlands administratively and was viewed in the Windwards as abusing the power this position implied. Thus, one of the pillars upon which this research project will be based is an in-depth study of the workings and legacies of Dutch colonial rule and local reactions to this, with the goal of understanding the ways in which (individual and collective) insular identities may have been constructed in response to, and in a dynamic process with, this colonial administration

An anthropologist quoted an informant on Saba as saying ‘In the old days [...] nobody knew there *was* a government.’ (Crane 1971: 31). This is perhaps not surprising because for many years there was not even a judge on the Windwards, and months were needed for a decision to be received from Curaçao on even small legal matters. The inhabitants of the Windward Islands frequently complained that they were treated as ‘satellite islands’ by Curaçao. For much of the Windwards’ history, each island was governed by an appointed lieutenant-governor who answered to the governor of the Antilles in Curaçao. This governor was, until 1962, always a Dutchman (Oostindie 2011:18). There was an assumption made by many administrators coming from the Netherlands that the basic way of life and value system would be largely synonymous with their own (Keur and Keur 1960: 45) which led to tensions between the local populace and the colonial administration because the ‘basic way of life’, not to mention the very language in which governance was enacted, was actually so very different. Sometimes the lieutenant-governors on the islands were themselves locals. But this led to other governance issues. As the other postdoctoral sub-project will investigate, politics in small jurisdictions tends to be polarized and personalized, and to be characterized by particularistic relationships between citizens and their representatives (Veenendaal 2013b) and the resulting clientelism and nepotism limit effective governance. Thus, this study will link up directly with the focus of the other sub-projects which will examine the continuing consequences of local Dutch public administration into the present-day.

The second pillar underpinning this project is the study of (intra-regional) mobility and migration. The three islands’ orientation away from the Netherlands, so clearly shown by the letter to the editor, was strengthened by established migratory links within the British West Indies and North America. This orientation is a legacy of imperial conquest and settlement patterns dating back to the 17th century – patterns which continue to this day. The islands were populated by European settlers, including many non-Dutch, and enslaved Africans, creating the socio-racial divides typical of the Caribbean. Today, demographics are far more complicated, as close to half of St. Maarten’s population hails from outside the island itself, the Netherlands or the former Netherlands Antilles. The situation is similar, even if less spectacularly so, on Saba and St.

Eustatius.¹ The near majority of non-native Dutch residents on these islands highlights how deeply they are affected by migration – an ongoing process with newcomers to the islands constantly arriving from Central and South America, the United States, Canada, and Caribbean islands such as Haiti, the Dominican Republic and surrounding Commonwealth Caribbean isles.

This research posits that generations of migrants have continually re-formed the connections of their islands to the outside world and have, consequently, changed the volume and composition of the local populations as well as the ways that islanders see themselves both at home and abroad, surely also in relationship to the Netherlands. An important aspect of tracing the historical origins of Windward islanders' formation of identities will be to examine the consequences of, and motives behind, the (continuing) high rates of mobility. One of the best known of these consequences was the massive out-migration of men from Saba and St. Eustatius to work in the American sailing industry in the late 19th and early 20th century, followed by migration to work in Aruba and Curaçao with the advent of the oil-refineries. In 1937, the ratio of females to males on Saba reached its peak of 169:100 (Tjon Sie Fat, 1954), earning it the moniker of the 'island of women'. This unbalanced gender ratio had obvious effects for the social and economic life of the island (Sullivan 2006), not to mention on the construction of individual and collective identities. The continuing waves of out-migration also led to diaspora colonies of Windward islanders in the US, which had the effect of creating a dependence on remittances, an intensified orientation towards the US, and the formation of diasporic identities. In the last three decades in contrast, (intra) regional and international immigration in the three Dutch Windward islands has increased exponentially, leading to tensions about insular belonging versus transnational relations, and potentially increasing the distance to the Netherlands.

Of course, these migrations and this governance are all situated in a specific (small) geography. Recent research shows how the unique geographies in which people reside intersect and interplay with the construction of their identities (Mosely 2006). Individual and groups' relationships to, and understandings of, the geographical place in which they situate themselves are one important dimension to conceptualizations of self (Clayton 2003: 45) and also have a direct relationship to governance (response to disasters such as hurricanes) and to migratory patterns (moving to one island instead of another). This conceptualization of self as related to place likely adds to insular identifications, particularly because of the very small size of the islands on which they live. Thus, this investigation into how the legacies of colonial governance and intensive migrations have intersected in the construction of insular identities will recognize that the actual geography and environment of the islands, particularly their very small size, might contribute to the construction of these identities.

Theoretically after – but of course in practice also concomitant with – establishing the parameters of the who, what, how, and why of the legacies of Dutch colonial governance and intensive migrations on these three islands intersecting in the construction and acceptance of

¹ <http://www.cbs.nl/en-GB/menu/themas/bevolking/publicaties/artikelen/archief/2012/2012-bevolking-cn->

hybrid insular identities using the above-mentioned criteria and techniques, a next step will be to find out what islanders 'know' and 'remember' of the insular history and how they think about 'their own history'. How is this history socially represented? And how does this representation (de)construct identities? It is clear that identity is used in current debates about (political) belonging. To take the example of the 'true St. Maartener' mentioned above, it seems evident that increasing mobility and shifts in relations between the islands in the (Dutch) Caribbean and the Kingdom of the Netherlands are opening up new spaces of contestation about who belongs and who does not.

Thus, this project will examine the intersection of history and its representations to understand the creation of identities. This will be accomplished by integrating the techniques of oral history with empirical, source-based research (government documentation, newspapers, popular media such as magazines, pamphlets, popular music) to investigate the depiction of history and how it is understood. The project will incorporate the findings of previously recorded histories of the islands, which are especially rich for Saba and St. Eustatius (Crane 1999), draw on insights from other (Dutch) Caribbean oral history projects (Angrosino 1982) as well as conducting new interviews, particularly on St. Maarten, about which there are fewer oral histories (see however Guadeloupe 2009). These interviews will be focused on the central question of how islanders' understanding of their own history shapes their conceptualization of their (insular) identities.

Originality and innovative aspects of the research

There will be two historiographical contributions to scholarship from this project. The first will be a much needed critical modern history of the Windward islands. This history will analyze the legacies of migration and colonial governance in the construction of insular identities. It will incorporate discussions of the changing nature of power relations on the islands based on race, gender, place of origin, ethnicity, and the actual (small) geography of the islands. These changing dynamics within the socio-cultural and temporal spaces of the islands themselves will be contextualized within, and compared to, similar dynamics in other Caribbean spaces. This approach is sorely needed. Historical research on the Dutch Caribbean largely stops after the demise of the (Second) West India Company (Roitman and Jordaan 2014). Scholarly works on the Windward islands that address the 19th and 20th centuries are few, and they are over half a century old (Keur and Keur 1960; Hartog 1964). The book resulting from this project's findings will replace these largely descriptive texts and address important gaps in both scholarly knowledge and public awareness of these constituent parts of the Netherlands.

In general, academic works on the Dutch Caribbean are relatively scarce in comparison with other former empires' territories, and what work there is tends to group the six Dutch islands together – an approach this project eschews because of the very real cultural, linguistic, and geographical differences between the island groups. Moreover, the research that does exist

privileges Suriname, Curaçao, and Aruba, in this order. The historiography of the Caribbean focuses on the (formerly) British and Spanish islands, with important work also being done on the current and former possessions of the French. The Dutch Caribbean is mostly absent from these larger discussions and debates about migration, governance, and environmental history. For instance, research into the dynamics of Caribbean migration has grown apace the last 25 years. There are many fine works which explore the intersections of migration, identity, kinship, gender, diaspora, and globalization (Chamberlain 2006; Olwig 1993). But only a few include the Dutch Caribbean at all (Oostindie 2009; Mielants 2009) and, when it is included, it is migration to and from the metropolis rather than intra-Caribbean migration that is foregrounded. Thus, an important and innovative aspect of this project will be to incorporate the increasingly multicultural Windward islands into larger discussions of (intra) Caribbean mobility, particularly regional flows, and its long-term consequences for the formation of identities. This project will also highlight an understudied aspect of (Caribbean) migration history: female migration, with an eye towards moving beyond the relatively well-studied phenomenon of women who are left behind by male migration, to studying women who move themselves.

In addition, most projects that address issues such as governance and migration tend to focus only on the past few decades as the relevant frame of analysis. The propensity to characterize post-WWII transformations as 'new' rather than as part of longer historical trajectories fails to take into account the fact that technologies and global political-economic structures operate in social environments that were crafted through their own unique histories and that these histories continue to be influential. By incorporating a much longer chronology, this project will be uniquely positioned to highlight these processes.

Likewise, studies which analyze the relationship of identity and the geographies of the Caribbean, including the socio-cultural and identificational repercussions of natural disasters like hurricanes and earthquakes to which the region is prone have flourished, but there is little work that addresses the Dutch Caribbean, much less the Windward islands. This sub-project will not focus on the environmental history of the islands, as such. However, the sub-project is premised upon the idea that the geographies in which people live intersect and interplay with the construction of their identities. This can be related to specific sense of place or a landmark which becomes imbued with (individual and collective) meaning. But it can also be a straightforward relationship between the actual size of a place and how that influences the interactions between people residing there. For example, scholars tend to agree that smallness strengthens and buttresses identities, and, therefore, aggravates tensions between people who may be perceived as different, such as recent immigrants. As Dennis Austin notes, 'when island communities are mixed [...] resentment is both mutual and strong' (Austin 2000: 61). According to Doumenge (1985: 102), '[i]slanders are never happier with their insularity than when asserting that they are completely different from their neighbors'.

By centering the study on the continuing legacies of mobility and (colonial) governance, and situating these legacies within a framework that recognizes the influence of geographies, this

project will contribute to debates about the ways that complex racialized, (non)nationalized, regionalized, gendered, and insular identities come about. This analysis of the legacy of colonial (mis)management of the islands, positioned within the framework of small-scale, insular environments, provides the necessary historical background for the other postdoctoral project's focus on the effects of the recent constitutional reforms on the islands. This historical perspective on both governance and migration is also of direct relevance to the PhD project's concern with the development of viable cultural heritage policies – policies which recognize the contested nature of islanders' relationship with their own (migratory) histories. Therefore, this sub-project will provide the information and perspective needed to help answer the over-arching project's question of *how political reforms and intensive migrations affect historically grounded identities and political practices in the Dutch Caribbean islands* and will also situate the Windwards in larger international debates about identity formation in postcolonial polities.

b) Interdisciplinarity

This sub-project, while primarily historical in nature, incorporates theories from the political sciences in its consideration of governance and smallness and from cultural anthropology and social psychology in its evaluation of the formation of identities, and has direct relevance to the fields of cultural heritage and archaeology, as well. In this way, this (sub) project will contribute to crossing barriers between disciplines within the humanities and social sciences. Research on the former Netherlands Antilles has generally been highly compartmentalized. Historians, anthropologists, archaeologists, and political scientists working in this specialized field only rarely incorporate each other's findings into their own conclusions, much less situate their research into larger discussions about the Caribbean as a whole. And that's not to mention the seemingly insurmountable barriers between the social sciences and humanities on the one hand, the earth and life sciences on the other.

