

What the 'Other' thinks of 'Us'

The 'European brand' seen from a postcolonial perspective

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*“I do not own my reputation”
(Mercer, 1996, p.7)*

Master Human Geography
Europe: Borders, Identities and Governance

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*Cover: a Surinamese woman in kotomisi – traditional garments appropriated during slavery – looks at an ambiguous Dutch-EU flag. Source: own; picture taken during Ketikoti celebration in Amsterdam 1 July, 2012

Acknowledgements

This December, it is exactly one year ago that I returned from my journey to Suriname. A process of outlining and adjusting my thesis, analyzing data, writing down findings, drawing conclusions and a lot of rewriting followed. However, six weeks later the process was interrupted as I left the Netherlands again, this time to seize the opportunity of doing an internship with the Netherlands Embassy in Jordan. Although I have to admit it was a difficult process, I am very happy to present the resulting master thesis in front of you.

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Mi hati sidon,

Lorenzo

Executive Summary

In this geopolitical master thesis, a relatively underexposed ‘trialectic of relations’ in the field of international politics is introduced to the reader, namely that of the European Union, the Netherlands and Suriname – a former colony of the latter. This is not a random selection of political entities, but one that shows interdependencies that are primarily reliant on the Netherlands as a binding factor. In order to get a better perspective on the consequences of this interdependent relationship for the mutual power relations, the interconnectedness between images of the Netherlands and the European Union among people living in the former colony has been uncovered and analyzed. As such, this study was involved with underexplored fields of imaging, and contributes to a better self-perspective for the two political entities on possibilities for increasing influence.

The focus of this research shows a concern with struggles over global political space through ‘soft power’ relations and represents a belief in the importance of discursive structures for our construction and interpretation of reality. Corresponding with poststructuralist thinking, it is the idea that these discursive structures do not stand alone, but are balanced through reciprocal relations with autonomous subjects. By complementing this ontology with the humanistic interpretation of agency, it is assumed that individuals are key in assigning meaning to space and place through inter-subjective processes. However, meaning does not always show directly and phenomena often conceal greater importance than might be thought at first. Binary oppositions, for instance, shelter hidden power relations. Likewise, images are constructed as part of an identity formation process, which thrives on ‘Othering’. Deconstruction serves the purpose of revealing those relations and postcolonialism, here, provides the framework for achieving this. This all accumulates in the theory that political and societal entities possess both a ‘reputation’ and a ‘brand’, which amount to ‘soft power’. While reputation is based on actions, a brand is based on characteristics, both resulting from the imagination of ‘Others’ – as opposed to self-perception and identity which stem from one’s own perspective.

To get a grip on the images of those ‘Others’ in Suriname, a triangulation design has been deployed as research strategy. This type of design allows for the use of both quantitative and qualitative methods at the same time. In this case, a survey was used to collect a dataset of 163 images, outlined along four indicators (i.e. Governance, Economy, Culture and Society). Qualitative data was collected through 17 field interviews with 15 people living in Suriname. Different computer software

programs (i.e. Excel, SPSS and Atlas.ti) were then used throughout the thesis to represent and analyze the images and the relations between them.

In order to provide a framework for deconstruction, both the contemporary and past relationships between Suriname and the Netherlands and Suriname and the European Union have been explored. The bilateral relationship between Suriname and the EU-member state appeared to be troubled, but permanent. The bi-regional relationship between the EU and the Caribbean, through which relations with Suriname are maintained, appeared less concrete.

Based on these two postcolonial geographies, collected images are first presented and thereafter deconstructed. Different indicators that contributed to either the positive or negative nature of those images for the Netherlands, and often both, were primarily related to its interferences with Suriname. While this matches the notion of the Netherlands as a government administration, three more concepts were found to be constitutive of the comprehensive image, namely: country, society and the individual. Furthermore, the images showed a profoundly evident importance of societal relations for the 'brand' of the Netherlands. A lot less indicators were found to explain the image of the European Union and doubts were casted about the existence of a European identity, exposing the diversity of the different nations. Nevertheless, the entity was strongly branded as 'Utopia'. The power relation that stands at the basis of the different images of both the Netherlands and the European Union, whether positive or negative, was identified to be imperialistic in nature. Divides derivative of colonial times were observed by interviewees through hypocrisy, pedantry and paternalism.

Finally, both correlations and causal relations were discovered. Even without asking, interviewees bluntly admitted that they based their responses, to questions regarding their images of the European Union, on their images of the Netherlands. Moreover, inductive reasoning turned out to take place at the level of determining an image of the European people, whereas the Dutch served as example.

Imaging the European Union and Europeans seems to be a whole new practice. Consequently, it can be concluded that the relation of the EU with Suriname is currently hindered by the colonial ties of its member state. Integrating policies is one thing, but to merge reputations is another.

**Disclaimer: as this research evolved around images, which are unfixed and context-dependent, statements are not necessarily related to the current perceptions interview partners might have.*

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Chapter 1. Trialectic of relations – an introduction

Before diving directly into the topic under study and the theories and methods used to learn more about it, this chapter first traces back the ‘Why?-question’ of the research. Besides, it will give some general introduction to the subjects and its context which will be in focus later on. While reading this introductory chapter, you will also encounter the pursued research goal and its accompanying research question.

1.1 Destination Paramaribo

On the 24th of May 2012, the European Parliament expressed its wish to search for another destination for the 24th session of its Joint Parliamentary Assembly with counterparts from former colonies in Africa, the Caribbean and the Pacific (ACP). Apparently the majority of euro-parliamentarians was convinced it had some problems with Suriname, the tropical country in South-America where the half year meeting would take place. However, it was not ‘the European Union’ (EU) that started the debate on Suriname. In fact the proposal for relocating the summit had originated from some of the Dutch Members of the European Parliament (i.e. Toine Manders). And not by chance, the Netherlands is the former mother country of Suriname. So one might not question *what* the problem was the euro-parliamentarians were convinced of, but *how* they were convinced of there being a problem. Eventually, in a compromise with the ACP-countries, it was decided to block the Surinamese president from the meeting. While all this was meant to send out a signal, I wonder whether there was a real consideration of how this endeavor must have felt like in the host country. Did it color perceptions or even damage the reputation of the EU? Or has the EU in this case profited from the attempted ‘Dutch boycott’, by showing that it is different? The answers on these questions rely partially on the thesis set out here.

1.2 A goal and a question

The above described incident introduces three parties to us: the Netherlands, the European Union (represented by its parliament) and Suriname (which is an ACP country; the collective of which might have been indicated as a fourth party, were it not that there is little coherence). They all have their particular relations with each other, they deal differently with each other, and their people also think differently of each other. The actual state of affairs between two of these parties and the actions and thoughts linked to it are all interconnected, possibly even in a causal way. So if, for instance, the

Netherlands puts more effort in European cooperation than it gets or perceives to get out of it, the Dutch are likely not to think positive of the EU and will try to minimize its influence. Or if Suriname is largely dependent on its trade relations with the EU, it will try to meet demands of the EU and take its remarks seriously. But what are the links between the relations between the entities themselves? Is the one relation connected to the other? Does a negative relationship between the

Netherlands and Suriname result in a negative relationship between the EU and Suriname? How this all could be assessed, differs on base of the specific perspectives of each of the three actors. In this research, the perspective of the Surinamese people is central. The above has been illustrated in Figure 1.

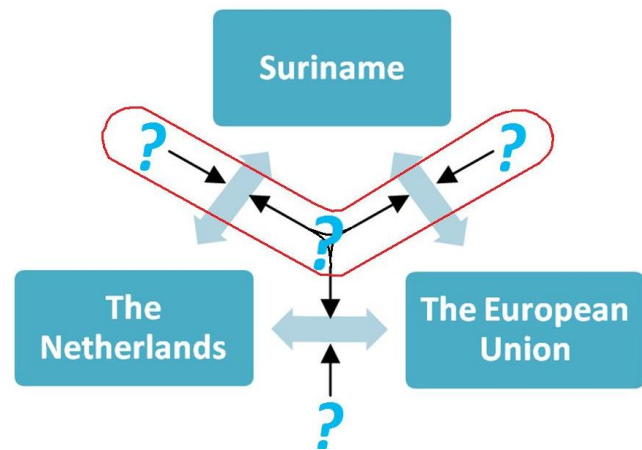


Figure 1. Focus of research within the trialectic of relations - Thick arrows represent perceived relations; middle question mark interconnectedness; outer question marks factors of influence. Source: author's own.

The starting point of this thesis is formed by the aim of the EU to “increase the Union’s political and economic influence in the world” (Ashton, 2010, p.2). As a solitary actor it seeks to intensify its relations with the rest of the world, including Suriname. It might in this way try to shape a “spatial identity of the self ... [which is] to be conceived of as a node, as a dynamic equilibrium in a network of relations, as a space of flows” (Castells in Ernste, 2004, p.448). At present, the process of Europeanization is no longer bound to the European continent as European institutions have started to build new international relations independently from their member states – the ACP-EU Parliamentary Assembly being an example. European cooperation escaped the confined borders of the safe and familiar EU territory. Theoretically, it means that also in the field of international relations work is being done to combine the interests of all member states, prioritizing it over national interests. However, in practice some member states appear to have a stronger influence in decision making processes than others (Tallberg, 2007). The merit (external goal) of this research is that it will broaden the foundations for assessing the reality of the political aspiration of the EU in relation to Suriname. As a former colony of one of the EU member states, thus being one of the ACP countries, Suriname holds a special and – although eroding (ACP Press, 2012) – preferential relationship with the EU. Possibilities for the EU to deepen this relationship, and increase its political and economic influence, can evidently be assessed from a European perspective. However, it might likewise be prudent to also assess the feasibility of such an effort from the perspective of the associate. Indulgence by Suriname is key to the potential of strengthening the relationship.

Concerning the potential for building an own relationship with Suriname, it must also be said that the Netherlands still plays an important role in its former colony, were it not only because of Dutch being the official language. Any other party which would like to strengthen its position within Suriname has to gain ground on the Netherlands. For the EU in specific, this can form either a disadvantage or an advantage. One of the practical problems in increasing the influence of the EU would be that it did not succeed in obtaining prominence among many people outside Europe (Fioramonti and Poletti, 2008, p.169). In an explanatory manner, the research aimed at sketching both the actual relations between the Netherlands and Suriname and Suriname and the EU, and the actions surrounding them, all seen from a Surinamese perspective. In that way, the Surinamese people themselves were central to the research. It were thus primarily 'their' experiences and perceptions which formed the main objects of research. What is called the internal goal of the research, was to obtain information from 'the Other' about 'Us' – insofar there is distinction. Moreover, the thesis will present the specific individual, but also general and societal views on 'ourselves', both in the Netherlands and in the EU. However, while reading this thesis, one should be aware of the theoretical impossibility of representation of 'the other' by 'the self' (see Barnett, 1996; Alcoff, 1991). One way or another, "there is no doubt that ... Europe as a whole, and not simply because of the modern entity created by the European Union", has an image (Beardsell, 2008, p.214). It is this image, and its attributes, such as strength and clarity, which I attempted to disclose. In that way the thesis anticipates on the following observation:

Only through the study of perceptions, political language, beliefs, ideologies, and political thought can one understand and respond politically to transformations, changes, instabilities, and crises ... In order to overcome self-centrism and to accomplish less instrumentalized relations, i.e. freed from binary stigmatizations, one not only has to investigate perceptions of Europe and the EU about itself, but also, and with at least the same importance, perceptions of Europe and the EU from 'outside'. (Stivachtis, 2012, p.1)

Blending these different aims together, the » *central research goal* « has been:

to explore the reputation and brand of the European Union in connection to that of the Netherlands, among Surinamese people living in Suriname, by uncovering and analyzing individual and collective images of the governance of and societal relations with both entities, and the relationships between those images.

This study fits within the critical geopolitical tradition, forming part of a “body of research aimed at deconstructing geopolitical discourses and disclosing the hidden power relations behind them” (Mamadouh in Jones and Sage, 2010, p.320). Ultimately, the goal is to reveal the plurality and complexity of things. A » *central research question* « has been posed to give guidance in taking the necessary steps to achieve the central research goal. It reflects the focus on the image of the EU as being the main instigator for its reputation. In Chapter 2.1 it will become clear why. The central question has been:

what do the political and societal images that people in Suriname uphold about the Netherlands and the European Union tell us about the persistence of postcolonial power relations?

This thesis will thus encounter issues relating to the colonial history of the relations between the Netherlands and the Surinamese people; and changes in the notions of Europe among the Surinamese people. §2.4 will show how the goal of revealing a reputation can be linked to a question concerning images. Sub questions are posed as part of the research strategy in §3.1.

1.3 Societal relevance

There is no need to look far to notice the relevance of the research which has been conducted. In fact, the main starting point for the research itself – the strive for increased influence by the EU – is a practical motive. Although it will be analyzed from a rather abstract, theoretical point of view, the question concerning reputation and processes of image formation is persistently practical.

1.3.1 Reputation and behavior

It almost goes without saying that it is important to take your reputation, the image you call to mind among people (see §2.4), in consideration. Firstly, because it can clarify why people treat you the way they do (Knox & Marston, 2007, p.223); “in international relations, reputation is argued to be particularly important because ... states have a choice of whom to cooperate with” (Brewster, 2009, p.244). Secondly, knowledge about your reputation allows you to anticipate on behavior towards you. For a country this might have economic benefits, since also:

purchase decision are sometimes taken based on the way in which the more general environmental conditions of the country where the product is made (such as its strategic position in world politics) are being perceived. Thus, ... it is of vital importance to properly manage their 'national images'. (Brijs, 2006, p.2)

In a similar way, reputation also has effect in the field of migration; people base their decisions to migrate on their cognitive imagery (Thomas-Hope, 2002; Knox & Marston, 2007, p.221). In essence, this acknowledges the importance of a reputation or competitive identity for a country. It is commonly accepted that the images that people have of another country are of great significance (Yang, et al., 2012, p.653). "A state that ignores its reputation in the short run will face greater costs in the long run" (Brewster, 2009, p.266).

1.3.2 Strengths and weaknesses

Anholt, who conducts surveys on the perceptions of countries, acknowledges that perceptions about countries cannot be manipulated – "in many circumstances, the reputation of the state is unconnected with the actions of government leaders" (Brewster, 2009, p.254) –, but describes three things that can be done about an international image (2009, p.6). The first, and the one which will be carried out in this research, is to understand and monitor it. In this way, the research will reveal strengths and weaknesses of the images of both the Netherlands and the EU.

The question what 'Europe' is, is "a question that will always be of current interest" (Derrida in Gasche, 2008, p.287); "a question that by essence projects itself beyond boundaries, particularly, those of a geographical, political, and cultural entity called 'Europe'" (Gasche, 2008, p.287). The sheer number of articles about perspectives on and images of the EU (see Euro Identities, 2008; Ilonszki, 2010) might already indicate the relevance of this. Concepts such as democracy, civil society and rights-based political culture have been identified as the core values of the EU (Youngs, 2004, p.416). Though, most images created of either Europe or the EU come from within the continent itself and thus can be called 'Eurocentric' (Wintle, 2008, p.23). Eurocentrism assumes European values and accompanying views of reality to be universal (Barnett, 2006, p.149). Meanwhile, there is "a lack of engagement with the question of how the EU is seen from the outside" (Bachmann, 2013, p.459). Moreover, the term 'Europe' does not always bring an image to mind (Hampe, 2008, p.21), and the same might even be better applicable to the concept 'European Union'. During times of inclusion and exclusion, as embodied by the enlargement process, "questions of 'who we are' ... are deeply problematic" (Laffan, 1996, p.83).

Also the Netherlands could learn about its strengths and weaknesses from another point of view. Although Suriname of course forms a specific case, this research might reveal some of the strengths and weaknesses of the Netherlands, which it is known for internationally. Furthermore, the research is useful for locating those relations that contain (soft) power of both the European Union and the Netherlands. It shows certain characteristics of either EU or Dutch governance, which might make the EU or the Netherlands appear as an attractive partner to cooperate with.

1.3.3 Colonial resonance

Related to the questions concerning identity and power, Burity indicated “that more attention is still required towards ... how ‘Europe’ as a signifier of civilisation and social advancement as well as of colonialism and imperialism crosses over into its current description as the ‘European Union’” (2012, p.81; see also Bachmann, 2013). Connections between the reputation of the EU and that of its separate member states might work to the detriment of the EU, as the Union includes some off the formerly most influential colonizing nations – the Netherlands being one of them. Perceptions are namely not only based on contemporary politics and policies, but also on memory and knowledge. And “the colonial/imperial experience still seem[s] to resonate within the experience, memory, and public discourses of many societies ‘outside’ Europe” (Stivachtis, 2012, p.2). Subsequently, Stivachtis argues that it would be ‘well advised’ if the EU would incorporate this knowledge in its policies (Ibid.).

On the opposite, the resonance of a ‘colonial/imperial experience’ could also be profitable for the EU on the prerequisite that this experience had been largely positive or has been compensated for already. It is important to realize that images, once they have been incorporated in a collective consciousness, are hard to change (Thomas-Hope, 2002, p.6). Thus, it is important to prevent policies that might make the Surinamese neglectful towards the Netherlands (and potentially consequently the EU).

SPIEGEL: Thirty years ago, you asked for one phone number that could be used to call Europe.

Kissinger: ... and it happened. The problem now is: ... there is a vacuum between Europe's past and Europe's future.

Box 1. Source: former US Secretary of State Henry Kissinger in Spiegel (2008).

1.3.4 The EU as global player

Europeans have indicated ‘the political and diplomatic influence of the EU in the rest of the world’ as the fifth most positive result of the EU (European Commission’s Directorate-General for Communication [EC DG-COMM], 2013, p.5). However, this influence might be less evident in

Suriname. De Bruijne already in 2001 (in Hoefte & Meel, p.25) indicated that the children of the Surinamese elite focused more on the United States. Whether a true shift of focus is a realistic scenario can be questioned, because “despite the strong impact of US-Latin American relations in the region, the long standing ties with Europe (particularly Portugal, Spain, France, Netherlands, Germany, and the United Kingdom) have always been strong and mobilised both the imagination and constructive energies of various actors” (Burity, 2012, p.82). Besides, the Republic of Suriname is a direct neighbor of the EU which has an expanded territory in South America through French control of French Guiana. Nevertheless, the competition for power, especially at the crossroads of spheres of influence is real, especially seen from a neo-realist perspective (see Waltz, 1979). As a neighbor the EU finds itself in the company of Guyana and Brazil – of which the latter as a BRICS country can be indicated as a significant counterbalance. The European Commission itself already noticed that

between Suriname and its neighbouring countries there is an increasing flow of goods (oil products, agricultural products, timber gold and consumer goods). ... [Moreover] it is estimated that 40,000 Brazilians are resident in Suriname (almost 10 percent of the population) of whom most work in gold mining and related activities in the Interior. (European Commission, n.d., p.13)

Besides, Suriname itself is also actively looking for other partners. The current government has even proclaimed the intensification of relations with China to be one of its priorities in foreign policy (Lackin in Cairo, 2013). And this other BRICS country has also indicated to stand by to further improve its relations with Suriname (Kabinet van de President, 2013) – “China wants a piece of it” (Mallén, 2013, n.p.). Some even argue that, economically seen, Suriname has already come under a Chinese sphere of influence (Chickrie, 2013). Moreover, “Dutch companies are ‘not very important’ for the national income of Suriname ... Other countries, such as Brazil, India and China are much more important” (Van Dijck in Radio Nederland Wereldomroep, 2013). It is equally interesting to see how Suriname declared its keenness to intensify relations with France – the opening of an embassy in Paris forming proof of its ambition (Ministère des Affaires Étrangères de la France, 2012). Despite the fact that the Netherlands still forms the main European trade partner (Ibid.), Suriname found France as ‘gateway to Europe’ (Boerboom, 2011). All these changes make it relevant to know what reputations the Netherlands and the EU have, and whether they are interconnected, as this may contribute to an explanation why these changes are taking place and whether they could be altered.

1.3.5 Europeanization – ‘univocality’ and internal competition

While it is possible that the image of the EU is being affected by the reputations and actions of its member states, the opposite might likewise be the case. In some countries, the EU might succeed in creating a stronger image than that of its member states. In that scenario, links can be found with theory on ‘the hollowing out of the nation state’ (Jessop, 2004). “Since the end of the 1960s [EU institutions] have promoted a ‘people’s Europe’ and a ‘European identity’ as something highly desirable” (Laffan, 1996, p.96). As such, the prospected research will bring a process internal to the EU in relation to its external context. It sheds a different light on the identity of the EU, questioning whether it is a merger of the separate member states or something new. What does the outside world notice from the merging of European states?

What characterizes most literature on the identity of the EU, is that it conceives of the EU as a solitary, independent entity. However, less is true. The EU is granted existence through cooperation of separate and unique societies, despite the fact that in some cases also ‘deliberative supranationalism’ takes predominance (Blom-Hansen and Brandsma, 2009). This thesis could reveal some of the fields in which the EU is incoherent or at least appears to be to the outer world. “And as a multipolar world is becoming a reality, EU member states need to speak as one if they wish their voice to be heard” (European Commission, 2007, p.4). Coherent reputations, in particular in the field of politics, among the different member states would contribute to the credibility of such a united voice, which is actually already speaking out loud. Although unanimity is required for deciding on EU policies concerning important foreign affairs (e.g. enlargement, defense, sanctions, etc.), the EU is more and more establishing its own relationships with states and other entities. This is especially true for the contacts with developing countries (see §4.2.3.). In relation to the EU policy making processes, different theories communicate about the exact meaning of the EU as a supranational policymaking level (Geddes, 2000, p.34-39). Surinamese perspectives in this field can help contribute to a better reflection on this, but can also indicate whether the functioning of the EU is clear for outsiders.

However, for the Dutch international reputation, it might be productive to maintain an image of being influential within the European framework. Accordingly, Van Ham (2001, p.4) indicated that the different EU member states, precisely because of the integration process, try to ‘stand out in the crowd’ of nations. Furthermore, “brand states will compete not only among themselves but also with superbrands such as the EU” (Ibid, p.6). This can for instance be seen at the United Nations (UN). Complementing its upgrade of status at the UN (EU@UN, 2011), the EU inaugurated new offices for its delegation in New York on 26 September 2012 (EEAS, 2012). However, the reinforced Dutch claim

of presence, by opening new offices for its own delegations in New York the same day (Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2012a), shows that the separate member states sustain their sovereignty. “The modern democracies of the EU, which see (and like to see) great differences between themselves” (Hampe, 2008, p.16), in this way sometimes underestimate the power of an all-embracing image of the EU.

1.3.6 European External Action Service

Since 1 December 2010 the EU has its own External Action Service (EEAS), which – until the 12th of June 2013 – kept a Delegation in Paramaribo. This Delegation formed the continuation of a European presence that started shortly after the independence of Suriname in 1975 (Hernandez in Van Oosterum, 2013). Since its closure, the relations are maintained through the Delegation of the European Union to Guyana. Now the EU has left Suriname, this research might also show whether Dutch positions – and perhaps individual member states’ positions in general – can be used for EU purposes. After all, “using public relations and public diplomacy tools such as relationships with other nations may balance out pressures from powerful countries like the United States” – and in this case China and Brazil (Yang, et al., 2012, p.654). The question then is what the added value of an independent European Delegation can be?

1.3.7 Mutual understanding

Last but not least, societies on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean benefit from this research, as it increases knowledge about ‘the Other’. One of the indirect goals of the research was to give the people of Suriname a voice and let them spout their thoughts on both the Netherlands and the EU. The resulting information might clarify why Surinamese people act in certain ways. It contributes to the Dutch understanding of developments in Suriname. However,

despite the multiple travelogues and works written with the aim of informing about the people on the different continents, it is still hard to adequately judge foreign peoples while taking specific circumstances in account. After all, it is indeed not easy to isolate oneself from all he sees around him every day, and relate to a state of affairs that he never observed in its entirety. (Lans, 1842, p.3; own translation)

1.4 Scientific relevance

While this research has its societal relevance, it certainly also makes its contribution in the field of science. Actually, some of the above described justifications for this research already offer some new input for scientific research. Other and more clearly theoretical motivations are listed below.

1.4.1 Imaging

Despite its importance, “our theoretical understanding of reputation remains shallow” (Mercer, 1996, p.3). Still little is known about how the process of imaging leads up to it and what its effects are. The assumption which is posited at the base of this master thesis is that the reputation of the EU is somehow connected to either the reputations or actions of its individual member states. This offers some new insights, since works on theory in imaging mostly turn away from the possible interconnectedness of images for separate entities. Anholt only touched upon the possibility of this, supposing “*if* Europe is perceived as the sum of its members states” (2007, p.115, own emphasis). It is, thus, still necessary to find out more about how the one image influences the other. This applies in specific to the case of the EU and its member states – does the image of the EU result from the images of its best known member states or is it an overarching and independent image? Perhaps more importantly, theory on imaging assumes the existence of both an autonomous perceiving ‘self’ and an autonomous ‘other’ subject. From a postcolonial perspective this concept can be said to be outdated. This thesis will eventually, and somehow even essentially, contribute to our understanding and perception of identity. By deploying deconstructivism within the framework of a postcolonial discourse, new perspectives are given on the conception of the supposed divide between ‘us’ and ‘them’. The retrospective on colonialism seen from the Surinamese point of view tells us about, not only their history and image, but also our future identity.

1.4.2 Hybridity

While the aim to make the Surinamese people heard has its societal relevance, it is also of scientific interest. It contributes to the knowledge about a true multicultural society and its link to the Western world, and can therefore reveal information about new hybrid forms of identity and their effect on image formation. However, currently “little is known in the outside world about Suriname, a small country on the northern coast of South America” (Mallén, 2013). Indeed, it is hard to find literature on the historic development of Suriname after its independence – especially about the last two decades –, and it is even harder to find literature on the relations of the Surinamese society with this history and the main characters – the Netherlands – appearing in it. The book ‘20th Century Suriname’ (Hoefte and Meel, 2001) can be described as the last thorough work on politics and

society in Suriname. However, “territorial structures and the meanings associated with them have changed dramatically over the course of time” (Paasi, 2001, p.7), making an update of this research desirable. Thereby, this study responds to a lacuna in the existing literature. Moreover, it is often unclear whether the general literature about regions, such as the Caribbean or Latin America, is intended to apply to Suriname too.

1.4.3 Representation

The Surinamese images constitute a unique case, though similar ones might be found. What to think of the relationships between France and its former colonies or the English Commonwealth? Moreover, scenarios for the future might create similar cases. What if French Guyana once becomes independent? What if the relationship with the Dutch Antilles changes – amending the citizenship of the islanders? This research can feed the assumption that large parts of the world construct their image of the EU based on their unique post-colonial relations with one of its member states.

Chapter 2. Theory – that what shapes the world

This chapter outlays the fundamentals for the perspectives that have been taken during the research and in writing this thesis. In the first place, it comprises my personal beliefs on reality and conducting research within that reality. This is important as it also reveals my motivation for choosing the topic under scrutiny here. The poststructuralist paradigm constructs the main fiber in my personal beliefs, while post-colonialism provides the best framework in handling the research goal. Theories concerning reputations of countries, imaging, and consecutive assumptions and hypotheses will also be discussed in this chapter.

2.1 Subjective meaning

2.1.1 Intangible material

Ontologically, I believe that the world is consistent of both a material and discursive or mental structure. With a material structure is meant a layer of physical, autonomous, natural objects. With the discursive structure is meant a layer of social, cultural, contextual understandings. The belief in this dualism connects to the poststructuralist school of thought, which in extension to structuralism, puts a focus on the volatile relations between both structures (Murdoch, 2006, p.10). In addition, I believe both can be influenced by human agency; progression culminates from a reciprocal process between structure and agency. The individual interprets and gives meaning to both kinds of structures. Merleau-Ponty, already in 1948, described that “we have a world where objects are not found to have an absolute self-identity, where form and content are scrambled and mixed”. A flag is a clear example, as it is understood differently from merely being a fabric. Accordingly, some geographers assume that both space and place are human constructions. Lagopoulos describes space as “the result of an abstract and neutralizing manner of indirectly and intellectually looking at geographical entities from a distance” (2011, p. 145). Hillier for instance, describes place as “a site of negotiated meaning” (2005, p.272). This accords with the ‘lifeworld’-theory from Edmund Husserl, which conceptualizes an (inter)subjective reality which is neither necessarily tangible nor true. The lifeworld is a taken-for-granted pattern and context of everyday life (Seamon, 1980, p.149). In line with Schütz and Heidegger, I argue that the absolute world for the moment is irrelevant, as only those phenomena we can conceive of (both mentally and empirically) constitute our lived environment. This environment can thus be described as primarily psychological. An autonomous world therefore, could as well not exist. Within the lifeworld people either intentionally or unconsciously move about. Owing to the postmodern thought, I here refer to a quote from Johnson

to conclude that “once such [fundamental ontological and epistemological] dichotomies [such as mental vs. physical] are assumed, they create absolute unbridgeable gaps that cannot capture the continuous and multi-dimensional character of our experience and understanding” (2005, p.17). I thus also end up borrowing insights from postmodernism, which one might describe as “incredulity towards metanarratives” (Lyotard, 1994, p.27); pointing out that eventually everything is relative and nothing certain. In any case, in this thesis, the perspective will be taken that there is both a social and a natural world which are somehow interconnected. In line with this, the growing attribution of importance to reputation indicates “a move from the modern world of geopolitics and power to the postmodern world of images and influence” (Van Ham, 2001, p.4). The process of designating new identities and meanings complies with Appadurai’s speech of a “paradox of constructed primordialism” aiming at the creation of ‘imagined communities’ (2003, p.28).

2.1.2 Agency

The agency-concept, as derived from humanistic geography, provides for an additional perspective. This concept puts the subjective cognition of humans – “the essence of man and his experience” (Tuan in Lagopoulos, 2011, p.143) – central. In this way, lived space and experience obtain an important place in my understanding of reality. “The fact that different people comprehend the landscape differently is central to the humanistic approach in geography, which places the individual – especially individual values, meaning systems, intentions, and conscious acts – at the center of analysis” (Knox & Marston, 2007, p.225). As one of the key thinkers of this approach, Buttimer (in Mels, 2011, p.93), conceptualized social space as the melting pot of individual subjective dimensions, such as attitudes, perceptions, and experiences of place. Accordingly, it is the assumption that perceptions of the social space by different people are comparable (Günzel, 2011a). Otherwise, social space would neither exist nor be what it is, as coexistence would hardly be possible. Schütz elaborated on this by identifying separate lifeworlds – understandings, rules and norms – belonging to different generations (Schatzki, pers.comm., 2011). One important conclusion of Heidegger in relation to space and reality is that humans prefer to see the world as existential instead of objective and intentionally take on from this perspective (Schatzki, pers.comm., 2011). With an existential world is meant a world made up of socially, culturally and historically created utilities, blurring the view on an objective truth. The subjective conception of space is anything but isolated from our daily processes such as decision-making. Our relation with space is “not that of a pure disembodied subject with a distant object, but that of an inhabitant of space with its natural environment” (Merleau-Ponty, 1948); a view that can be said to interrogate binary opposition. As will be elaborated on later, it can thus be said that the process of imaging – central to this research –, is essential in creating the framework or discourse for our daily life.

Off course, critics on this kind of view on reality are abundant. Buttimer, for instance, has been criticized for focusing too much on intentionality and the individual subject; “the pervasiveness of a kind of mentalism, in which subjectivity and the world of ideas tend to underrate the importance of material practice” (Mels, 2011, p.96). Therefore, I retain Nevertheless, there has been a turn to more focus on interpretation and issues concerning the ‘life-world’. This rotates around the supposition that people structure their lives on grounds of “collective cognitive and symbolic structures, in a ‘shared knowledge’ which enables a socially shared way of ascribing meaning to the world” (Reckwitz, 2002, p.246). As such, we will find that the imagined world (discursive structure) is important to decision-making processes (agency), as it constitutes one of the “two separate, but closely connected, planes of reality” – the other one being the actual or objective reality (material structure) (Thomas-Hope, 2002, p.24). Accordingly, my worldview can be visualized as follows; whereas this thesis is concerned with the left part.

