Micro-politics and digital identity performativity: third generation Indo identities on social media platforms

Amber van Lier 4123239
MA Gender Studies
Supervisor: Donya Alinejad
Second reader: Eva Midden
Word count: 12827
12-10-2019

Micro-politics and digital identity performativity: third generation Indo identities on social media platforms

Amber van Lier

Table of contents

Micro-politics and digital identity performativity: third generation Indo identities on social media platforms

Amber van Lier

Foreword

Abstract

This thesis analyses the micro-political implications of third generation Indo identity through digital performativity, with the help of three digital case studies: the Facebook page "Indo's Be Like", the blog "Gewoon een Indisch Meisje", and the blog "Hoezo Indo". In the last decade there seems to be a rise in third generation Indo youth reclaiming their ethnic identity, due to the current socio-political landscape in the Netherlands where there is an increase in awareness concerning racial issues and whiteness. By interviewing three cultural producers, respectively the creators of the digital case studies, and by conducting a social media analysis of said platforms, an answer will be provided to the main question: in how far can digital identification among third generation Indo's in the Netherlands be considered as a process with micro-political potential? The outcome will show that a multitude of different, highly personal Indo identities are performed as facilitated by the three platforms, making Indo identities translocational as I will argue. On all platforms, Indo identities were constructed which reclaimed their ethnic identity in the form of identifying with 'non-whiteness', thus going against the hegemonic Dutch identity. I will furthermore argue for the usage of the term 'Indo identities' in plural form, as the singular form does not cover the complexities and the execution of individual autonomy when performing identity.

Introduction

With the growing number of online platforms that have the capacity of bringing people of similar ethnic backgrounds together, the role of social media in the forming of identity becomes increasingly apparent in Dutch society. Blogs, Facebook pages and forums for example create spaces where people of similar backgrounds have the possibility of sharing

Micro-politics and digital identity performativity: third generation Indo identities on social media platforms

Amber van Lier

their experiences and connecting with communities, while identifying with certain identities tied to those platforms. Active people on social media with a large number of followers therefore have the possibility of reaching many users with the cultural products they bring forth on their platforms, and influence the way certain identities are constructed and thought of. In this MA thesis I will research this process of cultural production and the influence on the formation of digital identity in third generation Indo's by answering the following research question: In how far can digital identification among third generation Indo's in the Netherlands be considered as a process with micro-political potential? Three subsequent sub-questions will be addressed in order to answer this: in how far do the interviewees consider their social media platforms to have micro-political potential? What axes of differentiation are visible in the cultural products created by the interviewees on their social media platforms? What is the relationship between the analysed cultural products and the interviewees' opinions on digital identification and micro-political potential?

Now that there is an increase in awareness of racial issues in the Netherlands in the past few years, specifically regarding to whiteness, there has been a rise in ethnic minorities and people of mixed ethnic backgrounds visibly taking pride in or taking back certain aspects of the culture that they partly grew up with or have been estranged from. Being part of the third generation of Indo's in the Netherlands myself, I have noticed a change in the community regarding identity forming in the last decade. To briefly clarify: by using the word "Indo" or "Indisch" I am specifically referring to people of mixed Indonesian and Dutch descent, the people and descendants of those who grew up in colonised Indonesia. The third generation in this case consists of the grandchildren of the Indonesian and Indo immigrants who moved to the Netherlands in the forties and fifties of the previous century. Whereas being of Indische descendance or growing up with multiple cultures was a taboo subject in the first two generations due to the extreme need to assimilate with Dutch culture, the third generation seems curious towards their ethnic history and identity again. This curiosity is fostered not only by events in cities throughout the country, such as the famous and well-visited Tong Tong Fair in The Hague, but also by the growing online Indo communities where people come together to immerse themselves in the Indische identity. Much research has been done on the first two Indo generations concerning topics like cultural identity, postcolonial memory, dilution of culture and more. However, the third generation has not been researched much yet. With regards to the current socio-political landscape in the Netherlands, a

4

reconstruction of identity on the Indo-descendant's part seems to have become a political stance: perhaps a redefinition of whiteness in Dutch culture, or a reclaiming of space in Dutch culture, or both: consciously subtracting oneself from a culture which is so predominantly white and racist. In a research by Koen Leurs, which will serve as a central text in this thesis, digital identification by Moroccan-Dutch youth across four different platforms was analysed. Similarly, I aim to present performative practices of digital identification by third generation Indo's on three different social media platforms. In the next chapter I will discuss the most important concepts and theories which I will draw from while conducting these analyses.

Digital identification, masquerading and translocational positionality

For this research the focus will be on a specific debate within the phenomenon of cultural production and identity formation. Central in this thesis is the concept of digital identification as a process with micro-political potential, which refers to identifications performed on digital media platforms. These identifications "are tangible results of micro-political action. Action refers here to the performative power involved in being able to articulate identity alignments, for example, within, across or against axes of ethnicity, class, gender and religion".[1] In his book *Digital Passages: Migrant Youth 2.0,* Koen Leurs describes the use of social media among Moroccan youth in the Netherlands, where he uses the concept to research how young Moroccan people use social media to alter the Dutch public's perception of them, as well as to exercise power in constructing their own identity: "I feel that identification, as an exercise of power, is a micro-political act, because in one's self-making (although it is not necessarily fully conscious) one can, for example, be held accountable for the ways in which one engages with other-ness and same-ness".[2] Here he refers to the way people can (sub)consciously identify themselves on the internet with certain groups and distance themselves from others. The similarity with my research lies in the manner of identification: within digital Indo communities there is a certain way of identifying oneself with other people from the same ethnic background, and thereby also distancing oneself from people supposedly not belonging to that group.

---

[1] Koen Leurs, "Introduction," in *Digital Passages: Migrant Youth 2.0* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2015), 27-28.
[2] Leurs, "Introduction," 26.

Micro-politics and digital identity performativity: third generation Indo identities on social media platforms

Amber van Lier

Leurs connects digital identification with Judith Butler's concept of gender performativity, in which she argues that identities are constituted through performative acts. He states that he considers other axes of differentiation such as class, generation or religion as performative acts as well, where the focus on doing emphasises the dynamic character of identities.[3] According to Leurs, "in a similar vein, digital identity performativity, then, focuses not only on how identities are visible online but more specifically how they are executed," which is something for me to consider when answering the second sub-question in this thesis.[4]

An interesting note is the fact that many third generation Indo's are white, as they are of mixed Dutch-Indonesian descent and commonly can only be considered 'a quarter' or even less ethnically Indonesian. With the increasing awareness of whiteness in the Netherlands, I will consider the degree in which the interviewees are consciously using this in digital identification and whether they identify or distance themselves from the concept of whiteness.

So far Leurs' book is the only research on digital identification as micro-political process which makes use of a Dutch case study. It will be useful to add to this debate by investigating third generation Indo's and how they relate to this concept. In this thesis I will explore in how far the interviewees consider their social media activity and digital identification as being micro-political, and subsequently analyse the cultural products they create on their platforms to uncover the multitude of axes of differentiation that intersect when constructing third generation Indo-ness. In doing this, "it is important not to single out singular axes of identification (…) but rather look at how they intersect" on the platforms that the interviewees use.[5] An intersectional approach will thus be used as an umbrella strategy throughout this research, as a lens through which to analyse everything.

Another concept which I will be using is that of masquerading by Pamela Pattynama from her text "Assimilation and Masquerade: Self-Constructions of Indo-Dutch Women". In her research, Pattynama suggests the term masquerading instead of assimilation: "Apart from difficulties with the persistent colonizing moves of this model, I do not feel its reductive conceptualization of culture and identity formation is very helpful to explain the intricacies of

---

[3] Idem, 28.
[4] Idem, 28.
[5] Idem, 29.

intercultural encounters and female self-constructions", she states.[6] She believes the model of assimilation to be colonising in a way, as it only allows for the two rigid and fixed positions of insider and outsider. Furthermore, the interactive encounters between cultures are not taken into account, and migrants are seen as passive objects in this way who do not seem to participate in the formation of their identity.[7] This concept will aid me in discussing how Indo's use it to retake their subjecthood and alter what it means to be Dutch in contemporary society.

Floya Anthias' concept of translocational positionality, first coined in 2001, will also be used in analysing third generation Indo identity. She considers identity as a process rather than a set of possessive traits. Important about this concept is that it "addresses issues of identity in terms of locations which are not fixed but are context, meaning and time related and which therefore involve shifts and contradictions".[8] Indo identity does not neatly fall into traditional categorisations of migrant identity, as Indo's are essentially tied to and identified with a land that no longer exists due to decolonisation, and the concept of translocational positionality helps understand how this identity comes into being. In the next chapter, I will explain my methodological process.

Semi-structured interviews and social media analysis

To research the specific process of digital identification as third generation Indo on a number of social media platforms chosen by me, two methods will be combined in this thesis. However, it is of importance to explain how these platforms were chosen first. My intention was to interview three cultural producers who are active in digital Indo communities, who have their own social media platform and a following of at least a thousand people. Being part of digital Indo communities myself, I already followed a number of platforms and chose the three with the largest following count and the highest recognition among my own friends and family members: the Facebook page "Indo's Be Like", the blog "Gewoon een Indisch meisje"

---

[6] Pamela Pattynama, "Assimilation and Masquerade: Self-Constructions of Indo-Dutch Women," *The European Journal of Women's Studies,* vol. 7 (2000), 287.
[7] Pattynama, "Assimilation and Masquerade," 287.
[8] Floya Anthias, "Thinking through the lens of translocational positionality: an intersectionality frame for understanding identity and belonging," *Translocations: Migration and Social Change*, vol. 4 iss. 1 (2008): 5.

