

'A garden of different flowers'

A study on cultural heritage and national identity in Suriname

Master thesis

**Mariët Veen, s1414003
Faculty of Spatial Sciences
Supervisor: Peter Groote
University of Groningen, the Netherlands**

**Esther Veen, 810503855070
Rural Development Sociology
Supervisor: Gerard Verschoor
Wageningen University, the Netherlands**

July 2007, Paramaribo/Groningen/Wageningen



Preface

This thesis report has been written by two sisters, studying two different disciplines in two different cities in the Netherlands; respectively Cultural Geography in Groningen and International Development Studies in Wageningen. It is not very usual for two people to do their thesis together, let alone two sisters at two different universities. However, it has been an amazing experience; not only did it give us the possibility to reflect on each other's thoughts, develop methods together, learn how to deal with the combination of different disciplines and use of the qualities of two people, discovering another country and culture is also more fun together (and Suriname is definitely worth discovering). Therefore we would like to thank the people who were flexible enough to let us try this.

But, however cliché, the people who we owe the most, are our respondents. The hundreds of people who were kind enough to fill out a questionnaire or talk to us on the street, but especially the experts and most especially the people who took the effort to speak to us for our in-depth interviews; Sandro Alberga, Stephen Fokké, Freddy Harrison, Ratan Kalka, Benjamin Mitrasingh, Ashwien Moerlie, Hilde Neus, Sieglie Hynes, Diego Pos, Stanley Sidoel and co., Karen Tjon Pian Gi, Erwin de Vries, Dick Wesenhagen, An Bousaid, Andre Lieuw, Anita Kartoredjo, Brian Sastroredjo, Clemens Lugard, Elise Glans, Elka Sookdelsingh, Firoza Gulzar, Hedwig August de Getrouwe, Ingrid Baptista, Irene Amatd Asim, Joanne Parabirsingh, Lydia Uhlenkamp, Milton Cruden, Rita Stolk and Kim van Zichem. A huge thanks to you all! It wouldn't have been possible without you!

Further, we would also like to thank the Joop family, especially Marvin, Bertje and Kimberley, for accompanying us in places they know better than us and being our friends. Another thanks for Brian and Clemens for their help as well. Hereby, we would also like to thank our supervisors; Hein Raghoobar in Paramaribo, Peter Groote in Groningen and Gerard Verschoor in Wageningen. Also a big thanks to the Groningen University Fund, the Marco Polo Fund and Pluspunt Individu, for financial contributions. Finally, we would both like to thank our sister, for moral support and fun!

Mariët Veen – Rijksuniversiteit Groningen, Faculty of Spatial Sciences
Esther Veen – Wageningen Universiteit, Rural Development Sociology

Summary/Samenvatting

De centrale vraag die beantwoord wordt in deze scriptie is 'Wat is het belang van cultureel erfgoed voor nationale identiteit in Suriname?'

Erfgoed, gedefinieerd als dat gedeelte van het verleden dat we selecteren in het heden voor hedendaagse economische, culturele, politieke en sociale doelen (Graham et al., 2000), staat centraal. Erfgoed is belangrijk omdat het een gemeenschappelijk verleden kan creëren door een geselecteerd verleden zichtbaar te maken, tradities te creëren en plaatsen identiteit te geven. Bovendien kan erfgoed de waarden en normen van een cultuur uitdrukken, en daarmee die cultuur erkennen en reproduceren. Door het creëren van een gemeenschappelijk verleden en het erkennen van de gemeenschappelijke cultuur, kan erfgoed een nationale identiteit creëren en/of versterken.

Dit is vooral belangrijk in landen met meerdere etnische gemeenschappen, omdat het de groepen bindt en daardoor stabiliteit geeft in deze multi-etnische landen. Probleem is, dat er van de geschiedenissen van al die groepen vaak maar één wordt verteld. Het is meestal de elite die beslist welke geschiedenis wordt gereproduceerd, waarmee ze zichzelf en haar denkbeelden aan de macht houdt. De geschiedenissen van andere groepen worden dan over het hoofd gezien of zelfs met opzet buitengesloten. Dit kan leiden tot conflicten. Aan de andere kant kan erfgoed ook de verbindende factor zijn tussen verschillende groepen door het creëren van die nationale identiteit. Ashworth (2007) heeft een aantal modellen ontwikkeld die weergeven hoe landen omgaan met verschillende groepen en hun erfgoed. In dit onderzoek hebben we gekeken naar Suriname, omdat dat een land is met meerdere etnische groepen, waarin belangrijke etnische conflicten juist ontbreken.

Ondanks dat de Surinaamse overheid geen duidelijk beleid heeft om een nationale identiteit te creëren met behulp van erfgoed, en daar ook niet de (financiële) middelen voor heeft, is erfgoed toch belangrijk voor de Surinaamse identiteit. Doordat de overheid geen expliciet beleid heeft, maakt ze gebruik van de 'inclusivist' benadering; het erfgoed van alle groepen wordt gerespecteerd – zolang ze er zelf voor zorgen. Het enige erfgoed waar de overheid zelf voor zorgt, is het koloniale erfgoed. Dit erfgoed drukt een verleden uit dat voor (bijna) alle groepen belangrijk is, omdat (bijna) alle groepen tijdens de koloniale periode naar Suriname zijn gekomen. Dit verleden is daarom iets dat de mensen bindt. In ons onderzoek komt dan ook naar voren dat dit erfgoed als zeer belangrijk wordt gezien.

Het erfgoed dat oorspronkelijk slechts voor één groep was bedoeld, is in sommige gevallen geëvolueerd tot gemeenschappelijk erfgoed, omdat het behoren tot een multi-etnische samenleving ook onderdeel is van de Surinaamse identiteit. Het etnische verhaal, verbonden aan het erfgoed, is dan vervangen door het verhaal van de multi-etnische samenleving. Trots op deze samenleving is dan ook een onderdeel van de gemeenschappelijke identiteit. Erfgoed is daarom wel degelijk belangrijk voor de nationale identiteit; het laat een gemeenschappelijke geschiedenis zien en biedt uiting aan een gemeenschappelijke trots door de verschillende groepen zichtbaar te maken. De Surinaamse identiteit blijkt dan ook sterker aanwezig te zijn dan de etnische.

Van de modellen van Ashworth (2007) blijkt geen enkele de situatie in Suriname precies weer te geven. Daarom hebben wij een nieuw model, het zogenaamde bloem-model, ontwikkeld. De bloembladen geven de verschillende groepen aan, die met elkaar zijn verbonden door het hart van de bloem, dat de gemeenschappelijke identiteit symboliseert.

Uit ons onderzoek naar de situatie in Suriname is naar voren gekomen dat het samenleven van verschillende etniciteiten niet altijd met grote conflicten gepaard hoeft te gaan.

Contents

Preface	i
Summary/Samenvatting	iii
Contents	v
Chapter 1 Introduction	1
1.1 Introduction.....	1
1.2 Problem statement	1
1.3 Structure of the report.....	2
Chapter 2 Conceptual framework and research questions	5
2.1 Heritage	5
2.2 Culture, ethnicity and identity.....	6
2.3 Creating a shared past; creating group identity.....	7
2.4 What's mine isn't yours.....	8
2.5 Heritage as a tool in multiethnic societies	9
2.6 Unity in diversity?.....	12
2.7 Conflict or Creolisation.....	12
2.8 Graphic representation	14
2.9 Research questions	15
Chapter 3 Methodology	17
3.1 Research population	17
3.2 Methods	23
3.3 Triangulation	28
3.4 Methodological considerations	28
Chapter 4 Introduction to Suriname	31
4.1 Geography.....	31
4.2 History	32
4.3 Ethnicity in Suriname.....	33
4.4 Policy on heritage.....	36
4.5 Promoting a Surinamese identity through heritage	38
Chapter 5 We should be proud of what we've got	41
5.1 Importance of cultural heritage	41
5.2 Serving as part of history	45
5.3 Everyone his own things	49
5.4 Surinamese heritage represents the colourful past/present	54
Chapter 6 One nation, different people	57
6.1 Our cultural diversity is something we have to cherish.....	57
6.2 It is one big, happy family here	58
6.3 We still have to grow towards each other.....	59
6.4 Future.....	60
6.5 Model.....	62
Chapter 7 Conclusions	65
7.1 Conclusions	65
7.2 Suggestions for further research.....	66

References	69
Appendix A; Quotes translated	74
Appendix B; Experts	80
Appendix C; Questionnaire 1	81
Appendix D; Questionnaire 2	83
Appendix E; Questionnaire 3	87
Appendix F; Questionnaire 4	91
Appendix G; Interview scheme	95
Appendix H; Street survey.....	97
Appendix I; Questionnaire 5	99
Appendix J; Composition of the respondents in the questionnaires	101

Chapter 1 Introduction

1.1 Introduction

People have always migrated from one region to another, be it for economic, religious, political or other reasons. Especially after the Second World War, immigration into western countries began to take place on a large scale (Held et al., 1999). Inevitably, such migration has an impact on the receiving country. Although countries have responded differently to multiculturalism (Graham et al., 2000), notions of citizenship and national identity have to be renegotiated in any immigration country. Not only have border and entry controls become more severe and citizenship documents harder to obtain (Held et al., 1999), there is also a social element. As a reaction to the presence of large numbers of immigrants and the resulting economic and political uncertainty, Western Europe has seen the rise of racist and nationalist groups (Held et al., 1999). Especially over the last years, right wing political parties have gained in popularity, and fights between foreign and native citizens are no rarity in the news. Integration is a hot topic nowadays and it is clear that the multicultural society receives a large amount of attention nowadays; everybody - not just politicians - seems to have an opinion on it. In the globalising world there is hardly anybody who does not get into contact with other cultures one way or the other. Citizens see their living and working environment change, politicians have to make decisions regarding the limits of immigration and policy makers are wondering to what extent they can influence processes of integration (Hortulanus, 2002).

The second half of the twentieth century was not the first era of great migration. In the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries a massive migration was started by the Europeans. Following the discovery of the Americas they colonized the continent and brought many African slaves to work on the plantations. An Asian labour flow came up to secure a steady number of workers, especially after the abolition of slavery (Held et al., 1999). As a result Suriname¹, at the time a Dutch colony, is a country whose ethnic diversity is very rich. Next to the indigenous Amerindians, the country is inhabited by the Creoles, brought as slaves from Africa, the Maroons, who were runaway slaves living in the woods, and the Hindostanis, Javanese and Chinese, who came as voluntary workers in the nineteenth century (Bakker et al., 1998). Smaller groups include the Europeans (mostly Dutch), Guyanese, Brazilians and Jews (Snijders, 2003).

1.2 Problem statement

Suriname is thus inhabited by various ethnic communities. In many countries where people of different cultures or different ethnicities live together, there is conflict between these groups. Huntington (1996) argues that this is inevitable, as people rely on culture for a large part of their identity. With regards to Suriname, he would predict ethnic or cultural conflict, at least to a certain extent, as it is so multicultural a country. However, this conflict, at least that of the overt and violent kind, is lacking. How is this possible? Apparently, people are not as strongly opposed to other cultures and identities as Huntington wants us to believe. Indeed, there are other authors who are more positive and state that a living together of different cultural groups can also lead to interesting cultural interactions (Hannerz, 1996). Maybe Suriname is one of those cases in which the mix of cultures can lead to peaceful coexistence and even an exchange of culture.

¹ Suriname is officially called 'The Republic of Suriname', but is often incorrectly spelled as 'Surinam'. The correct spelling includes the 'e' at the end (en.wikipedia.org).

But even if this is the case, the question remains how this is possible - what is so special about Suriname that the coexistence of different cultures does not lead to conflict here? Obviously, the answer to this question is by no means simple or unambiguous, and will be related to many factors. However, we believe that part of the answer may be found in heritage. Heritage is strongly related to (culture and) identity and it is used by people to make a statement about who they are. People save those parts of their culture, those heritage items, which they feel are important to save, often because they feel that those parts express and strengthen their (cultural) identity. Heritage is thus a tool - or a symbol - for creating and strengthening cultural identity (Groote, 2007, personal conversation). Therefore, heritage is said to be very important to people, and it has a significant role in shaping cultural identities. Hence, it is not surprising that conflicts between different communities living in one country are often expressed by one community destroying the heritage of the other, and vice versa. Recent examples are the burning of mosques in the Netherlands, following the murder of Theo van Gogh (www.nu.nl), the blowing up of thousand-year-old Buddha statues in Afghanistan by the Taliban (van der Aa and Ashworth, 2002) and the attack on the symbols of American culture - the Twin towers.

Moreover, heritage does not only lead to or is used in conflict, it is also an important binding factor. Because it carries the ability to create a shared history, it can bond people, or groups of people. Looking through the news, there are various examples of such binding practices. The seven new world wonders have only recently been (re)selected, thereby appealing to people's feelings of connection with a world identity, overarching the national identity. The people in the Dutch town of Groningen voted against new plans for the town square as they were afraid that their beloved Martini tower might not survive. In this case, opponents of the plans made use of the identity creating values of the tower, since ever since they started stressing the dangers of the tower perishing, more and more people voted against the plans. Finally, the Netherlands decided upon a new official history (canon) to be learned by all school children. No doubt, the creation of a national identity has been an important reason. This binding of people by creating (national) identity is especially important in those nations consisting of many different ethnic communities, in order to make the people feel that they belong to the same country.

Because of the binding functions of heritage, we suspect that the way people deal with heritage in Suriname, and the importance people attach to it, can be (one of) the reason(s) for the fact that we feel that Huntington's theories don't apply to Suriname. Therefore it will be interesting to study what the role of heritage is, especially with regards to the different ethnic communities in Suriname.

1.3 Structure of the report

In this thesis we argue that there is a common Surinamese heritage, which reflects and backs up a Surinamese identity. Of course, our thesis starts with a conceptual framework, to back up our research from a theoretical point of view, which results in our research questions. After we have explained and defended the methods we have used in chapter 3, we have added a chapter to give some background information, which is necessary in order to be able to read the rest of the chapters. This includes information about the ethnic situation in Suriname, and the political situation with regards to heritage and policies on heritage, culture and identity. In chapter 5 we present the results, which show that indeed one can speak of a Surinamese heritage. It becomes clear that colonial and other non-ethnic heritage can be seen as the base of this Surinamese heritage, but some heritage that is specific to ethnic groups also belongs to this. We also show that some heritage, however, does belong to a certain ethnic group more than to others. After having showed these results specific to heritage, we go on to the next chapter, chapter 6, in which we show how these feelings about heritage are reflected in society as a greater whole. In that chapter, we

also try to fit the Surinamese situation into the models as described by Ashworth (2007). Since we conclude that that is not possible, we develop a new model. In the last chapter, chapter 7, we apply this model further by fitting Surinamese heritage into it. We also answer the research question by concluding that heritage is indeed important for national identity because of the common identity it creates, and because it gives space to the different ethnicities, the existence of which is itself part of this identity. Here we also make some suggestions for further research.

In order to be understood by as many people as possible, we have decided to write this thesis in English. However, since Suriname is a Dutch speaking country, we conducted the research in Dutch. Therefore, questionnaires and interviews have all been in Dutch and many important documents and literature are written in Dutch as well. In the appendices, the questionnaires and interview schemes have been included in their original, Dutch, form, but whenever we deal with a specific question in the report, we have translated it. Quotes by respondents of our questionnaires and interviews have all been translated by ourselves, just as some quotes from literature originally written in Dutch. The original, Dutch, quotes can be found in appendix A. We have included a summary in Dutch.

Chapter 2 **Conceptual framework and research questions**

2.1 Heritage

Heritage is a comprehensive term, which is used in many diverging situations, ranging from museology to city planning. There seem to be even so many different definitions to describe and explain the term. Aplin (2002) describes heritage as a gift for future generations, and Howard (2003) as everything that people want to save. Although these definitions express the strong relation between heritage and the past, they lack the idea that heritage is used by people in the present, for present purposes. Therefore, we find that a more apt definition comes from Graham et al. (2000), as they see heritage as 'that part of the past which we select in the present for contemporary purposes, be they economic, cultural, political or social' (p. 17).

Starting from this definition, one can see that heritage is by no means a passive or static concept, because it is about choosing, about actively selecting that part of the past one wishes to use. That it is indeed an active concept is also explained by the idea that heritage only gains meaning through interpretation; heritage is given meaning by the interpreter (Aplin, 2002). As a consequence, the values attached to heritage - or the purposes for which it is used - are under constant change; heritage is a decision which is taken now (Ashworth, 2006, lecture notes). Heritage therefore reflects the present and is neither neutral, nor objective (Graham et al., 2000).

As to the question which items can be seen as heritage, this is almost anything; clothing, buildings, food, customs, houses, paintings, rituals, language, landscapes and so forth (Loeffler, 2005; Aplin, 2002). Some heritage items are unique and special (like the tower of Pisa), others are common and typical (like the canal side houses in Amsterdam) (Aplin, 2002). As heritage is such a broad concept, we have narrowed it down by excluding all natural heritage, social heritage like language and rituals, and moveable objects like clothing, defining heritage for this research as 'monumental buildings and statues'. With the additive 'monumental' we do not wish to refer only to buildings having acquired the special status of monument by meeting a certain range of characteristics, but we have added it to make clear that we refer to buildings of national importance and public interest. Exactly which buildings are monumental is not important here, as we have included only a range of buildings in our research population, which we have judged as being monumental. The additive monumental is just useful in order to make the distinction with 'ordinary' buildings. Moreover, in the report we often use the term monuments to refer to all buildings and statues included in the research, again without referring to these buildings and statues as being of official monumental status. For practical reasons we have limited ourselves to heritage in Paramaribo. We are aware of the fact that we have limited the definition of heritage to such a great extent that it becomes impossible to make general statements about heritage and the ways in which it is used. This limits the value of this research. However, we felt that this limitation was necessary because heritage is such a broad concept, including so many cultural outings, that it was impossible to include all, or maybe even a larger range of it. The time available for this research was only limited, and therefore we needed a strict boundary around the outer lines of this research. Moreover, we felt that such a strict boundary was also necessary in order to be able to conduct a focused and therefore reliable research.

We have divided the monuments used in this research into so-called 'ethnic' and 'non-ethnic' monuments, in order to be able to make a distinction between heritage which is specifically

relevant to a certain ethnic group, and heritage that is not. Heritage is specific to an ethnic group when it has been placed in order to honour or remember that group, or an individual belonging to that group. Thus, the Remembrance Tree, placed to remember the Hindostani immigration, is ethnic, the monument in honour of the victims of the Second World War, is not.

2.2 Culture, ethnicity and identity

Heritage is often mentioned in relation to identity, because people derive part of their identity from heritage. Identity, however, is a broad and difficult concept, and therefore needs explaining. We use the definition of Polletta and Jasper (2001), who define identity as 'the bundle of traits that we believe makes us unique' (p. 298). We chose to use this definition because it explains clearly that someone's identity depends on many factors, or traits. These traits Polletta and Jasper refer to can be many different things; age, gender or physical attributes for example. However, they can also be traits shared with others, like culture and ethnicity. These two related concepts, both constructs (Giddens, 1997), are hard to define as well, so a few notes are useful here. Giddens (1997) proposes the following, relatively simple definition for culture; 'the ways of life of the members of a society, or of groups within a society' (p. 18). As culture an sich is not the main focus of this research, we feel that this simple definition is sufficient. One point we would like to add though, is that culture is a collective mental programme, as explained by Hofstede (1995), and (therefore) subject to change; it is dynamic (Verkuyten, 2002).

Giddens (1997) defines ethnicity as 'the cultural practices and outlooks of a given community of people that sets them apart from others' (p. 210). The difference between this definition and that of culture is only small and shows that culture incorporates ethnicity, because ethnicity refers to a communal area of origin, which is being relied on when referring to cultural norms and values (Groote, 2007, personal conversation). Ethnicity is thus related to a (more or less imaginary) communal origin - and history. This does not mean that it is static - ancestry and history are given new shape, being re-interpreted and adjusted over and over again (Verkuyten, 2002). Here it becomes clear that there is a certain relation to heritage, as heritage also refers to the past, and is able to make that past visible. We will come back to this in the next section.

Ethnic identity then, concerns the idea and the feeling of continuity with the past and solidarity with previous generations (Verkuyten, 2002); it is grounded in this past. Culture can be seen as the way of life of such an – ethnic – group², and is therefore more viable to changes and adjustments. Hence, according to Verkuyten (2002), when people talk about 'our culture', they often mean a 'we'-feeling that is based upon the idea of common origin and history; 'It is the reference to the origin that makes the cultural border an ethnic border' (a) (p. 43).

People are constantly changing the focus of their identity, however, 'depending on where they are, what they are doing and whom they are with' (UNRISD/UNDP, 1995, p. 3). So, ethnic identities cut across other identity creating values (Graham et al., 2000). In other words, it depends on the situation which identity factor, for example age, occupation, gender or ethnicity, is dominant. Moreover, identity is dependent on the context, and as the context can change, so can identity (Simon, 2004). Also, identities can coexist and overlap each other - the one does not necessarily replace the other (Storey, 2001). Hence, someone's student identity may play up when university fees are going up, whereas this same person's

² In this research, we use the term ethnic community or ethnic group to refer to people belonging to the same ethnicity, living in Suriname. We also treat the group of people of mixed origin as one ethnic group, even though they do not share their ethnicity as such. In Suriname, however, these people are seen as belonging to one group, and this is the reason why we treat them in this way as well.

national identity becomes important when the national football team is playing. Identity is also a process. It is formed in relation to others (Storey, 2001), and people construct meaning on the basis of characteristics that are given priority over other potential sources of meaning (Castells, 1997, in Edelman, 2001). Hence, people choose what they use for shaping their identity, and what they do not. Now we will explain the relation between heritage and identity in more detail.

2.3 Creating a shared past; creating group identity

We gain comfort from being able to relate to the past, not only through the sometimes trivial (or trivialised) concept of nostalgia, but also in deeper and more meaningful ways. We need connections with both place and time to locate our present lives geographically and historically; heritage helps in both the temporal and spatial sense. It also helps us to locate ourselves socially, in the sense that it is one of the things that binds communities and nations, giving a sense of group identity to both insiders and outsiders' (Aplin, 2002, p. 16).

One of the obvious purposes for which heritage is used, is for preserving (part of) the past. Heritage is suitable for this because it has the power to reflect the past in a visual and material way, to which people can relate easily. Preserving the past is an essential quality, because it keeps the memories of people's lives alive and helps them define their place in a social group and community; although people do not live in the past, they are constantly being defined by and define themselves by it, as people themselves select what they use to make this definition (Molyneaux, 1994). Ethnicity, for example, is based on a shared origin and therefore this relation to the past is important for identity. Heritage then, makes it possible to create or highlight a past which is shared by a group of people (Aplin, 2002). One way in which heritage is employed in creating such a shared past, is by creating traditions. People tend to identify with particular places, events and mythical people, as argued by many authors (Storey, 2001; Holloway and Hubbard, 2001, Graham et al., 2000; Knox and Marston, 2003). By building a history around buildings and places, they become filled with meaning (Storey, 2001). Also, events and people can be used, with certain people – the so-called 'heroes' - assumed to personify the group (Storey, 2001). Such traditions generate a shared past, thereby constructing group identity (Storey, 2001; Graham et al., 2000).

Another way in which heritage creates (group) identity is by generating a sense of place. A historic city with distinguishable buildings and areas has a unique character that easily distinguishes that place from others. In this way users give such places identities, as they experience a 'sense of place'. This sense of place is crucial to people's identity, because residents receive identity from fragments of their direct living environment in which heritage contributes as an amenity or image (Ennen, 1999). In other words, people link place identities to characteristics from the past. These characteristics are linked to a specific place, and are used to distinguish this place from others. That way, places give shape to imagined communities, and are thereby important for the construction of common identities (Brace, 2003, in Simon, 2004). Heritage then has the 'function of validating and legitimating a people's present sense of sameness' (Graham et al., 2000, p. 40). For example, research shows that local identities - for example a neighbourhood identity - can overrule ethnic identities and thereby unite different communities (Verkuyten, 2002).

An imagined community is a group of people that feel that they belong together even though they have never met (Anderson, 1991). One of the most obvious examples of an imagined community is a nation. A nation refers to people with a shared sense of solidarity, a common culture and a shared history. As people are a nation 'whenever they feel they are', the concept is not at all objective; it is a mental construct (Storey, 2001). A state, on the other hand, is 'a legal and political organization with power over its citizens, those people living within its boundaries' (Storey, 2001, p. 21). Thus, although the two concepts are often used interchangeable, they are not the same thing. An ethnic group, finally, resembles a nation in

that it is used to identify a group of people who share a common culture and feel they belong together, but the difference is that an ethnic group does not necessarily aspire political independence. Also, nations can consist of multiple ethnic groups, as they are less exclusive (Storey, 2001).

A nation is thus a group of people who feel connected to each other, and who also *feel that they are a nation*. A group of study friends is not a nation, because even though they feel connected to each other, they don't see themselves as a nation. Other groups of people, however different these people may be in their ideas and values, are nations, just because there is something that binds them and makes them belong to the same nation. In other words, these groups of people share a *national identity*. And this is where heritage becomes important; it is thought to strengthen, or even build this identity. According to Guibernau (1996), there are five key elements for composing national identity. One of these is the *possessing of a common past*. Of course, the other four elements are equally important, but since this research deals with the role of heritage in relation to national identity, this element is particularly important here. As explained above, heritage is a useful tool to create such a common past. So, in order to give the people living in one country a national identity and thereby making them form a nation, creating or strengthening a shared history can be valuable. Nations can use a past to justify their present existence and territorial claims. In Storey's (2001) words: 'a national past is seen to provide the glue which holds the nation together' (p. 76).

Maíz (2000) argues that national identity is built upon a set of myths, memories, values and symbols. This set, a common vocabulary of tradition and convention, gives citizens the possibility to make choices within their own cultural context. The myths and memories can be strengthened by heritage, as argued before, and in that way heritage not only unites a group of people by creating a common history (Aplin, 2002), it also does this by reinforcing culture. Hence, the connection between people that share a cultural identity relies on a communal recognition of a certain way of life. Playing their part within this cultural identity are narratives, which are told by historic objects. The historic buildings can be seen as codes that are used to define the cultural rules. Heritage is therefore used to clarify this recognition, and thus identity, as 'the individual derives (part of) his identity from the cultural identity of his spatial surroundings' (a) (Ennen, 2004, p. 19). Therefore heritage legitimises the existence of a group, as well as its norms and values (Ashworth, 2006, lecture notes). Furthermore, since heritage refers to things that represent ideas, it says a lot about who people think they are; the things people save from change make certain ideals real and reinforce identity (Aplin, 2002). In addition, heritage makes it possible for outsiders to recognise a group of people as forming a whole. Dutch sports fans not only wear orange sweaters to a soccer match because they get them for free with their beers, but also because it makes them more noticeable to others. The Germans will immediately know where the Dutch are seated.

2.4 What's mine isn't yours

Despite this one function of heritage, helping to create the common history of a certain community – thereby uniting people – it also does the opposite: it divides people. This is related to the fact that people, and groups of people like cultures and nations, construct their identity as a counter-distinction to someone or something else (Graham et al., 2000). Huntington (1996) argues that people define themselves by what makes them different from others; they define their identity by what they are not. Also Howard (2003) agrees that identity (both individual and collective) is often negatively drawn against others, and he explains that many nations have a significant other; we are not like them. As a result heritage, in giving identity to cultures and nations, is fundamentally divisive (Howard, 2003).

Apart from these counter-identities, heritage is also divisive because inherent in the process of preservation, conservation and creation of heritage, is selection. And the selection process is only open to a small powerful group (Ennen, 1999). Heritage is thus created by a certain community within a certain period of time; it gives identity to that group of people not only by including certain things, but also by actively excluding others (Loeffler, 2005). The creation of heritage can therefore disinherit or exclude people who are not included within 'the terms of meaning defining that heritage'; tension and conflict are thus inherent characteristics of heritage (Graham et al., 2000). By claiming something for one community, and for one history, other communities are being left out, because 'what's mine isn't yours'³ (Ashworth, 2006, lecture notes). As a consequence, that what is seen as national heritage is often the heritage of only part of the nation. A cultural or political elite may try to conserve that heritage which is needed for its own legitimation and will attempt to determine the meaning for everyone else by universalising its own cultural truth through traditions, texts, monuments, pictures and landscapes (Graham et al., 2000; van Gorp, 2003; Howard, 2003). Ennen (1999) argues that heritage is an easy instrument to manipulate thought. Those who decide what is preserved, conserved or created in fact provide identities rather than preserve the past, since heritage is the interpretation of a selection of aspects of the past. The majority of 'official' interpretations then strongly reflects the beliefs of the dominant group in society, and often reinforces the perceptions of that group (Aplin, 2002). These biased demonstrations of heritage are then produced and consumed by all different groups living in a country (Graham et al., 2000). Heritage is thus used to further manifest the group's dominance in politics and national debate and strengthen its feelings of superiority (Aplin, 2002). Hence, although there are always several histories existing side by side, there is only one national memory which is being taught in the schools as the official native history – a story in which selected events take the lead and in which the clue of the story is a range of victories and national heroes (Ennen, 1999). As a consequence, potentially competing histories and heritages (for example, from other ethnic groups or nations within the country) will be absorbed or neutralised (Graham et al., 2000); some versions of the past may be hidden, overlooked or intentionally excluded, and with that feelings of inferiority can be forced upon peoples (Molyneaux, 1994; Aplin, 2002). Moreover, other heritage will be imposed on these groups of people against their will (Howard, 2003). This explains why it is so important to understand who is presenting the past. As heritage is used by people, as it can create common pasts, include and exclude people, it is very important to know who is doing this, when studying heritage; who has the power to represent the past, to decide who is in and who is out? And also, who interprets heritage, which background is used and which pasts and memories are being revised or created? (Ennen, 1999).

