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Diasporic Indigeneity:

Surinamese Indigenous Identities in the Netherlands

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Abstract

The presence of Surinamese Indigenous peoples in the Netherlands is not a new nor recent phenomenon. Although in small numbers, Surinamese Indigenous peoples have crossed the ocean (both voluntarily and involuntary) and made their way to the Netherlands throughout the centuries. This continues to this day, yet little to nothing has been written about these trajectories, demonstrating the lack of attention for Indigenous perspectives in the Dutch context. This research project aims to shine a light on these predominantly underrepresented migration and dwelling histories, as well as the contemporary lived experiences and identity articulations of Surinamese Indigenous diasporic lives in the Netherlands. By using elements from diaspora theory, intersectionality, place-making through the hub, urban Indigenous studies and articulation theory, this research wishes to show that one does not cease to be Indigenous when living in an urban, diasporic context, acknowledging the creative and diverse ways Surinamese Indigenous peoples living in diaspora are making 'a place here by keeping alive a strong feeling of attachment elsewhere' (Clifford, 2013).

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1 Introduction

1.1 Scope of the Thesis & Main Research Questions

The presence of Surinamese Indigenous peoples in the Netherlands is not a new nor recent phenomenon. Although in small numbers, Surinamese Indigenous peoples have crossed the ocean (both voluntarily and involuntary) and made their way to the Netherlands throughout the centuries. This continues to this day, yet little to nothing has been written about this group and their experiences, their history of migration and (contemporary) diasporic reality. More attention has been given to the migration of Surinamese peoples as a homogenous group, but this does not account for the diversity of the Surinamese population and specific attention to Surinamese Indigenous lives has been lacking. As a result, Surinamese Indigenous presence in the Dutch context still remains a predominantly hidden and underrepresented history and reality. It also indicates a clear lack of Indigenous perspectives in both education and the historical narrative, notwithstanding a long and pervasive colonial past and its remaining legacy in Dutch society today. This thesis aims to address this gap by providing an insight into the histories, experiences, identities and diasporic lives of Surinamese Indigenous peoples in the Netherlands. In doing so, the following questions will be addressed:

1. What are the historical trajectories of Surinamese Indigenous diasporic lives in the Netherlands?
2. How do Surinamese Indigenous peoples in the Netherlands articulate their identity?
3. How does Indigeneity play a role in a diasporic, urban context?

This first chapter will discuss relevant background information about the Indigenous peoples of Suriname, Dutch colonial history and the first stories of Surinamese Indigenous migration. This will also include a brief literature review and the relevance of the thesis topic is highlighted. The second chapter will discuss the main methods, namely archival research and semi-structured interviews. These methods will be discussed through the lens of a decolonizing research paradigm, simultaneously providing the tools to engage with ethical concerns. The third chapter sets out the main theoretical framework to discuss Surinamese Indigenous identity articulations, using elements from diaspora theory, urban Indigenous studies, intersectionality and articulation theory. The fourth chapter analyses the main findings of the archival research, thus setting out the specific migration and dwelling histories of Surinamese Indigenous lives in the Netherlands. In doing so, it engages with the first research question (descriptive). The fifth

chapter discusses the contemporary articulations of Surinamese Indigenous identities in the Netherlands based on the interviews. This addresses the second research question (analytical). The sixth chapter aims to draw lines to broader issues, placing the experiences of Surinamese Indigenous peoples in the Netherlands in relation to the realities of urban, diasporic Indigenous peoples globally. This allows for a discussion of the third research question (elaborative).

1.2 Background Information

1.2.1 The Indigenous & Tribal Peoples of Suriname

Suriname has a population of 541,638 people, and around 3.8% of the population is Indigenous (approximately 20,344 people). There are various Indigenous groups spread out over the country, often divided in those living in the North as 'lowland' Indigenous peoples and those in the South as 'highland' Indigenous peoples. The Kaliña (Carib), Lokono (Arawak), Trio (Tirio, Tareno) and Wayana count as the four biggest groups. Furthermore, smaller Amazonian Indigenous peoples include Akoerio, Warao, Apalai, Wai-Wai, Okomoyana, Mawayana, Katuena, Tunayana, Pireuyana, Sikiiyana, Alamayana, Maraso, Awayakule, Sirewu, Upuruy, Sarayana, Kasjoeyana, Murumuruyo, Kukuyana, Piyanakoto and Sakëta (IWGIA, 2021).

There are also Maroon peoples in Suriname (also known as tribal peoples), and they are the descendants of the African people that were enslaved by the Europeans and brought to Suriname to work on the plantations. These enslaved peoples often fled the plantations, surviving and building their own communities in the rainforest. Today there are different Maroon groups: Saamaka/Saramaka, Kwinti, Matawai, Ndyuka (Aucaner), Aluku and Pamaka/Paramaka. The Maroon people take part in the ongoing struggle for Indigenous rights, holding similar human rights protection under international law (Kambel & MacKay, 2003).

The Surinamese government has not acknowledged the rights of its Indigenous and Tribal peoples, even though it voted in favor of the United Nations Declaration on the Right of Indigenous Peoples in 2007. Suriname has not ratified the ILO Convention 169 neither, further showing the unwillingness of the state to address the issues of its Indigenous and Tribal peoples. This lack of support hinders the efforts of Indigenous peoples in gaining official acknowledgement of their right to land and self-determination. Their livelihoods and culture are further marginalized by the strong presence of extractive industries that exploit the riches of the rainforest (IWGIA, 2021). There is however a strong presence of Indigenous grassroot organizing, as Indigenous activists are fighting for the recognition of their rights locally,

nationally and internationally.[1] This has led to some legal victories[2], and the most recent development is the creation of a draft law on the Collective Rights of Indigenous and Tribal Peoples in 2020. The actual implementation of these steps remains to be seen (IWGIA, 2021),.

1.2.2 Suriname & the Netherlands

During the Peace of Breda in 1667, the Dutch traded their colony New-Netherlands with the English, taking permanent control of Suriname – *"the way people trade a wagon of goats for a wagon of sheep"* (Kom, 2020, p.58). The business-like manner in which this trade took place characterizes the Dutch-Surinamese relationship that transpired. In the following 300 years, Suriname would be transformed into a plantation colony with the sole purpose of financial gain for the Dutch empire, a period marked by the dehumanizing practice of slavery and exploitation (Kom, 2020). After the abolition of slavery in the 19th century, the make-up of Surinamese society also underwent drastic changes with the arrival of indentured laborers, making Suriname a typical "Caribbean colonial creation" (Hoefte, 2014). Suriname was however not uninhabited before all these events took place, as the Indigenous peoples had lived there for centuries as the original inhabitants of the land. Evidently, the arrival of all these newcomers significantly impacted the Indigenous peoples of Suriname.

When looking at how the Indigenous peoples of Suriname have been affected by the colonization of Suriname, it is relevant to take into account the previously mentioned distinction between 'lowland' (Lokono & Kaliña) and 'highland' Indigenous peoples (Trio & Wayana). As the Kaliña and Lokono live along the coast, they were the first to encounter the Europeans. In the beginning, it was in the interest of the Dutch to maintain peaceful relationships and alliances with the original inhabitants, mostly for the sake of trade and the development of the plantation colony (Boven, 2006). At times, the governors of Suriname adopted a divide-and-rule strategy aimed at turning the Lokono and Kaliña against one another (Sint Nicolaas, 2018). Although this proved successful at times, the colonizers also dealt with fierce resistance. Numerous times the Kaliña and Lokono would plunder the plantations, destroying harvests,

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[1] This includes amongst others the work of the *Association of Indigenous Village Leaders* (VIDS: Vereniging van Inheemse Dorpshoofden in Suriname), the *Mulokot Foundation* (Wayana) and other Indigenous grassroot organizations.

[2] See for example the verdict by the Inter-American Court of Human Rights in the case of the 'Kaliña and Lokono Peoples vs. Suriname' in 2015 (IWGIA, 2021).

killing the plantation owners, and either killing or setting free the enslaved Africans (Boven, 2006; Sint Nicolaas, 2018).

In 1686, the resistance led to a peace agreement with the promise that the Lokono and Kaliña would no longer be enslaved (except in the case of certain crimes) and the land distribution for the plantations would continue, but with their interests in mind (Boven, 2006; Sint Nicolaas, 2018). This seemed promising, but the reality turned out differently. The growing number of plantations and the arrival of the Maroon peoples would continue to force the Indigenous peoples of their lands. This also affected the relationship between the Maroons and the Indigenous peoples, sometimes one of close collaboration whilst in other cases one of animosity instead (Boven, 2006).

The relationship between the different Indigenous groups also worsened, as the peace agreement did not include the highland Indigenous peoples. This meant that the enslavement of these peoples continued. As a result, prisoners of war coming from the interior continued to be sold for goods and other valuables. Although in much smaller numbers compared to the enslavement of black Africans, there was an active practice of enslaving the interior Indigenous peoples during so called 'slave raids', forcing them to work as, amongst others, concubines, guides and houseworkers (Boven, 2006). Only in 1793, the enslavement of the interior Indigenous peoples became forbidden (Boven, 2006). This division and tense relationship between the interior and lowland Indigenous groups (and the Maroons) is still visible today.

Apart from these developments, the highland Indigenous peoples remained relatively isolated until the 20th century. These Indigenous groups did, however, not live in complete isolation, as they participated in an extensive social and trade network connected by many rivers and waterways. Therefore, the Western interpretation of isolation usually refers to isolation from Western civilization (Carlin & Goethem, 2009). Only later due to the growing presence of the state, extractive industries and the arrival of missionaries in the 1950s, the highland Indigenous peoples and their way of life would be significantly impacted (Boven, 2006).

As discussed before, Indigenous peoples hold a marginalized position in Suriname today as a result of colonization, as they continue to face discrimination and are not acknowledged by the state (Boven, 2006; IWGIA, 2021). Furthermore, the Indigenous peoples have been left out of national population statistics far into the 20th century (Hoefte, 2014). This is telling of the general lack of visibility that has marked their position throughout the centuries, and it continues to do so today. This issue of invisibility will also return in the Dutch context as discussed in Chapter 6.

These historical processes also relate to the different histories of migration of the Surinamese Indigenous diaspora. For example, there are significantly more Kaliña and Lokono people in the Netherlands in comparison to other Indigenous peoples from Suriname (Namen, Nie, & Hagendijk, 1992). This does not only relate to the different histories of contact, but also to the obstacles that the interior Indigenous groups are facing such as the reduced accessibility to the capital city Paramaribo, limited educational opportunities and language barriers (Hoefte, 2014). Furthermore, some Indigenous peoples came to the Netherlands directly from their Indigenous village, whilst others either grew up or lived in the capital city of Paramaribo before migrating (Mink, 1992). Consequently, these processes have resulted in different migration experiences and shine a light on the diversity of Surinamese Indigenous diaspora lives. It is important to acknowledge this diversity of experiences, the differences between the Indigenous groups and the corresponding socio-historical circumstances.

1.2.3 The First Stories of Surinamese Indigenous Presence in the Netherlands

Although in small numbers, Surinamese Indigenous peoples have made their way to the Netherlands throughout the centuries, both voluntarily and involuntarily. As early as 1688, a group of seven Indigenous Lokono people from Suriname set foot in Amsterdam.[3] Amongst them was Hiricay, *"chief of all the Indians[4], who sided with us in times of war",* or otherwise known as *"Erikeja, Jupiter of the Indians of Suriname"* (Sint Nicolaas, 2018, p.65). His father wanted to bring Hiricay to this *"great and remarkable land"* for him to learn Dutch and teach others upon his return (Sint Nicolaas, 2018, p.65). Together with the son of the Surinamese governor, the son of another important chief and four enslaved Indigenous peoples, they spent nearly a year in the Netherlands. During their stay, they visited monumental Dutch sites and prominent figures, as reported in the local newspapers. On the 19th of July 1688, they arrived

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[3] Another story is known of an Indigenous man being brought to the Netherlands in 1608 already, after which he was abandoned and two officials of the Dutch West-Indian Company (WIC) provided for him financially. For a more detailed account of this story and that of Hiricay, see Sint Nicolaas (2018).

[4] This thesis acknowledges the problematic term 'Indian' and actively refrains from using it, preferring the use of 'Indigenous' instead. There are however instances in which written sources as well as the participants used the word 'Indian'. For this reason, the choice has been made to stick to the original version. It is also in line with the principle of self-determination to let Indigenous peoples decide on how they wish to label themselves.

back in Suriname (Sint Nicolaas, 2018). Based on the archival documents, it seems that the colonial powers admired Hiricay and his father. In other cases, the Indigenous peoples of Suriname were degraded to simply objects of curiosity. The International Colonial and Export Exhibition (1883, Amsterdam) was an example of this. During this event, two Lokono and twelve Kaliña men, women and children were placed in a circus tent for the audience to exhibit, called the 'building of the Surinamese native' (Artist, 2015).

These are just a few examples of Surinamese Indigenous presence in the Netherlands throughout the centuries. However, these are probably not the only ones and more research on this topic is needed. What does it mean when these are the only stories available? How does it shape the way Indigenous peoples are (not) seen by Dutch society today? How does this influence the experiences of Surinamese Indigenous peoples residing in the Netherlands? These are relevant questions to address when dealing with this history and gap in the research, calling for a critical look at how it affects the reality of Surinamese Indigenous peoples today.

1.3 Literature Review

There are very few written sources about the Surinamese Indigenous diaspora in the Netherlands and these sources are far from recent. This section will provide an overview of the available information about Surinamese Indigenous peoples in the Netherlands. The aim is not, however, to describe the contents in detail, but to contribute to the documentation process and show what has already been written. Relevant information from these sources will be used throughout the thesis as it allows for a frame of reference and contextualization of both the history and contemporary Surinamese Indigenous identity articulations.

The first source is a cultural anthropology dissertation, called *Surinamese Indians in the Netherlands* (Klinker, Oorschot, & Eline, 1987). [5] Already in 1987, the writers point out that most Dutch people do not even know that Surinamese Indigenous peoples are living in the Netherlands and that no research has been done on this group. The authors expressed the wish to change this, using the dissertation to make Surinamese Indigenous peoples more visible. In doing so, it formulates a very similar starting point as is the case for this thesis.

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[5] The dissertation comments on the use of the word 'Indian', stating that some participants objected to this due to its connection to Columbus. Others however indicated that they preferred using 'Indian', as it resulted in more recognition when talking to non-Indigenous people. It is for this reason that the dissertation continued to use 'Indian' to refer to the original inhabitants of Suriname (Klinker et al., 1987).

It is however different on a number of points: (1) the dissertation focuses solely on Lokono and Kaliña people, and (2) raises a different research question, namely to what extent it is possible to speak of the Surinamese Indigenous diaspora as one ethnic group. Ethnic identity is defined as a social identity, with the conviction that one has a shared descent, history and cultural heritage (Klinker et al., 1987). Furthermore, the researchers actively avoided political Surinamese Indigenous organizations due to the interior war in Suriname and its sensitive nature, which was going on at the time of writing. This is, however, an important part of the history of the Surinamese Indigenous diaspora and their activism as discussed in Chapter 4.

Although the dissertation is far from recent and should be read critically, it is a valuable contribution as one of the few written works on this topic. The researchers had access to a wealth of oral histories (interviews with eighteen people total, each lasting two to four hours), and there is a strong presence of Indigenous voices speaking due to the large amount of quotes. The following topics were discussed: village life in Suriname; family and social relations; the Dutch-based Indigenous associations (e.g. to maintain the language and culture in diaspora, competition between the associations); self-identification, cultural awareness and pride/shame about Indigenous identity (e.g. the participants felt more proud in the Netherlands); motives for migration; and connection to nature. The main conclusions of the dissertation are as follows: (1) the Surinamese Indigenous peoples in the Netherlands showed a raised awareness of their cultural identity and shared background, (2) they were more vocal about their interests, (3) the importance of cultural associations as an expression of cultural identity and (4) reduced ethnic cohesion in comparison to life in Suriname (Klinker et al., 1987).

Another important source is the dissertation by Mink (1992) about the music, song and dance tradition of the Lokono peoples in the Netherlands. The dissertation was requested by Ikyoshie, a Lokono cultural association in the Netherlands, because they wanted to document their traditional music and dance culture. The researcher became a member of the association's music group for 4 years, simultaneously conducting interviews and documenting the songs.

The dissertation discusses (1) the history of the Lokono people in Suriname, (2) the Lokono people in the Netherlands, (3) a systematic overview of the Lokono music instruments and (4) an overview of fifteen Lokono songs, the song tradition and how it is kept alive by the music groups in the Netherlands. The second chapter proves useful in shining a light on the history of migration as discussed in Chapter 4. The dissertation itself is also an important example of the articulation of Surinamese diasporic Indigeneity through song, dance and music. It also shows how some Surinamese Indigenous peoples were committed to the preservation of Lokono culture whilst living in the Netherlands. Mink (1992) concludes that the lyrics often

refer to one of the following: returning occasions, myths, historical events, and the (tragic) search for a true love.

Another source is a leaflet from 1993 about the traveling exhibition *Surinam Indians in the Netherlands* (Namen et al., 1992). This exhibition was organized by the Rotterdam Museum of Ethnology in close collaboration with various Surinamese Indigenous diaspora organizations. The exhibition itself has unfortunately not been saved, but the leaflet as well as related communication documents have been archived. The leaflet is part of a larger series called *Migrants in the Netherlands*, and it contains various chapters (written by both Surinamese Indigenous and non-Indigenous people) covering a wide range of topics accompanied by pictures, illustrations and Indigenous poems and texts. The topic of identity seems to be one of the leading themes throughout the leaflet, as different perspectives on the position and identity of Surinamese Indigenous peoples in the Netherlands are shared.

Various chapters refer to the importance of the diaspora organizations to maintain one's Indigenous identity and culture. This includes the migration experience of a Lokono man and how the association helped him find his way, increased his self-awareness of his Indigenous identity and gave him a sense of belonging in the Netherlands (Namen et al., 1992, p.23):

> "When I came into contact with the Kaliña group I experienced in the first place a sense of relief. Suddenly I belonged somewhere. Until that time I did not understand that I owned a cultural background: that with us music, dance and ritual existed too. Without culture you are displaced: you do not know what to do with yourself."

This increased awareness about one's Indigenous identity in the Netherlands recurs throughout the leaflet. Furthermore, a lack of one shared vision amongst the Surinamese Indigenous diaspora is mentioned. The author of the chapter "Indian Identity, a quest" argues that documenting and practicing 'folklore' is not enough to go against the 'cultural disorientation', and that the discussion about the place of the Indigenous peoples (both in Suriname and the Netherlands) is very much alive amongst themselves. It concludes (Namen et al., 1992, p.12):

> "The Surinamese Indian identity is on the one hand a search for the past, and other the other hand looking for new forms in a rapidly changing, global society."

The last important source is a report by Schoorl (1989) that will be discussed in Chapter 4. As the literature review shows, there is a need for more recent and extensive research on Surinamese Indigenous diaspora lives, their history, experiences and identity articulations.

These works do form an important starting point, as they touch upon topics such as identity articulations, belonging and the importance of Dutch-based Surinamese Indigenous organizations. This is also a point that will be a recurring theme throughout this thesis, albeit expressed differently through the concept of the hub (see Chapter 3).

1.4 Relevance

On the 1st of June 2020, thousands of people gathered on the Dam Square in Amsterdam to raise their voice against racist police violence, following the brutal death of George Floyd by a police man in the United States (Wiegman, 2020). The protest was not only an expression of international solidarity, but it also hit close to home: transpiring into an outcry against racism in the Netherlands. Although some consider the protest to be a tipping point (seeing the many manifestations, reactions and discussions that followed) and slow progress is being made, the ongoing denial of racism in Dutch society remains prevalent.

Paradoxically, the Netherlands prides itself in being a tolerant, open-minded and color blind society (Wekker, 2016). This ignores, however, the fact that the legacy of colonialism remains embedded in the make-up of Dutch society. This expresses itself in amongst others institutionalized racism, Islamophobia and the violent defense of the racist blackface figure Black Pete.[6] The outcome of the Dutch General Elections in March 2021 is the latest example, seeing once again an increased number of seats held by populist right-wing parties perpetuating 'white European exclusionist politics' (Keultjes, 2021; Weiner & Carmona Báez, 2018).[7]

Various critical scholars and activists have also pointed out the phenomenon of 'Dutch aphasia' or the 'willful act of forgetting' to refer to the way the Netherlands has reduced or left out its involvement in the large scale and dehumanizing practice of slavery (Weiner & Carmona Báez, 2018). Slavery was reduced as something of little importance and far away (albeit a tragic chapter of Dutch history), whilst actually it has upheld structural inequality in the Netherlands today (Brandon, Jones, Jouwe, & Rossum, 2020). More attention to the topic of slavery is

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[6] For more information see the following sources: Andriessen, Nievers, Faulk, and Dagevos (2010); Esajas (2017); Gielkens and Wegkamp (2019); Haenen (2020); Klein (2020); Mulder and Bol (2020); Leurs (2015); Sengupta (2015); Weiner and Carmona Báez (2018); Wekker (2016).

[7] On the bright side, the anti-racist party Bij1 managed to obtain one seat, making Sylvana Simons the first black women to become a party leader in the House of Representatives (Aalberts, 2021).

needed, as it is a crucial part of the Dutch collective consciousness and history.[8] This chapter has attempted to show that the Indigenous peoples of Suriname have also been enslaved. Although far more drastic in the case of the ancestors of Afro-Surinamese people, more research is needed to better understand how the Surinamese Indigenous peoples have been affected by slavery, calling for more stories from Indigenous perspectives on this topic.

Furthermore, the people affected by these issues have not remained silent, which is clearly visible in the long history of the anti-racism and decolonization movements in the Netherlands (Weiner & Carmona Báez, 2018). There is also a strong presence of the Surinamese community within these movements. Little is known however about the involvement of the Surinamese Indigenous peoples. This raises the following questions: How do the Surinamese Indigenous peoples take part in these movements? How are Surinamese Indigenous peoples affected by a society in which race has become an organizing principle (Weiner & Carmona Báez, 2018)? Where do we see shared experiences and when do these experiences differ? The relevance of this thesis is not only defined by the clear gap in the research as demonstrated in the previous section, but more so by the understanding that the decolonization process requires the inclusion of Indigenous perspectives if one wishes to deal with these timely issues of societal relevance.

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[8] This also requires the reshaping of the slavery discourse. Therefore, the decision has been made to refrain from using the word 'slave' in this thesis, and to use the term 'enslaved' instead. This is because (1) it implies that for every enslaved person there was an enslaver, and (2) it highlights the fact that the enslavement happened against one's will and that it was not a natural condition (Hira, 2009; Sint Nicolaas, 2018).

2 Decolonizing Research Paradigm: Methodology & Methods

2.1 Introduction

The academic world has a long history of objectifying and dehumanizing Indigenous peoples in the name of research. Unsurprisingly, *"the word itself, 'research', is probably one of the dirtiest words in the indigenous world's vocabulary"* (Smith, 2012, p.1). Therefore, the question of how one should conduct research today becomes one that is intrinsically connected to the legacies of imperialism and colonialism. Situated in the field of Indigenous studies, this thesis cannot remain impartial to these issues, and therefore actively challenges this 'Othering' of Indigenous peoples and aims to make space for Indigenous perspectives in academia.

This will be done by adopting a decolonizing research paradigm, combining elements from the works of both Chilisa (2020) and Smith (2012). These two works can also be seen as an Indigenous research paradigm (rooted in Indigenous epistemologies), which is another common research approach in the field of Indigenous Studies. It would however be inappropriate to argue that this thesis perfectly upholds the principles of an Indigenous research paradigm, as the project has some key limitations that require consideration. An Indigenous research paradigm entails amongst others for those people concerned to be involved in the entirety of the process. However, the practical application of these principles is often in tension with the reality of an academic institution such as the university in which requirements and deadlines are prevalent. Furthermore, the 2020 Covid-19 pandemic has had a significant impact on the initial project, posing a challenge to collective, community-based and participatory research practices. For this reason, the choice has been made to adopt a decolonizing research paradigm instead, as the eventual outcome required a different strategy, yet the wish to engage with these issues and to uphold important ethical principles has remained the same.

Therefore, this chapter will raise important ethical concerns, and critically engage with the politics and history of knowledge production, challenging the dominant narrative in the Dutch context. This implies problematizing the relationship between the researcher and the participants, thus partaking in critical reflexivity and being honest about the position of the researcher from the start. It also means a commitment to the 4R's of Indigenous research. Simultaneously, an overview of the main methods (archival research and semi-structured interviews) is provided.

Although these methods are considered to be more conventional, it is important to note that a decolonizing research paradigm does not mean a simplistic rejection of all Western

research methods. Instead, it might be more fruitful to consider the limitations of these methods, how they are influenced by and take part in the intricate power dynamics of knowledge production, and how they can potentially serve Indigenous interests. It is when engaging with the *'complex Indigenous-Western knowledge interface'* that one comes closer to a better understanding of contemporary Indigenous lives (Nakata, Nakata, Keech, & Bolt, 2012).

2.1.1 The 4 R's of Indigenous Research

This research project aims to incorporate the 4R's of Indigenous research: respect, reciprocity, relationality, and responsibility (Chilisa, 2020; Drugge, 2016). The 4R's can each be seen as a tool to consider the question of ethics, the implications of the research and to identify those people affected. These are first and foremost the participants, but this also implies more broadly the Surinamese Indigenous community in the Netherlands. Although it is difficult to assume and speak of one community (always keeping in mind the diversity and heterogeneity), this project does actively take part in describing the identity articulations and histories of this group. Therefore, the thesis plays a role as to how Surinamese Indigenous peoples in the Netherlands are represented and how they are impacted by this. At the same time, one has to be careful to assume that the participants are completely representative of the broader community, as this thesis prefers speaking of 'diasporic stances' rather than 'the' diaspora (see Chapter 3).

The written account should thus be a respectful representation by listening carefully and *'creating space for the voices and knowledge systems of the Other'* (Chilisa, 2020, p.25). The decolonization of research methodologies means moving away from a deficit- and damage-oriented language, as the tendency has been to focus solely on the cultural extinction and assimilation of Indigenous peoples (Chilisa, 2020; Smith, 2012). Smith (2012) proposes the idea of celebrating survival instead. Therefore, acts of resistance, resilience and human agency are consistently highlighted throughout this thesis. The participants are also the experts of their own reality, acknowledging my own limitations as an outsider (see Section 2.3.1).

