Ethnic Group Boundaries in Multicultural Suriname

A study on language use, ethnic boundaries, core values and national identification among Creoles and Hindustanis in Suriname

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FOREWORD

This thesis represents my final assignment for my Master's degree in Intercultural Communication. Research has been conducted in Paramaribo, the capital of Suriname. On the front page a photograph is presented that was taken in Paramaribo. The photograph displays a porch along which large photographs are placed of, presumably, Surinamese inhabitants. These photographs illustrate the variety of ethnicities in Suriname, which is a main theme in this thesis. To that end, I placed this photograph on the front page. All pictures that come across in this thesis are taken by me. The experience of working in a country which is very different from my own country has provided me with new (intercultural) skills. Although I encountered numerous difficulties, I am proud to say that I have overcome these and that I can now present my thesis.

I would not have been able to finish this thesis without the help of a number of kind and generous individuals. First of all, I would like to thank my mother and my stepfather for supporting me in my decision to conduct my research in Suriname. I would like to thank mw. dr. Renata de Bies and Sharda Jaglal for helping me finding participants for my research in Suriname. My gratitude goes to Shaila, a student I met in Suriname, who has helped me with several aspects of my thesis. I would like to thank the participants who agreed to take part in this study. I would like to thank my friends, Mirjam and Eline, for supporting me and presenting me with feedback on my thesis. My gratitude goes to my supervisors, Sjaak Kroon and Kutlay Yağmur, for providing me with the opportunity to conduct this research. Thank you for your honest feedback and for you enthusiasm about this project. Finally, I want to thank Ruben Gowricharn for his willingness to evaluate my thesis as a second reader.

Tilburg, 11-10-12,
Monique Menzo

SUMMARY

Suriname, a country in South-America, was a Dutch colony for three hundred years, resulting in a population consisting of a variety of ethnicities (Hoefte as cited in St-Hilaire, 2001). The largest ethnic group is formed by East Indians (i.e. Hindustanis), followed by Creoles, Javanese, Maroons, Chinese and Europeans (St-Hilaire, 2001). What are the determinants of group belonging in Suriname? Which factors contribute to the formation of ethnic group boundaries? What role does language play in the formation of ethnic group boundaries? What are the general patterns of national identification? This study aimed at answering these questions, with a specific focus on the Creoles and the Hindustanis.

The multilevel process theory of Wimmer (2008) was used to determine the factors that differentiate the ethnic groups, i.e. ethnic boundaries. This theoretical framework allows us to explain the wide range of ethnic forms. According to Wimmer (2008), there are four dimensions of variation along which an individual case can be situated: the political salience of boundaries, social closure and 'groupness', cultural differentiation and stability. The theory of core values of culture of Smolicz (1992) was used to determine the factors that contribute to group belonging. According to this theory, not all elements in a culture are of equal importance for the identification of individuals as group members. Some aspects of a culture can be altered without undermining the stability of the group, while others are of fundamental importance. The latter ones have been referred to as core values; they form the basis of a group's culture (Smolicz, 1992).

To address these issues, twenty-two interviews were conducted in Paramaribo. The participants were aligned according to their ethnicity (Creole or Hindustani) and their expertise (expert or student). Questions were formulated for each participant group. Photographs were taken of the linguistic landscape and cultural expressions. After the research was conducted, a substantial amount of time was spent in transcribing the interviews. Fragments of the transcripts were selected and analyzed according to the literature; the photographs were used to support the analysis. This thesis discussed the results in terms of the following four themes: ethnic boundaries, national identification, core values and language.

The first section of the chapter of results is *ethnic boundaries*. This section is made up of two parts: boundary characteristics according to the multilevel process theory of Wimmer (2008) and ethnic boundaries in Suriname. In the first part, ethnic boundaries in Suriname are analyzed according to the four dimensions of Wimmer (2008). First, ethnic boundaries were considered to be politically salient in Suriname. Second, the degree of social closure and 'groupness' varied according to the different ethnic groups; the Chinese were considered to be the most closed group, while the Creoles were considered to be the most open group. Third, most experts stated that ethnic boundaries coincide with cultural differences. Participants stated that this is especially the case for the Hindustanis; Creoles were considered to be less loyal to their culture. Finally, ethnic boundaries were considered to be stable in Suriname. In the second part, ethnic boundaries in Suriname are discussed. From the fragments, it is revealed that ethnic groups in Suriname can, among others, be distinguished on the basis of appearance, language and body ornamentation. The findings, however, imply that boundaries are blurring. Religion was not considered an ethnic boundary. The data reveal that Creoles and Hindustanis can, among others, be distinguished on the basis of mentality, behavior, language, appearance and traditional clothing. Again, there are indications that these boundaries are blurring. The second section of the chapter of results is *core values*. It was problematic to determine the core values for the Creole culture, since this

population is very diverse. It is, however, agreed upon by the Surinamese that one must have African roots to be considered a Creole (Eriksen, 1999). Therefore, the historical background may be considered a core value of the Creole culture. Further research must be conducted to unravel the diversity within the Creole group. From the analysis of the data, it is revealed that the core values of the Hindustanis are family collectivism, language and religion. The third section of the chapter of results is *national identification*. Participants questioned the existence of a Surinamese identity. Identification with Suriname was claimed to depend on the time of arrival. Since the Indians and the Creoles have been in Suriname for a long time, they have developed a strong bonding with the territory. Informants assert that this is only now starting to develop with the Hindustanis, the Javanese and the Chinese. Students answered varyingly to the question what language belongs to the Surinamese identity. Several students chose Dutch, because they are used to speaking Dutch. Other students chose Sranan, because they do not consider Dutch to be 'theirs' but taken over from the Netherlands. Furthermore, they argued that Sranan is spoken by every Surinamese. The fourth section of the chapter of results is *language*. The collected data reveal that Sranan, the lingua franca of Suriname, remains a vital language in Suriname, despite its low social status. The vitality of the language can be attributed to two factors: the fulfillment of a symbolic function (Ryan, 1979) and the promotion of the language by foreigners immigrated to Suriname. Students refer to the language as 'Sranan Tongo', 'Negro English' and 'Surinamese'. They describe the language as either 'being the language of the Creoles' or 'being the language of everyone'. Most participants, however, argue that Sranan has transcended the Creoles. In the case of language and identification, difficulty is displayed for those who are higher-educated and Creole. On the one hand their ethnic identity is being Creole, which is associated with speaking Sranan. It is a symbol of their roots. On the other hand, Sranan is associated with a lack of education. The stigmatization of Sranan and the foreignness of Dutch lead to an ambivalent situation. The collected data reveal that Dutch, the official language of Suriname, is considered a status symbol. Parents have a high level of instrumental motivation to raise their children in Dutch (Baker, 2006). Participants emphasized that there should be no misconception about the value of mother tongues other than Dutch. A case to illustrate this point is that some participants never express emotions in Dutch. The collected data reveal that Sarnami is the ethnic language of the Hindustanis. The language does not have a high status, especially in comparison with Hindi, the language in which the religious texts are written. Sarnami is, however, connected to Hindi, which increases the importance of the language. Eventually, this results in the assertion that a Hindustani is not considered a 'complete' Hindustani without being proficient in Sarnami. Standard Hindi, together with Sanskrit, is the language which is used in religious ceremonies in the temple.

The implications of this study are important for research about ethnic identification and language use in Suriname. It is pointed out in this study that there is considerable diversity in the variety of life worlds upon which identity is based in Paramaribo (Kahane, 2009). This study contributes to the literature on national identification in Suriname. Although ethnic boundaries are blurring, ethnicity still remains to play a very significant role in Suriname.

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1   INTRODUCTION

Suriname has a multilingual and multi-ethnic population with roots in Africa, Europe, Asia and America (St-Hilaire, 2001). Three hundred years of Dutch colonialism left the country divided along ethnic lines (Hoefte as cited in St-Hilaire, 2001). The largest ethnic group is formed by East Indians (i.e. Hindustanis), followed by Creoles, Javanese, Maroons, Chinese and Europeans. Since 1945, the different ethnic groups of the country have come in greater contact with each other. People left the rural districts to take up permanent residence in Paramaribo. Due to competition for scarce resources and experiences of discrimination, ethnic boundaries were reinforced (St-Hilaire, 2001). Each ethnic group maintained its own community language. According to St-Hilaire (2001), however, Surinamese-Dutch gains in currency and status, generally leading to the detriment of the ethnic languages. St-Hilaire (2001) observes this trend as signaling a movement towards the cultural integration of Suriname as a single national entity. This study looks into these processes.

The second chapter starts with an overview of the ethnic groups, with a particular focus on the Creoles and Hindustanis. In this study, these two ethnic groups are central, since they constitute the two largest groups of Suriname. Subsequently, the literature on ethnic boundaries will be reviewed. The multilevel process theory of Wimmer (2008) constitutes a central part of this chapter. The systematic description on the wide variety of ethnicities which is offered by this theory will be used to gain more insight into ethnic boundaries in Suriname. Finally, the chapter discusses the theory of core values of culture of Smolicz (1992). Possible core values like language and religion will be discussed. The third chapter starts with a presentation of the research questions that were formulated on the basis of the literature. Next, the methodology will be discussed. This section comprises the research perspective and the method, i.e. the interview guidelines, the participants, data collection and data analysis. The fourth chapter represents the results. First, the results on ethnic boundaries will be presented. These comprise the results on questions about the dimensions of the multilevel process theory of Wimmer (2008) and questions on ethnic boundaries (between Creoles and Hindustanis) in Suriname. Second, the results on core values will be presented of both the Creole culture and the Hindustani culture. Third, the results on national identification will be presented. Finally, the results on language will be discussed. Language status, language function, language identification, language maintenance and linguistic landscape are issues that will be addressed. In the fifth chapter and sixth chapter the conclusion and discussion will be presented respectively. In the conclusion, the research questions will be answered. The discussion comprises theoretical implications, ethnic stereotypes, limitations and recommendations.

2 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

In this chapter, relevant studies and articles are discussed in line with the research questions of this study. This chapter starts with an overview of the ethnic groups in Suriname. The second section discusses the relevant approaches in the determination of ethnic boundaries. The third section discusses social cohesion in a plural society. In the final section information will be provided about core values.

2.1 The multi-ethnic and multilingual population of Suriname

In an article written by St-Hilaire (2001), information is provided about the demographics and the historical backgrounds of the Creoles, the Hindustanis and other ethnic groups in Suriname. This article is, among others, used as a guideline in this subchapter on ethnic communities in Suriname.

2.1.1 Ethnic communities in Suriname

The Surinamese population consisted of 534,000 people in 2012 (srnieuws, 2012). The largest group is formed by the East Indians (i.e. Hindustanis), followed by Creoles, Maroons, Javanese, Chinese and Europeans (St-Hilaire, 2001). Table 1 presents the population categorized according to ethnicity in 2004 (ABS as cited in Kroon & Yağmur, 2010).

Table 1. Population according to ethnicity in Suriname in 2004 (ABS as cited in Kroon & Yağmur, 2010)

Ethnic group	Number	Percentage
Indigenous	18,037	3.6
Maroon	72,553	14.7
Creole	87,202	17.7
Hindustani	135,117	27.4
Javanese	71,879	14.6
Chinese	8,775	1.9
Caucasian	2,889	0.6
Mixed	61,524	12.5
Other	2,264	0.5
Do not know	1,261	0.2
No answer	31,318	6.3
Total	492,829	100.0

The historical background on the Creoles, the Hindustanis and other ethnic groups will briefly be discussed.

2.1.2 The Creoles

2.1.2.1 The urban Creoles

The first plantation economy in Suriname was established by the English in 1651. The English were replaced in 1667 by the Dutch who were then in charge (St-Hilaire, 2001). St-Hilaire (2001, p. 1004) describes the situation that emerged: "a two-caste social system evolved around the plantation economy, dividing the population between master and slave, European and Africa, light-skinned and dark-skinned, and Dutch speaker and Sranan speaker". The Dutch encouraged the slaves to speak a different language, wear different clothes and worship a different god in order to maintain control and order in the colony (Voorhoeve & Lichtveld as cited in St-Hilaire, 2001). The Creole culture originated from the African slaves and their descendants. The Creoles came to speak Sranan and practice African-derived Winti religious rites (St-Hilaire, 2001).

In 1877 the cultural policy was reversed and Dutch-only education became compulsory. The vast majority of Creoles left the plantations for Paramaribo where they could receive education. This was an opportunity for social mobility for the Creoles (St-Hilaire, 2001). Sranan was prohibited in schools (Ramsoedh as cited in St-Hilaire, 2001) and it became an indicator of low social status and lack of education (Meel as cited in St-Hilaire, 2001). Light-skinned Creoles enjoyed the highest level of education, the highest positions and the greatest mastery of Dutch, after the Dutch in Suriname. Dark-skinned Creoles also began to master their Dutch and move up the social hierarchy by means of education (St-Hilaire, 2001). Goslinga (in St-Hilaire, 2001), however, asserts that the premise of the white superiority went unchallenged until the 1950s.

In 1950 the *Wi Egi Sani* (WES) (translation: our own thing (Jurna, 2007)) was founded, which was a cultural nationalist movement with the goal of revaluating the Surinamese Creole language and culture (St-Hilaire, 2001). The members of WES criticized the Dutch colonial elite in Suriname and the light-skinned Creole elite whom they viewed as collaborators with the Dutch (Kempen as cited in St-Hilaire, 2001). WES was founded as a reaction to experiences of discrimination in the Netherlands, but the group argued in terms of Dutch colonialism in Suriname and European colonialism in the world. WES succeeded in awakening a national consciousness among Creoles that became one of the main factors behind the achievement of national independence in 1975 (Oostindie as cited in St-Hilaire, 2001).

Dew (as cited in St-Hilaire, 2001) claims that the competition with the Asians served to attenuate the color conflict within the Creole community. After 1945 great numbers of Hindustanis and Javanese settled in Paramaribo. Especially the Hindustanis became major competitors with the Creoles for positions in the civil services (St-Hilaire, 2001). According to Hoetink (as cited in St-Hilaire, 2001), the Creoles tend to consider themselves as the original Surinamese and regard Asians as foreigners. The Creoles expected all non-Creoles to assimilate to Dutch, just like they had (Dew as cited in St-Hilaire, 2001). Their political and demographic strength was, however, undermined demographically and economically by the Asians (St-Hilaire, 2001). Table 2 demonstrates the percentages of Creoles in Suriname and Paramaribo in the 20th century.

Table 2. Proportion of Creoles in Suriname and Paramaribo in percentages (Baker et al. as cited in St-Hilaire, 2001; Bruijne & Schalkwijk as cited in St-Hilaire, 2001)

Year	Suriname	Paramaribo
1921	42	81
1964	35	59
1971	31	
1990s	27	
1992		35

Sranan was first introduced as a language of official discourse in the national parliament under the military regime of Desi Bouterse. The Dutch language and culture lost a deal of its prestige during the 1980s (Essed-Fruin as cited in St-Hilaire, 2001). The multi-ethnic coalitions that defeated Bouterse, however, insisted that the official language remained Dutch, because it was considered an ethnically neutral language (St-Hilaire, 2001). In 2010, Bouterse was elected as the president of Suriname (Marchand, 2012). Currently, conferences are being held in which the introduction of a language law is discussed (Starnieuws 1, 2012).

2.1.2.2 The Maroons

From the earliest days of the colony, Africans fled slavery in Suriname; these Africans were called the Maroons. They founded tribal societies like the Saramaka, Matawai, Kwinti, Ndjuka, Paramarka and Aluku (St-Hilaire, 2001). By the end of the 18th century there were 7.000 Maroons and 45.000 slaves in the colony (Bakker as cited in St-Hilaire, 2001). The Maroons successfully waged a guerilla campaign against the Dutch colonial authority in the 17th and 18th century. In 1760 the colonial authority was forced to recognize the Maroons as free persons and to sign peace treaties with them (Pakosie, n.d.). The relation between the Maroons and the coastal population in the present is shaped by the Maroons' collective memory of the flight from the slavery and the struggles with the colonial authorities. This has reinforced group identity and solidarity among the Maroon community (St-Hilaire, 2001). Price (as cited in St-Hilaire, 2001) states that tribal Maroons to this day insist that people in the city can never be trusted.

There have been attempts to assimilate Maroons with the colonial society, but they proved unsuccessful (Mitrasing as cited in St-Hilaire, 2001). Nonetheless, according to St-Hilaire (2001), the Maroons began to settle permanently in and around Paramaribo in the late 1950s, resulting in a partial integration of Maroons into coastal society. The city became more attractive in the late 1950s because of high rates of natural increase, depletion of natural resources and a civil war in the interior (St-Hilaire, 2001).

Tribal chiefs discouraged Maroon participation in politics and wanted to maintain group identity through the traditional structures and relationships inherent to Maroon society (Dew as cited in St-Hilaire, 2001). Table 3 displays the percentages of Maroons in Suriname and Paramaribo in the 20th century.

Table 3. Proportion of Maroons in Suriname and Paramaribo in percentages (Dew as cited in St-Hilaire, 2001; Bruijne & Schalkwijk as cited in St-Hilaire, 2001)

Year	Suriname	Paramaribo
1964	6	
1971	10	
1990s	12	
1992		5

According to St-Hilaire (2001), the Maroons are the poorest and least educated of all Surinamese, along with the Amerindians. In the interior, the Maroons receive little education and have a low Dutch proficiency. Urban Maroons face discrimination and hostility by the Creoles (St-Hilaire as cited in St-Hilaire, 2001). Dew (as cited in St-Hilaire, 2001, p. 1010) states: "Creoles regard the maroons as 'half-naked primitives'". The Maroons, on the other hand, see the urban Creoles as 'shamelessy decultured' (Dew as cited in St-Hilaire, 2001).

2.1.3 The Hindustanis

As was stated before, the Creoles left the plantations for Paramaribo in 1877, where they could receive education. The colonial officials needed alternative laborers to work on the plantations. They brought in 34.000 Hindustanis between 1873 and 1916 (St-Hilaire, 2001) of which a third eventually returned to India (Chin & Buddingh as cited in St-Hilaire, 2001). According to St-Hilaire (2001), 82 percent of the Hindustanis were Hindu and 18 percent were Muslim. Many of those who stayed in Suriname became owners of small farms. The Hindustanis suffered low social status compared to the urban Creoles, because there was no education in the remote rural districts (Varma as cited in St-Hilaire, 2001). Although the Hindustanis learned Sranan quickly, they maintained the use of Sarnami as their language at home and within their community (St-Hilaire, 2001). Sarnami originated in Suriname and developed from several Indian languages (Van der Avoird as cited in Kroon & Yağmur, 2010).

Suffrage prior to 1947 was limited to 2 percent of the population, consisting primarily of Dutch and educated, light-skinned Creoles (St-Hilaire, 2001); most Asians were excluded from politics (Chin & Buddingh as cited in St-Hilaire, 2001). Hindustanis started migrating to Paramaribo in 1945, quickly doubling their population in the city (Dew as cited in St-Hilaire, 2001). The Hindustanis came to compete for the same jobs. In 1948 all citizens had suffrage; this marked the establishment of political parties along ethnic lines (St-Hilaire, 2001). Ethnic party leaders discouraged assimilation in order to maintain control (Chin & Buddingh as cited in St-Hilaire, 2001). Chin & Buddingh (as cited in St-Hilaire, 2001), however, state that the Creoles continued to dominate *De Staten* (parliament) due to a disproportionate electoral district system; the Hindustanis remained underrepresented in the army and the civil services. The Hindustanis did, however, make great economical advances, were receiving more education (Leeuwen as cited in St-Hilaire, 2001) and made demographic gains in comparison to the Creoles (St-Hilaire, 2001). Table 4 demonstrates the percentages of Hindustanis in Suriname and Paramaribo in the 20th century.

Table 4. Proportion of Hindustanis in Suriname and Paramaribo in percentages (Baker et al. as cited in St-Hilaire, 2001; Bruijne & Schalkwijk as cited in St-Hilaire, 2001)

Year	Suriname	Paramaribo
1921	21	
1950	31	22
1964		26
1971	37	
1990s	40	
1992		31

Hindustanis have countered the demands of Creole cultural nationalists to promote the Sranan language and associated culture. Many members of the Hindustani community associated the promotion of Sranan with political hegemony (Essed-Fruin as cited in St-Hilaire, 2001). They were outraged when the leader of the only Hindustani party, Jaggernath Lachmon, initially supported efforts of Creole cultural nationalism. Lachmon later withdrew his support. Official interest in Sranan ceased until 1980 when the military regime supported efforts at promoting the language. When the military regime of Bouterse ended, Hindustani opposition forced the cessation of official support of Sranan (St-Hilaire, 2001). Brandsma (as cited in St-Hilaire, 2001, p. 1007) argues that: "through ethnic politics, the Hindustanis and Creoles have come to see each other as obstacles to emancipation".

2.1.4 Other ethnic groups

In the former two sections information has been provided about the two largest ethnic groups in Suriname, i.e. the Creoles and the Hindustanis. In the current section information will be provided about other ethnic groups in Suriname, i.e. the Indigenous peoples, the Javanese and the Chinese.

2.1.4.1 The Indigenous peoples

Suriname was not an uninhabited land when the Spanish claimed exclusive rights over the territory in 1449. As Kambel and MacKay (1999) state: "in 1661, Major John Scott mentions 800 Carib families and 1400 Paricoates living along the Marowijne River, while along the Suriname, Saramacca, Coppename and Corantyna Rivers about 5000 Carib families, 1400 Turroomacs and 1200 Sapoyes." (p. 23). According to Boven (as cited in Bruin, 2008), there does not exist one Indigenous culture and one Indigenous identity. A division can be made between the Indigenous peoples living in the coastal area (e.g. the Carib and Arowak) and the Indigenous peoples living in the south or in the deep interior of Suriname (e.g. the Trio and the Wayana). The Carib and the Arowak have competed with the Europeans for centuries due to their easily reachable location in the coastal area (Bruin, 2008). The Trio and Wayana remained isolated from the Europeans much longer, causing the division between the Indigenous peoples in the coastal area and those in the south of Suriname (Boven as cited in Bruin, 2008). The Indigenous peoples and Maroons were not considered a part of the Surinamese society for a long time (Bruin, 2008). According to Bruin (2008), they are still excluded today.

2.1.4.2 The Javanese

St-Hilaire (2001) writes that the Dutch turned to Indonesia, when the British started restricting Dutch access to contract laborers from India. The Dutch brought 33.000 Javanese to Suriname between 1890 and 1939 from which 8.400 returned to Indonesia at the end of their contracts (Chin & Buddingh as cited in St-Hilaire, 2001). According to Dew (as cited in St-Hilaire, 2001), over 90 percent of the Javanese were Muslim. Hindustanis and Javanese were kept separate in housing units (Suparlan as cited in St-Hilaire, 2001). Dew (as cited in St-Hilaire, 2001) states that the Javanese were the most impoverished and least educated group within the coastal population. Like the Hindustanis, the Javanese learned Sranan, but used their own ethnic language in the home and community. The Javanese, however, did not possess land like the Hindustanis did; they remained working on the plantations after their contracts expired. The Hindustanis enjoyed relative economic prosperity compared to the Javanese and profited from the diplomatic protection of the British embassy in Suriname (Bakker as cited in St-Hilaire, 2001). Bakker (as cited in St-Hilaire, 2001) argues that the Hindustanis viewed the Javanese as unmotivated. The Creoles mistreated the Javanese and looked down on them as *lau-lau yam-paneisi* – which means 'stupid Javanese' (Suparlan as cited in St-Hilaire, 2001). The acceptance of Javanese to do plantation work, which was considered slave work by the Creoles, seemed a justification to the Creoles for their sense of social superiority (Bakker as cited in St-Hilaire, 2001). Bakker (as cited in St-Hilaire, 2001) brings forwards that the Javanese were isolated until 1945, having their own villages and maintaining social boundaries by upholding negative stereotypes towards the Creoles and the Hindustanis. The degree of isolation of the Javanese began to decrease after 1945. Table 5 demonstrates the percentages of Javanese in Suriname and Paramaribo in the 20th century.

Table 5. Proportion of Javanese in Suriname and Paramaribo in percentages (Dew as cited in St-Hilaire, 2001; Bruijne & Schalkwijk as cited in St-Hilaire, 2001)

Year	Suriname	Paramaribo
1921	14	
1964		7
1990s	16	
1992		14

According to Goslinga (as cited in St-Hilaire, 2001), the enduring Javanese feeling of separateness from the rest of Suriname began to weaken as younger and educated Javanese were coming of age in Paramaribo. For the first time there was close contact with other ethnic groups (Wolfowitz as cited in St-Hilaire, 2001). The Javanese started to organize their own political party after 1948, just like the Hindustanis did. Due to demographic numbers, the Javanese had to operate in politics through coalition building (St-Hilaire, 2001).

2.1.4.3 The Chinese

After abolition of slavery in 1863, many Chinese migrated to America to work on the plantations (Kastelijn, 2006). Most of them started working in retail after their contract expired. The 'Chinese store' originated as a concept in Suriname (Batavia Publishing, n.d.). In 1874, however, China prohibited all contract migration,

leading to a decline in migration to Suriname. After 1920, Chinese migration again increased (Zijlmans as cited in Kastelijn, 2006). According to Tjon Sie Fat (2009), the new Chinese migration since the early 1990s created a division between 'old' and 'new' Chinese. He states that the new migrants differed from the old ones in regional and linguistic background, migration strategies and adaptive strategies.

2.2. Ethnic boundaries

In this subchapter, relevant approaches to the determination of ethnic boundaries will be discussed. This subchapter starts with two traditional approaches. Then, the multilevel process theory of Wimmer (2008) will be discussed. This theory will be used to investigate the dimensions of ethnic boundaries in Suriname. The last section discusses the nature of boundaries in Suriname.

2.2.1 Primordial approach and circumstantial approach

According to Johann Godfried Herder (as cited in Wimmer, 2009), an 18th-century philosopher, the world is made up of people distinguished by a unique culture that is held together by communitarian solidarity and bound by shared identity. This emphasis on the binding power of ethnicity and culture is characteristic of the *primordial approach* (Wimmer, 2008). This approach emphasizes the role of ancient history or kinships as the basis for affective, emotional attachment which forms the basis for ethnic boundaries. The primordial approach is often criticized for ignoring the possibility of change of ethnic boundaries and the evidence that they shift over time. Furthermore, it ignores the fact that the ascriptive factor salient to ethnic groups varies according to the situation (Chai, 2005). According to Chai (2005), these criticism are partly misplaced, because it is not claimed that kinship and ancient history are the only causes of ethnic boundaries. This theory, however, does not specify why certain characteristics are chosen over others as the basis for ethnic boundaries.

Perhaps this was the reason that the *circumstantial approach* has predominated in recent decades in the study of ethnicity. This approach isolates certain economic characteristics and argues that presence of these characteristics within a given ethnic group determines the perception of mutual self-interest among group members. These characteristics are key in predicting the changing level of the group's collective actions. Although this approach provides falsifiable predictions, it only focuses on a particular set of ascriptive criteria, rather than examining alternative sets of boundary criteria. The boundaries for groups engaged in collective action are based on economic characteristics, rather than ascriptive characteristics such as race, language, region and religion (Chai, 2005). Chai (2005) argues:

> Hence, these theories seem to view ethnicity as, at most, an incidental appendage to economically-based interest group formation rather than as a causal factor in its own right. Nor do these theories explain the strong role that identity linked to ascriptive ties plays in the justification that ethnic groups put forward for their activity, as well as the related fact that individuals often seem to genuinely sacrifice their own interests and in extreme case, their own lives for the sake of their ethnic groups. (p. 377)

According to Wimmer (2008), the debate between these two approaches has often been framed in dichotomous terms: "primordialism" against "instrumentalism", "essentialism" against "situationalism" and "perennialist" against "modernist". In sum, the primordial approach underlines that ethnic membership was acquired through

birth and thus represents a 'given' characteristic of the social world and the circumstantial approach underlines that individuals choose between various identities according to self-interest (Wimmer, 2008). Wimmer (2008) argues that the past decades have produced an impressive variety of case studies which fit and contradict any position taken. Wimmer (2008) presents a theoretical framework that allows one to explain the wide range of ethnic forms: the multilevel process theory.

2.2.2 Multilevel process theory of Wimmer (2008)

Figure 1 displays the multilevel process theory of Wimmer (2008). The following parts of this theory will be discussed: the boundary characteristics (2.2.2.1), the boundary making strategies (2.2.2.2), the field characteristics (2.2.2.2), reaching consensus (not in figure) (2.2.2.3), the varying nature of boundaries (i.e. nature of consensus) (2.2.2.3) and mechanisms of change (i.e. exogenous shift, endogenous change and exogenous drift) (2.2.2.3).