Of course, neither this sub-project nor the over-arching project can realistically overcome all such entrenched disciplinary boundaries. Nevertheless, the output of these closely linked studies will help create a broader, less compartmentalized and, ultimately, more useful picture of the connections between the past, present, and future of the Windward Antilles. That is because, despite the different research techniques employed between the humanities and the social sciences, all sub-projects share a locally-based, regionally-focused, comparative, strongly empirical and future-oriented approach. Furthermore, there are close links between the overarching question of the project: *how political reforms and intensive migrations affect historically grounded identities and political practices in the Dutch Caribbean islands*, and the questions each sub-project seeks to answer. The historical approach of this sub-project feeds directly into some of hypotheses posited by the second postdoctoral sub-project. Both postdoctoral projects' findings are directly applicable to the PhD project.

c) Embedding and impact

The project members will, then, collaborate closely with one another. There are other possibilities for collaboration and exchange. There is relevant expertise, particularly in Colonial and Migration History, available at the History Institute at Leiden University and there is already a link made with the NWO/AHRC-funded project 'The cultural politics of catastrophe: (Post)colonial representations of Southeast Asian and Caribbean disasters, 1800-2012'. Moreover, there are clear connections between this project and the current research in Caribbean Archeology and cultural heritage at Leiden's archaeology faculty, as well as the focus on environmental concerns within the anthropology department. The project's location at Leiden University's campus will greatly facilitate synergy between all these groups.

Of course, this project s will be firmly situated in the Windward islands themselves and is predicated upon active community engagement. Though the project depends on the Windward islanders for its success, it can also contribute significantly to the cultural heritage infrastructure. This project will therefore connect with organizations such as the St. Eustatius Historical Museum and both make use of, and contribute to, their ongoing archeological and oral history projects. Likewise, project partner Dr. Haviser of the St. Maarten Historical Museum will contribute to this project, but also benefit from its results. With the close cooperation of local historical societies, and with the help of the PhD project, materials for use in local museums and schools will be developed. Moreover, an inventory of the sources available for the history of the Windward islands will be created. The findings of the project will be shared at regular intervals on the islands (see project timeline) with the goal of creating ongoing forums for interaction and dialogue. This includes the project's symposium to be held on the islands in 2017.

d) Word count

4,498.

22. Work programme of sub-project

Deliverables

Type	Provisional Subject/Title	Deadline
Journal Article (co-authored with Prof. Dr. G.J. Oostindie)	(Intra-) Caribbean migration and the Windward islands in comparative perspective	Spring 2015
Journal Article (co-authored with Prof. Dr. G.J. Oostindie)	Governance and disenfranchisement: an historical perspective	Winter 2016
Journal Article	Environment and identity formation: The Case of the Dutch Windward islands	Autumn 2017
Database/Inventory	Guide to archival sources relating to the Windward islands	Summer 2018
Educational Materials (produced with PhD candidate)	A Window on Windwards' History	Summer 2018

Transcriptions/recordings of Oral History Interviews/public presentation	Voices of the Islanders: Identity and Belonging	Spring 2018
Monograph	<i>The Dutch Windward Islands and the Contradictions of Belonging</i>	June 2018

	Year 1	Year 2	Year 3	Year 4
Activity				
Research	Primary Sources: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> National Archive in Willemstad, Curaçao Local/private collections Consult available oral histories National Archives, The Hague Secondary Literature: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Dynamics of identity Migration in comparative (Caribbean) perspective 	Primary Sources: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> National Archives in the Hague Oral history interviews Secondary Literature: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Governance and identity Comparative perspective with non-Dutch Caribbean 	Primary Sources: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> National Archive in the Hague National Library Oral history interviews Secondary Literature: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Environment and identity Comparative (Caribbean/global) perspectives 	Primary Sources: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> National Archive in the Hague National Library (newspapers) Oral history interviews, as needed Secondary Literature: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> As needed
Analysis/ writing	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <i>Journal article</i> (see 'deliverables') Sections of monograph on migration Theory of history and identity Background information to monograph (pre-1815 history of the islands) Begin database of archival materials 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <i>Journal article</i> Sections of monograph on governance Writing theoretical framework Database 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <i>Journal article</i> Sections of monograph on environment Theoretical framework Continue work on database of available material on the history of the Windward islands 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Finish monograph Finish database of archival material Finish materials for cultural heritage organizations, schools, etc.
Organization	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Prepare oral history interviews Consult with local institutions and organizations (St. Eustatius Historical Foundation Museum; St. Maarten Museum; Harry L. Johnson Museum of Saba; Island historical societies Meet with local schools, museums, and historical societies (with PhD) to ascertain needs and desires for historical/cultural heritage materials Inventorying archives 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Transcribe, classify oral history interviews; Inventorying archives Begin 2017 conference preparation Update school, museum, and historical societies (with PhD) on the progress with historical/cultural heritage materials 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Transcribe, classify oral history interviews Inventorying archives 	

Knowledge dissemination	<p>Scholarly:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Journal article</i> • <i>Present at:</i> Association of Caribbean Historians conference <p><i>Public outreach:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Talk about research with local historical societies 	<p>Scholarly:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Journal article</i> • <i>Present at:</i> European Social Science History Conference <p><i>Public outreach:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Meet with 'diaspora' community of Windward islanders in the Netherlands • Talk with primary and secondary schools about project 	<p>Scholarly:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Journal article</i> • <i>Present at:</i> Association of Caribbean Historians Conference; American Historical Association Conference • 2017 project conference <p><i>Public outreach:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Talk with primary and secondary schools • Update schools, museum, and historical societies (with PhD) • Present schools/museums with cultural heritage/historical materials (with PhD) 	<p>Scholarly:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Monograph</i> • <i>Present at:</i> Association of Caribbean Historians Conference; European Social Science History conference <p><i>Public outreach:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Present schools/museums with cultural heritage/historical materials (with PhD)
Travel	Curaçao; Saba, St. Maarten, St. Eustatius	Saba, St. Maarten, St. Eustatius	Saba, St. Maarten, St. Eustatius, Bonaire and Curaçao	Saba, St. Maarten, St. Eustatius

23. Use of CNSI (optional)

The Caribbean Netherlands Science Institute (CSNI) on St. Eustatius will be used as the basis for the research that will be conducted on that island, but also for the research that will be carried out on the other islands. In particular, it can be expected that the social and academic networks and information that are present at the CNSI will be of great importance to the execution of this research. Finally, the accommodation facilities of the CSNI will be used during research visits to St. Eustatius as well as for the international conference projected for the 2017.

24. Use of large infrastructure (optional)

Not applicable.

25. Brief curriculum vitae of the main applicant of the sub-project

Professor Gert J. Oostindie (Ridderkerk, 1955) is director of the KITLV/Royal Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies in Leiden, an institute of the KNAW/Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences. From 1993 to 2006, he also held a chair in Caribbean Studies at the Department of Anthropology of Utrecht University. Since 2006, he has been Professor of Caribbean History at the History Department of Leiden University.

Oostindie studied History and Social Sciences, specialization in Latin American history, at the VU University, Amsterdam completed with an MA thesis in socioeconomic history on colonial Cuba

(graduation, *cum laude*, 1982). He obtained his PhD at Utrecht University (*cum laude*, 1989) with a doctoral thesis on slavery and the plantation economy in the Dutch Caribbean colony of Suriname. He became head of the KITLV's Department of Caribbean Studies in 1983, a position he held until assuming the directorship of institute in 2000.

Professor Oostindie's principal areas of research have been the Caribbean and Dutch colonial history. He published extensively on the colonial history and decolonization of the Dutch Caribbean; on history, ethnicity and migration in the Caribbean and Latin America in general; and on the significance of colonial history to Dutch national identity. He has (co)published or edited some 30 books and over 150 articles with a wide range of publishers. He has served on many editorial, scholarly and governmental committees both in the Netherlands and abroad and is a frequent contributor to the Dutch mass media on his areas of expertise. Oostindie received several research grants from the NWO and the KNAW and has been a research fellow at The Johns Hopkins University, the Fondation Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, the Eric Remarque Institute for European Studies at New York University, and the Netherlands Institute of Advanced Study in the Humanities and Social Sciences.

Much of his work has focused on the Dutch Caribbean islands and is, therefore, of direct relevance to the present program. He (co-)authored several monographs on the decolonization of the Dutch Caribbean as well as on the most recent constitutional changes. Apart from this work in the field of political history and contemporary politics, he also published widely both on the early modern and contemporary social and economic history of the islands. During and after his Professorship at Utrecht University, Oostindie deepened his interest in anthropology, leading to many publications on contemporary meanings of migration, identity and nationhood. Over the past years, Oostindie has also published on cultural heritage both in the Netherlands and the former Dutch colonies in Africa, Asia and the Americas. In all of his work, Oostindie has strived for both an interdisciplinary and regionally comparative approach.

As there is no other place in the application format to do so, this seems the best place to add biographical information on the researcher in this sub-project, Dr. Jessica Vance Roitman.

Dr. Jessica Vance Roitman is a Researcher at the KITLV/Royal Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies in Leiden, an institute of the KNAW/Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts, where she has worked on the NWO-funded 'Dutch Atlantic Connections, 1680-1795' project. As part of that project, she has published (or has forthcoming) four peer-reviewed journal articles, three book chapters, and a co-edited (with Prof. Dr. G.J. Oostindie) a volume of essays resulting from the project. Roitman is also a Lecturer in History at the Institute of History at Leiden University where she teaches classes on Early Modern (cross-cultural) interactions, globalization, and religion. Between 2002 and 2008, she was a PhD candidate at the same institute and defended a dissertation on inter-cultural trade and the Sephardim in 17th-century Amsterdam.

Roitman was a fellow at the Katz Center for Advanced Judaic Studies at the University of Pennsylvania in 2009. She was the recipient of an NWO-funded Rubicon postdoctoral fellowship

between 2009 and 2011. The project was a comparative study of the reception of immigrant Jews in 18th century London and Amsterdam and was housed at Birkbeck College, University of London. Roitman was nominated for the *Stichting Praemium Erasmianum* prize in 2010 for one of the five best dissertations in the Humanities and Social Sciences in the Netherlands in 2009-2010.

Roitman's research and publications – some of which are listed in the bibliography to the entire research program – have focused on both economic and social history, and utilize an interdisciplinary approach incorporating sociological and anthropological theories. She has published on Atlantic colonial trade, migration, identity, citizenship, and (minority) inter-cultural interactions. She has been invited to give numerous lectures to general and scholarly audiences and has presented at a great many conferences internationally.

Roitman's experience in comparative approaches to social history, particularly migration and governance, and her expertise in (Dutch) colonial and Atlantic history will be of direct relevance to this research program. The islanders' strong North American orientation means that her unique background as a native English speaker from the United States will be of great benefit while conducting research, especially oral history interviews, on the Anglophone Windward islands.

26. Key Publications

The Same but Different? Inter-cultural Trade and the Sephardim, 1595-1640 (Leiden: Brill [Series in Jewish Studies], 2011)

A Deus ex Machina Revisited: Atlantic Colonial Trade and European Economic Development, Pieter C. Emmer, Olivier Pétré-Grenouilleau, and Jessica V. Roitman, eds. (Leiden: Brill, 2006)

(with Prof. Dr. Gert Oostindie), *Dutch Atlantic Connections, 1680-1800* (Leiden: Brill, 2014)

'Creating Confusion in the Colonies: Jews, Citizenship, and the Dutch and British Atlantics,' *Itinerario* 36 no. 2 (2012): 55-90

(with Professor Dr. Gert Oostindie), 'Re-positioning the Dutch in the Atlantic, 1680-1800,' *Itinerario* 36 no. 2 (2012): 129-160

27. Research budget for sub-project (in €)

budget for sub-project	Fte	no. of months	financial resources (€) requested from NWO
A. personnel costs			
salary post-doc researcher	0.75	48	201,085
bench fee (€ 5.000,-- per researcher paid from grant)			5,000
B. material costs (max. 25% of personnel costs)			
activity 1 (digitization and educational materials)			2,500
travel costs of research team			16,900
Total costs (max. € 750.000,--)			225,485

15–27 Sub-project(s)

Please provide information about the sub-projects. Duplicate this section (items 15-27) as many times as there are sub-projects in the proposed programme. For a detailed description of the entire research programme, see items 5-14.