Reciprocity is about giving back and ensuring that the participants and the broader Surinamese Indigenous community also benefit from the research. There is not one way to do so, as it depends on the specific local context and this will be further discussed with the people concerned. An important example is the sharing of knowledge and recognizing that knowledge is not an 'individual entity' to be owned (Chilisa, 2020). This implies amongst others sharing

the findings beyond the scope of this thesis.[9] This also relates to relationality, seeing how the researchers enters into a relationship with the participants, one that does not end when the research is done (Chilisa, 2020).

Finally, responsibility refers to the application of ethical guidelines with proper rules and regulations and being accountable as a researcher (Chilisa, 2020; Drugge, 2016). This entailed obtaining approval from the *Norwegian Centre for Research Data* (NSD) to ensure that important principles such as Free, Prior and Informed Consent - FPIC (e.g. through the use of written consent forms), secure data storage and protection of personal privacy were upheld. It sometimes also entailed mentioning the names of participants instead of anonymization (if preferred and with explicit permission), as a way to give credit (Chilisa, 2020).

2.2 Research Methods

2.2.1 Interviews

A total of six interviews were conducted.[10] The group consisted of four women and three men, all from different ages (the youngest in their twenties, the oldest in their eighties). The different participants had Kaliña, Lokono and Wayana roots, either having two Indigenous parents or mixed heritage (such as Dutch and Afro-Surinamese). The interviews consisted of four one-on-one interviews, one interview with another person close to the interviewee present, and another interview with two people at the same time. Before the interviews took place, there was a brief phone call to introduce myself, my motivation and the research project. This was to foster a more balanced relationship between myself as a researcher and the participants, also encouraging them to ask questions (before, during and after the interview).

The interviews were semi-structured with a list of different topics that could be discussed without sticking to a specific order (see Appendix I). The aim was to have an informal conversation and to let the participants determine the direction of the interview, as they were

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[9] Potential ideas for dissemination are the creation of an exhibition/event (accessible to a larger audience) or the distribution of a written/visual publication with the main findings. The most important is that it is done together with the participants and the Surinamese Indigenous community in the Netherlands.

[10] The participants were found (1) through a reference by an acquaintance, (2) through social media by contacting the profile page of a Surinamese Indigenous association, and (3) due to a snow-balling effect, as some participants referred to new leads and other potential people to interview.

informed about the thesis topic. Identity was the main theme, but with some of the older participants it also included talking a bit about the migration history as discussed in Chapter 4. In one interview, this entailed sharing a newspaper article from the archives as a starting point. As a result, each interview took a different direction and different questions were raised. This poses some limitations, yet it is also more reflective of the wide of range of individual experiences.

When asking people to participate in the research, the reactions were very mixed. Some people were enthusiastic from the start, whilst others were a bit more hesitant, giving some words of caution and asking what would be in it for them. They often referred to previous experiences, helping researchers with their work, yet they did not receive any credit nor did they hear anything back from the researchers. Someone else mentioned that a group of Surinamese Indigenous people was already conducting their own research, stating that they were their own voice and that they did not need anybody to speak for them. Another reaction was that if the research did not contribute to the situation of Indigenous peoples in Suriname, they did not want to participate.

These different reactions are important because they show the historically-rooted tension between Indigenous peoples and non-Indigenous researchers, also in the Dutch context. It shines a light on previous poor practices of researchers, making the 4R's of Indigenous research all the more important. Furthermore, the case of an already existing research project is an example of a direct articulation of Surinamese Indigenous identity in the Netherlands, rooted in self-determination and the act of 'researching back' (Smith, 2012).

Finally, the conducted interviews were analysed by adopting a conceptual analysis, thus identifying the main themes and concepts that reoccurred throughout the conversations, whilst pointing out relevant similarities and differences. These identified categories were then placed in the broader theoretical framework as discussed in Chapter 3. The interviews were translated from Dutch. All translations are my own, for which I take full responsibility. I have tried to stay as close as possible to the original version, yet the issue of things getting lost in translation might still occur. Therefore, Appendix II includes the original quotes in Dutch to ensure transparency in the translation process.

2.2.2 Archival Research

The following archives were checked for possible research material with a brief online search[11]: *City Archive Amsterdam*, the *Dutch National Archives* (the Hague), *Atria Institute on Gender Equality and Women's History* (Amsterdam), *City Archive Rotterdam* and the *International Institute for Social History - IISH* (Amsterdam). Based on this search, only the latter two archives were visited in person to check the materials. The most insightful and the majority of the material was found at the IISH archive of the *Dutch Centre for Indigenous Peoples* (NCIV). See Appendix III for an overview of the consulted archives. There was also a brief search of the online Dutch newspaper archive *Delpher*, resulting in additional pictures and newspaper articles.

It was unfortunately not possible to discuss all the material that was found due to space constraints. Therefore, a selection was made based on a number of criteria. Firstly, materials that gave examples of Indigenous activism were favoured, as well as materials that were more likely to reflect Indigenous voices rather than outsider perspectives (simultaneously keeping in mind the principles of intersectionality). The aim was also to provide a more or less chronological overview, thus using materials that would cover the period from the 1960s until the 1990s (including the first arrivals and earliest examples of Indigenous organizing).

As the period covered is rather recent, many of those people mentioned in the archival materials are possibly still alive today. Therefore, their names have been removed for privacy reasons as it was not possible to obtain their explicit consent. The archives were public and open to anyone, yet it still requires consideration whether it is necessary to mention their names. The emphasis lied with the organizations rather than the individuals concerned, thus the choice has been made to protect the privacy of those mentioned in the archival materials.

2.3 On Writing History

When making choices throughout the research, it is important to acknowledge the power a researcher has to label and describe Indigenous realities based on their own frames of reference (Chilisa, 2020). It is Smith (2020, p.80) who states that 'history is also about power',

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[11] This included, amongst others, the following search terms (translated from Dutch): 'Indian', 'Indian Suriname', 'Indigenous', 'Indigenous Suriname', 'Suriname', 'Lokono/Arowak', 'Kaliña/Caraïb', 'Wayana', names of Dutch-based Surinamese Indigenous associations and other Surinamese organizations, and variations of the previously-mentioned key words.

challenging the idea of history as 'innocent' and how it has been used to tell the story of the powerful, actively excluding the perspectives of the 'Other'. When Indigenous realities were included, these have often been misconstrued and deemed offensive. Therefore, an important part of the process of decolonization is deconstruction and reconstruction (Chilisa, 2020; Smith, 2012). This includes retelling stories of the past, which is an important motivation for this thesis, namely creating an inclusive history which incorporates the perspective of Indigenous peoples and their experiences in the Netherlands (both past and present).

There are however a number of challenges and limitations in doing so. Firstly, the main findings are constrained to the archives mentioned above. Looking for sources to shine a light on this history is a challenge, mainly because archives are not organized as such and the information is often hidden in other archives with different organizing principles. At times, this meant looking for a needle in a haystack and searching for new leads. There is the possibility that far more material exists, which could lead a research to different conclusions than those presented in this thesis.[12]

This also relates to the idea that archives themselves are not *'neutral storehouses of objectively gathered evidence'* (despite often being viewed as such), but actually embedded in state-formation processes and colonialism (Adams-Campbell, Falzetti, & Rivard, 2015, p. 110). Seeing archives as cultural agents of knowledge production (Stoler, 2002), raises the following question: how are the abovementioned archives influenced by and articulations of these processes of knowledge production? Although it is not within the scope of this thesis to dissect each archive, its history and organizational principles as a means to answer this question, it is important to challenge the notion of neutrality and address how it affects the research. In the end, these systems have influenced which materials have been archived, how these have been organized, and how Indigenous peoples have been portrayed/left out. Consequently, this is also reflected in the written account engaging with these archival materials.[13]

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[12] Another approach could be to gather material that has been kept by Surinamese Indigenous peoples themselves, possibly leading to the finding of very different documents than what is kept in the archives of the state and other institutions/organizations.

[13] Similarly, photography is neither a random nor neutral process. As this thesis has incorporated pictures from newspapers, these images should be viewed critically and always be placed in relation to the histories and power dynamics that are embedded. See Warr, Guillemin, Cox, and Waycott (2016) for a discussion on research ethics and the use of visual materials.

2.3.1 Positionality & Reflexivity

"I feel that I am everything I am writing here, there I am." (Waller & Marcos, 2016, p. 85)

My interest in Suriname and its Indigenous peoples is rooted in my identity as a white Dutch woman. In the process of finding my place within the field of Indigenous Studies as a non-Indigenous person, it seemed only logical to work within my own context and history.[14] Yet it is shameful to admit how little I knew about Suriname before embarking on this project. Growing up in Amsterdam, my secondary education paid little attention to the history, realities and voices of those in the former colonies, let alone the fact that there are Indigenous peoples in the first place. This obscures, however, the relationship that still exists between these two countries and their peoples, as well as the many issues ingrained in Dutch society (as outlined in Chapter 1). This also makes the position from which I am writing one of privilege[15], but also one of concern for the state of my own country. Without doubt, this influences the perspective from which this thesis is written.

Evidently, there is still a lot that has to be done in order to work through our colonial past, in which I hope to take part with this project. There are always limitations however, inherent to an outsider looking in. I wish to continue my personal never ending process of unlearning those behaviours and attitudes that are shaped by a long history of Othering as well as making a step towards forming meaningful connections that aim to transcend these boundaries.

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[14] This follows the importance of self-locating as pointed out by Kovach (2010, p. 120): *"Knowing why we are carrying out research – our motive – has the potential to take us to places that involve both the head and heart. We need to know our own research story to be accountable to self and community."*

[15] Privilege and oppression are however not simplistic binaries, as the many facets of one's identity at times either relate to positions of power or create marginalized realities in other cases. For more information on the relation between positionality, privilege and oppression in the field of Indigenous studies, see Olsen (2018).

3 Theoretical Framework: Diasporic Indigeneity

The aim of this chapter is to provide an overview of the theoretical framework for this thesis. First of all, it will include a discussion on urban Indigenous experiences and consider how the *'range of urban Indigenous situations is global'* (Watson, 2014, p. 28), raising questions as to how this expresses itself in the Dutch context. Secondly, this thesis will combine both Indigeneity and diaspora, thus accordingly providing a discussion on diaspora theory, its key concepts and how it will be applied in the case of Surinamese Indigenous diaspora lives. Thirdly, two additional analytical tools will be adopted to add complexity to the discussion on the identity articulations and lived experiences of Surinamese Indigenous diaspora lives.

3.1 Urban Indigenous Experiences

The dominant perception of Indigenous peoples is still characterized by romanticized and stereotypical imagery. Indigenous communities are often seen as living in nature and off the land, confined to rural and remote areas outside the city and far away from the 'modern' world. This creates the assumption that Indigenous people do not belong in the city (Sissons, 2005; Watson, 2014). This largely ignores the fact that more and more Indigenous peoples are moving to and residing in cities, meaning that urban environments are rapidly becoming the main location for Indigenous peoples all over the world.

Although the presence of Indigenous peoples in the urban world challenges dominant conceptions of what it means to be Indigenous, the aforementioned environmental romanticism takes on a new form, resulting in other pervasive notions concerning Indigeneity in the city. One of these seems to be the idea that Indigenous peoples in cities are inherently out of place, forced to assimilate and doomed to lose their culture (Sissons, 2005; Watson, 2010). Their urban condition is seen as one of impoverishment, a 'fatal uprooting', and their authenticity is challenged, as they are seen as less authentic or not Indigenous enough (Sissons, 2005; Uzawa, 2020). This has also led to the idea of 'oppressive authenticity', as the highly politicized fight for Indigenous rights coincides with exclusionary ideas on who gets to call themselves Indigenous and under which conditions (Sissons, 2005). At the same time, it perpetuates another harmful myth which supposes that Indigenous peoples are bound to go extinct, if they have not already (Forte, 2006). This contributes to the ongoing invisibility of Indigenous peoples residing in cities, and consequently has led to inadequate responses from the dominant society to the reality of urban Indigenous peoples (Watson, 2014).

These notions do however ignore the myriad of ways that Indigenous people are navigating their realities, identities, sense of belonging and home, social networks and activism in an urban context. Nor does it acknowledge Indigenous peoples' creativity and adaptability (Sissons, 2005). It also fails to see how cities themselves are framed by colonial history, as Indigenous peoples have been taking part in urban life and urbanization processes for centuries, something that is all too often left out of the dominant narrative (Uzawa, 2020; Watson, 2014):

> "…a colonial history that neglects to acknowledge cities as originally Indigenous territory. As Peters and Andersen state, 'the creation of Indigenous 'homelands' outside of cities is in itself a colonial invention'." (Uzawa, 2020, p. 51)

Instead, it is Sissons (2005) who considers the urban Indigenous experience as a 'relocation of Indigeneity', geographically speaking, but also as a space for social change. This is not about ignoring the issues Indigenous peoples are facing due to living in an urban environment, for example loss of language and culture, being rendered invisible, facing discrimination and the alienation of the youth (Sissons, 2005; Uzawa, 2020). It is, however, about paying attention to the variety of ways in which Indigenous peoples are navigating these challenges, creating opportunities and challenging the idea of being inherently out of place. As a result, urban Indigenous peoples might even contribute to the revitalization and resurgence of their culture and languages whilst living far away from their traditional homeland (Uzawa, 2020).

One of the aims of this thesis is to challenge these static notions of Indigeneity, accounting for the diversity of the Indigenous experience (one that includes the urban diasporic reality) and place it in the broader context of urban Indigenous studies (Watson, 2014). The Netherlands could be considered one big urban space due to the high level of urbanization, as more than 90% of the population lives in urban areas (U.N., 2018). The experience of Surinamese Indigenous people is therefore not only one of being a diaspora, but also one that is highly urbanized. This is in contrast to those Indigenous peoples living in Suriname, as Paramaribo is the only city in the country and the remaining 80% is covered in rainforest.

Considering the urbanized nature of Surinamese Indigenous lives in the Netherlands, one can raise the following questions: how are diasporic Surinamese Indigenous peoples affected by issues such as invisibility, oppressive authenticity, supposed extinction and other essentialist notions of Indigeneity in the city? How do diasporic Surinamese Indigenous peoples articulate a 'relocation of Indigeneity'? Can we see a contribution of Surinamese Indigenous peoples in the Netherlands to revitalization processes and social change? By raising these questions, this thesis aims to show that Indigeneity in the Dutch context is not a far and distant

reality or concept, confined to faraway places, nor does one cease to be Indigenous when living in a diasporic context, but that it can be as easily found within our borders.

3.2 Diasporic Indigeneity

This section will further dive into the conjunction of both diaspora and Indigeneity. In doing so, this thesis will adopt the definition '*Diasporic Indigeneities*' as put forward by Watson (2014) in his book about urban Ainu peoples in Japan:

> "A range of adaptive, personal, collective, innovative and reactive measures that represent the extension and development of Indigenous identities and patterns of sociality in non-local, predominantly urban areas." (Watson, 2014, p. 32).

This definition has been chosen for a number of reasons. In using the plural form of Indigeneity in his definition, Watson aims to show that there is not one version of reality and that the Indigenous experience is defined by its variety. Furthermore, Watson centres the human lived experience in his investigation of mobility and Indigeneity. In doing so, he goes beyond a simplistic, static definition of identity, culture and the concept of *doing culture*, namely seeing culture as a lived experience. Similarly, this thesis will also adopt experience as an analytical tool, centring the lived experiences of diasporic Surinamese Indigenous peoples, whilst linking them to broader concepts within diaspora theory. This leaves room for a *'language of difference, mobility, and social complexity over that of primordialism, fixity and structure'* (Watson, 2014, p. 147). It is this approach that allows one to see the various acts of agency of the Surinamese Indigenous peoples, how they negotiate and experience the urban, diasporic context and the corresponding socio-historical circumstances.

When writing about Indigenous lives, it is important to address the issue of generalization. This thesis acknowledges the problematic nature of generalizations, however inevitable they are at times. Therefore, this thesis suggests not speaking of 'a diaspora' or 'the diaspora', but rather *"to speak of diasporic stances, projects, claims, idioms, practices and so on"* (Watson, 2014, p. 38). This allows one to consider the range of individual experiences and how different identifications and articulations might occur under the "same" generalization that is called Surinamese Indigenous diaspora lives.

3.2.1 Historization of Diaspora Experiences

This thesis engages with both the histories and lived experiences of Surinamese Indigenous lives in the Netherlands. In doing so, it considers the language of diaspora not only as a theoretical approach, but also as a historical experience embedded in a specific locality and context (Brah, 1996; Clifford, 2013). This entails engaging with the specific history of migration that has shaped the Surinamese Indigenous diaspora today. This does not, however, only include the journey, but the arrival and dwelling as well (Brah, 1996, p. 179):

> "These journeys must be historicised if the concept of diaspora is to serve as a useful heuristic device. The question is not simply about who travels but when, how, and under what circumstances? What socio-economic, political, and cultural conditions mark the trajectories of these journeys? What regimes of power inscribe the formation of a specific diaspora? … How and in what ways do these journeys conclude, and intersect in specific places, specific spaces, and specific historical conjunctures? How and in what ways is a group inserted within the social relations of class, gender, racism, sexuality, or other axes of differentiation in the country to which it migrates?"

This thesis raises similar questions and wishes to consider how these questions can be answered in the case of Surinamese Indigenous diaspora lives in the Netherlands. Chapter 4 will engage with the historicization by providing an overview of the main findings of the archival research. Furthermore, in asking these questions, Brah (1996) also highlights the importance of power dynamics and the politics of differentiation, as well as a rejection of simplistic binaries. Section 3.3.2 on intersectionality will further discuss the importance of different identity markers and how they affect the lived realities of Surinamese Indigenous diasporic lives.

At the same time, it is important to acknowledge that *'diasporic identities are at once global and local'*, albeit with different expressions (Brah, 1996, p. 192). Seeing the globalized nature of Indigenous issues today, as well as the strong presence of the international Indigenous movement, specific attention is paid to the constant circulation between local, national and international levels. These different spheres (or *scales of governance*) are no longer separate entities, each with their own set of decision-making processes influenced by a myriad of factors, whilst simultaneously setting in motion their own chain of reactions (Bellier & Hays, 2019). Although this thesis focuses on a specific small-scale and local reality, this locality is certainly not in isolation. The scales of governance framework provides a valuable tool to consider how these three levels interact in the particular case of Surinamese Indigenous diaspora lives. This

is relevant in both the historical context as well as the contemporary identity articulations, as one can witness the connectedness between these various scales and local experiences.

3.2.2 Home(land) & Belonging

The question of home(land) and belonging is an important part of diasporic realities and imaginations. In diaspora theory, home(land) discourse assumes an expressed desire for and potential future return to the 'homeland'. However, Brah (1996) points out that a homing desire is not the same as a desire for 'homeland'. This distinction is adopted due to its inclusive nature, because it includes those diaspora experiences that are not necessarily revolving around the idea of a 'return', and considers the multi-placedness of the construction of home and belonging (Brah, 1996; Clifford, 2013; Harvey & Thompson, 2005). Clifford (2013) states that a connection to the homeland ('a feeling of grounded peoplehood') is inherent to those who identify as Indigenous, but that there are many different ways in which this feeling is expressed, neither defined by the frequency of returns. Understood as such, diaspora theory then contests notions of fixed origins (Brah, 1996). Similarly, Uzawa (2020) argues that although the home(land) discourse opens up space to Indigenous rights' claims, it is often based on essentialisms of Indigenous peoples and excludes the diasporic Indigenous experience. Therefore, it is useful to consider the following:

> "This focus on change is both necessary and useful especially in terms of reworking the concept of Indigeneity from "belonging in a place" into "belonging to a place," a shift which recognizes and values the diasporic and affective relations people may have to homeplaces irrespective of whether one lives there or not." (Watson, 2014, p. 31)

Seeing that diasporic Indigeneity is better understood as 'belonging to a place', this also calls for the rise of an 'Indigenous diasporic consciousness' as Indigenous peoples living in diaspora are actively negotiating a feeling of belonging in their encounters with a dominant society and those who stayed behind (Brah, 1996; Ramirez, 2007).

Taking this into account, home(land) is therefore not just present in the diasporic imagination, yet it is also a 'lived experience of locality' (Brah, 1996). This includes sensory sensations such as smell and touch, but it is also embedded in practices of place-making and self-organizing (Brah, 1996; Uzawa, 2020; Watson, 2014). An example of this place-making and self-organizing is the *hub*; a geographical concept (both physical and virtual) which represent places and activities that allow for a sense of belonging and strengthening of

Indigenous identities (Ramirez, 2007; Uzawa, 2020; Watson, 2014). It is Ramirez (2007) who suggests that the *hub* is where the sense of belonging and diasporic consciousness collide:

> "A Native diasporic consciousness, therefore, includes the subjective experience of connected to the tribe, to urban spaces, and to Native peoples within the diaspora, as well as other Indigenous cultural and national formations. A hub consciousness includes this diasporic awareness as well as one that can bridge differences so Native peoples can organize for social change." (Ramirez, 2007, p. 11)

By considering the processes of place-making and self-organizing such as the *hub*, one also challenges the idea that diaspora is solely a condition of separation and dislocation. Indeed, separation and dislocation are crucial to diasporic experiences and histories. However, this fails to see those cases in which diaspora is also a potential site for the a replanting of seeds, hope and happy outcomes (Brah, 1996; Clifford, 2013; Harvey & Thompson, 2005). As previously mentioned, this line of reasoning also supports the rejection of Indigenous peoples being inherently out of place in an urban environment, considering the diverse range of creative practices that allow for a sense of belonging in the lived realities of Indigenous diaspora lives.

Taking into account the abovementioned discussion on diaspora theory, one could raise the following questions with regards to Surinamese Indigenous diaspora lives: how do Surinamese Indigenous peoples in the Netherlands relate to notions of belonging and home(land)? How do Surinamese Indigenous peoples experience a diasporic consciousness? In which ways do they take part in practices of place-making and self-organizing? How do hubs play a role in these processes?

3.3 Additional Analytical Tools

Considering this thesis concerns itself with diasporic Indigeneity as a lived experience, one has to commit to a certain degree of added complexity. Therefore, two additional theoretical tools have been chosen: articulation theory and intersectionality. These concepts will be briefly discussed below. In Chapters 4, 5, and 6, these theoretical tools will be used interchangeably to discuss the case of Surinamese Indigenous diaspora lives in the Netherlands.

3.3.1 Articulation Theory

Indigenous experiences today are marked by an immense diversity, shared commonalities and stark juxtapositions. The theory of articulation by Stuart Hall provides an opportunity to engage

with this complex nature of Indigeneity, steering away from cultural analyses that offer simplistic and essentialist accounts framed by limiting notions of (in)authenticity, invention and strategy (Clifford, 2013; Johnson, 2008). Instead, articulation offers a tool to consider identity expressions and their large variety of underlying factors, conditions and processes.

A telling example of the process of articulation is given by Li (2000). In her case study, she compares two seemingly similar rural groups in the Indonesian countryside. Although both are accepted as the original inhabitants of the land, only one rural group has actively chosen to articulate a collective, Indigenous identity. Li (2000) points out the specific political and historical conditions that underlie this articulation in contrast to the other rural group. In doing so, she provides a detailed account of the conditions for Indigenous articulation in the Indonesian context, whilst considering the many constraints and possibilities for this articulation to take place. She also highlights the importance of human agency in navigating these opportunities and challenges, and the ability to make connections. In doing so, she argues that Indigenous articulations are better seen as: *"...a positioning which draws upon historically sedimented practices, landscapes, and repertoires of meaning, and emerges through particular patterns of engagement and struggle."* (Li, 2000, p. 151).

Understood as such, articulation can therefore be seen as a 'hinging of elements', as connections are made, unmade and remade under certain conditions (acknowledging the shifting nature of articulation), resulting in Indigenous articulations and re-articulations (Johnson, 2008). Nor does it steer away from paradoxes and power dynamics. Clifford (2013, p. 55) describes articulation as something that "*evokes a deeper sense of the 'political' - productive processes of consensus, exclusion, alliance, and antagonism that are inherent in the transformative life of all societies.*"

Articulation will prove useful in the case of Surinamese Indigenous lives in the Netherlands, as it is also an example of human agency rooted in important historical and political developments (both locally and internationally). It is neither a straight-forward, homogenous collective experience, and one has to be careful not to erase and oversimplify this diversity. Finally, articulation does not ignore important notions such as migration, belonging, loss and renewal, urbanization (not falling into binaries of urban and rural), returns and other concepts so crucial to diaspora lives, as far "*more happens under the sign of the indigenous than being born, or belonging, in a bounded land or nation*" (Clifford, 2013, p. 69).

3.3.2 Intersectionality

Intersectionality is another framework that contributes to understanding the complex nature of identity. Intersectionality revolves around the understanding that different parts of one's identity and the intersections of these identity categories are interwoven with power relations, systems of privilege and oppression (Cassell, Cunliffe, & Grandy, 2018). Intersectionality finds its roots in Black feminism, when in 1989, Kimberlé Crenshaw criticized the way white feminists omitted race as a defining factor for black women's experiences as different from white women (Crenshaw, 1995). Gender, race and class are considered to be the most important, but intersectionality is not limited to these identity markers.

Intersectionality has been chosen because of the relevance of race in the Dutch context (as discussed in Chapter 1). When we are talking about Indigeneity, we are also talking about race and ethnicity. The processes that Wekker (2016) describes are also very similar to how the Indigenous peoples of Suriname have been placed into the colonial narrative as 'primitive'. The framework of intersectionality creates space to consider how Surinamese Indigenous people as people of colour are affected by this history and these processes in the Dutch context.

As the foundation of intersectionality revolves around the idea that gender and race are connected, gender will also play a role in this thesis, albeit not as the main topic of investigation. For an example of how diaspora, Indigeneity and gender come together, one can have a look at the work of Kēhaulani Kauanui (1998). She stressed the importance of a diasporic feminist sensibility as an opportunity for decoloniality, as she looked at the gendered nature of Hawaiian Islanders appealing to diasporic Hawaiians to 'return home'. In doing so, she argues that the process of (re)making oneself at home is always gendered. Similarly, Ramirez (2007) argued for the importance of including gendered notions of belonging.