Micro-politics and digital identity performativity: third generation Indo identities on social media platforms

Amber van Lier

("Just an Indo girl"), and the blog "Hoezo Indo" ("Why Indo"). The three creators or admins of these platforms, Leroy Woudstra, Lara Nuberg and Armando Ello, will participate in semi-structured qualitative interviews with me where we will speak in depth about their opinions concerning their platforms and identities. Herbert Rubin and Irene Rubin explain the difference in qualitative interviews using the term "subject of focus", and they show how qualitative interviews can be concerned with either evoking meanings and understandings or whether their purpose is to describe events or processes.[9] I will make use of the first kind and ask questions meant to help me understand how the cultural producers see the concept of digital identification and its micro-political potential. These interviews are meant to gain insight into their personal reasons for running social media webpages and in how far they consciously think about their digital identification: whether they consider it to have micro-political potential and how and if it relates to the contemporary discussions on race in the Netherlands. I am particularly interested in how third generation Indo-ness is constructed on these platforms and how the cultural producers aid in the formation of a collective identity. Appendix I on page 37 provides an overview of the questions asked during the interview, both in Dutch and English. All three interviews will be conducted in Dutch, and all direct quotes used in this thesis will be translated to English by me.[10] However, I want to address this practice of translating the interviewees voices briefly: as this will inevitably reflect my personal interpretations, I will always provide the original quote in Dutch in the footnotes. According to Gayatri Spivak in "The politics of translation", Western researchers or translators have a responsibility to make visible the influence they have on the production of the texts.[11] Although me providing the original translation of each quote certainly does not solve the problem, it is an attempt to make the influence I have visible and to account for the fact that translating is never a neutral practice as it reflects my personal decisions and views of the world. As is common in doing interviews, there is also the issue of an unequal power relations between the interviewer and the interviewee: "the hierarchical, often charged relations between researcher and informants" as Marjorie DeVault and Glenda Cross call it.[12]

---

[9] Herbert J. Rubin and Irene J. Rubin, "Listening, Hearing, and Sharing Social Experiences," in *Qualitative Interviewing: The Art of Hearing Data* (Sage, 2005), 5.
[10] The original Dutch translation of all quotes will be provided in the footnotes.
[11] Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, "The Politics of Translation", in *Outside in the Teaching Machine* (London and New York: Routledge, 1993), 181.
[12] Marjorie L. DeVault and Glenda Cross, "Feminist Qualitative Interviewing: Experience, Talk and Knowledge," in *Handbook of Feminist Research: Theory and Praxis,* ed. Sharlene Nagy Hesse-Biber (Sage, 2012), 206.

I am aware of the partiality of this method and have done my best to minimise the disadvantages by employing the techniques I just mentioned. Feminist researchers have been committed to finding and acknowledging common ground with the people they interview, and I have done the same in making the notion of "experience" central in my interviews, as I will elaborate upon later.[13] The advantages of using interviewing as a method far outweigh the disadvantages in this case. The most important information needed to answer not only a few of my sub-questions but also my research question can be found in the personal opinions of the cultural producers I have interviewed. Micro-political potential in digital identification, in part, is created by the meaning these identifications are given through the persons who produced them. This means that the intention of the cultural producers in this case is crucial in understanding whether or not they see third generation Indo identity as having micro-political potential.

The second method I will be using is a social media analysis of said platforms created by the interviewees, which are the Facebook page named "Indo's Be Like", the blog called "Gewoon een Indisch meisje", and the blog "Hoezo Indo". A similar method is used by Koen Leurs in his previously mentioned research, identified as "virtual ethnography", where he was interested in observing online practices and capturing digital data: "to get a sense of how informants perform their identities online across these spaces".[14] Due to time constraint I will only be focussing on visuals on the platforms: text, images and a combination of those two. A number of areas will be analysed within these text or image posts: the numerous axes of differentiation that visibly have come into play when they were created, as well as how these axes intersect. By using this methodology, my aim is not to use this research as a sample of the third generation Indo population in order to make a greater claim, but rather to learn and understand the workings of cultural production processes and digital identification regarding these platforms and cultural producers, and how this relates to the formation of third generation Indo identity. Doing a social media analysis enables me to analyse all the posts that visitors of a certain page see and interact with when scrolling through that platform, so as to construct a clear overview of the axes of differentiation which comprise those posts, but also to understand how a platform is constructed and how this possibly affects visitors. By taking this as a focus point, I will not be able to take my research a step further by analysing

---

[13] DeVault and Cross, "Feminist Qualitative Interviewing," 212.
[14] Leurs, "Methodological Trajectory," 88.

not only the cultural products or posts produced by the interviewees, but also how their platforms act as both a "culture" and a "cultural artefact" to diagnose cultural change and societal conditions through these social media.[15] However, as my research question mostly deals with the opinions of the cultural producers and their personal viewpoints I believe it can be answered in a well-defined and specific manner. Doing the interviews first and the social media analysis second enables me to compare the opinions of the cultural producers and analyse their social media posts through the lens of their own ideas and beliefs, in order to answer the third sub-question and ultimately the research question of this thesis.

Interviews

My decision to do semi-structured interviews was based on a number of factors: due to time constraint I wanted to keep the interviews somewhat concise, but as the opinions of the cultural producers are the most important I intended to provide the freedom of being able to answer the questions in a personal way. The three interviews lasted anywhere from 25 minutes to an hour and a half, and were both very similar but also very different with regards to the subject matter. Each interview will be discussed separately with the aim of answering the following sub-question: in how far do the interviewees consider their social media platforms to have micro-political potential?

My first interview was with Leroy Woudstra, the creator of the Facebook page "Indo's Be Like" and thus the cultural producer with the largest following. We met in Dordrecht at a café where the interview lasted for about half an hour. We already messaged each other a few times before the interview, he is the uncle of a secondary school friend of mine and we both grew up in the same small town in the East of the Netherlands. This created a common ground to start from, which kept the interview very casual. Before the official audio recording started, we had already talked for more than half an hour which created a very friendly atmosphere between the both of us. I was especially interested in the story behind Leroy's idea to start Indo's be Like, which centrals the notion of his experience through setting it up and his reasons for doing certain things.

---

[15] Idem, 89.

Micro-politics and digital identity performativity: third generation Indo identities on social media platforms

Amber van Lier

When discussing the importance of expressing Indo culture on an individual level, Leroy mentioned that both his Indo identity as well as his Dutch identity are of equal importance to him. Visually being able to express your identity is not only important to Leroy himself, but also to third generation Indo's according to him. This particular subject arose when I asked him about the specific aspects of third generation Indo culture: Leroy immediately answered "clothing". He stated: "They (third generation Indo's) use it as a sort of fashion statement nowadays. I just notice that the third generation is very much focussed on expressing visually."[16] According to him, social media plays a big part in this, as a digital medium where people post pictures to share with the world. How this expressing through fashion is done is either by incorporating or wearing traditional Indonesian clothing such as batik pieces, or even wearing Indo's Be Like merchandise which is being sold online and at events throughout the Netherlands.[17] I soon learned that he does not believe expressing Indo identity has any political implications at this moment. However, he believes there should be. On his Facebook page, he has since the beginning made attempts to ask political questions by invoking discussions on sensitive subjects such as the Backpay matter, unknown and untold colonial history, personal stories from his followers and more. He has received backlash for doing so from the community as some people do not wish to engage in discussions. This is typical for Indo immigrants and the Dutch term to describe it is "Indisch zwijgen", which refers to Indische taciturnity. It is a well-known phenomenon for second and even third generation Indo's to grow up with their parents' and grandparents' silences, as memories of the colonial past are often shaped by trauma.[18] According to Pamela Pattynama, one of the reasons besides the trauma is the fact that the experiences of Indische immigrants were overshadowed by those of the victims of the Second World War, and the need to reconstruct the Netherlands in this time period.[19]

Leroy believes that third generation Indo's nowadays sometimes miss the depth of understanding certain post-colonial issues which are interwoven with their identity, and how these issues still affect Indo's today. He sees this as the possible political aspect of Indo

---

[16] "…zij doen het als een soort van fashion statement nu. Ik merk gewoon dat de derde generatie heel erg gericht is op het uitdragen, visueel."

[17] Batik is a traditional Indonesian artform in which fabric, usually clothing, is decorated with wax resistant dye to create patterns. These patterns usually consist of tiny dots and sometimes lines.

[18] Pamela Pattynama, "Cultural memory and Indo-Dutch identity formations," in *Post-colonial Immigrants and Identity Formations in the Netherlands,* ed. Ube Bosma (Amsterdam University Press, 2012), 186.

[19] Pattynama, "Cultural memory," 183.

identity, and thus thinks this is lacking in third generation Indo-ness. Learning about our shared colonial history is crucial according to him to truly understand what it means to be Indo. He also pleads for a change in the Dutch educational system, in the way our colonial history is taught nowadays, and emphasises this by remarking: "If we look at education nowadays and they talk about the Dutch East Indies… Then it's about, we had a spice trade."[20]

My second interview was with Lara Nuberg, writer of the blog "Gewoon een Indisch meisje", and we met at her home in Amsterdam. Before meeting her, I had already read through her blog and was pleased to see her writing about some difficult subjects concerning our colonial past, identity issues and racism. When speaking with her, I quickly learned that some of Lara's experiences in her childhood reminded me of my own, which established a relationship of recognition between us. She believes not being able to express your identity will eventually be at the expense of your mental health: "I think it really is at the expense of your inner health, if you, if you cannot be yourself, you've already had to leave a country behind and then you also have to keep the customs and traditions that belong to that very much indoors."[21] However, the problem with expressing Indo identity nowadays is very complicated according to her: "We (third generation) have much more space to be able to express that culture, but because it hasn't been expressed for so long it sometimes feels very fake when you do (…) am I cooking a rijsttafel here because I'm Indisch or because I think I am Indisch and this is just part of it?".[22] Identifying whether this is something that comes from within yourself or whether you impose it on yourself, because you happen to know that your ethnical background makes you Indo, proves to be very difficult.