15. Title of sub-project

Smallness, post-colonialism, and governance: political challenges facing the Dutch Caribbean

16. Summary of sub-project & keywords (max. 250 words)

In large part because of their small size, the dismantlement of the former Netherlands Antilles has had an unprecedented political and societal impact on the so-called BES-islands. Although the new political relationship between the islands and the metropolitan Netherlands was met with high expectations on both sides of the Atlantic, it can be questioned to what extent the anticipated benefits have actually materialized. In light of the general political and administrative dynamics associated with politics in smaller post-colonial settings, the central question of this sub-project is *how the newly acquired status and the newly established institutions have affected the characteristics and quality of politics, democracy, and governance on the three BES-islands, and how this, in turn, affects the islanders' opinions on the 'BES-status'.*

A first component of the project is to examine the attitudes of the local populations on the BES-islands toward the trans-Atlantic as well as local political structures of the islands, and, more specifically, their opinions on recent political reforms and new institutions. Secondly, the interaction between local political institutions and elites and the newly introduced municipal administrative layer manned by both local and Dutch civil servants will be examined in order to assess the political-institutional consequences of the 2010 reforms. Thirdly, building on a parallel opinion survey on Aruba, Curaçao and St. Maarten and on the broader academic literature on politics and democracy in non-sovereign territories, comparisons will be drawn between the three BES-islands themselves, with the larger Dutch Caribbean islands, and British, French, and American overseas territories in the Caribbean.

Keywords: small-scale; good governance; non-sovereignty; postcoloniality; political representation; public opinion.

17. Discipline code(s) for sub-project

44.10.00 (Public Administration), 44.20.00 (Political Science), 36.90.00 (Area Studies), 43.20.00 (Constitutional and Administrative Law), 46.90.00 (Cultural Anthropology).

18. Main applicant and institutional setting of sub-project

Dr. W.P. Veenendaal (Institute of Political Science, Leiden University) Wassenaarseweg 52, 2333 AK Leiden, NL, 071-5277956, veenendaalwp@fsw.leidenuniv.nl

*Prof. dr. Gert J. Oostindie (KITLV-KNAW and History, Leiden University), P.O. Box 9515, 2300 RA Leiden, NL, 071-5272295, oostindie@kitlv.nl

*Lead applicant of overall project

19. Period of funding of sub-project

September 1, 2014 to September, 1 2017 (on the basis of 1.0 fte)

20. Composition of the research team and participating partners in the sub-project

consortium	name & title	affiliation	expertise	role in project
main applicant	Prof.dr. Gert J. Oostindie	KITLV-KNAW and History, Leiden University	Caribbean history, politics, anthropology	Main applicant
scientific staff				
1.	Dr. Wouter P. Veenendaal	Political Science, Leiden University	Small-scale, democracy, comparative politics	Main researcher in sub-project
project partners				
1.	Prof. Dr. Ingrid C. van Biezen	Political Science, Leiden University	Political parties, democracy, comparative politics	Advisory, in particular with regard to comparative analysis, and the analysis of political competition.
2.	Prof. Dr. Joop J. M. van Holsteijn	Political Science, Leiden University	Public opinion, survey research	Advisory, in particular methodological with regard to the proposed opinion survey.
	Dr. P.C. Verton	Verton Consultancy, Curaçao	Public Administration	Advisory, in particular with regard to public administration and good governance.

21. Description of the proposed research

a) Scientific description

The dismantlement of the Netherlands Antilles has solved some problems in governance while creating new ones, particularly in the so-called BES-islands. Previously, the constitutional layer of the country of the Netherlands Antilles stood between the individual islands and the Netherlands, whereas Aruba (since 1986), Curaçao and St. Maarten now have the status of autonomous country within the Kingdom. The two smaller islands of Bonaire and Saba opted for closer integration with the metropolitan country, while the population of St. Eustatius expressed a preference for preserving the Netherlands Antilles in vain. Since 10 October 2010 these three islands, now commonly referred to as the BES-islands, have become 'public bodies' (*openbare lichamen*) of the Netherlands. The new political structure may be more efficient and has certainly removed tensions

regarding the perceived dominance and lack of engagement of Curaçao, but it also allows for more direct and potentially conflictive Dutch engagement. The BES-islands are now more intensively integrated into the Netherlands than ever before, producing opportunities as well as tensions.

In contrast to regular Dutch municipalities, political power in the three islands of Bonaire, Saba, and St. Eustatius is shared between local island political institutions headed by a local *gezaghebber* (mayor) and the central Dutch government, which is represented by the *Rijksdienst Caribisch Nederland* and is headed by a *Rijksvertegenwoordiger*.² The interplay between these two political executives is the more fascinating as ‘local government’ on the BES-islands now by definition involves both domestic and metropolitan structures and players. However, the inherent inequality in political power and administrative capabilities (primarily in terms of resources) entails that the relation between these institutions is characterized by asymmetry. Furthermore, and related to the small population of the islands, the significant influx of Dutch bureaucrats and citizens has a demographic and social impact that should not be underestimated, and already generates tensions.

The leading question of the current sub-project will be: *what are the political effects of the newly acquired status and the newly established institutions on the characteristics and quality of politics, democracy, and governance on the three BES-islands, and on the islanders’ opinions on the ‘BES-status?’* In analyzing these phenomena, an obvious and crucial characteristic of these three islands is that they have extremely small populations. As the literature on the political effects of size demonstrates, small scale has a number of political effects that can be deemed to either improve or obstruct the course of democratic development (Dahl and Tufte 1973; Sutton and Payne 1993; Veenendaal 2013a). Whereas the global statistical correlation between smallness and democracy (cf. Diamond and Tsalik 1999: 119-120) has spurred the notion that a small scale stimulates the development of democracy, more recent case-oriented and comparative studies tend to primarily highlight the democracy-undermining effects of a small population size. Using theories on the political effects of smallness current in political science, this subproject aims to analyze the consequences of the changed political status of the BES-islands by explicitly acknowledging the pervasive influence of the small population size of the islands.

On the positive side, smallness has been hypothesized to increase political participation, efficacy, and awareness among citizens, and to amplify the quality of political responsiveness and representation (Anckar 2002). On the negative side, scholars have observed that politics in small jurisdictions tends to be polarized and personalized, and to be characterized by excessive executive dominance and particularistic relationships between citizens and their representatives (Sutton 2007; Baldacchino 2012; Veenendaal 2013b). Whereas the geographical and psychological proximity between citizens and politicians, and the economic and political vulnerability of small settings used to be associated with domestic social intimacy and a politics of accommodation and consensus, more recent studies tend to highlight fiercely antagonistic personal conflicts within the political elite, and clientelistic and nepotistic linkages between citizens and politicians in these countries. In

² These institutions are commonly translated to ‘National Office for the Caribbean Netherlands’, and ‘lieutenant-governor’ in English.

combination with the observation that formal institutions in small states tend to be ignored or circumvented, these dynamics not only undermine the quality of political representation, but also jeopardize the democratic nature and legitimacy of the political system as a whole.

The political problems associated with smallness also surface in the small states of the Caribbean. While all sovereign small states³ in the Caribbean are classified as electoral democracies, David Hinds rightly draws attention to the discrepancy between democratic formal institutions and a markedly less democratic political reality (Hinds 2008). Individual and comparative analyses of politics and democracy in Caribbean states repeatedly emphasize the extreme or even tribalistic polarization of society along political lines, and the widespread clientelism, patronage, and corruption that continues to plague the politics of these island nations. In the seven sovereign Anglophone microstates of the region, the Westminster system further compounds this situation by engendering a political culture of 'winner takes all', in which the executive completely dominates the political and societal sphere, and the political opposition is completely ignored, as Trinidadian political scientist Selwyn Ryan argued (Ryan 1999). Although some research has been conducted on the sovereign Caribbean microstates, politics on the non-sovereign British Overseas Territories has only very rarely been analyzed. Even though the Caribbean islands that belong to the Kingdom of the Netherlands are neither Westminster-modeled nor (fully) sovereign, academic publications and, especially, reports in the Dutch news media reveal time and again that more or less similar political and administrative problems play a role on these islands as well (for recent scholarly work on good governance and administration in the Dutch Caribbean, see Nauta (2011) and Douglas (2011)).

Of course, the fact that the Dutch Caribbean islands are not fully sovereign influences the conduct of politics on these islands. However, the few available publications on politics in non-sovereign territories indicate that whereas the extra and supreme layer of power of the metropolitan government might mitigate some of the problems related to smallness, it also creates new challenges and difficulties (Ramos and Rivera 2001; Oostindie and Klinkers 2003; de Jong and Kruijt 2005; Baldacchino and Milne 2009; Clegg and Killingray 2012). Partly because of the insular nature of these territories and partly because of the identity-strengthening effects associated with smallness, the islands' citizens often appear to perceive threats to their identities. These problems are further aggravated in cases in which multiple islands are (sometimes involuntarily) politically united, as was for example the case with the Netherlands Antilles, and is the current situation for the BES-islands. Finally, huge economic and political inequalities between the metropolitan power and the non-sovereign territories can obviously generate perceptions of unfairness or discrimination as well.

Despite these drawbacks, various elections, referendums and other plebiscites on non-sovereign territories throughout the Caribbean continue to demonstrate a steady preference for non-independence among the islands' populations. Apparently, therefore, the advantages inherent in the asymmetrical link (still) outweigh the perceived downsides of non-sovereignty. This is also true for the six Caribbean islands that are part of the Kingdom of the Netherlands, since in none of the

³ Thus excluding the (relatively) larger and undemocratic nations of Cuba and Haiti.

referendums that was organized in the last decade has the option of independence acquired the assent of a majority or even a plurality of voters (Oostindie and Klinkers 2012). In the only existing comprehensive analysis of public opinions and citizen attitudes on the six islands, which was conducted in the late 1990s, large majorities indicated a preference for some form of continued and even stepped-up political affiliation with the metropolitan Netherlands (Oostindie and Verton 1998).

While a majority of the British islands in the region have acquired full independence in the period between 1970-1985, the French and American territories in the region have retained their links with the metropolis in some form of political association. In similar fashion, the political reforms of 2010 entail that the Caribbean islands of the Kingdom of the Netherlands remain locked in the postcolonial impasse. Due to the historical legacy of colonialism and slavery as well as contemporary issues, the islands' relationship with the metropolitan Netherlands remains strained, and occasionally marred by political controversies. Indeed, in the 1998-survey, the most important complaint of the islanders with respect to their relationship with the Netherlands was the perceived low level of awareness, interest, and respect from metropolitan Dutch citizens and politicians towards the islands. Furthermore, especially on St. Maarten but also on the smaller BES-islands, the dominance of Curaçao in the Netherlands Antilles was regarded as a big political problem. The frustration with the political structure of the Netherlands Antilles mounted after the 1986-departure of Aruba, as a result of which the supremacy of Curaçao in the Antilles became even more pronounced. Eventually, with the exception of St. Eustatius, referendums on the separate islands of the Antilles in the mid-2000s resulted in clear majorities in favor of other political alternatives than the status quo.