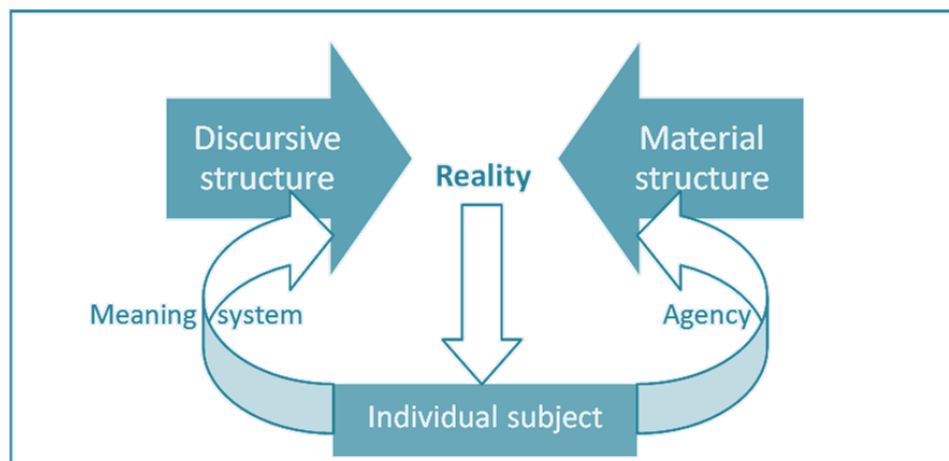


Figure 2: schematic visualization of ontology. Source: author’s own.

Although this figure, at a first sight might seem dualistic, it doesn’t necessarily is, as reality itself derives from a confluence of both discursive structure *and* material structure. Moreover, the meaning system is not opposing or independent from agency, as it is affected by it through reality.

2.1.3 Limited grip

The above described ontology shapes the frame for an epistemology of partial knowledge. “The importance of reality is what people perceive it to be” (Evans, 2007, p.172). Despite, but perhaps also because of the existence of both structure and agency, reality independent from human thought – in my view – can never be completely unraveled. Material phenomena will namely always be interpreted from an individual perspective. Instead, I side with poststructuralists and phenomenologists in arguing that it is more interesting to understand than to explain how meaning is generated and sustained (Bulley, 2009, p.295; Kitchin and Tate, 2000, p.20). Phenomenology is, in

this case, an appealing framework for research, as it employs concepts such as consciousness, meaning and inter-subjectivity. In coherence with it, I believe that we can only come near reality – as we think of it – by scrutinizing the small parts. It provides a philosophy of methodical reflection on the phenomena, consciousness included, that constitute our world. It offers “a radical methodology for description that opens the field of meaning constitution to investigation, displaying the evidence upon which meaningful and valuable entities, events, and the limits of the experiential horizon appear within experience” (Backhaus, 2009, p.137). Moreover, it can be described as a “people-centred form of knowledge based in human awareness, experience and understanding ... the study of, and conscious reflection on, the meaning of being human, of being located in time and space” (Pile in Kitchin and Tate, 2000, p.11). This research will thus hold ‘Verstehen’ (Flick, 2006, p.74) as epistemological principle, at least in the form that it attaches great value to the individual perspective and does not search for ‘real’ truth. Here, I deliberately distance from claims that truth results from either experience or structure. As is expositied below, truth is rather to be found in things themselves. This is one of the reasons, which makes the attempt of phenomenology to simplify things not satisfactory (Derrida, 1978, p.196). However, when it comes to reality – our lifeworlds –, I do believe that we can uncover meaning.

There are layers of meaning which appear as systems, or complexes, or static configurations within which, moreover, are possible a movement or a genesis which must obey both the legality proper to and the functional significance of the structure under consideration. Other layers, sometimes more profound, sometimes more superficial, are given in the essential mode of creation and movement. (Derrida, 1978, p.194)

2.2 Poststructuralist deconstruction

2.2.1 Intrinsic value

Although this thesis is based on insights from different scientific movements, poststructuralism can be indicated as the fundamental one. It is concerned with the context dependent ‘multiplicities of meaning’ (Murdoch, 2006, p.8). Despite this movement being characterized by a plurality of philosophies (most notably deconstruction, pragmatism, empirical study of literature and hermeneutics)¹, frequently the deconstructivist theory receives most attention (Doležel, 2000). With the word ‘deconstruction’, Derrida tried to “translate ... the Heideggerian word *Destruktion* or *Abbau*” (Derrida, 1985, p.1). These German terms actually form opposites of English terms such as ‘creation’

¹ Although these are not inventions of poststructuralism itself.

or 'assembly'. Furthermore, it is important to notice that these are not verbs, but nouns. Consequently, according to its founder, deconstruction is neither a method, nor an analysis, critique, act or operation, but an 'event' taking place within (Derrida, 1985, p.4). Deconstruction can be explained to be first and foremost an aspiration "oriented toward opening, expanding, amplifying, and complexifying" subject matter (Gough, 2008, p.204). In essence, the poststructuralist thought from a deconstructionist philosophy opposes the very idea of science as a 'logocentrism', as focusing on a certain truth (Doležel, 2000, p. 635). Deconstructive readings attempt to open up concepts to the possibility of being thought of otherwise (Harrison, 2006, p.129). This is probably the reasons why Derrida concludes that "all sentences of the type 'deconstruction is' or 'deconstruction is not' a priori miss the point" (Derrida, 1985, p.4). Meaning can only be derived from the original context, which is temporal. It can be extracted only partially, as intention behind words and actions is theoretically lost as soon as they are spoken or undertaken and otherwise it is only known to the one who speaks or conducts them. This only regards intention in the sense of 'context', because meaning of words or actions are not even under the agent's control as soon as they have been spoken or conducted (Bulley, 2009, p.296). Instead, meaning is acquired from an infinite network of differential relations (Wylie, 2006, p.300).

Interestingly enough, one might see excellent examples of deconstruction online on YouTube at pages containing videos showing interviews with Derrida. For example, the upload from 'PrestyGomez' (2008), named 'Derrida – defining deconstruction' with a scene from the documentary 'Derrida', shows us a process of deconstruction taking place in the comments (see Box). This shows us, that deconstruction is something ongoing, which is never settled, and can be conducted in interplay with others.

- "So to summarise.....basically no [one] knows what ... anyone means because according to this philosophy everyone's interpretation is so ... that one will never truly understand the thoughts of another" ('bunnywog harvey' in Ibid.)
- "Is it a philosophy, though?" ('TheSamuraiGoomba' in reply to 'bunnywog harvey' in Ibid.)
- "it seems to me to reflect a lot of the underlying model in General Semantics & Korzybski's, 'the map is not the territory' & McLuhan's 'the message is in the receiver'" ('Jimbo Jones' in reply to 'TheSamuraiGoomba' in Ibid.)

Box 2: example of deconstruction in process. Source: PrestyGomez on YouTube, 2008

2.2.2 'Un-dualism'

It should be explored whether this theory actually belongs to the poststructuralist school of thought, something which Derrida himself actually opposed (Derrida, 1985, p.2). However, the red line through his philosophy is the thought that words, but also actions, have broader meaning than might

appear at first. Accordingly, one of its methods is to deploy mechanisms to filter stories on meaning and hidden assumptions. In this way it actually does interrogate – though, not deny – structures as such, and for this reason Derrida himself calls deconstruction “antistructuralist” (Derrida, 1985, p.2). Whether this term would be more adequate is questionable, seen the fact that deconstruction – as the word itself already reveals – quintessentially is concerned with structures. Another commonality with poststructuralism is that deconstruction demands the unsettling of categories and challenges binaries. Binaries are not unreal, but “are never pure or coherent: the two sides of the coin are not produced in isolation from each other but are rather always inextricably intertwined” (Wylie, 2006, p.300). Moreover, most concepts are considered not to have one, but multiple counterparts. “Deconstruction ... insisted not on multiplicity for itself but on the heterogeneity, the difference, the disassociation, which is absolutely necessary for the relation to the other” (Derrida in Caputo, 1997, p.13). Although binary oppositions are of importance to deconstruction, it is in the nature of the philosophy to break them down and search for their inconsistencies. “Deconstruction helps us to question whether assumed divides, between for instance positive and negative, are legitimate” (Søndergaard, 2002). This derives from incredulity towards totality and unity (Derrida in Caputo, 1997, p.13). This theory thus denies binary oppositions and emphasizes interdependencies, just as Heidegger also did by introducing the concept ‘being-in-the-world’ (Schatzki, pers.comm., 2011).

2.3 The postcolonial discourse

2.3.1 Sequel to colonialism

As can be seen in Figure 2, discourse is partly constitutive of reality. In line with the argumentation in paragraph 2.1, the focus from this point on will be with this part of reality. Even when describing the current ‘factual’ relationships between the three central characters and the developments that led to them in Chapter 4, discourse plays a crucial role. Different discourses can be eminent at the same time – “most ways of knowing are partial and are in flux; they continue to change as geographers examine and re-examine their strengths and weaknesses and as new ideas come along as a challenge” (Aitkin & Valentine, 2006, p.3).

Elaborating on the research goal, the choice has been made to take an additional insight from the postcolonial discourse. This is a logical choice, since the relationships between Suriname and the two other entities is derivative from a colonial past. The ‘post-’ prefix to colonialism is often interpreted to mean that the postcolonial perspective upholds a critique of colonialism or evolved from it (Sidaway, 2000, p.594). Although this is inaccurate, post-colonialism does neither merely describe

the “post-independence historical period in once-colonised nations” (Sleman in *ibid.*). Instead, postcolonialism is primarily a way of thinking that strives to go beyond colonial power structures – to ‘decolonize the mind’ (Barnett, 2006, p.147). “Decolonization is a very complex battle over the course of different political destinies, different histories and geographies, and it is replete with works of the imagination” (Said, 1993, p.219). It perfectly matches deconstruction as there is a desire within postcolonial approaches to “invert, expose, transcend or deconstruct knowledges and practices associated with colonialism, of which objectification, classification and the impulse to chart or map have been prominent” (Sidaway, 2000, p.592). McCormack (2002), from a comprehensive ‘deconstructivist’ perspective on the meaning of the words postcolonialism and globalization, made some striking observations regarding our understanding of the concepts. Most notably, he indicated that the terms are loaded, while being plain at the same time. “Postcolonialism ... encompasses a very wide range of theoretical considerations” (*ibid*, 2002, p.100). It anticipates on ‘the colonial wound’ (Mignolo, 2009, p.161), which comprises that individuals, societies and regions around the world have been subdivided along economic and cultural criteria as either developed or underdeveloped. Subsequently, it is involved with “a complex project of historical and psychological ‘recovery’” (Ghandi in Lloyd, 2000, p.213). Thereby it does not only draw attention to things that did happen, but also to things that could have happened if history would have followed another trajectory.

In the wake of a generation of postcolonial theorists inspired by Derridean thought (Spivak in Harasym, 1988; Bhabha, 1994), and in an area of overlap between such historical geographies of empire and exploration and contemporary geographies of the developing world, ‘postcolonial geographies’ (e.g. Sidaway, 2000; Crush, 1995; Blunt and McEwan, 2002) have emerged as a set of critical analyses of the languages, texts and silences of colonial relations past and present. (Wylie, 2006, p.303)

Postcolonialism also engages itself with the study of concepts such as ‘Tropicality’ and ‘Orientalism’, which form part of imperialism – “the practice, the theory, and the attitudes of a dominating metropolitan center ruling a distant territory” (Said, 1993, p.9). As part of a process of ‘Othering’ (see Gregory, 1995, p.457), “the tropical world [Suriname included] has been exoticised in dualistic terms, as paradisaical, luxuriant and redemptive, but also as primeval, pestilential and debilitating to Westerners” (Clayton, 2011, p.180). While colonies were first projected as new and parallel societies (see Anderson, 2006), they soon gave way to the formation of a distinct and foremost superior self-identity for ‘Europe’.

'The tropics' need to be seen as a conceptual, and not merely physical, space – as invented quite as much as they were encountered – and that Tropicality denotes the attitudes and experiences of northern whites moving into an alien world – alien in climate, vegetation and disease. (Arnold in Clayton, 2011, p.180)

This concept reveals a clear colonial mindset produced by Europeans. It shows that “in order to call into question the modern/colonial foundation of the control of knowledge, it is necessary to focus on the knower rather than on the known” (Mignolo, 2009, p.162). Therefore, this thesis motivates us to reflect on ourselves.

2.3.2 Now is the past

The postcolonial perspective taken during this research, will draw attention to the relation of the present to the past. However, postcolonialism does not only focus on past practices of imperialism, but also takes into account that “the apparent violence or ‘failure’ or ‘weakness’ of select ‘third world’ states is inseparable from the ... contemporary role and reproduction of the west” (Sidaway, 2000, p.603).

Appeals to the past are among the commonest of strategies in interpretations of the present. What animates such appeals is not only disagreement about what happened in the past and what the past was, but uncertainty about whether the past really is the past, over and concluded, or whether it continues, albeit in different forms, perhaps. (Said, 1993, p.3)

Speaking of ‘catachreses in postcolonial thinking’, McCormack (2002, p.107-111) identifies the possibility of conceiving postcolonialism as superseding times in which human activity was centered around the sovereignty of nation states, while it might also derive its existence from that acknowledgement. In connection, Spivak’s reference to Derrida’s understanding of speech and writing (in Harasym, 1990, p.35), points out that “any articulation of the living present in the stream of speech makes you understand that there was a ‘present’ before you and there will be a ‘present’ after you”. Thus, context changes and contemporary practices are as important to the future as past practices are to our present.

It is from this perspective that the European Union can be seen as either something which transcends relations derivative from colonial times or as something which inherited them only to frame them differently. “Postcolonialism asserts the centrality of colonialism and imperialism to appreciating the intertwined histories of societies ... [it challenges] the geographical image of distinct,

self-contained societies upon which this model depends” (Barnett, 2006, p.149). In other words, it questions black and white conceptions, binary oppositions, transcends dialectics, such as the ‘other’ and the ‘self’, and instead underlines the interdependencies of Suriname, the Netherlands and the EU. In that way, postcolonial thinking trespasses limitations of focusing solely on national-identity and image formations. It questions the separation lines between people, but it does assert geopolitical space. This links to the work of Derrida, in which he explained that “we do not have to choose between unity and multiplicity” (in Caputo, 1997, p.13). Regarding the concepts of inside/outside, self/other, inclusion/exclusion, etc., McCormack (2002, p.105) from a postcolonial point of view argues that they cannot be isolated from each other, but are ‘coterminous’. Things which might in one way appear to be opposing, always come together in another.

2.4 Image, identity, reputation

Before continuing with this section, in which I deal with theory in the field of imaging – central to this research –, it is first time explore the concepts of image, identity and reputation. Although the three concepts do differ from each other, they are closely related. The relations as visualized in Table 1, will be explained below. Identity and reputation are traditionally terms ascribed to individuals, but they are applicable to collectives as well.

	Image of the state	
	Image of constitutive elements	Image of actions
Other’s perspective	Nation brand	Reputation
Self perspective	Identity	Self-perception

Table 1. Relations between image, identity and reputation. Source: own.

2.4.1 Image

Said wrote about a ‘struggle over geography’, which is “about ideas, about forms, about images and imagining” (Said, 1993, p.7). Image, seen from a deconstructivist perspective, is a tricky term implicitly assuming the existence of something or someone else. Knox and Marston (2007, p.219) indicate that cognitive images do not perfectly overlap with reality, because of incomplete or biased information and distortion through biases, personalities and cultural influences. The extent to which images reflect material reality, is considered by its stability and continued existence from one generation to another (Thomas-Hope, 2002, p.24). However, while reality might lure as the opposing concept to image (imagination), images have an intrinsic value of themselves and can therefore be seen as ‘real’ as well – they possess a ‘mobilizing power’ (Said, 1993, p.16). “Cognitive images are

what people see in the mind's eye when they think of a particular place or setting" (Knox & Marston, 2007, p.219). As phenomenon they are 'internal' to the individual, meaning that they are imbedded in the mind or 'psychological life space' (Thomas-Hope, 2002, p.24). As such, images form the primary element for explaining things; they provide people with 'interpretative frameworks' (Yang, et al., 2012, p.653). The image is constructed through imagination, which is "the locus of human meaning, thought, and judgment" (Johnson, 2005, p.17). All meaning, thought and judgment can said to be "imaginative in that concepts which are not directly grounded in experience employ metaphor, metonymy, and mental imagery—all of which go beyond literal mirroring, or representation, of external reality" (Lakoff in Crane, 2009, p.80). Images have the following characteristics, which will be explained later – they are:

- created within a distinct geographical area
- created for a distinct geographical area
- compared and contested to the image of the self
- affected by socio-cultural frameworks
- affected by external information
- dependent on values, beliefs, aspirations and goals which are colored or modified by emotions and personality
- dependent on memory
- generation specific
- changeable

The postcolonial discourse, in extension to other schools of thought, contributes to a more open and non-dualistic conception of imaging. It is not merely the 'other' which makes images of 'us', but we also uphold images about ourselves. Reputation and identity are two forms of images related to this distinction.

2.4.2 Reputation

Reputation is distinct from identity as it is specifically related to the agency-concept; the presumption that one is able to exert influence through action. It results from a judgment of past actions, of either an individual or collective, that is used to predict or explain future behavior (Mercer, 1996, p.6; see Brewster, 2009, p.259). It is embedded within social interactions and tied to expectations about behavior within those interactions (Fine, 2008, p.78). People can explain behavior in different ways, and therefore policy-makers should recognize that the same behavior can convey into different reputations (Mercer, 1996, p.212). Moreover, a country can have multiple reputations corresponding to different fields of policy (Brewster, 2009, p.259). "Reputation [should be] understood as an external, even cultural phenomenon", as it is created by the 'Other' (Anholt, 2009, p.12).

“When discussing the state’s reputation, analysts are often ambiguous about what constitutes the state: the current government, the state’s history, its institutions, the preferences of the population, or something else” (Brewster, 2009, p.254). Whether reputations can be influenced or not, depends on the beliefs on what they are connected to; if reputation is connected to governance, succeeding governments can change the reputation; if reputation is connected to things that happened in the past, only comparably prolonged future performances can change reputation; if reputation is connected to behavior of the population, change is dependent on societal trends. I here correspond with the model of reputation-making that sees reputations as “the outcome of a (sometimes contentious) socio-political process in which some groups or individuals gain resources, power, or prestige by the establishment of particular reputations” (Fine, 2008, p.79). This means that both governance and societal behavior both in the past, present and future are believed to contribute to reputation. Reputations are not solid, but dependent on conditions, they can differ per topic. In fact, it is a necessity to manage a reputation, as “inheritance [of a reputation] is never a *given*, it is always a task” (Derrida in Gasche, 2008, p.266). A strong reputation results from an ‘internal project’, meaning that it comes forth out of a coherent policy of the entity concerned (Anholt, 2009, p.12).

Because reputation relates to policies and actions, it is connected to the concept of power. As it is different from ‘real power’ (e.g. military force), the term ‘soft power’ (see Diez, 2005) has been coined to describe the influence exerting from expected behavior – the “ability to get what it [the political entity] wants through attraction rather than coercion” (Yun and Kim, 2008, 566). Soft power is enhanced by a state through the exercise of legitimate governance, not only acknowledged by its own citizens, but also by outsiders. Thus, it is always embedded in a relationship. It entails the ‘symbolic dimension’ of policies and actions that meets the ethical and moral needs of citizens (Krasner in Laffan, 1996, p.84). In perspective of theory on soft power, Nye argues that

the national reputation is the very foundation for conducting foreign policy; not only does a favorable reputation enhance soft power such as values, culture, policies and institutions, it can also help to legitimize the use of traditional hard power such as military interventions and economic sanctions. (Nye in Rasmussen and Merkelsen, 2012, p.813)

A reputation of a state can also be perceived by its own citizens, in that way relating to the concept of self-perception. Here, acts of the self are assessed in the same rational way as acts of the other (see McDormett, 2004).

2.4.3 Identity

Poststructuralism conceives of meaning and identity as effects rather than causes (Harrison, 2006, p.122). On a state level, identity can be said to have resulted primarily from nationalist movements. “The nation-state developed ... as a system of symbols and shared identity” (Laffan, 1996, p.84). However, to my idea, state identity is also reflected through forms of government and politics. In contrast to reputation, identity is not related to what people think you do, but who people think you are. It is related to the DNA of a state – its characteristics: is it communist or capitalist?, is it large or small?, is it ‘Western’ or ‘Eastern’?, etcetera. Identities are not solely intrinsically constituted, but also shaped by external powers (e.g. state ideologies, boundaries and even cultures can be imposed). Furthermore, identities change – “to an extent, one is never natural ... one is never at home” (Spivak in Harasym, 1990, p.38) – “all collective identities are changing, contested and contextual categories” (Paasi, 2001, p.8). Moreover, new alignments of power “provoke and challenge the fundamentally static notion of *identity* that has been the core of cultural thought during the era of imperialism” (Said, 1993, p.xxv). Divides between ‘us’ and ‘them’ are less obvious, if not outdated.

Still, the image of identity differs on grounds of the position of view – that of the people who socially construct it (us; the Dutch), and that of others (them; Surinamers). Thus, the reputation of the Netherlands is seen differently from an outsider’s perspective than from a perspective of people who contribute to the social construction of it. The identity of a state, as perceived by others, can be called a ‘nation brand’. This term is derived from the term ‘corporate brand’, which reflects a level of recognition among consumers. While it is usually explained in connection to reputation, I relate it to identity, because I believe it has more to do with characteristics and core values than with actions (indeed corporate brands are derived from the nature of a product and not from its actions). A positive nation brand is effective in “creating trust and respect, and raising the expectation of quality, competence and integrity” (Anholt, 2009, p.4). As it is even unclear what the contribution of governments is to the reputation of a state, due to their temporary nature (Brewster, 2009, p.232), it is hard to say who or what does affect ‘nation brands’.

The central thesis of this research requires a distinction between the identity of a territory and the identity of a people (Paasi, 2001, p.19). The identity of a specific territory “points to narratives, symbols and practices that are associated with a specific territory, whether depicting its nature, landscapes, history, or population” (Paasi, 2001, p.19). While Paasi, with reference to the second sort of identity – ‘regional identity of the inhabitants’ –, in the first place hints at a defiant people that does not identify with the dominant cultural identity, it can also be interpreted to mean something

else: a differentiation between the identity of a country, as an independent actor, and an identity of a people, which is rather generation-specific.

2.5 Construction

In order to obtain better perspectives on questions concerning identity and reputation, theory on imaging will be discussed hereafter. In explaining the process of imaging, I build upon research of geographer Thomas-Hope (2002) on the role of perception and the image in migration behavior of people from the Caribbean. Although a lot of research has been conducted on the construction of images, to the extent of research on the workings of the brain, it is important to note that little is known about the relation between images for separate geopolitical concepts.

2.5.1 Your image is mine

“Perception and image-formation often have to do with identity formation” (Wintle, 2008, p.15). An individual sense of place, being and cultural identity is constructed by contrasting to places and people we feel distanced from, ‘the Other’ (Said in Gregory, 1995, p.456; Paasi, 2001, p.8; Søndergaard, 2002, p.188; Knox & Marston, 2007, p.215). Imaging others has thus to do with the construction of a personal identity. So when one creates an identity of the own state, one simultaneously creates a nation brand for the other (for example developed vs. underdeveloped). When one makes an assessment of one’s own actions, one simultaneously assesses actions of the other (good governance vs. bad governance). The deconstructivist claim that “Europe is literally the creation of the Third World” (Fanon in Said, 1993, p.197) has to be understood in this context. As this research focuses on the image formation process resulting in ‘nation’ brands of the Netherlands and the EU, the identity formation taking place in Suriname is relevant. For people in Suriname, as for more South Americans, this process of forming identity has been problematic, because for a large part the Surinamese society derives its fundamentals, such as language, etiquette, norms and values from colonial times. The country where it now tries to distance from has in fact shaped it.

To continue, “structures of *perceiving* and *doing* must be appropriated to shape our acts of *understanding* and *knowing*” (Johnson, 2005, p.16). This is achieved through image schemas, which could simply be described as outlines for internalizing outer incentives into the brain (see Hampe, 2005); “a procedure of

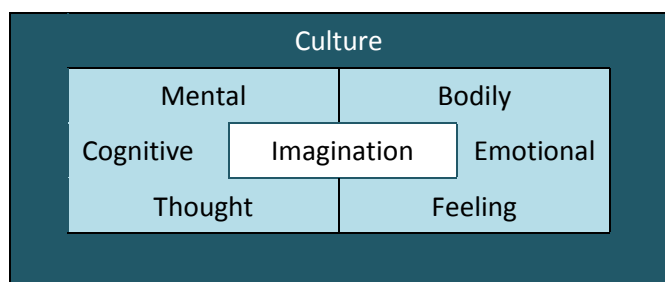


Figure 3: Embedding of imagination. Source: own (after Johnson, 2005, p.18)

imagination for constructing an image” (Johnson, 2005, p.17). This is a deeper, non-visual level of cognition, that of the subconscious ‘cognitive structures,’ ‘coding systems,’ or action ‘schemata’, which supports abstract thinking (Lagopoulos, 2011, p.143). In addition, there is an understanding of cognition as part of the ‘*triad body-mind-culture*’ (Hampe, 2005, p.5). This triad suggests that the construction of images takes place through processes in the human mind, titillation of the human body and within socio-culturally determined contexts. “Moreover, the nature of our brains, bodies, and environments constrains and shape what and how we understand and reason” (Johnson, 2005, p.16). This relationship is visualized in Figure 3, forming a welcome addition to the scheme of

image-formation presented in Figure 4. Figure 3 might even be incorporated in this schema to add the process of imagination to the stage ahead of recalling an image. Likewise, the schema could be altered by placing ‘culture’ ahead of ‘senses’ (indeed indigenous people in the inlands of Suriname see, hear, smell, feel and taste other things than visiting tourists from the Netherlands).

While the continuous process of forming and maintaining identity is the main instigator for the creation of images of ‘others’ and ‘their’ countries, different stimuli (linked to characteristics of images, see §2.4.1) are of importance. These different factors of influences, kinds of context, are visualized in Figure 5, and will be explained below.

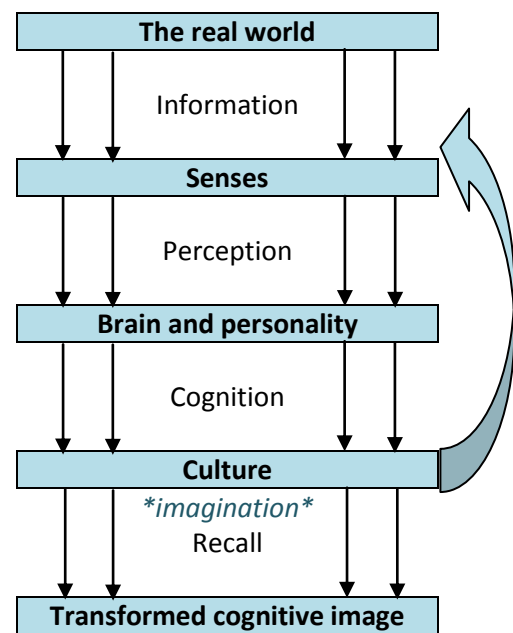


Figure 4: The formation of cognitive images (after Knox & Marston, 2007, p.219)

2.5.2 Personality

Figure 3 and 4 show the importance of personality in receiving information to create or adjust images. Personality in this respect refers to both physical, bodily and psychological, mental characteristics of the individual. It is clear that images are not solely a result of neurophysiologic processes, such as the image schemas, but are also affected by personality (or personality affects image schemas) (Knox & Marston, 2007, p.219). Images emanate from “knowledge against a background of values, beliefs, aspirations and goals which are tinted or modified by emotions and personality” (Thomas-Hope, 2002, p.25).

2.5.3 Place and territoriality

When it comes to images of nations, the role of place is very important as it outlines both the context in which they are created and the context to which the image is connected. Identity is formed

through the “universal practice of designating in one’s mind a familiar space which is ‘ours’ and an unfamiliar space beyond ‘ours’ which is ‘theirs’” (Said in Gregory, 1995, p.456). This means, in principle, that people who are related to the same place within the material world are imagined to share the same identity. “We can classify people ... in terms of their location in space much more easily than we can classify them in relation to personal or social criteria” (Knox & Marston, 2007, p.218). A territory is being used as benchmark for categorizing the things related to it. In fact, territory itself is a product of imagination; “the existence of regions is preceded by the existence of region-builders, political actors who ... imagine a certain spatial and chronological identity for a region, and disseminate this imagined identity to others” (Neumann in Laffan, 1996, p.96). Territory can said to be a product of politics and culture. It allows for imagining actual independent subjects to be associated to each other. Might one associate a fight against floods with the Netherlands, one might also associate an inhabitant of the Netherlands with clever engineering. Likewise, “the images and reputations of countries are bound inextricably to those of the regions and continents in which they lie” (Thomas-Hope, 2002, p.161; Anholt Nation Brands Index, 2006, p.9). Theoretically, this means that the reputation of the Netherlands indeed should be linked to its positioning within the European continent.

Moreover, the Netherlands may be seen as being positioned within the global north. Such a view could be forthcoming from one’s own position within the global periphery (Thomas-Hope, 2002, p.11). The ways in which Surinamers reflect to and position themselves within the world, contributes to the images that Surinamese people have of the Netherlands and Europe, and vice versa. From a conservative perspective, ‘historic territory or homeland’ forms a main component of the collective identity (Laffan, 1996, p.85). “Territoriality [– the connection of people to a specific territory –] allows people to create and maintain a framework through which to experience the world and give it meaning. Bounded territories, for example, make it easier to differentiate ‘us’ from ‘them’” (Knox & Marston, 2007, p.218). However, one should keep in mind that a trend of deterritorialization, indicated by an increased interconnectedness, is already occurring. Especially in the EU, identity has detached from territory at the national level through decentralization, federalization and regionalization (Laffan, 1996, p.90).

2.5.4 Culture

According to Said (1993, p.xiii), culture can be seen as ‘a source of identity’, allowing for differentiation between ‘us’ and ‘them’. Thus, images result from larger discursive structures such as cultures – which can said to be imagined as well. “Images of foreign countries are truly part of the culture of the country which holds the perceptions” (Anholt, 2009, p.6; see Thomas-Hope, 2002,

p.159). Cultural frameworks are not always clearly defined and not fixed either, partly because they are dependent on spatial practices – changing interactions. Traditionally, interactions are determined by proximity of people and accordingly culture is linked to the above described concept of territoriality. Cultures, like landscapes, are subject to “abstract grids of colonial and imperial power ... [being] sites of appropriation, domination and contestation” (Gregory, 1995, p.448).

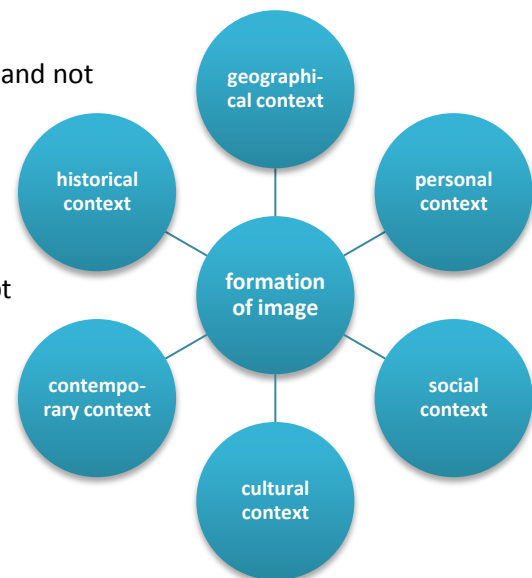


Figure 5: context of image-formation.
Source: own

2.5.5 Social context

Appadurai fairly writes about ‘imagination as a social practice’ describing its use as “a form of work (in the sense of both labor and culturally organized practice), and a form of negotiation between sites of agency (individuals) and globally defined fields of possibility” (2003, p.31). The connection of image formation to both place and culture, makes it likely that individual images represent broader entrenched sentiments. “Studies have shown conformity in the image based on similarities of culture and locational background” (Thomas-Hope, 2002, p.26). The image of an individual can thus in various direct and indirect ways reflect the beliefs, views, experience and memory of the larger social group (Ibid, p.25). This can be explained by the following:

People’s familiarity with one another’s vocabulary, speech patterns, dress codes, gestures, and humor, and with shared experiences of their physical environment often carries over into people’s attitudes and feelings about themselves and their locality and to the symbolism they attach to that place. When this happens, the result is a collective and self-conscious “structure of feeling”: a socio-cultural frame of reference generated among people as a result of the experiences and memories that they associate with a particular place.