Like Leroy, Lara shares the opinion that Indo identity nowadays sometimes misses the depth of understanding deep-rooted issues of the identity and origin. She stated "…Then I think that the Indische identity in the Netherlands is being taken very lightly".[23] She strongly wonders whether third generation Indo's know their history and what it really entails. When asked

---

[20] "Als we nu gaan kijken naar het onderwijs en men heeft het over Nederlands-Indië… Dan gaat het over, we hebben een kruidenhandel gehad."

[21] "Ik denk wel dat het heel erg ten koste is gegaan van de innerlijke gezondheid, als je dat, als je niet jezelf kan zijn, je hebt al een land moeten achterlaten en dan moet je ook nog eens de gebruiken en culturen die daarbij horen eigenlijk heel erg binnenshuis houden."

[22] "Wij (derde generatie) hebben nu meer ruimte om die cultuur uit te mogen dragen, maar omdat het zo lang niet is uitgedragen voelt het soms ook heel nep als je dat dan wel doet (…) sta ik hier een rijsttafel te koken omdat ik Indisch ben of omdat ik dan dénk dat ik Indisch ben en het erbij hoort?"

[23] "Dan denk ik dat de Indische identiteit in Nederland heel erg lichtzinnig wordt opgevat."

about the political implications of Indo identity, Lara also firmly stated that "As a mixed child you were not allowed to exist actually, in the past (…) you come forth from politics".[24] She sees us as children of the colony, and once you know and understand the unequal power relations at play in a country that has been colonised, she believes that you cannot close your eyes to that and not recognise the political implications of Indo identity. However, these implications are personal and can differ in each individual: "How I see it is that we eventually, as the Indische community, are all children of the colony, actually, and what that colony entails is something you should find out".[25] She also mentions a politically motivated right wing conservative group called Federatie Indische Nederlanders, which is currently being run by third generation Indo men, who take a radically different approach to Indo identity and how it can be constructed, "They use that Indische background to show that they are Dutch because of that, that they are not migrants, that they are naturalised Dutch citizens who are proud of Dutch values, and of the royal house." Lara admits to being a bit afraid of this movement as she sees it as lacking criticism and being trivialising towards (post)colonialism. However constructed though, she believes there is always a political aspect within Indo identity. This belief also greatly influences the way her blogposts are created, although she tries to find balance between posting about heavier subjects such as racism or colonialism and lighter subjects or anecdotes about her life. Lara admitted that writing about the heavier subjects is the reason she is often invited for panel discussions and events.

The third and last interview was with Armando Ello via Skype, writer of the book *Twijfel Indo* and owner of the blog "Hoezo Indo". Our correspondence before the interview was short, as he quickly agreed to doing the interview, and as we did not actually meet in person I felt somewhat reserved in the beginning of the interview due to not being able to read any body language. However, as the questions and Armando's answers progressed I could feel the passion and animosity with which he spoke, which established a common ground between us. His project "Hoezo Indo" initially started as a search for the meaning of Indo identity within younger people, as Armando himself felt like the recognition and the likeminded Indo's he was searching for online were not represented. Concerning the expression of Indo identity, he believes that expressing it can help to give light to underrepresented perspectives which

---

[24] "Als gemengd kind mocht je gewoon niet bestaan eigenlijk vroeger (…) je komt voort uit politiek."
[25] "Hoe ik ernaar kijk is dat wij uiteindelijk, als Indische gemeenschap, allemaal kinderen van de kolonie zijn, eigenlijk, en wat die kolonie inhoudt dat moet je dan gaan onderzoeken."

makes it very important: "Because of our duality, because we have multiple perspectives in our own family history anyway, we can also endow that on society".[26] Just like Leroy and Lara, Armando has the opinion that the decolonisation discussion in the Netherlands is crucial to our development as a society. He also believes that Indo's, or any ethnic minority in his opinion, should know their history in order to aid in this discussion: "Know your history, because I think that you can then illuminate multiple perspectives and also actually show them".[27]

Armando was also quick to answer my question on the political aspects of Indo-identity, which is the Backpay matter in his opinion.[28] According to him this issue is being dealt with in the political sphere, but is rarely being covered by the media. As he mentioned how Hoezo Indo was created, in a search for the meaning of Indo identity, I connected this search for identity with his comments on the importance of the current decolonisation discussion and the need for not only Indo's but also other Dutch people to know and understand our shared history. There is a clear political aspect in that: decolonisation, postcolonial societies and the power relations still at work after all this time are inherently political as they deal with the structuring and controlling of people's lives. However, Armando does not place much trust in politics. He stated "Eventually we are all politically engaged, everyone is doing it in his or her own way, but I believe in the power of community over politics".[29] Because of his view on politics, he also struggles with doing government subsidised projects. "Because of that I think it would be pretty political if I would, say, ask for subsidy, because then I'll have to alter the description of my project according to what the funds want, and I don't want that".[30] He therefore decided to work with crowdfunding to support Hoezo Indo, to truly know who wants to see the Indo history and stories and who he is creating it for, which motivates him. Armando mentioned another fear which is connected to government subsidy for Indische

---

[26] "Door onze dualiteit, doordat wij sowieso meerdere perspectieven hebben in ons eigen familieverhaal, kunnen wij dat ook meegeven aan de maatschappij."
[27] "Ken je geschiedenis, want ik denk dat je dan ook meerdere perspectieven kan belichten en kan laten zien ook."
[28] The Backpay matter is the ongoing conflict concerning the payment of civil servants and soldiers in the Dutch-Indies from 1942-1945, which left many Indo migrants in poor financial positions after coming to the Netherlands. It is a very intricate problem which I will not be explaining fully here, but *Indische Rekening: Indië, Nederland en de Backpay-kwestie 1945-2005* by Hans Meijer is a very good source on this issue.
[29] "Uiteindelijk zijn we allemaal politiek bezig, iedereen is daarmee bezig op zijn of haar manier, maar ik geloof meer in de kracht van community."
[30] "Daarom vind ik het ook best wel politiek als ik zeg maar subsidie ga vragen, want dan moet ik namelijk de omschrijving van mijn project schrijven naar wat de fondsen willen, en ik wil dat niet."

projects: "Small funds have been released for the Indische gemeenschap to show their recognition, and the Backpay matter doesn't agree with that at all, because they think that the politics will present it as, okay, you've had your recognition now", which in their opinion may lead to the suspension of the payments that the Dutch government still owns. Armando believes it is possible to have both, and thinks it is regrettable that the Backpay matter holds this opinion.[31]

When discussing the possible micro-political potential of his platform and whether it influences him in his decision making concerning the subjects he writes about, Armando stated "then I'm just going down the road again of divide and conquer, letting such discussions flare up. And then I think, Hoezo Indo represents one thing, and that is creating awareness concerning your own family story, I also wrote "discover your story", it's only about you and your story".[32] He thus tries not to let politics interfere in the way he creates and constructs his blog. However, his eventual wish speaks volumes on the possible potential of his platform: "Eventually I want that every family history becomes the national history, and then there might be a political common ground, that we are actually going to see that part in education (…) and not only in the Netherlands, but also in Indonesia".[33] So although he may not consciously be using the full political potential of his blog at the moment, it covertly exists without a doubt.

After having conducted all the interviews I noticed that a few subjects kept re-surfacing, which were all beliefs or thoughts the interviewees' seemed to have in common. The first is the fluidity of Indo identity. There is no unambiguous answer to what being third generation Indo actually entails, although there are a few pillars on which that identity is possibly built which were mentioned by both Armando and Lara: Indische traditions or customs that are still

---

[31] "Er zijn wel potjes vrijgekomen voor de Indische gemeenschap om die erkenning juist meer te laten zien en daar is de Backpay-kwestie het helemaal niet mee eens, want die vinden van, dat de politiek zich afdoet van, okee, nu hebben jullie je erkenning wel gehad."

[32] "Want dan ben ik juist weer bezig met verdeel en heers, die discussies laten oplaaien. En ik denk van, Hoezo Indo staat eigenlijk voor één ding, en dat is bewust worden van je eigen familieverhaal, ik heb er ook staan "discover your story", het gaat alleen maar om jou en jouw verhaal."

[33] "Uiteindelijk wil ik eigenlijk dat iedere familie geschiedenis de nationale geschiedenis gaat worden, en dan heb je misschien een politiek raakvlak, dat we dus eigenlijk dat deel terugzien in educatie (…) en niet alleen in Nederland, maar ook in Indonesië."

alive within families, commemoration, parting or saying goodbye and a sense of sadness for what has been left behind, wanting to go to Indonesia, and decolonisation.[34]

Only one aspect was mentioned by all three cultural producers, which is the seeming ignorance towards Indo history displayed by the third generation. The interviewees fear that taking this identity lightly not only results in Indo's not truly knowing what their heritage means but also in third generation Indo's not being able to aid in postcolonial discussions, thereby effectively erasing part of the Indische identity if the postcolonial implications are not discussed anymore and forgotten. Because of the many possible interpretations of the identity pillars mentioned above and the complex nature of the question whether third generation Indo's know their history or not, it becomes clear that Indo identity can be considered fluid. It depends not only on the person adopting it or identifying with it, but also on geographical location. Armando mentioned that the concept Indo is not well known in Indonesia, and among those who do know it, it is seen as an aspiration as being Indo means you would be partially white. He stated "Indonesia now doesn't really know what Indo's are and where they're from, and Indonesians really try to present themselves as Indo, they almost adore being Indo, because they obviously want to be mixed as well, and they want to have a white skin as well".[35] Depending on the geographical location, being Indo can thus be seen as either being white, such as in Indonesia, or being non-white, such as in the Netherlands. Indo identity can then be seen through the lens of translocation positionality, a concept coined by Floya Anthias, who considers issues of identity as follows:

> The concept of translocational positionality addresses issues of identity in terms of locations which are not fixed but are context, meaning and time related and which therefore involve shifts and contradictions. As an intersectional frame it moves away from the idea of given 'groups' or 'categories' of gender, ethnicity and class, which then intersect (a particular concern of some intersectionality frameworks), and instead pays much more attention to social locations and processes which are broader than those signalled by this.[36]

---

[34] The commemoration here specifically refers to August 15, also known as the Indiëherdenking. All victims of the Japanese occupation in the Dutch-Indies are commemorated that day.