Figure 1. The multilevel process theory of Wimmer (2008*).
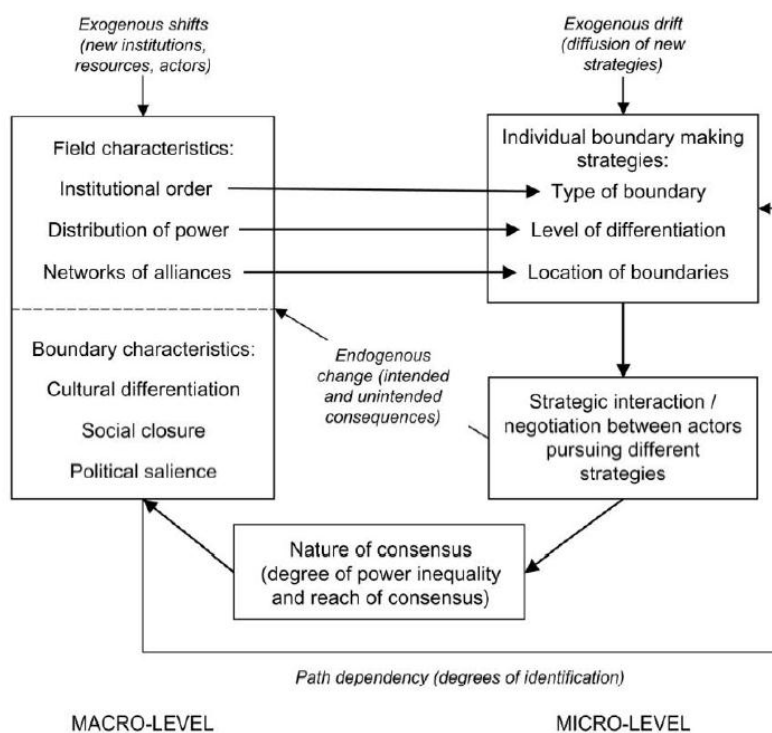
2.2.2.1 Boundary characteristics

According to Wimmer (2008), there are four dimensions of variation along which an individual case can be situated: the political salience of boundaries, social closure and 'groupness', cultural differentiation and stability. Variation in these dimensions challenges the comparative understanding of ethnicity. The first challenge refers to the *political salience of boundaries*. Wimmer (2008) questions why some ethnic boundaries are politically salient while others are not. For instance, in Switzerland political parties are not organized on the basis of

language (Wimmer as cited in Wimmer, 2008), while in Northern Ireland, politics is conceived as a matter of ethnoreligious power relations. The second challenge refers to *social closure and 'groupness'*, i.e. some ethnic groups have closed themselves off against outsiders and in other cases, relationships flow easily across ethnic boundaries. Depending on the degree of closure, ethnic boundaries may or may not separate groups, implying shared agreement on who belongs to which category, as well as a minimal degree of social cohesion and capacity for collective action (Wimmer, 2008). Wimmer (2008) argues:

> Ignoring this variability, many authors have fallen back into a 'groupist' default language, to use Roger Brubaker's term (Brukaber, 2004). These authors *assume*, rather than demonstrate, that an ethnic category represents an actor with a single purpose and shared outlook. Such ontological collectivism overlooks, however, that ethnic categories may shift contextually and that there might be substantial disagreement among individuals over which ones are the most appropriate and relevant ethnic labels. (p. 981)

It could, however, also be the case that ethnic boundaries are drawn unambiguously, are relevant for different domains of everyday life, are agreed upon by the majority and form the basis for collective action and resource mobilization (Wimmer, 2008). Wimmer (2008) presents the example of the research of Gil-White (as cited in Wimmer, 2008) in Mongolia in which interviewees showed little disagreement on the statement that a Mongol is a Mongol even born from a Kazah mother and raised by Kazahs. This is also the case for Nothern Ireland in which variation in the use of ethnoreligious categories is rather limited (Ruane & Todd as cited in Wimmer, 2008). The third challenge refers to *cultural differentiation*. Wimmer (2008) states that cultural differences and ethnic boundaries can coincide, for instance, with dramatic cultural ruptures brought on by long-distance migration. If cultural difference and ethnic boundaries coincide they can reinforce each other; cultural differentiation may make a boundary appear self-evident, while social closure along ethnic lines may reinforce differences by inventing new cultural diacritics, for instance when Chinese traders in Jamaica converted to Catholicism to set themselves apart from the rest (Patterson as cited in Wimmer, 2008). It could, however, also be the case that ethnic boundaries do not divide a population along cultural lines, for instance in Switzerland. Ethnic boundaries that coincide with cultural difference may break down in cases of assimilation. The fourth challenge refers to *stability*; some groups and boundaries change slowly and others are less stable (Wimmer, 2008). Wimmer (2008) argues that the degree of stability is linked to various modes of transmitting ethnic membership, with the most stable boundary found among people who identify individuals through multigenerational, unilineal descent lines and the most unstable boundaries found among those who identify individuals through behavior. Wimmer (2008) provides an example of these two boundaries with the Jewish community being an ethnic category that lasted over thousands of years (Wimmer, 2008), while the "Ciskeian nation" (Anonymous as cited in Wimmer, 2008) was invented, adopted and forgotten within a generation. In sum, cases can be placed on the following continua:

- ethnic boundaries are not politically salient versus ethnic boundaries are politically salient;
- there is a low degree of social closure versus there is a high degree of social closure;
- ethnic boundaries do not coincide with cultural differentiation versus ethnic boundaries coincide with cultural differentiation;
- ethnic boundaries are unstable versus ethnic boundaries are stable (Wimmer, 2008).

This theory will be further discussed in section 2.2.2.2.

2.2.2.2 Boundary making strategies and field characteristics

According to Wimmer (2008), there are five types of strategies for ethnic boundary making that may be pursued by different actors in different social contexts:

- shifting boundaries through expansion, i.e. expanding the range of people included;
- shifting boundaries through contraction, i.e. reducing the range of people included;
- inversion, i.e. changing the meaning of an existing boundary by challenging the hierarchical ordering of ethnic categories;
- reposition, i.e. crossing a boundary by changing one's own categorical membership;
- overcoming ethnic boundaries by emphasizing other, crosscutting social divisions, i.e. strategies of boundary blurring.

These strategies cannot freely be chosen due to three constraints: the institutional environment, the distribution of power and the network of political alliances. Wimmer (2008) claims that certain *institutional environments* make it appear more plausible and attractive to draw certain types of boundaries. This started with the shift from empire to nation-state in which the principle of ethnonational representativity of the government became required for any legitimate state. As Wimmer (2008) observes:

> It provided the main institutional incentives for state elites to systematically homogenize their subjects in cultural and ethnic terms, usually by expanding the boundaries of their own group and declaring their own ethnic background, culture, and language as forming the national pot into which everyone else should aspire to melt. (p. 991)

On the other hand the nation-state had to define the territorial boundaries in ethnic terms, because only territories populated by the nation should be integrated into the state. State elites are encouraged to pursue these strategies. The nation-state also provides incentives for nonelites, especially political entrepreneurs among ethnic minorities, because it emphasizes ethnic rather than other social divisions. For the population at large the nation-state also provides incentives to follow ethnic boundary-making perspectives. For instance, majority members might discriminate against minority members because they feel justified or even encouraged doing so, because they represent 'the people' of a particular state and are therefore privileged. In sum, the ethnic logic of the nation-state shaped the boundary-making strategies of many actors. The nature of the boundary between nation and 'others', varies from society to society. But how do these varying definitions of the national boundary come into being? Which level of ethnic differentiation an individual will emphasize depends on the position in the hierarchies of *power*. An actor will prefer the level of ethnic differentiation that is perceived to promote the interests of the actor. Furthermore, power resources not only determine the strategy but also how consequential this will be for others. As Wimmer (2008, p. 994) states: "discrimination by those who control decisions over whom to hire, where to build roads, and to whom to give credit is much more consequential than the discriminatory practices of subordinate individuals and groups". According to Wimmer (2008), subordinates, however, may develop counter discourses, for instance when an imposed category is countered by a strategy of boundary contraction. Wimmer (2008) summarizes:

> Institutional frameworks and power differentials explain if and what strategies of ethnic boundary making actors will choose. They will adopt ethnic classifications—rather than distinguishing between classes, genders, religions, villages, tribes—if there are strong institutional incentives to do so, and they

will choose that level of ethnic differentiation and that interpretation of an existing boundary that

ensures that the individual is a full member of the category of worthy, righteous, and dignified. (p. 995)

But which individuals will be classified to which ethnic group? Here *networks* of social alliances come into play (Wimmer, 2008). According to Wimmer (2008), the reach of political networks determines the boundaries. He provides the example of the inclusion of sections of the population of African descent into Brazil's nation-building project and the exclusion of these people in the United States. The political elites in Brazil relied on a network stretching far into the intermediate class of mixed origin; in the United States, however, the intermediate class was composed of Anglo-American peasants and tradesmen (Harris as cited in Wimmer, 2008). As Wimmer (2008, p. 996) states: "the lack of well-established transracial political networks helps explain why nation building in America was set off against the "black" population as its inner other, rather than against the nation of competing neighboring states as in much of Europe".

2.2.2.3 Reaching consensus, the varying nature of boundaries and mechanisms of change

According to Wimmer (2008), consensus between actors pursuing different strategies and motivated by diverging interests is most likely to be reached when interests at least partially overlap. Cultural consensus can be negotiated at all levels in social organization. An *assymetrical* consensus occurs when one group agrees on the relevance and legitimacy of a boundary and the other does not.

Wimmer (2008) continues with his theory by asking the question why the nature of boundaries (i.e. political salience, cultural significance, social closure and historical stability) varies. According to Wimmer (2008), this is due to the reach of consensus (i.e. partial, encompassing, asymmetric or symmetric) and the degree of power inequality. The more symmetric and complete a compromise is, the less politically salient a boundary will be. The boundary will be taken for granted and will not be challenged in the political arena. Also, consensus allows cultural differentiation to proceed smoothly. The influence of power differentiation works somewhat different. When power differentiation coincides with ethnicity, degrees of social closure are high; those who have successfully set themselves apart will try to police the ethnic boundary and make assimilation difficult. Social closure leads to cultural differentiation, because those who set themselves apart reinforce the boundary. With low degrees of inequality, boundaries are often fuzzy and varied; in many cases there is no clearly identifiable ethnic group. When boundaries are not politically salient, when social closure is low and when there is no cultural differentiation individuals will have more choice. Boundaries will change more easily in that situation (Wimmer, 2008).

Wimmer (2008) concludes his theory by demonstrating three mechanisms of change. The structure of a social field may change because of an exogenous shift (new institutions, resources, actors), an endogenous shift (consequences of strategies pursued) or because of an exogenous drift (new strategies diffuse and are adopted by certain actors).

2.2.3 Bright and blurred boundaries in Suriname

Gowricharn (2006) claims that ethnic boundaries in Suriname are 'bright' rather than 'blurred'. He explains the difference: "bright boundaries unambiguously distinguish between groups so that individuals at all-time know

which side of the boundary they are on (Alba, 2005, p. 23)" (Gowricharn, 2006, p. 225). These boundaries can be crossed, depending on the nature of the boundary (e.g. language, customs, religion, citizenship and race) and the properties of the group involved. Group boundaries in Suriname are 'bright' because race and culture coincide. In areas like religion, language and custom, boundaries are also bright, but also somewhat blurred (Gowricharn, 2006). Gowricharn (2006) presents a historical overview of how ethnic groups are shaped in the 20th century in Suriname. He starts out with the formation of ethnic groups in the first half of the 20th century. Political parties were initially formed along religious lines; later they were based on ethnicity. Religion, customs and language became distinct properties of ethnic groups (Gowricharn, 2006).

These features were enhanced after the Second World War by transnational forces. Black intellectuals developed an increasingly chauvinistic orientation on Africa, which was later strengthened by the Black Is Beautiful movement from the USA. The impact of the Bollywood movie industry, on the other hand, encouraged a sense of Indian identity. Another factor was that the Indian consulate started to facilitate the exchange of commodities, scholars, musicians, dancers and Hindi lessons. This transnational cultural infrastructure gradually expanded, encompassing ethnically organized radio and television stations, schools and so forth (Gowricharn, 2006). Gowricharn (2006, p. 226) concludes:

> Hence, the emergence and shaping of ethnic groups was not governed by the establishment of boundaries (Barth, 1969) or by categorization by themselves or by others (Pierik, 2004). It was the outcome of the attempt to reproduce inherited and imported culture, albeit adjusted to local circumstances (Schuerkens, 2003).

According to St-Hilaire (2001), the fact that many people after the Second World War left the rural districts and went to Paramaribo was another factor reinforcing group boundaries. As St-Hilaire (2001) states: "competition for scarce resources and experiences of discrimination in the city have served to reinforce group boundaries" (p. 999). Despite reinforced group boundaries, pressure to assimilate increased with over two-thirds of the population living in Paramaribo. Since national independence, the government of Suriname pursued a policy of assimilation to Dutch in order to unify the ethnic groups in the country. Dutch has made grade strides, assimilating people from every group (St-Hilaire, 2001). According to St-Hilaire (2001), in the 1990s a single national culture started evolving through Dutch. Assimilation, however, remains incomplete and fragmented.

2.3 Social cohesion

Previously, the discussion was centered on ethnic boundaries in Suriname. However, a society needs to deal with these ethnic boundaries in the attempt of nation building. The way in which Suriname addresses the issue of social cohesion will now be discussed.

2.3.1 Social cohesion in a plural society

While most class societies are accepted as normal societies, this is less the case for culturally plural societies. The major reason for this resistance is the idea that cultural plurality is contradictory with a cohesive society, hampering the integration of migrants and constituting a potential source of ethnic conflicts (Gowricharn, 2006). According to Gowricharn (2006), the problem is related to nation building which requires homogenizing

nationalism. He states that there are three approaches to the plural society addressing the issue of social cohesion:

- the plural society
- consociationalism
- nationalism

In the first approach *a plural society* is defined as a society consisting of two or more groups living side by side in a political unit (Gowricharn, 2006). Furnivall (as cited in Gowricharn, 2006), the formulator of the approach, states that economic interdependence holds a plural society together. Gowricharn (2006) makes some remarks about this approach. First, according to some people the view of internally homogenous groups living separately is inconceivable. Second, the idea that society is held together by economic need or coercion is conflicting with the idea of shared values holding various cultural groups together. Third, culture and structure coincide in most of the discourse. As a consequence, culture is often defined as the problem (Gowricharn, 2006). Gowricharn (2006) presents comments which can place these points in a proper perspective. His first comment concerns the fact that processes of acculturation or creolization hardly reduce the conflict potential. Cultural groups do not creolize at the same rate and to the same extent; therefore the process only increases the heterogeneity within the same group. The second comment is that one might doubt whether shared values are enough to overcome socio-economic, political or other differences. Values that are relevant to the cultural group and to the nation can exist side by side. The third comment concerns the fact that the distinction between culture and structure is often analytical (Gowricharn, 2006).

The second approach concerns *consociationalism*. Smith (as cited in Brinkerhoff & Jacob, 1994) states that the Surinamese politics are characterized by *apanjhat* politics – vote for your own race politics (Ragoonath as cited in Brinkerhoff & Jacob, 1994; Dew as cited in Brinkerhoff & Jacob, 1994). Surinamese electorate tends to select candidates closely tied to voters' race and religion. Given the proportion of ethnic groups, it is very difficult for a party tied to an ethnic base to win a majority of the seats in the country's parliament. Consequently, Suriname has often been governed by multi-party, multi-ethnic coalitions (Brinkerhoff & Jacob, 1994). This political phenomenon has been labeled 'consociational democracy'; a government designed to turn a democracy with a fragmented political culture into a stable democracy (Lijphart as cited in Brinkerhoff & Jacob, 1994). In the period between 1949 and 1973 consociational democracy seemed to be fulfilling the promise of holding the country together (Brinkerhoff & Jacob, 1994). In 1973 the largest Hindustani party, the VHP, was excluded from the government. This was an exception, because of the issue of the realization of constitutional dependence that year. The government fell one vote short, but at the last moment a member of the VHP switched camps and enabled independence (Gowricharn, 2006). According to Dew (as cited in Gowricharn, 2006), this exclusion is a form of anti-consociationalism. Gowricharn (2006), however, states that it can be argued that the cabinet was formed to make the country's independence feasible and not to exclude the Hindustanis. The underlying ethnic relations did not change through the period of military rule (Gowricharn, 2006).

The third approach concerns *nationalism*. Ethnic politics are opposed to the European dream of a homogeneous nation-state and a national identity (Gowricharn, 2006). As Gowricharn (2006), however, argues: "it is often overlooked that western societies are also segmented along lines of class, religion, language, political ideology, regional culture, loyalties and the like" (p. 232). Despite the alleged cultural homogeneity, this myth remains a crucial part of the image of cohesion. This image was exported to colonies. Nationalism in Suriname

remained weak, despite the attempts of the Creoles to make other ethnic groups accept their nationalistic ideology. Hindustanis and Javanese have maintained their group identities, to a degree because they are aware of belonging to a larger culture with a diaspora-like past. The preservation of cultural plurality limited Surinamese nationalism (Gowricharn, 2006). According to Gowricharn (2006), there were three restrictions on Surinamese nationalism. First, intermingling nationalism with Creole chauvinism kept other ethnic groups at a distance (Meel as cited in Gowricharn, 2006). Second, Creoles had a nationalistic drive for complete assimilation. Third, efforts to propagate a common anti-colonial victimhood by stating that the descendants of the slaves and indentured laborers were to the same extent victims of Dutch colonialism were unsuccessful (Gowricharn, 2006; Meel as cited in Gowricharn, 2006). In sum, internal cohesion of the other groups was too strong and the history and experience of the ethnic groups too different for nationalism to take off (Gowricharn, 2006).

Although ethnic boundaries and social cohesion in Suriname have been discussed, it is not yet clear what unites these ethnic groups. This last question will be discussed in more detail in the next section.

2.4 Core values

Before heading on to the methodology chapter, one theory needs to be discussed, i.e. the theory of core values. This theory will be used to investigate the determinants of group belonging in Suriname. Furthermore, information will be provided about these possible determinants, i.e. language and religion.

2.4.1 The theory of core values

The theory of the core values of culture states that not all elements in a culture are of equal importance for the identification of individuals as group members. Some aspects of a culture can be altered without undermining the stability of the group, while others are of fundamental importance. The latter ones have been referred to as *core values*; they form the basis of a group's culture. As Smolicz (1992) states: "it is through core values that social groups can be identified as distinctive cultural communities which can maintain creativity within their own cultural milieus" (p. 279). Removal of core values through modernization or assimilation would result in the group falling apart. Appreciation of the significance of core values for group survival can be most clearly discerned when the group is under threat. If the identity of people is undermined or threatened with extinction, cultural life grows correspondingly more important and vital (Smolicz, 1992). Examples of cultural values are "ethno-specific language, national dances, music, items of food, religion, family structure, arts and crafts, political organization, educational system, traditional methods of health care, and attachment to the native land or region that culminates in the concept of 'territoriality'" (Smolicz, 1992, p. 278). Core values are not always strictly limited to particular ethnic boundaries. Different cultures can be grouped into civilizations which possess an inner cohesion due to the fact that these ethnic groups share certain fundamental core values, which then acquire *supra-ethnic* significance. These can be regarded as over-arching values (Smolicz, 1981). Smolicz (1981) provides the view of the man-nature relationship as an example of a core value that underlies much of European science and technology. According to White (as cited in Smolicz, 1981), the western form of Christianity elevated man above the rest of creation by giving him a monopoly on the spiritual world. By

establishing as a core value the assumption of man's superiority over nature, Christianity left man free to rule and exploit his natural environment at his will (Smolicz, 1981).

Core values and the social system which upholds them are connected by the collective group identity. According to Parsons (as cited in Smolicz, 1981), this collective identity must be distinguished from one which binds an individual to a group. Ethnic cultural identity is, therefore, a phenomenon experienced by both groups and individuals. Members on the one hand are conscious that their attitude is shared with other members. On the other hand this shared experience is expressed in an individual way. The *personal cultural system* provides the theoretical bridge between group value systems and tendencies of individuals (Smolicz, 1981) .

What about core values in a plural society? How do other ethnic groups influence these core values? Smolicz (1981) states that the ethnic groups in a plural society almost invariably have certain beliefs about the extent and nature of cultural and social interaction that should take place between the own ethnic group and the other groups. In some cases such beliefs may even be elevated to the status of a core value and act as one of the symbols of the group's identity. Smolicz (1981) furthermore states that cultural diversity in a society can only be accepted when cultural diversity is regarded as a shared or supra-ethnic value. This consensus can provide that type of unity that is essential to a modern state, while at the same time allowing for the flourishing of cultural diversity (Smolicz, 1981). In the next sections more information will be provided about possible core values, i.e. language and religion.

2.4.2 Language

Kroon and Yağmur (2010) present an overview of all the languages used in Suriname which are categorized according to the differentiation used by Carlin and Arends (as cited in Kroon & Yağmur, 2010). These categories are presented in Table 6, Table 7 and Table 8.

Table 6. Indigenous languages in Suriname (Kroon & Yağmur, 2010)

Language group	Language
Arawakan languages	Arawak
	Mawayana
Cariban/Carib languages	Carib
	Trió
	Wayana
	Akurio
	Sikiana
	Katuena
Warao languages	Warao

According to Kroon and Yağmur (2010), the indigenous languages in Suriname are the languages of the original inhabitants of the area. These languages are spoken in large parts of the Caribbean and in the north of South-America. Speakers of these languages vary from several persons to approximately 1500 persons (Kroon & Yağmur, 2010).

Table 7. Creole languages in Suriname (Kroon & Yağmur, 2010)

Language group	Language
Plantation- and urban creole language	Sranan
Maroon languages (fled between 1690-1710)	Saramaccan
	Matawai
Maroon languages (fled between 1712-1800)	Aukan
	Aluku
	Paramaccan
	Kwinti
	Boni
	Ndyuka

According to Kroon and Yağmur (2010), the Creole languages in Suriname originated from language contact situations between European plantation owners and West- and West-Central African slaves. These languages are a mixture of African languages and European languages. It is estimated that there are between 100.000 and 120.000 speakers of Sranan, between 15.500 and 24.000 speakers of Aukan and between 12.500 and 23.000 speakers of Saramaccan. For the other languages, the number of speakers vary from several speakers to less than 2000 (Kroon & Yağmur, 2010).

Table 8. European and Asian languages in Suriname (Kroon & Yağmur, 2010)

Language group	Language
European languages	Dutch
	English
	Portuguese
Asian languages	Hakka, Chinese
	Mandarin
	Hindustani (or Sarnami)
	Surinamese Javanese
	Lebanese

According to Kroon and Yağmur (2010), Dutch is the most significant imported language of Suriname with about 200.000 speakers. Hindustani or Sarnami originated from the Indian languages and dialects and has between 140.000 and 150.000 speakers. About 60.000 people speak Surinamese-Javanese and between 6.000 and 12.000 inhabitants speak Chinese. *Language planning* can influence the number of speakers of a language. According to Kaplan and Baldauf (1997), language planning is "a body of ideas, laws and regulations (language policy), change rules, beliefs, and practices intended to achieve a planned change (or to stop change from happening) in the language use in one or more communities" (p. 3). First, information will be provided about language planning in Suriname. Second, the effects of this planning will be presented by discussing

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sociolinguistic data from the 20th century. Third, the research of Kroon and Yağmur (2010) about multilingualism in education will be discussed.

2.4.2.1 Language planning in Suriname

Although the Dutch replaced the English as colonial rulers in 1667, the original English-based Creole used among the slaves and between the slaves and the plantation foremen remained intact (St-Hilaire, 1999). The Creole gained autonomy from English and by 1700 the grammar of the language was fully developed (Rens as cited in St-Hilaire, 1999). The slaves were discouraged from learning Dutch (Essed-Fruin as cited in St-Hilaire, 1999). The Creole language was hardly influenced by the Dutch language during the years prior to abolition of slavery. With the inversion of the policy in 1863 Dutch-only education was introduced. The colonial language policy aimed at eradicating the Creole language. For instance, a child speaking Sranan would be severely punished at school and in homes for speaking 'black' (Voorhoeve & Lichtveld as cited in St-Hilaire, 1999; Essed-Fruin as cited in St-Hilaire, 1999; Ramsoedh as cited in St-Hilaire, 1999). As St-Hilaire (1999, p. 216) states: "the goal and effect of educational policy was to assimilate darker-skinned, lower class Creoles to Dutch culture (Ramsoedh, 1995)". After abolition of slavery the majority of the Creoles left the plantations for Paramaribo and the colonial authorities began to bring in contract laborers from India and Indonesia. Sranan became the contact language between plantation foremen and the Asians and between Creoles and the Asians. It quickly became a lingua franca (St-Hilaire, 1999).

After the Second World War, authorities renewed the push to extend and expand Dutch-language education in Suriname (Kartsen as cited in St-Hilaire, 1999). J. Koenders, Suriname's first cultural nationalist, believed that the colonial system taught Creoles to deny themselves and fought to make Sranan a medium of instruction (Gobhardan-Rambocus as cited in St-Hilaire, 1999). The Ministry of Education was, however, firmly against this idea (Voorhoeve & Lichtveld as cited in St-Hilaire, 1999). Surinamese students in the Netherlands experienced the harshness of racism and experienced that total assimilation to Dutch did not guarantee social mobility (Oostindie as cited in St-Hilaire, 1999). These students initiated the formation of the *Wi Egi Sani* (WES), a cultural movement elevating and promoting the Creole language and culture. The publishing of a book by the WES members served to raise the social status of Sranan (Van Kempen as cited in St-Hilaire, 1999; Voorhoeve & Lichtveld as cited in St-Hilaire, 1999). WES, however, failed to gain support among Surinamese of East Indian and Javanese descent. Nonetheless, the WES succeeded in awakening a national consciousness among Creoles. In the 1960s, an official spelling was developed for Sranan. After 1962, however, all official interest in Sranan came to a halt (Essed-Fruin as cited in St-Hilaire, 1999). Lachmon, the leader of the East Indian Party, initially supported efforts to promote Sranan; many segments of the East Indian population were, however, outraged by this support. Lachmon quickly disassociated himself from the Creole nationalist movement (Essed-Fruin as cited in St-Hilaire, 1999). With political independence in 1975, discussions about replacing Dutch were launched. Dutch was not a mother tongue for many children and it was associated with regional and international isolation. Some people opted for Sranan, while others advocated for making English, Spanish or Portuguese the official language (Essed-Fruin as cited in St-Hilaire, 1999; Van Mulier as cited in St-Hilaire, 1999; Eersel as cited in St-Hilaire, 1999; Essed-Fruin as cited in St-Hilaire, 1999). Changing the language would, however, costs too great of an intellectual and financial effort. Dutch remained the only official

language (Essed-Fruin as cited in St-Hilaire, 1999). English was made compulsory in secondary school and Spanish was made mandatory in the junior academic schools in order to encourage regional integration. In 1978, the Ministry of Education initiated a project designed to develop the different local Surinamese languages. Researchers at the Anton de Kom University started a program to put Sranan, Sarnami and Surinamese-Javanese to writing and began work on a Sranan-language dictionary (Seuren as cited in St-Hilaire, 1999). The project came to halt in 1982 when the Dutch cut the developmental aid (St-Hilaire, 1999).

After the military coup in 1980, the national government sought to promote Surinamese cultural values (Chin & Buddingh as cited in St-Hilaire, 1999). A Ministry of Culture was established by the military regime to encourage the development of indigenous Surinamese culture. There was some discussion about whether mother-tongue instruction in Sranan, Sarnami and Surinamese-Javanese should be implemented (Defares as cited in St-Hilaire, 1999) but this idea was never adopted even though many children were struggling in school due to limited mastery of Dutch (Van Leeuwen as cited in St-Hilaire, 1999). Under the military regime, Sranan entered the Parliament as a language of official discourse for the first time. The government also established a Sranan-only FM radio station. In 1983, a group of citizens established *Sranan Akademiya* which was a private organization promoting the Creole language and culture. In 1986, a new orthography for Sranan was introduced based on internationally recognized phonetic symbols to emphasize the autonomy of Sranan with regards to Dutch. *Sranan Akademiya* broadcasted a television program in which viewers were taught how to read and write the language (St-Hilaire, 1999).

A broad, multi-ethnic coalition defeated the military regime in 1987 (Brana-Shute as cited in St-Hilaire, 1999). Their campaign was in Dutch, which was valued as an ethnically neutral language. The level of activity promoting Sranan has fallen dramatically since the collapse of the military regime. No provisions have been made to incorporate non-Dutch local languages into the school curricula (St-Hilaire, 1999). According to the research of Kroon and Yağmur (2010), incorporating these languages in the school system would be rather difficult due to the teachers' low proficiency in these languages. This research will be discussed in section 4.2.3. First, more detailed information will be provided about languages of the ethnic groups in the 20th century.

2.4.2.2 Effects of language planning

The implementation of compulsory Dutch-language education in 1876 initiated a process of assimilation which was accelerated after 1945 when the population left the rural districts to move to Paramaribo. Before 1945, multilingualism was relatively stable with languages restricted to certain people (Eersel as cited in St-Hilaire, 1999). After 1945, different ethnic groups came in greater contact with each other, received education in Dutch and entered non-traditional occupations. Table 9 presents an overview of what language was considered the best spoken language by members of ethnic groups in 1964.

Table 9. Ethnic group and best spoken language in 1964 (A.B.S. as cited in St-Hilaire, 1999)

Ethnic group	Sranan	Dutch	Sarnami	Javanese	Other	Total
Creole	30.7	67.5	0.2	0.1	1.4	40.1
East Indian	1.8	13.3	84.4	-	0.5	37.5
Javanese	1.5	7.1	-	91.2	-	16.8
Other	10.6	67.2	-	0.4	21.8	5.6
Total	13.8	37.1	31.7	15.4	2.0	100.0

In 1964, the Creoles had the highest rate of Dutch-language use. Asians have much lower rates of assimilation to Dutch; only 13,3 percent of the Hindustanis had assimilated to Dutch by 1964. The Javanese had the lowest rate of assimilation to Dutch; only 7,1 percent adopted Dutch as their best language (St-Hilaire, 1999). Although St-Hilaire (1999) states that no census data on language use was collected from Maroons, their rates of assimilation would probably be below that of Javanese. Table 10 presents an overview of what language was the home language of members of ethnic groups in 1992.

Table 10. Ethnic group and home language in 1992 (de Bruijne & Schalkwijk as cited in St-Hilaire, 1999)

Ethnic group	Sranan	Dutch	Sarnami	Javanese	Other	Total
Creole	21.7	76.8	0.3	0.1	1.1	35.2
East Indian	3.2	24.8	69.7	0.1	2.1	30.8
Javanese	14.6	37.8	0.8	45.2	1.6	14.0
Maroon	57.9	18.2	-	-	23.9	4.6
Mixed	8.4	88.2	0.7	0.7	1.9	9.3
Other	11.9	46.1	1.1	-	40.9	6.1
Total	14.9	51.8	21.8	6.5	5.0	100.0

In 1992, over three-quarters of the Creoles considered Dutch their principal home language. The Hindustanis have the highest rate of ethnic-language maintenance. Half of the Javanese population maintain Javanese as the main language. Mixed-race individuals historically have assimilated to Creole culture (Dew as cited in St-Hilaire, 1999; Goslinga as cited in St-Hilaire, 1999). This group has the highest rate of speaking Dutch; interracial coupling appears to accelerate assimilation (St-Hilaire, 1999). According to St-Hilaire (1999), urbanization and education encourage assimilation. Government-endorsed assimilationist policy enabled Dutch to gain at the expense of ethnic languages in Paramaribo, e.g. Sarnami, Javanese and Maroon-languages. Despite this gain, Sranan remains a firmly entrenched national language. As St-Hilaire (1999) states: "historical precedent and Creole cultural nationalism have ensured a continued place for Sranan Surinamese national life" (p. 224). Sranan has deeply influenced the Dutch language spoken in Suriname (Plag as cited in St-Hilaire, 1999). Surinamese-Dutch has developed into an independent language since national independence (Rutgers as cited in St-Hilaire, 1999). Surinamese-Dutch has the highest prestige in Suriname; Surinamese speakers of *Algemeen Nederlands* (common Dutch) are often greeted with laughter, ridicule or hostility by their compatriots (Charry as cited in St-Hilaire, 1999). A growing number of people think that Surinamese-Dutch should replace *Algemeen Nederlands* as the official language of the national administration and education (Charry as cited in St-

Hilaire, 1999; Deprez & Bies as cited in St-Hilaire, 1999; Donselaar as cited in St-Hilaire, 1999; Essed-Fruin as cited in St-Hilaire, 1999). According to St-Hilaire (1999, p. 225): "however, with over 200.000 Surinamese living in the Netherlands and most of Suriname's printed material imported from the Netherlands, the standardization and implementation of Surinamese-Dutch as Suriname's national and official language is fraught with potentially insurmountable challenges".