(Knox & Marston, 2007, p.218)

However, social frameworks have stretched out across continents and cause cultural identities to be “never complete” (Hall in Zuurbier, 2009, p.8). Here, we see an affirmation of the postcolonial perspective.

2.5.6 Time

Moreover, images change in content and clarity “throughout the life of individuals and social groups through the effect of change in both external or objective world as well as in the values and beliefs which are held” (Thomas-Hope, 2002, p.29). In addition, images are an accumulation of past experiences (Boulding in Thomas-Hope, 2002, p.29). Remnants of the past carry over into perceptions of the present and the future (Said, 1993, p.7). This makes them hardly receptive to change, because “unlike an object of perception (a percept), ... an image is something we maintain both as memory when the environmental stimuli have gone and also, in many instances, when the stimuli do not appear to justify it” (Tuan in Thomas-Hope, 2002, p.25).

In this respect, memory is relevant. Group identity “may be deeply rooted in the psyche and shared memory ... of a self-defined people” (Tonra, 2001, p.34). Four formats of memory (and consequently imaging) can be distinguished, namely individual, social, political and cultural memory – the last three forming the equivalent of collective memory, if that is deemed existent (Assmann, 2004, p.22). In this order, the four correspond with a gradual extent in scope, widening in space, time and complexity. Although the argument of Assmann for distinction is compelling, out of convenience solely the characteristics of the ‘collective memory’ will be described hereafter. “As a group of individuals of more or less the same age that have witnessed the same incisive historical events, generations share a common frame of beliefs, values, habits and attitudes” (Assmann, 2004, p.23). The elements of the image produced from this frame are transmitted to subsequent generations. “Awareness of being embedded in secular, serial time, with all its implications of continuity, yet of ‘forgetting’ the experience of this continuity ... engenders the need for a narrative of ‘identity’” (Anderson, 2006, p.205). However, the generations saturate these elements according to their level of receptiveness (Thomas-Hope, 2002, p.25). This creates differences between people from different generations that cannot be overcome. “We are all forced to live simultaneously in partly common, partly different time-frames and epochs” (Hassner in Paasi, 2001, p.10). Indeed, this suggests that the meaning of things is in flux, because it is dependent on a changing context – the observer being part of that context. Not only the positioning in space, but also that in time shapes the worldview of individuals. Each generation renews and reconstructs societal memory (Assmann, 2004, p.23-24).

Assmann (2004, p.25) makes a distinction between ‘short-term bottom-up memory’ and ‘long-term top-down memory’. The first implies the internalization of events and the subsequent creation of thoughts and images related to those events, and corresponds with individual and social memory. The latter implies the establishments of aggregated memories and the application of it for political action and the formation of group identities, and corresponds with political and cultural memory.

The top-down memory can be said to be a collective one, which is intentionally and selectively created alongside the construction of a collective identity. It is strongly dependent on materialization through signs and symbols such as sites, monuments and museums. Due to its colonization, which Lloyd (2000, p.214) argues to have produced effects similar to those of trauma for an individual, Suriname might be typified as a 'minority nation'. Subsequently its national memory is possibly constructed around a "victim identity ... to keep awake the memory of a suffered iniquity ... in order to legitimate claims to redress" (Assmann, 2004, p.27).

2.5.7 Stimuli

We have now seen, that "it is from the particular temporal, spatial and social position in which people are located that mental images are formed" (Thomas-Hope, 2002, p.1). However, there of course also need to be material objects to which these images relate. On an individual level, we see that "personal experience (a visit to a nation or a friendship with someone from that nation) plus mediated messages (television, newspapers, radio, Internet) provide the stock of images that people hold of another nation" (Yang, et al., 2012, p.653). Important externalities which hold influence over the process of image formation are knowledge sources and the media transmitting the information put forth from it. This means that the outgoing influences of an entity such as a nation – either the subject nation or own nation –, also contribute to the creation of an image. An identity can be actively conveyed to a larger public, as for example through tourism (see Pitchford, 2008). However, messages from the 'Other' country under assessment only have affect as far as they are in compliance with the acts of that country. "Mental images are nurtured to some extent by national influences based on economic and political linkages" (Thomas-Hope, 2002, p.5).

2.5.8 Interconnectedness

Anholt (2007, p.116) points out research which has indicated that both the terms Europe and the EU are equally perceived by 'outsiders' to be nothing more than a collection of the different 'attractive concepts' to be found within the geographical area associated with the name Europe. Accordingly, it can be assumed that the EU as an image or brand at least bears partially on the reputation of the Netherlands. Indeed, the Netherlands, during its Golden Age, has been one of the countries which contributed to the creation of Europe as an 'attractive concept'; "Europe as the centre and origin of things" (Beardsell, 2008, p.206). To what extent the reputation of the Netherlands prevails over that of other 'concepts' associated with the EU among former subordinates to the Dutch empire, is the central question. Seen the differences in the average ranks, on a scale from 1 to 27, received from respondents all over the world (see Table 2), it can at least be argued that the Netherlands is not the sole representation of the EU for all peoples.

	Exports	Governance	Culture/ heritage	People	Tourism	Investment/ immigration	All questions
The Netherlands	11	7	14	12	18	11	12

	Exports	Governance	Culture/ heritage	People	Tourism	Investment/ immigration	All questions
European Union	4	9	7	4	7	4	1

Table 2: rankings of the Netherlands and EU along different indicators. Source: Anholt Nation Brand Index, 2006

Seen the lower rankings of the Netherlands, the Anholt Nation Brands Index concludes that it can be called a sub-brand of Europe rather than a powerful nation brand in its own right and is therefore said to be “more dependent on a good European brand, yet less able to influence it one way or another” (2006, p.9). However, the question is whether images on the relations between the Netherlands and the EU, considering the role of large Diaspora communities, also thrive in a former colony such as Suriname. This leads us to the conceptual framework.

2.6 Conceptual framework

While discussing the ‘transferable quality of reputation’ with regard to different issues (Brewster, 2009, p.261), one might also question the transferable quality of reputation among associated entities. In other words, if the EU for example donates development funds to Suriname, is the Netherlands expected to do the same? The main premise to this research is that inhabitants of former colonies might mirror their image of the EU to the image they have of their former mother country – “a putative European identity would be much weaker than pre-existing national ones” (Smith in Laffan, 1996, p.98). Correspondingly, the people of Suriname would create their image of the EU according their ideas about the Netherlands. The one could even be held accountable for policies and actions of the other. Referring to the age of imperialism, Hargreaves (1982) indicated that the Europeans overseas were seen as one and the same and sometimes acted accordingly. This feeds the idea that the Dutch from early times on, might in their colonial empire have been taken as model for ‘the European’. Nevertheless, this sole observation of Hargreaves might also jeopardize the idea that the Dutch hold an identity distinctive of other European civilizations. Although the Surinamese have previously primarily been in contact with the Dutch, they now encounter more and more officials from different EU member states. The question remains to what extent they differentiate between them.

The central question to this thesis comprises two latent entities: the image of the Netherlands and that of the European Union. They are present within the minds of the Surinamese people, though not

immutable. Related to that, are the identities and reputations of both the Netherlands and the EU. Over time different sources influence the images, identities and reputations in certain ways (see §2.5) and different images might exist in relation to different aspect of the same entity – government, economy, culture and society (see Anholt, 2006; Appendix A). Furthermore, the Surinamese people are divided along several lines. Two kinds of these differentiating lines, in connection to experience as a source (§2.5.7) and changing context (§2.5.6) are placed at the centre of attention in this research. The effect of both generation and personal experience will be highlighted.

The first point of focus – on generational differences – can be justified on base of the characteristic of images being bound to generations, especially since the younger generation in Suriname is not or does not want to be aware of what happened in the past (Onvoltooid Verleden Tijd, 2010). This enables the cultivation of different images during one and the same time period. “Each generation ... will find its own Europe” or Netherlands (Paasi, 2001, p.10). In this research, generational groups are divided based on the experience of significant events that mark a given period of time. Here, the generations are pinpointed on two specific moments in time: the independence of Suriname on 25 November 1975, the material end of colonialism; and the entering into force of the Amsterdam Treaty on 1 May 1999, which installed a High Representative for EU common foreign and security policy (CFSP), the first material result of European Integration visible to the general public across the world. The Treaty, which was signed on 17 June 1997, introduced plans to give the EU a stronger voice in the world (Council of Europe, n.d.). In January 1999 the EU also generated international attention by introducing the Euro as accounting currency on the world financial markets. As identity, generation is actually determined by exclusion, exclusion of those periods of time which are not consciously experienced. For this, I adopt the arbitrary age of minimally 10 years to determine the likeliness that someone was aware of international events. Thus, the following three generations result:

- one which has consciously witnessed the pre-independence of Suriname (born before 1965);
- one which has consciously witnessed the emergence of the EU as a global actor (born between 1965 - 1989);
- one which has not seen the world completely different as from today (born after 1989).

Second, the focus is with the characteristic of either having or not having been part of the Diaspora community in the Netherlands. The focus is with a stay in the Netherlands and not elsewhere in the EU, because the largest group of Surinamers abroad is located in that specific country. It is expected that the two groups think differently, because “it seems inevitable that the diasporas grow apart as consequence to the disentanglement between the two states” (Van Dijck, 2004, p.9). Besides, it can be argued that already the willingness or urge, together with the required decisiveness, to move hints at a different mindset. “Transmigrants apprehend new ‘ideological spaces’, because national borders are merely partially relevant to their life histories” (Zuurbier, 2009, p.6). They construct meaning independent from time and space. Accordingly, it is expected that the images among the people belonging to either the Diaspora or homeland community will differ. Those who have been to the Netherlands, were ‘exposed’ to Dutch society. Their positioning within Dutch society has most likely changed their feelings for the Dutch (see Havekes, Uunk & Gijsberts, 2011). And it is not only the society but also their encounters with the ‘manufactured landscapes’ in the Netherlands that might have affected the image (Beardsell, 2008, p.203).

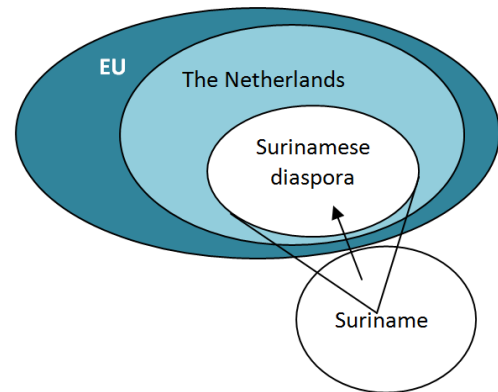


Figure 6: Diaspora and homeland

Furthermore, three main assumptions are actually already present in the starting points of this research. The first one is a strive for a ‘unified voice’ by the EU. Despite the fact that the EU closed down its delegation in Paramaribo, it is assumed that the political entity strives to increase its visibility and influence. The second assumption is concerned with the influence of the Netherlands. Although it is true that the Netherlands is one of the most important foreign actors in Suriname, it is questionable to what extent the EU effectively has to compete with the Netherlands to obtain more influence for itself. The last assumption probes that the EU is not well known in Suriname, as earlier research showed that it is generally not in the global south.

Drawing from the theoretical framework, it is assumed that actual material actions influence subjective processes of meaning giving. This allows for the above operationalization of the concept of national reputation as a presumable construction by outsiders. Furthermore, the believe in intrinsic value of concepts forms an important fundament to this research. So, although reputation might be originating from the other instead of the self, this does not mean that it has no value of itself. “The process of a faithful comprehension or description, and the continuity of explanation must dispel the

shadow of choice” (Derrida, 1978, p.194). ‘Yes’ or ‘no’ should not be acknowledged as a proper answer, but as a complexification instead. Also, Suriname, the Netherlands and the European Union are interdependent and share a common history. Their current relations and the images thereof are dependent on the context.

All of the above presented knowledge can be converted into a scheme which will show the main areas of focus in this research (see Figure 7). The many other factors described before will off course also exert influence over the image-formation, but are left out due to the aim of obtaining an in-depth perspective.

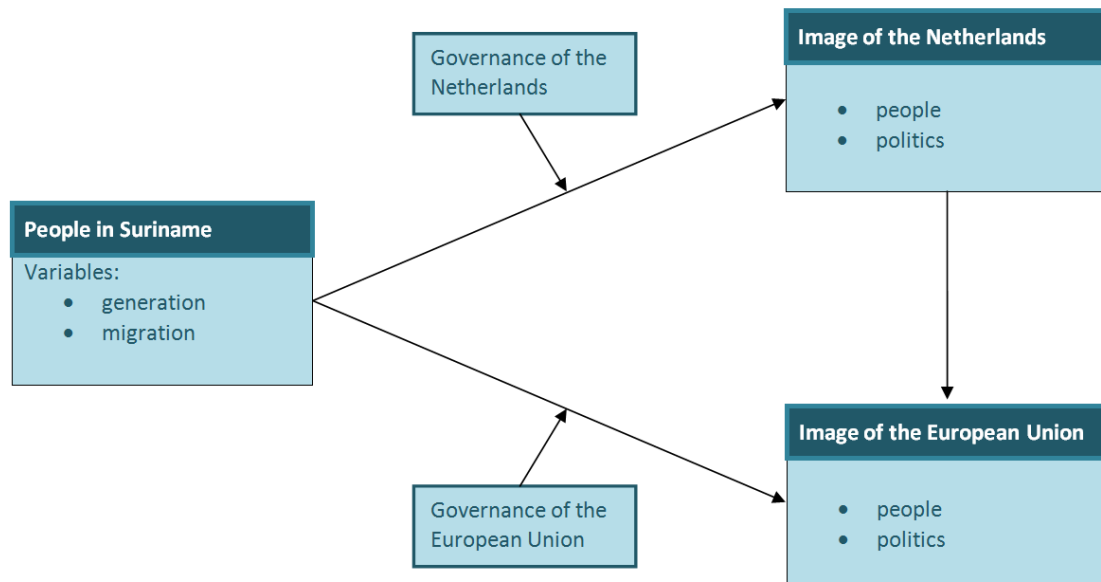


Figure 7: scheme illuminating the different aspects included in this research

Chapter 3. Methodology – conduct of work

The body of this chapter consists of descriptions of the methods used for conducting research. In that way, it reveals the adhered structures and schemes – including the research strategy –, which eventually led to the consecutive chapters. It enables to trace back the steps which led to this thesis, thereby increasing its reliability. Here, I try to explain how I created an overview of the images concerning the Netherlands and Suriname.

3.1 Research strategy

3.1.1 Reliability and accountability

The suitability of a certain method in a particular research is dependent on the assumptions, interests and purpose that are paramount in the research frame (Evans, 2007, p.172). Concerning the core decisions in relation to the research strategy (Verschuren & Doorewaard, 2010, p.164), choices are made for: focusing on depth, instead of width; qualitative, instead of quantitative research; and empirical, instead of desk research. The choice for depth derives from the beliefs postulated in §2.1.1 on my personal view of reality. Qualitative research is considered most productive, as the research aims at uncovering intangible, concealed elements, namely thoughts and feelings. However, it is complemented with quantitative research methods to open up possibilities for generalization. Finally, the choice for conducting empirical research can be traced back to my preference for and capability in working through personal contact, my roots and the opportunity to conduct field research. It is important to consider this research as an exploratory one. It can possibly be encompassing and therefore does not deliver proof on the existence of certain ideas among the total of the Surinamese population. Though, it was possible to deliver a valid outcome for the group of people which was put under scrutiny. This was ensured through source triangulation; using both personal interviews, news items and policy statements, as well as literature. However, contrasting different sources in this research has been less important than collecting different views on the Netherlands and the EU – in line with argumentation of Zuurbier (2009, p.24). To randomize the collection of views, they have been collected at different times and places and from different persons (Denzin in Flick, 2006, p.129). Through this differentiation of sources, reliability has also been increased. Finally, traceability of the research process was ensured through explicit documentation of data collection, analysis (available on request) and a transparent process of drawing conclusions.

3.1.2 Triangulation design

Besides it being a theory-led research, the main characteristic of this thesis, is that it follows the triangulation design. Although this type of concurrent design is commonly conceptualized as a mixed method it might here best be described as one following multiple methods alongside each other instead (see Philip, 1998, p.264).

“The Triangulation Design is a one-phase design in which quantitative and qualitative data are collected and analyzed in parallel and then merged together to develop a more complete understanding or to compare the different results” (Creswell, Plano Clark, & Garrett, 2008, p.68). This is possible, since quantitative and qualitative methods have principles in common, “despite their apparent bipolarity” (Philip, 1998, p.268) – an ostensible deconstructivist conclusion. The two most pertinent of the eleven reasons to integrate qualitative and quantitative research (Bryman in Flick, 2006, p.33) are in this case the utility in solving the problem of generality of qualitative data, and the problem of inapplicability of quantitative data. While an enquiry is used to gather more results, qualitative methods were required to give meaning to it. One of the main challenges of this approach concerns data integration (see Table 3). The qualitative and quantitative data are made comparable through one of the three integration strategies listed by Creswell et al., namely by transformation of “quantitative data into qualitative data ... [for example] by counting themes and calculating frequencies” (2008, p.73). This is achieved through the application of the computer-assisted qualitative data analysis software (CAQDAS) Atlas.ti, which is explained later (see §3.3.4.).

Challenges		Strategies		
Concurrent Designs	Contradictory findings	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Help uncover new theories – Collect additional data – Reanalyze original data – Use as springboard for new inquiry – Give priority to one form of data 	Sampling	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Have same individuals participate in both arms or use a subset of the original sample – Select sub-sample for qualitative from larger quantitative sample – Use a small random sample for both strands – Use same research sites in both arms – Use different participants – Have unequal sample sizes in both strands – Enlarge the qualitative sample
	Data integration	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Design study to address same topics or questions for both strands – Transform one type of data to be compared with the other – Compare using a matrix of both quantitative and qualitative data 	Introducing bias	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Collect unobtrusive data during trial – Sample equally from both experimental and control groups – Postpone qualitative data until after trial – Alternate administration of quantitative and qualitative data collection

Table 3. Challenges to triangulation design. Source: Creswell et al., 2008, p.71

3.1.3 Demarcation

This work aims at the collection of information about the views of ‘Surinamese people living in Suriname’. As we will see, this will also include some people who can be perceived as being ‘Dutch’, but it is effective in excluding people who are not really part of the Surinamese society. It focuses on images from the Other’s perspective and is consequently only concerned with nation brands and reputations (see §2.4). Moreover, the images collected reflect only the last 50 years of interaction between Suriname and the Netherlands and Suriname and the European Union – even though those images might relate to older events. This temporal demarcation is related to the age of my oldest respondent. So far, the theoretical framework in the first place opened up more possibilities, instead of narrowing down the scope of research. In order to present a coherent thesis, it has been decided during a later stadium of the research to dive deeper into the political and societal relationship in specific, as they seemed to dominate the process of image formation. This and the limited means to maintain depth, in case of inclusion, led to the choice not to involve economical relationships. The conception of a different identity for government and people is inspired by Paasi (see §2.4). The eventual focus is shown in Table 4 below.

		European Union		The Netherlands	
Suriname	a. Existing images	3. Governance 4. People	5. 4 other vectors*	1. Governance 2. People	4 other vectors*
	b. Past images	6 vectors to determine nation brand*		6 vectors to determine nation brand*	

Table 4. Focus of thesis in orange, numbers correspond with sub-questions

*: according to Anholt, 2006 (see Appendix A)

Furthermore, the research was conducted by finding answers to several sub-questions, each on its own way by use of different sources. By doing so, it was attempted to stay within the demarcated terrain of this thesis. Though, due to the iterative character of the research process, the sub-questions were not dealt with in a strict consecutive order. The first four sub-questions relate to the real imagined relations between Suriname and the political entities and are required to find an answer on sub-question 5. The time lapse which will be taken is in accordance with the central question. The sub-questions were the following:

1. What are the Surinamese images of the Dutch state?

The answer on this question is, besides characteristics, strongly dependent on the past interactions between the Netherlands and Suriname. To make sense of the image, these interactions are first outlined in the descriptive Chapter 4 that provides for benchmarks which have been used during the

empirical section of the research. The political image is connected to internal politics (state characteristics), world politics and politics directed at Suriname in specific. “Reputation as global standing – that the government is supportive of policies favored by a global audience or that the state has supported such policies in the past” (Brewster, 2009, p.241). Moreover, it led to the identification of events, of which the impact has been assessed during the field research.

2. What images are there of the Dutch society among Surinamese people?

Like the first sub-question, this is related to the historical relationship between former colony and former metropole as described in Chapter 4. Moreover, the answer to this question will reveal part of the process taking place in Suriname to socially produce and maintain an identity.

3. What are the Surinamese images of the European Union?

The answer on this question should, in case the hypothesis is invalid, be derivative of the relationship between the EU and Suriname. Therefore, Chapter 4 will also show how Suriname has been influenced by the growing political influence of the EU. The images of government and governance of the European Union have the same three indicators as the image of the Netherlands.

4. What images are there of the European society among Surinamese people?

The answer to this question will teach us about the perceived coherence of the different national societies within the European Union, or will perhaps more likely relate to the commonalities of all nations on the European continent. Who is ‘the European’ and how does he or she behave?

5. What is the relation between the separate images for the Netherlands and the EU?

This question, finally, brings to the fore the issue of possible interconnectedness of the brands and reputations of both entities. Firstly, it checks whether there is a relationship and secondly it might also reveal a certain qualification –concurrent or causal.

6. What is the effect of personal experience, determined by time and place, on image formation?

The descriptions resulting from the first four questions might give us insights in the effect of personal experience on image formation. This sub-question draws attention to the people of Suriname themselves. By making distinctions between the images of people who have and who haven’t lived in the Netherlands, it might become clear how personal experience gained *in* the subject of imagery itself affect the process of identity and image formation. By focusing on differences between images of older and younger people, the importance of witnessing different historic events and situations yourself might show.

Internal factors \ External factors	Actions of the Netherlands and EU	Characteristics of the Netherlands and EU
	Reputation of the Netherlands and EU	Brand of the Netherlands and EU
Having or not having lived in the Netherlands		
Generation		

Table 5. relation between different manifest variables and the latent images

The table above shows how a mix of external and internal factors enables the possibility of uncovering a relationship between the image of the Netherlands and that of the European Union. Obviously, it is too much to pay equal attention to all different aspects shown in the table, not to mention that there are of course much more internal factors, such as personality and physical abilities. Moreover, ‘characteristics’ is a very broad term covering spatial, cultural, administrative and many more elements.

3.1.4 Sources

The sub-questions can be answered by different means. For the collection of data, one can choose between the following methods (McClave, Benson and Sinich, 2008, p.18):

- analysis of publicized sources;
- conducting an experiment, in which effects are simulated in a conditioned space;
- holding an enquiry, which can also be in the form of interviews;
- making an observation.

Since the research aimed primarily at documenting images, which had not yet been recorded, cannot be isolated from an all-encompassing context and are located in the mind, just asking people might seem most productive. However, as we have seen that images are consistent of many different components and are being influenced in various ways, a thorough representation of an image can hardly be conveyed by answering one single question (e.g. ‘What is your image of the EU?’). Furthermore, one might not even be able to present his or her image out of the blue. Thus the direct question has been complemented with questions that might indirectly reveal an image. These questions varied in kind (open and closed) and were presented to the respondents in different ways (written or spoken). Through this method sub-questions 1 to 4 could be answered directly. The answers came both in the form of quantitative and qualitative data which were collected at the same time (see Flick, 2006, p.35 and further). A fundament for analyzing this data and answering the sub-questions had already been provided by a preparatory literature study and desk research of which results are presented in Chapter 4. Sub-question 5 will more adequately be provided of an answer

through analysis and combining of the answers to sub-questions 1 to 4. An answer to sub-question 6 will be generated by filtering down related comments that have been collected in search for answers on the first four sub-questions. For the bulk of this research, use has been made of transcriptions and series of grades. The nature of these sources and their use, will be described under the related methods below.

3.2 Quantitative methods

The quantitative part of the research has been inspired by the method presented by Anholt (2006). This means that the reputation of both the Netherlands and the EU will be presented in the form of a grade. To create a broader dataset on the images concerning the two entities under attention, an online and printed enquiry has been used (see Appendix B).

The questionnaire was available online and the link to it was transmitted to people or put on websites which I trusted to provide trustworthy responses. The main criterion for assessing the reliability of persons or websites willing to cooperate, is the nature of the contact held with that person or organization hosting the website. Subsequently, the link was e-mailed to students of the Lim A Po Institute. Eventually 31 of 163 people responded online. One of the risks was that, by awaiting response from society, I primarily received cooperation of certain groups of interested people who are not necessarily representative. However, it was not the main aim of this research to generate an image that is valid for the whole society. To counter the self-selection, the survey has also been conducted at three classes at the Anton de Kom University of Suriname. In the end I succeeded to conduct 148 surveys, apart from another 15 taken during the interviews. The total research population (including the interviewees) forms a quite proper representation of the generations in Surinamese society at large.

Age	Numbers	Percentage	Percentage	Numbers	Generation
0-14	147.151	27,5%	51,8%	67,5%	110
15-29	129.952	24.3%			
30-44	109.615		20,5%	18,4%	30
45-59	86.659	16,2%	26,4%	14,1%	23
60+	54.427	10,2%			
Unknown	6.376		1,3%		
Total	534.180		100%	100%	163
Source: Algemeen Bureau voor de Statistiek Suriname, 2013, p.15			Own respondents		

Table 6. comparison of distribution of respondents along generational divides

The dataset resulting from the enquiry was used to refer to during interviews. Actually, this is a qualitative dataset, as the questionnaire mostly gathered answers on a ten-point Likert scale (see Appendix B). This means that the respondents were asked to choose an integer value between and including 1 and 10, with 1 representing the lowest and 10 the highest level of appreciation. This is legitimate as images have a value dimension (Thomas-Hope, 2002, p.28). Although the intervals between the different grades are not necessarily constant, it is here interpreted as an interval scale level of measurement in order to enable the implementation of quantitative methods. This quantification process allows to develop insights on the collective and more comprehensive image held in Suriname.

A danger of the enquiry was that it deals with the Netherlands and the EU consecutively. That the questions concerning the Netherlands follow those about the EU, might evoke measurement against the previous determined image of the EU. The order (first discussion of the EU, than NL) has been determined in line with the suggestion of Strijk that people in Suriname more likely have a clear image of the Netherlands, and might please themselves while completing the enquiry by copying that image in response to questions concerning their image about the EU (pers.comm., 2012). It was no option to solve this by splitting up groups, asking one about the Netherlands and the other about the EU, because the searched for interconnection between images would have to take place within the mind of the individual. Another shortfall of the enquiry is that it required people to think in binary oppositions: something is to a certain degree either good or bad. Unfortunately, this could not be circumvented in the context of an aim set at the collection of a dataset large enough to draw comparisons. The same accounts for generalizing the Dutch and Europeans. However, from a traditional perspective, this can be justified, as images are often attributed in a group context.

Some statistical tests and calculations have been conducted, with both Excel and SPSS, to support an analysis of the obtained data. Most use was made of average scores, to compare results for the Netherlands with those for the EU, and to differentiate on base of variables. The exact use of statistical measures is explained in the respective paragraphs.

3.3 Qualitative methods

Despite the added value of quantitative data, I consider myself in the first place to be a qualitative researcher. “Qualitative researchers are committed to understanding social phenomenon from the participants’ own frame of reference, and examining how they experience the world” (Evans, 2007, p.172). This can best be achieved through the conduct of interviews, which thus form the main

source of information to this thesis. Although the same can be said of written sources, interviews are especially prone to conditionality. Therefore interview transcripts were interpreted against the backdrop in which the interview was conducted, since this might have influenced the informants' experiences, views and representations of the EU and the Netherlands. According to Schatzki, objectivity in qualitative research focused on others is derived from "self-awareness and self-reflexivity" (in Philip, 1998, p.270). This is something that is encouraged through the use of CAQDAS (Sinkovics and Alfoldi, 2009, p.828).

3.3.1 Interview

"The interview as a method of inquiry is a useful way of accessing people's perceptions, meaning and definitions of situations and constructions of reality" (Evans, 2007, p.173). Different kinds of interviews serve different purposes and reveal different sorts of information. Focused interviews (Flick, 2006, p.150-155) are best suitable for exposing subjective meanings and views. These kinds of interviews are organized along a regression in the openness of questions. After unstructured questions, semi-structured questions follow and eventually the interview is continued through structured questions. Moreover, this interview technique has preferably a uniform stimulus at its base. Characteristics of the focused interview are presented in Table 7.

Focused Interview	
Openness to the interviewee's subjective view by:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Non-direction by unstructured questions
Structuring (e.g., deepening) the issue by:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Giving a stimulus • Structured questions • Focusing on feelings
Problems in conducting the method	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Dilemma of combining the four criteria: non-direction, specificity, range and the depth and personal context shown by the interviewee
Limitations of the method	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Assumption of knowing objective features is questionable • Hardly any application in its pure form

Table 7: focused interview, source: Flick, 2006, p.206-207

The subsequent interview guide used in this research is incorporated in Appendix C. Preceding the actual field research, the interview guide was tested and discussed with Henry Strijk, a former editor-in-chief of the Surinamese Television Foundation (STVS). As with all methods, there are some limitations to the focused interview. With 'assumption of knowing objective features is questionable' is meant that stimulus is almost always multi-interpretable. While this is particularly applicable in case a film is used as stimulus (Flick, 2006, p.154), the opening question in my interview guide also leaves room for debate on what the key elements of an image are – the question can be interpreted

in different ways. Paramount to the interview in general, is the risk of alteration of both answers and even the actual feelings of the interview partner by the interviewer. “Nervousness on the part of the person answering” makes him or her less powerful (Spivak in Harasym, 1990, p.35), possibly cultivating socially desirable response. Being aware of this interplay, and attempting to extract images in their purest form, I decided to copy the outline of the questionnaire (see Appendix B) to the interview guide. This left less room for discussion or fabrication, but also obstructed chances for elaboration. This has been compensated for through reintroduction of open questions in the end. These questions mostly concerned ‘symbolic actions’ of either Suriname, the Netherlands or the EU, since these are the kind of actions that have

an intrinsic communicative power: they might be innovations, structures, legislation, reforms, investments, institutions or policies which are especially suggestive, remarkable, memorable, picturesque, newsworthy, topical, poetic, touching, surprising or dramatic. Most importantly, they are emblematic of the strategy [to promote a reputation]: they are at the same time a component of the national story and the means of telling it. (Anholt, 2009, p. 9)

Another possibility was to work with images that bring to mind associations. However, this was not considered to be the best way to determine the reputations of the Netherlands and the EU, as “it is principally deeds which create public perceptions, not words and pictures” (Anholt, 2009, p. 9). Besides, it was the aim to find out what would pop up first, which benchmarks are most prominent in the minds of the people.