The political reforms of 2010 were met with high expectations as well as skepticism on both sides of the Atlantic. Whereas Curaçao and St. Maarten acquired the autonomy they long yearned for while remaining part of the Kingdom, the smaller BES-islands anticipated financial benefits and an increase in living conditions through their closer integration with the metropolis, while being released from the perceived dominance of Curaçao in the former Netherlands Antilles. Three years later however, the constitutional reforms within the Kingdom seem to have actually deepened the ambivalence of BES-islands' citizens and politicians towards the Netherlands. Rising costs of living and taxes, the arrival of considerable numbers of Dutch bureaucrats and citizens, perceived inequalities between Caribbean and autochthonous Dutch citizens, and the pressures to conform to Dutch norms and implement laws regarding ethical issues seem to have become causes of both concern and frustration. Furthermore, while the Antillean government was always somewhat reluctant to intervene in the political affairs of individual islands, the political reforms of 2010 have established a very powerful Dutch administration which does not hesitate to interfere in local affairs. As a result, islanders now even talk about the 2010 reforms as constituting a process of Dutch 'recolonization'. Finally, the 2010 reforms have also affected internal relations on the islands, as well as between them. On St. Eustatius and Saba, there are feelings that the previous subordination to Curaçao and/or St. Maarten has been exchanged for undue dependence on Bonaire, the Dutch administrative center of the BES-islands.

Whereas the main objections to the new political-institutional situation thus relate to the perceived threats to the respective identities of the BES-islands' populations, it is actually not always clear what this local identity entails. This is largely a consequence of the widespread historical migration in the region, as a result of which the populations of the islands represent quite heterogeneous geographical and ethnic backgrounds. In the other sub-project of this proposal, a postdoc will endeavor to write a social history of the islands, focusing inter alia on how this history of migration has affected the formation of (inter-) island identities. Since these identities constitute a key component of the contemporary socio-political dynamics and problems on the islands, the two sub-projects will be mutually reinforcing in this respect. Although the other sub-project will focus on the three Windward islands however, the three BES-islands are at the heart of this sub-project, which means that Bonaire instead of St. Maarten will be studied in addition to Saba and St. Eustatius. Nevertheless, both sub-projects will study the continuing influence of the Dutch colonial legacy on the islands, and the associated lack of identification and feelings of distrust towards the metropolis, which have a profound effect on contemporary politics, democracy, and governance.

While the decolonization process of the Dutch Caribbean has been analyzed in detail (Oostindie and Klinkers 2001, 2012), there is a lack of studies dealing with views and expectations of local populations, the impact of the new constitutional arrangements on the quality of local governance, and the interplay between the two. The current sub-project will build on the available literature and add a substantial empirical dimension by studying the organization and actual working of government on the BES-islands as well as local perceptions and reactions to this new situation. More specifically, the project will focus on the impact of the municipal status and the interaction between local and metropolitan institutions and politicians on the quality of governance, on the reactions and perceptions of local citizens, civil servants and politicians of the BES-islands, and on the way metropolitan Dutch public servants deal with these. The relationship between local politics and the newly established Dutch administration will be analyzed in order to see whether the change in political status also affects the mechanisms and quality of governance and democracy.

A first component of the project is to examine the attitudes of the local populations on the BES-islands toward the trans-Atlantic as well as local political structures of the islands, and, more specifically, the recent political reforms and new institutions. Building on Oostindie and Verdon's extensive quantitative investigation of opinions and attitudes among the population of the Netherlands Antilles and Aruba (1998), this sub-project aims to assemble local opinions about the efficacy and integrity of the new system of governance as well as the contested issue of local agency versus metropolitan control. The survey will provide a unique opportunity to measure possible changes in attitudes over nearly two decades of Dutch reengagement, but will also pay specific attention to the perceived legitimacy of local and Dutch institutions among the population, and the extent to which these institutions are able to facilitate the democratic representation of local citizens. To provide a comparative perspective, the same survey will be conducted on Aruba, Curaçao and St. Maarten, thus providing a test case for the widely advanced assumption that misgivings about metropolitan 'recolonization' augment as the intensity of Dutch governmental intervention increases.

In order to conduct the opinion survey, the cooperation of local citizens will be of a great importance. A key element of the survey will be to assemble a representative and randomly selected sample of citizens on each of the islands, which should be large enough to render its results reliable,⁴ and to be able to convincingly generalize and extrapolate the findings to the greater population of the islands. For the BES-islands, random selection will occur on the basis of demographic statistics of the Dutch central statistics office (*Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek*). For the three larger islands of Aruba, Curaçao, and St. Maarten, local demographic statistics are used for this purpose. In finding and contacting the citizens that are part of this sample, but also in conducting the survey itself, local research assistants will be recruited from local education institutions (such as the universities on Curaçao and Aruba and the College of St. Maarten) to partake in the research in return for financial compensation. The survey will consist of a relatively extensive number of closed or semi-closed questions, which will be joined in the format of a questionnaire which will be filled in by the respondents on the spot. The answers of all respondents will be compiled and coded in a large database, on the basis of which statistical techniques can be used to map and analyze the attitudes and opinions of the islands' populations.

Apart from the quantitative survey, a more qualitative, in-depth analysis of the functioning of local and metropolitan political and administrative structures will be conducted as a second component of the project, in order to see whether and how the change in political status affects the mechanisms and quality of governance. In this light, it should be emphasized that the *sui generis* municipal status of the three islands within the country of the Netherlands as 'public entities' is highly complex. Some three years into this experiment, substantial changes in governance and its results may be observed. These have been accompanied by lively debates in local politics, the press and everyday discourse as reflected in the local media. On the basis of semi-structured in-depth interviews with local respondents from various socio-political and institutional backgrounds, the effects of the newly introduced institutions and their interaction with the existing political-institutional framework on the broader quality of democracy and governance can be measured. In order to check for the validity and reliability of the interview data, an analysis of secondary documents like newspaper articles, government documents, and NGO-reports will be examined for triangulation.

In order to put the observations on the BES-islands into a broader perspective, a third component of the project is to draw three sorts of analytical comparisons. First, an obvious comparison can be made between the three BES-islands themselves, which now have a common legal-constitutional status, but are markedly different when it comes to other factors. To name but one example, the island of Bonaire is not only located in a completely different part of the Caribbean region than Saba and St. Eustatius, it also has a different ethno-linguistic demographic composition, with Papiamentu rather than English as the dominant language. Moreover, the Bonairean population is three times as

⁴ In Oostindie and Verton's 1998 publication, the following number of respondents was selected from each island: Curaçao 668, Aruba 638, St. Maarten 443, Bonaire 382, St. Eustatius 198, and Saba 189. Since the demographics of the islands have changed significantly in the last decade, however, different sample sizes might be more accurate for the current survey.

large as the population of St. Eustatius and Saba taken together. And as Bonaire is the seat of the Dutch *Rijksdienst*, some Windwards' irritations formerly directed against Curaçao are now re-directed towards Bonaire. For these and other reasons, the constitutional reforms of 2010 and subsequent political and institutional changes might have different political repercussions on each of the three different islands. In addition to the inter-BES-islands comparison, a second type of comparison can be drawn between the three BES-islands and the three islands that are now separate countries within the Kingdom (Aruba, Curaçao and St. Maarten). As mentioned before, this comparison can reveal the effects of further integration with the Netherlands on local perceptions and attitudes regarding the relationship with the metropolis. Since the three BES-islands opted for a different political alternative than Curaçao and St. Maarten, the islands provide an exceptional opportunity and almost a laboratory test case for a comparative investigation. As a country that already acquired the status of country within the Kingdom in 1986, the Aruban case additionally allows us to examine the more long-term political effects of increased autonomy. A third type of comparison, finally, can be made between the Caribbean islands of the Dutch Kingdom and the other non-sovereign territories in the region, which are either British Overseas Territories (BOTs), French *Départements d'Outre-Mer* (DOMs) or *Collectivités d'Outre-Mer* (COMs), or American Unincorporated Territories.⁵ Building on Oostindie and Klinkers' publication a decade ago (2003), a comparison between these various islands can reveal the effects of both historical colonial legacies and contemporary policies toward non-sovereign territories on the quality and legitimacy of present-day political-institutional structures.⁶

Scholarly analysis of the complex political and administrative situation on the BES-islands is lacking. By adopting an in-depth, mixed methods approach that also allows for inter-island comparisons, the societal and political consequences of further integration in the Netherlands can be studied most comprehensively. Such a design also allows us to incorporate the historical dimensions of postcolonial identity formation that are studied in the other sub-project – colonization, slavery, inter-island Caribbean migrations and kinship, the workings of the centralized 'country' of the Netherlands Antilles – and socio-cultural development as potential explanatory factors of the contemporary political dynamics on the islands. By adopting a mixed method, comparative research design, governance, politics and identity issues may be analyzed in the broader framework of the study of non-sovereign polities, both in the Caribbean and beyond.

The interdisciplinary nature of this sub-project is most clearly visible in comparison to the more historically- and anthropologically-based sub-project of the other postdoc, and the more heritage- and conservation-oriented project of the PhD candidate. However, this sub-project also seeks to

⁵ Caribbean BOTs include Anguilla, Bermuda, the British Virgin Islands, the Cayman Islands, Montserrat, and the Turks and Caicos Islands; the French Caribbean DOMs are Guadeloupe and Martinique (and French Guiana, which, however, is not an island), and the French Caribbean COMs are St. Barthélemy and St. Martin; and the American Unincorporated Territories in the Caribbean are Puerto Rico and the U.S. Virgin Islands.

⁶ The findings of these comparisons will also be compared to the secondary literature on politics and governance in sovereign small (island) states in other parts of the world, such as Europe, Africa, and the Pacific.

combine insights from multiple disciplines, and to contribute to ongoing scholarly debates in multiple academic fields. For one thing, this is almost inevitable because politics, administration, education, identity, history, and conservation are much more closely interrelated in small states than in larger ones. Since political jobs in small societies are often only part-time, many politicians combine their job with employment in the private sector, in journalism, in academia, or in an NGO. In this sense, the formal institutional boundaries and, therefore, also the policy spheres are often not as strict as they seem to be on paper. Thus, whereas the current sub-project is most clearly situated in between the twin disciplines of political science and public administration, and is, in this sense, already partially interdisciplinary, approaches and theories from (cultural) anthropology, area studies, law, economics, and history will also be used to most comprehensively analyze the developments on the BES-islands since the 2010 reforms.

There are a number of particularly obvious links between the present sub-project and the project of the PhD candidate. First of all, the political and governmental dynamics on the BES islands clearly form the political context under which heritage and conservation policies are being developed. Therefore, both projects will deal with the political effects of the limited population size of the islands, and the two projects can build on each other's findings in this respect. All small island states face the problem of how to develop a sustainable economy in the virtual absence of natural and human resources, and many politicians combine their job with a function in the private sector, leading to potential conflicts of interests. Thus, politics, heritage and conservation policies, and economic development are closely and inextricably linked in small jurisdictions, and both the current sub-project and the PhD project will study the effects of these circumstances.

As was said before, academic research on the feelings, opinions, and attitudes of the BES-island populations in the post-2010 situation is virtually absent. There are some useful studies which take into account the ways external, i.e. metropolitan preventive control, ad hoc and/or permanent intervention affects the working of local governance (cf. Baldacchino et al. 2009). How this, in turn, affects the local attitudes to the metropolitan role is hardly studied. From an academic perspective, therefore, this project could generate new insights into the effects of institutional reforms on political and democratic legitimacy in non-sovereign jurisdictions. In particular, the project could feed into the continuing scholarly discussion on which political strategy – increased integration or increased autonomy of non-sovereign territories – offers the most promising political alternative to metropolitan powers in dealing with their overseas territories. Regarding the islands themselves, the research project could offer answers to the question which political relationship with the metropolitan power, and which political-institutional framework on the islands themselves, provides the most effective approach to handle the inherent political problems of small, insular territories.