2.4.2.3 A study on language in education in Suriname

Kroon and Yağmur (2010) conducted a research on multilingualism in education in Suriname. Their research was divided into two parts: a student part and teacher part. In the student part students were asked to fill in a questionnaire. On the basis of the answers a *home language profile* and a *school language profile* were created. The home language profiles comprised the following elements: language repertoire, language proficiency (i.e. understanding, speaking, reading and writing the language) language choice, language dominance (i.e. best spoken language) and language preference of home languages. The school language profile consisted of questions about (preference of) languages taught in class, languages taught outside class, languages used by the teacher, languages used in interaction with the teacher, languages used with fellow students and languages used in the break. Students from the fourth class (students of 9 years old) and the sixth class (students of 12 years old) of *glo* (primary education) and students from the second class (students of 14 years old) and the fourth class (students of 16 years old) of the *mulo* and the *lbgo* (secondary education) participated. In the teacher part teachers were asked to fill in a questionnaire containing questions about home language use, language skills, language choice with familiar people, languages used in class, language dominance, language proficiency and language preference. Teachers were asked to fill in an additional questionnaire about experiences, attitudes and preferences related to multilingualism in class. First, *the home language profile* of the students will be discussed. Table 11 presents an overview of the 14 most spoken home languages of the students.

Table 11. Home language top 14 of students (Kroon & Yağmur, 2010)

Language	Number of speakers	Percentage of total	Language	Number of speakers	Percentage of total
1. Dutch	20,137	88.9	8. Spanish	359	1.6
2. Sranan	13,761	60.7	9. Portuguese	325	1.4
3. Sarnami	6,853	30.3	10. Chinese	313	1.4
4. English	4,606	20.3	11. Paramaccan	250	1.1
5. Surinamese-Javanese	3,497	15.4	12. Arawak	212	0.9
6. Aukan	2,561	11.3	13. Aluku	162	0.7
7. Saramaccan	2,200	9.7	14. Carib	160	0.7

Table 11 demonstrates that Dutch is the most used home language in Suriname, followed by Sranan and Sarnami. Kroon and Yağmur (2010) present home language profiles for every 14 languages focusing on the dimensions of language proficiency, language choice, language dominance and language preference. The most significant findings will be discussed. Dutch is the most prominent language in primary and secondary education

in Suriname. Students are proficient in speaking and writing the language and it is the most used communicative medium within the family as well as outside of the family, except for the grandparents with whom students use less Dutch. 65 percent of the students speaking Dutch as a home language also speak Sranan at home. Students speaking more languages at home often choose Dutch as the dominant and preferred language. There are, however, exceptions for Aucan, Saramaccan and Chinese; in these home language profiles there is a less clear dominance and preference for Dutch. The home language profiles of students speaking Sranan and Sarnami will be discussed in more detail because these languages are often used at home. Students speaking Sranan mostly (95%) also speak Dutch at home. They are proficient in speaking Sranan, but have lower proficiency in writing the language. Sranan is most of the time used as a language of communication with neighbors, friends and siblings. Most of the Sranan speaking students state that Dutch is the dominant language, the preferred language and the language most often used at home. Students speaking Sarnami mostly (87,9%) also speak Dutch at home. They are proficient in speaking Sarnami, but have low proficiency in writing Sarnami. Sarnami is often used within the family, but less with neighbors and friends. Sarnami and Dutch are equally dominant. Students, however, prefer to use Dutch. Dutch and Sarnami are used equally often. Sarnami is a very vital language within the group of students speaking Sarnami. On the basis of the four dimensions (i.e. language proficiency, language choice, language dominance and language preference) Kroon and Yağmur (2010) created a cumulative language vitality index for the home languages based on the average scores on each dimension. The results are presented in Table 12. Dutch, Sarnami, Chinese and Aucan are the four languages with the highest linguistic vitality. Although Sranan is the lingua franca in public life, it has a low vitality.

Table 12. Language vitality of home languages of students (Kroon & Yağmur, 2010)

Language
1. Dutch
2. Sarnami
3. Chinese
4. Aucan
5. Sranan
6. Saramaccan
7. English
8. Surinamese-Javanese
9. Portuguese
10. Carib
11. Paramaccan
12. Arawak
13. Aluku

The main conclusions that can be derived from the *school language profile* are that students are willing to learn English, Portuguese and Chinese in school. For Chinese there are more students that are willing to learn Chinese at school than that there are students speaking Chinese. According to Kroon and Yağmur (2010), this is an indication of the prestige of the language. The reverse is also the case; the number of students speaking Sranan and Sarnami as a home language is higher than the number of students who are willing to learn these

languages at school. Furthermore, Dutch is the language most often used in school. Teachers make more use of home languages in class than students; this is probably because students have to know that, for instance, Sranan does not belong in class. The use of home languages by students increases in the breaks.

Finally, the teacher questionnaire will be discussed. Most of the teachers use Dutch as a home language (96.4%). Other languages spoken at home are Sranan (60.5 %), Sarnami (30,6%), Surinamese-Javanese (15.2%), English (9.6%), Aucan (5,2%) and Saramaccan (4.5%). Dutch, Saramaccan, Aucan and Sarnami are the most vital languages, followed by Surinamese-Javanese, Sranan and English. Besides Dutch, teachers use Sranan as an instruction language in class. Teachers are most proficient in Dutch and English. Kroon and Yağmur (2010) state that teachers' proficiency in other languages is too low for these languages to be taught in class. Teachers in general think that everybody speaking the same language would be most beneficial for the development of Suriname. Teachers value the use of Dutch as a language in class. They think children should be raised in Dutch. They are, however, aware of the fact that the students speak many different languages and they deal with this by incidentally making use of the home languages of the students, especially Sranan.

2.4.3 Religion

In Suriname the three major religions Hinduism, Christianity and Islam coexist peacefully. Table 13 presents the religious affiliation of the population in 2004 (Chickrie, 2011).

Table 13. Religion in Suriname in 2004 (Suriname Bureau of Statistics as cited in Chickrie, 2011)

Religion	Percentage
Christianity	41
Hinduism	20
Islam	12
Not reported	16
Other	10

In a research of Brinkerhoff and Jacob (1994) students had to fill in their ethnicity and religion in a questionnaire. An overview is presented in Table 14 to give an indication of which ethnic groups practice what religion.

Table 14. Religion and ethnicity of students in 1994 (Brinkerhoff & Jacob, 1994)

Religion	Hindustani per cent	Javanese per cent	Creole per cent	Other per cent
Sanatan Dharm Hindu	61.2	-	-	-
Arya Samaj Hindu	13.3	1.4	2.4	-
Sunni Muslim	15.4	19.2	-	10.1
Ahmadiya Muslim	2.9	64.4	-	5.0
Catholic	4.6	1.4	57.1	45.0
Protestant	1.7	5.5	28.6	15.0
None	.8	8.2	11.9	25.0

2.4.3.1 Islam in Suriname

The Muslim population in Suriname is predominantly made up of Hindustanis belonging to the *Hanafi Madhab*, in contrary to the Javanese who belong to the *Shafi* theological school (Chikrie, 2011). Although the Muslim population grew to 25 percent in the 1980s, the population decreased when thousands left for the Netherlands. Today, it is estimated that 20 percent of the total population is Muslim. Elements of the *Shariah*, Islamic law, have been incorporated in the Suriname's Civil Code since 1941. Surinamese Muslims are politically and economically active. They are well represented in the National Assembly. The state offers Muslims time off for the Friday *Jumma* prayers and for the Ramadan. *Eid-ul-Fitr*, the end of the Ramadan, is a national holiday in Suriname. Suriname is a member of the Organization of Islamic Conference (OIC) and the Islamic Development Bank (IDB). There are eight *jamaats* (societies) in Suriname which have successfully established contact with the Muslim World League, the World Islamic Call Society, the International Islamic Federation of Student Organizations and the Islamic Missionaries Guild (Chickrie, 2011). Chickrie (2011) describes the social needs the *masjids* (mosques) in Suriname address:

> They have established an efficient social infrastructure that aggressively addresses the basic needs of their communities such as homes for the abused and runaway children. They distribute *zakaat* (alms) to the poor; maintain *qabarstan* (graveyards), elderly homes, and operate many Islamic schools that offer Islamic studies, *adaab* (etiquette), Quran, math and the sciences. (p. 83)

These religious schools have received subsidies since 1950, along with Hindu temples to end the discrimination of the government by aiding only Catholic and Protestant institutions (Chickrie, 2011).

Hindustani Muslims; distancing themselves from other Surinamese Muslims

Muslims from India and Muslims from Java rarely developed common Islamic programs and institutions. Muslims from India were united by the Urdu language, while Javanese Muslims and other Muslims were more influenced by the process of 'Arabization'. Urdu does not only unite these Muslims on an ethnic basis but also links them to the cultural-religious traditions of India (Bal & Sinha-Kerkhoff, 2005). Hindustani Muslims were more oriented towards India than towards Cairo or Makkah (Karsten as cited in Bal & Sinha-Kerkhoff, 2005). Karsten (as cited in Bal & Sinha-Kerkhoff, 2005) quoted one of the Muslims saying: "we could have written to Kairo (sic) or Mekka (sic) as well but the problem is that they publish in Arabic and never in Urdu or Persian"

(p. 197). These Muslims preferred links with Lahore and did not seem to have much interest in pilgrimages to Makkah (Karsten as cited in Bal & Sinha-Kerkhoff, 2005). This continued even after 1947 when Lahore became part of Pakistan. In sum, Hindustani Muslims in Suriname sought the preservation of the Indian culture and invited *maulanas* from India and Pakistan (Bal & Sinha-Kerkhoff, 2005).

Hindustani Muslims: Sunnis and Ahmadis

Despite this unity, Hindustani Muslims broke up in several organizations and are now divided over many mosques. Soon after the contract laborers settled as free immigrants, fragmentation and institutionalization started. The most profound division among Muslims is between *Sunnis* and *Ahmadis*. In the early 20th century, Surinamese Muslim leaders were looking for scholars from India to teach them about Islam. Moulvi Ameer Ali of Trinidad eventually came to visit Suriname and preached the ideology of Ahmadiyyaism. The introduction of this new ideology caused a schism among the Muslims. The Surinamese Islamic Assocation (SIV) soon became dominated by the Ahmadiyya doctrine; many Sunni Muslims decided to leave and formed several orthodox groups. Further fragmentation continued in the course of the twentieth century (Bal & Sinha-Kerkhoff, 2005). As Bal and Sinha-Kerkhoff (2005), however, state: "whereas much of the fragmentation can be explained by political conflicts and loyalty issues rather than by ideological differences, the division between Ahmadis (who constitute some 20 percent of all Hindustani Muslims) and Sunnis is based on significant theological differences" (p. 198). Opposition against the Ahmadis has always been very strong. This eventually lead to the declaration in 1974 in Pakistan that the Ahmadis are not Muslims and are therefore forbidden to perform *Haj* in Makkah. Despite these internal differences, the territorial orientation towards Hindustan did not change after 1947 (Bal & Sinha-Kerkhoff, 2005).

2.4.3.2 Hinduism in Suriname

The caste system in Hindustan divided up society into a larger number of groups which are hierarchically ranked. These social boundaries could, however, not be maintained in Suriname and the caste system disappeared (Van der Burg & Van der Veer, 1986). According to Van der Burg and Van der Veer (1986), there is a direct relation between Hinduism and the caste system: "the opposition between purity and impurity is central to the social relations between groups and individuals, as well as to the relations between gods and human beings" (p. 516). Religion is, however, conditioned by changing social circumstances (Asad as cited in Van der Burg & Van der Veer, 1986). Rituals and ceremonies characteristic to specific castes and the division between brahmanical religion of the higher casts and a folk religion of the lower castes disappeared (Van der Burg & Van der Veer, 1986). According to Mandelbaum (as cited in Van der Burg & Van der Veer, 1986), Indian Hinduism consists of a *transcendent complex* (universal gods, Sanskrit texts and rituals) dominated by priests of the Brahman castes and a *pragmatic complex* (local gods and traditions) dominated by the low-caste priests. The transcendent complex of Braham organization has come to dominate the religous sphere in Suriname. The pragmatic complex disappeared due to the expansion of brahmatical influence and the competition of low-status experts from other ethnic groups in Suriname, e.g. the Creole *Winti* specialist *Bonuman*. This process is called *brahmanization*. Although the caste system had disappeared and Brahmans were incorporated in the plantation economy, their status was maintained by successful integration of the

Surinamese Hindus under the banner of Brahmanism. Brahmans monopolized sacred knowledge of rituals and Sanskrit texts legitimizing the status of the Brahman (Van der Burg & Van der Veer, 1986). The Brahman priests acted as Dutch interpreters and as spokesmen of their community (De Klerk as cited in Van der Burg & Van der Veer, 1986). According to Van der Burg and Van der Veer (1986), the expansion of Brahmanism was the first important step in the construction of Surinamese Hindu identity separate from the North Indian. The second was the rise of the *Arya Samaj* movement.

Arya Samaj

From 1912 the Arya Samaj started missionary activities in Suriname. This movement desired a 'return to the roots' of the Hindu culture. Arya Samaj condemned the caste system, the veil for women, self-immolation of the widow at her husband's death and child marriage (Van der Burg & Van der Veer, 1986). According to Van der Burg and Van der Veer (1986), we may therefore call it a social movement. The movement is Brahmanical (religious content), but the organization is anti-Brahman in content. For instance, every knowledgeable lay person can become a priest, irrespective of purity of birth. According to Van der Burg and Van der Veer (1986), the rise of the Arya Samaj finds its Islamic counterpart in the Ahmadiya movement. They reason:

> The Arya Samaj resembles in many respects the Islam reform movements occurring in several parts of the world in the same period. These movements aim at replying to the challenge of the Western Christian culture which is penetrating the ancient civilizations of the East. (Van der Burg & Van der Veer, p. 519)

The Arya Samaj obtained a following of sixteen percent in Suriname. This can be explained by the fact that the Arya Samaj legitimated their reform as truly Hindu and by the fact that everyone could become a priest, breaking off the expansion of the Brahman's influence. With the emancipation of the Hindustani group in Suriname, the Arya Samaj were able to dominate the religious field. Eventually this resulted in the foundation of two organizations in Suriname: *Sanatan Dharm* (the eternal religion), i.e. a formal association of Brahmanical Hinduism and *Arya Dewaker* (the Arya Sun), i.e. a formal association of the Arya Samaj (Van der Burg & Van der Veer, 1986). The arrival of the Arya Samajis in 1929 developed friction within the Hindu community (Chickrie, 2011). According to Sikand (as cited in Chickrie, 2011):

> In 1922, the Hindu revivalist Arya Samaj launched a well-organized campaign to bring the Muslims back to Hinduism also known as *shuddi* (cleansing). They targeted large number of Muslim groups that had still retained many customs and practices associated with their pre-conversion Hindu past. In a few months they claimed to have made several hundred thousand such converts. Muslim leaders reacted with panic at the news, and several efforts were launched for *tabligh*, or Islamic mission, aiming principally at bringing back the apostates into the Muslim fold and to prevent further conversions to Hinduism by spreading Islamic awareness among non-Muslims. The *Tabligh Jamat* was only one of several such Islamic missionary groups that were launched at this time in response to the Arya challenge, but it was the only one to outlive its founder and grow into a global movement. (p. 88)

Muslims were very resistant and ignored the call; the Arya Samaji leaders became bitter. The Sanathan Dharm and the Arya Samajis were at each other's throat because of the attempt of the Arya Samaj leading to physical and verbal conflict. In 1931, the leader of the Arya Samajis verbally attacked the Sanatis and the Muslims. This Hindu/Muslim tension was brought to the attention of the Bharrat Uday Committee, a Pan-Indian organization in

1931, but due to the fact that Bharrat Uday was torn into two factions along religious lines they were not able to solve the Hindu/Muslim tension. A verbal exchange between a Muslim and a Hindu further strained the relationship in 1933. This rage further developed, but the government interfered and sent troops to control the situation. Problems did not end and lead to a division of the Hindustani organization. In 1934, however, the two groups met and both the Arya Samaj and the Sanatis were united in an anti-Muslim boycott and a ban on cow killing. This boycott marked a dark chapter in the Hindu/Muslim relationship. Hindu leaders established a Hindu bazaar which was open to everyone except for Muslims. The government, however, intervened by closing the bazaar and punishing the leaders. The pact between the two groups did not last and many Hindus continued to have close ties with the Muslims (Chickrie, 2011).

Hindustani identity

Within the Hindustani community it was important to know whether someone was Hindu or Muslim and whether he was 'modern' or 'orthodox'. Interactions with other groups were marginal up to the Second World War. After the Second World War, when Hindustanis started to leave the rural area for Paramaribo, ethnic integration of Hindus and Muslims became important. The competition with the Creoles produced a strong tendency to neglect internal socio-religious differences. Religious identity and organization remained, however, the backbone of Hindustani community. External politics remained ethnic, while internal politics remained religious. Lachmon, a low-caste man, was the most important Hindustani political leader in Suriname. Brahman priests avoided this position, probably because they feared loss of authority. Furthermore, unity of various religious groups would be difficult under the leadership of Brahmans. Religion played a significant role in politics, however. First, religious associations are the organizational elements of a political party. Second, religion is used for political rhetoric (Van der Burg & Van der Veer, 1986). Dew (as cited in Van der Burg & Van der Veer, 1986) provides an example in which Lachmon compares the situation of the Hindustanis in 1972 with that of the gods Rama and Sita in the Hindu epic Ramayana. Lachmon was the loyal ally of Rama and tried to protect Sita from the dark powers. This imagery was used to evoke the situation after independence, when the dark powers (i.e. the Creoles) would come to violate the Hindustani. In sum, the Hindustani identity was used as an umbrella under which religious identities were more important. The disintegration of the caste system made separation of religion and secular culture possible. In this secular culture there are no differences between Hindu, Muslim or Christian Hindustanis (Van der Burg & Van der Veer, 1986). According to Van der Burg and Van der Veer (1986), we should, however, keep in mind that ethnic identification is much influenced by political processes.

2.4.3.3 Christianity and Winti in Suriname

Winti has been called and still is being called *afkodré* by Christians and other people. *Afkodré* is the Sranan word for the Dutch word *afgoderij*, i.e. idolatry. Winti, a religious system, is closely rated to the history and the language of the Creoles. Many Creoles in Suriname are both baptized Christians and at the same time adherents of Winti. According to Vernooij (2003), Surinamese theologians use the metaphor of religion in the front room (Christianity) and the religion in the back-room (Winti), since no one sees Winti rituals. Another metaphor is the

religion of the garden (Christianity) and the religion of the back yard (winti). In the past churches condemned the religion, but now people can speak publicly on the subject of Winti (Vernooij, 2003).

The rise of Winti

When the colonial powers arrived, Christianity and the Jewish religion were the standard religions for the slaves. Winti emerged as a vehicle for the construction of identity in the world of white Christian owners and administrators. Winti constituted a Surinamized religion, with clear connections to some West-African religious elements like Asanta, Luanga and Yoruba. The religion was generated from physical and physiological oppression (Vernooij, 2003). Winti emphasized the otherness of slaves (Penard as cited in Vernooij, 2003) and became an ethnic power for identity and for survival. It was already stated before that the *bonuman* formed a competition for the pragmatic complex of Hinduism. The *bonuman* is a part of the Winti religion and has special skills for diagnosing problems for individuals and for families. The foundation of Winti is the basic belief of people in God combined with dedication and responsibility. The group creating this religion called for reverence and respect for all life, especially for harmony and purity. Christianity and Winti were not mixed due to the fact that slaves lived on the plantations far away from Calvinist churches (Vernooij, 2003).

Christianity

Since the government and elite class were Calvinist, Christianity in the 17th century was in the line of the Calvinist tradition. The major hallmarks of this religion were sobriety, emphasis on the Word of God and rigidity (Vernooij, 2003). The Moravian Church constitutes the oldest and largest Protestant church (World Council of Churches, 2006). The dramatic conversion of Johannes King in the last decades of the 19th century caused the inhabitants of the Upper Region river to be baptized in the Moravian Church (Green, 1978).

Roman Catholicism was brought in by missionaries in the first decades of the 19th century. Many of them came from the Catholic south of Holland with devotions and traditions like Benediction, processions, veneration of Mary, pictures and prayers (Vernooij, 2003). Green (1978) analyzes the influence of these missionaries in the Upper Region river. When the Roman Catholic missionaries discovered that this region was already missionized by the Protestants, they tried to bribe converts to Catholicism with offers of tools, household items, food and other desirables. Doing this, they managed to convert a significant part of the population. According to Vernooij (2003), elements of the African descent are nowadays practiced in Catholic families. Vernooij (2003) presents examples:

> The participation on *dede oso* (mourning traditions), *puru blaka* (ceremony and rituals at the end of the mourning time after a year), dances at the cemetery, the *wasi dede*, the rituals during washing and dressing the corpse, using *ogr'ay*, putting blue behind the ears and under the feet against the influence of destroying spirits, the circumcision of Catholic Javanese boys. (p. 149)

According to Green (1978), the Roman Catholic campaign had limited success, due to numerous reasons. One of them concerned a racial factor; protestants were mainly black, while catholic missionaries were mainly white. Green (1978) asserts that Christian missionaries have had considerable success in their campaign to replace Winti with Christianity. Green (1978) provides the following arguments why this was the case:

> (1) Missionaries offered free education, medical care and employment.
>
> (2) Missionaries made use of Black, and particularly Maroon, evangelists. They were more acceptable

and more effective than Creoles or Whites.

(3) Missionary teachers created the school curriculum which contained Christian beliefs.

Winti, however, did survive complete conversion to Christianity (Green, 1978). Green (1978) presents three factors contributing to the tenacity of Winti beliefs and practices:

(1) Winti spirits had greater immediacy and accessibility compared to the Christian God.

(2) The belief in traditional medicine, coupled with the belief in the divine nature of such medicine supports Winti beliefs in general.

(3) The *kunu* belief that immoral or anti-social acts will always be punished by *kunus*, which formed an important mechanism of social control.

The result of the fact that the Winti belief remained strong is a dual religious system (Green, 1978).

3   METHODOLOGY

In the first section the research questions will be presented. This study aims to adopt an ethnographic research perspective. The second section will therefore contain a description of this perspective. This chapter will finish with a section on the method.

3.1 Research questions

The theoretical framework leads to the formulation of research questions upon which the questions will be based. The research questions in this study are:

1. How are ethnic boundaries in Suriname situated according to the four dimensions of the multilevel process theory of Wimmer (2008)?
2. Which factors contribute to the formation of ethnic group boundaries (between Creoles and Hindustanis) in Suriname?
3. Which elements constitute the Surinamese identity and what language belongs to the Surinamese identity?
4. Which factors constitute the core values of the Creoles and the Hindustanis in Suriname?
5. What is the social status and the function of Sranan, Dutch and Sarnami in Suriname and how do Surinamese identify with these languages?

The main method of data collection within this study is interviewing. The order of the research questions coincides with the order in which these issues are discussed in the theoretical framework.

3.2 Ethnographic research

Traditional methodologies used by acculturation researchers are not useful in Suriname, since emergence of multilingualism in Suriname is basically different from immigration countries. In this study, an *ethnographic* research perspective will be adopted. Ethnographic fieldwork aims at revealing things that might not seem as important, but belong to the implicit structure of people's life (Blommaert & Dong, 2010). According to Blommaert and Dong (2010), people are not cultural or linguistic catalogues. Most of what is seen as their cultural and social behavior is performed without reflecting on it and without an active consciousness that this is what they do. Consequently, it is not a thing they have an opinion about.

Ethnography takes established norms and expectations as starting points for questioning them. It takes them as problems rather than facts. Central to this is the *mapping of resources onto functions*, e.g. the way in which a standard variety of a language acquires the function of medium of education. This attributed function is not a feature of a language, but it is a kind of social imagination. Ethnographic research is also critical in that it does not aim at simplifying and reducing complexity, but it aims at describing the apparently messy and complex activities that make up social action (Blommaert & Dong, 2010).

Ethnographic research is *subjective* in nature, aimed at yielding hypotheses that can be replicated in similar (not identical) circumstances. The object of investigation is always a *uniquely situated reality*, i.e. a

complex of events which occurs in a totally unique context with series of conditions that can never be repeated (Blommaert & Dong, 2010). The current study is based on fieldwork consisting of interviews and pictures.

3.3 Method

3.3.1 Interview guidelines

The interview guidelines were adapted to the different participant groups, i.e. Creole students, Hindustani students, Creole experts and Hindustani experts. See Appendix A for these four interview guidelines. This section will elaborate on the creation of these guidelines.

First, the interview guidelines of the students will be discussed. These guidelines contained the following topics: language, ethnic identity, leisure activities, politics, religion and Surinamese identity. The order of these topics was chosen with care. For instance, most people feel comfortable talking about language use. Therefore, the guideline started off with this theme, since it puts informants at ease. Questions on language use started off with indirect, general questions, such as: "how important is proficiency in Dutch/Sranan/Sarnami for getting a job?" In this way, students may provide information about the status, the use and the attitude towards the languages in an indirect way. Similar questions that tried to elicit this information were questions on whether other languages than Dutch should be used as an instructional language in school. After the general questions, more personal questions were formulated about language use. The guideline for Hindustani students contained questions on whether they considered language lessons (e.g. in Hindi) outside of school important. This may indicate their attitude toward these languages. The second theme was ethnic identity. This theme again started off with general questions to put the informant at ease with the topic. For instance, the guideline contained 'easy' questions, such as: "what ethnic groups are present in Suriname?" After the general questions, more personal questions were formulated. These were divided into questions on how the informants perceived themselves (e.g. "what makes you Creole/Hindustani?"), questions on Creoles and Hindustanis in general (e.g., "what differentiates Creoles/Hindustanis from other ethnic groups in Suriname?") and questions on ethnic groups in Suriname (e.g. "which group has the most political power?"). The formulation of the following two questions was based on the literature of Lien, Conway and Wong (2003):

- How would you feel if someone in your family married a person of a different ethnic background?
- How would you identify yourself, given a choice between identifying oneself as Surinamese or Creole/Hindustani?

The third and fourth theme, leisure and religion contained questions on whether the participant's leisure activities were ethnically organized and whether politics were ethnically organized. Care was taken with regards to the fifth theme, religion. First, a question was formulated on what religion was practiced within the informant's family. In this way, the direct question on what religion the informant practiced could be avoided. Furthermore, questions were formulated on religious practices and the relationship between religion and language. Finally, questions were formulated on the Surinamese identity.

The interview guidelines of the Creole and Hindustani experts contained the following topics: language, ethnic identity, ethnic boundaries and religion. In contrast to the student guidelines, the expert guidelines hardly contained personal questions, but rather focused on questions based on scientific literature and

theories. Again, the guideline started off with questions on language, to put the informant at ease. Questions were formulated on the statement of St-Hilaire (2001) in which he asserts that the fact that "Surinamese-Dutch gains in currency and status among and within different groups, generally to the detriment of the ethnic languages" (St-Hilaire, 2001, p. 999) signals a movement towards the cultural integration of Suriname as a single national entity. Subsequently, questions were formulated on the Surinamese identity. In the second theme, ethnic identity, questions were formulated on the theory of core values of Smolicz (1992). In the third theme, ethnic boundaries, questions were formulated on the four dimensions of Wimmer (2008). The guidelines finished with questions about religion.

The interview questions are connected to the research questions. For the student guidelines, the questions on language are connected to the fifth research question, the questions on politics are connected to the first research question, the questions on ethnic identity, leisure activities and religion are connected to the second research question, the questions on ethnic identity and religion are connected to the fourth research question and finally the questions on Surinamese identity are connected to the third research question. For the expert guidelines, the questions on language are connected to the fifth research question, the questions on ethnic boundaries are connected to the first and second research question, the questions on ethnic identity are connected to the fourth research question and finally the questions on Surinamese identity are connected to the third research question.

3.3.2 Participants

Eleven students and eleven experts participated in the interviews. Table 15 presents an overview of these participants. Most Hindustani students were studying to become a biology teacher, while most Creole students were studying to become an economics teacher. The expertise of the experts varied from religion to language. Most of them were higher educated. In this study, the ethnicity of the participant will be indicated through a slash followed by a 'C' (Creole) or an 'H' (Hindustani) after every pseudo name.

Table 15. Participants

#	Pseudo name	Ethnicity	Expert or student	Age*	Gender
1	Miguel	Creole	Student	27	Male
2	Randy	Creole	Student	24	Male
3	Alida	Creole	Student	24	Female
4	Bert	Creole	Student	29	Male
5	Ifna	Creole	Student	22	Female
6	Urtha	Creole	Expert	64	Female
7	Irma	Creole	Expert	37	Female
8	Steven	Creole	Expert	51	Male
9	John	Creole	Expert	68	Male
10	Michael	Creole	Expert	36	Male
11	Atish	Hindustani	Student	20	Male
12	Suraja	Hindustani	Student	20	Female
13	Wiraya	Hindustani	Student	21	Female
14	Priya	Hindustani	Student	21	Female
15	Shweta	Hindustani	Student	22	Female
16	Wikash	Hindustani	Student	26	Male
17	Santa	Hindustani	Expert	42	Female
18	Sandra	Hindustani	Expert	31	Female
19	Sharmila	Hindustani	Expert	56	Female
20	Prem	Hindustani	Expert	30	Male
21	Perkash	Hindustani	Expert	61	Male
22	Bettie	Creole/Hindustani	Expert	56	Female

*Some participants only mentioned their birth year; their age is round off downwards.