Heritage is thus evidently a political tool; how the past is represented and communicated reveals ideological and political processes (Aplin, 2002; Molyneaux, 1994). Especially since certain heritage items are so clearly visible, incorporating a sense of collective identity, they can be seen as politically charged and 'deliberately visual manifestations of ideology imposed on the landscape' (Graham et al., 2000, p. 35). Therefore, in this research, we also look at whether the Surinamese government uses heritage to construct a national identity and if yes, how she does that. Moreover, it is also possible for ethnic groups to make use of heritage in a political way, by denying certain heritage items of other groups.

2.5 Heritage as a tool in multiethnic societies

Studying heritage and its role in creating and maintaining common pasts and national identity is specifically important in countries which are inhabited by several ethnic groups – such as Suriname. There are two main reasons for this. The first reason is related to the degree to which these different ethnic groups form a nation. In general it is assumed that

³ This process is often also referred to as 'othering'.

the more nation and state are overlapping, the more stable the state, with at the end of the spectrum the nation-state, which presumes national and cultural homogeneity (Storey, 2001). As a result, it is also believed that the ethnic diversity of a state is closely related to its (in)stability. A higher diversity is thought to lead to greater instability, because the more ethnic diversity, the less chance that nation and state are overlapping, and the less stable the state - especially when one or more ethnic groups form a separate nation (Storey, 2001). Therefore it seems logical for a state to try and give all different ethnic groups the feeling that they belong to the same nation. The role of heritage herein is to bring the people closer together, by creating a common history, maintaining the group's identity and legitimising the existence of the whole.

A second reason why heritage in multicultural societies is so interesting is related to the way people tend to identify themselves in relation to others, as described earlier. If there are different ethnic communities in one country, then the chance that the heritage of certain of these groups is being neglected is present - whether or not efforts are being made to create a common past and heritage. As Graham et al. (2000) argue, if there is only one official heritage within a country, this heritage is often kept alive at the cost of favouring one representation at the expense of many others (Graham et al., 2000). Hence, when looking at multicultural societies, it is both important and interesting to see what heritage of which group(s) is included and what is excluded (Storey, 2001). With these points in mind, it is not surprising that Graham et al. (2000) argue that societies may literally stand or fall by the effectiveness of their political use of heritage.

The way in which heritage is used by governments (or other groups in power), and what this means for the respective societies is described and explained by Ashworth (2007). He presents various models of ethnic integration, in which heritage and the way in which it is used plays a critical, but in each case different, role. The relation with heritage lies herein, that it is to be expected that in countries where the domination of one (or more) group(s) is relatively high, there will be less space for the heritages of other groups (Graham et al., 2000). Looking at what heritage is visible in a country will therefore give important clues as to how the different (ethnic) communities live together; it illustrates which cultures are in- and excluded in the mix (Ashworth, 2007). Ashworth (2007) recognises five main models; 'assimilation', 'melting pot', 'core+', 'pillar' and 'salad bowl', and two rarer alternatives, 'two directional' and 'third party core'. He arranges these models along two axes (see fig. 2.1). Those models striving for a homogenous social product are at one extreme of the x-axis, whereas those embracing a cultural plurality are at the other extreme. The y-axis is a spectrum of assumed stability, meaning that on the one side there are those models which are assumed to be intrinsically stable and on the other those that are capable of 'treating changeable ingredients within the mix and producing different outcomes' (p. 17).

Assimilation models are those where society accepts only one legitimate set of collective common values, social norms and practices and ethnic cultural characteristics. If there is deviance from the core, this is only accepted when it does not affect the core. Ashworth (2007) argues that recently, the re-emergence of European ethnocentrist popularism resulted in attempts to reject cultural pluralism and use assimilatory politics (Ashworth, 2007). Melting pot models are most common in settler societies, where immigrants from different ethnic backgrounds are melted into a new and unique 'creation', with one homogeneous identity. The heritage baggage immigrants have is thrown away and the new citizens identify with new heritage of the new place (Ashworth, 2007). In former times, the United States of America were seen as the prime example of the melting pot, because the new nation demanded new, American, citizens (Ashworth, 2007). Core+ models can be seen as a weaker version of the melting pot, since unsmelted residues are treated differently; a substantial core remains, but 'to it is added in various ways such other social groups as are seen to be unthreatening to the existence of the core and even contributing a useful addition

to its variety' (Ashworth, 2007, p.20). Many Northern European states adopted this model as a reaction to the recent immigration of groups with sharply different characteristics. The model is also prevalent in some post-colonial states where a majority culture is supplemented by other ethnic groups (Ashworth, 2007). In the pillar model, different cultural groups are sovereign in their own pillar, but there is not much integration. The different pillars co-exist and are equal, and only bounded by the fact that they exist in the same country. The Netherlands used to be strongly divided into pillars (Ashworth, 2006, lecture notes). The salad bowl can be seen as the model of most integration, and is explained as 'a pluralism of multiple but distinct cultures in one political entity' (Graham et al., 2000, p. 123). It can have different forms, either with or without a core (a slightly dominant culture) and with or without a dressing (a communal feeling of belonging of all the parts) (Ashworth, 2006, lecture notes). An example of the salad bowl is Canada, where the phrase itself originated. The model was born in opposition to the United States which demanded citizens to do away with their original cultural baggage. In Canada, all that was required was loyalty to the established order, not homogeneity of culture. It was necessary to discover a workable model to accommodate for the inherent diversity. Another well-known example is post-apartheid South Africa (Ashworth, 2007).

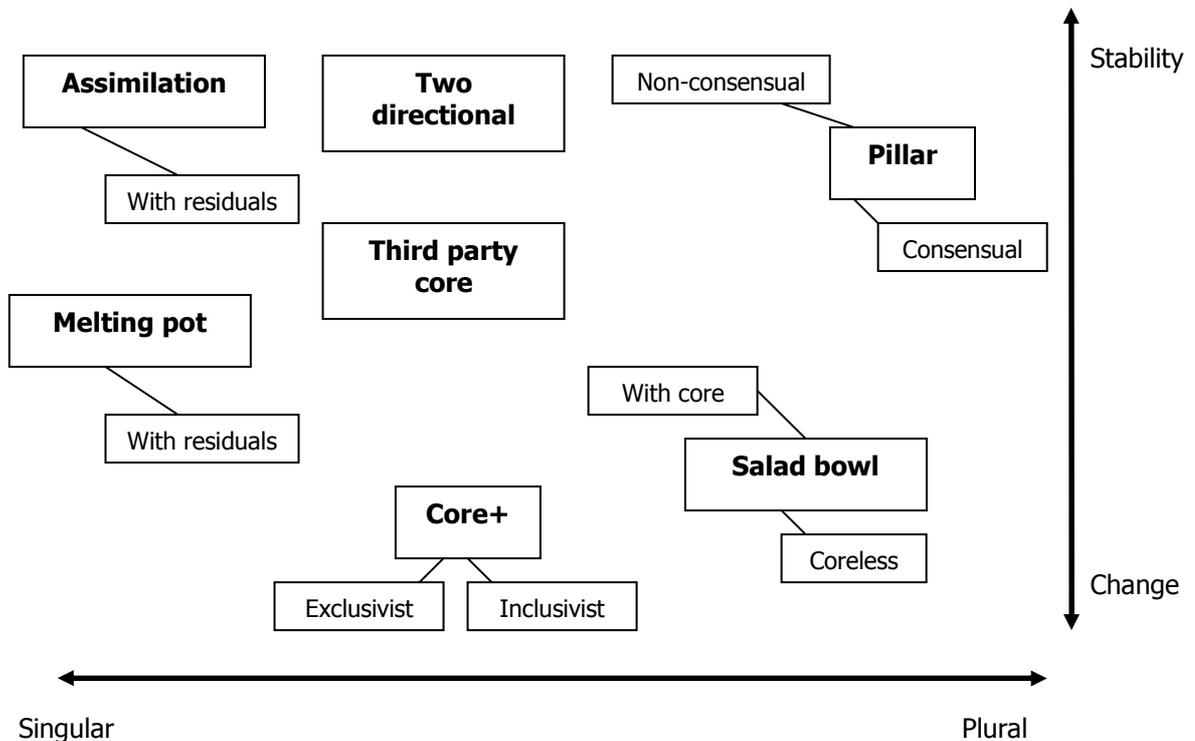


Fig. 2.1: Models for social policies in plural societies (Ashworth, 2007, p. 18)

The rarer two-directional models exist in 'newer' countries where the nation is both engaged in nation-building and in positioning itself in the global world. In those countries, two public heritages, one external (national events and people that are part of global history) and one internal (events and people without external resonance) exist side by side. An example is Malta, where a small, distinctive and unique culture co-exists with active acceptance of and participation in a global culture. Both are equally Maltese (Ashworth, 2007). The third-party core model is also a rarity. In countries with this model, a 'deep social diversity is over arched by some 'third-party', often imported, culture that provides a neutral and thus

acceptable integrating element' (Ashworth, 2007, p. 22). In countries like this, the imported heritage exists next to the heritage of the various groups. A typical example of this model is Singapore, where the many more or less recent migrant groups are bonded by the English language and heritage (Ashworth, 2007).

2.6 Unity in diversity?

Figure 2.1 illustrates that the salad bowl is positioned at the plural end of the spectrum, which means that there is space for more heritages in one country. Therefore, one would expect that in such a situation there is less heritage dissonance than in the assimilation model, being located at the other end of the spectrum. It is also to be expected that in the salad bowl model fewer groups feel that their heritage is being marginalised or destroyed. This is not to say that there is an overall solution to the human and heritage problems of reconciling cultural diversity (Graham et al., 2000). In particular, there is an obvious tension between ethnic autonomy and national identity. On the one hand, a state 'needs' to create a past and a culture common enough for people to relate to it, in order to create a stable nation-state. On the other hand, it is also important not to impose histories and cultures on groups of people, as this may give them the feeling that their culture and way of life are threatened, which can lead to desperate actions since especially then ethnicity becomes important to people (UNRISD/UNDP, 1995). An important question asked by Verkuyten (2002) is therefore; how can ethnic-cultural differences be acknowledged, without forgetting the similarities? Or; how to recognise diversity, without paying too much attention to differences?

Graham et al. (2000) answer this question by stating that an inclusivist approach is fundamental for the relationship between multiculturalism and heritage. An inclusivist approach is the approach whereby all heritages are at least accepted, and perhaps even actively cultivated. This is in contrast to the minimalist approach, in which only that which can be accepted by all groups is recognised as heritage. Dirlik and Prazniak (2001) explain this inclusivist approach with regards to ethnic identity;

'From the perspective of the state ethnic identification is undesirable. And it is also the case, especially today, that we encounter ethnicity more often in its less desirable or even murderous manifestations in the form of ethnic conflict. It is important to remember however, that ethnicity may appear also as a utopian project, associated with the presumed values of an ethnic group, in which case ethnicity may also appear in its more positive guises, so long as it does not result in nihilistic insularity or a chauvinistic denial of the values claimed by other ethnic groups' (p. 8, emphasis added).

On the other hand, it is also important to realise that heritage dissonance is a condition for the construction of pluralist, multicultural societies based on inclusiveness. As groups of people create their identity in opposition to others, it is essential for ethnic minorities to elaborate on their distinctiveness (Graham et al., 2000). Therefore heritage dissonance is inevitable (Molyneaux, 1994). In addition, some minority groups do not want to be part of their host nation, and are thus also unlikely to want their heritage included within the national heritage (Aplin, 2002). Sometimes, however, this distinctiveness is created by the state itself. The identity of the nation is then secured through the construction of Internal Others, by which the existence of a national identity that is described as the norm is assured (Alonso, 1994).

2.7 Conflict or Creolisation

Since Suriname is inhabited by many different ethnic communities, it is a good country to study ethnic integration, and the role of heritage therein. Especially since open and obvious conflicts seem to be lacking in this country. This lack of conflict is perhaps surprising, as the papers and the evening news are full of reports about fights between ethnic groups. In many

western European countries, immigrant and local communities live alongside, not with, each other, and in many countries right wing political parties are gaining in popularity. In his book 'The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order' (1996) Huntington explains these situations with the concepts of identity and culture. His argument is that people are always questioning who they are and where they belong. In other words, they are looking for their identity. Part of that answer is found by referring to culture, as this is the most important distinguishing factor between people. According to Huntington, the world is divided into a few civilisations (which can be described as the broadest cultural entities) whose people feel connected to each other because they belong to the same culture. Culture is therefore a very important factor in shaping people's identities. What is more, people rely so much on these civilisations for their identity that they see people of the other civilisations as their enemies. Culture and cultural identity are therefore shaping the patterns of cohesion, disintegration and conflict in today's world; the main reason for conflict in the world is cultural. Huntington uses the wars in Kashmir, Israel, Yugoslavia and Chechnya as arguments for his theories.

Huntington's book attracted a large amount of attention. Ten years later, his theories are still being drawn upon, especially after the September 11 attacks and due to the increased presence of Muslims all over Europe and North America (Said, 2001). All over the world, people believe in this inevitability of conflict between cultures (Groote, 2007, personal conversation). However, the idea that a mix of cultures always leads to conflict is itself not undisputed. Hannerz (1996) for example, suggests that a cultural mixture is not necessarily 'deviant, second-rate and unworthy of attention'. He calls the process of mutually integrating cultures 'creolisation' and argues that 'Creole' has the connotation of creativity and richness of expression. Creolist concepts illustrate that there is hope for cultural variety. Ennen (1999) also argues that cultural difference encourages and advertises uniqueness and individuality of the city and its residents. In other words, cultural difference sells. Not the least because being different is strongly related to identity. Verkuyten (2002), on the other hand, argues that contacts between ethnic groups almost always lead to exchanges of *cultural* traits and mutual adjustments, whereas such contacts at the same time lead to a strengthening of *ethnic conscience* and more ethnic differentiation.

Suriname is a country of many ethnicities in which, on a first glance, the bringing together of ethnicities did not lead to conflict. Maybe culture and ethnicity are not as important in shaping people's identities as Huntington wants us to believe; people may not necessarily construct as large a part of their identity on culture and ethnicity as Huntington states. Maybe the Surinamese managed to use the mix of cultures to their advantage. There may be a system of creolisation, and people may have a Surinamese identity alongside their ethnic/cultural identities. A common, national identity then serves to maintain the existing - or create - political hegemony and loyalty to the state (Storey, 2001). Suriname may therefore be a counter argument against Huntington's theories and studying the relation between heritage and ethnicity in this country will be a useful addition to discussions on ethnicity, conflict and perhaps creolisation. Of course, since we only look at the relation between heritage and national identity, whereas Huntington speaks about culture in all its facets, we can only make some suggestions about whether or not Suriname is a possible counter argument, and not make any clear statements about Huntington's theories as such.

2.8 Graphic representation

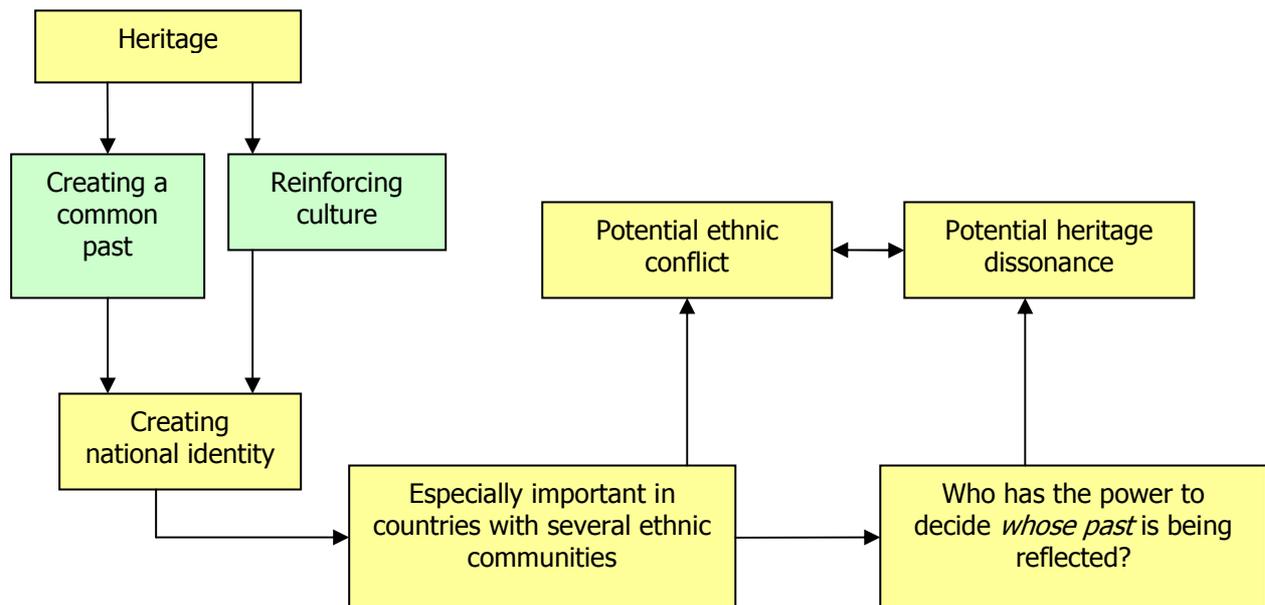


Fig. 2.2: Graphic representation of conceptual framework

Figure 2.2 graphically represents the above argument. The figure shows that heritage has the power to be part of a national identity creating process, by creating or strengthening a common past and reinforcing culture. This process is especially important in countries with several ethnic communities, because in these countries there is a bigger chance that a strong national identity is lacking whereas it is exactly that which can bind these different communities and thereby create a stable nation state. Of course, it is important in such cases to know which group has the power to make the decisions about which parts of whose histories are reflected in national heritage, as this has influence on which communities are in- and which communities are excluded. These power relations can lead to potential heritage dissonance as certain groups may be denied their history and heritage, which may in turn lead to ethnic conflicts.

2.9 Research questions

With its rich history and ethnic diversity Suriname is unique and definitely worth research on the use of heritage and national identity. One would expect conflict in Suriname between the different ethnic communities, but this conflict is lacking. We believe that part of this might be related to the way in which people deal with heritage, the government's policy on culture and cultural heritage, and the way this has resulted in the Surinamese people sharing identity. Therefore, we feel that the following research question and sub questions are relevant in this respect⁴;

What is the importance of cultural heritage for national identity in Suriname?

- How important is cultural heritage in general to the Surinamese population?
- How do the different ethnic communities perceive the non-ethnic monuments?
- How do the different ethnic communities perceive their own ethnic monuments?
- How do the different ethnic communities perceive each other's ethnic monuments?
- Can a Surinamese heritage be recognised?
- What is the Surinamese policy on cultural heritage in Suriname?
- How does the Surinamese government promote a Surinamese identity through heritage?
- How does the Surinamese population perceive the way the different ethnic communities live together?
- Which model of ethnic and cultural integration, as presented by Ashworth (2007), is applicable to Suriname?

⁴ As stated in the beginning of this chapter, we define cultural heritage as 'monumental buildings and statues'. Whenever we use the term heritage in the elaboration of the research questions, we refer to this definition.

Chapter 3 Methodology

In this chapter we present our research methods, and argue why we have chosen to use these methods. We start with an argumentation on the research population, then continue with the methods, and finally we present some methodological considerations.

3.1 Research population

This research contains two research populations; first of all a population of ethnic groups, secondly a population consisting of the heritage items included. We discuss both populations below.

3.1.1 Research population - people

As there are so many bigger and smaller ethnic communities in Suriname, not all of them have been included in the research population. We decided to include Suriname's main ethnic groups (the Creoles, Hindostanis, Maroons, Javanese and people of mixed origin) as well as the Boeroes. This last group was included because of their Dutch roots, which we thought might produce some interesting results. Besides, we thought it interesting to examine a group that does not belong to the main groups. The inclusion of the other five groups was justified by their size and, by implication, importance in the Surinamese society. With regards to the Maroons, there exist two main groups in Suriname; those living in Paramaribo, and those living in the interior. We have included both groups within this research. An important reason for including the Maroons is the fact that they are, to a certain extent, (spatially) excluded from Surinamese society; the inland Maroons do not live in Paramaribo, and the city Maroons have been living in the city for only a short time – generally not more than a generation. Therefore it was to be expected that their relation to heritage is different than that of the groups living in Paramaribo for a longer period of time. Finally, the Maroons are generally in a less favourable socio-economic position than most other ethnic communities, which is a possible reason for a different outcome with regards to their opinion on heritage.

The group of people of mixed origin⁵ is especially interesting as it was to be expected that this group would not have any attachments to specific ethnic heritage. Another inclusive criterion is that it is the fastest growing group and that it is likely that this group will continue to increase in importance in the future.

Next to these inclusive criteria, there were also exclusive criteria for the other groups. The Chinese and Amerindians often do not speak Dutch (or English) very well, and this last group is difficult to reach as well, since the people live in villages in the interior. Other groups were just too small to include.

3.1.2 Research population – monuments

As heritage is a broad concept, we have narrowed it down. The definition of heritage used for this research is 'monumental buildings and statues'.

Paramaribo is a city full of statues, religious places and colonial buildings. Therefore it was not possible to include all heritage items in this research and it was necessary to make a selection. First of all, we decided to include heritage items which we expected not to be specifically interesting to any ethnic group; the historic inner city, Fort Zeelandia, the statue of Queen Wilhelmina, the Peter and Paul Cathedral, the monument for the Victims of the

⁵ We use the phrase 'people of mixed origin' to refer to people with parents who do not belong to the same ethnic group.

Second World War and the Presidential Palace. Although some of these heritage items are related to the colonial past, we do not feel that they are 'ethnic' for two reasons. First of all, the Boeroes, although *descendants* of the Dutch, are not the same as 'the Dutch'; they came as farmers to Suriname, and were not involved in the original colonisation process. They are immigrants as well. Secondly, colonisation has been important in the past of all ethnic communities in Suriname, and is therefore a common past. The Peter and Paul Cathedral is of course Roman Catholic, but Roman Catholics can be found amongst all the ethnic communities. Therefore we do not feel that this is an ethnic monument either.

We decided upon these five non-ethnic monuments because they most strike the eye, and thus the chance that people have an opinion about them is higher. Another inclusive criterion for Fort Zeelandia is that this is a place where many important – negative - events in history took place, so that people may have negative feelings about it. This makes it more interesting.

Besides these non-ethnic monuments, we also chose to include ethnic monuments, because this would enable us to see whether these would be better appreciated by the ethnic community to which they 'belong'. We decided upon the statues of Johan Adolf Pengel, Jaggernath Lachmon and Kwakoe, the Remembrance Tree in honour of the Hindostani Immigrants, the monument Chinese Immigration and the monument for the Javanese Immigration, Baba and Mai, and the 10 October Square. A monument for the Boeroes is only to be found in Groningen, and is therefore not included. A monument for the Amerindians does not exist in Paramaribo either. Important to mention is that not all of these monuments were included at the beginning of the research. We had to adjust the research population during the research as some monuments turned out to be not well-known and others we came across only later.

Lachmon and Pengel are well-known politicians, respectively from the Hindostani and Creole parties, which binds them clearly to these specific ethnic groups. Moreover, they are set on the Independence Square, an important place. Kwakoe represents the end of slavery, and is therefore expected to be important to the Creoles and Maroons. The monument for Chinese Immigration is the only specific Chinese monument, and although the Chinese are not included in our research population, we included it anyhow to see the opinion of the other ethnic communities on this monument. The monument for the Javanese Immigration is the only Javanese monument in Paramaribo and the 10 October Square the only specific Maroon monument.

- The historic inner city

In the inner city of Paramaribo, one can find wooden buildings from colonial times, mostly painted in white, green and red. Most of the houses rest on a brick layer, whereas more important buildings have been made totally out of stone. The brick used for these buildings came from the Netherlands; it was ballast on the empty ships sailing to Suriname. Since 2002, 250 of the historic buildings are listed on UNESCO's world heritage list. It is considered unique for such typical colonial houses to still be present on the coast of tropical South America. Also, the original and highly characteristic street plan is still in tact, and the buildings 'illustrate the gradual fusion of Dutch architectural influence with traditional local techniques and materials' (www.unesco.org).

Two great fires (of which the biggest was in 1821) destroyed a large amount of the buildings, but many of them have been rebuilt. Nowadays some buildings are in a very good state, but others are totally degraded.



Fig. 3.1 – 3.4: The historic inner city of Paramaribo

- Fort Zeelandia

Fort Zeelandia is to be found at the Suriname River, and is the point where colonisation started. It is made out of brick in a typical Dutch style, although its base was made by the English. The Fort has seen many dreadful incidents happen within her walls. First, it was the place where the torturing of slaves took place. Second, it has been used as a prison, and third, this is where the 8 December murders took place.

Currently, the Suriname Museum is housed in the fort, and it is in a relatively good state. The renovations have been paid for by the Dutch government, at the twentieth anniversary of the Republic of Suriname.



Fig. 3.5 and 3.6: Fort Zeelandia

- The Peter and Paul Cathedral

This is the biggest wooden church of the Caribbean, and was built in 1885. Because it is made out of wood, the church needs a lot of maintenance, especially because of the tropical climate. In 1995 the Vatican gave money for restorations, but this was not enough by far (Leuwsha, 2006). At the moment the cathedral is being renovated with European Union funds.

- The statue of Queen Wilhelmina

This statue of Queen Wilhelmina used to be set at the Onafhankelijkheidsplein (Independence Square), but at independence it was removed and placed next to Fort Zeelandia (Leuwsha, 2006).

- The monument for the victims of the Second World War

The monument for the victims of the Second World War is to be found at the Independence Square. At request of the Netherlands, Suriname people fought voluntarily in this war. It has been placed in 1950 (Stichting Gebouwd Erfgoed Suriname, 2006).



Fig. 3.7: Cathedral, Fig. 3.8: Statue of Queen Wilhelmina, Fig. 3.9: Monument for WWII

- The Presidential Palace and the Independence Square

One of the buildings set around the Independence Square is the Presidential Palace. This is the former governor's palace and was built in 1730. The restorations have been paid for with money of the Dutch government, as a gift for twenty years of independence (Leuwsha, 2006).

Another building at the square is the – former - Ministry of Finance, a stone building with a small wooden tower clock. The building shows a plaque with the image of King Willem the third, who was king during the abolition of slavery. This plaque has been placed at the fiftieth anniversary of the abolition of slavery (Leuwsha, 2006).

The square also houses many statues; the statue of Johan Adolf Pengel, that of Jagernath Lachmon, the Remembrance Tree in honour of the Hindostani immigrants (see below) and the monument for the victims of the Second World War.



Fig. 3.10: Presidential Palace



Fig. 3.11: Ministry of Finance

- The statue of Johan Adolf Pengel

Johan Adolf Pengel was the first Creole Surinamese president, as leader of the NPS. Even though he was suspected of corruption, he has always been very popular by the people. At Pengel's feet is written; 'Honour to the Suriname people' (a) (Leuwsha, 2006, Bakker et al., 1998). The statue was placed in 1974 (Stichting Gebouwd Erfgoed Suriname, 2006).

- The statue of Jaggernath Lachmon

Opposite Pengel at the Onafhankelijkheidsplein, there is also the statue of Jaggernath Lachmon. At the time of Pengel, he was the leader of the VHP. He has been in politics for over fifty years, and is well known for his politics of fraternisation. The statue was placed in 2002 (Stichting Gebouwd Erfgoed Suriname, 2006).