In conclusion, intersectionality provides a tool to pay attention to crucial identity markers such as gender, race and class, but also to account for the diversity of identity categories relevant in the case of Surinamese Indigenous diaspora lives, such as the different experiences of migration, generation differences, and so on; whilst simultaneously looking for patterns and similarities.

4 The History of Surinamese Indigenous Presence in the Netherlands

4.1 Introduction

This chapter revolves around the historical trajectories of Surinamese Indigenous peoples in the Netherlands. The emphasis will be on the late twentieth century, addressing the period from the 1960s until the 1990s chronologically. This will be done based on the main findings of the archival research (accompanied by relevant written sources and information from the interviews). This includes amongst others the migration histories and the corresponding socio-historical circumstances (leading to divergent and shared diasporic journeys), as well as the self-organizing of the Surinamese Indigenous diaspora (connected to their dwelling experiences and the political situation in Suriname). The chapter concludes with a discussion on how the historization of Surinamese Indigenous diasporic realities allows one to see the different Surinamese Indigenous identity articulations rooted in a large variety of both local and international 'historical conjunctures' (Brah, 1996).

4.2 Waves of Migration: the First Surinamese Indigenous Diaspora Organizations

Before the 20th century, very few Surinamese Indigenous peoples made it to the Netherlands. This changed, however, with the upcoming independence of Suriname in 1975. This period led to a growing uncertainty and unrest amongst the Surinamese population. This combined with educational, economic and political motives as well as family-reunion[16], led to almost one-third of the Surinamese population migrating to the Netherlands during this time (Hoefte, 2014). The Surinamese Indigenous peoples were among the last to join these waves of migration due to their financial situation (Mink, 1992). Plane tickets were also still too expensive, despite lowering prices during the 1960s. Therefore, some of the first Surinamese Indigenous peoples

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[16] Similarly to the other Surinamese people, the Indigenous peoples expected better educational and employment opportunities in the Netherlands. The church also played a role in bringing Indigenous peoples to the Netherlands to pursue an education (Schoorl, 1989). Shifting attitudes in Dutch politics regarding Dutch citizenship and migration policies also affected the waves of migration. After the independence, political motives to migrate can be linked to the increasing infringement on Indigenous land rights, as the Surinamese government adopted a development policy regarding the interior of the country that did not take into account its Indigenous peoples (Mink, 1992).

came to the Netherlands by cargo ship, a journey which lasted almost three months (Mink, 1992).

Although by far a minority, the number of Surinamese Indigenous peoples in the Netherlands did experience a significant increase, also after the independence in 1975. It is difficult to give an exact number, but an estimate has been made that around 2000-3000 Surinamese Indigenous peoples were residing in the Netherlands by 1992 (Namen et al., 1992).[17] After the independence, the Dutch government implemented a national spreading policy, aimed at placing the Surinamese people outside the big cities (Mink, 1992). This failed however, and as a result, many Surinamese people (the Indigenous peoples included) moved back to the main cities.[18]

Those first Surinamese Indigenous peoples arriving to the Netherlands did not have support organizations to receive them, and often had to rely on family and friends to find a place to sleep. When talking to A.[19] about the early 60s, he mentioned that he was a student in

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[17] In 1992, Mink (1992) made the estimate that around 500 Lokono people would be living in the Netherlands. Others have said that there were more or less 250 Surinamese Indigenous families with 5-6 children (Schoorl, 1989), and some have estimated the number to be between 2500-3000 (Namen et al., 1992). It is difficult to give an exact number, also because of factors such as mixed marriages (Mink, 1992). During the interview, A. mentioned that the number of Surinamese Indigenous peoples is actually a lot higher than the estimated 3000 that is often used. It is unknown how many Surinamese Indigenous peoples are residing in the Netherlands today.

[18] Although the spreading policy was supposedly voluntary, Surinamese welfare organizations pointed out that in practice this was not the case (Jansen, 2006). Furthermore, those Surinamese migrants that were relocated from the temporary pension to their own housing faced isolation and loneliness, and other important factors such as work and educational opportunities were often lacking (Jansen, 2006). This spreading policy also affected the Surinamese Indigenous peoples, and it posed a challenge to the functioning of the Surinamese Indigenous diaspora organizations as their members were living far away from one another, making it difficult to gather (Mink, 1992). See Jansen (2006) for more information on the arrival of migrants to the Netherlands, the emphasis on assimilation vs. integration, and corresponding housing policies and issues.

[19] **Participant 1:** A. is a Kaliña man in his eighties, who grew up in an Indigenous village in Suriname. He went to school in Paramaribo, and he moved to the Netherlands in the 60s to further pursue his education. He moved back to Suriname for a while, and after settled permanently in the Netherlands. He does frequently return to Suriname, and he has been active his whole life to improve the situation and position of the Surinamese Indigenous peoples. He indicated wanting to stay anonymous, therefore his name has been omitted (using the letter A. to refer to him).

the Netherlands during this time. He explained that he used his network and knowledge of the system to help a few Indigenous families to find a place to stay. When visiting them at their temporary residence, he noticed the encounter between two completely different worlds:

#1 *"So there came two Indian families. They came with nothing. ... Well, how unimaginable that at a given moment you see 2-3 Indian families there, who were still not used to wear shoes the whole day or to wear clothes all day. ... And the way that the environment responded to that. That was in fact a different phase/meeting of the Indians, who at a certain moment were branded as 'wild', 'stupid', 'strange'... Behavior in the eyes of others."* (Interview 1)

A. also mentioned that Dutch society was not really waiting for the Surinamese Indigenous peoples to come and adopt regulations that took into account their culture and way of life. He said that they had to organize themselves according to Dutch standards and concluded:

#2 *"... so the position/history of our Surinamese Indigenous* [people] *in the Netherlands, a bit sad... Well, it is actually not entirely responsible, in fact they have been left to fend for themselves. It sounds harsh, but it is just like that."* (Interview 1)

Considering these conditions, a large number of Surinamese Indigenous organizations were founded in the 1970s and 1980s, a period characterized by self-organizing (Mink, 1992). The aim was to support newcomers with their arrival and integration.[20] This was however not their only focus, as the organizations concerned themselves with many different activities.

The diaspora organizations can be divided into socio-cultural associations, known as SCV's (*sociaal culturele verenigingen*), and political organizations. The political organizations sometimes had an international focus, and were more specifically concerned with the situation in Suriname and protecting the interests of its Indigenous people (Klinker et al., 1987). The aim of the SCV's was to create awareness amongst the Surinamese Indigenous peoples about their own culture, and in doing so maintain their culture and gain more recognition. This was done through various events such as dance, song and theatre, the making of traditional clothing,

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[20] In the dissertation by Klinker et al. (1987, p. 25), one Surinamese Indigenous person shared the following: *"I think that as an association we can at least contribute to the integration of Indians in Dutch society, I think this is also our duty. We have anyways the experiences. Those* [experiences] *we can transfer to people who are new in this society or have not been here for a long time. From that point of view I find the association important."*

beading and pottery as well as language classes and theme nights (Klinker et al., 1987). At times, the SCV's and political organizations overlapped.

Based on the archival research, it seems that the first Surinamese Indigenous organization was founded in Arnhem in 1974, called *Working Group Indians Surina* (*Werkgroup Indianen Surina*). The aim of this organization was amongst others to connect Indigenous peoples in the Netherlands, and collaborate with relevant organizations in both Suriname and the Netherlands (Surina, 1975). This could possibly lead to the creation of one larger association, aimed at improving the social-economic position of the Indigenous peoples in Suriname. The main activities would include fund-raising and promoting *Surina* and its work amongst the Dutch public (Surina, 1975). On the 14th and 15th of June in 1975, *Surina* had a meeting to discuss the creation of this larger united association, revolving around the questions *'how are we going to function in both Suriname and the Netherlands? Which tools do we have to reach this goal?'* (Surina, 1975). During this meeting, there was also a representative of the KANO, a Kaliña and Lokono political organization from Suriname.

Although more information is not available on the activities and development of *Surina* as an organization, they are important to mention as one of the first Surinamese Indigenous associations. As the main goals of the association show, *Surina* had a transnational focus from the very beginnings and it was not organized according to Indigenous group. This was in contrast to many of the other SCV's which were often either Lokono or Kaliña. To give an impression of the scale of organizing by the Surinamese Indigenous diaspora, Appendix IV provides an overview of the main organizations that were founded from 1974 onwards. Some organizations will be highlighted throughout this chapter.

4.3 The Interior War

In July of 1986, the interior of Suriname transformed from a state periphery into the center of a violent conflict. This is also known as the interior war of Suriname, which would last until 1992. On one side of the fight was the commander Desi Bouterse (mixed Indigenous and Creole ancestry), supported by the National Army. Bouterse had come to power as a result of a military coup d'état in 1980, and later in 1982 he would be part of the execution of 15 intellectuals who had critiqued the regime, also known as the December murders (Hoefte, 2014).[21] On the other

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[21] Former president Bouterse (from 2010 to 2020) is the main suspect in the case of the December murders. In 2019, the Surinamese court-martial sentenced Bouterse to twenty years in prison, yet

side of the conflict was Bouterse's former bodyguard, Ronnie Brunswijk. Together with the support of a group of Maroon people, Brunswijk (himself a Ndyuka Maroon) organized a guerrilla movement called the Jungle Commando.[22]

The ongoing attacks on military posts and retaliations by the Surinamese army meant that both the Maroon and Indigenous villages were caught in the crossfire. It is a period marked by human rights violations, with the Moiwana massacre being one of the worst crimes committed. On the 21st of July 1986, the National Army murdered around 40 Maroon men, women and children (Boven, 2006). As a result, many Maroons and Indigenous peoples fled to French-Guyana, some of which still reside there today. These events also meant that some Indigenous peoples fled to the Netherlands, either directly from Suriname or as refugees from French-Guyana (first asking for asylum in France to travel to the Netherlands) (Mink, 1992).

In light of these events, the Surinamese Indigenous peoples in the Netherlands did not stay quiet about the fate of their friends and family. Some transcripts from phone calls and letters have been saved in the NCIV archive, providing firsthand accounts of the situation in Suriname and the various calls for help. As a result of these cries for help, previously set-up groups and associations got involved, but also new organizations were founded. More information on these organizations can be found in Appendix IV.

One report, published in the Surinamese Indigenous magazine *Wajonongbê* in 1986, gives an insight into how the organizing started (Wajonongbê, 1986). Various representatives of six Surinamese Indigenous diaspora organizations gathered to discuss the interior war. The report mentions that *"existing quarrels and disagreements within the … Indian community in the Netherlands have been settled for a while"*, suggesting that some issues were put aside for the meeting to take place. It also states that the Indigenous peoples had unwillingly been pulled

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Bouterse remains a free man and the case is still ongoing as Bouterse has appealed the verdict (Broere, 2021).

[22] The Dutch media also reported about the situation in Suriname during this time. The Surinamese media on the other hand was censored by the regime, making the Dutch broadcasting an important source of information for both the Dutch and Surinamese people (Vries, 2017). The Dutch media did however receive a lot of critique for being too pro-Brunswijck, sketching him as a 'Robin Hood' figure and providing a platform for Dutch-based resistance groups to express their views (Vries, 2017). Both Brunswijck and Bouterse have however been accused of war crimes and drugs trafficking, showing that it is not a simplistic black and white conflict (Vries, 2017). Someone of the diaspora also pointed out how difficult it was to get the Dutch media to pay attention to the crimes of Brunswijck, but a date on the archival material is missing, thus it is not possible to include as a reference.

into the fight between Brunswijck and Bouterse. The meeting revolved around the question whether the diaspora community should remain neutral or not (Wajonongbê, 1986):

> "When we talk about the jungle, we are touched. Let a spirit come to us to act in solidarity. We do not take sides, but we are worried about our people."

The majority of the people present was hesitant to choose a side, despite efforts by a few representatives to convince them otherwise (Wajonongbê, 1986):

> "I see you are still not convinced of what is happening in Suriname. Only if one of you dies there, you will get moving."

> "Do you not understand that the country is on the edge of a civil war. Bigi ston is empty, Pierre Kondre is empthy, Alfonsdorp has been deported. Galibi still exist, but for how long. Brothers and sisters choose for once."

> "Can we sit by and watch even longer at the drama of deportations from the interior?"

The wish to stay neutral remained however, and some also expressed their fear for the fighting parties to play the Indigenous communities off against one another. The decision was made to offer direct help, resulting in the creation of the platform P.I.O.N. (*Platform for Indian Organizations in the Netherlands*) [23] with the following goals: (1) a central body to collect and process information, (2) making contact with the Indigenous groups in Suriname and (3) providing humanitarian aid to the victims in the affected areas (Wajonongbê, 1986). There was also the plan to send two to three delegates to Suriname to investigate the situation.[24]

Apart from the P.I.O.N., there was also the overarching organization *12 October Manifest* (including both Surinamese and other Indigenous groups) that would raise their voice

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[23] Appendix IV mentions the organizations that were part of the P.I.O.N. Initially, there were 6 organizations involved, but later on more organizations joined the platform.

[24] Based on an newspaper article from 1987 (Suriname Zending, 1987), P.I.O.N. delegates went to Suriname in the following year. Their aim was to investigate the situation and improve the communication to ensure that the humanitarian aid could be as efficient as possible. In doing so, they worked closely together with the Zeister Missionary Society (ZZG – *Zeister Zendingsgenootschap*), which played an important role in the distribution of humanitarian aid to both the Maroon and Indigenous peoples. See footnote 28 with more information about the ZZG and the distribution of humanitarian aid.

about the fate of the Indigenous peoples in Suriname.[25] This organization also received the approval of Indigenous refugees in French-Guyana to officially represent them and ask for support from the Dutch government (WIP, 1986c).[26] It also worked closely together with the *Dutch Working Group Indigenous Peoples* (WIP), which also had Surinamese Indigenous people active in the organization and concerned themselves with the developments in Suriname.

In the period that followed, these organizations took on the role of activists, showing the active involvement of the Surinamese Indigenous diaspora in a large variety of activities. This included protests and manifestations (see Image 1), talks with political leaders and governmental institutions, sending delegations to Suriname and providing humanitarian aid for the Indigenous refugees. The following section will discuss a few examples of this activism.

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[25] Appendix IV mentions the organizations that were part of the *12 October Manifest.*

[26] Transcript of a phone call dated 25th of November 1986: *"My name is NAME, originating from VILLAGE, Suriname. Please do not disclose my name in the media. We are in hiding, because we are threatened with death by the Jungle Commando. I represent the Indian refugees in French-Guyana. These are almost all Lokono (Arowak) and Kaliña (Caraïb). On behalf of the Indian refugees I give permission to the 12 October Manifest to ask for help to the Dutch government. There are 7 cases of kidnapping, which have still not been resolved. It concerns amongst others NAME, captain of VILLAGE, and his wife, and NAME from VILLAGE and NAME. Indian women are handed over to mercenaries by the Jungle Commando. We have no food, no money and no medicine, no medical treatment. We cannot go hunt or go fish. Once in a while we get a pound of rice from the missionaries, but that is not enough. If we want to go back to our villages to get food from our plots, we are chased away by the Maroons. The villages are all being looted by the Maroons. We are not getting any help. Not from the French, and not from the Surinamese side. It is not true, that we get 100 francs a week. Help us."* (WIP, 1986c) Although it cannot be said with certainty, this phone call is most likely the result of a letter that was written on the 22nd of October 1986 by this same person representing the Indigenous refugees. In this letter, the representative officially asks the WIP for help and provides more information about the situation in Suriname (Anonymized, 1986). It is possible that this is the reason why the WIP and the *12 October Manifest* got involved.

In Nederland woonachtige Indianen en sympathisanten hielden op 12 oktober een rouwmars door de Amsterdamse binnenstad. Foto Anefo

Image 1: This picture was under the heading *'International Attention Strengthens Indians in Century-Old Battle'*, and it shows the march of grief that took place in Amsterdam on the 12th of October 1986 (the same day that Columbus "discovered" the Americas). This was the first time Indigenous peoples residing in the Netherlands gathered and went to the streets to bring attention to the human rights violations of their people (the Surinamese Indigenous peoples included). The newspaper article also discusses the start of the interior war: "*The Kalinja and Lokono, who stayed behind in the Marowijne district, were intimidated by Brunswijck. They were given a choice: fight or flee to French-Guyana. The preference of the Indians (to remain seated and to be neutral) was met with violence.*" During the manifestation, the Indigenous protestors walked past the American, Spanish and Brazilian consulates (Kort, 1986). On the same day, there were also protests in Paris and Madrid.

4.4 Activism & Humanitarian Aid

On the 30th of October 1986, the *12 October Manifest* provided both the Surinamese Chargé d'Affaires (as part of the Surinamese Embassy in the Hague) and the Dutch Minister of Foreign Affairs with a petition as an immediate call to action regarding the situation of the Indigenous peoples of Suriname, see images 2 and 3 (12 October Manifest, 1986b). Similarly to the P.I.O.N, the organization did not choose sides and wished to remain neutral in the conflict. On the 1st of December 1986, the WIP also sent a letter to the Dutch House of Representatives (also known as the Second Chamber), outlining the situation in Suriname and the importance of

including the Indigenous organizations in Suriname, the Netherlands and French-Guyana in the decision-making process and when providing humanitarian aid (WIP, 1986a).[27]

Een groep Surinaamse indianen heeft gistermorgen voor de Surinaamse ambassade in Den Haag gedemonstreerd tegen de schending van de mensenrechten in Suriname, die vooral de afgelopen weken de Surinaamse indianen zwaar heeft getroffen.

Image 2: Picture of the protest on the 30th of October 1986 in front of the Surinamese Embassy in the Hague, the Netherlands. Text on the banner: *"12 October Manifest demands no deportation, but safety for our sisters and brothers, also in our living areas."* (Nederlands Dagblad, 1986)

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[27] Wajonongbê (1986) reported on the delivery of the petition, after which the petitioners had a meeting with representatives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to explain the content of the petition. Interestingly, the report mentions that the journalist that was present was not allowed to take pictures to cover the event. The representatives did not make any promises, but they said that the Dutch Ambassy in Suriname would further examine the situation and then plans would be made accordingly. Already some humanitarian aid was provided, and the petitioners pointed out that this was mostly going to the Maroon people. On the same day, the Surinamese Chargé d'Affairs also responded to the petition, not reacting to the content of the petition, but stating that he would pass it on and that the petitioners were not well enough informed about the position of the Indigenous peoples in Suriname. He explained that there was already a lot of work done to improve the situation of the Indigenous peoples, and that there was an Indigenous advisory group to give structure to the policy of the Surinamese government. The promise was made that the petitioners would be put in touch with this advisory group (Wajonongbê, 1986)

To: His Excellency
The Surinam Chargé D'Affairs
in The Netherlands
Mr. Carlo Spier
Surinam Embassy
Alexander Gogelweg 2
The Hague

The Hague, 30 October 1986.

Your Excellency,

In this petition we, the original inhabitants of the American continent and their sympathizers, ask your attention for the extremely critical situation of the Indian peoples in Surinam.
In Surinam, the fundamental human rights of the original population are seriously violated. We appeal to your understanding and co-operation in order to guarantee the safety and survival of our brothers and sisters in Surinam.

The original peoples of Surinam, the Indians, have become victims of the war between the group of Ronnie Brunswijk and the Surinam national army. This war is being fought on Indian territory in Eeastern Surinam, between the Surinam River and the Marowine River, and has affected half the Indian population of Surinam. The territory of the Wayana, the Kalinja (Caribes), the Lokono (Arowaks) and other peoples has become the scene of battle. We protest against this.
On the one hand our peoples are robbed of their food stocks, their cooking utensils and their shotguns by the gang of Ronnie Brunswijk. In addition they are being intimidated by this gang, and sometimes taken captive. Only recently Max Swedo (36), for one, was carried off from his village by Brunswijk and co. on suspicion of espionage for the Surinam government. He has reportedly been released.
After moresuch raids by the Brunswijk group, all inhabitants of the native communities of Bigiston, Alfonsdorp, Anjoemarakondre, Pierrekondre, Tapoehoekoe, Erowarte, Langamankondre and Christiaan-kondre have crossed the Marowine River and fled to Terre Rouge in French Guyana.

On the other hand, the native peoples are overwhelmed by the military presence of the national army. The army claims that it wants to "protect" them against attacks by Ronnie Brunswijk.
At the same time, however, the army accuses the native Indian peoples of sympathizing with the Brunswijk group.
In the third week of October, the army "evacuated" the Lokono-village of Cassipora. All 86 villagers were deported to Paramaribo and are being detained in the local John Steepy stadium for an unlimited period of time.

The number of refugees that have fled to the capital Paramaribo, Saint Laurent or Terre Rouge in French Guyana as a result of this war, has run into the hundreds by now. It has emerged that the hundreds of Surinam refugees in France (French Guyana) are for the greater part from said villages along the lower reaches of the Marowine River. Involuntarily landless and unemployed, these people face an uncertain future in their neighbouring country.
All contacts between us and our families in Surinam have been broken; we do not know if some of them might be injured or perhaps even dead.

Let us state clearly here that the native peoples of Surinam do not wish to support either of the warring parties, nor have they ever done so. They wish to be left alone so as to continue their lives peacefully and work on their own development.
We cannot and may not allow that our peoples are driven off their traditional lands, which they have traditionally inhabitated, worked and cultivated for centuries. The indigenous peoples have a historical, cultural and spiritual bond with the land, and derive their identity from it.

We would like to remind you that the rights of indigenous and tribal peoples were internationally recognized several decades ago.
In 1957, the indigenous peoples' right to ownership and cultivation of their traditional lands, their right to the produce of the land, to their own culture and identity, as well as their right to survival were agreed on by the United Nations, and set down in Convention 107 of the International Labour Organisation (I.L.O.), the so-called "Convention on Tribal and Indigenous Populations".
The forced evacuation and deportation of the village of Cassipora as carried out by the Surinam government is a flagrant violation of theis Convention, as are the raids into indigenous communities by the Brunswijk group.
Even earlier, in 1948, universal civil rights were agreed on and expressed in the "Universal Declaration of Human Rights", and set down in such conventions as "The International Convention on Civil and Political Rights". Both the Convention and the Declaration have been ratified by the Surinam government.
Practices such as arbitrary capture, intimidation and mal-treatment by the Brunswijk group, as well as arbitrary capture and deportation by the Surinam national army, similarly violate said Convention and Declaration.
We bring these violations to the attention of the international community.

We appeal to the Surinam Government to respect and observe the fundamental human rights, and all other rights of the Indian peoples, and therefore:
- to immediately cease all fighting on Indian territory, and to withdraw the army from Indian territory,
- to start an independent inquiry into intimidation and mal-treatment,
- to indemnify returning refugees for the damage done to their belongings and crops, and to offer them material support for the rebuilding of their villages,
- to release immediately the deportees in Paramaribo, so that they can return to their traditional lands,

- 3 -

for the damage done to their belongings and crops, and to offer them material support for the rebuilding of their villages,
- to urge the Surinam government to immediately release the deportees in Paramaribo, so that they can return to their traditional lands,
- to urge the Surinam government to allow independent obser vers to visit Indian territory, who are accepted by the indigenous peoples,
- to urge the Surinam government to consult with the French government as soon as possible about a relief operation for the Surinam refugees in French Guyana.

. We appeal to you to bring the facts concerning the violation of human rights and the seriousness of the situation to the attention of the relevant bodies of the United Nations, such as the Commission for Human Rights and the High Commission for Refugees, so as to come to an inter-natioanl inquiry into the situation of the Indians in Surinam and French Guyana, and to organize humanitarian aid for the refugees.

We also appeal to you to inform the E.E.C. about the situation in Surinam and France (French Guyana), in order to have an E.E.C. observer sent to the region and organize humanitarian aid for the refugees.

Confident that you will do everything in your power to improve the situation of the Indians, we sign,

yours most faithfully,

12 October Manifest,

including:
WAJONONG, WAYAMU, Mapuche Komitee Nederland, Projecto Argentino Mapuche, Workgroup Indigenous Peoples (WIP), Quechua and Aymara in The Netherlands.

12 October Manifest
Postbus 10497
1001 EL Amsterdam

Image 3: Pictures of the petition presented by the 12 October Manifest on the 30th of October 1986 to the Surinamese Ambassy in the Hague and the Dutch Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Apart from calling on political leaders, the *12 October Manifest* also organized a manifestation on the Dam Square in Amsterdam. It was a sit down from the 5th until the 6th of December, called "Everything gotten from the good Sint: terror, rapes and 7 kidnappings" (12 October Manifest, 1986a). The event was taking place on the same night as the national holiday of Sinterklaas, a similar figure to Santa Clause in other countries, bringing gifts to children. Therefore, the reference 'everything gotten from the good Sint'. Various newspapers reported on the event, one of the articles quoting one of the protestors:

> "I don't care that it rains. Even if it would be freezing, then still I would be standing here. We have to fight for our rights" (Het Parool, 1986)

Accompanied by lighted lanterns, the program of the wake entailed people sharing information about the latest situation in Suriname, the storytelling of Indigenous poems and stories, an Indigenous ceremony, picture presentations, a movie, as well as a reflection on the future of the Surinamese Indigenous peoples. This protest also marked the start of an aid campaign for the Indigenous peoples of Suriname.

A few days later, on the 8th of December, the *12 October Manifest* was also heard by the Second Chamber of the Dutch Parliament during a meeting on Suriname (WIP, 1986b). These talks continued as both the WIP and the *12 October Manifest* sat down on the 12th of January 1987 with members of the Ministry of Development Cooperation, who had also seen the previously-mentioned petition (WIP, 1987b). In this meeting, they also encountered a lack of knowledge about the situation in Suriname when providing a summary of the issue:

> "This proved useful: the ministry did not know how large the Indian population was (according to them 10.000), how many Indian refugees there were in French-Guyana (according to them 500), how Galibi could be reached (according to them not), and which severe violations of Indian human rights had taken place (according to them none). NAME and NAME gave their testimonies from eye witnesses, which were gratefully received." (WIP, 1987b)

Not only does this quote demonstrate the lack of knowledge that the diaspora activists faced, the representatives also pointed out that the already provided humanitarian aid did not make it to the Indigenous peoples. The inequal distribution of humanitarian aid is a point that would return throughout the years as the various diaspora groups called on the Ministry of

Development Cooperation.[28] It is uncertain to determine what resulted from these talks based on the archival materials and whether their requests were granted. The minister of Development Cooperation did urgently press the aid organizations to ensure that the Surinamese Indigenous peoples would also get their share (WIP, 1987a).