3.3.3 Data collection

3.3.3.1 Interview procedure

The main method of data collection were the semi-structured interviews and, in that sense, the gathering of data was not ethnographic in nature, since, according to Blommaert and Dong (2010), the interviews should represent but a tiny fraction of the materials that are brought back. The data analysis is, however, ethnographic in nature, but before going into this process, more information will be provided about the interview procedure. Most interviews with the students were held at the Anton de Kom University in Paramaribo. Text messaging was used to make appointments with the students. Meetings took place in front of the library. Subsequently, an empty classroom was looked for to conduct the interview. While searching for a classroom, the student and I often engaged in an informal conversation prior to the interview, which may have put the students more at ease. In all

cases, an empty classroom was available and the interviews could be conducted there. The interviews with the experts were held at the location and the time they preferred. Examples of these locations were at their homes, at their workplace, at a café, etcetera. Both student and expert interviews were conducted in Dutch. Due to the sensitivity of the topics, a high degree of care was taken with regards to the privacy of the participants. As soon as the recorder was switched on, participants were told that the interview would be used for scientific purposes only and that their names would not be mentioned (pseudonyms would be used for all participant names). They were asked whether the agreed with the interview being recorded and all participants agreed, except for one time in which I forgot to ask the question. During the interviews, the metalevel of the interview was taken into account. This means that not only was considered *what* people told, but also *how* they told it (Biggsas cited in Blommaert & Dong, 2010). Someone could be very confident in his answers, but his answer to one particular question could be hesitant, pronounced softer and with a body language that articulated discomfort (Blommaert & Dong, 2010). During the interview, questions were formulated with greater care and some questions were even left out when it was felt that the participant was not at ease. On the other hand, when a respondent was very open, questions were asked more directly and no questions were omitted. The time period of the interviews varied from approximately 22 minutes to 72 minutes.

3.3.3.2 Photographs

In addition to taking the interviews, photographs were taken of, mainly, the linguistic landscape. The linguistic landscape encloses all the advertisements, written signs, etcetera in the center of Paramaribo. Most of them were located in shop windows. As Coulmas (2009) states:

> Linguistic landscapes is a fertile field of sociolinguistic investigation, both in the narrow sense of seeking correlations and co-variation of language use and social class, and in the wider sense of unveiling the nexus between language and other social attributes such as religion, ethnicity, nationality and race. (p. 14)

Shohamy and Gorter (2009) furthermore notice that it is the absence of languages in some places that is of further interest. The photographs were mainly used to support other data. Furthermore, photographs were taken of cultural elements, e.g. the flags that are often placed in the garden of Hindustanis who are followers of the Sanathan Dharm. In this study fourteen photographs were used.

3.3.4 Data analysis

As it was stated before, although the gathering of data was not ethnographic in nature, the data analysis does contain some characteristics of this perspective. First, the interviews were transcribed. Everything was literally transcribed, so when a participant articulated a word four times, for instance, this was not reduced to one word, since it may signal important phenomena, such as the hesitation of the participant. After the interviews were transcribed, the analysis was carried out on the basis of the research questions. Sometimes a theme emerged, which was not taken into account on beforehand. For instance, the affective function of the languages was not something that was asked for, but often came across in the interviews. Therefore, it was decided to take this into the analysis. As in ethnographic research, anecdotes and small stories were used and analyzed. In addition, the

target of ethnography was kept in mind, i.e. "describe the apparently messy and complex activities that make up social action, not to reduce their complexity but to describe and explain it" (Blommaert & Dong, 2010, p. 11). Furthermore, the pictures were used to support the citations. The photographs of the linguistic landscape were analyzed according to the following dimensions: (the number of) languages, the content of the message and the sender of the message (i.e. government, shop owner).

4   RESULTS

This chapter presents the results of the study under the following headings: ethnic boundaries, Surinamese identity, core values and language. In the final section, the variety of life worlds upon which identity is based in Paramaribo will be illustrated. The first heading corresponds with the first and second research question, the second heading corresponds with the third research question, the third heading corresponds with the fourth research question and the fourth heading corresponds with the fifth research question.

4.1 Ethnic boundaries

4.1.1 Boundary characteristics

Two approaches have been constructed in order to describe the existence of ethnic groups: the primordial approach and the circumstantial approach. The first approach underlines that ethnic membership is acquired through birth, while the second approach underlines that individuals choose between various identities according to self-interest (Wimmer, 2008). Wimmer (2008) argues that there is a variety of case studies which fit and contradict any of these positions taken. Wimmer (2008) presents a theoretical framework that allows one to explain the wide range of ethnic forms: the multilevel process theory. According to Wimmer (2008), there are four dimensions of variation along which an individual case can be situated: the political salience of boundaries, social closure and 'groupness', cultural differentiation and stability. Before going into detail on the first dimension, it will first be clarified what is meant with a boundary. A boundary displays two dimensions: a categorical dimension and a behavioral dimension. The categorical dimension refers to acts of social classification and collective representation. The behavioral dimension refers to everyday networks of relationships. These categorical and behavioral aspects appear as two cognitive schemes. The categorical scheme divides the social world into social groups ("us" and "them") and the other offers scripts of action (how to relate to individuals that are classified as "us" and "them") (Wimmer, 2008). Only when the two schemes coincide Wimmer (2008) speaks of a social boundary, i.e. when the ways of seeing the world correspond to ways of acting in the world. Wimmer (2008) furthermore emphasizes that:

> The concept of boundary does not necessarily imply that the world is composed of sharply bounded groups. As I will show below, ethnic distinctions may be fuzzy and boundaries soft, with unclear demarcations and few social consequences, allowing individuals to maintain membership in several categories or switch identities situationally. (p. 976)

The first dimension concerns the political salience of boundaries in Suriname. Most experts and students stated that ethnic boundaries are salient in the politics of Suriname. Horowitz (as cited in Keulder, 2010) defines ethnic voting as: "voting for the party identified with the voter's own ethnic group, no matter who the individual candidates happen to be" (p. 267). According to Keulder (2010), linking demographic variables to party choice does not provide any meaningful grounds for proving ethnic voting. What is needed are data on ethnic solidarity as motivation for voting on a specific party (Keulder, 2010). The motivation of expert Sharmila/H seems to be based on ethnic solidarity.

"Eh eigenlijk moet het niet zo zijn, want wij leven in een multiculturele samenleving. Eigenlijk moet het niet, maar wat is er. Je ziet eh je voelt je toch prettiger bij je eigen groep. Je wil niet in hokken verdeeld worden… maar je voelt je toch prettiger, een stukje veiliger, veiliger bij je eigen groep denk ik. En je denkt dan dat jouw groep misschien jouw behangen, eh belangen kunnen behartigen… ja, weet je dat gevoel heb je… toch? Want eh ze hebben zoveel keren samen gereag geregeerd maar eh je ziet het resultaat. Dus je ziet als ze aan de macht zijn dat dus hun bevolkingsgroepen toch de voorkeur krijgen."

Translation [MM]: "Eh actually it should not be that way, because we are living in a multicultural society. Actually it should not be, but what is the case. You see eh you still feel more comfortable with your own group. You do not want to be pidgeonholed… but you still feel more comfortable, a bit safer, safer with your own group I think. And you think that your group might act on your behalf… yes, you know that is the feeling you have… right? Because eh they have gover goverend so many times together, but eh you see the result. So you see when they are in control that their population group is preferred."

The statement of expert Sharmila/H shows that her individual interest is connected to group interests. Belonging to a group gives expert Sharmila/H a sense of security and safety. The fact that she talks about 'her group' signals the collectivistic attitude among the Hindustanis. Many respondents state they feel ethnic boundaries have become less salient in politics nowadays than in the past. Especially the National Democratic Party was mentioned as a party that represents several population groups. Opinions, however, differ about the ethnic neutrality of the National Democratic Party. Student Wikash/H states:

"Ja de NDP is [onverstaanbaar] de grootste partij die aangeeft dat ze niet etnisch georiënteerd zijn, maar ze zijn het wel... een voorbeeld eh als je nu eh een kandidaat moet stellen in Wanica en je weet dat er veel Hindoestanen daar zijn. Wat doen ze dan, ze gaan geen Creool zetten, ze gaan of eh een Javaan. Ze gaan eerder een aantal Hindoestanen op de lijst zetten, omdat ze weten dat eh ze daardoor dan een zetels kunnen behalen… je bent dan toch gewoon bezig, want je durft niet een Creool daar te zetten."

Translation [MM]: "Yes the NDP is [unintelligible] the largest party that declares that they are not ethnically oriented, but they are… an example eh when you now eh have to select a candidate for Wanica and you know that there are many Hindustanis over there. What are they going to do they are not going to select a Creole, they are or eh a Javanese. They rather place several Hindustanis on the list, because they know that eh they will obtain an seats from that… you are just doing that then, because you do not take the risk of placing a Creole there."

Student Wikash/H asserts that the National Democratic Party is still ethnically oriented, because they select candidates for a district based on the ethnicities of the persons living in that district. His assertion seems to be correct; according to the definition this is a case of ethnic voting. Persons are voting on the basis of ethnicity, no matter who the individual candidates happen to be (Keulder, 2010). The informant's statement also proves that political decisions are made on the basis of interethnic group relations. Some students state that not all ethnic groups are equally represented in politics. Student Wikash/H provides an explanation.

"In de politiek? Ja dat komt dan door die eh ongelijke verdeling van de zetels, waardoor je dan meer van een van twee andere bevolkingsgroepen bij elkaar meer mensen krijgt in het parlement. In de politiek... de Creolen en de Marrons… maar dat ligt gewoon aan ons kiesstelsel. Als dat verandert dan kan er heel veel gaan veranderen… in die politieke samenstelling. Maar dat weten ze dus ze gaan dat niet echt makkelijk kunnen veranderen."

Translation [MM]: "In politics? Yes that is because that eh unequal division of the seats, whereby then you get more people in the parliament of one of two other population groups. In politics… the Creoles and the Maroons…

but that is due to our electoral system. When that changes than a lot can change… in the political composition. But they know that so they are not going to change that very easily."

According to student Wikash/H, the unequal division of seats causes Creoles and Maroons to be more represented in politics. Dobbeleir, Sarrazyn, Van der Straeten, Willems and Van Maele (2008) explain how the unequal division of seats came into existence. It started with the creation of an electoral system which was divided on the basis of nine districts. The boundaries of these districts were, however, drawn in such a way that the Hindustanis and the Javanese could never receive an absolute majority, because of the 'winner takes it all'-principle. This principle implied that the party with most votes in an electoral district received all the seats (Dobbeleir et al., 2008). For the second dimension, social closure and 'groupness', most experts and students stated that the degree of social closure and groupness varied according to the different ethnic groups. Expert John/C states that the Chinese are the most closed group in Suriname.

> "Eh nou ik moet zeggen dat het de laatste tijd opener wordt. Naar mijn inzien de meest gesloten groep zijn de Chinezen. Ze lachen, natuurlijk hebben winkel, maar ze laten andere mensen. Ze hebben hun eigen organisatie ook. Chinese verenigingen zijn dat. Ze hebben vier Chinese verenigingen die voor Chinezen zijn… en nu gaat men heel mooi praten ja dat ze jaarlijks feest hebben organi nodigen ze uit, maar de Chinees houdt er niet van dat andere mensen in hun Chinese organisaties zitten."
>
> Translation [MM]: "Eh well I have to say recently it has become more open. In my opinion the most closed group are the Chinese. They are laughing, ofcourse own shops, but they let other people. They also have their own organisation. Those are Chinese organisations. They have four Chinese organisations which are for Chinese… and now one is going to talk very nice yes they have a yearly party organise inviting everyone, but the Chinese does not like other people being in their Chinese organisations."

According to expert John/C, Chinese organizations are for the Chinese. This remark illustrates how intact the groups are and how the outsiders perceive the Chinese to be. The walls around the Chinese are very high. Expert John/C continues with his perspective on the Hindustanis.

> "Eh is ietsje meer opener naar anderen toe, maar nog steeds is het zo daar voor de doorsnee Chine Hindoestaanse familie staan ze ook niet open, zo geweldig open, vooral niet naar Creolen toe. Ze vinden het niet zo leuk dat hun dochter met een Creool zou trouwen. Eh in de prak ze gaan natuurlijk in een interview zeggen we hebben niets te maken, maar is niet waar. Je hebt families die wat makkelijker over het gaan, maar je hebt families die zeggen liever niet… liever niet dat m'n dochter met een neger gaat trouwen."
>
> Translation [MM]: "Eh a bit more open towards others, but it is still the case that an ordinary Chine Hindustani family is not open, very open, especially towards Creoles. They do not like their daughter marrying a Creole. Eh in pract they are obviously going to tell that they have nothing to do in an interview, but that is not the case. There are families which are a bit easier, but there are also families who say rather not… rather not that my daughter is marrying a negro."

Expert John/C asserts that Hindustanis are a bit more open towards other groups, in comparison with the Chinese. However, the ordinary Hindustani family is not very open towards marriages outside the ethnic group. They are also not stimulated by their family to marry outside of their own ethnic group. Marriage is a solid way to maintain group boundaries. In this way, the group remains intact and mixing is avoided. According to expert

Urtha/C, the Creoles should be considered the most open group. For the third dimension, cultural differentiation, most experts state that ethnic boundaries coincide with cultural differences. Expert Renate states that this is especially the case for the Hindustanis, since they are more loyal to their culture than the Creoles. Expert Sandra/H confirms this loyalty to the own culture.

> "Want ik denk dat we in Suriname wel allemaal aan ons eigen cultuur vasthouden… vastklampen… we praten wel van eh eenheid, eenheid in die verscheidenheid en noem maar op, maar als het er op aan komt dan hebben we de eigene heel erg lief."
> Translation [MM]: "Because I think we all are holding on to our own culture in Suriname…take hold of it… we talk about an eh unity, unity in diversity and you name it, but when it comes down to it, we cherish the own."

According to expert Sandra/H, many Surinamese are holding on to their own culture. According to expert Perkash/H, it must, however, be kept in mind that the Hindustanis are part of many cultures, i.e. the Hindu culture, the Muslim culture, the Christian culture and all sorts of mixed forms. This indicates that Hindustanis have multiple memberships and loyalties towards different cultural groups. Furthermore, many experts state that elements of the different cultures in Suriname are mixed or influenced. For instance, expert Urtha/C states that nowadays every Surinamese knows how to make pom (a Creole meal) and rotti (a Hindustani meal). For the fourth dimension, stability, most experts state that ethnic boundaries are stable in Suriname. Expert John/C tries to provide an explanation for this stability.

> "Ik denk het wel… Ik denk zelf kijk. Kijk naar Amerika. Hoe krampachtig de mensen vasthouden aan hun etnische identiteit… ze zijn al honderden jaren daar, maar eh de Duitsers in Amerika vinden het leuk dat ze kunnen verwijzen naar je Duitse afkomst… dus [onverstaanbaar] ook. Dus in de diaspora houden mensen nog krampachtiger aan hun identiteit, aan hun moederland… dus Suriname gaat geen uitzondering op de regel."
> Translation [MM]: "I think so… I myself think look. Look at America. How forced people hold on to their ethnic identity… they are there for hundreds of years, but eh the Germans in America love the fact that they can refer to your German descent… so [unintilligble] also. So in a diaspora people are even more forcibly holding on to their own identity, to their mother country… so Suriname is not going to be an exception to the rule."

Expert John/C states that in a diaspora people are even more attached to the identity of their heritage culture. According to Wimmer (2008), the most stable boundary is found among people who identify individuals through multigenerational, unilineal descent. This may also contribute to the stability of ethnic boundaries in Suriname. Expert Urtha/C states that not every ethnic group is equally stable in Suriname; she considers the Hindustani group to be more stable than the Creole group. According to Urtha/C, the Creole group is less stable due the history of slavery; the Creole was taught to be ashamed of his culture.

4.1.2 Ethnic boundaries in Suriname

The largest ethnic group in Suriname is formed by the Hindustanis, followed by Creoles, Maroons, Javanese, Chinese and Europeans (St-Hilaire, 2001). According to the students, these ethnic groups can be distinguished on the basis of language, skin color, hair, eyes, culture, clothes, jewelry, religious symbols, place of residency, work, manners and customs, descent, food and family name. Appearance (eight times), language (five times) and

body ornamentation (e.g. clothing, jewelry) (four times) were mentioned most frequently. Many students, however, state that a lot of these characteristics nowadays cannot be used anymore to determine one's ethnicity. Student Ifna/C states:

> "Dat wat ze klaarmaken bijvoorbeeld maar tegenwoordig kan je elke Surinaamse keuken iets Javaans eten of iets Creools eten dus de kenmerken die zijn verschillend, maar het kan ook zijn dat iemand een Javaan is, maar je ziet het niet. Hij is misschien dan gemixt met een Creool ofzo… dan zou je dan herkennen aan de familienaam, maar het tegenwoordig gebeurt het ook dat je Creolen hebt met een Hindoestaanse achternaam of een Creool met een Chinese achternaam dus al dat soort dingen."
>
> Translation [MM]: "That what they are preparing for instance, but nowadays you can eat something Javanese or something Creole in every kitchen so the characteristics differ, but it can also be that someone is a Javanese, but you cannot see it. He might be mixed then with a Creole or something… then you would recognize it through the family name, but nowadays it also happens that you have a Creole with a Hindustani last name or a Creole with a Chinese last name so that kind of stuff."

Student Ifna/C mentions three characteristics that are nowadays hard to ascribe to ethnicity: food, appearance and family name. Many students also state that it is getting harder to determine one's ethnicity on the basis of one's clothes. This is first of all because Surinamese are wearing clothes from other cultures. For instance, student Wikash/H states that Javanese are also wearing a sari, which is an Indian piece of clothing. Second of all, most Surinamese are wearing western clothes on the streets. Religion was hardly mentioned as a distinguishing characteristic. Student Wikash/H explains why this is the case.

> "Eh op basis van religie ga je ze niet kunnen onderscheiden… eh je hebt ook een eh bij alle bevolkingsgroepen heb je nu bijvoorbeeld mensen die het Christendom belijden… en je hebt ook Creolen die het Hindoeïsme belijden."
>
> Translation [MM]: "Eh based on religion you cannot distinguish them… eh you also have a eh with all population groups you now for example have people who are practicing Christianity… and you also have Creoles who are practicing Hinduism."

According to student Wikash/H, ethnicity and religion do not always coincide; therefore it was hardly mentioned as a distinguishing characteristic. This might show the effect of urban life in a way; ethnic contact results into blurring boundaries. Either way, religious differences are not relevant in ethnic group boundaries.

4.1.3 Ethnic boundaries between Creoles and Hindustanis

According to the experts and students, the Creoles and Hindustanis can be distinguished on the basis of mentality, language, appearance, traditional clothes, religion, food, family, upbringing, historical background, way of dealing with deaths and marriage. Mentality (eight times), behavior (five times), language (eight times), appearance (five times) and traditional clothing (five times) were mentioned most frequently. For the first element, mentality, participants stated that Hindustanis are 'more economical' and 'more progressive', while the Creoles are 'more hedonistic'. Expert Sharmila/H sketches an image of the economical and progressive mentality of the Hindustanis.

"We zijn vooruitstrevend, we denken we zijn ecolomie eh economischer denk ik hè? Een Hindoestaan zorgt wel ervoor dat ze dat die dus in z'n leven een perceel heeft, een huis opzet weet je? Eh vaak houden ze zich ook vaak aan één partner weet je? Dus dat soort dingen heb je wel bij de Hindoestanen. Dat daar onderscheid een en eh een Hindoestaan die probeert echt vooruit te komen in het leven dus naast werk, naast z'n baan heb je dat ze vaak bijvoorbeeld toch op hun grond iets planten om wat meer te verdienen of eh bijvoorbeeld eh gaan taxi rijden of een bijbaantje doen… of ik heb ook een klein dingetje dus al kom ik van m'n huis ik heb gewerkt nou dan probeer je toch iets in je tuin te doen zodat je dus eh je eigen groenten verbouwt, teelt, weet je? Dus dat soort dingen heb je echt bij de Hindoestanen… toch? Ze maken, ze hebben fun, ze hebben plezier, maar ze er is een grens toch? De jongeren nou die van ons die proberen dat nou wel over te nemen van andere mensen, maar de andere groepen die hebben als ze dus gewerkt hebben dan gaan ze echt waar wat ze verdiend hebben eh in een maand proberen ze misschien binnen twee, drie dagen, een week uit te geven. De Hindoestaan legt altijd iets apart eh… een appeltje voor de dorst. Dus dat soort kenmerken."

Translation [MM]: "We are progressive, we think we are ecolomy eh more economical I think right? A Hindustani makes sure that they that that so has a parcel in his live, sets up a house you know? Eh often they are also sticking to one partner you know? So that sort of things you have with the Hindustanis. That that distinguishes a and eh a Hindustani is really trying to progress in live so besides work, next to his job you see that they often for example plant something on their ground to earn a bit extra or eh for example eh drive a cab or get an additional job... or I also have a small thing so even though I am coming from my home, I have worked, well then you still try to do something in your garden in order to eh cultivate, grow your own vegetables, you know? So that sort of things you really have with the Hindustanis… right? They make, they are having fun, they are having fun, but there is a limit right? The youngsters well of us are trying to well take it over from other people, but the other groups, they have, so when they have worked, then they are really where what they have earned in a month eh trying to spend it maybe within two, three days, a week. The Hindustani always sets something aside… eh save money for a rainy day. So that kind of characteristics."

According to expert Sharmila/H, Hindustanis are 'more economical' and 'more progressive', while other groups quickly spend the money they earned. Boissevain and Grotenbreg (1986) conducted a research on the relation between ethnic background and style of entrepreneurship of Surinamese in the Netherlands. They examined the entrepreneurial resources among the Chinese, the Hindustanis and the Creoles in Amsterdam. According to Boissevain and Grotenbreg (1986), some differences in resources (experience with and knowledge of self-employment) can be attributed to the socio-economic background of the ethnic groups in Suriname. Other differences (family structure and work ethic) can be explained by a combination of culture and structure. For instance, Boissevain and Grotenbreg (1986) state that soberness, hard work, saving, future orientation and patriarchal leadership are associated with Chinese and Hindustanis. This is due to the fact that for centuries these ethnic groups were small-scale peasants and traders; such values were essential for survival (Boissevain & Grotenbreg, 1986). Boissevain and Grotenbreg (1986) also make an analysis for the Creoles. The generous, ebullient, more hedonistic orientation of many working-class Creoles is rooted in their past experience, first as slaves and then as members of a working class, always unsure of the future and, as a consequence, living off the possibilities and pleasures that the present offered them (Buschkens as cited in Boissevain & Grotenbreg, 1986). Student Wikash/H is uncertain whether the results of this research can be generalized to the current generation.

"Dat geldt, of dat gold voor de vorige generatie wel, maar om dat nou volledig voor deze generatie kan ik niet zeggen, want deze generatie is nogal geldverspillend… dus er moet opnieuw een onderzoek gestart worden of dat

nog zo is. En er zijn een heleboel jonge mensen die failliet raken… failliet raken. Die bedrijven erven van hun ouders, maar die bedrijven niet draaiend kunnen houden, omdat ze gewoonweg geldverspillend zijn… is moeilijk te verklaren. Is misschien beïnvloeding van de culturen onderling. Eh of een eh door die een eh door die grote aanbod van luxe producten waar dus ze allemaal van luxe producten willen….want ieder wil bijvoorbeeld in de duurste auto rondrijden en dat is nogal geld verspillen als jij nu niet dat gewenste inkomen hebt… dus eh en dat gebeurt heel veel… en ook nog een eh elke dag of tenminste een aantal keren per week uit eten… dat was vroeger niet zo. Vroeger werd er thuis gekookt."

Translation [MM]: "That can be applied, or that could be applied to the former generation, but to say it fully for this generation, I cannot tell, because this generation is quite wasting its money… so again a research should be started whether this is still the case. And there are many young people who are going bankrupt… going bankrupt. Who are inheriting companies from their parents, but cannot keep the companies running, because they are simply wasting money… is hard to explain. Is maybe influence of the cultures mutually. Eh or a eh through the a eh through the large supply of luxury products so where they all want luxury products… because everyone, for example, wants to drive in the most expensive car and that is quite a waste of money if you do not have the necessary income… so eh and that happens a lot… and also another a eh every day or at least a couple times a week going out for dinner… that was not the case in the past. In the past one was cooking at home.

Student Wikash/H asserts that the current generation is wasting its money. The consequences are that they cannot keep the companies running that they inherited from their parents. Student Wikash/H thinks that this is either caused by the mutual influence of cultures or by the large supply of luxury products. If the former is the case, this may be another illustration of the effect of urban life, since this constitutes another category that is being blurred. If the latter is the case, this may be an illustration of the effect of globalization. The progress of industrialization and the development of globalization led to flourishment of the luxury goods industry in 1970s. Since then, the industry is developping with a rapid growth (Business Teacher, n.d.). For the second distinguishing element, behavior, participants stated that Hindustanis are 'more modest' and 'more focused on the group', while the Creoles are 'more ebullient' and 'more open'. Expert John/C states that the spontaneity of the Creoles derives from the African culture.

"Eh ja ik zou zeggen het is niet dat de Afrikaanse dingen eh zo oud, bijvoorbeeld het ritme. In de Afrikaanse cultuur en meer muziek is erg ritmisch. Eh de Indiase cultuur is erg melodisch. Eh ook wel bij al die andere. Ik vind in die andere culturen zie je veel melodische, de melodiek hè. Eh terwijl in die Afrikaanse heb je meer het ritme en dat uit zich in eh een zekere spontaniteit eh die uitbundiger is dus daarmee vel ik geen waardeoordeel, maar uitbundiger. De Creool is, vind ik persoonlijk, is meer uitnodigend naar anderen toe om ze bij te halen. Niet dat de andere negatief naar de andere zijn. Bijvoorbeeld de Chinees vind het leuker om bij elkaar te zijn en hij heeft jaarlijks feesten, waarbij hij anderen uitnodigt, maar hij voelt zich meer op z'n gemak als hij ons bij ons is… ja meer ons bij ons. De Hindoestaan is ietsje opener dan de Chinees naar anderen toe… ja dus elementen. Ik zou zeggen ik zou zeggen de spontaniteit bij de Creolen. Ze zijn ietsjes spontaner en ritmischer, uitbundiger, lawaaieriger. Het mag er wel zijn."

Translation [MM]: "Eh yes I would say it is not that the African things eh that old, for example the rhythm. In the African culture and more music is very rythmic. Eh the Indian culture is very melodious. Eh also with all the other. I think in the other cultures you see more melodious, the melody right. Eh while in the African you have more the rhythm and that expresses itself in eh a certain spontaneity eh that is more exuberant so with that I do not pass a judgement, but more exuberant. The Creole is, I think personally, is more inviting towards others to bring them in. Not that the others are negative towards the others. For example, the Chinese likes it better to be with each other

and he has his yearly feasts, in which he invites others, but he feels more comfortable when he is with his own group…. yes more with his own group. The Hindustani is a little bit more open towards others than the Chinese… yes so elements. I would say I would say the spontaneity with the Creoles. They are a bit more spontaneous and more rythmic, more exuberant, more loud. It can take place."

According to John/C, Creoles are 'more ebullient' and 'more open' because of elements of the African culture. The third element, language, has been extensively discussed in the former sections. Multiplicity of languages and practices is a characteristic of the society. The fourth element, appearance, concerns skin color, posture and hairstyle. According to student Suraja/H, Hindustanis have lank hair, while Creoles have more wooly hair. The fifth element concerns traditional clothing. Student Wikash/H assert the following:

"Eh klederdracht… dus eh als het om traditionele kleding… die Creool gaat meer eerder kiezen voor koto, terwijl die Hindoestaan eerder kiest voor een sari… bij die Creool is het wel zo dat die mannen dan een een pangi stof zo dragen om hun schouder heen… maar bij de Hindoestaan gaat de man de traditionele kleding is dan een een dhoti een pak ja? Of een kurta, maar ik ga dat niet echt dragen… ik draag gewoon westerse kleding."

Translation [MM]: "Eh clothing… so eh when it comes to traditional clothes… the Creole would rather choose a koto, while the Hindustani rather chooses a sari… with the Creole it is the case that the men then are wearing an a pangi fabric like this around their shoulders… but with the Hindustani the men the traditional clothes is then a dhoti a suit right? Or a kurta, but I am really not going to wear that… I just wear western clothes."

According to student Wikash/H, the traditional clothes of the Creoles are the koto and the pangi, while the traditional clothes of the Hindustanis are the sari, the dhoti and the kurta. Most of the participants stated that they only wear these clothes on special occasions. Student Priya/H, for instance, wears Indian clothes at Hindu holidays, at parties, at religious ceremonies at people's house, at the temple, at weddings and at Indian shows. Student Alida/C wears a pangi when she is at home. She states that a pangi belongs more to the Maroons, while the bigi koto would rather be worn by urban Creoles. She, however, asserts that this division is a bit diluted; nowadays Maroons are also wearing a bigi koto at holidays.

In sum, mentality, behavior, language, appearance and clothes are mentioned most frequently as differing elements between Creoles and Hindustanis. For mentality, Hindustanis are considered to be 'more progressive' and 'more economical' than Creoles. For behavior, Hindustanis are considered to be 'more modest' and 'more focused on the group', while the Creoles are 'more ebullient' and 'more open'. For language, Creoles and Hindustanis differ in their language repertoire. For appearance, Creoles and Hindustanis have a different skin color, posture and hairstyle. Finally, for clothes, some Creoles are wearing a koto and a pangi, while some Hindustanis are wearing a dhoti and a kurta. Within the Creole group a distinction has to be made between Bush Creoles who are associated with the pangi and urban Creoles who are associated with the bigi koto. In terms of blurred and bright boundaries, there are indications that the bright boundaries of mentality and clothes are altering into blurred boundaries. Student Wikash/H indicated that he is not sure whether the current generation of Hindustanis is very economical; according to him they are wasting their money. He suggests that the mutual influence of cultures is a possible cause. Student Alida/C observed that the division between the traditional clothes of the Maroons (pangi) and the urban Creoles (bigi koto) is diluting. These two instances may illustrate the effect of urban life in which the mutual influence of cultures causes the boundaries between cultures to be blurred.