A different complication in this thesis is related to language: while my interviews were conducted in Dutch (the official language in Suriname), this thesis is in English. This brings the risk of mistranslation. Since the transcriptions are in Dutch, all quotations taken from the interviews had to be translated, in order to incorporate them in the empirical chapters. For the transcription itself, no specific formats were followed. Interview recordings were transcribed in the most objective possible way, leaving out emotional components to speech unless they were unambiguous. In that case they would be indicated in-between brackets, just like external phenomena which affected the interview but could not be heard (such as a bird flying into the house). In order to make the references to the original transcripts transparent, line numbers are included in in-text references.

3.3.2 Interviewees

Interview partners were selected through different channels to secure a random and more general representation in outcomes and prevent influencing between interviewees. Already during the phase

of finalizing my research plan, I had started the search for interview partners in Suriname. Therefore I sought assistance of the Netherlands Migration Institute, which used half a day to contact their clients in Suriname. By being open to the unexpected, I was prepared to encounter radical otherness – that which “defies anticipation, reappropriation, calculation – any form of pre-determination” (Derrida in Harrison, 2006, p.129). In that way I succeeded to interview, among others, two former ministers, ACP parliamentarians, a well-known Surinamese TV host and even stood face to face with Bouterse himself. In total I conducted 17 field interviews with 15 people, one feedback interview with the public relations officer of the Embassy of the Kingdom of the Netherlands in Suriname, and many more conversations. The complete list of interviewees is included in Appendix D where it is also indicated how I got acquainted to them (age and either having or not having lived in the Netherlands is available on request). Some of the interview partners have also been considered as experts in the field of public opinion, due to their (past) occupations. Unfortunately, I didn’t succeed in obtaining an adequate representation of my respondent group by the group of interviewees – on average, the interview partners were older, had more often lived in the Netherlands, and were more ambiguous about their association with ethnic groups, than the respondents. By far, most people who completed the enquiry had not lived in the Netherlands (127 out of 149), while of the interview partners only three had not, and seven had even lived in the Netherlands for 10 years or longer. This is partly due to the simultaneous collection of both kinds of data, but most importantly caused by the possibilities available. For the selection of interview partners I was predominantly dependent on the support from AdeKUS and the NMI, who together provided me with seven interviewees.

Although I anticipated on the possibility that my background (a grandfather from Suriname) could have an effect on the responses of my interviewees, it was hard to sense the actual consequences for the research. Moreover, it was not always clear in what way people thought about me. Gezius told me after I interviewed him, that he would have given more sympathetic answers if he would have known that I was Dutch. Contrarily, Oliveira addressed me directly as a Dutchman and Arnhem determined without hesitation that I am a European.

3.3.3 Reading/deconstruction

Although I am not a linguist, deconstruction is taken as a foundation for the analysis of the obtained qualitative data. Namely, deconstruction can also be interpreted as focusing on power relations between opposing, but nonetheless connected, concepts. Suriname and the Netherlands, and the EU along with it, can be seen as (contested) binaries of center/periphery, developed/developing, Western/non-Western, etc.. Instead of focusing on sentence structures, emphasis will be on “inclusive and exclusive discursive processes” (Søndergaard, 2002). Thus, the focus here is rather

with the political strand of deconstruction instead of the linguistics strand. And although deconstruction should not be thought of as a “method or some tool that you apply to something from the outside” (Derrida in Caputo, 1997, p.9), it does require certain practices in order to get to its rationale. So even though it perhaps does not belong in a methodological chapter, it is included here as well, because it provides for a guiding framework.

Deconstruction “is an analysis which tries to find out how their thinking works or does not work, to find the tensions, the contradictions, the heterogeneity within their own corpus” (Derrida in Caputo, 1997, p.9). In this way, deconstruction can rather be seen as a process which “destabilizes notions of truth, clarity and certainty through a spectral logic: it differentiates, disturbs, unsettles” (Wylie, 2006, p.300); “de-naturalising what we assume is self-evident” (Bulley, 2009, p.292). In doing so, it tears down the binary oppositions that make up our reality, revealing their contradictions and instabilities (Ibid, p.293). To the contrary of its appearance, a binary opposition is not in equilibrium – one of the two opposites has supremacy over the other. This principal construct derives its supremacy and meaning from the secondary construct. Seen the fact that these flaws are already there, it makes sense to say that “deconstruction is something which happens and which happens inside” (Derrida in Caputo, 1997, p.9). The analysis revolves around questions, such as “what does the construction of the bottom line leave out? What does it repress? What does it disregard? What does it consider unimportant?” (Johnson in Gough, 2008, p.205). In other words, what is the opposing concept to the central construct? Thereafter, it naturally leads to the finding that without this other side of the coin, there wouldn’t be one to begin with.

Iterative techniques and recursive looping could be employed as methods to trigger off the above described process (Gough, 2008, p.206). Rereading – reading a text multiple times – is one of those techniques promoted by deconstruction, to gain “an ongoing confessional comprehension of how meaning is generated” (Knoespel in Gough, 2008, p.206). Reading itself, like image formation, “is a complex interaction between the text and the reader which is shaped by the reader’s prior knowledge, experiences, attitude, and language community which is culturally and socially situated” (Caputo, 1997). For the reading of a text or a narrative ‘who, what, where, when, and why’ matters. It “depends on the systematic and perpetual de-automatization of all possible meanings in words and expressions” (Nesselroth in Doležel, 2000, p.638-639). Through this ‘textual deconstruction’ one will reconsider the seemingly obvious meaning of a word by analyzing how it stands out from its context and how it relates to other terms.

“Any deconstruction begins with what Derrida calls a ‘respectful doubling of commentary’, an effort to draw out the logic of a text in its own terms” (Bulley, 2009, p.299). Secondly, comes the involvement of opposing terms and is scrutinized whether the images “involve certain power relations and impositions which are problematic” (Bulley, 2009, p.304). In other words, how are the images of both the Netherlands and the EU situated towards each other? The final step, to break with the dichotomies and make progress in uncovering meaning, is the search for ‘undecidables’ that pop up from an ‘interval of displacement’ – that which is in between the dichotomies (Bulley, 2009, p.305).

3.3.4 Atlas.ti

Due to the great amount of text that needed to be analyzed and the fact that I was already familiar with Atlas.ti (version 7.1.3), this software has been used during the qualitative analysis. This powerful computer program forms one of the “virtual environments or media for embodied and practice-based knowledge making” (Konopásek, 2008, art.12-59). It is in particular useful for increasing the trustworthiness, transparency and openness of this research (Sinkovics and Alfoldi, 2009, p.827). Another advantages to the use of CAQDAS is the automatic documentation of activities contained in the process of data analysis (Sinkovics and Alfoldi, 2009, p.835). Atlas.ti allows you “to *think in a visible way*. Visualised thoughts or mental operations can easily be stored, recollected, classified, linked, filtered out in great numbers ... and made meaningful in sum” (Konopásek, 2008, art.12-57). Below I will elaborate on the way I employed different functions of the program (for background information on the used terminology, see www.atlasti.com/manual).

Redundant texts, such as titles and information on the interviewees, were removed from the files before adding them as Primary Documents to the Hermeneutic Unit in Atlas.ti, in line with the strategy presented by Yang (et al., 2012, p.658). This was also the case for the standard questions copied from the enquiry, which were replaced by the number of the question. The transcripts of the open and ad hoc questions were not considered redundant because they were often needed as frame of reference for statements of the interviewees. In retrospect it would have been better to delete those parts of the transcripts that were not related to governance or societal relations. However, this focus was only taken later on during the research. Another dilemma was caused by the quantitative data (as the grades are interpreted in this research) in the transcripts. Only during a later stage it has been decided not to code them, as they hardly possess in-depth qualitative value.

The software has been used to facilitate analytical coding – “coding data into an evolving structure based upon the theoretical focus of the study” (Sinkovics and Alfoldi, 2009, p.836). Different

expressions of the same concept were merged through this process. For instance, president (with reference to the person currently heading the Republic of Suriname) and dictator (with reference to the person heading the military regime in Suriname during the 80s), were merged under the code 'Bouterse'. Subsequently, this code reflects the different connotations there are to Mr. Bouterse. In this way, coding enables easy processing and categorization of filtered text units – quotations – that are important. There are two types of coding, which I have both used: *in vivo* and *in vitro* coding (see Elliott and Higgins, 2012). While in the first way codes are derived from the transcript itself, the latter entails a process of coding based on own information and preferences of focus. *In vitro* codes are originate from theory and enable a categorization of characteristics and policies of the Netherlands and European Union that were indicated as having either a positive or negative effect on the images for the respective entities. While carefully reading and re-reading the transcripts, I coded words and phrases that seemed to have a more complex meaning than others. As a rule, I did not code fragments of questioning – transcriptions of what I said – unless it formed a bridge or interruption² between two statements. Focus was with the envisaged characteristics and actions of society and that of government subdivided by political entity. As will become apparent, some quotations contribute to both a negative and positive review. Moreover, it should be remembered that these opposites derive meaning from each other.



Figure 8. Example of transcript and subsequent coding in Atlas.ti

For the analysis, codes were listed according to their frequency (Yang, et al., 2012, p.659). Codes which were considered to be important are those codes with the most links to quotations (Konopásek, 2008, art.12-47). Through use of the Network Editor complex relations between quotations and these codes have been made visible. "In this study, semantic network analysis is

² Example of quotation belonging to code 'Nosy':

Ja, maar nogmaals, bemoeizuchtig zou ik kwalificeren, weetje, dus ze

V Dus alleen van zakelijk kunt u zeggen dat het klopt?

A Ja. Maar bemoeizuchtig, nogmaals, je zit met allerlei historische banden die zijn ontstaan.

applied to examine the co-occurrences of certain words. When there is a strong link among words, their chance of co-occurrence rises” (Danowski in Yang, et al., 2012, p.658). Although, the software indicates which codes are related, a manual process of filtering and then linking the remaining codes is still required. Thus, although Atlas.ti forces you to think about possible connections outcomes are also anticipated in a certain way. During the creation of networks, each connection between two separate codes that went through less than four quotations has been assessed. Depending on the nature of the quotes and the variety in origin (PD’s) it was decided to draw a link or not.

Once the pieces of data are cut off from original contexts and put to other (thematically defined) relationships, they tell a story unheard so far. What seemed to be important at first may suddenly appear as a minor issue; conversely, what we originally considered as marginal may gain importance, since, for instance, it becomes clear how often different people mention it. (Konopásek, 2008, art.12-53)

One of the problems I encountered in working with Atlas.ti, was that it doesn’t clarify how certain codes are related to each other. If the code ‘Amnesty law’ for instance was linked to a text unit, which was also linked to ‘Negative review NL governance’, this did not tell anything about the nature of the relationship. ‘Amnesty law’ might simply have been only an example of something that left an impression, and not for instance the cause. Likewise, ‘Amnesty law’ might not even have occurred in the mind of the interviewee self if it was the case that I addressed it first. Another problem occurred when deciding what should be coded. In case the interview partner repeated him- or herself, it has sometimes been decided not to attach a code in both cases in order to prevent distortion of frequencies. However, the interview partner might have repeated information intentionally to express the importance of it. However sometimes, things are also repeated, just by means of elaborating further on what has been said. In short, Atlas.ti sometimes objectified the qualitative value of text units.

3.3.5 Generalization

Although, the importance and desirability of analytical generalization of qualitative data is still being discussed, different scholars have suggested methods to make it possible (Halkier, 2011). In this case, generalization is not the main aim of research – as it concerns an explorative research –, but it is inevitable in some argumentations. The justification of generalization is in this thesis primarily achieved through the concept of ‘positioning’ (Halkier, 2011, p.793-794).

Positioning as a generalization type expresses the instability and complexity of our knowledge categories. However, at the same time, positioning enables the researcher to conclude something about the patterns in negotiations and power struggles over practical morality in ... [in this case – governance] and intersectings of different identifications in relation to ... [in this case – good or bad governance]. (Halkier, 2011, p.794)

Individual ‘positions’ are thus believed to either reflect or oppose broadly shared ideas, something which can be called a ‘storyline’ (Søndergaard, 2002, p.194). The premise to this form of generalization is a belief that reality, and image, results from inter-subjective processes. As we saw in §2.5.6., the storyline for Suriname might follow that of a victim. The ways in which individual judgments are related to the norm, should follow from the interview.

Chapter 4. Postcolonial geographies

This chapter provides information on the background of both the relationship between Suriname and the Netherlands, and the relationship between Suriname and the European Union. In describing the relationship between Suriname and the EU, the relationship between the Netherlands and the EU also plays an important role. In line with the research strategy, the relationships will be described focusing on the fields of politics and society. Moreover, the following descriptions are – for the purpose of this research – limited to the arbitrary extent that they might be of influence to the image formation process of people in Suriname. In what way the developments described in this chapter contribute to the imagination of Surinamers, will become evident in chapters 5 and 6.

4.1 Shared history of Suriname

4.1.1 Absence

Since the election of Bouterse as president of Suriname in 2010, diplomatic ties between Suriname and the Netherlands are chilled. The latter severed its relationship with Suriname in response to the parliamentary adoption of amnesty legislation for the suspects in the December killings on 5 April 2012. This amnesty law would indemnify the suspects of the December Killings of 1982, among which Bouterse, of a conviction. Since its adoption, there hasn't been a Dutch ambassador in Suriname. However, there is a chargé d'affaires ad interim, who embodies the same level of representation (Nuiten-Elzinga, pers.comm., 2013). On the other side, the ruling party of Desi Bouterse in Suriname saw a chance to adopt a discourse in which the outside world³ is accused of undermining the “strive against colonial domination and for nation building” (Nationale Democratische Partij, 2012). Also its youth fraction, which for an important part led to the victory of Bouterse (OVT, 2010), denotes the current period as one to “shed colonial thinking” (NDP Jongeren, 2012, p.1). As the Surinamese foreign minister (Lackin in Pross, 2012) described: there won't be a Dutch ambassador to Suriname as long as the political powers in the Netherlands do not respect the democratically chosen government. Neither is there a Surinamese ambassador in the Netherlands. Two employees of the Surinamese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Kerpens and Halfhide, stated that in the new Surinamese foreign policy, “roles are reversed. We are no one's backyard anymore, but would like to make deals based on equality and respect” (in Brinkman, 2013a, own translation).

³ in Dutch: “het buitenland”, a singular term which can be used to subtly point out one foreign power – in this case, most likely, the Netherlands

Despite this anxiety, Dutch minister of foreign affairs, Timmermans, said he will continue his efforts to maintain good contacts between the Surinamese and Dutch societies (Nederlandse ambassade in Paramaribo, 2013) and would like to install a new ambassador (NOS, 2012). “The starting point is that Suriname remains important for the Netherlands” (Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs, n.d.). Furthermore, the Netherlands would like to be seen as a reliable partner (Nuiten-Elzinga, pers.comm., 2013). However, the renewed tensions – this time in absence of a structural aid relation – bear heavy on the motives for a continuation of a special relationship with Suriname, which is “predominately treaty-based, political and ethical of kind” (Van Dijck, 2004, p.10). Robert Petri, former chargé d’affaires a.i. (2013, own translation) explained that “our societies are [continuously] closely connected to each other: we share a common history, we speak the same language, and there is a large Surinamese community in the Netherlands”. Referring to the relationship between the Netherlands and Suriname, Bouterse proclaimed that “we need each other” (2013).

4.1.2 Colonial history

The relationship between Suriname and the Netherlands derives from colonial times. In fact, before the Dutch took control of the English plantations in the second half of the 17th century, it was far from being a country. “Suriname has been carved out and framed by the European world” (De Bruijne in Hoeft & Meel, 2001, p.23). This has progressed through political, economical and cultural dependencies. Consequently, the current Republic of Suriname, is a ‘postcolonial site’ – where one can find claimed opposites united, such as for instance in the mix of people. Until 1954, when Suriname gained autonomy within the Kingdom of the Netherlands, the country was ‘just’ a colony. The subordinate period was characterized by slavery and a prolonged disdain to non-westerners in general. It took until the beginning of the 19th century for slavery to become topic of public discussion (Lans, 1842, p.38), and only in 1863 the Dutch abolished it in their colony of Suriname. Despite the substitute import of contract laborers, this development could not prevent a decrease in productivity of the colony, leading people in the Netherlands to describe it as being ‘ill’ in the early 20th century (Greiner, 1921, p.286). The so-called ‘Suriname-problem’ (Drimmelen, 1923, p.204) remained a responsibility of the Netherlands until the 25th of November 1975. The following quote is quite accurate in describing the believes, which are to blame for the relations between Suriname and the Netherlands, were it not that the majority of the Surinamese population does actually not belong in ‘there’ either. Nevertheless, as we will see later, it is still illustrative to the contemporary relations, as “many of the imperial attitudes underlying colonial conquest continue” (Said, 1993, p.17).

It is the task of the white man in the tropics to bring serenity and order, introduce his better working methods, to guide, which will lead up to a higher societal order. However, this task is

provisional, as he will sooner or later realize that the areas where he acts as conqueror or leader will always remain the inalienable property of those who belong there.

(Drimmelen, 1923, p.200; own translation)

Overall, it can be said that during the early phases of receiving autonomy, the Afro-Surinamese population did never completely internalize the Dutch culture. However they did feel that the “Afro-Surinamese culture was far inferior to Dutch, and that one had to act ‘Dutch’ in order to make a career” (Van Stipriaan in Hoefte & Meel, 2001, p.16). Preceding to the actual independence, people slowly developed a disdain of Dutch rule. In 1960 for instance, Van Renselaar (1963) conducted a research on the image-formation of Creoles regarding the different ethnic groups in the country. At that time the results regarding the Dutch residing in Suriname were as displayed in Table 8.

Judgment on the Dutch in Suriname, by the Creole population in Paramaribo			
Positive judgment	Positive and negative considers	Negative judgment	No judgment
39,6%	21,5%	35,4%	3,5%

Table 8: research on images of the Dutch (after Van Renselaar, 1963, p.103)

By the people who were opposed to independence, which primarily were Hindustani, the Dutch were primarily perceived as guardians of cohesion in a multiethnic and segmented society. Perhaps because of this reliance, the Dutch financial support after independence, worked to the detriment of inciting entrepreneurship among the Surinamers (Van Dijck, 2008). In relation to the drastic turnarounds in people’s minds concerning internal politics – as expressed during the different elections –, and in correspondence with §2.5.6., De Bruijne and Brunning-Stulz (2008, p.7) noticed that “a people has a short memory”.

Only the remnants of slavery appear to be hard to relinquish – “many people still feel the pain” (Asscher, 2013; Campbell in Katstra, 2013). While a hoped-for apology has still not been given, the Dutch vice minister-president Asscher expressed his “deepest regret and remorse” (2013), during the Dutch remembrance ceremony in Amsterdam of 150 years since the abolition of slavery in Suriname. Since this did not satisfy some of the Surinamese organizations that were striving for a true apology (Katstra, 2013), also the forgiving by President Bouterse on the other side of the ocean a few hours later was not appreciated (Brinkman, 2013b). Bouterse underlined that the Surinamese people “have developed from subordinated, to emancipated, free citizens” (Bouterse, 2013; own translation).

4.1.3 Surinamers

The importance of societal ties is profoundly evident for the relations between the Netherlands and Suriname. The movements between the Netherlands and Suriname have been prone to the trend of a 'growing politicization of migration' described by Castles and Miller (2009, p.12). The large Surinamese community in the Netherlands has certainly influenced Dutch society and politics and is relevant to the bilateral relationship with the Republic of Suriname. On the first of January 2013, there were 347.631 people in the Netherlands with one of the parents or themselves being born in Suriname (Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek, 2013). Besides these Dutch nationals, there is also a rotating group of temporary visitors. Yearly, some 18.000 visas are requested (Nuiten-Elzinga in Apintie, 2013), which means that 1 person without the Dutch nationality out of approximately 30 persons in Suriname visit the Netherlands annually – for example to study; in 2009/2010 some 600 Surinamese students followed education at a higher educational institution in the Netherlands (Inspectie Ontwikkelingssamenwerking en Beleidsevaluatie (IOB), 2011, p.25). In part through remittances from migrants, this has a substantial impact on the economy of Suriname. "In 2005, the Dutch Consumers' Union estimated that annual transfers from the Netherlands to Surinamese family and friends are in excess of 115 million € per year. This is about 10% of GDP or around 230 € per capita" (European Commission, 2008).

Migration is both the outcome of, and element in determining the image a country has. On the one hand, one would only migrate to a country which bears the image of positive future prospects. But on the other hand, most reliable or at least influential images result from stories of migrants who have preceded. "At the macro-level of explanation, migration is a reflection of specific historical circumstances and the directions of movement biased towards the places of colonial linkages together with new destinations where labour is required" (Thomas-Hope, 2002, p.9). The relationships derivative of colonial times has facilitated migration from Suriname to the Netherlands (Oostindie & Schoorl, 2011, p.260). This migration process reached a climax when the independence of Suriname was at dawn. Some 40.000 people migrated from the former colony to its mother country, before it became independent in 1975. By the end of that year, approximately 100.000 Surinamese people, about one fourth of the total Surinamese population, were living in the Netherlands (Ramsodh in Hoefte & Meel, 2001, p.101).

Of crucial importance for the Surinamese decolonization migration was the decision on the Divisive Agreement concerning nationality, through which the inhabitants of Suriname did not only get the possibility, but also the obligation to choose between the two countries. (Oostindie & Schoorl, 2011, p.281)

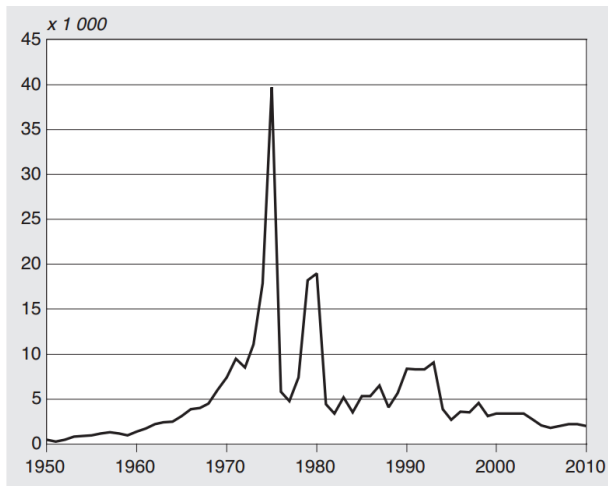


Figure 9: Surinamese migration to the Netherlands.

Source: Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek, 2011

“The period following decolonisation in 1975 led to profound changes. Ineffective policy, corruption and nepotism prevailed, nourished by the huge transfers of Dutch development aid” (Ramsoedh, in Hoefte & Meel, 2001, p.101). This paved the way for a military coup under charge of Desi Bouterse in 1980. In 1982 again some thousands of Surinamese fled to the Netherlands because of the so called ‘Decembermoorden’ (December killings) that came in the extension of a political coup two years earlier (Bronkhorst, 1990). This influx of migrants changed the scene of the relations between both the two societies and two states. Within the context of a failing state after independence “the (former) coloniser remained the standard by which virtually everything was gauged in twentieth-century Suriname” (Hoefte in Hoefte & Meel, 2001, p. 17). Oostindie and Schoorl (2011, p.259) argue that there was a reduced ‘psychological distance’ between both countries. However, this could be challenged, as Oostindie – together with other Dutch scientists working on colonialism – has been criticized for undervaluing slavery and colonial relations (see Hira, 2012). Moreover, for many Surinamers return does not form a real option any more (Zuurbier, 2009, p.46).

Due to colonial times, the population in Suriname itself displays a great diversity. It is claimed that ‘the Surinamer’ does not exist (Smeets & Kaatee, 2010). The population of approximately 567.000 inhabitants consists out of more than five equally important ethnicities (Central Intelligence Agency, 2013). The two biggest populations, those of Creoles and Hindustanis, have completely ‘different histories’ (Raghoebarsing, pers.comm., 2012, l.140). There are differences in the storylines of both ethnic groups, the Creoles connect to slavery, while the Hindustanis connect to indentured labor. Due to this, “Hindustanis, on average, are less fierce towards Dutch people, than Creoles sometimes express themselves” (Ibid., l.153). Besides, Suriname is home to the largest group of Chinese in the Caribbean (Chickrie, 2013).

4.2 The European Union context

4.2.1 Entangled relations

Before we get to the relation between Suriname and the European Union, it is helpful to reflect on the nature of the union itself, and thereby we cannot avoid the role of the Netherlands. In return, the position of the Netherlands is influenced by external forces, the development of a more intense cooperation between European states possibly being the most important one. In 2010, 20 years of territorial cooperation, 'the most European of activities' were celebrated (Hahn, 2011, p.3). Internal borders have been dissolved and European citizens (also those of non-EU members) are enabled to integrate more easily in both the economy and society of one of the other member states. Garavani (2007) argues that decolonization, through a weakening of the nation-state, had a profound influence on these sort of developments taking place in western Europe. As is generally accepted, the unification of the countries on the European continent can also be seen as a 'peace project' (Hyde-Price, 2006, p.224). Though, peace requires sacrifices. The different member states are becoming less able to determine their policies separately from each other, for example in the fields of trade and immigration policies. "The governments of the EU member states are no longer the sole point of reference for a discussion of contemporary European immigration and asylum policy and politics" (Geddes, 2000, p.15). An effective national migration policy has become impossible (Netherlands Institute of International Relations, 2012, p.37). Taking on the awareness of being interdependent, the Netherlands started cooperating with its neighboring countries at an early stage and can be indicated as a strong advocate of European integration. Moreover, the U.S. Department of State (2012) argues that it has become dependent on the EU for its foreign, economic, and trade policies. However, the EU is still far from being one and accordingly lacks a single identity. Instead, it is "made-up of a co-existence of particular, varied identities" (BBV Foundation in Laffan, p.1996, p.81). These kind of developments, although still at an early phase, can also be observed in the field of external relations.

4.2.2 Foreign policy

The EU "represents a new kind of power in international politics" (Diez, 2005, p.614). The first common foreign and security policy (CFSP) effectively started to materialize with the introduction of the Maastricht Treaty in 1992 (European Commission, 2007, p.11; European Union, n.d.). From this point on the EU (at that time European Community) developed more competencies to act as one to the outside world.

[Nevertheless,] foreign and security policy is one area where essential authority remains with EU governments, although the European External Action Service and, to a lesser extent the European Commission and European Parliament, are associated with the process. Key decisions are taken by unanimous vote. (European Union, n.d.)

The CFSP was designed to give the Union a stronger and therefore autonomous profile. The way in which the EU and its institutions interact with third countries and regions has later been amended through the Lisbon Treaty (Council of the European Union, 2010, p.2). It now campaigns to overrule the bilateral relations between member states and other countries, to replace them with relationships in bi-regional form; for instance between the Caribbean Community CARICOM and the EU. One of the problems coming along with this transition, is the existence of different practices and stances in the field of diplomacy by the separate member states, and therefore different reputations among third countries. The EU tries “to pool knowledge and best practices for the conservation and consultation of national and/or European diplomatic documents” (Council of the European Union, n.d.b). Within this context, “the EU Delegations shall ... in particular, on a reciprocal basis, provide all relevant information to the diplomatic services of the Member States and, where possible and upon request, support the Member States’ in their diplomatic relations” (Ashton, 2010, p.5). But to merge the different reputations, which are linked to different historical relations, is a different story.

Yet, opportunities still lie open for the individual member states to shape policy outcomes. But the extent to which these opportunities are actually exploited differs per situation and issue. Blom-Hansen and Brandsma (2009) found evidence that “business interest leads to intergovernmental bargaining” (p.733) while “political interest, which is theoretically associated with bargaining, also seems to affect deliberation” (p.735). This means that differences in priorities determine the possibilities for supranationalism in certain fields of policy making, with political importance – besides technical complexity – forming the most important positive incentive. On the political level, the current ruling party of Suriname makes distinctions between the Netherlands and the EU (Radio Nederland Wereldomroep, 2012), and can be said to see the EU rather as a supranational institution – autonomous from the Netherlands –, instead of an intergovernmental one.

4.2.3 EU and the colonies

“Both processes – the deepening and the widening of the Union – have exerted direct and indirect influences on the developing world” (Gänzle, Grimm and Makhan, 2012, p.6). Countries excluded from the block experience a growing influence and interference from an expanding EU. The relations

with former colonies, united in the African, Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) group of states, are shaped through the ACP-EU framework. It can be said that the EU member states have a strong appeal on these countries, as many young students get on the plane to study in Europe. After decolonization “Western Europe evolved from being an emigration area to being one of the most important regions of immigration” (Garavani, 2007, p.306). The number of students from the Caribbean, Central and South America attending first and second stage education in the EU increased from 82.241 to 97.066 between 2008 and 2009 (Eurostat, 2012). These movements are being promoted by EU policies which facilitate study programs for nationals from the ACP countries. However, the stated goal of these policies is to help develop the sending countries: “as regards training in a Member State, the Parties shall ensure that such action is geared towards the vocational integration of ACP nationals in their countries of origin” (Article 13.4 Cotonou Agreement, 2000). But not all movements towards the EU proceed via legal channels. In February 2007, Frontex – the European Agency for the Management of Operational Cooperation at the External Borders of the Member States of the European Union – held a joint operation called AMAZON II. It was “focused on preventing illegal immigration from South and Central America arriving at EU airports in an attempt to breach the immigration controls of the external borders” (Frontex, 2007). The project confirmed the existence of illegal immigration from South and Central America arriving by air at the EU external borders, such as Schiphol in the Netherlands.

The EU, already from its creation on, can be said to be intended to adopt the ‘white man’s burden’ of its independent member states. Already in the 1950 Schuman Declaration for the proposed European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC), words were devoted to the aim of improving living standards in the world as a whole (Schuman in Gänzle, Grimm and Makhan, 2012, p.5). Subsequently, the original six EU countries agreed at this time to share part of the finances required to assist their former colonies, as these gained independence (European Commission, 2007, p.5). The European Community strived to become “the developing world’s most understanding partner” (Habermas in Garavani, 2007, p.318). By the early 70s, “the European Community had become an important agent ..., with a strong public opinion hostile to imperialistic dreams in the Third World” (Garavani, 2007, p.306).

The relations with the Caribbean region revolve around the ‘Outline for a Joint Caribbean-EU Partnership Strategy’, while acknowledging the importance of the bilateral relations of its member states and in particular those of the ones with historical ties (see Council of the European Union, 2010). Nevertheless, the EU assumed the specific bilateral relationships and incorporated them into its own historical narrative, speaking of a “rich heritage of shared history, values and culture” with

the Caribbean region – independently from the bilateral relations of its member states (Ibid). One might conclude that the preceding assertion is true, as “the Americas, contrary to Asia and Africa, are not Europe’s difference, but its extension” (Mignolo, 2000, p.51). The European colonial powers namely found the opportunity to shape the continent according its own ideologies. So although, the South American countries (except for one) have now all become independent, the EU in still many respects counts as ‘mother’. “Colonialism ... did not end with independence because coloniality of power and knowledge changed hands, so to speak, and became subordinated to the new and emerging epistemological hegemony” (Mignolo, 2000, p.87-88).

4.2.4 The EU in Suriname

Twelve years after the establishment of the ECSC, “in 1962, Suriname became associated with the European Economic Community (EEC) [later renamed EU]; and although important in its own right and nourishing Dutch-Surinamese relations, in economic terms, the European connection could not counterweight the power of US businesses” (Meel in Hoeft & Meel, 2001, p.134). But the EU can offer an alternative (Beardsell, 2008, p.198). The establishment of a Delegation of the European Union after Suriname became independent in 1975 created new



Figure 10. Before independence in 1975 Suriname formed an overseas territory of the EU. Source: own.

opportunities. The EU Delegation was responsible for diplomatic representation, information, partnership and assistance implementation (Delegation of the European Union to Suriname, n.d.). With its expanded influence in the political field through the establishment of the European External Action Service (EEAS), the EU also chose to release a statement on the judicial process on the political murders in Suriname during the 80s (Ashton, 2012). Subsequently, the EU started a so-called Article 8 Dialogue in the framework of the ACP-EU relation, in compliance with the Cotonou Agreement. “In Suriname, together with Member-States represented we promote the overarching EU values and principles of respect for Democracy and Human rights” (Delegation of the European Union to Suriname, n.d.). However, the EU delegation had to close down in May 2013, due to a shortage in financial and human resources (Hernandez in Van Oosterum, 2013). Chargé d’Affaires Hernández Aragonés, stressed that this “does not mean that we [the EU] end the cooperation with and attention for Suriname” (in Van Oosterum, 2013). Whether any of its projects have contributed to a better or more clear image of the EU is questionable.