Simultaneously to these talks, the various diaspora groups already set up their own system of humanitarian aid, sending multiple delegations to investigate the situation and to distribute relief supplies to the Indigenous peoples. For example, already on the 5th of December 1986, supplies worth approximately 25.000 Dutch guilders (today more or less €12.000) were brought to the East of Suriname. The organizations Kaikoesie and Wayamu were also involved in this action (WIP, 1987a).

Although there is more archival material that is worth discussing, it is unfortunately not possible to cover it all. It is clear that the Surinamese Indigenous diaspora groups were proactive and concerned about the situation in Suriname and their people, taking on the role as activists and acting as mediators between the Indigenous peoples in Suriname and the relevant actors in the Netherlands. So much so, that the conflict in Suriname also made its way to the Netherlands, as various members of the WIP and the *12 October Manifest* were targeted.

On the 20th of July 1987, a letter was sent to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to ask them to investigate the violence committed against various staff members of the WIP and the *12 October Manifest* living in Amsterdam. It outlines various incidents during which staff members received verbal threats either via phone or letters, threatening them to stop their work. Other incidents included an attempt to kidnap an important member of both the WIP and *12 October Manifest*, a front door was destroyed, stones were thrown through the windows of the office and another member was physically molested (12 October Manifest & WIP, 1987).

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[28] Boven (2006) provides some context regarding the distribution of humanitarian aid. The ZZG (mostly funded by the Dutch government) formed the bridge in the distribution process, and it tried to remain neutral in spite of its reputation as a Protestant organization. The group of Maroon people in need of aid was far larger than the Indigenous peoples, thus automatically receiving more attention. Furthermore, the interior war had transformed into a conflict between the Indigenous and Maroon peoples, thus many Indigenous peoples preferred staying with family rather than with the Maroon refugees in French-Guyana. This meant that they went off the radar of the aid organizations (Boven, 2006). As a result, the Indigenous peoples in the coastal areas felt overlooked, and it possibly explains why the diaspora consistently urged the Dutch authorities to ensure the distribution of aid to the Indigenous peoples.

Apart from their activism and activities in the Netherlands, the letter also mentions the involvement of the WIP and the *12 October Manifest* on the international level, as they were preparing themselves for a gathering of the U.N. Working Group on Indigenous Populations taking place in Geneva one month later. During this gathering, representatives of the Surinamese Indigenous peoples would also be speaking, and they argue that the threats were aimed at preventing them from doing so (12 October Manifest & WIP, 1987).

The international gathering in Geneva was not the only one in which the diaspora organizations were involved. The organization Wayamu especially played a role on the international level. For example, they participated in the International Amazon Congress in Vienna (7-10th of August 1987), and the Tropical Wood Conference by the European Parliament in Brussels (9th of October 1987), addressing both human rights issues and the protection of the riches of the Amazon (Wayamu, 1987a, 1987b). The diaspora organization *Tuna Sarapa Surinam* also got involved, as they spoke during a U.N. Working Group on Indigenous Populations in Geneva on the 1st of August 1988 (Tuna Sarapa Surinam, 1988e).[29]

Finally, it is important to mention that there was also someone active within *Tuna Sarapa Surinam* who is not without controversy. This person was also one of the delegates sent to Suriname by the P.I.O.N. Sometimes they are called a human rights activist, whilst in other cases it is said that they were acting on their own, having a bad reputation amongst the Indigenous peoples and being seen as an outcast. They are even accused of knowing about the death of some Indigenous peoples and being in close contact with Bouterse. This is an important point to raise because it shows the complexity of this history, yet the lack of sufficient archival and written materials makes it complicated to address, nor can references be included for privacy reasons. Although it is clear that some Surinamese Indigenous people living in diaspora acted as activists, it is important to remain nuanced and provide a polyvocal image of divergent diasporic actors, seeing how the label of activist might not be applicable in all cases. This is all the more important considering the developments of the interior war as discussed next.

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[29] *Tuna Sarapa Surinam* also sent letters to the Dutch Ministry of Development Cooperation and the Surinamese Embassy (Tuna Sarapa Surinam, 1988c, 1988d). They raised similar issues as the other organizations, but also made new requests (e.g. the creation of a war fund war fund to help the victims). As Dutch politicians went to Suriname to take part in the democratization process in 1988, they also called on these politicians to bring attention to the Indigenous peoples during the negotiations, also referring to the petition of 1986 (Tuna Sarapa Surinam, 1988a, 1988b)

4.5 Shift in Alliances: Tucayana Amazones

While the Surinamese Indigenous peoples and their diaspora had maintained a position of neutrality during the first years of the conflict, one can see a noticeable shift in this around 1989.[30] During this time, peace talks had led to the creation of the Kourou Accord, a peace agreement that aimed to end the interior war. There was however a lot of dissatisfaction with this agreement amongst the Indigenous peoples, especially because it officially granted the Jungle Commando with jurisdiction of the interior (Hoefte, 2014). At this point, the interior war had also become an ethnic conflict, and thus the Indigenous peoples feared as a result of the Kourou Accord that the Maroon would act as an 'interior police' and infringe on their autonomy (Boven, 2006). The Indigenous peoples felt once again bypassed, ignored and threatened. This combined with the violence of the interior war and their already marginalized position in Surinamese society led to the formation of an armed resistance by <u>some</u> Indigenous peoples on the 31st of August 1989 to stop the Kourou Accord, called the Tucayana Amazones.[31] The resistance consisted of a military and political branch, and the latter focused on improving the marginalized position of the Indigenous peoples, the issue of land rights and the development of the interior (Boven, 2006; Vries, 2017). It was Bouterse who provided the military branch with weapons (Boven, 2006; Hoefte, 2014).

In light of these events, various Surinamese Indigenous diaspora groups gathered during an emergency meeting on the 3rd of September 1989 (Aktiecommittee, 1989). During this meeting, they formed the "*Action Committee to support the Amazon Indians in Suriname*"

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[30] Already in 1987, a Surinamese Indigenous person residing in the Netherlands expressed their worries about the growing tension between the Maroon and Indigenous peoples (rooted in the colonial history). The questions was raised as to how long the Indigenous peoples could remain neutral when their people were becoming victims of this neutrality (Suriname Zending, 1987). These predictions were not far off, seeing how the entrance of the Tucayana Amazones meant the end of neutrality and the further escalation of the conflict.

[31] It is important to stress that only a part of the Indigenous peoples joined the Tucayana Amazones. Although there was sympathy for the cause of the Tucayana Amazones, it cannot be claimed that there was one united front behind the Tucayana Amazones, despite their claims of representing all Indigenous peoples of Suriname (Boven, 2006). Some have argued that the Tucayana Amazones did result in a strengthened self-awareness amongst the Indigenous peoples, bringing more attention to the marginalized position of the Indigenous peoples in Suriname with an emphasis on emancipation and Indigenous rights (e.g. land rights), resulting in amongst others the creation of Indigenous-led organizations (Boven, 2006).

(*Aktiecommittee ter ondersteuning van de Amazone Indianen in Suriname).* After this meeting, eight of the eleven organizations present declared their solidarity with the Tucayana Amazones by joining the Action Committee. The others remained neutral. Many of the organizations in the Action Committee were also part of the *12 October Manifest.*

Afterwards, it sent a letter to the Surinamese government via the Surinamese Ambassador. They requested amongst others the suspension of the Kourou Accord and the inclusion of the Indigenous peoples in the peace negotiations; the recognition of land rights in the Surinamese constitution; the reversal of the decision to abolish the Bureau of Indian Affairs[32]; support for the Indigenous refugees and to ensure that the development aid fitted with the traditions and needs of the Indigenous community (Aktiecommittee, 1989).

The fact that eight out of eleven organizations declared their solidarity with the Tucayana Amazones shows that there was not a unanimous position amongst the diaspora. Other archival materials confirm this, sharing different opinions about the involvement of the Tucayana Amazones. For example, a transcript from a radio broadcast commented on confusion within the Indigenous community about the Tucayana Amazones. It raised the question whether the armed resistance was simply being used by the National Army to advance their own agenda, or whether the National Army and the Tucayana Amazones had found each other in their dissatisfaction with the Kourou Accord and the fight for Indigenous rights (Radio Warokuma, 1989). Another source shared again a different opinion by a Surinamese Indigenous person living in the Netherlands (Comvalius & Gajadien, 1991, p. 16):

> "That whole Tucayana has to be disbanded, they should no longer exist, they make it from bad to worse. Look, if you strive for Indian unity, you have to be open to ideas of Indians who think differently. But they say: 'the gun shall save us', but that just brings demise. For us from the Netherlands it is impossible to approach our villages, because they see us as a danger. The division is also here. I proposed that we here in the Netherlands, the Indians and the Maroons, would sit around the table. Why do we have to fight with each other, kill each other. But the other organizations did not want to collaborate and declared us crazy."

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[32] It is uncertain why the Bureau of Indian Affairs was abolished in 1989, but it further ignited the growing dissatisfaction amongst the Indigenous peoples (Boven, 2006).

In the exhibition leaflet (introduced in Chapter 1), there is also a critical piece about the Tucayana Amazones written by a Kaliña man who temporarily resided in the Netherlands (at the time of writing living in French-Guyana in 1993). He criticised the violence, stating that the Tucayana Amazones turned against their own people and acted without community support. The Kaliña man also specifically commented on the role of the diaspora during the interior war:

> "A Tucayana leader has declared that the Indians in the Netherlands would no longer belong to the Indian community and therefore have no right to speak about the developments in the country of heritage." (Namen et al., 1992, p. 14)

He argued against this, saying that the Surinamese Indigenous peoples in the Netherlands were actually asked by the Tucayana Amazones and others to argue their case. Furthermore, he said that the diaspora advocated Indigenous interests with the relevant Dutch institutions and took part in the peace negotiations (Namen et al., 1992).

These critical reactions can be placed in relation to the conflict that occurred between the political and military arm of the Tucayana Amazones in 1990. The assumption is that the political branch split off from the military arm because of its involvement with Bouterse as well as suspicions of drugs trafficking (Boven, 2006; Vries, 2017). This critique would eventually cost them their lives, as twelve Indigenous men were killed by the National Army. In February of 1990, the mothers, wives, and daughters of the victims gathered under the greenheart tree in front of the House of Parliament in Paramaribo, demanding their release. This tree would soon be known as the Mamabong (mother tree), as the women calling themselves the 'Mad Mothers from Bernharddorp' ('Dwaze Moeders van Bernharddorp') continued to gather in front of the tree, demanding to know about the disappearance/murder of their family members, the prosecution and trial of the offenders and social support for the mothers of the victims (Mothers under the Mamabong, 1992). The Mad Mothers were however intimidated (also receiving death threats) if they did not stop their protest (Comvalius & Gajadien, 1991). As a result, some of the Mad Mothers fled to the Netherlands.

From there, they got involved on the international level, calling upon amongst others the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights (Mothers under the Mamabong, 1992), and one of the Mad Mothers attended a gathering in Geneva on the 28th of July 1992 (Vlist, 1992). They also worked closely together with the WIP, because it send a request for family reunification to the Director General of Immigration (29th of January 1992) and a request to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (5th of April 1993) to provide asylum to a Kaliña man who was chased by the National Army (Kort, 1992, 1993). The latter also mentions a gathering held in

the Netherlands to commemorate one of the Indigenous victims, and the need of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to denounce this unresolved crime.

The interior war ended in 1992, after peace negotiations between Brunswijck, Bouterse and the military branch of the Tucayana Amazones. During the negotiations, there was also an advisor present who lived in the Netherlands, showing once again the involvement of the diaspora (Buddingh, 2016). Evidently, the interior war has had a significant impact on the Surinamese Indigenous peoples and their shared and divergent diasporic trajectories.

4.6 The Position of Surinamese Indigenous Peoples in the Netherlands

Aseh wa ketôh **pasing nje** ko mamerekong ero po pa – u po. Ero kiparietjollo komboko, ketôh mitjasing, kô tiri komboko terapa ketom mitjasing.
We have to negotiate about how we can live together here in the Netherlands.
We have to fight for our right. (P.I.O.N., 1988, p. 2)

Many diaspora organisations adopted a transnational focus and plan of action as a result of the interior war. They did not only focus on the situation in Suriname however, and also worked on the position of Surinamese Indigenous peoples residing in the Netherlands. On the 18th of June 1988, various diaspora organizations came together and organized a national congress under the title 'Surinamese Indians in the Netherlands' (P.I.O.N., 1988). It was the P.I.O.N. who organized this, in close collaboration with the National Federation of Surinamese Welfare Organizations (*Stichting Landelijke Federatie van Welzijnsorganisaties voor Surinamers).*

The aim of this meeting was to gather the Surinamese Indigenous community in the Netherlands, and together formulate recommendations for the Dutch government and other welfare institutions working with the Dutch-Surinamese community (Schoorl, 1989). Although the Indigenous peoples dealt with similar issues as the rest of the Surinamese community, the concern was that these institutions were not accessible enough and they did not sufficiently take into account the needs, problems and specific situation of the Surinamese Indigenous diaspora. This meant that the Indigenous peoples were thus a minority within a minority, and remained largely invisible, similar to their position in Suriname (P.I.O.N., 1988; Schoorl, 1989).

The research report (published after the congress) documented the various issues of the Surinamese Indigenous diaspora around this time, highlighting the different needs of specific target groups such as Indigenous elders, youth and women. Examples are high levels of unemployment (between 25-50%), language barriers and illiteracy, limited formal education,

social isolation, discrimination and issues as a result of cultural barriers and differences. Furthermore, an overview of the diaspora organizations and their main organizational obstacles is provided (Schoorl, 1989). It ends with a list of recommendations for the diaspora organizations, the welfare institutions and the Dutch government (Schoorl, 1989). The role of the diaspora organizations as a bridge between the Indigenous community and the welfare institutions/government is highlighted (P.I.O.N., 1988).

At the time, there were more Indigenous women than men in the Netherlands, often living as single mothers. Although they faced various obstacles (as mentioned above), the report describes the Indigenous women as a dynamic group, wanting to set up their own organization to defend their rights as Indigenous women (Schoorl, 1989). The voice of one Surinamese Indigenous woman can be heard in a transcribed speech in the information folder. She discussed the disadvantaged position of the Surinamese Indigenous women, linked to a long history of oppression similar to other Indigenous women in the Americas (P.I.O.N., 1988). She argued that the Surinamese Indigenous women came to the Netherlands whilst being in this disadvantaged position. A reference is made to the feminist movement in the Netherlands at the time by talking about "the emancipation of the Dutch woman". However, a clear distinction is made between the realities of white, black and Indigenous women in the Netherlands, each with their own interpretation of the meaning of emancipation (P.I.O.N., 1988, p. 6):

> "If white Dutch women talk about emancipation, they mean that as women they get the same rights, duties and chances as men. When black migrant women (so not the white ones) talk about emancipation, they mean that as a black woman, they fight in the first place for equality between black and white people (men, women and children). The emancipation of the Indian woman in the Netherlands has to be seen from the position in which she finds herself. This can be characterized by three things: (1) She is a woman, (2) she belongs to a minority group (the Surinamese in the Netherlands), and (3) within this minority group, she belong as an Indian to a disadvantaged group."

In doing so, the speech directly reflects upon the different groups within the feminist movement, already dealing with the idea of intersectionality and its relevance in addressing social injustice. It can also be linked to the idea of triple oppression as formulated by the Zapatista women and Comandantha Esther in Mexico, pointing out how Indigenous women face multiple marginalization (e.g. *"because we are Indigenous, because we are women, and because we are poor")*, albeit that the speech specifies it in the case of the Dutch context (Speed, Hernández Castillo, & Stephen, 2006). This exemplifies how Indigenous realities are at once global and

local (Watson, 2014). The speech also highlights the importance of women as gatekeepers of the Indigenous culture, and they are urged to be proud and pass on their knowledge (P.I.O.N., 1988). Finally, a definition of emancipation is given:

> "Because I think that emancipation means for us that we can just participate, to count, to join in the conversation and co-decide about those things that are important and good for us and our people" (P.I.O.N., 1988, p. 7)

In giving this definition, one can also see elements of self-determination and collectivity (e.g. 'our people'), directly reflecting the international Indigenous rights discourse.

The position and experiences of the Indigenous youth is also addressed, mentioning the issue of an identity crisis and their experiences with the Dutch educational system (P.I.O.N., 1988). One speech explained that the Indigenous children struggle, because the system does not match with their cultural background and understanding of education. As a result, the youth are stigmatized (P.I.O.N., 1988, p. 4):

> "Indians cannot learn, they are stupid etc. Stereotypes that are used on a daily basis in this world. … Is that culture? We almost came to believe it ourselves! … is the word education in our language and culture unknown to us? Of course we know the concept education in our language and culture."

These experiences are not unique, as they resonate with other Indigenous children who face exclusion within dominant schooling systems throughout the world (Hays, 2016). The blame is often placed on the Indigenous youth themselves (e.g. 'they are stupid'), rather than the systemic issues and colonial legacies embedded in the education systems, supporting again the idea of Indigenous realities being both local and global (Watson, 2014).

Although it is uncertain what happened with the result of the congress and the research report afterwards, it is an important example of how the diaspora gathered, shared their experiences and raised their voices about the different issues within the community. It also led to the creation of the exhibition as introduced in Chapter 1 (Namen et al., 1992, p. 16):

> "Partly as a result of this congress it can be stated that the Indian community in the Netherlands has found a basis to give shape to her own development. She will determine her own direction with as the starting point preserving as much as possible her own cultural heritage."

4.7 Discussion

The aim of this section is to lift the gaze and place the histories as set out in this chapter in a broader framework, both theoretically and historically. In doing so, both articulation theory and the concept of the hub are of relevance, allowing one to see the different Surinamese Indigenous identity articulations in relation to the corresponding socio-historical circumstances. This thesis argues that these articulations characterized by self-organizing and activism are rooted in a large variety of local, national and international 'historical conjunctures' and axes of differentiation, whilst simultaneously acknowledging the importance of human agency and practices of place-making (Brah, 1996; Li, 2000).

As mentioned in Chapter 3, Brah (1996) stated that it is not only important to know who travels, but also when, how and under what circumstances. This chapter has attempted to engage with these questions, showing the diversity of diasporic journeys and historical trajectories of Surinamese Indigenous lives in the Netherlands. This historization allows one to see that these journeys have been strongly influenced by the political situation in Suriname. Whether it was events such as the independence of Suriname in 1975, Surinamese development policies or the interior war, all of these have resulted in divergent and shared migration experiences.

The arrival and dwelling experiences are however equally important, and these can also be seen in relation to the specific socio-historical circumstances. It could be argued that the lack of support and attention for the specific reality of Surinamese Indigenous migrants favored the creation of the diaspora organizations, contributing to the development of this concrete articulation of Surinamese Indigenous identity in the Netherlands. Consequently, it affected their course of action, for example the focus on supporting newcomers, but also the returning issue of invisibility (as raised during the P.I.O.N. congress or when activists commented on the unequal distribution of humanitarian aid). The latter is also a concrete example of how Indigenous realities are at once local and global, seeing how invisibility is a recurring condition of urban Indigenous peoples worldwide (Howard-Wagner, 2021; Ramirez, 2007; Sissons, 2005). This is neither confined to the past, as it comes back in the experiences of the participants today (to be discussed in Chapter 6), showing how the position of invisibility travels with them.

Furthermore, A. mentioned the need to organize according to Dutch standards. This could be seen as an example of how marginalized peoples sometimes *'mimic a colonial framework and practice'* in order to work within the confinements of a colonial society (Ramirez, 2007). This possibly played a role in the scale of self-organizing that characterizes this period. This argument cannot be made however without acknowledging the importance of human agency, seeing how Indigenous identities are rooted in *'contingent products of agency*

and the cultural and political work of articulation' (Li, 2000). The diaspora organizations are no exception, as they show how practices of place-making and (historically rooted) dwelling experiences coincide with one another.

In doing so, these diaspora organizations became hubs; a geographical space (yet portable) to maintain a sense of connection to one's homeland, Indigenous culture and identity, also supporting the formation of social networks with other Indigenous peoples living in diaspora (Ramirez, 2007). This was also visible during the interview with John.[33] When asking him whether it is possible to continue your Indigenous identity in the Netherlands, he answered:

#3 "We have had one advantage, ... to have managed to maintain our identity, in the sense of traditions/eating habits/hobbies/dance/language/music, through forming an organization we have been able to maintain [this]" (Interview 2)

He also explained that they used to be located in a multicultural center, and that it really gave a boost to the association (e.g. performing Lokono songs and dance throughout the whole Netherlands). It resulted in many collaborations and made them more visible. He also said that in the 1980s, there was a lot of financial support available for art and culture in Rotterdam, further contributing to the development of the association. This shows again the socio-historical circumstances involved in the hub-making process as a potential Indigenous identity articulation.

The power of the hub is especially prevalent during the interior war. It can be argued that due to the already existing diaspora organizations, it was easier to form overarching associations and create collaborations. The high level of self-organizing and existing social network most likely aided their political actions and responses, as the different associations gathered and decided on a plan of action together. It also exemplifies how tribal differences are overcome to act for social change (e.g. the fact that existing quarrels were settled for the meeting to take place), an important part of the hub-genesis (Ramirez, 2007).

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[33] **Participant 2**: John Wattamaleo is a 62-year old Lokono man (with an Indigenous mother and father of mixed descent). He was born and raised in Paramaribo. At the age of 16, his family sent him to the Netherlands in light of the independence of Suriname in 1975. He has been part of the diaspora association *Wajonong* from its very beginnings. It is one of the oldest Surinamese Indigenous associations that still exists today (35 years in total).

The activities of the diaspora organizations also suggest the articulation of an Indigenous diasporic consciousness, as different relations and connections were maintained simultaneously: the remaining connection to the homeland and the desire to support the Indigenous peoples in Suriname, but also the creation of ties with other diasporic Indigenous peoples (both in the SCV's and the political organizations) as well as the contact with non-Indigenous peoples (e.g. the collaboration with the WIP) (Ramirez, 2007). This diasporic consciousness supports the hub as a potential site for social change, and this chapter has attempted to show how both of these come together in the case of Surinamese Indigenous diasporic lives and played an important role in their identity articulations through activism.

The late twentieth century is also an important period for the international Indigenous movement, marking the permanent entry of Indigenous issues onto the international stage (Dahl, 2012). Various examples show how the Surinamese Indigenous diaspora has also been influenced by this movement, as can be seen in the international and transnational character of their activities and activism. This includes amongst others their collaborations with other Indigenous peoples (in the case of the *12 October Manifest*), the content of the petition referring to international instruments on Indigenous rights, the protest in Amsterdam (see Image 1), and the participation during international gatherings.

There was also another important event that took place around this time and fits within this period of increased attention for Indigenous rights, namely the 4th Russel Tribunal on "The rights of the Indians of the Americas" from the 24-30th of November in 1980. More importantly, this historical event took place in the Netherlands and the case of Suriname was also on the agenda. It received a lot of media attention and many side-events were organized (at times including performances by Surinamese Indigenous SCV's), making Indigenous issues accessible to a broader audience. Although the archival materials do not suggest the direct involvement of the Surinamese Indigenous diaspora in the organization of the Tribunal[34], it is frequently mentioned by the various organizations. This suggests that it was seen as a reference point and possibly a source of inspiration, showing how the Surinamese Indigenous peoples took part in the international Indigenous rights discourse at the local level. These developments

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[34] I also sent an email to the NCIV to ask whether Surinamese Indigenous peoples in the Netherlands had been involved with the organization of the Tribunal, and they said that this had not been the case.

in combination with the organization of more Indigenous-focused events[35], as well as 1993 being the U.N. International Year of World's Indigenous Peoples and subsequently the Decade of the World's Indigenous peoples starting in 1995 most likely all played a role in the various articulations as set out in this chapter.

Similarly, the late 20th century is generally speaking a period characterized by a lot of political engagement from civil society (considering the many social movements that ignited during this time). This is visible in the reference that is made to the Dutch feminist movement during the P.I.O.N. congress, also showing the importance of intersectionality and the different axes of differentiation that affect lived experiences of locality (in this case Indigenous women living in diaspora) (Brah, 1996). These internal differences affecting lived experiences also returned in the specific experiences of the Indigenous youth with the Dutch education system. Both experiences also occur in other Indigenous contexts, exemplifying again how Indigenous realities are at once both local and global (Watson, 2014).

At the same time, the different opinions about the Tucayana Amazones show the need of telling a polyvocal historical narrative and acknowledging the internal diversity. This also allows one to better understand the example of how the political situation even complicated notions of belonging, as those living in diaspora were told they no longer belonged to the Surinamese Indigenous community (p.41), demonstrating how internal axes of differentiation combined with a variety of 'historical conjunctures' affect lived experiences of locality (Brah, 1996). This also supports the idea of not homogenizing 'the' Surinamese Indigenous diaspora, but rather *"to speak of diasporic stances, projects, claims, idioms, practices and so on"* (Watson, 2014, p. 38). The next chapters will further dive into this diversity of lived experiences of contemporary Surinamese Indigenous lives in the Netherlands.

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[35] For example in 1992 there was a large-scale event, called the 'Symbolic Discovery of Europe' (organized by amongst others the WIP). Indigenous delegates from all over the world (Surinamese Indigenous peoples included) arrived by boat in Amsterdam, reversing the narrative of the so-called 'discovery' of Columbus (WIP, 1992). This time it would be the Indigenous delegates who would 'discover' Europe. The international character of the event and the focus on Indigenous rights and issues shows again an example of how the diaspora was involved locally, yet influenced by the international Indigenous movement and its discourse.