[35] "Indonesië nu weet niet zo goed wat Indo's zijn en waar ze vandaan komen, en Indonesiërs proberen zich juist heel erg te profileren als Indo, zij adoreren bijna het Indo zijn, omdat ze namelijk ook gemixt willen zijn, ook een witte huid willen hebben."

[36] Anthias, "Thinking through the lens," 5.

Micro-politics and digital identity performativity: third generation Indo identities on social media platforms

Amber van Lier

Seeing identity as a process rather than a set of possessive traits lessens the emphasis and pressure on needing to be able to know who you are, as it is not always that simple. Indo identity demonstrates this clearly: all three cultural producers, when asked how they would identify themselves, gave the answer "Indisch" or "Indische Nederlanders", thereby effectively labelling themselves. However, when asked what being Indisch or Indo means to them, they all struggled to find the correct wording to express it. This elusive and fluid definition of Indo identity shows that it is highly personal, context and time related, and thus translocational as Anthias states.

All three cultural producers, in one way or the other, discussed the postcolonial aspects still affecting Indo identity today. Whether those aspects are well-known and discussed within the community, or whether they exist in a more covert way and should be made known, they all agree that Indo's nowadays should know the depth of their identity and the postcolonial structures upholding and shaping it in the Netherlands. The shared history between Indonesia and the Netherlands is being withheld from numerous areas in society: in the educational sphere, the political sphere and the private sphere. Ube Bosma also wondered why there is no postcolonial debate in the Netherlands, compared to other neighbouring countries around us such as the United Kingdom and France. He refers to this absence of a postcolonial debate as a missing of moral indignation: there is no sense of continuity with the colonial past.[37] I will not go into the reasons for this absence in my thesis, Ube Bosma's text provides a clear explanation on that issue, but the consequences of this absence are clearly felt in all aspects of Dutch society. When it comes to Indo identity, this may be part of the reason why third generation Indo's seemingly take their identity and its postcolonial implications so lightly: they simply lack the knowledge needed to construct a full, clear picture of what it means to be Indo. Most of us learned little about our identities through family, as it was often a taboo subject which was to be avoided. As mentioned before, memories of the colonial past are often shaped by trauma, and most first-generation Indo's who came to the Netherlands underwent an extreme forced assimilation, which resulted in the watering down and loss of many cultural aspects. The Dutch government led an intensive campaign with the aim of resocialising and assimilating Indo's after their arrival in the 1950's.[38] Having completed this

---

[37] Ube Bosma, "Why is there no post-colonial debate in the Netherlands?," in *Post-colonial Immigrants and Identity Formations in the Netherlands* (Amsterdam University Press, 2012), 193.
[38] Pattynama, "Assimilation and Masquerade," 283.

process successfully in the eyes of the Dutch government, Indo's were even considered the "truly invisible immigrants", which set the norm for other postcolonial immigrants, if not all immigrants, in Dutch society according to Bosma.[39] Along with this extreme assimilation, most of the shared memories concerning the oppression in the Dutch-Indies carried by the first generation were lost. However, there has been some debate on the degree of assimilation and loss of cultural aspects: in her research on Indo formation in Indo-Dutch women, Pattynama pleaded for the usage of the term "masquerading" instead of the more traditionally used "assimilation", as she believes it provides a better insight into the formation of this identity as something that is constantly renegotiated.[40] According to her, the theory of assimilation is not only limited but even colonising in a way, as it allows for just two fixed positions: outsider and insider.[41] To achieve the status of insider, one would have to forget and stop practising their original culture and eventually become 'Dutch'. She rejects this theory as she rather sees individuals as subjects making complex decisions concerning their individual identity formation, as opposed to passive objects undergoing the workings of social structures.[42]

When considering this, it becomes easier to uncover practices of masquerading which can then be identified as such by other Indo's, establishing a collective identity based on how well one is seemingly integrated into Dutch society, while covertly still enacting part of one's postcolonial identity. This then connects to Anthias' concept of translocational positionality: it is a clear example of the way identity is not fixed, but can be contradictory, renegotiable, and dependent on a context and time in which the open expression of Indo identity was not accepted. She states that processes identifiable as translocational "not only affect people who are themselves directly 'on the move' but also the locales in which they settle, converting them to translocational spaces, thereby affecting in different ways all who live within these spaces".[43] This is similar to the way masquerading has the power to affect Dutch society: first of all, the model of masquerading insists on the relational nature of identity and difference and is seen as a language or strategy which enables the speaker to posit themselves as the subject of their own story, it is an identification that can either be discarded, appropriated or

---

[39] Bosma, "Why is there no post-colonial debate," 201.
[40] Pattynama, "Assimilation and Masquerade," 282-283.
[41] Idem, 287.
[42] Idem, 286.
[43] Anthias, "Thinking through the lens," 6.

adopted.[44] Secondly, as masquerading is used by Indo's to retake subjecthood, their 'mixed' existence in the Netherlands actually undermines the established dichotomy of 'we', white Dutch people, and 'they', Indo's, which essentially has altered the meaning of being Dutch.[45] Both translocational positionality and masquerading thus significantly alter the spaces in which they operate.

How Indo's historically have chosen to posit themselves in Dutch society, the way they enact their identity, and the degree to which they make use of masquerading, is rarely talked about among family. Because of this, many third generation Indo's have little to go on except for the Indo oriented social media they engage with and the Indische peers they hang out with. This in part explains the current lack of post-colonial awareness, although many other complex factors play a role in this as well. As time progresses, the process of masquerading by older generations is not recognised by younger generations anymore, leading to a possible misreading of the subtle appropriations of Dutch culture and customs while covertly still enacting Indo subjecthood. This also has an effect on the way social media is being used by the third generation today, which I will explain in-depth later on.

Going back to the interviews, all three cultural producers believe in the possibility of their platform having micro-political potential, which became clear when talking with them. However, each individual uses their personal platform differently and not always to its full potential political extent. Interestingly, Armando spoke at great length of the postcolonial implications of Indo identity and thus the contemporary political implications, more so than Lara and Leroy, but he was the only one who said he would not let political issues influence the way he constructs his platform at this point. Connecting this to the first sub-question, it can be concluded that all cultural producers believe their platforms to possess political potential, but whether they use it as such or not is a personal choice. Before answering this question in-depth, it is important to mention that Koen Leurs, in writing about digital identification and micro-politics, stated that "identifications performed on digital media platforms are tangible results of micro-political action. Action refers here to the performative power involved in being able to articulate identity alignments, for example, within, across or against axes of ethnicity, class, gender and religion", and that he sees the construction of

---

[44] Pattynama, "Assimilation and Masquerade," 293-294.
[45] Idem, 295.

identities and differences as something performative which he calls "digital identity performativity".[46] I agree with him on this point, and will thus consider digital identity construction as a micro-political act. During the interviews I chose not to explain this particular concept, as I did not want to push my own research question in favour of generating data that simply supports my hypothesis. The result of this is that Lara was the only one who shared my view on micro-politics and identity during the politically oriented questions, whereas Leroy and Armando both understood those questions to mean the political sphere in the Netherlands. I make this point to illustrate the differences in our thought processes and to make the intention of this sub-question clear: what matters here is whether the interviewees' themselves believe their platforms to have micro-political potential, not whether I believe so. My personal findings on this will be substantiated in the next chapter on the analysis of the social media platforms.
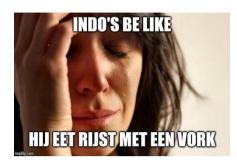
As mentioned before, all three of the cultural producers not only spoke of the postcolonial aspects of Indo identity and their importance, they also agreed on the fact that their platforms could potentially have micro-political potential. Leroy has used his Facebook page to cautiously discuss the Backpay matter and untold colonial history, Lara believes that Indo's in fact come forth from politics due to their identity and tries to find a balance between political and postcolonial subjects and light-hearted anecdotes in her blogposts, and Armando currently tries not to let politics interfere in the way his blog is constructed but acknowledges the political potential of the stories he shares with his readers and their potential influence on future Dutch and Indonesian education. It can be concluded that both Lara and Leroy are aware of and have used the political potential of their platforms for various purposes, whereas Armando consciously chooses not to let politics interfere. In the next chapter, I will analyse and elaborate on what I think constitutes the micro-political potential of all three platforms and how this is already being used when you look at the type of content being posted by the cultural producers.

---

[46] Leurs, "Introduction," 27-28.