4.2 Surinamese identity

4.2.1 Surinamese identity

According to Gowricharn (2006), nationalism in Surinamese remains weak, despite the attempts of the Creoles to make other ethnic groups accept their nationalistic ideology. There were three restrictions on Surinamese nationalism. First, intermingling nationalism with Creole chauvinism kept other ethnic groups at a distance (Meel as cited in Gowricharn, 2006). Second, Creoles had a nationalistic drive for complete assimilation. Third, efforts to propagate a common anti-colonial victimhood by stating that the descendants of the slaves and indentured laborers were to the same extent victims of Dutch colonialism were unsuccessful (Gowricharn, 2006; Meel as cited in Gowricharn, 2006). Meel (1998) tries to explain the shallow sense of a shared identity by focusing on the cultural dimensions of integration, i.e. national myths, invented traditions and capital monuments. None of these seem to contribute to a sense of a shared identity. This is confirmed in the study. Participants question the existence of a Surinamese identity. Expert John/C asserts:

> "Dat betwijfel ik. Ik denk dat we te veel culturen zijn en te veel en eh eh we zijn te kort bij elkaar in Suriname om te praten van een echt Surinaamse identiteit. Ik denk dat wanneer we, eh de Indiaan is er bijna altijd geweest. Daarna kwam de kwamen de blanken en de negers in 16, eerder waren ze hier hoor, de blanken eerder. De Fransen eerst 1640 ofzo. Daarna kwamen de Engelsen met de slaven in 1650 dus als je nagaat, die binding aan dit grondgebied vind je eerder bij die groepen zoals Indianen en Creolen en nu pas begint het zich te ontwikkelen bij de groepen die later zijn gekomen, zoals Hindoestanen, Javanen en Chinezen. Dat is historisch verklaarbaar."
> Translation [MM]: "I doubt it. I think that we are to many cultures and to many and eh eh we are together in Suriname too short to talk about a real Surinamese identity. I think that when we, eh the Indian has almost always been there. Then the whites came and the negroes in sixteen, they were here earlier, the whites earlier. The French first in 1640 I think. Then the English came with the slaves in 1650 so when you consider, the bonding with this territory you rather find with the groups like the Indians and the Creoles and only now it starts to develop with the groups that have come here later, like the Hindustanis, Javanese and Chinese. That is historically explicable."

Expert John/C states that national identification differs among the different ethnic groups. He relates the time of arrival with the degree of identification with the country. Since the Indians and the Creoles have been in Suriname for a long time, they have developed a strong bonding with the territory. Expert John/C asserts that this is only now starting to develop with the Hindustanis, the Javanese and the Chinese. A case to illustrate this point is presented by expert John/C.

> "Eh ja. Als je mij vraagt dan zou ik zeggen het identificeren met het land vind ik het sterkst bij Indianen en Creolen en de anderen beginnen nu te groeien. Daarmee niets negatiefs gezegd. Ik koppel het aan dat ze later zijn gekomen in Suriname om zich met dit land te identificeren. Waarbij vroeger was een sterke identificatie tussen Hindoestanen en India, Javanen en Indonesië en dan zie je nu dat nu het begint bij hun te ontwaken het Surinamer zijn. U gaat merken als er een Hindoestaan in Nederland is dan gaat hij zeggen ik ben Surinamer van Hindoestaanse afkomst. De Creool gaat zeggen ik ben Surinamer… jawel het moet altijd komen Hindoestaanse afkomst. Daarmee zeg ik die identificatie met het land is nog niet honderd procent. De Creool gaat het hier niet zeggen Afrikaanse afkomst, nee hij is Surinamer. Dat is het punt uit. Eh dus en naar aan de hand daarvan zie je hoe processen gaande zijn."

Translation [MM]: "Eh yes. If you ask me, I would say identification with the country is strongest with the Indians and the Creoles and it starts to grow now with the others. With that nothing negative. I connect it to their later arrival in Suriname to identify with this country. In the past, there was a strong identification between Hindustanis and India, Javanese and Indonesia and then you now see that it now starts to come with them being a Surinamese. You are going to notice when a Hindustani is in the Netherlands, he is going to say I am a Surinamese from Hindustani descent. The Creole is going to say I am a Surinamese… yes it is always from Hindustani descent. With that I am saying the identification with the country is not hundred percent. The Creole is not going to say here African descent, no he is a Surinamese. That is it, that is final. Eh so and based on that you see how the processes are under way."

According to expert John/C, a Hindustani in the Netherlands will refer to himself as a Surinamese from Hindustani descent. A Creole, however, will never refer to himself a Surinamese from African descent; he is a Surinamese. This was confirmed by student Bert/C. This illustration supports the statement of John/C that the identification with the country is stronger with the Creoles. Although there is not yet a Surinamese identity, there are elements from different cultures that are now part of the national culture. According to De Bies (2002), nowadays every Surinamese participates in the Phagwa feast; a feast that originates from the Hindu religion. De Bies (2002) furthermore states that Christmas is celebrated by many inhabitants. Finally, she states that pom, warungs and roti-shops (see Figure 1) are elements of the national culture. Several participants confirmed that food is an element shared by every Surinamese.

Figure 1. Roti-shop in Paramaribo.

Elements that were categorized under national myths, invented traditions and capital monuments by Meel (1998) were also mentioned by participants. For instance, several participants cited the slogan of 'unity in diversity' to describe the multicultural society of Suriname. This slogan, which has been adopted both by the political parties the Verenigde Hindostaanse Partij (VHP, United Hindostani Party, mostly represting Hindustanis and nowadays called the Progressive Reformation Party) and the Nationale Partij Suriname (NPS, National Party Suriname, mostly representing Creoles), is described as a 'national myth' by Meel (1998). According to Meel (1998), this

slogan has a predominantly stabilizing and preserving function. In political speeches it serves as a mean to appease and inspire confidence. It confirms persistent ideas and a shallow sense of a shared identity rather than challenging people to create, innovate or develop (Meel, 1998). Another element that was mentioned as a part of the Surinamese identity was the national flag. Expert Irma/C states that most schools start the day with a flag parade and singing the national anthem. The national flag has been described as an 'invented tradition' by Meel (1998), expressing the ideal of identity and sovereignty of the state. The national flag was adjusted in 1975 when the five separate stars (representing the most prominent ethnic groups) were replaced by one star (Dew as cited in Meel, 1998). It is used by the state to enforce loyalty and respect from its citizens. The last category that Meel (1998) describes is the 'capital monuments'. According to Meel (1998), the monuments, however, mainly consist of representations of ethnicity and frustrated integration, hindering the development of a common Surinamese identity. For instance, the statues of De Miranda, Pengel, Weidmann and Essed illustrate the large amount of Creole politicians and Creole political parties. The statue of Baba and Mai, the old immigration couple of Hindustani descent, can only be interpreted ethnically, since it recalls Hindustani immigration. These are only some examples of the statues that, according to Meel (1998), contribute to the persistence of ideas that hinder nation building.

4.2.2 Surinamese identity and language

According to De Bies (2002), the national culture is mainly a linguistic one; Surinamese-Dutch represents a national culture exceeding ethnic boundaries. St-Hilaire (2001) goes even further by stating that the fact that "Surinamese-Dutch gains in currency and status among and within different groups, generally to the detriment of the ethnic languages" (St-Hilaire, 2001, p. 999) signals a movement towards the cultural integration of Suriname as a single national entity. Expert Urtha/C states that linguistic integration does not necessarily imply cultural integration since a language is not the only facet of a culture. Expert Santa/H confirms this statement.

> "Ik denk dat dat nog veel te vroeg is om het zo te stellen… zoals ik u het net heb aangegeven, doen wij nog steeds alle moeite om mee te doen met de hoogtijdagen wat, wat eigenlijk onze cultuur aangaat. We doen mee aan alle culturele activiteiten en ze worden gestimuleerd toch? Er zijn speciale groepen, iedere cultuur heeft z'n eigen groep. Daarnaast komen we wel als hele grote groepen Surinamers bij elkaar op zulke feesten of op zulke hoogtijdagen... Ook gekleed en soms ook gekleed in andere culturele drachten, snapt u?... Dus mijn vraag is dan, of mijn opmerking naar deze bewering toe is, zou die mogelijkheid er zijn, want wij staan er eigenlijk, als je goed nagaat, niet daarvoor open, toch? Want we gaan niet op voor één [onverstaanbaar]. Ieder komt met z'n ding en vormt samen het geheel, maar je ziet die verschillen. Je ziet die verschillende aspecten. Dus ik denk niet dat dit, deze bewering, realistisch kan zijn. In elk geval niet in de eerste 50 jaar, want wij dragen het over naar al onze kinderen."
>
> Translation [MM]: "I think that that it too early to say it like that… like I told you before, we are still trying with much effort to participate in the heydays concerning our culture. We are participating in all cultural activities and they are being stimulated right? There are special groups, every culture has its own group. Besides that we are coming together as large groups of Surinamese at such parties or at such heydays... Also dressed and sometimes dressed in other cultural clothes, you see?... So my question is then, or my remark to this assertion, would that be possible, because actually we are not, when you think about it, not open to it right? Because we are not doing for one [unintilligble]. Everyone is coming with his thing and is forming a unity together, but you see those differences.

You see the different aspects. So I do not think that this, this assertion, can be realistic. Anyway not the first fifty years, because we are transferring it to all our children."

According to Santa/H, the statement of St-Hilaire (2001) is not realistic, because Hindustanis do not embrace the idea of cultural integration, at least not in the current generation. Since, according to De Bies (2002), Surinamese-Dutch represents a national culture exceeding ethnic boundaries, it was expected that the students would choose the Dutch language as the language that belongs to the Surinamese identity. However, the answers of the students varied with four students answering Dutch, five students Sranan and one student Dutch and Sranan. Student Suraja/H explains why she chose Sranan.

"Dat is een moeilijke vraag. Surinaamse identiteit. Ik denk dat dat gewoon Sranan gaat moeten zijn hoor, want als ik zeg Nederlands is Nederlands overgenomen van Nederland… het Sarnami kan ook niet, het Engels kan ook niet. Enigste wat wij hier praten dan is het Sranan… Sarnami is een klein een Sarnami spreekt niet het overgrote deel… als ik zou moeten kiezen tussen Nederlands en Sranan en als ik tussen die twee weer moet kiezen tussen dan Sranan… want Nederlands is niet van onszelf… we spreken het wel, omdat het ons zo is aangeleerd, omdat het de moedertaal is, maar het Sranan is bij het Surinaamse identiteit."

Translation [MM]: "Eh that is a hard question. Surinamese identity. I think that that should just be Sranan, because when I say Dutch, Dutch is taken over from the Netherlands… Sarnami will not do, English will also not do. Only thing that we talk here is then Sranan… Sarnami is a little a Sarnami is not spoken by the vast majority… if I have to choose between Dutch and Sranan and when I have to choose between those two then between then Sranan… because Dutch is not ours… we speak it, because it was taught to us, because it is the mother tongue, but Sranan is with the Surinamese identity."

Student Suraja/H asserts that Sranan belongs to the Surinamese identity, because Dutch is not 'theirs', but is taken over from the Netherlands. Other students explained that Sranan is spoken by every Surinamese, despite their background or their education. Student Miguel/C, however, thinks that the Dutch language belongs to the Surinamese identity.

"Eh ik persoonlijk. Ik ben het al ik ben het gewend. Ik praat m'n hele leven Nederlands, weet je ik. Het hoort gewoon erbij. We zijn Surinamers, maar we praten Nederlands."

Translation [MM]: " Eh me personally. I am already I am used to it. I have been talking Dutch my whole life, you know I. It just belongs there. We are Surinamese, but we are talking Dutch."

Student Miguel/C explains that he is used to speaking Dutch. Student Wiraya/H provides a similar argumentation. Several students indicated that they thought it was hard to choose between both languages.

4.3 Core values

4.3.1 Core values of the Creole culture

The theory of the core values of culture asserts that not all elements in a culture are of equal importance for the

identification of individuals as group members. Some aspects of a culture are of fundamental importance; these are the *core values* of a culture (Smolicz, 1992). The core values of the Creole culture will first be discussed.

The definition of a Creole varies according to the different countries in the Caribbean. According to Eriksen (1999), originally a *Criollo* meant a European born in the New World. Today, a somewhat similar definition is used on the island La Réunion where everybody born on the island, regardless of skin color, is considered a Creole. In Trinidad, the term Creole is sometimes used for all Trinidadians except those of Asian origin. In French Guyana a Creole is a person who adopted a European way of life. In Suriname, a Creole is considered a person of African origin (Eriksen, 1999). This was confirmed by the participants. When student Bert/C is asked what makes him Creole he states:

> "Wat maakt jou Creools? Eh ja het heeft een heel diepe geschiedenis. Het is allemaal begonnen bij de slavernij hè natuurlijk… zij die die negerras die uit Afrika naar Suriname is vervoerd. Daar zelf, heb ik me laten vertellen, dat ze van verschillende stammen waren. En deze Boslandcreolen is een deel van die ene stam die op de eerste plaats geen uitbuiting, geen marteling en geen vernedering accepteert. Dus daar is het allemaal om gaan gebeuren dat tijdens de slavernij deze groep eh die dat soort van onmenselijke handelingen niet meer hun weg hebben gezocht naar het het diepe binnenland van Suriname. En door die bewegingen zijn ze dus aan de naam van de Marron gekomen. Dus de Marron Marron betekent niets anders dan de weggelopen slaaf... het is in feite jouw geschiedenis. Dat ander deel wat op de plantages zijn gebleven met name de plantages die voornamelijk hier in Paramaribo zich bevonden. Die deel beschouwt men tot de Stadscreolen."
>
> Translation [MM]: "What makes you Creole? Eh yes it has a very deep history. It all started with slavery right ofcourse… those that that negro race that was transported from Africa to Suriname. That self, I was told that they came from different tribes. And those Bush Creoles is a part of that one tribe that first of all did not accept exploitation, torture and humiliation. So that is why it happened that during slavery this group eh that those sort of inhuman actions did not find its way into the deep interior of Suriname. And through that movement they received the name Maroon. So the Maroon Maroon means nothing more than a runaway slave… it is in fact your history. That other part that remained on the plantations, mainly the plantations that are chiefly here in Paramaribo. That part one considers to be urban Creoles."

In this excerpt, student Bert/C presents a historical explanation for why he is called a Creole. He starts with the transportation of slaves from Africa. He then explains how the division between Bush Creoles and urban Creoles came into existence. The historical background seems to constitute a core value of the Creole population in Suriname. Other core values could not be determined, since there is considerable variation in the Creole population in Suriname. Expert John/C illustrates this variation.

> "Ja. Het is een beetje moeilijk. De Creool is een diverse, een groep die uit verschillende delen bestaat. Creool wil zeggen alles wat Afrikaans bloed is heeft. Nu zijn er Creolen die zich meer identificeren met de Nederlandse cultuur… en eh ze beletten hun kinderen zelf… om Sranan te praten, want dat is minderwaardig. Eh dus je kan niet zeggen dit is het voor de Creolen… dat kan niet. Eh de Volkscreolen hebben andere dingen waarmee ze zich identificeren dan de hoger opgeleiden die meer naar Europa, het Nederlandse, op het Nederlands zijn geënt. Dus eh daar zie je al heel wat verschillen."
>
> Translation [MM]: "Yes. It is a bit difficult. The Creole is a diverse, a group that consists of different parts. Creole means everything that has African blood. Now there are Creoles who identify more with the Dutch culture… and eh they prevent their children self… to talk Sranan, because that is inferior. Eh so you cannot say this is it for the

Creoles… that is not possible. Eh the folk Creoles have other things with which they identify than the higher educated who are more focused on Europe, the Dutch, on the Dutch. So eh that is where you see quite some differences."

Expert John/C makes a differentiation between the lower educated and the higher educated Creoles; several higher educated Creoles seem to be more focused on Europe and the Netherlands in their identification. Van Renselaar (1963) explains how this division came into existence. The colonial cultural policy of 1877 was intended to transform the Creole into a cultural Dutchman. The instrument of this cultural policy was education. Negro English, the language of the Creoles, was considered to be a barrier for the development of the Surinamese youth. It was therefore forbidden to speak Negro English at school and parents were encouraged to maintain this policy at home. Besides Negro English, other non-Dutch cultural expressions like Surinamese stories, Surinamese songs and Surinamese games were also forbidden at school. Even education in geography and history was based on Dutch texts (Van Renselaar, 1963). According to Van Renselaar (1963), the consequence of this cultural policy was not replacement of the Creole culture, nor cultural mixing, but cultural symbiosis, i.e. the continued existence of the Creole culture and the Dutch culture next to each other carried out by the same population group. Depending on the situation, Creoles spoke Dutch or Negro English or acted according to Creole or Dutch behavioral patterns. The consequence of the colonial cultural policy was that a large part of the Creole lower class had the opportunity to choose between the Creole and European culture according to the situation (Van Renselaar, 1963). Van Renselaar (1963) states that Creoles were not totally free to choose between both cultural patterns. When a Creole was darker skinned and had a lower social position in society he would not quickly, for example, have a western marriage. When a Creole was lighter skinned and had a higher social position in society he would not participate in a non-Christian ceremony in public (Van Renselaar, 1963). According to Bolland (2006), it is, however, passive to state that their choice was limited to being either 'retainers' or 'assimilators', because it excludes them from contributing to their nation's culture. Nevertheless, the large social differentiation and the differences in behavioral patterns connected to it, caused the Creole group to present itself as a less firm unity than the Hindustanis (Van Renselaar, 1963). Student Bert/C confirms the diversity within the Creole group.

"Kijk bepaalde bevolkingsgroepen hebben een grotere eenheid dan andere groep bevolkingsgroepen. Kijk bij de Creool, net wat ik je al eerder had verteld. Als je als je uit de buitenwereld komt en je komt je in Suriname vestigen. Misschien de eerste vier vijf maanden als je Creolen ziet dan denk je dat eh dat het één dat het dezelfde Creolen zijn, maar in wezen is dat niet zo. Er is nog er is nog een heel grote scheiding tussen de verschillende Creolen. Die Aukaners ziet zich als een ziet zichzelf als een ander Creool. Die Boslandcreolen. Je hebt bij de Boslandcreolen heb je alleen al heb je twaalf verschillende stammen. Die zien zichzelf al al al heel anders. Die zegt van nee ik ben niet zo een Creool, ik ben zo een Creool. Dan heb je weer de Stadscreolen. Die is weer onderverdeeld in de Paraners, de Coronianen en dan weer andere delen van Paramaribo. Als bijvoorbeeld, ik noem maar een stom voorbeeld, een een een een presidentkandidaat van Para komt dan krijg je dat de meeste Paraners voor hem gaan."
Translation [MM]: "Look certain population groups have a larger unity than other population groups. Look with the Creole, just like I told you before. When you are from the outer world and you are establishing yourself in Suriname. Maybe the first four five months when you see Creoles you think that eh that it is one that it are the same Creoles, but that is essentially not the case. There is there is a very large division between the different Creoles. Those Aucane look at themselves as an look at themselves like a different Creole. Those Bush Creoles. You

have with the Bush Creoles you already have you have twelve different tribes. They perceive themselves as as very different. He or she is saying no I am not that kind of Creole, I am that kind of Creole. Then you have the urban Creoles. They are divided in Paranees, Corianees and then other parts of Paramaribo. For example, I am just taking a stupid example, a a a a president candidate coming from Para then most Paranees will go for him."

Student Bert/C states that both Bush Creoles (i.e. the Maroons) and urban Creoles are diverse ethnic groups. Within the groups he refers to identification with various tribes (Bush Creoles) and districts (urban Creoles). It was not taken into account in this study that informants would refer to Maroons as Creoles. This will be elaborated on in the discussion. Student Bert/C referred to geographical identification within the Creole group. According to Teenstra (as cited in Pierce, 1998), in times of slavery Creoles were extraordinarily attached to the place of their birth, the graves of their elders and their close relations. Geography helped to shape regional loyalties (Oostindie & Van Stipriaan, 1995). Oostindie and Van Stipriaan (1995) state that:

> Even today, one finds a sense of oneness among people from the same district in Suriname, i.e. from along the same river or seashore. People from the same river share a common history and culture dating back to slavery, and this common identity created bonds that transcend the solidarity of all Afro-Surinamese, not to mention national identification. (p. 88)

This common identity created by a geographical location makes the Creole culture even more diverse. Student Alida/C considers herself a Bush Creole. At home she is wearing the traditional clothes (pangi) of the Bush Creoles. When she is asked when she really feels Creole she states:

"Eh bijvoorbeeld er wordt een dans en die dans wordt genoemd Awassa. Die wordt precies zo gedanst met die [onverstaanbaar] enzo en je moet echt naar beneden kunnen zakken en dergelijke… die wordt zo gedanst met een paar dingens hier aan je voeten… die worden kawaais genoemd en die moet je dat heet kawaais met een pangi… en een kleine [onverstaanbaar] wordt ook hier gebonden… dan moet je gewoon dansen dus aan die dans zou ik me echt als een Creool voelen. De manier van dansen… soms in de kerk gebruik ik het hoor, maar op gospel liederen, maar niet gewoon wereldse liederen, dat die dingen doe ik niet mee."

Translation [MM]: "Eh for example there is a dance and that dance is called Awassa. That is danced in this way with the [unintelligible] and such and you really have to drop down and such… that is dance that way with a couple of things here on your feet… those are called kawaais and you have to that is called kawaais with a pangi… and a little [unintelligible] is also bounded here… then you just have to dance so through that dance I would really feel like a Creole. The way of dancing… sometimes I use it in the church you know, but with gospel songs, but not just universal songs, that those things I do not participate."

Student Alida/C states that the dance Awassa makes her feel like a Creole. In the interview, this informant refers to several other elements of the Creole culture she has adopted, but when it comes to religion, she is a Christian and she does not accept Winti. This refers to the situation of Van Renselaar (1963) in which Creoles had the opportunity to choose between the Creole and European culture according to the situation. Although student Alida/C could name some elements which made her feel Creole, student Randy/C, a Bush Creole born in Paramaribo, and student Ifna/C, an urban Creole, felt that there was not anything they did that made them Creole. This might reflect the differing loyalty to the Creole culture that expert Urtha/C mentioned. More research should be conducted to unravel the diversity of the Creole culture.

4.3.2 Core values of the Hindustani culture

In the research of Graafsma, Kerkhof, Gibson, Badloe and van de Beek (2006) on rates of suicides in Nickerie the collectivistic Hindu culture was believed to play a substantial role. Graafsma et al. (2006) state that:

> The collectivistic Hindu culture probably is beneficial to the group in times of poverty, but at the same time this culture may be detrimental for some individuals who cannot fulfill their expectations, and who have no alternatives to develop new orientations in life. When individual wishes conflict with family values the young may find themselves in a vulnerable position. Young adult men are supposed to follow their fathers in their farms, while girls are supposed to marry rather young. From marriage on they live in the family of their husband and have to obey the rules of their new family, especially the mother-in-law. (p. 80)

Family collectivism was frequently mentioned as a core value of the Hindustani culture. According to Perkash/H, family was already significant when the first Hindustanis arrived in Suriname.

> "Ja het gezin is een een belangrijke hè. Dus eh leven binnen de familie, binnen het gezin. Gezin maakt deel uit van een sterke family kun je zeggen en eh je weet Hindoestanen woonden vroeger in een soort joint family systeem toen ze hier kwamen. Ja dus die overgrootvader of grootvader van vaders zijde die was de baas en die zonen woonden daar en iedereen woonde daar… maar met ontwikkeling, onderwijs, enzovoorts wilde iedereen z'n eigen gezin hebben en dat is nog steeds zo, maar het contact met die vader of met die grootvader die die dat contact blijft bestaan… ja maar ja ja en kijk die als je trouwt in een familie dan trouw je niet alleen met de persoon. Je trouwt ook met een familie van de vrouw… tenminste zo gaat dat… je bent geen individu, maar je bent niet helemaal los als individu in de maatschappij. Je hoort erbij in de familie van de man voornamelijk, maar de familie van de vrouw die telt ook mee… die je moet ook je moet ervoor zorgen dat een soort harmonie bewaart."
>
> Translation [MM]: "Yes the family is a a a important right. So eh living within the family, within the household. Household is a part of a strong family so to speak and eh you know Hindustani used to live in a sort of joint family system when they arrived here. Yes so the great-grandfather or grandfather of fathers side, that was the boss and the sons were living there and everyone lived there… but with development, education, and so forth everyone wanted to start their own household and that is still the case, but the contact with the father or with the grandfather that that that contact remain intact… Yes but yes yes and look that when you marry within a family you do not just marry the person. You also marry the family of the woman… at least that is how it goes… you are not an individual, but you are not totally loose as an individual in the society. You are part of the family, of the man above all, but the family of the woman also counts… that you have to make sure that a kind of harmony is maintained."

Although family collectivism has decreased since the arrival of the Hindustanis in Suriname, it remains a core value of the Hindustani culture. Family collectivism acts as an identifying value that is symbolic of the group and its membership (Smolicz as cited in Conversi, 1990). As it was previously mentioned in the research of Graafsma et al. (2006), family collectivism is joined by a high degree of social control. The Hindustanis participants frequently stated that their upbringing is very strict. Expert Sharmila/H explains what this entails.

> "Wij hebben echt een strenge, strakke opvoeding gehad… bijvoorbeeld vooral de meisjes die mogen niet zomaar op straat weet je? En eh al ben je nog achttien jaar, twintig jaar, je moest en je woont nog in bij je gaat niet op je eigen ergens gaan wonen, je blijft bij je ouders. En als je uit huis gaat ben je verplicht dat te melden waar je gaat, hoe laat

je komt. Je mag niet zeg maar eh na negen, tien uur weet je op straat blijven. Dus dat soort dingen hebben we…
heel streng."

Translation [MM]: "We really had a strict, rigid upbringing… for example, especially the girls cannot just go on the
street you know? And eh even when you are eighteen years, twenty years, you have and you are living in you are
not going to live on your own, you are staying with your parents. And when you are leaving the house you are
obliged to announce where you are going, what time you are coming. You cannot say eh but eh after nine, ten
o'clock you know stay on the street. So that kind of things we have… very strict."

In this excerpt, characteristics of the strict upbringing of, especially Hindustani girls, are described. When
Hindustani girls are leaving the house they are obliged to announce where they are going and what time they are
coming home. They are not allowed to live on their own until they are married. This strict upbringing is often
compared to the upbringing of other ethnic groups, e.g. the Creole upbringing. Many participants emphasize the
fact that unlike the Hindustanis, the Creoles are allowed to live together while they are not married.

The second core value in the Hindustani culture is language; according to Conversi (1990), the most
universal core value in the contemporary world. Almost all students stated that their language made them
Hindustani. According to expert Prem/H, language is a core value for all the Hindustani Surinamese, irrespective
of religion. When the question was raised whether one could be a Hindustani without being proficient in
Sarnami, many participants hesitated. Expert Perkash/H stated that it could be the case, but that this person
would not be seen as 'complete'. The significance of language is heightened among those groups whose sacred
texts are written in their language (Conversi, 1990). This contributes to the fact that language is a core value of
the Hindustanis in Suriname since Sarnami is connected to Hindi; the language in which the religious texts of the
Hindu religion are written. In a discourse about the finding that less youngsters are speaking Sarnami, student
Shweta/H provides the following response:

"Ja steeds minder. Ja ze worden ook opgevoed ze worden ook met de Nederlandse taal opgevoed, dus vandaar dat
het zo is, maar ik vind kijk als je bijvoorbeeld Nederlands opgevoed bent en je kent niets over Sarnami wat ga je
dan over je geloof willen weten."

Translation [MM]: "Yes less and less. Yes they are also raised they are also raised with the Dutch language, so that
is why it is like that, but I think look when you for example are raised in Dutch and you do not know anything
about Sarnami what are you going to know about your religion."

Shweta/H emphasizes the strong connection between Sarnami and the Hindu religion. She wonders how
someone can learn about the Hindu religion, without knowing Sarnami.

The third core value in the Hindustani culture is religion. Almost all students stated that their religion
made them Hindustani. According to the research of Brinkerhoff and Jacob (1994), 74,5 percent of the
Hindustani students in 1994 were Hindus. The Hindu religion contains many elements that cause the Hindustani
culture to differ from other cultures in Suriname, for instance food. Most Surinamese Hindus are only vegetarian
at important moments in life, but according to expert Santa/H a true Hindu should always be vegetarian. Student
Wikash/H agrees with this statement and even considers Holi Phagwa a non-religious day, since many Hindus
are nowadays not vegetarian on this day. Furthermore, there are several religious symbols that represent the
Hindu religion. Student Shweta/H, for instance, states that a Hindustani can be recognized through the Om

symbol (Om is a made up of three Sanskrit letters (About Hinduism, n.d.)). In Figure 2 an example of an Om symbol is presented. The trident of Shiva is situated above the Om symbol.

Figure 2. Om symbol and trident of Shiva.

Another example of a religious symbol is the flags that are often placed in the garden of Hindustanis who are followers of the Sanathan Dharm. In Figure 3 an example is provided of these flags which are called *jhandie*. The different colors represent the different forms the God of the Hindus has taken. The flags are always placed in the corner on the right side of the house. That is considered to be a pure place which a Hindustani cannot enter with his or her shoes on. Other elements that were named by the participants were jewelry and rituals concerning birth, funerals and marriage.

Figure 3. Jhandi.