- The statue of Kwakoe

This statue represents the end of slavery. Slave children were often called after the day on which they were born, and the abolition of slavery was on a Wednesday; Kwakoe means Wednesday. The statue shows a slave without his chains and is the place of many cultural activities on the first of July (the celebration day of the end of slavery). The statue was placed in 1963, at the 100th anniversary of the abolition of slavery (Stichting Gebouwd Erfgoed Suriname, 2006).



Fig. 3.12: The statue of Pengel, Fig. 3.13: The statue of Lachmon, Fig. 3.14: The statue of Kwakoe

- The monument for the Javanese Immigration

This monument has been placed in 1990, with the hundredth anniversary of Javanese Immigration. It stands in front of Sana Boedaya, a social-cultural centre located in the North of Paramaribo, where many Javanese people live. It was initiated by the Society for the Remembrance of Javanese Immigration (Vereniging Herdenking Javaanse Immigratie), and created by the Surinamese artist Soeki Irodikromo (Stichting Gebouwd Erfgoed Suriname, 2006; Lie Akwie and Esajas, 1997).

- The monument Chinese Immigration

This monument has been placed in 2003, and is inscribed with the 18 names of the first Chinese people to arrive in Suriname in 1853 (Stichting Gebouwd Erfgoed Suriname, 2006).

- The Remembrance Tree in honour of the Hindostani immigrants

In honour of the Hindostani immigrants, the Hindostani population planted a Neem tree, which is a sacred tree for Hindostani people. The tree was planted at the 75th anniversary of the Hindostani immigration (in 1948); the plaque was added 30 years later (Lie Akwie and Esajas, 1997).



Fig. 3.15: The monument Chinese Immigration



Fig. 3.16: The Remembrance Tree



Fig. 3.17: Baba and Mai

- The statue of Baba and Mai

This statue shows a Hindostani couple, which symbolises Hindostani immigration, as they represent the first Hindostani people to arrive in Suriname. At their feet is written 'where I am doing well, there is my homeland' (b) (Leuwsha, 2006). It was made for the 120th anniversary of the Hindostani immigration, and placed in 1994 (Stichting Gebouwd Erfgoed Suriname, 2006).

- The square of 10 October 1760

This square is a remembrance of the peace between the Maroons and the colonial powers, which was signed on the 10th of October 1760. The square was given this name on the 8th of February 1983, but it was only on the day of the Maroons (10th of October) in 2002 that a sign was placed. The name 'square of 10 October 1760' symbolises the unity between the descendants of the Maroons, who are living in separate tribes (De Ware Tijd 2002c). It is also seen as an '... official acknowledgement of the contributions of the maroons to the rise of the modern Surinamese society' (c) (De Ware Tijd, 2002c).



Fig. 3.18 and 3.19: the square of 10 October 1760

Finally, we also included the site of Brotherhood into our research. This site is mentioned in many tourist guides and also by the Surinamese, as the perfect example of the presumed peaceful integration in Suriname. This is the reason why we liked people to comment on the site; do they see it as this example indeed, or is it only a façade to the outside world to some people?

- Brotherhood

A famous Paramaribo site is often referred to as 'Brotherhood'. This site consists of a mosque, sitting right next to a synagogue. Both buildings are in a very good state.



Fig. 3.20: Brotherhood

3.2 Methods

As this is a qualitative research, which involves topics that are difficult to measure, we decided to make use of triangulation and thus use various research methods, in order to come to a more valid conclusion. This section explains the reasons for using these methods.

3.2.1 Expert interviews

One of the aims of this research was to gain knowledge about the political situation with regards to heritage. We spoke to various policy makers to gain an insight in the different governmental and non-governmental institutions that exist in Suriname to decide on, deal with and maintain Paramaribo heritage. That way, we not only found out which institutions existed and what their tasks are, but were also able to gain more insight in the policies that existed, the way they are being carried out, the problems the institutions face, and the extent to which policy goals are actually being reached.

Furthermore, we wanted to speak to people who have a broad perspective on society as a whole, and people with specific knowledge about heritage and its place in society. Therefore, we talked to people whose names continued to turn up during our research, and people with key positions in society, such as a sculpturist, a journalist, a movie maker and professionals in the tourist industry. A list of the people we spoke to can be found in appendix B.

3.2.2 Document research

In order to get a better picture of Suriname's policies on heritage and to find out what research had already been carried out by other students, we read various documents, like the newest laws on monuments, papers on current policies and research carried out by other students on similar topics.

3.2.3 Questionnaire 1

We assumed that the degree to which monuments are known to people is related to how important they are to them; if the monuments are hardly known, it is to be expected that

they are not seen as important. If they are well-known, there is a higher chance that they are important as well.

This is why we conducted a questionnaire, asking the respondents whether they knew a range of nine monuments (we refer to this questionnaire as questionnaire 1, and it can be found in appendix C). The respondents were also asked questions about their ethnic backgrounds, as this would show whether there are any differences between the ethnic communities in this respect. The questionnaire was conducted amongst (high school) students in the age of 14 to 27. This was done for practical reasons; asking students to fill out a questionnaire in a class room gives a high response rate, and is not very time-consuming. Moreover, as we conducted the interviews in two different levels of schools only, the students have the same educational background, so this can be ruled out as a factor explaining differences between ethnic groups.

We aimed at 100 questionnaires to be filled out. We chose this number since 100 seemed to be a reasonable sample. We thought it big enough to be able to draw some conclusions from the outcomes, but 100 was also not too time consuming, as this questionnaire was not the main tool for our research, it was merely meant to gain some background information. Because some of the questionnaires were filled out incompletely, we could use a total of 95 questionnaires. Of these, 48 were filled out by high school students in three classes (Havo 1), and 47 were filled out by students of the school for teachers (Albert Cameron Pedagogisch Instituut).

3.2.4 Questionnaire 2, 3 and 4

In order to find out which heritage items are seen as important and how the different ethnic communities perceive each other's ethnic monuments, we constructed another questionnaire. The reason why we did not integrate these questions into the previous questionnaire is that that would become too long, and moreover, in this case we wanted to make sure that we would include a certain number of people in each of the seven ethnic communities (Hindostanis, Creoles, Javanese, people of mixed origin, Boeroes, city Maroons and inland Maroons) chosen as our research population.

This questionnaire contained some general questions and inquired about people's opinion on nine different monuments in Paramaribo, by asking them to mark those between 0 and 10 according to their importance, and giving a small explanation as to the mark given. We also used this questionnaire to inquire about people's ethnicity, and by asking them whether they feel Surinamese, and how important this identity is to them, we made a start with answering the question as to which model of ethnic and cultural integration is applicable to Suriname.

It took ten to fifteen minutes to complete this questionnaire (referred to as questionnaire 2). It can be found in appendix D. The questionnaire presented to the Maroons looked slightly different. The reason for this is threefold. First of all, we visited the Maroons at a later stage in the research, and at this point we had already discovered some weak points in questionnaire 2. For example, we had concluded that some monuments were little known, and therefore replaced them with others in this questionnaire. Secondly, we had also found that questionnaire 2 contained some rather difficult questions, and that people found it hard to score the monuments. As on average the Maroons are not highly educated, due to the inland war and their lower socio-economic position, and because they often do not have Dutch as their first language, we decided that a different questionnaire was necessary. Finally, we wanted to include a few extra questions, because we felt it could be interesting to know to what extent the Maroons hold on to the Maroon-culture, as this might be another possible explanation if they are less attached to Paramaribo heritage. The questions asked to the city and inland Maroons are again slightly different, as we ask people how often they

visit the inland and the city, respectively. These questionnaires are referred to as questionnaires 3 and 4, and can be found in appendices E and F.

As we wanted to make sure that all sub-populations (ethnic groups) were represented in these questionnaires, our sample was stratified (t Hart et al., 1998). With regards to the size of these samples, we chose to aim at finding 25 respondents per ethnic group. This is rather small in comparison with the rule of thumb of a minimum of fifty people per stratum (t Hart et al., 1998), but we felt that this number was sufficient as using a stratified sample increases the reliability of the total sample. Moreover, we had to find a balance between reliability and the available time and manpower, which was certainly limited in this case (t Hart et al., 1998). We felt that the number of 25 was realistic, but still large enough for us to draw valid conclusions. The number of respondents in each sub-population was not proportional to its share in the total population however, since we also included the Boeroe population, which makes up only about one per cent of the total population. We wanted that group to be large enough to draw conclusions, and if we then extended that number to for example the Hindostani population, we would have to question a non-realistic number of Hindostanis. Therefore, we decided to aim at a same amount of respondents for all of the groups. However, with that aim of 25 respondents for every group, it still turned out that finding respondents for the groups was not in each case just as simple. Therefore, the numbers still vary somewhat per group. For example, the Boeroe population and the city Maroons turned out to be difficult to reach, and therefore we have not been able to question 25 people in these groups, whereas the inland Maroons turned out to be very easy to approach and we managed to question 30 people belonging to that group.

We looked for respondents in different places, as we wanted to get a diverse range of people, so as to reflect the research population as good as possible on certain, relevant, characteristics (t Hart et al., 1998). We visited a few places where we expected to find people of various ethnic communities, but we also visited areas where we expected to find a specific ethnic group, in order to meet the target of 25 people. Most questionnaires were filled out at the spot, only the ones in Beni's park were in some cases picked up at a later date. Overall, we visited the following places;

- Beni's park, a mixed neighbourhood, where the people are rather well-off, but which can be seen as an average neighbourhood. This is the area where we resided as well, which made it easier to approach its inhabitants. In order to speak to as diverse a group as possible, we interviewed in the mornings, the afternoons and the early evenings. Our strategy was to wander through the neighbourhood and approach every house. This approach gave a rather high response rate.
- The Hermitage mall, a popular shopping mall, visited by people from different ethnicities. We approached people who were sitting down for a snack or a drink.
- The Anton de Kom University, where we approached students at the cafeteria.
- Blauwgrond, a neighbourhood known for its Javanese population. We went here on a Saturday afternoon, as to find more working people at home.
- Ephraimzegen, a neighbourhood known for its Maroon population, which we visited on two different afternoons.
- Flora, another neighbourhood known for its Maroon population. Both Ephraimzegen and Flora are very poor and not very safe. Therefore we were accompanied by two local girls, who led us to their friends and family to fill out the questionnaires. Therefore the answers are not unbiased. Moreover, as not all Maroons speak Dutch well enough to understand our questions, they had to translate. It was inevitable that these girls also influenced the answers given.

- Pokigron, a small village in the district of Sipaliwini, approximately 180 kilometres south of Paramaribo. This village was chosen for two reasons. First of all, many city-Maroons that we had interviewed originated from this village. Hence, the people belong to the same tribe and have the same culture, so that the answers can be compared relatively well. Secondly, the village is relatively easy to reach and because we had previous contacts with people living in this village, they could help us find accommodation, translate for us when necessary, and make sure that we were safe.

The Boeroe population was difficult to approach, since this group is very small to begin with, and has mixed a lot with the other groups. As some names are known to be typical for the Boeroe population, we found some respondents by using the phone book. From there, we used the snowball method to find more respondents.

All in all, table 3.1 shows where we found which respondents.

Ethnicity										
Area	Hindust.	Creoles	Javanese	Mix	Boeroes	City-Maroons	Inland-Maroons	Other	Total	%
Beni's Park	8	14	9	12	-	-	-	2	45	27,1
Hermitage Mall	8	8	2	4	1	-	-	3	26	15,7
University	7	1	-	2	-	-	-	1	11	6,6
Blauwgrond	2	-	14	4	-	-	-	-	20	12,0
Ephraimszegen	-	-	-	-	-	12	-	-	12	7,2
Flora	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	-	4	2,4
Pokigron	-	-	-	-	-	-	30	-	30	18,1
Purposeful Sampling	-	-	-	-	10	-	-	-	10	6,0
Rest	1	2	1	2	-	1	-	1	8	4,8
Total	26	25	26	24	11	17	30	7	166	100
%	15,7	15,1	15,7	14,5	6,6	10,2	18,1	4,2	100	-

Table 3.1: Overview of where respondents were found

The questionnaires 2, 3 and 4 included many open questions. In order to be able to work with these answers, and to present any general outcomes, it has been necessary to categorise them. The reason we did not categorise beforehand and let the people choose from answers, is that beforehand we simply had no idea what answers would be given. Besides, we feel that we have gained a lot by letting people answer in their own words. It has helped us understand the way people feel about heritage better, and people could in this way freely express their feelings and emotions about certain monuments.

3.2.5 Semi structured interviews

Because we wanted to know more about people's opinions on heritage, the policies on heritage, identity and ethnicity and overall societal issues like the multicultural society, we also conducted semi structured interviews. These gave us the opportunity to have more in-depth conversations, and go deeper into the questions asked at the questionnaires. Moreover, it was a good way to triangulate; it gave us the chance to check the results from the questionnaire, and to see whether we had asked the right questions (for the interview scheme, see appendix G).

These interviews did not only contain questions and topics for discussion, we also showed the interviewees pictures of eight heritage items. We decided upon this method because it gave us an entrance to talk about heritage, without having to ask specific questions. Therefore, people could talk freely about the monuments, about whatever they found most noteworthy about it.

We aimed at interviewing approximately fifteen people, because this would give us the opportunity to talk to at least two people from each chosen ethnic community. We chose to rely on informal contacts for finding the respondents, and used the snowball method to find more. We decided upon this, as the interviews were rather long, and therefore we felt it not possible to approach random people. Moreover, we needed to find people of specific ethnicities, which was another reason to prefer a more personal approach. All in all, we conducted seventeen interviews. However, these are not evenly divided over the various groups, since we did not always know someone's ethnicity beforehand and because we were reliant on other people's contacts. We interviewed five Creoles, four people of mixed origin, two Hindostanis, two Javanese, two Boeroes, one Maroon and one woman of Dutch origin.

The length of the interviews ranged between twenty and thirty minutes. Eleven of them were captured on video and transcribed. The other respondents did not like to be recorded.

3.2.6 Street survey

One of the questions in questionnaire 2 asked people for what or for whom they would wish to erect a statue. This turned out to be a difficult question, and many respondents kept it unanswered. This is why we decided to trigger people a little and present them with a list of possible answers; it is difficult to come up with an answer out of the blue, but easier when one can choose between different possibilities. Moreover, we also thought that it could be useful to know which national holiday is most important to the Surinamese. Suriname knows days for the Maroons, for the Indigenous population, for the Hindostani Immigration, etc. We were wondering how important these days are for people, when compared to other national holidays like Independence day or religious holidays, because this might tell us something about how important ethnic identity still is for people.

As we wanted to get an answer from a reasonable number of people and because we only had two questions, we decided to construct a very short survey on the street. In this survey we only asked for people's ethnicity, asked them about the national holiday most important to them, and presented them with a list of possible statues to erect or clean (in case the statue already existed). One of the options was the instalment of a monument for all the people of Suriname. We wondered whether, if presented with this option, people would go for it. The survey can be found in appendix H.

In order to conduct this survey, we posted outside the post office on three consecutive days. This spot has a continuous stream of people but is quiet enough to take people apart. We asked anybody who was alone and not speaking on the cell phone. This resulted in a high response rate. In total, we questioned a hundred people.

3.2.7 Questionnaire 5

Although it is not included in our research question, we wondered to what extent (parts of) Surinamese heritage can also be regarded as Dutch heritage. We came to this, because the group of Dutch students⁶ in Paramaribo is very large. Official numbers are unknown, but they almost form their own ethnic community. This is why we decided to conduct a final

⁶ Known as 'stagiaires' (students doing their internships), these students are often from Higher or Lower Professional Education (HBO and MBO), doing internships in education, care or social work. There are also some university students doing their medical internships.

questionnaire. We assumed that the results could turn out to be strengthening – or weakening - our other results, if it turned out that the students were (not) feeling connected to the Dutch heritage of Suriname.

We asked fifty Dutch students to fill out our short questionnaire (see appendix I). Respondents were found on three evenings in two different bars (Broki and 't Vat).

3.2.8 Composition of the respondents in the questionnaires

Since we were not specifically interested in the differences between people of different sexes or ages, we have not paid extra attention to this when asking people to fill out our questionnaires. However, we did ask people for their sexes and ages, for it still might produce some interesting results. The composition of the respondents of the various questionnaires can be found in appendix J.

3.3 Triangulation

In order to make our research as valid and reliable as possible, we have made use of various forms of triangulation. By combining different sorts of data and by using various methods, an additional value can be created. Validity is increased because a better insight into the field can be obtained, and because the measurements are repeated in different forms, the research also becomes more reliable ('t Hart et al., 1998).

We feel that we have made use of all four forms of triangulation mentioned by 't Hart et al. (1998). First of all, we have used data triangulation by obtaining different forms of data, such as newspaper cuttings, observation data and oral data. We have also used method triangulation, by measuring the same thing by, for example, both questionnaires and interviews. Because we have conducted this research with two people from two different disciplines, we have also made use of researchers' triangulation. We feel that we have learned a lot from each other and we have helped each other to see further, behind our own boundaries, and that we could make use of each other's talents. Because we come from different disciplines, we have also automatically made use of theoretic triangulation.

3.4 Methodological considerations

There are a few methodological points which we feel need some discussion; they are presented here.

A first problem is ethnicity. Ethnicities in Suriname are rather confusing, as there is a very diverse range of ethnicities (see chapter 4.3). The 'problem' is that not everybody would give the same answer when asked for his or her ethnicity, even if they are to an outsider of the same ethnicity. For example, someone of mixed origin may call himself a Hindostani if this person feels more connected to the Hindostanis. Another problem is that some people use the word Creole as meaning mix, whereas it officially refers to Afro-Surinamese, and there are many people with only half or a quarter of Creole blood, who call themselves Creole (and not mix). Also, the city Maroons may call themselves Creoles, as basically they have the same ethnicity. We solved this problem by just asking people for their ethnicity, and using this answer. It seemed not only the only way to approach the problem, it is also valid, as we are talking about ethnic *feelings* of belonging. It is then not important what someone's real ethnicity is (if such a thing exists), but how this person sees himself/herself.

Related to this is the fact that we have treated ethnic groups as wholes, whereas they are not; not every Hindostani will have the same opinion on a monument, for example (Simon, 2004; Hofstede, 1995). This is certainly a drawback to this research, but was also necessary as we wanted to compare ethnic groups. On the other hand, social research always tries to say something about groups of people, be they divided into national, age, gender or ethnic

groups; none of these groups are homogeneous. Moreover, this is also a reason why we chose to include as large an amount of respondents into each ethnic group as possible.

Something else that has been difficult was choosing which monuments to include in the questionnaires and interviews. Initially, we chose a range of monuments which were distributed over the different groups, but there were two groups for which we could not find any monuments in Paramaribo; the Boeroes and Javanese. Further down our time in Paramaribo, it became clear that some of the monuments chosen were not very well known. As it would not be very useful to include a monument of which we already knew not many people would know it, we replaced these with others when designing the other questionnaires. Meanwhile, we had found a monument for the Javanese, which we could now include. However, working with different ranges of monuments makes it very difficult to compare the answers of the people in the different questionnaires.

Working with averages, which we did with the scores given to monuments in questionnaire 2, can be quite tricky. The problem with scoring monuments on a scale of 0 to 10, is that people have different ways of scoring (an 8 may be seen as rather high, or as just average, for example). Another thing is that people have different ways of answering when they are indifferent towards a monument (they may give a 0, or maybe a 6, or even a 10). Also, if people do not know a monument, they may just give a random score, although we did see that people would often leave the scoring area open. Finally, if a particular monument is unknown to many people, there is only a small amount of marks left to calculate the average. We solved this problem by asking people for explanations for their marks. This proved to be very useful, as it gave us the possibility to explain why certain marks were given.

In this research we found that especially the Amerindians, the Maroons and the Chinese are being left out; they do not have much specific ethnic heritage in the city, and are also, to a certain extent, excluded from the mix of cultures present in Paramaribo. The Chinese are furthermore interesting, as this group exists of people who have been living in Suriname since colonial times, but also of more recent immigrants. Fortunately we have been able to include the Maroons in our research, but we have not included the Chinese and the Amerindians, as there are language and other practical problems for this. For further research, we suggest that looking at these three groups especially will be very interesting and may also give different results.

Another point for future research is religion. We have not looked at religion in this research at all, as religion and ethnicity do not run parallel in Suriname, and this would have meant an extra dimension. However, as many ethnic conflicts over the world are in the name of religion, this could be an interesting addition.

Chapter 4 Introduction to Suriname

In this chapter, we will provide some background information, that is necessary to be able to read the rest of the thesis. This background information consists first of all of some general information about Suriname, after which we will talk about the ethnic situation in Suriname, since ethnicity is very important in this thesis. Finally, we will explain the political situation in Suriname, related to heritage.

4.1 Geography

Suriname is 164,000 square kilometers, four times the size of the Netherlands. The border with Guyana is formed by the Corantijn River; the Marowijne and Litani Rivers form the border with French Guiana (Plotkin, 2000). The population of Suriname is approximately 480,000 people (Leuwsha, 2006). Paramaribo is the capital and major city; almost half the population lives here. Of the other half, most people live in the coastal zone, with other important cities being Nickerie and Albina. The rest of the country consists of tropical woodlands and major rivers, and is mainly inhabited by Maroons and Amerindians.



Fig. 4.1: Map of Suriname (www.infoplease.com/atlas/country/suriname)

4.2 History

Suriname was originally inhabited by Amerindian tribes. Although occasionally visited by Europeans before 1651, this year is generally seen as the start of colonisation, as the English governor Francis Willoughby sent sugar planters to Suriname to start the plantations. During the Second English War (1665-1667) the states of Zeeland conquered the area and found Fort Zeelandia to protect it. Rule of the country was given to the Geoctrooideerde Sociëteit van Suriname, existing of the West-Indische Compagnie, the city of Amsterdam and two rich families (Leuwsha, 2006).

In 1799, Suriname was conquered by the English, as a result of the power struggles between England, France and the Batavian Republic. However, after the defeat of Napoleon in 1813 and the birth of the Republic of the Netherlands in the years 1813 to 1815, the English returned the colony to the Netherlands in 1816 (Bakker et al., 1998).

Suriname was mainly held on to for its plantations, of which there were hundreds and on which mainly sugar, coffee, cotton and cacao were grown. Slaves were imported from Africa to do the hard work. Over the years, approximately 350.000 slaves were brought to Suriname (van Bodegraven, 2007), coming mostly from Togo, Benin, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Liberia, Ivory Coast and Ghana (Bakker et al., 1998). Ever since the beginning of slavery in Suriname, slaves have run away from the plantations. These so-called Maroons hid in the woods, where they started their own villages. In order to obtain ammunition, food and women, they would steal from plantations, sometimes killing the white families living on them. The Maroons were hunted down by a young hired army, in combination with an army of slaves. However, these expeditions were very expensive and not very successful. From 1760 onwards, peace was reached with some Maroon groups (Leuwsha, 2006). In 1863 - decades later than in England and France - slavery was abolished. On the first of July of that year, 33.000 slaves were given freedom (Lie Akwie and Esajas, 1997).

To secure a steady number of workers, immigrants from Asia were recruited. In 1873 the first contract workers from British India landed. Later also workers from Java and, to a lesser extent, China arrived. All in all 34.000 Hindostanis and 32.000 Javanese people arrived, of which 34 per cent and 26 per cent respectively used their right to a free return trip to their home countries (van Bodegraven, 2007). In 1845, 202 Dutch people arrived, 24 families and 40 free workers, to live as independent farmers. These farmers escaped the poor Dutch countryside, and were meant to contribute to the Surinamese economy and break through the prejudices against manual work. However, disappointment was great when nothing had been arranged in Suriname. In two weeks, 184 of the colonists had died and another seven were ill (Loor, 1995). Other groups that came to Suriname included the Chinese, who mostly started their own shops and restaurants, the Lebanese, Jews, and recently also the British and French Guyanese and Brazilians (Leuwsha, 2006).

Meanwhile, the plantations were hardly economically viable anymore, because prices were falling. Furthermore, most people preferred the work in the city over the hard work on the land. Nowadays the plantations are overgrown with plants and weeds. The Second World War brought economic development to Suriname. Suriname had a lot of bauxite, which was an important material for aluminium for war planes and weapons. American soldiers built and used the airport for stop-overs (van Bodegraven, 2007). In the sixties, one of the world's largest reservoirs, the so-called Blommensteinmeer, better known as Brokopondo, has been built a few hours from Paramaribo. As a result, many Maroon villages had to be relocated (Plotkin, 2000).

Although Suriname had already been autonomous since 1949, independence came on the 25th of November 1975. Not all Surinamese agreed with this break from the Netherlands however; it was mainly the Creoles who strived for independence. Many Hindostani people feared a Creole domination. But once established, the political tensions between the groups

disappeared (Bakker et al., 1998). After a few years of optimism and a growing economy, hard and chaotic times came to Suriname. Early 1980, a coup led by Desi Bouterse brought a military regime to power. On the eighth of December, 1982, fifteen prominent opponents of Bouterse were killed in Fort Zeelandia (Plotkin, 2000). In 1986 Bouterse was confronted with the Jungle Commando, an army of Maroons led by Ronnie Brunswijk. The national army was not able to stop this 'inland war' (binnenlandse oorlog) and many Maroon villages were destroyed. Many Maroons fled to French Guyana. In 1987 there were again democratic elections, which Bouterse lost. However, in 1990 the government was again overthrown by Bouterse, this time by telephone, whereby he requested the government by phone to step aside and make place for a business cabinet. In 1991 new democratic elections were held. Since then the situation stabilised (van Bodegraven, 2007). However, many Surinamese people have left Suriname for the Netherlands. Initially, they moved for study reasons, but later they also fled unemployment, insecurity and the military regime. Currently, more than forty percent of Surinamese people live in the Netherlands (Lewsha, 2006).

4.3 Ethnicity in Suriname

4.3.1 The multiethnic society since colonial time

At the start of the colonial time, there was a rather simple dichotomy in Surinam; the free white people ruled over the black slaves who worked the plantations. Soon a third category of people arose and grew steadily. This group consisted of the so-called freed slaves, later also called the free people of colour (vrije gekleurden). A coloured elite emerged, which lived largely after the white culture. Social status was thus very much connected to skin colour; 'improving colour' was seen as very important, and there was an extensive vocabulary to indicate the degree of whiteness⁷. Even after the abolition of slavery the social differences between the former slaves and the Creole elite persisted. But although the coloured elite felt connected to the white people, they were still seen as second-rate citizens by the colonisers (Bakker et al., 1998; see also Lowenthal, 1960).

Initially, the Asian people did not integrate into or mix with the other groups in Surinam. One reason for this was their geographical and professional separation; when the Creoles left the plantations, these groups took their places. As a result, the Creoles worked in the city, while the Hindostanis and Javanese worked as farmers on the countryside. But these two groups lived mostly separated as well, a fact that can be explained by the fact that they had a different language and culture (Bakker et al., 1998). Moreover, they also lived in different areas of Suriname. Hence, the geographical/residential, professional and linguistic separation of the various groups accounted for a great deal of the lack of integration between the different ethnic communities in Suriname (Lowenthal, 1960).

Over the years, this strict stratification of the Asian groups disappeared, as they started moving to Paramaribo (Bakker et al., 1998). However, according to some writers, the Javanese, unlike the Hindostanis, did not integrate much since they were still holding on to the idea that they would return to Java. These writers also wrote about the various prejudices the different groups held against each other (Bakker et al., 1998; van der Kroef, 1951).

The Amerindians form a unique group in Suriname. They are the only group that have lived in Suriname since before colonial times and are therefore the only 'autochthonous' inhabitants. Besides, the group lives very much separated from the other ethnic communities. Even though in recent years some Amerindians have come to live in Paramaribo, most of them still live in small villages in the inlands of Suriname. Since these

⁷ Thus there were 'mulatten', 'karboergers', 'mestiezen', 'castiezen', 'poestiezen' and 'qaudronen' (Bakker et al., 1998).

villages consist only of Amerindians, and are usually situated in an area with only Amerindian villages, the Amerindians live highly separated and hardly come into contact with the other ethnic communities. Therefore, they are much less a part of the mix of cultures.

This invisibility of the Amerindians has long been reflected in the political and social situation of Suriname. However, in recent times the Amerindians have found their voice and have begun to stand up for their rights. This has resulted in Amerindians gaining a new found assertiveness, and forming a political force to take into account (van Bodegraven, 2007).

4.3.2 Ethnic politics

In Suriname, political parties started to emerge from the second half of the last century. These parties were not based on political ideologies, but aimed at giving religious or ethnic groups a basis of power. Consequently, the differences which existed were strengthened. Only Paramaribo started to look like a melting pot, although here too the different groups lived next to, not with, each other (Bakker et al., 1998). In 1960, Lowenthal described it as follows, 'Surinamese do not hesitate to affirm their separate ethnic interests. (...) One gets little sense of a unified Surinam society' (page 54). When looking at the models of cultural integration that were elaborated on in chapter 2.5, one would conclude that the Surinamese society could be classified as a 'salad bowl' or as a 'pillar model', since the different cultures were living rather peacefully together in one state, but they do so separately.