Micro-politics and digital identity performativity: third generation Indo identities on social media platforms

Amber van Lier

Analysis of the three social media platforms

In this chapter I will look at the three social media platforms owned by the cultural producers,

to determine which axes of differentiation are visible in the cultural products created by them on their platforms, in order to answer the second sub-question. First, I will identify categories of 'most posted' cultural products individually per page, after which I will analyse the specific axes of differentiation which are visible in those categories. Starting with the Facebook page "Indo's Be Like", which was created in 2014, the platform has now gathered over 70.000 followers and is the biggest official online Indo community in the world. The founder of the page is Leroy Woudstra. What can be noticed right away when merely scrolling through the platform is the abundant use of memes to convey ideas about Indo identity. The majority of these memes have food as their subject, conveying pictures of either specific foods that are familiar to Indo's, or of a typical Indo way in which certain foods are prepared. Food in general is a common subject and a way of identification within ethnic minority groups, especially diaspora groups. In her text "The Colonial Table: Food, Culture and Dutch Identity in Colonial Indonesia", Susie Protschky argues that typical Indo foods which still hold importance and are well known throughout the community today have come into existence as a result of centuries of intermarriage between Dutch and Javanese people, creating a hybrid culture consisting of a blend of European and Asian traditions.[47] The most important and indeed famous one is the "rijsttafel", which is still being eaten by Indo families everywhere, including my own.[48] Often these memes are also used to joke about non-Indo people misinterpreting certain cultural Indo practices or adopting Indo manners in a non-traditional way, such as eating rice with a fork or cooking Indo food by using pre-made spice packages.[49]

---

[47] Susie Protschky, "The Colonial Table: Food, Culture and Dutch Identity in Colonial Indonesia," *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, vol. 54, no. 3 (2008): 347.
[48] Rijsttafel literally translates to "rice table", and it consists of numerous labour-intensive side dishes with rice as the main dish.
[49] Translation of the memes on the left: "Indo's be like he eats rice with a fork" and "when belanda's (white Dutch people) say that their mothers also cook delicious Indonesian food with Conimex (a Dutch brand of pre-made spice packages)".

Micro-politics and digital identity performativity: third generation Indo identities on social media platforms

Amber van Lier

This is an example of the way Indo's identify themselves with people belonging to the same ethnic group, while distancing themselves from people not fitting into that category: in this example, notably, white Dutch people. To specify the group they are distancing themselves from, an Indonesian word is sometimes used to refer to white Dutch people: belanda. It is a common word used among Indo's to make a distinction between themselves and other Dutch people. This usage of and the creation of an 'us' and 'them' divide marks the boundaries between the two groups and strengthens the feeling of unity among the group creating the divide. In these memes, a few specific axes of differentiation are visible: ethnicity, culture, non-whiteness, and age. Ethnicity is most visible in all memes that identify a specific Indo trait. Culture is visible in memes that identify a specific Indo practice. Non-whiteness is visible in the way memes are used to distance Indo's from white Dutch people and the usage of the word belanda, by joking about Dutch people's ignorance to cultural practices which are not considered ethnically Dutch. I have decided to identify and use the axe of non-whiteness because a part of the visible physical Indo traits can be having a darker skin tone, which can range from beige to dark brown. My grandmother sometimes used to recount stories of the racism she experienced when she came to the Netherlands because of her skin tone, which is something many Indo's have experienced and which is a typical part of their history in the Netherlands. This in turn shapes Indo identity and the way Indo's regard their skin tone with the realisation that they are not white, which is why I will be mentioning this as a separate category from here on. Age is visible not only in the practice of using memes in general, which is something mostly done by young internet users, but also in memes which specifically speak to a younger audience, such as memes following the latest internet trends in terms of humour. The second most posted subject on the Facebook page is announcements concerning events catered to Indo's, such as pasar malam in cities all over the country.[50] These posts usually serve as an incitement for people to come visit the "Indo's Be Like" stand on those events, to connect and meet with fellow Indo's. By posting these in a Facebook group specifically catering to Indo's, the invited group is clearly demarcated. By clearly defining the target group as Indo's and using Indonesian phrases to market these events, two specific axes of differentiation strongly come forward: ethnicity and culture. The third most frequent posts are sales post for "Indo's Be Like" merchandise. The founder of the Facebook

---

[50] The literal translation of pasar malam is "night market", and these events usually involve street food stalls, performances by Indo musicians, cooking shows, and traditional Indonesian performances in the form of theatre and dance.

page simultaneously opened a merchandise shop where people can purchase sweaters, shirts and caps with prints that show that the wearer of the items is Indo. The merchandise is especially popular among the younger generations, notably the third and the fourth. Items include imprints of an Indonesian jasmine, a traditional image of a barong or wayang kulit, or simply the phrase "Indo", indicating the wearer's affinity and connection with Indo culture.[51] The usage of these images and the popularity of the merchandise among youth brings forth a number of axes of differentiation which are visible in these posts: culture, ethnicity and age. Lastly, there are occasional posts concerning more serious topics, such as two recent posts covering the Indiëherdenking on August 15. In these posts, the emphasis is on generational conflict, war trauma, and commemoration. The axe of culture here comes forward in the fact that an Indonesian jasmine is used as a symbol to signify this particular commemoration. Ethnicity is visible through the recognition and acknowledgement on this particular day for the Indische victims that fell during the Japanese occupation of Indonesia, as many Indo's feel that the prevailing National day of Commemoration of the Dead, which is May 4 in the Netherlands, does not take Indische victims into account. The last visible axe of differentiation is age or even generation, because of the many references to generations before us who have lived through this period, our grandfathers and grandmothers, or even great-grandfathers and great-grandmothers.

The "Indo's Be Like" page largely operates as a platform where Indo's specifically are given an opportunity to connect with other Indo's and experience a feeling of belonging to that group. The posts on the page are mostly centred around identification, and identification takes place through common shared traits and practices such as food, appearance, language and post-colonial practices and traditions that are a result of the centuries of intermarriage between Dutch and Indonesian people. The specific traditions and practices that emerged out of this long relationship between two ethnic groups have resulted in multiple recognisable shared traits, which can easily be narrowed down into, for example, memes that connect Indo's nowadays. The intersection of the axes of ethnicity, culture, age, non-whiteness and

---

[51] See the website for examples: https://indosbelike.nl/Dames#filter:30606280ad8370acc49ff31952caea6a. Barong is the name of a character from Balinese mythology, he is the king of the spirits and represents goodness. Wayang kulit literally translates to leather or skin puppet, they are traditionally handmade and used in puppet shows.

generation creates a highly specific page where Indo's share light-hearted jokes, experience identification and are able to express their Indo identity through clothing and events.

The blog "Gewoon een Indisch meisje", written by Lara Nuberg, takes a very different approach compared to the Facebook page. Her blogposts mainly consist of text, with the occasional accompanied photograph. The subjects she writes about concern a variety of topics, all in some way related to being Indo. She most frequently posts anecdotes about her daily life, or blogs on the Indische colonial history. Several axes of differentiation intersect in these particular posts: gender, as she talks about her experiences from her female standpoint, ethnicity, as she discusses how her Indo identity influences her, whiteness, or specifically non-whiteness being a brown woman, culture, as Indo culture comes forth from colonialism, and generation, which is visible in Lara's many comparisons of Indo generations with each other. Examples of non-whiteness on Lara's blog are when she mentions her skin colour in comparing herself to the personification of Indonesia as a country: "I have her skin colour, her hair colour, the colour of her eyes," or when she refers to herself as "brown girl."[52] [53] The second most posted subject concerns Indische traits which may or may not be recognisable to her readers. Three axes of differentiation are visible in these posts: ethnicity and culture, which are visible in the way she speaks of the consciousness towards her own physical appearance and the traditions or practices she grew up with, and gender, as Lara specifically discusses traits that she herself possesses as a woman. The third most posted subject are her blogs on identity in general and how migrant children in the Netherlands sometimes struggle with expressing or understanding their identity and heritage. The most visible axes in these posts are ethnicity and culture, but generation also plays a role. Ethnicity and culture come forth in a similar way as in her posts on Indische traits: there is a certain consciousness that many Indo's have concerning their upbringing and it being different than that of white Dutch children in terms of cultural practices and the way they look. Generation in these posts is visible in the way Lara discusses the mindset of the current third and sometimes fourth generation, as they seem to be out of touch with their cultural heritage and the history behind their identity. Lastly, the fourth most frequent posts are travelblogs in which she writes about travelling in Indonesia. These may discuss the places that she has visited but also her

---

[52] "Ik heb haar huidskleur, haar haarkleur, de kleur van haar ogen." "Bruin meisje," Gewoon een Indisch Meisje, accessed September 9, 2019, https://www.gewooneenindischmeisje.nl/blog/2019/7/1/ibu-indonesia-ik-ben-terug.
[53] "Bruin meisje." "(Indisch?) Ongemak over een hondendrol," Gewoon een Indisch Meisje, accessed September 9, 2019, https://www.gewooneenindischmeisje.nl/blog/2019/6/15/indisch-ongemak-over-een-hondendrol.

experiences as an Indo in Indonesia. The axes of differentiation present in these posts are thus ethnicity and culture but also generation, as she often compares her contemporary experiences with the experiences of previous generations. An example of these three axes intersecting occurs when she refers to Indonesia as her "(great)-motherland", and addresses her as "Ibu Indonesia".[54]

Lara's blog mostly operates as a platform where she writes down her thoughts and where she presents her findings on issues which are important, but which do not fit into the book she is writing at the moment. In order to still be able to share this with the world, she writes about them online. The intersection of the axes of ethnicity, gender, culture, generation and (non)whiteness create a digital platform that almost seems like a diary: the personalised, digital diary of a third generation Indo woman.