4.4 Language

Based on the results of the study on multilingualism in education in Suriname of Kroon and Yağmur (2010), expectations were formed on the results of language use as collected in my interviews. For instance, it was expected that Dutch was the most used language in Suriname, considering the fact that tables from 2004 demonstrate that 86.740 inhabitants are using Dutch as a home language against 56.739 inhabitants who are using Sranan as a home language (ABS as cited in Kroon & Yağmur, 2010). Participants, however, stated that everyone speaks Sranan, in contrast to Dutch which was considered a language that was not spoken by everyone. Sranan is used as a language of communication in the case that a person is not proficient in Dutch. The fact that Sranan is often learned outside the home can explain these contrasting results. The social status, the instrumental function and the affective function of Sranan will be discussed in section 4.4.1.1, 4.4.1.2 and 4.4.1.3. In addition, the results of the study of Kroon and Yağmur (2010) demonstrated that Dutch was intensively used in the home situation. This was confirmed in the results. Parents have a high level of instrumental motivation to raise their children in Dutch (Baker, 2006), i.e. because they fear that their children would otherwise fail in school. The social status, the instrumental function and the affective function of Dutch will be discussed in section 4.4.2.1, 4.4.2.2 and 4.4.2.3. Another outcome of the study of Kroon and Yağmur (2010) was that Sarnami is a very vital language in Suriname. It is intensively used at home with family members. The vitality of the language was confirmed in the results; all Hindustani participants were proficient in Sarnami. It is considered a part of the Hindustani culture. The social status, the instrumental function and the affective function of Sarnami will be discussed in section 4.4.3.1, 4.4.3.2 and 4.4.3.3. Results on the role of Hindi and Sanskrit in Suriname will be discussed in section 4.4.4. A description of the linguistic landscape will be provided in section 4.4.5. Issues on language and identity will be discussed in section 4.4.6. Finally, the persistence of Sranan will be addressed in section 4.4.7.

4.4.1 Sranan

4.4.1.1 Social status of Sranan

As it was previously stated, Dutch-only education became compulsory in 1863. This was part of a colonial language policy aimed at eradicating the Creole language. A child speaking Sranan would be severely punished at school and in homes for speaking 'black' (Voorhoeve & Lichtveld as cited in St-Hilaire, 1999; Essed-Fruin as cited in St-Hilaire, 1999; Ramsoedh as cited in St-Hilaire, 1999). Expert Steven/C describes the social status of Sranan in his youth (i.e. 1960s).

> "En die mensen die zich in die Sranan Tongo dus uiten werden voor vernegerd uitgescholden. Begrijp je? En eh dat maakte van ons dat kinderen als je ouderen in de buurt waren, toen ik nog klein was jong, jonger was een jongetje begrijp je, had je dat probleem van dat als je in het Surinaams of Sranan Tongo dus uitliep van dus dat je dus gewoon een tik kreeg of je werd voor vernegerd uitgescholden… Je moest je met je moest je in het Nederlands, je moet in het Nederlands converseren. Natuurlijk mijn moeder was niet van dat soort extreme type, maar het was het was gebruik in die periode van huis dat jongeren geen Sranan Tongo mochten spreken met elkaar, met hun ouders, vooral met ouderen."

Translation [MM]:"Those people who expressed themselves in Sranan Tongo were called names like being niggered. Do you understand? And eh that resulted in us when we were children, when elderly people were around, when I was young, younger, I was a boy, you understand, you had a problem that when you spoke in Surinamese or Sranan Tongo you would get slapped… You had to you had to in Dutch you had to converse in Dutch. Of course my mother was not so extreme, but it was tradition in that period at home that youngster were not allowed to speak Sranan Tongo with each other, with their parent, especially with elderly people."

This fragment demonstrates the effects of the colonial language policy. Youngsters were not allowed to speak Sranan with each other, with their parents and with elderly people. The informant states that children would be called names and even be physically punished for speaking Sranan. Sranan Tongo had a very low social status back then. Student Wikash/H, almost twenty-five years younger than expert Steven/C, also states that Sranan had a low status in his youth.

"Ik heb die Sranan eigenlijk tot de vijfde klas van de VWO school niet gesproken… omdat ik het als minderwaardige taal zag, maar in de praktijk bleek dat ik zonder Sranan ook nergens terecht ga zijn… ja ik weet het niet waarom. Dat was het denken van toen. "

Translation [MM]: "I did not speak Sranan until the fifth grade of VWO… because I saw it as an inferior language, but it turned out that, in practice, I could not go anywhere without Sranan… Yes I do not know why. It was how people thought back then."

What is evident from this fragment is that Sranan was also perceived as an inferior language in that time (i.e. 2003). The student indicates that he eventually learned the language because of instrumental motivation (Baker, 2006), i.e. because "he could not go anywhere without Sranan". According to both informants, appreciation of Sranan has increased since then. This coincides with the level of activity of promoting Sranan in several periods after the Second World War (St-Hilaire, 1999). Student Wikash/H indicates why he thinks the prestige of Sranan has increased.

"Ja nu is het sowieso veranderd. Nu zie ik het als een eh maar de naam ook hè misschien, omdat het Negerengels werd genoemd toen… want je had Engels en je had Negerengels en je zei van oké Engels is hoogwaardig, Negerengels is minderwaardig… Ja en misschien daarom, maar nu is het nu is de naam ook veranderd. Is het Sranan Tongo geworden en nu zie ik het als een Surinaamse taal die hier is ontstaan en ja daarom is het nu… belangrijk voor mij die taal. En laten we dat dan koesteren."

Translation [MM]: "Yes, now it has changed anyhow. Now I see it as a eh but the name also maybe, because it was called Negro English back then… because you had English and you had Negro English and you were like okay English is superior, Negro English is inferior… Yes and maybe that is why, but now it is, now the name has also changed, It has become Sranan Tongo and now I see it as a Surinamese language that originated here and yes that is why… the language is now important to me. And let us cherish that."

Student Wikash/H points out that because the name has changed from 'Negro English' to 'Sranan', he now considers it a Surinamese language. Although its prestige has increased, Sranan remains an indicator of low social status and lack of education (Meel as cited in St-Hilaire, 2001). Student Shweta/H makes this clear in the following fragment.

"Kijk sommige mensen bijvoorbeeld die niet echt geschoold zijn... Zij praten wel Sranan toch? Zodat mensen het begrijpen. Ze kunnen niet echt zo goed Nederlands praten, praten die mensen wel Sranan."

Translation [MM]: "Look some people that are not really educated… They will talk Sranan right? In order for people to understand. They cannot speak Dutch very well. Those people will talk Sranan."

The informant makes an association between the lack of education and linguistic repertoire, i.e. those who are not 'really educated' will 'talk Sranan'.

4.4.1.2 Sranan as a lingua franca

Holmes (2007) defines a lingua franca as: "a language serving as a regular means of communication between different linguistic groups in a multilingual speech community" (p. 81). The informants allocate this function to Sranan Tongo, stating that it leads to interethnic contact. The function is illustrated by student Randy/C.

"Een Creool met een Braziliaan bijvoorbeeld en ze gaan Sranan spreken, maar niet dat je echt een Hindoestaan gaat zien met een Braziliaan die het Sarnami gaat aanleren om het zo te zeggen of een Javaan die een Javaans gaat aanleren… Een Javaan met een Braziliaan en toch gaan ze het Sranan aanleren aan die Braziliaan dus zo verspreidt het."

Translation [MM]: "A Creole with a Brazilian for example and they are going to speak Sranan, but you will not see Hindustani person teaching a Brazilian Sarnami so to speak or a Javanese person teaching Javanese... A Javanese with a Brazilian and still they will be teaching Sranan to that Brazilian so in that way it spreads."

Sranan, rather than Dutch, is spoken to foreigners that have immigrated to Suriname. Other languages are also excluded; the student asserts that a Hindustani or a Javanese will not speak Sarnami or Javanese to a foreigner. It can therefore be concluded that foreigners immigrated to Suriname are promoting the use of Sranan. This is supported by the many fragements of students claiming to use Sranan in interaction with the Chinese. Student Alida/C, however, states that a distinction must be made.

"Die Chinezen praten het meest en dan Sranan Tongo. Degene die naar school zijn gegaan praten wel Nederlands en degene, de winkeliers vooral, ze praten broko broko Nederlands dus bakoven Nederlands. Niet echt goed Nederlands."

Translation [MM]: "Those Chinese talk the most and then Sranan Tongo. The ones who went to school do talk Dutch and the ones, the shop owners especially, talk broko broko Dutch so broken Dutch. Not very good Dutch."

The student states that the Chinese who went to school speak Dutch. The Chinese shop owners are, however, often not very proficient in Dutch. This excerpt indicates that education remains an important predictor for a person's language repertoire.

Despite the assertion that, according to the informants, everyone speaks Sranan, it is hardly used as a written language on billboards or other written signs on the streets in the center of Paramaribo. According to the research of Kroon and Yağmur (2010), the literacy skills of children speaking Sranan at home are less developed than their oral skills. This might be one factor contributing to this result. In cases that Sranan is used as a written language on street signs it is often in the form of an official, government-related text. An example is provided in

Figure 4 and Figure 5. In Figure 4 both languages are used, but the Dutch sentence contains the main message. In Figure 5 both languages are used and they express the same message. These two figures illustrate that Sranan is often accompanied by the Dutch language. This is also often the case when Sranan is used in other types of messages.

Figure 4. Official sign at the street written in Dutch and Sranan. Original text: Ministerie van sociale zaken en volkshuisvesting. Van armenzorg naar duurzame voorspoed. (Dutch). No gi mi soso fisi – leri mi uku! (Sranan). Translation [MM]: Ministry of social affairs and public housing. From almonership to sustainable prosperity (Dutch). Do not only give me a fish – teach me how to fish! (Sranan).

Figure 5. Sign at the street written in Dutch and Sranan. Original text: drape na a watra sey (Sranan) daar bij de waterkant (Dutch). Translation [MM]: there at the water side (Sranan) there at the water side (Dutch).

4.4.1.3 Affective function of Sranan

Sranan is perceived as a rough language. In a discourse about expressing emotions, student Randy/C illustrates this affective function.

> "Dat gaat een beetje moeilijk om m'n emoties echt uit te welke emoties? Van de eh liefdesemoties eh dan… dan gaat het een beetje romantischer. Dan ga ik het niet kunnen in het Sranan Tongo… maar maar maar wraakgevoelens ofzo. Ga ik me dan niet kunnen gaan uiten in het Nederlands… ik weet niet, maar dat daar komt het een beetje krachtiger naar buiten als ik dan het Sranan gebruik."
>
> Translation [MM]: "That is a bit hard to express my emotions really what emotions? The love emotions eh… than it is a bit more romantic. I cannot do that in Sranan Tongo… but but but revenge feelings or something. I cannot express myself then in Dutch… I do not know, but that there it is a bit more powerful when I use Sranan."

The student perceives Sranan to be more 'powerful' than Dutch. Therefore, he cannot express romantic emotions in Sranan. However, revenge feelings are better expressed in Sranan. Student Wiraya/H uses the term 'dramatic' to describe the situations when she uses Sranan.

> "Eh wanneer ik het Sranan gebruik, tussen vrienden als er een paar woorden zijn, dan gebruik je het. Op school als je echt iets dramatisch wil overbrengen en dan zijn die termen zo krachtig al betekent het dat niet, met het Nederlands zou het echt zacht klinken."
>
> Translation [MM]: "Eh when I use Sranan. With friends when there are a few words then you use it. At school when you really want to say something in a dramatic way and then those terms are so powerful even though it is not the meaning, with Dutch it would sound really soft."

According to student Wiraya/H, Dutch would sound 'too soft' for a dramatic story. Again Sranan is considered a 'powerful' language. Student Alida/C asserts that stories are 'more beautiful' when they are told in Sranan Tongo.

> "Liever meer onderling. Die meestal die matties wanneer ze bepaalde tories geven, bepaalde een eh verhalen aan mekaar een eh vertellen dan wordt het dan wordt het met elkaar gesproken die Sranan Tongo om alleen die eh het verhaal mooier te maken. Dat zegt men. Ik. Meestal we gebruiken het om het verhaal echt mooier te maken. Daarvoor gebruiken we het. Men zegt dat het veel mooier klinkt in het Sranan Tongo als je een verhaal vertelt aan iemand. Onderling gewoon tories."
>
> Translation [MM]:"Rather more mutually. Those most of the time those mates when they give certain tories, tell an eh certain an eh stories to each other then it will then it will be spoken with each other in Sranan Tongo just to make the eh story more beautiful. That is what they say. Me. Most of the time we use it to make a story really more beautiful. That is why we use it. They say that it sounds more beautiful in Sranan Tongo when you tell a story to someone. Mutually just tories."

In sum, Sranan is associated with strong emotions like revenge and aggression. It is used to make a story more powerful, more dramatic and more beautiful. It is perceived as being less respectful and less polite than Dutch.

4.4.2 Dutch

4.4.2.1 Social status of Dutch

Although the Dutch language and culture lost part of its prestige during the 1980s (Essed-Fruin as cited in St-Hilaire, 2001) Dutch remained the official language of Suriname. Expert John/C presents his perception of the Dutch language when he is asked about the role of the language.

> "Het Nederlands is taal van de kolonisator. Zo zie ik het. En dat kwam mee met dat als je Nederlands kon spreken dat wil zeggen dat je beschaafd was. Dat werd ons ingeheid en zo hebben we het genomen. Het was een soort taal van om je, hoe zal ik het zeggen dan, te laten zien dat je ontwikkeld was… dus zo moet u het Nederlands zien… een soort statussymbool."
>
> Translation [MM]: "Dutch is the language of the colonizer. That is how I see it. And that was brought along that if you could speak Dutch that is that you were civilized. That was drummed into our head and we took it that way. It was a kind of language to, how shall I say it then, to show that you were developed… So that is how you should see Dutch… a kind of status symbol."

In this fragment, expert John/C perceives Dutch as 'the language of the colonizer' and a 'status symbol'. The high prestige of Dutch is confirmed in the data; all students indicated that it is very important to be proficient in Dutch when applying for a job. An example of such a fragment is provided by student Wikash/H:

> "Eh hier? Is het eigenlijk het belangrijkste. Dat je Nederlands kan spreken, want een eh eigenlijk dat is eigenlijk ook de officiële taal voor een eh voor een van de overheid, van het bedrijfsleven, van de juridische sector dus je komt er niet onderuit. Dus zonder Nederlands lukt het je niet… tenminste als je misschien Engels kan spreken… dus als je Engels spreekt kan je misschien hier en daar wel wat werk vinden, maar als je alleen Sranan gaat spreken of alleen Sarnami dan lukt het niet… dan kan je wel een baan vinden, maar dan als een eh bijvoorbeeld een vrachtwagenchauffeur."
>
> Translation [MM]: "Eh here? It is actually the most important that you can speak Dutch, because an eh actually that is actually also an official language for an eh for an of the government, of the business world, of the juridical sector so you cannot try to get away with it. So without Dutch you cannot make it… At least maybe when you speak English... so if you can speak English you might find work here and there, but if you are only speaking Sranan or only Sarnami you will not make it… Then you can find a job, but then as an eh for example a truck driver."

Student Wikash/H asserts that since Dutch is the official language one needs to speak it in order to get a job. One exception may be when a person is proficient in English. Exclusively Sarnami or Sranan will, however, not do. Figure 6 presents a job advertisement in which one of the requirements is speaking Dutch.

Figure 6. Job advertisement written in Dutch. Original text: Gevraagd!! Winkel personeel met LBGO of Mulo diploma + Schoonmaakster Nederlands sprekend! Translation [MM]: Wanted!! Shop personnel with LBGO or Mulo diploma + Cleaning lady Dutch speaking!

In addition to functioning as the official language, Dutch functions as the language of instruction in education. Parents have a high level of instrumental motivation to raise their children in Dutch (Baker, 2006), i.e. because they fear that their children would otherwise fail in school. In a discourse about the low proficiency in Sarnami of Hindustani youngsters, student Suraja/H states:

> "Ja minder jongeren, omdat de ouders ervoor zorgen dat ze het meest Nederlands met hun praten. Reden waarom, omdat zo dat ze omdat er kinderen zijn die dan dus wij mijn generatie dat ze heel slecht zijn op school met het begrijpen. Tekst, tekst en uitleg of wat lezen betreft gaat heel moeizaam bij deze kinderen en om die dingen te voorkomen zijn er jonge moeders die het zelf hebben doorlopen, zorgen ervoor dat ze met hun kinderen in het Nederlands praten."
>
> Translation [MM]: "Yes less youngsters, because the parents ensure that they talk to them in Dutch most of the time. Reason why, because they can because there are children that then so we my generation that they are very bad at school with understanding. Text, text and explanation or read something concerning is very laborious with these children and to prevent those things there are young mothers who have been through the same, ensure that they talk Dutch with their children."

According to student Suraja/H, Hindustani parents ensure that their children talk Dutch in order for them to perform well in school. This coincides with the data that is collected on language use of Hindustanis in Suriname (Van der Avoird, 2001). Van der Avoird (2001) states: "in three generations, a shift takes place from mainly Sarnami Hindi (grandparents) to a balanced bilingualism (parents) to mainly Dutch (children)" (p. 156).

4.4.2.2 Dutch as an ethnically neutral language

The reason that Dutch remained the official language after Bouterse was defeated in 1987 was that Dutch was considered an ethnically neutral language (St-Hilaire, 2001). According to St-Hilaire (2001), Sranan was still regarded as the cultural property of the Creoles. Expert Urtha/C confirms the neutrality of the Dutch language.

> "Kijk, het Nederlands is, behoort aan niemand, maar is van iedereen. Het Surinaams-Nederlands behoort aan geen enkele etnische groep, maar het is van alle etnische groepen."
>
> Translation [MM]: "Look, Dutch is, belongs to no one, but it for everyone. Surinamese-Dutch does not belong to any ethnic group, but it is for every ethnic group."

Expert Urtha/C considers Surinamese-Dutch to belong to every ethnic group. Urtha/C presents arguments why she thinks this is the case.

> "Dus wat is het Surinaams-Nederlands, het is het Nederlands werd aan ons opgelegd hè?... met de leerplicht, met de leerplichtverordening. Het staat nergens dat het Nederlands de instructietaal is, maar het werd van lieverlee de instructietaal en het werd aan ons opgelegd hè?... intussen zijn allerlei andere groepen, zijn hier dwingend bij mekaar gebracht, ja? Uit Nederlands moesten we, moest van L2 was het, moesten we L1 worden. We hebben het aangepast aan onze communicatieve behoeften, want het was niet ontworpen voor deze gemeenschap, ja?... en we hebben gaandeweg, hebben alle, alle groepen hebben eh materiaal meegenomen en dat is nu het Surinaams-Nederlands geworden, ja? Daarom is het van ons allen en van niemand."
>
> Translation [MM]: "So what is Surinamese-Dutch, it is the Dutch was imposed on us right?... with the compulsory education, with the compulsory education law. It says nowhere that Dutch is the instruction language, but it became gradually the instruction language and it was imposed on us right?... meanwhile there are all sorts of other groups, they were forcible brought together yes? From Dutch we had to, had to from L2 it was, we had to become L1. We have adapted it to our communicative needs, because it was not designed for our community, yes?... and we gradually, have all, all groups have eh brought material and that has now become Surinamese-Dutch, yes? That is why it is from all of us and from no one."

According to expert Urtha/C, all groups have brought material to the Surinamese-Dutch language and therefore it is a language that is everyone's.

Dutch is the most used language in texts on the streets in the center of Paramaribo. According to the research of Kroon and Yağmur (2010), children speaking Dutch at home have high literacy skills and high oral skills. Dutch is not only used in official printed texts, but it is also used in handwritten texts on the streets. An example of such a text is provided in Figure 7.

Figure 7. Handwritten text in a shop written in Dutch. Original text: geen bezoek tijdens werkuren (Dutch). Translation [MM]: no visitations during working hours.

4.4.2.3 Affective function of Dutch

In a discourse about language use at work, student Ifna/C provides the following statement:

> "Ja gewoon Nederlands… je toont natuurlijk respect, maar als het gezegd moet worden in het Sranan dan… ja vooral als je op een stageplek bent... je moet natuurlijk bewijzen dat je heel goed Nederlands kan praten."
> Translation [MM]: "Yes just Dutch… ofcourse you show respect, but when it has to be told in Sranan then… yes especially when you have an internship… ofcourse you have to prove that you can speak Dutch very well."

According to student Ifna/C, speaking Dutch is more 'respectful'. A person furthermore has to prove that he or she can speak Dutch very well. She furthermore states:

> "Ja dus het is meer gewoon als we aan het chillen zijn ofzo en je bent iets aan het vertellen dan is het soms leuker als je het in het Surinaams vertelt. Misschien in het Nederlands wordt het echt zo beleefd overkomen, maar als je het in het Sranan zegt dan begrijpen ze het eerder en dan komt het iets ruwer, want het is een heel ruwe taal, komt het misschien iets ruwer naar buiten en dan wordt het lachen geblazen."
> Translation [MM]: "Yes so it is more just when we are chilling or something and you are telling something then sometimes it is more fun when you tell it in Surinamese. Maybe in Dutch it becomes so polite, but when you say it in Sranan than they understand it sooner and then it is more rough, because it is a very rough language, it maybe is more rough and then we'll start laughing."

Student Ifna/C states that in informal situations it is sometimes 'more fun' to tell something in Surinamese. It comes across 'polite' to tell something in Dutch. Expert Perkash/H asserts that not many people express emotions in Dutch.

"Maar de taal blijft de identiteit. Men probeert soms ook in andere programma's een aantal Hindoestaanse woorden erin te halen, zodat je een kleur krijgt in een interview of in een gesprek. Dat er een identiteit daarin zit. Maar ook bij Sranan Tongo en Javaans heb je hetzelfde. Die moedertalen gaan voorlopig niet verdwijnen. Ze gaan nog een tijdje blijven. Het is niet zo dat iedereen happig is hè Nederlands en dat eh niemand, niemand. Geen ene mens. Ik wil dat illustreren. Er zijn heel weinig mensen die emoties in het Nederlands vertolken dat ze Nederlands beginnen te zingen. Als ze verliefd zijn dat ze een liedje gaan maken in het Nederlands voor de voor de vriendin. Dat gebeurt nooit."

Translation [MM]: "But the language remains the identity. One sometimes tries to bring in a few Hindustani words in programs, in order to get a color in an interview or in a conversation. That there is an identity in there. But also with Sranan Tongo and Javanese it is the same. Those mother tongue languages will disappear for the time being. They will stay around for a while. It is not that everyone is eager right Dutch and that eh no one, no one. Not one person. I want to illustrate that. There are few people who are translating their emotions in Dutch that they start singing in Dutch. When they are in love that they are going to create a song in Dutch for the for the girlfriend. That never happens."

According to expert Perkash/H, languages like Sarnami, Sranan Tongo and Javanese remain a part of a person's identity. People will not quickly tend to express emotions in Dutch or start to sing in Dutch. In sum, Dutch is associated with respectfulness and politeness. It is not often used for expressing emotions.

4.4.3 Sarnami

4.4.3.1 Social status of Sarnami

As was previously mentioned, government-endorsed assimilationist policy enabled Dutch to gain at the expense of ethnic languages in Paramaribo (St-Hilaire, 1999). Sarnami, however, remained a very vital language (Kroon & Yağmur, 2010). According to expert Sharmila/H, Sarnami is mainly used in the home situation. In a discourse about the role of Sarnami in Suriname she answers:

"Nou dat praten we alleen maar thuis. Je kunt het verder nergens gebruiken. Je kunt het niet meer gebruiken. Die Hindi die gebruiken we meer, dus als we bijvoorbeeld een preek houden, in de mandir of bij iemand thuis of op de radio dan wordt meer de Hindi taal gebruikt. Het Sarnami minder, maar het Sarnami is eigenlijk een omgangstaal… maar officiële gelegenheden, bijvoorbeeld als je in de mandir een dienst moet houden enzo dan is het vaak in het Hindi."

Translation [MM]: "Well we only talk that at home. You cannot use it anywhere else. You cannot use it anymore. Hindi we use more, so when we for example hold a sermon in the mandir or at someone's place or on the radio the Hindi language is rather used. Sarnami less, but Sarnami is actually a colloquial language. But official occasions, for example when you have to hold a service than it is often in Hindi."

Expert Sharmila/H defines Sarnami a colloquial language; Hindi is used for official occasions. The languages do not only differ in function, but also in status. This is illustrated by expert John/C.

"Eh ja of eh als Hindoestaan deftig wil zijn dan spreekt die Hindi en het Sarnami-Hindi is een soort minderwaardige taal."

Translation [MM]: "Eh yes or eh when a Hindustani wants to be genteel then he or she will talk Hindi and Sarnami-Hindi is a sort of inferior language."

Sarnami is perceived as an inferior language in comparison with Hindi. According to Van der Avoird (2001), this negative attitude can partially be ascribed to the growing popularity of Hindi as a language for literature and culture at the beginning of the 20th century. Hindi became the prestige language in the central part of northern India and indentured laborers took this idea with them to Suriname. Although attempts have been made to raise the prestige of Sarnami, Hindustanis still prefer to speak Hindi in formal situations (Van der Avoird, 2001). Informants, however, indicate that few Hindustanis are proficient in Hindi. Sarnami also seems to have a lower status then Dutch and English. In a discourse about the maintenance of Sarnami, student Suraja/H states the following.

> "Ik vind het wel goed. Het is van onszelf en het is van ons cultuur. Ik vind het niet erg als ik het moet behouden, zolang ik weet dat de belangrijkste dat dat het belangrijkste het zoals het Nederlands en het Engels dat ik dat wel beheers er naast."
> Translation [MM]: "I think it is good. It is ours and it is from our culture. I do not mind maintaining it, as long as I know that the most important that that the most important the like Dutch and English that I know that next to it."

The student is willing to maintain Sarnami as long as she knows 'the most important languages' like Dutch and English. Although Sarnami has a low status, it is considered important to be proficient in the language. Why this is the case will be explained in the next section.

4.4.3.2 Sarnami as a part of the Hindustani culture

Many Hindustani students perceive Sarnami as a part of their culture. When student Atish/H is asked about the importance of teaching Sarnami outside school, he states:

> "Als je je wil houden aan je cultuur, echt aan je cultuur hechten dan denk ik wel dat je die talen moet kunnen beheersen om zo het cultuur verder uit te breiden, ja."
> Translation [MM]: "If you want to stick to your culture, really attach to your culture then I think you should know those languages to extend the culture yes."

According to student Atish/H, one should be able to speak Sarnami in order to attach to the Hindustani culture. Furthermore, Sarnami plays a significant role in the Hindu religion. Expert Shweta/H explains why this is the case:

> "En eh het Sarnami is ook belangrijk, omdat vanuit het Sarnami je eigenlijk die trap gaat maken naar het Hindi... Ja dus eigenlijk heb je de moedertaal om even een beetje vooruitlopen, de taal waarin de heilige boeken zijn geschreven. De teksten die zijn in het Sanskriet. Ja?... en eh de vertaling vindt plaats in het Hindi en de communicatie vindt plaats in het Sarnami... en als je bijvoorbeeld binnen de Islam alles staat geschreven in het Arabisch. De uitleg is in het Urdu... ja? En de communicatie vindt ook een beetje plaats in het Hindi, Sarnami-Hindi."

Translation [MM]: "And eh Sarnami is also important, because out of Sarnami you are actually making that step to Hindi... Yes so actually you have the mother tongue language to get ahead of the case, the language in which the holy books are written. The texts they are in Sanskrit. Yes?... and eh the translation takes place in Hindi and the communication takes place in Sarnami… and for example within Islam everything is written in Arabic. The explanation is in Urdu… yes? And communication also takes place a little bit in Hindi, Sarnami-Hindi."

Expert Prem/H explains that a step can be taken from Sarnami to Hindi; therefore Sarnami is important for the Hindu religion. The significant role that language plays in the Hindustani culture is emphasized by expert Sharmila/H. She asserts that Hindustanis are urged to talk more Sarnami. When she is asked why they are urged to talk Sarnami she answers the following:

"Omdat je dus kijk het is een taal en een taal is heel erg belangrijk anders sterft zo'n volk zeg maar weg hè als je dus de taal vergeet. Toch?"
Translation [MM]: "Because you so look it is our language and a language is very important, otherwise such a population fades away when you forget the language. Right?"

Expert Sharmila/H points out that the Hindustani population would fade away, when Sarnami would be forgotten. This indicates that language is a core value for the Hindustani population. This was discussed in section 4.3.2. Not one written text in Sarnami was located on the streets in the center of Paramaribo. According to the research of Kroon and Yağmur (2010), children speaking Sarnami at home have high oral skills, but very limited literacy skills.

4.4.3.3 Affective function of Sarnami

Expert Santa/H describes the situations in which she switches from Dutch to Sarnami:

"Dus wanneer we bij elkaar zijn dan communiceren we wel in het Nederlands… en soms, vooral bij de grapjes of de leuke dingetjes waarbij je ervaringen uitwisselt, kun je daar overstappen naar het Sarnami. En soms doen we ook, doe ik vooral, dat weet ik van mezelf, aan code-switch. En dat wil zeggen dat ik meestal in het Nederlands begin, maar omdat ik, omdat iets leuker, aangenamer of anders klinkt in het Sarnami. In die Nederlandse vertaling is die vaak genoeg, toch wel anders, wordt die anders verwoord dan in het Sarnami dus dan kan ik wel een codeswitch doen terwijl ik in het Nederlandse iets uitleg en dan geef ik dat mee als van oh ja werkelijk, weet je? Dus dat kan ook wel."
Translation [MM]: "So when we are together we are communicating in Dutch… and sometimes, especially with jokes or funny things in which you exchange experiences, you can switch to Sarnami. And sometimes we do that, especially me, I know that from myself, we code-switch. That is that I most of the time start in Dutch, but because I, because something sounds more fun, pleasant or different in Sarnami. In the Dutch translation it often different though, it is differently phrased than in Sarnami so then I can do a codeswitch while I am explaining something in Dutch and then I present that as oh really, you know? So that can also be the case."

Expert Santa/H states that something sounds 'more fun' and 'more pleasant' in Sarnami than in Dutch. This seems to coincide with one of the affective functions of Sranan which was to make a story 'more beautiful'. Unlike Sranan, Sarnami was not considered 'impolite' or 'disrespectful'.

4.4.4 Hindi and Sanskrit

According to Van der Avoird (2001), a direct link exists between the Hindu religion and Hindi. The Hindu religion was conceived and documented and is transmitted to a significant degree in Standard Hindi. Standard Hindi, together with Sanskrit, is the language which is used in religious ceremonies with the Hindustanis. This and the fact that Standard Hindi is one of the official languages in India may contribute to the prestige of Hindi in Suriname (Van der Avoird, 2001). In a discourse about the role of Hindi in Suriname, student Suraja/H asserts:

> "Zoals Sarnami iets van ons cultuur is, is Hindi eigenlijk oorspronkelijk oorsprong is uit India hè? Wij Hindoestanen zij proberen ervoor te zorgen dat dat gedeelte van ons niet verloren gaat. Weer hetzelfde als Sarnami, maar dat is het Hindi het geschrift en spreken ervan."
>
> Translation [MM]: "In the way that Sarnami is something of our culture, Hindi is actually originally origin is from India right? We Hindustanis try to make sure that that part of us is not lost. It is again the same as Sarnami, but that is the Hindi the text and speaking it."