5 Contemporary Surinamese Indigenous Identity Articulations in the Netherlands

5.1 Introduction

> "I am Noa and my mother is Kaliña, she is from Suriname. Have you ever heard of the Kaliña or do you know other Kaliña people in Amsterdam? I would like to learn the Indigenous Kaliña language so I can talk with my great-grandmother, where is that possible? ... Hello, I am Amani and I am Kaliña. We live more with nature, like for example at our home we do not kill spiders, but we pick them up and set them free outside." (Pakhuis de Zwijger & Aralez, 2020)

These are the voices of two young children with Kaliña roots living in the Netherlands, seen wearing their Indigenous clothing in a video called 'Place for Indigenous Children in Amsterdam'. Alongside other children with Indigenous roots, they explain why it is important for their culture to gain visibility and what they received from their background. The video is part of a larger online event series called *Indigenous Liberation*, organized by the cultural institution *Pakhuis de Zwijger* and the pan-decolonial network and organization *Aralez*. The series is filled with Indigenous stories and voices, tackling a wide range of topics such as colonial legacies, self-determination and the rights of nature. The right to culture is also addressed, pointing out the current invisibility of Indigenous cultures and how to make space for this in the multicultural city of Amsterdam. There is also a clear presence of Surinamese Indigenous peoples in this online series, even including the youngest generation.

The online series touches upon Surinamese Indigenous identity articulations in the Netherlands. Which other Surinamese Indigenous identity articulations exist? How does Indigeneity play a role in an urban, diasporic context? This chapter wishes to further explore the identity articulations and lived experiences of Surinamese Indigenous diaspora lives in the Netherlands. This will be done by outlining the main findings of the conducted interviews, whilst simultaneously engaging with the main research questions.

5.2 Returns, Home(land) & Belonging

This section discusses the various experiences of the participants returning to Suriname, on a short-term or more permanent basis. These returns shine a light on how Surinamese Indigenous peoples relate to their home(land) and experience a sense of belonging, showing the diversity

of diasporic journeys. The topics of belonging and returns were raised in all the interviews, except in the conversation with A. (Participant 1 introduced in Chapter 4).

C.[36] expressed that if it would be up to him, he would go to Suriname every year. He said that his heart is still very much in Suriname and that he was really happy living there. When asked when and where he felt a sense of belonging and home, he talked about his more recent returns to Suriname. In the past, he had always wanted to extend his holiday, but the last few times he wanted to come back sooner. He is uncertain where this new feeling has come from, leaving him with many questions. He went back during a time when things were not going well in Suriname leaving him feeling as though everything and everyone had changed:

#4 *"...have these people changed or have I changed? I am still searching a bit, what actually happened to me? ... did I start to think differently? ... Yes, this is a question I owe myself... Because I was not very young when I came here, I have lived my whole life there, I am just like them actually. ...maybe they see me differently or something."* (Interview 3)

He explained that they used to do everything together, but now people do not have time for him, living for themselves and fighting to survive. He said that his Indigenous identity has not become less, but his feeling has changed, and it seems as though he is no longer welcome:

#5 *"Their whole social behaviour has disappeared... With each other yes, but with us coming from the Netherlands, it is very different."* (Interview 3)

He also mentioned that they always ask for something from him, and that you are welcome as long as you keep on giving. He said that he could help if it was needed, but that there are limitations to this. He even deleted his Facebook account because he had received negative reactions from family and friends in Suriname, saying that he had become white:

#6 *"Really, it does something to me... I try to do something good for them, but if they see me like this, it really hurts me. But yeah, life is like that right?"* (Interview 3)

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[36] **Participant 3**: C. is a Lokono man in his sixties (Lokono father and Lokono/Afro-Surinamese mother). He was born and raised in a Lokono village in Suriname. At the age of 12, he moved to Paramaribo. At the age of 40, he moved to the Netherlands for his future and career, as it became more difficult to do so in Suriname. Although C. indicated that he did not mind his full name being mentioned in the thesis, he did share some information that could be considered sensitive (see Section 5.4.4). Therefore, his name has been omitted for privacy reasons (using the letter C. to refer to him).

Although C. articulates a clear sense of belonging in Suriname, this relation to his home(land) is complicated by the reactions of other people through notions of race (people saying that he has become white) and class (people asking him for money or other things). The questions he raised afterwards also suggest the articulation of an Indigenous diasporic consciousness, as he still feels connected to his Indigenous identity, but at the same time thinks about his position and perspective while living in diaspora.

John (Participant 2 introduced in Chapter 4) also experienced this feeling of not being welcome. In 1983, he returned to Suriname with the intention to settle there permanently. He explained that he had wanted to contribute to the development of his country, and that he never felt really content in the Netherlands. This changed however due to the political situation at the time and he returned to the Netherlands in 1985. He also noticed that people in Suriname did not really appreciate him sharing the knowledge that he gained in the Netherlands, facing resistance. For this reason, he also does not have the desire to remigrate to Suriname again:

#7 "The second time that I came, …, I did not really have this urge to go back, also because of the less pleasant things I experienced there. Okay this is my country, but then being confronted with that you are not really welcome, especially not on the job market, then you have something like uhm, that is not pleasant, not nice no." (Interview 2)

John does, however, still frequently return to visit Suriname, bringing with him his daughter and granddaughter. It is through this way that he passes on his Indigenous background to them.

D.[37] indicated that her experience is quite different. She explained that she had a tough time as a teenager, feeling the separation from her homeland and being the only person of colour in her family. She experienced strong feelings of loneliness growing up in the Netherlands, because she did not know other (Surinamese) Indigenous peoples. Consequently, the question of belonging is something that she always struggled with and led to different answers over time (e.g. feeling more connected to the Dutch Surinamese community and other people of colour, in contrast to most Dutch people). This shows how a sense of community and belonging is

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[37] **Participant 4**: D. is a woman in her twenties with both Indigenous and Dutch roots (Wayana father and Dutch mother). She lived in a Wayana village and Paramaribo for the first years of her life. At the age of 8, she moved to the Netherlands, being raised by both her mother and Dutch stepfather. She indicated wanting to stay anonymous, so for this reason her name has been omitted (using the letter D. to refer to her).

negotiated through a fluidity of social relations, rather than in static, homogenous categories (Ramirez, 2007). It also shows the importance of intersectionality and race in D.'s experience.

D. returned only once to Suriname. At the age of 15 she felt ready for it and she said that it was a beautiful experience. She did say that it also felt very uncomfortable, explaining that perhaps everything tends to be more uncomfortable as a teenager. While she listed several practical reasons why she did not return earlier, she also found it scary to return. She saw it as something heavy and feared that the language barrier would make her feel very lost. D. also had a spiritual experience[38] during a meditation session which relates to this hesitancy to return:

#8 "In my meditation I saw myself sitting in front of me (my reflection). ... slowly my gaze was going up, and right before I saw myself in my eyes, I stopped... I got very scared, and then I just felt, if I look myself in the eyes now, ... then I will have yellow eyes, kind of the eyes of a jaguar. ... Then I snapped out of it, and then I had the feeling the whole time that a jaguar was hiding in my house. ... I just got a bit scared of my own power..." (Interview 4)

After this experience, D. started doing research, and someone told her that this was not uncommon and that she was being called. Her Wayana ancestors were able to transform into jaguars, warning other people not to mess with them. Her mother also told her that the Wayana are very much in touch with the spirit world. She considered it a very special and beautiful experience, but also finding it scary to be this much in touch with herself and her roots, relating it to returning to Suriname:

#9 "I also do not know anybody who can tell me more about this, it feels so scary being alone and later I get tangled up and then I have a nasty experience instead of a beautiful experience. ... because I do not know how it will be there [in Suriname]*, I feel it is calling me so much, ... those spiritual forces. I just feel it is there, and this I just find scary."* (Interview 4)

D. did say that she was planning on going back this year, but that it got cancelled because of the Covid-19 pandemic. This shows how D. articulates a connection to her home(land), feeling

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[38] This thesis acknowledges the issue of importing outsider concepts and terminologies to describe Indigenous realities, considering the use of religion to describe Indigenous beliefs problematic at times. The preference is always to use those concepts that are used by the Indigenous peoples themselves. Therefore, the choice has been made to adopt those words as expressed by the participants. This led to using both religion and spirituality interchangeably, as both were mentioned by the participants.

called to return, but struggling with this at the same time. Her meditation experience could also be seen as a lived experience of locality through sensations (Brah, 1996). This also came back in the experiences of other participants, and it could be argued that these sensational experiences reflect the sense of belonging of the participants.

When first arriving to the Netherlands, C. found it very difficult to adjust to the system. He said that when he walked on the streets, he had a sensation of feeling imprisoned ('gevangen') and lacking a sense of freedom. He explained having more social liberties in Suriname (e.g. doing your own things without drawing too much attention). For C., life in the Netherlands meant that you had to think twice, everything had rules, and you were monitored financially. He did mention the benefits of freedom of speech, explaining that you can critique powerful people without consequences, in contrast to how it was in Suriname for a long time.

It is exactly this lack of freedom, the lived experience of locality as feeling 'imprisoned' that suggests that C .does not find a sense of belonging and home in the Netherlands. This is in contrast to how he feels in Suriname ('happy'). When Martha[39] mentioned her migration to the Netherlands, her first thought upon arrival was:

#10 "oh dear, how ugly, grey, terrible, here I am coming from the green country, warm country." (Interview 5)

Yet when she entered the flat of her sister, she explained how beautiful it was, reasoning that while the outside might not be so beautiful, the inside was very warm and cosy. She linked this experience to her ability to adapt very quickly, even though she did experience some homesickness in the Netherlands. She also mentioned always bringing her children to the park, not being aware of this at first. She explained that now she understood why, seeing how she was raised with nature all around and how important freedom is to her.

This shows how Martha refers to bodily and visual sensations, contrasting her 'warm' and 'green' home in Suriname with words such as 'grey' and 'ugly' to describe a new country.

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[39] **Participant 5**: Martha Sabajo is a senior Lokono woman. She was born and raised in the Indigenous village Cassipora. At the age of 6, she moved to Paramaribo. She moved around as a child, also living in both Hollandse Kamp and Zanderij. When she met her Dutch ex-husband, she moved to the Netherlands in the 70s and has lived there ever since.

She managed to turn things around however when she entered her sister's flat, saying how 'beautiful', 'cosy' and 'warm' it was. It could be argued that this is her way of creating a sense of home and belonging in an alien country, as articulated through her sensations of finding literal warmth and comfort in her sister's flat. The park is also part of this, and it resonates with the story as told by Ramirez (2007) of an Indigenous woman being relocated to the city.

Ramirez (2007) explains that the Indigenous woman found a sense of home and familiarity when she went to a park in a city of concrete, allowing her to find a sense of rootedness in an alien place by feeling the earth and finding a place of healing. Martha's experience is similar in this regard, seeing how her sense of home and belonging relate to her sense of freedom and growing up surrounded by nature in Suriname, and going to the park with her children allows her to find this sense of rootedness and familiarity. It also shows Martha's resilience and adaptability, as she has been able to go from experiencing homesickness (albeit little) to calling the Netherlands her home (see later on in this section).

As a child, Leander[40] also frequently went to Suriname to visit her grandmother. She articulated a sense of home and belonging during these returns:

#11 "… I already felt at home there. I really enjoyed being in the village, and I also got a piece of the culture there… I really felt at home, … it felt like a warm blanket… I am a very happy that I got to experience this as a child and it also influenced me, because that connection to Suriname actually came because of that." (Interview 5)

This is another example of how the literal heat that Leander feels when going to this tropical country is linked to her sense of feeling at home there (represented through the warm blanket), showing how this sensational experience reflects her sense of belonging.

Leander shared that it was not a difficult decision for her to move permanently to Suriname in 2015, seeing as how she already felt at home there. She did this together with her husband, who is also Indigenous. Together they talked a lot about their roots, asking themselves what they wanted to do with this and feeling the desire to return. So they set up their own business, specifically hiring Indigenous men to teach them a skill on the job. They had to return

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[40] **Participant 6**: Leander Vermaning is a 46-year old women with both Dutch and Lokono roots (with a Lokono mother and a Dutch father). She was born and raised in the Netherlands. The interview was conducted together with her mother Martha (see Footnote 39). They recently started their own Surinamese Indigenous association and magazine called Wasjikwa.

to the Netherlands eventually, because of financial reasons, but they did not leave happily. If things would have been different, they would have probably still been there. Leander is curious to see how it would feel like to go back again, as she really enjoyed her time in Suriname.

G. [41] travels every two-tree years to Suriname. At the age of 10, she also lived one year in Suriname. Her parents have always encouraged her to return, to the extent that it has become some sort of tradition. Her grandmother also still lives there. When asked about the meaning of these returns, she said:

#12 "...that is a difficult question. The reunion of course. Also a piece of rest, it is mostly holidays, so then you also go for the peace of course. Visiting family. Always returning to the villages, cannot remember a holiday that this has not happened. ... It is a very different world you step into, for me that is a piece of rest and coming home according to my feeling."
(Interview 6)

The experiences of both G. and Leander show how returns to Suriname have the potential to create a connection to the homeland, seeing how this connection was fostered through their childhood. John also plays a role in this as he continues to take his (grand)children to Suriname, even though he might have the desire to return permanently.

Unlike her daughter Leander, Martha also did not express the desire to return permanently to Suriname. She supports Leander in her wish to do so, but Martha really sees Suriname as a holiday destination. After Martha's father passed away, she stayed with her mother in Suriname for 6 weeks:

#13 "After 4 weeks, [Martha's mother] *said: I am going to talk to you.* [Martha] *what?* [Martha's mother]*: you are homesick, you want to go home. ...*[Martha] *Yes, then I felt like: yes I want to go home. ... This is my home, this is my home, the Netherlands is my home."*
(Interview 5)

Martha explained that her children are very important to her and that her family is her connection, and that this connection to her home country changed because of her children. This was also confirmed when asked where she felt a sense of belonging:

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[41] **Participant 7**: G. is a Lokono woman in her thirties (Lokono father and mother). She was born and raised in the Netherlands. She did not give a preference for anonymity, therefore her name has been omitted (using the letter G. to refer to her).

#14 "...everything my heart wants, I just have it here. ...This is my country here, yes, that is my motherland, but that bond has changed. Because of my children. Yes, and my grandchildren." (Interview 5)

The different return experiences as discussed in this section show that the connection to one's home(land) is not determined by the frequency of returns (Clifford, 2013), seeing how some participants return almost never (nor have the desire to do so), whilst others want to go as often as possible. This also contradicts the usual discourse of diaspora that tends to emphasize a desired future return to the home(land), and it might be more fitting to consider the idea of a 'homing desire' and the multiplacedness of home and belonging instead (Brah, 1996). This leaves room for a diversity of experiences, acknowledging that for some participants returns play an important role in their sense of belonging, whilst for others it does not. At the same, the narrative of going back to the homeland might be as important as the actual return. The experience of Martha also shows the relational component of belonging, as her sense of home has changed because of her children. This does not mean she has lost her connection to her Indigenous identity (and the other participants neither), as will become clear in this rest of this chapter. This supports the idea of reframing Indigeneity as 'belonging to a place' rather than the often used 'belonging in a place' (Watson, 2014).

5.3 Indigenous Diasporic Consciousness & Diaspora Space

This section discusses various articulations of an Indigenous diasporic consciousness, arguing that the participants relate to a multitude of diasporic connections simultaneously (Ramirez, 2007). This goes beyond the usual focus on homeland and tribe, as it also acknowledges diasporic lives that are at the 'interstice of multiple cultural and national formations' and its corresponding networks and social relations (Ramirez, 2007). This includes the relation to Indigenous peoples in Suriname, the ties to other diasporic Indigenous peoples, as well as the experiences with other cultures in Dutch society (using the idea of diaspora space vs. diaspora).

5.3.1 Confrontation with Marginalization

Leander also reflected on what she learned during her return to Suriname, explaining that she was very much shaped by her confrontation with the daily reality of the Indigenous communities, seeing the many issues and problems the people are facing. Before going, she expressed having a very romanticized image, reading and talking about it, but living there with

'my own people' changed her perspective. She also expressed that it made her more aware, raising questions about her role as diaspora:

#15 "That is something I am now more aware of, okay a magazine is nice, but there are pretty big problems going on in the Indigenous community. What is actually happening there? What is happening actually with our family and our supporters? And what are we doing here as diaspora, can we mean something or not? Yes, those are pretty difficult issues, I do concern myself with this." (Interview 5)

When asked if she thought she could mean something as a diaspora, she said yes. This is simply because of the questions she asks herself and being engaged, whilst many others say that Suriname is their history and their life is in the Netherlands now:

#16 "That is really because I lived there, you know, just because I have seen all that is happening there, and it touches me." (Interview 5)

Leander is not the only one concerned about the situation in Suriname. At certain moments, C. thinks about what his life would have looked like if he had stayed in his Indigenous village:

#17 "Then I feel…, then I get such goosebumps… yes, it seems like I abandoned the others, the ones that are still there. … Sometimes when I go to Suriname, … you see how disadvantaged they are, how they have been unable to develop themselves, … I think that is a shame. … They are not so far from the modern world, yet they are so disadvantaged, what is it actually?" (Interview 3)

Similarly, D. also struggled with the many issues in the Wayana community, connecting it to her potential return and difficulties growing up. She felt bad about just coming and going, knowing that a lot of the Wayana also wanted to go to Paramaribo or the Netherlands, and finding it tough to witness the difficulties in the community if she would go. She also mentioned others being jealous of her:

#18 "…[a family member says] *she is really lucky in the Netherlands, … Then I think: that is really painful to hear, it is really not so easy to just walk around here* [in the Netherlands] *as the only Wayana."* (Interview 4)

These feelings returned when asking her if and how she would pass on her Indigenous background to her future children. She would tell them that it is fine if they felt emotional,

because it is quite complicated: even though they might not know all the Wayana personally, they do feel connected to them and they can see all the issues. D. said she missed this growing up, and sometimes she finds it a miracle that she ended up well, referring to two Wayana children that were adopted and completely went off the rails. As she got older, she explained that she became calmer and having a more nuanced perspective. Furthermore, she indicated finding it difficult to speak for the Wayana, always trying to talk from her own perspective and what she can do as diaspora in the Netherlands (saying that it was not her place to decide for the Indigenous peoples in Suriname).

When talking to G., these issues did not come forward as strongly, but when asked whether she was involved with the Indigenous movement in Suriname, she answered that she found it difficult to do something about this, but she did find it a very painful and difficult matter (referring to the issue of invisibility: see Chapter 6). She really tried to be aware of her Indigenous roots and focused on how she could contribute differently in her own way from the Netherlands (see Section 5.4.4).

These experiences show that the participants are not impartial to the daily reality of the Indigenous peoples in Suriname. They feel connected to the Indigenous peoples in Suriname, even though they might not know all of them personally, demonstrating a 'feeling of grounded peoplehood'(Clifford, 2013). At the same time, the participants are aware of being a diasporic Indigenous person, raising questions about their own their own position, identity and role as diaspora in these matters. This consciousness also contributed to their dwelling and place-making activities as discussed in Section 5.4. By referring to two other Wayana children in the Netherlands, D. also shows an awareness of other Indigenous peoples living in diaspora. This is also part of the multitude of diasporic connections, and the next section gives more examples of an Indigenous diasporic consciousness that includes other diasporic Indigenous peoples.

5.3.2 Community, Division & Wish for Unity

The interrelated themes of division/conflict and a wish for unity and togetherness came back in various conversations. Both C. and Martha noticed big changes in the Indigenous villages in Suriname. People used to do everything together and there was a strong sense of unity, but it became all very individualized and there was more division. C. referred to the arrival of certain religions, and said that now people ask directly about your faith: if it was not the same as theirs, then you were not welcome. He also mentioned discrimination and conflict between Kaliña and Lokono people, linking it to their history of conflict. Martha expressed really missing this togetherness as she moved to different places.

This division was also witnessed in the Netherlands, albeit expressed differently. Martha gave the example of an Indigenous celebration, during which she was master of ceremonies. The aim of the day was for all of them to be mixed together, yet she saw everybody on their own. She asked herself: *'what is the matter with us?'*. Leander also mentioned that it was very difficult for Surinamese Indigenous organizations in the Netherlands to collaborate and work together, whether it was because of personal problems or prejudices between/amongst Kaliña and Lokono. John linked the division to people's wish to maintain their language, connecting it to the right to exist and an advantage when going to the Indigenous villages in Suriname. He also stated that they started their association because they wanted a place for their Lokono culture (as there was already a Kaliña association at the time). C. also shared an example of this division, saying that certain Indigenous men pretend that they do not see him:

#19 "I find it strange, I mean, we are brothers. We have to support each other. We are already with less in the Netherlands, right? And then we are going to treat each other like this? I think that is a shame." (Interview 3)

However, when asking C. whether he thinks there is one Surinamese Indigenous community in the Netherlands, he did answer yes. G. said that she does not think there is one community, partly because of (personality) differences between Lokono and Kaliña people. John noticed that the division was getting less strong, and although there is not one community yet, this is something that they should strive for. The realization was growing that if they wanted to get further, both nationally and internationally, they needed one another. He also mentioned various collaborations between their association and Indigenous organizations in Suriname (for example a collaborative agriculture project: see Star Nieuws (2021)).

In doing so, John is clearly expressing a wish for unity. This was further indicated as he has always wanted to know more about the experiences of other Lokono and Kaliña diaspora in England, France and other countries, wondering about how they held on to their culture and how they developed and organized themselves. He mentioned the idea of an overarching organization, also referring to the strong network of the Mapuche diaspora, saying that they are all over Europe, but still have certain institutions to call upon each other and gather. He said that the Indigenous diaspora of the Guyana's should also work towards this.

C. also expressed a clear wish for unity, saying that his dream is to bring all the Surinamese Indigenous peoples together as one group and making them more aware of their Indigenous background and identity. He fears that in 21 years, we will no longer talk about being Indigenous. If he would ever go back to Suriname, he considers going to the villages and

motivating everyone to form one group to fight together for a better future. Not for himself, but for the next generations. Similarly, he mentioned the idea of joining forces of both the diaspora and the Indigenous peoples in Suriname, for example going to United Nations together.

These experiences show how other diasporic Indigenous peoples are part of the participants' diasporic consciousness. By referring to both the diaspora and those in Suriname, the dream of C. is an example of a transnational Indigenous diasporic imagination and consciousness. By saying 'we are brothers', he also articulates 'a feeling of grounded peoplehood' that includes those living in diaspora (Clifford, 2013). These desires are, however, complicated by issues of conflict amongst the Indigenous peoples themselves as rooted in a long colonial history as has also been discussed in this thesis.

John goes even further by including diasporic Indigenous peoples outside the Netherlands, showing that his consciousness is not limited to national borders. In doing so, he breaks with the dominant focus on nation-state borders and the international character of this articulation is further highlighted when he mentions the Mapuche diaspora network as a frame of reference. His wish to learn from the experiences of other diasporic Indigenous peoples and how they organized themselves is shaped by his own experiences living in diaspora and the important role the Surinamese Indigenous association played for him. The transnational character of his consciousness is further confirmed in his collaborations with Indigenous organizations in Suriname, showing the variety of diasporic connections that he refers to simultaneously. Finally, in formulating the desire for an overarching Indigenous diaspora network, John actually proposes a relevant suggestion for future research as well, broadening the scope of diasporic Indigeneity that encompasses the European context.

5.3.3 Cultural Encounters in the Diaspora Space

When asking A. whether his self-awareness of his Indigenous identity changed, he answered yes, explaining that he had to partially distance himself from his *'original traditional Indigenous identity'* in order to function and be accepted by a modern Western society. He said that his identity has been shaped by being in the Netherlands, yet being Indigenous remains the most important part of who he is. He also witnessed this consciousness with other Surinamese Indigenous peoples:

#20 "They are having a hard time, but they adjust as much as possible, … They take it into account that they are in the Netherlands, … At the same time, they realize that they are not Dutch. They are Indian. They are aware of this." (Interview 1)

This need to adjust whilst being aware that you are different came back in an experience that A. had with one of his professors. A. asked why he was not a professor himself yet:

#21 " 'No', he [the professor] *says. You do not automatically become professor, we determine this. ... [A.] And if you do not stand firmly in your shoes, then you are gone, because in that moment you speak their language, you can communicate with them, you can eat together with them, everything is possible, but you cannot become that, we make you that. Very tough. And it is still like this, ... Only every now and then we are standing in the goal…"* (Interview 1)

A. frequently referred to these cultural encounters, saying that in these moments you long for what you are. He also mentioned that Surinamese Indigenous peoples had a lot of contact with other Surinamese people (Javanese, Creole, Chinese etc.), and that this is different from their experience with Dutch people. A. did specify that it is important not to confuse one's Indigenous awareness with experiencing different cultures, yet that the Indigenous peoples in the Netherlands are not the same in their awareness as those Indigenous peoples in Suriname.

A. also commented on the arrogance and dominance of the Western world. He gave the example of being asked to give a class on the concept of decolonization, mentioning that he had a very different method/analysis to approach this, but that Western science continues to decide on what is seen as valid. He mentioned that this is an ongoing fight, and that he would continue to emphasize that Indigenous peoples have their own civilization, going against those who claimed otherwise and rejecting imposed labels such as 'poor' or 'sad', saying that he never felt poor in his own culture:

#22 *"... I do not speak of the Indian culture, I say our civilization* [hits his fist on the table]*... And at a certain moment the Western culture destroyed everything* [hits his fist on the table]*, they have just massacred us, destroyed, terrible. And when I think about that, then I sometimes say: what am I actually doing here? Very tough. ... So we still have a lot to make up for and I also say this to our Indian people here."* (Interview 1)

The experiences that A. shared call for the inclusion of the concept of diaspora space; a space which includes 'the entanglements dispersion with those staying put', not only inhabited by those who have migrated, but also by those who are considered to be 'Native' (Brah, 1996). This allows one to see how the experiences and relations of Surinamese Indigenous peoples with a dominant society (e.g. white Dutch society) and other groups residing in the Netherlands (e.g. Dutch-Surinamese people) are also part of their Indigenous diasporic consciousness. These

encounters are not only experienced differently, but A. is also aware that he is upheld to a different standard, having learned and adjusted to Dutch norms and culture, yet still not being accepted. This could be linked to the idea of a 'double consciousness' as formulated by W.E.B. du Bois, a condition which forces the colonized to 'always look at one's self through the eyes of the others' (Harris, 2020), adjusting to dominant society's norms, yet still facing marginalization.