Lastly, Armando's blog "Hoezo Indo" takes yet another different approach compared to the two other platforms. His decision to create his book called *Twijfel Indo* has led him to photograph and interview numerous Indo people over the past seven years, to ask them about their roots and how being Indisch is still a part of their lives and identity. Due to his type of work, the main page of his blog consists primarily of portraits and excerpts from his interviews with the portrayed people. These people all tell the highly personal and individual stories of the connection with their Indo roots, which results in a blog page filled with uniquely personal histories. Due to this gathering of distinct stories, many axes of differentiation intersect within them: ethnicity, culture, gender, age, generation, and non-whiteness. Ethnicity is mostly visible in people talking about their physical features, whereas culture is visible in the recounting of typical Indo traditions in people's families and the way their identity impacts their everyday life. Some interviewees plead for the importance of showing your ethnicity and culture through your everyday identity: "You should always stand behind your lineage and propagate it".[55] Gender, age and generation are highly visible in the identities of the speakers: all of them seem to identify as either female or male, and together with their age and the generation they belong to these three axes greatly influence their

---

[54] "Ibu Indonesia, ik ben terug!," Gewoon een Indisch Meisje, accessed September 10, 2019, https://www.gewooneenindischmeisje.nl/blog/2019/7/1/ibu-indonesia-ik-ben-terug. "Ibu" means mother in Indonesian.
[55] "Je moet altijd achter je komaf staan en deze uitdragen". Hoezo Indo, accessed September 12, 2019, https://hoezoindo.nl/ik-praat-heel-veel-over-mijn-roots-je-roots-zijn-gewoon-heel-belangrijk-je-moet-altijd-achter-je-komaf-staan-en-deze-uitdragen-wouter-neuhaus/.

Micro-politics and digital identity performativity: third generation Indo identities on social media platforms

Amber van Lier

personal perception of their Indo identity. Lastly, the axe of non-whiteness seems to be present on Armando's platform as well. Some of those who are portrayed on the blog page specifically talk about their skin colour and the realisation that they are not white like many of their peers, but rather brown. Some even mention their need to correct others when they are assumed to be white, as being white-passing does not diminish the fact that they are still Indisch: "When they claim I am a Dutch person with a Dutch passport and a white skin, I say 'No, Indisch!'".[56] Others mention the fact that they were bullied as children because they were perceived as "the black one", or "coloured" one.[57]

Armando's blog operates, similar to Leroy's Facebook page, as a platform of identification. The importance and prominent presence of the portraits of Indo's emphasises physical appearance, and thus recognition and identification through looking similar to people in these portraits for visitors of the blog. Armando solely focusses on mapping individual people's histories, to create a digital space where Indo's are heard and acknowledged. The intersection of the axes of ethnicity, culture, gender, age, generation and (non)whiteness create a platform with historic competencies where stories are preserved in an archive of individual, personal Indo histories.

Now that all visible axes of differentiation which intersect in the posts on these three platforms have been identified and discussed, it must be considered what they say about third generation Indo identity in a broader sense. These axes are the pillars on which digital identification by Indo's on these platforms is built, this is how they choose to perform identity online and what they identify themselves with. It thus provides a window on everyday micro-politics: "Online, identity performativity often becomes an explicit manifestation of the politics of relation, as connections within, across and against we-ness and otherness are published in the form of tweets, status updates and nicknames", according to Leurs.[58] Especially the connections of we-ness and otherness are highly visible on all platforms, as specific Indo traits and practices are used to establish a common ground, to unify Indo's and distance them from non-Indo Dutch people, clearly marking a boundary between the two

---

[56] "Als ze beweren dat ik een Nederlander ben met een Nederlands paspoort en een blanke huid, dan zeg ik 'Nee, Indisch!'". Hoezo Indo, accessed September 8, 2019, https://hoezoindo.nl/als-ze-beweren-dat-ik-een-nederlander-ben-met-een-nederlands-paspoort-en-blanke-huid-dan-zeg-ik-nee-indisch/.

[57] "De zwarte," "kleurling". Hoezo Indo, accessed September 10, 2019, https://hoezoindo.nl/toen-ik-klein-was-moest-ik-altijd-een-riedeltje-opzeggen-tingelingeling-daar-gaat-de-bel-pakundur-gaat-naar-de-hel-amy-jacobsz-tombokan/.

[58] Leurs, "Introduction," 29-30.

groups. Interestingly, whereas Leurs in his research found that Moroccan-Dutch youth appropriate the medium-specific particularities of Internet forums to shape a representation of themselves which counters the negative representation of this ethnic group in mainstream media, third generation Indo's use it to construct their identities by emphasising ethnicity, culture and non-whiteness, to differentiate themselves from other Dutch people.[59] Similar to Leurs' research, I found that focussing on how ethnicity is renegotiated on the three platforms made me observe the dynamics of "digital multiculturalism" on forums.[60] Online platforms function not only as a possibility of ethnic re-positioning, but also as "a comfort zone to negotiate ethnic identities and to say what cannot be said in the mainstream public sphere", according to Koen Leurs, Eva Midden and Sandra Ponzanesi.[61] Online platforms used by Indo's give way for them to openly engage with and identify themselves with other Indo's and thus a specific ethnic group, thereby notably distancing themselves from white Dutch people. It is a redefinition of their ethnic identity, which enables us to rethink Dutch multiculturalism by "analysing how these young people acquire their own positions and establish counter discourses", much like Leurs, Midden and Ponzanesi did in their research.[62] There seems to be a need for these platforms as they are popular and frequently visited with around 70.000 followers, and they further feelings of belonging to a certain community. People share ethnic experiences and thereby construct identities that go against the mainstream Dutch identity, which I will elaborate upon later. Just like Moroccan-Dutch youth, Indo's acquire positions whereby they place themselves at the intersection of Dutchness and Indo-ness, and "going against many voices in mainstream media, they do not want to be pressed to choose between aspects of their identity, but recreate them into new combinations instead".[63]

Online platforms have the ability of giving users a chance to speak for themselves, instead of them having to be subjected to being spoken for over and over again on various culturally hegemonic mainstream media, and by doing this they engage in ideological struggles through discursive contestation, according to Leurs.[64] Platforms such as the three that have been analysed here thus not only work as a space where users can shape a certain representation of

---

[59] Leurs, "Voices from the margins on Internet forums," 104.
[60] Idem, 104.
[61] Koen Leurs, Eva Midden, and Sandra Ponzanesi, "Digital multiculturalism in the Netherlands: religious, ethnic and gender positioning by Moroccan-Dutch youth," *Religion & Gender*, vol. 2. No 1 (2012): 168.
[62] Leurs, Midden and Ponzanesi, "Digital multiculturalism," 153.
[63] Idem, 172-173.
[64] Leurs, "Voices from the margins on Internet forums," 119.

themselves, but this process of digital identity performativity also acknowledges cultural differences within a society. The intersecting axes of differentiation that have been observed in the posts on the platforms can be deconstructed to see whether they perpetuate and/or contest hierarchical power relations across these digital spaces.[65] As we have seen, many Indo's explicitly identify as an ethnic minority, sometimes even as non-white even though they may be white-passing. Leurs, Midden and Ponzanesi state that mainstream "Dutchness" is constructed upon the idea of whiteness, maleness and Christianity, and the terminology of "'autochthonous' (read white) people versus 'allochthonous' (read black, migrant, refugee) people, steadily maintained by Dutch politicians, government officials and mainstream news outlets, is fraught with meaning as an exclusionary practice".[66] The terminology was changed in 2016 to "person with a migration background", but the connotation of the term has not disappeared.[67] Before 2016, one was officially still allochthonous when one belonged to a second generation ethnic minority, even if you yourself had been born in the Netherlands. Interestingly, because of Indo's being the so-called 'model minority' and 'truly invisible immigrants' due to their extreme assimilation and masquerading upon arriving in the Netherlands as I mentioned before, many Indo's and the subsequent generations are not seen as allochthonous or even persons with a migration background anymore, even though they are by law. Not fitting within the mainstream Dutch identity makes one the Other, and Indo identity in the case of the three analysed platforms, constructed upon non-whiteness and ethnic- and cultural differences compared to white Dutch people, is consciously going against the hegemonic Dutch identity. It can therefore be seen as a counter movement, a reclaiming of space and a subtraction from a culture which is predominantly white and racist. This is an example of the "micro-politics of power subversion", as Leurs calls it.[68] This stands in connection to the earlier mentioned concepts of masquerading and translocational positionality: covertly enacting part of one's postcolonial identity on digital platforms, an identity which is not fixed but contradictory, renegotiable and dependent on time and context. In the case of Indo identity, digital platforms create a space where Indo's can perform an identity which contests hierarchical power relations. The existence of this process already indicates asymmetrical relations of power, as Indo's apparently feel the need to re-construct

---

[65] Leurs, "Methodological Trajectory," 100.
[66] Leurs, Midden, Ponzanesi, "Digital multiculturalism," 156.
[67] "Wat verstaat het CBS onder een allochtoon?," CBS, accessed September 10, 2019, https://www.cbs.nl/nl-nl/faq/specifiek/wat-verstaat-het-cbs-onder-een-allochtoon-.
[68] Leurs, "Methodological Trajectory," 100.

their identity against the norm as "the fabric of their everyday life is woven from a dynamics of exclusion and inclusion".[69] They do not feel excluded for being a minority in Dutch society, as Indo's are rarely seen as such, but they feel excluded from the right to their own ethnic identity that goes against dominant forms of Dutchness. Michel Foucault argues that power is a "productive network", meaning that it not only weighs on people as a force, but that it produces things, forms knowledge and produces discourse.[70] According to him, power also has a performative character, as it only exists when it is put into action. It operates in two ways: people are "subject to someone else by control and dependence", but also struggle to realise their "own identity", and that struggle in turn is aimed against "forms of domination (ethnic, social, and religious)".[71] The performative character of digital identification contesting hierarchical power relations among Indo's on the three platforms I have analysed is thus an example of the productive competency of power: identities and discourses subverting hegemonic, white Dutch identity are created and enacted in these digital spaces. In the next chapter, I will build on this by analysing the relationship between the interviewees' opinions on the micro-political potential of their platforms, and the way users navigate and potentially make use of these platforms.