From a societal or practical political perspective, the relevance of the project can obviously be found in the implicit or explicit policy recommendations that both the Dutch and the local governments and administrations could extrapolate from the findings. First, the inter-island comparisons between the BES-islands themselves and the BES-islands and the larger islands can reveal whether integration or autonomy represents the most promising route to good governance on the islands. Second, it is

broadly known that the four remaining metropolitan powers in the Caribbean have adopted markedly different political trajectories and arrangements to cope with their non-sovereign territories. Against this background, the findings of this sub-project can also reveal how the 'Dutch Kingdom model' should be assessed from a comparative perspective. This will be a powerful element of valorization of this research.

This sub-project will result in eight authored or co-authored journal articles, and the results of an opinion survey. Depending on the eventual outcome of the entire sub-project, the postdoc may opt for writing a monograph entitled *Smallness, Post-Colonialism and Democracy: Political Challenges Facing the Dutch Caribbean*. This falls outside of the timeline and budget of the present NWO proposal, so additional funding will be applied for. The main applicant's institution (KITLV) has expressed a conditional interest for this.

b) Interdisciplinarity

Whereas the present sub-project will primarily relate to the academic disciplines of political science and public administration, it will also borrow from the fields of constitutional and administrative law, area studies, history, sociology, and anthropology. Since the other sub-project is primarily based on an historical and anthropological approach, the interrelation between the two sub-projects also provides the present sub-project with an historical dimension. However, while the other sub-project predominantly focuses on the social history of the three Windward islands and its influence on the formation of group and island identities, in order to study the effects of the 2010 reforms, the current project will mainly analyze the more recent historical events on the three BES-islands that have ultimately resulted in these reforms. In turn, because of its focus on the characteristics of politics and governance in small island jurisdictions, the present sub-project will constitute a basis from which the PhD project can analyze the BES islands' policies in the fields of heritage and nature conservation.

Although this sub-project focuses on the political and administrative effects of the 2010 reforms, these reforms themselves are obviously not only political, but also judicial in nature. As a consequence, it is indispensable to also incorporate insights from the field of constitutional and administrative law in the project. In addition, the fact that many of the alleged political effects of a small state size are essentially sociological or anthropological in nature, implies that the sub-project will also have to include elements from these two academic disciplines. In relation to the PhD-project, which primarily focuses on heritage conservation and environmental policies, this sub-project will also pay attention to the more political and administrative components of these policies on the BES-islands.

c) Embedding and impact

The current sub-project has an obvious and strong significance for both the academic community and political and governmental actors and institutions. In the first place, the lack of academic research on non-sovereign Caribbean territories, in general, and the BES-islands, in particular, entails

that the sub-project could increase our knowledge about political and administrative dynamics in these islands. Secondly, by drawing comparisons between the various Dutch islands and between the Dutch Caribbean territories and those that have political links to other metropolitan powers, the nature and success of the Dutch 'Kingdom model' can be analyzed and assessed from a comparative perspective. Whereas this project will be grounded in the scholarly literature on small (Caribbean) island states, its comparative and innovative character ensures that it will also make significant contributions to this literature.

In addition to its scientific relevance, the societal and practical political relevance of the project is perhaps even more obvious. The 2010 reforms represent a significant change in the political relation between the metropolitan Netherlands and the Caribbean parts of the Kingdom, and until now the more practical effects of these reforms have not yet been studied. For Dutch political and governmental actors and institutions, but also NGOs and other actors (such as businesses) that have an interest in the BES-islands, the findings of this sub-project will be of significance. For the BES-islands themselves, the results of this study have even more practical relevance, as it will provide the islanders with a lot of information about their island's changing relationship with the Netherlands, and the attitudes of the islands' citizens towards these political, administrative and constitutional changes.

d) Word count

4,477

22. Work programme of sub-project

Type	Provisional Subject/Title	Deadline
Journal Article	BES Islands as Non-Sovereign Small States	Spring 2015
Journal Article	Comparing Post-Colonial Experiences in the Caribbean: Dutch, British, French, and American Overseas Territories	Autumn 2015
Opinion Survey (with Survey Expert)	Antillean Opinions and Attitudes Towards the Kingdom of the Netherlands After the 2010 Reforms	Spring 2016
Journal Article (co-authored with Prof. Dr. G.J. Oostindie)	Changes in Opinions and Attitudes of Citizens in the Dutch Caribbean (18 years after the publication of <i>Ki Sorto di Reino</i>)	Spring 2016
Journal Article (co-authored with Prof. Dr. J.J.M. van Holsteijn and Survey Expert)	Conducting Opinion Surveys in Small-Scale Jurisdictions	Spring 2016
Journal Article	Political Effects of the 2010 Reforms on the BES-Islands	Autumn 2016
Journal Article	The Effects of Smallness on Politics and Democracy:	Autumn 2016

	Personalistic Politics and Clientelistic Linkages on the BES-Islands	
Journal Article	A Comparison of Divergent Paths: the Experience of the BES Islands and Curaçao and St. Maarten	Spring 2017
Journal Article (co-authored with Prof. Dr. G.A. Persoon and PhD Candidate)	Politics of Sustainable Development on the BES Islands	2017
<i>Monograph</i>	<i>Smallness, Post-Colonialism and Democracy: Political Challenges Facing the Dutch Caribbean</i>	2018-2019 (see text above)

	Year		
	1	2	3
Main Objectives	Survey Experiment (Quantitative Research)	Qualitative Research, Comparison of BES-Islands	Comparative Research; Broader Dutch and Caribbean Context
Reading	Reading publications on: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Political and social history of Dutch Caribbean Islands Causes, process, and consequences of 2010 reform process Politics and democracy in (Caribbean) non-sovereign territories Experimental research techniques; survey design 	Reading publications on: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Politics, democracy, and administration in each of the 3 BES-islands Politics and democracy in (Caribbean) non-sovereign territories Reading newspaper articles on political developments in the BES-islands since 2010 	Reading publications on: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Politics and democracy in (Caribbean) non-sovereign territories
Organization	Preparing public opinion survey on 6 Dutch Caribbean Islands Establishing contacts with local academics, politicians, journalists, NGOs, etc. Establishing contacts with Dutch institutions, such as the Department of Kingdom Affairs, public research institutions, and politicians involved in the relationship with the Caribbean islands	Prepare semi-structured, in-depth interviews; develop question lists, contact and invite potential respondents Prepare field research and research stay in three BES-islands	Contact experts (academics, politicians) in/on three larger Dutch Caribbean islands, and non-Dutch overseas territories in the Caribbean
Research and Travels	Visit Dutch Caribbean Islands to make preparations for the survey (e.g. finding Towards the end of the year: setting up and conducting the opinion survey on (part of) the six islands	Semi-structured in-depth interviews with respondents BES-islands Interviews with Dutch experts involved in the 2010 process or the relation with the Dutch Caribbean in general Analysis of newspapers and other documents	Visit and analyze larger Dutch islands Visit and analyze comparative, non-Dutch case(s) in the Caribbean
Analysis, Writing,	Analyze causes, process, and	Analyze differences between the	Analyze differences and similarities

<p>Publications</p>	<p>consequences of 2010 reforms, perhaps write (and try to publish) a political-historical overview of the reforms (possibly in comparative perspective)</p> <p>If possible: process results of opinion survey</p> <p>Journal Articles:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • BES Islands as Non-Sovereign Small States • Comparing Post-Colonial Experiences in the Caribbean: Dutch, British, French, and American Overseas Territories 	<p>BES-islands themselves, and between the BES-islands and the three larger Dutch islands</p> <p>Journal Article: Comparing Post-Colonial Experiences in the Caribbean: Dutch, British, French, and American Overseas Territories</p> <p>Opinion Survey (with Survey Expert): Antillean Opinions and Attitudes Towards the Kingdom of the Netherlands After the 2010 Reforms</p> <p>Journal Articles:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • (co-authored with Prof. Dr. G.J. Oostindie): Changes in Opinions and Attitudes of Citizens in the Dutch Caribbean (18 years after the publication of <i>Ki Sorto di Reino</i>) • (co-authored with Prof. Dr. J.J.M. van Holsteijn and Survey Expert): Conducting Opinion Surveys in Small-Scale Jurisdictions 	<p>between BES-islands and larger Dutch islands</p> <p>Analyze differences between the Dutch Caribbean overseas territories, and the BOTs, DOMs, COMs, and U.S. islands.</p> <p>Journal Article: Political Effects of the 2010 Reforms on the BES-Islands</p> <p>Journal Articles:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Effects of Smallness on Politics and Democracy: Personalistic Politics and Clientelistic Linkages on the BES-Islands • A Comparison of Divergent Paths: the Experience of the BES Islands and Curaçao and St. Maarten • (with Prof. Dr. G.A. Persoon and PhD Candidate): Politics of Sustainable Development on the BES Islands
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23. Use of CNSI

The Caribbean Netherlands Science Institute (CSNI) on St. Eustatius will be used as a basis for the research that will be conducted on that island, but also for the research that will be carried out on the other islands. In particular, it can be expected that the social and academic network and information that is present at the CNSI will be of great importance for the execution of this research. Finally, the accommodation facilities of the CSNI will be used during research visits to St. Eustatius.

24. Use of large infrastructure (optional)

Not applicable

25. Brief curriculum vitae of the main applicant of the sub-project

Professor Gert J. Oostindie (Ridderkerk, 1955) is director of the KITLV/Royal Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies in Leiden, an institute of the KNAW/Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences. From 1993 to 2006, he also held a chair in Caribbean Studies at the Department of Anthropology of Utrecht University. Since 2006, he has been Professor of Caribbean History at the History Department of Leiden University.

Oostindie studied History and Social Sciences, specialization in Latin American history, at the VU University, Amsterdam completed with an MA thesis in socioeconomic history on colonial Cuba (graduation, cum laude, 1982). He obtained his PhD at Utrecht University (cum laude, 1989) with a doctoral thesis on slavery and the plantation economy in the Dutch Caribbean colony of Suriname. He became head of the KITLV's Department of Caribbean Studies in 1983, a position he held until assuming the directorship of institute in 2000. Oostindie received several research grants from the NWO and the KNAW and has been a research fellow at The Johns Hopkins University, the *Fondation Maison des Sciences de l'Homme*, the Eric Remarque Institute for European Studies at New York University, and the Netherlands Institute of Advanced Study in the Humanities and Social Sciences.

Professor Oostindie's principal areas of research have been the Caribbean and Dutch colonial history. He published extensively on the colonial history and decolonization of the Dutch Caribbean; on history, ethnicity and migration in the Caribbean and Latin America in general; and on the significance of colonial history to Dutch national identity. He has (co-)published or edited some 30 books and over 150 articles with a wide range of publishers. He served on many editorial, scholarly and governmental committees both in the Netherlands and abroad and is a frequent contributor to the Dutch mass media on his areas of expertise.

Much of his work has focused on the Dutch Caribbean islands and is, therefore, of direct relevance to the present program. He (co-)authored several monographs on the decolonization of the Dutch Caribbean as well as on the most recent constitutional changes. Apart from this work in the field of political history and contemporary politics, he also published widely both on the early modern and contemporary social and economic history of the islands. During and after his Professorship at Utrecht University, Oostindie deepened his interest in anthropology, leading to many publications on contemporary meanings of migration, identity and nationhood. Over the past years, Oostindie has also published on cultural heritage both in the Netherlands and the former Dutch colonies in Africa, Asia and the Americas. In all of his work, Oostindie has strived for both an interdisciplinary and regionally comparative approach.

As there is no other place in the application format to do so, this seems the best place to add biographical information on the researcher in this sub-project, Dr. Wouter P. Veenendaal.