Initially, most political power was in the hands of the Creoles. They held most public jobs and saw themselves as the real Surinamese, the heirs of the Dutch authority. Nevertheless, the biggest Creole party, NPS (National Party Suriname, Nationale Partij Suriname), and the main Hindostani party, VHP (United Hindostani Party, Verenigde Hindoestaanse Partij), worked together in the name of 'fraternisation' (Bakker et al., 1998). As stated above, it was also mainly the Creoles who strived for the independence of Surinam. These Creole-nationalistic activities led to a polarisation in Surinam; two main political blocs arose, with the Creoles on one side and the Hindostanis on the other side. After independence, the VHP ended its resistance and the leaders of the two parties (VHP and NPS) openly reconciled (Bakker et al., 1998).

The hectic times which started in the eighties were seen by many as a consequence of the ethnic differences; 'We hadn't learned how to live as one people, as one big family, despite our personal differences. We stayed separated in ethnic groups, we were still thinking radically. We can't think as one people. We don't have a unitary aim, going right through the ethnic groups. We divide everything along ethnic lines' (a) (De Vrije Stem, as quoted in Bakker et al., 1998, page 142). On the other hand, these hectic times also led to a better integration between the Creoles, Hindostanis and Javanese. Especially in Paramaribo the feeling of being Surinamese became more profound. The military had propagated 'Surinamism', which stimulated feelings of pride and solidarity and gave attention to national unity. Ironically, the different ethnic groups came together in their opposition to the military. In politics, the three main parties NPS, VHP and KTP (Indonesian Farmer's Party, Kaum Tani Persatuan Indonesia), came together in the Forum for Democracy and Development (Front voor Democratie en Ontwikkeling), in order to oppose the military in the elections of 1987 (Bakker et al., 1998).

4.3.3 Current numbers

It is very hard to find exact numbers on the Surinamese population. The data on the total population vary between 421,000 (Snijders, 2003) and 480,000 (Leuwsha, 2006). In every book on Suriname, the sizes of the different ethnic communities differ as well, sometimes even as much as ten per cent of the total population (Snijders, 2003; Leuwsha, 2006; Plotkin, 2000; van Bodegraven, 2007; de Man Lapidoth, 2006; Uncharted Waters, 2003). We have chosen to use the numbers gained in the last census (2004), since it includes the group

of mixed people. Since that group is part of our research population, we thought it important to know what share of the population belongs to that group.

According to this last census, the population of Suriname is divided as shown in table 3.1;

Hindostanis	27.4%
Creoles	17.7%
Maroons	14.7%
Javanese	14.6%
Mixed	12.5%
Other	6.5%
Unknown/ no data	6.6%

Table 4.1: Share of ethnic groups of total Surinamese population (de Man Lapidoth, 2006)

Of course, the group of Boeroe people is also part of our research population. Unfortunately, we have not been able to find exact numbers as to of how many people this group consists. Only Snijders (2003) mentions that one per cent of the Surinamese population consists of 'white people'. Of course, not all white people in Suriname are Boeroes. However, since there are also many Boeroes that are not white, we have decided to use this number of one per cent. Moreover, we think it is a reasonable estimate. The Amerindians make up for two to three per cent of the population (Snijders, 2003; Leuwsha, 2006), and the Chinese account for approximately 1,7% of the total population (Leuwsha, 2006).

4.3.4 Ethnic terminology

Perhaps not surprising in a country with so many ethnicities, the terminology around these different ethnic groups can sometimes be confusing. The word 'Creole' can be traced back to the Portuguese word of 'crioulo' or 'criar' which means 'home-born', or 'home-raised'. The term was first used for people born from Spanish or Portuguese parents in South America or the West-Indies. In Suriname, the word Creole referred to African slaves born in Suriname. Slaves directly from Africa were called 'saltwater-negroes' (Leuwsha, 2006; van Bodegraven, 2007). Nowadays, the word Creole is used for anybody of African origin. In order to distinguish the Creoles in the city from the Maroons, the first are sometimes referred to as city Creoles (stads-Creolen). Some individuals with African roots call themselves Negro, which does not carry any negative connotations, as in Europe or the USA. Finally, although all the people of Suriname are Surinamese, it can sometimes be heard that the Creoles are the true Surinamese, and so this word is occasionally used for the Creoles as well.

There are many words to indicate the Maroons. The word Maroon comes from the Spanish word 'cimarron', which refers to escaped cattle. Maroons with whom the governor had reached peace agreements, were called Bush Negroes (Bosnegers) as a reward. Later this word was changed into Bush Creoles (Boslandcreolen), as the term Bush Negroes was seen as demeaning. Since there is a renewed pride in the history of the group, the word Maroon is again used nowadays (Leuwsha, 2006). During the research we found that all terms are used to an equal extent; in this report we use the word Maroons⁸.

The people coming from (British) India are generally referred to as Hindostanis, whether they profess the Muslim or Hindu religion. They are sometimes called Koelie's, although this

⁸ Moreover, we make a distinction between Maroons who still live in de interior (inland Maroons), and those who have moved to the city (city Maroons). In Suriname, there is no distinction in name between these two groups.

word is a little unfriendly. The Amerindians are either called the Indians (which is a fully accepted term) or the Indigenous (Inheemsen).

Things are especially confusing when it comes to people of mixed origin. When asked after his or her ethnicity, some people of mixed origin would call themselves mix (sometimes also called Dogla or Moksi), but some people choose the ethnic group of one of his or her parents, mostly the mother. This seems to happen especially among the Creoles. Thus, somebody who is formally only half or a quarter Creole, might call himself Creole, and not mix. Some Surinamese also state that anybody from mixed origin – for example somebody from a Hindostani father and a Javanese mother - is Creole, as it is also stated that Creole means 'mix'.

4.4 Policy on heritage

4.4.1 Legal framework

The Surinamese Constitution states that 'The state preserves and protects the cultural inheritance of Surinam, stimulates the preservation of it...' (a) (Venetiaan, 2002, p. 19). This implicates that the preservation of monuments is the state's responsibility, and therefore a special law on monuments was needed. The first law on monuments dates from 1963, but that law was adjusted in 1977 (Venetiaan, 2002). However, in 2002 a whole new law was implemented. This was needed because the old law never worked properly, since it was lacking in substantial conditions, like the informing of owners of monuments that their property had been marked as a monument. New insights and developments led to the new law (Venetiaan, 2002).

When looking at buildings, they can be listed as monuments by request of the owner, the minister or the Commission Monument Care (Commissie Monumentenzorg). The minister makes the final decision, after having been advised by the Commission. This advising role of the Commission Monument Care is implemented by law (Venetiaan, 2002). Already, more than 200 buildings have been placed on the list of monuments. These buildings have a status of preservation. However, many of these monuments have disappeared due to fire or illegal demolishing (Thiers, 2007).

The new law is also equipped with a subsidy system for owners of monuments. However, this system is, as to now, not more than some words on paper. The Surinamese government has no money available to execute this part of the law (Thiers, 2007). Since the government is not able to fulfil her promises, it is very difficult for her to urge the monument owners to renovate or maintain their buildings. Besides, since the government owns and resides many of the monuments that are in the worst shape, it is easy not to take her too seriously (Wesenhagen, 2007, interview).

4.4.2 Institutions

Over the years, many institutions that deal with monuments have come into existence (see figure 4.2).

The law on monuments states that the minister in charge of cultural affairs should also deal with monuments (Venetiaan, 2002). In Suriname, that means the minister of Education and Development of People (minister van Onderwijs en Volksontwikkeling). His ministry is divided into several directorates, that each take care of a specific area of the ministry. Monument care belongs to the Directorate of Culture. That means that the minister decides on the policy on monuments, whereas the Director of Culture has to execute that policy. Even so, all decisions of the Director of Culture have to be agreed upon and formalised by the minister. The Director of Culture in his turn has created a special work arm, the Society of Built Heritage Suriname (Stichting Gebouwd Erfgoed, SGES) (Sidoel, 2007, interview).

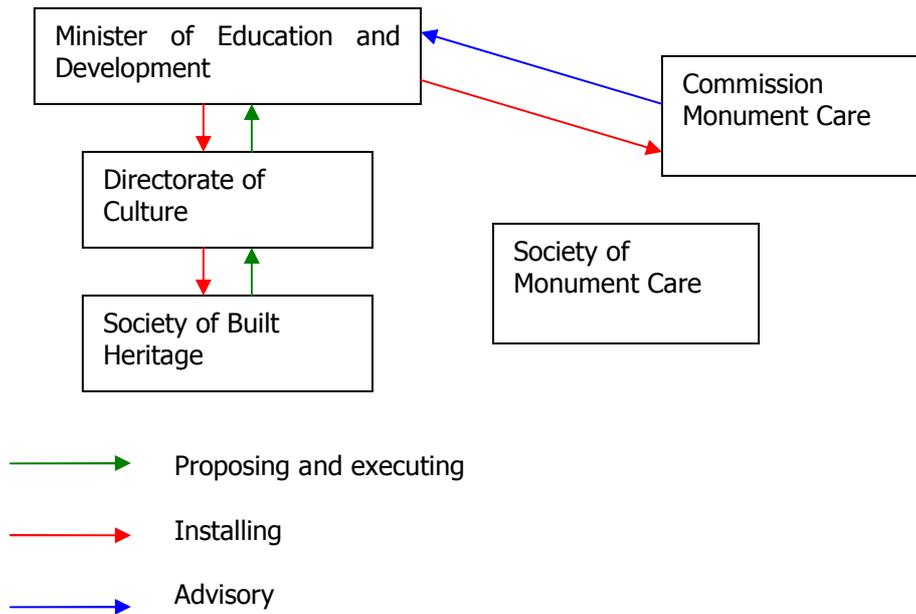


Fig. 4.2 Policy framework for Monument Care in Suriname

The SGES, established in 1997, has multiple objectives. In the first place, it merely helps to execute the policy on built heritage as decided on by the minister. However, it also has more specific tasks such as preparing the foundation of an Incorporation that will be entrusted with the maintenance of heritage, and making a pre-selection of buildings that can be appointed as monuments. Moreover, the Society has also been responsible for the present position of the inner city of Paramaribo on UNESCO's World Heritage List (Fokké, 2007, interview). SGES faces many problems. Since the government only pays for the building SGES occupies and the salaries of the six employees, SGES has to constantly fight for its existence, for example by being hired by private parties for restoration projects. Another problem it faces is the load of work in combination with a shortage of (skilled) employees. SGES is the only institution that directly deals with monuments on the more practical level, so all work in this area ends up on the desks of the SGES employees (Thiers, 2007).

As stated before, the law on monuments subscribes that a Commission advises the minister on decisions on monuments. This Commission has been established in 1963, and it has five members, all appointed by the minister. The Commission has got a limited task that only exists of advising the minister. Therefore, the members all fulfil their duties next to a normal job, and they come together just once a month (Thiers, 2007; Harrison, 2007, interview).

The last institution that fully deals with monuments is the Society of Monument Care (Stichting Monumentenzorg). This Society was established in the 1960s as an idealistic society. It is therefore not linked to the government. Its activities are both helping to maintain the monuments and more promotional activities, with which it tries to create more public support for monument care. Problems the Society faces are again lack of financial means and the fact that all its members are volunteers. Therefore, in the last years there have not been many activities. However, with the recent establishment of SGES, the need has also diminished (Wesenhagen, 2007, interview).

Of course, also other institutions are sidely linked to monument care and policy. For example, the Ministry of Public Works (Ministerie van Openbare Werken), has to give out licences for building and demolishing buildings, also in the historic inner city. The fact that so many institutions have got something to do with monuments, and that they often do not

communicate at all, does not make it easier to execute the policy and maintain monuments (Sidoel, 2007, interview).

We do not have any reason to believe that the ethnic composition of the government has got any influence on the policies she makes, nor that that composition influences the way certain ethnic groups are treated when it comes to heritage. Hence, there is no specific group that decides what is in- and what is excluded concerning national heritage.

4.5 Promoting a Surinamese identity through heritage

4.5.1 Policy on heritage and identity; legal situation

As said before, Suriname is a country rich in history and culture. The government seems to be well aware of this fact and of the possibilities it creates. In her policies on culture, she has therefore included the diversity of cultures. 'The central starting point of the policy is, starting from the cultural pluriformity of the Surinamese society, based on "cultural democracy", with the acknowledgement of the equality of all cultures as a characteristic' (a) (Naarden-Refos, 2007, p. 11). Cultural democracy is then defined as respecting each other's cultural manifestations and when needed exchanging cultural values. The report even goes as far as stating that 'This process has become part of our culture. The diverse cultures and their development and the influencing of each other lead to *nationbuilding*' (b) (Naarden-Refos, 2007, p.29, emphasis in the original). It also states that, over history, all groups have been able to build up their own cultural heritage and that the present responsibility is to keep these manifestations alive (Naarden-Refos, 2007). The government is working on two tracks at the same time. On the one hand, she tries to preserve all different cultures, and on the other hand she is focusing on those sides and those manifestations that can create unity (Sidoel, 2007, interview).

It is the government's mission to give identity to the people through heritage, and to develop this identity more. However, more and better policy has to be created in order to be able to pull this through and reach the mission. According to Mr. Sidoel (2007, interview), Director of Culture, the government is consciously trying to create a Surinamese cultural identity. He says that every culture has its own positive values, and that you should integrate these positive things into one Surinamese culture, with a multiethnic and a multicultural base.

In monument care, an important part of maintaining cultural heritage, the two tracks earlier mentioned are clearly visible. The government faces the dilemma of either focusing on the separate groups and creating monuments and statues for them separately, or focusing on the mix of cultures and thereby creating something new. In practice, the policy she now follows seems to be of just waiting until the groups themselves initiate something. When they do, they can expect some help from the government (Wesenhagen, 2007, interview).

4.5.2 Policy on heritage and identity; practical situation

In practice, policies on culture turn out to be very difficult to execute for the Surinamese government. The Directorate of Culture, responsible for the policies on culture, has to deal with great shortages of skilled personnel and money, which in recent years has even been cut in half. A huge lack of internal communication has furthermore made it difficult to execute the policy (Naarden-Refos, 2007).

Some private organisations have tried to fill the gap that had been born in this execution of policy on culture. A good example of this is the Surinamese Museum (Stichting Surinaams Museum). Even though the museum is in no way financed by the government, it has succeeded in creating several exhibitions on culture and history. It tries to give attention to every ethnic group, and with the educational programme the museum seems to succeed in reaching children with all different backgrounds (Neus and Hynes, 2007, interview).

The government does try, however. When the Hindostani people celebrated the centennial of their arrival in Suriname, the government wanted to give a gift to the community. This gift became the Lala Rookh community centre, which is actually meant for the whole Surinamese community, and not only the Hindostani people. The centre has very broad goals; it is there for remembering all immigrants, to stimulate integration, but also for things like remembering slavery (since, without abolition of slavery immigration would not have been necessary). The centre is not just on paper available to the whole of the Surinamese community; sixty per cent of the building's users are non-Hindostani people. Besides, one of the goals of the foundation that runs the centre is to create a 'collective national awareness' (Kalka, 2007, interview).

Even though the government is trying, still many people are negative when it comes to the cultural policy of Suriname. Mr. Mitrasingh (2007, interview) partly blames the Dutch for the poor policy on culture. He feels that the Dutch government has not emphasised the harmony in Suriname enough, and has therefore not formed 'the Surinamese'. People also blame the Surinamese government for not paying enough attention to culture in general and more specifically the Surinamese identity. Of course, lack in finances and skilled personnel makes execution of the policy much harder and recent history has shown that plans often do not lead to success (Times of Suriname, 2006).

At the most pragmatic level, with which the SGENS mostly deals, most attention goes out to the colonial heritage, the historic inner city of Paramaribo (Fokké, 2007, interview). This can be seen as an attempt to develop that heritage that is seen as shared heritage representing a shared past (see 5.2), and in that way strengthening the Surinamese identity. However, we feel that that result has never been the original goal. That goal seems to be the placement of the inner city on the UNESCO World Heritage List, and staying on that list, which is a nice visiting card for the city, attracts tourists and ultimately generates income for the country.

Even though the rudiments of a policy on Surinamese culture and with that Surinamese heritage are present, we feel that the policy is not very far developed, and its execution leaves much to be desired. Besides, it is not very clear what goals the government hopes to reach with her actions (Times of Suriname, 2006). She merely seems to wait and see what happens and with what initiatives citizens will come to them. These civic actions can then sometimes get some (financial) support. Usually, these actions come from specific ethnic groups. However, these actions can also contribute to a Surinamese identity; although a Javanese might feel more connection to the monument for Javanese Immigration, he also feels connected to the statue of Baba and Mai (see also 5.3). That statue, even though Hindostani, also contributes to his Surinamese identity, since it is part of it. In that way, these 'ethnic' monuments are also national monuments (Sidoel, 2007, interview).

Chapter 5 We should be proud of what we've got

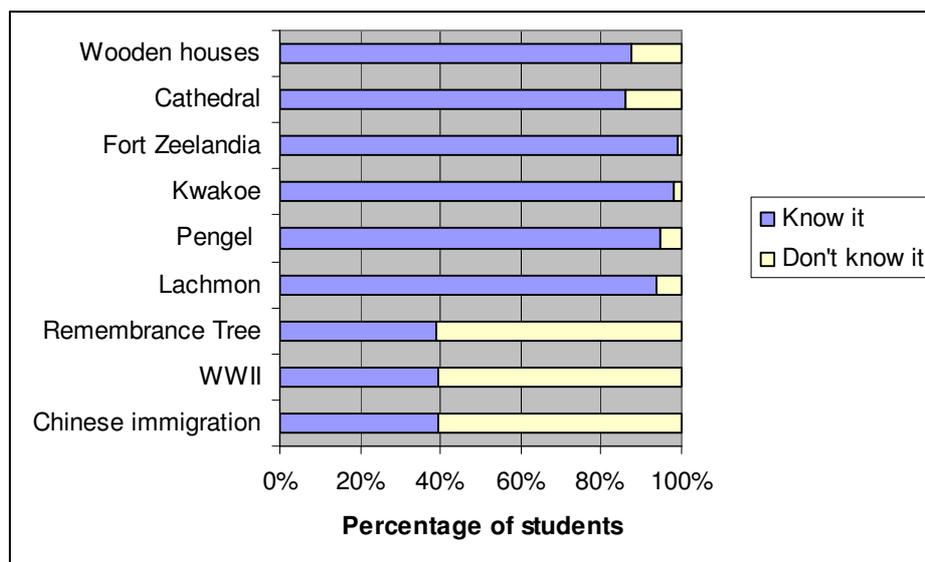
Now that we have clarified the setting of this research, it is time to present the results. Hence, in this chapter we discuss the value different ethnic communities attach to monuments - and whether there are any differences in this respect. In section 5.1 we analyse the overall importance of monuments to our respondents. In the next two sections we discuss the specific value of non-ethnic and ethnic monuments respectively, and in the last section we present an overall conclusion which can be derived from these results.

5.1 Importance of cultural heritage

In this section, we analyse the overall worth of the included monuments. We do this by first looking at how well-known the monuments are, since this gives us a first hint of their importance; if the monuments are hardly known, it is to be expected that they are not seen as important either. After this, we will look at the marks given to the monuments by the respondents in questionnaire 2, and the importance of monuments as stated by the Maroons in questionnaires 3 and 4.

5.1.1 Monument familiarity

In order to study how well-known our chosen monuments are, we first use the questionnaire conducted amongst (high-school) students, in which we questioned whether the students knew a range of nine monuments. The results of this questionnaire are presented in graph 5.1⁹. Although all ethnicities were represented in the sample of students, we did not make a division into ethnic backgrounds in this graph, as these differences are only minimal. The only differences which can be detected are that the students of mixed origin are a little more familiar with the monuments than the other groups, and that the students of Hindostani origin are slightly more aware of their own ethnic monuments (the Remembrance Tree and the statue of Lachmon). Furthermore, the graph shows an obvious bipartition in the group of monuments; six monuments are rather well-known, the remaining three not so much.



Graph 5.1: Monument familiarity amongst students, in percentages (n=95)

⁹ The students were asked to choose between three options; 'I don't know this monument', 'I know this monument', and 'I know this monument and also know why it is a monument.' The last two options have been taken together in this graph.

Another way in which we evaluate how well-known the monuments are by looking at how many respondents in questionnaire 2 did not know these monuments. This is shown in table 5.1. Again, we do not show a distinction between the ethnic groups who participated in this questionnaire (Hindostanis, Creoles, Javanese, people of mixed origin and Boeroes), as there are hardly any differences to be detected. The only difference, again, is that the respondents of mixed origin are a little more aware of the monuments than the other ethnic groups. The table confirms the finding that the Remembrance Tree, the Monument for the Victims of the Second World War and the Monument of Chinese Immigration are the least well known (although the difference is in this case less profound).

	Wooden houses	Cathedral	Fort Z.	Kwakoe	Pengel	Lachmon	Hind. Imm	WWII	Ch. Imm
Percentage of respondents that know the monuments	93	87	91	88	89	90	73	73	68

Table 5.1: Monument familiarity in questionnaire 2, in percentages (n=119)¹⁰

Table 5.2 shows how familiar the monuments are to the Maroons. As explained in the methodology, the Maroons were not included in questionnaire 2, but were presented with a separate questionnaire. As this questionnaire did not include the same monuments, the results are hard to compare. The table does illustrate, however, that overall the Maroons are less familiar with the monuments in Paramaribo. Moreover, the table shows a clear difference between the city Maroons and inland Maroons. The second group shows a much clearer division between those monuments that are known, and those that are not. The table also makes clear that the monument for the Javanese Immigration is hardly known.

	10 Oct square	Cathedral	Baba and Mai	Fort Zeelandia	Kwakoe	Javanese Imm
City Maroons	76	65	65	82	94	59
Inland Maroons	20	53	27	93	0	3

Table 5.2: Monument familiarity amongst the Maroons, in percentages (n= 17 and n=30 for the city Maroons and the inland Maroons respectively)

5.1.2 Marks for monuments

As we now know that overall the monuments are rather well-known, that there are a few more and a few less well-known monuments and that the Maroons are less familiar with them, it is time to look at the importance of the monuments as stated by the respondents in questionnaires 2, 3 and 4. The respondents in questionnaire 2 were asked to mark a range of monuments from 0 to 10, according to their importance¹¹. Table 5.3 shows the average scores for each of the nine monuments. In this table a weighed average – the average in

¹⁰ As this question was not included in the questionnaire, we counted how many respondents did not mark a particular monument (thereby implying that they did not mark it because they did not know it), and we added to this the respondents who did give a mark, but stated that they gave this mark because they did not know the monument.

¹¹ The question was stated as follows; 'How important is (monument) for you?' The respondents could tick a point on a line starting at 0 and finishing at 10.

which the sizes of the different ethnic communities have been taken into account - is also included. At this point in the analysis we did not yet look at ethnicities, as we first want to look at the overall importance of the monuments. In later sections, we do take ethnicity into account.

	Wooden houses	Cathedral	Fort Zeelandia	Kwakoe	Pengel	Lachmon	Remembrance Tree	WWII	Chinese Imm.
Average score	7.4	8.6	8.3	7.7	7.8	6.6	7.1	8.0	6.2
Weighed average	7.1	8.5	7.9	7.8	7.8	6.7	7.4	8.3	6.1

Table 5.3: Average and weighed average scores of the importance of nine monuments on a scale of 0 to 10 (n=119)

Table 5.3 illustrates that most monuments are indeed seen as important by the Surinamese, as on average they received high marks and not one scored below 6. Worth noting here, however, is that there were a few respondents in questionnaire 2 who stated that the monuments are not important to them at all and that they do not see any value in keeping them for the future; they cost money which would be better used for development of the country. Moreover, they see the monuments as an old (fashioned) pile of rubbish. As explained by one respondent: 'The past is the past, you have to look to the future' (a). What is maybe most interesting about this, though, is that there are only two respondents out of the 119, who have this opinion. Also in the street survey, the amount of people who stated that they do not care for the monuments at all, is minimal.

Again, these results look different when we include the Maroons, as there are a few monuments which have no importance to them. This is shown in table 5.4, which presents the results of questioning the city- and inland Maroons about how important specific monuments are to them. (As marking the monuments had been quite difficult for our previous respondents, we asked the Maroons to express their appreciation by choosing between four categories – 1: Very important, 2: Quite important, 3: Not very important and 4: Not important at all.) The table shows that in a few cases (the cathedral, Baba and Mai and the monument for Javanese Immigration) the third and fourth categories were chosen by, in total, over half of respondents. Therefore, it is to be expected that these particular monuments would have received rather low marks, when asked. A few other monuments, like the 10 October square, Fort Zeelandia and Kwakoe, are much better appreciated. Something else that attracts attention is that the city Maroons show, again, a much less clear bipartition than the inland Maroons, this time between important and non-important monuments.

Monuments	10 Oct square		Cathedral		Baba and Mai		Fort Zeelandia		Kwakoe		Javanese Imm.	
	City (n=13)	Inland (n=6)	City (n=11)	Inland (n=16)	City (n=11)	Inland (n=8)	City (n=14)	Inland (n=28)	City (n=16)	Inland (n=30)	City (n=10)	Inland (n=1)
1	54	83	18	38	27	13	79	32	88	87	30	-
2	8	-	18	25	18	50	14	46	6	7	-	100
3	31	17	27	31	18	13	7	11	6	7	40	-
4	8	-	36	6	36	25	-	11	-	-	30	-

Table 5.4: Monument appreciation (choosing between four categories) amongst the Maroons who stated to know the respective monuments, in percentages

All in all, it seems safe to say that although in general the monuments are valued highly, the Maroons value them less than the other ethnic groups. This can be explained by the literature. Ennen (1999) argues that in general people attach a positive meaning to urban heritage, as it enhances the atmosphere and is found to be beautiful. But people who have been living in the city for a longer period of time usually feel more connected to the city and its built environment (Simon, 2004), which explains why the Maroons (both city and inland) have a less clearly positive opinion about the Paramaribo heritage than the other ethnic communities; they have been living in the city for a generation or less, or do not live there at all. Besides, they may still gain a large part of their identity from the inland, as this is where they (originally) come from and what distinguishes them as Maroons. That is confirmed by Simon (2004), who argues that people attach certain characteristics and qualities to places that are relevant to them. It is to be expected that the city is less relevant to the Maroons, as the inland is, or was until recently, their place of residence. It does not mean, that the Maroons are not interested in heritage an sich; 87 per cent of the inland Maroons interviewed stated that they would like to see a Maroon monument erected. But only 35 per cent wanted this in the city. This shows that Paramaribo as such is less important to them; it is not their place of reference. Within the group of Maroons, the inland Maroons have a less clear opinion on the monuments, as they chose the middle categories (2 and 3) more often than the city Maroons. This can also be explained by the fact that they do not live in the city and are less familiar with certain specific monuments (as we had already illustrated that they show a strong division between the monuments they do and those they do not know). Hence, as they are rather unfamiliar with certain monuments, they show a clear opinion on them.

5.1.3 Detached importance?

However promising the above results, one has to be careful not to overestimate the importance of heritage in people's daily lives. Pennartz (1979, in Rijkers, 2006), for example, argues that to many people heritage items are just there; people are often not aware of the meaning of these items. Also, people often only recognize the value of historic buildings when these are directly threatened (Ennen, 2004). In our questionnaire, we asked the respondents what they thought should be better maintained. By far the most-given answer was 'all'. Although this means that heritage is important to people, it also implies that they have no nuanced opinion about it. Newspaper cuttings confirm the idea that public awareness is something that needs to be increased: 'Monuments in Suriname on CD-R' (De

Ware Tijd, 2003e), 'Seminar awareness cultural heritage' (De Ware Tijd, 2002e) and 'Monument care in Suriname has Monument Day' (De Ware Tijd, 2003d).

On the other hand, there are also newspaper articles in which angry citizens complain about the state of the monuments and the role of the government therein: 'Monuments have to stay' (De Ware Tijd, 2003a), 'Surinamese should be ashamed' (De Ware Tijd, 2004a) and 'This is not how we should treat our heritage' (De Ware Tijd, 2003c). Rijkers (2006), in her thesis in which the historic city centre of Paramaribo plays a central role, confirms that the inhabitants of Paramaribo generally have a positive attitude towards heritage. Moreover, when asking her respondents to divide a certain amount of money over six policy areas (improving the quality of hospitals, improving educational material, improving roads and drainages, tackling criminality, the stimulation of cultural activities and doing up the historic inner city) doing up the inner city came fourth. Although this is not a very high position, one should realise that some of the policy fields mentioned by Rijkers are very pressing problems; drainages for example, are often blocked so that streets get flooded. It is rather striking that doing up the inner city was seen as more important than tackling criminality.