The new 'epistemological hegemony' ascribed above, showed for instance when the World Bank designated Suriname as belonging to the group of 'upper middle income countries' (IOB, 2011, p.24), through which it lost access to certain development funds. A decision which might be argued to be an outcome of the "colonial logic of Eurocentrism" (Burity, 2012, p.83). This was to the dismay of the country, which wanted to get rid of this label (Waterkant.net, 2012). "Indeed the whole discourse of 'emerging markets' which had been promoted by western-led financial institutions (in tandem with the World Bank, ...) can be read as a contemporary reformulation of colonial idioms" (Sidaway, 2000, p.605) – "a European-driven reinforcement of ... the World Bank ..., to manage the global economy according to the rules set by industrialised countries" (Garavani, 2007, p.319). Moreover, the preferential relationship that Suriname has through its status as ACP-country, is subject to erosion (Goodison, 2007, p.2). This might be a consequence of the fact that the ACP-countries lack an adequate organization (Latu-Sanft, pers.comm., 2012). Besides, the ACP countries more often speaks out against EU policies. The International Centre for Trade and Sustainable Development (ICTSD) already in 2007, argued that the policy is for instance not encouraging privatization/guarding off private sector interest – something which on itself is a condition to preferential trade (Goodison, 2007, p.39, 48, 50). However, in its agricultural export Suriname is dependent on the EU banana trade regime. In 2009, there was an agreement to revise the trade relations under pressure of the WTO, but until now the EU didn't live up to its commitments (Starnieuws, 2012).

Chapter 5. The meddlesome Netherlands

"It is not that I have a slave-like relationship with them or something"
Arnhem, pers.comm., 2012

This first chapter, based primarily on empirical findings, shines a light on the images of the Netherlands among my respondents and interview partners. In line with the hypothesis, it precedes the chapter on the European Union, because this chapter will most likely provide the background for explaining the thoughts on the EU. First, it will be discussed what 'the Dutch brand' looks like from a Surinamese, postcolonial perspective. The role of specific events, which might be described as context, comes second. There is no need to mention that the following does not necessarily reflect 'truth', but merely is a reflection of the perceptions on 'truth'.

5.1 A paradoxical image

5.1.1 General features

Since, as Arnhem (pers.comm., 2012, l.49) and Gezius (pers.comm., 2012, l.705) stated, the Dutch probably already know that 'people' think of them 'like this', this chapter might not seem so interesting at first. However, it actually is challenging to find out who 'the people' and their experiences are, the more the 'this' is not so clear as it appears to be. The circle diagram to the right visualizes the outcome of the enquiry with regard to the general image of the Netherlands. Remarkably enough, there is a considerable group that indicated not to have a

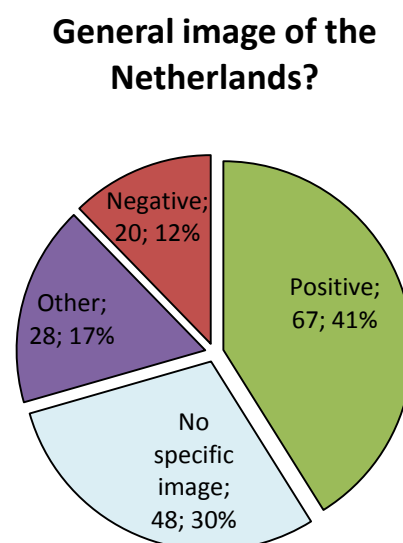


Figure 11. Result of enquiry, question 16

specific image of the Netherlands. An explanation for this might be found in a reply of one of the respondents, who wrote "that there is no point in giving a judgment from so far away" (R-B1 134, pers.comm., 2012). Another option might be that the people in this group are 'simply' ambivalent about the Netherlands. Hildenberg for instance, characterized his image as 'normal', arguing that the Netherlands, like any other country has negative and positive characteristics (pers.comm., 2012). However, the difference with other countries is that the characteristics of the Netherlands are related to its shared past with Suriname, and it is precisely this what makes this research interesting.

At a first sight people in Suriname seem to be relatively positive about the contemporary Netherlands. In general they seem to believe that the Netherlands has more to offer than Suriname (Gezius, pers.comm., 2012, l.890). Although the following descriptions do not necessarily lead up to the same image per individual, they are representative of the key components that make up the collective group image. The interview partners praise the Netherlands in particular for its order and stability, describing the country as:

- a welfare state (Edmundo, pers.comm., 2012, l.410);
- developed (M. Alberga, pers.comm., 2012b, l.473);
- democratic (Arnhem, pers.comm., 2012, l.69; M. Alberga, pers.comm., 2012, l.338; W. Alberga, pers.comm., 2012, l.352);
- progressive (Edmundo, pers.comm., 2012, l.335);
- prosperous (Pirhipal, pers.comm., 2012, l.49; Edmundo, pers.comm., 2012, l.375);
- tolerant (M. Alberga, pers.comm., 2012, l. 835); and
- well structured (Pirhipal, pers.comm., 2012, l.298; IB-B3 43, pers.comm., 2012; Edmundo, pers.comm., 2012, l.416);
- a good place to work (M. Alberga, pers.comm., 2012, l.495; Edmundo, pers.comm., 2012, l.422);

However, this is only a part of the complete picture, as there is also a negative connotation to the Netherlands. In that light, the Netherlands has commonly been described as:

- meddlesome (W. Alberga, pers.comm., 2012, l.356; M. Alberga pers.comm., 2012, l.558);
- pedantic (Hildenberg, pers.comm., 2012, l.312; M. Alberga pers.comm., 2012, l.559);
- non-cooperative (Pirhipal, pers.comm., 2012, l.310);
- paternalistic (M. Alberga, pers.comm., 2012, l.699 & l.789); and
- an unpleasant country to live (Arnhem, pers.comm., 2012, l.81; Gezius, pers.comm., 2012, l.928).

It is remarkable that the negative descriptions relate more often to agency (reputation) than the positive descriptions, which rather connect to the nature of the state (the brand). If we observe this from a poststructuralist perspective, we find an affirmation of the importance of both structure and agency. These two work in a symbiotic interplay to form different reputations that distinct themselves from the brands attributed by the interviewees.

Yet, as deconstructivism teaches us, the world does not only exist out of either positive or negative things. This means that some of the ‘positive’ descriptions listed above, might be negative in the perspective of certain other people, and vice versa. Democracy, for instance, is a highly debated concept (Lim A Po, pers.comm., 2012, l.708), and should, according to Egger, not be overestimated (pers.comm., 2012, l.596). Likewise, intrusiveness can be explained as a positive attribute, when it comes to dealing with problems (W. Alberga, pers.comm., 2012, l.356). Besides, a characteristic is neither applicable in or valid for every situation, nor all-encompassing. For instance, people described the Netherlands as a good place to work, while adding that this does not guarantee work for everyone (M. Alberga, pers.comm., 2012 l.501; Egger, pers.comm., 2012). Hence the existence of multiple reputations and images of the Dutch brand, which can be distinguished only from the context. It becomes clear whether a term is meant to be positive or negative if we look at the adjacent words.

One of the most important observations, is that there seem to be three different notions of the Netherlands. In the one instance, the Netherlands is referred to as a country with all its different aspects – ranging from climate to its public transport system –, while the other time one is talking about its government and politics in specific, and in a third instance one contemplates on societal characteristics that are often merged under the header of ‘people’. Raghoebarsing, former Surinamese minister for Planning and Development Cooperation, stressed that there is a “connection between people and [emphasized:] a relation at the political level” (pers.comm., 2012, l.92). The relationship between people and politics is ignored, as individuals are perceived to be disconnected from what happens in the government (Interviewee X, pers.comm., 2012, l.545).

5.1.2 Netherlands-Suriname relationship in general

There are many descriptions on which my interview partners did not seem to find consent, especially with respect to the ‘special’ (M. Alberga, pers.comm., 2012, l.331) and ‘different’ (Hildenberg, pers.comm., 2012, l.145) relation between the Netherlands and Suriname. This relation has been symbolized in many different ways: as one of a mother and child (Hildenberg, pers.comm., 2012, l.137; Lim A Po, pers.comm., 2012, l.786), a grown-up and a child (Olivieira, pers.comm., 2012, l.162), of a benefactor and beggar (W. Alberga, pers.comm., 2012, l.672) and even as one of an owner and a dog (Lim A Po, pers.comm., 2012, l.527). The description of Peelen, who referred to the Netherlands as “big brother Holland” (pers.comm., 2012, l.481) is also interesting. The word *br-other* assumes likeness and difference at the same time, held apart by ‘age’, and in this case also ‘size’. Here, big does not mean ‘not small’, but will more likely refer to comparative statistics, related to for example economy, education, and health, that allow a qualification of the Netherlands as big Other. The

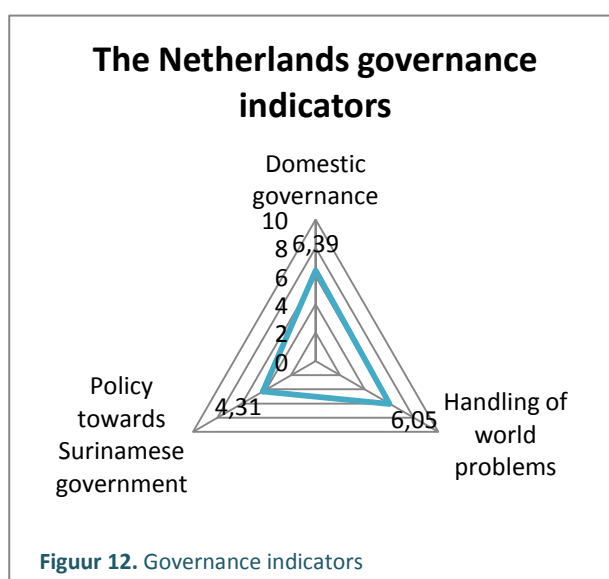
character of the relationship between the Netherlands and Suriname was also exposed through indirect description, for example by the astonishment about a situation in which a Surinamese teacher allegedly had to explain an equation to a Dutch teacher (Pirhipal, pers.comm, 2012, l.249). Also the reoccurring reference to weather conditions uncovers a reversed sense of ‘Tropicality’, the cold climate is seen as something alien or even unbearable to the Surinamese (W.Alberga, pers.comm., 2012, l.729; Nooitmeer, pers.comm., 2012). Inherent to the bipartisan character of the relationship – which provokes comparison –, these descriptions all postulate binary oppositions. Both are not the other, and this has been validated through independence, but at the same time colonial divides remained in place; “the one being stronger than the other, the one being a developed country, the other a developing country” (M. Alberga, 2012, l.464).

From a postcolonial perspective, it is not strange that the research data often pointed out this asymmetry (Lim A Po, pers.comm., 2012, l.762). Due to the colonial past, the Netherlands is economically stronger, and more developed than Suriname, but the essence remains that they have a shared history (M. Alberga, pers.comm., 2012, l.464) – both strolled through time hand in hand. Moreover, for a long time, Suriname was the Netherlands; Suriname derives meaning from its context, which is formed by the Netherlands and vice versa.

In the following two paragraphs a more thorough analysis will be presented of the Surinamese perspective on the Netherlands, and Netherlands-Suriname relationship. The two most important playgrounds for the image formation process, politics and society, are key to this analysis.

5.2 Governance

Focus will first be put on the image of Dutch governance. In relation to both internal and international politics, Surinamese individuals often have ambiguous views, especially in the sense that perspectives towards different topics seem contradictory. Also the disparity between viewpoints of different people is big. While some actions of the Netherlands contribute to a negative image among some, they bring about a positive image among others. This is related to the different



perceptions of the role the Netherlands should play and the assessment of one's own situation. The two interviewees who ended up having the highest average scores for all the research indicators for the Netherlands were Oliveira (8,88) and Pirthipal (8,75). While Oliveira said to have real high expectations of the Netherlands (pers.comm., 2012, l.35), Pirthipal often expressed discontent with affairs in Suriname (pers.comm., 2012, l.184). To the contrary, Peelen, the interviewee with the lowest average score for the Netherlands (5,00), didn't express any expectation (pers.comm., 2012, l.12) and called Suriname 'my country' – giving away to a nationalistic undercurrent (Ibid., l.61). Besides, interview partners also said to understand or not to understand some actions, while not ascribing them either positive or negative value. Nevertheless, the divide between negative and positive is pursued in explaining the views on Dutch governance to maintain structure.

While the indicators 'Governance' and 'Handling of world problems' were also referred to during the interviews, focus will be with the most often discussed 'Policy towards Surinamese government' (due to the limits of this research and to maintain focus). Commonly, the Dutch government policy is described as somewhere in between 'not exemplary' (Raghoebarsing, pers.comm., 2012, l.93) and 'immature' (Egger, pers.comm., 2012, l.566). By calling it 'the official story' (Ibid.), Egger made clear that the political relation is something which cannot be circumvented. The many actors in this story are frequently changed but the same stage roles remain. The most important roles in connection to the political relationship are those of the leaders (e.g. monarch, president, prime-minister), respective governments and their representatives. The most important actor is current president and former military leader Desi Bouterse, who has been on stage almost uninterrupted since the coup d'état in 1980.

5.2.1 Explanation negative review

Although the majority of respondents indicated to have a positive image of the Netherlands, and the average overall grade was 6,13 on a 10-point scale the enquiry resulted in a predominantly negative evaluation of the stance of the Netherlands towards Surinamese politics (see Figure 12). It is in this field of bilateral politics that we find the main clarifications for the

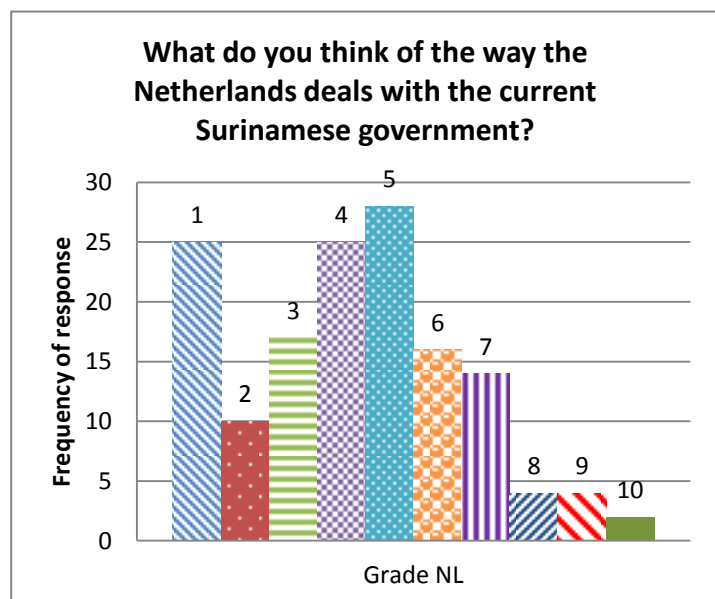


Figure 13. Response to question 19

downside of the image formation process. The clear peak in the choice for grade 1, might indicate that people do not take compromises in this respect. While people acknowledge that the relationship between Suriname and the Netherlands is dependent on actions of both actors, this research only reflects upon the perceived role of the Netherlands.

Figure 13 displays results from Atlas.ti that indicate the relationship between different codes and a negative judgment of Dutch policies ('Negative review NL Governance'). Within this network, several interconnected sub-branches of codes can be recognized. The first branch is resulting from 'Bouterse'; the second one – related to the first – is the branch of actions in relation to the 'Amnesty Law'; third and most extended is the branch of three codes related to the past, which includes a colonial sub-branch. This part of explaining the negative review of the Netherlands is set out below.

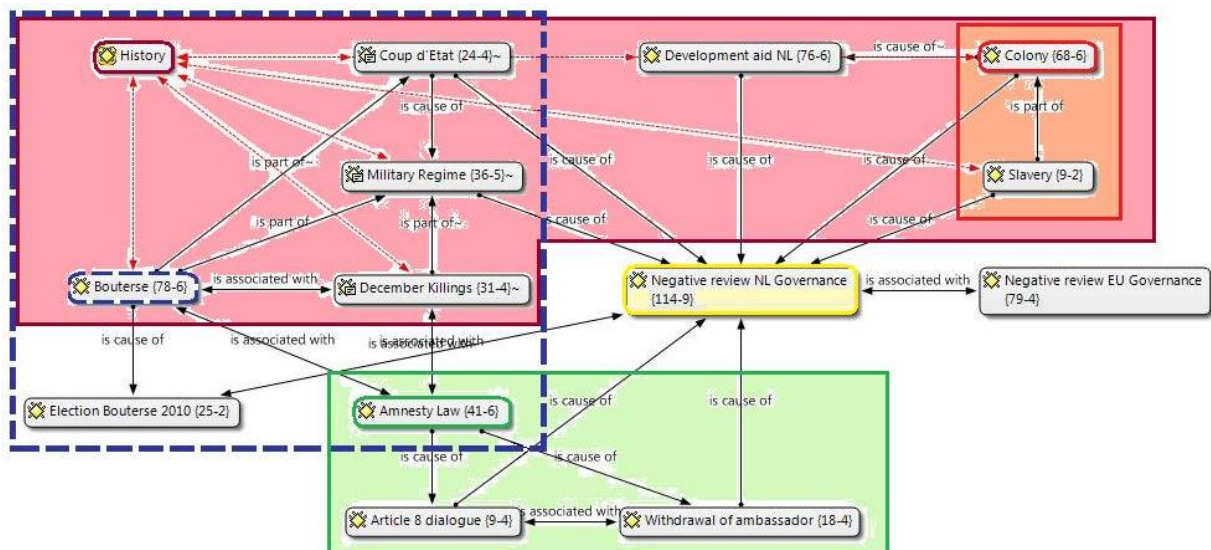


Figure 14: Atlas.ti network view of 'Negative review NL Governance'. Edited with Paint, legend:

- pink fill and dark red contour: codes that form part of family 'History';
- orange fill and lighter red contour: codes that refer to colonial times;
- dark blue dotted contour: codes directly linked to 'Bouterse';
- green contour and fill: codes linked to 'Amnesty Law';
- yellow indicates central latent code variable;
- numbers in between brackets: {number of linked quotations-number of connections to other codes}

Bouterse

Especially the importance of Bouterse in the Dutch-Surinamese relationship, as represented through the first branch, became evident from the interviews. In Figure 13, the different references to Bouterse (apart from the sole mentioning of his name) and the related codes are displayed in a network created with Atlas.ti. Five codes are linked to the code 'Bouterse', and indirectly connect him to 'Negative review NL Governance', namely 'Election Bouterse 2010', 'Coup d'État', 'Military Regime', 'December Killings', and 'Amnesty Law'. This is not surprising, as Bouterse was the main

character in all these events. In the first three cases, this means he was the leader; in case of the December Killings, this means that he is the main suspect; in the case of the amnesty law, this means that he is the alleged mastermind and main beneficiary. The relations that spring from the historic events from the 80s, result primarily from the feeling that the Netherlands reacted inadequately. Besides, interview partners consolidated the belief in speculations that the Netherlands played a role in staging the coup d'état in 1980 (Mr. Nooitmeer, pers.comm., 2012; Edmundo, pers.comm., 2012). The silence of the Dutch government about its alleged involvement in it and its inadequate response on the 'Military Regime' causes distrust. The connections that are established through the recent events, of which the first is the democratic election of Bouterse in 2010, are from a completely different kind. Politically, the Netherlands is often admonished for criticizing the election and government of President Bouterse – even by people who are not fond of Bouterse either. M. Alberga believes Dutch politicians were not in their right to deliver critique (pers.comm., 2012). Like others, she prefers the stance of the United States, which stated that it “supports democratic elections and processes, and ... respect[s] the results of free and fair elections” (U.S. Department of State, 2010). The debate around Bouterse relates to the issue of respect for Surinamese leaders (Egger, pers.comm., 2012, l.988). It was for instance also remembered that the Netherlands once kept former Surinamese President Shankar waiting for checks at the airport during a working visit to the Netherlands, which gave the impression that the Dutch felt superior (Gezius, pers.comm., 2012, l.842). To the opposite, there are also people who think that the Netherlands did not react decisively enough in relation to the election of Bouterse (Edmundo, pers.comm., 2012). Thus, the negative image of the Netherlands is, in relation to Bouterse, grounded in two sorts of feelings: the feeling that the Netherlands did not do enough, and the feeling that the Netherlands did too much.

Amnesty Law

With regards to the tense relations on the political level, interview partners made references to 'pathetic boycotts' (Egger, pers.comm., 2012, l.638) and compared the Netherlands to an 'upset infidel' (Egger, pers.comm., 2012, l.636). Here, in extension of the vendetta against Bouterse, we encounter another important factor in determining the image of the Netherlands, namely its interference with and attitude towards Surinamese politics in general. And from a Surinamese perspective Dutch interventions did not always seem just (Lim A Po, pers.comm., 2012, 773). Accordingly, the second associated branch that contributes to a negative review of Dutch governance, is clustered around the latest topic in Surinamese politics that provoked a response from the Netherlands: the approval of the amnesty law by the National Assembly (parliament) on the 4th of April 2012 (see §4.1.1).

My interview partners gave away a feeling that there is an excessive focus on Suriname, while worse events in other countries are indulged. The Netherlands is accused of a double standard, being harsher on Suriname than other countries or even itself. People are also concerned about the effects of Dutch positions on the international public opinion on Suriname. “The mistake we make, is to underestimate the role played by the Netherlands in world affairs ... the former mother country still has a great influence within the EU” (De West, 2013, p.11). The negative effect that originates from the ‘Amnesty Law’ on the image of the Netherlands is realized through two separate responses: one from the Netherlands itself, the other from the EU. The commencement of the ‘Article 8 Dialogue’, which formed the response of the EU (see §4.2.4), apparently affected the image of the Netherlands. This can be explained by the belief that “when it concerns Suriname and Suriname as ex-colony of the Netherlands, the Netherlands has an important advisory capacity in these kind of matters” (Raghoebarsing, pers.comm., 2012, l.521). This is driven by past experience which showed that “the position of the Netherlands was such, that both the European Union and America would leave Suriname aside” (Lim A Po, pers.comm., 2012, l.666). Indeed, the Netherlands successfully encouraged the EU to show its concerns about the development in Suriname as well (Rosenthal, 2012). The critique on responses on affairs that are perceived to be domestic, such as the adoption of the amnesty law, can be explained by contempt for feelings of superiority. “They don’t know what to do either [in relation to their own domestic affairs]. That’s what it comes down to, right? And then they are going to tell us how we should deal with things” (Interviewee X, pers.comm., 2012, l.554).

Development Aid

Besides the latest interference with the amnesty law, also development aid was often perceived to be inspired by political paternalism (Gezius, pers.comm., 2012, l.742). It was not the development aid itself, which seems to have harmed the reputation of the Netherlands, but the ‘strings attached’ (Gezius, pers.comm., 2012, l.793). Although it was most of the time easy to open up funds from the Netherlands (Raghoebarsing, pers.comm., 2012), the Dutch government did set some requirements and decided several times to completely suspend development aid. Some of my interview partners argued this to be incorrect, especially since the suspensions were most often due to political disputes while society was affected (Peelen, pers.comm., 2012). People were especially fed up with endlessly having to negotiate and justify the allocation of funds (W. Alberga, pers.comm., 2012, l.639). In this sense, Lim A Po (pers.comm., 2012, l.289) called the attitude of the Netherlands ‘sanctimonious’. A quotation from Peelen – “in general you think they wanted the best for Suriname” (Peelen, pers.comm., 2012) – hints at doubts about the motives behind development aid.

Apart from that, some people believe the financial funds – and especially their easy access, leading to lesser preparation – to have had negative effects for Suriname (Raghoebarsing, pers.comm., 2012, l.333). Furthermore, the continuation of financial dependency on Dutch money after independence obstructed the development of relations with other countries. Hildenberg, former minister of finance, illustrated this with the refusal by the Belgians to give financial support to Suriname. He was advised to “go to the Netherlands, because that was where Suriname had a big bag of money to its disposal” (pers.comm., 2012, l.133). The Netherlands even dominated to the extent that it became likely that the EU canalized its development aid for Suriname via the Netherlands (Lim A Po, pers.comm., 2012, l.641).

Lim A Po named two historical figures who according to him represent the foundations for international politics of the Netherlands (pers.comm., 2012): Piet Hein and Calvijn (John Calvin). Both characters played an important role in the Reformation period in the Netherlands which was marked by the Eighty Years’ War for independence from the catholic Spanish Empire and led to the Dutch Golden Age. While Calvijn is seen as one of the most important sources for Dutch Protestantism, which inspired the revolt against Spain, Piet Hein was an important naval officer that contributed to the victory of the Dutch Provinces over Spain. As such, the two historic figures represent ‘pedantry’⁴ and ‘piracy’⁵ in the eyes of Lim A Po. Interviewee X subscribes to the thought that the Netherlands is not “in it for the development of Suriname, but for its own gain. If you look at all the development funds that flow back to the Netherlands, you might wonder what they are doing, right?” (pers.comm., 2012, l.544). This is not something that comes from an unknown source. The Dutch Museum of National History itself teaches us that “the Dutch are still known for their mercantilist spirit and preachy attitude. The latter relating to the way the Netherlands likes to tell others what to do” (Smeets & Visser, 2011, own translation).

It sounds so wonderful if they say ‘we have to put development aid and international trade under one ministry’ [Minister of Foreign Trade and Development Cooperation established at the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs in November 2012). Development aid is a Calvinistic, and trade is a Piet Hein dimension, which fit perfectly together in this ministry. The Netherlands doesn’t give you development aid if it is not served by Calvinistic motives. And if they will, it eventually is about what they gain from it financially.

(Lim A Po, pers.comm., 2012, l.307)

⁴ “protestantisme, dat ie dat dus heel hoog in het banier voert, bijna Calvinistische benadering heeft als levenshouding” (Lim A Po, pers.comm., 2012, l.229)

⁵ “boekenier, iemand die geld pakt, die gedreven is door zaken doen, door handel” (Lim A Po, pers.comm., 2012, l.219)

Colonialism

Something which, to a lesser extent but nevertheless significantly, seems to bear direct effect on the image formation process for the Netherlands, is the colonial past. Although it was least mentioned, for instance M. Alberga and Arnhem – although in different ways – did refer to it. Interviewee X called it “disastrous for Suriname” (pers.comm., 2012, l. 573). According to Oliveira, some people bear a grudge against the Netherlands, because they feel their identity “has been taken away from them” (pers.comm., 2012, l.155) – something indicative of a ‘minority nation’. Also the fact that the Netherlands has never made an official apology for slavery feeds into a negative image. According to a district mayor of Amsterdam, “the Netherlands finds it difficult to acknowledge its history of slave trade and exploitation” (Herrema in Meershoek, 2013). With the key reference to the ‘long-term top-down memory’ (see §2.5.6) of slavery, the historical image of the Netherlands is described as “absolutely less positive” (M. Alberga, pers.comm., 2012, l.481). However, seen the fact that Arnhem took distance from it and in line with the temporality aspect of imaging, it can be argued that the impact of historic events on the image formation process of the younger generation is minute. Moreover, Peelen called ‘that whole neocolonial’ a ‘hanger thing’ (pers.comm., 2012, l.498), and pointed out that many other countries are interconnected and interdependent. Also, Lim A Po said with regard to the actions of the Netherlands in relation to the December Killings process, that it “has nothing to do with either colonialism or historical ties” (pers.comm., 2012, l.468).

While the remnants of the past itself might not have such a clear effect on image formation, the strive to become independent has. A deconstructive perspective shows us that this is not solely about independence itself and neither it is about dependence. Peelen (pers.comm., 2012) rightfully questioned whether it is possible to be entirely independent. To draw from this, it should be said that it is *not* past dependency which forms the image of the Netherlands in Suriname, but the process of becoming independent, which inherently bears the conduct of differentiation. Here, I do not mean independence from a constitutional perspective, but from an identity perspective. The bilateral relationship concerns “an arrangement that is inherent to a colonial relationship” (Lim A Po, pers.comm., 2012, l.769). In this respect, Oliveira pointed out, that Suriname should be given the opportunity “to grow up” (Oliveira, pers.comm., 2012, l.162). Moreover, Gezius emphasized that the gaze was always fixed on the Netherlands, while the Caribbean and Latin American regions themselves have a lot to offer as well: “I have the feeling I missed half of my life” (pers.comm., 2012, l.314).

5.2.2 Explanation positive review

Atlas.ti has also been used to create a network to visualize the phenomena that had a positive effect on the image of the Netherlands (see Figure 14). Although there were some quotations that brought 'Positive Review NL Governance' also in connection to 'Coup d'État', 'Military Regime' and 'December Killings', I left them out of the network view because they were insignificant in number (less than 3). It is instantly clear that the interviews revealed a lot less about possible causes for a positive review of Dutch governance. This is indicated by the lesser amount of quotations (70 against 114 for 'Negative review NL Governance'), but also through the lesser amount of co-occurrent codes (5 against 9 for 'Negative review NL Governance').

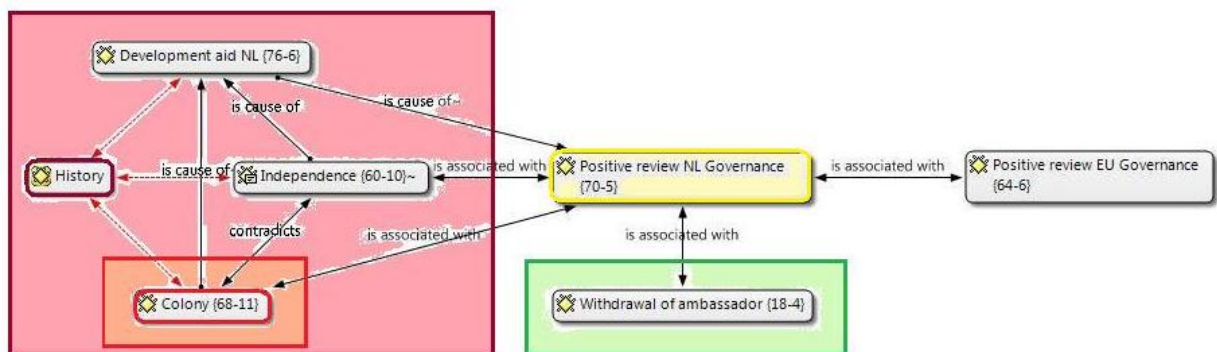


Figure 15: Atlas.ti network view of 'Positive review NL Governance'. Edited with Paint, legend:

- pink fill and dark red contour: codes that form part of family 'History';
- orange fill and lighter red contour: codes that refer to colonial times;
- green contour and fill: codes linked to 'Amnesty Law'
- yellow indicates central latent code variable.

What can be said about the positive image for the Netherlands, is that it is associated with 'Independence', and surprisingly enough also three phenomena that were associated with the formation process of negative images, namely 'Development aid NL', 'Colony' and 'Withdrawal of ambassador'. Once again, it shows that the opposition between negative and positive is artificial.

Independence

Independence does not necessarily lead to progress, but it is almost always welcomed by a subordinated people. In the case of Suriname, it is a bit more complicated, but nevertheless also true (see §4.1.3). Here, the former colonizer does not seem to receive admiration primarily for granting independence, but rather for the way it supported the former colony after independence. The financial support given by the Netherlands, through the Treaty Funds did not go unappreciated (M. Alberga, pers.comm., 2012, l.769; Peelen, pers.comm., 2012, l.260). However, W. Alberga illustrated now Suriname has become financially independent from the Netherlands (pers.comm., 2012, l.674) there is more room for ease in the relationship between the two countries.