Relationship between interviewees' opinions and their cultural platforms

Now that the platforms and the accompanying cultural products have been analysed, I will discuss the relationship between the interviewees' opinions on the micro-political potential of their platform, and the way their platforms are perceived through the lens of my own social media analysis. In order to answer the final sub-question, the interviewees' opinions will be compared with the findings of my analysis, to analyse to what extent they are comparable or different from each other. Leroy explained in our interview that he recognises and acknowledges the micro-political potential of the "Indo's Be Like" Facebook page, and that he has even used in the past to touch upon certain sensitive subjects among the Indo community. The platform itself gives users a chance to perform and engage with Indo identity

---

[69] Leurs, Midden and Ponzanesi, "Digital multiculturalism," 171.
[70] Michel Foucault, "Truth and Power," in *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings 1972-1977* (Pantheon Books, 1980), 119.
[71] Michel Foucault, "The Confession of the Flesh," in *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings 1972-1977* (Pantheon Books, 1980), 212.

Micro-politics and digital identity performativity: third generation Indo identities on social media platforms

Amber van Lier

in a light-hearted manner by using humour and typically recognisable aspects of Indo identity, such as cultural practices concerning food and characteristics, to create a feeling of belonging and to strengthen the feeling of unity among users. Some, such as Lara and myself, fear that this light-heartedness can potentially take away from the depth and complexity of Indo identity, making it even more difficult for third generation Indo's to truly understand their heritage and history when only interacting with this platform. As Ube Bosma states, "the legacy of the Indo-Dutch, mestizo culture, in particular, has become a commodity, an ethnic top trademark. And while it is commercially attractive, its 'exotic' alterity makes it harmless as it does not question, but reinforces, the distinction between 'non-Western' and 'Western'".[72] The usage of specific markers of identity in Facebook posts such as ethnicity, culture, non-whiteness and language to exclude certain groups indeed reinforces the distinction between, in this case, Indo and non-Indo. "Indo's Be Like" has by far the most followers out of all the Indische platforms, and has gathered these in an explosively short time. As Indo's have for decades been the model minority who tended to stay away from politically tinged debates, it is easy to see why a light-hearted and humorous platform is so popular. The perceived ignorance on the third generation's part, noticed by Leroy, Lara and Armando, can thus in part be explained by the fact that young Indo's may not feel the pressure to get involved in debates and political subjects concerning their heritage. However, what "Indo's Be Like" by the usage of memes, event announcements, merchandise posts and commemoration posts creates is a specific, relatable Indo identity, accessible for all. The intersection of ethnicity, culture, non-whiteness, age and generation on this page creates a highly specific way in which Indo identity is performed in a digital way.

When interviewing Lara, she explained how she understands and acknowledges the micro-political potential of her blog "Gewoon een Indisch Meisje" very well. She uses this potential to write blog posts about subjects that are conventionally seen as more difficult to talk about, such as racial issues and the ongoing tangible power structures of postcolonialism which affect everyday life for Indo's in the Netherlands. This led to the creation of a digital diary where other Indo's can experience a sense of recognition and compare themselves to her. Important to mention is the fact that Lara's experiences which she discusses on her blog are highly gendered, as she is a woman of colour. This makes them especially relatable for other

---

[72] Bosma, "Why is there no postcolonial debate," 209.

Micro-politics and digital identity performativity: third generation Indo identities on social media platforms

Amber van Lier

(Indo)women of colour. What her blog creates with posts on subjects such as anecdotes, Indische traits, identity, and travelblogs, is a highly personalised Indo identity which is performed by Lara herself. Her blog acts as a mirror for some and enables those to feel acknowledged and included. Lara's performing of Indo identity is comprised of the intersection of gender, ethnicity, culture, non-whiteness and generation and can be seen as a personal statement on how Indo identity can be performed digitally.

Armando on the other hand was the only one out of the three cultural producers who, during the interview, admitted to acknowledging the micro-political potential of his blog "Hoezo Indo", but consciously choosing not to let it influence the way he constructs his blog and the subjects he writes about. Interestingly, however, the people he has interviewed have used those interviews to perform highly individual and specific identities, often politically coloured in terms of issues with racism and identifying as an ethnic minority for example. By posting these interviews on the blog, it becomes a platform which advocates for the many different forms of Indo identity and the ways in which it can be performed. The intersection of this plethora of axes of difference creates a very unique experience for readers: it shows the multitude of existing Indo identities and thus has the ability to give almost anyone the feeling of recognition and being included.

Apparently there is a need for digital spaces where Indo's can unapologetically perform their ethnic identities. Even if the creator of that space did not intend to use it in a political way, users find ways to enact micro-politics of power subversion, thereby creating a counter movement which goes against the hegemonic European or Dutch identity. In 2007, Lisa Nakamura wrote the book *Digitizing Race: Visual Cultures of the Internet,* in which she focusses on ways in which Internet users produce digital images of the body, in the context of racial and gender formation. She states that it is "crucial that scholarship asses these practices to evaluate the Internet as a popular environment for representations of identity", and "to examine users in their embodied subject position, modes of production".[73] Interestingly, while initial rhetoric around the Internet involved strong ideas on colour-blindness and non-discrimination in the digital world, it has eventually evolved into a space pre-eminently representing different identities by the hand of its users.[74] Identification on these platforms, in

---

[73] Lisa Nakamura, "Introduction," in *Digitizing Race: Visual Cultures of the Internet* (University of Minnesota Press, 2007)*,* 5-6.
[74] Nakamura, "Introduction," 5.

this case, can be seen as an exercise of power which equals a micro-political act, because it is an act of self-making.[75] In the examples that I have analysed, Indo's consciously chose to identify themselves as an ethnic group which distances itself from white, Dutch people. This particular way in which Indo's choose to engage with other-ness and same-ness shows a (sub)conscious searching for common ground between people of Indische heritage, to reclaim family histories and culture.

When looking at the interviewees' opinions on the micro-political potential of their platforms and the way their platforms enable users to perform certain specific identities, it becomes clear that the three digital case studies in this thesis have developed into spaces that even their creators did not necessarily intend to create or thought possible. All three, in highly specific ways, are used to perform Indo identities in their multitude of differences. Whether the core of that identity is about using humour and memes to establish a common ground based on simplified Indo characteristics, or using memories and experiences to share personal, gender specific stories and thoughts for people to recognise themselves in, or using photography and visual difference to show the abundance of different Indo people and their family histories in the Netherlands, they are all performative practices of digital identification.

Going back to the main research question, the interviews and analyses have shown that digital identification among third generation Indo's can definitely be considered as a process with micro-political potential. As became clear from the case studies, all three platforms invite users in different ways to perform micro-political acts of identity making, whereas the creators of those platforms not always necessarily meant for them to be used that way. "Indo's Be Like", as the largest platform, is the most accessible for everyone in terms of political processes being more covert. Even though the page invites Indo's to consider the axes of differentiation that comprise their identity and sometimes discuss post-colonial subjects such as the Backpay matter or the commemoration of Indische victims, it is mainly used for building a community where the Indo identity is seen as funny and light-hearted, bringing the community together outside of the digital realm with events, and uniting people by providing clothing which expresses their Indo identity. "Gewoon een Indisch Meisje" functions more like a diary, in the way that Lara shares highly personal experiences a select group of people can identify with, but also by raising debates that are often ignored or withheld, such as racial

---

[75] Leurs, "Introduction," 26.

and postcolonial-related issues. Armando's blog functions mostly like an archive or library, and due to its archiving qualities which enable personal histories to be captured and digitally kept, it combines a multitude of micro-political processes due to the people being featured performing their unique Indo identity. As multiple forms of Indo identity have been analysed so far, showing how even within an identity which is often presented as homogenous multiple manifestations can be performed, I want to plead for the usage of the word 'Indo identities', plural, as singular simply does not seem to cover its complexity. These differences show once again how Indo identities are translocational, as they are dependent on the social media platform where they are performed, on the person performing them, on the geographical location of their performance, and on the time in which they are performed. "Positionality is about more than identification as it is also about the lived practices in which identifications are practiced or performed" Anthias states, which emphasises the fact that identifications differ based on the context in which they are performed.[76] They are also contradictory and renegotiable: going against the hegemonic Dutch identity, reclaiming non-whiteness and renegotiating identities that were enforced upon first and second generation Indo's due to the extreme need to integrate and assimilate. According to Anthias, the retention of multiple identities can often be seen as synonymous with the failure to integrate into a society, and therefore "as an impediment to 'social cohesion' and integration".[77] Indo identities which go against the normative Dutch identity and reclaim aspects which were not accepted before attempt to do exactly what is seen as threatening by some: not only retain multiple identities, but also combine them to create new ones.

Conclusion

During the interviews I learned about the fluidity of Indo identities, and how it can be seen through the lens of translocational positionality: not only is it context, time, and geographically related, it is also highly personal. It also became apparent that enacting or performing Indo identities is influenced by the concept of masquerading, which establishes a collective identity among seemingly integrated people, but gives space for the covert enacting

---

[76] Floya Anthias, "Translocational Belonging, Identity and Generation: Questions and Problems in Migration and Ethnic Studies," *Finnish Journal of Ethnicity and Migration,* vol. 4 no. 1 (2009): 12.
[77] Anthias, "Translocational Belonging," 6.

of parts of one's postcolonial identity. The relationship between masquerading and translocational positionality is that both concepts are examples or the way identity is not fixed, but contradictory, renegotiable and dependent on time and context. Both also affect Dutch society in terms of significantly altering spaces in which they operate: locales in which people settle are converted into translocational spaces, affecting those who live within them, and masquerading undermines the dichotomy of 'we' and 'they', altering what it means to be Dutch. Having spoken to all three cultural producers, I concluded that all recognise and acknowledge the micro-political potential of their platforms, but whether they use it to that end or not is a personal choice.