5.2 Serving as part of history

Above we discussed the overall importance of monuments; now we will analyse the importance of the non-ethnic monuments specifically. We look at the scores they received from the various ethnic groups and their reasons to give those scores.

5.2.1 The importance of non-ethnic monuments

In order to determine which monuments are seen as most important by our respondents, we used various data. In the questionnaires we asked the respondents which monument is most important to them¹². The results of this question are shown in table 5. We have included only the most given answers.

	Kwakoe	Cathedral	Fort Zeelandia	Presidential palace	N (166)
Hindostanis	2	1	3	3	26
Creoles	5	3	3	4	25
Javanese	1	4	3	6	26
Mixed origin	1	10	2	3	24
Boeroes	-	1	1	1	11
City Maroons	8	-	5	-	17
Inland Maroons	8	-	1	-	30
Other	-	1	-	1	7
Total	25	20	18	18	

Table 5.5: Number of times a monument was mentioned as most important

Table 5.6 shows the average scores the different monuments received, including a division in ethnicities. When taking this table into account, and again table 5.4 (see page 44), we can see that in general the non-ethnic monuments¹³ are most important to our respondents. The cathedral and Fort Zeelandia both received very high marks - amongst all the ethnic groups in table 5.6 - and are also listed as most important in table 5.5. The Maroons fit less clearly

¹² This was an open question; no answering categories were given.

¹³ The cathedral, Fort Zeelandia, the monument for the victims of the Second World War and the wooden houses in the inner city. The Presidential Palace is also seen as non-ethnic, but this heritage item was not included in our questionnaires and was therefore not marked by the respondents.

into this picture, but they nevertheless see Fort Zeelandia as very important (table 5.4). Then, also the monument for the victims of the Second World War received a rather high mark amongst all groups in table 5.6. This is surprising, as it was one of the least-known monuments and was mentioned as most important only once. However, it does confirm our statement that non-ethnic monuments are overall higher valued than ethnic monuments. Another argument for this is that also the Presidential Palace ranked high in table 5.5. Finally, there are the wooden houses in the inner city. They did not receive too high a mark, but this is most likely related to the fact that many of these houses are in a very bad condition. This explanation is proven by one of the questions in questionnaire 2, which asked which monument should be better maintained. The wooden houses were mentioned most often (except for the answer 'all'). As one respondent remarked; 'I think they are good, but they should be well maintained. It's history for our country' (a). The semi-structured interviews led us to the same conclusion; 'But it is a shame, it's a burden for the street, for the, it's dangerous for pedestrians, it's falling apart' (c) (IB), and;

'Because I think, if we receive tourists, and it had, even if it had in history a, very nice history and a story, to say it like this but the state in which it is now, we can't bring it back to the past, then it has to go' (b) (AB).

	Wooden houses	Cathedral	Fort Zeelandia	Kwakoe	Pengel	Lachmon	Remembrance Tree	WWII	Chinese Imm.	n
Hindostanis	6.0	7.8	6.8	7.2	7.1	6.8	7.2	8.9	4.8	26
Creoles	7.4	8.6	8.1	8.7	8.6	6.5	6.9	8.3	7.2	25
Javanese	8.3	9.1	8.5	8.1	7.4	7.4	8.3	8.0	6.4	26
Mixed origin	7.5	9.1	9.2	7.7	8.2	6.1	7.3	8.1	6.4	24
Boeroes	8.7	8.4	9.0	7.0	7.6	6.2	6.5	8.1	5.9	11
Other	7.9	8.0	8.6	7.3	8.0	6.7	7.1	6.7	6.8	7
Total	7.4	8.6	8.3	7.7	7.8	6.6	7.1	8.0	6.2	119
Weighed average	7.1	8.5	7.9	7.8	7.8	6.7	7.4	8.3	6.1	-

Table 5.6: Average scores of the monuments on a scale of 0 to 10, divided by ethnicity

5.2.2 Colonial monuments

The above arguments confirm the conclusion that the non-ethnic monuments are seen as most important, and that in this respect there is not much difference between the ethnic groups. Many of these non-ethnic monuments are from the colonial time (such as Fort Zeelandia, the wooden houses and the Presidential Palace). However, the finding that people appreciate colonial monuments runs counter to what we found in the literature. Van Ditzhuijzen argues in *De Ware Tijd* (2003b) that the Surinamese do not care about the historic inner city, as the Javanese and Hindostanis only arrived at the end of the nineteenth century and the Creoles do not want to be reminded of the houses in which their ancestors were slaves. We did not come across anything like this at all. As stated before, people are complaining about the fact that the wooden houses are deteriorating, which implies that they would like to see the houses well-kept, in their original state. The most important reason for this is that the houses - and with it the other non-ethnic monuments - are seen as *Surinamese history*, as this was the most given explanation for giving a high mark to the wooden houses; 'They serve as part of history and heritage of the country (a stamp from the past) and give a unique impression' (d).

It is exactly this history which binds people in Suriname. An article in *De Ware Tijd* (2004d) states; 'We feel that these buildings are part of history and therefore it does not matter whether they have been built in a time which can be seen as miserable for at least one ethnic group' (e). Except for the Indigenous, all Surinamese have come to Suriname, and most arrived during colonial time. Of course many bad things have happened during these times, but this does not mean that people necessarily associate heritage from those times with these bad things, as many people see that something good came from it as well;

'It shows what your history is. And your history is important for today and the future. If you don't know your history, and you don't accept what has happened in the past, and you don't try to make changes, or improvements, then it doesn't work in a society. We should be proud of what we've got, however wrong it has been in the past, you just have to be proud. It happened. I always tell my students, if you didn't come here as slaves, you wouldn't be in Suriname! You may be walking around in Africa, wearing some tiny pants, and you may not even be able to find something to eat for example. I say, one way or the other, it has had positive sides to it. Also negative sides, we shouldn't deny that. But it has also been positive. You're here now' (f) (RS).

Seeing that many Surinamese appreciate the old buildings in the inner city *for their colonial history*, means that in Suriname there is only a small gap between the tourism economy - perpetuating colonial heritage in order to sell it to former colonisers - and new national identities based upon revised and unifying heritage values (Graham et al., 2000). It is true that colonial heritage is kept for the tourist industry as well, and people do mention this as an important reason for keeping it, but it is not far as important as the historical value which it has for the Surinamese themselves. Whether the colonial heritage can also be regarded as Dutch heritage is something we will discuss later (see 5.4.2), but it clearly is indeed Surinamese heritage. Therefore we feel that colonial heritage can be seen as the basis upon which the Surinamese built their identity and it is something that binds – almost – all Surinamese. The reason why we believe that colonial heritage is not Boeroe heritage (and thereby ethnic), is that in the first place the Boeroes are not the descendants of the first colonisers; they were a new group of immigrants who arrived only two decades before the abolition of slavery, and were farmers trying to escape the European poverty. Secondly, many Boeroes have mixed with other ethnic groups, and only a small group has kept a clear own – Dutch – identity. Finally, neither the Boeroes, nor the other ethnic groups stated that this is Boeroe heritage; it is history in general to which people refer.

*

The summit of colonial heritage is maybe the statue of Queen Wilhelmina, but we feel that there is a difference between the other colonial heritage items and this statue. We argued that colonial heritage binds people because it represents a common history of the people living in Suriname today, but Wilhelmina seems to represent the Dutch part of Surinamese colonial history. Maybe the difference lies herein that a queen is much more associated with the Dutch an sich, and less easily disconnected from them¹⁴. At independence, the statue was replaced from the Independence Square to the Fort Zeelandia complex. The fact that she was taken away from the Independence Square is clearly a symbolic action; 'we are free now, your queen is not ours anymore'. In our interviews we found that indeed some people are happy with her new spot. One respondent stated that we could take her back to the Netherlands, because she does not belong here, and another told us that if we wanted her to look good, we should be the ones to maintain the statue. However, the statue of the

¹⁴ In that way, it can be argued that the statue of Queen Wilhelmina is an ethnic monument. However, it is not ethnic for an ethnic group present today, as the Dutch as such (in contrast to the Boeroes) are hardly present in Suriname anymore. It is also possible that the Boeroes feel more connected to this statue than the other groups, but we did not find any arguments for or against this. Queen Wilhelmina may therefore be a colonial heritage item with an ethnic touch.

queen is very meaningful to most respondents and therefore they do often not agree with the replacement;

'I feel that it is misplaced there. Especially eh, the Fort Zeelandia complex has a good and a less good name, this er, yes, we have, it was our mother country, the mother of us all, wasn't she? (...) So she could have been given a better place. I think parts from the past, your past, you can never push away or hush up. I think she deserves a better place' (g) (AB).

'I think it's a shame that they took the statue of Wilhelmina away. *Yes?* I believe it's somewhere at Fort Zeelandia now. *Yes.* I think it's bad, because Suriname wanted independence herself, it didn't happen with a fight, so I feel, the statue was there, it was beautiful, and they took it away suddenly. They should have left it as a sign of friendship. That's my opinion' (h) (ES).

Also, De Ware Tijd (2004b) mentions that the Maroon community held a traditional Siksi Wiki (a tribute to a deceased) for the deceased princes Juliana at the statue of Wilhelmina. The newspaper writes that although slavery was a black page in Surinamese history, it did give the Maroons their characteristic survival mechanisms, and already in those days the Maroons used to have a good bond with the highest authority in the colony. Juliana is also said to have always cherished the bond with the Maroon community. One of our respondents illustrates this bond;

'For example when I was in the interior, I also saw pictures, it was at Asidoboko, I saw that in one of those houses they had pictures. Wilhelmina, from the generations. *O, really? Nice.* Yes, from the Royal Family, I thought that was interesting. Yes, marriage pictures it were, also Maxima and Prince Willem. Yes, all those generations, I thought that was special' (i) (EG).

*

One thing to keep in mind is that even though the Surinamese value the historic buildings for their colonial history, some of these buildings have important stories attached to them from after colonial time. These may be forgotten if there is too much attention to the colonial time in order to satisfy the tourists. One example is Fort Zeelandia, which is very important to people because it is the place of the December murders. A guide in the Fort Zeelandia complex told us that to many Surinamese the place is full of bad memories, and that many people believe that it is hunted because of the things that happened there. One of our respondents in the questionnaire stated something similar; 'Because for me this is a place where innocent souls are roaming around and where these people have been through inhumanitarian treatments. To me it is, and always will be, a history never to forget!' (j) If the colonial story is given more attention, people may feel that this story is being neglected (Hornis, 2003). However, such neglect does not seem to be the case, as people mention both the colonial history *and* the December murders as important reasons to keep it; 'Rampart of the conquerors, strategic point, people appreciate it, it has many functions, December murders bad, but that doesn't weigh up against the rest. Good for tourists' (k), and 'A memory, important and painful, for the relatives of the December murders' (l). Besides, the December murders are still in the news today, so the story is yet to be finished. Moreover, according to our guide, people also want to keep Fort Zeelandia because it is built by their ancestors, and is therefore an inheritance. And you can not get rid of an inheritance, because that will hunt you for the rest of your life.

In some cases, the colonial story may be more or less replaced by a more recent story. The Presidential Palace, for example, used to be the residence of the governor. Nowadays, although still remembered, it is important because it is the official residence of the president (although president Venetiaan chose not to live here).

5.2.3 Personal memories and other reasons

It was not just history the respondents mentioned as being important about the non-ethnic monuments. Often it was remarked that these monuments are beautiful and increase the beauty of the city. This is especially so in the case of the cathedral, as many remarks about it were related to its uniqueness to the world; 'It is the biggest in the Caribbean and therefore part of our history' (m), and 'It's the highest wooden building in the America's, and a monumental building' (n). Next to their history and beauty, a third reason for people to appreciate non-ethnic monuments is that they show the world a story of all Surinamese. The monument for the victims of the Second World War, for example, is something that can make all Surinamese proud of their country; 'This is how foreigners know that Suriname also participated in the Second World War' (o). Finally, it is remarkable that there were hardly any answers that related to personal reasons¹⁵. Only in the case of the cathedral did a few people mention personal bonds with it; 'It's beautiful. I got married in this cathedral in 1960 and also my eldest son, in 1983. It has been our church since childhood' (p).

5.3 Everyone his own things

In the previous section we explained the value of non-ethnic monuments. In this section we will discuss the ethnic monuments and people's opinions of those.

5.3.1 The Creoles, the Maroons and the rest

A first glance at table 5.6 (see page 46) shows that with regards to the ethnic monuments there are hardly any noteworthy differences between the different ethnic communities. On a second glance, however, one can see that the Creoles appreciate Kwakoe and Pengel – 'their' ethnic monuments - best, although not overwhelmingly. It works also the other way around; Kwakoe and Pengel are most appreciated by the Creoles. The Hindostanis, however, were not the ones who gave the Remembrance Tree and Lachmon, their ethnic monuments, the highest marks. Those were the Javanese. It is difficult to find an explanation for this, but one possibility is that the Javanese gave higher marks overall. After the Javanese, it is the Hindostanis who give Lachmon and the Remembrance Tree the highest marks, but when we look the other way around, the Hindostanis did not appreciate their own ethnic monuments best. The Boeroes marked the colonial monuments highest, but as overall the colonial monuments were valued high, it is unclear whether this is related to their Dutch roots. Moreover, also the people of mixed origin and the Javanese marked those monuments highest, but here it should be noted that there were no ethnic monuments included for those two groups (which would not be possible for the people of mixed origin either).

Then, when looking at how the ethnic groups appreciate ethnic monuments of other groups, one can see that the Creoles appreciate the Hindostani monuments the least, but this does not work vice versa. What is also interesting is that both the Boeroes and the people of mixed origin appreciate the Creole monuments more than the Hindostani monuments. Taken together, these results lead to an interesting conclusion; overall, the Creole monuments are appreciated better than the Hindostani monuments (which can also be concluded from table 5.3). The interesting thing is that it is not just the Creoles who have this opinion, but also most other groups. Even the Hindostanis seem to value them higher. It is difficult to find an obvious explanation for this. A reasonable explanation is that first of all, the statue of Lachmon is by many people seen as very ugly, which is why it received low marks (we will come back to this in 5.3.4). Second, the Remembrance Tree is not very well known, as we made clear at the beginning of this chapter. And although in the average scores we have only included the answers of people who did know it, it may mean that the overall

¹⁵ It should be noted here that we did not ask for personal reasons specifically, as we kept this an open question. People were free to answer in this way, but were not stimulated to do so.

importance attached to it is small. Things may have looked differently had we included Baba and Mai instead of the Remembrance Tree. The results do imply, however, that it is not only ethnicity which makes people value a certain monument. Moreover, the Hindostanis themselves are rather critical about their statues, especially because they doubt the value of planting a tree; 'It doesn't influence the people now, it should be used to bring up tradition. Planting trees is good, but you should ask the youth whether they know the meaning of the tree' (a), and 'To me this doesn't mean much. What the Hindostanis actually reached is much more valuable' (b).

The Maroons were found to be the group that shows the clearest preference for its own monuments. Table 5.4 shows that this group appreciates Kwakoe best and also the 10 October Square scores higher than Baba and Mai and the monument for Javanese Immigration (recall that this questionnaire contained different monuments). However, one has to keep in mind here that the group of Maroons that knows Baba and Mai and the monument for Javanese immigration is small, and so the results are based on only a small group of Maroons. Nevertheless, less than half of the city Maroons see Baba and Mai as important and seventy percent of them do not see the monument for Javanese Immigration as important. A reasonable explanation for this is that the Maroons are overall less familiar with heritage present in Paramaribo, and are therefore more inclined to value their own better. Moreover, they are more spatially separated from the other groups, and less integrated into the Surinamese society, as we argue in chapter 6. Therefore, they have less contact with other groups, are less familiar with them, and possibly appreciate other ethnic heritage less than their own.

5.3.2 Ethnic monuments

Now it is time to discuss what it is about the so-called ethnic monuments that people find important. For some people, this is related to the ethnic history these monuments represent; the ethnic monuments give people the chance to think about where they came from, and to remember their roots; 'Because he is my ancestor who helped during slavery' (c) (a Maroon about Kwakoe), 'Makes me think about my ancestors' (d) (a Hindostani about the Remembrance Tree), 'Of our immigration, our ancestors, otherwise we wouldn't be here' (e) (a Hindostani about the Remembrance Tree), 'It's about slavery and freedom, then we're talking about our roots' (f) (a Maroon about the 10 October Square), and 'Yes, yes, if now and then my Dutch blood is starting to speak to me' (g) (ES, with Dutch roots, about the statue of Wilhelmina).

Worth noting here, is that most Maroons (and a few Creoles) gave answers relating to Kwakoe having been a good person, a fighter for freedom. Only one Maroon respondent gave us the right story, about him being named Kwakoe because freedom was born on a Wednesday. Apparently, in order to feel connected to a statue, one does not have to know the right story, as long as one knows that it exists for him and his people. According to Duineveld (2004, in Rijkers, 2006), people often look at heritage with emotions, in which case it does not matter how 'real' something is, but whether it gives a feeling that it is theirs. The above makes this clear; it does not matter to the Maroons whether Kwakoe was a real hero or not, he fulfils this function anyway.

*

The above answers all related to the ethnic heritage of the own group, but our results show that ethnic heritage may also mean something to people of other ethnicities. These reasons can be divided into several categories. First, some people stated that a certain monument is important because it is important to another group; 'It doesn't mean much to me, but it does for the negroes' (h) (a Javanese about Kwakoe), 'To them it is important, everyone his own things' (i) (a Creole about the Remembrance Tree), 'I don't mind, they are hard workers, it's

part of the Surinamese people' (j) (a Boeroe about the Remembrance Tree), 'It is important for the Hindostani people' (k) (a Maroon about Baba and Mai), and

'It is something, but it doesn't mean anything to me. I am not a Hindostani, it is for the Hindostanis. *But it doesn't bother you that it is there?* O no, we are together in this country' (l) (IB about Baba and Mai).

Whereas these remarks all suggest not more than mere acceptance of other heritage, sometimes answers went a step further, as a few people answered that ethnic monuments are important to them because they form part of the Surinamese history. A history in which all groups take part; 'It's very important because it makes you think about how the Hindostanis immigrated into Suriname' (m) (a Javanese about the Remembrance Tree), 'As a Surinamese, it is important' (n) (a Maroon about Baba and Mai), 'So that it will always stay in our thoughts when slavery was abolished' (o) (a Javanese about Kwakoe), 'Good, history, descendants of the Surinamese people' (p) (a Creole about the Remembrance Tree), and

'And this is the, the first Hindostani that arrived. (...) Well, I think it's cool. (...) It shows that you should not forget our history. How the Hindostani, or er, when the first Hindostanis arrived' (q) (BS about Baba and Mai).

There were also respondents who stated that it is time to get past ethnicities; these people are critical about ethnic monuments, because they do not represent the Surinamese population as a whole; 'Not so good, freedom fighter for the negroes, not for the total population' (r) (a Javanese about Kwakoe), 'It's ok, but we should have understood the message by now' (s) (a person of mixed origin about Kwakoe), and 'Not very impressive, other peoples have arrived in Suriname as well. Should they all plant a tree at the Waterkant?' (t) (a person of mixed origin about the Remembrance Tree). Such answers may suggest that the respondent feels that focusing on ethnicities is no longer useful, and that it stands in the way of progress for Suriname (personal conversations with JP and CL). But it also means that people are 'denied' their heritage by other people, only because it is not 'something for everyone'. This can also go further, as in a few cases people scored ethnic heritage low because of the ethnic group it represents; 'A large decline for Suriname' (u) (a Creole about the Remembrance Tree), and 'I like Javanese people, but not that much. They are jealous people' (v) (a Maroon about the monument of Javanese immigration).

Interestingly, when looking at the amount of times particular answers were given it becomes clear that Kwakoe is twice as often mentioned as important because of the history it represents than the Remembrance Tree. Hence, Kwakoe is stated to be an important statue because it represents a certain Surinamese history; the Remembrance Tree is seen as important mainly for the Hindostanis. This suggests that Kwakoe is seen to represent national history, whereas the Remembrance Tree is merely Hindostani history. We presume that that is not related to a societal difference between Hindostanis and Creoles, but with the status of the respective monuments instead. As explained earlier, Baba and Mai would probably have given another result.

5.3.3 The Monument of Chinese Immigration

Overall, there were only a few statements about monuments which illustrated a negative attitude towards a certain ethnic group. However, these numbers are higher for the monument of Chinese Immigration, which is why we discuss this monument separately here. Table 5.6 already showed that this monument was the lowest scoring monument, and although this has certainly also to do with the facts that not many people know it, that it is placed a little outside the city centre and that many people see it as rather ugly, it is striking to see that ten respondents in questionnaire 2 (out of 119) made a negative remark about the Chinese population; 'Unnecessary mass immigration' (w), 'They don't belong here' (x), 'It's fine for every group to have its own monument, but the Chinese are too discriminating' (y), 'There are too many Chinese. They do help with goods, we can buy those now. It used

to be more expensive' (z), 'I have something against the Chinese, they succeed in everything, like a staying permit and a work permit and they bring everything they earn back to China' (aa), and 'They can also stay, but I am not sure whether they make a fair contribution to the built-up of the country (not counting the good ones)' (ab).

Half of these answers came from the Hindostanis, and they were also the ones to score this monument the lowest. This is explicable by the fact that many Hindostanis have been priced out of business by the Chinese. Hence, these answers imply that people reflect their opinion of a certain group of people on the evaluation of the monument that represents this group. Nevertheless, there were seventeen respondents (out of the same group of 119) that state that the Chinese are also part of the Surinamese population and that the statue is important to them - which is clearly more than the amount of people who made discriminating remarks¹⁶; 'Every Surinamese (doesn't matter from which race, or religion) should have and show respect. If the Chinese want an immigration monument, than that's allowed' (ac), 'Now there is a kind of relation with the Chinese, and in Suriname we are multicultural' (ad), and 'The Chinese made a fair contribution to our Surinamese development' (ae). Remarkable, however, is that no respondents answered that this monument is historic; it is seen as important for the Chinese. Hence, although many respondents stated that the Chinese have a right to their own monument, in a way these answers also create a distance, as the monument is not seen as important to the whole of Surinamese society; it is only important for the history of the Chinese. It is important to keep in mind, though, that the Chinese are still immigrating into Suriname. So, whereas there are Chinese people who arrived roughly at the same time as the Hindostanis and Javanese, there are also Chinese who have come to Suriname only recently, who do not speak the language and have not yet integrated into society. This may be a reason for this distance.

5.3.4 The struggle of Lachmon and Pengel

Table 5.6 shows that Lachmon received a far lower average mark than Pengel, not only from the Creoles, but also from the Hindostanis. We stated above that this is related to the fact that the Hindostanis are rather critical about Lachmon, and also that many people feel that the design of the statue is rather ugly. Here we will discuss this further. We asked the respondents of the questionnaire to give a short statement about why they chose to score a monument in the way they did. We have categorised these statements - table 5.7 shows the categories of answers given about Pengel and Lachmon, and the amount of times these categories were chosen (in this table we do not make a distinction between ethnicities). Hence, 41 per cent of statements about why a particular mark was given to the wooden houses was on the basis of them being historic, and 37 per cent of these answers were related to aesthetic reasons (whether that is ugly or beautiful). This table shows therefore, that both Pengel and Lachmon received many of their marks on the basis of their political qualities, whether these qualities are found to be good or bad (political reasons).

Many respondents saw the two politicians as important people, who meant a lot to their country; 'A piece of history of a big son that this country has produced which should be honoured and appreciated' (af) (about Pengel), and 'A fighter for his country. He didn't see any differences in race, colour and religion, one of the points which I support for a hundred percent. Suriname one country, one nation, different people' (ag) (about Lachmon). On the one hand, such answers suggest that people do not have ethnic reasons to appreciate these monuments, as their reasons are political. But on the other hand, politics in Suriname is mostly arranged along ethnic lines. Thus, most people who state that Pengel is a good

¹⁶ Hence, ten people out of the group of 119 made discriminating remarks about the Chinese and seventeen stated that the Chinese are part of the Surinamese population. With regards to the other 92, they had different reasons to give the monument a high or low mark, for example relating to the aesthetics or the setting of the monument.

politician are Creole, and the statue did not receive such a high mark from any other ethnic community. The following quotes from the questionnaire confirm this idea; 'Because he was from the same ethnic group' (ah) (a Hindostani about Lachmon), and 'As Pengel was to the Creoles, this is probably how Lachmon is to the Hindostanis' (ai) (a Creole about Lachmon).

	Wooden houses	Cathedral	Fort Zeelandia	Kwakoe	Pengel	Lachmon	Remembrance Tree	WW II	Ch. Imm.
Historic reasons	41	24	55	31	9	3	15	34	6
Aesthetical reasons	37	29	24	23	28	26	13	18	18
Political reasons	-	-	-	9	34	34	-	-	-

Table 5.7: Percentages of answers falling in particular categories (n=119)

However, there are also reasons to believe that it is not ethnic after all; the Creoles make up only just over a quarter of people stating that Pengel was a good politician, and there were less Hindostanis who thought Lachmon a good politician than Creoles, Javanese or people of mixed origin. Moreover, the Hindostanis make up half the people who think Lachmon was a bad politician; 'It has been these people who made that Suriname is in poverty until today' (aj). Also, they were not the ones to give Lachmon his highest mark. So, why are the Hindostanis so critical about (the statue of) Lachmon?

An important reason is the simple fact that many people find it ugly; it's too small, the socle is too high and he is not pictured as a leader; 'It's in the wrong place and ugly' (ak). On a first glance, giving low marks because the statue is ugly suggests that people do not care much about the symbolic value of a monument. However, the opposite seems to be true, as there is a lot more to it. The statue of Lachmon was placed on such a high socle because the people who gave the order for it wanted it to stand as high as Pengel - but the statue itself is much smaller. As a result, the statue is too high for the socle. Moreover, the statue stands very close to that of Pengel, because of which it does not get the space a statue needs. Therefore, the statue of Lachmon looks rather strange in comparison with that of Pengel. It would have looked better on a lower socle, further away from Pengel, so that there is not such an obvious comparison - which Lachmon loses (De Ware Tijd, 2004c; De Ware Tijd, 2002f). The low marks for the statue are then an outing of the Hindostanis' discontent with this comparison, because if people did not care about Lachmon, they would also not care what it looked like, and so giving low marks because the statue is ugly suggests that people do care about the symbolic value of the monument. In that sense this is a political/ethnic conflict (Erwin de Vries, 2007, interview). Still, respondents gave much more variable answers with regards to the political capabilities of Lachmon than with regards to those of Pengel. We do not have an explanation for this, other than that Pengel was a more popular politician overall.

*

There were also a few respondents who find political statues unnecessary; 'It's okay to make a statue of important people, but it's not necessary to do it of everyone' (al). Other people do not mind the statues as such, but do not agree with the fact that they have been put on the Independence Square. One of the respondents in the semi structured interviews, for example, argues the following;

'The place where he is situated, there used to be a bench, a stone bench, and it was my spot, just to sit there and to meditate, looking at the Palace, and the palm trees behind the Palace

(...). The bench has been replaced a little, but then you have another view, if you sit there.
(...). I think these two statues are totally misplaced. That's my idea' (am) (AB).

This opinion is explained by an anonymous author in De Ware Tijd (2002d). He argues that the square belongs to all Surinamese and therefore it should not be used by a political party. The author argues that the public was never asked about whether they wanted these statues there and he wonders how long it will be before other politicians, representing other ethnic groups, will be put on the square as well. Another of our respondents explains clearly why it is so important that the square is free of *political* statues;

'Now look. I don't agree that political leaders, their statues are being placed on the Square.
Ok. The square has to be independent; it has to be free of... *Of any party?* Yes, yes, of any party. Because here you can see that we are divided. *Yes.* And that's not okay' (an) (AL).

5.3.5. Monuments beautify the city

Finally, many monuments, ethnic or not, are also appreciated for the simple reason that they are beautiful, that they make the city look nicer; 'They give a certain colour (local colour) to the Caribbean character of Paramaribo' (ao). Table 5.7 shows that such answers, relating to the aesthetics of a monument, are given rather often. This suggests on the one hand that the meaning of monuments should not be overstated, as people do not appreciate them for their historic or ethnic aspects alone. On the other hand, if someone does not care about a monument at all, he will also not care what it looks like. Maybe especially if a statue or other monument carries an important meaning, people will want it to look good.