In this fragment, the student indicates that Hindi is, like Sarnami, perceived of as a part of the Hindustani culture. Informants indicated that Hindi is taught at special schools. Institutions like the Indian Cultural Centre also provide Hindi lessons.

Figure 8. The Indian Cultural Centre.

Student Wikash/H adds additional ways to learn Hindi.

> "Ik kan geen Hindi schrijven, ik kan alleen praten, maar dat is geleerd, ook door tempelbezoek. Dan hoor je wat de Pandit zegt en dergelijke. Het wordt dan ook nader uitgelegd door je ouders en ook door die Bollywoodfilms... hebben ze die Engelse ondertiteling hè?... begrijp je wat ze zeggen… en dan kan je zo die taal spreken."
>
> Translation [MM]: "I cannot write Hindi, I can only talk it, but that is taught, also by visiting the temple. Then you

can hear what the Pandit says and such. It is also explained more detailed by your parents and also through those Bollywood movies… they have English subtitles right?... you understand what they are saying… and then you can speak that language."

Student Wikash/H learned to speak Hindi through visiting the temple and through watching Bollywood movies. Expert Perkash/H questions the effectiveness of the use of Hindi in the temple.

"Hindi is de taal van India. Men probeert soms in het Hindi vooral religieuze zaken, bij kerkdiensten en dergelijke, probeert men soms nog steeds in het Hindi uit te leggen, maar eh het resultaat is twijfelachtig… nou niet iedereen verstaat het Hindi even goed en de taal kan altijd. Hindi is een hele moeilijke taal. Het heeft een heleboel woorden en het hangt er van af wat voor woordkeuze je hebt gebruikt om je toegankelijk te maken... het is heel moeilijk. Het Hindi is een moeilijke taal."

Translation [MM]: "Hindi is the language of India. One is sometimes trying religious cases in Hindi at religious services and such, one still sometimes try to explain in Hindi, but eh the result is doubtful... Well not everyone understands Hindi equally well and the language can always. Hindi is a very difficult language. It has a lot of words and it depends on the word choice you have used to make yourself accessible… it is very difficult. Hindi is a very difficult language."

Although there are variable ways to learn Hindi, expert Perkash/H states that not everyone understands Hindi. Therefore the results of explaining religious cases in Hindi are doubtful. Hindi is hardly used as a language in written signs on the street; Hindi is mostly used in religious places like in the ashram. An example is provided in Figure 9.

Figure 9. Text at the ashram written in Hindi, English and Dutch. Original text: [Hindi] Welcome (English). Wij heten U van harte welkom in de ashram. Heeft u ons nodig? Sla aan de bel! (Dutch). Translation [MM]: Welcome. You are welcome in our ashram. Please hit the bell (Hindi). Welcome (English). We welcome you in this ashram. Do you need us? Hit the bell! (Dutch).

Several texts of the Hindu religion are written in Sanskrit. According to expert Prem/H, Sanskrit is most important for the Pandits.

"Ja het is. Ja dus kijk de eh het het Sanskriet is eigenlijk natuurlijk belangrijk voor iedereen maar het is eigenlijk belangrijker voor de priesters, de Pandits… als mij om dus dan eh zeg maar de teksten beter te begrijpen… en als je dat dan zeg maar als je beter zicht op zaken hebt dan kan je dat verder gaan uitleggen in het Hindi of dan makkelijker in het Sarnami."

Translation [MM]: "Yes it is. Yes so look the eh Sanskrit is in reality obviously important for everyone but it is actually more important for the priests, the Pandits… like me to so then eh you know to understand the texts better… and when you like have a better perception of cases then you can explain further in Hindi or then more easier in Sarnami."

The Pandits are proficient in Sanskrit in order to have a better understanding of the religious texts. Those texts written in Sanskrit are translated to Hindi.

4.4.5 Linguistic landscape

As I previously mentioned, Dutch dominates as a written language in the streets of Paramaribo, while Sranan, Sarnami, Hindi and Sanskrit are hardly used. However, next to Dutch, English and Chinese are also frequently used as a written language on the street. English is often used in slogans, as a commercial language. An example is provided in Figure 10.

Figure 10. Sign of a hospital written in Dutch and English. Original text: St. Vincentius Ziekenhuis. Koninginnestaat 4 (Dutch). Your health is our care (English). Translation [MM]: St. Vincentius Hospital. Queensstreet 4 (Dutch). Your health is our care (English).

The Chinese language is often used in the names of shops, e.g. supermarkets. It is also used in signs on the street.

According to an informant, this is especially the case in areas where many Chinese are resident. An example is provided in Figure 11.

Figure 11. Sign at the street. Original text: uitsluitend uitgang (Dutch) (Chinese). Translation [MM]: exclusively exit (Dutch) (Chinese).

4.4.6 Language and identity

Although language is a symbol of our identity, it does not by itself define us (Baker, 2006). Language is one feature amongst the many that make up our constructed, shifted and hybrid identity (May as cited in Baker, 2006). We own multiple identities (Baker, 2006). As Baker (2006) states: "our social constructions of our gender, age, ethnicity, race dress, nationality, region (e.g. county, state), locality, group membership (e.g. religion, politics), socioeconomic class, for example, provide us with a host of complementary, diverse, interacting, ever-changing, negotiated identities" (p. 408). Identities are established through social comparison, labeling by others, dialogue within ourselves and with others, and through the experiences of changing contexts. Language-based identity labels are sometimes renewed to attempt more positive expectations and associations (Baker, 2006). Student Wikash/H provides an example of such a label change. He states that since 'Negro English' changed into 'Sranan Tongo', he considers it to be a Surinamese language. According to this informant, the prestige of the language changed, because the label changed. Besides 'Sranan Tongo' and 'Negro English', three Creole students referred to the language as 'Surinamese', which is the literal meaning of 'Sranan Tongo'. In addition, there was no consensus about the speakers of the language. For instance, three Hindustani students perceived Sranan as the language that was most spoken by the Creoles. Although this does seem to be the case, considering the fact that several Creoles used Sranan as a home language, the Creole students themselves never described Sranan in such a way. Sranan was described as a language spoken by everyone. Expert Steven/C states that the role of Sranan has changed.

"En die blacka man, die taal was bij die blacka man, maar hij is die blacka man ontstegen… hij is nu een taal van

iedere Surinamer."

Translation [MM]: "And that black man, the language was with the black man, but it transcended the black man… he is now a language of every Surinamese."

Expert Steven/C asserts that the language transcended the black man. Student Randy/C described Sranan as his mother tongue language, even though he was raised in Dutch. He meant that Sranan was created by themselves, in contrast to Dutch which was taken over from the Netherlands. According to expert John/C, Creoles vary in their identification with Sranan.

"Ja en toch eh zie ik bij de zogenaamde hoger ontwikkelden dat het ambivale ambivalentie is. Als bijvoorbeeld bij elkaar zijn dan zie je wordt Sranan gesproken, maar in die identificatie dan zie je diezelfde mensen soms zich met het Nederlands identificeren."

Translation [MM]: "Yes and still eh I see with the so-called higher educated persons that there is an ambivale ambivalence. When, for example, they are together you will see that they speak Sranan, but in the identification you will see the same people identifying with the Dutch language."

According to expert John/C, higher educated persons identify with the Dutch language, even though they speak Sranan when they are together. Identification with Sarnami seems to be strong among the Hindustani informants. In a discourse about the role of Sarnami in Suriname, student Wiraya/H states:

"Voor mij is het echt belangrijk, omdat ik ervan uitga dat ik een Hindoestaan ben en m'n voorouders hebben dat meegenomen dus ik moet dat ook kennen en ik vind het leuk om het te kennen. Ik denk dat het steeds overgedragen moet worden. Iedereen heeft z'n eigen taal, eigen cultuur en het is leuk als je met verschillende talen op een plaats bent, verschillende culturen dus het is echt belangrijk voor mij het Sarnami, dat ik het kan spreken en eh ja ik voel me echt goed in Sarnami."

Translation [MM]: "For me it is very important, because I assume that I am a Hindustani and my grandparents took that with them so I have to know that too and I like knowing it. I think it should continuously be transferred. Everyone has his own language, own culture and it is fun when you are at a place with different languages, different cultures so it is really important for me Sarnami that I can speak it and eh yes I really feel good in Sarnami."

In this fragment, the association between being Hindustani and knowing Sarnami is once more emphasized. Expert Steven/C describes the consequences of being Hindustani and not knowing Sarnami.

"Weet je waarom ik dat zeg, omdat de mensen als ze in hun eigen omgeving zijn ze zich wel uiten in die taal en je wordt kwalijk genomen dat je als Hindoestaan geen Sarnami kent. Het wordt niet begrepen door de ouderen dat je dus Sarnami-loos opgroeit. Ook die Javaan wordt niet begrepen door een zie je? Dus dus dus [onverstaanbaar]… stimuleert men van ons dat die dat cultuurgedrag vanuit dat gegeven dat dat gepromote wordt."

Translation [MM]: "You know why I say that, because the people when they are in their own environment they will express themselves in that language and you are blamed for it when you are a Hindustani and you do not know Sarnami. It is not understood by the elderly that you grew up without Sarnami. Also the Javanese is not understood you see? So so so [untillible]… stimulates one of us that that culture behavior from knowing that is being promoted."

According to expert Steven/C, a Hindustani will be blamed by other Hindustanis for the fact that he or she does not speak Sarnami. Ethnic languages remain an important part of one's identity. According to expert Perkash/H, ethnic languages will not be traded in easily for Dutch. He illustrates this by stating that there are few people who express their emotions in Dutch. This was confirmed by student Wikash/H.

> "En eh emoties uiten doe je in het Sranan… of soms Sranan, maar niet zozeer. Nederlands nooit. Engels nooit… ja Sarnami of Sranan."
> Translation [MM]: "And eh you express emotions in Sranan… or sometimes in Sranan, but not so much. Dutch never. English never… yes Sarnami or Sranan."

This student assert that he never expresses emotions in Dutch and English; only in Sarnami or Sranan. Expert Perkash/H presents another example of how language and identity are connected:

> "Maar de taal blijft de identiteit. Men probeert soms ook in andere programma's een aantal Hindoestaanse woorden erin te halen, zodat je een kleur krijgt in een interview of in een gesprek. Dat er een identiteit daarin zit. Maar ook bij Sranan Tongo en Javaans heb je hetzelfde."
> Translation [MM]: "But the language remains the identity. One sometimes tries to bring in a few Hindustani words in programs, in order to get a color in an interview or in a conversation. That there is an identity in there. But also with Sranan Tongo and Javanese it is the same."

In this fragment, it is described how sometimes Hindustani, Sranan or Javanese words are used in programs in order to bring an identity into the conversation. This emphasizes the link between ethnic languages and identity.

4.4.7 Persistence of Sranan

Sranan is an indicator of low social status and lack of education in Suriname (Meel as cited in St-Hilaire, 2001). According to the study of Kroon and Yağmur (2010), Sranan is used less in the home situation than Dutch, Sarnami, Chinese and Aucan. It, however, still seems to be a very vital lingua franca among its speakers. Why would a language with such as low prestige persist? The linguistic situation in Suriname can be compared to the linguistic situation in former colonies of Africa. There are various similarities. For instance, like English and French in several former colonies in Africa, Dutch remained the official language of Suriname after independence (Wardhaugh, 1987). Wardhaugh (1987) presents three reasons why former colonies often maintained the language of the colonizer. First, it guarantees a certain amount of continuity and efficiency. The European languages have vocabularies and literatures which allow for the easy accomplishment of tasks. The vernaculars, on the other hand, are less developed. Second, it may serve to unify a state and it may prevent ethnic conflict. Third, the languages are associated with progress and modernization. Although the European language maintained a high status after independence, the vernaculars did not disappear (Wardhaugh, 1987). According to Ryan (1979), the value of a language as a chief symbol of group identity is one of the major forces for the preservation of a vernacular language. Wardhaugh (1987, p. 166) outlines the issues concerning language and identity in Africa: "not all Africans welcome the opportunity to learn English or French; some see such learning as an obstacle to achieving a genuine African identity for themselves, as still another example of neo-

colonialism." Although today this situation is quite different in Africa, the focus is on the symbolic function of language that Wardhaugh (1987) refers to, since this can also be attributed to Sranan. According to Deprez and Bies (as cited in St-Hilaire, 1999, p. 224), "many Surinamese, particularly the Creoles, have an emotional bond with Sranan, holding the language in high esteem as a symbol of national identity." In addition to the symbolic value, the participants considered Sranan to, among others, fulfill an affective function (i.e. language liked best and one which would be preferred to be used all the time), a communicative function (i.e. language in which one can best communicate and express oneself) and an integrative function (i.e. language that allows interaction with a greater variety of people) (Gardner & Lambart as cited in Ryan, 1979). Furthermore, Sranan persists due to the fact that foreigners immigrated to Suriname are promoting Sranan. According to Wardhaugh (1987), a language is only fully 'arrived' when it achieves a full range of functions and no stigma is attached to its use. Sranan is still on this journey to achieve this status.

4.5 Variety of life worlds in Paramaribo

Kahane (2009) assert that: "identities are formed through a variety of life worlds, amongst which are class, ethnicity, gender, race, sexuality, nationality, region, religion, language communities and subcultures such as political beliefs, fashion, and life choices" (p. 2). There is a considerable diversity in the variety of life worlds upon which identity is based in Paramaribo, for instance in the sociolinguistic situation.

Age of acquisition, language repertoire and language attitudes differed among the students. Student Wiraya/H did not learn Sarnami until she was five years old. She learned to speak Sranan from her friends. Student Suraja/H was, in contrast to Wiraya/H, raised in Sarnami and learned to speak Dutch at school. She also learned Sranan from her friends. Student Wikash/H was raised in both Sarnami and Dutch. He refused to speak Sranan until the end of high school. Student Miguel/C was raised in Dutch. He acquired Sranan and Aucan in interaction with his friends and learned some Javanese from his father. Student Alida/C was raised in Aucan. She acquired Dutch and Sranan at school. This illustrates the variety in age of acquisition and language repertoire. The variety in language attitudes became apparent when approximately half of the students selected Dutch as the language that belongs to the Surinamese identity and the other half of the students selected Sranan. Language attitudes are crucial in the status and importance of a language in society. They are learned, not inherited, and are likely to be relatively stable. Most often the concept of language attitudes includes attitudes towards the speakers of a particular language (Fasold as cited in Hohental, n.d.). According to Edwards (as cited in Hohenthal, n.d.), the two most significant dimensions along which views about languages can vary are social status and group solidarity. These two dimensions, however, seem to be in conflict when it comes to Dutch and Sranan, especially among the higher-educated Creoles. One the one hand their ethnic identity is being Creole, which is associated with speaking Sranan. It is a symbol of their roots. On the other hand, Sranan is associated with a lack of education, while Dutch is a status symbol. The stigmatization of Sranan and the foreignness of Dutch lead to an ambivalent situation.

The diversity in the sociolinguistic situation is also reflected in the languages that are used in religious services. Nowadays, Surinamese from all kinds of ethnicities are practicing the religions that are present in Suriname. As a consequence, different languages are used in religious services. For instance, Sranan, Dutch and Sarnami are used in Christian churches and Sanskrit, Hindi, Sarnami and Dutch are used in Hindu temples.

Although religion itself was not considered a boundary, participants stated that it does create visual boundaries. For instance, student Shweta/H stated that Hindus can be recognized by a red rope which is used for protection. She furthermore states that she recognizes a Muslim by the number 786. If one takes the numeric values of all the letters of Bismillah, according to the Abjad letter-numeral system, the total will be 786. Some people, mostly in India and Pakistan, write this number to avoid writing the name of Allah on ordinary papers (Islamic Centre, n.d.). Nevertheless, religion does not seem to be an issue of conflict. A picture that supports this statement is presented in Figure 12, representing a mosque and a synagogue in Paramaribo which are built next to each other.

Figure 12. The mosque and the synagogue in Paramaribo next to each other in the same street.

The diversity in the variety of life worlds upon which identity is based is enhanced with the variation in region. Although it is outside the scope of this research to go into detail about the differences between Paramaribo and the different districts, several participants indicated that there are among others social differences, cultural differences, economical differences, linguistic differences and religious differences. Urban life and modernization enhanced the differences between these regions.

5   CONCLUSION

On the basis of available theoretical and empirical literature at the start of my research, I formulated the following five research questions:

1. How are ethnic boundaries in Suriname situated according to the four dimensions of the multilevel process theory of Wimmer (2008)?

2. Which factors contribute to the formation of ethnic group boundaries (between Creoles and Hindustanis) in Suriname?

3. Which elements constitute the Surinamese identity and what language belongs to the Surinamese identity?

4. Which factors constitute the core values of the Creoles and the Hindustanis in Suriname?

5. What is the social status and the function of Sranan, Dutch and Sarnami in Suriname and how do Surinamese identify with these languages?

A summary of the results leading to an answer on each of these questions will be given in the following sections.

5.1 Boundary characteristics

The ethnic group boundaries were initially analyzed according to the multilevel process theory of Wimmer (2008). According to Wimmer (2008), there are four dimensions of variation along which an individual case can be situated: the political salience of boundaries, social closure and 'groupness', cultural differentiation and stability.

The first dimension concerns the political salience of boundaries in Suriname. Most experts and students stated that ethnic boundaries are salient in the politics of Suriname. The motivation of the participants to vote on the party that represents their ethnic group is based on ethnic solidarity. Participants feel a sense of security with their own group. Furthermore, individual interest is connected to group interest; participants feel that the party that represents their ethnic group will act more on behalf of the ethnic group. Participants state that ethnic groups are not equally represented in politics due to the unequal division of seats in parliament.

The second dimension concerns social closure and 'groupness'. Most experts and students stated that the degree of social closure and groupness varied according to the different ethnic groups. The Chinese were considered to be the most closed group; the Hindustanis were also considered a closed group, but a bit more open towards others. The Hindustanis do not stimulate marriage outside the own ethnic group. Marriage is a solid way to maintain group boundaries; the group remains intact and mixing is avoided. The Creoles were considered the most open group.

The third dimension concerns cultural differentiation. Most experts stated that ethnic boundaries coincide with cultural differences. Participants state that this is especially the case for the Hindustanis; Creoles are less loyal to their culture. It was, however, also stated that it must be kept in mind that Hindustanis can be part of many cultures, i.e. the Hindu culture, the Muslim culture, the Christian culture and all sorts of mixed forms. Furthermore, elements of different cultures are mixed or influenced in Suriname.

The fourth dimension concerns stability. Most experts stated that ethnic boundaries are stable in Suriname. Participants argue that in a diaspora, people are even more attached to the identity of their mother

country. Furthermore, according to Wimmer (2008) the most stable boundary is found among people who identify through multigenerational, unilineal descent. The Hindustani group was considered more stable than the Creole group.

Overall, answers regarding the questions on these dimensions were not straightforward. Initially, participants stated that ethnic groups in Suriname are highly salient, socially closed, culturally marked and stable (Wimmer, 2008). However, they indicated that variation between the ethnic groups, within the ethnic groups and within the society make a direct answer to these questions difficult. Studies that look into ethnicity should take into account that a simple division on the basis of ethnicity will not do, since activities that make up social action are messy and complex (Blommaert & Dong, 2010).

5.2 Blurring boundaries in Suriname

5.2.1 Ethnic boundaries in Suriname

According to Gowricharn (2006), ethnic boundaries in Suriname are 'bright' rather than 'blurred'. Gowricharn (2006) explains the difference: "bright boundaries unambiguously distinguish between groups so that individuals at all-time know which side of the boundary they are on (Alba, 2005, p. 23)." These boundaries can be crossed, depending on the nature of the boundary (e.g. language, customs, religion, citizenship and race) and the properties of the groups involved. Gowricharn (2006) argues that group boundaries in Suriname are 'bright', because of the coincidence of race and culture. According to the students, the ethnic groups in Suriname can, among others, be distinguished on the basis of appearance, language and body ornamentation. These boundaries are, however, blurring. Students stated that they cannot always determine the ethnicity of a person on the basis of appearance when he or she is mixed with another ethnicity. According to the census in 2004 of ABS (as cited in Kroon & Yağmur, 2011), 61.524 (12.5%) Surinamese had a mixed ethnicity. Students also stated that Creoles and Maroons can hardly be distinguished on the basis of appearance. Furthermore, students stated that they cannot always determine the ethnicity of a person on the basis of language, since nowadays many students are raised in Dutch and are able to speak Sranan. The ethnic language, however, still signals ethnicity. Students state that Creoles and Maroons can be distinguished by the fact that Creoles are mostly speaking Dutch and Sranan, while Maroons are more proficient in other languages like Aucan and Saramaccan and are not very proficient in Dutch. Sranan is often used as the language of communication between Maroons and other ethnic groups. Students state that Creoles and Hindustanis can be distinguished by the fact that Creoles are more proficient in Sranan than Hindustanis. Furthermore, many Hindustanis are proficient in Sarnami. Students finally stated that they cannot always determine the ethnicity of a person on the basis of clothes. First, most Surinamese in Paramaribo are now wearing western clothes. Second, some Surinamese are wearing clothes from other ethnicities. While the pangi used to be associated with the Maroons and the koto with the Creoles, this division is now blurred. Furthermore, Javanese are now also wearing a sari, which is in Indian piece of clothing. It must be stated that religion was not mentioned as a distinguishing characteristic, since ethnicity and religion do not always coincide. Religion does, however, create visual boundaries, e.g. the red rope around the wrist of a Hindustani. In sum, it is nowadays becoming harder to determine the ethnicity of a Surinamese on the basis of appearance, language and body ornamentation, since these boundaries are blurring. While St-Hilaire (2001)

solely connects this to assimilation to the Surinamese-Dutch culture, Van Renselaar (1963) makes a distinction between acculturation to the Dutch culture and assimilation of the different ethnic groups. This distinction does seem to be of importance in the analysis of blurring boundaries. Furthermore, other processes like globalization should be also taken into account. Again, this emphasizes the messy and complex processes that should be taken into consideration in a study on ethnicity (Blommaert & Dong, 2010).

5.2.2 Ethnic boundaries between Creoles and Hindustanis

According to experts and students, Creoles and Hindustanis can be mainly differentiated on the basis of mentality, behavior, language, appearance and traditional clothing. Language, appearance and traditional clothing were also discussed in the former section. These constitute blurring boundaries. For mentality, most participants stated that Hindustanis are more economical and more progressive, while the Creoles are more hedonistic. Ethnic stereotypes will be elaborated on in the discussion. According to the research of Boissevan and Grotenbreg (1986), this difference can partly be ascribed to cultural aspects: soberness, hard work, saving, future orientation and patriarchal leadership are associated with Hindustanis. This is due to the fact that for centuries these ethnic groups were small-scale peasants and traders; such values were essential for survival (Boissevan & Grotenbreg, 1986). The generous, ebullient, more hedonistic orientation of many working-class Creoles is rooted in their past experience, first as slaves and then as members of a working class, always unsure of the future and, as a consequence, living off the possibilities and pleasures that the present offered them (Buschkens as cited in Boissevain & Grotenbreg, 1986). Participants, however, indicate that this boundary is blurring. One informant provided the example of young Hindustanis who cannot keep the companies running that they inherited from their parents. This might either be an effect of urban life (influence of other cultures) or an effect of globalization (consumerism). For behavior, participants stated that Hindustanis are 'more modest' and 'more focused on the group', while the Creoles are 'more ebullient' and 'more open'. Hindustanis are perceived as living in their own world with their own people, having their own language, their own religion and their own television shows. Participants do indicate that the Hindustanis are currently a bit more open than in the past. Overall, this again illustrates the blurring boundaries in Suriname.

5.3 National identification

5.3.1 Surinamese identity

According to Gowricharn (2006), nationalism in Surinamese remains weak, despite the attempts of the Creoles to make other ethnic groups accept their nationalistic ideology. This is in accordance with the finding that participants question the existence of a Surinamese identity. Identification with Suriname was claimed to depend on the time of arrival. Since the Indians and the Creoles have been in Suriname for a long time, they have developed a strong bonding with the territory. Informants assert that this is only now starting to develop with the Hindustanis, the Javanese and the Chinese. Participants illustrate this with the fact that a Hindustani in the Netherlands would refer to himself as Surinamese from Hindustani descent, while a Creole would never refer to himself as a Surinamese from African descent; he is a Surinamese. According to De Bies (2002), there are

elements that belong to the Surinamese identity, i.e. the celebration of the Phagwa feast, the celebration of Christmas and pom, warungs and roti-shops. Meel (1998) focuses on the cultural dimensions of integration, i.e. national myths, invented traditions and capital monuments. A national myth that was mentioned by participants is the slogan 'unity in diversity' to describe the multicultural society of Suriname. According to Meel (1998), this slogan confirms persistent ideas and a shallow sense of a shared identity rather than challenging people to create, innovate or develop. An invented tradition that was mentioned by participants is the national flag of Suriname. According to the participants, most schools start the day with a flag parade and singing the national anthem. The last category that Meel (1998) describes is the 'capital monuments'. According to Meel (1998), however, the monuments consist of representations of ethnicity and frustrated integration, hindering the development of a common Surinamese identity. In sum, national identification varied among the different ethnic groups. The elements of the Surinamese culture, however, remain unclear from the data. Although St-Hilaire (2001) asserts that a unique, evolving Surinamese-Dutch culture is on the rise, hardly any student could name an element of this culture and could state what they considered to be 'typical Surinamese'.

5.3.2 Surinamese identity and language

According to De Bies (2002), the national culture in Suriname is mainly a linguistic one; Surinamese-Dutch represents a national culture exceeding ethnic boundaries. St-Hilaire (2001) goes even further by stating that the fact that "Surinamese-Dutch gains in currency and status among and within different groups, generally to the detriment of the ethnic languages" (St-Hilaire, 2001, p. 999) signals a movement towards the cultural integration of Suriname as a single national entity. Participants disagreed with this statement, arguing that linguistic integration does not necessarily imply that there is cultural integration. Furthermore, it was stated that Hindustanis do not embrace the idea of cultural integration, at least not in the current generation. Students presented varying answers to the question what language belongs to the Surinamese identity. Some students chose Dutch, because they are used to speaking Dutch. Some students chose Sranan, because they do not consider Dutch to be 'theirs' but taken over from the Netherlands. Furthermore, they argued that Sranan is spoken by every Surinamese. In conclusion, the varying attitudes towards Dutch and Sranan are illustrated in the varying answers that are provided on the question to what language belongs to the Surinamese identity.

5.4 Core values of the Creoles and Hindustanis in Suriname

The theory of the core values of culture asserts that not all elements in a culture are of equal importance for the identification of individuals as group members. Some aspects of a culture are of fundamental importance; these are the *core values* of a culture (Smolicz, 1992). The core values of the Creole culture and the Hindustani culture will be discussed respectively.

5.4.1 Core values of the Creole culture

In Suriname, a Creole is considered a person of African origin (Eriksen, 1999). Historical background seems to constitute a core value of the Creole population in Suriname, since participants identify themselves as Creole on

the basis of history. This does, however, not necessarily imply that they identify themselves with the Creole culture. There is considerable variation in the Creole population in Suriname; it is therefore hard to determine the core values of the Creole culture. A differentiation can be made between the lower educated and the higher educated Creoles; several higher-educated Creoles seem to be more focused on Europe in their identification. This division came into existence with the colonial cultural policy of 1877 which was intended to transform the Creole into a cultural Dutchman. The consequence of the colonial cultural policy was that a large part of the Creole lower class had the opportunity to choose between the Creole and European culture according to the situation (Van Renselaar, 1963). Van Renselaar (1963) states that Creoles were not totally free to choose between both cultural patterns. When a Creole was darker skinned and had a lower social position in society he would not quickly, for example, have a western marriage. The large social differentiation and the differences in behavioral patterns connected to it, caused the Creole group to present itself as a less firm unity than the Hindustanis (Van Renselaar, 1963). The diversity within the Creole group was confirmed by participants. It was not taken into account in this study that informants would refer to Maroons as Creoles. Therefore, some informants also took this ethnic group into account, while others did not. This will be considered in the discussion. Identification with a geographical location further enhanced the diversity within the Creole population. Bush Creoles identify with twelve different tribes (e.g. Aucan, Saramaccan, Kwinti, Boni, Paramaccan and Matawais (Van Andel, 2010)), while urban Creoles identify with several districts (e.g. Para, Coronie). Furthermore, informants differed in the degree of identification with the Creole culture. Some had a strong identification and referred to specific cultural elements, e.g. Awassa (dance) and pangi (clothes). Others stated that there was not anything that made them Creole. Again others embraced some part of the culture and disapproved other parts, e.g. Winti. In sum, the variation within the Creole population made it difficult to determine the core values of this culture. It raises awareness that one can be a member of an ethnic group, but that one does not necessarily has to adapt the cultural norms of that ethnic group. More research should be conducted to unravel the diversity of the Creole culture.

5.4.2 Core values of the Hindustani culture

The first core value in the Hindustani culture is family collectivism. Although family collectivism is beneficial to the group in times of poverty, it also seems to play a substantial role on rates of suicide in Nickerie. The collectivistic Hindu culture may be detrimental for those who cannot fulfill the expectations (Graafsma et al., 2006). Family collectivism is joined by a high degree of social control leading to a very strict upbringing, especially in comparison with other ethnic groups. It was often stated that Hindustani youth are not allowed to live on their own until they are married, while Creoles are allowed to do this. A second core value is constituted by language. Participants hesitated whether one could be a Hindustani without being proficient in Sarnami; some stated that one would be perceived as 'incomplete'. The fact that the Hindustani language is important for religion heightens the significance of the language (Conversi, 1990). Sarnami is connected to Hindi; the language in which the religious texts of the Hindu religion are written. The third core value in the Hindustani culture is religion. The Hindu religion contains many elements that cause the Hindustani culture to differ from other cultures in Suriname. One element is food; most Surinamese Hindus are vegetarian at important moments in life. Furthermore, there are several religious symbols that represent the Hindu religion, e.g. the Om symbol,

the trident of Shiva and jhandie (i.e. the flags in the garden of the followers of the Sanathan Dharm). To sum up, family collectivism, language and religion constitute the core values of the Hindustani culture. It must, however, be kept in mind that the Hindustanis are part of many cultures, i.e. the Hindu culture, the Muslim culture, the Christian culture and all sorts of mixed forms. The focus in this thesis was mostly on the Hindu culture.