When conducting the social media analysis to identify the axes of differentiation visible in the posts on those platforms, I analysed how specific Indo traits and practices are used to unify Indo's and distance them from white Dutch people. This provides a window on everyday micro-politics, how people choose to perform their identities online and who to identify with. On the three platforms, third generation Indo's constructed their identities by emphasising ethnicity, culture and non-whiteness, which can be seen as a redefinition of their ethnic identity. They place themselves at the intersection of Dutchness and Indo-ness and show that they are not willing to compromise and choose one, but instead recreate them into new combinations. By going against the hegemonic Dutch identity, which is constructed upon whiteness, Indo's create a counter movement which reclaims the identity marker of non-whiteness, thereby exercising the micro-politics of power subversion. This is, again, an example of their identities being translocational and subject to masquerading: covertly enacting part of one's identity which goes against the hegemonic Dutch identity on digital platforms, shows that these identities are not fixed but contradictory, dependent on space and context. The platforms in this case create that space which enables contesting hierarchical power relations.

The relationship between the posts on the platforms and the interviewees' opinions on digital identification and micro-political potential has shown to be contradictory as well, as is compatible with the results of the social media analysis. What became clear is that all three digital case studies have developed into spaces which were not necessarily intended to be that way by their creators. They are all used to perform highly specific and personal Indo identities, not only by their creators but also by their users.

Micro-politics and digital identity performativity: third generation Indo identities on social media platforms

Amber van Lier

This thesis combines multiple partial perspectives on third generation Indo-ness and how their identity is constructed in the digital world, including my own. By doing this research, I opened up the issue surrounding the relationship between third generation Indo identities on these three platforms and non-whiteness. In my observations on the analysed platforms, Indo's have consciously chosen to reclaim the fact that they are not white and do not want to be seen as such. By going against the normative, hegemonic Dutch identity, and thus whiteness, they construct identities which can be seen as contesting hierarchical power relations and as a countermovement against the Dutch identity which is predominantly white and racist. This in itself is an act with micro-political potential, as it is an act of self-making and constructing an identity in a digital world.

As I reflect on my choice of methodology, structuring my thesis in such a way that the interviews were needed to use the personal beliefs and viewpoints of the cultural producers as a lens to analyse the social media platforms, it held me back a bit time-wise. It restricted me in the sense that I felt I had to do the interviews first before being able to start analysing the platforms. With interviews, you are dependent on the schedule of the persons you intend to speak with, which may mean that you will have to schedule them later than initially planned. This is something to learn from regarding future research. As the interviews are highly personal, they only account for the personal views of the interviewees, meaning they are not suited to draw overarching conclusions from. My intention in this thesis is to show how digital identification among third generation Indo's can be considered as a process which has micro-political potential, using the personal opinions of the interviewees to analyse the posts they created on their platform. Additional research, using a much larger group of interviewees for example, would have to be conducted in order for overarching conclusions to be drawn.

The social media analysis, which focused on the axes of differentiation intersecting in the posts made by the interviewees, made it possible to analyse the posts in-depth and to discuss what kind of identities these intersections create as well as what their micro-political implications are and how users might use them. What this analysis does not show, however, are the post-colonial complexities of Indo identities and the way post-colonial power structures are affecting how Indo's perceive themselves today, which in turn influences the way they perform their identities online. Likewise, on all three platforms examples can be found of Indo's fighting the image of the 'perfectly integrated immigrant', being an ethnic group which is almost not considered foreign or non-Dutch anymore, to perform an identity

which goes against hierarchical power structures. By identifying as non-white, they go against the normative Dutch identity. Due to a shortcoming in my theoretical framework as well as time constraints, I did not manage to analyse this. However, this would be an interesting angle for future research. Related to this is a point for future research that arose during my interview with Armando: he mentioned how, among some, being Indo is a desirable status in Indonesia as it means having whiter skin due to being mixed. Contrastingly, in the three case studies in this thesis, Indo's in the Netherlands consciously identify as non-white to reclaim their ethnic identities. It would be interesting to research the relationship between these two choices in identity performance across different countries and cultures.

According to Anne Phillips in *Multiculturalism Without Culture,* ignoring citizen's cultural identities is just as damaging as denying them civil or political rights.[78] However, she states that an issue with multiculturalism, which is considered the route to a more tolerant society because it recognises a diversity of cultures, is that it represents culture as a falsely homogenising reification.[79] My intention, then, is not to present Indo identities in this thesis as some homogenous entity. Instead, I hope to have shown that even in these three digital case studies, Indo identities can take a plethora of forms and are performed in many different ways, each based on the individual choices made by the person performing them. Phillips pleads against treating culture as the explanation of virtually everything people from to a certain descent say or do, and I agree with her, which means that I favour individual autonomy and attach more weight to what people represent as their personal choice.[80]

---

[78] Anne Phillips, "Chapter One," in *Multiculturalism Without Culture* (Princeton University Press, 2007), 11.
[79] Phillips, "Chapter One," 14.
[80] Idem, 39.

Micro-politics and digital identity performativity: third generation Indo identities on social media platforms

Amber van Lier

Bibliography

Anthias, Floya. "Thinking through the lens of translocational positionality: an intersectionality frame for understanding identity and belonging." *Translocations: Migration and Social Change,* an Open Access Journal, volume 4, issue 1 (2008): 5-20.

Anthias, Floya. "Translocational Belonging, Identity and Generation: Questions and Problems in Migration and Ethnic Studies." *Finnish Journal of Ethnicity and Migration,* volume 4, number 1 (2009): 6-15.

Bosma, Ube. "Why is there no post-colonial debate in the Netherlands?." In *Post-colonial Immigrants and Identity Formations in the Netherlands,* 193-212. Amsterdam University Press, 2012.

CBS. "Wat verstaat het CBS onder een allochtoon?." Accessed September 10, 2019, https://www.cbs.nl/nl-nl/faq/specifiek/wat-verstaat-het-cbs-onder-een-allochtoon-.

DeVault, Marjorie L. and Glenda Cross "Feminist Qualitative Interviewing: Experience, Talk and Knowledge." In *Handbook of Feminist Research: Theory and Praxis,* edited by Sharlene Nagy Hesse-Biber, 206-236. Sage, 2012.

Facebook. "Indo's Be Like." Accessed throughout July, August and September 2019. https://www.facebook.com/Indosbelike/.

Foucault, Michel. *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings 1972-1977.* Pantheon Books, 1980.

Gewoon een Indisch Meisje. "Een zoektocht naar het verleden." Accessed throughout July, August and September 2019. https://www.gewooneenindischmeisje.nl/.

Hoezo Indo. "Ontdek jouw verhaal." Accessed throughout July, August and September 2019. https://hoezoindo.nl/category/blog/.

Leurs, Koen. *Digital Passages: Migrant Youth 2.0.* Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2015.

Micro-politics and digital identity performativity: third generation Indo identities on social media platforms

Amber van Lier

Leurs, Koen, Eva Midden, and Sandra Ponzanesi. "Digital multiculturalism in the Netherlands: religious, ethnic and gender positioning by Moroccan-Dutch youth." *Religion & Gender*, volume 2, number 1 (2012): 150-175.

Nakamura, Lisa. "Introduction." In *Digitizing Race: Visual Cultures of the Internet*, 1-36. University of Minnesota Press, 2007.

Rubin, J. Herbert and Irene J. Rubin. "Listening, Hearing, and Sharing Social Experiences." In *Qualitative Interviewing: The Art of Hearing Data,* 1-18. Sage, 2005.

Pattynama, Pamela. "Assimilation and Masquerade: Self-Constructions of Indo-Dutch Women." *The European Journal of Women's Studies,* volume 7 (2000), 281-299.

Pattynama, Pamela. "Cultural memory and Indo-Dutch identity formations." In *Post-colonial Immigrants and Identity Formations in the Netherlands,* edited by Ube Bosma, 175-192. Amsterdam University Press, 2012.

Phillips, Anne. "Chapter One," In *Multiculturalism Without Culture,* 11-41. Princeton University Press, 2007.

Protschky, Susie. "The Colonial Table: Food, Culture and Dutch Identity in Colonial Indonesia." *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, volume 54, number 3 (2008): 346-357.

Spivak, Gayatri Chakravorty. "The Politics of Translation." In *Outside in the Teaching Machine,* London and New York: Routledge, 1993. 179-200.

Micro-politics and digital identity performativity: third generation Indo identities on social media platforms

Amber van Lier

Appendix I – Interview questions

1. Kun je iets over jezelf vertellen? Wie je bent, wat je doet, en wat je persoonlijk reden was om dit platform op te zetten?

   Could you tell me something about yourself? Who you are, what you do, and your personal reasons for creating this platform?

2. Wat betekent Indo zijn voor jou?

   What does being Indo mean to you?

3. Hoe belangrijk is het voor jou om je Indo identiteit uit te kunnen dragen?

   How important is it to you to be able to express your Indo identity?

4. Wat denk jij dat de specifieke pijlers zijn waarop derde generatie Indo identiteit is gebouwd?

   What do you think are the specific pillars on which third generation Indo-identity is built?

5. Als jij jezelf zou moeten beschrijven in termen van etniciteit/identiteit, hoe zou je dat dan doen?

   If you had to describe yourself in terms of ethnicity/identity, what would they be?

6. Heb je ooit nagedacht over de politieke implicaties van identiteit en het uitdragen hiervan?

   Have you ever thought about the political implications of identity and the way its expressed?

7. Spelen de politieke implicaties van Indo identiteit een rol in de manier waarop jij jouw platform construeert?

   Do the political implications of Indo identity play a role in the way you construct your platform?