5.4 Surinamese heritage represents the colourful past/present

So far, we have presented a large amount of results. Although we did interpret and analyse these results, we use the final section of this chapter to analyse these findings in their totality.

5.4.1 A common history

Taking into account the previous sections, we argue that indeed a Surinamese heritage can be recognised. Although there are differences between the ethnic communities with regards to what heritage items are seen as most important, there is enough agreement upon the importance of specific heritage items to speak of a *common Surinamese heritage*. First of all, there is the colonial heritage, representing the colonial past, which is important for all groups studied. The colonial time is the time in which, except the Amerindians and certain smaller, newer groups like the Guyanese, all ethnic communities present today came to Suriname, and is therefore something that binds the people. Besides, it is a visible link to the strong connection with and focus on the Netherlands present in Suriname. Secondly, also certain ethnic heritage items are seen as part of the communal past, as it is all the ethnic groups together that make Suriname to what it is today. Finally, there are also non-ethnic, non-colonial monuments which appeal to all the ethnic groups. Hence, we argue that non-ethnic – including colonial - heritage is something that belongs to everyone and is part of the communal history and culture. Certain ethnic statues like Kwakoe (and possibly also Baba and Mai) are seen as part of Surinamese history in general, and of Creole/ Maroon (and Hindostani) history in particular; they are Surinamese, but also ethnic.

Of course, there are reasons to go against our statement that we can speak of a common Surinamese heritage. First of all, the acceptance of the heritage of other groups is in some cases not more than a mere indifference towards these groups, as we have illustrated with the case of the Chinese. In such cases there is an attitude of living alongside - instead of with - each other, of not really caring about what statues or trees other groups want to erect and plant, as long as it does not bother oneself. However, we feel that this attitude does not dominate, as the mix of ethnicities is something that is itself part of Surinamese culture;

people are proud of it. This becomes clear when looking at the results of the street survey we conducted. In this survey, we asked a hundred respondents which of nine options they would choose if the government would ask them how to spend a certain amount of money. The monument for 'the Unity of the People in Suriname' was chosen by 57 per cent¹⁷ of respondents. This proves that the people are indeed proud of their society, as they feel that it is worthy to be honoured with a monument. Although it may not necessarily mean that people are fully integrated, it does illustrate that people are prepared to look at the city and her monuments not only from their own ethnic point of view, but also from a more general, Surinamese perspective.

Secondly, it is important to realise that not all ethnic groups play their part in the common history. Even if we do not take smaller groups as the Guyanese, Brazilians and Lebanese into account, there are still some which are being – at least partly - left out; their history is not represented. In the words of Kambell and McKay (1999); 'With the possible exception of certain elements of material culture (crafts, art, dances etc.), Surinamese law does not recognise the cultural rights of Indigenous peoples and Maroons. Indeed, its primary aim appears to be the assimilation and integration of indigenous peoples and Maroons into some fictitious national identity and economy. Indigenous and Maroon culture appears to be valued only in the context of attracting tourists to Suriname' (p. 172). Indeed, not any Amerindian monument resides in Paramaribo¹⁸, and the 10 October Square dates back only as far as 2002. However, this does not mean that the people of Suriname are consciously trying to leave these stories out. When looking at the street survey again, we can see that eight respondents (representing eight per cent) chose to erect a statue for the Indigenous. Remarkably, only one of those respondents was an Amerindian. Apparently, the other groups feel that the Amerindians deserve a monument of their own as well. As one of the respondents, himself a Maroon, stated; 'we don't really have a monument as such either, but those Indians, they are really the autochthonous inhabitants, I think they deserve one' (a). Hence, if a group does not have a monument, like most other groups do, and is therefore not represented does not necessarily mean that this group is consciously being neglected. It also depends on the extent to which a government is actively trying to get all groups included; in the case of Suriname the government does merely – passively – allow groups to erect their own monuments. She is not trying to withhold the Amerindians from erecting a monument; she is just not coming forward with initiatives and finances.

Third, it has to be mentioned that the Maroons, and possibly also the Amerindians, are less attached to the common Surinamese heritage as the other groups. This is most likely related to the fact that they do not live in Paramaribo, or if they do, for a shorter period of time. However, we feel that the differences between the Maroons¹⁹ and other groups are still small enough to be able to speak of a common heritage. Besides, as more Maroons start moving to the city or have contact with the city, we expect them to get more connected to its heritage as well.

5.4.2 Whose heritage?

Suriname is the setting of an important part of Dutch history. As it used to be a Dutch colony, the country holds many visible memories of those days, like the former plantations,

¹⁷ It was especially the Creoles, Maroons and people of mixed origin who chose this option, as of those three groups approximately seventy per cent preferred this alternative. Just over 40 per cent of Hindustanis chose this option, and only a quarter of Javanese. More research needs to be done in order to be able to attach any conclusions to this finding, as we did not ask people for their reasons and there are many possible explanations.

¹⁸ In Suriname as a whole, there is only one monument for the Amerindians. It is set in Albina (east Suriname) (Lie Akwie and Esajas, 1997).

¹⁹ As we have not included the Amerindians in our research, we can not say anything about this group in this regard.

Fort Zeelandia and Fort Nieuw Amsterdam, and the historic inner city of Paramaribo. However, Suriname hardly has the money to keep up these sites, and therefore the Netherlands is involved. Hence, the open air museum in Enkhuizen helps doing up the open air museum in Fort Nieuw Amsterdam with knowledge and money (Dagblad van het Noorden, 2007) and a former member of the Dutch army renovated an old plantation with money of the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Trouw, 2007). The Netherlands supports Suriname herein because officially, both the Netherlands and Suriname agree that colonial heritage is shared heritage. Over the last years the Netherlands has been involved in discussions with Suriname about the preservation of this shared heritage (De Ware Tijd, 2004e); official policy documents ratify the cultural relationship, focussing not only on cooperation, but also on the ways in which this cooperation is shaped (Rijkers, 2006). Hornis (2003) states, however, that the Surinamese government is not positive about the role of the Netherlands in the Surinamese heritage policy. She feels that Suriname is reserved about the Dutch interference because the inner city is a national matter, and because it is about maintaining heritage with a burdened past. As we stated previously, we do not feel that the public has real problems with the burdened past of colonial heritage, but there are indeed a few newspaper articles in which there is critique on the fact that the Netherlands is involved in the maintenance of and decision making on colonial heritage, which is in the authors' eyes Surinamese property. De Ware Tijd argues that there is too much dependence on the Netherlands and that, as the Surinamese government can not do it properly, Dutch NGOs are taking over (2002b). As a result, too much is being decided upon by the Dutch, so that Surinamese heritage becomes de facto Dutch property. This is risky, as the Surinamese stories may disappear. For example, if there is too much focus on the colonial history of Fort Zeelandia, the history of the December murders may be neglected (Hornis, 2003). In such a case, there may indeed be a dissonance between the perpetuation of colonial heritage for the former colonisers and other stories attached to and uses made of heritage (Graham et al., 2000). The question posed in De Ware Tijd (2002a; 2002b) is therefore relevant; whose heritage is it?

The answer to this question has two sides. It is clear that *officially*, colonial heritage has another owner as *within society*. As stated, the Dutch and the Surinamese officially share heritage, which is confirmed in policy papers and with heritage agreements between the two countries. In practice this may come down to Dutch decisions, as the Surinamese government does not have enough money – and perhaps also momentum - to maintain the heritage. However, the question requests another answer, when looking at the *people* concerned. We feel that the Surinamese see colonial heritage as a Surinamese *inheritance* from the Dutch, but not as Dutch heritage per se. To the Surinamese it is important that this heritage is in a good state, and it does not really matter who pays. If the Netherlands provides the money for the restoration of Fort Nieuw Amsterdam, this does not mean that the Surinamese also start seeing it as Dutch heritage, as the Surinamese government relies on Dutch funds in more situations.

A last remark here is that Surinamese heritage will become more and more Dutch heritage, as there are more and more Dutch people with a Surinamese background. It is then no longer only colonial heritage that is important to the Netherlands, but Surinamese heritage overall, as that is heritage of part of the Dutch population. Moreover, the Netherlands now houses a statue for Anton de Kom and the abolition of slavery. Whose heritage is that? Furthermore, the Netherlands also houses a statue for Mahatma Gandhi, and whose heritage is that; the Dutch, the Surinamese, or the Indians? Or does he belong to world heritage?

In this chapter we have discussed the importance of heritage for the different ethnic groups in Suriname. In the next chapter we will discuss how these different groups are living together, and whether this reflects how they interpret heritage.

Chapter 6 One nation, different people

6.1 Our cultural diversity is something we have to cherish

The image Suriname has chosen to present towards the outside world is one of cultural heterogeneity, of people of different ethnicities living together in peace and harmony. The country uses the historic and demographic fact of many peoples living together in one country as a selling point. This becomes clear when looking at a tourist information brochure, stating 'where you will meet people of various different cultures, living alongside each other in harmony' (Suriname Tourism Foundation, 2007, p. 9). Also, for tourists it is possible to have their picture taken, being clothed in the different traditional dresses of the ethnic groups (see fig. 6.1), and in souvenir shops one can buy cups explaining the history of immigration of all communities (see fig. 6.2)



Fig. 6.1 and 6.2: Souvenirs relating to the multiethnic society

Indeed, the Surinamese are very proud of the way they live together. 'We are living in, well, a big family, no? We accept each other, no? So, well, for the outside world, Suriname is unique' (a) (AL), and 'I appreciate Suriname and the Surinamese very much, because you have different cultures and different sorts of, well, different communities. (...) .. The thing I find so cool about my country, is the living together and the different cultures' (b) (BS).

The government is trying very hard to stimulate this pride. The national coat of arms shows symbols of all different ethnic groupings (a slave ship, nature, indigenous people, and a square representing the four corners of the world the communities have come from). In 1975, the five stars on Suriname's flag, representing five different ethnic groups²⁰, have been replaced by one star, the five points still representing the five groups, but now one star, as a symbol of unity and hope of a rich future (Leuwsha, 2006; van Bodegraven, 2007).

²⁰ These are the Creoles (including the Maroons), the Hindostanis, the Javanese, the Chinese and the Amerindians.

De Ware Tijd (2007c) writes about a documentary that has been made about Suriname's cultural diversity. This same article also reports about representatives of the relevant governmental institutions, who say about this documentary; 'We are proud of the fact that our youngsters go out into the world and carry Suriname with them in their luggage' (c), and 'our cultural diversity is something we have to cherish, because it is not self-evident' (d). Further, in many places in the city one can see billboards about how people should respect each other and about how discrimination is something that should be eliminated (see fig. 6.2 and 6.3). Just outside the city centre, a park is being created, which carries the name of 'Friendship park', representing the peaceful way Suriname's peoples are living together.



Fig. 6.3 and 6.4: Billboard and plaque against discrimination

6.2 It is one big, happy family here

The Surinamese identity and with that the fact that so many communities share this identity, seems to be something that is an issue in society. In radio and television programmes, the topic is discussed over and over. Lucky Dube, a popular Reggae artist, even made a song about it, called 'One Suriname, different colours'. Just walking on the street, one can see many people wearing shirts with the Surinamese colours, the weapon and just the word 'Suriname'. Texts we have seen on shirts also include 'The people, that is everybody' (a), and 'I may live in Holland, but I'm 100% Surinamese'.

This observation has been confirmed by a question in our questionnaires 2,3 and 4, where we asked the respondents whether or not they feel Surinamese, in relation to their ethnic identity. The respondents could choose between the options 'I feel Surinamese in the first place', 'I do feel Surinamese, but not in the first place', and 'I do not feel Surinamese at all'. This last option has not been chosen at all, the second option by thirteen per cent, and 87 per cent chose the first option. We asked the same question in our semi structured interviews. This gave the same results; 'Definitely, 100% Surinamese. 100%' (b) (RS), 'Thorough-, thorough-, thoroughbred Surinamese. Really, born and raised, and I'm proud of it. Really' (c) (AB), and 'I am a born and raised Surinamese, I really do feel Surinamese, because I know nothing about, well, Javanese or something, I really do feel Surinamese. I feel more Surinamese, then I just feel comfortable' (d) (BS). People also talk very clearly about *our* city, *our* culture, *our* country and *our* interior. The country the people live in binds people and people are proud of it.

On first glance, the harmony between the different ethnic communities stressed by the government, therefore seems to be more than just words, and really present in society. On the radio, one can hear Hindi music, sung by a Creole. On a national holiday, the first of May, a mixed band sang Hindi music, and the audience, consisting mostly of Creoles, sang along. When we asked a Hindostani whether or not did he mind that Creoles sing Hindi

songs, he answered that of course he did not mind, on the contrary. We also heard a person of mixed Javanese and Hindostani origin play Chinese music in his car. This is by no means an exception. Moreover, a Creole won the Boogie Woogie dance contest held in order to celebrate the Hindostani immigration.

The respondents of our semi structured interviews subscribe this observation of harmony and lack of conflict. According to some, ethnicity really is no issue in people's daily lives; 'Well, I mean, they are living terribly well together. *Yes?* Yes, terrible and good is, are two different things, but they really are living well together (...) ... it is one big, happy family here' (e) (ES).

'Well, I think they are living together very well. That there is no discrimination, or a war, and we live together, and we eat together.. (...) I have a Chinese friend, I have a Hindostani friend, I have Negroes who are here, Surinamese, and I have Maroons as well. (...) And at a certain moment, when I am talking to my friends, I myself forget who they are, so I do not see whether they are black anymore, or Hindostani, or whatever. Well, I think everybody is integrated. Yes, I do' (f) (BS).

Also, when walking the streets of Paramaribo, one cannot see big differences between the ethnic groups. You do not see people walking in traditional clothing, everybody dresses in the same way. Traditional cultures seem to dilute, also because many people are living together in the city and more people are urbanising every day. Also weddings are not celebrated in traditional ways anymore (CL, personal conversation). Of course, one can question whether these last observations are a result of different ethnic groups living together in harmony, or just of broader globalising forces in general.

6.3 We still have to grow towards each other

However, also many arguments and observations can be made, that show that the picture the Surinamese government paints, of different ethnic groups living together in complete harmony, without discrimination whatsoever, is more a desired situation than reality.

Many people believe that although there is a lack of conflict, this does not mean the situation is ideal. Some of our respondents told us that people are not so much living *with* each other, but more *next to* each other; 'It is a box system (*hokjessysteem*)' (a) (AB), 'So everybody is living within their own groups? Yes, you also see many people marrying within their own groups' (b) (IB), and 'We are not yet a people, we are a population, in Suriname (...) .. So we still have to grow towards each other. So we are a heterogeneous people. Here we are living in a garden with different flowers' (c) (AL).

'I always tell them, in comparison to Guyana, if we say, are you a Surinamese? Yes, but from Hindostani origin. Whereas a Guyanese will say, no, I'm Guyanese. He won't let you distinguish between the Creoles and the Hindostani. He won't do that' (d) (RS).

This living next to each other instead of with each other, the living together but apart, becomes clearer when we look at the situation in more detail. The ethnic communities are almost literally living apart, as many areas in Paramaribo are almost completely inhabited by one ethnic group. Examples are Blauwgrond, a typical Javanese neighbourhood, and Flora, a Maroon settlement. Our respondent CL claimed that 'But now, when you will go to a Creole party, for example (...), a contest or something, you will also see Hindostani people' (e) (CL), but when he took us to such a Creole, or in this case Maroon, party, we saw only one boy that was not Maroon or Creole. Also the Hindostanis have parties of their own, for example a beauty contest in which only Hindostani girls can participate (De Ware Tijd, 2007b).

Some of our respondents went even further by not only claiming that people are living indifferent alongside each other, but that discrimination actually does exist; 'Still, people are, sometimes, drawn towards their own groups. And then they judge each other. *Really?* Yes. *So then there is some sort of discrimination.* Yes, I do think so. I do think so' (f) (JP).

'A lot of discrimination. *Yes? In what way?* The Maroon people are discriminated everywhere. I mean, well, definitely amongst Surinamese, I think so, yes. Colour is very important here. (...) But on the streets.. will hold his bag extra tight. When you see a couple of dark men for example' (g) (IB).

De Ware Tijd (2007a) also speaks about these prejudices; 'In parts of the society the impression exists that especially severe crimes are mainly committed by afro-Surinamese from the interior' (h). That these prejudices really exist becomes clear when reading Rijdsdijk's (2006) article in *Parbode*, where a woman claims that she will not rent her apartment to Maroon people, because she does not want to share her building with 'a tribe of inland residents' (i) (p. 29).

This hostility, or prejudices that exist about them, is also felt by the Maroons themselves. Of the city Maroons, 65 per cent stated that they feel discriminated against; only six per cent said that there is no discrimination. For the inland Maroons, these percentages are eighty per cent and thirteen per cent respectively. There is also a certain hostility towards the Chinese, as already elaborated on in Chapter 5.

In their book, Kambell and McKay (1999) talk about how Maroon people, next to the indigenous people, are often 'forgotten' in the mix of ethnicities in Suriname, and that with that, their rights are also not acknowledged. The fact that they are forgotten, may be the reason why relatively so many city Maroons (53 per cent) say that they do feel Surinamese (see table 6.1), but not in the first place. The fact that this answer was not often given by the inland Maroons, may be related to them not coming into contact with other groups and therefore discrimination towards themselves, every day.

	First place	Not First place
Hindostani	22	4
Creoles	24	1
Javanese	26	0
Mix	22	2
Boeroe	10	1
City Maroon	8	9
Inland Maroon	27	3
Other	6	1
Total	145	21

Table 6.1 Number of respondents who say they feel Surinamese

6.4 Future

6.4.1 *Then we will reach the top*

So, the situation today seems to be one of, on the one hand, living together and integrating, and on the other hand of silent, hypodermic discrimination; 'It is no literal discrimination, but there is something. Hypodermic, there is something' (a) (AB). Most respondents, however, foresee a sunny future. They think that all ethnicities will mix even more, and that with that ethnicity becomes less of an issue, and a Surinamese 'ethnicity' will arise; 'You cannot stop it. Young people will meet each other, they will fall in love. And they will dare to say, I will leave, I will choose him, or her' (b) (RS),

'You used to only have pure Surinamese and pure Javanese, pure Hindostani, and you didn't yet have that beautiful name, Dogla, I didn't know Dogla, now you see so many mix people, and than I know that Surinamese, well, in a hundred years, that it will look different. You will,

well, you'll get children. *Yes*. So anyway people will forget the culture a little bit. From where you come, because those children will also not know where they come from. It will be changed so much when they will mix with each other. People will just walk with this idea of 'I'm Surinamese' (c) (BS).

People also think that things should change in that direction, that it is a good development if people mix, if people work together and start to understand each other better;

'But if you look at it that the Creole is a Creole, and you don't associate with them, then we will stay on a low level. We will never reach the top. But if we do something about it, that the Chinese will go out together, will arrange things together with the Javanese, and the Indian can live together with the Creole, and also the Hindostani, yes, create an organisation where, you know, then we will reach the top' (d) (CL).

6.4.2 One holiday, one monument?

In his article 'After all keti koti- and immigration celebrations: This is not the way we should treat our heritage' (e) (De Ware Tijd, 2003c), Mitrasingh questions the benefits of all the different 'ethnic' holidays and asks himself whether it is time for something communal. We think that indeed this is a good question. It is interesting to see whether the different ethnic groups appreciate their 'own' holidays more than others, and to what extent people are still living 'inside' their own group.

In the street survey, we asked our respondents which public holiday they found most important. We found out that 39 per cent of the respondents stated Christmas was most important to them. This was quite evenly distributed amongst the different communities, ranging from 25 per cent of Hindostani people to fifty per cent of Javanese people. People also often (23 per cent) chose the category 'Other', naming holidays like Mothers' Day, Easter or Islamic holidays, or all, like the following respondent 'I think all holidays are equally important, since we live in a multi-cultural society' (f). It seems that the religious identity is more important than ethnic identity, since 'ethnic' holidays like Hindostani, Javanese or Chinese Immigration all score very low. The only ethnic holiday that does score quite well is the first of July, which marks the abolition of slavery, with 22 per cent of Creoles and 57 per cent of Maroons stating that that is the most important holiday to them. However, this cannot be seen as a completely 'ethnic' choice, as the first of July is now officially called 'Emancipation day' or 'Day of Freedoms', and has become a more general party.

The second question we asked in this questionnaire was which of nine options people would choose when the government would ask them how an amount of money for monument care should be spent, as explained before. A striking result coming from this question was that 57 per cent of the respondents chose the option of erecting a statue for the 'Unity of the People of Suriname'. The option was especially popular amongst people of Creole and Maroon ethnicity and people of mixed origin, all scoring around seventy per cent. It is interesting that also Indigenous and Chinese people chose this option (in both cases two out of three), as they belong to the groups that are often excluded, discriminated against and neglected by the other groups (see also chapter 5).

So, with our respondents' expectations for the future and the results of our street questionnaire, one can maybe agree with Mitrasingh and conclude that a communal holiday, and even more so, a communal monument, is not a bad idea at all. Moreover, two of our respondents, LU and BS, came up with the same idea when we asked them for whom or for what they would like to erect a statue;

'And if I were an artist or somebody who can, eh, create sculptures, then I would really make such a beautiful statue of all of us, of how we live here. Unity or something. Such a statue I would really like to create, so that everybody sees that there is unity here' (g) (BS).

6.5 Model

One of the sub questions we are trying to answer in this thesis is which of the multicultural social models, as described by Ashworth (2007), is applicable to Suriname. After carefully studying the described models and the present day situation in Suriname as we see it, we have come to the conclusion, however, that none of the models fits the way people are living together in Suriname.

The salad bowl model (Ashworth, 2007) definitely comes close to describing the situation in Suriname, as one can identify the different ethnic groups as the 'ingredients that have been brought together and collectively create a whole without losing their distinctive characteristics' (Ashworth, 2007, p.23). For, the different ethnic groups are still identifiable, distinct entities in Surinamese society, and have kept many of their original characteristics. However, we feel that the things that bind the people of Suriname is stronger than a mere salad dressing. Instead, the binding elements provide a sort of stable base in which the ethnic communities are anchored. Since we think that that is a significant difference with the salad bowl model, we have decided to create a new model, which we have named the flower model (see fig. 6.4). This model can be seen as an addition to the range of models as presented by Ashworth (2007).

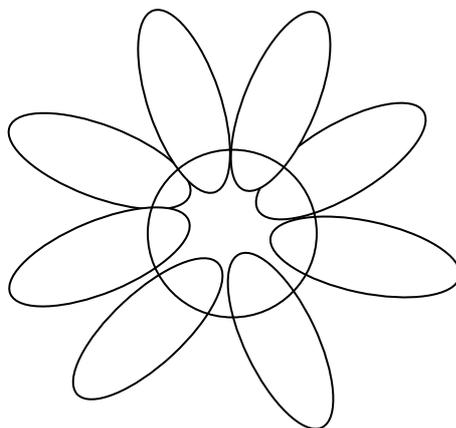


Fig. 6.5: The flower model

The flower in this model is built up from two main elements, the heart and the petals. The petals represent the different ethnic groups. The ethnic groups are represented as distinct entities, separate from each other. So, each community forms its own petal, but they need both each other and the heart to together form the flower Suriname. The heart of the flower, in its turn, consists of two elements. The first element consists of those parts that intersect with the petals of the flower. In those parts, one can find those things that originate from one group and still 'belong' to that group (a place in the petal), but that have also been 'taken over' by the whole of the Surinamese society and have therefore become part of the Surinamese culture and identity (a place in the heart); 'Chinese and Javanese dishes can be enjoyed throughout the country, always with that unique Surinamese touch' (Suriname Tourism Foundation, 2007, p. 18). Another example is the interior of Suriname, which takes a special place in the petals of both the Maroon and the Indigenous people, as they are living there and gain much of their livelihoods from it, but which is also something that all Surinamese people are proud of and enjoy. In the other parts of the heart, those that do not intersect with a particular petal, one can find things that all Surinamese have in common, things that bind them, but that do not belong to a particular ethnic group. The most important thing there is the pride people of all ethnic communities take in the built-up

of the Surinamese society, the way people are living together. The mix of cultures, or even better, the diversity of cultures living next to each other, has become part of the Surinamese culture, and Surinamese identity of all Surinamese.

It is important to realise that the model we have created is only a model, and that reality is way more complex. For example, in reality, not all petals are of the same size, some petals will be less anchored in the heart and some petals will maybe overlap with each other. However, for the purpose of this thesis, providing a general overview of Surinamese society and distinguishing the role of heritage in the national identity, we feel that this model definitely is sufficient.

Chapter 7 Conclusions

7.1 Conclusions

The question we have been trying to answer in this thesis is 'What is the importance of heritage for national identity in Suriname?' In order to get to an answer, we have used several methods and instruments, all explained earlier in this report, just as the results these methods have given. In this chapter, we will try to come to an answer to our main question.

The approach to heritage used in Suriname, whether consciously or not, is obviously an inclusivist one. All heritages exist side by side. It is true that some heritages are stronger presented than others (for example, the story of the Indigenous people is often simply 'forgotten'), but we feel that that is not done purposefully, as all groups are free to create their own heritage. This inclusivist approach has proven to be successful. It seems that, by letting all ethnic groups have their own heritage, not interfering with them, and stressing the fact that so many groups are living side by side, a common history has been created. This common history being the fact that all groups (with the exception of the Indigenous people) immigrated into Suriname at one time or another, and having lived together for a few generations. Within this common history, there is a place for all different communities with their own history and their own heritage. In fact, with their places in the common history, their heritages have at the same time become national heritage, which the groups can share. The different histories and heritages have contributed to the diversity of cultures becoming part of the Surinamese identity. A perfect example of this is Brotherhood. This site consists of two heritage items, 'belonging' to two different (religious) groups, but have together become one of the most important items of Surinamese heritage.

By letting all groups and their heritages exist side by side, ethnicity has become less of an issue. For, ethnicity becomes more important when people feel that it is being threatened (UNRISD/UNDP, 1995), something that is clearly not the case in Suriname. This decreasing importance of ethnicity has in its turn cleared the way for national identity, which is steadily overruling ethnic identity and uniting the different communities (thereby proving Verkuyten's (2002) point that an ethnic identity can be overruled by another identity, which we also mentioned in Chapter 2), which was made visible when 87 per cent of our respondents claimed that they feel Surinamese in the first place, meaning that that identity is more important to them than their ethnic identity. Moreover, this also became visible when looking at the way people value the different monuments in Paramaribo. Overall, the non-ethnic, and therefore, Surinamese, monuments were appreciated better than the ethnic monuments.

Because of the process of integration and because the group of people of mixed origin is becoming ever bigger, ethnic heritage gradually becomes communal heritage. In that way, society is ahead of heritage and society and heritage have a clear interaction, as ethnic heritage becomes more and more non-ethnic when people are mixing and integrating.

The importance of heritage lies therein that it is a visible reflection of exactly that what the different groups binds; their shared history. People have used heritage to *show* their history and their identity. Over time, the stories attached to this heritage, however, have changed. Whereas earlier the story told by ethnic heritage was the ethnic story, it is now telling part of the national story. In that way, heritage is very important for national identity, since it is a reflection of society and makes visible how all groups are living together, which is a substantial element of Surinamese national identity.

Another point to be made here is the role and importance of colonial heritage. Indeed, the stories attached to ethnic heritage have changed over time, and this has had binding results,

but we feel that the base of society is anchored in this colonial heritage. One of the most important binding factors of the different groups is the fact that they all share this colonial history.

In this stage, we would like to take another look at our flower model. Heritage clearly has a place in this model. In fig. 7.1, we have shown the places of some heritage items.

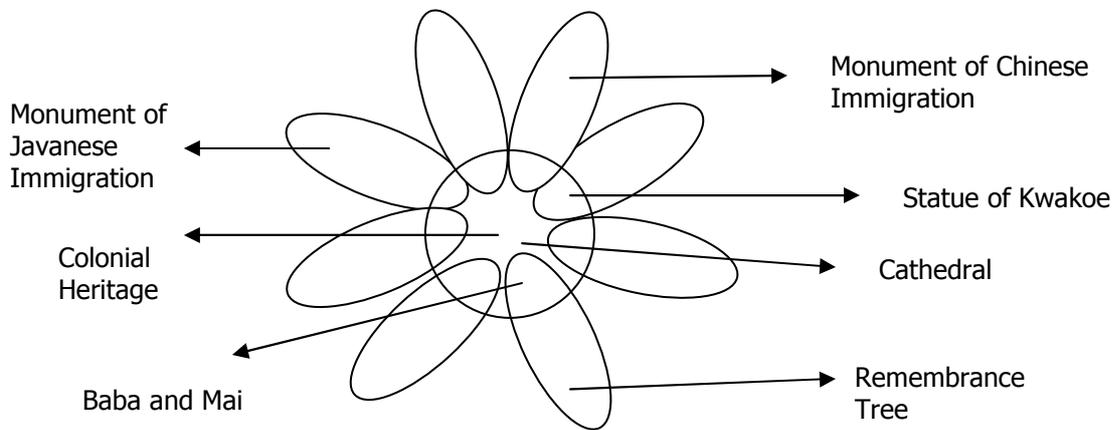


Fig 7.1: The positioning of heritage in the flower model

So, that heritage which is positioned in the heart, represents national history without being bound to a particular ethnic group, and that heritage positioned in the intersections between heart and petals is seen as representing Surinamese history in general and an ethnic history in particular. The heritage placed in the petals only is not seen to represent national history, but merely ethnic history. It is important to realise, however, that these heritage items are still also important for national *identity*. This because it does show the existence of the different groups present, and in that way strengthens the pride of all people about the multicultural country they are living in. Just as the petals need the heart to form a flower, the heart needs its petals to become the flower Suriname.