5.5 Sociolinguistic situation in Suriname

5.5.1 Social status, instrumental function and affective function of Sranan

Although the 1876 colonial language policy had the effect of strongly stigmatizing the Creole language (St-Hilaire, 1999) informants indicated that the social status of Sranan had increased since then. This coincides with the level of activity of promoting Sranan after the Second World War (St-Hilaire, 1999). Sranan, however, remains an indicator of low *social status* and a lack of education (Meel as cited in St-Hilaire, 1999). Several participants indicated that Sranan was spoken by those who are uneducated. Although Sranan has a low social status, it is still a very vital lingua franca among its speakers. How does a language with such a low status persist? The fact that Sranan fulfills a symbolic function (Ryan, 1979), an affective function, a communicative function and an integrative function may contribute to the vitality of the language (Gardner & Lambert as cited in Ryan, 1979). Furthermore, Sranan persists due to the fact that foreigners immigrated to Suriname are promoting Sranan. Many participants stated that they used Sranan, for instance, in interaction with the Chinese or the Brazilians. The informants provided varying answers about the labels and the *instrumental function* of Sranan. Students referred to the language as 'Sranan Tongo', 'Negro English' and 'Surinamese'. They described the language as either 'being the language of the Creoles' or 'being the language of everyone'. Most participants, however, argued that Sranan has transcended the Creoles. Despite its label or its function, it is hardly used as a written language on street signs. This is in accordance with the results of the research of Kroon and Yağmur (2010) in which children speaking Sranan at home have better developed oral skills than literacy skills. Whether Sranan should be used as an instructional language at school raised many doubts among the students. This was among others due to the *affective function* of Sranan; it is associated with strong emotions like revenge and aggression. It is used to make a story more powerful, more dramatic and more beautiful. It is perceived as being less respectful and less polite than Dutch. Overall, many Surinamese speak Sranan, despite its low social status. In the case that the new language law will be introduced, the status of Sranan will presumably be increased (Starnieuws 2, 2012). It is, however, questionable whether Sranan will be introduced as a systematically used instructional language in school. Some students state that it is favorable for development of the interior. Others, however, argue that Sranan might hinder the development of Suriname, since the country remains its linguistically isolated position.

5.5.2 Social status, instrumental function and affective function of Dutch

Dutch was described as a 'status symbol' which indicates the high *social status* of the language. Dutch is considered to be the most important language that must be known in a job interview. Dutch *functions* as the official language and as the language of instruction in education. Children are often raised in Dutch

because of instrumental motivation (Baker, 2006), i.e. because parents fear that they might fail in school if they do not know Dutch. Van der Avoird (2001) describes the consequences of this development for the Hindustani children by stating that in three generations a shift takes place from mainly Sarnami Hindi to balanced bilingualism to mainly Dutch. Another instrumental function of Dutch is that it is an 'ethnically neutral language', since it does not belong to one ethnic group. Dutch is the most used language in written language on street signs. This is in accordance with the results of the research of Kroon and Yağmur (2010) in which children speaking Dutch at home have high literacy skills and high oral skills. The *affective functions* that were ascribed to Dutch were respectfulness and politeness. Several participants stated that they never express emotions in Dutch and that there should be no misconception about the value of the mother tongues other than Dutch. To conclude then, the assertion of St-Hilaire (2001) that the population is transforming into a single national multi-ethnic culture whose mode of expression is Dutch, overlooks the fact that several Surinamese regard speaking Dutch as an obligation. They consider Dutch as the language of the colonizer and indicate feeling more comfortable in expressing their emotions in another language. This instrumental motivation of learning Dutch should not be overlooked.

5.5.3 Social status, instrumental function and affective function of Sarnami

In comparison with Hindi, Dutch and English, Sarnami does not have a high *social status*. It is a colloquial language that is used at home; Hindi, the more prestigious language, is used at official occasions. Although Sarnami has a low status, it is considered important to be proficient in the language, since Sarnami *functions* as a part of the Hindustani culture. Sarnami is connected to Hindi, the language in which the religious texts of the Hindu religion are written. Participants even questioned whether the Hindustani population would persist without Sarnami; this signals that language is a core value for the Surinamese Hindustanis. This results in social pressure to learn the language; a Hindustani will be blamed by other Hindustanis for the fact that he or she does not speak Sarnami. Sarnami is hardly used as a written language on street signs. This is in accordance with the results of the research of Kroon and Yağmur (2010) in which children speaking Sarnami at home have high oral skills, but very limited literacy skills. The *affective functions* of Sarnami coincide with the affective functions of Sranan; it sounds more fun and more pleasant than Dutch. It was, however, not described as impolite or disrespectful. Overall, Sarnami is considered an important part of the Hindustani identity. Although St-Hilaire (2001) is predicting full assimilation to Surinamese-Dutch, Hindustani participants indicate that they are very attached to their language. Despite the fact that more children are now raised in Dutch, participants predict that, for the time being, Sarnami will not fade away.

5.5.4 Language and identity

The stigmatization of Sranan and the foreignness of Dutch lead to an ambivalent situation, especially among the higher-educated Creoles. One the one hand their ethnic identity is being Creole, which is associated with speaking Sranan. It is a symbol of their roots. On the other hand, Sranan is associated with a lack of education, while Dutch is a status symbol. Whether Dutch was the mother tongue did not make a difference in identification with the language. This has implications for the theories that argue for the relation between mother tongue and

identification; these implications will be reviewed in the discussion. Identification with Sarnami was strong for all Hindustani students. Ethnic languages will not be traded in easily for Dutch. This is illustrated by the fact that, according to the informants, there are only few people who are expressing emotions in Dutch. Furthermore, sometimes Hindustani, Sranan or Javanese words are used in media in order to bring identity into the conversation. To conclude, ethnic languages are connected to an identity, in contrast to Dutch which is an ethnically neutral language. Dutch, however, remains a vital language due to its high social status.

6   DISCUSSION

In this chapter, theoretical implications, methodological implications, limitations and recommendations of the research will be discussed.

6.1 Theoretical implications

Mother tongue and language identification

In the analysis of the relation between language and identity, it turned out that the mother tongue was not an independent variable for the degree of identification with the language. For instance, student Miguel/C was raised in Dutch. He states that the Dutch language belongs to the Surinamese identity, because he is used to it. Student Randy/C was also raised in Dutch. He, however, considers Sranan to belong to the Surinamese identity. He states that Sranan is his mother tongue in the sense that Sranan is 'their own language'. Both students acquired additional languages, but they were initially raised in Dutch. Student Wikash/H was raised in Dutch and Sarnami. He asserts that he never expresses emotions in Dutch and he regards it as an obligation to speak Dutch. Although he learned to speak Sranan at the end of high school, he does express emotions in this language. This has implications for the theories that argue that the mother tongue is always the language of emotion and that following languages are languages of distance and detachment. According to Yildiz (2012), the emotional and ideological connotations of the mother tongue are historical artifacts. Originally, the Latin term *lingua materna* was used to refer to people's vernaculars in contrast to learned Latin. In the 18th century motherhood became associated with affective care rather than physical care. This image of the bourgeois mother entered the modern 'mother tongue' discourse. The mother's body, and all it suggests about affection, proximity and presence, continues to function in the concept of the mother tongue. Yildiz (2012) asserts that the implications of the notion of the unique mother are that it "insists on one predetermined and socially sanctioned language as the single locus of affect and attachment and thus attempts to obscure the possibility that languages other than the first or even primary one can take on emotional meaning" (p. 13). Psychoanalyst Amati-Mehler (as cited in Yildiz, 2012) and her colleagues note that new languages can open new affective pathways. The fact that there is no relation between the degree of identification and the nature of the language (i.e. mother tongue or subsequent language) supports these results.

Representation of ethnicity

The multilevel process theory allows one to analyze an individual case, without choosing an approach on the representation of ethnicity. This is in contrast to several authors who try to solve empirical and analytical questions by trying to define 'ethnicity' (Wimmer, 2010). For example, Gowricharn (in press) argues that ethnogenesis is a primordial process. He draws a comparison between Suriname, Guyana and Jamaica to support his claim. He asserts that group cohesion is generated from internal rather than external forces. Ethnic institutions, communal networks and group identities constitute the three enforcing categories of primordial forces that account for ethnic group formation. Gowricharn (in press) states: "an ethnic community can only be established through endogamy, religion, language, symbolic representations, tastes and the like" (p. 39).

Wimmer (2008), however, does not choose an approach by stating that sometimes ethnic boundaries do divide a population along obvious cultural lines and sometimes they do not. This is an advantage of using his theory.

However, Wimmer (2008) does in the second part of his article propose a theory. He argues that the institutional order, the distribution of power and the political networks determine which actors will adopt which strategy of ethnic boundary making. Different actors will have to enter a negotiation process with other actors, since they may prefer other types of boundaries. According to the theory of cultural compromise (Wimmer as cited in Wimmer, 2008), a consensus between individuals and groups with different resources is more likely to emerge if their interests partly overlap. Gowricharn (in press) argues that there was a general consensus that the Hindustanis were established as a distinct ethnic group:

> At the formal level, labels were ascribed in Suriname by the colonial state. British Indians were referred to as "British Indians" (*Brits Indiërs* in Dutch) in official documents and on official occasions. This label was not considered offensive, since the same label was used by the British Indians themselves. However, when referring to themselves in Sarnami Hindustani or Hindi, they employed the word "Hindustanis". Thus, in terms of language and labels, there were no discrepancies between the colonial ruler and the British Indians. (p. 23)

According to Wimmer (2008), when there is consensus about the type of boundaries that are drawn, there must be overlapping interests. Gowricharn (in press), however, argues that ethnogenesis of the Hindustanis in Suriname is primordial in nature. Further research must be conducted to verify these theories

6.2 Methodological implications

The methodological problem that arises in this study is that the method leads to the expression of stereotypes. It is important to recognize that stereotypes are not cognitive deficiencies, but are cognitive structures that contain knowledge, beliefs and expectations about social groups. Stereotypes are categories of social groups and have a similar structure and working as categories in general (Brubaker, Loveman & Stamatov, 2004). Brubaker et al. (2004) illustrate these similarities:

> Like other categories, stereotypes are represented in the mind through some combination of prototypical features, concrete exemplars, expectations, and theory-like causal knowledge. Like other categories, stereotypes obey the principle of cognitive economy, generating inferences and expectations that go "beyond the information given" with minimal cognitive processing. Like other categories, stereotypes work largely automatically. They can be primed or cued subliminally, and can influence subjects' judgments without their awareness. This does not mean that stereotypes are wholly beyond conscious control, but it does mean that stereotyping is deeply rooted in ordinary cognitive processes and that countering or correcting stereotypes is effortful and costly. (p. 39)

Stereotypes are not a product of an individual's mind, but are deeply embedded, shared mental representations of social objects (Brubaker et al., 2004). Therefore, they cannot be overlooked in this study. Furthermore, this study does not implicate that the respondents' answers are based on accurate information; this study represents their perception on social issues. Another problem that can arise through the method is the social desirability bias. Nagao and Martin (as cited in Rosenfeld, Booth-Kewley, Edwards & Thomas, 1996, p. 264) defined social desirability as "the tendency to stretch the truth in an effort to make a good impression," (p. 72). Discrimination

is, for example, a topic that is very sensitive to social desirability bias. Ways to deal with this bias will be further discussed in section 6.4.

6.3 Limitations

Several problems have surfaced in this course of this research. One of them concerned the confusion about the term Creole. In the literature a division is made between Maroons and Creoles. Participants, however, most of the times referred to Maroons as Bush Creoles. This caused confusion in some questions since the participants were not sure who were meant with Creoles, i.e. urban Creoles, Bush Creoles or both. This problem had been confirmed by a Dutch reporter who traveled to Suriname for the Radio Dutch World Broadcasting in Suriname. The Bush Creoles asked him why Dutch investigators always called them Maroons (Boerboom, 2010). According to Helman (1977), the term Bush Creoles stems from the sixties in which political leaders of the NPS (National Party Suriname) tried to make Bush Creoles also feel 'Creole' in order to win votes. This confusion may have caused the participants to have difficulties in determining the core values of the Creole culture. This could also have been caused by the formulation of the question. Either way, in future research a clear division should be made between urban Creoles and Bush Creoles to avoid confusion. This division is, however, sometimes problematic since some students identified themselves as Bush Creoles, but were born and raised in Paramaribo.

Finally, the hardly standardized collection of data brings along limitations. Frequently, participants were interrogated about their answers on the questions. Reliability is therefore quite low, since other researches cannot easily replicate the research (Boeije, 2000). Validity was quite high since some parts of the conclusion were verified by a Surinamese person (Moussa, 2007). The involvement of the researcher in the process may either result in an increase or a decrease in validity. For example, in the case it is noticed that someone is very hesitant in his answers towards a certain topic, the researcher can ask further; this results in an increase in validity. On the other hand, respondents may react in a certain way because of the background and the appearance of the researcher. Since I am a white, Dutch researcher, this may have influenced the research (Boeije, 2000). This results in a decrease in validity.

6.4 Recommendations

A recommendation that follows from this research is to take into account the social desirability bias. It is recommended to use students as participants since they come across very open and straightforward. There is, however, no research to support this claim; most research that has been conducted studies the relationship between age and social desirability in surveys. From this research, however, it turns out that social desirability is positively related to age (Soubelet & Salthouse, 2011). The fact that it was recorded that the interviewer will remain anonymous may reduce the chance of socially desirable responding. Furthermore, care needs to be taken in the choice of words for the question in the interviews. For instance, 'population group' rather than 'ethnic group' does not immediately place the focus on ethnicity, which is a sensitive issue. This is what Blommaert (as cited in Rudko, 2012) calls "the indirect route".

A final recommendation for future research was presented by the participants. They stated that it might be interesting to expand the area of the research to districts outside of Paramaribo, since the answers to the questions would be very different in that case. In addition, they stated that it would be interesting to do more research on Surinamese people of mixed ethnicity, since this is a fast growing group.

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8 APPENDIX

8.1 Appendix 1 – Interview guidelines Creole students

<u>Introductie</u>

- Wat is uw leeftijd?
- Waar bent u geboren?
- Wat is uw opleiding?
- Bent u wel eens in Nederland geweest?
- Heeft u familie in Nederland?

<u>Taal</u>

Algemene vragen

- Hoe belangrijk is het spreken van Nederlands voor het krijgen van een baan?
- Hoe belangrijk is het spreken van Sranan voor het krijgen van een baan?
- Sommige mensen in Suriname vinden dat andere talen dan het Nederlands gebruikt moeten worden als onderwijs taal (taal in lesgeven). Wat denkt u hiervan?
- *Positief tegenover idee:* denkt u dat dit te realiseren is, aangezien leraren de talen moeten leren, boeken geschreven moeten worden, de school hervormd moet worden. Welke talen ziet u als mogelijke instructietalen?
- Wat zouden de voordelen zijn van een andere instructietaal?
- Wat zouden de nadelen zijn van een andere instructietaal?
- Wat is de rol van het Nederlands in Suriname?
- Wat is de rol van het Sranan in Suriname?

Persoonlijke vragen

- Welke talen spreekt u?
- Hoe heeft u deze talen geleerd?
- Met wie spreekt u deze talen?
- In welke situaties gebruikt u deze talen?
- Voor welke onderwerpen gebruikt u deze talen?

<u>Etnische identiteit</u>

Algemene vragen

- Welke etnische groepen zijn er in Suriname?
- Op basis van welke kenmerken kunnen deze groepen onderscheiden worden? (taal, afkomst, religie)

Persoonlijke vragen: hoe zien anderen mij

- Heeft u het idee dat u door anderen wordt waargenomen als lid van de Creoolse gemeenschap? Waar is dat aan te merken?

Persoonlijke vragen: hoe zie ik mijzelf

- Hoe ziet u uzelf?
- Hoe ziet u uzelf als u de keuze had tussen uzelf zien als Surinaams of als Creools? Waarom?

- Wel familie in Nederland: heeft u contact met uw familie in Nederland? Zien zij zich als Creools?
- Wat maakt u Creools? (taal, religie, afkomst, cultuur)
- Wat is de rol van het Nederlands voor Creolen?
- Wat is de rol van het Sranan voor Creolen?
- Wat is de rol van het Sarnami voor Creolen?

Persoonlijke vragen: Creolen ten opzichte van andere etnische groepen

- Welke eigenschappen onderscheiden Creolen van andere etnische groepen in Suriname?
- Wat onderscheid Creolen van Hindoestanen?
- Wat hebben Creolen en Hindoestanen gemeenschappelijk?
- Heeft u veel vrienden die geen Creolen zijn?
- Heeft u wel eens het idee gehad dat u anders werd behandeld vanwege uw etnische achtergrond? Kunt u een voorbeeld geven? Door wie?
- Hoe zou u er tegenover staan als iemand in uw familie met iemand zou trouwen van een andere etnische achtergrond? Waarom zou u zich zo voelen? Zou het uitmaken welke etnische achtergrond dit zou zijn?

Persoonlijke vragen: etnische groepen in Suriname

- Welke groepen trouwen het meest met elkaar?
- Welke groep heeft de meeste politieke/culturele/economische macht in Suriname?

Vrijetijdsbesteding

- Wat is uw vrijetijdsbesteding? Is deze etnisch georganiseerd?

Politiek

- Is de politiek langs etnische lijnen georganiseerd?

Religie
- Wat is de religie in uw familie?
- Welke religie wordt het meeste beoefent bij Creolen?
- Welke feesten vieren jullie door het jaar heen? Welke vinden jullie het belangrijkst?
- Speelt religie een rol in bruiloften, geboortes, begrafenissen, enzovoort. Hoe dan?
- Hoe zou u er tegenover staan als iemand in uw familie met iemand zou trouwen van een andere religie?
- Waarom zou u zich zo voelen? Zou het uitmaken welke religie dit zou zijn?
- Is religie etnisch georganiseerd? (op welke manier voelt u zich als etnische groep verenigd door uw religie?)
- Wat is de relatie tussen taal en religie?
- Wat is de relatie tussen Sranan en Winti?

Surinaamse identiteit

- Bestaat er zoiets als een Surinaamse identiteit? Waar bestaat deze uit?
- Welke taal hoort er bij de Surinaamse identiteit?
- Hoe verhouden de Surinaamse en de Creoolse identiteit zich tot elkaar?

8.2 Appendix 2 – Interview guidelines Hindustani students

<u>Introductie</u>

- Wat is uw leeftijd?
- Waar bent u geboren?
- Wat is uw opleiding?
- Bent u wel eens in Nederland geweest?
- Heeft u familie in Nederland?
- Bent u wel eens in India geweest?
- Wat beschouwt u als uw thuisland?

<u>Taal</u>

Algemene vragen

- Hoe belangrijk is het spreken van Nederlands voor het krijgen van een baan?
- Hoe belangrijk is het spreken van Sranan voor het krijgen van een baan?
- Hoe belangrijk is het spreken van Sarnami voor het krijgen van een baan?
- Sommige mensen in Suriname vinden dat andere talen dan het Nederlands gebruikt moeten worden als onderwijs taal (taal in lesgeven). Wat denkt u hiervan?
- *Positief tegenover idee:* denkt u dat dit te realiseren is, aangezien leraren de talen moeten leren, boeken geschreven moeten worden, de school hervormd moet worden. Welke talen ziet u als mogelijke instructietalen?
- Wat zouden de voordelen zijn van een andere instructietaal?
- Wat zouden de nadelen zijn van een andere instructietaal?
- Wat is de rol van het Nederlands in Suriname?
- Wat is de rol van het Sranan in Suriname?
- Wat is de rol van het Sarnami in Suriname?
- Wat is de rol van het Hindi in Suriname?
- Wat is de rol van het Sanskriet in Suriname?

Persoonlijke vragen

- Welke talen spreekt u?
- Hoe heeft u deze talen geleerd?
- Met wie spreekt u deze talen?
- In welke situaties gebruikt u deze talen?
- Voor welke onderwerpen gebruikt u deze talen?
- Vindt u buitenschoolse lessen waarin een andere taal wordt geleerd belangrijk? Zou u willen dat uw eigen kinderen in de toekomst hier ook aan deel zouden nemen?

<u>Etnische identiteit</u>

Algemene vragen

- Welke etnische groepen zijn er in Suriname?
- Op basis van welke kenmerken kunnen deze groepen onderscheiden worden? (taal, afkomst, religie)

Persoonlijke vragen: hoe zien anderen mij

- Heeft u het idee dat u door anderen wordt waargenomen als lid van de Hindoestaanse gemeenschap? Waar is dat aan te merken?

Persoonlijke vragen: hoe zie ik mijzelf

- Hoe ziet u uzelf?
- Hoe ziet u uzelf als u de keuze had tussen uzelf zien als Surinaams of als Hindoestaans? Waarom?
- Wel familie in Nederland: heeft u contact met uw familie in Nederland? Zien zij zich als Hindoestaans?
- Wat maakt u Hindoestaans? (taal, religie, afkomst, cultuur)
- Wat is de rol van het Nederlands voor Hindoestanen?
- Wat is de rol van het Sranan voor Hindoestanen?
- Wat is de rol van het Sarnami voor Hindoestanen?
- Wat is de rol van het Hindi voor Hindoestanen?
- Wat is de rol van het Sanskriet voor Hindoestanen?

Persoonlijke vragen: Hindoestanen ten opzichte van andere etnische groepen

- Welke eigenschappen onderscheiden Hindoestanen van andere etnische groepen in Suriname?
- Wat onderscheid Hindoestanen van Creolen?
- Wat hebben Hindoestanen en Creolen gemeenschappelijk?
- Heeft u veel vrienden die geen Hindoestanen zijn?
- Heeft u wel eens het idee gehad dat u anders werd behandeld vanwege uw etnische achtergrond? Kunt u een voorbeeld geven? Door wie?
- Hoe zou u er tegenover staan als iemand in uw familie met iemand zou trouwen van een andere etnische achtergrond? Waarom zou u zich zo voelen? Zou het uitmaken welke etnische achtergrond dit zou zijn?

Persoonlijke vragen: etnische groepen in Suriname

- Welke groepen trouwen het meest met elkaar?
- Welke groep heeft de meeste politieke/culturele/economische macht in Suriname?

<u>Vrijetijdsbesteding</u>

- Wat is uw vrijetijdsbesteding? Is deze etnisch georganiseerd?

<u>Politiek</u>

- Is de politiek langs etnische lijnen georganiseerd?

<u>Religie</u>
- Wat is de religie in uw familie?
- Welke religie wordt het meeste beoefent bij Hindoestanen?
- Welke feesten vieren jullie door het jaar heen? Welke vinden jullie het belangrijkst?
- Speelt religie een rol in bruiloften, geboortes, begrafenissen, enzovoort. Hoe dan?
- Hoe zou u er tegenover staan als iemand in uw familie met iemand zou trouwen van een andere religie?
- Waarom zou u zich zo voelen? Zou het uitmaken welke religie dit zou zijn?
- Is religie etnisch georganiseerd? (op welke manier voelt u zich als etnische groep verenigd door uw religie?)
- Wat is de relatie tussen taal en religie?

<u>Surinaamse identiteit</u>

- Bestaat er zoiets als een Surinaamse identiteit? Waar bestaat deze uit?
- Welke taal hoort er bij de Surinaamse identiteit?
- Hoe verhouden de Surinaamse en de Hindoestaanse identiteit zich tot elkaar?

8.3 Appendix 3 – Interview guidelines Creole experts

Introductie

- Wat is uw leeftijd?
- Waar bent u geboren?
- Wat is uw opleiding?

Taal

- Welke talen spreekt u? Waar bent u geboren?
- Wat is de rol van het Nederlands in Suriname
- Wat is de rol van het Sranan in Suriname
- In de 20ste eeuw is het gebruik van het Nederlands gestegen in alle etnische groepen. Een auteur van een wetenschappelijk artikel, St-Hilaire (2001), beweert dat dit een teken is voor de culturele integratie van Suriname; Suriname wordt één nationale entiteit. Wat vindt u van deze bewering?
- Is Nederlands een onderdeel van de Surinaamse identiteit? (nee: welke taal dan wel?).

Surinaamse identiteit

- Bestaat er zoiets als een Surinaamse identiteit? Waar bestaat deze uit?

Core values

- Wat is de rol van het Nederlands voor Creolen?
- Wat is de rol van het Sranan voor Creolen?
- Er is een theorie genaamd *theory of the core values of culture* van Smolicz (1992). Volgens deze theorie zijn niet alle elementen in een cultuur van gelijke waarde voor de identificatie van een groepslid. Sommige waarden zijn zogenaamde *core values*; deze *core values* vormen de belangrijkste elementen van een groep. Wat denkt u dat de *core values* zijn voor de Creoolse groep?
- Kan etnische identiteit bestaan zonder taal als core value, concreet kan je Creool zijn zonder Sranan te kennen?

Etnische grenzen

Een auteur van een wetenschappelijk artikel, Wimmer (2008) beweert dat de grenzen tussen etnische groepen op vier dimensies kunnen verschillen. Ik zou graag van elke dimensie willen weten hoe u daar over denkt met betrekking tot Suriname en waar u Suriname zou plaatsen op elk continuüm.
- Wimmer (2008) benoemt als eerste dimensie de politieke situatie van een land. Het continuüm dat hierbij hoort is: etnische grenzen zijn belangrijk zijn in de politiek versus etnische grenzen zijn niet belangrijk in de politiek. Hoe is dit voor Suriname?
- Wimmer (2008) benoemt als tweede de sociale dichtheid van een groep. Sommige groepen zijn afgesloten van de rest en in andere gevallen ontstaan er gemakkelijk relaties dwars door groepsgrenzen heen. Etnische grenzen zijn dus enerzijds duidelijk, relevant voor het alledaagse leven en door de meerderheid geaccepteerd en anderzijds is dit niet het geval. Het continuüm dat hierbij hoort is: er is

een lage mate van sociale dichtheid versus er is een hoge mate van sociale dichtheid. Hoe is dit voor Suriname?

- Wimmer (2008) benoemt als derde de relatie tussen etniciteit en cultuur. Het continuüm dat hierbij hoort is: etnische grenzen vallen samen met culturele verschillen versus etnische grenzen vallen niet samen met culturele verschillen. Hoe is dit voor Suriname?
- Wimmer (2008) benoemt als vierde de stabiliteit van etnische grenzen. Sommige grenzen veranderen maar langzaam en anderen zijn minder stabiel. Het continuüm dat hierbij hoort is: etnische grenzen zijn instabiel versus etnische grenzen zijn stabiel. Hoe is dit voor Suriname?
- Welke eigenschappen onderscheiden Creolen van andere etnische groepen in Suriname?
- Wat onderscheid Creolen van Hindoestanen?
- Wat hebben Creolen en Hindoestanen gemeenschappelijk?
- Welke groepen trouwen het meest met elkaar?
- Welke groep heeft de meeste politieke/culturele/economische macht in Suriname?

<u>Religie</u>

- Is religie etnisch georganiseerd?
- Wat is de relatie tussen taal en religie?

8.4 Appendix 4 – Interview guidelines Hindustani experts

<u>Introductie</u>
- Wat is uw leeftijd?
- Waar bent u geboren?
- Wat is uw opleiding?

<u>Taal</u>

- Welke talen spreekt u? Waar bent u geboren?
- Wat is de rol van het Nederlands in Suriname
- Wat is de rol van het Sranan in Suriname
- Wat is de rol van het Sarnami in Suriname?
- Wat is de rol van het Hindi in Suriname?
- Wat is de rol van het Sanskriet in Suriname?
- In de 20ste eeuw is het gebruik van het Nederlands gestegen in alle etnische groepen. Een auteur van een wetenschappelijk artikel, St-Hilaire (2001), beweert dat dit een teken is voor de culturele integratie van Suriname; Suriname wordt één nationale entiteit. Wat vindt u van deze bewering?
- Is Nederlands een onderdeel van de Surinaamse identiteit? (nee: welke taal dan wel?).

<u>Surinaamse identiteit</u>

- Bestaat er zoiets als een Surinaamse identiteit? Waar bestaat deze uit?

<u>Core values</u>

- Wat is de rol van het Nederlands voor Creolen?
- Wat is de rol van het Sranan voor Creolen?
- Wat is de rol van het Sarnami voor Hindoestanen?
- Wat is de rol van het Hindi voor Hindoestanen?
- Wat is de rol van het Sanskriet voor Hindoestanen?

- Er is een theorie genaamd *theory of the core values of culture* van Smolicz (1992). Volgens deze theorie zijn niet alle elementen in een cultuur van gelijke waarde voor de identificatie van een groepslid. Sommige waarden zijn zogenaamde *core values*; deze *core values* vormen de belangrijkste elementen van een groep. Wat denkt u dat de *core values* zijn voor de Hindoestaanse groep?
- Kan etnische identiteit bestaan zonder taal als core value, concreet kan je Hindoestaan zijn zonder Sarnami te kennen?

<u>Etnische grenzen</u>

Een auteur van een wetenschappelijk artikel, Wimmer (2008) beweert dat de grenzen tussen etnische groepen op vier dimensies kunnen verschillen. Ik zou graag van elke dimensie willen weten hoe u daar over denkt met betrekking tot Suriname en waar u Suriname zou plaatsen op elk continuüm.
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- Wimmer (2008) benoemt als derde de relatie tussen etniciteit en cultuur. Het continuüm dat hierbij hoort is: etnische grenzen vallen samen met culturele verschillen versus etnische grenzen vallen niet samen met culturele verschillen. Hoe is dit voor Suriname?
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- Welke eigenschappen onderscheiden Hindoestanen van andere etnische groepen in Suriname?
- Wat onderscheid Hindoestanen van Creolen?
- Wat hebben Hindoestanen en Creolen gemeenschappelijk?
- Welke groepen trouwen het meest met elkaar?
- Welke groep heeft de meeste politieke/culturele/economische macht in Suriname?

<u>Religie</u>

- Is religie etnisch georganiseerd?
- Wat is de relatie tussen taal en religie?