Development aid

Independence is thus associated with development aid in a positive way. It is not merely the money, but also the considerations concerned with it, which led some people to create a more positive image of the Netherlands. It was even implicated by some of the interview partners that they respected past decisions of the Netherlands to stop development aid. Peelen, for instance, felt that the decision to stop development aid during the rule of the military regime was legitimate (pers.comm., 2012). However, almost all interview partners were skeptical about the effect of using discontinuation of development aid as a sanction.

Colony

It is the past that laid the foundations for modern day positive images and created “historical ties” and “emotional ties” (Olivieira, pers.comm., 2012, l.57). Although almost no one would state that it is desirable for Suriname to be under Dutch control, several people do believe it would have been better if it was (Pirthipal, pers.comm., 2012, l.298). This might primarily result from the reflection on events within Suriname, such as corruption (Ibid., l.287) and embezzlement (Ibid., l.185). Likewise, the data shows that colonial rule was appreciated for some of its assets. Raghoebarsing underlined that here were also a lot of ‘good things’ during colonialism, such as water management and city planning, which were lost through independence (pers.comm., 2012, l.259). These views on colonial times relate to conceptions of the current status quo. Egger told, that his image of the Netherlands was dependent on the political constellation during particular times (pers.comm., 2012, l.782), thereby hinting at the importance of the situation in Suriname itself. W. Alberga explained that people looked to the Netherlands with “dependent, greedy and pleading eyes” when times were hard in Suriname (pers.comm., 2012, l.672). M. Alberga (pers.comm., 2012, l.779) confirmed that now Suriname has a lot to offer as well, it is less obvious to long for the Netherlands.

Withdrawal of ambassador

The difficulty for Surinamers to make up one coherent image of the Netherlands, even as a political entity, is that they often *do* understand the reasoning behind its policies. In the case of the Amnesty Law, Egger found reason in the fact that the Netherlands is host to the families of the victims of the December Killings (Egger, pers.comm., 2012, l.955). Lim A Po argued that the Dutch legal system – from which the Surinamese system draws its fundament – had been put in the pillory, which justified the reaction of the government (pers.comm., 2012, l.536). Once again, one’s own stance towards internal developments either does or does not facilitate appreciation for foreign intervention. Edmundo welcomed the show of discontent through the withdrawal of the ambassador and would have liked to see even tougher sanctions (pers.comm., 2012, l.60). Likewise, intrusiveness can be

explained as a positive asset – Arnhem (pers.comm., 2012, l.86) argued that when one is interested, one might easily become intrusive as well. Egger questioned whether one could, on base of the interference of the Netherlands with Surinamese affairs, call the European country meddlesome. In a postcolonial framework, he rather perceives the relationship as an ‘interactive’ one (pers.comm., 2012, l.367).

5.3 People

If the relation on the political level is ‘official’, then the relation on the societal level would be the ‘unofficial’ relationship. And according to some (policymakers included, see §4.1.1) this relationship should be given more importance. Some of my interview partners already focused more on their personal ties to the Netherlands, which explains how it is possible that some of them had an overall positive judgment of the Netherlands, while they were strong critics of Dutch governance. Raghoebarsing blames politicians, on both sides of the ocean, for following their egos by which they disrupt the ‘excellent relations’ on the citizen level. “If I say negative, I mean negative with regard to the role which the Netherlands plays in the world and in relation to Suriname. In that perspective I mean negative. Not the Dutch people themselves” (Interviewee X, pers.comm., 2012, l.526). Lim A Po, even thinks history is no longer of importance. Instead, he believes it is the figurative proximity of the Netherlands to Suriname, which motivates interferences (pers.comm., 2012, l.495).

5.3.1 Characteristics

To elucidate the image Surinamese people have of the Dutch, a specific question about characteristics⁶ was included in both the enquiry and interview guide. Figure 15 shows the percentage of people that associated a particular characteristic with the Dutch. Respondents could choose multiple answers and even add own suggestions. The requirement of stereotyping and generalization was sometimes problematic. Lim A Po (pers.comm., 2012) criticized questions for not allowing distinction between the different people in the Netherlands, as for instance between people from the city and people from villages, as indicated by Edmundo (pers.comm., 2012). The presence of Surinamese people in the Netherlands complicated things even more.

⁶ Especially characteristics are subject to personal interpretations, also making translation problematic.

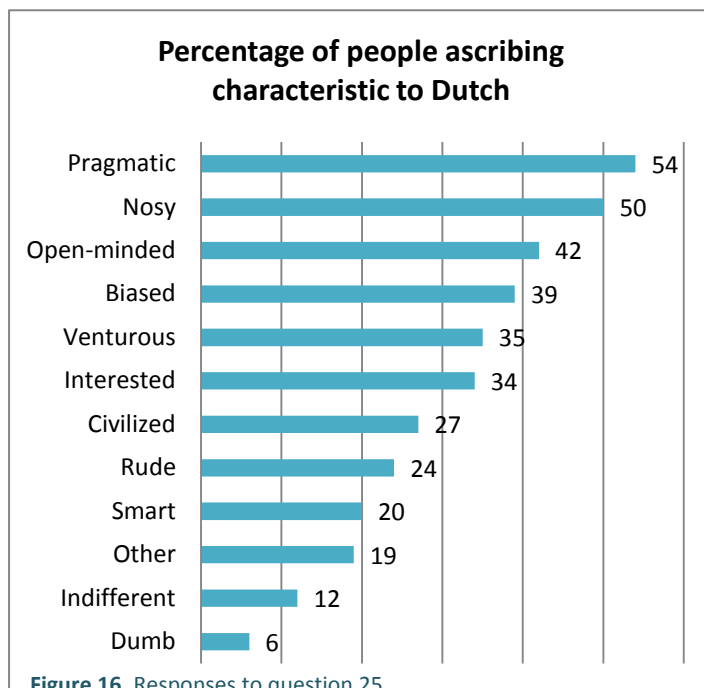


Figure 16. Responses to question 25

Being aware of the pitfalls it is still valuable to analyze the results from this question. The majority of respondents (54%) thought of the Dutch as pragmatic, something that was often related to a 'down to earth' attitude. However, during the interviews 'being nosy' was mentioned more often than 'being pragmatic' (34 against 19 times). The meddling by Dutch people was often also interpreted as being preachy. The third most mentioned characteristic is

'open-mindedness', reflected by an receptive attitude towards suggestions (Olivieira, pers.comm., 2012, l.205; Arnhem, pers.comm., 2012, l.47). It is striking that the Dutch are seen as open-minded almost equally as often as biased, which would normally be seen as two opposing characteristics. This only underlines the complexity in the image formation process and the relation between the people in Suriname and those in the Netherlands in specific.

One of the other characteristics, that were mentioned by the respondents and interviewees themselves, was racism. Something that connects to being biased. Lim A Po believed that the Dutch people feel threatened by the phenomenon of migration (pers.comm., 2012, l.584). Also Raghoebarsing, Pirthipal, Edmundo and M. Alberga – and even some respondents who felt the need to explicitly mention it on the questionnaire – pointed out racism as a characteristic of the Dutch. Moreover, Peelen told to have experienced it himself, while residing in the Netherlands (pers.comm., 2012, l.251). The feeling that the Dutch are discriminative might also be fueled by personal encounters with the 100% checks that are being conducted on flights from Paramaribo arriving at Schiphol. Something which has been called a disgrace (Edmundo, pers.comm., 2012, l.592; M.Alberga, pers.comm., 2012), although some of the interview partners acknowledged that the Netherlands is in its right to have this policy.

5.3.2 Nature of relations

Pirthipal indicated to be in contact, through Facebook, with more Dutch people than people from other countries (pers.comm., 2012, l.261). Relations with the Netherlands are maintained in good condition among the people themselves. From a different perspective Arnhem pointed out that "the

Dutch are everywhere, ... so you *will* be able to use them” (pers.comm., 2012, l.104). It is believed that almost every Dutch person has a special relation with Suriname (Freurich, pers.comm., 2012, l.214). Moreover, “airplanes leave everyday and they are fully booked, from both sides [of the ocean]” (Raghoebarsing, pers.comm., 2012, l.1378). All these interactions, lead to the formation of hybrid cultures, which in fact makes it harder to ‘Other’. This can hardly be better explained than by the following observation of Raghoebarsing, who states that there is

a lot of appreciation for and a strong bond between Suriname and the Netherlands and especially between ... people ... It could not be different. All those Creole boys in Amsterdam and the girls over there, and the Hindustan boys and girls, get into relationships with boys and girls from Dutch backgrounds, or Moroccan and Turkish backgrounds. It is simply not possible to keep cursing each other. (Raghoebarsing, pers.comm., 2012, l.1378)

The effect of having lived in the Netherlands shows from the way in which Freurich judges upon Dutch-Surinamese relations. She gave a better judgment to the Netherlands than she would give to Suriname, because her “complete circle of friends, everything is there, takes place there. I receive a phone call almost every other day, from an acquaintance, a family member, friends, I have many many contacts” (pers.comm., 2012, l.452). Moreover, many of the answers affirmed the existence of a ‘reduced psychological distance’, meaning that the Surinamese people feel connected to the Netherlands. Interviewee X (pers.comm., 2012, l.82), for instance, pointed out that it was much easier to bond with and migrate to the Netherlands than other countries. Most of my interview partners felt like “it [the Netherlands] is just part of it [reality]” (M. Alberga, pers.comm., 2012, l.457).

5.4 Conclusion

The replies of my interview partners on certain questions were complex, often seemed inconsistent and sometimes even appeared contradictory. These replies were deconstructed to uncover reflections of colonial resonance and hybrid society at the same time. While there was a clear process of ‘Othering’⁷ on the level of political and to a lesser extent societal relations, there were also strong signs of bonding at the individual level. This was probably best reflected by the comparison of Peelen to brotherhood, which emphasized the relatedness of the Dutch and Surinamer, while adding the adjective ‘big’ revealed the persistence of imperialism.

⁷ ‘Versurinamiseren’ (W. Alberga, pers.comm., 2012, l.530)

The conclusion at first sight might be that there are both “positive *and* negative sides” to the related image of the Netherlands (Edmundo, pers.com., 2012). Overall, it showed that the negative descriptions relate more often to agency, in the form of intervention, boycotts and sanctions, contributing to an intrusive and paternalistic reputation. However, there were also actions, such as the provision of development aid, that contributed – although less clearly – to a positive reputation of being supportive and committed. This seems to correspond more adequately to the hoped for reputation of being a reliable partner (Nuiten-Elzinga, pers.comm., 2013). This is where we find indicators for ‘soft power’. The Dutch brand manifested itself especially in positive descriptions, such as order, prosperity and civilization, and was in a negative way complemented by ‘cold’. The reputation of the Dutch as a people, is in particular described through pragmatism, openness, intrusiveness and prejudice. However, to determine a certain ‘brand’ for the Dutch was more difficult, because the people in Suriname were too aware of the plurality in personalities – individual identities. Besides, personal ties allowed for an overall positive judgment of the Netherlands, while being despised of Dutch governance. Moreover, the qualification of certain governmental actions and state characteristics were dependent on personal standards as well, thereby blurring the distinction between negative and positive values. This is why, based on the same policy, the negative image of the Netherlands could be inspired both by the feeling that the Netherlands did not do enough, and the feeling that the Netherlands did too much.

It has been difficult to establish the images that might have been existent during previous times, as people were mostly fed up by specific present-day events or policies, and it is the memory of those events which might overrule the general spirit during the last half of the 20th century. Nevertheless, and although the applicability for the younger generation is questionable, history has shown to be important for the image formation process, because “if you want to describe part of the history of Suriname, you have to go to the Netherlands” (Egger, pers.comm., 2012, l.365). Many of the codes found in the networks of the negative and positive review of Dutch governance, belong to the ‘History’ code family. Regarding the past, people pointed out three main issues, namely: Dutch rule during colonial times; independence; and political statements. The Netherlands of the past left its mark on the past, present and future of Suriname, thereby contributing to the reputation of the Netherlands of today. However, Lim A Po (pers.comm., 2012), indicated that actions – and consequently also images – of the Netherlands are not always dictated by colonial or historical ties. Instead, relations are just as much dependent on proximity and involvement.

	government	people
past	colonialism	imperialism
present	intervention	hybridity

Table 9. Phenomena perceived to be important for image formation

Chapter 6. An obscure European Union

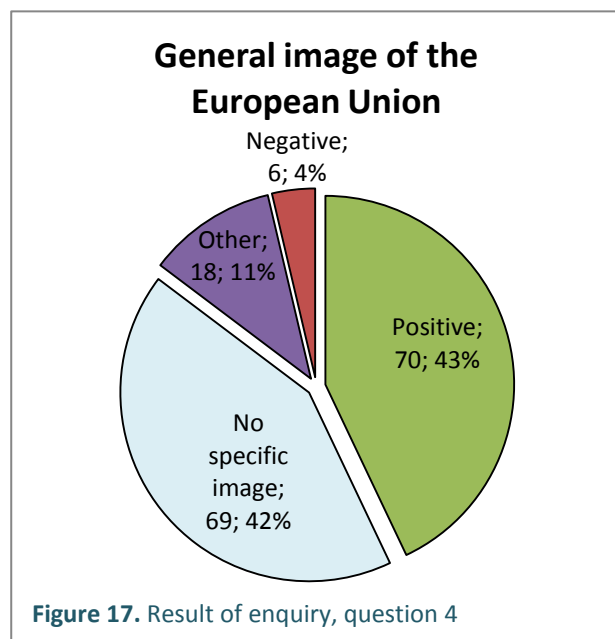
“Europe is my mother country”
Mr. Nooitmeer, pers.comm., 2012

This chapter, like the preceding one, relies heavily on the data obtained during the field research, but is also complemented with information from a third source: the Surinamese media. My own understanding serves as a first source, while the people with whom I spoke and took enquiries from – as a second source –, fulfill the main role in describing the existing image of the European Union among Surinamese people.

6.1 A weak image

6.1.1 General features

Again, we start with the results from the enquiry. Interesting to note is that, although Interviewee X claimed that people in Suriname get ‘overwhelmed with information about the EU’ (pers.comm., 2012, l.263), Egger pointed out that one normally isn’t asked to reflect on the EU, it is taken for granted (pers.comm., 2012, l.1023). One of my respondents told me, after filling in the enquiry, that she felt ‘as if it had nothing to do with her’ (R-B1, pers.comm., 2012). Fellow students supported her by admitting that they were surprised by the questions about the EU, while they had contemplated more often about the Netherlands. So for most of the respondents this seemed to be a new exercise – a process of constructing a new ‘Other’.



As indicated with regard to the general images of the Netherlands, there can be different reasons why a sizeable group indicated not to have a specific image. In relation to the EU, another reason might be added, namely that the people might just not know enough about it (Raghoebarsing, pers.comm., 2012, l.389). Pirthipal underscored that this was the reason why he responded not to have a specific image (pers.comm., 2012). He was not even certain of the fact that the Netherlands is

part of the EU, but just bluntly assumed it (pers.comm., 2012, l.56). While this shows that the EU is not that well-known, it does at the same time show that there is a certain image about it – why else would my interview partner assume that the Netherlands is part of it? Also other interviewees said not to be able to name all of the EU member states. In Table 10, the countries are listed that were mentioned in relation to the EU during the interviews (5 of which non-EU countries). The association with most countries was correct, but the reference to others was remarkable. Although Morocco was only mentioned in connection to the large migrant communities within the EU (and the Netherlands in specific), Turkey was taken as an example of a cultural region within the EU. Here confusion between Europe and the EU undoubtedly plays a role. “The point is: ‘what is the European Union?’, you know?” (Egger, pers.comm., 2012, l.623).

Name	Grounded	Name	Grounded
x. Belgium	49	x. Italy	22
x. Croatia	5	x. Marokko	11
x. Denmark	3	x. Norway	3
x. England	33	x. Poland	5
x. Finland	4	x. Portugal	12
x. France~	58	x. Spain	22
x. Germany	47	x. Sweden	7
x. Greece	21	x. Switzerland	4
x. Ireland	2	x. Turkey	10

Table 10. Atlas.ti view of Code Manager with frequency of countries mentioned in relation to the EU (Netherlands excluded)

Despite not knowing the details, people were still able to present an image of the EU, with or without reservations. The general opinion that arises from the interviews is again rather positive. Europe together with the EU is seen as ‘the old world’ (Oliveira, pers.comm., 2012). An interesting remark, which from a deconstructivist perspective implies different dissociated ‘worlds’ (i.e. ‘new’ vs. ‘old’). Old can be associated with ‘original’ and ‘outdated’ at the same time, but perhaps more importantly it can also indicate a ‘psychological distance’. Although the following descriptions do not necessarily lead up to the same image per individual, they are representative of the key components that make up the collective group image. The interview partners praise the EU in particular for its cooperative spirit and high living standards, describing it as:

- powerful (Lim A Po, pers.comm., 2012, l.505; Pirthipal, pers.comm., 2012, l.46);
- economically strong (Arnhem, pers.comm., 2012; Edmundo, pers.comm., 2012, l.6; Pirthipal, pers.comm., 2012, l.47);
- peaceful/deliberative (Hildenberg, pers.comm., 2012, l.353; Edmundo, pers.comm., 2012, l.120).

However, this is only a part of the complete picture, as there is also a negative connotation to the EU. In that light, the EU has been described as:

- Utopia (Interviewee X, pers.comm., 2012, l.39; W.Alberga, pers.comm., 2012, l.172);
- incoherent (Arnhem, pers.comm., 2012; Hildenberg, pers.comm., 2012, l.173);
- bureaucratic (Lim A Po, pers.comm., 2012, l.655; Hildenberg, pers.comm., 2012, l.469; W.Alberga, pers.comm., 2012).

Here, positive images seem to be connected to agency, thus reputation, while, the negative connotations rather relate to the condition, the brand, of the EU. Again, it is important to observe that the world does not only exist out of either positive or negative things. This means that some of the 'positive' descriptions listed above, might be negative in the perspective of certain other people, and vice versa. Another important observations, which should be made, is that people are doubtful about the determination of the EU. In relation to the enlargement policy, for example, Interviewee X wondered whether the EU itself actually knows what it is doing (pers.comm., 2012, l.505). Hildenberg explained that he is "not involved in the process, so I can hardly say whether it is something positive or negative" (pers.comm., 2012, l.44).

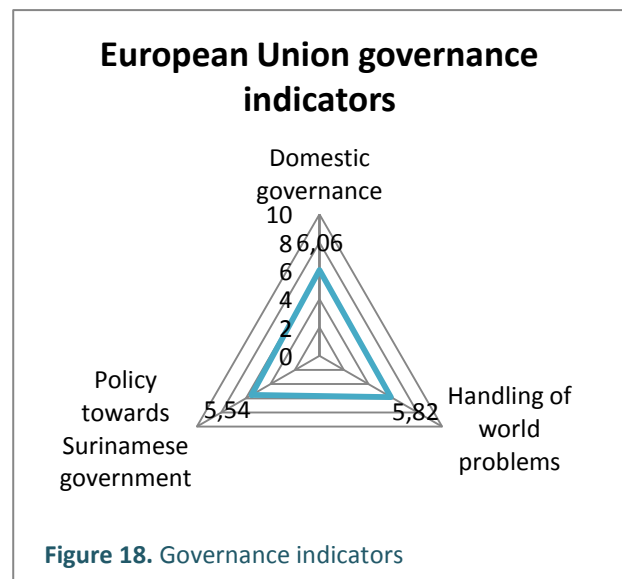
6.1.2 EU-Suriname relationship in general

The ambivalent relationship with the Netherlands, makes it that some Surinamers see the EU as an alternative to the single member state (Hildenberg, pers.comm., 2012, l.67). Egger, for instance, noticed that the EU has the possibility to call member states to account and noticed an internal rivalry between the Netherlands and the EU with regard to the ACP-EU meeting (see §1.1) (pers.comm., 2012, l.119). Likewise, Oliveira said to expect more from the EU in the future (pers.comm., 2012). While this tells us something about the perspectives on future relations, past relations appeared to be less contemplated. Raghoebarsing referred to a "historical connection with Europe" (pers.comm., 2012, l.1099), but Freurich, to the contrary, assumed there was no relationship between Suriname and the EU – even that it would take quite some time before it would develop (pers.comm., 2012, l.259). Although the EU has been funding many projects in Suriname, several people indicated not to know what it did exactly and doubted whether others would (Peelen, pers.comm., 2012, l.310; M. Alberga, pers.comm., l.1016). The relationship between Suriname and the EU appears 'very, very, very difficult to comprehend' (Lim A Po, pers.comm., 2012, l.43). Accordingly, M. Alberga predicted that the EU would soon be forgotten and concluded that "nobody will miss it" (pers.comm., 2012, l.1026). In fact, Gezius thought the EU had already left by the time I came to conduct my field research (pers.comm., 2012, l.477). Below, both the role of governance and people in the image formation process will be explained.

6.2 Governance

Only a few people endorse an important role for the European Union in relation to Suriname. Raghoebarsing did so, implicitly, by pointing out that Suriname in the wake of its independence could have made monetary agreements with either the Netherlands or the EU (pers.comm., 2012). Irrespective of its importance, some of the people do have a specific – not necessarily clear – image about the European Union, perceiving it as a form of cooperation. While that is as far as the

observation generally goes, one of the respondents did recognize the importance of the European Union as an institution, in the sense of international relations. Lim A Po called the EU, as the outcome of a process of regionalization, a ‘shock absorber’ (pers.comm., 2012). The introduction of the Euro was one of the happenings referred to in relation to the European Union. For Egger (pers.com., 2012, l.133) it even was one of the developments leading him to conclude that the EU has superseded to be merely a collection of states with national interests. Although most interviewees also indicated to believe that the EU was heading for the right direction, there were some question marks for some developments. For instance, the political entity was perceived to be not democratic from the bottom-up, from the people, but democratic from states (Lim A Po, pers.comm., 2012, l.84); and it was remarked that its external relations are still hindered by colonial ties of its member states (Egger, pers.comm., 2012, l.158).



6.2.1 Explanation Negative Review

To get a better insight in the negative facet of the image of EU governance, Atlas.ti has been used to draw up a network showing the related codes (see Figure 17). Aside from ‘Negative review NL Governance’, the code with the most quotations is ‘Crisis’. Here crisis does not only refer to the economical crisis or its economic effects, but “is about the way in which” it is dealt with by EU institutions and politicians (Hildenberg, pers.comm., 2012, l.422). Since this concerns a form of governance directed at internal affairs, and stands apart from relations with Suriname, I will here suffice with the conclusion that it is important in the image formation process for the EU. Focus from now on will be with the most often discussed ‘Policy towards Surinamese government’ (due to the

limits of this research and to maintain focus) and the three associated codes: ‘Election Bouterse 2012’, ‘ACP’ and ‘Development aid EU’.

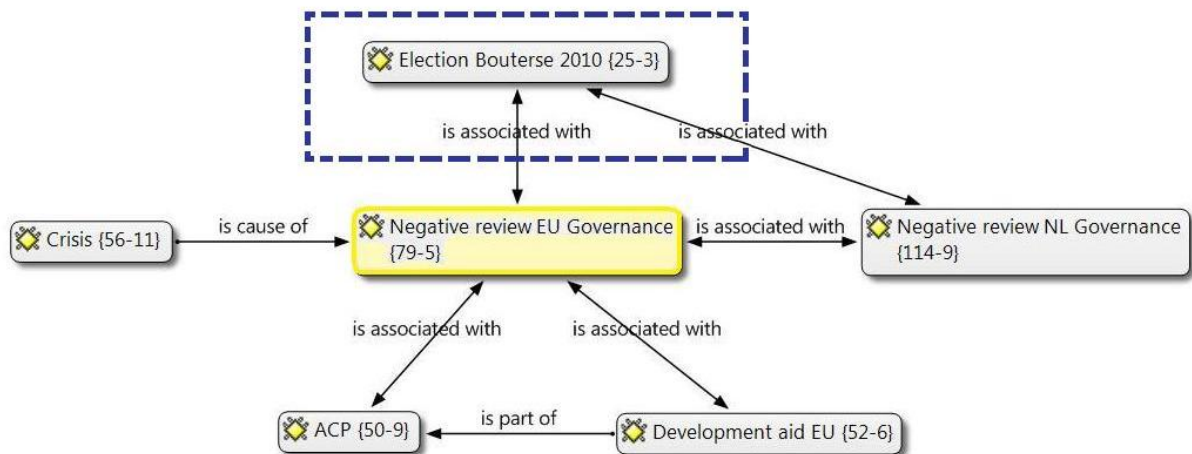


Figure 19: Atlas.ti network view of ‘Negative review EU Governance’. Edited with Paint, legend:

- dark blue dotted contour: codes directly linked to ‘Bouterse’;
- yellow indicates central latent code variable;
- numbers in between brackets: {number of linked quotations-number of connections to other codes}.

Election Bouterse 2010

The critique on the EU, relating to the election of Bouterse, primarily originates from M. Alberga who worked at the EU delegation during this period. Her critique is two-folded. On the one hand, this event showed to her the indecisiveness of the EU (pers.comm., 2012, l.996). Although it is not specifically related to this election, also Peelen said the EU “talks too much about nothing” (pers.comm., 2012, l.326). On the other hand, M. Alberga pointed in the direction of hypocrisy with regard to the eventual negative response of the EU on the election of Bouterse (pers.comm., 2012, l.376): “what are you nagging about? You highly value democracy, and then someone is democratically elected. Whether you dislike it or not, whether it has your preference or not, it doesn’t matter but he has been elected this way” (pers.comm., 2012, l.388). Thereby she also distinguished it from the response of the Netherlands, which according to her might be justified through its special relationship with Suriname, in contrary to that of the EU. Egger added, that ‘Europe’ would not have criticized the USA if for instance Romney had been elected (pers.comm., 2012, l.997). The remarks of these interviewees reveal a sense of misplaced paternalism. A completely other form of negative review of EU policy in relation to the election of Bouterse stems from Edmundo, who said to expect tougher sanctions (pers.comm., 2012, l.50). However, this remark is rather ambiguous as will be shown in Chapter 7.

ACP

Headings such as 'EU wanted to finagle a wrongful press release against Suriname' (Dagblad Suriname, 30 May 2012), 'Euro-parliamentarians hypocritical about Bouterse and Amnesty Law' (Starnieuws, 27 November, 2012) and 'Europe puts ACP knife to the throat' (De Ware Tijd, 22 March 2013), already reflect the negative reputation of the EU. It should first be remarked that the negotiations in the ACP-EU framework were not always closely followed (Gezius, pers.comm., 2012, l.335). Moreover, the interviews took place during or directly after the 24th session of the Joint ACP-EU Parliamentary Assembly, which was hosted by Suriname. What the interviewees seemed to have picked up from it, was an "intrusiveness [of the EU] with the rest of the world", as also perceived in connection to the election of Bouterse (Interviewee X, pers.comm., 2012, l.467). In this respect it shows that, like the Netherlands, the EU is by some believed to have at least two different faces, in the sense that it says the one thing, but thinks the other (Gezius, pers.comm., 2012, l.49). Accordingly, Interviewee X held low esteem of the ACP-EU parliamentary top, suggesting that the partnership between the ACP and EU would only benefit the latter (pers.comm., 2012, l.446). Thus, people tend to see "colonial interests" behind cooperation with developing countries (Egger, pers.comm., 2012). Moreover, the doubts about the spillover from the Netherlands-Suriname relationship into the EU-Surinamese relations – thought that the EU is being guided by Dutch interests – is harmful to the image of the EU.

Development aid EU

Roughly two critiques can be distinguished for the development aid of the EU. The first is concerned with the management of development aid. In this respect, Gezius seemingly finds the EU too pragmatic and too strict in their demand for justification of expenses (pers.comm., 2012, l.467). Some of the perceived disadvantages of the EU as aid donor are, that it "attempts to determine aims ... [and] bureaucracy" (Raghoebarsing, pers.comm., 2012, l.429). The second critique is directed at the results of development aid. "The so called development projects, ... didn't bring any development, right?" (Interviewee X, pers.comm., 2012). For M. Alberga, it is especially the shifting focus to 'good governance', which she finds unproductive (pers.comm., 2012, l.352). Accompanying programs are again experienced as hypocritical as it is questioned whether the EU has things sorted out for itself (Lim A Po, pers.comm., 2012, l.82; Hildenberg, pers.comm., 2012, l.173). Apart from the development aid in itself, Interviewee X argued that the engagement of the EU with the rest of the world "doesn't deliver a structural solution" (pers.comm., 2012, l.470). Thus, some people are in general skeptical about the ability of the EU to change the world.

6.2.2 Explanation positive review

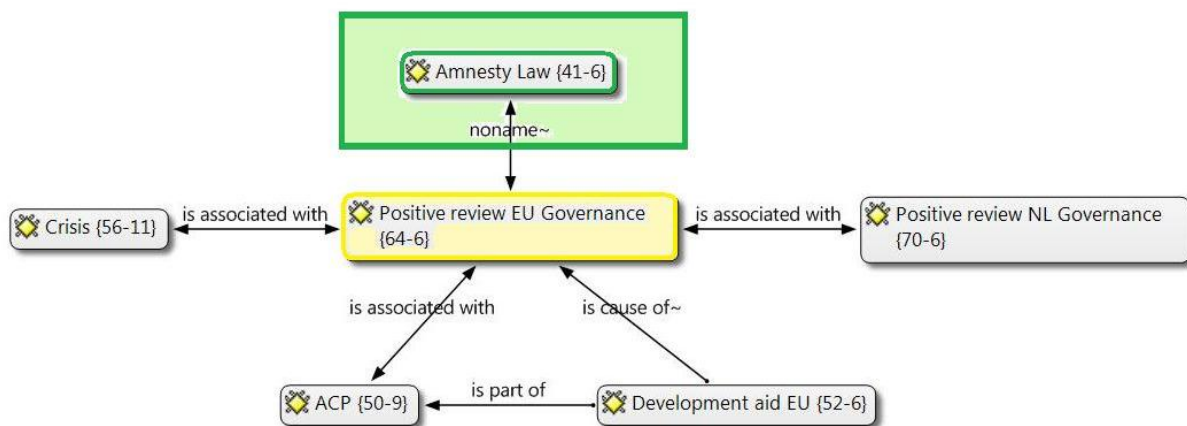


Figure 20: Atlas.ti network view of ‘Positive review EU Governance’. Edited with Paint, legend:

- green contour and fill: codes linked to ‘Amnesty Law’;
- yellow indicates central latent code variable.

Amnesty Law

Egger, without praising it, acknowledged that there is an ‘international aspect’ to the amnesty law, which justified response from the EU (pers.comm., 2012, l.950). However, the way in which the EU had responded, was not really clear to many of my interviewees and even less had heard of the Article 8 Dialogue. Just like, the negotiations in the ACP-EU framework, also the intervention concerning the amnesty law was not always closely followed. Responses to the mentioning of the Article 8 Dialogue, were: “yes, I did hear something” (Gezius, pers.comm., 2012, l.495); and “what went wrong, actually? Because I didn’t really follow it” (Peelen, pers.comm., 2012, l.519). Nevertheless, the response of the EU was sometimes positively valued, for instance by Lim A Po because it showed commitment to human rights and the rule of law (pers.comm., 2012, l.513); and by Raghoebarsing, because it showed support for a large proportion of the Surinamese population (pers.comm., 2012, l.501). Although it is disputed whether the EU formed its own judgment of the amnesty law – independently from the Netherlands –, it was appreciated by the people who believed so (Oliveira, pers.comm., 2012, l.348). Therefore, there is a direct – but unspecified – link between ‘Amnesty Law’ and ‘Positive review EU Governance’, in contrary to the indirect nature of the connection between ‘Amnesty Law’ and ‘Positive review NL Governance’.