Dr. Wouter P. Veenendaal (Amsterdam, 1986) is a Lecturer in Political Science at the Institute of Political Science of Leiden University. Between 2009 and 2013, he worked as a PhD candidate at the same institute. On April 10, 2013, Veenendaal defended his doctoral dissertation in political science, in which he analyzed the effects of a limited population size on democratic competition and participation. For this PhD research, Veenendaal conducted field research in four small states around the world: San Marino (Europe), St. Kitts and Nevis (Caribbean), Seychelles (Africa), and Palau (Oceania).

Between 2004 and 2009, Veenendaal studied political science at Leiden University, and obtained his Research Masters' (MPhil) degree in 2009 (*cum laude*). Since 2007, Veenendaal has taught

both graduate and undergraduate courses on a broad variety of issues and themes, including comparative politics, international relations, research methods, and political theory. For his PhD research, Veenendaal obtained grants from the Netherlands Institute of Government and from the Leiden University Fund to finance his field research in the Caribbean, Africa, and the Pacific.

Veenendaal's research and publications – some of which are listed in the bibliography to the entire research program – have focused on politics and democracy in small (island) states, and he has published on political representation, political competition, foreign policy, and institutional legitimacy in small jurisdictions. Veenendaal's research is primarily qualitative and comparative in nature, and through professional training and extensive experience in the field he has strongly developed his skills in interview-based research. Veenendaal's articles have been published in high-ranking international refereed journals such as *Comparative Politics*, *Democratization*, and *Party Politics*, which are among the top journals in his academic field. In addition, he has visited a variety of international academic conferences in the Netherlands, other European countries, and the United States. In recent years, Veenendaal has also made several contributions to the Dutch news media, and has presented his work at a number of (semi-) governmental organizations in the Netherlands.

Veenendaal's experience in comparative and qualitative methodology, interview-based research, and, especially, politics and democracy in small states, will be of direct relevance to this research program. In particular, his experience with conducting field research and interviews in a small, Caribbean island state will be highly useful in this regard.

26. Key Publications

Biezen, I.C. van. (2000). 'On the Internal Balance of Party Power: Party Organizations in New Democracies', *Party Politics* 6 (4), pp. 395-417.

Holsteijn, J.J.M. van, and G.A. Irwin (2002). 'According to the Polls: the Influence of Opinion Polls on Expectations', *The Public Opinion Quarterly* 66 (1), pp. 92-104.

Oostindie, G.J., and I.M. Klinkers (2003). *Decolonising the Caribbean. Dutch Policies in a Comparative Perspective*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

Oostindie, G.J., and I.M. Klinkers (2012). *Gedeeld Koninkrijk. De ontmanteling van de Nederlandse Antillen en de vernieuwing van het trans-Atlantische Koninkrijk der Nederlanden*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

Veenendaal, W.P. (2013). *Politics and Democracy in Microstates. A Comparative Analysis of the Effects of Size on Contestation and Inclusiveness*. Leiden (PhD Dissertation; Defended April 10, 2013).

27. Research budget for sub-project (in €)

budget for sub-project	fte	no. of months	financial resources (€) requested from NWO
A. personnel costs			
salary post-doc researcher	1.0	36	199.465
bench fee (€ 5.000,-- per researcher paid from grant)			5,000
B. material costs (max. 25% of personnel costs)			
activity 1 (costs for opinion survey)			51.233
travel costs of research team			15.150
Total costs (max. € 750.000,--)			270.848

15–27 Sub-project(s)

Please provide information about the sub-projects. Duplicate this section (items 15-27) as many times as there are sub-projects in the proposed programme. For a detailed description of the entire research programme, see items 5-14.

15. Title of sub-project

Challenges of cultural heritage and nature conservation in the Dutch Caribbean municipalities

16. Summary of sub-project & keywords (max. 250 words)

While the entire program focuses on the potential pitfalls created by small-scale and contestations over identity and postcolonial governance, the third sub-project consists of two case studies with direct relevance to development policy. The small-scale of the BES islands is also evident in debates on development. As is the case elsewhere in the Caribbean, tourism is the dominant focus of the islands' development strategies, but there are serious challenges to putting these strategies into place. Central to this sub-project is the question *how to reconcile tourism with both nature conservation and respect for local cultural heritage*.

'Mass' tourism may be at odds with local sensitivities about history and heritage, and, moreover, may damage fragile natural resources. How do the complex arrangements for local administration devised for the BES islands respond to these dilemmas? In close cooperation with the postdocs, the PhD student will bridge the historical and contemporary foci of their projects with two case studies centered on debates about, and policies for, cultural heritage and nature conservation. (S)he will delve into these questions about governance, history, heritage, environment, and tourism on a micro-level, studying the interaction of local government agencies, NGOs and public intellectuals on the BES-islands as they deal with the challenge of improving the quality of governance and adding to the sustainability of the islands by improving nature conservation and heritage policies. Because these sectors are of great significance both to the local population and to the tourist industry, this sub-project may have an immediate societal impact.

Keywords: cultural heritage; environmental history; identity; governance; non-sovereignty; nature conservation; small-scale.

17. Discipline code(s) for sub-project

26.60.00 (Archeology), 36.90.00 (Area studies), 46.90.00 (Cultural Anthropology), 50.90.00 (Environmental Science), 27.40.00 (History), 44.10.00, 44.20.00 (Public Administration and Political Science).

18. Main applicant and institutional setting of sub-project

Prof.dr. Gert J. Oostindie (KITLV-KNAW and History, Leiden University), P.O. Box 9515, 2300 RA Leiden, NL, 071-5272295, oostindie@kitlv.nl

Just as with the two postdocs, the PhD candidate will be housed at the KITLV, which is on the Leiden University campus, in order to optimize cooperation between the three researchers and the main applicant. The active involvement of the Leiden-based *co-promotoren* Prof. Gerard Persoon (Anthropology) and Prof. Willem Willems (Archeology/Heritage Studies) will ensure excellent supervision of the PhD student in their fields of expertise, and allow for participation in the graduate schools of their faculties. They will also stimulate participation in relevant scientific networks such as ISISA (International Small Islands Study Association) and IGU's Commission on Islands (International Geographical Union), conservation NGOs such as WWF (Gerard Persoon is a member of the WWF-NL's Supervisory Board), and cultural heritage networks such as ICOMOS (the International Council on Monuments and Sites; Prof. Willems is a member of the board of ICOMOS-NL).

19. Period of funding of sub-project

This sub-project would have last four years, full-time. If the program is approved, hiring will start immediately after receiving the NWO decision. This means that the PhD candidate might be able to start her/his participation in the program in late summer 2014, finishing the sub-project in the late summer of 2018. The PhD student would, therefore, benefit from having both the main applicant and the two postdocs involved in the project from the very start of her/his research period.

20. Composition of the research team and participating partners in the sub-project

consortium	name & title	affiliation	expertise	role in project
main applicant	Prof. Dr. G.J. Oostindie	KITLV and Institute of History, Leiden University	Caribbean history, politics, anthropology	Supervision of the entire program; <i>promotor</i> of the PhD student; co-author of publications with other team members including the PhD candidate
co-applicant(s)	Prof. Dr. G.A. Persoon	Department of Anthropology, Leiden University	Environmental Studies, nature conservation	<i>Co-promotor</i> of the PhD student; co-author of publications with the PhD candidate
co-applicant(s)	Prof. Dr. W.J.H. Willems	Faculty of Archaeology, Leiden University	Cultural heritage	<i>Co-promotor</i> of the PhD student; co-author of publications with the PhD candidate
scientific staff				
1. PhD student, 4 years full-time	To be appointed	KITLV/Leiden University	Anthropologist, archaeologist with	Conducting the research for this sub-project,

	after open competition.		a special interest in cultural heritage, historian, or political scientist	writing PhD thesis, (co-) authoring scholarly articles as well as publications for general outreach
project partners				
1.	Dr. J. Haviser	St. Maarten Archeological Center (SIMARC)	Cultural heritage; history	Advice on research and outreach
2. Governmental institutions				Contacts have been established with both Dutch and Antillean governmental institutions. At this stage, confidentiality is required.
3. Local institutions and NGOs in the fields of cultural heritage and nature conservation				Contacts have been established with various Antillean partners. At this stage, confidentiality is required.

21. Description of the proposed research

a) Scientific Description

The small scale of the BES islands is not only evident in the way politics plays out and in how society is constructed but, equally, sets the parameters for (sustainable) economic development. As is the case elsewhere in the Caribbean, tourism is the dominant focus of the islands' development strategies, but there are serious challenges. Central to this PhD project is the question of *how to reconcile tourism with both nature conservation and respect for local cultural heritage. How do the complex arrangements for local administration devised for the BES islands impact tourist development?* Employing models on the development of islands, co-management of natural resources, and the representation of colonial legacies, including slavery, this project will analyze how various interested parties, including governmental actors, (local) NGOs, the local tourist industry, and interested residents reconcile these sometimes competing aims. In close cooperation with the postdocs, and building on the results of their work, the PhD candidate will bridge the historical and contemporary foci of their projects in two case studies centered on debates about, and policies for, cultural heritage and nature conservation. These case studies will involve an evaluation of past initiatives for cultural heritage and nature conservation, in-depth interviews with those involved in these initiatives, and discussions with stakeholders in the various (Dutch and local) segments of public administration, NGOs, informal citizens' initiatives, the media, and the business sector, particularly the tourist industry, in current (tourist) development programs. The research will be centered on Bonaire and St. Eustatius,

linking up with long-established archeological research groups as well as with initiatives such as the *Mangazina de Rei* on Bonaire and the St. Eustatius Historical Foundation Museum. In view of ongoing debates about the reconciliation of cultural heritage and the (perceived) desires of tourists, a vital component of this project will be a survey to ascertain what various interested parties (including educators and tourists) actually want to 'see' in the realm of cultural heritage. Fieldwork will be conducted on all the BES islands, though Bonaire and St. Eustatius will be the focus on the specific case studies. Conclusions from this research will be formulated in such a way that they may contribute to the formulation and implementation of future policies.

The parameters of development politics in the BES islands are set by the extremely small-scale of their societies and their incorporation in the Netherlands as idiosyncratic municipalities. Politics in small-scale islands tends to be highly personalized and often leads to poor governance and a lack of transparency and accountability under the veneer of formal democracy (Sutton 2007; Baldacchino 2012; Veenendaal 2013). This is where the PhD project ties in to the postdoc project on governance. Small-scale implies that all actors involved, in public, semi-public, or private roles, locally born or immigrants, employed by local or metropolitan institutions, or in the private sector, or NGOs, whether active in a political party or not, meet one another in varying capacities and have overlapping societal roles. These factors inherent in small-scale societies have been complicated by the constitutional arrangements of 10/10/10, which have resulted in a new, complex governmental structure in which metropolitan and local competences are both complimentary and, at times, overlapping and potentially conflictive. Whereas the lead up to this 'regime change' has been analyzed in detail (Oostindie and Klinkers 2012), there is no scholarly analysis available on its post-2010 results. A major question in the PhD project, therefore, as in the political sciences postdoc project, *is how the restructuring of local governance has impacted the quality, effectiveness and transparency of local politics with regard to (tourist) development, specifically in the realms of cultural heritage and eco-tourism*. This includes an analysis of how (competing) stakeholders in these domains negotiate the potential political pitfalls created by smallness at a local, insular, national, and even international level.