This even makes A. wonder why he is in the Netherlands sometimes, showing an awareness of his position and the legacy of a colonial past while rejecting notions that continue to marginalize his viewpoint as an Indigenous man. At the same time, he is still hopeful for change, also highlighting his connection to other Surinamese Indigenous peoples by speaking directly to them. Finally, his anecdote on the definition of decolonization also resonates with the experiences of other people of colour attending or teaching at Dutch universities, and their critique of Eurocentric curricula and the ongoing colonial legacies embedded in Academia (Weiner & Carmona Báez, 2018). The use of diaspora space in these encounters allows one to see the historically rooted and intersectional power dynamics that affect these lived experiences of Surinamese Indigenous diaspora lives in the Netherlands.

5.4 Self-organizing, Place-Making & The Hub

The following sections outline the various acts of place-making and self-organizing of the participants. The concept of the hub is central in this analysis, showing how hubs contribute to a strengthening of Indigenous identities. This includes both geographical hubs such as organizations and events, as well as virtual hubs supported through activities such as memory sharing, storytelling, rituals, music, social media usage and other symbols, signs and behaviours (Ramirez, 2007). This wide range of dwelling practices exemplify how the participants *'make a place here by keeping alive a strong feeling of attachment elsewhere'* (Clifford, 2013). It also shows how Indigenous identities are simultaneously social and relational experiences, seeing as how the identity articulations are partly influenced by the presence of others (Watson, 2010).

5.4.1 Meaningful Gatherings

This section discusses two important gatherings that came forward during the interviews: the passing of a loved one and the celebration of the U.N. International Day of World's Indigenous Peoples (9th of August). These are important moments during which the participants gathered, creating their own temporary and portable Surinamese Indigenous hub. It shows how they take a dominant space and make it their own, allowing for a sense of togetherness and community,

connecting to their Indigenous background (Ramirez, 2007). Simultaneously, these gatherings raised questions about identity and being Indigenous in the Netherlands (a hub consciousness).

#23 "Are there moments here in the Netherland that feel really Indian? Yes. I experience my being Indian with the passing away of family, ... and then they go back to experiencing their deceased the Indian way, their song and music and prayer Indian. Then I am also in that moment together with them." (Interview 1)

A. shared about an experience he had when his cousin passed away. Both A. and his cousin were raised Catholic, but he also said that they have their own Indigenous religion. At the funeral, a priest was leading the service and A. noticed that the Indigenous religion was being avoided, so he stepped in. He said that this 'clash' between cultures should take place without a fight, but it should be mentioned and acknowledged:

#24 "... there were a lot of Indians at that funeral. I noticed the atmosphere, they are missing something... I took my opportunity ... this is the way NAME COUSIN has lived and also shall be buried, ... I say: no, Catholic teaching, there is more than that. NAME is our Indigenous leader in the first place. ... his first acquaintance with religion was how we see ourselves as Indigenous peoples. Then I find it important in the presence of all his family, ..., the Indigenous people here in the Netherlands to emphasize this." (Interview 1)

A. also mentioned the obstacles that Surinamese Indigenous people face when a loved one passes away, having to go through a long and difficult trajectory if they want do so in an Indigenous way (e.g. bringing back the deceased to the hut in Suriname):

#25 "... do you get the chance to behave as an Indian? To think like an Indian? To feel Indian in your emotions? ... That is out of the question, because Dutch society/legislation does not give the space for that." (Interview 1)

A. said that after the funeral many questions and doubts were raised about "who we are", also explaining that he does not think that there is one shared vision amongst them of who they are. Some people questioned whether it was wise/good that they came to the Netherlands, and others even said that they should not have come at all. Other reactions were that they are no longer Indigenous, or that they can only manifest this in Suriname, whilst some said 'let us try'. Others reacted that they should stop trying ('forget being Indian'), with A. saying that in that moment they have become Western. When A. is present and he hears these doubts, he says:

#26 "Let us cry together, I say then. Let us cry together, because that is the moment we have come together again of who we are, so then we cry together, come we eat together. That's how it is." (Interview 1)

Leander also started to ask questions after the death of her uncle. She wanted to know more about how the Indigenous peoples deal with the passing of a loved one. Martha told her that the entire village would gather after a year to commemorate the deceased. This led Leander to organize an event to commemorate her uncle, also mentioning the importance of his legacy for the Lokono people in the Netherlands and their family. He was the founder of the Surinamese Indigenous association Ikyoshi and he donated his personal archives about Lokono culture to a museum. Leander said that it was a very beautiful afternoon and that it felt "incredibly good". Shortly after, Martha and Leander visited an exhibition about Suriname. In this exhibition, they saw the traditional clothing they made as members of Ikyoshi. This made them realize that it would be a waste if nothing happened again with everything that their uncle and brother left behind, even inspiring them to start their own association (see Section 5.4.4).

Apart from the passing of a loved one, the celebration of Indigenous peoples Day (also known as Ingi Day) is also an important gathering. This is celebrated in both Suriname and the Netherlands, and some participants shared their perspective on this event. A. said that the Surinamese Indigenous peoples really try to gather and be together on this day, finding it very important and seeing it as a sign of recognition of their existence. A. said that the opinions are divided however, and that he does not agree with this because the Indigenous peoples did not have a say in the creation of this day:

#27 "That has been decided at a great distance without us. There were a couple of Indigenous leaders of course, but those are, I find, manipulated to assume that it would bring progress. ... that is of course a Western construction of progress that the most Indigenous peoples in fact do not understand." (Interview 1)

He continued saying that there is a lot of misleading guidance by Western civilization on what it means to be Indigenous, also in the Netherlands. This is why he also participates in this research, because he would like to know how the Indigenous peoples think about themselves as an Indigenous person and how they understand what their place is in a foreign civilization:

#28 "Yes, if you do not know what you mean as an Indigenous person: economically, politically, religiously, culturally… Then it is difficult to get a place in a foreign civilization and you also do not get this place." (Interview 1)

On the other hand, John was very optimistic about the celebration of Ingi Day, being in favour of the U.N.'s decision. He said that he had organized gatherings several times, explaining that the Surinamese Indigenous peoples are living very spread out over the country, and that on this day they were together with almost 1000 people. It was really a reunion to see everyone again, showing how storytelling and remembering are important activities that support the hub and its potential to strengthen Indigenous identities (Ramirez, 2007):

#29 "… that people could tell old stories to each other again…, new stories also came with it of course, that was beautiful." (Interview 2)

On the day, there was a party, but also an educational and cultural component (e.g. talking about the meaning of Ingi Day). They also involved other Indigenous peoples, placing it all in a larger context. John said that at some point this became less and less though, ending up with just the party. Therefore, they stopped doing it for a while. However, people kept asking for another gathering, so they organized another one in 2019 and it was a big success.

Throughout the different interviews, the importance of education and the sharing of knowledge returned (during Ingi Day as well as other activities/events). For example, C. wanted to make people more aware of the importance of Ingi Day, as most just see it as a celebration, but that it is not just that:

#30 "I asked: why do we actually celebrate this day? The most did not know, they say: yes, just a day for us, done. [I ask] *But what is the goal actually? They cannot give an answer to that."* (Interview 3)

He said that this day is only the tip of the iceberg though, and that they wanted more recognition (e.g. land rights). When asking about the meaning of this day, he answered the following:

#31 "Every year that we celebrate it, I actually want to celebrate it big, I want to show that we still exist, that we want to have recognition in society. And that is the most important to me." (Interview 3)

Martha and Leander also indicated that if you want to achieve something, it is very important to share your knowledge. Martha said that many Indigenous peoples are hesitant to do this due

to bad experiences in the past, but the more you share, it will eventually come back to you. Leander also said that passing on knowledge had always been a red thread for her, which also comes back in her self-organizing activities (see Section 5.4.4.).

5.4.2 Belonging through the Hub

An important hub function is providing a sense of belonging and home for Indigenous peoples living in urban, diasporic contexts (Ramirez, 2007). This also came back in the experiences of some participants. For example, D. mentioned being very active in the anti-racism movement, also identifying herself as decolonial. Lately she also got more interested in climate activism. She indicated finding a sense of recognition and belonging within these activist circles, also because she has a strong sense of justice. She said that this is an important part of who she is and she enjoyed being together with like-minded people. By being part of the anti-racism movement, she also noticed that it is interesting to know your own history, making it easier to speak out and share interesting things about the Wayana.

Her experience shows that these activist hubs did not only contribute to her sense of recognition and belonging, but it also further encouraged her to learn and share about her Indigenous roots. Seeing how these social movements emphasize the importance of knowing your history (especially for those whose ancestors have been enslaved) as well as the inclusion of non-Eurocentric perspectives, D. most likely felt encouraged by this. It shows both the fluidity of community and the potential of hubs to strengthen Indigenous identities (Ramirez, 2007), albeit in a non-Indigenous hub.

D. did say that she was always looking for her own community (not being able to claim the Black community as her own), and that she also wanted to fight for Indigenous rights. Very recently she joined an Indigenous collective that works on a manifest about Indigenous rights in the Netherlands. When asking her what this meant to her, she said that it has a lot of meaning, having felt like the only one for a long time (as discussed in Section 5.2). She indicated that she would have been further in her learning process had she known other Indigenous peoples earlier on. The Indigenous collective meant that she could meet many other Indigenous peoples and also learn about their culture:

#32 *"… I just feel really good having those people around me, that do not only have this fighting* [spirit], *but also that you know that they have this calm and gentle* [character]… *you are just at a certain level. In terms of nature rights, land rights, it is always sort of a shared vision that you have."* (Interview 4)

This is again an example of how the Indigenous collective as a hub contributes to her sense of belonging. Her Indigenous diasporic consciousness is also visible in her desire to fight for Indigenous rights, and her reflections about her own learning process and sense of community. The Indigenous collective is also a transnational hub, and it shows how a hub consciousness and social change come together, as tribal differences are overcome to organize for social change (Ramirez, 2007). More examples of this connection in Section 5.4.4.

When asking John why he was part of Wajonong, he said that it was to be together with like-minded souls and people with the same heritage. He had many meaningful moments in the association, also giving him great friendships. This exemplifies again the connection between a sense of belonging and a geographical hub such as the association. Although the organization struggled at times, John felt proud that they were one of the oldest and remaining Surinamese Indigenous organizations (35 years in total). They are planning to organize activities such as presentations by Surinamese Indigenous role models for the youth, and he said that it is important to take advantage of schooled Indigenous peoples and their expertise (e.g. lawyers), so that they did not have to go to another institution for this. The latter can be seen as an articulation of Indigenous self-determination, and the use of Indigenous role models shows how hubs have the potential to contribute to a sense of empowerment (Ramirez, 2007).

Leander mentioned having a friend group, consisting of Kaliña and Lokono women. They get together to talk about their about their personal lives ('woman to woman'), but also about their culture, sharing stories, traditions and what they still remember from their ancestors. She got this friend group after joining a fire ceremony, saying that she did see herself as spiritual, but that it only became more prevalent after this. She started thinking about it more and asking questions such as: is there a spirit in the fire? How do you treat it with respect? What about your ancestors? Especially the critical questions of the artist guiding the fire ceremony were important, forcing her to think on a deeper level about her Indigenous identity:

#33 *"This is something new for me, to occupy myself with this. It is actually a new dimension to being Indigenous, yes."* (Interview 5)

The fire ceremony was a type of performance art. Leander is also an artist, saying that it:

#34 *"... does give you a really good feeling, you give expression to what you know and what you want to convey yes, so I definitely do want to continue with it."* (Interview 5)

This example shows how hubs can take on spiritual meaning and how the act of remembering supports this particular hub (Ramirez, 2007). Not only does this hub allow Leander to articulate her Indigenous identity, it also has a gendered component. Leander connects to other Indigenous women on an emotional and spiritual level, contributing to a 'positive sense of identity' and an engendered notion of belonging (Ramirez, 2007).

Finally, hubs do not necessarily have to be official organizations, as informal gatherings are also hubs that allow for a sense of belonging (Ramirez, 2007). For example, both G. and A. indicated that during family gatherings they felt more connected to their Indigenous identity:

#35 *"...Then I do feel connected more strongly. This is more a feeling I think, you also feel a bit prouder, you are not alone, there are many more like me, I am not alone..."* (Interview 6)

5.4.3 Cultural Transmission through the Hub

This section discusses how hubs plays a role in the transmission of Indigenous identities and cultures to the next generation, possibly sparking the Indigenous youth's imagination and desire to stay connected to their Indigenous home(land) and background (Ramirez, 2007). This is visible in the experience of both G. and Leander. Not only did they frequently return to Suriname, but they also grew up going to the activities of Surinamese Indigenous associations in the Netherlands. This entailed amongst others joining the gatherings, song and dance rehearsals, making jewellery and traditional clothing. About these experiences, Leander said the following:

#35 *"And I saw what happened, that Lokono songs were sung, and then I also wanted to learn that. Yes, I found it incredibly nice how everybody was having so much fun. And that the whole family was busy making traditional clothing, and how it looked, well, that was just a feast for the eye. So yeah, I did not doubt about it at all to join as well, because I found it all, that I thought: wauw."* (Interview 5)

Leander explained that by being part of Ikyoshi, she learned about the Lokono culture and language, saying that this is how her Indigenous background was passed on to her:

#36 *".. I have actually learned more about: what is it actually Lokono? Where do they come from? What is their history? My uncle also had a pretty large archive with a lot of books, so I started reading a lot."* (Interview 5)

Although many diaspora organizations that were discussed in Chapter 4 no longer exist today, the experiences of Leander and G. show that they played an important role in the cultural transmission regardless. As Watson (2014) argued, even though hubs might cease to exist at times, this does not mean that they stop to influence social life; living on in people's memory and consciousness. Both G. and Leander also expressed a sense of pride about their Indigenous identity, showing how growing up with these hubs contributed to their notions of Indigenous community, identity and belonging (Ramirez, 2007). This most likely also contributed to their Indigenous diasporic consciousness, motivating their self-organizing activities as discussed in Section 5.4.4.

Various participants also created their own virtual and informal hubs by passing on their Indigenous background to their children. G., John, D. and C. all said yes when asked if they found it important to pass on their Indigenous roots. C. said that each time he has a conversation with his children, he tells them about his life in Suriname. When asked what he would like to pass on to them, he mentioned the socially-minded behaviour of the Indigenous peoples (e.g. when they have a problem with someone, solving it by talking to them). He concluded:

#37 *"...We are not out for war, we are for togetherness and peace, and we are good at social things. Maybe the world can learn from us."* (Interview 3)

This again exemplifies how storytelling and memory-sharing support virtual hubs, contributing to the cultural transmission, but also creating meaningful moments for diasporic Indigenous peoples to connect to their roots (Ramirez, 2007). Ordinary, everyday hubs such as these are equally important in the role they play in the strengthening of Indigenous identities.

These virtual and informal hubs can also take on a spiritual meaning, and consequently contribute to the passing on of Indigenous identities (Ramirez, 2007). For example, Martha mentioned the importance of energy in her life, saying that everything is energy and that it needs to keep flowing. Her parents passed this on to her, and she does the same with her children, for example giving medicinal baths to her (grand)children and telling them to cleanse their house, being aware of energies that do not belong with them. She also gives advice about herbs and remedies for when they are sick, recalling the abundance of herbs in the forests of Suriname:

#38 *"This is who I am. ... In that sense I conduct my culture, that is my being Indigenous."* (Interview 5)

5.4.4 Social Change through the Hub

As Chapter 4 has shown, activism is a recurring theme in the histories of Surinamese Indigenous lives in the Netherlands. This is also visible in the experiences of the participants, showing how a hub can function as a potential site for social change, a source of empowerment and a way to challenge oppression and marginalization, as well as a space for the renewal and revitalization of Indigenous cultures and identities (Ramirez, 2007).

C. has been active in various Indigenous organizations, both in Suriname and the Netherlands. In Suriname, this was even at the international level, as he attended an U.N. meeting in New York once. When asking him whether he was still active in these organizations, he said that this was no longer the case. This was because he had to focus on his personal life, but also because of some negative experiences, giving multiple examples of noticing fraudulent practices (e.g. in an Indigenous band in the Netherlands, by the Surinamese government and an Indigenous organization in Suriname):

#39 "We went to the United States, New York, for a meeting. They put 5 men in one room. And they indicated 5 rooms. And where has the money gone to? ... Then you are at such an important meeting in New York, ..., the head of the UN is going to speak. He should see how the 5 of us are lying on the floor in a hotel room." (Interview 3)

When going to New York, he felt like a pawn of the Surinamese government. Everything was according to protocol ('I hate protocol'), and he was unable to let his voice be heard *('I felt as a prisoner, it seemed as if it was being chewed for me and I had to swallow it'*). Despite these experiences, C. continues dreaming (see Section 5.3.2), saying that he really tried many times to fight for Indigenous rights, but that he did not succeed. This is still something that still lingers on in his mind.

Leander has been very active with self-organizing and activism throughout her life. This included projects such as a website gathering all the information about Surinamese Indigenous peoples, a shop to sell Indigenous handicrafts, and the business she started together with her husband in Suriname (see Section 5.2). After sharing about these experiences, she concluded:

#40 "I cannot say differently than that I feel called to do something. ... everything I have I use, even if it is just a little bit, to change something for the positive. So when we talk about activism, indeed that is in me." (Interview 5)

Leander and Martha started their own magazine recently, continuing their uncle and brother's heritage (see Section 5.4.1). The magazine is called Wasjikwa, meaning 'Our Home', referring to their own home where it is always warm and cosy, a gathering place where things happen. Their uncle and brother also said that everyone was welcome with him, so Martha and Leander said that this should also be possible with them. As they work together on the magazine, Martha gets the chance to share stories about her past:

#41 *"...and then they come to life. When I tell stories, I think: indeed, that is how it went. I find it so valuable that I received this and that now this is documented...."* (Interview 5)

Initially, they planned to organize gatherings to share stories, sing songs and other activities. The Covid-19 pandemic changed this however, so they focused on the magazine in the meantime. The latest edition is about the Lokono language, showing people who would like to learn the language where to start. This shows again the importance of sharing information and the passing on of Lokono culture, following their uncle and brother who also did this.

Wasjikwa is an example where many aspects of the hub come together. The meaning 'Our Home' suggests how this hub contributes to a sense of home and belonging, as the aim was also to gather and connect to their culture. It is also another example of how storytelling supports this hub, and creates a meaningful moment for Martha to connect to her roots. Hubs are also potential spaces for renewal and revitalization of Indigenous identities and cultures (Ramirez, 2007). The magazine offering a tool for Indigenous peoples to take back their language could be seen as an example of how diasporic Indigenous peoples possibly contribute to Indigenous revitalization (e.g. language revitalization) (Sissons, 2005; Uzawa, 2020). Leander's experience also shows how the an Indigenous diasporic consciousness and social change come together, as she expresses a strong will to act for a better world rooted in her Indigenous identity (Ramirez, 2007). This connection is also visible in the experience of G.

G. explained that she was in the process of returning to her roots spiritually. She started with this recently, after attending an Indigenous ceremony. She went together with her mother, and they met a cousin whom they had not seen for many years. They started meditating together, and the idea grew to create their own place where they could gather people and guide them on their spiritual path. She said that people are really searching for something, also referring to the Covid-19 pandemic, and that people are more concerned with their mental and physical health. She is reading a lot, taking meditation classes and a course on smoking ('beroken') people with cigars, all from an Indigenous perspective (e.g. using Surinamese Indigenous music instruments with healing powers). She concluded that it is quite difficult to keep one's Indigenous culture

alive in the Netherlands, but she hopes to continue with this to reach more people and make Lokono culture more established. This way she hopes to contribute and do her part from the Netherlands, showing again how social change and an Indigenous diasporic consciousness about her Indigenous culture come together. The fact that both G. and Leander also participated in various Indigenous hubs before creating their own most likely contributed to their identity articulations through these hubs.

Finally, Martha also shared a story about helping a friend who was about to divorce from his wife. She cleansed the couple and their house, and after it was going so much better with them. Yet later she received a very unexpected reaction, showing a spiritual hub provides a source of strength when dealing with oppression and marginalization (Ramirez, 2007), and how she rejects being rendered invisible (more on this in Chapter 6):

#42 *"to my surprise this man says to me: you should not concern yourself with devilish things, you should go to the church. ... I thought: have you been blinded by your faith? Have you forgotten what I did with you not so long ago that it turned out so well that you are happy together? ... If I do something, then I show you what I do. I am not going to do things with a curtain or behind the door so you cannot see what I do. You are involved. ... Wauw, anyway, I come across these kind of things, but it does not stop me from doing it."* (Interview 5)

5.5 Conclusion

This chapter has set out to shine a light on a wide range of lived experiences and identity articulations of Surinamese Indigenous peoples in the Netherlands. This included a discussion on how the participants relate to their home(land) and experience a sense of belonging, but also various articulations of an Indigenous diasporic consciousness. These migration and dwelling experiences were then placed in relation to the various practices of self-organizing and place-making through the hub. This has shown how hubs can take on different functions that contribute to the strengthening of Indigenous identities, challenging the idea of Indigenous peoples being inherently 'out of place' in an urban, diasporic context (Ramirez, 2007). This also suggests that hubs are not static, but rather shifting, dynamic and relational (Watson, 2010), similar to the way the participants negotiate a sense of belonging and connect to their Indigenous identities. It also fits into the spectrum of diverse ways Indigenous peoples globally are connecting to their Indigenous identities in an urban, diasporic context (as a 'relocation of Indigeneity'), and the next chapter will further consider this aspect of Indigeneity being both local and global at once (Sissons, 2005; Watson, 2014).

6 The Local & the Global: Authenticity Discourses & Essentialism in the Dutch Context

6.1 Introduction

The previous chapters have discussed the histories and contemporary identity articulations of Surinamese Indigenous diasporic lives in the Netherlands, showing the connectedness of local urban Indigenous realities (as a 'relocation of Indigeneity') in relation to larger, globalized forces, processes and histories, supporting the idea of Indigenous lives being at once local and global (Sissons, 2005; Watson, 2014). Static notions of Indigeneity are equally widespread, requiring a critical engagement with the issue of authenticity and essentialism. This thesis aims to challenge static notions of culture and identity, arguing that these limiting conceptions of Indigeneity do not only relate to the ongoing invisibility of Indigenous peoples in the Netherlands, but can also be placed in the broader spectrum of diasporic and urban Indigenous experiences worldwide. This chapter concludes with a call for the inclusion of Indigenous perspectives without neglecting diasporic and urban dimensions of the Indigenous experience.

6.2 The Issue of Authenticity

The question of authenticity itself (whether something is authentic or not) is not within the scope of this thesis, seeing it as both problematic and irrelevant. Instead, it is important to address how authenticity discourses affected the experiences of the participants, and place them in relation to the experiences of other urban and diasporic Indigenous peoples. This section discusses how authenticity discourses occurred in some interviews.

Some participants used words such as 'pure Indian' or 'for real 100% Indians' to describe an 'authentic' Indigenous person. When they did so, they referred to those Indigenous peoples who either grew up or still live in an Indigenous village in Suriname, or those Indigenous peoples who are 'full-blooded'. D. said that she found it difficult if people strongly claimed the label Indigenous whilst living in diaspora, unless they really spoke the language and frequently returned to Suriname. She did not have a problem with it, but said that she would not do it herself, saying that her story is also different (as discussed in Chapter 5).

In doing so, some participants formulated characteristics on how they see an 'authentic' Indigenous person, and the presence of a discourse on bloodlines. The latter also exists in other contexts, for example the concept of blood quantum in the United States (Sissons, 2005). The above-mentioned 'criteria' also suggest a relation between notions of authenticity and

assimilation, fitting into the image of Indigenous peoples living away from their traditional lands as 'less' Indigenous (Sissons, 2005).

However, although some participants did not fully match these descriptions, they did not consider themselves 'less' Indigenous or 'inauthentic'. Also when talking about their children (e.g. finding it unfortunate that the Indigenous part was becoming less and less due to 'diluted' bloodlines), they still actively passed on their Indigenous heritage to them. This suggests that although some participants articulated notions of authenticity, their behaviour was not fully controlled by it and it shows a degree of awareness of the fluidity of culture and identity (Ramirez, 2007). It also demonstrates how narrow notions of Indigeneity do not fit with the reality of the participants and the diversity of Indigenous lives.

Some participants also shared experiences during which they encountered limiting notions of Indigeneity themselves. For example, C. shared an experience he had when going to an Indigenous party in the Netherlands:

#43 "She gave me Kasiri [a drink][42]*, and she comes back a second time, and she said: actually I should not give this to you. I said: why not? Did I not pay or something? She says: you are not Indigenous. I said: how so?* [She says]*: yes, but Indigenous people do not have curly hair (if I grow my hair, then I get curls). I say: but still I am Indigenous, but why do you want to exclude me? Not to give me that drink?* [She says that] *she is only for pure Indian. I mean: what is that all about? Actually it makes no sense, it is for everybody. I have learned that this drink is for everybody."* (Interview 3)

This is a telling example of how authenticity discourses are articulated at a micro-level, in this case used as a tool for exclusion. It could be linked to the idea of internalized oppression, seeing how limiting and stereotypical notions of Indigeneity are adopted by one Indigenous person to marginalize another Indigenous person (Ramirez, 2007). It also relates to the question of belonging, seeing how C. faces "unbelonging" in a Surinamese Indigenous hub because he does not fit the image the woman has in mind (Ramirez, 2007). This example is not unique, and it resonates with the experiences of many diasporic and urban Indigenous peoples who are

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[42] Kasiri is an alcoholic drink made from cassava. Both the cassava plant and the preparation process are an important part of Surinamese Indigenous culture (applicable to all the different groups) (Boven, 2006).

labelled as 'inauthentic' when defying the vision dominant society has imposed on them, also known as oppressive authenticity (Sissons, 2005). This is embedded in a long colonial past and its remaining legacies (e.g. colonial racism), and it continues to create tensions between Indigenous peoples and perpetuates a politics of exclusion (Ramirez, 2007; Sissons, 2005).