Development aid

The different projects that the EU (and EEG) has funded, actually brought it the earliest recognition (M.Alberga, pers.comm., 2012, l.171; Gezius, pers.comm., 2012, l.443). In opposition to other signals, Egger argued that the EU supported some clearly “visible” projects, such as the construction of roads, the harbor and the banana sector, during the last few years (pers.comm., 2012, l.939). Lim A

Po had the impression that these projects had been managed fairly well and said not to know of any “projects that turned into white elephants” (pers.comm., 2012, l.728). Inexorably the EU also faces comparison to the Netherlands in relation to its development assistance, in this case with positive result. It is believed that the EU “imposes less conditions ... [and] has a long term perspective” (Lim A Po, pers.comm., 2012). Raghoebarsing listed “a real development agenda ... free money ... [and] a proper preparation” as three of the advantages of development aid from the EU (pers.comm., 2012, l.425).

In the sectors where they are active, it is certainly helpful, in the banana industry for instance ... if the EU would not be involved in that sector, we would have to invest our own money and I also believe that the preparation for the use of that money would be of lesser quality in comparison to the case in which it would be supported by the EU.

(Raghoebarsing, pers.comm., 2012, l.374)

ACP

Although the ACP was not very well known, Lim A Po (pers.comm., 2012) explained to see it as an example of the reduction of influences from individual member states on relations with former colonies, which he assessed to be a positive development. In this respect, Egger saw a clearly different stance of the EU with regard to the ACP-EU meeting than that of the Netherlands, and took this as reason for the continuation of the top in Paramaribo in the first place (pers.comm., 2012, l.649). To his idea, this actually shows the independence of the EU from the Netherlands in its decision making. Besides, Lim A Po saw a rise in influence of the developing countries, which gained more ‘clout’ through the unification (pers.comm., 2012, l.62). However, the extent to which the EU is still influenced by the Netherlands in its policy-making for Suriname is disputed. Egger felt that there is still room for improvement (pers.comm., 2012, 230). Nevertheless, the ACP-EU cooperation is one of the fields which likely contributes to the image of the EU as an alternative.

England protected its Commonwealth and did this in a way which was special, France its former colonies, the Netherlands, etcetera, you name it. The ACP is a emblematic example of the way in which the former colonies are now dealt with collectively and I believe this to be a good solution. (Lim A Po, pers.comm., 2012)

What was common as well, was a comparison to the USA. Regarding global issues the EU was believed “to be more capable of objectification than the Americans ... more nuanced” (Raghoebarsing, l.409). Through elaboration it became clear that Raghoebarsing meant to perceive

the EU to be more concerned with the development of the ACP-countries, than the Americans. The comparison with the USA instead of the Netherlands, might hint at the differentiation between levels of affiliation.

6.3 People

As we take note of a remark of Egger, who stated that people in Suriname who wonder about someone's background ask "what your flag is" (Egger, 2012, l.86), Europe can be said to have too many flags. A European will not very soon refer to 'one shared flag'. On a side note: since the closure of the EU Delegation, the European flag won't be seen on its own, but is always next to that of a member state. In short, this aims at the observation that there is no common identity (Edmundo, pers.comm., 2012, l.176). Moreover, interviewees coined distinctions between 'pale Europeans' or 'people who live in Europe' (Raghoebarsing, l.687). Consequently, no one ever speaks of a Surinamese European, although Freurich herself (pers.comm., 2012, l.111), and also Oliveira had felt one (pers.comm., 2012, l.375). Despite that, it is conceived that Surinamese people were Dutch, but that they were and are clearly no Europeans (Edmundo, pers.comm., 2012, l.210; and W. Alberga, pers.comm., l.514). However, being rhetorically, Hildenberg asked "in principle Suriname is not Europe, right?" (pers.comm., 2012, l.114). This intriguing question does make you wonder why it is not, and even better, why it could be. 'The old world' constructed 'the new world': a binary opposition which might have dissolved in the origin of the 'Creole' – a person of mixed European-African descent –, were it not that imperialism sought to introduce a new order to categorize this hybrid ethnicity. Deconstruction here gives us insight in the reoccurring power relation, which is challenged by the question concerning the belonging of Suriname as much as by the existence of Surinamers themselves.

6.3.1 Cultural identity

In relation to the questions concerning 'the culture' of the European Union (questions 10 & 11, see Appendix B), many of the respondents casted doubts. Although many interviewees, like Edmundo (pers.comm., 2012, l.180), imagined the EU to have the most rich culture in the world, they wondered whether you could attribute the different national cultural benchmarks to one overarching institution. The complexity for respondents to answer these questions, shows from the first response of Egger, which was: "what do you mean? the EU in total or the individual countries? ... if you say to look at the merger of different European countries; yes, they have a rich culture, absolutely" (pers.comm., 2012, l.227). Moreover, this response seems to indicate that the EU in itself is not believed to have a rich culture, whereas the separate countries do. Remarkably, one of my interview

partners identified Islam as “part of the European culture” (Raghoebarsing, pers.comm., 2012, l.882), while another referred to Turkey (Lim A Po, pers.comm., 2012, l.194). In short, some people perceived that the “deviations are too strong in comparison to what they have in common” (Lim A Po, pers.comm., 2012, l.187). Another weaknesses to European culture was indicated by “the feeling that they don’t know what to do with regard to the multicultural society” (Raghoebarsing, pers.comm., 2012, l.892).

6.3.2 Characteristics

The perceived lack of a common culture did make it difficult for respondents to answer question 13 about characteristics of ‘the European’. One of my respondents said she would choose for all characteristics, “because the characteristics differ from country to country” (R-B1 161). While feeling restrained in stereotyping the population of a whole continent – as ‘the European’ does not only belong to the EU –, a belief in homogeneity on the level of countries is revealed. Indeed, people felt less restraint in describing the Dutch. Five of the respondents did not ascribe any characteristics to the Europeans, while they did for the Netherlands. Only one person did not ascribe any characteristics to the Dutch, while he did for the Europeans. This is Egger, who justified his responses by saying that it is easier to say something about Europeans in general, because it is abstract, while it is hard to say something about the Dutch, because there is a more precise knowledge about them (pers.comm., 2012, l.820). “You can ascribe a characteristic to the Dutch, but at the same time you know three Dutch people who do not comply with that image” (Ibid., l.823). Only one respondent,

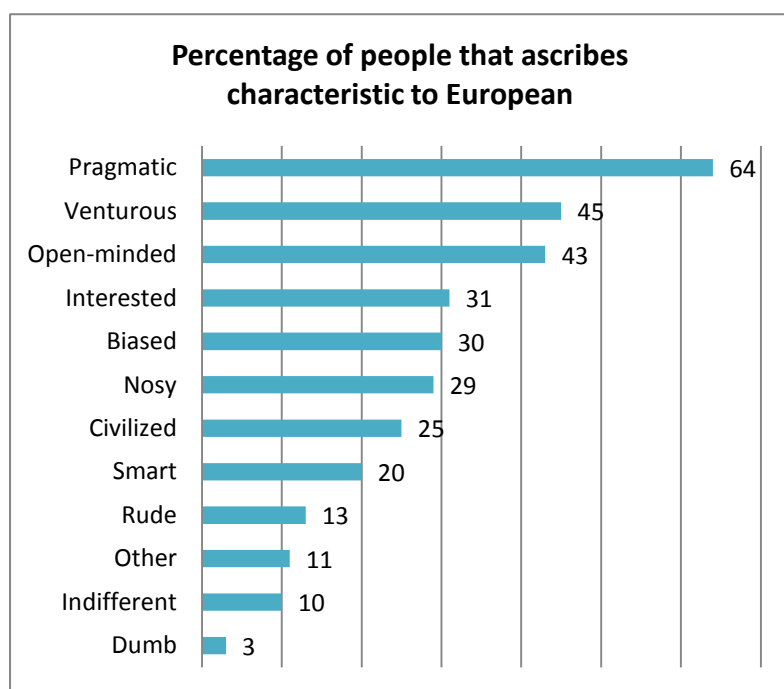


Figure 21. Responses to question 13

who filled in the enquiry online, refused to name characteristics of either the Dutch or Europeans, saying “how can you indicate typical characteristics for a group of millions of people? I can only make a statement about the Europeans I know, but otherwise not” (2012). Furthermore, W. Alberga explained to see ‘the European’ as a creation that coincided with the establishment of the EU (pers.comm., 2012, l.508).

Nevertheless, the enquiry did deliver an indication of the most common attributes, as is displayed in Figure 19 on the previous page. Again it should be noticed that also these characteristics are not necessarily either negative or positive. Of the characteristics, only pragmatism was convincingly pointed out by a considerable majority, as predicted by Egger (pers.comm., 2012, l.434). Gezius called it 'undeniably European' (pers.comm., 2012, l.180) and W. Alberga identified it as the culture of Europe (pers.comm., 2012, l.243). Often coinciding with pragmatism, Europeans were described as venturous. Pragmatism differs in the sense that it is about ways of conduct (i.e. efficiency and effectiveness), while being venturous rather relates to showing initiative. Third most mentioned, but poorly justified, characteristic is openness.

6.4 Conclusion

While, some people in Suriname do realize that 'Europe' is closer than they might think (M. Alberga, pers.comm., 2012, l.483), they also believe it is not of such a great importance to their country at the moment. This indicates a rather large psychological distance. Furthermore, as became clear through the analysis and as was pointed out by the First Secretary in Paramaribo (Nuiten-Elzinga, pers.comm., 2013), it is questionable whether any of the EU funded projects have contributed to an increased visibility, as they were hardly mentioned. Although it has tried to strengthen its profile with a 'EU visibility day', we saw that this has not been mentioned by any of my respondents or interviewees. Likewise, it is hard to say whether the pursued image of the EU as a proponent of democracy and human rights has successfully carried over into the minds of people in Suriname. According to Nuiten-Elzinga (pers.comm., 2013), the EU is aware of its relative anonymity, but the short term prospects for the EU to affect its image in Suriname are limited due to the closure of the EU Delegation.

The preceding analysis has shown that the same factors contribute to both the positive and negative aspects of the image of EU governance. In fact, the division between a negative and positive side to an image has proven to be more complex. Furthermore, the divide between people and government is inadequate for the EU; people had difficulties with speaking about '*the* European'. Nevertheless, it can be stated that the Europeans enjoy a reputation of being pragmatic. While this might contribute to the strong 'soft power' of the EU, it is hard to determine what else is significant. The imagined importance of EU governance is most likely constructed on base of its history, whereas it receives admiration for countering military conflict on the continent. Besides, development aid, despite its disputed visibility, plays an important role in the positive formation of reputation. As is quickly seen in an Atlas.ti Network View, only six quotes bring 'Development aid EU' in connection to the

formation of a negative image, against 15 to the formation of a positive image of the EU. Through a careful deconstruction of the statements of my interviewees, it can be concluded that imperialism is being renewed through the EU. Not only because there is a feeling that it adopts and imitates positions of the Netherlands (e.g. regarding Bouterse), but also because it creates programs around terminology such as ‘good governance’ and the like (e.g. in the framework of development aid).

The brand of the EU appears to be more sophisticated. This depends largely on its image as Utopia. While it certainly has positive connotations, the term Utopia is also characterized by impossibility. The envisioned impossibility shows through skepticism about further integration (Hildenberg, pers.comm., 2012, l.477; Lim A Po, pers.comm., 2012). What is also striking in the analysis above, is that it, unlike with the Netherlands, required inclusion of both economy and culture. People in Suriname seem to derive meaning of EU politics from seemingly unrelated indicators. Moreover, the grounds for explaining the image of the EU appeared to be limited: there did not seem to be many indicators and the significance of the indicators that did exist was rather weak. This might change in the following chapter that centers around the, up till now ignored, connection between the image of the Netherlands and that of the EU.

	government	people
past	development aid	-
present	Utopia	diversity

Table 11. Phenomena perceived to be important for image formation

Chapter 7. Images at play

In this chapter, attention will be drawn to sub-questions 5 and 6 of this research. Thus, it is about the extent and way in which the image of the Netherlands influences that of the European Union and vice versa. Moreover, an analysis will follow of the effects of generation and of either having or not having lived in the Netherlands. Conclusions are partly based on personal acknowledgements of respondents and interviewees.

7.1 Reciprocal influences

First, we will have a look at the similarities and differences between the images of the EU and the Netherlands. Based on the distribution of the general images (among the categories ‘positive’, ‘negative’, ‘other’, or ‘no specific image’) they initially do not seem to differ that much. However, there are three times more respondents who think negatively about the Netherlands than there are that think negatively about the EU. Of those six people who think negatively about the EU, three people also had a negative image of the Netherlands. Of the 67 people who thought positively about the Netherlands, 41 also held a positive image of the EU. 32 people had no specific image of either the Netherlands or the EU. Thus, approximately half of all respondents – 76 out of a total 163 – upheld the same overall image for both the EU and the Netherlands. Although there is also a substantial group of respondents which has no specific image of the Netherlands, not less than 42% has no explicit image of the EU. Consequently, the amount of general descriptive characteristics for the EU as indicated in §6.1.1 is much less in comparison to that of the Netherlands in §5.1.1.

7.1.1 Significant levels of correlation

The grades assigned to the different indicators for the images of the two entities, reveal more signs of correlation. If the merged average grades for both the EU and the Netherlands per individual are plotted, a convincing correlation becomes visible (significant Pearson Correlation = 0,639; see Figure 20). People who to a certain degree think positively of the Netherlands, think positively of the EU in

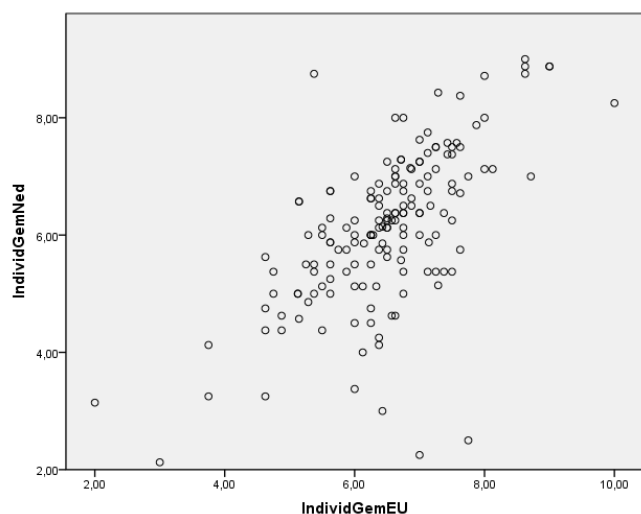
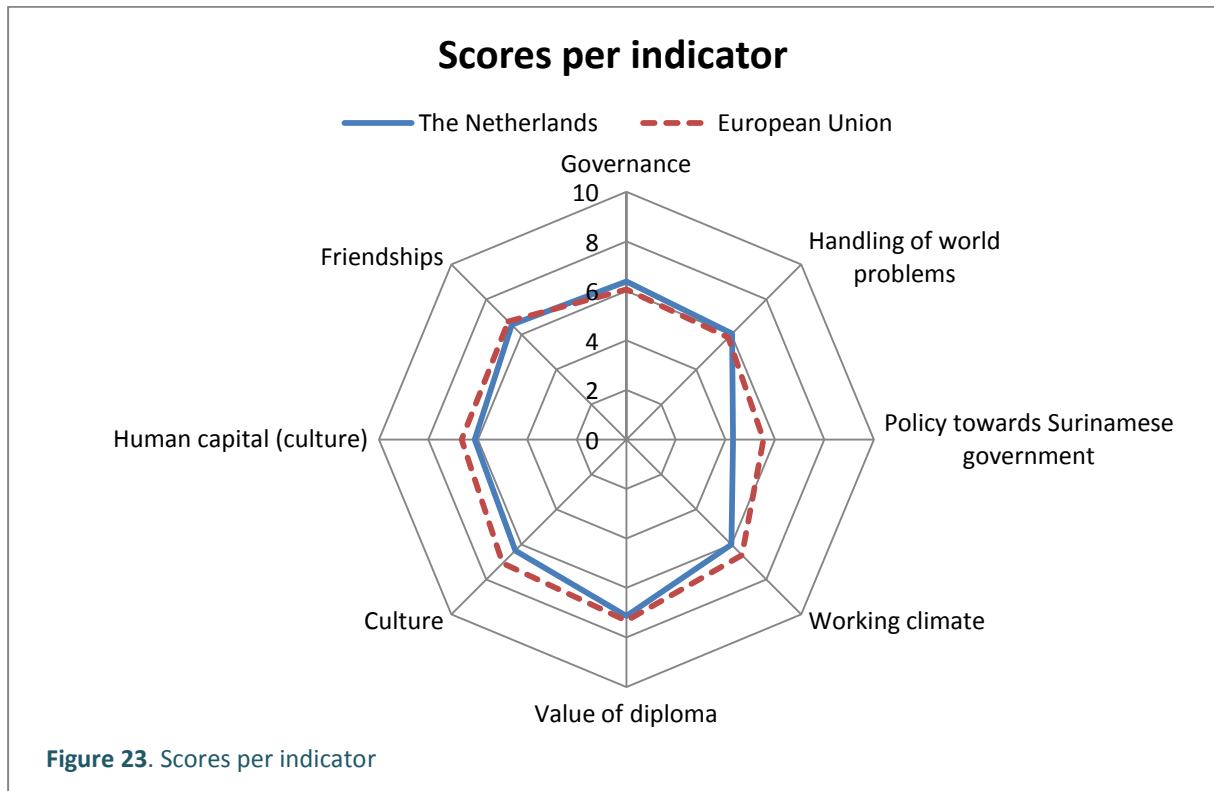


Figure 22: scatterplot of the accumulated individual average scores for the EU compared to the accumulated individual average scores for the Netherlands

the same degree. People who think negatively of the Netherlands also think negatively of the EU. Each of the indicators in specific, which resulted in the average grades, also reveal a convincing overlay in responses for both the Netherlands and the EU (see Figure 21). Only with regard to the 'Policy towards Surinamese government' (question 7), a slight deviation can be noticed.



7.1.2 Different stimuli

On a different note, it is interesting to see that the positive images of the EU are connected to agency, thus reputation, while, the negative connotations rather relate to the condition, the brand, of the EU. This is the opposite of the images for the Netherlands, of which the negative ones relate more often to agency than the positive descriptions, which primarily connect to the nature of the state. Besides, the divide between people and government, which is typical for the image of the Netherlands, is less applicable to the EU. Moreover, there are quite different sources that lead up to either the image of the Netherlands or that of the EU. Tables 12 and 13 on the following page show which 'codes' in Atlas.ti contributed strongest to both the positive and negative aspects to the image formation processes for both. Only co-occurrences with a calculated coefficient higher than 0,05 for either of the four latent codes are displayed. Analysis of these tables supports the conclusion of a reciprocal influence between the images, since the effects of different 'codes' on the positive review of either Dutch or European governance differ largely. 'Development aid NL', for instance, has a 0,13 correlation coefficient with 'Positive review NL Governance', while it hardly explains 'Positive review

EU Governance’. The fact that there are different stimuli, while the overall images strongly correlate, makes it plausible that other aspects in the process of imagination (i.e. mirroring) play an important role in the construction of reputations for the Netherlands and the EU. There is another factor which evens out both images: a process of leveling.

	Positive review EU Governance	Positive review NL Governance
Development aid NL	2 - 0,01	17 - 0,13
Independence	n/a	7 - 0,06
Development aid EU	16 - 0,16	2 - 0,02
SU-EU	9 - 0,08	1 - 0,01
ACP	6 - 0,06	1 - 0,01

Table 12. Co-occurrence table in Atlas.ti: numbers before dash indicate the frequency of co-occurrence - numbers after the dash represent the coefficients showing the strength of the co-occurrence. n/a stands for not applicable

	Negative review EU Governance	Negative review NL Governance
SU-NL	n/a	15 - 0,08
Development aid NL	n/a	13 - 0,07
Colony	n/a	9 - 0,05
Crisis	17 - 0,14	3 - 0,02
Development aid EU	7 - 0,06	n/a
Election Bouterse 2010	6 - 0,06	4 - 0,03
Bouterse	6 - 0,04	9 - 0,05
Military Regime	2 - 0,02	7 - 0,05
Coup d'Etat	1 - 0,01	8 - 0,06

Table 13. Co-occurrence table Atlas.ti: numbers before dash indicate the frequency of co-occurrence - numbers after the dash represent the coefficients showing the strength of the co-occurrence. n/a stands for not applicable

Furthermore, a network view in Atlas.ti (available on request) shows us that the code ‘SU-EU’, which represents bilateral relations, is connected to ‘Positive review EU Governance’ through several quotations, while there is no connection with ‘Negative review EU Governance’ at all. The opposite applies to ‘SU-NL’ which is connected to ‘Negative review NL Governance’ through multiple quotations, while it has just a few linkages to ‘Positive review NL Governance’. This increases the significance of ‘Negative review NL Governance’ in explaining ‘Negative review EU Governance’ and the significance of ‘Positive review EU Governance’ in explaining ‘Positive review NL Governance’.

7.1.3 Slip of the tongue

Besides these statistical indications, the qualitative data derived from the interviews does hint to a causal relationship. Hildenberg, for instance, from out of the blue, indicated that his judgment of the

EU is dependent on the relationship between Suriname and the Netherlands (pers.comm., 2012, l.57). Later on he even concluded that “the connection with Europe goes through the Netherlands” (Ibid., l.73). Something which might be magnified by the importance of Dutch news sources in Suriname. Edmundo, for example, said to base his judgment on news coming from the Netherlands (Edmundo, pers.comm., 2012, l.361). While answering questions about the Europeans as a people, interview partners (and probably also respondents) often referred to the Dutch and the encounters they had with them. For instance Edmundo (pers.comm., 2012, l.250) and Hildenberg (pers.comm., 2012, l.253) bluntly admitted to base their judgment upon experiences they had in the Netherlands, telling that they know most about the Dutch. Although the research strategy did actually not allow a direct question regarding interconnectedness, the possibility of induction from the Dutch image for the image of the EU was sometimes acknowledged on request. Peelen (pers.comm., 2012) replied with ‘often’ on the question whether he thought to have based his answers for the questions about the EU on the knowledge he has about the Netherlands.

Besides, there were coincidental references, that revealed an interconnectedness of images. Implicit quotations that indicate a relationship can, for instance, be found in the interview held with Arnhem. She stated that ‘Dutch people are Europeans’ (pers.comm., 2012, l.42), and later on argued that she already described the characteristics of Dutchmen by answering the question about characteristics of Europeans. Although framed in a right way, Arnhem pointed towards an indifference between Dutch and Europeans (Ibid.). This is not very accurate as most Dutch can indeed be described as Europeans, at least from a practical point of view, while not all Europeans can be described as Dutch. Figure 22 below, shows how the people in Suriname seem to construct their image of the European people by way of inductive reasoning. However, there was less correlation for the characteristics of the Dutch and Europeans of being ‘Nosy’ (resp. 81 vs. 46), ‘Biased’ (resp. 63 vs. 47) and ‘Rude’ (resp. 39 vs. 20), possibly revealing a restraint in the inductive reasoning related to negative characteristics.

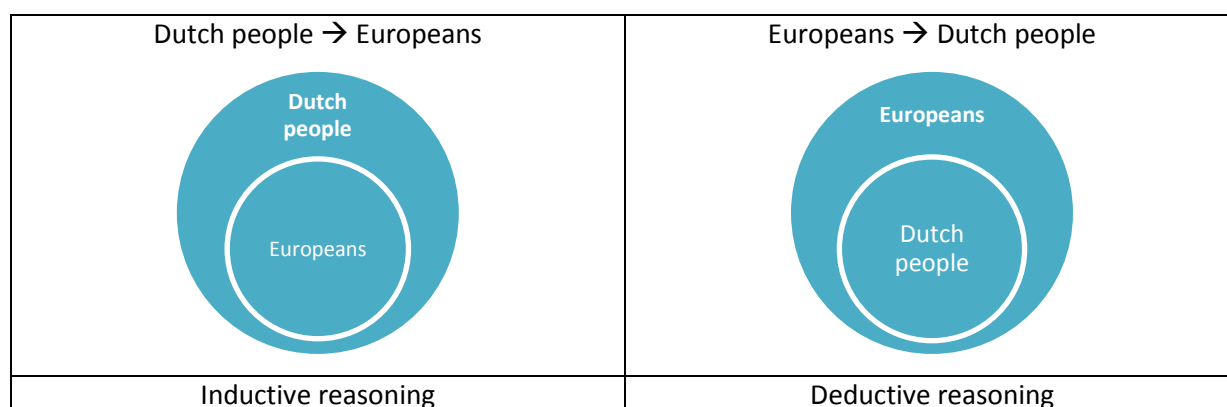


Figure 24: interconnectedness through image formation process, with the Dutch as particular and the Europeans as a general case.

Another example centers around one of the shared markers in the image formation process for both the Netherlands and the EU, namely the response on the adoption of the amnesty law by the Surinamese parliament in April 2012. When asked about the policy of the EU towards the current Surinamese government, Edmundo referred to the response of the Netherlands (pers.comm., 2012). First Secretary, Nuiten-Elzinga (pers.comm., 2013), confirmed that the commotion surrounding the Article 8 Dialogue also affected the reputation of the Netherlands, because people believed the latter to be involved. Besides, an anonymous source from within the EP Press Service (pers.comm., 2012), acknowledged that also the boycott of the ACP-EU meeting by a Dutch European Parliamentarian (i.e. Toine Manders), did have influence on the reputation of the Netherlands. While in both cases the Netherlands was jeopardized, the relative anonymity of the EU might in this case have worked to its advantage. Moreover, in Suriname, the image of the EU profits from the negative dimension to the image of the Netherlands (Hildenberg, pers.comm., 2012, l.65). The EU is believed to offer similar merits as the Netherlands, and is therefore seen as an alternative to the former colonizer. This matches the description of ‘the EU as opportunity’ (Fioramonti and Poletti in Bachmann, 2013, p.469). However, my interviewees were very much aware of the possibility that similar postcolonial power relations emerge between Suriname and the EU. Here it is the question to what extent the EU succeeds to distance itself from the negative features of its colonial heritage from the Netherlands.

Also, the quote of Mr. Nooitmeer, stating that “Europe is his mother country” is telling. Moreover, the same interviewee, together with his wife argued that it was the EU which had ‘send’ Bouterse (Mr. & Mrs. Nooitmeer, pers.comm., 2013). This refers to the broadly spread conception that the Netherlands played a role during the coup of 1980. Consequently, the family Nooitmeer seems to have confused the EU with the Netherlands, or simply put both under the same umbrella – one single image. Likewise, W. Alberga compared the EU to a jar of honey, which needs to be shared – “Europe is the land of milk and honey” (pers.comm., 2012, l.172) –, while 45 minutes later, during the same interview, she referred to the Netherlands as a country which was known as “land of milk and honey” (pers.comm., 2012, l.655). Coincidentally or not, also M. Alberga made a speech error, by almost pointing out the Netherlands as potential hub for sending project officers to oversee projects of the EU, before correcting it to the ‘mother-delegation’ in Guyana (pers.comm., 2012, l.429-430)⁸. It can be questioned which mental processes lead up to such a ‘Freudian slip’, but from a deconstructivist perspective, the actual omission does have a meaning. It derives its meaning from the context and the fact that it was not another country mentioned (i.e. the word – with reference to its true form – derives meaning from itself). The overt context consists of the EU as actor, Guyana as

⁸ “in Suriname, want je [de EU] zou ook nog op projectbasis bezig kunnen zijn, maar vanuit Neder., vanuit Guyana, vanuit hun moeder-delegatie”

host to its 'mother-delegation' and Suriname as project country. From this sentence, it is hard to derive a meaning for 'Neder...'. However, if we take the 'hidden' context in consideration, including the fact that this was said by a former employee of the EU, it might be argued that the EU itself has a weaker geographical focal point of power than the Netherlands – from where the EU exerts its power is unclear or unimportant.

7.2 Imaging

While we have now seen that images themselves do influence each other, more sources contribute to the image formation process. In line with the conceptual framework, focus here will be to conclude on the effects of 'generation' and 'living in the Netherlands'. Both are closely related to the effect of personal experiences, which could actually also take place in Suriname. We have already seen that these experiences, like the individual relations with people in the Netherlands are an important factor in stabilizing the negative image of the Netherlands in the field of politics. However, a prolonged stay in the Netherlands, just like a prolonged life experience, gives an extra dimension, because it adds up to a different worldview, since "in Suriname, there is a limited scope on what's going on in the rest of the world" (Egger, pers.comm., 2012, l.430).

7.2.1 Assimilation

Although the indicators of either having or not having lived in the Netherlands and the general image of the Netherlands did not show a very strong correlation (Cramer's $V = 0,241$), 64% of the people who had lived in the Netherlands held a positive image of the country. This is possibly related to the personal friendships with Dutch people that resulted from the stay, but also a process of assimilation that leads to a better understanding (Egger, pers.comm., 2012, l.774). However, Interviewee X (pers.comm., 2012, l.590) argued that personal encounters, with people either in or outside of the Netherlands, do not necessarily make the image one has of the Netherlands more positive or negative. When he for a first time visited the Netherlands and met 'normal Dutch people' (Ibid., l.566), he developed a different – not more positive or negative – image of the Netherlands. In this respect, migration to the Netherlands does appear to have a moderately strong relation to the general image of the EU (Cramer's $V = 0,361$). The segment of people not having a specific image of the Netherlands or the EU and not having lived in the Netherlands (respectively 40,9% and 51,7%), is substantially larger than the segment of people that did not have a specific image but did live in the Netherlands (respectively 12,0% and 29,6%). Moreover, an effect of migration to the Netherlands seems to be that the Dutch perspective on European integration is being internalized. M. Alberga

believed the policy of the EU in the first place to be a waste of tax money from the Dutch and only thereafter thought of the Europeans in general (pers.comm., 2012, l.276).

7.2.2 Past experience

The context during a specific time is of influence on the image you uphold, but also your age (Egger, l.790). In the past it was more common to migrate to the Netherlands, because it was associated with better future prospects (Freurich, pers.comm., 2012, l.37). This has changed, because the opportunities in Suriname have expanded (W. Alberga, pers.comm., 2012). This clearly shows how the brand of the other is related to his or her own identity – people in Suriname at the time it had less opportunities imagined the Netherlands to provide for better perspectives. In all probability, older people are more aware of the changes that took place in their own identity and therefore also uphold a more nuanced view of ‘the Other’. Statistical analysis does not show a very strong relation between generation and the image of either the EU or Netherlands (resp. Cramer’s $V = 0,317$ and $0,239$). However, it is remarkable that only one person born before 1965, indicated not to have a specific image of the Netherlands, while 36 of the 48 people not having a specific image of the country, were born after 1983.

Chapter 8. Conclusions

In this thesis, a practically undiscovered field of imaging – that of the interconnection between separate images – has been researched. It was an exploratory study, which required a new examination of the reputations and perceived identity of both the Netherlands and the European Union. This also allowed space to scrutinize power relations from a postcolonial perspective, as subjectively constructed through imagination. In line with the poststructuralist tradition, there will not be a presentation of “structured knowledge: ideas boiled down to their ‘essence’, bullet points, lists of ‘key ideas’, clear statements of what the issues are, fairly definite conclusions” (Wylie, 2006, p.298). Instead, my conclusions should be interpreted as signals, receptive to deconstruction. By relating empirics to theories, several conclusions can be drawn from the conducted research. The most important conclusion provides us with an answer to the central question: what do the political and societal images that people in Suriname uphold about the Netherlands and the European Union tell us about the persistence of postcolonial power relations? This conclusion entails that the image of the EU among people in Suriname is dependent on their image of the Netherlands. The uncovered interconnectedness between the images shows that the colonial past of the Netherlands carries over into the expectations regarding governance (reputation) and externally imagined identity (brand) of the EU. Moreover, the EU is imagined to represent a ‘derived’ imperialism.