The PhD project will contribute to this analysis for the crucial fields of cultural heritage and nature conservation. The a priori assumption of this project is that most actors involved share the conviction that the expansion of tourism is indispensable for economic growth; that tourism should be developed with respect for the local culture and natural habitat; and that the local community should benefit from tourist development. While, obviously, all of these assumptions should be tested along the way, we may already make a second series of assumptions on the probable divides between these overall good intentions and the hard realities on the ground. Tourist development requires the formulation and democratic acceptance of policy plans; public and private investments in infrastructure; and the enforcement of the relevant laws and regulations. This process will reinforce already existing

tensions or possibly produce new ones, including conflicts over the aims and methods with which this development will be created. In turn, private political and economic interests are bound to play an important role, both openly and behind the scenes. The analysis of this process is at the heart of the PhD project.

The cultural heritage of the BES islands reflects a history of colonialism, including African/Afro-American slavery, but also of significant post-Emancipation and especially post-World War Two migrations, political subordination to the Netherlands and, until recently perhaps more tangibly, Curaçao. As is the case throughout the Caribbean, the cultures of these three islands are heavily creolized and marked by ongoing migrations. Having said that, there are significant contrasts between the three islands. Bonaire belongs to the cultural area of the Papiamentu-speaking Leeward Antilles, while St. Eustatius and Saba form part of a wider Northern Caribbean Anglophone region. In addition, Saba stands out due to its long-established population of European-origin. And this is but one example of the diversity of these islands. Therefore, cultural heritage is interpreted and, possibly, also valued differently on each of the islands. As the islands are drawn ever more intensely into the process of globalization, cultural heritage is more at risk and, concomitantly, more esteemed as a 'thing' to be protected and, perhaps, to be commoditized for tourism and island branding.

As history is foundational to contemporary cultural heritage, the postdoc project on the hitherto neglected history of the Windward islands is crucial to the PhD project on St. Eustatius and Saba. There is a need for the postdoc and the PhD candidate to work jointly in this field, and there is ample room for synergies between the projects. More scholarly work is already available on the history and culture of Bonaire, and, in addition, there are various local initiatives linking cultural heritage both to local debates on Bonairean identity and to tourism which the PhD can use to supplement his/her work on the island. St. Eustatius is also a promising case for research as most historical research and heritage initiatives focus on the later 18th-century commercial success of the 'Golden Rock', a period with no obvious relevance to contemporary St. Eustatians. The historian postdoc will introduce the PhD student to the relevant literature and debates. She/he, therefore, will be able to acquire enough understanding of cultural heritage issues on the three BES islands prior to her/his fieldwork.

The research will be informed by the scholarly debate on the challenges of cultural heritage in postcolonial societies, a literature which so far has hardly paid attention to the Dutch Caribbean islands, much less to the BES islands (Oostindie 2008). In all societies, debates about national, regional or local identities are closely related to ideas about the significance of material and immaterial cultural heritage. It is a truism that 'heritage' does not simply reflect the past, but, equally, embodies contemporary ideas about this past and its significance to the present (Willems 2010). In the context of formerly colonized societies, this immediately raises all kinds of questions regarding the incorporation, or rejection, of the colonial past in postcolonial definitions of heritage (Siegel and Richter 2011; Van der Linde et.al. 2012). In the specific case of the BES islands, the dilemmas are obvious. Whereas

material cultural heritage (fortresses, mansions and the like) mainly reflects the objectives and culture of the once hegemonic European colonial upper class, immaterial cultural heritage (such as language, folklore, and dance) is predominantly reflective of the creolization of the mostly African-origins lower-classes. In the Caribbean context, there is the additional dilemma raised by the fact that majority African-origins populations tend to have limited interest in pre-Columbian heritage, until recently the major concern of archaeological research.

In addition, as the history postdoc project will illustrate, the impact of continuous and, particularly in the last few decades, high-impact migrations makes it difficult to think of the islands' history and the resulting cultural heritage as representative of today's insular societies – recent immigrants are bringing their own cultures into the Caribbean melting pots, salad bowls, or whatever metaphor one employs. As vital as they are in contemporary debates about insular identity, these continuous processes of creolization are often ignored in tourist-centered representations of the 'typical local culture', as well as in essentializing discourses on insular identity.

This begs an array of questions on the ways the BES islands may incorporate cultural heritage as an element in their tourist industries. Of course, there are multiple interpretations of what this heritage actually is, and how to represent it in a way that satisfies the needs and desires of institutions primarily concerned with educating the local populace, such as schools, and institutions with an educational and outreach function for both locals and visitors, like museums and monuments. In addition, there are stakeholders such as hotels who cater to tourists who may have quite divergent wishes regarding cultural heritage engagement.

Some tourists may want to see what they perceive to be an 'authentic' representation of the history of these islands, especially in areas such as slavery and its legacies. The popularity of institutions such as Colonial Williamsburg in Virginia (USA), the International Slavery Museum in Liverpool, and the recently opened Slave Lodge in Cape Town, all of which graphically represent the realities of slavery, would seem to indicate a growing interest in an at least somewhat realistic depiction of the (colonial) past and, particularly, slavery. Yet other tourists may have no interest in cultural heritage at all, or, if they are interested, would prefer a sanitized version of history, with little or no attention paid to unpleasant colonial legacies. This is certainly the belief of some island stakeholders. Thus, some people in Curaçao suggest this is why the monument in commemoration of the 1795 slave revolt is located far away from the preferred tourist spots. All of which highlights a central question of this research: *what is it, exactly, that the resident population, local government and tourists to the BES islands want with regard to cultural heritage? What interests them? And are there discrepancies between what tourists want and what (local) stakeholders **think** that they want? Are there genuine divisions between local residents' desires for the management of their cultural heritage and the demands of the tourist industry?* The survey conducted by

the PhD will answer these questions and, thereby, set the stage for a more useful and more effective cultural heritage development policy.

In her/his research, the PhD student will need to take these various dilemmas on board while analyzing which governmental and semi-public institutions, actors from the private sector and individuals are engaging in cultural heritage policies and practices, and with what methods, means, objectives and results they are doing so. We assume that the dimensions of small-scale as well as the new municipal status are deeply influential to the ways the various actors interact – or fail to do so – with one another. Because of the smallness of the islands and, hence, the limited number of actors, the researcher will be able to acquire intimate knowledge of the relevant processes through (participant) observation, interviews, and close attention to the local media. There will be ample room for cooperation with local initiatives such as the semi-public *Mangazina di Rei* in Bonaire (museum, culture tours both for the local population and tourists) and the historical foundations active in Saba and St. Eustatius. In cooperation with the historian postdoc, the PhD student will also be able to develop history-related materials in the field of cultural heritage which, in turn, may spark debates about the way history/cultural heritage is and may be used in the development of tourism without succumbing to commercial folklorization offensive to local citizens.

The PhD project's second focus, on nature conservation, will add a new dimension to the entire program. Without serious nature conservation, tourism comes at a high ecological price, to such a degree that an unbalanced development of tourism may end up destroying the pristine natural beauty tourists crave, and, by extension, also the islanders' habitat. Sustainable tourist development should take this challenge seriously, but this does not always sit well with the budgetary constraints of local governments, the interests of private business, and the historical precedents for interaction with the environment. As the PhD candidate will work with governmental organizations and local political parties, activists and NGOs, she/he will benefit considerably from, and conversely add to, the work done by the political science postdoc on the working of local politics and civil society. She/he will also benefit from the history postdoc's attention to the environmental context against which (hybrid) identities are created.

In scientific as well as policy literature, there has been a heated debate about the most efficient form of nature protection. Some argue that the so-called 'fines and fences' approach yields better results than methods that have become more popular in recent years and that are based on forms of co-management. Co-management is based on the sharing of rights and responsibilities between local resource users and (different levels of) government. This has also been the case for marine protected areas. All major donor agencies and international conservation NGOs have adopted the co-management approach because they are convinced that without the active involvement of local communities, protected areas will not be maintained in the long run. In addition, through international declarations and conventions, indigenous and local governments are enjoying more recognition for, and rights

to, the management of protected areas.

This has also been the case on Bonaire, where the Bonaire Marine National Park was established in 1979. St. Eustatius and Saba also have national parks that are managed by private foundations. World Wildlife Fund, Netherlands (WWF-NL) plays a crucial role in the management of all these areas. Right from the start, the local communities were involved in the implementation of the protected areas and efforts have been made to include local people in the actual management of the area, which of course, also caters to the tourist industry. Some years into these processes, there is ample opportunity to analyze the interaction between the various actors, and incorporate a discussion of the new metropolitan interventions since 10/0/10. This analysis will establish how local populations have responded to these outside initiatives and how this affects both their attitudes towards nature conservation and towards the BES arrangements.

From a theoretical point of view, this part of the PhD's research is related to two bodies of knowledge. In the first place, this is the literature on co-management of natural resources, particularly of marine and coastal areas (e.g., Borrini-Feyerabend et al. 2004; Roe and Elliott 2010). This is a fast growing body of literature based on relevant experiences in various parts of the world, not in the least from the Caribbean region, and also in Southeast Asia (Indonesia and the Philippines) in which one of the supervisors has done extended fieldwork. Within the framework of the so-called Coral Triangle, various research projects are being implemented in Southeast Asia, which produce rich materials for a comparative approach. Through close collaboration with the marine research departments of the international conservation NGOs (such as WWF, Coral Triangle Network Network), we will be able to secure relevant background material and results. The key questions to be addressed are: *What are the management strategies for the marine protected areas in the BES islands and how have they been established? What is the impact of these strategies on local livelihoods as well as the tourism sector? What is the role and performance of the various parties, both public and private, in the management of these areas? And finally, how does the small scale of the islands influence management, and what role do the complicated post-10/10/10 governance arrangements play in how these areas are managed?*

The second body of knowledge relevant for this study relates to the development paths of small islands. In the general literature on development, small islands never received a great deal of attention, their developmental processes were usually described as problematic for a number of reasons. These include isolation, limited natural and human resources, high transportation costs and 'smallness' in all kinds of sectors. In reaction to this general image, and based on close examination of a large number of case studies, a different picture may be construed, particularly when focusing on non-sovereign territories (Armstrong and Read 2002; Baldacchino 2004, 2009, 2010; Royle 2001). Geoff Bertram, in particular, has provided a promising comparative perspective on the economy of small islands, with his Migration, Remittances, Aid, and Bureaucracy (MIRAB) model focusing on sources of income for small

islands, and with his TOURAB-model (Tourism, Remittances, Aid, and Bureaucracy) (Bertram 2006; Bertram and Poirine 2007; cf. Apostolopoulos and Gayle, 2002). This sub-project will make use of Bertram's model to study the various options and limitations for the BES islands and, hence, will also contribute to the emerging theories on development of small islands. The key issues for the researchers will be: *an assessment of the developmental history of the BES islands; an exploration of existing development options for the BES islands, with particular attention to sustainable tourism; and, again, an analysis of decisive conditions and factors for selecting developmental options and, thereby, an identification of the key actors in this process.*

The research methodology for this sub-project will be based on the approach developed by A.P. Vayda, often labeled as 'progressive contextualization' or 'event ecology'. This approach starts research at the level of concrete actions and, by interviewing and following relevant actions and stakeholders, gradually builds up a context that can explain the present condition in causal terms. This implies moving outward in terms of space and moving backward in time in order to find events and conditions that can help to explain the present, while also taking account of present-day actions and projected futures. The challenge will be to reveal the nature of the relationships between actors and how they influence each other's actions. This is an approach successfully employed in a number of projects in ecology (Walters and Vayda 2009; Persoon and Perez 2008).