The connection between visual appearances and authenticity was also raised by D. When asking her how she expressed her Indigenous identity, she indicated thinking a lot about this, asking herself how to do it and whether she should. She was more interested in the Indigenous history and stories, and identified herself as decolonial. She could not say with certainty how she identified as Wayana, but she knows that she is Wayana and that it is something in her. She did not have the need to wear traditional clothing, whilst noticing that other Indigenous peoples in the Netherlands did have this, expressing her doubts about this:

#44 *"… I find it pretty interesting that a lot of the Indigenous peoples that I know in the Netherlands, are really like you sort of have to wear traditional clothing, or you have to do this or you have to do that, whilst I am actually really against this. … that is, so static holding onto something, I know for example that the Wayana also do not only wear traditional clothing…"* (Interview 4)

This quote shows that she actively rejects static notions of identity and culture, and she articulates an awareness that the emphasis on wearing traditional clothing does not match with the daily reality of those living in Suriname. Her unease with this comes back in another experience she had in a WhatsApp group with diasporic Indigenous peoples and allies. They planned to go to a store with a paint colour named 'Indian' to tell them that this was problematic:

#45 *"… Then she said: if people want to join, … then you do have to come in traditional clothing. …* [D. said] *I found that so annoying that I thought: why? Are you not Indigenous otherwise? And why do you have to show the NAME STORE people that you are Indigenous? … I just got a nasty vibe, …, if you want to do it yourself, go ahead. As long as you do not judge other people... Or that you have such an image that you can only be Indigenous if are really behaving or dressing such and such. I am really not like that, but I notice that a lot of Indigenous peoples might have that a little bit."* (Interview 4)

This quote shows again her rejection of static conceptions of identity and culture, but it goes further as she rejects the idea that one is 'less' Indigenous if they do not conform to certain behaviours and visual appearances. She is actively rejecting authenticity discourses that impose

limits on what it means to be Indigenous. When asking her why people might behave like this, she related it to a feeling of unbelonging, saying that some people might feel the need to strongly claim the label Indigenous if they felt that they did not really belong anywhere. On the other hand, she also added that if she would see somebody on the street in Indigenous clothing, she would go to them to have a chat, saying that this was actually very beautiful. She concluded by laughing and saying that she actually did not really understand her position about all of this yet.

It is actually in her confusion and reflections that one comes at the crux of the issue of authenticity. On the one hand, she feels uncomfortable with static notions of identity and culture and the imposed need to wear traditional clothing, pointing out the issues of this. By asking why they have to show the store that they are Indigenous, she also connects traditional clothing with the legitimacy to question the store's paint name. It exemplifies how authenticity discourses become politicized, and how visual markers such as traditional clothing become part of broader political claims (Sissons, 2005).

On the other hand, D. shows how traditional clothing can create a connection between herself and others, allowing her to find a sense of recognition in a society in which Indigeneity is predominantly not visible. It also highlights the importance traditional clothing can play as a source of cultural pride and a feeling of belonging for those living in diaspora, contributing to a positive sense of self and identity. This is especially relevant in contexts in which assimilation efforts have tried to eradicate Indigenous cultures and languages, as is the case of the Sámi peoples in the North for example. The gákti (Sámi traditional clothing) is not only an important historically rooted cultural symbol and identity articulation (amongst other indicating geographical belonging), it also became an important part of the revitalization process. Traditional clothing supported taking back a sense of Sámi cultural pride and way to gain visibility, rejecting the shame that was historically imposed on them (Gjerpe, 2013). Similarly, the emphasis on traditional clothing by the people that D. mentioned could be placed in relation to the historically rooted position of invisibility as discussed later on in this chapter.

The issue of authenticity is that it one way or the other always imposes limitations on Indigenous peoples, always at risk to be labelled 'inauthentic' and it perpetuates a politics of exclusion (Sissons, 2005). It shows how Indigeneity (in contrast to other cultural identities) is upheld to a different standard, namely one of imposed cultural purity (Sissons, 2005). This does however not match with the diversity of Indigenous experiences, nor does it provide a space for diasporic and urban Indigenous lives. To better understand how Indigenous peoples are figuring out what it means to be Indigenous in a diasporic context and its accompanying complexity in today's globalized world requires one to acknowledge the messiness and juxtapositions of "*an*

interactive, dynamic process of shifting scales and affiliations, uprooting and rerooting, the waxing and waning of identities" (Cadena & Starn, 2007; Clifford, 2013, p. 69). It calls for 'a politics of belonging and connection' instead, challenging limiting notions of Indigeneity, seeing how Indigenous belonging, identities and cultures cannot be reduced nor quantified in static categories, always changing and adapting in a large variety of ways (Sissons, 2005).

6.3 Essentialist Notions of Indigeneity in the Dutch Context

This section discusses the answers to the question whether the participants shared about their Indigenous background with other people (and if this was important), and the main reactions they got when doing so. These reactions shine a light on the essentialist and stereotypical notions of Indigeneity in the Dutch context, similar to other urban Indigenous contexts globally.

Most of the participants said that it was important for them to share about their Indigenous background. C. said that he really enjoyed talking about his life in Suriname, joking that an hour would not be enough, a day probably neither. He also met with a friend from Israel to talk about both of their cultural backgrounds, again an example of a virtual hub supported by memory-sharing and storytelling that strengthens Indigenous identities (Ramirez, 2007).

When sharing about his background, John also often explains more about the colonial history. For example, he tells others about the first encounter between the colonizers and the Indigenous peoples. It is a telling example of how he uses humour to challenge the historical narrative in a dominant society that continues to neglect Indigenous perspectives:

#46 "I always give the example: they met the people there practically naked, you know. Yes, and if you read reports…, it is like 'yes, these people are so underdeveloped…they are still walking around naked'. And now I see nudity beaches everywhere here. So then I think, yes what are we doing, everybody back to the roots. So then I think, who is crazy now, those people were trendsetters!" (Interview 2)

It shows how John uses humour to make people reflect and reconsider the perspective through which history is told, challenging certain historical accounts that stereotype Indigenous peoples as 'underdeveloped' (also actively rejected by A. as discussed in Chapter 5), similar to how other Indigenous peoples worldwide use humour to challenge marginalization (Ramirez, 2007). John linked this story to his change in self-awareness, saying that he became more vocal throughout the years and better at standing up for himself. It exemplifies again how a hub can function as a source of empowerment supported by a growing hub consciousness (Ramirez,

2007). This argument could also be made for the experience of Leander, who said that she really enjoyed telling others about what it is to be Indigenous, feeling a sense of pride when people asked her about it. This feeling grew as she deepened her sense of who Indigenous peoples are:

#47 "Yes, I really have the idea that Indigenous peoples have something to proclaim, and especially in this time. ... We have to let our voice be heard. ... Anyways I am completely done with playing a victim, we are no victim, but we have a role to play and even a need to let our voice be heard, because we have important knowledge that we have to share." (Interview 5)

Her mother Martha on the other hand said that she does not spontaneously talk about her Indigenous background, only if people had questions.

#48 "No, actually I tell very little about my background, I'm probably so integrated in society that I do not stand still thinking, oh yeah, I am Indigenous. I am Indigenous…, I will not change in this." (Interview 5)

G. also did not talk about her Indigenous background out of the blue, but if people asked, she found it interesting to share more about her roots and the Indigenous peoples. For D. it was more complicated as she struggled as a teenager not knowing how to identify herself, and being confronted with this each time people asked her where she was from. She was often asked if she was adopted (being the only person of colour in her family), or told that she looked Latina. She considered this as a compliment at first, something that people looked up to, but later understood it as very sexualizing. She was also often called Pocahontas, remarking that people used it as a compliment, but that she really did not see it as such:

#49 "… Plus you see other, just white people in their cowboy and Indian outfit, kind of sexy outfit. Then you also think: you are really annoying. Many people really have the idea that they can really sexualize women, which happens anyways with women of colour…"
(Interview 4)

These experiences provide a telling example of intersectionality, showing how D. was confronted with stereotypical notions of Indigeneity framed through the intersection of both gender and race, as these encounters are specific to being both Indigenous and a woman. She is labelled as Pocahontas, showing how widespread this stereotypical and sexualized imagery of Indigenous women has become. Her experience resonates with other Indigenous women who are repeatedly labelled after this famous Disney figure, contributing to the ongoing

sexualization of Indigenous women globally (see Bird (1999), Keating (2008); Mayer (2015); Ono and Buescher (2001); Wood (2016). At the same time, she also connects the sexualization of Indigenous women with the issue of cultural appropriation, showing how Indigenous cultures are used by dominant society as an inspiration for a 'sexy' party costume. This has been an global issue, not limited to the Dutch context, and fits into larger issues such as the commodification of Indigenous and other non-dominant cultures as well as the resistance against this (e.g. 'my culture is not your costume') (Beatty & Boettcher, 2019; Beck, 2013; Ono & Buescher, 2001). These experiences also relate to questions D. asked herself about being a woman, wondering for example whether she should have long hair or not (seeing this as typical for Indigenous women). It shows how stereotypical and essentialist images raise questions about identity by those who are affected by this imagery.

When participants shared about their background, the reactions they got reflect another stereotypical and widespread myth about Indigenous peoples, namely the myth of extinction:

#50 *"I have heard sometimes: 'do Indians really exist?' Wauw, yes, that is very interesting that people are completely unaware of it actually, actually also quite pitiful."* (Interview 6)

#51 *"Then I said where I was from, and then people said: oh, I thought Indians no longer existed! And then I thought: ouch ouch, why do you have to say that?"* (Interview 4)

This myth has assumed that Indigenous peoples are bound to go extinct and destined to vanish ('facing imminent cultural death'), rooted in notions of cultural superiority and Western modernity narratives (Forte, 2006). This is in stark contrast to the reality, as many Indigenous cultures are not only surviving, but actually thriving (Coates, 2004). This is not to ignore the marginalization and the many other issues that Indigenous peoples worldwide continue to face, but to highlight that the essentialist myth of extinction is still very much alive (also in the Dutch context), even though there is a wealth of evidence that suggests the contrary.

These reactions fit into another trend that occurred throughout the interviews, namely the consistent lack of knowledge about Surinamese Indigenous peoples living in the Netherlands. Most of these reactions reflected other people's confusion, as they were unable to place the participants, often asking them where they are from. D. also said that people did not understand the word Indigenous, having to explain everything, saying she was the original inhabitant of Suriname, but that this made people even more confused:

#52 "…and then they say: oh, so you are an Indian. … Oh, so you are from India. So it was always a hassle and nobody got it, so that is why I thought: let's just not say anything …. Especially because people also do not understand that Indian is a problematic word." (Interview 4)

Based on the interviews, it could also be argued that the dominant belief is that only Afro-Surinamese people live in Suriname, and that the average Dutch citizen is unaware of the cultural diversity of Suriname (e.g. '*often people say: surely only black people live in Suriname?'* – Interview 2*)*, with the exception of Dutch-Surinamese people. Some participants connected this lack of knowledge to not learning about it in school. This leaves an important recommendation for future research on the representation of Indigenous peoples in the Dutch education system.

When sharing about his Indigenous roots, C. said that either people are interested or they do not like it at all. This entailed people telling him that it is not so important, saying that we are in the Netherlands now and we do not need that anymore, and that they do not want to hear about it:

#53 "They say: I look back, I should not look back, but I have to look forward. [C. says]: *That is true, but I mean, my history, from my history I have to learn, and that is why I keep looking to my origin, to my roots, to my upbringing. What have I learned? What have I been given? Surely I can still use this. … Nobody can take this from you."* (Interview 3)

These different reactions and questions about the participants' background connect to the experiences of other minorities in the Netherlands (and beyond). Many minorities who do not fit the image of being Dutch as constructed through whiteness are consistently characterized as 'outsiders' in these encounters, seen as out of place and not belonging, regardless of the fact that they live in the Netherlands (Leurs, 2015). It is not only an example of how race continues to function as an organizing principle in Dutch society, but it also touches upon the issue of an exclusive notion of Dutch nationhood as a result of a lack of a collective consciousness about a shared past (Weiner & Carmona Báez, 2018). It is exactly this past that has led to the diversity that one finds within the Netherlands, yet these pervasive notions of Dutch nationhood continue to deny minorities their right to belong. Furthermore, the experience of C. also demonstrates how discourses on integration, assimilation and multiculturalism are articulated at the micro-level, as he is told to forget about his background. He rejected this however, highlighting the importance of his history as a source of wisdom.

6.4 (In)visibility

#54 "If I would ask a complete stranger living in this street: madam, have you ever seen or met an Indian here in the Netherlands? Then I am 100% sure, [they would say]: *no, who are they? A Surinamese Indian? Oh no, I do not see them."* (Interview 1)

This quote is illustrative of a recurring theme throughout the different interviews: the issue of (in)visibility. In five out of the six interviews, the participants stated that the Surinamese Indigenous peoples are rendered invisible, either when answering the question about sharing their background or without asking. G. said that the last few years there seemed to be some change in this, mentioning the Keti Koti festival[43] and the growing presence of Indigenous peoples during this event. Nonetheless, she said it seemed more for the eye and that this is something to work on within the Dutch-Surinamese community. Martha expressed her anger about a radio show on a Surinamese art exhibition in the Netherlands, during which all the different groups in Suriname were discussed:

#55 "... and then finally it is the turn of my people, ..., they come with a drum, with a music instrument, they sing, and they are gone. ... I am so bewildered about this, now you have the chance to say something. ... Where am I? Where do I stand? Where are my people? ... There are amongst us also artists that are famous, where are these artists then? This is such a missed opportunity." (Interview 5)

She explained that she would like there to be one platform that covers everything related to the Surinamese Indigenous peoples (e.g. in case a news channel would call, you would know exactly what to tell them and where to direct them to). Martha did share her optimism, as she believes everything is possible in the Netherlands and she is convinced that one day the Indigenous peoples will become visible. Leander confirmed this, adding that if she gets a chance to contribute to making the Indigenous peoples more visible, she would take it.

A. also shared his view on the position of Surinamese Indigenous peoples in the Netherlands. He gave amongst others the example of a distant family member who married a wealthy Dutch person and moved to 't Gooi (a well-known rich and elite neighbourhood in the Netherlands). A. explained that most Surinamese Indigenous people stay in the sphere of their

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[43] Keti Koti takes place on the 1st of July (both in the Netherlands and Suriname). It is a celebration and commemoration of the abolition of slavery. 'Keti Koti' means 'broken chains'.

heritage by surrounding themselves with other Surinamese/Indigenous people. This family member however has no contact with other Indigenous peoples and they do not know them neither. This is an example of the relational component of Indigenous identity articulations (Watson, 2014), but also a case of intersectionality, showing how class and race intersect. Not only does it demonstrate how class influences (a lack of) Surinamese Indigenous identity articulations, but it also suggests that class reinforces the invisibility of Surinamese Indigenous culture in the Dutch context. At the same time, it shows the diversity of Indigenous experiences, seeing how the participants articulated a strong connection to their Indigenous roots, but that this might not be representative of all Surinamese Indigenous peoples in the Netherlands. When asking A. about his conclusion on Surinamese Indigenous identity in the Netherlands, he said:

#57 *"The Indian is a resident in the Netherlands, who in fact is not seen. But watch out with what I am saying: who is not seen, but then I am speaking Dutch. The not being seen in the Dutch language here, ... means in fact that they do not have much to say, they do not mean much, because only when you do something, you are seen. I will not exaggerate, but certainly 95% of the here residing Indigenous Surinamese are in fact not seen by their Dutch society."* (Interview 1)

The latter quote from A. holds words of caution, remarking the cultural and linguistic meaning of (in)visibility. He goes on to explain the importance of politics and economics in the Dutch context, and how one's significance is framed in these terms, arguing that the Indigenous peoples are not equal in this regard. D. also wished there was more recognition of the Surinamese Indigenous peoples in the Netherlands, finding it painful and disappointing that many people really do not know anything about it:

#56 *"...my whole life that piece of me was a beautiful piece, but because it does not get any recognition and you feel like nobody cares about it, it is also not something to be proud of or I do not really talk about it, I have always had that. ... If there just would be more recognition in the Netherlands, more attention for the Indigenous community, that would be really nice for a lot of people. ... then you recognize yourself..."* (Interview 4)

This issue of (in)visibility as raised by the participants is not in isolation. It connects to the histories as set out in this thesis, arguing that the ongoing invisibility of Surinamese Indigenous peoples is rooted in a long history of colonization and the condition of being marginalized. This relates back to the reality in Suriname (e.g. being left out of population statistics far into the

twentieth century, no recognition of Indigenous rights), and Chapter 4 has shown how this position of invisibility travelled with them to the Netherlands, consequently affecting their migration and dwelling experiences. It also influenced the Surinamese Indigenous identity articulations through self-organizing and activism (e.g. the emphasis on the unequal distribution of humanitarian aid during the interior war; the invisibility of Surinamese Indigenous peoples as pointed out during the P.I.O.N. congress; A. mentioning that Dutch society was not waiting for the Indigenous peoples nor ready to adopt culturally sensitive policies to contribute to their dwelling experiences in the Netherlands; and more).

This position of invisibility is also perpetuated and (re)produced by the essentialist and authenticity discourses as set out in this chapter. When there is only one story available based on stereotypical imagery, essentialist notions of Indigeneity prevail and those experiences that do not match with these ideas remain invisible. Simultaneously, the issue of race as an organizing principle in the Dutch context hinders the inclusion of the voices by those formerly colonized, further contributing to this lack of visibility (Weiner & Carmona Báez, 2018).

The issue is not limited to the Dutch context however, seeing how invisibility is a shared condition across the Indigenous world, whether it is Japan, the United States, Australia or Canada (Dion & Salamanca, 2014; Howard-Wagner, 2021; Little & McMillan, 2017; Mays, 2019; Sissons, 2005; Watson, 2014). Albeit that each context has its own set of local and socio-historical specifics that have created and perpetuate this invisibility, the commonality lies in complex colonial legacies that continue to impose limiting and reductive ideas on who Indigenous peoples are, what they do and where they belong (Watson, 2014). This ignores however the resilience, resistance and the myriad of ways Indigenous peoples are articulating and connecting to their Indigenous roots and identities in an urban, diasporic context, whether it be the everyday act of sharing stories with their grandchildren, the thriving of activist hubs or the creation of a new genre such as Maori hiphop (Ramirez, 2007; Sissons, 2005). The Surinamese Indigenous peoples in the Netherlands are no exception, and this thesis has attempted to shine a light on this specific 'relocation of Indigeneity' by outlining their diverse experiences, histories, place-making practices and identity articulations. It does not end here however, as the inclusion of Indigenous perspectives should be addressed at all levels in Dutch society. It requires an educational system that works with an inclusive historical narrative, leaving room for Indigenous perspectives that incorporates urban and diasporic dimensions. It means moving beyond the usual focus on nation-state as a defining cultural marker, paying specific attention to the realities and issues of Surinamese Indigenous peoples, actively undoing invisibility. It calls for a commitment to the never-ending process of decolonization.

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Appendix I – Interview Guide

Background Questions

- Would you like to introduce yourself?
- Indigenous background:
  - o Indigenous roots/self-identification.
  - o How Indigenous background was passed on/received.
  - o Indigenous language.
- Migration to the Netherlands/growing up in the Netherlands?
- Returns to Suriname

+ Follow-up questions.

Questions about Contacts

- How are you in contact with other Surinamese Indigenous peoples in the Netherlands? Meaning of this contact? Which activities, organizations, gatherings etc.?
- Do you think there is one Surinamese Indigenous community in the Netherlands?
- Contact with other Indigenous peoples (not from Suriname)?
- Contact with Indigenous peoples in Suriname? How do you think you are different from Indigenous peoples in Suriname?

+ Follow-up questions.

Identity Questions

- Change in self-awareness Indigenous identity?
- When do you feel more connected to your Indigenous identity?
- How do you express your Indigenous identity?
- Do you find it important to share about your Indigenous background with others? When you do, what kind of reactions do you get?
- How do you think your experience as an Indigenous women is different from that of an Indigenous man (and vice versa)?
- Important to pass on Indigenous background to your children? How do you this/what would you like to pass on to them?
- When/where do you have a feeling of belonging?
- Do you think it is possible to continue your Indigenous identity in the Netherlands?
- Are your proud of your Indigenous identity? Meaning of being Indigenous?

+ Follow-up questions.

Final question: do you still have something you would like to add?

Appendix II – Interview Quotes in Dutch

#1 "Daar kwamen dus twee Indiaanse families. Met niets kwamen ze. ... Nou, wat dus onvoorstelbaar eigenlijk dat je op een gegeven ogenblik dat je daar 2-3 Indiaanse gezinnen ziet die nog altijd niet gewend waren de hele dag een schoen te dragen of de hele dag zich aan te kleden. ... En de wijze waarop de omgeving daarop reageerde hè. Dat was dus in feite een andere fase/ontmoeting van de Indianen, die op een gegeven ogenblik ook uitgemaakt werd als wild, dom, vreemd... Gedrag in de ogen van de anderen."

#2 "...dus de positie/de geschiedenis noem maar op van onze Surinaamse Inheemse in Nederland hè, een beetje bedroevend... Nou het is niet zo, het is niet helemaal, ik zeg extra helemaal, verantwoord eigenlijk, in feite zijn ze aan hun lot overgelaten. Het klinkt hard, maar het is gewoon zo."

#3 "We hebben één voordeel gehad, ... onze identiteit toch hebben kunnen behouden, in de zin van onze tradities/eetgewoontes/liefhebberijen/dans/taal/muziek, hebben we toch door middel van verenigen kunnen behouden."

#4 "..., zijn die mensen verandert of ben ik verandert? Daar ben ik nog steeds een beetje aan het zoeken, van wat is er eigenlijk met me gebeurt? ... ben ik anders gaan denken? ... Ja, dat is een vraag die ik mezelf schuldig ben. ...
Want ik ben niet heel jong hiernaartoe gekomen, ik heb m'n hele leven daar gewoond, ik ben net als hen eigenlijk. ... misschien zien ze me anders ofzo."

#5 "Dit hele sociale gedrag van hun is verdwenen, ... Met elkaar doen ze dat wel, ..., maar met ons die uit Nederland komen, dan is het heel anders."

#6 "Echt, het doet me wat, ... Ik probeer iets goed voor hen te doen, maar als ze mij zo zien, dan raakt het me echt. Maar ja, zo is het leven, toch?"

#7 "De tweede keer toen ik gekomen ben, ..., dan niet meer echt de drang om terug te gaan, toch ook wel door de minder leuke dingen die ik daar heb ervaren. Okay dit is mijn land, dat je daarmee geconfronteerd wordt, van dat je niet echt welkom bent, zeker op de arbeidsmarkt niet. Dan heb je toch zoiets van, mja, dat is toch niet prettig, niet fijn nee."

#8 "... toen in m'n meditatie zag ik mezelf tegenover me zitten, in spiegelbeeld zeg maar. ... langzaam de blik omhoog doen naar mezelf, net voordat ik mezelf in de ogen aankeek, hier stopte ik van... Toen raakte ik heel angstig, toen voelde ik gewoon, als ik nu in m'n ogen kijk, ..., heb ik gewoon gele ogen, gewoon soort van jaguar ogen, ... 'then I snapped out of it', dus toen had ik dus de hele tijd het gevoel dat er een jaguar verstopt zat in m'n huis. ...en ik werd gewoon een beetje bang van m'n eigen kracht..."

#9 "...ik ken ook niemand hier die mij hier meer over kan vertellen, het voelt dan zo spannend in m'n eentje en straks raak ik in iets verstrikt en heb ik juist een nare ervaring in plaats van dat het een mooie ervaring is. ..., omdat ik weet niet hoe het daar gaat zijn, ik voel dat het me zo erg roept, ... die spirituele krachten. Ik voel gewoon dat dat daar is, en dat vind ik gewoon spannend."

#10 "Jeetje, wat lelijk, grijs, vreselijk, kom ik hier van het groene land, warme land."

#11 "…en ik voelde me al thuis daar. Ik vond het heel fijn om in het dorp te zijn, en ik heb een stukje van de cultuur daar ook meegekregen, …. Ik voelde me echt thuis. … voelde als een warme deken, … Dat ik dat als kind heb mogen ervaren daar ben ik heel erg blij mee en het heeft ook invloed op mij gehad, want die binding met Suriname is eigenlijk daardoor gekomen."

#12 …dat is een lastige vraag. Het weerzien natuurlijk. Ook een stukje rust, het is voornamelijk vakantie, dan ga je ook voor rust natuurlijk. Familie opzoeken. Altijd teruggaan naar de dorpen, kan me geen vakantie herinneren dat dat niet is gebeurd ... Hele andere wereld waar in je in stapt, voor mij is dat een stukje rust en thuiskomen voor m'n gevoel.

#13 "Na 4 weken, zei mijn moeder: ik ga met je praten. Ik zeg: wat dan? Mijn moeder: jij hebt heimwee, je wilt naar huis. … Ja, toen had ik van, ja ik wil naar huis, …
…dit is mijn huis, dit is mijn huis. Nederland is mijn huis."

#14 "…alles wat mijn hartje wil, heb ik gewoon hier. Dit is hier mijn land, ja, dat is mijn moederland, maar die binding is veranderd. Door mijn kinderen. Ja, en kleinkinderen."

#15 "Dat is wel iets waarvan ik me meer bewust ben nu, van okay het is wel leuk zo'n blad, maar er zijn best wel grote problemen die spelen bij de inheemse gemeenschap. Wat gebeurt daar eigenlijk? Wat gebeurt daar eigenlijk met onze familie en onze achterban? En wat doen wij dan hier als diaspora, kunnen wij daarin iets betekenen of niet? Ja, dat zijn best wel lastige kwesties, daar houd ik me wel mee bezig."

#16 "Dat komt ook echt omdat ik daar gewoond hebt, weet je wel, omdat ik gewoon heb gezien wat daar allemaal gebeurd, en het me raakt."

#17 "Dan voel ik...dan krijg ik zo'n kippenvel van... ja, het lijkt alsof ik die anderen in de steek heb gelaten, die daar nog steeds zijn. Soms als ik naar Suriname ga, …dan zie je hoe achtergesteld ze zijn, hoe zij zich niet hebben kunnen ontwikkelen … dat vind ik jammer. Ik vind van, ze zijn niet zo ver van de moderne wereld en toch zijn ze zo achtergesteld, wat is het eigenlijk?"