8.1 Interconnectedness

Although it became clear in this work that there is a correlation between the image of the Netherlands and the image of the European Union, it remains difficult to frame the exact relation between the two. Though, it did become clear that people automatically referred directly, or indirectly through illustrations, to the Netherlands when answering questions about the EU. Examples are numerous. Therefore, the hypothesis that the image of the Netherlands does affect the image of the EU can be validated for the present. While the connection of the image of the EU to that of the Netherlands was not clearly reciprocal, tensions surrounding the ACP-EU Parliamentary Assembly were attributed to the Netherlands instead of being related to the EU. The discovery that images are related to each other might shed a different light on the strive of the EU to increase its political power – which is essentially ‘soft power’. Policy-makers should bear in mind that the legacy of colonial times has contributed to different images of Europe. Seen the ostensible indifference towards the EU in Suriname, it should be considered that the EU might use the position of the Netherlands to exert influence. Moreover, governance of the Netherlands towards Suriname might also negatively affect the reputation of the EU. Not being in sole control of its reputation, might

make the European Union weaker in comparison to more familiar neighbors of Suriname, such as Brazil.

As postcolonial thinkers have argued, the binary opposition between 'us' and 'them' is still very real. Suriname and the Netherlands are acknowledged to differ from each other and this has been enforced through independence. However, transmigration and hybrid identity formation start to show their consequences, not only for distinctions between Suriname and the Netherlands, but also between the Dutch and other Europeans as well – borders, also in the mind of the 'other' are resolving.

8.2 Negative and positive images

Another important outcome of the research is related to the specific content of the images of both the government and people of the Netherlands and the EU. The image of neither the Netherlands, nor the European Union is univocal. In fact, both have multiple reputations in connection to the fields in which they are active. In compliance with the theory on imaging, there appeared to be clearly distinct images for the government and people. Qualification of those images in terms of positivity and negativity was sometimes possible, but more often it did not do justice to the actual complexity of image formation processes. The difficulty for Surinamese people to single out a general image of the two entities under consideration is explainable. The images that people have, appeared to be built on both the past and future, bad and good, at the same time. They balance in between the binary oppositions and in fact accumulate to a deconstructive process of the relations with the Netherlands and to a lesser extent the EU, to reveal persistently imperialistic power relations. Nevertheless, the distinction between positive and negative images did provide some useful insights in the appreciation of actions and characteristics.

8.2.1 The meddlesome Netherlands

While the Netherlands strives to be seen as a reliable partner, it appears to be perceived as the opposite in terms of motivation. The case of Suriname is interesting, because the relations between the Caribbean republic and its former mother country are currently especially political and cultural in nature. Moreover, the Netherlands seems to be successful in compensating for its poor material (economic and financial) relations on the ground, by putting emphasis on social relations. Indeed, the societal relationship between the Netherlands and Suriname has proven to be resilient. The relationship between homeland and Diaspora makes that people in Suriname have a particular interest in the fortunes of Dutch society. On top of that, it is the identity of Suriname as a minority

nation, which leads to the perception of the Netherlands as a superior country – ‘mother country’. From the Surinamese perspective, imperialism is still very much alive. References to the past colonial relationship between metropole and colony appeared in many different shapes. Although many people show fatigue of Dutch interferences in internal affairs and its pedantic attitude in the framework of cooperation, they would not deny the important role the Netherlands has played and still plays. Moreover, they ‘don’t want to bite the hand that fed them’. However, politically seen, the relationship has worsened. Although some people still expect guidance from the Netherlands, almost all people point out that it has to respect Surinamese independence. People feel that Dutch politics is still not able to conceive of the relationship as one between partners, equals.

8.2.2 The obscure European Union

Although quite a few people have filled in the questionnaire, some have indicated that the EU does not appeal to the imagination. While the EU strives to be better known around the world, knowledge about it seems to be rather shallow. People know little of its institutions and find it difficult to identify member states. Indeed, imaging the EU and Europeans seems to be a whole new practice. Though, this is not necessarily negative. Most Surinamese people are either consciously or unconsciously aware that the European Union has delivered development aid to the country. Moreover, the EU is believed to be a powerful entity. However, how that political and economical influence affects people in Suriname, if at all, is questioned by my respondents. Here we might have the curious case that material power is acknowledged while soft power seems to be limited. What does play a role, however, is that the EU is seen as an entity that might be of importance to Suriname in the future. It has the prospect of being an alternative to the troubled relations with the Netherlands, at least if it succeeds to distance itself from the negative part of colonial heritage. This nicely illustrates the distinction between a material and a discursive structure. The residual reality might explain that people in Suriname focus on other partners, such as China and Brazil, instead of the EU.

With regard to the supranational character of the EU, people in Suriname observe the struggle taking place over it. Interestingly, some of the interview partners remarked from their perspective that it is a difficult, if not impossible, goal to achieve: a Utopia. In this way, they lay bare the power of currently imagined communities at the national level – the Netherlands being one of them. Besides importance, this observation adds internal divide as one of the main characteristics of the EU-brand. Furthermore, concepts such as democracy, civil society and rights-based political culture which, from the Eurocentric perspective, have been identified as the core values of the EU, received little

attention from the Surinamese perspective. Instead, it was the fear of 'the Other' which was one of the main themes that has stuck in the minds of people in Suriname.

8.3 Recommendations

Unarguably, a lot more work still needs to be done to get a more comprehensive understanding of the image formation process leading up to the reputations and 'brands' of the EU and its member states. Due to limited extent of this research several issues were underexposed or not even addressed at all. For instance, I have only touched lightly upon multiculturalism and hybridity and more research is required into its effects on the identity formation process and the imaging of 'Others'. Indeed, deterritorialization causes cultures to change and mix, and subsequently the division between 'us' and 'them' is becoming fuzzy. Moreover, Raghoebarsing prospecting that "the relations will, because of the developments in the ICT, only become stronger" (pers.comm., 2012, l.1101). As we saw, one of the respondents already indicated Facebook as his source for contacts. This offers some interesting starting points for subsequent research.

Another connotation to this research, was the inability to involve images of other countries as well, as this would have jeopardized the quality of the research; now, interviews already took often more than an hour. Comparisons to the Surinamese images of for instance China, France or the USA could have clarified even better what the exact influence of past colonialism is on images regarding the Netherlands and the EU. Comparisons could also be made to the self-reflective image of Europeans, who are surprisingly less positive about the EU than my respondents – respectively 39% vs. 42% neutral, 30% vs. 43% positive, 29% vs. 4% negative (EC DG-COMM, 2013, p.10). One could also further investigate the competition of images among entities of different scale. It might be the case that national brands are largely built upon leading personalities (the U.S.A. might for instance derive its reputation partly to the charisma of icons such as Barack Obama, J.F. Kennedy, Marilyn Monroe or Elvis Presley) and also geographical entities play their part (the EU might for instance derive its influence from the appeal of Paris, London and Berlin).

Another interesting field of research, would be that of actual relations between the Netherlands and the EU. Here, it was the assumption that a negative relation between the Netherlands and Suriname might result in a negative relation between Suriname and the EU, while a negative relation between the Netherlands and the EU might also lead to a negative relationship between the EU and Suriname. This would be strongly dependent on the connections between the governance of the Netherlands and Suriname, meaning that the latter might follow the former. In fact, there were already some

indications that returned migrants have internalized the Dutch stance on the EU. In connection to this, it might be interesting to make an assessment of the differences between Dutch and EU policies concerning Suriname.

Last but not least, it would be interesting to involve images created in other contexts than that of Suriname, to compare the images upheld by the people in Suriname to those created by others. How do images of the EU in Guyana or French Guiana differ from those in Suriname? And how do images of the Netherlands in Suriname differ from those in Guyana or French Guiana? Moreover, are the images of the EU among people in other former colonies interconnected to those images of their own former colonizers? The answers to these question will for sure shed a different light on Europe's renewed strive for increased influence throughout the world. Integrating policies is one thing, but to merge reputations is another.

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Appendices

A. Vectors determining the 'nation brand'

Tourism

This vector of the national image has been excluded from this research, because the movements from Suriname to either the Netherlands or the EU are based on family ties, educational opportunities or migratory prospects. Messages which present the two entities from a touristic perspective are rare.

Exports

This vector is linked to the assessment of products from either the Netherlands or the EU and anticipates the country of origin effect: the power of the "Made in..." label to add value to products and services. However, the EU does not yet have its own label for products. Therefore this vector is left out of the research as well.

Governance

Here, we ask respondents to rank countries according to how competently and fairly they believe them to be governed, and how far they would trust their governments to make responsible decisions which uphold international peace and security. We also explore people's perceptions of the government's sense of responsibility towards poverty reduction and the global environment. In addition, we ask for an adjective that best describes the government in each country.

Investment and Immigration

This point of the hexagon looks at the 'business-to-business' aspect of the nation brand, asking respondents about their personal willingness to live and work in each country for a substantial period. We also ask them how much value they would ascribe to an educational qualification gained in the country. Finally, we ask for an adjective that best describes the country's current economic and social condition.

Culture and Heritage

In this point of the hexagon, we ask questions that are designed to measure perceptions of the country's cultural heritage, as well as people's appreciation of or intention to consume its popular, more commercial cultural products and activities. We also ask about the country's sporting excellence. In addition, we ask respondents to name the kind of cultural activity they most expect to find in each country.

People

To understand how the 'human capital' of each country is viewed, we ask a 'business-to-business' question ("Imagine you are a manager and need to make an important hiring. Please rank the following countries in order of your preference for the nationality of your candidate") and a 'non-business' question ("How much would you like to have a close friend from the following countries"). Respondents are also asked to select the adjective that best describes the people in each country.

Source: Anholt Nation Brands Index, 2nd quarter, 2006

B. Questionnaire

B.1 Original version (Dutch)

Hoe denkt u over Nederland en de EU?

Voor mijn master-opleiding Sociale Geografie aan de Radboud Universiteit Nijmegen verricht ik een onderzoek naar de beeldvorming van Surinamers ten aanzien van Nederland en de Europese Unie (EU). Ik ben hierin geïnteresseerd omdat ik het idee heb dat er vooral veel bekend is over hoe Nederlanders over Suriname denken, maar niet andersom. Het gaat mij er voornamelijk om een algemeen beeld te krijgen van de reputatie van Nederland als land en de mate waarin dit samenhangt met de reputatie van de EU. Ook als u hierover geen duidelijk beeld heeft zou ik uw deelname alsnog hartelijk op prijs stellen.

Het invullen van de vragenlijst duurt ongeveer 15 minuten.

Bij voorbaat dank voor uw deelname aan dit onderzoek,
Lorenzo Goudsmits

Kennismaking

In het eerste gedeelte volgen vragen over u. De antwoorden op deze vragen zullen de basis vormen voor analyse van de uitkomsten van de andere delen. Omcirkelen wat van toepassing is.

- 1. In welke periode bent u geboren?**
 - a. vóór 1965
 - b. tussen 1965 en 1983
 - c. na 1983

 - 2. Hoelang bent u in totaal woonachtig geweest in Nederland?**
 - a. nooit
 - b. 4 jaar of korter
 - c. 5 tot 9 jaar
 - d. 10 tot 14 jaar
 - e. 15 tot 19 jaar
 - f. 20 jaar of langer

 - 3. Tot welke etnische bevolkingsgroep rekent u zichzelf?**
 - a. Hindustaanse
 - b. Creoolse
 - c. Javaanse
 - d. Marrons
 - e. Nederlandse
 - f. Surinaamse
 - g. andere bevolkingsgroep
 - h. twee of méér van bovengenoemde groepen
-

Uw beeld van de Europese Unie

In dit gedeelte zal gevraagd worden naar uw beeld van de Europese Unie en de verandering die daarin heeft plaatsgevonden. De Europese Unie is het politieke en economische samenwerkingsverband tussen 27 landen op het Europees continent.

4. Hoe denkt u over de EU?

- a. positief
- b. ik heb geen bijzonder beeld van de EU
- c. negatief
- d. ander, namelijk:

... ..

Overheid

5. Welk cijfer geeft u aan de manier waarop de EU wordt bestuurd?

denk aan democratisch gehalte, openbaarheid van besluitvorming, etc.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
de EU wordt op een absoluut					de EU wordt op de best				
onjuiste manier bestuurd					mogelijke manier bestuurd				

6. Welk cijfer geeft u aan de manier waarop de EU wereldproblematiek aanpakt?

denk aan klimaatverandering, terrorisme, voedselschaarste, etc.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
de EU gedraagt zich					de EU gedraagt zich				
totaal onverantwoord					zeer verantwoord				

7. Wat vindt u van de manier waarop de EU met de huidige Surinaamse regering omgaat?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
geheel onjuist					geheel juist				

Economie

8. Met wat voor een cijfer zou u de mogelijkheid om in de EU te werken waarderen?

denk aan loon, secundaire arbeidsvoorwaarden en werkomgeving

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
de EU is de slechtste plek					de EU is de beste plek				
om te werken					om te werken				

9. Hoe waardevol acht u een diploma behaald in de EU?

in relatie tot diploma's uit de VS, Japan, China, etc.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
totaal waardeloos					uiterst waardevol				

Cultuur

10. In hoeverre bent u het eens met de uitspraak: 'de EU heeft een zeer rijke cultuur'.

denk aan schilderkunst, architectuur, theaters, musea, etc.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
absoluut oneens					absoluut eens				

11. Stel u zou een internationaal cultureel evenement mogen organiseren, hoe graag zou u iemand uit de EU in uw team hebben?

denk aan een tentoonstelling, dans- of theatervoorstelling, etc.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
een Europeaan is											een Europeaan zou
onbelangrijk in zo'n verband											onmisbaar zijn in zo'n verband

Samenleving

12. Hoe hoog waardeert u vriendschappen met Europeanen?

of hoe graag zou u met een Europeaan bevriend willen zijn?

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
Europese vrienden											Europese vrienden
zijn onbelangrijk											zijn onmisbaar

13. Wat zijn volgens u typerende kenmerken van Europeanen.

meerdere antwoorden mogelijk

- | | |
|-------------------|----------------------------|
| a. onbeschoft | g. slim |
| b. beschaafd | h. dom |
| c. ondernemend | i. bemoeizuchtig |
| d. onverschillig | j. geïnteresseerd |
| e. open-minded | k. zakelijk |
| f. bevooroordeeld | l. anders, namelijk |

Verandering van uw beeld van de Europese Unie

14. Is er een periode waarin u positiever dacht over de EU dan nu? Zo ja, welke periode was dat?

- vóór de onafhankelijkheid
- in de periode net na de onafhankelijkheid
- ten tijde van het militair bewind; '80-'87
- in de jaren '90
- in de periode 2000-2010
- mijn beeld van de EU is altijd hetzelfde geweest
- ik dacht nooit zo positief over de EU als nu

15. Is er een periode waarin u negatiever dacht over de EU dan nu? Zo ja, welke periode was dat?

- vóór de onafhankelijkheid
- in de periode net na de onafhankelijkheid
- ten tijde van het militair bewind; '80-'87
- in de jaren '90
- in de periode 2000-2010
- mijn beeld van de EU is altijd hetzelfde geweest
- ik dacht nooit zo negatief over de EU als nu

Uw beeld van Nederland

In dit gedeelte zal gevraagd worden naar uw huidig beeld van Nederland en de verandering die daarin heeft plaatsgevonden.

16. Hoe denkt u over Nederland?

- a. positief
- b. ik heb geen bijzonder beeld van Nederland
- c. negatief
- e. ander, namelijk:

... ..

Overheid

17. Welk cijfer geeft u aan de manier waarop Nederland wordt bestuurd?

denk aan democratisch gehalte, openbaarheid van besluitvorming, etc.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Nederland wordt op een absoluut onjuiste manier bestuurd								Nederland wordt op de best mogelijke manier bestuurd	

18. Welk cijfer geeft u aan de manier waarop Nederland wereldproblematiek aanpakt?

denk aan klimaatverandering, terrorisme, voedselschaarste, etc.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Nederlands gedraagt zich totaal onverantwoord								Nederland gedraagt zich zeer verantwoord	

19. Wat vindt u van de manier waarop Nederland met de huidige Surinaamse regering omgaat?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
geheel onjuist								geheel juist	

Economie

20. Met wat voor een cijfer zou u de mogelijkheid om in Nederland te werken waarderen?

denk aan loon, secundaire arbeidsvoorwaarden en werkomgeving

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Nederland is de slechtste plek om te werken								Nederland is de beste plek om te werken	

21. Hoe waardevol acht u een Nederlands diploma?

in relatie tot diploma's uit andere landen

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
totaal waardeloos								uiterst waardevol	

Cultuur

22. In hoeverre bent u het eens met de uitspraak: 'Nederland heeft een zeer rijke cultuur'.

denk aan schilderkunst, architectuur, theaters, musea, etc.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
absoluut oneens								absoluut eens	

23. Stel u zou een internationaal cultureel evenement mogen organiseren, hoe graag zou u een Nederlander in uw team hebben?

denk aan een tentoonstelling, dans- of theatervoorstelling, etc.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
een Nederlander is					een Nederlander zou				
onbelangrijk in zo'n verband					onmisbaar zijn in zo'n verband				

Samenleving

24. Hoe hoog waardeert u vriendschappen met Nederlanders?

of hoe graag zou u met een Nederlander bevriend willen zijn?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Nederlandse vrienden					Nederlandse vrienden				
zijn onbelangrijk					zijn onmisbaar				

25. Wat zijn volgens u typerende kenmerken van Nederlanders.

meerdere antwoorden mogelijk

- | | |
|-------------------|----------------------------|
| a. onbeschoft | g. slim |
| b. beschaafd | h. dom |
| c. ondernemend | i. bemoeizuchtig |
| d. onverschillig | j. geïnteresseerd |
| e. open-minded | k. zakelijk |
| f. bevooroordeeld | l. anders, namelijk |

Verandering van uw beeld van Nederland

26. Is er een periode waarin u positiever dacht over Nederland dan nu? Zo ja, welke periode was dat?

- a. vóór de onafhankelijkheid
- b. in de periode net na de onafhankelijkheid
- c. ten tijde van het militair bewind; '80-'87
- d. in de jaren '90
- e. in de periode 2000-2010
- f. mijn beeld van Nederland is altijd hetzelfde geweest
- g. ik dacht nooit zo positief over Nederland als nu

27. Is er een periode waarin u negatiever dacht over Nederland dan nu? Zo ja, welke periode was dat?

- a. vóór de onafhankelijkheid
- b. in de periode net na de onafhankelijkheid
- c. ten tijde van het militair bewind; '80-'87
- d. in de jaren '90
- e. in de periode 2000-2010
- f. mijn beeld van Nederland is altijd hetzelfde geweest
- g. ik dacht nooit zo negatief over Nederland als nu

Bedankt voor uw deelname aan dit onderzoek!

Als u op de hoogte gebracht wilt worden van de uitkomsten van dit onderzoek en openstaat voor een interview, kunt u hier uw e-mailadres achterlaten.

E-mailadres:

.....

The online enquiry can be found through the following link:

<https://docs.google.com/spreadsheet/viewform?fromEmail=true&formkey=dHQyWW1CYV9ldndjakpNY25mWnRYLUE6MQ>

A translation of the questions and response categories is included on the following pages.

How do you think of the Netherlands and the EU?

In the framework of my master studies in Human Geography at the Radboud University of Nijmegen, I am conducting a research into the image formation of people in Suriname concerning the Netherlands and the European Union (EU). I am interested in this topic because I have the feeling that much is known about perceptions of Dutch people on Suriname, but not the other way around. It is the main intention to reconstruct a general image of the reputation of the Netherlands as a country and the extent to which this is interconnected to the reputation of the EU. Even if you do not have a clear image of this, I would still very much appreciate your cooperation.

The questionnaire will take approximately 15 minutes.

Thanks in advance,
Lorenzo Goudsmits

Acquaintance

In the first part I will pose some questions about yourself. The answers to these questions form the ground for analysis of the outcomes of the questions in the other parts. Please circle the applicable answer.

- 1. When were you born?**
 - a) before 1965
 - b) between 1965 and 1989
 - c) after 1989

 - 2. For how long have you been resident of the Netherlands?**
 - a) never
 - b) 4 years or less
 - c) 5 to 9 years
 - d) 10 to 14 years
 - e) 15 to 19 years
 - f) 20 years or longer

 - 3. To which ethnic group would you count yourself?**
 - a) Hindustani
 - b) Creole
 - c) Javanese
 - d) Marrons
 - e) Dutch
 - f) Surinamese
 - g) other
 - h) two or more of the above
-

Your image of the European Union

In this section you will be asked about your image of the European Union and the changes to it. The European Union is the political and economical partnership between 27 countries on the European continent.

4. How do you think of the EU?

- a) positive
- b) I do not have a specific image of the EU
- c) negative
- d) different, namely ...

Government

5. If you were to grade the EU concerning the way it is being governed, how would you?

it is governed completely wrong 1 – 10 it is governed in the best possible way

6. How would you grade the EU concerning its responsibility in confronting world problems?

it behaves completely irresponsible 1 – 10 it behaves very responsible

7. What do you think of the way in which the EU deals with the current Surinamese government?

completely incorrect 1 – 10 completely correct

Economy

8. With what grade would you appreciate the possibility to work in the EU?

it is the worst place to work 1 – 10 it is the best place to work

9. How valuable do you consider a EU educational certificate?

complete worthless 1 – 10 very valuable

Culture

10. To what extent do you agree with the following: 'The EU has a very rich culture'.

totally disagree 1 – 10 totally agree

11. Imagine you would have to organize a cultural event, how bad would you want to have a European person in your team?

a European person is unimportant in such a situation 1 – 10 a European person is indispensable

Society

12. How much do you appreciate your friendships with European people or would you like to have them?

European friends are unimportant 1 – 10 European friends are indispensable

13. What do you consider typical characteristics of Europeans? (multiple answers allowed)

- | | |
|----------------|--------------------------|
| a) rude | g) smart |
| b) civilized | h) dumb |
| c) inventive | i) nosy |
| d) laconic | j) interested |
| e) open-minded | k) pragmatic |
| f) biased | l) different, namely ... |

Change of your image of the European Union

- 14. Is there a period in which thought more positively of the EU? If yes, which period? (more answers possible)**
- a) before independence
 - b) in the period just after independence
 - c) during the military regime '80-'87
 - d) in the 90s
 - e) in the period 2000-2010
 - f) my image of the EU has always been the same
 - g) I never thought so positive about the EU as now
- 15. Is there a period in which thought more negatively of the EU? If yes, which period? (more answers possible)**
- a) before independence
 - b) in the period just after independence
 - c) during the military regime '80-'87
 - d) in the 90s
 - e) in the period 2000-2010
 - f) my image of the EU has always been the same
 - g) I never thought so positive about the EU as now
-

Your image of the Netherlands

In this part you will be asked about your current image of the Netherlands and the change to it.

- 16. How do you think of the Netherlands?**
- a) positive
 - b) I do not have a specific image of the Netherlands
 - c) negative
 - d) different, namely ...

Government

- 17. If you were to grade the Netherlands concerning the way it is being governed, how would you?**

it is governed completely wrong 1 – 10 it is governed in the best possible way

- 18. How would you grade the Netherlands concerning its responsibility in confronting world problems?**

it behaves completely irresponsible 1 – 10 it behaves very responsible

- 19. What do you think of the way in which the Netherlands deals with the current Surinamese government?**

completely incorrect 1 – 10 completely correct

Economy

- 20. With what grade would you appreciate the possibility to work in the Netherlands?**

it is the worst place to work 1 – 10 it is the best place to work

- 21. How valuable do you consider a Dutch educational certificate?**

complete worthless 1 – 10 very valuable

Culture

22. To what extent do you agree with the following: 'The Netherlands has a very rich culture'.
totally disagree 1 – 10 totally agree

23. Imagine you would have to organize a cultural event, how bad would you want to have a Dutch person in your team?

a Dutch person is unimportant in such a situation 1 – 10 a Dutch person is indispensable

Society

24. How much do you appreciate your friendships with Dutch people or would you like to have them?

Dutch friends are unimportant 1 – 10 Dutch friends are indispensable

25. What do you consider typical characteristics of the Dutch? (multiple answers allowed)

- a) rude
- b) civilized
- c) inventive
- d) laconic
- e) open-minded
- f) biased
- g) smart
- h) dumb
- i) nosy
- j) interested
- k) pragmatic
- l) different, namely ...

Change of your image of the Netherlands

26. Is there a period in which thought more positively of the Netherlands? If yes, which period?
(more answers possible)

- a) before independence
- b) in the period just after independence
- c) during the military regime '80-'87
- d) in the 90s
- e) in the period 2000-2010
- f) my image of the EU has always been the same
- g) I never thought so positive about the EU as now

27. Is there a period in which thought more negatively of the Netherlands? If yes, which period?
(more answers possible)

- a) before independence
- b) in the period just after independence
- c) during the military regime '80-'87
- d) in the 90s
- e) in the period 2000-2010
- f) my image of the EU has always been the same
- g) I never thought so positive about the EU as now

C. Interview Guide

First, questions will be posed concerning the EU. This part concerning the EU consists out of three parts, which will disclose in consecutive order a general image; the specific image, determined per topic; and, the impact of events on the image. I will always start the interviews with posing the **general question**: ‘What is your image of the EU?’. Hereafter, I will give the interviewees the time to outline their image, while preventing them from using this stage to bring afoot irrelevant information (for example the connection of the interviewee with the EU). In the second part information about the respondent’s perception of the reputation of the EU in various fields will be obtained. This will happen along with posing the questions from the **questionnaire** so that the scores in the separate fields (e.g. government, economy, culture and society) can be determined. At the end is an informal part in which a better **understanding** of the position of the respondent in relation to the Netherlands and the EU will be acquired. This can be important for explaining his or her stance in certain issues which were discussed in the first two parts. Moreover, in this part specific events which might have changed the image over time, will be discussed. These three stages in the interview will be repeated for the Netherlands. To make a quick process out of the interview, I will ask these questions in person and note down the answers myself. In order not to draw wrong conclusions, I will frequently ask for feedback to check what is meant.

1. General question

What is your image of the EU?

Possibly complemented by the following question: What are the first ideas and images that pop-up in your mind when you think of the EU?

2. Questionnaire

See Appendix B.

3. Gaining understanding

Can you please tell me more about yourself?	
Ethnic background	Just to get a better idea of who you are: could you briefly tell me what you know about your ethnic background? What are the relations of people from your ethnic community with the Netherlands?
Relatives abroad	Do you have relatives abroad? If so, where? Do you often have contact with them?
Visits to the Netherlands (quantity, purpose, duration)	For how long have you lived in the Netherlands? What have been your expectations of the visit? And how have you actually experienced your visit?
Visits to other EU member states (quantity, purpose, duration)	Have you ever been to other countries within the European Union?
Memory of Dutch political decisions concerning	Can you remember important decisions taken in

Suriname

relation to the ties between the Netherlands and Suriname? Do you remember how you felt about that? Do you remember whether people were discussing this on the streets?
Discussion of events.

Memory of political decisions of the EU concerning Suriname

Can you remember important decisions taken in relation to the ties between the EU and Suriname? Do you remember how you felt about that? Do you remember whether people were discussing this on the streets?
Decision of events.

Do you think your image of either the Netherlands or the EU, or both has changed?
Reference to the events discussed.

Do you think your image of the EU is tainted by your image of the Netherlands or vice versa?

D. List of interviewees

Name	X. Arnhem
Description	was board member of a local division of the Junior Chamber International
Origin of contact	through H. Strijk, who is an external supervisor of X. Arnhem
Date of interview	24 October 2012
Location of interview	Restaurant 'De Waag', Paramaribo
Duration of interview	00:12:50 recorded

Name	J. Edmundo
Description	son of a former Surinamese Minister of Foreign Affairs
Origin of contact	through mutual friend in the Netherlands
Date of interview	18 December 2012
Location of interview	at my residence in Paramaribo
Duration of interview	00:49:07

Name	H. Pirthipal
Description	first year law student
Origin of contact	respondent during class of Mr. Peelen
Date of interview	20 December 2012
Location of interview	Anton de Kom University of Suriname
Duration of interview	00:38:22

Name	H. Hildenberg
Description	former Minister of Finance between 1992-1996 and 2000-2010
Origin of contact	through brother whom I met at Kwakoe Festival 2012 in Amsterdam
Date of interview	25 October 2012
Location of interview	at residence of interviewee
Duration of interview	01:14:27

Name	M. Alberga
Description	former employee at the EU Delegation in Paramaribo for 14 years
Origin of contact	land lady of residence during my first month in Suriname
Date of interview	12 and 15 November 2012
Location of interview	at residence of interviewee
Duration of interview	00:50:27 and 00:53:49

Name	H. Lim A Po
Description	Director Dean of FHR Lim A Po Institute for Social Studies
Origin of contact	invited at own initiative
Date of interview	20 November and 10 December 2012
Location of interview	FHR Lim A Po Institute for Social Studies
Duration of interview	00:37:48 and 00:41:32

Name	W. Alberga
Description	famous radio and TV personality in Suriname (Apintie)
Origin of contact	through sister in law, M. Alberga
Date of interview	21 November 2012
Location of interview	radio station Apintie
Duration of interview	01:08:09

Name	H. Gezius
Description	sociology teacher at Anton de Kom University
Origin of contact	through Institute for Societal and Scientific Research (IMWO)
Date of interview	28 November 2012
Location of interview	office at Anton de Kom University
Duration of interview	01:27:55

Name	G. Peelen
Description	law teacher at Anton de Kom University
Origin of contact	through Institute for Societal and Scientific Research (IMWO)
Date of interview	2 December 2012
Location of interview	office at Anton de Kom University
Duration of interview	00:54:40

Name	J. Egger
Description	international relations teacher at Anton de Kom University
Origin of contact	through Institute for Societal and Scientific Research (IMWO)
Date of interview	3 December 2012
Location of interview	office at Anton de Kom University
Duration of interview	01:32:26

Name	Interviewee X
Description	requested to stay anonymous
Origin of contact	invited on own initiative
Date of interview	5 December 2012
Location of interview	office at Anton de Kom University
Duration of interview	01:00:25

Name	K. Raghoebarsing
Description	former Minister of Planning and Development Cooperation 2000-2005 and Minister of Agriculture, Animal Husbandry and Fisheries 2005-2010
Origin of contact	through former colleague H. Hildenberg
Date of interview	5 December 2012
Location of interview	residence of interviewee
Duration of interview	01:50:04

Name	Olivieira
Description	returned to Suriname in 2011 after 32 years in the Netherlands
Origin of contact	through Dutch Migration Institute (NMI)
Date of interview	17 December 2012
Location of interview	residence of interviewee
Duration of interview	00:40:35

Name	S. Freurich
Description	returned to Suriname in 2010 after 32 years in the Netherlands
Origin of contact	through Dutch Migration Institute (NMI)
Date of interview	17 December 2012
Location of interview	residence of interviewee
Duration of interview	00:48:53

Name	Mr. and Mrs. Nooitmeer
Description	returned to Suriname in 2012 after respectively 34 and 14 years in the Netherlands
Origin of contact	through Dutch Migration Institute (NMI)
Date of interview	17 December 2012
Location of interview	residence of interviewees
Duration of interview	-

Extra interviews

Name	H. Strijk
Description	former editor-in-chief of Surinamese Television Foundation (STVS)
Origin of contact	through colleague at my first internship (Alfred Mozer Foundation)
Date of interview	12 October 2012
Location of interview	The Concertgebouw, Amsterdam
Duration of interview	-

Name	J. Latu-Sanft
Description	press attaché at ACP Group
Origin of contact	approached at own initiative
Date of interview	24 November 2012
Location of interview	30 th session of the Joint ACP-EU Parliamentary Assembly
Duration of interview	-

Name	anonymous source from within the EP Press Service
Description	high ranking press attaché at the European Parliament
Origin of contact	approached at own initiative
Date of interview	24 November 2012
Location of interview	30 th session of the Joint ACP-EU Parliamentary Assembly
Duration of interview	-

Name	F. Nuiten-Elzinga
Description	First Secretary, responsible for Political Affairs, Press and Public Diplomacy at the Netherlands Embassy in Paramaribo
Origin of contact	approached at own initiative
Date of interview	28 and 29 May 2013
Location of interview	by telephone
Duration of interview	-

*Disclaimer: as this research evolved around images, which are unfixed and context-dependent, statements are not necessarily related to the current perceptions interview partners might have.