The two case studies should be seen as two windows opened to understand the same overall political processes. Surely a focus on cultural heritage debates and politics requires some specific expertise which is different from the know-how necessary for a study of strategies for nature conservation, but there are strong parallels in methodology when it comes to participant observation, semi-structured interviews and the like. Moreover, in these small-scale settings, the researcher will soon see a significant overlap in actors and processes. Therefore, the project is feasible for one PhD student, as is the choice to study these processes both on the Windward islands and on Bonaire. Depending on the progress made though, perhaps the Windward study may privilege St. Eustatius. A decision on this issue will be made while the student is in the field. The deliverables for the entire PhD project will not only include a PhD thesis and peer-reviewed scholarly articles, but also publications in the local media, and materials for community outreach both in cultural heritage and in nature conservation. Moreover, the research findings will be translated into policy recommendations.

b) Interdisciplinarity

This project, in line with the entire program, is interdisciplinary primarily between and within the fields of the humanities and the social sciences. But this particular project also links up with one field at the intersection of environmental and social sciences: the study as well as the advancement of nature conservation.

The PhD project touches on some of the concerns central to the first theme NWO's call, 'Earth and Climate', particularly the consequences of regional sea level changes for the BES islands, as well as the focus of the second theme, the impact of anthropogenetic processes on local ecosystems. But, of course, the project mainly addresses the third theme, 'Challenges of small-scale Caribbean isles: identity, heritage, governance, education'.

The central purpose of this project is to analyze how metropolitan and local administrators, civil society and individual citizens, as well as the business community, deal with challenges facing these small-scale isles, including: the leveraging of cultural heritage and ecological resources for tourist development. This concern is situated in a triangle between political sciences, public administration and anthropology, but the disciplinary field is widened for each of the two specific concerns. The focus on cultural heritage implies the inclusion of expertise and methods of the fields of history and archeology/heritage studies, whereas the focus on ecological issues assumes awareness of the relevant debates in environmental science about contemporary challenges in the region and of strategies for nature conservation, including popular education.

For the purposes of this project, the widely-held assumption that the development of sustainable tourism is the best option for economic development in most Caribbean isles is simply taken as a point of departure. The project is explicitly not situated in the field of development economics.

c) Embedding and impact

The scholarly infrastructure is virtually nil in the BES islands, and not highly developed in the other islands of the former Netherlands Antilles. Over the past years, there have some joint Dutch-Antillean initiatives both in the field of cultural heritage and nature conservation, but there is no such thing as a developed infrastructure for scholarly cooperation within the transatlantic Kingdom of the Netherlands. Of course, the present NWO Call for proposals on Caribbean studies aims to stimulate precisely this type of cooperation and, thereby, also capacity building in the Dutch Caribbean.

The project will be conducted with the cooperation of the CSNI. The main applicant has worked with the University of the Netherlands Antilles (Curaçao), the University of Aruba and the College of St. Maarten in the past, and if this program gets funded, these relations will be rejuvenated. This link will serve both scholarly and political/societal purposes, as the concerns of this project are equally crucial to the three autonomous Caribbean countries within the Kingdom.

The Dutch Caribbean is situated in a part of the world where a host of small-scale islands, irrespective of their present constitutional status, face similar challenges, whether in the

fields of ecology, economic development, social cohesion, or heritage and identity issues. The University of the West Indies (Commonwealth Caribbean) and the Université des Antilles (French overseas departments), are well-established and the present research program will certainly benefit from cooperation with these institutions and, through these, may also link up with research programs connecting the Anglophone and French Caribbean to research centers in Europe, the U.S. and Canada. Both Leiden University and KITLV have links with various Caribbean scholarly institutions and organizations, and if the program is funded these links will be utilized and also extended for the purpose of drawing the BES islands as well as Aruba, Curaçao and St. Maarten into regional networks of expertise.

Within the Netherlands, the required scholarly expertise is guaranteed through the participation of the two co-applicants along with the main applicants, as all three are well-established in their own faculties and international networks. Within KITLV, the proposed center of the entire program, the PhD student would also benefit from cooperation with researchers engaged in ongoing research programs dealing with clientelism and local politics in Indonesia. The program's location at Leiden University's campus will greatly facilitate synergy within the research and expert group, much to the advantage of the PhD student.

d) Word count

3982

22. Work programme of sub-project

Deliverables

Type	Provisional Subject/Title	Deadline
Journal Article (co-authored with Dr. J. Haviser, Prof. Dr. G.J. Oostindie and Prof. Dr. W. J.H. Willems)	Cultural Heritage on the BES Islands: Integrating the Past with the Future	2016
Journal Article (co-authored with Prof. Dr. G.A. Persoon and Dr. W.P. Veenendaal)	Politics of Sustainable Development on the BES Islands	2017
Educational Materials (produced with Dr. J. Haviser and Dr. J.V. Roitman)	A Window on Windwards' History	2018
Dissertation	Challenges of Cultural Heritage and Nature Conservation on the Dutch Caribbean Municipalities	2018

Work program of sub-project

Year	

	1	2	3	4
Main Objectives	Acquiring requisite knowledge and skills	Field work, advanced reading and writing, writing	Field work, advanced reading and writing, writing	Completion PhD dissertation
Reading	<p>Reading publications on:</p> <p>History and contemporary situation of the Dutch Caribbean</p> <p>Politics and democracy in Caribbean non-sovereign territories</p> <p>Cultural heritage policies.</p> <p>Nature preservation.</p>	Continue reading on the afore-mentioned topics, aim for more conceptual readings and comment on draft publications of other researchers.	Continue afore-mentioned readings and comment on draft publications of other researchers.	Continue afore-mentioned readings and comment on draft publications of other researchers.
Organization	<p>Follow courses in Leiden Graduate Schools.</p> <p>Additional training in interview techniques and field work.</p> <p>Participation in frequent seminars of the entire research team.</p>	<p>Continue participation in Leiden Graduate Schools and training of additional research skills.</p> <p>Language course in Papiamentu.</p> <p>Participation in frequent seminars of the entire research team.</p>	Discussion of draft chapters in seminars of the entire research team.	Discussion of draft chapters in seminars of the entire research team.
Research & Travels	Study digitally available sources on BES islands, particularly local press.	First half of the year: six months of field work on St. Eustatius and Saba:	First half of the year: six months of field work on Bonaire: -participant	Continue study of digitally available sources on BES islands, particularly local press.

	No travels.	-participant observation in government and NGOs -semi-structured interviews with local actors -community work in cultural heritage and nature conservation -analysis of locally available printed and digital media and other documents.	observation in government and NGOs -semi-structured interviews with local actors -community work in cultural heritage and nature conservation -analysis of locally available printed and digital media and other documents.	No travels.
Analysis, Writing, Publications	On the basis of literature study, writing of discussion papers on politics in small-scale entities; cultural heritage; and strategies for community engagement for nature conservation.	Second half of the year: -analysis of research findings -writing of draft chapters -Journal article on Cultural Heritage (co-authored with Prof. Dr. G.J. Oostindie and Prof. Dr. W.J.H. Willems) - continue study digitally available sources on BES islands.	Second half of the year: -analysis of research findings -writing of draft chapters - Journal article on Politics of Sustainable Development on the BES Islands (co-authored with Prof. Dr. G.A. Persoon and Dr. W.P. Veenendaal) - continue study digitally available sources on BES islands.	First half of the year: completion of draft thesis as well as two articles for peer review. Second half of the year: rewrite and completion of thesis. -Educational materials – ‘A Window on Windwards’ History’ (produced with Dr. J.V. Roitman) -Dissertation – ‘Challenges of Cultural Heritage and Nature Conservation in the Dutch Caribbean Municipalities’

23. Use of CNSI

The CSNI will be an invaluable base for the fieldwork in St. Eustatius and a stepping-stone for the fieldwork in Saba. The PhD student will be based at the CSNI for several periods, totaling four to five months.

24. Use of large infrastructure

Not applicable

25. Brief curriculum vitae of the main applicant of the sub-project

Professor Gert J. Oostindie (Ridderkerk, 1955) is director of the KITLV/Royal Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies in Leiden, an institute of the KNAW/Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences. From 1993 to 2006, he also held a chair in Caribbean Studies at the Department of Anthropology of Utrecht University. Since 2006, he has been Professor of Caribbean History at the History Department of Leiden University.

Oostindie studied History and Social Sciences, specialization in Latin American history, at the VU University, Amsterdam completed with an MA thesis in socioeconomic history on colonial Cuba (graduation, *cum laude*, 1982). He obtained his PhD at Utrecht University (*cum laude*, 1989) with a doctoral thesis on slavery and the plantation economy in the Dutch Caribbean colony of Suriname. He became head of the KITLV's Department of Caribbean Studies in 1983, a position he held until assuming the directorship of institute in 2000.

Professor Oostindie's principal areas of research have been the Caribbean and Dutch colonial history. He published extensively on the colonial history and decolonization of the Dutch Caribbean; on history, ethnicity and migration in the Caribbean and Latin America in general; and on the significance of colonial history to Dutch national identity. He has (co-)published or edited some 30 books and over 150 articles with a wide range of publishers. He served on many editorial, scholarly and governmental committees both in the Netherlands and abroad and is a frequent contributor to the Dutch mass media on his areas of expertise. Oostindie received several research grants from the NWO and the KNAW and has been a research fellow at The Johns Hopkins University, the Fondation Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, the Eric Remarque Institute for European Studies at New York University, and the Netherlands Institute of Advanced Study in the Humanities and Social Sciences.

Much of his work has focused on the Dutch Caribbean islands and is, therefore, of direct relevance to the present program. He (co-)authored several monographs on the decolonization of the Dutch Caribbean as well as on the most recent constitutional changes. Apart from this work in the field of political history and contemporary politics, he also published widely both on the early modern and contemporary social and economic history of the islands. During and after his Professorship at Utrecht University, Oostindie deepened his interest in anthropology, leading to many publications on contemporary meanings of migration, identity and nationhood. Over the past years, Oostindie has also published on cultural heritage both in the Netherlands and the former Dutch colonies in Africa, Asia and the Americas. In all of his work, Oostindie has strived for both an interdisciplinary and regionally comparative approach.

26. Key Publications

Haviser, Jay B., 'Historical Archeology in the Netherlands Antilles an Aruba', in Paul Farnsworth (ed.), *Island Lives: Historical Archaeologies of the Caribbean*, Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2001, pp. 60-82

Oostindie, Gert, (ed.), *Dutch Colonialism, Migration and Cultural Heritage*. Leiden: KITLV Press 2008.

Oostindie, Gert and Inge Klinkers, *Gedeeld Koninkrijk. De ontmanteling van de Nederlandse Antillen en de vernieuwing van het trans-Atlantische Koninkrijk der Nederlanden*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2012.

Persoon, Gerard A., 'Understanding the Past for Making the Future. Environmental History and Environmental Planning', in *Asia Pacific Forum* no. 44, special issue on 'Island Environmental Histories and Management', edited by Huei-Min Tsai, G.A. Persoon and Hsin-Huang Hsiao, pp. 7-39.

Willems, W.J.H. & D.C. Comer, 'Tourism and Archaeological Heritage. Driver to development or Destruction?', in C. Gottfried & S. Hidalgo Sánchez (eds.), *Heritage, a Driver of Development. Proceedings of the 17th ICOMOS General Assembly Symposium*. Paris: ICOMOS, 2012, pp. 499-511.

27. Research budget for sub-project (in €)

budget for sub-project	fte	no. of months	financial resources (€) requested from NWO
A. personnel costs			
salary PhD student	1.0	48	201.600
bench fee (€ 5.000,-- per researcher paid from grant)			5,000
B. material costs (max. 25% of personnel costs)			
activity 1 (informants)			2,000
travel costs of research team			12,800
Total costs (max. € 750.000,--)			221.400

Proposal submission

Please submit the application to NWO in electronic form (PDF format is required!) using the IRIS system, which can be accessed via the NWO website (www.iris.nwo.nl). For technical questions regarding submission, please contact the Iris helpdesk (iris@nwo.nl)