In the conceptual framework, we made the suggestion that maybe Suriname can serve as a counter argument against Huntington's theories. We also stated, however, that as we have not investigated all aspects of culture and civilisations Huntington talks about - we studied only the relation between heritage and national identity - it is very difficult and tricky to say anything about whether Huntington is right or wrong. What is clear from this research, however, is that instead of heading for conflict, Suriname's different ethnic communities have used the multiculturalism as a base for their society. People do still gain part of their identity from the ethnic group they belong to, but the system of creolisation has gained ground in Suriname, as people have a very strong national identity next to their ethnic identities. Therefore, we feel confident enough to say that, based on our research, the living together of different ethnic or cultural groups does not necessarily lead to conflict.

7.2 Suggestions for further research

In our chapter on methodology, we already suggested that further research on heritage and national and ethnic identity might be interesting, especially when including the Chinese and Amerindians, as this might lead to a different story than the one we have told. Also, we have added there that taking religion into account might be an interesting addition. It might also be useful to look at differences between people of the same ethnicity, because in this research, we have treated the different ethnic communities as wholes.

A specific 'ethnic' group that could be investigated further is the group of people of mixed origin. This group is made up from very different people (since, a person with an Amerindian father and a Creole mother belongs to this group, just as a person with a Hindostani father and a Javanese mother does), and it would therefore be interesting to see what differences exist within this group. Furthermore, this group is often seen to represent the future of Suriname. Finally, since they don't belong to a specific ethnic group, their opinions about ethnic heritage could be very interesting. The sample we took can not account for the variety of people in this group, nor for a thorough investigation about their opinions on ethnic heritage.

Further, we would like to suggest that our research could be extended by a research on natural heritage in Suriname. In our field work, we have come across natural heritage many times. Parts of the Surinamese government and several organisations occupy themselves with managing natural heritage, and we feel that the Surinamese natural heritage is an important element for Surinamese national identity in general and for the identity of inland residents in particular.

Finally, it will also be interesting to study to what extent the Dutch see Surinamese heritage as Dutch heritage. In this case it will be interesting to also include Dutch Surinamese. How do these two groups of people appreciate and interpret Surinamese (/Dutch) heritage in Suriname, and Surinamese heritage in the Netherlands? This would add to the discussion about whose heritage we are speaking.

References

Books and articles

- Aa, B. van der and G. Ashworth (2002), 'Dertig jaar Werelderfgoedconventie: een loze lijst?'. *Geografie*, vol. 11, nr. 10, pp 6-10.
- Alonso, Q.M. (1994), 'The Politics of Space, Time and Substance: State Formation, Nationalism and Ethnicity'. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, vol. 23, pp. 379-405.
- Anderson, B. (1991), *Imagined communities: reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*. London: Verso.
- Aplin, G. (2002), *Heritage: Identification, Conservation, and Management*. Victoria: Oxford University Press.
- Ashworth, G. (2007), 'Plural pasts for plural publics in plural places: taxonomy of heritage policies for plural societies'. In: Groote, P., G. Ashworth and T. Haartsen (eds.), *Public Places, Public Pasts*. Groningen: University of Groningen, pp. 13-26.
- Bakker, E., L. Dalhuisen, R. Donk, M. Hassankhan and F. Steegh (1998), *Geschiedenis van Suriname; Van stam tot staat*. Zutphen: Walburg Pers.
- Dirlik, A. and R. Prazniak (2001), 'Introduction: Cultural Identity and the Politics of Place'. In: R. Prazniak and A. Dirlik (eds), *Places and Politics in an Age of Globalization*. Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc. Pp. 3-14.
- Edelman, M. (2001), 'Social Movements: Changing Paradigms and Forms of Politics'. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, vol. 30, pp 285-317.
- Ennen, E. (1999), *Heritage in Fragments: The Meaning of Pasts for City Centre Residents*. Groningen: University of Groningen, Faculty of Spatial Sciences.
- Ennen, E. (2004), *Wonen in gecreëerd erfgoed: belevingen en bindingen in Brandevoort*. Utrecht: NETHUR.
- Giddens, A. (1997), *Sociology*. Cambridge: Polity Press in association with Blackwell Publishers. Third edition.
- Gorp, B. van (2003), *Bezienswaardig? Historisch-geografisch erfgoed in toeristische beeldvorming*. Delft: Eburon.
- Graham, B., Ashworth, G.J. and J.E. Tunbridge (2000), *A Geography of Heritage: Power, Culture & Economy*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Guibernau, M. M. (1996), *Nationalisms: the nation-state and nationalism in the twentieth century*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Hannerz, U. (1996), *Transnational Connections: Culture, people, places*. London: Routledge.
- Hart, H. 't, J. van Dijk, M. de Goede, W. Jansen and J. Teunissen (1998), *Onderzoeksmethoden*. Amsterdam/Meppel: Boom.
- Held, D., A. McGrew, D. Goldblatt and J. Perraton (1999), *Global Transformations: Politics, Economics and Culture*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd.
- Hofstede, G. (1995), *Allemaal andersdenkenden; omgaan met cultuurverschillen*. Amsterdam: Contact.

- Holloway, L. and P. Hubbard (2001), *People and place; the extraordinary geographies of everyday life*. Essex: Pearson Education.
- Hornis, W. (2003), 'Nederlands erfgoed in den vreemde'. In: *Geografie*, vol 12, nr. 10, ppn 14-15
- Hortulanus, R. (2002), 'Multiculturaliteit en sociaal beleid'. In: *De Multiculturele uitdaging*. Den Haag: Elsevier Bedrijfsinformatie. Het Sociaal Debat, deel 7. Pp. 7-26.
- Howard, P. (2003), *Heritage: Management, Interpretation, Identity*. London: Continuum.
- Huntington, S. (1996), *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*. New York: Simon & Schuster.
- Kambell, E. and F. McKay (1999), *The rights of indigenous peoples and maroons in Suriname*. Copenhagen: Eks-Skolens Trykkeri aps.
- Knox, P.L and S.A. Marston (2003), *Places and Regions in Global Context: Human Geography*. New Jersey: Pearson Education. Second edition.
- Kroef, J.M. van der (1951), 'The Indonesian Minority and Surinam'. *American Sociological Review*, vol 16, nr. 5, pp 672-679.
- Loeffler, D. (2005), *Contested Landscapes/ Contested Heritage, history and heritage in Sweden and their archaeological implications concerning the interpretation of the Norrlandian past*. Umeå: Solfjäders Offset AB.
- Lowenthal, D. (1960), 'Population Contrasts in the Guianas'. *Geographical Review*, vol. 50, no. 1, pp. 41-58.
- Maíz, R. (2000), 'Democracy, Federalism, and Nationalism in Multinational States'. In: W. Safran and R Maíz (eds.), *Identity and Territorial Autonomy in Plural Societies*. London: Frank Cass. Pp 35-60.
- Molyneux, B.L. (1994), 'Introduction: the represented past'. In: Stone, P.G. and B.L. Molyneux (eds.), *The Presented Past: Heritage, museums and education*. London: Routledge.
- Polletta, F. and J.M. Jasper (2001), 'Collective Identity and Social Movements' *Annual Review of Sociology*, vol.27, pp. 283-305.
- Rijdsdijk, E. (2006), 'Help, ik zoek een huis'. *Parbode; Surinaams opinieblad*, vol 1, no 7, pp. 28-29.
- Said, A.W. (2001) 'The Clash of Ignorance'. *The Nation* (October 2001).
- Simon, C. (2004), *Ruimte voor identiteit: De productie en reproductie van streekidentiteiten in Nederland*. Groningen: University of Groningen, Faculty of Spatial Sciences.
- Storey, D. (2001), *Territory; the claiming of space*. Essex: Pearson Education.
- UNRISD/UNDP (1995), *Ethnic Violence, Conflict Resolution and Cultural Pluralism: Report of the UNRISD/UNDP international seminar on Ethnic Diversity and Public Policies*. Geneva: UNRISD/UNDP.
- Verkuyten, M. (2002), 'Etniciteit en de multiculturele samenleving: tussen overeenkomst en verschil'. In: *De Multiculturele uitdaging*. Den Haag: Elsevier Bedrijfsinformatie. Het Sociaal Debat, deel 7. Pp. 41-55.

Guides and information leaflets

- Bodegraven, J. van (2007), *Suriname*. Haarlem: Gottmer/ Becht BV.
- Leuwsha, T. (2006), *Wereldwijzer Suriname*. Rijswijk: Uitgeverij Elmar BV.
- Lie Akwie, C.J. and Esajas, H.G. (eds) (1997), *Suralco Magazine – Monumenten*, Volume 21, number 1. Paramaribo : Suralco Public Relations Department.
- Naarden-Refos, K.B. (2007), *Integraal Cultuurbeleid*. Paramaribo: Directoraat Cultuur, Ministerie van Onderwijs en Volksontwikkeling.
- Plotkin, M. (2000), 'Suriname'. In: *South America on a shoestring*. Australia: Lonely Planet Publications Pty Ltd. Pp. 796-810.
- Snijders, A. (2003), *Suriname: mensen, politiek, economie, cultuur, milieu*. Den Haag: Novib.
- Stichting Gebouwd Erfgoed Suriname (2006), *Overzicht Monumenten (Standbeelden/Gedenktekens/Plaquettes) in Suriname*. Unpublished, Paramaribo.
- Suriname Tourism Foundation (2007), *Destination Guide 2007: Suriname, the Green Caribbean*. Paramaribo: CTP & Print Leo Victor, Drukkerij N.V.
- Uncharted Waters (2003), *Surinam and the Guianas*. Uncharted Waters Mapping Corporation.
- Venetiaan, R. (2002), *Staatsblad van de Republiek Suriname No. 72*. Paramaribo: Republiek Suriname.

Papers and theses

- Loor, A.H. (1995), 'Geschiedenis van de kolonisatie van Nederlandse Boeren in Suriname'. In: A.H. Loor and E.W. van Brussel (1995), *150 jaar boerenkolonisatie in Suriname, 1845-20 juni-1995*. Paramaribo: Dubois en Dubois. Pp. 7-37.
- Man Lapidoth, S. de (2006), *Stageverslag Stichting Toerisme Suriname*. Unpublished.
- Rijkers, M. (2006), *Cultureel erfgoed in Paramaribo: GOED voor iedereen? Een onderzoek naar het draagvlak voor het behoud van de historische binnenstad*. Unpublished, Radboud Universiteit, Sociale Geografie, Nijmegen.
- Thiers, L. (2007), *Stichting Gebouwd Erfgoed Suriname en haar plaats in het Surinaamse monumentenbeleid*. Unpublished, Hogeschool Antwerpen, Ontwerpwetenschappen, Antwerpen.

Newspaper cuttings

- Dagblad van het Noorden (2007), 20/2/2007, 'Nederlandse hulp redt Surinaams Fort'.
- De Ware Tijd (2002a), 3/7/2002, 'Wiens erfgoed is op de Unesco-lijst?'.
- De Ware Tijd (2002b), 16/7/2002, 'Onze monumentenzorg mag geen adoratie zijn van het kolonialisme'.
- De Ware Tijd (2002c), 11/10/2002, C. Tuinfort, 'Dag van Marrons 2002: Onthulling naambord voor Plein van 10 Oktober 1760'.
- De Ware Tijd (2002d), 11/10/2002, 'De diensten van monumentenzorg zwijgen als het graf: Het einde van ons plein is nabij'.

- De Ware Tijd (2002e), 14/11/2002, 'Seminar bewustwording cultureel erfgoed: 'Mooie intenties, maar zijn ze wel haalbaar?''.
- De Ware Tijd (2002f), 19/11/2002, A. Polsbroek, 'Het beeld achter het beeld'.
- De Ware Tijd (2003a), 4/3/2003, E. Wielsen, 'Monumenten moeten blijven'.
- De Ware Tijd (2003b), 6/5/2003, J. van Ditzhuijzen, 'Huizen waarin je voorouders slaven waren'.
- De Ware Tijd (2003c), 15/7/2003, B. Mitrasingh, 'Na alle keti koti- en immigratievieringen: Zo horen wij niet om te gaan met ons erfgoed'.
- De Ware Tijd (2003d), 20/9/2003, C. Tuinfort, 'Monumentenzorg Suriname houdt Monumentendag'.
- De Ware Tijd (2003e), 24/11/2003, S. Singh, 'Monumenten in Suriname op cd-rom'.
- De Ware Tijd (2004a), 11/5/2004, 'Surinamers moeten zich schamen'.
- De Ware Tijd (2004b), 14/5/2004, 'Siksi Wiki voor Prinses Juliana: Marrongemeenschap geeft eerbetoon aan huis van Oranje'.
- De Ware Tijd (2004c), 3/11/2004, S. Gangapersad, 'Geen bestemming tweede beeld Lachmon'.
- De Ware Tijd (2004d), 6/11/2004, 'Eindelijk is het zover'.
- De Ware Tijd (2004e), 7/12/2004, 'Suriname en Nederland bespreken preservering cultureel erfgoed'.
- De Ware Tijd (2007a), 11/5/2007, J. Peneux, 'Bekendmaken etniciteit verdachte geen nieuwe policy politie'.
- De Ware Tijd (2007b), 11/5/2007, 'Morgen laatste dag inschrijving Miss India Suriname'.
- De Ware Tijd (2007c), 11/5/2007, S. Hoste, 'We moeten onze culturele diversiteit koesteren: documentaire over culturele diversiteit vandaag op televisie'.
- Times of Suriname (2006), 29/3/2006, B. Mitrasingh, 'Het hoofddoel van het cultuurbeleid in Suriname moet zijn: stimuleren en uitbouwen van de onderlinge harmonie'.
- Trouw (2007), 20/4/2007, M. van Heemstra, 'Plantages zijn ons erfgoed'.

Websites

- en.wikipedia.org (visited at 16/7/2007)
- www.infoplease.com/atlas/country/suriname (visited at 13/7/2007).
- www.nu.nl (november 2004) (visited at 12/1/2007).
- www.unesco.org (visited at 9/3/2007).

Conversations and lectures

- Ashworth, G.J. (2006), *Notes of lectures heritage identities* (Rijksuniversiteit Groningen, visited November/December 2006).
- Groote, P. (2007) *Personal conversations*. (Groningen, February 2007).

Interviews

- Fokké, S.A., 14/3/2007 and 13/4/2007.
- Harrison, F., March 2007.
- Kalka, R., 30/3/2007.
- Mitrasingh, B., 27/3/2007.
- Neus, H. and S. Hynes, 26/4/2007.
- Sidoel, S., 27/3/2007.
- Vries, E. de, 2/5/2007.
- Wesenhagen, D, 15/5/2007.

Appendix A; Quotes translated

2.2 Culture, ethnicity and identity

- (a) Het is de verwijzing naar de oorsprong die de culturele grens tot een etnische grens maakt.

2.3 Creating a shared past, creating group identity

- (a) Het individu ontleent (een deel van) zijn identiteit aan de culturele identiteit van zijn ruimtelijke omgeving.

3.1 Research population

- (a) Hulde aan het Surinaamse volk
- (b) Waar het mij goed gaat, daar is mijn vaderland
- (c) ... de officiële erkenning van de bijdragen van de marrons tot het ontstaan van de moderne Surinaamse gemeenschap.

4.3 Ethnicity in Suriname

- (a) We hadden nog niet geleerd te leven als één volk, als één grote familie, ondanks persoonlijke verschillen. We bleven gescheiden in etnische groepen, we bleven radicaal denken. We kunnen niet denken als één volk. We hebben geen eensgezind en eensgericht streven, dat dwars door alle etnische groepen heengaat. We verdelen alles volgens etnische richtlijnen.

4.4 Policy on heritage

- (a) De staat bewaart en beschermt de culturele erfenis van Suriname, stimuleert het behoud hiervan...

4.5 Promoting a Surinamese identity through heritage

- (a) Het centrale beleidsuitgangspunt is, uitgaande van de culturele pluriformiteit van de Surinaamse samenleving, gebaseerd op de "culturele democratie", met als kenmerk erkenning van de gelijkwaardigheid van alle culturen.
- (b) Dit proces is een onderdeel van onze cultuur geworden. De diverse culturen en hun ontwikkeling en het elkaar beïnvloeden leiden tot *natievorming*.

5.1 Importance of cultural heritage

- (a) Waarom? Verleden tijd is verleden tijd, je moet vooruit kijken.

5.2 Serving as part of history

- (a) Ik vind ze goed, maar ze moeten we goed onderhouden. Het is historie voor ons land.
- (b) Want ik vind, als we toeristen ontvangen en dit had, al had het in de geschiedenis een, hele mooie geschiedenis en een verhaal, om het zo te zeggen maar de staat waarin het nu is, kunnen we het niet terugbrengen naar het verleden, dan moet het weg.
- (c) Maar het is zonde, het is een last voor de straat, voor de, het is gevaarlijk voor voetgangers, het stort in mekaar.
- (d) Ze dienen als een stukje geschiedenis en erfgoed van het land (stempel van het verleden) en maakt een unieke indruk.
- (e) We zijn van mening dat deze gebouwen deel uitmaken van de geschiedenis en dan maakt het niet uit of ze zijn gebouwd in een tijd die voor zeker een etnische groep in het land als ellendig kan worden aangemerkt.
- (f) Het laat zien wat je verleden is geweest. En je verleden is belangrijk voor je heden en je toekomst. Als je je verleden niet kent, en je accepteert niet wat er gebeurt is vroeger, en je probeert dan geen verandering aan te brengen, of verbetering, dan werkt het niet in een samenleving. We moeten trots zijn op wat we hebben, hoe fout het ook gegaan mag zijn in het verleden, je moet er gewoon trots op zijn. Dat is nou eenmaal gebeurd. Ik zeg ook altijd tegen mijn studenten, als jullie niet als slaven waren gekomen, waren jullie niet in Suriname! Liep je misschien wel in een klein broekje rond daar in Afrika, en je kon misschien niet eens behoorlijk te eten vinden of iets dergelijks. Ik zeg, dus op een of andere manier, heeft het positieve kanten gehad. Het heeft ook negatieve kanten gehad, dat moeten we niet onderkennen. Maar positief is het ook wel geweest. Je bent nu hier.
- (g) Ik vind het een beetje misplaatst daar. Vooral eh, het Fort Zeelandia heeft een goeie en minder goeie naam, dit eh, ja, we hebben eh, het was ons moederland, ons aller moeder toch, (...) Dus ze had een betere plek kunnen krijgen. Ik vind delen uit het verleden, je geschiedenis, mag je nooit wegwer- wegschuiven of weg eh, verdoezelen. Ik vind dat ze een betere plek verdient.
- (h) Wat ik wel jammer vind is dat ze het beeld van Wilhelmina weggehaald hebben. *Ja?* Dat zou nu geloof ik ergens op Fort Zeelandia staan. *Ja.* Ik vind het erg, want Suriname heeft zelf onafhankelijkheid gewild, het is niet dat het met ruzie gebeurd is, dus ik vind, dat beeld stond er, het was mooi, en dat ze het plotseling hebben weggehaald. Had het als teken van vriendschap gelaten. Dat is mijn opinie.
- (i) Bijvoorbeeld toen ik in het binnenland was, zag ik ook foto's, het was op Asidoboko, zag ik ook in een van die huisjes hadden ze foto's. Wilhelmina, van de generaties. *Oh, echt? Leuk.* Ja, van het koningshuis, dat vond ik ook wel apart. Ja. Volgens mij huwelijksfoto's was het, ook Maxima en prins Willem. Ja. Al die generaties, dat vond ik wel bijzonder ja.
- (j) Omdat hier voor mij onschuldige zielen rond zitten te dwalen en waar deze mensen onhumanitaire handelingen hebben doorstaan. Het is en blijft voor mij een geschiedenis dat nooit te vergeten is!
- (k) Bolwerk van de veroveraars, strategisch punt, met waardeert het, het heeft veel functies, December moorden vervelend, maar weegt niet op tegen de rest. Goed voor toeristen.

- (l) Een herinnering, belangrijk en pijnlijk, voor de nabestaanden van de 8 December moorden.
- (m) Is de grootste uit het Caribisch gebied dus stukje van onze geschiedenis.
- (n) Het is het hoogste houten gebouw van de Amerika's en een monumentaal gebouw.
- (o) Zo kunnen buitenstaanders weten dat Suriname ook deelgenomen heeft aan de Tweede Wereldoorlog.
- (p) Het is een pracht. Ik ben in deze kathedraal getrouwd in 1960 en ook mijn oudste zoon in 1983. Het is onze kerk geweest van jongs af.

5.3 Everyone his own things

- (a) Het heeft geen invloed op de mensen nu, het moet meer gebruikt worden om de traditie omhoog te brengen. Bomen planten is goed, maar vraag maar aan jongeren of ze weten wat die boom betekent of inhoudt.
- (b) Voor mij betekent dit weinig. Wat de Hindoestanen gepresteerd hebben is veel meer waard.
- (c) Omdat het een voorouder van mij was die heft geholpen in de slaventijd.
- (d) Doet mij denken aan mijn voorouders.
- (e) Van onze immigratie, onze voorouders, anders zouden we hier nu niet zijn.
- (f) Gaat over slavernij en vrijheid, dan praten we over onze roots.
- (g) Ja, ja. Als af en toe dat Hollands bloed van me begint te spreken.
- (h) Voor mij op zichzelf zegt het niet veel, maar wel voor de negers.
- (i) Voor hen is het belangrijk, ieder zijn eigen dingen.
- (j) Van mij mag het, het zijn harde werkers, het is een deel van het Surinaamse volk.
- (k) Voor de Hindoestanen is het wel belangrijk.
- (l) Het is wat, maar het zegt mij niks. Ik ben geen Hindoestaan, het is voor de Hindoestanen. Ja. Maar u heeft er geen last van, dat het daar staat? Ah nee, we zitten samen in dit land.
- (m) Zeer belangrijk omdat dit je terug laat denken hoe de Hindoestanen naar Suriname emigreerden.
- (n) Als Surinamer is het belangrijk.
- (o) Zodat het altijd in onze gedachten blijft wanneer de slavernij werd afgeschaft.
- (p) Goed, geschiedenis, nakomelingen van het Surinaamse volk.
- (q) En dit is de, de eerste Hindoestaan die is gekomen. (...) Nou, dit vind ik cool. (...) Dit geeft eigenlijk een uiting dat je de geschiedenis niet mag vergeten. Hoe de Hindoestaan, of eh, wanneer de eerste Hindoestanen hier kwamen.
- (r) Niet zo geweldig, vrijheidsstrijder voor de negers, niet voor het hele volk.
- (s) Best leuk maar de boodschap moet reeds begrepen zijn.
- (t) Niet echt indrukwekkend, er zijn ook andere volken in Suriname gekomen. Moeten ze allemaal een boom gaan planten aan de waterkant?
- (u) Veel achteruitgang voor Suriname.

- (v) Ik hou van Javanen, maar toch niet zo. Ze zijn jaloers.
- (w) Onnodige massale vestiging.
- (x) Ze horen hier niet thuis.
- (y) Het is prima voor elke bevolkingsgroep een herdenkingsteken te hebben, maar de chinezen zijn te discriminerend.
- (z) Er zijn te veel Chinezen. Ze helpen wel met goederen, die kunnen we nu kopen. Vroeger was het veel duurder.
- (aa) Ik heb iets tegen de Chinezen, ze krijgen alles gedaan zoals verblijf- en werkvergunning en dragen alles wat ze verdienen toch weg naar China.
- (ab) Die mogen er ook zijn, maar ik weet niet zeker of zij wel een degelijke bijdrage leveren aan de opbouw van het land (de goede niet meegesproken).
- (ac) Iedere Surinamer (maakt niet uit van welk ras, of religie afkomstig) dient respect te hebben en te tonen. Als de Chinezen een vestigingsmonument willen hebben mag/kan dat.
- (ad) Er is nu een soort band met de Chinezen, en in Suriname zijn we multicultureel.
- (ae) De Chinezen hebben een wezenlijke bijdrage gedaan aan onze Surinaamse ontwikkeling.
- (af) Een stuk geschiedenis van een van een grote zoon die dit land heeft voortgebracht en dat moet men eren en waarderen.
- (ag) Een vechter voor zijn vaderland. Heeft geen verschil gezien in ras, kleur en religie, een van zijn punten waar ik 100% achter sta. Suriname een land, een bevolking, verschillende mensen.
- (ah) Omdat hij van dezelfde ethnische groep was.
- (ai) Zoals Pengel was voor de Creolen, zo moet Lachmon voor de Hindoestanen zijn.
- (ak) Staat totaal fout en is lelijk.
- (al) Van belangrijke mensen kun je een standbeeld zetten, maar van een ieder hoeft niet.
- (am) Die plek waarop hij staat, daar was een bank he, een stenen bank, en het was mijn plek, om daar gewoon te zitten en te mediteren, keek ik naar het paleis, en de palmbomen daarachter het paleis (...) Die bank is een stukje verplaatst, maar ja dan heb je andere view, als je daar dan zit. (...) Ik vind die twee standbeelden helemaal misplaatst. Mijn idee hoor.
- (an) Kijkt u nu, ik vind het niet goed dat politieke leiders, hun beelden geplaatst worden op het plein. *Ok.* Het plein moet onafhankelijk zijn, het moet vrij zijn van (...). *Van geen enkele partij?* Ja, ja, van geen enkele partij. Want hier zie je dat wij onder zijn verdeeld. *Ja.* En dat mag niet.
- (ao) Ze geven een zeker kleur (local color) aan het Caribisch karakter van Paramaribo.

5.4 Surinamese heritage represents the colourful past/present

- (a) Wij hebben ook niet echt als zodanig een monument, maar die indianen he, die zijn toch echt de autochtone bewoners, dus die verdienen er wel een hoor.

6.1 Our cultural diversity is something we have to cherish

- (a) We leven hier eh, in een grote familie. He? We accepteren elkaar he? Dus eh, voor de buitenwereld is Suriname uniek.
- (b) Ik heb heel veel waardering voor Suriname en de Surinamers omdat je verschillende culturen en verschillende soorten- en eh, bevolkingsgroepen hebt. (...) .. wat ik zo cool vind aan mijn land, is het samen leven en het verschillende cultuur.
- (c) We zijn er trots op dat onze jongeren de wereld ingaan en Suriname in hun bagage meedragen
- (d) Onze culturele diversiteit moeten we koesteren, want het is niet vanzelfsprekend.

6.2 It is one big, happy family here

- (a) Het volk, dat is een ieder.
- (b) Zeker. 100% Surinaamse. 100%.
- (c) Vol, vol, volbloed Surinamer. Echt waar hoor, geboren en getogen en ik ben er trots op. Echt waar.
- (d) Ik ben geboren en getogen Surinamer, ik voel me echt Surinamer, want ik weet niets van eh, Javanen ofzo, ik voel me echt Surinamer. ik voel me meer Surinamer, dan voel ik me gewoon op mijn gemak.
- (e) Nou, ik bedoel, ze leven verschrikkelijk goed met elkaar. *Ja?* Ja, verschrikkelijk en goed is, zijn twee verschillende dingen, maar ze leven echt goed met elkaar. (...) ..is het hier één grote, gelukkige familie.
- (f) Nou, ik vind dat ze heel goed met elkaar leven. Dat er geen discriminatie is of oorlog, en we leven samen, we eten samen.. (...) Ik heb een Chinese vriend, ik heb een Hindoestaanse vriend, ik heb negers die hier zijn, Surinamers, en ik heb ook Boslandcreolen (...) En op een gegeven moment, als ik met mijn vrienden praat dan vergeet ik zelf wie ze zijn, dus ik zie niet meer of ze zwart zijn, of ze Hindoestaan zijn ofzo. Eh, ik denk dat iedereen is geïntegreerd hoor. Ja, toch wel.