#18 "…en die heeft echt geluk in Nederland, ... Dat ik denk, dat is wel echt pijnlijk om te horen, het is echt niet zo makkelijk om hier als gewoon als enige Wayana rond te lopen."

#19 "Ik vind het raar, ik bedoel, wij zijn broeders. We moeten elkaar steunen. We zijn al met minder hier in Nederland, toch? En dan nog gaan we elkaar zo behandelen, toch? Dat vind ik jammer."

#20 "Ze hebben het moeilijk, maar ze passen zich zoveel mogelijk aan, …. Ze houden rekening met dat ze in Holland zitten … Maar tegelijkertijd hebben ze in de gaten dat ze geen Nederlander zijn. Ze zijn Indiaan. Daar zijn ze van bewust."

#21 "Nee zegt ie, professor word je niet vanzelfsprekend, wij bepalen dat. ... En als je niet stevig in je schoenen voelt, dan ben je weg, omdat je op dat moment, je spreekt hun taal, je kan met ze communiceren, je kan met ze samen eten, alles kan, maar jij kan dat niet worden, mij maken jou dat. Keihard. En het is nog steeds zo, nog steeds zo. Alleen is het zo, dat wij zo nu en dan in de goal staan, …"

#22 "…ik zeg niet over de Indiaanse cultuur, ik zeg onze beschaving. … En op een gegeven moment dat de Westerse cultuur de boel hebben kapot gemaakt, ze hebben ons gewoon uitgemoord, kapot gemaakt, vreselijk. En als ik daar over denk, dan zeg ik wel eens: wat doe ik

eigenlijk hier? Keihard hoor. ... dus wij hebben nog hele boel goed te maken en dat zeg ik ook tegen onze Indiaanse mensen hier."

#23 "Zijn er momenten hier in Nederland die echt Indiaans voelen? Ja. Ik ervaar mijn Indiaans zijn bij het overlijden van de familie, ... en dan gaan ze terug op hun Indiaans hun doden/overledenen beleven, hun zang en muziek en gebed Indiaans. Dan ben ik ook dat moment samen met ze."

#24 "Ik zeg: nee, katholieke leer, er is meer dan dat. NAAM is onze Inheemse leider op de eerste plaats. ... zijn eerste kennismaking met de religie was hoe wij als Inheemsen onszelf zien. Dan vind ik het van belang in aanwezigheid van al z'n familie, ... het Inheemse volk hier in Nederland dat te benadrukken."

#25 "Maar krijg je de kans om je Indiaan te gedragen? Indiaan te denken? Indiaan te voelen in je emoties? ...
Dat is uitgesloten, want daar geeft dus de Nederlandse samenleving, de Nederlandse wetgeving niet de ruimte voor."

#26 " Laten we samen huilen, zeg ik dan. Laten we samen huilen, want dat is het moment dat wij weer samen gekomen zijn van wie we zijn, dus dan huilen we samen, kom we eten samen. Zo is het."

#27 "Dat is op een grote afstand buiten ons om bepaald. Er waren een paar inheemse leiders natuurlijk, maar die zijn, vind ik gemanipuleerd om te veronderstellen dat dat vooruitgang zou brengen. ... Dat is natuurlijk ... een Westerse constructie van vooruitgang die de meeste inheemsen in feite niet begrijpen."

#28 "Ja, als je niet weet wat je betekent als inheemse: economisch, politiek, cultureel, religieus, ... is het moeilijk om in een vreemde beschaving een plaats te krijgen en je krijgt die plaats ook niet, ..."

#29 "... dat mensen weer oude verhalen konden vertellen aan elkaar..., nieuwe verhalen kwamen er ook bij natuurlijk, dat was mooi."

#30 "Ik vroeg ze nog: waarom vieren we eigenlijk deze dag? De meeste wisten het niet, ze zeggen: ja, gewoon een dag voor ons, klaar. Maar wat is het doel eigenlijk? Daar kunnen ze geen antwoord op geven."

#31 "Elk jaar dat we het vieren, wil ik het eigenlijk groots vieren, wil ik laten blijken dat wij nog steeds bestaan, dat wij erkenning willen hebben in de samenleving. En dat is het belangrijkste voor mij."

#32 "... dat ik me gewoon heel fijn voel dat ik die mensen om me heen heb, die niet alleen het strijdbare hebben, maar ook gewoon dat je een beetje weet dat ze ook dat soort rustige of zachtaardige ... je zit gewoon wel op een bepaald level. Qua natuur rechten, landrechten, het is altijd wel een soort gedeelde visie die je hebt."

#33 "Dus dat is wel iets nieuws voor mij, om me daar mee bezig te houden. Het is eigenlijk een nieuwe dimensie aan inheems zijn. Ja."

#34 "...dat geeft je wel een heel goed gevoel, je geeft expressie aan datgene wat je weet en wat je wilt uitdragen ja, dus ik wil er zeker mee verder gaan."

#35 "En ik zag wat er gebeurde: dus dat er Indiaanse liedjes/Arowakse liederen werden gezongen, en dan wilde ik dat ook leren. Ja, ik vond het hartstikke leuk hoe iedereen zo'n plezier aan het maken was, en dat de hele familie bezig was met klederdracht maken, en hoe dat er uit zag, nou, dat was gewoon een lust voor het oog. Dus ja, ik twijfelde er helemaal niet over om dan ook mee te doen, want ik vond het allemaal, dat ik dacht van: wauw."

#36 "Dus ja, dus zodoende heb ik eigenlijk meer geleerd over van wat is eigenlijk Arowaks? Waar komen ze vandaan? Wat is hun geschiedenis? M'n oom had ook best wel een groot archief met veel boeken enz., dus ik ging veel lezen."

#37 "… wij zijn niet op oorlog uit, wij zijn voor samenhorigheid en vrede, en voor sociale maatschappelijk dingen zijn wij goed in. Misschien kan de wereld van ons leren."

#38 "Dat is wie ik ben. … Dus in die zin doe ik dan mijn cultuur daarin, dat is mijn inheems zijn."

#39 "Wij zijn naar Amerika gegaan, naar New York, voor een vergadering. Ze hebben 5 mannen in één kamer gestopt. En ze hebben aangegeven voor 5 kamers. En waar is het geld naar toe? … Dan ben je bij zo'n belangrijke vergadering in New York, … het hoofd van de VN gaat spreken. Hij moest is zien hoe wij in een hotelkamer daar met z'n vijven op de grond lagen."

#40 "…ik kan niet anders zeggen dan dat ik me geroepen voel om iets te doen. … alles wat ik heb eigenlijk, ja, zet ik in, om toch, al is het maar een heel klein beetje iets, te veranderen in de positieve zin. Dus als we het over activisme hebben, …. bij mij zit dat er wel in."

#41 "…en dan komen ze tot leven. Als ik verhalen vertel, dan denk ik van: inderdaad zo ging dat, … Dat vind ik zo waardevol dat ik dat mee heb gekregen en dat dat vastgelegd wordt of gedocumenteerd wordt nu."

#42 "…tot mijn verbazing zegt die man tegen mij van: je moet je niet bezighouden met duivelse dingen, hè? Je moet naar de kerk gaan. … dacht ik van: ben je verblind geraakt door je geloof? Ben je vergeten wat ik niet zo lang geleden met jullie heb gedaan waardoor het zo goed is gekomen dat je gelukkig bent samen? … Als ik iets doe, laat ik je zien wat ik doe. Ik ga niet met een gordijn of achter de deur dingen doen, dat jij niet gaat zien wat ik doen. Je bent erbij betrokken. … Dacht ik van: wauw, maar goed, dat soort dingen kom ik tegen, maar het houdt me niet tegen om het niet te doen.

#43 "Ze gaf me een Kasiri, en ze komt een tweede keer terug, en ze zei van: eigenlijk moet ik jou niet geven. Ik zeg: waarom niet? Heb ik niet betaald ofzo? Ze zei: ja jij bent niet inheems. Ik zeg: hoezo? Ja, maar inheemse mensen hebben geen krullend haar (als ik m'n haar zo groei, dan krijg ik krullen). Maar toch ben ik inheems. Ik zeg: maar waarom wil je me uitsluiten? Om me niet te geven die drank? Ja, ze is alleen maar voor puur indiaan. Ik bedoel, waar slaat dat op? Eigenlijk slaat het nergens op. Het is voor iedereen. Ik heb geleerd van die drank is voor iedereen."

#44 "… dat ik het best wel interessant vind dat heel veel inheemsen mensen die ik ken in Nederland, zo erg zijn van je moet soort van je traditionele kleding dragen, of je moet dit of je moet dat, terwijl ik daar juist heel erg tegen ben. …. Dat is, zo statisch vasthouden aan iets, ik weet bijvoorbeeld ook dat de Wayana ook niet alleen maar traditionele kleding dragen …"

#45 "Toen zei ze: … dus als er mensen mee willen, …, dan moet je wel in je traditionele kleding komen. … Dat vond ik zo vervelend dat ik dacht: hoezo moet dat? Ben je anders niet inheems? Of hoezo moet je aan de NAAM WINKEL mensen laten zien dat je inheems bent? ... kreeg ik gewoon een nare vibe van. … als ze het zelf wil doen, doe het maar lekker. Als je er maar niet andere mensen er mee over gaat 'judgen' … of dat je zo'n beeld hebt van je kan alleen maar inheems zijn als je echt je zo en zo gedraagt of zo kleedt. Zo ben ik echt niet, maar ik merk dat veel inheemse mensen dat misschien wel een beetje hebben."

#46 "Ik geef altijd het voorbeeld: ze hebben de mensen daar vaak ontmoet vrijwel in hun nakie, weet je. Ja, als je verslagleggingen leest …, is het van ja die mensen zijn zo onderontwikkeld, ... Die lopen nog in hun nakie rond. En nu zie ik hier overal naaktstranden, …. Dus dan denk ik, ja waar zijn we mee bezig, iedereen back to the roots. Ik denk van ja, wie is nou gek, die mensen waren trendsetters!"

#47 "Ja, ik heb wel echt het idee dat Inheemse volken echt iets te verkondigen hebben, en vooral in deze tijd. ... we moeten onze stem laten horen. … Sowieso ben ik helemaal klaar met van we spelen een slachtoffer, we zijn geen slachtoffer, maar we hebben een rol te vervullen en zelfs een nood is er om onze stem te laten horen, want we hebben namelijk heel belangrijke kennis die we moeten delen."

#48 "Nee, eigenlijk vertel ik heel weinig over m'n achtergrond, waarschijnlijk ben ik zo geïntegreerd in de maatschappij dat ik daar niet bij stil sta, van hé, ik ben inheems. Ik ben inheemse, … ik zal daarin niet veranderen"

#49 "... Plus je ziet dan andere, gewoon witte mensen in hun cowboy en Indianen pakje, soort van sexy outfit, dat je ook denkt van: jullie zijn echt vervelend. Heel veel mensen hebben echt een idee je kan heel erg vrouwen seksualiseren, wat überhaupt gebeurt bij vrouwen van kleur..."

#50 "Ik heb wel is gehoord: bestaan Indianen echt? Wauw, ja, dat is wel heel interessant dat mensen er totaal geen weet van hebben eigenlijk, ook eigenlijk best wel zielig."

#51 "…dan zei ik waar ik vandaan kwam, en dan zeiden mensen: oh, ik dacht dat er geen Indianen meer bestonden! Dat ik echt dacht van zo van ouch ouch, waarom moet je dat zeggen?"

#52 "…en dan zeggen ze: oh je bent Indiaan. … en dan zeiden mensen: oh, dus je komt uit India. Dus het was altijd een heel gedoe en niemand snapte het, dus daarom dacht ik zeg maar gewoon niets. …
Vooral omdat mensen dan niet snappen dat Indiaan een problematisch woord is."

#53 "Ze zeggen: ik kijk naar achter, ik moet niet terugkijken, ik moet vooruitkijken. Dat is wel zo. Maar ik bedoel, mijn geschiedenis, uit mijn geschiedenis moet ik leren, en daarom kijk ik steeds achteruit naar mijn afkomst, naar mijn roots, naar mijn opvoeding. Wat heb ik geleerd, wat heb ik meegekregen? Kan ik best wel nog gebruiken, toch? …, dat kan niemand van je afpakken."

#54 "Als ik dit zou zeggen aan een wildvreemde die hier in de straat zou wonen: mevrouw, hebt u wel eens een Indiaan hier in Nederland gezien of ontmoet? Dan weet ik honderd procent zeker: nee, wie zijn dat? Een Suriname Indiaan? Oh nee, ik zie ze niet."

#55 "... …en dan komt mijn volk eindelijk aan bod. … die komt dan met een trommel, met een muziekinstrument, ze zingen, ze zijn weg. … Ik ben zo verbogen hierover, nu heb je kans om

wat te zeggen. … Waar ben ik? Waar sta ik? Waar zijn mensen? … Er zijn ook kunstenaars die bekend zijn onder ons, waar zijn die kunstenaars dan? Dat is zo een gemiste kans."

#56 "… heel mijn leven was dat stukje van mij een mooi stuk, maar doordat het geen erkenning krijgt en niemand er iets om geeft voor m'n gevoel, is het niet iets om trots op te zijn of praat ik er niet echt over, dat heb ik dus altijd gehad. …, als er gewoon ook meer in Nederland meer erkenning was, meer aandacht voor de Inheemse gemeenschap, zou dat voor heel veel mensen fijn zijn. … dan herken je jezelf"

#57 "De Indiaan is een inwoner in Nederland, ja, inwoner in Nederland die in feite niet gezien wordt. Maar pas op met wat ik zeg: die niet gezien wordt, maar dan spreek ik Nederlands. Het niet gezien worden in Nederlandse taal hier, … betekent in feite, hebben ze niet veel te vertellen en ook niet, ze betekenen niet veel, want pas als je wat doet, word je gezien. Ik zal niet overdrijven, maar zeker 95% van de hier verblijvende Inheemse Surinamers wordt in feite door hun Nederlandse samenleving niet gezien."

Appendix III – List of Consulted Archives (in Dutch)

Rotterdam City Archive

1407   Archief van het Museum voor (Land- en) Volkenkunde te Rotterdam: 728 Stukken betreffende het organiseren van de reizende tentoonstelling Surinaamse Indianen in Nederland

International Institute for Social History (IISH)

Archief Stichting "Wij en Zij". Internationaal Solidariteitsfonds van de FNV (Amsterdam):

    110. Suriname

Documentatiecollectie Solidariteitsbewegingen in Nederland:

    20. Solidariteitsbewegingen voor Surinamers en Antillianen.

    52. Organisaties I (Inheemse Raad in Nederland)

    140-141. Latijns-Amerika / Latin America. 1967-1992.

    164. Suriname. 1964-1994.

Collectie Ton Beumer:

    4.6. Publicaties uit Nederland betreffende indianen. 1976-1983.

    6.5. Documentatie betreffende Suriname. 1978.

    8.4. Periodieken uit Nederland betreffende indianen en andere inheemse volken. 1979-1983.

    9.4. Pamfletten uit Nederland betreffende inheemse volken. 1973-1985.

    10.4. Stukken betreffende indianen in Suriname. 1978-1981.

Collectie Suriname Comité:

    3. Stukken betreffende: het sociologisch onderzoek door dr. G. J. Kruyer . 1969-1971. het "Rijst"project (aktiemateriaal en enige correspondentie). 1971-1976. een brievenactie tegen de Nederlandse Volks Unie (NVU) . 1977. de Partij van de Nationalistische Republiek (PNR) . 1970-1971. Indianen in Suriname. 1971-1973. 1 doos

5. Stukken betreffende welzijnswerk onder Surinamers. 1975. Publicaties (scripties e.d.) over Surinamers in Nederland. 1970-1974. Rapporten, artikelen, pamfletten en stencils. Diverse jaren. 1 doos

43. Documentatie inzake video's over Suriname en Surinamers in Nederland. 1976-1977 en z.j. 1 map

44. Overige documentatie over Suriname en over Surinamers in Nederland. 1963, 1973-1975, 1982 en z.j. 1 map

Archief Vluchtelingen en illegalen en Anti-Europa:

Doos 001A Map 4.2. Inheemse volken.1987-1997.

Archief Melkweg:

76. Stukken betreffende gehouden tentoonstellingen, themaweken en overige activiteiten inzake indianen en andere inheemse volken. 1980-1982.

Collectie Sociale Documentatie Sociale Bewegingen (CSD):

32. Dossier betreffende Suriname. 1975-1980. 1 map.

281. Dossier betreffende Surinaamse indianen. 1987. 1 map.

317. Dossier betreffende het festival 'Indianen en andere inheemse volken'. 1987. 1 map.

335. Dossier met een inventaris van het tijdschriftenbestand van de Werkgroep Inheemse Volken. 1987. 1 map.

504-510. Dossiers met materiaal uit en betreffende Suriname. 1976-1988. 7 mappen.

Archief Nederlands Centrum voor Inheemse Volken (Amsterdam):

32. Suriname

Appendix IV – Surinamese Indigenous Diaspora Organizations (from 1973 onwards)

This appendix provides an overview of the main Surinamese Indigenous diaspora organizations that were founded from 1974 onwards. SCV stands for socio-cultural association (*sociaal-culturele vereninging)*. Some other relevant organizations have also been included, as they either worked together with Surinamese Indigenous peoples in the Netherlands or had Surinamese Indigenous peoples active in the organization. It is important to note that many of these organizations do not exist anymore today. For those that do, it has been indicated (as far as is known to the author). This overview does not include those organizations that have been set-up in the last 20 years, as the aim is to give an idea of the scale of organizing taking place during the period as discussed in Chapter 4. The main source that has been used to make this overview is by Schoorl (1989), but those sources found during the archival research have been added to provide a more complete summary and overview.

Name	Year	City
Working Group Indigenous Peoples (WIP - Werkgroep Inheemse Volkeren)	**1969**	**Amsterdam**
Human rights organization dedicated to the protection of Indigenous rights and promotion of Indigenous cultures. It worked closely together with Surinamese Indigenous peoples, especially during the interior war (see Chapter 4).		
Working Group Indians SURINA (Werkgroep Indianen SURINA)	**March 1974**	**Arnhem**
This is most likely the first-founded Surinamese Indigenous diaspora organization in the Netherlands. The specific goals of the working group have been discussed in Chapter 4.		
Association Yarowato (Stichting Yarowato)	**1st of February 1979**	**Utrecht**
This association focused on the Surinamese Indigenous community in the Netherlands, and it aimed to support projects by and for Indigenous peoples in Suriname. Additionally, the association organized socio-cultural activities for amongst others women and children (Schoorl, 1989).		

Name	Year	City
Association Support Indians and Maroons Suriname **(Stichting Ondersteuning Indianen en Boslandcreolen Suriname, O.I.B.S.)**	**24th of February 1979**	**Utrecht**

This association was founded to create a space for Indigenous peoples and Maroons in the Netherlands to meet and organize socio-cultural activities. Another goal was to support Indigenous and Maroon organizations in Suriname with their activities and fight for land rights, amongst others through fundraising, dissemination of information and the organization of various activities. On the 10th of March 1979, the O.I.B.S. organized a manifestation in Rotterdam under the slogan 'land rights are human rights' (O.I.B.S., 1979).

SCV Tukayana	**19th of September 1982**	**Maarssenbroek**

This was a national association focused on the Kaliña peoples living in the Netherlands. Apart from organizing cultural gatherings, the association was also part of the organization *Musiro* (also introduced in this appendix), took part in congresses, supported the Indigenous refugees in Suriname and worked on a Kaliña language course (Schoorl, 1989).

SCV Wajonong	**23rd of February 1985**	**Rotterdam**

The word Wajonong expresses unity, unanimity, togetherness (Namen et al., 1992). It is one of the few remaining Surinamese Indigenous organizations that still exists today, recently celebrating its 35th anniversary. Originally the organization has been set up as a Lokono association, but today it has a broader focus and includes also other Surinamese Indigenous peoples. It organized many different activities, mostly cultural (e.g. cultural gatherings, performances of Lokono music and dance), but it was also part of the P.I.O.N., the 12 October Manifest and the Action Committee (see this overview for more information).

SCV Paramu	**7th of December 1985**	**Breda**

Paramu was a smaller cultural association, focused on those Surinamese Indigenous peoples living in the region of Breda. They organized various activities such as excursions, cultural days, informal gatherings, children's afternoon, sports activities and bingo (Schoorl, 1989).

Name	Year	City
SCV Yamore/Jamore	**1986**	**Rotterdam**

Yamore means mental/spiritual strength and wisdom. This association came forth out of SCV Tukayana. Once every two weeks the members gathered in a community centre in Rotterdam. They focused mostly on song and dance, as well as social activities (Schoorl, 1989).

Name	Year	City
Association Wayamu (Stichting Wayamu)	**22nd of January 1986**	**Amsterdam**

Wayamu means a turtle that is not fast, but can certainly reach her destination. The organization consisted not only of Surinamese Indigenous peoples, but also other Indigenous peoples from South-America. It was also one of the few diaspora organizations that got involved on the international level, as discussed in Chapter 4. It focused on the preservation of Indigenous cultures and language (especially for those Surinamese Indigenous peoples in the Netherlands), to improve the position of the Indigenous peoples (in Suriname and the Netherlands) and raise attention for the existence of Surinamese Indigenous peoples in the Netherlands. It also had a specific youth section, which came forth out of two Indigenous soccer teams who always participated in the Surinamese Kwakoe soccer tournament in Amsterdam (Schoorl, 1989). Finally, it was also part of the P.I.O.N., the 12 October Manifest and the Action Committee (see this appendix for more information).

Name	Year	City
SCV Ikyoshi	**27th of March 1986**	**Haarlem**

Ikyoshi literally means point of light, figuratively ray of hope. It was a socio-cultural association for Lokono people, also with their own music group. The association organized cultural parties, music, song and dance activities as well as classes for the youth. Simultaneously, it collaborated with various partners such as the University of Amsterdam, aiming to document and maintain the Lokono language and music culture (Schoorl, 1989). This has resulted in a Lokono language course and the publication of a Lokono dictionary (Baarle, Sabajo, Stap, Sabajo, & Sabajo, 1989), as well as an investigation of the Lokono language tradition in the Netherlands (the work of Mink (1992) as discussed in Chapter 1).

Name	Year	City
SCV Paramu	**21st of June 1986**	**Tilburg**

This was also a smaller cultural association (also with non-Indigenous people), focused on those Surinamese Indigenous peoples living in the region of Tilburg. They organized various activities such as exhibitions, cultural nights and excursions (Schoorl, 1989).

Name	Year	City
Association Kaikoesie (Stichting Kaikoesie)	**11th of November 1986**	**Amsterdam**

Kaikoesie, meaning human or family, is one of the organizations that was founded in light of the interior war (as discussed in Chapter 4). The main goal of the association was to provide humanitarian aid to the Indigenous refugees in French-Guyana, but it also organized for example trainings and support for (Surinamese) Indigenous peoples in the region of Amsterdam (Schoorl, 1989). It is one of the few diaspora associations that still exists today, organizing different activities and events. For example, the association has a research group, dedicated to historical research from an Indigenous perspective (Stichting Kaikoesie, 2019).

Name	Year	City
Platform for Indian Organizations in the Netherlands – P.I.O.N. (Platform Indiaanse Organisaties Nederland)	**1986**	**Unknown**

This was an overarching network/organization that consisted of nine different Surinamese Indigenous associations: *SCV Tukayana*, *SCV Wajonong*, *SCV Paramu*, *SCV Ikyoshie*, *SCV Jamore*, *Association Yarowato*, *Association Wayamu* and *Association Un Doro*. Together they formed the Platform for Indian Organisations in the Netherlands. The activities of P.I.O.N. have been discussed in Chapter 4.

Name	Year	City
12 October Manifest (12 Oktober Manifest)	**Unknown (most likely around 1986)**	**Amsterdam**

The 12 October Manifest was an overarching organization which consisted of various Indigenous diaspora groups: Wajonong, Wayamu, Mapuche Committee Netherlands, Projecto Argentino Mapuche, Working Group Indigenous Peoples (WIP), Quechua and Aymara in the Netherlands. It aim was to fight for Indigenous rights in the Americas, and their activities have been discussed in Chapter 4.

Name	Year	City
Tuna Sarapa Suriname	**Unknown (most likely around 1988)**	**Amsterdam**

Tuna means water in the Kaliña language, and Sarapa means arrow in the Lokono language. This was a political organization (both Kaliña and Lokono) that supported the interests of the Indigenous peoples of Suriname and their right to self-determination over their lands. One of their main activities was to put political pressure on the relevant (governmental) institutions in both Suriname and the Netherlands (Schoorl, 1989).

Name	Year	City
Action Committee to support the Amazon Indians in Suriname (Aktiecommittee ter ondersteuning van de Amazone Indianen in Suriname)	**3rd of September 1989**	**Amsterdam**
This organization was a direct response to the involvement of the Tucayana Amazones during the interior war in Suriname. It consisted of the following diaspora organizations: Wayamu, Tunasarapa Suriname, Warokuma, Yarome, Ikyoshei, Kaikoesie, Wakay, Wajonong and Paramu (Aktiecommittee, 1989). See Chapter 4 for more information about their activities.		
Musiro Association for Indian Culture (Musiro Stichting voor Indiaanse Cultuur)	**Unknown**	**Amsterdam**
Association for research and education about the Indigenous peoples of the Americas. During the International Congress of Americanist on the 4-8th of July 1988, Musiro organized a symposium called 'Indian Vision: land, culture, language and human rights' (Musiro, 1988).		
Indigenous Council in the Netherlands (Inheemse Raad in Nederland)	**5th of February 1995**	**Amsterdam**
The Indigenous Council consisted of various Indigenous peoples (from all over the world) residing in the Netherlands. Their aim was to serve the interests of the Indigenous peoples worldwide from the Netherlands, also talking to the relevant institutions and to watch the political agenda of the U.N. Decade of the World's Indigenous people starting in 1995 (Kaisiepo, 1995).		

Other associations that were mentioned in the different archival materials, but with no more information about their foundation and activities:

- Hanaba Lokono Karina: dance- and music group consisting of both Kaliña and Lokono. The name means 'We Indians become conscious' (Werkgroep Indianen Project, 1980)
- OBIN: Surinamese Indigenous music- and dance group
- Working Group Indians the Hague (Werkgroep Indianen Den Haag).