6.3 We still have to grow towards each other

- (a) Het is een hokjessysteem.
- (b) *Iedereen leeft in z'n eigen groep dan ofzo?* Ja, je ziet ook veel mensen trouwen in hun eigen groep.
- (c) We zijn nog geen volk, we zijn een bevolking, in Suriname. (...) ..dus we moeten nog naar elkaar toe groeien. Dus we zijn een heterofoon volk. We leven hier in een tuin met verschillende bloemen.
- (d) Ik zeg ze altijd, in vergelijking met Guyana, als we zeggen van, ben je Surinamer? Ja, maar van Hindostaanse afkomst. Terwijl een Guyanees zegt, nee, I'm Guyanese. Hij gaat je geen onderscheid laten maken tussen de Creolen en de Hindoestanen. Dat gaat 'ie niet doen.
- (e) Maar nu, als je naar een Creools feest gaat, bijvoorbeeld (...) contest ofzo, dan, dan zie je gewoon Hindoestanen ook.

- (f) De mensen trekken toch, soms, naar hun eigen groep. En dan veroordelen ze elkaar. *O? Ja. Dus er is wel een soort van discriminatie dan.* Ja, ik vind van wel. Ik vind van wel.
- (g) Veel discriminatie hoor. *Ja? Op welke manier dan?* De Marronmensen worden overal gediscrimineerd. Ik bedoel eh, zeker onder eh, Surinamers, vind ik wel hoor. Kleur is erg belangrijk hier. (...) Maar op straat...houdt zijn tas wel even extra vast. Als je bijvoorbeeld een paar donkere mannen ziet.
- (h) Bij delen van de samenleving bestaat de indruk dat vooral zware misdrijven overwegend door afro-Surinamers uit het binnenland worden gepleegd.
- (i) Een stam binnenlandbewoners

6.4 Future

- (a) Het is geen letterlijke discriminatie maar er is wel wat. Onderhuids is er wat.
- (b) Het is niet te stuiten, jonge mensen komen met elkaar in aanraking, en raken verliefd. En durven het aan om te zeggen van, ik ga weg, ik kies voor hem, of voor haar.
- (c) Je had alleen maar puur Surinamers en puur Javaan, puur Hindoestaan, en je had de mooie naam nog niet, Dogla, Dogla kende ik niet, nu zie je heel veel verschillende mixjes, en dat weet ik dat Surinamers zo, zo, met honderd jaar, anders er uit gaat zien. Je gaat bijvoorbeeld enne, andere kinderen krijgen. *Ja.* Dus sowieso dan gaat men het cultuur een beetje vergeten. Van waar je komt, omdat die kinderen het ook niet meer gaan weten van waar ze komen. Het gaat zo veranderd worden als ze mixjes met elkaar gaan maken. Men gaat dan ook gewoon met een idee lopen van ik ben Surinamer.
- (d) Maar als je het bekijkt dat de Creool een Creool is, en je gaat helemaal niet meer mee om, dan blijven we gewoon op een laag pitje. We komen nooit naar de top. Maar als wij gewoon iets eraan doen, dat de Chinees gewoon samen op stap gaan, samen zaken regelen met de Javaan, en de Indiaan samen samen kan leven met de Creool, en de Hindoestaan ook, ja, een organisatie kan oprichten waar, weet je, dan komen we juist meer naar de top.
- (e) Na alle keti koti- en immigratievieringen: Zo horen wij niet om te gaan met ons erfgoed
- (f) Ik vind alle feesten even belangrijk, we wonen immers in een multiculturele samenleving.
- (g) En als ik een kunstenaar was of iemand die beelden kon eh, maken, dan zou ik echt zo'n mooie beeld maken van ons allemaal, hoe we hier leven. De eenheid ofzo. Zo een beeld zou ik graag willen bouwen, dat iedereen ziet dat er eenheid hier is.

Appendix B; Experts

We spoke to the following people:

Sandro Alberga	Manager Guesthouse Albergo Alberga
Stephen Fokké	Management Director of Society of Built Heritage Suriname
Freddy Harrison	Commission Monument Care
Ratan Kalka	National Society Hindostani Immigration
Benjamin Mitrasingh	Journalist of Times
Ashwien Moerlie	Observing Head Department Nature Education Society for Nature Preservation Suriname
Hilde Neus and Sieglien Hynes	Surinamese Museum
Diego Pos	Film maker
Stanley Sidoel and his staff	Director of Directorate of Culture
Karen Tjon Pian Gi	Manager Marketing & Promotion Society of Tourism Suriname
Erwin de Vries	Painter and sculpturalist
Dick Wesenhagen	Society of Monument Care

Appendix C; Questionnaire 1

Vragenlijst

Leuk dat je wilt meedoen aan ons onderzoek!

Eerst willen we je graag een paar vragen stellen over wie je bent;

Hoe oud ben je?

Ben je een jongen of een meisje? Jongen/meisje

Tot welke ethnische groep vind je dat je behoort?

- Hindoestanen
- Creolen
- Javanen
- Boeroes
- Indianen
- Chinezen
- Marrons
- Anders, namelijk...

Nu willen we je graag een paar vragen stellen over de monumenten in Paramaribo. Hieronder staat een lijstje met monumenten.

Kun je aangeven of je de monumenten kent (dus of je weet waar het staat en hoe het er uit ziet), en of je weet waarom ze als monumenten worden bewaard of zijn opgericht?

De houten huizen in de oude binnenstad

- Ik ken dit monument niet
- Ik ken het wel, maar weet eigenlijk niet waarom het een monument is
- Ik ken het monument, en weet ook waarom het wordt bewaard of is opgericht

De St. Petrus en Paulus Kathedraal (aan de Henck Arronstraat)

- Ik ken dit monument niet
- Ik ken het wel, maar weet eigenlijk niet waarom het een monument is
- Ik ken het monument, en weet ook waarom het wordt bewaard of is opgericht

Het standbeeld van Jaggernath Lachmon

- Ik ken dit monument niet
- Ik ken het wel, maar weet eigenlijk niet waarom het een monument is
- Ik ken het monument, en weet ook waarom het wordt bewaard of is opgericht

Fort Zeelandia

- Ik ken dit monument niet
- Ik ken het wel, maar weet eigenlijk niet waarom het een monument is
- Ik ken het monument, en weet ook waarom het wordt bewaard of is opgericht

Het standbeeld van Kwakoe

- Ik ken dit monument niet
- Ik ken het wel, maar weet eigenlijk niet waarom het een monument is
- Ik ken het monument, en weet ook waarom het wordt bewaard of is opgericht

**De herdenkingsboom ter ere van de
Hindoestaanse emigranten**

- Ik ken dit monument niet
- Ik ken het wel, maar weet eigenlijk niet waarom het een monument is
- Ik ken het monument, en weet ook waarom het wordt bewaard of is opgericht

Het standbeeld van J.A. Pengel

- Ik ken dit monument niet
- Ik ken het wel, maar weet eigenlijk niet waarom het een monument is
- Ik ken het monument, en weet ook waarom het wordt bewaard of is opgericht

**Het Monument der gevallen in de
Tweede Wereldoorlog**

- Ik ken dit monument niet
- Ik ken het wel, maar weet eigenlijk niet waarom het een monument is
- Ik ken het monument, en weet ook waarom het wordt bewaard of is opgericht

Het monument Chinese vestiging

- Ik ken dit monument niet
- Ik ken het wel, maar weet eigenlijk niet waarom het een monument is
- Ik ken het monument, en weet ook waarom het wordt bewaard of is opgericht

Dankjewel voor het invullen van deze vragenlijst!

Appendix D; Questionnaire 2

Vragenlijst

Leuk dat u wilt meedoen aan ons onderzoek! Graag stellen we u eerst wat algemene vragen;

Wat is uw geslacht?

- Man
- Vrouw

Hoe oud bent u?

- Jonger dan 16
- 16-25
- 26- 45
- 46- 64
- Ouder dan 64

Bij welke ethnische groep zou u zichzelf indelen?

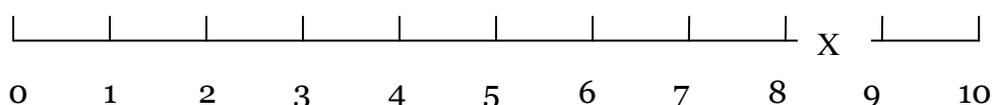
- Hindoestanen
- Creolen
- Javanen
- Boeroes
- Indianen
- Chinezen
- Marrons
- Anders, namelijk...

Voelt u zich Surinamer? Of voelt u zich meer betrokken bij uw ethnische groep?

- Ik voel me op de eerste plaats Surinamer
- Ik voel me wel Surinamer, maar niet in de eerste plaats
- Ik voel me helemaal geen Surinamer

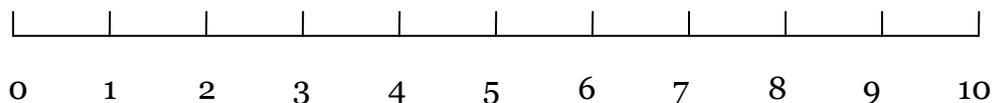
Nu hebben we een aantal vragen over de monumenten in Paramaribo.

Kunt u op een schaal van 1 tot 10 aangeven hoe belangrijk u de volgende plekken vindt? U kunt een streepje of kruisje zetten op de balk, zoals in dit voorbeeld;



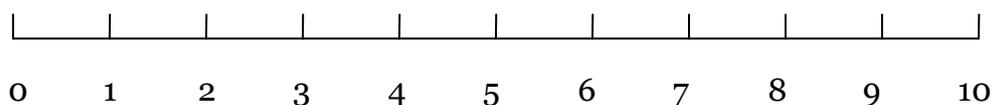
Kunt u dan ook in één of enkele woorden aangeven waarom u dat vindt?

1) De houten huizen in de oude binnenstad



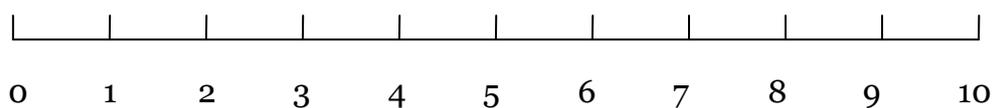
Reden:

2) De St. Petrus en Paulus Kathedraal aan de Henck Arronstraat



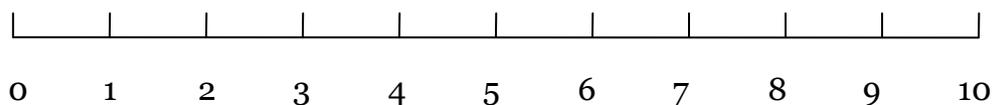
Reden:

3) Het standbeeld van Jaggernath Lachmon op het Onafhankelijkheidsplein



Reden:

4) Fort Zeelandia



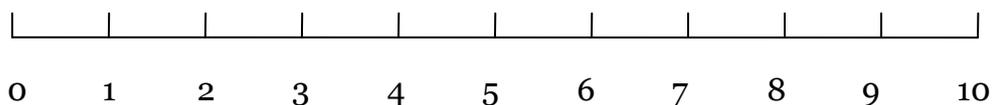
Reden:

5) Het standbeeld van Kwakoe op de hoek van de Zwartenhovenbrugstraat met de Doctor Sophie Redmondstraat



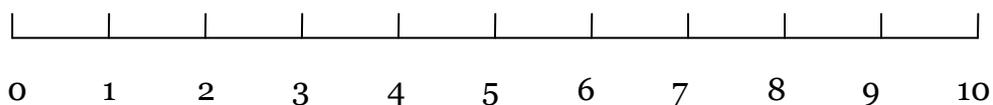
Reden:

6) De herdenkingsboom ter ere van de Hindoestaanse emigranten aan de Waterkant



Reden:

7) Het standbeeld van J.A. Pengel op het Onafhankelijkheidsplein



Reden:

8) Het Monument der gevallen in de Tweede Wereldoorlog aan de Waterkant



Reden:

9) Het monument Chinese vestiging aan de Willem Campagnestraat



Reden:

Tenslotte nog een aantal open vragen;

Welk(e) gebouw(en) of standbeeld(en) zouden volgens u (beter) beschermd en bewaard moeten worden?

Waarvoor of voor wie zou u graag een standbeeld opgericht zien worden?

Welk standbeeld of welk gebouw in Paramaribo is voor u het allerbelangrijkst?

Dankuwel voor het invullen van deze vragenlijst!

Appendix E; Questionnaire 3

Vragenlijst

- 1** Wat is uw geslacht? Man
 Vrouw
- 2** Hoe oud bent u? Jonger dan 16
 16-25
 26- 45
 46- 64
 Ouder dan 64
- 3** Hoe lang woont u al in de stad? Mijn hele leven
 jaar
- 4** Hoe vaak gaat u terug naar het binnenland?
- 5** Waar voelt u zich meer thuis? In de stad
 In het binnenland
 Ik voel me op beide plekken evenveel thuis
 Weet niet
- 6** Als u het binnenland bezoekt, wat is dan uw voornaamste reden om te gaan? Mijn familie
 De manier van leven
 Het bos en de rivier
 Anders, nl

 Weet niet
- 7** Welke taal spreekt u het beste? Saramakaans
 Aukaans
 Sranantongo
 Nederlands
 Anders, namelijk

 Weet niet

- 8** Hoe vaak draagt u traditionele kleding?
(zoals bijvoorbeeld een panji)
- Altijd
 - Minstens eens per dag
 - Minstens eens per week
 - Minder dan eens per week
 - Nooit
 - Weet niet
- 9** Hoeveel weet u van geneeskrachtige kruiden?
- Nog net zoveel als mijn voorouders
 - Minder dan mijn voorouders, maar toch nog veel
 - Voldoende
 - Weinig
 - Niets
 - Weet niet
- 10** Hoe belangrijk is de Boslandcreoolse **cultuur** voor u?
- Heel belangrijk
 - Een beetje belangrijk
 - Helemaal niet belangrijk
 - Weet niet
- 11** Voelt u zich Surinamer? Of voelt u zich meer betrokken bij de Boslandcreoolse groep?
- Ik voel me op de eerste plaats Surinamer
 - Ik voel me wel Surinamer, maar niet in de eerste plaats
 - Ik voel me helemaal geen Surinamer
- 12** Heeft u het gevoel dat de Boslandcreolen gediscrimineerd worden in Suriname?
- Ja
 - Een beetje
 - Nee
 - Weet niet

13a Vindt u dat de Boslandcreolen een bijzondere groep vormen in Suriname?

- Ja
- Een beetje
- Nee
- Weet niet

13b Waarom (niet)?

14a Hoe belangrijk is het 10 oktober plein voor u?

- Heel belangrijk
- Redelijk belangrijk
- Niet zo belangrijk
- Helemaal niet belangrijk
- Weet niet

14b Waarom?

15a Hoe belangrijk is de kathedraal voor u?

- Heel belangrijk
- Redelijk belangrijk
- Niet zo belangrijk
- Helemaal niet belangrijk
- Weet niet

15b Waarom?

16a Hoe belangrijk is het standbeeld van Baba & Mai voor u?

- Heel belangrijk
- Redelijk belangrijk
- Niet zo belangrijk
- Helemaal niet belangrijk
- Weet niet

16b Waarom?

17a Hoe belangrijk is Fort Zeelandia voor u?

Heel belangrijk
 Redelijk belangrijk
 Niet zo belangrijk
 Helemaal niet belangrijk
 Weet niet

17b Waarom?

18a Hoe belangrijk is het standbeeld van Kwakoe voor u?

Heel belangrijk
 Redelijk belangrijk
 Niet zo belangrijk
 Helemaal niet belangrijk
 Weet niet

18b Waarom?

19a Hoe belangrijk is het standbeeld ter ere van de Javaanse immigratie, bij Sana Boedaja, voor u?

Heel belangrijk
 Redelijk belangrijk
 Niet zo belangrijk
 Helemaal niet belangrijk
 Weet niet

19b Waarom?

20 Welk standbeeld of welk gebouw in Paramaribo is voor u het allerbelangrijkst?

Dank u wel! 

Appendix F; Questionnaire 4

Vragenlijst

- 1** Wat is uw geslacht?
 Man
 Vrouw
- 2** Hoe oud bent u?
 Jonger dan 16
 16-25
 26- 45
 46- 64
 Ouder dan 64
- 3** Hoe vaak bezoekt u de stad?
- 4** Als u naar de stad gaat, wat is dan de belangrijkste reden om te gaan?
 Familie bezoek
 Om inkopen te doen of dingen te regelen
 Omdat ik het leuk vind in de stad te zijn
 Anders, nl

 Weet niet
- 5** Waar voelt u zich meer thuis?
 In het binnenland
 In de stad
 Ik voel me op beide plekken evenveel thuis
 Weet niet
- 6a** Zou u naar de stad willen verhuizen?
 Ja
 Nee
 Weet niet
- 6b** Waarom?

- 7 Voelt u zich Surinamer? Of voelt u zich meer betrokken bij de Boslandcreoolse groep?
- Ik voel me op de eerste plaats Surinamer
 Ik voel me wel Surinamer, maar niet in de eerste plaats
 Ik voel me helemaal geen Surinamer
- 8 Hoe belangrijk is de Boslandcreoolse **cultuur** voor u?
- Heel belangrijk
 Een beetje belangrijk
 Helemaal niet belangrijk
 Weet niet
- 9 Heeft u het gevoel dat de Boslandcreolen gediscrimineerd worden in Suriname?
- Ja
 Een beetje
 Nee
 Weet niet
- 10a Vindt u dat de Boslandcreolen een bijzondere groep vormen in Suriname?
- Ja
 Een beetje
 Nee
 Weet niet
- 10b Waarom (niet)?

-
- 11a Kent u het 10 oktober plein?
- Ja
 Nee
- 11b Zo ja, hoe belangrijk is dit plein voor u?
- Heel belangrijk
 Redelijk belangrijk
 Niet zo belangrijk
 Helemaal niet belangrijk
 Weet niet
- 11c Waarom?
-

- 12a** Kent u de kathedraal? Ja
 Nee
- 12b** Zo ja, hoe belangrijk is de kathedraal voor u? Heel belangrijk
 Redelijk belangrijk
 Niet zo belangrijk
 Helemaal niet belangrijk
 Weet niet
- 12c** Waarom?
-

- 13a** Kent u het standbeeld van Baba en Mai? Ja
 Nee
- 13b** Zo ja, hoe belangrijk is dit standbeeld voor u? Heel belangrijk
 Redelijk belangrijk
 Niet zo belangrijk
 Helemaal niet belangrijk
 Weet niet
- 13c** Waarom?
-

- 14a** Kent u Fort Zeelandia? Ja
 Nee
- 14b** Zo ja, hoe belangrijk is deze plek voor u? Heel belangrijk
 Redelijk belangrijk
 Niet zo belangrijk
 Helemaal niet belangrijk
 Weet niet
- 14c** Waarom?
-

- 15a** Kent u het standbeeld van Kwakoe? Ja
 Nee
- 15b** Zo ja, hoe belangrijk is dit beeld voor u? Heel belangrijk
 Redelijk belangrijk
 Niet zo belangrijk
 Helemaal niet belangrijk
 Weet niet

15c Waarom?

16a Kent u het beeld ter ere van de Javaanse immigratie, bij Sana Boedaja?

- Ja
- Nee

16b Zo ja, hoe belangrijk is dit beeld voor u?

- Heel belangrijk
- Redelijk belangrijk
- Niet zo belangrijk
- Helemaal niet belangrijk
- Weet niet

16c Waarom?

17a Zou u het fijn vinden als er een standbeeld of monument wordt opgericht ter ere van de Boslandcreolen? Bijvoorbeeld voor de groep als geheel of voor belangrijke vrijheidsstrijders zoals Boni of Baron?

- Ja
- Nee
- Weet niet

17b Zo ja, waar zou dit monument dan moeten staan?

- In het binnenland
- In de stad
- Weet niet

17c Waarom daar?

18 Welk standbeeld of welk gebouw in Paramaribo is voor u het allerbelangrijkst?

Dank u wel! 

Appendix G; Interview scheme

Interview schema

Inleiding

Vertellen wie we zijn, waar het onderzoek over gaat en welke thema's in het interview aan bod zullen komen. Ook vragen of we het interview op video op mogen nemen.

Identiteit

- Bij welke ethnische groep zou u zichzelf indelen?
- Voelt u zich (ook) Surinamer? Hoe belangrijk is die identiteit?
- Welke identiteit is belangrijker?
- Hoe belangrijk is ethniciteit in het sociale leven, volgens u?

Multiculturalisme

- Hoe vindt u dat de verschillende groepen samen leven in Suriname? Conflicten? Vreedzaam?
- Hoe is de integratie tussen de verschillende groepen?
- Zou u willen dat dat anders was? Hoe dan?
- Wat zou beter kunnen?

Erfgoed

- Welke gebouwen en/of standbeelden in Paramaribo zijn voor u belangrijk? Waarom? Hebben ze een speciale betekenis? En wat is die betekenis dan?
- Welke gebouwen en/of standbeelden mogen wat u betreft met de grond gelijk gemaakt worden?
Waarom denkt u er zo over? Hebben ze geen – of juist een negatieve - betekenis voor u of heeft het een andere reden?

- Welke gebouwen en/of standbeelden zouden volgens u (beter) beschermd of bewaard moeten worden?
- Als u zelf een standbeeld op zou mogen richten, voor wie of wat zou u dat dan doen?

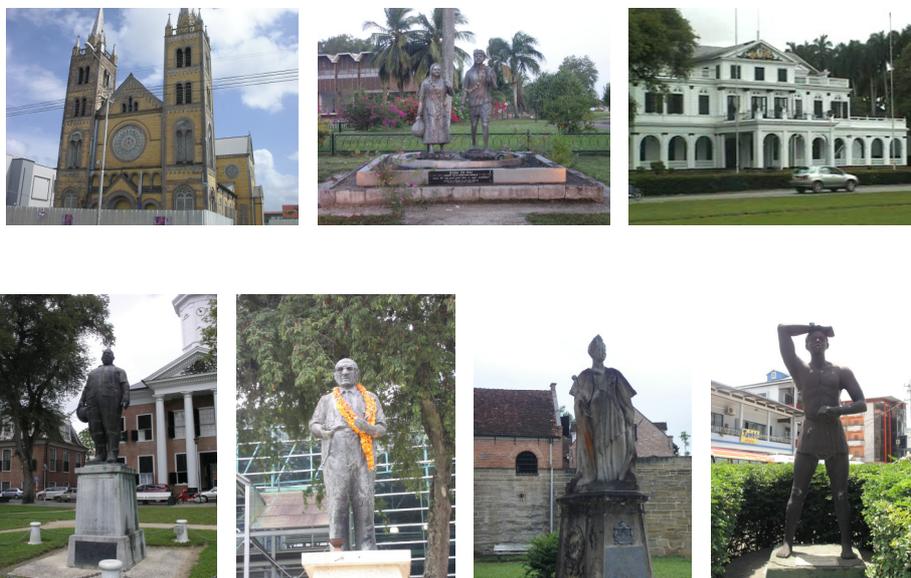
Waarom?

Regering

- Vindt u dat de regering genoeg doet om het erfgoed van Suriname te beschermen?
- Let de regering hierbij op het erfgoed van alle groepen?
- Welke groepen komen meer of juist minder aan bod?

Foto's

We laten de volgende foto's zien, en er wordt gevraagd om commentaar; wat vindt de geïnterviewde ervan, is het belangrijk, mooi, etc.



Een foto van 'brotherhood' mist hier, dit is namelijk een ansichtkaart.

Appendix H; Street survey

Vraag 1

Welke feestdag is voor u het belangrijkste?

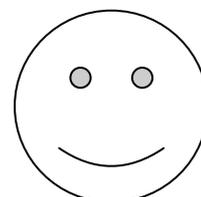
1. Kerst (25 + 26 december)
2. Hindostaanse Immigratie (5 juni)
3. Boslandcreolendag (10 oktober)
4. Dag van de Arbeid (1 mei)
5. Afschaffing van de slavernij, Keti Koti (1 juli)
6. Oud en Nieuw (31 december)
7. Inheemsendag (9 augustus)
8. Javaanse Immigratie (14 augustus)
9. Chinese Immigratie (oktober)
10. Dipavali (1 november)
11. Onafhankelijkheidsdag (25 november)
12. Geen enkele/anders/geen mening

Vraag 2

Stel; de regering heeft een bepaald bedrag te besteden aan een monument in Paramaribo. Als u mocht kiezen, welke optie zou dan uitgevoerd worden?

1. De oprichting van een monument voor de **Javaanse immigratie**
2. Het schoonmaken van **Baba & Mai**
3. De oprichting van een monument voor de **eenheid van het volk** Suriname
4. Het schoonmaken van **Pengel**
5. Het opknappen van het **10 oktober plein**
6. De oprichting van een monument voor de **Indianen**
7. Het schoonmaken van het monument **Chinese Vestiging**
8. Het plaatsen van een monument voor de **Boeroe immigratie**
9. Geen enkele/anders/geen mening

Dank u wel voor het meedoen!



Appendix I; Questionnaire 5

Leuk dat je mee wilt doen aan ons onderzoek!

1. Wat was je belangrijkste reden om voor Suriname te kiezen? (Meerdere antwoorden mogelijk)

- Dat was makkelijk te regelen / contacten van school
- Om de taal
- Omdat het land toch een beetje bekend is
- Anders, namelijk...

2. Wat is voor jou de belangrijkste overeenkomst tussen Nederland en Suriname? (Meerdere antwoorden mogelijk)

- De taal
- De geschiedenis
- De mensen
- De cultuur
- Niets
- Anders, namelijk...

3a. Wil je Fort Zeelandia bezoeken?

- Ja, dat heb ik al gedaan
- Ja, dat ga ik nog doen
- Nee

3b. Zo ja, waarom? (Meerdere antwoorden mogelijk)

- Het is een toeristische attractie
- Het heeft een belangrijke geschiedenis
- Anders, namelijk...

3c. Zo nee, waarom niet? (Meerdere antwoorden mogelijk)

- Geen geld / tijd voor
- Geen interesse
- Anders, namelijk...

4a. Wil je een (oude) plantage bezoeken?

- Ja, dat heb ik al gedaan
- Ja, dat ga ik nog doen
- Nee

4b. Zo ja, waarom? (Meerdere antwoorden mogelijk)

- Het is een toeristische attractie
- Het heeft een belangrijke geschiedenis
- Anders, namelijk...

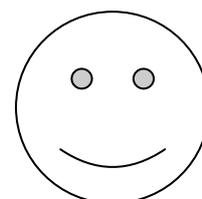
4c. Zo nee, waarom niet? (Meerdere antwoorden mogelijk)

- Geen geld / tijd voor
- Geen interesse
- Anders, namelijk...

5. Als je de houten huizen in de oude binnenstad ziet, leg je dan een link met de Nederlandse geschiedenis?

- Ja
- Een beetje
- Nee

Dank je wel!



Appendix J; Composition of the respondents in the questionnaires

Composition of respondents in questionnaire 1

	Total	Men	Women
Hindostanis	30	11	19
Creoles	21	4	17
Javanese	6	2	4
Mix	18	5	13
Maroons	13	1	12
Other	7	3	4
Total	95	26	69

Composition of respondents in questionnaire 2

	Total	Men	Women	<16	16-25	26-45	46-64	>64
Hindostanis	26	13	13	0	13	10	3	0
Creoles	25	18	7	0	5	12	4	4
Javanese	26	9	17	0	7	9	7	1
Mix	24	7	17	0	10	11	3	0
Boeroes	11	7	4	1	0	4	5	1
Other	7	3	4	1	3	3	0	0
Total	119	57	62	2	38	49	22	6

Composition of respondents in questionnaire 3

Total	Men	Women	<16	16-25	26-45	46-64	>64
17	4	13	1	7	8	1	-

Composition of respondents in questionnaire 4

Total	Men	Women	<16	16-25	26-45	46-64	>64
30	17	13	-	6	15	6	3

Respondents in semi structured interview

AB	Creole	Female
AC	Mix	Female
AL	Creole	Male
AK	Javanese	Female
BS	Javanese	Male
CL	Maroon	Male
EG	Boeroe	Female
ES	Dutch	Female
FG	Hindostani	Female
HAG	Creole	Male
IB	Creole	Female
IAA	Creole	Female
JP	Hindostani	Female
LU	Mix	Female
MC	Mix	Male
RS	Boeroe	Female
KZ	Mix	Male

Composition of respondents in street survey

Hindostanis	Creoles	Javanese	Mix	Maroons	Boeroes	Chinese	Amerindians	Other	Total
24	36	8	14	7	1	3	3	4	100